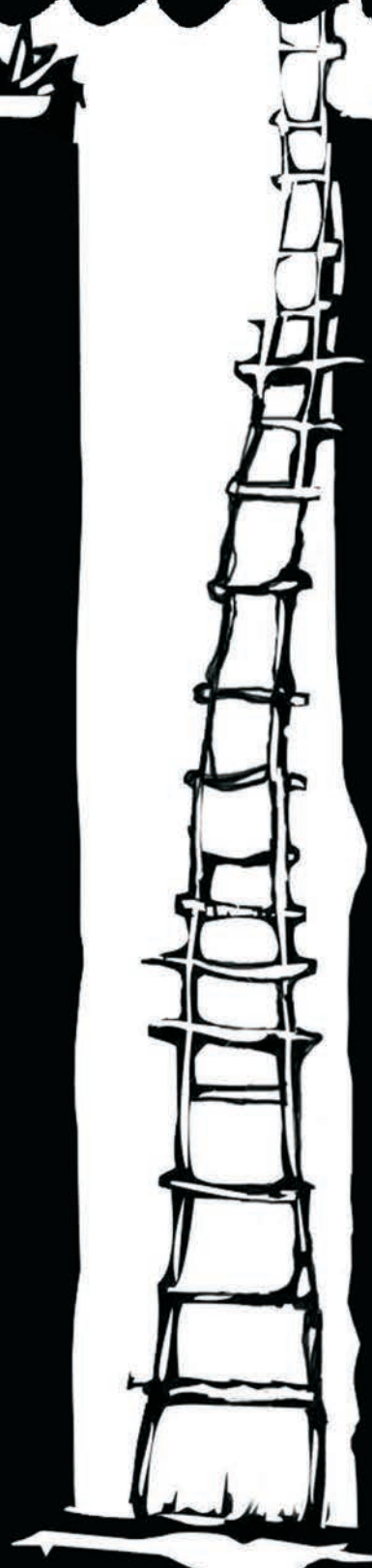


Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine



**IT'S A TOUGH,
PAINFUL
CLIMB BACK.**

BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

Freedom First believes in an open society based on minimum government and maximum freedom tempered by a sense of individual responsibility, in which the people's genius has a fair opportunity to develop and grow; we reject any ideology, movement or policy that sets one group of citizens against another be it based on class, caste, religion or envy.

CAN THE SWATANTRA PARTY BE RESURRECTED?

Minoo Masani in Conversation with Frits Bolkestein



C. Rajagopalachari and Minoo Masani

In May 1979 Minoo Masani was interviewed by Fritz Bolkestein, the Netherlands' then Minister for Foreign Trade and President, Liberal International. This interview took place in The Hague. The conversation highlighted the intellectual and personal influences on Masani and sums up his ideological position quite succinctly. The interview covered a wide range – from Gandhi, to Time, Metaphysics, Caste, Character, Politics, the Swatantra Party, Nehru, Communists, Two Nations (within India – the Urban and the Rural). The following is an excerpt from that interview dealing with the Swatantra Partyⁱ.

Fritz Bolkestein: You are the co-founder of the Swatantra Party. How would you describe its fortunes?

Masani: We came into existence in 1959 as a reaction to the fact that all parties in India were either Communist or Socialist and that there was no non-socialist party worth mentioning, except the Jana Sangh which was a denominational party. So Rajaji and I decided that it was time to have a Liberal-Conservative party. Rajaji was conservative and I was liberal. Professor Ranga, who was the President for many years, was an agrarian who belonged to the Green International. So there were three trends. Rajaji was the conservative Hindu, Ranga was the agrarian, a farmer's man like Charan Singh, and I represented the

Liberal bourgeoisie. These three elements came together to form this Party. Rajaji wanted to call it a conservative party but Ranga and I both objected on the ground that we were not prepared to join a conservative party. Jayaprakash wanted it. He said that India needed a conservative party, it was a conservative country, but we thought it was a non-starter. In the end Rajaji invented the word 'Swatantra' meaning self-determined 'Swa' self and 'tantra' is a mechanism, so this means individual self determination, freedom from within.

The Party grew for two reasons: Ideologically the people wanted something which 'was non-Socialist. We gave the electorate a change to vote against socialism and they made good use of this. We became the biggest opposition party straightaway, which was quite something. We got 22 seats in the Lok Sabha and we were neck to neck with the Communists, who had been financed by Moscow for about thirty or forty years and were well organised. We outstripped the Jana Sangh, just like that, on coming into existence. By 1967 we had 44 seats in Parliament and became the single largest party in the opposition.

This was the first reason for our success: people were getting sick of Nehru-Socialism which was statist, sterile and counterproductive. People were beginning to get fed up being over-controlled. The other reason was our relative political competence. We made the best of our limited resources. The other politicians of India lived in a different world. Brought up in the Labour Party in Britain I introduced modern techniques of publicity, propaganda, films and posters. After the first election we started nursing constituencies which was absolutely unknown in India. In India all parties adopt their candidates a few days before nomination. There is trouble between different castes and groups as to who should get what seat. It is done on a purely opportunistic basis. Now I said: 'Nonsense that is not how you should run a parliamentary democracy. You nominate your candidates the day after the last election and you give him five years to nurse his constituency and get him known. You, give him resources and an office to work in and an agent. All these British concepts which I introduced were absolutely revolutionary. My party disagreed. They said: 'We must watch the other candidate and then appoint a man of the right caste' That was considered smart: you oppose a brahmin by a non-brahmin and so on.

Cont'd. on page 39 (cover page 3)

ⁱ Excerpted from *MODERN LIBERALISM – CONVERSATIONS WITH LIBERAL POLITICIANS* – edited by Frits Bolkestein, the Netherlands' then Minister for Foreign Trade which consist of conversations with leading European liberals (the only non-European was Minoo Masani). This Conversation with Masani was reproduced in *FREEDOM AND DISSENT*, a *Festschrift* presented to him on his 85th birthday in 1986.

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From Our Readers

On Narendra Modi, the BJP and the General Elections (2014) and After

As much as Firoze Hirjikaka would have wished it, it was not RaGa but NaMo who is now the Prime Minister of the Government of India. In his Cornucopia column “Tale of Two Sons” (FF563, May 2014), he sounds so nostalgic about the Congress Party that the obvious choice for him was Rahul, a greenhorn who has never held any position of responsibility. “Saying the right thing at the wrong time” is how far Hirjikaka is prepared to go by way of criticism. Make a show of tearing up his own government’s ordinance and then forging a coalition with the person who was sent to jail (accused of stealing money meant for cattle fodder) after the Ordinance was torn up was how Rahul would have governed this country! Of course Mummy Dearest would have been there to help him out whenever he gets into trouble, the way she helped Manmohan Singh run the country. In fact Rahul was not present at the farewell dinner for the outgoing Prime Minister hosted by his mother and was reportedly not even in India. Regarding his absence from the dinner party, Chetan Bhagat tweeted that children are not invited to such dinners.

Thank God, that Hirjikaka at least admits that the Congress have made a laughing stock of themselves. He also admits that Rahul does not have the courage “of his conviction and is paradigm of indecisiveness.” Is it any wonder then that the people see Modi as a better PM? We should consider ourselves fortunate that the Congress Party did not do the “right” things Hirjikaka thinks they should have done. Rahul as PM would not only have been a ‘calamity’ but a catastrophe. We would have had to suffer the dynasty for the next fifty years! Of course Hirjikaka wants us to accept dynastic rule as a fact of life in India even while admitting that it is not conducive to democracy (FF564 June 2014). Just because it is practiced by regional parties also, does it make it right Mr. Hirjikaka? It needs to be rooted out from regional parties too.

Having been put on the back foot, the Congress is harping on Modi’s marital status and Congress women’s brigade is talking about ‘respecting women’. Modi was probably forced into marriage as a teenager as it was customary in those days in the community he belongs to. His ‘wife’ has no problems or complaints and has not asked the Congress to fight her ‘case’. As for ‘lying’ about his status, he has never claimed to be ‘not married’. He has been silent about it. Moreover probably he did not want his ‘so called’ wife to be hounded by the media.

If Hirjikaka’s choice was not Rahul, then who did he have next in mind to pull this country out of the abyss it finds herself in? I am surprised dynasty worshippers

have not put more pressure on Priyanka to pull the Congress up in these difficult times so that Vadra could become the richest person in the world.

But then, Dynasty fans cannot think of anyone but the Nehru-Gandhi family in power. One can sense that Hirjikaka’s heart is bleeding for the Nehru-Gandhi family – some nostalgia! Some people do live in a time warp. He says he does not mind development taking a back seat but would not take a chance with someone who could turn the country around but also turn out to be a dictator! We could trudge along for the next millennium till a Gandhi (not the Mahatma) or a Vadra is born who will have the leadership qualities who will give the kind of development the nay-sayers are looking for. No, Mr. Hirjikaka, people have lost their patience, especially the aspiring classes; the elites do not suffer in any case. The new generation also want 24x7 electricity, internet connectivity and good roads. Even farmers are demanding good roads so that they can transport their produce.

One wishes all those with such visceral hatred for Modi would also give us alternatives in the present scenario before shooting him down. It is in the interest of the country to have a strong opposition. Even here the electorate rejected the Congress as being unfit to be in power or as the official opposition in the Lok Sabha. While he agrees that a stint as the opposition would be good for the Congress, he still cannot get over the need for the dynasty. There are many promising politicians in their camp who would come up only if the Congress is wiped out. This is the message that the electorate has sent out. So let us give NaMo a chance and not run him down even before he has begun!

Hirjikaka’s hindsight advice to the Congress to dig up scams in the BJP cupboard to counter the latter’s attacks on the mega scams of the Congress, almost sounds as if he thinks corruption is acceptable.

Hirjikaka says, (FF564 June 2014) “I hope the educated middle class which Modi considers his core constituency was as sickened as I was.” Sadly the ‘educated middle classes’ apparently were not sickened if one is to see the results of the elections! Whether the voters “have wrought a calamity or a miracle”, only time will tell. It is strange, if Modi is not elected, the voters would be considered ‘wise’, but if they elect him, they are “gullible” and willingly “making a pact with the devil to improve their daily lives.” So now it is wrong for people to improve their lot; only the elite have that right, right?

As for the old stalwarts in the BJP, it is time they move to the Rajya Sabha. Do we not keep asking for a retirement age for politicians? If they stubbornly want to

stick to their seats of power, what do they expect? Just because Advani 'raised Modi from relative obscurity', does that mean that Advani should become the PM or that he should stick to his MP's chair even at the age of almost 87 that he is now? Hirjikaka states "equally alarming is the abject surrender of the BJP leadership to one supremo". Is there any other way for him to ensure that he does not have geriatrics in his cabinet?

How do people not ask a simple question? If he is so 'diabolical', how could he have got elected three times in Gujarat? Thankfully, Hirjikaka admits that the "electorate has matured enough to recognize the hollowness of buzzwords like 'communalism' and 'secularism' and are no longer influenced by them." If Hirjikaka is willing to sacrifice 'development', the people of this country are tired of politicians dividing the people along religious lines.

I personally do not understand what is so sinful about breaking the old convention of top leaders not campaigning in each other's constituency. I think it is a sham and hypocritical and a convenient arrangement: you scratch my back, I will scratch yours!

One has to concede about Hirjikaka's lament about BJP disrupting the functioning of the Parliament. Let us hope, the Congress now teaches them how an opposition should behave. They have five years or maybe ten years to do that. NaMo is in for a long haul; he is not the one to be satisfied with one term. And that in itself should ensure that he "behaves himself".

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*

This refers to Mr. Firoze Hirjikaka's article, "End of an Ordeal" in *Freedom First*, June 2014. Mr Hirjikaka already prefaced his article saying the contents were an educated guess. Fine.

I have been reading some (if not all) of his (Firoze's) articles in *FF* and his pathological hatred towards Narendra Modi (NaMo). He uses very harsh words like ogreness, Fuehrer, megalomaniac for NaMo, Rottweiler for Meenaxi Lekhi, Moniker for Baba Ramdev. This is not fair.

He criticizes the Congress for not utilizing NaMo's personal attacks against the Family to play the sympathy card. One wonders how this is right; to draw sympathy of the voters while enjoying power? He mentions the hate speech indulged in by Ramdas Kadam in a Mumbai rally on 21 April, 2014 in the presence of Uddhav Thakeray and NaMo. If Kadam's speech was based on facts, it cannot be dubbed as hate speech.

He alludes to the supposed divinity of NaMo for being called by Ganga Mata. This is a popular belief and cannot be explained rationally. Were not the ashes of Nehru, Indira and Rajiv Gandhi immersed in the Ganga? What about Mahatma Gandhi taking shelter in his 'inner

voice' whenever tricky problems arose during the freedom movement? Moreover, Jesus' Immaculate Conception and resurrection and Prophet Mohammed's ascension after death to heaven on a winged horse also cannot be explained rationally.

A few words about hate speeches. I am of the opinion that Hindus are the worst victims of hate speeches indulged in for centuries by the votaries of Christianity and Islam for worshiping false gods (and goddesses); calling Hindus pagans and kafirs. He mentions "*Hindutva* hardliners" in the article. It is as clear as day light that there cannot be hardliners or fundamentalists among Hindus because they believe in Vasudeiva Kutumbakam but they can be atheists, agnostics or believers of one god or 33 crore gods and goddesses. They recognize and respect Christianity and Islam as valid paths to God. They believe all paths lead to the same god. Pity, reciprocity is missing.

Finally, I do not share his doomsday saying that the country may live to regret under NaMo's leadership. On the contrary, I believe a new era, for the better, has begun.

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*

With the BJP in power, it seems that the bureaucracy is becoming more corporate friendly. It has advised the new Environment, Forests and Climate Change Minister, Prakash Javadekar, to lift the ban on mining in forest areas and revoke the moratorium on new factories in heavily polluted industrial areas. Do the bureaucrats want to accelerate the pace of environmental destruction? How heavier do they want to pollute the already heavily polluted industrial areas? The minister needs to be suspicious about the intention of such bureaucrats.

The new Aviation Minister Ashok Gajapathi Raju is in no hurry to privatise Air India, which has always been caught in air turbulence. The ministers, politicians and bureaucrats would only be happy to stall any move to privatise the white elephant. And the airline's employees have always resisted the move. All these parties have been enjoying joy rides and pleasure trips on the airline at public cost. In fact, the employees have contributed a major share to the decline of Air India. Not only those serving, but also the retired employees and their kith and kin are allowed to fly free several times in a year. Air India is the 'private airline' of the politicians, bureaucrats and its employees. This should come to an end, if the airline is to be rescued.

Union Health Minister Harsh Vardhan proposes to levy higher taxes on tobacco products. A healthy move indeed. A healthier step would be to increase the rates of taxes on alcohol also, making it prohibitively costly.

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*

Vedamurthy Remembered

The article 'K. Vedamurthy RIP' (*Freedom First* No. 564 June 2014) added to my thoughts that have been reeling in my mind. After the demise of my friend 'KV', we were reminiscing over our friendship since our college days (1958-60) at Karaikudi. He would with his usual sense of humour, remark that 'our friendship has seen *sashtiaptha poorthi*. (Completion of sixty years)

Even during his college days he would contribute to the 'Letters to the Editor' of the dailies causing me to wonder how much of wisdom he possesses for the range of letters would vary from norms that should govern the election of a party president to the people's expectation from the President of the nation. To strike a personal note, I am in possession of his letters from the sixties. His letters to me ceased to be personal for they dealt with the issues faced by the country. His review of books in *The Hindu* and other periodicals bear testimony to his scholarship and fair sense.

His Adayar home played host to many. His children have been brought up to cherish our values like showing respect to elders.

K. Vaithinathasamy, Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu

*

The Boy with the Nose-ring

I read the above short story in *Freedom First* (565

June 2014) latest issue. I do not understand what education it imparts to adults. Does it imply that a Godse became a killer because he came into contact with Savarkar? If that were so, the author should have stated that RSS was against his violent idea. She should have also added that the RSS had no connection with his plot. If the author wanted to tarnish the image of the RSS, a right she has in a democracy, she should come back to India and propagate her ideas.

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*

Freedom First

I have received your June 2014 issue as a complimentary issue thanks to my close friend who is a regular subscriber.

Going through the copy particularly the cover photo, my memory went back to the 60's when I was a regular subscriber of *Swarajya* which used to carry regular articles by Minoo Masani, Piloo Modi, Nani Palkhivala and of course the main article by revered Rajaji. It is a great achievement that *Freedom First* has completed 62 years of fearless journalism. Thank you very much.

