

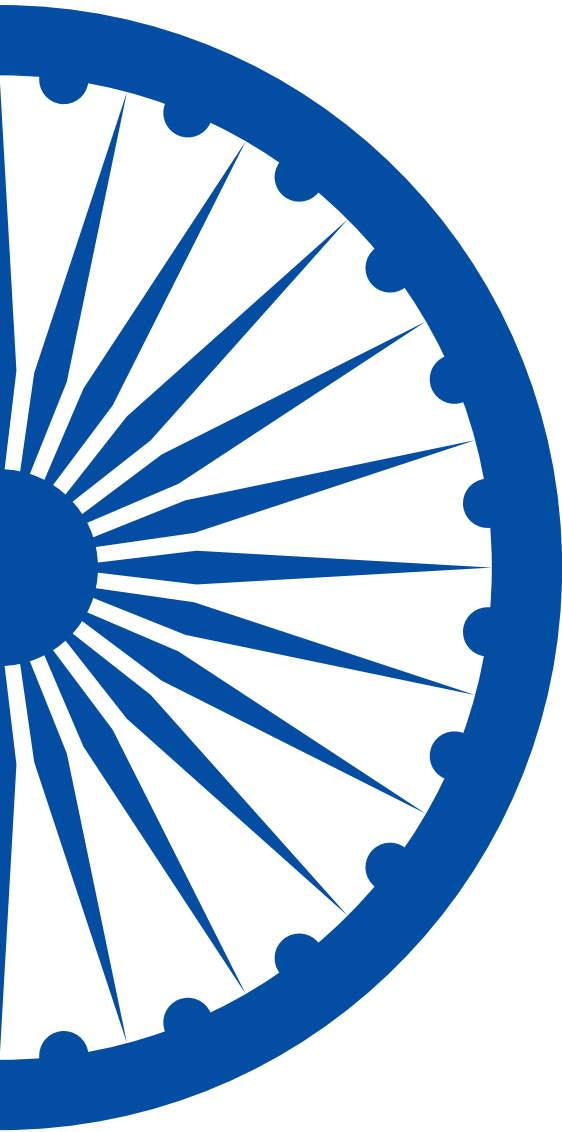
Republic Day Special

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patriotism

pa·tri·ot·ism (pā'trē-ə-tīz'əm)

n. Love of and devotion to one's country.

Ramachandra Guha
S. Gurumurthy
Irfan Habib
Saji Narayanan
Apoorvanand
R. Balashankar

RNI NO. 7044/1961



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Comment

Happy R-Day!

THE biggest perk of editing *Outlook* is the privilege of publishing great writers like Ramachandra Guha. I am indebted to him for this special Republic Day issue because it was his article that triggered the idea to seek essays on patriotism from other equally eminent writers. But am I qualified to write about nationalism and patriotism? The question was asked by innumerable trolls who abused my forefathers for pointing out the mismatch between the patriotic cry for honour for Rani Padmavati and our everyday victims of rape and murder. How dare I mix up Rani Padmavati with some Dalit girl getting raped, mutilated and murdered? Last week, when I wrote about the Nirbhaya of Haryana, some five women had been raped. The number rose to ten on the tenth day, just in Haryana. Yet, the trolls were attacking my progenitor and his ancestors for my piece on the honour or lack of it for the victims? For them Deepika Padukone ought to be riding a lion with the hologram of the Indian map in the backdrop and we ought to be burning buses to celebrate patriotism. All for the nation, indeed! What did your dad do for this nation? A troll asked. He probably didn't get to do much as he was tortured and locked up for his politics at the dawn of our independence. But more than my dad, two of his friends had impressed me a lot.

Puthupally Raghavan, a Gandhian-turned-communist ideologue, and another, R. Gopinathan Nair, the founder-publisher of the Communist Party's mouthpiece, *Janayugam* or *People's Age*. Raghavan, one of the tallest leaders of Kerala's freedom movement, never hankered after power or its trappings, and died unsung. No mean scholar himself, he had helped Robin Jeffrey write his seminal work, *The Decline of the Nair Dominance*. The asthmatic Raghavan's last struggle was against a rock-crushing unit in his neighbourhood, which didn't let him breathe peacefully till the last. Nair was the son of a Travancore palace physician and ironically it was this feudal connection that got him a licence for the Communist Party's newspaper. The initial capital was his mother's jewellery. But Nair was cast aside when the party turned the newspaper into a company. Many decades later when *Janayugam* was relaunched with renewed capital and communist vigour, Nair was forgotten. I have seen true patriotism in these and many other lives. Every nook and corner of this country had such great examples of people "failing" so that another generation could live without the fetters of colonialism and feudalism. They were givers who happily lost out to the smart takers of the post-independence generation. Though Nair was a "failure", many *Janayugam* newspaper agents did become successful legislators. Now, just 70 years after independence and nationhood, we seem to have completely forgotten our priorities. Some imagined hurt over a fictional character and a movie (most probably a costume drama) has become a national issue instead of 10 rapes in as many days in the national capital's backyard.

In this issue we have dissected patriotism from the Left, Centre and Right perspectives by such scholars as Irfan Habib, S. Gurumurthy, Apoorvanand, Saji Narayanan and R. Balashankar. As a chronicler of everyday injustices, all I can say is that there is a lot wrong with our society—politically, economically and socially. Our institutions are all in a shambles. Will we ever be able to melt our social and communal identities into a national whole to achieve greatness? Not till we hold a mirror to our miserable lives.



RAJESH RAMACHANDRAN



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Our nationalism's journey has been unfortunate. We started out with a reassuring idea based on just principles and have ended up with a many-headed monster. Ramachandra Guha writes.

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Cover: R. Prasad



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by SEBASTIAN DOMINIC



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by SUMEET MHASKAR



SOCIETY

Are Indians mature enough to accommodate the idea of menstrual leave at the workplace?

by PRAGEETHA G. RAJU



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Playing Internet God

NEW DELHI Mahesh Kapasi: Refer to *Click G for media monopoly* (Jan 22). Like social media, Google is now an inextricable part of our digital lives. It is an encyclopaedia on any subject on the earth. The mammoth search engine is considered to be extremely reliable by most internet users. It is almost the world's search engine by default. Google has made all sorts of information easily available for the masses. Gmail is also the most widely used address for e-mails in the world. So, even though it's growing power over people might spark worry, Google is unavoidable.

LUCKNOW M.C. Joshi: Your cover story is a disappointment for the regular reader of *Outlook*. For most of them, Google is just a default browser which provides information about anything under the sun from A to Z for free. It is a tour de force in the new digital world, its influence having grown tremendously with time. *Outlook* has brought some very good stories of common interest on malpractices in healthcare services in the recent past. But this here is a technically overloaded story about a phenomenon everyone is more or less aware of.

Extent Of Control

ON E-MAIL Shilpeen Majumdar
The article on the profiteering by private hospitals (*Misery As A Terrific Biz Opportunity*, Jan 15) was a very good one. But the editorial (*The New VC*, Jan 15) has some issues with it. The idea of "why do private hospitals charge for failure" is a dangerous one. In a profession contingent on so many eventualities, how do you define 'failure'? One regularly needs to do a city-wise comparison of healthcare charges, including medicines. The government can make it mandatory for private hospitals to share the fees/



January 22, 2018

charges matrix with it. An impartial media organisation like *Outlook* can compare and keep publishing them city-wise. Again, it will be very difficult to define what is "unwanted, illogical and extremely expensive" in medical services. The truth is, unless government hospitals improve hugely in quality, private hospitals will always walk away with anything. Only if patients have comparable services at reasonable prices will they question private hospitals. Private hospitals are like five-star hotels these days—the fact is that good doctors want to get paid handsomely, and only such 'expensive' hospitals can afford them. And you can't stop professionals from being paid handsomely. Yes, there is a superb case that most items in a typical hospital bill need some kind of regulation, which requires some kind of standard matrix. But do we remain a democracy if we start doing this? The different rates for the 'insured' and the 'uninsured' are however indefensible.

PATNA Anonymous: I work for a corporate hospital and like any other profession, we too have our share of black sheep, and I don't attempt to defend them. The Medical Council of India, which was supposed to be the inbuilt internal mechanism to check out such misdeeds, itself became corrupted, with successive health ministries turning a blind eye to—and sometimes even patronising—such misadventures. But there is another side to this. Doctors in general have played a positive role in nation-building. The sharp rise in life expectancy in India, from 32 in 1947 to 70 today, is just one example of the sterling work put in by the medical profession. I am sure you are aware of the cost of setting up a good hospital and if corporates are doing it themselves, they need to be compensated. That some of them are overdoing it certainly needs to be decried, but painting the entire profession as manned by a bunch of thugs is as unfair as terming all journalists as practising yellow journalism. And the argument that money should be returned if a patient dies is grossly illogical too. Will you ask lawyers to return their fees if they lose cases? Also, people are forced to come to private hospitals in many cases because the government has not given them an alternative. Furthermore, look at the rise of medical tourism in India and the direct and indirect jobs which this industry (health and pharmaceuticals) provides. We must be realistic and acknowledge that good healthcare costs money in today's world.

Echoes of Good Work

DEHRADUN Richa Juyal: The effort by an entrepreneur-innovator like Arunachalam Muruganantham on women's healthcare is commendable. And it is great that Bollywood artistes

one-liner

PUNE Anil S.

From quirk to comfort to necessity, the Google bubble has grown to engulf us all.

are publicising his work (*Bleeding Heart, Murugan's Pads*, Jan 22). Similar bids for menstrual pads have been conducted by Goonj, a non-profit organisation. The group collects donated clothes, selects cotton fabrics and then soaks, washes and dries them before sending them for hooks or buttons to be removed. Then the cloth pieces are ironed to remove moisture and cut to standard size. Sanitary napkins are made from the processed clothes and cost just Rs 2 a piece. Goonj also spreads awareness programmes for its product by holding meetings in the rural belts of the country.



Akshay Kumar and the original PadMan

Faulty Basis

NOIDA Bal Govind: This refers to the *Reporter's Case diary* (Jan 22). It is highly unfortunate that an FIR has been filed against *The Tribune* reporter Rachna Khaira for highlighting the loopholes in the Aadhaar scheme. The reporter acted as she did so that the government would be able to address the issues and make the scheme as foolproof as possible. We are in serious trouble if such data can be bought for a

paltry sum and misused. Instead of making it an ego issue, the UIDAI should acknowledge the problems. The UIDAI must apologise and withdraw the FIR against the reporter. The Union government should actually be thanking and rewarding this journalist.

NEW DELHI M. Kumar: Aadhaar fails all the tests of a democratic setup, including the basic right to personal space. If bank funds are misappropriated, how are account holders responsible, and why do they need Aadhaar?

The Coin From Pirate City

NEW DELHI Rajiv Boolchand Jain: Bitcoin became one of the parking zones of hard cash, sucked out due to the demonetisation drive (*Black Stash of Secret Money*, Jan 22). *Outlook* is giving an analysis on a matter, wherein the writer himself is stating that RBI has shown concerns and is sceptical about such virtual currencies. If it was an 'advertorial', I would have understood, but an article under the banner of '*Outlook*'! Investments in Bitcoins have increased manifold over the past year. Zebpay, BTCXIndia, Cyperplat and Unocoin are the agencies involved in this illegal money laundering exercise.



There is no owner of Bitcoin and every investment is on faith. It has no regulatory control and only a front end to convert black money into white (BMW). Indian citizens are investing heavily in Bitcoins to remit money to their accounts through an external channel. It's interesting to note that Zebpay has a turnover of over Rs 1500 crore, and still does not pay any taxes in this country. Bitcoins have turned into a safe havens for hawala money. Finance Minister Arun Jaitley has taken a close look at this trend. His ministry now needs to spell out rules so that money is not used for terror activities. It is difficult to understand how transactions for overseas accounts are being done online through the banking system, where KYC details are clearly noted. People need to know that these are high-risk transactions. It will not be out of place to mention here that *Outlook* was never known to promote 'fly-by-night' investments. A news article is fine, but not such frenzy, that readers get enticed into investing in such schemes, where there is no documentation or even a record of the transaction!

Why is it required for phone connections? Even KYC is irrelevant. Then again, the government seems to have written off those without an address. Does the Government wish to oblige the internet and mobile service providers? Sending coercive messages regarding Aadhaar linking is not very democratic. Aadhaar will only make people more vulnerable to cyber-terrorism. Mahatma Gandhi once said: "I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good

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letters

by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress." The BJP was against Aadhaar when it was not in power, now it is doing the opposite.

ONE-MAIL P. Suryanarayana:

Apropos of the *Reporter's Case diary* (January 22), W.T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, exposed the trafficking of women in England by "buying" a girl and producing her before the public in 1885, almost 100 years before Ashwini Sarin achieved his own scoop (1981).

Castaway Nation

ONE-MAIL Vijay Kartheek Meruga:

"Despite Sholingur, Srirangapatna, Wayanad and Koregaon, the Dalits were classified as non-martial by the British, thereby blocking their social mobility, something that was possible in an earlier era without enumerators and census," you argue in your editorial comment (*Why Not Srirangapatna? Jan 22*). People are not blind today, nor were they in ancient or medieval India. Most people always knew the caste of those they had to interact with. Nobody depends on enumerators and the census for that. By any standard, British rule was the best that could happen to Dalits. Caste Hindus would not care for Dalits if not for British education as well as the introduction of electoral politics, which made inclusion of Dalits in the Hindu category important to keep the Muslims behind in terms of numbers.

THRISSUR K. Aravindakshan: Your editorial comment is a daring attempt to raise some empirical truths.

Dr Ambedkar may have been correct to project the valour of Mahars of the Bombay Native Infantry of the British East Company in the Koregaon battle against the Peshwa, to prove to his community that Mahars were not cowards, but courageous people. Mahatma Gandhi did the same in the First World War by recruiting Indians for the British. But the Whites never documented it as bravery. Western civilisation always treated the Blacks of South Africa as half-animals, hunted down Native Americans and wiped out the aborigines in Australia. To the Western mind, the Dalit was in the same plane as other Hindus. Dalit soldiers were

mere tools to oppress the people of India. To tell it otherwise is a disservice to history and to the Dalits. The only exception may be the Kurichiyas of the Wayanad forests, who fought with the Pazhassi Raja against the British. There were innumerable rebels and reformers in different parts of India from the lower castes—Ravidas, Surdas, Ramdas, Akka Mahadevi, Kabir, Ayyankali, Mahatma Phule, Poikyayil Appachan, Sree Narayana Guru et al. Why can't we project their fighting spirit and reformative zeal, instead of the Dalits in the British army?

It's true the Dalits today are challenging the hegemony of the Marathas, Jats, Rajputs and other caste Hindus. If this uprising is woven into an all-India



BLUE STREAK A Dalit protest rally

network of Dalits, Adivasis, poor Muslims and other like-minded people, it can dislodge the divisive might of the Sangh Parivar's Hindutva, for which Muslims, Gandhians and liberal intellectuals are the "other".

BANGALORE Hemanth D. Pai: This

is perhaps the first time I am in agreement with the views expressed in your editorial comment. It makes no sense to celebrate the victory of the British over Indian kings as it is well known that they deployed the divide-and-rule policy effectively to rule India for nearly 200 years. The travesty is that even after independence and despite the intentions of the founding fathers of the Constitution to move towards a casteless society, our politicians are bent on perpetuating the caste system to reap political benefits. The silver lining is that the younger generation is not very particular about the caste factor as the steep rise in inter-caste marriages indicates.

SECUNDERABAD K.R. Srinivasan:

Despite knowing there would be a huge gathering of around 10 lakh Dalits at Koregaon near Pune to commemorate the Peshwa army's defeat, and that it could brew trouble, it is shocking that adequate forces were not deployed to control the crowd. It's distressing that the Congress and other opposition groups found an opportunity to try to consolidate some Dalit votes even from this incident. Nonetheless, it was the abject failure of the chief minister to take adequate measures which led to the untoward incident and the subsequent protests that paralysed normal life in Mumbai, Pune and other parts of Maharashtra. The judicial probe and CID inquiry should find out the names of people or organisations responsible for the mischief.

MUMBAI Shuddhodan Aher: Your

editorial comment avoids the basic question about the socio-economic status of Dalits in the present context. Do you think the caste system is dead and gone because of economic development? The protests are events where resourceless victims of the caste system gather to find strength within themselves. If you don't want them to gather together and protest, then liberate them from the shackles of caste. The so-called mainstream media, which, in fact, is Brahminical in nature, hardly cares for the interest of Dalits. And when they try to assert themselves, demanding their constitutional rights, including the right to live with dignity, they are called names! Haven't our freedom fighters used myths for awakening the masses against the Britishers? Mahatma Gandhi, the tallest of them all, mobilised people using the mythical Ram Rajya, where a Shudra called Shambuk was beheaded by the epic hero for the sin of gaining knowledge. In the battle between the feudal Peshwa and the capitalist Britishers, the latter were bound to win due to their superior scientific knowledge and techniques. By glorifying the Peshwa regime the upper castes indirectly glorify the caste system. Therefore, the victims of caste have the right to gather and protest. Needless to say, history and its interpretations are subject to methodological differences and hence we find multiple variations of the 'same' history!





CAVALCADE WAR

Jammu and Kashmir Assembly speaker Kavinder Gupta is learnt to have complained that the cavalcade of deputy CM Nirmal Singh often overtakes his own. Both are from the BJP. Gupta, who calls himself a proud RSS worker, claims this might cause an accident. But sources reveal he is actually annoyed by what to him is a breach of protocol—he believes the speaker comes before the deputy CM in the order of precedence. He has written to the police too, but so far they have kept their hands off the “cavalcade war”. Deputy CM Singh, though, clearly has other views on the matter of precedence and protocol.

PAHARIS IN HIGH PLACES

The Rawats and other Paharis from Uttarakhand appear to be dominating the bureaucracy in the Modi government, replacing the Nairs from Kerala, who ruled the roost in the UPA. The new chief election commissioner O.P. Rawat, 1977-batch IAS officer of Madhya Pradesh cadre, joined a list of powerful Paharis that includes NSA A.K. Doval, army chief Gen Bipin Rawat, R&AW chief Anil Dhasmana, DGMO Lt Gen Anil Bhatt, Coast Guard chief Rajendra Singh, UP CM Yogi Adityanath and Uttarakhand CM Trivendra Singh Rawat. “This is Devbhoomi and Veerbhoomi (the land of the Gods and the brave). The government is in good hands,” says a mid-level bureaucrat from the state. Rawat will oversee assembly elections in eight states this year, including MP.

BABU ON JOB HUNT

All bureaucrats get desperate closer to retirement. But this Indian Foreign Service officer seems to have lost it in desperation. While serving a constitutional authority, he was organising elaborate Onam feasts for Kerala Left politicians and the Malayalam media—all in the hope of a nice job down south, with lots of perks and influence. When Kerala seemed a mirage, he had no qualms in making an about-turn to knock on the doors of the All India Congress Committee for a post-retirement sinecure. Now, all that is left for the opportunist babu to do is to don a pair of khaki trousers and go to a shakha.

OVERHEARD With the Congress facing a problem of plenty in poll-bound Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the party may not project any chief ministerial candidates to avoid infighting.

BIT BUBBLE IN LITTLE VILLAGE

EVEN as the world waited on tenterhooks for the Bitcoin bubble to burst, residents of Allithurai village outside Tiruchirappalli in Tamil Nadu continued to invest in the cryptocurrency. After a visit by a few agents last year, some villagers decided to take the plunge; others were cautious. Being largely computer-illiterate, they entrust their money to agents who manage



the investments, and only need to check their bank accounts at the end of each month to check out profits, which encouraged others to invest. Said Mahalakshmi, a schoolteacher who has had success with the investments, "I invested in Bitcoins through an agent. After finding how much I made, my sister Vijayalakshmi also pledged her assets to invest through the same agent." The value of Bitcoin has gone down further since this was reported.

MAA SARALA'S TRAFFIC PUJARIS

WHEN you go to get your new motorcycle blessed at the Maa Sarala temple in Orissa's Jagatsinghpur district, you had better not forget your helmet; if you do, the priests will have no choice but to turn you away. Such rituals have become well-established in the area, with local police estimating that ten vehicles are brought to the temple for puja each day on average, with the number shooting up to 50 on occasions like Sankranti. As 13,203 out of 16,004 vehicles registered in the district are two-wheelers, and due to the number of road accident fatalities, the police contacted the temple's priests, who agreed not to bless two-wheelers unless owners brought helmets. Head priest Sudam Charan Panda affirmed his intention to implement the strategy in co-ordination with the police.



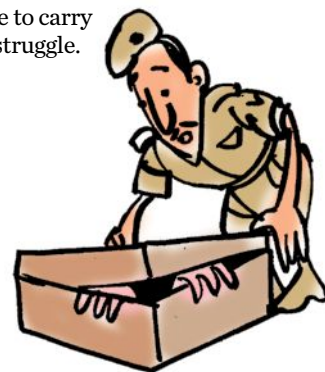
LA VIE EN ROSE

RANI is living the high life in Marseilles. French artist Lucie Lefevre, 28 spotted the stray on a beach in Mumbai's Versova neighbourhood last year. "She (Rani) lived on the street near my art studio in Versova. I became super close to her, feeding her and petting her every day. She began to sleep under my legs while I was painting in the studio's yard. I decided to adopt her because I couldn't leave her behind. We chose each other," said Lefevre. Taking the dog back home to France would require extensive paperwork, so Lefevre approached the Mumbai NGO Animals Matter To Me, who spent eight months preparing the documents and getting everything cleared. Now, Rani lives with Lefevre, her fiancé Pierre and their pet cat Pablo, enjoys walks on Marseilles's beach and accompanies the artist to her studio every day.



POST-MORTEM MUTILATION

THIRTEEN tribal protesters were shot dead by the police during the Kalinganagar agitation in Orissa in 2006. Five of the bodies had their hands severed, and these are still preserved, locked in a trunk. Despite requests from the community, no DNA tests have been done to identify these so they can be returned and buried with the bodies. "The hands were removed as no one was claiming the bodies. We needed fingerprints for identification," explained a police officer. But Orissa's former DGP Amiya Bhushan Tripathy said, "Chopping palms (for fingerprints) was unnecessary. I have never heard of this elsewhere." The victims are commemorated annually on January 2, with 15,000 attending the occasion this year. Young members of the community point to the silence of politicians and promise to carry on the struggle.



Illustrations by SAJITH KUMAR

ANDHRA'S ASWACHH AMBASSADOR

THE Andhra Pradesh government had issued a letter to singer Kesiraju Srinivas, popularly known as 'Ghazal Srinivas', appointing him Swachh Andhra ambassador, when he was arrested on a charge of sexual harassment. The appointment was promptly withdrawn. But perhaps he can take comfort in the fact that he is the only one to have got even this



far. Many famous names had done the rounds: Amitabh Bachchan for medical ambassador, Ajay Devgn and Kajol as tourism ambassadors. None of them received formal appointment letters, although a wag was quoted in the press as saying that they had all actually refused to accept the letters. As of now, the diplomatic corps seems woefully understaffed.

IDLIS FROM THE NETHERWORLD

AN eating competition in Tamil Nadu took a tragic turn when a participant died choking on his 12th idli. The Bharathiyar Youth Association of Pandikudi village in Pudukottai district had organised a chilli-eating contest as part of Pongal festivities. When it failed to attract contenders, they decided on the idli-eating competition. The challenge was to eat as many idlis as possible in three minutes without taking any drinks of water. Chinnathambi, a 42-year-old cook was being cheered on by an enthusiastic crowd when he collapsed. He had already died by the time an ambulance arrived.

NO TEARS FOR PAKISTAN

A SACRED pond, believed to have been formed from the teardrops of Shiva, ringed with ancient/medieval temples and the remains of a Buddhist stupa. The temple pond or 'amrit kund' of Katas (from *kataaksha*) Raj temple complex in Pakistan's Punjab is drying up, as local cement factories use up groundwater. A well has already run

dry, and last summer the pond itself came close. It is now being supplied with water piped from a nearby source. Renovation work was inaugurated by L.K. Advani during a 2005 visit, but work was not finished. The pipes were installed last year by the government after Pakistan's Supreme Court pulled it up over poor maintenance of the complex.



A Return To Tyburn

AT a time when the world is trying to move away from capital punishment, Pakistani lawmakers are trying to build opinion to make public hanging a practice as an effective deterrent for heinous crimes. The immediate provocation for the controversial move has been the rape and murder of a six-year-old girl in Lahore's Kasur area. The hapless child, Zainub's rapist and killer was identified as 23-year-old "serial killer" Imran Ali, who has since been arrested.

Predictably, the child's rape and death had led to massive public outrage, with regular demonstrations and candle-light vigils being held by the citizenry demanding urgent justice.

Punjab chief minister Shahbaz Sharif himself addressed a press conference on Tuesday night to announce "key suspect" Imran Ali's arrest, indicating how serious and sensitive the case had become for the local government.

Sharif claimed the suspect was a serial killer who had been accused also of the rape and murder of six to seven other girls in the past years.

"Our collective effort has borne fruit and the murderer has been arrested," a triumphant Sharif announced to loud applause.

Playing to the gallery, Sharif also announced, "If it were up to me, as a person who understands some of [Zainab's father's] pain, I would want him hanged at the public square." He pointed out that he will request the chief justice of Lahore High Court (LHC) to ensure that the culprit is made an example of.

The standing committee in the Pakistani Senate also took a tough line on the issue, recommending an amendment to the existing law to publicly hang a convict involved in sexual abuse and murder of children below the age of 14.

