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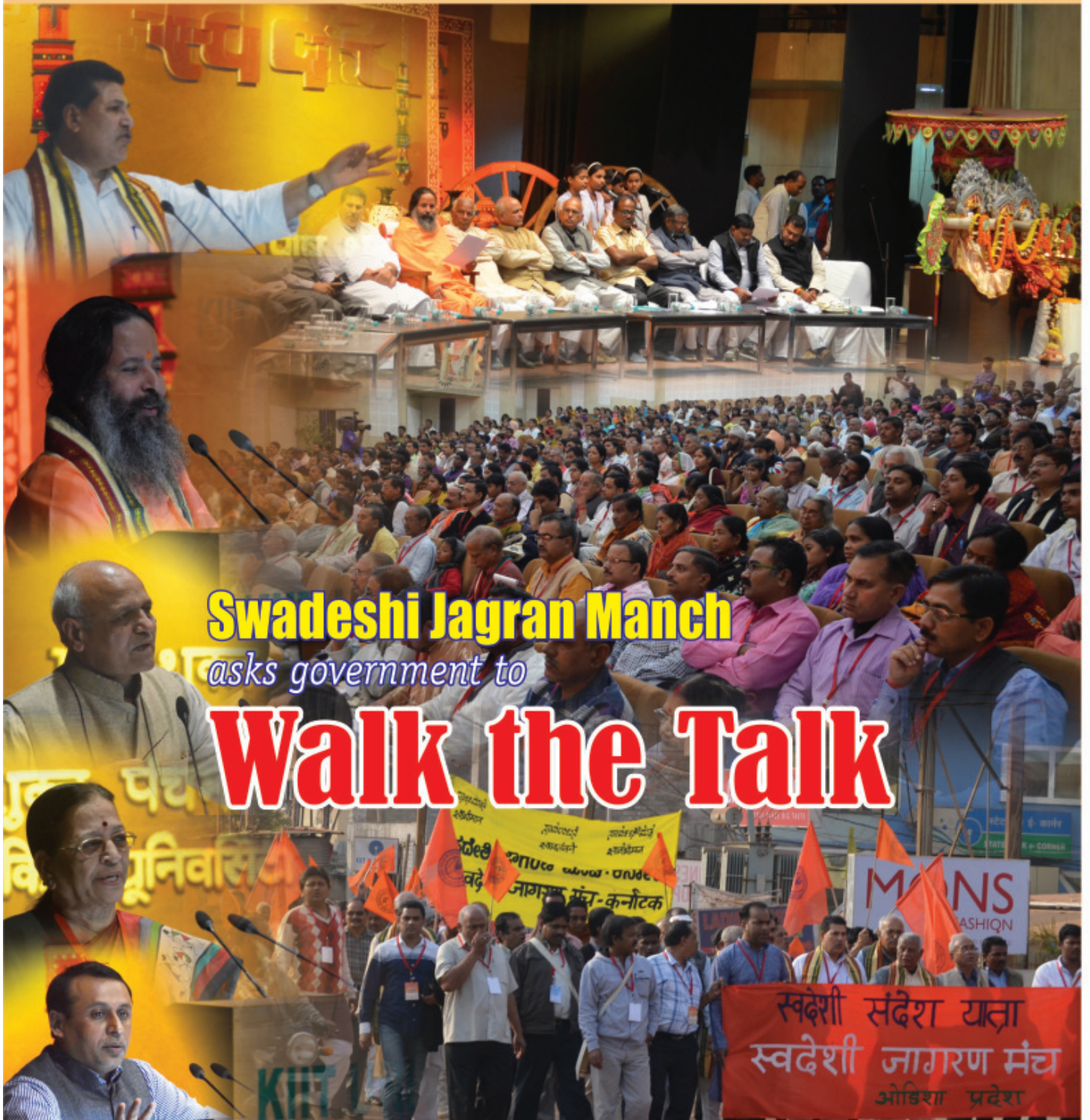
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# Swadeshi

PATRIKA

JANUARY 2015



**Swadeshi Jagran Manch**

*asks government to*

# Walk the Talk

स्वदेशी संदेश यात्रा  
स्वदेशी जागरण मंच  
ओडिशा प्रदेश

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## 12th National Conference of SJM

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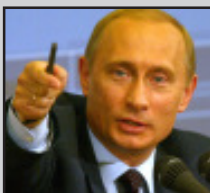
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### Populist Measures

Reserve Bank of India Governor Raghuram Rajan's recent anguish over debt-waivers' constraining credit flow to farmers, is understandable. Be it during the UPA Government in 2008 or by Chief Ministers K. Chandrashekar Rao and N. Chandrababu Naidu in 2014, agricultural debt-waiver and relief schemes have always been used as means to win elections, in defiance of the practical problems and economic impact they hold. Studies by the Public Accounts Committee, the Comptroller and Auditor-General and various other agencies have revealed that in many cases, deserving farmers have been overlooked.

It is a fact that waiver of agricultural loans and grant of indiscriminate subsidies, have not benefitted the farmers. In fact, they caused them untold misery and resulted in an agrarian crisis. This is clear from the farmer suicides in Telangana despite a waiver of such loans and the availability of various subsidies. More than money, farmers need assistance in the form of assured water supply, uninterrupted power, improved seeds, modern farming techniques, remunerative prices for the produce and a boost to their self-confidence.

From 1989, the rate of credit flow to farmers has declined. More than 50 per cent of agricultural credit goes to urban areas in Maharashtra. How do we regulate this credit flow? Further, there are questions about the impact of loan waivers and the issue of farmer suicides. There needs to be a comprehensive study of the issue, followed by urgent reforms.

- Abhijit Roy, via Email

### Dissemination of Knowledge

The suggestion put forth by the former President of India, APJ Abdul Kalam while inaugurating the 17th National Convention on Knowledge Library and Information Networking', that efforts must be made to develop libraries at home in order to make them available to all the members of the family and thus raise the level of education in our country, needs to be taken very seriously. It is sad that the habit of reading for pleasure is fast vanishing in the youth of today. The youth, particularly, the students confine their study only to their course books prescribed. They rarely go beyond these books to read additional books in order to expand the frontiers of their knowledge. Not only this, the youth of today are often seen engrossed in using their mobile phones, laptops or other such gadgets with the result that very little time is left at their disposal for reading books. There is no doubt that knowledge has been made more easily accessible by Internet, yet the books have their own role and importance for readers of various age groups and varying tastes.

- Ashok Sharma, Jammu

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### Quote-Unquote



Nowhere in the world are collective efforts more urgent than in South Asia.

Narendra Modi

Prime Minister of India



Our import bill in defence last year was \$6 billion. Most countries do not rely so much on imports.

Manohar Parrikar

Defence Minister



I consider you Indians as gurus, we are chelas.

The Dalai Lama

Tibetan Spirtual Leader



Narendra Modi is a down-to-earth elder brother and a great human being... I don't think Congress is angelic and others are devil.

Sajjad Lone

Former separatist leader, after meeting the PM

# Actions, not intentions speak louder

*"Kindness is in a prison till it finds Release in words or deeds."*

— (William Kean Seymour)

A new year according to the Gregorian calendar has begun. 2014 has been a year of exceptional changes, in particular for India. We have a new government in place that has now been in the office for more than six months. There is no need to repeat the fact that the change in government this time was unprecedented for more than one reason. BJP led NDA government received an extraordinary mandate by the people of India. Electorate rose above all barriers and handed over a decisive consent to Prime Minister Narendra Modi on issues that he talked about during the electioneering. Now the government has spent quite some time in the office and has hold a grip over governance. It is also a time to walk the talk as new financial year is about to begin. It is also the time to have a reality check about the performance and the direction in which government is heading. It needs to be asserted in clear terms that no one doubts the intentions of those in-charge. But mere intentions, we know, are not enough. It is actual work on ground that counts. And we feel constrained to point out that an increasing number of people who voted this government to power find it difficult to appreciate any discernable change in the policies that are being adopted by this government. Over dependence on foreign investment, ordinance route to implement the legislation, double speak by different functionaries of the government, comments on CAG & RBI and lack of accountability are just some aspects that convey the impression that nothing much has changed even after the historic change that people of India had visualised. Take for example the issuance of ordinances. The UPA-II issued about 25 ordinances in five years, with an average of five a year. The NDA government has brought almost half that number in just six months. It is not simply the number of ordinances issued that is the cause of concern. More distasteful is the change in stance of the ruling party. In September 2013, Arun Jaitley, then Leader of Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, lambasted the government's decision to take the ordinance route to implement the legislation days ahead of the session. Terming "The Food Security Ordinance as an abuse of the legislative power to issue ordinances," he had said, "An Ordinance under Article 123 is issued when issues of extreme urgency arise and cannot await a forthcoming Parliament session. The matter must be of such urgency between the date of issuance of the ordinance and Parliament session that it is difficult to wait for that period". Now, as Finance Minister, Mr. Jaitley seems to be justifying the same route. "The ordinance demonstrates the firm commitment and determination of the government to reforms. It also announces to the rest of the world, including investors, that this country can no longer wait even if one of the Houses waits indefinitely to take up its own agenda," he said recently, justifying the Cabinet's decision. Similarly looking at the appetite for FDI this government sounds hardly any different from the previous UPA government. In spite of the fact that there is no evidence of FDI helping our economy and on the contrary even the Report of the "High Level Committee on Estimation of Saving and Investment" set up by the Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation under the chairmanship of Dr. C Rangarajan conclusively states, "More than 98.0 per cent of investment is funded by domestic savings. As a result, the savings-investment gap has remained relatively in a narrow range reflective of modest reliance on foreign savings." BJP led NDA government is, regrettably, facilitating more FDI that too in sectors like insurance where it is hardly required. Government is also not taking into consideration the fact the Fund out flow is exceeding the inward flow of FI. Privatisation of railways is also a serious matter of concern. While prime Minister on his recent visit to Varanasi assured countrymen that railways will not be privatised, earlier in Mehghalay he had stressed the need to privatise and modernise Indian railways. India wants to privatise railways just when Britain wants to nationalise it. The British experience shows that privatising this vital national service will not necessarily make it more efficient. This is not to say that Government has done nothing good for the country. India is in much better hands today. Some of the bold actions taken by this government will go a long way in repositioning India in comity of nations, besides helping it achieve its potential in every walk of human activity. But the promise that the new government will be pro poor, pro-Swadeshi is yet to be materialised. Thus goes the saying, 'Believing isnot enough, Sang Ly. If you want to resurrect hope, doing is the most important. Can you do these things?'



## Bring agriculture and rural food processing in to the ambit of MNREGA: SJM

12<sup>th</sup> National Meet of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM) concluded at KIIT campus in the capital city of Odisha with a call to the government to change the economic system in the country from present socialist model to one based on 'Dharma' and guided by 'Dharmic' codes.

The three day National Convention was held in Bhubaneswar Odisha, from 25<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> of December 2014. Inaugural session was addressed by several prominent people including Chief Guest Swami Pragyanand ji of Pragya Mission, Padam Vibhushan Sh. Raghunath Mahapatra, Sh. Anshuman Tewari, Editor India Today (Hindi) and National Convener of SJM Sh. Arun Ojha. Annada Shankar Pannigrahi conducted the stage. Pragya Mission Swami Pragyananda Maharaj inaugurated the meet by lightening the lamp and garlanding portrait of Mahatma Gandhi and Shahid Babu Genu. Speaking on the occasion, Swami Pragyanand Maharaj appealed the people of India to boycott foreign culture and products.

Over 1200 delegates from across the country participated in the National Meet.

SJM leaders expressed their concern over government's open invitation to foreign companies in different sectors. They said that the globalization has adversely affected the Indian economy. Today debt on the country is nearly 70 percent of GDP, which makes the country one of the most indebted countries of the world, they added. According to the latest report of the government 52 percent of rural households are reeling under debt.

Speakers also pointed out, that foreign companies have already made inroads in agricultural sector in the name of contract farming, due to the policy of promoting foreign investment. The policy of allowing GM field trial is not only endangering our food security and bio diversity, these companies are also trying to take over Indian agriculture.

SJM demanded that agriculture and rural food processing industry must be brought in to the ambit of MNREGA and the funds of MNREGA be channelized to increase productivity which would increase farm productivity and cause employment opportunity for the masses. This would help government to make

*Swadeshi Jagran Manch asks the government to change the economic system in the country from present socialist model to one based on 'Dharma' and guided by 'Dharmic' codes.*

**Resolution-1****The US Threat on IPR, a mere Hoax**

Intellectual Property Rights have been occupying an important space in the global economy driven by knowledge and especially after signing of the TRIPS agreement under the WTO regime since 1995. It has become an area of major concern to United States and European Union as almost 35% of the GDP of USA and 39% of GDP of European Union depends and is derived from IP intensive industries. Therefore, there is a continuous pressure from the western world for tempering with the domestic IPR policies of the developing countries including India. The issue of IPR has become more sensitive in recent days as Government of India is already engaged in drafting its IPR policy under a think tank which is functioning under the shadow of the joint working group with USA and is being influenced by the threats from United States about economic sanctions under the dictates of big pharma companies for making changes in the existing patent laws of India, especially with reference to 3-4 major areas as below:

1. Section 3(d) of the Patent Act, 1970 whereby the frivolous invention of Novartis, Switzerland was denied patent and the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India upheld the validity of this provision which is in full compliance of the TRIPS Agreement.
2. Provisions of compulsory licensing, especially in view of grant of permission to NATCO for manufacturing of the cancer drug which was being sold by BAYER of Germany at exorbitant prices.
3. The illegitimate demand for data exclusivity on pharmaceuticals whereby the Drug Regulatory Authority of India be prohibited to disclose the trial results to the Indian generic companies, which is in terms of article 39.3 of the TRIPS Agreement for fair use on public health and humanitarian grounds.

In addition to above issues, the Government of India should not compromise on any other existing provisions of Indian Patent Act including on pre-grant opposition. On the other hand, Government of India should demand a complete review of the several draconian provisions of the existing TRIPS Agreement and renegotiate the same at all appropriate forums of WTO including for easy availability of new technology on environment and other important areas.

We should also demand extension of the protection for geographical indications to products beyond wines and spirits, especially for Darjeeling tea, basmati rice textile goods and several other agricultural products which have its origin in India.

We should also demand protection to our biodiversity, traditional knowledge and folklore by way of implementation of existing Doha agenda without succumbing to the pressure for including a new agenda in the discussion.

Government of India should lay priority for innovation and creativity by increase in the expenditure on research and development with due respect and rewards to the scientists and artists of this country and thereby establish a robust IP Ecosystem in India based on Swadeshi Ideology. □

country self reliant, self dependent, and growth oriented with over all social economic revolution.

