

Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine



A PERFECT PITCH

BUT THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAIL

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

Gokhale's Legacy



A Symposium in Mumbai on Saturday, November 15, 2014

February 2014-2015 is the 100th death anniversary year of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

To mark his birth centenary in 1966, the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF) had organised three Centenary Lectures, the first by Professor S. K. Muranjan then Principal of Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics; the second by Professor S. P. Aiyar, then Reader in Public Administration, University of Bombay; and the third by Professor T. M. Joshi, Head of the Department of Economics, Nagpur University. The lectures were published under the title: "Gokhale and Modern India" edited by Professor A. B. Shah then Executive Secretary of the ICCF and Professor S. P. Aiyar.

It is fitting therefore and a privilege for the ICCF to organise a programme on the occasion of the 100th death anniversary to bring to the notice of the present generation the legacy this great man left us. To quote from Professor A. B. Shah's foreword to the book: "Of all those whose centenaries the nation has celebrated since Independence ...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".

A day-long Symposium combining the past and the present has been organised for Saturday November 15, 2014 from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. at the Alexandra Girls' English Institution in downtown Mumbai.

We invite you to participate in this programme.

For programme details and acceptances please contact S. V. Raju, Honorary Secretary, ICCF, 3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148 Mahatma Gandhi Road Mumbai 400001. You can phone or SMS him on 9820016392 or email him at: jurasv@gmail.com. You can also write to him at the address printed on page 3 of this magazine.

Servant of India, Despite the Raj

The article we are reproducing below was written by Mr. M. V. Kamath and published in his column 'Odd Man In' in the Free Press Journal of August 29, 2014. When he spoke to me a month ago on some other matter I did tell him that we were planning to publish it on the occasion of the symposium that we were organising on Gokhale's Legacy on the occasion of his 100th birth anniversary.

He was pleased and said that had he been fit to travel he would have liked to participate in the symposium. It is therefore with much sadness we read of his demise on October 9. He was a good friend of Freedom First and we shall miss him. - Ed.

A spate of names of distinguished Indian leaders of another age and clime has been doing the rounds as deserving of the Bharat Ratna, but it does not seem to make much sense. Among them is the name of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gokhale may rouse interest amongst GenNext, but so what? Gokhale surely was a great patriot of undisputed repute but to make him a first choice is to stir needless arguments among the intellectuals of today. If it will be argued, Gokhale deserves the Bharat Ratna, would not Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Jamshed Tata, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal or Vinayak Damodar Savarkar? Or just to stress a point, why forget Madame Blavatsky, Annie Besant, Swami Vivekananda or Sri Aurobindo Ghosh?

One may appreciate the opinion of policy makers within the Modi Government, but can't we let the past bury the past, without having to get into wordy arguments? Gokhale was a remarkable person as anybody familiar with the past would testify. Born in May 1866, he passed away at the comparatively young age of 49, in February 1915. We may resuscitate his name from the records to observe his 150th death anniversary which would be apt. Possibly the government may name February 19 as Gokhale Day which surely would meet the desire to remember him with gratitude. He was one among a few of his generation to receive a university education and to be exposed to western political thought. He was to become a great admirer of theorists such as John Stuart Mill and Edmund Burke. Although he could dare to criticise unhesitatingly many aspects of the English colonial regime – Mohandas Gandhi accepted him as his political guru – the respect for English political theory and institutions he acquired in his college days remained with him throughout his life.

Cont'd. on page 10

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Between Ourselves...

I write this a mere two days before the outcome of the elections to the state assemblies of Maharashtra and Haryana is known. Should I have waited to know the results before 'putting pen to paper' as the old phrase goes? I wrestled with this question and decided that it would not make the slightest difference – not to this journal, not to the readers who would have known anyway, the results much before this issue of our journal is in their hands.

Also when we get together on November 15 to pay our tribute to Gopal Krishna Gokhale (see facing page) we shall also be discussing the results of the Assembly elections and to the Lok Sabha earlier this year.

What matters is the health of our democracy and the quality of our chosen representatives. Seventeen years ago on our Republic's 50th birthday we wrote in this column:

"Freedom First joins the bandwagon of newspapers and periodicals in featuring as its main story fifty years of freedom or the golden jubilee of Indian independence. We don't sound too happy? Perhaps. But we feel very much relieved. Relieved that, barring a brief 18-month aberration, we have been a truly free people these last fifty years. The fact that we can say this and not be afraid of the midnight knock is in itself proof of our statement. Considering the restrictions on individual liberty in our neighbourhood, this is no mean achievement. Having said this, let us also admit that we are an unhealthy, if not a sick 50."

Among those whose contribution we were privileged to carry in the July 1997 issue of *Freedom First* was one by (the Late) Professor Gangadhar Gadgil. In his article "Will India Survive as a Meaningful Democracy" he wrote: "...this is a country that fools people all the time. It is full of ambiguity and imbalances. It would seem that everything is wrong with it and still it seems to function. When we are convinced that this country will be sunk in debt, we suddenly find our foreign reserves soaring. I am therefore not willing to write it off. In any case I have no option. This is the only country we have."

We have not only survived but with each successive election our electorate has shown an increasing appreciation of the value of the vote and used it with greater discrimination. Having voted in coalition governments they have voted them out for poor performance. In fact in the elections to the Lok Sabha earlier this year, India's electors jettisoned coalition politics in favour of a single party which was in the opposition. The UPA coalition led by the ruling Indira Congress was punished by not even qualifying as the official opposition. This speaks well of the massive 814.5 million strong electorate.

SVR

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From Our Readers

PIL Against Caste-based Reservations

The Maharashtra State Government vide its Ordinance dated 09 June, 2014 has brought into effect a 16% reservation for the Maratha Community and a 5% reservation for the Muslim Community in State-run educational institutes and State jobs. This takes the total reservation in Maharashtra to 73%.

Youth For Equality (YFE) sees this move as pure politically motivated move to polarize the electorate and gain in the Maharashtra Assembly Elections scheduled for October 2014.

We have decided to oppose this move legally. We have filed a PIL in the Bombay High Court against the mentioned ordinances. (<http://www.firstpost.com/india/bombay-hc-seeks-maha-govts-reply-pils-reservation-1651143.html>)

With our past experience in PIL against the 27% OBC reservations, we understand that it is going to be a long legal battle. We appeal to like-minded people to support us in whatever way you can.

Abhijith Nayak, Mumbai, vikabhi@gmail.com

Youth For Equality” (YFE) is a group of Doctors, Engineers, Lawyers, students and professionals who are committed to fight against the Caste based reservation policy.

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Sinister Alliances

If the existence of a political party were to be justified only on the basis of its distinctively unique doctrine, plans and policies under the framework of the Indian constitution, alliances between parties would be counter-productive and self-defeating. But we do have many Parties, and they are all based on egos and interests rather than clear-cut distinction of character. It is, therefore, good for the political health of our country that alliances for convenience and political expediency have failed for the forthcoming Assembly elections. Voters can now be discerning and bring in a regime truly dedicated to enhanced service to the people, rather than participate in a fete for the entertainment of ministerial and chief-ministerial aspirants

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Enumeration of Population

Whether it is in the census of India or in the recently conducted survey of all homes in Telengana state, while Hindus have to mention their caste like SC, ST, BC, OBC, FC there is no requirements from Christians and Muslims to do so. Among the Christians there are at least half a dozen sects like Roman Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptist, Methodists, 7th Day Adventists and so on. Among the Muslims there are Sunnies, Shias, Ismailis, Ahmedias, Bohras, Shaikhs, Sayyeds, Khans, Dudekulas etc. In both these religions, of late, they are also mentioning their caste for demanding reservations, for example, Dalit Christians and Dudekulas Muslims.

This insistence on only Hindus to mention their caste and not others is patently unfair. Governments should either do away with asking for caste details of Hindus or ask other religions, too, to detail the sects to which they belong.

Above-ground Maoists with their Underground ‘Armies’

A number of above-ground Maoist communist party’s outfits – “human rights”, “democratic freedoms”, and civil rights all in the name of “people” – have tried to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Maoist Communist Party and mobilise public opinion against the Green Hunt, the government’s armed action to flush out the so-called peoples’ Guerrilla Armies from the territories in Dandakaranya that are under their occupation.

These outfits comprising eleven left parties, including eight communist parties, each with descriptive letters like MML, New Democracy, Pulla Reddi, Maoist etc, have been condemning the state and the central governments for suppressing people’s movements and their so called fight for their rights. The “people” they talk of seem to be a myth seen by and known to them only. The Home Ministry and especially, the Home Minister at the Centre and the governments of Andhra Pradesh and Telengana must act to defang them and put an end to these above-ground Maoist infrastructures. Unless they are all treated as enemies of the State and dealt with sternly, the 38 year long war of the Maoist Communist Armies against the Indian State cannot be ended.

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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.

Pakistan's Obsession

Point

1a) The sudden eruption on the LOC and International Border in J&K appeared senseless. Daily firing on civilian targets was unusual even for the erratic Pakistanis. It is well-known that border incursions are meant to push fidayeen into Kashmir. The timing could also be guessed as elections in J&K are due shortly. Pakistan would not like the elections to be held peacefully as it would buttress India's claim that democracy is flourishing in J&K. The Modi Government, unlike the UPA, was not likely to suffer in silence and started inflicting heavy casualties on the opposite side. Arun Jaitley, Defence Minister, warned that India would make the cost of the unprovoked misadventure unaffordable. This time the incursions carried another message. After Nawaz Sharif failed to raise the Kashmir issue with the US and UN in September 2014, Pakistan obviously decided to up the ante by making it an international issue. There was a chorus of voices across Pakistan about Kashmir. Bilwal Bhutto (PPP) first threatened to recover every inch of Kashmir, and then Gen. Musharraf appeared from nowhere and threatened that the Pak army should not be underestimated.

Counter Point

1b) It is well-known that every Pakistani politician trying to make a come back is obliged to raise the K issue. This time Pakistan appeared keen to raise the pitch high enough to get the UN to take note of the dangerous situation on the Indo-Pak border. Internally, Pakistan always sustains itself on conspiracy theories which a rational mind would fail to comprehend. It was bazaar gossip in Pakistan that US-UK-Iran had plotted to destabilize Pakistan through street agitations by Imran Khan and Quadri, forgetting that Imran was dubbed as anti-American for their role in Pakistan. The foreign plot was supposedly foiled by the heroic Army in time. India and Israel are always the ready enemies with the R&AW and Mossad shown as guilty of even the smallest incident anywhere in Pakistan. R&AW would be proud if it were that capable! To the other extreme, the anti-Sharif agitations by Imran Khan and Quadri were projected as the Army's plot to cut Sharif to size. In all this confusion, India remains a constant enemy capable of untold mischief and Kashmir the ever present cause celebre! Any border skirmish with India is welcome in the streets of Pakistan as fuel to the nationalistic fervour and take away attention from the daily grind.

Modi's Foreign Policy Initiative

2a) Narendra Modi's foreign policy initiative since becoming Prime Minister has been greatly appreciated. His rapid visits to Bhutan, Nepal, Japan and the US were an impressive debut for a first time PM. The US visit was watched with great anticipation and the impact he made on the Indian diaspora was sensational. Even his rebuff to Pakistan in canceling the Foreign Secretary level talks (August 25) received public support. There were carping comments from the usual Modi-baiters as to what deliverables he had brought from the US. In this diplomatic give and take, the visit of the Chinese President Xi Jinping (September 17-19) was even more special. Considering the continuing border intrusions by the Chinese, the visit was expected to break new ground. It went half way with the Chinese offering an investment of \$ 20 bn over the next five years, agreeing to open a new route to Mansarovar and cooperate on a high speed train corridor. The fact that earlier a figure of \$ 100 bn was being mentioned needs

2b) First the US visit! It was intended to lay the ground work for deeper relations with the US but those who are bent upon not seeing anything good about Modi can happily conclude that the visit was not a great success. However, within a week, \$ 41 bn investment over a period of three years has been proposed by the US industry. So much for the doubters! During Xi's visit, Chinese incursion in Ladakh continued. In fact, the visit made no difference to the Chinese attitude. For a change, the Indian PM did not hesitate to make a pointed reference to the border issue and made it clear that it needs to be resolved in order to establish peace. The Chinese, as usual, were clever with words and Xi used subterfuge to claim innocently that as the border was not marked, such incursions would be natural. Is it an excuse for more incursions? The Chinese Foreign Minister used the oft repeated argument that a mechanism had been established to resolve all such issues peacefully. This means nothing effectively but appears

to be overlooked. Even then, could the visit be called a great success? It was full of bonhomie and assurances but was it just protocol or genuine desire to settle problems? Did it resolve the most troublesome boundary dispute?

to keep the door open. That is the charm of the Chinese; they never slam the door shut. We are back to square one on the border issue. Did we make progress? With the Chinese, you are always left in doubt.

Love Jihad

3a) 'Love Jihad' is a new formulation sculpted by the Hindu brigade during the September 2014 by-elections in UP. The phrase was not totally new as in Kerala it was being whispered whenever a Hindu girl married a Muslim. It was used for the first time as an election propaganda weapon in the UP by-elections. That it failed to attract votes is another matter. Its ineffectiveness is welcome. Young men and girls falling in love with each other despite differences of caste and creed is not so strange these days. In fact, it should be welcome. The snag is that it is claimed to be a ploy to convert Hindu girls through deceit. The problem is whether incidental happenings are being trotted out as a part of deep routed conspiracy? How many cases of such deceitful marriages for conversion are known?

3b) There are no statistics offered by the protagonists to point to a conspiracy. Odd cases of youngsters being cheated may exist but is it a social phenomenon to call it a conspiracy or a programme to proselytize girls from one community to another? No such figures have been mentioned but the mere suspicion is enough to create a communal divide. The Maharashtra Police had reportedly collected such figures but they clarified that they had collated figures of controversial marriages and not 'Love Jihad' cases. The Union Home Minister also clarified that the Government was not even aware of such a phenomenon. The BJP President called it a figment of media's imagination. To the contrary, the Women's Wing of the ABVP (Sangh Parivar's student body) decided to check such deceitful marriages. It is prudent not to create ghosts and spread fear!