The last public hanging of a convict charged with the rape and murder of a child was during military dictator Zia-ul-Haq's rule. Recalling the 1981 public hanging of the rapist and murderer, some commentators argued that after that there were no other such crimes in the country for at least a decade. The demand, therefore, is now to have an equally effective deterrent.

Though public hanging is permissible as per Islamic law, many are questioning whether Pakistan—still conflict-ridden about its emergence as a progressive democracy—can afford to support such a primitive sense of justice.

Much of the public utterances of Shahbaz Sharif or other Pakistani leaders can be dismissed as rhetoric aimed at addressing and assuaging public outrage on a sensitive issue in an election year.

The last person publicly hanged for raping and killing a child was in 1981. Some say that had worked as a deterrent for years.



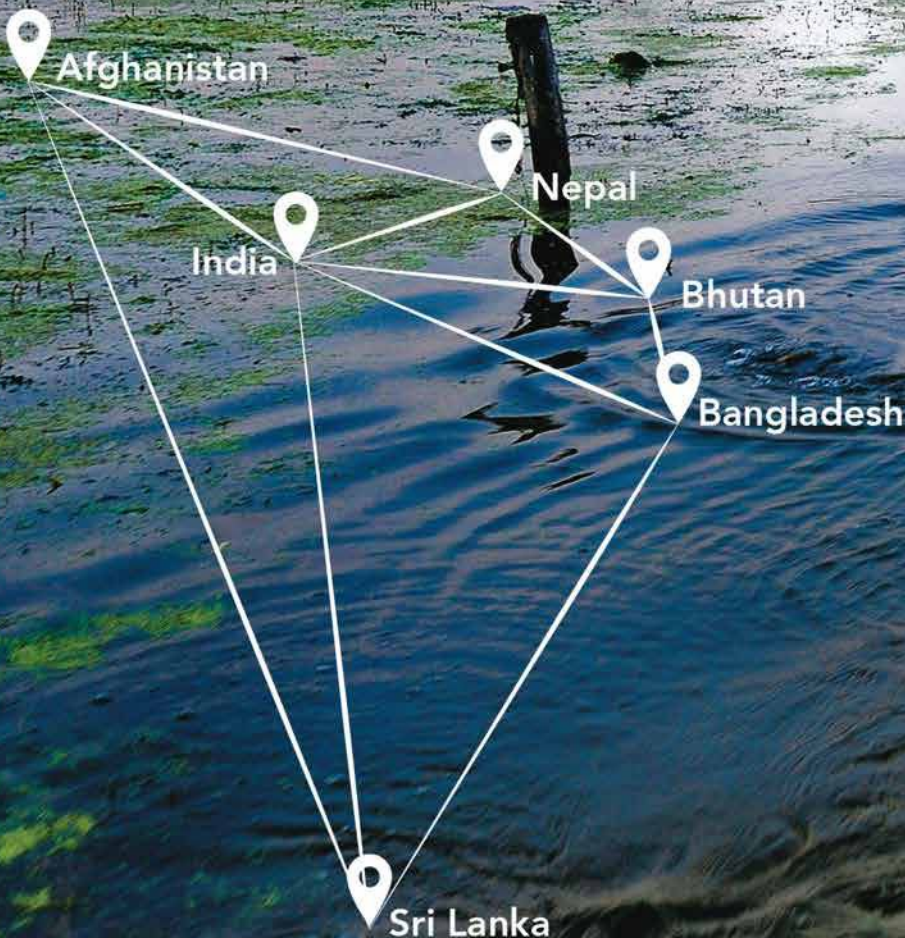
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Patri Vs Jingo

Gandhian nationalism, enshrined in ideals of equality and diversity. As a credo, tries to supplant it, our duty is

RAMACHANDRA GUHA

is a historian. He is the author of, among other books, *India After Gandhi*.



otism

ism

*the Constitution, is based on
new pretender, with its hate-filled
to put up a dogged fight.*

LIKE the railways, electricity, and the theory of evolution, nationalism was also invented in modern Europe. The European model of nationalism sought to unite residents of a particular geographical territory on the basis of a single language, a shared religion, and a common enemy. So to be British, you had to speak English, and minority tongues such as Welsh and Gaelic were either suppressed or disregarded. To be properly British you had to be Protestant, which is why the king was also the head of the Church, and Catholics were distinctly second-class citizens. Finally, to be authentically and loyally British, you had to detest France.



Now, if we go across the Channel and look at the history of the consolidation of the French nation in the 18th and 19th centuries, we see the same process at work, albeit in reverse. Citizens had to speak the same language, in this case French, so the dialects spoken in regions like Normandy and Brittany were sledgehammered into a single standardised tongue. The test of nationhood was allegiance to one language, French, and also to one religion, Catholicism. So Protestants were persecuted. Likewise, French nationalism was consolidated by identifying a major enemy; although who this enemy was varied from time to time. In some decades the principal adversary was Britain; in other decades, Germany. In either case, the hatred of another nation was vital to affirming faith in one's own nation.

This model—of a single language, a shared religion, and a common enemy—is the model by which nations were created throughout Europe. And it so happens that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is in this respect a perfect European nation. Mohammad Ali Jinnah insisted that Muslims could not live with Hindus, so they needed their own homeland. After his nation was created, Jinnah visited its eastern wing and told its Bengali residents they must learn to speak Urdu, which to him was the language of Pakistan. And, of course, hatred of India has been intrinsic to the idea of Pakistan since its inception.

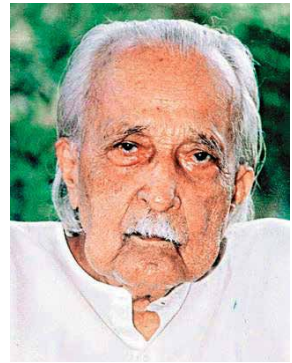
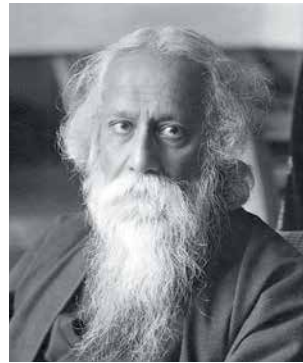
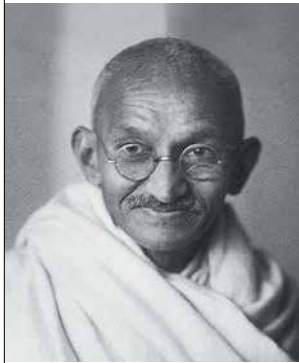
Indian nationalism, however, radically departed from the European template. The greatness of the leaders of our freedom struggle—and Mahatma Gandhi in particular—was that they refused to identify nationalism with a single religion. They further refused to identify nationalism with a particular language and even more remarkably, they refused to hate their rulers, the British.

GANDHI lived and died for Hindu-Muslim harmony. He emphasised the fact that his party, the Indian National Congress, had presidents who were Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Parsi. Nor was Gandhi's nationalism defined by language. As early as the 1920s, Gandhi pledged that when India became independent, every major linguistic group would have its own province. And perhaps the most radical aspect of the Indian model of

nationalism was that you did not even have to hate the British. Indian patriots detested British imperialism, they wanted the Raj out, they wanted to reclaim this country for its residents. But they could do so non-violently, and they could do so while befriending individual Britons (Gandhi's closest friend was the English priest C.F. Andrews). Further, they could get the British to 'Quit India' while retaining the best of British institutions. An impartial judiciary, parliamentary democracy, the English language, and not least the game of

lence, Hindu-Muslim harmony, the abolition of untouchability and economic self-reliance. Three decades later, after India was finally free, these values were enshrined in our Constitution.

When the Republic of India was created, its citizens were sought to be united on a set of values: democracy, religious and linguistic pluralism, caste and gender equality and the removal of poverty and discrimination. They were not sought to be united on the basis of a single religion, a shared faith, or a common enemy. Now this is the founding model



British or French nationalism was based on paranoia, ours on a set of noble values.

cricket; these are all aspects of British culture that we kept after they had left.

British, French and Pakistani nationalism were based on paranoia, on the belief that all citizens must speak the same language, adhere to the same faith, and hate the same enemy. On the other hand, Indian nationalism was based on a common set of values. During the non-cooperation movement of 1920-21, people all across India came out into the streets, gave up jobs and titles, left their colleges, courted arrest. For the first time, the people of India had the sense, the expectation, the confidence that they could create their own nation. In 1921, when non-cooperation was at its height, Gandhi defined Swaraj as a bed with four sturdy bed-posts. The four posts that held up Swaraj were non-vio-

FATHERS Gandhi, Tagore and Kota Shivaram Karanth chose plurality/equality as the vehicles for patriotism

of Indian nationalism, which I shall call 'constitutional patriotism', because it is enshrined in our Constitution. Let me identify its fundamental features.

The first feature of constitutional patriotism is the acknowledgement and appreciation of our inherited and shared diversity. In any major gathering in a major city—say in a music concert or in a cricket match—people who compose the 'crowd' carry different names, wear different clothes, eat different kinds of food, worship different gods (or no god at all), speak different languages, and fall in love with different kinds of people. They are a microcosm not just of what India is, but of what its founders wished it to be. For, the founders of the Republic had the ability (and desire) to endorse and emphasise our diversity. As Rabindranath Tagore once said about our country: "No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in restless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea: here Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of Saka and the Hunas and Pathan and Mogul, have become



combined in one body”.

A second quote underlining the extraordinary richness of the mosaic that is India comes from the Kannada Tagore, Kota Shivaram Karanth. Karanth had heard demagogues speak of something called ‘Aryan culture’. Did they realise, he asked, “what transformations this ‘Aryan culture’ has undergone after reaching India?”. In Karanth’s opinion, “Indian culture today is so varied as to be called ‘cultures’.” The roots of this culture go back to ancient times: and it has developed through contact with many races and peoples. Hence, among its many ingredients, it is impossible to say surely what is native and what is alien, what is borrowed out of love and what has been imposed by force. If “we view Indian culture thus”, said Karanth, “we realise that there is no place for chauvinism”.

Now, an appreciation of this diversity means that we understand that no type of Indian is superior or special because they belong to a particular religious tradition or because they speak a certain language. In 19th century England, Protestants were superior to Catholics, English speakers were superior to Welsh speakers. In 20th century India, patriotism was defined by the allegiance to the values of the Constitution, not by birth, blood, language or faith.

The second feature of constitutional patriotism is that it operates at many levels. Like charity, it begins at home. It is not just worshipping the national flag that makes you a patriot. It is how you deal with your neighbours and your neighbourhood, how you relate to your city, how you relate to your state. In America, which is professedly one of the most patriotic countries in the world, every state has its own flag. And some states of India also have their own flag, albeit informally. Every November, when Rajyotsava Day is celebrated in Karnataka, a red-and-yellow flag is unfurled in many parts of the state. It is not Anglicised upper-class elites like this writer who display this flag of Karnataka, but shopkeepers, farmers, and autorickshaw drivers.

Patriotism can operate at multiple levels. The Bangalore Literary Festival (which is not sponsored by shady corporates, but is crowd-funded) is an example of civic patriotism. The red-and-yellow flag of Karnataka is an example

of provincial patriotism. Cheering for the Indian cricket team is an example of national patriotism. So, patriotism can operate at more than one level—the locality, the city, the province and the nation. A broad-minded (as distinct from paranoid) patriot recognises that these layered affiliations can be harmonious, complementary and reinforce one another.

The model of patriotism advocated by Gandhi and Tagore was not centralised, but disaggregated. And it has helped make India a diverse and united nation.



B.R. Ambedkar foresaw the danger of infusing hero-worship into Indian politics.

Look at what is happening in Spain today. Why have the Catalans rebelled? Because they weren’t given the space and the freedom to honourably have their own language and culture. And the centralised Spanish state came down so hard that the Catalans had a referendum in which many of them said, ‘we want independence’. Had the Republic of Spain been founded and run on Indian principles, this would not have happened. Had Pakistan not imposed Urdu on Bengalis, they may not have split in two nations a mere quarter-of-a-century after Independence. Had Sri Lanka not imposed Sinhala on the Tamils they would not have had thirty years of ethnic strife. India has escaped civil war and secession because its founders wisely did not impose a single religion

or single language on its citizens.

One can be a patriot of Bangalore, Karnataka, and India—all at the same time. But the notion of a world citizen is false. The British-born Indian J.B.S. Haldane put it this way: “One of the chief duties of a citizen is to be a nuisance to the government of his state. As there is no world state, I cannot do this.... On the other hand I can be, and am, a nuisance to the government of India, which has the merit of permitting a good deal of criticism, though it reacts to it rather slowly. I also happen to be proud of being a citizen of India, which is a lot more diverse than Europe, let alone the US, USSR or China, and thus a better model for a possible world organisation. It may, of course, break up, but it is a wonderful experiment. So I want to be labelled as a citizen of India”.

A citizen of India can vote in panchayat, assembly and parliamentary polls; he or she can make demands on their local sarpanch, MLA, or MP. In between elections he or she can affirm their citizenship (at all these levels) through speech and (non-violent) action. But global citizenship is a mirage; or a cop-out. Those who cannot or will not identify with locality, province or nation accord themselves the fanciful and fraudulent title of ‘citizen of the world’.

THE third feature of constitutional patriotism, and this again comes from people like Gandhi and Tagore, is the recognition that no state, no nation, no religion or no culture is perfect or flawless. India is not superior to America necessarily, nor is America superior to India necessarily. Hinduism is not superior to Christianity necessarily, nor is Islam superior to Judaism necessarily. Religious and ideological fundamentalists are possessed by the idea of superiority. They believe that they and only they have the perfect truth.

But no state, no religion, is perfect or flawless. And no leader either. The great B.R. Ambedkar, in his last speech to the Constituent Assembly, said that “in India, Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world. Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in pol-

itics, Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship”.

Ambedkar's warning was prophetic. It anticipated the rule, or rather the misrule, of Indira Gandhi, which came about only because her bhakts placed their liberties at her feet. And now, Modi bhakts are blindly worshipping our present prime minister. In truth, this cult of the great leader which Ambedkar warned against bedevils not only Indian politics, but also Indian corporate and intellectual life, even Indian cricket.

Gandhi himself once admitted to making a Himalayan blunder. But I cannot recall Narendra Modi acknowledging even a minor mistake. However, it is very important that citizens recognise that like nations and cultures, leaders are not perfect or infallible either.

A fourth feature of constitutional patriotism is this: we must have the ability to feel shame at the failures of our state and society, and we must have the desire and the will to correct them. The most gross and debased aspects of Indian culture and society are discrimination against women and against Dalits. And a true patriot must feel shame about them. Gandhi felt shame, Ambedkar felt shame, Nehru felt shame, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay felt shame. That is why in our Constitution we abolished caste and gender distinctions. Yet these distinctions pervade everyday life. Unless we continue to feel shame, and act accordingly, they will continue to exist.

The fifth feature of constitutional patriotism is the ability to be rooted in one's culture while being willing to learn from other cultures and countries. This too must operate at all levels. If you live in Basavanagudi, love Basavanagudi, but think what you can learn from Jayanagar or Richmond Town. Love Bangalore but think what you can learn from Chennai or Hyderabad. Love Karnataka, but think what you can learn from Kerala or Himachal Pradesh. Love India, but think of what you can learn from Sweden or Canada. So, true patriots must be rooted in their locality, their state, their country but have the recognition and the understanding that they can learn from other cultures,

other cities, other countries who have done some things better than them.

Two quotes, from the greatest of modern Indians, illustrate this open-minded patriotism very well. Thus Tagore wrote in 1908: “If India had been deprived of touch with the West, she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection. Europe now has her lamp ablaze. We must light our torches at its wick and make a fresh start on the highway of time. That our forefathers, three thousand years ago, had finished extracting all that was of value from the universe, is not a worthy thought. We are not so unfortunate, nor the universe so poor”.

Thirty years later, Gandhi remarked: “In this age, when distances have been obliterated, no nation can afford to imitate the frog in the well. Sometimes it is refreshing to see ourselves

This new nationalism in India is harsh and hostile. In truth, it is jingoism.

as others see us”.

As a patriotic Indian, I am delighted that the West has acknowledged the importance and value of yoga. Likewise, there must be many aspects of life in the West, in Africa, in China and Japan that we can acknowledge, appreciate, learn from. As Tagore suggested, we must find glory in the illumination of a lamp lit anywhere in the world.

An appreciation of individual and cultural diversity; a readiness to enact one's citizenship at different levels; the recognition that no religion, nation, or leader is flawless; the ability to feel shame at the crimes of one's religion, state, society or nation; the willingness to learn from other countries—these, to me, are the five founding features of the model of patriotism bequeathed us by the nation's founders. This model is now in tatters. It is increasingly being replaced by a new model of nationalism, which privileges a single religion,



INDI(R)A The central figure in the dynasty that has captured Congress

Hinduism, which argues that a real Indian is a Hindu. This new model also privileges a single language—Hindi. It insists that Hindi is the national language, and whatever the language of your home, your street, your state, you must speak Hindi also. Thirdly, this model privileges a common external enemy—Pakistan.

Whether they acknowledge it or not, those promoting this new model of Indian nationalism are borrowing (and more or less wholesale) from 19th century Europe. However, to the template of a single religion, a single language and a common enemy they have added an innovation of their own—the branding of all critics of their Party and their Leader as ‘anti-national’. This scapegoating comes straight from the holy book of the RSS, M.S. Golwalkar's *Bunch of Thoughts*. In this book, Golwalkar identified three ‘internal threats’ to the nation—Muslims, Christians and Communists. Now, I am not a Muslim, Christian or Communist, but I have nonetheless become an enemy of the nation. Because any critic, any dissenter, anyone who upholds the old ideal of constitutional patriotism is considered by those in power and their cheerleaders to be an enemy of the nation.

In the wonderful film *Newton*, one



character says, “*Ye desh danda aur jhanda se chalta hai*”. This line beautifully captures the essence of a paranoid and punitive form of nationalism, based on a blind worship of the (sole and solitary) Flag, and the use of the stick to harass those who do not follow or obey you. This new nationalism in India is harsh, hostile, and unforgiving. The name by which it should be known is certainly not ‘patriotism’, and not even ‘nationalism’. Rather, it should be called jingoism.

The dictionary defines a patriot as ‘a person who loves his or her country, esp. one who is ready to support its freedoms and rights and to defend it against enemies or detractors’. Note the order; love of country first, support of freedom and rights second, and defence against enemies last. And what is the dictionary definition of jingoist? One ‘who brags of his country’s preparedness for fight, and generally advocates or favours a bellicose policy in dealing with foreign powers; a blustering or blatant ‘patriot’; a Chauvinist’. The order is reversed: first, boasting of the greatness of one’s country; then advocating attacking other countries. No talk of rights or freedom, or love either.

The dictionary also has some representative quotes. Thus the 18th century Irish philosopher George Berkeley defined a patriot as “one who heartily wisheth the public prosperity, and

doth...also study and endeavour to promote it”. The patriot wishes above all to promote welfare and happiness. On the other hand, the *Gentleman’s Magazine* said in 1881 that “the jingo is the aggregation of the bully. An individual may be a bully; but, in order to create Jingoism, there must be a crowd”. This is so appropriate to our country and our time. For, while Arnab Goswami is a bully, it is his audience which creates and sustains jingoism.

Patriotism and jingoism are two distinct, different, opposed varieties of nationalism. Patriotism is suffused with love and understanding. Jingoism is motivated by hate and revenge. Thus the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885: “The essential infamy of Jingoism was its assertion as the first law of its being that might was right.” *Danda aur Jhanda*; that is the sum and substance of jingoism, whose Indian variant goes by the name of ‘Hindutva’.

I have already outlined the founding features of patriotism. What are the founding features of jingoism? First, the belief that one’s religion, culture and nation and leader are perfect and infallible. Second, the demonising of critics as anti-nationals and *deshdrohis*. Third, violence and lumpenisation, not just abusing your critics but harassing and intimidating them, through the force of the state’s investigating agencies and through vigilante armies if required.



Our Communists deified USSR, China, Vietnam, Cuba...all except their own nation.

I am a citizen, but also a scholar, so I must explain not just what distinguishes patriotism from jingoism but why jingoism is on the ascendant today. Why is it that the hardline Hindutvawadi has so many supporters? Why is it that *Times Now* and *Republic, Aaj Tak* and *Zee News* command higher viewership than their competitors?

I believe there are four major reasons why jingoism is on the ascendant, while constitutional patriotism is on the retreat. The first is the hostility to our national traditions of the Indian Left. The Communist parties, particularly the CPI(M), are an important political force in India. They have been in power in several states. Their supporters have historically dominated some of our best universities, and been prominent in theatre, art, literature and film. But the Indian Left, sadly and tragically, is an anti-patriotic Left. It has always loved another country more than their own.

The country our Communists were devoted to used to be the Soviet Union, which is why they opposed the Quit India Movement, and launched an armed insurrection on Stalin’s orders immediately after Gandhiji was murdered. Later, the country the Communists loved more than India was China; so, in 1962, they refused to take their homeland’s side in the border war of that year. In the same decade, the Naxalites sprung to action shouting, ‘China’s Chairman is our Chairman’. Still later, when the Communists became disillusioned with both Soviet Union and China, they pinned their faith on Vietnam. When Vietnam failed them, it became Cuba; when Cuba failed them, it became Albania.

When I was a student in Delhi University, there was a Marxist professor who thought Enver Hoxha was a greater thinker than Mahatma Gandhi. But then Albania failed too. So now, Venezuela became the foreign country our comrades loved more than India. Consider thus the extraordinary veneration among the Indian Left for the late (but by me unlamented) Hugo Chavez. If you think Narendra Modi is authoritarian, then Hugo Chavez was Narendra Modi on steroids. The megalomaniac Chavez destroyed the Venezuelan economy

and Venezuelan democracy, and yet he was worshipped in JNU and by Indian Leftists elsewhere too.

Some months ago, I met a prominent CPI(M) intellectual, a historian like myself, but unlike me a party man. Since he is, by the standards of his tribe, reasonably open-minded, I offered him an unsolicited suggestion. I said, why don't you put Bhagat Singh's portrait up at your party conferences? How can you allow a professed Marxist to be appropriated by the Hindutvawadis? As it happens, in the conferences of the CPI(M) there are only four portraits displayed. All are men. None are Indian; none are alive. The dead white men our Communists publicly venerate are two German intellectuals—Marx and Engels, and two Russian tyrants—Lenin and Stalin. So I told this Communist historian, at least have Bhagat Singh's portrait at your party conferences, for he was a Marxist, and he was Indian. The historian said, without much hope or conviction, that he would put the proposal up to the party leadership to consider.

THE anti-patriotism of the Indian Left is the first reason that jingoism is on the ascendant. The second reason is the corruption of the Congress Party, the tragedy by which the great party which led our freedom movement has been captured by a single family. I have spoken of how the Left chooses its icons, but in some ways the Congress is even worse. When the UPA was in power, it named everything in sight after a

Nehru-Gandhi. Why couldn't the new Hyderabad international airport have been named after the Telugu composer Thygaraja or the Andhra patriot T. Prakasam? Why Rajiv Gandhi? Likewise, when the new sea link in Mumbai had to be given a name, why couldn't the UPA consider Gokhale, Tilak, Chavan or some other great Maharashtrian Congressman? Why Rajiv Gandhi again?

Many, indeed most, of the icons of the national movement belonged to the Congress party. But the Congress has abandoned and thrown them away because it is only Nehru, Indira, Rajiv, Sonia, and now Rahul that matter to them. (The only great, dead, Congressman outside the family they are willing to acknowledge is Mahatma Gandhi, because even they can't obliterate him from their party's history.) Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who is one of the wisest and most patriotic Indians alive, once said, in a moment of sad reflection: "It is because the Congress has disowned Patel that the BJP has been able to misown Patel". Tragically, Sonia's and Rahul's Congress have also disowned Shastri, Kamaraj, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Jagjivan Ram, Narasimha Rao and many, many, others.

If Hugo Chavez gets a more rousing welcome in JNU than any Indian, then obviously this will help the jingoists. Likewise, if the UPA Government named all major schemes after a single family, ignoring even the great Congress patriots of the past, then that would give a handle to the jingoists,

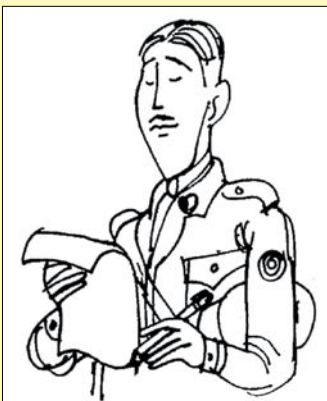
too. The corrupt, *chamchagiri* culture of the Congress Party is a disgrace. When I made a sarcastic remark on Twitter about Rahul Gandhi becoming Congress president, someone put up a chart listing the presidents of the BJP since 1998—Bangaru Laxman, Jana Krishnamurthi, L.K. Advani, Rajnath Singh, etc., the last name on the list being Amit Shah, followed by 'party worker'. Whereas the presidents of the Congress in the same period were 'Sonia Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi...Rahul Gandhi...'

A third reason for the rise of jingoism is that it is a global phenomena, manifest in the rise of Trump, Brexit, Marine Le Pen, Erdogan, Putin etc, all of whom pursue a xenophobic, paranoid, often hateful form of nationalism. The rise of jingoistic nationalism elsewhere encourages the rise of Hindutva to match or rival them.

A fourth reason for the ascendancy of jingoism is the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in our own backyard. The state and society of Pakistan are becoming more and more fundamentalist. Once they persecuted Hindus and Christians; now they persecute Ahmadiyyas and Shias too. And Bangladesh is also witnessing a rising tide of violence against religious minorities. Since religious fundamentalisms are rivalrous and competitive, every act of violence against a Hindu in Bangladesh motivates and emboldens those who want to persecute Muslims in India.

