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# PEOPLE AND UN

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## INDIA-FRANCE TO DEEPEN STRATEGIC BILATERAL TIES

French President Emmanuel Macron, the chief guest at the 75th Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi held talks in Jaipur to deepen bilateral ties, on advancing defence, security and business

Jantar Mantar, Jaipur



# What is the best fruit to eat every day?

**MUNYARADZI CHAKWEVA, JR**  
*Medical Student & Philanthropist*

Eating a healthful and varied diet is key for maintaining a healthy lifestyle, and one of the best ways to do that is by including fruit into your every-day diet. But with so many different types of fruit out there, it can be hard to decide which are the best to eat every day. The good news is that any type of fruit has health benefits, and what you choose to include in your diet will depend on your personal preference and health goals.

**BLUEBERRIES** When it comes to the absolute best fruit to eat every day, blueberries are arguably the top choice. Not only are they one of the most nutrient-dense fruits, with high levels of vitamins A and C, potassium, manganese, and fiber, but they're also full of antioxidants, which can help to support a healthy immune system and reduce the risk of chronic diseases. Try adding them to your morning cereal, oatmeal, yogurt, or smoothie for a delicious, nutritious start to the day.

**APPLES** are also great for daily consumption, as they're an excellent source of fiber, which helps to keep your digestive system regular. Eating an apple a day will also provide you with a good dose of Vitamin C and



potassium, and like blueberries, it's also packed with antioxidants. Whether you're an Apple fan or a Blueberry fan, you can't go wrong with either one.

**BANANAS** are a popular choice for daily fruit consumption, and for good reason. They're high in potassium and natural sugars, which provide a boost of energy. Bananas are also an excellent source of fiber, Vitamin B6, and Vitamin C. Plus, they're incredibly versatile and can be used in a variety of recipes and snacks, from smoothies and cereal, to banana bread and oatmeal.

**CITRUS FRUITS** are also a great option for daily consumption. Oranges, lemons, and limes are all full of Vitamin C and antioxidants, and they're relatively low in calories, making them an ideal snack choice. Not only that, but their tart flavor can give any dish an extra zing.

No matter which type of fruit you choose to eat every day, it's important to remember that variety is key. Eating a variety of fruits can help to ensure that you're getting all the essential nutrients you need to support a healthy lifestyle. So, try to switch things up and experiment with different fruits to find the ones that you enjoy the most. With so many delicious options out there, you're sure to find a few favorites.

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Secretary General, IFUNA

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**W**HILE French President Emmanuel Macron was attending the “At Home” Republic Day reception at Rashtrapati Bhawan along with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, France and India represented by French Defence Minister Sebastian Locornu and India’s National Security Advisor Ajit Doval quietly signed an ambitious and unprecedented Defence Space Agreement, that could see the two countries launch military satellites with both offensive and defensive capabilities.

India and France have agreed to work together on the joint production of defence equipment including helicopters and submarines for the Indian armed forces and production for friendly countries. Macron and Modi agreed to expand bilateral ties in defence production, nuclear energy, space research and the use of artificial intelligence for public services like climate change, health and agriculture. The Letter of Intent (LoI) on the Defence Space Partnership signed between the two countries opens the door for the two allies to partner in the area of space defence and to together build defence capacities and operational capabilities for better global situational awareness, protection of communication and surveillance satellites, and making the battle-field more transparent in air, land and sea.

India and France have decided to support each other, based on independent foreign policy and strategic autonomy. France has also activated a five-year Schengen visa scheme for Indian youths to get access to the best of skills in French universities. France is willing to support India in developing top-of-the-line defence platforms such as fighter aircraft engines, nuclear attack submarines and underwater drones, all locally made, and the defence industrial roadmap.

The two countries have also decided to manufacture in India and export to third countries. It will not only make India self-reliant for the long term but also build an industrial base in the country. This will also create jobs and reduce India’s dependency on foreign imports. People of India appreciate and welcome this Modi-Macron chemistry that is yielding concrete results.

— Pran Mohan Parvatiyar  
[pmparvatiyar@gmail.com](mailto:pmparvatiyar@gmail.com)



Macron And Modi At ‘HAWA-MAHAL’,  
 Jaipur On 25th January ‘24

# Human Rights Day



IFUNA OBSERVED HUMAN RIGHTS DAY IN COLLABORATION WITH ODISHA UNA AT DHENKANAL ON 10th DECEMBER 2023

**HE WAS CRITICAL OF RUSSIA- UKRAINE WAR. HE SAID IT IS VIOLATING THE INGREDIENTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS INNOCENT PEOPLE ARE BEING KILLED EVERY DAY. IT MUST STOP IMMEDIATELY, APPEALED MR. SURESH SRIVASTAVA.**

**I**NAUGURATING Human Rights Day function in Odisha through video conferencing, Vice-chair of World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) and Secretary General of IFUNA, Mr. Suresh Srivastava spoke about the recognition of the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. He said Human Right is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. He further said that disregard and contempt of Human Rights have resulted in barbarous act and have outraged the conscience of mankind. He was critical of Russia- Ukraine war. He said it is violating the ingredients of human rights as innocent people are being killed every day. It must stop immediately, appealed

Mr. Suresh Srivastava.

World human rights day was celebrated in Odisha under the Presidentship of Manoranjan Pattnaik Advocate, vice president of IFUNA. Speaking as chief guest former Justice B. C.Rrout observed that while discharging for life and job, if a person remains under mental tension, due to social, economic pressure it also have ingredients of violation of Human Rights . Environmentalist Upendra Rout told that if a doctor denies to treat the man then human rights is affected. Bahadur Patsani, Er. D.D panda, Prof. Biswanath Mahapatra , Dr. Sriram Mahapatra, C.R. Mohanty, Taruna Biswal, Pitabas Sahu, naturopath Shankar Dhir, Er. Abinash Das and others also participated in the pogramme.



## Observation of Human Rights Day In Assam



**T**HE Indian Federation Of UN Association (IFUNA) New Delhi observed the Human Rights Day in Collaboration with J.D.S.G. College, Bokakhat, Assam at the Conference hall of J.D.S.G. College, Bokakhat, Assam on 19th December, 2023.

The meeting was presided over by Dr. Jayanta Gogoi - Principal of J.D.S.G. College, Bokakhat.

In his Presidential speech, Dr. Gogoi urged the people to have awareness and knowledge about their own rights and specially mentioned about Women and child rights.

Mr. Gautam Kotoky, a reputed social worker, said that the UN has observed the 75th Anniversary of the Human Rights day in the year -2023 and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10th December, 1948 at UN general Assembly.

Earlier, Dr. Aswini Sarma - Secretary General of UNA-Assam and Secretary of IFUNA read out the message of UN Secretary General Mr. Antonio Guterres on the occasion.

Mrs. Namita Barman - a member of UNA-Assam stressed on the importance of women's and Girl's right.

The meeting was attended by a large numbers of students and faculties of the College.

Dr. Jayanta Das, a senior faculty of J.D.S.G. College, Bokakhat proposed a Vote of Thanks to faculty members, students and audience attending the function.



## Opinion - My Bharat

### THE PERENNIAL DILEMMA

# The failure of coalition governments in India at the centre



**SURESH SRIVASTAVA**  
Vice Chair: World  
Federation of United Nations  
Associations and Secretary  
General: IFUNA

It's not an old history as BJP, the party with a massive mandate in power got only two seats in the parliament in the year 1984. The party has seen continued growth and increase in vote share inspite of not having PAN India presence. In the year 1989 BJP got 85 seats, in the year 2004 BJP got 138 seats, in the year 2009 BJP got 116 seats, in the year 2014 BJP got 282 seats and in the year 2019 BJP got 303 seats. In three decades, the BJP has seen a phenomenal rise from two seats to a massive mandate of 303 seats. This is due to the partial failure of the Indian National Congress and phenomenal rise of Charismatic Leader Shri Narendra Modi. The governance of BJP from the year 2004 to 2009 by Late Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government is considered to be an extension of status quo barring a bold decision of atomic experiment and Kargil.

India gained freedom in 1947 and Pd. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of the newly-formed Republic of India. Nehru was a strong advocate of socialist policies and economic planning. Nehru pursued a policy of non-alignment in the international arena, seeking to maintain

independence from both the Western and Eastern blocs during the Cold War. He remained Prime Minister of the country from 15th August 1947 to 27th May 1964 and till date the longest serving Prime Minister of India.

After Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri took the reign of the country from 9th June 1964 to 11th January 1966 and proved to be a very strong Prime Minister who had given a befitting reply to the aggression of Pakistan but died in mysterious circumstances in Tashkent then part of USSR.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi took the rein of the country on 24th January 1966 and played a crucial role in India's foreign policy and was instrumental in navigating the country through various international challenges. The 1971 INDO-PAK War resulted in the creation of Bangladesh and India's decisive victory enhanced Indira Gandhi stature both domestically and internationally. The most controversial period of Indira Gandhi was the declaration of State of Emergency in 1975, she suspended civil liberties, curtailed press freedom and arrested political opponents, that was the authoritarian rule and abuse of power. Inspite of all good and bad things during the rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Central Government remain stable due to one party rule of the Congress. After assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi on 31st October 1984, Rajiv Gandhi as the youngest Prime Minister took the oath of office and got the massive mandate in the parliament and ruled as Prime Minister of India for five years and Thirty-two days. The Central Government remained stable and Shri Rajiv Gandhi initiated some reforms in the Economy but inspite of such a massive mandate he was not able to bring drastic reforms in the economy but the Central Government remained stable due to one party rule in the country.

The first era of coalition government started in March 1977 and ended in July 1979. The Janta Party Government which was formed after the defeat of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a total failure due to power





## Opinion - My Bharat



**THE FOURTH ERA OF COALITION GOVERNMENT STARTED WITH SHRI Inder KUMAR GUJRAL IN APRIL 1997 TILL MARCH 1998 FOR 332 DAYS. THIS COALITION WAS ALSO A DESPERATE GROUP OF REGIONAL AND LEFT LEANING PARTIES AND FAILED TO DELIVER ANYTHING EXCEPT INSTABILITY AT THE CENTRE.**

struggles and internal conflicts. The second era of coalition Government was experimented with a defeat of Rajiv Gandhi in December 1989 and a coalition government was formed by Shri V.P. Singh which lasted only for 343 days due to inherent ideological diversity among the constituent parties as BJP and CPI, CPM and other left oriented parties were supporting from outside and the 343 days of the Rule of the Shri V.P. Singh was marred by agitations, violence and instability. This period of Rule of Shri V.P. Singh can be considered as the worst period of Indian Democracy as to retain power Shri V.P. Singh took many decisions which were not in the interest of stability of the country. The third era of coalition started with Shri H.D. Deve Gowda and Congress as one of the coalition party and the government lasted for 324 days and there is nothing much to write about the functioning of this most unstable government. The fourth Era of coalition government started with Shri Inder Kumar Gujral in April 1997 till March 1998 for 332 days. This coalition was also a desperate group of regional and left leaning parties and failed to deliver anything except instability at the centre.

India, the world's largest democracy, has a long history of coalition governments at the center. These coalitions, formed by multiple political parties joining forces to attain a parliamentary majority, have been both a testament to the country's diverse political landscape

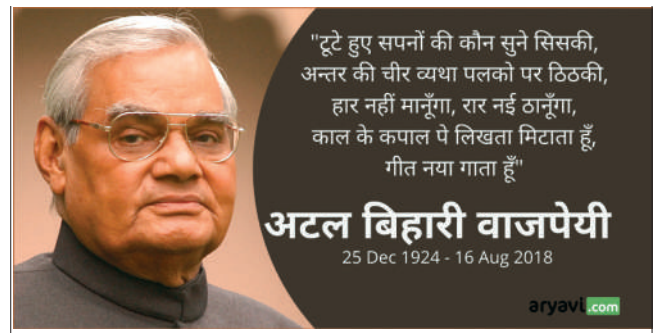
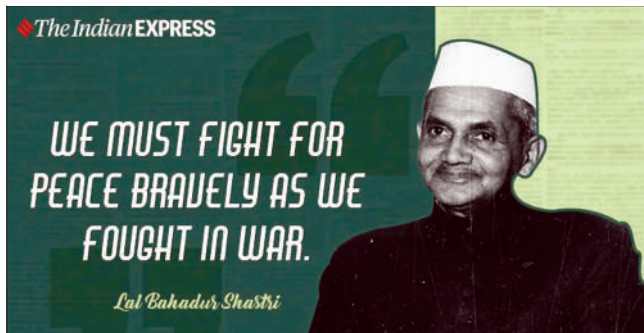
and a source of chronic instability. The failure of coalition governments in India at the center stems from a complex interplay of factors, including ideological differences, power struggles, governance challenges, and historical events that have shaped the country's political landscape. However, it is worth noting that governments with an absolute majority, such as those led by leaders like Shri Narendra Modi and Indira Gandhi, have been able to overcome some of the challenges associated with coalition politics.

One of the primary reasons for the failure of coalition governments in India is the inherent ideological diversity among the constituent parties. A landmark event in Indian political history that exemplifies this challenge is the formation of the United Front government in 1996, comprising a disparate group of regional and left-leaning parties. The United Front's ambitious policy agenda was hampered by the competing ideological priorities of its constituent parties, leading to internal discord and policy paralysis. This experience underscored the difficulty of reconciling diverse ideological positions within a coalition, ultimately leading to the government's premature collapse.

In contrast, leaders like Shri Narendra Modi, who led the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) to a resounding victory in the 2014 general elections, have demonstrated the potential for decisive governance with an absolute



## Opinion - My Bharat



majority. The Modi government's ability to implement far-reaching economic reforms, such as the introduction of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) and initiatives like "Make in India," exemplifies how a strong mandate can facilitate the pursuit of a coherent and decisive policy agenda, unencumbered by the constraints of coalition politics.

Similarly, Indira Gandhi's governments in the 1970s, particularly after the resounding victory in the 1971 general elections, were able to pursue a bold agenda, including nationalization of banks and the Green Revolution, owing to the Congress party's absolute majority in the Parliament. These examples highlight how governments with a clear mandate can overcome some of the challenges associated with coalition politics and implement transformative policies with relative ease.

Furthermore, coalition governments in India are frequently plagued by power struggles and internal conflicts. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, led by the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), faced internal discord over the issue of foreign policy and economic reforms. The tensions between the BJP and its coalition partners came to a head in 2004, contributing to the government's electoral defeat. This episode highlighted how power struggles and conflicting agendas within a coalition can undermine the cohesion and effectiveness of the government, ultimately leading to its downfall.

In contrast, leaders like Shri Narendra Modi, who have led single-party majority governments, have been able to provide more stable and decisive leadership, minimizing internal power struggles and enabling a more focused governance approach.

Governance challenges also contribute significantly to the failure of coalition governments in India. The inability of the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government to push through crucial economic reforms, such as the Goods and Services Tax (GST), due to resistance from



coalition partners, exemplifies how governance can be hampered by the need to accommodate divergent interests within a coalition. This governance paralysis can hinder the government's ability to address pressing national issues and erode public

In conclusion, the history of coalition governments in India at the center has been marked by a mix of successes and failures. While coalitions have often struggled to reconcile diverse ideological positions, navigate internal power struggles, and address governance challenges, governments with an absolute majority, such as those led by leaders like Shri Narendra Modi and Indira Gandhi, have demonstrated the potential for decisive governance unencumbered by the constraints of coalition politics.

The inherent diversity of India's political landscape, characterized by a multitude of regional and ideological interests, has made coalition-building a necessity for governance. However, the chronic instability and governance challenges associated with coalition governments underscore the need for a robust and sustainable governance framework.

**THE INHERENT DIVERSITY OF INDIA'S POLITICAL LANDSCAPE, CHARACTERIZED BY A MULTITUDE OF REGIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL INTERESTS, HAS MADE COALITION-BUILDING A NECESSITY FOR GOVERNANCE. HOWEVER, THE CHRONIC INSTABILITY AND GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH COALITION GOVERNMENTS UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR A ROBUST AND SUSTAINABLE GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK.**

## Opinion - My Bharat



**Prime Minister: Shri Narendra Modi**

While coalition politics can be a reflection of pluralism and inclusivity, the recurring challenges associated with such arrangements raise questions about their long-term viability.

At the same time, the successes of majority governments in providing stable and decisive leadership should not be overlooked. Leaders with a clear mandate have been able to implement transformative policies and navigate complex governance challenges more effectively. As India continues to navigate its complex political terrain, there is a growing need to explore governance models that can reconcile the imperatives of coalition-building with the imperative of effective governance, ultimately ensuring political stability, governance, and economic development for the nation.

