

#### DREAMS OF OUR YOUTH

"My dream is to see India as a strong nation and stable democracy striving for global peace and harmony," said a student of social sciences while her friend studying law vowed to work for the eradication of corruption and poverty, the two most dreadful afflictions of Indian society. The refrain of most of the speeches by the students taking part in the meeting on "India of My Dreams" was to free India from violence, corruption and poverty. A final year medical student, however, presented a different dream. "I long to see that day when Americans stand in long queues before Indian embassy or consulate for visas just as we Indians are doing today before American Consulates in India," he said amidst applause. "I want to see India governed by good leaders who are hard to find except in books. One wonders how greed, selfishness and duplicity are pathways to power in a country that attained freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and was shaped by Nehru, Patel and others as the world's largest democracy," observed another participant. The eleventh and the last in the lecture-series on "India at Sixty" organised by the Centre for Policy Studies commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of our independence evoked a keen response from college and school students who unfolded their dreams clearly and boldly before a packed auditorium.

Words such as dreams and vision have become immensely popular among our youth thanks to Dr APJ Abdul Kalam. His equation that dreams must be converted into vision, vision into plan of action and plan of action into achievement has ignited several young minds. The learned Dr Kalam must have drawn inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who always talked about their dreams and vision of India. Even a few days before he departed from this world Gandhiji talked of his dream of people of all religions living together in peace and harmony. His disciple and India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru talked till his last breath of his vision of a strong and united India. " Nothing is more encouraging than to capture our dreams and give them a real shape," he once said. Soon after taking charge as the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was asked "What is your principal problem? How many problems have you got?" Nehru replied "I have got 360 million problems in India!" When the questioner and others around looked perplexed Nehru explained that problems had to be viewed from the point of view of the 360 million people living in India and that planning had to be done for all the 360 million!

Sixty years after that India has today over 500 million youth having their own dreams about their future and that of India in the 21st century. They have a right to expect India to provide opportunities for the fulfillment of their dreams and a right to ask why poverty, corruption and violence persist in the world's largest democracy despite sixty years of independence. They also have a duty to come up with their ideas and an approach to do course correction. The sooner it is done the better it will be for them and the country.

Politics is described as the art of the possible. Great leadership aims at converting the impossible into the possible. Robert Kennedy famously said "Some people see things as they are and ask the question: Why? I dream of things that never were and ask the question: Why Not?" These words stirred the youth of those times and continue to inspire youth everywhere. Our youth have beautiful dreams. They are experts in creatively managing today's awesome technological power for the benefit of humankind. They feel inspired when they read about a Mahatma Gandhi or a Jawaharlal Nehru or when they see and hear a leader like APJ Abdul Kalam or for that matter when they get a pat from their elders and the proper guidance from their teachers. May their dreams come true!

- The Editor

# INDIA SHINING: VICE-CHANCELLOR

Our students are making a mark abroad, he says

News bulletin of CPS released Students told to be tech savvy

The Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, L.Venugopal Reddy on Thursday noted that the increasing number of Indians making their presence felt in foreign countries bears testimony to the fact quality education was indeed being imparted in India.

He was delivering the valedictory address of a series of lectures on India at Sixty, organised by the Centre for policy Studies of Gayatri Vidya Parishad, at the Visakha Public Library. He commended the students who participated in an elocution contest on 'India of my dreams' reflecting their love for the motherland. "Being an optimist, I dream that India will become a super power in every sector," he said.

# Priority areas

Prof.Reddy also released the news bulletin of CPS on the occasion.

Coordinator of GVP College of Degree and PG Courses, D.Dakshinamurthy who presided over the function, asked students to be tech savvy and recalled how the late Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao opened the gates to global economy. He spoke on education and health, two important aspects for development, food security, poverty alleviation, literacy and other sectors.

The GVP was creating human excellence for a better society, he said.

Earlier, Director of CPS A.Prasanna Kumar gave details of the series of lectures that began with former Cabinet Secretary T.R.Prasad, followed by several luminaries.

He was elated that the last day was left to students to speak of their dreams in front of a packed audience.

Mounika of Visakha Valley School, Phani Krishna, Godavari Sarma and Srinivas of GVP, Vani of Dr.Ambedkar College of Law, Swathi of Andhra University School of Management Studies, Ujjwal of Pydah College, Sowmya of BVK College, Kiran Kumar of Andhra Medical College and Suresh Babu of Maharaja College of Engineering participated in the elocution contest.

