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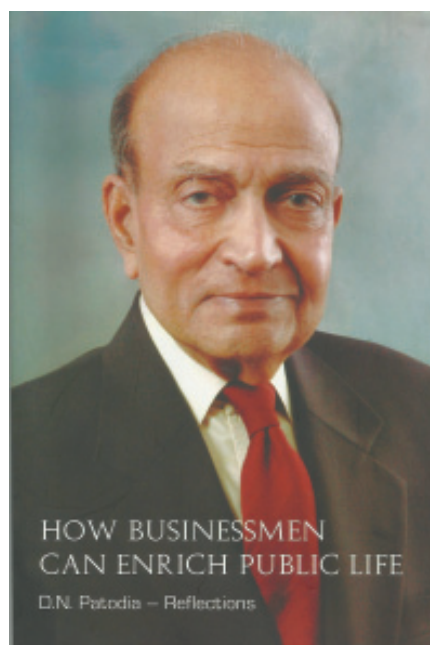
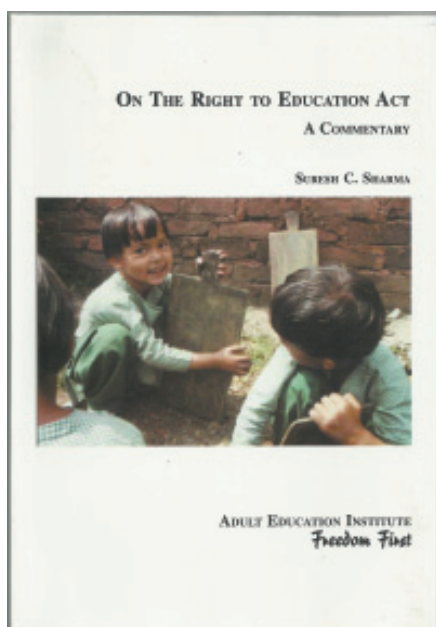
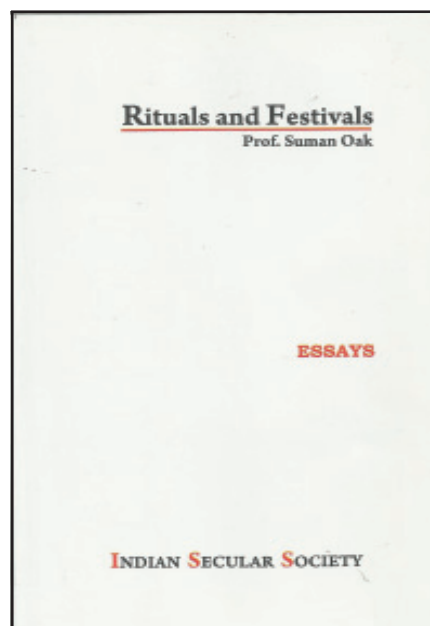
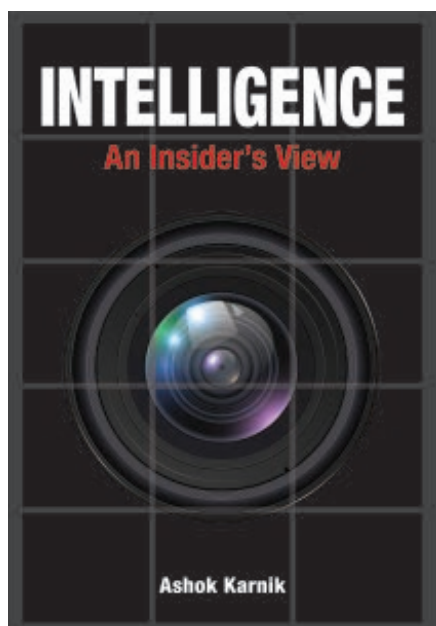
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GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

(9 May 1866 – 19 February 1915)

THIS DIAMOND OF INDIA

NEW PUBLICATIONS



For a brief description of these publications turn to page 34.

For copies, get in touch with us at

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Freedom First

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No.572 February 2015

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Between Ourselves

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE 1866 - 1915

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the founder of the Servants of India Society, President of the Indian National Congress and a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. His Death Centenary Year, February 19, 1915-2014, was commemorated by several organisations. Among them the Deccan Education Society, Servants of India Society, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Project for Economic, Indian Secular Society and Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya.

On his birth centenary in May 1966, the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF) had organised a series of three Birth Centenary Lectures which were later published under the title *Gokhale and Modern India*.

Forty eight years on, on November 15, 2014, the ICCF, in association with the Project for Economic Education, the Indian Secular Society and LiberalsIndia for Good Governance, organised a day-long symposium on "Gokhale's Legacy"

The Symposium was chaired by Dr.Usha Thakkar well known Gandhian, educationist and president of the Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya. The keynote address was delivered by well known journalist and author Aroon Tikekar. Other speakers included Sunil Gokhale, advocate and great grandson of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dr.Vibhuti Patel, Head of the Department of Economics SNDT Women's University, eminent economists Sunil Bhandare and Dr. C. S. Deshpande, noted journalist and educationist R.N.Bhasker and social activist and author Godrej Dotivala. 85 students, academicians, professionals and senior corporate executives participated.

WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO DEDICATE THIS ISSUE OF FREEDOM FIRST TO GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

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The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Introduction

Most leaders of thought and action who laid the foundations of contemporary India were born in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was therefore inevitable that the second half of the present (20th) century should be an age of centenaries of pioneers in different fields – social, political, economic, religious, literary and cultural. However, of all those whose centenaries the nation has celebrated since independence or is planning to celebrate in the coming years, none perhaps is more worthy of grateful remembrance and emulation today than Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Teacher and educationist, statesman and economist, social reformer and a true Servant of India in the best sense of the word; without vanity of any kind and yet completely free from a pathological obsession with simplicity;



modern but not estranged from his people, atheistic – at least, agnostic – and yet (or, therefore?) committed to truth without any subterfuge; devoted to his country's interests but neither a chauvinist nor lacking in moral courage when the occasion demanded frankness or, even, a public confession of error – Gokhale stands out in the fog of Indian politics as the most important exponent of reason in public life and liberalism as the basis of a modern, democratic welfare state.

A. B. Shah

Excerpted from Professor A. B. Shah's foreword in the ICCF publication, Gokhale and Modern India, published in May 1966, to commemorate Gokhale's Birth Centenary. Prof. Shah was then the Executive Secretary of the ICCF.

Laying the Foundation for a Modern India

S. P. Aiyar

The celebration of the Gokhale centenary on 9 May 1966 had more than ordinary significance. The nation was not merely honouring one of the most extraordinary figures of modern India but one who more than anyone else was dedicated to the philosophy which now underlies the Constitution of India. His life and teachings have a message for our time and his writings, particularly the celebrated budget speeches will rank for all time as a great landmark in the ordered constitutional progress in this country.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale's life – a brief span of forty-nine years - had all the elements of grandeur and tragedy. He offered his life as a living sacrifice to his country. Only one great idea loomed large in his mind – the moral and material progress of the Indian people. It could indeed be said of him, as he said of his Master, Mahadev Govind Ranade, "It was as though the first person singular did not exist in his vocabulary.

Gokhale's premature death in 1915 was the direct result of the stress and strain under which he lived and worked. Sleepless anxiety for the country brought in its train diabetes and heart trouble. At the time of the Islington Commission¹, Gokhale was a physical wreck. The doctors had given him only three years to live. With stoic calmness he told Sarojini Naidu that he was carrying his death warrant in his pocket, and yet he worked on the Commission like one possessed. Sleeping for barely four hours, Gokhale was up at two in the morning to read up all the evidence and be ready for the Commission's work which commenced at 10.30 a.m. and dragged on till 5.30

¹ The Lord Islington Commission (1912) to examine and report on the Indian Civil Service conditions of service, etc.

The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

in the evening. Almost his last words were:

“My end is nearing. I have deceived my country. It would have been better if I should have been spared for a couple of years more. I would have gone to England and striven hard to bring about a most satisfactory termination of the Royal Commission and thus would have repaid, although in the smallest degree, the debt I owe to my country.”

Gokhale's patriotism and ideals were incarnated in the Servants of India Society, which he established in 1905 with the object of drawing together young men with a spirit of dedication and training them to serve the country through careful study of its problems. Concerning this aspect of Gokhale's work, Srinivasa Sastri wrote, “Mr Gokhale loved India and her welfare so intensely and so deeply that he would not willingly see it injured by the labours of unprepared, immature, crude workers whose only equipment consisted in a genuine call of patriotism. Patriotism by itself is not enough. It is a noble, powerful, exalted emotion. It is only an emotion. It has got to be directed into useful, fruitful channels and that can only be if every worker prepared himself by arduous study, patient study of the realities of India's life ...”

This indeed was the model which Gokhale had set before himself. Not the least of his great qualities was the powerful mind which he brought to bear on the problems of the day. His budget speeches reveal careful study and analysis. But an even more important quality of his speeches is his constant reference to the principles of government and his concern with what government ought to do. It is this conscious application of the principles and philosophy of government which impart to Gokhale's speeches their abiding interest and their relevance for the future...”

B. P. (Wrangler) Paranjpye describes the work Gokhale did in the Imperial Legislative Council thus:

“Gokhale was to the last the most brilliant member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and was popularly called the leader of the Indian opposition, though he himself did not consider that his duty was merely to oppose Government, but that it was to put before Government, the Indian point of view on every question. His annual budget speech was a treat to which everybody, both friend and opponent, looked forward, the one with delight, and the other with fear. An answer had to be given to his arguments, and it is not everybody who could

do it at a moment's notice, if at all. On one occasion Lord Kitchener privately asked him the points on which he wished to touch so far as military expenditure was concerned; and out of consideration for the great soldier, who was no debater, Gokhale did not emphasize certain points as much as he would have liked to. His budget speeches always bore their fruit in the succeeding years' budgets. He was always on the side of retrenchment, and did not want Government to take more from the tax-payers than was absolutely necessary.”

It was a characteristic of this early period of Indian nationalism that those who participated in politics often devoted themselves to the serious study of public problems. It was all the more necessary in a period when the press had not emerged as a guardian of public interests. Moreover, it was the age of an elitist national movement; the age of mass nationalism had not quite emerged. In 1939 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, delivering the Kale Memorial Lecture, contrasted the India of Ranade with that of Gandhi for which he did not have much sympathy. If allowance is made for Dr. Ambedkar's own predilections, his observations deserve to be noted:

“If the India of Ranade was less agitated it was more honest and if it was less expectant, it was more enlightened. The age of Ranade was an age in which men and women did engage themselves seriously in studying and examining the facts of their life, and what is more important is that in the face of the opposition of the orthodox mass they tried to mould their lives and their character in accordance with the light they found as a result of their research. In the age of Ranade there was not the same divorce between politician and student which one sees in the Gandhi age. In the age of Ranade a politician, who was not also a student was treated as an intolerable nuisance, if not a danger. In the age of Gandhi, learning, if not despised, is certainly not deemed to be a necessary qualification of a politician.”

No account of Gokhale can be complete without taking into account the profound influence of Ranade on his mind and outlook. From Ranade he acquired not merely the passion to study public problems on the basis of carefully accumulated data but also a philosophy of life and a theory of progress. Ranade believed that progress to be meaningful and effective must be progress in several directions at the same time. Political change, for instance,

The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

required changes in the social structure and in social relationships. Moreover, the past could not be written off. Even if one could do so, it would not be desirable. The old and the new must be combined as far as possible into a functioning synthesis...

Like Ranade and Ram Mohan Roy, Gokhale saw the weaknesses of the Indian tradition, its conservatism and its medieval scholasticism and, above all, its lack of any sustained emphasis on the rights of the individual. He found that rationalism was not an effective principle in the social relations of the Hindus. Further, public life was weak in India because of a lack of discipline and the inability to subject oneself to the demands of leadership. The explosive self-assertiveness of individuals and their tendency to pull in different directions at the same time made concerted action difficult. Finally, in the perspective of history, the individual had no opportunity to strengthen his initiative and drive and influence the decisions of the rulers in any rational way.

The whole task of building up the Indian nation and consolidating the new renaissance of India, which had arisen in India by one of the fortunate accidents of human history, as Gokhale saw it, was to liberate the individual from the social inhibitions of the past and make him a self-confident political being, conscious of his rights and political responsibilities. Gokhale's concept of public life was a curious amalgam of ideas derived from the Western political experience and certain values like a self-effacing idealism from the Hindu tradition. This concept was not without its idealistic undertones and it was formulated at a time when some of the more visible and articulate features of a modern (or modernizing) society were not yet visible. For instance, Indian working class consciousness had not arisen and it was not therefore possible for Gokhale to think in terms of competing interests in society; But his philosophy of public life, partly derived from his master but largely shaped by the insights of his own study and experience, underlies his whole life and work and illuminates it...

A major characteristic of his social and political thinking was his confidence in the power of reason and in the possibility of influencing men and government by argument and persuasion. In nursing this belief - the groundwork of his whole philosophy - Gokhale was no mere romantic dreamer. No one knew the difficulties of public life and the obstinacy with which men can oppose all reasonable arguments than Gokhale himself. He knew, as well as anyone else, the play of the irrational and the dangerous potentialities of the demagogue in rousing the

passions and appetites of men. He was aware, too, of the undemocratic trends in his own little social world of Poona in which his life was cast, and which provided the stage for his political activities. Gokhale was deeply wounded by the callous behaviour of the politicians with whom he had to deal.

Gokhale's interest in education was a part of his larger endeavour to modernize India and to lay the foundation for a lasting democratic system by making more and more people understand the burning issues of the day..."

For eighteen years, he served the Fergusson College with undivided loyalty and retired in 1902 at the early age of 36 only because the insistent call of public life proved irresistible. In the course of his farewell address, one of the most endearing passages in his writings, Gokhale said:

"Years ago I remember to have read the story of a man, who lived by the side of the sea, who had a nice cottage and fields that yielded him their abundance, and who was surrounded by a loving family. The world thought that he was very happy. But to him the sea had a strange fascination. When it lay gently, heaving like an infant asleep, it appealed to him; when it raged like an angry and roaring lion, it still appealed to him; till at last he could withstand the fatal fascination no longer. And so having disposed of everything and put his all into a boat, he launched it on the bosom of the sea. Twice was he was beaten back by the waves - a warning he would not heed. He made a third attempt when the pitiless sea overwhelmed him. To a certain extent this seems to me to be my position to-day. Here I am with a settled position in this College, and having for my colleagues, men with whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to work, and whose generosity in overlooking my many faults and magnifying any little services I may have rendered, has often touched me deeply. And yet, I am giving up all this to embark on the stormy and uncertain sea of public life. But I hear within me a voice which urges me to take this course, and I can only ask you to believe me when I say that it is purely from a sense of duty to the best interests of our country, that I am seeking this position of greater freedom, but not necessarily of less responsibility. Public life in this country has few rewards and many trials and discouragements..."