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Elections are due in April 2024 and Congress which is having PAN India presence is desperately trying to form a coalition government at the Centre by trying to unite 28 Regional and small Parties. The Congress should not forget that once it has given space to political parties like Bahujan Samaj Party and Socialist Party of Shri Mulayam Singh it has lost UP forever. Similarly, in West Bengal by giving space to Trinamool Congress it has lost West Bengal forever. In Tamil Nadu by giving space to DMK it has lost Tamil Nadu forever, Andhra Pradesh is another example of Congress losing its ground in the state. It's ironic that whenever Congress has given space to Regional Parties it has lost its own ground. It is in the National interest that the Congress as an alternate party must survive for a strong Bi-Party System. Shri Rahul Gandhi after his 'Bharat Jodo Yatra' is emerging as an acceptable leader with strong reservations by the BJP. He has proven himself to be a dedicated and influential figure in Indian Politics. His ability to connect with citizens from all walk of life have made him respected and relatable figure, his efforts to Champion Social Justice has left an impact on the masses, therefore the Congress as a National Party should not give space to Conglomeration of different parties if its wants to survive as a National Party. Though it is almost clear that BJP will rule the roost from 2024 to 2029 but Congress must work hard if it wants to emerge as an alternative to BJP to give a strong challenge in the year 2029.



**Prime Ministers of India**



# India, Russia Reaffirm Friendship, Discuss Growing Trade, Strategic Ties.



**External Affairs Minister Dr. S Jaishankar with his counterpart Russia's Lavrov in Moscow**

India and discussed deepening trade and strategic ties during a visit to Moscow by Indian External Affairs Minister Dr. S. Jaishankar.

Indian Foreign Minister Dr. S. Jaishankar's visit to Russia on December 25-29 allowed to discuss the bilateral partnership and opportunities to boost it, India's Ministry of External Affairs said in a statement.

The Minister of External Affairs "visit to Russia provided an opportunity to review ongoing bilateral cooperation and consider ways to further strengthen the Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership between the two countries."

"India-Russia relations have remained strong and steady building upon strategic convergences, geopolitical interests, and

mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries," the diplomatic agency pointed out.

"Three documents relating to the Kudam Kulam Nuclear Power Plants, an MoU on cooperation in pharmaceuticals and healthcare and a Protocol on Foreign Office Consultations were signed during the visit," the statement said.

Dr. Jaishankar, who was on a five-day visit to Moscow, had meeting with Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergey Lavrov and also held discussions with Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Industry and Trade, Denis Manturov,

At a joint news conference, Lavrov said they discussed "the prospects for military-technical cooperation, including the joint production of modern types of weapons."

**IRRITANTS CONTINUE TO PLAGUE THE RELATIONSHIP, HOWEVER, PARTICULARLY WHERE THE BORDER IS CONCERNED. IN 2007 CHINA REFUSED TO GRANT A VISA TO A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL FROM THE INDIAN STATE OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH,**

# Putin invited Indian Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi to visit Moscow

**J** AISHANKAR said at a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin on Wednesday that the two countries have "made progress" in trade, which now exceeds \$50 billion. "We believe that this is something whose potential is now only beginning to be visible," he said.

India has emerged as one of Russia's major economic partners as it has exponentially increased its imports of Russian crude oil, ignoring Western sanctions that were imposed in 2022 over the war in Ukraine.

New Delhi, which has taken a neutral stance on the Ukraine conflict, has maintained its ties with Moscow citing its decades-old friendship with its old ally.

Putin was quoted by Tass as saying at the meeting with Dr. Jaishankar that the trade between Russia and India is growing for the second year in a row, particularly due to crude oil and high technology areas.

Putin's meeting with Dr. Jaishankar is considered significant because he usually does not meet visiting foreign ministers. Analysts see it as an effort to underline that Russia is not isolated.

"It is a statement on India's relative importance to Russia. India is a large country and is doing well economically.



**Russian President Vladimir Putin speaks to India's Foreign Minister < Dr. Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, back to a camera, during their meeting at the Kremlin in Moscow, Dec. 27, 2023.**

To show that you have good ties with New Delhi is important for Russia at this stage when they have their back to the wall," said one of the analyst Mr. Manoj Joshi, distinguished fellow at

the Observer Research Foundation in New Delhi

During the meeting with Jaishankar Putin invited Shri Prime minister Narendra Modi to visit Russia.

**CALLING RUSSIA INDIA'S "VALUED AND TIME-TESTED PARTNER," JAISHANKAR SAID TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES "ARE BASED ON STRATEGIC CONVERGENCE ON GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS."**

Russia was India's major arms supplier for decades, and New Delhi still imports about two-thirds of its military equipment from Moscow, although it has tried to diversify its purchases in recent years.

Calling Russia India's "valued and time-tested partner," Jaishankar said ties between the two countries "are based on strategic convergence on geopolitical interests."

The two countries also signed agreements related to the construction of future power-

generating units at the Kudankulam nuclear power plant that is being built in southern India with Russian assistance.

During the visit, Dr. Jaishankar called India's relations with Russia "the only constant in global politics."

In a meeting with Indians living in Moscow, he said that "typically defense, nuclear and space are collaborations you only do with countries with whom you have a high degree of trust."



# What I feel about the 'Bharat narrative' in India

**By Zhang Jiadong**

*Director of the Center for South Asian Studies at Fudan University.*

***Fudan University is a public university in Shanghai, China. The university is affiliated with the Ministry of Education and is co-funded with the Shanghai Municipal Government. Fudan University, located in Shanghai, China, is known for its strong academic programs in various fields, including social sciences, natural sciences, engineering, and medicine.***

I recently visited India twice, marking my first visit in four years. During the trips, I found that India's domestic and foreign situation have changed tremendously compared to four years ago. India has achieved outstanding results in economic development and social governance, and its great power strategy has moved from dream to reality. However, potential risks and crises have also begun to unfold.

On the one hand, India has made great achievements in economic development and social governance. Its economy has gained momentum and is on track to becoming one of the fastest-growing major economies. Meanwhile, New Delhi has made progress in urban governance. Although the haze is still serious, the distinctive smell that hit you as soon as you stepped off the plane four years ago has generally disappeared. This suggests that public environment in New Delhi has improved somewhat.

During the talk with Indian representatives, their attitude toward Chinese scholars was more relaxed and moderate, instead of being stubborn at times. For example, when discussing the "trade imbalance" between China and India, Indian scholars used to primarily focus on China's measures to reduce the trade imbalance. But now they are placing more emphasis on India's export potential, actively seeking to reduce the trade deficit with China by taking the initiative and increasing Chinese imports from India.

Furthermore, with its rapid economic and social development, India has become more strategically confident and more proactive in creating and developing a "Bharat narrative."

In the diplomatic sphere, India has rapidly shifted toward a great power strategy. Since Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi assumed power, he has advocated for a multi-alignment strategy, promoting India's relations with the US, Japan, Russia and other countries and regional organizations.



Now, India's strategic thinking in foreign policy has undergone another change and is clearly moving toward a great power strategy. Regarding the Russia-Ukraine conflict, India has distanced itself from the West and aligned itself more closely to the developing world. At the same time, India's reservations about Western powers have significantly diminished, and its activities within Western countries have become more frequent, extending beyond organizing large-scale diaspora events.

In the political and cultural spheres, India has moved from emphasizing its democratic consensus with the West to highlighting the "Indian feature" of democratic politics. Currently, there is even more emphasis on the Indian origins of democratic politics. Former National General Secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party Ram Madhav, has stressed the need for "India's version of democracy."

India not only seeks to escape the "political dwarf" resulting from its history as a colony, but also wants to act as a "world mentor" both politically and culturally. In December 2023, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations organized the first

**IN THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL SPHERES, INDIA HAS MOVED FROM EMPHASIZING ITS DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS WITH THE WEST TO HIGHLIGHTING THE "INDIAN FEATURE" OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. CURRENTLY, THERE IS EVEN MORE EMPHASIS ON THE INDIAN ORIGINS OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. FORMER NATIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY RAM MADHAV, HAS STRESSED THE NEED FOR "INDIA'S VERSION OF DEMOCRACY."**



**I**NDIA moving towards great power strategy under PM Modi's leadership', says Chinese media and praises India's foreign policy: Furthermore, this rarely-seen acknowledgement of India's advancements and PM Modi's strategic vision by the Global Times indicates the growing recognition of India's burgeoning global influence and the implications of its assertive posture on the international landscape.

