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Editor

Shaurya Doval

Assistant Editor

Guru Prakash

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E-mail
mail@indiafoundation.in

Website
www.indiafoundation.in

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Editor's Note

Dear Readers,

By the time this issue reaches your hands you would have all returned from the festive season. We hope that these festivities have lit up your lives with happiness, health and prosperity. These festivities have an important significance in our national life. They celebrate the victory of the good over the evil. They also remind us that such victories require both intention and capacities and it is therefore vital for nations and civilizations like ours to constantly invest in these capacities. We see the dialogue between you and the Foundation as part of this capability building and are therefore grateful for your feedback and suggestions. Please keep writing to us on how and what national issues we should be studying so that we can factor your suggestions in our upcoming issues.

*The focus of this issue is **India's Borders: A Comprehensive Review**. India Foundation organized a two day conference in New Delhi on the land borders of India. India's long and porous borders pose a security challenge to the stability and integrity of India. This is especially important considering the state of country's security and its volatile relationship with its neighbors. However, the issues surrounding these borders are often ignored in our national mainstream thinking leading to lack of an integrated national doctrine on the matter. This Conference intended to create awareness in the country about the situation along the borders of Indo-Pakistan, Indo-Tibet, Indo-Bangladesh and Indo-Myanmar Borders. The exercise was unique in that for the first time strategic experts, government representatives, public representatives and most importantly the people from the borders came on a common platform. We share with you in the Focus Section of this issue the views of some of the key speakers at this event.*

India Foundation organized an offsite for the young thinkers in the country. This was a thought provoking event in that it brought young minds together and engaged them on issues of national importance. During this period we also organized a round table on the India-Pakistan PM Meeting in New York and its implications for India's policy with regard to Pakistan. We are including a summary of these events in this issue of the journal.

I hope you enjoy this issue and we continue to seek your support and feedback in making this journal a success!



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India's China Policy of Self Deception: Lessons from History and Guidance for Future

*Arun Shourie

It is a wonderful idea that a deliberation like this is held over one and a half days. It is very necessary for us to be aware in both senses. At first, what is happening at our borders and second what the government is doing behind the scenes. It is a practise in India alone that people are presented with beliefs that agreements have been made. Distinguished people keep warning about changes that are happening in the borders and about grazing grounds which have been taken; media is believed. It is very necessary that the facts should be brought out. We have to give voice to the people at our borders.

In Jammu & Kashmir, the people who show the utmost loyalty towards India are the Buddhist citizens of Ladakh. They are a minority group who have been systematically marginalized through the changing demographic policies of the place from the time of Dr. Farooq Abdullah. However, nobody in Delhi pays concern to their voices. My focus will be on the general context of agreements on the borders and how the threat from China should be perceived.

The point I want to make is that in a few weeks you will hear that a new agreement has been arrived at between the Indian and the Chinese

government on how to diffuse Daulat Beg Oldi type of incidents that may happen. This will be regarded as a great achievement but the fact remains that the agreement is only worth if the other party thinks about what we will do if he violates the agreement. If the other party knows that we will not do anything about it, then what is the agreement worth? In 1902, there was a book written by a Chinese author in which he says, "In the entire world Indians are the only people who do not mind losing territory." This is such a shameful thing but proves to be true. In 2005, there was a similar agreement for the political principles for settlement of border agreement between India and China. Where are we in 2013 with the number of reported Chinese transgressions?

It becomes necessary to understand the Chinese approach to agreements. One of the important points made by Shri Shyam Saran (former Foreign Secretary of India) was "it is necessary to understand how Chinese view these things". One of the principles in the political principles agreement is that settled population shall not be disturbed. In India, this is interpreted that Chinese have given up claims on Arunachal Pradesh specifically to Tawang. In 2007, the

**The author is an Indian journalist, author and politician who also served as a Former Union Minister*

Chinese had said that, entire Tawang belongs to us and the settled population there will not be disturbed and will continue to stay there but in China; this is the way the Chinese talk and so the point is how does one come to an agreement with them on anything.

R K Nehru, the Former Secretary General of Foreign Affairs Ministry had met Chou En-Lai. He told Chou En-Lai that sometimes Chinese make statements on Kashmir which seems that you are casting doubts on India's sovereignty over Jammu & Kashmir, to which Chou En-Lai had replied, "Has China ever said that India does not have sovereignty over Kashmir". The same was reported to Pandit Nehru as China's acceptance of the Indian stand on Kashmir. Before the 1962 War, when R K Nehru again met Chou En-Lai, he had reiterated the statement on sovereignty and said the Chinese were casting greater doubts on India's sovereignty over Kashmir. Chou En-Lai had replied saying "Has China ever said India has sovereignty over Jammu & Kashmir?" Duplicity and deceit is the essence of traditional Chinese strategic doctrine.

In the case of our borders, Pandit Nehru refused to believe any evidence. GK Kapoor in Sikkim and an Indian Counsel General in North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) had all written to him stating evidences against the Chinese regarding their plans and happenings; however Panditji refused to believe them all. He kept denying the construction of the road. However, the Chinese made an announcement saying that they were inaugurating the road. There was a

correspondence from the then President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Panditji stating that, there was not only one road but also another road further to the south of that road which cuts away more territory from India. Panditji's reply to the President was not on the issue but a request asking him not to put such information in writing.

It has become a practise to project the happenings at the border in a minimised way, to deny the facts and maintain secrets regarding the border. The people of India are not aware of the actual happenings. When Panditji enquired Chou En-Lai about the maps that showed incorrect borders he had replied that they were old maps and had not been verified. On a subsequent visit, when Panditji enquired about the existence of the same maps, Chou En-Lai had replied that they were verified and that they were accurate.

The agreement on the Line of Actual Control in some time from now is something that we must examine very minutely and see how Chinese act according to that agreement. Unless we have the willingness to enforce the agreement, they will violate the agreement to their advantage because their civilizational skill has been a result of power and manipulation of symbols of power. They have a clear view about their position in the world. They benchmark themselves with the United States and are determined to be the preeminent power. Their idea is to manage their periphery; today the periphery extends to whoever can impact China. We have to take this as a premise. They have already achieved considerable success in this in the past 30 years. Today there is no country in SE

Asia that will take any step without factoring in what the Chinese reaction would be.

Kazakhstan is 80% of the geographical area of India and its population is less than Delhi. 60% of Kazakhstan has been given to China for exploration of oil and other things. They have a definite view about their position in the world and also a definite view about India; “it is a potential nuisance that must be kept busy in South Asia” is how they describe India. They have a definite strategy on all their territories and certainly on the territories which are border disputes with India. Their strategy with India is - claim, repeatedly claiming it, grab it, hold on to it and let the time pass. It works! Indians make some noise and then forget. The 1962 unanimous Resolution of the Parliament says that every inch of the territory taken by aggression should be taken back; Is there an Indian politician today who says we will take back Aksai Chin from China? Is it credible if anyone says that we will take back the Indian land ceded by Pakistan to China?

In China, there has been a complete revolution in their strategic doctrine. The defence paper had published their strategic doctrine this May and it is entirely about force projection. The Chou En-Lai writing which continues in strategic writing till today is that Indians having been instruments of British for so long, have become accustomed to being and feeling comfortable only in being the instruments of somebody. It is a dangerous mix for our country when somebody sees us as a potential nuisance and as people who will reconcile with anything and as mere instruments of somebody.

The Chinese have achieved great success in developing their strength. According to International Monetary Fund (IMF) data, not more than 30 years ago the per capita income of India was 20% higher than that of China; today they are four times higher than us. China not only underwent economic development but this development has translated into military strength. It has given them the wherewithal to import oil, build pipelines from other countries like Myanmar, Kazakhstan, Iran and all this translates into military strength. India is not getting one-tenth of the patents as compared to China. The citation index of their publications is four times that of India; even Singapore and South Africa rank higher than India in that perspective. They have all done it by focussed effort. China decided to get back a significant number of their experts working in foreign countries back to China and in 20 years many of their experts have returned and are working in China; this was just with a salary hike of around one and a half times. In India, if we bring back even one person from abroad then the rest of the University goes on strike in protest. The gap has become so great that it already has implications for our defence and safety.

The more important point is what this defence architecture will do to the Line of Actual Control is a question mark. It may be very convenient for them at the time of internal strife to create an external diversion. It is a complete credible hypothesis that the great famine that came after the great leap forward in 1958 is one of the factors that led Mao to say ‘give India a slap and hold

national sentiments within China”. There is a possibility that this may repeat itself when the problems within China start festering to unmanageable levels.

However, the Chinese growth has not come without its problems for China and an opportunity for adversaries like India. Their behaviour has compounded into one factor which creates an opportunity for us. All the South East Asian countries are worried and are in touch with each other; Japan has finally woken up from its retired position. In Latin America, Brazil and Argentina laws have been passed restricting purchase of land by foreign companies which are owned by Chinese. In Africa there is a grass root movement against Chinese where their managers have been killed and Chinese workers have been driven out of factories. This is an opportunity for us and we have to wake up. There are columns written stating that our Defence and Foreign Ministries are on leave. The South East Asian countries are fed up stating that they are taking initiatives but India does not come forward.

First step is to face the facts and one of the way to make the government face the fact is people should get to know the facts through such events. Second, is to share the facts with the people rather than keep them hidden. Third, is to work for building comprehensive national strength. The defensive power should be prepared for the entire range of violence and we are not prepared for it. There is real-time monitoring of computers like the personal computer of Dalai Lama, all the Tibetan governments in exile and of 121 countries

including Indian embassies in 23 countries from China. Instances like these create a lot of resentment against China. Can we take leadership in this regard and find allies with similar national interest in this conflict? However, India is not prepared in this aspect. There is no development in our country in this aspect. We have to wake up to take advantage of the one single opportunity that has risen.

Daulat Beg Oldi is a strategic point because it is the first stop after the Karakoram Pass; there are three rivers there coming from Aksai Chin into Ladakh. Chinese have already got two of the valleys and the incursion at Daulat Beg Oldi was the third valley they were taking. In 2007, there were about 170 incursions by the Chinese in a very brief period. Our Prime Minister had asked an official to identify the key points where roads need to be built. A report was made and 73 points were identified. Now, in 2013 when the Daulat Beg Oldi incursion has occurred, the government realized that the report was lost and could not be traced. Leave acting on the report in these interim years we could not even find the report. This is very serious and will cost us a lot.

The Parliament has ceased to function and does not take up important issues like defence. There is now no option but to take this issue on the streets and build some national consensus on the matter. People must be told what is happening so that they can create pressure on the elected representatives and the government. There is now a need to act and act very fast before things are irretrievably lost forever.



India's Loosing Game on the Ladakh Border

*P Stobdan

I am very happy to be here and share my thoughts in this forum. I wish to voice my views as a local person from Ladakh where I have recently spent four months from June to October at a stretch and where I went to the border areas.

Well I am not a student of history, I am a student of geo-politics but in the last three thousand years of written history between India and China we have seen there was no boundary between these two nations or these two civilizations. For most of the time they were civilizational partners, cultural partners and also spiritual brothers. In fact the first Hindu king Vikramaditya in his *stotra* (morning prayers) before his breakfast used to worship China. China was part of India's *mandala* (whatever that historically or mythologically meant). Sanskrit words like *Chinha desha*, *Sri Lanke*, *Kashmire* have been part of Indian consciousness for much of recorded Indian history. No Indian wedding was complete without the silk coming from China. The bride was given the Chinese silk. No *Havana* was complete without the *vastu* coming from China. If an Indian died in China *antim-samskar* could have been possible in China. If a Chinese died here, his *antim-samskar* was possible here. This was not true in some place like Saudi Arabia. The body had to be brought back. This is the essence of the relationship which we had for the last three thousand years

Now what went wrong then in this

relationship! Nobody goes into those historical issues but I find that there were two historical events that have disrupted this civilizational contact. One is *Bakhtiyar Khilji* in 11th century, who destroyed every point in India where the Chinese used to come and used to learn from us. *Nalanda* was destroyed, *Takshila* was destroyed. Many other institutions where the Chinese used to come and learn Ethics and Philosophy from India were systematically destroyed. That was the end of the India- China relationship. For centuries we had no contact, leaving some trade contacts in the Kerala Coast where some traders used to come. No cultural, academic or spiritual contact. Then I think the second major external factor was when the Chinese adopted the western liberal ideology of Communism under *Mao Zedong*. India at the same time opted for democracy and secularism. Now two different western and liberal ideologies established themselves in these countries with no meeting ground for the two civilizations to engage in dialogue. I don't know when these narratives between India and China will end but till then we have little chance of re-establishing the old civilizational relationship between the two.