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*



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Editorial

The Importance of a Conservative-Liberal Alternative

The editorial in the May 2014 issue was written four days after the declaration of the results of the 2014 General Elections. It concluded with the hope that “Narendra Modi’s emphatic victory and the near decimation of the Congress(I) could not only be the signal for the disappearance of dynastic rule, but also be the tipping point for the re-emergence of the Liberal-Conservative Swatantra Party on the political map of India.” Please read covers 2 and 3 (page 39).

The Congress-I (*aka* Indian National Congress - INC) has been in power for over 40 years with a simple majority most of the time and a 2/3rds majority for the five years between 1984 and 1989; but at no time did the INC or its breakaway faction, the Congress-I, poll a majority of votes polled in percentage terms. The highest was 49.1% in the elections that followed Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s assassination. Its leaders contemptuously dismissed the point made by other parties in the opposition of the lopsided ratio of seats to percentage of votes polled as a result of the first past the post electoral system. With 44 seats in the Lok Sabha and 19.3% of the votes polled the Congress(I) is now citing this fact!

Eyebrows were raised in circles friendly to *Freedom First*, that we had, during this election campaign supported Narendra Modi/BJP. Yes we did, and in retrospect glad we did. Initially it was to present another aspect of Modi’s life and career which was being unfairly blacked out by the media who had joined the cacophony that Modi was not prepared to say sorry or apologise for the 2002 riots in Gujarat. Long time readers may recall that *Freedom First* did not spare Modi and his party after the 2002 riots (see *Freedom First* No.453 April 2002. For a read visit www.freedomfirst.in).

During the 2014 election campaign Modi was speaking the Liberal’s language, the *Freedom First* language. He championed a market economy, promised to adopt policies that led to jobs (and not doles) for all the educated unemployed youth; policies to ensure the personal security of women and his slogan “Minimum Government, Maximum, Governance.” These issues and this slogan drew tremendous resonance from the electorate. Communalism and religious issues took a back seat; and he opposed dynastic rule.

Freedom First decided to take him at his word.

At the same time *Freedom First* is also conscious of the risks of a single person being armed with so much power. So, even while we are much relieved that he is now our Prime Minister and are looking forward to the next five years as a period of stable, firm, fair and decisive governance, we also need to help the emergence of a middle-of the road political party to replace the Cong-I which is on its way out. Let us remember that soon after the Emergency in the mid seventies the Congress(I) performed poorly in the 1977 General Elections. But the states that saved the Cong-I not only from total extinction but reach three figures were the ones farthest from Delhi - Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra and the North East. This time the Congress(I) lost heavily even in these states, barring Kerala.

As we write this the BJP-NDA coalition led by Narendra Modi has been in office for little over a month. It’s still early days. What has been happening this last 30 days is Modi’s re-deployment of personnel even while conducting fire-fighting operations e.g. contending with *El Nino* or the oil crisis arising from the civil war in Iraq, that is adversely impacting an economy already battling inflation. In this context we are sorely tempted to be critical of the attempt to move out governors planted in various states by the ancien regime. Then there are issues that are not important occupying centre stage – Article 370, Hindi (God’s sake!) and the like that are best avoided for now.

We shall refrain from publishing articles or essays which make personal attacks on the PM or attributing motives to him or the BJP. We shall of course publish comments on policies in specific terms – the Union Budget in July for instance and its impact on the economy; or concrete steps to restore law and order and the like. Hopefully, by November this year we shall have a clearer picture of the performance of Narendra Modi and his team and be able to offer fair critique.

Meanwhile we do not envy the huge problems inherited by Narendra Modi and his government. We wish them well. Our cover says it all:

“IT’S A TOUGH, PAINFUL CLIMB BACK – BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE”.

Editor

EL NINO and India's Monsoon Concerns

V. Krishna Moorthy

India may be known as the 'Monsoon Country,' but the appendage builds mainly on the size of the landmass covered by the monsoon. Fact is that India is only one, though covering a larger geographical area, of the many beneficiaries of the larger Asian monsoon system. It is not just India alone that suffers in the bargain. The entire Maritime Continent (the Indonesian archipelago, etc) and most of Australia are also projected to pile up moderate to heavy rain deficits until September each year. That is the significance of the Monsoon and its impact!

EL NINO is a term which is referred to a large-scale ocean-atmosphere-climate interaction, linked to a periodic warming in sea surface temperatures across the Central and East-Central Equatorial Pacific. In other words, it is a weather phenomenon related to warming up in the South Pacific that appears to be linked to a below normal monsoon. Arising from a weather change in the Pacific Ocean every few years, the effect of an *El Nino* on our part of the world is to hit the average rainfall, triggering problems in grain output. *El Nino* conditions are usually associated with scarce rainfall or even a shift in the monsoon season (late onset or late withdrawal). Not every *El Nino* year is a drought year and much will depend on the ultimate special geographic distribution and density of the rainfall. In the past decade alone, the *El Nino* effect resulted in drought conditions in India during 2002, 2004 and again in 2009 and it is a major cause of worry because of its potential adverse effects on food inflation.

The Emerging Scenario

Going by the weather reports that have come out so far, there is a growing possibility that 2014 could be an *El Nino* year. Even before the warning signs began to flash red in this regard, global food prices have already been surging this year. The previous *El Nino* in 2009 had led to higher global sugar prices because of the impact on the Indian crop. India experienced the impact of *El Nino* conditions in FY 2010 with agriculture GDP registering just 1 per cent growth. There are concerns that below average rainfall may have an adverse effect on inflation and economic revival prospects this year having suffered three bad years of low growth.

It may not be out of place to refer to a shocking report of Dr. Fred Davis, a top scientist from USAID (US Agency for International Development) who has warned that for the first time in human history the world's food production would be limited on a global scale by the

availability of land, water and energy. Food issues could become as politically destabilizing by 2050 as energy issues are today. World population would increase 30 % to nine billion people by 2050 which would call for a 70% cent increase in food to meet the demand. One in eight people worldwide already suffers from chronic undernourishment and 75% of the world's chronically poor are in the mid-income nations such as China, India, Brazil and the Philippines. The resources limitation would constrain global food systems because, the ability to discover ways to keep pace with food demand have been curtailed by cutbacks in spending on research.

How does the *El Nino* occur?

Seasonal winds fan the monsoon into India and the rest of South Asia which also includes Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and the rest of South East Asia. These winds mop up moisture from the seas which gets rained down across the geographies. There is no way the system can ensure an equitable spatial distribution of moisture/rain to each country in its belt. It is because winds don't care about geographical boundaries, and merely blow from an area of high pressure to one of low pressure. Warming up of the surface (land or sea) causes surrounding air to heat up and expand, creating lower pressure. Thus, the warming/cooling up of the massive Pacific Ocean with a size that can hold continents together is crucial in that its impact can drastically alter global weather or climate patterns. During an *El Nino*, equatorial and east Pacific warms up, causing the bulk of available moisture to concentrate there. When coinciding with the Indian monsoon, it will deny the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea their due share of 'this fuel that fires the monsoon' engine.

Updated forecasts recently issued by Asia Pacific Climate Centre (APCC) at Busan, South Korea, shows just how a building up of *El Nino* will proceed to pull the plug on the Indian monsoon. The Korean agency forecast

projects, both seas being 'drained to a slow death' during the monsoon even as it will rain down heavily in the east Pacific and Americas where incremental moisture will have headed.

The latest forecasts from the Korean agency say that the first phase of the monsoon (May-June-July) will leave central India and adjoining West India and the West coast in deficit. Likely exceptions to the deficit would be Tamil Nadu, parts of Rajasthan, Punjab, J&K, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. Excess rain is likely over north-west Rajasthan and adjoining south-west Punjab. The Second Phase (August-September) will see peninsular India, Gujarat, and south-west Rajasthan drying up. Excess rain will be confined to parts of Madhya Maharashtra, Marathwada and Seemandhra.

IMD's Forecast Specific to India

The above forecast has now been confirmed by our own Indian Meteorological Department's (IMD) regional climate centre at Pune. Dr. D.S. Pai, head of the Regional Climate Centre, Pune on 24th April, 2014 while releasing the consensus forecast of the South Asian Climate Outlook Forum (SACOF)—a group of global weather experts affiliated to the "World Meteorological Organization (WMO) said that "there is a strong consensus about the possibility of evolution of an *El Nino* even during the summer monsoon season." He further noted that India may witness poor rainfall this monsoon season and the development is linked to the imminent *El Nino*, a weather phenomenon characterized by unusually warm ocean surface temperatures in the central and eastern tropical Pacific. This development has a significant impact on climate in many parts of the world and has a warming influence on global temperatures.

At a time when the mood of the country was looking up on hopes of a decisive policy action from the new government with a clear mandate for change under Modi as PM, after three decades, the IMD's 9th June second stage forecast has dashed the hopes of a bumper harvest. The latest forecast of a 33% chance of deficient monsoon rains, which IMD defines below 90% of LPA, confirms the imminent occurrence of *El Nino*, with analysts fearing the agricultural GDP growth slowing down to 0.8% in FY15 against 4.7% in FY14. This has put additional pressure on the new government whose top priority being tackling inflation, besides threatening to derail the growth agenda. However, the new government has assured appropriate steps in the Presidential address, including removing supply-side bottlenecks to reduce *El Nino* impact. The Agriculture Minister has confirmed adequate preparedness to tackle any drought-like situation with contingency plans

to meet the threat, assured of comfortable food stocks.

***El Nino* Impact:**

Southwest monsoon is significant for India's farm production, as only 45 per cent of India's sown land is irrigated. It is to be remembered that *El Nino* had in the past caused considerable damage due to droughts, and it is reported that the monsoon in India this year which provides more than 70% of the annual rainfall will be sub-normal. Based on the initial forecasts of an *El Nino* which started coming sometime back, the Dhanya Index of the National Commodities and Derivatives Exchange (NCDE) has risen 2.6 per cent in the past month. Rice and maize are the major kharif crops in the cereals (dhanya) segment.

Agriculture represents about 14% of Asia's third-largest economy where consumer price inflation (CPI) averaged 10.07 % in 2013. The Monsoon is the main source of irrigation for India's 235 million farmers and planting of crops from rice to sugar and soya-beans are dependent on timely arrival of the seasonal rains as more than 50% of farm land is rain-fed. The monsoon rainfall between June and September—the critical period is not only crucial for growth of kharif (summer) crops planted during the season, but provides necessary moisture to the soil as also for the refilling of reservoirs for the coming rabi (winter) season.

Though agriculture makes up around 14 per cent of India's GDP, and even though the share of agriculture in the country's overall gross domestic product (GDP) has fallen over the years, monsoon remains the key for the rural economy, as almost 60 per cent of India's population live in villages and the role of monsoon in keeping inflation in control is immense. While the global bank, Citi Group estimates that the country's GDP is estimated to grow by 5.6 per cent in 2014-15, if as is forecast, the monsoon falters, it could easily shave off one per cent growth from the GDP bringing it to sub-five per cent. This means, it will be the third year in a row when the GDP will grow by less than five per cent. With a new government in office, the scenario will test the new government in its very first year of power. It would be a scenario no new government taking office would like to plunge in its first year in power, especially due to high public expectations from the new government.

Northern India where most cereal is grown is relatively well irrigated is a matter of great satisfaction for the nation. According to a recent ASSOCHAM report the major pulse-producing states - Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, UP, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, which together account for about 80% of the total production, may witness less rainfall, affecting its

output and prices. India's high dependence on imports, higher prices and declining per capita availability of pulses has been matters of grave concern. The demand-supply mismatch of pulses is putting further pressure on the prices of this staple food. Pulses are grown in an area of 22-23 million hectares with an annual production of 13-18 million tonnes accounting for 33 % of the world's area and 24% of the world's production of pulses. India is expected to produce around 21 million tons of pulses till 2016, while demand is projected to touch 23 million tons in the next few years. Besides, the prices of vegetables and oilseeds mostly grown in poorly irrigated Western India may come under particular pressure due to a failed monsoon. While the *El Nino* effect on the sub-divisions in northwest and west-central India would result in deficit rainfall resulting in moisture distress in parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, it is likely to adversely also affect milk production significantly.

Impact on Economy and Industry

The impact of *El Nino* will be felt more on agricultural segments such as seeds, pesticides, micro irrigation and sugar. As a result, agriculture-dependent sectors and companies in the chemical and fertilizer, pesticides, tractors etc., will feel the squeeze. Similarly, sectors such as fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG) and two-wheelers, the impact will be substantial since the revenue cycle for FMCG companies is a function of consumption and industrial slowdown. If the inflation due to supply constraints brought out by *El Nino* is high, and people have to spend more money on essentials, it would impact consumption related discretionary spending. The impact of the lower rainfall could also hit industrial production. The farm output and related sectors could lead to economic growth slipping below five per cent in 2014-15, less than the current expectations. This could lead to a lot of the government's bandwidth going towards tackling this issue, with critical development-related issues taking a back seat.

Impact on Inflation and the Emerging Scenario

Less rainfall will again push up inflation. Indian consumer price inflation has remained stubbornly at around 8% despite declining economic activity and despite non-food credit growth slumping to a low of 11.75% as at the end of March 2014. Therefore, a weak monsoon would entail maintaining caution on monetary policy. The RBI will have to necessarily deal with signs of sustained increase in core inflation swiftly with policy changes. This will, as a result exert pressure on RBI to raise interest rates, which in turn will hit the balance sheets of the corporates, adversely affecting the investment climate. With a poor monsoon on the anvil, there will be subdued demand for

credit in a busy season which in turn will affect the profitability of the banking sector which has nosedived considerably in FY 2013-14 with a few exceptions. Public sector banks are eagerly awaiting capital infusion by the government to maintain capital adequacy and meet business growth, though the introduction of Basel III norms has been postponed which has given the Public Sector Banks (PSBs) some breathing time. But the devil is at the doorstep! Any increase in interest rates by the central bank will put more companies under the risk of default impacting the banking sector's performance with a further bulging of Non-Performing Assets (NPAs), which is already suffering with a significant growth of NPAs resulting in subdued profits in FY 2013-14. A vicious circle indeed!

It is in this backdrop that the Reserve Bank of India under Dr. Raghuram Rajan's stewardship is reported to have decided to consider inflation based on the new series of the Consumer Price Index (CPI), to pan out its monetary policy where the weight of agricultural crops is around 40 per cent. The expectation of a below average rainfall and other structural factors that are exerting pressure on food and non-food consumer price inflation would squeeze out disposable income and consumption demand of urban households, according to rating agency ICRA. Consumer prices reportedly rose 8.31 per cent in March 2014, compared to a year earlier, the fastest pace among the biggest emerging markets. In the light of this, the most likely scenario at present appears to be an extended pause for policy rates with monetary easing beyond at least early 2015, which would in turn dampen a revival in the other sectors of the economy. According to official estimates, the economy probably expanded by 4.9 per cent in FY14, very near the previous year's 4.5 per cent, which was the slowest since 2003.

Impact on Agri-Exports

On the commodity export front also the imminent *El Nino* threat will have its adverse impact. Rice, our largest agri-export, is likely to get affected adversely if the rainfall is less or even if there are delays in the monsoon's arrival. During the financial year ending March, 2014, India's total rice exports stood at a record 10.5 million tonnes, comprising 4 mt. aromatic basmati rice and 6.5 mt. of the non-basmati varieties. However, India's rice exports could slide by nearly a quarter in calendar year 2014 and knock the country off its perch as the top exporter of the grain due to stiff competition from Southeast Asian rivals like Thailand, that have recently slashed their prices. India topped Thailand in 2012 to become the world's biggest rice exporter after the government lifted a four-year old ban on non-basmati rice shipments in 2011 to trim a

growing mountain of the grain following a bountiful harvest. A drop in Indian exports could help Thailand trim a record inventory chalked up under a controversial rice-buying scheme. In the process, Thailand may also be able to reclaim its long-held status as the world's biggest rice exporter.. The Southeast Asian nation usually charges a premium over Indian rice due to its longer grains. This year, Thailand has been selling larger quantities of the grain from state warehouses at low prices to private traders.

Conclusion

On the previous occasion when India was impacted by *El Nino* in 2009, inflation had shot up with the nationwide rainfall deficit of 23 per cent. While poor monsoons lead to a four-five percentage point spike in food inflation, the impact in 2009 was severe, with food inflation reaching 21 per cent in March 2010 as compared to 8.7 per cent in April 2009. It is to be remembered that that though *El Nino* is a necessary condition it is not a sufficient one for drought. Besides, agriculture's dependence on the summer monsoon has reduced considerably over the years, with kharif (summer) and rabi (winter) now contributing equally to overall food production growth unlike in the past. Poor monsoon rain and associated production shortfalls has to be countered by policy action, both fiscal and monetary. The new government arrival will have to be ready with bold and appropriate policy initiatives.