**INDIA IS INDEED A MAJOR POWER, AND RAPID CHANGES IN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STRATEGIES POSE CHALLENGES TO BOTH ITSELF AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.**

"Knowledge India Visitors Programme," which brought together more than 77 scholars from 35 countries. Indian External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar emphasized the importance of building a strong "Bharat narrative" and explained the "Bharat narrative" in terms of economics, development, politics, and culture. Obviously, India no longer only regards cultural tradition as a channel to achieve its own interests or as a symbol to attract foreign tourists, but also sees it as one of the pillars of India's status as a great power.

Changes like this in internal and external policy are in line with the logic of India's long-held policy. India has always considered itself a world

power. However, it has only been less than 10 years since India shifted from multi-balancing to multi-alignment, and now it is rapidly transforming toward a strategy of becoming a pole in the multipolar world. The speed of such changes is rarely seen in the history of international relations.

India is indeed a major power, and rapid changes in internal and external strategies pose challenges to both itself and the international community. It appears that a transformed, stronger, and more assertive India has become a new geopolitical factor that many countries need to consider.

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## GLOBAL SUMMIT-VIBRANT GUJRAT

### 'Dream big; the bigger your dream, the bigger my resolve': Modi

*At the inaugural function of the Vibrant Gujarat Global Summit, PM Modi spoke about his government's achievements in 10 years and guaranteed that India would be the world's third-largest economy soon*



Global business leaders hail PM's vision at 10th Vibrant Gujarat Global Summit 2024 | DeshGujarat

### India, UAE Sign Several Key Agreements to Strengthen I2U2 Bloc

*MoUs worth ₹3,265 crore signed in agro-food processing sector*

India and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), on January 9, 2024 finalised four agreements to strengthen cooperation within the I2U2 group. Prime Minister Modi and President Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan discussed strengthening bilateral ties in other areas and signed four agreements reached between the two leaders:

1. Investment agreement to exploit non-conventional energy sources.
2. Agreement on cooperation in the field of projects related to the health sector.
3. Agreement in the food processing sector. Investing in food parks to tackle food insecurity in Asia:
4. Agreement between UAE company DP World and Gujarat government. Whose objective is the construction of ports in Gujarat.

The MoU on Renewable Energy and Food Processing includes plans prepared by I2U2 Group to develop projects in these two sectors in Gujarat. The I2U2 initiative is a new consortium of India, Israel, USA and UAE. The group's name includes 'I2,' representing the collaboration between India and Israel. While 'U2' stands for the United States of America and the United Arab Emirates.



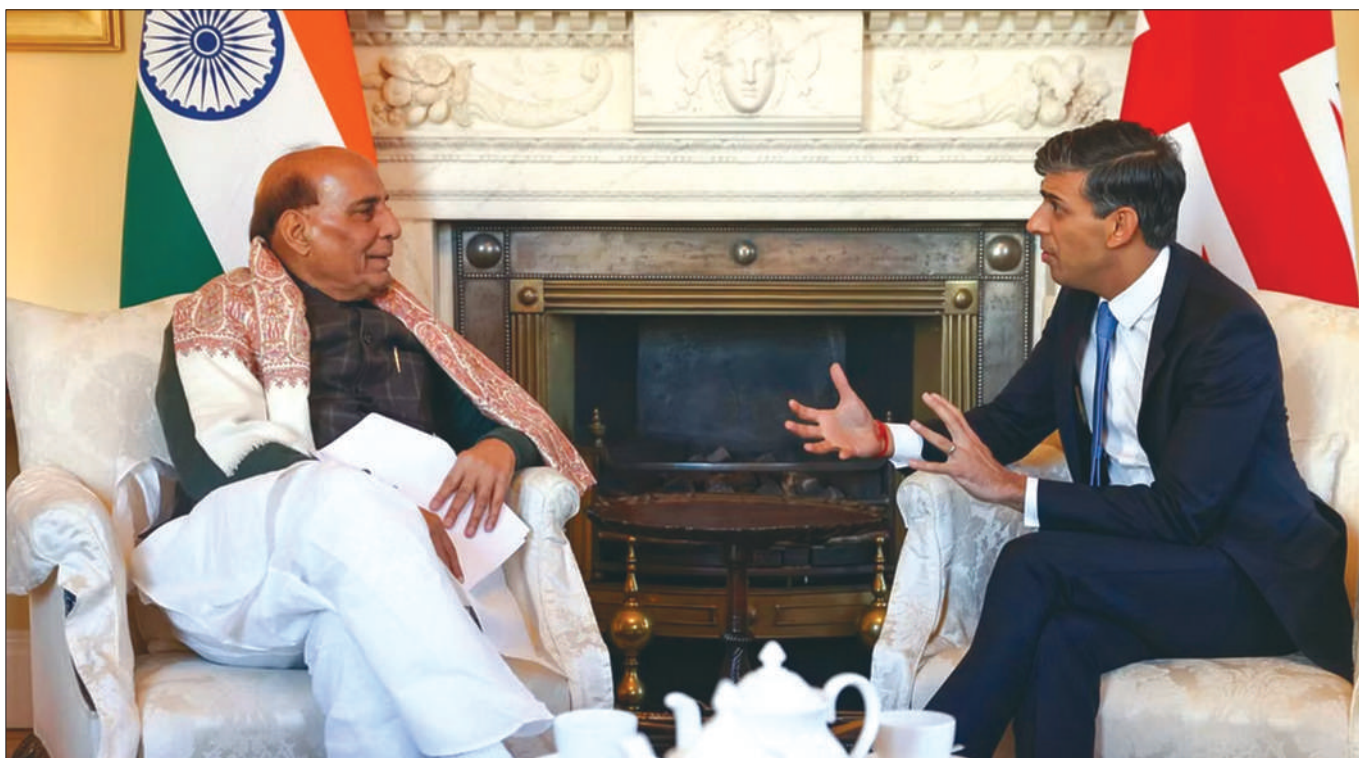
**Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi with UAE President Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan at Vibrant Gujarat Global Summit 2024**

PRIME Minister Shri Narendra Modi on Wednesday inaugurated the tenth edition of the Vibrant Gujarat Global Summit (VGSS) in Gandhinagar and called upon people to dream big, saying, "The bigger your dream, the bigger my resolve will be. There are many opportunities to see dreams and the ability to fulfill those dreams is also there," said Modi. Several leaders of countries like the United Arab Emirates, Mozambique, Timor-Leste, Czech Republic, Japan, Nepal, Estonia, Morocco and Vietnam were present at the event along with captains of industry and hundreds of people from India and abroad. "At a time when the world is full of uncertainties, India has emerged as a ray of hope." He added to applause.

*UAE President Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, was the chief guest of the inaugural event.*

"India's priorities are very clear. India's priorities are sustainable industry, infrastructure, and manufacturing. Today, India's priorities are new-age skills, futuristic technology, AI and innovation, green hydrogen, renewable energy, semiconductors and its ecosystem. Those investing in India are not merely making investments but are "shaping a new generation of young creators and consumers. In the current rapidly changing world, India is moving ahead in the role of a friend of the world. Today, India has given confidence to the world that we can set a common aim and achieve it. India's commitment, sincerity, attempt and hard work for the welfare of all is making the world more secure and prosperous. The world looks at India as an important pillar of stability. A friend who can be trusted, a partner who believes in people-centric development, a voice that believes in global growth...A democracy that delivers," he said.

# Defence Minister Shri Rajnath Singh's Landmark UK Visit Strengthens Bilateral Ties



India's Defence Minister Shri Rajnath Singh visited UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak in London at 10 Downing Street on 10th January, 24

**THE LEADERS DELVED INTO VARIOUS CRUCIAL MATTERS DURING THEIR MEETING, SPANNING DEFENCE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, JOINT EXERCISES, TRAINING, CAPACITY BUILDING, INCREASED INTEROPERABILITY, AND MILITARY TIES, WITH A SPECIFIC EMPHASIS ON THE MARITIME DOMAIN.**

**D**EFENCE Minister Shri Rajnath Singh concluded his visit to the UK on Thursday after a "warm meeting" with British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak and interacting with members of the Indian Expatriates at a community reception. Both nations affirmed their commitment to strengthening bilateral ties during Singh's visit. The UK proposed a 2025 visit of its Carrier Strike Group to the Indian Ocean. Additionally, it also revealed plans to send its Littoral Response Group for joint service and training with the Indian military.

**This marked a significant milestone as the first visit by a sitting Indian Defence**

**Minister to Britain in over two decades.**

The leaders delved into various crucial matters during their meeting, spanning defence, economic cooperation, joint exercises, training, capacity building, increased interoperability, and military ties, with a specific emphasis on the maritime domain.