Burdwan Blast

4a) On October 2, there was an accidental bomb blast in a house in Burdwan (WB) in which two persons were killed and one injured while they were making a bomb. The house belonged to a TMC leader who claimed to have rented it out and did not know anything about those staying there. The widows of the two bomb-makers were arrested as 50 crude bombs were also found in the house. WB Police initially tried to play down the incident as a conflict between the TMC and the CPM. It also tried to avoid NIA from getting to investigate the case. The NIA is meant to investigate all cases of terrorism as it was explicitly formed to do so as an expert body at the national level. TMC Government's reluctance to involve the NIA became embarrassing. The Center did not press for NIA's entry initially as it did not want West Bengal to cry foul over infringement of the State's autonomy. The NIA is legally empowered to intervene.

4b) Investigations revealed that the incident had much deeper ramifications. The Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen, Bangladesh (JuMB) appears to be behind the bomb-making with the intention of using these to destabilize the Hasina Government in Bangladesh. The JEI, Bangladesh which is under pressure from the Hasina Government planned to hit at it, using WB as a base. The widows of the two terrorists were also learnt to be trained fidayeen. The case could reveal a lot more about terrorist cells in India which is vital in view of the new threat from the Al Qaeda unit formed for action in the Indian sub-continent. Following the interrogation of the arrested persons, some suspected members of the JuMB have been arrested in Assam too. It is surprising that the WB Chief Minister still did not see the light. In fact, she cried foul once the NIA stepped in.

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.

"Eighty years ago, when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji first saw the light of day, if any one had ventured to predict that he would one day stand forth as the most trusted spokesman of a united India, such a man would have been set down as a dreamer of wild dreams."

**Gopal Krishna Gokhale, speaking at a meeting celebrating Dadabhai Naoroji's 81st birthday.
Cited in John S. Hoyland's 'Gopal Krishna Gokhale, His Life and Speeches'.**

Modi Goes to the US

– Style, Symbolism and Substance

B. Ramesh Babu

Prime Minister Modi's address at the UN was remarkable in many respects. He spoke in Hindi, as he did throughout his public and private meetings on the trip. He spoke with a self assurance befitting a world leader representing a great civilization.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's four months of foreign forays scaled new heights of activism in Indian diplomacy. The five-day trip to America was a whirlwind of engagements ranging from one to one interaction with key leaders in business and public life to virtuoso performances before big crowds. He addressed the UN like a statesman and an established world leader. He spoke to the Indian-Americans like a loving uncle. He combined style, symbolism, and substance into a winning PR campaign. Plenty is on promise. Whether performance will measure up or not only future can unravel.

Before embarking on his US visit, Modi rightly observed that India-US relations do not mean relations between Delhi and Washington only. Over the last two or three decades the proverbially "estranged democracies" transformed their relations into extensively and intensively "engaged democracies". The paradigm shift in the bilateral equation peaked during the second term of President Bush, when the US-India Civilian Nuclear Agreement was signed. Ironically, today it is one of the tough nuts to crack in the bilateral relations.

Since then, Government to Government relations between the two countries moved downward under President Obama, who did precious little to strengthen them. Caught in the whirlpool of mega scandals of corruption and compulsions of the coalition government, the UPA-II allowed them to drift. However, the people to people relations between the two countries across the board continued to grow wider and deeper year after year. This has been a secular trend irrespective of who or which party or who is in power in either country. There is hardly an area of human activity in which people of the two countries are not engaged with each other on a regular basis. From AIDS to atomic energy, green revolution to global governance, sanitation to strategic security, governments at all levels, NGOs, NRIs, activists of all hues, political parties, yoga groups and prominent individuals (Bill Gates and Warren Buffet) in both countries interact with their counterparts in the other country routinely. These days

there is a global dimension to everything we do in India. This invariably means to be in the know of what is happening in the US. Almost all upper and middle class families in India have a close relative in the US. If in an occasional case there is none, they claim to have not so distant a cousin or two in America! It is a status symbol!

This unique phenomenon of extensive and intensive engagement across the board between the two peoples goes on as a matter of fact and is seen as natural and usually taken for granted. This is what makes the two countries "natural partners." While this interaction is not reciprocally equal on both sides, this connection influences decisions in both nations. For example Indian-Americans have grown into an important lobby group seeking to influence public policy in the US. Of late they are also influencing public opinion in India. Modi is the most popular Indian leader among people of Indian origin in the US, including Indian-Americans.

The significance of this dimension in India-US relationship can really be appreciated only when we look at our equation with say Russia, China, or even Japan. Our bilateral equation with these and many other countries around the world is mostly circumscribed to government to government relations. The distracting or complicating factor of people's involvement is missing. Consequently, there is not much scope for misunderstanding. The MOUs spell out the terms and conditions of the contractual arrangements. India-US relations, however, operate in the macro context of mutual expectations, which are usually high. The ground realities always fall short. Historically, unfulfilled mutual expectations have been the complicating factor in the India-US relations. Over the years both countries have "matured", which in ordinary language means that the two sides accept the differences as inevitable, try to bridge the gap, and focus on convergences as much as possible.

Modi, the Business Diplomat

Modi is pragmatic and practical by temperament.

He rightly says that business is in his blood and sees himself as a business diplomat. His overarching mission is to put India back on the track of rapid and sustained economic growth. The strategy is to restore business friendly environment in the country. Towards this end he launched his massive “make in India” campaign with much fanfare in India before embarking on a trip to woo the big business in the US. He wanted corporate India to be enthusiastically behind him in the first place. The response was positive and immense. Accordingly he began his visit with New York City, the commercial capital of the US, and the trip to Washington was scheduled for the last one and half days.

The New York City part of his trip was really overcrowded. The fact that he was on his customary nine day Navaratri Festival Fast and lived on only water throughout the visit did not deter him a bit. In fact the symbolism of the fast added an extra allure to his mission! He paid respect to the victims of the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City at the hollowed “ground zero” with the Mayor of the city in tow. He held prolonged discussions with the Mayor and his team on the “Smart City” project. He called on the UN Secretary General and met leaders of many countries on the sidelines of the UN visit. He addressed the Global Citizen Festival at the famous Central Park and met prominent Indian-Americans (including Nikki Hailey, Governor of South Carolina, the likely Republican candidate for the Presidency in 2016).

His address at the iconic Madison Square Garden was the highlight of his trip. It was a winning mixture of cultural pride and adulation of a mascot. Over 18,000 affluent and well heeled professionals and young men and women assembled inside and even a larger crowd was watching the event from outside. A massive screen was put up at the famous Time Square and the whole event was telecast live from over 50 locations around the country. It was certainly the largest and most enthusiastic crowd ever to greet an Indian Prime Minister in the US. Modi did not disappoint them. He praised them as the gifted youth who made India proud. He told them that when they played with “the mouse” they were turning the whole world around. He proudly referred to the phenomenally successful Indian mission to Mars as a demonstration of the country’s scientific and technological prowess. He made it a point to highlight that the task was accomplished at a greatly lower cost than that of the US. He remarked that India’s Mars Mission’s cost was less than that of a Hollywood film! (This inspired the now notorious New York Times cartoon. It was in such bad taste that the newspaper rushed to offer its apologies.) Prime Minister

Modi announced a slew of special “gifts” to people of Indian origin in the US (and elsewhere). He invited them to come home and help their motherland in its bid to become prosperous and healthier.

Address at the UN

Prime Minister Modi’s address at the UN was remarkable in many respects. He spoke in Hindi, as he did throughout his public and private meetings on the trip. He spoke with a self assurance befitting a world leader representing a great civilization. Modi told the gathering of nations about India’s long established tradition of peace and living in harmony with nature. In the eyes of India the whole world is one family (vasudhaiva kutumbakam), he pointed out. Modi described YOGA as the ancient civilization’s greatest gift to the world. Instead of indulging in tit for tat on Kashmir, he told Nawaz Sharif and the world that it was time when both countries should focus on providing relief to flood victims all over the state. Twentieth century institutions like the UN would become irrelevant if they do not reform themselves to reflect the world’s 21st century realities and urged the nations to act before the next meeting of the General Assembly in 2015.

Meeting American CEOs

Modi’s interaction with the leaders of American business, finance, and industry was a well planned affair. He met a select group of CEOs of major US corporations over breakfast. This was followed by one to one meetings with a few of them, including the CEOs of GE and Westinghouse, who are to set up nuclear reactors in India. It is important to note that while in Japan earlier he met their Japanese partners, who supply critical components to their nuclear industry. By all accounts the meetings went off well and the American business and industry circles are ready and willing to look at India as a profitable destination once again. They will naturally wait for Modi to go home and deliver on the promises he made on the next generation of economic reforms.

Prime Minister Modi made it a point to meet former President Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary Clinton, former Secretary of State, great friends of India. Modi met a number of American intellectuals before moving on to Washington, DC.

While the Indian print media and TV went out of the way to cover the Modi visit extensively and intensively, the American media paid serious attention to it only after the impact of the mega event at the Madison Square Garden sank in. A large number of Congressmen and other political leaders belonging to both the parties were on the stage and attended the meeting. They were more than impressed

by the response of the people and the massive support Modi enjoyed in the influential Indian-American community.

Meeting at the White House

After addressing the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Modi went on to Washington DC for the much awaited rendezvous with American President Obama at the White House. Modi's programme in the nation's capital was crowded with a formal dinner at the White House, lunch hosted jointly by the Vice President and Foreign Secretary, delegation level meetings, tea with the Speaker of the House, and an address to the India-America Business Council.

Symbolism was deftly mixed with business. Modi continued with his fast and took only water while all the guests feasted! Modi visited the memorials of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. In a last minute change of plans, Obama accompanied Modi and personally explained the highlights of King's life depicted at the Memorial. Modi made it a point to honour Mahatma Gandhi at the Indian Embassy. Wherever he went, Modi greeted the people who had gathered to see him. There were people waiting for him outside the White House lawns when he emerged from the meeting; the more enthusiastic among them even performed traditional Indian dances to greet him as he walked to Blair House across the street.

As expected a number of MOUs were signed in the areas of trade, investment, energy, science, technology, terrorism, defence, and higher education. While there has been a notable expansion and enhancement at the level of "transactions" in a number of sectors, no significant breakthrough emerged from the Modi-Obama encounter. This was not entirely unexpected. No real progress was made in the "hard nuts to crack" issues like the Nuclear Liability Law, Intellectual Property Rights, trade development versus food security, and the old perennial of America's double standards on Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere in India. Managing the differences, which are bound to be always there, with patience and perseverance is the only wise option available for the two sides.

In an unprecedented and unique departure from conventional bilateral diplomacy, the two leaders published a joint editorial in the *Washington Post* on 30 September 2014, the last day of Modi's visit. Needless to say such a joint statement was high on generalities and shared values. It declared: "Today, our partnership is robust, reliable, and enduring, and it is expanding. Our relationship involves more bilateral cooperation than ever before." The

two leaders referred to India and the US as "natural allies." Declaring that cooperation between the two nations ranged from "Earth to Mars," the joint editorial said that "the true potential of our relationship is yet to be fully realized." "Our strategic partnership," they told all and sundry, is not confined to mutual benefit, but works for the good of the world as a whole, and so on and so forth. The Joint Statement issued at the end of the visit was equally long on generalities.

The key hurdle, the proverbial fly in the ointment, in the relationship between the US and India is and will always be, according to me, "consensus at the conceptual level and contention at the concrete level." The devil is in the details, it must be added.

The two leaders announced their commitment to take the strategic partnership to the next level, whatever that may mean. According to me such a qualitative and quantum jump in the bilateral relationship is possible only when the two countries have a shared and mutually agreed world view. This is well nigh impossible now or even in the long run. The two countries live in and belong to different worlds. For example, India does not endorse America's policy of unilateral military interventionism all over the world in the name of freedom, democracy, and human rights. Often, the US uses force even when the UN opposes such action as unacceptable. The US war against Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein was a good example. The record of the US armed intervention on the ground or from the safety of the skies has not only failed to achieve the declared goals, but actually made things worse. It is good that Modi did not fall into the trap of joining America in the Iran-Syria mess.

Another transient, but important imponderable is the lame duck phase of Obama's Presidency. Even as he talked of his penchant for peace, Obama has become the most interventionist President in recent history and none of them achieved their goals. Moreover, the US is a declining hegemon. Modi has just begun his innings and is likely to be at the helm of affairs in India for ten years if he succeeds in boosting economic growth, creating skilled jobs for the youth on a large enough scale, and making farming a profitable way of life once again. These are attainable goals. He has five long years to go.

In conclusion, let me say that Modi's five-day marathon to the US, the UN, and Washington succeeded in re-setting India-US relations in a positive direction. Incremental enhancement in a relationship that is so extensive and intensive across the board for so long is an achievement in itself. Unreasonably high expectations would only end up in disappointment and disillusionment.

Non-fulfilment of mutual expectations has been the bane of our bilateral relationship from the beginning. India and USA must move forward together to the best possible extent and work for a better and more peaceful and just world jointly and in their own separate ways.

Another way of appreciating the nature and scope of India-US relations is to look at them through this prism: “India and the US are friends, not allies. Pakistan and the US are allies, not friends.”

In the Joint Statement issued at the end of their meeting, Prime Minister Modi and President Obama declared that they would go forward together, *Saath Saath Chalen*. They should keep their promise!

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Servant of India, Despite the Raj (Cont'd. from cover page 2)

In 1905, Gokhale was elected president of the Indian National Congress when he was at the height of his power and popularity. While in his political views he was a moderate, who promoted the cause of Indian Independence, for him the way to freedom was to be strictly through nonviolence. Indeed among the two over-arching principles he followed, non-violence was one of them. The other was social reform. Those were the days when child marriage was a norm in Hindu, especially Brahmin society.

He strongly stood by the government when it moved the Age of Consent Bill. The Bill was not extreme. It only sought to raise the age of consent from ten to twelve years, which in those days was considered a revolutionary step! Many leaders were opposed to the Bill, like, for example, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, but it became law in the then Bombay Presidency. It was not that Tilak was opposed to social reform; his opposition was to British interference to Indian lifestyle and in this regard Gokhale and Tilak were at loggerheads.

There was much similarity between Gokhale and Tilak. Both were Chitpavan Brahmins. Both attended the same college in Bombay – Elphinstone's. Both became professors of Mathematics and again both were members of the Deccan Education Society. Indeed, so attached was Gokhale to the spread of higher education that he established the Servants of India Society and additionally in Vidarbha, a daily as well.

In his preamble to the Servants of India Society's constitution Gokhale wrote that the Society would train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit and would, seek to promote by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people. In many ways, Gokhale differed from his Pune contemporary Tilak. Tilak underwent imprisonment and years of loneliness, suffering a great deal. But Gokhale would work directly with the British throughout his comparatively short political career in order to further his reformist goals.

