

**OPINION**

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COVER STORY

# ENDGAME

The story behind the secret dealings to stall Narendra  
Modi's journey to the top post

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# Great leadership crisis in India

India is a continent having over billion people. Indian population represents 20% of the entire humanity. The role of government is vital to secure the well being of huge population, as we are closing on the General Elections 2014 - the parties and players are scrutinised clinically by the electorate. The main contenders namely Congress & BJP have the national presence though their reach is limited to 400 seats out of 545 seats to be contested. The formation of UPA & NDA is made to spread the reach to entire 545 parliamentary seats. Lately, the allies in both the formations have played decisive role in governance. Yet the most crucial factor is the person leading the respective collation to form the next government. Sonia Gandhi, Rahul Gandhi or Manmohan Singh may be the collective face of Congress party in GE 2014.



It looks highly unlikely that Dr Manmohan Singh will get the third term due to age and health issues, Sonia Gandhi has technically off loaded leadership of the party to Rahul Gandhi by securing the Vice Presidency of AICC recently to stamp clarity on leadership of the party. Reluctant Rahul Gandhi is trying to push himself on the forced assignment but the inherent trait of lust to power is missing in him. Leadership in India seeks 24x7 commitment, amateur approach will lead to a disaster for any leader. Though the biggest asset of Rahul Gandhi is that he is contended and level headed person, not obsessed with power but Is it enough to rule India?

BJP has a leader that completely fits in for a right wing party ideology. Narendra Modi is disliked by entire top leadership of his own party, allies but the party cadre loves him. The popular public pressure to make him a leader has forced party ideologue RSS to ignore entire party leadership and secure him the supreme leader of BJP. Many allies parted away but NaMo has stood tall to take lead in the campaign for GE 2014. Surely Gujrat is not India, Can he deliver without cooperation of top leadership of his party and allies? NDA is a non starter even before the elections were announced.

The so called third front is a mess with several leaders high jacking politics on religion and caste base, just hoping for a miracle. The family run parties namely SP, Akali Dal, INLD, RJD, JMM, DMK, JD ( S ), YSR ( Cong ), NCP reflects the poor intra party democratic system in India. The left parties have no confidence left, recently Prakash Karat initiated Mulayam Singh name for the PM post.

Surely there is a crisis of pan India leadership. Reluctant Rahul Gandhi and controversial Narendra Modi are the best bet to run the show by virtue of respective party strength but the natural acceptance and admiration for a leader greatly missing in both of them. Modi has performance to back his claim but Rahul reluctance to shoulder responsibility has pushed him to back foot. The strategic teams operating for respective party will have the task cut out to secure confidence of electorate in the next GE 2014, the most unpredictable and difficult elections of recent times.

May the best person win.

Prashant Tewari

COVER STORY

## THE ISHRAT CONSPIRACY: NARENDRA MODI STANDS IN THE WAY OF A SELL-OUT ON J & K



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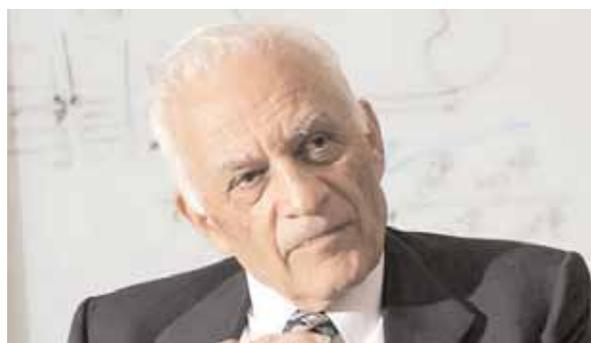
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# Birth of India's 29th state

**T**elangana will be the 29th state of India comprising 10 districts with plenty of water and some other natural resources in a backward region lacking development that was at the heart of the separate state demand.

As and when the state is formed, the jewel in the crown will always be the city of Hyderabad, which may for some time, at least 10 years to start with, be the joint capital for the rest of Andhra.

With a population of over 3.5 crore, the new state comprising mostly the areas of the princely Nizam state will have 17 Lok Sabha seats and 119 assembly seats.

When it joins the Indian Union, people of the region would hope that the new identity would help them overcome the challenges of poverty and backwardness which were at the roots of the separate state movement.

The demand for a separate identity for Telangana is virtually as old as the state of Andhra Pradesh, which came into existence in November 1956 through the States Reorganisation Act.

The Andhra Pradesh government website says: "Telangana agitation was

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started by the people of the region when they felt that Andhra leaders had flouted the Gentlemen's Agreement which facilitated the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

"In the beginning, the movement demanded the implementation of the safeguards agreed upon earlier, but later it wanted the separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh."

That the seat of government in Hyderabad has persistently ignored the needs of Telangana at the expense of the other regions of the state has been a constant grouse of the advocates of separate statehood.

The new Telangana state would comprise the 10 districts of Hyderabad, Medak, Adilabad, Khammam, Karimnagar, Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Rangareddy and Warangal.

Now, according to the Backward Regions Grant Fund 2009-10, 13 districts in Andhra Pradesh have been identified as being backward, of which nine are in Telangana.

Classified as a semi-arid region with a predominantly hot and dry climate, Telangana is not amongst the most fertile regions of the country.

But it does have its share of natural resources and notably contains 20% of the country's coal deposits.

Among other natural resources are mica and bauxite along with some limestone reserves.

But given the lack of development, Telangana has served as a fertile ground for the Maoist insurgency to take root.

A clutch of leaders of the Naxalite movement hail from the region. Slain Maoist Kishanji, who was No.3 in the rebels' hierarchy, hailed from Karimnagar district.



# The Ishrat conspiracy: Narendra Modi stands in the way of a sell-out on J & K

Dr Gautam Sen

**London:** It appears that the attempt to manipulate Lashkar-e-Toiba operative Ishrat Jehan's death to persuade Narendra Modi to withdraw from India's prime-ministerial race has more sinister roots than immediately apprehended. An insider with intimate knowledge of Anglo-American

policy towards India suggested that a virtual resolution of the historic Kashmir issue has already been negotiated discreetly through the intercession of Washington. It seems an understanding has been reached with Manmohan Singh's government that major Indian concessions would be on the table.

Apparently, this entire package would be in jeopardy if





Ishrat Jahan's mother Shamima Kauser (left) and sister Nusrat at a press conference in Mumbai

Narendra Modi were to become prime minister of India.

Pakistan, whose rapid acquisition of nuclear weapons' capability is considered an urgent problem, including its known proliferation activities, is prepared to reciprocate with suitable steps acceptable to Washington. It is hoped that the lowering of India-Pakistan tensions would also reduce the dangers of a nuclear exchange that would have devastating wider global consequences. Pakistan will also restrain the Taliban and accept a half-way house in its expedition to control Afghanistan's destiny though Hamid Karzai will apparently have to depart.

The grim inference is that the incumbent Indian government is not entirely in dissonance with Pakistani agencies, including the Inter-Services Intelligence and its arms-length proxy, the Lashkar-e-Toiba, to corner Narendra Modi. The evident bonhomie between the two parties is a product of Washington's mediation, which is keen to retrieve something from the mess of its Afghan misadventure. Certainly, the elimination of Narendra Modi, physical-

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ly if need be, as some observers, including myself, have warned of, would suit some quarters because otherwise he is guaranteed to propel the Bharatiya Janata Party ahead at the 2014 general elections.

Private polling has been showing that in the best-case scenario, the Sonia Gandhi Congress would simply not have the numbers to consider forming a government, even if the BJP itself failed to approach the magic number of 220 seats. An interesting question is the extent of involvement of some senior BJP leaders and their advisers in this colossal conspiracy. Some have enjoyed close ties with United States' agencies since the Cold War period when Nehruvian nonalignment was considered nothing short of support for the Soviet Union. Even closer ties have evolved between some leaders through the intervention of a prominent Indian business family in London who have always been US surrogates.

The so-called solution to the Kashmir dispute would almost certainly be based on the four-point formula suggested by the former Pakistan military president, Parvez Musharraf. It entails softening of Line of Control (LoC), self-governance, phased withdrawal of troops from entire Jammu and Kashmir and joint supervision by India and Pakistan. Pakistan is confident that

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**The extensive marital links between PoK Kashmiris and Punjabis, for example, has ensured huge support for the Lashkar-e-Toiba's activities against India. It is reasoned that encouraging marriage between residents of India's Kashmir Valley and those on the Pakistani side with the help of local religious authorities would create a growing constituency within the Kashmir Valley that would be Pakistani in essence.**

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such a plan would enable it to absorb the entire Kashmir Valley eventually making Indian resistance to such an outcome both politically costly and militarily expensive. Publicly-aired Pakistani misgivings about Musharraf's four-point formula when it was first outlined were officially sponsored to create the impression that Pakistan would only acquiesce reluctantly. The idea was to make the Indian public believe that it was the gainer from the agreement. However, in private, there was widespread official consensus that the agreement would be a prelude to Pakistan gaining full sovereignty over the Kashmir Valley and possibly even more. The survival of other areas under Indian control would be rendered untenable if Pakistan were to achieve political suzerainty over the Valley and some adjacent areas.

The interim policy, in the aftermath of the agreement being fully implemented, would be to embark on a policy of demographic assault that has already succeeded in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The extensive marital links between PoK Kashmiris and Punjabis, for example, has ensured huge support for the Lashkar-e-Toiba's activities against India. It is reasoned that encouraging marriage between residents of India's Kashmir Valley and those on the Pakistani side with the help of local religious authorities would create a growing constituency within the Kashmir Valley that would be Pakistani in essence.

It is concluded that it would be impossible for the Indian authorities to

**In a recent interview with BJP leader Narendra Modi By Reuters Staff Ross Colvin and Sruthi Gottipati, Narendra Modi was candid in explaining the fall out of Godhra tragedy in his characteristic mode.**

**Is it frustrating that many people still define you by 2002?**

People have a right to be critical. We are a democratic country. Everyone has their own view. I would feel guilty if I did something wrong. Frustration comes when you think "I got caught. I was stealing and I got caught." That's not my case.

**Do you regret what happened?**

I'll tell you. India's Supreme Court is considered a good court today in the world. The Supreme Court created a special investigative team (SIT) and top-most, very bright officers who overlook/oversee the SIT. That report came. In that report, I was given a thoroughly clean chit, a thoroughly clean chit. Another thing, any person if we are driving a car, we are a driver, and someone else is driving a car and we're sitting behind, even then if a puppy comes under the wheel, will it be painful or not? Of course it is. If I'm a chief minister or not, I'm a human being. If something bad happens anywhere, it is natural to be sad.

**Should your government have responded differently?**

Up till now, we feel that we used our full strength to set out to do the right thing.

**But do you think you did the right thing in 2002?**

Absolutely. However much brainpower the Supreme Being has given us, however much experience I've got, and whatever I had available in that situation and this is what the SIT had investigated.

**Do you believe India should have a secular leader?**

We do believe that ... But what is the definition of secularism? For me, my secularism is, India first. I say, the philosophy of my party is 'Justice to all. Appeasement to none.' This is our secularism.

*Report compiled by Prakhar Prakash Mishra  
Political Editor Opinion Express.*





Ishrat Jahan's mother Shamima Kauser at a press conference in Mumbai

curb this development because there would be an international human rights' outcry. It is also perfectly well-known in Pakistan that India has failed to stop the massive migration of Bangladeshis into India which has grown to startling proportions in many cities far removed from the Indo-Bangladesh border. The result of such demographic changes would also guarantee the election of governments in Kashmir that would favour Anschluss with Pakistan.

Once such an elected government agitated, in the first instance, for closer ties with their Pakistani co-religionists, prior to elevating the demand to formal accession, the Indian government would be left in an unenviable position. It would have to consider intervening militarily from a position of huge political and military weakness. The Indian authorities would have to arrest very large numbers of Kashmiri politicians, stop all electoral processes and embark

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on a military crackdown that would result in massive casualties. The international and domestic Indian reaction to such a response to adverse developments can easily be anticipated. It appears Pakistan has leveraged its nuclear weapons with extraordinary success. By contrast, India's aspiration to great power status would be in tatters, reduced to a weak, minor player.

In addition, it can be safely predicted that Pakistan will find ways to prevent India reaping any sort of peace dividend, by reducing military commitments on the India-Pakistan border once an agreement with Pakistan on Kashmir has been implemented. Such a peace dividend for India would be opposed implacably by Pakistan's all-weather friend, China, itself examining every option for cutting India down to size. Any reductions in military commitments in relation to Pakistan would immediately mitigate India's two-front war threat that alarms its defence planners. China will make sure that Pakistani redeployments in the aftermath of any peace deal with India will nevertheless remain a sufficient threat to prevent any significant Indian reduction in commitments against Pakistan. Indeed it may well be hazarded that the loss of Kashmir to Pakistan will create a strategic nightmare for India owing to

altered military options on the ground and require even greater attention to the India-Pakistan border. The final denouement will be in the shape of an emboldened Pakistan facing an India militarily and politically weakened by the loss of Kashmir. Nothing that has transpired in the past sixty years suggests that Pakistan will abandon its determined quest to rival India, having emerged victorious over Kashmir.

As the conspiracy unfolds to derail Narendra Modi's pursuit for national power, though he enjoys massive support along the length and breadth of the country, many outwardly innocuous events acquire more significance. The successful campaign that stopped Narendra Modi from even addressing a mere student gathering in the United States is likely to have been officially instigated. The same officials responsible for intervening against Narendra Modi also hold compromising files on the alternative to him, pertaining to his corrupt financial dealings and personal peccadilloes.

Former US spy, Edward Snowden, has highlighted the extraordinary reach and assiduity with which information is collected by Anglo-American intelligence agencies on even their closest allies. He has also confirmed that India enjoys a special place on their intrusive radar. It is they who have been collecting evidence on the murky social life and financial dealings abroad of their preferred candidate for prime minister of India.

