



## INDIA'S STRATEGIC AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN 2013

**Cmde.(Retd.) C.Uday Bhaskar**  
Former Director IDSA & Ex Director NMF

The new year brings with it a silver lining of hope and resolve against the backdrop of the anger and anguish that the rape-related death of a brave young girl has generated in India. Internal security in the country is far from adequate, and while this is of immediate relevance for the common man, the larger spectrum of national security challenges also needs to be reviewed in a holistic manner. The linkage between the internal and external dimension and the overlap between the two domains was brought home in a stark and horrific manner in the Mumbai terrorist attack of November 2008.

If national security objectives have to be prioritised in 2013, then it is self-evident that the national will must ensure that neither a Mumbai nor a Mahipalpur (the location associated with the Delhi rape) is repeated. For this kind of a domestic environment to be realised, the entire national security apparatus -- both internal and external -- must be aware of the challenges that will emerge in the current year.

The UPA II led by Dr. Manmohan Singh is in its last phase and will have about a year-plus of political credibility -- a fact that external interlocutors are cognizant of. Among the principal external interlocutors for India, who will define the global strategic context, are the U.S. and China at the primary level, and Russia at a remove. In the Asian context, Japan and the ASEAN collective remain important elements while the neighborhood will be animated by developments within the Af-Pak domain in the run-up to the 2014 U.S./ISAF withdrawal; the domestic contestation in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka; and the transition that is taking place in Myanmar.

The more visible and immediate challenge will be the manner in which Pakistan and its military relate to India. The optimism generated in 2012 -- as, for instance, over the MFN status and improved trade and economic ties -- has been belied and the ambivalence in Islamabad continues. While the Pakistan military now acknowledges that internal security and the Taliban-stoked terror have become their principal security challenge, the conviction in GHQ Rawalpindi that "India-is-the-eternal-enemy" has not changed. Consequently, the Pakistan military is reluctant to sever its links and support to terror groups and related ideology and the

progress in the Mumbai 2008 investigations is indicative. Thus the LeT and the JeM, among other groups, continue to operate unhindered and India's anxiety will grow.

The complexity of the challenges that will engage India will be further heightened by current developments along the Pak-Afghan axis, as also the U.S.-led Western block's engagement with Kabul and the Taliban -- initiatives that are preparatory to the post-2014 scenario.

The rapprochement with the Taliban under French aegis is gathering momentum and the Karzai regime appears to be moving towards accepting the primacy of Pakistan in the post-U.S. scenario. The end result may be the return of the Taliban to Kabul with a degree of political legitimacy and a sense of déjà vu going back to 2001 and the pre 9/11 Kabul is inescapable.

The ideology associated with the Taliban in its earlier stint in Kabul proved to be detrimental to Indian security interests and the December 1999 Kandahar hijacking and the ignominy of the Vajpayee-led NDA government at the time should serve as a warning. How Pakistan will shape the post-2014 political transition in Afghanistan and the linkage with groups such as the Haqqani will define the Indian co-relation to developments in Afghanistan.

Both the U.S. and China have their own perceptions about their respective national security interests in relation to Pakistan and Afghanistan and in the past this has resulted in the U.S. acting in a manner that negatively impacted India. The fingerprint of the Mumbai 2008 investigation and the U.S. reluctance to interrogate the Pakistani ISI and the opaque status of the David Headley trial suggest that in consolidating its immediate interest in Afghanistan, the U.S. could well adopt an accommodating posture apropos Pakistan and the terror linkage that will be reminiscent of the first Clinton term. The appointment of Senator Kerry as the U.S. Secretary of State may also witness a review of U.S. policy towards South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular.

China is now under a new leader -- Xi Jinping -- and the boundary issue along with Sino-Pak WMD cooperation remains central to Indian security concerns. The next round of talks with India's National Security Adviser is scheduled for January 10 and while no dramatic breakthrough is expected, the orientation of the new team in Beijing to territorial issues and acceptance of the prevailing global norms regarding the maritime domain will be critical determinants in the Indian security calculus of 2013.

The Lord Buddha is my Ishta-my God. He preached no theory about Godhead-he was himself God,  
I fully believe it. In character the Buddha is the best the world has seen Swami Vivekananda

At the end of the day, India's ability to deal with its external security challenges will be determined by its own comprehensive national will and tangible power in the economic and military sphere. Here the relevance of the major trading and investment partners -- such as ASEAN, EU and Japan on one hand, and Russia in the defense sector, looms large.

The allocation of resources for national security -- be it under the Defense or Home Ministries -- and their utilisation has to be managed in a far more purposeful manner than has been the case over the last few years. The morale of the Indian military has been dented over the last year and structural deficiencies in higher defense management remain unaddressed.

From Kargil in 1999 to Mumbai in 2008 and Mahipalpur in 2012 -- the spectrum of security challenges for India is likely to become more complex and intense in 2013. Institutional integrity, sectoral competence and inter-agency coordination will need the undivided attention of the government and the opposition which, alas, has not been the case in 2012.

( Courtesy : *South Asia Monitor*, January 2013)



## **THE NUCLEAR GENIE-5 THE SUPER (HYDROGEN) BOMB**

**Prof. M.N. Sastri**

The energy from the Sun and other stars, the driving force that sustains life on Earth, is generated in their cores through the fusion of four hydrogen nuclei forming one helium nucleus. This fusion process called thermonuclear fusion requires very high energy, equivalent to temperatures of the order of fifteen million degrees, to overcome the electrostatic repulsion of the positively charged nuclei to undergo fusion and liberate energy. The energy required is generated in a star's core through compression of the hydrogen material under gravitational pressure. The energy we receive from the Sun, our nearest star, is generated through the thermonuclear fusion of  $2.0 \times 10^{19}$  kilograms of hydrogen annually at a steady rate. Compared with an estimated total mass of  $2 \times 10^{30}$  kilograms of hydrogen present in the Sun this conversion rate is slow and hence can be considered occurring at a steady rate. According to cosmologists the energy from the Sun can remain in this steady and balanced state for ten billion years. Given that the Sun's age is about 4.6 billion years we can hope

that Sun's energy can sustain life on Earth for about five billion more years!

Is it possible to replicate such a thermonuclear fusion reaction by man through creating temperatures of the order of fifteen million degrees? Tokutaro Hagiwara contemplated in a lecture in 1941 at the Tokyo University that this is possible through creating temperatures of this order by means of uranium fission and ignite a hydrogen fusion reaction.

