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Cover : Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi addressing a massive election rally. BJP Senior leaders releasing Sankalp Patra for Gujarat.

HISTORIC PICTURE



Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in a mass feast



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Weapons cannot cut it nor can fire burn it; water cannot wet it nor can wind dry it.

— (Bhagavadgita : Ch.-II, 23)

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"Will Wal-Mart care about the poor farmer's sister's wedding? Will Wal-Mart send his children to school? Will Wal-Mart notice his tears and hunger?"

-Sushma Swaraj

"When we open our market to foreign retailers without reforms in manufacturing, what will happen? The first to be affected will be jobs in manufacturing sector."

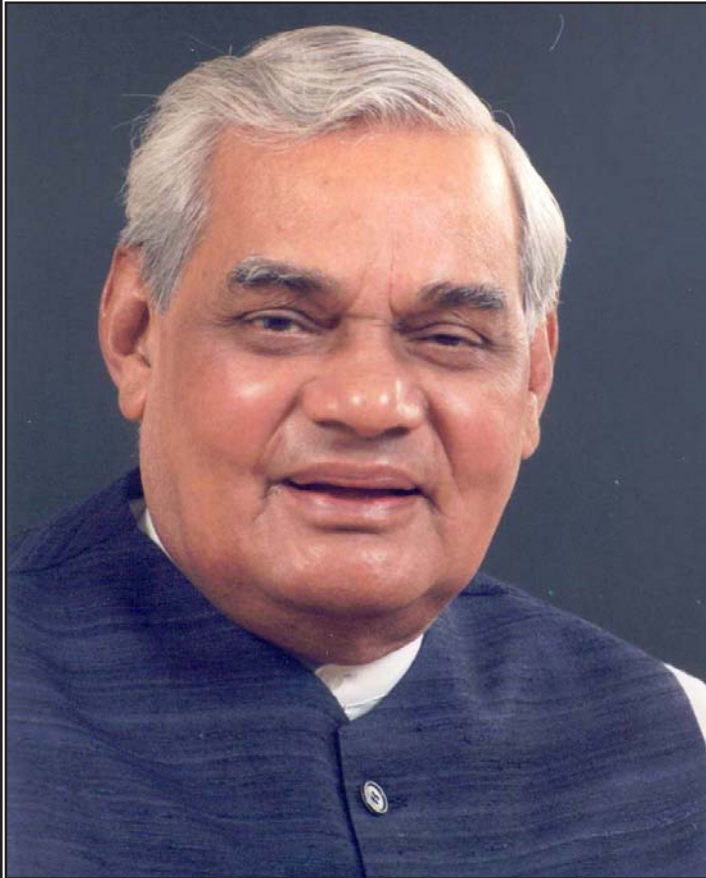
- Arun Jaitley

"The root of FDI lies in the statements given by Shri Chidambaram in October, 1996 in London."

-Murli Manohar Joshi

"Jeevem Shardah Shatam"

Birth anniversary : 25 December



All the BJP leaders and Karyakartas led by National President Shri Nitin Gadkari, Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha Shri Arun Jaitley, former BJP National President Dr. Murali Monohar Joshi, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu and Shri Rajnath Singh, National General Secretary (Organization) Shri Ram Lal and Editor, Kamal Sandesh and Madhya Pradesh BJP President Shri Prabhat Jha and Kamal Sandesh Parivar join the nation in wishing their Margdarshak and former Prime Minister Adarniya Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee a very happy birthday and pray for his long life to continue to guide the Party and the nation for long.



On FDI it's a technical win and a moral defeat for Congress

The vote on FDI in retail trade was a repeat of the 2008 drama on motion on Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal which culminated in U-turn by some political parties on their declared earlier stand on the issue and the Cash-for-Vote scandal. It was the SP and BSP which turned out to be the saviours of the UPA government on both critical moments as against their declared stand on the issue. As in 2008, this time too it was the CBI, as a leading Hindi daily put it, which turned out to be the minister for parliamentary affairs managing the numbers in the house and influencing the trend of voting.

As in 2008, what was at stake was not the interests of the nation but Congress arrogance of power powered by the wishes and interests of USA in pushing through the Deal. A great noise was then made about the flood of benefits that were to deluge the Indian nation. But after four years the country is still suffering the drought of any tangible benefits to India out of this deal.

Similarly, the decision to allow 51% FDI in retail trade too was motivated not by public interest but by the wishes of US rulers. There is no dispute about it because, like Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal, this vital decision never formed part of the Congress 2009 Election Manifesto. The US administration had been prodding the Manmohan government on the issue for quite long. But impetus to this government which, in the words of its own Minister P. Chidambaram, was suffering from "performance deficit", was provided by a meeting which Dr. Manmohan Singh had with US President Obama in November 2011. President Obama, according to press reports, "impressed upon (PM Dr. Manmohan) Singh the need for introducing FDI in retail". It was only after that that our PM hastened with the idea but had to defer it because of staunch opposition from its allies, including TMC. Later, during her visit to India last summer US Secretary of State Mrs. Hillary Clinton pressed upon the same point. In the meantime, the renowned American magazine *Time* dubbed our Prime Minister as "underachiever". That became the boiling point. Congress-led UPA unilaterally took a decision on FDI to prove to the US President and the world that this government was functioning. It is a clear case of the UPA having outsourced policy-making to countries like USA ignoring the national interests.

Just like 2008 Nuclear Deal issue, the Congress was not sure of its numbers. It allowed about 2 weeks of Parliament's business to go waste refusing the just demand of BJP and other opposition parties for a discussion on FDI issue in the house under rule 184 which entails voting after discussion. In view of the danger of the current winter session of parliament getting washed away, as it was last year, the Manmohan government relented for a discussion under rule 184. The discussion succeeded in exposing the hypocrisy of certain political outfits. Speaking on the motion political parties having a combined strength of 261 in a house of 544 vehemently opposed it. They wanted the government to withdraw the decision. Even UPA's alliance partners, like DMK and NCP expressed their opposition to the move. After the vote NCP announced that it is against it in Maharashtra. Yet when it came to voting only 218 supported the motion to oppose government move on FDI in retail trade and 253 went with the government. To add to the irony, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, after the vote, claimed that Government has the approval of Lok Sabha for the move little realizing that the vote in parliament had exposed the lack of a clear majority in the

Editorial...

house which is 272.

Another irony was added by Commerce Minister Anand Sharma when he claimed that 11 (including Maharashtra) out of 21 States had supported the UPA move on FDI ignoring NCP's stand.

Yet more ironical is the fact that conduct of certain political outfits did not match with their words. While voting or staging walkout, the political parties forgot the stand they had taken while speaking in the house.

Still more contradictory was the conduct of the Bahujan Samajwadi Party. In Lok Sabha it spoke against the FDI in retail and even staged a walk out claiming that it was not satisfied with the reply of the government. But in Rajya Sabha it staged a U-turn and supported the government.

The vote in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha was a victory but only in technical terms. In fact, it was more of a great moral defeat for the UPA because in Lok Sabha the 43 members who staged a walk-out were ostensibly against the government decision and even those like NCP and DMK who went with it had voiced their opposition.

From the words and conduct of the Congress-led UPA government it is now clear that be it the Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal or the FDI in retail, it is only promoting the interests of USA and big trade chains like the Walmart in utter disregard to the fate of the small retailer and the service sector composed mostly of self-employed which generates 58 percent of GDP. It "will involve a loss of jobs both in the manufacturing and services sectors".

The worry of the Indian people to allow 51% FDI in retail trade is not out of place when they fear the repeat of the same mistake the then rulers of India committed while allowing the then East India Company to enter the country as a trader. Our then rulers thought – as do the present ones – that they are coming to India to help our country generate more trade, more services, more employment and more production. But sooner the trader turned into an invader and exploiter, ruling the country on the strength of the wealth it had squeezed out from within our country. The annual turnover of just one company, Walmart, was \$443.9 billion in 2011 just one-fourth of India's GDP of \$1847.98 billion. They are not coming for charity but to extract profit at the country's cost.

Just as the East India Company exploited our trade, industry, agriculture and even influenced our rulers, the great companies like the Walmart are sure not to lag behind. Our culture, our agriculture, our trade, and ultimately our future shall be open to exploitation by these companies to intrude and influence our politics with their purses made hefty from our own soil. That is the danger the people of India can never lose sight of. A well-known columnist has already warned that sooner than later India may be witness to another phenomenon: In addition to farmer suicides India may be a witness to the same tragedy with the retail traders who will go out of business, penniless and under debt.

Therefore, even if the FDI has the technical approval of the Parliament it does not have the tacit approval of the people of India. The opposition parties, particularly the BJP, has to take this issue to the people in every way to apprise them of the dangers that lie ahead for the country at the hands of the present Congress-led UPA government. This anti-people government and Congress have to be shown the door in the coming elections and finally in 2014. The time is not far away when people will have to give their verdict. ■

Election Commission questions timing of Aadhar-based direct cash transfer scheme

Unhappy with the announcement of the direct cash transfer scheme by the government at a time the model poll code is in force, the Election Commission has sought a report from the Cabinet Secretary.

In the letter, the poll panel has conveyed its displeasure over the timing of the announcement and said it could have been avoided in view of the Gujarat elections later this month. Election Commission have asked the Cabinet Secretary to give us a factual report on the issue by December 10 evening. EC has said if they do not find any reply they will proceed further.

A BJP delegation led by BJP Parliamentary Party Chairman Shri L K Advani had personally met the Chief Election Commissioner on November 30 to complain against the announcement.