The BJP and the RSS claim to be authentically Indian, and damn the rest of us as foreigners. Intellectuals such as myself are dismissed as Macaulayputras, or, if we are female, as Macaulayputris, as bastard children of Macaulay, Marx and Mill. As a historian, I would say that the Hindutvawadis are the true foreigners. Their model of nationalism—one religion, one language, one enemy—is totally inspired by nineteenth century Europe, unlike the Gandhian model of nationalism which was an innovative swadeshi response to Indian conditions, designed to take account of cultural diversity and to tackle caste and gender inequality.

If the Sanghi model of nationalism is inspired by Europe, their model of statecraft is Middle Eastern in origin.



The killing fields of the Great War were manned by recruits who answered the call to patriotic duty. But years of meaningless slaughter opened their eyes to the emptiness of that appeal. The British war poets gave eloquent voice to this disgust. In his devastatingly graphic *Dulce Et Decorum Est*, Wilfred Owen uncovers the bare fangs of that high Latin ideal: "My friend, you would not tell with such high zest/To children ardent for some desperate glory/The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est/Pro patria mori."



The Hindutva model is being applied in Yogi Adityanath's Uttar Pradesh

In medieval times, from about the eleventh to the sixteenth century, there were states where monarchs were Muslims and the majority of the population was Muslim, but a substantial minority was non-Muslim, composed in the main of Jews and Christians. In these medieval Islamic states, there were three categories of citizens. The first-class citizens were Muslims, who prayed five times a day and went to mosque every Friday, and who believed that the Quran was the word of God. The second-class citizens were Jews and Christians whose prophets were admired by Muslims, as preceding Mohammed, the last and the greatest prophet. Third-class citizens were those who were neither Jews nor Christians nor Muslims. These were the unbelievers, the Kafirs.

In medieval Muslim states, Jews and Christians, the 'People of the Book', were given the term 'Dhimmi', which in Arabic means 'protected person'. As a protected person, they had certain rights. They could go to the synagogue or church; they could own a shop; they could raise a family. But other rights were denied them. They could not enrol in the military, serve in the government, be a minister or prime minister. Nor, unlike Muslims, could they convert other citizens to their faith.

Hindutvawadis are the real foreigners, adopting a European model of nationalism.

Such was the second-class status of Jews and Christians in medieval Islam. This model was applied in Medina and Andalusia, and in Ottoman Turkey. While Kafirs (including Hindus) had to be suppressed and subdued, Jews and Christians could practise their profession and raise their family, and live peaceable lives so long as they did not ask for the same rights as Muslims.

This is precisely how Hindutvawadis want to run politics in our country today. Muslims and Christians in India now must be like Jews and Christians of the medieval Middle East. This model is being applied most energetically in India's largest state, Uttar Pradesh. As the slogans go: *UP mein rehna hai to Yogi Yogi kehna padega. UP mein rehna hai to Ram Mandir banana padega. UP mein rehna hai to gau puja karna padega.* If Muslims in UP accept the theological, political and social superiority of Hindus they shall not be persecuted or killed. But if they demand equal

rights they might be.

So this is the new model of nationalism on offer in India today: equal parts nineteenth century Europe; equal parts fifteenth century Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Egypt. What is indigenous about it? What is decent, moral, wise or democratic about it?

THE new jingoism in our country is a curious mixture of outdated ideas of nationalism mixed with profoundly anti-democratic ideas of citizenship. And yet it finds wide acceptance. This is because the anti-patriotism of the Indian Left, the cronyism of the Congress party and the global rise of nativism and fundamentalism have acted as a spur, an encouragement, a provocation to the rise of jingoism in India. That does not mean that we should accept it as legitimate, or even as Indian. Those of us who are constitutional patriots must continue to stand up for the values on which our nation was nurtured, built and sustained. For, if the Hindutvawadis are to continue unchecked and unchallenged, they will destroy India, culturally as well as economically.

The political and ideological battle in India today is between patriotism and jingoism. The battle is currently asymmetrical, because the jingoists are in power, and because they have a party articulating and imposing their views. The constitutional patriotism of Gandhi, Tagore and Ambedkar has no such party active today. The Communists followed Lenin and Stalin rather than Gandhi and Tagore; and the Congress has turned its back on its own founders. But while we patriots may not have a party or political vehicle, we should carry on the good fight for our values even in its absence. For citizenship is an everyday affair. It is not just about casting your vote once every five years. It is about affirming the values of pluralism, democracy, decency and non-violence every single day of our lives. So long as enough of us do so with vigour and honesty, the jingoists will not win, and the Republic will survive. □

(This essay is based on a lecture given in memory of Justice Sunanda Bhandare, one of our bravest and most far-sighted jurists, and a true patriot.)

S. GURUMURTHY

The author is the editor of *Thuglak*, professor of legal anthropology and a political commentator.



A Nation Within 4 Temples

The millennia-old idea of Bharat has been gripped in confusion since Indian independence. Now is as good a time as any to clear the haze.

PATRIOTISM, nationalism, nation and country are not independent concepts. They are so inter-related that none of them can be comprehended in isolation. Patriotism is not just love for a piece of geography. It is devotion to the idea of one's nation—in which a territory, people and their history, culture and ancestry converge. A nation needs territory, but it is not equal to just territory. Also, not all nations' nationalism is alike. An organically evolved nation is the collective consciousness of a people with shared history and values. Here are two contrasting examples of nationalism for a closer inquiry— the US and Israel.

Jewish Israel Vs Melting Pot US

The US prides itself as a 'melting pot'—or a 'plate of salads'—nation of immigrants long populating its geography, even though Samuel Huntington described it as a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) nation. The US is less an organically, more a mechanically evolved nation. Organically evolved nations are different. Their national consciousness can exist without even a territory! It did in the case of the Jewish nation, which existed in the consciousness of the Jews for two millennia without a territory. The Jewish people were strewn around 100 nations in the world, including India, for

two thousand years. It was in 1947 that the Jewish people got a piece of 'their' territory back—present-day Israel. Their consciousness as nation got them their land. National consciousness can regain lost territory, but mere territory cannot regain lost national consciousness. The idea of the Jewish nation is the very contrast of the idea of US as a nation. Jewish nationalism is actually a racial concept. Yet, the world recognised it. A territory with a mere collection of people is no nation just because it is ruled by a State; for example, former USSR, Yugoslavia and the likes. Love of territory, sans the idea of nation, is not patriotism. Nor is it

nationalism. Territorial nationalism or territorial patriotism equals just a landlord's love of his land. Patriotism is love of one's nation and the land of its ancestors. Now let's look at how our great ancestors and leaders captured the idea of Indian nationalism.

Gandhi and Aurobindo on Indian nationalism

The Indian nation existed from times immemorial. The Vedas speak of a 'rashtra'. In the Vishnu Purana, Vayu Purana, Linga Purana, Brahmanda Purana, Agni Purana, Skanda Purana, and Markandeya Purana, the larger India was known, millennia before, as Bharatvarsha, its people as Bharatiyas, its ruler as Chakravartin. The Puranas emphasised spiritualism as the soul of Bharatvarsha. In *Hind Swaraj*, Mahatma Gandhi's

TWO NATION THEORY A depiction of the American war of independence; Moses separates the Red Sea (right)

Mahatma Gandhi drew on the idea of Bharatvarsha as India's spiritual nationalism.

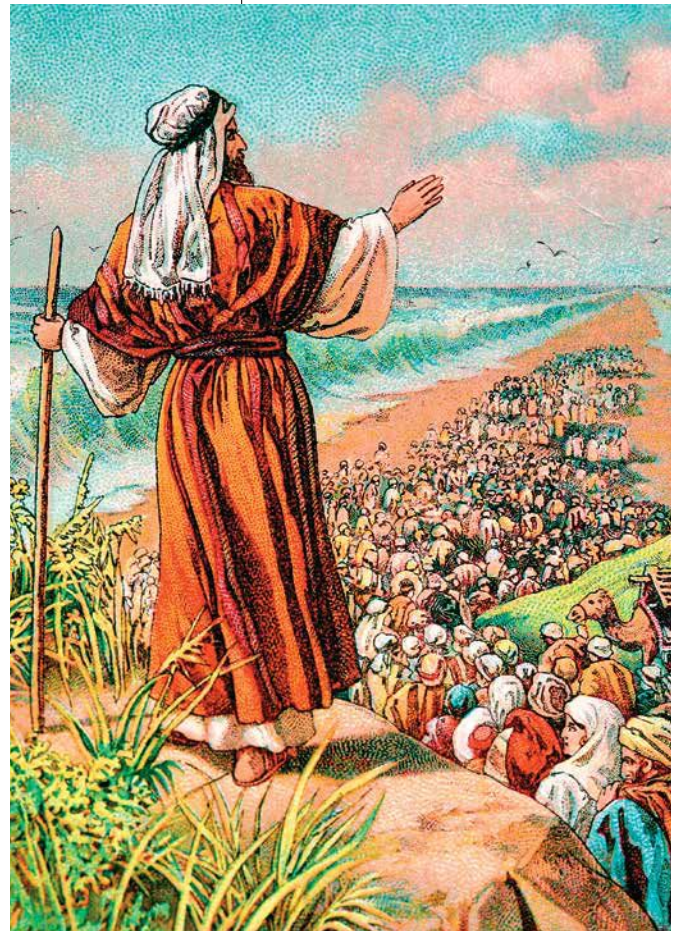
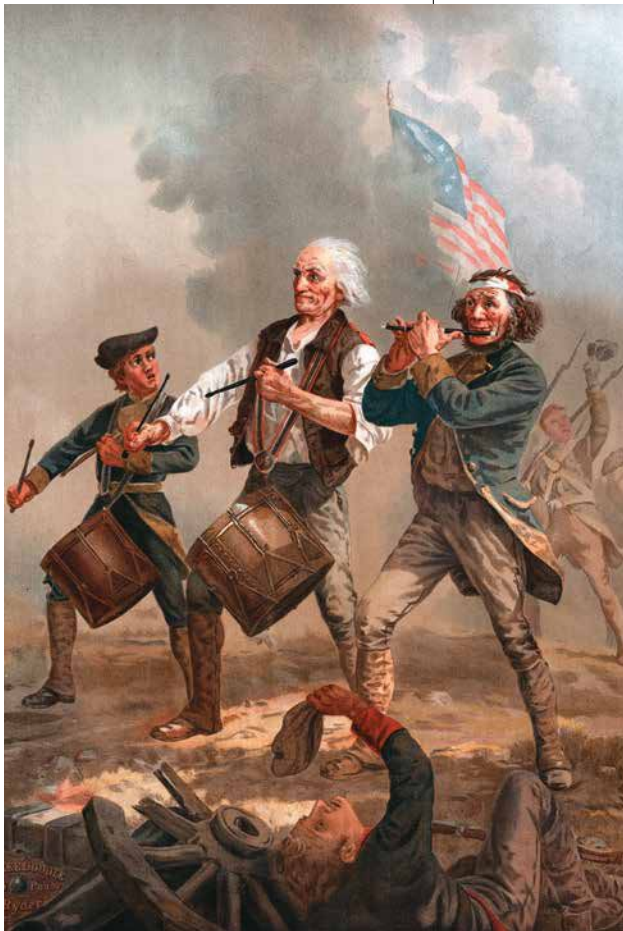
fundamental text, he drew on the ancient idea of Bharatvarsha as India's spiritual nationalism. Gandhi said that our ancestors who established Setubandha (Rameshwar) in the South, Jagannath in the East and Haridwar in the North as places of pilgrimage were no fools. He asserts that the ancestors knew that worship of God could have been performed just as well at home and yet they argued that it must be (as) one nation, and established holy places in various parts of India, thus firing the people

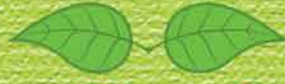
with an idea of nationality in a manner unknown in other parts of the world. Even the advent of Muslims, Gandhi said, would not make any difference as they ought to be assimilated into the mainstream nation. Maharishi Aurobindo was of the view that Indian Nationalism is Hindu nationalism which is no "creed, religion, faith" and said that the Hindu nation was born with Sanatan Dharma that is nationalism. Emphatic indeed, were both Gandhi and Aurobindo.

Vivekananda on spiritual nationalism

Swami Vivekananda's nationalist exhortations are said to have triggered the freedom movement. The British police repeatedly found his literature in the hands of freedom fighters and even mulled action against the Ramakrishna Math. The tallest of leaders attributed the freedom movement to him. Mahatma Gandhi said, "Reading Viveka-

Photographs: ALAMY





ग्रामीण भारत की तरक्की को समर्पित

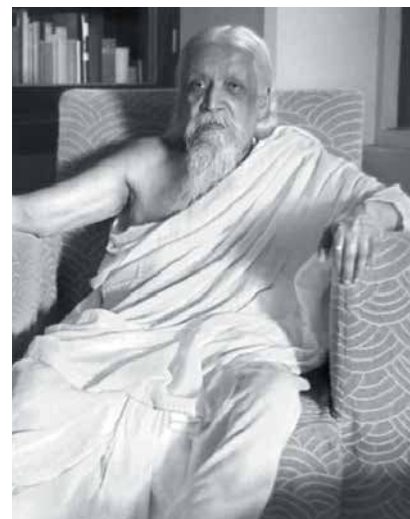
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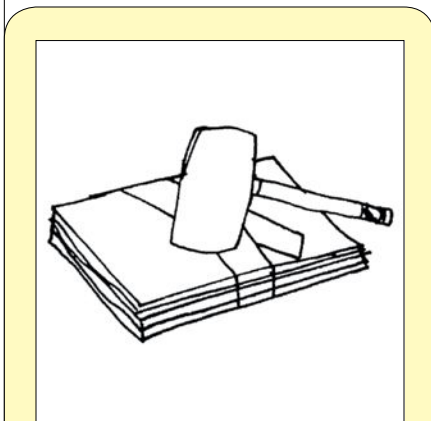


nanda has made me love the country a 'hundred fold'. Subhash Chandra Bose described him as "the spiritual father of the modern nationalist movement". C. Rajagopalachari wrote, but for him "we would have lost our religion, not have gained our freedom; we owe everything to him." Rabindranath Tagore also told fellow Indians, "if you want to know India, study Vivekananda". For Jawaharlal Nehru, secular India's icon, Vivekananda "was one of the great founders of the national movement, who inspired the freedom fighters". Even Aurobindo and Subramanya Bharati were inspired by Vivekananda. What did Vivekananda have to say about the Indian nation and nationalism? "A nation in India," he declared, "must be a union of those whose hearts beat to the same spiritual tune". Comparing the three living nations of his times—English, French and Hindu—he said, 'the Hindu nation is still living' because of its religion. He termed religious conversions as perversions. Vivekananda went the farthest to defend the Hindu character of India.

**Supreme Court:
Hindu heritage and culture**

Finally in the year 1995, the Supreme Court of India itself confirmed the core Hindu cultural character of India. Referring to the concepts 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism', the Supreme Court ruled, "No meaning in the abstract can confine it to the narrow limits of religion alone, excluding the content of Indian culture and heritage. The term

'Hindutva' is related more to the way of life of the people in the sub-continent." The Court also recalled its previous judgement in the Ayodhya case, where Justice Barucha speaking for himself and Justice Ahmadi, said, "Hinduism is a tolerant faith. It is



The Supreme Court's verdict clarifying the concepts of Hinduism and Hindutva was delivered in context of the 'Ramesh Yeshwant Prabhoo versus Prabhakar K. Kunte' case where the charge on Prabhoo was of using the terms 'Hinduism' and 'Hindutva' for an incendiary effect on people while canvassing for elections. The Bombay High Court ruled against Prabhoo, and the SC upheld the decision, but went on to assign meaning to the terms 'Hindutva' and 'Hinduism.'

ANCESTOR SPIRIT Ambassador of Hinduism Swami Vivekananda; father of the nation, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; spiritual reformer Sri Aurobindo that tolerance that has enabled Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism to find shelter and support upon this land". In saying so, he almost equated Hinduism to secularism. As late as in 2017, the Court refused to review its 1995 judgement on the Hindu cultural character of India.

Secular distortion

Vivekananda, Gandhi, Aurobindo and the Supreme Court independently converge on Hindu culture and way of life manifesting on Indian nationalism. But the post-Independence secular discourse is devoid of the true sense of India. It has so distorted the idea of the Indian nation that whatever inspired the freedom movement—whether it be Vande Mataram, composed by Bankim Chandra, or the ideal of Rama Rajya revered by Mahatma Gandhi or the concept Hindu nationalism expounded by Swami Vivekananda and Maharishi Aurobindo—is regarded in the contemporary discourse as communal and even anti-secular. This is what has created confusion in India about what is nationalism and patriotism. Unless the secular discourse discards the distortion and falls in line with the views of the great men who shaped India and the Supreme Court, the confusion is bound to continue. ❑

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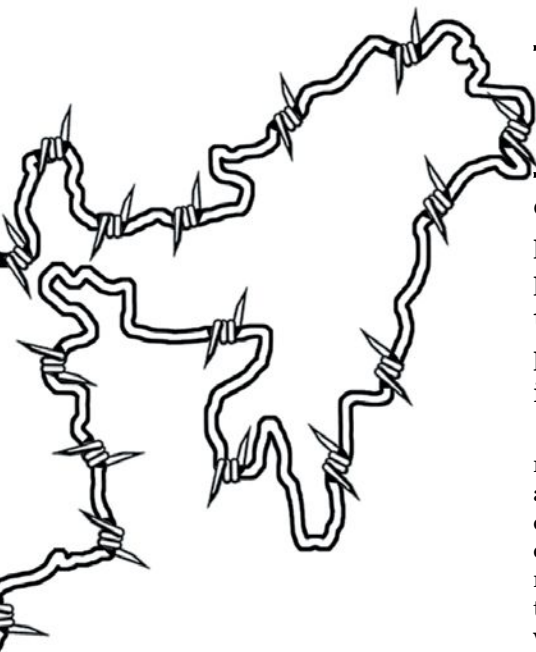
**IRFAN
HABIB**

One of India's top
historians, he teaches
at the Aligarh
Muslim University

A large graphic of the map of India, where the outline is composed of a single strand of barbed wire with sharp, triangular barbs. The wire forms the geographical shape of the country, including its major islands.

From Amir Khusrau to Filthy Abuse

*India these days is being
identified with Hinduism. Our
history tells us why patriots
must stand against this.*



E NGLISH dictionaries are practically unanimous in defining patriotism as “love of, or zealous devotion to one’s own country” (so in the venerable *OED*). Inherent in this definition is the presence of other countries in comparison to which one places one’s own country on a higher pedestal. The *OED* quotes Horatio Smith (1836) to the effect that patriotism is “too often the hatred of other countries disguised as the love of one’s own”! One need not go so far, but, certainly, the placing of one’s country in one’s estimation above other countries is a common, if not essential, element of patriotism.

Patriotism thus requires not only the recognition of one’s own country, but also some degree of knowledge of, or concern with, other countries. First, of course, there has to be the consciousness of belonging to a country. Even in the Buddha’s time (c. 500 BC), there was no name or recognition of India as a country. The Sixteen Kingdoms (*solah mahajanapada*), which constituted the known or familiar group of kingdoms, all lay in North India. Ashoka’s use of ‘Jambudvipa’ for a larger region in the third century BC and the Kalinga ruler Kharavela’s reference to ‘Bharata’ in the first century BC are the first indications of the consciousness of a geographically definable territory, in which similar cultural conditions and social organisation (above all, the caste system) prevailed. But recognition of such a country, and even contempt for those who lived outside it—the Mlechchhas—did not imply any love or deep consciousness of belonging to India, a fact the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang noted in the seventh century. No attempt at comparison of India with other countries has been traced simply because of an apparent lack of interest in lands outside India. Thus there is no ancient Indian text describing either Greece or China or any other country. It is,

therefore, not surprising that the rich Sanskrit literature of ancient India should lack any text or poem setting India as an object of love and admiration or as different from, or superior to, other countries.

The first truly patriotic text came from the pen of the poet Amir Khusrau of Delhi in Persian. He knew all about Arab-Iranian and Turkic cultures and something about the Greek as well and so could with some substance make claims of India’s superiority over them. He does so at great length, in his *Nuh Sipihr* composed in 1318. He begins by justifying the writing of his ode to ‘Hind’ because it was his “country of birth, his place of abode, his native land”. When he speaks of India, he has definitely in mind what we now deem to be the territory of India, as shown by his list of India’s spoken languages ranging from Kashmiri to Tamil (Ma’bari), and from Bengali to Sindhi.

Amir Khusrau extols the superiority of the climate of India over that of Iran and Central Asia in that it has no harsh winters so that a poor peasant here can spend the night in the open with one old sheet of cloth; and flowers bloom in all seasons. Then he proceeds to claim superiority of ancient Indian (‘Hindu’) sciences, logic, astronomy and philoso-



WORK IN PROGRESS Akbar the Great (above) ruled his empire in the Indian subcontinent from 1556 to 1605

phy, over those of other countries. The Hindus had discovered Divine Unity and so were superior to Christians who believed in Trinity. India's classical music too is the object of special praise. He cites three great contributions of India to the world, viz. firstly numerals with positional values (hinda) including zero; secondly, the *Panchatantra* animal stories, which spreading from India were rendered in various foreign tongues; and, finally, the game of chess. The historical accuracy of these claims does Amir Khusrau great credit. Finally, there is a paean of praise for Sanskrit, the language of the learned, originating with the four Vedas. After an aside on India's birds and animals, he ends by praising the spirit and love of Hindu women who burnt themselves to death on the pyres of their husbands.

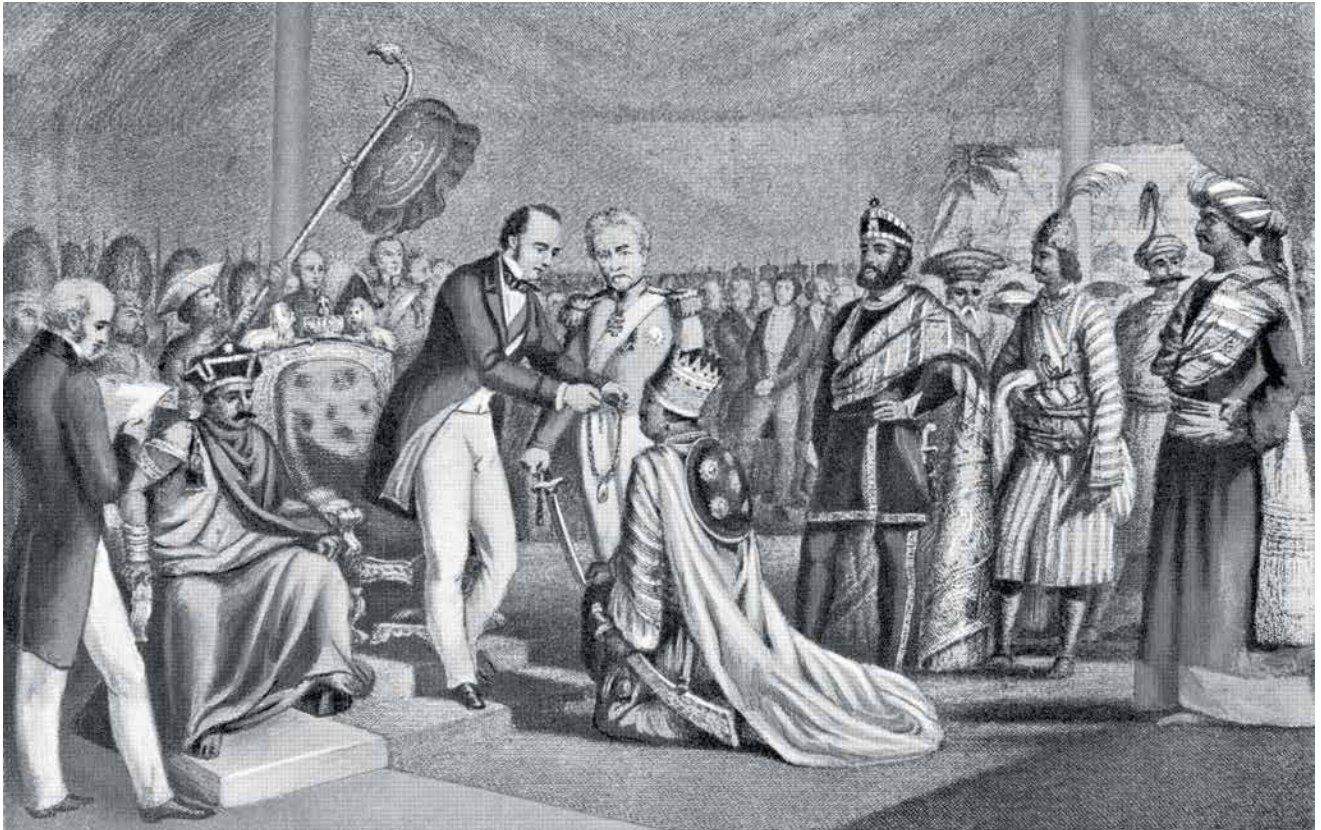
Remarkable as it seems to us today, Amir Khusrau's patriotism was yet passive, amounting to a sincere, but largely uncritical admiration of the country and its culture. Two hundred and fifty years later under the great

Akbar (reigned 1556-1605), conqueror and empire-builder, there took place what can only be called a Renaissance, based on a proclamation of the supremacy of Reason, a flowering of art, and a policy of tolerance, under the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul*, 'Absolute Peace', unique for its time in the world. An appeal to Indian patriotism was an inalienable part of this



court-directed movement. Akbar's minister Abu'l Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* contains in its last portion, after a description of Mughal administration and of the provinces of the Empire, a very detailed 'Account of Hindustan', covering Indian culture, sciences, religion and society. Here he declares his patriotic bias by showering fulsome praise on the good qualities of the Indian people. What marked Akbar's reign was not, however, only such display of simple patriotism, but in addition a constructive effort not only to explore but also to reform. There was a major effort to translate Sanskrit texts into Persian, so as to gain access to Brahminical philosophy and scientific knowledge. The critical element is evidenced in Akbar's attitude to sati. He saw the sati not as a woman's great act of sacrifice out of love, as Amir Khusrau did, but as the husband's selfish imposition on his wife; and so he forbade it. He also thought ill of child-marriage, which too he attempted to outlaw. He was equally not satisfied with the daughter's share in inheritance allowed to her in Muslim law.