But it was Edward Teller, an émigré scientist from Hungary working in the Manhattan Project, who pursued the development of a thermonuclear weapon or a "super atom bomb" based on this principle. He argued that because of the difficulties in handling large critical masses of fission material (plutonium or enriched uranium) there is an upper limit to the explosive yield in the design of a fission bomb. For example, a fission bomb containing 60 kg of enriched uranium, the maximum quantity that can be handled, would give an explosive yield of 500 kilotons TNT equivalent of energy. Teller pointed out that there is no such upper yield limit for a thermonuclear weapon and the explosive power could theoretically be many thousand times more, in the megaton range. Such a powerful weapon would provide the US with an unmatched military superiority.

Oppenheimer, Frisch, Rabi, Urey, Einstein and other scientists opposed the development of such a weapon. Frisch and Rabi wrote, "Since no limit exists for the destructiveness of this weapon, its existence and knowledge of its construction is a danger to humanity as a whole." In the wake of the escalation of the Cold War, the pro-bomb lobby led by Teller prevailed. The Joint Chiefs of Staff told Truman "that the hydrogen bomb could improve our defence in its broadest sense, as a potential offensive weapon, a possible deterrent to war, a potential retaliatory weapon as well as a defensive weapon against enemy forces." Truman asked a specially constituted Committee of the National Security Council "Can the Russians do it?" All agreed they could. Truman replied, "We have no choice. We will go ahead." On January 31, 1950 Truman announced ".....I have directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons including the so-called hydrogen or super bomb." Savannah River in South Carolina was chosen as the project site. The reactants chosen for assembling the bomb were the heavier isotopes of hydrogen with unit masses 2 (Deuterium or heavy hydrogen) and three (Tritium). Ordinary hydrogen has a single unit mass. Deuterium is present in all natural waters

to the extent of one part in 5,600 parts and can be easily separated. Tritium is prepared in a nuclear reactor. In the fusion reaction between each nucleus of Deuterium and Tritium, huge quantities of energy are liberated. Alternately Deuterium nuclei also can be subjected to fusion with a similar effect. Additionally neutrons are also generated and these can be used for enhancing the destructive power of the device. The hydrogen bomb works on a two stage design. Initially an atom bomb is detonated using the conventional implosion method. This fission step provides the heat necessary for the Deuterium and Tritium nuclei to undergo fusion forming heavier elements and releasing tremendous energy.

The feasibility of a hydrogen bomb was first tested by the US military on May 9, 1951 through a test codenamed GEORGE during Operation Greenhouse at the Pacific Proving Grounds in Eniwetok Atoll. Most of the explosion came from the fission fuel component but it substantiated the idea that an atom (fission) bomb could be used as a "stepping stone" to a more destructive weapon. A similar test, named ITEM, was conducted on May 25, 1951.

The first US hydrogen bomb was exploded on November 1, 1952. Eulegelab, a small island in the Eniwetok Atoll of the Marshall Islands in the Pacific was chosen as the test site. Using liquid Deuterium-Tritium as fuel (cryogenic fusion fuel), the bomb, nicknamed IVY MIKE, required 18 tons of refrigeration equipment to keep the gaseous medium in the liquid form. The bomb exploded with a force equivalent to 10 megatons, thousand times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb. The blast, shining as brightly as thousand Suns, was more stunning than the fission blast. The cloud, when it reached its farthest extent was about hundred miles wide and 25 miles high. It gouged a crater two miles wide and several hundred yards deep, completely wiping out the Eulegelab test island. This successful test has ushered in the era of megaton nuclear weapons.

This design with cryogenic fuel was however not suitable for use as a deliverable weapon. This problem was solved by choosing the fuel core in the form of a solid lithium deuteride and fusion of deuterium nuclei as the energy generating reaction. This design is known as the Teller-Ulam design, named after Edward Teller and Stanislaw Ulam, its major contributors. This bomb, nicknamed SHRIMP was tested at Castle Bravo on the Bikini Atoll in Marshall Island on March 1, 1954. With a yield of 15 megatons this became the first practical deliverable thermonuclear (hydrogen) bomb. The test

explosion showered radioactive material on Japanese fishermen in the vicinity and the residents of Marshall Island. One fisherman died of radiation sickness. This event prompted a world-wide demand for a ban on nuclear weapon testing. The successful Teller-Ulam design has come to be adopted by all thermonuclear weapon-producing nations.

With the appearance of the atom bomb in 1945 the explosive power of the global range weapons has multiplied by thousands and then with the hydrogen (thermonuclear) bomb by millions. Destruction on a scale far beyond anything experienced before, accompanied by uncontrollable and persistent poisoning of the environment by radioactive fallout has thus become a threat to humanity.

This nuclear advantage gained by the US was however short-lived. The Soviet scientists under the leadership of the 30 year-old scientist Andrei Sakharov, accelerated work on the hydrogen bomb project. It is believed that the technical data provided by the Soviet spy Klaus Fuchs proved very helpful in this task. Georgy Malenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, addressing the Supreme Soviet on August 8, 1953 said, "The Government deems it necessary to report to the Supreme Soviet that the US has no monopoly on the production of the hydrogen bomb either." His statement was immediately followed by the Soviet Union detonating a hydrogen bomb with 400 kiloton power (nicknamed Joe 4 by the Americans) on August 12, 1953 at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in Kazakhstan. The first Soviet test of a true hydrogen bomb in the megaton range, named Joe 19, was detonated on November 22, 1955. It had a yield of 1.6 megaton. On October 30, 1961 the Soviet Union exploded the super bomb "Tsar Bomba" with a yield of 50-60 megatons on Novaya Zemiya Island in the Arctic. This bomb, originally designed for 100 megatons and later scaled down, is equivalent to 1,400 times the combined power of the two atom bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki and ten times the power of all explosives used during World War II. It is also the single physically most powerful device ever exploded by man.

In July 1954, the British cabinet, after a heated debate during which Prime Minister Churchill even threatened to resign, authorized the production of "thermonuclear bombs." The White Paper issued in February 1955 announcing this decision said, "Communist policies may appear, from time to time, more accommodating. But Communist actions have so far provided no real ground for believing that the threat to

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## **RETHINKING COSMOPOLITAN MODERNITY - I**

### **RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM**

**Prof. Sachidananda Mohanty,**

Dept. of English, University of Hyderabad

In his classic autobiography, *Errata: An Examined Life*, George Steiner, one of the foremost philosophers of the 20th century, wrote:

It is possible to suppose that the period since August 1914 has been, notably in Europe and Russia, from Madrid to Moscow, from Sicily to the Arctic Circle, the most bestial in recorded history (Steiner, 1997:103).

Steiner's epitaph to the essential tragedy of the 20th century may well serve as a postscript to Tagore's critique of nationalism. Indeed, it would be logical to infer that much of the cause for the human grief, pain and humiliation in the 20th Century, can be attributed to the conflicting claims of Nation States. Far from acting as an instrument for realizing collective or communitarian aspirations and welfare, nationalism has tragically led to collective despair.

