



# BULLETIN

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

### **GANDHIAN LEGACY** *light in the midst of darkness*

'At the time that communal unity possessed me, I was a lad twelve years old,' said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi whose 'boyhood dream' was 'amity' between Hindus, Muslims and Parsis. (Rajmohan Gandhi *MOHANDAS* p.6). It was no ordinary coincidence that the Indian National Congress founded by an Englishman four years later had a Hindu as its first president in December 1885 at Bombay, followed by a Parsi at Calcutta in 1886, a Muslim at Madras in 1887 and an Englishman at Allahabad in 1888. The continuation of this pattern in the years that followed marked the consolidation of cultural pluralism and secularism. The exhortation of the founder of the Indian National Congress Allan Octavian Hume to India's youth 'to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfading guides to freedom and happiness' was timely and appropriate.

Mohandas, the boy from Porbandar who imbibed such values as cultural pluralism and oneness of human spirit at the Rajkot school, knelt at his mother's feet promising to lead a life of purity and discipline before going to England to become a barrister. South Africa, where lawyer Gandhi spent more than two decades of his early life braving a torrent of insults and physical assaults, transformed Mohandas into a crusader for the down-trodden and champion of non-violent movement against arbitrary and racist authorities. 1906 was a turning point in his life and in the history of the modern world as well. Satyagraha was born in South Africa. Its power was such that as Ramachandra Guha quotes from a Kannada weekly "not a sword was drawn not a gun fired.....but heroism displayed by Mr.Gandhi in making inequity's defeat its own end is without a parallel." As Guha sums up quoting a letter of a South African friend 'you gave us a lawyer and we gave you a Mahatma.' Gandhi himself described satyagraha as 'perhaps the mightiest instrument on earth.'

India was in a state of disarray, if not chaos, when Mahatma Gandhi returned to his motherland. His mission was to liberate the groaning millions of his countrymen from the yoke of foreign rule and to emancipate them from

exploitation and injustice. The suit-wearing barrister from England who had become an iconic crusader for the non-white oppressed South Africans returned to India to a hero's welcome. He swung into action with his weapons of satyagraha, non-violence and love. As Rajmohan Gandhi movingly narrates the transformation quoting an Arab poet Mikhail Noema: "The spindle in Gandhi's hand became sharper than the sword; the simple white sheet wrapping Gandhi's thin body was an armour plate which guns from the fleets of the Master of the Seas could not pierce; and the great goat of Gandhi became stronger than the British lion". The rest is history, brilliantly summed up by Romain Rolland thus: "Mahatma Gandhi has raised up three hundred millions of his fellow men, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the world has seen for nearly two thousand years."

Gandhiji epitomized the power of love, compassion and forgiveness. In personal life there were occasions when he sought the forgiveness of even his kin when he felt that the occasion demanded it. To his angry and protesting son he once gently said "Forgive your father, if you think he has done you wrong." His saintliness stunned and silenced his harshest critics, be they the venom-spewing political adversaries or sulking near ones. He was likened to the Buddha and Christ. No wonder that some Christian missionaries from England said during their visit to India that they saw Christ in Sevagram.

The question that haunts humanity in the world of today afflicted with lust for power, endless greed for wealth, violence, corruption and growing poverty is whether there is any hope for the future. The answer lies in the legacy bequeathed by Mahatma Gandhi that is light in the midst of darkness. As Kingsley Martin put it "Gandhi's life and death will remain a witness to the faith that men may still overcome misery, cruelty and violence by Truth and Love." This day, every year, we reaffirm our faith in those timeless values that constitute a beacon of hope for the future.  
- The Editor

Gandhiji was, in more senses than one, a truly atomic man in an atomic age, a glorious triumph of moral and spiritual powers over all the material forces that the world can boast of!  
- Shriman Narayan

## Mahatma Gandhi - 146<sup>th</sup> Birth Anniversary

**Ramachandra Guha** : There are some striking resemblances between the central character in this story and his counterpart in the great Indian epic, the Ramayana. The hero of that story, Lord Ram, also travels long distances, sometimes willingly, at other times unwillingly. He too spends long periods in exile, and has a loyal and very supportive wife, whom (like Gandhi) he does not always treat with the respect and understanding she deserves. He is also a man of high moral character, who occasionally entertains dark and dangerous thoughts. Both Gandhi and Ram have powerful adversaries, who are not without a certain appeal of their own. Both men could not have done what they did, one in myth and the other in reality, without the self-effacing support of very many others. And both have enjoyed a vigorous and contentious after-life.

(From '*Gandhi Before India*', Allen Lane by Penguin Books, 2013)

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**Rajmohan Gandhi**: That Gandhi, the spirit that wanted to bless and forgive his assassin, even as it wanted to bless and forgive all the grudge-bearing residents of India, Pakistan, and the world – the spirit that brought the chadariya's hands together and wanted to take the name of God at the moment of death, that Gandhi the bullets did not kill. They only released that Gandhi for the ages and the continents.

(From "*Mohandas - A True Story of a Man, his People and an Empire*" by Rajmohan Gandhi, Viking by Penguin Books India 2006.)

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**William L. Shirer**: A humble seeker of the truth who, like Christ, chose to live among the poor and work for them and who practised what he preached and who even in the quick-sands of politics was ruthlessly honest. .... Gandhi was my greatest teacher, not only by what he said and wrote and did, but by the example he set.....The example of his life, like theirs, his search for Truth, as they sought Truth, his humility, his selflessness, which was akin to theirs, his granite integrity, and what he taught and practised and accomplished were bound to leave an indelible imprint on this earth. *Satyagraha*, his supreme achievement, taught us all that there was a greater power in life than force, which seemed to have ruled the planet since

men first sprouted on it. That power lay in the spirit, in Truth and love, in non-violent action.....For those of us who glimpsed, however briefly, Gandhi's use of it, who had the luck, for however short a time, to be in his radiant presence and to feel his greatness – and not many of us are still alive, as I write – it was an experience that enriched and deepened our lives as no other did.

I am grateful that fate took me to him.

'Two of my oldest friends and colleagues, Vincent Sheean and Edgar Snow, were standing a few feet away when they heard the fatal shots ring out. They have left memorable accounts of that tragic evening on the lawn of Birla House in New Delhi.

Jimmy Sheean had had a premonition of Gandhi's death. One day early in November 1947, he phoned me in New York and implored me to come over immediately and tell him what I know of the Mahatma.

"Gandhi is going to die soon," he said when I arrived at his apartment. "I've got to go out to India and see him before he is gone. There is something he alone can teach me about the meaning, purpose and significance of life."

"He taught me a lot," I said.

- From '*Gandhi – A Memoir*' by William L. Shirer published by Rupa & Co., 1979, pp 204

**Edgar Snow**: What I remember about being at Birla House the night Gandhi was killed (it began) was how much more terrible a moment it was than anyone can describe in words. Men and women did not really grieve.....for Gandhi, who died almost instantly and who through the window over the low porch could be seen lying with a face serene and peaceful. But each man mourned for something in himself left without a friend, a personal sorrow, as if fate had seized an intimate treasure that one had always assumed would be there....

This small man, so full of a large love of men, extended beyond India and beyond time.....There was a mirror in the Mahatma in which everyone could see the best in himself, and when the mirror broke, it seemed that the thing in oneself might be fled forever.

(From '*Gandhi – A Memoir*' by William L. Shirer)



My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force.  
It has no room for cowardice or room for weakness.

- Mahatma Gandhi

## Martyrdom

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Gandhi has paid the penalty of all who are ahead of their time, misunderstanding, hatred, reaction, violent death. "The light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not." The struggle between light and darkness, between love and hate, between reason and unreason which is at the heart of the cosmic is shown up by this most moving tragedy of our age. We made Socrates drink death; we nailed Jesus to the Cross; we lighted faggots that burnt the medieval martyrs. We have stoned and killed our prophets. Gandhi has not escaped the fate of being misunderstood and hated. He has met his death facing the forces of darkness, of ultimate unreason, and through it has increased the powers of light, love and reason. Who knows if Christianity would have developed had Jesus not been crucified?

Years ago Romain Rolland declared that he regarded Gandhi as a "Christ who only lacked the Cross." We have now given him the Cross also. Gandhi's death was a classical ending to his life. He died with the name of God on his lips and love in his heart. Even as he received the bullet wounds, he greeted his murderer and wished him well. He lived up to what he preached.

Possessed and inspired by the highest ideals of which "human nature is capable, preaching and practising fearlessly the truth revealed to him, leading almost alone what seemed to be a forlorn hope against the impregnable strongholds of greed and folly, yet facing tremendous odds with a calm resolution which yielded nothing to ridicule or danger. Gandhi presented to his unbelieving world all that is noblest in the spirit of man. He illumined human dignity by faith in the eternal significance of man's effort. He belongs to the type that redeems the human race.

If Gandhi was able to rid himself of all rancour and hatred, to develop that flame of love which burnt up all impurities, if he feared no evil even though he walked in the valley of the shadow of death, if he represented to us the eternal voice of hope, it is because he believed in the heritage of India, the power of the inward life of spirit. When problems material and spiritual crowded upon him, when conflicting emotions shook him, when troubles oppressed him, he retired at will into the retreats of the soul, into the secret corridors of the self to gain strength and

refreshment. His life has revived and refreshed our sense of the meaning and value of religion. Such men who are filled with spiritual poise and yet take upon themselves the burden of suffering humanity are born into the world at long intervals. We have killed his body, but the spirit in him which is a light from above will penetrate far into space and time and inspire countless generations for nobler living.

yad-yad vibhutimat sattvam  
srimad urjitam eva va  
tat-tad eva'vagaccha tvam  
mama tejo amsasambhavam

Whatever being there is endowed with glory and grace and vigour, know that to have sprung from a fragment of My splendour.—*Bhagavadgita* X. 41.