PIONEER The first patriotic text was in Persian, Amir Khusrau's *Nuh Sipahr*



Photographs: ALAMY

PATRIOTISM now also assumed a political form, once the Mughal Empire was identified with India, as the *Ain-i Akbari* in fact does. In his account of the Provinces of the Empire, Abu'l Fazl remarks that Kabul and Qandahar are “the twin gates of Hindustan”, so that by Akbar’s possession of the two places “Hindustan obtains safety from the alien (invader)”. The Mughal Empire was thus projected as the protector of India.

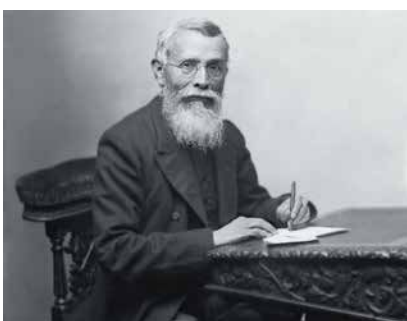
What Akbar built continued to prosper, by and large, in the seventeenth century, and by 1700 the

Mughal Empire reached its maximum extent, practically covering the whole of India, except Kerala. By Indians as well as outsiders its identification with India was regarded as normal. When it declined thereafter with the Emperor becoming a nominal figurehead after 1750s, a diploma from him still continued to be considered a certificate of legitimacy by most regional rulers. As the British conquest proceeded apace after Plassey (1757), one would have thought that resistance to it would be justified at the altar of love for the country’s independence;

but, surprisingly, this proved to be so rare a sentiment as to be almost non-existent. It came to the fore only in 1857, when the Bengal Army sepoys revolted and proclaimed the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah II as their nominal sovereign. To the appeal against the English being the enemy of the faith of both Hindus and Muslims was added the cry of freeing India from the foreigner. Such sentiments are found in *Dehli Urdu Akhbar*, a weekly paper from Delhi published under the rebel regime. Even if the rebellion was largely confined to the Hindustani-speaking region, the presence of a patriotic sentiment for the overthrow of the English over the whole country was undoubtedly present in most rebel ranks. But there was little echo to that patriotic cry in regions outside the rebel zone.

Not only was the popular spirit of patriotism thus limited to a region in 1857, but here too it took the form of a defence of the old order, including the caste system and its rigorous customs, against a largely imaginary Christian offensive. This was a self-defeating position for patriotism, for as Ram

ROYALTY/LOYALTY (Above) Lord Canning awarding Indian princes for opposing the 1857 rebellion; (below left) Dadabhai Naoroji; (below right) arrested Ghadar Party members



GETTY IMAGES





WESTERN NATIONALISM IN INDIA Embodying the patriot's object of national loyalty in a mythic woman was a European phenomenon—representations of (left to right) the French Republic and Britannia influenced the visualisation of Mother India

Mohan Roy had pointed out in 1828, it was “the distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions” among the people that explained the lack of development of “patriotic feeling” in India.

FOR true patriotism now to arise it had to be accompanied by the new social and cultural values that had been generated in the West. The French Revolution of 1789 with its slogan of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” gave a new set of social ethics to the world, alongside the proclaimed principle of “independence of nations”. The spread of these ideas was not barred by frontiers, and, as we know, Ram Mohan Roy, the great social reformer, was himself an admirer of the French Revolution. His contemporary, the Anglo-Indian poet Henry Derozio (d.1831) was, perhaps, the first to proclaim in India the message of national patriotism: “*My Country! In the days of glory past / A beautiful halo arched they brow.*”

Here the visible change from the earlier pre-modern patriotism of Amir Khusrau and Abu'l Fazl is that the country is no longer seen as simply a tract of land: it is seen as a person—a woman, indeed, the mother. This transformation, the personification of the patriot's object of loyalty, was a purely European phenomenon. Dictionaries tell us that the word “fatherland” for one's country is

traceable back in Old English to the twelfth century and “motherland”, in the same sense, to 1711. Britannia is always portrayed as a woman. The country as “mother” in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Vande Mataram*, and the current “Bharat Mata” in Hindi are thus phrases of impeccable Western ancestry and not products of any ancient cultural tradition of India.

Since this notion of the motherland came to us from the West along with the concept of nation, it is best to distinguish it from earlier patriotism by calling it “national patriotism”. India was now seen increasingly as a political entity that deserved to be its own mistress, not the slave of another country. Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt and other ‘economic nationalists’ were able to show how India was governed really for the benefit of Britain, which extracted a heavy tribute and seized its markets. It was this perception that in course of time made freedom from Britain the primary aim

No text in ancient India's Sanskrit literature sets India as superior to other countries.

of the National Movement. For such a task to be undertaken, patriotism needed to be espoused by all sections of the population, and for this it was necessary to envision what India would be like when it was free. Divergences existed on this matter: Would India be an agrarian society, as Gandhiji proposed in his *Hind Swaraj* (1909), or a normal capitalist country, like Japan, as most early nationalists thought or a socialist society, as Jawaharlal Nehru and the Left envisioned in 1920s and 1930s? On these matters no unanimity could be gained. But the vision of a democratic welfare state could still unite all; and this was offered by the Congress in 1931 in its Fundamental Rights resolution, known more popularly as the Karachi Resolution. This resolution even today, 87 years after its passage, has relevance to the extent that some of the dreams of national patriotism are still to be fulfilled.

One factor, however, complicated the growth of national patriotism; namely the growing religious or communal division among the Indian people. In 1909, Mahatma Gandhi clearly stated in his *Hind Swaraj*: “In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms, nor has it been so in India”. To this position the Congress, as the principal party in the National Movement, adhered to its honour to the last, Jawaharlal Nehru being



the major spokesman for the secular position. This too was the position of revolutionary martyrs like those of the Ghadar Party and Bhagat Singh and his comrades, as of the Communists and Socialists. One must also not forget here Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA who provided a model for secular, militant nationalism.

Those who differed from this model, and were proponents of the Two-Nation theory such as Jinnah and the Muslim League from 1940 onwards, on the one hand, and V.D. Savarkar in his post-1922 phase, the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, on the other, had one thing in common, viz., abstention from the struggle against the British rulers. Their major object of opposition was the other community; the armed bands they enthused could only shine in the Post-Partition mutual massacres.

AUGUST 15, 1947, the day India obtained independence, closed one chapter in the history of patriotism, namely, the fight for freedom. But it immediately opened a new chapter, the defence of the secular democratic state (and from 26 January 1950, a republic) from its internal enemies. It is for us an eternal shame that soon after Independence “ethnic cleansing” on the basis of religious affiliation should have been carried out on both sides of the India-Pakistan border on such a horrid scale. To vary Samuel Johnson’s memorable words, patriotism here became the last refuge not only of the scoundrel but, also of the murderer. Mahatma Gandhi, India’s greatest defender of humanity, died from the bullet of such a patriot on January 30, 1948. And at the news of that murder not a few were jubilant and offered sweets to one another.

Yet the secular democratic state was built. On January 26, 1930, an oath had been taken all over India by men and women to join the struggle for independence. The same day in 1950 was chosen to proclaim the establishment of the republic under a Constitution based on democratic and secular principles. The dominant version of patriotism now implied a pledge that social justice would be secured to all. And much was in fact



Sufi poet and musician Amir Khusrau Dehlavi (1253-1325) created the *Khaliq Bari*, a vocabulary in verse comprising words from Arabic, Persian and Hindavi (also known as Hindustani, Dehlavi and Rekhta, the lingua franca of North India and Pakistan today). In 1300, when Khusrau’s mother and brother died, he wrote a verse with a line that translates as “wherever the dust of your (mother’s) feet is found is like a relic of paradise for me”.

accomplished. The bulk of Indian women secured equal rights with men in inheritance and property by the Hindu Code, legislated in 1955-56. Land reforms of different degrees of radicality were carried out in different states. Laws to protect labour were put in place. The depressed (“untouchable”) castes obtained reservations in public employment and protection by law. A respectable industrial base was created with large investments in the public sector. All this would not have been possible without a rational spirit

motivating our people amounting to a truly creative patriotism.

But under the shadow of it all, communalism grew. This was illustrated by the unending series of ‘riots’, in which Muslims, and in 1984 the Sikhs, were the major victims. Once socialism lost its lustre with the fall of the Soviet Union, there was larger room for irrational ideologies to occupy the vacated intellectual space. So now we are under a regime that appeals to the most narrow-minded patriotism one could imagine. India is being officially identified only and without qualification with Hinduism—or rather with a particular version of Hinduism. The minorities and Dalits are to be put in their place. History is to be rewritten so as to narrate not what happened but what should have happened. One is irresistibly reminded of the Nazis and their success in converting people of one of the most culturally advanced countries of the world into believers in their racial myths. It is a sobering thought that if the

Indian people are not warned and do not act in time we may go the same way as Germany did in 1930s.

Now is the time to stand up and uphold the cause of true patriotism, that demands a commitment to the good of all, a readiness to seek and rectify defects, and a dedication to India as a secular democratic state. If all those who believe in these principles act in unison, there is every reason to hope our cause will succeed. ◻



Both Jinnah and Savarkar went on to abstain from the struggle against British rule.



Don't Foist Fear Onto Nationalism

Being anti-Hindu is secularism, support to terrorists is human rights, insulting national culture is freedom of expression. Only, love for the Mother is debatable!

DOES the RSS need good conduct certificates from others? Suppose it does. What better certificate can be there than one conferred on you by your adversary? E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Marxist politician and ideologue, was as staunch an opponent of the RSS as you would wish to find. But even he rejected any questioning of the patriotic credentials of K.B. Hedgewar, founder of RSS. In his critique *BJP-RSS: In the Service of the Right Reaction*, he wrote thus on Dr Hedgewar: "...a nationalist who participated in the Gandhi-led movement, he continued to be a Congressman for a decade more and participated in the 1930 Salt Satyagraha". Bipan Chandra, a leading light of the Marxist brigade of historians, also had to reluctantly admit in his book *Communalism in Modern India* that "Dr Hedgewar never integrated with the colonial regime".

Many Socialist leaders and others who remained opposed to the RSS also could not forget their past—the days they spent underground in 1942, when they were provided safe shelters by RSS activists. Aruna

Asaf Ali and Jayaprakash Narayan were housed in Delhi sanghchalak Lala Hansraj Gupta's residence; Achyut Patwardhan and Sane Guruji were sheltered at the residence of Pune sanghchalak Bhausaheb

**SAJI
NARAYANAN
C.K.**

is national president
of the Bharatiya
Mazdoor Sangh



Deshmukh; and Krantiveer Nana Patil at Aundh sanghchalak Pt S.D. Satwalekar's house. Aruna Asaf Ali reminisced in Hindi daily *Hindustan* in 1967: "After the 1942 movement became directionless with the arrest of the top leaders, I was underground at the house of RSS's Delhi prant sanghchalak Lala Hansraj Gupta. He gave me shelter for 10-15 days..." This interview was given before she became a Communist leader.

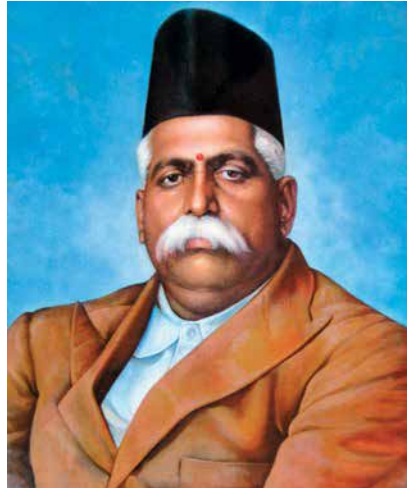
RSS in the Freedom Struggle

Dr Hedgewar was a born patriot and this was evident from his early days. He was expelled from school for leading students to chant *Vande Mataram* at the time of school inspection. When he went to Calcutta in 1910 to study medicine, he became an active member of the revolutionary organisation Anusheelan Samiti there. After returning to Nagpur, he joined the Indian National Congress, and was given a year's rigorous imprisonment on August 21, 1921, for participating in the non-cooperation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

About nine years before the Congress demanded complete freedom for India, the Nagpur National Union, formed by Dr Hedgewar, submitted a resolution to the INC's Subjects Committee demanding that the Congress declare "complete independence as its sole objective". The resolution also demanded the "liberation of all nations from the grip of capitalist countries." This is why he directed all RSS shakhas to celebrate the Congress's 1929 resolution on "total independence" by hoisting the national flag on January 26, 1930, and spreading the message of freedom.

A biography of Sri Aurobindo says Dr Hedgewar went to Pondicherry to draw him back from spiritual pursuits into nationalist politics, to lead the freedom movement after Tilak's demise, as a worthy successor. Dr Hedgewar, Appaji Joshi and other RSS leaders were jailed in 1930 during the Salt Satyagraha—in response to Gandhi's call, Dr Hedgewar participated in the 'Jungle Satyagraha' (a parallel series of protests by adivasis and others where forest laws were broken) and spent nine months in Akola jail. During Quit India, RSS volunteers also gave their

SANGH GUARD Aruna Asaf Ali and J.P. Narayan got RSS shelter in 1942



NATIONALIST RSS founder K.B. Hedgewar joined Satyagraha stirs

lives in the Chimur agitation in Vidarbha—while unfurling the freedom flag, an RSS volunteer was shot dead by the police. Dada Naik, head of the Chimur RSS branch, was sentenced to death by the British. The fourth sarsanghchalak, Prof Rajendra Singh, too is known for having taken part in Quit India. Till independence, every swayamsevak had to take a pledge with the words "*Desh ko swatantra kar*" (free the country). This, at a time when Communists in India were busy sabotaging the Quit India movement and freedom struggle on the instructions of the Soviet Union.

At one stage, there were several reports of the CID that the RSS had incited their cadre to participate actively in the freedom struggle. The British

government, angered by the reports, started banning RSS activities. Central Provinces issued a circular prohibiting servants of government and local self-government bodies from taking part in RSS activities. This was opposed by leading newspapers and in the State Assembly, where protests were voiced by Muslim member M.S. Rehman. On August 5, 1940, under Defence of India Rules, the central government promulgated an ordinance prohibiting drills, use of uniforms and exercises. Many RSS workers courted arrest against this. Bharat Ratna Dr Bhagwan Das writes about RSS volunteers, who informed Nehru and Patel about the Muslim League's secret plot to annihilate Congress leaders and unfurl the Pakistani flag atop Red Fort in 1947. He writes: "Had these patriotic and sincere youths not informed Nehru and Patel in time, the entire country today would have become Pakistan...our government must utilise the nationalist power of lakhs of RSS swayamsevaks instead of subordinating it".

Take another token of recognition. Many Congress leaders attended or visited RSS shakhas, like Vithalbhai Patel and Madan Mohan Malviya. Mahatma Gandhi himself visited Sangh camps on December 25, 1934, at Wardha and on September 16, 1947, at Delhi. Subhas Chandra Bose and Jan Sangh founder Syama Prasad Mookerjee visited Dr Hedgewar in 1940 and discussed plans for Independence. It is a part of history that in 1947 the Congress itself had requested the RSS to merge with it.



ALAMY

After '47: The Last Resort

After independence, the patriotic ventures of the RSS continued. It was chiefly Shri Guruji Golwalkar who, at the request of Sardar Patel on October 17, 1947, successfully persuaded Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir to accede to India. He was assisted by RSS leaders like Balraj Madhok, Pandit Prem Nath Dogra and Badri Dasji. Many RSS volunteers lost their lives while assisting the Indian military in defending Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan invasion and also while saving the lives of lakhs of Kashmiri people, especially the honour of women. On many occasions, in the absence of the military, young men of RSS had to fill in for it. In an inspiring story, a local Sangh worker, Krishnalal, and 20 other swayamsevaks brought back 20 chests of ammunition wrongly dropped in the Pakistan artillery's range. Former sarkaryavah Shri H.V. Seshadri writes in his book RSS, *Vision in Action*: "But for the swayamsevaks' valiant efforts, Jammu could never have been saved; and without Jammu, there was not the ghost of a chance to save Srinagar even by Indian forces". Syama Prasad Mookerji had to sacrifice his life for entering Kashmir without a 'permit' in 1953.

In 1954, many RSS volunteers sacrificed their lives as part of the Azad Gomantak Dal when they captured Dadra and Nagar Haveli from the Portuguese. RSS leader Jagannath Rao Joshi led the team that entered Goa without 'permit' on June 23, 1955. Many RSS cadre lost their lives in the struggle to free Goa. When China attacked India in 1962, the RSS played a great role in helping the Nehru government defend the nation. It is estimated that no less than 43 RSS members lost their lives on the border. As a token of recognition, Nehru invited the RSS to participate in the Republic Day parade in 1963 in full uniform. At the same time, Communist leaders were put in jail for their anti-India stance of supporting China.

In the 1970s, EMS, at a seminar in Kerala University on why Communism could not establish its roots in India, explained that Communists failed to understand the phenomenon called Mahatma Gandhi and Communism did not recast itself to fit within India's cultural landscape. Communism created its own roots in different countries—



ALAMY

MAHATMA TALK Gandhi interacts with an RSS delegation in 1944

Lenin created a Russian Communism, Mao a Chinese Communism, Ho Chi Minh a Vietnamese one and Fidel Castro a Cuban avatar. This didn't happen in India, thanks to the perversities of its local leadership.

On February 9, 2016, shocking slogans were raised on the JNU campus—'Bharat ki barbadi tak, Kashmir ki azadi tak jang rahegi' (We will fight till India is destroyed and Kashmir is freed). The next day, anti-India slogans were raised even at Delhi's Press Club with photos of Afzal Guru and Maqbool Butt displayed—when a mere 8 km away, martyred soldier K. Hanumanthappa was being given his last rites. They take the patience of Indians for granted. Those who support such activities should think: if similar slogans are raised in China, what fate would await the sloganeers? No Indian can be neutral to slogans that call for India's destruction. Anyway, there is now an end to the long chain of such events: the timing was

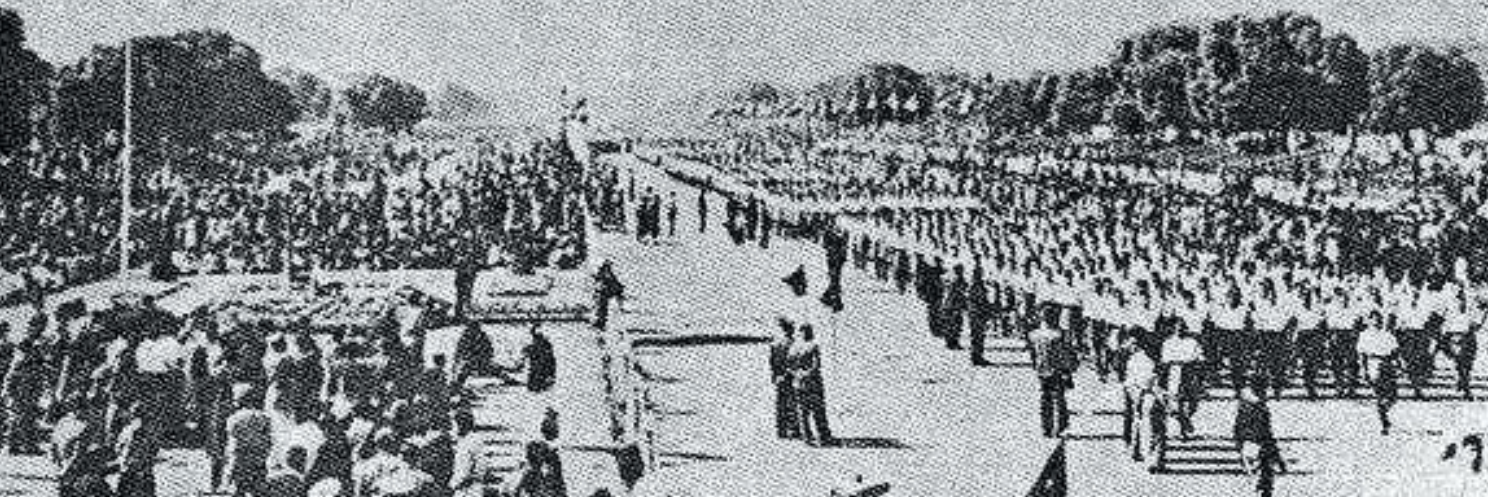
When the British began banning the RSS, protests in the Assembly came from a Muslim.

wrong for them since India is now not ruled by the Congress or Communists, but by an RSS prime minister. Quite a far cry from the suspicions fostered for decades, the RSS emerges as the solace, the saviour in such times. As Justice K.T. Thomas, retired Supreme Court judge, said recently: "After the army, the RSS keeps Indians safe".

All these events lead us to think about the meaning of nationalism, patriotism and attendant words. In my opinion, the fear psychosis over nationalism was created in the West when imperialism got mixed up with it. Patriotism generally appears as a war-time feeling while nationalism is a more enduring, positive and peace-time impulse. Since the release of Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilisations*, the West has been debating these concepts, with some people distinguishing between Canadian nationalism and American patriotism. Nationalism and patriotism are not debatable. How can love for the mother be debatable?

Economic Patriotism

Today, the Indian market is becoming virtually an extension of the Chinese market. The way the Chinese Oppo and Vivo mobile brands have reached the length and breadth of our country, even in remote areas, show how they know our market better than our own manufacturers. Once while I was travelling from Kerala to Delhi, I met a military officer working on the Chinese border.



REPUBLIC DAY 1963: A 3,500-strong contingent of Swayamsevaks in uniform, with band, take part in the parade in Delhi

I asked him about the situation created by the Doklam standoff. He replied, there is nothing to worry, but as a citizen your job is to handle the Chinese invasion of India's market!

How many have thought seriously about China not allowing US-based Facebook, Google, Gmail, Whatsapp, etc and instead using Chinese 'swadeshi' parallels? India badly needs economic patriotism. If there's anything Indian Communists can learn from their "dreamland", it's the strong sense of patriotism that animates everyone—right from the rulers up to the common citizen. As a member of the 2nd National Commission of Labour, I was part of



The Swadeshi Jagran Manch, the economic wing of the RSS, recently held a year-long drive against the "dumping" of Chinese goods in India. The campaign, which concluded in October 2017, featured street plays, rath yatras (that distributed pamphlets) and seminars—and claimed to have collected 2.5 crore signatures from sympathisers across the country.

a delegation that visited China to learn about its rapid industrial progress. One day, amid heavy rainfall, the Chinese officials brought us some umbrellas. As we rushed to huddle into the vehicles, the umbrella cloth was blown inside out in the heavy wind. We commented on the low quality of Chinese products. The driver of our vehicle overheard us. He immediately went to a nearby shop, purchased umbrellas with money from his own pockets, and gave it to us saying China has quality products. This sense of patriotism in the minds of the average Chinese is what helped China advance—not its Communist past.

The same economic patriotism was the reason for Japan becoming an icon of industrial progress. Even though devastated by western military in the Second World War, it rose like a phoenix due to this deep impulse among its ordinary citizens. And for all the depredations of colonialism, this instinct underlay the imperial spread of Britain before the war. Long ago, it used to be said about Robert Clive that he was a rogue in England, but his patriotism led to the establishment of the British Empire in India. Patriotism, and specifically the economic impulse that's part of it, is a major factor that gives countries like Germany and Israel too their unique place in world history. And when Soviet Russia faced military conquest by Hitler's forces, Stalin had to incite the patriotic feelings of Russians to defend their country—setting aside their internationalism and class solidarity across the world. Of late, this feeling of patriotism is disappearing from the national discourse in India, which is a danger signal.

New Anti-Indian Discourses

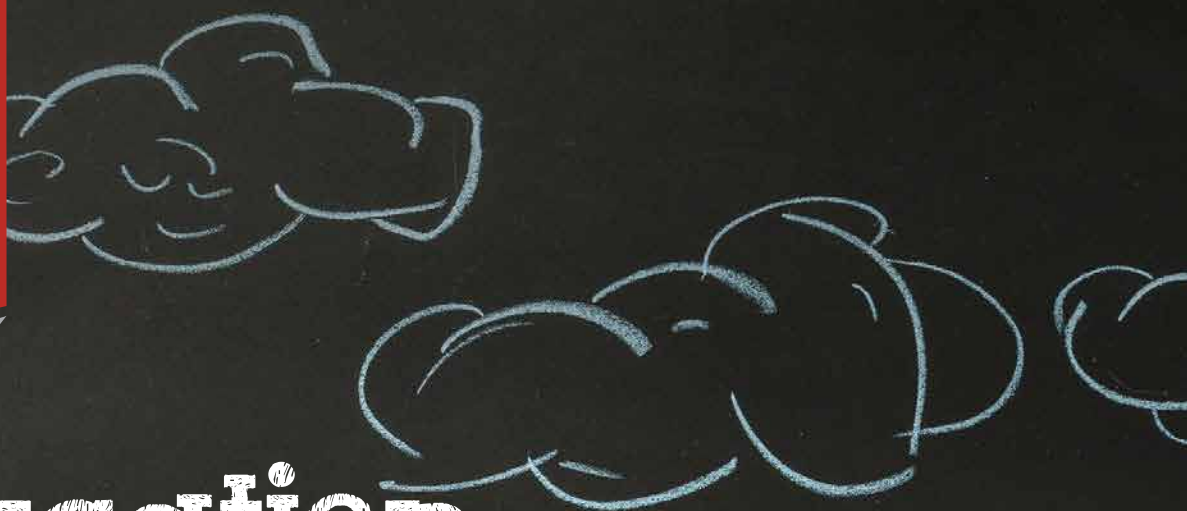
The politics fashioned against the BJP advances the proposition that secularism means anti-Hindutva, human rights means being in support of terrorists and secessionists, and freedom of expression means shouting anti-national slogans, ridiculing Hindu goddesses, insulting our national traditions and culture, etc. Tolerance is absent in India, they say. The virus has infected many in our academia, and among our contemporary writers, artists, journalists and intelligentsia.