If the Enlightenment voices of Voltaire and Jefferson had heralded an end to 'judicial torture, to the burning of dissenters and books', 20th century European nationalism paradoxically led to the Holocaust. As Steiner reflects:

Perhaps there is no other instance precisely analogous to ontological massacre – this is to say, to the deliberate 'murder of human beings whose guilt minutely verbalized and set out by bureaucracy, was that of being' (Steiner, 1997:106).

At the height of anti-colonial protests in India and elsewhere, Tagore was chastised by many as a romantic who had reservations about the claims of nationalism. By hindsight, at the beginning of the new millennium, it would be admitted that much of Tagore's reflections on the subject have been borne out by the unfolding of history, following his passing in 1941.

What I should like to do in this essay is not to review or revisit Tagore's considerable body of writings and speeches on the twin themes of nationalism and internationalism. This I shall do in passing as part of my larger interest in the East West dialogue that Tagore championed. Basing myself on existing scholarship, I shall argue that his deep interest in nationalism and

the Free World has sensibly diminished." The yields from the initial British tests in 1957 were well below the expected levels. The first successful hydrogen bomb was detonated on November 8, 1957 over Christmas Island in the Pacific. The test gave a yield of 1.8 megatons. "Even if you do not have a big stick, it is sometimes wise to say you do."

After the British scientists demonstrated their capacity to develop a hydrogen bomb, the US McMahon Act was amended in 1958 restoring US-UK cooperation in nuclear programme. The UK discontinuing its own tests began adopting the fully developed American designs which were cheaper.

On realizing in 1965 that China was going to get the hydrogen bomb, General de Gaulle became impatient about the slow progress in the French efforts in this direction. The scientific community led by Roger Doutray and Michel Carayol were spurred into action. France however did not have the ability to produce the Deuterium (heavy water) needed for the device. The heavy water required was purchased from Norway and US and used for the production of Lithium Deuteride and Tritium. The first thermonuclear bomb, under the code name CANOPUSO, was detonated by France on August 24, 1968 at the Fangataufa in the nuclear testing grounds, Mururoa, in French Polynesia in the Pacific. The device was suspended from a large hydrogen-filled balloon and detonated at an altitude of 1,800 feet. The bomb had a yield of 2.6 megatons.

As early as 1960, the Chinese scientists began to explore the possibility of assembling a hydrogen bomb. The programme gained momentum after their successful detonation of the atom bomb in October 1964. In less than 32 months, China detonated its first hydrogen bomb at Lop Nor in Western China on June 17, 1967. The bomb, which had a yield of 3.31 mega tons, was dropped from an airplane and detonated at an altitude of 2,960 metres.

It took the US more than seven years from its first atom bomb test to detonate its first hydrogen bomb, the Soviet Union four years and the UK four and a half years. In contrast, China took only two years and two months, the shortest elapsed time for any nuclear weapons nation!

(Prof M.N.Sastri's 4th article in the series was inadvertently published again in the previous issue as 5th. The error is regretted and the Editor apologizes to the author and readers)



internationalism led him to a rethinking of cosmopolitan modernity in the first half of the 20th Century.

I shall draw upon the works of biographer - critics like Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson as well as those of social psychologists like Ashis Nandy. Nandy's notable work *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism*: Rabindranath Tagore and the *Politics of Self*, 2004 is probably one of the best in the field. Tagore's journey, as Nandy aptly argues, covered 'the Hindu nationalism of his youth and the Brahminical-liberal humanism of his adulthood to the more radical anti-static almost Gandhian social criticism of his last years' (Nandy, 2004:154).

Nandy's parallel claim about Tagore in the same book seems to be somewhat extreme and less convincing though : 'It was a journey', he says, 'made by one who had been a builder of modern consciousness in India, one who ended up against his own instincts... almost a counter modernist, critic of the advanced West.' (Nandy, 2004:156).

I shall argue to the contrary and suggest that despite his reservations about western 'civilization' and his roots in the Indian traditions, Tagore upheld the transcendence of cultural boundaries in favour of what he called the Universal Human.

Nandy is essentially correct, however, in his view that Gandhi and Tagore saw the 'need' for a 'national' ideology of India as a means of cultural survival, and both recognized that, for the same reason, India would either have to make a break with the post-medieval Western concept of nationalism or give the concept a new content.' (Nandy, 2004:154).

While Nandy seems to be right in his assessment of the views of the two major figures in the way they intellectually fashioned out their thinking on nationalism and the emerging cosmopolitanism, he seems to have glossed over the fact that there were other figures that had similar and equally interesting ideas on the twin themes under discussion. Bringing these figures into the ambit of our discussion, it seems to me, would be one way of carrying the debate forward. I shall consider primarily the non fictional writings of Tagore for my purpose.

I shall include in my narrative some of these personalities who played a vital role [as Leela Gandhi insightfully shows in her book on fin-de-siècle colonialism and the politics of friendship],(Leela Gandhi,2006)in dealing with the vexing question of nationalism and internationalism. These were Paul

Richard and Mirra (Alfassa) Richard [1878-1973] (later The Mother) and Aurobindo Ghose (Sri Aurobindo) [1872-1950].

Some differentiation must be made at the outset for theoretical clarity. Of the three mentioned above, the last one, namely Sri Aurobindo, like Tagore and Gandhi, was a contributor to Indian nationalism, whereas Paul Richard and Mirra Alfassa, as Europeans, appear to be 'outsiders' to the bounded discourse of Indian nationalism. What I am proposing here is that the nationalist discourse in the early 20th c. is more complex than one circumscribed by native agents. Sliding into cosmopolitan and internationalist concerns, Indian nationalism is better understood, it seems to me, by deploying the trope used by Leela Gandhi who problematizes the notion of the 'boundary' by speaking of 'affective communities'.(Leela Gandhi,2006:1-12)

Accordingly, a theoretical caveat is called for before we proceed: From the Saidean understanding of Orientalism, westerners like Paul Richard, Mirra Alfassa and James Cousins would be naturally treated as 'suspect' in the colonial context. This problem would be of interest to the constitution of the newly emerging 'internationalist' discourse. To overcome the impasse, I would suggest that we take up a post-Saidean reading of Orientalism as our point of departure.

In other words, I shall argue that early 20th Century cosmopolitanism includes within its ambit a strand of internationalism in which some intellectuals from the East and the West attempted a 'free' dialogue of world cultures. These westerners were markedly different from the Orientalists that Said homogenizes. Instead, they may be better visible in terms of transnational 'affective communities' that Leela Gandhi postulated. I would suggest that certain Indian nationalists like Tagore and Sri Aurobindo and to a lesser extent Gandhi, also belong to this category.

