

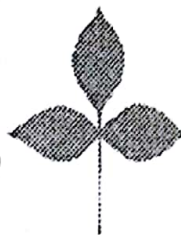


BULLETIN

OF THE

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(SANKAR FOUNDATION)



HERALDING THE DAWN ...

A new century and a new millennium will arrive in less than a month. Notwithstanding the debate over the actual commencement — January 2000 or 2001 — of the next century, a lot is being said about the achievements of the 20th century and on how the new century will be like. The century coming to an end has been variously described - as a century of fear, a century of terror and also as the century of the common man because "the common man has suffered the most." Two global wars and mindless acts of violence and terrorism have taken a heavy toll of life and property.

It took 10,000 years for world population to reach the one billion mark by 1800 A.D. Only another hundred years were needed for the second billion to arrive by 1900 and thereafter the population growth has been rapid with the third billion arriving in forty years by 1940, the fourth by 1960 and the fifth and sixth by the end of the century! There were 62 countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. Today there are 193. 118 of these are democratic though in many of these countries the people are neither free nor equal.

Thanks to science and technology the world has shrunk, like time and space. It is a global village, a global family said to be 'progressing' on a global economy! It may be the end of history for the champions of capitalism. For the vast majority of the people living in the poor third world countries the tunnel is too long and dark for any light to appear. No end of poverty is in sight. Shame indeed that we talk of the millennium when millions are starving and hundreds are dying every day for want of food and medical aid.

The gap between the rich and the poor, often described as north south divide, is widening. The rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. Experts are voicing their concern over increasing human misery despite tremendous technological progress. Someone has rightly cautioned against technology becoming 'a facilitator to tyranny—invisible tyranny.' It has a corrosive effect on human values. Technology, it is suggested, should not try to produce appropriate democracy. On the other

hand, the argument goes on, democracy should try to produce an appropriate technology.

Certainly a great century this has been for the way in which humankind moved from bondage to freedom, from ignorance to knowledge and from medieval thinking to modern outlook. The pace of progress has been stunning. Great minds have enriched our civilization with their discoveries, inventions and writings. Science, literature, arts and creative works have narrowed distances, demolished boundaries and broadened human outlook. Genius can never be the monopoly of a nation or people.

The advanced countries, especially the western powers, may claim with justifiable pride that democracy has been nurtured by them with diligence in this century. The United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, among other things, are great gifts to humankind. At the same time they will do well to remember that the message of peace has again come to the world from the east. The life and work of Mahatma Gandhi will continue to inspire people all over the world for centuries to come.

The lessons of the twentieth century should guide us towards a saner and safer world in the next century. It has rightly been said that the knowledge of the west must be combined with the wisdom of the east. Our goal, not mere hope, should be to strive for a world without violence and injustice, a world where people do not suffer from want, disease and ignorance. Only when every village prospers and every human being enjoys freedom and equality can there be a real global village. That will arrive sooner than later in the next millennium if only we want it and work for it. Let us now make that deal with the future.

—The Editor

"No society is static; no law is unchanging; and no constitution is permanent. Given time and patience, radical changes may happen both in human nature and in systems of society which reflect human nature."

—S. Radhakrishnan

LIVING WITH PAKISTAN

—Shri G.S. Bhargava

For people of my generation military coups in Pakistan have a cyclical tendency, even if the frequency of military rule has varied from time to time. During the last 32 years of independence Pakistan has had about twenty-five years of military dictatorship. The army which was a professional fighting force trained by the British has over the years become a tool of politics. It cannot resist the temptation of seizing power even when it has a veto on the administration of the country. With the result that elected governments are intervals between spells of military rule.

The main pillars of Pakistan ever since the 1947 partition were the military officer class, largely of Punjabi landed gentry, and the civil servants who opted for Pakistan on grounds of religion. The Muslim League was not even an election machine like the Congress party in India; it was a shell without life. After the death of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, there was a virtual eclipse of political leadership and the military and the civil servants came into their own, sometimes jointly otherwise separately. Thus, the Quaid-e-Azam's handiwork has not been a healthy political State with democratic moorings but a fiefdom of the military and the bureaucracy. A near, less harmful parallel is the flair of the post-Nehru Congress party in our country not to let a non-Congress government function at the Centre, irrespective of the verdict of the electorate. Thus, in 1979 after hardly two years of Janata Party rule, it engineered a split in the ruling party and returned to power in 1980. That pattern has been repeated in 1990 and 1998, with minor differences in the scenario.

