Missive – April, 2023

Failure is an event and not a person, said the globally-visible and persuasive motivational speaker, Shri Anupam Kher while addressing the students, teachers, non-teaching employees and other stakeholders of Visva-Bharati on 13 March, 2023. The statement is illustrative of how he rose from an indiscreet Indian to what he is today in the world cinema and other walks of life. Being born and raised in a family where happiness prevailed despite being reeled in by stark poverty in his daily existence, Anupamji never ceased to become an optimist since failure provided him with the fuel to move forward. For him, failure was really a pillar of success. His father, despite having meagre monthly income inculcated those values which helped him internalize the very spirit of life which also gave him valuable lessons in handling the difficult situations which he encountered in his life. It was easier for him to easily cross the apparently insurmountable hurdles of life because he was inspired by his father's ideational vision highlighting the significance of failure in moving ahead amidst adverse circumstances. In a very personal way, by referring to his life experiences, he narrated that his story is the meteoric rise of a member of a family that was ousted from Baramula of Kashmir in the early 1950s. His father was employed in a government office with a monthly salary of just Rs. 90 to take care of a family of fourteen members. They had a small dwelling unit to accommodate fourteen individuals which, despite not being adequate, was a source of happiness to all since it allowed all of them to experience the realities of life together. Being together since birth built in him an indomitable spirit which, he declared, sustained amidst ups and downs in life.

Although he was involved in acting when he was a student of fourth standard, his experience did not match with his expectations. Nonetheless, his father and other members admired him for his endeavour. Over time, he however proved his acting Mattel, first in a competition in Chandigarh and later in various parts of India. He never did well in school and colleges; but proved soon that he was born to reach the zenith of acting, the glimpse of which was evident in the 1984 film *Sarangsh* which was a story of an old teacher who fought to get the last remains of his son who died abroad. It was a great challenge for him because he was given the role of an old man when he was just twenty-seven year of age. Not only was he applauded for his role, he also announced his arrival with a bang, and the rest is history. A new star, Shri Anupam Kher, was born in Bollywood, who was a god-gifted actor with the capacity for acting different roles. An individual who learnt from his failure became a role model to many struggling actors and actresses in the world of global cinema. Like Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Kher proved that one's life is one's message to all. By

regularly confronting odds, he also demonstrated that one's life was one's laboratory for undertaking many experiments: some of which will bring success and some will not. This is the core dynamics of human life. The earlier one realizes this, the better for oneself. So, Kher is not a unique brand, but epitomizes endeavours which are not so unique but illustrative of sustained hard work till the attainment of the espoused goal. The mantra for success is not providential support, but steadfast commitment to the goals one seeks to achieve regardless of hurdles. One should welcome sorrow, misery, pain and agony to get the real taste of success and achievement.

The purpose of the above narrative is not just to acquaint the readers with the rise of one successful soul in a world which is not as rose as it appears on the surface. In contemporary West Bengal, with the unearthing of many scams relating to the recruitment of teachers, cow smuggling, rise of mafia and their cohorts by being involved in various nefarious activities with blessings from their political bosses, the belief that wealth creation is not a matter of hard work, but connections with the right kinds of political forces which are useful to earn wealth disproportionate to one's legitimate income. With political support, the task is made easier because the law enforcement agencies shall hardly discharge their assigned roles as they are guided and ruthlessly controlled to enable the mafia to make gainful achievement.

By being in West Bengal, Visva-Bharati, the only Central University in the state, is a victim of processes which its founder, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, never visualized. His goal was to make this centre of higher learning unique in character and also functioning. In order to make this academic institution different from the conventional system of transmission of learning as it existed in colonial India, Gurudev Tagore introduced course curricula which included music, dance, drama, arts and aesthetics at the outset to be complemented by regular courses in Social Sciences, Humanities and Sciences later. With support from those who presided over India's destiny in independent India, Visva-Bharati became the first centrally-funded academic institution of national importance. The first Prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was made the Chancellor and Gurudev Tagore's eldest son, the only surviving heir, assumed the charge of Vice Chancellor. Along with regular ups and downs, the university also became notoriously famous for the successful role of the detractors in removing the incumbent Vice Chancellors; the process started with the first Vice Chancellor, Rathindranath Tagore, Gurudev Tagore's eldest son. He was forced to leave Visva-Bharati within two years of being made to govern the university as its Kulpati. What began with Rathindranath Tagore was seen later when some of the Vice Chancellors