All the three above shared intimate friendship with Tagore and enjoyed mutual admiration: Mirra and Paul Richard met Tagore in Japan during World War I. On occasion, the Richards journeyed together with the poet and shared common public space and platform in Japan. Greatly impressed by Mirra, Tagore invited her to come and take charge of Santiniketan. Mirra politely declined the offer stating that she was on an alternate spiritual quest. [The typewriter that Tagore gifted Mirra is still preserved at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram as part of the Sri Smriti Collection, just as the group photograph of Tagore, Mirra and Paul Richard, are part of the prominent photo

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collection displayed at the Rabindra Bhavan at Vishwa Bharati , Santiniketan]

The encounter of such diverse cultures in Japan in the second decade of the 20th c. is itself a happenstance of the complex global idea-forces at work at this time. The fascination for Japan by Parisians of the early 20th c. included an existential interest in the dialogue of continents, which motived the travels of the Richards. For Tagore's travels east, we must look to Pan-Asianism, the ambiguous ideology of a counter-narrative to the hegemony of the West that many intellectuals of the period championed, and certainly all the three figures under discussion deeply cherished. The ambiguity to pan-Asianism may be seen developing in the militaristic nationalism of Japan that upheld the rhetoric of an anti western alternative, but became increasingly fascist in character. Tagore himself was extremely weary of this growing trend and criticized it strongly. In the minds of personae like Paul and Mirra, the shadowy Black Dragon Society of Mitsuro Toyama, may have ill accorded with the fabled aestheticism of Japanese culture that Mirra cherished and hoped would be Japan's gift to the world. The League for the Equality of Races that Richards, Tagore and other internationalists of the period strongly advocated would fall upon deaf ears; the message of world unity would have to wait for another world conflagration before being enshrined in the historic meet in San Francisco at the end of World War II leading to the formation of the United Nations.

The moot point here is that both Paul and Mirra were deeply invested in the necessity for the cultural and political self-determination for non-western nations and were hence committed to the anti-colonial struggle. While they ardently supported Indian nationalism, they espoused too, like Tagore, a newer form of cosmopolitanism. Like Tagore, they were interested in the contribution of non-western cultural histories to an international cause. This can be seen as the operation of an alternative Orientalism to that which Said so powerfully critiqued.

Sri Aurobindo's role in India's freedom struggle, especially during the militant Swadeshi period, the Partition of Bengal, and the Alipore Bomb Case, 1908-09, are well known and recorded. What is equally not known is the way he goes beyond a bounded nationalism, as Gandhi and Tagore did, to the advocacy of internationalism and global culture that respected the pluralities of nationhood. In doing so, he shared deep affinities with Tagore.

Equally unknown is the role Paul Richard played in helping to eradicate the penal colonies in French Guyana. 'Soon after I entered law school,' he recalls in his memoir, 'a group of ex-convicts from the penal colony in French Guyana approached me with the request that I visit the area and report the atrocious conditions there.'(MPR, 1987:35).At the same time, paradoxically, Richard seems to typify the ambiguities of the anti-western nationalism that many Europeans of his time embraced. Beginning with a socialistic mission for the liberation of the colonies from western imperialism, he came to embrace, at least in the middle period of his career, a domineering male ideal that demanded the oppressive surrender of the body and the mind of associates and servitors for the ultimate cause of Asiatic identity.

More significantly, during the time he shared with Tagore in Japan, Richard promoted movements like League for the Equality of Races (Paul Richard, 1920:89).Mirra's own role in the promotion of internationalism, founded on non-sectarian spiritual principles, is better known. By 1920, she and Paul were in Pondicherry and by 1926; Mirra had been designated The Mother by Sri Aurobindo and become his spiritual collaborator at his ashram. An ardent internationalist, after Sri Aurobindo's passing in 1950, she led the ashram and came to create an experiment in international living under the auspices of the UNESCO in 1968. This was the "planetary city" of Auroville, still thriving and developing. The ideas these figures shared on nationalism and internationalism were not static. They evolved over a period in time, were complex in character, and eschewed easy binaries and polarities. These ideas, broadly common, were integral to an emerging cosmopolitanism. It may be useful, in the first instance, to review Tagore's ideas on Nationalism. (to be continued)



## EPIC HEROINES

**Dr. Mrs Prema Nandakumar**

(Excerpts from the Keynote Address delivered at the Conference/Performance Conclave on 'Epic Women' held by Kartik Fine Arts in association with Arangham Trust on December 20 - 23, 2012 at Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chennai).

I am delighted to be part of this Conference which is set to explore some of the women characters in epics from the world over. It is a matter of pride for the Indian that in this global spread, the epic women of India are in

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I ask you young men, not to go away empty-handed without imbibing something of the spirit of the place (Belur Math) where Swami Vivekananda lived and died. Mahatma Gandhi

the majority and also they are the ones who challenge the wits of contemporary humanity. It would be so wherever such a Conference is held, whether in India or abroad. For India alone has epic heroines who continue to live amongst us, directing our lives in a million ways.

I grew up in Andhra Pradesh in my formative years. During the 1950s and 1960s, there were a series of brilliant evocations of epic heroines on the silver screen in Telugu. There was an unspoken law which kept the producers away from desiccating or glamorizing the heroines in these films. The women came to us as in Vyasa, Jaimini or any of the classic Telugu authors like Tirupati Venkata Kavulu. The portrayals drew us closer to the classics in Sanskrit and Telugu. Somehow, somewhere, those black and white pictures were able to catch the imagination of the adolescent mind. One felt so very close to Draupadi in *Narthanasala* stinging Bhima to action. It was a kind of strengthening the girl's backbone to face the future which was becoming a bigger and bigger question mark.

Another reason for our feeling close to the heroines was because in India the myths and legends of the past are not dead sea-scrolls. Sita, Savitri, Renuka, Draupadi and Kannaki are living heroines, role models in preparing, planning and executing our lives. Swami Vivekananda whose 150th Jayanti we would be celebrating in another twenty days worked tirelessly for empowering Indian women and placed these role models before them:

"O India ! forget not that the ideal of thy womanhood is Sita, Savitri, Damayanti. Sita is the name in India for everything that is good, pure, and holy, everything that in women we call woman."

The Savitri *vrata* is observed as Karadaiyan nonbu by the Tamilians, Vat-Savitri by the Maharashtrians and so on. Renuka not only reigns over the Padaiveedu temple but is found in thousands of temples as Mariamman or Ellamma or Pydamma. I need not remind the audience of Draupadi Amman festivals in India, one of which inspired the great Tamil poet Subramania Bharati to write his magnificent epyllion, *Panchali Sapatham*. Kannaki who was iconised in *Silappadhikaram* itself is worshipped in South India and Sri Lanka.