For a man so concerned with social reform, he travelled extensively. To Gandhi, Gokhale was a “mentor and guide? In his autobiography Gandhi has described Gokhale 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.”

Gokhale was interested in Gandhi's socio-political activities in South Africa and even visited the country at the Mahatma's invitation. But, if Gokhale was a role model for Gandhi, he was also the mentor of Mohammad Ali Jinnah who, in 1912, aspired to become the ‘Muslim Gokhale’.

Believing existing educational institutions and the Indian Civil Service did not do enough to provide Indians with opportunities to serve their country he felt the Society he created would help meet the needful. Such was his reputation among the British, that he was invited to London to meet with Secretary of State Lord John Morley with whom he established a rapport. Gokhale would help during his visit to shape the historical Morley-Minto Reforms introduced in 1909. Earlier he was honoured with a high award, the CIE – Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire.

Whatever nationalists might have felt about him, Gokhale must be credited with forcing India's colonial masters to recognise the capabilities of a new generation of educated Indians and to include them more than ever before in the governing process. And that by any reckoning is a major achievement.

To remember such a distinguished individual is a credit to us, inasmuch as it is to him. The Indian National Congress can do with more such citizens in the years ahead as it is striving to rediscover itself. Gokhale serves as an excellent example of what one can do, even within a limited set of circumstances.

M. V. Kamath was a veteran journalist. This is from his column ‘Odd Man In’. Courtesy: *The Free Press Journal of* August 29, 2014.

Foreign Policy: Modi's New Dimensions

Nitin G. Raut

*If India and Japan can provide strong democratic leadership
it can redefine Asia's geostrategic relations*

Prime Minister's Oath Diplomacy Initiative of May 16th, 2014 attended by SAARC heads was a soft diplomatic coup which signaled that India being the largest SAARC Nation was ready to play a positive role for South Asia's stability and economic co-operation. Pakistan no doubt was the cynosure and even the skeptics were willing to give Pakistan yet another chance.

It is well known that the Pakistan Army and its tenor arm, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) did not take kindly to Sharif's visit to India on 17th May, 2013. Normalization of relations with India is the very antithesis of the Pakistan Army's *raison d'être* and its touted relevance – an continuing reminder of its threat to oust a democratically elected government not to the liking of the military.

The events that followed were none too encouraging. Provocative firing dampened the spirit of Modi's overtures. For the BJP and Modi to ignore border violations and the challenge posed by the Hurriyat meetings with the Pakistan envoy in India would have implied that India was ready to talk on Pakistan's terms - an action India can ill afford. Pakistan's brinkmanship deserved a tough posturing. In calling off the talks Modi not only called Pakistan's bluff but showed India's resolve that 'no talks' can also be an effective option as the talks, if any, would have been an exercise in futility. Pak will test Modi's resolve to stoically force Pak to create a climate conducive for a dialogue.

Pakistan High Commissioner's meeting with Hurriyat fringe elements was to retain the façade that Jammu & Kashmir was "disputed territory" the Hurriyat separatists are not subject to Indian Laws. Pakistan's open support to the secessionist Hurriyat is beyond purported moral and diplomatic support. Pakistan's aim after the talks were called off was to make Jammu & Kashmir a flashpoint for World attention. It is a spinoff of the opposition move to dislodge Nawaz Sharif and to placate the new Army Chief General Raheel Sharif. Indian response was appropriate as it underlined the fact of an assertive India; and that can have sobering impact on Pakistan.

The Japanese Prime Minister's visit has shifted the spotlight of Indian diplomacy from Pakistan following the

cancellation of Foreign Secretary-level talks. It provides India a critical opportunity to reassess its diplomatic and strategic priorities which is precisely a new dimension to India's foreign policy under Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

India has to take the initiative for a multilateral Asian alliance where military co-operation is a natural corollary of strong economic ties. If the proposed Japanese investment of US\$ 35 billion takes off it will lead to an effective military and political co-ordination which in itself will serve as a deterrence to China. Modi has to realize that economic clout is an essential pre-requisite to its nuclear power status. If India and Japan can provide strong democratic leadership it can redefine Asia's geostrategic relations and complement the US to balance China's growing power.

The visit opened an altogether new diplomatic vista. Both India and Japan are being confronted by the rising military and economic power of China with the latter's claim to India's Arunachal Pradesh and Japan's Senkaku Islands. Commerce and defence both complement the new Indo Japanese bonhomie. The underlying compulsion is to keep China at bay. Both Prime Minister's Shinzo Abe and Narendra Modi share nationalistic aspirations and have mutual strategic interests to checkmate China's hegemonistic ambitions. Japan as a major ally of the US and India's growing economic relations with Japan and the US can be a strong bulwark against China. China is also actively and aggressively confronting US Navy aircrafts in international air space in the South China Sea.

The key to such relations with the US lies in the rapport which Modi has struck with Obama, the US Congress and its strategic community, even while firmly stressing India's concern over Trade Facility Agreement and the imperative of subsidies in the domestic farm sector. Modi has certainly recast the Indo US relationship by opening the potentialities of investment in India for US, Japan and Australia which can be prelude to a larger military co-operation culminating in strategic relationship at appropriate time as partners if not a military alliance like NATO and ANZUS.

India and the US will not necessarily have a total

convergence of interest on China, inspite of the hype created by Modi's September, 2014 US visit. The hype can be translated only if the realities of Indo-US relations are perceived in the context of India's problems with China, Pakistan, and the US focus on ISIS threats in Syria and Iraq as also its strategically important East Asia Pacific region where China's aggressive posturing has made countries like Japan consider India a key State. For both US and India, the threat is common but the approach is different and priorities too.

A strong network of multilateral economic ties and diplomatic co-operation between India, US, Australia, Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines can act as an effective countervailing force to China. Ultimately what India and the US should seek is not a military confrontation but a tactical multilateral alliance to checkmate China. Modi is pro-business and realizes that only economic and trade can be the foundation for future strategic relationships.

Modi has also broken the ice with Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbotts. Australia agreeing to export Uranium to India during the latter's visit in September, 2014 is another feather in the cap of the NDA Government and is a precursor to a larger nuclear co-operation with the US and other nuclear powers. Australia has also agreed to put in place a co-operative mechanism with India for a peaceful and stable Asia Pacific Region which is an indication for future strategic co-operation.

China is however a different ball game of which India has to be wary about. Xi Jinping's visit to India far from being a goodwill visit exhibited China's brazen and imperious way of dealing with its neighbours. It was accompanied by hostile Chinese incursions in Chumar and

Depsang region in Ladakh. China's message was that the border issue will remain a serious threat in this relationship. Its aggressive diplomacy is often followed by sabre rattling as in the South China Sea or Armed invasion as in 1962. India has to be cautious and ensure that economic co-operation does not give China undue advantage. China will not give up territorial claims. Even Prime Minister Li Kequang's visit was accompanied by armed incursion in Daulat Beg Oldi. With China's growing appetite for iron ore, India can tactically reduce the price marginally to induce China to buy iron ore so as to engage China economically and create dependency on India.

India also has to reckon with a potential regional South Asian disorder following US active withdrawal from Afghanistan by the end of 2014. It is here that India stands solo and Modi by securing its 'Look East' Diplomacy has effected a smart tactical and diplomatic move. The withdrawal poses a serious twin security threat from the ISIS in Iraq and Taliban in Afghanistan as it will create a military vacuum and it is imperative for India to bolster its defences on its western frontier. If India fails to effectively deal with China, small East Asian nations like the Philippines, Vietnam will be sucked into China's orbit to India's discomfort. In this context, India's tough response to Pakistan's firing will enhance India's diplomatic standing.

In the first six months, Modi has announced his arrival on the world stage as a Statesman with a world vision, uninhibited by Pak centric policy. In the United Nations he refused to be drawn into a slanging match with Pakistan on Jammu & Kashmir instead stressing on sanitation and clean water.

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Israel's Iron Dome Is Amazing

Israel's astonishingly effective Iron Dome air defense has prevented Hamas from killing Israeli Jews and spreading terror in the civilian population. Ironically, though, the better Iron Dome works, the less sympathy the rest of the world has for a nation that remains under rocket attack.

Israel hardly feels like a place under assault from close range. Bars, restaurants, and the Mediterranean beaches are still busy. Businesses are open. Although traffic is lighter than normal, the roads are hardly abandoned. Incoming rockets that would ordinarily wreak havoc are being blown up in the air, causing nothing but a boom, a puff of white smoke, and falling debris. Iron Dome's success rate hovers around 90 percent. No other system in the world is as effective in shooting down short-range and medium-range rockets.

I was in Jerusalem as a tourist on Thursday afternoon when Iron Dome went into action in the city for the first time. An alarm sounded. We pulled our rental car to the side of the road, jumped out, and lay flat on the ground in a patch of dirt and stones next to the central bus station. People were prostrating themselves all across what passes in Jerusalem for a small park. Others continued to stand. Within a minute we heard muffled booms. We looked up and saw small, wispy clouds in the blue sky—the aftermath of the detonations. Threat over. Someone standing near me called it a miracle.

**Excerpted from a despatch by Peter Coy, *Businessweek*, July 13, 2014.
Contributed by R. N. Bhasker. rnbrnrbn@gmail.com**

Modi's Independence Day Talk

— Walking the Talk

H. R. Babu Satyanarayana

*His talk seemed to flow straight from the heart as if he was speaking to the people directly...
Modi's address evoked widespread approval and even those few who generally do not see eye to eye with him, but are fair minded, were appreciative of him*

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's address to the nation on 15 August, 2014, was unique in many ways. He broke with tradition to talk without the security cover of a bulletproof glass and freely mixed with young students. It shows a remarkable temperament of fearlessness and courage that is inspiring.

He began his speech saying that he wished to work as *Pradhan Sevak* and not *Pradhan Mantri* which signified his humility and indicating an inclusive approach. His hour-long address was masterful and heard with rapt attention. He did not speak from prepared speech and yet there was continuous flow of thoughts and ideas that was amazing. He did not dwell on macro issues to address the elites like political commentators, media or business people but mainly focused on micro issues that touch the life of ordinary people, like providing toilets, cleanliness, infrastructure, increasing employment potential, creating a model village in every block, parental responsibility etc.

His talk seemed to flow straight from the heart as if he was speaking to the people directly. He talked about infusing pride and belief in our own ability when he referred to 'Make in India' to stress on increasing export and reducing import. His out-of-the box thinking was evident when he talked about *Jan Dhan* with manifold benefits for the poor and the farmers. By touching on such basic and grass-root level issues he was only emphasizing that having risen from being a 'Chaiwala' to become the PM of the largest democracy he never lost the common touch and was only demonstrating the fact that God is in details.

His coming on the Indian political scene has made all the big powers of the world, which were condescending, indifferent or even hostile to India in their attitude, sit up and take notice. This was more than evident in the fact that there was virtually a scramble to get passes from the External Affairs ministry to hear Modi speak, unlike in previous years when few diplomats of other countries attended the function.

Response to Modi's address

Modi's address evoked widespread approval and even those few who generally do not see eye to eye with

him, but are fair minded, were appreciative of him. The views of the Congress followed the familiar pattern for they suffer from a pathological hatred for Modi as a person and the BJP generally. Not to talk about those die-hard critics falling in the mould of Mani Shankar Aiyar, political analysts and some media whom I am tempted to think suffer from Stockholm Syndrome being under more than five decades of dynastic hold. Those who were critical of Modi based their arguments mainly on the fact that he did not touch on price rise, corruption, black money, and deteriorating communal divide. In fact, Modi talked sufficiently during his pre-poll campaign on these issues and talking about it on 15 August may have made headlines but what good would it have served if a detailed road map was also not presented? Obviously, it would have consumed much time and he was not speaking at a symposium.

Already Modi had spent an hour to talk on issues of immediate relevance; other major issues that need time and planning have to be tackled in its own time. The other frequently aired allegations against Modi fall under two categories viz. to taunt him about his statement 'Achhe Din' and asking him to 'Walk the talk'.

First of all it is too early to judge considering the accumulated mess of the previous 10 years of blighted rule of the Congress led UPA government marked by paralysis of decision making. These two catchy phrases have become a 'cliché', a handy rhetorical weapon to impress but carries little significance. Again this reference to 'Walk the talk', as though it is Modi alone who is responsible, is a ridiculous concept. The country can move only if all institutions including the people walk with Modi, shouldering their responsibility and become accountable for their actions. Modi is only leading from the front and setting an example by his personal conduct. It will rub on the people and institutions and require time to change their attitude.

A few examples should suffice.

Jan Dhan scheme

The *Jan Dhan* scheme designed for the poor with

its attractive features of providing access to banking, credit facilities and insurance cover reveals, when last reviewed, that four crore families have already deposited Rs.1500 crore and will more than achieve the target.

Pension for the Central Government Servants

As per media report, 30 lakh pensioners receive between Rs.50 and Rs 200! This must come as shocking news, for in these hard times, it is a ridiculously low amount. The Prime Minister has already announced a minimum pension of Rs.1,000 and asked his ministers to ensure immediate disbursement.

Steps to bring back black money

Already action has been taken to remove the legal hurdles and in close communication with the banks, where ill-gotten money has been stashed, steps have been taken to bring back the black money. Setting up of SIT will be a powerful instrument in this direction.

Building of toilets

Modi urged the corporate sector, as part of their social responsibility, to provide toilet facilities. It has evinced a huge response. Two companies have committed themselves to see that in a year's time all schools in the country have toilets for boys and girls. It is a monumental task and more companies are required to join in the movement (*Hindu Editorial* - 1/9/14). However, the more daunting task is to educate huge masses and change their mindset. A substantial percentage of the population voluntarily takes to open defecation for various reasons.

Emphasis on skill development

The formation of the 'National Skill Development Corporation' under public-private partnership to impart skills is a laudable initiative. It has a great potential for employment of youths. It is estimated that by 2022, 150 million people out of 500 million would be imparted skills.

The Economic Times survey

ET published a special edition on 28 August, 2014 on the subject of 'Modi's 100 days score card'. According to the survey undertaken with 50 CEOs, a huge majority of them expressed the hope that a GDP growth of 6-8% is possible. Economic signs are already visible. In fact, 74% of CEOs are already seeing demand picking up while 80% have made new investment decisions or likely to do so soon and two thirds are now stepping up hiring. This will also help generate employment and is a harbinger of economic resurgence.