Now this is a boundary based on soft borders, it's not a military boundary. It's a boundary based on civilization, culture, philosophy, language and so many things. It's also a border based on sectarian conflicts. But the post-independence claim is that we show a map where 37,000 sq kms

* *The author is a Former Ambassador*

(Aksai Chin) of India is under the Chinese. The Chinese show the entire Arunachal as their area. There are arguments put on both sides to defend their respective claims. In recent times, India of course has been less active in defending its claims. In 1956 the Chinese officially used to claim border up to a certain point. In 1960 the border moved further into India. And now post '62 border is much westward into India. According to Shyam Saran we have a second LAC now, the first LAC is gone, disappeared. Maybe we will have a third LAC also in next 5 years. However, that apart the bottom line is that there is a serious difference on what the border is if we go by the maps in circulation over the last century.

Now there is a map which I traced this time in Ladakh; this is a 1684 map. Has government of India asked a Ladakhi where our borders were in 16th century or 17th century or 18th century! Have the Chinese asked the Tibetans where the border was between Tibet and Ladakh. We are unnecessarily fighting sitting in Beijing and New Delhi. You will never get any clarity on these issues unless the Tibetans and the local people from Ladakh are involved in this negotiation process. What is called the Aksai Chin or *Turkik* no human being lives in this part of the world. We don't have any written history in our record that Aksai Chin was part of Ladakh, we have to be very factual about this. We did have claim up to Bhutan, very close to Nepal border and this border was settled between Tibet and us in the 16th century under the Tingmosgang treaty.

Now the Dogra's who claimed the land in the 18th and 19th centuries verified the maps but Britishers after them were in a more adventurous mode. It was part of the great game, they were

moving and they were moving down based on the Anglo-Russian dispute in Central Asia. Whenever the Chinese and the British had the good understanding fearing the Russian invasion they used to come to terms on the borders and at other times they use to conflict their agreement. But in the history nowhere this forward claims were defended or fortified by the Indian government. The exterior boundary that we showed, never was this boundary defended by us. All this Johnson map, Mc Carthy map or Mc Donald map were basically surveyor maps. These people were geographers who used to go to these places and write something and make some cartography. That doesn't mean that this becomes a final boundary between two civilizations. I think relying on these maps was a fundamental mistake made by Pt. Nehru. He did not try to understand the history and the geography of this place. Just based on somebody who wrote in the British history that this was India and this was China, has created a lot of problems. I don't see where there is going to be any meeting ground between Chinese and the Indians in this complex area which is very difficult to resolve unless we go to the fundamentals and I don't think anybody has got time to go into the fundamentals of this issue. I will leave the historical aspect of the border issue here.

Now what is the situation! We have an international boundary and we have the LAC. Some of this has been given by Pakistan to China (approx 59 sq kms of land). We have many problems here. Some of the traditionally known disputed areas were in the Trig heights and the Demchok area. Of course the perceptions differ by both sides. These were historically on eight

different points but there are now emerging disputes even in the International boundary and not just at the LAC. For example Chumar, was never a part of dispute till 2-3 years ago, until the choppers came in 2009 or 2008. Now this year *Burtse* has started this year and we expect next year something else will come.

It's going to be a very scary picture now - the landscape is changing and so is the political landscape. Today Indian Army is not focusing on China it is focusing on us. I spent four months being haunted by the Military Intelligence asking about my health, my children, my family. This is a new situation now - I think, it is Kashmir in making. I see this is a new problem that has suddenly cropped up which is not a desirable thing now to happen. The world community is going to ask you that we understand Kashmiri problem but what is this new problem in Ladakh! And what is a really dangerous answer to me, is that we will hear "We don't know!" or "Ask the Chinese!"

Now I will tell you some of the border negotiation tactics with the other boundaries that China has in the Central Asian and the Russian part. Basically China gives concession without losing territory. It's a very interesting thing. They will have a maximum claim, and then they will take the minimum territory. They will present it as a win-win to all parties but in essence usurp far more than what is their legitimate claim. Take the case of Kazakhstan. It was a huge territorial dispute left during the Soviet Union period and resolved in the 90's after the Soviet Union collapsed. China settled for a third of the territories it claimed, the claim in itself being maximalist with little basis. The Kazakhs thought they had won finally in the negotiations. In the bargain the

Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev had to openly denounce Chinese separatism and curb anti-China activity. Also 60% of the Kazakh oil has been now been given to Chinese as part of the settlement. The outcome, China gave concession but gained territory and also met its paramount domestic concerns.

Please note that border issues are linked with China's internal problems. Tajikistan surrendered territories to China 1,100 sq. km in 2010. China claimed 28,000 sq. km. but it had to settle for 3.5% of its claim. Tajiks had to cede land but were still made to feel like a victor. In essence China gained territory, settled boundary issue and effectively nixed the Uygur issue. This is a recent history of what China did to other countries. In our case the border issue is very clearly linked with Tibet. The issue is whether the border problem with India is going to be resolved or the Tibet problem is going to be resolved first or simultaneously. This is a very tricky thing, it is not so simple as most people think that two people sit across the negotiation table and they resolve it. This is not going to happen. China will not resolve the border issue with India till Tibet is resolved in its favor. As pointed out through other border situations, there is enough evidence to validate this Chinese strategy.

Lesson for India is that, Tibet is incomplete without Arunachal Pradesh. They did not say anything about Ladakh, since 2010. They don't consider Ladakh to be part of India. They have already changed this position. Kashmir means only valley, Ladakh is different, PoK is Pakistan. Incidentally during the last four months of my stay in Ladakh, stream of visitors came to visit me including responsible people from Kashmir and their assessment was that, looking towards China

is a good thing. This makes our task easier because we want to look towards Pakistan. They want to facilitate this. Actually I feel very sorry for the nation, sorry for everybody. For me it's not an issue whether I am in India or I am in China; very little option is left for me even otherwise also. Because, either I get Islamized or I go to China, at least in China I can practise my religion. Here it is land of Buddha, but real Buddhism is in China. And many people feel now that there is practise of Buddhism and that they will be safe. At least you don't have to convert to another religion. Here in last winter we have lost 36 families to Islam. Now this number is growing every day. There are only two issues there, either you have the Islamization and accept that or you accept the Chinese. Indians are not interested - that's the message everybody has got. When Dopsang happened, no voice came from Ladakh. Ladakhis were silent and silence is very dangerous. When Kargil happened we all fought along with the Indian Army. Dopsang happened not a word was uttered. People are not saying Chinese coming is a good thing but they are not saying anything.

China intends to settle boundary dispute with India by giving concession to India. What it means is that they have claimed maximum in Arunachal Pradesh which is 90,000 sq. km. But they will accept a minimum demand of taking Tawang from you. Now Tawang is a very small place within Arunachal Pradesh. This is already been effectively conveyed to us by the Chinese. But the Chinese view is that Tawang is the birth place of the 5th Dalai Lama and they will not compromise on this. This is exactly what they have tried in Central Asian Republics and also in Russia. Russia is a little different as it's more about oil & gas.

Border issues are resolved on the basis of the oil deal. But in this area also because of the oil deals they could manipulate with the Kazakhs, the Kyrgyzs and the Tajiks. But in Indian issue manipulation is going to be around the Tibet issue. So it's not a closed chapter.

The message that I see is that, out of twenty five Polit Bureau members sitting in Beijing today, ten Polit Bureau members are old Tibet Hand. They call it the Tibet Gang. Tibet experts are sitting today in Beijing in the seat of power. And the President himself, his father was old Tibet hand. They have some thinking about Tibet. Every Chinese President tried to do something for Tibet. If one President wanted to crush the Tibetan movement the other president wanted to build the Tibetan economy. Third one wanted to build the railway, other one wanted to modernize something. I think this president wants to close the Tibet chapter in the Chinese way, whatever way. But the policy is not going to be military this, time it's going to be more cultural approach to resolving the Tibet problem. Now the message is very clear that we have tolerated you all these years but if you manipulate with the next Dalai Lama we will not tolerate. Now if India decided to say "No, we will have our own way!" then the problem of border is going to be extended for another one century because the span of the Dalai Lama is up to 90 years or a century. This is what the Chinese writings are saying.

The future of India- China border issues is not simple. It's not about the deployment of troops along the border, it's about something else which is very difficult to understand. I don't think border management can be only about troops. Well you can build the roads but you can't match the

Chinese in any meaningful way. If your vehicle can move 120 kms in a day they have roads which can take a vehicle 400 kms a day on the other side. Well, Chinese are not such bad people. What we have heard from the local is that wherever a Ladakhi is sitting they don't trouble him. But wherever there is an Indian troop station, there they fire. We have surveyed those areas. They treat us differently they treat the Jat regiment differently. When our boys in the Ladakh Scouts go to the border for the flag meetings they hug us but a guy from Bihar will be pushed around. They give us different kind of gifts they give the Indian troops different type of gifts.

There is a new pattern of asymmetric warfare being developed of which troops is only one dimension. Do you know something called Lotus Sutra! Lotus Sutra is an Indian doctrine. Perhaps Nagarjuna or somebody propounded this. It's a Buddhist sutra. Today we don't get Lotus Sutra from Delhi or Varanasi or Lucknow; we get from Beijing. If I ask the local why do you listen to the Chinese version of Lotus Sutra he asks what is the difference. Lotus Sutra is Lotus Sutra, whether Chinese or Indian. The cassettes, the CD's, the DVD's are coming from China and people listen to all this. So they are playing a different game all together. If I ask the local Indian administration i.e. you call the DC of Ladakh or GOC of Leh and ask him "Sir do you know of the Lotus Sutra" he will say "what is it! I don't know Lotus Sutra". But the town is flooded with Lotus Sutra by the Chinese. We can't match the Chinese game in hard or soft power so we really don't know what will happen.

My plea during April was that first don't make Telangana a state, make Ladakh a state. It is more

vital for India's survival. At least in Arunachal Pradesh you have created a full fledged state. The world knows that it is integral part of India. It is part of Indian Constitution. We really don't know whether we are part of the Indian Constitution! Omar Abdullah says that we have not merged with India. Under Article 370 I don't know what my status in India is! I have a paper called state subject of Kashmir, without which I don't get even ration card. Ideally if you want to strengthen that place effectively, dissolve the issues permanently so that you have a political solution for the area. Omar Abdullah can't defend your borders with China. He has no time. He has his own problems in the valley. Today Ladakhis have no power. If Government of India seeks a report on China border, it asks Omar Abdullah. Omar Abdullah has no clue. He will depend on someone in the Jammu & Kashmir Government. These are people who we don't know what kind of agenda they are pursuing. Many of these elements come from Pakistan. Kargil happened because all teachers were employed by the ISI on their payroll. The labours taken by the Indian Army, taken from the Labour department, they are all under the ISI payroll. So how are you going to defend either from Pakistan or from China?

In conclusion, my talk is a desperate plea. As a Ladakhi I have no say in the whole system in Kashmir or in Delhi. I am not sure also whether India wants to defend my land and what my future entails. I am asked to remain quiet about what is going around me. It is a very difficult thing to predict as to what is going to happen in the future. I for one and not very hopeful!

Thank you!



The Arunachal Border: Saga of Repeated Errors and Callous Indifference by New Delhi

*Kiren Rijju

Thank you Chairman, distinguished members of the panel and the distinguished guests gathered here! I will not deal in detail about the historical aspects of the Indo-Tibetan border but I would like to make more of my analysis and my idea about how we have failed so far in understanding the issue and to deal with it.

First of all, an incident that occurs in the Western sector especially the India-Pakistan border is over-reported whereas, an incident in the India-Tibet border is always under-reported. I see a very unique situation here, whenever there is any kind of a border conflict or any kind of incidents in any area along the borders anywhere in the world, at least the country which is facing the problem tries to exaggerate the situation, they try to make the issue big. But it is a very unique situation in India that we don't want to raise the issue but we want to bury the issue and pretend that nothing's happening. I really don't understand why Government of India has carried this mindset since 1962 as if nothing is happening on the so called Indo-China border. I personally realized this thing when I was in the Lok Sabha. As a new Member of the Parliament I tried to bring this issue before the people of the country on the floor of the House. It was the government and the speaker who tried to stifle down the voice. The simple contention is that these are issues related to our

neighboring countries so we normally do not discuss about the neighboring countries which are friendly to us. Yes! Agreed, the courtesy requires that we respect our neighbors but not at the cost of our sovereignty, not at the cost of our national interest. So I tried to push ahead and tried to raise these issues at least in the Parliament. The speaker (that time Somnath Chatterjee) used to tell me that, Mr. Rijju you are such a decent and an active Parliamentarian, why do you want to raise all these issues!

I realized, to become a great Parliamentarian you have to be silent in India. Still I persisted with my efforts to bring up this matter. But what is more surprising is, forget about the common man on the street, common Indians, some of the Parliamentarians who have been for 3-4 terms in the House, don't know about the issues. When I brought up the Tibet issue, some of my colleagues said, "*yaar kirenji ye Tibet mamla kya hai, thoda batayie!*" This is the fate of our Indian leadership and the Members of Parliament. You can imagine the kind of situation outside in the interior areas, those living far away from the border areas, how will they be sensitized about this important national issue!

