

## **CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES**

The Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS), Pune was registered on 21st September, 1992 under the Society's Registration Act, 1860, and as a Charitable Public Trust on 28th October, 1992, under the Bombay Charitable Public Trust Act of 1950. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of India have accorded recognition to CASS as a Scientific and Industrial Research Institution. The Centre has been granted IT exemption U/S.80G and U/S 10(23C) iv vide Government of India notification No. 80/2007 which is now in perpetuity. Section 80G gives fifty percent exemption to the donors.

The Centre aims at undertaking research and analysis of subjects relating to national and international security and development through seminars, discussions, publications at periodical intervals and close interaction with the faculty members and research students in allied disciplines in the Universities/Institutions and the Armed Forces. It expects to award research fellowships as soon as its corpus builds up and makes it possible. It aims to generate and promote interest among the academicians and public in these subjects with a view to making them alive to national security concerns. It has received very valuable support from the University of Pune in all its activities, specially from the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies. It has an Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA) enabling mutual collaboration for making available their infrastructure, publications and teaching and research activities. The Centre has held a number of seminars, panel and group discussions.

### **ADDRESS :**

Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies  
M..M.D.W.Potdar Complex, Pune University Campus  
Pune-411 007  
Tele Fax No. : 020-25697516  
Tel. No. : 020-25690182  
Email : cass182@bsnl.in

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**SIXTH PROFESSOR S.V. KOGEKAR MEMORIAL  
LECTURE**

**BY**

**SHRI KUMAR KETKAR**

**INDIAN DEMOCRACY AND MEDIA : EMERGING  
CONCERNS**

**26th May, 2013**

# CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

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**Editor :** Gp Capt (Retd.) S. G. Chitnis, VSM Deputy Director, CASS  
**Address** Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies, MMDW Potdar  
Complex, Pune University Campus, Pune 411007.  
Telefax : 020-25697516 / Tel. : 020-25690182  
**E-mail :** [cass182@bsnl.in](mailto:cass182@bsnl.in) / [casspune@yahoo.com](mailto:casspune@yahoo.com)  
**Website :** [www.cfass.org.in](http://www.cfass.org.in)

## WELCOME BY DIRECTOR

### AIR MARSHAL S. KULKARNI

Air Marshal S. Kulkarni welcomed the dignitaries on the dais and every one present in the auditorium. He said that the Centre has been privileged to hold the Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture every year since 2008. The first was delivered by Dr. Dileep Padgaonkar on “Indian Democracy : Its Strengths and Weaknesses”, the second by Dr. Madhav Godbole on “Challenges Before the Fifteenth Lok Sabha”, the third by Mr. Wajahat Habibullah on “Right to Information : Reality and Rhetoric”, the fourth by Shri N. Gopalaswami on “Free and Fair Elections : Challenges Ahead” and the fifth by Justice (Dr.) N. Santosh Hegde on “Probity in Public Life : Ethical Issues in Today's Administration”.

He said that late Professor S.V. Kogekar, a student of Harold Laski was a towering intellectual and educator, a true liberal at heart and was known for speaking his mind fearlessly. He is very well known to this audience and needs no introduction. This would have been the hundredth year of his life.

He said that we are fortunate to have Shri Kumar Ketkar to deliver the Sixth Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture today. Kumar Ketkar is an Indian journalist and Chief Editor of Dainik Divya Marathi of Dainik Bhaskar Group. He has also been the Editor in Chief of Marathi newspaper Loksatta. He has also worked for The Economic Times and the Maharashtra Times.

Kumar Ketkar, born on January 7, 1946, is currently the Chief Editor of Dainik Divya Marathi of Dainik Bhaskar Group. He was an observer of the Reliance Group and was a correspondent with The Economic Times for nearly 17 years. He was earlier Chief Editor of Loksatta, the leading Marathi Daily, of the Indian Express Group, also contributing to the Indian and Financial Express. He has been the Chief Editor of the Maharashtra Times of the Times of India Group for 7 years. He was also the Editor-in-Chief of Lokmat Group of Publications for one year.

In his thirty-year long career as Special Correspondent, Resident Editor and Editor of the Economic Times, The Observer and Maharashtra Times he had covered five US presidential elections and two British elections. He also covered the collapse of the Soviet Union from Moscow, Hong Kong's reintegration with the Mainland China from Hong Kong and reported on unification of Germany from Bonn and Berlin. He had also served as a delegate at the NGO Peace Conference in Geneva. He had also covered the economic transformation of China and reporting from Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong. The government of Israel had invited him for a lecture assignment on their fiftieth anniversary.