(A newspaper report on the eleventh and the last in the series of lecture programmes on *India at Sixty* organised by the Centre for Policy Studies)

(Courtesy: The Hindu, October 5, 2007)

# REDISCOVERING INDIA THROUGH JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(Tributes were paid to Jawaharlal Nehru on November 14 on his 118th birth anniversary, at the Visakhapatnam Public Library on the first day of the National Library Week Celebrations)

# Nehru's letters to his daughter Indira Priyadarshini

Nehru's letters from prison constitute a literary wealth. He wrote on a variety of subjects with an amazing objectivity, philosophical insights and literary flair. His style of writing was straight and simple, never ornate or tiring to the reader. He instilled courage through his letters in his young daughter's mind exhorting her to grow up into a brave girl with books as her constant companions. Her best friends, he assured young Indira Priyadarshini, were her books and it did not matter if she had no friends in the lonely house with father being in prison and mother in far away hospital. He guotes a poem from Yeats on the meaning of life and death and explains how beautifully Virginia Woolf wrote. "The more I read her the more I like her. There is a magic about her writing, something ethereal, limpid like running water and deep like a clear mountain lake." Conceding that it was unfair to keep his only child alone Nehru explains to daughter Indira the meaning of true happiness. Happiness he writes is more often negative than positive, an absence of pain and suffering. "And how is one to be happy if he knows and sees another in pain? A sensitive person will suffer continually on behalf of others" he writes. Nehru exhorts his daughter to overcome loneliness and depression. "If you feel depressed at any time think that the next day you are sure to get over this.—it is just a passing mood." He gives her the example of Beethoven the great musician who was stricken with deafness but who boldly declared : "I shall seize fate by the throat. It shall never overcome me."

### On Kamala Nehru

There was a touch of poignancy in Nehru's letters to his noble wife Kamala ailing in a hospital but unwilling to let her husband compromise on his stand with the British government. Wrote Nehru in his prison dairy: "I was taken to her today again for 3 hours...How much weaker she looked—a shadow. Gone down hill since I saw her ten days ago. Will I see her again? Brave little girl. She smiled at me as I was coming away though her temperature was 103.4 and she was in a daze. And even in this condition she said: do not give an assurance to govt! How she longs to have me out and by her but not at the price of undertakings to the government. I feel both heavy and empty since my return to my barrack, so lonely and weary. I gave Kamala today Edgar Allan Poe's lines:

Thou wast all that to me, love
For which my soul did pine A green isle in the sea, love
A fountain and a shrine ,
All wreathed with fairy fruits and flowers,
And all the flowers were mine.
And all my days are trances
And all my nightly dreams
And where thy grey eye glances,
And where thy footstep gleams
In what ethereal dances,
By what eternal streams.

(from Jawaharlal Nehru - An Anthology Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal — Oxford University Press 1983)

# **Nehru's Humour and Wit**

The touch of humour and sense of detachment always made him a different person. On his first visit to the United States of America in 1949 Nehru realised the hostility towards India and him in many circles and the comments made by the press. "One must never visit America for the first time," he quipped. On his second visit seven years later when things did not much improve an anecdote was in circulation. When the famous cold warrior and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asked Nehru "Are you for or against us?" Nehru coolly replied "Yes".

- (from Shashi Tharoor --- Nehru-The Invention of India-Penguin/Viking 2003 pp261).

# **Gender Justice**

When a bureaucrat refused permission to a prostitute to buy a house in the city, Nehru wrote "Prostitutes are only one party to the transaction". If they were obliged to live only in a remote corner of the city, "I would think it equally reasonable to reserve another part of Allahabad for the men who exploit women and because of whom prostitution flourishes."

# The Mahatma's Errant Child

Apologising to Gandhiji for openly airing his differences Nehru wrote: "My dear Bapuji....Am I not your child in politics, though perhaps truant and errant child?"

### **On Soviet Union**

After a successful visit to Soviet Union in 1955 Nehru said while leaving that country "I am leaving part of my heart".

# **On Dynastic Politics**

In 1961 he said "I am not trying to start a dynasty. I am nor capable of ruling from the grave."

#### Rectitude

When in 1957 the city of Allahabad levied a trivial wealth tax on his property there, Nehru insisted that it be assessed five times higher.

# **On Ganga**

Nehru's will "The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilization, everchanging, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga....the Ganga has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future..." This was Jawaharlal Nehru at his finest: lyrical, sentimental, passionately combining a reverence for the past with his aspirations for the future, making the most sacred river of Hinduism into a force for cultural unity, a torrent that unites history with hope. His ashes to "mingle with the dust and soil..... and become an indistinguishable part of India."

- (from Shashi Tharoor --- Nehru-The Invention of India-Penguin/Viking 2003 pp261).

# Vajpayee on Nehru

Atal Behari Vajpayee said on Nehru's death: "a dream has remained half-fulfilled, a song has become silent, and a flame has vanished into the Unknown. The dream was a world free of fear and hunger; the song a great epic resonant with the spirit of the Gita and as fragrant as a rose; the flame a candle which burnt all night long, showing us the way.....Nehru was the orchestrator of the impossible and inconceivable ...one who was not afraid of compromise but would never compromise under duress... the sun has set, yet by the shadow of the stars we must find our way."

