

janata

Vol. 72 No. 37
October 8, 2017

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A part-time Chief Minister

Kuldip Nayar

Uttar Pradesh chief minister Yogi Adityanath has said that he would be taking five days off in a month to attend to his duties as head priest of the Gorakhnath Temple. Television networks ran this part of his speech only once. Either the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) forced the channels to take the story off or the chief minister himself felt so embarrassed that he withdrew his statement. That could be the reason why the speech did not see the light of the day in print.

What Yogi had said was that he would continue to be the head priest and attend to the religious duties along with his callings as chief minister of the state. But this is only for the consumption of the people. Otherwise, he is continuing as head priest of the temple and also in his post as chief minister.

However, one disturbing thing which is obvious is that the gulf between Hindus and Muslims is increasing further. There is an atmosphere of communal tension. More than half of UP is under the gaze of police because there is a riot-

like situation in most places. So much so the centre, despite being ruled by the BJP, has expressed anxiety over the situation.

Unfortunately, Chief Minister Yogi is openly attending to the duties as mahant and also carries out what he considers is his task as chief minister. The situation is whimsical and the opposition parties have rightly criticized the Yogi for saffronising the office of chief minister. Apparently, the RSS backing is so strong that the chief minister could get away with what is parochial and partisan.

But this should not raise eyebrows. We all know that the appointment of the Yogi as the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh came as a surprise to political observers. During the UP campaign, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the main campaigner, largely concentrated on the agenda of development. This was true despite his attempts, halfway through the election, to consolidate the Hindu vote through the use of communal speeches and words. Nor was there any major communal incident or riot, as happened prior to the 2014 national elections. But then

what had become clear was that even if the BJP were to bring in development in UP as promised, the path to winning the 2019 general elections will be through communal polarization.

This is where Adityanath, a familiar face in national politics due to his communal remarks from time to time, including those prior to the voting in western UP in an attempt to gain the Hindu and particularly the OBC vote in the face of Jat opposition, fitted it. A five-time MP from Gorakhpur since 1998, he was appointed the mahant in 2014 and the Gorakhnath mutt has been involved in political matters for decades.

What may not be as well known is the manner in which the Yogi rose to prominence in the late 1990s, gradually replacing the upper-caste mafia of the 1980s that dominated the politics of the region. This mafia had vast patronage and solid connections with political parties, but still had no communal linkages. The decline of this mafia provided space to Yogi, leading to a shift from caste-centric mafiadom to religious criminalization. Adityanath also had the advantage of being a Rajput with good connection in the dominant upper-caste besides forging successfully an alliance with the OBCs and dalits to maintain a balance. That is how he, as a 26-year-old, was fielded as the BJP candidate from the Gorakhpur Lok Sabha constituency and, as they say, the rest is history.

Emerging as a leading force and communalizing the politics of the region, there could not have been a better option than Adityanath to help the BJP win elections in 2019 as UP, with 80 Lok Sabha seats, would be vital in the party's scheme of things

to capture power at the centre. Yet, there was much speculation as both Modi and party president Amit Shah wanted a person with a developmental image to lead the state. But the RSS had its way and persuaded Modi and Shah to accept Adityanath as the chief minister.

There are a number of reasons why the BJP-RSS has selected him to head the state. First, the 2000s have witnessed the attempt by the BJP to create a strong non-Brahmin Hindutva, not only in UP but in many states in the country. While in the 1980s and early 1990s the BJP was viewed as largely an upper-caste Hindu party, since at least the mid-1990s in UP there has been an attempt to consciously mobilize and bring into the ambit of the party non-Yadav OBCs and non-Jatav dalits, who constitute the large majority, in order to meet the challenge posed by the Samajwadi Party and the Bahujan Samaj Party.

The chief minister should be attending to the immediate problems facing the state like the deaths at the Gorakhpur hospital and the burning issue of the Banaras Hindu University where the students have been agitating. The recent issue about the Taj Mahal, which is our heritage, having been removed from the list of UP Tourism attractions has added to the chapter of controversies.

We have the bitter experience of having part-time Prime Ministers. They embarrassed the party or a combination of parties and did little work when so many problems were awaiting solutions. This is what the BJP and chief minister Adityanath should remember because the party won the assembly polls on the *(Continued from Page 8)*

Llargest Money-Laundering Plan

Slamming the Narendra Modi government over sliding economic growth and increasing job losses, former Union minister Arun Shourie has likened demonetisation to suicide, saying the latter is too "a bold step". He also called the Modi government as "government of two and-a-half persons".

"This is a government by `ilhaam' (revelation). The PM has the `ilhaam' one night that demonetisation should be done and he does it. In any case it was a bold step. I have to remind you suicide too is a bold step," Shourie said in an interview with NDTV when asked why in his view the government went in for demonetisation. He said, "It was the largest money-laundering scheme ever, conceived and implemented by the government." It was an "idiotic jolt", he said, "everyone who had black converted it into white".

"Which argument (offered by the government in defence of demonetisation) today survives?"

Black money? All of it turned white. Terrorism? Terrorists are still coming into India," he said. Shourie also took a dig at BJP president Amit Shah, terming him "that famous economist" and underscoring that official figures cannot be brushed under the carpet.

"This is a government of two-and-a-half persons, Narendra Modi, Amit Shah and one in-house lawyer. They don't have the expertise and they have surrounded themselves by persons who don't have the expertise," he said.

Mess in Education
Sandeep Pandey

BHU IIT

The controversial Vice Chancellor of Banares Hindu University, Professor Girish Chandra Tripathi's has now gone on leave indefinitely. It turns out he was not only a disaster for the university but was also eroding the credibility of the reputed Indian Institute of Technology on campus as its Chairperson, Board of Governors. The Minister for External Affairs Sushma Swaraj mentioned IITs among India's achievements in the United Nations General Assembly speech but this VC could care less.

His name was not there in the panel of five for appointment to Chairman, Board of Governors of IIT at BHU, yet he was foisted upon IIT by the then Minister for Human Resources Development Smriti Irani. Irani's educational qualification is suspect and Tripathi's academic record is dubious, with no research publication in his name to date. As mediocre people meddled in the affairs of academic institutions of national and international importance, it was bound to boomerang at some point. While Irani had to be replaced as Minister of HRD because of mishandling campus after campus, Tripathi now stands thoroughly exposed as anti-intellectual, intransigent, morally bankrupt, patriarchal, arrogant, irrational and tyrannical administrator. His capacity for shamelessness is unfathomable. Three days after the incident of sexual harassment on campus on 21 September which snowballed into a major controversy, he tried to regularise the appointment of Dr. O.P. Upadhyay, convicted of sexual misconduct by a Fiji Court, as

Medical Superintendent of the Hospital on campus. It was because of his trying to push such cases of inappropriate candidates that Professor at IIT Gandhinagar, Michel Danino, also a member of Indian Council of Historical Research, had resigned from the university's executive council in 2015 November.

