

RUSID-CESS Paper No.2  
February 2024

**Book Release Function**

**My Journey**

**From Marxism-Leninism to Nehruvian  
Socialism : Some Memoirs and Reflections  
on Inclusive Growth**

By

**C.H. HANUMANTHA RAO**

Organised jointly by the Institute for Economic Growth and  
Academic Foundation, New Delhi

Date: 26 April 2018



**CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES**  
Hyderabad - 500 016



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**CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES**

**(Planning Dept, Govt. of Telangana & ICSSR - Ministry of Education, Govt. of India)**

Nizamiah Observatory Campus, Begumpet, Hyderabad – 500 016, Telangana, India

Phone: 040-23416610-13, 23402789, 23416780, fax: 040-23406808

Email: [post@cess.ac.in](mailto:post@cess.ac.in), Website: [www.cess.ac.in](http://www.cess.ac.in)



## Foreword

The Research Unit for Studies on Inclusive Development (RUSID) at the Centre for Economic and Social Studies has initiated work on issues of Inclusive Development. This paper is the verbatim of the Book Release function held in April 2018 on the occasion of the release of the book entitled '**My Journey From Marxism- Leninism to Nehruvian Socialism: Some Memoirs and Reflections on Inclusive Growth**' authored by Prof. C.H. Hanumantha Rao. The paper consists of reflections of eminent panelists on the book focusing on Inclusive development. This paper is now brought out by the RUSID in an attempt to put the relevant material in one place for the benefit of all those interested in working in the area of Inclusive Development.

E Revathi  
Director, CESS  
February 2024



## About the Book

*This insightful and inspiring book by C.H. Hanumantha Rao portrays the socioeconomic situation and participation of the author in the major events since the mid-1940s focusing on the ideological struggle experienced by him, and on development policies and strategies. The changes in the author's outlook from a Marxist in his student days to a Nehruvian have been marked by serious introspections in the light of contending ideological positions. He discusses issues he faced as a Member, Planning Commission, under the leadership of Prime Ministers Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, relating to economic planning and policies in India in the light of the Nehruvian perspective of a mixed economy with a socialist orientation within a democratic set-up where private sector and markets have a significant place. Globalisation and economic reforms in India in the wake of the breakdown of centralised planning in the former socialist countries and the relevance of the Nehruvian model for evolving a balanced approach to reforms by addressing the problems of poverty and inequality are discussed in detail. It also includes his essays on 'inclusive growth' written over the last three years.*

*An informed memoir by one of the most respected and eminent economists of modern India, the book would be of interest to university teachers, policymakers, legislators, students as well as general readers.*





## **Introductory address by Dr. Uma Kapila, Editorial Director, Academic Foundation**

Hon'ble Prof. Manmohan Singh Ji, Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Prof. Manoj Panda, Prof. Deepak Nayyar, Prof. K L Krishna, Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, Prof Sukhadeo Thorat, and the distinguished audience Smt. Gulshan Kaurji, faculty members, colleagues, and media persons, a very Good Morning to all of you.

It is a great privilege and honour to be part of this event – the launch of Prof. Hanumantha Rao's insightful and inspiring book entitled "My Journey from Marxism-Leninism to Nehruvian Socialism – Some Memoirs and Reflections on Inclusive Growth". It is indeed a very special occasion for me as Prof. Rao is my revered Guru who made it possible for me to complete my Ph.D. in a record time. Those were the days, the late Seventies when Ph.D. completion used to take anywhere between eight to ten years and sometimes even twelve or even more. Although I have a lot to say about Prof. Rao, because of time constraints, I will not do that as I stand committed to adhering to the time specified in the program.

However, I cannot resist paying my homage to my remarkable Guru by reciting this small verse: Guru Brahma, Guru Vishnu, Guru Devobhava; Guru Sakshath Parabrahmha, Thasmaishree Guruvannamaha. So, to begin this function, let me invite Prof. Manoj Panda, Director, IEG, to give his welcome address.

## **Prof. Manoj Panda, Director, Institute for Economic Growth**

Respected Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Prof Nayyar, Prof. Krishna, Dr. Mohanty, Prof. Thorat, Dr. Uma Kapila, Mr. Sanu Kapila and distinguished audience. We are indeed delighted to welcome you all on this occasion of the release of the book by Prof. Hanumantha Rao. We are particularly grateful to Dr. Manmohan Singh for kindly agreeing

to be the Chief Guest on this occasion and for releasing the book. He graciously decided to come over to IEG in this rather busy season. We are also grateful to the panel of discussants, Prof. Nayyar, Prof Krishna, Prof Mohanty and Prof. Thorat.

Prof Hanumantha Rao has been an inspiring figure for this institute. He spent more than three decades of his professional life starting in 1961. In the late Seventies, he was the director of this institute and later he became a member of the Planning Commission sometime in the 1980s and a member of the two Finance Commissions, the Seventh and the Eighth. He was also Chairman of the IEG Board after his retirement.

The early decades after Independence were intellectually very challenging decades for issues of economic development. The book, just to be released depicts the evolution of a thoughtful mind in search of ideas for policy making. During his intellectual engagement, Prof Hanumantha Rao's ideas went through significant changes with ground-level facts emerging from the field. He was willing to question old doctrines and adopt new ones as needed. The book reveals the intellectual environment that prevailed at the IEG, at the DSE, and at Delhi University, and how it encouraged him to investigate various doctrines on growth and distribution. The universities and institutions are places where ideas are born, validated, and altered as per the felt needs of a dynamic society. Openness and a democratic framework provide the scope for the metamorphosis of ideas. We are proud that IEG played a role in this process. I might mention that Prof Hanumantha Rao's contributions to IEG are not just in the intellectual field. He contributed his entire accumulated provident fund for the development of the library, and it is an endowment from which the interest is even now used for the library's development. Of course, IEG is not the only recipient of the support. CESS at Hyderabad, for example, is also very dear to his heart. I welcome you all to a thought-provoking discussion today. Thank you and welcome you all.