Anshuman Tewari in his speech forcefully pleaded free market economy. He tried to justify his argument by citing examples from history including Katho-Upnishad. He stressed that India has always been in favour of free market economy and countries like China that imposed restrictions on market remained backward for long time. Anshuman Tewari in his

well researched speech gave several examples to support his viewpoint. His opinion was that temple based economy and progress contributed to the openness of markets in India. He stressed that market strengthened states in India and not the reverse was case. Extending this argument further Mr. Tewari said that politics in India has been controlled by 'Dharna' and Dharmic organisations were strengthened by Traders and Trade. Trade was not dependent

on state support, he argued. He further added that from the moment trade, Market and entrepreneurship came under 'state' control India was pushed to poverty. East India Company was an example, he said. Expressing his views on FDI and FIIs, Anshuman Tewari pointed out the big businesses prefer FIIs to FDI as it is harmless to them. Anshuman Tewari believed that it was because of resistance to FDI in retail sector that e-commerce was captured by MNCs.

**Resolution-2****Swadeshi Model can only Save Earth**

The Planet Earth our only sweet home, is speeding towards an ecological disaster may be in the next 50 years or even earlier. The final warning has been given by the I.P.C.C. which submitted its latest the 5th Assessment Report on 27th Sept.2013. Some of its findings are :-

1. There is more CO<sub>2</sub>, Methane, and Nitrons Oxide, in atmosphere to day than in the last 800,000 years.
2. Due to unabated Green House Gases emissions 20C barrier may be crossed by 2040.
3. By 2050 Arctic could be completely ice free.

Based on the I.P.C.C 5th Assessment Report, the U.N.E.P has issued on 20.11.14, an emergency plan of action. It says :-

- a. CO<sub>2</sub> emission must be Zero by 2070.
- b. All Green House Gases emission must be Zero by 2100, to prevent severe, wide spread and irreversible effects from climate changes.

A Research paper recently published by the Royal Society of U.K. warns that Indians can expect 10 times more heat waves by the turn of the Century due to global warming.

These are really dire warnings which we can ignore only at our Peril. The wolf is knocking at our doors.

India today is burning 37 lakh barrels of Petroleum oil, every day. It is the 4th largest Petroleum consumer in the world and the 4th largest Polluter.

In this background next 25-30 years are very important for the very survival of life on earth Business as usual approach will only speed up the crisis.

This 12th National Conference of Swadeshi Jagran Manch resolves to:-

1. Support the Government for the stand it has taken at the U.N. Conference at Lima-Peru in December, 2014. We approve that it is western countries who have enjoyed all the benefit of industrial development over to Century and in the process polluted not only their environmental space but ours also. As per the principle Polluter Pays the responsibility of environmental cleanup lies squarely on the Western nations. Poor countries like India should be allowed some environmental space to grow. India is ready to co-operate provided the rich countries provide the necessary green technologies without Patent tag and also financial assistance. Swadeshi Jagran Manch insist that the Govt. should adhere to its just stand even in Paris Conference slated for December, 2015.
2. At the same time India also has to readjust its development policies so that least polluting options are first adopted for example Solar and other eco-friendly power generating systems, organic farming, mass transport rather than personal transport and so on. In short SJM demands an environmentally sustainable development model to be adopted on a priority basis by giving up its business as usual approach.
3. SJM also urges the people to understand the severeness of the ecological crisis and not only co-operate with the Govt. with its efforts to save the environment but even adopt on eco-friendly life style such as personal and public hygiene, minimizing wastage of water, electricity, food and so on.

If we save environment, environment will save us. If we destroy it, it will surely destroy us. Option is ours. □

FDI has flown into e-commerce, he added. This resulted in creation of low level employment like delivery boys only. He opined that challenges for Swadeshi Movement have undergone a sea change in last two decades. He also explained merger, acquisition and politics in

auto, telecom and several other sectors of the economy. He stressed the need to encourage small entrepreneurs even if they fail in beginning. Terming threats from inside more serious than those emanating from outside, Anhuman Tewari stressed the need to have an open

market with equal opportunity for all in India. He also pleaded integration of free economic thinking with 'Dharama' and politics saying the very basis of Indian philosophy was omission of wealth.

Sh. Arun Ojha ji in his address disagreed with the assertion of

**Resolution-3****Stop Inviting Foreign Companies**

This Rashtriya Sabha of Swadeshi Jagran Manch expresses deep concern over government's open invitation to foreign companies in different sectors. Swadeshi Jagran Manch firmly believes that the policy of globalization in the last more than two decades had a disastrous impact on the economy. Today debt on the country is nearly 70 percent of GDP, which makes the country one of the most indebted countries of the world. According to the latest report of the government 52 percent of rural households are reeling under debt.

Swadeshi Jagran Manch reiterates its earlier resolve of Thiruvananthapuram's National Convention of December, 2103, that before embarking upon any further invitations to foreigners for different sectors of the economy, the government should come out with a 'White Paper' on the 'gains and losses' of the foreign investment policy of more than two decades. This Rashtriya Sabha of SJM also endorses the declaration of the congregation of more than 280 organizations 'Swadeshi Sangam' held at Jaipur in October, 2014, that call of 'Make in India' of the government amounts to open invitation to foreign companies. Swadeshi Jagran Manch firmly believes that India which can make PSLV, satellites, nuclear war-heads, missiles and much more, and its people have proved their worth globally in terms of their excellent intellect, skills, hard work and commitment, need not look at foreign countries for nation building.

Government's decision to enhance the FDI Cap in Insurance from present 26 percent to 49 percent is against earlier resolve of NDA-I, thanks to SJM's struggle, whereby the then government had committed, not to exceed FDI in Insurance beyond 26 percent. Swadeshi Jagran Manch believes that advent of foreign companies in India in insurance sector has not been good for the nation. Lapse and for forfeiture ratio of more than 50 percent in companies with foreign partnership, rising premium in general and health insurance, declining claim ratios are issues of major concern today. This is an open secret that world's largest insurance company AIG could be saved from bankruptcy only after a bailout package of more than 170 billion dollar. How such hollow companies can do good to insurance sector of India is beyond imagination. However, encouragement to insurance and pension funds would cause the dominance of foreigners over our valuable savings. Foreign companies have already made inroads in agricultural sector in the name of contract farming, due to the policy of promoting foreign investment. The policy of allowing GM field trial is not only endangering our food security and bio diversity, these companies are trying to take over Indian agriculture.

Nation's retail trade, which is already facing the onslaught of backdoor entry of foreign companies in the guise of 'cash and carry' wholesale trade, is coming under pressure from foreign e-commerce companies in the name of 'platform' and 'market place'. Instead of imposing curbs on these culprit e-commerce companies, open invitation is being given to foreign e-commerce companies, which is destined to completely ruin our retail sector.

This Rashtriya Sabha demands that no permission be given to the foreign companies in e-commerce and plug the loopholes in law, permitting e-commerce foreign companies to operate through backdoor.

In this context foreign investment promotion agreements with China, which is giving challenge for our national security, are a matter of serious concern. Swadeshi Jagran Manch firmly believes that development of manufacturing is possible primarily through micro and small scale industries. NDA-I government, changed the definition of small scale industries, by bringing down the maximum limit of plant and machinery from rupees Three Crores to One Crores. Later UPA government again increased it to rupees 5 Crores. Rashtriya Sabha of Swadeshi Jagran Manch demands that attempts to raise it further be stopped forthwith, to stop foreign companies dominating this sector.

Questions are being raised about the government's 'Make - in - India' call. Recently in an opinion poll conducted by a TV Channel, concluded that against 68 percent people favor Swadeshi Jagran Manch's 'Made-by-India' call. Some important people have also expressed their opinion against export based Make-in-India policy. Swadeshi Jagran Manch's Rashtriya Sabha demands that government gives up the policy of inviting foreign companies in the name of 'Make-in-India' and strategy for development be drawn based on Bharatiya intellect, skills resources. □

**Resol.- 4****Stop Foreign Dominance in Agriculture**

Lack of capital investment, technological enhancement, killing of traditional occupation and natural way of organic farming, traditional way of creating employment opportunities, migration of agricultural labour has been reducing productivity and increasing cost has virtually broken back bone of farmers in last 10 years due to new economic policies.

Today agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries & forestry are facing challenges. On one side the MNC's like Monsanto are eyeing India and corporatizing farming, and trying to exploit natural bio diversities. On another side the modern agriculture is converting fertile lands to become barren and uncultivable. The so called "growth oriented" large projects have created environment related issues, water logging and marshy unusable land. The question relating to water, land and forest is creating so many contradictions. SJM urges upon the government for better land & water resource management and using of Swadeshi hybrid seeds in the farm lands.

Compulsory acquisition of land ends up in acquisition of fertile lands of poor farmers. Real Estate and SEZ setting up are causing tremendous loss of land under agriculture. SJM firmly believes that the farmers / artisans / labours/support activities create important role in development of a Swadeshi, self reliant, self sufficient, self dependent, self respecting Bharat. It creates mass employment opportunities also.

Swadeshi Jagaran Manch firmly believes that land acquisition needs to be reworked without diluting its current provisions relating to giving better prices payable to the farmers and the existing law must be changed only to the extent, such that no acquisition of fertile lands should be allowed and in any exceptional case when the land is acquired, farmer be made Stakeholder in such venture / project. The land must not be transferred on ownership rights basis and the ownership must remain only with the farmer always and lease must only be given for 30 years. The farmer must be able to buy or acquire new fertile land with the compensation he receives for 30 years lease of his agricultural land.

It is time that the corporatization of farming and allied activities be banned and un-remunerative parcel of small lands be formed into farmers co-operative to help farmers to create economies of scales. As a policy only use of unfertile waste lands must be encouraged for industrial use. Change is required in the modern agro system where we encourage organic farming and more food processing industries must be started in rural areas to support prices of farm produces and create alternate employment opportunities. Mass Agro based industrialization must be adopted in rural areas.

Permission for experiment of GM foods / seeds / field trial has dangerous implications for the entire humanity as it creates ecological contamination and could be poisonous to human and animal health and must be banned. The field trials can permanently contaminate regular farming as no control is possible in such field trials.

Agricultural price policy must be declared on cost plus profit basis. As per the, election manifesto in which it was unequivocally stated that agricultural support prices will be declared such that the Minimum Support Price would not be less than cost of production plus 50 % as per the report of Swaminathan commission. Public declaration of cost of production should be made from time to time. This Rashtriya Sabha urges and demands the government to immediately implement its electoral manifesto promises made in this regard.

This Rashtriya Sabha reiterates earlier resolve of SJM that the cost of production of processed food must be declared without fail and must be mentioned on the product alongside MRP so that terms of trade between agriculturist and food processing industry remains balanced with a guarantee of Fair & Remunerative Price.

Lots of farm produces are lost in transit, or due to lack of storage facilities. Protection and reduction of loss of farm produces after harvesting needs to be focussed. This would increase overall productivity. This was the main reason stated of inviting FDI in retail trade. While FDI in retail trade was not required but improvement in local storage facilities and proper transportation facilities were expected to be adopted. SJM demands that to achieve these feat, proper cold and dry storages has to be introduced along with proper handling and transportation of such produces in the national interest. Food processing industry is also in a dilemma like Sugar industry for example. Where the FRP (Fair Retail Price to the producers) of the sugar cane needs to be revised due to increase in cost of production, and on the other side the government has not increased the off take of ethanol and prices of sugar causing the industry to perish. SJM Rashtriya Sabha demands the government to remove the dilemma and as suggested earlier a cost plus policy be adopted Fair & Remunerative Price be introduced which does not harm the general public also.

SJM Demands that agriculture and rural food processing industry must be brought in to the ambit of MNREGA and the funds of MNREGA can be channelized to increase productivity which would increase farm productivity and cause employment opportunity for the masses. This would help government to make country self reliant, self dependent, and growth oriented with over all social - economic revolution.

It is ironical that a country where more than 55 percent of population is engaged in agriculture, there is no agriculture policy. Government should declare Bhartiya Agriculture Policy, without any further delay. □

Anshuman Tewari that wealth was undermined in Indian philosophy. “Sapthasta Sangraha, Sahastrahas-ta Vikiraha” was the basis of our wealth generation, said Arun ji. He also quoted line of Maithlisharan Gupt’s poem & “Sarva Jana Hetay, Sarvajana Sukhana” to underline the importance of wealth creation. Arun ji opposed the idea of competition based on survival of fit-est. This philosophy destroys weaker sections of society he pointed out. Indian idea on the contrary is the principle of co-operation and complimenting each other, he added. This maintains a balance and helps small grow big. Economy based on “Dharma” is universally applicable, Arun ji stressed.

Mr Arun Ojha claimed that the SJM has always stressed on the fiscal policy which will ensure real benefit and welfare of the people. Lamenting that the fiscal policies of India have often been modelled on western countries without taking the local conditions into consideration, he claimed that the initiatives like “Made by India” would ensure that India’s interests are protected. Arun ojha paid rich tributes to justice Krishna Ayer who passed away recently.

Dr. Tushar of Odisha Vyavsayee Sangh proposed a vote of thanks. He pleaded Swadeshi Model of economy for economic planning and mentioned dependence of public sector, private sector, agriculture and MSME. Dr. Tushar spoke in Oriya.

One of the important and noticeable features of the National Conference was meticulously prepared and conceived stage. It was prepared under the able guidance of Director of the department of Art and Sculpture of the Uni-



versity of KIIT, Adwait Gadnaya-ak. He was the person who was the designer of first Swadeshi Mela.

On the backdrop painted with cow dung highlighting traditional trade routes, symbols of boats used in trade, Mangalyan and images of Bhagwan Jagannath along with Subhadra and Balram. It was a great ambiance that gave a impressive environment to discuss swadeshi issues.

Dr. Bhagwati Prakash Sharma, National co-convener, in his speech spoke about Made-by-India. Talking about so called economic reforms initiated by the government of Dr. Manmohan Singh, Bhagwati ji said that these reforms resulted in large scale closure of small scale units. UPA government converted into a field for international players. Our trade deficit continued to rise and continues to be around 150 bn US dollars. Our manufacturing units closed and were subsequently purchased by MNC’s. Shoe polish, refrigerators, cement, cold drinks, auto mobiles and telecom sectors were.