**Editor's note:** Intelligence Bureau officials have sounded the warning that they are under enormous pressure from the ruling Congress party to implicate Narendra Modi in the Ishrat Jehan case. A particularly vocal Congress party general secretary has been meeting and harassing Central Bureau of Investigation and Intelligence Bureau officials to manufacture evidence against the Gujarat chief minister. There is desperation in ruling party circles as Modi nears his goal of becoming prime minister. The Intelligence Bureau is resisting the pressure and there is growing resentment within the institution about this. Worse is expected in the coming days unless Manmohan Singh steps in and ceases the witch-hunt against Narendra Modi.

*A report from overseas press. The writer has taught Political Economy at the London School of Economics. (Expressed views are personal opinion of the writer)*



# THE WAY OUT: REFORMS WITHOUT POLITICAL INTERVENTION

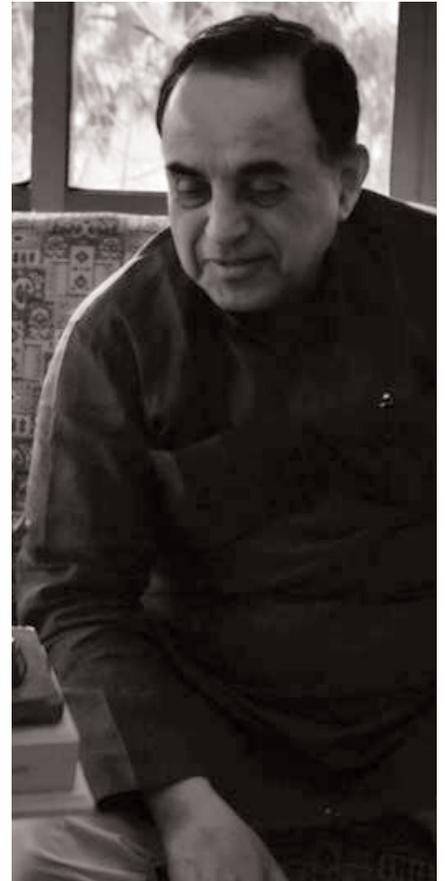
● Subramanian Swamy

**M**anmohan Singh blinked when the populists stared. The result is a chaotic, directionless and non-performing economy. The way out lies in governance based on a mix of *laissez faire*-welfare State measures which celebrate the moral, spiritual and innovative traditions of India

In November 1990 when I took over as Commerce Minister, the Indian economy was on the verge of defaulting on external debt repayments, and the GDP growth rate had slumped to minus 0.2 per cent. NRIs had also begun withdrawing their remittances, and we were left with just two weeks to meet the challenge of the balance of payment crisis. The crisis was compounded by the looming Gulf War which meant skyrocketing oil prices and further drain on foreign exchange reserves. It was a gloomy scenario.

The crisis was caused by two factors: First, in 1985, as Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi had decided to lift the ban on the private corporate sector taking loans in foreign exchange abroad from capital markets to buy industrial sector machines and spares. He forgot to

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specify that they could only take long term loans. As a consequence of this lapse, the corporate sector took a huge amount of loans of short-term, i.e., 3-5 years maturity, which is easier to get to import machinery. Industry boomed as a consequence, raising industrial growth to its highest rate ever in modern Indian history.

But soon it was time to pay up. The loans became repayable in foreign exchange by 1989-90 for which there were not enough pre-existing reserves. Second, the VP Singh government which came to power in 1989 chose to write off bank loans taken by farmers and backward classes. This nearly pushed banks into bankruptcy and in any case drastically reduced invest-



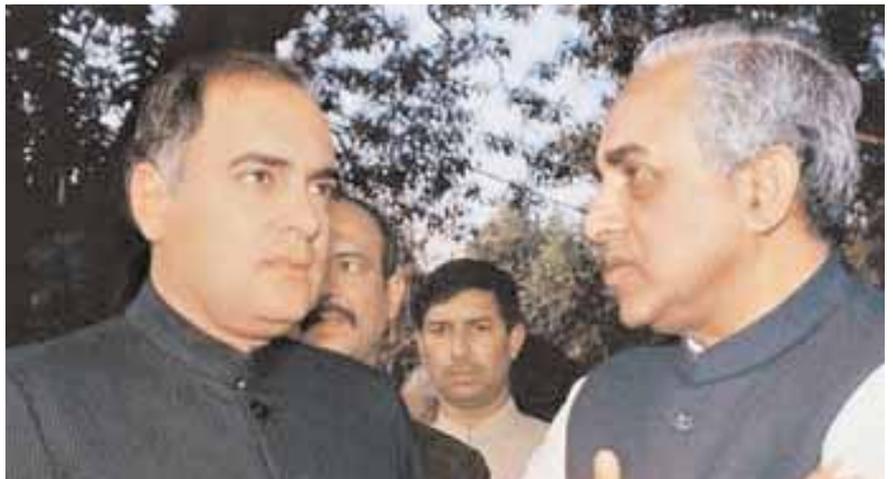


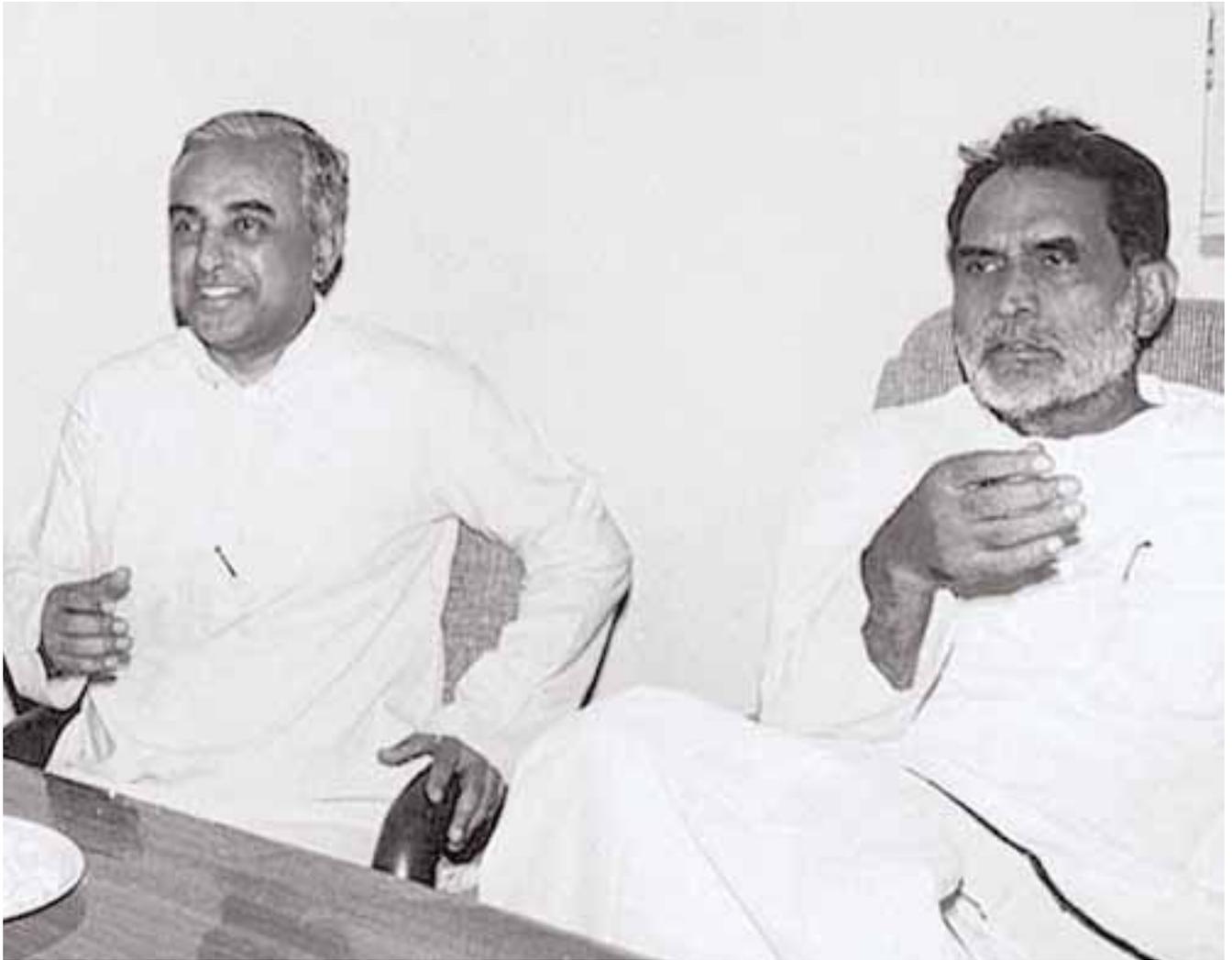
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(1950-90), and instead depleted the huge post World War II reserves we had gathered at a huge sacrifice for so-called British imposed War effort. I told him when the Soviet economic model had not worked in the Soviet Union how could it in India? As an example I told him of the USSR Ambassador calling on me on behalf of the Gorbachev government to seek a loan of 2 million tonnes of wheat to meet their food shortage. Fortunately a ship carrying 2 million tons of wheat purchased earlier by the VP Singh government from Australia was headed for the Chennai port. India did not need that wheat, and the pur-

ment from fresh loans to the industrial sector. Added to this, the NRIs began pulling out their remittances in panic and the skyrocketing import oil prices. No foreign government was willing to help, and the World Bank and IMF were putting impossible conditions for even small loans.

I told Prime Minister Chandrashekhar, when he asked me to help out, that we must scrap the Soviet economic model which had wrecked our capacity to export to the US and Europe, and had reduced us to the Rupee trade with the Soviet bloc. This meant that we could not build foreign exchange reserves over the forty years





chase had been made to earn commission for some Minister in the VP Singh regime. So I asked that it be diverted to a Soviet port and as an anti-Communist got psychic pleasure doing so. Chandrashekhar only said to me: "Kuch karo aur desh ko bachao".

Thereafter I called my Commerce Secretary, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, and asked him to draft the first document on "Economic Reform with Reference to the Export Sector". It was adopted by the Cabinet on March 11-1991, on the day the Congress led by Rajiv Gandhi withdrew its support to our government.

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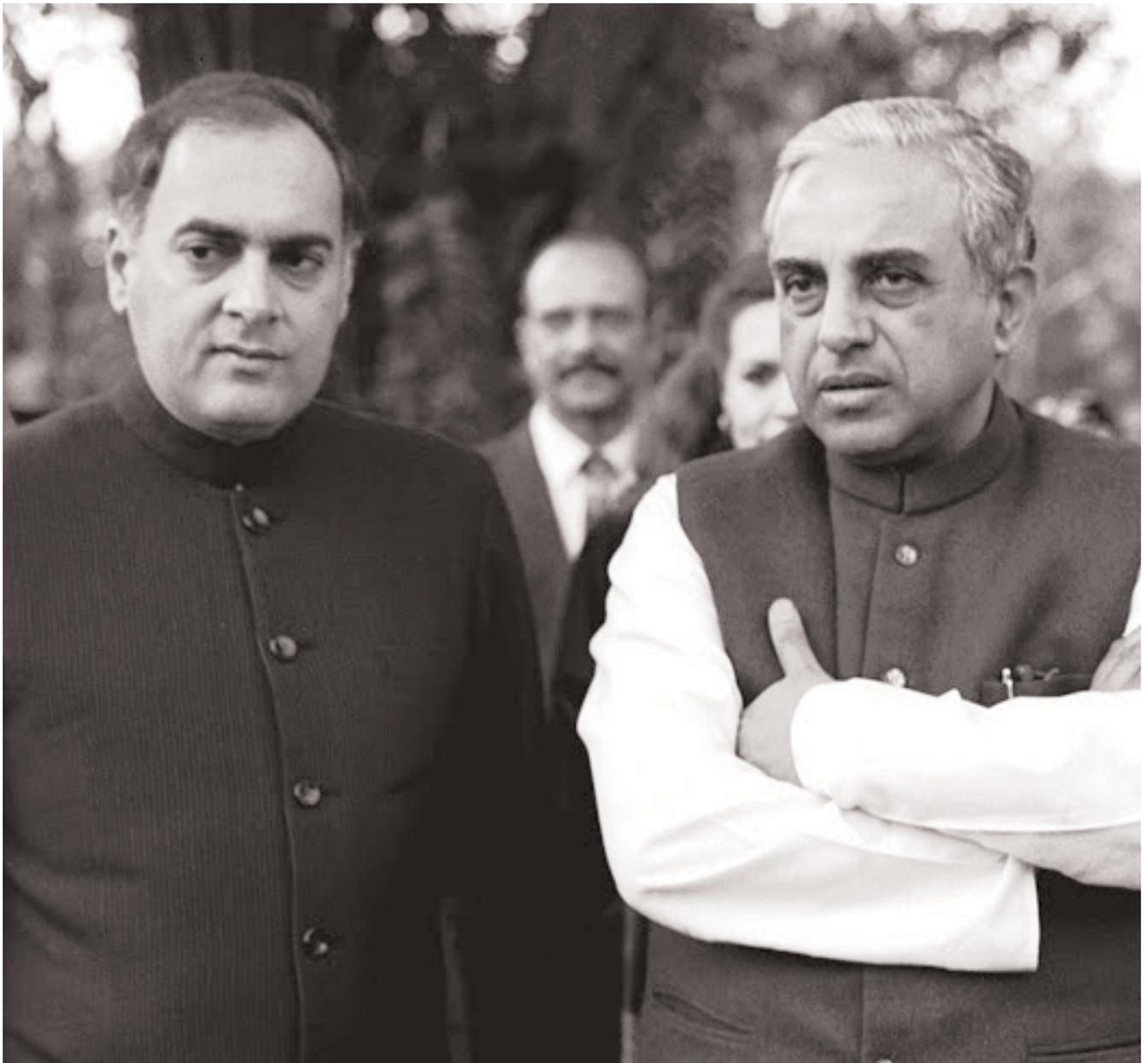
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However, the successor PM, PV Narasimha Rao who took office in June end, after fresh elections to Lok Sabha, called me on the very first day to ask for the Reform document and also to join his government. Being a close friend of his for many years, I readily gave him the document but joined his government only in 1994 with Cabinet rank as Chairman of a Commission known popularly as "GATT Commission". I declined his offer to join the Congress, as I had earlier with Rajiv Gandhi.