'To be true, to be simple, to be pure and gentle of heart, to remain cheerful and contented in sorrow and danger, to love life and not to fear death, to serve the Spirit and not to be haunted by the spirits of the dead, nothing better has ever been taught or lived since the world first began.'

(*Mahatma Gandhi a reader* edited by S. Radhakrishnan, 1948)

### 'no ordinary light'

'A beacon', 'an extraordinary paradox', 'no ordinary light' was how Gandhiji was described. "Generations to come it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth", wrote Einstein. Christian missionaries from Europe felt that Christ lived in the 20th century at Sevagram. Rajaji saw a parallel in the death of Sri Krishna and Gandhi—life sucked away by a hunter's arrow then and by an assassin's bullet in 1948. Rajmohan Gandhi saw in his grandfather another epic hero Rama who went into exile when he should have been crowned. The devout saw in Gandhiji Sri Krishna's spiritual gaiety and playfulness, Sri Rama's adherence to Truth and Dharma and Jesus Christ's suffering and sacrifice. Atheists and rationalists were struck by the practical approach of Gandhiji. To Nehru, Gandhi appeared in different avatars - 'a perfect artist' in life and death and 'a king' in loin cloth and bare body.

(from *Footprints of Divinity*, a CPS Publication)



Life has to be spent in accumulating virtue and safeguarding virtue, not riches.

- Sri Satya Sai Baba

## 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF 1965 WAR: LESSONS REMAIN ELUSIVE

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The 50th anniversary of the 1965 war covertly initiated by Pakistan against India is being recalled by the Narendra Modi government in a month-long celebratory commemoration that commenced on August 28 (Friday) – the day when Indian troops captured the Haji Pir pass. This political decision to commemorate the 1965 war is a departure from earlier practice when Congress-led governments preferred to keep a low profile about India's rich military history, and this was most evident in 1995 – when the P.V. Narasimha Rao government chose (wrongly, in my view) to stay away from the 50th anniversary recall of World War II and the United Progressive Alliance-II ensured that the 40th anniversary of the 1971 war was muted.

However, the Friday recall of the martyrs of 1965 was led by President Pranab Mukherjee who laid a wreath at India Gate and this was followed by Prime Minister Modi who paid tribute through a tweet: "I bow to all the brave soldiers who fought for our motherland." And to add to the encomiums showered by political leaders, Congress party president Sonia Gandhi recalled party detail when she noted: "Under the able leadership of PM Lal Bahadur Shastri and defence minister Y.B. Chavan, the Indian armed force displayed exemplary courage."

This is indeed a rare and welcome departure from the experience of the last seven decades when the Indian military and its contribution in the larger national endeavour has often been glossed over – except briefly after the emphatic 1971 military victory that led to the birth of Bangladesh. However, even at the time, the shabby treatment meted out to Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw by the Indira Gandhi government was perceived as the extension of an institutional disparaging of the Indian military and 'keep-them-at-a-distance' attitude that is deeply embedded in the Indian political psyche.

Thus the President of India leading the nation to recall a long forgotten war was welcome departure – but the fact that a section of the retired military community decided to boycott the 1965 commemoration in protest over the delay in the OROP (one-rank-one pension) is reflective of the many complexities and contradictions that envelop the month-long celebrations.

Did India win the 1965 war? This is a question that was raised in many quarters when the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government announced its intent to 'celebrate' the 50th anniversary of the war, and the answer is mixed. If a war is to be assessed through number crunching by way of comparing lives lost, prisoners taken, major platforms destroyed and territory captured – then India did emerge as the victor. But it was a slender victory, and the margin was nowhere as emphatic as it was in 1971 when India dismembered Pakistan, helped create a new state, captured 93,000 PoWs and obtained the surrender of the Pakistani military.

Most objective assent about the 1965 war is agreed that Pakistan began this war and tried to use infiltrators to stoke local sentiment in Kashmir but were foiled – much to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's dismay. One of the more informed assessments of the 1965 war by a veteran US diplomat and historian Dennis Kux concludes: "Although both sides lost heavily in men and material, and neither gained a decisive military advantage, India had the better of the war. New Delhi achieved its basic goal of thwarting Pakistan's attempt to seize Kashmir by force. Pakistan gained nothing from a conflict which it had instigated."

The political resolve of the diminutive prime minister Shastri has not been adequately acknowledged and his decision to open another front against Pakistan in the Punjab province rattled the adversary who presumed that India would be restricted to a defensive war in Jammu and Kashmir. Thus one major strategic inference of 1965 was that for India – any attack against J&K would be deemed to be an attack on India and that Delhi would choose to respond in a manner, time and place of its choice.

Satyagraha is belief in the power of spirit, the power of truth,  
the power of love by which we can overcome evil through self-suffering and self-sacrifice.

- S. Radhakrishnan

The offensive-defense Shastri doctrine was born.

On the flip side, India's higher national security management remained grossly inadequate. Inter-service coordination was poor and the fact that the navy was kept out of the war is illustrative. Army-air force tactical harmonization could have been better and intelligence gathering and assessment revealed many gaps. However, the Indian Army acquitted itself with glory and the capture of Haji Pir, the battle of Asal-Uttar and the advance on Lahore are some of the better known operations. The fledgling Indian Air Force also proved its mettle and the Indian-made Gnat surprised the adversary.

For India, the conclusion of the 1965 war at Tashkent where both sides were compelled to return all territorial gains made and the tragic demise of prime minister Shastri reduced this chapter to a political stalemate. India may have won the war by a modest margin militarily but it could not ensure an abiding peace with its neighbour.

Paradoxically, the sight of Indian tanks outside Lahore induced a deep anxiety in Pakistan about their vulnerability to an Indian military offensive, and consequently it now observes September 6 as Defence Day – and a tenacious narrative has been created by the Pakistan army around the catastrophic exigency that must be deterred – at any cost.

Consequently, post 1965, the 'fauj' in Pakistan gradually projected itself as the ultimate guardian of the state and one may conjecture that this war marks the beginning of the primacy of Rawalpindi (GHQ of the Pakistan army) and the deep anti-India hostility that defines the DNA of the deep state. The use of covert operations and 'irregulars' by the Pakistan military that began in October 1947 was the centre piece of the 1965 Op Gibraltar – and this investment in irregulars and terror has continued through Kargil of 1999 and Mumbai of 2008 and the summer of 2015, when Pakistani infiltrators and terrorists have been captured alive.

There are many lessons for India that could be derived from the 1965 war – but none more critical

than improving the texture of India's higher defence management and a constructive focus on the need to nurture the Indian military in an empathetic manner (the OROP fiasco could have been avoided) and evolve an affordable and effective strategy to minimize the malignancy of the deep state in Pakistan.

Fifty years after 1965, that objective remains elusive for Raisina Hill.



## **Unfashionable Thoughts : X An ex-policymaker's perspective on regulation in education**

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*(Lecture delivered at Workshop on Education Policy at TISS, Hyderabad on 18 December 2013)*

Every organisation is very possessive of its turf, and the UGC was no exception. It considered that its remit covered the entire gamut of higher education, and it therefore resented any move which might curtail its remit. Thus it strongly opposed a move in the 1980s to vest the AICTE with statutory powers, and in the face of that opposition, the Government withdrew the move. It is therefore no wonder that the enactment of the AICTE Act generated tension between the UGC and AICTE over the question as to who had the power to regulate universities which offered engineering education. Over the last quarter of a century, the regulatory power of AICTE got clarified through litigation as well as the guidelines issued by the MHRD; however, there are still a few gray areas which continue to be litigated. On the whole, the position that emerged is that AICTE has unqualified jurisdiction over all engineering and management colleges; however, its role is only advisory in regard to universities, including deemed universities. Consequently a deemed university status came to be a regulatory haven subject to the soft regulation by UGC, and in effect exempt from the stringent regulation of AICTE . The deemed university status conferred another great advantage in that a private institution could thereby

Mohandas Gandhi was no quietist in the sense of a recluse.  
Ascetic he was indeed, but his escape was not from reality but into it.

- George Catlin 5

cater to the entire national 'market', instead of having to limit its operations to the region of the university to which it was earlier affiliated. Consequently, acquiring the deemed university status came to be a preferred strategy for self-financing engineering and medical colleges. The exuberant proliferation of deemed universities is an unintended consequence of the regulation put in place by AICTE and similar bodies for regulation of professional education. The moral of the story is that no regulation, however well conceived, can eliminate the human tendency to evade the regulation, and consequently is not exempt from the law of unintended consequences.

