

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION

2018



Manifesto
2018



Note

This document is copyright free. Individuals/organisations are welcome to claim it as their own and publish it in their names.



ಕೆಲವರಿಗೆ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಸಮುದಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಎಲ್ಲಾ

*Not For The Few;
A Politics For The
Community*

*A Manifesto by Swaraj
India, Karnataka*



Foreword

Swaraj India is contesting just a handful of seats in the 2018 May elections to the Karnataka Legislative Assembly. When this is the case to say that we will do this and we will do that when we come to power will be just mere talk. In order to enable humankind to make their lives more tolerable, this manifesto makes an attempt to search for possibilities that encompass an organic holistic perspective. This is open to dialogue. Together with this Swaraj India has received with gratitude the booklet '*Mannina Odalu Jeeva Vaividhyatheya Kadalu*' written by H Manjunath as a companion text. Similarly Swaraj India receives with gratitude the 'Youth Manifesto for Karnataka 2018' published by Youth for Employment as its companion manifesto and understands it as a part of its' manifesto.

Swaraj India will work in accordance with the concepts in this manifesto. It will regard every vote that is polled by Swaraj India as an endorsement of this manifesto. The candidates who win from Swaraj India will work towards creating policy, legislation and programs in favour of these ideas, in the State Assembly.

With this awareness, designing programs at the district level such as a study of districts, district workshops, district dialogues, finding solutions to local problems according to the needs of the district and many more - these will be Swaraj India's next steps.

Devanoora Mahadeva
Member, National Presidium
Swaraj India

Chamarasa Mali Patil
President
Swaraj India Karnataka



The Land Is Ablaze And Burning Election Fever Is Rising

[This writing has taken shape through receiving with gratitude the wisdom and sensitivity of thinkers from a shared empathetic community and from those who possess the maturity that comes with experience.]

The Karnataka State Assembly elections (May 2018) is now before us. The election fever is rising. Atmospheric heat is rising as if the Earth too has developed a fever. Rainfall, that cools down the earth, has not seen a reduction in quantity. On an average, the amount of rainfall has been consistent over the past few years. But seemingly miscalculating it rains whenever and wherever. Losing equilibrium, like it was insane, it either rains too little or too much. The land is so much hotter on days when there is no rain. There is no humidity in the air. When there is regular rainfall, water does not soak into the earth and neither it does it flow out naturally but just dissipates into thin air. When it rains too much it creates a deluge flowing into the sea. Groundwater has hit rock bottom. As water shortages increase and borewells drill deeper into the earth the proportion of chemicals in the water increases. Because of this body pain, bone erasure and unnecessary diseases are coming on. Forest animals are foraging into fields and villages in search of water. Not just that, with the rising heat viruses and bacteria are transforming shockingly. They are bringing in new new diseases. They pose a challenge to the medical sciences. Because of the rise in temperatures, floods caused by heavy rainfall and seasons of insubstantial rainfall occur. Glaciers are melting. Cyclones hit. Deserts increase day by day. This has nowadays become a day to day routine. This is Earth's diary!

We are calling this 'Nature's fury'. True, Nature is furious. But the reason for this is not Nature. The reason for this is ecological imbalance. The reason



for this ecological imbalance is the shit produced by a life of luxury excreted by countries who identify themselves as 'developed' or 'developing'. The shit excreted by a life of luxury - carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxide that are used in the production of electronic equipment as well as emissions produced by modern industrial production, an increase in vehicles using diesel and petrol and many more, all come together, like a convenient marriage of the bereaved, creating a surge in global warming. The immense increase in the laughing gas Nitrous Oxide, NO_2 , is creating conditions for mass death. This fungal rot has also been called nitrogen cancer. This is seen as much more instrumental in contributing to rising global temperatures than even carbon dioxide. The laughter of laughing gas is dying. The excreta of a life of opulence has brought on Earth's fever. The land has been set ablaze and is burning. All in all, modern era's 'development' man is burning up the Earth for his own indulgences. Mankind has brought about disease, drought, and floods with his very own hands. One could attribute the prime reason for this to the rule of brainless wretched politics. Shouting out 'you are responsible' to those responsible for all this should be the first task of a community based politics.

Mayabazaar: Development's mesmerising fallacious marketplace of illusions rules the world today. Companies, who assure us that they have taken birth only to improve the world, bring favourable governments into power and topple other governments in order to carry on their plunder easily. Everything is brought

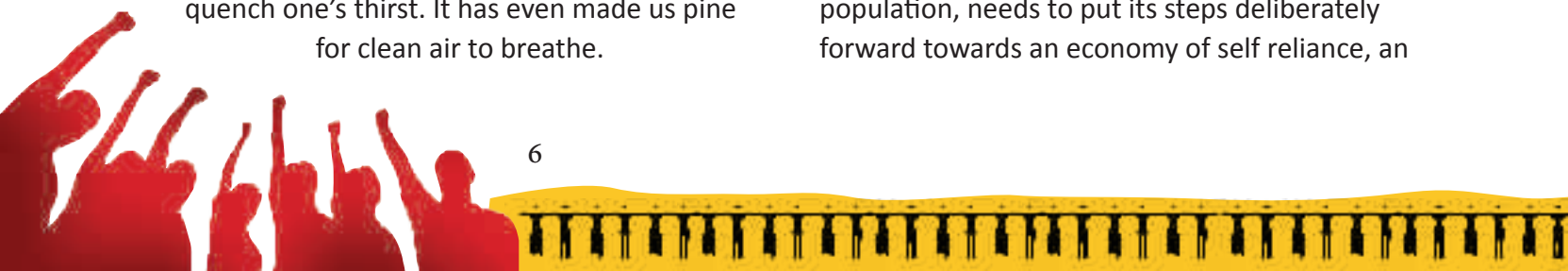




within their clutches. Without the courage to come face to face with people's problems, political rule encourages the differences between castes, religion, sects by planting the seeds of hatred, lies and fallacies. Maybe, nothing else in recent times has done as much of a betrayal as the attractive phrase 'development' has done. Public property has been opened up for looting. This has been called 'development'. Selling the country to privatisation while chanting patriotism is being called development. This kind of development only sees the capital of the capitalists increasing. Even this too is being called development. Together with this, unemployment too has been increasing. Existing jobs are being slashed. Permanent jobs are being left vacant. Jobs with no guarantees, temporary work, part time work, contract work has been encouraged creating a situation systemically that is neither here nor there. Community is being rendered helpless more and more, day by day. It's become almost natural to subsist on a life fuelled by helplessness. Dissociating and misleading the public from the burning issues that are tearing apart human life may even be a ploy hatched by political rule. At the end of it, what have we achieved with this model of development? The very process of a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people has been called development. In recent times, what has been increasing day by day, are the numbers of crorepatis who flee the country with their stolen wealth. Even this increase has become development! The intelligentsia expends all the intelligence it has learned not on issues of food or clothing but on weaving tempting traps that make people more pliable. It deploys money too for that. The lack of having a heart has now come to be known as being shrewd, à la Chanakya. This unquenchable thirst for development has created such devastation that there isn't even water to quench one's thirst. It has even made us pine for clean air to breathe.

In this situation, the work of waking up to an awareness about it should be our first task. For survival, development should mean - employment and self reliance. And development should mean - equality and material prosperity being seen as two wheels of a chariot that need to move in equilibrium. Only then is it a step forward. We need to be convinced that we can call it a moving forward only when this happens.