Cast in a heroic mould, Gokhale was not a mass

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leader like those who were soon to follow him. He never thought of himself as the maker of history or one who had been chosen to play a special role in the events of his time. The great difference between Gokhale and Gandhi – who in an enigmatic phrase described him as his political guru – lay in the estimate each had made of Western civilization.

For Gandhi, the progress of India was to be determined by drawing inspiration from India's own history rather than from the West which in his estimate was materialistic. His heart was set on the building up of an India based on self-sufficient village life and he was temperamentally opposed to ambitious schemes of large-scale industrialization.

Although Gandhi often said that he was not opposed to machines as such but only to the enslavement of man by technology – an assertion derived largely from Ruskin – the whole thrust of his philosophy was to turn Indian nationalism against the West. Further, a philosophical anarchist by temperament, he had no sympathy for parliamentary institutions. Gokhale, on the other hand, was convinced that modern science and technology had the power to change and transform India. In holding this view, Gokhale was not unmindful of the poverty of the masses and of village life in general. But India could not afford to shut out the knowledge and the light coming from the outside world. In this, Gokhale adopted a point of view India was to accept as part of her philosophy of development since Independence. In the field of political progress again, Gokhale regarded the gradual introduction of self-governing institutions in the country as an essential part of the political education through which a subject nation like India had to pass. In *Hind Swaraj* Gandhi wrote, "I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization..."

Gandhi saw the power of passive resistance in undermining the foundations of the British Raj. With Tilak, he believed that it would crumble the moment the people withdrew their allegiance. Government exists because people accept it and it was part of his technique to use every kind of symbol in the revolution through which

government will be compelled to wither away through non-cooperation. In the process, the political movement would also acquire a mass character. Gokhale was not opposed to passive resistance *per se* so long as every step in the programme contributed to the education of the masses in their own responsibilities. But the idea of non-cooperation deeply disturbed him.

Government may be attacked but it must never be ignored or by-passed. For government is an essential part of social change, even if it is a foreign government.

Gokhale feared - and it we may judge from the vantage point of contemporary Indian history - rightly so, that passive resistance would ultimately educate the masses into habits of disobedience. This fear was heightened by his belief that Hindu society had no tradition of discipline. Undermining loyalty to the established order, or to use Gokhale's expressive phrase, 'the foundations of public life', is to make constitutional government impossible. This was one of the lasting lessons Gokhale had derived from his study of Burke. At this point, Gokhale and Gandhi seemed to live in different worlds and there was no possible point of contact. For this reason, Gandhi's statement, 'I installed him in my heart of hearts as my teacher in politics' must for ever remain an enigma.

One of the most striking features of modern India since Independence has been the systematic departure from the teachings of Gandhi in almost every important respect. The age of Gandhi had cast a veil over the lasting contributions of the Gokhale period of Indian politics but that veil has now been torn asunder. Every age has the right to read its history in the light of its own contemporary experience and such an exercise may provide the key to the understanding not only of the present but also of the past. The life and work of Gopal Krishna Gokhale belongs to the present, not only to the past, for we have already left behind us Gandhi and all that was characteristic of him.

PROFESSOR S. P. AIYAR was Head of the Department of Civics and Politics, Bombay University.

Excerpted from his *Introduction to Gokhale and Modern India*

One of India's greatest ironies

We're outraged when Maria Sharapova says she doesn't know who Sachin Tendulkar is. But we have no idea who Sita Sahu is. She is a double Special Olympics medallist who now sells Golgappas for a living.

Courtesy: *Indiatimes*. Contributed by R. N. Bhaskar.

His Relevance Today

Aroon Tikekar

On 19th February, 1915, a hundred years ago, a life full of achievement and a great promise was cut short unexpectedly at an early age of 49 years. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the greatest of Indian Parliamentarians that confronted the British Government at the time, a true and devoted disciple of Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade and a worthy 'political guru' of Mahatma Gandhi left this world. Gokhale, often called during his lifetime as 'the Gladstone of India' for his uncanny knack of marshalling facts and figures at hand to shatter the opponent's claims completely. Even Lord Curzon, arch imperialist, who presided over the Imperial Legislative Council at the time when Gokhale was its member, paid him tributes by admitting that he was 'the leader of the Opposition' and that 'he himself had often to suffer from the weight of Gokhale's blows'.

The life and times of Gopal Krishna Gokhale show to what heights an astute politician with assiduous and ripened intellectual efforts and long apprenticeship can rise. Justice M. C. Chagla referred to Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade, herald of liberalism and the Renaissance in this part of the country, as the creator of great men. Chagla also thought that the greatest of Ranade's creations was Gopal Krishna Gokhale. By education, Gokhale too, like his master, was a product of the British liberal tradition. If Justice Ranade's liberalism, however, was a curious mixture of British Liberalism and Indian religiosity, Gokhale's liberalism was of a pure European variety.

It has always been difficult to define the concept of liberalism. Some of its aspects can however be mentioned: individualism, constitutionalism, Nationalism, freedom of conscience, of expression and of economic pursuit. Gokhale's liberalism stood for the principle of *laissez faire* which Ranade did not totally approve. According to the European liberalism, the function of the State was to protect and to restrain, but not to foster or promote the interest of the individual. The European Liberals believed in the dictum that that government is best which governs the least.

In religious matters Gokhale was not as uncompromising a rationalist as G. G. Agarkar was, yet the fact was that he was greatly influenced by Agarkar. Gokhale's education perhaps had influenced him differently than Ranade's. Gokhale looked upon the English language as our co-mother-tongue and a careful study of Western political thought had made him an admirer of theorists such as John Stuart Mill and Edmund Burke. Although he would come to criticize unhesitatingly many aspects of the English colonial regime, the respect for English political theory

and institutions that he acquired in his college years remained with him for the rest of his life.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, had once written: "The Maratha people stand unique among the races of India in having produced in the historical past close to our days, whole classes who have been masters of the pen and the sword alike." A combination of military and literary ability in the same man or same family was, Sir Jadunath thought, responsible for producing a galaxy of leaders in war and learning. He also admired the Marathas as "builders of institutions". (*What Maharashtra teaches us* in his book *The House of Shivaji*). Gokhale was amongst one such in the galaxy of leaders in the early decades of the 20th century. He had impeccable command over the English language, extraordinary argumentative power, persuasive oratory and, to top it all, a spotless public career. He needed no other weapon when he dealt blow after blow in the direction of his opponents and discomfited them.



Justice Ranade

It was Justice Ranade who gave Gokhale his ideals in life and shaped him. Gokhale came into contact with him as early as in 1887 at an impressionable age of 21 and remained in almost day to day contact with him till 1893 the year when Ranade was transferred to Bombay as a Judge of the High Court of

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Judicature. Ranade had inspired Gokhale and had supervised his work at the Sarvajanic Sabha. This period was very important for young Gokhale as it was a period of training for him under the great master from whom he acquired the habit of studying public questions in-depth. He learnt through Ranade that in public life mere rhetoric is not of much avail unless it is based on the solid foundation of facts and figures. Political elevation, social emancipation, religious or spiritual enlightenment - all these, entreated Ranade, must go on side by side. This was the lesson Gokhale learnt from Ranade and followed all his life.

After Ranade left Poona, the state of affairs in Poona deteriorated. Liberals saw a slide down in their influence. Conflicts between Moderates and Extremists started taking ugly turns. Irritated Gokhale wrote to G. V. Joshi:

“I have grown absolutely sick of the public life of Poona.... Of course a great deal depends yet on Mr. Ranade’s wishes, for I don’t wish to do anything that would in any way displease him. But personally I wish now to wash my hands of all political work in Poona. There is so much that is selfish and ignoble here that I would fly from it to the farthest extremities of the world if I could.”

Gokhale’s despair and frustration obviously was due to the unreasonable and excessively unfair opposition to reforms of every kind from the Extremists. In every sensitive person’s life there come such moments of frustration, so they did in Gokhale’s life. Yet he had a gigantic figure like Ranade standing beside him. Ranade, as was known to all contemporaries, was an incurable optimist and an indefatigable inspirer of young men. Gokhale sought solace in the pacifying words of the great man who had advised his followers: “In view of this conflict (between pro and anti-reformists) it becomes the duty of all to consider what should be the attitude of the reformers towards those who are opposed to them. Strength of numbers we cannot command, but we can command earnestness of conviction, singleness of devotion, readiness for self sacrifice in all honest workers in the cause. Even though these workers may be few in number, they will in the end succeed in overcoming opposition. *We have above all to learn what it is to bear and forbear – to bear ridicule, insults, even personal injuries at times, and forbear from returning abuse for abuse* (emphasis mine). ”

Ranade’s optimism influenced Gokhale so much that

four years after Ranade’s demise and after thoughtful deliberations he, along with a handful of kindred souls, formed in 1905, the Servants of India Society with the express objective of training men to devote themselves to the service of India as ‘national missionaries’ and to promote by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people. If in tune with Ranade who gave the call “humanise, equalise, spiritualise” to all the countrymen, Gokhale gave a clarion call to all to “spiritualise politics”, the roots are to be found in the three of the seven points of the oath to be taken by every national missionary who intended to join the Servants of India Society: *That the country will always be the first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him; That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Society may be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself; and that he will lead a pure personal life.*

In 1905 when Gokhale was at the height of his popularity and influence over the Indian National Congress and the State apparatus, he founded the Servants of India Society to specifically further one of the causes dearest to his heart: the expansion of Indian education, yet another conviction of the Liberals. For Gokhale, true political change in India would only be possible when a new generation of Indians became educated as to their civil and patriotic duty to their country and to each other. He was of the opinion that the then existing educational institutions and the Indian Civil Service would not be enough to provide Indians with opportunities to gain this political education. Gokhale hoped the Servants of India Society would fill this need. In the preamble to the SIS’s constitution, Gokhale wrote that “The Servants of India Society will train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of country in a religious spirit, and will seek to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people.” The Society took up the cause of promoting Indian education in earnest, and among its many projects organised mobile libraries, founded schools, and provided night classes for factory workers.

According to Gokhale, the introduction of Western education in India was a liberalising influence, a great blessing in disguise. He believed that mass education was a prerequisite to national political consciousness. He wanted primary education to be free in all schools with the medium of instruction in mother-tongue, but with the Sanskrit and the English languages as compulsory subjects. During the high noon of imperialism he demanded greater autonomy for Indians. He always thought that the

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economic results of the British rule in India were disastrous and resulted in impoverishment of Indians. He was a severe critic of the Free Trade Policy as it destroyed small scale industries. Replace old methods by the modern ones, was his recipe in Agriculture. Establishment of Co-operative Credit Societies in aid of the agriculturists incurring debts was recommended by him. Also lowering of land-revenue and relief to farmers was in the list of his recommendations. These are the issues we are still struggling to grapple with six decades after gaining independence.

Along with other contemporary leaders Gokhale fought with the British Government to obtain greater political representation and share of public affairs for Indians. Although similarities did exist in the early careers of Tilak and Gokhale – both were Chitpavan Brahmins, both were Elphinstonians, both became professors of mathematics, and both were important members of the Deccan Education Society. Both eventually became joint secretaries of the Congress. Somehow, however, the two came to be known as representatives of very divergent views concerning how best to improve the lives of Indians. Gokhale led the wing of the Moderates, while Tilak was the acknowledged leader of the Extremists.

Gokhale's first major confrontation with Tilak centered around one of his pet issues, the Age of Consent Bill, which was introduced by the British Imperial Government in 1891-92 at the instance of Indian leaders. Gokhale and his fellow liberal reformers, wishing to purge what they saw as superstitions and abuses in Hinduism, supported the Consent Bill to curb child marriage ill-uses. Though the Bill was only to increase the age of consent from ten to twelve and this was not an extreme step. Tilak too was not averse to the idea *per se* of moving towards the elimination of child marriage. However, Tilak was still opposed to the idea of British interference with Hindu tradition as he subordinated everything else including social reform for a powerful urge for 'freedom first'. For Tilak, such reform movements were not to be sought under imperial rule when they would be enforced by the British, but rather after independence was achieved when Indians would enforce it on themselves. The bill however became law in the Bombay Presidency.

In 1905, Gokhale became president of the Indian National Congress. Gokhale used his considerable influence to refuse support to Tilak as candidate for president of the Congress the next year, 1906. Gokhale and Tilak were already known as the respective leaders of the moderates and the "extremists" or "radical nationalists" in the Congress. Tilak was an advocate of

civil agitation and direct revolution to overthrow the British Empire, whereas Gokhale was a moderate reformist. As a result, the Congress Party split into two wings and was largely robbed of its effectiveness for a decade. The two sides could later patch up in 1916, only after Gokhale's untimely demise.

Gokhale, like many of his times, was not primarily concerned with independence but rather with social reform; he believed such reform would be best achieved by working within existing British government institutions, a position which earned him the hostility of radical nationalists such as Tilak. Undeterred by such opposition, Gokhale would work directly with the British throughout his political career in order to further his reform goals. The Tilak-Gokhale debate on 'first Independence or social reforms' remains the much discussed debate in the history of modern Maharashtra. It is over 65 years now that the demand of independence has been met. But the need for social, economical and political reforms still remains. The growing frustration amongst the people against politically independent system also has nurtured a separatist thought. Each section of the society – be they leaders or volunteers, industrialists or workers, teachers or students, husbands or wives, policemen or citizens, doctors, lawyers, scientists, technologists ...all are seeking material prosperity, relegating their country's welfare a secondary position. The entire society is as if experiencing a kind of paralysis of thought. Partial or no fulfillment of selfish intent is breeding intolerance. Increased intolerance generates a tendency to hoodwink law or gives way to the use of physical force. In such an environment the liberal thoughts, the talk of leading a clean public life or spiritualizing politics as proposed by Gokhale make him conspicuously relevant.