Sometimes I feel that we have not learned from our mistakes. What did Jawahar Lal Nehru say in 1962 when the matter was discussed in the

** The author is a Former Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha*

Parliament? In the midst of the discussion on China Pt. Nehru ji wanted to just brush off the whole incident, he said that please don't waste the time of the Parliament because the areas which you are talking about is all barren land, not a blade of grass grows there. I have read that Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, a member at that time, responded positively, to my satisfaction at least, when he told Panditji that, "Mr. Prime Minister you also don't have hair on your head, so should we cut your head." I am unable to comprehend that why we are not moving away from the Nehruvian mindset for which we have already paid a heavy price.

In 2003 when NDA was in power, Mr. Advani, the deputy PM of India made a visit to Itanagar, the capital of Arunachal Pradesh. There, he made a public announcement that the BJP and the NDA government would like to change the policy with regards to Arunachal Pradesh. I have seen no change. The policy so far was that border should not be developed in the entire stretches of the areas near to the Mc Mohan line. The simple reason for that is, in case of an attack by the Chinese, readymade infrastructure built by us will facilitate the Chinese. It is a defeatist mindset. That means you have actually surrendered the area because you know that tomorrow it will not remain as a part of India so better not to develop the area. It is shocking that this policy continues even till today on the ground despite lofty announcements.

When I was a Member of Parliament, I fought and a senior member of the Government conveyed to me that Chinese President is coming to India and Parliament is in session, so please don't raise this issue while our honourable guest is on our soil. When he goes back from Indian soil you can again raise the issue. I realized that it is very

difficult to change the mindset of the people who sit in South Block and North Block. Worst is the lack of understanding of the leadership. I am not talking of any political party, nobody has time everyone wants to win elections. And of course by spending or giving time to border areas you don't win elections. But elsewhere in any democratic setup, in any mature democracy this would have been by far the biggest political issue. But this is non-issue in India. This is not acceptable to people from the border areas.

I have heard from all the distinguished speakers of this panel as well as the inaugural session. I will just touch little bit on the historical aspect: the basis of the Chinese claim on Arunachal Pradesh is that, this area is South Tibet. Since Tibet is already a part of China according to them and the Government of India, we have de facto surrendered our claim on Arunachal too. This Indian position has given leverage to the Chinese who now say that since Tibet is part of China, southern Tibet should naturally be a part of China. When Tawang becomes the focus, Tawang has never been historically part of China. It was like a semi-independent kingdom. Among all the pockets along the Arunachal-Mc Mohan line area, the Buddhist pockets definitely have some religious affinity to Lhasa. We pay our respect to His Holiness Dalai Lama. But there is no direct rule from Lhasa into the entire stretch from Tawang, Mechuka etc. These are independent pockets. So the Tibetans used to refer these people as Monpa's which means people of low land. So these Monpa's along the Mc Mohan line have never been administratively part of Tibet. This Chinese basis of claim is unfounded on that ground. When China says Southern Tibet is part of China, I have

confronted some of the Chinese friends that, “what are the geographical terms in your discourse for these areas!” If you have a historical claim you must be having some geographical names or some kind of incidents which relate to your claim. There is no answer!

It’s a unique situation sometimes created by our own mistakes. Now when we talk of 1914 Shimla agreement which defines the Mc Mohan line, there were three plenipotentiaries, the British India side which was represented by Henry Mc Mohan who was the Foreign Secretary of British India, the Chinese plenipotentiary and the Tibetan Prime Minister. When the Chinese protested to this agreement, the Indian and the Tibetan representative signed the agreement and put an attachment to the agreement that any future claims from the China side will be invalid. That means agreement of Tibetan side was between Tibet and British India; that means we recognize Tibet as an independent country. Subsequently by saying that Autonomous Region of Tibet is part of People’s Republic of China on our part is actually conceding some of our own argument. We should have been very careful while conceding anything to the Chinese demand. The Chinese have meticulously planned and they have long term plan to deal with the issue.

Now why do the border issues keep on coming! Recently there were some incidents of border incursion, I have defined very clearly that some of the Military Generals say that there is difference of perception on the Line of Actual Control. Even the ministers, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee when he was Foreign Minister said that there are differences in perception and we shouldn’t be really crying about it. I said we

understand our perception of the Line of Actual Control, however if we go by the Chinese perception, the Chinese perception is that Arunachal Pradesh is Chinese territory. So when they come 30 kms inside simply by saying that this is because of differences in perception then by that logic should we allow Chinese to come all the way to Itanagar and remain silent just because that is their way of looking at things? We are not able to put forward our case very strongly. Of what I have heard, though I am not part of the border talk process, is that whenever there are border talks the Indian side is very ill prepared. The Chinese come very well prepared and at the end of the day they always have the upper hand. We are always defensive resulting in the present situation.

In 2007, when the Chinese Ambassador somewhere in Chandigarh claimed that we are close to a border settlement, that meant Tawang will be given away to China. Now when this matter was made public then we were very forceful. We said that Government should come out and make clarifications about how the Ambassador could make such statements, very categorical statement that we are close to an agreement. Then under pressure Government of India I think delayed whatever they were intending to do. So our own treatment of the border areas is leading to further complication of the problem. India is a huge country which has the potential to become a superpower and many of the experts say that India might emerge as a superpower in future; but, if you go out to the border area you realize how small you are! Even in Bangladesh border, I used to lead many Parliamentary delegations into the Myanmar border, Pakistan Border, China Border it’s not in only one border area, its across! It is astonishing

that in small countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan or Myanmar, forget about Pakistan and China, the communication network and the road network is always better on the other side. Why it is so! You go to Bangladesh border, you are in Indian territory but you are served by their mobile network. It is always Bangla telephone or some service provided by Dhaka. Are we so weak! Our people have been hearing Chinese radio and Chinese television is a fact well known; while we are very much inside our territories we are using the facilities of even the smaller countries. You just imagine how weak and how small we are by our own behavior.

We talk that India is a huge powerful country but actually we are weak when it comes to border areas. That is why incursion takes place and that is why Kargil took place. For three months they were in our territory and yet we had no intelligence information about it. There is no point talking about the big things and about how big and powerful country we are. Look at the ground, how weak we are! We don't know that our enemies are inside our territories establishing camps despite all the equipments and armories and everything that we have. By the time we realize it, the problem is already there; that is why Sumdorong Chu really happened. In 1987 when I was a student, they built a helipad next to my place. You see the recent incident in areas of Maza, areas towards the Purang lake, areas in Anjure etc. - they are not 1-2 kms inside, they are 30-40 kms deep inside. That is why I say don't describe or damage the situation by saying in technical term that, it is transgression. I can understand transgression if there is movement or coming inside 2 or 3 kms by mistake. But this is a deep intrusion inside the territory, how can this be transgression! Some of the military

experts have also failed to convey, failed to describe the movement appropriately. I was part of some of the discussions. I told people that this is a totally wrong way of describing the serious incidents. This is not a transgression, this is a meticulously planned act of intrusion by the Chinese. We should understand the ill-design of the Chinese.

Sometimes the level of frustration we get into is unimaginable. This stapled visa issue. There is so much inconsistency in our policy. Sometimes we allow, sometimes we don't. During the Olympics I went there on a staple visa as I was part of the official delegation. Subsequently on a FICCI delegation my name was struck down by India on account of a staple visa. India must have a consistent policy. Why allow me to go to Olympics if the Chinese are not sensitive to our concerns? I had written to the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister three times on this stapled visa issue urging them to take up this matter up with the Chinese. I was shocked to learn that this matter was not even discussed when the Chinese Prime Minister recently visited India. I had a serious outburst of anger at our own behavior.

We have been very loyal to our nation. Nowhere in the border area or any part of Arunachal Pradesh there have been anti-national incidents or acts from any Arunachali. I have spoken to people in Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. There has been a revolt. They have misguided youth who wanted separation. But in the soil of Arunachal Pradesh never has anybody or any person even by mistake undertaken any kind of anti-national activity. Then when we are so clear in our approach, in our acts then why is the Government of India is silent on

the issue. When our sportspersons, when our intellectuals, when our scholars want to take part in China not because they want to visit China but because the event is international and people need to take part, then why does the Government of India say that, as an Arunachali you can go on a staple visa?

In Arunachal Pradesh I say we are in the prison of our own frontiers. On the Tibet side all our traditional routes have been closed since 1962. On the Assam side we have a problem, now the problem is coming from the Burma side. For a normal Indian to visit Arunachal you need inner line pass. It is a different kind of area which is very unlike other parts of the country.

The Arunachalis are loyal; full faith can be reposed in them. Bring them into the national forum and make a separate policy for them. Whoever comes to government in the center, make a policy after taking the people who reside in that stretch into confidence. Building infrastructure is actually not the problem, it is the mindset. If you see 1962, how did our brave soldiers die! More people died out of hunger, out of cold than the Chinese bullets. Know the reality! My father and many others used to see dying Indian soldiers because there was no food in their stomach. There was no supply chain and whatever was dropped from the air was falling here and there. There was

no plan, nothing. To some extent local people are facing problem from the Indian Army. For example from a stretch from Balipara to Tawang if there is a convoy of army, it is such a problem for local people because the road is so small. The infrastructure is so bad. When there is an army convoy, civilians have to stop. Why can't we make a double lane road! Since last ten years this work on the double lane road is going on. I don't know!

My anger with the Government of India when I am travelling in Arunachal is unfathomable. When I am travelling there I always feel that we don't have a government in Delhi. It is so sad. I meet the Ministers, the officers in South Block and North Block and I tell them our problems. They listen but do nothing. It just seems they don't care! But when I come to forums like this, I meet nationalist people, various organizations full of nationalist people and I get the comfort that there are people in India who think for this nation, who care for us! So it's a balance! We don't have a strong government but we still have strong people here.

I will conclude with a brief note that when people are asking for help, when the voice is there, when people are saying please help us, then, listen to the voice from the border areas. Tomorrow there might be no voice left. When there will be no voice you will have nobody to speak to.

Thank you!



Understanding the Larger Context of India's Border Management

*G Parthasarathy

I first wish to say that there are 3 people in this world from whom we should learn about politics and international policies - the first one being Kautilya, the second and the third being Sun Tzu from China and Machiavelli from Europe respectively. The fact is that *Artha Shastra* is the science of Economics. The biggest threat for a country is bankruptcy. We as Indians are looking at our borders only in terms of land borders. This is because of the invasions of the North and Delhi is very northern centric. Once we cross the Vindhya mountains, nobody bothers about land borders; we run across peninsular India where, the threats are different. Aurangzeb, the last person who tried to cross the mountains suffered because the Marathas tore him to bits with *Guerrilla Warfare*. The history of the South was always seaward. In today's world we must realise that though land borders are important, one cannot ignore the sea borders, the maritime frontiers.

Two of our major security challenges i.e., China and Pakistan are land borders, but we must remember that in the event of a conflict of interest it is necessary to secure the sea lanes especially with China's growing maritime power. The challenges to security are manifold. Security is just not an army guarding the land frontiers; what

will happen to the economy if the Persian Gulf were to get into a conflict situation and the Americans or the Israelis invade Iran and the Iranians close the Gulf. We have six million Indians living in the Arab Gulf Countries who remit back to this economy. The NRIs in the US and UK though lead a happy life do not remit anything to this economy. It is these people in the Gulf who remit 60 billion dollars to this economy. This is how we need to look at security. Can we even imagine a situation where the price of oil goes up to 180 dollars a barrel and we also do not get those 60 billion dollars? How many of us have thought about the security of those six million people.

Security is the ability to give our people a better life – economically, politically, diplomatically and militarily. When I was the Ambassador to Myanmar, I found that drug smuggling was rife, illegal border trading was taking place and there were insurgencies in the north east. The first agreement we signed with Myanmar was on security covering drug smuggling, trans-border movements and in all these negotiations we had the Home Secretaries of the State government present. We had regular consultations with the representatives of the state

**The author is a Former Ambassador*

government. The Joint Secretary of the North East in Delhi does not have a clue about the borders; it is the Border Security Force, the Assam Rifles who know about the borders. As the federal structure of the country grows and the when it has more than one state sharing borders with countries like Myanmar, then we should involve the states. It is important to take the consultation of representatives of the state government and involve the politicians of the state whether it is matters related to security or Home Ministry consultations.

China is economically powerful than any neighbour including Russia. The Chinese treat the borders of their neighbours as an extension of their economic policy. It is time that we need to be more practical. We are the most economically powerful nation in the neighbourhood. Therefore, treat all the borders of our neighbours as an extension of the Indian market. This definitely needs thought, needs to be carefully planned but it will work. Our security forces in the borders must not be burdened with law and order duties which they cannot implement. Also, decentralisation must take place and border states must be involved.