Yes. The epic heroines and heroines in history faced such challenges with great determination. Mahatma Gandhi held such a view, as I see from his correspondence with my mother-in-law, Srimati Ranganayaki Thatham.

Obviously she had problems in the family and had been advised patience by Gandhi. When she retorted angrily to his advice whether she should blind her eyes like Gandhari, he replied suavely and to the point that Ranganayaki should not accept literally all that is written in the *Mahabharata*. Gandhari could have served her husband better if she had kept her eyes open. The self-binding of her eyes must be taken as a symbol and no more. "Do not bind your eyes literally or metaphorically. Use them and serve your husband well. Serving one's husband is not blind adoration. When her husbands were helpless, did not Draupadi speak angrily to them?"

Coming back to the subject, we find that caste has never favoured the talented woman. Yet there is the 16th century Telugu poetess Molla whom Nabaneeta Dev Sen admires no end. Molla was doubly tainted, being a Sudra, says Dr. Nabaneeta:

"Although Molla is very popular today, she was silenced in her time, her *Ramayana* barred from the King's court. The potter's daughter, turned classical poet, was rejected because of her caste and gender. Literary excellence was not enough to win recognition in the court."

However, it must be admitted that caste and gender have never been too oppressive for people who joined the stream of Bhakti Movement. When the Western influence and English education allowed new breeze to blow across our land, a transformation in creative writing began in a big way. People went back to epic heroes and heroines as well as historical personalities. Sri Aurobindo finds this a great help for the creative artist who is interested in conveying a message to the audience.

"the plot known,  
It (the mind) is at leisure and may cull in running  
Those delicate, scarcely heeded strokes, which lost  
Perfection's disappointed. There art comes in  
To justify genius. Being old besides  
The subject occupies creative Labour  
To make old new. The other's but invention,  
A frail thing, though a gracious. He's creator  
Who greatly handles great material "

"He's creator / Who greatly handles great material."  
India's classical myths and legends provide great material. Sita is one such great material. We have such a great creator in Kumaran Asan who wrote

Swami Vivekananda gave us something which brings us a certain pride in our inheritance.

He did not spare us, he talked of our weaknesses and failings too. Jawaharlal Nehru

*Chintavishtayaya Sita* in 1919. According to Sukumar Azhikode, Sita is seen here as “a critical, sharp-tongued, passionate woman speaking out for the legitimate rights of the women of all times”, and yet she calms down remembering her father’s ways described by Valmiki, for she is full of sorrow and the glow of the Eternal Feminine. She tells herself that even towards someone who has treated her so unfairly, she should not have hatred:

“My thoughts are carried back  
To the selfsame love you so tenderly  
Bore in your heart for all creation,  
Tree or bird or beast, the same affection you  
Had for men and gods alike.”

The conclusion in Kumaran Asan’s reading of Sita is so natural, not quite unexpected but has a terrible beauty about it all the same. After the entire narrative based in the sylvan surroundings of Valmiki’s hermitage where Sita had sat in reverie comes to a conclusion, we enter the Court of Ayodhya for those few, last lines:

“Her comely head bent and eyes fastened on The feet of the Sage conducting his precious Charge to her husband’s court, Sita followed Him where the great nobles waited upon

The king. She spoke no word. She gave one look At her husband’s anguished face. A glance  
At the assembled court. The next moment  
She had released herself and stepped across  
The great divide.”

This is how myths are transformed to gain entry into contemporary hearts. No coming of Vasundhara from the depths of the earth seated on a throne. *Chintavishtayaya Sita* was a great favorite of my father, Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar. He knew no *Malayalam*, but he used to read with wet eyes Bhaskaran’s translation, and the poem inspired father to insert an extended, powerful soliloquy of Sita in his English epic *Sitayana*, bring her further down to our own times making her cogitate on issues like the Nuclear Horror.

Looking back on our classical myths and legends, it is wonderful to note how writers have been re-formatting these works to help woman fight back. Draupadi is brought to the Pandava court and held out as the property of the Kauravas. Is woman no more than a chattel that can be bought and sold, that can be won or lost in a game of dice? When appealed to by Draupadi, Bhishma is

helpless and talks of the sanctions of Dharma in this version by the renowned poet Subramania Bharati:

“Dharma sanctions  
Your sale as a slave.  
I know what they do here  
Is repugnant beyond measure.  
But Sastras and customs  
Are alike against you.  
Impotent am I to halt this evil.”

Draupadi answers:

Finely, bravely spoken Sir!  
When treacherous Ravana, having carried away  
And lodged Sita in his garden,  
Called his ministers and law-givers  
And told them the deed he had done,  
These same wise old advisers declared:  
Thou hast done the proper thing:  
Twill square with dharma’s claims!  
When the demon king rules the land  
Needs must the sastras feed on filth!...

Menaka demanding a place by his side in the throne, Viswamitra can do nothing but run away. And that is exactly what he does!

There have also been other ways of looking at our epic heroines. Remember, their lives have not been in vain. We would do well to conclude with Savitri whose story of *paativratya* (Vowed to her Husband) I am afraid has not been rightly understood in a male-dominated society that has sought to trap female chastity with iron chains. Savitri’s story is not regressive at all. If we get back to the original Upakhyaana in the Mahabharata, we would see her as very brave, very free, very loving and very duty-conscious, the ideal woman who can uplift a whole race. Unfortunately the twists and turns of Katha-telling has made her into one who played a cheap trick on Yama by asking for one hundred children. He granted her request and then, says the modern narrator, Yama realised the faux pas and had to release Satyavan’s life, lest the ideal of female chastity get tarnished.

On the contrary, in Vyasa’s narrative, Savitri emerges as a strong lady who first empowered herself before facing the crisis. Vyasa tells us that three days prior to the day foretold by Rishi Narad, Savitri undertook the rigorous Three-nights Vow, *Tri-ratra Vrata*. She fasted, meditated day and night and stood still appearing

like a block of wood (*kaashtabhuteva*). On the concluding day she performed a fire-sacrifice. Now what does the Tri-ratra vrata signify?

The Vedas are seen to have two major divisions: Purva Mimamsa (Rituals) & Uttara Mimamsa (Philosophy). According to the Path of Purva Mimamsa, it is not merely faith in one receiving the fruits of the rituals. We are told that a power descends into the person performing it and remains with him till the fruits are realized.