Gokhale was famously the mentor to Mahatma Gandhi in his formative years. In 1912, he visited South Africa at Gandhi's invitation. When Gandhi returned to India in 1915 from his struggles against the Empire in South Africa, he sought personal guidance from Gokhale on the Indian situation including the issues confronting common Indians. By 1920, after Tilak's demise, Gandhi emerged as the leader of the Indian Independence Movement. In his autobiography, Gandhi calls Gokhale his mentor and guide. Gandhi also recognized Gokhale as an admirable leader and master politician, describing him as "*pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault and the most perfect man in the political field*". Despite his deep respect for Gokhale, Gandhi would not accept Gokhale's faith in western institutions as a means of achieving political reform. He did not choose to become

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a member of Gokhale's Servants of India Society either. Gokhale's faith in western political institutions was reaffirmed, however, by an independent India in 1950 in the nation's Constitution. It goes to the credit of Gokhale and his vision of independent India. Gokhale was also the role model and mentor of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founder of Pakistan, who in 1912, aspired to become the "Muslim Gokhale".

Gokhale's impact on the course of the Indian nationalist movement was considerable. Through his close relationship with the highest levels of British imperial government, he forced India's colonial masters to recognize the capabilities of a new generation of educated Indians and to include them more than ever before in the

governing process. Gokhale led an extremely busy political and social life through the last years of his life. This included extensive travelling in India and abroad. He continued to be involved in the activities of the Servants of India Society, the Congress, and the Legislative Council while constantly advocating the advancement of Indian education. All these stresses took their toll. He died on 19th February, 1915 at the early age of forty-nine. Tilak, his lifelong political opponent, is reported to have said at his funeral: "*This diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers is taking eternal rest on funeral ground. Look at him and try to emulate him*".

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His Achievements

Sunil Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale became a life member of the legendary Deccan Education Society in Pune; at 30 he represented India before the Welby Commission; at 39, he was elected President at the Banaras session of the Indian National Congress in 1905; and at 49 he died. His achievements in a short working life of 31 years were staggering.

In the last one year, taking advantage of his 100 death anniversary year, I have tried to bring to the notice of the people of India his phenomenal achievements. To bring home to our people Gokhale's endeavours, his efforts to bring about the ethos of Indianness, as a unique personality to be viewed and understood in his own right, and not through the eyes of Ranade, or Tilak, or Gandhi. The spirit of Gokhale lies in his acts and achievements and spread of his activities ranging from mathematics to politics. For instance, at the age of 30, Gokhale wrote a 450 page book of arithmetic for high schools in Marathi - *Gokhaleyancha Ank Ganit*. This fact is hardly known, perhaps because of the changeover from the British system of measures to the metric system. However if we update the book in terms of the metric system the book would meet current needs. Be that as it may, the book was published in English in 1896 by Macmillan for international use as a textbook in arithmetic and it fetched Gokhale royalty in Pounds Sterling.

So, a completely apolitical work brought him international acclaim. This is what we have to understand

about Gokhale, that wherever and whichever job he did, he did it thoroughly which would be considered as excellent and Gokhale acquired a reputation as an icon of excellence. Gokhale was not in the context of today's education system, an SSC Board winner. He was not a 90% student. But he had this tremendous urge to learn, a tremendous urge to excel in whatever he did. And mathematics happened to be among his areas of excellence; another was economics.

From 1901 to 1914, till he breathed his last, Gokhale was the Indian spokesperson during the budget debates in the Imperial Legislative Council. His budget speeches were carefully listened to and his critiques or criticism taken seriously. This in itself was considered a big achievement then. After 1896, with the appointment of the Welby Commission,ⁱ Gokhale made full use of the opportunity provided by the Commission to focus on the impact of British rule on the economy and paid great deal of attention to educate Indians, for instance, on how to interpret financial statements particularly those that revealed surplus money.

Gandhiji's demand for the abolition of the Salt Tax and his Dandi March in 1930 are well known and a turning point in our freedom struggle. But what is not so well known

ⁱ Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure set up largely due to the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji, then a member of the British House of Commons

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is the fact that it was Gokhale who first proposed at a Congress Session as early as 1891, that there was need to demand a reduction in the Salt Tax.

Gokhale was an outstanding parliamentarian. I would point out two important bills that Gokhale proposed which are still relevant. One was the Elementary Education Bill he moved in 1910. He proposed that free and compulsory education be available to the people of India. Strangely the Bill was opposed by many Indians! In fact, the greatness of Gokhale lay in the fact that not only did he propose the Bill, but how it could be funded by recommending how economics could be linked to fund free education. Today, almost a century later, the Right to Education Act is now on the statute book and a major issue is its funding involving the whole Central-state relationship on how the finances could be arranged so that free and compulsory education becomes a reality by opening up the education system to the masses.

The other important bill Gokhale proposed was the Indentured Labour Bill. Today, we see another kind of indentured labour. Gokhale pointed out that Indians who worked as labourers in the British colonies were called 'coolies'. Today, again a century later the coolie system still exists, though those Indians who work abroad may not be called "coolies". With the opening up of the economy, a large number of Indians were absorbed by the software industry. They could well be described as software coolies. So we have to understand that this indentured labour is still a part and parcel of this system.

We have to understand that Gokhale's fight was within the then prevailing constitutional framework. If Gokhale had not proposed this 1910 Bill on indentured labour in Natal in South Africa, Gandhiji's struggle in South Africa would have reduced to mere passive resistance. Gokhale provided the constitutional framework before engaging in resistance and boycott. A new caste system came into play because of such an indenture which was very exploitative.

I have received many letters from Indian migrants in the various erstwhile British Colonies like Guiana, Mauritius and Fiji describing the kind of exploitation that they had to undergo. To them Gokhale became a kind of saviour by his campaign to get the British rulers to lend dignity to indentured labour. Mauritius today, has a Gokhale Hall. Fiji has a Gokhale School. I started this talk with the statement that maybe India has forgotten Gokhale, but this is not so in the former British colonies where he is not only not forgotten, but revered. I have come across

several doctoral dissertations on Gokhale's work by scholars in Australia, Canada and the West Indies particularly on indentured labour.

When Gokhale went to South Africa, after the passage of the Bill against Indentured Labour in Natal, he received a huge welcome both from the whites and the blacks. It is interesting to note that the fight against indenture led to the two races coming together. Gokhale had this charismatic ability, to get people together. Perhaps it was his moral character, maybe the spiritualisation in public life that he talked about, brought people together.

In 1911, in a speech to the United Race Congress in London, Gokhale said that the fabric of India is unity in diversity. Even today we assert this, but to be diverse and yet be united, seems to be a distant dream. Gokhale in his speeches on unity in diversity underlined his belief that the Western world would never understand the interesting fabric that is India. Yes, we are people with different religions, yes, we are people with different races, yes, we are people with different castes and creed, and with languages, but that does not mean that we are not Indian. We have our identities, but when it comes to India, and when it comes to nationhood, we are united. We should retain that fabric.

In 1902, when Gokhale delivered one of his most popular speeches, 'Farewell to Fergusson College', one of the words that he used there is mired in controversy today. The word he used there was that every institute in India has to teach the students to be *secular*. It is 1902 that we are talking about, words used by Gokhale in his farewell address to Fergusson. Today we talk about 'secularism', about 'secular forces'. Is there something wrong? The talk of Hindu-Muslim unity, or Hindu-Christian unity for instance? Gokhale spoke on this subject at several forums. When Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 he met Gokhale just before he died. Gokhale advised Gandhiji to move around and see India. Gandhiji did just that. His tour of the country took him to Godhra. In his speech there he said that a Gokhale memorial needed to be instituted for Hindu-Muslim unity.

In one of the anecdotes Gandhi himself has written about Gokhale. A Hindu priest came to meet Gokhale. The priest said that you are such a big man, a Congress leader, etc. Why don't you declare that the Muslim religion is a petty, small religion that it is a lesser religion than Hindu religion? Gokhale answered that if this is what Hindu religion is going to teach me, then it is better that I don't remain a Hindu.

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And what about caste differences? Gokhale was a Konkanasta Brahmin and wore a thread. In an argument with Gokhale, Sarla Ray, the grandmother of Satyajit Ray and a follower of Gokhale told him ‘if you feel you are such a reformist, then why do you wear a thread? And Gokhale, I am sure after spending sleepless nights on how to reply to her, cut the thread, put it in an envelope and sent it to Sarla Ray! In 1918, three years after the passing away of Gokhale, Sarla Ray founded a Gokhale Memorial School. Today it is one of the best known schools in Kolkata.

You have to understand that Poona in the 1900s was a fortress of Brahmin orthodoxy. When Gokhale travelled to Britain over a period of 14 years or more, crossing the ocean each time, according to Hindu rites and the caste system, he was expected to perform *suddhikaran* (purification) because he was going to the land of the Christians. Gokhale never performed this *suddhikaran*. Lokamanya Tilak did this *suddhikaran*, but Gokhale, a reformist, did not and said that human beings are humans irrespective of where they lived or which religion they practiced.

It is true that Gokhale did not demand the annihilation of the caste system, but he did say that if you have to work together, then there is need to build up inner strength of the person; as a people we have to remove these divisions and sub-divisions. He deplored the way we have divided and sub-divided ourselves. And if this has to be deplored, then something else has to happen, the building up our strength by promoting a closer union between different people. This could be through work; working for a common cause, for a social cause, for an economic cause, for a religious cause, and this religion according to Gokhale was about nation building. The national missionary – in fact the word missionary is usually associated with religion it is the Christian missionary that we talk about – but here we are talking about the national missionary. Missionaries for the nation, for nation building, and if you can bring people together for the nation, caste and religion and communalism and communal forces and the Khap Panchayat and the Caste Panchayat, and such divisive forces need to be removed.

The second thing he talked about was that we have to bring about a stronger and higher character and a firm purpose in life. Building character, and I think that this is one thing we have always been discussing how do we build up the character of a person? A difficulty again which needs to be resolved.

And lastly, cultivation of an intense feeling of

nationalism and I think Gokhale remained that figure of nationalism, of patriotism. In fact, Gandhiji in his obituary on Gokhale has described Gokhale as an embodiment of patriotism.

Let me end by sharing an interesting thing that has happened in Maharashtra, because we are talking about Maharashtra after Gokhale; it relates to communalism, and it relates to caste. It is well known that Gandhiji accepted Gokhale as his political guru. What did Gokhale do to be so described? It is not as depicted in the film called *Gandhi* which shows that Gandhi comes from South Africa and Gokhale says go and move around in this country and see India. It refers to a relationship that began on 12 October 1896, the day on which Gokhale and Gandhi met in Poona and it goes on till 1915 till Gokhale died. And yet, there is not a single instance in Gandhiji’s life where he said that he was carrying forward the work of Gokhale. The last time when Gandhiji referred to Gokhale was when he wrote in a preface to a book by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri that ‘Gokhale is my guru. I am carrying his work forward’. The other person who said he was a disciple of Gokhale was Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

In his book *Indian Nationalism: A History*, Jim Masselos wrote: “Gandhi called Gokhale his mentor and guide. Gandhi also recognised Gokhale as an admirable leader and master politician, describing him as pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault and the most perfect man in the political field. Despite his deep respect for Gokhale, however, Gandhi would reject Gokhale’s faith in western institutions as a means of achieving political reform and ultimately chose not to become a member of Gokhale’s Servants of India Society.” Gokhale was also the role model and mentor of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, who in 1912, aspired to become the “Muslim Gokhale”. A note in the *Wikipedia* points out that even the Aga Khan (the Spiritual Head of the Islamic sect of Ismaili Khojas and grandfather of the present Aga Khan) stated in his autobiography that Gokhale’s influence on his thinking was probably considerable”

9th May 1915–9th May 1916 will be the 150th birth anniversary year of Gokhale. This will be an opportune time to bring to the fore once again the ideals and thoughts of Gokhale and his relevance to world of today.

SUNIL GOKHALE is the great grandson of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and an Advocate by profession, based in Pune. He can be contacted at adv.gokhale@gmail.com.

Gokhale And Gandhi – Their Second Meeting

Prabha Ravi Shankar

Gandhi's attitude towards Gokhale had a large element of hero worship. It was like the same veneration that Gokhale had for his master M. G. Ranade. Both Gokhale and Gandhi knew that temperamentally they had many differences. Gokhale was amused with Gandhi's food fancies, nature cure, simple habits, extreme frugality, dislike of western civilization and other fanciful ideas such as travelling third class in train and by trams. Gandhi paid a rich tribute to the work ethics of Gokhale – how he never wasted a minute, his friendships which were for the public good, his talks which had reference to the good of the country and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity.

The first meeting between Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahatma Gandhi took place on 12 October 1896 at Poona when the latter visited India to secure public support for the Indian struggle in South Africa. Soon after this first meeting, Gandhi began to consider Gokhale as his 'Political Guru'. They both met for the second time at Calcutta in late 1901. This meeting was far more significant than the first. Gandhi had definitely planned to settle in Bombay as a barrister, primarily with a view to do public work under the advice and guidance of Gokhale and had just assured his friends in South Africa that he would return only if his presence was absolutely necessary.

He reached India in the second week of December and attended the session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in the last week of the same month. His introduction to the Congress was done in an unostentatious manner and he made a speech explaining the grievances of the Indians and asking the Congress to pass resolutions condemning the treatment of the British citizen. He found Gokhale a sympathetic supporter of the Indian problem in South Africa. This was a cause to which Gokhale was in due course to render important service. Gokhale was ready to place all the wisdom of his political experience at the disposal of Gandhi who was seeking to serve the cause of the Indian people. With the help of Gokhale, Gandhi managed to get a resolution passed at the Congress condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

After the Congress session was over, Gandhi decided to spend some time in Calcutta at the India Club. Gokhale, who was then a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, invited Gandhi to come and stay with him at his official residence on the Upper Circular Road. Accordingly Gandhi lived under Gokhale's roof for more than a month. This allowed them get to know each other well and it sealed

what was to be a lifelong friendship. Gandhi recalled in his 'Autobiography': "My stay under the roof of Gokhale made my work in Calcutta very easy, brought me into touch with the foremost Bengali families, and was the beginning of my intimate contact with Bengal."