The question is if we cannot stop flow of population from Bangladesh, then why can't we have a system of identity cards for temporary residents. We have a government that is running a budget deficit that will spend ten thousand crores on one plan from one Ministry and another twenty thousand crores from another Ministry, when people are starving. Our administration needs to change. The system of playing politics with vote bank, changing the demographic composition to

suit political ends should be dealt with far more firmly. We should atleast prevent the illegal immigrants from voting, prevent them becoming a tool of political influence in the country.

There is no auditing on the amount of money spent in the North East. Investments were made for the same road three times and this is not the way a government should utilise its funds. It is not the North East politicians who are biased but their counter parts in the rest of the country. These systems must change. Unless we have border roads and communication, our border will not be secured. The geo-political challenges we face in terms of our economy and prosperity are - instability in the Persian Gulf or a challenge we will face if the Taliban takes over in Afghanistan.

Everybody in our government says Nawaz Sharif is a very good person but how many people in this government have studied his history? In his first tenure as Prime Minister, Sharif organised the Mumbai blasts in 1993. Everybody has forgotten those blasts which killed 250 people for which Nawaz Sharif is responsible. Dawood Ibrahim is staying in Pakistan because of Sharif's actions. The Chief of ISI during the Mumbai attacks in 1993 was Lt. Gen. Javed Nasir whom Sharif had to terminate because of threat from America that they would declare Pakistan as a terrorist state for the Mumbai attacks. In 1997, when he was again elected as the Prime Minister, he appointed Lt. Gen. Nasir as the Chief of Pakistan Gurudwara Management Committee. This was because he wanted the tourists from Punjab to meet members of Babbar Khalsa already there and to fraternise the likes of Ganga Singh

Dhillon from the United States. In 1997, when Taliban was in Afghanistan, Gen. Ziawuddin, DG, ISI who was handpicked by Nawaz Sharif was sent to meet Mullah Abdul Ghani in Afghanistan to ask for twenty to thirty thousand volunteers for jihad in Jammu & Kashmir, to which Mullah had replied that he was ready to give five lakh jihadis. These details were revealed by the brother of a former Pakistan Army Chief. Nawaz's brother is the Chief Minister of Punjab. He gives money to the Jamaat ud Dawa which is the parent body of the Lashkar-e-Taiba. On the day of Eid, the entire Gaddafi stadium is put at the disposal of Hafiz Muhammad Saeed days after the attack on Bodh Gaya. In Kabul, Indians are always under constant threat.

The danger to the western frontiers is going to be the growth of militants in Islam. It is also going to be a problem which is eating Pakistan away. Today differences have started between the military and civilian government in Pakistan on whether they should talk to and negotiate with the Tehrik-e Taliban in Pakistan or fight them. It is a very strange policy where on one hand they are fighting the Tehrik-e Taliban and on the other hand they are arming and training the Afghanistan Talibans. Should the Taliban gain control on even some parts of Southern Afghanistan then we will be in the same problem that we were during the Kandahar hijack. When the Afghans ask us for arms at the level of Karzai to fight the Taliban, our government refuses. Is this the way we should handle national security in our neighbourhood?

The challenges on the western frontiers are going to be two fold – One is holding operation of

improving internal security so that the terror outfits do not succeed. There was a ceasefire announced in November 2003 and in the first summer after Sharif was elected into power, the ceasefire is violated. If we form our assessments not based on ground realities but based on what we like it to be then, we are wrong. We will have multiple problems in dealing with all this. We are going to have problems caused by terrorism for which it is necessary to improve internal security. Second – there are two aspects of diplomacy; when a person is deliberately hostile, we try to be nice but we also make a cost of his hostile actions unbearable to him. How we should punish hostile actions - this has not been thought about.

With regards to the borders with China, we were being told by the government that we have not defined where the Line of Control is. So when the Chinese come across the Karakoram to Chumar, it is because it is not defined. The borders were clearly defined in 1693 and the maps prepared in 1899 also clearly define the borders. In the 2005 agreement between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Wen Jiabao, the borders will lie along easily identifiable natural features which means if there is a mountain range it will lie along the high mountain range. It also stated that while arriving at a border settlement, the presence of people will be taken into consideration. If the population will be taken into account, how can the Chinese claim Tawang and later within a month claim the whole state of Arunachal Pradesh. Now, can we say we do not know where the Line of Control is and they are claiming the whole of Arunachal Pradesh.

China is an expanding power. It has territorial aims not just on us but also on Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan, Phillipines, Malaysia on the South China Sea. Is it not time to get along with these countries and stand up against China? The latest Pakistani warheads are going to be Plutonian based on Plutonian reactors supplied by China to Pakistan. If China can do all this, can't India do something in their relations with all these countries. We need to look at all this in a rational manner; we need to be firm about our interests. We need to be aggressive and talk to all our neighbours. Can a country of India's size in terms of security afford to buy all its military equipments from abroad? We have the best IT brains in our country with whom we should develop our defence industry similar to that of South Korea and Japan.

We have a huge potential and we can do it but if our ideological thinking is still in the cold war, then we are missing the boat. The policies and strategies of the 60s and 70s are not relevant today.

One advantage is that, India does not have an image as an expansionist power. We need to seriously think about things like involving the state governments and people, being realistic about our economic strengths, using our economic strength in our neighbourhood, using our relationship with ASEAN because India is a non-threatening power. The Chinese are going to be in trouble because they are looking for everybody's resources starting from Latin America to Africa to Asia and that sort of imperialism poses a problem.

Survival as a civilisation is not enough we need to be in the forefront if we want a role in the world and we can definitely achieve this. China's containment is possible only through a big power like India and the world at large and all of China's adversaries, including possibly China, very clearly understand. The question is will India rise to the occasion and take her rightful place in what will possibly be the one of the greatest international relations challenge of this century?



India : United in Genes, Language and Culture

People of India have been one genetically, linguistically and culturally for at least 50,000 years. Though not always united politically, uniting them under a single chatra has been a cherished goal since Vedic times. The Arya-Dravida racial and linguistic division is a political creation based on shoddy scholarship that has no scientific basis.

- Navaratna Rajaram

Background : Biblical history spawns a myth

Unlike most academic disciplines, Indology (i.e. Western study of India) and its offshoot of Indo-European studies can be dated almost to the day. In a lecture in Kolkotta delivered on 2 February 1786 (and published in 1788) Sir William Jones, a forty year-old British jurist in the service of the East India Company observed:

“The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists...”

This enormously influential statement is well known but not the errors Jones committed like his dating of Indian tradition based on the Biblical superstition that the world was created on Sunday, 23rd of October 4004 BCE at 9:00 AM— time zone not specified. The date was first derived by the Irish bishop James Ussher (1581 – 1656) following a literal reading of the Bible combined with the belief that world would end 2000 years after Christ or some twelve years ago.

This was the beginning of the myth that Vedic civilization was brought to India by ‘fair skinned’ Aryans who invaded India and first overcame and then imposed their language and culture the darker Dravidians who were the original natives of India (as the Europeans did in the Americas). The just mentioned Biblical superstition is the basis for the assertion that the Aryan invasion took place in 1500 BCE, and the *Rig Veda* was composed in 1200 BCE. An earlier date for the *Rigveda* which science now dictates would violate the Biblical date of 4004 BCE for the Creation.

**The author is a mathematical physicist interested in the history and philosophy of science.*

While it sounds comical today, it was taught as history through most of the nineteenth century. It is surreal experience to go through a Bible published in the nineteenth century; supposedly ‘historical’ events like the Genesis, Noah’s Flood and the like are printed in red, with dates like 4004 BC given in the margin. The practice of teaching this persisted even though both Darwin’s theory of evolution and geology had determined the earth had to be millions of years old to support fossils and the enormous diversity of life forms. Even this very greatly underestimated its age. (The current estimate for the age of the earth is about 4.5 billion years).

Indian Records Manipulated to fit the Bible

Jones was a capable linguist and knew some Sanskrit. His task was to study Indian texts and understand Hindu law to help administer British justice in a manner acceptable to them. In his study of Hindu texts like the Puranas he came across dates that went much further back than the Biblical date for Creation. He dismissed them as superstitions (for failing to agree with the Biblical superstition) and imposed a chronology on Indian history and tradition to fit within the Biblical framework.

This was to have fateful consequences for the study of India over the succeeding two centuries down to the present. To cite an example, Indian tradition going back at least to the mathematician Aryabhata (476 – 540 CE) has held that the Kali Age began with the Mahabharata War in 3102 BCE. This marks the end of an era known as the

Vedic Age. Accepting it takes the beginning of the Vedic period as well as several dynasties like the Ikshwakus to 6000 BCE and earlier. This is millennia before the Biblical date for Creation which men like Jones could not accept.

Dates based on the Biblical chronology were accepted as historically valid by most Western scholars like F. Max Müller, the most influential of them. He explicitly stated that he took the Biblical account including the date to be historical. Most of them were classical scholars or students of religion and had no inkling of science. The widely quoted dates of 1500 BCE for the Aryan invasion and the 1200 BCE date for the *Rig Veda* were imposed to make them conform to the Biblical date of 4004 BCE.

The situation has not changed much in the succeeding two centuries. Indologists like Wendy Doniger, Diana Eck, Michael Witzel and their Indian counterparts like Romila Thapar have little comprehension of the revolution in our understanding of the past brought about by science in the past few decades. They continue to quote 1200 BCE for the *Rig Veda* without mentioning that it rests on the authority of a 400 year-old Biblical superstition! (Some ‘scholars’ like Doniger and Thapar don’t know any Sanskrit either but that is a different issue.) The main point is they know no more science than their nineteenth century predecessors did.

Pseudo-Scholarship dividing the People of India

with the benefit of hindsight we can say that a major blunder committed by these early

scholars—mostly missionaries like Bishop Caldwell (more later) and bureaucrats (like Jones and his followers)—was to assume that they could trace the evolution and spread of languages by looking at modern and possibly earlier languages. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that this is an *assumption* on which the whole field of historical linguistics rests; it has never been convincingly demonstrated or even tested but is rarely questioned by its proponents. They took this belief to the study of the following real problem.

It has long been known, going back well before Jones's discovery, Indian and European languages are related. For example, what is *deva* in Sanskrit becomes *dio* in Latin, *theo* in Greek and *dieu* in French. Similarly, *agni* for fire in Sanskrit becomes *ignis* in Latin from which we get the English words ignite and ignition. Amusingly, the famous Russian drink *vodka* has its Sanskrit cognate in *udaka* both meaning water. And there are many more, far too many to be seen as coincidence.

To explain this, at least in India and the Indian context, scholars created the famous, now infamous Aryan invasion theory or the AIT. It claims that bands of invading 'Aryan' tribes brought both the ancestor of the Sanskrit language and the Vedic literature from somewhere in Eurasia or even Europe. (For reasons that are both unnecessary and unclear, these invaders were made to be fair skinned and blonde!)

This 'theory', in reality a conjecture, was the result of scholars assuming that the ancestors of Indians and Europeans must at one time have lived

in a common place speaking a common language before they spread across Asia, Eurasia and Europe carrying their language which later split into different languages. They called these speakers Indo-Europeans and their languages—from North India to Europe—the Indo-European family. They called the original language Proto-Indo-European or PIE, a term sometimes applied to its speakers also. (This too has its Biblical counterpart in the story of the Tower of Babel.)

European linguists soon followed up on these ideas but in their newfound enthusiasm and ignorance of science, committed two egregious blunders. First, they borrowed the Sanskrit word *Arya* which only means civilized and turned it into a geographical and then a racial term by applying it to the people and languages of North India. (The correct term for North India is *Gauda*, just as *Dravida* refers to the south.) Next, they placed South Indian languages in a totally different category called the Dravidian family excluding them from nearly all discourse about Indo-Europeans.

By this they created a two-fold division of India: first a **linguistic division** into Aryan and Dravidian languages, accompanied by a **racial division** of the main people of India into Aryan and Dravidian races. This supposedly scholarly exercise had political backing as well as missionary support. It was an essential part of the divide and rule policy adopted by the British. It is still part of the missionary armory, characterizing 'Dravidians' as victims of Aryan aggression. Its political legacy continues to the present in the

Dravidian politics of Tamil Nadu. These politicians and missionaries are the staunchest upholders of the scientifically and historically discredited Aryan-Dravidian divide.

The discipline they created called philology and Indo-European studies soon got mixed up with crackpot theories on race and language— like the ‘Aryan’ race speaking ‘Aryan’ languages somehow ending up in Nazi Germany! There was even an ‘Aryan’ science movement that demonized Einstein and his ‘Jewish’ physics! It was denounced by scientists, especially in the twentieth century, but politics and prejudice kept it alive for over a century. In addition to the Nazi ideology, British colonial policy used race as a way of classifying its British Indian subjects.