were shown the door by those who felt that the continuity of the incumbent Vice Chancellor was a deterrent to the attainment of their partisan goals. Even, the renowned scientist, known for Boson-Einstein equation which brought laurels to India was also not spared. The reason is the same, namely, the Vice Chancellor acted independent of the vested interests which flourished simply because being a central university it was a source of income that hardly matched with the rest of public institutions in the state. Furthermore, as it was governed by the union government, it hardly had the supervision of the Ministry of education which was possible in case of, for instance, those universities located in Delhi or provinces close to the seat of the Union Government, that is Delhi. Visva-Bharati did not appear to have received the attention from those looking after India's Education in free India. So, despite having potential, Visva-Bharati did not seem to have become a competitive centre of learning due to both teething problems and also the circumstantial constraints which assumed alarming proportions day by day. Many administrative heads endeavoured hard to hold the bull by its horns but were unable to reach the assiduously nurtured goals owing to complex set of issues involving teachers, students, non-teaching staff and other stakeholders who did not appear to have been organically connected with to the motto of Visva-Bharati: aatra visvam bhavati eko needam and Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam. It became that proverbial swan which gave gold eggs for which everybody was interested forgetting that the swan also required careful nurturing. There were of course some of the teachers, students, other employees, and stakeholders who remained committed to Visva-Bharati's core values; but appeared to have lacked the required strength to successfully combat those seeking to defame Visva-Bharati for personal gains.

The situation started deteriorating as days passed. There are tipping points; nonetheless, Visva-Bharati continued with its distinctive traditions, presumably many of those who were associated with this blessed institution remained committed to the core values on which the university rested. This is to suggest that in its long journey as a central university, Visva-Bharati experienced tumultuous days. It does not seem unnatural if the rise and fall of Visva-Bharati is seen in the historical context.

Designing the design

Nirode Chaudhari wrote a book entitled *Atmaghati Banagali* (self-destructive Bengalis) (1988). An in-depth reading of its content makes one to surmise that Chaudhari appears to have drawn the inputs from Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore's personal interaction with essayist, Sajani Kanto Das'

Karmi Rabindranath (1937). According to Gurudev Tagore, Bengalis are reasons for their destruction; in other words, they create their own grave by being involved in activities directed to destroy one another. What is worse is the amount of pleasure that Bengalis derive in mudslinging against other fellow Bengalis for no reasons or rhymes. Perhaps this is a source of Bengalis' decline as a subrace in India and also the globe. West Bengal is no longer that place which was hailed as a harbinger of ideas, arts, literature and what not which prompted the Moderate Congress leader, GK Gokhale to say what Bengal thinks today India thinks tomorrow.

As history evolves, the situation in the province of West Bengal has undergone a sea-change. My purpose is not to single out the state since the trend does not seem to be very different in other constituent provinces of a federal India. Instead of dealing with India as a whole, I am focusing on West Bengal, and more particularly Visva-Bharati because I am well-acquainted with the state of affairs in West Bengal and more so in Visva-Bharati. The foundation of the latter preceded the former: while the province of West Bengal was created following the dismemberment of India with the removal of colonial rulers, Visva-Bharati came into being in 1921 to translate into reality Gurudev Tagore's alternative mode of learning. Based on his innovative pedagogy, he evolved Visva-Bharati far away from Calcutta perhaps due to his feelings that it was not possible for him to create an alternative when the English education struck deep roots in the city. Located in the Western part of West Bengal in the district of Bolpur, Visva-Bharati flourished in a pristine environment which was not exactly polluted by the virus of urban life. The reason which might have prompted Tagore to start Visva-Bharati in Bolpur was to associate the new learners with village life and the villagers who were reeling in severe poverty. His purpose was to grow together with the villages which was the core principle on which his philosophy of Tapobon Siksha rested. In contemporary parlance, this was an attempt to bring about inclusive development on the basis of his heart-felt urge to completely eradicate poverty.