Tripathi treated the University as his fiefdom and the IIT a toy to play with. It turns out that he had not finalised the minutes of meeting of IIT Board of Governors held on 8 July, 2016 with more than a year having elapsed. Until these minutes are passed next meeting cannot take place. Other members of the Board suggested to him to call a meeting to finalise the minutes. But Tripathi remained incommunicado on this issue.

As a result of Tripathi's shortsightedness important decisions are pending implementation. Appointments of five Deans of IIT - that of Academic Affairs, Student Affairs, Research and Development, Alumni Affairs and Faculty Affairs - has been put on hold as acting Deans manage the day-to-day affairs. Besides the Director, Deans play an important role in running of IITs. Several appointments, especially security related, are also awaiting finalisation of Board decisions. In the light of recent events on campus the importance of security appointments cannot be underestimated. But the most serious damage it has caused to the IIT is that democratic functioning of administration has been usurped. Whereas in the normal

course decisions were taken in Board meetings and implemented, now since the last over one year every decision has been personally approved by the Vice Chancellor as Board's chair with other members having no say.

According to rules at least two meetings should be held every year. Only a special meeting was held in June 2017 to approve the pay scale in which the VC refused to discuss the approval of minutes of 8 July 2016 meeting saying that special meeting was called to discuss only a specific matter. He almost held the institution to ransom. Now that he has been made to proceed on indefinite leave, the situation of Chairperson, IIT Board of Governors has been left in a limbo. The IIT is in a state of uncertainty not knowing what is in store for future. It is unthinkable that it didn't prick a pygmy VC's conscience, who subscribes to an ideology which constantly harps on nationalism, that he was hampering the functioning of an institute which is a symbol of national pride.

It would be instructive to see who the various chairpersons of several other IITs are? IIT Kanpur, Board is headed by R.C. Bhargava, Chairman, Maruti Udyog Ltd., IIT Delhi by Kumar Mangalam Birla, Chairman, Aditya Birla Group, IIT Mumbai by Dilip Sanghvi, Chairman, Sun Pharma, IIT Kharagpur by Sanjiv Goenka, Chairman, RP-Sanjiv Goenka Group, IIT Chennai by Pawan Goenka, Managing Director, Mahindra and Mahindra Ltd., IIT

Guwahati by Dr. Rajiv Modi, Chairman & MD of Cadila Pharmaceuticals Ltd. and IIT Roorkee may have a new Chairman in the form of Anil Kakodkar. Most IIT Boards are chaired by industry leaders who are there because of their vision and dynamism. Can we imagine any of them sitting on minutes of a Board meeting for over a year?

Let us compare Tripathi with the names that were originally proposed by the IIT Board from among

whom it wanted its chairperson to be chosen. The panel of five included N.R. Narayana Murthy, co-founder of Infosys, Pankaj Chandra, earlier Director of Indian Institute of Management, Bengaluru and now VC, Ahmedabad University, Kiran Karnik, presently one of the Directors of Reserve Bank of India, Sanjay Dhande, former Director, IIT Kanpur and Narendra Ahuja, formerly Professor at University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. All of them established themselves and build their credibility over years.

What is Girish Chandra Tripathi's claim to hold this prestigious position? He has no achievements to show in any field which makes him fit to be even a Professor, leave aside positions of VC and Chairperson of Board of Governors, that too of an IIT.

The performance of G.C. Tripathi has been so hopeless that even the persons involved in elevating him to a position for which he was not deserving must be taken to task.

Taking Institutions Backwards

On 11 September, 1893 Swami Vivekanand delivered his famous speech in the Parliament of World's Religions in Chicago. The Bhartiya Janata Party government decided to celebrate the event and Prime Minister Narendra Modi addressed the youth of the country. Incidentally, he shares his first name with Vivekanand's original name Narendra Nath Datta.

Vivekanand has inspired the youth of this country for long. His preachings are thought provoking. For example, he says, 'As certain religions of the world say that a man who does not believe in a Personal God outside of himself is an atheist, so the Vedanta says, a man who does not believe in himself is an atheist. Not believing in the glory of our own soul is what Vedanta call atheism.' At another place he pleads with his audience, 'If you are not a prophet, there never has been anything true of God...Everyone of us will have to become a prophet.'

However, when this occasion was celebrated on 11 September, 2017 on university campuses, students were

asked to memorise the speech of Swami Vivekanand delivered in 1893 and regurgitate it. When students did not even bother to learn it by rote, they were allowed to read it from paper. Such is the sorry state of affairs of our academic institutions. If Swami were alive today he would have cringed in despair.

He wanted everybody to have complete faith in themselves and feel like a sovereign but our higher educational institutions do not want our students to develop independent thinking. Had the students been asked to give their comments on Vivekanand's speech they would have had to exercise their brain. But it is amazing that university level students are just being asked to memorise and reproduce a speech. The entire idea of putting a curb on students' thinking is contradictory to Vivekanand's idea of empowerment. How can the students have belief in themselves if they are merely activating not the analytical power of brain but only its photographic ability? Quite clearly the authorities want to produce followers and not leaders.

That Vivekanand is not taken seriously by the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, the ideological parent of ruling dispensation in India, is also clear from his statement in the same speech, 'We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth.' However, in the context of current migration of Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar the Home Minister Rajnath Singh says they are illegal immigrants and not refugees who have not followed the procedure to apply for asylum, but it is not clear whether Government of India would welcome them even if they were to seek entry through proper channel. They obviously don't have Vivekanand's large heart. Narendra Modi chose not to raise the issue of persecution of Rohingya Muslims during a meeting with its famous leader, Aung San Suu Kyi in his recent maiden visit to Myanmar. That demonstrates India's overall insensitivity towards Rohingyas.

Vivekanand also said in Chicago,

‘Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendent, fanaticism, have long possessed the beautiful earth. They have filled earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilisation and sent whole nations to despair. Had it not been for these horrible demons, human society would be far more advanced than it is now.’

However sectarianism, bigotry, fanaticism and violence have increased with the BJP’s ascent to power. Some Sangh parivar loyalists can argue that this is in response to the rise of similar tendencies in Islam globally. The moot question is could there have been a different response rooted in Vivekanand’s and Mahatma Gandhi’s ideologies to it?