While race theories were discredited by Nazi atrocities, the linguistic division of both languages and the people of India has continued. In its original usage Arya means civilized and never applied to a region or language. **Gauda** is the proper term for the north while **Dravida** refers to the south or peninsular India. In reality South Indian languages are much closer to Sanskrit in both grammar and vocabulary, whereas with European languages any similarity is limited to vocabulary. Like Indian languages today that have borrowed technical terms from English, European languages thousands of years ago borrowed Sanskrit terms as needed. Science now tells us that Indo-Europeans were a later offshoot of Gauda-Dravida speakers. We shall get to this later, but first a brief look at what science has to say about our genes is in order.

March of Science: No Different Races but Common Genes

The first point to note is that race is not a scientific term. There is no scientific test that can determine a person’s race. Our genes do not distinguish between south and north Indians or between members of different castes and tribes. The second point is that race is also not an Indian notion, but a European obsession of the colonial period. All scientists including European scientists have denounced both Indologists and Nazis for using race as a means of classification. As far back as 1939, Sir Julian Huxley, one of the great natural scientists of the twentieth century wrote:

In England and America the phrase ‘Aryan race’ has quite ceased to be used by writers with scientific knowledge, though it appears occasionally in political and propagandist literature.... In Germany, the idea of the ‘Aryan race’ received no more scientific support than in England. Nevertheless, it found able and very persistent literary advocates who made it appear very flattering to local vanity. It therefore steadily spread, fostered by special conditions.

These ‘special conditions’ were the rise of Nazism in Germany and British imperial interests in India, their divide and rule policy. Still Indian politicians and academics with vested interests have continued to propagate such degrading and unscientific ideas to protect their positions and reputations. While these people from Dravidian politicians of Tamil Nadu (but not other South Indian states) and ‘secularist’ academics continue to peddle their discredited theories, molecular

biology has driven the final nail in the coffin. They belong now in the dustbin of history along with the people who propagate them.

What real science now has to say is the exact opposite of what these ‘scholars’ have been telling us. Science tells us that our ancestors have lived in India for something like 60,000 years. The same science also tells us that several waves of Indians left India to settle down in Central Asia, Eurasia and Europe. (And also East and Southeast Asia as far as Australia, but that though important is not discussed here.) The first wave was 45,000 years ago, the second about 10,000 years ago and the third perhaps as recently as 5000 years ago. This essentially explains the language mystery— why languages of Europe are related to Indian languages, particularly they carry a layer of Sanskrit over them.

What has allowed us to unlock the mysteries of IE origins is science, especially natural history and population genetics. Europe is a relative late comer to the scene. According to science, modern humans originated in Africa about 200,000 years ago. Then about 65,000 years ago, small groups of our African ancestors made their way to South Asia traveling along the Arabian coast. *All non-Africans living in the world today are descended from these one thousand or so original settlers in South Asia.* They flourished in a small area for some ten thousand years in South-Central India. This means, **Europeans are a branch of these Indians, the world’s oldest population group outside Africa.**

For the next ten thousand years or so they led

a precarious existence by hunting and gathering. About 52,000 years ago there was a dramatic warming in climate. This led to increase in both population and territory. It was followed by a mass extinction of animals probably due to over-hunting. Shortly after this, about 45,000 years ago or so, small groups left the Indian subcontinent in search of better hunting territory and made their way to Eurasia and Europe. ***These are the first Indo-Europeans.*** The language they took with them, possibly more than one, was descended from the primordial Afro-Indian and became the first Indo-European. We have no idea what it was like. But we may surmise the following scenario based on genetic evidence.

African ancestors ’! Afro-Indians ’! South Asians (Indians) ’! Indo-Europeans

This means, Indians have lived where they are today and evolved for over 60,000 years, and **are the oldest non-African humans in the world.** Here is how Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza of Stanford University, the world’s greatest population geneticist puts it:

Taken together, these results show that Indian tribal and caste populations derive largely from the same genetic heritage of Pleistocene southern and western Asians and have received limited gene flow from external regions since the Holocene...

Put in non-technical language, it means that the Indian population—upper castes, tribals (or indigenous peoples), Dravidians, so forth—are mainly of indigenous origin, and the contribution of immigrants is negligible. So, various socio-historical theories popular in India and the West

that divide the Indian people into original inhabitants (*adivasis*), Dravidians and upper caste Hindus as later invaders/immigrants are simply not true.

The same holds for the languages of India except for latecomers like Persian and English. This means the languages Indians speak today have evolved from what they have been speaking over the same period.

This means there are no Aryan or Dravidian genes but a common Indian genetic pool with local variations— something like regional variations like accents in spoken languages. This was dramatically confirmed by a recent study by Dr. Lalji Singh, considered India's leading expert on the genetics of the population groups of India. As he puts it: "It is impossible to distinguish castes and tribes from the [genetic] data." Only some highly isolated group over very long time periods may exhibit differences like the tribes of the Andamans.

Without getting too technical we may look at the distribution what is known as the R1a1 genetic marker (haplogroup) to get an idea of this. It is present in high caste Brahmins of East and West Coast (Konkan and Bengal), Punjabi Khatri, and also in a tribe in Andhra Pradesh called the Chenchus! How do we explain this except by admixture over a long period of time?

In summary, the Indian population is overwhelmingly indigenous, the oldest in the world outside Africa, and also inextricably mixed with some local variations. There is no way of telling them apart. It is therefore absurd for

historians and politicians to divide people on the basis of race and caste— as foreign and native. This is politics not science or history.

Language evolution: Gauda-Dravida before Indo-European

Just as there is no Aryan race due to any invasion, and no Dravidians subdued by the invaders, we find also there are no 'Aryan' languages brought by invaders. What we have instead are regional languages that evolved over a very long period—50,000 years or more—after our African ancestors settled in India, perhaps 60,000 years ago if not earlier. More particularly, modern Indo-European languages themselves branched out of Indian languages when Indians migrated to Central Asia, Eurasia and Europe.

We can forget the current theory about Sanskrit being a branch of Proto-Indo-European introduced by the invading Aryans. It is crackpot theory born out of race prejudice and colonial interests. They simply could not stomach the idea that their languages had owed so much to India and Sanskrit. Also, we just saw that Indo-Europeans themselves originated in India and could not have brought Indian languages into India! (Unless they happened to make an abrupt U-turn and headed back home. Even then they would only be bringing back the language they had just taken from India!) Fortunately science can help us though we still have a great deal to learn.

In their ignorance of both science and Indian tradition, European linguists committed two egregious blunders. First, they borrowed the

Sanskrit word *Arya* which only means civilized and turned it into a geographical and then a racial term by applying it to the people and languages of North India. (The correct term for North India is *Gauda*, just as *Dravida* refers to the south.) Next, they placed South Indian languages in a totally different category called the Dravidian family excluding them from nearly all discourse about Indo-Europeans. In reality South Indian languages are much closer to Sanskrit in both grammar and vocabulary, whereas with European languages it is limited to vocabulary. Science now tells us that Indo-Europeans were a later offshoot of Gauda-Dravida speakers.

This point—the closeness of the so-called Dravidian languages to Sanskrit—needs to be emphasized, for keeping the two separated continues to be part of a political and academic agenda. In truth, there are no reasons to suppose that Gauda and Dravida languages including Sanskrit had ever remained in separated exclusive domains. Some covert Aryan theorists like Thomas Trautmann go to the extent of claiming that the Dravidian family was ‘discovered’ by Bishop Robert Caldwell in 1835, just as Sanskrit was ‘discovered’ by Jones in 1786. The truth is by then they had a two thousand year history of coexistence and at no time were the Dravida people ignorant of Sanskrit. Then as now Sanskrit was cultivated all over India. *It was never a regional language.*

The key is to recognize that **language evolution is an inseparable part of human evolution**, especially in primitive societies where

the means of communication is limited to speech and memory. For 50,000 years the people of India lived mainly by hunting and gathering.

Towards the end of the Ice Age, about 11,000 years ago, agriculture originating in tropical Asia (India and Southeast Asia) replaced hunting-gathering leading to much larger populations. Important domestic animals including the horse were also domesticated in the region (There is no truth to the claim that horses were unknown in India before the Aryan invaders brought them.) There were now several languages in north and south India which my colleagues and I call Gauda and Dravida languages. (Arya means civilized and inappropriate for region or language.)

There were two major developments during the Holocene or the period after the Ice Age 10,000 years ago. First, there was intense activity leading eventually to the creation of the Vedas and the language that became Sanskrit by incorporating features found in both northern (Gauda) and southern (Dravida) sources. This accounts for the so-called Dravidian features found in the Vedas as well as the closeness of Dravidian grammars to Sanskrit grammar. The other was a second wave of people out of India who took with them both Sanskrit related languages and agricultural skills along with domestic animals including rats and mice! This accounts for the closeness of Sanskrit to European languages, in vocabulary if not grammar.

South Asians (Gauda-Dravida) ’! Indo-Europeans (second wave)

This means *there were two major waves of*

Indo-Europeans, both out of India into the north and west. We know of the first (c. 45,000 BCE) only from genetic studies of modern populations around the world. We have no idea what their languages were like. The second, and much more recent, occurred at the turn of the Pleistocene-Holocene transition some 10,000 years ago. It has left many traces in archaeology, genetics, culture, and above all in the Sanskritic imprint on the languages of Europe and Eurasia. This is supplemented by genetic and other scientific data relating to animals that accompanied them including of rats and mice!

In summary, like its people, the languages of India also are indigenous evolutions until the coming of Turkic and Persian in medieval times and English in the modern. Neither caused any breaks but only adaptations as Indian languages and culture continued. Both Northern (Gauda) and Dravidian languages are ancient and native and have always coexisted. Both Vedic and literary Sanskrit were *created* by borrowing elements from Gauda and Dravida languages. That is why it is called *Sanskrita* meaning compiled or constructed. This means India's cultural unity is also of the same antiquity, which is our next point.

Unity of India is of untold antiquity

We may next look at the claim first made by the British, later faithfully repeated by the Leftist (and 'Secular') intellectuals, that the British unified India. This is completely false. The British might have brought benefits to India, but unity was not one of them. The unity of India, rooted in her ancient culture, is of untold antiquity. It may

have been divided at various times into smaller kingdoms, but the goal was always to be united under a 'Chakravartin' or a 'Samrat'. This unity was cultural though not always political. This cultural unity was seriously damaged during the medieval period, when India was engaged in a struggle for survival— like what is happening in Kashmir today. Going back thousands of years, India had been united under a single ruler many times. The earliest recorded emperor of India is Bharata, the son of Shakuntala and Dushyanta, but there were several others. Here are a few examples from the *Aitareya Brahmana*.

“With this great anointing of Indra, Dirghatamas Mamateya anointed Bharata Daushanti. Therefore, Bharata Daushanti went round the earth completely, conquering on every side and offered the horse in sacrifice.

“With this great anointing of Indra, Tura Kavasheya anointed Janamejaya Parikshita. Therefore Janamejaya Parikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side and offered the horse in sacrifice.”

This Janamejaya Parikshita is not the same as Arjuna's great-grandson who performed the snake sacrifice and in whose court Vaishampayana first recited the *Mahabharata*, but a much earlier king. There are similar statements about Sudasa Paijavana anointed by Vasistha, Anga anointed by Udamaya Atreya, Durmukha Pancala anointed by Brihadukta and Atyarati Janampati anointed by Vasistha Satyahavya. Atyarati, though not born a king, became an emperor and went on conquer even the Uttara

Kuru or the modern Sinkiang and Turkestan that lie north of Kashmir.

There are others also mentioned in the *Shathapatha Brahmana* and also the *Mahabharata*. This shows that the idea of political unity of India is ancient though rarely achieved. Other great empires like the Maurya (the largest in Indian history), Gupta, Chalukya, Vijayanagara ruled over substantial empires. But even while ruling over only parts of India, cultural unity was recognized by all. Even in the 13th century, when much of North India was under the rule of Firuz Shah Tughlak, Acharya Madhva and a few of his disciples met the Sultan and explained their interest in traveling to Badri and Kedarnath. They were allowed to go unmolested.

The British were only the last imperial rulers. Also, the British did not rule over a unified India. They had treaties with the rulers of hereditary kingdoms like Mysore, Kashmir, Hyderabad and others that were more or less independent. The person who united all these was Sardar Patel, not the British. So the Sardar should be placed alongside the other great political unifiers of India. But this unification was possible only because India is culturally one. Pakistan, with no such identity or cultural unity, in spite of a single religion, is in endless turmoil and falling apart.

So India is one— genetically, linguistically, culturally. It is politics that has both divided and united it geographically. But politics of the moment cannot change more permanent factors that make India a nation. So let us not believe false theories and propaganda about Aryan-Dravidian

divides and the like put out by self serving propagandists and politicians pretending to be scholars.

