

# Policy WATCH

Volume VIII, Issue 5  
June 2019 New Delhi

RAJIV GANDHI INSTITUTE FOR CONTEMPORARY STUDIES

## INDIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

*In this issue*

**How India and China  
can work together –  
1998**

Quest for World Peace

**How India and China  
can work together –  
2018**

**Feminism under  
Fascism**  
In Germany of the 1930s

**Verdict 2019**  
Some International  
Lessons



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# Editorial

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Dear Reader,

We have reconstituted our work at the Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies (RGICS) in the following five themes:

1. Constitutional Values and Democratic Institutions
2. Growth with Employment
3. Governance and Development
4. Environment, Natural Resources and Sustainability
5. India's Place in the World.

In terms of outputs, the following are envisaged:

- **Policy Laboratory** - action research projects, to the extent possible; else participant observation in “happenings”
- **Policy Observatory** - A continuous watch of events, policy pronouncements and developments on each topic, with a quarterly summary of highlights to be published under Policy Watch.
- **Policy Repertory** - Occasional Papers, commissioned by outsiders, and Working Papers as well as Research Reports by staff Fellows.

We are happy to bring this edition of Policy Watch focusing on India's Place in the World, which has following three sub-themes:

- i. India's Neighbours – China, SAARC, BIMSTEC and ASEAN – Trade, Investment and Cultural Relations
- ii. The Global Rise of Right Wing Populism - Its Impact on India
- iii. Can Soft Power Enhance India's Place in the World

This issue of *Policy Watch* covers two sub-themes. There are two speeches on India-China Trade, Investment and Cultural Relations, one by Shri Rajiv Gandhi when he visited China in 1988 and the other of 2019, by former Indian Ambassador to China, Mr Gautam Bambawale.

The second set of articles compares the status of women in Germany in the 1930s with their status in 2019. The first piece is by Ruchira Gupta, a global activist, and the second by a German sociologist Marianne Schmidbaur. The final piece is on the theoretical and action implications of the Global Rise of Right Wing Populism for India, by Prof Somnath Ghosh, Senior Visiting Fellow, RGICS.

Hope you enjoy reading this issue!

# How Indian and China can work together – 1988

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## Quest for World Peace

Speech delivered by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in Beijing  
on 19 December 1988

I THANK YOU for the warmth of your welcome and your friendly works of greetings. This is my first visit to your great country. Yet the visit is for me much more than a personal journey. I bring you the good wishes of the people of India. I have come to renew our old friendship.

Our two countries represent two of the world's most distinguished civilizations. Our contribution to human progress has been decisive. We have given the world both knowledge and wisdom, knowledge of science and knowledge of the arts, knowledge of society and knowledge of governance. In farming and manufactures, in astronomy and mathematics, in evolving the concept of zero, in the making of paper and the technology of printing, in ways that have filled many volumes, India and China have contributed to the advancement of human society. We have also contributed wisdom: the deep ethical insights of Confucius and Lao Tze; the deep spiritual insights of the Vedas and the Buddha; the deep philosophical insights of the Upanishads and the Tao.

Through millennia, we have known each other. Through millennia, we have interacted. Through millennia, we have respected the wisdom and admired the beauty that each of us has contributed to the world. Through millennia, we have acknowledged what each has given to the other by way of intellectual exchange and ethical evolution.

It was in quest of our treasures, of our fabled material wealth, of our silks and our spices, of our textiles and our technologies, of the marvels and miracles of our cultures that the West sought out Asia.

The voyages of discovery that began with Marco Polo and Vasco da Gama ended, however, in the iniquity of imperialism. In different ways, each of us succumbed to the depredations of the European powers.

Then, each of us, in our separate ways, rose once again to freedom and independence. Together, we sought to foster the resurgence of post-colonial Asia. From the Asian Relations Conference to Bandung, We spoke with one voice, demanding equality for all nations, justice for all peoples, and peace for all time. We sought together to extend the area of peace in Asia and elsewhere. We worked together to provide through peaceful

coexistence a solid foundation for peace and security so that fear and apprehension would give place to a feeling of confidence.

This phase of common endeavour was followed by a period of estrangement. Differences over the border led to unfortunate events that strained our relationship.

It is now time to look beyond the past. It is now time to look forward to the future. It is now time to restore the relationship between our countries to a level commensurate with the contribution which our civilisations have made to the world, to a level commensurate with the centuries of friendship between our countries, to a level commensurate with the contribution which today we must together make to the building of a new world order. Between us, we represent a third of humanity. There is much we can do together.

In 1954, India and China enunciated the Panchsheel – the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The principles we commended, commanded scant acceptance then. The world was too intent on pursuing the path of confrontation to consider the alternative path that Panchsheel represented. Now, thirty tortured years later, the trajectory which the Five Principles indicated for the evolution of the world order is beginning to emerge as the world's path. We believe, as you do, that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence provide the best way to handle relations between nations. Bloc politics and spheres of influence lead only to conflict, sharpening international tensions.

The path of peace originated in the recognition that nuclear war can never be won and must not be fought. For the first time since the invention of nuclear weaponry, we have seen set in motion a process of nuclear arms reduction and not merely nuclear arms control. Indeed, one major military power has even unilaterally announced substantial reductions in conventional arms and forces.

More significant even than the cuts themselves is the language that is being employed and the logic that is being followed. The new language we now hear is no longer the language of war but the language of peace. The new logic we now hear is no longer the mad logic of mutually assured destruction but the sane logic of a world beyond nuclear weapons.

As the world moves nearer to the principles which were jointly formulated by us three decades ago, we would wish to work with you in assisting the process down the right path and to the right conclusion. An India and a China at odds with one another would find it difficult to work together. An India and a China in harmony with one another could. I have come here to explore ways towards that end.

Together, we have to restore the vision of peace and co-operation which Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai at one time shared. Here in Beijing, Jawaharlal Nehru said:

*“We must recognize that the only way to live in this world is through coexistence and co-operation and recognition of the right of each country to live its own life. There can be no East and West ranged against each other in the future. There could be only one world devoting itself in friendly co-operation between the different parts to the advancement of humanity.”*

That still remains our goal. It is a goal we believe we share with you. Premier Zhou Enlai's words on the same occasion still echo in our ears. He said:

*“We believe that peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation between China and India will certainly facilitate the gradual realization of peaceful coexistence among other Asian countries and countries of the whole world.”*

In urging upon the world the principles of peaceful coexistence, we would wish to follow these principles in resolving the problems between ourselves. The boundary question has come to be a major problem. It touches upon the sentiments and feelings of our people. We do understand that it also touches upon sentiments and feelings in China.