However, going by past experience, the Indian weather office's long-range prophecies are to be taken with a pinch of salt. Take last year's forecast, when the IMD predicted a 98 per cent rainfall. In actuality however, it exceeded and the country received over 106 per cent rainfall with India's granaries overflowing with food grains encouraging the UPA II to come out with the Food Security

Law right in time before the general elections. Ever since the breakdown of the 16-parameter empirical monsoon prediction model (better known as the Gowrikar Model) that gave 12 successive accurate monsoon forecasts from 1988 onwards, the IMD has been trying out various new models but without much success. To move towards a more accurate prediction of the weather conditions, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the IMD has in recent years hiked its investment in expanding and strengthening the supportive infrastructure for weather data collection from across the globe, including oceans, and computation of such data which is likely to improve IMD's monsoon-gauging capabilities significantly.

With the constant problem of an uncertain monsoon hanging like a Damocles' Sword, in the long run it might be desirable that the irrigation network of north India needs to be replicated in other parts of the country, besides encouraging cold storage and food processing infrastructure with policy incentives. Some national political parties had earlier shown some positive interest in connecting the perennial rivers of the country first mooted by Dr. K.L. Rao, the well-known engineer-turned Irrigation Minister in the first Nehru Cabinet. Subsequently the idea was revived by former PM Atal Behari Vajpayee, but the idea was dropped due to lack of consensus and requirement of substantial funds for the gigantic project. Keeping the long-term interests of the nation and the farming community of the country in mind, it is to be hoped that better sense will prevail among leading political parties and consensus would be reached to look at the proposal afresh irrespective of its cost implications. *

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Violence against Women

Ajit Karnik

Right from the time when the ghastly crime against the young 'Nirbhaya' occurred in Delhi in December 2012, there seems to be no end to the violence against women. Equally, there is widespread callous and cynical attitude towards violence against women which is starkly visible in the attitude of the police, politicians and so-called god-men. In the wake of the Badaun rape case where two young girls were raped and then killed, a conjecture has emerged that rapes are caused by lack of toilets at home which forces women to go into the fields at night. The suggestion coming out of this is that if toilets were available inside homes, the number of rapes would reduce significantly. I examine this issue using data for Indian states and find that, after controlling for law and order situation in the state, average income in the state and the level of policing in the state, absence of toilets at home is a significant determinant of the number of rapes. This result should not, however, lead us to lose focus of the main cause of rapes in India, namely, the terrible attitude towards women that pervades Indian society.

This is a summary. For the full text please have a look at <http://ajitkarnik.blogspot.ae/2014/06/violence-against-women.html>. Prof. Ajit Karnik, Professor of Economics, Middlesex University, Dubai, UAE. Blog: ajitkarnik.blogspot.com. Web page: www.ajitkarnik.net.in

Also turn to page 30 for Sharu Rangnekar's essay on "Rape: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. Ed.

Point Counter Point

Ashok Karnik

Every issue has at least two sides. A wise person examines all sides before coming to a conclusion. This is an attempt to present various sides of an issue so that a considered opinion can be formed.

Modi's Burden

1. PM Modi will have to face the challenge of unprecedented expectations of the people. His die-hard critics who predicted the impossibility of his victory are aghast. They will play down his genuine successes; they would desperately wish that he fails so that their prejudices would be vindicated. Mani Shankar Iyer is waiting to pounce. The right balance would be to respect his massive mandate and stop pre-judging him. However, he cannot expect to be accepted on face value. The minimum that people would expect from him is control of inflation (nearly impossible) and opening up of the job market by encouraging industry. Corruption is something he can deal with quicker if his volunteer force steps in to form cells to attend to people's complaints about harassment by officials. His immediate task is to control the mad fringe that may believe this to be the victory of Hindutva and indulge in violence (Pune-Gurgaon). It is the transferred liability that would hurt Modi's desire to be inclusive, even if the BJP has nothing to do with the violence. People would require reassurance that they did not make a wrong choice. No miracles can be expected but there should be signs that the journey has begun in the right direction.

1. Modi surprised his critics by inviting SAARC leaders including the Pak PM for his swearing-in. The man who was condemned as a Hindu fanatic reaching out to Pakistan was itself a surprise. Nothing may come out of it but a foreign policy initiative has been taken. His response to the US was free of rancour over denial of visa in the past. His first Cabinet decision to set up an SIT for unearthing black money was the right move but would it lead to anything? He has begun well by asking his Ministers not to appoint their relatives as their personal staff. Modi has to show that there is a change in the manner of governance. He should not get involved in the prosecution of the wrongdoers of the past. It is a waste of time as the legal process is long and nothing can be achieved quickly. The best way is to appoint an Accountability Commission and keep the Government out of its working. Let us wait and watch and keep the doomsday-sayers away. Unfortunately, our left-leaning intellectuals have not learnt to accept defeat graciously. They will continue to dig to find the non-existent wrong somewhere.

Congress – The Blind Spot

2. The Congress lost the election badly but it has not opened its eyes. It is searching everywhere for the causes of its debacle - except where it matters. It is scrutinizing its campaign managers, image makers, state election chiefs, speech writers; all have been put under the microscope but the real reason eludes the party. The glaring fact is that the party's credibility disappeared because the party thought it was not accountable to anybody. Every allegation from CWG, 2-G, Coalgate, Helicopter deal, Adarsh, Robert Vadra's deals was nonchalantly dismissed. The CAG was criticized for raising suspicion, the Supreme Court was accused of over-reaching and the opposition was totally ignored. If only the Congress had accepted that something was wrong and started an enquiry to determine the nature of the swindle, people might have understood that the party was attentive to their complaints. It would have been seen to be doing something. Possibly, some allegations might have turned out to be baseless; some might have become embarrassing but the Government

2. UPA II tried to be clever with a battery of lawyers as its spokespersons. Kapil Sibal, Manoj Tewari, Abhishek Manu Singhvi, all clever lawyers, gave legally appropriate rejoinders to all the scams breaking around them but these only frustrated the people. It was clear that their responses were legal ploys, not effective answers to questions. The reflex action was to claim that the NDA had done the same; what the NDA did or did not do did not matter to the people. People realized that they were being taken for a ride by very clever lawyers. They decided to wait and come Election 2014, they got the opportunity to put all the clever people in their place. Rahul Gandhi's abstractions failed to convince people and it looked like more obfuscation and deceit. Congress was wiped out. Now is the time to recast its response mechanism and stop giving glib answers. It is better to own up to things gone wrong and make amends rather than pretend as if nothing happened. Cleverness is not everything. It is frittering away its energy by being petty. In stead of nit-picking, it should behave

would not have looked complicit and uncaring. It was a case of arrogance of power and audacity of incompetence. Even in defeat, arrogance rules. Only Shashi Tharoor showed the grace to accept that the new PM was not following the feared communal agenda; he was forced to be graceless later by the party in claiming that his statement was misinterpreted. That is the exact ailment of the Congress – rejection of reality and steam-rolling dissent!

like a national party and concentrate on keeping an eye on the Government's performance, point out its failures and sportingly concede if the Government does something good. We need a strong national level opposition party to keep democracy healthy; the Congress should not wither away.

The New NSA

3. Ajit Doval's appointment as National Security Advisor (NSA) is welcome. He comes with a brilliant record as ex-IB Director, an operations specialist and a man who would not wait for things to happen. He is a legend in the intelligence community; it is prudent not to go into his exploits. Suffice it to say that he is the only civilian ever to be awarded Kirti Chakra for his operational ability. NSA needs to be a strategist, with long-term vision and the ability to mould events – not only react – to suit national interests. From Brajesh Mishra, J. N. Dixit to M. K. Narayanan and Shivshankar Menon we have had successive NSAs of outstanding merit and bold vision. Some may have been too close to their political masters and could have been affected by their political ambitions but overall we could not have asked for better. Some earlier NSA's were partly neutralized by the dormant mode of Dr. Man Mohan Singh. Doval's selection is one notch better because he would complement the new PM's drive at a time when our external and internal security issues have lost focus. Can he get all the Naxalite-affected states to act in unison, in stead of coming out with pious declarations to sabotage centralized action against the biggest threat to internal security today?

3. Doval is expected to galvanize the security establishment. Although technically he is not IB's and R&AW's boss, he would require these agencies to become action oriented and go in to active, aggressive mode. Operations would get a fillip and negative, safety-first motto would be discarded. An Intelligence organization has to take risks and the Government should not balk at every little failure or consider it an embarrassment. Successes and failures are part of intelligence work; the Government must allow for both and not go into shell every time something goes wrong. Doval would not be expected to attend to day-to-day intelligence requirements as the IB and R&AW Chiefs should be good enough to do so under the overall direction provided by the NSA. It is the direction that India's security establishment should follow, with a long-term perspective of about 25-30 years, which is the crucial input from the NSA. It is hoped that the Modi-Doval combine would spell out the country's security parameters and avoid the mish-mash of uncertainty and wishful thinking. As in financial sphere, what is required is the declaration of intent and determination. Too long have we wondered how to deal with Pakistan, China and the Naxalites and failed to evolve a comprehensive policy.

Readers are invited to email their points of view on serious issues of the day to ashokkarnik2001@yahoo.co.in.

Readers who do not have the facility of a computer can also post (mail) their points of view on serious issues of the day to "Point Counter Point", c/o Freedom First, 3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai, 400001.

WHITHER ASTROLOGY?

Pre-poll predictions: April 4, 2014 by Nandkumar Jakatdar of the Brihan Maharashtra Jyotish Madal, Pune:

- * Nobody will gain majority
- * BJP will get 155-165 seats
- * Congress will get 115-125 seats
- * Vishwajit Kadam will win from Pune
- * Laxman Jagtap will win from Maval
- * Government formation with the help of Congress

Every single prediction went horribly wrong. Anybody could have arrived at these wrong guesses, reading newspapers. So much for astrology as a science!

AVK

A Tectonic Shift in Political and Administrative Culture

H. R. Bapu Satyanarayana

Modi has asked ministers to set a 100-day time table...that each department identify and make a list of 10 rules, regulations and legislations which are irrelevant so that these can be removed to ensure greater efficiency.

Swearing in

When 63 year old Narendra Damodardas Modi was sworn in as the 15th Prime Minister of the largest democracy on 26th May 2014 by Pranab Mukherjee the President of India, it was historical in many ways. The swearing-in ceremony had been arranged in the forecourt of Rashtapathi Bhavan before a record assemblage of 4000 people comprising a galaxy of political leaders, including heads of SAARC nations including, for the first time Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sherif, Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, and Sri Lanka President Mahinda Rajapaksa. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with his wife and Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi were present.

Modi arrived impeccably dressed with his trademark sartorial attire exactly at 6 pm as scheduled and was seated with his cabinet colleagues. He was the first to take the oath followed by 45 ministers, comprising besides the known leaders, many new faces and seven women ministers who formed 25% of the strength of his cabinet, the largest to date, by itself an affirmation of empowering women. The small and compact cabinet was unprecedented in line with his oft repeated statement during the campaign, 'Minimum government and maximum governance.'

The Challenge of Huge Expectation

He has raised huge expectations and the challenge now is to deliver on the promises he has made during the campaign. If his moves are any indication of his unique stamp of leading from the front as a general, it is more than likely he will create history when he presents his report card five years hence. Every development starting from his being named as the prime ministerial candidate leaves no doubt that we are, for the first time, seeing the emergence of a statesman. It is an eloquent tribute to our democracy that a humble 'Chaiwala' considered to be at a lower strata of society has emerged as the most popular leader of the largest democracy in the world.

Raja Dharma

Though the BJP had the numbers to form the government without the support of its allies, Modi, by including his NDA allies in the cabinet, has honoured his Party's pre-poll alliance commitment and followed his *Raja Dharma* by calling his the NDA government.

Sets Sourcing Pace for Systemic Reform

In order to fulfil huge expectations, Modi has not only made a very compact ministry but what is noteworthy is combining related portfolios to save time on inter-ministerial cross references, avoid conflict, and aid in quick decision making. He has instructed ministers to allocate work to Ministers of State and keep him informed on this count.

He took expeditious action to constitute a high powered Special Investigation Team before the deadline of 27th May 2014, set by the Supreme Court way back in July 2011, and which the UPA government kept delaying giving one reason or another.

The Prime Minister (PM) unveiled a comprehensive 10-point plan covering practically all important and relevant aspects of both macro and micro policy issues. He has asked ministers to set a 100-day time table. Obviously the PM is interested in demonstrating to the people that what he has been saying during the election campaign was not empty rhetoric. He knows that bureaucrats with their experience are the cutting edge for effective implementation. His efforts are to create a symbiotic relationship so that both bureaucrats and the minister under whom they work are on the same wave length to ensure seamless implementation of policy initiatives.

With the same objective, the PM's interaction with top bureaucrats (77 secretaries) to elicit their cooperation and make the government machinery effective is unprecedented. He is aware that their role is crucial for

effective governance and result-oriented quick delivery. To that extent the PM is empowering bureaucrats to express their views freely and fearlessly. Modi couldn't have started his stewardship of steering the country on a better footing.

Modi has scrapped that symbol of indecision – 'Groups of Ministers and Empowered Groups of Ministers of the UPA government'; instead he has empowered his ministers and their departments to take decisions on all important policy matters falling in their domain. This will help expedite the process of decision-making and bring in greater accountability. In case of any difficulty the Cabinet Secretary and Prime Minister's office will facilitate decision making.

In order to infuse the work ethic the PM has initiated a series of steps to ensure that everyone in all the offices, ministers downwards, work efficiently for eight hours to discharge their duties and set up time bound targets to clear files and avoid repetitive references. Modi has desired that each department identify and make a list of 10 rules – regulations and legislation – which are irrelevant so that these can be removed to ensure greater efficiency, besides, ensuring that inter-departmental communications are harmonious. He stressed on clean and efficient housekeeping and frowned on the culture of touching his feet or of any leaders. He has also discouraged the tendency of ministers becoming government spokespersons presumably to avoid creating needless controversies which the media try to capitalize on. His advice to MPs is to keep in close touch with the people of their constituencies so that it will help get feedback on the people's aspirations and their reaction to government's policy initiatives. He has exhorted MPs to use the Parliament library and be fully informed.

Historically and culturally important, the river Ganga has a great emotional attachment to the people of India. Modi performing a symbolic Ganga Arati at the Benares ghat drew wide spread appreciation. Till now there has been virtually no real progress in cleaning of the polluted river though an action plan exists and crores have been spent. Now that Modi has specially entrusted the cleaning of river Ganga separately as one of the subjects under cabinet minister Uma Bharati, the country can expect positive development.

Another path breaking decision is that eminent scientists, and not ministers, will lead all scientific delegations within the country as well as abroad. This

will empower knowledgeable men and women, boost their morale and encourage scientific talent.

International and Domestic Diplomacy

There have been doomsday predictions that if Narendra Modi becomes the Prime Minister, the relations between India and Pakistan will harden as he is perceived as being hawkish but by personally inviting Nawaz Sharif for the swearing-in ceremony, he has not only dispelled this impression but also shown remarkable political initiative by providing a setting for a useful dialogue between the two nations

Both Modi and Jayalithaa are strong willed leaders in their own right and both play for high stakes. There was great bonhomie between the two leaders. In what way Modi will make his political moves to enlist her cooperation is yet to be seen. The coming together of these two powerful leaders makes a formidable combination and will possibly pave the way for thawing his relationship with Mamata Banerjee of the Trinamool Congress. With this move Modi appears to be carefully charting his long range vision of consolidating his power not to mention a good augury for the growth a healthy federal system.

President's Address

During his one hour Address on 9 June 2014 to the joint session of Parliament, the President of India spelt out the contours of the Prime Minister's governance covering both domestic concerns and international relationship. The subjects covered were so wide ranging and comprehensive that it almost sounded Utopian. But from the way the PM has gone about the business of governance thus far, he appears to be confident that he can deliver on his promises, if not fully, then substantially, a new tryst with destiny.

Postscript

Till now Modi has not taken a false step. This has earned him the goodwill of many who were skeptical about him and even his political opponents are praising him. For instance Sashi Tharoor described Modi as an "avatar of modernity and progress." Not surprising this drew flak from his Party!

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All Hail The King!

Firoze Hirjika

UPA-2 had, very belatedly during the last few months of its existence, got its economic act together and its Project Monitoring Group had cleared for implementation of 152 projects worth 5.30 lakh crores, for which Modi will no doubt happily take all the credit.

