



Vol-16, No. 5  
Vaishakh – Jyaishta 2068 May 2011

EDITOR  
**Ajay Bharti**

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY:  
Ishwardas Mahajan on behalf of Swadeshi Jagaran Samiti, 'Dharmakshetra', Sector-8, R.K. Puram, New Delhi-22,

COVER & PAGE DESIGNING  
**Sudama Bhardwaj**

EDITORIAL OFFICE  
'Dharmakshetra' Sector-8, Babu Genu Marg, R.K. Puram, N. D.-22  
E-MAIL : swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com  
WEBSITE : www.swadeshionline.in

**LETTERS 2**

**NEWS**  
**NATIONAL 32**



**INTERNATIONAL 34**



**WTO 36**

## CONTENTS

### COVER ARTICLE 4

*Corruption:*  
**An Existential threat to National Security**

*Swadeshi Samwad*



### 11 COVER STORY-II

Anna Hazare, suspects cannot be trusted

..... S. Gurumurthy

### 13 FOCUS

How Tamil Nadu's freebie culture is killing its economy

..... M.R. Venkatesh

### 16 SPOTLIGHT

The Untold Story of the Anna Hazare Phenomenon

..... Devinder Sharma

### 20 NAXALMENACE

Assessment of Left Wing Extremist movement 2010 - "An year of operational stalemate"

..... Anoop A.J.

### 24 VIEW POINT

Our farmers are dying, to hell with the World Cup

..... Narendra Shekhawat

### 26 GLOBALISATION

American Protectionism

..... Deepak K. Srivastava

### 27 REPORT

Ban Endosulfan: **SJM to PM**

### 28 CWC MEET

Nationalise all Black Money: **SJM**

### 30 CENSUS

Census 2011: Metros no good for Habitation

..... Ashwani Mahajan

## Rural migration

Urbanisation in these days has assumed great significance and continues unabated.. Any one in a little affordable position doesn't like to dwell in a rural area. As a result a sea-change is being witnessed in our social spectrum. Apparently, lack of better roads, electricity, education and medical facilities, employment opportunities and other amenities are fundamentally responsible for this trend. It is undeniable that in cities and towns, pollution causes numerous diseases. All sort of crimes, when compared with rural areas, are higher in cities. But since the chances of progress and advancement in urban areas are more and since there are ample facilities, relocation from village to urban areas remains unbridled.

It is strongly felt at all quarters that needed facilities, required in any healthy society, if provided in rural areas, the problem of mass urbanisation can be minimised. This in turn will reduce the burden on the cities and they may become better places to live in. The Government should, therefore, strive every nerve to facilitate all those sectors where they are non-existent.

– K.N. Sharma, Sunder Bani, Jammu

## Monitoring of MGNREGA

The scheme which has been appreciated throughout the country for changing the socio-economic conditions of rural people has also come under flak for violation of rules, and commission of errors by the implementing agencies. The general monitoring of the scheme at various levels has revealed serious problems, such as uneven implementation corruption and lack of creation of visible assets for the use of the rural community.

There are also allegations that muster rolls are not maintained properly by the concerned officers. It has brought a bad name to this otherwise well intentioned scheme. If the scheme is not properly supervised it could as well sink, and may affect the fortunes of the people who had begun to see changes in their lives. If the money made available under this scheme is utilised properly, it will bring transformation in social and the economic dimensions. What is of supreme importance is that the scope of wastage should be minimised and corruption eliminated.

– Kumari Sunita, Pathankot

### EDITORIAL OFFICE

#### SWADESHI PATRIKA

'Dharmakshetra', Sector-8, Rama Krishna Puram, New Delhi-22

■Tel. : 26184595, E-Mail: swadeshipatrika@rediffmail.com

For subscription please send payment by A/c payee Cheque/Demand Draft/  
Money Order in favour of 'Swadeshi Patrika' at New Delhi.

**Annual Subscription : 100/-**

**Life Membership : 1000/-**

Kindly write your full name and address in capital letters.

If you do not receive any issue of Swadeshi Patrika, kindly e-mail us immediately.

#### Disclaimer

The views expressed within are those of the writers and do not necessarily represent the views of Swadeshi Patrika. Swadeshi Patrika often present views that we do not entirely agree with, because they may still contain information which we think is valuable for our readers.

## Quote-Unquote



Sonia Gandhi and Manmohan Singh are the producer and director of this "Lakshmi Darshan Karyakram".

**Nitin Gadkari**

BJP President



I firmly believe that a strong law by which Lok Pal at Centre & Lok Ayukt in states are set up is needed.

**Anna Hazare**

Social Activist



One of the most scandalous frauds on the financial system of India is the derivative called P-Notes,

**Dr. Subramanian Swamy**

President, Janta Party



I close my ears when the IT czars are giving long lectures on green buildings.

**Jairam Ramesh**

Environment and Forests Minister



There is more Indian money in Swiss banks than any other nationality.

**Julian Assange**

WikiLeaks Founder

## PAC and the democratic Intimidation

*If he who employs coercion against me could mould me to his purposes by argument, no doubt he would. He pretends to punish me because his argument is strong; but he really punishes me because his argument is weak.*

— (William Godwin)

Politicians have normally relied on short memory of public is a perception universally acknowledged. But refusal to recognize the changed scenario due to communication explosion and technological advancement is proving to be very costly for the political class, more so for the people who do nothing but recline. When Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Caught in a credibility crisis with a series of corruption scandals, wrote to the PAC chairman Dr Murli Manohar Joshi in December 2010, saying he was ready to appear before it in connection with the 2G spectrum issue, little did he recognize that it could become a thorn in his flesh. He and the Congress party at that point of time was eager to re-energize party workers and boost their morale after the repeated electoral debacles and series of corruption scams. The shortsighted objective was to come out of the situation where he found himself on receiving end from every side and the entire winter session of the Parliament got washed away without transaction of any business. The party described as a "masterstroke" Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's "brave and extraordinary" offer to appear before the Public Accounts Committee in connection with the parliamentary body's probe into the 2G Spectrum allocation. While congratulating the Prime Minister for his "frank gesture", the party at that moment stepped up attack on the BJP questioning why it does not trust in the political intelligence of its own leader Murali Manohar Joshi, who heads the PAC. "Does Arun Jaitley not have faith in the intelligence of Murali Manohar Joshi," asked Congress. But that was four months earlier. Now in April 2011 the same party is crying foul and telling us that PAC chairman Dr. Joshi is acting with a "pre-determined notion, biased mind and mala fide intention," to derive "political mileage by presenting a wrong report in a hurry to destabilise the Government". They are also demanding his resignation.

Congress and DMK in their zest to shield their headship are indicating no hesitation to subvert the democratic institutions. In a parliamentary democracy like ours, the Committee system assumes great importance. The checks that Parliament exercises over the executive stems from the basic principle that Parliament embodies the will of the people and it must, therefore, be able to supervise the manner in which public policy laid down by Parliament is carried out. The Committee on Public Accounts enjoys the place of pride in our Committee System. First set up in 1921 in the wake of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, the PAC has evolved over years. During the days of the Interim Government, the then Finance Minister acted as the Chairman of the Committee, and later on, after the attainment of Independence, the Finance Minister became its Chairman. This naturally restricted the free expression of views and criticism of the Executive. The Committee underwent a radical change with the coming into force of the Constitution of India on 26 January, 1950. It became a Parliamentary Committee functioning under the control of the Speaker with a non-official Chairman appointed by the Speaker from among the Members of Lok Sabha elected to the Committee. The Minister of Finance ceased to be a Member. Committee is now constituted every year & consists of not more than 22 members comprising of 15 members elected by Lok Sabha according to the principle of proportional representation not more than 7 members of Rajya Sabha elected by that House in like manner. Convention is to have its chairman from opposition. The Committee's work depends a great deal upon the results of audit and examination of the Accounts of the Union Government carried out by the Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG). The audit by the C&AG is comprehensive and manifold. Congress party must understand that winds of change are blowing across the globe. People of this country are also fed up with type of excuses government is forwarding to avoid transparency in the governance. Congress party is by and large responsible for the erosion of credibility of the government apparatus. The party is doing no good to the interests of the nation by undermining institutions whenever that suits it. Party should have asked its members to fight out differences within PAC. They instead choose to politicize the same. this clearly is an indication that they know the facts and are desperate to take refuge under coercive tactics. Intimidation, let us remember, doesn't last very long.

*Corruption***An Existential threat to National Security**

Corruption is finally an issue that has taken central place it deserved in the national discourse. Civil society of the country in its entirety be that geographical spread or social outreach, it is India against corruption in action alarmed by regularity, intensity and quantity of the scams exposed during last few years. Indians irrespective of distinctions of colour, caste, religion and social status unequivocally expressed their opinion against the menace at the very first opportunity available to them in the form of fast unto-death by Anna Hazare.

Velocity and intensity of the public outburst shook the pow-

ers that be. Not that attempts were not made to derail, discredit and victimize the people who joined the fight but this time people were not in a mood to listen.

This transformation did not come all of a sudden. Tremendous efforts were put in by a lot of people to bring the issue of corruption to the centre stage of public discussion. Baba Ramdev's movement, Govindacharya, S. Gurumurthy, Prof. Vaidyanathan and several other forums and public personalities joined hands to have a unified action for an effective mechanism to prevent illegal activity. In this series a two day seminar

on "Transparency and Accountability in Governance - International experience in the Indian context" was organised by VIF in association with well known civil society leaders and opinion makers like Dr. Subrahmanian Swamy, K N Govindacharya, S. Gurumurthy, Prof. R. Vaidyanathan and others on April 1st and 2nd, 2011. The seminar was inaugurated by Justice M N Venkatachaliah and addressed by luminaries like Justice J.S Verma, Subhash Kashyap and N. Gopalaswamy. Leading experts in the country including Joginder Singh, B R Lall, Amb. Satish Chandra, Vijai Kapoor, M D Nalapat, Prof. Arun Kumar, Bhure Lal, Arvind Kejriwal, Dr. Jai Prakash Narayan, and foreign delegates including Rolland Lomme, David Spencer, Nuria Molina presented their opinions in the various panel discussions. The convention concluded with a valedictory public function addressed by Baba Ramdev and the launch of an anti-corruption front on April 2.

The Speakers at the convention focused on corruption as a core issue of mal governance affecting national interest in diverse ways, including national economy, its security and integrity. The Speakers emphasized on the menace of

## WILL INDIA RELAPSE INTO SLAVERY?

*Today, a class of individuals has emerged in the higher echelons of power in India who in their chemistry are very similar to those who sold out India in the past. Unless this class gets replaced by those who reject the option of getting bribed and induced into anti-state actions, the country is not safe from a fresh bout of slavery, says M D Nalapat*

**Unfortunately** for the people of this country, the hand-picked successor of Mahatma Gandhi (and who in no particular resembled the qualities enunciated by the Mahatma himself as desirable for an Indian in his epochal Varanasi speech in the presence of the Viceroy and Annie Besant) was Jawaharlal Nehru, who refused to alter the chemistry of the relationship between Rulers and Ruled after 15 August 1947. The result has been that the people of India have continued to bear the weight of the colonial system of administration that saw the country's share in world product reduced from 26% in 1820 to less than 1 % by 1947. The British colonial construct was designed solely to fulfill a single objective, which was the raising of revenue for the colonial power. The system that is operational since then has been tweaked and designed in such a manner as to ensure that those in positions of discretionary authority have pathways designed to collect bribes to a degree that today seem in the same proportion to total product as the quantum of surplus that was forcibly extracted by the colonial power during the period 1820-47.

Of course, constant lip service has been paid to the need to ensure a "clean administration". But as Lee Kuan Yew has pointed out, Nehru sabotaged this by arbitrarily cutting down the remuneration payable to civil servants, the judiciary and the other organs of governance, without at the same time cutting back on their discretionary authority. Indeed, the powers given to officialdom were multiplied, along with a massive expansion in the number and scale of governmental authorities. The huge gap between official remuneration and official discretion created a propensity for graft that has made India among the most corrupt countries on the planet. Today, there is an interlocking web of graft that ensures immunity to almost all the practitioners of this dismal process. An outward symptom of this would be the discotheques in the 5-star hotels of

Delhi, which get filled every night by young men and women who are the offspring of the country's top businesspersons, politicians and civil servants. While the first of this trio may be able to afford to have their young ones spend lakhs of rupees in a single night of revelry, it is not obvious as to how civil servants and politicians (at least based on their net worth statements to the relevant authorities) can so indulge their young.

Even more sinister, several foreign agencies - including embassies, intelligence agencies and corporates - have understood the potential in the pools of influential youngsters that congregate in about twenty places of revelry each night. They send attractive young men and women to the same locations, to ensure entry into the homes of the powerful through the besotted children of VVIPs. In short order, they become regulars at the homes of the influential, and there onwards, it is a relatively simple matter to ensure that the official or politician in question comes under the influence of foreign economic and strategic interests, and begins the process of selling India short by the framing and implementation of policies that favour outside agen-



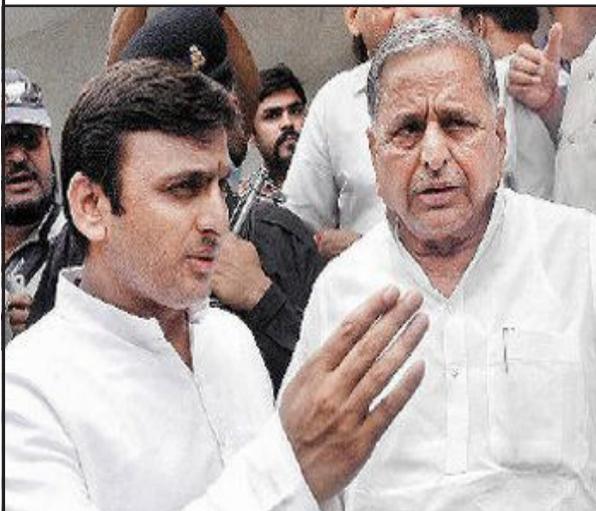
cies at the cost of the domestic. If the Intelligence Bureau is conducting any surveillance of just these twenty discotheques frequented by about six hundred children of influential citizens of India, there has thus far been no trace of any remedial action designed to separate the most gilded youth of India from influences that work to destabilize and to exploit the country.

