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Relevance of surgical strikes

Kuldip Nayar

I was against surgical strikes because I thought it would escalate things and probably go to a point of no return. But now that the strikes have been made I back the government. I am reminded of George Bernard Shaw, eminent literary personality, who said that he was a worst critic of the British government but since it was in the midst of war he supported it.

Probably, India had no option. Terrorists, who were taking shelter on the Pakistan soil and operated from there, had to be punished. Islamabad did not do anything to stop or foil their activities. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has said that his country would retaliate and perhaps the attack near Baramulla area was what he meant by revenge.

As India's Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Arup Raha, has said that the reply to what happened at Uri when Indian's 19 soldiers were killed by the terrorists is being given and the Uri operation is not yet complete. He said "it is still live," without commenting on the surgical strikes. I don't think that both India and Pakistan, the nuclear powers, will cross the red line. Escalation on the

border can be controlled up to point but when events take over it will be difficult to say what will happen on the war theatre.

National Security Advisors of the two countries, Ajit Doval and Sartaj Aziz, have met and agreed to bring down tension. Why couldn't they have done it before the surgical strikes took place? Aziz must have gauged the depth of anger in India with all political parties backing Prime Minister Narendra Modi government. Nawaz Sharif, too, has got sanctions from the political parties in Pakistan. He had convened a special meeting to appraise the opposition of the situation.

Public opinion in both the countries has become hawkish. It's unfortunate that Pakistan is prepared even for a nuclear war if it comes to that. The people on both sides want the end of daily tension and desire the government of their country to ensure that they don't have to live with such constant fears.

The SAARC summit would have been an occasion when things could have been discussed across the

table. But all the countries have pulled out from the meeting at Islamabad. They say that the climate is not conducive for the SAARC to meet. Still there is no other venue where all the countries in the region could have met and talked on the situation threadbare.

Pakistan should realize that its behaviour is such that other countries in the region are not willing to accept its doings. But terrorists like Hafiz Sayeed are openly operating from the Pakistani soil. India took the case to the UN but China, Pakistan's ally, used the veto power and did not allow the UN to formally declare Hafiz Sayeed as a terrorist. It was an unfortunate use of veto power but China goes to any limits to stand by its ally.

As a result, the deadlock continues to the detriment of democratic India. The situation can escalate to dangerous proportions at any time because Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is always overlooked by the army. This means that the army does not have to go to the front literally and yet lead the elected Nawaz Sharif from its headquarters at Rawalpindi.

The problem that Pakistan has to reckon with is the uprising in Baluchistan and the attack from Afghanistan. Since both do not have a full-fledged army to back them, the war would be a limited one. No doubt, the Americans have withdrawn their troops from Afghanistan but a small contingent has stayed there at the specific request of Kabul.

New Delhi is now openly supporting Baloch leader Brahmdagh Bugti, who has been

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Growing danger of agri-chemical multinationals

Bharat Dogra

The recent 66 billion dollar purchase of Monsanto by Bayer is one more sign of the coming together of seeds and agri-chemical interests as well as growing concentration of market in the hands of few giant multinational companies in these sectors.

In fact if we look at the trends in world food and agriculture in recent decades then these have been dominated by the increasingly desperate efforts by huge multinational companies to increase their dominance of the world food and farming system. The way in which patents were incorporated into the WTO agenda and so in a very clever way almost all countries were forced to change their patent laws in keeping with the interests of developed countries provides a glaring example of the high-powered forces at work to implement this agenda of dominance. The new patent laws helped the food and farming giants to tighten their grip on plants and seeds resources of the developing countries.

Genetic erosion of their plant wealth has also proved very expensive for farmers, particularly those based in developing countries. Due to the combined impact of destruction of natural forests, and the introduction of green-revolution type agriculture, which replaced local varieties over large areas by new monocultures, genetic erosion has been taking place on a massive scale even in the tropical countries which have been the original source of

much of the plant diversity. Soon thousands of varieties of plants were lost to these countries for ever. However, already several of these had been stored carefully in the labs and gene banks of the developed countries whose scientists had been engaged in these collections for several years. Suddenly, in the time span of a few decades, the natural advantage which some parts of the world had enjoyed for millions of years appeared to have been reversed.

Today several experts agree that most of collected genetic diversity is stored in gene banks mostly in Europe and North America. In a handful of high-security institutions of these and a few other countries, the world's most valuable raw material is stored, and it is unlikely that the countries of origin from where most of this material came will have free access to it.

Pat Roy Mooney brings out the glaring injustice of this situation, "It is a raw material unlike any other in the world. It has not been bought. It has been donated. It has been donated by the poor to the rich. The donation has been made under a noble banner proclaiming that genetic resources form a part of the heritage of all humanity, and thus can be owned by no one. But as the primary building blocks of agriculture, genes have incalculable political and economic importance. Industrialized governments - often overruling the intentions of their scientists - have come to hoard germplasm and to stock seeds as part

of the arsenal of international power diplomacy. Private companies in North - although glad to receive free genes - are loath to divulge or share the adaptations they draw from these donations.”

It was noticed about two decades back that the nature of the seed industry was changing in several countries, particularly the rich western countries (although similar changes were soon noticed also in several developing countries). The seed industry had earlier been based on small firms. These firms were now being gobbled by big companies, especially companies which already had big stakes in agri-chemical industry - within a single decade, chemical corporations spent over \$10 billion in buying up seeds companies. In fact the American Seed Trade Association even organized a special symposium on ‘How to sell your seed company.’ Apprehensions were rightly voiced that a small number of giant companies will control seeds as well as agri-chemicals, and that the production of seeds can be given such an orientation as to require high and increasing amounts of agri-chemicals. According to one widely quoted estimate at least 27 corporations had initiated 63 programs to develop herbicide tolerant crops. Already a few multinational companies control a very considerable part of the international seeds sector and pesticides.

These trends were strengthened further by the developments in the controversial technology of genetic engineering. A very important part of genetic engineering research has been devoted to herbicide-tolerant plant varieties, for example cotton which is tolerant to a herbicide called bromoxynil.