The credit for economic reform must



go only Narasimha Rao for his political sagacity in getting implemented the entire reform package. But Sonia Gandhi hated him, so the Congress never honoured him for what a great service he did to the nation - next only to Sardar Patel. A future NDA government must bestow the Bharat Ratna on him for this contribution.

Today we are back on the same tail spin, with Rao's Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh. If he was as FM the architect in 1991-96, then why not as PM in 2004-14? There hangs a tale to be told later. This much I can say: Manmohan Singh was often frightened of the socialist howls in Parliament during 1991-96. Each time Rao used to cajole him to carry on, telling him to inform the socialists that it was he (Rao) who was pushing him to "go capitalists". Rao told him "I will deal with

them".

Today therefore, we shall have to await the NDA II to come to power to implement the second generation reforms. Manmohan Singh cannot carry out any structural reforms because



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unlike Rao he cannot disregard Sonia Gandhi. She has only one ideological goal - control of all economic levers to collect commissions in hundreds of



**Today therefore, we shall have to await the NDA II to come to power to implement the second generation reforms. Manmohan Singh cannot carry out any structural reforms because unlike Rao he cannot disregard Sonia Gandhi. She has only one ideological goal - control of all economic levers to collect commissions in hundreds of crores of rupees through corrupt practices in allotment of resources such as NREGA or now the Food Security Ordinance, or to discretionary allotments on bribe, of natural resources such as Spectrum, coal blocks, and oilfields, and laundered through Participatory Notes.**

crores of rupees through corrupt practices in allotment of resources such as NREGA or now the Food Security Ordinance, or to discretionary allotments on bribe, of natural resources such as Spectrum, coal blocks, and oilfields, and laundered through Participatory Notes.

To know what reforms to initiate, we must first know which of the problems to focus on and prioritise for action. The immediate concern is of two debilitating deficits-Fiscal Deficit and Current Account Deficit. In the medium term is the decline in agricultural growth rate and failure to generate sufficient employment in the industrial sector. In the long run we need to tap our demographic dividend and educate the young population not only to develop cognitive intelligence, but also emotional, moral, spiritual and innovational intelligences, along with questioning minds and a healthy risk taking atti-

tude, and thus become valued citizens.

a) The Indian State has to be minimalist in regulatory interventions in social and economic matters, maximalist in providing the quality of life needs, and optimalist for maintenance of law & order, in opposing terrorism while being politically accountable to the people in a democracy.

b) The key goal of the State is to empower the individual through a modern education that blends the essential concepts of spiritual commitment of Sanatana Dharma with material pursuits, to enable the individual to be self-reliant and yet have strong character. The state is thus guided by Integral Humanism.

c) A social ethos based on the Hindu concepts of trusteeship of wealth, philanthropy and voluntary group action is encouraged by religious sanction for the better distribution of income and for minimising economic contradictions

and deprivation.

d) The individual is persuaded by the State by incentives and not by coercion. The State will make no promise to the people without specifying the sacrifice to be made.

e) India can make rapid economic progress to become a developed country only through a globally competitive economy which requires assured access to the markets and technological innovations of the United States and its allies. This has concomitant political obligations which must be accepted as essential for national renaissance.

f) Such rapid progress would require a national security strategy for a peaceful environment which necessitates strong security ties with such those countries with which India has no clash of interests.

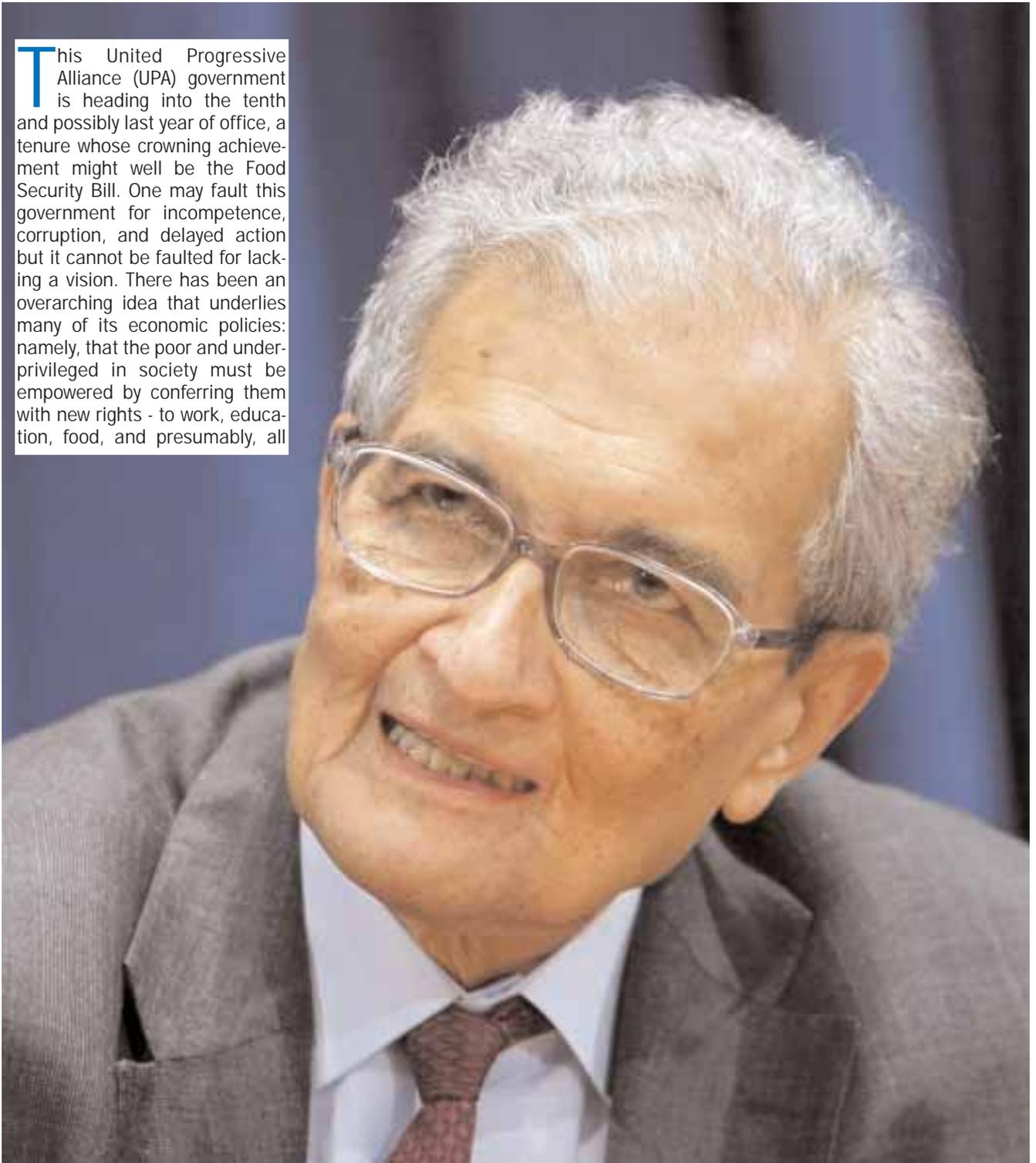
g) At present, generally the Indian has loyalty to the family but is apathetic to the community where he lives. The Indian does not easily acknowledge the accomplishment of others, respects intellectual endeavour but not dignity of labour, and is more concerned with form than content. Moreover, an Indian feels less accountable for his actions the higher he rises in authority. These are character flaws that have come from two centuries of deprivation and are incompatible with a people forming a great nation. These flaws can be rectified by developing a strong and coherent concept of national identity whose defining characteristics can be culled from a correct perception of Indian history.

*(The writer is a former union minister, and president, Janata Party)*

# The economic consequences of Professor **Amartya Sen**

Redistributive policies via rights and entitlements are ultimately self-defeating

**T**his United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government is heading into the tenth and possibly last year of office, a tenure whose crowning achievement might well be the Food Security Bill. One may fault this government for incompetence, corruption, and delayed action but it cannot be faulted for lacking a vision. There has been an overarching idea that underlies many of its economic policies: namely, that the poor and underprivileged in society must be empowered by conferring them with new rights - to work, education, food, and presumably, all





basic needs.

Call this the redistribution through rights and entitlements (RRE) approach, which is now associated with the articulate advocacy of Professor Amartya Sen, channelled effectively into policy through his co-author and long-time collaborator Professor Jean Dreze. Their latest book is a cogent exposition of the RRE approach. Nobody can question the moral urgency of helping the poor which is the key objective underlying this approach. But that should not exempt its methods and consequences from critical scrutiny. And this scrutiny reveals some serious failings.

**1. RRE causes instability and vulnerability:** Amongst emerging markets, India is the most macroeconomically vulnerable, with a deadly combination of high fiscal deficits, close to double-digit inflation, and high external deficits financed by short-term foreign capital inflows that may even now be starting

to flow out of the country. How did we get here, though? Much of the blame must lie with the redistributive zeal of this government. The ultimate cause of macro-vulnerability is the high fiscal deficits in turn caused by the fact that government spending per capita (intrinsic to RRE) has increased by nearly 75 per cent by under this government (see Figure 1).

This spending contributed to instability directly, because it pushed up rural wages and procurement prices, thereby stoking inflation; and indirectly, because it put aggregate demand on steroids, even as supply capacity was left to languish, weak and under-nourished.

For some time, the macro-economic damage caused by RRE remained obscured. Headline fiscal deficit numbers actually declined during UPA-I, because its tenure witnessed a dream combination of high growth and low interest rates which should have result-

ed in headline deficit numbers substantially below actual ones. Similarly, headline fiscal debt numbers have declined throughout the UPA's tenure, but for bad reasons - India has reduced its debt through sustainedly high inflation. The government may have gained by this, but the aam aadmi has suffered, since his capacity to hedge against inflation is limited. And now, the underlying damage to the overall economy has been exposed now that international investors have become less willing to finance India, as reflected in the plight of the rupee.

**2. RRE legitimises atrocious policies:** If one were asked to single out the worst economic policy in India, energy subsidies - for diesel, kerosene and above all power - must be a strong contender. Consider the bad outcomes that power subsidies cause or abet: bad crop mix, depleted water resources, unprofitable and mismanaged state electricity boards, under-investment in



power, lower economic growth and higher carbon emissions.

Now, politicians promising subsidised power for electoral reasons is understandable. That is part of the hurly-burly of grubby politics. But intellectuals providing legitimacy to these policies is another matter. Intellectuals on the Left cannot expect to be exonerated on the grounds that they have not explicitly advocated subsidised power. After all, if there is a right to cheap food and education why isn't there one also to basic energy needs and hence to subsidised power for the poor? And this is not a slippery slope argument - because India has slipped already, finding itself at the slope's bottom which is the shambolic mess that is the power sector in India.

**3. RRE undervalues opportunity costs:** Governments have limited political capital and must hence prioritise actions, choosing those that maximise bang for the buck. In this view, RRE is problematic because it leads to sub-optimal policy choices. So, instead of enacting a right to education act, why not focus on getting teachers to show up for work, that would have a far greater impact on educational outcomes? Similarly, instead of an employment guarantee scheme, why not create sustainable opportunities for

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**The government could defend its choices by invoking political constraints: absentee teachers in rural India cannot be fired because they are also party apparatchiks, and labour laws cannot be amended because of vested interests.**

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employment creation by eliminating regulatory impediments?

The government could defend its choices by invoking political constraints: absentee teachers in rural India cannot be fired because they are also party apparatchiks, and labour laws cannot be amended because of vested interests. But the problem with votaries of the RRE approach is they don't apply the same analysis to their preferred policies. Will RRE not run into the same political and bureaucratic constraints?

**4. RRE overburdens state capacity:** Indeed, one of the supreme ironies of the Left in India is that it has been so disrespectful to its core belief in a

strong state. Several commentators have noted the problems of creating rights without the ability of the state to honour those rights. The public distribution system is broken but instead of being fixed or replaced, it is being asked to do more. It is as if an emaciated, old man struggling to carry a load of stones is asked to carry another load because that will strengthen his muscles.

What is worse is that the Left has been ambivalent about or even hostile to the one genuinely important and far-reaching attempt at building state capacity in India: the Aadhaar scheme (yes, it is really hard to think of any other state capacity-building initiative). Regardless of the merits of direct cash transfers (which is only one potential application of the biometric identification project), the important point is that Aadhaar seeks to harness technology to strengthen the ability of the state (and also the private sector) to deliver services in the long run. The Left in particular should be celebrating rather than griping about it.

**5. RRE undermines the state:** Intellectually, the most damaging consequence of RRE in India, and least recognised, is that it does not just burden the state, it has the potential to fatally undermine it. How so? The evo-



lution of the state provides one important lesson pointed out recently by Professor Indra Rajaraman of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy. The history of Europe and the US suggests that typically, states provide essential services (physical security, health, education, infrastructure, etc.) first before they take on their redistribution role. That sequencing is not accidental. Unless the middle class in society perceives that it derives some benefits from the state, it will be unwilling to finance redistribution. In other words, the legitimacy to redistribute is earned through a demonstrated record of effectiveness in delivering essential services.