Four of the 51 districts in which the cash transfer scheme is to be implemented from January 1 fall in poll-bound Gujarat. Sources said the Election Commission's fresh letter to the Cabinet Secretary was the second reminder in the matter. ■

BJP 'Sankalp Patra' released A vision and action plan for Gujarat : Modi

From Our Correspondent

On 4th December 2012 the Gujarat BJP released the 'Sankalp Patra', its manifesto for the 2012 Gujarat Vidhan Sabha Elections. The Sankalp Patra is a comprehensive document listing out a clear and coherent vision for the development of all sections of society over the next 5 years.

Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha Shri Arun Jaitley, Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi, Gujarat BJP President Shri RC Faldu and BJP National Vice President Shri Purushottam Rupala were present on the occasion.

Speaking on the occasion Shri Modi said that the Sankalp Patra is not mere promises but a strong commitment towards development. It is a blue print for the next 5 years where both a vision as well as action plan has been listed, the Chief Minister said. Shri Modi said that the Manifesto has taken special care of the neat middle class that has emerged in the last 10 years and is enjoying the fruits of development. He added that the 'Sankalp Patra' does not only talk about youth development but also youth led development. The Chief Minister stated that the 'Sankalp Patra' gives importance to Skill, Scale and Speed.

Highlights of the Sankalp Patra

- Having achieved 100 % enrollment in primary schools and decreased dropout ratio to 2%, we will now bring the dropout rate to zero and stabilize it at that level. Further, through initiatives like 'Gunotsav,' we will bring qualitative improvements in education.
- Mukhyamantri Scholarship Yojana for assisting poor students to pursue higher studies. Continuing our tradition of establishing specialized universities, we will set up more such institutions including those for marine, auto, infrastructure, engineering, management, biotechnology etc. Medical colleges to be set up in each major district including tribal regions.
- The scope of 'Vidyalaxmi' bond will be enhanced to cover all Girl students studying in

government schools across the state (presently being given in only those villages where female literacy is less than 35%).

- The scope of *Mukhyamantri Amrutam (MA) Yojana* will be gradually expanded to include neo (lower) Middle class families. At present poor families are covered up to Rs. 2,00,000 per annum for treatment of catastrophic illnesses such as cancer, heart failure, neurological diseases, kidney disorder etc.
- Healthcare services will be decentralized and district civil hospitals would be equipped with



Cardiac Intensive care unit, kidney dialysis centre and neonatal intensive care unit

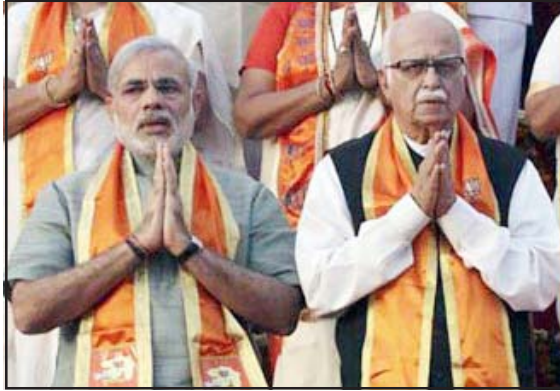
- While in 40 years, only 6.70 lakh agricultural power connections were provided, the present BJP government has provided 4 lakh such connections in only 11 years. Further, we will see to it that all pending demands are met on an immediate basis.
- We have already covered more than seven lakh hectares of land under drip/sprinkler irrigation. We will cover more and more land under these systems furthering our motto of 'per drop more crop'.
- Small and marginal farmers pay 7% interest on agricultural loans taken from cooperative organizations. The government will share their burden by paying 3% interest so that the farmers have to pay only 4% interest.
- All dams of Saurashtra will be filled with Narmada Water in next three years under

‘Saurashtra Narmada’.

- “My own home in my area” - is a dream of every individual and for fulfilling this dream we will implement *Mukhyamantishri Grih Samrudhhi Yojana*.
- An ambitious project of Rs. 33,000 crores to be implemented by setting up a separate department to be headed by the Chief Minister. Total 50 lakh pucca houses will be built up in next five years including 28 lakh houses in rural area and 22 lakh houses in urban area
- The present government has already done a lot in this direction. We have numerous examples like 108 Emergency services, BRTS, new ST buses, City civic centres and one day governance, ICU on wheels, New engineering colleges etc. Gujarat government provides engineering education with the lowest fees in the country. Making public services and facilities better and efficient and even better than the private sector is an important part of our governance. This would ensure good quality services at affordable rates to the middle class.
- 13,000 crores to around 85 lakh poor through *Garib Kalyan Melas* so far. We will make *Garib Kalyan Melas* more scientific by integrating all poverty alleviation schemes in next five years.
- More than 30 lakh employment generation with the development of industrial and service sector.
- In addition, more than 30 lakh to provided with self-employment and skill-development training under ‘Mission Mangalam’ scheme. Skill Development University will be set up. Minimum wages of laborers will be increased.
- Special focus on the project for developing Gandhinagar as a solar city and a carbon neutral city.
- A policy will be formed to encourage positive attitude amongst families towards the birth of girl child.
- ‘Vidya Laxmi Bond’ scholarship programme will be expanded to cover all girls studying in government schools. Besides strengthening of Government facilities for pregnant mothers and infants, the *Chiranjeevi* scheme will be made more effective.
- *Khel Mahakumbh* has been held across the state since 2010 for one month. It will be made more outcome oriented.
- Annapurna Yojana - Planning of providing food to the poor through Sakhi Mandals with government assistance.
- The PDS system of Gujarat which has been well acknowledged even by the Supreme Court of India will be further strengthened and coupons for ration will be distributed through eGram] Vishwagram centres.
- Leadership in non conventional energy including solar and wind power. Gujarat will be of game changer in solar power sector. Rooftop solar generation on houses will also be encouraged.
- Drinking water is being provided to 75% population in the state comparing to 30% average of the country. The coverage will be extended in next five years.
- Special package of housing for urban poor - around 25 lakh houses to be constructed.
- Ahmedabad-Gandhinagar metro rail services (MEGA) at a cost of Rs. 15,000 crores, BRTS in other cities
- Riverfront development in other cities, more Twin cities. World-class development of roads, railway.
- Development of logistic parks at Ahmedabad, Palanpur, Vadodara, Dahej, Hajira.
- Special focus on tourist destinations like Saputara, Pavagadh, Girnar.
- Sea and river cruises services including hover craft between Dwarka and Bet-Dwarka to be developed.
- Dandi March route to be developed as heritage corridor.
- Special *Lok Adalats* for women.
- Currently, 323 Million Metric Ton per Annum (MMT PA) cargo is being transported from ports of Gujarat. We will increase this capacity to 500 MMT PA by 2015-16 and 800 MMT PA by 2020.
- Gujarat will be developed as a Ship building hub of South Asia.
- Gujarat offers statewide network of broadband connectivity. Now the government will set up statewide WiFi network. WiFi facilities will be made available on public places and commercial centers.
- Marine biotechnology especially Sea Weed Cultivation will receive focused attention.
- Right to Services Act to be introduced. An annual recruitment drive will be held to fill up Government vacancies along with well-planned projections of future requirements. ■

GANDHINAGAR RALLY

Modi is a "role model" of development : LK Advani



BJP Parliamentary Party Chairman Shri L K Advani said "Shri Modi is a "role model" of development and asked other states to imitate him.

"Modi is undertaking great development work in Gujarat. He is a role model for chief ministers of other states on how to rule, govern and take care of even the poorest," he said addressing election rallies at Kalol and Mansa in Gandhinagar district in the run up to the Gujarat Assembly polls.

Lauding Shri Modi for introducing schemes for tribals and fishermen, Shri Advani said, "Prices have risen during the Congress regime while the Union government is facing corruption charges. Scam after scam is being unravelled."

For undertaking a 3-D blitzkrieg for poll campaigning, Shri Modi received a pat on his back from Shri Advani. He said, "Narendra Modi is the first person to address public through hologram (3 D technology)".

SURAT RALLY

Gujarat should give a thumping victory to BJP's development politics : Nitin Gadkari

Praising Gujarat's development model, BJP national president Shri Nitin Gadkari said the people of the state should ensure the victory of "development politics" in the Assembly elections. "The development of Gujarat is famous world over.

People should vote for BJP and ensure development politics wins," he said, addressing a huge election rally in Surat.

Gujarat has made tremendous development in all the sectors including the industrial as well as agricultural, Shri Gadkari said. "BJP has cared for all the sections of the society. Under the BJP regime in the state, Gujarat has achieved huge agricultural development," he said.

Taking a dig at the Congress-led UPA



government for ordering CBI probe against "honest" police officers in Gujarat and sending them behind bars in connection with the encounter cases in Gujarat, Shri Gadkari said, "In Maharashtra, many police encounters have taken place. But, the Union Government has not ordered a probe, because Congress is in power in Maharashtra." "However, when terrorists are gunned down in Gujarat, CBI investigation is ordered against honest police officers," he added.

Shri Gadkari said that all the Congress leaders, from Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira Gandhi and from Rajiv Gandhi to Sonia Gandhi, had given the slogan of "Garibi Hatao", but had been unable to deliver on their promises.

BHAVNAGAR RALLY

Think about Gujarat, development comes to the mind, think of the UPA scams, corruption, price rise come to the mind : Modi

After a phenomenal response in South Gujarat and Ahmedabad district, Gujarat Chief Minister

Shri Narendra Modi addressed huge public meetings in various parts of Saurashtra. First Shri Modi addressed a meeting in Gondal (Rajkot district) followed by Dhola (Bhavnagar district)



and then addressed a massive rally in Bhavnagar city.

Shri Modi spoke about the development initiatives in Gujarat and came down heavily on the UPA over its colossal failures on every front. Shri Modi recalled that when he took over as the Chief Minister the total budget of the state did not exceed Rs. 6,000 crore whereas just recently he dedicated the SAUNI Yojana worth Rs. 10,000 crore to the people, which will bring the waters of the Narmada to Saurashtra.