“The Mimamsakas have attempted to answer the question how a remote result, say, the attainment of heaven, is obtained by an action such as a sacrifice, which belongs to and in fact ceases in the present. Injunctive texts ordain that the fruits, namely, heaven and the like, should be achieved by sacrifices such as darsa-paurnamasa. And this implies that the sacrifice is means to the fruit, viz. Heaven. A sacrifice is the nature of an action which is very soon lost. Hence the instrumentality of the sacrifice to the fruit which is to take place at a distant time is hardly possible. To establish this instrumentality, which is propounded by the Sruti, between sacrifice and heaven, an invisible potency is admitted which issues from the sacrifice and which endures till the fruit is generated and which resides in the soul of the sacrificer. This is called *apurva*. It ceases on producing the result...It is a power in the sacrifice.”

No doubt Savitri's aim had been non-widowhood (*avaidhavya*). She needed a power to help her achieve it and the Vedic ritualism gave her such a power. There is no other explanation for Savitri's ability to follow Yama beyond the earth when the dire god was taking away Satyavan's "thumb-sized life". This is mentioned clearly by Vyasa. *Niyamavrata samsiddhaa mahabhaagaa pativrataa*.

In the end, Rama gives in for he really loves her no end. And then says something which I have always wondered whether Rama was not testing the woman in Sita, after all. What do we hear today all the time when men chat? Or exchange emails? Ah, women are possessive of material things, they love luxury, jewels, sarees, scents ... Anyway Valmiki's Rama tells her that prior to going, she will have to give away quickly all her possessions.

Apparently Rama does not know the in-depth psyche of women. Sita smiled immediately, says Valmiki. Was it due to happiness at her having won the day or was there a trace of derision at the way a man's mind moves? All that we know is that Sita is ready to sacrifice the frills of everyday living at a moment's notice, and with a smile.

Saluting this smiling *manasvini*, Sita, I wish the Conference a happy, purposeful, interactive, creative, enlightening and beautiful time of discussions and reliving the experiences presented on the stage by your team of brilliant artistes who have come here from all over the world. Thank you.

(CPS offers its grateful thanks to Dr Mrs Prema Nandakumar for her kind permission to publish excerpts from her address)



## A SITE RECREATED FROM A CLASSIC

Prof. Manoj Das

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

Twilight was changing into night and we drove through long stretches of rocky lands and hamlets resigned to early rest. From a distance came some stray strains of a concert, marking the interlude in a village opera.

Our chauffeur surely deserved a cup of coffee after hours of driving. We stopped when the distant music had been swallowed up by the growling of a dog guarding a roadside kiosk. A patch of weak light from the shop showed a huge arch beside it. I took a brief stroll enjoying the mild moonlight and refreshing breeze while waiting for the oven in the kiosk to recover its lost heat.

No, there was no sign of any shrine nearby, nor any ruins, to justify the beautiful arch. Moreover, though classical in its design, it appeared to be new.

'Well, Sir, this is the first of the arches we must cross to reach Pimpri,' said Mr. Perumal, my alert guide, holding out to me my cup of coffee. He had anticipated my curiosity. A few more arches would be there to welcome us to that prize site - all named after

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the major characters in the classic *Silappadikaram*: Kannagi, Kovalan and Madhavi.'

In the eighties of the 20th century there were still a few English publications left which valued creative fiction and features, and prominent among them was *Imprint*. My whirlwind 12-day travel project of Tamil Nadu emerged out of a dialogue between the state government's secretary for the department of culture and the publishers of that monthly (since crushed by the steamrolling newsmagazines), the former requesting the latter to carry an elaborate article on Tamil Nadu and the latter consenting to the proposal on the condition that it must be written by a creative writer, their choice falling on me.

My goddess of luck must have inspired the authorities to choose not only a new car for me, but also my team consisting of a courteous young driver, a gifted photographer who was also a mechanic, and a suave guide. For the first two days I used to be intrigued by common people greeting me with broad smiles wherever we stopped. By and by, through intense attention paid to the conversations between such people and my driver, I succeeded in resolving the mystery. My driver had been the favourite of the matinee-idol-turned-chief minister, MGR. Hence the passenger he carried must be someone of proximity to that superman.

And the photographer evidently belonged to an extinct species of gentlemen. It took me five days to find out that he was a smoker, for he would engage in that habit hiding from me and wash his mouth before taking seat beside the driver.

It was not yet midnight when at last I could hear that eternally sublime sound - the roar of the sea. We had reached the shores beyond which lay a submerged city – Pumpuhar or Puhar or Kaveripattinam, the backdrop of the events narrated in *Silappadikaram* by Prince Ilango Adigal, written in the early part of the A.D. 3rd century, if not earlier.

The city was an affluent port 2,500 years ago, harbouring merchant ships from Rome, Greece and other distant places, visited by savants like Pliny. It was also the capital of the Cholas. It was an Utopia so far as safety and security were concerned. Valuable merchandise could be left unguarded and shopkeepers went home for the night leaving the doors of their establishments unlocked. If ever a thief entered the city, he would suddenly be lifted and hurled out of its walls, often meeting an instant death or, carrying the booty, he would

be obliged to roam the city all night, unable to find his way out. This was possible because an invisible genie kept watch on the city. He loved to play pranks on intruders.

"There was a miraculous pond where the lame, the mute, the deaf, or the leprosy, by bathing in its waters or walking round it, could recover beauty, strength and health. In an open square stood a tall, polished monolith. Men driven mad by an excess of drugs, paralyzed by poison, bitten by sharp-toothed snakes, or possessed by spirits, found instant relief by walking round it and worshipping it. There was a crossing of four roads where lived a fierce genie. His voice could be heard ten leagues away when he shouted that he would bind, beat and devour imposters dressed as monks to dissimulate their misdeeds, crafty women addicted to secret vice, dishonest ministers, lewd seducers of others' wives, and all bearers of false witness and gossip. There was also a square where stood a rare statue, the lips of which never parted, but which shed tears when the monarch transgressed the law or failed to render justice. In these five notable places daily sacrifices were offered by wise people who understood their mystery." (*Shilappadikaram*, translated by Alain Danielou, George Allen & Unwin, London)

Our car stopped before a small house. 'Please go to sleep inside the conchshell. We will hide inside an oyster,' said my guide.

I surveyed my shelter in the faint moonlight. It was indeed in a shape of a conchshell, elegant and beautiful. A narrow curling passage took me to the solitary room on the upper floor, overlooking the sea and the estuary though I could not see them at night. But I could see the contours of the row of houses a short distance away, made in the form of oysters.

Had I arrived in a magic land? I do not know if there was another place anywhere on earth where institutions mentioned in an old classic had been recreated. As I walked along the seashore early in the morning and marvelled at those imaginatively recreated monuments one after another, I felt convinced that the new Pumpuhar hardly received the attention it deserved. No doubt, its attraction depended on one's knowledge of the *Silappadikaram*, literally meaning the "Ankle Bracelet" - one of the most moving stories ever written. But of that later.