Conclusion: Indology collapses in the West

Indology is a colonial discipline created by colonial administrators (like Jones) and missionaries (like Bishop Caldwell) to meet colonial and missionary interests. People of India have long been made to believe that Indology (and Sanskrit) departments in Europe and America are thriving and setting the lead which Indians would be wise to follow. This is far from true. Indology centers as far apart as Cambridge (UK), Berlin, Louvain and others are being closed down. This is simply a reflection of the fact that both the field and its practitioners filled a need during the colonial era but are now irrelevant in this age of postcolonial globalization. There were none like them before European colonization and there will be none in the foreseeable future. The long twilight of colonialism has ended and darkness is descending on the Old World. That is the reality today.

This becomes apparent when we look at what is happening to programs in the West. Harvard, where Michael Witzel had made it one of the last bastions of the Aryan invasion version of history can serve as an illustration. His department of Sanskrit and India Studies no longer exists. It has been split and merged into the South Asia Center and the Harvard Divinity School as part of comparative religion. Witzel himself has stated that his Sanskrit program had only three students. (Cambridge University in England had none.)

Recognizing this, the Harvard South Asia Center emphasizes topics of contemporary interest like international business, Hindu-Muslim relations, socio-economic development and the like. It is no accident that the Center happens to be headed by Tarun Khanna of the Harvard Business School and not any antiquarian scholar. The future, one can only speculate will see a further separation of India studies into religious studies and current affairs like political science, business and other fields of contemporary interest.

This means ancient India as being still taught

in many Indian schools and colleges is on the way to the dustbin of history in the lands of the people who created them. Only Indians are clinging to this scientifically discredited version out of what Sri Aurobindo long ago called the Indians' "excessive deference for Western opinion." Even that 'Western opinion' is a thing of the past that has been discarded by students of India in the West today.

It is time that Indian educators recognize this reality and get rid of this colonial baggage that is poisoning the minds of Indian youth.

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India, Afghanistan and Regional Security

*Ed Royce

Regional Stability and Security: India has been a strong partner for the United States and Afghanistan as we work together to rebuild the war torn country and ensure regional security. From road construction across Afghanistan and the region, to training the Afghan police and military forces, India has been an important contributor as we work together to bring regional stability to a historically unstable area. This is not an easy mission, but it is made easier to the extent that the two countries are cooperating.

We in the U.S. Congress appreciate that India has promised to stand by the people of Afghanistan as they prepare to transition from a military mission led by international forces to operations conducted by the Afghan National Security Forces. India continues to partner with US and International Security Assistance Forces as we train Afghan military troops both on the ground and in military academies. The Strategic Partnership Pact signed in October of 2011 is another example of the critical relationship between Afghanistan and India in the region. The framework is enhancing cooperation in trade and economic development, education, social and cultural programs, politics and security, all of which are important.

In addition to the security partnership between India and Afghanistan, is the extremely important economic partnership. This partnership is essential to long term stability in the region. We have seen time and time again how important these economic developments are to the people, to the governments and to the region. To create viable, long term stability, we must improve the infrastructure in the region, particularly in Afghanistan, a land-locked nation. India has been a leader in this area. India is one of our partners as we seek to improve transit routes across the “New Silk Road” and economic hubs across Afghanistan. From hydro-electric power, health care, education and roads to get goods from farms to markets, India is part of that solution.

Afghan National Elections: But economic and military partnerships cannot be sustained without good governance. In nine months, the people of Afghanistan will have the opportunity to cast their vote for president. The April 2014 national and provincial elections are important not only to the Afghan people, but to the region and the world audience. They must have a free and fair election. And from talking to Afghans across the country, that is what they want. In a recent survey, more than 84% of the Afghans polled said

**The author is an American politician who currently serves as a member of the United States House of Representatives for California's 39th congressional district*

they think Afghans should choose their leaders through regular, open and honest elections rather than adopt other methods to choose their country's leaders. And most Afghans plan to participate in the next presidential election. Through sustained electoral oversight from the international community, we will assist them in that effort. The U.S., India and our allies recognize the international community must support the upcoming elections to include providing observers and monitors to ensure its success.

We can't talk about regional stability in Afghanistan without talking about Pakistan. Earlier this week, Pakistan waded into Afghan politics by sending its top diplomat to Afghanistan with promises to bring the Taliban into peace talks. Understandably, skepticism was raised over the seriousness on the side of the Pakistanis to put the struggle against terrorism at the top of the agenda.

Over the years, I've had the opportunity to travel to India many times, and one of the things that has struck me was just how alarmed the population has become about the situation in Pakistan. The rise in extremism has rightly caused great concern. I remember sitting in meeting after meeting that the Indian government wasn't sure how to deal with the storm that had been gathering for some time, and that many were short on answers.

While the Taliban's presence in Pakistan remains a concern, the security situation in Pakistan is a cause of even greater worry. Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Pakistani-based group who plotted

and carried out the horrific terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November 2008, has persisted despite Pakistani pledges to dismantle the militant group. We continue to see Pakistani based terrorists launching attacks against U.S. and Indian facilities in Afghanistan. We all remember the horrific attack of the Indian embassy in Kabul in 2008 and again in 2009. As we work towards stability in the region, it is evident that Pakistan continues its efforts in sowing instability across the region.

I have long stressed the need to reform Pakistan's education system. Pakistan is home to over 18,000 madrassas. These schools are guilty of indoctrinating the youth with hateful ideology - the same ideology that the Mumbai terrorists espoused. Money from Gulf States pours in to support these bastions of radicalism, as Pakistani schools continue to lag further and further behind. A U.S. diplomatic cable reported that financial support estimated at *\$100 million a year* was making its way from those Gulf Arab states to a jihadist recruitment network in Pakistan's Punjab province.

However, even providing money for education reform is problematic. How do you determine which schools are really teaching this hateful brand of Islam? How do you successfully provide an alternative? These are all questions that need to be answered. And of course, Pakistan must show a commitment to fighting terrorism.

Yet there are still some that fail to see with clear eyes the worsening conditions in Pakistan. During the recent U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue, Secretary Kerry said of India-Pakistan relations,

“If India and Pakistan can confidently invest in each other, then the rest of the world will more confidently invest in you.” This misses the mark. With Pakistan’s continued sponsoring of Islamist militant groups, there is only one country pursuing a responsible path, and our Secretary should recognize that.

What the focus should be on instead is the rooting out of Islamist radicalism in Pakistan. Increased trade between India and Pakistan should be encouraged, but bringing the seven suspects charged with planning, financing, and executing the attacks that killed 166 people in Mumbai on November 2008 will do much more to improve

relations with India. Instead, what we’ve seen is year after year of delay, with no end in sight. It’s time Pakistan brings these seven to justice.

Summary: Regional security partnerships between the United States, India and Afghanistan will continue to be important for stability in the region. We have already seen results from the security, stability and economic development commitments between the nations. This is a challenging environment and will not be easy, but it is an essential effort as we work together to bring opportunity for the people and stability to the region. Thank you for the opportunity to address this important topic.



Young Thinkers Retreat

As part of Young Thinkers Retreat being organized by India Foundation over different regions of the country, a retreat was organized in Manesar, Haryana for the Northern region. The purpose of such a retreat was to bring likeminded youth (age less than 40 years) on the same platform and have a discussion over issues of national importance. The retreat was planned over two days i.e. 17th and 18th August, 2013. Total participation for this retreat was forty two which included participants from various walks of life namely, students from prestigious institutions, academics, entrepreneurs, professionals working in varying industries, doctors and researchers. Three senior RSS functionaries, **Shri Dattatreya Hosabale**, **Shri Krishna Gopal** and **Shri Ram Madhav** and Director of India Foundation **Shri Shaurya Doval** were available for guidance along with the participants. The format of the meet included large group discussions followed by individual presentations.

DAY 1

The session on the first day opened with the address of Shri Dattatreya Hosabale. He highlighted the reasons for having such retreats. He, in his opening remarks pointed out that in today's world thinking had become a less common activity and we as a society and a nation require more original thinkers. He stressed that today India needed Intellectual Soldiers.

Then the day's agenda was set by Shri Krishna Gopal. In his address he reiterated the points kept by Shri Dattatreya and put forth before the audience two topics for discussion:

1. Minoritism

- Reservations for minorities
- Minority institutions getting government endowments
- Issue of Minority Commission
- Article 371(a) & (b)

2. Indian Economic Model

- Concentration of money in hands of few
- Economic bias
- Education model
- Women malnourishment
- Use of these disparities by anti-national forces

After the introduction the topic of Minoritism was thrown open for discussion.

Minoritism

In the discussion on Minoritism following points were discussed:

- Reason as to why incidents like Kishwar happen and the minority there is suppressed.
- Issue of secularism and understanding the terminology like secular/ communal.
- Branding of organizations and

individuals being done as secular/communal.

- Steps need to be taken for assimilation of the people of North East.
- Role education can play in uplifting minorities and making them nationalist.
- The influence of community in defining the mindset and the lack of awareness in individuals.
- Appeasement of minorities by the government and lack of concrete steps.
- Role think tanks play in framing policies of appeasement.
- Appeasement being done at two levels- Intellectual and Populist.
- Importance of engaging with people from different ideologies and walks of life.
- Absence of value based education in our society, and morals today are outsourced.
- Taking a leaf out of the experiences of countries like Japan where education is linked with spiritual values.
- Having a Uniform Civil Code.
- Try and make minorities stakeholders in nation building by citing examples of people doing exceptional work. This will strike a positive note with them.
- We should say the right things in right way and discuss issues like Jihad/Kafir openly.
- Hindus should try and relate intellectual thought with religious jargon.
- The stress in our education should be on critical thinking with stress on how to

think rather than what to think, this will open the minds of the children to various thoughts and ideologies.

- At the end there was unanimity amongst the participants that government should effectively counter anti-national forces and activities and we must raise a strong voice against religious appeasement.

Indian Economic Model

In the discussion on Indian Economic Model following point were discussed:

- In the existing model there is unequal growth and benefits are reaped by selective sections of society.
- There were discussions on pros and cons of various policies of the government like the Food Security Bill, Land Acquisition Bill and FDI.
- Discussion on how poverty is defined and what should be the basis of defining poverty.
- Development should be sustainable- “World is enough for need, not for greed.”
- Growth should be in conjunction with development.
- Environment should be made conducive for industries.
- We lack risk taking ability and hence have fewer entrepreneurs.
- Economics is the expression of aspiration of society. American society is a competitive one but we aren’t instruments of consumption. Our

aspirations are based on *Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah* which should be the root of our economic model.

Presentations

Shri Guru Prakash talked about Article 370. He discussed the history and circumstances under which this article was made part of the constitution. How this article is responsible for two anthems and flags within the same country and how because of this various beneficial schemes of the government aren't able to reach the needy. He also stressed that the signing of the instrument of annexation by the Raja of Kashmir was full and final and wasn't forced on him.

Shri Vikramjeet Banerjee then presented before the audience a talk on Secularism. He enlightened the participants about what exactly is secularism. He told today in the world there are three models of secularism- US model where the Church and state are entirely separate. French model where there is no display of any religious symbols and finally the model of a tolerant state-the Indian model. Our model is that of *Sarva Dharma Sambhav* which has been part of our culture and tradition since the Vedic period. He informed that the word 'secular' was inducted in the preamble only after the

42nd amendment and questioned whether we were a non-secular state before that and did anything specific change or happen after adding the word secular. He cited examples of leaders like BR Ambedkar who played down secularism. Indira Gandhi used secularism as a tool to appease minorities. Secularist policies have since been institutionalized. He also stressed that public mood influences discourse on secularism. We need to have broader discussion and debate on secularism and alongside we also need to accept our civilization, culture and religion.

Shri Jigar Inamdar talked about his project Youth Social Responsibility where he is trying to engage and encourage youth led initiatives dedicated towards working for the society.

Shri Raghav Gajaula talked about his experience and journey and how college impacted his life. He also talked about his learning's during the two years as a teacher in a low income group school while working with Teach for India. He shared his experience of working in the education field and how education can change the mindset of individuals. Also he talked about 'AAROHAN LEARNING CENTER' which he along with a friend have recently started.

Shri Vaibhav Mittal talked about Global Swadeshi. He cited examples of various Indians who have impacted industries around the world by virtue of their sheer hard work and intelligence.

Shri Jay Prakash Nagar presented issues related to Maoist movement and Maoism.

Shri Tushar Kansal made a presentation about the need of a Channel owned and run by the RSS. His points were well taken but the audience were in general of the view that instead of owning a channel of our own, we must focus on capacity building.

The day ended with “**Red Terror**”, a documentary prepared by India Foundation showing the atrocities faced by the locals in areas affected by Maoism and true face of the Maoist movement.