Stress on cleanliness

Modi invokes the name of Mahatma Gandhi in this regard and hence he set a personal example by wielding

the broom on Oct.2 being Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary for 'Clean India Campaign' (*Swachha Bharat*), redeeming the pledge he made during his August 15 address. His out of the box approach was evident by naming nine prominent people including Bollywood personalities to start the campaign. The way it is designed, it is not unlikely that the target would be substantially achieved by 150th birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, if not fully. It has left the Congress in disarray and showed bad grace in not joining the campaign by advancing specious arguments. Congress feels that Modi has hijacked the name of Mahatma Gandhi as though they have the sole copyright to use his name!

Modi's five-day visit to the USA

How the United States of America had to reverse its decision to grant visa to Narendra Modi is now history. When the whole world woke up to the stunning Lok Sabha electoral success of Modi-led BJP, America's decision in 2005 to deny visa to Modi on human rights violation of 2002 Godhra incident was quietly reversed. It appears the real reason to deny visa to Modi was prompted not so much on human rights ideology but more to do about its strategic considerations. With Modi growing in stature and fast emerging as a statesman at a global level this development was not surprising.

Modi's address at the United Nation, which was widely appreciated, talked of the world order and especially his remark on 'good terrorism and bad terrorism' laid the foundation for his one to one talk with the US President, Barack Obama. Unlike earlier occasions when there was lot of acrimony on the issue of Kashmir, Modi deftly side stepped Nawaz Sharif's reference to Kashmir, but left no doubt where India stands on issue of terrorism. Also, there was no meeting on the sidelines of the UN meeting with the prime minister of Pakistan unlike the practice earlier.

Whether in Madison Square Garden where he held the vast gathering of Indian Diaspora spellbound or meeting the CEOs inviting them to take the opportunity opened by Supreme Court's verdict on Coalgate and invest in India and later delivering a lecture at CFR and answering questions showed how he could marshal his facts with superb ease and deliver effectively. The following description by Nooyi, CEO of PepsiCo sums up Modi's strength and his love of serving India. "He answers questions brilliantly and is very focused on improving India. So we are thrilled to be working with him."

Modi's visit to the monument of 9/11 attack and later visiting the memorial of Martin Luther King were significant departure from earlier visits of the prime

ministers of India. As in Japan and in the US, the heads of the State broke protocol to accompany Modi, which tells volumes about his compelling personality. There were many unusual features during Modi's visit to America such as the two countries issuing a vision statement, penning a joint op-ed, and coming out with a 3500-word joint statement.

Nevertheless, India has no illusion that America

could suddenly reverse its attitude towards India but the personal bonhomie between the two leaders is indicative that America can no longer treat India as just an ally but now it stands as equal partner. It is a significant incremental step to fine tune a relationship.

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Congress Scores An Own Goal

Feroze Hirjikaka

Besides, it has become amply clear by now that whenever Rahul does open his mouth, he puts his foot in it. He should realise that he will never be able to compete with Modi in terms of oratory and connecting with the masses; and he should not even try.

It is entirely understandable that the Congress hasn't recovered from being shell shocked at the shellacking they received from the BJP's master strategist. However, the way they are trying to counter the Modi juggernaut is positively asinine. Sonia Gandhi is the only senior member who seems to have retained partial sanity, but her coterie – including her *laadla beta* – is continually making fools of itself.

The Modi-bashing you indulged in during the Lok Sabha elections flopped so spectacularly that your party was virtually annihilated. What greater humiliation can the country's once -premier party suffer than being denied the position of Leader of the Opposition because of insufficient numbers? The more Congress stalwarts denigrated Modi, the greater was his stature among the people of India. The under-privileged, who constitute an overwhelming proportion of the population, viewed the Congress attacks as one more example of the privileged trying to beat down a humble chaiwallah: in other words, one of them. Attacking Modi does not work, you guys. Nobody believes you. You should take some pointers from the master tactician who during his election rallies in Maharashtra magnanimously declared that he would refrain from criticising the Shiv Sena, even though it had split from the BJP, out of respect for Balasaheb Thackeray. Modi correctly deduced that Balasaheb is an icon for most of the people of Maharashtra; and attacking him would only backfire on the BJP. The crowds lapped it up. If the Congress cannot come up with a more effective counter-Modi strategy, it would be advisable to go into political hibernation until they do. This is one occasion where silence would indeed be golden.

Narendra Modi should thank the deity he prays to for Rahul Gandhi. The Congress heir seldom-apparent

is in a class by himself. Not only does he shoot and scoot whenever the mood strikes him; his marksmanship is atrocious. His silly comment about the PM playing a Taiko drum in Japan while India went dark without electricity only reinforced the public perception of him and his party as petty and vindictive; unable to come to terms with their defeat. More importantly, by maintaining a dignified silence, Modi added to his statesman-like aura.

So what should the Congress do? My advice would be – absolutely nothing; at least for the time being. The Congress leaders who have been criticising Rahul Gandhi for being dormant in Parliament and not displaying more visibility in public are actually doing their party a dis-service. If Rahul is serious about strengthening the Congress from within, he should be allowed to do so without hindrance, if not with cooperation. That is the only strategy that is likely to pay dividends - although not in the foreseeable future. Besides, it has become amply clear by now that whenever Rahul does open his mouth, he puts his foot in it. He should realise that he will never be able to compete with Modi in terms of oratory and connecting with the masses; and he should not even try.

As I write this, the PM has just returned from a triumphant tour of the United States. In stark contrast to the usual dry diplomatic visits by heads of States, Modi gave a bravura performance and put on such a spectacular show that even the normally indifferent-to-India American press was forced to sit up and take notice. Quite fittingly, his show stopper was held at the Madison Square Garden in front of a throng of well-heeled and adoring Indian-Americans chanting Modi-Modi with a fervour that would put rock star groupies to shame. The Congress may legitimately claim that the visit produced more show than substance, but the fact remains that it has completely

captivated the entire country. If the Congress is foolish enough to offer criticism, it will get what it deserves.

Being a passive opposition for the time being may not be a bad strategy. The Congress should just lie low and wait for the BJP to make mistakes. In fact, it has started already. The aura of the PM remains intact, but some of his underlings have already started embarrassing the party. Take the case of Yogi Adityanath and Sakshi Maharaj. That they are spewing venom, inciting communities against each other and shamelessly pandering to supposed Hindu pride does not surprise many people. A leopard does not change his spots. The thinking in the BJP camp was that their diatribes were not particularly harming the party. Indeed it was felt that their attempts to polarize the majority community may actually yield electoral gains for the BJP in the forthcoming by-polls. It backfired on them, as demonstrated by the drubbing the BJP received in the Uttar Pradesh by-polls, as well as in Rajasthan. Even after the by-poll debacle, the nonsense continued unabated. A BJP state president made known his conviction that the slaughter of cows was equivalent to the murder of a human being and should attract the same legal penalties, including a death sentence. All this stupidity could have been dismissed as the ranting of a lunatic fringe, were it not for the fact that it did not invite one word of condemnation or contradiction from the senior BJP leadership, including the PM.

It merely reinforced the perception in a large

segment of the population - not just Muslims - that despite its posturing, the BJP is still unduly influenced by the RSS; and this can only hurt them in the long run. As if to hammer home the affirmation of Hindutva, Mohan Bhagwat's annual Dussehra day speech was broadcast live on Doordarshan for the first time. In previous speeches, the RSS supremo has routinely lambasted the government of the day but this time, to no one's surprise, he had unalloyed praise for Narendra Modi and his myriad virtues. The Information and Broadcasting Minister Prakash Javdekar – who had famously remarked soon after his inauguration that he had disdain for state control of news and information and that his ultimate aim was to abolish his own ministry – stoutly endorsed and defended using the supposedly autonomous State television for party propaganda.

Yogi Adityanath, Sakshi Maharaj and Shivraj Singh Chauhan are just one type of example of the BJP's lack of judgement. There are others; and there will be many more. So far Modi has succeeded in keeping himself above the fray and maintaining his statesman-like image, but sooner or later, people will start asking questions. The buck has to stop somewhere. The reversals in the recently held assembly by-polls are an indication that despite the Modi wave which is still largely prevalent, the situation for the BJP is not as rosy as it was a few months ago. The Congress should just wait and watch.

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Drones to Protect India's Wildlife

Unmanned aerial vehicles or drones will soon fly over India's forests to monitor poaching, track wildlife and even count the population of tigers.

The primary objectives of these drones would be to track the movements of wildlife and monitor poaching.

A drone can be put on autopilot mode and sent as far as 40-50 km deep into the forest where it can record images and videos and transmit them on a real-time basis. Its movement can also be controlled through a GPS-based system.

Such drones were recently tested successfully in Panna Tiger Reserve and Kaziranga forest.

"We have now learnt how to fly these drones into the forest by means of demonstration and test-flying. Some nations like Africa have started doing this but ours would take this to a new level," said WII's wildlife scientist K. Ramesh, in-charge of the project,

Drones can also be used for night surveillance and tracking of many elusive and shy animals like the red panda and snow leopard, which are very rarely seen by the human eye in their natural wild habitat.

Travelling at a speed of 40 km per hour, the drones can be used for around 40-50 minutes.

They can be brought back to the base station, recharged, and sent back several times in a day. "We are also working on a new drone model which can go as fast as 100 km per hour," the scientist said.

"They are cheap. Each such unit will cost only Rs.3-6 lakh and there are no recurring costs. The batteries are easily recharged," he said.

They have identified ten places in the country where this drone monitoring project would be implemented from 2015 – high-altitude Himalayas, Himalayan foothills, central India, coastal regions of Sundarbans, islands of Andaman, etc.

"We will develop specialised drones for each of these terrains. After our demonstration is over we will train forest department staff to handle these drones," he said,

Excerpted from *The Hindu*, August 6, 2014. Contributed by Hina Manerikar, hina.manerikar@gmail.com

“Make in India” – Challenges to Ease of Doing Business

Sunil S. Bhandare

At the same time, there is so much of simultaneous action that is called for on almost all parameters of ease of doing business; and many of which are certainly not in the domain of the Central Ministries and Departments alone.

In recent times, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been proclaiming his “Make in India” vision, while articulating the imperatives of manufacturing in India’s future development strategy. His message is certainly not confined only to inspire domestic businesses and industry or native professionals and entrepreneurs of divergent hues. But it is intended to traverse even national boundaries for attracting foreign investments and enterprises in manufacturing activities within our country.

With China gradually losing its prolonged phase of manufacturing competitiveness, and its dominant status of “a global manufacturing powerhouse”, India is ideally placed to emerge as a powerful player in global manufacturing landscape and export markets using Modi’s famous alliteration, India offers *Advantage 3D* – Democracy, Demography and Demand. Implicit in this proposition is the underlying promise that democracy would ensure rule of law and governance system that would be transparent, responsive and investor-friendly. Demography would endow advantage not just of abundance of labour supply, but ensure its capacity building through quality training and skills formation as well as through fair and flexible labour policy.

Demographic advantage would also transmit India’s capacity to generate domestic savings to absorb growing needs of foreign investment inflows. Likewise, domestic demand would flourish for various products and services with rising incomes and changing consumption pattern of a growing middle-class and neo rich class. Also, with manufacturing sector gaining competitive and technological strengths, we can envisage export demand to gather momentum, thereby increasing India’s share in global markets.

Challenges to Ease of Doing Business

Confluence of positive triggers, as envisioned in *Advantage 3D*, sounds sequentially so fascinating that “Make in India” becomes an idea whose time has come! But can this proposition be taken as axiomatic? What have been the missing links in India’s aspirations to become a powerful manufacturing global hub so far? China’s ascendancy as a manufacturing powerhouse has been attributed to a number of factors such as low cost of labour

and its high productivity; undervaluation of its currency; consistently aggressive manufacturing and export policy, including its massive success in the implementation of Special Economic Zones; “open door policy” for FDI; and so on.

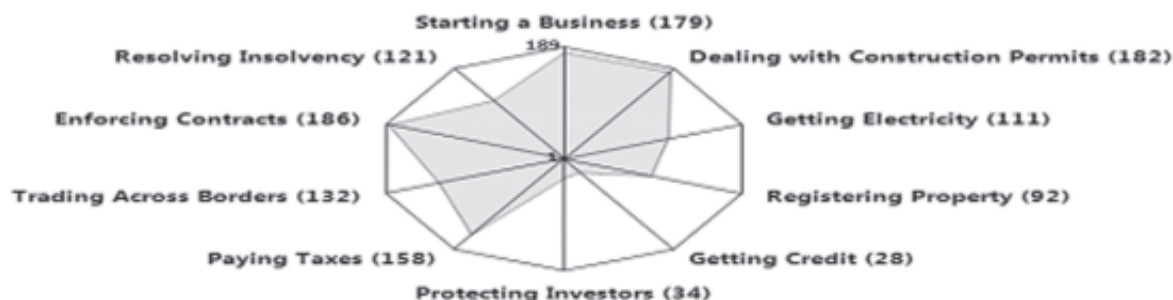
The UPA II government during the last two years of its tenure did recognise the urgency of ushering in industrial resurgence. In fact, it unveiled with great fanfare the National Manufacturing Policy in 2012. It proclaimed audaciously ambitious goals of expanding the share of manufacturing to 25% of GDP spanning the next decade and creation of 100 million manufacturing jobs. It promised, among other things, setting up of several National Manufacturing and Investment Zones to be developed as greenfield industrial townships benchmarked with the best in the world and as self-governing autonomous bodies. But almost all features of such aspirational strategies were eventually bogged down by what became notoriously known as policy paralysis...

Among various stumbling blocks, what come out strikingly to the surface are the complexities of doing business in India. There are numerous case studies of how various projects in infrastructure, construction and manufacturing sectors were stalled, delayed or finally abandoned in the red tape of government decisions and excessive bureaucratic interventions. This precisely is what the latest World Bank *Doing Business, 2014* report seeks to unfold. It has placed India at 134th rank, out of 189 economies, three steps below her 2013 rank.

This regular annual publication of the World Bank sheds light on how easy or difficult it is for a local entrepreneur to open and run a small to medium-size business when complying with relevant regulations. It measures and tracks changes in regulations affecting 10 areas in the life cycle of a business, namely, [i] starting a business; [ii] dealing with construction permits; [iii] getting electricity; [iv] registering property; [v] getting credit; [vi] protecting investors; [vii] paying taxes; [viii] trading across borders; [ix] enforcing contracts; and [x] resolving insolvency.

India’s status in each of these parameters is shown in the graph below.