*In conversation with the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, Beijing, December 1988*



*At the signing ceremony of Sino-India Cultural Agreement, Beijing, December 1988*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68AYe0jmzFc>  
A short film on Shri Rajiv Gandhi's efforts to rebuild relations with China.

We must find an enduring solution to the problem, based on an understanding of each other's point of view, which will be in our mutual interest and to the benefit of both our peoples. Meanwhile, there is need for peace and tranquility in the border areas. We are confident that the boundary question will be settled amicably. It must be settled within a realistic time-frame. India is prepared to proceed accordingly.

We are both developing countries of sub-continental size with large populations. Each of us is required to deliver to our people, with equity and justice, the fruits of development and the benefits of modernization. In fulfilling these tasks, there is much that we can learn from each other. China has broken much new ground in devising innovative ways of modernizing its economy and society. We congratulate you on the remarkable transformation which you have wrought in your national life. Your achievements in agriculture, both in terms of output and diversification, are indeed impressive. We are particularly interested in your skills in water management, flood control and soil improvement. In industry, across the spectrum, from heavy engineering to consumer goods, you have made significant strides. In the social services, you have pioneered many important programmes.



In India, we have tripled our output of food grains and are poised to almost double this again by the turn of the century through a second Green Revolution. In range and depth, our industrial manufactures and indigenous technology constitute the fulcrum of our self-reliance, which is the most essential characteristic of our economic philosophy. The performance of our infrastructure in recent years has been truly heartening. We are both responding to emerging challenges and the imperatives of change. We have both sought pragmatic answers which are compatible with basic principles, encouraged imaginative new departures which are consistent with fundamental ideological postulates, fostered new thinking which is anchored in deeply held beliefs.

Development is the harbinger of accelerated economic exchanges between ourselves. The prospects for technological collaboration are promising. We have paid special attention in India to the technological component of development and have achievements to our credit which range from ground-level applications to the very frontiers of scientific exploration. So have you. We have done exceptionally well in some areas and you in others. We would welcome opportunities for Indian scientists and technologists to work together with their Chinese counterparts. We need peace for development. Let us work together for peace among ourselves, peace in Asia, and peace in the world.

This visit marks a new beginning for the development of our bilateral relationship. Stable and friendly relations between India and China will determine the destiny of our region, indeed, vitally influence the course of world history. Our relationship is crucial to the

future of humankind. India and China seek an improvement in their relationship not only for their mutual benefits but also to provide the basis on which we can contribute to the building of a new world order.

The world needs to recognize the oneness of humanity. Our vision is of a world where confrontation turns into dialogue and tension into relaxation. Our vision is of a world where sovereign equality is not a hope but a reality. Our vision is of a democracy of nation where decisions are determined by the common weal, not compelled by dominance nor imposed by force of arms. Our vision is of a world which forswears nuclear weapons and the doctrines that go with such weaponry, a world which believes instead in non-violence and the principles of peaceful coexistence. We reaffirm Mahatma Gandhi's immortal assertion:

*"It is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence."*

Friendship between India and China is a friendship which reaches back into the far recesses of history. It is a friendship which has been nurtured by both our civilizations. It is a friendship which can contribute much to the world. We are pledged to working towards a settlement of our differences over the border. We are pledged to working for peace among peoples and co-operation among countries. This visit solemnizes that pledge and marks the commencement of a new phase of our journey. We thank you for the welcome accorded to us. We look forward to resuming our quest together for peace in the world and prosperity for all peoples.

# How Indian and China can work together – 2019

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Gautam Bambawale<sup>1</sup>

...Let me start with the common description of our ties with China as being complex and being characterised as having elements of both cooperation as well as competition. Let me point out that in the case of any two large, neighbouring, countries their relationship is likely to be complex and difficult, as they are likely to have strong opinions on most issues and are unlikely to share identical or similar perspectives on many bilateral or international issues.

..Therefore, while it is going to be one of the most important relationships of the 21st century there is very little doubt that both countries and their governments will have to navigate incredibly difficult waters as they move ahead on their respective paths of regaining their historical, pre-eminent places in the world order. Predictably, there will indeed be ups and downs in this bilateral relationship, but it will also be immensely important for each of our nations to work hard at ensuring a balanced but forward looking approach to our ties.

..This is exactly what we have witnessed and experienced in India -China relations in 2017 and 2018 when we moved from the confrontation at Doklam to dialogue and discussion at Wuhan. Many people have described this as the 'Wuhan reset'. I must share with you that I, personally am very averse to the use of this term, since I believe that both sides -- the Government of India as well as the government of the People's Republic of China -- saw what happened at Doklam, analysed that particular experience, drew their own conclusions from it and then, independently came to the decision that it was much more important to have a relatively harmonious and balanced relationship between the two most populous states on this globe.

Talking to each other was important and this is what happened at the Wuhan Informal Summit between Prime Minister Modi and President Xi Jinping. If the word 'reset' in any

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Excerpts from 7th annual lecture of the Indian Association of Foreign Affairs Correspondents on March 1, 2019, by the former Indian Ambassador to Beijing

1 The Director of RGICS, Mr Vijay Mahajan was present at the occasion. The full speech has been reproduced at <https://www.rediff.com/news/special/must-read-how-india-china-can-work-together/20190302.htm> We acknowledge the source: Rediff.Com

way implies that the tensions and ill-temperedness of Doklam was being brushed aside or under the carpet, then I strongly object to this term. If it means the process I have just described of a cool, re-appraisal of the importance of the relationship and a desire to put it on an even keel then I can go along with the use of the term 'reset'.

### The Boundary Question between India and China

We are all aware that we have differences of opinion about the boundary between us. We agree that some of these boundary related issues have been left to us by history. But it is for us to resolve these problems and issues and hence we have been discussing them for a fairly long period of time.



*Indian and Chinese soldiers attend the celebrations to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China at the India-China border, about 41 km from Tawang district in Arunachal Pradesh, October 1, 2009. Photograph: UtpalBaruah/Reuters*

Currently, the Special Representatives of our two countries are attempting a resolution to this Question. There can be little doubt that resolving the boundary issue is incredibly difficult due to the nature of our borders which lie in the mighty Himalayas thousands of metres above sea level. Hence, we must be patient with our negotiators.