In Calcutta, Gokhale introduced Gandhi to P. C. Ray, a Bengali chemist, who later recalled in his memoirs that it was from Gandhi's lips that he first came to know about the plight of Indians in South Africa and the efforts made by him to seek redress for their grievances. To bring it to the popular knowledge, Ray advised Gokhale that a public meeting be organized and Gandhi should be invited as the principal speaker. Gokhale immediately responded and entrusted Ray with the task of organizing the meeting.

Gandhi delivered two lectures at the famous Albert Hall – one on the 19 and the other on 27 January 1902. The first lecture was titled 'My Experiences in South Africa' and was presided over by Narendranath Sen, editor of the *Indian Mirror*. Gandhi explained the position of the British Indians in that sub-continent. He said that in the Natal Immigration Restriction Act, the law relating to licences and the state of education of Indian children were chiefly matters of concern. All laws were based on racial hatred but he proposed to conquer that hatred by love. While seconding the vote of thanks to the speaker, Gokhale recalled his first meeting with Gandhi in 1896 and how much he had been impressed by 'his ability, earnestness and tact and also by his manner at once so gentle and firm'. Since then, Gokhale said, he had followed his career with 'the deepest interest and admiration and having studied every utterance of his and every movement in which he had any share, he would say without any hesitation that Mr. Gandhi was 'made of the stuff of which heroes are made'. He admired Gandhi's moral and upright qualities. In spite of all the humiliations to which he was subjected there was no trace of bitterness in him. In

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Gokhale's opinion, Gandhi had set an example of how to work in India. "If Gandhi decides to settle in his motherland" he added, "it was the duty of all the earnest workers to place him where he deserves to be, at their head". This was a great tribute paid to Gandhi by Gokhale. Narendranath Sen was perhaps the only editor who published Gokhale's speech in his *Indian Mirror* of 26 January 1902.

The second meeting was held on 27 January 1902 in which Gandhi mainly spoke on the work of the Indian Ambulance Corps formed during the Boer War (1899-1900). Gokhale presiding over the meeting recalled his last speech and said that the 'policy that was followed by our countrymen in South Africa in connection with their legal disabilities, could be summed in two maxims which guided it, viz., to stick to the truth at all costs and conquer hate by love. This was the ideal to be realized.' Once again Gokhale praised Gandhi in a big way. This time, surprisingly, Gandhi felt not only awkward but somewhat annoyed. Gandhi told Gokhale that he had appraised his services to the country all too generously by magnifying little incidents and was 'too lavish and generous in his praise.' This is evident from a letter dated 6 October 1909 which Gandhi wrote to Henry Polak, his closest political aide and fellow-seeker, as the latter was also speaking of him in superlatives:

"I have your letter from Kathore. Can you not dismiss me from your conversations at least with me? I think for the sake of the cause, too, you must leave me out of consideration, except where you may find it necessary to bring me in. I know you will retort that you never unnecessarily discuss me, but that is really not so. Your enthusiasm, at times, as you will admit, thus carries you away. You will find that if you persist there will be a reaction, not against me, which would be quite bearable, but against the cause, which you, at any rate, will not like. I had to speak somewhat like this to Mr. Gokhale also, when I was with him in Calcutta and when he heaped upon me praise that I thought was excessive. Indeed, I spoke to him somewhat bitterly."

While in Calcutta, watching Gokhale moving in a private carriage, Gandhi innocently asked him as to why he had not opted for public tramcar. Gokhale answered that the choice was not out of love for comfort, but a need for privacy. "I envy your liberty to go about in tramcars" said Gokhale. "But I am sorry, I cannot do likewise. When you are the victim of publicity as I am, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for you to go about in a tramcar."

Years later, Gandhi pointed out in his paper *Young India* that being a disciple was more than being a son, it is a second birth, it is a voluntary surrender. He further said, "It was different with Gokhale. I cannot say why, I met him at his quarters on the college ground. It was like meeting an old friend, or better still a mother after a long separation. His gentle face put me at ease in a moment. His minute enquiries about myself and my doings in South Africa at once enshrined him in my heart. And as I parted from him, I said to myself, 'you are my man'. And from that moment Gokhale never lost sight of me. In 1901 on my second return from South Africa, we came closer still. He simply 'took me in hand' and began to fashion me. He was concerned about how I spoke, dressed, walked and ate. My mother was not more solicitous about me than Gokhale. There was, so far I am aware, no reserve between us. It was really a case of love at first sight, and it stood the severest strain in 1913. He seemed to me all I wanted as a political worker – pure as crystal, gentle as a lamp, brave as a lion, and chivalrous to a fault."

Gandhi's attitude towards Gokhale had a large element of hero worship. It was like the same veneration that Gokhale had for his master M. G. Ranade. Both Gokhale and Gandhi knew that temperamentally they had many differences. Gokhale was amused with Gandhi's food fancies, nature cure, simple habits, extreme frugality, dislike of western civilization and other fanciful ideas such as travelling third class in train and by trams. Gandhi paid a rich tribute to the work ethics of Gokhale – how he never wasted a minute, his friendships which were for the public good, his talks which had reference to the good of the country and were absolutely free from any trace of untruth or insincerity.

However, before long Gandhi had to leave for South Africa. He thought that he would be away in South Africa only for a few months but he was detained in South Africa until July 1914 and could not return to India until early January 1915. Gokhale visited South Africa in 1912 and admired Gandhi's capacity for sacrifice. It was Gokhale who persuaded Gandhi to return to India via England on 4 August 1914. Gandhi's plan was to stay for a few days in England. But he had to stay there for nearly nine months because of the outbreak of the First World War as well as his own illness. He returned to Bombay to a tumultuous welcome on 9 January 1915.

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Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's Tribute

Godrej N. Dotivala

*"No speeches are required about him, no words are necessary to recount his manifold activities.
This gathering and the gatherings all over the country are eloquent speeches
to speak of him as he deserves to be spoken of."*

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, was a great contemporary of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whom Gandhiji hailed as "The Uncrowned King of India". I have had the privilege of bringing out the definitive work entitled *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta: Memorial Volume* and I feel it would be in the fitness of things if I read out a relevant excerpt from this book of mine on Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

A public condolence meeting was held at the Town Hall, Bombay on 5 March 1915 to mourn the sad demise of the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. H.E. Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay presided. In a speech charged with emotion the Hon. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta stated: "Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen – All thoughts of making a great speech about this great man and his great work have been driven out of my mind. I could have taken up hours and hours recounting all that I know of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, his noble life and his brilliant career. But I feel that the example which His Excellency with his unerring judgement has set us of being very brief, is the wisest one. Even if all thoughts of making a great speech had not vanished from my mind, on seeing this vast gathering they would have vanished, in consequence of my own inability to do justice to that eminent Servant of India in the manner I should have liked to have done. No speeches are required about him, no words are necessary to recount his manifold activities. This gathering and the gatherings all over the country are eloquent speeches to speak of him as he deserves to be spoken of.

Even if I attempted to make a long speech I feel I could not have spoken connectedly and coherently for the reason that I feel so sad, so depressed, so forsaken, advancing as I am in years, on seeing valued and beloved colleague after colleague dropping away from my side. Telang has been gathered to his fathers, Ranade is no more amongst us, Badruddin has passed away, our beloved Gokhale alas! has now closed his eyes for ever and for ever, and many others, whom I could name are leaving me one after another, forsaken and desolate. I feel almost

alone in the stupendous work for the country which is still pending before us. But memories and associations that come up before my mind's eye would scarcely leave me any power to dilate on details.

Within the last few days before his death I had numerous opportunities of conference and communion with him in Bombay and in Poona whither I went to pass my Christmas holidays this time, for the purpose of meeting him and speaking to him on many and many an important subject. We were together on several occasions and who could have thought then that we were no more to meet! – who could have dreamed that his end would come so soon! I cannot but recall with a keen sense of regret what plans he laid down for the present year, what hopes he had for making himself useful to his countrymen, what work he chalked out for himself for the development and advancement of the country which he loved so dearly! For many and many a long day some of us would only be able to give out the sore, the bitter and the pathetic cry as we miss him day after day -

*But oh for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!*

Ladies and gentlemen, Gokhale is dead. How dearly we loved each other, how genuinely we trusted each other, what regard he had for me and I had for him, words fail me at the present moment to convey to you. In an attempt to speak of him all that comes back to my mind is - "Gokhale is dead leaving me behind. What shall I do to consummate the tremendous work that is lying before me! How should I act to carry out the plans we had chalked out, without his help, without his society, without his guidance and without his cooperation!" .

Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speakers have informed you rightly that everything that could be said about Mr. Gokhale was said by the noble Viceroy in the Imperial Council and by our beloved Governor on more than one occasion. All that now I can do is to associate myself with Their Excellencies in paying my last tribute

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to the memory of a great and a good man and to add that Gokhale was a great gentleman and that he possessed a great moral and spiritual power which he exercised over all classes of people and which enabled him to carry out the great work which he had undoubtedly performed for the benefit of his countrymen whom he has left weeping behind him.”

Sir Pherozeshah's eloquent address was acclaimed

by loud and continuous cheering, in which Lady Willingdon. joined spontaneously by clasping the speaker's hand and congratulating him on his splendid utterance.

MR.GODREJ N. DOTIVALA is Public Relations Officer of the Parsi Punchayet; Chairman of Junior Red Cross, Maharashtra, President of the Indo-Australian Society and, Secretary General of the Indo-Iranian Friendship Society.

Some Contemporaries of Gokhale in Poona

R. Srinivasan

The example of Gokhale and his dedicated colleagues to foster a new spirit of national idealism among the emerging generation was to have its own fallout effect in different parts of the nation. In the deep south a group of educationists inspired by the Poona intellectuals started a National College to infuse into the young student body ideals of nationalism and patriotism, besides giving them a very good education. In the North, in Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai founded the People's Education Society aimed at educating the young and to keep education away from missionary influence. They remained model centres of academic excellence. Poona and the adjoining region was to be the nursery of intellectualism in the 19th century. Many among them were to have an abiding influence in the Bombay region.

Bal Shastri Jhamkedkar (1810-1846)

Bal Shastri Jhamkedkar can be regarded as the first man of letters who had a variety of interests and did extraordinarily well in the subjects that he was interested in. His father was a traditional Pauranik and he became proficient both in Sanskrit and Marathi by the age of thirteen. He was extraordinarily gifted in languages knowing Gujarati, Bengali and Persian. A professor at Elphinstone College he was to have Dadabhai Naoroji as his student. He was also good in science and curiously in astrology – an unusual combination indeed. He studied inscriptions and copper plates and wrote articles on them. His Jnaneswari with variant readings place him among the illustrious scholars of his time.

Lokhitavadi Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-1892)

He had perhaps the widest exposure to affairs governmental and political. The British government honoured him and gave him positions of importance.

Deeply interested in intellectual self-improvement he was equally involved in social reforms in many directions – women's education, widow re-marrige. He supported Phuley's educational efforts at improving the status of Dalits and women, established the Prarthana Samaj and promoted and encouraged the Arya Samaj.

In his book '*A Hundred Letters*' which he wrote when he was 25 years of age he explored several aspects of social life and the near irremediable shortcomings of the country.

Jotiba Phuley (1827–1889)

A florist by caste, he joined the local school when he was just seven years of age but studied only for a few years in Marathi and English. He admired the British for being free of bribery. He attributed the misery of the poor to the machinations of the Brahmins. While conceding that not all Brahmins are to blame, he identified Brahminism as the culprit. He had amicable relations with many Brahmins. – Shri R. G. Bhandarker was one of them. Not only were the Sudras deprived of opportunities, women from Brahmin families too had the same disabilities. In most of the schools he opened, the teachers were generally Brahmins. teachers.

Just as he critically examined the Hindu religion he looked into Christianity and found their fellow feeling and brotherhood very appealing. He was equally attracted by their gentle deportment. Islam too attracted him for its egalitarianism. Interestingly he did not embrace either of the religions because he was against all religious creeds. His severe criticism of Brahminism made the Christian Church hope that he and his followers would embrace Christianity. When he turned sixty there was a public reception under the auspices of the Governor. He was

The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

bestowed the title Mahatma. The Satyashodak Samaj that he founded was another notable achievement. It liberated the people from the machinations of the Brahmins. Yet his followers never never calumnized the upper castes. Man's intelligence and rationality were extolled. Jotiba stood for the liberation of man and society in an ultimate sense.

Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1850 –1882)

At school he excelled in studies clearing his examinations reaching the matriculation examination in record time. Registering at the Deccan College in 1865, he got his BA degree in 1872. He wanted to dedicate his life to teaching and scholarship. An incomplete translation of Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas* was completed by him - His father had begun this but it was lying unfinished. After graduation he started a Marathi monthly '*Shala Patrak*'. He worked on a translation of major Sanskrit poets into Marathi. His severe criticism of government in *Shala Patrika* displeased the government. He brought out 84 of his essays *Nibandh* which remains one of the most celebrated books of essays in Marathi. He had to do all the routine tiring work of composing proof reading etc. He was transferred to Ratnagiri but resigned his job and came to Poona. In 1880 he founded the New English School offering a nationalist perspective in education. Later he found the Arya Bhushan Press.

Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856 -1895)

Belonging to an indigent family, he pursued his school education with great difficulty. He passed his B.A.Examination and later the M.A.examination thanks to a fellowship. He became close to Tilak (later the Lokamanya). Interestingly, though belonging to a poor family he could have aspired for a comfortable job but was satisfied with being a school teacher in Chiplunkar's

New English School. The management of the school started two newspapers, the *Kesari* and *Maratha* (1881) *Kesari* was edited by Agarkar and *Maratha* by Tilak. Both of them could not get along. The quarrel between the two is of one of the most regrettable happenings in Pune – for instance a funeral procession for Agarkar was arranged when he was alive! With the passing of V. S. Apte the principal of Ferguson Collage Agarkar succeeded him. One of the legendary events that gained popularity was the 101 days in Mumbai's Dongri prison which both Agarkar and Tilak had to undergo. In prison Agarkar translated *Hamlet* into Marathi.