*India has disputed some of the numbers used in computing its ranking**



** "We have clearly seen that the manner in which this has been done is not in line with the reality. So we have written to the World Bank to put its assessment into the realistic perspective both in terms of assessment of cost and the documentation required." Commerce Secretary Rajeev Kher*

Even if India were to match its performance in some key parameters, say, with South Africa [e.g. dealing with construction permits, protecting investors, paying taxes, enforcing contracts and resolving insolvency] over the next couple of years, this would go a long way in making India a much more attractive investment destination. But this is easily said than done!

Modi Government's Initiatives

How has the new government been responding to these challenges so far? Apparently, the NDA government is seized of the issues associated with enhancing India's global rank in ease of doing business ever since it assumed the power. Indeed, this is perceived as an integral part of its developmental and governance agenda. Also, there are growing pressures [a] to reverse a prolonged phase of investment deceleration of last about five years; [b] to recalibrate the perception about India as an attractive investment destination; and [c] to accelerate overall growth momentum and manufacturing resurgence.

Not surprisingly, practically every week, we have been a witness to a sequence of promises and proclamations of good intentions: Illustratively: There are proposals for [i] Changes in labour laws forming part of the Apprenticeship Act 1961, Factories Act 1948, and the Labor Laws Act 1968. [iii] Commerce Ministry's proposal to cut down paper work – a number of documents required for exports would be reduced from five to three [making India comparable on this score with some of the advanced countries like US, Canada, Japan, Singapore, etc]; [iv] Environmental Minister has approved a draft notification [likely to be notified by early Nov. 2014] that explicitly keeps building of factories and industrial production facilities out of the ambit of 2006 environmental impact assessment norms.

Each of such proposals and promises would not only help in enhancing India's rank in Ease of Doing Business, but reduce transaction cost, improve productivity and competitive position of the country in the global context. But the crux of the matter is how soon, how comprehensive and effective are going to be such changes. Based on the past experience, there is invariably a great deal of skepticism – about the proverbial gap between promise and performance. How would NDA government distinguish itself from such past record? Wait and watch ...

At the same time, there is so much of simultaneous action that is called for on almost all parameters of ease of doing business; and many of which are certainly not in the domain of the Central Ministries and Departments alone. For example, construction permits, getting electricity and registering property is in the domain of State Governments and / Local Authorities; enforcing contracts and resolving insolvency is in the domain of the Judiciary/ Legal System and Administration. All these call for a multi-pronged approach to the system of governance, including greater Centre-States and States-Local Authorities coordination.

Finally, the ranking in the Ease of Doing Business is doubtless of great importance for the global status of any country. But it must be recognised that there does not seem to be an inherently strong and direct correlation between such a rank and level or rate of investment activity. For example, several African countries are shown to have much better ranking than India, but India still attracts significantly higher foreign investment flows. Thus, various other vital parameters such as size of the market of respective economies, vibrancy of growth performance,

Cont'd. on page 23

An Alternative to the Planning Commission of India

Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has announced that the Government of India will dissolve the Planning Commission and substitute it with a new system that will be relevant to present realities, aspirations and in sync with federal structure of the Union of India.

Our recommendations are based on the following principles:

- There is need for an institution that is involved in identifying trends, anticipating future requirements, preparing the nation towards achieving certain National Goals that are beyond political considerations and on which there is National Consensus
- We strongly believe that expertise lying outside the government should be tapped and brought into the task of National Capacity and Capability Building and the proposed institution should develop the capability to identify, tap and channelize this expertise
- We believe that there are two kinds of National Capacity and Capability Building Missions – one that requires a time horizon of 10 years or more and the scale and volume commensurate to such timelines (eg. National River Grid) and the other comprising Mission Mode projects that can be executed within one or two parliamentary terms (i.e. in a 5-10 years time frame) or even less (eg. The PM's announcement of a project for building Toilets for girls in every school).
- The proposed architecture for the new Institution should therefore have three levels –
 - **Highest level - Broad oversight, planning and forecasting:** Conceiving and monitoring long term initiatives and plans and preparing the Nation for such initiatives in terms of building approaches and a National Consensus
 - **Second level – Execution:** National Teams that are empowered with sufficient funds and authority to execute National Capacity and Capability Missions of both kinds (i.e., long-term, and short/medium term) mentioned above. National Teams, whose leadership is provided by a team of both Central Government and State Government leaders.. This will ensure that the principle of Federal Ownership of these Missions will come into play and will be in line with the PM's stated desire to build a partnership with Chief Ministers.
 - **Third level – Governance:** Mandate of designing the delivery; monitoring performance and ensuring timelines are adhered to. This level has to have a

strong grassroots participation (citizens and beneficiaries) and coordination with various existing audit functions of the government such as the CAG, Parliamentary Oversight Committees etc. There should be a strong governance-enabling framework that gives teeth to this layer.

- The entire institution should not be 'Delhi-centric' and it should have a decentralized model.

Based on the above principles, our recommendation for the successor organization for the Planning Commission of India is as follows:

Name: Bharat Vikas Sansthan, BVS (Bharat Development Organization)

Structure: Recommend three-tier structure as below:

1. National Capacity and Capability Planning Group (NCCPG)
2. National Missions Empowered Group (NMEG)
3. National Missions Governance and Performance Management Board (NMGPMB)

The NCCPG will be tasked with the ideation and formulation of National Goals, and creation of National Missions and building National Consensus.

The NMEG will run these National Missions and the Group will comprise CMs and the PM to provide the leadership. All CMs will be incorporated into one or more National Missions in accordance with the Mission objectives and the significance of the states involved in those missions. They will collectively design and execute these missions.

The NMGPMB will be constituted on a Mission basis with a clear bias towards Users taking an active part to see that the missions are delivering what they are supposed to deliver, correctly and to the right beneficiaries

BVS should be a Constitutional Body that is headed by a Board with the PM as the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman can be an appointee of the PM. BVS Board should report directly to the PM. A third of the Board Members will comprise of State CMs on a rotational basis of 5 years. All regions of India will be represented on this Board

Prepared by M. Rajaram for the Swatantra Forum, a Chennai-based nationalist think-tank, that believes in the dictum of Progress with Equity and Maximum Governance with Minimum Government.

Please visit www.swatantraforum.blogspot.in to know more about us.

Home Truths about Pakistan's Venture of 1965

Suresh C. Sharma

“Except for a score of officers, the majority of officers did not want a war with India”.

Major General Shaukat Raza in his book *The Pakistan Army*

In 1951-52, tension between India and Pakistan rose to a high pitch and the Prime Minister of Pakistan suggested to General [later Field Marshal (FM)] Ayub to go to war with India and have it out once and for all. Aware of the weakness of the Pakistan Army, Ayub dissuaded him from doing so. He realized that Pakistan could win a war against India only with the help of foreign countries and both the USA and the USSR would prefer to aid India. He was not going to jeopardise the security of Pakistan for the sake of Kashmir. General Musa, C-in-C, was also against any operation in Kashmir. Why then did Ayub venture into a war in 1965?

Bhutto was the key figure wanting to wage a war and annex Kashmir to establish himself as a hero. A few weeks after the resolution of the conflict in Kutch, Bhutto suggested to World War II veteran General Shahid and a friend of FM Ayub that it was the right time to go to war with India. General Shahid replied “have you ever heard a shot fired in anger? In war there is no victor and no vanquished. Everyone suffers. Why should we go to war? The country and the economy are doing so well.” Bhutto knew that Shahid and Ayub were good friends and was hoping to use him to convince the FM for a war.

There is credible evidence to substantiate the fact that Ayub was reluctant to go to war. After the conflict he told Shahid that these people pushed him into the war. Who were “these people” that the FM was alluding to? Two of the key players in this venture were Bhutto and Defence Secretary Nazir Ahmed. Mrs Nazir Ahmad's brother, Ikki, was a close friend of Bhutto and often played host to military and civil service officers in his house at Rawalpindi. Nazir Ahmed was a member of the Kashmir cell in the Foreign Ministry charged with the task of de-freezing the Kashmir issue. Bhutto visited senior military officers with the agenda of soliciting support for a war with India. General Musa complained to President Ayub that Bhutto was trying to brainwash his officers. Some of the military and civil bureaucrats used to go to Muree over the week end. The talk often concerned Kashmir. On one occasion, a bureaucrat said to Maj Gen Akhtar GOC

12 Infantry Division that the Army had done nothing for Pakistan or for liberating Kashmir. Stung by the remark, Akhtar gave out details of a plan worked out by him to send Mujahedeens into Kashmir. This was the basis of Operation Gibraltar launched later. Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed conveyed the outline of this plan to Foreign Minister Bhutto.

The Pakistan Army officers, though not in favour of a war, were generally overconfident as a result of the large consignments of modern arms received as aid from the USA. The Indian Army had faced a humiliating defeat in 1962 and the Pakistan Army was given a false picture of the victory in Kutch. Success of a few revolutionary wars in East Asia gave them hope of a similar victory in Kashmir by an uprising of the people. They concluded that the Indian Army did not have the stomach for a war. They believed in the slogan of one Pakistani soldier being equal to ten Indian soldiers. The Pakistan Foreign Office under Bhutto also advised that India did not want a war.

The FM was from the Tareen tribe of Kandhar who had settled in Hazara at the time of invasion by Abdali. A slur that he was a Hazarewal coward turned him into a hawk. His keynote command to the troops was that one hard knock would demoralize the Hindus. General Shahid [Retired] conveyed to the FM that the training and equipment of the Mujahedeens being inducted into Kashmir was far from satisfactory. The FM had established a system where he became removed from honest opinion. He was too far committed to make any changes. Bhutto used to address the FM as Daddy which gained him trust. The issue was decided not by logic but by Bhutto's sycophancy and a smear campaign against the FM. Air Marshal Nur Khan, C-in-C Pakistan Air Force [PAF] recalls that the plan of Operation Gibraltar was not shared with the other services. Even in the Army, only a few generals were informed.

Nur Khan called on General Musa who wilted and with a sheepish smile admitted that something was afoot. He said that the Indians would not retaliate. Lt-Gen Akhtar

India-Pakistan Relations

Hasan Malik, GOC Kashmir told Nur Khan that the plan to send in some 80,000 infiltrators inside the occupied territory to throw out the Indian troops with the help of the local population was so designed that the Indians would not be able retaliate and therefore the Air Force need not get into a war-time mode. Nur Khan was surprised at these assumptions by professional army commanders.

When on the second day of the war President Ayub wanted to know how they were faring, Musa informed him that the Army had run out of even ammunition. That was the extent of preparation in the Army. The information shocked Ayub so much that it could have triggered his heart ailment which overtook him a couple of years later. Ayub and Bhutto made a secret dash to Beijing on the night of 19/20 September and requested for help. Chou assured them that they would continue to keep pressure on India and added “You must keep on fighting even if you have to withdraw to the hills.” A long war was not Ayub’s cup of tea as he had sought victory after a few hard knocks. He came back depressed. The Army and Air Force Chiefs also advised against a long war. One of the ministers dutifully informed the US Ambassador that Ayub

was open to a sensible compromise. Khan calls it an unnecessary war. It had four consequences. Firstly, it created hostility amongst the people against the USA. They expected an ally to come to their side. Secondly, East Pakistan got more alienated as they were left unprotected. Thirdly, the army got closer to the Islamist ideology. Fourthly, it weakened the position of Ayub for not achieving victory.

Since the 1965 war was based on a big lie and was presented to the nation as a great victory, the Army came to believe its own fiction and has since used it as its role model. It has continued to fight unwanted wars – the 1971 war and the Kargil fiasco in 1999. In each of the subsequent wars the Pakistan Army committed the same mistakes that were committed in 1965.

Pakistan Times wrote “FM Ayub did not have the intellectual acumen or political vision to see the writing on the wall, particularly the popular urges for political rights and economic democracy.”

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Some Anecdotes from the 1947-48 War with Pakistan

General Messervy’s Master Plan

Maj.Gen. Akbar Khan assumed command of the attack by tribal groups into Kashmir in 1947 with the title of Gen. Tariq. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali gave whole hearted support and a few officers were taken into confidence. Major General Messervy, Officiating C-in-C of the Pakistan Army, commented to Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan Pataudi [of the Pakistan Army] that he was not consulted and outlined his plan to induct one battalion in civil dress. Two companies at Srinagar Airfield and two companies at Banihal would have ensured the end of the story. To write-off the might of the Indian Army so lightly was being naïve. He further commented that “politicians using soldiers and soldiers allowing themselves to be used without the knowledge of their superiors were setting a bad example for the future.” His remarks have been vindicated by the number of military coups. The elected Prime Minister has to take the approval of the Army Chief in all matters of defence and external affairs. It is often called consultation.

Command of Azad Kashmir Forces

Towards the end of 1948, the self-styled Defence

Minister of “Azad Kashmir” (which is Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) Forces was trying to set up various branches of a GHQ like in major armed forces. In the meanwhile the two officers in the Poonch sector kept on promoting themselves, ending with the ranks of Field Marshal. Not to be outdone, the Defence Minister assumed the rank of Captain General [as in the German Army].

Stuck in Jammu

Lt.Gen. [later Field Marshal] K. M. Cariappa was in Jammu when the road to Pathankot was cut off. He tried to travel to Delhi via Srinagar but got stuck at Batote. He sent a message to Maj.Gen. Iftkhar Khan, GOC 8 Pakistan Division, for permission to travel via Sialkot-Lahore. The message created ripples in the Pakistan Army. A polite message was sent that General Iftkhar was out of town and Begum Iftkhar was indisposed. So it would be awkward for them to receive General Cariappa.

Brig. Suresh C. Sharma (retd.)

How Long Will India Pakistan Conflict Continue?

N. S. Venkataraman

Many people think that Modi could have shown some understanding of Nawaz Sharif's compulsion, as it is in the interest of India also to promote peace in Pakistan on firm grounds.

India and Pakistan have been in conflict with each other for over sixty five years now. There were bitter wars between these two countries and then several attempts for reconciliation as well to promote peace on the border. But, nothing has really worked. In the last sixty five years, the ground reality is that neither Pakistan nor India has gained anything by continuing and persisting with an atmosphere of distrust and mutual accusations.

Now, Mr. Narendra Modi has said in his speech in the United Nations [UN] assembly that India cannot engage in peace talks with Pakistan until such time that Pakistan can create the right climate by not supporting any acts of subversion in India. Pakistan has also said similar things on many occasions. With both the countries mutually accusing each other on various counts, one wonders whether the conflict between India and Pakistan will be eternal.

What is particularly surprising is that even amongst such distrust between both the governments, many citizens of both the countries still seem to have mutual respect and admiration for each other. There are many admirers of Pakistani cricketers in India and India's recent achievement in sending Mangalyan to Mars has been warmly appreciated by the Pakistani press.