The GDP Water Bubble: Together with this we also need to pay attention to what we hear everyday - GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Without paying heed to public health, education and contentment we've climbed on to the bandwagon of GDP growth. We can see the horror of this through one example - we celebrate the going down of inflation as a fall in prices. Agricultural products become extremely cheap. We celebrate the fall in prices of food crops. But what are we really celebrating? Aren't we celebrating the lack of a proper price for the farmer's labour? When the farmer commits suicide because of a lack of proper price and the wages of a worker who labours falls below even the minimum then there is an exponential increase in the money of the already rich. The GDP increases even when one is hospitalised. Even when one dies we calculate it as a rise in GDP because even that provides employment for some. This is the extreme of cruelty. Financial sector trade through the sharemarket, a gamble that makes money out of money has been called a bubble that floats on water. This is an 'ephemeral' *Nashwara* economy. India too has fallen for this kind of *Nashwara* economy. If there is a miscalculation in the formula of this *Nashwara* economy a GDP that is 6 could even become 3 in the blink of an eye. The main reason for the bankrupt situation many countries find themselves in is this *Nashwara* economy. India should be alert to this. India, with its dense population, needs to put its steps deliberately forward towards an economy of self reliance, an



economy that provides enduring and sustainable livelihoods. India should base its' GDP on reality. This means that the manufacturing sector should be prioritised. Biogas, solar power and rainwater harvesting should be made mandatory for the manufacturing industry. Not only that India needs to bolster its economy into self reliance by basing itself in a home based industry that would increase the value of agricultural products.

Now: Elections are now before us. As Swaraj India's vision (<http://swarajindia.org/content/Vision%20Swaraj%20English.pdf>) understands it - 'Elections have just become a tool for collecting votes by spilling money, then using that as fodder to make more money, converting that money into power and using that power in order to make more money. Corruption has become rampant in the system. Not only that the system itself has become institutionalized as a corrupt system. Today democracy assures us of only the illusion of good governance but not that of self rule.' All in all people's representatives are not representing the people! Today those who are 'from money, for money, money's representatives' are being voted in. Now, we have to choose 'from the people, for the people, people's representatives'.

Swaraj India shapes its thinking and its programs with this understanding.

For Example: A few programs by Swaraj India, by way of example, are presented here as an attempt to press home the path of the manifesto:

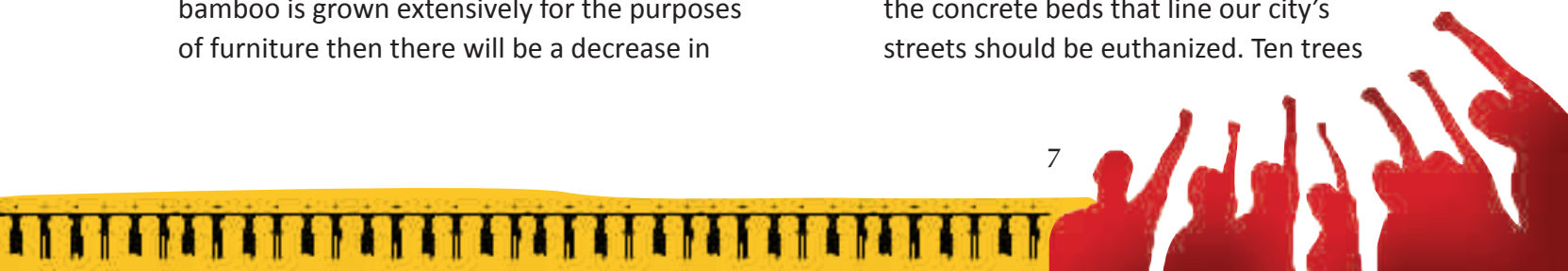
1. **Bamboo:** When Bamboo is grown in hilly areas, it retains water in the hills. It increases the level of groundwater. When grown in low lying areas it absorbs dirty water. Its' roots provide shelter for water and life. Its' foliage also provides shelter to other animals. If bamboo is grown extensively for the purposes of furniture then there will be a decrease in

the use of trees. Also if street vendors sell grains and vegetables, on tables made of bamboo, it can protect the cleanliness of the edibles. One could even make a cart for business. This process will create employment.

2. **Cycling Paths:** In dense cities a unidirectional cycling path should be mandatorily constructed. Cycling should be encouraged. Research should also be undertaken to increase the speed of the cycle. Because of this there will be lesser consumption of fuel. There will be at the very least some decrease in the amount of CO₂ being released into the atmosphere. There will also be less pressure on the roads. It would help in speedy transportation of blood in population dense cities. Cycling would also help in keeping good health.

3. **Encourage Use Of Jaggery:** Jaggery production should be supported to fulfill the country's needs. Organic jaggery should be prioritised. Chemicals will then be used less. Rural employment will flourish. There should be less tax on sweets made with jaggery and more tax on sweets made with sugar. More importantly, artificial sweeteners like saccharin and aspartame that are used extensively in the production of sweet drinks and which increases the risk of illnesses should be banned. Because of this fatal diseases can be prevented. Sweets made out of jaggery and peanuts, beans, sesame seeds etc which are dryland crops should be distributed to school children. It will provide nutritious food while simultaneously encouraging farmers engaged in dryland agriculture. This way at least some jobs will get created.

4. **Trees In Agony:** Trees that are suffering without food, in a pitiable condition, amidst the concrete beds that line our city's streets should be euthanized. Ten trees





for every tree should be planted before they are removed. Mishaps caused by the falling of these frail trees at the slightest hint of wind and rain can then be averted.

5. **Footpath Shrines:** On the footpaths of city roads shrines have been built and Gods have been made obstacles. Because of this pedestrians who don't use pollution causing fuels but use footpaths instead are harassed. In order to save the dignity of the Gods these

shrines should be shifted.

6. **Plant worship:** In city's parks plants should be worshipped. All concrete structures in parks should be dismantled. We should be able to breathe. We should become civilized citizens.

In this way, finding programs with a holistic view is now before us. Swaraj India invites innovative ideas from people from different fields which it will incorporate into its' journey and move forward.

First, A Story.

In a village, a centenarian, just like our HS Doreswamy, is digging a hole. Next to him sits a coconut sapling. The king travelling, in disguise, through the villages climbs down from his horse with curiosity and laughingly asks "What old man? (You can't call our Doreswamy an old man. Anyways) Even at this age you are struggling to plant a coconut sapling!!! Will you eat the fruits of this labour?". This ripe old man, responding says "Swami, what I am eating is not what I grew. I'm not planting this sapling for myself. This is for those of our tomorrows" he says. The king offers obeisance at the feet of the old man.

Tomorrow was yesterday's dream. Today it has become a nightmare. It seems like today's man will not save anything for tomorrow, for the people of tomorrow. He's only devouring it himself. Today, forests, mines and water are being destroyed much like the story of the killing of the hen who laid one golden egg a day. Public institutions, public wealth which is the property of the community is being sold by governments to private players in order to run their governments. It's like selling your house to run your life. This is precisely the work of selling your country while chanting patriotism. This is real treason, this is a betrayal of the people.

What is needed now is the alertness and the will of patriotism to save what is left and to build for a tomorrow.



Towards A Drought Free Karnataka



The BJP has been repeatedly saying 'We will make a Congress free Karnataka'. Reacting to this, the Congress too has been saying 'We will make one free of the BJP'. 'It's enough if we too get a share in the government, doesn't matter who gets eliminated', saying this the JDS, who is neither this side or the other, is waiting to start a family with anyone who gets the larger numbers. What is all this? Who will finish whom? What will they eliminate? Like cutting the very branch that one is standing on these are out to cut off the system of democracy itself. This is a politics that is senseless.

Insensible politics has made Vasanthakaala, a fruit and flower sprouting time of spring, into a harsh summer. Swaraj India's politics for a community is planting its footsteps in the direction of making a drought free Karnataka and making spring pleasant once again.

For this water literacy is the first lesson. A vast platform comprising of those with experience as well as scientists needs to be created. Texts have to be created. Awareness, dissemination, struggle, constructive work in the community about water literacy has to take place.