An institution of excellence which, in 1951, became an institution of national importance under the stewardship of those freedom fighters who presided over India's destiny following the 1947 independence of India. The first few years after it was declared a central university were devoted to adjust to the new modes of its functioning as part of the Ministry of Education, Government of India. There were hiccups at the outset since administration was reconceptualized differently which created newer issues and problems. Furthermore, the assumption of Gurudev Tagore's eldest son, Rathindranath Tagore as Visva-Bharati's first Vice Chancellor did not augur well with many

self-proclaimed heirs to Tagore and his intellectual legacy. The tussle took an ugly turn for a variety of complex reasons which forced the first incumbent to demit office long before the completion of a five-year term. It was not an episodic event, but gradually became regular phenomena. If there is a hiatus of opinion based on the expectations of the self-proclaimed Tagore Bhaktas with the Vice Chancellor, they immediately plunge into action to create conditions for the occupant of the chair to leave. There are, of course, exceptions which are beacons of light for those fighting for preventing the self-motivated souls from harming this great academic institution. The battle between the Vice Chancellor and the local breeds can never be evenly poised since it will take time for a Vice Chancellor from outside to understand the local conditions and also those who are associated with the functioning of the university. The task is arduous which is sometimes made very difficult, with the intervention especially of those who earn their livelihood from Visva-Bharati. The Visva-Bharati administration is attacked by those whose partisan interests are affected or are likely to be jeopardized.

Major issues

Let me begin this subsection with a cautionary note: my purpose is to highlight those issues which need immediate attention for the university to function in accordance with the 1951 Visva-Bharati Act. This is also emphasized here that there are many teachers, students, members of the non-teaching staff and Visva-Bharati's well-wishers who work tirelessly for university's well-being; there are a few who are determined to pull down the university by hook or crook. The situation becomes threatening on occasions because of the unholy alliance between the goons and some of the disgruntled individuals who gain amidst crises in the campus. It will not be an exaggeration to even suggest that they create crises since without them their survival shall be at stake. Many in the campus and outside condemn these miscreants; but, for reasons which are not difficult to fathom, they do not assert to the extent they are expected just to avoid being embroiled in unnecessary troubles. This was however not the case during the freedom struggle, as history shows, when Bengali revolutionaries were hardly deterred from making supreme sacrifices if it led to the fulfillment of a wider and noble cause. Bengalis were not *atmaghati* for undermining Bengal; but were always ready to face the bullet because of their commitment to India's decolonization.

The circumstances are no longer the same; there are instances to the contrary and the voice of protest does not appear to be as strong as it is expected. There should be a caveat here since those who undertake activities to safeguard the institution despite threat to their life and limbs are hardly

deterred from being so because they are convinced that Visva-Bharati needs to be protected from those with evil designs. What is most disappointing is the involvement of those otherwise renowned individuals in privileging their partisan interests over the interests of the institution. Examples are plenty and they prove the off-quoted statement that individualization is preferable so long as it is an aid to collectivization; if it is otherwise, it is a source of irreparable damage to collectivity.

With the above perspective in view, the following discussion shall easily illuminate many of the issues crippling Visva-Bharati which is in a province that appears to have been a fertile ground for issues that assume massive proportions soon given the interlinkages between forces from within and from outside. The pattern here is not very different in those campuses which provide the only source of sustenance to the people living around the campuses. Given its long history of association with the people around the campus, the relationship appears to have been far deep-rooted than what is visible. There are both advantages and disadvantages of such a synergy: it is advantageous since the local people help the students, teachers and the non-teaching staff get an opportunity to work together for the cause Gurudev sought to achieve; it is disadvantageous because intimate connection between the university and those around the campus paves the way for continuous and undesirable interferences. This is a source of alienation which slowly becomes unbridgeable.

As regards factors leading to estrangement between Visva-Bharati and those who claim themselves to the moral custodians of the long-drawn heritages which Gurudev Tagore privileged, there cannot be a conclusive discussion because of differences of perspective in which it is pursued. The self-proclaimed custodians of Visva-Bharati holds that the administration should run the institution in accordance with the system defending their rights ignoring their duties altogether which is difficult to accept since it is being governed by the Union Government of India. The fact that the administration is accountable to the funding agency, the Ministry of Education, creates many hurdles in the form of rules and regulations that are non-negotiable. Rooted here are the irritants which are difficult to be satisfactorily addressed because in the governance of the universe, the supremacy of the Act cannot be compromised.