If during colonial days the Intelligence Bureau saw as its mandate the protection of the power and the privileges of the alien rulers of India, since 1947, the core objective of the agency appears to be the preservation of the personal and other interests of the most powerful within the governance structure. What happens when the interests of this segment collide with the national interest? What choice does the IB make? The experience of the past six decades has made this clear. Else, the agency would - at a minimum - have undertaken research on (for example) the children of the most powerful policy-makers in Delhi and the state capitals, those of the rank of Joint Secretary upto the rank of Prime Minister of India. How many such offspring are or have been enrolled in expensive foreign educational institutions? How have the tuition and living expense of each son or daughter of the powerful been met? How many offspring are working in foreign entities, including those indulging in speculation and profiteering at the expense of the public interest? Unfortunately, the CBI, the Income-tax Department, the Enforcement Directorate and other agencies go after only the soft targets, leaving undisturbed the most powerful. These days, if there are a few

chinks in the armour of immunity of the powerful, the reason for that is the Supreme Court of India under its superb Chief Justice.

Just as Jawaharlal Nehru was considered to be an Indian, this country is regarded as being a democracy. To qualify as such, it needs to be a country where the individual is respected and his rights are multiple. A genuine democracy gives freedom of choice to an individual every day, almost every hour, rather than simply every five years. And even in this process of choosing a representative, his or her choice is usually limited to those hand-picked by the family or clique that owns one or the other political party in India. The experience of Jitendra Prasada in the AICC elections of 2000 demonstrated the futility of mounting a democratic challenge to the family that was handed over control of the Congress Party by Mahatma Gandhi eight decades ago. Those who seek to challenge Muthuvel Karunanidhi in DMK or Mulayam Singh Yadav in the Samajwadi Party will meet the same fate. In essence, the "choice" before the Indian voter is to select one or the other personal servant of a dozen-odd families in the country. Such a concentration of political power, sustained by access to huge supplies of money and the patronage machine, present a potent threat to the security of India, in that it makes it easy for external interests to buy or blackmail those at the apex of governance in India. Until in India too, a Barack Obama can replace a Clinton, who in turn can prevail over a Kennedy, this country cannot even be termed an "electoral democracy".

As mentioned earlier, in a genuine democracy, citizens are given a wide range of personal and professional choice. In a quasi-democracy - which is what India is - such a range is extremely narrow. Because of the fact that the colonial system of laws, regulation and administration have been retained after "Independence", a citizen can find himself or herself losing liberty at the will of one of several 'tens of thousands of those holding official positions, be they magistrates or policepersons or others. He or she can find all assets frozen, if need be for an indefinite period, by any of yet another tranche of tens of thousands of officials. And if the citizen suffers the misfortune of having to rely on the legal system for redress, that can take generations to get played out. All this creates a psychosis



in the public mind that induces a propensity towards the payment of bribes and a subservience towards authority that is at variance with the mindset needed if a democracy has to remain healthy.

Why is this significant? Because in the past as well, the history of India has been marked by a similar psychosis, one that enabled foreign rule in the country. Like the Taliban in Afghanistan during 1994-96, the British often did not need to conquer through the use of force. They used bribery and other forms of persuasion so as to tempt key officials to defect to their side, often stealthily. But for such dishonesty within the elite of the country, India would never have been reduced to slavery. Today, a class of individuals has emerged in the higher echelons of power in India who in their chemistry are very similar to those who sold out India in the past. Unless this class gets replaced by those who reject the option of getting bribed and induced into anti-state actions, the country is not safe from a fresh bout of slavery.

While it may safely be estimated that more than 70% of those in positions of political power have not been able to resist the lure of corrupt cash, it is a tribute to the decency of the people of India that even in the discretion-suffused British-Nehruvian administrative construct, about 70% of officials are still reasonably honest. About 20% are passengers, incapable of work or unwilling to make any effort, while about 10% may be regarded as corrupt. Unfortunately, in a kind of Gresham's Law, the bad 10% seem to overpower the honest 70%, and reach the top much faster and in far greater number than the honest. One reason for this is the culture of impunity that is a feature of Nehruvin India. The corrupt do not fear the investigative agencies, because they are aware that much of the operational echelons of such agencies is staffed by those who too are corrupt. They do not fear the legal system, because they regard it as feasible to indefinitely delay accountability for crimes, especially if high-prices legal assistance is available. Most importantly, they know that the powerful businesspersons and politicians who have been illegally assisted by them will stand by them, in their own interest. Had the CBI been a genuine anti-corruption agency, rather than just another protective cover for the VVIPs of India, it would have - for example - examined the record of ONGC in not discovering oil and gas. Several external agencies have ensured

that India remains tied to external sources for the bulk of its hydrocarbon needs, where an honest effort at exploration would have made the country self-sufficient by the 1980s. Oil markets point out that numerous "switches" get done in the crude oil sold by Indian state agencies, each of which seems designed to funnel cash to unseen beneficiaries. The CBI could crack the petroproduct fraud in months, but is unlikely to, in view of the need of the agency to protect those who have been responsible for the jobs and promotions of those working there.

Had the Archeological Survey of India done an expert check of the so-called masterpieces in several state-owned galleries and museums, they may discover that several are copies, made so that the genuine article gets clandestinely sold to external buyers. Art theft has been a feature of India for centuries, and continues to the present. The loss of the physical manifestations of High Culture retard efforts at inculcating the spirit of pride and viability that is so needed for India to emerge from the shadows of the past to the promise of the future.

If the fence begins to eat the crops, we are in trouble. In India, official agencies have ignored the fact that the biggest danger to national security comes from the top of the administrative pyramid, exactly as it did in the period when India came under the control of the UK. Only the enforcing of accountability to the very apex of the pyramid can create enough fear for a reversal of the ingrained habit of graft, and enthuse the silent majority to assert themselves over the corrupt 10%. If there is any chance of this taking place, it will be because a vigilant Supreme Court sees through the obfuscations and evasions of the official agencies, and nudges and shames them into action.

Dwight D Eisenhower talked of the "Military-Industrial Complex" in the US. In India, there is the "Politician-Bureaucrat-Businessperson" nexus, comprised of the worst elements of these three vocations. They use the same hawala channels to launder money (and protect these channels, even if several have terror links). They patronize the same sources of entertainment, and enjoy the hospitality of the same external agencies and interests. Unless the Supreme Court succeeds in sending at least a few at the Apex of Greed into prison, India is heading towards another dismal phase in its long history. □

(The write up was circulated in the seminar held at VIF)



Indian black money that has been stashed, estimated at \$472 Billions abroad - much of it sourced in “corruption kickbacks and crime” and on the method of recovering back the money. The seminar suggested the formulation and enabling of various legislations and watch bodies against graft and mal governance.

The note circulated in the beginning of the seminar cited Transparency International report on India for 2003, which pointed out that corruption in India had assumed “frightening proportions” and was all pervasive. This was obvious according to report not only from the scams which are being reported upon regularly in the media but also in the daily lives of every Indian who is constantly confronted with the demand for a bribe in his interface with authority. Indeed, the 2005 Transparency International report on India mentions that “62% of citizens think that corruption is not hearsay, but they in fact had firsthand experience of paying bribes or using a contact to get a job done in a public office.” For the record, in 2010 Transparency International rated

India around midway (87<sup>th</sup> out of 178 countries) in its listing of countries on the basis of corruption, along with Jamaica, Albania and Liberia, and suggested that corruption is more rampant in it than in countries like Bhutan, Botswana, Rwanda, Cuba, Saudi Arabia etc. Transparency International has also argued that the country is now in a phase when corruption is being shamelessly defended by those in power. The note further read, “according to a study undertaken by Mr Dev Kar, a lead economist with US based Global Financial Integrity, between 1948 to 2008 the illicit flight of money from India was of the order of \$462 billion and 50% of this occurred after 1991. According to Wikipedia India tops the list for black money in the entire world and in fact places the amount of such money stashed in Switzerland at almost US\$1456 billion.”

In examining the nature of threat posed to national security by corruption we must have a clear understanding of both these terms, added the note.

It continued: In the past, the concept of national security was

defined in excessively narrow terms and taken to simply connote the preservation of the integrity and sovereignty of the state against military threats from without and disruptive elements from within. In today’s world national security must be viewed in more holistic terms. While requiring the preservation of the sovereignty and integrity of the state against external and internal threats, it equally requires the promotion of economic growth with equity ensuring food, water and energy security, the ensuring of human development with special emphasis on education, health, housing etc, the successful resolution of the multifaceted challenges of globalization, the provision of good governance etc. In short there is no facet of national life that does not impinge on national security.

Corruption has been defined in many different ways. Each is lacking in some way. However, like an elephant when one sees corruption one readily recognizes it. One of the simplest definitions, used by the World Bank, is that it is the “abuse of public power for private benefit”. It being understood that this is applicable to persons in position of authority and that “private benefit” need not only imply personal pecuniary benefit but in addition benefit, pecuniary or otherwise, of one’s party, class, tribe, friends, family, etc. It could also imply manipulation of individuals, institutions, rules of procedure for sustaining power, status and wealth of oneself and one’s associates. Indeed, one could extend this to mean that any impropriety committed by anyone in a position of authority is abuse of power and hence corruption, extending from

Clinton's escapades with Monika Lewinsky to the cash for votes scandal during the vote on the nuclear deal in 2008.

At the grass root level, corruption, which takes the form of employment of absentee or fake teachers and workers, use of sub-standard materials in public works, use of regulatory mechanisms to extract illegal gratification, grant of contracts to favoured parties by manipulating the procedures, leakage of resources earmarked for government schemes like NREGA etc, is not only a drain on national resources but also adversely affects good governance. To the extent that good governance and the state's developmental programmes are adversely affected they constitute a threat to national security because they enhance alienation and prevent the optimization of the state's comprehensive national power. It is after all the absence of good governance that is one of the causes of the menace of left wing extremism which afflicts one third of the country. A country can only allow the deterioration of good governance at its own peril.

When grass roots level corruption takes the form of leakage of sensitive information or issuance of passports, driving licenses including commercial pilot licenses, etc for illegal gratification it constitutes an obvious security risk. It is common knowledge that officers in several ministries of the rank of director and below are on the take for passing on file noting etc to whoever is prepared to pay them. It is also well known that passports, driving licenses etc are easily purchasable. The Pakistani hijackers of IC 814 obtained some of these in Mumbai. Such seem-

ingly petty corruption poses serious security hazards. But these are all well known cases. What is not so well known is that the authorities have for years imported currency paper from the same company that exports it to Pakistan and takes no action to manufacture it indigenously. It is not surprising, therefore, that Pakistan has been so successful in flooding the country with fake currency. The reason why our authorities have failed to take the obvious steps to make it more difficult for Pakistan to make fake Indian currency can be easily guessed.

At the macro level corruption reduces public revenue and increases public spending. It thus contributes to larger fiscal deficits, making it more difficult for the government to run a sound fiscal policy and placing in jeopardy the entire economy. This poses a truly existential threat to the nation. As an illustration one need only refer to the 2 G spectrum scam when thousands of crores were foregone by government by its making the spectrum available to selected operators at throwaway prices. If the market price for the spectrum had been realized the government's revenue position would have been enormously bolstered thereby beefing up its comprehensive national power by enabling it to reduce the fiscal deficit as well as addressing shortcomings in diverse areas like defence, education, health etc. Similarly, absence of corruption in the management of the CWG would have saved the government hundreds of

crores which have been squandered due to corruption.

Corruption is also a tax on every Indian and on every product made in India thereby reducing the competitiveness of Indian manufactures. Furthermore, it damages the national image and constitutes a powerful disincentive for foreign investment. It is, therefore, an inbuilt drag on the economy. Indeed, according to a UNDP report if corruption levels in India were reduced to those in Scandinavian countries investment in India would increase by 10% and GOP growth by 1.5%.

Another facet of the manner in which corruption poses a security threat to the state is the nexus between the criminal and the corrupt with the latter sometimes being both. It is a matter of record that there have been several terrorists in Kashmir who have obtained funding from abroad through Indian hawala operators. But the most astounding case is that of Hasan Ali a small time criminal, horsebreeder, gun runner, and hawala operator who in a matter of two decades from the 90's to date ran up deposits aggregating \$8 billion in UBS Zurich. What makes



the matter even more sinister is that the Government was aware of this in 2007 but allowed Hasan Ali to remain out on bail and failed to collect income tax arrears from him running into tens of thousands of crores. It is only in the face of public outcry as in the case of 2G spectrum and CWG scams that the government is making a show of taking action against him. Its reluctance to act against him obviously stems from his proven connections to top Congress leaders like Ahmed Patel and Vilasrao Oeshmukh. So close a nexus between the ruling party and a person like Ali who is both a criminal and enormous illicitly stashed wealth abroad is obviously a highly toxic mix which clearly poses a grave threat to national security.

Abuse of power for personal pecuniary benefit or for that of party, relatives and friends is clearly a security risk as it opens the person engaged in such activity to blackmail. The payoffs in the bofors case or the alleged payments made to Sonia Gandhi, Rahul Gandhi and Sonia Gandhi's mother in 1982 by the KGB naturally opened up the Congress leadership to all manner of blackmail and one wonders what had to be given in return. Certainly it explains the frenetic efforts made by it to get Quattrochi off the hook.