Now, however, after toppling the Vajpayee government in April this year and precipitating a premature general election, the second in two years, Congress party has bitten the dust. Its strength in the thirteenth Lok Sabha is too meagre for another manoeuvre in the near future. Nor are its potential allies in a position to help it in the fell game. If still, with no prospect of rigging up a majority in the House, the party tries to bring down the present Vajpayee Government by exploiting the unavoidable friction in a coalition of so many parties it will mean it is playing the army's role in Pakistan: destroy people's faith in the parliamentary system.

As I have said earlier, the similarity between the Pakistani and Indian experiences is apparent but qualitatively different. Democracy is entrenched in our political soil, thanks to Nehru's stewardship for the first two decades after independence, whereas it has been always fragile in Pakistan. For instance, in the eleven years since the Pakistan People's Party had won the 1988 general election no elected government has lasted the full five-year term. Benazir Bhutto's Government served two years. Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League was victorious in

the subsequent 1990 election but it had to resign after three years.

In the elections which followed, Benazir Bhutto, with US blessings, was re-elected and had reportedly the endorsement of the army. But it was dismissed in 1996 by a President of Benazir's own making, apparently at the instance of the army. Nawaz Sharif won two-thirds of the seats in the National Assembly in the 1997 election and using his majority set out to defang both the army and the President. He got the Zia-ul-Haque constitution amended to divest the President of power to dismiss elected governments. Similarly, he scrapped the National Security Council which was conceived to be a super-government with the army in the driving seat. He sent packing an army chief who would not go along with him and virtually tamed the all-powerful Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI). After Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, he is the second Prime Minister of Pakistan to try to cut the army to size.

In the process, he also became overbearing, not to the extent of Bhutto in 1977, though. With a view to neutralising the Islamists, he introduced a law to make the Shariat the basis of civil governance in Pakistan. He rode rough shod over dissent and did not hesitate to muzzle the Press also. He went on packing the court with favourites, after forcing an intransigent chief justice to resign. In other words, he did not win popular support in his titanic struggle against the military.

Above all, he has rubbed on the wrong side the present army chief, Pervez Musharraf, who even if appointed by Nawaz Sharif is not his dummy. That the coup was triggered as if spontaneously within hours of the reported attempt on Musharraf's life (by blocking the entry of his plane returning to Karachi from Colombo) suggests that Nawaz Sharif tried to preempt a military coup in the works and failed.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the first Pakistani politician to try to clip the wings of the army. He paid a heavy price for it. Unlike Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif confronted the army openly, even if clumsily. If the alleged attempt on Musharraf's life is discounted, he did not adopt cloak and dagger tactics. Still, the people did not stand by him. Surprisingly, Pakistanis seem to have short memories of repeated military dictatorship. They swallow the charge of corruption and arbitrariness of political leaders used by the generals while deposing them. Can the Musharraf dispensation be more accountable than that of Nawaz Sharif?

Compared to his peers, Bhutto was a fiend. He fomented the so-called Operation Gibraltar which meant infiltrating armed guerrillas into Jammu and Kashmir and landed Ayub Khan in a mess. Bhutto reaped the harvest of cheap popularity in what was then West Pakistan for his newly launched Pakistan People's Party (PPP), while Ayub Khan had to hold the sack for the failure of the 1965 aggression. After the 1971 general election under

General Yahya Khan, the first in which the numerical preponderance of the more populous eastern wing was allowed to operate, Bhutto wrecked efforts to instal a popular government. Again he was rewarded with prime ministership of what remained of Pakistan.