One of the issues that disturbed the applecart related to a conceptual dilemma over ascertaining whether an individual is prior to an institution. In other words, the prioritization of individual over Visva-Bharati is justified because it gives the detractors a handle to defame Visva-Bharati. The

bone of contention is a piece of land which one of the leaseholders illegally occupied. There is no final answer yet; but the available documents prove unambiguously that Visva-Bharati's claim is legitimate. With the intervention by the state chief minister, the issue became far more complicated. The government department dealing with land in West Bengal is looking into the matter to allow the legitimate owner to legally own the land.

Who is the legal owner of the land does not seem an important question because individuals are mortal beings while institutions survive. Founded in 1921, Visva-Bharati is continuing as a university although those who endeavoured hard to establish and run the university at the outset despite difficulties are no longer there and yet Visva-Bharati remains and continues to perform the role of a university in the changed milieu with, of course, significant changes in its pedagogy and also the texture due to incorporation of many new disciplines in the course curricula.

Besides land issue, the other source of irritation is the encroachment of Visva-Bharati's land. Despite having issued notices to these land grabbers, the issue remains unresolved as the will to safeguard the institution does not seem as critical as is expected. Hence, reclaiming of land by the university is the last thing the illegal occupants want. This results in a tug-of-war between the university authority and those who do not consider their partisan desire as contrary to the protection of Visva-Bharati which, as per Gurudev Tagore, was the vessel of his thoughts.

University is going downhill for multiple reasons. One of the reasons is the failure of Visva-Bharati's teachers to produce scholarly works and productive researches which accounted for its ranking as an academic institution which is far than expected. There is no point in get involved in blame games. Instead, it is better to find out the root causes and to devise the best possible means to address them. The result may not be seen instantaneously. A few years of sustained academic works will bring back the laurels to Visva-Bharati. Once it is established, students from all over the globe will be attracted which will make the university Visva-Bharati in accordance with Gurudev Tagore's vision. The task is easier said than done. Despite being so, it will not be an achievable goal if those who are associated with the university work in unison for fulfilling the espoused goal of Gurudev Tagore and his associates who joined hands to reinvent education in colonial India amidst difficulties.

Visva-Bharati's decline is visible in all aspects of its activities. First of all, the claim that institution is bigger than individuals appears to have received less attention from those who privilege their self-interests over that of this academic centre of learning. Gurudev Tagore is reduced to a commodity which is being sold by many of those who survive either as an employee or the socalled self-claimed custodians of Visva-Bharati and its property presumably because of the possibilities of gaining out of this. Of course, there are many who still carry forward the objectives for which Gurudev and his close associates sacrificed everything; but they do not seem to be as powerful as their detractors are. This is unfortunate for it results in dwindling of Visva-Bharati as a unique centre of pedagogy and higher learning with a long history. Secondly, it does not seem strange since human nature is perhaps riddled with contradictions, and, hence, one is hardly surprised when one confronts a situation in which those who are benefitted do not pay as much attention as is required to bring back the glory of the university which was founded by one of the illustrious sons of India, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. What is intriguing that this debilitating trend is evident among many of those who always claim themselves as Tagore-bhakts or Tagoreadmirers. It is seen especially in the lackadaisical attitude of those who hardly feel that besides academic training, the founder also emphasized the importance of many cultural events in the campus. The purpose was to mix with one another and to create a space where collective worked for addressing the difficulties confronting the Ashram. Thirdly, here those who join Visva-Bharati as teachers should be socialized to understand that their responsibility is not just confined to teaching and research which are important but not all they are expected to do. As Gurudev Tagore's goal was to develop an-all-round human beings who were compassionate, empathetic, sensitive to their fellow counterparts, he always insisted that the teachers of Visva-Bharati were required to participate in regular prayer in Mandir and also take active parts in all the year-long events. In his dialogue with his colleague Haricharan Bandyopadhyay he expressed his annoyance when he found that most of the teachers did not feel the need of attending Wednesday prayers despite having been committed to do so when they joined him. The bard was reported to have expressed his anguish by saying that 'you (teachers) join Visva-Bharati only for teaching and research ignoring completely that you are also required to join others during the regular prayer' (p. 121), Bandyopadhyay reminisced in his Rabindra-Prasanga (1933). Fourthly, this is also applicable to the members of the non-teaching staff: they too generally avoid being present in the prayers in Mandir and also events in various parts of the campus throughout the year. Everybody tends defend that the events are so common that they do not attract them or the events take place early in the morning and these employees cannot afford to lose their morning sleep. The ultimate outcome is