Also it is worrisome that senior functionaries of the BJP governments are indulging in negating scientific and rational thinking. The Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath while speaking at the convocation of the Sanjay Gandhi Post Graduate Institute of Medical Sciences in Lucknow on 16 September claimed that China was researching how Hindu God Ganesh’s head slain by his father Lord Shiv was replaced with an elephant’s head and exhorted the Indian doctors to delve into the treasure of our scriptures. He also beseeched the faculty and students to find the herb which brought back Laxman to life. According to him Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was inspired by the Mahabharat to work on missiles. Yogi Adityanath holds a Bachelor’s degree in Mathematics.

The State Minister for Human Resources Development at the centre Satya Pal Singh claimed in a programme of All India Council for Technical Education on 20

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Y. S Subramanya

Under the veteran socialist leader, the late C.G.K Reddy and Sogal Nagabhushana, the erstwhile state of Mysore in Karnataka had seen a flurry of socialist activities with a band of dedicated, young and educated student leaders. Both J.P and Lohia were the guiding stars for the enthusiastic band of workers who laid the foundation of socialist movement in the Mysore area. Y. S, Subramanya, who passed away on 25-09-2017 at the age of 93 was one among such unsung heroes of the socialist movement, who were the witness to the birth, rise and fall of the great socialist movement in this part of the country.

It was the job of Y.S Subramanya to supervise the distribution and sale of “Jagruti Patrike”, started under the stewardship of the late Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya. The late veteran journalist Khadri Shamanna was its editor. Initially, it was published from Mumbai and subsequently shifted to Dharwad, Karnataka. Subramanya had opened a small office in Balepet of the busy Majestic area of Bangalore and he and other young band of enthusiastic socialist workers would read the catchy headlines of the paper loudly, and within a few hours of the receipt of the Jagruti, the copies would have been sold out. Whatever the subscription collected would be utilized in the evening by Subramanya and other youngsters to purchase groundnuts and that was their staple food. He used to narrate these anecdotes and with all pride, he would say “We used to eat *Kadlekai* (Groundnuts), drink some water and then go to bed!” They were indeed a great, dedicated band of selfless socialists.

Hailing from a traditional family, it was great news when he joined the Bata Shoe Company and incidentally, this company was a shield for all his activities. All national and state leaders like Yusuf Meherally, C.G.K Reddy, S. Gopalagowda, J.H Patel, S. Venkatram and a host of others were in his close touch. None missed him while in Bangalore. Another reason for this was the acute shortage of currency in the hands of our leaders. He was a willing aid to all of them. He was a treasure house of Mysore socialists to this author and others who were curious to know about the activities of the socialist movement of that period. He himself remained in the background and contributed significantly for the movement.

Come Emergency in 1975, he became very active. He along with a band of activists would collect underground literature and without any sound and fury, would see to it that the same was distributed among the general public. Many of the English literature on Emergency he got translated to Kannada and arranged for its distribution. None could cast their doubt on Subramanya.

After the lifting of the Emergency, a small meeting of the socialists was held at his initiative and it was decided to bring out a series of booklets on J.P and other socialist thinkers in Kannada. The publishing house was known as “*Janaprakashana*”. First, the book on J.P’s Total Revolution was brought out and was priced at just

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Farmers Exist Despite the State and Pundits

Sankara Naayanan

Corporates Tata (Rs558 cr from Gujarat government for Nano plant) and Laxmi Mittal (Rs1200 cr from Punjab government for a refinery) had received mega government loans at 0.1 per cent rate of interest and 20 years repayment period: This is just the tip of the iceberg. Super efficient corporates and their super meritorious pundits will collapse like pack of cards if the state freebies are withdrawn. The naked truth is that farmers are subsidising the entire nation for decades because we don't pay the real price for the farm produce. Poor subsidise the rich!

Most of the farmers and farm labourers get credit from Microfinance Institutions and private moneylenders at interest rates ranging from 25 to 60 per cent and much more with fortnightly cycle of repayment. Contrast this with the free credits enjoyed by the Tatas and Mittals.

Whenever a farm loan waiver is demanded, pundits say it will solve the farm crisis. Many thanks for admitting there is a farm crisis after killing 4 lakh farmers. Pundits further argue that it will only help the big farmers because most of the small and marginal farmers are not given loans by the banks. If they are so much concerned with the small farmers, why didn't they tell this injustice/anomaly earlier?

Then they lecture that this money should be invested productively to improve rural infrastructure like roads, irrigation, cold storage, market facility, modern technology to step

up productivity etc. That, according to them, is the real help needed by the farmers. 'It is disincentive to those honest farmers who repaid the loans' is one more dharmic discourse.

Yet another sagacious advice from pundits: Farming sector is burdened with too many people. That is why it became non-viable (Not because they deliberately made it non-viable). So 50 per cent of them must be taken out of agriculture and employed elsewhere. World Bank also gave the same directive to Manmohan Singh 25 years ago. Who will employ the people taken out from agriculture? Should we dump them in Bay of Bengal or Arabian Sea? If you ask these questions, the pundits will sidetrack the issue putting the blame on politicians, non-governance, corruption etc.

When massive corporate loans are written off regularly, selfish classes call that an incentive and imperative. Chief Economic Adviser Arvind Subramanian justifies those waivers in fashionable language. Industrialist had failed not deliberately. In spite of their best efforts, they lost money due to reasons beyond their control, international economic crisis, recession, lack of demand in the market and so on and so forth. But farm loan waiver is cursed as leaky train/drain of tax payers' money, because farmers are lazy and drunkards. And they have no problems like the ones faced by the industrialists. You need really an iron-like heart to forget the droughts, floods, price crash etc faced by the hapless farmers. No Arundhati

Battacharya will grumble about damage to credit discipline; nor any dharmic lecture as a slap for those industrialists who repaid loans.

0From 2004-05 to 2016-17, more than 55 lakh crore rupees worth tax concessions (Revenue Foregone) were given to corporates in a free market economy for nothing. Pure crony capitalism. No Pundit lectures us on using this mega freebie instead on infrastructure development. Nor any discourse that there can never be a Free Lunch. 'Why should a Maai Baap sarkar dole out public money to private individuals' like lecture has taken a long leave because they share a part of this super loot. Sagacious advices like banks will fail, credit discipline will suffer, infrastructure can be built with this money etc are not applicable to corporate freebies or loan waivers. So much for the neutrality of our pundits.

As regards the building of rural infrastructure for helping the farmers: Punjab has the best roads and mundis. 98 per cent of the land is getting assured irrigation. It is a world record. Punjabi farmers' productivity is comparable with their counterparts in the USA and China. Yet Punjabi farmers are in severe debt crisis. Will the classes respond why Punjabi farmers commit suicide despite the best infrastructure and productivity?