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Caste discrimination in Hyderabad University

Ghanashyam Shah

“Report of the People’s Tribunal on Caste Discrimination & Police Action in the University of Hyderabad” which narrates the circumstances leading a suicide of Rohit who fought for freedom of expression and speech. You might be interested to browse the report: The link https://www.academia.edu/28717795/Report_of_the_Peoples_Tribunal_on_Caste_Discrimination

The main findings and recommendations are the following.

The tribunal was organized by the concerned teachers, writers, and lawyers of Hyderabad. It was chaired by Justice K. Chandru, Retired judge High Court Madras. Prof Govardhan Wankhede, TISS, Bombay and I were the members. The brief to the tribunal was to examine the circumstances leading to the suicide committed by Rohit Vemula Chakravarthy, a Research Scholar as well as the police action subsequent to his death and the existing caste discrimination practice by the University. And, to recommend among other things, besides protocols to enable marginalized students to fully participate and enjoy the academic, political and social space of the university more productively and effectively; and to examine the existing grievance redressal systems to prevent caste discrimination in the University of Hyderabad and evaluate their effectiveness.

The Findings

? The issue raised by late Rohit Vemula Chakravarthy and his

organization, (Ambedkar Students Association) was a larger political issue related to freedom of expression and idea of India. There was nothing ‘castesist’ in these issues, as MHRD alleged and persuaded the University to change its earlier decision and take action against the Dalit students. Instead of looking at the issue in larger perspective, the adversary of ASA dubbed it ‘casteist, extremist and anti-national’.

? The manner in which the university authority conducted the inquiry against Rohit and other Dalit students give an impression of targeting them for their political position. At least that is how the Dalit students and many perceived.

? Rohith’s suicide in the UoH is not the first one. In less than ten years, three other students had committed suicide. The University has done nothing to prevent recurrence of suicides of students in the past. This was despite the fact that the earlier committees, appointed by the University, consisted of the university teachers, had made recommendations to set right things regarding student issues. What is disturbing is that UoH has not yet taken these suggestions made by their own colleagues seriously.

? Even as early as the year 2013 the High Court of Andhra Pradesh (now renamed as High Court of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) in PIL No.106/2013 had issued several directives to all the Universities in the state to prevent

recurrence of suicides. However, neither the UGC Regulations of 2012 nor the Court directives nor UOH Committee recommendations have been implemented.

Recommendations

1. The University should immediately implement the AP High Court Order Interim Measure No 3 that calls upon the University for instituting a Special Commission to review disciplinary orders imposing major penalties such as rustication, expulsion from hostels and stoppage of fellowships in the case of all students and especially those from SC/ST/OBC and other marginalised backgrounds.
2. Although at the University level, there are entities such as Office of the Dean, Students' Welfare, the Central Grievance Committee, and SC/ST cell to address any problems faced by the students, there is no formal, institutional mechanism in any of the Schools for redressal of grievances of students, especially those who belong to the marginalized categories. The existence of such agencies even at the University level and the procedures to be followed are not widely known to the student community. The doctoral committees, which may be expected to take up this role, exist more on paper than in practice in all the schools.
3. The University should institute as early as possible the Grievance Redressal Committee headed by the Ombudsman as per UGC (Grievance Redressal) Regulation 2012. And, on the priority basis, it must implement all the Directives in the Order passed by the High Court of Andhra Pradesh in W.P (PIL) No. 106/2013.
4. It appears that UoH has not yet set up the Equal Opportunity Cell headed by the Anti-discrimination Officer as per the UGC (Promotion of Equity in Higher Educational Institutions) Regulations 2012. That has to be done urgently. Simultaneously, SC/ST cell to safeguard the interests of SC/ST students; and remedial coaching in English language programme to improve their academic performance require review and to be made more effective.
5. The university requires the formation of a broad-based "Students Counselling System". Such system needs to be interactive involving students, teachers and parents to address common student concerns ranging from anxiety, stress, fear of change and failure to homesickness and a slew of academic worries.
6. The University should on priority basis appoint anti-discriminatory faculty advisors for SC/ST students. It is a responsibility of the advisors to work as watchdogs to protect the students against discrimination. Moreover, they should also look into the problems –personal and academic- faced by the students and advise them accordingly. They should work as counsellors.
7. The University does not have effective system encouraging one-to-one student- teacher relationship at all levels. The students in general and those belong to the marginalised communities feel alienated in the university system. Besides classroom and laboratory teaching, the teachers need to make a special effort to cultivate a one-to-one relationship with all the students so that when a student needs guidance/advice s/he can contact a teacher without fear. This responsibility needs to be interwoven with teaching and guidance. If needed teacher-student ratio needs to be reduced so that all the teachers get opportunities to spend time with the students.
8. The teachers need to be more sensitive towards the students coming from the rural background and of the marginalised communities. They need to self-introspect critically regarding their bias and approach towards the students belonging to the different social background than theirs. All the three committees appointed by the university have emphasised this.
9. Universities in general and the elite universities, in particular, should not only be the centre for disseminating knowledge but they should also disseminate knowledge in such a way that it provides space to the subaltern and empower them by enhancing their capacity and self-confidence. It is dangerous if the dissemination of knowledge reinforces and legitimizes inequality in society. The task of university needs to inculcate values among

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Subverting the Right to Education Act

Under the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, Section 12 (1) (c) admissions of 25 children were ordered by the Basic Shiksha Adhikari of Lucknow in Navyug Radiance Senior Secondary School. The school gave admission to only two – Pakhi Rajput and Asna Farhad. It first expelled Pakhi Rajput because of the inability of her parents to pay fees even though the Act promises free education from Classes I to VIII. Asna's parents were made to pay Rs. 1,150 for dress and books and another Rs. 2,650 were demanded as fees for three months. When they complained to the authorities Asna was asked not to come on the last day of an internal examination. Her parents were given a visiting card of the owner of school, Sudhir Halwasiya, which identifies him as a member of the state executive committee of Bhartiya Janata Party. The remaining students were never admitted. It appears that Sudhir Halwasiya considers himself above the law of the land.