Within the country, he waged war on sub-nationalities like the Pakhtoons and Baluchis. In 1972, he duped Indira Gandhi into returning the Pakistan territory in the adverse possession of India and freeing 92,000 prisoners of war in return for an amicable settlement in Jammu and Kashmir with the line of control as the *de jure* boundary. He not only went back on his commitment but also made bellicosity towards India the plank for his political survival. He launched a nuclear weapons programme which landed in the hands of the military when Zia-ul-Haque deposed him and later got him hanged. Zia not only pursued the nukes programme with overt Chinese support and overt American connivance but also began to Islamise public life and the army. It became Nawaz Sharif's dubious legacy when he won a massive election victory in 1997.

From the Indian point of view, Bhutto was the source of an unending security threat from Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif might have conducted nuclear tests last year but the key to the black box is with the army. In that respect, the coup has not aggravated the nuclear threat. The question often asked is whether India should look askance at military rulers of Pakistan and pledge itself for restoration of democracy in that country. Nehru, because of idealistic aversion for dictatorship, spurned Ayub Khan's overtures and looked down upon the military ruler's basic democracy as neither basic nor democracy.

In retrospect, there is a growing school of revisionist opinion that we could have done business with him and even clinched a Kashmir agreement because he had the power to deliver and there was no opposition worth the name to him. The successful working of the Indus Waters Treaty is cited as an instance in point.

Further, democratic governments in Pakistan, notably those of Bhutto and his daughter, have been no less hostile to India. In fact, Ayub Khan was more responsible than the politicians of his time who plumped for war with India, as he disclosed in his political autobiography, *Friends, Not Masters*. Also, if India had responded favourably to Ayub's overtures he would not have taken Pakistan into the Chinese parlour with the evil genius of Bhutto as the instrument. The record of Bhutto has already been recalled. His daughter had won the sympathy of Indian middle classes as the *Daughter of the East* (the title of her memoirs) because her father had been hanged without a fair trial and because of her own struggle against Zia's dictatorship. But as prime minister she presided over ISI activities in India and got on merrily with Zia's successors in the military. Thus, there is nothing to choose between military dictators and elected leaders among Pakistan rulers. The crux is their

attitude to India generally and their ability to live up to their commitments.

Nawaz Sharif was the First Pakistan Prime Minister who did not make India baiting a plank of his politics. He won the 1997 election promising to improve relations with India. He was a party to the Lahore process which showed so much promise early this year. The army, obviously, could not stomach it and launched the Kargil misadventure facing Nawaz Sharif with a fait accompli. According to Lord Mountbatten, V.K. Krishna Menon played a similar trick on Nehru. He ordered the invasion of Goa keeping Nehru in the dark and later forcing him to fall in line. (*Mountbatten and the Partition of India* by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre) Similarly, Nawaz Sharif, even if he was sincere in his desire for cordial relations with India, could not disown the army on the Kargil intrusion, which eventually proved his political Waterloo. Of course, even if he had survived, politically, he would have been drained of the strength to settle Kashmir in the teeth of opposition by the army.

INDIA IN THE 21st CENTURY

(Lecture delivered at the Centre for Policy Studies on November 15, 1999)

—Shri Khushwant Singh

When India attained Independence in 1947 not many people believed that the Indian democracy would last long. They thought that the caste disparities and illiteracy in India would not allow democracy to survive and it would last as long as Gandhi and Nehru were there. But India still continues to remain a democratic country as the Gandhi-Nehru impact on India is very strong. India remained one country despite caste disparities and pressures from all sides. The problem of Nagaland from North-East, the demand for separate state 'Khalistan' from North-West Frontier and such other problems could have divided the country, but it has remained one. Similarly, even with the three wars India fought with its neighbours after Independence, there was no internal threat to overthrow the government. The strong sense of Indianness made its people to stand as one united country. Despite several divisive forces working against the nation and with all its disparities of all kinds, Indians demonstrated their solidarity unlike the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia. The unity in diversity is the positive aspect of India.

However, the negative aspect is also there in India. It is one among the top ten of the poorest countries of the

"Today, education has spawned cultural illiterates and moral idiots. Schools and universities have been swamped with intellectual laziness bred from the modern doctrine that everything is relative and all values are equal."