If you compare these pundits with pigs, it is real disgrace to the pigs. The anti-farmer pundits will shut their mouths only if the farmers greet them suitably.

Whipping Boys of Policy

Devinder Sharma

Farmers continue to subsidise living conditions for the country's growing middle class at the expense of their own lives and livelihood.

Studies in Punjab have shown that 98 % of rural farming households of that state were in debt, and that in 94 % of the cases, the average expenditure exceeded monthly earnings.

The picture that may come to mind if one is asked to visualize an Indian farmer would probably be that of a frail person clad in a sullied dhoti-kurta, with a loose turban on his head and worn out jutis on his feet. And if he happens to come calling at one's house, one may in all likelihood prefer to meet him outside the gates rather than let him into the house and spoil, say the expensive carpet on the drawing room floor.

Not everyone treats a farmer so, but many do. There are people who question the media fuss about farm loan waiver in UP being as low as Rs 10 to Rs 300. They feel farmers should accept what they receive with gratitude as they don't pay income tax and also get huge subsidies. They believe farmers won't have bad loans if they were not lazy and worked hard in the first place.

Farm loan waivers coming to 9 paise, 19 paise, 90 paise, Rs2, Rs6 and so on, and of 4814 farmers getting a waiver of less than Rs100 have been highlighted by the media. According to reports, 11.93 lakh farmers in UP have so far received loan waiver

certificates under the first phase involving Rs7371 crore from the total package of Rs36,359 crore the UP govt has promised small and marginal farmers.

While 4814 farmers received waiver of less than Rs100 per head, another 6895 got waivers of Rs100 to Rs500 on outstanding loans; 5583 farmers got waiver certificates for amounts ranging between Rs500 and Rs1000 and as many as 41690 received waiver certificates for Rs1000 to Rs10000. Altogether, 57982 farmers got loan waivers under Rs10000.

This was only the first phase of the much talked about farm loan waiver. But more than Rs29000 crore in waivers are yet to come. At the given rate, the number of farmers getting paltry sums waived would add up to a few lakhs.

Many would say the amounts waived are princely sums and that the farmers should remain perpetually obliged to the state for its largesse. And such gratitude fits well with the image of the farmer implanted in the imagination. But it is at best a cruel joke.

The fact remains that the successive governments and large sections of the middle class have treated farmers as a burden; they feel farmers live on alms the society affords them. The entire effort today is to offload the burden as quickly as possible.

But is the farmer really lazy?

Does he not work hard to earn a livelihood? A report published in 'Gaon Connection' (September 12, 2017) provides the answer. The report quoting analytics of the department of agriculture of UP, says on average every month a farmer incurs a net loss of Rs1307. Against an expenditure of Rs6230, the net returns a farmer receives is only Rs4923. At this rate, the daily income a farmer earns is barely Rs164. In neighbouring Haryana, a study by the Haryana Agricultural University (HAU) had computed the average income from wheat cultivation at Rs800 per acre.

With such a low income, how can a farmer's family survive? One can't even rear a cow on such low incomes. Year after year, farmers have struggled to produce bumper harvests. But little do they realize that they are actually cultivating losses. The minimum support price (MSP) worked out for almost all crops are below the cost of production. If one were to look at the cost of production of different crops in different states and compare them with the prices farmers get, one would find that farmers are suffering huge losses. They are, therefore, left with no option but to seek credit, often from multiple sources, and get into a debt trap.

Studies in Punjab have shown that 98 % of rural farming households of that state were in debt, and that in 94 % of the cases, the average expenditure exceeded monthly earnings. If a front-line agricultural

Purushottam Lal Kaushik

state like Punjab has such a problem, the condition of the farming households in the rest of the country can be imagined. All this has happened because successive governments have denied the farmers their rightful income. Agriculturalists have been deliberately kept impoverished to ensure that food prices remain low for the urban population.

In other words, the farmers have been subsidizing the nation all these years. It is high time the middle class understood how they are directly responsible for the agrarian crisis in the country.

Loan waivers may bring short term relief to the farmers. But their expectations are belied when even that little solace does not reach them. In UP, although the government promised to waive the outstanding loans of small farmers, they are finally written off unpaid loans only till March 2016. And the waiver is only for those farmers whose accounts are linked to Aadhaar. Is it not grossly unfair?

At the same time, when it comes to striking off toxic loans of corporate, the government is more than keen to oblige. As much as Rs81,683 crore in bad debt of corporate was quietly written for the FY 2016-17. No defaulting company got loan waiver as paltry as Rs100 or Rs10000 or even Rs 1 lakh. Each company gets several crores of rupees written off and that too without hassles. That is how economic policies are designed. Writing off corporate loan is treated as a measure aiding economic growth, whereas writing off farm loan is treated as credit indiscipline and a drain on the national exchequer.

Former Union minister and Socialist leader Purushottam Lal Kaushik passed away on 5th October 2017, due to age-related ailments at his home in Chhattisgarh's Mahasamund district. He was 87. Born on September 24, 1930, in Mahasamund, Kaushik had obtained his LLB degree from the Nagpur University in 1954. Inspired by the ideas and political movements launched by Socialist leaders Rammanohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan, Purushottam Kaushik had entered into politics as a Socialist Party member led by Dr Lohia and became Secretary General of the Samyukta Socialist party (SSP). He was pioneer of Socialist movement in the united Madhya Pradesh and led many farmers' agitations in the sixties and seventies in the state. He formed 'Khetihar Sangh' in pursuit of fighting for the socio-economic and educational up-liftment of agricultural labourers and adivasis.

He was elected as an MLA from Mahasamund seat in 1972 on united Socialist party ticket to the then Madhya Pradesh Assembly. Purushottam Kaushik was imprisoned during the Emergency for many months defending the democratic aspirations of the

common masses. In the year 1977, he was elected to Lok Sabha from Raipur parliamentary constituency as Janata Party candidate by defeating Congress stalwart Vidya Charan Shukla.

He had served as tourism and civil aviation minister in the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai's cabinet during 1977-1979. He headed the Information and Broadcasting Ministry in the Prime Minister Charan Singh's cabinet during July 1979-January 1980. During 1980 to 1989 he was associated with Lok Dal, Janata Party and Janata Dal respectively and elected to Lok Sabha again as Janata Dal candidate from Durg parliamentary constituency.

Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh expressed his deep condolence over the death of the veteran leader. In his condolence message, the CM said the state had lost a legendary socialist thinker and well-wisher of farmers." Kaushik toiled tirelessly for the welfare of depressed sections of the society - villagers, farmers and the poor. He served the state as an MLA, MP and central minister," Singh said.

—Qurban Ali

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promise of development. The greatest harm to the office of chief minister is that it is seen something like a temporary arrangement.