I stood on the estuary of the Kaveri for long. A bone of contention among more than two states today, the

river was the symbol of love and sympathy between two kingdoms according to the legend of its origin.

That was in the mythical times. One day, the great sage Agastya, who had come from the north and made the south his home, happened to meet a prince who looked distraught and depressed because of a severe drought in his kingdom. He did not know what to do about it.

The sage had just come down from the Sahyadri hills in the kingdom of Coorg. While in meditation there, he had come to know that a new river was about to emerge from the hills. He led the prince to the king of Coorg. 'O noble King, let the stream in the offing be directed towards the Tamil land,' was the sage's suggestion. The king accepted it with humility.

Workmen stood ready with their equipment and the sage sat in meditation, invoking the spirit of the river at the foot of the Sahyadri. As soon as the waterfall came down, the workmen dug the earth to channel it in the required direction. The sage named the river Kaveri, after the king of Coorg who was Kavera.

Much water had since flowed down the Kaveri. Much had changed in man's attitude to rivers and to nature in general. Some excavations had been made to trace the remains of the submerged Pampuhar. It had started yielding encouraging results. But the project was abandoned probably for lack of funds. Hence the city remains a fairytale wonder as sung in the Silappadikaram:

Blessed be Puhar the city of wonders!  
Blessed be the city of wonders,  
Immortal testimony to the power  
Of a glorious line of kings  
Whose fame has spread to every land  
The boundless sea surrounds.



## Rethinking Nehru

**Dr Uday Balakrishnan**

Centre for Contemporary Studies

Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

Until recently Visiting Fellow, Central European

University, Budapest

Jawaharlal Nehru's is a very durable image and a benign one at that. Along with Mahatma Gandhi, he endures in memory as one of India's two greatest and most loved figures in history

Nehru was undoubtedly a great unifying force and

India owes a big debt of gratitude for laying the foundations of a free and secular state. He was lucky too, for he had enough time to consolidate his recently brought-together country, something his archrival and bitter critic Jinnah never had with Pakistan. Not since Ashoka the Great has an Indian held sway over so much of the sub continent as Nehru had and with as much passion for doing good.

India could not have survived partition yet remained secular without Nehru at the top. It was his personality and the confidence that he exuded which inspired all Indians and gave confidence to its many minorities to be proudly Indian.

Except for a ghastly exodus in the wake of Partition, no Muslim or, for that matter, any other member of a religious minority has had to flee the country fearing religious persecution of any kind. India continues to remain improbably secular and, however flawed, a functioning democracy. Indians have little fear of an unsettling queue *coup* and they are robustly confident that whatever Government comes in, it will have to swear by secularism and sustain it. The Emergency notwithstanding, there is also no fear of a dictator taking over India.

All these positives are because Nehru stayed long enough at the helm and did a great job of consolidating a recently brought together country in 1947. His first cabinet included well-known opponents of the Congress Party - Shankmukham Chetty no less than Shyam Prasad Mukherjee. There was no element of tokenism in this gesture; Chetty got the critical finance portfolio and Mukherjee industries.

So far, all these achievements have sustained a beatific image of free India's first Prime Minister. However, only the distance of time can impart a sense of perspective. Nearly fifty years after his demise, a re-evaluation of the Nehru legacy is on and some of the warts that always showed are finally beginning to be talked about. The liberalisation of the economy brought into the open a rather flawed economic model with which Nehru blitzed the country. Far from leading to rapid growth, it stuck India with the bureaucratic mantle of the licence raj with all its attendant shortcomings and a lamentable lack of growth.

Corruption, massive waste of public funds and a foul labour policy continue to handicap the country's

The idea of being green does not just mean the environment, it is a philosophy for life.  
Choki Dukpa (a teacher in Bhutan) quoted in the *Guardian Weekly* 7-12-2012

economic development. By giving organized labour a power it never deserved and which it consistently abused Nehru also created a monster that has bedevilled India since independence and in an increasingly globalizing world severely handicapped India's competitiveness. After consuming public funds in billions of rupees, there is not one Indian public sector undertaking - another of Nehru's creations- which is world class, well run or even remotely inventive. A more sensibly implemented land reform policy would have seen India consolidate as an agricultural powerhouse especially after the green revolution. Finally Nehru practised nepotism on a grand scale - to name the most obvious and also heading the list- are his sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit who was a poor choice to be free India's first envoy to Russia ( she never could present her credentials to a Stalin who simply ignored her), his literary and intellectual companion and well known braggart, Krishna Menon who made more enemies for India than any other person in contemporary history, and not to forget the infamous General Kaul who led the country into a losing war with China from the safety of a hospital bed, far removed from the battlefields.

Nehru overestimated his grasp of the world around him and utterly lacked strategic thinking. We can therefore unhesitatingly assert and attribute the formidable rise of Pakistan from a weak, fledgling new-born state to a formidable military and nuclear power, to the rank amateurism and naivety of his foreign policy. It was the same policy that saw him make common cause with ruthless dictators like Sukarno of Indonesia and Gamal Nasser of Egypt, yield too soon to China on Tibet while taking indecently long to come out against the invasion of Hungary by the then USSR in 1956. No one is more responsible for Pakistan becoming a formidable enemy and a world threatening nuclear power than Nehru. He of course compounded the problem by his inept handling of China. Nehru was a strategist's nightmare and by the time he died, India had not one but two enemies sharing its borders where none should have been there in the first place.

Nehru was responsible for marginalizing the worst off primarily through a flawed and elitist education policy that continues to punish India long after his demise. The country today is in the unhappy position of having the world's largest number of undereducated and underskilled young unfit for anything more than hard, backbreaking physical work. A lack of focus on

infrastructure that matters has led to systems that serve the rich while leaving the poor severely handicapped with not even pavements to walk on or safe water to drink.

Nehru, for all his love for India, was rarely comfortable with Indians. His kind was the white educated western elite like Cripps and Galbraith and as his 'Letters to Chief Ministers' brings out, how a slight criticism in the western press hurt him more than anything said in the Indian media. He would willingly spare hours of his time to talk to a westerner and had the English snob's disparaging attitude to the Americans.

It is not my intention to run a great Indian down which Nehru undoubtedly was, but to highlight some of his serious flaws - of character as much as of will. If we are to become a mature country a beginning needs to be made by learning to appreciate our best while being fully aware of their flaws.



## **'OUR SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE NEED SOME FINE-TUNING'**

( Newspaper report on a symposium on Constitution and Polity, organized by Centre for Policy Studies on January 18, 2013)

VISAKHAPATNAM: Indian democracy needs to guard itself against the growing stranglehold of corporate culture over institutions, elected representatives and those in seats of authority.