A corollary is that if the state's role is predominantly redistribution, the middle class will seek - in Professor Albert Hirschman's famous terminology - to exit from the state. They will avoid or minimise paying taxes; they will cocoon themselves in gated communities; they will use diesel to obtain power; and they will send their children overseas for higher education. All these pathologies are in evidence in India. By reducing the

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**For this admirer of Professor Sen's exceptional academic work two ironies stand out. His Nobel-winning insight was about the importance of broad purchasing power rather than the narrow (physical) availability of food in avoiding famines and mass starvation.**

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pressure on the state, middle class exit will shrivel it, eroding its legitimacy further, leading to more exit and so on. A state that prioritises or over-emphasises RRE, risks unleashing this vicious spiral.

For this admirer of Professor Sen's exceptional academic work two ironies stand out. His Nobel-winning insight was about the importance of broad purchasing power rather than the narrow (physical) availability of food in avoiding famines and mass starvation. It is curi-

ous, even mystifying, therefore, to see him forcefully advocate, through morbidity-laden polemic, the physical provision of one type of food - cereals, which are rapidly declining in people's consumption basket - to help reduce malnutrition.

His second major insight was that development was about freedom, especially the freedom to exercise choice. Yet, the RRE approach has privileged paternalism - by determining that the poor need specific assistance - over expanded choice in the form of "untied" cash transfers or broader employment opportunities that enhance purchasing power.

If there is a tension, even contradiction, between Sen, the academic and Sen, the advocate, this government might, in the twilight of its tenure, do well to ask itself: did we draw our inspiration from, and put faith in, the wrong Sen?

*The writer is a Senior Fellow, Peterson Institute for International Economics and Center for Global Development*

# India's billionaires talk of getting out - Crisis of confidence?



The dream run for Indian business that started in Narsimha Rao's era in 1991 is gradually fading. UPA II multi direction governance has crippled the government to adopt uniform policy in promoting trade & commerce in the country. Every major decision that the government initiated was shaken by insure allies in the Parliament, resulting in management of allies rather than running the government. The government may have saved its political skin by putting FDI in retail on hold, but it has added to the sense of gloom that's engulfing India Inc. For the past several weeks, there's been a depressing drumbeat of stories of Indian businessmen choosing the relatively low growth, high-stability option of investing abroad over the uncertainty of launching new ventures at home. The 2G SCAM resulted in

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jolting the basic fabric of corporate India badly. The result was erosion of faith in political class across country.

There is rush to evade investments in India by Indian business houses. Says the India head of a fabled global investment bank, "For me, there's no slowdown. My plate's full with mandates from Indian companies looking at

acquisitions abroad."

But it's not just about the flight of investments anymore. Several Indian billionaires say they are frustrated enough to want to shift base overseas and run their increasingly transnational business empires from cities like London and Singapore. "I'm sick and tired of what's happening here. I don't



want to live in this country anymore," said one of India's biggest barons.

**The reasons are mainly two-fold:** the policy paralysis brought on by a politically weak and scam-struck government, compounded by obstructionist competitive politics; and the climate of fear that has spread because of the raids on and arrests of businessmen. They have a third, more specific grouse (not that it's new): the time and hassle it takes to get environmental clearance and acquire land.

Bulge-bracket businessmen—from industries as diverse as telecom and textiles, aviation and steel, real estate and minerals—are talking 'Quit India', but obviously not in public.

They may be exaggerating their angst, but for the first time since the dawn of liberalization 20 years ago, the India story seems to be dimming compared to the welcoming lights of foreign shores. As RPG Enterprises chairman Harsh Goenka quips, "We are looking for the red carpet, not for red tape." Why put CEOs in jail: Rahul Bajaj 'If You Want Them for Interrogation, Take Away Their Passport. The investigation must be civilized, the businessmen are portraits as criminals despite they have paid millions of dollars to government in Taxes. Surely, the system is at fault, the loss of

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**Why put CEOs in jail: Rahul Bajaj 'If You Want Them for Interrogation, Take Away Their Passport. The investigation must be civilized, the businessmen are portraits as criminals despite they have paid millions of dollars to government in Taxes.**

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faith in government is happening primarily because of the systemic fault and bureaucratic apathy. The departments namely Income tax, Sales Tax, Central Excise, Customs, Enforcement Directorate, SEBI, CBI are used to settle score with rival business group that refuse to follow a definitive political line of the ruling party.

**The foreign lure is showing up on three fronts:**

- Indians buying personal assets overseas
- A significant jump in outward remittances
- Company owners focusing on generating more offshore currency through larger global investments in a bid to hedge themselves against India

The latest industrial production and GDP figures are cautionary indicators against India complacently comparing itself with the dismal economic situation in the US and the Euro zone. According to a just-released survey by industry body CII, CEOs are anything but bullish about their 2012 investment plans.

**Homing In London is a latest trend for Indian billionaire.**

In the past year, many high profile Indians have bought homes in London's toniest neighborhoods. Bharti's Sunil



Mittal, who purchased a home in Grosvenor Square a few months ago, is spending more time working out of there to keep up with the firm's global needs. The Munjals are said to have bought two homes in Kensington. DLF's K P Singh, Essar's Ravi Ruia and Sahara's Subrata Roy often live and work out of the city that once ruled India. Real estate circles in London often refer to the Berkeley and Grosvenor Square areas as up-market 'Indian ghettos'.

A former top banker based in London, "Cities like London and Singapore are safe havens and the rule of law is clear. There is a sense of individual security and privacy."

Ajay Piramal of Piramal Life sciences has also bought himself a sprawling home in London, although he isn't shifting base. He points to India's problems: "You don't know what regulation is going to hit. Sometimes it is not even rational. Very old cases are being pulled out. This doesn't give you a sense of certainty."

The ongoing policy paralysis is forc-

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**According to a private banker, it's not just the very rich who are now purchasing assets in the west. "Property deals of \$10 million are now happening routinely. Beverly Hills (in Los Angeles) is one place where promoters of listed midcap firms are keenly investing," she says.**

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ing entrepreneurs to look beyond Indian shores. Says Sunil Mittal, "There's a sense that the bureaucracy has stopped taking decisions as they fear that action might be taken against them in future even for honest mistakes."

According to a private banker, it's not just the very rich who are now purchasing assets in the west. "Property deals of \$10 million are now happening routinely. Beverly Hills (in Los Angeles)

is one place where promoters of listed midcap firms are keenly investing," she says.

In the past two years, Indians have significantly increased the amounts they spend on foreign property. Outward remittances topped the billion-dollar mark for the first time in fiscal year 2010-11. "When one person can legally take \$200,000 a year, a family can easily buy a million-dollar home," says a senior foreign bank executive.

**Hedging Against India Story is out of fear factor of Indian system?**

Apart from personal property deals, India Inc clearly wants to do business at a global level. More and more CEOs say they prefer assured steady growth to the policy volatility and systemic hassles that come with investing in India.

"We look overseas because it's a question of ease of doing business. We are wondering how we can get 50% of our revenues from overseas in the next few years. We are simply fed up of red-tapism and the harassment involved," says Goenka.

"Of course we are hedging against



the India bets by investing globally. If India were so attractive right now, why would people look beyond?" asks Piramal, who is looking to deploy his cash stash of over \$2 billion. Recently, the CEO of a large Indian MNC in the country told his managers that all India investments were being brought to a halt.

Kumar Mangalam Birla, whose firm Hindalco gets over 30% of its business from Europe, has also said that for now, he's rather look outside. In a recent interview with ET Now, he said, "I think that the environment is not so conducive to growth; there is a lot of policy back and forth that's happening unfortunately...One would want to wait for things to get better. I think it's a good time to start looking overseas."

Godrej Group chairman Adi Godrej is clear that India needs to get its act right, "especially in sectors like infrastructure and mining, where government is important and we have been more adversely affected".

The data too just keeps getting more depressing. The target of 8% growth seems elusive, with GDP growth having slowed to 6.9% in the July-September quarter.

CII points out that stalled environment clearances and land issues have cast a pall over investor confidence. It also cites quality of governance, slow pace of decision making, high transac-

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tion costs and corruption as reasons for the pessimism about investing in India.

Crisis Of Confidence in government in specific and system in general has forced business people to seek shelter in different directions.

Animal spirits are clearly at a low right now, acknowledges ICICI Bank chairman KV Kamath. "Negativity as a whole pushes you down," he says, adding that he has seen such trends every time the country has been hit by a slowdown in the last 40 years.

A banker says that of his top 100 clients, 75 are sulking and say they

have no incentive to offer to potential investors. It's a far cry from the ebullient Indian promoter, hungry to buy assets and expand, that one had got used to.

#### **Fear Factor**

The Group of 14 eminent citizens (drawn mostly from business), in their letters to the nation's leadership, have said India Inc is tired of being harassed by a system that expects them to pay bribes. Bureaucracy on one hand and random investigations on the other have had a depressing effect on corporate. "Why put CEOs in jail," asks Rahul Bajaj, the out-spoken chairman of the



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**"Decision making has come to a standstill," laments HDFC chairman Deepak Parekh. "Look at power sector reforms where meetings have been indefinitely postponed. We have lent massive sums of money to the sector but they have issues of land and government approvals."**

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Bajaj Group. The arrests in the recent 2G scam have had India Inc on the run for months, especially since the bail pleas of promoters and senior executives were repeatedly rejected. "Till they are convicted, why are they in jail? If you want them for interrogation, take away their passport. The only argument CBI gives is that they will tamper with evidence but that's no logic."

#### **Lost Decade?**

Ironically, India is still growing faster than most of the world. The global slowdown offered the Indian government an excellent opportunity to woo investors. Instead, points out corporate lawyer Harish Salve, "Not only have we scared away foreign investors, we have scared

away even Indian investors. They are worried about investing in their own country."

"Decision making has come to a standstill," laments HDFC chairman Deepak Parekh. "Look at power sector reforms where meetings have been indefinitely postponed. We have lent massive sums of money to the sector but they have issues of land and government approvals."

Is India on the verge of losing what began as a Dream Decade? "It is. Because of lack of decisions and drift," says Piramal. Adds Godrej, "We are surely embarrassing ourselves...Some of the governance issues being exposed are hurting us." The next gov-

ernment formation in 2014 will be absolutely vital to restore the depleting confidence of India Inc, surely the country is desperately looking for strong decisive government to boost the sagging moral of the business community and to put the house in order to take the reform process ahead with a long term vision in place, the coordination between government and business class is vital to secure healthy growth of the country. Team Manmohan has done decent work but the track was lost due to external factors and irresponsible allies, India needs correction, very fast to salvage the situation.

*By Dr Rahul Misra with an Inputs from ET NOW*



# BATTLES WITHIN ISLAM: THE SECTARIAN DIVIDE

● G PARTHASARTHY

India will not remain unaffected by the growing Shia-Sunni violent confrontation and other rivalries in the Arab world, as well as by the growth of Salafi fundamentalism to its west. External Affairs Minister Salman Khurshid paid a visit to Iraq on June 19-21, as the first Indian Cabinet Minister to visit the country in over two decades. While New Delhi had a friendly relationship with the minority Sunni-dominated Saddam Hussein dispensation, there were naturally some anxieties about how the new dispensation would react to overtures from India. Mr Khurshid was, however, enthusiastically received by the Iraqi Government, which expressed warm feelings for India and readiness to expand cooperation in the energy sector, while recalling Iraq's old connections with India, in areas ranging from

**Iraq, which has the second largest oil reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia, has set ambitious targets to increase its oil production from its present level of 2.6 million barrels per day to nine mbpd in 2019. With Saudi Arabia producing oil to almost its full capacity, Iraq, with its huge surplus capacity, will be a crucial player in meeting future oil demands.**

education to defence. The Iraqis are unhappy with the direct dealings of US oil companies with the minority Kurdish authorities in northern Iraq. Moving dexterously, China has emerged not only as the major buyer of Iraqi oil, but has also been awarded rather lucrative exploration rights.

Iraq, which has the second largest oil reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia, has set ambitious targets to

increase its oil production from its present level of 2.6 million barrels per day to nine mbpd in 2019. With Saudi Arabia producing oil to almost its full capacity, Iraq, with its huge surplus capacity, will be a crucial player in meeting future oil demands. But, Iraq is located in a dangerous neighbourhood, where old Arab-Israeli rivalries are giving way to a deadlier Shia-Sunni conflict, across the Muslim world, stretch-





ing from Pakistan and Afghanistan to the Maghreb. Under Saddam Hussein, sectarian differences were set aside, as Shia-dominated Iran and Iraq fought a bloody conflict.

Today, Iran and Iraq collaborate closely, as they confront an Sunni-dominated Turkey, once the occupying power in the Arab world, and which has now joined hands with an alliance of Sunni Arab states, backed by Egypt's just-ousted Muslim Brotherhood Government of President Mohamed Morsi and the members of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council, led by Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Even in the Gulf, the Shia-Sunni sectarian divide in Bahrain pits the Shia majority population backed by Iran, against the ruling Sunni monarchy backed by Saudi Arabia, with some valuable assistance rendered by the Pakistani mercenaries.

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The epicentre of this bloody sectarian conflict today is Syria, where the Sunni majority has, since the 1970s, been ruled by the secular and modern-

minded but ruthlessly authoritarian Alawite (Shia) minority, with Kurds constituting a 10 per cent minority, at the receiving end of discriminatory treat-



ment. Shia-Sunni rivalries exploded into a no-holds-barred conflict in April 2011, in which an estimated 1,00,000 people have since been killed. Both Israel and the US have viewed the growing ties between Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon's Shiite Hezbollah militia with considerable concern. Iran has been providing arms to members of the elite Revolutionary Guards to bolster the Syrian regime. Iraq is providing overflight facilities to Iran and strengthening its border defences with Syria, to block the movement of Al Qaeda-linked Sunni fighters endeavouring to reinforce the resistance to the Assad regime.