Similarly, improprieties committed by those in position of authority are detrimental to national well being. Some examples of these are the cash for votes scams indulged in by late Mr Narasimha Rao and more recently by Dr Man Mohan Singh. While these enabled the two governments to continue in power they have immeasurably sullied Indian polity and the stand-

ing of Indian democracy. Other instances, of such improprieties committed by no less a person than the Prime Minister are the failure to prevent the 2G spectrum scam by curbing Raja's proclivities or sacking him and the failure to prevent the CWG scam in which not only the Games Committee but also the Delhi Administration were guilty. By failing to act the PM betrayed the trust reposed in him by the people and thereby is himself guilty of simply having watched while the country was being looted. But these are acts of omission he is also guilty of several acts of commission which are in the nature of improprieties geared to ensuring retention of power. One of the little noticed but fairly significant of such actions is the wholesale retention in office of many officers after they had reached the age of superannuation. This is designed to ensure a sycophantic bureaucracy which would lack the will and ability to act as a check on a politic class hell bent on defrauding the nation. At a piece with this move was the effort to foist a CVC on the nation with less than impeccable credentials and one who could be expected to bale the government out on the 2 G spectrum scam. Such moves which damage national institutions cannot but be viewed as highly detrimental to national security.

Indeed, incalculable damage to national security was also done by the former NSA through a similar abuse of power. Stepping into the shoes of larger than life predecessors and inherently insecure he was apprehensive of the evolution of strong institutions. Accordingly, the NSCS which was fast emerging as a mechanism for in-

telligence coordination and an organization for providing independent policy inputs on a wide range of security related issues was gutted by fracturing its unified command and control structure by placing four secretary level officers where there had been only one. Furthermore, it was made subservient to the National Security Advisory Board (NSAB), by the requirement that it would have to incorporate the views of the latter on all papers submitted by it to the National Security Council. This is ridiculous as the NSAB is a body of non officials and, therefore, should not be a privy to the advice on sensitive issues submitted by the NSCS. Moreover, it was originally constituted only for providing non-governmental inputs on specific issues flagged for its attention. It is no surprise therefore, that the NSCS has been gutted and, indeed, had it been functioning effectively as mandated perhaps 26111 may have been averted. Other intelligence related entities and mechanisms like the National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO), the National Information Board (NIB), and the Intelligence Coordination Group (ICG), have similarly been damaged through want of careful nurturing and adoption of policies aimed at short term self promotion rather than institution building. Accordingly, the state of our intelligence capabilities is less than optimal due to such misguided policies.

Several other papers were also circulated during the two day event by the learned speakers which were the basis of their presentation. Swadeshipatrika will try to share those views with its readers as soon as is possible. □□

## Anna Hazare, suspects cannot be trusted



*Anna's fast had a very limited objective — that civil society should be involved in drafting the Lokpal Bill — like Gandhiji's salt march just wanted the salt law repealed. And like Gandhi's march shook the British, Anna's fast began shaking the regime in Delhi. Had the British talked to Gandhiji before his march ended, the salt tax would have gone, but the empire would not have been shaken, believes S Gurumurthy*



Anna Hazare started like Mahatma Gandhi would have done — fast unto death for a law against corruption. Anna bestirred the middle class after long, at least to talk against corruption on TV. Anna's fast had a very limited objective — that civil society should be involved in drafting the Lokpal Bill — like Gandhiji's salt march just wanted the salt law repealed. And like Gandhi's march shook the British, Anna's fast began shaking the regime in Delhi. Had the British talked to Gandhiji before his march ended, the salt tax would have gone, but the empire would not have been shaken. Drawing a lesson from the British, the rulers in Delhi talked with Anna and gave

in to his symbolic demand. The result? Anna's fast succeeded; but his cause?

Anna started off saying that "Remote control-se gadbadi hote hain" — that is, 'remote control causes problems'. No seer is needed to say that Anna had hinted at only Sonia Gandhi as the problematic remote control. This was on April 6, 2011 (Rediff.com). Said CNN-IBN (April 8, 2011), he "ignited emotive cries of "Bharat Mata ki Jai!", "Vande Mataram" — something anathema to the secular audience and the media. Added to that danger was the portrait of Bharat Mata — that which adorns saffron platforms — as the backdrop. Anna on fast in this setting,

hinting at Sonia Gandhi as the problematic remote control and the fire he set across the country frightened the rulers.

The scared government forthwith went on the backfoot; it desperately looked for empathetic interlocutors to undo the damage occurring hour-to-hour on 24x7 TV channels. Sonia Gandhi forthwith appealed to Anna to give up the fast in the interest of his health assuring that his views would receive the full attention of the government. Her National Advisory Committee's subcommittee said it would back the Lokpal Bill. Sensing victory Anna wrote to Sonia, "I am grateful for your concern about my health. The sub-committee of National Advisory Council had agreed with a broad content of the General Lokpal bill barring two issues. We request to get the drafts discussed at a full meeting in the NAC at the earliest and recommend the outcome. I am relieved to know that you fully support the cause."

In the next couple of days it was all over — not only the fast but, more. A simple man uninitiated to the vicious secular politics, Anna had a word of compliment for Narendra Modi. Hell broke loose. This was sufficient to undo the effect of Anna's fast; to question his secular credentials; to

throw him off balance. His own team began deriding him. The subcommittee of Sonia's NAC was the first to turn its back on Anna. Kapil Sibals, Digvijay Singhs, Manish Tiwaris and the rest were let loose on Anna. Sibal even gloated that Anna and Co wilted under pressure to dilute the law. Anna had thus the first taste of what a corrupt system could do to besmirch the reputation of those who dare it. To divert from the sequence and recall my own personal experience in fighting corruption, the government even used a forged letter to arrest me for 'espionage'. This was way back in 1987 when some morals were still in evidence in public life. Now back to the sequence.

Then came the news of the CD against Bhushans. Few can question the honesty of Bhushans. Yet, Anna, confused, first said that he could not guarantee anyone's honesty other than his own; then when the news broke out that the CD could be forged, he came out in their defence. He wrote to Sonia Gandhi asking her to stop her minions – namely the likes of Sibals and Digvijays, according to the media – from smearing the civil society nominees or face counter smear against the government nominees! Going further, Anna asked her “to fight together” to defeat the designs of the corrupt forces. The Congress Party responded asking, “how can there be a caveat on expression of views in a vibrant and democratic society?” and saying that “discourse cannot be one-sided



***Anna does not seem to know that the popular Swiss magazine Schweizer Illustrierte (dated November 11, 1991) had disclosed that deposits of 2.2 billion Swiss Francs existed in secret Swiss banks accounts of late Rajiv Gandhi.***

affair”. No further evidence is needed for the paralysis in the Lokpal Bill committee.

Two things are clear now. One, Anna Hazare understands that only the remote controller Sonia Gandhi — not the PM — matters in the UPA regime. Here he is undisputedly right. Second, he thinks, she can join the fight against corruption. This shows his ignorance. Anna's suspicion of corruption seems limited to only Sharad Pawar's. He is obviously unaware of the serious charges of corruption and of monies illegally held abroad against Sonia

Gandhi. Anna does not seem to know that the popular Swiss magazine Schweizer Illustrierte (dated November 11, 1991) had disclosed that deposits of 2.2 billion Swiss Francs existed in secret Swiss banks accounts of late Rajiv Gandhi. Likewise the declassified KGB documents, analysed by Yuvegina Albats, an award-winning Russian journalist, showed that

Rajiv Gandhi had thanked the USSR in 1985 for the financial benefits his family and his son, Rahul Gandhi, had received. Anna may not be aware that the former Swedish Investigation Bureau's chief Sten Lindstorm had written repeatedly that Sonia Gandhi ought to be interrogated in the Bofors payoff to Quattrocchi. Yet Sonia Gandhi repeatedly defended Quattrocchi. Had Anna known these facts, would he have asked her to join the fight against corruption?

Anna asked for Sharad's head because he suspected him as corrupt. But as yet there is no such open charge against Sharad Pawar like the ones against Sonia Gandhi and her family. Sonia Gandhi or her family has not even sued any one of some half-a-dozen writers who have repeated these charges. If ever the Lokpal Bill were to become the law, she may even be the subject of probe by the Lokpal. Anna must know that Sonia Gandhi is as much suspected of corruption as Sharad Pawar, and more. Can suspects in corruption be trusted to fight the corrupt? □□

(E-mail: [comment@gurumurthy.net](mailto:comment@gurumurthy.net))

## How Tamil Nadu's freebie culture is killing its economy



*Elections in Tamil Nadu are all about freebies; not about anything else. And for both the ruling party and the opposition what matters today is not the performance of the government but intelligent packaging of freebies, finds MR Venkatesh*

It is raining freebies in Tamil Nadu once again. If Thalaivar (Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and DMK chief M Karunanidhi) does not give you, Amma (AIADMK supreme J. Jayalalithaa) will.

If Amma promises anything free, Thalaivar will get you the same twice over. According to political analysts, the tipping point in freebies came during the last state elections, held in 2006.

It is generally believed in political circles that the offer of free televisions and subsidised rice at Rs 2 per kg tilted the balance in favour of the then opposition (the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), which was voted to office.

Having tasted success, the think-tank within the ruling party sincerely believe whatever be the quality of administration, law and order, growth trajectory of the state, power and water crises, quality of infrastructure, and corruption charges hurled against it by the opposition, they can get away.

Unfortunately, the opposition in office today (the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) too has come to believe in this idea — of influencing voters and winning their loyalty through a series of brazen freebie promises.

In short, elections in Tamil Nadu are all about by freebies; not

about anything else. And for both the ruling party and the opposition what matters today is not the performance of the government but intelligent packaging of freebies.

In the process little do the voters in Tamil Nadu realise that freebies are nothing but corrupt electoral malpractices brazenly carried out using the revenues of the state. Neither do they realize that in real life there are no free lunches.

Surely, someone somewhere has to foot the bill. More importantly, as the focus is on delivering such freebies, the overall administration suffers.

The cost: The state is caught in a debt spiral that is now be-

lieved to exceed Rs 100,000 crore (Rs 1 trillion). What is appalling is that rough calculations reveal that the freebies announced could well cost anywhere between Rs 50,000 and 250,000 crores (Rs 500 billion to Rs 2.50 trillion) — yes! — to the exchequer; so much so that, given the precarious state of the finances of the state, analysts have termed these promises as impossible to be delivered.

Some have termed this as a race to the bottom. It is in this context that one is reminded of Gresham's law: When the good circulates with the bad, bad drives out the good.

When ideology is reduced to



rhetoric; economics is buried fathoms deep. I was privileged to attend a lecture of Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi in Chennai a couple of years back. Never to miss a chance to run down his political opponents, Modi pointed out something very interesting.

The Congress Party – the opposition in Gujarat – proposed to provide freebies to the electorate in Gujarat too so as to woo the electorate there, in light of the successful experiment in Tamil Nadu.

The response to this by Modi is telling and explains why he remains a potent political force even in distant Tamil Nadu. When questioned by scribes as to what he proposes to give as freebies if elected, Modi retorted that he would slap notices on all tax defaulters!

It is easy to dismiss the same as typical arrogance or bravado by Modi. Yet, Modi won. And to me it is a tribute to the people of Gujarat as much as it is to the leadership of Modi.

And like the adage, I believe, it is the ordinary people who fashion the thoughts of their leaders, not the other way round.

What worries analysts is that given the competitive game of announcing freebies, it is a matter of time before one of the political parties announces the extension to the mid-day meal scheme available to all school-going children currently to all those who are below the poverty line only to find their political opponents extending it to all households.

‘Women liberated from kitchen’ could possibly be the slogan. And to liberate men? Well, subsidised liquor could be one option



that comes to mind instantly.

Naturally that brings me to the most crucial question: Is Dravidian politics shorn of economics? Does its politics have economics in its calculus? Is its politics rooted in sound economics?

To answer these questions it is important to understand a bit of Dravidian politics as it is practiced today. Surely, it began with some high and lofty ideals and ideology coinciding with our Independence.

Over the next four decades after Independence, it meandered into nothingness. Since then Dravidian politics meant alliterating endlessly in chaste Tamil, expressing sympathy for Sri Lankan Tamils and swearing repeatedly on the greatness of Tamil language.

Dravidian ideology loosely mirroring communism rested on the following three pillars—atheism, anti-Hindi agitation and propagating the ideals of a casteless society.

Today, all Dravidian parties are floundering on all the three pillars. Leaders are known to secretly consult astrologers, occultists and carry out prayers at specified temples at specified times.

That is not all — anti-Hindi stance is only for the cadre. But in most cases, their children can read write and speak in Hindi. So much

for their anti-Hindi stance!

And as far as the third ideology is concerned, today every major caste in Tamil Nadu has a political party of its own or seeks to have a separate political identity.

Given these highly emotional issues that formed the bedrock of Dravidian politics there was no time for ‘Dravidian economics’. No wonder, while Dravidian leaders were high on political rhetoric and rarely talked sensible economics.

Linkage to economics, if at all, was limited to providing freebies, more freebies and even more freebies. ‘We understand the hunger of the poor’ has been their common refrain.

Consequently, the electorate in Tamil Nadu, particularly since 2006, has been used to getting freebies from the government. In fact, freebies are ingrained into the collective psyche of the people of the state.

If you do not announce freebies, you are not a serious political party, and if you do not seek one, you are not a voter.

Apparently, Dravidian politics has been as vacuous as its economics. Dravidian politics for long had prided itself on ‘restoring Tamil pride and self-respect of Tamils’ (whatever it meant).

Today Tamil pride and self-respect have been reduced to queuing up to get their share of the booty offered by the Dravidian parties as freebies.

But there is a murkier side. Let me elaborate.

### The Net impact

Below is the data on the economic parameters of the state between 2006 and 2009.

Tamil Nadu			Annual	Annual	Annual	Annual
Indicator	Unit	Expr.	Mar-06	Mar-07	Mar-08	Mar-09
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	11.89	11.29	4.41	4.55
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Agriculture, forestry & fishing (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	11.67	12.89	-7.1	-2.08
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Agriculture (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	9.59	14.65	-7.22	-2.65
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Forestry and logging (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	0.44	-5.56	0.73	1.12
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Fishing (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	40.33	1.97	-7.9	2.93
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Industry (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	14.48	9.4	2.23	1.01
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Mining and quarrying (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	-2.77	6.45	0.52	1.79
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Manufacturing (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	16.45	11.34	4.73	1.97
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Manufacturing registered (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	21.37	11.45	4.04	1.97
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Manufacturing unregistered (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	7.35	11.12	6.17	1.97
State Gross Domestic Product at factor cost at constant price: Electricity, gas and water supply (Base=99-00)	%	YoY	-2.77	-10.23	-35.49	-48.29

While the data for 2010 is yet to be put up on the official Web site of the Tamil Nadu government, the accompanying data reveals the precipitous fall in the performance of the state since 2006.