### Book Release

Following books were also released in the inaugural session-

1. चीनी घुसपैठ और हमारी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था (Chinese incursions and our security setup) – by Dr. Bhagwati Prakash Sharma

2. Made-by-India, a booklet based on lectures delivered by Dr. Bhagwati Prakash Sharma and published by Kashi Prant of SJM
3. Souvenir of Swadeshi Sangam Jaipur, Rajasthan
4. Swadeshi Diary prepared by Kashi Prant of SJM

Over all seven Business sessions were held in the convention. 1<sup>st</sup> session was dedicated to important issue of IPR. Dr. DPR Aggarwal conducted the session. He pointed out how countries like US earn around 35% of their GDP from IPRs. This means almost 5.60 trillion dollars a year is earned by USA without doing any activity. He explained 7 kinds of Rights under this category. The resolution proposed was seconded by Sanjeev Maheshwari. She Pradeep ji and Narsimha Naidu reported about Rashtriya Vichar Varga Kumarhatti and working group on Migrants respectively in this session.

In second business session Dr. Tushar Bannerjee spoke about GM foods. He accused that nearly 99% of scientists are on the pay rolls of MNCs. So the research papers produced by these scientists are biased in their favour. Dr. Tushar revealed that 680 genes of Rice have undergone change in this technology genes are made to go dormant the



process is not controllable and we don't know what effects it can have. In USA alone over 58 lakh people were affected by food products related illnesses, he added

Prof. B.M. Kumarswamy ji introduced resolution on climate change. The resolution was seconded by Sh. Bholanath ji. Ranjit Kartikya presented report of Vichar Varga of South zone and Ajay Patki ji that of West zone in this session.

In the third session Dr. Ruchika Patel, a scientist who flew from USA to attend this convention spoke about things that India can learn from west. She stressed the need to return to roots.

In 4<sup>th</sup> session Sh. Krishna Chander Organising secretary of BMS lambasted NDA government. In his scathing attack Krishna Chander ji accused govt. of doing nothing for the poor. Almost every action of govt is anti labour. Vasundara Raje govt of Rajasthan amended factories act to the detriment of labours. This is being extended to whole of India 85% of laws protecting labour will be history soon. Govt claims that they are compelled to care for urban voters. Impact of rural voters is not be considered at all. He declared that if there is no change in govts working BMS will be forced to come on streets.

All India co-convenor Saroj Da defended govt saying that the

governance deficit left behind by UPA regime is so huge that it will take some time to normalize the situation. He said that SJM is answerable to people of India, hence our future plan must be action oriented.

Kashmiri Lal ji, Rashtriya Sangathak, in an interactive session motivated delegates to speak about the working of SJM and help shape its future working. He stressed the need to have a participatory activism to ensure that every member of SJM is involved in working.

Over all four resolutions were passed in the convention.

Some new responsibilities were assigned to different people. These are as follows.

#### **National**

- Sh. R. Sundaram - National co-convenor
- Sh. Deepak Sharma 'Pradeep' - Akhil Bhartiya Prachar Pramukh
- Smt. Sheela Sharma - Akhil Bhartiya Seh-Mahila Pramukh.

#### **States**

- **Kerala** - Sri. Varghese Thodu Perambil — State co-convenor
- **Tamil Nadu** - Sh. P. Sridharan — State Vichar Mandal Pramukh
- **Maharashtra** - Sh. Amol Pusadkar — State convenor, Smt. Amita Patki — State Seh-Mahila Pramukh
- **Gujarat** - Sh. Vipin Bhai Kakkad — Prant Vichar Mandal Pramukh

- **M.P.** - Sh. Ashok Sharma — Samparak Pramukh, Malwa.
- **H.P.** - Smt. Kulvindra Chandel — Prant Mahila Pramukh.
- **J&K** - Prof. Vishal Sharma — State co-convenor
- **West U.P.** - Sh. Anil Kumar — Prant Sangharash Vahini Pramukh, Sh. Dinesh Sethi — Saharanpur, Noida Zila Prabhari.
- **Kashi** - Dr. Sarvesh Pandey — Seh Prant Sanyojak, Prof. Vimla Vyas — Prant Mahila Pramukh
- **Bihar** - Sh. Praveen Kumar Dubey—Vichar Mandal Pramukh, Dr. Chandra Rekha Kumari — Mahila Pramukh.
- **Jharkhand** - Sh. Gyandev Tudu — Sangharsh Vahini Pramukh, Smt. Manju Thakur — Seh-Mahila Pramukh.
- **West Bengal** - Sh. Tarak Shah — Vichar Mandal Pramukh, Ms. Bharati Sanna — Mahila Pramukh, Ms. Gaytri Choudhary — Seh-Mahila Pramukh.

Following are new inductions in the National Council -

- Sh. S.C. Patel (Karnataka)
- Sh. Ashutosh Pathak (Mah.)
- Sh. Vipin Bhai Kakkad (Guj.)
- Sh. Luna Ram Sen, Dr. Roshan Lal Pitliya, Dr. Arun Arora, Dr. Santosh Kumar Acharya, Dr. Devindra Srimali, Sh. Dhramprakash (Raj.)
- Sh. Satendra Sarot (Haryana)
- Sh. Lalit Kaushal (H.P.)
- Prof. Vishal Sharma (J&K)
- Sh. Manoj Gupta (Delhi)
- Sh. Anil Kumar, Sh. Dinesh Sethi, Sh. Sanjeev Pratap Singh (West Uttar Pradesh)
- Dr. Sarvesh Pandey, Prof. Vimla Vyas, Sh. Arun Kumar Gupta, Prof. Bechand Jayaswal, Prof. Kaushal K. Mishar (Kashi)
- Dr. Onkar Prasad, Sh. Radheshyam (Avadh)

## COVER STORY

- Sh. Putkar Hembram, Sh. Raman Jha, Smt. Indu Parasar (Jhar.)
- Sh. Sameer Vishwas, Sh. Jyant Bhattacharya ji (W.B.)
- Smt. Nirmal Sadangi, Sh. Sudhakar Panda, Sh. Keshav Bihari (Odisha)

### UP coming event

Some of the Programmes decided for next few months that were decided in the National convention are as follows:

1. Central working Committee Meet — 4-5 April 2015 at Central Office New Delhi.
2. National Council Meeting— 13-14 June 2015 at Vijaywada Andhra Pradesh.
3. Intensive Public Awareness Campaign on issues related to FDI, India Uninc, GM Foods, Land Acquisition Law, e-commerce & challenges from China.
4. Starting Swadeshi Study Circles

throughout the country.

In his concluding remarks National convener Arun Ojha said that the year 2014 has been year of unprecedented changes for both our society and country. We, as a nation, earned a lot of respect globally. Successful completion of mission “Mangalyan” has established our credibility in the field of science also. Democratic process has put a new political set up in the leadership role indicating a new beginning. Ancient India, that remained at the receiving and for centuries, suddenly seems to have found a new energy, confidence and a lot pride in its capability. Relations with global powers including our close neighbours are improving fast. Security of the nation looks in safe hands. A new era has begun. Capability of new leadership is being accepted globally. Every nation is eager to enter into an

expanded relationship with India. We welcome the new leadership and admire people’s prudence to reposition India as a global leader.

But problems faced by the nation are still waiting to be resolved. India has been engulfed by multi dimensional economic problems. MNC lead economic imperialism is spreading its tentacles in the country. Out territory may not be captured directly but our sources of wealth creation are being overtaken. Will India continue to be indirectly ruled by foreigners after six decades of political freedom, he asked? India has earned an image of a country hungry for FDI. India, we must remember cannot be developed with foreign funds. Government needs to make clear the role of foreign investment and technology in its Make-in-India policy, stressed Arun ji. □□

# SWADESHI PATRIKA

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## Is the Stage Set for Mother of All Debates?



If, as reported, the conversion of 350 odd Muslims in Ved Nagar in Agra to Hinduism is the work of RSS, it is clear that the RSS has grown strategic. By a small move that is smart too, the RSS seems to have triggered a debate on conversions which it has been asking for decades but evaded by its critics who merely kept abusing the RSS. Hindus are not best known for strategic thinking, save exceptions like Sri Krishna, Chanakya, Chatrapati Shivaji and Mahatma Gandhi. Lack of strategic thinking among Hindus is no surprise because they did not have any agenda to capture, subordinate and

rule the world through their religion, Gods or weapons.

Recently [March 30, 2013] 'The Economist' magazine derided India's lack strategic culture as the main impediment to its emergence as global power. The Economist is right. Hindus did not need, and therefore did not have, offensive strategy against any. Stray strategic thinking like uniting the Hindus has been late development in Hindu history, more oriented to defending their religion and culture that is inclusive.

The RSS, which spearheads efforts for a harmonious Hindu society, has been quite plain about its agenda yet inclusive in its philosophy. It calls this nation, not the Indian state, as Hindu Rashtra. It believes that Indian Muslims are not heirs of the Arabs, but very much indigenous in stock. Nor are Christians in India, in its view, European descendants. Its conviction is that all Indians have the same, not different, forefathers and culture.

On facts and logic, the RSS seems right. Even Muslims, who are generally exclusive, never claimed a different ancestry till as late as early 19th century. In the Census of India in 1901, out of some 6.6 crore Muslims living in undivided India, only 3.5 lakh (just a minuscule one in two hundred) had claimed to be heirs of Mughals (Hindu Culture During and after Muslim Rule: Survival and Subsequent Challenges by Dr. Ram Gopal. 1994).

The RSS had relied on this logic and fact of common ancestry to seek to assimilate Muslims and Christians into the national mainstream.

**Assimilation harmonises.** And does not antagonise. Swami Vivekananda told the proselytising religions at World Parliament of Religions in his final address to them on September 27, 1893, to assimilate, not destroy. Assimilation is not destruction because it is not conversion. Conversion destroys.

According to the Nobel Laureate Sir V S Naipaul, "To be converted you have to destroy your past, destroy your history. You have to stamp on it, you have to say 'my ancestral culture does not exist, it doesn't matter.'"

Conversion is destruction of culture, nation and state, while assimilation is construction of all the three. Mahatma Gandhi was as plain as the RSS in his testament Hind Swaraj [1909]. In which after three decades, he said, he was unwilling to change a comma or full stop — that assimilation of Muslims was the



*All religions including Hinduism, Buddhism and the two proselytising religions Islam and Christianity have signed a declaration that they shall mutually respect, not deride, each others' faith. They also agreed that the freedom to retain one's religion or choose another shall be without coercion or inducement, reminds*  
**S. Gurumurthy**

answer to Hindu-Muslim problem. Asked whether the introduction of Mohammedanism had not unmade India as a nation, Mahatma Gandhi said: "India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the nation, they merge in it. A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it."

That country must have a faculty for assimilation; India has ever been such a country. But, when RSS spoke of assimilation, the 'seculars', ignorant of what Gandhi or Vivekananda had said or ignoring both, abused it as communal. The 'secular' megaphones were so noisy that they drowned all feeble voices calling for saner debate.

Does it need a seer to say that the people most devastated by conversion are and continue to be Hindus? Undeniably, every non-Hindu in India is a convert from Hinduism. Conversion hits almost exclusively only the non-proselytising Hinduism. Therefore, for several decades, it is the Hindu outfits which have been demanding ban on conversions. The Christians and Muslims and, for their ballot papers, the 'seculars', were opposing.

Now Agra conversions seem to have trapped the 'seculars' into debating the very idea of religious conversions. When the RSS called for ban on conversions the 'seculars' said it was an attempt to stifle religious freedom. The 'seculars' have been evading this debate for decades even after the Supreme Court approved the anti-conversion laws passed by Madhya Pradesh and Orissa Governments in 1967. After the Neogi Committee appointed by the Congress

government in Madhya Pradesh had established that innocent tribals were being converted by allurement, fraud, force, inducement, or fraud, the anti-conversion laws were passed. No one could say that anyone could be converted by such uncivilised means. Yet the Church challenged the law as stifling the right to profess and propagate one's faith granted under Art 25(1) of the Constitution. The Court threw it out saying "what Article 25(1) grants, by the word propagate, is not the right to convert another person to one's own religion by exposition of its tenets. So propagation and conversion are not identical. Propagation is permitted by law but conversion is not.

Did any 'secular' party or leader tell the Parliament that this is what the Supreme Court said in 1977? If they did that then they have to talk against conversion of Hindus too. They only talked against Agra conversions, not conversions as such. And in line with them, the 'secular' media screams poor Muslims converted by Hindutva outfits. Undoubtedly both the 'secular' parties and the 'secular' media have been shocked by the Agra development. Why?

For them it has been normal and quite acceptable for poor Hindus to get converted to the only true faiths of the world. They never imagined that Hindus who believe all faiths are valid for their respective followers would ever convert others to their faith. The 'seculars' had almost reserved the right to convert only to those religions which believe their God as the only true God and the Gods of others fake and false and therefore have to be wiped out.

When the 'seculars' bowled the

full toss of Agra conversions at Modi government, Venkiah Naidu promptly seized the opportunity "hitting the ball for a six" to propose a central law for ban on conversions. Now is the Modi government not free to bring a law to ban conversions by inducement and fraud, including Agra conversions? It is. If it does, can the 'seculars' oppose it? Cannot. Because if they do then they cannot fault Agra conversions. If they do not, then they cannot oppose a law that will stop millions of Hindus being converted through inducement and allurement.

What the RSS could not achieve by decades of reasoning and pleading, it seems to have got on a platter by its single act of converting a few hundred Muslims into Hindus and trapping the 'seculars' to oppose it.

Indeed a very small price to pay for a very logical outcome namely debate for ban on induced and fraudulent conversions. The stage is now clearly set for this mother of all debates.

Tail piece: Ban on such conversions is fully in line with the declaration of all world religious leaders on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of human rights held in Amsterdam under the aegis of United Nations on 10th December 2008.