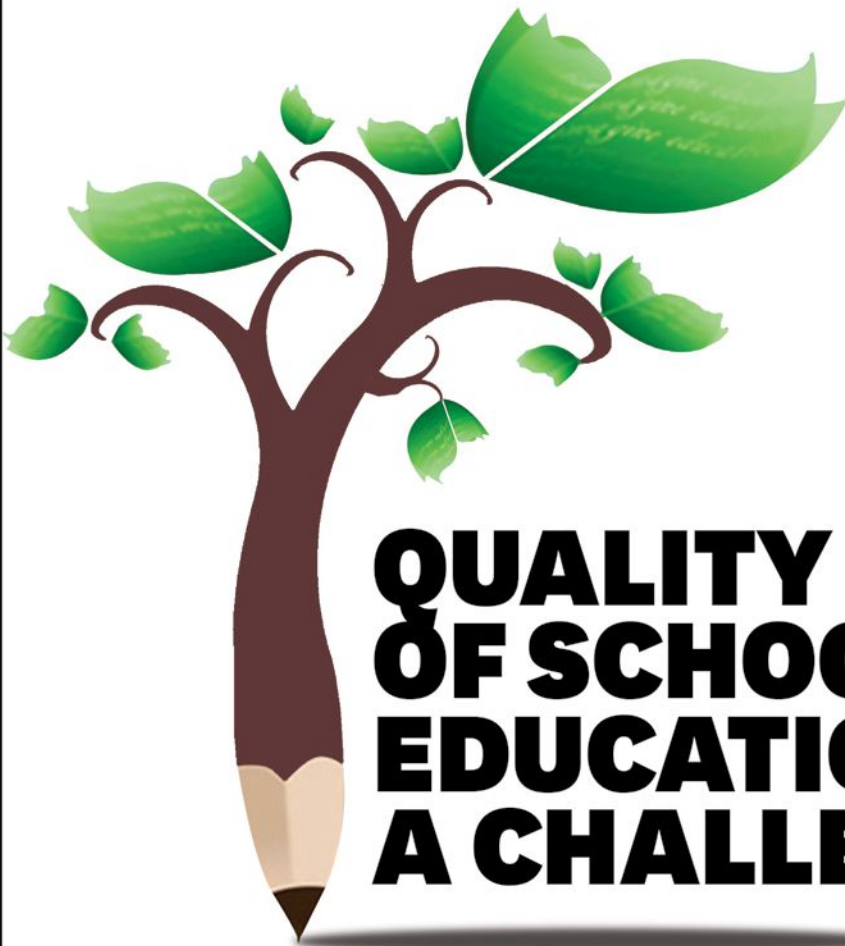
The survival politics of Communists is assuming anti-national dimensions. Leftists are glorifying Afzal Guru, Yakub Memon and Maqbool Butt (who ordered the hijacking of an Indian plane in 1971) as martyrs. This recalls the anti-national games they played by supporting the British during the Quit India movement in 1942, by passing a resolution supporting the division of India and Pakistan in 1945, and by supporting China when it attacked India in 1962. They are now supporting Pakistani/jehadi elements. The editorial of *People's Democracy*, which has CPI(M) leader Prakash Karat as chief editor, flays the Indian military and says India should withdraw from the Doklam standoff. It also says India should not support Bhutan and that it's up to Bhutan to talk directly to China. And that the Dalai Lama and Union ministers shouldn't have visited Arunachal Pradesh. Such seditious politics is what has isolated Communists to Kerala. They are militating against the patriotic sentiments of the ordinary Indian. This is destined to bring the demise of leftist politics in India. 

Outlook

spotlight

Education Gets Futuristic in Indian Schools





QUALITY OF SCHOOL EDUCATION POSES A CHALLENGE

The power of education cannot be undermined as it has a direct bearing on a nation's socio-economic progress and future prospects. In other words, a country's sustainable growth and well-being rests on the strong foundation of a basic education system. India, though aware of this significant responsibility of providing the best of education to its children and youth, is still grappling to streamline, strengthen and raise the quality of education for its crores of student population. According to studies, in a decade, India will reportedly have the largest youth population i.e., a head count of 119 million, between the age of 18-22 years. As a result, India will find itself in the coveted bracket of being the largest domestic higher education market by 2025. Many private players are eyeing to have a large slice of this market segment. The demographic diversity of the country also makes for an interestingly challenging wait and watch while the stakeholders address the knotty issue.

India has a gigantic school system with nearly 250 million students across over 1.4 million schools. Most schools are funded and run by the government, but the sheer staggering numbers have resulted in drawbacks such as inadequate infrastructure, fund crunch, acute shortage of staff and scarce basic facilities leading to the diaspora of students to private schools. As a result, in a span of five years, student enrolment in government schools across the country reportedly fell by 13 million during the period 2010-11 and 2015-16, while private schools gained 17.5 million new students. Due to lack of quality education in government

schools, parents with shaken confidence are turning to and making a beeline for getting their ward admitted to private schools to avail a better environment that is conducive for learning.

The concerns of the parents are not misplaced as they can foresee their child's need to acquire knowledge and skills to take on professional challenges in a highly competitive and demanding global scenario. It has been observed that private schools, some of which are on par with international educational institutions, are better equipped to empower the student with all those inputs required to ensure chances of their gainful employment



DELHI PUBLIC SCHOOL

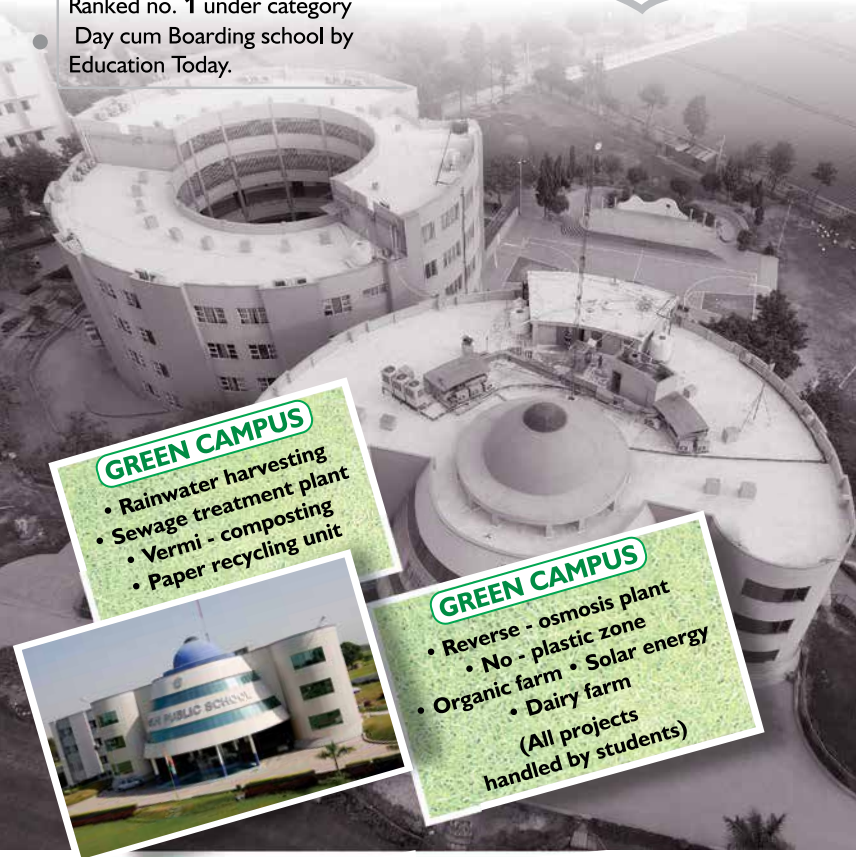
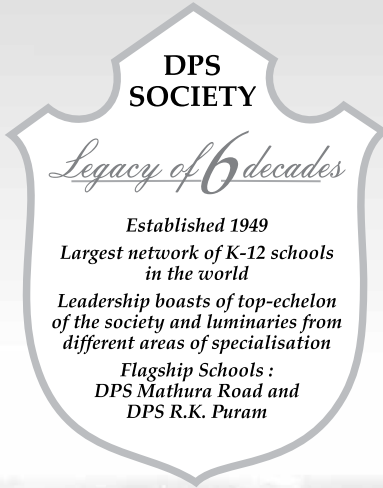
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and bright professional prospects. The advent of private players in the education sector has brought about an interesting and dynamic shift in the overall approach in imparting education, building state-of-the-art infra-structure facilities and providing opportunities for overall development of the student. Over 40 per cent of the students reportedly study in private schools that account for 25 per cent of India's schools.

A favourable trend is being observed in private schools. Large number of foreign students are joining leading private schools in the country as they are not only the best among top global schools but are comparatively much more affordable. The credit goes to the high standards of education and management maintained by them besides constant upgrading of their teaching methodology and infrastructure. Such schools also encourage international exchange programmes which gives global exposure to the students about current trends eventually benefitting them not only in academics but also preparing them for the tough competition that awaits them when they turn professionals. Delhi -NCR has a number of world-class schools namely the Shri Ram School, G.D. Goenka World School, Pathways World School, Sanskriti School, Amity International School, Shiv Nadar School and many others.

Schools in India offer both Indian and international curriculum such as the boards recognized by the state government, Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE), International Baccalaureate (IB) and International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) Cambridge University. All Kendriya Vidyalayas, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas, private schools, and many schools approved by central government of India are affiliated to CBSE and follow its standard pattern of curriculum. It comes as a convenient advantage for parents with transferable government jobs to get admission of their wards to their new place of posting without disrupting their education or having to struggle to adapt to a new syllabus. Also, CBSE is recognised by all colleges across the country. The Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE) conducts three examinations which are ICSE (Indian certificate secondary education) exam for class 10, while ISC (Indian school certificate) exam and CVE (Certificate for vocational education) exam for the 12th standard.



of having a larger share of reserved seats in colleges recognized by the state.

Following the Cambridge pattern of examination is the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). Used globally, IGCSE is specialized and academically tough, English language curriculum offered to students helps them to prepare for International Baccalaureate and CIE A-level. The 3 educational programs, namely Primary year program (PYP) for KG to Class-5, Middle year program (MYP) for Class-6 to Class-10 and Diploma program (DP) for Class-11 and Class-12 are conducted by the International Baccalaureate (IB), formerly the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). Established in 1968, IB is affiliated to the international educational foundation based in Geneva, Switzerland.

In recent years, the Indian education system despite drawbacks has made tremendous progress in ensuring that children from all segments of the society get equal opportunities for education. According to the 2009 Right to Education Act, schooling is free and compulsory for every child from the age of 6 to 14. The data of District Information System for Education(DISE) and Ministry of Education, reportedly indicate that 65% of all school-going children in 20 states, numbering about 113 million, are studying in government schools. In the latest Union budget 2017, the total outlay for education increased 9.9% to Rs79,685.95 crore, out of which Rs. 46,356.25 was allocated specifically for the school sector and the remaining earmarked for higher education. However, to make education more impactful there is need for a thorough revamp of India's education policy having stringent accountability and monitoring mechanisms so as to extract the best from a marked increase in fiscal allocations for education.

After much brain storming educationists, academicians and policy makers in the education sector have mooted the idea of adopting Public Private Partnership (PPP) model to revive the sagging image of school education in government schools, particularly in rural areas that are in a state of near neglect. Nevertheless, a synergy of public and private schools can create an effective education system in India that augurs well for its student community and the nation. ■

A favourable trend is being observed in private schools. Large number of foreign students are joining leading private schools in the country as they are not only the best among top global schools but are comparatively much more affordable.

In India, each state government and union territory provide Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary Education to its children under the examination pattern of Secondary School Certificate (SSC) popularly known as 10th Board Exams and Higher School Certificate (HSC) as 12th Board Exams. The fee is nominal in such government funded schools with the added advantage

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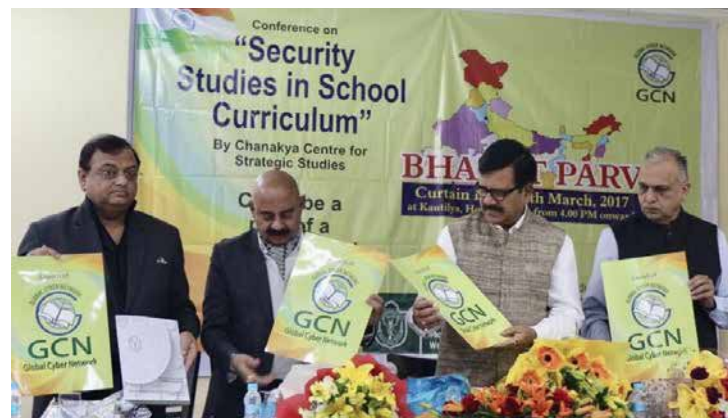
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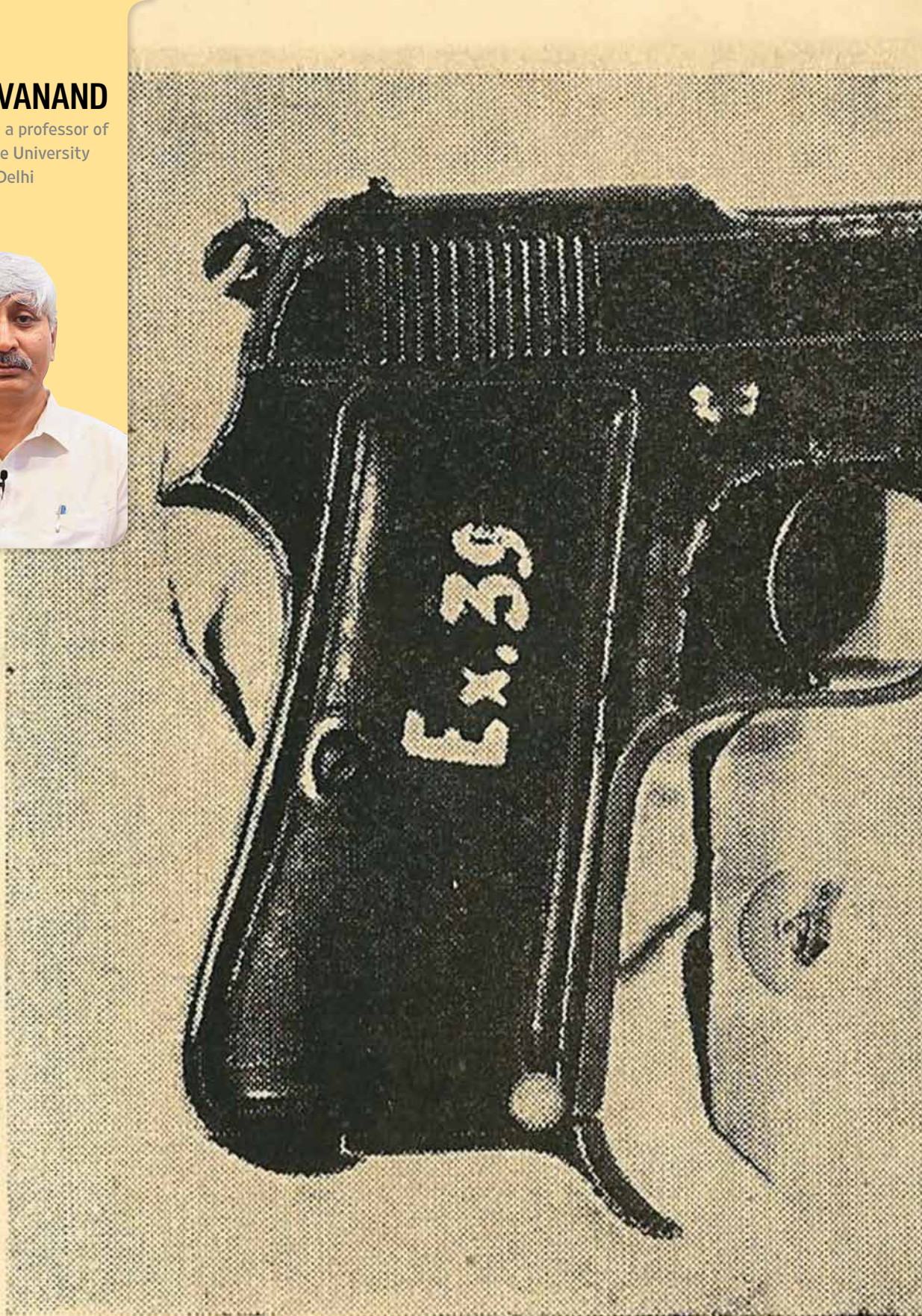
Bharat Parva Launch



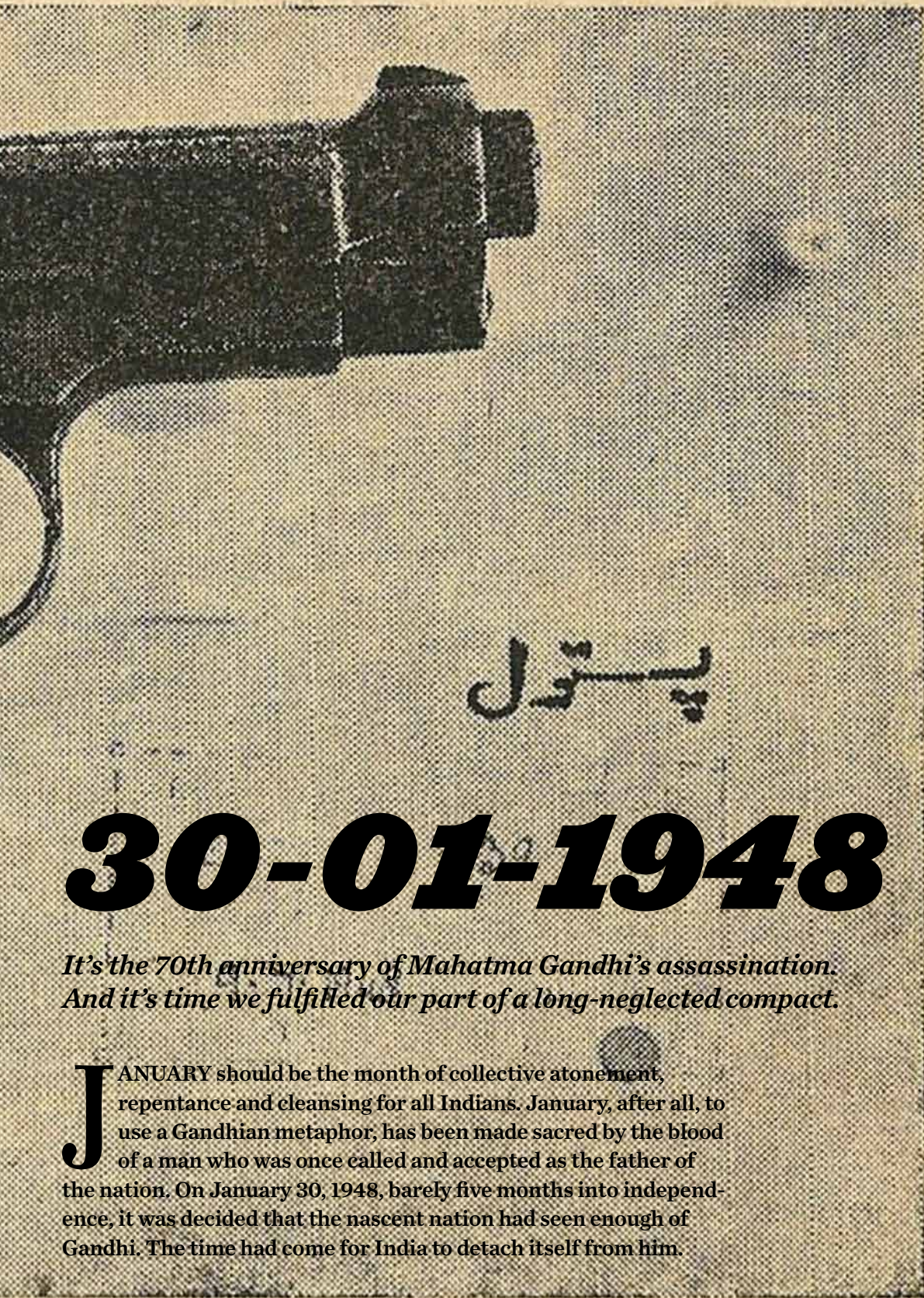
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APOORVANAND

The author is a professor of Hindi at the University of Delhi



(i) Ex. 270 A—Pistol used by
[Para. N



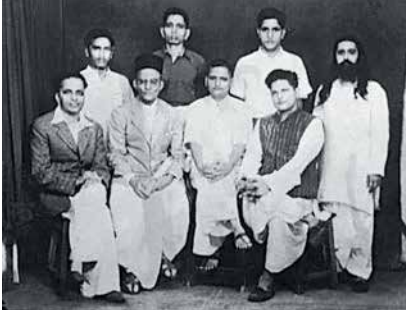
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30-01-1948

It's the 70th anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. And it's time we fulfilled our part of a long-neglected compact.

JANUARY should be the month of collective atonement, repentance and cleansing for all Indians. January, after all, to use a Gandhian metaphor, has been made sacred by the blood of a man who was once called and accepted as the father of the nation. On January 30, 1948, barely five months into independence, it was decided that the nascent nation had seen enough of Gandhi. The time had come for India to detach itself from him.

y assassin Nathuram Godse.
o. 5.11]



FAMILY PHOTO Godse (centre) with Savarkar and the conspirators

January 30, 2018 marks the completion of the 70th year since the assassination of Gandhi. Why is a nation that is so fond of anniversaries, and which is recovering from the celebrations of the 70th year of independence, so indifferent to this particular anniversary? There is a lot of hullabaloo over the 150th year since Gandhi's birth. The government has promised to celebrate it in style and on a grand scale. But why is it that we just want to pass by the anniversary of his killing?

Is not his death the searchlight which illumines the meaning of his life? Why not proceed backwards from this point to understand and grasp the significance of the man? A man who was more "womanly", had deliberately shed manliness and asked his people to cure themselves of this disease.

Is it wrong to say that Gandhi was consciously walking towards his death? He, the true friend of Gurudev, was not afraid, for death was his friend. One must remember that January 30



M.S. Golwalkar:
"Gandhi wanted to keep Muslims in India...such men can be...silenced."

was not the only day he was attacked. He had encountered physical violence in South Africa. In India, he received letters threatening murder, and survived at least five attempts which could have been fatal. In one attempt at Sevagram in 1944, the man who would ultimately be his killer was involved. We know that January 20 could have been his last day when a bomb was thrown at his prayer meeting.

When he received messages praising his courage after that bomb attack, he said that his mere survival could not be proof of bravery. He could be called brave only when he knew that he was facing death and would not cower before it. Courage consists not in

taking another's life but in the readiness to lay down your own for the cause you believe in. When the appointed hour comes, do you waver and drag your steps back, seeking mercy, or face death with a smile on your lips?

So, was Nathuram Godse a lone wolf? Was he acting on behalf of many among the people who wanted Gandhi out of the life of independent India? Gandhi's presence was putting unnecessary pressure on the government of free India to be soft with Pakistan. Not only that, he insisted on making India safe for Muslims, which could not be permitted. And we are mistaken to think that it was only his pro-Muslim stand which earned him the wrath of a section of Hindus. You do not have to be Hélène Cixous to realise that there was hatred against him for being on the side of the people "from the gutter", those who are called scheduled caste.

A secret memo filed by Kartar Singh, a CID inspector who cites a source identified as SEWAK, reports the proceedings of a meeting held on December 8, 1947 at the camp of the RSS on Rohtak Road. According to the memo, lying in the archives of the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, M.S. Golwalkar addressed the meeting, which was attended by 2,500 people. The report further says, "Referring to Muslims, he said that no power on earth could keep them in Hindustan. They shall have to quit this country. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to keep the Muslims in India so that the Congress may profit by their votes at the time of election. But by that time not a single Muslim will be left in India. If they were made to stay here, the responsibility would be the Government's, and the Hindu community will not be responsible."

"Mahatma Gandhi could not mislead them any longer. We have the means whereby such men can be immediately silenced, but it is our tradition not to be inimical to Hindus. If we are compelled, we will have to resort to that course also."

Gandhi was in Delhi when this intent was being articulated internally. However, the capital had not been part of his original itinerary. He had been moving for months across states with a handful of colleagues, trying to



Nathuram Godse made his first attempt on Gandhi's life at Panchgani near Pune in 1944. He was the leader of a group of anti-Gandhi protestors who arrived by chartered bus. They shouted slogans all day, and Godse refused Gandhi's invitation to debate. At the prayer meeting that evening, Godse rushed at Gandhi with a knife but was stopped. Gandhi asked Godse to stay a while so that he could understand the latter's point of view, and allowed him to go when he refused.