Virtually on all the three sectors – agriculture, industry and services – the state has been witnessing a complete drop in growth rates during this period.

Yet, strangely when national growth rates dominate the national economics and political debates, growth rates at the state level are yet to catch up.

In fact, even the opposition is reticent to point out that the net consequence of this freebie mania has been to completely dynamite the state's administrative machinery which is used only to deliver freebies. Much as the freebie economics of Dravidian politics has its roots in socialism ('we represent the poor'), the fact remains that several members of the first family of Tamil Nadu have varied business interests.

In fact, from running television channels to civil aviation, from cinema to newspaper, the business

empire of these members is truly impressive and its rise spectacular.

Competition exists only from business entity controlled by other members of the family. And for others, there is always government power, muscle and money power.

Originally policies at the state level were made to benefit family run business. Now in the era of coalition this extends to the Centre too. As someone put it bluntly — Hyundai will make cars in Tamil Nadu as long as the first family does not make cars.

Given this environment, it is puerile to believe that the state would attract any investment — domestic or international.

And those who have invested in the state are constantly under

***Freebies are not only politically expedient, but if voted to power, an excellent business prospect for the family business too.***

tremendous pressure. That, in turn, explains the fall in the growth rates across sectors. All these in turn are sure to have a debilitating impact on the economic performance of the state. But who cares?

Further, vested interests feed on this political-business model. After all, when free television sets were promised in 2006, the cable and channel business carried on by the family members were the biggest beneficiaries.

Freebies are not only politically expedient, but if voted to power, an excellent business prospect for the family business too.

In the process, most of us fail to realise the symbiotic link between Dravidian politics and Dravidian economics. Over the years the thin differentiating lines between public offices and private business have become increasingly blurred in Tamil Nadu. This model depends on freebies, feeds on corruption and brazenly encourages crony capitalism. Crucially, freebies are a link between the political interests and the business interests of family members.

So, it is in effect, a win-win situation for Dravidian parties in Tamil Nadu. Not only do you win elections by promising freebies, but in the bargain you also open up a big opportunity for family-run businesses.

Business for politics and politics for business! What more could anyone want?

In this scenario, today Tamil dignity and Tamil self-respect alternate between the two — brazen corruption and crony capitalism. Economics and politics have been combined in Tamil Nadu to bring about a heady brew: 'thugonomics'. □□

## The Untold Story of the Anna Hazare Phenomenon



*None of the founding members of India Against Corruption, and that includes Anna Hazare, had even in our wildest of imagination thought that Anna's fast would galvanise the country, and people across the country would stand up and identify with the cause like they eventually did, confesses Dr. Devinder Sharma*

From April 5 to date, Anna Hazare is the news. He is being discussed, debated, applauded, accused, vilified and is also at times being crucified by the intelligentsia. The formation of the joint drafting committee to frame the Lok Pal bill continues to be the subject of endless debates and has been a victim of a visible smear campaign orchestrated by those whose extra-terrestrial powers would be clipped once a tough law against corruption (mostly affecting people in high places) comes into place.

I find myself stranded somewhere in the middle as accusations (and also accolades) fly from almost all directions. Why in the

middle because I am a founding member of India Against Corruption and has walked with the small but effective group to bring the fight against corruption onto the national platform. All these days I have maintained a little distance from the glare of the media that has given me enough time to take a deep breath and contemplate. At a time when all efforts (including from some known faces of the civil society) are aimed at digressing the issue of a strong Lok Pal bill, I think it is time to explain how and why the Anna Hazare factor emerged. Let me share with you some of the salient developments in the march against corruption.

I don't remember the date but I can still recall when I received a call from RTI Activist Arvind Kejriwal. He asked me whether I would be willing to be part of the fight against the Commonwealth Games corruption. It was as simple as that. When he explained that his idea was to file a Public FIR against the bigwigs of Commonwealth Games organising committee, I agreed. Arvind and I have shared a mutual admiration for each other's work and he probably knew that I would stand by him. To me it was a good idea, and I am always with those who want to do something rather than sulk and brood over a cup of coffee.

Arvind similarly reached to some of the better known and credible faces from amongst the civil society. He met noted social activist Swami Agnivesh and the former police officer, Kiran Bedi. It was Kiran Bedi who suggested that the group could also seek the support of Swami Ramdev. From what I know, Kiran Bedi called Swami Ramdev and appraised him of the initiative and the need to join the campaign. Swami Ramdev's backing of the campaign against Commonwealth Games corruption was certainly a clincher. His huge following certainly helped in turning the tables.



But that was only the beginning. Meanwhile, we reached out to Sri Sri Ravi Shanker and also the Archbishop of Delhi. Both agreed to extend support. Later, I spoke to Baba Seenchewal in Punjab, and he too extended his support. Well, it was not only the spiritual leaders that we were garnering support from but a cross-section of the civil society also began to join the campaign. The numbers grew. You will find the names of the founding members on the website of <http://www.indiagainstcorruption.org/>

While all this was going on, Arvind's office was meticulously putting together the contents of the Public FIR. I was amazed at the work that had gone in when I was asked to sign on the 370-page FIR that was publicly filed at the Jantar Mantar Police Station. The turnout at Jantar Mantar had exceeded our expectations. I haven't seen such a huge gathering at Jantar Mantar (in the heart of Delhi where most public rallies are allowed) all these years, and let us not forget to give credit to those who deserve it for making that possible. Swami Ramdev's Bharat Swabhiman had given a call for reaching Delhi, and believe me his followers responded. Archbishop of Delhi too had brought in a large number of his followers.

At the Jantar Mantar rally, Swami Ramdev was the main speaker. Anna Hazare was present on the dais. When Swami Ramdev arrived (his flight was late), we didn't have to go to submit the FIR. The officer-in-charge of the police station came out to receive the FIR from us. Later, I remember Anna Hazare telling

Swami Ramdev that he (Anna) has been waging a battle against corruption all these years but now he can hope that it will reach its logical conclusion. Anna spoke in his usual passionate style telling how he had successfully got 6 Maharashtra ministers & over 400 corrupt officials removed by his relentless campaign against corruption.

A few weeks later, Sri Sri Ravi Shanker addressed a press conference in New Delhi with all of us extending his support.

India Against Corruption had arrived.

This is the visible part of the unprecedented campaign against corruption. The invisible part of the story would perhaps remain outside the ambit and gambit of the TV cameras. Arvind's office had meanwhile turned in a war room. I am really amazed by the kind of work that his team of young activists had put in. They wrote the Jan Lok Pal bill draft, which kept on being revised every now and then. They entertained visitors (whose numbers had multiplied), answering umpteen number of phone calls, sms', emails and comments on facebook. They prepared the banners and placards and organised subsequent meetings. Volunteers joined in and did a remarkable job. It wasn't easy if you can understand what I mean. But it was all happening because the man who led from front – Arvind Kajriwal – had set in standards.

The Jan Lok Pall bill was meanwhile being prepared in continuous consultation with Shanti Bhushan, Prashant Bhushan, Santosh Hegde. People like Kiran Bedi, Swami Agnivesh and at times

I and others also gave our suggestions and argued on what was going in, but the laborious part remained confined to the original four. That is why when the issue of representation at the joint framing committee came up, India Against Corruption fielded the same people who were involved with the process all these months.

Returning back to the Public FIR that was received at the Jantar Mantar police station, what is little known is that while the FIR was filed, it was never registered by the police. This was probably the first time that an FIR had been lodged on behalf of the public, but the powers-that-be were not amused. We did think about moving the courts to give a directive to the police, but the spate of scams that hit the country – Adarsh Housing scam in Mumbai and the 2G Spectrum telecom scam – to name a few, got us more and more involved in the fight against corruption. Two public rallies subsequently in the famous Ram Lila grounds in New Delhi helped build up the fight against corruption. Public sentiment was building up.

It was at one such moments when we were thinking as to what should be the next step to bring the issue to the fore, Anna Hazare expressed the desire to go on a fast unto death. The founding members of India Against Corruption were not for it. He was already in his 73rd year and we

---

***Let us not forget to give credit to those who deserve it for making that possible.***

---

knew that we can't afford to risk his life. Corruption is not an issue that can be resolved with a fast, and therefore we tried to convince him to give up the idea. He wrote a letter to Prime Minister who invited him for discussions. Anna went to meet Dr Manmohan Singh who promised to set up a Group of Ministers (GoM) under Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee. But remained non-committal on the central demand of a joint drafting committee for the Lok Pal bill.

Finally after a lot of deliberations, India Against Corruption agreed to Anna's proposal to sit on a fast-unto-death unless the govt accept the proposal to draft the Jan Lok bill jointly with the civil society.

A few weeks after Anna's meeting with PM, he received an invite from the govt for discussions with a sub-committee that was constituted by the GoM headed by Pranab Mukherjee. The sub-committee under the chairmanship of Defence Minister A K Antony, comprised Law Minister Veerappa Moily, HRD Minister Kapil Sibal and the Minister of State for parliamentary Affairs, V. Narayanasamy. Four of us representing India Against Corruption – Swami Agnivesh, Sunita Godhara, former Asian gold medallist in marathon, Justice (Retd) D S Tewati, former chief justice of Calcutta and Punjab High Courts and I – went to meet the sub-committee.

We had a long discussion with the committee and we offered to convince Anna Hazare not go ahead with the fast if the sub-committee could give us an assurance that the government would

consider the proposal to have a joint drafting committee. Kapil Sibal tried to tell us that setting up a joint committee would be unconstitutional and set a bad precedence. He cited the example of what he had done by inviting civil society members for seeking their views when he framed the Right to Education bill. This is what we didn't want knowing the way he had very cleverly brushed aside the suggestions of the civil society members in the final draft of the Right to Education bill. Antony did say that the government needs support from civil society in framing a Lok Pal bill which will be a 'landmark legislation'. I had to remind him that a landmark legislation needs landmark decisions, and the setting up of a joint drafting committee would be one such landmark decisions required. What was clear to us was that the government wanted to buy more time.

Already 42 years had passed since the first effort was made to have a Lok Pal bill.

Before we emerged out of the meeting what came as a surprise was the way the government had in addition invited five more civil society representatives to the meeting. Nothing wrong you would say, but in my thinking it clearly indicated the official way of sabotaging people's movements. In fact, I found Kapil Sibal to be more than keen to give the other invitees chance to take the floor (again this is a usual way of diverting focus from the real issue under discussion). It was therefore clear to us that the government wouldn't let the civil society engagement in the law making process be as smooth as we were asking for.

The build up for Anna Hazare's fast had already begun. We were flooded with response from across the country. Arvind's team was finding it difficult to keep up with the pressures. They were spending sleepless nights in the office. The new media was flooded with requests and support. I remember seeing requests from people offering to hold fasts at some 180 plus cities/towns across the country. Over 5.5 lakh people extended support, and thousands offered to sit on fast in batches. I had not seen such an encouraging response from the masses for quite some time. But let me be honest, none of the founding members of India Against Corruption, and that includes Anna Hazare, had even in our wildest of imagination thought that Anna's fast would galvanise the country, and people across the country would stand up and identify with the cause like they eventually did.

A few days before the fast began, I was among a score of people invited to participate in a discussion on the Jan Lok Pal bill in one of the committees of the National Advisory Council (NAC). It wasn't a worthwhile experience to talk about. The people who organised the discussion appeared to be speaking the same language as that of the sub-committee appointed by the Prime Minister.

Anyway, what pains is to find that once the fast began, some members of the NAC wrote and commented on Anna Hazare's fast calling it undemocratic and the demand of joint drafting committee as unconstitutional. This was unfortunate and was more out of the negative feeling (and outrage among those who think they

only represent the civil society) of being left out. The joint draft committee is 'undemocratic' because they are not in it. If they were included, everything would have termed as democratic. I don't know when will civil society leaders discard their unsustainable egos and learn for once from politicians. The Communists fight bitterly against the Congress in general elections. But when the results are declared and they land up with a hung Parliament, they join hands, draw a common minimum programme and run the country for the next five years. If the civil society leaders were to get into Parliament and form the government believe me they will not be able to rule the country for than a month!

Coming back to what made this campaign successful, I must

tell you that I have been on the forefront of another successful people's campaign in recent times. The campaign against the commercialisation of what could have been India's first poisonous GM food crop — Bt brinjal — was also driven by ordinary people. It had taken us four years to build up that campaign, move on from being an NGO activity to people's campaign. I vividly recall when I sat down with two of my colleagues (Usha and Sridhar from Thanal) in Thiruvanthpuram and discussed the need to launch a campaign against Bt brinjal, we too had not visualised that one day we would succeed in getting a moratorium on Bt Brinjal.

The lesson I have learnt is that if you strongly feel about something, pull up your socks and do something. I hate those people

who sit in their drawing rooms and over a glass of beer or coffee go on discussing corruption or other ills in the country but do nothing. The same breed of people were also telling us that nothing would come out from the campaign against corruption. Even now there are a large number of people who go on giving endless advice and some of them have been predicting that Anna's movement will eventually fall. Don't get disheartened. Just ignore these morons and do something. Remember, all changes in history actually began from the vision, dream and perseverance of one (wo)man.

Anna Hazare began his fast at Jantar Mantar on April 5. Along with him, some 150 volunteers also sat on a fast unto death. The rest is history. □□

# SWADESHI PATRIKA

*Voice of Real Economy*

**Dedicated to Swadeshi Movement in all its dimensions;  
Battles threats to the economic sovereignty of the nation; and  
Gives Voice to all sections of Economy**

## SUBSCRIBE AND/OR RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

**FILL THE FORM AND SEND IT TO US :**

Name .....

Address.....

.....

City ..... Pin .....