The resentment of the States came to a boil in 1992 when the NPE, 1986 was revised. The attempt to divest the AICTE of statutory powers was close to success. As Member Secretary of the Committee on revision of policy constituted by the Central Advisory Board of Education, I was closely associated with that revision and hence have first hand knowledge about the course of events. The CABE Committee was headed by N. Janardhana Reddy who, unusual for a Chief Minister, also retained the education portfolio. He was a trained teacher who set up and managed several educational institutions, and genuinely loved education. As is often the case with CABE committees, the Janardhana Reddy Committee was representative of different regions and different political parties. The six ministers represented the entire political spectrum and the different regions of the country. Janardhana Reddy went by the advice of the Education Secretary on all matters excepting AICTE. As Chief Minister, he was much concerned that hundreds of students from his State were going to neighbouring States like Karnataka and Maharashtra to pursue engineering and medical education as Andhra Pradesh did not have enough institutions. As a realist and as an experienced educationist, he recognised that the finances of the State Government were inadequate to establish new educational institutions, and that the only way the excess demand for dental, engineering, and medical education in his State could be met was by reviving the policy of the State Government to permit the opening of private professional institutions. However, he felt that the over-centralised style of functioning

of AICTE irksome and came up with a formula of decentralisation far beyond what the Ramamurti Committee suggested. He was fully supported by all the ministers and expert members of the Committee except officials. The Committee recommended that AICTE should be divested of statutory powers and that only State Governments should have the power to sanction establishment and expansion of technical and management institutions. However, the State Governments were required to go by the recommendation of the Regional Councils of AICTE. State Governments were to be represented on the Regional Councils, and the Chairman of the Regional Committee was to be the Education Minister of a State in the region by rotation. I personally felt that this recommendation finely balanced the imperative of maintaining standards, and decentralising decision-making. However, it was not for me to take a stand on behalf of the Department, and my boss went by Mile's Law which has near-universal validity. The law states that where you stand depends upon where you sit. Most officers and ministers, while working in the State Governments, feel that the Central Government, its organisations and functionaries are overbearing and detached from reality. When they move to the Central Government they feel that State Governments are irresponsible and too politicised. Whatever, my boss was convinced that the recommendation of the CABE Committee would defeat the very objective of the regulation envisaged by the NPE. A couple of days before the CABE met to consider the report of the Janardhana Reddy Committee, the Department made a presentation to Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao. P V was Minister of MHRD when NPE was formulated, and played a major role in the drafting of the Policy. When AICTE came up for discussion, he cryptically observed, 'Let us not touch what Rajiv started', and that settled the matter. What followed is an interesting story by itself. On the eve of the meeting of CABE, I met Janardhana Reddy in the Andhra Pradesh Bhavan to brief him on the meeting. I told him that his plan of divesting the AICTE of statutory powers was lost. The Prime Minister was not in favour of any change in the status of AICTE. I also told him that if he wanted to have his way through he should meet and speak to the Prime Minister that very moment. Janardhana

Nehru was a human being who could win one's heart and keep it.

- Arnold J. Toynbee

Reddy would not believe. A few weeks earlier, he helped the Prime Minister get elected to the Lok Sabha seat in a bye-election in the State with an impressive majority. 'How could it be?' he wondered. 'You know, I spent long hours with the Prime Minister during his bye-election campaign. I had a long chat with him on AICTE and he agreed with me,' he said. The next day, as is customary the CABE divided itself into different working groups to consider the Committee's Report. With his customary thoroughness, my boss chose the Chairmen of the Working Groups with great care, and his choice of Surendra Nath as chairman of the Working Group on technical education was an inspired choice. Surendra Nath had been chief of the Intelligence Bureau, was a past master in managing matters to the satisfaction of political bosses, and was rewarded for his services by being appointed as Governor, Punjab after retirement. During the discussions in the Working Group all the State Ministers supported the change in the status of the AICTE while 'experts' opposed the change. Surendra Nath delivered his judgment: 'as there is no unanimity the status quo would continue.' He would not allow even a change in the composition of the regional committees of the AICTE so that State Education Ministers of the region could be chairman by rotation. He said that he was given to understand that the organising principle of AICTE was that education should be de-politicised and entrusted to professionals. As the working groups broke for lunch and members and officials were going for lunch, Janardhana Reddy nudged me to tell me in Telugu: 'So you and your boss got a policeman to put me down? Of course, if I were the Central Minister for Education I also would oppose the change, and would like keep AICTE as it is'. It is an irony of history that P.V.Narasimha Rao who as Prime Minister was dismantling industrial licensing and import controls gave a new lease of life to an over-centralised licensing system in technical and management education.

The failure of Janardhana Reddy to decentralise the power of sanctioning the establishment and expansion of institutions meant that AICTE had to bear the regulatory burden all by itself. State Governments, State Councils of Higher Education and universities did

not see themselves as partners of AICTE in ensuring orderly growth of institutions and maintenance of standards. They were keener to push through as many cases from their jurisdiction as possible through the AICTE process. By 1997, a decade after the enactment of the AICTE Act, the burden on AICTE became very heavy as the demand for technical education turned into a tsunami because of the IT boom. The expansion of technical and management education was anything but planned and coordinated development steered by AICTE, for no one anticipated the IT boom, and there were no manpower estimates for any of the areas of education within its remit to guide approvals. Even with the strengthening of its national and regional offices, AICTE could not cope with the regulatory burden. Inspections of AICTE came to be perceived as a farce. It was widely rumoured that institutions put up a Potemkin show of being well equipped and well-staffed, that inspecting teams were willing to suspend disbelief, and that the faculty and equipment moved a little ahead of the inspecting team from the institution inspected to the next one scheduled for inspection. There was also anecdotal evidence that there were 'service providers' who provided for fee equipment, books and other desiderata on the eve of a scheduled inspection, and removed the supplies as soon as the inspection was over. It is not surprising that engineering, MCA and MBA colleges, dime a dozen, sprouted in cubbyholes. With the wisdom of hindsight it can be said that the AICTE committed Type I as well as Type II errors, doing what it ought not to and not doing what it ought to. It ought not to have exclusively focused on regulating the establishment and expansion of institutions for which it had no guideposts by way of reliable manpower requirements. If trying to exclusively focusing on the establishment or expansion of institutions was a Type I error, the failure to adequately monitor the way institutions functioned and to continually assess the quality of education imparted was Type II error. Once it gave its approval, AICTE lost sight of an institution. What was a crying need was a credible, mandatory, stringent accreditation system which would have compelled substandard institutions to close shop, and help the parents assess the value that would accrue from different institutions for the money they spent.

One has to go all the way back to Socrates and Plato to find a parallel for the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda relationship.

Accreditation by NAB even now continues to be voluntary. A voluntary accreditation system results in adverse selection of sorts; only 'better' institutions opt for being subjected to assessment and rating while those which ought to have been kept under close watch do not. With enforcement of pre-entry conditions being reduced in effect to an empty ritual and with lack of any regulation of the quality of the instruction imparted establishing a private unaided technical and management institution came to be a no-risk, relatively low-end cost, high profit business so long as there was excess demand for technical education. The way AICTE regulation functioned served no purpose other than constricting supply and sustaining excess demand. Because of the enormous excess demand, self-financing institutions had the opportunity to charge what the market could bear through 'donations', and clandestine collection of capitation fees. As demand outstripped supply, *rentier* profits were there for the asking. It is therefore no wonder that many enterprising and politically well connected individuals and groups saw the establishment of a technical institution as good business. Legally, these institutions are not-for-profit institutions; however, it did not prevent them from functioning like private-for-profit institutions.

Let me briefly outline the lessons which could be drawn from the AICTE experience, and used for the design of new regulatory structures. First and foremost is the lesson that erecting a regulatory system on the premise that in contrast to State Governments and their organisations Central Government and the organisations established by Central Government can function objectively and justly as if they are managed by Platonic philosopher-kings is an utter fallacy and hubris. In a vast country like ours norms and standards cannot be maintained by a single organisation without forging partnership with State Governments, State Councils of Higher Education, and universities. Secondly, in terms of the first principles which I had outlined at the beginning of my lecture, the fact that an institution is legally structured as a not-for-private organisation does not preclude that institution from profiteering. In other words, it is not the legal structure but the economic structure of the 'market', that is to

say adequacy of supply in relation to demand in a particular area of education, which determines conduct of institutions in that market. This proposition is proved by the fact that in late 2000s the seller's market for engineering admission in States like Andhra Pradesh turned into a buyer's market because of the global economic downturn, peaking of the Indian IT industry, and supply outstripping demand. For the last few years, a third of engineering seats in Andhra Pradesh had to remain vacant and institutions far from collecting capitation fees had to woo candidates. Thirdly, regulating entry is not sufficient; close monitoring of the functioning and assessment of outputs, particularly the relevance and quality of the courses, are imperative. I tend to agree with Basu and suggest that no one should be prevented from establishing or expanding an institution. However, no one should be permitted to start imparting education without adherence to norms in respect of infrastructure, facilities and faculty, and that the performance of every institution and of every major should be periodically evaluated. Fourthly, it would be facile to think that regulation of private unaided institutions failed only because of political interference. A wrong approach to regulation was more responsible. Hence even if a regulatory body were hermetically sealed and insulated from the political system, as the Majority Committee proposed to do by suggesting an Election Commission like NCHER, regulation would continue to be ineffective unless the philosophical approach to regulation is changed. Old wine would not cease to be old wine merely because it is put in a new bottle. Fifthly, Accreditation is the most important regulatory measure. It cannot be optional. The scale on which quality assurance and performance appraisal have to be conducted and the periodicity with which they should be conducted are such that a handful of national institutions would be utterly unable to cope with the task. In terms of the number of institutions, the Indian higher education system is the largest in the world even though the United States and China are ahead of it in enrolment. The defining characteristic of the Indian Higher Education system is fragmentation. The number of institutions (700 universities and 35,500 colleges as of now) is about

Hard work never kills, worry kills. I want to work till my last breath. Better to work out than rust out.

- Sir M. Visvesvaraya



five times of those in the United States and China. The average strength of an institution is 500 compared to 3-4,000 in the United States and Europe, and 8-9,000 in China. The United States has ninety plus accrediting organisations; over ninety programmes are accredited. Multitude of accrediting organisations is an absolute necessity not only because of the sheer volume of work but also because the notion of quality itself varies from one academic programme to another. If there are just a few accrediting organisations they might not do justice to the distinctiveness of many academic programmes particularly in the field of professional education.

I might be faulted for not offering a blue print or at least a rough sketch of the new regulatory sketches which ought to be. This is deliberate as I want to avoid the cardinal sin of have-beens whether retired civil servants or decommissioned generals or erstwhile CEOs pontificating on how they would have handled matters. As I said in the beginning, we need a rational discussion on the development and regulation of higher education, and not theological disputation. My objective was to offer some facts and perspective which would facilitate a rational discussion. I would feel gratified if you think it has.

(Concluded...)