The Foreign Minister Shushma Swaraj has recently asked the Delhi government to admit a girl from Pakistan Madhu to a school even though she did not possess proper documents. What can be more heartening than making education accessible to children who are denied such an opportunity. However, this step has been taken to put down Pakistan. Indian government is ready to embrace anybody who faces discrimination in Pakistan. But one wishes that the government displayed the same amount of sensitivity towards children of its own citizens. If this was not the case Sudhir Halwasiya would not have felt

emboldened to expel children admitted under a national Act from his school. Do the children living in India not have the same rights as Madhu from Pakistan?

One must also think about what will happen to the Prime Minister's slogan relating to saving girl children and educating them, 'Beti bachao, beti padhao?' Both children expelled by Sudhir Halwasiya are girls. Even Atal Bihari Vajpayee ran a campaign asking children to come to school, 'Aao school chalen hum.' It means BJP is not really serious about its intent to provide education to children. It is a party which believes more in publicity.

Advocate Abhishek Manu Singhvi, associated with Congress party, has decided to give his services to an association of private schools' owners against the RTE Act. Singhvi is a senior lawyer and can make his money on other cases. Is it morally right to stand against an Act, which promises fundamental right of education to children, introduced by his own party?

Similarly, Shanti Bhushan, who was the law minister in Janata Party government and was an important figure in the Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement decided to appear for City Montessori School last year when its owner Jagdish Gandhi decided to oppose the admission of 31 children ordered by BSA. Social activists ran a campaign requesting him not to defend a person guilty of denying the children their fundamental right.

Akhilesh Yadav considers implementation of RTE Act Section

12(1)(c) as one of his achievements. In 2015 CMS admitted 13 children but only after a court case which went on for more than four months and when Supreme Court refused to intervene. The UP government had awarded Jagdish Gandhi Yash Bharti in 2014 which carries with it a cash prize of Rs. 11 lakhs and a monthly pension of Rs. 50,000 per month. After Jagdish Gandhi resisted the order of BSA and fought a legal battle against UP government, his wife Bharti Gandhi was awarded the Rani Laxmi Bai Bravery Award in 2016 on women's day. It appears that the bravery of Bharti Gandhi was in opposing the admissions of 23 Scheduled Caste and 8 Muslim children of which 6 were from Other Backward Classes. The CM has recently publicly praised Jagdish Gandhi for giving admissions to many poor children in CMS under the RTE Act, exhibiting embarrassing pusillanimity.

This year too Jagdish Gandhi is opposing the admissions of 58 children. He is setting some conditions which the children must fulfill in order to avail the benefit of the Act. It is a moot question that when the BSA has ordered the admission, he must have done so after conducting his enquiry. Is Jagdish Gandhi authorised to conduct his own verification? It is an open secret that Jagdish Gandhi obliges influential people like politicians, bureaucrats, judges and journalists by giving their children education for free or at very concessional rates. When Jagdish Gandhi can subsidize the education of children of the rich, can't he accommodate a few underprivileged children?

Recently Jagdish Gandhi's daughter Geeta Gandhi Kingdon, who now looks after the CMS and also holds a position in University College of London, spoke on 'Access, Equity and Quality of Education in UP,' at a seminar in Lucknow.

Jagdish Gandhi's other daughter Sunita Gandhi has started her own school called City International School. She is a Ph.D. in education from Cambridge University and has studied education system of 38 countries. She too refuses to admit 10 children in her school. She is running an informal programme to

make all the children of Lucknow literate but doesn't believe in sending all of them to regular schools so that they can receive formal education and use it to transform their lives.

Another chain of prominent schools, Virendra Swarup Public School admitted two children Shan Mohammed and Mohammed Zaid in its Mahanagar branch but later expelled them. Exxon Montessori in Rajajipuram has admitted 9 children but discriminates against them inside the school by making them sit separately.

Thus we see that whether it is the big political parties or influential owners of private schools, none of them want the children of the poor to receive education alongside the children of rich.

Socialist Party (India) is of the opinion that privatization in the field of education as well as in health care must end and government must nationalise all educational and health care institutions so that equitable quality education and health care are available to the poor also.

Dimensions of India-Pakistan conflict

While the world media and Pakistan question the veracity of Indian claims of surgical strike inside the Pakistani border across Line of Control in Kashmir where two soldiers are reportedly killed, we know for sure that five people have died in police firing on protestors in Hazaribagh, Jharkhand where tribals were resisting the takeover of land for mining by National Thermal Power Corporation. Earlier 80 people were killed in Kashmir over two months in protests in the aftermath of killing of militant Burhan Wani and two people were killed in Ramgarh district of Jharkhand in protests against NTPC.

Modi has said that blood and water cannot flow together implying that Pakistan cannot expect unrestricted flow of water from rivers originating in India and flowing into Pakistan if it continues to support terrorists who target India using Pakistan as base. While it is true that terrorists have attacked army camp in Uri who came from Pakistan and earlier attacks have also taken place in Pathankot

and Mumbai in which Pakistan's involvement cannot be denied but how can we overlook the fact that blood flows in India because of Indian security forces too and not just because of Pakistani terrorists? The number of incidents of violence inside India by security force far outnumbers the incidents across the border with origin in Pakistan. Modi's remark camouflages this sad reality and is thus misleading. It may appeal to blind nationalists but not to any rational thinking citizen.

We are apparently attacking Pakistan because we want to defend our motherland. But what are we doing with the motherland? Do people living over the land have right over it? If Modi government had its way, land rights will be taken away from people. It'll no longer be necessary to ask people before the government acquires land. Modi government tried thrice, fortunately unsuccessfully, to dilute the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act in the interest of

private corporations. He had to ultimately give up in the face of stiff resistance from farmers and people.

The question is if the land is going to be taken over by the government to be handed over to corporations to make private profit, is not Narendra Modi violating the sanctity of the motherland and merely using people's sentiments to rally them behind him projecting a potential war with Pakistan.

The sanctity of the motherland must not be just preserved against some foreign country but also against any vested interest which are out to acquire land on which the lives and livelihood of local people depend. When people defend their land against government takeover it is almost with same zeal, as they too are willing to give up their lives, as the soldiers defend the motherland against the enemy. For the people of Hazaribagh who were protesting against NTPC, Pakistan is a distant enemy but the immediate enemy is local police and administration.