Similarly, a town like Gondal today has development works to the tune of Rs. 4700 crore thus illustrating the scale of development in Gujarat over the last ten years. He talked about the Supreme Court praise for Gujarat's land acquisition policy.

He attacked the Congress on the issue of the cotton export ban and said that Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh must answer the farmers on why this step was taken that caused a loss of Rs. 7,000 crore to Gujarat's farmers. Shri Modi said that the Gujarat Government has come up with textile parks for cotton growing districts that will help farmers and will enable cloth and garments to be manufactured there itself.

He pointed out that the 'New Textile Policy' of the Gujarat Government is to protect the interests

of Gujarat's farmers from the Delhi Government. He shared that the textile industry comes second only to agriculture in generating jobs and that the policy will create as many as 25 lakh jobs for the people. The Chief Minister spoke about how the Dahej-Ghogha ferry service will further increase the development in Bhavnagar.

Shri Modi stated that there are two examples of Governance in India- one of the UPA and the other of Gujarat's BJP Government. He added that when we think of Gujarat it is development that comes to the mind and when we think of the UPA, all that comes to the mind is scams, price rise, corruption etc.

Shri Modi opined that even criticism of the Gujarat Government is on the issue of development while there is no such hope of development from the UPA. He affirmed that if one goes to any part of Gujarat, there is some or the other development work going within a radius of 25 km. The Chief Minister termed the Congress as an expert at telling lies and added that even 4 PHDs are not enough for them! He said that the Congress promised to reduce prices in 100 days but that did not happen and instead they even snatched gas cylinders leaving the people at the mercy of the black market. He exposed the Congress lie that the Gujarat Government has been doling out Gauchar land and shared that it was the Congress, who in its rule doled out large tracts of Gauchar land.

Shri Modi spoke at length about how the Congress has cheated its workers and cheated their own ally the NCP when they first offered them 9 seats but later on put candidates on these seats. The Chief Minister made a direct attack on the Congress, saying that they do not have the courage to fight the BJP directly, which is why they are making behind the curtains alliances with others.

He urged the people not to think about their community, village, Taluka or district but instead think about the entire state when they go to cast their vote. He also said that he has given his life in the service of the people of Gujarat and based on the development of the last 11 years the people should decide.

On the development in Gujarat over the past 11 years Shri Modi stated that he had merely filled the ditches of preceding years of Congress rule, and reaffirmed his determination to take Gujarat to further newer heights.

AHMEDABAD

Entire BJP behind Narendra Modi : Arun Jaitley

Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha Shri Arun Jaitley said that since so many leaders have campaigned in Gujarat, it indicates that the entire Bharatiya Janata Party is behind Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi. "Many BJP leaders are going to address rallies. This is an indication that the entire party is standing behind Gujarat



BJP and Shri Narendrabhai. We are here to give our party a historic victory," Shri Jaitley said.

Replying to a question on Keshubhai Patel who has formed a new party Shri Jaitley said, "People will not accept those leaders who have left our party". "People left BJP not because of ideological differences, but due to personal differences. Those who left the party have regretted their decision. How they will affect us will be clear on the day of result," Shri Jaitley said.

He said, "The Congress does not have any leader to match the calibre of Chief Minister Narendra Modi and that is the reason they are targeting him. I believe that Modi is one leader whose stature has increased due to this systematic targeting".

BHAVNAGAR RALLY

'Congress carries only Gandhi surname, Modi his ideals for growth': Rajnath Singh

Addressing a huge gathering and describing Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi as "most popular" and "charismatic leader" with a mass appeal beyond Gujarat, former BJP national president Shri Rajnath Singh appealed for "record

victory".

"Congress has ditched the self-reliance



principle of Gandhiji. They are carrying Gandhi surname only. The works of Gandhi are being carried forward by Narendra Modi here in Gujarat," Shri Rajnath Singh said addressing an election meeting in Bhavnagar. Singh made these remarks while criticizing the Congress-led UPA government's decision to allow FDI in multi-brand retail. "Look at the Congress, they have forgotten the domestic instruments (to revive economy) and relying on foreign help to boost the economy," Shri Singh said.

He highlighted how Shri Narendra Modi has maintained higher than national economic growth rate in the state despite the alleged obstruction being posed by the Congress at the Centre. "Modi is popular not only in Gujarat but also across India. He is fast gaining popularity across the world now. You all must strengthen the hands of your charismatic CM. You all should ensure that Narendrabhai makes a hat-trick in these assembly elections," Shri Singh said.

SURAT (AMROLI) RALLY

Modi has made Gujarat a shining star : Shivraj Singh Chouhan

Addressing a huge rally at Amroli in Olpad Assembly constituency in Surat Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chauhan said Gujarat was best placed among the BJP-ruled states in terms of growth rate at over 10%, which was far more than the national average of 5.5%.

He said that while Gujarat and MP were recording high growth rates in agriculture sector, the Congress was involved in various scams.

"Here (in Gujarat), farmers are getting 24-



hour power supply and the government has done an excellent work to supply water for irrigation. Modi has made Gujarat a shining star not only for India but for the entire world," he said.

NAVSARI RALLY

India's development will be determined by Gujarat : Arjun Munda

Accusing the Centre of neglecting the development of tribal regions by eyeing the natural



resources found here, Jharkhand Chief Minister Shri Arjun Munda appealed to the people of Gujarat to vote for the BJP so

that it ensures that the country follows the growth path of the state.

Addressing a gathering of party workers at Gandevi in Navsari district, Shri Munda said the country's development will be determined by the people of Gujarat. "Our country has not been able to grow like Gujarat, so now the people of Gujarat should ensure that the entire country develops like Gujarat. We want to see India develop and the yardstick of the development will be determined by people here," he said. Shri Munda said he was glad to accept the invitation to visit Gujarat because

he wants his state Jharkhand to develop like Gujarat.

RAJKOT RALLY

UPA government is in "Intensive Care Unit" : Raman Singh

Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Dr. Raman Singh said the Congress led UPA government is in "Intensive Care Unit (ICU)" and the countdown for parliamentary election will begin after the result



of Gujarat assembly poll next month. "The UPA government has no control over inflation and is riddled with scams. I don't understand on which issues Congress candidates in Gujarat are contesting election," he said.

The Congress-led ruling coalition at the Centre is in "ICU" and once the Gujarat Assembly poll result is announced the countdown for general election will begin, he said. Congress has lost the right to seek votes from the people as its government is mired in corruption and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has been maintaining silence over the issue, the Chief Minister said.

Dr. Singh praised the Narendra Modi government for its focus on development of Gujarat and said BJP will bag more assembly seats this time as compared to last election. Dr. Singh was addressing an election rally at Rajkot. Gujarat will vote on December 13 and 17 and results will be announced on December 20. ■

UPA's false claims on development exposed Congress to get an 'Oscar' for lying

The Congress has misled and misinformed the people of this country and in doing so has fostered a feeling of mistrust of Democratic Institutions within the country. In contrast, the Gujarat Government, under the leadership of Shri Narendra

control inflation within 100 days. However, even today, after more than 1000 days, the prices only continue to increase. The congress, which has been unable to raise the country's profile and the rate of growth, probably seeks solace in the fact that it could raise at least something:

the Narendra Modi Government. However, the Congress ended up being embarrassed once facts were presented. The Congress government from 1985-1990 gave land out of which 93% was Gauchar land. Under Shri Modi in the last 11 years, only 4% of the land given was Gauchar land.



While Gauchar land reduced by 3600 Hectares under Congress rule from 1980-90, in the last 11 years under Shri Modi there was a 6800 hectares rise in Gauchar land across Gujarat.

Modi continues to inspire the common person's confidence in democratic institutions.

Most of the promises made by the Congress in its 2009 Manifesto remain unfulfilled. The Congress has misled and misinformed the people of this country and in doing so has fostered a feeling of mistrust of Democratic Institutions within the country.

Central Assistance:

The Congress, among the many other falsehoods it has spread, has been trying to take credit for Gujarat's development by bragging about the money it has given to Gujarat through centrally sponsored schemes. Ignoring Gujarat's Contribution to the Central Exchequer the Congress keeps harping on the fact that they are giving Rs. 6000 crore to Gujarat!

Price Rise:

After coming to power, the Congress had promised to

the prices of essential commodities.

Infrastructure:

Before coming to power, the Congress had given many assurances to the people of India. It had promised to connect every village in the country with tar/cement roads and had even promised to provide 24-hours electricity to the entire country. The ground reality stands in stark contrast to the Congress's claims.

Even today, after more than 65 years of independence, there are 125,000 villages in India, which are not connected by roads.

As far as the Congress's claim of providing 24-hour power to the entire country is concerned, even mega-cities from UPA ruled states, most notably, Delhi face regular power cuts. The Congress had used similar tactics and had lied about the distribution of Gauchar land by

To show that it could stoop even lower, the Congress party used photos of Sri Lankan flood victims and pretended they were malnourished children from Gujarat. They need not have gone all the way to Sri Lanka to find malnourished children; they could have just used pictures from any of the Congress-ruled states.