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ALAMY

BREAKING DOWN Gandhi consoles women in Noakhali, November 1946

But now the capital city had become a place where he could make a difference, for it had become a perfect arena of action, and he decided to plunge himself into it fully. Gandhi was not a flying Mahatma; he always believed in dealing with things hands-on. It was not for others to put into practice his ideal of non-violence; he had to do it himself.

In Delhi, Gandhi faced grief, anger and hatred, emotions very familiar to him. He now faced his own people—he had been their voice until only a few days before, but now he had to speak against them. He was well trained in the art of argumentation; not only the imperial power of Britain but all the West had bowed before him. But would independent Indians listen?

HE received many displaced people of all creeds. Moving from camp to camp, he listened to tales of human savagery. He empathised with the Hindus and Sikhs but refused to let them inflict revenge on innocent Muslims in Delhi and India. Violence never cures violence.

Gandhi was not heeded. Violence kept returning to Delhi; his people had turned against him. He, however, could not treat them as incurable. Was his much-celebrated non-violence a farce? It could not be. There must be some weakness in the instrument that he himself was. Therefore, the instrument had to be tested and perfected.

Gandhi, who was approaching 80, went on an indefinite fast. It would end only when he was convinced that Hindus and Sikhs would invite Muslims to be their neighbours without any coercion. Would he survive this ordeal? He persisted in his demand until it bore fruit on January 18, when leaders of all communities approached him with a declaration that they would ensure peace and togetherness in Delhi.

Breaking his fast, Gandhi warned them that they would be held responsible for any recurrence of violence in Delhi or any other part of India.

January 2018 is the 70th year of the pledge to Gandhi. The time has come to redeem that pledge and to be true to him, which means nothing more than being true to ourselves. **Q**

“I am in a fire-pit.” Gandhi wondered aloud if he would survive the violence.

ensure that the Hindus and Sikhs who had fled thence could return and live in their old neighbourhoods. Similarly, he wanted to bring back with him the Muslims who had been forced to leave India. It was an audacious plan. But Gandhi dreamt impossible dreams.

However, the violence in Delhi convinced him that he had to go there and test himself once more. He repeated his slogan “do or die” while referring to his task in the new situation. With what face would he go to Pakistan? When Muslims were not safe in the capital of India, how could he ask the leaders of Pakistan to make their country safe for Hindus and Sikhs? Seeing Muslims attacked, he made up his mind immediately: his place was to be Delhi.

Gandhi had been called to Delhi by Nehru and Patel earlier, seeking his advice on important national matters. He had then refused to return from the burning fields of Bengal. He was more a man of action and was not sure if he had ideas that could help them.

douse the communal violence that had engulfed India. “I am in a fire-pit”, he says again and again. He was certainly aware of the hatred against him in the majority community, and wondered in letters and conversations whether he would come out of the ordeal alive.

Those who condemn him for being pro-Muslim forget that he had spent months in Noakhali, now in Bangladesh, a Muslim-dominated area, from where news of the killing of Hindus had reached him. He camped there consoling the Hindus and telling the Muslims that they had no right to attack or drive away their neighbours. When he was needed in Calcutta and Bihar and had to leave, he left his most trusted colleagues behind in Noakhali to carry on the mission. Violence was in the air and they could fall prey to it. But that risk had to be taken.

Gandhi kept an eye on the news emanating from Pakistan. Referring to the persecution of Hindus and Sikhs in the new nation, he asked the latter’s leaders to keep their word again and again. Had not Jinnah assured the Hindus and Sikhs that they would enjoy equal citizenship rights in Pakistan? So, what was happening now?

Gandhi was mocked and asked why he was not going to Pakistan to save Hindus and Sikhs. He intended to do just that. After bringing calm to Calcutta and Bengal, he planned to move on to West Pakistan. He wanted to

Karnataka Bank – the pride of Karnataka

Mangaluru headquartered Karnataka Bank is one of the time – tested premier scheduled commercial banks in the private sector. The Bank was established in the year 1924 and has completed 93 years of purposeful banking on 18th February, 2017. The Bank has a national presence with 777 branches, 1383 ATMs with 131 e-lobbies/mini e-lobbies in 22 states and 2 Union Territories. In order to carry out the Forex Transactions Bank has designated 26 branches to provide quick service to its customers. The Bank has a well-knit correspondent relationship with prime banks in 43 countries and 15 Nostro accounts, for the benefit of NRIs all over the world.

The total turnover of the Bank as on September 2017 stood at ` 97,685 crore with deposits of ` 56,558 crore and Advances of ` 41,127 crore. The net profit for the Half Year ended September 2017 was ` 227.23 crores. The Bank has paid 40% dividend on its equity shares for the financial year 2016-17. The Bank has a highly dedicated team of around 8,000 employees ably patronized by around 1,57,000 shareholders and around 92 lakh clientele base.

To provide round-the-clock seamless banking experience to its tech savvy customers, Bank has launched image based debit card, Co-branded Credit Cards in collaboration with SBI Cards and offers two variant of cards namely SimplySAVE Card & Platinum Card.

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- Mobile Banking services
- Money Click Internet Banking facility
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- Interactive Voice Response[IVR] System
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MAHABALESHWARA M S,
Managing Director & CEO

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KIIT KNOWLEDGE TREE Nobel Laureate Prof. Hiroshi Amano Delivers Lecture at KIIT

The blue light-emitting diode (LED) lamp holds great promise for increasing the quality of life for over 1.5 billion people around the world, who lack access to electricity grids, said Prof. Hiroshi Amano, Nobel Laureate in Physics (2014), Japan at Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT), Deemed to be University, Bhubaneswar on January 6, 2018. Prof. Amano was delivering a talk on 'Blue LEDs and Transformative Electronics for Developing Sustainable Smart Society' under KIIT Knowledge Tree Lecture Series.

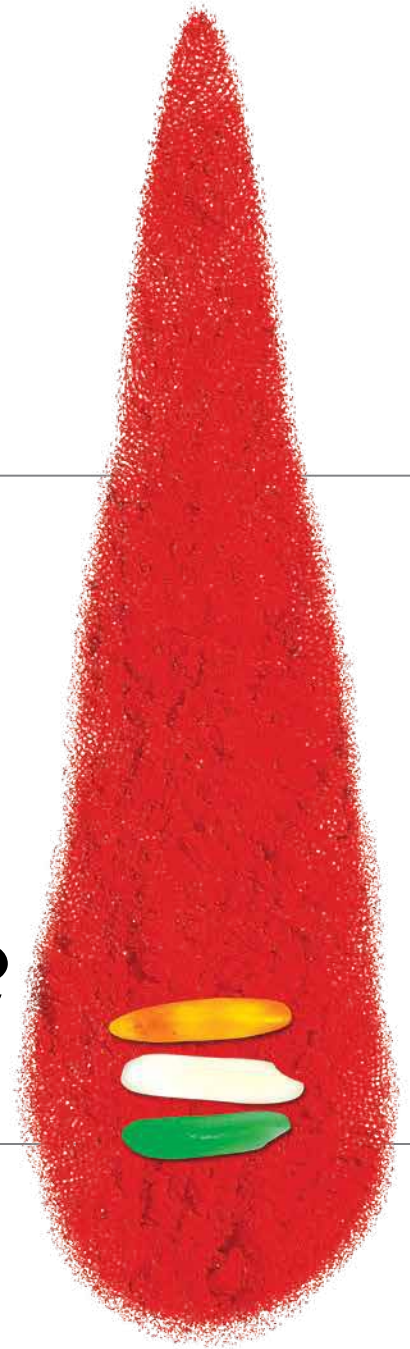
Lighting plays an important role in our everyday lives. The development of light-emitting diodes (LEDs) has made more efficient light sources possible. Blue LEDs proved to be much more difficult to create than red and green diodes. During the 1980s and 1990s Prof. Isamu Akasaki, Prof. Hiroshi Amano and Prof. Shuji Nakamura successfully used the difficult-to-handle semiconductor gallium nitride (GaN) to create efficient blue LEDs. "By using LED light, Japan

reduced its annual electricity consumption by 7% which translates to a saving of 1 trillion Yen. Consequently, energy efficient LED lights contribute to the reduction of CO2 emissions and global warming", the Nobel Laureate informed.

On the subject of 'Transformative Electronics for Developing Sustainable Smart Society', Prof. Amano said, work is going on in the field of "Internet of Energy" and "Wireless Power Transmission Network". He spoke about the drone super highway, air-taxis. "In future we will be able to connect at any time and any place", he said. Many students and faculty members interacted with the Nobel Laureate in a question and answer session after his talk.

Earlier, Dr. Mrutyunjay Suar, Director, KIIT School of Biotechnology introduced Prof. Hiroshi Amano to a packed auditorium. Prof. Amano is a Doctor of Engineering. Initially he studied electrical engineering at the university in Nagoya, which awarded him his doctorate in 1989. In 2002 he became a professor at Meijo University in Nagoya and later moved to Nagoya University. He was awarded the 2014 Nobel Prize in Physics together with Prof. Isamu Akasaki and Prof. Shuji Nakamura for "the invention of efficient blue light-emitting diodes which has enabled bright and energy-saving white light sources". Member and an active member in FICCI and NASSCOM.

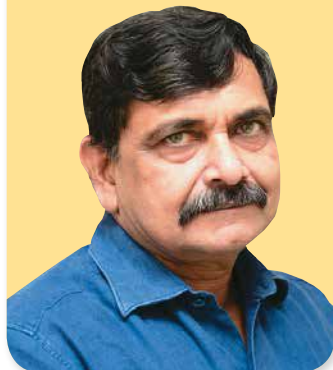
Rockbed of Cultural Renaissance



Patriotism is the vitality of a nation and Indians abundantly love their country. Arguments that it can lead to friction are absurd. We can't live in just the present.

DR R. BALASHANKAR

The writer was editor of *Organiser* and is a member of the BJP national committees on publications



THE patriotism debate has turned a full circle, with recent developments in India and the world over having generated a renewed interest in the subject. On the one hand, communism and globalisation have failed while on the other there's increasing economic exploitation and concentration of wealth in a few countries and people. Both factors have largely contributed to the creation of the new situation. It isn't India-specific, though the emergence of the BJP in India as the party of power set the trend in our country. Elsewhere, Brexit, success of Donald Trump in the US, Chinese nationalistic aspirations to emerge as a world power and successes of nationalist leaders in most European countries led a wave of economic protectionism, cultural nationalism and desire to protect identities. Together, they have beaten the concept of globalisation as an ideology. The power of place over the fate of people has become the flavour of the season and humanities are increasingly getting tied to geographical and cultural bonds.

This is where patriotism comes. How does one define it? Many decades ago, Emil Lengyel wrote a fascinating book, *Nationalism: The last Stage of Communism*. That was at the high noon of Soviet Union preaching the virtues of international communism that would have crushed all boundaries for mass emancipation. Patriotism for the comrades was the most repellant idea. They promised the union of the world proletariat under the red flag. Yet, S.K. Damodaran, one of the top ideologues of the Communist Party in his memoirs on the travels he undertook in Communist countries, con-

fesses he found patriotism the dominant motivating factor in those countries. He recounts an encounter with Ho Chi Minh, where analysing the failure of Indian communists, the Vietnamese leader said, "Here I am the Gandhi. You failed to identify with national aspirations in India". These may not be the exact words. But in essence, the Communist leader was told to not work at cross-purposes on national sentiments. But at the time of Chinese aggression, a large segment of that party became Chinese patriots and worked against national sentiment.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989,

Francis Fukuyama wrote his famous thesis, *End of History*. He declared the celebration of unipolarism and the economic and cultural sweep of America over the universe. All sub-nationalities were to submerge under the overweening sway of the stars and stripes of the US. He had to retract soon enough after the 2008 meltdown, when American authors like Thomas Friedman, a great votary of the flat world, nostalgically wrote *That Used to be US*. In fact the discourse, largely triggered by the West, particularly the American writers, on the decline and fall of the US world architecture has also contributed to the patriotism debate of late. Most thinkers and political leaders will not openly admit it, may be because of the havoc extreme nationalism played in the 20th-century Europe, but today the sentiment has become the nascent universal political credo.

A book, *The Power of Place: Geography, Destiny, and Globalization's Rough Landscape* by Harm De Blij (author of *Why Geography Matters*) documented the limits of globalisation in the unequal and exploitive world order that the Washington Consensus tried to foster on the globe. But are they invariably agents of access and integration? Are they lowering the barriers to participation or raising the stakes against it? Have their influence and impact overpowered the imperatives of place so that their very mobility symbolises a confirmed irrelevance of location? The

Photographs: ALAMY



COUNTER “Here I’m the Gandhi,” said Vietnam leader Ho Chi Minh

author raises these basic questions.

Patriotism is about history, geography, culture, shared heritage, shared visions about the future, commonality of interest, common attitudes about friends and enemies, a shared identity and value system and, above all, a willingness to protect them all at any cost. This in a way defines the nationhood of a people. Religion and language may or may not strengthen these bonds, but they are not essential or successful ingredients for cementing the cultural mosaic of patriotism.

In Indian context, patriot saints like

Vivekananda and Aurobindo appealed both academically and emotionally for the nationhood of its people. Worship of the Motherland and working for its glory were projected as fundamental to the freedom and well-being of the people. It is this sentiment to which Narendra Modi anchored his successful poll campaign in 2014.

Nationhood is intrinsically linked to patriotism. Every nation at the time of crisis invokes its people’s patriotism. World War II witnessed the competitive invocation of patriotism by nations fighting for supremacy. To dub patriotism as a western concept is wrong. India, when it preached the world ‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’ (the world as a family) had developed healthy, positive formulations for protecting boundaries and preserving cultural purity of the people of India. We had great sense of history, continuity and collective memory, which in many ways astounded and shocked most Western thinkers. That is why some accuse Indians of living in the past. But they ignore the great adaptability and change and renewal Indians are ever open to. We have been reforming and rediscovering ourselves. That is why today we are the oldest surviving civilisation. This is the bedrock of Indian patriotism.

India as a geographical entity and its people as one is not a new idea. The idea of India is etched in granite, ingrained into our prayers, rituals, pilgrimages, festivals and customs and

TRIUMVIRATE Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Lokmanya Tilak kindled patriotic spirit to fight against outside threats



traditions. We have developed a work philosophy, a thought process, a belief system around it. India has from time to time revived this spirit. Our texts, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Kalidasa's work and Chanakya's *Arthashastra*, among many others, describe India geographically, as a civilisation and its cultural moorings. Our nationality is a continuous saga, evolved through hundreds of centuries.

That is why Lokmanya Tilak popularised Ganesh Utsava as part of his mobilisation to fight British. Shivaji and Rana Pratap fought the alien rule and that is why they are still revered national heroes. To inspire Indian fight against British, the message of the Gita was popularised by Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi and Aurobindo. All new methodology in satyagraha by Gandhiji was essentially rooted in the Indian ethos. It is this collective attitude nurtured through centuries by generations of Indians that we call patriotism today.

Willham Von Pochchmar, in *India's Road to Nationhood* and Aurobindo in *Foundations of Indian Culture* beautifully describe the essence of this patriotism. Guruji Golwalkar has codified the totality of Indian patriotic tradition, in his *Bunch of Thoughts*, while the same sentiment can be read in the *Lectures From Columbo To Almora* — invocations of Swami Vivekananda.

WHEN the BJP talks of cultural nationalism, it is about the values that hold the country together. The reference is to ones that shaped its history and destiny. Commitment to them and a willingness to uphold them are neither sectarian nor parochial. It is inclusive. Rather their denial is unnatural and illogical. The great cultural renaissance witnessed during the Ramjanmabhoomi movement and the BJP's successes and popularity in the aftermath points to the magnetic pull this sentiment has on the Indian psyche. Other parties opposing this sentiment are getting isolated from the public. That is equally instructive.

Some lobbies try to paint sacrifice for motherland, emotional bondage to its past glory, and aspiration for a golden age as repulsive. They even think patriotism is a dangerous idea. It can lead to social tension and violence, they argue



HAILED Boxer rebellion, now in China textbooks; Churchill's wartime speech

without any basis. Can a nation live only in the present?

Communist China, after decades of anti-imperialist teachings, is now rewriting textbooks glorifying its past rulers, great dynasties and reinterpreting Boxer revolution and Opium Wars. Soviet Union during Second World War, recalled its czarist past, great resistance to Napoleon and Tolstoy's patriotic writings. Churchill's war-time speeches are famous. No ideology so far has been able to erase the popular sensitivity towards nationalist ethos.


Some might dispute my contention that globalisation is not an antidote to patriotism. As the author of *Place* wrote, "The Earth, physically as well as culturally, still is very rough terrain, and in crucial ways its regional compartments continue to trap billions in circumstances that spell disadvantage. The power of place and the fate of people are linked by many strands ranging from physical area and natural environment to durable culture and local tradition. This book, therefore, views a world in which progress towards

The idea of India is ingrained into our traditions and prayers, it's even etched in granite.



convergence is countered by stagnation, even setbacks. Various constituencies of the comparatively prosperous global core are walling off their affluent realms from intrusion by poorer globals, hardening a division between the core and periphery that exacerbates contrasts and stokes conflicts. The near-global diffusion of various forms of English as a first or second language is promoting a cultural convergence, but the radicalisation of religions has the opposite effect. The distribution of health and well-being shows troubling signs of inequity and reversal."

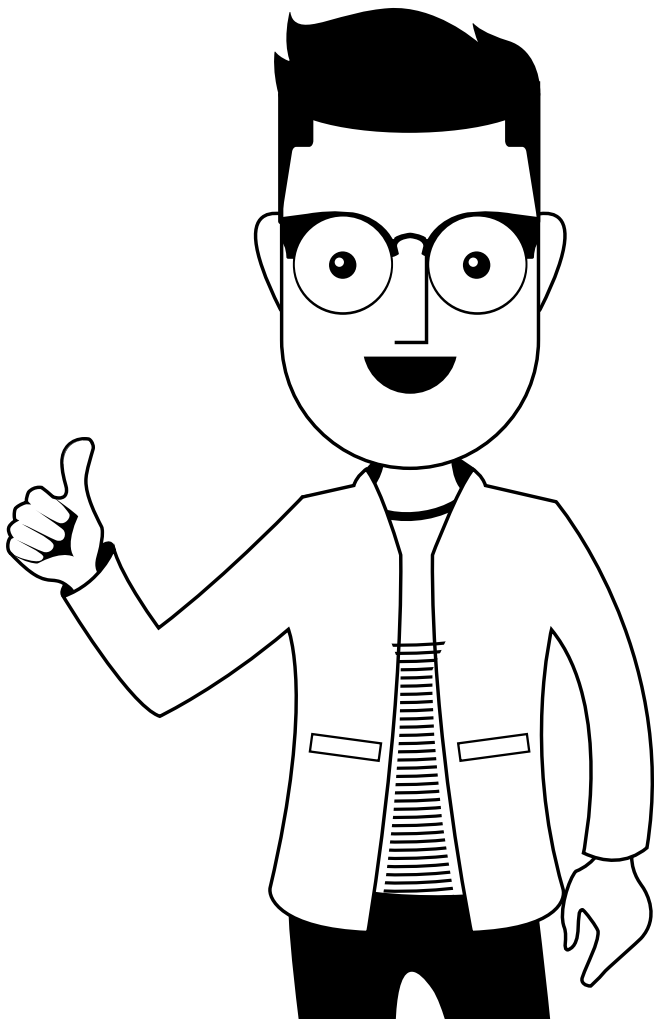
In *The Clash Of Civilizations* and the *Remarking of World Order*, Samuel P. Huntington visualised the Anglo Saxon heritage as American identity. The recent events show Huntington's theory being largely operationalised.

The evolution of politics in the world today shows a certain trend: revival of nationalist spirit and a fascinating appeal for patriotism. In India, the Congress once occupied the mainstream nationalist space that has been diluted over a period. The emergence of an Italian-born Christian president for almost two decades has, almost entirely, shattered the party's patriotic profile. Soon, the BJP occupied the space, and today the party is considered the voice of a renaissance India. As long as parties win electoral battles, nobody bothers about its ideology. But it is in hard times, the parties need to reinvent themselves. For long time to come, idea of patriotism is likely to dominate political discourse in India. 

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Healthcare Icons In South India

Constitutionally, India guarantees free healthcare to all its citizens. But that said, various socio-political and economic reasons prove hindrances to providing cost-effective, high quality medical treatment to vast populations of people in both rural and urban segments through the existing public healthcare systems. Consequently, this led to the opening up of the healthcare sector to private institutions way back in the 1980s. Numerous government subsidies, market expansion during the '90s, stimulated the speedy growth of private health sector in India. In fact, fast strides had been witnessed in health segment during the last decade, where private institutions led the way or institutions that worked on private-public partnership took care of the primary healthcare needs of an average Indian.

And it is here that some of the prestigious hospitals, especially in south India, have managed to bridge the gap between providing super-speciality and multi-disciplinary healthcare not only to those who can afford it, but also to those from the poorest sections. Today, south has top-line institutions that provide the best of ortho care inclusive of hip and knee replacement surgeries, cardiology, cardio-thoracic surgery, dental care, pediatric care, eye care, fertility treatment and complex renal, bone marrow transplants; with a slew of internationally trained and home-bred specialists.

Located in heart of Bangalore is one such

multi-speciality hospital, The HOSMAT Hospital which is now synonymous with best ortho care in south of India. An institution that owes its genesis to Dr Thomas Chandy, it began as a hospital for orthopaedic, neuro and accident-trauma care in 1992 and has over the years evolved into a multi-speciality hospital. A musician & surgeon who has performed varied complex surgeries in his 30-year career, Dr Chandy, the chairman and managing director of HOSMAT also happens to be the lead vocalist for the Bangalore-based band Jazz n Rock Revival and is widely known for his passion in music and various instruments. He explains the synergy thus in one of his interviews: "The brain-eye-hand coordination that comes with the learning of an instrument is vital and a huge bonus for surgeons."

After having done about 8000 joint replacement surgeries in the US, Dr Chandy has done an average of 600 replacements a year, at HOSMAT. With 3 arthroplasty surgeons and well-trained physiotherapy staff, HOSMAT is one of the first hospitals to dedicate two operation theatres out of 12 for joint replacement surgeries, as early as in 1992, shares Dr Chandy.

Little wonder that the southern states of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Telugu states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana have become hubs of medical tourism drawing patients both from developed countries like UK, middle East and from

Africa, Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It is a market that is expected to add \$7-8 billion to the economy by year 2020. As per Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), cost-effectiveness, treatment from accredited facilities on par with developed countries at much less cost are the main draw for a medical tourist. Also, south India offers a wide variety of procedures at nearly one-tenth the cost for a similar procedure, say in countries like the United States.

Quick adoption of technologies, R&D facilities, coupling good business practices with patient friendliness and workflow automation have given further credibility to these honourous institutions that have stood test of time.

Notwithstanding medical advancements in allopathy, which is a widely followed stream of medicine in India like elsewhere, there are an increasing number of people braving social convention to try alternate medicine. While India is home to Ayurveda, many educated Indians once alienated from traditional forms of medicine are now returning to 'old school' medicine. "It is not clear whether this shift in preference is prompted by a well informed consideration of pros and cons of each system of medicine or by a shallow change of trends. But more people seem to be acquiring confidence in the healing capabilities of nature based traditional medicine. Scientific advancement is strengthening the practice of modern

Healing the world with Ayurveda



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- ▶ Herb gardens ▶ Centre for Medicinal Plants Research-A centre of Excellence in Research ▶ Germ Plasm Bank
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(Tel. No. 0483 2808000)



Ayurvedic Hospital & Research Centre, Delhi
(Tel. No. 011 22106500)



Ayurvedic Hospital & Research Centre, Kochi
(Tel. No. 0483 2554000)



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medicine. But, traditional medicine has also been improving its user compliance and contemporaneity. The oft-mentioned Kerala model of healthcare, which is noted for reduced infant mortality, enhanced life expectancy and improved quality of life, could also be associated with the high accessibility of ayurvedic care to the public at large,” says Dr PK Warriar, managing trustee of Ayur Vaidya Sala (AVS), Kottakkal, Kerala that has been providing services since 1902.

It is pertinent to understand that institutions like AVS do not believe in excluding or undermining the relevance or precision of allopathic medicine. In fact, Dr P K Warriar considers the Alma Atta WHO declaration of Health for all is very important in view of its inclusive approach of recognizing a definite role for traditional health care systems in the management of public health. At their charitable hospital in Kottakkal, both systems of allopathy and ayurveda co-exist. Apart from extending OP and IP services, the allopathy wing facilitates management of emergencies and also provides pathological laboratory services, while their therapeutic approach is exclusively based on the principles of classic ayurveda.

This new-found inclusiveness is a step forward and reflects the changing perception of many western-educated practitioners and non-medical people, opines DR Warriar. This has also enabled research for further collaboration he maintains. “Modern researchers including allopaths and ayurvedic experts have jointly undertaken major research projects under the aegis of A Scientific Initiative in Ayurveda and the Taskforce on Ayurvedic Biology. Globally appreciated research outputs have been published in peer reviewed international journals, which bring out the scientific validity of core ayurvedic concepts like rasayana, bhasma, dosha prakriti, panchakarma, etc. They have added much credibility to the ayurvedic knowledge base. As far as relevance is concerned, one can only point to the large number of patients suffering from debilitating ailments, who come and receive palliation from our own hospitals at Kottakkal and elsewhere,” says Dr Warriar.