The politics of nationalism has very cleverly mobilized people behind the government to defend the land of the country but its economic policies are heavily biased towards private sector. Modi government has opened the defence sector for privatization. Hence, we're in a very peculiar situation. If the country goes to war, it may as much be to protect the motherland for the people as to cater to the interests of the private sector. The private companies selling arms to India stand to benefit from any war as India will place more orders with defence companies. Narendra Modi's close friend Anil Ambani has already been the largest beneficiary of the deal with France to buy Rafale jets. Modi government is playing with the dangerous combination of nationalism and corporatization of defence sector. From now on the country will have to play the game of war to keep the defence sector alive and kicking. The media will go along with this as it stands to gain from any kind of sensationalism. In fact the media by playing up the sentiment of jingoism has created a war atmosphere which doesn't actually exist in reality. It is thus doing a great disservice to the people of the country.

India must also reconsider its efforts to isolate Pakistan internationally. In spite of its best efforts the major powers are not willing to consider Pakistan the rogue state that India would like them to do. A possible reason is the human rights violations in Kashmir. India recently denied entry to the United National Human Rights Commission in Kashmir. On the contrary, Pakistan took international media to border areas after the Indian surgical strike. We cannot be blind to the issue of human rights violations in Kashmir and keep pointing out the

atrocities committed by Pakistan from across the border.

India is also trying to review Indus Water Treaty signed with Pakistan in 1960. The deal allowed Pakistan to use waters of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab whereas India was free to use the waters of Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. Even before India could consider revising the treaty, China has already demonstrated that it can do the same with India that India might consider doing with Pakistan. China has stopped the water of the Brahmaputra tributary. China doesn't have a water sharing treaty with India like the Indus water treaty. So, while India's possible act will be treated as illegal, China can get away without attracting any criticism.

How sensitive the water sharing exercise can be must be clear from the ongoing Karnataka-Tamil Nadu dispute. Had they been two countries they might have even gone to war over their respective claims on Cauvery water. The Supreme Court is trying their best to resolve the issue which appears to be intractable. SC has at least directed the people using stern warning to refrain from using violence. SC has also taken the initiative of facilitating dialogue between the executive heads of two states with the objective of melting hostilities. Hopefully, the issue would be amicably resolved under the guidance of SC. It shows that all issues have potential solution and violence is no answer to any problem.

India and Pakistan should learn from the Karnataka-Tamil Nadu dispute. They should give up violence against each other and try to resolve their outstanding disputes through dialogue amicably.

–Sandeep Pandey

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students of mutual respect, equality, and fraternity.

- University has an important role in creating and disseminating knowledge in society. In order to facilitate the task, it needs to provide congenial space for critical inquiry without fear. Within the university boundaries, no concept/idea/symbol is sacrosanct. The academic community enjoys the freedom to express their views and debate on all issues under the sky without fear. Dissent is a core of critical thinking which needs to be allowed and protected within the university campus. University is not a factory to manufacture robots. It is a place to develop a critical mind. Everyone has a right to dissent, including dissent against capital punishment. The university of Hyderabad needs to protect such freedom. Dialogue and debate have to be an integral part of academic life. Without that, the university would be dead.

Socialist Party (India)

National Conference of the Socialist Party will be held on **14 and 15** (instead of 12-13, as reported earlier) **November, 2016** at Chediram Dharmashala, Lucknow. Three delegates from every such district in which party members are enrolled so far will participate in the National Conference. State Secretaries should communicate their names and postal addresses to Janakiprasad Goud, President, U.P. State before 20 October, 2016.

–Pannalal Surana

Why we must listen to Jayaprakash Narayan on Kashmir

Ramachandra Guha

On the 4th of October 1966 — almost exactly 50 years ago — the great Indian democrat Jayaprakash Narayan spoke at a seminar on Kashmir held in New Delhi. The Valley was in turmoil; the popular leader Sheikh Abdullah was under arrest, and the state government was widely believed to be both incompetent and corrupt. ‘JP’ began his talk by clearly stating that this was a dispute between ‘the government of India and the people of the state’. JP believed that Pakistan had no *locus standi* in Kashmir, because of its past, perfidious, actions. As he put it, ‘the real desire of the Government of Pakistan is to seize the valley. Twice they tried to capture it by force, but they failed’.

But even if one put Pakistan outside the equation, the problem remained. For, said JP in 1966, ‘perhaps there is more discontent today amongst the people of the state than at any earlier time. There is more anti-India feeling among them than before’.

How should the government react to this discontent? JP was clear that ‘it will be a suicide of the soul of India, if India tried to suppress the Kashmiri people by force’. Rather than rely on repression, what ‘the Government of India can do is go back to the 1947-53 days, that is, go back to the time when the state had acceded to India only in three subjects [i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications]. This would mean providing for the fullest possible autonomy’.

Back in October 1966, Jayaprakash Narayan insisted that if, in Kashmir, ‘we continue to rule by force and suppress these people and crush them or change the racial or religious character of their state by colonization, or by any other means, then I think that means politically a most obnoxious thing to do’. He continued: ‘Kashmir has cost us a great deal and it is time that everyone who is a patriot in this country thought seriously about a really good solution. I have already told you what I think is a really good solution’ (i.e. fullest internal autonomy).

JP’s concern for the dignity and well-being of Kashmiris was of long-standing. Many (but not all) of his statements on the subject are contained in *JP on Jammu and Kashmir*, a book edited in 2005 by the late Balraj Puri, himself a scholar and democrat of conspicuous integrity.

Two years before his talk in Delhi in 1966, JP wrote an **essay** on Kashmir in the *Hindustan Times*. There he remarked: ‘No matter how aggressively we affirm that Kashmir’s accession to India is final and irrevocable the world does not accept it, the “azad Kashmir” area remains under Pakistan, the cease-fire line remains, the two armies remain facing each other, the minorities in both India and Pakistan continue to live in fear, discontent in Kashmir simmers and might have to be put down by force’.