He also taught the Global Challenge course at FDU in the Fall 2001, which included lecturing at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He is also a visiting professor at the University of Pune and University of Bombay in India. He is a visiting faculty in the Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey. He was also the coordinator of South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA).

He has been bestowed with prestigious awards such as Padma Shree, Giants International Award for covering global events and Rajiv Gandhi Award.

It is a happy coincidence that this media stalwart is going to deliver the Sixth Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture today in the PATRAKAR BHAVAN auditorium.

Today's function is being chaired by Dr. Wasudeo Gade, Vice Chancellor of Pune University. He did his Ph.D. in Biotechnology from Jawaharlal Nehru University. Prior to joining the Pune University in 2003, he had been associated with several key projects of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) for over two decades.

**SIXTH PROFESSOR S.V. KOGEKAR  
MEMORIAL LECTURE**

**SHRI KUMAR KETKAR  
CHIEF EDITOR, DAINIK DIVYA MARATHI**

**INDIAN DEMOCRACY AND MEDIA :  
EMERGING CONCERNS**

It is indeed rather paradoxical that the Information Age that we are passing through should bring about a sort of tsunami of new Information Illiteracy, and that too among the educated and economically well off middle classes. While this is an intriguing global phenomenon, it is strikingly noticeable in the urban / metropolitan India. It should be a subject of sociological research. But instead of understanding the phenomenon, we have chosen to flow with this wild flood of neo-ignorance in the Age of Knowledge.

It was believed that the spread of education will broaden our mind, generate curiosity about the universe and human affairs, create an environment of dialogue and discourse instead of divisive and destructive debate. The Globalization was expected to bring peoples of the world closer and it was believed that we would create a borderless brave new world, where the ideas of Liberty and Humanity will flourish. The magnificent advances in communication technology, the scientific breakthroughs in space and satellite systems, the fantastic spread of IT through World Wide Web and innovations in computers and mobile phones and global television networks were supposed to transform the world like never before.

Media was assigned the crucial role in not just understanding the world, but changing it, as Karl Marx would have put it. But why has the dream shattered? Why, instead of uniting the peoples of the world, we are witnessing the colossal fragmentation? Why the civilizations are seen to clash rather than cooperating? Why the cultures are collapsing rather than congregating? Is the Media primarily responsible for this chaos or something else? This is the



topic given to me by the organizers of today's lecture. It is necessary therefore, to quickly trace the spread and impact of the Media.

We do not realize how rapidly the media scene has changed. There was no Facebook a decade ago. There was no Twitter. Even the text messages or the SMS were new just about 15 years ago. The cell phones had just begun to arrive on the scene about two decades ago and nobody ever imagined that they will cause the death of distance. Indeed, the cell phones were supposed to be the toys of the elite. In India there was charge of Rs 16 per minute of conversation. Who could have thought that in a country of 125 crore people, there would be close to 75 crore mobile phones? That too in a country where even having a landline phone was seen as a luxury and status symbol, just three decades ago. It was impossible to call Pune from Mumbai directly. The so called STD call would take even eight hours and the lightening call about four hours.

The journey from large computers to personal ones had taken about 30 years, from 1950 to 1980. From PCs to laptop, next two decades. From laptop to iPads, tablets, iPhones etc just a decade. And today we are experiencing a veritable information explosion. Now from books to music, newspapers to magazines, films to news channels, sports to pornography, everything is available on a click. The question that is posed before me is whether all this is strengthening democracy or creating cacophony. Whether the Media is behaving in a matured manner or has become irresponsible. Though I am from the media, and practicing, both, print and TV, I must confess that the Media has failed in its historic task. In fact it has created tensions, prejudice, religious conflicts instead of tolerance and given rise to micro-identitarianism. Media has become a monster.