Rivers

As the days go by the sources of rivers itself are drying up. We are fighting with each other for water. First we have to stop fighting. We have to pay heed to the groaning wail of the rivers that are getting emaciated day by day. The rivers that are bidding farewell have to be regenerated.

- ❖ We have to first understand that rivers have their own boundaries and their own zones. The way we understand the importance of the protection of animals, birds and forests that are on the verge of extinction similarly we need to



declare river areas as protected zones. Recently, the exceptional idea that rivers should have all the rights that humans have has been gaining ground. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_the_Rights_of_Mother_Earth) This is essential for the survival of humankind.

- ❖ Perennial rivers are deteriorating into seasonal rivers. As days go by seasonal rivers are drying up. If this continues the story of the ending of life forms will not be preventable. We shouldn't forget that the dying of the Arkavathi river in Bengaluru was because of the unwise decision of the government to encourage Nilgiri trees. We have to be diligent by being constantly aware of this.
- ❖ Encroachments on the river should be dismantled. Encroachments on rivers should be understood as an attempt to murder and made a punishable offence.
- ❖ The spread of concrete jungles in river zones should be prevented. Cities' industrial waste and sewage water should be prevented from flowing into it. Sand mining should be prevented. Attention should be paid to the cleanliness of river backwater habitat, both banks of the river as well as inhabited areas.
- ❖ Following the river literacy model created by the Yashwant Rao Chauhan academy (<https://www.yashada.org>) a community based training model should be implemented in Karnataka.





Lakes

Karnataka could be called the home of lakes. In many villages lakes are called as *Soole kere* 'whore lakes'.

We have become ghosts unable to even save these divine lakes donated by these women to keep their villages cool. It's okay even if we don't have the capacity to build new lakes but we need to save the lakes that are left.

- ❖ What is like the heart of the lakes - the streams that flow into it, encroachments on it should be taken as seriously as an attempt to murder. These paths have to be redesigned. Alternatively called as sister lakes because water flows from one into the other after filling it up, their paths should be connected again through the construction of canals.
- ❖ Inhuman evil conspiracies that intentionally aim at drying up lakes should be prevented. Communities should be alerted. This should be protested. The lives of lakes have to be saved with community participation.
- ❖ Today river water is being diverted to fill up lakes. It's like saving the life of a patient, here the lake, by keeping it in the ICU. This has to be temporary. Lakes should be enabled to breathe naturally, organically.

Groundwater

We have to first be convinced that a major portion of Karnataka's land, being formed by igneous rock and metamorphic rocks, is not conducive to groundwater storage and recharge. Because of pumping out of water through bore wells, being drilled deeper and deeper into the earth, 'a seizing of the earth' with 'arsenic' has made water become undrinkable in more than 30 taluks. Drinking this water is like inviting disease into your home.

It should be remembered that excessive use of groundwater becomes the reason for the

drying up of lakes. There is an internal organic relationship between groundwater and water on the surface of the earth. One is the other's facilitator. If one is ruined the other faces ruin. Finally even the river will be destroyed. We should be mindful that the water's body and the life it holds has to be understood in its' entirety.

Forests

The soul of water is the forest. For example, it should be noted that the dense *forests* of the Deccan plateau are known as the Jalagopura (the water crown). If we want water, protecting water's companion the forest is necessary. But today forests are themselves wailing in agony (*Aranyarodhana*). The organic relationship between nature and environment has to be protected immediately.

For a natural ecological balance 33% of land should be forest area. The 2015 survey says that Karnataka has 19% forest area. This is a government record on paper. Anyways, in this 1780 sq km has been identified as very dense forest, 20,000 sq km moderately dense forests and 14,000 sq km as open forest.

Even though our forests are in quite a good state, there is a danger that is lurking. Now the central government has proposed amending the 1988 National forest policy. There is a proposal in this to allow for the private sector. This is much like the story of the camel who given the opportunity to put only its' face into the tent, takes over the tent. Private capitalists entering the forest sector is like handing over the minding of sheep to wolves. In the North East states where private capital, viewing it as an industry, entered the forests previously held under the ownership of the community, forests started to face destruction. Similarly when forests were opened up to the trade sector, forests started to be destroyed. Around 20% of forests have already been destroyed. In this background, industry and trade activities that shrink forests should not be allowed to touch them.

The government has already collected 50,000 crores in fines from various mining companies because of mining dacoits having destroyed forests. Giving an opportunity to private players, in the name of afforestation, is a plot that allows for an interference in the womb of the forests. It is what is seen in the newly proposed forest policy. That money should be given to a rural cooperative system to grow forests. Villagers should be given training in forestry. Rural forest experts who base themselves in traditional knowledge would be better equipped for carrying out afforestation than forest department experts. Indigenous people should be given the post of mentor. There is space for employment creation here. There is an opportunity for the collection of useful byproducts like herbs, medicinal plants, grass, honey collection, nutmeg maize etc that are needed by the children of the soil. There is the possibility of a new source of revenue for panchayats. Protection of soil, resurrection of water springs, shelter for animals and birds, creation of raw material for professional crafts, seasonal balance, this is all possible.

Farmers and indigenous people have been doing the tremendous work of reducing global temperatures through growing and protecting forests without even being aware of it. This is the privileged work of trapping carbon in the environment in the stems of plants. At the time of the Paris agreement India had promised to hold 300 crore tonnes of carbon through plants and trees. The managing of the responsibility of this promise should be handed over to the community of farmers and not officers or private for profit companies.

- ❖ Even if farmers grow plants on their own land it is for the welfare of the world.
- ❖ The proposed 2018 national forest policy

should be prevented from coming into force.



- ❖ The forest department should first stop creating plantations with trees from other countries in the name of afforestation. Natural, diverse, local breeds should be given priority in the creation of forests.
- ❖ The lamentable condition of forests is such that as the forests is destroyed, animal life there, without water to drink, are storming into residential areas. Water ponds should be generously constructed in forests. Naturally occurring small holes and ditches should be protected.
- ❖ India's indigenous people who have till today protected forests are being battered unable to live in modern forests, unable to live in the country. Adivasis are being known as forest dwellers today. This is a terrible injustice meted out to our ancestors! Seeing indigenous people as forest dwellers is an international view. This primitive international viewpoint needs to be changed. Indigenous people should be made guides in the work of converting open forests to very dense forests.
- ❖ Government land should be leased out to indigenous families who have a background in forestry and in collaboration with the government should be given the responsibility of planting and nurturing trees and should be supported with a monthly allowance.
- ❖ Human beings should not interfere for any reason in very dense forests and specifically the shadow of corporate families should never fall on it.





Agriculture



(A)

India's agriculture is being cooked. There is the saying that the farmer is the country's spine. But now it's like the farmer has been rendered without spine. Together with agriculture, the farmer too is being cooked.

The farming community is shouting out for a loan waiver. They are asking for a remunerative price for the crops they grow. They are also asking for the implementation of the Swaminathan commission report. But this is all like the unheard wail of the forests.

Where do we begin to understand hardships of agriculture? England's Labour party has put forward a proposal in its' manifesto - "We will work with other WTO members to end the dumping of State subsidized goods on our markets" it says. Ending State subsidized trade is what this proposal is. India too should join this.

It is because powerful developed nations, keeping developing and underdeveloped nations in its' grasp, dictate terms, while giving out subsidy on a whim and fancy, that they are able to weave prices through such trading that ends up erasing markets for local products. Because of this, local growth, diversity, employment is affected and local knowledges are being shifted into oblivion. Today we even have to search for our own seeds. This is a horrendous tragedy. This is like destroying by planting a landmine. The voice of justice should be raised against any country's subsidised trade.

The fact that our governments don't care about their citizens or the protection of their crops is seen in the import trade business. For example, India's prime minister Narendra Modi before going on his China trip, in order to please China, decreased import duties on silk. Because of this India's silk trade prices

dropped like nothing. So many farmers used tractors and destroyed their crops.