- (from Shashi Tharoor --- Nehru-The Invention of India-Penguin/Viking 2003).

### **On Prison Life**

I do firmly believe that prison life for a period is good discipline. Physically it ought to do the body good if one does not break down under it. It is like the sun. If you do not get sunstroke you will benefit by it. Mentally it chastens and shows up life in true perspective.

# Life's Philosophy

Much in the Marxist philosophical outlook I could accept without difficulty: its monism and non-duality of mind and matter, the dynamics of matter and the dialectic of continuous change by evolution as well as leap, through action and interaction, cause and effect, thesis, antithesis and synthesis. It did not satisfy me completely, nor did it answer all the questions in my mind, and, almost unawares, a vague idealist approach would creep into my mind, something rather akin to the Vedanta approach.

(from Jawaharlal Nehru - An Anthology Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal — Oxford University Press 1983)

#### **On Sanskrit**

Sanskrit is a language amazingly rich, efflorescent, full of luxuriant growth of all kinds, and yet precise and strictly keeping within the framework of grammar which Panini laid down two thousand six hundred years ago. It spread out, added to its richness, became fuller and more ornate, but always it stuck to its original roots.

A language is something infinitely greater than grammar and philology. It is the poetic testament of the

genius of a race and a culture, and the living embodiment of the thoughts and fancies that have moulded them.

# S. Gopal on Nehru

"To a whole generation of Indians he was not so much a leader as a companion who expressed and made clearer a particular view of the present and a vision of the future. The combination of intellectual and moral authority was unique in his time."

(from Jawaharlal Nehru - An Anthology Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal — Oxford University Press 1983)

# "INDIA OF MY DREAMS" Rural Development

Sri D. Dakshina Murthy
 Co-ordinator, GVP Institutes
 Sri P. Srinivasan
 Lecturer in English, GVP College

The aim of rural development is to create a self-reliant rural communities and this goes with the vision of Mahatma Gandhi who once said that 'India lives in villages'. When India got independence 80% of the population of India were living in villages. Today after 60 years of Independence still 70% of people live in villages. This proves that ours is an agrarian based economy and it is essential that this sector does well for our economic growth.

Rural development is now considered as *sine qua non* for our national development and social welfare. Rural development does not simply mean development of rural areas, which I think is extrinsic but what is intrinsic is the overall development of rural communities to quell ignorance, eradicate poverty and assist the process of creating self-reliant and self-sustaining modern little communities with regard to area specific agriculture and natural resources. To achieve this rural development there are several areas of development and provisions that have to be emphasized upon namely agriculture, healthcare, education, transport, technology etc. for the overall development of the Indian farmer so that he gets synchronized with the development in the urban areas

The Nehruvian vision of mixed economy was also to bring about an equitable development and reducing disparities amongst its citizens thus, rural development can no longer be identified with mere increase of Gross National Product (GNP) or Per Capita National Income. The income generated must be so distributed that it should reduce inequalities of income and wealth in Indian society. Now the question is did it really happen?

Since independence rural development and alleviation of poverty have been accorded high priority in the plans of economic development, different schemes have been floated and self help groups encouraged as part of the fiveyear plans. An important principle of state policy laid down in the constitution is that social, economic and political justice shall be secured for all the people. It is envisaged that the state is to direct its policies in such a manner so as to secure the distribution of ownership and control of material resources of the community to sub serve the common good and ensure that the operation of economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the detriment of the common man.

When the Indian constitution was drafted for the new republic, article 40 was inserted according to which the state governments assumed responsibility for organizing village panchayats. The job of these panchayats was to provide basic needs of life to the rural population and they functioned as units of self government. In 1952 on October 2nd the Government of India lunched what is called the community development program for active participation of villagers themselves.

The Balwant Rai Metha committee that was constituted by the Planning Commission to examine inter alia, the community development program and reorganization of district administration laid down a scheme of democratic decentralization as a means for revoking people's initiative and mobilizing their spontaneous and voluntary participation. The 73rd amendment to the constitution was brought about to make the Panchayat Raj system more dynamic and it has been an important milestone in the process of decentralization of village administration. If I remember well the year 1999-2000 was declared the "year of Grama Sabha". The government gave full powers to Grama Sabha's for implementing projects, formulating plans, and deciding about the budgets

All is well said and passed by the government but how much of these restructurings, schemes and funds have really benefited the rural people is a most question. I have seen village life from close quarters and even today I go to my village. When I am in my town and enjoying town life with amenities a contrast always exists in the backdrop of my mind and that is the life of the farmer in Indian villages.