In India, we were never so fanatically conscious of our religion, caste or language. We were culturally proud of our heritage but had not become fundamentalists. We were respectful of other cultures, faiths and customs. We were tolerant of other points of views. Gandhian virtue and Nehruvian liberalism were accepted norms. Today both the traditions seem to be in disrepute. But it is necessary to reiterate that without those norms, the Indian democracy will not survive. We will disintegrate like Soviet Union or Yugoslavia and perhaps the Indian subcontinent would explode if the forces of

fragmentation are not contained. May be collective wisdom would prevail or may be collective insanity would cause catastrophe. All of us, particularly the Media, have immense civilizational responsibility

Can we really know what is happening in the world through the media? The question can be posed differently. Do we really know what is happening in the world through the media. Or we are morphed into believing that we actually become aware of the world in which live? Never before we were so bombarded 24 X 7 by information, whether we want it or not. Or rather by information we never sought, and would be better off without it. Yet we have become so addictive that we feel lost even if for a few hours when the cable connection is snapped or the newspaper is not delivered in the morning or the cell phone goes out of range. And with the arrival of the Face book, Twitter, YouTube, What's Up, Chat and global connect blogs we are trapped in a sort of Information Tsunami. So either we learn to float or get drowned. It appears that all of us have chosen to float. Most of the earlier frames of references and information sources have become outdated or irrelevant, with the easy availability of Wikipedia and threats of wikileaks. With the satellite snooping and video cameras surrounding the humanity, there is no privacy nor autonomy, no confidences nor unwatched relationships. May be this has not yet become fully universal, but soon it will be. The Information Technology is transforming everything, from environment to economics and from relationships to Reality itself.

It is against this vast canvass of information and media, that we are discussing the emerging concerns faced by our democracy. Nobody had anticipated this Information Tsunami two decades ago, not only in India, but anywhere in the world. Google is just about 12 years old. The Facebook is just about eight years old, Twitter about seven, the ipad about six, and What's Up just an year old. Rajiv Gandhi who introduced India to the Information and computer age could not google, could not really get on to the World Wide Web, because E-Revolution as well as I-Revolution came almost a decade later. Today, not only the urban India but most of the rural Bharat too is connected by the internet and has access to the mobile phones which are also becoming handy multi-purpose computers.

Rajiv Gandhi was killed the same year the Soviet

Union was disintegrated, European Socialism collapsed, Yugoslavia entered into vicious multi-Balkan civil war and India faced for the first time since Independence, a parliamentary election with an interregnum of that assassination. In a metaphorical sense, one can say that he unconsciously created the foundation for the new democracy based on electronic and information systems. Nobody could have imagined then that the "e and I revolution" would at once break the monopoly of the media owners, thereby liberating the people from shackles of controlled information and exchange. But like all revolutions end up in anarchies, even this multi-media revolution has led to an unprecedented anarchy.

The original and rather noble ideas of Right to Information and Freedom of Expression, to expand and strengthen democracy have been distorted to such an extent that the main purpose has apparently been lost. The hyperbolic and shrill anchors on the electronic channels would have us believe that a total meltdown of the systems is now inevitable.

Much before this information tsunami, nearly fifty years ago, the great thinker and media theoretician Marshal McLuhan, had predicted that the world would become global village. Indeed it has become now, and yet the village remains divided by religions and castes, languages and cultures, customs and traditions, nationalities and ethnicities. Well, one can also say cynically that the old Indian village did have the hierarchies and sharp caste-class divides, so the global village too has inherited those characteristics. However, poor McLuhan had thought, like Buckminster Fuller, that the world would be free from the chains of nationalities, religious and ethnic identities and so called geographical boundaries. But the paradox is that neither the market nor the state institutions could really create order. And that is the cause of global anxiety, The belief is that the people at large, given freedom of expression, will be able to overcome anxiety. They will be able to find solutions to their problems. The media was supposed to be the voice of the people, the platform for a dialogue and an instrument of exchange between the ruling establishment. But what we are witnessing is the media has become a vehicle for misinformation, disinformation and distorted as well as irrelevant information. Therefore, instead of promoting dialogue, it is encouraging distrust, instead of discussing ideas, it is projecting

innuendos and instead of focussing on the issues of development and progress, it appears to be spending huge time on TV channels on dumbed down entertainment, and prime time space in the newspapers on gossip, affairs and political skullduggery. IPL and Bollywood, fashion shows and page 3 parties have now invaded the page one space too and the supplements devoted to that are growing in pages than in hard core news.

Further, we have all seen the rapid decline of national and international news. We do not see news and analysis of the issues, conflicts, culture of other states in India. Mizoram and Manipur will figure only if there are riots and bloodshed. International news has almost been blacked out. For instance, over thousand people died in house crash in Bangladesh, over 200 people died in clashes between Islamic militants and seculars. These events did not get even cursory coverage. Visit of the Russian President was underplayed so much that it lost its all significance. The media hardly covers the social, economic and cultural life in Pakistan, as if every Pakistani citizen is either a terrorist or sympathizer of extremist groups. Media has kept the readers and viewers totally ignorant about the life and developments in all neighboring countries, giving an impression that India is under siege, vulnerable and permanently under threat. One can argue that this is indeed the reality, but then aren't there counter perspectives and aren't there redeeming features?