JP pressed for justice in Kashmir continuously through the 1960s and 1970s. He did so when Nehru was prime minister, when Shastri was prime minister, when Indira Gandhi was prime minister. In June 1966 he wrote Mrs Gandhi a remarkable letter about a problem that had (at that stage) ‘plagued this country for 19 years’. JP believed ‘the problem exists not because Pakistan wants to grab Kashmir, but because there is deep and widespread political discontent among the people. The people of India might be kept in the dark about the true state of affairs in the Valley, but every chancellery in New Delhi knows the truth, and almost every foreign correspondent’.

‘Kashmir has distorted India’s image for the world as nothing else has done,’ said JP to the prime minister. The only way to get rid of this black mark on Indian democracy was to assure the Kashmiris ‘full internal autonomy, i.e., a return to the original terms of the accession’.

JP’s letter to Mrs Gandhi continued: ‘To think that we will eventually wear down the people and force them to accept at least passively the Union is to delude ourselves. That might conceivably have happened had Kashmir not been geographically located where it is. In its present location, and with seething discontent among the people, it would never be left in peace by Pakistan.’

The prime minister wrote a brief note back, thanking JP

‘for sharing your views on Kashmir’. But no action was taken on his letter. That was not surprising, because Indira Gandhi disliked JP.

However, the ruling dispensation in New Delhi now, 50 years later, professes great respect for JP, not least because of his struggle against the authoritarian regime of Indira Gandhi. Indeed, Prime Minister Narendra Modi and several of his Cabinet colleagues have spoken feelingly of their own baptism in the ‘JP movement’.

Modi and his ministers say they admire JP. But can they, will they, listen to JP on Kashmir? The discontent in the Valley is wider and deeper now than in 1966. A major change since JP’s day is the growing influence of radical Islam in the Valley. JP would have condemned this. But he would have been even more critical of the continuing repression by the Indian State. He would have noted, too, that in the world of the Internet no longer can the rest of India be kept in the dark about what is going on in Kashmir.

JP on Jammu and Kashmir is still in print. Perhaps the PM, the PMO, the NSA and the home minister should order copies, and study its contents carefully. For these words of JP are as relevant in 2016 as they were in 1966: ‘It will be a suicide of the soul of India, if India tried to suppress the Kashmiri people by force.’ And, further: ‘Kashmir has distorted India’s image for the world as nothing else has done.’

–HT

BHU’s Struggle against the autocratic VC

C. B. Tripathi

On October 2, 2016, Avinash Janu has written a report on the current state of deplorable affairs at BHU that was posted on Facebook by Diwakar Singh. It makes such a sad reading to note the depth of degradation caused by the most incompetent and communalist Vice-Chancellor Girish Chandra Tripathi who claims to be an economist but whose little known works in Hindi are *Shiva—Tere kitne Roop* (Shiva— How many forms you have) and *Mrityu ke baad* (After Death). The only criterion for his selection as VC of a prestigious University like BHU by another uneducated arrogant erstwhile HRD (Education) Minister, Smriti Irani, was GC Tripathi’s old loyalty towards the RSS. On the very first day of assuming the charge as VC of BHU he is widely reported to have boasted of his 40-year old association with the RSS. Only the other day he committed the *faux pas* of remarking that when the Central Government is being run by the RSS (though a reality), what is the harm in opening a shakha of the RSS on the campus. He is such a blot on the glorious tradition of this great University which has seen Vice-Chancellors of the calibre of Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, Acharya Narendra Deva, Sir CP Ramaswamy Iyer, Dr. KL Shrimali and the like. I also recall the standard of non-partisanship set up by Acharya Narendra Deva who kept his chairmanship of the All India Praja Socialist Party strictly off the

campus. The most eminent person to fill the vacancy in the post of Pro-VC was Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal, Professor of Political Science, a student of Prof. Harold Lasky at LSE, an acknowledged authority on Marxism and an important leader of the PSP. But Acharyaji disregarded his legitimate claim to be appointed the PVC lest anyone allege partisanship on his part. He appointed instead Prof. Narlikar, Professor of Maths., as the PVC. (His son is the eminent astrophysicist Dr. Jayant Narlikar.) And here is the present VC, GC Tripathi, who takes pride in showing off his RSS link and goal to saffronise the national university. Let us recount some of the misdeeds of VC Tripathi. He has restricted the working hours of the University Library from 24 hours to 15 hours (8 AM to 11 PM). As is well known, poor students from eastern UP, Bihar, MP and Jharkhand who have to reside outside the campus in cramped lodges and who cannot afford to buy books used to study late hours in the University Library, specially during the examinations. There was no justification for depriving them of this facility. In the Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq fashion he has arrogated to himself the authority to decide what the girls staying in the Women’s Hostel will wear, meal time and time to go out with whom and when. PM Modi is trying to instal Wi-Fi on the *ghaats* of Varanasi but at the University the students are struggling for internet, library and study facilities. He also observed that there was no need for studying

out of syllabus. When a student delegation submitted a representation with 500 signatures he advised them to study under street lights and threatened that if they persisted he would get them thrown out of the campus. The hostellers are not allowed internet use exceeding 4GB. Social networking sites like Facebook and UTube are already banned on the campus. On May 9, 2016, nine of the protesting students were not allowed to appear at the exams and were asked to leave the campus. The students sat on a peaceful dharna but at midnight more than 1,000 PAC jawans picked them up and took them away from the campus. At another end the daily wage workers have been sitting on hunger strike for 81 days, kidneys of two of them were damaged but the University authorities and the district administration totally ignored them. They have been on strike for three months. Some of them have been on indefinite hunger strike for 34 days but the University administration is paying no heed to their legitimate demands. The Hariharnath Committee set up to inquire into their working conditions had recommended in 1998 that until all the daily wage workers were employed as regular workers no fresh recruitment should be made. But during the last 18 years fresh appointments were being made while the old daily wage workers have not been made permanent till now. This when the VC and the Executive Council of the University had accepted this recommendation. The VC, GC Tripathi wants to impose his cultural values upon the girls staying in the Women's Hostel who are not allowed to step out of the hostel after 8 PM, are told about their choice of dress and the way