India and China have agreed that even while we attempt to resolve the Boundary issue, we shall do our very best at maintaining peace and tranquility on the border. Elaborate and fairly successful standard operating procedures have been put into place to ensure that our armed forces do not get into situations which will raise temperatures in the relatively cool climates of the India-China boundary. Yet, we have had what I call as 'close proximity situations' at Depsang in 2013, at Chumar in 2014 and most recently at Doklam in 2017. Why do such situations take place at all? My analysis reveals that better technologies available to both sides, better roads available to both sides -- yes, let me repeat that despite all the criticism, the Indian armed forces also have better roads on our side of the border as compared to 20 or 25 years ago -- have brought the two armed forces closer on this border than ever before in history.

In this scenario, if any one of the two sides makes an attempt to change the status quo or a set pattern of behaviour, there is an immediate reaction from the other side. This is exactly what happened in each of these instances in 2013, 2014 and 2017. In each case,

the Chinese PLA attempted to change the status quo on our frontier and in each case the Indian Army blocked such an attempt. Once the status quo was resumed, the situation went back to normal, although it may be a new normal. So my advice to the Chinese PLA is – if you want to maintain peace and tranquility in the India-China border areas, do not change set patterns of behavior and do not attempt to change the status quo on the border. Do not take any action which will be out of the ordinary and ring alarm bells on the Indian side. The PLA's patrolling activity must maintain its normal, routine patterns.

### The Wuhan “Reset”

As I had said earlier, since both Prime Minister Modi and President Xi Jinping were keen to bring the bilateral India-China relationship on to an even keel, they agreed to meet at an informal summit at Wuhan. The idea of an informal summit meant that there was no need for the bells and whistles of a formal State visit but the two leaders could spend a whole lot of time by themselves, talking to each other on any subject they felt was important for a strategic conversation.

The offer to have the Summit at Wuhan in central China was made by the Chinese side, since they felt they had the facilities for such a meeting there and because Prime Minister Modi had not visited Wuhan before this event. Eventually, PM Modi and President Xi spent anywhere from 8 to 10 hours communicating with each other on some of the important bilateral, regional and global issues of the day. They also spoke to each other about the history and culture of their respective countries and societies, thereby adding to understanding and trust in each other. The importance of being sensitive to the concerns of the other country was an integral aspect of these talks.

The outcome of Wuhan is there for all to see. Naturally, if there was anyone who was expecting a complete transformation in the relationship that was an unrealistic expectation to start with, but those of us who were keen to have some warmth and vigour return, were satisfied with it. If the use of the term ‘reset’ to describe the Wuhan Informal Summit indicated that all issues between India and China were resolved then those who use this term were naturally in for a surprise. However, Wuhan did indicate that the leaders of India and China had the maturity and the intelligence to be able to sit together and work on their differences while expanding the areas of cooperation.

To many of us present at Wuhan, the meeting was a reiteration of our belief that India and China can talk with one another rather than past each other. It was a vindication of our insistence that two ancient cultures and civilisations can reason with each other even on areas of disagreement while being able to cooperate on obvious convergences. One of the understandings emanating from the Informal Summit at Wuhan was the fact that although the governments of India and China have been in close touch over the decades and even though business has boomed over the past few years, the one area of bilateral contact which lacks intensity is people-to-people exchanges.

That is why the High Level Mechanism to boost such contacts was established and held its first meeting this past December. It is led by the foreign ministers of the two countries. Given the fact that India and China are the two most populous nations on earth, that we are ancient civilisations with our own individual ways of thinking, it is very important to foster greater interaction between our peoples. In the ancient past, we had been able to understand each other well due to the monks, sages and scholars who had travelled to each other countries and brought tales which enhanced understanding of the other side.

Today, it is once again necessary for the connect between our people to increase and multiply so that we understand each other better, are able to see the other's point of view and comprehend where the other is coming from. Only such greater interaction and the resultant understanding will provide the basis for a better relationship between us and make each of us more sensitive to the other.

I have had the opportunity of seeing and experiencing China, as an Indian diplomat, over a period of three decades from 1988 to 2018. Not only has China changed due to the fast paced economic growth she has undergone, but more importantly attitudes and behaviour patterns indicate a greater openness amongst the Chinese people towards new ideas, new commodities, new technologies and new products.



*Shuai Jiao Baba (Let's Wrestle, Dad), Dangal's Chinese version, was a superhit in that country.*

It is this characteristic which has made Bollywood films popular amongst the youth of that country. The Chinese audience is very discerning and only those movies which have good themes, strong story lines and outstanding acting become hits there. Similarly, the rising popularity of yoga in China comes from its obvious health benefits including in cases of serious illness. It is important that we support both these activities since they do enhance understanding amongst ordinary people.

## India-China Trade Deficit

A lot has been said and written about the continuously rising trade deficit that India experiences with China. My view is that such a large and expanding deficit is dictated by the very composition of bilateral trade. When we mainly export primary produce to China while importing every kind of manufactured product including iron and steel, electronic items, power equipment and mobile handsets then we will end up with a trade deficit which will increase over time. Even if we are able to sell more basmati and non-basmati rice, sugar, tea, sapota and mangoes to China it will not bridge the trade gap. Therefore, I have argued in the past, that we need to focus not so much on the Balance of Trade in our bilateral payments but on Invisibles.

We need to and must work towards attracting more Chinese tourists to India. This will prove to be a less herculean task as compared with selling more pharmaceuticals or software in the Chinese market where we face huge non-tariff barriers. A public-private effort by India can result in up to 1.5 million Chinese tourists visiting our country by 2020. Our Buddhist trail will be attractive, but so too will our beaches, our mountain resorts, our temples and other historical sites. We must focus our efforts in this direction.

We need to undertake a massive marketing effort in China to ensure that our message of Incredible India goes down from the metropolitan cities to the Tier 2 and Tier 3 cities where the real heft of Chinese tourism abroad comes. The results will be quick and very obvious. They will not merely help us meet our tourism targets but will provide employment to large numbers of our countrymen and women, while balancing out our trade deficit. It will have the additional spin off that understanding of the other country will be enhanced amongst our peoples.