**YEARLY Rs. 100/-**

**LIFE Rs. 1000/-**

Website: [www.swadeshionline.in](http://www.swadeshionline.in) Email: [swadehipatrika@rediffmail.com](mailto:swadehipatrika@rediffmail.com)

*For subscription please send payment by A/c payee Cheque/Demand Draft/Money Order in favour of 'Swadeshi Patrika' at New Delhi.*

## Assessment of Left Wing Extremist movement 2010 - “An year of operational stalemate”

*The year 2010 is significant because the stakeholders of an anti-Naxal process tried to share understanding and make suitable strategic and tactical advancements. This must have helped in controlling the expansion and consolidation of the LWE movement to a great extent, despite some serious setbacks, thinks Anoop A J*

While addressing the 2010 Chief Minister's conference on internal security, the Home Minister P Chidambaram stated the plan of action against Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in the following words: *“In consultation with the Chief Ministers of Naxal affected States, we decided to boldly confront the challenge thrown by the CPI (Maoist). Consequently, there was a rise in the number of deaths in 2009 amongst civilians, security forces and militants. As the security forces move forward to reclaim areas that are now dominated by the Naxalites, it is possible that this trend will continue in 2010 too. However, I am confident that the State Governments concerned will gradually gain the upper hand and re-establish the authority of the civil administration.”*

After a year of boldly confronting the Naxals, he, reviewing the developments of 2010, puts his assessment in these words during the 2011 Chief Minister's Conference: *“Looking back at 2010, my assessment is that there is a kind of a stalemate. The State governments concerned cannot claim any major advance, nor should we conclude that the CPI (Maoist) has gained the upper hand.”*

The Home Minister's assessment needs a comprehensive analysis so as to derive a long drawn strategy for administering the situation. He underlined that the situa-

tion is a stalemate. The year 2010 is significant because the stakeholders of an anti-Naxal process, at every level, tried to share this understanding and make suitable strategic and tactical advancements. This must have helped in controlling the expansion and consolidation of the LWE movement in 2010 to a great extent, despite of some serious setbacks.

But at the same time, the Maoist document ‘Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution’ forecasts that they will face a stage of Strategic Stalemate, which ‘will end in a shorter time’ and will progress to a stage of strategic offensive. Now, the state has to make its own evaluations after assessing the past

experiences, whether they will continue to face a stalemate for quite some time or will be able to make advancements, probably facing a ‘strategic offensive.’

### Trends of Naxal violence

The data chart above indicates that the total number of deaths is on the increase. But, there was no increase either in the number of security personnel killed or in the number of Naxals, which indicates an operational stalemate.

### Geographical expansion and Consolidation

The latest information regarding the geographical spread of the movement is the statement by the Home Secretary, Mr. G. K. Pillai



on July 6, 2010 that there are 220 districts in India where some Maoist incident has happened. Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal continue to be the most affected states with a significant increase in fatalities and incidents of violence. Some of the regions which witnessed either an increase or continued influence of Left Extremism include: 1) Dandakaranya spread over the Bastar region in Chhattisgarh,



Gadchiroli and some parts of adjoining districts in Maharashtra, and some regions of Orissa, 2) Jangalmahal covering West Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia districts of West Bengal, 3) Andhra-Orissa Border region with Malkangiri, Koraput districts of Orissa and bordering areas of Andhra Pradesh, 4) Jharkhand and 5) Southern part of Bihar. Apart from these a few districts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh also registered an increase in Maoist influence and violence. Moreover, in 2010, the extremist movement has tried to expand activities into other districts of all these states as well as other states like Assam.

In West Bengal, the districts of West and East Midnapore, Purulia and Bankura are highly affected regions. The arrests of Maoists from West Bengal revealed that plans were on for expanding to other districts namely South 24-Parganas, Birbhum, Nadia and Murshidabad and building a safe corridor from coastal West Bengal to Chhattisgarh through Jangal Mahal and Orissa. On 12 April 2010, the Chief Minister of Assam, Tarun Gogoi said that the Maoists are trying to set up bases in Assam

with the help of ULFA. Kanchan, the CPI (Maoist) state secretary of West Bengal, who was arrested in 2010, said that the CPI (Maoist) has made Deepak, a Politburo member in charge of north east. The Maoists also have linked up with Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO), Adivasi National Liberation Army (ANLA) of Assam and the Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) of Manipur.

The Sone Ganga Vindhyachal Zonal Committee consisting of Chandauli, Sonebhadra, Mirzapur in UP and Buxar, Rohtas, Bhojpur and Bhabhua districts in Bihar continue to be one of the highly Naxal affected regions. Another region which recorded gradual increase in LWE activity is the Madhya Pradesh–Maharashtra border region, especially the districts of Balaghat, Seoni, Vidharbha, Nagpur etc. Bandu Meshram, a Maoist arrested in February 2010 revealed that the CPI (Maoist) is preparing a plan to create a strategic exit route from Chhattisgarh to Madhya Pradesh where they could move swiftly in case of an emergency, especially in Abuj Marh. Spread of the movement continued in states of Punjab and Haryana in the last

year. The Chief Minister of Punjab as well the DGP expressed their concern over the increase of LWE activities in the state. Many of the labour unrests in Punjab were identified as motivated or organised by Maoists. The districts of Malwa, Majha, Doaba, Dhuri, Barnala, Jalandhar, Ferozepur, Mansa and Bathinda of Punjab were among those which witnessed some Maoist activity.

There were Maoist expansion plans and activities in South Indian states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & Kerala. The arrest of CPI (Maoist) Karnataka state committee secretary Chandrashekar Gorebal in June 2010 revealed details about their expansion plan in the Western Ghats of Karnataka. There were plans to create a special zonal committee comprising of some districts of Tamil Nadu & Karnataka and establishing a state committee in Kerala.

There were also indications of attempts to come back in the Telengana region which was once the strong hold region of the Maoists. The sentiments over a separate state of Telangana and the anti-Polavaram dam issue are among those which the Maoists are trying to exploit.

2010 also witnessed the unearthing of Maoist network working in the urban area. Ahmedabad-Pune corridor and the Delhi region has been two principal areas where the Maoists could expand its network considerably in the past few years. Around 11 important leaders of the urban network of Maoist organisations were arrested in the Surat police range in the past year and a couple, in charge of



Maoist activities in Delhi were arrested in May 2010.

2010 saw significant Maoist backed mass movements including the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA) in Jangalmahal region of West Bengal and Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) in Narayanpatna in Orissa. There were many indicators of an eroding strength of the Maoist backed PCAPA in 2010 compared especially due to arrests of many of the senior leaders of PCAPA and neutralisation of the armed cadre of the Maoists. After a period of significant low down, the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Samiti seemed to be consolidating its cadre and accentuating its violent activities in order to tight hold the lands which are under its physical control.

### Linkages

The Maoist-ISI nexus was exposed by the arrests of gang men of Dawood Ibrahim and Chota Shakeel in Bangalore in August 2010. The DGP of Chhattisgarh, Vishwaranjan says that Lashkar-e-Taiyaba operatives are in regular touch with Left Extremists and LeT representatives were

present in a meeting of the Central Committee of the Maoists in April-May of this year. During his interrogation, the arrested West Bengal state secretary Kanchan revealed that some of the senior leaders have visited China. Even if the Chinese linkages are not verified, Chinese made weapons and other materials were seized from Indian Maoists repeatedly. BBC even reported connections of Maoists with the United Wa State Army (UWSA), a militant group of Myanmar, primarily for purchase of weapons.

In November, the Indian government sent a letter to Nepal government saying about a pact signed between CPI (Maoist) and Nepalese Maoists for sending cadres to and fro for training. It also had given information regarding 300 Indian Maoists who were trained by People's Liberation Army (PLA) of Nepal, involvement of LeT operatives for providing military training and details of a number of training camps along the Indo-Nepal border.

As mentioned earlier, the Maoists also have forged alliances and partnerships with insurgent

groups in North East. The arrested Maoist leader Kanchan had also hinted about members of Communist Party of Philippines (CPP) having meetings with Indian Maoists and Politburo members visiting a number of countries.

### Funding

The estimates of Maoist funding is still highly speculative. In 2009, there were many official opinions about this figure, including that of the Home Secretary, Chief Ministers and Police officials. The amount which the Home Secretary has speculated to be around Rs. 1400 crores may have increased, but the government still does not have proper estimates.

In July 2010, the Home Minister echoed a word of confidence that LWE will be curbed within a span of three years. Towards achieving this end, the government adopted a two pronged strategy of security and development compounded with a holistic perspective.

In 2010, some of the states like Chhattisgarh remained to continue as theatres of intense security operations and registered an increase of fatalities. At the same time, some other states, despite of intense or increased security operations, lost fewer number of security personnel compared to the previous years. A good example is Orissa, where the strategy of the state police and an increased coordination with Central Paramilitary Forces yielded better results and reduced the fatality rate. The overall assessment, after considering the varied situations in each state, agrees that there is an operational stalemate at a national level. But it is noteworthy that the government was quite successful in emptying the authority of the Left

Extremists from many areas of their influence, which serves as an indicator of achieving the target set by the Home Minister.

### Strategic Decisions

The Home Minister recalled during his speech at the Chief Ministers conference in February 2011 - *“Following the decisions of the Cabinet Committee on Security in October 2009, the Central government provided additional forces to the States affected by naxalism. The State governments too recruited more personnel, invested more in training, acquired better and more weapons, and boldly engaged the naxalites, more particularly the CPI (Maoist).”* The year 2010 was the year of building up and consolidating the security force levels.

It should also be noted that, due to difference in opinions and lack of coordination between the states and centre or state police and central forces, many of the vital strategic decisions were either not implemented or delayed. The Unified command is a striking example. Many of the operational failures of 2010, especially those in Chhattisgarh have happened because of this.

### Neutralisation and Arrests of leaders

One of the most significant achievements of 2010 is the neutralisation of Cherukuri Rajkumar alias Azad, one of the most senior leaders and the official spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist). The Killing of Sakhamuri Appa Rao, a Central Committee (CC) member and former head of Central Military Commission of CPI (Maoist) and arrests of Balraj alias Arvind, a PB as well as CC member and



head of the northern regional bureau of the CPI (Maoist), Banshidhar alias Chintan, another PB member, Chandrashekhar Gorebal, Karnataka state committee secretary of CPI (Maoist), Kanchan alias Sudip Chongdar, a CC member and the architect of Lalgarth movement and arrests or neutralisation of a number of zonal, regional and area commanders are some of the other significant achievements. The unearthing of the urban network, particularly the Ahmedabad – Pune corridor and Delhi region were among the important advancements made. These developments created a big leadership vacuum in the Maoist cadre, which the Maoists have not been able to recover yet.

Various arms suppliers as were arrested and huge caches of arms and ammunitions were seized at different locations from the Naxal affected states.

### Development

This year the administration could make inroads into the backward and remote regions of the country, where grievances of the people are exploited by the Left extremists. Most of the initiatives planned for 2010 were put in place successfully in most of the Naxal

affected districts. These schemes may take more time for being implemented effectively owing to a hostile environment created by the Maoists. The Planning Commission has proposed a Rs 13000 crore Integrated Action Plan for 35 Naxal affected districts, focusing on NREGA, roads, health, education, electricity, nutrition etc.

### Conclusion

2010 was one of the bloodiest years. The state lost as much as it gained. The year witnessed fiascos of Tadmetla, Silda, Gyaneshwari Express alongside many others. It lost 277 security personnel and 626 civilian lives. Many areas like Dandakaranya, Andhra-Orissa border districts, Southern Bihar and some districts of Jharkhand continue to remain strongholds of Naxals where at times the rebels over run the writ of the state. But the state succeeded in preventing the Naxals making headways in many areas. Many areas were liberated from Naxal influence including parts of Jangal Mahal and re-established the authority of state.

The Home Minister P Chidambaram, in one of his addresses in 2010 said, *“I think the people of India understand - even if the critics do not - that the conflict will be a long drawn one, that patience is the key, that mistakes will be made and the security forces need material and moral support to carry out their tasks.”* But, additionally, if to win this ‘protracted war’, the state has to evaluate its strategic lapses of the previous years and draw out lessons to remodel its anti-Naxal strategy. □□

(Author is a Researcher Vivekananda International Foundation. Excerpts from the original published in [www.vifindia.org](http://www.vifindia.org) on April 8, 2011)

## Our farmers are dying, to hell with the World Cup

*I would be the first person to scream, celebrate and feel proud of any of India's achievements but, only if all fellow countrymen, farmers, villagers also stand with me and cheer; only if they do not take their own lives ruthlessly, only if there is no difference between interest rates for a Mercedes and a tractor; yells Narendra Shekhawat*

Yes, you read it right; to hell with the World Cup; to hell with the celebrations; to hell with all the free land and money being showered by different governments on the players. How can I jump, scream, have gallons of beer and cheer for the nation when a few kilometres away the farmers and feeders of my country are taking their own lives in hordes?

Do you know that, on average, 47 farmers have been committing suicide every single day in the past 16 years in our shining India – the next economic power, progressive with nine per cent growth?

Last month, on March 5, Friday evening, when Bangalore's watering holes were getting filled up, when all the DJs were blaring out deafening music, when we were busy discussing India's chances at the World Cup, sitting in CCDs and Baristas — just 100 km away from Bangalore, Swamy Gowda and Vasanthamma, a young farmer couple, hanged themselves, leaving their three very young children to fend for themselves or, most likely, die of malnutrition.

Why did they do it? Were they fighting? No. Were they drunkards?

No. Did they have incurable diseases? No! Then WHY? Because they were unable to repay a loan of Rs 80,000 (a working IT couple's one month salary? 2-3 months EMI?) for years, which had gradually increased to Rs. 1.2 lakh. Because they knew that now they would never be able to pay it back.



Because they were hurt. Hurt by our government which announced a huge reduction in import duty for silk in this year's budget (from 30 per cent to 5 per cent). They were struggling silk farmers and instead of help from the government, they get this! Decrease in import duty means the markets will now be flooded with cheap Chinese silk (as everything else!) and our own farmers will be left in the lurch.