There were suicides too. In

olden

times, our

emperors in order to give

souvenirs, used to carry silk clothes as gifts to the Chinese emperors. So isn't it like today's Prime Minister instead of silk clothes is cutting off the head of the farmer, who grows and makes his livelihood on the silk crop and offering that as a gift to the will of another country? How is it possible to see this in any other way?

According to world trade agreements, developed nations ought to have lesser import duties. But powerful nations impose import duties however they please. For example, when America decides on the import duty for sugar, it imposes nearly 224% as import duties so that their domestic sugar industry and sugarcane growers are not affected. But when India has to import sugar from America, India's import duties are not even half of that of America's! When this is the case how can India's sugarcane growers get a remunerative price for their crops? Powerful nations walk all over world trade agreements. Countries like India walk around carrying these very world trade agreements on their head, as in worshipping them. Till the time India snaps out of being enslaved to powerful nations, out of its' own free will, the recovery of agriculture will be difficult.

Together with this, under zero trade duty policies if countries like ours have bilateral agreements with least developed countries or LDCs, through these LDCs and without paying any duties powerful nations dump their subsidy supported agricultural products in our country. Should we call this theft? Or a dacoity? Because of this dumping, local products become more expensive and international products become cheap. Because of this, domestic products don't sell and they affect our domestic industrial sector. It becomes like a bombing of our jobs, destroying them. Ours becomes a life of dependency. Even for food we will have to become



dependent on international food products. “Future wars are fought not with guns but with grains” Dr. M S Swaminathan’s words ring true. The war has begun.

(AA)

Cool Earth: We need to search for ways to save the life of India’s agriculture that has been rendered helpless like this. In this direction an important possibility - natural farming. Regarding this the booklet written by H Manjunath ‘*Mannina Odalu Jeeva Vaividhyatheya Kadalu*’ Swaraj India receives with gratitude as a companion text. This booklet too is deemed to be a part of our manifesto.

Some programs complementing this:

- ❖ Systems to collect rainwater should be methodically implemented in every house, every grama, every field and village, every wasteland.
- ❖ All panchayat offices should have the guidelines for what is needed to use the collected rainwater throughout the year. Every district, every taluk government officer’s house and office should only use rainwater.
- ❖ There should be system of filtering and reusing used water in every village. Units that separate water’s excess salinity should be operated by the villagers themselves.
- ❖ The electricity that is needed for that should be available through biomass based energy.
- ❖ Borewells should be understood as common property belonging to the community.
- ❖ Priority should be given to horticultural crops and small grains such as millets. A change of crops and drip irrigation systems should be brought in. Fisheries should be encouraged in every lake and pond.

Green Earth: Not only that, the earth needs to be greened. In every village and city the desire to plant and nurture trees and plants should be encouraged. These should become programs conducted by schools and colleges. This should be priority work in

municipalities and panchayats. Youth, women and organisations should come together making it a community movement.



What will save the country, enable the country to breathe - water protection, recharging of groundwater, river, lake, resurgence of water springs - the great souls who do this work, who nurture the environment - stand amongst us. The example of ‘Tarun India Society’ (<http://tarunbharatsangh.in/>) under the leadership of Dr. Rajendra Singh, ‘Water panchayats’ (<http://www.panipanchayat.org/>) established by Maharashtra’s Vilasrao Solanki, Aamir Khan’s Pani foundation (<https://paanifoundation.in/>), Rajasthan’s Lakshman Singh’s experiment of balancing droughts and floods and among us Hassan district’s Hasiru Bhoomi Trust’s program of saving lakes and water springs together with the initiative of planting saplings to make a greener earth. What is special about this work is the coming together of students, young people, women, citizens, organisations, officers, people’s representatives. Together with this are also individual crusaders - The Tulasi amma, who carries seeds in her pallu searching for ground to plant it, Saalumarada Thimakka, Kamegowda, who built tanks from the money he earned by rearing and selling sheep, Harish Hande who installed solar power in blacked out villages, Chandammagola, an anganwadi worker, who brought back a lake to life and water to Gulbarga’s Azad Nagar.....several such examples are before us.

(B)

We Have To Speak: Now farmers, farm workers and the workers need to speak. Have to speak in the background of what’s happening in the country. That means speaking while leaving aside the self focused speech of the trade unions.

- ❖ When farmers’ loans, common people’s loans are not repaid, the defaulters’ names are published in newspapers. Property is auctioned. But when loans amounting to millions of crores taken by corporate families is not repaid it is protected by





secrecy . This is apparently according to RBI Act 45 E! This is a 1934 British law. The company law from pre independence times was made by the white British lords in order to keep their banking frauds hidden from the common person. A law of enslavement. If this slavery law is in force, even after India gained its independence, then corporate capitalists are lords. Then isn't it that the people's representatives including the Prime Minister are slaves? This cannot be tolerated.

Now the community has to add its' voice to the farmers' and ask - 'Publish publicly the unpaid loans (Non Performing Assets) of corporate families in newspapers'.

- ❖ When farmers' loans are waived off it's fiscal indiscipline says the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. NDA central government says the loan waivers for farmers is absolutely not possible. But loan waivers for corporate companies continues backstage. For example, according to 2015's Credit Suisse report - Ambani family's RIL company's unpaid loan is 1 lakh 25 thousand plus crores. Similarly Ambani's 'brother' Adani's is just a little short of a lakh crore NPA. Anil Agarwal's Vedanta group's unpaid loan is 1 lakh 3 thousand crores plus. Similarly SR Group 1 lakh 1 thousand plus....it continues like this. The unpaid loans of big capitalists are being written off secretly. In the financial year 2015-2016 the written off loans for corporate families is approximately 6 lakh crores! This is apparently called 'revenue forgone'. See, if the helpless farmers' loans are waived off banks will apparently collapse. But if corporate loans are written off then banks won't collapse? What is this golmaal? This, in a way, is

a collaborative devouring by officers, politicians and corporates.

Need To Question: In this background farmers and farm workers should ask - ' Double the 'revenue foregone' of just a hundred corporate families and give it to the lakhs of farmers and farm workers to manage their lives who are caught in the whirlpool of loans in order to feed the country's hundred crore plus people.

Why shouldn't the double of the discount that has been given to the handful of haves not be given to the lakhs of have nots? - this question should be posed.

- ❖ Together with this, the government gives annual tax rebates worth a minimum of 5 lakh crores plus to corporate companies. This has been understood as a gift of encouragement.

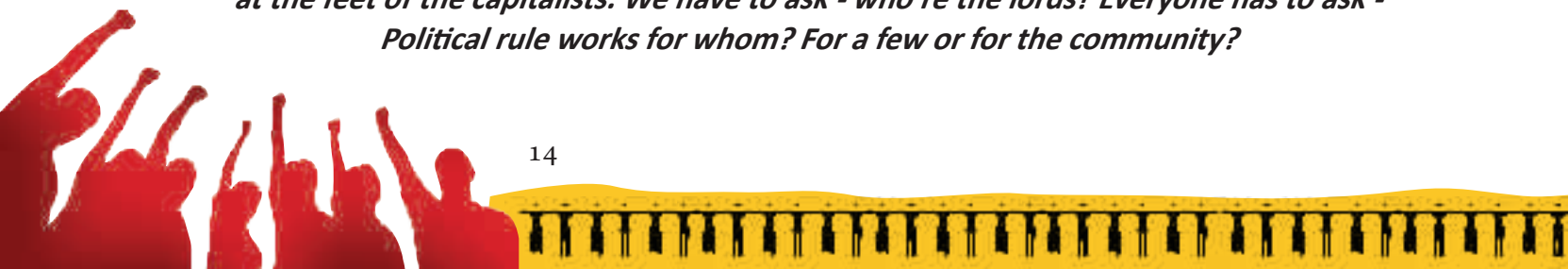
The farming and farm workers should ask this -

"Through agriculture while creating jobs for lakhs of people and in order to manage our lives we have become debtors and unable to repay loans we are defaulters. The tax exemption given to the handful of capitalists, double of it should be given to us who are lakhs in numbers without capital, give us encouragement."