Several citizens of Pakistan have been visiting India for medical treatment and they have praised the care with which Indian doctors have treated them. In whatever little exchange programmes that both the countries had in the past, the cultural ambassadors between India and Pakistan were getting on well without any feelings of animosity. The recent launch of Zindagi channel by ZEE TV which exclusively telecasts Pakistan TV serials has been drawing quite an audience. A popular TV star from Pakistan will be seen on the Indian silver screen. Under the circumstances, one gets an impression that the conflict between India and Pakistan are not between the citizens of both the countries but only with the governments of both these countries under the control of politicians.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the first Governor General of independent India and an intellectual who could think beyond his time said several decades back that the best way of promoting amity between India and Pakistan would

be to focus on the areas of possible cooperation instead on the areas of conflict. He said that establishment and promotion of people to people contact would be the best method of cementing relationships with the neighbours, so that it would be possible to maintain a cordial climate where the peace talks to settle the outstanding issues can be successfully initiated and concluded.

The economic and industrial growth of Pakistan has not been on healthy lines in view of several internal issues and the unproductive spending on maintaining the army that seems to be obsessed with threat from India. In the same way, millions of dollars are being spent by the Government of India in maintaining the army to defend its area of control in Jammu and Kashmir. Those who have gained from the military expenditure in both these developing countries are only the weapon producers and merchants in the developed countries.

After listening to Modi's speech in the UN assembly, the Pakistan foreign minister has said that it was a case of overreaction. Perhaps, Pakistan's foreign minister's observation is correct. There is general feeling amongst discerning observers in India that Nawaz Sharif really wants to end conflict with India, which was reflected by his readily accepting Modi's invitation to attend his swearing in ceremony at New Delhi recently. Perhaps, Sharif by his hawkish observation on the Kashmir issue in his speech in the UN was only adopting a public posture to please the hawkish elements in Pakistan who seem to be posing a threat to his position. Many people think that Modi could have shown some understanding of Nawaz Sharif's compulsion, as it is in the interest of India also to promote peace in Pakistan on firm grounds.

Diplomatic negotiations and peace manoeuvre are conducted by statesman-like rulers in a discreet manner with patience and long-term understanding of the ground realities. Perhaps, Modi could have restrained himself to a statement of disapproval of Sharif's observations on Kashmir in the UN assembly instead of closing the doors for talks and putting conditions for resuming talks with Pakistan.

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Only People-to-People Relations Can Ease Indo-Pakistan Tensions

V. Balachandran

*Papers on policy options for peace with Pakistan are there in bundles.
Only the initiative to put these in practice is lacking.*

A lot of work has been done on this subject in the past. For example Prof. P. M. Kamath of Mumbai, who always thinks a step ahead of our bureaucracy or politicians, had organized a 3-day seminar in Mumbai in April 2004 on “India-Pakistan relations: In pursuit of Peace”. This was to continue the process established by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee’s epoch-making Lahore bus yatra which was unfortunately marred by the Kargil War. The proceedings of this seminar were published as a book “*India-Pakistan Relations: Courting peace from the corridors of War*”. (Promilla & Co., Bibiophile-2005)

My paper was “A twenty year Calendar for Indo-Pak relations” wherein I had recommended policy options to break new ground, avoiding past mistakes. Ten years have passed; we still keep repeating the same policy errors. I had said that Delhi’s policy must be based on the fact that Pakistan’s “power brokers”, like the army and the bureaucracy, do not stand to gain by peace: “It is the majority middle class, intelligentsia and divided families who suffer the maximum by strained relations”. In particular, I had called for the creation of a “peace constituency” by encouraging trade and people-to-people contact, especially journalists, sportspersons, artists, writers, lawyers, human rights activists, film stars, and traders. We need to cultivate this segment by unilateral concessions, if necessary by way of visas. “The best way to marginalise

a repressive regime is by opening the doors of escape as Western Europe did during the Cold War”. The ritualistic spat with Pakistan at every September UN session has given no particular advantage to India except ridicule. I had also recommended that any unilateral measure against Pakistan civilians would only hurt the segment of peace-loving Pakistani population, which would only encourage Jihadis.

Excerpts of this article were published in the *Hindu* (January 27, 2010) and *Dawn* (11 February 2010). The *Dawn* piece was written by the noted human rights activist I. A. Rehman. Some NGOs like the Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, New Delhi, had done outstanding work. In my paper for their May 2010 round table, I had said that in the “Aman Ki Asha” poll, 66% of Indians, and 72% in Pakistan desired peaceful relationship between the two countries. Only a tiny minority 17% in India and 8% in Pakistan were opposed to the idea of “consigning hostility to the dust bin of history.” Even 50% of Mumbai, which suffered horrendous loss of lives and property damage in 26/11 attack on Taj Hotel, voted for peace.

Papers on policy options for peace with Pakistan are there in bundles. Only the initiative to put this in practice is lacking.

Courtesy V. BALACHANDAN and The Citizen. Excerpted from The Citizen (“India’s first Online Daily”) September 29, 2014.

“Make in India” – Challenges to Ease of Doing Business (Cont’d. from page 18)

quality and depth of local entrepreneurship, geo-political situation, political stability and the overall economic and financial risk profile of the country are equally or perhaps more important drivers of investment activity.

Therefore, while focusing on improving India’s rank in terms of Ease of Doing Business, based on the ten identified World Bank parameters, the policy makers have also to steer the path of macroeconomic stabilization and structural reforms – and there is so much to be done even in this sphere – be it inflation control; rigorous adherence to fiscal responsibility norms; enhancement of domestic savings-investment ratios; correction of large imbalances in the balance of trade; strengthening of banking and financial system; sectoral reforms – pricing policy of public

utilities; transparent system of auctioning and pricing of natural resources [Supreme Court’s decision on de-allocation of coal blocks, while creating a short-term setback, would pave the way for much better and orderly system to prevail later!], and so on.

Thus, much still remains to be done so as to move up the ladder of ranking somewhere closer to China or South Africa in the next couple of years. But that is only the means to an end – and the end is to “Make in India” not just a slogan, but a reality. Or else, *Advantage 3D* will continue to remain as elusive as it has been for the past several years!

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Citizens' Initiative Identifies 100 Laws to Repeal

Inspired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi's call during his election campaign for "Minimum Government, Maximum Governance", a citizens group in New Delhi has drawn up a list of one hundred laws to delete from the statute books. The group released The 100 Laws Repeals Project Report on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary on Thursday, 2 October.

The project was spearheaded by three leading think-tanks: Centre for Civil Society, and Macro/Finance group at NIPFP and Vidhi Legal Centre, who put together a citizen volunteer group comprising of fifteen lawyers and specialists. The team spent over a thousand man-hours researching and pouring through the legal code over a four month period to draw up a list of 100 laws that are obsolete or repetitive and should be immediately repealed. The group received early backing from the Law Commission, the Law Ministry, and the Prime Minister's Office. In fact, the team's research on 40 laws has been included as primary reasoning by the 148th Report of the Law Commission (2014) in its recommendations on repealing obsolete laws.

Elaborating on the collaborative effort which went into producing the report, Dr. Parth Shah, President of Centre for Civil Society said, "This is a true citizen's initiative which the Prime Minister has been talking about implementing in various areas, in order to encourage citizen participation in Government. We are hopeful that this will usher in a new era of cooperation between various decision-making bodies and think tanks, as well as encourage more citizen participation in needed reforms".

The idea of legal reforms was conceived in the election campaign of then PM candidate Narendra Modi.

Wanting to give a head start to implementing this project, volunteers were brought together even before the new PM was sworn in, and started their work. The incoming government was kept informed of the progress of the initiative and provided strong ongoing support to the project. Dr. Ajay Shah, who led NIPFP's team on the project, appreciated the government's commitment to statutory legal reform and said, "Law is the DNA of government, and our task of revitalising government is essentially about a better set of laws. Weeding out the detritus is key to this endeavour."

In addition to 25 colonial and independence related laws, the report identifies and presents research on 17 laws

that constrain economic freedom and impose restrictions on personal liberty, and 19 laws hinder effective governance. The report includes justification and evidence to support repeal of 8 laws that impose taxes, cesses and levies that bring little benefit despite adding significant administrative and collection costs.

The group also recommends that 20 laws passed around the time of Emergency, allowing the government to take over private enterprises be repealed. Lastly, the report identifies 10 central statutes that add to India's labour market rigidities.

The compendium contains one page 'cases' for each recommendation including the name of the legislation, reasons for repeal, and issues that may need to be taken into account during repeal. Data, testimony, expert recommendations, and previous legal opinion have been referenced and cited. Where possible, Government of India budget and census data and last recorded case filings under each law have been used to reinforce the recommendations. The project compendium is available online at www.ccs.in/100laws.

For more information, contact Samta Arora samta@ccs.in

Press Release by Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi

The Paradox of Power

The paradox of power in both India and China is that central governments must selectively give away power, yielding economic freedom to the private sector and political responsibility and accountability to localities. This applies to most complex multilayered systems, particularly ones as massive as India and China.

The fact that both Xi Jinping and Narendra Modi have been local leaders will help. Both men know this. Both know that steering out of an economic skid means getting traction from the power of the private sector – and reducing the role of government in the economy. Both men know that they will have to share power more effectively with massive states and provinces as well as with megacities and other local governments.

Excerpted from *Inside Out, India and China* by William J. Antholis (Brookings Institution Press, 2014).

Of Aggressive Tax Planning and Aggressive Assessments

M. B. Damania

According to a press report dated 2014 October 10, 2014 companies have been advised by Shri Shaktikanta Das, Revenue Secretary, to “move away from aggressive tax planning”. In return, he has offered that the “government will refrain from aggressive assessment”.

In the press report, “aggressive tax planning” has been explained as “complex methods to avoid paying tax”.

As a layman, I cannot understand what is “aggressive assessment”. I thought that tax assessment was on “Aggressive Assessment assessment is something new. Does it mean that our bureaucrats will go beyond what is prescribed under law?

It is generally accepted that there is nothing illegal about tax planning. If our law-makers allow us to claim certain benefits, we are not doing anything wrong by accepting those benefits. We believe that such benefits are intentionally given, in the larger interests of economic development.

“Every man is entitled if he can to order his affairs so as that the tax attaching under the appropriate Acts is less than it otherwise would be.” (*Thomas Tomlin, Baron Tomlin, in the UK House of Lords case, IRC v. Duke of Westminster (1936) 19 TC 490, [1936] AC 1.*)

If our revenue bureaucrats realise that tax payers are taking un-due advantage of tax provisions, it is up to

them to amend the provisions. In a democracy, no public employee can talk about “aggression” against any citizen.

One day after this news item, we read in the papers that the Mumbai High Court has ruled in favour of Vodafone in a tax case involving Rs. 3200 Cr. Our tax authorities have been unable to proceed against Vodafone in another case, where tax laws were amended with retrospective effect. Narendra Modi may tell the world to “Make in India”. However world business leaders will not be swayed by slogans against a background of lack of clarity in tax laws. Our country is paying a heavy price for bad tax management.

Tax planning is a part of tax compliant behaviour. It is not a part of tax avoidance. The United States Supreme Court has stated that “The legal right of an individual to decrease the amount of what would otherwise be his taxes or altogether avoid them, by means which the law permits, cannot be doubted.”

“Any one may so arrange his affairs that his taxes shall be as low as possible; he is not bound to choose that pattern which will best pay the Treasury; there is not even a patriotic duty to increase one’s taxes.” (*Judge Learned Hand, Helvering v. Gregory, 69 F.2d 809, 810-11 (2d Cir. 1934).*)

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A Soldier's Tale

Sunrise At Sunset

Cecil Parker

Nosey, two sunsets and a sunrise on a dark night certainly make an (- expletive deleted -) sight!

If told that it is possible to see the sun set, rise and set again, all in the space of a few minutes, the reader would be understandably sceptical. To observe this unusual phenomenon however, one needs to be at the right place, at exactly the right time and in the right aircraft (AC). Our air force provides the opportunity to meet all three requirements to its aviators in the course of their normal duties. During 1966-69, I was in command of a Hunter-equipped unit at Jamnagar tasked with the conversion and operational training of newly commissioned young pilots of the fighter stream. Though under HQ WAC in New Delhi, the unit had a war role for which we came under HQ Western India (WI) at Pune.

Night flying was a regular feature of staff continuity training and was carried out in two phases: 'Moon Phase' (i.e. a week either side of Full Moon) when there was a distinct natural horizon and visual flying was possible, and 'Dark Night' when there was absolutely no horizon and pilots were on instruments almost entirely from take-off to landing. Such training certainly sharpened our flying skills especially as the Hunter had neither on-board navigation aids nor even a landing light.

The then AOC WI was a strict, no nonsense air vice marshal with a volatile personality, short fuse, colourful linguistic skills and an intimidating bearing. On one of his short-notice visits he learned that we were carrying out 'Dark Night' flying training that night. He immediately expressed a desire to be taken up in the Hunter trainer AC. I instructed my Flight Commander to include him in the flying programme and to ensure that an experienced QFI (Qualified Flying Instructor) took him up. Shortly thereafter the Flight Commander came to my office and, with a deadpan face, (we were good personal friends) conveyed the unanimous opinion of all our QFIs that the privilege of taking up the AOC WI on a dark night, should be that of the Commanding Officer exclusively! (So much for friendship!)

On 17 October 1967, while briefing AOC WI for the sortie, I asked him if he would like to see the sun set, rise and set again all within 20 minutes from take-off. He appeared to be nonplussed but just nodded his head and was not his usual vocal self while being helped to strap

up in the right hand seat of Hunter T66 BS 364. As the sun began to set, we started up the engine, taxied out and parked briefly on the 27 dumbbell of our east – west runway to watch the sun set completely and darkness commence. We took off and climbed due west on a heading of 270 degrees. As we gained height, the tip of the sun appeared again and with an increase in altitude it kept rising till at 40,000 feet it was almost entirely visible. As we levelled out and maintained height and direction, it then began to sink again more rapidly. We were now 65 nm from base over the Arabian Sea and were able to observe the sun set completely once again. To our far right the glow of the lights of Karachi city was faintly visible. (Little did I know that two years later I would land the first IAF Hunter AC at sunrise at Karachi International airport while on a ferry flight from the UK to India.)

Our return to base for the controlled descent and landing was in pitch black conditions requiring my full attention to instrumental flying and I was grateful for the silence of my co-pilot. After the flight I asked him if he had any questions. His response was: 'Nosey, two sunsets and a sunrise on a dark night certainly make an (- expletive deleted -) sight!'