On average, 17,000 farmers

have been committing suicide every year, for the past 15 years on the trot. Can you believe it? Most of us wouldn't know this fact. Why? Because, our great Indian media, the world's biggest media, are not interested in reporting this! Why? Because they are more interested in covering fashion week extravaganzas. They are more interested in 'why team India was not practising when Pakistanis were sweating it out in stadium on the eve of the match?' They are more interested in Poonam Pandey.

The media are supposed to be the third eye of democracy and also called the fourth estate, but now they have become real estate. Pure business.

So any attention from the media is out of the question. Who is left then? The government? But we all know how it works. The other day, I was passing by Vidhan Soudha in Bangalore and happened to read the slogan written at the entrance, "Government work is god's work". Now I know why our government has left all its work to god!

Karnataka Chief Minister B.S. Yeddyurappa announced plots for all the players. But land? In

Bangalore? You must be kidding, Mr. C.M.. So he retracts & now wants to give money. But where will it come from? Taxes, yours and mine. Don't the poor farmers need the land or money more than those players who are already earning in crores?

A government-owned bank will give you loan at six per cent interest rate if you are buying a Mercedes but if a poor farmer wants to buy a tractor, do you know how much it is charging him? Fifteen per cent! Look at the depths of inequality. Water is Rs. 15 a litre and a SIM card is for free! For how long can we bite the hand that is feeding us? The recent onion price fiasco was just a trailer. Picture abhi baaki hai doston!

In 2008, Lakme India fashion show venue was in a Mumbai five-star hotel and was covered by 500 journalists and the theme was 'Cotton'. A few hours drive from there, cotton farmers were committing suicide, 4 or 5, everyday! How many TV journalists covered this? Zero!

Sixty-seventy per cent of India's population is living on less than Rs. 20 a day. A bottle of Diet coke for us? The electricity used in a day-night match could help a farmer irrigate his fields for more than a few weeks! Do you know that loadshedding is also class dependent? Two hours in metros, 4 in towns and 8 in villages. Now, who needs electricity more? A farmer to look after his crop day and night, irrigate, pump water and use machines or a few bored, young professionals with disposable incomes, to log on to Facebook and watch IPL?

How can we splurge thousands on our birthday parties and

zoom past in our AC vehicles and sit in cushy chairs in our AC offices and plan a weekend trip to Coorg when on the way, in those small villages, just a few minutes' walk from the roads, someone might be consuming pesticide or hanging himself from a tree for just Rs.10,000? How can we?

There was much panic when there was swine flu. Every single death in the country was reported second by second, minute by minute. Why? Because it directly affected our salaried, ambitious, tech-savvy, middle-class. So there were masks, special relief centres, enquiry centres set up by government to please this section. On the other hand, 47 people are dying, every single day for the past 15 years. Anybody cared to do anything?

It has been observed that within months of a farmer taking his life, his wife follows, either by poisoning the kids first or leaving them on their own. In Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh, a distressed woman farmer went to the government seed shop, bought a bottle of pesticide, on credit, went home and drank it. She was under debt for most of her life and now — even her death was on credit!

Centuries ago, there was a Roman emperor, called Nero. He was a strong ruler and also very fond of parties, art, poetry, drinking and a life full of pleasures. Once he decided to organise a grand party and invited all poets, writers, dancers, painters, artists, intellectuals and thinkers of society. Everybody was having a great time eating, drinking, laughing, and socialising. The party was at its peak when it started getting dark. Nero wanted the party to go on. So he ordered and got all the arrested

criminals, who were in his jails, around the garden and put them on fire! Burnt them alive, so that there was enough light for the guests to keep on enjoying! The guests had a gala time though they knew the cost of their enjoyment. Now, what kind of conscience those guests had?

### Nero's guests

What is happening in our country is not different from Nero's party. We, the middle-class-young-well-earning-mall-hopping-IPL-watching and celebrating-junta are Nero's guests enjoying at the cost of our farmers. Every budget favours the already rich. More exemptions are being given to them at the cost of grabbing the land of our farmers in the name of SEZs, decrease in import duties in the name of neo-liberal policies, increase in the loan interest rates if the product is not worth lakhs and crores. Yes, that's what we are, Nero's guests!

I'm not against celebrations. I'm not against cricket. I'm not against World Cup. I would be the first person to scream, celebrate and feel proud of any of India's achievements but, only if all fellow countrymen, farmers, villagers also stand with me and cheer; only if they do not take their own lives ruthlessly, only if there is no difference between interest rates for a Mercedes and a tractor. That would be the day I also zoom past on a bike, post-Indian win, with an Indian Flag in hand and screaming Bharat Mata Ki Jai. But no, not today. Not at the cost of my feeders. Until then, this is what I say. To hell with your malls. To hell with your IPL. To hell with your World Cup. And to hell with your celebrations. □□

# American Protectionism

*The level of globalization has to be measured by both capital as well as labour mobility. the developed countries do not allow labor mobility but instead seek full freedom of capital flow and complete market access in developing countries. This issue has the potential to jeopardize the Indo-US business ties and hurt their business propositions, finds Dr. Deepak K. Srivastava*

The Emergency Border Security Supplemental Appropriations Act in United States increased visa application fee by at least \$2,000 for next five years, on those companies that have less than 50% of their employees as American citizens. It is estimated visa fee hike would raise nearly \$550 million out of \$650 million that will be spent for increasing the security of the US-Mexico border.

Increase in application fees for H-1B and L visas, the visas most sought by Indian IT professionals will have an adverse impact on the competitiveness of Indian companies, which account for about 12 per cent of the total number of visas issued by the US.

It seems such move is initiated by policymakers to address unemployment issue. Moreover, government does not want to be seen in anyway opposing a measure which is strengthening border security and economic interests.

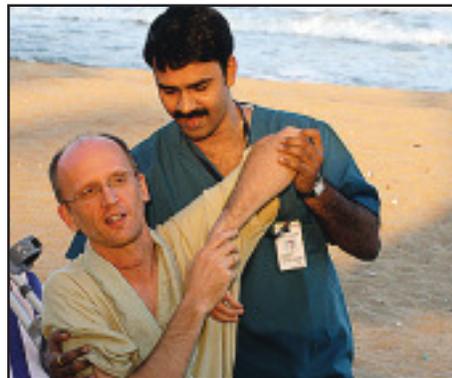
No doubt US firms have been able to sustain by accessing cost-effective information technology solutions delivered by the Indian IT sector. Restriction imposed on inflow of Indians to work in the USA is to be considered anti-globalization act. The level of globalization has to be measured by both capital as well as labour mobility. Unfortunately, the developed countries do not allow labor mo-

bility but instead seek full freedom of capital flow and complete market access in developing countries.

Since neither developing nor developed countries can do much to confine a skilled professional to home turf, the practical thing would be to allow labour mobility across countries. That can contribute in the form of remittances to sending countries and would foster investments in social infrastructure. Skilled migration may well be turned into 'brain gain'. While receiving countries would benefit in terms of value, expertise and cost effective skilled labour that help firms strengthen their global competitiveness and to fuel innovation.

US's concern over the negative impact of inflow of India is unwarranted. The challenge of United States is to make American workforce more competitive in the global marketplace. The reason for job loss is sluggishness in the United States economy characterized by the slow growth rate which is attributed by secular trends of economy like poor saving rate of households etc.

Hike on visa fee will increase cost of doing business of Indian IT companies and cost will be transferred to customer like US firms. US firms, confronted with higher costs due to the new act, will



be an incentive to move more jobs and businesses offshore, that is also seen a cause of job loss in protectionist lobby of US. Moreover, the US government will lose the \$1 billion that Indian firms pay as social security contributions for their skilled professionals living in the US for short period. The visa row will have a direct impact on the fast growing economic ties of US with India also. The United States has become India's leading trading partner in post reform era, mostly due to the growth in India's exports to the United States. The bill does not take into account the significant economic impact this will have for the United States economy. This issue has the potential to jeopardize the Indo-US business ties and hurt their business propositions. Perhaps these are the reasons why the US government has moved into action to initiate talks with the political and corporate leaders over the issue. □□

(Dr. Deepak K. Srivastava is Visiting Professor of International Business, Turku University, Finland. Response can be sent on Deepak\_bitm@rediffmail.com.)

## Ban Endosulfan: SJM to PM

India's stand on endosulfan at the sixth meeting of the Persistent Organic Pollutants Review Committee (POPRC) of Stockholm Convention that began in Geneva, Switzerland, is being watched by people across the globe including different governments. Because of its threats to the environment, a global ban on the use and manufacture of endosulfan is being considered under the Stockholm Convention.

Most of the governments represented at the Stockholm Convention are in favour of global ban on endosulfan.

Endosulfan is an off-patent organochlorine insecticide and acaricide and has emerged as a highly controversial agrichemical due to its acute toxicity, potential for bioaccumulation, and role as an endocrine disruptor. It is Banned in more than 63 countries, including the European Union, Australia and New Zealand, and other Asian and West African nations. It is being phased out in the United States, Brazil and Canada. It is still used extensively in many other countries including India & China.

According to media reports it is prime conflict here with the endosulfan manufactures and industry lobby organisations objecting to the process (for proscribing endosulfan),” the conflict was visible in India also just before the beginning of the Stockholm conference. It went to the extent that

**SJM letter to PM Dr. Manmohan Singh**

25 April 2011

**Dr. Manmohan Singh**  
**Hon'ble Prime Minister of India**  
**New Delhi**

**Subject: Demand for ban on Endosulfan**

Respected **Dr. Manmohan Singh Ji**  
 Namaskar

I am writing this letter in view of some news reports that Swadeshi Jagran Manch has requested you that the government of India should not favour a ban on '**Endosulfan**', a pesticide infamous for its high toxicity, which is highly dangerous for humans, in the forth coming Stockholm Convention. In this context I am to inform you that the view as reported in the news reports is not the view of Swadeshi Jagran Manch. It is the considered opinion of Swadeshi Jagran Manch that in view of its high toxicity an effective ban should be imposed on Endosulfan and government of India should take this view in forth coming Stockholm Convention.

Swadeshi Jagran Manch understands that **Endosulfan** is banned in more than 63 countries, including the European Union, Australia and New Zealand, and other Asian and West African nations, and being phased out in the United States, Brazil and Canada.

You would share this view point of Swadeshi Jagran Manch that use of chemical pesticides is not good for humanity at large. At present it is being used as a necessary evil due to absence of alternative to the use of chemical pesticides. The only alternative possible for the present dependence on chemical pesticides is the organic farming. We appreciate whatever little efforts are being made by the government for promotion of organic farming. But you will appreciate that these efforts are too little to make any dent on prevalent agri practices, as promoted by the government in the past. I take this opportunity to request you to make result oriented efforts in this direction.

I once again request you to kindly ban this highly deadly pesticide **Endosulfan**, in the interest of the humanity.

Yours Sincerely

**Dr. Ashwani Mahajan**  
 Member, National Steering Committee & National Spokesperson

a letter written by an individual to the Prime Minister was reported as stand taken by Swadeshi Jagran Manch. SJM from the very beginning has been in support of the ban on this poisonous chemical irrespective of which the manufactures were. SJM was quick to shoot an official letter to the PM asking for an effective ban on Endosulfan.

India the world's largest user of endosulfan, and a major pro-

ducer with three companies—Excel Crop Care, H.I.L., and Coromandal Fertilizers—producing 4,500 tonnes annually for domestic use and another 4,000 tonnes for export. In 2001, in Kerala, India, endosulfan spraying became suspect when linked to a series of abnormalities noted in local children. Initially endosulfan was banned, yet under pressure from the pesticide industry this ban was largely revoked. □□

# Nationalise all Black Money: **SJM**

*National Council and Central Working Committee of SJM held its two day meeting in Chennai (Tamil Nadu) from 9-10 April 2011. Three resolutions were passed in the meeting. The resolutions are:*

## **Resolution No.1**

### **Ban Genetically Modified Crops, Organisms and Foods made from them**

Genetically modified Crops and Organisms and the food material made from them have been posing serious threat to the public health and biological wealth of the country. Approval of such organisms and permitting research and trial of them without effective bio-safety measures and lack of regulation of food items made from them, are all matters of serious concern.

In order to safeguard against the mutation in such genetically modified crops and organisms and to protect the adjacent germ-plasm from pollen exit sterilisation of such crops by terminator technology is made mandatory in other countries. But, in India induction of terminator technology is equally fatal as the farmers would be rendered devoid of their seed wealth.

Indeed, it is very serious that why the government is not taking cognizance of the allergic “star link corn” and the damage caused to the kidneys and livers of mice etc., fed on genetically modified tomatoes? What compulsion is there upon the government for not bringing the legislation to label the genetically modified food as GM food and stating the names of the countries on the label where it is banned?

Why BT cotton was permitted without any effective strategy to arrest the pollen exit leading to the spread of the poison synthesizing “AAD” gene and to prevent the evolution of the boll worm into super pest? Why the government shown undue haste, through unsuccessfully to introduce BT Brinjal?

All these questions are evident enough to prove beyond doubt that the government is playing with the public health and safety of our germ plasm. It is also deplorable that the government had proposed to incorporate a provision in the Bio Tech Regulators Law to penalize the persons, who would oppose the genetically modified crops. The government should also keep it in view that the genetic engineering can be used as a weapon by the terrorists. The US government has already established a defence cell with a budget of \$300 million, against the agri-bio terrorism.

In view of the dangers of the genetically modified varieties, the Swadeshi Jagran Manch demands that **the government should ban the usage of GM seeds crops and GM food in the country.**

## **Resolution No.2**

### **Review and Ban the Nuclear Energy Programme**

The Earth Quake in Japan on 11th of March and the killer Tsunami which struck immediately afterwards are piling into insignificance before the disaster of Fukushima Nuclear Plant. There are 6 nuclear reactors at Fukushima plant and all are BWR type. The killer Tsunami on 11th March totally destroyed the cooling system of the reactors (LOCA). As a result there was a heat surge in reactor core, leading to explosions, partial damage of the fuel rods and escaping of radio active materials into the surrounding atmosphere. A nuclear emergency was immediately declared. All the people were evacuated in 20 k.m. exclusion zone around the plant. The people were warned not to consume milk and other food products of the exclusion zone. The sea water around Fukushima also have become highly radio active seriously affecting the marine life. Even after nearly one month, the authorities are unable to contain the spread of radiation from the reactors. Japanese are highly technically advanced and extremely disciplined people. Such people are facing the nuclear disaster.