Given the large number of scandals at the centre, it seems the Congress has no alternative other than lying and defaming Gujarat. Every day, more news comes out of Delhi, regarding corruption scandals, and incriminates one Congress leader after another. Given today's circumstances, the Congress tagline from the 2009 elections, 'Aam Admi ke badhte Kadam, har kadam pe Bharat Buland' can be changed to 'Sirf Congress karyakartao ke badhte kadam, Bharat ke badle Congress ka bank account bana buland.' ■ (A report)

FDI going to create monopolistic market for the consumers : Sushma Swaraj

Synopsis of the speech delivered by Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha Smt. Sushma Swaraj on December 4, 2012 moving the motion recommending to the Government to immediately withdraw its decisions to allow 51% Foreign Direct Investment in multi-brand retail trade. Full text of the speeches made by the Leaders of Oppositions in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and BJP MPs in two houses of Parliament in being published separately



First of all, I would like to thank you as you have admitted this FDI discussion under Rule 184. We were insisting that if we take up the discussion on FDI, then it would only be under Rule 184, as there was a background behind it. Last year, the Government had taken a decision exactly on the same lines during the Winter Session of 2011. They allowed 51 per cent direct foreign investment in retail business. At that time, the decision was opposed by all sides. The Opposition as well as the constituent parties of the Government had also opposed it. The Leader of the House at that time had stated in the House that he would talk to the Prime Minister and convey the sentiments of the House to him. An All-party meeting was held again on 7th December, 2011 and the Leader of the House stated that he had discussed with the Prime Minister and the Government had decided to keep

this decision in abeyance until talk are held with all the stakeholders and a consensus is reached. From the word 'stakeholder' he meant the political parties and the Chief Ministers of various States. Reiterating his views, he also made a statement in the House on 7th December 2011.

But I regret to say that leave alone consensus even efforts were not made for the same. We are the main Opposition party, leave alone the meeting even no correspondence was made with us in this regard. We were not even telephonically contacted in this regard. One fine day we came to know about the decision of the Cabinet allowing 51% FDI in retail sector through television. Never before, the assurance given to Parliament was so flagrantly violated like this.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and the Minister of Commerce said in their response that they had

changed the policy and made an enabling provision for the States. Therefore, there was not need to consult the States in this regard. It is pertinent to mention here that the Minister of Commerce also gave the same statement in Rajya Sabha on 7th December 2011 as was given by the then Leader of the House in Lok Sabha. As far as the FDI is concerned, I want to reveal the truth of the claims of the Government, which it has been given in support of the FDI. Their first claim is that the FDI is in the interest of consumers. It is a basic principle that if the market is competitive it is in the interest of consumers and if the market is monopolistic, it is against the interest of consumers. The FDI is going to create monopolistic market for the consumers, which cannot be in their interest.

The international experience teaches us that they indulge in predatory pricing and nobody can deny this fact. First, they

reduce the prices to such an extent that remaining businessmen are compelled to leave the market and when all these businessmen leave the market they increase the prices suddenly and then, the consumer has no choice but to purchase from them only because there is no other choice for them. Therefore, their claim that the FDI in multi-brand retail sector is in the interest of consumers is totally wrong and beyond the truth. The second claim of the Government is that this is in the interest of farmers also as they would purchase their produce directly from them at higher prices and farmers will get remunerative prices for their produce. Big retailers buy cheap from the farmers, they pay less salary to their employees due to which they are able to sell cheaper.

They do not compromise on their profits and jack up the prices by keeping their profit margins intact. Evidence from across the EU suggests this and the nature of the complaint received from there was that the joint retailers were squeezing the prices paid to the farmers for products like milk, meat, poultry and wine and, in some instances, forcing them to sell it below cost prices. This is not the only instance but the experience throughout the world tells us that they buy cheap from the farmers.

Further, I would like to say that the question of making payments to the farmers whether less or more only arise when they will purchase from the farmers in the first instance. The truth is this that they are not going to purchase from the small and

today there is a sector in India where there is no middleman and that sector is sugar sector. No middle man exists in the chain between farmer and the mill owners. But, it has happened so many times that the mill owners refuse to buy the sugarcane from the farmers by saying that they cannot crush more quantity. What I am trying to emphasize and answering this logic given by them wherein they are maintaining that bringing in FDI will make the middle man extinct and the farmers will benefit is that the sugarcane farmers are forced to run here and there in a sector where there is no middle man

medium farmers at all. The experience of Pepsi is a testimony to this fact. The companies like Mc Donald and Pepsi reject the whole consignment of the farmers produce on one pretext or the other. The Government is of the opinion that the farmers will benefit most due to the extinction of the middle men.

I would like to tell you that even today there is a sector in India where there is no middleman and that sector is sugar sector. No middle man exists in the chain between farmer and the mill owners. But, it has happened so many times that the mill owners refuse to buy the sugarcane from the farmers by saying that they cannot crush more quantity. What I am trying to emphasize and answering this logic given by them wherein they are maintaining that bringing in FDI will make the

middle man extinct and the farmers will benefit is that the sugarcane farmers are forced to run here and there in a sector where there is no middle man and there is a direct agreement between the mill owners and the farmers. So, this argument that extinction of the middle man from the chain will benefit the farmers is not true. In our market, the most prominent among the middle man is the 'Adhati' in our food grain market. There is a relation of faith between them and the farmers. On the basis of which they lend money to the farmers on the occasion of the wedding of later's daughters marriage and other occasions. The people having an understanding of rural economy will agree with my point.

I would like to ask whether the companies like Walmart and Tesco will be able to lend to the farmers. Will anybody of their ilk directly purchase from the farmers? New agencies will be created and new middle men will arise. Therefore, it is utterly wrong to say that bringing in FDI to this sector will erase the middle men. The third claim of the Government is that FDI will create new employment opportunities. The Minister of Commerce has even given a figure to support this argument. He has said that 10 million new jobs will be created wherein 40 lakh people will be directly employed through this sector. However, the figures available with me fail to match with the given figures even after making liberal assumptions. I am unable to understand as to from where do they get their figures? Maximum level of unemployment will result in

manufacturing sector. Factories will be closed down. The Government has stated that 30 per cent of sourcing will have to be done from the local industry. You have cut down by 70 per cent the current production if you persist with this decision. Can any factory become viable at a rate 30 per cent? Factory after factory will be closed down. 90 per cent out of the remaining 70 per cent will be imported from China. Therefore, factories will prosper in China, employment opportunities will be generated in China and income level will also rise in China even as 12 crore of our households will witness gloom and uncertain future. Our manufacturing sector will suffer. This clause of 30 percent sourcing from SMEs is also a myth because we have signed bilateral agreements under which we are committed to give preferential treatment which means that we have to purchase from their industries.

Therefore, there cannot be a greater myth than this clause of 30 per cent sourcing. It will not be possible to make this 30 per cent sourcing from the local industry a reality. Now, I would also like to share with you the negative consequences of this policy on the retail sector. The experience all across the world tells us that small shops and small retailers have met with doom wherever FDI in multi-brand has been opened.

It is a fact which has been underlined by the observations made in the National Trust for Historic Preservation and also by the MPs of the British Parliament. Wal-Mart is an American company. It has ruined the economy of America.

It is a fact which has been underlined by the observations made in the National Trust for Historic Preservation and also by the MPs of the British Parliament. Wal-Mart is an American company. It has ruined the economy of America. There is a movement named 'Small Business Saturday' led by President Obama. He encourages people to purchase commodities from small shops every Saturday. Wal-Mart has harmed small shopkeepers there and therefore, this movement has been launched there. A 10-point formula has been introduced in the Budget of America to promote small trade.

There is a movement named 'Small Business Saturday' led by President Obama. He encourages people to purchase commodities from small shops every Saturday. Wal-Mart has harmed small shopkeepers there and therefore, this movement has been launched there. A 10-point formula has been introduced in the Budget of America to promote small trade. I would like to ask why the Government is glorifying FDI or Wal-Mart, which has been rejected in other countries. I have given the example of European Union, England, America here. When our party was heading the Government, some people suggested to introduce FDI. A study was conducted and a committee was also constituted. After going through the report of the committee, we unanimously decided not to allow FDI. The

Congress also held the same view then. I would like to ask the Prime Minister why it has changed its stand. The then Chief Whip of the Congress had termed the decision to introduce it as anti-national.

News has appeared in certain dailies that Wal-Mart has offered huge amount as bribe so that it may be allowed in India in retail trades. Just 8 days ago, India Wal-Mart has suspended its CFO. I am afraid whether corruption is involved in this decision. There is global recession. They find India as a big market so they would adopt any measures to trade here but what is the compulsion of the Government to allow them? The population of 20 crore people will be financially ruined with the advent of FDI. The Government is under impression that FDI is instrumental in the progress of India but the reality is that it will prove self-detrimental to us. They should not be under impression that the world investment scenario will disappear and investors would no longer come to India. I assert that you may take me to any international forum and I can give the message there that India is not against FDI in all sectors. FDI is welcome in infrastructure power, bridges, tunnels, ports, air-ports etc. It will be really very interesting to see that the Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition of this country would unitedly welcome investors. But there should be no FDI in retail trade like pulses, rice, vegetable etc. I would like to appeal to all of my colleagues to support our Motion, pressing the Government to withdraw its decision to introduce FDI. ■

UPA Government should encourage farmers, not retailer dictatorship : M M Joshi



Synopsis of speech delivered by former BJP National President Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi MP in Lok Sabha on December 5, 2012 on the motion moved by BJP to recommend the Government to immediately withdraw its decisions to allow 51% Foreign Direct Investment in multi-brand retail trade.

First of all, it was told that FDI is optional and enabling. It is open for the governments to allow FDI or not. Then, where is the firmness of the Government. If it is in the interest of the country, then why so many concessions are being provided? Why the Government is compromising with the interest of the country through these concessions? The then Finance Minister had assured that the decision to permit 51 per cent FDI in multibrand retail is suspended till a consensus is developed through consultation among various stakeholders. The definition of stakeholders covers political parties, farmers, small traders and agricultural labourers. All these people and their representatives were to be consulted and the political parties should have been apprised of the consultations held.

The root of FDI lies in the statements given by Shri Chidambaram in October, 1996 in London one walk before a

The root of FDI lies in the statements given by Shri Chidambaram in October, 1996 in London one walk before a meeting scheduled in Washington that they came to India and stayed for 200 years. Now, they should come prepared to invest and stay for another 200 years and there will be huge rewards.