DAY 2

On 18th August the day started early with participants travelling to a nearby village. **Shri Dattatreya Hosabale** and **Shri Ram Madhav** were present at the venue to guide the participants.

The agenda for the day was set by Shri Dattatreya. He put forth the following points for discussion before the group.

1. Hindu way of life and stance of Hinduism of various issues.

- This included issues like gay marriage, live-in relationship, Valentine day etc.
- Cultural policing
- Historically Hindutva has been anti-development/anti-women and against all modern practices.

2. National Security

- Red Terror
- Islamist forces working against the nation
- Ladakh Issue
- Lack of strategy in New Delhi

3. Political Scenario

- No party has pan-India presence
- Arm twisting by regional parties for political self interests
- Effect of this on National Integrity
- Electoral debate- lack of discourse unlike a mature democracy
- Parties with nationalist fervor
- Need for electoral reforms

In the discussion on Hinduism the following points were discussed:

- Regarding live-in relationships people were of divergent views. Is it wastage of money or it creates a social framework.
- Relationship is man’s personal matter and we have had instances of live-in relationship in our past but there

shouldn't be any attempt to make this practice a mainstream culture.

- Voices should be raised against individuals/organizations denigrating the institution of marriage. In our culture we have 8 types of marriages defined in the texts. Awareness should be created amongst the people.
- In many such incidents it is seen that children and women are the worst sufferers. Measures should be taken to safeguard their interests.
- As regards people criticizing Hinduism for being against women, we should counter their arguments on basis of facts. Criticism shouldn't be solely for the sake of it. There should be debate and discussion.
- Women are bound to play a major role in India's future and attempt should be made to make our system more inclusive.
- The institution of marriage should be revamped according to the modern times.
- Issues like love, friendship etc should be openly discussed and their discussion shouldn't be considered a taboo.
- We should study our religion and try and propagate the good points in it and oppose the irregularities which have crept in.
- Hinduism has never been against development. Varying ideologies have evolved in Hinduism at co-existed. In Hinduism there is always a scope for improvement and retrospection.

Presentation

Shri Ganesh Tanpure talked about his recent interest and learning from Indian mythology.

On national security Shri Dattesh Parulekar talked about India's foreign policy vis a vis our neighbouring nations. He classified neighbourhood into three parts-Geographic, Geopolitical and Civilizational. He told our foreign policy today has lack of capacity and it is not decided by experts. There is politicization of the foreign policy and there is crisis of character and integrity in politics. There is no national consensus on the foreign policy future. He called the Nehruvian model of foreign policy a mould of pathological idealism. He stressed on the need to broaden our vision and send a powerful message to neighbours like China. At the end he made the following three suggestions:

- Diplomacy should be creative.
- We should advance our National Interest first.
- We need a strategic culture in our country.

This presentation followed with discussion on National Security.

On the Current political scenario, Shri Chaitanya Vakati talked about how today we stand at a very crucial point of the history of our country. This is a time

when we shall take a U-turn and 2014 will be a break in the direction we take. The presentation followed by a discussion on the current political scenario.

Shri Surendra Jhakar talked about the ‘Opportunities for Rural Youth.’ He stressed that somewhere in the model of development and education our youth from rural background is lacking behind. We need a more inclusive policy and it is time we see at youth differentially and not from the same lens.

Shri Shaurya Doval concluded the Young Thinkers Meet by thanking our participants and officers of the RSS. He also asked for suggestions from the audience. A few suggestions made were:

- Discussion should be more like a case study and suggestions should be implemented wherever possible.
- There should be more experts in the meet.
- The meet should include a workshop also.
- A platform where we can continue the discussion and share knowledge.
- Format of the meet can be like a Yatra. Shri Ram Madhav too had a few suggestions for the participants:
- He stressed on the need to study more.
- He also highlighted the need to write which shall improve the power to articulate.

Also he advised the participants to travel so that they can acquaint themselves with the ground realities.



Discussion on Proposed India-Pakistan PM's Meet in New York — Implications for India



India Foundation organized a panel discussion on 30th of August, 2013 on the proposed meet of the two Prime Ministers at the United Nations General Assembly ('UNGA'). The discussion was addressed by two eminent ambassadors and seasoned diplomats. Ambassador Satish Chandra (Former Dy. National Security Adviser) and Ambassador Hardeep Singh Puri (Former Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York) addressed the gathering of students, academics and eminent thinkers in the Capital. Dr Chandan Mitra (Director, India Foundation) conducted the discussion.

Before the inception of the program, Dr S P Singh (Associate Professor, Delhi University) introduced the honorable guests to the audience. After the introduction, Dr Mitra requested Ambassador Chandra to begin his address.

He started his address by outlining the implications of the proposed meet. At the very outset, he said it goes against the grain of repeated assertions made by the Government of India that the resumption of the dialogue process with Pakistan would only take place after the latter gave us satisfaction on terrorism and in particular brought the perpetrators of Mumbai attack to book.

He reiterated the observation of Indian Prime Minister that “Pakistan has to act and act effectively on terrorism before there can be comprehensive dialogue covering all areas of disagreement or concerns of the two countries”. He also quoted Mumtaz Khan, a migrant from PoK, “I don’t know when India is going to learn. Pakistan is smart...it has initiated wars and terrorist attacks. But New Delhi still wants to talk with them.” He also mentioned the observation of Senge Sering who heads the Institute of Gilgit- Baltistan Studies in Washington, “Pakistan is only buying time. India has the memory of a goldfish, which lasts only seven seconds. New Delhi should realize that they are dealing with the state which is not trustworthy”. Ambassador Chandra also brought to the notice of the audience that it will ease the pressure on Pakistan to shut down the infrastructure of terror directed against India as it suggests that relations between the two countries have achieved a measure normalcy. Regrettably, this is not so since Pakistan has given India no satisfaction on the issue of terrorism and since it misses no opportunity to try and do India down in every conceivable way. In this context, one need only refer to the fact that it continues in its export of terrorism and fake currency to India, its pursuit of an India centric nuclear weapon development programme, its opposition to India’s quest for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, and its military and political linkages with China which are clearly directed against India. He said finally, this move will give the Kashmir issue a much higher profile as in any such dialogue Kashmir is bound to be discussed. This is obviously not in

our interest as the Kashmir issue which is currently dormant will be revived. Pakistan’s meddling in the matter will receive a fillip and secessionists will up the ante in respect of their demands.

He also cautioned us against the misplaced euphoria created over the false assumption that Nawaz Sharif is keen for wanting a better relationship with India. For elucidating upon this observation, Ambassador Chandra chronologically deconstructed the personality and behavior of Nawaz Sharif towards India. He explained that Nawaz Sharif has a strong Islamist streak in his DNA. He recalled his 1998 efforts to shariatise Pakistan through the legislative process in the form of Fifteenth Amendment ordaining the Government “to take steps to enforce the *Shariat*, to establish *salat*, to administer *zakat*, to promote *amr-bil-ma’roof* and *nahi-anil-munkar* (to prescribe what is right and to forbid what is wrong), to eradicate corruption at all levels and to provide substantial socio-economic justice, in accordance with the principles of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.” The move failed as Nawaz Sharif could not ensure the passage of this legislation as he lacked a majority in the Senate. Had he succeeded, Pakistan would have been pushed even deeper into Islamization than under General Zia-ul Haq.

He also said that even more worrisome from our view point is that it was on Nawaz Sharif’s watch that the 1993 Mumbai blasts were organised, Kashmir, was internationalized in the UNHRC in 1993 and Kargil occurred. Furthermore, one would be ill advised to ignore Nawaz Sharif’s close links to Hafiz Saeed, and

other Islamic radical groups like the SSP and LeJ which were in some measure responsible for the better than expected showing of the PML(N). That these links continue is borne out by the fact that many Islamic radicals were given PML (N) tickets and some who contested as independents have joined the party. Above all, since Nawaz Sharif took over in June this year incidents of infiltration and ceasefire violations by Pakistan in J&K increased dramatically and there was of course the ambush of our soldiers on August 5th which had been preceded by the attack on our Consulate in Jalalabad.

He shifted the course of his address from Nawaz Sharif to the diplomatic mishaps of India. He said India's Pakistan policy has, over the decades, oscillated between benign neglect and engagement resulting in concessions which have singularly failed to change Pakistan's animosity towards India. For instance, neither the enormously generous Indus Waters Treaty where India ceded to Pakistan the right to 80% of the Indus waters, nor the remarkable magnanimity at Shimla where India ceded over 5000 sq miles of territory captured by it to Pakistan along with over 90000 PoW's (Prisoners of War) without any quid pro quo, nor the unilateral grant of MFN to Pakistan in the nineties had the slightest impact on Pakistan in terms of ceasing its incessant use of terrorism against India. Whenever, India has resorted to the use of force against Pakistan as it did in 1947-48, 1965, 1971, 1999 etc it has invariably done so in a reactive mode in response to hostile action. India has for much too long meekly put up with Pakistan-inspired terrorism

and our citizens across the country have paid a terrible price. This has only encouraged Pakistan in its pursuit of such policies. It is time that policies are devised that will impose a cost on Pakistan for its export of terror to India, and thus change the cost-benefit calculus of these policies and actions. A proactive approach by India towards Pakistan must be the order of the day, as it will yield us much better results than this garnered by policies of appeasement which have regrettably been pursued by us for years.

Thus he concluded by saying that at a time when Pakistan is day in and day out using terrorism against us, it would be ill-advised for the Prime Minister to meet with Nawaz Sharif as it would signal that relations between the two countries are in a business-as-usual mode. India should show no anxiety to hold a dialogue with Pakistan, keep a steady focus on the issue of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in any conversation that takes place, abjure language that equates our problems with terrorism with those of Pakistan, and take Siachen out of the basket of issues to be discussed with Pakistan as and when a dialogue is resumed, in view of the evolution of the ground situation in the area.

After a thought provoking address by Ambassador Chandra, Dr Mitra called upon Ambassador Hardeep Singh Puri. Ambassador Puri substantially concurred with the observations made by the previous speaker. He vociferously expressed his angst over the proposed meet of the premiers at the UNGA. He divided his speech into three propositions along with the present situation and assessment in the conclusion.

His first proposition was that Pakistan has used and most certainly continues to use terror as an instrument of state policy. We have been victims of Pakistan based, sponsored and financed terrorism for several decades. This raises the fundamental question: has the nature of relationship between civilian elected government in Pakistan and those who mastermind the terror network, the ISI, changed in the last few years or, more particularly since the election of the civilian government under Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif? Is there any evidence to show that a conscious effort has been made to rein in the terror network? He responded in a clear negative citing the numerous terror activities being operated and actively facilitated from the soil of Pakistan.

His second proposition had three parts. The first part was that the LeT, as a terror entity, its chief functionaries Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, Abdul Rehman Makki, Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi and almost all Pakistani terrorists of interest to India are characterized as such, are proscribed by the West and the United States, and are covered by the UN Security Council's Taliban Al Qaeda sanctions regime.

The second part was clearly connected to the first one. He stated that Pakistan is obliged to subject them to travel ban, freeze their assets without delay and subject them to an arms embargo which, in turn, must include a ban on training. And yet, training camps continue to operate. The LeT chief carries a 10 million USD bounty on his head by the US, is sanctioned by the UN, apart from being a wanted terrorist in India. Yet, he can still move around with impunity

and lead the Eid prayers in Lahore on Friday, 9 June. The non freezing of property and continued operation of training camps and provision of training involving a listed entity constitute at the very least, a breach of UN Security Council sanctions. State funding to the Jamaat-ud-Dawah, an Islamic charity, that fronts for the LeT makes a total mockery of Pakistan's effort to take on the terror machine.

Finally, in the third part he mentioned that the violations of UN sanctions apart, any suggestion that members of organized terror outfits can operate close to the LoC on the Pakistani side without the knowledge or active cooperation of the Army is fanciful. The state, or elements in senior responsible position have clearly convinced themselves that protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, the LeT and similar outfits serve a useful purpose. His conclusion of the second set of proposition clearly indicates and sufficiently establishes a nexus between the civilian government and military. The two cannot be viewed in isolation. They always work in tandem with the coordination from terror networks.

The final proposition of Ambassador Puri is was that the essential core of the relationship between the Pakistan civilian government and the ISI has not changed over the years. It is the ISI that is in-charge of relations with India. Instead of the civilian government being able to rein in the ISI, in turn, being able to rein in the terror group, the cancer is in fact spreading and spreading fast.