*May I now invite our Chief Guest, Prof. Manmohan Singh Ji, the most distinguished and highly respected academician, to kindly release the book and enrich the audience with his views. Sanu, Please present the bouquet to the Chief Guest.*

## **Prof. Manmohan Singh**

My esteemed friend Prof. C.H. Hanumantha Rao ji, Dr. Manoj Panda, Smt. Uma Kapila, Prof. Nayyar, Prof Manoranjan Mohanty, Prof K L Krishna, Prof Sukhadeo Thorat, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, members of the faculty of the IEG, and research scholars of the institute,

I am very happy to associate myself with the launching of yet another book, I believe the eleventh book of Prof. C.H. Hanumantha Rao. The long journey that Prof. Hanumantha Rao has traveled is remarkable in many respects. These are reflections of a most creative thinker of our time, a social activist, a very distinguished economist, and a contributor to policy formulation in diverse fields. Prof. Hanumantha Rao is a remarkable human being in more than one way. He was hardly fifteen when he got involved in the social movements as a Marxist thinker, and from there to the Telangana struggle, Vishal Andhra struggle, and then the Telangana struggle, it has been a long creative journey. One thing is very clear: Prof. Hanumantha Rao is not and has not been a slave of past ideas. He has been a dynamic, creative thinker who changed when the times changed. From Marxism-Leninism to Nehruvian Socialism, is a long journey. But it did not take Prof. Hanumantha Rao a long time to change his thinking - from a young student in Karimnagar to a student at Osmania University, and Delhi School of Economics he moved on to reflect on what could be achieved in the democratic socialist societies of which Jawaharlal Nehru was the original author. And, therefore, by the time he came to the Delhi School of Economics, he had started thinking that there is more than what meets the eye in the Nehruvian Socialist concept. And then on to

appraisal of Indira Ji, Rajeev Ji, the creative role they played in building our country, the green revolution of our time, Jawaharlal Nehru's institution-building role in our country's history, the green revolution, that came along with coming into office of Indira Gandhi Ji and thereon, to a period over which Prof Hanumantha Rao doesn't comment much that came with the Emergency, but it is quite clear from his writings and more so in this book that he was not very happy with the emergency and the suspension of the human rights and civil rights in our country. Then he went on to work with Rajeev Ji. I was with him as a member of the Planning Commission and it is my great privilege to record his tremendous contribution to the work of the Planning Commission, and then as a member of the Finance Commission. Prof Hanumantha Rao is one of the rare individuals. He does not stand on ceremony, calls a spade a spade and his contributions are in diverse fields, as an agricultural economist, as a development planner, as a fighter for Vishal Andhra, as a fighter for Telangana, and as a fighter for the cause of small states. In all these matters Prof. Hanumantha Rao has been a creative, remarkable forward-looking thinker. I join his many colleagues to pay homage to his creative thinking and I pray that the academic profession of economists can continue to benefit from his vast wisdom, knowledge, and expertise. Thank you very much.

*Thank you so much Prof. Singh for your brilliant address. It is now time for our distinguished speakers. I now call upon Prof. Nayyar to share his views.*

### **Prof. Deepak Nayyar**

Dr Manmohan Singh, Prof. C.H.Hanumantha Rao, my colleagues on the panel, Prof. Mohanty, Prof. Krishna, Prof. Thorat, and Dr.Uma Kapila, and, of course, our host Prof. Manoj Panda, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I consider it an honour and privilege to be in your midst this morning to celebrate the memoirs of Prof. Hanumantha Rao. I have known Prof. Rao for much of my professional lifetime and I have always held him in great affection and great regard. He is of course a most distinguished economist who has been engaged in the public domain for significant parts of his life. He is among the few who have spent an entire lifetime in India and the study of India which makes him the most unusual and, above all, he is a wonderful human being. I have always admired his modesty which is combined with an amazing self-confidence, politeness, and courtesy that is combined with firmness and he is a person who has held to his views even when he has changed them later.

Now this book is about his ideological journey and intellectual journey over seven decades. It provides, I believe, a perceptive analysis of the economy, polity, and society in independent India, the life of which coincides with his professional lifetime. The structure of the book for those who have not seen it is simple. It is divided into two parts. The first part is in turn divided into two parts. The first is a journey that begins when he is a young student in Hyderabad at Osmania University and continues to his sort of zenith in his career in Delhi, while the second part is about the change in his thinking on the one hand from being a Marxist-Leninist to being a Nehruvian and on the other from a person who believed in Vishalandhra to a person who believed in Telangana. That is what he has done for a long time.

The second is his much more recent writings over the past 3 years. These are the lectures that he has given. These are pieces that he has written and this is followed by short essays on contributions to Indian economic thinking of scholars. So it is indeed a very nice mix. In this mix you find vignettes of independent India, shades of ideological debates, difficult times, good times, and interesting times, all reflected in his writing. The essential message that emerges from the book is that he would like us to

strike a balance between a concern for efficiency and a concern for growth - a balance between the quest for economic growth and a quest for the well-being of our people. The moral of the story is also in the title of the book, Inclusive Growth.