To add to Israel's discomfiture, the Hezbollah, which is the only Arab force to have successfully resisted Israel's military might, has moved in significant numbers into Syria. In recent days, the Syrian regime and Hezbollah have scored notable successes in ousting Sunni insurgents from urban centers like the city of Qusayr.

Externally, the US has been reluctant to get directly involved in Syria, as it has seen how a military intervention without a clear political game plan can

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produce disastrous results like the Anglo-French misadventure in Libya. Even in Syria, the European meddling has been largely orchestrated by the Anglo-French duo, with Germany and others reluctantly expressing token support. While President Barack Obama has recently agreed to provide some military support to the Turkey-based Syrian National Coalition, (Recognized by the Gulf Arab states), military support is being provided to the 'Free Syrian Army', which operates across the Turkey-Syria border, primarily by Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Diplomatic efforts by the US to get the UN Security Council to condemn the Syrian regime and call for its ouster, have been thwarted by Russia, discreetly backed by China, which simultaneously makes some noises about the need for political change, to ensure that it does not earn the wrath of Saudi Arabia and its allies. Russia, with a naval base in Syria, appears determined to ensure that it remains a player in developments in West Asia and to back a traditional ally. It also has concerns about the impact of rapidly growing Salafi fundamentalism in Chechnya and its other Caucasian republics.

The Syrian sectarian conflict seems to be heading towards a messy stalemate. While Israel has bombed supplies of Russian missiles being transported to the Hezbollah through Syria,

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even Israel, like the US, cannot be comfortable with the armed insurgency in Syria being taken over by Al Qaeda-linked, Salafi-oriented fighters. The real challenge that the US faces is the prospect of the armed insurrection falling into the hands of the rabidly fundamentalist 'Al Nusra Front', made up of 6,000 to 10,000 foreign fighters from Libya, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Palestine, Kuwait, Chechnya and Bosnia. The Syrian conflict is bound to be deadlocked, unless all parties display a sense of realism and statesmanship. Such a stalemate could involve a de facto partition of Syria, with the Alawite Shias controlling the coastal areas and northern Syria coming under

Kurdish control. This will be akin to the situation in Iraq, which is being torn apart by rivalries between Arab Sunnis and Shias, while the Kurds seek and assert greater self-rule.

Ever since the Iranian Revolution and the emergence of Salafi-oriented, Saudi-backed armed groups in Pakistan, and following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan has been torn apart by continuing violence against its estimated 20 per cent Shia minority. Even moderate Bareilvi Sunnis have been targeted by these extremist groups. In Afghanistan, Taliban rule resulted in a bloodbath of Shia Hazaras living along the Iran border, provoking a warning of intervention by Iran, whose diplomats were massacred in Mazar-e-Sharif, by the Taliban. In Bangladesh, the fundamentalist Hefazat-e-Islam, has attacked the homes, businesses and places of worship of Hindu and Buddhist minorities, demanded the introduction of 'Blasphemy Laws', advocated curbs on the rights of women and called for the adoption of 'Islamic Education'.

These events were accompanied by demonstrations in Kolkata, where the secular Awami League Government in Bangladesh was denounced, with the slogan "Islam is in danger in Bangladesh". India will not remain unaffected by sectarian rivalries and the growth of Salafi fundamentalism to its west.

# Sindhu and Sarasvati: Battle for Akhand Bharat

● Vijaya Rajiva

The Sindhu and Sarasvati rivers were at the centre of Rig Vedic consciousness, closely followed by the Iravati (Ravi), Sutudri (Sutlej), Vipasa (Beas), Chandrabhaga (Chenab), Vitasta (Jhelum). Hence the reference to the land as Sapta Sindhu (seven rivers). The Sarasvati, mentioned some seventy times in the Rig Veda, dried up in post-Vedic times and was rediscovered in the last four decades through satellite imagery which spotted its paleo channels. This was a landmark breakthrough and provided Indic scholars the basis for chal-

lenging much of the traditional history of India as written by Western scholars and their followers in India.

As the Vedic peoples moved eastwards from the Punjab/Haryana region (where the Rig Veda was composed), they discovered new territories and rivers. Hence, the stotram for the water purification ceremony from the Puranas:

Gange cha yamune chaiva Godavari  
Sarasvati Narmada Sindhu Kaveri  
Jalasmin sammidham Kuru

O ye Rivers Gange, Yamune,  
Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu  
and Kaveri! Reside together here in this  
water

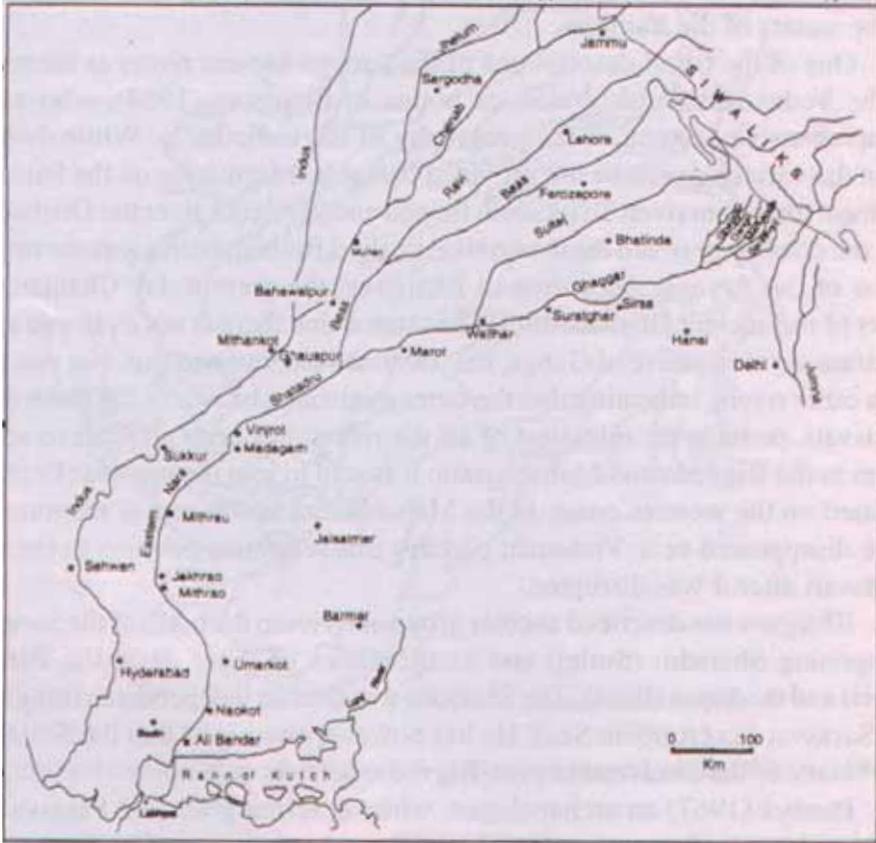
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There is a close bond between Sindhu and Sarasvati in Rig Vedic consciousness and the phrase 'akhand





Elaborating, he points out that the word 'aryam' has nothing to do with the racist use of the word 'aryan' by Western scholarship, nor is it a linguistic construct. The battle for akhand bharat is thus a battle for the definition of sacred geography (the land from the Himalaya and the northwest to Kanyakumari in the south and from Dwaraka in the west to undivided Bengal in the east) but also the more universal meaning of aryam.



bharat' (undivided Bharat). Eminent historian and archaeologist Shivaji Singh has spelled this out in his definition of the word 'aryam' as characterising akhand bharat. Quoting the famous line from the Rig Veda, Krinvanto visvam aryam (Make the world aryam), he explains that aryam is that mindset, world view, attitude, which works for the spiritual and material welfare of humankind (Vedic Culture and its Continuity, 2010).

Elaborating, he points out that the word 'aryam' has nothing to do with the racist use of the word 'aryan' by Western scholarship, nor is it a linguistic construct. The battle for akhand bharat is thus a battle for the definition of sacred geography (the land from the Himalaya and the northwest to Kanyakumari in the south and from Dwaraka in the west to undivided Bengal in the east) but also the more universal meaning of aryam.

The question arises as to whether the sacred geography of akhand bharat is closely linked to the sanctity of the Sindhu and the Sarasvati and the meaning of aryam, and if so, why and how.

### The Meaning of Aryam or Aryattva

One of the clearest explanations of this ideal of Aryam is provided by Shivaji Singh: "The essence of Vedic culture lies in its perception of Aryattva, a virtue the achievement of which is considered to be necessary for civilised liv-



ing. The slogan *Krinvanto viswam aryam* (Rig Veda 9.63.5) is an appeal to the divine almighty power to help achieve this ideal. Unfortunately, however, many historians have misunderstood this *Aryattva*".

Scholars have often confused the Vedic Aryans with Indo Aryans, forgetting that the two concepts are different. 'Arya' being the self-designation of the Vedic people, 'Vedic Aryan' represents a historical reality. As against this, the term 'Indo-Aryan' is a linguistic construct denoting speakers of a sub-group of languages within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, and being a construct, its validity is subject to verification.

Although language and culture are intimately connected, Arya does not denote a speaker of a particular language. In the Vedic view, a person speaking a Dravidian language is Arya if he possesses the virtue called *Aryattva*... (p10). Arya is defined one who is noble and refined in ideas and action, and these depend on a "world view characterised by a belief in certain concepts like *Rta*, *Satya*, *Tapas*, *Yajna*, *Brahma* etc." (p10)

*Aryattva* is a blending of virtues that lead to the highest material and spiritual achievement. *Rta* simply means the order and harmony of the universe which the Rig Vedic Rishis saw in their physical environment, Nature. *Yajna*, the ritual of the fire, *homa*, is not only a tribute to the fire *Deva*, *Agni*, but embodies the orderly working of the universe reflected in Vedic astronomy. The intri-

cate celestial relationships that the Rishis actually observed with the naked eye are clearly explained by BN Narahari Achar in 'Sarasvati River and Chronology: Simulations using Planetarium Software' (cited in *Vedic River Sarasvati and Hindu Civilisation*, 2008, ed. S Kalyanaraman).

*Satya* (usually translated as Truth) represents the mirroring of the cosmic order in society and the individual's alignment with this cosmic order. Likewise, *Tapas* or self-discipline (austerity) was practiced by the Rishis for the welfare of society and therefore the universal application of this to individuals who embody *Aryam/Aryattva*.

These ideals of virtuous living came to the consciousness of Vedic Rishis as they saw the heavens, the earth around them, the rivers, forests and lakes and all living creatures. *Aryam* was a holistic ideal which passed into Hindu consciousness and society as *Dharma*. A recent contemporary explanation of *Dharma* and *Rta* is provided by Shrinivas Tilak, *A Reawakening to a secular Hindu nation* (p13-16, 2008).

*Dharma* in Tilak's interpretation (though not explicitly stated by him) is related to *Aryam/ aryattva* which is the social derivative of *Rta* as the Vedic seers envisioned it. Tilak provides a very lucid explanation of other aspects of *Dharma*.

The Vedic peoples engaged in international trade and were familiar with maritime travel and also engaged in the intellectual fields of mathematics and astronomy. The ideal of *Aryam* came to

them on the banks of the *Sindhu* and *Sarasvati*. This was the basis of their spiritual bond with the two rivers.

## Sacred Geography

*Sindhu* and *Sarasvati* were not only rivers that provided the livelihood of the Vedic peoples. In a previous article, the writer spoke of the role of the *Sarasvati* as the giver of 'light' ('*Sarasvati and the Resurgence of Hinduism*', *Haindava Keralam*, 08/05/2013). In the Rig Veda, *Sarasvati* is not only a river but the giver of 'light'. Western scholars have traditionally dismissed the presence of the Goddesses (hereafter referred to as *Devatas* and *Devis*) in the Rig Veda and downplayed their importance.

Nevertheless, for a correct reading we have to see *Sarasvati* not only as a river *Devi* giving abundance and plenty to the Rig Vedic peoples, but also as the giver of 'light.' The very first book of the Rig Veda says : '...*Sarasvati*, the mighty flood, she with light illumines, She brightens every pious thought' (Book 1, Hymn 3, Line 12, Griffith translation). The 'light' here refers to intellection and devotion and explains the origin of *Sarasvati* as patron of learning, knowledge, music, arts, etc. Book 1 is the work of Sage *Agastya*, also known for his famous *Sarasvati Strotam* (*Ya kundendu tushaara, haara dhavala...*) where he hails the *Devi* as the source of knowledge.

The ten books of the Rig Veda contain seventy references to *Sarasvati*. Of these, two are directly addressed to



her, as one who gives prosperity and plenty. She is the mighty river that flows from the mountains to the sea. She is life giving water. There are some references to her as the origin of holy thoughts, but none as clear cut as the reference to the giver of 'light' by Agastya.

Hence, one can infer that the Rig Veda signalled the importance of knowledge. This fits in with NS Rajaram's thesis that Vedic Mathematics was central to the civilisation and that the geometric/algebraic notions of the period influenced Old Babylonia and Egypt and thence the Greek philosopher Pythagoras whose theorem is well known to most readers (See 'The Origins of Indo-Europeans' and 'The Third Wave', Folks Magazine, Dec. 2012, Feb, March 2013).

Pythagoras (570 BC-495 BC) always wanted to visit India. There is a missing period of ten years in his life and scholars have speculated that he may have come to India during that time. He had, of course, visited Egypt and Babylonia. If he did come to India, it is reasonable to assume that he learned his Mathematics directly from India and not through Old Babylonia and Egypt.

It is not accidental that Sarasvati is deified as the source of 'light.' Rajaram points out that the mathematical formulae used for the bricks for the Vedic fire altar were borrowed by the Harappan civilisation (via the Sulba Sutras) whose peoples lived on the banks of the Sarasvati and Sindhu.

The Sindhu has been mentioned in

the Rig Veda more than a dozen times, the most arresting being in Book X, where the power and might of the river are invoked. It would seem that this aspect overawed the Vedic peoples.