The Fukushima Nuclear Disaster has made several countries of the world to sit up and review the safety standard and emergency preparedness of their nuclear reactors. India also has to do it.

India today has 19 working nuclear reactors. Except 2 at Tarapur, all others are CANDU type PHWR

reactors. The total installed capacity is 4000 MW accounting for 4% of our total installed capacity.

The UPA government under PM Manmohand Singh has a highly ambitious programme for developing nuclear energy in the country.

- It has concluded the highly controversial Indo US Civilian Nuclear Agreement which gets its recognition from IAEA and the nuclear supply group. It has also passed nuclear liability bill.
- India wants to take its nuclear power capacity from 4000 MWE as on 2011 to 60000 MWE by 2030. 150 times expansion in just 20 years.
- All these would be achieved with imported reactors, imported uranium fuel and imported technology.

### **Resolution No.3**

## **Nationalise all the Black Money**

**People's** anger is at the verge of explosion, on the issue of corruption. Common man is desperate to get rid of this menace at any cost. For this people are ready to support all such organizations, individuals and ideologies who are coming forward to start campaign against corruption. People are so very irritated that they are even ready for direct fight against corruption. At this juncture we need to give direction to people rescut view. Swadeshi Jagran Manch has been performing an important role in this direction with the help of its programmes and campaigns. Activists of the Manch are preparing a road map for fight against corruption at all levels.

Swadeshi Jagaran Manch is not only committed to stop corruption prevalent in government department and administration, it is lending its active support to the campaigns at different levels to bring back nations wealth deposited in foreign banks illegally. Swadeshi Jagaran Manch has been fighting for bringing Indian wealth back to India at any cost in the role of consultant to make law for this purpose, and by way of movement is compel the government to stop defending the law breakers, with the ultimate aim to bring our money back and chennalise the same for the development of the economy. From different sources it is becoming evident that at least 80 lakh crores of rupees are deposited with banks in 'tax heaven' countries. This amount is more than even India's GDP. Government is not only forced to borrow heavily due to heavy lose of revenue due to corruption, more currency is printed to somehow bridge the gap between revenue and expenditure of the government. As a result of this common man is forced to reel under hyper inflation.

Because of the loss of revenue to the government, expenditure on essential social services like health and education is badly hit. Because of lack of health facilities, 66 out of 1000 children are not able to celebrate even their 5th birthday. Illiteracy is a major road block to our economic development. Today our nation is considered to be one of the most corrupt nation of the world and our transparency index has fallen to 3.3, due to ultra big scams such as, 2G Spectrum Scam (1.76 lack crores), Common Wealth Games Scam (50 thousands crores), Telagi Scam (40 thousands crores) etc.

Wealth generated by hard work of the Indian people is benefiting either the foreign countries or helping and financing the terrorism in the country. Manch is of the considered opinion that if this money is somehow brought to the country, governments would need not borrow any money for any project for the next 10 years. Swadeshi Jagaran Manch rejects every argument of the government which states that because of the international agreements with different nations, government cannot seek information on money deposited in the banks of tax heaven countries or even after the getting the names of such people who have deposited black wealth in foreign banks, it cannot make them public. Manch warns the government that along with efforts to brings Indian money back, it should also, make public the names of people having such accounts.

This Rashtriya Prishad of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch demands that the government enact a law such that corrupt people are booked for their crimes without any delay and they should be convicted under a fast judicial process. People with corruption charges are not allowed to fight elections. Once charges are proved their wealth be forfeited.

Rashtriya Prishad demands that money deposited in foreign banks should not be looked at from the point of view of tax evasion. This is a cut case of treason and therefore such criminal should be booked under treason. In such cases of corruption and illegal foreign deposits, a law should be enacted for a time bound judicial process for faster justice. Those who are enable to the tell the source of their wealth, it should be forfeited and nationalized. □□

Census 2011:

# Metros no good for Habitation



*One can conclude that due to rising rentals, property prices and cost of living in metros condition of the common man is now becoming miserable & therefore population there is either declining or rising at a lower rate than before, finds Dr. Ashwani Mahajan*

Though results of fifteenth Census of India 2011 are only preliminary, they indicate important changes in life of India. Census 2011 indicates that rate of growth of population has nosedived in two most populated cities of India, namely Delhi and Mumbai. Delhi's population grew by 44.3 lakhs during 1991-2001 and that of Mumbai (island city and sub-urban) by 20 lakhs. In terms of decadal growth rate, population of Delhi grew by 47 percent, while population of Mumbai grew by 20 percent in that decade. It is worth noting that during that decade 1991-2001, overall population of India grew by 21.5 percent. Now when in the next decade 2001-11,



decadal growth of overall population has been recorded at 17.6 percent, there has been out of proportionate fall in population growth in Delhi and Mumbai. Delhi has recorded a growth rate of less than 21 percent during 2001-11, as compared to 47 years a decade earlier. Another metro Mumbai has recorded a much lower growth in population, that

population of 20 lakhs during 1991-01, during 2001-11 it could add hardly 5 lakh to its population and its population could hardly increase from 1.19 crores in 2001 to 1.24 crores in 2011. But it is also true that in terms of density Mumbai still has highest density of population in the country.

Amidst rising trend towards urbanisation in the country and the world, this statistics of slowing down of population growth in metros, forces us to think. Yet it is generally believed that people from other parts of the Country migrate to metropolitan cities and thus increasing congestion in the metros makes life difficult for the people and there is pressure on existing infrastructure so also

***It is also true that in terms of density Mumbai still has highest density of population in the country.***

is, 4.2 percent. If we subdivide Mumbai into island city and sub-urban Mumbai, we find 5.75 percent negative growth in island Mumbai city, whereas sub-urban Mumbai population has recorded a positive but low growth by 8 percent. As such whereas Mumbai recorded an addition to pop-

on the government to create additional infrastructure.

But the 2011 census figures indicate some different picture. Size of Delhi's population grew by 20.96 percent between 2001 and 2011, against the national average of 17.6 percent. It is generally believed that migration of

population from other parts of India is the major cause of growth of population in Delhi. There was nothing wrong in this perception, as even during the decade 1991-2001, population of Delhi grew by 47 percent against national decadal rate of growth of population of 21.5 percent. Now that population of Delhi has grown just at just 21 percent against the national average of 17.5, very small number seems to actually migrating to Delhi.

Further if we try to indicate at the sex of migrating population we find mostly women have migrated to Delhi. This is proven by the fact that Delhi's sex ratio has improved from only 821 females in 2001 to 866 in 2011 per 1000 of males. National sex ratio is 940 females per thousand of males. This means that now those who migrated from rest of India to Delhi have started bringing their families which is causing increase in sex ratio, as well as increase in overall population of Delhi. Thus fresh migration to Delhi has been minimal.

However, due to the growth rate of 21 percent, primarily due to natural growth, density of population in Delhi, which was 9340 persons per km in 2001, increased to 11 297 in 2011. But we must note the fact that population growth rate has come down from 47 percent during 1991-2001, to only 21 percent in the last decade, has in fact given a big relief. Had this growth rate not decelerated this density could have gone to about 13700.

Department of Census tries to explain the cause of this trend. It says that removal of slums from various parts of city, in-

cluding Yamuna Pushta, as a general drive and displacement of slum clusters due to preparation for Common Wealth Games have been mainly responsible for this trend. Some of these people previously living in slums could not be rehabilitated. Population of NDMC area itself has gone down due to removal of slums. Census report for NCT of Delhi says that it has no information about the status of population affected by the removal of slums. So it seems that a large number of people have migrated out of Delhi. It may be interesting to note that there has been differential rate of growth of population in different districts leading to differential increase in density of population. For instance North - East Delhi registered a huge increase (37 percent) in density during last decade, East Delhi registered 27 percent increase, Central, West and North Delhi registered 23 percent, 20 percent and 15 percent respectively.

South Delhi, South West Delhi and New Delhi's density increased by only 11 percent, 5 percent and 4 percent respectively. Previously, due to availability of land it was easy to establish slums, but situation is not the same now. Due to fast development of Delhi in terms of building activity and other infrastructural projects, migration into Delhi and establishing slum dwellings is no longer an easy option. For migrated population, once displaced it is not easy to establish again due to prohibitive property prices in Delhi.

All this is happening when transport, electricity and water fa-

***Delhi's sex ratio has improved from only 821 females in 2001 to 866 in 2011 per 1000 of males.***

cilities etc. are much better than before. Delhi Metro has also revolutionised the living in Delhi. But despite all this Delhi's expensive cost of living is now preventing people from settling in Delhi. A new trend is emerging now and a number of people have moved out of city limits of Delhi and started settling in NCR and now taking advantage of transportation facilities in Delhi they daily come to Delhi for work from surrounding cities of Ghaziabad, Faridabad, Gurgaon, Bahadurgarh, Sonapat etc.

Demographic changes in Mumbai point to similar trends. Census 2011 show a very little increase in population in sub-urban Mumbai and decrease in population in Mumbai island city. Reasons for this trend are perhaps the same. Cost of living in Mumbai has also increased tremendously. Limited availability of land in Mumbai pushes the population out of Mumbai island city as well as sub-urban Mumbai.

One can conclude that due to rising rentals, property prices and cost of living in metros condition of the common man is now becoming miserable and therefore population there is either declining or rising at a lower rate than before. Thus despite rising trend of urbanisation in the country and world over, metros are no longer preferred destination for migrating population. □□

## Kanimozhi “active brain” behind Kalaigarnar TV

The CBI has alleged that DMK MP Kanimozhi was an “active brain” behind the operation of Kalaigarnar TV and actively pursued with intermediaries and her party the reappointment of 2G scam accused A Raja as Telecom Minister. In its 53-page charge sheet, the CBI has alleged that during investigations, it found that in 2007, Kanimozhi along with other promoters incorporated Kalaigarnar TV after they left Sun TV network.

“She has also been in regular touch with Raja regarding the launching of Kalaigarnar TV & other

pending works related to the TV,” the CBI, which named her as an accused, claimed in the charge sheet. The DMK MP was also an initial director of the company but resigned as her clearance from the Ministry of Home Affairs was pending and that would have resulted in delay of launch of the TV, the CBI alleged. “The CBI has said that the DMK MP should be tried for allegedly entering into a criminal conspiracy for taking gratification other than legal remuneration in respect of an official act. (UB-27/04)□

### CBI refuses info on Balakrishnan

The CBI has admitted that it received two complaints against former CJI K G Balakrishnan but refused to give details under RTI. CBI’s Chennai bureau dismissed one complaint citing “vague and unverifiable” allegations and forwarded the second complaint to the New Delhi office for further probe. CBI refused to give details about the complaints in response to an RTI query saying that the information related to a third person. Balakrishnan is currently National Human Rights Commission chairperson and has been in a controversy over declaration of assets and liabilities. There was increased pressure on him to declare his assets after his son-in-law faced allegations of having disproportionate assets.

RTI activist S C Agrawal had sought information related to complaints against retired judges of the Supreme Court and high courts including former CJIs Y K Sabharwal and Balakrishnan. Incidentally, both the Law Ministry’s department of justice & the Central Vigilance Commission have disclosed CBI’s closure report on a complaint against Sabharwal.

Rejecting the query for more details, the CPIO said, “Notings in the file are written in a fiduciary relationship and cannot be disclosed to a third party and exempted under section 8 of the RTI Act.” Agrawal has filed an appeal in the case.

### Indian diesel banned in Pakistan

Pakistan has refused to remove motor fuels from the list of items that cannot be imported from India to avoid giving New Delhi leverage over its energy supplies. Government officials said Indian refiners may be willing but cannot export diesel or petrol to Pakistan unless Islamabad takes these off its ‘Negative List’. They said there was no formal proposal but did not rule out the issue resurfacing during the forthcoming com-

merce secretary-level talks between the two countries.

The idea of exporting diesel was first mooted by flagship refiner-marketer IndianOil Corporation in 2002-03. The plan gathered momentum after Pakistan’s then energy secretary, Abdullah Yusuf, said during his Delhi visit in Jan. 2004 it made economic sense for his country to import fuels from India.

### LIC regains market share

Private life insurers have seen their new business growth slow down to a mere 2% even as Life Insurance Corporation regained market share with a 23% jump in premium collections to Rs 86,444 crore for the financial year 2010-11. Life insurers have found it a challenge to grow business after new regulations came into effect from September 2010.

According to data collated by the Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority, private life companies’ growth came from group insurance. They posted new business premium collection of Rs 39,281 crore. Premium from individuals, which excludes payments for group policies made by corporates, shrunk by 4% to Rs 3041 crore for the private life industry.

But Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) managed to beat the trend due to three factors; firstly, its economies of scale allow it to sell single premium policies. Secondly, it has a strong base of traditional products (non unit-linked plans) which were unaffected by the guidelines; and thirdly, its group retirement products have done very well.

Following the sharp growth in new business premium, LIC’s market share in premium from new policies has jumped four percentage points from 64.86% in March 2010 to 68.7% in March 2011. The other companies among the top five in terms of market share include ICICI Pru Life (6.25%), SBI Life (6.01%), HDFC Life (3.23%) and Bajaj Allianz (2.75%)

## Next BRICS summit in India in 2012

**Prime Minister Manmohan Singh** announced that the next BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) summit will be held in India in 2012. "I have invited the BRICS leaders to India for the next BRICS Summit in 2012, and I am happy that they have accepted my invitation," the Prime Minister said.