In the next part of his speech, he elaborated upon the 'spreading cancer' with the help of two

recent incidents. On midnight June 22 sixteen men in paramilitary uniforms killed twelve climbers, a Chinese American, three Ukrainians, three Chinese, two Slovaks, a Nepali, a Lithuanian and one Pakistani in cold blood at the base camp of the 26.660 feet tall Nanga Parbat peak. Bearing knives and Russian Kalashnikovs, the intruders pulled the camp's twelve climbers from their tents, forced them to kneel on the frost-hardened grass, and then bound their wrists with rope. The Pakistani Taliban claimed this was revenge for the death of their deputy commander, Wali-ur-Rehman, who died in an American drone strike on May 29. The sole foreign survivor, Zhang Jingchuan, managed to escape by jumping off the edge of a cliff. The attackers would have had to travel at least 18 hours on foot or by mule to get to this base camp at an altitude of 13.000 feet. 50 other foreign climbers in the vicinity of the base camp fortunately survived.

He mentions of another incident of terror on 31st of July. It was the attack on the central jail in Dera Ismail Khan in north western Pakistan, in which 248 prisoners were freed. These included 30 "hardened terrorists". The responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Pakistani Taliban, the Tehrik-e-Taliban and masterminded by Adnan Rasheed who gained notoriety by writing a letter to teenage education activist, Malal Youssafzai, who was told that she was shot in the head for speaking ill of the Taliban. Dera Ismail Khan has

a sprawling cantonment with a massive army presence. Some reports suggest that the authorities had advance notice of the attack. The army and the police chose not to act. This jail break recalled all the features of an April 2012 attack on a prison in the city of Bannu in North West Pakistan, freeing close to 200 prisoners, including at least 30 described as dangerous insurgents. There is no way this operation could have been carried out without the acquiescence, if not the active collaboration with the police and the army.

He concluded by asserting that governance requires hard decisions and so does the conduct of foreign policy. It cannot be based on flawed assumptions and strategic hesitation. There is no point in maintaining a large military machine if it cannot be leveraged for diplomacy. The Chinese play hard ball. The political class needs to realize that weakness, real or perceived on national security, will eventually resonate with the electorate.

Dr Mitra thanked Ambassador Puri for succinctly presenting his views and enlightening the audience with his wealth of experience in the field of International diplomacy. The participants also offered substantive submissions on the issue towards the end. The panel discussion ended with a resounding faith in the observations made by the speakers registering strong disapproval on the proposed meetings of the two Prime Ministers at the UNGA.



American Veda

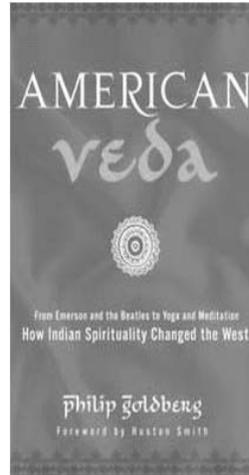
From Emerson and the Beatles to Yoga and Meditation—How Indian Spirituality Changed the West

Author : **Philip Goldberg**

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It's often said that Buddhism is the fastest growing religion in America. There are dharma centers in every major American city, and more are springing up every year. But long before Buddhism became so popular among convert practitioners, Hinduism had its turn in the spotlight. Back in the late 1960s and the 1970s, mostly through the efforts of hippie gurus like Allen Ginsberg and Ram Dass, and the Beatles, the religion of Shiva and Krishna outperformed buddhadharma by a wide margin. In the 70s, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the Beatles' diminutive guru, managed to convince more than two million Americans to try Transcendental Meditation, and when he appeared on the Merv Griffin Show in 1975, he reached an audience of some 30 to 40 million viewers. Today, even the Dalai Lama doesn't post those kinds of numbers. But given that Hinduism was so popular, why did it fade? And what made it so attractive in the first place? In his latest book, *American Veda*, the author, interfaith minister, and meditation teacher Philip Goldberg offers some answers.



With the exception of the Hare Krishnas, he points out; most Americans haven't been attracted to India's ornate temples, complex mythologies, colorful rituals, and pantheon of gods and goddesses. *American Veda* focuses on that aspect of Hinduism that Americans have gravitated toward:

Vedanta philosophy and the meditation and yoga practices it advocates, a combination Goldberg refers to as "Vedanta-Yoga." Derived from the ancient sacred texts collectively known as the Vedas, Vedanta is founded, he explains, on the belief that underlying the phenomenal world that both Hindus and Buddhists call *samsara* there is an unmanifest, eternal, limitless "Ground of Being." This formless absolute, known as *Brahman*, is both the root of our individual existence and the root of all existence, and experiencing it directly culminates in *moksha*, or enlightenment—spiritual liberation through perception of the "world soul" at the core of everything. Like Buddhists, Vedantists make clear that merely studying philosophy isn't enough to wake you up; some practice is necessary, and for most Americans that has meant some form of meditation or yoga. According to Goldberg, when yoga teachers in the U.S. are asked what philosophy underlies their practice, most point to Vedanta. Goldberg argues convincingly that what draws Americans to Vedanta-Yoga is its

emphasis on spiritual experience over religious belief: here again we find a point of resonance with Buddhism. Beginning with Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Transcendentalists—including Henry David Thoreau, who “may have been the first American to call himself a yogi,” Goldberg says—Americans have liked the idea of testing the theory of enlightenment through their own experience, not to mention testing it in *this world* rather than waiting for the next. And from the beginning, they’ve gravitated to Vedanta’s claim that there is a Sanatana Dharma, or “Eternal Religion,” at the core of all religions. As the *Rig Veda* puts it: “The truth is one, the wise call it by many names.” From Emerson to Aldous Huxley, Huston Smith to Joseph Campbell, eminent spiritual thinkers have subscribed to the notion of a perennial philosophy based on experience of the Oneness at the core of all being. This is “religion from the inside out,” Goldberg explains, and it was an important influence not only on the Transcendentalists but also on many other groups, including “New Thought” and Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Science, Madame Blavatsky’s Theosophical Society, Rudolf Steiner’s Anthroposophical Society, and, after Swami Vivekananda’s historic visit to the U.S. to speak at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, on such guru-centered groups as Vivekananda’s Vedanta Society and Swami Yogananda’s Self-Realization Fellowship.

Goldberg presents the history of America’s fascination with Hinduism in very readable prose packed with anecdotes and biographical details that immediately draw us in. The narrative really heats up as he describes the guru invasions of the 1960s and 1970s, when Americans were swept up

in droves. Teachers such as Swami Satchidananda, Swami Muktananda, Sri Chinmoy, Yogi Amrit Desai, Swami Bhaktivedanta, and the Maharishi appealed to the romantic sensibilities of counterculture Baby Boomers. At a time when immigration bans on Indians were being lifted, allowing the gurus to obtain visas, America’s flower children were embracing the premise that world peace depended upon inner peace. When the Beatles began broadcasting this message in such songs as “Within You, Without You,” enthusiasm for Vedanta-Yoga teachings skyrocketed. LSD and other psychedelics might have offered a glimpse of the fully awakened mind, but Vedanta and yoga seemed to promise permanent transformation, so hippies and college idealists flocked to the ashrams that were springing up—and into the arms of the gurus who ran them. That, of course, is where the story turns a bit sour and American Hinduism faltered, at least in terms of its broad appeal.

Though Goldberg refers to the 60s gurus as the “baby boomers’ babas,” he is dead serious when describing their downfall, which was mostly the result of scandals involving sex or money, or both. Goldberg is clear from the outset that he sees “America’s absorption of Indian spiritual teachings [as] a positive historical development”—it made us more open minded about religion and encouraged us to explore inner space—but he pulls no punches when describing the shenanigans of various gurus.

To his credit, he doesn’t let the book degenerate into titillation, but at the same time he doesn’t avoid judgment where it’s due, including an indictment of the way many young people, naive and star-struck, colluded with their gurus to

create relationships that were dysfunctional for both.

“Tibetan Buddhists compare gurus to fire: stay too far away and you don’t get warm; venture too close and you can be burned,” Goldberg observes. After surrendering control of their lives to their gurus, many Americans were duly toasted. Goldberg finds it ironic that members of the “most antiauthoritarian generation in the history of the most antiauthoritarian nation in the world” would so readily cede their spiritual autonomy to authority figures. Not that this justifies the womanizing, money-grubbing, and other reprehensible activities of certain swamis and yogis (how many Rolls Royces did Shree Rajnesh finally own anyway?), but it does explain the gurus’ success. Enthusiasm for these teachers—and in some cases, blind obedience to them—was bolstered by the widespread belief that enlightenment was not only possible but easily attained if one had the right guru or did the right practice. Most “Neo-Hindus” of the time believed that their guru had the best meditation technique or yoga practice on the market, and while others might flounder in samsara indefinitely, they themselves would reach nirvana any day now. This created not only a fever pitch of hero worship but also a grizzly morningafter experience, when the gurus were caught with their robes down and the devotees hadn’t yet achieved enlightenment. Many of the devotees felt duped, because they had been, and others realized they had duped themselves, setting the bar for enlightenment—their guru’s and their own—far too low, a condition Lama Surya Das called “premature immaculation.”

By the late 70s, after the sex and money scandals were mostly over and Americans had

realized that spiritual growth doesn’t come cheap, most of the ashrams emptied out, and the heyday of American Hinduism was over. But as Goldberg documents, this unraveling also led to maturation. Many spiritual practitioners realized they had been overly romantic in their appropriation of Vedanta-Yoga and turned to new, more reasonable embraces of the religion—involving less subservience and surrender of resources—or to Buddhism, which, despite a few scandals of its own, has a reputation for being less guru-centered. Other seekers, leery of teachers in general, took a more personal view of spiritual growth, relying on their inner guru to guide them and drawing knowledge from many traditions—an approach once forwarded by Aldous Huxley and Joseph Campbell and now championed by Deepak Chopra, Andrew Harvey, and others. Regarding the gurus themselves, Goldberg offers the following assessment: “Somewhere in between the hagiography of ardent disciples and the hatchet jobs of sneering detractors is the reality of exceptional human beings with unexceptional human flaws.” An object lesson was learned and the bloom was off the rose, but American Vedanta-Yoga, it seemed, had matured.

Today science is validating the health benefits of yoga and meditation, and in some ways, the influence of Hinduism has never been stronger. Terms like *karma*, *aura*, and *enlightenment* are now part of mainstream vocabulary, and people increasingly speak about the oneness of religion, even if they don’t realize the extent to which Vedanta-Yoga contributed to that outlook. But even as Vedanta-Yoga has penetrated the culture, it has also been modified to suit the American consumer market, Goldberg points out. Although

there are close to 16 million yoga practitioners in the U.S., and many more yoga centers than dharma centers, the \$6-billion-a-year yoga industry has drifted away from its original intent, in many cases divorcing itself from both Vedanta philosophy and the desire for spiritual awakening.

The influential yoga teacher B. K. S. Iyengar once said that when people go deeply inside their bodies they find their souls, but most Americans today seem to be practicing yoga for the body itself— either to improve their own or attract somebody else's. Increasingly, yoga is identified with hatha yoga—the *asanas*, or postures, originally devised to purify the body for meditation. Taught in spas and health clubs rather than ashrams, yoga has become more a beauty aid or fitness tool than a pathway up the mountain of truth. The asanas are often prescribed for particular ailments, an approach Goldberg believes is helpful and appropriate, although he has reservations: “Are yoga therapists turning the holistic system—which many see as a lifestyle, not a medical intervention—into just a variation of physical therapy?” It may be that yoga in America will entirely lose its soul, as karate did once it was unplugged from its Asian roots and grafted onto an American sports ethos. (The same concerns exist for Buddhists when meditation is taken out of context.) Goldberg gives us good reason to believe that many American yogis have swung the pendulum too far, avoiding the spiritual materialism of guru-worship only to take up the more garden-variety materialism endemic to the local mall. But even if mistakes were made in the 1970s, he warns against throwing out what was

beautiful in the gurus' message: the need to break free from our dysfunctional patterns and purify our minds of greed.

Goldberg is a boomer who once followed Maharishi and taught TM for a time, and *American Veda* will undoubtedly appeal to other boomers who lived through the guru era. But there is also a much broader message here, making this a fascinating read for anyone who wants to understand Hinduism's influence on the West, including what's going on today. Despite some concluding remarks that sound more like wishful thinking than the products of close analysis (Goldberg perhaps cheers too loudly for Vedanta-Yoga when he asks, “Why would we not encourage a worldview that rejects materialism and directs the pursuit of happiness inward?”), his history of Hinduism in America is accurate and well presented. Goldberg shows how the core teachings of Vedanta have seeped into American soil through a variety of streams and tributaries, reaching us through the arts, psychology, science, healthcare, self-improvement books, and other sources, often without our realizing there is anything Indian about it. Today virtually all the gurus of the 70s are gone, but many left behind teaching organizations that are still functioning.

There have been several books for a mainstream audience that trace Buddhism's history in America, including Rick Field's *How the Swans Came to the Lake* and Helen Tworok's *Zen in America*, but we've been without the equivalent for Hinduism until now. *American Veda*, as entertaining as it is informative, ably fills the void.

Courtesy: Tricycle Magazine

(<http://www.tricycle.com/reviews/how-hinduism-seeped-american-soil>)