They underscored the importance of industrial cooperation and technological advancements, committing to uphold a peaceful and stable global rules-based order. Sunak expressed optimism about the ongoing Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiations, emphasizing collaboration in trade, defence, and technology. He reaffirmed the UK's dedication to enhancing the defence and security aspects





**Shri Rajnath Singh, Minister of Defence of India, visited BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, London - popularly known as 'Neasden Temple' - on Tuesday 9 January 2024.**

**T**HE VISIT commenced with a formal welcome extended by Yogvivekdas Swami and local trustees, followed by a tour of the complex, allowing the visitors to explore the Mandir's intricate architecture and spiritual ambience.

The dignitaries participated in the abhishek of Shri Nilkanth Varni Maharaj, before interacting with volunteers who contribute to the Mandir's operations and community initiatives. The exchange offered a glimpse into the Mandir's extensive community service efforts and the dedication of its volunteers towards selflessly serving humanity, including its contributions to British society.

The Minister also met the resident swamis, allowing for deeper discussions on spirituality and culture, as well as the Mandir's role as a cultural ambassador and its commitment to upholding time-

less Hindu values.

Sharing his impressions of his visit and his sentiments of the Mandir's role in preserving India's culture and contributions to the world, Mr Singh said, "I have experienced tremendous peace at BAPS Shri Swami Narayan Mandir in London and have offered personal prayers that I am able to live totally without ego. By the influence of Sanatan Dharma, one's ego evaporates. This happens only by the blessings of God. This is the experience I had here."

Jitu Patel, Chair of BAPS UK & Europe, added, "We would like to thank Shri Rajnath Singh for taking the time from his busy schedule to visit the Mandir. Our strong ties and positive engagement with the High Commission of India serve as a platform to contribute to shared British and Indian values."

of the bilateral relationship through strengthened business and technology partnerships.

As a gesture of goodwill, Singh presented a Ram Darbar statue to Sunak during the meeting, attended by UK NSA Sir Tim Barrow.

Additionally, Singh engaged with Foreign Secretary David Cameron, highlighting the evol-

ving momentum in the India-UK partnership. Cameron reiterated the UK government's commitment to defence collaboration, particularly in defence industrial cooperation, to support a rule-based international order. Singh underscored Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership in guiding India toward becoming a developed

**AS A GESTURE OF GOODWILL, SINGH PRESENTED A RAM DARBAR STATUE TO SUNAK DURING THE MEETING, ATTENDED BY UK NSA SIR TIM BARROW.**



**Defence Minister Shri Rajnath Singh met his British counterpart Grant Shapps and held "fruitful discussions" on a wide range of issues related to defence cooperation, security and also on enhancing defence industrial cooperation.**

**SINGH OUTLINED HIS GOAL OF INTEGRATING DEFENCE INDUSTRIES THROUGH SUPPLY CHAIN INTEGRATION TO ENHANCE RESILIENCE. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF BILATERAL STARTUP-LEVEL INTERACTION AND JOINT PROJECT IDENTIFICATION FOR IMPLEMENTATION BY INDIA AND THE UK**

nation by the mid-21st century, focusing on sustainable growth, poverty reduction, and a business-friendly environment.

The defence minister also met his UK counterpart, Grant Shapps, and participated in the India-UK Defence Industry CEOs Roundtable at Trinity House in London. The UK announced its plan to deploy the Littoral Response Group to the Indian Ocean Region later this year, proposing a visit by the Carrier Strike Group to Indian waters in 2025. Both will operate and train with Indian forces.

Singh outlined his goal of integrating defence industries through supply chain integration to enhance resilience. He stressed the importance of bilateral startup-level interaction and joint project identification for implementation by India and the UK.

The defence minister also engaged with the Indian community at India House, London, and meeting over 160 prominent individuals of Indian origin, including military ex-servicemen and family members of World War II veterans. These initiatives align

with the 2030 India-UK roadmap announced in 2021, focusing on a comprehensive strategic partnership.

"Had a very warm meeting with the UK Prime Minister, Shri Rishi Sunak in London," I had the opportunity to discuss a wide range of issues with him. We discussed issues pertaining to defence, economic cooperation and how India and the UK could work together for strengthening a peaceful and stable global rules-based order," Shri Rajnath Singh said in a statement on social media.

According to the Indian Ministry of Defence read out of the meeting, Rishi Sunak agreed with the minister on the need for the UK and India to work in tandem and expressed hope that the ongoing free trade agreement (FTA) negotiations could be brought to a successful conclusion soon.

India and the UK are currently holding the 14th round of free trade agreement negotiations to significantly enhance the annual GBP 36-billion bilateral partnership. Rishi Sunak is said to have also underlined his keenness, and that of his govern-



ment, to strengthen the defence and security pillar of the bilateral relationship, including through government backing for stronger business and technology partnerships with Indian counterpart entities.

Meanwhile, Shri Rajnath Singh briefed Rishi Sunak about his "positive interactions" with the UK defence industry and the "new positive energy" in the bilateral defence relationship during his tour of the UK, the first by an Indian Defence Minister in 22 years.

He also met with UK Foreign Secretary David Cameron at the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office and reflected on the new momentum and direction of the India-UK partnership, symbolised by intense engagements at various levels.

Shri Rajnath Singh "outlined his goal of integrating defence industries of both countries including through supply chain integration to build resilience. He also emphasized the importance of bilateral start-up level interaction, and identification and discussion of joint projects which India and UK could implement together," the Ministry of Defence said.

David Cameron reiterated the UK government's desire to collaborate with India in the defence areas, particularly in the field of defence industrial collaboration, as one of the means of how the UK hopes to strengthen the support for a rule-based international order.

Later on Wednesday evening, Shri Rajnath Singh interacted with nearly 200 persons of Indian origin at a community reception organised by the High Commission of India in London. Indian military ex-servicemen and family members of World War II veterans were also present at the event, during which the minister addressed the gathering to apprise them of the fast pace of growth and development underway in India.

"It is projected that by 2075-2080, India will be the No. 1 country in terms of economic ranking. This is the image of India today because of the fast pace of growth," said Shri Rajnath Singh in an address to the gathering organized by Indian High Commissioner to the UK Vikram Doraiswami.

Shri Rajnath Singh also shared aspects of a recent article in the 'Global Times', a Chinese government publication, entitled 'What I feel about the Bharat Narrative in India' by Zhang Jiadong.



**Shri Rajnath Singh, Minister of Defence of India, David Cameron appreciate momentum of India-UK partnership**

"Even the Chinese government has been forced to accept that India today is an economic and strategic power, as expressed by a writer reflecting the Chinese government's views. We don't consider anyone an opponent but there is a perception that India-China relations are not good - though we want good relations with all countries. Yes, against that perception, even our neighboring country China accepts India's growing heft as a global power today," he said.

The minister's packed schedule during the three-day visit covered bilateral talks and co-chairing a UK-India Defence Industry CEOs Roundtable with his UK counterpart, Defence Secretary Grant Shapps.

Shri Rajnath Singh was greeted with a ceremonial Guard of Honour in London and went on to clinch two agreements: A Memorandum of understanding on the conduct of a bilateral international cadet exchange programme, and a Letter of Arrangement between Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and the UK's Defence Science and Technology Laboratory (DSTL) on defence collaboration in research and development

"Had an excellent meeting with UK Defence Minister, Mr. Grant Shapps. We reviewed the full range of India-UK defence relations. We had fruitful discussions on a wide range of issues pertaining to defence cooperation, security and also on enhancing defence industrial cooperation." Said Raj Nath Singh.

**THE MINISTER'S PACKED SCHEDULE DURING THE THREE-DAY VISIT COVERED BILATERAL TALKS AND CO-CHAIRING A UK-INDIA DEFENCE INDUSTRY CEOs ROUNDTABLE WITH HIS UK COUNTERPART, DEFENCE SECRETARY GRANT SHAPPS.**



## PM Modi's speech at ceremonial opening of high-level segment for Heads of States at COP28 UAE.

### INDIA PRESENTS PERFECT BALANCE OF ECOLOGY AND ECONOMY

PM Modi addressed the Opening Ceremony of High-level segment at COP28 Summit in UAE. He said, "India has set before the world an example of the perfect balance of Ecology and Economy. Despite India having 17% of the world's population, our share in global carbon emissions is only less than 4%."





# Climate action should be based on principles of equality, climate justice, shared responsibilities: PM

**T**ODAY, first of all I would like to express my gratitude to all of you who have consistently supported the issues I have raised such as climate justice, climate finance and green credit. Our efforts have increased the belief that for world welfare, protection of everyone's interests is necessary, everyone's participation is necessary", said Prime Minister Modi addressing the head of states participating in COP28 at Dubai on December 1, 2023.