D. K. Karve (1858-1962)

He belonged to Ratnagiri. He joined Wilson College in 1894 but failed to clear his M.A.examination for five years and had to work in a number of schools. He lost his first wife in 1891 the very year he got a job in Fergusson College where he involved himself deeply in reading about social reform. He became sensitive to the disabilities suffered by women and decided to work for their improvement. He married Godavari, a child widow in 1893 and re-named her Anandi Bai. Because of this he faced ostracism. He faced it stoically, and continued to lecture on the importance of widow marriage. He established the Ananda Balika Ashram in Poona and it gradually gained financial support.. He and his associates went on to build hostels for girl students. He expanded the scope and programme of women's education. He also worked for the improvements in the lives of the depressed classes. In 1955 D. K. Karve was awarded the Padma Vibhushan.

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Great Indian Liberals: Rt.Hon. Srinivasa Sastri – The Illustrious Servant of India

Relations with Mahatma Gandhi

During his tenure in the Servants of India Society, Sastri developed a close attachment with Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi often addressed Srinivasa Sastri as his "elder brother" in all their correspondences. However, despite their friendship, during his tenure as President, Srinivasa Sastri opposed Gandhi's presence in the Servants of India Society. When Gandhi sought Sastri's advice before launching his non-cooperation movement, he counselled him against it. In his later years, Sastri sternly advised Mahatma Gandhi against accepting the Muslim League demand for partition.

Srinivasa Sastri corrected mistakes in the manuscript of Gandhi's autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, the English translation of Gandhi's autobiography and also successive issues of the magazine *Harijan* that was edited by Mahatma Gandhi. Once in a letter to Sastri, Gandhi wrote: "Your criticism soothes me. Your silence makes me feel nervous."

On Sastri's death, Gandhi paid a tribute to Sastri in a condolence message in the *Harijan*: "Death has removed not only from us but from the world one of India's best sons.

In 1921, the Freedom of the City of London was conferred on Srinivasa Sastri. This was followed by the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on 9 January 1931.

From the Wikipedia.

The Symposium held on 15th November 2014 – Report

This is a summary of the proceedings of the Symposium based on individual reports by four B.A. students of the Guru Nanak Khalsa College of Arts, Science and Commerce in Mumbai, who participated in the programme. They are:

**AKSHAY S. CHAUHAN, HARI KRISHNA DEVANSHU, KHAN MOHAMMED IRFAN,
POOJA S. JARUPATI AND RAHUL SUNILKUMAR.**

The symposium was very useful not only from the educational point of view but also helped in changing the mindsets after know-ing about the life and beliefs of such a renowned leader like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and how important his contributions were for modern India.

There were eight sessions including a session for Questions and Answers. The Morning sessions saw inspiring speeches by Dr. Aroon Tikekar (Gokhale's Maharashtra); Mr. Sunil Gokhale (Gokhale and Communalism) and Mr. Godrej Dotivala on Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's tribute to Gokhale. The session concluded with a very good summing up by Chairperson, Dr. Usha Thakkar.

The afternoon sessions were no less interesting. Dr. Vibhuti Patel dealt with Women's participation in the evolving economy with a very informative power point presentation emphasising that there was not enough stress being laid on women empowerment and greater participation in the country's governance.

Mr. R. N. Bhaskar, a journalist and an analyst described how India's economic and growth strategy could be vastly improved. The evening session was well utilised ending with a very good analysis by the eminent economists Mr. Sunil Bhandare, and Dr. C. S. Deshpande.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born on May 9, 1866 to a poor family in Katluk village, Chiplun Taluk, in the Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. His father Krishna Rao was a farmer who was forced to work as clerk, as the soil of the region was not conducive for agriculture. His mother Valubai was a simple woman. Gokhale received his early education at the Rajaram High School in Kothapur with the help of financial assistance from his elder brother. Later



he moved on to Bombay and graduated from Elphinstone College, in 1884 at the age of 18.

After graduation, he chose the teaching profession and took a position as an Assistant Master in the New English School in Pune. In 1885, Gokhale was among the founding members of Fergusson College, along with his colleagues in the Deccan Education Society. Gopal Krishna Gokhale gave nearly two decades of his life to this College teaching mathematics. During this time, Gokhale came in contact with Mahadev Govind Ranade, scholar, and social reformer, whom Gokhale called his guru. Gokhale worked with Ranade in Poona Sarvajanic Sabha of which Gokhale became the Secretary. In 1904 he was made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. His rift with Bal Gangadhar Tilak resulted in the division of the Indian National Congress into Moderates and Extremists.

In 1902, Gokhale left teaching and became a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi. There he spoke for the people of the country in a manner that drew the respect of the British rulers. Gokhale had an excellent grasp of the economic problems of our country which he ably presented during the debates in the Council.

In 1905, Gokhale founded the "Servants of India Society" with the objective of training Indians to devote their life in the service of the country. Gokhale's prime concern was social reform and he believed such reform could be best achieved by working within existing British government institutions. In 1903 he was elected as non-officiating member of the Viceroy's Council. He was so respected by the Britishers that he was invited to London to meet Secretary of State John Morley, with whom he

The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

established a great rapport.

Gokhale continued to be politically active throughout his career inspiring millions of Indians towards making India self-dependant, but all these stresses took their toll and on 19 February 1915, he died at the early age of forty-nine.”

He and Bal Gangadhar Tilak had fundamental differences on the conduct of the freedom struggle. It led to two irreconcilable differences within the Indian National Congress into Moderates (led by Gokhale) and Extremists (led by Tilak). Despite their differences, when Gokhale's died, Bal Gangadhar Tilak said at his funeral: “This Diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers is taking eternal rest. Look at him and try to emulate him.”

Everybody was happy with the quality of the presentations made at the symposium as one learnt so much not only about G. K. Gokhale but also on matters relating to economics, women's empowerment etc. Mr. Sunil Gokhale's talk on Gokhale and communalism was found particularly inspiring by the students we also got to know the views of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta on Gokhale. There was so much that the students got to know about Gopal Krishna Gokhale and his tremendous contribution to prepare the country for freedom – that he was one of the pioneers of the Indian national movement and a senior leader of the Indian National Congress.

In the post-lunch period, Dr. Vibhuti Patel made a presentation on Women's Participation in the Political Economy. She shared her views in a very interesting way with many different slides showing statistics of women's participation in various fields. She also described the various problems faced by women even today.

This was followed by a very scholarly and convincing presentation by economist Dr. C. S. Deshpande

who spoke on Federalism, Growth and Governance and Role of Institutions in the Reforms Process.

Mr. R. N. Bhaskar's talk on 'Indian Strategy Blindness greatly appealed to the participants with his original and unorthodox presentation. His way of speaking greatly appealed to us students particularly when he pointed out ways through which India can prosper and develop more. For instance, he pointed out how developing sea transport would give India's long coastline the cheapest means of transport not only for travel but also for the movement of freight which today moves by road and rail. His views on how we can change the Nation's Economy was much appreciated. From him we came to know how we can use the natural resources from nature without harming nature. We found this session very inspiring.

The last session, the Open Session, which was actually a Question and Answer session was very interesting, with a number of questions by those present which produced convincing answers

The Symposium has sparked our interest in wanting to more about the lives and works of great personalities like Gokhale and many others who worked for the development of Indian society and culture.

We thank the Head of the Department of History of Khalsa College, Dr. Rita Bhambi, and Dr. Rashmi Bhure, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, S.I.E.S College of Arts and Science for their interest in getting their students to participate in this symposium. We also take this opportunity to thank Dr. Jyoti Marwah, a member of the Board of Studies (history), Faculty of Arts and Head of the Department of History, ICLES' Motilal Jhunjhunwala College of Arts, Science and Commerce for her continuing support of the Educating Adults Programme.



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Budget 2015 – Will it Ensure Make in India?

M. R. Venkatesh

It is easy for the FM to say [as did the UPA] that the share of manufacturing in national GDP in 2025 would be in excess of 25 per cent. But as UPA realised it is easier said than done for what is required is a comprehensive plan with great attention to details and implementation. Crucially, he must revisit his targets once in three months and present a progress report to the nation.

Economics is a simple subject complicated by economists. Economics, as a reader would know involves production of goods and services for consumption. Nevertheless production must exceed consumption to allow savings. Savings must in turn convert into investments. Again investments must ensure production.

This cycle needs to flow unhindered. And whenever the flow of goods and services [the aggregate of which is called GDP] gets derailed - and often it does we need intervention from Government. In turn, the Government has to get its policy mix correct at the right time. Going by historical evidence one must hasten to add that Government often does too little, too late.

Theoretically, Government intervention is often through a range of economic policies - monetary and fiscal. This manifests through investment, interest, taxation, export, import and a range of other policies which are spelt out during the annual Budget of the Government.

Notwithstanding this, the Indian economy faces shortage of goods and services in some sectors while facing a glut in others. There is excess capacity in some sectors and none in others. To add to the confusion we import some products at times which are already in excess supply and export those in short supply.

The Union Budget is thus expected to recognise all these and address the entire range of economic distortions! And given the horrendous track record of the UPA Government let me hasten to add that the Finance Minister has a huge task of addressing the distortions that have crept in over the past decade.

Thus contrary to popular belief, a Budget of the Government is not merely a simple statement of its income and expenses. Rather it is much more. It is the pithy expression of its overall economic policies of course laced with the usual dose of politics.

A Blast from the Past

One of the major policy initiatives of the NDA Government since assuming office has been “Make in

India.” At a philosophical level it is designed to facilitate investment, foster innovation and enhance skill development. While seeking to protect intellectual property it seeks to build best-in-class manufacturing infrastructure.

Naturally it is expected the Budget will lay emphasis on this policy.

It may be recalled that the share of manufacturing has been stagnating at approximately 16 percent of our GDP since 1980s. Everyone within the Government is aware that inadequate infrastructure, complex regulatory environment and inadequate availability of skilled manpower have been its bugbear. Yet not much has been done.

It is in this connection the National Manufacturing Competitiveness Council [NMCC] had come up with a “strategy” in February 2006 seeking to increase the share of manufacturing to a minimum of 25-35 percent of the GDP. That called for a growth rate of 14-16 percent annually in the manufacturing sector alone.

“Though in the recent past, the growth of the manufacturing sector has generally outpaced the overall growth rate of the economy, at just over 16 percent of GDP, the contribution of the manufacturing sector in India is much below its potential.”

Now that was not the NMCC stating the obvious. Rather it was yet another report of the Government of India – this time in November 2011.

“Inadequate growth in manufacturing has had its adverse impact on employment generation. The current mismatch between distribution of workforce and value added in agriculture is one of the main reasons for the large number of poor. This needs urgent correction.”

No. This is not from the 2011 report of the Government of India. Rather it was the Foreword penned by the then Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh to the NMCC strategy document in 2006.

Cont’d. on page 24

Point Counter Point

Ashok Karnik

Every issue has at least two sides. A wise person examines all sides before coming to a conclusion. This is an attempt to present various sides of an issue so that a considered opinion can be formed.

The Jihadi Mind

Point

1a) The arrest of Mehdi Mansoor Biswas from Bengaluru for carrying out pro-ISIS campaign on the social media came as a shock. A well-qualified executive turning out to be a jihadi preacher was like the plot of the latest Frederick Forsyth novel. Biswas had everything going for him in life; why did he turn into a jihadi ideologue? He had covered himself well through cyber technology but was betrayed by his ambition for greater publicity offered by talking to a British news channel. It was the UK that alerted India that a jihadi propagandist was attracting thousands of people to his jihadi tweets. The tweeter was traced to his den and he was arrested but claimed that he had nothing to do with the ISIS. It is possible that he is a self-radicalized jihadi and was conducting his campaign without being so ordered by the ISIS. Like Biswas, the Ottawa attack outside the Parliament House, the Sydney Coffee House attack by one Haron Monis, are indicative of the phenomenon of the “Lone Wolf” terrorist. Many intelligent young men fired by the zeal to hit back at perceived injustice and believing that they have discovered the weapon to do so get carried away with their ideas.

Counter Point

1b) Such young men do not stop to think that they do exactly what they are opposed to i.e. perpetrate injustice. Some of them turn into Naxalites to eradicate economic exploitation while some turn into jihadis. They forget that a misfortune of history or geography cannot be eradicated by resorting to mindless violent and inhuman methods. The foot soldiers who follow them and indulge in violence against the establishment may be illiterate but the ideologues are highly intelligent, well educated men. Mehdi may or may not have got guidance from the ISIS; he could have worked on his own to convince excitable young men of the need for jihad to get rid of the descendents of crusaders, their decadent culture and kafirs of all kinds. He helped spread the virus of hatred. There is no stopping a zealot. The lesson is that not only a man personally aggrieved turns against the society but a man, bestowed with all that the society has to offer, can also turn against that very society; he believes that he has found the key to life. The spate of incidents in France (January 7-9) arising out of similar foundation of hatred are evidence of the spreading disease.

Unspeakable Cruelty

2a) December 16, 2014 would be a black day in the distasteful history of modern day terrorism. In Peshawar, 7-8 Tehrik-e-Taliban, Pakistan (TTP) militants entered an Army Public School and massacred over 130 children. This was in revenge for the Pakistan army's anti-Taliban operation called 'Zarb-e-Azb' launched to capture the strong-hold of the Taliban in Waziristan. The Pakistan Army is fighting the TTP in the Swat valley and South and North Waziristan after mollycoddling it for years. The Army had arrived at a convenient conclusion that the Afghan Taliban was the good Taliban which should be helped in capturing power in Afghanistan and the Pakistan Taliban (TTP) was the bad Taliban that needed to be exterminated. TTP is considered an enemy because it refuses to be controlled by the Army and runs its own domain in the mountainous areas of North West Pakistan. Thus far the army considered it to be a strategic asset to be used against India. Now that it is an enemy, TTP militants have been killed in large numbers by the Army: TTP is now seeking revenge. Besides, the mainland terrorist groups like L-e-T, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Hizbul Mujahideen,

2b) For the terrorist, children are a pawn to be used to advantage. The children who were killed in Peshawar belonged mostly to the families of army officers and the TTP punished the parents through their children. Which religion teaches this kind of revenge? The heartlessness of the deed exposes the spiritual bankruptcy of the militants. Their ways were always reprehensible but this is a new low even for them. There are politicians who would oppose extermination of the virus; Imran Khan's Tehreek-e-Insaf Pakistan (TIP) has always opposed military action with the argument that the army should not be used against its own people. Those who wail in the name of human rights of murderers should think where their kind-heartedness could lead. In all this tragedy, some like retired Gen. Musharraf found the gumption to blame India for the Peshawar attack. How low can one-upmanship sink? Pakistan is now in a paradoxical position where it launches an all out offensive against the Taliban while being hosts to Taliban's soul-mates like Hafiz Saeed and Zaki-ur-Rehman Nakhvi, the plotters of the infamous Mumbai attack (26/11).

etc. do not create any trouble in Pakistan and are its strategic assets against India.