The life of the marginal farmer, the landless farmers and other communities hasn't improved much. Some questions prop up in my mind. Why farmers should commit suicides? Why hunger deaths are reported when we have sufficient buffer stocks of grain? Why should 70% of our population according to latest reports live only on Rs. 20/- a day? When on the other side the economic growth rate is a robust 8 to 9%, why should crops dry when more than of 90% of rain water is let into the seas? Once I read an article that stated that the living conditions of farmers in Srikakulam district is what the English farmer experienced 300 years ago in England. The Panchayat Raj institutions considered to be grassroot institutions have come to be known as grass without roots institutions. I have a feeling that somewhere the bureaucracy imbued with colonial traditions and values had its own reservations about sharing power with the people. Instead of democratic decentralization what crept in is democratic demoralization. I feel we weren't able to bring about an integrated, equitable development in the country. Plans are there, funds do flow but they seem not to work, misuse of the government funds earmarked for bringing about a balanced regional development in the country is rampant. The benefits of the various schemes to uplift the rural communities get sucked up before they reach their destination.

Rural areas that come under irrigation and non-irrigation have shown a marked difference in living standards of the farmers. We know 'that water is the most important input for agriculture and if that is not available all other inputs are useless. The non-irrigated areas, which are dependent on rainwater, are backward and under developed and stark poverty exists. The land reforms act has not changed the life of the marginal farmer. It is found that most of the redistributed land has reverted to the original owners. In fact the land reforms could not be implemented adequately as either the laws were defective or implementation was stalled through litigation. The current features of the Indian agrarian economy reveal the existence of three distinct sectors of rural population. The first is the developed section of modern entrepreneur

farmers who are rich mostly from irrigated rural areas. The second one comprises the areas under self cultivation by medium, small and marginal farmers. The third sector comprises the vast area of land under utilization by sharecroppers and various kinds of tenants and subtenants having no proprietary rights on land, no security of tenure, no share of various aids and inputs distributed by the state or institutional agencies. It is the third sector which is the worst placed and subject to exploitation.

Now the question is what is the remedy? How the living standards of the poor farmer could be ameliorated? The first requisite I feel is that illiteracy which is rampant in rural areas must be eradicated. Even today in India after 60years of independence 40% of population are illiterate and it's mostly in the rural areas. We have to make the Indian farmer information rich of his rights and provisions and then only can he tackle exploitation by middlemen and society as a whole.

The Indian farmer today is faced with a formidable task of providing about three hundred million tons of food grains per annum to feed the country's population of over one billion people in the near future. It is sad but true that the country has not even realized 40% of its agricultural potential and this despite the fact that India has one of the best agro-climatic conditions in the world. Once an American farmer happened to say that" if Indian government allots me only the northern plain of India, I will feed double the population of the world". So we do have fertile land and it has to be brought under irrigation properly. The 158 Million hectares of land which is designated as waste land has to be reclained. We have buffer stocks of food grain but the harsh reality is 1/3rd of our population is half fed because of lack of purchasing power. Malnutrition is about 60% and it is very high by any standards. It is here that modern methods of farming have to be practiced if we really want to see the Indian farmer in an advantageous position. The government has to provide heavy subsidies for implementing modern methods of farming

The other input for speedy development of rural areas and to bring it on par with urban areas is proper transport and electricity. Even today there are a large number of villages, which do not have roads connecting to the highways. It is a known fact that villages adjacent to highways are more developed compared to villages which are far away from the highways and having no

roads. Even after 60 years of independence we read about incidents of people getting bitten by snakes and by the time they are brought to the highway and taken to the hospital the victim dies. Could this still happen after 60 years of independence? All villages must get electrified so as to enable the village folk to educate themselves through media and on all fronts. The whole of the Indian landscape should come under satellite accessibility. The rural areas where there is television network have shown higher level of awareness compared to ones without it. Through media the farmers can be educated about the agro-climatic conditions of the area they live in and what type of crops can be grown. The benefits of crop rotation for higher yields and more profits can be known through the media. If we compare the yield per hectare with a country like China, India is far behind. The memories of 1968 and 1969 when food grain availability was scarce and the cascading problems that our people faced should always be in the minds of our planners.

As far as health facilities in rural areas is concerned India's performance is dismal. A large number of people in India die of waterborne diseases. In fact waterborne diseases are the second largest killers of people in India. Most of them are from rural areas, as they don't have accessibility to proper healthcare system. 75% of the doctors in India are city based and from this data we can well imagine the poor state of affairs as far as health care for 70 % of population of India in rural areas is concerned. If we take the case of tribal areas it is pathetic. Connectivity is dismal and hence they lead a life of hardship, penury, malnutrition and hunger deaths. Every year hundreds of tribal deaths are reported because of malaria and other deadly diseases. They die just because medical help does not reach them in time or the residential areas are inaccessible. 1/3rd world's malnourished children are in India and they are mostly from rural areas. There is a proposition that fresh graduate doctors should at least work for 1 year in rural areas, but that doesn't seem to happen because proper facilities are not available in rural areas for their living. So, the government should convince them to work in rural areas. Provision of pure drinking water to all villages must be high on the agenda of the government in power. It is once quoted by a foreign dignitary that 70% of India's population never ever get a chance to drink pure-drinking water in their lifetime. Even today in places like Rajasthan and in hilly terrains people walk kilometers to fetch a pot of drinking water and that too impure water.