All religions including Hinduism, Buddhism and the two proselytising religions Islam and Christianity have signed a declaration that they shall mutually respect, not deride, each others' faith. It is not clearly the Hindu view? They also agreed that the freedom to retain one's religion or choose another shall be without coercion or inducement. Is this not what the RSS has been asking for decades? □□

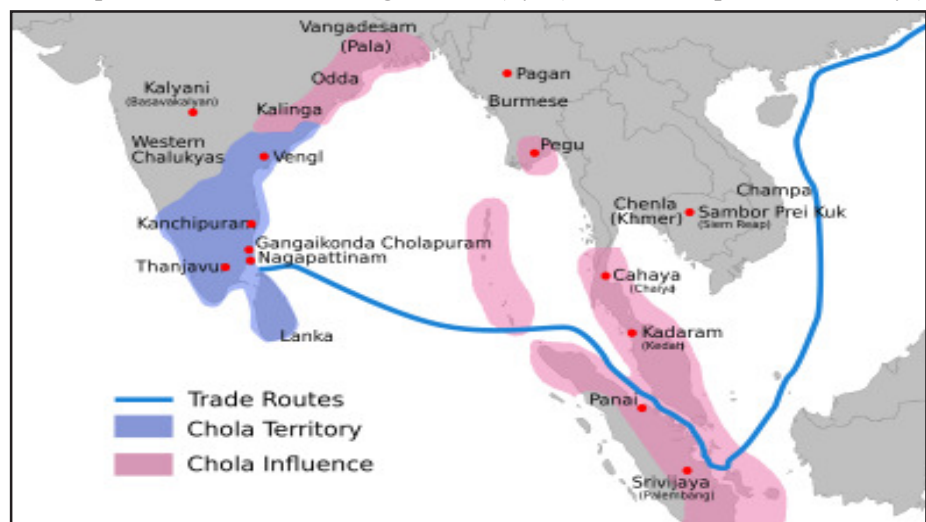
# Millenium Anniversary of Chola King Rajendra-I

The year 2014 is the millenium anniversary year commemorative of the completion of one thousand years of the accession of the famous Chola Dynasty king **Rajendra Chola I**, the son of Raja Raja Chola I, who succeeded his father the great Chola king of South India, in 1014 C.E. and expanded his empire till Sri Lanka and vast parts of the South East Asia. During his reign, Rajendra Chola-I had expanded the Chola empire even up to the banks of the river Ganga in the north and across the ocean encompassing entire Sri Lanka, Burma i.e. Myanmar, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Maldives, Sumatra, Java, and Malaya in the South East Asia as well as the Pegu islands. He had powerful navy with a large fleet of ships, considered to be the best of that time. He had also defeated Mahipala, the Pala king of Bengal and Bihar, after conquering the Kalinga in Orissa, to reach up to Gangatic plains.

The fame of glory of Chola King Rajendra-I has gone as far as in Europe, as per a rare treasure of metallic scriptures safely held by the Leiden University Library in Holland (Netherlands). During the summer of 2012 the university library has also displayed these plates in the Museum de Lakenhal in Leiden. This remarkable treasure is indeed the ‘Charter’ of King Rajendra Chola I. The ‘Charter’ has been meticulously engraved on 21 copper plates which are held together by a massive bronze ring and has been closed with the impressive seal of the King. The exhibit weighs 30 kg and the text scribed on the copper plates is in Sanskrit and Tamil as per a report published in the Hindu daily. The use of Sanskrit dispels the myth that Sanskrit did not prevail in Tamil Nadu In ancient times. In drawing up the family tree of the Chola dynasty, the Sanskrit text attributes its beginnings to Lord Vishnu. It begins with a narration of the achievements and good deeds of Rajendra Chola’s father, Raja raja Chola I. It also states that how Raja raja Chola donated the revenue of a whole village to the Buddhist Pagoda, he had permitted a Buddhist king of Sri Vijaya (Sumatra and peninsular Malaya)



*The year 2014 was the millennium anniversary year commemorative of the completion of one thousand years of the accession of the famous Chola Dynasty king **Rajendra Chola I**, who expanded his empire till Sri Lanka and vast parts of the South East Asia and had powerful navy with a large fleet of ships, considered to be the best of that time, recalls*  
**Dr. Bhagwati Prakash**



to build in Nagapattinam, a port Sri Vijayan sailors regularly visited. Rajendra Chola's relations with Sri Vijaya empire turned sour and Rajendra's fleet captured several ports of Sri Vijaya and its capital (where Palembang in Sumatra is today) in 1025 and, after sailing further east, returned to Chola Nadu laden with booty. Indeed the Leiden University library is rich in historical resources of South and Southeast Asia can further reveal lot of information on the subject. The Leiden University, is one of the oldest universities existing in the world since then after, having been established in 1575. It is an institution different than the another collection takes its name from the rather differently spelt 'Leyden'. The Madras collection belonged to Dr. John Leyden, who served in Madras (1803-1811) and focused on Mysore as well as Tamil, Telugu and Kannada scripture. Rajendra had built temples of Lord Shiva, he was a devotee of Lord Vishnu and also built Buddhist Pagoda. This reflects unity of Shaivites, Vaishnavas and Buddhists in that era.

Rajendra begun to conquer vast areas even before his coronation when he was made the co-regent in 1012. Such conquests include the conquest of the Rashtrakuta country and region around the current northwestern Karnataka state, and even the Southern Maharashtra up to Kolhapur and Pandharpur. Rajendra-I successfully led campaigns against the Western Chalukya Satyasraya and his successor Jayasimha-II by even crossing the river Tungabhadra, and carried the war into the heart of the Chalukya country and attacked their capital. In his armed pursuit, he overran the large parts of the



Chalukyan territory including Yedatore (a large part of the Raichur district between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra), Banavasi in the north-west of Mysore, before scaling victories over the capital Manaiakadakkam (Manyakheta). Both the kings had to flee from their capital out of panic, into the western ghats. After conquering these areas the Chola emperor erected a Shiva temple at Bhatkal after completing his victory and levying tribute of the vanquished Chalukya kings. He did not stop there but also conquered Kollipakkai, modern day Kulpak located to the north of Hyderabad in present day Andhra Pradesh.

Raja Raja Chola I (Rajendra's father) could conquer only the northern half of Sri Lanka in his time. Rajendra invaded it (Sri Lanka) in 1017 CE and annexed the whole of the island nation Sri Lanka and also captured the regal jewels of the Pandya kings, which Parantaka I tried in vain to capture.

After his successful and glorious campaign up to plains of river Ganga, he got the title, 'Gangaikonda Chola' (The Chola who over-took the plains of Ganga). He had also built a Shiva temple at his new capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram, resembling in architecture and design to the Tanjore

***A rare treasure of metallic scriptures was displayed by the Leiden University Library in Holland. During the summer of 2012. The text scribed on the copper plates is in Sanskrit and Tamil. The use of Sanskrit dispels the myth that Sanskrit did not prevail in Tamil***

Brihadisvara temple built by his father Rajaraja Chola and undertook the expansion of the Pathirakali Amman Temple and Koneswaram temples of Trincomalee. Rajendra Chola has also built a vast lake in his capital, sixteen miles long and three miles wide which survives to this day and is one of the very few large man-made lakes in India. He had inherited from his father the famous title Mummudi Cholan (The Chola with three crown), Mummudi title was used by Tamil kings who ruled the three kingdoms of Chola, Pandya and Chera. He expanded it from 3 to 4 and founded a new capital called Gangaikonda Cholapuram. □□

# Budget 2015 - will it provide pragmatic solutions?

A Credit Suisse Report on top ten Indian corporate groups (Adani, Essar, GMR, GVK, JSW, JPA, Lanco, Reliance ADA, Vedanta and Videocon) revealed the extent of damage to the Indian Banking System, and by extension to Indian economy, caused by the UPA Government. That was in 2012.

According to this Report of the global bank: Aggregate debt of these 10 select corporate groups has jumped 5 times in the past five years. This equated to 13 per cent of total bank loans in India in 2012. This approximated to 98 per cent of our banking system's net worth. Thanks to the economic slowdown four out of this 10 did not earn enough even as early as in 2012 to pay their interest.

A repeat exercise conducted in 2013 by the same Bank revealed that the financial position of these 10 corporate groups had in fact worsened as compared to 2012 - overall debt of these groups increased in 2013; the debt increase was far higher than the concomitant asset increase and finally earnings of a majority of these 10 groups was not adequate to even pay interest costs.

Importantly, 40-70 per cent of their collective debt was denominated in foreign currency. Naturally, Rupee depreciation since then increased their liabilities in Rupee terms. This in turn has made their already precarious state of affairs, grave.

The second Credit Suisse Report of 2013 had estimated that the aggregate debt of these groups to be approximately Rs 6.31 lakh crore as on March 31, 2013. And if you thought that only these groups are the victims of economic mismanagement of UPA, hang on. At best, the financial position of these 10 groups is akin to the trailer of a horror movie; the main picture is yet to come.

It may be noted that the gross bank credit as at 30th September 2014 by schedule bank aggregates to approximately Rs 60 lakh crore. [Source: RBI Monthly Bulletin, November 2014]. Of this, it is estimated that approximately a staggering amount of Rs 12-15 lakh crore are stressed, non-performing, restructured or



*Budget 2015 has to come with a programme that differentiates the chalk from cheese. Projects that have failed purely on economic reasons and judicial interventions must be differentiated from those where promoters have been party to the loot. It needs to tread on a new, balanced and pragmatic path, suggests*  
**M.R. Venkatesh**



have slipped back even after being restructured.

And I could be conservative in my estimates.

### The Mess left behind by UPA

Meanwhile, another Credit Suisse Report of November 2012 had brought about the overall state of affairs of Indian corporates. According to a sample survey of about 3700 companies [with an aggregate debt of approximately Rs 21 Lac Crores], earning of 28 per cent of the companies surveyed was insufficient to cover their interest payment.

Interestingly, 54 per cent of the companies surveyed did not earn enough to cover their interest costs in four past quarters of the previous eight. The report further estimates that 12-25 per cent of the small and medium enterprises were under enormous financial stress. Alarming, the report concludes that the banks have been behind the curve on declaring such delinquent loans as non-performing and providing for the same in their accounts. Remember all this was in 2012.

This was the legacy inherited by the incumbent Government from the UPA. But is there a debate on the issue within our media? And all of us want the Finance Minister to come out with a magic pill in his Budget that instantly revives our economy. It is this superfluous nature of economic debate - where hype substitutes logic - that has prevented solutions to our economic recovery.

If this was the position in 2011-2012 then let us examine the current position. The RBI has in September 2014 brought out a fairly comprehensive analysis of the performance of 2,854 listed non-government non-finance



*The mess left behind by the UPA government is frightening.*

companies for the year 2013-2014.

Accordingly, aggregate sales growth of these corporates declined in 2013-2014 as did the net profit margins when compared to 2012-2013.

What is galling is that the net profit growth of these 2,854 companies was -16.8 per cent for 2011-2012, -2 per cent for 2012-2013 and -5.1 per cent for 2013-2014. Resultantly, as compared to 2007-2008 when the net profit margins of our corporates were 11 per cent, the corresponding figure for 2013-2014 is a mere 5.8 per cent - a near 50 per cent drop in a span of six years.

What must be worrying the mandarins in North Block is that the financial performance of small companies has significantly deteriorated as seen from the contraction of sales and net profit in 2013-2014. Quarterly results of some 2,291 companies shockingly demonstrated an overall declining trend in sales growth during the previous eight quarters.

In short, the top line of our

***Banks must be made accountable and should not be allowed to pass their responsibility.***

corporates are stagnating or at best moderating, costs are disproportionately increasing while the bottom line is on a consequential definite downward spiral. That in turn has dynamited the Balance Sheet of our corporates. No wonder corporates find it difficult to pay interest not to speak of repayments.

Interestingly, our stock markets are at an all-time high even as our corporate financial performance is dismal.

All these raise some disturbing questions. Are Indian stock markets and corporate performance inversely related? Is investment into our stock markets solely dependent on future performance? If so, have investors discounted the past? Or are investors betting on NDA to deliver something spectacular?

Whatever be it the mess behind by the UPA Government is indeed frightening.

### Needed a pragmatic Solution

Mess or no mess, Budget 2015 has to provide solutions to this conundrum. What is at stake is not merely fortunes of our corporates sector, but our banks and economy. Importantly, when we are yet to identify the problem where is the question of a solution? Seen in this context, the clamour for interest cuts is akin to applying pain balm when chemotherapy is



**Aggregate debt of 10 select corporate groups has jumped 5 times in the past five years.**

the need of the hour.

Hence, first the diagnosis. At the height of the global economic boom, Indian economy too witnessed a spectacular surge. Foolishly those at the helm of affairs then mistook it for their economic policy, which as we all realise now was non-existent. That nevertheless gave a false sense of security to our corporates to borrow heavily from banks.

Remember a liberalised economy since 1991 was awaiting this global boom for over a decade. This in turn triggered an investment boom in India. Suddenly corporates borrowed for setting ports, airports, roads, power plants water treatments and others projects. And they borrowed gargantuan sums on a simple hypothesis – the global boom of 2003-2008 will indefinitely continue.

But as we all know linearity is a concept alien to life, much less to economics. As the economic crisis struck the US, economic ac-

tivity shrunk across the globe. And that had a debilitating impact on the Indian economy too. Exports stalled even as imports moderated significantly.

However, global economic crisis was merely one of the several reasons. Several corporates did not have the necessary managerial bandwidth to ensure timely execution of these projects. A lax judiciary and an incompetent bureaucracy ensured project delays and consequent cost overruns.

But there is another dimension to this issue – Corruption. Most of these projects are mired in corruption. I had dealt with the effect of corruption on infrastructure projects in my column titled Indian Economy Comes to a fullstop [Niti Central July 2013]. Corruption – read extortion in many cases – results in costs overruns and thereby overturning the basic economics of the project.

While global economic recovery is beyond the scope of Budget 2015, providing a rehabilitation programme to our corporates – especially those associated with infrastructure projects – is an absolute necessity. Failure of a power company, whatever be the reason, trips the economics of the port nearby as much as a steel com-

pany set up on the basis of power generated from such power plants.

In turn, the toll road set on the basis of steel production is bound to be hit as much as a downstream manufacturing company dependent on the steel manufactured. In effect, in macroeconomics everyone is interlinked to everyone else. Failure of every large infrastructure project negatively impacts the fortunes of the lender and economy, one way or the other.

Of late panicky bankers have begun to classify all such borrowers as “wilful defaulters.”

Ostensibly, this is done to save their back. And by labelling a large section of our corporates criminals we are doing no good to our India growth story.

But this is not to say that the guilty should go unpunished. Banks that played ball with most [and continue to play ball with some even today] should not be allowed to claim to have funded a “wilful defaulter” and pass their responsibility. They too must be made accountable.

Naturally Budget 2015 has to come with a programme that differentiates the chalk from cheese; the bad from the ugly. Projects that have failed purely on economic reasons and judicial interventions must be differentiated from those where promoters have been party to the loot [and that includes corruption]. If Budget 2015 remains silent, things will drift further down, possibly to the point of no return. If it takes action on every defaulter and treats them as criminals it would create mayhem and a systemic collapse. Surely, it needs to tread on a new, balanced and pragmatic path. The billion dollar question is, will it? □□

# ‘Adarsh’ villages and smart cities



**Honourable Prime Minister** has launched ‘Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojana’ (SAGY) where each MP will select one village to make it ‘Adarsh’ and if succeed; replicate the model for two more villages during their five year tenure. Against PM’s ‘Adarsh’ village programme, there is another programme announced by Indian FM that will make Indian cities ‘smart’. These programmes show how Indian villages and Indian cities are treated differently, one for ‘adarsh’ and other for ‘smartness’ and how Indian planning always preferred

development of cities and towns in the name of industrialisation and progress. Indian villages lost everything in the process and have now only a deserted look with no resources worth the name. There is in fact nothing to be proud of so to make villages ‘adarsh’. Most villagers are burdened with heavy debt and have no options but to migrate or commute to cities and towns for livelihood or simply commit suicide. The cities on the other hand are growing with more and more facilities and infrastructure offering more luxurious lifestyles. In the circumstances, villagers may not like to live in ‘adarsh’ villages but to move to smart cities and towns for better life. The need is, therefore, to make villages ‘smart’ and not ‘adarsh’.