**Verses from the Rig Veda make this abundantly clear:**

1) The singer, O ye Waters in Vivasvan's place, shall tell your grandeur forth that is beyond compare. The Rivers have come forward triply, seven and seven. Sindhu in might surpasses all the streams that flow.

2) Varuna cut the channels for thy forward course, O Sindhu, when thou rannest on to win the race. Thou speedest over precipitous ridges of the earth, when thou art Lord and Leader of these moving floods.

3) His roar is lifted up to heaven above the earth: he puts forth endless vigour with a flash of light. Like floods of rain that fall in thunder from the cloud, so Sindhu rushes on bellowing like a bull.

4) Like mothers to their calves, like milch kine with their milk, so, Sindhu, unto thee the roaring rivers run. Thou leadest as a warrior king thine army's wings what time thou comest in the van of these swift streams.

(Rig Veda, Griffiths translation, Book 10.75.1-4)

Shivaji Singh says the Sindhu's contribution to the Indian ethos is tremendous. The Rig Veda highly adores Sindhu for its benefactions, and the reverence for the river has continued down the ages. The water purifying mantra (ganga cha yamune chaiva...) still

repeated at the very beginning of Hindu religious performances, stands witness to the fact that Sindhu has traditionally been considered as one of the seven most important rivers of the subcontinent. Changes and modifications in political boundaries cannot alter this fact. Culture is far more durable than Politics (email communication).

#### **Sacred Space and Akhand Bharat**

Akhand Bharat, then, in which Sindhu and Sarasvati are integral parts, is a sacred space unique to the subcontinent. Here live the Devas and Devas that the Rig Vedic Rishis sighted and were commemorated by them in the Rig Veda. As time went by, some of the names changed and more names were added to the Hindu pantheon. They still continue to inhabit the land mass from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin and from west to east.

In a discussion of rashtra as a culturally nuanced space, Shrinivas Tilak observes: "As a culturally integrated unity, the idea of rashtra inevitably developed a nuanced network of ideology, outlook and traditions inspired and informed by the particular geo-morphological features of the Indian land-mass." (Rewakening to a secular Hindu nation, p.20)

This culturally integrated unity which Hindus call the motherland was given several thousand years ago by the Rishis of the Rig Veda who first lived on the banks of the Sindhu and the Sarasvati.

*The writer is a political philosopher who taught at a Canadian university*

# US strategic failure in two wars: In Iraq and in Afghanistan/Pakistan

● Cordesman, CSIS

The US is on the thin edge of strategic failure in two wars: the war in Iraq and the war in Afghanistan/Pakistan. This failure may never reach the point of outright defeat in either country. Iraq may never become hostile, revert to civil war, or come under anything approaching Iranian control. Afghanistan and Pakistan may never become major sanctuaries for terrorist attacks on the US and its allies.

Yet Iraq is already a grand strategic failure. The US went to war for the wrong reasons, let Iraq slide into a half decade of civil war, and failed to build

an effective democracy and base for Iraq's economic development. Its tactical victories - if they last - did little more than put an end to a conflict it help create, and the US failed to establish anything like the strategic partnership it sought.

The US invasion did bring down a remarkably unpleasant dictatorship, but at cost of some eight years of turmoil and conflict, some 5,000 US and allied lives and 35,000 wounded, and over 100,000 Iraqi lives. The Congressional Research Service estimates that the dollar cost of the war to the US alone is over \$823 billion through FY2012, and SIGIR estimates that the US and its allies will have spent

some \$75 billion on aid - much of it with little lasting benefit to Iraq.

The outcome in Afghanistan and Pakistan now seems unlikely to be any better. While any such judgments are subjective, the odds of meaningful strategic success have dropped from roughly even in 2009 to 4:1 to 6:1 against at the end of 2011. It is all very well for senior US officials to discuss ?fight, talk, and build, and for creating a successful transition before the US and ISAF allies withdraw virtually all of their combat troops and make massive cuts in the flow of outside money to Afghanistan. The US, however, has yet to present a credible and detailed plan for transition that shows the US and its





allies can achieve some form of stable, strategic outcome in Afghanistan that even approaches the outcome of the Iraq War.

Far too many US actions have begun to look like a cover for an exit strategy from Afghanistan, and the US has never provided a credible set of goals - indeed any goals at all - for the strategic outcome it wants in Pakistan. Unless the US does far more to show it can execute a transition that has lasting strategic benefits in Afghanistan and Pakistan well after 2014, it is all too likely to repeat the tragedy of its withdrawal from Vietnam.

Such a US strategic failure may not mean outright defeat, although this again is possible. It is far from clear that the Taliban and other insurgents will win control of the country, that Afghanistan will plunge into another round of civil war, or that Afghanistan and Pakistan will see the rebirth of Al Qaida or any other major Islamist extremist or terrorist threat.

However, the human and financial costs have far outstripped the probable grand strategic benefits of the war. Given the likely rush to a US and ISAF exit, cuts in donor funding and in-country expenditures, and unwillingness to provide adequate funding after 2014, Afghanistan is likely to have less suc-

cess than Iraq in building a functioning democracy with control over governance, economic development, and security. Worse, Pakistan is far more strategically important and is drifting towards growing internal violence and many of the aspects of a failed state.

Even if Afghanistan gets enough outside funding to avoid an economic crisis and civil war after US and allied withdrawal, it will remain a weak and

divided state dependent on continuing US and outside aid through 2024 and beyond, confining any strategic role to one of open-ended dependence. As for a nuclear-armed Pakistan, it is far more likely to be a disruptive force in Afghanistan than a constructive one, and there is little sign it will become any form of real ally or effectively manage its growing internal problems.

Regardless of which outcome





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**The US has not shown that it can bring about enough of the elements required to create Afghan security and stability in a way that creates more than a marginal possibility that Afghanistan will have a successful transition by 2014, or at any time in the near future. It has never announced any plan that would make this possible. It has no strategic plans or clearly defined goals for Pakistan, although it has far more strategic importance than Afghanistan.**

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**Strategic failure?** The US has not shown that it can bring about enough of the elements required to create Afghan security and stability in a way that creates more than a marginal possibility that Afghanistan will have a successful transition by 2014, or at any time in the near future. It has never announced any plan that would make this possible. It has no strategic plans or clearly defined goals for Pakistan, although it has far more strategic importance than Afghanistan. Talk Without Hope: It is far from clear that any major insurgent faction feels it is either losing, or cannot simply outwait, US and allied withdrawal. Nor is it clear that Pakistan will ever seriously attempt to eliminate insurgent sanctuaries within its borders. If insurgents do choose to negotiate it may well be because they feel the US, allied, and GIROA position is becoming so weak they can use diplomacy as a form of war by other means and speed their victory through deception and by obtaining US,

occurs, the result will still be strategic failure in terms of cost-benefits to the US and its allies. The Afghan War has cost the US and its allies over 2,700 dead and well over 18,000 wounded. There are no reliable estimates of total Afghan casualties since 2001, but some estimates put direct deaths at around 18,000 and indirect deaths at another 3,200-20,000. And the war is far from over.

The Congressional Research Service estimates that the dollar cost of the war to the US alone is over \$527 billion through FY2012, and SIGAR estimates that the US and its allies will have spent some \$73 billion on aid - much of it again with little lasting benefit. Similar cost estimates are lacking for Pakistan, but they have also taken significant casualties and received sub-

stantial amounts of US aid.

The key question now is whether the US can minimize the scale of its strategic failure. Can the US move from concepts and rhetoric to working with its allies, Afghanistan, and Pakistan to create a credible transition plan that can secure Congressional and popular support and funding? Can they actually implement such a transition plan with the effectiveness that has been lacking in its efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan to date?

Some form of success (or limited failure) may still be possible, but the analysis in this paper warns that nothing the US government has said to date raises a high probability that this will be the case, and that much of the progress it has reported may be misleading. There are four critical areas wherein



allied, and GIROA concessions. They have already used similar tactics in Helmand and Pakistan, and Nepal and Cambodia are warnings that talk may do little more than cover an exit. Tactical Success? The very real gains the US and ISAF have made in the south may not be possible to hold if the US move forces east, and the US and ISAF are cutting forces so quickly that it is doubtful they can achieve the goals that ISAF set for 2012. ANSF development is being rushed forward as future resources are being cut, and it is far from clear that the insurgents cannot outwait the US and ISAF and win a war of political attrition without having to win tactical battles in the field. The ISAF focus on significant acts of violence is a questionable approach to assessing both tactical and strategic progress, and ANSF transition has been little more than political symbolism. Spend Not Build?

The latest Department of Defense and SIGAR reports do little to indicate that US and allied efforts to improve the quality of government, the rule of law, representative democracy, and economic development are making anything like the needed level of progress. They are a warning that Afghanistan and the Afghan government may face a massive recession as funding is cut, and the dreams of options like mining income and a new Silk road are little more than a triumph of hope over cred-

ible expectations. Once again, the very real progress being made in the development of the ANSF is being rushed as future funding is being cut, and it is unclear that current gains will be sustained or that the US has sufficient time left in which to find credible answers to these questions, build Congressional, domestic, and allied support, and then to begin implementing them. It is now entering the 11th year of a war for which it seems to have no clear plans and no clear strategic goals. The new strategy that President Obama outlined in 2009 is now in tatters.

There are no obvious prospects for

stable relations with Pakistan or for getting more Pakistani support. The Karzai government barely functions, and new elections must come in 2014 - the year combat forces are supposed to leave. US and allied troop levels are dropping to critical levels. No one knows what presence - if any - would stay after 2014. Progress is taking place in creating an Afghan army, but without a functioning state to defend, the ANSF could fragment. Far less progress is taking place in creating the police and justice system. Massive aid to Afghanistan has produced far too few tangible results, and the Afghan economy is likely to go





into a depression in 2014 in the face of massive aid and spending cuts that will cripple both the economy and Afghan forces.

It is time the Obama Administration faced these issues credibly and in depth. The US and its allies need a transition plan for Afghanistan that either provides a credible way to stay - with credible costs and prospects for victory - or an exit plan that reflects at least some regard for nearly 30 million Afghans and our future role in the region. It needs to consider what will happen once the US leaves Afghanistan and what longer term approaches it should take to a steadily more divided and unstable Pakistan.

In the case of the US, this also means a detailed transition plan that spells out exactly how the US plans to phase down its civil and military efforts, what steps it will take to ensure that transition is stable through 2014, and a clear estimate of the probable cost. The US needs a meaningful action plan that

Congress, the media, area experts, and the American people can debate and commit themselves to supporting. If President Obama cannot provide such a plan within months, and win the support necessary to implement it, any hope of salvaging lasting success in the war will vanish.

Even if the US does act on such a plan and provide the necessary resources, it may not succeed, and Pakistan may become progressively more unstable regardless of US aid and actions in Afghanistan. Any de facto ?exit strategy? will make this future almost inevitable.

The most likely post-2014 outcome in Afghanistan, at this point in time, is not the successful transition to a democratic Afghan government with control of the entire country. Nor is it likely that the Taliban will regain control of large parts of the country. Rather, the most likely outcome is some sort of middle ground where the insurgents control and operate in some areas, while oth-

ers are controlled by the Pashtun. Some form of the Northern Alliance is likely to appear, and the role of the central government in Kabul would be limited or caught up in civil conflict.

This would not be what some US policymakers call ?Afghan good enough,? it would be ?Afghan muddle through.? What, exactly such an ?Afghan muddle would look like, and how divided and violent it would be, is impossible to predict. But it is the most likely outcome and the US needs to start now to examine the different options it has for dealing with a post-2014 Afghanistan that is far less stable and self-sufficient than current plans predict, and make real plans for a Pakistan whose government and military cannot move the country forward and contain its rising internal violence. As is the case in Iraq, strategic failure in the Afghanistan/Pakistan War cannot end in a total US exit. The US must be ready to deal with near and long term consequences.

Courtesy CSIS

# Japan Letting Foreign Students Go Untapped

● SANJEEV SINHA

Not long ago, I visited the Japan Advanced Institute of Science and Technology in Ishikawa Prefecture, which now has more than 20 students from India. The Indian students I spoke with there said they were happy with the school's excellent facilities and the fact that they felt so safe in Japan that they didn't need to lock their rooms.

Earlier, my young Indian friends at the University of Tokyo put together an "India corner" for the school's annual May festival, where I was able to enjoy delicious handmade "masala chai" and "aloo tikki." Around five years ago, while helping organize a conference for Indian Institutes of Technology Alumni in Japan, professors from the university asked me how they could increase the number of Indian students.

**The figure has grown to about 50 now, and in February the University of Tokyo set up an office in India. Last year, I was invited to give a speech at the Akamon Entrepreneurship Club, a new and fast-growing organization for foreign students at the University of Tokyo. I was also invited to speak at the International University of Japan in Niigata, where I met a very active group of students from many countries.**





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On the corporate side, I often hear Japanese executives say how hard it is to hire good talent for their international initiatives. Because many Japanese companies, even large ones, are relatively new to the globalization process, they are not well-known overseas, and hence it is not easy for them to attract good talent abroad.

The best candidates for them would be foreign students in Japan, or Japanese students who have studied abroad. Both have international back-

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grounds and understand Japan and Japanese culture. It should be a beautiful match, but unfortunately many of the foreign students who come to Japan do not remain closely connected to Japan when they go on to pursue careers.

The problem lies in the job-placement process. Japan has a comprehensive and highly organized system under which university students find jobs. Called "shushoku katsudo" (job hunting), or more simply "shukatsu," this process is implicitly based on the idea of lifetime employment and seniority-based promotion. The shukatsu process does not work as well for foreign students, though, who tend to be more choosy about their careers, with specific ideas about where they want to work and what they want to do.