AVM Cecil Parker is a retired air vice marshal of the IAF and a freelance writer who can be contacted at shirleygloria70@yahoo.com

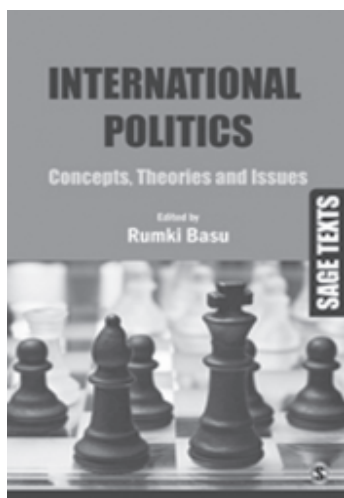
India's Air Pollution Deadlier than AIDS, Malaria

Every day millions of Indians walk on city pavements or wade through smoke-belching cars to cross roads, unknowingly inhaling a lethal dose of harmful pollutants. A new study by US-based Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory has found high levels of three pollutants – fine particles, black carbon and ultra-fine particles on Delhi roads during morning and evening rush hours.

They found that the fine particles are most harmful to human health. These particles are invisible to the naked eye and can easily make their way into the lungs. The Global Burden of Disease 2010 study had shown that exposure to such air pollutants might be killing more Indians than AIDS and malaria put together.

Biplab Das, https://nindia.natureasia.com/en/nindia/article/10.1038/nindia.2014.118?WT.ec_id=NINDIA-20140910 Courtesy: *karmayog Digest* Number 7331

BOOK REVIEWS



INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND ISSUES edited by Rumki Basu ● Sage Publications, New Delhi ● marketing@sagepublications.in ● 2012 ● pp.526 ● Rs.395/-

Reviewed by Dr. Parvathi Vasudevan, formerly Reader, University of Mumbai, Mumbai specialising in international relations.

Writing a text book sounds easy and exciting, in actuality it is neither. Rumki Basu's edited book on International Politics is a standard text book for students interested in understanding the

touched upon by Khan briefly.

Chapters 6 through 10 (part B) examines the several theories central to the understanding of international politics. These range from liberalism by Farah Naaz, to Realism by Rumki Basu, to Marxism, Feminism, Post modernism and Constructivism by Krishna Swamy Dara. Her chapter on Feminism while raising some important observations may fall short of being empirically valid when juxtaposed against the fact that history is replete with some very important women leaders who not merely ensured the survival of their nations but have been regarded as heroic figures – Rani Laxmibai, Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher, Corazon Aquino to name a few.

The chapter on Post modernism and constructivism could have been written in a simpler style given the fact that the book's target audience is students and others "peripherally interested in the subject" as this student cum reviewer has always been.

Part C discusses issues central to the study of International Politics. Adnan Farooqui traces the varied phases of globalisation in an age where technology appears to have rendered "the idea of nation states becoming redundant" (p.280). The moot question is, has it really done so? The answer is fairly evident. A cursory glance at the functioning of the European Union or the Asia Pacific grouping of countries from among several other similar groupings shows that the contrary could possibly be more true. Today the local, the national and the international compete for their respective share of space in the discourse on international politics. Using primary source materials copiously Basu's chapter on the changing role of the United Nations and the several UN specialised agencies highlights their successes as also limitations and suggests "that the UN should try to become far more effective than it is today" (p.333) by anticipating "potential conflicts". (ibid) If this has not happened for the past sixty nine years the chances that it can now do so are indeed dim. To the cynics who doubt the very relevance of the UN, this reviewer asks the counterfactual - how safe would the world be without the UN?

finer nuances of the subject.

This multi-authored book is well structured. It examines the wonderful and challenging world of international politics in a thematic manner. Part A examines the concepts that constitute the essence of international politics and how they impact the study of international relations, Part B assesses the several theories central to the study of international politics, Part C looks at the issues that have shaped and has been shaped by the flow of global politics and Part D exclusively examines India's foreign policy.

Among the concepts (chapter 1 through 5) the centrality of the nation state and the manner in which national power enhances national interests is examined by S.R.T.P.S Raju. The concept as also the practical implications of the balance of power are spelt out. Raju also evaluates the collective security system with increased emphasis on the United Nations. And the chapter on what constitutes national interests by Farah Naaz has one overriding caveat, viz. that national interests evolve with time and contextually too. Much depends "upon policy makers" (p.69), but it is vital to ensure that "the national interests of different nations must be compatible with each other" (ibid). A tall order indeed, when every nation believes in enhancing its sovereign national interests. Some of the other concepts that the book evaluates are diplomacy in its various forms and its relevance by Mehtab Manzar. Colonialism with its later day version-neo-colonialism, the issues of imperial powers, and the rise of the third world are dealt with by Furqan Ahmed. Muslim Khan examines the essence of disarmament talks, arms control and nuclear proliferation. The Indo-US nuclear deal of 2008 is also

The chapter on Human Rights and International Politics by Mehtab Manzar explores the complex links between the two in an age where an individual feels that human rights are not merely supreme 24x7, but should brook no limitation whatsoever. The issues and debates on the global environment by Rumki Basu raises an important view point for the consideration of policy makers around the world, viz. at a time of unbridled consumption what will it take for nations to ensure that environmental degradation is minimised if not eliminated in totality.

Adnan Farooqui argues that if there is any issue that threatens world peace today it is terrorism. The war on terror of September 2001 spawned, though unintentionally, a number of terror groups under the umbrella of the al Qaeda which has resulted in massive violations of international law and human rights too. Chapter 16, the penultimate chapter of the book by Basu discusses the changing nature of development and security. The author points out that nations have unhesitatingly compromised the quality of human life even when making commendable efforts to bridge the economic gap between the rich and the poor.

The last chapter of the book by Mohammed Alam evaluates at length the evolution and implementation of India's foreign policy. Called non-alignment, India was

categorical that she neither wanted to be a part of the Western bloc of nations or those led by the erstwhile Soviet Union. The reason was to stay away from the compulsions of and becoming pawns in the Cold War. Yet playing an important an active part in world affairs has always been important for India. The author points out that today the Indian foreign policy officials while keeping the basic tenets intact, are more than before concerned with economic and energy security. Clearly, India now seeks 'productive' friendship with the US, Russia, China, and the EU, the Far East, West Asia, Africa and the immediate neighbouring countries.

Finally, in a piece titled 'Afterward', the editor examines the emerging areas of concern and unfinished agendas in the present multi-polar world whilst calling for "convergent exercises" with heightened levels of accountability. The author also wishes that "nations learn from one another's successes and failures" (p.500). Wishful thinking?!

What is missing in a text book of this genre, conceding that some selectivity is unavoidable, is the absence of any discussion on the Bretton Woods Twins, especially the role that they have played in helping developing counties combat socio-economic difficulties. This is, however, not a complaint but a suggestion.



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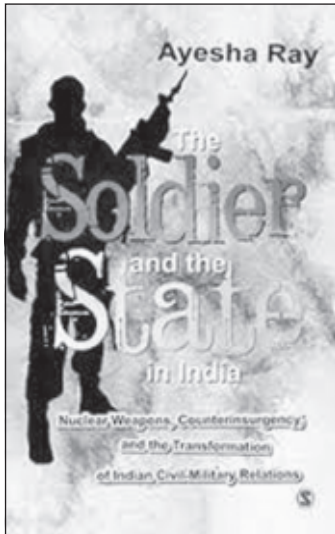
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THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE IN INDIA by Ayesha Ray • Sage Publications, New Delhi • marketing@sagepublications.in • 2013 • pp.170 • Rs.595

Reviewed by Brig. Suresh Sharma (Retd.), adviser to the telecom industry, freelance writer, and member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*. Email: brigscs@gmail.com.

examines the key issues involved in civil-military relations. Secondly, it describes the differences in civil-military relations in India and other countries. Thirdly, it illustrates the differences in the political systems in India and other countries.

Huntington has commented that even if the civil authorities respect the military as an autonomous institution, final decisions even in strategy remain the prerogative of the civil authority. Examples are not lacking when overruling the military in strategic area has saved the situation or when defiance of directive from civilian authority has led to victory. The book suggests that the desirable approach is to evaluate the situation without ego and forge an agreed plan.

In Chapter three, the author has narrated the evolution of command structure in the pre-1947 period. In World War II, most of the officers and men remained loyal to their British officers. As early as 1929, Motilal Nehru had urged the officers to remain loyal to the British till Independence. He well understood the importance of a well disciplined army after Independence. Captain [later General] Thimayya happened to meet him in a cinema in Allahabad. Nehru asked him how he felt in a foreigner's uniform. Thimayya replied whether he should resign and discard it. Nehru told him that he had to struggle in the Council to get the right of commission for Indians and he should continue to serve. After 1947, Lord Ismay was asked to suggest the structure of the Higher Defence Organization for India. He recommended a political committee of political leaders and civil bureaucrats and a military Committee of Chiefs of Staff [COSC]. The recommendations of the military committee were subject to approval by the Ministry of Defence. The COSC thus had little power. This barrier between the military leadership

and Service Chiefs is unique and has proved to be detrimental to national security.

In 1947, the President was made the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He has no authority and can act only on the advice of the cabinet. His advice has often been ignored. The post of C-in-C was abolished and the civilian officers were ranked higher than the military officers. The major reason for these changes was Nehru's fear of the military. One of the last British ICS officers was taking Nehru around the secretariat offices. They came to a room where a few military officers were sitting. Nehru walked out immediately and asked why military officers were present there. The civil servant explained that they were part of the military wing of the cabinet secretariat. Nehru directed that they should come in civilian dress. India has a fragmented system of civil military relations.

In the USA, the military commanders directly interact with the President, the Senate and the Congress Committees. They can influence political decisions. In India, the COSC do not have a direct relationship with the Prime Minister and are unable to influence political decisions. The situation worsened during the tenure of Krishna Menon as Defence Minister. For example, Colonel Bhagat VC, then director of Military Intelligence, sent a paper on the Indo-Chinese border issue to President Dr. Radhakrishnan on Menon's direction. The President advised Bhagat to send it to the Prime Minister also. However, Menon told Bhagat not to do so, depriving the Prime Minister of sound professional advice. Another difference between the US and India is in the separation of executive and legislative functions; in India the Parliament enjoys both functions.

Civil-military relations were affected in, both, the USA and India by the advent of nuclear weapons. The stockpile of nuclear weapons had to be handed over to the military during the cold war when the military may have had to respond in a short time. In India, nuclear weapons were developed in isolation from the military. Even in May 1998, the military was informed of the nuclear test only two days before the event. This was in spite of the fact that the test site was prepared by the Army Engineers. Presence of chemical weapons was not known to the military till the Ministry of Defence announced destruction of such weapons after signing the Chemical Weapons

convention. Pakistan demonstrated its nuclear capability after the Indian tests and made no secret of its intentions to offset India's superiority in conventional war by nuclear weapons.

According to the author, the military has been kept out of the control of nuclear weapons in order not to make it too powerful. This reasoning lacks conviction. A part of the reason was the absence of a reliable delivery and target acquisition systems. Arun Singh, Minister of State for Defence was asked by Prime Minister V P Singh to work out details of a nuclear command structure. He was surprised to note that the military had not been briefed about India's nuclear capability. General Sundarji suggested the adoption of a declared nuclear weapons posture. The BJP Government agreed with the views of Sundarji and a nuclear weapon policy was framed. A nuclear powered submarine was considered necessary for a second strike capability.

The Kargil War was fought in the shadow of a nuclear strike. India showed great restraint in preventing escalation into a nuclear war. Pakistan keeps on issuing threats of nuclear war, little realizing that it could be destroyed due to lack of any depth. I recollect the parallel of a possible nuclear war between the USA and the USSR. The US Military Attaché commented "USA will be badly hurt but the USSR will cease to be a viable society." It is strange that Pakistan should threaten a nuclear war.

There was a lack of understanding between the civil and the military when the Army was ordered to move to the Western border for a possible strike after the militant attack on the Parliament on 13 December 2001. The Defence Secretary complained that the Army took too long, ignoring the time required to move from far flung peace stations. The Army Chief opined that we lost a good opportunity by not going to war. When he asked Prime Minister Vajpayee the objective of concentration, he replied "Will tell later."

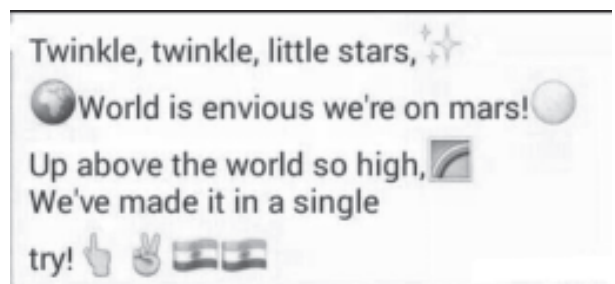
The military's role in counter-insurgency operations and aid to civil authorities during domestic violence is an important aspect of civil-military relations. The military has no powers to act against civilians except in self defence. Armed Forces Special Powers Act [AFSP] had to be passed to give the requisite powers to the military. Proposal to abolish this Act has been successfully resisted by the military. Frequent calls for aid during large scale riots and disorders have forced the Government to change the procedure. Deployment of the Army to clear the hostile elements in the Golden Temple in Amritsar alienated some Sikh troops. It became necessary due to delayed action by the civil administration. It is good that the Government

has accepted the Army Chief's advice to avoid using the army in anti-Naxal operations. Sri Lanka operations were launched without a clear political objective and the capability of Indian Army was overestimated by the military. The Intelligence Agency which had armed and trained the LTTE was overconfident of controlling them. No careful and detailed analysis had been carried out. Interference by the High Commissioner increased the confusion.

The author has treated the civil authority as one entity. In fact there are four constituents – the Ministry of Defence [MOD], the Ministry of Defence Production, the Ministry of Defence [Finance] and the Defence Research and Development Organization [DRDO]. The civil servants in MOD are ill trained to appreciate the defence issues. During the Kargil War, the Defence Secretary said to the Army Chief "You are talking of shortage of weapons. I have seen stacks of rifles in the Ishapur factory." He did not want to know that small arms are no substitute for artillery guns. The MOD has authority for promotions and postings of senior officers which often damages the military's command structure and loyalty to the Army Chief.