Loose Cannons

3a) Since BJP came to power, a lot of hibernating dinosaurs have sprung into action. Suddenly, we are reminded of the glory of our ancient civilization. We have some claiming existence of nuclear science in ancient India, others claiming knowledge of plastic surgery and 'pushpak viman', a third group wanting to drive out all Muslims; yet others launching re-conversion campaigns and some opposing 'Love Jihad'; Some also found that a movie (PK) was offensive to Hindu gods and vandalized theatres showing it. Where will it stop? Even the RSS Chief joined the reconversion (Ghar Wapsi) campaign. This contradicts his own claim that all those staying in India are Hindus irrespective of their mode of worship. Why does he want to change anybody's mode of worship? Can they all not help the Modi Government to consolidate the movement towards national progress? Every day they provide an excuse to the frustrated opposition to embarrass the Government. A mini-crisis a day is the agenda of these cultural fanatics. All the bottled up urges seem to erupt now that they have proximity to power.

3b) The BJP/NDA Government did not win the election on the platform of revival of our ancient glory. It won because of its forward looking, progressive stance which is supposed to make India a modern power. If we had all the wisdom of the world thousands of years back, should we not hang our heads in shame that we allowed all of it to disappear and sank into poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment and lost militarily time and again. Harking back to lost glory does not feed your millions! It is time to concentrate on how to move forward instead of looking back. The Sangh Pariwar has been concerned about conversion of Adivasis to Christianity for long. The right course would have been to stop such forcible conversions. Reconversion is a double edged weapon and the Sangh Pariwar is liable to be blamed for forcible reconversion and be hoist with its own petard. It will be well advised to help the Modi Government in achieving its promised goals. People have no patience with failed governments. Modi is too astute to tread on the toes of his basic constituency but he has no time to mollycoddle them either.

National Security Vs. Politics

4a) The interception of a fishing vessel near the Gujarat coast and its sinking brought back memories of the 26/11 Mumbai attack. This time though, Intelligence was matched by prompt and effective action by the Coast Guard (CG). The fishing vessel from Karachi was detected by Coast Guard planes. The boat refused to surrender and set itself ablaze with perhaps four persons on board. Nothing concrete could be captured from the boat and all that was available was the sat-phone talk intercepted by our Intelligence; it showed that the men on board were in touch with Pakistan establishments and had cargo transferred from another boat mid-sea. This directed the needle of suspicion towards a possible terror attack. It was a probability and not concrete proof. That gave an opportunity to some media experts and regrettably to the Congress to stop BJP from claiming credit for averting a terror strike. They went out on a limb to question the veracity of the Government claim and insisted that they had the right to know the truth. The skeptics wondered if the boat was only a fishing vessel and the CG over-reacted to sink it. In effect they accused the CG of lying and provided arguments to Pakistan to protest its innocence. All this without knowing what really happened!

4b) We should not blindly accept whatever our security agencies say but we should put up a united front against terrorism and sort out our differences later. It is a shame that a party that ruled the country for decades forgot the simple protocol: trust our own agencies and shelve our doubts till incontrovertible evidence of untruth is found. There was no explanation why a fishing boat would try to evade the CG and its occupants be driven to suicide. Suicide is the signature of the jihadi, not of smugglers. Let us for once congratulate our Intelligence and CG for a good job done instead of finding fault with them because of all the unexplained factors. All loose ends never get tied up in real life, some things never get explained. Even if it was a smuggling attempt, should the CG not be congratulated for stopping it? Hope truth will come out sooner than later. Compare this reaction with the Paris attack (January 7) when a known target was hit in broad daylight by known terrorists in a business district bustling with policemen and still the terrorists got away in a hijacked car. They continued to thwart the police for 3 days. In India, the Government would have been hauled over the coals immediately, forgetting that the terrorists' aim is to cause this kind of rift among their adversaries.

Readers are invited to email their points of view on serious issues of the day to ashokkarnik2001@yahoo.co.in. Readers who do not have the facility of a computer can also post (mail) their points of view on serious issues of the day to "Point Counter Point", c/o *Freedom First*, 3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai, 400001.

Budget 2015 - Will it Ensure Make in India *(Cont'd. from page 21)*

“Over the next decade, India has to create gainful employment opportunities for a large section of its population, with varying degrees of skills and qualifications. This will entail creation of 220 million jobs by 2025 in order to reap the demographic dividend.”

Now this is not Dr. Manmohan telling us in 2006. Rather this is from the 2011 Report of Government of India.

In short, between 2006 and 2011 [in fact during the entire period of UPA] not much was done for manufacturing. Consequently, the share of manufacturing has stagnated at 16 percent of the GDP for the past several years. The world meanwhile, notably China, has whizzed past us.

What Needs to be Done?

There are several challenges before Indian manufacturing that emerges on top of its global peer. And pundits both with the Government and outside have proffered plethora of solutions. But there is a crucial catch - have most of these pundits managed a factory for a day, much less, set it up? Is that why manufacturing has been languishing at 16 percent of the GDP?

Whatever it may be, let us look into the net impact on the Indian economy. The net import of capital goods into the Indian economy between 2007-08 and 2013-14 was approximately USD 568 billion. Likewise the aggregate trade deficit [Exports less imports] was approximately USD 950 billion.

What adds fat to the fire is that the imports from China alone during the corresponding period aggregates to USD 290 billion. It may be noted that we do not have a Free Trade Agreement with China. Yet, Chinese imports account for a significant portion of our imports.

But why? The answer for the same is not far to seek. Success of a nation in [manufacturing] globally is a culmination of several factors. It depends on skilled labour, low cost capital, access to technology, infrastructure, weak currency and of course the availability of raw materials.

Now that China ends up with a trade surplus [Exports minus Imports] close to USD 300 billion [while our annual exports are approximately USD 300 billions] and has emerged as the world's largest exporter it has begun to allow appreciation of its currency. Put pithily Chinese did not bother about how the world perceives it till it emerged as a global winner. Significantly, it charted a unique path for its economic success and pursued it

with missionary zeal.

The idea of Make in India has not come a day too soon. However, concerns arise on account of several factors – notably power. And wherever power is available it is uncertain and of questionable quality. Power is indicative of all our infrastructure woes – port, railways, roads, airports, effluent treatment, pollution control et al are in shambles or simply non-existent.

It is important to note that the best of companies in the organised sector end up paying 12 per cent interest on working capital when foreign companies pay far lower rates. Naturally, all this add to their competitiveness.

Added to all this are our archaic labour laws, extortionist tax enactments and lethargic bureaucracy. Remember we are ranked 142nd in the ease of doing business. The net result is for all to see - Indian manufacturing is defeated not abroad but even within India.

The problem for the Finance Minister is that if he raises the import duties or restricts imports of such products, prices shoot up. On the contrary if imports are allowed unrestricted, manufacturers in other countries on account of an overwhelming competitive advantage will never allow the Made in India initiative to succeed.

Put pithily, the FM has a Hobson's choice. To allow this initiative to succeed he has to bite the bullet and the nation has to pay a price for this initiative. Implicit in the argument is that the FM needs to prepare the nation for the long haul.

For starters, he must spell out areas where India enjoys competitive advantage and can succeed. Similarly, he must lay out a road map with appropriate check points.

It is easy for the FM to say [as did the UPA] that the share of manufacturing in national GDP in 2025 would be in excess of 25 per cent. But as UPA realised it is easier said than done for what is required is a comprehensive plan with great attention to details and implementation. Crucially, he must revisit his targets once in three months and present a progress report to the nation.

The Billion Dollar question - Will Budget 2015 provide us the comprehensive plan to ensure Make in India initiative is a success?

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Global Power Structure in Transition:

A New Bipolar World Underway?

B. Ramesh Babu

Change is the law of life. The architecture of the global power structure is on the threshold of another paradigm shift. Since the eve of the Second World War, the global balance of power has gone through several changes. These macro transformations are conceptualized by international relations scholars as multipolar, bipolar, unipolar, unipolar plus and multipolar in the making in that chronological order.

It seems that the global power structure is at the crossroads of yet another transition, a likely return to a bipolar world with new characteristics of its own. The latest changes underway open up new possibilities and also pose fresh challenges to China, India and most other nations. An effort is made here to analyze the unfolding scenario from the perspective of India.

The Prime Movers

The demise of the Soviet Union, collapse of Communism, end of the bipolar world, the rise of America as the lone Super Power, liberal capitalist globalization of the world under American auspices, aggressive expansionism of China, “pivot Asia” policy of America, growing hostility of the US and the West towards Russia, Putin’s tough response, India moving closer to America, and coming together of China and Russia are among the major ingredients of the shifting balance of power on the world stage from mid-1980s to the present. The not-so-peaceful rise of China and the economic and political decline of the US are the most dynamic factors or the prime-movers behind the transformation underway in world politics now. India and Russia are global players and also targeted states at the same time. World bodies (like IMF, World Bank, UN, ADB) and the multitude of inter-governmental institutions with global reach like NATO, EU, BRICS, SCO, ASEAN and the multitude of free trade agreements across the world are important players in global politics and the emerging global balance of power.

US-China-India Trilateral

The trilateral equation among US, China and India can be seen as the fulcrum of global politics in the 21st century. It may be recalled that US President Obama and Chinese Premier Li described their country’s equation with India as “one of the defining relationships in the 21st century.” Since assuming office as Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi injected fresh energy and dynamism in the country’s strategic and economic/political equation

with both China and the US. His overarching and primary goals are putting India back on the track of rapid and sustained growth and to ensure the nation’s security vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. Towards these ends, he initiated significant departures from the policies and postures in place till now. Economic development has always been India’s most important and widely accepted objective of its policies and actions at home and abroad. But for a variety of reasons, the Manmohan Singh-led UPA government lost the momentum after significant success in the initial years. Modi’s agenda of development for all, employment for all, training and skills for the youth, rural revival, etc., aroused the whole nation and brought spectacular success to the BJP in the 2014 elections. After a long gap of three decades one single party won overwhelming majority in Lok Sabha.

Promoting a business friendly climate and unleashing the entrepreneurial spirit of the people are seen as the most urgent tasks on hand. Dismantling the many hurdles in the path of investment and discarding archaic laws on the one hand and enacting new laws that positively promote domestic and foreign investments in the country were taken up in all earnest. Despite the hurdle of lacking a majority in the Rajya Sabha, the Modi Government is doing its best to get reform bills passed through persuasion and consensus building.

However, credible success in enacting domestic economic reforms has proved to be elusive so far. While it is too early to pass final judgment, time is running out and soon disillusionment could set in because high expectations were raised during the 2014 general elections. Hindutva hardliners are skewing the pitch against Modi’s development agenda.

However, it is in the area of foreign relations that Prime Minister Modi achieved significant success by transforming the investment climate at home. Doing business in India is once again perceived as attractive

and profitable. Modi's foreign policy initiatives also enhanced the security scenario of the country. FDI is flowing in. But, the potential foreign investors are waiting for progress on the promised second generation of reforms.. Modi was able to win large scale investment commitments from Japan and also China. Corporate America is also expected to come forward in a big way. Negotiations are on with Westinghouse and GE-Hitachi corporations to find mutually acceptable ways around the Nuclear Liability Law, which proved to be a big obstacle to the inflow of American investment in the civilian nuclear energy arena. In this context, the latest agreement with Russia to set up twelve more nuclear reactors in the Kudankulam complex is doubly welcome. This will not only enhance the generation of nuclear energy in the country significantly, but also put pressure on the US and France to take a fresh look at their inflexible postures. Otherwise, they might lose out in the nuclear energy business.

The invitation to President Obama to come to India again and grace the occasion of Republic Day celebrations is a remarkable initiative. Naturally, the visit is expected to yield good dividends on the economic and strategic fronts. Already there are hints of the possibility of a ten year defense treaty between the two countries. US-Japan-India trilateral dialogue has moved forward significantly. The "Malabar" naval military exercises will be resumed soon. Furthermore, Australia responded by openly declaring that it wants to join the dialogue and the military exercises. A US-Japan-India-Australia quadrilateral is on the anvil. Modi's dynamism and clarity of purpose played no mean part in this strategic transformation in global politics.

China Responds Quickly

China responded to India moving very close to the US and the "pivot Asia" policy of America rather quickly, but in an intriguing way. A commentary published in a newspaper close to the official circles in China stated that neither the Indian government nor "Indian scholars" have endorsed America's "Asia pivot" doctrine. India and China should overcome their domestic and foreign problems and pursue an Indo-Pacific-Geo-Economic Plan that includes the ancient silk route and new maritime silk route. The analysis goes on to add that Bangladesh-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BIMC) and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor are a part of the grand inter-continental plan. China is looking towards to India for establishing an Indo-Pacific Era based on shared interests and to avoid the American doctrine. In a subtle way the analysis reminded India of its long standing goals of countering America's global hegemony, democratization of global governance and multi-polarization of world politics.

It will be interesting to see the Modi Government's response to the informal overtures of China. But what is clear is that China is trying to explore ways and means of defusing the latest phase of India moving very close to the US strategically and ideologically, and roping in Japan to form a powerful US-Japan-India trilateral. There is no need to dismiss the Chinese "trial balloon" in a hurry. Maybe we are on the threshold of an uncharted terrain pregnant with unexpected possibilities. Be that as it may, the Chinese overtures are clearly the outcome of Modi's policy of infusing clarity of purpose and new dynamism into India-US equation. We should therefore continue to move forward on this track.