India has just concluded a historic general election where a single party has won an absolute majority after three decades. What makes it exceptional is not that the BJP did spectacularly well, but why it did so. When Narendra Modi declared that every vote for the BJP would go directly to him, it appears that a large proportion of the electorate took him literally. The results show that millions of people voted for the BJP candidate simply because he/she represented Narendra Modi. Even opportunists like Satyapal Singh and V. K. Singh, who discovered a last minute affinity for the BJP and spotted an opportunity to revive their flagging and less than illustrious careers (and fortunes), won by large margins. To add insult to injury, the erstwhile general was rewarded with a ministerial position. The individual merit or track record of the candidate seemed to be of secondary importance. I saw this in my own constituency of South Mumbai where there was no BJP candidate, but the NDA was represented by the Shiv Sena. I spoke to a number of people who normally would not have time for the Shiv Sena. However, they voted for the Sena man simply because he had links, however tenuous, to Narendra Modi. The country has not witnessed this type of hero worship since Jawaharlal Nehru.

One wishes the new PM well, but for some like me, the congratulations are tinged with a touch of apprehension. I am not sure how imparting near absolute power to a single individual would play out in a country as diverse as India. As it is, for over a decade Modi has been known to brook no opposition to his intentions and policies in Gujarat. He is not known as a consensus builder. Look at the way he has sidelined senior leaders of his own party, like Advani and Joshi, because they would not toe his line without question. After a weak and vacillating Manmohan Singh, India certainly needed a decisive leader, but I am not sure if the people are ready for government by diktat.

Before I go any further, allow me to wash the egg off my face. I published an article in the April issue of *Freedom First* entitled "My totally unscientific poll predictions." I need not add that most of my predictions

have bombed, some spectacularly. I clearly underestimated the Modi wave or "tsunami" as the press is calling it. In my defence though, in March, when I wrote the article, my reasoning was more or less sound. Rahul Gandhi was just beginning to assert himself and starting to expound on themes which, though somewhat idealistic and impractical, would I hoped resonate with a section of the more liberal electorate. Arvind Kejriwal was beginning to ask uncomfortable questions of Modi which with his customary hauteur, he did not deign to answer. These two were on the right track then and beginning to almost imperceptibly chip away at Modi's sheen of invincibility. More importantly, they had caused a section of his admirers to wonder if he was indeed the Messiah who was going to transform India into a land of milk and honey. The concepts Rahul propounded initially seemed idealistic and rather naive but nonetheless, some thought he presented a refreshing change from the usual opportunistic and money grubbing politicians they were used to. Kejriwal's constant needling finally got to Modi and caused his mask to temporarily slip off and reveal the street fighter he was. Kejriwal was denounced as a Pakistani agent, among other insults. For a while it seemed that Modi would not have everything his own way.

Then for some inexplicable reason, both Rahul and Kejriwal pressed the self destruct button. Rahul's constant harping on how much his party had done for the poor of India alienated not only the middle class but ironically, the poor themselves. What he and his mother don't seem to get is that the poor have their pride too. They may appear to be grateful for government handouts, but they secretly resent the fact that they have no alternative. They would prefer to earn a decent wage and pay for their "*roti, kapda and makaan*". They would prefer to travel on good roads and pay for electricity as long as it was made available on a regular basis. That is why Modi's promise of providing jobs resonates across the board. To make matters worse, Rahul abandoned reasoned discourse and decided to match Modi insult for insult, but of course he was no match for the master orator. Where Modi's barbs were perceived as witty and enthused his audiences, Rahul came across as mean and vindictive. It was against his nature; and his

advisors should have told him to stop but instead, he just got more aggressive. His statement that if Modi came to power, 22000 Muslims would be killed was totally ill-advised and hammered the final nail in his coffin. The public turned against him and dismissed him as a serious contender.

As for Kejriwal, the more he got into the campaign, the more he lost the plot. He made it clear that his party's one point agenda was to defeat Modi at all costs. The irony is that he actually helped Modi's cause by dividing the anti-BJP vote between his Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and the Congress. It is reasonable to assume that if the AAP had not been in the fray, the Congress would have ended up with significantly more seats. All of Kejriwal's energies were concentrated on Varanasi. Even the much vaunted anti-corruption campaign took a back seat. The voters realized that behind all the self righteous posturing was just another politician hungry for power. Even worse, his major ally, the media, grew disillusioned; and he was finished. In conclusion, I would like to put in a word about the "utter rout" of the Congress. In terms of the total votes cast, the BJP actually got less than twice the vote percentage (31%) as compared to the Congress (19%). Yet, because of the first past the post method of counting, they ended up with seven times the seats and a parliamentary majority of close to 60%. I leave it to the readers to judge if this is an accurate representation of the peoples' mandate.

Some would also conclude that I made a big blunder by predicting the decline of the Shiv Sena (my article "The son did not rise" in the May issue of *Freedom First*). They improved their performance after all. However, I stand by my assessment. A great number of people voted for the Sena because they considered it a proxy vote for Modi. Besides, an analysis of the election results would reveal that almost every candidate who allied himself with the BJP and by extension, Modi and stood against the Congress won his seat irrespective of which party he belonged to. Rakhi Sawant would probably have won too if she had joined the BJP. The vote was not so much pro-Sena as anti-Congress. You might say the Shiv Sena won by default. Thus endeth the self cleansing.

So now that Narendrabhai has exceeded his – and everyone else's – wildest expectations, what does the future hold in store? What I particularly admire is his awesome ability to switch gears to suit the occasion. During the campaign, he was a fire breathing dragon who used his oratorical skills and biting sarcasm to deadly effect to utterly annihilate his opponents. However, as soon as

ascension was beyond doubt, he morphed into the consummate statesman talking about inclusiveness and accommodation. Indeed in the first few days after his victory, he displayed such humility and emotion as to make Manmohan Singh look aggressive in comparison.

The media went into raptures over the new PM's "lean and mean" cabinet and the new mantris couldn't wait to rush to television studios so that a dazzled public could bask in their glory. Since an expansion is expected in the next few weeks, I am not sure how lean the final cabinet will be. As for Modi's picks, some members, including Ram Vilas Paswan, and Nitin Gadkari, are not exactly known for probity, particularly in financial transactions; and it is to be seen if Modi can curb their natural tendencies. And is it a coincidence that they have been allotted ministries where there is maximum scope for financial manipulation? This will be a real test since the holier-than-thou BJP made corruption in Congress their main election plank.

Gadkari's rehabilitation, in particular, has been quite remarkable. One may recall that he was removed from the post of party President after his invention of bogus companies (located in hovels) came to light. Now all is forgiven and the BJP will no doubt justify his exoneration on the grounds that "no prosecutable evidence" was found against him. And this is the man who has been given the jumbo ministry of transport and shipping, with a potential for awarding contracts worth thousands of crores. It is to be seen whether like his predecessor, Modi will turn a blind eye, or show us the mettle he has been promising. *Achhe din* may indeed be at hand under Narendrabhai, but my guess is that corruption will remain immutable. On a more hopeful note, the super arrogant and sneering Subramaniam Swamy who positioned himself as Modi's principal cheerleader was kept out of the cabinet. That act alone raised Narendrabhai several points in my esteem.

The reality is that UPA-2 had, very belatedly during the last few months of its existence, got its economic act together and its project Monitoring Group had cleared for implementation 152 projects worth 5.30 lakh crores, for which Modi will no doubt happily take all the credit.

And what of the hapless Congress Party who still cannot believe what hit them? If I believed in astrology, I would think that all the planets must have been aligned against them. That is nonsense of course. The knives are understandably out for Rahul Gandhi and his whiz kids, but I believe it was a collective failure. If the mother-son

duo misgauged the mood of the people, so did the “elders”. In fact, I think no one in the Party appreciated or even comprehended the depth of public anger and disgust against the Congress. The proper strategy would have been to display even a modicum of remorse, a little contrition and a promise to do better in the third innings. Instead, what the people witnessed a sense of arrogance, a refusal to accept any responsibility or even acknowledge the sins of commission and omission committed during the past five years. The personal attacks against Narendra Modi – and the constant raking up of Godhra and the imminent threat to the Muslim minority – were not only stupid and ineffective, they garnered immense sympathy

for a man the masses regarded as the new Messiah who would lead India back on the path to prosperity. Modi’s clarion call to teach the Congress a lesson found a lot of resonance among a large section of the populace, who voted accordingly with their feet.

So NaMo the Magnificent is the monarch of all he surveys. I don’t know if he has a role model but if not, I would suggest the French king Louis XIV who famously declared “*L’etat, c’est moi*” (The state, it’s me).

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The Importance of Leadership

Nitin G. Raut

The nation after years of administrative paralysis looked for a strong, stable Centre and decisive leadership. It found the answer in Modi.

In the Lok Sabha election of 2014, Narendra Modi single-handedly challenged the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty which held almost uninterrupted sway on Indian politics and dictated terms from its seemingly unassailable perch with impunity. But the challenge by itself was not enough. Modi created his own brand of leadership infused with dynamism of progress (*Vikas*) and the Gujarat model of development. It was similar to Barack Obama’s first term campaign, “Yes, We can”. Modi’s campaign slogans were “*Ab Ki Baar, Modi Sarkar*” “*Sab ka saath, sab ka vikas*”. The campaign had its own energy to convince an electorate disgusted with the all pervasive stench of corruption. It had its ripples abroad also. Not surprisingly his unqualified victory compelled the United States and the European Union to soften their stand on Modi. What the New Labour Campaign was for Tony Blair in the UK in 1987, it was Anti-Corruption Campaign and Good Governance for Modi in 2014.

Secularism vs. Development

Modi’s calibrated campaign for development and jobs fired the imagination of the upwardly mobile youth in the age group of 18 - 40 which constituted 52% of the electorate. Modi placed a concrete model of development while Rahul failed to conceptualise his plans. The BJP identified itself with development while the Congress identified itself with the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. Modi’s opponents who strutted ‘secularism’ on the political stage

failed to see the writing on the wall. They pitched for ‘secularism’ in a manner that everyone whom they dubbed ‘communal’ were perceived to be their opponents or those not with them became anti-secular.

Sonia Gandhi solicited Muslim votes ostensibly to “save secularism” and met Muslim clerics including the Imam of Juma Masjid openly appealing for the Muslim vote. A group of Delhi’s elite writers and intellectuals expressed concern over what was pompously described as “...rising danger of bigotry, communal divide, organized violence on and hatred of a section of people in the country”. It was a Modi-centric attack that failed to gauge the mood of the electorate. An Uttar Pradesh Minister even dragged the Indian Army into the campaign by an unwarranted reference to the religion of soldiers who fought in the Kargil War. The ‘Secularists’ of his kind forgot that an Indian soldier salutes and fights for the Tricolour, and if felled in battle his mortal remains are draped in the Tricolour. Yet the Indira Congress (IC) and other ‘secular’ parties like the Samajwadi Party, the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Janata Dal (United) brazenly indulged in creating fear psychosis among the minorities appealing for votes on religious grounds. One IC politician even swore to cut Modi to bits.

Nitish Kumar, Chief Minister of Bihar, thought he could neutralize Modi by appearing to be a champion of secularism and secularists and broke his coalition with

the BJP. In fact, 'secularists' have done more harm to the term 'Secularism'. The comments of some minority leaders against the BJP are interpreted as a consolidation of secular votes but criticism of the politics of appeasement is called polarisation of Hindu Votes!

Leadership Styles

In style and functioning BJP's Modi outsmarted IC's Rahul Gandhi. Modi plunged into the thick of the battle with panache while Rahul only remained on the side lines. Modi went for the goal while Rahul continued only to practice at the nets. For Modi the rise in politics was baptism by fire but for Rahul it was the continuation of a protected political culture in a golden cage. Modi had no illusions while Rahul was at home with a web of delusions spun around him by sycophants. Modi engaged the audience with spellbound oratory while Rahul's recitation of scripted speeches written by ghost writers only widened the chasm with the electorate. Modi attacked poverty, while Rahul made a virtue of it. Modi had a head start; Rahul was a non-starter. Modi led his team but Rahul was led by his team. Modi rose from a humble background - a chaiwalla selling tea, while Rahul could not shake of his tag of dynastic descendent. Modi inspired confidence while Rahul repeatedly confirmed his lack of it. Even the socially and economically weaker sections saw through the game and, this time, did not fall prey to worn out poll promises.

The issue of leadership was central to the entire campaign. While the BJP took a calculated risk in declaring Modi as their Prime Ministerial candidate, the IC faltered and shied away from pitching Rahul as a rival to Modi. While Modi's development agenda transcended caste, regional and linguistic divide the IC under Rahul continued to harp on emphasizing that Modi's agenda was divisive. The IC failed to realize that the issues they raised had become irrelevant with the youth who wanted work not subsidies and doles. The nation, after years of administrative paralysis looked for a strong Centre; a stable and decisive leadership. It found the answer in Modi. That in a caste ridden UP and Bihar, the BJP should have won 71 and 22 seats respectively, only showed how intense was the backlash of exploitable caste based politics. The IC had made itself irrelevant.

The voters rejected both, the anarchic politics of the Aam Aadmi Party and the dynastic politics of IC. Moreover the voters wanted a government that would serve and not just rule. It was a gigantic task undertaken by Modi who addressed over 1,800 political rallies, in person as well as through 3D holograms, believed to be

a world record for electoral rallies held by any politician. In a nation as diverse as India where dynamics vary from district to district and constituency to constituency the consolidation of votes in favour one party with simple majority is an enviable achievement and will become the subject of political analyst and researchers.

First Non-Congress Government with a Majority

This is the first time that a non-Congress Party crossed the halfway mark of 272 Parliamentary seats by itself. It is the first time that a right wing party (so-called) is in power on its own strength. The bogey of fear over a victory of such a Party only shows how the secular brigade and left liberals of the US kind cannot reconcile themselves to the co-existence of diverse political ideologies even if the latter abide by the Constitution and the rule of law.

The 2014 Elections are bound to have lasting impact on Indian politics. Even after its worst rout, the IC continues to swear by the Gandhi family. It has still not learnt its lessons. The appointment of Mallikarjun Kharge as a leader of IC in the Lok Sabha proves the point; ability and merit have no place. The dynasty wants power without accountability or responsibility. Rahul Gandhi's refusal to take the mantle of the Parliamentary group proves the point. If he cannot lead his Party how can he lead the nation? As leader of the Parliamentary Group, he would have to face a pugnacious and aggressive Modi face to face unlike in the election campaign.

If the development mantra becomes successful even regional and casteist parties will become irrelevant. The idea of a Third Front will become a meaningless political rhetoric.

After 1987, it was presumed that the era of coalition governments had come to stay. The stunning victory of the BJP exploded this myth as well as the invincibility of the Nehru Dynasty. A dynamic leadership can work wonders. Winston Churchill proved it in the second World War when he inspired the allies to turn the tide against the Nazi onslaught. His leadership has demolished many theories of Indian politics and also redefined the entrenched ideas associated with the Indian polity viz. that caste factors rule the roost or that minorities vote en bloc.

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What Happened to the Congress Party in 2014?

P. Koshy

The Congress couldn't understand that India's poor prefer to live independently and in a dignified manner rather than be recipients of benefits under schemes named after one of the Nehru-Gandhis.

The 2014 election verdict was beyond all imagination and prediction. The BJP victory was sweeping and beyond belief, leaving the Congress strategists stunned. The Congress led UPA and its campaign managers, hailing from top technology and management institutes such as IIT, IIM and prestigious international institutes were complacent in the belief that the Congress led alliance would make it this time as well. Each time the Congress strategists expressed confidence, voters decided to ensure that it should not happen. Moreover, they sealed remote possibilities of a UPA come back by defeating all 'probable UPA outside supporters' as well.

In Kerala, many voters in the Pathanamthitta Lok Sabha constituency with whom I spoke decided not to vote this time. Even the staunchest of the Congress voters were riled by rising prices of essential commodities, which Prime Minister kept justifying. In fact, the UPA policies had caused such difficulties for the common man, that each day made them seethe in anger, be it for prices of vegetables, grains, petrol or the difficulty of getting services. A voter told me that he had to waste almost thousand Rupees to obtain an Aadhar card, apart from the cost incurred on visits to the LPG gas agency and the bank thereafter to link Aadhar with the bank account. He went thrice to the nearest Aadhar center. When the card finally arrived, he found the details on it incorrect, so he had to visit the Aadhar authorities again to correct the mistakes. Finally, when the government withheld the Aadhar requirement for subsidy, he became angry and boycotted the polls together with his family! He said, if he had known about the lack of clarity on Aadhar, he would not have wasted precious time, money and energy.

The fact is, people are disgusted with the bureaucracy. Their worst nightmare is when visiting government offices where the smug looking babus make excuses for not doing their work. All the anger against inefficient governance and corruption went against the UPA government led by a babu-friendly prime minister.