The UP chief minister staying away from his Lucknow office with all security to perform the rituals as the head priest for the five days is a

violation of the Supreme Court order stating that public money cannot be used for religious purposes. A PIL should be filed to protest against the loss it has caused to the concept of democracy. Even otherwise, the larger question that needs an answer is whether Adityanath is a mahant first or the CM.

Right-Wing Surge in Germany

D. K. Giri

Liberals as well as progressives in Germany are shocked by the 19th Bundestag (Parliament) results. For the first time in German politics a right-wing anti-immigration, anti-Europe Party Alternative for Germany (AfD, entered the Parliament with 12.6 per cent votes translating into 94 MPs.

Said, a senior Social Democratic Party member, “the elections are a breaking point for parliamentary democracy in Germany”. His statement reflects their shock and disappointment at the right-wing surge not only in German politics but also as the whole of Europe is experiencing a shift to the far-right in their respective countries.

Undeniably, the German results are dramatic. The incumbent Chancellor Angela Merkel secured a fourth term albeit with a diminished electoral base. Her Party CDU/CSU suffered a massive loss of votes percentage and seats and got reduced from 41.5 per cent of popular votes to 32.9 per cent and from 311 seats to 246 in the Parliament, their lowest score since 1949.

The second largest, party SPD which was a partner in her previous Government met a similar fate, down from 25.7 per cent to 20.5 per cent of votes and from 193 to 153 Members of Parliament. This was the SPD’s worst electoral show since the Second World War.

The other four parties in the Bundestag are the right-wing extremist party AfD with 12.6 per cent, centre-right Free Democratic

Party (FDP) with 10.7 per cent, the Left, Grand Linke, 9.2 per cent and the Greens, 8.9 per cent.

Notably, the coalition building process post-election is difficult and lengthy in Germany. It is likely that CDU/CSU will invite the FDP and the Greens to join them. In the last Parliament Merkel entered into a coalition with her biggest rival SPD to form the Government.

Surely, the SPD finds the defeat too bitter to stomach easily and have refused to join Merkel’s coalition Government again. Instead they would rather reflect on their performance and re-build the party. Its leader Martin Schultz who had distinguished himself as the President of the European Parliament failed to prevent Merkel from winning her fourth consecutive term.

As she faced the doubts and dilemmas of German voters over her open-door immigration policy the SPD did not have an alternative and persuasive narrative. That is why, the anti-Merkel voters went to right and left wing parties who could not form a Government on their own.

Certainly, the SPD, a progressive social democratic party could have formed the Government if they could articulate the anti-Merkel sentiments of the voters into a coherent agenda of their own. That was not to be. The Social Democrats hooked to a centre-left approach, are not known to be inventive in their ideological platforms.

Coming back to the right-wing

lurch of European politics the whole of Europe is swept by a new wave of right-wing populism and extremism for the last two decades. Belgium, which headquarters the supranational European Union had a ‘black Sunday’ in 1991 when the right-wing populist Flemish Block gained 6.8 per cent of the national vote to enter the Parliament.

Likewise, there are the Dutch Freedom Party, Front National in France, Austrian Freedom Party, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), Finns Party in Finland, the Law and Justice Party in Poland, Viktor Orban’s Fidesz Party and another far-right Party Jobbik in Hungary, Sweden’s right-wing racist Party Sweden Democrats and Golden Dawn in Greece, etc.

All these parties are anti-immigration, ultra-nationalist, anti-European Union, isolationist and perfectionist. The biggest threat posed by these is to the European Union - by far the most successful regional integration of 28 countries, now 27 with UK’s exit.

Remember, the EU signified functional federalism, multiculturalism and pooling of sovereignties for greater good. It is the beacon of hope, peace and prosperity for the world, especially as it was born after the destruction of Europe in two world wars and disruption of its politics and economy in several smaller regional wars.

Pertinently, the right-wing parties want to pull out of the EU. The relentless populist campaign by UKIP in Britain took UK out of

European Union. The Sweden Democrats and Hungary's Jobbik want to hold referendums on their membership of the European Union. So do almost all the European right-wing parties. There are other concomitant damages that might accrue from their policies.

Questionably, how are the right-wing parties gaining support from the educated, sophisticated electorate of Europe? All of them are falling prey to the populist rhetoric of the right-wing parties. The answer to this is not hard to find. European countries have been mono-cultural societies. Their concept of nationhood rested on a single culture - one language, one religion, one race, etc.

Although they accommodated other non-Europeans owing to their colonial compulsions, their policies and attitude were not geared to pluralism. Even the construction of the EU did not help much as it could not transcend the white racism and Europeanism so far.

Indian Model

Hence, can the Union of India offer a model of politics to the European Union and its member countries? India, barring the latest activism of the Hindutva brigade, homogenizing the culture by imposing food habits etc has been a viable model for multi-culturalism and political federalism. Even the majority religion, Hinduism is pluralist and polytheist in its practice.

India recognizes multiple identities like caste, colour, faith, language, region, etc. But subsuming all of them is a supra identity, citizenship, based on the Constitution. Consequently, nation and state became two complementary but distinct political and cultural units. The principles, policies and practices

are reflective of pluralism in every walk of life. Of course, there are exceptions but exceptions do not make the rule.

Clearly, Europe should look at Indian pluralism which synthesizes modernity and tradition and absorbs alien cultures into its framework. Only in such a pluralist framework can one stunt the growth of right-wing extremist tendencies. In fact, right-wing populism grows in the absence of a narrative that accommodates 'the other', the so-called culture usurper while, at the same time, it assures the majority that they are not threatened.

Curiously, while the right-wing parties speak to the majority and capture the gullible, the progressive parties talk of the minorities. A pluralist agenda will appeal to the majority and minority, the insider and the outsider.

Let's finish with a word on the refugee crisis that gripped the European countries and caused the seismic shock in the electoral results. Many countries, including India, are facing a large humanitarian refugee problem. But dealing with the refugees is like treating the consequences of a problem, not the cause.

Europeans have been reluctant to engage with the Middle-East, leaving it to the Americans to handle. But by being closer to the Middle-East than the Americans, they have to deal with the refugees. Secondly, they should treat the refugees as transient displacees, who should eventually be helped or facilitated to return to their homeland. That would mean bringing an end to the fratricidal wars in the Middle-East.

However, identity, pluralism, a spirit of accommodation are the

keys to lock right-wing populism and extremism. These principles ought to be embraced and practiced by progressives, in fact, all politicians in any country. Democracy which has become a universal political aspiration will be fructuous only with such principles. Without them, democracies will be chaotic, one-party authoritarianism, and worse, incapable of delivering the political and economic goods. European countries will have to look East to make their democracies viable and vibrant.

