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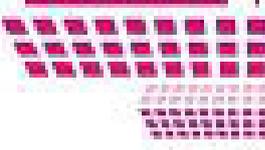
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A MONTHLY NEWS MAGAZINE

COVER STORY

## BYE BYE, PLANNING COMMISSION

In his maiden I-day speech, PM Modi says it's time to say goodbye to Planning commission

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## Modi ends 64-year run of Planning commission

Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his first speech from Red Fort on the Independence Day, announced that the government would replace the Planning Commission with a new body, bringing the curtains down on the 64-year old institution founded on the former Soviet Union's command-style development model.



India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, inspired by the Gosplan-aided industrialisation of the Soviet Union, set up the Planning Commission in 1950. The dominant view at the time, drawn from Fabian socialism, backed the need for state-led planned industrialisation and development. For the first eight Plans, the emphasis was on a growing public sector with massive public investments in basic and heavy industries.

The commission, housed at Yojana Bhawan a few hundred yards away from Parliament House, emerged as the government's primary go-to think-tank for policy prescriptions. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as well as President Pranab Mukherjee both served as the Planning Commission's deputy chairperson, the body's topmost executive. The prime minister is the chairperson of the commission.

Abu Mohammed al-Adnani, an Isis spokesman, defined the Islamic state's territory as running from northern Syria to the Iraqi province of Diyala north-east of Baghdad, a vast stretch of land straddling the border that is already largely under Isis control. He also said that with the establishment of the caliphate, the group was changing its name to the Islamic State, dropping the mention of Iraq and the Levant. Through his campaign, Mr Modi had vowed to reboot the economy and deliver efficient governance -he said today "development for all" would be his mission. With its allies, the BJP now has over 300 of the 543 parliamentary seats. The stunning numbers provide incontrovertible evidence of the "Modi wave" that the BJP name-dropped for months. The twin headline to Mr Modi's phenomenal win is the colossal defeat that he has enforced upon the incumbent Congress. Headed by Sonia and Rahul Gandhi, the party has crashed to its worst performance with less than 50 seats after 10 years in power.

The multinational search effort for the aircraft is the largest and most expensive in aviation history. The search began in the Gulf of Thailand and the South China Sea, where the aircraft's signal was last detected on secondary surveillance radar, and was soon extended to the Strait of Malacca and Andaman Sea. Analysis of satellite communications between the aircraft and Inmarsat's satellite communications network concluded that the flight continued until at least 08:19 and flew south into the southern Indian Ocean, although the precise location cannot be determined. Australia took charge of the search on 17 March when the search moved to the southern Indian Ocean. On 24 March, the Malaysian government noted that the final location determined by the satellite communication is far from any possible landing sites, and concluded that "Flight MH370 ended in the southern Indian Ocean." However the elections in five states have proved that BJP is not unbeatable. Wherever the opposition has a slightly good leadership to answer back BJP with the capacity to consolidate anti BJP vote, BJP can be defeated. Though various states have formidable regional leaders, the nation has absolutely none. As long as Rahul Gandhi is the perceived choice for PM against Modi, irrespective of how much he has improved, he comes absolutely nowhere near Modi. Sonia is getting old and keeping a bit unwell to really run around amassing support. The draft resolution, presented by the Minister for Transport of Malaysia on behalf of the Joint Investigation Team (Australia, Belgium, Malaysia, Netherlands and Ukraine), received 11 affirmative votes, three abstentions (Angola, China and Venezuela) and one negative vote (Russian Federation).

—Prashant Tewari, Editor-in-Chief

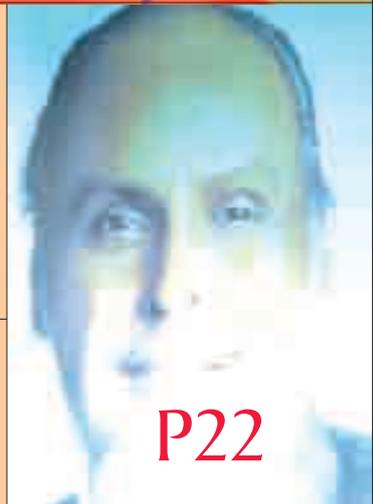
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## SAFFRON'S BLUES



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# Little India in Manhattan

Suman Guha Mozumder

Thousands of people from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut jammed the sidewalks of Madison Avenue in Manhattan on Sunday to celebrate India's 62nd year of independence with verve and vigour.

Braving close to 90 degree Fahrenheit temperature, Indian Americans came from all over the tri-state area, including septuagenarians, a few of whom were seated on wheel chairs.

The Federation of Indian Associations (FIA), an umbrella group of cultural, educational and community organisations in the New York tri-state region. The parade, an annual event, was organised by the Federation of Indian American Associations.

Since 1980, the parade has been showcasing India's cultural and religious mosaic and the bond Indian Americans feel with their motherland despite living for decades away from the country. The parade began on 41st Street, wended down Madison Avenue and culminated in a variety show on 23rd Street, drawing an estimated 50,000 people.

Children perched on the shoulders of their parents so that they could get a better view of the colorful parade

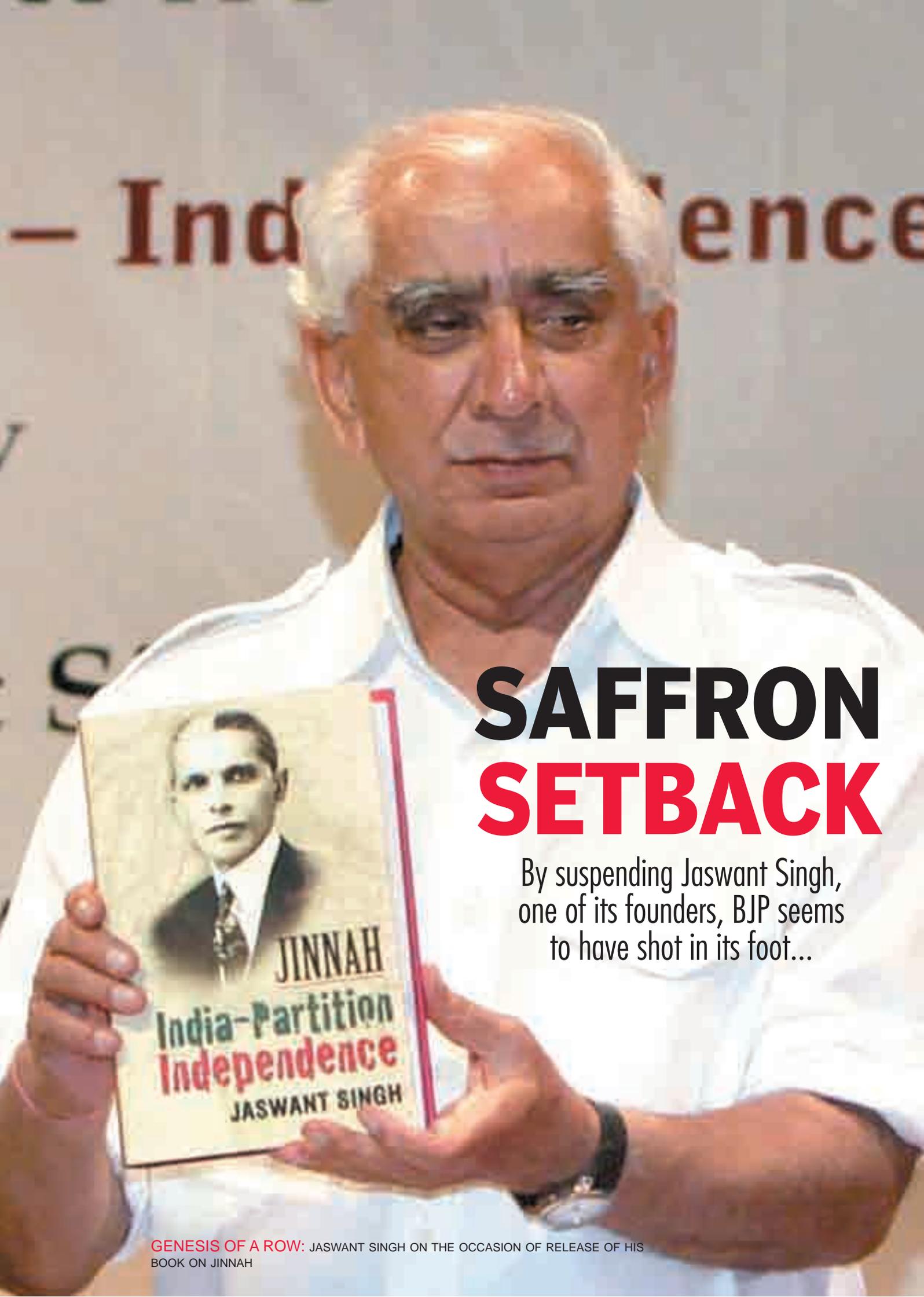
Following traditions, the FIA had Bollywood actress Shilpa Shetty to act as grand marshal. Shilpa flew in from India two days before the event. Past grand marshals include Amitabh Bachhan, Sridevi and Asha Bhosle, among others.

"I am very happy to be here to join with thousands of people in this parade," Shetty said, adding, "It is such a great event."

This year's guest list included New York mayor Michael Bloomberg, New Jersey governor John Corzine, New York Governor David Paterson, and President Bharrat Jagdeo of the Republic of Guyana. There were 37 floats, some of them colorful that attracted the attention of the audience, and more number of marches by different groups, all under the FIA umbrella.

Jay Sean alias Kamaljit Singh Jhooti, a British Pop-singer-songwriter of Indian origin, was a big hit with the teenagers at the parade. The parade ended with a cultural program at the Madison Square Park in which Aishwarya Majmudar of 'Chote Ustad' (a reality show on Star Plus network) fame took part, among others.

**SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE:** SHILPA SHETTY AT THE INDIA DAY PARADE TO CELEBRATE INDIA'S 63RD INDEPENDENCE DAY IN MANHATTEN, NEW YORK. CONSULATE GENERAL OF INDIA PRABHU DAYAL IS ALSO SEEN IN THE PICTURE (TOP RIGHT)



# SAFFRON SETBACK

By suspending Jaswant Singh, one of its founders, BJP seems to have shot in its foot...

**GENESIS OF A ROW:** JASWANT SINGH ON THE OCCASION OF RELEASE OF HIS BOOK ON JINNAH



JASWANT SINGH  
SPEAKS TO MEDIA  
AFTER HIS SUSPENSION

# BEGINNING OF THE END?

**PRASHANT TEWARI**

If it was not happening for real and if it had not concerned India's principal opposition party and one of its most senior leaders, the rather unsavoury dismissal of Jaswant Singh would have been seen as a kind of a political farce. Mr Singh's book (Jinnah: India, Partition, Independence), released earlier, was in the news because of praise it lavished on the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In his book, Mr Singh described Jinnah as a great man who has been "demonised" in India. This praise for Jinnah was unacceptable to some senior Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leaders who disagreed with his assessment.



**FOOD FOR THOUGHT?:** CHINTAN BAITHAK AT SHIMLA

But regardless of the controversy, hardly anyone predicted that praise for Jinnah would lead to such an unceremonious outcome for the former defence, finance and foreign affairs minister. Fury at Jaswant Singh has sparked protests by some on the right Mr Singh was not given even an opportunity to explain himself.

It is not the first time the founder of Pakistan has come to torment the right-wing Hindu nationalist BJP. In 2005, the then party president Lal Krishna Advani saw his political career almost coming to an end after he described Jinnah as a secular leader who stood for Hindu-Muslim unity. For the BJP rank and file, such comments from their leader were unacceptable and almost blasphemous.

Partition is an emotive issue for many Indians and a majority of them - not just the Hindu right - have grown up believing that Jinnah was the architect of two-nation theory based on religion.

For right-wing nationalist organisations like the RSS - which provides ideological moorings to the BJP and wields considerable clout in it - issues like partition and Jinnah's role in it are an article of faith.

They blame Jinnah and his Muslim

League for the partition. By the end of 2005, Mr Advani was forced to quit his BJP post and though he did manage to

He was also critical of the manner in which BJP leaders resorted to what he described as "thought policing". But for the BJP top brass — which had a "chintan" or introspection meeting in the salubrious climes of the hill town of Shimla — the Jaswant-Jinnah issue is perhaps the least of their worries.

claw his way back to the top rungs of the party leadership (he was the BJP's prime ministerial candidate in parliamentary elections earlier this year) he never fully regained his stature and clout.

Jaswant Singh has not been so fortu-

nate. While he will retain his parliamentary seat, his expulsion from the BJP could mean the end of the road in terms of power politics. The party is plagued by infighting, Mr Singh ruled out the possibility of apologising to the BJP leadership and regretted that they did not even bother to seek an explanation from him.

He was also critical of the manner in which BJP leaders resorted to what he described as "thought policing". But for the BJP top brass - which began a "chintan" or introspection meeting in the salubrious climes of the hill town of Shimla on Wednesday - the Jaswant-Jinnah issue is perhaps the least of their worries.

Maybe that is why they have been able to take such quick and arguably not very well thought-out action. The other issues confronting India's principal opposition party are far more challenging, serious and fraught with far-reaching implications.

Having lost two successive national elections in 2004 and 2009 the BJP is desperately trying to refocus, rejuvenate and reinvent itself. It needs to focus on issues which help it play the role of an effective opposition and win back the support of the people.

# BJP in disarray, little hope for revival

There downslide triggered by LS poll debacle seems to be unstoppable

One could argue the current disarray within the BJP, with the party seemingly on the verge of a bitter factional war, was long in the making. The signs, indeed, were there from the time the party had to face a post-Vajpayee phase. The dissension within its ranks, with senior leaders openly questioning the very ethos of the BJP, is also a pointer to the inability of the party to clearly define its ideological position. Five years ago, the BJP was left stunned after it was voted out of office, despite being the overwhelming pre-election favourite.

During the course of his campaign this time, the BJP's veteran leader and candidate for prime minister, LK Advani, told me

that the party lost in 2004 because of "overconfidence".

This latest defeat has bruised the BJP, leaving it searching for answers about its identity and leadership.

And that basic incompatibility between democracy and Hindutva is what afflicts the party. The issues of accountability leaders like Jaswant Singh and Yashwant Sinha have raised are, to that extent, manifestations of the deeper malaise. Though the real trouble started in 2000 with the exit of ideologue Govindacharya. Emergence of Pramod Mahajan brought new style of working within BJP during NDA rule headed by Vajpayee. Post 2004 defeat, it was free for all, Kalyan Singh, Uma Bharti, Madan Lal Khurana revolted against the leadership creating



PARTY CHIEF RAJNATH SINGH  
IN A THOUGHTFUL MOOD



**TAKING THINGS IN STRIDE?:**  
ARUN JAITLEY TOO HAS BEEN INVOLVED  
IN CONTROVERSIES OF LATE

perception that the party with a difference has turned in a party with difference. Tactical elevation of L K Advani and party president Rajnath Singh proved a final nail in the coffin for the party that led to 2009 election debacle. Senior leaders like Yashwant Sinha, Arun Shorie and now Jaswant Singh displayed concerned publicly hence eroding the little credibility left for the party. L K Advani at the this age could not resist the post of leader of opposition and Rajnath shamelessly continued as party president to make the matter worse for the party. On the contrary Congress leadership lead by Sonia Gandhi strategically played her cards so well by sacrificing post of Prime Minister of the country hence creating a niche image of non greedy politician which is a novelty for Indian population at large. It lead to a dramatic victory for the Congress party in the general elections and great debacle for the BJP.

Basically, post-Vajpayee, the BJP has been unable to resolve the issue of whether to maintain the moderate face, which Vajpayee embodied, or to depend solely on the revanchist agenda that has been its *raison d'etre*. This confusion is the basis for the party's turmoil...

For a party that seeks to present an aura of discipline and internal democracy it is quite a low point to have had strategists of the various factions jockeying for top slots and the larger 'prime ministerial candidate' position.

Basically, post-Vajpayee, the BJP has been unable to resolve the issue of whether to maintain the moderate face, which Vajpayee embodied, or to depend solely on the revanchist agenda that has been its *raison d'etre*. This confusion is the basis for the party's turmoil.

Following its setback in the 2004 elections, the party has been in a state of constant tumult. In a state of disorientation, the BJP acted as if it had been cheated out of government and the UPA was some sort of an upstart. Thus, it consistently refused to play any constructive and meaningful role as the principal opposition party - repeatedly paralysing Parliament,



**IN THE EYE OF STORM:** FORMER RAJASTHAN CM VASUNDHARA RAJE

raking up sundry controversies and generally refusing to engage the government in any semblance of democratic dialogue.

Now, with the defeat in 2009, the party is at the crossroads. The way it defines its leadership now, or behaves as the Opposition will largely be dictated by how far the BJP can face the challenge of emerging as a party of the centre-right. Clearly, polarising politics can't yield a sustainable space in India's electoral politics. But whether the BJP can now engage in the kind of self-introspection necessary, and actually occupy the centre-right space, is doubtful. The forthcoming conclave of the party's national executive may well point the way the party will go.

What is hurting the BJP the most is its loss to the Congress in a number of states where the two were pitted in a straight fight, and where the BJP had hoped to benefit from its strong local leadership.

Except for the southern state of Karnataka, where the BJP trounced the Congress, the party fared poorly in its strongholds of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi.

Little wonder that a senior party official, Arun Jaitley, described the BJP's performance as "below expectations".