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meeting scheduled in Washington that they came to India and stayed for 200 years. Now, they should come prepared to invest and stay for another 200 years and there will be huge rewards. Congress party in 2002 had said in Lok Sabha that the multi-national retailers through the bureaucratic circle are continuously putting pressure on the Government to

take an anti-national decision on allowing Foreign Direct Investment in the retail. If the decision to allow Foreign Direct Investment in retail was anti-national at that time then how it has become pro-national now. At that time, only one company came to India, but, now companies are coming. The Government has said that they came to China and suffered losses for nearly 18 years. This indicates their financial strength that even after suffering losses for 18 years they are operating in China and pocketing profits. They have captured Chinese manufacturing sectors and trades and now, earning profits. Their intention was to outsource goods to America after buying them at cheap rates. Today, six thousand units in China are manufacturing 80 per cent of total production of Wal Mart. Their policy is to destroy everything first and then reap the benefits. In the first place, post harvest losses is 40 per cent for fruits and vegetables as

**the experience of US and data from UK indicates that the farmers share in the final consumer prices in percentage term has declined over the years whereas, the share of top retailers has increased.**



propagated by the Government of India. The Fruit and Vegetable Merchants Association had written to the Ministry in the year, 2008, giving them the actual figures which were around five to seven per cent. As per a detailed study conducted by the Central Institute of Post Harvest Engineering and Technology, Punjab, the wastage of fruits and vegetables is only between 6 to 18 per cent. The Government of India is deliberately not disclosing the report at this juncture. Every time it is said that the farmers would get remunerative prices for their produce. But, the experience of US and data from UK indicates that the farmers share in the final consumer prices in percentage term has declined over the years whereas, the share of top retailers has increased. The Government is of the view that it will create employment opportunities and new technology will come in the country and the farmers will be benefited. The ways of the multinational are very much liking of the Government.

The Government says that the farmers will get their dues on time and the practice of commission will be done away with. I will tell how much commission will be taken. Wal-

Mart will tell the farmers as to when they should sow the crops, how much water and fertilizers should be used. The pattern of cultivation which the Indian farmers were resorting to 5 thousand years ago, the foreign scientists came to know about that just one century ago. The Government says there will be no wastage of agricultural produces, there will be assured buyers as well as pre-pricing agreement. Pre-pricing means that the farmers will have to sell their produces at the rate fixed by multinational otherwise, they will not buy it from the farmers. I want to say that with the entry of multinational companies the small farmers will not coexist and marginal farmers will be ruined. Whether, the Walmart will sell its goods at cheaper rates, no it will sell these dearer.

The Government says that there will be competition. I want



**The rich countries of the world are providing huge subsidies to the farmers and our Government is going to discontinue the subsidy to the farmers. The Government should encourage the farmers not the Walmart. We are with the labourers, famers, poor youth and in favour of employment for the youth. We are staunch supporter of democracy not the supporter of retailer dictatorship.**

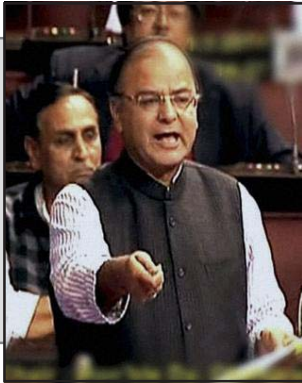
to tell the Government that this company will not allow competition. Our market right from village to city is more competitive. If there is sustainable trade system in the world that is in India. The Government is talking about increase in the income of the farmers. With the entry of the multi-nationals the plight of the farmers will worsen and their income will not increase.

The rich countries of the world are providing huge subsidies to the farmers and our Government is going to discontinue the subsidy to the farmers. The Government should encourage the farmers not the Walmart. We are with the labourers, famers, poor youth and in favour of employment for the youth. We are staunch supporter of democracy not the supporter of retailer dictatorship. We do not want the dictatorship of Walmart and foreign capital. We want the democracy of Indian retail. If the traders and farmers of our country are free, democracy will move forward and if they are enslaved by Walmart there will be no democracy in the country. The Government should understand this properly. Walmart is spreading corruption all over the world. In Mexico, cases of bribery are going on against it.

The doctrine of the Walmart is to enter in the markets of poor country and capture them. The Indian retail market is quite capable in itself. I want to say that the Government should take care of the interest of the country and think for the generation to come otherwise, this country will never tolerate you anymore. ■



# Walmart could not be opened in Manhattan, New York till date : Arun Jaitley



*Synopsis of the speech delivered by Shri Arun Jaitley, Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha on 5th December 2012 while speaking on the motion under Rule 168 disapproving the desession the Congress led UPA Government to allow FDI in multi-brand retail.*

There is a big question mark on the leadership of this Government. You have to seek their support and help. One has also to pay for it. The country is concerned about investigating agencies, about Constitutional Institutions. We have been witnessing this policy of compromise for the last four years. Most of the political parties are opposing it. They also say that they will not get the same implemented in their States nor will they allow the FDI retail stores to open in their States. What will be the definition of economic reforms as far as this country is concerned. If some western developed countries determine the definition and some people of our country are in their support, should we accept the definition as economic reforms. FDI should be there in India.

The NDA was never against it. But in which sector it should be introduced, should be decided by the country. Every change is

not a reform. What is its relevance in Indian economy? There are 51 per cent such people in this country who provide employment to themselves. There is no other economy which has such a large number of self employed persons. My first objection is that when you open the FDI you must monitor the impact on each and every segment of the economy. In our economy 60 per cent people are in agriculture and there is much underemployment in this sector.

The essence of the global trade today is that consumers buy products which are cheaper and of good quality. Nobody consciously buys costlier products and that is why the pendulum has now swung in favour of low cost economies. We could not bring reforms in the 38 manufacturing sector, it is the weakness of our country. Today, the retail shops in the domestic sector purchase 90-95 percent of their goods from the Indian market. Once the structured

international retail comes, it will sell the goods of the international market and its direct impact will be on the manufacture sector jobs. The number of manufacturing sector jobs will go down. When you implement this policy without manufacturing sector reforms, we will cease to be a manufacturing nation; we will become a nation of traders. It will Collapse your manufacturing sector. Therefore, to bring such a proposal, till you have carried on manufacturing sector reforms, would be detrimental to the interest of the Indian economy.

Walmart could not be opened in Manhattan, New York till date. And the only reason is that a number of small stores will be closed due to opening of a Walmart in a place like Manhattan, where there is a developed economy. The basis of your entire argument is that today there are a number of middlemen in the market.

Walmart will go directly to the farmer and when it will purchase the goods directly from the farmers, the middlemen will be removed and therefore the farmers will get more prices for their produce. Look at the condition of the farmers of America and Europe. They give a subsidy of 400 billion dollars yearly to their farmers for their sustenance. Then, what is the reason that this experiment was not successful there, but it will work in India. There is only one agro product in India which does not have a middleman and that is sugarcane. There is no middleman there and every year if the state Government will not increase the state advice price, the sugarcane farmer will be left to starve. So, this entire experiment that the middleman will be removed and with that the farmer will prosper is not a sufficient argument. You must understand the fundamentals of market economy. When the market is consolidated, the middleman is removed. The consolidated markets are neither beneficial for the supplier, nor for the consumers. The States can control local areas. Foreign Direct Investment is a subject which is squarely in the Central List. It is not a subject matter of the State List. FDI policy has to be decided by the Centre, not by the States. You have said that it has been left to the states. You have opened a window and after that started making way for legal enforcement in the international tribunals and domestic courts. They will not invest in infrastructure sector. Today, we need infrastructure. They have given contracts to the Indian companies for construction of

**The NDA was never against it. But in which sector it should be introduced, should be decided by the country. Every change is not a reform. What is its relevance in Indian economy? There are 51 per cent such people in this country who provide employment to themselves. There is no other economy which has such a large number of self employed persons. My first objection is that when you open the FDI you must monitor the impact on each and every segment of the economy.**



cold chains. Schemes should be linked to asset creation for establishing rural infrastructure. Cabinet in the NDA regime had never taken any decision on FDI in retail. It was only a proposal. This was exactly a policy in UPA-1 and that is why I have been repeatedly complimenting Mr. Kamal Nath for that policy. He rejected it on the principle of swadeshi and, now, he accepted it on the principle of 'opening out'.

Parliamentary Standing Committee in a unanimous recommendation said that multi-brand retail will be destructive in a country like India and should not be allowed. Retailor

due to its power becomes super middle man. When farmer wants to sell its produce than he has no option other than the said chain and if he wants to buy than also he has no other option. They decide the market. Their ability to abuse the dominance is immense. And, that is why anti-trust actions, in many countries, have to be invoked against them. As far as wastage is concerned, these are exaggerated data while as per DIPP it is less. Your entire debate is based on deception. It is based on concoction of figures. So, you exaggerate the amount of wastage, create a horror situation. FDI in retail particularly for a populated country like us is not a good option. Other countries of the world have had experiences in this regard.

You pick up an isolated example of Pepsico. It may be true of that isolated case, but it will be equally untrue of the whole nation. This is the fallacy of composition. My appeal to you is, India with its size, with its population, with the kind of unemployment it will generate, the adverse impact on manufacturing jobs, the displacement of retail jobs, this is not the time that you have to introduce this policy. My appeal to all my friends in the Opposition is that in one voice, we must be together in rejecting it. They know that this policy is harmful to the country. The Nominated Members represent the conscience of this country. Therefore, this is the time for thinking of this country and speaking in one voice and 40 saying 'no' to this policy which is going to hurt the interest of this country. ■

# FDI will not create employment but will destroy existing employment : M. Venkaiah Naidu



*Synopsis of the speech delivered by former BJP National President Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu MP in Rajya Sabha on 6 December 2012 while speaking on the motion against FDI in multi-brand retail.*

**Y**ou said that you would take all the political parties into confidence and you would discuss it with the Chief Ministers. You have not consulted even your allies. My point is, after the withdrawal of support by the TMC, you have been reduced to a minority. Dr. Manmohan Singh, in his capacity as the Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, categorically stated that we should not permit Foreign Direct Investment in retail trade. And, now you have suddenly brought it without consulting your allies,

without consulting your supporting parties, and without consulting your own people. We are not blindly opposing everything for the sake of opposition. We want FDI in areas where it will add to the nation's wealth. In areas where it will encourage manufacturing sector, where it will create new opportunities and new avenues to Indian people, the FDI is welcome. FDI in retail trade will create widespread displacement of the people from their respective jobs. India, predominantly, is an agricultural country, it is a rural

country. More is the benefit which the agricultural sector is going to get.