We all know, very well that our struggle for freedom was not just a movement to achieve freedom from the Englishman. It was also to free ourselves from various social evils and socioeconomic iniquities and discriminations, to lift, to ameliorate the poor, the downtrodden from the mire of poverty and to give them an overall stake in the transformation of the country. For this real transformation a proper co-ordination is required in all aspects pertaining to development and this should be equitably distributed so that there will be no paradoxes. According to latest report between 1997 and 2005 the number of farmer suicides were an alarming 89,632. But on the other hand an Indian politician says that 'India is shining'. Yes India is shining but in pockets. It has to shine all over and for this to happen equitable development has to be undertaken by our planners. Our politicians should not think on parochial basis and release funds. Just like manure, which is to be spread equitably in a farm for equal growth of the crop in the same manner our planners should plan future projects in such a way that balanced growth in all areas takes place. Modem aids of development should reach the rural places. Let not the question that whether ours is a mixed economy or mixed-up economy rise in our minds.

# **WORLD ENERGY OUTLOOK**

- Prof. M.N. Sastri

The International Energy Agency (IEA), founded during the oil crisis of 1973-4, is an autonomous body, acts as a policy advisor to 26 OECD member countries in their efforts to ensure reliable, affordable and clean energy for their citizens. In course of time its mandate has broadened to energy security, economic development and environmental protection. The Agency currently focuses on climate change policies, market reforms, energy technology, collaboration and outreach to the rest of the world, especially major producers and consumers of energy like China, India, Russia and the OPEC countries. Another important activity of this body is publication of annual reports on the WORLD ENERGY OUTLOOK.

In its report released in November, 2007 the EIA predicts an alarming rise in energy demand that could speed up climate change, threaten global energy security

and even create a supply crunch. According to its Reference Scenario, the world's primary energy needs are projected to grow by 55% between 2005 and 2030, from 11 billion Tonnes Oil Equivalent (TOE) to 17.7 billion TOE. Nonrenewable fossil fuel oil will continue to be the single largest fuel, the demand reaching 116 million barrels per day in 2030 up 37% on 2006. Coal will see the biggest rise in demand in absolute terms, jumping by 73% between 2005 and 2030. The share of natural gas will show a modest increase from 21% to 22%. There will be a doubling of electrical power consumption. The investment in supply infrastructure to meet this demand is put at a mind-boggling \$22 trillion!

China and India alone account for 45% of this increase in demand. The combined oil imports of China and India are projected to climb from 5.4 million barrels a day in 2006 to 19.1 million barrels in 2030, more than the combined imports of the US and Japan today. At the existing trends, China will surpass the US to become the world's largest energy consumer after 2010. Oil demand for the Chinese transport sector will increase fourfold between 2005 and 2030. There will be a sevenfold rise in cars and trucks to 270 million vehicles. India will not be far behind. Although production capacity at the new oilfields is expected to rise over the five years, it is very uncertain whether it will be sufficient to compensate in the decline in output and meet the projected rise in global demand. This could lead to a supply-side crunch in the period up to 2015, resulting in a possible abrupt escalation in oil prices. The price of oil per barrel is already at the \$100 threshold compared with \$20 in the '80s.

Driven by its continuing boom in heavy industry, China's share of world energy demand is projected to rise rapidly, doubling 1.724 million TOE in 2005 to 3.819 million TOE in 2030. China's energy resources, especially coal, are extensive but will not meet all its growth needs. Oil production in China is set to peak at 3.9 million barrels a day (MBD) early in the next decade and then decline. As a result its oil imports jump from 3.5 MBD in 2006 to 13.1 MBD in 2030. China is actively courting oil-producing countries in Africa, Middle East and Asia to meet its requirements of oil and gas. China needs to add more than 1,300 GWe to its electrical power generating capacity, more than the current installed capacity in the US. The energy-hungry behemoth is reported to be adding one thermal power plant every week.