of conducting themselves. They are subjected to various forms of discrimination. What is to be done in these circumstances? The students of BHU with the glorious tradition of taking a prominent part in the freedom movement of India as well as the movement of the Nepalese people for freedom from the autocratic rule of Ranas, should throw out this non-academic RSS man just as the then students of BHU threw out the VC Govind Malviya, autocratic and accused of moral turpitude, under the able leadership of Anandeshwar Prasad Singh nearly seven decades ago, despite the fact that Govind Malviya was the youngest son of the founder of the University, Mahamana Malviyaji whom Mahatma Gandhi used to call 'Bade Bhai'. I had the privilege of leading the biggest ever student movement after Independence with Lucknow as the nucleus for the autonomy of student unions in universities and colleges in UP in 1953. Reportedly 14,000 students went to jail throughout the State, three persons were killed in the police firing at Lucknow on November 1, 1953. The mile-long procession taken out in the city protested the midnight attack on the Union building by 700 PAC personnel called from Sitapur. They took away the student leaders on hunger strike and hundreds of students who had assembled there at short notice after we got the secret info about the imminent attack by the PAC on the orders of the State Government based on cock and bull reports from LIU that the students had planned to blow up the Tagore Library and the Chemistry Lab that night. Out of 12 members of the Action Committee 9 were taken into custody, two went to their home towns and I remained underground,

conducting the movement from my hideouts changing every night and not letting the CID catch me. During that period we carried on talks with the State Government utilising good offices of senior University dons and others. Ultimately the strong State Government led by Pt. GB Pant, which was misled by the Health Minister and Hon. Treasurer of LU, CB Gupta, had to give up their stiff attitude and accept our democratic demands. We also had open support of Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and moral support of Prime Minister Nehru. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia wrote an article captioned *The Lucknow Revolt* in the National Herald wherein he wrote one paragraph on me appreciating my responsible leadership. The message I wish to convey to my young friends of BHU is that they are bound to succeed in their cause provided their movement is completely non-violent, democratic and shuns abusive language. Because of this welcome trait of our movement, though I was a confirmed socialist, even top Congress leaders of the State like Pantji, Dr. Sampurnanand and Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi always liked me. As a result of our movement CB Gupta was defeated from three constituencies in 1957 Assembly elections. I learnt from Dr. PC Joshi, then a leading leader of the AISF at LU, many many years later that in December 1953 the CWC passed a resolution that in the future no Minister should hold any office in any administrative body of any university and this resolution was included in the Collected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru published by NMML. This episode convinced us of the power of non-violence and democracy that was a lasting contribution of Bapu to national and international politics.

Intellectual Tolerance

Ramendra

Intellectual tolerance is an essential pre-requisite for the existence of democracy and secularism in a multilingual, multireligious and multicultural society like India. In the absence of intellectual tolerance, which includes religious tolerance, our society will be torn into pieces!

The issue of intellectual tolerance has become very relevant at present, because intellectual intolerance has increased manifold in our country in the last few years. Some authors-thinkers of our country have been killed, just because their killers did not like their views! I am talking about Dr. Narendra Dabholkar, Govind Pansare and M. M. Kalburgi. This is nothing but height of intellectual intolerance!

Instead of waxing eloquent about ancient times, it is important for us to focus on what is happening at present in our social and political life.

In the last few years, some people have even tried to glorify Godse, the killer of Gandhi. On the other hand, some persons from the highest echelons of the ruling establishment have demanded enactment of law banning religious conversions.

Coming closer still, in 2015, 'Ambedkar-Periyar Study Circle' organized by students of I.I.T., Madras, was derecognized by the institution. This was done after the Central Human Resource Ministry intervened on the basis of a complaint

by an "anonymous" person. The study circle was restored after massive protests throughout the country.

The events in the Hyderabad Central University climaxed in the suicide of Rohith Vemula, a dalit research scholar in January, 2016. Earlier, the university had stopped paying the amount of Rs. 25 thousand per month, which was being paid to Rohith Vemula as fellowship. Rohith Vemula was associated with Ambedkar Students' Association. The local B.J.P. Member of Parliament had written a complaint to the then Human Resource Minister in the month of August, 2015, alleging that the Hyderabad University had become a stronghold of "casteist, extremist and anti-national politics". In the month of September, 2015, the University had suspended five students, including Rohith Vemula. Consequently, in January, 2016, Rohith Vemula committed suicide.

Even when the protests regarding Rohith Vemula's suicide were continuing throughout the country, the elected President of J.N.U. Students' Union, Kanhaiya Kumar, was arrested on the charge of "sedition". At the time of his production in the court, some persons, related to the ruling party at the Centre, manhandled him. Later, the court released him on bail. When Kanhaiya went to the Hyderabad Central University to

express his solidarity with the protesting students of the university, the authorities banned his entry into the university campus at the last moment.

There have been many such incidents violating intellectual and political freedom in other universities as well. There is no need to go into details here. The incidents narrated above are more than sufficient to illustrate the attitude of the present Union Government.

In September, 2015, before the last Bihar Assembly elections, Mohammad Aklaq was lynched to death in Dadri, Uttar Pradesh, after being "charged" with eating beef. In July, 2016, about more than a month ago, some dalits were beaten up in Una in Gujarat by the so-called "cow-protectors", just because they were skinning dead animals.

A strange environment of intellectual and religious intolerance is sought to be created in the country. If the Union Government does not agree with any idea or ideology, the persons subscribing to that ideology are being charged with "treason" in a very light manner. Hate campaigns are being carried on against religious minorities. Writers-thinkers are being killed, and Gandhi's assassination is sought to be justified.

Someone may disagree with Gandhi's ideas. Gandhi can be and has been criticized from a humanist point of view as well, particularly, his

views on religion and *varna-vyavastha*. But, what is the meaning of justifying Gandhi's assassin, Godse? This can only mean that if you don't agree with someone's ideas, shoot him! In fact, this is what has been done with Dabholkar, Pansare and Kalburgi.

Whether it is philosophy or any science, knowledge grows by critical thinking. There is no place for intellectual intolerance in scientific method. If scientists are not tolerant towards different hypotheses, then science will not be able to move even a step forward.

Philosophy, in particular, grows out of critical thinking. This was true in ancient times and is true at present also. Today, in Analytical Philosophy central place is given to clarification of concepts and logical evaluation of beliefs. If we are not tolerant enough even to listen to one-another's arguments, how are we going to logically evaluate it?