mass absence in most of the regularly-held events although Visva-Bharati is also a design to acquaint humanity with a way of life creating a template to understand that as human beings there is hardly a difference among them. Besides creating camaraderie, these events are also means to understand how the majority of India's demography survives in villages which are reeling in poverty and other issues affecting their existence as human beings. As the poet felt, many of those living in urban Calcutta and other mofussil towns had no idea of the village life. Hence, he always stressed the importance of building an organic relationship between the students of Visva-Bharati and the villages surrounding the campus. Finally, the reluctance of teachers and those employees who earn their sustenance out of Visva-Bharti percolates down to the learners who, over a period of time, carry forward the "traditions" they imbibe from the former. Being an integral part of the university since 2018, I can vouch for this since despite my repeated requests by telephone, emails and forms of communication, I did not succeed to the extent I had expected; to me, it appears that it required many Hercules to wake them up from the deep slumber because the habit is so wellentrenched. This is however not to suggest that our initiative failed completely for there are many students across the faculties who join the event and the Wednesday prayers. There is a silver lining which is a source of optimism since it allows those who are truly committed to Gurudev Tagore's politico-ideological and socio-cultural priorities to at least feel that the evil forces have not succeeded in completely destroying the foundational values on which Visva-Bharti rests. As regards the behaviour of students, let me add a caveat. It is beyond doubt that students of Visva-Bharati in general are well-behaved and respectful to the core ideational values sustaining the institution. There is however a miniscule section of students who are trouble makers although they justify their destructive activities in the name of protecting the interests of students and also Visva-Bharati's traditions. My experience however makes me believe that what they claim is generally governed by specific objective which are anything but partisan. We still believe that it is our responsibility to bring them back to the rail; if it is not possible by our sustained efforts, we need to undertake tough steps because their presence is likely to vitiate the atmosphere and will adversely affect the students in general. To illustrate the situation, one is tempted to compare the circumstances a potato grower faces in case one or two potatoes get rotten in a bag full of potatoes. The grower immediately took those rotten-ones out of the bag to save the rest of potatoes from being spoilt. The comparison is explicit to demonstrate that the students-cum-miscreants need to be treated with strong hand in the interests of those who join Visva-Bharati for their career and also to imbibe the critical values which the bard considered significant for humanity to flourish as a compassionate collectivity.

The core purpose of this missive is not to undermine any of those who are associated with Visva-Bharati in any capacity, but to remind them what they are expected to do in transmitting the poet's ideational vision to the next generation; this is possible if we sincerely practice them; otherwise, it will be an imposition of values which hardly inspires the present generation. History then will not forgive us; neither Gurudev Tagore because Visva-Bharati was, to him, 'a vessel which is carrying the cargo of [his] life's best treasure [and he hoped that] it may claim special care from [his] countrymen for its preservation'. (Rabindranath Tagore to Mahatma Gandhi, 2 February, 1940). In response to the bard's request, Gandhiji also promised that he 'may depend upon [his] doing all [he] can in the common endeavour to assure its permanence' (Gandhiji to Gurudev Tagore, 19 February, 1940). I end this missive with an optimistic note by emphasizing that as Visva-Bharati draws on the will to contribute to collective well-being which its founder Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore always espoused, and also as an institution which also received Gandhiji's blessings, the turmoil that appears to have derailed its journey is ephemeral and it will not only rise as a centre of revitalizing humanity but also evolved a new narrative reigniting human being with courage and valour. The trend is visible with the involvement of even those who seem to have been indifferent to many of the socio-cultural practices the bard put in place to articulate his distinctive mode of thinking amidst odds due largely to India being a colony. There is no doubt that Gurudev's ideational priorities are transcendental, a claim which is substantiated by the fact that for a proper dissection of many of the contemporary issues, his ideas remain as relevant as they were when he placed before his countrymen in pre-independent India. The missive is thus an appeal to the human collectivity for protecting Visva-Bharati which is not merely a degree-awarding institution, but also represents a philosophy of life seeking to develop a bonhomie of all living beings in the nature of which human beings are just one critical component.