*(CPS offers its grateful thanks to Dr. R.V.Vaidyanatha Ayyar for his scholarly lecture summary which has been published in X instalments in the bimonthly Bulletin from April 2, 2014 to October 2, 2015. These articles are now being brought out in a book form with the kind permission of the author, to be released on October 2, 2015 at the twentieth anniversary function.)*



## **THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA IN THE NEW CENTURY**

**Dr. (Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar**

India has posited a tremendous achievement in accumulating, sustaining and guarding a vast amount of knowledge and has raised an unparalleled culture without the help of Mass Media. The Vedas have been transmitted down millennia without the loss of even

inflexions. This has been possible because of a personal-contact view of knowledge; that knowledge is best gained by learning from a teacher in person. Hence the high position given to the Guru in Indian tradition. Even today this clinging to the fellow human being either as a teacher or as a student continues and we speak proudly of our generational transmission method.

The setting up of printing presses in India was our first introduction to the mass media. The eminent scholar, B.S. Kesavan, sees the history of printing and publishing in India as “a story of cultural re-awakening, consequent on the introduction to India of the art and technique of printing”. The newsheet followed not long after and India had entered the age of the mass media. The first Hindi weekly paper was *Oodunt Mortund* that was begun in 1826 with a panegyric on the Governor General, Lord Amherst as ‘Sriman Governor General Bahadur ka Subha Varnan’. However, within a year it had to close down due to lack of government patronage, but a little less than two centuries later, the Hindi newspaper industry commands a top slot in India’s socio-political scenario.

The success has come after long years of struggle, of course. For, a newspaper is for mass consumption and this leads to mass reactions as well. It could be for the good of the society or for its detriment, but the spread of news is fast. The rise of the newspaper industry in India in the first half of the 20th century was almost entirely due to the independence struggle. Later it became a formidable instrument to disseminate political news. In its golden moments it has been exposing corruptions in our society but in its worst moments, it has been a weapon of political and social black mail as well. News found in the papers can raise passions with great intensities, as in the Madurai Dinakaran case a few years ago.

The Radio, films and the Television joined the mass media in a big way after the coming of independence in 1947. The achievements of the radio are many, and happily, the track-record of India’s broadcasting history is very, very satisfying. Because of the inevitable control from the government, its political wings may remain clipped but thanks to its ability to reach out to the remotest village, it has

Live in the world; but don’t allow worldliness to enter into you.

- Sri Ramakrishna

spread the best of Indian culture and traditional knowledge (in agriculture, for instance) to the countryside as well. Governmental control is stressed for films and the television too but, these visual media have been a deep disappointment in many ways for the watcher of the society. I have myself had the internet at home since twenty years and I am terrified by its capacity to disseminate significant information, as also misinformation and unwholesome information.

But of course, increasingly “information is necessary at every step and access to information critical” (AIRC Newsletter, Chennai, January-March, 2000) in the twenty-first century. Political, scientific and technological developments cry out for such immediate conveyance of information to intercept tragedies and educate the masses. And the challenges posed by the twenty first century for man are many. As Duane Elgin says:

“Never before has the human family been on the verge of devastating the Earth’s biosphere and crippling the ecological foundations for countless generations to come. Never before has the entire human family been required to work together to imagine and consciously build a sustainable future. This is not a concern for the remote future. Current trends in population growth, resource depletion and pollution suggest we will reach a critical turning point or ‘evolutionary inflection’ within twenty or thirty years — roughly the decade of the 2020s. If this is a valid assessment, then never before in human history will so many people be called upon to make such sweeping changes in so short a time.”

One of the major triumphs of the mass media in the twentieth century was in the sphere of atomic war and atomic tests. It is true that Sri Aurobindo perceived the future course man might take if he used the splitting of the atom as a means to wage wars. If man preferred the course of war, mankind was doomed. He wrote a sonnet on 25th September, 1939, the year when it was found that by bombarding an atom of Uranium (the heaviest element), with a neutron, the latter could be split to release two or three neutrons which would split further, setting up a seemingly endless chain-reaction:

“One dreamed and saw a gland write Hamlet, drink  
At the Mermaid, capture immortality;  
A committee of harmones on the Aegean’s brink  
Composed the Iliad and the Odyssey.  
A thyroid, meditating almost nude  
Under the Bo-tree, saw the eternal Light  
And, rising from its mighty solitude,  
Spoke of the Wheel and eightfold Path all right.  
A brain by a disordered stomach driven  
Thundered through Europe, conquered, ruled and fell,  
From St. Helena went, perhaps, to Heaven.  
Thus wagged on the surreal world, until  
A scientist played with atoms and blew out  
The universe before God had time to shout.”

Man almost did it when the atom bomb was developed by the United States under the direction of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. The first test explosion was at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945. What Sri Aurobindo had hinted at six years earlier now found a curtain-raiser in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. After this, the Satanic World War II was over. But the Cold War had begun. The U.S. - U.S.S.R. race for making nuclear tests and stockpiling atomic weaponry could not go unnoticed thanks to the mass media: the newspapers and the radio. There was Franklin C. Stark, National Vice-Chairman of the Campaign for United Nations Reform speaking in 1982:

“The two super powers have warheads which equate with nearly 4 tons of TNT (Trinitrotolune) for every man, woman and child now living on this planet. Between these two nations there is the present capacity to destroy the entire globe twenty-seven times over.”

This was not poetry but hard facts and figures. The nuclear doomsday clock has been perilously close to the midnight hour and yet, if we have survived and seen the dawn of the twenty-first century, and are already fifteen years into it, one can say that much of the credit goes to the mass media. The printed word and the broadcasting voice helped in mobilising people’s opinion by leaders like Bertrand Russell and C. Rajagopalachariar. In India, a relentless pressure was set up through the press by eminent scientists, professors, philosophers and journalists (Dhirendra

Real activity is combined with eternal calmness, calmness that cannot be ruffled;  
to harmonise the ideal with life and to elevate life to the ideal.

- Swami Vivekananda

Sharma, K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Shivaji Rao and Subba Rao among them) that the world has worked together and has been able to roll back the onward ticking of the dommsday clock. Truly this has been a victory without swords or blood, as Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai happened to describe the Gandhian movement. There is a great deal yet to be done to make the world safe from the assaults of nuclear power. But with sanity prevailing and with the help of the mass media, success can be achieved.

While the nuclear danger promises a total annihilation, there are other dangers of slow poisoning that also threaten the globe. Here too the mass media has been of immense help to the common man. The Narmada Andolan has had a healthy discourse because of the mass media taking the message all over India, helping people to think about the pros and cons of building dams. The role of the mass media in the twentyfirst century would have to be purposeful in this regard. Already, it was mass media that made the Chipko movement catch on and made everyone realise the dangers of deforestation. But for the mass media's exposure of the heinous killing of a protected species of deer by a film personality, we would not have become alert of such goings-on elsewhere. The present century would have to turn the focus on environmental degradation in a big way. Else, our earth would become warmer gradually and cease to be productive leading to a state of constant famine and riots. As researchers and activists pile up the statistics, the mass media brings it all to a wide spectrum of readership that helps the planning of campaigns to clean the environment and keep the discourse online.

This is how we learn that the ozone layer is weakening at an alarming rate and might play havoc with the food chain in the oceans as well as on land; that toxic pollution is leaping like a tiger on land, water and air and is spreading over them like an incubus; that man is squandering away his precious resources gifted by Nature without giving room for its replenishment by the same Nature. This asuric consumerism which is denying the future generations a decent life on this planet can be highlighted best by the mass media to knock some sense down on the minds of the common people and the people in power.

But, how far has the mass media helped us in this regard? Percentage-wise, not much: this is the sad tale. In fact, I find myself often weighing the plus and minus of the mass media. There is a lot of good it is able to do but then it is also capable of immense harm. When the good of the community is brushed aside to favour the commercial success of a programme, how can one stop the slide down? Consumerism has caught on so fast that it is holding the middle and poorer classes in a vice-like grip, for they wish to imitate the richer people in the community who are engaged in conspicuous consumption. It is not only asking someone to buy or eat something; the way the advertisements are projected, woman gets a raw deal. She is seen always as the drudge doing nothing but cleaning the floors, washing dirty clothes and cooking with this or that oil; or she is the molly doll of sexist dream-fantasies. The aim of all these advertisements is selling. What does the seller care if the moral fibre of the society gets destroyed completely? I have never had a television at home but I am told the average person sees at least 25,000 commercials a year on the television. It may be remembered that these commercials do not merely sell the particular soap or eatable or bread or biscuit. They also sell certain behavioural patterns that do not help civilized ways of living and certainly inspire violence in thought and deed by attacking the growing minds without seeming to do so. Also, these commercials which posit a uniform richness — plush cars that zoom through ever so smoothly, soft drinks that fizz over while the girls and boys are sailing in a boat or riding a bike, milk and cream and sugar dance together in vast pans to be gobbled as desirable chocolates by well-fed children — affect the psyche of the poor with a terrible despair leading to an increase in juvenile crime and teenage murders. Somehow, one cannot refrain from using strong words and say that the history of the television in India has also been the history of a definite cultural and moral degradation in the society.

It is not the commercials alone that are being inimical to the society's health. Even in the manner of presentation of news, the visual media are playing havoc on the psyche of people. Watching an actual

To a western observer our civilization appears as all metaphysics,  
as to a deaf man piano playing appears to be mere movements of fingers and no music.