People were angry with the way in which public

policies were enacted without proper study, consultation and consensus! They doubted the methodology adopted in preparing the Gadgil Committee (Western Ghats Ecology Expert Panel) Report, an issue with far reaching consequences on people and their livelihood. The study, many people feel, was based on an unsound and unacceptable methodology. There was an attempt to enforce this without discussions, consensus and corrections. On the same pattern, the Congress successfully divided Andhra into two. Before that, the MGNREGA had already antagonized Indian middle classes substantially. It altered and created a disequilibrium in the labour market, impacting productive job sectors, labour intensive manufacturing companies and small scale industries.

And then came the food security offer. Already disillusioned with the supply of rotten foodgrains from the public distribution system, the common man had a real laugh. The aspirations of the youth and their parents go beyond subsidized rotten food, food security and MGNREGA jobs. All these would have been meaningful, if there had been a simultaneous successful initiative to create modern food godowns in the country.

The BJP campaign offered options for a much more dignified living for India's poor. A tea vendor is a representative of India's vast majority of entrepreneurs. Millions of the entrepreneurial classes could identify themselves with a tea vendor. Political parties never bothered to speak for them or represent them. This silent majority found in Modi, someone who empathized with their life and problems. And this was the BJP's strength. They realized what the Congress couldn't understand that India's poor prefer to live independently and in a dignified manner rather than be recipients of benefits under schemes named after one of the Gandhis. Congress (I) leaders did not understand this psychological transition and that proved to be their undoing.

To add insult to injury, Manmohan Singh successfully implemented the sixth pay commission recommendations, and prior to the election, a seventh pay

commission was promised. This was at a time when the common man in the private sector, such as small industry workers, professionals, youth, women and entrepreneurs from different sectors were suffering the ill effects of low income, low salaries, high inflation, declining wages, job losses and the like.

Then again, the Congress campaigners projected BJP's communal image when the BJP talked about development. Looked at in that light, one cannot help but wonder who is more communal and dangerous. A very senior Congress advisor, close to Rahul, once questioned a Christian dress code adopted in convocations in Indian Universities. His language and use of words were very strong, like "barbaric colonial relics.....of medieval vicars and popes." To me, this is suggestive of a much more powerful and venomous communalism.

Ironically, the pro-poor policies of the Congress only boomeranged on them. For instance, when the policy was against providing subsidy to the State Road Transport Corporations the poor suffered. And Rahul Gandhi wanted reservation for socially backward classes in the private sector. Is it really practical?

Rahul Gandhi could successfully hide the misdeeds of the Congress. Instead of admitting the mistakes of the past, Rahul tried to hide Singh government's shortcomings, which further aggravated people's anger. UPA had completely forgotten the principle of collective leadership. Showcasing its array of leaders at all levels would have made a lot of difference. But the campaign managers were so sure that the young Gandhi would ensure a victory for them. Some of them even commented that those who are above a certain age should leave politics. "People unfortunately in India don't know when to exit. They hang

on and on.....", said one advisor. Who was his target, not sure. A statement of this sort during the time of an important campaign was certainly not a good idea.

The advisors, it would seem, were concerned about the presence and involvement of too many old people who could very well spoil their chances and opportunities. Some of them, even expected an opportunity to become the prime minister in the event of the Congress forming a government and Rahul declining the PM's post. But the reality is that Rahul Gandhi is leading the party in the right direction. He is doing it in a systematic and scientific manner. This has to be continued. Revival will happen when they admit their mistakes. Most importantly, expelling very intelligent management graduates and technocrats from his shadow advisory board is crucial. Let him have Congress workers as his advisors. Let him be ready to listen to the voices from rural India, and not the voice of urban based NGO leaders and 'overseas returned' graduates.

People will be happy when there is a Party that can make the babus (government servants) work. It is important to instill fear in the minds of babus by the government in power. People have suffered too much at the hands of bureaucrats in the post-independence era and are really looking ahead to liberation from inefficiency and red-tapism. Young Indians are looking ahead to hear news about measures that cut bureaucracy and its discretionary powers down to size with more smart, transparent e-governance systems, with no need for them to pay bribes!

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A New Parliament for Europe – European Elections 2014

The second largest elections in the world (after the Indian general elections) were held from May 22 to 25, 2014 across the 28 Member States of the European Union for entry into the European Parliament. Although contested by national parties, elected representatives will organise themselves into transnational groups according to political convictions. To be recognised, a group needs to have at least 25 members from at least 7 Member States. According to the current grouping, the two biggest groups will be the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) with 218 members in the 751 member house, and the group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats with 191 members. For the strength of the various groups visit <http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india>. The new Parliament will meet for the first time on 1st July.

The Parliament plays an important role in adopting EU laws on a wide range of areas (for example, economic governance, immigration, energy, transport, the environment and consumer protection). Its vast majority is adopted jointly by the European Parliament and the Council. The EP also exercises oversight over other institutions, to monitor the proper use of the EU budget and to ensure the correct implementation of EU law.

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<http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india>

What is ‘The Gujarat Model’ of Development?

M. D. Kini

The verdict of 2014 is people want the Gujarat Model of Development in all the states of the Indian Union.

Most political commentators in newspapers and politicians of various parties have derided, if not dismissed, the Gujarat Model of Development. Some economists have pointed out that the human development index in Gujarat is average as in so many other states.

However, some impartial observers have praised many initiatives taken by the Modi administration. “Chief Minister Narendra Modi has”, states a report of the US Congress, “streamlined economic processes, removing red tape and curtailing corruption in ways that have made the state a key driver of national economic growth.” According to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, corruption in Gujarat is “very low.”

Providing basic facilities to the people is the main purpose of the Gujarat Model of Development, and these are: electricity, water supply and infrastructure such as roads. Modi brought good governance to Gujarat by creating transparent processes (e-governance) and serving the people by empowering the bureaucracy.

Introduced e-governance: Digitized procurement process which enabled businessmen to submit bids online ensuring transparency in government contracts; every village was provided with internet connection; all basic services such as birth and death certificates, income certificates, applications for government schemes and tax payments were made available at e-panchayats. With this process, the scope for corruption and speed-money has come down drastically.

Empowering bureaucrats: Frequent and arbitrary transfer of officers has been done away with. This gave stability of tenure to bureaucrats which in turn promoted good governance. Inter-departmental co-ordination was achieved through ‘Chintan Shivirs’ (roughly ‘brainstorming sessions’) where presentations were made on the activities of the various departments and this allowed top bureaucrats to discuss among themselves and exchange ideas. Modi mentioned in one of his speeches that he was able to do many things with the help of bureaucrats –

bureaucrats, like all human beings, like to be respected and appreciated. Bureaucracy is like a horse which goes where the rider wants it to go.

Reform of the power sector: Modi appointed an efficient and upright officer, Manjula Subramaniam, as the Chairperson of GSEB (Gujarat State Electricity Board) who re-organised the Board. She separated agricultural, industrial and domestic feeder lines. While domestic users get 24-hours power supply, the agricultural sector gets 8-10 hours of high voltage supply at subsidised rates. The Planning Commission at the Centre has advised other states to follow this example.

GSEB has been able to stop theft of electricity. All these measures have transformed GSEB from a loss-making PSU into a profit-making entity. GSEB was able to reform its functioning as there was no political interference.

Agricultural growth story: Almost 70 percent of land of Gujarat state is arid or semi-arid. How did Gujarat under Modi become an agricultural powerhouse? By creating an awareness of the value of water. His government built more than 1,00,000 check dams and encouraged micro-irrigation projects which increased from 10,000 ha to 5,00,000 ha in ten years. To achieve his objective he provided a very attractive incentive to the farmers. While the farmer pays 5% of the cost of the micro-irrigation facility, state subsidizes to the extent of 50% and the banks give 45% loan.

Government has also promoted high-value food crops (mango, banana) and non-food crops (cotton). “Bt cotton led the charge in Gujarat’s agrarian miracle,” states Ashok Gulati, the well-known agricultural economist, “supported by investment in check dams and other irrigation schemes. More than 50 percent of Gujarat’s cotton is irrigated while in Vidarbha, Maharashtra, it is only 5 percent. That explains why cotton is a success in Gujarat, not in Maharashtra.”

Gujarat pioneered the issue of soil-health cards to the farmers. The card has information such as soil properties

(mineral composition, water retention capacity, productivity) and suitable crop for the land. It also has information on the fertilizer and pesticides to be used. This has helped the farmers to increase the productivity of the land. Gujarat has encouraged contract farming to provide ready market for their produce.

Annual *Krishi Mahotsavs* (Agriculture meets/exhibitions) organised by the government bring the farmers in direct contact with agricultural experts to improve agricultural practices and impart new knowledge to the farmers. Another initiative is the animal health camps for cattle.

Infrastructure: Gujarat has a road network of 74,000 km and almost all villages are connected by all-weather ‘pucca’ roads. Gujarat has undertaken massive widening and upgradation of roads to smoothen the transport of agricultural produce to the cities and industrial goods to the ports.

The Public-Private Partnership model adopted by Gujarat has increased the port capacity hugely. Port capacity has more than doubled from 135 million tonnes to 284 million tonnes during the period 2001-11.

Industry: Modi’s pro-active initiative in the industrial field is well-illustrated by the famous sms “*Welcome to Gujarat*” to Ratan Tata when he lost the land in Singur (West Bengal). Now Tata Motors is manufacturing its famous Nano in Sanand, Gujarat. Many other automobile manufacturers are flocking to Gujarat creating more employment opportunities for the people. If there is no red-tape, water and power are available and if there is industrial peace, what more can an industrialist ask for?

Apart from the above, the Modi government has taken many other initiatives for the economic progress of Gujarat. The Kutch Festival has made the barren land into a new tourist destination giving livelihood to artisans in that remote area. The Kite Festival has attracted international attention and increased the income of all people involved in this trade. Solar energy has been given a boost by the government.

Gujarat’s economic success was recently testified by workers from UP who are working in Gujarat.

“Modi often speaks of migrants from UP and Bihar flocking to Gujarat,” reports Avishek G. Dastidar (*The Indian Express*, May 9), and adds, “Seen through the eyes

of the migrants, Gujarat almost assumes the proportion of a fabled land. ‘What roads! Nowhere will you find the roads that you see in Gujarat. And if you have a pair of able hands and don’t mind working hard, you will surely get a job.’ says Behraj Khan, 32, a driver in a sugar mill in Bardoli near Surat. Ever since he shifted to Gujarat in 2003, Behraj has helped six of his relatives near Lucknow to migrate to Gujarat. ‘I started with Rs.6,000, now my salary is Rs.17,000 with a yearly allowance to visit home. Where would I have managed this in UP?’.

“25-year-old Raj Mohammad from Rae Bareilly, went to Ahmedabad five years ago to work in a pipe fabrication company.” writes Avishek G.Dastidar in the same report. “In Rae Bareilly, he says, he would have been either unemployed or become a helper to a mason. Over the years, he got his brothers and some friends to join the company.”

“Rama Chandra Tiwari, a farmer in nearby village Gandhiyon tell you,” writes Shekhar Gupta, on his tour of Poorvanchal, (*The Indian Express*, May10), “many people from here go and work in Gujarat and come back to say the same thing (24-hour power). Many also work in Mumbai and Delhi, but the calm and productive environment that you find in Gujarat is unmatched. So is the power supply. This, therefore, is an entirely verifiable claim and requires no further propaganda or vindication, holographic or otherwise.”

No wonder that Modi’s election speeches received unprecedented response in UP and Bihar, and would get unprecedented votes as well.

The Gujarat Model of Development is providing the basic amenities such power and water supply to every village and household, and improvement of infrastructure such as roads network as well as employment creation. This has received enthusiastic response from the people of Gujarat, and now from the people of India. The verdict of 2014 is people want the Gujarat Model of Development all the states of the Indian Union.

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Buddhism teaches that nothing happens by chance. Everything has meaning. Please be convinced that your inner life is already endowed with everything you need. No matter how difficult your situation may be you are alive now, and there is no treasure more precious than life itself. – *Daisaku Ikeda*

From the net contributed by Melanie Silveira

Foreign Policy Agenda for the Modi Government

B. Ramesh Babu

The foreign policy agenda for the Modi Government is to keep its focus on the larger picture of a U.S-India-Japan trilateral equation

The 2014 elections mark a watershed in the history of the nation. The BJP's comfortable majority in the Lok Sabha liberates it from the constraints of coalition politics of the recent past. However, as Prime Minister Modi reiterated time and again, winning elections is different from running the Government. To govern the nation it is crucial to take all sections of the people along, especially in a plural, multiethnic, and continental sized country like ours. Let us hope that Modi will keep his word as he leads the nation at home and abroad for the next five years.

It was but natural that during the electoral campaign key domestic issues – economic growth and development, price rise, corruption, and governance – occupied the centre stage. Now that the elections are over, it is time to turn our attention to the foreign policy agenda before the nation. By inviting the Heads of the SAARC nations to his swearing in ceremony, Modi demonstrated that he accords high priority to the country's external relations. The “bold and unexpected” initiative was well received at home, in South Asia and beyond. While such a ceremonial occasion is not best suited for meaningful discussion of relations between countries, the importance of one to one meetings between our Prime Minister and the invited leaders should not be underestimated. The fact that all of them (including the Prime Minister of Pakistan) graced the occasion must be seen as a plus point for India and an **imaginative and brave beginning** by the Modi Government in the foreign policy arena.

Economy – Top Priority

The most important task before the nation today is to put the country back on the track of high and sustained economic growth. The initiatives announced during the first few days of the new Government on FDI, opening up defence production to the private sector, readiness to divest loss making PSUs (including the iconic Air India) are signs of sweeping changes underway. One of the important foreign policy priorities in this context is a radical revision of the nation's foreign economic policy. The commercial and economic wings of our consulates around the world should be strengthened by inducting suitable

additional officers and outside experts. What Indian business and industry want is clarity, certainty (no flip-flops), coherence in economic policies, no retroactive taxation, and drastic cut down of red tape. That certainly is not asking for too much.

Restoration of rapid and sustained economic growth at home is the most fundamental, enduring, and overarching national purpose at this time and foreign policy is one of the key instruments towards that end. At the same time every care should be taken to not fall into the trap of corporate capitalism. People will certainly watch out for the role and reach of the Adanis and Ambanis in the Modi Government, it must be added. Benefits of growth should reach the bottom of the pyramid. Mere promises and slogans of inclusive growth will not do. Above all the entrenched “vote bank” politics should end.

Countering China

If we now turn to the crucial and continuing challenges confronting the country, the immediate tasks on hand are two: (1) deterring an aggressively expansionist China and (2) countering terrorism emanating from Pakistan. The fact that the two collude against us adds to the gravity of the security threat facing the country. In dealing with the border dispute with China, it is crucial not to forget even for a moment the massive fact that China is the most dangerous and proximate enemy on the border. We have no choice but to constantly expand and upgrade our defense capabilities in the Himalayan region. We must also recognize and digest the reality that China enjoys the strategic advantage of occupying the higher altitude regions in the northern mountains. Therefore, to deter the dragon we need to have a more powerful nation on our side.

The only thing China fears is our proximity to the U.S. It is an absolute must for us to keep the India-U.S strategic partnership intact and nurture the forward momentum on this front. In this context, the denial of visa to Modi and the Devyani episode should be seen as irritants and should not be allowed to vitiate the overarching bilateral equation so crucial to both sides. In any case, Modi should not go to America in a hurry.

Ideally he should go there on a State visit in the third or the fourth year of his Administration! By then a new President will be in the White House.

Ironical as it may seem, China's activation of its hitherto dormant maritime disputes with Japan and many ASEAN countries opens up new opportunities for Indian diplomacy. A return to the American military fold seems to be the only credible alternative available to them, as the Philippines have done recently (April 2014). The Modi Government should utilize this opportunity to the full and promote a new U.S-Japan-India strategic partnership with a view to curb Chinese expansionism. The inherited qualms in this regard should be openly discarded. India should then go on to build a coalition of concerned countries in the Asia-Pacific region to deter Chinese aggression.

It is equally important that the top political leadership in the next Government understands that such a proactive security approach does not in any way contradict our established policy of co-operation with China on key global issues on the North-South divide. That will continue on the basis of mutual benefit and to help other developing countries in facing the hegemony of the West on the issues of trade, tariffs, investments, farm subsidies and global warming. The fact that China has had a very favourable economic equation with Modi's Gujarat over the years should weigh heavily in the country's calculations over the future relations with India including the border dispute.

In this context it is noteworthy that the Chinese Premier Li Keqiang was the first foreign leader to greet Modi soon after his swearing in as Prime Minister. This sweet talk should be seen as an integral part of China's established strategy of blowing hot and cold on bilateral relations. If there is going to be actual progress on the border dispute in the coming months, it should be seen as the outcome of India's policy of tit for tat in the Himalayas, strategic partnership with US and Japan, and the efforts to build the larger coalition of concerned countries as a countervailing strategy.