Now, growth can be inclusive, and on this, Prof Hanumantha Rao would be in complete agreement; it can be inclusive or pro-poor if, and only if it creates employment to provide sustainable livelihood. Now, our experience since the 1980s has been, sadly, the opposite. We have experienced rates of growth on average for more than three decades that are unprecedented in human history, except for China. This has indeed reduced absolute poverty, but at the same time, absolute poverty persists on a large scale while inequality is rising rapidly. Now, I believe that this state is politically unsustainable in what is a vibrant democracy just as it is ethically unacceptable that one-third of our people should live in destitution. We need to redress this situation, to resolve our problem, I am convinced, in a developmental State, of the sort that we have seen in many countries in Asia that have transformed themselves beyond recognition in the past fifty years.

In India, we have moved strangely from a belief that the state can do nothing wrong, to a belief that the State can do nothing right. Both are caricatures of perceptions that have gone with the fashions of our times. The State and the Market, in my view, are complements, not substitutes and the relationship between the State and the Market cannot be defined once and for all. It must change and evolve as time and circumstances change. And that is something we learn from history. That is what success in development is about. Both government failure and market failure are facts of life. Governments are, without exception fallible, markets are inevitably imperfect. What we need to do is to correct for government failure and to correct for market failure. In doing so, I would like to emphasize the fact

that both the State and the market are institutions that have been evolved by humankind, by societies, and they are in effect the mutual checks and balances vis-à-vis each other so that an overbearing State can be destructive just as an unfettered market can be disruptive. We have been through cycles in the world, in this relationship. So if we want inclusive growth, if we want the well-being of people, as all of us do, I think this relationship between the State and the market needs to evolve in a manner that we need to combine the creativity of the market with the development of the State. This purpose brings me to the conclusion that such checks and balances will also need to be embedded in the political process. Now, you know, that Prof. Rao describes his book as his journey from Marxism to Leninism to Nehruvian Socialism. Sadly, both are passé in contemporary India. Ironically, in contemporary India, we need both the Left in politics and we need Nehruvian Socialism. In a country where a significant proportion of the people are poor, there is a huge vacant space for the left in our political equation. Sadly, the main political parties on the Left are becoming less and less. The idea of a developmental State coincides with what Prof. Rao describes as Nehruvian Socialism. Even though it is not the fashion of our times, I must state frankly, that I am a great admirer of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was not as if he was perfect but as one of the founding fathers of the republic, he had a vision about India and in this vision, there was a concern about modernization and catching up in terms of industrialization, but there was also a concern about equality and fraternity among people which was embedded in our constitution in terms of equal opportunities. Mistakes were made, and everybody made mistakes, but what Nehru did was what most countries in Asia that are now regarded as success stories did. We did not make the transition when we should have. We made it two decades later than we should have. Nevertheless, much as Nehru was derided by a large number of people, I am convinced that had it not been for forty years of what Prof. Rao described as Nehruvian Socialism, we would not have had the initial conditions or the essential foundations

which have helped us to reap the benefits from economic liberalization in India. But these benefits have not yet filtered through to the poor in India and that is the transformation, I think, Prof. Rao would like and the transformation that I would like to see. Thank you very much and I commend this book to all of you. It is a wonderful read. Thank you.

*Thank you, Prof. Deepak Nayyar, for your informative address. I now request Prof Mohanty to address the audience.*

### **Prof. Mohanty**

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Dr. Hanumantha Rao, and friends. I am the odd political science person in this gathering of mostly economists, and some sociologists but I am so grateful for this invitation to be here because we celebrate a pro-people intellectual, India's foremost Agricultural Economist, and rural development thinker, and someone, other people have referred to him also, as the most gentle but firm thinker and colleague and teacher. I am so grateful to be here as part of this discussion. Talking about Political Science, I used to point out to Dr. VKRV Rao, that you never thought of Political Science in the Delhi School of Economics. He used to chide back saying, "Do you know what kind of Political Science existed in those days? You know, legal, constitutional, institutional political science?" and IEG had the same character. And I have, over the years felt, and this is vindicated by reading this book that if we had a bit more in-depth understanding of politics, then Marxism would not be understood as economic determinism and the State would not be equated with government and government with central bureaucracy. We would have a better understanding of the State as an aggregate power structure dynamically placed in the domestic and international economic processes. And probably this is what Deepak Nayyar ended with on the political point. And, in this book, the first exciting feeling I had was to identify Prof. Rao as a 'Narodnic' who was called back from Sircilla to Hyderabad. The Hyderabad CPI committee leader,



Comrade Maqdoom Mohiuddeen, wrote to him that he was pro-peasant rather than emphasizing the role of workers in the movement. His critique of Marxism, or Marxism-Leninism in the fifties permeates the whole book and has engaged many of us to have a different understanding of Marxism as aiming at creating a society where alienation is reduced and replaced by freedom: alienation from different political, economic, cultural, class, caste, gender, ethnic and many other sources, and interest in democracy which should lead Marxists to prove they are more democratic than capitalists. That is one contention among the Marxists because Marxism is still a derivative of Soviet Marxism, to a large extent, and the Chinese experiment in reforms. Therefore I think the political understanding of Marxism and development is what Prof. Rao invites us through his life-long interest in agrarian question and development planning.

I would like to refer to the title of the book which has, 'Inclusive Development'. His earlier writings and even this book and his other books mention the term Equitable Development. Officially, the Eleventh and Twelfth Plan documents make it official that it is no longer Equitable Development, it is about inclusive growth. Growth here becomes the centerpiece, and inclusion, whether it is just from outside the margin to the margin within the circle, becomes 'inclusive'. It is a highly vague term and that is what has been pointed out by the present-day peasant movement, the farmers' movement, the Dalit movement, the Women's movement, and the Adivasi movements - that there is an urge for equality. Therefore when growth with equity or inclusive growth becomes our goal, the focus is on growth. This is my critique of the Chinese reforms, the same factor is referred to frequently in Prof. Rao's discussions that it is still growth and not equity, not equity involving classes, ethnic groups, urban-rural inequity, and so on.