I have been a strong advocate for Indian Universities to attract more Chinese students. We will need to provide these potential students a rationale and a value proposition of why they should study in India rather than in the United States, the UK, Australia or Canada. I believe that value proposition can be as follows: Do your Bachelor's degree in India, learn fluent English in the process and then at the Master's level you will have a good shot at relatively easy admission into and study at universities in any of the Western countries.

Once again we will need to market this well and we shall be surprised at the interest we can generate amongst the Chinese youth. I suspect that the new private universities in India may be able to pull in many more Chinese students in a 3-year perspective due to their cleaner premises, better catering facilities and good faculty and curricula.

## Cooperation on Global Issues

Over the past few weeks a lot of attention and indignation has focused on China's objections to the listing of Masood Azhar under the United Nations 1267 sanctions. I am of the opinion that we must have a transactional approach to this issue. Perhaps, China will permit the listing to move ahead if there something we can do for them or offer them in return? If there is, a bargain can indeed be struck. I am confident that our diplomats are already working on such a scenario. I would also like to suggest that amongst international and global issues there are many where India and China do see eye to eye and on which we work together.

All of us recollect the stellar work done by the BASIC countries of India, China, Brazil and South Africa in the context of climate change negotiations. Today, India must devote some energy and persuasion to convincing China to become a member of the International Solar Alliance or ISA. There is little doubt that this will be a win-win proposition as China will benefit from becoming a member and the ISA will gain from China's membership. Now that Japan and Saudi Arabia have recently joined this international organisation, China is very likely to follow suit if we devote some attention and time to them.

On the economic side, I would also like to suggest that perhaps India and China can work together on modernising one of our railway stations. All of us who have travelled in China have been impressed by the nature and state of her infrastructure including her railway stations. Many Indians have admiringly stated that, Chinese railway stations look and feel like airports! Since India is working on modernising her railway stations surely there can be some way we can include China in this effort. We shall have to work on and perfect a financial model which works for both countries and for the firms from both nations involved in this work. If we are able to build and finalise such a model we will indeed be in business!

The subject of trans-boundary rivers is one which has received considerable attention in both India and China. The Brahmaputra, in particular, and Chinese dam building and other construction on that river is a matter of great concern in the lower riparian countries such as India and Bangladesh. The recent experience is that China, although very cagey on this subject, and all the while playing up the fact that they are cooperating even though it is not mandatory for them to do so, has indeed worked with India in several instances particularly when a blockage of the main body of that river in Tibet is likely to burst and cause potential havoc downstream in India.

Chinese and Indian authorities have stayed awake through the night in certain recent cases exchanging data and information on the flood level and in projecting when the flood peak is likely to reach the populated and settled areas in India. In some cases, such warnings and continuous monitoring of the situation has enabled the affected areas in India to either evacuate those segments of its population living in the low lying areas which were likely to be submerged or helped them in putting out a more general alert. Such recent cooperation has been under the radar but needs to be acknowledged adequately. It provides hope that trans-boundary rivers could become an area of cooperation rather than one of contention.

An India-China relationship on relatively even keel, will not and does not restrict our diplomatic space with the rest of the world. In fact, it enhances the scope for India to do more with Russia as well as the United States, with Japan as well as Europe and ASEAN. The only challenge is internal, whether we shall have the bandwidth to be able to expand our interaction with all our partners. I, for one, have little or no doubt about our ability to do more projects with all friendly countries. This matter will continue to require our attention and concerted action so that we are better organised, better prepared and better at implementation.

### **The Pune Plan of Action on India-China Relations**

Many of the ideas I have shared with you this evening on the way forward beyond Wuhan in India – China relations have been given shape, dissected, sharpened and finalised in discussion and debate with friends, colleagues, well-wishers and analysts in Pune.

Therefore, the entire set of suggestions on how India and China can move ahead in the coming months is named by me as the Pune Plan of Action on India-China Relations. It includes:

- Continued, intense high level political interaction since our relationship is driven from the top down. Therefore, I do hope that President Xi Jinping can visit India later this year for the next Informal Summit with our prime minister.
- Enhanced and expanded military exchanges between India and China so that understanding between the two militaries is increased.
- Work to increase the number of Chinese tourists visiting India through a public-private partnership between India Tourism and private tour operators.
- Continue to encourage the sale of Indian films in China as well as promote and propagate yoga in that country.
- Focus efforts on attracting more Chinese students to Indian universities.
- Create a financial model for Chinese firms to modernise Indian railway stations.
- Persuade China to become a member of the International Solar Alliance.
- Expand engagement with the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation.

As China rises and India grows to reclaim their earlier positions on the world stage as two of the largest economies and most important countries, there will indeed be some contention between these two powers. There will also be plenty of space and room for cooperation amongst the two of us. As our economic size increases to match the fact that we are the two most populous nations on earth, it will be all the more important for us to keep the interests of our peoples as well as those of the rest of the world in mind.

We shall have to grow together rather than as separate and disparate entities. It will become incumbent on us to maximise global welfare rather than that of each one of us separately. In such a scenario, I visualize that while there will remain some areas of competition between India and China, cooperation will be the dominant theme between us.

# Feminism under Fascism

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In Germany of the 1930s

Ruchira Gupta<sup>1</sup>



In speech after speech, the Nazis promised the restoration of the father's authority and the mother's responsibility within the family to Kinder, Küche, Kirche (Children, Kitchen and the Church).

German families had become much smaller, married women had gained the legal right to keep their own salaries, and both married and single women were joining the paid-labour force in record numbers. Women's dress and hair were both becoming shorter. Thirty-two women deputies were elected to the Reichstag (more than in the USA and UK at the time). Radical feminists had begun to organize against the protective legislation that kept women out of many jobs, and to work toward such international goals as demilitarization and pacifism.

Many believed that reinforcing the traditional roles of women and men in the family "would provide stability in a social world that seemed to be rapidly slipping from their control."

The Nazi Party gained rapid support among those social groups and classes where women had made the most headway in the 1920s, and where there was, in consequence, a measure of sexual competition for jobs during the depression. Nazi propaganda attacks on the 'degeneracy' of childless, educated, decorative city women who smoked and drank, struck some deep chords among humiliated and anxious German men preoccupied with their perceived loss of masculinity.

These men felt they could only regain their masculinity through militarism and emphasis on racial superiority. The purity of the blood, the numerical power of the German race, and the sexual vigour of its men thus became ideological Nazi goals: Its militarism was predicated upon overt male supremacy and its racialist ideology could only succeed by controlling women's procreative role.