Punchlines

In a letter to his colleague, Kunjalal Ghosh on 10 November, 1902, Gurudev Tagore identified some of the qualities, students should have. The checklist is exhaustive and based on his experiences in running Patha Bhawan, the school that he founded in 1901 to introduce the learners to an alternative pedagogy. Following the Vedic instructions, he also believed that Patha Bhawan was an institution not just for transmission of derivative ideas but also a space for the learners to grow with those qualities which the poet considered to be critical to humanity. Hence, school was, according to him, a template for learning and also imbibing those values and qualities useful for humanity to flourish. The years, a student remained in the school, are a significant part of his/her

life in shaping him/her in accordance with what was appropriate for the humanity as a whole. Apart from this general advice, Gurudev specified certain attributes which, he thought, were also integral to the growth and development of students with a mindset tuned to their commitment to the nation and also people, especially the underprivileged. In this letter, he privileged three qualities which students should not ignore: first, along with their studies, students of Patha Bhawan should be devoted to the country just like they are to their parents. In order to inculcate devotion to the country, Gurudev suggested two ways: on the one hand, by comparing that devotion to one's country was tantamount to one's respect to one's parents, he emphasized the view that one's dedication to one's chained motherland was also critical to one's self-esteem. His purpose was to inculcate nationalist spirit among the learners; on the other hand, what was also significant was also to develop good habits because unless one was endowed with them, one was unable to guide oneself and others towards a gratifying goal. In other words, what the poet hinted at were the practices that needed to be carried forward even in adverse circumstances which was possible if the student were trained to be tough and strong in character and determination. Thirdly, since the bard believed in cleanliness as an antidote to diseases, one of the duties of Patha Bhawan students was to be attentive to those activities tuned to the maintenance of a clean campus. They were also required to help their teachers in case they needed assistance in keeping their dwellings clean and properly maintained. This was possible, as the bard felt, if the students treated their teachers with respect and care. In a nutshell, an analytical dissection of these three points, stated above, reveals that the poet highlighted three significant qualities of being frugal, self-controlled, disciplined, and respectful to the elders. While he listed the qualities for the students, he was equally attentive to the qualities, a teachers should have. Instead of setting out a set of duties for the learners, he left the teachers to be guided by their conscience since they were his colleagues who had the same goal which the poet espoused. As he accepted them as 'his friend and compatriot, he felt that they upheld the objectives, ala creative of an alternative pedagogy and inculcating nationalist spirit among the students', which the bard assiduously nurtured since Patha Bhawan came into existence in 1901.

The second set of punchlines was articulated by Gurudev Tagore in a text, entitled *Crisis in Civilization* which he wrote just three months before his demise in 1941. Beginning with the appreciation of Western civilization, this innovative tract also highlighted the transformation of British Empire from being "benevolent" to being "exploitative". To his chagrin, he also mentioned that it was most unfortunate that a civilization that evolved out of its commitment to Enlightenment

philosophy deviated from humanism and happily endorsed brutality against humanity. Contrarily, he appreciated the system of government that emerged following the 1917 October revolution since it was meant to ensure collective well-being based on 'cooperation and fellow-feelings'. His admiration was however later tempered when he questioned the hegemonic tendencies of the ruling authority which were manifested in various policy decisions for muzzling voices of protest. His scathing critique of British civilization, the poet also admired 'large-hearted Englishman', like CF Andrews who discharged a historical role in putting into reality Gurudev Tagore's idea of alternative education. Condemning 'the demon of barbarity' which took out its fangs in the wake of the British rule, the bard saw in the consolidation of such evil forces tendencies towards 'desecrating the spirit of Man'. A humanist to the core, Gurudev Tagore however never lost faith in Man which he explained by saying that 'I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in [human] history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps the dawn will come from this horizon, from the East when the sun rises. A day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage'. This is the punchline that remains most revealing today as it was then when the poet articulated his feeling in the context of the second World War when humanity became a victim of muscle-flexing of the nations endowed with most destructive weaponry.

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