- Rabindranath Tagore 11

destruction being done — the destruction of a temple or a mosque or a church — could lead to communal flare ups. Even mere reporting can assault one's sensitivities. A few years back, this was brought to me in its acute form when conversing on the subject of a gruesome tragedy with some neighbours. We were giving voice to our outrage and sorrow that three promising lives had been snuffed out by an arsonist in Dharmapuri. One of my neighbours assured me that since I did not have a television, I did not see the actual bus in flames. They had all seen it, and how the bus was burning, and the students were screaming, and the people were rushing, how the police came ... But the manner of dramatic description that accompanied the retelling to me made me feel that watching the episode on the screen had de-sensitised the ladies. For, another launched upon the parallel tragedy of how a person was cudgelled and drowned in a Tiruvananthapuram tank in the full view of so many bystanders ... Such daily dose of violent tragedy cannot keep the emotions of a person sensitive. Mechanical reactions, the ayyayyos and appappas and turn immediately to the noodles being served on a plate in a perfect dining room, the newly weds being seen off in the latest luxury car. Ah, the television is working and all is right with the world!

Mercifully, of all the mass media, including the printed newspapers and books, the broadcasting voice has been able to do the least harm, thanks to its limited range and lack of visual power.

But, because the mass media is thus going off the track, we cannot deny its existence. After all, never before was its help needed so much. The way things are going, the egoistic power-pressures make the governments a non-functioning toy and what is the point in crying hoarse that the government offices, the police, and the judiciary do not work? Especially with regard to a vast sub-continent like India, we cannot depend upon the Sircar to do everything for us. Already we see that people are slowly turning to voluntary agencies for redressal of their problems, and are themselves coming forward to be part of such voluntary agencies. The Mass Media is the answer to band together these non-governmental organisations, and one hopes 21st century's mass media will also

follow what was best in its actions in the earlier century. Newspapers, broadcasting and television could help us communicate with one another effectively.

As I meditate upon what the communications revolution is going to offer in this century, I contend with available information that speaks of an integration of television, computers, satellites, fibre optics and such information technology appurtenances. That might lead to a spread of information which would be faster than light, perhaps! As it is, here is Duane Elgin's assessment of the television oriented present and the immense good it can do to awaken man's conscience:

"Roughly 60% of the world now has access to television and this percentage is growing rapidly. With the speed of light, television extends our involvement to the entire planet. Because we are a visually-oriented species — 'one picture is worth a thousand words', 'seeing is believing' — television embodies a common, visual language that makes it the primary source of information and understanding for the human family. Through the eyes of television, we can touch the reality of a starving villager in Africa, we can see the effects of acid rain in Germany, we can feel the despair of ghetto residents in New York City, and we can touch the reality of fighting in the streets of Northern Ireland. Television makes every viewer an active witness — a knowing and feeling participant in what is being shown. By any measure, television has become the 'social brain' or 'central nervous system' for the human family."

But none of our socially relevant projections can make a mark on the viewer's psyche if they are immediately countered by advertisement glitz. The present century has to come up with its own answers for the mass media in becoming a socially responsible instrument. The criticism has to come from within, and the immense power in its hands must needs be handled with responsibility. In this the mass media must act together with the aim of global good in its agenda, instead of racing against one another. Rachel Carson's one single book, *The Silent Spring* started the entire movement for environmental protection at a global level. It was a demonstration of the power of the published word. Hence we should hope for such

Modern women will rewrite history. The best prose is in spoken dialect.

- Gurazada Apparao

purposeful wielding of the powerful instruments in our hands. It can be done, provided we, the public are alert, and the representatives of mass media, are prepared to respond. Let us remember how the 1028 Sukthas spread over the ten Mandalas of the Rig Veda conclude with the stirring call of Samvanana Angiras to humanity:

“Meet together, speak together,  
let your minds be of one accord,  
as the Devas of old, being of one mind,  
accepted their share of sacrifice.

May your counsel be common, your assembly common,  
common the mind, and the thoughts of these united.  
A common purpose do I lay before you,  
and worship with your common oblation.

Let your aims be common,  
and your hearts of one accord,  
and all of you be of one mind,  
so you may live well together.”<sup>1</sup>



## And A Dawn in The Forest

**Prof. Manoj Das**

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

We were near a shallow rivulet and the trees and creepers on both its banks stood so harmoniously arranged that wondered if it was not a grove planned by an expert. But alas, by no human expert. Left to itself, Nature knew how to arrange its own harmony.

I sat down on a slab of rock. Only if I knew some magic to prolong this hour - this wonderful combination of tender light, soothing breeze and visible and invisible life throbbing all around but without causing any tension and without exacting any price for the abundance of its serenity! For a lightning moment the dawn seemed willing to reveal—only if I had the capacity and time for allowing it a passage into my inner being - why the dawn of India’s civilization had been possible in her great forests such

as the Dandakaranya and the Naimisharanya. The splendour of the forest set free the imprisoned inner splendour of our soul.

‘Are you tired? Did you sleep well?’ the forester asked me with some concern.

‘I did not sleep, but I dreamt all night.’

The kind gentleman tried to penetrate my quizzical statement, but I was in no mood to explain further. In fact I was still under the delightful hangover of my seance with the sylvan night, like the peasant in Milton:

*Fairy elves,*

*Whose midnight revels, by a forest side*

*Or fountain some belated peasant sees,*

*Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon*

*Sits arbitress.*

An exclamation in a whisper woke me up to the presence of a rhino on the opposite bank of the rivulet. It stood absolutely still, surveying us with great concentration, but in an apparently menacing pose.

‘Never mind its posture. It looks fearful to us only because a human being, when about to charge at his enemy, assumes this mode. The rhino might very well be appreciating us, it might be trying to tell us how nice it was of us to call on it so early in the morning! All the big beasts are generally gentle and hospitable. Now we are entering the domain of the biggest species of mammals. Less than half a dozen of our men are there amidst a large number of elephants. The creatures could just toss them off, if they so wished, and finish with them, but such a thing had never happened. Once in a while an elephant, under the spell of its *must*, behaves unpredictably, but it is never more unpredictable than the human,’ said the forester.

‘But don’t they sometimes invade the localities and destroy crops and terrify the villagers?’ observed my guide.

‘They do, but that is only because we have encroached upon their home, the forest. We obstruct their freedom of movement. The gradual reduction of

A nation has to have ethics in all its tasks for sustained economic prosperity and peace.

- Acharya Mahapragya & A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

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the forest areas have resulted in the disappearance of so many streams and natural pools; it has even affected the cycle of seasons. The animals easily feel bewildered. That explains their erratic conduct.'

Soon we were in a charming cozy valley surrounded by hills, some of their peaks as high as 8000 feet. Tiers of forest girdled this camp for elephants where they were tamed and some of them were trained to catch other elephants.

Those in charge of the captive creatures were waiting in front of a couple of spacious huts. But two lovely elephant calves outdid them in receiving us. They frolicked around us with abandon and nudged us with their tender trunks and ran away to their mothers who stood amidst ten or twelve other elephants, quietly enjoying the joy of their young.

Anamalai (not to be confused with Annamalai) means the mountain of the elephants. They have been the dominant residents of these hills and forests since time immemorial. That probably explained why they looked so naturally dignified here. Well, so far their state of bondage was concerned, they did not seem to mind it very much; probably because they lived at a plane where they could easily pardon human greed and mischief.

A chair had been unfolded for me in front of the trainer's hut and a tumblerful of tea, sweetened with palm *gur*, had been placed on a stool. Flanked by the two calves, I sat sipping the tea with a sort of relish which I would not barter even for a wagonful of the most exotic tea if ever offered to me. I was given coconuts to feed the mother-elephants. But as the other elephants looked wistfully, I asked my hosts if I could provide that treat to them, too. They agreed and I had the great good luck to earn the appreciation of the silent herd.

Its heavenly prototype serving Goddess Lakshmi and the king of the gods, Indra, the elephant held a position in the heritage of India that was unique. The elephant symbolized the soul of the Buddha and in several incarnations of the Bodhisattva, it had been closely associated with him. While I relaxed there and the first flakes of the golden sunlight played on the elephants, I remembered one such story:

Long long ago there was a forest on the outskirts of Varanasi. One day, while some woodcutters were at work, a cow-elephant approached them and lifted one of its paws. A big thorn had entered it. The woodcutters, with great care, removed it, applied some medicine on her wound and she relaxed.

Thereafter she would join the woodcutters every day and help them in dragging the felled trees out of the forest. Years passed. The cow-elephant did not report for a while. Then, one day she approached her familiar woodcutters once again, but with her calf, a silver-white baby elephant. She laid it before them and slowly departed, shedding tears. The wood-cutters understood that it was time for her to die. She would retire to a certain valley and quietly lie down waiting to breathe her last.

The woodcutters nursed the baby elephant with love, and when it had grown up, it served them with utmost sincerity. But its fame as an unusually handsome, bright and strong creature began to spread and reached the ears of the king of Varanasi. He visited the forest and saw it and stood charmed.

'Don't you, my dear subjects, think that this rare elephant deserves to be in the palace?' he asked the woodcutters. They were most willing to give it away to the king. But the elephant would not budge! The king reflected on the situation. Then he brought out a hundred gold coins and placed the amount before the woodcutters. The elephant trumpeted and followed the king.

The king grew extremely fond of it. He treated it more like a friend than a servant. Once in a while he rode it ceremoniously through the city and all the folks marvelled at the magnificent sight.

But the king died all of a sudden, while the queen was in an advanced stage of pregnancy. To add to the crisis, the king of Koshala marched upon Varanasi in a bid to annex it. He camped outside the city and asked the royal council managing the kingdom either to concede allegiance or to get ready for battle. After consulting the queen, the council informed the invading king that their queen was to be delivered of a child shortly. Should she give birth to a female child, the council would surrender Varanasi to Koshala, and

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The Dalai Lama's personality is so engaging that he casts a spell on anyone who meets him.  
Inner light radiates from him.

the queen, along with her daughter, would leave for her parents' home. But in case it was a male child, the army of Varanasi must defend the kingdom for the heir's sake. The council expected the invading party to wait.