Rapid economic expansion is driving up India's energy demand too, which is projected to double by 2030. Currently coal is India's most important fuel. Its use is projected to triple between 2005 and 2030. But because its coal deposits are of poor quality, India has to depend on imported hard coal for its power generation, which accounts for much of the rise in energy demand from industry and residential and commercial buildings. Coal imports are projected to rise almost seven-fold by 2030. With limited indigenous oil resources, India imports about three quarter of its oil needs. Net oil imports will rise to 6 MBD by 2030 when India will overtake Japan to become the third largest net importer of oil displacing Japan, after the US and China. Despite the recent encouraging discoveries, gas generation is projected to peak between 2005 and 2030 necessitating imports of liquid natural gas too. Power generation, most of it coalfired, more than triples between 2005 and 2030 with gross added capacity of more than 400 GWe, equal to today's combined capacity of Japan, Korea and Australia. The amount required for investment in the energy infrastructure is \$1.25 trillion, three quarters of the amount being in the power sector. Securing this investment will be a huge challenge for India in its efforts to sustain economic growth.

An alarming consequence of dependence on the fossil fuels- oil, coal and gas- is the emission of the greenhouse gas carbon dioxide. The trends described above could result in increased carbon dioxide emission from 27 Gigatonnes in 2005 to 42 Gigatonnes in 2030a rise of 57%. China is expected to overtake the US to become world's biggest emitter in 2007, while India becomes the third biggest emitter by 2015. The International Panel on Climate Change has warned about the increase in global temperatures through these enhanced emissions and the consequent adverse climatic effects. It has called for urgent action for stabilizing the atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous interference with the climatic system. Energy efficiency and conservation could play a significant role in curbing soaring electricity demand and reducing fossil fuel inputs to existing generation systems.

In this context nuclear power assumes importance as an additional energy source, apart from hydropower with its attendant problems of population displacement. Nuclear power plants emit greenhouse gases at negligible level. With advances in technology the risks associated

with nuclear power plants (Cf. Chernobyl and Three Mile Island) have been practically solved. As a result, nuclear power is finding favour in the countries planning to add new electrical power generation.

China is in the lead in nuclear power plant installation to augment its energy needs. It has currently 11 nuclear power plants in operation with a total output of 8587 MWe of electrical power. Five are under construction and several more planned for construction. It plans to increase its nuclear power production five-fold to 40,000 MWe by 2020 and then a further 3-4 fold increase to 120,000 to 160,000 MWe by 2030.

In contrast, India, which launched its nuclear energy programme earlier than China, has currently an installed capacity of 3,779 MW of electricity and reactors with 2,976 MWe output under construction. It has plans to achieve the target of 20,000 MWe by 2020. India suffers from lack of indigenous uranium sources to meet its nuclear fuel requirements. The technology for utilization of its vast thorium deposits as a fertile material for nuclear power generation is yet to be proved. For reasons of not being a member of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and also for conducting two nuclear explosions in 1974, India has been excluded from trade in nuclear plants or materials. This has greatly hampered its development of civil nuclear energy programmes. The recent Indo-US nuclear deal has opened the opportunity for India to accelerate its civil nuclear programme through acquiring uranium fuel and advanced technology. With the signing of the deal it was hoped that India would be in a position to meet its growing energy needs through a multilateral strategy including development of nuclear energy to build a nation in which economy grows significantly to become a global player and meet the legitimate aspirations of the younger generation. It is a matter of great disappointment that the deal is bogged down in controversy. The hurdles created have even stood in the way of India entering into a deal, during the recent visit of India's PM to Russia, for the supply of four additional nuclear power plants with a power output of 4,000 MWe. Meanwhile China has been galloping ahead signing agreements with Russia and other countries for supplies of reactors, uranium and other technologies. Time alone will judge the extent of damage to India's credibility in the international circles if the deal does not come through. More importantly India will have to face greater and greater energy insecurity with continued dependence on imported fossil fuel stocks.

Another issue of great concern is the likelihood of India, China and other fast-growing economies being brought into the ambit of a new protocol in the place of Kyoto Protocol (which expires in 2012) to curb greenhouse gas emissions. Let us hope that this crucial issue of energy strategy will not become a casualty of ideologies and vindictive politics.

#### **NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE-II**

(January 23rd 1897-August 15th 1945)

- Sri Challa Sivasankaram

In 1913 at the age of 20 he sat for Matriculation examination. He came second in the whole Cuttack University inspite of his eccentric multifarious activity. He was Sadhu, rebel, patriot and staunch nationalist. At this age he wished to lead a life that would conduce to unabated spiritual unfoldment and striving for uplift of mankind stricken in the web of ignorance. The group of students Subhas Bose headed was called neo-Vivekananda group which emphasised social service as the energetic means to national reconstruction. The group at the same time was dead against Leninistic activity (within four years the great Bolshevik revolution brokeout). The ideal of a sage or a guru he cherished to follow as he that practised "the sky as the roof, the grass as the bed and food what chance may bring". He was 17 years old when he yearned for such a guru.