At 81, LK Advani is keen to stand down as the opposition leader or shown his intention to step down but it turned out to be a farce. Indian people are extremely sensitive about double

speaking and BJP leadership is refusing to learn it from the past. Ultimately Advani is continuing with tremendous resistance from various quarters including the RSS.

More significantly, it has slipped badly in the political heartland state of Uttar Pradesh, which sends more MPs to parliament than any other. This was the state where the BJP had built its political success on the back of its Hindu nationalist campaign to build a temple at the site of the disputed 16th Century Ayodhya mosque. It was a movement that polarised the state along religious lines, and generated huge electoral dividends for the BJP. Now the party is in fourth place in the state, while the Congress is on an upswing.

Under the leadership of the previous prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, the BJP had tried to position itself as an old-style conservative party, right-of-centre on issues such as the economy or national security.

It's a position that Mr Advani also tried to push in these elections. Despite attempts to play it down, the BJP is haunted by its Hindu nationalist past - and present.

Atal Behari Vajpayee was right of centre on the economy and security, Nowhere is this more evident than in the eastern state of Orissa. After a wave of attacks on the Christian minority in the state last year, blamed on radical Hindu groups with ties to the BJP, the party's regional ally, the BJD, severed ties.



**BREWING DISSENT:** RAJASTHAN BJP MLAS IN FRONT OF ADVANI'S HOUSE IN SUPPORT OF RAJE

The BJD not only performed strongly in the parliamentary elections, it also swept back to power in Orissa, which held simultaneous local elections. The BJP, in contrast, failed to win a single seat.

So what does this mean for the BJP's future?

For a start, it is facing a crisis of leadership. LK Advani is keen to step down as leader of the opposition, as part of his eventual retirement from politics. At 81, this was seen as his last chance at securing the top job, and it is surely the end of his political career. He is being persuaded to stay on, however, mainly to prevent a succession battle.

At least four senior BJP politicians are in the running for his job, and there are fears that a public squabble for the position could damage the party further.

Some in the BJP want it to swing further to the right, shedding its attempt at moderation. They want it to return to its "core" Hindu nationalist agenda - including building the temple at Ayodhya, pushing for a common civil code between Hindus and Muslims, and taking a hard line on similar issues. It's a position that could well be endorsed by the party's ideological foun-

tainhead, the RSS, which is concerned that the BJP is losing its focus.

If that happens, the party leadership could well pass to Narendra Modi, the chief minister of the western state of Gujarat.

**Some in the BJP want it to swing further to the right, shedding its attempt at moderation. They want it to return to its "core" Hindu nationalist agenda - including building the temple at Ayodhya, pushing for a common civil code between Hindus and Muslims, and taking a hard line on similar issues.**

Narendra Modi is not popular with the BJP's allies, Mr Modi has a reputation of being a brilliant administrator and is cred-

ited with turning Gujarat into one of the country's most prosperous states. Because of that, he's greatly admired by India's business leaders.

But Mr Modi is also a controversial figure - it was on his watch that in 2002, Gujarat witnessed some of India's worst anti-Muslim riots. At least 1,000 people, mainly Muslims, were killed.

His administration was accused of doing little to prevent the violence, and the Supreme Court recently ordered an investigation into his alleged role during the riots. He is also completely unacceptable to the BJP's allies, without whom they would find it difficult to form a federal government. So the party is likely to witness an internal struggle for control in the immediate future.

It can take heart from the fact that, although it has lost this election, the BJP is still India's second largest party. It has 116 seats to Congress's 206. The next, by a long distance, is the regional Samajwadi Party, with 23 seats. Now the BJP's leaders have to determine which way they want to take the party.

(With inputs from The BBC's Sanjoy Majumder)

# RSS to BJP: Discard the old

Instead it is a house divided, the party is being pulled in different directions by the ambitions of its leaders. The joke is that the BJP which once prided itself on being a "party with a difference" is now seen as a "party with differences."

Many say the party leadership needs young blood, it also faces an identity crisis both in terms of leadership and issues. While the governing Congress party undergoes a generation shift with 38-year-old Rahul Gandhi increasingly asserting himself, the BJP is still being run by the 82-year-old Mr Advani.

The results of this year's general elections also showed that India's youth - who make up the bulk of voters - are no longer enamoured by the part-nostalgia, part-revivalist and part-Hindu nationalist slogans of the BJP.

The young want to look ahead. So far the BJP is offering them the past. The dismissal of Jaswant Singh over his book on a man who died more than 60 years ago is yet another indication of the party's refusal to leave yesteryear behind.

RSS chief asks BJP to replace old with young, end discords, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) chief Mohan Bhagwat said the young generation should take charge and that the party leaders should resolve their differences at the earliest.

**In a stern message to the party, the RSS chief said: "They have to get their balance back and make amends to everything." Bhagwat said the sooner the party does this, the better..."**

**"The BJP leaders express their angst about this (factionalism), they are keen to restore it."**

Breaking his silence over the leadership crisis in the BJP, Bhagwat said: 'It is a universal rule that the young generation must replace the old generation.'

'When, where and how (it happens), they will have to decide the modus operandi,' he said, and added that 'transition is necessary'. The RSS is the ideological fountainhead of the BJP.

Asked about the factionalism in the party, Bhagwat said it had suffered a 'nasty jolt' in the elections and must address real issues and put an end to factionalism.

'It was a nasty jolt, quite unexpected, and it destabilised the party. Whatever happened was not very good, even BJP leaders have said this,' he said.

In a stern message to the party the RSS chief said: 'They have to get their balance back and make amends to everything.' Bhagwat said the sooner the party does this, the better.

'The BJP leaders express their angst about this (factionalism), they are keen to restore it,' he added.

He asserted that the party would have to be clear on the ideology and there should be a dialogue with the Sangh as a while also.

'They should be reasonably sound and articulate about the ideology. You should have a collective work pattern and should have dialogue with all the thought brothers. They should have a system of dialogue within them,' Bhagwat said.

And added: 'Theirs should be a party with a difference and lastly they should bring the young generation forth.'



**REMOTE CONTROL?:** RSS CHIEF MOHAN BHGWAT

# Away from reality?

While accusing Jaswant Singh of committing ideological heresy, BJP is losing sight of the real issue and touch with grass-roots reality

**B**JP is discarded as a communal party and divisive force. Many people will disagree with this because all the parties have been on the same side and have done similar or worse things that BJP is accused of. Thousands of Sikhs were killed in North India, particularly Delhi, in 1984. Today, Congress says that it is history and should be forgotten as a bad dream. By same logic, shouldn't the people forget Gujrat riot by next election in 2014? This issue does not seem the real issue for poor performance by BJP.

It seems that the BJP is losing the real issues and has difficulty in connecting with the grass-root sworkers. Mumbai attack and national security were important issue and should not be forgotten by a party that wants to play important role in national politics but these are the issues for the people who go to exercise their franchise. Only elite and middle class talk

BJP invested resources and time on online campaigning that does not make any sense in Indian politics. Less than 1% population of India has any interest in online campaigning and reading manifesto of the party or listening the speeches of the leaders from website. There is no need to make Facebook groups, Twitter discussion...

about the national security issue and most of these do not exercise their franchise because they do not like to queue

or do not consider their single vote can make any difference. For a man in a small town and village, the biggest challenge of security comes from the thieves and the police. They are more worried about their belongings that constitute generally cooking utensils, some clothes, few hundreds of rupees and silver or copper jewellery (and sometime gold as well). Many of them have never heard about Mumbai attack, anyway.

BJP invested resources and time on online campaigning that does not make any sense in Indian politics. Less than 1% population of India has any interest in online campaigning and reading manifesto of the party or listening the speeches of the leaders from website. There is no need to make Facebook groups, Twitter discussion or any other activity because a few thousand people read or participate in these activities and as I said earlier they never come out of their apartments



**IN GOOD OLD DAYS:** JASWANT SINGH WITH ADVANI AND RAJNATH

Indian population is still poor in large. We are not middle class society as America so we can emulate election strategy from them. We need some elite and educated people for discussion on the television channels but these discussion do not win elections. Local leaders needs to spend more time with the people. They need to visit the village and try to solve their problems in whatever capacity they can. Winning the trust of the people is most important to win rather than expecting the incumbency factor to work in one's favor.

BJP also need to choose their next candidate for the prime ministerial post. Sooner they choose the better it will be. It will be difficult to choose one and their will be a lot of in fighting but they need to face this reality one day. They are avoiding to chose a leader from second generation but it seems that the time has come to let the second generation to come forward. There is no point of pushing Murli Manohar Joshi or Jaswant Singh forward. Though Jaswant Singh has advantage of being liberal in the party and he can not be accused as communal but he might be little old in 5 years time.

BJP might follow the Congress strategy to choose a prime ministerial candidate who is not too active politician. It is upto the party to make right decision. Only time will tell whether the decision they make are right or wrong.

Just as the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) idea of India is that of a Hindu nation and not a multicultural one, Jaswant Singh's interpretation of Mohammed Ali Jinnah's pre-1947 role is at odds with the widely held perceptions in India.

By arguing that the founder of Pakistan has been unfairly demonised for partitioning the country, Singh not only went against the BJP's views, which has now expelled him, but also against an overwhelming majority of public opinion in India.

In addition, he courted further controversy by arguing that it was actually Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbai Patel who were more responsible for dividing the country than Jinnah.

Before considering Singh's historical fallacies, it may be instructive to examine his possible motives. In doing so, it is necessary to recall that before him, another BJP leader, L.K. Advani, had praised Jinnah to the surprise and embarrassment of many in the BJP and earned the displeasure of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

However, Advani's adulation of the Quaid-e-Azam was more historically valid than Singh's, for he quoted Jinnah's cel-



**HOUSE ON FIRE:** BJP WORKERS BURNING BOOK ON JINNAH

ebated speech of Aug 11, 1947, to emphasise his secularism.

In that speech, which Pakistani historian Ayesha Jalal compared with the Magna Carta and another historian, Akbar S. Ahmed, with Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address, Jinnah had outlined his vision of the new country where 'Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State'.

There is little doubt that there has rarely been such a remarkable exposition of secularism before or after that speech, which is ignored in today's Pakistan and which was described as 'a serious lapse on his (Jinnah's) part' by Sharif-ul-Mujahid, director of the Quaid-e-Azam Academy in the 1980s.

However, Advani's discovery of it nearly six decades after it was delivered suggests a personal motive rather than a belated attempt to set the record straight. The explanation perhaps lies in the BJP leader's attempt to pose as a moderate after the realisation that his hawkish image as the 'rath yatri' (his famous chariot-led march) of 1990 was no longer paying political dividends.

Arguably, a similar motivation guided Jaswant Singh. He, too, seemed to have

realised after the party's second successive defeat in a general election that it had reached a dead end so far as the espousal of its Hindutva philosophy is concerned. Not surprisingly, Singh had wanted the BJP to take a fresh look at its pro-Hindu world view.

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By praising Jinnah, the MP from Darjeeling apparently wanted to distance himself from his party's anti-minority outlook and chart a new political course for himself as a moderate. But, predictably, his first step in this direction evoked the

ire of both his party and the RSS.

While Advani was relieved of his position as the party chief under pressure from the RSS following his pro-Jinnah observations, Singh, who is a much lesser figure, has had to pay a heavier price for defying the party line.

But, irrespective of the political fallout, what has to be considered are the distorted analyses of the events prior to independence in his book: 'Jinnah - India, Partition, Independence'. His failure to understand why Jinnah is excoriated in India is a strange affectation considering that it was the Muslim League leader's two-nation theory which paved the way for partition to the accompaniment of communal violence sparked by his dangerously provocative Direct Action to secure Pakistan.

Once the religious passions had been whipped up by Jinnah, based on his 'Islam is in danger' assertion because of the dominance of Hindus under Congress rule, there was little that Nehru and even Mahatma Gandhi could do to stem the tide.

True, the Congress also made mistakes. For instance, a more accommodative attitude towards the Muslim League in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) after the Congress's 1937 election victory could have diffused the situation. As M.R.A. Baig, one of Jinnah's



**IN GOOD OLD DAYS:** JASWANT SINGH WITH ADVANI AND RAJNATH

dvisors, said: 'Pakistan never came to Jinnah's mind till about 1939... When the Congress formed the provincial government (in UP), he expected them to form a Congress-League coalition, which was his concept of Hindu-Muslim unity...'

'It was only when the Congress, wedded to political theories perfectly applicable to Britain, such as majority party government, and not recognising that in Indian conditions, a numerical majority could be synonymous with a communal majority ... that he turned to Pakistan.'

There were other miss-steps, too, as noted by Abul Kalam Azad in his 'India Wins Freedom' as when Nehru said that the Congress would enter the constituent assembly 'completely unfettered by agreements'. Since Jinnah interpreted this as a rejection of the Cabinet Mission plan, which the Muslim League had accepted, he also repudiated it and said that Pakistan remained the only course left for his party.

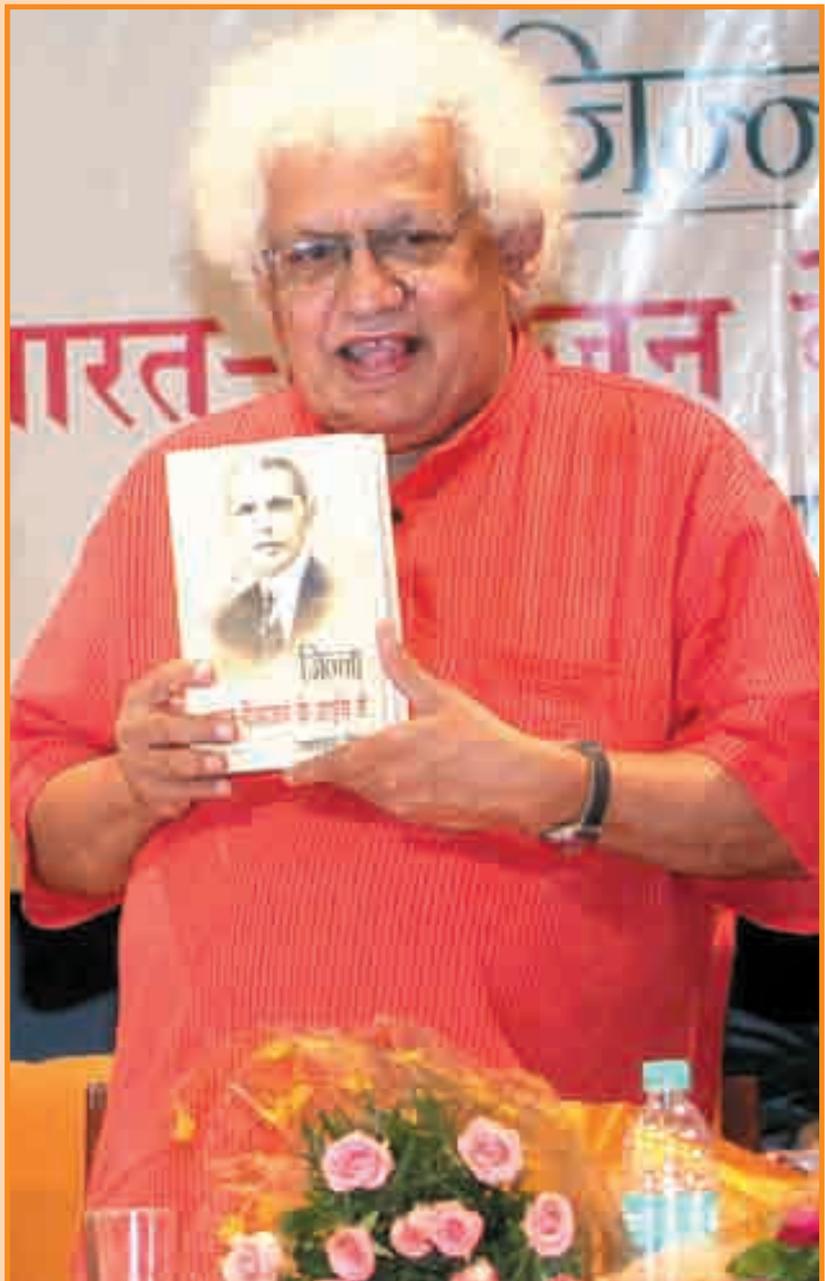
Even if the Congress' authoritarian instincts (which again manifested themselves during the 1975-77 Emergency) made it dismissive of other parties, they are not sufficient to explain Jinnah's transformation from a constitutionalist to a votary of street violence and from an 'ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity' to a patron of communal carnage.

As is clear, there were two Jinnahs - one a hero and the other a villain. The hero was driven by his thwarted ambitions because of the ascendancy of Gandhi and Nehru to turn into its opposite with a vengeance. Jaswant Singh's mistake is that he ignores this final phase of Jinnah's career.

If Jaswant Singh, a loyal worker of BJP is expelled from the party for praising Jinnah, Why Mr. Lal Krishna Advani should not be suspended / expelled for the same reason. We are living in democratic country and right of expression is a fundamental right given to individual. By expelling a loyal worker like Jaswant Sinha, BJP has crippled its rank.

The bunch of senior leaders have forgotten their past and living in five star comfort. We really miss Atal Bihari Bajpai at this juncture. We really hope that BJP should come out of fool paradise and understand the ground reality. Nobody want to lose but if are are losing you have to accept the ground reality and reinforce yourself. In democracy we also need strong opposition.