In fact, in philosophy/knowledge grows out of clash of opposite ideas and intellectual struggle. In western philosophy there has been a long intellectual struggle between materialism and idealism. In India, Astika (orthodox) and Nastika (heterodox) struggle has been going on since ancient times, and is still continuing in the 21st century. In fact, the conflict has sharpened further.

Whether we are Nastika or Astika, we ought to be ready to listen to and to evaluate one another's arguments. If possible, we should try to remove or minimize our disagreements by using logical and scientific method. Where there is no sufficient evidence to come to a definite conclusion, we ought to

suspend our judgments. If it is not possible to remove our disagreements, then we ought to learn to live peacefully and gracefully with our disagreements. In no case, we should turn our intellectual disagreement into personal enmity, conspire against one-another and even indulge in violence.

This is the essence of intellectual tolerance.

In absence of such intellectual tolerance the future of philosophy will itself be endangered. Therefore, philosophers ought to be in the forefront of the fight against intellectual intolerance.

Children in poverty

India is home to over 30 per cent of almost 385 million children living in extreme poverty, the highest in South Asia, according to a new report by the World Bank Group and UNICEF. The report 'Ending Extreme Poverty: A Focus on Children' said children are more than twice as likely as adults to live in extreme poverty. In 2013, 19.5 per cent of children in developing nations were living in households that survived on an average of USD 1.90 a day or less per person, compared to just 9.2 per cent of adults.

Globally, almost 385 million children were living in extreme poverty. The report said sub-Saharan Africa has both the highest rates of children living in extreme poverty at just under 50 per cent, and the largest share of the world's extremely poor children, at just over 50 per cent. "South Asia has the second highest share at nearly 36 per cent with over 30 per cent of extremely poor children living in India alone," it said, adding that more than four out of five children in extreme poverty live in rural areas

The report said children are disproportionately affected, as they make up around a third of the population studied, but half of the extreme poor. The youngest children are the most at risk with more than one-fifth of children under the age of five in the developing world living

in extremely poor households. "Children are not only more likely to be living in extreme poverty; the effects of poverty are most damaging to children. They are the worst off of the worst off and the youngest children are the worst off of all, because the deprivations they suffer affect the development of their bodies and their minds," said UNICEF Executive Director Anthony Lake.

"It is shocking that half of all children in sub-Saharan Africa and one in five children in developing countries are growing up in extreme poverty. This not only limits their futures, it drags down their societies," Lake said. Senior Director, Poverty and Equity at the World Bank Group Ana Revenga said the sheer number of children in extreme poverty points to a real need to invest specifically in the early years in services such as pre-natal care for pregnant mothers, early childhood development programs, quality schooling, clean water, good sanitation and health care. Revenga said improving these services, and ensuring that today's children can access quality job opportunities when the time comes, is the only way to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty that is so widespread today.

—Press Trust of India

Harsh Vardhan

A committed socialist and former member of Lok Sabha, Harsh Vardhan passed away on 4th October at Delhi's All India Institute of Medical Sciences. He was 68. Born on 1st December 1947 to Savitri Singh and Yogendra Pal Singh, Harsh Vardhan was educated at Lucknow University. While a student, he came in contact with Socialist leaders of that time like Rajnarain, Madhu Limaye, Ram Sewak Yadav, George Fernandes, Arjun Singh Bhadoria, Ugrasen, Capt. Abbas Ali, Brajraj Singh. He was active in Samajwadi Yuvjan Sabha along with Satyadev Tripathi, Devvrat Majumdar, Mukhtar Anis, Mohan Singh, Mohan Prakash and Rajnath Sharma and others. He was President of Uttar

Pradesh Samajwadi Yuvjan Sabha in 1974-77. He was very much active in JP Movement of 1974 and was member of Chatra Yuva Sangarsh Samiti, Uttar Pradesh, 1974-77. During the Emergency he was arrested and put behind the bars in Lucknow Jail. He contested in 1977 and 1980 U.P. Assembly elections unsuccessfully but got elected in 1985 on Janata Party ticket from Pharenda assembly constituency in Gorakhpur district. He was closely associated with trade union and Kisan movements and was President Uttar Pradesh, Hind Mazdoor Kisan Panchayat in 1986-1989. During the same period he was General Secretary, Janata Party, Uttar Pradesh. In 1989 when Janata Party merged into Janata Dal headed by VP Singh, Harsh Vardhan

contested as a Janata Dal candidate from Maharajganj Lok Sabha seat and got elected to ninth Lok Sabha. Later on he joined Congress party, was Vice-President of UP Congress Committee and got elected in 2009 to Lok Sabha as Congress party candidate from Maharajganj (Gorakhpur) in Uttar Pradesh. A dedicated social worker and committed to secularism, Harsh Vardhan was Imprisoned on a number of occasions for his participation in student, youth and socialist movements and suffered imprisonment. He actively struggled against police atrocities, injustice and corruption and was proud of his socialist leaning and legacy and remained committed to its values.

–Qurban Ali

A puzzle called economics!

It was Abraham Lincoln who said: “You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time”.

If he is alive today, Lincoln may take back his above quote!

It is reported that the Japanese save a lot. They do not spend much. Also, Japan exports far more than it imports. Yet Japanese economy is considered weak, even collapsing. Americans spend a lot and save little. Also USA imports more than it exports. Has an annual trade deficit of over \$400 billion. Yet, the American economy is considered strong and trusted to get stronger. But wherefrom do Americans get money to spend? They borrow from Japan, China and even India.