AVS strives to keep its age-old legacy alive and undiluted by training younger generation of ayurvedic practitioners at their college affiliated to the Kerala University of Health Sciences, who can then choose to set up their own practice or work with a hospital.



To support their practices and to develop resource material for future generations, AVS manages about 225 acres of herb gardens located at different places. The garden at Kottakkal is an 8-acre garden with more than 1000 medicinal plant species that are cultivated with scientific identification, nomenclature and documentation. There are other gardens where medicinal plants under the threat of extinction are cultivated. They also have a Centre for Medicinal Plants Research which is a centre of excellence for drug standardization as recognized by the Central government. A 5 volume compilation ‘Indian Medicinal Plants – A Compendium of 500 species’ brought out by them is used as a standard reference manual by professionals.

Still, it is a widely accepted reality that private healthcare today is marred by instances of scams, arbitrary interventions and unnecessary drug prescription. Battling such discrepancies and working in tandem with the system, some private medical institutions continue to tread the difficult path of maintaining a balance between remaining ‘in the market’ while providing value care to patients. Being a charitable trust helps maintain the balance, says Dr Warriar. “We achieve this by appropriately designing and adapting modern industrial technology and managerial practices which are aimed at improving functional efficiency and productivity,” he adds.

“Our mission is to provide excellent health care that is affordable to everyone in our society, especially to the middle-class and underprivileged communities,” concurs Dr Chandy of HOSMAT. “That means safely serving our patients and their families; bringing in state-of-the-art technology

that will decrease the barriers that hinder our patients in getting the care they need; opening satellite centers to bring healthcare closer to our patients; and creating a corporate culture where everybody is patient-friendly as well as employee-friendly. That includes physicians, nurses, technicians, clinical staff, volunteers and most important of all, patients and their families. We have served more than hundred thousand patients and we are excited about plans to continue the growth of our hospital,” he adds.

It is here that government can step in feels Dr Warriar. “With particular reference to the ayurvedic sector, it can be said that the raw material segment is a crucial area. The National Medicinal Plants Board (NMPB) at the Centre and the State Medicinal Plants Boards (SMPBs) at the State level should be empowered to devise means and methods to ensure uninterrupted supply of raw herbs of the right quality in the right quantity. That itself will go a long way in rendering the already expensive medicines a little more affordable. The Government can also consider recognising ayurveda as a special sector representing a valuable national heritage and offer some supporting schemes and do away with some restrictive regulations,” he adds.

Nearly 3500 hospitals across the country now provide AYUSH (ayurveda, yoga, naturopathy, unani, siddha and homoeopathy) treatment, giving the average Indian access to alternate medicine. Additionally, government of India has provided special grants for setting up of AYUSH educational institutions in states and union territories, in the year 2017.

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- Spine (Back & Neck)
- Arthroscopy I Ligaments
- Knee & Shoulder Arthroscopy
- Sports injuries
- Complex Ortho Problems
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HOW TO GO ABOUT A KNEE REPLACEMENT SURGERY:

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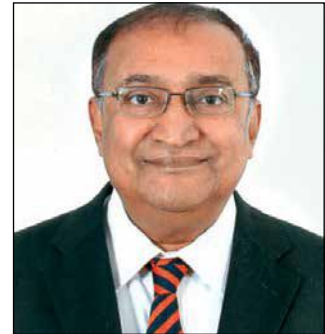
are taken to the recovery room to be monitored while coming out of anesthesia. After about an hour, you will return to your room.

The next day you will bend your knees & stand. Walking starts on the 2nd day with a walker for 10 days & a stick for 2-3 weeks. On discharge is on the 4th day. The patient on discharge is walking independently to the bathroom and living room. Home Physiotherapy is arranged by the hospital.

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ARYA VAIDYA SALA, KOTTAKKAL AYURVEDA

Arya Vaidya Sala (AVS) is a 115 years Old Charitable Trust engaged primarily in the practice and propagation of the Indian traditional health care system of Ayurveda. It was established at Kottakkal in 1902 by the illustrious visionary, Vaidyaratnam P.S. Varier. Started essentially as a village clinic, Arya Vaidya Sala has now grown into a multi-unit, multi-disciplinary and multi-crore Organisation with significant presence in clinical service, medicine manufacture, drug distribution, research, education, medicinal plant cultivation and book publication.

There are six Hospital facilities being run by AVS at Kottakkal (2 nos.), Delhi, Kochi and Baddi (Himachal Pradesh) where all the classical Panchakarma therapies and the reputed Kerala special therapies are made available to patients under modern hospital set-up. Patients from every part of the world come and stay at these Hospitals to receive palliation from grave conditions of illness. One of them at Kottakkal with



Dr. P.K. Warriar
Chief Physician & Managing Trustee Arya Vaidya Sala

160 beds is a Charitable Hospital where the medicine, therapy, accommodation and food are provided free of cost to deserving patients. Parallel Allopathic treatment is also available here.

AVS operates three GMP accredited drug manufacturing units at Kottakkal, Palghat and Nanjangud. The unit at Nanjangud in Karnataka is the latest one which is dedicated to the production of a series of new-generation formulations for addressing the aspirations of contemporary practitioners. More than 500 classical formulations are manufactured at these units and they are made available to patients across the country through 29 Branch Clinics and more than 1650 Authorised Dealers.

AVS is managed and guided by a Board of Trustees. The nationally reputed Physician and Scholar, Dr. P.K. Warriar is the Managing Trustee of AVS for the past six decades.

ARYA VAIDYA SALA, KOTTAKKAL
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Vaidyaratnam P.S. Varier's
ARYA VAIDYA SALA, KOTTAKKAL

ONE INDIA TAKES UP GENDER BIAS AS AN ISSUE



One India, an initiative by Facebook on Republic TV, is a series that showcases stories on how communities are empowering themselves to solve issues by leveraging the strength of digital platforms. On the episode telecast on January 20, the spotlight was on Sayfty, a crowdsourced initiative which uses digital media and storytelling to create awareness and empower women about violence against them.

Born in India, the founder of Sayfty, Shruti Kapoor, as a child was always told to ignore harassment. After moving to the US for higher studies, she realised that social mindsets and crimes against women are directly connected to each other.



She started the NGO Sayfty to teach girls how to respond and manage uncomfortable situations. Using technology and social media platforms as tools to disseminate their message, she and her team conduct weekly online chat sessions hosted on Twitter called #SayftyChat and on-ground self-defence workshops to equip women with tools to defend their space.

On the episode, Shruti Kapoor, Founder & CEO, Sayfty was joined by TR Kakkar, Former Police Commissioner, Delhi; Shelly Maheshwari Gupta, Mrs Asia Pacific-Universal 2017; Yogi Bhayana, Social Activist; Amber Zaidi, Film-maker & Social Activist & Namrata Nachiket, Entrepreneur.

The panel concluded that due to societal conditioning and a feeling of 'shame', women are often victims of sexual harassment with varying degrees of intensity and are often too shy to speak up. Gender bias is not a new phenomenon in India or even across the

world, it has been present for centuries and manifests in multiple ways as apparent by the speed with which the #MeToo movement picked up pace across the world. With better education and economic freedom, women have started to speak up and fight. Gender sensitisation to educate men about the correct etiquette is also essential to fight against gender bias.

WATCH: This week's episode of #One India, an initiative by Facebook on Republic TV, throw light on the SMHoaxSlayer, started by Pankaj Jain who was tired of fake articles shared by his friends and family and actively engaged in correcting them. Tune in at 4 pm on January 27, Saturday, and at 6 pm on January 28, Sunday, to watch the full episode only on Republic TV.





RIOT & RECONCILIATION

In Lieu of Courting Justice

How Muzaffarnagar is trying to heal the wounds of the 2013 riots and move on

BY PRAGYA SINGH IN MUZAFFARNAGAR

THERE can be justice in letting go. It is apt, if ambitious, to remember this tenet of South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission even as two groups try, in a small corner of India, to put their own differences aside. The scale of trauma doesn't match, nor does the

setting—in South Africa, the truth-and-reconciliation exercise accompanied the fall of the erstwhile apartheid regime—but there is a few commonalities: one, a society divided into a dominant group and those whom it dominates, allowing an almost neat classification as perpetrator and victim; two, a history of prejudice; and three, large-scale violence and conse-

quent displacement of people. In 2013, 60 people, 40 of them Muslim, were killed and over 40,000 Muslims displaced in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli districts in western Uttar Pradesh. Now, there are attempts to promote conciliatory talks between Muslims and the dominant Jat community to bury the grief and rage, so people can live peacefully in the troubled region.



SITE OF CONVERGENCE A socially diverse crowd at an eatery on the Shamli-Kairana highway

Photographs: JITENDER GUPTA

Untested so far, the idea of such talks—supposedly aimed at striking a “peace deal” of sorts—has also invited controversy. The effort hinges on survivors on both sides retracting riot-related police cases—somewhat like German automaker BMW settled a class-action lawsuit last year with a \$477-million payout. There is no stock format and no official involvement in the Muzaffarnagar exer-

cise, though. Sudhir Panwar, former member, UP Planning Board, and president, Kisan Jagriti Manch, sounds genuinely sanguine: “There is room for reconciliation between Jats and Muslims as nobody stays in the same place emotionally or mentally for long.”

Panwar, who contested the UP poll on a Samajwadi Party ticket from Thana Bhawan, had met party chief Mulayam

Yadav in 2014, proposing peace efforts. “Nothing came of it then, but the process started and is continuing,” he says.

But are avowals of mutual friendship enough to heal the trauma? The police and courts are the most natural place for riot victims to seek justice. Would some who look for justice in courts be pressurised by their own community to reconcile? What would reconciliation look like



to those who have sought refuge in their own community, far from mixed-community villages? Would divisions deepen if the underlying gulf remains unaddressed? Are there ways to heal that do not make victims again of those previously victimised? It's an entente rife with question marks—both in terms of efficacy and legal morality.

A joint Jat-Muslim committee is moving around in prominent riot-hit villages, talking up the need to overcome the violent separation. "Our fight has caused only social and economic anxieties," says Vipin Balyan of the Jat Sanrakshan Samiti, which claims to represent Jats of both religions as also riot-hit Muslims. "Jats and Muslims never fought before, even during Partition. Why should they now? We are telling people to let go of anger now and they are listening."

BALYAN and his men are especially active in villages where Muslims were hit hard—places with many cases against Jats—and their reconciliation plan is based on witnesses turning hostile and upending as many as possible of the 470-odd cases in court, involving 1,400 accused. "We will provide legal assistance to those who want to withdraw the false cases they filed," he says. "Those rendered homeless, or forced to live in tiny homes, will get pucca houses where they want."

Among those active in the negotiations is Ombir Tomar, SP leader from Baraut. "The Muslims want guarantees of peace and the Jats are saying they regret what happened," says Tomar. "Some 99 per cent of Muslims and Hindus have agreed to compromise." The idea is to leave only the heinous crimes to the courts. "Muslims

too want the bitterness to subside," says Nawazish Alam Khan, former SP MLA from Budhana, who recently joined the Rashtriya Lok Dal. "We have to move towards reconciliation at some point. False cases have been filed against Muslims too." The unpalatable bit, at least two persons involved in the negotiations admit, is that perpetrators might presume a similar free pass in future.

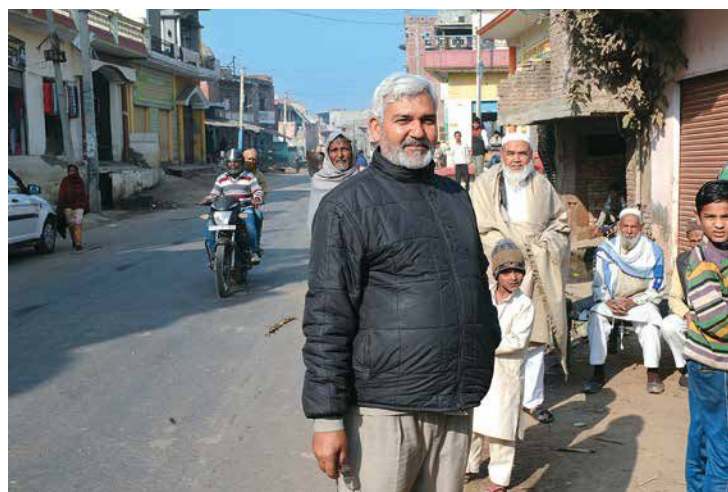
Is there a grain of remorse among the accused, or will this become an unwelcome template? The aggressors in 2013, after all, were largely dominant Hindu Jats, the victims almost all Muslim.

"Waiting for justice has broken the victims, so trying to reconcile people in the villages does make sense. But how can those who committed crimes be let off?" asks Rehana Adib, a social activist supporting victims of Kutba-Kutbi, the worst-hit twin villages, where eight Muslims died and over 800 were rescued from violent mobs by the armed forces.

EMPTY SPACES
Chaudhary Shakir, an accused from Purbaliyan; (opposite page) houses vacated by Muslims who fled Kutba village after eight were killed in the riots

Tahir, a 20-year-old survivor from Kutba, had filed the lone FIR for his village naming over 100 Hindu perpetrators. "Either the court should start taking witness testimonies soon or the people will start accepting settlements," he says. "Muslims have also been named in some cases, for instance in Kawal. If they are let off, then we will go with the community too." The committee visited his camp in Basi on Sunday, provided street lights and helped dig proper drains.

The array of responses to the reconciliation effort offers, perhaps, a test case for how the kernel of amity can be sown in a discordant field. For the Jats, an accord implies freedom from cases their members are tied up in. For Muslims, they offer a small but distinct opportunity to recover the old economic ties. Eking out a livelihood has become a challenge, not just for those cordoned off into camps since the riots. Shyam Singh of Bahavadi longs for "the old bhaichara", for instance.





PAST FORWARD
(Left to right)
Islam at the
Malakpur camp;
Ravinder Singh in
Kawal village;
Jawahar holds a
photo of the son
he lost in 2013

“In 2013, people got carried away, but now they are sorry,” he says. “We struggle to get work done on the farms as the Muslims who left were skilled farm workers”

Ghulam Mohammed Jola, a farm leader in Budhana, is involved in the discussions, again with a touch of bitterness about elusive justice. “Not many will compromise unless paid off,” he says. “Muslims want the compromise to start from Kawal village, as that’s where the riots started.”

Each player in this game has to justify the notion of ‘reconciliation’ to himself—a moral quandary for Muslims in particular, while their political and social marginalisation deepens in the state. Hence, they wait for communities to weigh in, making compromise seem like less of a trade-off for their lost family, homes and sources of income.

Feroze, 22, a driver from Bagra, now in a resettlement colony near Malakpur, saw his uncle being killed in 2013. “Five men were arrested. Four got bail, the

police don’t care. In Bagra, they threaten me. Things are not like before. The Jats took our land and animals. I can’t return. I hope for justice from courts—though that doesn’t seem to be working,” says Feroze, whose father Islam, tired of terrible living conditions in the camp, is mulling over accepting a “samjhauta”. Though surrounded by Muslim-majority villages, the camp residents are unhappy. “People from the village hate us,” says Islam. “We urgently need old tin roofs to be replaced. We need toilets and drinking water—we have nothing.”

Reconciliation of this kind cannot be about individual cases, but entire villages—Hindus want cases related to prominent villages dropped; Muslims want justice where they were targeted. That is why two villages, Kawal and Purbaliyan, are the fulcrum of this ‘process’. Kawal saw the spark: the first three killings. Purbaliyan saw more, as tractors ferrying Jats from a caste mahap-

anchayat were attacked.

“The committee contacted me, but the case isn’t in anybody’s hands. Riot accused like Kader Rana of the BSP are in the committee—so what bhaichara are they talking?” asks Ravinder of Kawal village, bristling at the suggestion of a deal. His son Gaurav was one of the two killed in Kawal. The murder was said to be linked to harassment of his sister. A bitter man, Ravinder was the unofficial VIP of the Hindu camp in 2013-14. His small home on the outskirts of Kawal was a field site for politics. “BJP leaders took me from village to village. Meetings, speeches, sympathy...they just used and abandoned me,” he says.

KAKADA has its own brooding sceptics, still loyal to their hurt. Three men from the village were among those killed in Purbaliyan: among them, Jawahar’s 21-year-old son. Jawahar does not want to “settle”, with one caveat. “Offers of money won’t tempt me to withdraw,” he says. “I’ll do so only if all cases against Hindus are withdrawn, especially by Kutba’s Muslims. I’ll do as my community says. When my son was killed, the police refused to even register a case. Only the BJP, especially (former Union minister) Sanjiv Baliyan (from Kutba-Kutbi), helped us.”

In Purbaliyan, Chaudhary Shakir, a former pradhan accused in the riots, backs reconciliation. “I keep away from the committee’s work as I’m an accused, but ever since the Ganga-Jamuni tehzeeb left this area, things have been worse,” he says. All those involved intuitively grasp that the forces which set off the fights were complex. Purbaliyan, for instance, is a village of Hindu Jats and Muslim Jats. “I am also Jat,” says Shakir. “In 2013, the Jats and Muslims here never fought. We only clashed with outsiders. Should this be called a Jat-Muslim issue at all?”

Shaukat Ali, another accused who is a milk-seller, plans to join the settlement. “The accused are feeling the pinch of pending cases. They want resolution more,” he admits. “But I go to Jat households in my village regularly, tending their cattle and buying buffaloes. It’s hard to say now why people fought in 2013.”

The core of grief is rage, that’s psychology 101. Yet, in a complex way, these offers of reconciliation, often from deeply interested parties, represent the truth that Muzaffarnagar has to heal. ◻



Benches Of Final Judgement

An excellent history of the Supreme Court celebrates its prestige, analyses its judgements and deplores the ease with which its decisions can be bypassed

BY SOLI J. SORABJEE

ANY historian or political scientist writing about the Supreme Court of India is confronted with a paradox, namely that the judiciary, which is regarded as the weakest branch of the state, with neither the power of the sword nor of the purse, is in effect and reality pretty powerful owing to the impact of its decisions on the life of the nation.

The zenith of judicial supremacy, or overreach if you please, was in the Keshavanand Bharati case in which the SC ruled that the power of amendment of the Constitution conferred under Article 368, which is not subject to any limitations, is nonetheless not absolute and the Constitution cannot be amended so as to damage its basic structure or to destroy its essential features. The consequence: Parliament is not supreme even when it exercises its constituent power of amendment; the last word rests with the Supreme Court. It is an Alice in Wonderland situation. For any person to research in this area is a formidable task which George H Gadbois Jr. has performed commendably in *Supreme Court of India: The Beginnings*.

Special mention must be made of Gabois's excellent analysis of the composition and the functioning of the Federal Court of India, the precursor of the Supreme Court. Gadbois rightly points out that the real importance of the Federal Court lay in the fact that it was a stable and respected institution which functioned according to the terms of its charter during a critical period in the history of modern India. Gadbois recounts that the Federal Court was inaugurated on October 1, 1937, on which date the Viceroy administered the oath of allegiance to the Court's first three judges: Chief Justice Sir Maurice Gwyer, and puisne judges Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman and

Mukund Ramrao Jaykar. Gwyer was an Englishman who had no previous experience in India but had been involved in various stages of the preparation of the Government of India 1935 Act; Sulaiman was a Muslim who had earned distinction as chief justice of the Allahabad High Court, and Jayakar was a Hindu and a successful Bombay lawyer. During the ten years in which the British appointed judges of the Federal Court, the chief justice was always an Englishman and the puisne judges at all times were a Muslim and a Hindu.

Gadbois rightly asserts that the Federal Court earned the respect and inspired great confidence and when the Supreme Court replaced it in 1950, it inherited this invaluable legacy—a tradition of the highest standards of independence, integrity and impartiality.

The true merit of Gadbois's book lies in his incisive account of the SC's endeavour to reconcile freedom and justice for the individual with the needs of a modern government charged with the promotion of far-reaching social and economic reforms. Gadbois deplores that 'special leave' is granted very liber-

SANJAY RAWAT




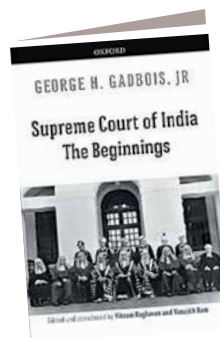
Denied a visa in 1973, Gadbois was hurt, but later rationalised that the Indian government suspected him to be a CIA agent, as India-US ties were frosty in the early 1970s.

ally by the SC. He concludes that the ease with which the Indian Constitution may be amended in order to overcome the effect of Supreme Court decisions indicates that while the Court's jurisdiction is extraordinarily wide, its ultimate power is limited. He trenchantly and controversially states that the Constitution means what the Congress Party says it means, and not what the Court wills. Gadbois criticises the rigid insistence on the seniority principle in selecting chief justices. He points out that seniority-based selections invariably lead to shorter terms for incumbent chief justices and this affects their ability to reform the Court's practices or transform its jurisprudence. However, later he concedes that the seniority principle does help prevent patronage-based appointments.

Though one may not agree with Gadbois's conclusions, cannot question his thoroughness and brilliance in analysing the SC's judgments. One reads with interest about the personalities and outlook of the several judges he interviewed with tact and candour. Thereby, Gadbois has enlightened us about the philosophy and outlook of judges, which inevitably play a significant part in their judgments.

There are some amusing anecdotes too. Gadbois was denied a visa in 1973 to spend a sabbatical year in India. Although he was hurt and frustrated, he later rationalised that the Indian government suspected him to be a CIA agent, as India-US relations were frosty in the early 1970s.

This book is a must for judges and lawyers, administrators, and professors and students of political science and also for every Indian who cherishes the goals enshrined in our Constitution and reposes his faith in an independent judiciary entrusted with the function of protecting and enlarging fundamental rights of our citizens and maintaining the rule of law in our country. 





A Spectrum Fully Scrambled

This self-exculpatory account justifies acts by looking at past practices but fails to show how they pass standards of transparency and fairness

BY SUNIL BAHRI

ADOPTED from a 2,500-year old Hindu text, *Satyameva Jayate* (only truth triumphs), is the motto inscribed on our national emblem. The moot question is what is truth, is there an absolute or one truth, and if not, when truth triumphs, whose truth triumphs. Kurosawa's film *Rashomon*—where three characters give three divergent, convincing accounts of an incident of rape and murder—captures the complexity of truth and perception. At its end, the viewer begins to doubt the veracity of his own beliefs.

The 2G saga is one such drama. In public perception it became the symbol of India's endemic corruption, leading the masses to believe that lakhs of crores of public money had been stolen by unscrupulous politicians. There are as many versions of the saga as there are stakeholders. Some versions diverge because of the battles involved—between corporates for market share and wealth, between political parties for electoral gains, between media houses for TRP ratings and so on. Versions also diverged because of the quality of evidence relied upon; journalists writing for newspapers being one end of the spectrum and a CBI special court with very rigorous standards for pronouncing guilt and criminality on the other. Those like the CAG, CBI and CVC fall in between, relying on government documents but taking liberties in being selective, presumptive or sometimes alluding to malafide intent in press conferences.

The preface is dated May 2017, but obviously the publishers waited for the court judgement which went in favour of Raja. The first few chapters are autobiographical and briefly describe his entry into politics, his meteoric rise and his years in government before he became Union Telecom Minister. Then he goes on about his version of truth—that he tried to break

the monopolistic cartel of a few mobile operators led by Airtel, with the singular objective of enhancing mobile penetration and reducing costs by bringing in newcomers, and how the entire establishment was up against him either under corporate pressure or through poor understanding of the business.

Raja addresses all the major issues—entry fee, first-come-first-served, cut off dates, issue of LOIs.... There are also copious annexures to show that most of the



PTI

What Raja leaves out is that his defiance of other constituents of the Centre was due to the UPA's precarious nature. The truth is DMK treated telecom as its fiefdom.

clarifications were also provided to the PM, CVC, CAG and the Finance Ministry. He laments that these were deliberately overlooked. The chief villain of his story is Vinod Rai, the then CAG when a figure of Rs 1.76 lakh crore loss to the exchequer emerged from an audit report.

Rapid technological advances and the rags-to-riches story of Airtel attracted the attention of all major corporates and pol-

itical parties. By 2007, when Raja came on the scene, the established players, all major corporates, were well entrenched. Reading the account of his personal engagement with some of the industry leaders gives an impression that Raja wanted to teach them a lesson for their arrogance.

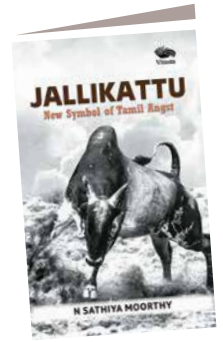
There are three dimensions to an executive action—morality, good governance and legality. Raja quotes extensively from philosophers and statesmen on the first two, but his defence is almost entirely related to legality. He has no convincing answer as to why diverse institutions and individuals would oppose his actions if he was on the high moral ground. He also fails to show how his actions pass the standards of good governance—transparency, fairness, economy, efficiency and optimising outcomes. Instead, he focuses on proving that his actions were consistent with the past and within his powers.

What he leaves out is that a lot of his defiance of the other constituents of the government was because of the precarious nature of the coalition of UPA. Ironically, the first line of the third chapter, *The cat is out of the bag*, actually lets the cat out. It reads: "In May 2007...I was asked by my party leadership to take over as the Minister of Communication & IT". Here is the real saga of 2G. DMK negotiated for and treated telecom as its fiefdom. The position taken by the then Telecom Minister, notwithstanding his badly edited and convoluted averments in this book, was a display of unfettered powers. Those in government watched helplessly; those outside cried hoarse, some of them going overboard to attract attention.