— OEMCL News Services



**STRAIGHT TALK:** LORD DESAI AT RELEASE OF JASWANT'S BOOK

## 'BJP HAS MADE A FOOL OF ITSELF'

Lord Meghnad Desai, noted economist and professor emeritus of the London School of Economics, Wednesday hit out at the BJP for expelling Jaswant Singh, saying "it was a bad move" and the party had made a "fool of itself".

"It is a very bad move by the BJP for it shows how intolerant the party has become," Lord Desai, who was presented the launch of Jaswant Singh's book, told IANS in the capital.

Singh was expelled from the primary membership of his party for his interpretation of Mohammed Ali Jinnah's role in the partition the country in 1947 in his book, "Jinnah- India, Partition and Independence" barely two days after

it was released.

Singh held Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel responsible for the partition in his book saying Jinnah had been unnecessarily demonised.

"Jaswant has written a fine book which needs analysing, discussing and debating. He has raised very interesting questions. It's a pity that the BJP has not read the book and has made a fool of itself," Lord Desai, who was present at the launch of the book, told IANS.

He said the party had acted in a "pre-determined manner without any evidence". "Our minds are closed and we have nothing more to learn. I feel very sorry for the BJP and I wish that India had a decent opposition party," Lord Desai said.

Lord Desai said BJP was "not a party of the future".

"It is shocking for young India as BJP had been trying to reinvent itself to identify with the country's youth," the well-known economist said.

"One should welcome and encourage politicians to write books. Jaswant Singh

"The book is not dogmatic at all. But why should we be full of prejudices. May be, the Congress was as responsible for the partition as the Muslim League. But why should the BJP bother about it. In fact, Sardar Patel was closely associated with Nehru in the decision to break India in April 1947. By June, it was all over."

is the only senior politician to have addressed the issue of partition on the last 50 years after Maulana Azad addressed it in his book, 'India Wins Freedom'," Desai said.

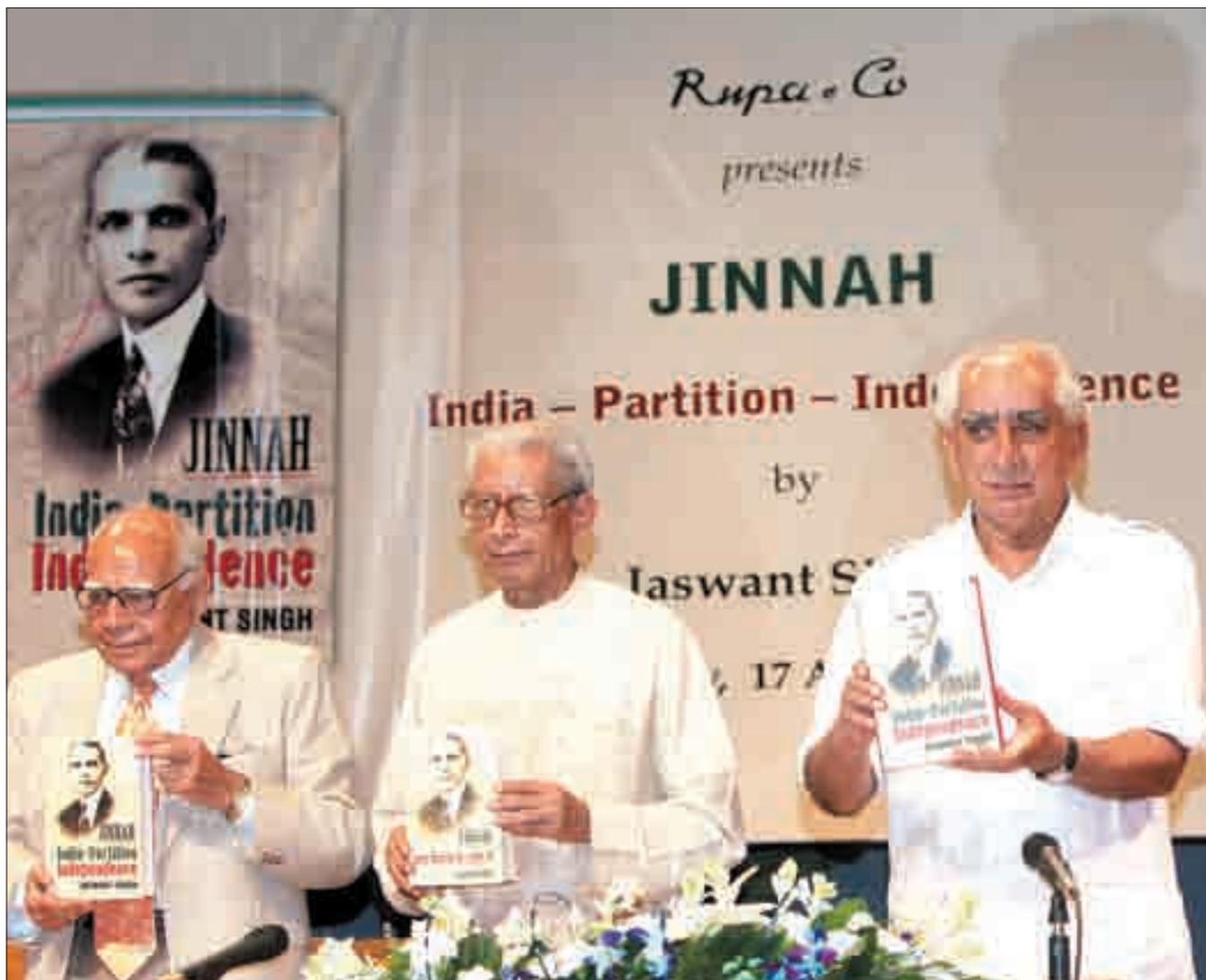
Lord Desai said "Jaswant Singh had

read everything on partition and the book was detailed and well-documented".

"The book is not dogmatic at all. But why should we be full of prejudices. May be, the Congress was as responsible for the partition as the Muslim League. But why should the BJP bother about it. In fact, Sardar Patel was closely associated with Nehru in the decision to break India in April 1947. By June, it was all over," he said.

Desai, whose yet-to-be-released new book "Rediscovery of India" also revisits the partition of India but "from a different perspective", said "he has more or less gone through the same material as Jaswant Singh to research his book."

"He has looked at every document and records. We can always have different ideas, but as a writer one must have the idea to express them without being discriminated. It happens in America all the time. People raise controversial issues. Why should people in India be reluctant to raise questions that can be debated?" Desai said.



**BOOKED FOR CONTROVERSY:** JASWANT SINGH WITH NAMWAR SINGH AND RAM JETHMALANI AT THE RELEASE OF HIS BOOK

CONCERN

# BUDGETARY CUT

Less spending,  
more debt for  
India's children

**B**udget for 'Aam Aadmi' leaves children out  
Union Budget 2009-10, the first budget of the second United Progressive Alliance government that's still basking in the glory of a resounding election victory, gets a thumbs-down from India's children for two reasons.

First, it hardly has any new scheme for children, except some reorganization in education, nor is there more money. Second, it has managed to place a fresh debt burden of Rs 3500-and rising-on the head of every Indian, including 450 million persons less than 18 years' old. According to calculations made by HAQ: Centre for Child Rights, which has been analysing central and state budgets from a child rights perspective for ten years, the Budget for Children for the current fiscal is only Rs 43104.16 crore. In other words, the amount of money allocated to various children's programmes is only 4.21 per cent of the record Rs 10.20 lakh crore of total expenditure budgeted for 2009-10. This is the lowest share accorded to children in the last four years-as table 1 shows, the BfC share was 3.85 per cent in 2005-06. This is much less than the 5.31 per cent share for children budgeted for 2008-09 as well as the reduced share of 4.31 per cent in therevised estimates of that year.

In fact, the BfC share comes to even less - 3.88 per cent-if we take into account Statement 22 of the Expenditure Budget 2009-10 document, defined as Budget Provisions for Schemes for the Welfare of Children, prepared by the finance ministry. This 'children's budget statement' was initiated by former finance minister P Chidambaram last fiscal, and this year's statement shows a few glaring omissions of schemes probably due to departmental tardiness and is therefore smaller than HAQ estimate.



Reduced allocation across sectors Despite unveiling India's biggest budget in history that ostensibly aims at making life easier for the 'aam aadmi', the government has forgotten about its children who constitute 44 per cent of its people. As one can see from table 2, across sectors, the share of children's schemes has declined, except for a small rise in health. Must children continue to be treated as secondary citizens?

## EDUCATION

The share of education has declined from 3.84 per cent last fiscal to 3.03 per cent, although Rs 3084.98 crore has been allocated just for the new schemes.

This is because a few schemes have been wound up or merged with other schemes. For instance, the New Model School which had an allocation of Rs 650 crore in 2008-09, has no allocation while there is an allocation of Rs 350 crore under the new head of Setting up of 6000 Model Schools at Block Level as Benchmark of Excellence. Even the Scheme for Universal Access and Quality Education at Secondary Stage (SUCCESS) has no allocation this year against Rs 2185 crore in 2008-09.

Similarly, the centrally sponsored scheme of Integrated Education for Disabled Children (IEDC) was launched in 1974 to provide educational opportunities to disabled children in common schools is revised to Inclusive Education for disabled at Secondary Schools (IEDSS) at the secondary stage.

The IEDC allocation of Rs. 70 crore last fiscal has been shifted to IEDSS in 2009-10. Does it mean that there are no disabled children left to be integrated at the elementary stage?

There's finally an allocation for the Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan scheme that was conceptualized in 2007 and approved only in January 2009.

But there has been no change in the outlay for the showcase schemes of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (for 6-14 age group) and Midday Meal Programme from last year. The government seems to be treating the 15-16 age group as a separate entity from the 6-14 age group, not pausing to think that there's no secondary education without consistent and quality elementary education that doesn't force children to drop out of school!

In fact, the budget's single-minded focus on higher and vocational education schemes, in a year that is expected to enact the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, makes it abundantly clear that our politicians want to build em-

ployable citizens for the 12 million jobs it is promising, not ensure that they get real education in schools. With so little interest amongst politicians in actually getting India's children educated, one can safely assume that the RMSA will end up being run like the SSA.

## Health

The only sector where the BfC share has gone up from 2008-09 is health. This is mainly because of the 16.16 per cent rise in the allocation for the National Rural Health Mission, including a 25.7 per cent increase in the allocation for the Reproductive and Child Health Programme (HAQ does not take into account the entire NRHM for child budget analysis). Yet, as the government's own Economic Survey 2008-09 admits, though there has been improvement in the quality of health care over the years much more needs to be done.

## DEVELOPMENT

The flagship scheme in this sector, the controversial but essential Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) has received a meagre 8.28 per cent raise in allocation to Rs. 6026.30 crore. Nutritional development of little children is clearly not a priority anymore for the government because the goalpost of universalization of ICDS has also been moved to 2012, as against the deadline of December 2008 prescribed by the Supreme Court and the original deadline of 2009 in the National Common Minimum Programme 2004. No wonder then that the share of the development sector allocation in the Union Budget has actually fallen from 0.87 per cent in 2008-09 to 0.69 per cent.

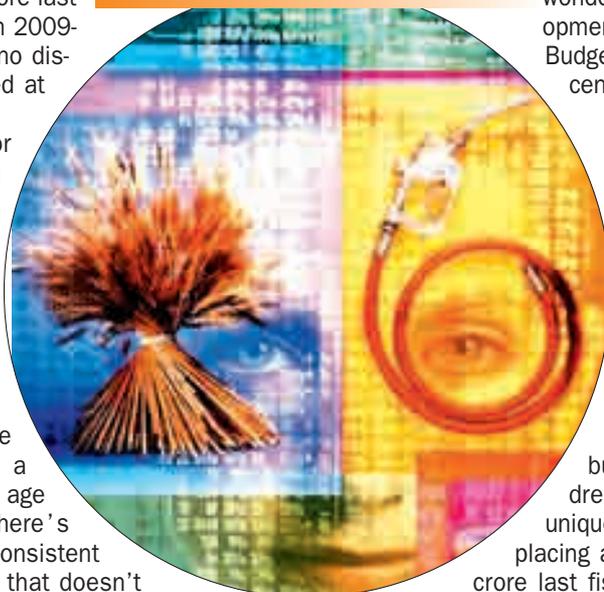
## PROTECTION

In March, when the long-awaited Integrated Child Protection Scheme was approved, thanks to pressure from children's rights groups such as HAQ, but the disappointing outlay for the scheme in its very first year of operation raises questions about the government's intention of implementing it. ICPS, a holistic scheme to build a protective environment for children nationwide, was to work as a unique umbrella scheme for protection replacing all running schemes. It got Rs 200 crore last fiscal, including Rs 20 crore for the North-east, but now it's down to Rs 60 crore including

Rs 6 crore for NE. The government also seems to have given up on rehabilitating child labour with the allocation for Improvement in Working Conditions of Child/Women Labour scheme down by over 42 per cent to Rs 90 crore in 2009-10. As a result,



"The book is not dogmatic at all. But why should we be full of prejudices. Maybe, the Congress was as responsible for the partition as the Muslim League. But why should the BJP bother about it. In fact, Sardar Patel was closely associated with Nehru in the decision to break India in April 1947. By June, it was all over."



Massive rise in expenditure this fiscal, up 36 per cent in just one year from the budget estimates in 2008 -09 is directed mainly at an economic stimulus package for agriculture and infrastructure and a 25 per cent hike in defence outlay. Among these, the only two measures that somewhat benefit children are: the promised National Food Security Act to give 25 kg of rice or wheat per month at Rs 3 per kg, and the Rs 350 crore allocation for the health insurance scheme launched last year, both aimed at the poorest families.

protection has the least and minimal share of budget resources; out of every Rs 1000 spent in the Union budget, protection gets just 2 paise. Food security still a promise

The massive rise in expenditure this fiscal, up 36 per cent in just one year from the budget estimates in 2008 -09 is directed mainly at an economic stimulus package for agriculture and infrastructure and a 25 per cent hike in defence outlay. Among these, the only two measures that somewhat benefit children are: the promised National Food Security Act to give 25 kg of rice or wheat per month at Rs 3 per kg, and the Rs 350 crore allocation for the health insurance scheme launched last year, both aimed at the poorest families. More than 46 lakh below poverty line families in 18 states and Union territories have been issued biometric smart cards for the scheme, the finance minister said in his speech. But, since the cheap grain is a promise, the huge expenditure for it is not part of the budget and, we can safely assume, will add to the debt burden later in the year when this promise is actualized. Also, there's no guarantee that cheap grain-type schemes actually benefit families, including children. Evidence, in the form of research studies, sample surveys and monitoring exercises, suggest to the contrary. As the Economic Survey 2008 -09 admits, "the reach of public goods and quasi public goods and services supplied by the state to people still leave a lot of scope for improvement. There are still leakages in the schemes and the benefits do not reach the intended target group of people." HAQ's many budget analyses have found that allocations for such schemes suffer from large-scale underspending at the ground level because of poor project planning, lack of interest of the state and misuse of funds.

#### A GENERATIONAL BURDEN

Even as the government has decided to spend more to work its way out of the slowdown, its plan can have undesirable side effects. A lot of this money will come from borrowing as tax income growth will be slow. Thus interest payments are slated to shoot up by 31.85 per cent in two years, to Rs 225511 crore in budget 2009 -10 compared to the actual estimate of 2007 -08. It could be higher, because the fiscal deficit, the new borrowing expected to be made in the current fiscal by the government to meet the massive expenditure programme, has been estimated at a record 6.8 per cent of the gross domestic product, the highest since liberalization began in 1991! As a percentage of the GDP, thus, the fiscal deficit has gone up by one and a half times over the actual estimate of 2.7 per cent in 2007-08. In numerical terms though, the deficit has more than doubled in the same time to Rs 400996 crore. The slower rise in the deficit in terms of the GDP is because growth has shrunk in the last year due to the global financial crisis, dipping to 6.7 per cent in 2008-09 compared to the previous five-year average of 9 per cent. Economists describe a high debt and fiscal deficit as "a generational burden" as India's children will have to pay off the cumulative interest burden in the future and bear the resultant pressure on prices and loan rates.



WHO WILL VOICE THEIR CONCERN?



TRIUMPHANT, AT LAST !: LANKAN TROOPS AFTER CAPTURE ANOTHER LTTE BASTION

# How India helped Lanka destroy LTTE silently



**Nitin Anant Gokhale**, NDTV's Defence and Strategic Affairs Editor, in his latest book *Sri Lanka: From War to Peace* is based on his reportage of the 33-month civil war in Sri Lanka. Gokhale chronicles the details of an unprecedented military campaign by the Sri Lankan armed forces and analysis the reason for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's decline. In this exclusive excerpt, he details how the Indian government, bound by domestic political compulsions, covertly helped the Sri Lankan army and navy to scour out and destroy the LTTE...

**B**y the end of November 2008, the script was no longer in LTTE chief Vellupillai Prabhakaran's hands. It was being written by the Sri Lankan forces tacitly supported by India and openly assisted by China and Pakistan.

Since December 2005, when Mahinda Rajapaksa made his first visit to New Delhi less than a month after he took over as Sri Lanka's president, India was aware of his intention to take the LTTE head on.

Although in the initial days he was advised to seek a negotiated settlement with the Tigers, New Delhi saw merit in Rajapaksa's argument that the LTTE was only biding its time to regroup and rearm itself and that war was inevitable sooner than later.