The disturbing aspect is that instead of explaining the global situation, its impact on our country, the internal dynamics, the idea of India and the challenges before democracy and unity never get adequately focussed. It was believed that encouraging private news channels would enhance awareness and enlighten the people. What we have seen, however is that more the channels, more the philistinism, more privatization and more sensationalistion, and in the competition for TRP there is more race for lowest common denominator.

Despite being member of the media for the past 40 years, I have no hesitation in saying that the media has failed in facing the challenge of Indian democracy. All institutions including bureaucracy, judiciary, civil society have shown decline and media is no exception.

## **Closing Remarks by the Chairman**

### **Dr. Wasudeo Gade**

The Chairman thanked Shri Kumar Ketkar for the excellent Memorial Lecture as an acknowledged media expert. He also thanked the Centre for inviting him to chair the function, and the audience for its wrapt attention.

## CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

### CASS PUBLICATIONS

Sl. No.	SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS	Date of Seminar
1.	“Defence and Industry”	17 May 93
2.	“Use of Force in Internal Peace Keeping”	04 Dec.93
3.	“The Emergence of China : Political, Economic and Military Implications for India”	22-23 Nov.94
4.	“First SLK Memorial Lecture” by Shri P.Chidambaram, Union Minister for Commerce.	05 Jun. 95
5.	“Human Rights : Law and Order in India”	30 Sep. 95
6.	“The Emerging Security Environment in South East Asia with Special Reference to Myanmar : Political, Economic and Military Implication for India”	02-03 Dec.95
7.	“India 2020 : An Agenda for the Nation” by Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse.	Feb. 96
8.	“India : The Nuclear Challenge” by Lt Gen (Retd) EA Vas, Maj Gen (Retd) KS Pendse, Dr. Col (Retd) AA Athale.	Mar. 96
9.	“Challenges to India's National Security And India's Defence Preparedness”	20-21 Apr. 96
10.	“Citizens Rights and Indian Democracy” “Second SLK Memorial Lecture” by Dr. P.C. Alexander, Governor of Maharashtra	20 Jul. 96
11.	“Challenges of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Implications for India”	28 Aug. 96
12.	“Regional Security Environment To The North-West of India With Special Reference To Afghanistan.”	21-22 Mar. 97
13.	“Changing Scenario of The Constitutional Values” “Third SLK Memorial Lecture” by Justice AM Ahmadi, Former Chief Justice of India	02 Aug. 97
14.	“Information Warfare”	24 Sep. 97
15.	“Laws of War”	09 Jan. 98
16.	“Indian Ocean - The Challenges Ahead”	06-07 Mar. 98

Sl. SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS No.	Date of Seminar
17. "The Changing Pattern of India's Relations with America" "Fourth SLK Memorial Lecture" by Dr. Abid Hussain, Vice Chairman, Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Contemporary Studies.	03 Jul. 98
18. "Pokhran II and its Implications"	01 Sep. 98
19. "Nuclear India And The World"	08 Sep. 98
20. "The Challenge of Terrorism"	29 Oct. 98
21. "Foreign Policy Imperatives For Nuclear India"	26-27 Feb. 99
22. "On Building a Globally Competitive Indian Industry : The Role of Research & Technology" "Fifth SLK Memorial Lecture" by Dr. R.A. Mashelkar Director General, Council of Scientific & Industrial Research,	22 Jul. 99
23. "Challenges of J&K"	04 Feb. 00
24. "Indo-Pak Relations : Challenges Ahead"	30-31 Mar. 00
25. "Insurgency In India - Causes & Perspectives"	28 Dec. 00
26. "Self Reliant Defence and Indian Industry" "SLK Memorial Lecture – 2000" by Shri K. Subrahmanyam, Converner, NSAB	18 Jul. 00
27. "Governance In India : Challenges Ahead"	25 Jan. 01
28. "India and China by 2020 : Political, Economic Sociological and Military Perspectives"	14-15 Mar. 01
29. "Global Terrorism And India's Response"	19-20 Mar. 02
30. "Globalization And Its Impact" "SLK Memorial Lecture – 2002" by Dr. C. Rangarajan, Governor, Andhra Pradesh	24 Apr. 02
31. "Governance In India" "Shri N.K. Firodia Memorial Seminar : 2002"	03 Oct. 02
32. "Globalisation And India"	19 Mar. 03
33. "Elections And Democracy in India" "Shri N.K. Firodia Memorial Seminar : 2004"	17 Feb. 04