Why shouldn't a double of the tax exemption being given to handful of haves not be given to the lakhs of have nots? Should be questioned.

- ❖ And the agriculturists should ask: 1."In the name of agriculture, the rip off web created by non-agricultural multinational corporations of availing of loans in the name of tractors, agricultural tools, seeds, fertilisers etc should be stopped." 2. Similarly the betrayal of money flowing into the hands of the capitalists via the 'Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bhima Yojana' in the name of farmers is not to be tolerated.

We have to now ask - " Who are the lords? In the past there was a saying in circulation that people's representatives are people's servants. The citizens themselves are lords was another saying in circulation. Today? capitalists are lords. People's representatives serve at the feet of the capitalists. We have to ask - who're the lords? Everyone has to ask - Political rule works for whom? For a few or for the community?



Hobli Shining

India is moving towards smart cities very much like a moth who loses its' wings while going towards the light. Ruling governments have gotten down to work believing that it is only in this way that India's development lies. Programs are being created on the assumption that the city is the engine and the rest are just bogies to it. Where will this take us? This could probably be understood a little with regard to sparsely populated countries. But even there, even though the city shimmers on the surface, in its underbelly the city's children - crime and murder. This is a senseless game. What does it mean for India to follow this example? A country with more than a 100 crore population should not think this thought in dream or reality. If we are to bypass this tragedy of the moths we have to think clearly.

Today the agricultural sector instead of being an employment producing sector has become a sector that pushes rural labour into the city. Economic theories that facilitate these are being implemented - "Small land holdings are not financially beneficial, hence in the interest of people whose livelihoods are dependent on agriculture, small farmers would do well to abandon agriculture and look for non-agricultural jobs" such a proposition is in force. Attractive phrases such as 'Contract farming', 'land leasing' are doing the rounds. This plot is such that small landholders being helpless themselves should offer up their holdings at the feet of the corporate capitalists. But we should be convinced that



smallholdings hold a positive relevance for India.

We should find a means of building lives based on small holdings.

We should remember that no country is an example for India. Israel does not have water; Japan does not have land; America does not have the sun, or the population density. India has been born with all this. Building our lives without following any country should be our journey.

Forest Farming In Villages:

Lets begin with wasteland. Statistics tell us that Karnataka has an average of 7% as wasteland. The first task is to encourage forest farming in such wastelands.

- ❖ Firstly, it should be the collaborative work of the farmers and the government to create land formations that can absorb water. Also wasteland forest farmers should be honoured with an honorarium for the management of their



lives. Similarly an honorarium should be given for every tree to encourage the growing of plants and trees in fields viewing it as a gift to the community. Because the one growing trees and plants and forest farming is not just growing for himself. Instead society and governments should express gratitude as it is being grown for the community in order to absorb water and provide good clean air to breathe.

- ❖ While creating forests in wastelands priority should be given to plants and trees that can be used as alternative fuel- Simuruba, Jatropa, Honge etc, plants with medicinal characteristics Rakta Chandana, Coccinum Fenestatum, Elegalli, Neem etc, fruit bearing Tamarind, Bela etc should be given priority. Growing shrubs that can provide fodder for animals should also be encouraged.
- ❖ Farmers supported by government help should be encouraged to create 'paid pastures' through the planting of grazing plants, shrubs and trees and a paid entry to this would add another source of revenue for the farmers.
- ❖ For the purposes of industry farmers+govt+industry representatives should have joint MoU agreements creating an opportunity for growing plants and trees for industrial purposes. A monthly allowance should be given to farmers as part of the agreement in order to manage their lives.
- ❖ The government should give indigenous people land, that it currently owns and encroached land it confiscates, to encourage forest farming. Indigenous people should be given a share in the products of such forests. They should also be given a monthly allowance for their livelihood.

Small Hoblis: Small Economies

Industrial zones with small cottages should be established in hobli centres. Industrial activities of small hoblis should be dynamic and supported. Firstly farmers who grow crops with fluctuating prices and end up throwing them onto the streets such as tomatoes, onions etc - should make these into pastes, adding value and then selling it outside of the hobli. Tubers like potato and even fruits should be value added and sold. Cleanliness and quality should be protected.

- ❖ Grains should be cleaned and made into flour, packaged and sold.
- ❖ What is available in abundance around us such as Neem leaves, Nugge, Garike, Chakramuni, Amritaballi, Nithyapushpa, Shikakai etc should be powdered and packed and sold.
- ❖ Weekly markets should be organised in the hoblis. The market shed should be designed so that it is helpful for the market and should be made cool by planting trees and plants around it. There should be toilets as well as biogas systems in place.
- ❖ Seed storage warehouses to be established as is required locally.
- ❖ Nurseries for plants to be established as is required locally
- ❖ Biogas and solar electricity should be made extensively available. The activity of selling electricity should be encouraged.
- ❖ Oil presses should be established and filtered oil packaged and sold.
- ❖ Markets to be created for artistic pottery and bamboo products.

The Comradeship of Women:

In all the works, women will be partners in decision making processes. Since the capitalists' preying eyes have fallen on land, there should be joint land khata in the names of women. In respective villages equitable participation of people should be ensured. Karnataka should devise projects suitable for itself along the lines of the Telangana's women's federation's Velugu Yojana (www.serp.ap.gov.in) and Kerala's Kudumbashree projects (<http://www.kudumbashree.org/>)

Together with this:

- ❖ 'Our hobli water should cool our own hobli by being absorbed here' - activities should be designed for this. It should be today's mantra - 'If we protect water, water will protect us.'
- ❖ 'Sapling deity' poojas should be started. 'One third of our hobli's land should become green' - activities for planting and nurturing of trees and plants for our healthy breathing and for recharging ground water should be created. Today's mantra should be - 'If we protect trees and plants then trees and plants will protect us.'
- ❖ Money towards employment security programs has been reduced. This is cruelty. Financial support for employment security programs should be doubled. In the programs groundwater and making the earth green should be given priority.
- ❖ Natural farming which does not desire much inputs from the outside should be given priority. The ploy of the commercialisation of organic farming that will again have farmers caught in the whirlpool of debts pushing them to suicides should be rejected.
- ❖ Multi cropping should be followed instead of single crops. In order to save soil that is the foundation of crops only one irrigated crop

should be grown annually.

Crops that drain water sources such as paddy, sugarcane should be limited.

Together with this if paddy and sugarcane are grown using minimal water then that should be encouraged. Crops that are grown like this should be given a higher support price.

- ❖ Should hunt for the wealth of local knowledge and nurture it. For example - Hebbevu. It was only after this useful plant was saved, grown and its' usefulness introduced by the farmers from Heggadadevana kote, Periyapattana side, did the forest department encourage these farmers by procuring the seeds from them and making saplings. This is amongst the Adivasis, one can only imagine how much there must be in the villages!
- ❖ Similarly there should be a search done locally in all fields. In the countryside the ones who don't fit anywhere, the failed students, should be actually viewed as ones with talent. Song, dance, painting, acting etc these should become mediums of their expression. For some it may be natural to have a technological temperament. An atmosphere for the flourishing of such talents should be created.
- ❖ On the holidays that commemorate the memory of great people, the holiday receiving students and employees (including the Chief Secretary) should design programs that publicise the thinking of these great people, programs that involve volunteering and enable participation and these should be implemented in their respective nearby hoblis. The educated ones should be able to plant the thinking and ideas of these great people at the hobli level.
- ❖ In order that Hoblis can shine - locally economies should sprout in the area of





the hobli itself. In this direction alternative economic experts, food experts, water experts, forest experts, those aware about the interests of the community should study local conditions and find activities that are natural and organic to the local. Using experience and knowledge they should facilitate transformations.