So finally I would like to make a point about the 'Narodnic' question – the agrarian question. I have a feeling that the farmers' distress is really going to be the most significant challenge, not to the present regime but also to the future regimes. It is about the nature, the paradigms of growth that they are pursuing. And, Prof. Rao in his two, three pieces in the book comes to the conclusion that the reforms have of course many achievements but they have generated inequalities and they have created distress on so many fronts. This is because the agrarian question has not been pursued thoroughly and this is his main contribution to point out that land reforms were left half done, and from there, we needed a green revolution, but a green revolution with the kind of agrarian reforms within that. That was how the rural-urban disparity persisted, which is also the Chinese case. This is where people's movements become relevant and Prof. Rao has been connected with these: not only the movement of the forties but the Andhra Mahasabha and the Telangana movement. I told him I was in Warangal for the 'Warangal Declaration' in January. There is great disappointment about the first few policies of the Telangana government because the basic questions are not addressed still.

Now, a point about State and Market, and then I can close. Besides State and Market, there is the Civil Society. And Prof. Rao talks about this. Panchayati Raj is a delivery mechanism as a 'top-down' process. But Panchayati Raj can be an organ of power for self-governance and self-determination. Unfortunately, whether it is UPA or NDA, Panchayati Raj has been given lip service when we are celebrating its silver jubilee this year, not as an institution for rural democratic transformation.

And all these conclusions come from this wonderful book. We are celebrating a Nehruvian intellectual, there are so many of them here. The great thing about Nehruvian perspective was that he captured the contradictions of the twentieth century and twenty-first century which saw the transition from

the imperial stage of capitalism to the post-imperialist and post-capitalist transformation. And that came out in his lifetime and is unfolding even now. Congratulations to Prof. Rao and long life to you. Thank you and congratulations once again.

*Thank you, Professor Mohanty. I invite Prof. K L Krishna, who made special efforts by advancing his flight from Bangalore and reaching here at midnight, to participate in the function.*

### **Prof. K.L.Krishna**

Dr. Manmohan Singh, panelists, Mrs. Kapila, and the rest of the Kapila family, and distinguished participants in this event.

I am grateful to Dr.Kapila for asking me to speak on this occasion, which is very important for me because my association with Dr. Rao, I think, is six decades old. He joined Delhi School as a Ph.D. student in 1957. I joined Delhi School as an assistant statistician in 1958. And all these six decades, I think, we have remained in regular touch academically and also socially. Dr. Rao, of course, is a picture of humility and scholarship. He set an example in Delhi School as a Ph.D. student because, at that time in the late 1950s and early 60s, the Delhi School Ph.D. students used to take a long time to complete their work. Many of them did not even complete. He had set an example of completing his work within five years, including the Research Methodology course, which he had to undergo after coming here from Osmania University. So he set an example as a Ph.D. student. Although I am not a formal member of the Delhi School now, I still teach there. I have my research projects there. I have my Ph.D. students there. Therefore, I still feel like I am a part of Delhi School. I am glad the Director of Delhi School, Prof. Meenakshi is here. I am extremely happy that she has found time to come here. My next association with Prof. Rao was in Chicago. I was completing my Ph.D. in 1966-67 with Prof.

Griliches and Prof. Hanumantha Rao was there as a Ford Foundation Post-Doctoral fellow working with Prof. Theodore Shultz. Also, I must say, he must have consulted Griliches because he also has an interest in agriculture economics. And Prof. Rao completed a very good paper on sharecropping when he was in Chicago. He has published it in the Journal of Political Economy. Getting a paper published in JPE is not easy. I think this credit is something to be remembered. Then, of course, I returned to Delhi School in 1967 after completing my Ph.D. and Dr. Rao was here at the IEG. He too returned in the same year 1967 from Chicago and he remained here till his retirement and he became the Chairperson of the IEG Board. He records this in chapter 7 “From Ph.D. student to Board Chairman” experienced at the IEG. I think these experiences are very valuable, and very well taken and he acted as a mentor to several young scholars like Bhattacharya, and Siddharthan; Dr. Gulati is here among them. I think he records that many students after completing their Ph.D. in Delhi school have chosen to join here and make their careers here and continue to produce good work. Now I would also like to mention, that I think, he was very modest in his memoirs about his research contributions; he doesn't go into many details; they are phenomenal as his contributions to agriculture, rural development, and so on, but the only reference is to Inclusive Growth; but, I think, that is a very big omission in these memoirs – non-documentation of his scholarly work and scholarly contributions. Even when he was here, he was the chairman of the CESS Board and Dr. Galab, Director of CESS is here; he knows his contributions as chairperson were very significant. For example, he identified Mahindra Dev as a possible Director. Mahindra Dev was, of course, a student of Delhi school and he was in IGIDR. Mahindra Dev contributed a lot to the development of CESS and he is now of course at IGIDR as a Director. Prof. Rao in a way persuaded me to be his successor as chairman of CESS; he was there for twelve years then he inducted me, so to say, to be chairperson of CESS. I was there for six years and I gained a lot from his advice as a senior member of the board and I still look up to him