Like Aurobindo before him Subhas too disqualified himself in the I.C.S. examination. At the time of the I.C.S. examination Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak visited Cambridge (1919). Tilak who was nicknamed as "father of Indian Unrest" had asked the Indian students not to go into Government service but to devote themselves to national service. Bengal was the first province that produced two heroes who sacrificed their career as I.C.S. officers-they were Aurobindo and Subhas babu. The ground on which they resigned was not different - passion to serve the enslaved Bharata Mata. Bengal was the first province that had her first I.C.S. officer. He hailed from Tagore's family. Gurudev Tagore was the first who was honoured with Knighthood. (later he discarded in protest against Jalianwalabagh massacre).

Gandhi and Subhas were poles apart. Nehru too was like Chanakya or the Indian counterpart of Italian Machiavilli (He himself admitted that he was Chanakya

in an article). Jawaharlal by his charm and charisma won the favour of Gandhi and earned the appointment as his legal heir.

Inspite of the antagonism of Subhas Babu to the indefinite and mercurially changing campaigns and policies of Gandhi, Gandhi took the step of selecting Subhas for the President of Haripura Congress session. He returned unopposed. He was the youngest of the Congress Presidents so far elected. It was from Jawaharlal the darling showpiece of Congress, that Subhas babu took the reins of Congress President. Subhas hailed from a province whose young men and patriots had suffered much in the annals of India, had striven most in promoting national culture and suffered most in achieving India's emancipation.

Against heavy odds mainly engineered by Gandhi and his yes-men Subhas babu succeeded by 95 votes majority against his rival Dr. Pattabhi despite Gandhi's fervent canvassing and vehement propaganda and the open statement that the defeat of Dr. Pattabhi was tantamount to his defeat.

In this connection I should like to quote at length what a contemporary and a colleage of Subhas babu Dr. Pattabhi the defeated rival said of Subhas, "Contemporary history carries with it its own charms as well as its own complications - a stormy life from boyhood onwards, a strange combination of mysticism and reality of intense religious fervour and stern practical sense, of deep emotional susceptibility and cold calculating pragmatism. Few people that had only a cursory or distant aquaintance with him could have had an inkling of the real mettle displayed by this marvel of a character". No more elucidation or elaboration of Subhas babu's historic eventful life is required to subsantiate his unprecedented heroism and dauntless loyalty to the cause he sought to effect. What infuriated and drove him to step down from the infamous Congress gaddi the weightless tool of Gandhi and his following marked by sheep mentality.

There was certainly a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan and strategy of Mahatma. Gandhi himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to its cherished goal of free India. Again in the deliberate review and learned analysis of Dr. Pattabhi" His (Gandhiji's) was rather the trend of the motor driver driving his car in a fog where he was able to see only 10 yards ahead and then another ten, and another ten until he reaches his goal". Subhas babu entertained no two opinions about Gandhi's leadership. Subhas felt that it failed, failed miserably. In the letter jointly issued by Subhas and Viltalbhai Patel from Vienna it was pinpointed that Gandhi failed as a political leader. Gandhi was not reconciled to the Tripuri Congress imbroglio-the devastating defeat his candidate suffered wounded Gandhi's susceptibilities. Gandhi was no Gautama Buddha or Jesus. Ahimsa with which the world supposed him to have been identified drowned into unfathomable abyss and his suppressed peevishness blatantly surfaced. Subhas must be outlawed and his political career must end once for all. The same kind of vindictiveness and rigid desire to wreak vengeance against his opponent was observed when Andhra Kesari Prakasam Pantulu refused to toe his dictate to vacate Madras Chief Ministership in favour of his (Gandhi's) son's father-in-law C. Rajagopalachari- Hurt Never Love Ever is the dictum Mahabharata taught. Injury mild or harsh must be foreign to the acclaimed apostle of Ahimsa. Only a Buddha can afford to be eternally loving for he was divested of Trigunas Sathva, Rajas and Tamas.

(to be continued)

# ACCESS TO JUSTICE - LEGAL AID - VIS-A-VIS 60 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE-I

- Smt. Challa Mahalakshmi Senior Advocate & International Law Affiliate, American Bar Association, Visakhapatnam

"Access to Justice" is one of fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution of India and also a statutory right as per the provisions of the Legal Services Authorities Act administered by the judiciary since the heads of the Authorities that provide legal services in our country are headed by the Judicial Officers. No doubt, in our country, only rich have access to justice since the cost of litigation is high. Exorbitant court fees, complicated procedures, poor quality of legal education and unavailability of experts in law if one cannot pay good amount as fees are some of the reasons, the poor and middle class cannot fight their cases in courts and tribunals.

When we resolved nearly 58 years ago that we should achieve social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity, more than 50% of our countrymen were poor and they did not know that they would be deprived of their fundamental rights to life and liberty by the rest. Though the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and our Constitution recognize access to justice as one of the most important basic human rights, even today, nearly half of our population are unable to knock at the doors of the justice delivery system to assert their rights.