The time has come to finetune our systems of governance by renewing faith in constitutional values and public morality in order to build India as a vibrant democracy, said participants at a symposium on Constitution and Polity.

Speaking at the symposium organised by the Centre for Policy Studies, Gayatri Vidya Parishad, here on Thursday Director of Law School of GITAM University Y. Satyanarayana said: "We have to blame ourselves for failing to translate the goals set by our founding fathers into a reality."

Dr B.R Ambedkar and other architects of our Constitution provided for coequal status between the Union and States, he pointed out. Quoting noted jurist Nani Palkhivala, he said that the most outstanding men are standing out of politics in the country.

Lamenting the rise of leader-centric regional

political parties and lack of inner party democracy, retired professor of Andhra University K Ravi called for a strong Combudsmen empowered to oversee the functioning of the judiciary as well.

The Supreme Court, considered the repository of constitutional wisdom, had failed to deliver justice at critical times like during the Emergency, advocate K. Rama Murthy said.

He was critical of the misuse of public-private partnership which resulted in privatisation of profits and nationalisation of losses. He called for restoration of spiritual and moral values in life. , Introducing the theme, director of Centre for Policy Studies A. Prasanna Kumar recalled Dr. Ambedkar's words that empowerment of people at the grassroots-level was essential to strengthen our system of governance.

He recalled the speech in Parliament of the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi while introducing the 73rd and 74th amendment of Constitu-tion where the then Prime Minister said: "Bureaucratic oppression, technocratic tyranny, crass inefficiency, bribery, robbery, nepotism, corruption and millions of other malfeasances afflict the poor of our villages, towns and cities."

While India may claim to have more than 50 billionaires a depressing fact was that it has as many people as they were at the time of Independence today living below the poverty line, Prof. Prasanna Kumar said.

Courtesy : *The Hindu* January 18,2013



## THE ART OF LIVING SPIRITUAL

- Sri C. Siva Sankaram

God the unmoved mover and the supreme impalpable consciousness sought refuge in the benign bosom of Mother Nature. Man is the highest product of nature. In upanishadic parlance Nature is known as *Maya*. *Mulaprakriti* and *Avidya* etc. God as spirit remains eternally vigilant to sustain the movement or locomotion of life to go on without cease. Manas the prime adjunct of spirit enjoys a preeminent place out of all the sense organs.

Man, to express in simple terms, is the virile manifestation of God. God designed man by the material participation of Mother Nature in such fashion that He can reveal himself through him. This prerogative of man confirmed that he is the fondling of Nature and efficient

messenger of His message. God is comprehensible neither to word nor to mind. Manas as will is indecisive and capricious and therefore no wise counsel.

For the realization of the knowledge of esoteric Omniscience and impersonal Omnipresence of God and the ageless passage of man as the chosen manifestation of God there have been set certain principles and oblations by the seer who saw God face to face. The Upanishad said in no uncertain terms, "Atmanyeva atmanam pasyest". God is seen by the God realized only. The so-called death does not presage utter perdition of life - Death is but absorption in God who is in other words Infinite Ananda.

Spiritual life demands of man to be virtuous, religious and above all highly human. The central and salient feature of humanistic eminence is the time tested and ageold dicta of live and let live and give and take.

Purity, patience and perseverance are the principal virtues conducive to harmony in human relations and consequent culmination in self-realization. High moral certitude, ethical excellence are essential for the triumphant acquirement of the art of living spiritual. Fear, doubt and looking askance at things religious preclude the person from attaining the end. Anxiety, irritation are thorny impediments on the way of progress and they would precipitate inertia, the archfoe of the seeker. Both in the worldly and in otherworldly life courage fares well, courage excavates the dormant treasure of spirit kept ignored by man engrossed in the dross of temporal cares and ephemeral concerns:

Purity by its tenet of chastity as the guarantee against falsity paves the way to consummate art of living spiritual. It brings about rapport and reconciliation which are the hall-mark of finer human being.

Patience applied with critical clarity and judicious apprehension of given circumstances yield dividend of sublime character that helps sustain notions of common parentage, common ends and common goals.

Perseverance quells the attempts of pessimism to gain foothold in man adhered to the life of action towards perfection in the art of living spiritual. Optimism and robust confidence in oneself will creep in as one perseveres in pursuit of the issue that baffles solution. Perseverance steels the frame not to vacillate, not to get dejected- Dejection is sign of pusillanimity and haven of

Government by organized money is as dangerous as government by organized mob.

Franklin Roosevelt

despondency. We must know that most of the ills afflicting the governance of countries are due to lack of purity, patience and perseverance and spiritual dynamism on the part of the men at the helm of affairs.

Daya, damam and danam are yet another triad that can carve out of common-man, a man of divinity which, infact he is. Daya as sympathetic benevolence possesses the element of transforming the person moved by Daya at the sight of the plight of the unlucky man into the condition and place of the unlucky man and makes him believe that doling out alms as sharing with a fellow human difference only in appearance. In sympathetic benevolence there lies no room for likes and dislikes. It is sheer grace for the sake of grace.

The giver, the thing given and the recipient are one and the same. This is the enduring and edifying service rendered by the adwaita vedanta of Sri Samkara. Adwaita's main tenet of non-duality and monism felled the vicious tree of dogma, schism and pluralism. There is no all at all. "Ekamevaadviteeyam Brahma". God is one only. It is the impersonal supramental consciousness or the Oversoul of Ralph W.Bmerson or the Overmind of Sri Aurobindo.

Damam the second of the triad denotes mortification and flesh and self conquest eminently fits in to transform man from becoming to Being. Damam raises man from deacease to infinity, from nescience to wisdom and from the limited to the unlimited. The

emphasis laid by Taittireeya Upanishad on Damam is striking, educative and instructive.

The last but not the least of the triad is danam. In the Latin it is spelt as donum. The concluding *Anuvakam* or Chapter of *Mahanarayana Upanishad* states quite convincingly that danam is effective in converting an arch enemy into affectionate well wisher. Danam does not look for reward or recognition. It is the unobtrusive outcome of a pure patient and perseverant heart saturated with the ambrosia of Adwaita vedanta.

Thus the three Ps and the three Ds have decisive sway over the art of living spiritual. Man grows from virtue to higher virtue as the glitter of the shallow ephemerality gets reduced to ash by the all consuming fire of *Adhyatma Vidya*. Srikrishna proclaims His identity with *Adhyatma Vidya* in the Gita.

Aum Tat Sat.



CPS mourns the demise of Ms P.Jaganmohini, senior advocate, President Ba Bapu Seva Sangham and Member of the Advisory Board of Centre for Policy Studies and places on record its deep appreciation of her active participation in and support for the activities of CPS.

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