for advice. Another point I would like to mention is, that he refers to the close link between Delhi School and IEG; that is a very important aspect. I think the present generation of Delhi School teachers is not alive to this. I am sorry to mention this to the Director, of DSE. I don't see any of the faculty members of the Delhi School here, especially the Department of Economics. I am sorry to note that. K .N. Raj when he wrote a piece on Delhi School in 1994 in a volume edited by Dharma Kumar and Dilip Mukherjee, advised the Delhi School people to keep close association with IEG and also with the Sociology department. I think that was the advice given by K .N. Raj when he left Delhi School, of course in the early 1980s. I think it is very good advice and Prof. Hanumantha Rao has contributed a lot really to this kind of bond between IEG and Delhi School. His annual address on 16<sup>th</sup> January 2015 at Delhi school is a very good piece on his memories of Delhi School and his association with Sukhamoy Chakravarty, Amartya Sen. Of course they joined after he completed his Ph.D. Amartya Sen joined in 1963, and Sukhamoy Chakravarty joined in 1963. They were all quite active in maintaining an association with IEG. Dharam Narayan was a key figure here at the IEG and a colleague of T .C. Varghese of DSE, who was working on the land tenure in Kerala. What I am trying to say is it has been good for Delhi School to remain in touch with IEG. I encourage Ph.D. students to enroll in IEG. One example is Dr. Tilak. Dr.Tilak is here. I think he enrolled himself in IEG but got his degree through Delhi School and he has done very well. So, of course, is Dr.Uma Kapila, all of you know, therefore, I am not mentioning this to you. Unfortunately, this kind of association is no longer very much in evidence. But individual members like me, of course, maintain my contact with IEG because several of my students like Bhattacharya, M .N. Murthy, I think Goldar is a very important example, and so many. Again, I would like to say Dr. Hanumantha Rao has been very modest in his memoirs. His contributions are not adequately reflected in these memoirs. That is because of his humility. I don't want to take more of your time. Once

again, congratulate him for remaining active and doing productive work, although he cannot remain as active as when he was a PhD student, but remains academically very active and intellectually very agile. Thank you.

*Thank you, Professor Krishna, for your unfailing support in all this. Now I invite Professor Sukhadeo Thorat to share his views.*

### **Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat**

Dr. Manmohan Singh ji, Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Professor Manoj Panda, Professor Deepak Nayyar, Professor Krishna, Professor Mohanty, and friends. Well, I received this book early, so I had an opportunity to go through it. In my view, it is not only an autobiographical account of an economist who was involved in policymaking more deeply since the 80s, but I think one needs to read it twice because he brought all his experience of ideological encounters as well as the development experience down to the present. This autobiographical account runs parallel with India's development experience since independence, particularly since the early 80s. And in that parallel moment of his writing, encompasses an account of the transformation of the ideology behind India's development vision and also the strategy of development that India experimented with since 1950. Dr. Rao presents his early encounter with Marxist and Leninist ideology and a distancing from it in the later period. The change reflected his growing belief in the relevance of the Nehruvian approach to the mixed economy, with the role of the market in the private economy and also the significantly important role of the state. But what is important is by the early 90s, like many others, he also recognised some negative consequences of overregulation and closed economic framework, and therefore supported economic reforms, more openness, and globalisation, with the dependence on the market and the private sector. So you could see that there is a movement, there is progress, and you watch and reflect on each of these developments. But there is a common element that I see

running through the book. More than anybody else, he also recognised the importance of the state's role in some relevant spheres. In a move toward economic reform, Dr Rao expressed a constant concern, and he doesn't allow us to forget that concern about the limitation of the 'growth alone' approach. He emphasised poverty-reducing growth, or inclusive growth at the end. Now, this is a journey that we see in his writing, coming down right up to inclusive growth. Now, I do not want to go into great detail, but there are very important messages that come from the book. Well, the first message is that he highlighted the limitation of the experiment of centrally controlled planning, such as in the Soviet Union, or China, or Vietnam, and the eventual collapse of centralised planning, both in the Soviet Union and China. It is more exciting to watch that he went to Russia and attended the seminar, got an insight into dissatisfaction among the economists. He went to China, and he had a meeting with the economists who shared the state of affairs. And the same story with Vietnam. They spoke differently, and they shared their unhappiness. And he brought out that very nicely in his writing. But the first message, in my view that emerges from his writing is the relevance of a mixed economy based on socialism, but with a caution to avoid over-regulation and a closed economic framework, and argued for a judicious combination of the market and the role of the state to achieve efficiency, but also to overcome the limitations of the market failure, which is a feature of the market economy to which Dr. Deepak Nayyar has referred. The second message, in my view, which is more relevant is that he emphasised that yes, growth is important, but what is more important in the context of pro-poor growth or inclusive growth is the type of growth. After economic reform and its practice for the next 15 years, we began to realise the good consequences of the economic reform, which brought us a higher growth rate of about 8%. But at the same time, we began to realise that poverty had not declined as fast as we could expect, perhaps as fast as it happened in China during the same period of economic reform. Therefore we began to talk and discuss that around 2000, the middle of

2000, we began to talk of middle path. We began to talk of reform with a human face. China began to talk about the growth with social harmony. In China, although poverty has reduced faster, inequality has increased quite high. So the second important message that we get from his writing is that growth is important, but the type of growth that will make the income distribution pro-poor is critical. And how we do that is also an issue which he reflects upon.