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An excerpt from the article. The full article can be accessed from the author.

<sup>1</sup> Ruchira Gupta is the founder of ApneAap Women Worldwide, anti-sex-trafficking organization. Ruchira is also adjunct faculty at the New York University. She has worked for over 25 years to end sex trafficking and has received many honours for her work. Ruchira won an Emmy Award for her documentary, *The Selling of Innocents*, in 1997. Ruchira is working on an Occasional Paper for the RGICS.

The place of women and the need for the authoritarian family was not just a popular campaign platform but became a reason for the growth of the Nazis. The anti-feminism of the movement was notorious and extreme.

This did not stop at rhetoric. It translated into policy. Women experienced the rapid erosion of their rights in every sphere. The Nazis kept their promises in the Nazi way.

- Women were told to give up their paid jobs for men. In an ingenious piece of social engineering, National Socialism gave interest-free loans to young couples provided that the woman withdrew from the labour market. Loan certificates were made over only to the husband.
- Inter-race and inter-religious marriages were banned. At the same time tax penalties were imposed on “Aryan” women for remaining single.
- Housing needs were almost totally neglected as was child care. The cost of welfare, even for the very families that the Nazis were idealizing, set against armaments expenditure, was trivial.
- Independent women were ruthlessly attacked and driven out of the public domain. For example, Toni Sender, a Member of Parliament, bearing the triple burden of being Jewish, a Social Democrat and a woman, was repeatedly called by Nationalists and Nazis, a high-class prostitute, who only donned proletarian clothes when she went to address workers’ meetings, during the violent election campaigns of 1932<sup>2</sup>.
- Many feminists were jailed and some paid with their lives.
- Motherhood was glorified to the extent that infertility among married “Aryan” women was categorized as an illness and declared to be grounds for divorce. Contraception was prohibited. Women were jailed for having abortions. Grant preference were given to “Aryan” families with more than five children.
- 15-year old girls of the so-called Aryan race were sent to Lebensraums (hostels where they were raped by Hitler youth to give birth to blue-eyed blonde Nazi babies as part of massive attempts at Eugenics). As the promiscuity of the political leaders became public knowledge, and the divorce rate steadily rose, the Lebensraums also opened their doors for unwed or abandoned mothers of the “superior” race.
- Pregnant women were given training courses in the arts and sciences of motherhood and household management in Mother’s Schools. The courses conveyed the high political and social calling of the housewife and mother, stressed the crucial nature of her contribution to the future health and strength of the race, gave instruction in hygiene and baby-care, and pointed out the ways in which a shrewd and careful management of the family budget could help to ease the economic problems of the Reich, in particular the pressing shortage of foreign exchange- buying fish instead of meat, synthetic fats instead of butter, and clothes made from artificial fibers; cooking nutritious simple dishes, or eating a one-pot meal on Sundays.

The impact of these policies was devastating on women.

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<sup>2</sup> One of the most distinguished victims of this type of vilification, Toni Sender, a member of the national parliament (Reichstag) who laboured bravely under the triple burden of being Jewish, a Social Democrat and a woman, has left a memorable account of the personal attacks on her by Nationalists and Nazis during the violent election campaigns of 1932. They culminated in the repeated assertion that she was a high-class prostitute who only donned proletarian clothes when she went to address workers’ meetings. In the poisoned atmosphere of the Nazi struggle for power there were few defences against this salacious campaign of defamation-the courts declined to convict those responsible.

## Jobs

Over 1 million unemployed women workers lost their work insurance. About 300,000 women were removed from jobs every year. In 1933 for example, 15 per cent of teachers lost their jobs and 19,000 female civil servants were sacked. There was the massive degradation of teen-age girls and older women workers into the ranks of the family assistants i.e. to cook, babysit and clean for families with more than four children.

A decree stipulated that only men could be named to university posts. Physics researcher Lise Meitner, was thrown out of her job as Director of the Department of Physics at the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in 1939. Emmy Noether, another mathematician, was terminated from her post by virtue of the "German law for the Restoration of the Public Service" of April 7, 1933, for having been active in the 1920s in the USPD and the SPD and for being female.

Women were barred from government positions including judgeships. Not all women approved of Hitler's view of their role. Many of them were intellectuals – doctors, scientists, lawyers, judges, teachers, etc., who did not want to give up their jobs and stay at home. In protest against Hitler's anti-feminist policies they joined left-wing opposition groups. If caught they faced being sent to concentration camps as political prisoners. In October 1933, the first concentration camp for females was opened at Moringen, Germany. In 1938 a second camp for women was established at Lichtenburg and in 1939 a third at Ravensbruck.

## Higher Education

Universities were viewed as hot spots for subversive activity by the Nazis because they were places that valued knowledge and promoted an environment that questioned authority. Women who entered universities often attained and spread anti-Nazi ideas. To prevent a much-feared woman's rebellion, all girls who exhibited "bluestocking" values were immediately and unquestionably removed from university life. Anyone even suspected of subverting the Nazi Regime, especially educators or their students, were fired or dismissed from school.

In 1933, school programmes for girls were changed to discourage them from pursuing university studies. The five years of Latin classes and three years of science were replaced by courses in German language and domestic skills training. Paul Giesler, a Nazi official and propagandist, began touring universities speaking against the high educational environment for women. Many students walked out during his speeches. One of the bravest, yet most tragic leaders was nineteen-year old Sophia Scholl, who started the White Rose Student Group in Munich in 1942. The group distributed pamphlets, degraded swastikas and painted anti-Hitler rhetoric such as "Hitler the Mass Murderer" or "Down with Hitler." On February 22, 1943 all of the White Rose members were imprisoned or expelled. Sophia was executed. Finally, women were allowed only 11 per cent of university places.

## Censorship

The most effective tool, specifically for women, lay in the power of speech or gossip. Cut off from jobs and education, women began to talk amongst themselves against Hitler's policies. This dominant infraction bothered the Nazis so much that they passed the Heimtuck Egesetz or Law Against Malicious Gossip. Violation of the law could be punished with death or imprisonment.