And if the LTTE was preparing for a showdown, Rajapaksa did not want to be caught off guard either. His armed forces needed to be ready for any eventuality.

The president therefore sent his brothers Basil and Gotabaya to New Delhi with a shopping list for essential weapons and equipment that the Sri Lankan armed forces needed. The shopping list included air defence weapons, artillery guns, Nishant unmanned aerial vehicles and laser designators for precision-guided munitions.

Initially, New Delhi was non-committal.

Top officials involved in the talks on either side told me that in its typical bureaucratic style, New Delhi neither said yes nor said no to the visiting Sri Lankans. So the two brothers went back slightly disappointed but were still hopeful of getting Indian help. Outwardly, India did adopt a hands-off policy vis-a-vis the Sri Lanka conflict. But that was because of domestic political compulsions born out of the fact that the ruling United Progressive Alliance government in New Delhi was dependent upon the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam party from Tamil Nadu for its survival in Parliament. Aware of DMK chief M Karunanidhi's soft corner for Prabhakaran, the UPA did not think it politically prudent to annoy the DMK patriarch by openly supporting the Sri Lankan government against the LTTE.

So, publicly India maintained that it would not give Sri Lanka any offensive weapons.

Yet, in early 2006, India quietly gifted five Mi-17 helicopters to the Sri Lankan air force. The only Indian condition was: These helicopters would fly under Sri Lankan air force colours. New Delhi clearly did not want to annoy UPA's Tamil Nadu allies like the DMK unnecessarily.

The Mi-17s were in addition to a Sukanya Class offshore patrol vessel gifted by the Indian Coast Guard to the Sri Lankan navy in 2002.

Sri Lankan defence sources later told me that these helicopters played a major role in several daring missions launched by the Sri Lankan air force to rescue the army's Deep Penetration Units and the eight-man teams, whenever they were surrounded by LTTE's counter-infiltration units, or when injured soldiers had to be airlifted from deep inside LTTE held territory.

As a senior Sri Lankan army officer confided in me, "Our soldiers operating behind enemy lines functioned with greater degree of confidence and efficiency in Eelam War IV since they knew these helicopters were always on hand to come to their rescue whenever necessary. This was surely one of the key factors in our Special Forces delivering spectacular results."



**WELL-GROUNDED SUPPORT!:** A LITTLE LTTE SUPPORTER

But hampered by domestic compulsion, New Delhi could not go beyond such meagre and clandestine transfer of military hardware. And publicly all that India was willing to acknowledge was the supply of low-flying detection 'Indra' radars to the Sri Lankan air force since this equipment was considered a defensive apparatus.

Colombo, on the other hand, was becoming increasingly restless since an all-out war with the LTTE looked inevitable. Domestic political pressure had also stalled the signing of a Defence Cooperation Agreement between India and Sri Lanka. Although both sides had publicly committed themselves to such an accord in 2004 itself, the DCA never materialised.

Insiders in Sri Lanka's defence establishment reveal that India's insistence on securing exclusive rights to the use of Palaly air base in the Jaffna peninsula was the most contentious point between the two delegations.

Colombo saw this demand from India as downright insulting and symptomatic of India's hegemonistic mindset. So the DCA never got off the ground. Ironically, three months after the Eelam War IV ended, India decided to fund the repair and restoration of the Palaly air base in north Sri Lanka.

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The Rajapaksa regime was nothing if not shrewd. It knew the past history. It was aware of the dynamics that determined India's domestic politics in the context of Tamil Nadu. It was also conscious of India's anxiety in losing strategic space in Sri Lanka.

But above all, the Rajapaksa brothers were pragmatic enough to realise that Sri Lanka needed India's support in the prosecution of the war against the LTTE, total support from China and Pakistan notwithstanding, simply because India was Sri Lanka's next door big neighbour. Colombo could ignore India but only up to a point.

Rajapaksa nominated both his brothers Basil (a member of parliament and presidential adviser) and Gotabaya, the defence secretary, along with his own secretary, Lalith Weeratunga, as members of an informal yet powerful delegation that would update the Indian government on the latest developments as frequently as possible.

So Mahinda Rajapaksa hit upon an idea of setting up an informal exchange mechanism between New Delhi and Colombo. The president nominated both his brothers Basil (a member of parliament and presidential adviser) and Gotabaya, the defence secretary, along with his own secretary, Lalith Weeratunga, as members of an informal yet powerful delegation that would update the Indian government on the latest developments as frequently as possible.

India too reciprocated immediately.

India's National Security Adviser M K Narayanan, Foreign Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon and Defence Secretary Vijay Singh formed the Indian trio. The two teams interacted frequently both on the phone and by visiting each other. The Sri Lankan trio in fact visited New Delhi at least five times between 2007 and 2009. The Indian delegation made three return visits in the same period.

Most of the interactions were low-profile and discreet except the Indian team's June 2008 trip to Colombo that attracted huge attention mainly because of its tim-



**SALUTE MOTHERLAND:** RAJAPAKSHA AFTER TIGERS' FALL

ing. That time Sri Lanka's military operation was pushing the LTTE out of its north-western coastal areas in the Mannar district.

And two months later, Sri Lanka was supposed to host the 15th summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

When Narayanan, Menon and Singh arrived in the Sri Lankan capital in a special Indian Air Force plane, almost unannounced, military analysts, both in India and Sri Lanka, were speculating a massive retaliatory strike by the LTTE.

Indian intelligence agencies apparently had credible information that such a counter attack could be aimed at the 15th SAARC summit that Colombo was hosting on August 2 and 3.

The Indian officials wanted to ensure foolproof security for the summit. New Delhi in fact persuaded the Sri Lankans to accept India's help during the summit. After much persuasion and even a veiled threat that India may stay away from the summit if New Delhi's suggestions on a security upgrade in Colombo was not met, Sri Lanka reluctantly allowed Indian naval



**MARCH ON:** LANKAN TROOPS DURING A MARCHPAST

ships, anti-aircraft guns and helicopters to be deployed in and around Colombo for the duration of the meet.

I happened to be in Colombo as part of the media delegation that traveled with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. I had never seen such tight security in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan capital was indeed locked down in a tight security grid for the duration of the summit.

The Indian prime minister and all top Indian officials were transported in Indian Air Force helicopters from the Bandarnaike International Airport to the heart of Colombo. All roads used by the VIPs were shut hours before they traveled on them. In fact, I remember friends in Colombo having left town to avoid being inconvenienced by the stifling security arrangements.

The SAARC summit did pass off peacefully although, as usual, its focus was hijacked by the hyped meeting between the Indian and Pakistani prime ministers.

But security at the SAARC summit was not the only point of discussion that India was interested in. The top Indian officials, according to sources in Colombo, also wanted detailed briefing on the on-going operations in the north. This was readily done at the ministry of defence by both the commander of the army, General Fonseka and commander of the navy, Vice Admiral Karannagoda.

The Indian delegation, I was told by an insider, once again raised the issue of increasing Chinese and Pakistani involvement in Sri Lanka's military campaign, but was quietly reminded that it was India's refusal to supply lethal weapons that had compelled Colombo to look elsewhere, primarily to China.

But the most important political message was delivered by the Indian delegation to President Rajapaksa. He was told to try and conclude Eelam War IV before the summer of 2009 when India was expected to hold the general election.

The ruling Congress party obviously did not want the shadow of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict to fall on the politics of Tamil Nadu and needlessly complicate matters during the election campaign. President Rajapaksa did not commit himself on the deadline, but promised to expedite the operations. The trio returned to New Delhi perhaps with a mixed feeling of achieving only part of its objective.

Colombo may have been ambivalent about meeting Indian requests to end the operations before the general election, but the Sri Lankan leadership once again

gratefully acknowledged the Indian Navy's contribution in locating and destroying at least 10 'floating warehouses' owned by the LTTE.

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These warehouses or ships of varying sizes were used by the LTTE to store arms, ammunition and even armoured personnel carriers. These ships, which had no names or identification numbers, used to remain on high seas for months on end. They were brought near Sri Lankan shores whenever the LTTE needed the arms. Smaller ships and craft were used to transport these arms to the Sea Tiger bases on the east and the west coast.

Indian and Sri Lankan navy sources revealed that well-coordinated operations by the two navies between 2006 and 2009 actually broke the backbone of the Sea Tigers. The Indian Navy, the Sri Lankans said, helped in various ways.

For instance, the Indian Navy's Dorniers based at Ramnad in Tamil Nadu flew regular reconnaissance missions over the seas around Sri Lanka. These Dornier aircraft, fitted with high-powered radar, scoured the area for ships with suspicious movement and cargo.

Whenever such a ship was detected, the Indian Navy passed on the information to the Sri Lankans. The real time intelligence helped the Sri Lankan navy track and then destroy LTTE arms consignments.

Once the rogue ships were located, Sri Lankan navy's Offshore Patrol Vessels (OPV) would go after these floating warehouses and destroy them. The Sri Lankan navy destroyed the first warehouse ship on September 17, 2006, about 120 nautical miles east of the island. Three more such ships were sunk in early 2007.

Moreover, under an agreement between the two countries, the Indian Navy and the Coast Guard frequently sent out ships to patrol the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar. The presence of warships and Indian Coast Guards's OPVs acted as a firm deterrence against the Sea Tigers.

Indian naval ships traveling between the east and the west coast and those going on overseas deployment were also told to look out for rogue vessels. Frequent exchange of information between the two navies resulted in a fine-tuned system that enabled quick remedial action.

Sri Lanka's navy chief Admiral Wasantha Karannagoda praised the Indian Navy's role. 'Cooperation with India has been extremely successful in countering the LTTE. Every year, the Indian Navy with the Indian Coast Guard and the Sri Lankan navy, holds four bilateral discussions. We are conducting coordinated patrols with the Indian Navy as well,' he said in early 2008.

'The navy has destroyed almost all



**FALLEN ICON:** LTTE CHIEF PRABHAKARAN

Moreover, under an agreement between the two countries, the Indian Navy and the Coast Guard frequently sent out ships to patrol the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar. The presence of warships and Indian Coast Guards's OPVs acted as a firm deterrence against the Sea Tigers.

LTTE vessels that could have assisted the Tigers in attacking the armed forces,' he said. 'Within one year, we have destroyed eight floating warehouses, which had carried more than 10,000 tonnes of war-like material including artillery, mortar, dismantled parts of three aircrafts, bullet proof vehicles, underwater delivery vehicles, scuba diving sets, and radar, among other things

In one instance, accurate intelligence enabled the Sri Lankan navy to sail nearly 1,600 nautical miles southeast of the country, close to coasts of Australia and Indonesia, to destroy three ships in September 2007 and a fourth ship, which

had escaped the initial action, three weeks later on October 7, Admiral Karannagoda said.

One of the LTTE weapons smuggling vessels was intercepted and destroyed by naval task units after a long pursuit in the high seas 1,700 km off Dondra Head, the southern extremity of Sri Lanka. At least 12 Tamil Tigers on board were killed in the attack.

'We went near Australian waters and whacked the last four vessels,' Vice-Admiral Karannagoda told Jane's Navy International in March 2009. 'Yet we are not a big navy; we had to improvise and use innovation and ingenuity to get our job done. The Sri Lankan navy does not possess any frigate-sized ships, so we used offshore patrol vessels and old tankers, merchant vessels and fishing trawlers as support vessels.'

What he left unsaid, according to sources in both Indian and Sri Lankan navies, was India's hidden hand in providing vital intelligence and operational support to identify and locate these ships.

In March 2009, the Sri Lankan naval chief deliberately avoided mentioning India's crucial contribution since electioneering in Tamil Nadu was picking up speed and Eelam War IV was in its final stage that month. Any public admission of India's hand in destruction of LTTE assets would have created a furor in Tamil Nadu and further strained the already delicate relationship between Sri Lanka and India.

But the fact remains that in late 2007, the Indian Navy's Southern Command deployed three fast attack boats and a missile corvette that patrolled the Palk Straits, searched and caught hold of LTTE fugitives.

The 'sea denial' and 'naval blockade' by the Indian Navy started after a daring attack by the Sea Tigers on the Delft Island near Jaffna.

Delft Island, the largest inhabited island of the Jaffna peninsula, is located almost equidistant from Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu and Jaffna. The Sri Lankan navy used the island to monitor sea and air movements not only towards Jaffna but also between Mannar and Tamil Nadu coast.

In May 2007, the Sea Tigers mounted a daring attack on the naval attachment posted at Delft Island and after killing seven naval personnel, took away two anti aircraft machine guns, two machine guns, one RPG launcher and eight rifles.

Some reports said the Sea Tigers also took away functioning radar from the island. Jolted by this setback, the Sri Lankan navy requested India for operational help. The assistance was immediately given, but both sides had decided to keep quiet about the details.

Despite such a close working relations between the two navies, India was not happy with Colombo's increasing dalliance with China and Pakistan. New Delhi was acutely aware of the deep inroads made by Pakistan and China in India's backyard.

A worried Narayanan had bluntly declared in May 2007: 'It is high time that Sri Lanka understood that India is the big power in the region and ought to refrain from going to Pakistan or China for weapons, as we are prepared to accommodate them within the framework of our foreign policy.' Which in effect meant India could only supply 'defensive' equipment to Colombo.

Narayanan's statement in fact reflected the dilemma that New Delhi faced. The crisis was, of course, purely India's own making. Crippled by the iron grip wielded by the DMK and other smaller Tamil parties on the UPA coalition at the Centre, New Delhi could not even openly approve of Colombo's determination to exterminate the LTTE.

Colombo understood India's predicament but had no other option but to shop for weapons and ammunition from elsewhere once India refused to comply with its requests. Army Commander Sarath Fonseka admitted as much in an interview to me, "It is only after India told us that it cannot supply offensive weapons that we looked at other options. We first tried western countries but their weapons are expensive. Also, the Western countries cannot be depended upon to continue the supplies when it came to the crunch as it happened with us in the middle of the war, when certain countries blocked supply of spare parts for our airplanes and helicopters. So we turned to China which offered us arms immediately and on favourable terms. They gave us five-year long credit line. We bought armoured personnel carriers, artillery pieces, basic infantry



weapons and some ammunition from them. As for Pakistan, we only bought some emergency ammunition from them."

Even Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa had a similar story to relate.

Little wonder then that Beijing and Islamabad took full advantage of India's quandary.

By February 2007, Gotabaya Rajapaksa had concluded several defence purchase agreements with China.

One of the earliest agreements in Eelam War IV was a \$37.6 million deal with China's Poly Technologies in April 2006 to supply its defence forces with ammunition and ordnance for the army and navy.

Another company, China National Electronics Import Export Corp supplied a JY 11 3D radar for \$5 million.

According to the UK-based Jane's Defence Weekly the Sri Lankan navy's requirement, valued at \$2.7 million, includes a range of ammunition including 100,000 14.5 mm cartridges, 2,000 RPG-7 rockets and 500 81 mm airburst mortar shells was met by the Chinese.

According to the authoritative Defence Weekly, other arms included 50 Type 82 14.5 mm twin-barrel naval guns, 200 Type 85 12.7 mm heavy machine guns,

200 Type 80 7.62 mm multipurpose machine guns, 1,000 Type 56-2 7.62 mm submachine guns and 1,000 Type 56 7.62 mm submachine guns.

China was not alone in supplying arms to Sri Lanka.

A high-level defence delegation from Islamabad visited Sri Lanka in January 2008 to sell weapons to Colombo.

Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) chief Lieutenant General Syed Sabahat Hussein held detailed discussions with Sri Lanka's security officials, including the defence secretary. The delegation included senior POF officials, Export Director Usman Ali Bhatti and General Manager Abbas Ali.

POF is Pakistan's largest conventional arms and ordnance facility and its 14 factories and four subsidiaries produce several varieties of armaments for export. These include infantry weapons, tank and aircraft ammunition, anti-aircraft and artillery ammunition, rockets, aerial bombs, hand grenades and mortars.

Getting China's and Pakistan's backing was important for the Rajapaksa government but it also needed to get its own act together at home and secure Indian tacit blessings. So the government and especially Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa got down to the task of reorienting the Sri Lankan air force and the Sri Lankan navy, always considered the weakest link in previous military.

The mission was concluded with clinical photo finish.

*(Excerpted from Sri Lanka: from War to Peace, by Nitin Gokhale: Courtesy HarAnand Publishers)*



**A COMMON HERO:** LECH WALESA IN THIS ICONIC SHOT FROM 1980s...

# Leader extraordinaire

Poland's Lech Walesa is a role model for the present political class

Shivandra Singh  
(From Poland)

**A** role model for the entire political class of the world, Lech Walesa was born in Popowo, Poland, on 29 September 1943, to a carpenter and his wife. He attended primary and vocational school, before entering Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk (Stocznia Gdanska im. Lenina, now Stocznia Gdanska) as an electrical technician in 1970. In 1969 he married Danuta Golos, and the couple now have eight children. His son Jaroslaw Walesa is a member of Poland's Sejm (lower house of the Polish parliament). Lech Walesa is a devout

Roman Catholic, and has said that his faith always helped him during Solidarity's difficult moments.

He was a member of the illegal strike committee in Gdansk Shipyard in 1970. In 1976, Walesa lost his job in Gdansk Shipyard.