Cross Border Terrorism

The next important item on the foreign policy agenda for the next Government is to come to grips with the complex and almost intractable bilateral relationship with Pakistan. The early euphoria of Nawaz Shariff becoming the Prime Minister ended rather quickly and the seven decade long legacy of mutual suspicion and distrust reasserted itself. There is no point in blaming Manmohan Singh's sentimental and over personalized approach in the matter. Progress in bilateral relations with Pakistan is

possible only when the cross-border terrorism stops and the perpetrators of the mayhem in Mumbai are punished under Pakistani Laws. Pakistan's internal troubles are unlikely to alter the country's policy towards India. One of the first things India should do is to stop declaring that we are in favour of the unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan. Its unity, disunity, and/or internal disarray are operationally irrelevant to that country's hostility to India. Nawaz Shariff's peace overtures on the occasion of the swearing in ceremony have to be tested against actual progress on the ground after he returned home.

"Hot Pursuit" Of Terrorists

Indian political and military leadership should carefully re-examine our failed policy of tackling cross-border terrorism emanating from Pakistan. In international law, "hot pursuit" of intruders and criminals is allowed. The implications and consequences of such a new approach to Pak based terrorists should be examined by the next Government carefully and objectively. But the intention to take such a re-look at the conventional approach in place for so many decades should send a message to the other side. The Pakistani reiteration ad nauseum that they have no control over the Jehadi groups and do not aid and abet them could be tested in the bargain. Freedom should be given to the top military leadership to go after the terrorists in "hot pursuit". At the same time, such limited operation should not be allowed to escalate into a larger military conflict in Jammu and Kashmir or in Gujarat (Rann of Kutch). That Pakistan and India have nuclear weapons is a paramount deterring factor. But it is high time for us to find ways and means of effectively countering the long established treacherous and murderous Pak policy of "bleeding India by a thousand cuts". A certain degree of controlled escalation may not be as "dangerous" as assumed. This may also "force" U.S and other nations to realize that at last India means business and therefore, decide to lean on Pakistan more heavily. However, let me make it absolutely clear that I am not advocating the policy of hot pursuit right away. The option should be carefully examined and all concerned should be aware that India is seriously considering the option as a weapon of last resort. After all, our people are fed up on the state of "no end in sight" on this front! This could be one way of making our foreign policy towards our neighbours "strong and muscular" as promised by Modi during the elections!

At the same time, the positive dimensions of the relationship – doubling and tripling trade, and expanding people to people contacts between the two neighbours – should be actively promoted. In our economic and commercial relations with Pakistan as well as all the other neighbours in South Asia our policy should not insist on

strict mathematical reciprocity. Being a vastly larger economy and technologically better endowed, India should give “unilateral concessions” in the areas of trade and commerce and economic cooperation. I know that this is easier said than done.

Failure to implement the agreements with Bangladesh on the sharing of Teesta River waters and adjustment of enclaves along the border are examples of inept and ineffective leadership of Manmohan Singh and the compulsions of coalition government at the centre. The inadequacies and inconsistencies in our relationship with Sri Lanka are in the same category. Modi’s invitation to the leaders of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka should be seen as a signal to the regional subedars (Mamata and Jayalalita) that he will not allow the nation’s foreign policy to be held hostage by them. Let us hope that he will prevail.

Strategise Foreign Aid

Whenever foreign aid is debated, India looms large as the largest recipient of assistance from all and sundry. However, there is an “untold story” on the other side of the coin. This is one area of Indian achievement that deserves to be widely publicized at home and abroad. In the global arena today India is a significant donor of foreign economic and technical aid. It has contributed more than its share of technical and development assistance to about 125 countries around the world. India’s accumulated foreign aid over the last three decades is about 2.5 billion US dollars. This figure does not include the huge assistance being given to Afghanistan. Almost 60 per cent of the aid is devoted to training civil servants, engineers, and managers of public sector units in many countries in accordance with the policies and priorities of the recipient nations. What is highly pertinent is that the Indian assistance is demand driven, appropriate and best suited to the recipient country. Its most welcome feature is that it costs only a fraction of the aid from the rich and advanced countries of the West. At the 2011 India-Africa Forum Summit, for example, India pledged a 5 billion US dollars worth of aid in the form of concessional loans to African nations. India’s foreign aid programme is aptly called Development Assistance Partnership (DAP). In addition India provides a very large number of fellowships and scholarships to students from developing countries to study in India’s institutes of technology and universities. This dimension of India’s foreign policy deserves to be publicized massively at home and abroad.

While our foreign aid has gathered momentum and expanded in size and scope over the decades, it has developed many fault lines. Several Ministries and major Departments at the centre have been providing assistance

to many countries in their own separate ways. There is no coordination among them. In policy terms, a more serious inadequacy is the complete lack of a coherent doctrine guiding the myriad projects and programmes spread across the world. Often, the Ministry of External Affairs is not even in the picture in the aid programmes and projects of the other Ministries. Foreign aid should be a planned constituent and an important instrument of the nation’s foreign policy. We have a great deal to learn from China in this regard.

It is noteworthy that the BJP’s election manifesto specifically mentions the need for significant expansion of the size of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), enhancing its role in the formulation of the nation’s foreign policy, and bringing in outside experts into the deliberations. This should be put into practice immediately.

Conclusion

Finally, there is urgent need to greatly expand our economic and political relations with Latin American countries, especially with Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina. This late starter has immense potential and needs to be harnessed with great care and imagination.

In conclusion, the foreign policy agenda for the Modi Government is to keep its focus on the larger picture of a U.S-India-Japan trilateral equation to ensure our strategic security and quickly restore a growth-friendly climate to promote domestic and foreign investment on a large scale. The image of a central government afflicted with policy paralysis, notorious for ineptitude, ineffectiveness and unprecedented corruption has to be erased once and for all. We need a strong, effective, and clear headed leader at the helm of affairs at home and abroad. The nation expects nothing less from the new Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The start is promising. But, only time will reveal the efficacy and extent of success of the new Prime Minister’s leadership.

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PM Narendra Modi said while the world talks of GDP, Bhutan talks of national happiness. He said there could be many parameters to measure happiness, but he wished to suggest a new one - how is your neighbour. Among the many parameters on which Bhutan measures happiness, having a good friend like India should be one of them, Modi said.

To Be or Not to Be a Citizen: The Tibetan Dilemma

Tenzing Tsundue

Since India is not a signatory to the 1951 International refugee law, the one lakh Tibetans living in India are technically foreigners though sentimentally we call ourselves refugees. Never in 55 years has India pressured or coerced Tibetans to integrate.

I'm India's dog; whenever the Chinese top leaders come visiting India, the Indian police detain me in Dharamshala fearing I might pull off another building climb protest stunt that already embarrassed two Chinese premieres in Mumbai and Bangalore. India wants to trade with China but quietly nurtures a dream of having Tibet once again in the Himalayas instead of China.

On the morning of May 7, as Himachal Pradesh went to the polls, I watched my friend Tashi vote in an Indian general election for the first time in his life. Brushing shoulders with local Gaddis, Ranas and Chaudhrys he emerged from the booth triumphantly showing me his Tibetan index finger with its indelible ink mark. Suddenly he seemed to have been washed of all his sins; the identity crisis of being born in India, but to a Tibetan refugee family which made him a foreigner by birth. Tashi had made history for Tibetans in India. How did he become a citizen overnight?

Since the Election Commissioner made the announcement on February 7, 2014 that Tibetans in India could vote, debates have been raging at the Tibetan community meetings and on social media sites. While the pragmatics argued for the benefits of citizenship until we return to Tibet, idealists like me, vehemently opposed it, reasoning that it would undermine Tibetan nationality, and our legal, historical and basic moral claims over Tibet.

The debate started with one young girl, Namgyal Dolkar. She took the Delhi Passport Office to the High Court for not issuing her a passport, quoting Indian Citizenship Law section 3 (1) (a) of the Citizenship Act 1955 – “anyone born in India between 26th January 1950 to 1st July 1987 are natural citizens of India”. After battling for a passport for five years she finally won the case on December 22, 2010, thereby establishing a precedent.

At the height of Beijing's 2008 Olympics, the Himachal Pradesh police arrested and charged me as a foreigner for being absent from Dharamshala for over 14 days without registering my departure. They jailed me for 11 days, confiscated my ID card and charged me under section 14 (c) of the Foreigners Registration Act 1946. By

applying this regulation – applicable to foreign tourists – to Tibetans born in India like me renders every second Tibetan a potential criminal. It took two years and 22 trips to Mandi District Court before I was found innocent and acquitted.

Tibetans feared that if they voted in this election their Registration Card (RC) would be revoked. This annually-renewed document which establishes Tibetan identity has been procedurally issued by India on individual application, making every Tibetan a foreigner. But the Dharamshala District Collector did not demand RCs; he checked the certificates showing they were born before July 1 1987. On election day on 7 May, 217 Tibetans out of the 14,000 living in Dharamshala trailed to the polling booths hiding their faces in apparent guilt at surrendering their Tibetan identity. Tashi went in as a foreigner and came out a citizen, his RC still safe in his chest pocket. The foreigner became a citizen. The stateless found a country.

So what is the legal status of Tibetans in India now? Are the voters citizens now? Will the voters lose their RCs? Can we avail government jobs? Own a house after 55 years of exile? And not be stopped at the airport and asked to explain the non-descript yellow book, our Identity Certificate that most Indian officials have never seen? Will the 7000 “Special Frontier Force” Tibetans in the Indian Army, heroes of the Bangladesh and Kargil wars, now have equal promotions and pensions as Indians? Since the Election Commissioner's announcement has been challenged by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Tibetans are dazed in the “*hum aapke hain kaun*” moment?

Tibetan voters are not just refugees, they include Indian citizens of Tibetan descent who have been living in India for centuries along the Himalayas; the Bhutias of Gangtok, Kalimpong and Darjeeling, the Khampas of Kumaon and Gharwal, and those from Manali and Simla who run the famous ‘Tibetan Market’ on New Delhi's Janpath.

Cont'd. on page 29

Attack on Indian Assets in Afghanistan

Suresh C. Sharma

The Taliban, has undertaken terror strikes against Indian assets and workers. According to the Afghanistan Intelligence Agency, the blast was carried out by the Haqqani Group with the support of Pakistan's ISI

While India seeks friendship with Afghanistan to promote regional security and trade, Pakistan considers friendship between Delhi and Kabul a disadvantage to it. Pakistan and Afghanistan have an old controversy about the Durand Line being the boundary between the two countries. The victory of the Taliban gave an opportunity to Pakistan to damage Kabul-Delhi relations.

When the attack in 2001 on the Twin Towers led to an attack by the USA on the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, India provided intelligence support to the USA. Sending troops for the operation was discussed and given up. Pakistan too influenced the USA not to seek support from India. In his TV address Musharraf mentioned that India has no common borders with Afghanistan and should keep away from that country. He accused President Karzai of favouring India and alleged that the Indian Consulates were giving assistance to rebels in Baluchistan. The defeat of Taliban changed the situation and India established diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. It has provided extensive support to the new government. Indo-Afghan relations strengthened as Pakistan has been providing shelter to Taliban and encouraging them to carry out terror attacks in Afghanistan.

In 2014, the bulk of the US armed forces are likely to withdraw from Afghanistan leaving behind about 10,000 troops whose role would primarily be training and intelligence. NATO powers are unlikely to provide military support and the Taliban believes India to be the main regional power to resist them. The spill over of Taliban elements from Afghanistan into India is a real and serious security threat.

In order to cement friendship with Kabul, India has offered projects worth USD 2 billion in the medical and infra-structure sectors. This includes USD 1 billion for humanitarian projects, building the Pul-i-Khumri power house, their parliament house, the Delaram-Zaranj road and access road to Iran's Chabahar port. These roads will also help in accessing Central Asia. The road to the Iran port faced difficulty due to sanctions by the USA against Iran. There is also a plan to invest USD 6 billion in mining iron ore at Hajgak. This is the only project which may bring economic benefit to India. All other investments have

been made to cement friendship with Afghanistan for strategic reasons. India has provided training for pilots and technicians in operation and maintenance of Russian Mi35 helicopters. Seats have been allotted to Afghan officers at the National Defence Academy and School of Artillery.

Taliban, assisted by the Pakistan Army's ISI, has undertaken terror strikes against Indian assets and workers. There are 3,000 Indian workers in Afghanistan. In 2005, the militants kidnapped and killed an Indian worker. India raised the strength of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police [ITBP] from 300 to 400 to protect our people there. The Indian Consulate at Jalalabad was attacked with hand grenades in 2007 and an ITBP soldier was killed on 5 June 2008. The most serious attack so far was on 7 July 2008 when a suicide bomber drove an explosive packed Toyota vehicle into two cars at the Embassy gates. 58 people including diplomat V Venkateswara Rao, Defence Attaché Brig Mehta and two officers of the ITBP were killed and 141 people injured most of them locals, since the blast occurred at 0830 in the morning at a place on a busy road where the people lined up to apply for visas for India. The Kabul police immediately sealed up the area and the Afghan foreign minister visited the embassy. He assured support by Afghan Government. Major Madhumita, the education officer, displayed great courage. She ran about two kms to the scene of blast and rescued her colleague from the debris. She was awarded the Sena Medal.

Most of the world condemned the attack. The CIA reviewed massive radio intercepts to identify the rogue organization. According to the Afghanistan Intelligence Agency, the blast was carried out by the Haqqani Group with the support of Pakistan's ISI. Investigations by RAW also confirmed this finding. *The Times of India* reported that the bomber was Hamz Shakoor from Gujranwala district of Pakistan. President Bush warned Gilani, Prime Minister of Pakistan, that he would take a serious view if such an act was repeated. of it. Seventeen people were killed in an attack in 2009 and a dozen in 2010 in attacks on guest houses.

On 23 May 2014, four militants attacked the Consulate building at Herat. They had occupied a house

nearby and opened fire at 0315 hours. The ITBP shot down one militant who was trying to climb over the boundary wall. The remaining three militants were eliminated by the Afghan Security personnel. According to intelligence sources, the militants were trying to take hostages and disrupt the invitation to Sharif for the oath taking ceremony of Prime Minister, Modi. President Karzai assured Modi about providing security to Indian personnel. The ITBP had earlier sent 80 trained commandos to Kabul and the Herat building was guarded by 23 security people. There was excellent coordination between the ITBP and Afghan National Army [ANA]. ANA proved itself to be capable of dealing with terror attacks.

India has to ensure good security for its personnel and assets as it is vital for her to have a friendly anti-Taliban regime in Kabul. India cannot mount a major military operation due to lack of land continuity and limited possibilities of air strikes. India has an Air Force base in

Central Asia which can be utilized to help ANA. Aid to the Tajiks in Northern Afghanistan during the US attack has resulted in lack of support from the Pashtuns. India has to convince the Afghans that it has no political objectives. There is urgent need to improve Afghanistan's military and economic capability. Afghan's defence budget is 1.5 times the annual income and it can survive only through external aid till its rich copper and iron ore deposits are exploited for which peace is essential. It is believed to also have oil/gas deposits. Besides supply of military arms and equipment, India can provide considerable soft power by way of election logistics and movies to strengthen Indo-Afghan relations. A friendly Afghan Government will be of help India develop trade and close relations with Central Asia.

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To Be or Not to Be a Citizen: The Tibetan Dilemma *(Cont'd. from page 27)*

Since India is not signatory to the 1951 International refugee law, the one lakh Tibetans living in India are technically foreigners though sentimentally we call ourselves refugees. Never in 55 years has India pressured or coerced Tibetans to integrate. The visionary work of HH the Dalai Lama, supported by India, helped Tibetans preserve their identity by nurturing a deep sense of culture, history and heritage in the young. For this Tibetans remain ever grateful to India. It is magnanimous on the part of India to now offer citizenship to Tibetans. Whether anyone takes this constitutional right to be or not to be an Indian citizen is an individual choice.

Tibet, being the bone of contention in Sino-Indian

relations, the Tibetan refugees are the strategic leverage for India against China, so are the Dalai Lama, the Karmapa and the Tibetan government in exile. The daily acts of resistance by the six million Tibetans in Tibet protects India more than all its border military can do along the 4075 km Himalayan border. But most Indians have no idea about it; they do not even know that the seven thousand strong Tibetan soldiers trained in the paramilitary combat man some of the most difficult snow mountain borders, like the Siachin Glacier as no Indian textbook talks about Tibet.

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Adjourning Parliament / Legislative Assembly / Council.

It has become a practice to adjourn for the day the Lok Sabha/ Legislative Assembly /Council to mourn the death of a member.

To express grief and to convey sympathy to the bereaved is a human quality. But to suspend work, to express grief and convey sympathy is not becoming of an industrious and enlightened nation like ours.