Growing Hostility between the US and Russia

The increasingly hostile relations between the US and the West on the one side and Russia on the other indicate a return to a new version of cold war in world politics. Western strategy of relentlessly expanding NATO's jurisdiction to include the former East European allies of Russia and promoting popular disaffection and rebellions in the Central Asian Republics close to Russian territory are naturally perceived as a grave threat to the security of the nation. Putin's Russia responded in kind by precipitating a crisis in Ukraine and promoting the secession of Crimea. The US responded by imposing sanctions against Russia and by threatening to toughen and extend them. Economic sanctions rarely achieved their stated goals. But, the Russian economy, which is already in serious trouble, will be confronted with deeper challenges. Putin is determined not to yield to the American "blackmail". At the recent G-20 Summit held in Brisbane, Australia, the western leaders boycotted him socially and were needlessly discourteous. An angry Putin left Australia in the midst of the Summit meeting. Since returning home he moved very close to China. The two countries signed a long term mega deal in the field of energy, which China needs badly. The mega business deal is a boon to the beleaguered Russian economy. The two countries also signed a defence treaty and announced joint naval military exercises in the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific Ocean! In the past the Soviet Union was the senior partner. Now China is the Big Brother in the new entente against the West.

To be continued

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Will the Real BJP Please Stand Up?

Firoze Hirjickaka

The rhetoric and grand promises about “minimum government, maximum governance” have already run up against the firewall of political reality.

Of late, the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) seems to have developed a split personality. Two factions have emerged, on the face of it with diametrically opposing philosophies and mindsets, that seem to co-exist in harmony, or at least in benevolent tolerance. There is the group led by Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi that speechifies endlessly about development and those illusory *acche din* that always seem tantalizingly imminent but never quite materialize. Then there is the coalition anchored by the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh (RSS) and its acolytes that it would be tempting to write off as a lunatic fringe; except that they have a definite and sinister agenda.

Both Houses of Parliament have witnessed a very strange spectacle during the winter session. It is that of our flamboyant and voluminously voluble PM sitting Sphinx-like with his chin in his hand and displaying supreme indifference to the continuous barbs flung at him by members of the Opposition. Persistent demands for him to speak have been met with contempt ordering on arrogance. Anyone who mistakes the silence as a sign of nervousness would be way off the mark. A man who has recently conquered more than half the country with his oratory is hardly likely to be timid about speaking out against a motley crew of agitated legislators. Modi is silent because he feels no need to say anything. He is biding his time until he attains a majority in the Rajya Sabha - an outcome that seems to be almost inevitable in the near future. That is when the lion will start roaring; and leave his opponents frustrated and quaking. Incidentally, there is a reason why almost the entire Opposition has consolidated against the PM. They are deathly afraid. They have never encountered anyone like him before. Here is a man who does not play by the conventional rules of politics. He is fearless about exposing the misdeeds of his colleagues because unlike them, he does not live in a glass house. The financial shenanigans of three Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) bigwigs are about to be laid bare, ostensibly by the Maharashtra Chief Minister (CM) but under instructions from the top boss. Stalwarts of other parties are painfully aware that their heads may be on the chopping block in the foreseeable future. That is why they are going all out, if not to destroy Modi, to at least keep him tethered.

The BJP (sober faction) is discovering to its cost, one of the fundamental laws of human nature: what goes around comes around. Arun Jaitley and company are attempting to take the moral high ground by denigrating the Opposition for continuously disrupting the winter session of Parliament, calling it a blot on democratic principles. They conveniently forget that their party employed precisely the same tactics during its years in opposition. In fact, 2013 will go on record as the year when the most Parliamentary days were lost due to the shenanigans of the BJP. Jaitley has taken the ordinance route to push through auctioning of coal blocks and increased FDI in insurance, among others - again a measure he vociferously condemned the previous regime for. Jaitley is touting this as a manifestation of his government's determination to implement its development agenda at any cost. However, as Swami Nathan Ayer has pointed out in an excellent column in the Sunday Times, ordinances are emergency instruments that need to be continuously renewed; and are unlikely to inspire confidence in domestic and foreign investors. The BJP is discovering that it is much easier to destroy than to construct - and the *acche din* seem to be receding farther into the distance. In another column, Aakar Patel opines that despite Modi's pretensions of being a world statesman, he is not really well read or well informed about the intricacies of global politics; and that his speeches contain a lot of flourish, but little real substance.

The rhetoric and grand promises about “minimum government, maximum governance” have already run up against the firewall of political reality. The newly installed Maharashtra BJP government, like its predecessors, has had to expand its cabinet to accommodate its “independent” supporters who are demanding cabinet berths as their reward. This in spite of a brute majority at the Centre. In the final analysis, not even a strongman can breach the impenetrable wall of quid-pro-quo that is the deeply entrenched foundation of politics in India.

It would not be fair to say that Modi is directly responsible, but a crescendo of looniness seems to have erupted since he came to power. A manifestation of the sudden reverence for our Vedic past is the exaltation of

miraculous feats of science and medicine performed by our mythical ancestors. No less a personage than our illustrious leader boasted how these supermen took medicine to stratospheric heights by performing complex operations, including transplanting an elephant head on a human body (the origin of Ganesha perhaps). The icing on the cake was when speakers at a symposium of the Indian Science Congress, presumably a reputed centre of learning, announced their intention to confidently state how India had conducted the world's first nuclear test "lakhs of years ago" (i.e. before the dawn of civilization) and how our "ancient aviation technology" had perfected the science of flying not only between continents, but to another planet. Thankfully, reputed scientists both at home and abroad have expressed their outrage at this ridiculous pseudo-science being presented as a serious topic at a symposium to be attended by reputed scientists from India and abroad (including a Nodel laureate) and written to the PMO and scientific secretary. It would have been commendable however, if it was the government that had squashed this nonsense in the bud. I am not saying these "geniuses" sprang into existence after Modi's ascension, but they seem to have discovered a new found enthusiasm under the new dispensation.

Looniness is one thing and provides a little harmless hilarity in our dull lives. However, the vociferous re-emergence of relatively dormant hate mongers like the Bajrang Dal and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), to name just two, is more sinister and unsettling. When the chief of the RSS himself celebrates the return of a Hindu Rashtra after 800 years, there is cause for genuine concern. The reason that our democracy has, if not flourished, at least stayed intact for nearly seven decades is that no one religious group has been allowed to establish its hegemony over the nation. Then there is this blatant attempt to re-convert "misguided" Christians and others to their "mother religion". These "champions of Hindutva" have conveniently forgotten that many conversions are caused by the action of coreligionists. The main reason that so many Dalits and Shudras converted to Buddhism is that their fellow Hindus treated them like dirt. What attraction can Hinduism have for a group that is treated as sub-human, whose higher caste coreligionists will not let even their shadow fall on them; who are forced to do the most menial and degrading castes? Those fanatics that are currently causing an uproar over "ghar Wapsi" need to first look inwards.

In one of her columns, Arathi Jeyrath asks the question "why is Modi letting the sadhvis and sadhus destroy his agenda of good governance?" This does not elicit a straightforward answer. Let's face it, Narendra Modi is the most powerful Prime Minister this country has had

in the last 50 years. If really wanted to, he could shut the Hindutva-ranting fanatics up without much effort. I suspect that despite his mild admonitions in Parliament, he is content to let these rabble rousers do what they're doing. Modi has rightly surmised that since the BJP came to power, there has been a surge of Hindu nationalism (even the Congress has begun to recognise this); and although the opposition may object vociferously, the right wingers find a lot of sympathy among millions of Hindus for their extremist views. If true, these sympathisers will constitute a formidable vote bank in the upcoming state elections. For all the rhetoric about development and economic resurgence, Modi's immediate aim is to win elections and establish BJP in all the states of India.

It is disgraceful and pathetic that just like the previous administration that it accused of being weak, the Maharashtra BJP government initially showed signs of succumbing to unconstitutional and illegal pressure tactics from fanatics belonging to the VHP and Bajrang Dal. Thinking of deleting scenes from the new Amir Khan movie (which has already been cleared by the Censor Board) just because some hotheads are shouting slogans and threatening to vandalise cinemas shows the government, as well as the police, in a very poor light. As the Chairperson of the Censor Board rightly stated, every movie has the potential to hurt the sentiments of one group or another. The irony is that these fanatics don't really give a damn about the religious sentiments of Hindus or anyone else. These demonstrations are nothing more than an atrocious attempt to garner cheap publicity and hopefully, recruit more members to their extremist ideology. Truth be told, they are a blot on the very religion they profess to champion. The duty of the government - and the police - is to safeguard our constitutional right to freedom of expression; and not turn tail and run like cowards. Fortunately the Maharashtra CM belatedly saw the light and declared that his government would not interfere.

In conclusion, I revert to my original question: which is the real face of the BJP? There is the ruling dispensation which seems serious about development and good governance, but seem to be unable or disinclined to rein in the fringe elements sheltering under the umbrella of the RSS. It is true that many senior BJP leaders, including the PM, are committed pracharaks of the RSS and may feel reticent about reining in the parent body. But the government has to choose. It cannot have a leg in both camps.

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Right-Wing Zealots Are Derailing Modi's Push for a Development Agenda

Bapu Satyanarayana

Various RSS organisations as well as some BJP leaders including ministers are issuing statements almost daily that has started to create disenchantment not only among those who normally subscribe broadly to the BJP ideology but also amongst the recent converts who are favourably impressed by the way Modi is leading the party with his policy initiatives.

Ever since Narendra Modi assumed office as Prime Minister, he has been investing his time and efforts in streamlining the system to bring in accountability to deliver on his promise of good governance.

Inherits a Troubled Legacy

The problem he faced from the beginning was that he inherited a legacy from his predecessor government where bureaucrats had become file pushers instead of being the main levers of power to ensure that once policy pronouncements are made they are implemented. In true bureaucratic style, the files went up and down repeatedly in the hierarchy of the *babus*. Added to this was the government where Ministers who had a pronounced proclivity of shying away from taking decisions were mostly dependent upon their bureaucrats who are subordinate to them. The 'Coalgate' and '2G' scam symbolised this syndrome where even our courts are hard put to punish the guilty and are taking unconscionably long time to punish the guilty. The plethora of laws that are mutually contradictory have only helped our advocates to thrive.

Spring Cleaning

The next step was to attend to good house-keeping and initiate steps to weed out plethora of conflicting laws. At the same time he had to face multiple challenges of opposition particularly the Congress constantly targeting him to hold a mirror to his own statement during electoral campaign on bringing back black money in 100 days and on his '*sub ka saath and subka vikas*'. Though the criticism is patently unfair knowing full well that the tremendous backlog of muck and 'scorched earth' policy followed by the predecessor government that needed to be cleared was time consuming. Even so Modi has gone on to win plaudits both at the national and the international level.

Electoral Success Continues

Under the leadership of Modi the BJP achieved striking electoral success in the assembly elections. While in Haryana it obtained absolute majority where it never

had good representation, in Maharashtra with its ally Shiv Sena it has formed the government after a lapse of 15 years. Recently, it has formed a government with its ally in Jharkand for the first time. It managed impressive results in the assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir with a tally of 25 seats coming second to PDP which scored a marginally better tally of 28 seats. According to a survey Modi appears to be very popular amongst the youths in UP which is expected to give the BJP a handsome win in the assembly elections in 2017. Even in West Bengal which is a stronghold of Trinamool Congress (TMC) and the Communists, it is emerging as a threat to the TMC what with the Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee embroiled in Saradha Chit Fund scam and the recent explosion in Burdwan which has unearthed the presence of Bangladeshi terrorists becoming an embarrassment to TMC.

Obstructionist Tactics

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Congress, which ruled the country for nearly five decades has now been decimated, is indulging in obstructionist tactics. The result is that it is playing spoil sport in the Parliament holding it to ransom with its like-minded allies from passing important bills of economic importance for the progress of the country. The net result is that the NDA government has been constrained to adopt, much against its will, to follow the ordinance way to tide over the situation to push its economic goals.

Disturbing Developments

Lately, very disturbing developments are taking place. Various RSS organisations as well as some BJP leaders including ministers are issuing statements almost daily that has started to create disenchantment not only among those who normally subscribe broadly to the BJP ideology but also amongst the recent converts who are favourably impressed by the way Modi is leading the party with his policy initiatives. Since these statements have a pronounced tilt in pushing Hindutva ideology, it is feared that it may have a negative impact to nullify whatever

Modi has achieved till now and derail the momentum he has created to take his development agenda forward. Of course for the Opposition, particularly for the Congress, it has provided ready fodder to take on Modi and his NDA government.

For example the ill-conceived and crass comment of the Minister of State Sadhvi Niranjana Joshi who wanted people to choose between ‘*Ramzaadas and Haramzaadas*’ created revulsion and pandemonium in the House and after prolonged demonstration the Prime Minister Modi was constrained to make a statement in the Parliament. Though the matter was tided over, other equally provocative actions and behaviour from other RSS organisations acted as a red rag to the Opposition. Some of the other instances are: Sakshi Maharaj calling Gandhi’s assassin Nathuram Godse a patriot. As if that was not enough there is proposal to build a temple for him. Rajasthan MLA threatening Chief Medical Officer and Health Officer. Ghar Wapsi (re-conversion to Hinduism) has seriously exercised the Opposition and the statement of RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat speaking in the same strain of furthering Hindutva ideology has kept the issue on the boil. Dharm Jagaran Sangh declares India becoming a Hindu Rashtra. VHP leader Ashok Singhal’s statement of ‘Hindus’ having regained the ‘lost empire’ of Delhi after 800 years takes the cake.

During his monthly address on ‘*Man-ki-Baat*’ relayed all across the nation, Modi struck a responsive chord showing his earnestness about bringing reforms in the realm of social ills that is afflicting the society. These developments coupled with Modi’s other programmes like declaring ‘Good governance’ day to coincide with former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee’s birthday falling on the Christmas Day probably unwittingly emboldened the

various RSS organisations to push their *Hindutva* Agenda to go overboard resulting in giving a free reign to indulge in queering the pitch.

Probably, it is in this context the *First Post* reported in a local Marathi newspaper the unauthenticated news of Modi threatening to quit. However, it is not unlikely there may be some grain of truth for such news as apparently Modi must have felt that whatever good he has achieved single headedly to turn the affairs of the nation by his leadership was being undone by such right wing zealots in his party. Shushma Swaraj’s push to declare *Bhagvad Gita* as a National Book or the recent controversy surrounding the resignation of the Director of IIT Delhi that links the HRD Minister Smriti Irani or the statement like claiming that Astrology is superior to science have added to the woes of Modi.