Japanese students who have studied abroad, meanwhile, face the problem of falling outside of the traditional career development process at Japanese companies. And it is the fear of doing so that is stopping many students from studying abroad.

A possible solution for both is a more active human resource policy to promote internationalization. A stronger and bigger international department is a good first step, but eventually internationalization needs to be a part of the corporate culture. We are starting to see this happen, but it will take a bigger effort to change the deeply entrenched systems in place in Japan.

*(President, Sun and Sands Advisors Co.)*

# Indians Bridging Japan And The World

● Sanjeev Sinha

When I arrived in Japan in 1996, the Indian community was so small -- only about 5,000 people -- that I would actually cross the road to greet a new Indian face. When I would take a taxi in those initial years, the driver would often talk to me about Indian curry and spices. Around 2000, the talk changed to Indian IT engineers. Around 2003-2004, before the Lehman Shock, the driver would rightly guess that I was an investment professional. When I take a taxi now, the driver talks about the huge Indian market and the need for Japanese companies to be there.

Similarly, the modern Indian community in Japan can be considered as having gone through four phases. A prominent trading community took root in Kobe and Yokohama before World War II and played a prominent role in exporting Japanese technology to the world.

Sanjeev Sinha

From the '90s, a new trend began in

which Indian IT engineers served as a bridge between Japan's IT industry and not only India but also the West. We soon started seeing a significant number of Indian executives at multinationals in Japan, and we are now seeing a trend in which Indian entrepreneurs and executives in the international departments of Japanese companies are helping Japanese businesses and investment go abroad, and the destination is not limited to only India.

In parallel to that trend, there has also been a small but prominent group of Indians in Japan's academic community, where I serve as an adviser to the Indian Scientists Association in Japan.

Numbering about 20,000 people, the Indian community in Japan is only a 150th the size of its U.S. counterpart and only a

20th that in Singapore, where the alumni conference for the Indian Institute of Technology was held last year and attended by Singapore's deputy prime minister cum finance minister and also the industry minister,

both of whom are of Indian origin.

India's diversity and global presence are its biggest advantages for Japan, and these traits make India an especially strong player in international business. With the solid trust and respect the two countries share, India is an ideal partner for Japan's globalization process. Despite its small size, the highly educated and professional Indian community in Japan is already contributing to this process.

There have been various efforts to bring more Indian students and professionals to Japan. My visit in February this year to three Indian Institutes of Technology and the Indian Institute of Management shared that objective, which is part of a push for broader bilateral collaboration. While educated young Indians know a lot about the U.S. and many other countries, they know relatively little about Japan. Greater efforts need to be made to attract more Indians to Japan, which would eventually benefit both countries.

*(President, Sun and Sands Group)*



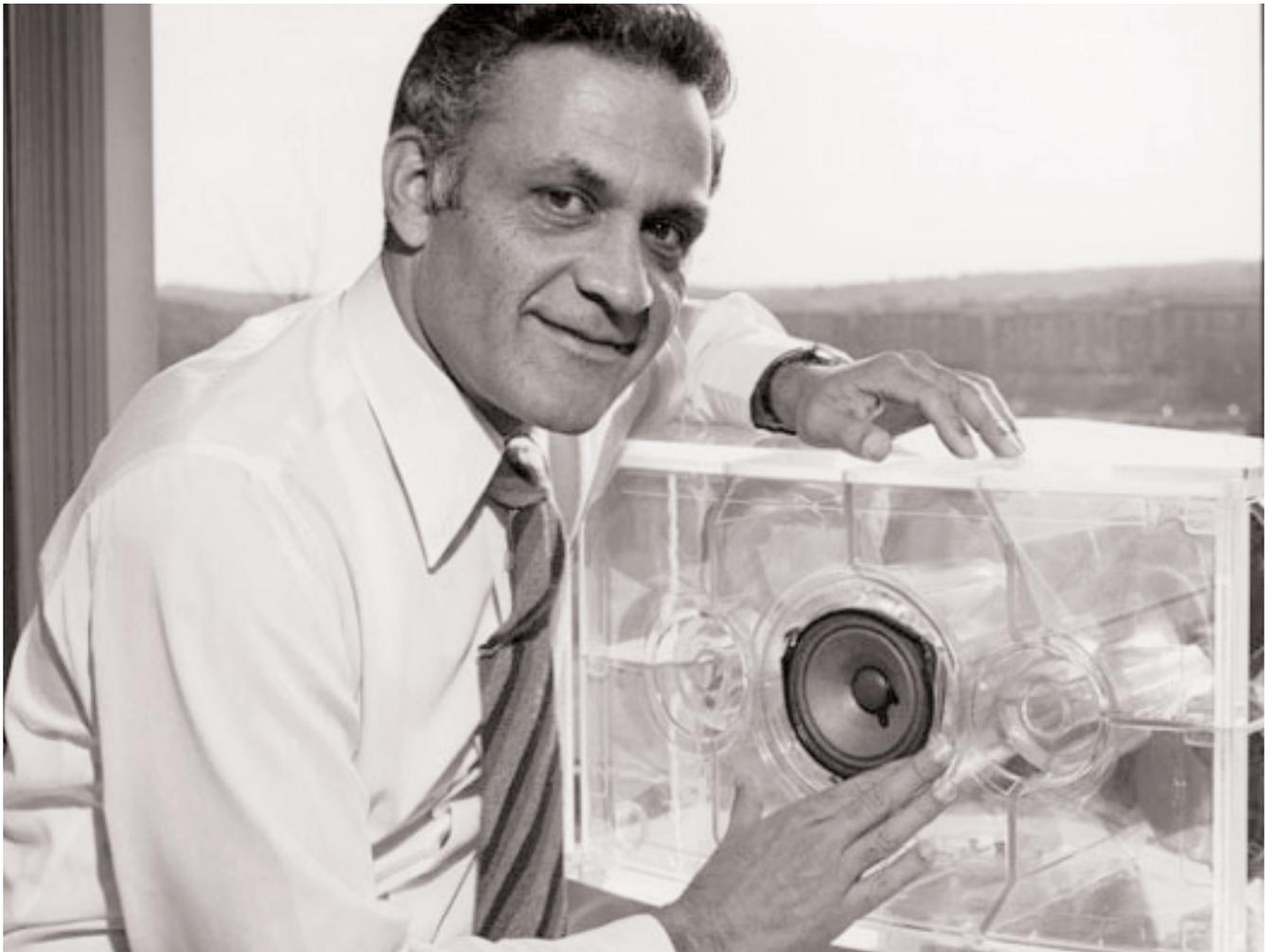
# Amar G Bose: An acoustic engineer and inventor



**A**mar G Bose, the visionary engineer, inventor and billionaire entrepreneur whose namesake company, the Bose Corp, became synonymous with high-quality audio systems and speakers for home users, auditoriums and automobiles, Amar by far is the most celebrated overseas Indian lived abroad who brought tremendous fame for native Indian community, died at his home in Wayland, Massachusetts. He was 83. His death was confirmed by his son, Vanu G Bose.

As founder and chairman of the privately held company, Bose focused relentlessly on acoustic engineering innovation. His speakers, although expensive, earned a reputation for bringing concert-hall-quality audio into the home. And by refusing to offer stock to the public, Bose was able to pursue risky long-term research, such as noise-canceling headphones and an innova-





tive suspension system for cars without the pressures of quarterly earnings announcements. In a 2004 interview in *Popular Science* magazine, he said: "I would have been fired a hundred times at a company run by MBAs. But I never went into business to make money. I went into business so that I could do interesting things that hadn't been done before."

A perfectionist and a devotee of classical music, Bose was disappointed by the inferior sound of a high-priced stereo system he purchased when he was an MIT engineering student in the 1950s. His interest in acoustic engineering piqued, he realized that 80 percent of the sound experienced in a concert hall was indirect, meaning that it bounced off walls and ceilings before reaching the audience.

This realization, using basic concepts of physics, formed the basis of his research. In the early 1960s, Bose invented a type of speaker based on psychoacoustics, the study of sound perception. His design incorporated multiple small speakers aimed at the surrounding walls, rather than directly at the listener, to reflect the sound and, in

essence, recreate the larger sound heard in concert halls. In 1964, at the urging of his mentor and adviser at MIT, YW Lee, he founded his company to pursue long-term research in acoustics. The Bose Corp initially pursued military contracts, but Bose's vision was to produce a new generation of stereo speakers.

Although his first speakers fell short of expectations, Bose kept at it. In

1968, he introduced the Bose 901 Direct/Reflecting speaker system, which was a best seller for more than 25 years and firmly entrenched Bose, based in Framingham, Massachusetts, as a leader in a highly competitive audio components marketplace. Unlike conventional loudspeakers, which radiated sound only forward, the 901s used a blend of direct and reflected sound.





Later inventions included the popular Bose Wave radio and the Bose noise-canceling headphones, which were so effective they were adopted by the military and commercial pilots. A Bose software program enabled acoustic engineers to simulate the sound from any seat in a large hall, even before the site was built. The system was used to create sound systems for such diverse spaces as Staples Center in Los Angeles, the Sistine Chapel and the Masjid al-Haram, the grand mosque in Mecca. In 1982, some of the world's top automakers, including Mercedes and Porsche, began to install Bose audio systems in their vehicles, and the brand remains a favorite in that market segment.

Bose's devotion to research was matched by his passion for teaching. Having earned his bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees in electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the 1950s, Bose returned from a Fulbright scholarship at the National Physical Laboratory in New Delhi and joined the MIT faculty in 1956. He taught there for more than 45 years, and in 2011, donated a majority of his company's shares to the school. The gift provides MIT with annual cash dividends. MIT cannot sell the

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shares and does not participate in the company's management.

Bose made a lasting impression in the classroom as well as in his company. His popular course on acoustics was as much about life as about electronics, said Alan V Oppenheim, an MIT engineering professor and longtime colleague. "He talked not only about acoustics but about philosophy, personal behavior, what is important in life. He was somebody with extraordinary standards," Oppenheim said. Dr William R Brody, head of the Salk Institute in the La Jolla neighborhood of San Diego, was a student in Bose's class in 1962. He told *Popular Science*: "His class gave me the courage to tackle high-risk problems and equipped me with the prob-

lem-solving skills I needed to be successful in several careers. Amar Bose taught me how to think."

Amar Gopal Bose was born on November 2, 1929, in Philadelphia. His father, Noni Gopal Bose, was a Bengali freedom fighter who was studying physics at Calcutta University when he was arrested and imprisoned for his opposition to British rule in India. He escaped and fled to the United States in 1920, where he married an American schoolteacher.

At age 13, Bose began repairing radio sets for pocket money for repair shops in Philadelphia. During World War II, when his father's import business struggled, Bose's electronics repairs helped support the family. After graduating from high school, Bose was admitted to MIT in 1947, where he studied under the mathematician Norbert Weiner, along with Lee. An avid badminton player and swimmer, Bose spent several weeks each year at his vacation home in Hawaii. Bose and his ex-wife, Prema, had two children - Vanu, now the head of his own company, Vanu Inc in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Maya Bose - who survive him, as does his second wife, Ursula, and one grandchild.

# From Tribe to Facebook By Dr Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi

A brilliant effort by UAE intellectual power house Dr Jamal urging gen next to optimize the use of technology in daily life to make the world a better place. According to Dr Jamal, the globalization of digital technology has succeeded in realizing a number of mankind's ambitions, establishing the boundaries of a global electronic culture that extends across time and space. He explains that emergence of social networks have played a prominent role in shaping public opinion to guide ruling elite of any country to government. In fact, the notion that innovative use of information technology would become a determinant in controlling and shaping public opinion. Furthermore, the barriers within the society are broken by forming an allegiance of its own. The rich poor , sub caste or class divide are getting shattered making way for a new caste-less society. Social networks form their virtual allegiances, which combine to characterize the new social structure of greater universal society.

Dr Jamal listed multiple usage for social networks namely heightened social accessibility, free discussions, provide voice for vulnerable people, promote leisure and entertainment, promote e commerce, promote self expression. However, Dr Jamal pointed out the adverse effect of social networks namely social disintegration, changing social values, living in social world and separation from reality, weak family ties, pro-

**Dr Jamal listed multiple usage for social networks namely heightened social accessibility, free discussions, provide voice for vulnerable people, promote leisure and entertainment, promote e commerce, promote self expression.**



liferation of virtual minds, fake electronic relationships etc.

Dr Jamal assessed the economic impacts of social network wherein he have listed that social networking technology could potentially contribute \$ 900 billion to \$ 1.3 trillion to four key consumer sectors. But the significant impact are moving towards a knowledge based economy, switching to virtual economy, changing approach to marketing, changes in trade reliability, the spread of cross border commodities, creating instant global brands.

Dr Jamal pointed that the social networks have impacted the mainstream media, governance, military affairs, escalation of cyber crime, global terrorism etc

Finally Dr Jamal have a praise for social networks. He strongly urged the young community to use social network with limited caution to broad base flow of unprecedented knowledge that can be accessed via internet. Dr Jamal strongly approves the usage of social networks to deliver high quality gover-



nance to improve the life of millions across the global. He is an advocate of leveraging social networks to deliver education, health care, social welfare scheme, property & transport solutions, managing internal security etc.

Opinion Express congratulates Dr Jamal for publishing brilliant researched book that according to us is a must read for every tech savvy person. Opinion Express appreciates the enormous drive in Dr Jamal to understand changing face of global society and his tremendous attachment for innovative technologies.