Mahatma Gandhi said the following: October 2 – should be a Day of All Work and No Holiday. To declare my birthday a holiday should be classified as a cognizable offence. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive spinning or some such national service. That day must be all work and no play .

The purport of the message is, that giving up work is haram; work is worship; wealth is created by work and not by being idle.

May I submit that a new practice must be introduced. The Leader of the House should move a condolence resolution and deliver an oration about the sterling qualities of the departed person; call the members to observe, say, two minutes silence and resume work. This practice will be much more dignified and be a great message to the people and to the bereaved to move on and continue to work, in fact, with greater vigour and commitment.

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Rape: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

Sharu S. Rangnekar

Till recently, many cases of sexual violence were not considered as crimes, neither reported nor punished. With increasing awareness, this area of crime is getting greater attention today. However, the efforts are not properly focused to reduce incidences of this crime. This paper discusses the appropriate short-term and long-term measures to deal with this crime.

Recently with the Delhi Nirbhaya and Mumbai Shakti Mill Rape Cases, there has been an upheaval resulting in more stringent laws on rape and awarding more severe punishment. This was a result of emotional outbursts rather than a logical analysis. If we want to make any effective impact on the problem some basic questions have to be asked:

1. Why rapes take place?
2. Where the rape problem is more and where it is less? Why?
3. Which measures can make an impact on this problem?

Causes of Rape

There are basically two castes – Male and Female among the creatures of this world. The problem of rape seems to be more significant among human beings, probably due to the following reasons:

While the sex urge among other animals is seasonal and lasts for a few months of a year, it is all throughout the year among human beings.

- A. Sexuality is linked to power amongst animals. A powerful male member of a herd is entitled to sexual access to the female so the concept of rape does not exist. In human beings the power of the male does not give him the right to rape.
- B. In human beings there are relationships and taboos which in some cases (e.g. incest) are equated with rape. In animals such taboos do not exist.

Non-recognised Rapes: War Rapes

Rapes become very common in war situations as the victorious combatants are considered privileged and rapes committed by them are not recognized as rapes. Even in recent times, war rapes have been significant, e.g. 80,000 women were raped by the Japanese soldiers during the six weeks of what came to be notoriously known as the 'Nanking Massacre'. During World War II an estimated 200,000 Korean and Chinese women were forced into

prostitution in Japanese military brothels. 200,000 women were raped during the Bangladesh Liberation War by the Pakistani Army and at least 20,000 Bosnian Muslim women were raped by Serb forces during the Bosnian War. It was only in 1998 that it was considered a crime against humanity, and action was taken with indictment confirmed by the International Criminal Tribunal only from 2001. Before that most of these rapes were considered as enemy propaganda.

Commercial Rapes

An important aspect of rape is the existence of prostitution known as the 'oldest profession in the world'. There have been various attempts to curb prostitution but without any significant success. In fact, with the porn industry becoming financially more and more rewarding, there is an increase in commercial rapes.

Marital Rapes

Marital rape is non-consensual sex where the perpetrator is the victim's spouse. Once widely condoned or ignored by law, marital rape is now criminalized by international conventions. Still in most countries marital rape is legally allowed or is illegal but widely tolerated.

Unreported Rapes

Unreported rapes which were condoned or ignored earlier like the war rapes or marital rapes are now being punished. But this does not necessarily mean that the cases of rapes will abate because of this change as rape takes place essentially because of impulse and opportunity. Both of these seem to be increasing. "The Date Rape" is an example of this type. Similarly as more women enter the job market where intermingling is inevitable, these opportunities are increasing. The advice by a conservative section of the society that women should attire modestly and be careful in their behaviour is not acceptable to the 'women's lib' and does not really explain the incidents of rape. Various contraceptive measures are also seen to encourage co-habitation indicated by the increase in the sale of "I-Pills" during Navratris when the two sexes intermingle more freely.

As much as 60% of the rape cases are never reported. The college rapes that are never reported to authorities in the USA are estimated to be as much as 95%.

Incest is another situation where rapes are not reported. Till about 50 years ago, there were child-widows in many high caste Hindu families which provided rape opportunities to the male members of the family. The majority of the children in the Pandharpur Orphanage which was well known for receiving abandoned children, and which I happened to visit in 1947, were a result of incest. One father-in-law brought his daughter-in-law (under the pretext of pilgrimage) every two to three years and went back with the daughter-in-law with the child left behind in the orphanage. With the prevalence of contraceptives such incidents are reduced considerably. Abortions are relatively easy and inexpensive resulting in non-reported rapes.

Changes for Tomorrow

Rapes are defined as the adult male using force with the females, but recently cases have been reported particularly in the USA and UK, where female teachers are having relationship with boys below the age of consent and so legally considered as rape.

Similarly male to male rapes are reported among Roman Catholics priests where celibacy motivates them and their position as 'religious fathers' gives them the opportunity to commit rapes on young boys (and also some girls). There are criminal cases against the Catholic Church and compensations have been awarded.

Sigmund Freud maintained that suppression of the sex instinct is dangerous as it could erupt in various forms of rape. The only method that seems to have reduced incidence of rape is sex education. Although this is accepted in theory, many parents are still unwilling to permit this. In the USA rapes have reduced by 60% with introduction of sex education. At present this is the immediate short term measure which could be effective.

Matrilineal and Patrilineal Systems

However, in the long term, moving towards the matrilineal system seems to be a slow but steady method of creating anti-rape culture. The matrilineal system seems to reduce incidents of rapes. Only about 5% of the world follows the matrilineal system. In India, the Nairs in Kerala and the Khasis in Meghalaya are examples of this system. The youngest daughter takes care of the rituals of the family and inherits the family assets. Thus the females dominate the family system.

As human beings began getting civilized, they formed smaller groups which were part of the tribal group. This was the origin of the concept of the family. To start with, the female was the head of the family since only women give birth to children and would be identified as the most natural care takers. Although the world started with 100% matrilineal families, over a period these families changed to patrilineal families where the father is the head. Also foreign invasions effected the change to patrilineal system. This change created a culture which is male dominated.

In a patrilineal culture anti-rape laws do not get implemented very effectively. In fact, in male dominated police stations, the complaints about rapes are not properly attended to and the Supreme Court had to pass instructions to ensure all rape complaints are specifically reported and investigated. Even in trying rape cases, very often the trial becomes the trial of the victim rather than the trial of perpetrator.

To conclude efforts towards sex-education and teaching self-defence to women will immediately lead to reduction of the incidence of rapes. In the long term, however, the partial restoration of the matrilineal system will be the remedy to counter rape.

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Sam Bahadur's Superb Presence of Mind

A youngster got posted to Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw's unit when Sam was the CO. This youngster was on his rounds when one of the riflemen did not notice him and missed saluting him. The youngster got cheased out and called out to the Kancha and asked him the reason for not saluting. The Kancha innocently gave out the reason that he did not see Leftenant Huzoor.

The youngster not convinced punished the Kancha to a thousand salutes. The Kancha immediately started saluting. Sam passed by and asked the youngster as to what was happening. The youngster said 'Sir this Kancha had the audacity of not saluting me so I have punished him with 1000 salutes'. Sam replied "Bloody good punishment youngster but make sure you reply to each of his salutes".

For the next two hours the unit was treated to a scene of a Kancha saluting and the youngster replying to each of his salutes.

From the Net contributed by Col.(retd.) T. S. Tanwar

Sugu's Story

Air Vice Marshal (Retd.) Cecil Parker

A 'uniformed liberal' sounds like an oxymoron. The following is a light hearted remembrance story of these rare species written for the 15 surviving members (out of an original 30) of my Pilots Course which marked its 61st anniversary on 30 August 2013 all of us being fully paid up members of the Octopilot Club! Not sure if this really fits into the gravitas of Freedom First but will I hope give the Editor a laugh. CP

Among the more colourful characters I knew in the air force was my course mate Sugu. We met as cadets in 1951 and as I grew to know him, I realised that the affected swagger in his gait and attitude hid a carefree loner and freethinker who marched to his own drummer. At an age and stage when our interests were focussed almost exclusively on flying and girls (not necessarily in that order), Sugu went further and meticulously maintained a personal diary daily. Once you earned his trust and friendship however, he would gladly give you his last rupee as freely as he took yours. If he felt that a particular rule or regulation intruded upon his 'rights', he treated it with benign neglect. Post graduation he went on to fly twin/ multi-engined and rotary-wing aircraft.

As bachelor officers our meetings were infrequent but when we did, we usually shared accommodation. One Sunday he decided to accompany me to church. When I expressed surprise that a good Brahmin would do so, he merely said he wanted to check out the girls. Yet that same evening he gave me an erudite analysis on the pitfalls of organised religion. Though possessed of a good intellect, he chose to use it sparingly. Among his eclectic collection of books (ranging from Philosophy to Pornography), I came across a sealed register marked 'Sugu's Story'. He turned down my request to read it saying I could do so after he retired and penned his memoirs. Besides, he added, it contained some very unflattering profiles of his course mates, including me.

Sugu developed a taste for the 'juice' and many was the occasion when his bar book was closed well before the end of the month much to his annoyance; he considered the Rs. 75 per month limit an immoral imposition. Like all his peers he was constantly falling in (and out) of love, the only difference being (after a couple of 'sundowners') his tendency to propose to the young lady of the moment. Of course what was actually proposed was never quite made clear. In the mid-60s he met, courted

and married a trainee nurse and brought her to Delhi on their honeymoon. He hired a taxi to take her sightseeing after which he turned up late one evening at our home where he introduced his bride, announced that they had come for dinner and requested me to go and settle the taxi fare. I not only had to pay but also pacify the irate driver (evidently a teetotaler) who had indignantly refused Sugu's offer of a bottle of Black Knight whisky in lieu of the fare! In the early hours of the morning I drove them to an address in Hauz Khas and then on to the railway station to catch a train.

In the late 1960s we met accidentally at the air base in Jodhpur to which he had been attached for disciplinary purposes. It seemed he had been posted to command a National Cadet Corps Air Squadron, reported with family to find there was no reserved accommodation awaiting him, so had checked into a starred hotel and instructed the management to send the bill to Air HQ!. (The resulting brouhaha can be better imagined than described). Little did I know that our drinks together that evening were to be our last meeting as, soon after, we received the sad news of his death in a helicopter flying accident. End of story'? Not quite: read on.

In Mumbai in 1989 my wife and I went to visit a patient in the Breach Candy hospital. The Matron happened to come in, took a long look at us and waited for us to exit when she politely asked for my name and profession. With a remarkable memory Sugu's widow identified herself and recollected with pleasure the one evening they had spent with us 25 years earlier. So, though we never got to read his story, Sugu is still an unforgettable character well remembered by his course mates and friends.

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I apologise to AVM Parker for the delay in sharing this very delightful 'uniformed liberal's' remembrance story with our readers who I am sure will remember Sugu with a smile! Ed.

Educating Adults

BOOK REVIEW



INDIAN IDENTITY NARRATIVES AND THE POLITICS OF SECURITY by Gitika Commuri • Sage Publications New Delhi • www.sagepublications.com • 2010 • pp.vii+315 • Rs. 795.

Reviewed by Dr. Parvathi Vasudevan, formerly Reader, University of Mumbai. She specialized in International Relations. parvathivasudevan@gmail.com

This book is a significant addition to the vast and growing literature on India's foreign policy. The author's zoom lens is on how India's national identity, both in terms of 'self' and the 'other' impacts the formulation of the country's

approach to external affairs. The author examines the relevance of the several contending International Relations theories to underscore the fact that for all countries the most important objective is to enhance their respective national interests.

The author maintains that "while constructivism is not a theory or a paradigm" (p.9) it does help mainstream concepts such as balance of power, anarchy, ethnicity, role of religion, etc. in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. International relations, according to most observers is best understood through the prism of the Realist or the Idealist Approaches both of which place the 'nation state' as the central actor in all countries.

The period 1990 to 2003 is the focus of Gitika Commuri's book which is her doctoral dissertation. The author attempts to evaluate the effects of India's secular approach in the context of the country's religious and cultural narratives as they impact New Delhi's approach in her relations with her neighbours

Chapters three to five of the six-chapter book constitute the case studies of her work.

Indo-Pakistan relations constitute the bulk of the book (pp 88-232). Obviously, the unresolved Kashmir issue defines the highs and lows between the two nuclear armed nations. For very obvious reasons Kashmir has always been viewed as vital in terms of national security by New Delhi. India is categorical that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is final and non-negotiable, a stand that Pakistan vehemently contests. Religion unfortunately gets intertwined in the nationalist discourse in both the countries. India believes in secularism where sarva dharma sambhava is emphasized and the Indian State remains neutral in matters of religion. Pakistan, on the other hand is a pronounced theocratic State with Islam being given a special status. This has muddled the relationship, more so since "hindutva" is emphasized by some political and cultural organizations in India. This has resulted in some critics labeling India as "pseudo-secular" and the belief that non-hindus are periodically subjected to discrimination and occasional violence as well. The author argues that "Kashmir is significant to the Indian imagination—the loss of JK is seen as the loss of the secular Self" (p.273). It is in this context that the author also examines how the politics of terrorism and an 'engage-disengage approach' has nearly negated all the confidence building measures which both countries believed would lower tensions. Every incoming government in both India and Pakistan hopes that such a vitiating atmosphere will be a thing of the past, but has been unsuccessful in building lasting bridges of trust between the two countries.

Sino-Indian relations are discussed in chapter 5, the penultimate chapter of the book. For, well over four decades a "tri-lateral security complex" (p 233) characterized Sino-Indian relations. Up until the mid-1950s the "bhai-



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bhai” phase of relations prevailed between China and India. This was followed by a deep sense of suspicion and unease between Beijing and Delhi with relations going further south following the Sino-Indian war of 1962. Further deterioration in the relations was noticed when China conducted its first atomic blast in 1964. The 1970s and the 1980s was one of limited engagement between the two Asian giants. India breaking the nuclear club’s barriers in 1998 in the interests of self-reliance and national resulted in a brief lull. It appeared strange that China exhibited a better understanding of Pakistan’s desire to join the nuclear club in the same year when she conducted six nuclear tests.

From the last decade of the 20th century and onwards Sino-Indian relations have been marked by a stable diplomatic engagement with greater emphasis on trade. India nonetheless is fully aware that China has always nourished territorial expansions, best exemplified by the surreptitious take-over of 38,000 km area of Aksai-Chin as early as 1951 and the continued Chinese support to the several insurgency movements in north-east India. Besides, there is also the fact that both India and China have substantial interests in Bangladesh, Bhutan, Tibet, Myanmar and Nepal, countries which China has been assiduously wooing too. This according to the author could lead to a fractured relationship between India and China in the not too distant time-frame. The author argues that this could explain why India has deepened her relations with the United States, Japan and ASEAN countries.

None of this has prevented the reciprocal visits by politicians, elected representatives and other influential

people in public life visiting each other’s country. As early as 2002, China had mooted the idea that if India, a leader in the software industry could collaborate with China, a hardware specialist, together they could dominate the global computer industry which has for long been the preserve of Western and select Asian countries. Now well past 10 years since Beijing first mooted that idea nothing appears to have materialized in that direction. One wonders why?

In the concluding chapter interestingly titled, “Identity matters, But”...the author reiterates the key finding of the book. She concedes that “it was not possible to establish clearly the significance of identity as an explanatory variable” (p.281) and that the essence of all foreign policy is to maximize the country’s national interests. She is also categorical that between India’s various neighbours, Pakistan looms large in India’s calculation of security threats for obvious reasons.

If it will not be considered impertinent, the reviewer would like to suggest to Dr. Commuri that if there is going to be a second edition of the work - (a good chance given the outcome of the 2014 general elections in India) - it would be far more reader friendly if the number of notes at the end of each chapter is reduced and a careful editing done. (On page 43 end note 108 mentions “India has contiguous land borders with all South Asian States...and Sri Lanka”. Sri Lanka is factually incorrect). Publishers should also keep in mind the convenience of readers rather than tax them especially in an age of kindle and other e-reading formats.

The Assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand: The Immediate Cause of the First World War

Rita P. Bhambi

World War I is considered the “first calamity of the 20th century”. Stemming from the imperialist policies of the European powers and the entwined alliances that caused the “Great War”. It claimed around 10 million lives and 13 million wounded.

Europe plunged into a war in 1914 after ninety-nine years of relative peace after the conference of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which had witnessed the end of the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon. There had, of course, been wars such as Italy’s fight for her independence; Germany had fought three short

campaigns against Denmark, Austria and France for its unification, the Turks were driven out of Europe and the Balkan powers which took the place of Ottoman Empire fought among themselves. But the Great Powers had managed to keep these conflicts from spreading. The ‘Concert of Europe’ by the beginning of the 20th century

had given way to a much less secure way of keeping peace and balance of power; A Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria- Hungary and Italy faced a Triple Entente of Russia, France and Britain.