—Nani A. Palkhivala

"Be more dedicated to making solid achievements than in running after swift but synthetic happiness."

—A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

(In the Convocation Address at Jadavpur University)

world and also tops in illiteracy and corruption. The challenges that Indians have to face in the new millennium are the fight against poverty, ignorance and corruption. Though there is not much of hope to overcome these challenges as they are acute, solutions need to be searched for. One has to bestow top priority to solve the problems such as population explosion, environmental degradation, religious fundamentalism and political instability.

Population Explosion :

Some serious action needs to be taken to check population. The rate of growth of population is suicidal. Panditji pooh-poohed it and Mrs. Gandhi till later part of her rule did not take initiatives to check population. The State of Andhra Pradesh produced a President with 9 children and a Prime Minister who had 8 children. The ex-Chief Minister of Bihar, Laloo Prasad Yadav boasts of a family of 9. Time has come to take stringent steps to control population explosion. Legislation has to be introduced for compulsory family planning and any couple who have more than two children should be banned to hold any public office and lose the right to vote. As a member of Parliament, I made the list of M.Ps and the number of children they had. If my proposal were to be accepted, both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha would have been reduced to one-third of their size. There was much laughter for this proposal but nothing happened later. Legislation to this effect should be passed as soon as possible and even the couple at the time of their marriage should be asked to take an oath that they will not have more than two children.

Environmental Degradation :

We are losing our green cover. Forests are disappearing, and effluents flow in full swing in all the rivers and lakes. Ganga and Yamuna also are full of filth and the cleansing programme of Ganga initiated by Rajiv Gandhi has not changed the position to anything better. The present afforestation programmes (Vanamahotsavas) are occasions for politicians to show themselves in T.V. with the cameras and mikes on and thereafter nothing happens and the saplings die. It is high time now to pass a legislation for a total ban on felling of trees and every school and college must have environmental education as a part of its curriculum. There should also be a ban on cremation of the dead as it consumes thousands of tonnes of wood and should instead switch over to 'burial' as we do not have enough electric or gas power crematoriums. Hindus and Sikhs are the two communi-

ties who cremate their dead and to ban this, religious leaders should cooperate as there is nothing in the religion that stops the burial of the dead. Leaders like M.G. Ramachandran and Swami Chinmayananda were all buried and their examples should inspire us to stop this wasting of precious fuel and territory. Religion could play an important role in improving our environmental conditions. Every dead person should be buried without erecting monuments, instead planting a tree in memory of the dead can reverse the process of degradation of the environment.

Religious Fundamentalism :

Religion should play a positive role, but not a negative role as is seen in these days. A change in the value system is required. One should not spend time on 'time wasting' rituals and by going round the temples and Gurudwaras on pilgrimage for months which of late have become dens of vice. What kind of spirituality is that when it serves no social purpose? In the name of meditation, the vested interests are perpetuating religion. If one wants peace of mind or one is disturbed one can as well go to sleep as nothing creative can be produced when one is disturbed. Imposing religiosity on others is not good and that is what we do when we use loud-speakers, spreading religion. Radical change of attitude towards religion should come forth as our value system has closed down to earth.

Political Instability :

The present form of our democracy is not working efficiently. We had innumerable elections and elections for almost every two years are seen. In the last elections, we have seen men like Manmohan Singh, the ablest, the most experienced, and most humble losing and people like Phoolan Devi have won, which shows that the way in which our democracy is functioning. It is now time to switch over to Presidential form of government from the present parliamentary democracy. The President is to be chosen directly for a period of 5 years or so and his cabinet need not be formed from the elected people, instead could be chosen from the technocrats, who are able and answerable to the people. There is also growing public opinion to change the Constitution to this effect.