(Continued on Page 5)

September in Delhi that Shivakar Babuji Talpade in India invented the air plane 8 years before the Wright brothers. According to him plants in Ravana's kingdom were not required to be watered as they contained a mythical elixir Chandramani. He wants engineering students to learn about Hindu deity Vishwakarma, puranas and mythology. Singh holds a Masters degree in Chemistry and is a former Indian Police Services officer.

By not letting analytical thinking develop in students the RSS is ensuring that there will be no one to ask Yogi when he makes the suggestion to doctors to research how an elephant's head replaced beheaded Lord Ganesh that if indeed doctor's were successful in doing this surgery whose brain would the resultant creature possess - human's or elephant's? Or they don't want any students to ask Satya Pal Singh if India possessed the know-how of making planes why is it not investing in rediscovering that knowledge rather than buying Rafale jets from France?

—Sandeep Pandey

Towards Understanding Mahatma Gandhi

A. Raghu Kumar

Mahatma Gandhi introduced non-violence as a method of political struggle in India's anti-colonial struggle. This method was adopted as a considered choice in many later struggles in many parts of the world. Post-Gandhi, the method of evaluation of a political struggle has to undergo a necessary test on this new touchstone. Even the chances of violent struggles, except for few internal coups, have become almost bleak. Another difficulty in understanding Gandhi has always been that unlike other intellectuals and activists, Gandhi has never 'become' a final product, rather he was always and eternally in the stage of 'being'. Also, an intriguing phenomenon for many – he provokes love, respect and veneration from some and, simultaneously wrath, abuse and ridicule from many others.

We know him as the chief architect of freedom struggle but what made Gandhi – the saint and the political activist, the two widely held opposite views to co-exist in him in due proportions deserved serious investigation. Like the publication of Marx's "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" of 1844 in 1930s which offered fresh reading of Marx, Gandhi also needed an explanatory note from a philosopher to understand his varied stands on various issues, most of the times axiomatic, but yet antagonistic. In a correspondence with Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, it appears he left it to the philosophers to interpret him. To the charge that he contradicted himself, Walt Whitman, the American poet, once replied that it

was not that there were contradictions in him, but the fact that he embraced multitudes made his critics to understand so. In the history of thought, Socrates, Marx and Gandhi present such paradoxes. They are contradictory because they embraced multitudes in multitudes.

Gandhi lost much of his ground almost in his own country, except for some **Ashramite Gandhians**. Marxists and all shades of Communists, Ambedkarites, RSS and other pro-Hindu forces, and even Muslims for whose cause he derived the ire of Hindu organizations vilified Gandhi to such an extent that Gandhi regaining his ground in his mother country is almost uncertain as on now. There is one emerging Swatch Bharat icon Gandhi, a poster boy for only cleanliness on his own birthday. We have successfully and without remorse disowned a person who all through his life devoted his time and energies to the freedom of his country and people. Instead we started running after those who consciously acted against the freedom struggle, ridiculed it, or even derailed it on every opportunity. For Tagore he was "the Mahatma", or 'the great soul in beggar's garb'; for Winston Churchill he was a 'half-naked fakir' and a 'cunning fox'; for Jinnah he was a 'cunning fox', and 'a Hindu revivalist'; for Ambedkar he was "a blue-blooded Tory" and "a fanatic Hindu"; 'a mascot of the bourgeoisie' for Marxist Palme Dutt; 'the most important class collaborator within the nationalist movement' for M. N. Roy. Through his acts and gestures,

writings and expressions, he fashioned his own 'sahasranama'! We can also see a convergence of thought – though emanating from various people representing various political ideologies! How could one individual be defined or understood in so many ways by so many people having divergent goals and political ideologies is a wonderful subject matter for another independent analysis.

Presently, we, who sincerely take pride in the role of the Mahatma, need to understand how Gandhi could combine a saint and a politician within himself, and how far his understanding is based on the traditional texts he revered and where he consciously differed in arriving at certain conclusions. In this effort, recently I came across the works of Anthony J. Parel, a Canadian historian, author and academic. It appears, he has so far written four books on Gandhi – (1) "Hind Swaraj and other Writings (1997)", (2) "Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule (2000)", (3) "Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony (2008)" and (4) "Pax Gandhiana : The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (2016)". So far, I could lay my hands only on the first and the third one. Here, I prefer to present my initial impressions on my first reading of his work "Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony". For this work, Parel constructed the philosophy of Gandhi on one of the important traditional concepts, "Purushartha".

It almost begins with an anecdote

when Gandhi was in South Africa, raged with so many doubts about his future course of action. “..... *In 1894, in an attempt to meet an intellectual crisis that he was experiencing in South Africa, he wrote his famous letter to Rajchandbhai ... The letter raised twenty-seven questions regarding such grave matters as the nature of the soul, God, Moksha, the universe, avatars, etc. As many as five of these questions were connected with moksha, the fourth purushartha; what it was and how it might be attained. Rajchandbhai’s answer was that moksha was the release of the soul from the state of ignorance and its involvement with the affairs of the world. Mystical knowledge and withdrawal from the world were the chief means of attaining it.*” [p. 14] Gandhi accepted the first part of the advice, but not the second, the part that required the withdrawal from the world. Instead of withdrawing from it, he sought to engage with it. He decided to plunge into politics of South Africa – and the rest is history, writes Parel. Rajchandbhai was disturbed by the fateful turn that Gandhi had taken. He went so far as to warn him – “*for the good of his soul – not to get too involved in the politics of Natal.*”

What prompted Gandhi to understand the elements of Hindu traditional texts and philosophy differently than others? In fact, it is not the first or the last occasion that he contradicted the traditional wisdom. His many such conclusions violently differed with many so called experts of his times in his life. We find such stunning and unconventional deductions of Gandhi on various texts and issues, including “*Yoga Vasishtha*” or

“*Bhagavad Gita*”. Rajchandbhai had supplied him with an important reading list, for the resolution of his philosophical doubts, which included Yogavasishta, a lengthy philosophic poem, an account of conversation between a despondent Prince Rama of Ayodhya and the ancient sage Vaishta. Rama was not sure that he could combine his kingly duties “*Artha*” with the pursuit of “*Moksha*”. Vasishta advised him that he could, provided he exercised his “*purushartha*” in a proper balance. In Hindu philosophy, it is considered that along with Chaturvarnya [fourfold class/caste], Chaturashrama [fourfold stages of life], the Purushartha [fourfold aims and objectives of life] is also a defining attribute of human beings. One of the major obstacles that stood in the way of its proper exercise was the belief in fate. Yogavasishta’s position was that there was no such thing as fate, and that it existed only in the imagination of the weak and the indolent. This reading allowed Gandhi to actively involve himself in the social problems faced by the weak around him, while simultaneously continuing his endeavors for the Moksha, the liberation of the individual soul from the wheel of ‘samsara’.