The DRDO has been high on promise and low on delivery. No imports are usually allowed unless he agrees. A development body has degenerated into a regulating body. A unique feature of the Defence Organization in India is the power enjoyed by the Ministry of Defence [Finance] who question the operational viability and necessity of any proposal. The Defence Secretary or the Defence Minister cannot overrule their opinion and has to be taken to the Finance Minister or to the Prime Minister. It is a legacy of the Curzon- Kitchner controversy which needs to be reviewed. A strange example is that posting to Tajikistan was not accepted as a foreign posting till the Ministry of External Affairs intervened. Defence Analyst and former civil servant, K Subramanyam has commented: Politicians enjoy power without responsibility, bureaucrats wield power without accountability and military assume responsibility without any direction.

The book traces the changes in the civil military relations since independence and is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.



Courtesy: Renu Prakash prakashrenu07@gmail.com

A Tale of Three Nations

When all three nations have become prosperous, developed nations, only then will Hindi-Chini-Japani truly become bhai bhai!

For this purpose, Japan would probably be willing to shower upon India a whole embarrassment of riches. At least this is what the India-Japan vision implies. Indrani Bagchi lists the following (TOI, February 3, 2014) “... help with an industrial corridor from Delhi to Mumbai, another from Bangalore to Chennai, a huge port in Chennai to Dawei in Myanmar connecting manufacturing centres in South India with markets in Asia and beyond, connecting India and Sri Lanka, a bridge between Rameswaram and Mannar including an undersea power transmission link, help with NTPC’s Sampur power plant in Trincomalee [Sri Lanka], funds and expertise to build infrastructure in Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur as backward linkages from



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the India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway due to be completed by 2016.” (This was before the Prime Minister’s visit to Japan and now the visit itself has been made.)

Yes, it could amount to an embarrassment of riches but one thing was left unsaid in the article. What would be India’s contribution to this partnership? An alert reader provided this a few days later. Let’s help ourselves, she volunteered, so that the Japanese are enabled to help us! I would like for us to go one step further. Let’s adopt for ourselves the very mantra which the Japanese sought out from the West and put to work to transform their country. Remember that only until a few years ago, when it was displaced by China, Japan, although a much smaller country, was the second largest economy in the whole world. Leave alone Japan and the industrialized world, we in India today are greatly behind even China which, as we have noted, really only commenced its journey thirty years ago. Unless we set to work urgently, this gap will grow dangerously larger as successive years go by. This can be a paradigmatic move for India.

What do I mean by MoST? Many of you will say that we surely already have modern science and technology in India. True but not in the same way as when you adopt it as a national platform, a national mission. We have enormous talent and unlimited manpower in this country and yet we have dealt with this precious recipe for modernity in an erratic and almost frivolous manner. This is not the place to elaborate on MoST (it’s been done by me elsewhere) but suffice it to say that, if properly understood and suitably employed in an entire nation, it is capable of transforming that nation.

It can overhaul our age-old agriculture, rapidly make a proper manufacturing (and exporting) nation out of us, revolutionize the services sector and can lead the way to a knowledge economy. In fact, it is the only way to that distant goal. It operates on an individual as well as national level. For example, it helps individuals to carefully organize knowledge in their own minds (think of this as the first critical step towards innovation) while at the same time, it brings about transformation of the entire economy. It is the prime engine of growth because it is the most direct way of getting to where you want to be, not a roundabout or indirect way. It even helps you straddle the so-called barrier between science on the one hand and the humanities and social sciences on the other. These not only co-exist but flourish and it is important that they do so because all has to go together. Above all, it brings about transformation of the individual himself or herself – every

man, woman and child gets changed and together they cause the nation to go forward.

Many ways have recently been suggested in which prosperous China can begin to become aware of us in India and we then can increasingly trade with them. But do we have to do it because wages are going up in China or because we require to persuade them to actually manufacture in India? Can we assign critical infrastructure and strategic, delicate technological jobs to them? As the two largest peopled nations in the world, neighbours to boot, will there not always be a basic element of competition built into our relationship? They would be entitled to view us similarly and they do.

Why not then develop India by going straight to the very manual, the only manual, for economic and if you ask me, all other kinds of development, namely modern science and technology (MoST)? That’s what the Japanese did starting mid-nineteenth century and that’s what the Chinese achieved, latecomers though they were, in our own time. MoST drives economic development and in the process, as we said, also changes people. It’s the only way to grow human or intellectual capital, there isn’t any other. What more can a nation want?

There is one final, very important benefit to be gained from all this. For the future, it’s also the only way to achieve true, lasting balance of power in Asia and therefore, the world. When all three nations have become proper, prosperous, developed nations, only then will Hindi-Chini-Japani truly become bhai bhai.

ARVIND BANAVALIKER, with a background of economics and law, stumbled across general Science about forty years ago. He remains an avid student of the history of science.

Spineless Creatures

Sources confirmed that special adviser to the Tamil Nadu government Sheela Balakrishnan, IAS officers A. Ramalingam and R. Sudalaikkannan and a handful of police officers, who arrived on Sunday, also returned without meeting Jayalalithaa.

Are the officers serving the public outside the jail or the convicted and jailed politicians? How can they continue in service at the cost of the public exchequer?

“Sources confirmed that special adviser to the Tamil Nadu government Sheela Balakrishnan, IAS officers A. Ramalingam and R. Sudalaikkannan and a handful of police officers, who arrived on Sunday, also returned without meeting Jayalalithaa.” From a report in the *Times of India*, October 1, 2014

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Should Scientists be Compelled to Teach in Schools?

N. S. Venkataraman

It would be unwise to force the unwilling scientists to teach children in schools.

It must have surprised many that the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Government of India has announced that every scientist working in the government owned Council of Scientific and Industrial Research [CSIR] labs, without exception, have to take classes for at least 12 hours in a year in government owned or government aided educational institutions without any honorarium. Though the announcement has been made with good intentions, this mandatory order may become counter-productive due to several reasons.

Around 6,000 scientists, who would be compelled to take this exercise, belong to the government owned laboratories under the CSIR, whose overall performance at present has not met the expectations of the nation so far.

CSIR labs need to stay focussed

While thousands of crores of rupees have been pumped by the Government in maintaining the CSIR laboratories all over India, the general perception is that the performance of the CSIR labs need to be considerably improved and that their performance is not commensurate with the investment made during the last several years. Although there are a few labs that have done some exceptionally good work in specific areas, the industry lacks confidence in CSIR labs.

There is an urgent need to immediately introduce strong research-oriented work culture in the CSIR labs to promote research activities in a time-bound and dynamic manner. This is still not happening as the CSIR labs are still run in a bureaucratic style. The climate in the CSIR labs is often like the one prevailing in the government departments with many files moving here and there and senior scientists often preoccupied in meetings and administrative work rather than spending their effort and

time in the laboratories and shop floor.

The functions of the CSIR labs have to be considerably improved by insisting that scientists remain focussed only on research activities without asking them to do work that does not have elements of research.

Counter-productive order

This move could lead to diversion of attention of the scientists to some extent from the primary task of research to teaching. While the government has asked the scientists to teach only for 12 hours in a year, this order will have the general impact of diverting the focus of research labs to non-research activity.

Obviously, the CSIR labs have to motivate and train the scientists in teaching skills. Budget and time have to be allotted for this purpose.

Need for dedicated teachers

Teaching requires focussed and specific interest on the part of the teachers. All the scientists may not have this attribute. It would be unwise to force the unwilling scientists to teach children in schools. It has been often said that a part-time teacher can only be a half-teacher. Perhaps, government could have made it a voluntary exercise instead of making it mandatory.

The objectives of the government should be to build a large team of highly trained and dedicated teachers and the present move to ask the scientists to teach for a short period may end up as an exercise in futility. This move may benefit neither the educational institutions nor the CSIR labs.

N. S. VENKATARAMAN, Trustee, Nandini Voice of the Deprived, Chennai, Email: nsvenkatchennai@gmail.com

Cultural Heritage and Violence in the Middle East

According to reports all six UNESCO World Heritage sites in Syria have been damaged, major museum collections at Homs and Hama have been looted, and dozens of ancient tells have been obliterated by shelling. In Iraq, recent media stories recount ISIS fighters' use of antiquities to raise revenues. So-called blood antiquities function as cash-cows... Syria and Iraq are simply additional chapters in the long-running story wherein conflict is characterised by a two-fold assault on humanity: human bodies themselves as well as the objects and sites that people create and infuse with cultural meaning.

**Fiona Rose-Greenland and Fatma Müge Göçek, 4 October 2014, Open Democracy
www.opendemocracy.net**

Some More Glimpses of Sir MV's Vision

H. R. Bapu Satyanarayana

On the day the manuscript of the October 2014 issue of *Freedom First* was given to the press for printing, we received some additional text from Bapu Satyanarayana to be added to his wonderful article on Sir M. Visvesvaraya's vision of India "Transforming India – Building Values in the System of Governance", with the following note:

"I do not know whether the expanded version of my article to be published in October 2014 can be substituted with the modified one I am sending but since Sir MV is so larger than life and his vision is still applicable as he is a mine of inexhaustible information and guidance I am tempted to add two more paragraphs. He is the father of planned economy and five year plans much before Russia came with it. This is only a small glimpse of his enormous achievements both nationally and internationally.

If it is not possible please do not bother and let the original be published."

As it was too late to publish the "expanded version of his article" for the reason stated above we publish the two more paragraphs "he wanted to share with our readers" and we do so with pleasure - Editor

"In the history of a nation it is given to few to change the destiny of a people. One such phenomenon was Sir MV. He is the stuff that legend is made of. Some consider him as a messiah and a visionary, some worship him and truly in his thinking he was far ahead of his time and his ideas are still relevant. As an engineer he was par excellence and as an administrator he had few peers. What Albert Einstein said about Mahatma Gandhi that "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth," will apply in equal measure to Sir MV. He was the father of the planned economy and five year plans. He was the first person in India to think of public debt for Reconstruction and Progress. He was particular about

gathering statistics on almost every aspect of economic, civil, social and political development. The steps he took in the field of social transformation were revolutionary during that time like encouraging widow marriage, discouraging child marriage and discouraging the dowry system. When he took over as Dewan on 12th November 1912 what he observed is still relevant:

- Low level of education
- Lack of initiative, ambition and power of organisation.
- Lack of capacity for planning among the leaders.
- Low economic condition and absence of any effort on a planned basis for improvement and development

During his six years as Dewan under the shadow of the First World War his achievements were amazing. In the area of education his contribution was path breaking and farsighted – a vigorous drive to increase the number of schools both by the government and private enterprise; introduction of a system of grants and subsidies to encourage building of schools; special grant for the education of backward classes and depressed communities; got passed legislation for compulsory primary education; and special attention to the education of women.



Sir MV

Personal Routine

His daily routine was strictly regulated, rising at 6 am and retiring to bed at 10 pm. He used to go for a walk in the evenings and was blessed with excellent health and lived for 101 years – September 15, 1861-April 14, 1962. When he was asked about the secret of his longevity he replied that "death called me once and found me not at home because I had gone for a walk".

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MANY VOICES - *From The Past*

Beyond a certain point the more you plan the less you do.

Gordon Walker MP, *Encounter* April 1956.

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Over-patriotism is nothing but arrogance

**Acharya Vinoba Bhave, quoted in
The Times of India March 21, 1956**

*

America can prove Marx was dead wrong. In this country you don't have to divide scarcity

**Walter Reuther, president CIO,
Indian Express, April 3, 1956**

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In five years it may be as dangerous to praise Stalin as it was to attack him two years ago. But I should not regard this as an advance. Nothing is gained by teaching the parrot a new word.

**George Orwell, September, 1946 quoted in
Freedom First, June 1956**

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China's claim to Tibet is no stronger than Portugal's claim to Goa.

***Mysindia* (Bangalore), June 10, 1956**

*

Hon. Members know that none could raise their heads in a communist country. If the head is raised it disappears.

Pandit Nehru, *The Times of India*, August 11, 1956

*

It (the Indian Press) has disfranchised out of office leadership.

***Saka in Swarajya*, August 18, 1956**

*

'The intellectuals are the... educated half-wits of Europe'.

- Winston Churchill, *Thought*, August 25, 1956.

*

An intellectual is a person who takes more words than he needs to say more than he knows.

***Beachcomber*, *Thought*, August 25, 1956**

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In his spiritual activities the Hindu is like a dynamo generating electricity, in his worldly life a motor that expends it.

Nirad Choudhury in *Encounter*, April, 1957.

*

Free Enterprise is the rule of *Dharma* and is an essential attribute of a Welfare State.

**Prof. B. R. Shenoy,
Indian Express, September. 17 1957**

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Now that the Soviet Union has started having satellites in space, it may be less interested in acquiring satellites in good old mother earth. Or that is what many of us hope.

V. B., *Hindustan Times*, November 11, 1957

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In all seriousness, if there is one defect that this country's decade of experience with democracy has shown up it is that the principle of free speech extends to Ministers.

***Times of India*, November 17, 1957**

*

Communism helps an easy interpretation of history and hence it often fascinates me.

**Prime Minister Nehru, *Sunday Chronicle*,
December 15, 1957**

*

The economic consequences of Mr. Krishna Menon needs now be taken into consideration.

***The Eastern Economist*, November 29, 1957**

*

The Second Plan Frame was an imperfect essay of an imaginative person in projecting his ideas into the future without being bound by mundane considerations such as shortage of finance, manpower and resources.

**Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari,
Free Press Journal, December 14, 1957**

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The Pope is for peace – we are also. The Pope is for banning the Atomic Bomb – we are also. Therefore objectively speaking there is a point of contact and meeting between the policy of the Soviet Union and the Vatican.

**Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister,
Hindustan Times, January 13, 1958**

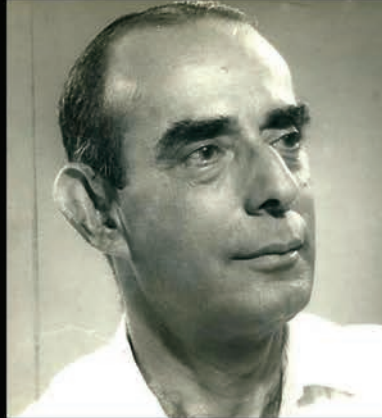
*

In its 9 months of power (the communist regime in Kerala) has set new standards in efficiency, impartiality and incorruptibility – by lowering the earlier ones. The general philosophy of the communists seems to be that refractory skulls invite resounding blows.

Asoka Mehta, *The Statesman*, January 14, 1958

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Remembering the Founder on his 109th birth anniversary



Minoo Masani
Founder, Freedom First

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.