The leadership is also under crisis. Pandit Nehru laid foundation for the prosperity of our country. One trouble was that no one was able to say anything against and what he said was gospel and he was allowed to become headstrong. After Nehru we had poor leadership and consequently after him, all the institutions of democracy have been destroyed systematically one after the other. Corruption grew high as is seen in all leaders. What do we expect in the future after looking at bribing of M.Ps. to hold in power, Bofors from one end and Jharkhand Movement, at the other end. The leadership should set an example and in Mr. Vajpayee we

find the same but people round him influence him to do wrong things. India should essentially remain a secular state and must always protect the interests of the minorities and the government should be bold enough to say that no one is going to touch the places of worship. There should be total ban on raising worshipping places such as temples, mosques, churches and gurudwaras as we have enough of them. Hereafter no site is to be allotted for places for worship. 'Saying not in the agenda' is not good and the secular fabric of the country should not be destroyed by religious fundamentalism.

I end this lecture with a prayer displayed of all places in an army mess in Pakistan where they break all the rules of democracy.

"God give us men
Men whom the lust of office does not kill
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy
Men who possess opinions and will
Men of honour and men who will not lie."

GAUTAM BUDDHA - PART I

—Shri C. Sivasankaram

In the mighty Himalayan region there was an ancient City called Kapilavastu. It was ruled by a kind benevolent king named Sudhodana. His queen was Maya. They belong to the Sakya clan which was very famous and blue-blooded. Into that regal family was born Buddha on a fine spring day noon. The birth took place 2500 years after Lord Krishna's Nirvana or exit and about 620 years before Jesus Christ was born. The birth was unique that it was pangsless and smooth. There were Buddhas prior to this Avatar and the Avatars continue to incarnate until the entire mankind got liberated. The belief's empire extended from Nepal and Ceylon, over the whole Eastern Peninsula, to China, Japan, Tibet, Central Asia, Siberia and even Swedish Lapland. Though most part of the Buddhism passed away from the land of its origin, the splendid mark of Gautama's sublime teachings is stamped ineffaceably upon modern Hinduism (offshoot of Brahmanism) and the most characteristic habits and convictions of the Hindus are clearly due to the benign influence of Buddhas's Precepts. More than a third of mankind, therefore, owe their moral and religious ideas to this illustrious Avatar; whose personality, though imperfectly revealed in the available sources of information, cannot but appear the noblest, the loftiest, the holiest and most beneficent, with one exception, in the history of Thought. He denounced the ritual, discountenanced idolatry, deprecated Heroworship and 'Cultism'. Even when he was on the threshold of Nirvana the love and gratitude of Asia in total disregard of his mandate revelled in giving him fervent worship and cartloads of flowers were daily laid upon his stainless strines, and countless millions of lips repeat daily the formula. "I take refuge in Buddha".

Between Buddha's advent and Krishna's Nirvana there had been an interlude of over 2500 years which can be termed as darkest years of Indian Progressive thought given impetus and direction by the great Krishna. The Lull, mysterious lull accompanied by hidden embers of discontent, latent murmurs of disenchantment and will to burst into a volcano provided there was someone to lead. People of the land of Krishna were looking askance at everything, every movement. The laws laid by the great Law-givers such as Yagnyavalkya, Parasara and Manu were ignored and selfish and narrow-minded priestcraft cleverly cannived at elaborated marathon formulas that subjected man to be subject of the vain glorious priest-craft. As was uttered by Krishna in Srimad Bhagawad Gita that he would take birth of his accord whenever there were strong hurricanes of evil lashing at the citadels of good life; to punish the wrongdoer and protect the pious and the virtuous Buddha incarnated on his own accord to fulfil the word.

Sarvartha-Siddha was the name given to the Prince by the Vassals of the Kingdom and by the parents of the prince. It means the 'All prospering' and all attained-without an object left yet to attain. As time rolled by it was reduced to Siddhartha. Siddhartha's birth stirred the Angels to sing songs of praise, songs which sound like sublime's speech. A soothsayer, hair hoary, eyes sunken, ears ceased long ago to listen to earthly things known as Asita appeared there as godsend. On seeing the hoary, venerable Asita with face beaming with inward light of erudition and foresight the queen mother of the divine babe could not contain herself without placing the babe at his lotus feet as a measure of seeking blessings of the exalted soul. Asita foretold the future of the new-born as the incarnation of Buddha descended on earth in answer to the prayers of mother cow to Lord Vishnu. The venerable Asita advised the queen not to place him at his feet as the feet of the divine boy were the most worshipping and he would incur sin if his feet were touched by the baby's body. That was how Asita demonstrated to all present that Sarvarthasiddha was no commonling and a mere prince but Prince of princes. He did have no hesitation or doubt to declare that the babe was TAT without a second (Supreme self). He could foresee that the babe would evolve as the Buddha to sow seeds of love, peace, and Ahimsa in the soils of all the world thus laying foundation for a world consisting of people who would talk the language of heart, the idiom of reason. This blossom of human tree would fill the world with wisdom's scent and love's dropped dew. Days passed, years rolled by Siddhartha attained the age prescribed for a Kshatriya to pass through the sacrament of upanayanam.