The king of Koshala agreed to wait. The suspense in both the camps kept building for a month and then the queen gave birth to a male child. A fight broke out immediately. The army of Varanasi fought valiantly, but the enemy had come well prepared and they were about to smash the resistance and rush into the fort.

When all seemed lost, spurred by an inexplicable inspiration, the queen carried her infant into the royal garden where the white elephant was housed. She knelt down before it and said, 'O noble friend of my husband, the king is no more. Here is his helpless child, his heir. But the enemy is about to enter the fort and the palace and once they have done so, to kill this child would be their first action. Save it, if you can.'

Tears rolling down its cheeks, the elephant lifted the infant prince for a moment by its trunk and returned him to the queen. Then giving out a loud trumpet, it rushed towards the palace door. The queen ordered the door to be opened. Then it headed towards the exit gate of the fort. That, too, was held open for it. The elephant made a beeline towards the enemy camp. The king of Koshala, jubilant over the prospect of victory, sat among his advisers when, before anybody could grasp the situation, the elephant took hold of him and turned and began running back into the fort. At first stunned, the king's men, even after they were ready to act, did not dare to do anything lest the elephant should dash their king to death!

The elephant returned safely to the palace with the enemy king as hostage. Needless to say, the nobility of Koshala had to go down on their knees to have him released.

The little prince, says the Jataka, was the Bodhisattva.

I did not know when I had begun to see the episode enacted before me, sitting there in the world of elephants and in their majestic company.

But it was time to get up.

'Do you know the names of these calves? Kannagi and Kapil.' the forester informed me. 'I hope you know who Kannagi was.'

'Yes, the goddess-like heroine of the great Tamil classic, *Silappadikaram*.'

'Right, and so far as Kapil is concerned, of course you know....'

'Indeed, who does not know the illustrious sage, the author of the Samkhya philosophy!'

The forester looked embarrassed. 'Well, Sir, well, it is not exactly like that. It is after the cricketer ...'

I stomached my faux pas and bade goodbye to the elephants.



## LEADERSHIP

**Shri Nani Palkhivala**

A LEADER IS a man with the rare and special faculty which has been diversely defined as charisma or *buddhi*, intuition or the gift of Grace, and this faculty enables a man to communicate and motivate. Leaders are those who are 'movers of people, mobilizers of opinion'. Emperors rule, but leaders motivate. As Disraeli said, 'We govern men by words'.

Leaders help people to believe in themselves and in the possibilities of the future. President Roosevelt used to give his fireside chats which electrified millions. Those talks transformed the mindset of the American people. They made the people feel that they had a great destiny to fulfil. They brought the people out of the mood of the Great Depression.

It is a cruel twist of fate that today during a time of turmoil, the world should be bereft of political figures with the vision, foresight, and determination to lead us to a safer future. A historian wrote in July 1993, 'I cannot think of a period where there have been so few great leaders'. Talking of the Tokyo Economic Summit, he said, 'What we have in Tokyo is a meeting of the world's strongest countries but the world's weakest leaders'. The real worry is that the leaders we have today are as good as we are likely to get in the

Science and technology could have been a great boon for humanity, but today, with science and technology, we have driven this earth to a point where the very life of the planet is under threat.

- Sadhguru Jaggi Vasudev 15

foreseeable future.

India produced the greatest leader of the century—Mahatma Gandhi. But we have reached now a stage when you can say without fear of contradiction that India is more devoid of great leadership than at any time in our history as a republic. It is true that this desideratum is evident in every democracy, both of the East and of the West. The result is that we enter the final years of the millennium with a sense of foreboding, when there should be a spirit of optimism.

Foremost among a good prime minister's qualities of leadership is an unquenchable thirst for action. 'I am certainly not one of those who needs to be prodded,' said Winston Churchill, 'in fact, if anything, I am the prod'. In the words of Charles De Gaulle, the leader 'must aim high, show that he has vision, act on the grand scale, and so establish his authority over the generality of men who splash in the shallow water'. In our own times, Mrs Thatcher showed what a great leader can do to rescue a nation from an overwhelming feeling of drift and despair.

It is true that no democracy in the world has at present great moral leadership. But while it has no perceptible effects in countries like Japan where discipline and dedication are the order of the day, we Indians find ourselves guideless in the absence of these traits.

Lee Kuan Yew, one of the wisest men in the world today, has repeatedly said that India is like a sleeping giant who, if awakened, could make a powerful impact on the global economy. But he found one thing missing in India—a sense of responsibility and dedication to the country, and a sense of order and discipline. Lee Kuan Yew mentioned that these qualities were found among the people of China and that is why that nation, despite the huge population, is able to bring about a total transformation, which is puzzling even to the developed countries. Unfortunately, in our country we have freedom but too little order and no sense of responsibility or duty. We take it as our birthright to do whatever we want even in the performance of our daily routine—driving and walking in any way we want, making a mess of our roads and our surroundings—without any hesitation or realization that our actions

stem from the sense of liberty, without any dedication to the goal of national welfare.

Let me come to leadership in the business world.

Here again, leadership does not come merely from training in a school or college. A business leader is born and not made. Nature's gift has to be there. What Nature has withheld, no school or college can ever supply.

Leadership of the market can be achieved through Competitive edge. It means leadership through competitive superiority. This leadership can never exist without making quality an obsession. The most famous advertising agency in the world, Satchhi and Satchhi, had the following motto—It is good to be big; it is better to be good; it is best to be both. My late colleague, Mr Sumant Moolgaokar, always insisted that the motto of Telco should be— Major attention to minor details. God is in the details.

The old-fashioned business virtues like hard work still continue to be the *sine qua non* of business leadership. As a wit said, luck is infatuated with effort. It would be impossible to build up business leadership without integrity on the part of the person wanting to give a lead in the business world. One of the most interesting books published in recent years is the *Autobiography of Charles Forte*—the Italian immigrant who set up his first milk bar in Regent Street, London, in May 1930, and then went on to create one of the biggest catering companies in the world. The advice he gave to his son, Rocco, his heir, who accused him of being too old-fashioned is worth recalling: 'Remember this,' he told his son angrily 'five thousand years ago, what I am saying was right. In five thousand years' time, what I am saying now will still be right—cleanliness, honesty, decency, respect for other people, politeness, good manners, integrity—they will never be old-fashioned.'

Let me end with a few pregnant thoughts of Kissinger about national leadership. 'The task of a leader is to get his people from where they are to where they have not been. The public does not fully understand the world into which it is going. Leaders must invoke an alchemy of great vision. Those leaders who do not, are ultimately judged failures, even

When you measure the democratic content and quality of our social order do remember our failures which if not remedied may lead us to the limbo of authoritarianism, apathy and eclipse.



though they may be popular at the moment . . . The most important quality of a leader is courage. He must act in risky situations on the confidence in his own judgment.' The best a statesman can do is to listen to the rustle of God's mantle through history and try to catch the hem of it for a few steps. We need a great leader to mould us into a single nation instead of a collection of communities.

(Selected Writings Edited by L.M.Singhvi, M.R.Pai & S.Ramakrishnan, VIKING/Bhavan's Book University, 1999)



## **THE TRINITY: AADHAAR, DIRECT CASH TRANSFERS AND JAN DHAN YOJANA - II**

A Review of the Programmes for Delivery of Services

**Prof C. V. Raghavulu**

Former vice chancellor, Acharya Nagarjuna University  
Retd. Professor of Public Administration, Andhra University

### **Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT)**

As noted earlier the DBT scheme for LPG launched by the UPA Government in 2013 ran into rough weather as it was launched without adequate preparation. The government was, therefore, compelled to review the difficulties encountered in the operation of the scheme at the ground level. The review was also sensitized by the Supreme Court's ruling (Sept'2013). The net result was that the DBT scheme remained in a limbo during the last year of the UPA regime. After the NDA assumed charge of the government the scheme was substantively modified by linking DBT for LPG to bank accounts. The modified DBT was relaunched in Nov 2014 in 54 districts of 11 states, with a coverage of 2.33 households. It became operational in the rest of the country from the beginning of 2015. Under the new dispensation, consumers who affirm that they don't have an Aadhaar number to can also receive the LPG subsidy directly in their bank accounts. But they will have to shift to the Aadhaar linkage as and when they get enrolled. Consumers who had joined the DBT Scheme earlier by providing Aadhaar linkage to bank accounts will *ip so facto* be covered under the subsidy scheme.

Within a short span of time the DBT has become

a game changer. The government 's direct – cash transfer drive for LPG consumers, which now stands at about 84 percent of the 15.38 crore LPG consumers has begun to accomplish its key objective of stopping diversion of subsidized domestic cylinders to commercial purposes. While the consumption of domestic LPG cylinders registered a decrease by about 17.5 percent by end of March 2015, there is an increase in the sale of non-subsidised LPG cylinders by about 28 percent.

Enthused by the response to the modified DBT scheme, the union government introduced the scheme of the PM's Jan Dhan Yojana ( JDY ) to encourage households, especially the BPL households, to open bank accounts. When the NDA government launched the JDY critics dismissed it as another attempt to appropriate UPA's financial inclusion drive. However, by 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2015 and within nine months after its launch, virtually all the BPL households got access to bank accounts. At the last count it stood at over 16.92 crore — a world record providing a platform for a megacash transfer scheme. About half of the 169.2 mn bank accounts have zero balance and the rest have a balance of more than Rs. 20,000 crores in their accounts. A major milestone in the government's Digital India Mission has been crossed with the opening of a large number of bank accounts. Data presented by the Chief Economic Advisor (CEA) to the Union government shows that the elimination of ghost beneficiaries by the operation of the DBT scheme has resulted in a saving of Rs. 12,700 crores in the subsidy bill of 2014-15. Overtime, when fully implemented, the direct cash transfer scheme could lead to significant savings – by eliminating fake accounts and preventing theft of public money.