- ❖ An inconsiderate common tax (GST) has been implemented for both the poor and the rich. This new tax (GST) that takes away the states' opportunity to tax has created a paucity of funds for welfare programs in the states. This

tax (GST) needs a touch of the humane. Handicraft products as well as products made by machines, that have cut off the hands that work, have the same tax! On an average 0-1% tax should be imposed on handicrafts that create employable and consequently enduring and livable lives. And tax imposed on hobli handmade products should be minimum.

- ❖ Local semi alcoholic drinks such as Neera, rice brews, wine, arrack etc that are not that harmful for health be given room and alcohol should be prohibited.

Not just these. But who will listen to this? Who will do this? If you tell the ones who rule it's like beating drums in front of a buffalo. We are putting Swaraj India in front of the people, like a light of emanating from wicker lamps. In order for this talk to become action, awareness needs to be created first. Then we should be organised. Not just that, creative work should be undertaken. And in order to realise it we should do politics. This is Swaraj India.



Employment Distress



First we have to understand that employment is not a personal problem. The problem of employment needs to be understood as a product of societal, economic and political issues. It has become the scene in which the collective and community operate.

Today employment is in suffering. Outsourced contracts, temporary work, part-time work - like this, like kites without strings, this kind of work is increasing. Insecurity, hurry, anxiety are the products of these kind of jobs.

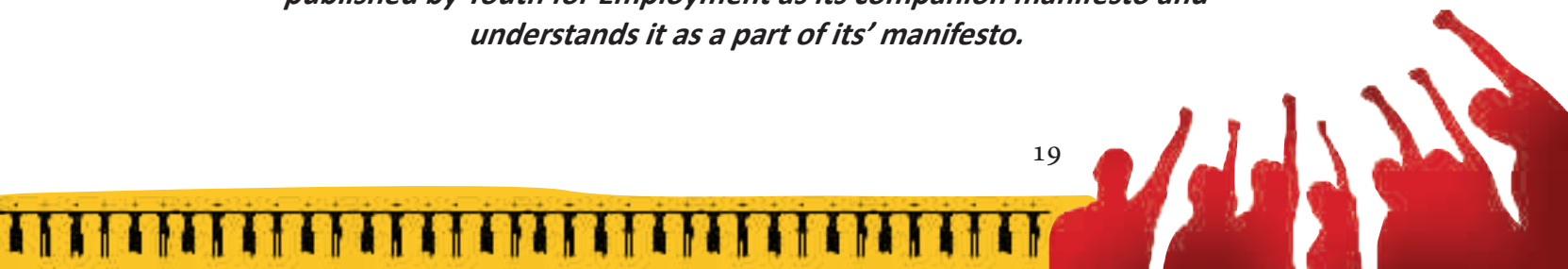
The United Nations' Economic and Social Council (EcoSoc) has identified these rootless transient jobs as 'under employment' as in malfunctioning employment. Then what is employment? International Labour Organisation's department has put out a definition of work/employment as decent work. It elaborates on the characteristics of decent work like this. According to this: 1) There should be workplace security along with income 2) Employee's family should have social security 3) There should be good opportunities for personal development 4) There should be an opportunity for social organising and gatherings 5) An opportunity to speak openly about decisions that trouble life, a sharing of opinions and an opportunity to organise and participate 6) Equal opportunity 7) No discrimination between men and women. These are the characteristics of decent work. In this background, selecting three categories we need to analyse the face of work - 1. work/

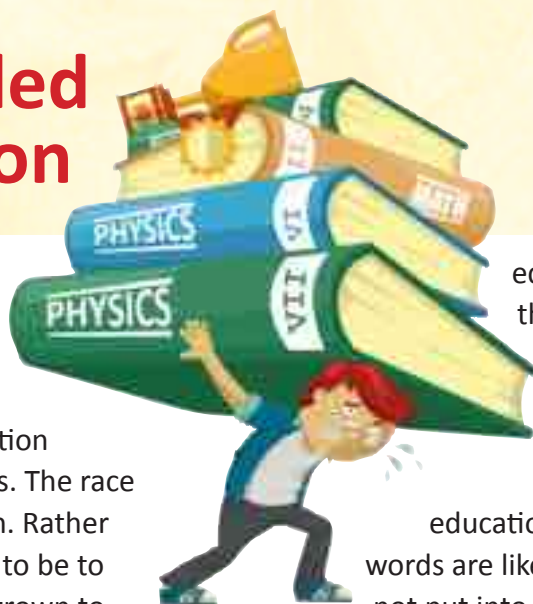
employment 2. Indecent work. 3. Unemployment. We need to come face to face with an employment that is surrounded by emaciation today.

By way of example - India is enthusiastically supporting the Skill India program. It is planting the seeds of this daydream as India's dream. What is this skill? Skill means to train the workforce that is required by multinational companies at the cost of the government. They have become training centres for producing workers who will work on minimum wage and on outsourced contracts. Skill India births workers who are cheated of all facilities that have to be legally provided and that which will have no kind of security. In Gujarat the percentage of underpaid informal workers is a lot. More than 90%. This is the Gujarat model. Tragically they have sown this Skill India as a model throughout the length and breadth of this country.

Where will this take us? 'Lack of decent work also contributes to the reasons why crimes are committed'. Poverty and hunger caused by the lack of employment in turn become causes for begging, sex work, violence on minor girls, human trafficking, hatred based on caste and religion, drugs trade, atrocities from rioting, rising hatred etc. We react by seeing them as events and as episodic. But these are characteristics of what happens when there is a lack of decent work. Hence the whole of India should raise its voice demanding for dignified decent work.

Swaraj India receives with gratitude the 'Youth Manifesto Karnataka 2018' published by Youth for Employment as its companion manifesto and understands it as a part of its' manifesto.





education that is suitable to the kind of society we want to create is the one that ought to exist. What is the education that is suitable for India? 1963-64's Kothari

education commission report's words are like this - if equal education is not put into practice, it will increase the differences and create more 'gulfs'. We

The first step to escape this tragedy: However difficult and however expensive it may be, it should adopt a neighbourhood public educational system from the anganwadi where children's minds are moulded till a minimum of the 4th standard. In the context of India, wherein there is a deterioration of the public wherever the private puts a foot in, there should be no opportunity for private players. The quality of public schools will improve on its own only when this happens. Because of this it will be like India putting its' first step towards unity. Equitable educational access is the first lesson in education for an India plagued by caste, creed and religion.

India needs to ask itself as to what kind of educational system it needs that is native. An

For this 6% of GDP should be spent on education. This expenditure should be used for the development of public schools and colleges. Only then will education receive priority here. Fundamental theories/sciences should be pushed more. If this doesn't happen our education instead of birthing experts and scientists, will only birth workers. Because it is like this our research fields are not competitive. Research fields should be revamped and given more priority.

Health Of The Field Of Health



The measure to see whether a governance looks at its citizens as human or not is to look at how much it spends on the health of its citizens. If you were to compare the amount spent on its citizens' health by England and America - England spends around 9.9% of its GDP on health. In England most of the hospitals are run by the government. America spends about 16.6% of its GDP on health expenditure. But America ends up spending more on health administrative costs, pharmaceuticals and devices, personal services, surgery, investigations etc.

What we have to pay attention to here is - if you compare the health expenditure of England to America it is less. This is primarily because the government itself is running the health sector. In America the health sector is firmly in the hands of private corporate medical players hence the majority of the expenditure made on health is eaten up by capitalist products. India's health sector too is moving towards emulating this. Hence the expenditure the government gives for health a lot of it flows down to private corporate medical trade. Even though on the surface it looks like the government is doing this for the benefit of its people, inside it is a systemising of a system of money flowing to private corporate trade.