## Banning of Inter-religious and inter-race marriages

The Protection of German Blood and German Honour Act, enacted on 15 September 1935, forbade marriage and extramarital sexual relations between persons racially regarded as Aryans (persons of “German or related blood) and non-Aryans (Jewish Germans and Gentile Germans of Jewish descent and later extended to «Gypsies, Negroes or their bastard offspring). During the war, repeated efforts were made to propagate Volkstum (racial consciousness). Nazi propaganda published pamphlets that enjoined all German women to avoid sexual relations with all foreign workers.

German women accused of racial defilement were paraded through the streets with a shaved head and placard around her neck detailing her crime. Those convicted were sent to a concentration camp. In 1933, when the Nazis assumed power, there were about 35,000 mixed marriages in Germany, by the end of 1944 about 12,000.

## Status of single and independent women

Under the Weimar Republic, the constitution guaranteed equality between the sexes. The state encouraged a family wage, legislative protection and insurance benefits were given to pregnant women wage-earners, family planning clinics and day nurseries were established to encourage women to reconcile family and work, modern methods of birth-control were promoted, and state sickness insurance scheme began to offer advice on contraception.

To the Nazis, Berlin become a threateningly large wilderness of sterile promiscuity, hedonism, degeneracy and unnatural progress. In 1933, the National Sozialistischer Betriebs Obman, proclaimed that women “painted and powdered were forbidden at all meetings of the NSBO. Women who smoked in public – in hotels, cafés, in the street and so on – will be excluded from NSBO”.

The guidelines for being an ideal woman in Nazi Germany were as follows:

- Women should not work for a living
- Women should not wear trousers
- Women should not wear makeup
- Women should not wear high-heeled shoes
- Women should not dye or perm their hair
- Women should not go on slimming diets

Hitler said the “The slogan “Emancipation of Women” was invented by Jewish intellectuals.”

## Women in politics

Doctrines of Nazism promoted exclusion of women from political life. The Nazi party decreed that “women could be admitted to neither the Party executive nor to the Administrative Committee”. It did allow women to become party members to support their “men” but gave them no decision-making power. Germany went from having 37 female Members of Parliament out of 577, to none, after the election of November 1933. Joseph Goebbels justified this position by explaining that “it is necessary to leave to men that which belongs to men.

## Feminists

Nazi policies criminalized women's movements. They banned and condemned through propaganda and speeches the KPD (Marxist) and SPD (socialist) feminist groups first. Many of their members were arrested or assassinated, such as Libertas Schulze-Boysen, Mildred Harnack-Fish, Hilde Meisel or 20-year-old Sophie Scholl. Others, like Helen Stocker, an advocate of women's reproductive rights, Dora Schaul, a writer, or LidaGustava Heymann and Anita Augspurg, who had appealed to the Bavarian Interior Minister for expulsion of Hitler, on grounds sedition, were forced to live in exile. Their property was confiscated by Hitler.

Then under a programme called Gleichgeschaltet (coordination), National Socialism gained control over the moderate women's groups and then dismantled them. The majority of women associations, such as the BDF (Bund Deutscher Frauenverein), chose among themselves to disappear or disband. Nazi groups infiltrated the BDF's subsidiaries. By May 1934, the BDF lost its power and influence. The only way to save the organization from becoming a puppet of the Nazi Regime was to voluntarily dissolve the organization. The BDF was established in 1894 and disbanded in 1933.

The BDF's extinction symbolized the "anti-climatic end" that Nazis brought upon the organized feminist movement in Germany in the mid 1930's. Only one women's association persisted under the regime, Die Frau, or Woman, until 1944. It was placed under the guardianship of the Reich Minister of People's Education and of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels.

Some old liberal feminists worked with international organizations, especially pacifistic groups, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) when World War II began. Others decided to wait until the Nazis fell, expecting, like most feminists in the Weimar Republic, that Hitler's rule would be a short, ineffectual phase. Socialist and Communist feminists assumed a revolution would occur against Hitler, leading most to wait in silence or being jailed and killed. Though the Nazi regime failed as a government, it succeeded for generations in silencing German women and, therefore, putting a hole into the feminist movement for decades.

## Motherhood and Housework

The fall in the birth-rate under the Weimar Republic provoked a major ideological onslaught from the extreme right. Friedrich Burgderfer described the declining birth-rate as a 'bio-political struggle'. In a 1934 speech, Hitler claimed, "Our National Socialist Women's Movement has in reality but one single point, and that point is the child."

Abortion was prohibited. Women began to perform abortions on their own, reporting it as stillbirth. In 1943 the ministers of the Interior and Justice enacted the law "Protection of Marriage, Family and Motherhood", which made provisions for the death penalty for mothers convicted of foeticide.

Nazi propaganda machinery celebrated women's role as mother and housewife as being of supreme national importance. Drudgery, scrimping and saving, anxiety, self-abnegation and the highly constricted perspective of a life revolving around the household were hallowed by a never-ending stream of compliments from the country's political leaders.

The rigours of child-birth were translated through a frenetic vocabulary of adulation into an ideological experience worthy of quasi-religious reverence. A Cross of Honour of the

German Mother was given to women who brought into the world more than four children. In 1939, three million mothers were decorated on a newly created German Mothers' Day.

School textbooks like *The German Mother and Her First Baby*, and *Mother Tell me about Adolf Hitler*, were distributed teaching young women to train their children in Nazi values:

*You, Fritz and Hermann, must only be German boys who fill their place in the Hitler Youth, and later become capable and courageous German men so that you will be worthy to have Adolf Hitler for your Führer. You Gertrude, must be a proper German girl, a real BDM girl and later a proper German wife and mother, so that you also are able to look the Führer in the eyes. Liselotte Herrmann was the first German mother to suffer the death penalty under the regime. Housing needs were almost totally neglected as was child care. Ironically, the nightmare world of dictatorial government, huge industrial combines, all-encompassing administration and organized inhumanity was parasitic upon its ideological antithesis-the minute community of parents and children.*

The cost of welfare, even for the very families that the Nazis were idealizing, set against armaments expenditure, was trivial. Feminists, who, through their own direct experience, could have informed policies that were friendlier to the family, domesticity and child-bearing were unfortunately in jail, exiled or dead. During this entire period, women, were told to keep silent by people they looked up to-fathers, husbands, political leaders. They were told it was not appropriate, or why raise uncomfortable questions, Hitler was trying to rebuild the nation, after all.

Next, a brief interview with German Sociologist Marianne Schmidbaur gives us an insight into the status of women in Germany today.