Why Gandhi had chosen Gopal Krishna Gokhale as his “Political Guru”? Because he found in Gokhale more balanced understanding of this concept of purushartha. The author thus quotes the conclusion arrived at by Gandhi on this issue: “*No Indian who aspires to follow the way of true dharma can afford to remain aloof from politics ... One who aspires to a truly religious (dharmic) life cannot fail to undertake public service as his life mission*” [quoted from M.K.Gandhi, The Collected Works of

Mahatma Gandhi, 51:259 at p.20 of this book]. This leads us to the understanding of Gandhi that he attempted to redefine the concepts of ‘*purushartha*’ so as to suit the requirements of the current stage of human history. Writing in July 1930 from Yeravada jail, it appears, he asked for help from one of his female disciples to find a gender sensitive alternative description for this word “*purushartha*”. He did not accept the traditional interpretation as the correct interpretation. However, he took his clue from Gita [Gita V:13 compares the body to a city, in which dwells the spirit]. The spirit being gender-neutral, things done for its sake could have nothing to do with the gender of the ‘doer’. So, the word ‘*purushartha*’ has been retained as a gender-free concept. The most important contribution that Gandhi makes to our understanding of the concept of purushartha concerns its relationship to Karma and fate. Gandhi believed that the law of Karma operated in a universe subject to divine guidance and that God’s grace could therefore cancel the results of bad Karma. This is the result of the influence of Vaishnava philosophy on him. Arguably, the best known statement on the dynamic nature of the relationship of politics to moksha is found, according to Parel, in Gandhi’s autobiography. Those who aspire to moksha “*cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics*” [quoted from CW, 39:3 in this book pp.20-21].

The great thinkers of India, including Sankara and Ramanuja, supported the ascendance of “*moksha*”, the last of the purusharthas, over all the others. In fact, prior to these developments in

Indian philosophy during the 8th century and onwards, saints or truth-seekers had never withdrawn themselves totally from mundane activities. All saints, thinkers and philosophers from Vyasa, Vasishta, Sukra or even Satyakama Jabali to the last well known case of Kautilya did not restrict themselves to mere contemplative ashramite life. They were always consulted, and on many instances they actively participated in day-to-day affairs of the society. This asceticism as the only means of moksha, and moksha as the only important purushartha is the tendency that crept into Indian philosophic tradition much later. According to Parel, the achievements of Kautilya were rendered nugatory and, as a result, Indian political philosophy stagnated for nearly two millennia. Gandhi revived the original tradition of India i.e., of combining the four purusharthas into a lively dynamic relation.

Politics and Economics: In Part II of the book, Parel deals with politics and economics as part of 'artha', underscoring the significance attached to them by Gandhi. Historically, he says, the rise of the renouncer (Brahminic) movement compromised the importance of artha. Gandhi reversed this trend and restored artha its due place in the scheme of the four purusharthas. Artha, according to Gandhi, represents a positive human value and contributes to the material well-being of humans. Only when pursued 'artha' for 'artha' sake, alienated from the other purusharthas, it becomes harmful. Parel rejects the description of Gandhi by some as 'utopian' or 'anarchist', and considers him as a constructive political thinker.

Gandhi considered "Non-violent nationalism is a necessary condition of corporate or civilized life". He had wholeheartedly embraced the modern idea of nation. According to Parel, Gandhi's conception of nation was heavily influenced by the civic or liberal notion of nationalism notably that of Giuseppe Mazzini. However, he invokes certain specific Indic terms for constructing his idea. '*Praja*' is the specific word he used to convey the concept of '**nation**'. The State, according to Gandhi, is an institution necessary for the realization of the values of artha. Gandhi went far beyond Kautilya, says Parel, in identifying the basic functions of the State. For Kautilya, the State's main function was external expansion through war and internal stability through punishment (danda-niti), but for Gandhi the emphasis is shifted from war to peace and from punishment to rights. Gandhi is criticized for idealizing Ramarajya, an often misunderstood connotation. "*He certainly did not mean by Ramarajya a Hindu Raj. What he meant was "Divine Raj", the kingdom of God in human hearts, the sort of thing Tolstoy meant in his work, The Kingdom of God is Within You.*" (p. 63).

Dharma is another 'purushartha' that underwent fresh and independent interpretation in the hands of Gandhi. According to Parel, Gandhi used the concept of dharma in three senses: as duty, religion and ethics. The two famous institutions that depended on dharma as duty were the four *Varnas* – brahmin, kshatriya, vaisya and shudra, and the *Ashramas* [the four stages of life] – the brahmacharin (student), the Grhstha (householder), the Vanaprastha (the hermit) and the Sanyasin (the ascetic). The first one i.e., the Four Varna dharma was

the most controversial of all Hindu Dharmas, which can provoke contentious debates in modern political environment. The Purushasukta metaphor, and its further explanation in Bhagavad Gita on "varna" origins continue to excite hostile debates. There is a need to re-appreciate Gandhi's understanding on these issues to have a comprehensive evaluation of his philosophy. Gandhi considered that "*Dharma does not mean any particular creed or dogma. Nor does it mean reading or learning by rote books known as shastras or even believing all that they say.*" Dharma is a quality of the soul for Gandhi and is present, visibly or invisibly, in every human being. Through it we know our duty in human life and our true relation with other souls [P. 92, quoting from CW, 32:11].

What is implicit, Parel writes, in the above passage is that there are two kinds of dharma, the dharma that is found in positive sources such as revelation and tradition, and the dharma that is found in the quality of the soul, or the dharma that is discovered by the faculty of "buddhi" (intelligence and will). The first we may call "positive" dharma and the second "natural" dharma (P.92). Gandhi never wavered in his conviction that dharma and rights had to work in tandem. The obsolescence of the dharma of varna or caste and of stages of life, does not undermine the continuing validity of universal dharma.