Virtually others save for the US to spend. Global savings are mostly invested in US, in dollars. India itself keeps its foreign currency assets of over \$50 billion in US securities. China has sunk over \$160 billion in US securities. Japan's stakes in US securities is in trillions. Result: The US has taken over \$5 trillion from the world. So, as the world saves for the US - its citizens spend freely. Today, to keep the US consumption going, that is for the US economy to work, other countries have to remit \$180 billion every quarter, which is \$2 billion a day, to the US! A Chinese economist asked a neat question. Who has invested more, US in China, or China in US? The US has invested in China less than half of what China has invested in US. The same is the case with India. We have invested in US over \$50 billion. But

the US has invested less than \$20 billion in India. Why the world is after US? The secret lies in the American spending, that they hardly save. In fact they use their credit cards to spend their future income. That the US spends is what makes it attractive to export to the US. So US imports more than what it exports year after year. The result: The world is dependent on US consumption for its growth. By its deepening culture of consumption, the US has habituated the world to feed on US consumption. But as the US needs money to finance its consumption, the world provides the money. It's like a shopkeeper providing the money to a customer so that the customer keeps buying from the shop. If the customer will not buy, the shop won't have business, unless the shopkeeper

funds him. The US is like the lucky customer. And the world is like the helpless shopkeeper financier. Who is America's biggest shopkeeper financier? Japan of course. Yet it's Japan which is regarded as weak. Modern economists complain that Japanese do not spend, so they do not grow. To force the Japanese to spend, the Japanese government exerted itself, reduced the savings rates, even charged the savers. Even then the Japanese did not spend

(habits don't change, even with taxes, do they?). Their traditional postal savings alone is over \$1.2 trillion, about three times the Indian GDP. Thus, savings, far from being the strength of Japan, has become its pain. Hence, what is the lesson? That is, a nation cannot grow unless the people spend, not save. Not just spend, but borrow and spend. Dr. Jagdish Bhagwati, the famous Indian-born economist in the US, told Manmohan Singh that Indians

wastefully save. Ask them to spend, on imported cars and, seriously, even on cosmetics! This will put India on a growth curve. This is one of the reason for MNCs coming down to India, seeing the consumer spending. 'Saving is sin, and spending is virtue.' But before you follow this neo-economics, get some fools to save so that you can borrow from them and spend!

—**Mathai Rajan Abraham**

(Continued from Page 1)

offered asylum in India. Following his example, many Baluchis who are at the moment residing in Europe and elsewhere will seek to come to India. This will open another front against Pakistan which India can utilize to tell the world that the uprising in Baluchistan was like the one in East Pakistan, which liberated itself to become Bangladesh in 1971.

The rebellion is a warning to Islamabad that Baluchistan could secede. In fact, it has Shias as a majority like Iran and does not fit into Pushto region which is all around. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, is from the region. When I met him years ago his complaint was that Jawaharlal Nehru had not kept his promise to establish an independent country for the Pushto-speaking people.

Nehru was helpless because Baluchistan was part of Pakistan and he had accepted the establishment of Pakistan at the time of partition. Badshah Khan, as Frontier Gandhi was called, was now a citizen of Pakistan. Any step from Nehru would have amounted to a war and he naturally was not prepared for it.

Prime Minister Modi is a different kettle of fish. Yet, his policy so far has been give-and-take. He was the one who invited to his swearing-in ceremony all leaders of SAARC countries. Modi also stopped at Islamabad while returning from Afghanistan to extend a friendly hand despite furore at home. But today the situation on the ground is different and may force Modi to look at things from another perspective.

The surgical strikes are one such option which he has exercised. Nawaz Sharif's threat of further retaliation could lead to a worst situation. Even Modi may not be able to control when events take over. They have their own ways of expressing themselves and can mean anything. It's time that Pakistan pulls itself back from abyss because it can fall from the cliff.

That will be too dangerous for the country. After all, Pakistan should know by now that after having fought three wars—in 1948, 1965 and 1971—its loss was far greater than it could inflict on India. Even it had to seek the good offices of President Clinton to get the Pakistani soldiers, who had infiltrated the territory, from the Kargil heights.

Footprints of A Crusader (The Life Story of Mrunal Gore)

by
Rohini Gawankar

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(Continued from Page 3)

Soon the genetic engineering companies shifted to the even more obnoxious technology of introducing pesticide properties within the plants. About these trends, the Independent Science Panel has said, "Bt proteins, incorporated into 25% of all trans-genic crops worldwide, have been found harmful to a range of non-target insects. Some of them are also potent immunogens and allergens. A team of scientists has cautioned against releasing Bt crops for human use."

Despite this clear view, shared by many eminent scientists, the main company involved is willing to go to any length - bribery, coercion, lies, manipulations - to spread its obnoxious technology because its objective is not food security, its objective is only to tighten its grip on food and farming system.

Genetic engineering is so important in this quest for dominance as this complex and expensive technology is concentrated to a large extent in

the hands of a few giant multinational companies and their subsidiaries. The story that started with snatching the plant resources of tropical/developing/poor countries, then, proceeded with new patent/IPR laws gets completed with genetic engineering. This is the carefully manipulated route which these companies, blessed by their governments in several cases (particularly the USA), have followed in their race for dominance of the world food system.

Socialists Unity Conference

October 21-22, 2016, Mumbai, Maharashtra.

Such activists friends who have firm faith in democratic socialism have come together on a common platform 'Hum Samajvadi' (We Socialists). The platform has successfully organized Socialists Unity Conference in Patna and Lucknow. Gaining from the experience of last one year, another large-scale programme is being organized in Mumbai on 21-22 October 2016. There will be a special rally on 22 October. The conference will be attended by participants from different peoples' organizations, political activists

Different topics are to be discussed in this conference such as elimination of communalism, fascism and caste in the light of the Constitution; economic crisis and globalization in the last three decades; natural calamities, agriculture crisis and development; climate change as a global challenge; status and change in education system; unorganized labour force, their contribution, security and rights; and gender justice.

21 October 2016. 10 am to 8 pm.

Venue: Damodar Hall, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Road, Jagannath Bhatankar Marg, Parel, Mumbai – 400012.

22 October 2016. 10 am to 1 pm.

Venue: Shirodkar High School Hall, Dr Borges Road, Near Nare Park,
Chamar Bagh Cross Road, Mumbai – 400012

Public Rally: 2 pm onwards at Azad Maidan (Near Mumbai C.S.T Railway Station)

Medha Patkar, Dr Sunilam, Madhu Mohite, Sadasiv Magdum,
Suneeti S.R, Bilal Khan, Mdhuresh, Sudhakar Stave
for Hum Samajvadi - We Socialists

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