*With most villagers burdened with heavy debt and inherent difference between ‘adarsh’ and ‘smart’, villagers may not like to live in ‘adarsh’ villages but move to smart cities and towns for better life, suspects*  
**Anil Javalekar**

## Adarsh village v/s Smart cities

The difference between ‘adarsh’ and ‘smart’ is clear. Adarsh is to be talked about; smart is to be acted upon. Villages and villagers can easily be ‘adarsh’ as they don’t have anything else to gain; cities and its citizens need support to become smart because they have everything to lose. The Adarsh Village programme thus asks villagers to initiate action for their own development under the expert (?) guidance of MPs. Smart city programme however, ask Indian or foreign experts and corporate to do the needful to make cities smart under active support of government. The Adarsh village programme emphasize the need for villagers to wake up and show concern for their problems and do something more for their villages. The smart city programme simply propose to give every luxury to the citizens of cities without their concerns to the environment and climate or without expecting them to wake up and do something more towards solving city’s problems. The Adarsh village programme aims at instilling certain values in the villages and their people so that they get transformed into models for others. The smart cities, on the other hand, aims at providing the best of facilities and infrastructure to citizens without instilling any ‘value’ to their lives. More noteworthy, the financial and other resources for ‘Adarsh’ village will come from limited

programs that are sponsored by government and are already under implementation. As against, the funds for smart cities will flow with much ease with government actively taking burden of guarantees of returns and revenue losses of corporate and companies and by lot more ways. Thus becoming smart is more fruitful than being 'adarsh'.

### Flourishing cities and towns

India is flourishing with cities and towns adding about 25 cities and towns every month. The population residing in urban areas was more than 30 % in 2011 and will cross 50% mark by 2050. India will continue on this path of urbanization mainly because Indian planning has conceived the idea of urban industrialisation with supportive agriculture development. Indian economic planning and all its economic policies- right from the beginning- allowed industrial class to exploit rural resources smoothly for industrialisation and urbanisation. Indian governance system thus supported smooth land acquisition, arranged regular water supply, allowed hazardous waste discharge in rivers, promoted speculative real estate development, established favourable agriculture production and marketing system, gave heavy tax concessions, built government supported facilities and infrastructure and much more. The urban industrialisation was expected to provide jobs to Indian rural youth and urban prosperity so achieved was expected to trickle down to villages.

### Prosperity not tricked down to villages

This simple trickle-down theory however could not reach to

villages. The urban industrial sector not only failed to provide jobs to rural youth but destroyed small entrepreneurs led village economy in the process. This failure has also not resulted in rural development. Instead, prompted Indian planners to promote urban real estate sector expectantly to provide petty construction jobs to villagers. Additionally, this led to starting of many government supported construction programmes like road or dam building or creation of such infrastructural assets so to provide jobs to rural people and smoothen urbanisation. Even with these efforts, Indian villages remained deserted and villagers remained indebted and poor.

### Deserted Indian villages

The main backbone of villages is the agriculture and it gives no income but debt to agriculturists. The village and cottage industry has been destroyed first by British and then by Indian planning leaving artisans and weavers dependent on agents and traders or at the most government old age pensions. The neighbourly urban development encroached village lands and made even agriculturists to join already struggling group of agriculture and other labourers that are dependent on seasonal agriculture work and on MGNREGS type schemes with no secured income flow. Village youth, so called demographic dividend of future India, are wasting their youthful days in education that offers them nothing but examinations and degrees. They simply wander in villages or in towns in search of job or doing this or that educational course with frustrated minds and mobiles to ears. The migration of village men to cities and towns in search of liveli-

## ***Trickle-down theory however could not reach to villages.***

hood have left agriculture to their women and they are managing their agriculture and homes with meagre resources, sometimes even by appreciable efforts like forming SHGs and working together. Only one group that can be said doing well is of leaders and politically connected villagers who get contracts of some road building or such projects. The other gainers are the creditors like financial institutions, money lenders, chit fund operators, insurance companies, NGOs, contractors and brokers or commissioned agents who can manipulate government sponsored schemes and help people become beneficiaries. The engagement of Indian planning in building 'smart' cities has thus left villages to survive on government support and welfare programmes.

### Government support to villages is illusory

The villagers earn incomes mainly from sale of their produce of agriculture and allied activities, handloom and handicrafts, their labour and to some extent receive remittances from family members who are in cities and towns. Most of the time villagers borrow more than their earnings and live in debt. The support villagers get from government is mostly in the form of survival assistance. Few programmes like employment guarantee scheme (MGNREGS) and old age pension schemes give villagers some direct income. Villagers do

get some additional income from government during natural calamities etc. Most programmes are mainly for poor or BPL families. Government spending on other programmes like agriculture development, crop insurance, health insurance, constructions, research and development, education and extension, subsidies for fertiliser, machinery or fuel etc. including loan waivers are peripheral in nature and mostly goes back to urban areas.

### **Making villages smart: some essentials**

**First**, help villages survive the onslaught of real estate sponsored urbanisation that undesirably enthrone rural Indians to sell their rural lands and purchase small accommodation in cities and towns. Present real estate development is speculative and can be termed as misuse of property rights and freedom to settle down anywhere in India as it allows speculators (read elite rich Indians, corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and black money owners) to purchase plots/flats in every of Indian cities and town and make urbanisation unbalanced and unsustainable. Restricting growth of speculative real estate is thus one important step to help villages survive.

**Second**, make agriculture lands profitable and free farmers from survival tensions due to crop failures as like their counterpart industrialists who enjoy tension free life even in jail. Bankruptcy, failed businesses and loss of business assets have least impact on the personal or family lifestyles of Indian industrial class. In contrast, Farmers are committing suicides in open field. Note that this is happening not because of natural calamities alone. All the manmade systems of new cropping practices and com-

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## ***Help villages survive the onslaught of real estate sponsored urbanisation.***

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mercialisation of agriculture have helped it happen. Everyone, including government, is imposing high value cropping agriculture practices and commercial agriculture on Indian farmers with induced borrowings. But none share the costs and losses of farmers in the event of crop failures. Government does partially rescue some farmers but that is not enough. The need is to change agrarian and its support systems. Everyone, right from seed, fertiliser and pesticide industry to market agents, processors and government are the partners of high value commercial agriculture system and should share risks and losses with farmers. One way is to create a special long term fund with mandatory contributions from all partners so to assure income to farmers.

**Third**, minimise the need for permanent migration of villagers to urban areas by strengthening village economy. Indian villages are facing distressed migration only because there is nothing left in villages. This migration is not because there is no work or lack of economic opportunities in villages but its uncertainty and low or no income generation from the assets of possession or activity undertaken. The need is to protect those opportunities and activities and ensure livelihood at local level. The growth of local economy will alone ensure increase the local income and stop migration to

towns and cities.

**Fourth**, as proposed by SAGY, strengthen institutions like local governance and family system. Local Panchayats should be encouraged to plan for local development and mobilise their own resources even for welfare activities. The family has historically been proven way of providing socio-economic safety and security to members and is still the last resort to most Indians. Government or any other organisation cannot replace it. Strengthening this family based system of living and doing things together is the answer for most problems of Indian villages. More the village become self-supporting in providing minimum livelihood and socio-economic security to villagers, smarter will it become to face the challenges of modern lifestyles.

**Fifth**, most important, save villages and villagers from the impact of western lifestyle approaches and urban industrialisation that exploit rural resources, damage environment and give villages a residual treatment. The need is to create awareness among villagers about the dangers of western lifestyles and model of urban industrialisation. Great Gandhian, Vinoba Bhave described five ways by which Lakshmi goddess is going out of villages and asked villagers to block those five ways so to have 'gram swarajya'. The five ways are the Bazaar (Markets), property transfer system, Sahukar (Lenders), Sarkar (Government) and Vyasna (addiction). Anyone desired to make villages 'adarsh' need first to make these villages smart enough to deal with these five ways of modern societies that loot and marginalise villages. □□

# Reform the Municipalities

The “Clean India” campaign launched by Prime Minister Modi is getting support from a broad spectrum of celebrities. Cine star Priyanka Chopra launched a 16-day campaign to clean up a locality in Versova area of Mumbai. Kareena Kapoor painted some walls at Karjat where she was shooting for a film. Salman Khan took the broom and swept some localities in that area, Sufi Singer Kailash Kher has joined the campaign. It is indeed welcome that the rich and powerful are joining the campaign. But this will be reduced to merely a photo op if the Government does not do its bit. I was recently travelling in a train. The waste bin in the sleeper coach was full and overflowing. I had no alternative but to throw the waste out of the window. I could stop littering only if a waste collection system was put in place first.

The city of Bobbili in AP has shown how to make the city clean. The Municipality has persuaded homemakers to place the waste into separate compostable and recyclable bins. The compostable waste is fed to animals. Pigs eat up most of the food waste from hotels; ducks take care of leftovers from the fish market; and dogs eat leftover meat from homes. The other organic waste is converted into compost. Animal dung is used to produce biogas which provides cooking gas. The recyclable material is sorted. Paper, plastic and metals are sold to the respective users. The remaining non-recyclable material is put into a landfill. The town of Suryapet has gone farther. The kirana and merchant association was asked to give incentive of Rs 1 to Rs 5 when the purchase is carried in a bag. Chicken and mutton shop owners were likewise requested to extend incentive of Rs 2 on purchase of meat. The hotel owners were requested to give incentive of Rs 2 on each plate of tiffin when carried in a box. These towns have no waste on the streets. Namakkal in Tamil Nadu has followed a similar model.

The non-recyclable material is a nuisance. There are few materials like candy wrappers that cannot be recycled because metal and plastic are fused together. They cannot be reused either as metal or as plastic. Similarly many packing materials paste a layer of plastic lamination on paper. This cannot be recycled because



*Disciplined students in the class cannot fulfill the objective of education if the teacher is absent.*

*Similarly, cleanliness conscious citizens cannot secure Clean India in absence of the Government not making arrangements to recycle the waste, pleads **Dr Bharat Jhunjhunwala***



it is impossible to separate the two materials. I was once running a paperboard factory. We used to purchase large amounts of road sweep. We had to employ large numbers of workers to remove the laminated material so that it would not clog the machines. These composite materials have to be either incinerated or put in a landfill. Incineration spews huge amounts of poisonous gasses in addition to Carbon dioxide. Landfills are expensive, an eyesore and a health hazard. Gopal Krishna of Toxics Watch says that use of these composite materials should be totally banned. It would then be possible to recycle 100 percent of the non-compostable waste. There would then be no need for landfills or incineration plants.

The Ministry of New and Renewable Energy and the Planning Commission do not like this, unfortunately. Non-recyclable waste is an asset for them. It helps them produce electricity so that they can meet the targets of renewable energy. As a result much waste material that could be recycled is being incinerated. The Ministry does not realize that any material burnt is a loss to nature. The Government is providing incentives of about Rs 10 crore per megawatt of electricity generation capacity installed for producing energy from waste. This is actually an incentive to destroy nature. Delhi is producing 18 megawatt electricity from 1700 tons of waste every day. Colonies in Okhla, where the plant is located, are turning into a “toxic gas chamber” because of the large amounts of poisonous gasses emitted from the plant. A complaint has been filed in the National Green Tribunal on the harm

from the fall of toxic ash in the surrounding areas.

Problem of the Municipalities is financial. The cost of collecting two streams of compostable and recyclable waste, composting, and re-separation of the recyclable waste is very high while the recovery is less. Bobbili is recovering barely 13 percent of the cost incurred in waste collection. Suryapet incurs an expenditure of Rs 418 lacs per year but had been able to recover only about Rs 7 lacs per year from the sale of compost and recyclable materials few years ago. Technically it is possible to move to a zero waste system but that requires funds. This is the major problem of the “PPP” part of the “PPPP” proposed by Mr Modi.

Clean cities will provide many other benefits like less disease. Five lac persons are reported to die from Malaria every year. The garbage dumps are ideal breeding grounds for mosquitoes that carry the malaria vectors. The benefits from zero waste system are huge but this can be implemented only by the Government. Municipalities across the country are spending 20 to 50 percent of their budgets on waste removal. The need is to formulate a scheme to provide incentives to them to move to a zero waste model.

The other resource that can be tapped for making clean cities is that of street pickers. Pune has shown the way here. The pickers usually pick only the “high” value waste that can be sold easily and leave the rest. The trick was to train them to separate various kinds of waste and buy all of it from them. This has provided a new respect to the pickers. “You look at me today,” said one street picker, “in

## *Use of composite materials should be totally banned.*

this nice fresh sari, and a rose in my hair, and you would not believe it is the same Surekha of five years ago. I spent my day at the garbage bin, and it was hot and dirty work. Even if I had a bath in the morning, by mid day I was stinking. So why bother to stay clean? But now I have to go into people’s offices to collect money. I have to look decent. When I go to collect money, the lady there asks me to sit on a sofa. If she is drinking tea, she will ask for another cup for me.” The Ministry of Renewable Energy would not be happy, though. Surekha’s happiness would mean more composting and less generation of power!

Modi needs to set right the PPP before pushing the PPPP. Four steps are required. One, manufacture and use of all non-recyclable material should be prohibited. Two, a scheme should be made to subsidize municipalities that implement a zero waste system. Three, a law for the protection and support to street pickers should be enacted. Lastly, and most importantly, Modi himself and Ministry of Renewable Energy should stop their penchant for more electricity from anything that meets their eyes.

Disciplined students in the class cannot fulfill the objective of education if the teacher is absent. Similarly, cleanliness conscious citizens cannot secure Clean India in absence of the Government not making arrangements to recycle the waste. □□

# Collapsing world order needs Modi's midas touch

**I**t – 2014 - has been the worst of the years. The world seems to collapse under the weight of totalitarianism be it under the states or the non-state powerful terrorist organisations in Asia, and Africa. It also faces the worst intrusions by trans-national corporations into national sovereignties.

Failing economies of Africa and European Union are creating threats. The world economy is enmeshed in global politics of conflicts and wars. As nations meet to continue with their establishments, non-state actors tend to destroy them. In queer turn of events, states like Pakistan that supported non-state actors have become their victims.