In June 1978 he joined the illegal underground Free Trade Unions of the Coast (Wolne Związki Zawodowe Wybrzeża), organized by Bogdan Borusewicz, Andrzej Gwiazda, Krzysztof Wyszowski, Lech Kaczynski, Anna Walentynowicz, Antoni Sokolowski, and others.

On 14 August 1980, after the beginning of an occupational strike in the Lenin Shipyard of Gdansk, Walesa became the

leader of this strike. The strike was spontaneously followed by similar strikes, first in Gdansk, and then across Poland.

In September of that year, the Communist government signed an agreement with the Strike Coordination Committee to allow legal organization, but not actual free trade unions. The Strike Coordination Committee legalized itself into National Coordination Committee of Solidarnosc (Solidarity) Free Trade Union, and Walesa was chosen as a chairman of this Committee.

Walesa kept this position until 13 December 1981, when he was arrested. General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared a state of martial law on 13 December.



...AND NOW AS A NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING CELEBRITY SPEAKER

Wałęsa was incarcerated for 11 months in eastern Poland in several villages (Chylce, Otwock and Arłamów near the Soviet border) until 14 November 1982.

In 1983, he applied to come back to Gdansk Shipyard as a simple electrician. The year 1983 also saw Wałęsa being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was unable to receive the prize himself, fearing that the government would not let him back in. His wife, Danuta Wałęsa, received the prize in his place.

From 1987 to 1990 Wałęsa organized and led, the "half-illegal" Temporary Executive Committee of Solidarity Trade Union. In 1988 Wałęsa organized an occupational strike in Gdansk Shipyard, demanding only the re-legalisation of the Solidarity Trade Union. After eighty days the government agreed to enter into talks in September. Wałęsa was an informal leader of the "non-governmental" side during the talks. During the talks the government signed an agreement to re-establish the Solidarity Trade Union and to

While technically just a Chairman of Solidarity Trade Union at the time, Wałęsa played a key role in Polish politics. At the end of 1989, he persuaded leaders from formerly Communist ally parties to form a non-communist coalition government, which was the first non-Communist government in the Soviet Bloc's sphere of influence.

organize "half-free" elections to the Polish parliament.

In 1989, Wałęsa organized and led the Citizenship Committee of the Chairman of Solidarity Trade Union. Formally, it was just an advisory body, but, practically, it was a kind of a political party, which won parliament elections in 1989 (the

Opposition took all seats in the Sejm that were subject of free elections and all but one seats in the newly re-established senate; according to the Round Table agreements only members of the Communist Party and its allies could stand for the remaining 64% of seats in the Sejm).

While technically just a Chairman of Solidarity Trade Union at the time, Wałęsa played a key role in Polish politics. At the end of 1989, he persuaded leaders from formerly Communist ally parties to form a non-communist coalition government, which was the first non-Communist government in the Soviet Bloc's sphere of influence. After that agreement the parliament chose Tadeusz Mazowiecki for prime minister of Poland. Poland, while still a Communist country in theory, started to change its economy to a market-based system.

He is the only private foreign citizen to address a joint session of the United States Congress, which he did on 15 November 1989. He was also the first recipient of the Liberty Medal on



**A FAMILY MAN:** WITH HIS DAUGHTER

4 July 1989 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In his acceptance speech, he said, "Liberty is not only a right, but also our common responsibility and duty."

Documents coming to light as of June 2008 allege that Wałęsa had been a collaborator of the Communist secret police under the pseudonym "Bolek", well prior to the formation of Solidarity. Wałęsa himself denies any collaboration and there is no substantiation of these rumors. On 11 August 2000, the Appellate Court of Warsaw, V Wydział Lustracyjny, declared that Wałęsa's Lustration Statement is true, meaning he did not collaborate with the Communist regime.

On 9 December 1990, Wałęsa won the presidential election to become president of Poland for the next five years. During his presidency, he started a so-called "war at the top" which practically meant changing the government annually. His style of presidency was strongly criticized by most of the political parties, and he lost most of the initial public support by the end of 1995. After downfall of the Jan Olszewski cabinet on June 1992, and following the unveiling of a list of secret collaborators by Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz, Lech Wałęsa was allegedly linked with illegal prosecution and disintegration of Polish conservative and independent rightist parties

Wałęsa lost the 1995 presidential election, collecting 48.72% of the votes in the run-off election against Aleksander Kwasniewski. This was by less than 3.5%, a margin which many people[citation needed] considered would have been comfortably overturned if the revelation had come earlier that his opponent had falsely claimed to have a university degree - and used Wałęsa's lack of higher edu-

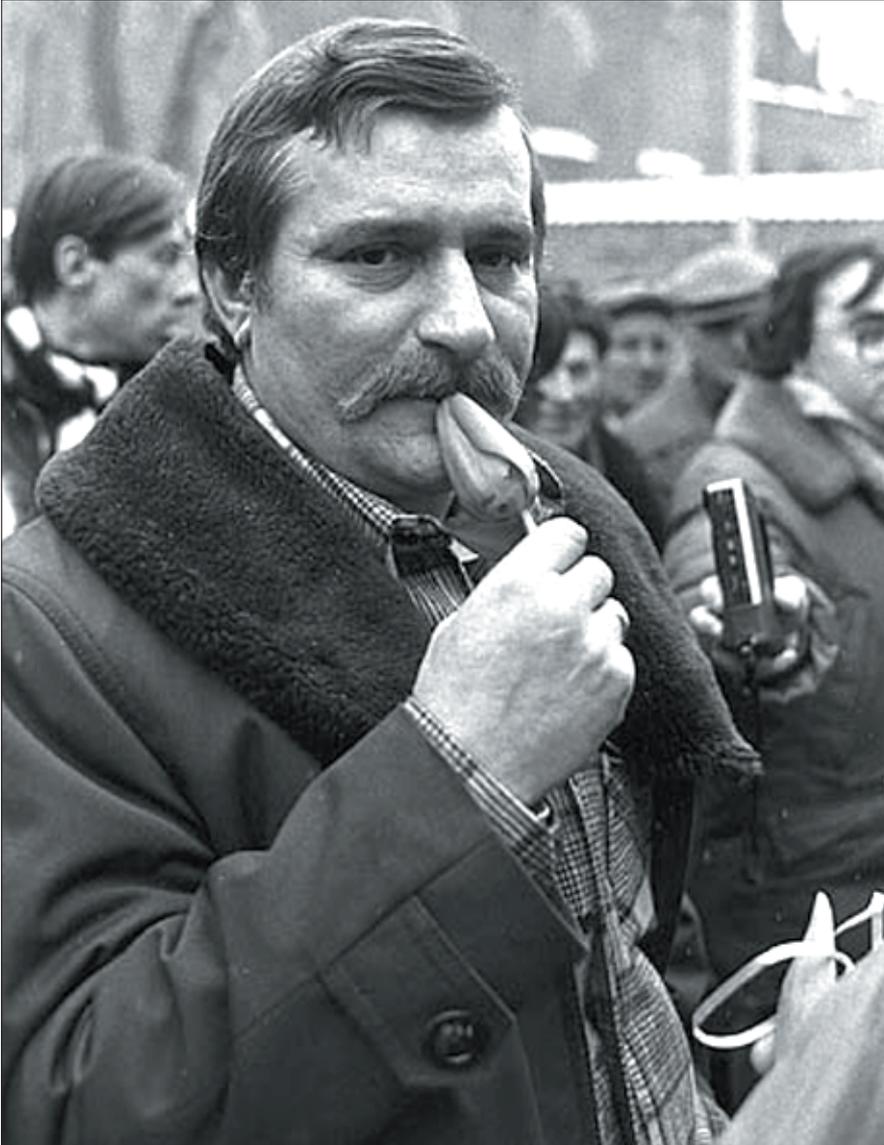
cation as a political weapon. Calls for a new election were dismissed.

In the early 1990s, Wałęsa had proposed a "NATO-bis" as a subregional security framework. The concept, though supported by Polish right-wing as well as populist movements, and by politicians such as Leszek Moczulski, gained little support abroad, as Poland's neighbors, some of whom had only recently regained independence, tended to perceive the concept as imperialistic.

After that, he claimed to go to "political retirement", but he was still active, trying to establish his own political party. In 1997 Wałęsa supported and helped to organize a new party called Solidarity Electoral Action (Akcja Wyborcza Solidarnosc) which won the 1997 parliamentary elections. However, his support was of minor significance and Wałęsa



**MULTI-FACETED:** WALESA THE PADDLER



LEADING FROM FRONT...DURING A PROTEST RALLY

held a very low position in this party. The real leader of the party and its main organizer was a new Solidarity Trade Union leader, Marian Krzaklewski.

Wałęsa again stood for the presidential election in 2000, but he received only 1% of votes. Many Polish people were dissatisfied with the fact that once again he wanted to regain his political power. After that, Wałęsa again claimed his political retirement. From that time on, he has been lecturing on the history and politics of Central Europe at various foreign universities. Although not politically engaged anymore, Wałęsa is still publicly addressed as "President".

On 10 May 2004, the Gdansk international airport was officially renamed Gdansk Lech Wałęsa Airport to commemorate the famous Gdansk citizen. His signature was incorporated into the airport's logo. A month later, Wałęsa went to the U.S. representing Poland at the state funeral of Ronald Reagan. On 25 April 2007

During Poland's 2005 presidential elections, Wałęsa supported Donald Tusk, saying that he was the best of all the candidates. Simultaneously, he expressed support for Poland's newly-formed Democratic Party in the parliamentary elections of the same year.

Wałęsa represented the Polish government at the funeral of Boris Yeltsin, former President of the Russian Federation.

In 2001 Wałęsa was awarded the Pacem in Terris Award. It was named after a 1963 encyclical letter by Pope John XXI-

II that calls upon all people of good will to secure peace among all nations. "Pacem in Terris" is Latin for 'Peace on Earth.'

In 2002, Wałęsa represented Europe in carrying the Olympic flag at the opening ceremonies of the XIX Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City, joining Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Africa), John Glenn (The Americas), Kazuyoshi Funaki (Asia), Cathy Freeman (Oceania), Jean-Michel Cousteau (Environment), Jean-Claude Killy (Sport), and Steven Spielberg (Culture).

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In 2006, Wałęsa quit Solidarity. In an Associated Press report, he cited differences with the party's support of the Law and Justice party, and the rise to power of Lech and Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

On 11 October 2006 Wałęsa was the keynote speaker at the launch of the "International Human Solidarity Day" proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2005 at the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The Day, to be observed on 20 December, aims to raise awareness of the importance of solidarity for advancing the international development agenda, especially for poverty eradication. In the Millennium Declaration, Heads of State and Government identified solidarity as one of the "fundamental values... essential to international relations". Mr. Wałęsa received a long applause from the audience after delivering an emotional speech on the impact of the day in human relationships and how his own movement "Solidarnosc" succeeded in getting support from people from various countries.

In January 2007, Wałęsa spoke at the event "Towards a Global Forum on New Democracies" in Taiwan in support of democracy and peace along with other prominent world leaders and President Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan.

On 30 May 2007, Wałęsa received the title Defender of the Faith, Defensor Fidei, from the Italian Cultural Association.

On 27 February 2008 in Methodist DeBaKey Heart and Vascular Center, Houston, Wałęsa had a stent placed in his heart to open a partially blocked artery and had a pacemaker implanted.

Wałęsa appeared at a rally in Rome to make a speech and endorse the pan-European eurosceptic party Libertas in the run up to the 2009 European elections, describing the party and its founder Declan Ganley as "a force for good in the

# Honours and awards

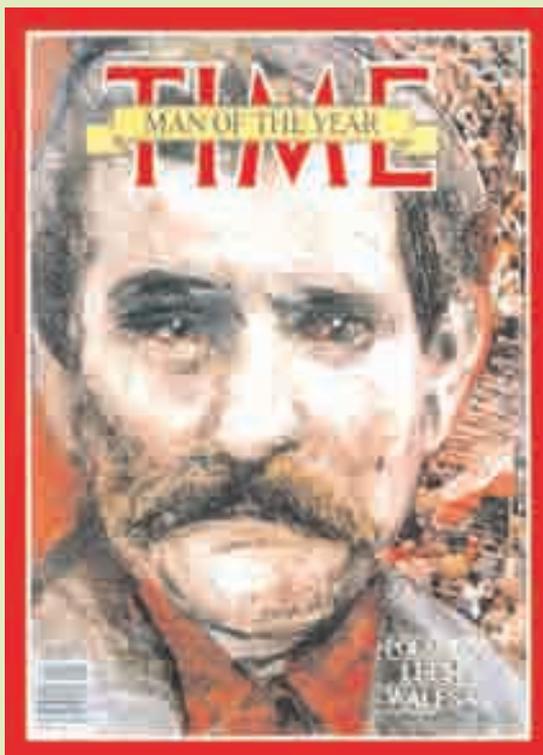
Apart from his Nobel Prize (1983), Walesa received several other international prizes. He has been awarded 33 honorary degrees from several United States and European Universities. Named "Man of the Year" by: Time Magazine, 1981; The Financial Times, 1980; The Observer, 1980, 2009; Legion of Liberty (IPEA).

- Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1989
- Liberty Medal, 1989
- Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, 1991
- Grand Cross of Legion of Honour, 1991
- Grand Order of Merit, Italy, 1991
- Cavaliere di Gran Croce decorato di Gran Cordone, Italy 1991
- Honorary Citizen of London, 1991
- Grand Sash of Order of Leopold, 1991
- Order of H.H. Pius XII
- Order of Merit of Federal Republic of Germany
- Order al Merito of Republic of Chile
- National Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil
- Grand Cross of the Order of the Cross of Terra Mariana of Estonia
- Medal of Independence of the Republic of Turkey
- Military Order of St. James with Swords, Portugal
- Order of Henry of Portugal
- Order of Korea
- Order of the Netherlands Lion of Holland
- Medal of Republic of Uruguay
- Medal UNESCO
- Commander Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose, Finland, 1993
- Knight of the Swedish Order of the Seraphim, 1993
- Knight of the Danish Order of the Elephant, 1993
- Grand Cross of Order of Merit, Republic Hungary, 1994
- Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav, 1995
- Grand Cross Knight of the Order of Polonia Restituta, 1992 (ex officio)
- Knight of Order of White Eagle, Poland, 1992 (ex officio)
- Freedom Medal of National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, 1999
- International Freedom Award, Memphis, 1999
- Grand Cross of the Order of the White Lion, Czech Republic, 1999

- Pacem in Terris Award (2001)
- One of A Different View's 15 Champions of World Democracy, 2008
- Legion Of Liberty (2009)

## Honorary doctorates

Lech Walesa holds 35 honorary doctorates from universities across the world including these:



WALESA AS TIME MAN OF THE YEAR

- Alliance College, Pennsylvania - 1981
- Columbia University - 1981
- Catholic University, Louvain - 1981
- MacMurray College, Illinois - 1982
- University of Notre Dame - 1982
- Providence College - 1981
- St. Senis University, Paris - 1982
- Seton Hall University - 1982
- L'Université de Paris - 1983
- Harvard University - 1983
- Fordham University - 1984
- University of Dundee, Scotland - 1984
- McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada - 1989
- Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada - 1989
- Gdansk University - 1990
- Copernicus University, Torun, Poland - 1990
- Connecticut State University - 1996
- Universidad Anahuac del Sur, Mexico City - 1996
- Universidad del San Salvador,

- Buenos Aires - 1997
- Universidad de Mendoza, Mendoza - 1997
- Korea University (hon. prof.) Seol - 1997
- Meiji University, Tokyo - 1997
- Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri - 1998
- Lynn University, Miami - 1998
- Gannon University, Erie, Pennsylvania - 1999
- University of Hawaii, Manoa/Honolulu - 1999
- Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon
- Middlebury College, Vermont - 2000
- University of Oregon, Eugene - 2001
- Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, Santiago de los Caballeros, Dominican Republic - 2001
- Saint Ambrose University, Davenport, Iowa - 2001
- Ramapo College of New Jersey, Mahwah, NJ - 2001
- University of North Carolina at Charlotte, NC - 2002.

world". Walesa admitted to being paid to give the speech but claimed to support the Civic Platform, whilst expressing a hope that Libertas members were elected to the European Parliament.

Walesa is a staunch critic of abortion,

and stated that he would rather have resigned twenty times as president than sign a law allowing abortion in his country.

Walesa continues to appear in the media, being often asked to comment on current events. Of late, he also declared he

is interested in information technology, and likes to use new developments in that field. He claimed to have put together a few computers on his own to find out how they work, and declared he takes a smartphone, a palmtop and a laptop with him



**MUCH FETED..**WALESA WITH SUPPORTERS

when travelling . At the beginning of 2006, he revealed that he is a registered user of the Polish instant messaging service Gadu-Gadu, and was granted a special user number by the service provider - 1980. His previous number was 5606334, and was made public on the website of the Lech Walesa Institute. Later that year, he also declared he uses Skype, where his handle is lwpresident2006. Beside online media, Walesa plays himself in Andrzej Wajda's 1981 fictional film about Solidarity, *Man of Iron* and footage of him appears in Michael Jackson's music video "Man In The Mirror". In the late 1990s he was offered \$1,000,000 to shave off his trademark moustache in a Gillette commercial, but he refused. A couple of years later though, to a big public surprise, Walesa did shave off his moustache for a brief period 'just for fun'.