The even worse tragedy is that India spends only 1.3% of its GDP on its' people's health. Only 1.3%! This is like giving alms. Even in this money flows into private corporate trade. China that has a population like ours spends around 5.4% on health. The big question here is how do you humanise inhuman Indian governments?

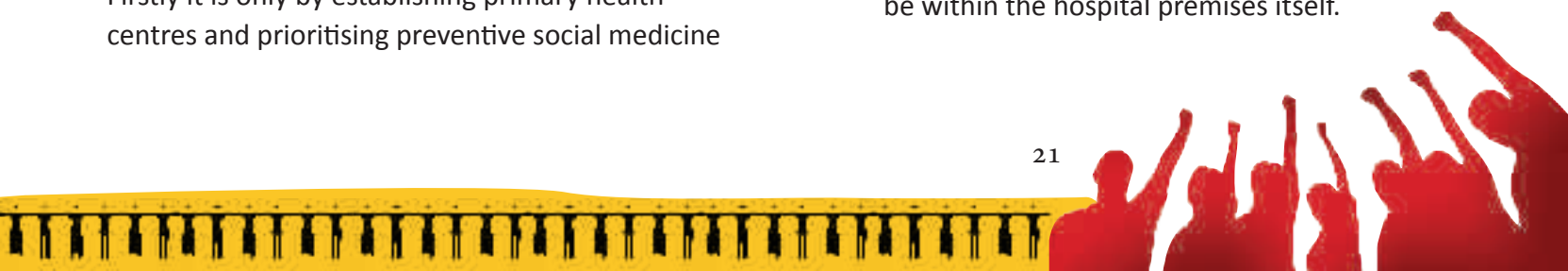
Firstly it is only by establishing primary health centres and prioritising preventive social medicine

programs can we protect the health of a majority of people and not through the insurance that corporate organisations offer. With this awareness we have to become active.

A step in this direction is that all agreements/projects that hand over government hospitals and health centres should be cancelled. What has been handed over till now should be returned and the government should run it. India's private hospitals have spent lakhs (even taking loans) on equipment for investigations, surgery equipment. When this is the case in order to pay the interest of those loans and expensive doctors, management of administration - whichever patient goes to a private hospital they are subjected to energy draining unnecessary tests, unnecessary operations too could happen. This is just like the act of taking a bribe after getting a job obtained by taking out heavy loans to study. This is a taint stuck to the medical profession. But this is the result of the entire system having gone corrupt. We have to face this difficult situation.

Now, India's inhuman health system has to be humanised. For this citizens should at least ask:

1. India should spend at least 5% of its GDP on health
2. This should be spent only on putting in order the government health sector.
3. Most importantly, a large working primary hospital should be established in hobli centres. The living quarters for doctors and staff should be within the hospital premises itself.





The community should ask for these at the very least.

2

Couple of programs under present conditions

1. Very importantly, a centre for the production of medicines should be established. Work should be undertaken to produce more generic medicines and its' usage should be encouraged.
2. A system of pure drinking water will reduce the illnesses caused by contaminated water. From the village to the city a system for pure drinking water should be ensured.
3. The controversial bottled water should be banned.
4. There should be a sewage facility in village and city which should be in working condition.

5. India's natural habit of producing waste should be used to produce fertiliser and electricity. Immediately. The growth of garbage growing cities should be curtailed. Under the administration of the Gram Panchayats, working dustbins should be made available in all four directions of the village. Waste should be converted to electricity and fertiliser immediately.

3

1. Medical research centres based on the knowledge of indigenous people and native traditional health systems should be established. The healing should be publicised.
2. The ability of the food system to be medicinal should be encouraged and used.
3. Alternative medical systems such as ayurveda, unani, siddha systems research should be encouraged and publicised.
4. Acupressure, acupuncture, meditation, pranayama etc that can cure some health problems should be encouraged.

In this way...



Regarding Publications

Book Publication: Behind Karnataka's book publication lies a successful adventurous story. There is a history of writer/publishers who after printing their books, carried those books on their backs going house to house selling them. This book culture should be respected. For that it should be mandatory for schools/colleges/libraries to buy directly from the writers/publishers. Today's buying of books via e-tenders stands in contrast to public publishing culture and hence should be let go.

Newspaper Incentives: There should be more incentives provided to district level newspapers. Even though so many district level newspapers have the circulation numbers that state level newspapers have they don't get advertising etc only because they are district level. This is inexcusable. If district level newspapers have a circulation of even 25% of state level newspapers then they should be given the same advertising and other incentives.

Libraries: A separate public library with good lighting and ventilation should be established in every school

Curriculum Design: Indian cultural values such as tolerance - love - cohabitation should form part of school curriculums. Curriculum should be analysed and designed by respective experts in different subjects. There should be no political interference.





For A Good Political Rule



The plight of a society broadly, is a mix of regression - status quo – betterment. For example, when India got its independence there was a temptation towards looking back for India's society. But it was also desiring of a status quo. But our freedom fighters had dreams of betterment. The will was there too. Hence after getting independence, for some time, political rule was putting its steps forward towards betterment. Over time maintaining status quo became the character of political rule. But now? It's just the opposite. Today's rule is regressing even more than a status quo society that is dormant. It's seeking to install ghosts in the future. Calling voices that oppose systems as traitor, betrayers of religion is also a characteristic of regressiveness. Regression sees the articulation of dissent as the work of being a traitor. A status quo society sees it as a thorn. But a view that looks towards betterment welcomes it, as whirlpools, that help it move forward in its' journey. This view that looks towards betterment is what is needed for good political rule.

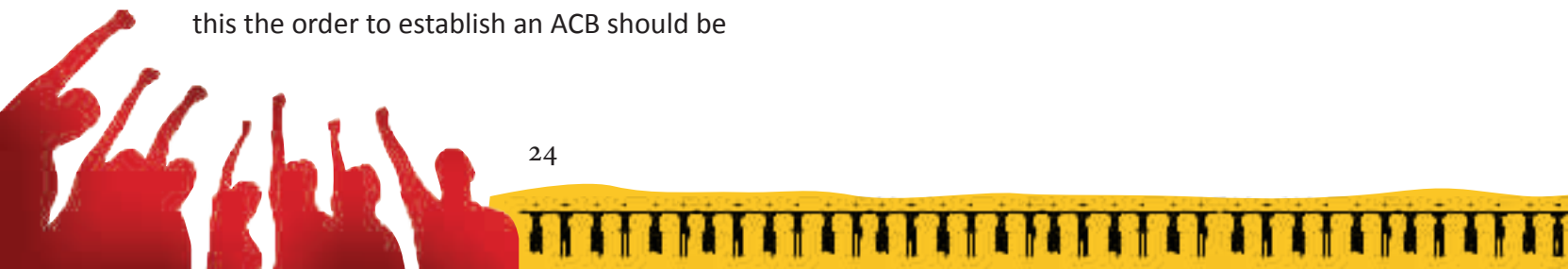
Public property: A political rule should not look at the selling of public wealth and public property as a way to complete its term and manage its existence. However difficult it is, it should be committed to saving public wealth. It should not bring on itself the plight of becoming a watchman to your own house after selling it and spending the money.

Lokayukta: A good political rule should display the wisdom of self regulation that can curtail corruption. An important part of this is the Lokayukta. For this the order to establish an ACB should be

taken back. The police department of the Lokayukta should be an independent investigative organisation. Also an atmosphere needs to be created where RTI activists can work without fear. Individuals and organizations who investigate *Benami* property should be encouraged and given protection. 10% of the value of the property should be given to them as an honorarium. Secrecy should be maintained.

Food: Not just right to food but choice of food should also become a right. A good political rule's real potentiality lies in the concept of food sovereignty.