The year has left the world difficult questions. Should US send its people to kill people across the world? Should Russia send troops to Ukraine? Should China fight tiny Japan and Vietnam for areas which have little economic significance? Are Russia and Ukraine suffering from insecurity? Is Africa succumbing from stateless Somalia run by pirates to Boko Haram terrorists out to destroy Nigeria and neighbouring African countries? Are regional groupings like the BRICS, ASEAN or SAARC the new order? Is not the most insecure US destabilising nations and economies through currency war across the world?

The world has become more complex despite fall in oil prices. The poor people of India or rest of the world know it has not happened because oil rich OPEC countries wanted to reduce the price. This is another shadow war the US plays by increasing its oil production to the level of almost Saudi Arabia.

The US also creates a new market strategy to hit OPEC, which is left with the option of cutting production and collapsing economically or maintaining it to sustain their individual economies. It is a new kind of war that is fought without firing a bullet. Can oil prices remain that low for long? Is the world gaining as the oil prices collapse to \$ 59 a barrel from a high of \$ 115 at the beginning of the year or is it the beginning of the fall of neo-rich Arab nations?

It is a disturbed world. Many parts of northern Africa, - Egypt, Sudan, Libya or central Africa – Nigeria, Somalia, Ivory Coast remain in turmoil. The US and European intervention in many of these countries and Iraq, Middle East or central



*It is a disturbed world. International institutions like the UN system or Bretton Woods's institutions have become ineffective. India has to look beyond the traditional, create institutions that could take holistic look from the global and local - glocal – angle and create a new economic order in a holistic manner to give the country an edge, opines Shivaji Sarkar*



Asia have increased conflicts.

International institutions like the UN system or Bretton Woods institutions have become ineffective. It may theoretically monitor situations and produce the finest reports but cannot suggest or impose a solution. The US controlled World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation can produce volumes on world GDP but cannot stop the ongoing currency or trade war. Countries like India is having a difficult time as its rupee continues to lose to touch a bottom of Rs 68.79 in the beginning of the year and now hover around Rs 63.

Inflation is transferred globally to destabilise and take political control of economies through lurking talks. Each nation is specialising in ways to hurt the economy of the other in a supposedly inter-dependent world.

They in their “collective” wisdom do not find a solution to the gun and drug running mafia of Latin America that run the countries like Colombia or Peru. The states cannot stop more people being killed in Mexico than in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq or central Asia – all that have seen intense US action.

Technology has shrunk the world. Instead of it ensuring global good governance, it takes cyber threats to the bedrooms of individuals, where they are robbed of their bank accounts, blackmailed and suffer crimes and terrorism.

The cyber system is leading to the collapse of the structured states and their economies. Illegal transferring of money by cyber traders or taxi operators for legal operations in a state has become the norm. It changes world economic and security dynamics as money



***Indian Ocean rim – from South Africa to Straits of Malacca - is emerging as the new centre of global economy.***

trail becomes invisible.

Gun-running, drugs and cyber piracy are creating parallel economies within and outside national boundaries. No wonder Prime Minister Narendra Modi discusses it eloquently. It makes the most prosperous Indian state, Punjab for its drugs and the poorest West Bengal for emerging as terrorist hub, quiver.

The TNCs quiver as the US and other nations tend to regulate them. The US national security advisor himself does not trust them. They are accused of undermining US economy.

The world wonders whether a successful TNC should be its model or the most corrupt public sector in Greece that gives strength to the Greek economy, howsoever inappropriate it might appear. The world also has another model of the smaller city states like Singapore, Hong Kong or Shanghai.

The great powers are finding it difficult to rein in the world. Indian Ocean rim – from South Africa to Straits of Malacca - is emerging as the new centre of global economy. It is also the area where world powers US, China and emerging ones like India are converging. Each of them wants to change the dynamics of 21<sup>st</sup> century economics.

Indian ambitions of becoming hub of economy could be achieved if the Indian Ocean rim is managed

more efficiently. Modi has started that foreign politics because he knows this is not only true about issues across the seas but also important about domestic governance.

But he is not alone. Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe, US president Barack Obama, Chinese president Xi Jinping, Russian president Vladimir Putin play their foreign cards to sustain themselves in their own countries and create new economic orders.

Indian economy more stable than year ago is looking for a lasting solution. It requires deft diplomacy, better internal governance, TNC and corporate management, tough handling of non-state ultras and expertise in countering cyber intrusion and invasion. India has to look beyond the traditional. It has to create institutions—may be a new avatar of planning commission - that could take holistic look from the global and local - glocal – angle.

The economy now is more a strategic issue. Modi has the advantage of starting without a baggage. He has to get rid of Manmohans and create a new economic order in a holistic manner to give the country an edge in terms of sustainable agriculture, jobs, ecology and a thriving system that leads not only its people but at least the people of Asia and Indian Ocean rim. He has to reset the button on the world. □□

# Ekatma Manav-vad (Integral Humanism): In the Age of Civilisations

## Co-operation in abundance in society

Sociology identifies Co-operation, competition, and conflict as social activities that take place between members of a society. Deendayal Upadhyay argued that co-operation also obtains in abundance just as conflict and competition in this world. There is mutual sustenance between vegetation and animal life. Similarly making human life mutually sustaining is the prime characteristic of civilization. There can be evil tendencies in nature.

According to Panditji, *“The recognition of the element of mutual sustenance among different forms of life and taking that as the basis of an effort to make human life mutually sustaining is the prime characteristic of civilisation. To mould nature (prakriti) to achieve social goals is culture (sanskriti), but when this nature leads to social conflict; it is perversion (vikriti). Culture does not disregard or deny nature. Rather it enhances those elements in nature which are helpful in sustaining life in this universe, makes it fuller and richer, and curbs others which obstruct or destroy life.”*

## Bharatiya Approach To Life

In Bharat all principles which bring about harmony in society are termed Dharma, laws of life. Bharatiya culture thought of life as an integrated not only in the case of collective or social life but also in the individual life. The example is the statement, “even a modest meal served with dignity and affection tastes better than the best delicacies served with disrespect.” Both physical and mental happiness are part of happiness of man. The culture recognized intellectual peace also as the requirement of individual. The man should not be troubled by three troubles (physical, mental and philosophical or spiritual).

*“Often it has been propagated that Bharatiya culture thinks of salvation of the soul, that it does not bother about the rest. This is wrong. We do think of the soul, but it is not true that we do not consider body, mind and intellect of much importance. Others gave importance to the body alone. Therefore, our attention to the soul appears unique.”*

## Four Purusharthas

Bharatiya culture talks of dharma, artha, kama and moksha in an integrated way. The culture does not say that honesty is a policy; honesty is a principle in Bharatiya culture.

*“Here in Bharat, we have placed before ourselves the ideal of the four-fold responsibilities of catering to the needs of body, mind, intellect and soul, with a view to achieve the integrated progress of man. Dharma, Artha, Karma and Moksha are the four kinds of Purusharthas – human effort. Purushartha means effort which befit a man. The longings for Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha are inborn in man, and the satisfaction of these gives him joy (anand). Of these four efforts too, we have thought in an integrated way.”*

About the four purusharthas, Panditji writes, *“Artha includes what are known as political and economic policies. According to the ancients, it used to include Justice and Punishment as well as Economics. Kama relates to the satisfaction of various natural desires. Dharma includes all those rules, fundamental principles and ethical codes, in accordance with which all the activities in respect of Artha and Kama are to be carried out, and all the goals thereof to be*



*It is important to read and understand Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay and his theory of “Ekatma Manava-vad” or what is known as “Integral Humanism” and how “cultural nationalism” came to occupy a central space in the political imagination of the people of the country, opines Vikramjit Banerjee.*

achieved. This alone will ensure progress in an integrated and harmonious manner, and lead ultimately to Moksha.”

### Individual Versus Society

A society is composed of a number of individuals. Yet it is not created by the individuals, nor does it come into being by the mere coming together of a number of individuals.

*“In our view, society is self-born. Like an individual, society comes into existence in an organic way. People do not produce society. It is not a sort of club, or some joint-stock company, or a registered cooperative society. In reality, society is an entity with its own ‘SELF’, its own life; it is a sovereign being like an individual; it is an organic entity. We have not accepted the view that society is some arbitrary association. It has its own life. Society too has its body, mind, intellect and soul.”*

The modes of thinking of an individual and of a society are not always the same. These two do not bear an arithmetical relation. If a thousand good men gather together, it cannot be said for certain that they think similarly of good things.

### What Is A Nation?

When a group of persons live with a goal, an ideal, a mission and look upon a particular piece of land as motherland, this group constitutes a Nation. If either of the two - an ideal and a motherland - is not there, then there is no Nation. *“There is a ‘Self’ in the body, the essence of the individual; upon the severance of its relation with the body, a person is said to die. Similarly there is this idea, ideal, or fundamental principle of a Nation, its soul. The word is Chiti. According to McDougal, it is the innate nature of a group. Every group of persons has an innate nature. Similarly, every society has an innate nature, which is inborn, and is not the result of historical*



Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya

*circumstances. Chiti is fundamental and is central to the nation from its very beginning. Chiti determines the direction in which the Nation is to advance culturally. Whatever is in accordance with Chiti is included in culture.”*

### Chiti – Culture – Dharma

Panditji believed that Chiti is the soul of the nation:

*“If there is any standard for determining the merits and demerits of a particular action, it is this Chiti: whatever is in accordance with our nature or Chiti is approved and added on to the culture. These things are to be cultivated. Whatever is against Chiti is discarded as perversion, undesirable and is to be avoided. Chiti is the touchstone on which each action, each attitude is tested, and determined to be acceptable or otherwise. Chiti is the soul of the Nation. It is on the foundation of this Chiti (soul) that a Nation arises and becomes strong and virile. And it is this Chiti that is manifested in the action of every great man of a Nation.”*

### State Is Not Supreme – Dharma Sustains the Society

The State is one of several institutions, an important one, but it is not above all others (sarvopari). We had not considered the State to be the sole representative of the Nation. Our national life continued uninterrupted even after the State went into the hands of foreigners.

The late Dr. Ambedkar had

said that our Gram Panchayats were so strong that we neglected the throne of Delhi. We did not remain alert as regards the State, as much as we ought to have done, thinking that Nation’s life did not depend on the State. We forgot that, though it may be central, the State is definitely an important institution serving some needs of the Nation like a limb of the body. Therefore, the body must be protected. Although the various limbs of the body are not absolutely indispensable, yet each of them serves an important purpose.

*“The State is brought into existence to protect the Nation, and to produce and maintain conditions in which the ideals of the Nation can be translated into reality. The ideals of the Nation constitute Chiti, which is analogous to the soul of an individual. It requires some effort to comprehend Chiti. The laws that help manifest and maintain Chiti of a Nation are termed Dharma of that Nation. Hence, it is this ‘Dharma’ that is supreme. Dharma is the repository of the Nation’s soul. If Dharma is destroyed, the Nation perishes. Anyone who abandons Dharma, betrays the Nation. Dharma is not confined to temples or mosques. Worship of God is only a part of Dharma. Dharma is much wider. To attend a temple or mosque constitutes a part of a religion, sect, creed, but not necessarily Dharma. Many misconceptions have originated from*

*faulty English translations, and the most harmful of them is due to the confusion of Dharma with religion.”*

### **Touchstone of a Sound Economic System**

The main desideratum of a country's economic system, as of its polity, should be the all-round development of the individual. Production of wealth aims primarily at giving happiness to man. Human labour is the primary means of production. The objective of man's economic activity is to exploit natural resources in an endeavour to fulfil his requirements. That system, therefore, is the best which aids him to fulfill these requirements as also promotes his all-round welfare. A system which advances his economic good but impedes his progress in other directions cannot be considered beneficial. The focal point of interest for every economic system should be man.

The capitalist system of economy which accepts the 'economic man' as the central point of all its activities is inadequate. The selfish desire to acquire more and more profit is the motivating force in this system, with competition as its regulator. This does not conform to the Bharatiya philosophy. Socialism originated in reaction to the problems created by Capitalism. Its objectives are commendable but in its end-result, it has failed to profit mankind. The reason is that the analysis of society and individual by Karl Marx, the propounder of scientific socialism, is basically materialistic and so inadequate. The concept of class-conflict cannot give rise to a spirit of spontaneous and permanent cooperation.

Capitalism and socialism differ in their view of property. But both lead to its centralisation and

monopolisation. So man is neglected under both. We need a system in which man's own initiative remains unobstructed but in which, in his relation with the rest of society, human values do not suffer. This objective can be fulfilled by a decentralised economy.

### **Decentralised Economy**

Concentration of power is repugnant to democracy and human freedom. Subject to considerations about national unity, economic power should be decentralised both horizontally as well as vertically. The process of industrialisation in the West has led to concentration of power. The institutions of public limited Company, Managing Agency, Holding Company, etc. have furthered this accumulation of wealth and power in a few hands. Most of the evils of capitalist economy owe to centralisation. Socialist system saw no evil in this centralisation. They simply sought to transfer the ownership of capital from private hands to the state. In fact under a socialist regime both economic and political powers are concentrated in the same hands, and therefore, evils due to concentration become even more accentuated. These ills can be remedied only through decentralisation. Accordingly social and economic institutions will have to be recognised. The latest inventions of science and technology favour decentralized industries. Decentralisation is highly congenial to the all-round development of human personality. Small scale mechanised industries, small trades and farms that can be run and managed under individual, family or cooperative ownership should be the basis of our economy. Large units should be exception to this rule.

### **Criteria of Progress**

It is the responsibility of society to arrange for the upkeep of every child that is born, and to provide him with education which would enable him to develop his individuality even as he contributes to the well-being of society as a responsible member. It is the responsibility of society again to assure every able-bodied person employment and adequate leisure and every person a living. Every civilised society fulfils these obligations in some form or the other. In fact, these have become the main criteria of progress. Therefore, right to a minimum living standard, education, employment and social security and welfare will have to be accepted as fundamental rights.

Bharatiya culture talks of dharma, artha, kama and moksha in an integrated way. The culture does not say that honesty is a policy; honesty is a principle in Bharatiya culture.

### **Alternative To Capitalism And Socialism**

*“Both the systems, capitalist and communist, have failed to take account of the Integral Man, his true and complete personality, and his aspirations. One[system] considers him as mere selfish being, lingering after money, having only one law, the law of fierce competition, in essence the law of the jungle; whereas the other has viewed him as a feeble lifeless cog in the whole scheme of things regulated by rigid rules, and incapable of any good unless directed. The centralization of power, economic and political, is implied in both. Both therefore result in dehumanization of man”*

He thus advocated that “swadeshi [self-reliance] and vikendrikaran [decentralization] as the two pillars of the economic policy suitable for our times.