Since the fall of communism in 1989

several former colleagues and political opponents of Walesa (including Anna Walentynowicz, Andrzej Gwiazda and current president of Poland Lech Kaczyński) accused him of being a secret informer of the Polish communist secret police - *Służba Bezpieczeństwa* in the early 1970s under the codename "Bolek". This claim, along with testimonies and corresponding documents were featured in documentary films *Nocna zmiana* and *Plusy dodatnie, plusy ujemne*. Three books covering the issue were published: *Sprawa Lecha Walesy* (2008), *Lech Walesa. Idea i historia* (2009) and *SB a Lech Walesa. Przyczynek do biografii* (2008).

The last of the three, written by historians from the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), Sławomir Cenckiewicz and Piotr Gontarczyk, received substantial coverage in the media and provoked a hot nationwide debate. It includes documents as well as witness

testimonies and focuses on the history of the documents which disappeared from Walesa's archived UB files in the early 90's, when Walesa twice had access to them during his presidency. According to the authors, after Walesa returned the file, some documents were missing. Walesa confirmed seeing the documents but denied having taken them.

The book is seen as highly controversial. Some historians criticized it on the basis that the evidence provided is unclear. Others accused it of defaming a hero's reputation.

Infuriated by the resurgence of the accusations in March 2009, Walesa announced that he would not take part in ceremonies commemorating the 20th anniversary of the fall of Communism, and if accusations continue, he would first return all his decorations, then leave Poland altogether.

# Bhaisaabs, fight your battles elsewhere



**BIG BRO SYNDROME:** MUKESH AMBANI

Whenever people tell me that India has changed after the liberalisation of the 1990s, that business is now independent of government and that India's industrialists now get on with the job quietly, I always say, "Well, up to a point." Older readers may remember a business-politics battle that dominated the second half of the 1980s.

Dhirubhai Ambani was emerging as one of India's top industrialists. While many people reckoned that he'd bent the rules and paid off politicians to get there, only one industrialist really took him on.

That was Nusli Wadia of Bombay Dyeing. Because Wadia had close links with politicians in all parties (he knew BJP leaders well, he had friends in the Congress, etc.

And in the media (he was something of a godson to Ramnath Goenka), he was able to put Dhirubhai on the defensive. The Ambanis retaliated with a counter-attack that rocked the foundations of India's government.

By forging letters, which Amitabh Bachchan delivered to his friend Rajiv Gandhi, they were able to convince the government that Wadia and finance minister V.P. Singh were really targeting Rajiv. The government went after Nusli Wadia in response.

Wadia joined up with V.P. Singh to defeat the government. Eventually, Rajiv Gandhi did lose the election, largely because of a coalition created by anti-Reliance forces and Nusli Wadia made it his mission to destroy Reliance.

You might think that 20 years later, everything has changed. And certainly, Nusli Wadia seems to have buried the hatchet with the Ambanis and gone on to find success in other fields (biscuits, property, etc.

But looking at the way the Ambani battle has raged over the last couple of months, I am beginning to wonder if India has really changed that much.

In this version of the story, Mukesh Ambani, with his Congress links, is playing the Dhirubhai Ambani role. Anil Ambani is playing the Nusli Wadia part.

Like Wadia, he has friends in the BJP (he thinks Narendra Modi should be Prime Minister), in UP politics (just as V.P. Singh backed Wadia so Mulayam Singh is backing Anil) and the Congress. Just as Wadia was consumed by his mission to destroy Dhirubhai, Anil seems consumed by a desire to destroy Mukesh.

Wadia was constantly launching salvos against Reliance just as Anil does these days. Wadia would attack Congress ministers for their closeness to Reliance; Anil is doing the same.

Wadia would hire such lawyers as Ram Jethmalani to fight Reliance in the courts; Anil has done the same thing. And the impact on India in the 21st century is not that dissimilar from the impact on India in the 1980s.

Already, the papers are obsessed with this battle - it gets far more coverage than it deserves. Already, we are looking at ministers in the government and deciding who is on which side. ("Shinde is in Anil's pocket, Mukesh knows Pranab well," etc.) Anil has done what no industrialist since Wadia has dared to do: he has openly taken on the government and made no secret of his links with the Opposition, allowing Mulayam Singh to disrupt Parliament on his behalf.

All this is ostensibly a battle over rates charged for gas. I don't know who is in the right in this case: Mukesh or Anil.

My friend Tony Jesudasan who represents Anil took me out to lunch and made out a case for Anil. I was totally convinced till my friend Niira Radia, who represents Mukesh, gave me the other side, which frankly, seemed just as convincing to my inexpert

ears. The truth is that the vast majority of Indians are not qualified to judge the rights and wrongs of this very complicated issue. It's a matter that judges and top lawyers should settle away from the glare of publicity.

So here's my point: why should the people of India be expected to judge who is right or wrong? We are rarely asked for our opinions on corporate battles. And when other companies have a problem with a ministry, this rarely merits much attention.

**Why then is Anil Ambani headline news day after day, week after week? Why is Parliament disrupted because of the battle? Why is the government of India being forced to defend itself at public fora? Who are these people, anyway? And why do the Ambanis think that all of us should take sides in their battle?**

Why then is Anil Ambani headline news day after day, week after week? Why is Parliament disrupted because of the battle? Why is the government of India being forced to defend itself at public fora? Who are these people, anyway? And why do the Ambanis think that all of us should take sides in their battle? Or that we should care what happens to them? Our problem, I fear, is that we have forgotten the lessons of the 1980s. In that decade, we allowed Nusli Wadia and Dhirubhai to turn their corporate war into a national issue.

We allowed corporate greed and financial manipulation to threaten the very foundations of the Indian government. Nothing good came out of that experience.

When the dust cleared, the corporate situation was exactly what it had been before the fight began. Dhirubhai continued to rise.

And Wadia continued to be edged out of the textile business. But the rest of us all lost out.

Rajiv Gandhi's mandate was frittered away because his ministers took sides in a corporate battle. The Indian middle class was conned into backing V.P. Singh, who gave us a few disastrous months of governance, leaving us with a Mandal legacy.

The bureaucracy was corrupted and spoilt. The media were forced to take par-



**CRYING FOUL...ANIL AMBANI**

tisan stands. My worry is that history is repeating itself. When a corporate war begins to emerge as the biggest news story in a country that faces so many problems, then you know that something has gone badly wrong.

Worse still, the rest of the world has begun to question the India story. Last week, the Financial Times (London) featured the Ambani dispute and wrote that if oligarchs could create so much havoc in India, then there was something wrong with our system.

It made the familiar point about how

India's natural resources were being hijacked by oligarchs. And here's my advice to the politicians: Don't make the same mistakes all over again.

Are you Samajwadis or Ambaniwadis? For India's sake, let the Ambanis solve their problems on their own. Just do the jobs we elected you to do. Because your loyalty should be to the people of India not to Mukesh, Anil, or any other industrialist. It is us you represent.

**(Writer is Editorial Director, Hindustan Times)**

# WOMAN POWER

## Sonia Gandhi and Chanda Kochhar on Forbes' list of world's 20 most powerful women

Congress president Sonia Gandhi and ICI-ICI Bank CEO and Managing Director Chanda Kochhar ranked in the top 20 of the World's 100 Most Powerful Women list compiled by Forbes.

Kochhar debuted at number 20 behind Gandhi who was ranked 13 in the list led by German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Indian-origin chief executive of Pepsico Indra Nooyi figured at number three after Sheila Bair, Chairperson of Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.



KOCHHAR (ABOVE) AND SAW

Yahoo's Carol Bartz was ahead of Gandhi at number 12 in the list.

Besides Gandhi and Kochhar, Biocon's chairman Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw also featured in the list at number 91.

Gandhi improved her ranking from 21 last year to 13 this year, while Mazumdar-Shaw moved to 91 from last year's 99th place. Nooyi retained her third position in the list.

Bahujan Samajwadi Party leader and Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mayawati, who was ranked 59th in last year's list, did not figure in the latest list put up on Forbes.Com.

Regarding Gandhi, Forbes said, she is "still the country's dominant force since she reluctantly entered politics in the 1990s." The landslide victory in the recent general election further strengthened her position as the leader of "India's most powerful political party" - Indian National Congress.

Kochhar was named as the first woman boss

of India's second largest lender ICICI Bank and took charge in May this year. "She now oversees a bank with assets of \$100 billion," Forbes said. She was instrumental in transforming the retail business of ICICI Bank and turning it into a retail banking powerhouse.

Besides, Anglo American Chief Cynthia Carroll, Temasek CEO Ho Ching, Kraft Foods Chief Irene Rosenfeld, DuPont head Ellen Kullman, WellPoint CEO Angela Braly, Areva Chief Anne Lauvergeon and Sunoco head Lynn Elsenhans are among the top 10 powerful women.

Interestingly, speaker of the US House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi (35) was ranked ahead of Hillary Clinton (36), the US Secretary of State, Michelle Obama (40), the first lady of the US, and Queen Elizabeth II (42)

Other dignitaries in list are Melinda Gates (34), the Co-chairman Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Oprah Winfrey (41), Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed (78) and Chile President Michelle Bachelet (22) among others.

Forbes' Powerful Women list is based largely in terms of influence rather than celebrity status or popularity.

In assembling the list, Forbes looked for women who run countries, big companies or influential non-profits.

"Their rankings are a combination of two scores: visibility by press mentions and the size of the organisation or country these women lead," the US-based magazine said. *Agencies*



# Split wide open

## Congress Party is confused over security issues

Ashoka Kumar Thakur

Congress President Sonia Gandhi is understood to have discussed the Indo-Pak joint statement and the defence pact with the US on end-use monitoring arrangement (EUMA) with Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee and Defence Minister A K Antony in her Parliament office here on Wednesday.

Sources said the two leaders were called in by Sonia in view of the media reports of Mukherjee's reservation on the Indo-Pak statement and the defence ministry complaining that it was bypassed in the EUMA deal.

They said she conveyed her concern to the two leaders that such reports give unnecessary handle to the Opposition to criticise the government. They also emphatically denied reports that the party has distanced from the government on these initiatives on the foreign front. They said Sonia asked the two leaders to stand by the Prime Minister on such issues and speak out so at the earliest to prevent any misgivings.

The wrong signals, however, continued to fly because of the gag on the party spokespersons from hailing the deals as they used to do in the past. On the Indo-Pak statement, Congress spokesperson Jayanthi Natarajan once again reiterated at the daily press briefing that the party has nothing more to add to what the Prime Minister has said in Parliament.

She also wriggled out from commenting on the EUMA, pointing out that Foreign Minister S M Krishna has already clarified in both the Houses in response to the apprehensions expressed by the Opposition.

A leading Bengali daily of Kolkata on Wednesday claimed Mukherjee has reservations on not only the Indo-Pak statement but also on the deals with the United States on Monday in a meeting with the visiting Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. "Better ask the newspaper" was Mukherjee's snap reply when approached in the Parliament House.

Antony is reported to have confided in Sonia Gandhi that neither he nor the Defence Ministry were kept in loop by the External Affairs Ministry while finalising the EUMA despite the fact that over the months top officials of his ministry were



GRIM REMINDER: BUT POWERS-THAT-BE ARE HARDLY PERTURBED

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involved in negotiations with the Americans on their legal requirement to monitor the military hardware and technology they sell to India.

He reportedly, however, made it clear that the defence officials told him that they are unable to comment on implications since they were yet to be provided the text of the arrangement, except told verbally that their concern over "intrusive inspections" by the US defence inspectors at the forward bases has been taken care of.

Antony was also quoted informing

Sonia Gandhi that he was himself pressing for a standard text of EUMA instead of India negotiating separate stand-alone end-use arrangements during every purchase from the United States in the past as it will speed up procurements.

Sources privy to the earlier negotiations by the Defence officials with the Americans say all that they can understand from this assurance is that the inspections will be carried out at a place and on a date and time of India's choice and certainly not in the forward bases.

For instance, they say the US personnel need not go to the borders to carry out inspection of the Firefinder weapon-locating radars bought from the United States in 2002 during the NDA regime. These radars can be shifted to a safer place of India's choice within hours to let the US carry out the inspections. Though the end-use monitoring clause was agreed in purchase of these radars, sources said there was no clarity on where the inspection will take place.

As regards the moveable assets like fighter planes and naval warships, sources said they can be easily moved to civil areas for the physical inspection that is mandatory under the US law to ensure their sensitive high technology is not leaked to any other country.

(Writer is Sr Advocate, Supreme Court of India)

# SSM looking for major plans for India: Dr Massimiliano Bracalé

**T**he Swiss School of Management, previously SMAI Swiss Management Academy International is a private Swiss institution of higher education. It was founded in the last century under the laws of Canton Zurich, Switzerland.

SMAI has always aimed at providing a Swiss quality education to students from all over the world. Unfortunately, the conservatism of Switzerland restricted its global pursuit. Despite its excellent location and security, Switzerland remains small. With its 6 million inhabitants, the country does not offer many job opportunities for international students. In addition, the high living costs are prohibitive and the conservative nature of the current government limits visas granted to international students.

Therefore, SMAI moved its headquarters to Rome, Italy where the living costs are favourable and student visa issuance most probable. Similarly, the move was to offer our international students the possibility to work and undertake internship within the enlarged European Union of which Switzerland is not a member.

## Vision and Mission

Our vision is "To be recognized as the Swiss International Business School, nurturing talent and teaching the typical Swiss - way of behaviour and attitude in a multi-national, multi-cultural learning environment. It will be a place for those who seek knowledge, strive towards excellence and seek a better life for themselves and their fellow citizens."

The mission of SSM is to provide the highest quality Swiss education in an environment characterized by close interaction among students, faculty, staff and the global business community. We will provide our students with practical knowledge, skills and attributes- the global business competencies required for leadership and success in demanding careers in the global economy.

## Why Us?

Switzerland's reputation of excellence is due to a highly qualified labour force performing highly skilled work.

The main areas include micro technology, hi-tech, biotechnology and pharmaceuticals, as well as banking, hospitality and insurance know-how.

This ongoing striving for excellence and perfection, has catapulted this small country to become a global player.

Switzerland is regarded as one of the safest and cleanest countries in the world. It is ideally located in the heart of Europe with access to all major European cosmopolitan cities.

The mission of the Swiss School of Management is to represent these values of Switzerland and carry them out into the world.

## Unique teaching Methodology

In teaching it is the method and not the content that is the message. At the Swiss School of Management, you'll benefit from a range of teaching methods all geared towards awakening interest and kindle enthusiasm.

We believe that this is the sure way to impact knowledge easily and successfully. All of us do not have equal talent but all of us should have an equal opportunity to develop our talent.

At the Swiss School of Management, we employ diverse teaching methodology within different fields of study aimed not



MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE SWISS SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT IN ROME, ANNA L. MORASIEWICZ SASSO BEING AWARDED THE "CERTIFICATE OF RECOGNITION FOR EXCELLENCE IN MANAGERIAL BUSINESS EDUCATION" BY DR. MASSIMILIANO BRACALÉ, PRESIDENT, SSM

only at providing academic knowledge, but also holistic personal development. Through our teaching techniques, we strive to help our students develop their personalities as managers and entrepreneurs. To this end, further qualifications are required, such as: charisma, leadership capabilities, character, decision making courage, knowledge of human mind and nature, motivation, intuition, business ethics, and the fluent mastery of additional languages besides English.

The Swiss School of Management helps students develop these human qualities with the intent to bring out their best personality resources by implementing the best and most creative learning and teaching methodology. Practical application and network-building is also emphasized. Our range of teaching methods includes lectures, class discussions, case study analysis, simulation, real-time problem solving sessions, role play and group assignments.



COMMITTED TO EXCELLENCE: DR BRACALÉ

## President Address...

I want to welcome each of you to the Swiss School of Management, a private institution of higher learning that not only meets the standards of today's professional world, but exceeds them. A Swiss School of Management award stands for much more than excellence in business education; it constitutes broad theoretical knowledge and comprehension of its implementation in the marketplace.

At Swiss School of Management we appreciate people who understand what we teach, but we prefer those who put in place what we say. We will make sure, that you won't leave the school without a real plan of what you are going to do next! Especially, for those of you who choose our MBA program. It will change your life - promise!

We offer innovative, quality certified and fully accredited academic programs that provide not only a truly practical business education but also combine the latest in technology with the most forward-thinking business, educational and leadership ideas. As a student at the Swiss School of Management you will attend classes that have direct applications in the workplace.

At the Swiss School of Management you will find an excel-

lent faculty and staff who are ready to help you with your studies and provide a friendly and supportive environment. Our partnerships with international business schools and employers will provide you with student exchange and internship opportunities, and a curriculum that is built with the advice of business people in the field.

Our goal is to nurture leaders who can inspire others, demonstrate outstanding skills, and work in multi-cultural environments. At the Swiss School of Management you will learn among a truly international student body as our students come from all over the world. We are proud of this diversity because it adds to your learning experience. Employers especially value a student who is adapted for a diverse workplace. Our second goal is to prepare you for the future. In today's competitive world nobody however skilled or talented becomes a success by themselves. Cooperation, teamwork and a great attitude is what wins today. Therefore, at the Swiss School of Management, you will see students actively learning and participating in small group projects.

Studying at the Swiss School of Management is challenging, however, the rewards are tremendous. In addition to acquiring new knowledge and new ideas, our student network is global. Many of your classmates will become part of the growing SSM alumni.

I am certain that you will find your experience here inspiring and enjoyable and I wish you all the best and success in your studies and future careers.