### **Andhra Pradesh and Chattisgarh: front runners**

United Andhra Pradesh was the first state in India to launch an ambitious programme of utilizing iris biometrics for issuing ration cards — meant mainly for the public distribution system (PDS). Recourse to biometrics for identification was due to detection of a large scale fraud in which they found over 7 mn duplicate ration cards, a quarter million duplicate pensioners and about 3.47 lakhs duplicate housing

We at Infosys have actionized the philosophy through our adage: In God we trust, everybody else brings data to the table. Treat the messenger with respect and dignity.

- N.R. Narayana Murthy 17

beneficiaries. The Comptroller & Auditor General's report on Andhra Pradesh 2012-13 brings out some interesting violations: sanction of widows' pensions to 4543 men and grant of pension to 23,216 persons who are below the age limit. He notes that the number of ration cards was in excess of 20-25 percent of the number of householders in the state. It is also an interesting instance of collusion of stakeholders on a massive scale. Chattisgarh introduced a ration card with portability, based on biometrics and networking of all the PDS outlets. This was done much before the State was permitted to utilize the iris technology for Aadhaar enrollment.

### **Resistance and wavering**

In many developing countries there has been resistance to national ID programmes for various reasons, the most important of them is unpreparedness of most politicians to face the fury of their respective constituents to curtail the privileges accrued to them as a result of fraudulent practices. There is resistance from some intellectuals who are disinclined to endorse the programme of a national ID for other reasons. For instance, Dr. Jean Dreze, well known activist and an outspoken critic of the Aadhaar programme, argues that the UID "changes the approach of entitlements and benefits from that of human rights to more targeted and individualized". Ms. Aruna Roy is another activist who has been highly critical about a number of elements of the Aadhaar scheme.

**Wavering:** The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) directed, in Nov. 2013, that all new ATMs and POS machines should be tailored to accept Aadhaar to enable Aadhaar-linked payment mode. Bank CEOs opposed the move citing technical difficulties and expenses. Then in early May 2014, RBI told the banks that the Aadhaar link has been kept in abeyance and instead they were asked to examine the technical difficulties of the proposed payment system and the time-frame for implementing it. All that the original proposal of the RBI requires is attachment of a biometric machine, costing around Rs.1500/-, to the ATM. It would enable the ATM to make payments by using the customer's fingerprints. By the middle of July 2014 there was a turn-around with the RBI directing

banks and other financial companies to put into place systems, including biometric scanners where necessary, to accept Aadhaar for extending direct benefits to individuals under various welfare schemes.

### **MHA and UIDAI**

There has been a turf war between the UIDAI and the National Population Register (NPR). The NPR of the Home Ministry maintains the National Citizens Register, which is also based on biometric identification. The enrollment of individuals for the NPR is mandatory and is backed by the Citizenship Act of 1955. To provide legal backing to the UDI a bill is proposed. And it is awaiting enactment by the Parliament.

During the UPA regime the Ministry of Home Affairs raised serious objections about the sanctity of the UIDAI database, arguing that uniqueness was not a necessary condition for ensuring authenticity of identity or genuineness of other entries or records of Aadhaar numbers. It is said that reliance on the National Population Register (NPR) is preferable to Aadhaar. The relations between the Home Ministry and the UDI reached their nadir under UPA-II, have looked up under NDA government, with many problems being sorted out. In a complete reversal of its role under Mr. Chidambaram and Mr. Shinde – successive Home Ministers under UPA – the Ministry under Mr. Rajnath Singh of the BJP, has come out in full support of the Aadhaar programme. In an advisory to the states, in the last week of October, 2014, it endorsed Aadhaar's credentials for universal identification and address proof of its beneficiaries as a single, secure authentication.

In a similar vein, the objections of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) have been overruled to allow Aadhaar to act as an electronic Know-Your-Customer (e-KYC) for Indian residents to instantly get mobile SIM cards, given this project is a key feature of the Union government's Digital India plan. The security establishment is now veering towards the view that since Unique Identification Authority of India claims that it has back-end data of most of Aadhaar recipients in the form of address proof document submitted by them while applying for an UID number, Aadhaar as

Kandukuri Veeresalingam is the first modern man in South India.

- V.R.Narla

e-KYC can be extended to provision of SIM cards.

### **Subsidies: Critical Role of Delivery Instruments**

Governments of many low-income countries have been grappling with several challenges on the welfare/subsidy front: size, eligibility criteria, authenticity of recipients, access, cost-effective delivery and client satisfaction. The national ID is increasingly becoming the cornerstone of public administrative systems in a few of these countries. Besides embedding it to subsidy programmes, a national ID could be leveraged for multiple purposes and multiple applications in the private and public spheres, even e-governance and e-commerce. Aadhaar has emerged as a beacon in the Indian policy arena. It will be a critical element in our search for building more efficient systems of public governance in India. It has crossed many policy bridges and fault lines. Frances Zelazny, in his review of India's UID programme observes that it has "established itself as a model of increased transparency and accountability that the entire global community can learn from." (The Evolution of India's UID programme..., center for Global Development, Aug 2012, p.31.). The UID programme is still evolving.

There is a deeply ingrained culture of freebies and sops that has been assiduously nurtured by the political class. Many politicians tend to think that freebies will pay them electoral dividends; hence the tendency to subvert programmes aimed at streamlining subsidies or running welfare programmes in a cost-effective manner. Therefore, people in authority have to be vigilant about their own political kin. Part of the wavering on the part of the UPA government about the LPG - Aadhaar link or elimination of duplicate enrollments was due to fears of adverse political fallout. Subsidies continue to remain the government's Holy Cow in India: consider the fact of NDA government's share of non-oil subsidies in the Union budgets of 2014-15 and 2015-16 shooting up over 12% compared to 10.9% in the UPA's last year in office (2013-14). Given this level of policy commitment to subsidies, there is an overriding need for safeguards and to account for who is entitled to what, when and how much. This view also

corroborates with the underlying ethic of public policy that subsidies have to be targeted to those who deserve them.

In their attempts to address the problem of 'unquantified subsidy for unidentified sections' the Central and state governments in India have been facing many challenges.

To overcome such challenges nearly forty countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa have adopted the instrument of conditional cash transfers. Nandan Nilekani, the architect of UDI, is hopeful that misuse of subsidies, which range from 10 to 40 percent, can be minimized through direct cash transfers. RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan observes that direct cash transfer may not be a silver bullet, but it could set the poor on the road to true political independence. World bank research on poverty has shown how universal cash transfer guaranteeing a minimum income will be more effective in helping the poor than MGNREGA, which has been criticized for high administrative costs, leakages and low productivity.

In the Indian context, mating Aadhaar with the Jan Dhan Yojana ( JDY ) helped to create a powerful tool to reform implementation of the welfare schemes by switching to direct cash transfers through electronic means. Together the trinity — Aadhaar, Direct Benefit Transfer and Jan Dhan Yojana — should rank as one of the best practices in the reform process of well chronicled leakages in low-income countries.

The emerging convergence between the trinity programmes and electronic technology through the elevation of new platforms heralds a policy innovation, which while enabling cost-effectiveness in the government's subsidy schemes also contributes to the empowerment of the targeted population groups. Correspondingly, we should expect a persistent and steady growth of the banking habit of people at the 'bottom of the pyramid'. As the demographics of the customer base of the banks undergoes fast changes, the scenario throws up an obvious challenge calling for the need to infuse new strengths in the banking sector as well as parallel innovations in the banking space. If warranted banks need to be incentivized.

The richest 500 million (people in the world) have way more money than the next 6 billion combined.

You solve that by getting everyone online.

- Mark Zuckerberg (*'the guardian weekly'* 19-25 June 2015) 19

## Aadhaar: Concerns and Challenges

There are many challenges associated with the policies of the Union and state governments and the complex interagency and intergovernmental jurisdictional considerations in a federal system, not to speak of technical standards and system design. A lag between technology and policy could be one such: an advanced technology used in the system may be ahead of the policy relating to ground logistics. Another limitation concerns the matching of human interventions required at multiple points of the system design. Continuous updating of the UIDAI data base is, therefore, an essential requirement. With the exception of gender, birth date and a few other items, the data on individual enrollments requires continuous updating. It is a daunting task to maintain the integrity of the data base and security of the biometric footage.

There are a few worrisome aspects: Aadhaar's tenuous legal backing; the possibility of misuse of the Aadhaar data by gaining access to it; alteration of date of birth entries without verification of valid documents by the outsourced operators. It is also pointed out that neither in the National Population Register nor in the Aadhaar scheme, the word biometrics is used. These and many other challenges have to be responded to in a proactive manner: first and foremost is providing a statutory backing for determining the accountability, data protection and offences for violation.

There are also several concerns regarding the use of biometrics in the UID scheme. They relate to legality, effectiveness and fallibility of the technology. Inaccuracies are possible due to software problems. It is observed by one critic that an individual's biometrics may change in response to changes in age, environment, stress, activity, injuries and illness. Further, it is said that the accuracy of the technology determines the extent of accuracy of the biometric match and aspects of biometric technology such as calibration and sensors may undergo change. Spoofing of a fingerprint is also possible in which case a biometric reader is fooled. However, many of these concerns have been dismissed by the UIDAI studies which show the highest probability of accuracy in the cross-verification tests. The ID systems of most nations

rely on fingerprints only. This biometrics helps to increase accuracy significantly. The quality of the fingerprints of some persons involved in physical labour would be low if reliance is placed on fingerprints only, but iris biometrics would help to improve accuracy. It is vice versa in the case of blind persons. Recourse to multiple biometrics, as in the case of Aadhaar, should promote inclusion and maximize usage of the ID system. De-duplicating software of UIDAI can also detect various frauds in registration including identification of persons with more than one Aadhaar number in one or several states.