On one fine spring-day selected for the execution of the Upanayanam Viswamitra the friend of universe; and

"The automobile is an ideology on four wheels."

—George Ball

the father of Gayatri Mantra was respectfully invited to officiate the ceremony in strict consonance with the rules and injunctions of the vaidic scripture. The great sage (Viswamitra) initiated the Vatu Gayatri,

*Om. tatsavitur varenyam
Bhargo devasya dhimahi
Dhiyo yonah prachodayat*

Thus Siddhartha was transformed into the twice-born discarding the original soiled cloth of nescience associated with the human birth. On seeing the prodigy's flawless memory and retentive power, and the impeccable intonation and cadence in utterance of the vedic mantras the Guru (Guru is he who taught the Gayatri) was impelled by the overpowering sense of his smallness before this unusual Brahmachary he effortlessly fell at Siddhartha's lotus feet uttering, 'You are my Guru but not I, you are the teacher of teachers.' Like Sri Ramachandra before, who received schooling in the use of archery Siddhartha learnt it to its ultimate perfection from Viswamitra. It did not take much time for Siddhartha to acquaint himself with the earthly ways and worldly affairs. He is the born enlightened. Yet he is the son of Maya.

Ananda and Devadatta were his childhood mates and in his life Ananda seems playing the role of a friend in whom he can confide. The two said childhood friends did not figure in the later life of Siddhartha who metamorphosed as Buddha, Sakyamuni and Tathagata. They come again after the Buddha staged back a return to Kapilavastu clad in Ochre robes and palm holding beggar's bowl.

Siddhartha was always seen withdrawn, looking wistful, marked by distant gaze. Something the mortal brain fails to grasp and gauze was coursing through his body and mind. There was utter lack of interest, complete passivity towards things earthly. He evinced no interest at all in the visible, in the palpable and touchable. His world was distant for all outward appearances but closer very closer than light and heat, perfume and flower by a little knock at the doors of the inner chamber.

He came of age, eligible for marriage. In spite of his other worldly predilections and propensities he made little protests against his father's feverish search for a bride suitable to the budding Buddha. The Sakya clan bride should be the prince's Dharma Patni so that there might be harmony prevailing inostensibly in the relationship of the couple. In the tournament held to win the hand of Yashodhara, the prize-bride Siddhartha scored more points than all the other youthful contenders for the hand of Yashodhara. True to his nature Siddhartha proved a warrior brimful of love and understanding : true marks of heroism. The hero is tender and compassionate A Dhira (brave learned person) alone is fit for the order, the order that offers canopy to one and all nay to all living beings and that shelters the sinner and the saint, the agnostic and theist as the mother earth

bears all without classification. The marriage celebrations of the prince Siddhartha and Yashodhara, the daughter of Dandapani of the Sakya clan have been fixed for the tenth day from the day that the prince won in the tournament. The whole City and the neighbouring villages were to be clothed and fed. The nuptials were held, the prince and the princess were living happily, as usual with breaks of lack of equal moods, equal verve for the life which seeks joy in flesh indulgence. Uptil now the prince did not relish the outward life and its myriad ways. He loved Yashodhara not as producer of earthly pleasure, not as wife that was the source of bringing forth of progeny. Much he looked as a man in whom unidentifiable and conflicting feelings were warring. Yashodhara senses this uncongenial aspect of the prince. But subjects of Divine plan and ministry as we are we cannot but lead the life as destined. Thus months elapsed.