The Walmart or the Tesco or other companies are not going to come to India to help our people. Those companies are coming to do business here. Procurement of 30 per cent of the goods from domestic sources automatically gives permission to import 70 per cent of the goods from outside. Then imagine what will happen to Indian manufacturing sector, Indian retailers and street hawkers in India.

*...Continued on page 22*

## How much and where should FDI be brought in asks Shanta Kumar



It should be decided keeping in view the national interest as to how much and where FDI should be brought in. There are sectors like power, railway, ordnance, tourism, air transport and pharma industries where investment is required to be made.

But the Government appears to be reluctant. The Indian pharma sector was making its relevance in the world without FDI but now with the advent of FDI, those companies are being sold and causing medicines to go costlier. Therefore, my submission is that Government should withdraw the decision in the interest of the country. ■

## Aiyar's 'animal' comment : BJP MPs serve breach of privilege notice

After raising strong objections to reported comments of Congress leader Shri Mani Shankar Aiyar comparing MPs shouting slogans in the Well of Parliament with animals, three BJP MPs gave a notice in the Rajya Sabha for alleged breach of privilege by him. BJP MPs Shri Jagat Prakash Nadda, Shri Dharmendra Pradhan and Shri Bhupendra Yadav have sent the privilege notice against Shri Aiyar under Rule 188 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Rajya Sabha to the RS Secretary General. Shri Aiyar, a Rajya Sabha MP from Congress Party had during a television debate on logjam in Parliament on FDI in retail, reportedly made the controversial remarks. "The use of such derogatory and defamatory words is unacceptable and constitutes contempt of this House. Therefore, we feel obliged to raise this question of privilege against him," the notice stated. The BJP MPs claimed Aiyar had in the televised debate in Bhupendra Yadav's presence referred to MPs shouting slogans in the Well of the House as "animals". Stating that Aiyar has used and reiterated the word 'Jaanwar' (animal) for MPs, the notice sent by the MPs read "the said offending word has been subsequently used by him several times in the course of the interview and he has justified using the said word on live television." Members in Rajya Sabha belonging to various parties have raised strong objections to Aiyar's reported comments and demanded an apology. An apparently embarrassed Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs Rajiv Shukla tendered an immediate apology on behalf of Aiyar and informed the House that he will talk to him in this regard and ask him to apologise. ■

...Continued from page 21

The Indian market will be flooded with Chinese goods and then our manufacturing sector will be doomed. That is why we are opposing this also. Bring FDI in strategic sectors like infrastructure. How do you believe what you are saying is going to help the country? The farmers in Britain are forced to sell their produce at the dictating price of the companies. You did not even bother about what the Standing Committee has opined. The Switzerland experience of Walmart is also not good. The experience of the US and Mexico

with FDI in retail is far from encouraging. I appeal to the parties which have opposed FDI both inside and outside the House to vote in favour of the Motion.

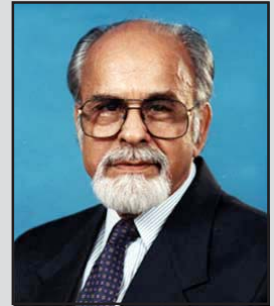
The Government is accusing BJP of encouraging middlemen. You are encouraging and supporting the foreigners. We do not want these foreigners. My point is that the Government which has been reduced to a minority, cannot take major policy decisions.

This House, Indian Parliament and the people of the

Nitin Gadkari expresses profound grief and deep sorrow on demise of Inder Kumar Gujral

The BJP National President Shri Nitin

Gadkari has expressed his profound grief and deep sorrow on the demise of former Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral.



In a

condolence message, Shri Gadkari described Shri Gujral a versatile politician and a thinker who served the nation in various capacities with utmost dedication and sincerity. Shri Gujral was a staunch nationalist and a great patriot, who had a thorough knowledge of international affairs. Inder Kumar Gujral (4 December 1919 – 30 November 2012) served as the 12th Prime Minister of India from April 1997 to March 1998. Gujral became vice-president of the New Delhi Municipal Committee in 1958 and joined the INC in 1964. Gujral resigned from the Indian National Congress party in the 1980s. He then joined the Janata Dal. ■

country were also assured that within five years of nuclear agreement, there will be power everywhere. But not even one MW power has been generated. What has happened to that promise between 2007 and 2012? FDI will not create any employment but it will destroy the existing employment. You do not have answer to our questions. Everyone is unhappy with you. Therefore, revise your stand. I support the Motion moved by Shri Maitreyan and urge upon the Government to withdraw this proposal. ■

# Why not vote on FDI in retail?

By Arun Jaitley

There is a legitimate apprehension in the country about whether the current Parliament session will go on or be disrupted. This is on account of a virtual breakdown of the relationship between the government and the opposition in terms of political dialogue. Obviously, such a situation is not desirable in a democracy. Consensus on various issues is possible and at times it is the pressing need of the hour. But in an environment where the government of the day survives on manipulation and creates an environment of political confrontation, consensus will always be elusive.

On December 7, 2011, the government assured both Houses of Parliament that the decision to introduce FDI in multibrand retail would remain in abeyance till the it consulted all stakeholders and arrived at a consensus. The stakeholders were described as the state governments and political parties, among others. There has been no serious effort by the government, since then, to engage political parties or state governments. When we raised this issue with the government, the answer was that the it had assured Parliament that it would consult and arrive at a consensus with political parties and state governments – it had not assured Parliament that it would consult “all” political parties and “all” state

governments.

**The government, obviously, was being too clever by half. As the opposition, we still relented. We assured the government that the Parliament session would function normally, provided the first item on the agenda was a discussion on FDI in multibrand retail under a voting provision. Once this debate took place, the rest of the business, including legislative business, would go on. The UPA government contrived an argument that a voting resolution on a policy matter had never taken place. We cited precedents that, in fact, Parliament had debated policy matters under a voting provision.**

Why should voting be considered alien to a parliamentary democracy? In fact, democracy is a game of numbers. Voting is the essence of democracy. There has to be a parliamentary control over executive decisions. A parliamentary disapproval of executive decisions through censure motions is the normal rule. Issues cannot be merely talked out. They have to be voted on in order to determine the sovereign will. There is now a lurking suspicion that the government will not agree to a voting provision till such time that the “regular suspects” among the loyal opposition

parties have been managed, either to vote with the government or to abstain from voting. It appears that the government does not seriously want the session to go on. It is creating a situation conducive to a stalemate.

My expectation from this session is that we should seriously discuss the state of the economy. The GDP growth rate has substantially declined. There is fear that the growth story of the Indian economy is being diluted. There is a danger that the “I” may be knocked out of the BRICS. The government has attempted to create an impression that it wants to introduce the new generation of reforms. It has brought a bad name to the word “reform”. Reforms are the art of the possible. If reforms are marketed purely as anti-people, their visible face being price rise, increase in diesel cost, increase in cooking gas cost, restrictions on cooking gas quotas, popularsanction will not be there behind reforms.

The farm sector is in a precarious condition. Infrastructure expansion has slowed down. The power sector suffers from coal shortage and is moving into a debt trap. The manufacturing sector suffers from high interest rates, lack of trade facilitation, high power costs and large currency depreciation.

The issue of corruption has to be debated in the current

House. There is consensus on a large number of issues in the report of the select committee on the Lokpal Bill. There is, however, no unanimity on all issues. Some further reforms, over and above those suggested by the select committee, are required to strengthen the freedom of the CBI from the clutches of the government. The surreptitious manner in which the new CBI director was appointed by the government, rather than by the collegium, on the eve of the submission of the select committee report, has set a bad precedent. It has sent out an impression that the government is uncomfortable about letting go of its control over the CBI, which has been used to secure its own longevity. The scam in the allocation of coal blocks requires to be debated at length in Parliament.

**The session started with a pathetic attempt by the government to choreograph controversy by bringing a bad name to the institution of the CAG. The rehashed story, attributed to a former official of the CAG, hit the headlines. The UPA chairperson herself also participated in this choreography by suggesting that the loss figures in the 2G spectrum allocation were attributable to the BJP. The government cut a sorry figure when the official concerned turned hostile in the course of a television interview and altered the identity of the person who had allegedly interfered with the CAG recommendation. It was no**

**longer the PAC chairperson, Murli Manohar Joshi, but some unidentifiable member of the PAC who had allegedly interfered in the CAG report.**

Important legislative business is pending. We in the opposition would like to cooperate by arriving at a consensus on a significant part

of this business. However, before we can reach that stage, the government will have to resolve the stalemate pending on the issue of FDI in retail. The earlier the government is able to resolve it with a voting provision, the easier it will be for parliamentary functioning. ■

*(The writer is the Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha)*

## Congress led UPA Govt. indecisive, incompetent : Advani

**B**JP Parliamentary Party Chairman and former Deputy Prime Minister Shri LK Advani lashed out at the Congress led UPA government at the Centre terming it indecisive and incompetent. Addressing a public meeting at Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh on December 01 after taking part in a function to mark the linking of river Narmada with Kshipra, Shri Advani said, "the UPA Government's functioning is marked by indecision" and this was the worst Government he had ever seen in his political career spanning six decades. In sharp contrast, the BJP-led NDA had done commendable work while it was in power from 1998 to 2004, the former Deputy Prime Minister said. Three months after assuming office, the NDA had conducted the Pokhran nuclear test about which even the US did not know anything, he said. Similarly, it launched an ambitious project under which villages were linked with nearest towns through a network of roads, he said. The NDA had also planned to Link Rivers to tackle problems of drought and flood, but it could not be done as the coalition lost power in 2004, he said. "I have no hesitation in saying that the present UPA Government at the Centre is the most worthless, helpless and incompetent Government in the history of independent India," Shri Advani added. Those who were present at the meeting were Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan, State BJP President Shri Prabhat Jha, former Chief Ministers Shri Sunderlal Patwa and Shri Kailash Joshi among others.