Dharma as religion: Being religious, according to Gandhi, is a means of achieving the supreme purushartha. While he adhered to the view that religion was necessary for the achievement of our purushartha, he also advocated the

view that the State should be neutral in religious matters. In the understanding of Gandhi the neutral does not convey the meaning of irreligious or materialistic State. The State, being rooted in artha, had its own immediate ends, which were not the same as those of moksha. In the present context of the religious fundamentalism challenging the very goals of independence movement and the aims and objectives of the Constitution, Parel concludes saying: *“The religious fundamentalism of Hindutva or jihadism is not the only intellectual force that Gandhi’s moderate secularism has to resist. It has also to resist the hyper-secularism of the sort that Orwell represents.”*

Similarly Gandhi’s views on the Art and Society were also elaborated in this work. The general perception of intellectuals, and even of some of his close aides, has always been that Gandhi has no perspectives of art. *“There is no need to belabor the point: in assessing Gandhi’s understanding and appreciation of the arts, there is one mistake that no one should make. No one should regard him as an ignoramus. He had settled views on art and aesthetics, although he did not write about them. The choice was deliberate, and the proffered reason was “ignorance” – i.e., Socratic ignorance”* (P. 159). The point was made obliquely clear, says Parel, that in *Hind Swaraj*, by putting the works of two giants of art theory and art history i.e., of Tolstoy and Ruskin as Appendix I of *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi had indicated the place of art and society in his scheme of things.

Moksha or Spiritual Liberation is the most important issue that tilted the balance of discourse of

purusharthas at the end of the first millennium. Gandhi found in the Gita, all that he needed to know about the pursuit of liberation. *“The pursuit of moksha supplied the force unifying all of Gandhi’s different activities”* (P.177). Parel refers to Margaret Chatterjee [Margaret Chatterjee, *Gandhi’s Religious Thought* (1983)] and says, Gandhi **“rethought”** the philosophy of moksha. *“Part of the rethinking involved making a crucial distinction between moksha as an achieved state of affairs and moksha as a pursuit”*. Gandhi approached moksha not as an abstract or imagined goal, but as a goal to be realized in history, in and through action in time. He fought against the traditional otherworldly approach ... (p. 178). Two of Gandhi’s contemporaries, Sri Aurobindo and Ramana Maharshi were thought by many to have achieved the status of liberated souls. But they withdrew themselves from taking any active part in political life whereas Gandhi stood in the midst of the world affairs and considered active involvement with a sting of consistent withdrawal from the fruit of the effort, the ‘sthitaprajna’ of the “Karma Yoga” as the mode of liberation.

In charting his own course in the interpretation of the Gita, Gandhi wanted to avoid the doctrinaire secularism and the traditional asceticism. He wanted a course that would affirm the values of the world and the purusharthas on the one hand, and those of a world transcending spirituality open to every human being. *“Karma yoga or action is the real test whether one is pursuing stable wisdom. Of the three paths mentioned in the Gita – those of action, knowledge, and devotion – Gandhi favored*

the path of action. Not that the others were ignored, but that he gave primacy to action. The reason was that the other two, if given undue emphasis, had a tendency to promote a world abandoning sort of spirituality” (P. 190).

The concluding chapter of the book sums up various aspects of Hindu Philosophy and the appreciation of Gandhi on these aspects. *“Participation in politics was for him one way of realizing the truth”* (P. 195). *“Very typically the spiritual life for Gandhi was inseparable from action in the world, from the active life in the fields of politics, economics and social reform. In this respect his spirituality differed radically from the spirituality of the yogis and ascetics of the past and the present....”* (p. 196). *“The political too has several meanings in Gandhi. In the first place, being a purushartha politics belong to the field of artha. As such it is the pursuit of legitimate self-interest, both individual and collective, attained through the exercise of constitutionally permitted use of force....”* (P.197).

Under the heading “Gandhi faces challenges” (P.200) the author says: **“Gandhi is fortunate to have many positive interpreters in the twenty first century.”** Parel says: Indians who are committed to realizing the vision of Marx have splintered into different groups. They agree on their rejection of the Gandhian paradigm They do not seem to believe that there can be an independent Indian canon of political thought – which is in keeping with Marx’s own belief. ...”*Gandhi was committed to social change, but, unlike the Marxists and the Neo-*

Marxists, he was able to integrate the idea of social change within the frame work of an independent Indian canon. If Indian Marxists and Neo-Marxists can follow Gandhi's example here, they will have a chance of integrating what is still viable in Marx within an independent Indian canon. They can then take Marx in Indian terms instead of taking India on Marxist terms.” (P. 201).

On the issue of the relationship of Buddhism and Gandhi, Anthony J. Parel observes that “Navayana Buddhism”, also called “engaged” or “political” Buddhism, and its challenge to Gandhi comes from the resentment the Dalits feel against the stand that he took in 1932 against separate electorates for them. But questions as to how can one practice the politics of modernity (which is hostile to all religions) and live by the ethics of Buddhism, especially since the latter sees no positive value in artha” persist [p.202]. Parel further suggests: “*Gandhi solved the problem of the relationship of artha, dharma and moksha thanks to his theory of the purusharthas..... If Navayana can find a way of integrating satisfactorily the anti-religious modernity with itself, it can have a political philosophy that can do justice to both politics and religion. And if it chooses to do that it will find in Gandhi a sympathetic model.*” [p. 202] “*A final question arises: is the Gandhian Paradigm still relevant, given India's emergence as a major political and economic power in the world. The answer is plain it is more relevant now than ever before.... Indeed if they[Indians] do not follow this paradigm they may well lose their identity as a polity and as a civilization....*”[p. 205].

I am deeply enlightened by Anthony J. Parel's "**Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony** (2008)" on many aspects of Gandhi, and more specifically on the independent interpretations of traditional texts by Gandhi. I am more educated on how out of his

(Continued from Page 5)

a Rupee only. The copies were exhausted and another book of collection of articles titled J.P Towards Navanirman was published and it was priced at just two rupees. The Bata company backyard used to be the place of weekly regular meetings of a band of socialists and Gandhians like Satyavratha, Khadri Shamanna, Venkata Swamy, Bapu Heddur Shetty, B.Y Lalithamba and Film and television directors like T.N Seetharam and Shankarappa and others used to participate actively in the discussions about books and subjects, and used to decide about bringing out socialist literature in Kannada. This *Janaprakashana*

independent reading and interpretation he reconciled the Purusharthas to construct a theory and practice that suits the social and philosophical requirements of the present. The reading created an urgent need to share my pleasure with all of you.

and weekly meetings continued regularly for almost five years.

Y.S Subramanya refused to accept any awards and honors and used to say even at his advanced age, that he was a humble socialist worker. The demise of this great, unsung soul of socialist is certainly the end of an era and the closure of the storehouse of information. The M.P Prakash foundation came forward to honour him with the Lohia award and he very humbly declined the same and said that he was a devotee of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia.

-
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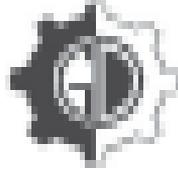
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Published on Sunday, October 8, 2017 & Posted on Wednesday October 11, 2017 at Mumbai Patrika Channel, Mumbai GPO-1



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