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay sug-

gested 6 fold objectives for a sound economy in our country. He writes, the objectives of our economy should be:-

1. An assurance of the minimum standard of living to every individual and preparedness for the defence of the Nation.
2. Further increase above this minimum standard of living whereby the individual and the Nation acquire the means to contribute to world progress on the basis of its own Chiti.
3. To provide meaningful employment to every able-bodied citizen, by which the above two objectives can be realised, and to avoid waste and extravagance in utilising natural resources.
4. To develop machines suited to Bharatiya conditions (Bharatiya technology), taking note of the availability and nature of the various factors of production (Seven Ms).
5. This system must help, and not disregard the human being – the individual. It must protect the cultural and other values of life. This is a requirement which cannot be violated except at the risk of great peril.
6. The ownership, state, private or any other form, of various industries must be decided on a pragmatic and practical basis.

Upadhyaya also dismissed democratic or the neo ‘Gandhian’ version of Socialism as failing to establish the importance of the human being. He said: “The needs and preferences of individuals have as much importance in the socialist system as in a prison manual”

### Virat

However the most unique part of Ekatma Manava-bad is the concept of Virat , which is the life

source of an uniquely Indic and Indian society. A concept which is the life blood of India , yet which remains unaddressed and unconceptualised in the West . In his own words , Panditji famously wrote that the country can only survive if it has a strong “Virat”:

*“Chiti is a Nation’s soul. The power that energises and activates the Nation is called Virat, which in turn is aroused and organised and canalized by Chiti. The place of Virat in the life of a Nation is similar to that of Prana in the body. Just as Prana infuses strength in various organs of the body, refreshes the intellect, and keeps body and soul together, so also in a Nation, with a strong Virat alone, can democracy succeed and the government be effective. Then the diversity of our Nation does not prove an obstacle to our national unity. The differences of language, occupation, etc., are present everywhere. However, when the Virat is awake, diversity does not lead to conflict and people co-operate with one another like the various limbs of the human body or like the members of a family.”*

### Ekatma Manava-vad —the Way of the Civilisation

We are a civilization which is thousands of years old . Our history is so ancient and our traditions are so ingrained that it would be completely incorrect for us to be equated with countries which are just about 200 to 300 years old , like the United States and as Panditji correctly surmised that the Soviet model so much in vogue was completely unsustainable. We cannot and must not attempt to be copy models of politics or economics of any other country simply because they just not take into account the unique and exceptional nature of Indian society and culture and the multifarious experiences

## ***We must not attempt to be copy models of any other country.***

both politically and historically that we have had as a civilisation. It is crucial that we chart our own route and in that route lies our salvation.

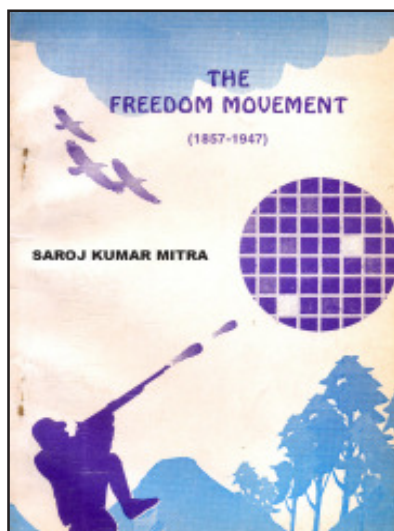
In the ringing words of Panditji:

“We have to undertake the task of awakening our Nation’s Virat. Let us start carrying on this task of awakening the Virat of the Nation with a high sense of pride in our hoary glorious past, taking a realistic assessment of the present and having a great ambition for the future. We wish neither to make this country a shadow of some distant past nor an imitation of Russia or America.

With the support of universal knowledge and our heritage, we shall create a Bharat which will excel all its past glories, and will enable every citizen in its fold to develop his manifold latent potentialities and to achieve, through a sense of unity with the entire creation, a state even higher than that of a complete human being. It is a state in which Nar (Man) becomes Narayan (God). This is the eternal and continuous divine form of our culture. This is our message to humanity at the crossroads. May God give us the strength to succeed in this task”

Ekatma Manava-vad remains the lighthouse which lights the seas of Bharatiya cultural nationalists looking to bring the ship of Indian politics into safe harbor .

Author Vikramjit Banerjee is Advocate, Supreme Court of India. □□



## Morely-Minto Reforms

Through Morley Minto reforms in 1909, Muslims got separate electorate and their number increased in the Council which was far in excess of their strength. Muslims being recognized by Minto as a separate nation indulged in rioting killing Hindus. Gandhi who went to South Africa to fight the case of a Muslim extended his support to the Muslims which he continued even after 1947.

In 1911, the partition of Bengal was annulled which gave a rude shock to the Muslims who were opposing Swadeshi movement. Despite Muslims getting shocks due to occupation of Egypt by the Britishers, Anglo-French agreement on Morocco, Anglo-Russian agreement on Persia and invasion of Tripoli by Italy the Congress under Moderates supported Muslims which paved the path for establishment of Pakistan. Asaf Ali, husband of Aruna Asaf Alii refused to work for the Indian revolutionaries being influenced by Muslim League.

In 1911, when Mohan Bagan, the Indian Foot Ball Team won the shield defeating English teams in Calcutta one Newspaper came out

# The Freedom Movement

## (Untold stories)

—Saroj Kumar Mitra—

with the headline, “The defeat of Palassey is avenged after so many days.”

### First World War -1914

The First World War broke-out on 4 August 1914. In men, material and money, India’s contribution was highest in the War. Govt. recruited 1, 200, 000 Indians in addition to the existing 230,000 Indians already in army. In the war 101, 439 Indians suffered casulty. Govt. of India’s war expenditure was £ 127, 800, 000 plus £ 2, 1000, 000 collected as donations by the govt. of India. Britain could not have won the war without India. But its only tribute to India was a statement made by Hardinge who said that “India was bled white by the war office.” The War ended in 1918 and by the treaty of Versailles (1919) peace was restored.

### Tilak’s Release

In 1914, Tilak was released and it generated great ethusiasm among the people. In 1913, one factory manufacturing bombs at Raja Bazar in Calcutta was discov-

ered by Police. Again in 1914, one Siris Mitra took away 50 Miser Pistols and 46, 000 catridges out of a consignment of *MLs*. Rodda and Company of Calcutta and passed it over to the revolutionaries. Revolutionary activities continued in fullswing in Bengal.

### Home Rule Movement

The Congress demanded self-govt. half-heartedly in its sessions in Madras (1914) and Bombay (1915) as the price for India’s loyalty to Britain in the War. The only man who extended unconditional support to Britain was Mohandas Karmachand Gandhi, little Known to Indians by then. **Mrs. Annie Besant**, the President of Theosophical Society founded Home. Rule League in 1915 and demanded self-govt. for India within the British Commonwealth. Soon Motilal Nehru, Tejbahadur Sapru and finally Tilak joined it. The Home Rule movement attracted leaders like Jinah and S.N. Banerjee who became its office-bearers. But the Congress under Bhupendranath Basu at Madras (1914) and



S.P. Sinha at Bombay (1915) was hell bent to remain under perpetual British Rule. But due to the death of Gokhale and Mehta in 1915 Moderates lost hold over Congress. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** arrived at Lucknow to attend the Congress session in 1916 with a "Home Rule Special train" carrying 300 delegates.

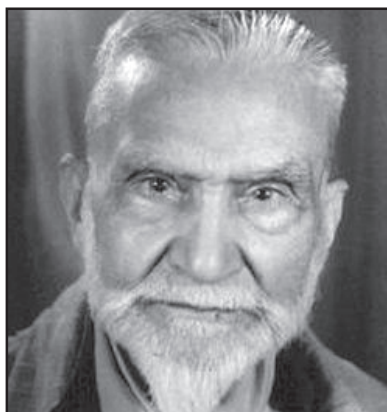
### Lucknow Pact 1916

All the 19 non official members of the Central Legislative Assembly belonging to Muslims, Parsis and Hindus demanded for reforms partially meeting the demand of Swaraj through efforts of Tilak. Tilak said, *"It may not be Swaraj in the widest sense but far better than Swadeshi and Boycott. It is in fact a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last thirty years."* Through Lucknow pact with Muslims Tilak succeeded in reducing their numbers in the Assembly as they agreed not to contest in general seats in addition to the reserved seats which they were allowed under Morley Minto reforms.

"Tilak was the most powerful leader in India" wrote Montagu, the Secretary of State. According to Lizalle Reymond, the French biographer of Niveditta, Tilak's revolutionary activities were supported by highly placed persons like Parliamentarians, Editors etc in Japan, Russia, Italy and France as Indian students at Oxford, Cambridge and Edinbrough were propagating Tilak's ideal enthusiastically outside India.

### Revolutionary Activities

While Tilak and Annie Besant made an united move for self govt. the revolutionaries were seeking arms supply from Germany during the War.



Rash Behari Ghosh, Sachindra Sanyal and Pingle along with members of Gadhar party in Panjub hatched a plan for uprisings in Indian Army on 21 February, 1915. Somehow the plan was leaked and Pingle was arrested at Merrut with bombs in a tin-box sufficient to blow up half of the Regiment. Pingle was hanged. But Rash Behari Ghosh who being a clerk in the Forest Department Dheradun carried on his revolutionary activities for years together cheating the Police and Intelligence Agencies, finally left for Tokyo. Reaching Tokyo Rashbehari obtained Japanese citizenship by marrying the daughter of the owner of the Hotel in which he was staying and thus his extradition from Japan was averted.

### Interim Govt. of Independent India

**Raja Mahendra Pratap** formed an Interim Govt. of Independent India at Kabul on 1st December 1915 with Barkat Aullah as Prime Minister and Obed ullah as Home minister. The Raja met Trotosky at Petrograde while going to Germany in 1918 and met Lenin while returning from Germany to Kabul.

The revolutionaries were assured by Germany in 1915 of getting arms. Thus Naren Bhattacharya alias Manabendranath Roy

was sent by the revolutionaries of Bengal to Batavia to contact German consul for dispatching arms by a ship to reach eastern coast of India. Though the ship carrying arms was held up by the Police at Batavia message reached Bengal about a ship titled Maverik carrying arms was moving to wards the eastern coast of India. Jatindranath Mookerjee (called Bagha Jatin) along with his group were stationed at Balasore and Betnoti in Orissa to locate the ship Maverik in the coastal belt of Bengal and Orissa. The ship, Maverik did not reach and Jatin Mookerjee along with his group had to move by foot for days together in the villages of Orissa to reach Bengal. The whole plan was leaked out and policemen were stationed in each Railway station. Being physically tired and half starved Jatin Mookerjee's group reached a village on the bank of river Buda Balang where they were harrassed by the villagers. In crossing the river, at Chasakhand, the tired revolutionaries took to sleep when Police started firing. After a couple of minutes Jatin Mookerjee was hit by a bullet on his head and died in the Govt. Hospital at Barabati Balasore.

Germany's hesitation in supplying arms to Indians worried Indian Revolutionaries. Since India was put under Russia, Germany was hesitant to openly supply ammunitions to Indian revolutionaries. At the end of World War in 1918, Germany being defeated ceased to be the source of arms supply to India. Thus Indian revolutionaries sent Naren Bhattacharya or Manabendra Roy to Moscow to contact Lenin who emerged as the Leader of Russia after the revolution in 1917.

[To be Conitnued .....]

## Jaitley vows reforms push in New Year

**Narendra Modi** government has undertaken several 'reform' initiatives since assuming power and is committed to push them further in the New year, Finance Minister Arun Jaitley has said. "Investment needs to be enhanced and encouraged. Infrastructural spending has to be stepped up. Manufacturing sector has to be given a major push. This has to be done both through encouraging public and private investment. This is our resolve for the upcoming year," Jaitley said.

Building a national consensus and introducing a bill to amend the constitution to implement the Goods and Services Tax (GST), opening the gates of investment by raising FDI limits in insurance, defence and railways and liberalising FDI conditions in real estate. The government has issued an ordinance to amend to amend the complicated procedures of the land acquisition law. "The new law facilitates development but balances it with higher compensation, relief and rehabilitation measures for the farmers. Compensation and resettlement and rehabilitation package has been made entirely applicable to the thirteen exempted laws," Jaitley said. "Unleashing an era of financial inclusion, providing Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana where over 10 crore accounts of the weaker sections have been opened," he said, as he detailed the other reforms across sectors that the government has unveiled as it moved to repair the economy and rescue it from two successive years of sub 5% growth. □

### Trai sets 3G reserve price

Telecom regulator Trai has announced a reserve price of Rs 2,720 crore per megahertz (MHz) of 3G airwaves for the upcoming spectrum auctions in February and sought sale of four blocks of 5-MHz spectrum each in the coveted band instead of one that is being worked out by the Department of Telecom (DoT).

The regulator pitched for a threshold price that is 19% lower to the final sale price arrived at in the 2010 3G auctions, though this is nearly four times the reserve price of that time.

The recommendation for inclusion of three additional blocks is significant as the telecom ministry has been able to get a guarantee from the defence ministry - which holds 3G spectrum in the 2,100-MHz band - for only one block so far. Discussions are on between the two ministries to free up three additional blocks too, though nothing has been finalized as yet.

### Terrorists ready to cross LOC

A top Army commander in Kashmir said that around 170 militants were ready across the Line of Control to infiltrate into the Kashmir Valley where less snowfall has thrown a new challenge to the security forces to check ingress of militants.

"We have an estimate of about 160 to 170 militants waiting across the LoC to infiltrate. We are fully prepared to meet any challenge," Lt. Gen Subrata Saha, General Officer Commanding of Srinagar-based XV Corps told reporters on the sidelines of a function at Sopore in north Kashmir's Baramulla district. He said less snowfall during this winter has thrown a new challenge for the Army. "There is less snowfall this year. At places it is 12 to 18 inches of snow. This has thrown

a new challenge for us but we are fully prepared to tackle the situation," he said. He said the counter-insurgency grid along the LoC was robust to tackle every challenge.

Even as the overall level of violence continued to go down in 2014, the last month of the year turned out to be the bloodiest when election process was at its peak in the embattled State. Around 33 persons died in December including 15 militants, 9 soldiers, 5 civilians and a CRPF man. Statistics compiled by a local agency CNS said that during the year 2014, at least 220 people including 106 militants, 39 Army soldiers, 52 civilians, 17 policemen, four BSF and two CRPF personnel were killed.

### Govt blocks 32 websites

The Central government has blocked 32 websites, including vimeo.com, dailymotion.com, pastebin.com and github.com, in an effort to curb ISIS propaganda, prompting a wave of online protests. An Indian "hactivist" group, Anonymous India, has threatened reprisal. However, websites that had complied with the government order to remove objectionable content had been unblocked, sources said.

A confidential department of telecom order, dated December 17, instructing all internet service licensees to block the websites appeared online. When contacted to verify the news, Dr Gulshan Rai, director of the Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In), told TOI the directions had been issued to internet service providers following a Mumbai additional chief metropolitan magistrate's November order directing the government's Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY) to implement the same.