Earlier, Shri LK Advani laid the foundation stone of the 432-crore Narmada-Kshipra River Link Project at Kshipra's origin, Kshipra Tekri at village Ujjaini, about 22 km from Indore. On the occasion, the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister announced that a grand temple of Maa Narmada and Kshipra would be built at Kshipra Tekri. Shri Chouhan said this place would be developed as a pilgrimage centre and would be known as Sangam Sthal (confluence place). ■

## Defence Minister Antony felicitates senior BJP leader O Rajagopal

Responding to the call of Pundit Deen Dayal Upadaya, Shri O. Rajagopal, a leading lawyer of Palakkad, quit his thriving career to join as a full-time activist of Bharatiya Jan Sangh in 1962. A full time BJS-BJP activist for the past 50 years, he was twice Rajya Sabha M.P. from

living places like Chennai, Bangalore and Delhi etc. He received all round appreciation even from opponents from CPI, CPM and Shri A.K. Antony called him the 'AMBASSADOR OF KERALA' in Delhi.

Addressing the first of the series of golden jubilee celebrations, organised in Shri

in Palakkad. I used to have breakfast regularly in his house and our friendship has become stronger and stronger. There has been no change in his attitude despite reaching top heights", Shri Antony said.

On the occasion former BJP National President Shri M Venkaiah Naidu said there should be no personal rivalries among politicians and participation of leaders of all political parties in this meet is a healthy sign.

Veteran politician and newspaper baron Shri M.P. Veerendra Kumar, CPM leader M.B Rajesh MP, Muslim League leader Abdul Samad Samadani MLA, Congress MLAs Shri C.P. Mohammed, Shri K. Atchuthan, Municipal Chairman Shri Abdul Khudoss and representatives of trade, commerce and professionals felicitated Shri Rajettan. Justice Shri Chettur Sankaran Nair presided over the function.

Replying to the reception, former Union Minister and BJP senior leader Shri O. Rajagopal said he was overwhelmed by the all round love and affection. "For me, politics and service to the *Samaj* is part of spiritual activity as enshrined in our *Bharateeya Sanskar*. Spirituality is not something separate. It is part of everyday activity. Bharat's problems can be solved, if we spiritualize politics," he said. Thousands of activists of all political parties and public attended the function. (FOC) ■



Madhya Pradesh from 1992 to 2004.

As Union Minister of State from 1999 to 2004 in the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Cabinet he handled portfolios of Parliamentary Affairs, Defence, Railways, Law, Justice and Company Affairs. His term in Railways proved a Bonanza for Kerala. Train services boosting within Kerala, development of Infrastructure like track doubling, stations sprucing, passenger amenities, building of railway over bridges were the hall marks. New trains were started from Kerala to almost 16 state capitals and numbers of trains were increased to Kerale

Rajagopal's home town Palakkad, on 13th November, Defence Minister Shri A.K. Antony said senior BJP leader Shri O. Rajagopal was a model worth emulating by follow politicians due to his simplicity, large-heartedness, integrity and unblemished commitment to the task entrusted. "As Union Minister he had done justice to Kerala. He has given a humane face to political career and actions, which makes him a 'stand out' among politicians. My friendship with Rajettan (Rajagopal is popularly called as) started in 1964 when I was Congress Student's Union President and he a leader of BJS

# Little love or regard for democratic institutions

By A Surya Prakash

**F**or the Congress, ridiculing Constitutional bodies or bending them to suit its own purpose has become a habit. Now, even senior Union Ministers brazenly question the credentials of these organizations

It all began with the loaded pronouncement by the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office that changing the composition of the Office of Comptroller and Auditor-General of India was "under active consideration" of the Government. Days later the 2G Spectrum auction turned out to be flop show vis-à-vis the Government's revenue expectations and Union Ministers virtually celebrated their disastrous performance. Then came the "revelation" from a retired CAG official that the loss suffered by the exchequer in the controversial 2G Spectrum sale was actually paltry, but his opinion was brushed aside and a grossly exaggerated figure was put out in the CAG report.

Union Ministers are now working overtime to mock at the CAG for saying that Raja's method of selling scarce Spectrum had caused a notional loss of '1.76 lakh crore. They are also throwing challenges at him and also making oblique references to judicial interference in governance. In short, the scam-ridden UPA Government headed by Mr Manmohan Singh pretends that its image is still snow white and all its arguments against the CAG and the

**Following the poor response of the industry to the 2G Spectrum auction, Union Minister for Telecommunications Kapil Sibal and the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting Manish Tiwari have been taunting and challenging the CAG and asking, "Where is the Rs. `1.76 lakh crore?" This is probably the first instance in the history of democratic India where Union Ministers rejoice over their poor performance and even gloat over it.**

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judiciary is right. The Government is perfect, the fault lies with institutions which are mandated by the Constitution to protect the rights of citizens.

Following the poor response of the industry to the 2G Spectrum auction, Union Minister for Telecommunications Kapil Sibal and the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting Manish Tiwari have been taunting and challenging the CAG and asking, "Where is the Rs. `1.76 lakh crore?" This is probably the first instance in the history of democratic India

where Union Ministers rejoice over their poor performance and even gloat over it. They think that the blame for the poor outcome of this auction can be placed at the door of the CAG, who had indicted the Government.

Where does the fault lie? The truth is that the telecom industry was cold to the auction in 2012 because of the Government's faltering policies and its poor performance on the economic front over the last three years. Hit by scam after scam, the Government's image took such a severe beating that there is a major trust deficit as far as this Government is concerned. This is the reason why the telecom industry shied away from the bids. Second, Union Ministers say the judiciary and the CAG should stay clear of policy making. This has always been the case, but what should constitutional authorities do when they see the shameful and partisan manner in which a Minister like A Raja behaved while selling spectrum? Should they allow the looters a free hand or step in to save the constitutional right of 1.2 billion people to good governance?

One saw an equally shameful assault on the higher judiciary by the Congress in the 1970s and particularly during the dreaded Emergency, when Ministers and senior party leaders openly threatened Supreme Court judges. Since the days of Indira Gandhi, the Congress has always been uncomfortable with independent

constitutional authorities. Such has been its allergy to strong institutions that it openly canvassed for a 'committed judiciary' (committed not to the Constitution but to the Congress) and tried to pack the courts with "committed" judges.

Such was the party's gross interference that the entire system of judicial appointments were called into question, leading to the Supreme Court decision that appointments to the higher judiciary would henceforth be made by a collegium of judges. Long years have gone by but the executive has not been able to regain its voice vis-à-vis judicial appointments in the country.

The Congress, which sought to corrupt the system of appointments, is wholly responsible for this situation. The party's complete lack of commitment to core constitutional values has been apparent elsewhere as well. One has seen the party appoint persons like Navin Chawla, who the Shah Commission said "is unfit to hold any public office which demands an attitude of fair play and consideration for others...", as an Election Commissioner. He even later became the Chief Election Commissioner.

Let us also not forget the graceless conduct of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and then Union Minister for Home Affairs P Chidambaram, as members of the committee to choose the Central Vigilance Commissioner. They overruled Ms Sushma Swaraj, the Leader of the Opposition and the third member of the committee and chose PJ Thomas, against whom charges were pending in a

Given the Government's scope and inclination for mischief, one wonders whether there was a hidden Government hand in the poor bids for 2G and the possibility of cartelisation among telecom companies. In any case, this is a fit case for the Competition Commission of India to investigate.

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Kerala court.

We all know how long Mr Thomas lasted in this job. It is, therefore, no surprise that the Congress fusillade is now directed against the CAG.

Make no mistake. The two events – the moves to weaken the CAG and the poor outcome of the 2G auction – could well be related. Given the Government's scope and inclination for mischief, one wonders whether there was a hidden Government hand in the poor bids for 2G and the possibility of cartelisation among telecom companies. In any case, this is a fit case for the Competition Commission of India to investigate.

We must also ask the Government as to why it is instantly in love with the recommendations of the Shunglu Committee, but is dragging its feet on several very important recommendations by national commissions. For example, the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution headed by a venerable judge,

former Chief Justice MN Venkatachalaiah, recommended that a multi-party committee should select the Chief Election Commissioner and Election Commissioners and State Election Commissioners. This recommendation has been endorsed by the Second Administrative Reforms Commission that was headed by Mr Veerappa Moily, currently the Union Petroleum Minister. For the sake of democracy and the sanctity of the Constitution and in order to keep out 'elements' like Navin Chawla from high constitutional offices, the Government must first implement this recommendation, rather than allow its Ministers to hop around like headless chickens over some Shunglu Committee Report.

Union Ministers should not be allowed to get away with this argument that constitutional authorities are cramping the style of the Government and not allowing it to carry out its executive functions. There is a familiar ring to this argument. This is exactly the line taken by Indira Gandhi against the courts and the media in the 1970s.