Participatory Democracy: Indigenous people have lost their voice, with regard to participating in deciding on political rule, with them being not seen as lives but tools that are used. Their plight today is like they are not in the forests and not out of it. Nomadic tribes are still moving from place to place. There is a plot that has been created so that minorities - Christians, and especially Muslims are not to be seen participating in politics/governance. Within the political rule of a communal party you can say that minority representation is not even there. And the strategy that excludes the Dalit community that has been kept out of the caste system continues to happen. Women even though inside are still on the outside. In the last 16 years the bill for 33% women's reservation lying undecided is testimony to this. This is a democracy that does not see the participation of its majority. Indian democracy has been hit by a stroke.



At least now, steps have to be taken towards a healthy democracy. As the first step, whoever is not represented in the legislative assembly, for those communities, according to proportional representation, an opportunity should be created that would help heal democracy. Those denied opportunities including employment opportunities, political representation them getting these opportunities is essential for the saving of democracy. What we also need today is to ensure the working of participatory democracy is reservations in the private sector.

Federal System: The federal system is an intrinsic part of the creation of India's democracy. Today federalism is in name only. This should be understood as an internal blow to democracy. Federalism has to be redesigned. A country means a federation of states; similarly it needs to be understood that a state is a federation of districts and the life force of federalism is in giving priority to district governance. States should be divided into smaller states according to necessary state governance. Similarly districts should also be made into smaller, smaller districts. The Jilla panchayat that has no legs today to stand on should be given power, a source of revenue and responsibility. If districts are given importance this will be instrumental in resolving regional inequalities.

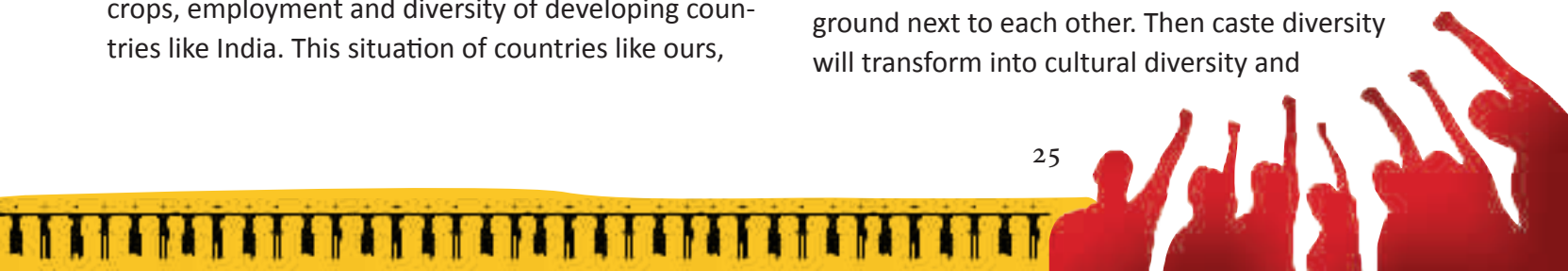
Tax: Whether the federalism system is in existence or not is seen in its' tax structure. The recently implemented tax system (GST) uproots the federal system. It renders the states helpless by making them unable to implement people welfare schemes. It makes it impossible for the states, that were implementing at least a few people's welfare programs, to have any opportunity of doing so. This should be seen as a scheme by global private/corporate world trade.

Powerful nations 1.continue to cheat in subsidy trade policies 2.giving subsidy to its trade 3.dumping without paying duties - like this completely destroy crops, employment and diversity of developing countries like India. This situation of countries like ours,

becoming appendages to powerful nations, creates insecure work. Because of this insecure work, people end up, without any dissent, becoming slaves to private/corporate companies. This is the web of the plot. Any life that is an appendage eats up a human's energy. This awareness should be there for a good political rule. A middle path for a tax that facilitates the federal union needs to be created. We have to look for a tax that facilitates federalism.

Framing Policy: The tragedy is policies for all government sectors are being framed either directly or indirectly by private/corporate capitalists. This is a great tragedy. This is like in order to organize a sheep farm you hand over policy management to the wolves! When the Vajpayee government was in power the framing and running of education was given to a Birla Ambani committee. What connection do they have to education? A committee for framing and management should be created under the leadership of experts from their respective fields and involving citizens/people's representatives. For every sector, that sector's research experts should create a knowledge *sansath* - examine the laws and regulations, put it in the assembly to enable a public discussion and then finalise it.

Waste Management: Physical waste has become a normal part of the atmosphere without discriminating between village and city. We are keeping the waste within. Waste management should be prioritized work and a system to convert it to fertiliser and electricity should be established. Similarly Indians are keeping the waste of the caste and religion discrimination in their minds without excreting it. This has to be excreted. If Indians excrete the psychological shit of caste based discrimination and become pure then there will be no hierarchies. There will be no burden of one standing on another, hierarchically. Instead it will be about standing on the ground next to each other. Then caste diversity will transform into cultural diversity and





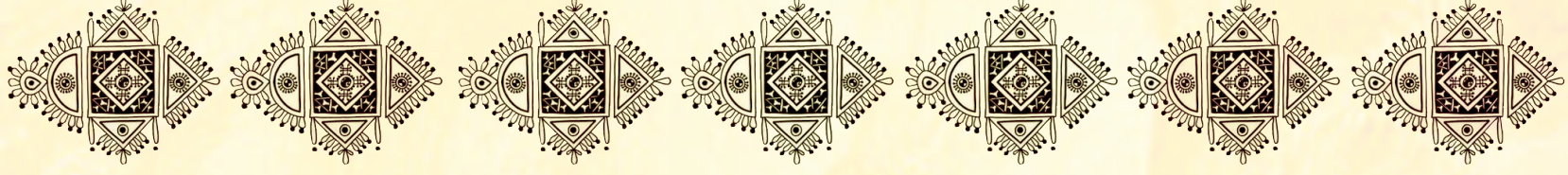
may even become attractive to each other. In this direction a small step: whether private or public housing plots, a roster system for their distribution should be implemented with the aim of mixing castes and religions. Like this.

A Measure: A measure for a good political rule - that we have no one who begs. And that those who are physically impaired are not being tortured by their disability but active in suitable jobs living their lives without the feeling of being a burden.

To Save India

In order to create a healthy mind for tomorrow's India, from the anganwadi to the 4th standard - an equitable accessible public education system should be in place, without private competition. So that even tomorrow's people can live. Entry of private corporate players should be banned from river related, mining related and forest related fields.





Culture

If you were to see culture through the perspective of India's seer tradition -fissures, discriminations are seen as demons. To bring unity is what is seen as the divine. When the divine is used for money and power then Dharma becomes Adharma (lower). And if one were to practice this individually it becomes a Madhyama (middle) Dharma. If one were to find this divinity inside oneself then it becomes Unnatha (supreme) Dharma - we have to move in this direction. Because religion without spirituality is like a corpse without breath. Tolerance-love-cohabitation should be injected into religions.

But today's era has become the era of trade/middlepersons/ advertising. All fields are steeped in the treachery of trade and the charm of the broker. It's ruling politics as well. It's also not even spared the Gods. For us, the 12th century Vachana era's Basavanna's words by way of action could hold our hands and guide us.

*The pleasure of one's mating, of eating one's food
can these be realised by another?
The daily ritual worship of the Absolute One is to be done by
oneself,
can this be assigned to another?
Those who do it merely
do they know you, Koodalasangamadeva?*

-Basavanna



ಪ್ರಜಾ INDIA

NOT JUST A PARTY

BUT A MISSION

ಪ್ರಜಾಪಕ್ಷ: ಸ್ವರಾಜ್ ಆಂದೋಲನ, ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಾರ್ಯದರ್ಶಿ, ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ನಿರ್ದೇಶನ
ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು: 1000