## Feminism in the Germany of Today

Sociologist Marianne Schmidbaur is scientific director of the Centre for Gender Studies at the Goethe University Frankfurt. Interviewer: Friederike Bauer © www.deutschland.de

### **Ms Schmidbaur, what is the situation as regards political equality in Germany?**

There is a female German Chancellor, but at the same time fewer women in the Bundestag. Indeed, just over 30 percent of parliamentarians in the Bundestag today are women, fewer than in the last legislative period when it was over 36 percent. A few years ago we also had three Länder minister presidents, now there are two. You can't simply assume that progress is inevitable.

### **Where does Germany rank by international comparison?**

The International Parliamentary Union lists the percentage of women in parliaments worldwide. Germany is in the middle section of the table, in 46th position out of 190. Rwanda is in first place. Of course, this is only one indicator among many, but overall, in my opinion, a medium position is about accurate.

### **What would need to happen for Germany to move forward?**

The political parties are something like the gatekeepers for representation in the parliaments. We therefore need a quota for lists of candidates. Evidently nothing will happen without one. In France, men and women must be equally represented on electoral lists. If this is not the case, either the list will not be accepted, or the party must fear having its grant reduced. We should follow this example.

### **Does the word feminism have a negative connotation in Germany?**

For a long time, feminism was equated with hostility towards men. It was therefore regarded as outdated. This has changed in the meantime.

Today, young people are discovering that they can't fulfil their life models, that they can't achieve a fair and equal division of labour between the sexes in family and career. Yet that is exactly what the majority want. Feminism now has a different sound as a result.

### **So there's a more pragmatic view of feminism?**

To some extent, yes. It's about equality in everyday life. Men, too, today no longer want to be limited to being the breadwinner. Is the new feminism continuing the tradition of the early women's movement? Research speaks of three waves of feminism. The first fought for women's right to vote and was organized in societies and groups. The second in the 1960s and 1970s fought for new freedoms and equal rights before the law; it consisted mainly of extra-parliamentary groups. Today, it is about living conditions, including the fight against sexual violence. The campaigns play out mainly on the internet and are more international than in the past.

### **In other words, feminism lives on – also in Germany?**

Definitely. However, we must remain alert and active, otherwise there is a danger of setbacks. Not only in Germany are parties representing very traditional role models getting stronger. We need to nip these beginnings in the bud.

# Verdict 2019

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## Some International Lessons

Somnath Ghosh, Sr Visiting Fellow, RGICS

Of late, much has been written of the world-wide trend of electorates favouring autocratic, if not authoritarian, governments reflecting majoritarian aspirations at the cost of inclusiveness of minorities. In the context of just concluded Indian elections of 2019, analysts have extended their observations to include the jingoist orchestration of nationalism and the introduction of “hate” and an inverted sense of “fear” of minorities to explain the voting pattern that led to the run-away success of present dispensation.

What has not been dwelt upon is *why* and *how* the dynamics of fear is orchestrated and on this foundation how public opinion is manipulated to “hate” the other (for electoral gains), gross events are played out, culminating in a political, religious, or social system that may not be desirable for the future of mankind. In this note, I draw upon the work of Leonard W. Hamilton and Daniel M. Ogilvie, Professors Emeriti from Rutgers University, and more specifically on the lecture series by Sheldon Solomon who, along with Jeff Greenberg and Tom Pyszczynski, codified terror management theory (TMT) in their seminal book, *The Worm at the Core: On the Role of Death in Life* (2015) which in turn draws heavily from anthropologist Ernest Becker’s *The Denial of Death* (1973).

But even before TMT was coined, much can be learned by decoding the developments in post-World War I Germany and the role of Hitler, for we can detect strong similarities in what demagogues of authoritarian regimes do to manipulate public opinion and garner support. In the main, some distinct manifestations can be detected. First, there is repeated reference to current economic or social problems and laying the blame at the doors of the previous regime. This leads to the second factor of breeding insecurity. Since the need to survive is strong in human beings, the third element is to stoke nationalistic feelings with the promise to a return to glorious days of yore. The darker side of man’s primitive instinct to survive looks for the “enemy” which has to be overcome if not destroyed. That then becomes the fourth element of the leitmotif.

Generating hatred for the enemy is the fifth and next logical step for the demagogue. And the medium to achieve all these are high rhetoric and propaganda. And it is here that jingoistic nationalism and pure race become abiding refrains to garner blind support; blind because by then sense has evaporated. In the hands of a demagogue with extraordinary

oratory skills, the impact can be mesmerizing. Moreover, he emerges not just as the unquestioned leader, but the only leader. However, the darkest side still remains: action or call to action against the enemy, both within and beyond the borders.

In post-World War I Germany, Hitler did precisely all the above. He trashed the Treaty of Versailles, his nationalism was laced with anti-Semitism, the internal enemy were the “Jews” (6 million executed), the “Fatherland” was in danger, and the enemy outside were many: Britain, France, Russia. And, of course, there was but “One People, One Empire, One Leader” (*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*). The following quote of a Hitler follower describes the effect:

*“We erupted into a frenzy of nationalistic pride that bordered on hysteria. For minutes on end, we shouted at the top of our lungs, with tears streaming down our faces: SiegHeil, SiegHeil, SiegHeil! From that moment on, I belonged to Adolf Hitler body and soul”*

Closer to our times, Donald Trump also stoked fear, talked of bringing back American pride, jobs were taken away by immigrants, Latinos supported by Democrats (the external and internal enemy), Democrats were too liberal and destroying traditional American values... Trump also talked about nuking North Korea and building a wall across Mexican border. So all Hitler and Trump had to do was to make their countrymen feel that they are in danger, from Jews/Latinos, from France/Britain/China and unconsciously people will close ranks with their in-group and by definition hate the ‘other.’

Now how does all this work? Terror Management Theory (TMT) postulates that when we’re reminded of our mortality we tend to identify more strongly with the in-group and therefore become more differentiated from the out-group. This is an unconscious process and therefore insidious.

Professors Hamilton and Ogilvie refer to the well-documented fact that “we are more likely to care for and defend immediate family members than more distant relatives; more likely to care for and defend people we know than people we don’t know, and speaking in more general terms, we are more likely to defend people who look like us, speak like us, dress like us, share our opinions and values, and, even more broadly, we are strongly prone to like, care for, and defend people who share our religious beliefs.”