(To be continued)

"GLOBALISATION LACKS A MORAL DIMENSION"

"Even as communications, transportation and technology are driving global economic expansion headway on, poverty is not keeping pace. It is as if globalisation is in fast forward, and the world's ability to react to it is in slow motion," says Ted Turner who thinks that something is going seriously wrong. Commenting on this Larry Elliot writes in the Guardian that the millennium is ending not with a settled and prosperous world order but with instability bordering on anarchy.. For economic globalisation has not been matched by political globalisation or a system of governance that can control its powerful forces. There is a vacuum at the heart of globalisation. It lacks a moral dimension, a sense that there is something wrong about a system that apportion risks to those able to bear it least and that tolerated grotesque disparities in wealth. Policy makers lack an adequate framework for coping with the new disorder. Financial crises are becoming more frequent and virulent, trade policy is governed by multinationals, market forces are on a collision course with the global environment and there is no structure to ensure that the development of genetically modified food is based on security and health, rather than short-term profit.

Two examples illustrate that the benefits of the hi-tech revolution trickling down from rich to poor are so much hot air. To buy a computer in the United States costs a month's wages; in Bangladesh eight year's income. A US medical library subscribes to 5,000 journals just to keep abreast of the latest health research; Nairobi University Medical School, long regarded as a centre of excellence for East Africa receives 20. The idea that the internet and technology transfer will make globalisation all-inclusive is fatuous when a country such as Tanzania has three phones for every 1,000 people. Prof. Marris writes that "The global destiny of the human race lies in

our hands." The situation at the end of the 20th century is not only intolerable but unnecessary." (Larry Elliot in the Guardian Weekly July 15-21, 1999)

A MAGNA CARTA FOR ALL HUMANITY

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, is hailed as 'a magna carta for all humanity'. It is also described as 'the conscience of humankind'. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairperson of the Human Rights Commission that made the declaration explained the meaning of these human rights in memorable words. "Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighbourhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory or farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them, close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world." How relevant these words are today fifty one years after their utterance!

An interesting coincidence was that the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of India's Constitution began in 1946. However the Declaration was completed by the end of 1948 and passed by the General Assembly in December 1948, eleven months before India's Constitution was adopted in November 1949. The United Nations appointed in 1946 "a committee of philosophers, historians and lawyers to see whether enough agreement could be found among the world's diverse cultures to draw up a list of fundamental human rights." The United Nations Commission on Human Rights consisting of 18 members took two years to complete the work. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly consisting of 58 members adopted the Universal Declaration as "a Common standard of achievement for all people and all nations" towards which individuals and societies should strive by progressive measures, national and international to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

The Preamble to the Declaration refers to the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family which is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. The 30 articles of the Declaration cover a wide range of human rights — civil, political, social, economic and also personal, covering all categories of people, young and old, women and children and human activities, both public and private. In 1966 the General Assembly adopted two international covenants on human rights which provided strength and direction to the human rights movement.

"No substantial famine has ever occurred in a country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press."

—Amartya Sen

Last year during the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration emphasis was laid on programmes to promote public awareness of the Declaration by involving civil society and non-governmental organisations in fighting for the recognition of basic rights. Broad-based human rights movements from the grass-roots to the international level have been suggested. Human Rights programmes have created an 'international standard for the treatment of human beings all over the world.' Besides Amnesty International hundreds of NGOs all over the world are working for the promotion of human rights. Still, as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had said human rights need to be promoted at the basic level, in the school, at home and in place of work.

REPORT ON THE HEALTH AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

—Shri D.D. Prasada Rao

Administrative Manager - Sankar Foundation

27-09-1999 : Eye & Gynaec Camp at Cheedikada.

A free Eye Camp was conducted at Cheedikada Village (Mandal) sponsored by Integrated Rural Development Society. The Eye Camp team was headed by Dr. G.S.R. Anjaneyulu, M.B.B.S., D.G.O., and Gynaecology team was headed by Dr. A.S. Mahalakshmi accompanied by Shri D.D. Prasada Rao, Administrative Manager. Dr. S. Narayana Raju, District Programme Manager, District Blindness Control Society visited the Camp. 150 patients have been screened and 34 patients were selected for Cataract Surgery in Eye Camp. 53 patients have been screened and 17 cases have been referred to Woman & Child Hospital for further treatment.