Friends,

Today, India has set an example for the world to have a perfect balance between Ecology and Economy. Despite India having 17 percent of the world's population, our share in global carbon emissions is less than only 4 percent. India is one of the few economies in the world that is on track to meet the NDC targets. We have already achieved the targets related to emissions intensity eleven years ago. We have achieved non-fossil fuel targets 9 years ahead of schedule. Said Modi.

And India has not stopped at this. Our target is to reduce emissions intensity by 45 percent by 2030. We have decided that we will increase the share of non-fossil fuel to 50 percent. And, we will also continue to move towards the goal of net zero by 2070.

During its G-20 Presidency, India has consistently given importance to the issue of climate with the spirit of One Earth, One Family, One Future. For a Sustainable Future, together we agreed on the Green Development Pact. We decided the principles of Lifestyles for Sustainable Development. We proposed the commitment to triple renewable energy globally. India promoted the field of Hydrogen for Alternative Fuels and also launched the Global Biofuels Alliance.

Together we concluded that climate finance commitments need to be increased from billions to several trillions.

India had launched the Infrastructure Resilience initiative for 'Island States' in Glasgow. India is rapidly progressing on the projects related to this in 13 countries. It was in Glasgow where I presented before you the vision of Mission LiFE - Lifestyle for Environment. A study by the International Energy Agency says that with this approach we can reduce carbon emissions by 2 billion



tonnes per year by 2030. Today I am calling for another, pro-planet, proactive and positive initiative from this forum.

This is Green Credits initiative. This is a campaign that moves beyond the commercial mindset of carbon credit and create a carbon sink with public participation. I hope you will definitely connect with it.

We don't have much time to correct the mistakes of the last century. A small section of mankind has exploited the nature indiscriminately. But the whole humanity is paying its price, especially the residents of the Global South. This thinking of 'only my welfare' will take the world towards darkness. Every person sitting in this hall, every head of state has come here with a huge responsibility. All of us have to fulfill our responsibilities. The whole world is watching us today, the future of this

**THIS IS GREEN CREDITS INITIATIVE. THIS IS A CAMPAIGN THAT MOVES BEYOND THE COMMERCIAL MINDSET OF CARBON CREDIT AND CREATE A CARBON SINK WITH PUBLIC PARTICIPATION. I HOPE YOU WILL DEFINITELY CONNECT WITH IT.**

## COP28 IN DUBAI CONCLUDING OUTCOME

**COP28** closed on 13 December with an agreement that signals the “beginning of the end” of the fossil fuel era by laying the ground for a swift, just and equitable transition, underpinned by deep emissions cuts and scaled-up finance. In a demonstration of global solidarity, negotiators from nearly 200 Parties came together in Dubai with a decision on the world’s first ‘global stocktake’ to ratchet up climate action before the end of the decade – with the overarching aim to keep the global temperature limit of 1.5°C within reach. “Whilst we didn’t turn the page on the fossil fuel era in Dubai, this outcome is the beginning of the end,” said UN Climate Change Executive Secretary Simon Stiell in his closing speech. “Now all governments and businesses need to turn these pledges into real-economy outcomes, without delay.”

### “Transforming Climate Finance”

**P**RIME MINISTER Narendra Modi participated in the COP-28 Presidency's Session on "Transforming Climate Finance" on 1 December 2023 in Dubai, UAE. The event focussed on making climate finance more available, accessible, and affordable to developing countries.

During the session, the leaders adopted the "UAE Declaration on a New Global Climate Finance Framework". The declaration includes elements on, inter alia, delivering on commitments and achieving ambitious outcomes and

widening the sources of concessional finance for climate action.

During his address, Prime Minister voiced the concerns of the Global South and reiterated the urgency of making the means of implementation, particularly climate finance, available to the developing countries to achieve their climate ambitions and implement their NDCs.

Prime Minister welcomed the operationalization of Loss and Damage Fund and establishment of the UAE climate Investment Fund at COP-28.





earth is watching us. We must succeed. We have to be Decisive:

We have to take a pledge that every country will fulfill the climate targets it is setting for itself and the commitments it is making. We have to work in Unity: We have to take a pledge that we will work together, cooperate and support each other. We have to give fair share to all developing countries in the global carbon budget.

We have to be more Balanced: We have to take

a pledge to move forward while maintaining a balance between Adaptation, Mitigation, Climate finance, Technology, Loss and damage.

We have to be Ambitious: We have to resolve that the energy transition should be just, inclusive and equitable. We have to be Innovative: We have to take a pledge to continuously develop innovative technology. To rise above our selfishness and transfer technology to other countries. To strengthen the clean energy supply chains.

Friends, India are committed to the UN Framework for Climate Change Process.

Therefore, today I also propose from this platform to host the COP-33 summit in India in 2028. I am hopeful that the review of Global Stock-taking in the coming 12 days will lead us to a safe and bright future. Yesterday, the decision taken to operationalize the Loss and Damage Fund has further increased our hopes. I am confident that, hosted by the UAE, this COP 28 Summit will reach new heights of success.

I also express my gratitude to my brother, His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed and His Excellency Guterres, Secretary General of the United Nations, for giving me this special honor. Said Prime Minister Modi.

**WE HAVE TO TAKE A PLEDGE THAT EVERY COUNTRY WILL FULFILL THE CLIMATE TARGETS IT IS SETTING FOR ITSELF AND THE COMMITMENTS IT IS MAKING. WE HAVE TO WORK IN UNITY: WE HAVE TO TAKE A PLEDGE THAT WE WILL WORK TOGETHER, COOPERATE AND SUPPORT EACH OTHER. WE HAVE TO GIVE FAIR SHARE TO ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE GLOBAL CARBON BUDGET.**



Prime Minister called for the COP-28 to deliver on the following issues related to Climate Finance:

- Progress in New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance
- Replenishment of Green Climate Fund & Adaptation Fund
- Affordable Finance to be made available by MDBs for Climate Action
- Developed countries must eliminate their carbon footprint before 2050.

# “People of Malana”



**CHANDER P MAHAJAN**  
Was a former student of  
Electrical Engineering at  
Regional Engineering College,  
Naseem Bagh, Srinagar,  
Kashmir (J&K).

**THE VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION IS DEMOCRATIC AND POPULARLY KNOWN IN THE KULLU VALLEY OF HIMACHAL PRADESH OF INDIA, 'THE REPUBLIC OF MALANA'. HAVING AN IMMACULATE SYSTEM OF SELF-GOVERNANCE; WITH ITS OWN LOWER AND HIGHER COURT, PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER WHO LIVE IN A WORLD OF SELF-CREATED AUTONOMY.**

**M**EN of Faith, Less of Reason: Resolving conflicts based on the death of lambs. They believe in a godly approach. In a complicated conflict, they make a deep cut in the foreleg of a lamb of each of the two parties, poison it and then sew it back with a needle. The person whose lamb dies first is said to lose the case'.

The village council resists all external influence. As they consider themselves as the descendants of 'Alexander the Great', some 'law and order' that they still practice can be traced back to those days. Malanis believe that they are 'pure' Aryans. Thus Malana has been named the 'Athens of Himalayas'.

The village administration is democratic and popularly known in the Kullu valley of Himachal Pradesh of India, 'the Republic of Malana'. Having an immaculate system of self-governance; with its own lower and higher court, President and Prime Minister who live in a world of self-created autonomy. Malanis point to their age-old election system. The People had a well-planned and organised parliamentary system; the omnipotent god, still rules the village council.

■ The place lives by stringent customs and traditions and holds many secrets. The age-old taboos are respected by one and all. Outsiders

are told to keep their distance and not touch anything in the village. Their local court system even today reflects the ancient Greek system.



**Author heads the table.**  
HPSEB Rest House Manali Feb, 1993  
Collection - Chander P Mahajan



**Snow Clad Parliament Platform The Republic of Malana Feb, 1993** Collection - Chander P Mahajan



■ Apart from the geographical difficulties of reaching Malana, social taboos may also stand in one's way. While the world moves ahead in time, Malana Village seems to be stuck in the distant past. While some of the Malana village rules may seem absurd, others are terrifying; and are odd in today's world. Some of them are strange and others arouse curiosity. The native people have their justifications for themselves as if they intend to maintain a pure Aryan race.