## Govt. wings to procure 'Made in India' goods

The Cabinet Secretariat has asked all government agencies to give preference to domestically produced goods in its procurement programme in a bid to push Prime Minister Narendra Modi's "Make in India" campaign.

"A committee of secretaries has decided that all ministries and departments should identify department-specific domestically manufactured electronic products for procurement, and notify them within a fortnight," an official communique said. "All government departments have been asked to adhere to a tender template already issued by the Department of Electronics and Information Technology, for procurement of electronic items," said the communique from the Prime Minister's Office. "The Department of Electronics and Information Technology has also been asked to put in place an online monitoring system for reporting by Ministries/Departments and State Governments, on procurement of electronic products."

The official note said this system, to be operationalised within a fortnight, will capture the break-up of domestically manufactured electronic equipment by value. The "Make in India" campaign was launched by Modi Sep 25, promising the investors, domestic and overseas, an environment conducive to turn the country into a manufacturing hub and, in turn, create job opportunities for at least 100 million youth.

The vision statement outlined in [www.makeinindia.gov.in](http://www.makeinindia.gov.in) commits to increasing the manufacturing growth to 12-14 percent per annum over the medium term and increase the share of manufacturing in the country's gross domestic product from 16 percent to 25 percent by 2022. □

He added that Mumbai's Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) had approached the judiciary after interrogating Arif Majeed, a 23-year-old ISIS recruit from Kalyan. More recently, Bengaluru professional Mehdi Biswas was arrested for allegedly spreading ISIS propaganda on Twitter. "These websites were being used to invite youths to join ISIS. We had contacted the websites sometime back and asked for the removal of the objectionable content. At that time, our communications were ignored. Some of them have now agreed to work with the government. The websites that have complied are being unblocked," Rai told Media.

### HAL Bags Excellence Award

Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) has bagged the IEI Industry Excellence Award 2014 for 'Business Excellence in Manufacturing and Processing' during the 29<sup>th</sup> Indian Engineering Congress held at Hyderabad today. Mr. Sunil Kumar, General Manager (HAL Avionics Division) and Mrs. S. Thenmozhi, General Manger (HAL - SLRDC) received the award on behalf of HAL from Shri ESL Narasimhan, Hon'ble Governor of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

The award is an initiative of the Institution of Engineers (India), the largest multi-disciplinary body of professional engineers, to accord social recognition to the contribution of pioneering industry leaders in the rapid economic growth of the nation. The theme of the 29<sup>th</sup> Indian Engineering Congress was "Technological Innovations and Economic Growth – India's Emerging Role."

HAL has, in the recent past, initiated several measures to energize the aerospace industry and con-

tribute to the Government's drive towards indigenization and economic growth.

### Parrikar engages private industry

For the first time since the private sector was allowed into defence production in 2001, a defence minister has met face-to-face with private sector defence CEOs to discuss the role they could play in boosting defence production in India. Defence Minister Manohar met for three hours with captains of private defence industry. Not one of his ministry's five secretary-level officers was in attendance. Nor was anyone from the public sector invited.

Major issues discussed included the "Make" category of procurement; ways of harnessing Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs); and boosting defence exports.

The industrialists who flew down to Goa for the meeting included Baba Kalyani from the Kalyani Group, and the defence vertical chiefs of Bharat Forge; Larsen & Toubro; Tata Advanced Systems; Godrej & Boyce; Ashok Leyland; Punj Lloyd, Alpha Design Technologies; Zen Technologies; Data Patterns and Pipavav Shipyard. Local Goa group, Dempo, also sent a representative. The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) organised the meeting.

CEOs who attended say that, after thirteen years of operating from the sidelines under three successive defence ministers — George Fernandes of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA); and Pranab Mukherjee and AK Antony of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) — Parrikar's readiness to interact face-to-face is an encouraging indicator of change. □□

## Russian economy shrinks for first time since 2009

Russia's economy shrank in November for the first time in five years, the government said on Monday, illustrating the sharply changing fortunes of President Vladimir Putin's rule as he faces falling oil prices and Western sanctions. The figures were the latest indication that Russia was sliding toward recession — and potentially a deep one should oil prices remain low — presenting a major challenge to Putin amid his current showdown with the West.

The economy ministry said gross domestic product for the month contracted by 0.5 percent year-on-year for the first time since October 2009. The ministry chalked up the negative growth to a slowdown in sectors including services, agriculture, extraction of mineral resources and construction. Households' real disposable incomes went down by nearly 3 percent in November compared to October when they were up 2.4 percent, the economy ministry's figures showed. Under pressure from the low oil price and Western sanctions over the Kremlin's support for separatists in Ukraine, Russia is heading for a sharp recession complete with the collapse of the ruble and double-digit inflation. The ruble has fallen some 40 percent against the dollar this year. On Monday, the ruble was down by around 6 percent against the greenback at the opening but later recovered some of the losses and traded at around 56 rubles to the dollar in afternoon trading. □

## China's yuan set for big loss

China's yuan looked set to post its first significant yearly loss since its landmark revaluation in 2005. China will relax restrictions on banks' yuan trading from Jan 1, replacing daily caps on banks' foreign exchange positions with weekly limits, leaving them leeway to short dollars within that period.

"The fact that some banks will be exempted from being forced to keep minimum long dollar position may alleviate pressure on RMB depreciation. As such, we think the upside for USD/CNY will be capped in the near term," said Xie Dongming, an economist at OCBC Bank in Singapore. The Chinese currency fell sharply early this year in what was widely seen as an engineered move by the central bank to crack down on speculators betting on one-way appreciation.

It regained some ground later in the year, but tumbled again after the central bank surprised markets but cutting the benchmark interest rate in November to shore up the slowing economy. Further policy easing is expected in coming months, which will keep downward pressure on the yuan.

## UN rejects palestinian resolution

The Security Council rejected a Palestinian resolution demanding an end to Israeli occupation within three years, a blow to an Arab campaign to get the UN's most powerful body to take action to achieve an independent state of Palestine.

The United States, Israel's closest ally, had made clear its opposition to the draft resolution, insisting on a negotiated peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, not an imposed timetable. It would have used its veto if necessary but it didn't have to because the resolution failed to get the minimum nine "yes"

votes required for adoption by the 15-member council. The resolution received eight "yes" votes, two "no" votes one from the United States and the other from Australia and five abstentions. "We voted against this resolution not because we are comfortable with the status quo. We voted against it because ... Peace must come from hard compromises that occur at the negotiating table," US Ambassador Samantha Power said.

She criticised the decision to bring the draft resolution to a vote as a "staged confrontation that will not bring the parties closer." She added that the resolution was "deeply unbalanced" and didn't take into account Israel's security concerns.

## AUS bans commercial sun beds

Most Australian States and territories are set to ban commercial sun beds in a crackdown on artificial tanning in a country that has one of the highest rates of skin cancer in the world.

The ban which comes into force in the States of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, Queensland and in the Australian Capital Territory on January 1 will make Australia the second nation after Brazil to impose such a restriction, campaigners said. Western Australia has said it would also implement a ban, though it has yet to announce a start date. There are no commercial solariums in the only other part of Australia, the hot and humid Northern Territory.

Cancer Council Australia welcomed the ban, which it has long pushed for, adding that it would help to reduce rates of skin cancer, which affects two out of three Australians by age 70. "Australia has one of the highest rates of skin cancer in the world," advocacy director Paul Grogan said in a statement to AFP. "Solariums expose users to extremely high levels of UV (ultraviolet) radiation, greatly increasing their

## US, NATO to mark end of mission to Afghanistan

The United States and NATO will mark the formal end of the war in Afghanistan with a ceremony at their military headquarters in Kabul as the insurgency they fought for 13 years remains as ferocious and deadly as at any time since the 2001 invasion that unseated the Taliban regime following the Sept. 11 attacks. The symbolic ceremony will mark the end of the U.S.-led International Security Assistance Force, which will transition to a supporting role with 13,500 soldiers, most of them American, starting Jan. 1.

President Ashraf Ghani, who took office in September, signed bilateral security agreements with Washington and NATO allowing the enduring military presence. The move has led to a spike in violence as the Taliban have claimed it as an excuse to step up operations aimed at destabilizing his government. The mission peaked at 140,000 troops in 2010 with a surge ordered by U.S. President Barack Obama to root the insurgents out of strategically important regions, notably in the southern provinces of Helmand and Kandahar, where the Taliban had its capital from 1996 to 2001.

ISAF will segue into Resolute Support, a training and support mission, with the U.S. accounting for almost 11,000 members of the residual force. Obama recently expanded the remit of the U.S. forces remaining in the country, allowing them to extend their counter-terrorism operations to Taliban, as well as al-Qaida, and to provide ground and air support for the Afghan forces when necessary for at least the next two years. □

risk of melanoma and other skin cancers.”

Australia is sometimes referred to as the sun burnt country, where beaches are thronged with bathers basking under blue skies and the rates of melanoma, a potentially fatal form of skin cancer, are the highest in the world.

### Chinese Foreign Minister Visits Nepal

Seven member delegation led by Foreign minister of China arrived in Nepal for a three day bilateral meeting in Kathmandu that began in December. During the meeting, China agreed to provide financial assistance of 800 million RMB from 150 million RMB to Nepal for the fiscal year 2015/16. This is an increase of 433 per cent of its annual assistance to Nepal.

A report in MYREPUBLICA December 27, quoted the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs Wang Yi who suggested for funding arrangements to be made bilaterally and regionally in addition to supporting from national and local diplomatic channel, while highlighting the ways and means to effectively implement in nine major areas of cooperation, which include trade, investment, infrastructure, energy, capacity building, science and technology, agriculture, tourism and security and law enforcement.

Expressing strong commitment to increase co-operation for the overall development of Nepal, the Chinese Minister also vowed to extend consolidated support in the production of skilled human resources, while pledging assistance from the Tibet Autonomous Region of the Peoples Republic of China and local diplomatic mission in the nine sectors identified for cooperation for the holistic development of Nepal, the report said.

The Minister also affirmed that China will do whatever it can to meet the target for graduation of Nepal to the developed country from the least developing countries within 2022. Mentioning the significance and importance of the tripartite relations the Chinese Foreign Minister stated that this collaboration between China, Nepal and India would contribute to regional peace and stability. While maintaining that Nepal hold an important bridge between India and China, the Chinese Minister suggested that Nepal should orient itself towards taking the maximum benefits from the economic prosperity achieved by China and India.

### Sr Chinese diplomat sacked for corruption

A senior Chinese diplomat has been sacked and is under investigation for suspected corruption, the foreign ministry said, the first time a top diplomat has fallen victim to a sweeping campaign against graft.

Zhang Kunsheng is no longer an assistant foreign minister as he was “suspected of violating discipline and is being investigated”, the ministry said in a brief statement, using the usual euphemism for corruption. It provided no other details.

Media said Zhang was the most senior of the country’s four assistant foreign ministers, who rank below the vice foreign ministers, and was in charge of the protocol department. Qin Gang, who was the ministry’s chief spokesman, had assumed the protocol position, Chinese newspapers said.

Assistant Foreign Minister Liu Jianchao will be acting chief spokesman, a role he previously had, the reports said. □□

## India welcomes Appellate Body Report

India welcomed the Appellate Body (AB) Report and said that this dispute was a significant milestone for India, as a number of countervailing duty measures imposed by the United States over the years have been found to be inconsistent with the Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM) Agreement. India said that it had pursued this dispute to see a balanced and fair interpretation of the SCM Agreement and it believed that the AB had made a significant contribution to the interpretation of the subsidy disciplines. In its statement, India focused in particular on the AB findings on: the issue of what constitutes a “public body”, cross-cumulation, the US benefit methodology, examination of new subsidies allegations in an administrative review, and a number of other systemic issues concerning the implementation of the SCM Agreement.

The US said that the dispute raised procedural and systemic issues. In particular, it considered that India’s appeal of the entirety of the Panel’s findings had led to an exacerbation of the AB workload and made it difficult for the AB to comply with the 90-day deadline. The Dispute Settlement Body, on 19 December, adopted the report of the Appellate Body in the case “US – Countervailing measures on certain hot-rolled steel flat products from India” (DS436).

## India to push for Doha agenda

India is looking forward to push for the long-pending Doha agenda at the global trade body in 2015. Launched in 2011, the Doha Round of negotiations have remained virtually stalled since July 2008 when the trade ministers’ meeting in Geneva collapsed due to differences between the rich and the developing nations. The deadlock mainly emerged on the issue of protection for farmers in developing countries and duty cut on industrial goods.

“Doha agenda will be back on tables (in 2015) and we will push for that,” Commerce Secretary Rajeew Kher told PTI. Biswajit Dhar, Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University also said that there are a number of pending issues under the Doha Round of talks which India would like to bring on the table next year. The objective of the Doha agenda is to reduce trade barriers across the globe and facilitate trade. The main pending issues include agriculture (export subsidies, cotton and fishery subsidies), IPR, market access and

services. While India wants developed countries to drastically reduce agri subsidies and relax visa norms for its professionals, the rich nations are asking for significant reduction in industrial good tariffs and further strengthening of patent laws. India also wants to resolve issues of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

## Intellectual property Negotiations

WTO intellectual property negotiators said they were committed to meet the July 2015 deadline for laying down plans on how to complete the Doha Round talks — in their case on how to set up a geographical indications register for wines and spirits. But speakers on both sides of the debate said in a 12 December 2014 informal meeting that hard talking would have to wait until a clearer picture emerges in other key subjects.

The talks are returning to activity following the breakthrough in the General Council on 27 November. This included agreement to resume work agreed at the 2013 Bali Ministerial Conference and to set a new deadline of July 2015 to produce a work programme (pdf) for completing the Doha Round negotiations as a whole. Several speakers asked for more information on how the information session would be organized so they could consult their capitals. The 12 December meeting was an informal negotiations meeting of the full membership, officially an “open-ended” informal “Special Session” of the WTO’s intellectual property (TRIPS) council. Delegations on either side of the negotiation offered no new ideas and said the talks should not return to the substance until a clearer picture emerges on negotiations in agriculture, non-agricultural market access and services.

## Rise in trade restrictions “cause for concern”

Director-General Roberto Azevêdo, in introducing his annual report “Developments in the International Trading Environment” to the Trade Policy Review Body, said that “the stock of trade restrictions introduced by WTO members since 2008 continues to rise”. He said that “in a climate of economic uncertainty the continued accumulation of trade-restrictive measures poses a clear risk”. The information on country-specific measures identified in the section dealing with trade in services and in the four annexes is based on inputs submitted by members and other official and public sources, he added. □□