Harbinger of Hope

Despite creating waves both nationally and internationally, in the ultimate analysis, it is Modi’s domestic image that is the key to the popularity and stability of the government. Modi, therefore, faces a catch-22 situation. Having been nurtured in the ideology of RSS and risen in the ranks to finally to become the prime minister of the country, he owes much to his parent organisation. This is the challenge he faces and how he overcomes it will be keenly watched both by the opposition who have no qualms to run him down and also the detractors in his own ministry who may be jealous of his meteoric rise in power including the zealots in the RSS eager to piggy ride on his popularity.

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Why No Department of History of Science?

Any study of classical Egypt, Greece or China would naturally include accomplishments in all those fields, so why are most of our Indian historians so shy of dealing with them? I believe plain ignorance of India’s traditional knowledge systems is one factor; this attitude is largely a subconscious relic of the colonial era, which had decreed that India’s literatures were vehicles of superstition rather than of any genuine knowledge. As a result, most scholars prefer to confine themselves to an overview of literature and the arts. Yet scientific and technological advances are of equal importance; ironically, we owe the first studies of them to a few fine European scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries, such as Jean-Sylvain Bailly, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, G. Thibaut or Léon Rodet.

Indian scholars followed with major contributions, but Independent India did little to promote the field: no Indian university has a department of history of science. Indeed, scholars from the U.S., France, Japan or New Zealand have in recent years contributed important studies to the field. On the other hand, most of their Indian colleagues – thankfully there have been quite a few and of a very high order – have worked with little or no institutional support. It is hard to understand why...

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The Peshawar Attack on School Kids:

Implications for NATO's Strategy in South Asia

Ashish Punthambekar

If they choose the second option to stop supporting terrorist groups after much soul searching, it could lead to a very bloody civil war, resulting in Sind and Baloch breaking away from the Union.

The Taliban have for the first time totally lost the support of the people of Pakistan. The West / NATO have thus been presented with an incredible opportunity to solve a global security problem by recognising Balochistan and Sind as Independent nation States.

What happens now will be very interesting.

In February 2012, a Bill calling for the Independence of Balochistan was tabled in the US House of Representatives by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher. Such a process can now be expected to accelerate.

The map below along with the article below shows how the present day Pakistan may look like in 2020. India needs to be extremely careful over the next few months as the militants attempt to regain the confidence of the Pakistani people by launching a huge terrorist strike in India.



Big Picture on South Asia Post the Peshawar Attack

The attack in Peshawar was similar to the Beslan school attack in Russia in September 2004 in which 385 hostages, including 186 children were killed. The Beslan attack caused very serious damage to the Chechen freedom movement as it resulted in loss of mass support for their cause.

The Peshawar attack will most certainly make ordinary Pakistani citizens, opinion makers and even the army re-think their strategy of using militant groups as a strategic tool. Such a re-think, if it results in a loss of support for terrorist groups, has huge implications for Pakistan's stability.

Pakistan is too far down this road to exercise a "Safe Binary Option". On the one hand they could just keep going and fail eventually, or on the other hand they could try to dis-engage with their strategy to support terrorist groups. If they choose the second option to stop supporting terrorist groups after much soul searching, it could lead to a very bloody civil war, resulting in Sind and Baloch breaking away from the Union.

Given the potential cost of exercising the second option, Pakistan has no choice but to continue on its current path to perdition and eventually fail. The Peshawar incident however may well have moved the issue of the future of Pakistan out of the hands of the Pakistani generals in Rawalpindi and the politicians in Islamabad to NATO in Brussels and we can possibly expect a "failure oriented strategy" to be driven and executed by forces outside of South Asia.

It will not be very long before the US and Europe realise that they have no real interest or strategic rationale any more for keeping Pakistan together. They will then let it fail as it will then allow them to independently target the militants in the

various breakaway States. The huge human cost of precipitating this situation is not going to bother western thinkers, trained as they are in the Clausewitz school wherein the political and military objectives of war are closely aligned.

The choice Pakistan faces has been called a false “Binary” choice (above) because whichever way you look at it, the country is headed for an unravelling. Henry Kissinger has said, “In crises the most daring course is often safest.”

Conventional thinking would suggest that considering Pakistan’s “Nuclear Weapon State” status, the west will not let it fail. But this thinking is rooted in a

mind-set / negotiating strategy that allows for only an “At the Table approach”. It completely ignores the possibilities offered by strategic “Deal Setup” and the immense power of an “away from the table” deal strategy within a developing scenario wherein each ethnic group (Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Pakhtun etc.) is wondering whether they in fact want to be partners on a road to perdition.

An “Away from the Table” approach could yield very different results and a more peaceful South Asia and the time is approaching where an entirely different approach could realistically be attempted.

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What Kind of Religiosity is this?

What kind of ‘religiosity’ is this which makes the French Muslims kill innocent and unarmed Frenchmen shouting “Allah Ho Akbar”. Who are those ‘Ram Bhakts’ who shout ‘Jai Sri Ram’ and pull down a place of worship of god. What about those the followers of the ‘Buddha’ who in his name murder hundreds of Muslims in Myanmar? All this sickening, atrocious, horrendous acts in the name of Ram, Rahim or Buddha should be stopped. Even if the entire world be mono-religious, say Muslim (as the honourable Owaisi claims – all children are born Muslim) who is to feed the 6 billion mouths? Bread does not come from above, God does not shower food.

One sincerely hopes and prays that God put some sense in the heads of these monsters – a creation of religion; phew it’s all so confusing.

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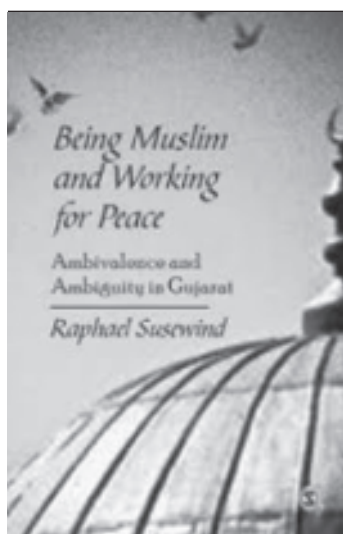
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BOOK REVIEW



BEING MUSLIM AND WORKING FOR PEACE – Ambivalence and Ambiguity in Gujarat by Raphael Susewind, published by Sage Publications, New Delhi ● marketing@sagepub.in ● 2013 ● pp. 180 ● Price: Rs.550.

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In an era when everyone is pointing fingers at others, and there is so much interest in violence, aggression, terrorists etc, it was a pleasant surprise to read a book entirely dedicated to the peace workers who

ways in which spiritual beliefs, religious practices and dynamics of belonging influence, Muslims who work for peace – and to see how their activism in turn shapes these dimensions of their religious identities. I wanted to take religion more seriously at the micro-level of individual experience – without losing track of its deep ambivalences.”

The author has not only done his own surveys and interviews, but has quoted other researchers extensively, from Harsh Mander to Ashgar Ali Engineer, and many international scholars. He goes on to recount the heated debates he was witness to, as to which kind of activity should count as legitimate peace activism. He has explained the hurdles he overcame due to language and its interpretation: the diverse usage of words such as *shanti*, *sukhuun*, *aman* etc. These can be challenging to even us Indians who use them, since diversity of our people results in completely different explanations and connotations, hence the author’s ability to interpret them is commendable.

The book identifies two different categories of peace workers, those working with secular NGOs, and those working with Faith Based Organizations (FBOs). It was heartening to see that though the purpose and intent of these categories of workers was quite diverse, they did manage to weave a fabric of rehabilitation and peace into society, and particularly into the otherwise reticent Muslim community.

For example, the Gujarat Harmony Project with NGO Sanchetana had acquired creditability and trust of Muslims due to their extensive work when earthquake had struck parts of the state earlier. He has also brought out the irony of religionists by his comment, “many of those who campaigned for the secular democratic idea of India, such as Gandhi and Maulana Azad, were devout practitioners of their respective religious faiths. On the other hand, foremost among those who fought for States constructed along religious line, Jinnah was not a practicing Muslim for most of his life, and Savarkar, founder of militant Hindu nationalism which he called Hindutva, was an avowed atheist” (quoted from Mander 2009).

helped bring Gujarat back to normalcy after the unfortunate riots of 2002. The author, a German, has apparently put in intensive effort and time to go to the grassroots, overcome expected suspicion of his intentions, and to delve deep into the psyche of various ordinary individuals who worked towards development or peace, each with their own agenda or goals.

Equally heartening is that the author has exhibited absolutely no bias against Indians, no judgement on Hindus or Muslims, and no caustic remarks on the perpetrators of the riots. It is an absolutely refreshing treatise on the positive aspects of human behaviour, the people who are pro-active and believe in moving forward without malice or anger. A word of caution: the book can be heavy reading for the casual reader, as the author has taken pains to structure, rationalize, justify and present objectively his extensive surveys in different parts of Gujarat. On the other hand, it is an eye-opener for those who look for the silver lining in an atmosphere of thunder clouds of hatred and violence.

Similarly, it is appreciable that the book reproduces verbatim (with translation of course) the comments and thoughts of different people who opened out so candidly to the author. This enables the reader to form individual objective opinions without being influenced by the author.

If you are wondering why this young European scholar of political science took up such an unusual pursuit, you can read the answer in his own words:

“With my study, I wanted to understand the various

Through his extensive interviews the author has brought out how many women emancipated themselves after the riots from victimhood, and later from religious patriarchy. This characteristic set them apart from both the seasoned faith-based workers and secular social workers. Many emancipated women spoke about success through their own personal transformation, moving into unexplored areas such as micro-credit. Many who organized such schemes themselves became beneficiaries and could uplift their families. In this way many found emancipation even from exploitation by men.

Muslim women shared candidly about their strong faith, which was unshaken by the violent events, and the pressure they faced from their community. One lady said, "I would never question the community. But the community says until today that I should do this or that as a widow, and whoever turned an activist was accused 'but you are a Muslim!' "

The future and the hopes can perhaps be summed up by an interviewee Mariam, who told the author, "We still have friends working with us, they are Hindus – so then the important division is good and bad people. It is not Hindu or Muslim for us. That way I still have lot of hope, and I look at all that very positively, and I have the feeling that we all will coexist. And there are problems, but there is not a failed State or something like that."

It is absolutely essential that such surveys and investigations are carried out by liberal and neutral researchers who can present the common public with a detailed and unbiased picture of places that are disturbed or are going through transition, as the TV or daily newspapers only give us instant and scandalizing news, rarely bothering to look into the long-term changes, effect and outcome.

About the New Publications: See Inside Front Cover (page 2)

INTELLIGENCE AN INSIDER'S VIEW by Ashok Karnik

After serving for 37 years in the Intelligence Bureau, Ashok Karnik retired as Deputy Director in 1990 and since then has taken keen interest in studying various areas of National Security.

His wide experience ranges from terrorism, Sino-Indian conflict, Indo-Pak relations, Black Money, Corruption and social problems like 'Andhshradha'. He has put his views forward in this book so that students of subjects like National Security, Strategic Studies and political science could get an idea of one more side of issues involved, from the point of view of a professional Intelligence Officer. Even laymen will find the topics covered of great interest as most of these issues are discussed in coffee houses but without but without the depth of understanding they deserve.

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RITUALS AND FESTIVALS. ESSAYS by Professor Suman Oak

In 2007, the Shivalinga at the holy place of Amarnath started melting due to tremendous increase in the number of visiting devotees and global warming. This caused commotion among the pilgrims and among many the Hindus.

Another such issue was the intended demolition of the Ramasetu. The former is caused by an imbalance in nature; the latter to serve the commercial interests of the country. It is time that we, the common people, belonging to whatever religion or no religion, should make up our minds and determine to what extent we should let our faiths and religiosity take hold of our thinking. The author has delved into the practice of 16 different festivals in India and their contemporary relevance.

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ON THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION ACT – A COMMENTARY by Suresh C.Sharma

The Right to Education Act (RTE) was adopted by Parliament and secured Presidential Assent in August 2009. The RTE Act mandates 'compulsory education'. This means the obligation of the government to provide free elementary education and ensure compulsory admission, attendance and completion of elementary education to every child in the 6 to 14 age group. 'Free' explains the author, implies that no child shall be made to pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing elementary education. The author takes the reader through the important articles in the Act that, for instance, specifies the duties and responsibilities of governments, local authorities and parents in providing free and compulsory education.

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HOW BUSINESSMEN CAN ENRICH POLITICS. D. N. PATODIA - REFLECTIONS by S. V. Raju

In the general elections of 1967, for the first time, a number of young businessmen contested as candidates of the Swatantra Party and nine of them including D. N. Patodia were elected to the Lok Sabha. It was the Swatantra Party that brought D. N. Patodia and S. V. Raju the author of this volume together. Patodia entered Parliament at a time when the churning process of Indian democracy had just begun and thereafter he was among the senior leaders of FICCI. His speeches and presentations covered divergent aspects of these developments such as the problem of Kashmir, the beginnings of the Naxalite movement, and the economic situation that compelled the government to free the economy. The author brings the story up to date.

The Legacy of Gopal Krishna Gokhale Symposium Photographs



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Photographs details:

(1) A View of the participants; (2) On the Dais (morning session) (L to R): Godrej Dotivala, Chairperson Usha Thakkar, Aroon Tikekar, S. V. Raju; (3) Sunil Gokhale; (4) On the Dais (last session) (L to R): R. N. Bhaskar, Sunil Bhandare, Vibhuti Patel, Aroon Tikekar, Sunil Gokhale, C. S. Deshpande; (5) Aroon Tikekar; (6) Vibhuti Patel, (7) Sunil Bhandare; (8) C. S. Deshpande.

Photographs Courtesy: Hina Manerikar, Jeet Joshi.



Nothing, absolutely nothing in the world is good enough reason to kill another, leave alone in retaliation for some cartoon. While we must protect each other's freedom of expression, the increasing need for this kind of protection is an indication of sheer intolerance and the seemingly unstoppable rise of rabid fundamentalism.

Freedom First believes in an open society based on minimum government and maximum freedom tempered by a sense of individual responsibility, in which the people's genius has a fair opportunity to develop and grow; we reject any ideology, movement or policy that sets one group of citizens against another be it based on class, caste, religion or envy.