05-10-1999 : Eye Camp at Daralova

A free Eye Camp was conducted at Daralova, Kothavalasa Mandal sponsored by Maharshi Swami Surya Teja Maharaj Ashram. The Eye Camp team was headed by Dr. Y.R.P. Yellaji Rao, M.S., Shri D.D. Prasada Rao, Administrative Manager accompanied the team. 146 patients have been screened and 18 patients were selected for Cataract Surgery.

11-10-1999 : Eye & Gynaec Camp at Juttada Village

A free Eye and Gynaec Camp was conducted at Juttada Village (Chodavaram Mandal) sponsored by Juttada PACS & DCCB. The Eye Camp team was headed by Dr. Y.R.P. Yellaji Rao, M.S., and the Gynaec Camp team was headed by Dr. A.S. Mahalakshmi, MBBS., D.G.O., Shri D.D. Prasada Rao, Admn. Manager accompanied the teams.

Scientific Power

"Present day science and technology offer an opportunity to beautify, in the full sense of the word, life on earth, to create conditions for the all-round development of every individual. But it is the very creation of the human mind that threatens the very existence of the human race. What a crying contradiction! We want science to cease to be the servant of two masters — life and death. We want it to serve life only."

— Mikhail Gorbachov

In the Eye Camp 200 patients have been screened and 33 patients selected for Cataract Surgery.

In the Gynaec Camp 75 patients have been screened and 15 patients have been referred to Foundation's Woman & Child Hospital, at Simhachalam for further course of treatment.

15-11-1999 : Eye & Gynaec Camp at Konam Village

A free Eye & Gynaec Camp was conducted at Konam Village sponsored by Integrated Rural Development Society. The Eye Camp team was headed by Dr. Y.R.P. Yellaji Rao and the Gynaec team headed by Dr. P. Chamundeswari. Shri D.D. Prasada Rao Administrative Manger accompanied the teams. 125 patients have been screened and 34 patients were selected for Cataract Surgery. In the Gynaec Camp 76 patients have been screened and 10 patients have been referred to Foundations's Woman & Child Hospital for further course of treatment.

Performance of our Hospitals up to 25-11-1999 -
Totally Free of Cost

I. Sankar Foundation Free Eye Hospital :

Till now screened & treated : 45139 patients
Intraocular Lens Implantation by
Microsurgery & Phaco method
Surgeries (4856 & ECCE 995) 5851

II. Sankar Foundation Free Woman & Child Hospital — Out patients treated :

Gynaec	6679
Antenatal	8180
Paediatric	17998
General Medicine	5979
Normal Deliveries	433
Vaccination (Hepatitis-B, MMR, BCG, Antipolio etc.)	4031

Operations performed :

Tubectomy	183
D & C	198
MTP	12
Caesarian	113
Histerectomy	59
Clinical Examinations	9088
Other Minor Surgeries	110

III. Sankar Foundation Free TB Hospital

Outpatients treated :

Till now screened	6525
Completed treatment & totally cured	350
Undergoing treatment	41

SANKAR FOUNDATION - HONOURED

Rotary Club, Waltair honoured Sankar Foundation at its valedictory function held in the Chancery, Hotel Green Park, Visakhapatnam on Sunday 31-10-99, by presenting "Most Outstanding Service Award" to Sri A. Sankar Rao, Managing Trustee, Rtn. M. Sudhir Babu, Governor RI Dist. 3020 was the Chief Guest at the function.

"Foreign Policy is what you do; diplomacy is how you do it."

— Paul Gore-Booth

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(Soudamini, 10-50-19, Siripuram, Visakhapatnam 530 003)

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Shri K. Sivananda Murty
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Trustees :

Shri K. Parvati Kumar
Shri D.V. Subba Rao
Dr. A. Prasanna Kumar (Director)