But they go on to point out that our religious beliefs often comes with baggage that supports a darker side of religion: where

*“the rules, beliefs, and rituals of “my” tribe are more promising... than are the traditions and customs sponsored by competing tribes. Here comes the dark side. Conscious or blind adherence to tribal beliefs and the urgency to both spread and defend them can result in disastrous episodes where in it is okay, even desirable, to disparage or kill members of misguided tribes or, better yet, completely wipe them out...”*

*“Gut-level tribalism can leave rules for civility in disarray and render guidelines for “proper behavior” useless. With the arrival of a new tribe in town in a post-truth environment, Donald Trump was able to whip crowds into frenzies of racial, ethnic and religious animosities as they declared their membership to a movement that promised a new day, a brighter future, and plenty of opportunities to reduce the fear of living and dying on the margins of an enormously wealthy nation...”*

*“The loudest voices among the Trump followers seem certain, dead certain, of their beliefs and show little evidence that they have ever been seriously mindful of either the origins or the consequences of their beliefs. No doubts. No examination. No pause for reflection. That condition characterizes many of the world’s most active and dangerous tribes, so the task at hand is formidable.”*

### The Road Ahead

Kurt Lewin had said, “You cannot understand a system until you try to change it”. So, in these trying times, to all of us who try to make sense of current socio-political developments, Lewin’s observation cannot be more appropriate. One may consider methods.

One approach is take a “practical” stance, but more from the standpoint of those excluded. For example, in a recent newspaper article, appropriately titled “No Tears for Fears”, journalist Saba Naqvi says all she wants is support for the Indian Muslims to help them get integrated into the political system from where they can derive the many benefits routinely handed out by the state. Further, she bluntly adds:

*“If someone comes yet again asking for votes on the basis of fear and tells you that Muslims must be in the frontline of the battle to save secularism, turn around and tell them that you save it, and if you can’t, don’t ask us to be cannon fodder... Secularism is fine value. But in practice it has been hollowed out for decades and reduced to mere electoral management, one that first sees Muslims as a herd and then tries to keep that herd together and combine their votes with those of another herd, possibly of a particular caste vote. That model has been upended. The secular model currently offers no counter narrative to challenge the Narendra Modi led BJP”*

While she rejoices how spontaneously this year many citizens – Hindu, Muslim and Sikh - are organizing inter faith iftars, including one at Sita Ram temple at Ayodhya, she does acknowledge that since the hour of victory there have been hate crimes that should worry all citizens of India, not just the minorities.

So, clearly while one may do all one can to help the ordinary Muslim get integrated into the political system to get the benefits that the state has put in place, the larger question of polarization and deliberate marginalization of the “other” does not melt away – not



to speak of the occasional lynching. On lynching, Pratap Bhanu Mehta paints a chilling picture: "...the strategy in the previous government was to let small-scale incidents fester, specifically lynchings of people allegedly trading in cattle and beef. And those lynchings had the remarkable political effect that they could be ignored, because they were not, like, a large riot, like in 2002".

While Pratap Bhanu Mehta has pointed to dark days, he hasn't offered an action framework that can even remotely address the demon lurking in the dark recesses of every other street in India. Sociologist Dipankar Gupta does provide us an alternative approach. While he doesn't specifically say that issues like majoritarianism, vote-bank politics, parochialism are bastard children of democracy, he is pretty clear on the role of the elite in safeguarding democracy. In "Revolution from Above: India's Future and the Citizen Elite", Gupta provides succinct accounts of the many missteps of the people in power in preventing a downward descent to casteism and vote-bank politics. He holds that

*"democracy needs 'an elite of calling' if it is to be pressed to deliver to citizens. Ordinary politicians will not do; it requires people of substance, training, foresight and, most of all, the willingness to forsake their immediate class interests for a social good."*

But, perhaps more importantly, "that it is not by elections alone that democracy prospers. It requires active interventions to take democracy forward and that push can only happen from above". And to be sure, Gupta is clear on another critical point. The citizen elite is not to be confused with a well-meaning philanthropist or even the typical NGO because they do not "deliver citizenship" by changing state policy that is involved in the delivery of health, education, public transport, energy and water. Citing the experience of Basque region in Spain, Gupta provides empirical evidence to argue that the development of this region from a basket case to a model of development that decimated terrorist organization ETA – and not a superior police force or repression.

But can the citizen elite deal with the corrosive elements of much diffused caste-based violence or marginalization of minorities and, what's worse in current Indian scenario, the hate crimes like lynching? And what if another set of powerful people who may not qualify to be Gupta's citizen elite but definitely wield the levers of state power turn a blind eye? Maybe we have to draw out much more than what Gupta had originally envisioned much less addressed. In any case, it does not address the global trend toward majoritarianism, hate-mongering towards the "other", and almost hysterical support for autocratic leaders who have a propensity to undermine democratic institutions.

The clue to addressing this onerous task may perhaps demand a blending of Gupta's concept of "citizen elite" with the approach adopted by Hamilton and Ogilvie in addressing issues of mortality salience where subjects become mindful of "other's" sensitivities as a possible first step towards overcoming tribal instincts of exterminating those who are perceived to be not just different but impediments to majoritarian survival. When the Professors – who were already Emirati – had first submitted their proposal to teach a course titled *Soul Beliefs: Causes and Consequences* at Rutgers University, there was lot of concern such as "Would students be able to handle dealing with such a sensitive topic? Would parents object? Why are psychologists proposing a course on religion in the first place?"

Hamilton and Ogilvie report that despite these concerns and reservations, the course was approved and launched in the fall of 2010. All 250 seats were snapped up on the first day of registration. They and others were surprised by the student interest in our topic. In three semesters they had over 1,000 students (plus equally long waiting lists) and nearly 200,000 students have participated in the online (Coursera) version of the course since it was mounted in 2014.

In other words, information technology, innovative learning tools and social media, can be used to reach vast numbers hitherto impossible and the citizen elite would then have at least one of its tasks cut out in taking the debate on nationalism on the lines that existed but only in a limited sense between Tagore and Gandhi (see Ramchandra Guha's highly erudite "Introduction" to Tagore's essays on *Nationalism*).

While the realm of ideas is desirable and necessary for right action, it does not automatically transcend to practice. And this is where Lewin's dictum on bringing about social change takes on meaning for those interested in policy laboratory with emphasis on action research projects. It can be contended that accretion of persistent efforts over large swathes may create the groundswell for change.

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