And I think we learned from that experience by the 11th plan, 2008, we brought some changes. We brought inclusiveness. The 11th plan and 12th plans very clearly talk about inclusive growth and, type of growth. It mentioned clearly that it's not a 'growth alone' approach, but it is the type of growth that will bring income to the poor and also the marginalised sections. Certain policy decisions of this period are very important and reflect the government's recognition at that time. That is, we brought NREGA. We brought the Right to Information Act. We brought the Forest Act. These were some of the very leading decisions which made the growth pro-poor. If agriculture doesn't generate enough employment, we have an employment guarantee of at least 100 days. I had a personal encounter with some type of change in two contexts with the honourable Dr. Manmohan Singhji when I became the Chairman of the UGC. In the early 90s when privatisation was announced, I was a little disturbed that privatisation means de-reservation, the Dalit and tribals who have little space in public employment, what will happen to them? In one of the seminars in the early 90s, Dr. Manmohan Singh was invited by the SC, ST Officers' Association, and they asked me to speak and I spoke and I told him that this is what is going to happen. He immediately started a process, a discussion with the FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry), ASSOCHAM (Associated Chambers of Commerce & Industry of India) and the CII (Confederation of Indian Industry). It goes to the credit of Dr. Manmohan Singh that in the year 2000, the voluntary and self-regulatory



affirmative action policy for the private sector was entirely because of his initiative. The second incident that I recall of change is that after becoming chairman of the UGC, I could not meet Dr. Manmohan Singh but one day, surprisingly, I got a call from the Prime Minister's Residence and I asked the caller, what's the purpose? I was invited and he won't tell me anything, so I went there. I am in the company of people who are from the Border Security Force (BSF), the military, and the IG, and I didn't understand what was going on. But it was a meeting on how to contain extremism and discontent in 160 districts of India. And, everybody speaking there would say that we are short of rifles, we are short of military persons, we are short of these many people. Dr. Manmohan Singh approached me to speak. The bulk of these people are Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribes; what is your explanation? And I explained to him the atrocities, the violence, and the problem of underdevelopment. And after the presentation, he walked towards me and said, please work and prepare a report. The committee was set up in the Planning Commission, and we submitted a report. And last, I will not forget, what I will share with you is the 11th Plan. Yes, Dr. Manmohan Singh has set up a Knowledge Commission, he wanted to change education. But the Knowledge Commission never became a part of the Education Ministry for whatever reason. So, the Prime Minister summoned the Chairman of the UGC for a presentation; what is the strategy for the 11th Plan? I had already taken eight studies and I made a presentation on the story of higher education, which was pretty bad. And I left the presentation and came home midway. My wife called, and she said, there was an announcement by Dr. Manmohan Singh. After I left, he immediately met with the officers and announced 30 Central Universities and 334 colleges in the districts where the enrollment ratio was less than 6%. So, these remarkable changes happened in the 11th Plan, learning from the experiences of the reform, both positive and its limitations. And I think Dr. Hanumantha Rao is right and he described the change and transformation as such. Well, in the end, I will finish by saying that Dr.

Hanumantha Rao has foresight and he addressed the question very clearly: what makes the growth pro-poor? What is it to bring inclusivity in the work process and then he referred to the East and Southeast Asian countries' experiences. I will just read out that East and Southeast Asian countries achieved high growth with a substantial poverty reduction. Several East Asian countries could successfully embark on economic reform resulting in poverty reductions because of a relatively well-developed initial endowment of physical social infrastructure like irrigation, power, and roads, but above all, education, health, and institutional credit and market. Also, land reform had been implemented effectively, and a reasonably good education level in many of these countries. And before economic reforms were introduced, these were the initial conditions. I think his views are so insightful and so futuristic. Now, the literature from the World Bank and Martin Ravallion and others brings out the relationship between growth, poverty reduction, and income inequalities. I think that the difference between China and India is that China with the same rate of growth, could reduce poverty more than India simply because the initial situation in terms of access to land and education was much better in China, it was much worse in India in land distribution and education.

I learned only in the middle of the 12th plan where we are now; we are going back, and the initial conditions are becoming worse. The employment growth rate per annum has declined from two percent to almost 0.01 percent based on the Labor Bureau data saying that for the first time in the history of India, the absolute number employed has gone down. I have looked into the unequal access to higher education; if you take the consumption expenditure classes and see the access to education, you see 60 % of those in higher education from private self-financing institutions are from the top 10 % income bracket. Inequality and wealth are amazingly high. If you take the data for universities in 2013, the top 10 % own almost 60 % of land, buildings, and financial assets. So I think Prof. Rao, there is not good

news for you in the light of this but we thank you for bringing this out. Everybody should read this book. It requires patience to read it because it covers a very long period. We thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule. I had an occasion to talk to him when he was writing this book. We wish you good health. Thank you very much.

*Thank you, Professor. I now invite Prof. Hanumantha Rao, the author of the book, to deliver his remarks. We all have been waiting to hear from him.*

### **Prof. Hanumantha Rao**

Our Chief Guest, respected Professor Manmohan Singh Ji, a distinguished panel of speakers, Director, IEG Professor Manoj Panda, Chairperson for the meeting, Dr. Uma Kapila and friends. After completing this book while the academic foundation was working hard on its publication I had some time to go through the writings on recent developments on this whole issue of Inclusive Growth or equitable development. I find that as compared to two or three decades ago now there is greater concern about rising inequalities in income in different parts of the world. What is surprising is that even in mature democracies like in Europe or even the United States, there is a growing concern about these issues. I am saying this by mentioning about mature democracies because the democratic framework has always been considered a real instrument for realizing inclusive growth or equitable development. We as economists seem to be very clear about the agenda that we formulate for inclusive growth. The eleventh Five Year Plan for the first time and Twelfth Five Year Plan even more conclusively, I think, spelled out the agenda for inclusive growth: what has gone wrong, why are the inequalities increasing, and what is to be done. There seems to be a consensus if you look at the literature, emanating from different agencies in the world, whether it is studies from the OECD or the latest Report of the IMF or the World Bank. Sometimes, the terminology used may be different. Some people may be using the term Inclusive Growth,