Law should be administered equally and justice should not be sold is the principle rooted in English Common Law and in 1215 A.D. it was incorporated in the "Magna Carta". "To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice". In the United Kingdom, the concept of the State providing legal support for defendants and litigants dates back to the early part of the 20th Century. In 1903, the poor Prisioner's Defence Act made some steps to addressing the imbalance in legal representation by allowing the Magistrates to order payment for legal help for the defendant drawn from local funds. In civil cases, legal help relied largely on the goodwill of lawyers. A 1914 change in the rules of the Supreme Court allowed for litigants of modest means and with a strong case to be assigned a lawyer to investigate their case and report to the High Court or Court of Appeal. The Radcliffe Committee report in 1945 paved the way for a modern legal aid system and the recommendations were given effect in the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949. A comprehensive, funded system was introduced in 1949 and its justice system depends to a greater degree on legal aid in order to function fairly.

One of the precepts of the U.S. Constitution is the fundamental principle of "equal justice under the law". Beginning in the later 1800s and throughout the early years of the 20th century, the American legal profession expressed its commitment to the concept of free legal assistance for poor people in the form of legal aid societies and bar association legal aid committees. In 1888, the Ethical Culture Society of Chicago, established by the Bureau of Justice, was the first agency to offer legal assistance to individuals regardless of nationality, race or gender and in the first decades of the 20th century, most major cities had opened legal aid societies.

In his address to the 25th Anniversary of the Legal Aid Society in New York, Lyman Abbott, the Editor of 'Out Look' described the situation as follows.

I quote. "If ever a time shall come when in this city only the rich man can enjoy law as a doubtful luxury, when the poor who need it most cannot have its, when only a golden key unlock the door to the Court room, the seeds of revolution will be lighted and put into the hands of men and they will almost be justified in the revolution which will follow."

In 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act was passed which launched the war on poverty and mandated federal funds to be allocated to fund legal services to the poor.

In both the United States of America and the United Kingdom, efforts are put in to reform the existing legal aid system and make it available to the needy by providing necessary infrastructure effectively. Those countries have been making a difference in the lives of low-income clients and their families and communities by ensuring high quality legal representation for individuals who cannot affort an attorney.

Law is an important instrument for social change in all welfare states and legal aid to the poorer sections is necessary for realization of social justice. Therefore, a duty is cast on the welfare States to provide legal services free of cost to the low-income community regardless of race, gender or ethnicity.

In our country, prior to 1947, for about two centuries, the judicial system became more and more complicated when the Britishers ruled our country and the entire judicial process was not only time consuming but also unaffordable financially. The question of providing legal aid was never thought of by them and they were insensitive to the needy and poor people. After we got our independence and resolved to secure life and liberty by giving ourselves the Constitution of India, Articles 14 and 22(1) made it obligatory fo the State of ensure equality before law and a legal system which promotes justice on a basis of equal opportunity to all. Since 1952, the Govt. of India also started addressing to the question of legal aid for the poor in various conferences of Law Ministers and Law Commissions. The 14th report of the First Law Commission of India recommended that some arrangement shall be made for providing a poor man means to pay Court fees, advocates' fees and other incidental costs of litigation. The Commission observed that if the laws did not provide for an equality of opportunity to seek justice to all segments of society, they have no protective value and that those people belonging to poorer sections were denied an opportunity to seek justice. In 1960, some guidelines were drawn by the Govt. of legal aid schemes. In different states, legal aid schemes were floated through Legal Aid Boards, Societies and Law Departments.

(to be concluded

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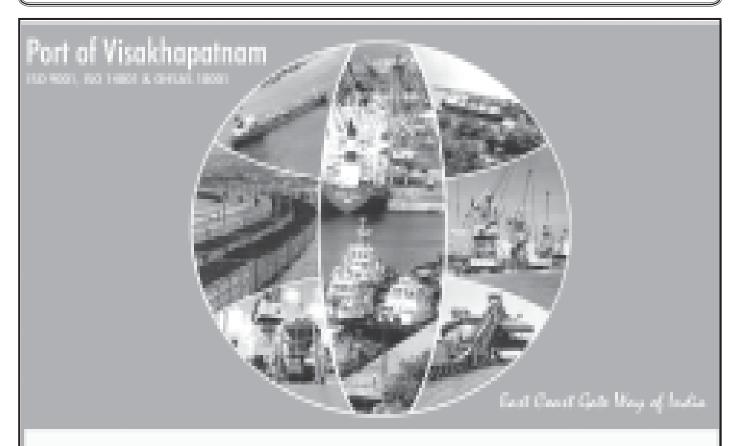
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