# Soul of India by Dr H R Bhardwaj

An extremely thoughtful book written by India's renowned political mind Dr H R Bhardwaj on completely different subject of his core specialization namely politics and law. Dr Bhardwaj talks about the rich Indian culture, Indian thought, philosophy and culture to promote the feeling of universal brotherhood for centuries. He quotes by citing Rig Veda " let noble thoughts come to us from all directions" to develop magnificent philosophy where world is one family and one home. Dr Bhardwaj states that Indians have accepted the principle that one should do one's duty or act according to one's faith or religious order. Message from Upanishads is clear that let all walk together, eat together and work together so all shine and prosper. Dr Bhardwaj is concern with the communal and caste divide in India due to political intervention and he strongly recommends to follow great Indian Vedas to structure the society. " Humanism is the religion of the majority of intellectuals today" - Dr Bhardwaj cautions that Religion, if construed in narrow and ritualistic sense, causes serious damage to the elementary unity of mankind. It is the job of contemporary thinkers and philosophers to elaborate its meaning and its application on day-to-day life of the society at the relevant times.

Dr Bhardwaj presents the information on Vedas extremely well. According

**Dr Bhardwaj presents the information on Vedas extremely well. According to his book - the Vedas are the most ancient literature of theology in the world. They are the eternal scriptures of Hindu religion. They were codified by Veda Vyasa in four - The Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva. Vedas are the source of information, the final authority for obtaining knowledge of Brahma.**



to his book - the Vedas are the most ancient literature of theology in the world. They are the eternal scriptures of Hindu religion. They were codified by Veda Vyasa in four - The Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva. Vedas are the source of information, the final authority for obtaining knowledge of Brahma. Vedas are meant for the welfare of all because the mantras aim at peace and tranquility of universe and cosmos. The author have listed the philosophy of Vedanta, knowledge of Upanishads, Katha Upanishads, Mandukya Upanishads, Taiiariya Upanishads, Aitareya Upanishads, Manduka Upanishads.

The chapter on Bhagwat Gita is an eye opener for readers, he explains the process of salvation by performing duties in daily life. Dr Bhardwaj list ten commandments of Hinduism namely Non violence, truthfulness, Non steal-

ing, Celibacy, non greed, purity of thought words and deeds, contentment, austerity, study of scriptures, surrender to God and complete devotion. Furthermore, Dr Bhardwaj has listed a chapter on message of the holy Quran, the Greek and western philosophers, message of Bible, thoughts of Judaism, thoughts from Buddhism, thoughts from Avesta, thoughts from Jainism, Guru Nanak Dev. He have extensively covered the entire religious spectrum of the globe to identify the common teaching for the good of the society.

Opinion Express appreciate the classical work done by Dr H R Bhardwaj and the huge effort put in to compile a brilliant book and amazing content. Readers can reach A M imaging & printing center 180, SFS Flats, Hauz Khas, New Delhi Tel 011 26852579 / 26515808 to get a copy of this great book.

# US ARMS & CHANCE FOR PEACE

**T**he HIS published a report on June 24 describing the top arms exporters and importers in the world. It is a well-known fact that the United States is the largest weapons exporter in the world. U.S. weapon companies keep the world outfitted with a constant supply of guns, missiles, artillery, fighter planes and bombers, helicopters, tanks, warships, and bombs. Even though the Cold War is over, no country threatens to invade the United States, and the U.S.'s nuclear arms arsenal is sufficient to wipe out life on the planet, the military-industrial complex succeeds in finding new markets for even more conventional and unconventional weapons.

U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, the president who coined the term military-industrial complex, has referred to

the economic implications of a high expenditure on arms in his "Chance for Peace" speech from 1953.

**DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, U.S. PRESIDENT:** Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population. It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some 50 miles of concrete pavement. We pay for a single fighter plane with a half million bushels of

wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

**HEVER:** Number six on the list of weapon exporters is Israel. Israel may be the sixth weapon exporter in the world, but it is the largest arms exporter in per capita terms. Indeed, while the U.S. has the largest military-industrial complex in the world, Israel has the largest proportion of its economy dedicated to the military-industrial complex.

A good way to estimate the size of the military-industrial complex is to compare the proportions of public expenditure on defense. According to SIPRI, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Israel spends 8.4 percent of its GDP on defense, putting it in the third place worldwide, and almost twice as much as the U.S., which





is seventh place in the world.

But SIPRI's data doesn't take into account the massive investment of natural resources, especially land and labor, which are used by the Israeli army, police, and prison systems without payment. Approximately half of the territory of Israel is controlled directly or indirectly by the army, and about half of the Israeli citizens serve in the army without salary for one to three years. If those facts are taken into account, it becomes clear that Israel is the world's most militarized state.

It should be emphasized that the arms industry is built upon reciprocal purchases. Arms deals are often two-sided, meaning that when one country sells military equipment to a second country, the second country is expected to buy something from the first. This tradition intensifies the arms proliferation and creates an unnecessary stockpiling of arms by countries who are at peace.

The problem is that where the army's outfitted with new shiny toys, generals and politicians sometimes develop the urge to try them out and go on the offensive. The arms trade is therefore a hazard to peace and to security for all residents of all countries.

Because of the massive investment of resources on security and the army, Israel suffers from high levels of poverty and crumbling social services. The

current Israeli government debated the urgent need to cut military expenditures and eventually approved some minor cuts to the defense budget. But the Israeli system allows the Ministry of Defense to keep the revenue from arms sales and use them to further boost its own budget. Therefore, despite the government's efforts, the actual budget of the Israeli Ministry of Defense is expected to grow, although the Israeli Ministry repeatedly exceeds its budget. In 2012, it spent about one and a half billion dollars more than the budget approved by the Israeli parliament, the Knesset.

The U.S. continues to give Israel military aid to the tune of \$3 billion every year, with plans to expand aid to \$4 billion annually. The aid ensures high profits for the U.S. arms companies. The U.S. also buys military equipment from Israel in reciprocal deals, contributing to the Israeli military-industrial complex.

More importantly, when the U.S. shows its support for Israel, it also legitimizes Israel's use of force. Israel intensifies the violence in the Middle East and contributes to sales of the arms industry worldwide.

**BARACK OBAMA, U.S. PRESIDENT:** Four years ago, I stood before you and said that "Israel's security is sacrosanct. It is non-negotiable." That belief has guided my actions as president. The

fact is, my administration's commitment to Israel's security has been unprecedented. Our military and intelligence cooperation has never been closer. Our joint exercises and training have never been more robust. Despite a tough budget environment, our security assistance has increased every single year. We are investing in new capabilities. We're providing Israel with more advanced technology--the types of products and systems that only go to our closest friends and allies. And make no mistake: we will do what it takes to preserve Israel's qualitative military edge--because Israel must always have the ability to defend itself, by itself, against any threat.

**HEVER:** The massive investments in the military-industrial complex causes immeasurable suffering, injury, and death to the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation, it puts Israel in a state of deep socioeconomic crisis, and it costs U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars that could have been used to provide much-needed services in the U.S. But on the other hand, it creates profit for the arms companies. Lockheed Martin had a profit in 2012 of over \$4.4 billion. Boeing had a profit of \$3.9 billion that year.

*Courtesy Shir Hever for  
The Real News.*

# PRAN: THE MOST GENTLE VILLAIN OF BOLLYWOOD

Pran Kishan Sikand, perhaps the only Bollywood actor to have shattered stereotype by playing villains and good guys with equal ease and success, was famous for his style and sophistication. In a career that spanned six decades, Pran appeared in 350 films which included pretty much every blockbuster film that released in the 1960s and '70s. He was voted Villain of the Millennium and also made it to CNN's list of top 25 Asian actors of all time. In May 2013, he received the Dadasaheb Phalke Award which honours a member of the film fraternity every year.

Born in 1920 in old Delhi's Ballimaran area, Pran's father was a civil engineer who's job took the family from Delhi to Dehradun and Meerut. A photography enthusiast, the young Pran took a job as an apprentice with a photo studio in Delhi after finishing school. But he was not destined to remain behind the camera. A chance encounter with the writer Mohammed



Born in 1920 in old Delhi's Ballimaran area, Pran's father was a civil engineer who's job took the family from Delhi to Dehradun and Meerut. A photography enthusiast, the young Pran took a job as an apprentice with a photo studio in Delhi after finishing school. But he was not destined to remain behind the camera.



Wali in Lahore's famous Hira Mandi market led to an introduction to producer Dalsukh Pancholi who cast Pran as the villain in 1940 Punjabi film Yamla Jat. He went on to star as the hero in 1944's Khandaan.

After Partition, Pran, now married and with one son, moved to Mumbai intending to continue his celluloid dream. Unemployed and in dire financial straits, Pran had all but given up hope of reviving his career till the write Saadat Ali Manto intervened and helped him get a role in Ziddi (1948), starring Dev Anand and Kamini Kaushal. The film proved a turning point and Pran's fortunes rose accordingly.

Pran played the villain opposite the era's superstars - Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor and Dev Anand - in films such as Munimji, Devdas, Madhumati, Ram Aur Shyam and Jis Desh Mein Ganga Behti Hai. His portrayal of Gajendra, the tyrannical brother-in-law in Ram Aur Shyam, helped make the villain's role as important as that of the hero's. Famous for his trademark sneer, Pran was often paid more than the lead actors of his films at the peak of his career. From 1969 to 1982, he was Bollywood's best paid supporting actor.

One of the rare actors to have played against type, Pran appeared in a positive role in 1967's hit film Upkar,

co-starring Manoj Kumar. From then on, he was cast in roles on both sides of cinema's good and evil divide. With Amitabh Bachchan, Pran formed a hit partnership that resulted in 14 films, most of them hits including Don, Amar Akbar Anthony and Kaalia. Pran was, in fact, instrumental in having director Prakash Mehra cast the struggling Amitabh Bachchan in Zanjeer. Zanjeer became Big B's breakthrough film, thanks in no small part to his screen chemistry with Pran's character Sher Khan, and the friendship-themed song Yaari Hai Imaan.

Amitabh Bachchan and Pran formed a fast friendship off-screen and Pran even made a rare public appearance at his old friend's 70th birthday party on October 10. Amitabh Bachchan tweeted: "Many are not aware that though Pran Saheb played the villain to perfection, he had great sense of humour and poetry ..!"

As the 1980s drew around, Pran began to take roles which did not require any great physical exertion and by the 90s he had retired, appearing in only two films - Mrityudaata and Tere Mere Sapne. One of Bollywood's most celebrated actors, Pran has won four Filmfare awards and received the Padma Bhushan in 2001. He is 2013's recipient of the Dadasaheb Phalke award.

Pran and wife Shukla have two sons, Arvind and Sunil, and a daughter, Pinky.



# OUR DESIGN ICON IN NY

**R**avika Gupta is one of the founders of the fashion brand KAVI KAVI kavikavi.com, a label she defines as glamorous, exotic and an affordable evening wear luxury for the contemporary woman. She took part in various international stage L'Oreal Fashion Week runway shows in Toronto, alongside her twin sister Dipika.

Afterwards, Ravika decided to move to New York City to pursue a fashion design degree from the prestigious Parsons university and worked for luxury houses Gucci, Alexander McQueen, YSL, Stella McCartney and Giorgio Armani Corporations to learn the business of fashion.

## Present:

By gaining 10 years of expertise in the fashion industry in North America, she has decided to launch her own label named RAVIKA. Her first collection for Fall

2012 is an affordable luxury inspired by the urban working woman who seeks comfort, simplicity, with a style aesthetic that adapts her lifestyle from work to play. The pieces of clothing; blazers, tops, pants, dresses and skirts from the collection are functional that can be worn mixed and matched that transition from day to night. She describes her designs to pose clean construction lines with casual fabrics of soft wools, knits and jersey that provide an effortless tailored fit. Her designs are currently selling at Limelight marketplace 656 Avenue of Americas in Chelsea, Manhattan alongside established brands.



## 'Our USP is affordable designer clothing'

Opinion Express fashion editor in brief interaction with Ravika Gupta to explore mind of a creative artist.

### Q How do you see Kavi Kavi shaping up in next few months?

In the next few months Kavi Kavi will be showcasing the Spring 2014 collection from Dipika's recent trips to the factory in Bombay India.

### Q The global slow down has effected your business in the recent times?

Our price points are affordable designer clothing and provide a good concept therefore it has not effected our business during the global slow-down. Here is a quote that I consider

my mantra. "If you're making good clothes and you have a good concept, there's always business to do. The industry is hard when you're just following. If you have a point of view, if the quality and integrity and innovation are there, in good times and bad, the clothing is successful." - Andrew Rosen

### Q Do you have plans to enter Asian markets ?

Absolutely, the Asian markets are growing at a fast rate, we plan to expand there shortly.



## Strategic Location

- Located in the Rajpuri Creek on the West Coast of India
- Advantageously positioned along International Shipping Routes
- 42 Nautical miles South of Mumbai
- 160 kms from Mumbai by road
- 42 kms off NH 17 and the Rail Network
- Identified node on DMIC & DFC

### Immediate Hinterland

Roha, Khopoli, Mahad, Patalganga, Nagothane, Navi Mumbai, Mumbai, Thane-Belapur, Nasik, Pune

### Secondary Hinterland

Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and the land locked States of North India

## Connectivity

### By Road

Northern Shore SH 96, SH 92 and SH 90  
Southern Shore SH 97 and SH 98

### By Rail

Connectivity - Northern and Southern bank  
Proposed Alignment: Agardanda - Indapur - Mangaon

## Development Potential & Planned Facility

### Phase I - 5 Berths :

- 4 Multipurpose Berths, 1 Ro Ro Terminal
- Capacity to handle 30 million tonnes
- Dedicated Approach Channel with a depth of 14.5 m chart datum
- Extensive land bank for development
- Waterfront encompassing Northern and Southern Banks

## SEZ & FTWZ

Port based multi-product SEZ inclusive of FTWZ  
Dedicated world-class infrastructure for warehousing & logistics  
State of the art cargo handling equipment transportation & support infrastructure facilities

## Cargo Potential

- Containers
- Steel
- Automobiles / Automobile Components
- LNG
- POL
- Minerals
- Coal
- Chemicals
- Fertilizers
- Cement
- Iron Ore
- Edible Oil, etc...

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