— Dr. Massimiliano Bracalé  
www.ssm-edu.net



DR BRACALÉ WITH MERITORIOUS STUDENTS OF SSM

### Results

At the Swiss School of Management, however, fundamentals are only the beginning. Excellent management skills are learnt more by experience and observation than in the classroom, which is why you will have many opportunities to interact with and to learn from experienced and successful business leaders in the country. You will learn to approach problems with creativity and disciplined thought. You will also benefit from the diverse perspectives of colleagues who hail from around the globe.

(Inputs by Dr Rahul Misra)

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# Vision 2039: India a rich country

Independence Day provides an excuse for all sorts of well-meaning speculations. We are meant to look forward, after all. So here's a story that looks forward one whole generation, 30 years to be precise. The story is culled from an interesting economic report, *India 2039: An Affluent Society in One Generation*, commissioned by the Asian Development Bank. The report is not a prediction of what is likely to unravel—few would hazard a guess at that distance—but rather a statement of what is possible if things are done right.

The 'possibility frontier'—and hence a benchmark of sorts for the reality that comes forth—is audacious by any standards. The report believes India can reach the 'affluent' status in a single generation, i.e. by 2039, from having graduated just last year to the ranks of IMF's lower middle income nations. Put simply, an uninterrupted annual growth rate of just 9.5% for the next three decades will do the job. Compounding can highlight the impact. It means raising India's economy to roughly 19 times its current size and overtaking the US economy—currently 14 times larger than India. It means lifting per capita income more than 22 times from below \$1,000 to close to the world average—that is currently about nine times as high as India's. All this is within reach and, with a few assumptions about the rest of the world, 'economic superpower' status is alluringly close.

To put things in perspective, in the last 30 years, we have raised our per capita GDP by 230%. No mean achievement, but dwarfed by China's explosive ten-fold growth.

The dream future, or the nearly double digit growth rate sustained for over a quarter century, is certainly possible. A few Asian countries have done it in the past and have truly catapulted themselves from poverty to affluence, and China seems to be going through this. Unfortunately, it is not a preordained destiny for India. Perhaps equally likely is the other possibility—that of a 'middle income trap' where many countries have stagnated after brief periods of impressive growth.

So, what is it that India needs to do to avoid losing sight of the golden path? The report points out three very important challenges: maintaining, nay, strengthening social cohesion by managing if not eliminating disparities and rural poverty; becoming a truly globally competitive



economy that promotes innovation; and being a responsible global citizen as its importance rises almost nine-fold in the global economy. At the same time, the world needs to be benevolent to India—it should remain more or less peaceful and open for the entire period.

The report goes further and prescribes a sevenfold path to this nirvana of triple transformation. This is indeed quite simple and straightforward: "Tackle disparities and achieve inclusive growth; improve the quality of the environment; eliminate infrastructure bottlenecks; create a competitive edge; improve delivery of public services; create functioning cities; renew the focus on education, technological development and innovation—keys to sustaining improvements in competitiveness; launch a revolution in energy; ensure security and competitiveness; and foster a prosperous South Asia and become a responsible global citizen."

To its credit, the report takes a broad sociopolitical view of development—India is surrounded by five of the world's seven declared 'failed states', with all the associated challenges. The individual chapters have some insights explaining the recent past. But it is not clear that the big picture is entirely consistent or the conclusions inevitable from the analysis. The introduction makes a philosophical bent

obvious: "The economic successes are due primarily to India's dynamic and competitive private sector ...despite significant failures of government on many fronts." Most of the single-generation transformations held as examples, curiously, happened in dictatorial regimes. No Indian would claim our governance or politicians lack room for improvement, but as Churchill said, we don't know anything that works better. Over-lecturing by technocrats, who don't have to face elections, may not help too much.

At the end of the day, it is hard to disagree with the report or the path shown. The trouble, as always, is in execution. Also there is no way of telling that these seven steps constitute an exhaustive list or, since these are all continuous and often subjective measures, what counts as fulfillment. Only last year the hallowed 'growth commission', headed by Nobel Laureate Michael Spence, came up basically saying, as I had mentioned in a past column, that they really don't have a clue to growth.

A generation is a long time for change—just imagine the worldview in 1979! *Que sera sera*—but regardless of how it pans out, this report can always say, "I told you so."

*(The author teaches finance at the Indian School of Business, Hyderabad)*



## Forest cover vital for nation's growth: Jairam Ramesh

**M**inister of State Environment and Forests Jairam Ramesh explains how the forest cover of India will help.

In India, we consider our forests a unique national treasure. Forests are responsible for India's rich biodiversity – India is one of the 12 "megadiverse" countries in the world.

Our forests hold within them unique wildlife, flora and fauna, and are also a source of sustainable livelihoods to over 200 million people in our country. It is therefore not surprising that we take our commitment to protecting, regenerating and growing our forests very seriously. India has a great tradition of institutionalised scientific forest conservation dating back 142 years, when the Imperial Forest Service was established in 1867.

We also have one of the most progressive forest conservation legislations in the world, which puts severe restrictions on diversion of forest land for non-forestry

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purposes. It is the result of these efforts that despite our rising population and the pressures of economic development, India is one of the few developing countries where the forest cover has increased over the last 20 years and continues to in-

crease – today, more than a fifth of India's land area is under forest cover.

This is something that we are proud of, and intend to maintain and grow. We have taken a number of recent initiatives in this direction, including the launch of a landmark fund for the regeneration and sustainable management of our forests with an initial corpus of \$ 2.5 billion, as well as an annual budget of about \$ 1 billion. Forestry is at the centre-stage of global climate change negotiations. This is because forests have the potential to be a carbon sink as well as a source of carbon emissions.

We are actively participating in the discussions on forestry that are taking place under the Bali Action Plan and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. It is India's view that we need an agreement on a comprehensive framework for compensation and positive incentives for forestry as part of the ongoing climate change negotiations.

I hope that this publication will provide a useful snapshot of the carbon value of India's forests, and give a glimpse of the potential of India's forests to offset India's and the world's carbon emissions. India's Forest Cover accounts for 20.6% of the total geographical area of the country as of 2005. In addition, Tree Cover accounts for 2.8% of India's geographical area.

Over the last two decades, progressive national forestry legislations and policies in India aimed at conservation and sustainable management of forests have reversed deforestation and have transformed India's forests into a significant net sink of CO<sub>2</sub>.

From 1995 to 2005, the carbon stocks stored in our forests and trees have increased from 6,245 million tonnes (mt) to 6,662 mt, registering an annual increment of 38 mt of carbon or 138 mt of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent.

Mitigation Service by India's Forest and Tree Cover India's forests serve as a major sink of CO<sub>2</sub>. Our estimates show that the annual CO<sub>2</sub> removals by India's forest and tree cover is enough to neutralize 11.25 % of India's total GHG emissions (CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent) at 1994 levels, the most recent year for which comparable data is available for developing countries based on their respective National Communications to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

This is equivalent to offsetting 100% emissions from all energy in residential and transport sectors; or 40% of total emissions from the agriculture sector. Clearly, India's forest and tree cover is serving as a major mode of carbon mitigation for India and the world.

As stated, India is one of the few developing countries in the world that is making a net addition to its forest and tree cover over the last two decades. Based on actual and projected trends of investments in the forestry sector, we present three scenarios of the future carbon stocks in the forest and tree cover of India.

In the first scenario, the carbon stocks in India's forest and tree cover decrease at the rate of the world average<sup>4</sup>. Under this scenario, the total carbon stored in India's forests in 2015 will decrease to 6,504 mt.

In the second scenario, the carbon stocks in India's forest and tree cover continue to increase at the historical rate of the last decade (0.6% p.a.). Under this scenario, the total carbon stored in India's forests in 2015 will increase to 6,998 mt.



India's Environment Minister Jairam Ramesh speaks during a national conference with ministers of environment and forests in New Delhi August 18, 2009



1 Forest cover in India is defined as all lands, more than one hectare in area with a tree canopy density of more than 10%.

2 Tree Cover is defined as tree patches outside recorded forest areas exclusive of forest cover and less than the minimum mappable area of one hectare.

3 The Second National Communication, a comprehensive inventory of India's Greenhouse Gases, is under preparation and will be available by November 2010. This will provide data up to 2000 as required by UNFCCC.

4 Assuming the same rate of decline in forest and tree cover as the world average between 2000-2005 (0.18% p.a.); Source: FAO, State of the World's Forests, Rome, 2005 India's Forest and Tree Cover: Contribution as a Carbon Sink.

In the third scenario, the carbon stocks in India's forest and tree cover increase at a rate higher than the historical rate of

increase.

Under this scenario, the total carbon stored in India's forests in 2015 will increase to 7,283 mt. This is the path that we intend to tread in India. India has launched a series of progressive policy initiatives on Sustainable Management of Forests as well as Afforestation and Reforestation, which involve significant additional resources for sustaining and growing India's forest cover.

This includes the world's largest Forest Restitution Fund<sup>5</sup> with \$ 2.5 billion as of June 2009, which is being deployed for SMF and A&R programmes, as well as a policy to include forestry related activities in the flagship employment scheme of the country.

It also includes introducing new forestry related schemes on components such as capacity building in the forestry sector. These measures will provide annual public expenditure of \$ 1 billion on forestry related activities. This will lead to an increase in the quality and density of India's forests, as well as in the rate of increase of India's forest and tree cover. This explains the basis of the computation of carbon stocks in scenario three.

#### Value of Mitigation

Putting a conservative value of \$ 5 per tonne of CO<sub>2</sub> locked in our forests, this huge sink of about 24,000 mt of CO<sub>2</sub> is worth \$ 120 billion, or Rs 6,00,000 crores. Incremental carbon under scenario three will add a value of around \$ 1.2 billion, or Rs 6,000 crores every year to India's treasury of forest sink, assuming a value of \$ 7 per tonne.

# 'I WANT INDIA TO HAVE A HEART'

Ravi Bhaskar

I belong to life's batch of 1979 and as I grew up through the 1980s and early 1990s I was deeply embarrassed about India. About everything, our movies, our cricket team, our athletes, our products, our infrastructure, our poverty, our politicians and the whole damn system. No matter what we did, we fell painfully short of potential. Time and again! It hurt because I wanted to belong to a big, strong nation that could kick some a\*\* and not to some laggard.

But the story has changed, and how! Here I am in a brand new 2007, miles away from sweet home India, yet still closely following her story. Now they all say that it is not so much 'whether or not' as much as 'when' will India become a superpower, a world beater.

India is shining, India is poised and India is everywhere, so I hear. Now the embarrassment and the heartaches have been buried with the 1990s.

Instead now there is a swelling pride and a sweet anxiety as we roar back into being a nation in fashion. And I am very happy for India and for all of us Indians. I am 27 now and I pray that I can see India fly highest before I kick the bucket.

But here comes the twist in my tale. I no longer want India to be a superpower in the manner I wanted it to be when I was naive and without a broader perspective. I no longer want it to be another big and brawny US. I don't want it to be a superpower that is just made up of brain and brawn, that is GDP performance and military might.

Rather and more pressingly, I want India to have a heart. The heart of a superpower, a civilised country. Now what is the heart of a country? Let me try, humbly:

Having a heart, unlike GDP growth and a military beef-up, does not just relate to the macro-economic and political issues. Having a heart of a real superpower essentially has micro implications, for each of us. Each of us can soon belong to a mighty nation and all that but then what is the point of belonging to one if we indulge in or turn a blind eye to child labour?

Are we ready yet to ask for the age of our servants or avoid and report restaurants where the cleaners are boys who should be in school? I ask again, what is the big thing about belonging to a superpower if we continue to pelt stones at speechless stray dogs and cows? What is the big deal?

We can spit on the roads and throw the banana peel from a travelling car and still India can turn into what the world calls a superpower. The two are not correlated but then do we just want to be a mighty country and not care about our manners? We can buy a multitude of cars, bikes and look down on public transportation and still become a superpower. All our trees can make way for ultra modern townships. But then do we just want to belong to a superpower and pollute without caring about our environmental legacy for our children?

Are we ready yet to smile freely at random countrymen on the streets? Or if someone's car rams into ours are we ready to get out and ask, 'Are you ok?' instead of fisting the aggressor?

Are we poised to replace brutal ragging at our educational institutions with warmer welcoming gestures? Are we there yet, when we care to build local infrastructure that can also be used by handicapped people? Will we ever care enough for our country that we pick up our dog's poop when we walk it on the streets?

And will we dance on the streets again if India successfully



I no longer want India to be a superpower in the manner I wanted it to be when I was naive and without a broader perspective. I no longer want it to be another big and brawny US. I don't want it to be a superpower that is just made up of brain and brawn, that is GDP performance and military might...Rather and more pressingly, I want India to have a heart. The heart of a superpower, a civilised country.

tests another nuclear weapon? Are we ready yet to have a heart?

The time has come for us to become an economic powerhouse of the world. There is no stopping us now. But the time is certainly not here as yet for us to claim that we have a collective heart, the heart that makes a real superpower beat soundly. That's going to take a while.

Till then let us not kid ourselves at the prospect of becoming a superpower.

The task at hand is a lot bigger than the mere achievement of becoming an economic powerhouse and having destructive weapons. Let us be aware, lest we stop and rejoice as soon as we become the world's largest economy and stagnate.

Let's keep moving onto bigger things. Let's become a real superpower. A superpower that beats to a super heart.

*(Writer is a software consultant based in Calgary, Canada)*

# *Small is the beautiful* **Car of future!**



If the Cash for Clunkers program has you toying with the notion of buying something new this summer, forget downsizing to just a sedan—that's so half-hearted.

Instead, you could opt for a total downsize, something along the lines of the Lotus Elise or Mazda MX-5 Miata. The cars are about 13-feet long, and you and a few friends could probably lift one of these cars into a tight parking spot.

Novelty aside, there are genuine advantages to owning a small car: high fuel efficiency, fewer emissions, nimble handling and, often, impressive speed on straightaways and around corners.

In other words, just because a car is small, doesn't mean it's gutless.

Behind the Numbers To determine our list, we added the length, width, height and weight of 2009 models on sale in the U.S., then took the average of those measurements and ranked the

Some small cars have heft under the hood as well.

The \$47,250 Elise, for instance, goes 0 to 60 miles per hour in under five seconds. It uses a 4-cylinder engine to get 189 horsepower and hit a top speed of 150. The \$22,500 Miata uses a 4-cylinder engine, too, eking out 167 hp and 140 lb-ft of torque.

cars according to their score. We did not include models that may hit U.S. showrooms in the future, like the Tata Nano or the Fiat 500, or out-of-production vehicles such as the Dodge Neon. We also excluded neighborhood electric vehicles and three-wheeled cars like the ZENN and Apera 2e.

Not all the cars that made our list are coupes. The Pontiac G3, for example, has four doors and a hatchback—not to mention 30-mpg combined fuel economy, a reasonable price tag at \$14,335, and seating for five.

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Other small cars are following suit, says Jon Linkov, managing editor of autos at Consumer Reports. Turbocharged 4- and 6-cylinder engines work well to ramp up performance without adding the weight and appetite for fuel of a larger engine. Ford engineers estimate that their "ecoboost" turbochargers—available now on the Lincoln MKS, MKT and Taurus SHO—improve fuel efficiency by 20%.

Manufacturers also are focusing on lightening the load as a way to improve efficiency—something the tinker toys on our list are all about. The lightest is the \$11,990 Smart Fortwo, which weighs in at well under one ton.

"Weight reduction is big," Linkov says. "Once you start stripping out weight, you take out the nine-way power seats and the 15-speaker stereos, plus the navigation system wiring and all that other stuff, that goes a long way."

Indeed, weight kept otherwise compact numbers like the Audi TT (3,252 pounds) and Volvo C30 (3,201 pounds) off our list. Their length, width and height are solidly middle-of-the-pack, but they are two of the heaviest vehicles in their segment.

**Size Vs. Safety** It goes without saying that safety is a key consideration for anyone considering a small car. Let's face it: In a head-on crash, a one-ton coupe is no match for a 5,000-pound SUV.

"The general things that make vehicles unsafe would include small size and vehicles that have not yet adopted state-of-the-art crash-protection technologies," says David Zuby, senior vice president of vehicle research at the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety.

But he adds that size shouldn't be the only consideration—the strength of the safety cage makes a big difference: "Unfortunately, a consumer can't tell by looking at a vehicle if it's got a strong structure. They would have to consult crash-test ratings."

Some ratings, like roll-over and side-impact scores, can be compared across size and weight categories. The Smart Fortwo, for example, received higher side-impact ratings from IIHS than much-larger models like the Ford Explorer and Chevrolet Trailblazer.

Small-car proponents argue that tiny cars are actually safer than large ones because of several intangibles: they fit shorter and smaller drivers better, which makes them



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safer; and they are more nimble than SUVs and crossovers, which helps them effectively avoid crashes. There's also the fact that all the size in the world can't prevent whiplash or road rash.

Zuby says he hasn't seen statistical evidence to support those claims, although they may have anecdotal merit.

"A really, really poorly designed or insufficiently designed large- or medium-sized car may be more or less protective than the best designed small car, but that's something that you're not going to be able to tell just by looking at crash-test ratings," he says.

All things being equal, going from a clunker to a tiny car might be the smartest trade-in of all.