while others like the World Bank are using the term 'shared growth'. So, slight differences are here and there. But basically, all of them are saying that we have not really been able to achieve this. Why is it so? What has gone wrong with the basic instrument we had in mind, namely the democratic framework while formulating an agenda? During this period inequalities have increased, and it has become a significant concern the world over. Democracies were established in several countries long ago after thoroughgoing revolutions, including in China, in the early 50s or late 1940s, after abolishing feudalism, and after thoroughgoing social transformations. Even in those countries, inequalities have increased. In our situation, democracy has been planted here in a society that is very ancient, ridden by all kinds of inequalities, regional, gender, and so many other kinds of inequalities. So what is to be done on this front, I think, is the central issue in my mind. Otherwise, we are clear about the agenda. For the distortions in our democratic framework, the sources seem to be two-fold: First, what has happened is that the middle class, particularly the upper sections of this class, is more concerned about reaching the top 10%, or top 1%. It is not joining the forces to bring about transformational change. The other matter of concern is the money power or the power of capital. In distorting the democratic framework, it ranges anywhere from the ability of the very rich to employ the high-powered experts, and lawyers for tax planning down to supporting lobbies of lawmakers or interest groups. The United States is a classic example, but everywhere in Europe, which means buying up lawmakers, to put it crudely. And this has been happening, as has been recorded by eminent authorities on the subject. And down below, it ends up buying up the voters. These two seem to be the primary sources. But what is to be done? It has to be done at the political level. It is not for the social scientists, but they can at least come together and apply their minds to this question. I honestly believe that the issue of inclusive growth is too important to be left only to experts or economists. Even at the thinking level intellectual level, it has to be a collaborative or joint endeavour of all

social scientists, political scientists, sociologists, historians, and others to come together to write and contribute as intellectuals. We do not find such contributions coming from different disciplines. So this, I think, is a major concern. We have to be addressing this problem. Anyway, I don't want to take any more of your time. I am very grateful to all the speakers here who had such nice words to say about the book. But, as I said, after doing all this, I thought we have to begin somewhere at a different level actually to achieve our objectives. Thank you so much.

*Thank you very much, Professor Rao, for your very precise and lucid remarks. As we come to the close of the event, I now invite Sanu Kapila of the Academic Foundation to propose a Vote of Thanks.*

### **Shri Sanu Kapila**

As we come to the end of this very absorbing session, it is my very pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks. On behalf of the Academic Foundation and IEG, we are extremely grateful to you, sir, for having kindly agreed to release this publication and also sharing with us your thoughts. Sir, we feel truly honoured. Thank you, sir. We express our deep gratitude to all the speakers, Professor Deepak Nayyar, Professor Manoranjan Mohanty, Professor K.L.Krishna, and Professor Sukhadeo Thorat, for kindly agreeing and being a part of this event and giving their insights about their association with Professor Rao. Thank you all, sir. Academic Foundation has had the privilege of publishing yet another work of Prof. Hanumantha Rao. In the last two decades, the Academic Foundation has published numerous works of Professor Hanumantha Rao, and we thank him for giving us yet another opportunity to publish one of the most important books of his. Thank you, sir. In the end, I would like to thank Professor Manoj Panda, the entire faculty of IEG, and the administrative staff for being such a gracious host. I would like to mention Dr. Sushil Sen, who took special care to ensure that the event goes off smoothly. Thank you once again. As publisher, I would

be failing in my duty if I don't tell you that the book is out there on display. You can certainly buy copies and get it autographed from the author, and that is going to be one of the best things as a publisher. So we come to the end of today's program, and I would invite you to kindly join us for High Tea. Thank you.

### **About the Author**

Professor C.H. Hanumantha Rao holds a Ph.D. from the Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi (1962). He was a Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Economics, University of Chicago (1966-67) and Fellow, Institute of Economic Growth, University of Delhi (1961 -1992). He has been an Honorary Professor, Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad since 1992. His areas of interest are: Agricultural Economics, Development Planning, and Policy. He has been a member of the Planning Commission, Finance Commission, on the Board of Directors of the RBI; Member, National Advisory Council; and Chancellor; University of Hyderabad. He was awarded 'Padma Bhushan' by the President of India in 2004 in the field of literature and education.

### **About the Chief Guest**

**Dr. Manmohan Singh**, rightly acclaimed as a thinker and a scholar, is well regarded for his diligence and his academic approach to work, as well as his accessibility and his unassuming demeanour. His academic career took him to the University of Cambridge, UK, where he earned a First Class Honours degree in Economics in 1957. He followed this with a D.Phil in Economics from Nuffield College at Oxford University in 1962. His book, "India's Export Trends and Prospects for Self-Sustained Growth" [Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964] was an early critique of India's inward-oriented trade policy. Dr. Singh's academic credentials were burnished by the years he spent on the faculty of Punjab University and the prestigious Delhi School

of Economics. He had a brief stint at the UNCTAD Secretariat as well, during these years. This presaged a subsequent appointment as Secretary General of the South Commission in Geneva between 1987 and 1990.

In 1971, Dr. Singh joined the Government of India as Economic Advisor in the Commerce Ministry. This was soon followed by his appointment as Chief Economic Advisor in the Ministry of Finance in 1972. Among the many Governmental positions that he has occupied are Secretary in the Ministry of Finance; Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission; Governor of the Reserve Bank of India; Advisor of the Prime Minister; and Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

In what was to become the turning point in the economic history of independent India. Dr. Singh spent five years between 1991 and 1996 as India's Finance Minister. His role in ushering in a comprehensive policy of economic reforms is now recognised worldwide.