Both these institutions were accused of obstructing the Government in carrying out welfare measures. It was also said that those who spoke or wrote against the Government were doing so at the behest of a "foreign hand".

Shall we then accuse the Congress of trying to weaken and even wreck the independence of our Constitutional institutions at the behest of another 'foreign hand'? ■

*(Courtesy: The Pioneer)*

GUJARAT

## To strengthening ties with Gujarat, Japan's Ambassador calls on Modi

Japan's Ambassador to India Mr. Takesai Yagi called on Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi in Gandhinagar on 26th November 2012. They discussed to strengthening of ties between Gujarat and Japan on economic, industrial and social development fronts. Mr. Yagi stated that a high-level delegation of Japan would visit Gujarat



in January 2013 to participate in the Vibrant Gujarat Summit.

Mr. Yagi also outlined the details of two seminars to be organized in

February-March 2013 on the subjects of urban transport and Land and Infrastructure. He told to Shri Modi that out of total 19 projects that Japan has planned in India, seven are going to be set up in Gujarat. Two "Smart City" projects are proposed by Japan in Dahej and Sanand industrial zones of Gujarat.

Shri Modi assured full cooperation of Government for setting up of de-salination project in Dahej that will convert the saline water into potable water, and also assured for cooperation in development of high speed rail project in Dholera. Mr. Takeshi Yagi also showed interest in Gujarat's rooftop solar power panel pilot project.

Shri Modi had visited Japan on the invitation on the Japanese Government in July this year. The visit had been a grand success and the fruits of Shri Modi's visit are reaped in the form of increased scope of investments by Japanese companies in Gujarat, and strengthened industrial ties between Japan and Gujarat.

Shri Modi had also discussed about the huge potentials of collaboration of Government of Japan, Government of India and Gujarat Government for the development of Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) project. The metro rail project i.e.

Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) has remained close to Shri Modi, and he has personally taken keen interest in the development of the project.

The Vibrant Gujarat Summit has reaped the fruits; DMIC has received full backing of Japanese Government. Mr. Takeshi Yagi visited Janmarg-BRTS and Sabarmati Riverfront and was highly impressed with both the initiatives.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

## New Zealand to aid Himachal Pradesh in horticulture & agri-sectors: Dhumal

New Zealand would co-operate with Himachal Pradesh in strengthening its horticulture and agriculture sectors by providing expertise and technology transfers.

Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister Prof. Prem Kumar Dhumal held a high-level meeting with visiting officials and a business delegation headed by Minister of Primary Industries of New Zealand, David Carter, at his official residence, in Shimla.



Chief Minister Prof. Dhumal welcomed the proposal of the New Zealand Government collaborating with the State in technology transfer in horticulture and agriculture sectors. He said that horticulture was the major cash crop in the State and was contributing significantly towards the State's gross domestic product while agriculture had been the traditional vocation in the State as over 90 percent of the population was directly or indirectly dependant for their livelihood over agriculture. The Chief Minister said mutual collaboration between the two countries would be beneficial to the State in the field of horticulture and agriculture sectors.

He said that the State had only 4 to 9 MT per hectare of apple yield as compared to over 25 MT per hectare yield in New Zealand. He said that the State would import quality and early-variety root-stock of apple from New Zealand for multiplication

in different laboratories in the State for further distribution amongst the horticulturists.

He said that creating cold chain to preserve the fruit and vegetables grown in the State could also be beneficial with mutual cooperation between Himachal Pradesh and New Zealand. He said that since apple crop was a highly perishable commodity that had limited shelf life, facilities of cold chain would help boost its shelf life and of other vegetables that could be stocked for longer to fetch remunerative prices by marketing the same at appropriate time.

Shri Dhumal said that fruit processing industry was another field where New Zealand could lend its support to the State so that instead of marketing the produce to distant markets, the same were processed to produce value based products for marketing.

### KERALA

## BJP seeks CBI probe into K.T. Jayakrishnan's murder

The Kerala BJP has reiterated its demand for a reinvestigation by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) into the murder of Shri K.T. Jayakrishnan.

Interacting with the media persons BJP State president Shri V. Muraleedharan said that the reinvestigation by the Crime Branch, announced by the State government, would not suffice to detect the real culprits, including the conspirators behind the murder.



He recalled that the Crime Branch had got information about the real murderers of Shri Jayakrishnan while investigating the T.P. Chandrasekharan murder case. However, the Crime Branch could not book the conspirators behind the murder of Chandrasekharan. Similarly, they would not be able to find those who conspired for the murder of Shri Jayakrishnan also.

Shri Muraleedharan said only the CBI would be able to detect those behind political murders in Kannur district. Noteworthy, Shri Jayakrishnan who was a teacher and leader of the Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha (BJYM) was murdered in a classroom in front of his students in 1999.

### DELHI

## Enquire into contract of cluster bus service in Delhi : Vijender Gupta

BJP Delhi Pradesh President Shri Vijender Gupta has said that the irresponsible attitude and corruption by Delhi Government are the reasons of the failure of widely publicized DTC cluster bus service. He has asked Minister Arvinder Singh Lovely whether he had relations with one of the Chadha brothers, Hardeep Singh killed recently.



Under the cluster bus service 150 low floor buses were to be operated in various roots of South Delhi. Only 16 buses are plying on these cluster routes till date. It is said that Hardeep Singh Chadha was the owner of this cluster bus service. He had secured the contract of cluster service with the help of his relations with Delhi Government. Hardeep Singh was also operating other business. It is said that he had relations with former Transport Minister Arvinder Singh Lovely, but he was not serious about starting the cluster bus service. The Government did not take any penal action against it. Due to this the passengers of aforesaid routes are suffering, Shri Gupta said.

The Delhi Government for the purpose of improving the public transport system in the capital had divided entire Delhi into 34 routes. These parts were named clusters. New low Floor-AC and non-AC buses were to be operated by the private cluster operators having different colours in all the clusters. Government spent crores of rupees in the publicity of this scheme. Even after two years neither new buses have been purchased nor new buses have started playing in all the clusters.

It may be mentioned that the blueline buses called as killer buses of Delhi were stopped from operating due to the intervention of court. But now Delhi Government is going to operate those blue line buses on 97 routes of outer Delhi. Under this service 1532 blue line buses shall transport the passengers. There is apprehension of increase in accidents once again due to it. ■

# Guru

By Sri Swami Sivananda

**T**he Guru is God Himself manifesting in a personal form to guide the aspirant. Grace of God takes the form of the Guru. To see the Guru is to see God. The Guru is united with God. He inspires devotion in others. His presence purifies all.

The Guru is verily a link between the individual and the immortal. He is a being who has raised himself from this into That, and thus has free and unhampered access into both the realms. He stands, as it were, upon the threshold of immortality; and, bending down he raises the struggling individuals with his one hand, and with the other lifts them up into the empyrean of everlasting joy and infinite Truth-Consciousness.

## The Sadguru

To be a Guru, one must have a command from God. Mere study of books cannot make one a Guru. One who has studied the Vedas, and who has direct knowledge of the Atman (Self) through Anubhava (experience), can alone be enrolled as a Guru. A Jivanmukta or liberated sage is the real Guru or spiritual preceptor. He is the Sadguru. He is identical with Brahman or the Supreme Self. He is a Knower of Brahman.

A Sadguru is endowed with countless Siddhis (psychic powers). He possesses all divine Aisvarya (powers), all the wealth of the Lord. Possession of Siddhis, however, is not the test to declare the greatness of a sage or to prove that he has attained Self-realisation.

Sadgurus generally do not exhibit any miracle or Siddhi. Sometimes, however, they may do so in order to convince the aspirants of the existence of superphysical things, give them encouragement, and instill faith in their hearts.

The Sadguru is Brahman Himself. He is an ocean of bliss, knowledge, and mercy. He is the captain of your soul. He is the fountain of joy. He removes all your troubles, sorrows, and obstacles. He shows you the right divine path.

He tears your veil of ignorance. He makes you immortal and divine. He transmutes your lower, diabolical nature. He gives you the rope of knowledge, and takes you up when you are drowning in this ocean of Samsara (cycle of birth and death). Do not consider him to be only a man. If you take him as a man, you are a beast. Worship your Guru and bow to him with reverence.

Guru is God. A word from him is a word from God. He need not teach anything. Even his presence or company is elevating, inspiring, and stirring, His very company is self-illumination. Living in his company is spiritual education. Read the Granth-saheb (the holy scripture of the Sikh religion). You will come to know the greatness of the Guru. Man can learn only from man, and hence God teaches through a human body....

## How to Choose Your Guru

If you find peace in the



presence of a Mahatma (great soul), if you are inspired by his speeches, if he is able to clear your doubts, if he is free, from greed, anger, and lust, if he is selfless, loving, and I-less, you can take him as your Guru.

He who is able to clear your doubts, he who is sympathetic in your Sadhana, he who does not disturb your beliefs but helps you on from where you are, he in whose very presence you feel spiritually elevated—he is your Guru. Once you choose Your Guru, implicitly follow him. God will guide you through the Guru.

Do not use your reason too much in the selection of your Guru. You will fail if you do so. If you fail to get a first-class Guru, try to follow the instructions of the Sadhu (a spiritual person) who is treading the path for some years, who has purity and other virtuous qualities, and who has some knowledge of the scriptures. Just as a student of the Intermediate class will be able to teach a student of Third Form when a professor with M.A. qualification is not available, just as a sub-assistant surgeon will be able to attend on a patient when the civil surgeon is not available, this second-class type of Guru will be able to help you.

If you are not able to find out even this second-class type of Guru, you can follow the teachings contained in the books written by realised saints like Sri Sankara, Dattatreya, and others. You can keep a photo of such a realised Guru, if available, and worship the same with faith and devotion. Gradually you will get inspiration, and the Guru may appear in dream and initiate and inspire you at the proper time. .. ■