Critics also consider Iris scans and fingerprinting for registering for Aadhaar as an invasion of privacy. Storage of such personal information would enable the state, it is argued, to possess unbridled powers over its citizens and provide easy opportunities to snoop on their private lives. Apart from apprehensions of misuse of Aadhaar data for government surveillance, there are scares of it being usurped by private commercial interests since the data collection, storage and retrieval are in the custody of non-state actors / private parties.

Concerns over how securely the information is collected, stored and used is entirely valid given the frequency with which the government websites are being hacked around the world. On the issue of Aadhaar's weak legal status and the concern about invasion of privacy, the central government's view is that the criticisms are not justified. But the central government is wrong to assume that this legal fuzziness entitles Aadhaar to carry on without adequate statutory backing, privacy protections, accountability mechanisms and surveillance safeguards for protection of data from misuse. At the same time, it serves no worthwhile public purpose to dismiss the need for a national identity card by damning it as an intrusion, or by asserting that privacy is a fundamental right. The apex court is yet to pronounce its judgement on the plea that Aadhaar is an encroachment into the people's right to privacy.

Multiple enrollments is a matter of concern in the absence of initial authentication. Provision for continuous verification of the biometrics of the newly

A technological golden age in the world's richest country isn't enough to end poverty –  
Americans don't seem to care enough about it.

- Kentaro Toyama (*'the guardian weekly'* 19-25 June 2015)

enrolled with the data stored in the central data base would help to eliminate the possibility of duplicate enrollments or unauthorized changes in the pre-existing data base. Ultimately when Aadhaar number is linked to several schemes requiring a person's identity such as voter ID, PAN card, bank account/credit card, driver license, insurance / health card, telephone connection, train and Air tickets, passport, land deeds, etc., some agencies will evolve procedures and modalities for cross verification of the person's identity from multiple angles, including demographic data, criminal records and so on. Fraudsters, if any, will be exposed in such instances. It would then be very difficult for a person to operate with different names or addresses. The only limitation is collusion of the verifiers and the fraudsters as it happens with high frequency in issuing double or multiple passports to the same person.

In some ways Aadhaar is like a passport - voluntary. As of now Aadhaar number is not mandatory. Yet, with different agencies of the centre and states adopting the number for various services, Aadhaar is becoming mandatory by default. The Aadhaar number will serve as a platform for a number of necessities in future. The responsibility rests with the UID policy makers to constantly reinvent the systems to prevent scope for fraudulent practices and adhere to systematic and meticulous monitoring of the operations and operators.

(Concluded)

*(Revised version of the Presidential address to the Indian Public Administration Assn, Nilakheri, Haryana, 20<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2014)*



## **THOU ART MY SOLE REFUGE SOCIETY IS THE TANGIBLE DEITY**

**Sri. C. Sivasankaram**

Strive with trust to seek after recognition of *Sat Chit Anand* that is good, wise and delight. Do not regard spiritual life as seeking after a lonely sequestered existence far removed from human habitat. Living virtually limited to yourself fails to attain

the aspired goal. It is beyond all human frailties and foibles. It is certainly a life of permanent spiritual attainment united with God.

Do not misjudge that social participation is incompatible with spiritual endeavour and the vice versa. Both the spiritual and the secular by reason bound are to coexist harmoniously. The two are coexistent. It is mutual and natural. Through the image of man God and the purport of God are unveiled. World is tangible, God is intangible, similarly individual is visible. But individual's existence is a myth, independent of man. Similarly individual is apparent. However, the individual cannot exist as separate entity from man the component of society. Society is not like the man, a component of the five primordial elements. Society is the manifestation of God's divine idea. Society means, in a nutshell, the grand idea of Divinity. Therefore man need not exile himself from the superb human society since it is the divine manifestation of God's idea. Viewed from this supernal point the seeker after the highest life need not desert society.

Recognising the whole humanity as the principle of one Samkara as head of the stupendous family men attain boundless Joy.

Society does not mean a narrow group of raw individuals. If it is not corrupted by earthly egotism and kept purely deified by spiritual content, it unveils an universal transcendent perfect entity. Such universal 'idea', integrates society. Society is not a numerical conglomeration of disparate humankind. Such society as it is unsullied and unsoiled by narrow insolent minds it is God's magnificent manifestation; when intellect is dissolved i.e. absolved of infirmities of mind it is true guide. The individuals who are incapable of maintaining internal peace how can they contribute to prevalence of peace in society. Those who have girdled their belt to serve society must develop within their hearts the sense of Divinity personified as integrated society. Such is the society being served sincerely by them. Let there grow the principle of divine love. Consider the visible nature as the image of the invisible Self. Men who developed such transcendent vision alone can enjoy and experience the unbroken resplendent Bliss of the

Communication is a matter not of speaking but of making people speak.

Information involves not knowing but making people know.

- Jean Baudrillard 21

Absolute. Look upon the world as god's manifestation. This is the path, this is the way to enjoy lasting self-existent principle.



## 'We can be proud of our polity'

(Newspaper report on the D.Ch.Tirupathi Raju Memorial lecture delivered at Centre for Policy Studies by Prof.R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao, former Vice Chancellor, Dr.Ambedkar Open University on August 17, 2015)

### 'Indian democracy is vibrant'

VISAKHAPATNAM: Despite all ' the differences among ourselves, we have a basic national consensus on democracy - and this is what keeps it vibrant, former Vice-Chancellor of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar 'Open University R.V.R. Chandrasekhar Rao has said.

"We live, we fight, we quarrel, but we have a national consensus on the essentials of democracy," he said, delivering the D.Ch. Tirupathi Raju Memorial Lecture on 'We can be proud of our polity', recently organised by the Centre for Policy Studies. While we may be backward compared to other nations in economic terms, as per the parameters of the Freedom House, we stand next only to the United States of America. In a way, India is far better than the U.S. as the U.S. at 68 was still consolidating, whereas Indian democracy at 68 was stable and consolidated.

As a heterogeneous society, India must-measure up as the best and vibrant democracy.

"Even if we disagree, we are willing to listen to each other, because the Indian democracy is built on a sound philosophical foundation," Prof. Chandrasekhara Rao said. However, there are two issues of concern for the Indian polity — the digital divide between the younger and older generations and the growing difference between haves and the have-nots. "Prof. Chandrasekhara Rao was the first Head of Department of Political Science and Public Administration in Andhra University and later on was professor in the Department of Political Science in University of Hyderabad before becoming Vice-

Chancellor of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University," former Rector of Andhra University and Director of GVP Centre for Policy Studies A. Prasanna Kumar recalled introducing the speaker.

"The CPS has decided to revive the D.Ch. Tirupathi Raju Memorial lectures and plans to organise K.S. Dutt Memorial Lecture on November 14 and D.V. Subba Rao Memorial Lecture on December 20," Prof. Prasanna Kumar told *The Hindu*.

(Special correspondent, *The Hindu*, August 17, 2015)



## CPS mourns P.V. Ramaniah Raja

Centre for Policy Studies records with deep regret the sudden demise of P.V.Ramaniah Raja, member of the Governing Body of CPS, on July 27, in Chennai. He founded Sri Raja-Lakshmi Foundation in 1979 and rendered outstanding service to our culture. Born on November 19, 1927 in Pandrangi near Vizianagaram and raised in Vizianagaram, Raja took to business before gravitating to Madras in search of greener pastures. He became a successful businessman in a short time and began to translate his dreams into reality. The foundation honoured celebrities with a handsome annual award beginning with the legendary SRI SRI in the inaugural year followed by M.Balamuralikrishna, Vempati Chinastayam, Bapu, Nayudamma, Tanguturi Surya Kumari, Mandolin Srinivas and a host of others including Lata Mangeshkar and S.P.Balasubrahmanyam. The announcement of the awardee's name on August 15, the birthday of Mahalakshmi, was followed by a glittering and well attended award presentation function on November 19 every year on Raja's birthday. Journalists like G.K.Reddy and P.Sainath, ambassador Abid Hussain and educationist G.Ram Reddy were among the other stalwarts who received the Raja-Lakshmi award. In 1987 the foundation instituted annual literary awards. Homage was paid to Shri Ramaniah Raja by Centre for Policy Studies at a condolence meeting held on July 29, 2015.

There is an important role for clear-headed understanding of the extensive reach and peculiar nature of deprivation and inequality in India.

## 20th Anniversary Function of Centre for Policy Studies

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Centre for Policy Studies, on October 2, 2015 a commemoration volume, Dr. R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar's *Unfashionable Thoughts - An ex-policy maker's perspective on regulation in education* and the bimonthly Bulletin will be released. Cmde(Retd) C.Uday Bhaskar, Director of the Society for Policy Studies, Delhi, delivers the commemoration lecture. Prof K.C. Reddy, former Chairman A.P. State Council of Higher Education releases Dr. Vaidaynatha Ayyar's book and the commemoration volume. Shri K.S.Sastry, Founder-Secretary Gandhi Centre, Visakhapatnam will be felicitated on the occasion.

### Congratulations and good wishes



Centre for Policy Studies offers its congratulations to Prof. Sachidananda Mohanty and Prof. Jandhyala B.G.Tilak on their elevation as Vice Chancellors of Central University of Odisha, Koraput and National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, respectively. CPS wishes them a successful tenure. CPS hopes that they will continue to enrich the bimonthly Bulletin with their valuable contributions.

### Grateful Thanks



*On the occasion of its twentieth anniversary Centre for Policy Studies offers its grateful thanks to Gayatri Vidya Parishad, the members of the Governing Body of CPS, its well-wishers, distinguished contributors of articles and readers of the Bulletin.*

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*Hearty Congratulations on the occasion  
of the Centre for Policy Studies  
completing 20 long years.*



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