They are a unique tribe who live in a world of self-created autonomy amidst the greater Himalayas and claim Greek descent. The village is governed by a bicameral parliament, consisting of a lower house and an upper house.

Till at least 1952, according to Colin Rosser, it was virtually inaccessible and known as the home of a different people.'

■ Camping at the Manali rest house\*, way back In February 1993, we were chalking out a visit to Malana. It appeared to be a wishful plan, more so with scant information on the table, other than telltale stories. Ms Kuldip Grover's high team spirit, despite her health problems, inspired us; & we ventured on. An employee, native to the area, volunteered to guide; and in the longer runcoordinated extremely well.

■ Though, trekking an early stretch from Jari (Kullu) was polite; soon it started drizzling, with flakes of snow; indicative of snowfall in the offing. The climb up the slopes was tough; reaching the village across slush was a formidable task. The wind was docile but the cold was spiky.

Looking down the Mallana Nalla from atop a high cliff en route, the guide narrates a 'hearsay' of how the punished criminals were pushed down to die. The Village guarded by towering peaks is certainly not easy to climb and one has to complete the Malana Trek after traversing the Malana Nallah that flows right across the Parvati Valley. Beautiful waterfalls and the Malana Nallah stream are scenic.

■ It had snowed and was late in the evening that we took refuge in an unattended forest hut in the village, embedded within the lap of Mother Nature.

Lucky enough; of the two rooms gents could squeeze into one. The makeshift toilet became handy. Food was cooked, courtesy of



Malana Village Feb,1993

Collection - Chander P Mahajan



Author, Ms. Kuldip Grover and the team with the villagers backdrop is the Temple Feb,1993

Collection- Chander P Mahajan

the guide with the local help, whatsoever.

The overwhelming sense of seclusion, in the morning, is a feeling of how the Malana community had evolved, shunning the outside world for centuries.

■ There is a similarity In the Architecture of houses^, under certain Malana village

**LUCKY ENOUGH; OF THE TWO ROOMS GENTS COULD SQUEEZE INTO ONE. THE MAKESHIFT TOILET BECAME HANDY.**

Memorable visit to Malana Village in the year 1993 was fantastic and unforgettable. We started our journey in the morning and crossed many hurdles like steep height, big rocks. Crossed river on wooden bridge.

We reached Malana in the evening...

Next morning we met the locals...

I felt they were noble and innocent...

I was informed, how transformer was carried on their shoulders to install in their village to get electricity.

We prayed and thanked for our successful journey.

Excerpts from memoirs      Ms Kuldip Grover,  
the then Chief Project Manager, Rural Electrification  
Corporation Limited, Chandigarh.

rules; with a raised platform in the middle; blanketed under snow.

The larger platform is where the village council meets, the smaller is where the villagers sit and listen. All council meetings are thus public hearings. Inside Malana, every villager is considered equal, irrespective of profession, we guess.

The village has several ancient temples; Jamlu temple,

built in Kathkuni style, with wooden carvings and deer heads. The villagers are always willing to pose for a photograph.

We were told that the Harlala mask dance festival, celebrated in the month of February-Phalgun, was around the corner. It is an occasion when everyone takes a bath and a group of people wearing nothing but cannabis leaves and demon-like masks dance around the houses spreading cow dung, which provides insulation from the cold as well.





Asia > India > Himachal Pradesh > Kullu District > Manali Tehsil > Malana ▼

Courtesy - Tripadvisor.in

Another interesting aspect of the festival is the procession for Emperor Akbar.'

Baskets, ropes, and slippers made of hemp had always brought in income other than growing maize, potatoes, and buckwheat. In Rosser's days, however, Malanis bartered ghee, wool, honey, and game birds with the other Kullu villages for salt, food, and tools.

■ The history of Malana differs from person to person as everyone shares their different stories. The indigenous language, Kanashi has no script & is used for internal communication only. The villagers have been keeping several secrets to themselves.

Whereas Athenian democracy in Greece (around the 6th century BC) is often described as the first known democracy in the world; yet USA is the only country with continuous democracy for more than 200 years. Also, Vaishali, situated in Vaishali

district in Bihar, is believed to be the world's first republic and is currently an archaeological site in India. I wonder, therefore, if Malanis claim is a disputed myth.

Social taboos may sustain; modern civilization may rise but for prevalent primitive trends. The rules are here to stay; they do not seem to be changing so soon. Malanis are guarding their own lifestyle and social structure till today and, therefore, command respect; simple beings are happy in their world and are friendly.

Lately, the inauguration of the Atal Tunnel across Rohtang Pass has prompted calls from people urging locals for tighter controls to preserve fragile ecology and take pride in their cultural heritage.

A raging fire in 2008, many structures in the village.

\*The rest house was washed away in a flash flood in river Beas, in the nineties.

**SOCIAL TABOOS MAY SUSTAIN; MODERN CIVILIZATION MAY RISE BUT FOR PREVALENT PRIMITIVE TRENDS. THE RULES ARE HERE TO STAY; THEY DO NOT SEEM TO BE CHANGING SO SOON. MALANIS ARE GUARDING THEIR OWN LIFESTYLE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE TILL TODAY AND, THEREFORE, COMMAND RESPECT; SIMPLE BEINGS ARE HAPPY IN THEIR WORLD AND ARE FRIENDLY.**

# अयोध्या के राम मंदिर परिसर में संबोधन के दौरान पीएम नरेंद्र मोदी

*राम आग नहीं, ऊर्जा, राम विवाद नहीं, राम समाधान है...*

प्राण प्रतिष्ठा के बाद बोले पीएम नरेंद्र मोदी

**आ**ज हमारे राम आ गए हैं! सदियों की प्रतीक्षा के बाद हमारे राम आ गए हैं। सदियों का अभूतपूर्व धैर्य, अनगिनत बलिदान, त्याग और तपस्या के बाद हमारे प्रभु राम आ गए हैं। इस शुभ घड़ी की आप सभी को, समस्त देशवासियों को, बहुत-बहुत बधाई। मैं अभी गर्भगृह में ईश्वरीय चेतना का साक्षी बनकर आपके सामने उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। कितना कुछ कहने को है... लेकिन कंठ अवरुद्ध है। मेरा शरीर अभी भी स्पंदित है, चित्त अभी भी उस पल में लीन है। हमारे रामलला अब टेंट में नहीं रहेंगे। हमारे रामलला अब इस दिव्य मंदिर में रहेंगे। मेरा

पक्का विश्वास है, अपार श्रद्धा है कि जो घटित हुआ है इसकी अनुभूति, देश के, विश्व के, कोने-कोने में रामभक्तों को हो रही होगी। ये क्षण अलौकिक है। ये पल पवित्रतम है। ये माहौल, ये वातावरण, ये ऊर्जा, ये घड़ी... प्रभु श्रीराम का हम सब पर आशीर्वाद है। 22 जनवरी, 2024 का ये सूरज एक अद्भुत आभा लेकर आया है। 22 जनवरी, 2024, ये कैलेंडर पर लिखी एक तारीख नहीं। ये एक नए कालचक्र का उद्गम है। राम मंदिर के भूमिपूजन के बाद से प्रतिदिन पूरे देश में उमंग और उत्साह बढ़ता ही जा रहा था। निर्माण कार्य देख, देशवासियों में हर दिन एक नया विश्वास पैदा हो रहा था। आज हमें सदियों के उस धैर्य की धरोहर मिली है, आज हमें श्रीराम का मंदिर मिला है। गुलामी की मानसिकता को तोड़कर उठ खड़ा हो रहा राष्ट्र, अतीत के हर दंश से हौसला लेता हुआ राष्ट्र, ऐसे ही नव इतिहास का सृजन करता है। आज से हजार साल बाद भी लोग आज की इस तारीख की, आज के इस पल की चर्चा करेंगे। और ये कितनी बड़ी रामकृपा है कि हम इस पल को जी रहे हैं, इसे साक्षात् घटित होते देख रहे हैं। आज दिन-दिशाएँ... दिग-दिगंत... सब दिव्यता से परिपूर्ण हैं। ये समय, सामान्य समय नहीं है। ये काल के चक्र पर