The main danger came from the Slav Kingdom of Serbia, which had fought against the Turks in the Balkan wars and emerged with increased territories and enhanced prestige. Austrian diplomacy had been long exercised to crush Serbia and prevented her access to the Adriatic by creating the independent kingdom of Albania. Austria feared that Serbia would champion the cause of the oppressed Slav people within the Austrian Empire since it enjoyed Russian protection. Thus Austria desired to check Serbia, if needed, even by the use of force.

The heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary was Archduke Franz Ferdinand, a middle aged man who looked typical Hapsburg; he was not popular either in Austria or Germany. Moreover, he had married a Czech Countess Sophie, against his father's wish and suffered social ostracism by the imperial society.

In 1908, after the third Balkan War, Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was this new acquisition that in June 1914 the Archduke and his wife were visiting, the occasion being some important military manoeuvres. The royal pair had left Vienna on Tuesday and had spent four days in Bosnia, at Ilidze, a small village connected with the important town of Sarajevo by a narrow gauge railway.

On Sunday morning, after attending Mass in a private chapel and sending a telegram to his children saying he and their mother would be with them on Tuesday next, the Archduke and Duchess caught the train to Sarajevo, inspected some troops and climbed into the rear seats of a dark-green open car and drove down a wide street called Appel Quay which runs along the river bank to the centre of the town.

Along the Appel Quay six young assassins, all of them Bosnians, five of them Bosnians-Serbs, had posted themselves. Three of them, Gavrilo Princip, Nedeljko Cabrinovic and Trifko Grabez, had been trained by the Serbian Black Hand organization though the three denied that instructions were given by the Black Hand organization. But, it is certain that the three others were recruited by a Black Hand agent living in Sarajevo. The aim was to bring about the union of all Serbs by a ruthless campaign of violence.

As the car was moving down the Quay, Cabrinovic

lobbed a home-made bomb on the hood of the car. Franz Ferdinand had seen what Cabrinovic was doing, he stood up and knocked the bomb onto the road, where it exploded and wounded some bystanders. The Archduke chauffeur drove rapidly to the Town hall. Archduke was angry and refused to wait until troops were sent to protect the procession of cars. He decided not to visit museum which was the next on his itinerary.

It was whilst the car was stationary by the bridge and going into reverse that Princip was able to fire at a sitting target. One shot hit the Archduke in the throat, the other the Archduchess in the abdomen. The Archduchess died even before the car had reached the governor's house. The Archduke was dead fifteen minutes later. His last words were, "Sophie for God's sake stay alive for our children." The world heard of the Archduke's assassination with some alarm; but little happened for three weeks, from 28th June until just before 23rd July, and most of the world by that time had forgotten all about it.

A Secret Austrian Commission of Inquiry which had at once begun work failed to find any evidence of the Serbian Government in the plot. In Serbia, a General Election was being held; no inquiry was instituted on the Serbian side.

On the whole, public opinion sympathized with the Austrian demand that Serbia be punished. "To Hell with Serbia," wrote Horatio Bottomley in his weekly John Bull. The ten-point terms of the Austrian ultimatum, however, caused some alarm, one of which included the temporary occupation of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. This was an ultimatum meant to be declined, and Austria's intention to go to war was evident. Serbia accepted seven of the ten points on 25th July. On 28th July the Austrian army bombarded Belgrade and the First World War begun.

With this attack on Serbia and the beginning of the First World War, Russia mobilized her troops in favour of Serbia. As Russia refused to halt the mobilization as demanded by Germany, she declared War on Russia on 1st August 1914. Germany also declared War on France on 3rd August 1914 as France refused to be neutral. When Germany army invaded Belgium on 4th August, England declared War on Germany as the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the European powers. Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance along with the Germany and Austria. Italy made a secret agreement with France and remained neutral till 1915. Later Italy too joined the Allies. Turkey entered the War in 1914 on the side of the Central Powers. *(The Central Powers was a group of nations fighting*

against the Allied Powers during World War-I; the members included Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and their territories).

It was the tragedy of Europe that in the important countries there were no political leaders to control the military machines. So Europe blundered into a war which was to be the suicide of an epoch. No one had the

imagination to foresee what kind of a war it was going to be or what would be its consequences.

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Women at War

Jyoti Marwah

Will India need a world war to give her women respect, equality and understanding?

Britain, the world's oldest democracy, gave people the Magna Carta, yet in the First World War [WW-I], women there had few rights at home or at work. Inequality was ingrained in the British society. No different from India, the British believed that a women's place was in the home. Jobs, trades, and professions were open only to men. Complacent gender inequality was overturned in the WW-I by a massive patriotic upsurge of millions of people including large groups of women from all backgrounds. As more and more men were conscripted, women were needed to carry out work which was earlier considered a 'man's job'. Thus women began to work in jobs such as postal services, window cleaners, fire fighters, munition etc. and also in the military. Most of the time, they slept at their work place. Thus during the WW-I, for the first time, women workers were tolerated leading to women's emancipation, as the war could not have been fought without them. It had become necessary for everyone to do his or her a bit.

1918 saw reforms in women's suffrage as women above the age of 30 were given the right to vote though it took another 11 years for the right to be extended to the younger women. The Suffragettes had been fighting for women's suffrage since long. As soon as the war started

they gave up violence and organised full support for the war. Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the Women's Social and Political Union (Suffragettes) had, within a month after the war started, given the call "War Service for All" with compulsory military service (conscription) for men and compulsory war work for women. In 1917, she founded the Women's Party with a manifesto for drastic measures to support the war and equality at work and in the house for women. They declared 'mobilise the brains and energy of the women', 'we demand the right to serve' and 'men must fight and women must work'.

Thus women in the WW-I in Britain found themselves supporting the military forces at home and overseas. Just over 20 years later after the end of the WW-I, the British women were once again called on to take on men's jobs as the Second World War broke out. Will India need a world war to give her women respect, equality and understanding?

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Undermining the Bureaucracy

Ajit Karnik

Regulation, the primary function of the bureaucracy, is a response to market failures. To safeguard bureaucratic autonomy, it is important to ensure arms-length regulation so that the regulator is not influenced by the regulated. If the bureaucrat is free to take up a job with private business after retirement, arms-length regulation comes under severe threat. This is the reason why Indian bureaucrats require a "cooling-off" period before taking up employment with the private sector. But is it sufficient to restrict the cooling-off period to only the private sector? Isn't the autonomy of the regulator/bureaucrat compromised by the inducement of a government job? To safeguard the autonomy of the bureaucracy, the original TRAI Act prohibited its members from taking up a job in the government or private sector for two years. The recent ordinance passed by the government to amend TRAI Act compromises the autonomy of the bureaucracy and is a retrograde step.

This is a summary. For the full text please have a look at <http://ajitkarnik.blogspot.ae/2014/06/undermining-bureaucracy.html>.

Weapons Used in World War-I

Rahul Sunil Kumar

People who often study history tend to like wars...History is not short of such wars. In fact, history is interesting because of the wars fought...World War I and II stands out among all the battles.

One of the saddest facts about World War I (WW-I) is that millions died needlessly because military and civilian leaders were slow to adapt their old fashioned strategies and tactics to the new weapons of 1914. New technology (listed below) made war even more horrible and more complex than ever before.

1. Airplanes, products of the new technology, were primarily made of canvas, wood, and wire. At first they were used only to observe enemy troops but as their effectiveness became apparent, both sides shot planes down with artillery from the ground and with rifles, pistols, and machine guns from other planes. In 1916, the Germans armed planes with machine guns that could fire forward without shooting off the fighters' propellers.
2. On the ground, the tank proved to be the answer to stalemate in the trenches. This British invention used American-designed caterpillar tracks to move the armoured vehicle equipped with machine guns and sometimes light cannon. Tanks worked effectively on firm, dry ground, in spite of their slow speed, mechanical problems, and vulnerability to artillery.
3. Chemical warfare first appeared when the Germans used poison gas during a surprise attack in Flanders, Belgium,

in 1915. At first, the gas was just released from large cylinders and carried by the wind into nearby enemy lines. Later, Phosgene and other gases were loaded into artillery shells and shot into enemy trenches.

4. Perhaps the most significant technological advance during WW-I was the improvement of the machine gun, a weapon originally developed by an American, Hiram Maxim. The Germans recognized its military potential and had large numbers ready to use in 1914.
5. At sea, submarines attacked ships far from port. Warships became faster and more powerful and used newly invented radios to communicate effectively.
6. Rifles, bayonets, pistols and hand grenades were the other weapons used in ground combat.

The firing stopped on November 11, 1918, but modern war technology had changed the course of civilization. Millions had been killed, gassed, maimed, or starved. Famine and disease continued to rage through central Europe, taking countless lives. Because of rapid technological advances in every area, the nature of warfare had changed forever, affecting soldiers, airmen, sailors, and civilians alike. Although we remain amazed at the development of technology, we also come to know that due to this ever increasing armament, we only have few days to be amazed.

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Japan during World War-I

Fareen Wahid Qureshi

Japan was not a major factor in the World War-I, but had participated in the War from 1914 to 1918 in alliance with the Entente Powers and played an important role in securing the sea lanes in the South Pacific and Indian oceans against the German Kaiserliche Marine. Japan got the opportunity to expand towards China and gained recognition as a great power in post-war geopolitics. Japan's military seized German possession in the Pacific and East Asia. Foreign minister Kato Takaaki and Prime Minister Okuma Shigenobu used the opportunity to expand Japanese influence in China. The Imperial Japanese Navy undertook the expansion in the Pacific, thus gaining

significant political influence over national and international affairs. In the first week of the war, Japan proposed to the United Kingdom that Japan would enter the war if it could take Germany's Pacific territories.

On 7th August 1914, the British government officially asked Japan for assistance in destroying the German raiders of kaiserliche marine in and around Chinese waters. Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany on 14th August which was unanswered. Japan then formally declared war on Germany on 23rd August. Japanese forces occupied German-leased territories in the Far East. The

Japanese navy conducted the world's first naval-launched air raids against German-held land targets in Shandong province and ships in Qiaozhou bay. On 3rd July 1916, Japan and Russia signed a treaty whereby each pledged not to make separate peace with Germany. This treaty secured Japan's hegemony in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

On 18th December 1916 the British admiralty again requested Japan for naval assistance. With the American entry into War on 6th April 1917 the United States and Japan found themselves on the same side despite their increasing acrimonious relations over China and

competition for influence in the Pacific. In 1918 Japan continued to extend its influence in China.

In the year 1919 Japan's representative Saionji Kinmochi sat along the "Big Four" powers at the Versailles Peace Conference. Tokyo gained a permanent seat on the council of the League of Nations. Paris peace confirmed the transfer to Japan of Germany's right in Shandong. Japan had emerged as a great power in international politics by the close of the war.

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The Trenches: Creating the Front Line

Tejashree Prakash Bandekar

Only with the advent of accurate firearms did the use of trenches as offensive positions for the defender of a fortification become common.

During European Renaissance men first learnt to be 'self-regarding' rather than 'god regarding'. Europeans with their man-centred ideas showed the world a different way of looking at things. Therefore, for many centuries European States dominated world affairs. The First World War (WW-I) was the result of the imperialist rivalries among the European powers and changed the face of the world in 20th century.

WW-I was unique in the art of warfare. It was a large scale war more wide spread than the previous wars. Unlike the previous wars, it was a multi-dimensional war. It was fought on the sea and under the sea, in the air and on the land and under it in 'trenches'.

Trenches were dug as defensive measures in the pre-firearm era; they were mainly a type of hindrance for an attacker of a fortified location such as the ditch (or moat) around a castle. An early example of this can be seen in the 'Battle of the Trench'. Only with the advent of accurate firearms did the use of trenches as offensive positions for the defender of a fortification become common.

Elaborate trench and bunker systems were employed by the Maori to withstand British artillery barrages, poison gas and bayonet charges during the New Zealand wars in the 1840s. Trench systems were also employed in the Russo-Japanese War and the American Civil War. The use of trenches evolved very quickly in the WW-I, when a whole system of extensive main trenches, back up trenches and communication trenches had been developed, often stretching dozens of kilometre along a front without interruption and some kilometre further back from the opponent's line.

Like many other wars, WW-I's greatest killer was disease. Sanitary conditions in the trenches were quite poor and common infections included dysentery, typhus and cholera. Another common killer was exposure, since the temperature within a trench in the winter could easily fall below freezing.

There were occasions when unofficial cease-fire was exploited to conduct a reconnaissance or to reinforce or relieve a garrison. One famous truce was the Christmas truce between British and German soldiers in the winter of 1914 on the front near Armentieres. German soldiers began singing Christmas carols and soon soldiers left their trenches. The soldiers exchanged gifts and stories and played several games of football. The commanders of the warring nations disapproved of this cease-fire and the British court-martialled several of their soldiers.

Trench warfare has been infrequent since the end of WW-I. When two large armies meet, the result has generally been mobile warfare of the type which developed in the Second World War. However, trench warfare re-emerged in the later stages of the Chinese Civil War and the Korean War. Another example of trench warfare after WW-I first was the Iran- Iraq war.

WW-I was unique in being fought in the trenches. Men ate, slept, fought, played, sang, prayed and died in them. Men fought in this war to end all wars but unfortunately this war led another war.

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Cont'd. from on page 2 (cover page 2)

From 1962 until 1967, being General Secretary of the Party, I was able to say that anyone who nominates a candidate will get so much from the central office for an agent whom we would approve of and who would report to us each month. Of course this was a great temptation to the average candidate, so we nominated candidates from the word 'go' and by the middle of the term half of our candidates were in position. This paid dividends because many people got elected simply because they had worked in the constituency for three or four years which nobody else had.

Bolkestein: And then what happened to the Swatantra Party?

Masani: Well what happened was very sad. In the 1971 elections Mrs. Gandhi had this 'Indira' wave. She won the elections hands down not so much in votes but in seats and we were decimated. We came down from 44 to 8. Well that is part of the game and I was quite prepared for it but I found that the Party was demoralised because in India everyone thinks in terms of immediate gains. They thought that this was the end. I stepped down and let younger people take over. My successor was H. M. Patel who was Home Minister in Delhi in the Janata Government (1977-78). He lasted a year or two and gave over to a young man called Piloo Mody who was very immature and brash. Mody made a deal with Charan Singh who had a party called the B.K.D.



Charan Singh was a Jat and he was a regional leader. We were a national party with support from all over the country however small it was, but the demoralization was so intense that the Party outvoted me. It was decided to dissolve the Party and merge with the BKD. This I condemned as a very short-term move. I said: 'The day will come when India will need the Swatantra Party. For God's sake keep it alive'. 'This happened in 1974.

I refused to join the B.K.D and stayed out and I have not joined any other party since. I thought that this was a great tragedy because when March 1977 came the Swatantra Party could have been the hard core of the new Janata Party. It might well have kept the Janata Party from going the way of all flesh, kept it a principled ideological party of the middle of the road, a Democratic Liberal Conservative Party.

Bolkestein: Do you think the Swatantra Party can be resurrected?

Masani: I don't quite see it. Indian politics have gone down an awful lot in the last ten years. Skulduggery has become absolutely normal. Mrs. Gandhi has destroyed standards. Now everyone is behaving like her and says: 'Well, she does it, why not I'. So I think it would be very much more difficult now to form a Party like the Swatantra Party with high moral standards and clean hands, considering how low we have sunk.

As I see it the choice between Indira on the one side and the Janata on the other is a terrible choice for any country to be driven to. Many people will vote for Indira Gandhi as a reaction against Janata, just as they voted Janata as a backlash to Indira. It is not good because they will move from the frying pan into the fire and back again.



I imagine that it will take much more of this kind of decay before people say: 'For God's sake, let us put an end to it now'. This may lead to another dictatorship or to a military intervention, I don't know. So meanwhile we can go on talking about the principles which we espoused. For instance, I said to the traders of Maharashtra in Bombay: 'You know, Rajaji was a great admirer of the trader. He said he was the salt of the earth but you gentlemen, misled by the big capitalists, have become cowardly. You have never stood up for yourselves. I am very glad that for the first time you are prepared to fight for your right to live, all honour to you, we are with you, because we Liberals believe in the small entrepreneur, the self-employed man being the 'salt of the earth' So I think we ought to keep the spirit alight and I hope that somebody will say; 'To hell with all these controls, let's go the Singapore way, the Hong Kong way'. Our day will come but it may not be very soon.

Bolkestein: Do you think that your Party has left its mark on Indian politics?

Masani: I think so. The reactions to statism that are taking place would not have happened if there had been no Swatantra Party for ten years, putting free enterprise on the map of India.

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