Among the many awards and honours conferred upon Dr. Singh in his public career, the most prominent are India's second highest civilian honour, the Padma Vibhushan (1987); the Jawaharlal Nehru Birth Centenary Award of the Indian Science Congress (1995); the Asia Money Award for Finance Minister of the Year (1993 and 1994); the Euro Money Award for Finance Minister of the Year (1993), the Adam Smith Prize of the University of Cambridge (1956); and the Wright's Prize for Distinguished Performance at St. John's College in Cambridge (1955).

In his political career, Dr. Manmohan Singh has been a Member of the Rajya Sabha since 1991, where he was Leader of the Opposition between 1998 and 2004. He was sworn in as India's fourteenth Prime Minister, on 22<sup>nd</sup> May after the 2004 general elections and took the oath of office for a second term from 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2009 to 2014. Dr. Singh continues to serve as a member of the Parliament of India.

### *About the Panelists/ Speakers*

**Professor Deepak Nayyar** is a Professor Emeritus at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and an Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Earlier, he taught at the University of Oxford, the University of Sussex, Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, and the New School for Social Research, New York. He was Vice Chancellor of the University of Delhi from 2000 to 2005. He also served as Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India and Secretary in the Ministry of Finance from 1989 to 1991. His research interests are primarily in the areas of macroeconomics and international economics. Professor Nayyar has published more than 75 papers in academic journals and 15 books.

**Professor Manoranjan Mohanty** is a renowned political scientist and China scholar whose writings have focused on theoretical and empirical dimensions of social movements, human rights, the development experience, and the regional role of India and China. As Vice-President of the Council for Social Development (CSD) and Editor of CSD's social science journal *Social Change*, he brings a wealth of experience from both policy and practice perspectives. He is also Chairperson, Development Research Institute, Bhubaneswar, and Honorary Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS), Delhi. Until 2004, he was Director, Developing Countries Research Centre, and Professor of Political Science at the University of Delhi where he taught until his retirement. Former Chairperson and Director of ICS and former Editor of *China Report*, he has been on visiting assignments in several universities and research institutes in India and abroad including the University of California, Berkeley; Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Moscow, Oxford, Beijing, Copenhagen, Lagos; University of California, Santa Barbara; and the New School, New York. Professor Mohanty has been a part of the founding and evolution of ICS, the Developing Countries Research Centre at the University of Delhi, and Gabeshana Chakra and Development Research Institute in Odisha. He has also been



closely involved with the People's Union for Democratic Rights, Delhi, and the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Democracy since their inception.

**Professor K. L. Krishna** taught in the Delhi School of Economics from 1958 to 2000 and had more than 50 PhD and MPhil students. He has a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Chicago (1963-1967). His fields of specialization include Econometrics (Methodology and Applications), Industrial Economics, Economics and Productivity, Regional Inequality, and Empirics of Trade. He was the Founder member of the Centre Development Economics (CDE), President of the Indian Econometric Society (1996-97), and Founder Managing Editor of the Journal of Quantitative Economics (1985-1995). He has authored more than 30 research papers on a variety of themes and edited many books. Currently, Professor Krishna is Chairman of, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Chennai.

**Professor Sukhadeo Thorat** is associated with several professional organisations and has held significant positions such as Chairman University Grants Commission, Faculty Member, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Dew Delhi, Visiting Faculty at Department of Economics, Iowa State University, AMES, USA, Director of Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi, Research Associate of International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington DC, USA and Lecturer, Vasantrao Naik College, Aurangabad. Currently, he is the Chairman of the Indian Council of Social Science Research. He has published 16 books, presented 81 papers, and completed 28 research projects. His main areas of research pertain to agricultural development, rural poverty, economic growth, problems of marginalized groups, economics of the caste system, caste discrimination and poverty, human development, human rights issues, slums, higher education etc.

**Professor Manoj Panda** holds a PhD in Economics from the Indian Statistical Institute. He has been Director of Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi since November 2012. He has earlier served as Director of

the Centre for Economic and Social studies (CESS), Hyderabad (2008-2012), as Professor and Associate Professor at the Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai (1992-2012), and as Economist and Senior Economist at the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi (1982-92). He also spent a year at Yale University, USA on a post-doctoral fellowship (1996-97). He has undertaken short-term assignments for several international organizations including the World Bank, ADB, and UNDP. His research areas span monitoring and analysis of macroeconomic trends and prospects, analysis of alternative trade and fiscal policy options based on macroeconomic models, issues in poverty and human development, linkages between macroeconomic policy and poverty reduction, and interaction of carbon emission with economic growth and its pattern.

**Dr. Uma Kapila** has taught Indian Economy to undergraduate students for over forty-two years. She retired as Reader from the Department of Economics, Miranda House, University of Delhi. Presently, she is Editorial Director, Academic Foundation. An Honours Graduate from Miranda House, University of Delhi and MA and PhD from Delhi School of Economics (DSE), Dr. Kapila has also served on the Planning Commission Study Group on “Agricultural Strategies in the Eastern Region of India for the Seventh Five Year Plan” (Perspective Planning Division). She is the author of the book *Oilseeds Economy of India* (1982) published by the Institute of Economic Growth (IEG), Delhi. A prolific writer, she has authored, edited, and co-edited with Raj Kapila, several books on India’s economy, banking, and finance. Edited by her and revised every year, the popular reference text, *Indian Economy since Independence* is currently running into its 28<sup>th</sup> edition. She is the editor of the Academic Foundation’s continuing series EDI (Economic Developments in India), a monthly update on the Indian economy (240 volumes published to date).

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Nizamiah Observatory Campus, Begumpet, Hyderabad – 500 016, Telangana, India

Phone: 040-23416610-13, 23402789, 23416780, fax: 040-23406808

Email: [post@cess.ac.in](mailto:post@cess.ac.in), Website: [www.cess.ac.in](http://www.cess.ac.in)