Raja also seeks vindication of his actions from the subsequent growth in the Telecom sector, losing sight that all licenses issued by him were cancelled and the sector is still dominated by a few players. Failure of the CBI to get a conviction is also not likely to be viewed as a proof of innocence. Mr. Raja, your truth is not likely to find many takers. **Q**

Matters Came To A Bull's Head

Angry fires raged across Tamil Nadu when the SC banned Jallikattu. This account tries to find out the reasons for this spontaneous outpouring of raw emotion.



BY G.C. SHEKHAR

In January 2017, Tamil Nadu had its largest show ever—the Jallikattu protests on Chennai's Marina Beach and across the state. What started off as a leaderless protest quietly got hijacked by groups preaching Tamil separatism. Once the main demand of staging Jallikattu was met and the protests lost its focus, organisers ended it with a violent clash with the police.

But the demonstrations underlined that a people's protest on the lines of Anna Hazare's anti-corruption rally and the Nirbhaya agitation could be staged in Tamil Nadu even on a non-people issue like Jallikattu. Journalist N. Sathiya Moorthy, a researcher with the Observer Research Foundation, has attempted to peel through the layers of the protest in this book. Unfortunately, for someone known for his erudite analysis of South Asian politics, he has only scratched the skin of the bull.

The author rightly avers that the collective angst triggered by the ban on Jallikattu, imposed by the Supreme Court, was a culmination of a series of events when the state watched helplessly as its interests got compromised one after another. The impunity with which Karnataka ignored the SC's diktat to release Cauvery water and the Centre's refusal to constitute a Cauvery River Water Authority as dictated by the SC had already created an undercurrent of anger against the Court and the NDA government.

Also, emotionally, the state was grappling with Jayalalitha's death and the aftermath of the power struggle between Sasikala and O. Panneerselvam. So, when the SC put the brakes on Jallikattu yet again, the bubble burst. Sathiya Moorthy records how the reach of the social media was used by the few thousands present on the first two days to increase numbers to nearly a lakh. The author should also have

noted that TRP hungry Tamil news channels kept the pot boiling with 24-hour coverage, with hyperventilating reporters shouting from amidst protestors.

In what's a strong point, the author explores the antiquity of Jallikattu, quoting its presence from early Sangam-era Tamil works like *Tholkappiyam* and over 2,000 years ago. "Jallikattu has both poetry and grammar going for it," confirms Sathiya Moorthy, pointing out that the ancient sport, *Eru Thazhuvudhal* (hugging the bull), found repeated mention in ancient Tamil literature.

The book establishes the religious significance of the bull and cow. The author quotes from *Srimad Bhagavatham*, that narrates Lord Krishna's life in Sanskrit: "...an episode in which Krishna tames not one bull but seven, as ordained by a local ruler, who had been rearing them with great care only for the swayamvaram of his daughter".

The economic and emotional link between cattle and the farmer in a largely agrarian economy are detailed well—grand temples, for example, sheltered both animals and humans during times



The book's strong point is its exploration of the antiquity of Jallikattu. But it throws little light on how faceless organisers managed to sustain the Marina protests for a week.

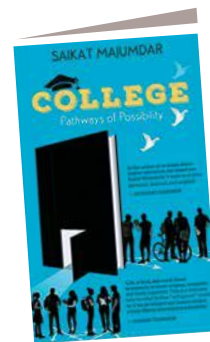
of floods. It was only natural that during peace time, when warriors had no wars to fight, "Jallikattu became a sport for the young Mukkulathore men to display their prowess in public and prove their valour".

The author recollects Tamil Nadu's penchant for protests from anti-Hindi agitation of the '60s, the token fasts held by its Dravidian chief ministers, the anti-Lanka agitations and the more recent anti-nuclear protests at Koodankulam and how the Jallikattu agitation itself spawned protests at Neduvasal against exploration of hydrocarbons and the anti-NEET protests after the suicide of a Dalit girl.

The book, however, throws very little light on how the faceless and nameless organisers managed to sustain the Marina protest for a week, the key players who defused the crisis and the reason for the violence on the last day. If only the author had substantiated his narrative with interviews and quotes from the supporters and opponents of Jallikattu and had talked to intelligence officials, he could have added real meat to his story. Instead, there is a laborious attempt to add pages by stringing together other unconnected events involving Abdul Kalam and Rajnikanth in the narrative.

The book also suffers from a repetitive mention of events and surmises while attempting to nail the real reason for the angst. Even conspiracy theories of the pro-Jallikattu lobby, that foreign companies are out to destroy the native breed of bull, find only passing mention rather than a close scrutiny. Sathiya Moorthy parts with a warning shot that "the governments, policy-makers and the political class as a whole cannot still overlook socio-political sentiments, and continue to think that it is business as usual".

He probably fears that the faceless protesters have not withdrawn completely from the battlefield and could be planning yet another agitation. ❏



Back To Leonardo's Notebooks

Hermetically sealed disciplinary rigour is passe, says this book. Liberal arts-science college education has to embrace other fields, while tending to its roots.

BY SAIKAT NIYOGI

INDIA has 11,443 colleges and 789 universities. Yet the education they impart to its lakhs of students are incomparably lower than accepted global norms. Of the tens of thousands of graduates of 'English literature', for example, a majority can't express themselves clearly in the language, nor would they be persuaded to learn. Most graduates, moreover, of science and humanities courses are unemployable. How is it that over a century of 'modern' education has yielded so little dividend? Saikat Majumdar's *College: Pathways of Possibility* picks out our diseased system and charts an ambitious path for undergraduate education.

The fact that Indian undergraduate arts-science education—as different from professional courses—is considered a cesspit of mediocrity is spelt out at the beginning, after a recounting of engineering students cramming in Kota's coaching dungeons: As Majumdar notes in comparison, the prestige of a degree from MIT or Caltech does in no way overshadow that from Yale or Princeton. His goal here is to "find some new avenues for art-science education in India today". What ails such education is an ingrained prejudice against original thinking, a system that rewards expert swotters. The roots of this are well-known. In the words of Andre Beteille, who is quoted: "The first universities that came into being in 1857 in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were set up primarily for conducting examinations and awarding degrees, and not for undertaking research or even teaching". Known for ignoring scientific education, it was a gateway to clerkdom. Independent India did little to change this structure, and with the setting up of specialised centres for research in the pure and social sciences, art-science colleges are pushed further into making their drab journey through "India's examination-centred pedagogy".

Majumdar talks about how the Department of Computer Science at Stanford initiated two dual majors—Computer Science and English, and Computer Science and music, bemoaning the popularly assumed divorce between the 'liberal arts' (originally containing the sciences, now erroneously equated with the 'humanities') and science, leaving both streams impoverished. As in medieval varsities, where philosophy and nascent physics/mathematics sat on the same desk, nourishing each other's growth, it's time again, says Majumdar, for such happy commingling. While supporting the demand for educa-



SANDIPAN CHATTERJEE

Elite colleges such as St. Xavier's, Calcutta, were, crucially, agents of social change and modernity, but basically remained an awarder of degrees even after independence.

tion to be more profession-oriented, he rejects the old opposition between 'fusty humanities' and 'progressive sciences', saying they have no relation to the needs of the contemporary global economy.

In his quest to chart a path for an ideal inter-disciplinary liberal arts/science education, Majumdar takes the help of developmental psychologist Howard Gardner's multiple intelligence theory, which helps obtain a glimpse into the "soul of disciplines", bypassing the obsession with monochromatic canonical content

in undergraduate disciplines, and into answering 'big think', epistemological questions that form its foundations. For example, in English literature pedagogy, we are obsessed with an exhaustive study of its evolution from Old English to Modernism and after, but neglect epistemic questions about the shifting nature of the worldview about literature itself, and about authorship, text, readership and consumption of literary works. The major flaw here, says Majumdar, is the project to equip every undergrad for post-grad education—a handicap for the current global marketplace for jobs, which only rewards an agglomeration of skills.

Majumdar argues this can only be through a happy interplay of the various intelligences—linguistic and logical-mathematical, as well as spatial, body-kinaesthetic, naturalist, spiritual, moral and existential—that help in understanding contrasting epistemic forms. This contra-disciplinary approach, where a qualitative discipline is paired with a quantitative one (like philosophy with physics), can be the only model for next generation student to keep him or her primed for the widest variety of careers. To achieve this, he repeatedly insists, current undergraduate courses have to relinquish some of their rigorous specialisation.

Education like this ignites a passion for learning into those who decide to go further into the disciplines. To trigger the latter, production of new knowledge, or research, is essential, in addition to teaching and acquiring of established knowledge. Undergrad research is crucially important as exercises in the deployment of received knowledge. In India, where generations pore over the same syllabi, this seems to be a brave new world. Majumdar's lucidly advanced and convincingly argued ideas on college education are radical and might take decades for it to spread evenly across the moth-eaten landscape, but a tentative start somewhere should be a cause for hope. ■

Republic's Guests

Rajpath Roulette

Many foreign heads of state have graced the august occasion of Republic Day. Here is a gallery.

1950: President Sukarno

The Indonesian leader was a close ally of Nehru and the chief guest at the first Republic Day celebrations. Five years later, he would host the path-breaking Bandung Conference, attended by 29 recently independent African and Asian countries.

1955: Ghulam Mohammad

Partition was raw memory, so was the bitter 1948 war over Kashmir. That didn't prevent India from extending a R-Day invitation to Pakistan's governor-general, Ghulam Mohammad, seen here with President Rajendra Prasad.



1961: Queen Elizabeth

As titular head of the Commonwealth, the British monarch has had warm relations with India, once the prized crown jewel. On a royal tour to India, the queen was the chief guest at the 1961 R-Day parade, and is seen here in a ceremonial carriage with the Duke of Edinburgh and President Rajendra Prasad.





ALAMY

 **2007: Vladimir Putin**

Call him a strongman who stifles domestic opposition or the new Russian Czar, Vladimir Putin was the last of many Russian leaders to grace the Republic Day celebrations. Here, he inspects the January 26 parade in New Delhi with President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam.

 **1995: Nelson Mandela**

He spent 27 years as a prisoner in Robben Island, but as post-apartheid South Africa's first president, Nelson Mandela led a process of reconciliation. A Gandhian and a friend of India, his standing as a world statesman was unparalleled. Chief guest at R-Day in '95, he is seen here with President Shankar Dayal Sharma.

 **2015: Barack Obama**

Barack Obama's successful visit to India signalled growing US-India ties on various levels. His—and his wife Michelle's—easy grace and personal charm were on display too. Chief guest at the 2015 ceremony, the Obamas look completely at ease in the company of PM Modi and President Pranab Mukherjee.

TRIBHUVAN TIWARI

2018: ASEAN Leaders

There have been years when the R-Day ceremony has had two chief guests—like in 1968, when Soviet leader Alexei Kosygin and Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito attended. But this is the first time that ten heads of state would attend R-Day events in unison. The ASEAN leaders are in Delhi for the India-ASEAN summit. India grants them this high honour.



									
									
BRUNEI SULTAN HAJI HASSANAL BOLKIAH	CAMBODIA PRIME MINISTER HUN SEN	INDONESIA PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO 'JOKOWI'	LAOS PRIME MINISTER THONGLOUN SISOULITH	MALAYSIA PRIME MINISTER NAJIB RAZAK	MYANMAR STATE COUNSELLOR DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI	PHILIPPINES PRESIDENT RODRIGO ROA DUTERTE	SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER LEE HSIEN LOONG	THAILAND PRIME MINISTER PRAYUT CHAN-O-CHA	VIETNAM PM NGUYEN XUAN PHUC

I Remember Gandhi

Is Gandhi a memory? Or a myth? It was here, on the lawns of Birla House, that Nathuram Godse's three bullets rang out 70 years ago. They call it Gandhi Smriti now...literally a site for memory. A space where you gather up and display all the scattered signs of a lapsed phenomenon, a presence that has passed. Almost as if to make sure no molecules of its reflection—its spirit—escape into the outside world? Like those city parks where they keep spotted deer behind a fence—an enclosure for forms of life that once roamed free? Even that day, as the Mahatma walked into the back lawn of this mansion, 10 minutes late, among the crowd there were vendors selling his image—he was already being museumised, being turned into something not quite here. An enigma.

Talking of Michelangelo

What do the people who come here feel? Who comes here? Do they bring awe? Reverence? Or detached curiosity? The other day, they brought a busful of noisy schoolkids—they were in their world of innocent guiles, far from any Gandhian thoughts, says Brij Pal. This is the last January here for the safai karamchari. He's retiring this month, after 40 years of "rozgaar and Gandhi seva", a phrase that blends pragmatism and idealism in a way Gandhi would have recognised. Yes, he's Valmiki by caste—or Harijan. It makes complete sense that Gandhi, who engaged with every social formation in his time, has a Valmiki man—several, actually—to clean his house. Call it continuity, the deep currents of history reclaiming its lands.

Those Who Linger and Pray

It also makes perfect sense that Gandhi Smriti has a guard from Nepal. Vishnu Prasad is a Maddhesi, from the Terai. He too has been a guard here since 1985, and has seen the crowd morph from veterans of the freedom movement coming to weep or pray to the 'selfie-with-Gandhi' hordes. "I've watched so many come and go that I have a sixth sense about visitors," says 55-year-old Vishnu Prasad. "From the way they talk, their behaviour, I can tell who will spend a few hours here and who will leave in minutes." He and Brij Pal too are exhibits at the museum, like Gandhi. Both have that film of benign dust on their faces that only decades of government service can bring. Yet, their backstories, the very terms of their presence here, shine an ironic half-light on the Gandhian project—as revelatory as Gandhi's well-preserved



**BRIJ PAL,
VISHNU PRASAD**

Brij Pal (left) is a cleaner and Vishnu Prasad is a guard at Gandhi Smriti, Delhi.

room in a corner wing that offers the first glimpse into the last 144 days of his life.

The Participant-Observer

Vishnu first saw India as an awe-struck nine-year-old, visiting from Nawalparasi: it was the first World Trade Fair at Pragati Maidan in 1972. A year later he was back, for work. He did better than the lakhs of faceless dhaba boys all over India: someone he knew fixed him up at Rajghat, where he served tea for years, before eventually landing this job.

Now, after 30 years of people-watching, he has a sociologist's eye for nuance. The following portrait of Gandhi Smriti is largely sketched from his impressions.

Mohandas, Superhero

The museum on Tees January Marg gets 4,000-odd visitors a day. Yet, things have perceptibly changed. "Now *foreigners* respect Gandhi more. They look at every exhibit, examine each photo. Only some Indians are like them. Most come chiefly to see the spot where Gandhi was killed," he says. More men come than women, more south Indians than northerners. The rural folk are still moved as if by a numinous presence: they stand before Gandhi's statue hands folded, heads bowed. Most visitors are from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Kerala. "People from the south often won't approach Gandhi's statue with shoes on, even if I tell them they can. Overcome with emotion, some cry and pray." But if drawn as a cline on a graph, Indians deeply influenced by Gandhi are a fading species.

A Harijan Colony Somewhere

Brij Pal, dark-haired at 60, is preoccupied with thoughts of retirement. Come February, he will be homeless—"I've nowhere to go. Circumstances didn't permit me to build a home." He has three daughters ("two married"), a disabled wife, a jobless son. Still, being here was better than serving in a "parchoon ki dukaan" (spice shop)...that would have been soulless. Back in the day, his parents worked for a "laat sahib" in Calcutta. After Class VIII in Moradabad, he landed here: his cousin, already here, tipped him off about a vacancy. An only-Valmiki old boy network? "Gandhi encouraged all to clean. It's the government that created these posts—cleaner, guard, gardener, electrician...." He's non-confrontational. It's like physical proximity to a mahatma has had a pacifying effect. "Whoever comes here will return educated," offers Vishnu. "I feel it, in this place a great man was killed. It makes me sad, for Gandhi harmed nobody."

(They talked to Pragna Singh)



SAJITH KUMAR

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a royal train

JOURNEY

While other children were busy playing, Manish Saini, now founder of Worldwide Rail Journeys spent his childhood craving for the sight of a steam engine train emerging from the tunnels amidst the swirl of smoke – it's a surreal sight to behold. The sound of the steam trains planted a seed in Manish's mind at a very young age - he dreamt of running on his own train.

Big dreams require big preparations. Manish wanted to travel the distance between dreams and reality so he went ahead to learn the basics of the business and put in the extra hard work. After ten years of understanding the nuts and bolts of the Rail Tourism Industry, he decided it was time to expand his wings and fly solo. In 2014, he started Worldwide Rail Journeys (WRJ) to realise his dream and provide unprecedented train travel experiences in India and abroad. Thanks to his ten years of hard work, he garnered good reputation amongst rail tourism industry with the government even letting him manage trains on a charter basis. Over time, an unflinching support from the government and a strong network with the industry has made WRJ one of the leading players in the Railway sector.

WRJ is now concentrating to take luxury train travel in India to the next level. "We already have great rail journeys to cater to luxury traveller. When you talk about India outside the country, people associate it with the Taj Mahal and the Palace on



Wheels," says Manish Saini. Through his company, many guests have travelled in some of the world's most luxurious trains namely the Palace on Wheels, Maharaja Express, Deccan Odyssey and Golden Chariot, which traverse through different parts of the country over a week-long journey.

While so far the majority of the travellers have been foreigners, Saini wants to bring a change in the mindset of the Indian travelers, whose interest in taking such journeys has only been increasing in the recent past.

WRJ is a customer-first company and is leaving no stone unturned to make their clients' journeys pleasant and smooth. And, the team's hard work is not going unnoticed. WRJ was featured in the CEO Magazine's list of 15 Fastest Growing Tour & Travel Companies in India in 2016. WRJ even bagged the best Rail Tour Operator Award in India Travel Awards 2015 & 2016, Business of the Year Award in Small Business Award in 2017 and also the Prestigious National Tourism Award in 2017, which was received from the President of India. And what more? The Entrepreneur Magazine even named Manish Saini



MANISH S SAINI
Director,
Worldwide Rail Journeys

'Entrepreneur of the Year' in the tourism sector. All this recognition has only motivated Saini to do more for the industry as he aims to broaden his horizons in the coming years. He is curating other types of journeys such as pilgrimage amongst other tourist circuits through chartered trains provided with the help of the government.

WRJ is now completely digitised, their booking service is available for travellers all around the world making the luxury rail travel experience more accessible. You can logon to their site www.worldwiderailjourneys.com to know about rail journeys, bookings, and other information.

Manish Saini, the young entrepreneur who dreamt big hasn't put brakes on his train and dreams. He concludes by saying, "The journey has just started. There are a lot of milestones to be achieved."



Worldwide Rail Journeys
www.worldwiderailjourneys.com



JEAN PHILIPPE
Managing Director,
Ebro India

SPANISH GIANT EBRO TAKES ON INDIAN FMCG MARKET WITH A NEW PERSPECTIVE



When Jean Philippe Laborde, the Managing Director of Ebro India Pvt Ltd. first landed in the country in 2012, he thought that the market here was one entity and he could manufacture and sell a single product such as the basmati rice across the land. With the help of a few colleagues, he began the process of establishing a wing of the Spanish giant Ebro Foods, in India. On one such days, he travelled to Hyderabad to source rice from Andhra Pradesh. He asked his colleague Navjot to

accompany him to help with language and cultural barriers. Upon reaching Hyderabad, Jean Philippe booked a cab and realised that the driver could neither speak English or Hindi. The only language the driver properly knew was Telugu. That was the first instance when Jean Philippe realised that not everyone understands everyone here. That was a great moment of learning for him.

He took this as the first step to understand the Indian market and all its complexities. In the years that had followed, he landed in 30 different

cities of India and travelled to many remote places in the far corners of the country to understand consumer behaviour here. He finally learned that India is a very diverse country and wherever you go, you forget what you learn and need to learn something new. He settled well in the country, making dal chawal and biryani his household favourites even as he is embarking on a mission to take on the Indian market with Ebro's rice and pasta products. We caught up with Jean Philippe for a little chat where he spoke to us about

the brand and its pathways in India. Here are a few snippets from the interview:

☪ How did Ebro Foods start and what's the legacy like?

In initial stages, Ebro Puleva (Ebro's older name) had two divisions - sugar division and milk products - all over Spain. The founders wanted to expand their base and enter the rice industry so they took over a rice company called Herba. The company became the market leader in Europe within a span of ten years and eventually they sold the sugar and milk products divisions and stuck to manufacture of rice and pasta alone. This resounding success in such a short span of time has also made the story of Ebro Foods a case study in Harvard University.

☪ What is Ebro's reach like in the rest of the world and how has coming to India been?

Ebro's turnover today is 2.5bn Euros. We have 25 companies and are already present in 80 countries. In most of the countries where we are present, we have a leading position. Not just in Spain, where we started, but everywhere. We are the market leader of rice in the world and the second largest manufacturers of pasta in the world. India has been a great start for us in 2013 and before India we were in Thailand in the Asian market.

☪ What are the main principles that Ebro follows in terms of product quality?

We believe that the most important is to be innovative because eating habits are changing across the globe. We are also a responsible company in terms of ethics, integrity and commitment to health and well-being of our consumers. That's why we're into rice and pasta as these are natural products. We try to make it convenient for our consumers to savour them through ready-to-eat

standard pouches.

☪ What are the challengers in manufacture/ sales for a company that is selling something as basic as rice and pasta?

One of the biggest threats is the fear of becoming a commoditised product. Rice and pasta are just a base, the idea is to really add value to these. There is a good chunk of consumers who are value seekers here and are not just looking at the price point. We believe we can cater to this section because we know the product and we are deeply connected to its roots. Within Ebro we have four R&D centres which are also very well connected to all the marketing departments that assess market needs. Based on these needs, we work backwards while defining what kind of product we need.

☪ Where do you source paddy from?

We source paddy from all the states around our factory - Punjab, Haryana, UP, MP and Rajasthan. We have a lot of teams and commissioned agents who are trained to buy the right quality of paddy. We are very integrated as a system. We have our own farming programme. If we want to develop a certain kind of rice, we form different groups of farmers and guide them on what to do to improve the quality to produce the rice and we commit to buy the full produce they manage. This will also improve the livelihood of the farmers. We also run a programme called sustainability programme. We make sure we don't put chemicals and fertilisers because it is not safe for the farmers and it is also not good in the long run.

☪ Are there any Ebro products that are much different from the ones of other brands available right now, quality wise?

As far as premium basmati rice



is concerned we have launched Puroma Vintage Collection 2014. And we make a limited series which changes every year. As far as pasta is concerned, there is a lot that can be done here. There are more than hundred shapes of pasta. We can try a lot of recipes with it.

☪ How exactly are you planning to that with the product?

We are going to Sula Fest in February because pasta and wine match very well. You can celebrate a beautiful moment with pasta although it's simple. Pasta should be home-made and its diversity has to be understood well. The market is small for pasta in India. However, Italian cuisine is the second most preferred cuisine in India for dining out. We want to bring that pasta into homes instead.

☪ Did you also change names when you came to the Indian market?

Puroma, the premium quality raw

rice and Ultimate, the steam rice, are new to the market.

☺ Is India one of the biggest market Ebro has entered considering India's staple food is rice?

India is a market of 2 MMT basmati rice. We position ourselves differently and are trying to find a unique space because there are already well established brands in the market which have deep networks throughout the country. We are trying to bring good quality rice that is affordable whether it is for daily consumption or for use on special occasions.

☺ How is the competition from local markets?

There are two different markets - one is rice and one is pasta. Pasta is way more organised, in the sense that it is more of an FMCG product. Though rice is also shifting towards packaged food/ FMCG sector, it is still unorganised because you can buy rice in bulk, from the kirana shop and a lot of other places. The quality may not be consistent in such cases. We aim to understand the consumer and provide consistently high quality products.

☺ Considering so much of trade has moved online, is it easier to sell packaged rice now?

Modern trade, which happens online, works better for footwear, apparel, etc. which has seen a huge shift due to the price discounts. The case is different with food where general retail trade still reigns supreme.

☺ There are a few companies that sell good pasta in Indian market, are they competition to Ebro?

They are more expensive than our products. The level of quality that we give is much better. Most of the other brands just import pasta and put it on the shelves. We make our pasta for Indian market. Our packaging has indicators of cooking styles that are suitable for Indian taste. The quality of wheat that we are using helps it keep the shape even if it's overcooked, which is not the case with pastas of other brands.

☺ What is the market plan you have in India for the coming years?

We have almost tripled our volume

of turnover in three years, which is very a fast-growing profile for our industry. We have introduced pasta last year and we aim to be a 1,000-crore company by 2020.

☺ What can the Indian consumer look forward to from Ebro as a brand?

We promise quality. We directly bring European standards in terms of quality of food, which is one of toughest regulations in the world and we apply the same things we do in Europe, in India. We directly connect with the farmers, we want to be committed and contribute to the society. We believe that we have a duty to do sustainable business. We take care of the entire value chain within the company. During the initial years, we've not been in profit but that hasn't kept us from investing in CSR activities. We have a division called 'EKTA', which stands for Ebro India Kisaan Training Programme and Awareness. It's a one way programme where we go to villages, gather farmers and give lectures and guidance on ways to get better revenue. Handing out money is easy, the harder part is to teach them how to make money and the best out of your land and resources, we educate them on this. We also have an educational programme in Karnal in two ITI schools. We promote poor students to join these schools and pay their fees and give them practical training at our rice mills. We are proud supporters and activists of the Beti Bachao (Save Girl Child) programme. We fund the education of selected female students to achieve success in their future endeavours.

☺ What are your favourite Ebro Foods products?

Puroma Vintage Absolute Collection 2014, brown rice and based on my diet, the Panzani pasta.