Sl. SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS No.	Date of Seminar
by Mr. J.M. Lyngdoh, former Chief Election Commissioner, Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy, former Justice of Supreme Court	
34. "Comprehensive Security : Need of the Hour"	25-26 Feb.04
35. "Ombudsman, Lokayuktas, Lokpals ; Concept and Working, with Special Reference to State of Maharashtra"	25 Mar.04
36. "Comprehensive Security II : Economic And Internal Security"	03 Mar.05
37. "India And Its Neighbours : A Regional Security Perspective"	04 Jan.06
38. "Probity And Propriety In Public Life" "Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Seminar:2006" by Shri Milind Gadgil, Journalist.	03 Feb.06
39. "Social Unrest in India : Challenges Ahead" "Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Seminar:2007" by Dr.DN Dhanagare, former Vice Chancellor, Shivaji University, Kolhapur; Ambassador PV Joshi, IFS Addl.Secy., MEA and presently with Home Ministry for last two years	13 Mar.07
40. "Emerging World Order And Sino Indian Relations"	21 Mar.07
41. "Aerospace Power in a Changing National Security Environment" "Air Marshal YV Malse Memorial Lecture:2007" by Air Chief Marshal FH Major, PVSM, AVSM, SC, VSM, ADC, Chief of the Air Staff	28 Jul.07
42. "Future Environment, Perceived Threat Preceptions And Imperatives in Response" "Brigadier NB Grant Memorial Lecture:2007" by Lt Gen N. Thamburaj, SM, G.O.C.in.C., HQ, SC	02 Dec.07
43. "Indian Democracy : Its Strengths & Weaknesses" "Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture" by Dr. Dileep Padgaonkar,	25 May,08



Sl. SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS No.	Date of Seminar
44. "India's Strategic Environment And Its Implications for Military Modernisation" Air Marshal YV Malse Memorial Lecture by Dr. Bharat Karnad	08 Jul.08
45. "Indo-US Relations : The Changing Perspective"	22 Oct.08
46. "Challenges Before the Fifteenth Lok Sabha" "Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture" by Dr. Madhav Godbole, former Home Secretary, Govt. of India	26 May,09
47. "Secularism in India : Meaning andPractice" "Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Lecture" by Justice Narendra Chapalgaonkar	14 May,10
48. "Right to Information : Reality and Rhetoric" "Professor S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture" by Mr. Wajahat Habibullaj, Chief Information Commissioner, Govt. of India	26 May,10
49. "West Asia : A Factor in India's Security and Foreign Relations"	21 Apr.10
50. "Essentials of an Aerospace Power : India Context" "Air Marshal YV Malse Memorial Lecture" by Air Marshal PK Barbora, PVSM, VM, ADC, Vice Chief of the Air Staff, IAF	09 Jul.10
51. "Naxalism and Maoism and Indian Army"	26 Aug.10
52. "Indo-Pak Relations and The USA"	17 Sep.10
53 "The Kashmir Imbroglio"	29 Oct.10
54. "Value System in the Armed Forces" "Brigadier NB Grant Memorial Lecture" By Lt Gen (Retd) Ashok Joshi, PVSM, AVSM	18 Dec.10
55. "Poverty Alleviation in India : Challenges Ahead" "Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Lecture" By Dr. YSP Thorat, Former Chairman, NABARD & Chief Executive Officer, Rajiv Gandhi Charitable Trust, New Delhi	13 Jan.11

Sl. SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS No.	Date of Seminar
56. India and East Asia : Opportunities Ahead	23 Mar. 11
57. Prof. S.V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture By Gopalswami	26 May.11
"Free & Fair Election : Challenges Ahead"	
58. MAE Seminar on "India & East Asia : Opportunities Ahead"	23 May,11
59. Prof. S. V. Kogekar Memorial Lecture on "Free and Fare Elections : Challenges Ahead" by Shri N. Gopaldaswami, Former Chief Election Commissioner	26 May, 11
60. MAE Seminar on : "The Arab Spring : Meaning Causes and Implications"	24 Feb, 12
61. Air Marshal Y V Malse Memorial Lecture on "The Future of Aerospace Power" by Air Chief Marshal (Retd) P. V. Naik PVSM, VSM.	29 Jun, 12
62. "A Gandhian Perspective on International Security" "Yashwantrao Chavan Memorial Lecture" by Ambassador P.A. Nazareth, IFS (Retd)	03 Jan.13