He told the media that the quality and durability of the global economic recovery process depends to a great measure on how the BRICS economies performed. "We have reason to be satisfied with the management of our economies, but there is no room for complacency. The developments in West Asia and North Africa and the aftermath of the huge tragedy that befell Japan have introduced fresh un-

certainties in the global recovery process."

Singh said that India reaffirmed its commitment to a balanced and ambitious outcome to the Doha round of WTO negotiations. India would continue to engage with its partners to facilitate a rule-based multilateral trade regime which is fair, equitable and addresses the development agenda effectively, he added.

"Our economy is more open and more connected to the world than it has been in the past. Our financial and capital markets are sound, and eager to absorb foreign direct investment. We have put in place ambitious schemes for the social and infrastructure sectors which have begun to bear fruit," the prime minister said. □

### Mizoram student killed by Sudanese

A Mizoram student was killed by a group of Sudanese students in Lovely Professional University in Punjab. The scuffle took place over some trivial issue during a football match between Mizo and Sudanese students. Deceased Jonny, student of B'Tech first year, was badly thrashed and he succumbed to his injuries in a hospital past midnight following which Indian students went on a ransacking spree inside the University and police had to be called. It is learnt that the ransacking took place around the hostel where Mizo students were staying as the latter vent out their ire after death of their friend.

The group of Sudanese students has been rounded up by Phagwara police while body of the deceased has been shifted to a Civil Hospital Phagwara for postmortem. While the exact reason of his death would be confirmed after the postmortem, sources said that he was very badly kicked in his private parts by the assailants and he fell unconscious. It is learnt that a few months back a clash had taken place between Punjabi students and students from some African country. At that time things confined to injuring of a student, said sources in the University.

### Sathya Sai Baba passes away

Sathya Sai Baba, who had millions of followers across the world, is no more. He had been on ventilator support for many days with all his vital parameters failing. He was being treated at the super speciality hospital that he himself had created for the masses. Doctors confirmed that Sai Baba died of cardio-

respiratory failure.

A pall of gloom descended on Putturpurthy town, 450 km from Hyderabad, as the news of Sai Baba's death spread. His family members, ministers and government officials rushed to the hospital following reports that Sai Baba's condition had deteriorated further. Devotees had been praying for a miracle and had kept their faith that the 86-year-old Baba would rise once again and give darshan to the faithful.

### MP protests against trials of GM Maize

Madhya Pradesh Agriculture development minister Ramkrishn Kusmaria has written to the Centre against the clearance by Genetic Engineering Appraisal Committee (GEAC) to GM Maize trials in the state. GEAC is the statutory authority under the environment ministry to clear trials and introduction of genetically modified crops. It had come under flak from environment minister Jairam Ramesh for permitting GM food crop trials without his knowledge. Kusmaria has written . "The GEAC has given permission for trials of GM Maize in Madhya Pradesh. It is shocking to see that during Rabi season 2010-11, the GEAC had given permission in India for open air trials of even Monsanto's GM Maize,".

"Government of Madhya Pradesh has taken a decision to prohibit all environmental release of GMOs and keep the state totally free of GM food. We would also request you to reconsider the policy on GM in the national scale and declare a moratorium on all GM food crops," he added. □□

## Black money comes mainly from India

At a stage where governments around the world have tried to hide away from the embarrassment caused by WikiLeaks expose on black money, founder Julian Assange speaks exclusively to Times Now's editor-in-chief Arnab Goswami on the Swiss bank data and Indian names features in the same.

Julian Assange, made a stunning disclosure, that there could be Indian names in the data that WikiLeaks would publish. In the course of the interview, Assange appealed to Indians to absolutely

not lose hope that the names of those with secret Swiss accounts will come out at one point in the future. Hinting that Wikileaks might work with specialized agencies before releasing the Swiss bank data he pulled up the Indian government for not being aggressive like Germany in going after the list of Indian account holders. In fact he said India should be more aggressive because India seems like it is losing per capita more tax money than Germany. □

## Food prices will push millions into poverty

Surging food prices could push millions of people in Asia into extreme poverty & threaten the durability of the region's world-leading economic recovery, the Asian Development Bank has said. Domestic food price inflation in developing Asia averaged about 10% in the first two months of 2011, while international prices were up more than 30% in annual terms, the Manila-based ADB said in a report. A sustained 10% rise in domestic food prices could push an additional 64 million people— or nearly 2% of Asia's 3.3 billion people— below the poverty line of \$1.25 a day.

“Fast and persistent increases in the cost of many Asian food staples since the middle of last year, coupled with crude oil reaching a 31-month high in March, are a serious setback for the region which has rebounded rapidly and strongly from the global economic crisis,” the ADB report said. Food and fuel prices have added to price pressures in Asian economies, and earlier this month the ADB said some emerging economies were showing signs of overheating.

The ADB said if a 30% increase in global food prices persisted in 2011, growth in some food-importing countries could be cut by up to 0.6 percentage points. It also said if the level of oil and food price increases seen early this year continues, growth in developing Asia in 2011 “could be reduced by up to 1.5 percentage points.” “Food prices have become highly volatile, and the Asian food system's vulnerability to price shocks and natural calamities has increased significantly,” the report said.

## Pak's ISI a terrorist organisation

US authorities have described Pakistan's powerful Inter-Services Intelligence agency as a terrorist organisation and considered it as much of a threat as al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Recommendations to inter-

rogators at Guantanamo Bay rank the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate alongside al-Qaida, Hamas and Hezbollah in Lebanon as threats, “The Guardian” reported quoting secret US files obtained by it. “Being linked to any of these groups is an indication of terrorist or insurgent activity,” the documents dated September 2007 said.

“Through associations with these...organisations, a detainee may have provided support to al-Qaida or the Taliban, or engaged in hostilities against US or coalition forces (in Afghanistan),” the document said. The fresh revelation on ISI links with terror groups, The Guardian said, comes on the heels of its own “published evidence” that US intelligence services had been receiving reports of ISI support for the Taliban in Afghanistan for many years. In the Threat Indicator Matrix in the new document, the ISI is listed among 36 groups including Egyptian Islamic Jihad, led by al-Qaida deputy leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, the Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs; the Iranian intelligence services, and the Muslim Brotherhood.

## Mosques where al-Qaida recruited

Al-Qaida recruited and trained militants at mosques and Islamic centers in cities around the world from Montreal to Karachi, according to a leaked Pentagon list. The document used by American interrogators in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, lists among them the Al-Sunna mosque in Montreal, Abu Bakr International University in Karachi, the Dimaj Institute in Sada (Yemen), the Finsbury Park mosque in north London, the Islamic Cultural Institute mosque in Milan (Italy), Laennec mosque in Lyon (France), and the Wazir Akbar Khan mosque in Kabul, as per list leaked.

In Lyon, the rector of the grand mosque expressed outrage over the list and said the allegation that the Laennec mosque was used by al-Qaidawas

## Afghan army officer fires on NATO troops at Kabul airport

An Afghan Army officer opened fire on foreign troops after an argument at the airport in the capital, the latest in a spate of deadly incidents that have occurred inside government or military installations, the defense ministry said. The ministry said a number of people were killed and wounded

in the 11 a.m. incident at the airport in Kabul, but gave no specifics.

Defense ministry spokesman Gen. Mohammad Zahir Azimi said the gunman, an Afghan military pilot, was killed in the shooting, which occurred inside a facility used by the Afghan Air Force. □

“ridiculous.” Another Pentagon document released by WikiLeaks yesterday details information on prisoners at the US naval facility, including Mauritanian Mohamedou Ould Salahi, 40, who was briefly an imam at the Montreal mosque in 1999-2000. Salahi is described in the papers as an electrical engineer trained in Germany who traveled to Afghanistan and swore allegiance to Osama bin Laden.

### ISI a terrorist organization

One of the world’s worst kept secrets is now out in the open. American authorities listed Pakistan’s notorious spy outfit, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, as a terrorist organization alongside 36 groups including al-Qaida, Hamas, Hezbollah and Iranian intelligence, according to a new set of WikiLeaks cables pertaining to detainees in Guantanamo.

The disclosure, coming on the heels of the in-your-face charges by the highest ranking American military official Mike Mullen in Islamabad, where he openly accused ISI of ties with terrorist outfits like the Haqqani group, confirms what has long been the scuttlebutt in world capitals: Pakistan’s spy agency has earned a terrorist tag in all but formal designation.

According to the Guantanamo cables, US interrogators were told to regard detainees’ links to any of these 36 organizations, including the ISI, as an indication of terrorist or insurgent activity. The WikiLeaks revelation also comes on the heels of admissions by David Headley and Tahawwur Rana, Pakistani expats who helped scout targets before the 26/11 Mumbai terrorist carnage, that they undertook the mission at the behest of the ISI. The American mainstream media largely ignored the US red-flagging of ISI, but it was highlighted by the British newspaper Guardian.

### Central Asia transport corridor

Iran, Oman, Qatar, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have agreed to build a new transport corridor linking former Soviet Central Asia and the Persian Gulf. An agreement to set up the new rail-and-sea route was

signed on Monday in the Turkmen capital, Ashgabat, by the Foreign Ministers of the five countries.

Cargoes from energy-rich Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan will be transported by rail to Iranian ports and then moved by sea to Oman and Qatar. The project will be open for other countries to join in, the Turkmen Foreign Ministry said. The new route will also benefit China, which is constructing a transit road from its Western provinces to Europe across Kazakhstan and Russia.

### End tax subsidies for oil companies

United States President Barack Obama has urged Congressional leadership to take immediate action to eliminate unwarranted tax breaks for the oil and gas industry and to use those dollars to invest in clean energy and reduce America’s dependence on foreign oil. Mr. Obama shot off a letter to the Congressional leadership in this regard after the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, John Boehner, expressed openness to eliminating these tax subsidies for the oil and gas industry.

High oil and gasoline prices are weighing on the minds and pocketbooks of every American family, Mr. Obama said adding that while the economy has begun to recover, with 1.8 million private sector jobs created over the last 13 months, too many Americans are still struggling to find a job or simply just to pay the bills. The outdated tax laws currently provide the oil and gas industry more than \$ 4 billion per year in subsidies, even though oil prices are high and the industry is projected to report outsized profits this quarter, Mr. Obama said.

Observing that the political system has for too long avoided and ignored this important step and hoping that Congressmen can come together in a bipartisan manner to get it done, Mr. Obama said they need to get to work immediately on the longer term goal of reducing the country’s dependence on foreign oil and America’s vulnerability to the price fluctuations this dependence create. □□

## The EU seeks more time from the WTO

“The EU has said it will further refine its proposal in consultation with us and other affected members,” the commerce department official said. The issue will be discussed by the WTO general council on May 3-4. India is as of now firm it would not agree to any proposal that helps a specific industry.

Euratex has argued that the floods had no impact on the textiles and clothing industry in Pakistan which continued to serve its EU customers in a normal way in 2010. “This is visible in the fact that overall Textile and Clothing Imports from Pakistan to the EU have increased by more than 20% in value and by almost 6% in volume between 2009 and 2010,” the letter said. For the products included in the waiver proposal, the increase in value is more than 18% for textiles and over 20% for clothing. The increase has been much higher for some sensitive products like cotton fabrics & women’s denim trousers. India’s garments and textiles exports to the EU in 2009 were \$5.9 billion while Pakistan’s exports were worth \$ 2.2 billion.

## Fight against free access to Pakistan textiles

Europe’s biggest clothing and textile body, Euratex, has urged India to continue to block the EU’s proposed flood relief package to Pakistan giving duty free access to textiles as it would only help a group of “highly performing” exporters and not the flood victims. In a letter to commerce secretary Rahul Khullar on April 20, the European textile industry strongly opposed the proposal as there was no economic or humanitarian reason to giving these concessions. Euratex represents the textile & clothing industry in all 27 member countries of the EU. India, Bangladesh, Peru and Vietnam have blocked EU’s plans of giving duty free access to 75 products, 64 of them textiles, at the WTO.

The concessions to be given for three years are part of the EU’s 900 million Euros package to Pakistan to help the economy deal with destruction caused by last year’s floods. The EU needs a waiver from these countries at the WTO to pass on the concessions to Pakistan, as any such concession would be against the rules of the trade agreement that says all members have to be treated alike. The Indian textile industry, which stands to lose its market share in the bloc if Pakistan is waived the 6%-12% duties on textile products, is apprehensive of the pressure from both the EU & Pakistan.

## Talk’s chasm “unbridgeable today”

The gaps keeping trading nations from a deal that could promote global free trade remain “unbridgeable today,” says Pascal Lamy. In a statement accompanying the publication of hundreds of pages of legal texts outlining the state of play in the discussions, Lamy said the Doha round of world trade talks that began decade ago was at “serious risk of failure.” He said the documents “will leave no-one in any doubt about the value of what is on the table” so members should “use the coming weeks to talk to each other and build bridges.”

As expected, Lamy blamed the latest and widely flagged stalemate on differences over tariffs on industrial goods – a key part of the non-agricultural goods or “NAMA” section of the complex and ambitious discussions which aim to nurture trade by reducing tariffs, subsidies and other barriers to commerce. Some countries, among them the United States, want to see much bigger concessions on industrial tariffs by developing countries like China, Brazil and India than they are willing to concede.

## US, China copyright trade spat

China and the United States started the clock on a new stage of their trade dispute over films, books and music, a signal Washington will go ahead with a threat to seek retaliation rights. The battle, one of a series between the world’s two top trading nations under the rules of the World Trade Organization, centres on China’s restrictions on imports of copyright intensive goods. The United States says the curbs create demand for pirated copies, and has won the case through the WTO’s court system after China’s appeal failed in December 2009.

China says the issue is complex and sensitive, and that it has made great efforts to comply. However, the United States said on March 25 it still had “significant concerns” and was looking at the next step – requesting the right to impose retaliatory sanctions after China’s so-called “reasonable period of time” to implement the ruling ran out on March 19.

A statement released by the two countries’ trade missions sends the process into the next stage, with China effectively relinquishing the right to use another procedure to hold up the process in exchange for time to prepare its defence against a U.S. bid to be allowed to impose sanctions. □□