Lincoln MKT



Lincoln MKS



**SMALL WONDER:** The Nano manufactured by Indian company Tata is the cheapest car in the world

# Indian company TATA takes lead: International Press

**W**orld's cheapest car - costing just £1,200 - unveiled by Indian buyers of Jaguar. This snub-nosed run-about is the cheapest new car in the world. The price of the tiny Nano, made by the Indian conglomerate Tata, starts at just £1,250.

The base model has no air conditioning (other than the wind-down window variety) no power steering, no passenger-side mirror and only one windscreen wiper.

But the makers claim it can fit four passengers as well as the driver, with a bit of a squeeze. The Nano aims to bring the joys of motoring to millions of Indians, doing for the subcontinent what the Volkswagen Beetle did for Germany and the Mini for Britain.

Measuring just over ten foot long, and five foot high and wide, the car is powered by a 623cc two-cylinder petrol engine in the rear developing just 33 horse-power. It has a top speed of about 65mph and will do about 50

miles to the gallon.

The Tata factory in West Bengal will initially be able to turn out 250,000 cars a year but sales are predicted to top one million.

It is called the 'one Lakh' car after the Indian term for 100,000 - because it will sell for 100,000 rupees, equivalent to about £1,250. This is three times the average national income. And the basic version is spare: there's no radio, no passenger-side mirror and only one windscreen wiper.

When company chairman Ratan Tata drove it onstage yesterday, his head nearly touched the roof. TATA insists it is "environmentally friendly" and exceeds regulatory standards on safety and pollution.

It aims to bring the joys of motoring to India's masses - and do for the subcontinent what the Volkswagen Beetle did for Germany and the Mini for Britain.

Indian standards for road safety and pollution emissions generally lag behind British and

European levels, so the car might not be legal on British roads.

The Retail Motor Industry Federation said cars must comply with European standards, which can mean replacing glass, lights, tyres and seatbelts.

Speedometers must be in miles.

The car would have to undergo Government approved crash tests and be subjected to an overall inspection report before being given approval for sale, all of which would push up the price.

However, it is possible dealers might still find it worthwhile to make modifications that would make the car legal and still be able to sell it at a price that would make a profit while being attractively low to a buyer.

Vic Amato from Huntingdon company JRH Imports said the car, at such a low price, would be a tempting proposition for private importers. "That's an astonishing price for a car," he said.

# 'Indian Diaspora helping Caribbean Island to shape up its destiny'

Paras Ramoutar

**Port-of-Spain:** The Indian diaspora has an unquestionable commitment and concern towards the development of the Caribbean countries in which they stay and to the region as a whole, said a minister, adding 'this is their society where they have their own roots and which they have helped to shape'.

Senator Lenny Saith, minister in the Office of the Trinidad and Tobago's prime minister, lauded the Indian diaspora that forms 44 percent of the country's population, while speaking Sunday at a seminar organised by the Indian High Commission, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, University of the West Indies, National Council of Indian Culture (NCIC) and Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO).

The theme of the seminar was 'Language and Cultural Heritage: Issues & Challenges for the Indian Diaspora'.

Saith said: 'They recognise India as their place of origin, acknowledge its positive ancestral influences, empathise with the challenges it faces from time to time, and take significant pride in its continuing progress and achievements.'

'But their home is the Caribbean. This is seen in the unquestionable commitment and concern on the part of the diaspora to the development of their individual Caribbean countries and to the region as a whole.'

He went on to say that 'this is their society, where they have their own roots, which they have helped to shape, and which has nurtured their development and view of the world.'

'They are authentically people of the Caribbean who are also proud to trace



their ancestry to one of humanity's earliest and enduring civilizations, one rich with achievement in all areas of human effort.'

D.N. Srivastava, joint secretary, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, told the seminar that India and the world at large believe that persons of Indian origin settled abroad have very strong bonds



with the land of their forefathers.

'Just like you, in the heart of your heart, feel proud of India's achievements and distinctions, we in India feel proud that you all, by virtue of your hard work and dedication have achieved a high place in the country of your residence and nationality. It is indeed a matter of great pride and honour and satisfaction to know that many of you occupy high places in the

society, institutions and government of various countries,' Srivastava said.

Indian High Commissioner Malay Mishra spoke about the umbilical cord that connects India with its diaspora.

'There are serious historical and ethnic ties that bind India and the diaspora,' he said.

The seminar is one of several initiatives to mark India's 62nd and Trinidad and Tobago's 47th anniversary of independence. India achieved its independence from Britain Aug 15, 1947 and Trinidad and Tobago Aug 31 1962.

President of the National Council of Indian Council (NCIC) Deokienanan Sharma said that the cultural personality of the Indo-Trinidadian plucked from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and embellished in its new habitat is unique.

Sharma said that visitors, particularly from India, have marvelled at the beauty and uniqueness of Trinidadian festivals like Divali, Phagwa, Ram Leela and classical singing.

Deosaran Bisnath, President of GOPIO Trinidad and Tobago, called on the seminar 'not to waste resources on what is settled history. We know where we came from, how we came, and how we progressed and advanced to 2009.'

'Let us now focus in making our countries as successful as India 2009 - a nation on the verge of superpower status, a shining nation of stability and success in the midst of war, violence, poverty, backwardness, and underachievement.'

The Indian diaspora in Trinidad and Tobago equals 44 percent of the population of 1.3 million people. Some 147,000 Indians came here between 1845 and 1917 to work on the sugar plantations, principally from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

# GOPIO at the US Capitol Hill

Campaigning on community & India related issues

**G** OPIO members met several lawmakers at The Capitol Hill and participated at the Senate India Caucus reception hosted by the Caucus Co-chairs Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and John Cornyn (R-TX) to welcome India's new ambassador to Washington Meera Shankar. Earlier, GOPIO met freshman Congressman from Connecticut Jim Hines and Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut.

In yet another sign of deepening relationship between India and the US, over two dozen American Senators, including some of the most powerful and influential ones, turned up for the reception.

With nearly two-dozen Senator from both the Republican and Democratic parties appearing for the reception, old timers at the Capitol said this is reflective of the growing ties between the two countries and the value been given to Indo-US relationship by lawmakers.

Senator Dodd, who has replaced Hillary Clinton as Co-Chair of Senate India Caucus from the Democratic, said India is a "good luck charm" for the United States Senate.

Before the reception, Senator Dodd met GOPIO Chairman Dr. Thomas Abraham and the GOPIO-CT delegation in his chamber at The Capitol Hill where he welcomed Ambassador Shankar and Deputy Chief of the Mission Arun K. Singh to The Capitol Hill for a closed in meeting with the GOPIO delegation.

At the Caucus reception, Senator Dodd expressed satisfaction at the high attendance by the Indian American leaders and spoke on the improving US-India bilateral relations. "As an emerging global power, India has faced a crossroads. Long proud of its geopolitical independence, India's growing economic and strategic importance has forced it to think long and hard about what kind of global actor it wants to be," said Senator Dodd.

"Under the leadership of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, it has chosen to become a partner with other global powers, not an antagonist. That choice reflects courageous leadership. Prime Minister Singh put himself and his political party on the line to forge an agree-



GOPIO delegation of Indian Americans from Connecticut invited by Senator Christopher Dodd, Co-Chairman of Senate India Caucus to welcome the new Indian Ambassador Meera Shankar at a pre-reception meeting at The Capitol Hill. Senator Dodd and the GOPIO delegation in discussion with Ambassador Shankar.

ment with America on what was the single most divisive issue between our two countries: nuclear cooperation.

According to Senator Dodd, that agreement, which Senator Dodd shepherded on behalf of the then Senator, Joe Biden, and which was approved with overwhelming bi-partisan support in the legislature, wasn't just about energy cooperation or trade and investment. It was a recognition that India was prepared to take its place on the world stage, working closely with the United States and other leaders to tackle together the global challenges we face in the 21st century.

"I hope that today's event, and the work we'll do together going forward, will serve as another step towards strengthening and expanding this important relationship," said Senator Dodd.

"One should not underestimate the contributions that all of you, Americans of Indian descent, make towards the growing bond that we are forming with India. In my state and around the country, India's economic and cultural impact is strongly felt and widely valued, Senator Dodd added. Observing that Senate India caucus is the only country caucus, Senator John Cornyn, its Co-Chair from Republican side, said this signifies the relationship and the shared values of the people of India and the United States.

"India is the anchor of stability in Asia. In fact our countries are natural allies and partners, even though we may not always realize it," Cornyn told a packed room of

audience comprising of influential Senators and eminent Indian-Americans, who had come from various parts of the country to be part of the momentous occasion. Cornyn, who was instrumental in establishing the Senate India Caucus, said today 37th Senator joined the group. Several other Senators have expressed their interest to join the caucus.

"Truly honored" to be at the meeting hosted by the Senate India Caucus, Shankar in her impressive speech said the reception by Senators "in this sanctum sanctorum of democracy" is a tribute to India, to the Indian community in the US and to the warm and stronger ties between the two countries and above all the values that bind the two nations together.

"Our relationship is characterized as ties between the world's two largest democracies. I believe that in that description not merely because our two countries are democracies, but because our relationship draws so much of its strength and character from the support it has among the elected representatives of the people in both countries," the Ambassador said. The Senate India Caucus, Shankar said, is not merely a forum to advance the partnership; it is to her a very important symbol of the US-India relationship. Old time observers at the Capitol Hill said that it is rarely that nearly two dozen Senators turn up for a particular event or reception at the Congress.

## Gopio-Waikato New Zealand chapter organizes seminar against racism



Speakers and organizers at the seminar. From left to right Mr. Chandu Daji, Gopio Auckland Central (VP), Mr. Ashok Bhatia, Gopio Central (Pres), Hon Dr Rajen Prasad, Member of Parliament Hon Mrs. Carol Beaumont, Member of Parliament, both from Labour Party, Mr. Virinder Aggarwal, GOPIO West (Pres 7 also represented as Chairperson of The Asian Network Inc), Harish Bajaj QSO, JP, MNZITT-National Pres GOPIO New Zealand and the organizer behind the Expo), Mr. Ashok Gaur GOPIO Botany Downs (treasurer and a sponsor) and Hon Dr Jackie Blue Member of Parliament National Government, representing Hon Mrs. Pansy Wong, Minister for Ethnic Affairs.

GOPIO Waikato Chapter in New Zealand organized a seminar in Hamilton in June 28th to discuss issues relating to community safety and establish new milestones for social integration. Addressing the seminar, Judge Dr Ajit Singh of Manukau District Court outlined the provisions of the existing laws to enable people to seek justice against perpetrators of racial outrage.

"Racism has no place in New Zealand's civilized society and there are laws to protect people against physical and verbal abuse, hate messages and other forms of victimization," said Judge Singh. "New Zealand was perceived worldwide as a model of racial harmony and New Zealand laws provided against any discrimination based on color, race, eth-

nic or national origin."

In the aftermath of a spate of murders in Auckland in the recent past in which victims included people of Indian and Asian origin, calls were made for establishing an Asian Anti-Crime Group. "But our community leaders urged people to confront violence through peace and understanding and not through vigilante groups," he said.

Among the others who attended the seminar were members of parliament Sue Moroney (Labour), Tim Macindoe and David Bennett (National), Harish Bajaj and Suman Kapoor, respectively GOPIO national president and Waikato chapter president, Shanti Niwas Charitable Trust project manager Indu Bajaj, community leaders and senior citizens and residents.

## Health expo increases awareness

Regular medical tests helped people to detect health problems and pursue appropriate treatment and cure, enabling them to promote better living standards, two members of New Zealand Parliament said.

National MP Dr Jackie Blue, a qualified medical professional and general practitioner, said that members of the Indian community were prone to heart diseases and diabetes and hence must have themselves checked at least once a year.



General medical check at the expo

"They are at high risk and these problems are not properly highlighted," she said, speaking at a health expo organized by the GOPIO New Zealand in association with the Shanti Niwas Charitable Trust at the Onehunga Community Centre in Auckland on July 11.

Labour MP Dr Rajen Prasad said the free health check facility was a splendid idea. "Such services promoted awareness on health issues and connected the Indian community with other community groups," he said.

Lord Swraj Paul & Baroness Usha Prashar appointed to Privy Council in UK

Queen Elizabeth has appointed Lord Swraj Paul and Baroness Usha Prashar as members of her Privy Council, the British monarch's advisory group whose members include the Prime Minister, Cabinet ministers and other eminent personalities. Lord Paul and baroness Prashar are the only Indian origin members of this prestigious council, which also includes the Prime Ministers of Australia and Canada. The British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's Office announced on June 23 the appointment which is for life.

**White House Fellow:** Anish Mahajan, a Robert Wood Johnson clinical scholar who has developed programs for expanding HIV testing in low-income communities, was named a 2009-2010 White House Fellow June 25. The year-long program, which begins Sept. 1, will place Mahajan and 14 other fellows with a specific sector of the new administration. The Poughkeepsie, New York native is likely to be placed in the Office of Health Reform or the Department of Health and Human Services, but told India-West he would be equally thrilled to work in Chief of Staff Rahm Emmanuel's office or with Vice President Joe Biden.

**Director appointed:** US Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack announced the appointment of Dr. Rajen Anand as Executive Director of the USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion. The mission of the Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion at USDA is to improve the nutritional status of all Americans by linking research to the dietary needs of the consumer. The Center is best known for the development of the Dietary Guidelines for Americans and the MyPyramid food guidance system.

**French award:** French Government has announced the decoration of Prithwindra Mukherjee with the insignia of the "Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres." The ceremony was attended by eminent members of French and Indian communities including Ambassador Ranjan Mathai, Mr. Gerard Pedraglio "Officier de la Legion d'Honneur", Dr. Bikas Sanyal "Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur", Professor Pierre-Sylvain Fillioza "Membre Institute de France" and Dr Vimal Khosla "President of GOPIO-France". Prithwindra Mukherjee, was born in Calcutta in 1936.

## Infosys among top 100 fastest growing cos

**New York.** IT bellwether Infosys Technologies, along with Internet major Google and software giant Apple, has been named among the world's 100 fastest growing companies by American publication Fortune. The league of 100 is topped by Canada-based Research In



Motion, the maker of Blackberry phones.

The list also features Cognizant Technology Solutions, headed by India-origin Chief Executive Francisco D'Souza. Infosys is placed at the 100th place while Cognizant is ranked 90.

Apple and Google are at 39th and 68th spots, respectively. Writing about Infosys, the magazine said, "India's No 2 IT firm counts Goldman Sachs and UBS among its 570 clients".

Fortune noted that Cognizant attributes a part of its growth to expansion in India and China. Other companies in the list include Nasdaq OMX Group (42), Amazon.com (52) and Dreamworks Animation SKG (63).

## Bidding adieu to the Maharani



Maharajah and Maharani of Jaipur at London Airport, May 17, 1956, to continue their annual European holiday.

## Apollo Hospitals in slow expansion

**T**he Chennai-based Apollo Hospitals Group which has a major plan of launching 250 hospitals across the country is being forced to go slow on them due to a scarcity of qualified healthcare professionals in the country.

Speaking to reporters, Dr Prathap C Reddy,

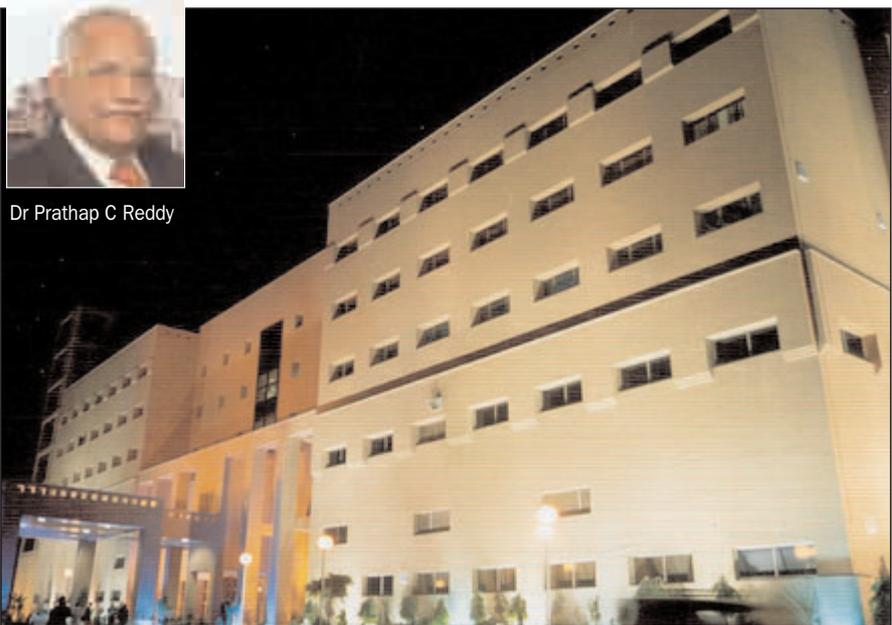


Chairman of Apollo Hospitals Group said, "There is a shortage of 100,000 beds per year in the country. We have realised the necessity of building 250 super specialty hospitals but from where can I get skilled specialists and staff to run these hospitals?"

This factor led a four-month delay in the launch of Apollo's hospital at Bhubaneswar, which is now due to open in October. "We want



Dr Prathap C Reddy



to open 22 hospitals in the next 2 years. There are many investors who wish to invest in healthcare, and raising over Rs 10,000 crore for setting up 250 hospitals is not an issue but

there is a shortage of qualified, skilled professionals in the country. India is supplying skilled professionals globally but there is a shortage in the country."

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