सर्वकालिक स्याही से अंकित हो रहें अमिट स्मृति रेखाएँ हैं।

हम सब जानते हैं कि जहां राम का काम होता है, वहाँ पवनपुत्र हनुमान अवश्य विराजमान होते हैं। इसलिए, मैं रामभक्त हनुमान और हनुमानगढ़ी को भी प्रणाम करता हूँ। मैं माता जानकी, लक्ष्मण जी, भरत-शत्रुघ्न, सबको नमन करता हूँ। मैं पावन अयोध्या पुरी और पावन सरयू को भी प्रणाम करता हूँ। मैं इस पल दैवीय अनुभव कर रहा हूँ कि जिनके आशीर्वाद से ये महान कार्य पूरा हुआ है... वे दिव्य आत्माएँ, वे दैवीय विभूतियाँ भी इस समय हमारे आस-पास उपस्थित हैं। मैं इन सभी दिव्य चेतनाओं को भी कृतज्ञता पूर्वक नमन करता हूँ। मैं आज प्रभु श्रीराम से क्षमा याचना भी करता हूँ। हमारे पुरुषार्थ, हमारे त्याग, तपस्या में कुछ तो कमी रह गयी होगी कि हम इतनी सदियों तक ये कार्य कर नहीं पाए। आज वो कमी पूरी हुई है। मुझे विश्वास है, प्रभु राम आज हमें अवश्य क्षमा करेंगे।

त्रेता में राम आगमन पर तुलसीदास जी ने लिखा है— प्रभु बिलोकि हरषे पुरबासी। जनित वियोग बिपति सब नासी। अर्थात्, प्रभु का आगमन देखकर ही सब अयोध्यावासी, समग्र देशवासी हर्ष से भर गए। लंबे वियोग से जो आपत्ति आई थी, उसका अंत हो गया। उस कालखंड में तो वो वियोग केवल 14 वर्षों का था, तब भी इतना असह्य था। इस युग में तो अयोध्या और देशवासियों ने सैकड़ों वर्षों का वियोग सहा है। हमारी कई-कई पीढ़ियों ने वियोग सहा है। भारत के तो संविधान में, उसकी पहली प्रति में, भगवान राम विराजमान हैं। संविधान के अस्तित्व में आने के बाद भी दशकों तक प्रभु श्रीराम के अस्तित्व को लेकर कानूनी लड़ाई चली। मैं आभार व्यक्त करूंगा भारत की न्यायपालिका का, जिसने न्याय की लाज रख ली। न्याय के पर्याय प्रभु राम का मंदिर भी न्याय बद्ध तरीके से ही बना। आज गाँव-गाँव में एक साथ कीर्तन, संकीर्तन हो रहे हैं। आज मंदिरों में उत्सव हो



रहे हैं, स्वच्छता अभियान चलाए जा रहे हैं। पूरा देश आज दीवाली मना रहा है। आज शाम घर-घर राम ज्योति

प्रज्वलित करने की तैयारी है। कल मैं श्रीराम के आशीर्वाद से धनुषकोडि में रामसेतु के आरंभ बिंदु अरिचल मुनाई पर था। जिस घड़ी प्रभु राम समुद्र पार करने निकले थे वो एक पल था जिसने कालचक्र को बदला था। उस भावमय पल को महसूस करने का मेरा ये विनम्र प्रयास था। वहां पर मैंने पुष्प वंदना की। वहां मेरे भीतर एक विश्वास जगा कि जैसे उस समय कालचक्र बदला था उसी तरह अब कालचक्र फिर बदलेगा और शुभ दिशा में बढ़ेगा। अपने 11 दिन के व्रत-अनुष्ठान के दौरान मैंने उन स्थानों का चरण स्पर्श करने का प्रयास किया, जहां प्रभु राम के चरण पड़े थे। चाहे वो नासिक का पंचवटी धाम हो, केरला का पवित्र त्रिप्रायर मंदिर हो, आंध्र प्रदेश में लेपाक्षी हो, श्रीरंगम में रंगनाथ स्वामी मंदिर हो, रामेश्वरम में श्री रामनाथस्वामी मंदिर हो, या फिर धनुषकोडि... मेरा सौभाग्य है कि इसी पुनीत पवित्र भाव के साथ मुझे सागर से सरयू तक की यात्रा का अवसर मिला। सागर से सरयू तक, हर जगह राम नाम का वही उत्सव भाव छाया हुआ है। प्रभु राम तो भारत की आत्मा के कण-कण से जुड़े हुए हैं। राम, भारतवासियों के अंतर्मन में विराजे हुए हैं। हम भारत में कहीं भी, किसी की अंतरात्मा को छुएंगे तो इस एकत्व की अनुभूति होगी, और यही भाव सब जगह मिलेगा। इससे उत्कृष्ट, इससे अधिक, देश को समायोजित करने वाला सूत्र और क्या हो सकता है ?

मुझे देश के कोने-कोने में अलग-अलग भाषाओं में रामायण सुनने का अवसर मिला है, लेकिन विशेषकर पिछले 11 दिनों में रामायण अलग-अलग भाषा में, अलग-अलग राज्यों से मुझे विशेष रूप से सुनने का सौभाग्य मिला। राम को परिभाषित करते हुये ऋषियों ने कहा है- रमन्ते यस्मिन् इति रामः ॥ अर्थात्, जिसमें रम जाया जाए, वही राम है। राम लोक की स्मृतियों में, पर्व से लेकर परम्पराओं में, सर्वत्र समाये हुए हैं। हर युग में लोगों ने राम को जिया है। हर युग में लोगों ने अपने-अपने शब्दों में, अपनी-अपनी तरह से राम को अभिव्यक्त किया है। और ये रामरस, जीवन प्रवाह की तरह निरंतर बहता रहता है। प्राचीन काल से भारत के हर कोने के लोग रामरस का आचमन करते रहे हैं। रामकथा असीम है, रामायण भी अनंत हैं। राम के आदर्श, राम के मूल्य, राम की शिक्षाएं, सब जगह एक समान हैं।

आज इस ऐतिहासिक समय में देश उन व्यक्तियों को भी याद कर रहा है, जिनके कार्यों और समर्पण की वजह से आज हम ये शुभ दिन देख रहे हैं। राम के इस काम में कितने ही लोगों ने त्याग और तपस्या की पराकाष्ठा करके दिखाई है। उन अनगिनत रामभक्तों के, उन अनगिनत कारसेवकों के और उन अनगिनत संत महात्माओं के हम सब ऋणी हैं।

आज का ये अवसर उत्सव का क्षण तो है ही, लेकिन इसके साथ ही ये क्षण भारतीय समाज की परिपक्वता के बोध का क्षण भी है। हमारे लिए ये अवसर सिर्फ

विजय का नहीं, विनय का भी है। दुनिया का इतिहास साक्षी है कि कई राष्ट्र अपने ही इतिहास में उलझ जाते हैं। ऐसे देशों ने जब भी अपने इतिहास की उलझी हुई गांठों को खोलने का प्रयास किया, उन्हें सफलता पाने में बहुत कठिनाई आई। बल्कि कई बार तो पहले से ज्यादा मुश्किल परिस्थितियां बन गईं। लेकिन हमारे देश ने इतिहास की इस गांठ को जिस गंभीरता और भावुकता के साथ खोला है, वो ये बताती है कि

हमारा भविष्य हमारे अतीत से बहुत सुंदर होने जा रहा है। वो भी एक समय था, जब कुछ लोग कहते थे कि राम मंदिर बना तो आग लग जाएगी। ऐसे लोग भारत के सामाजिक भाव की पवित्रता को नहीं जान पाए। रामलला के इस मंदिर का निर्माण, भारतीय समाज के शांति, धैर्य, आपसी सद्भाव और समन्वय का भी प्रतीक है। हम देख रहे हैं, ये निर्माण किसी आग को नहीं, बल्कि ऊर्जा को जन्म दे रहा है। राम मंदिर समाज के हर वर्ग को एक उज्ज्वल भविष्य के पथ पर बढ़ने की प्रेरणा लेकर आया है। मैं आज उन लोगों से आह्वान करूंगा... आईये, आप महसूस कीजिए, अपनी सोच पर पुनर्विचार कीजिए। राम आग नहीं है, राम ऊर्जा है। राम विवाद नहीं, राम समाधान हैं। राम सिर्फ हमारे नहीं हैं, राम तो सबके हैं। राम वर्तमान ही नहीं, राम अनंतकाल हैं। आज जिस तरह राममंदिर प्राण प्रतिष्ठा के इस आयोजन से पूरा विश्व जुड़ा हुआ है, उसमें राम की सर्वव्यापकता के दर्शन हो रहे हैं। जैसा उत्सव भारत में है, वैसा ही अनेकों देशों में है। आज अयोध्या का ये उत्सव रामायण की उन वैश्विक परम्पराओं का भी उत्सव बना है। रामलला की ये प्रतिष्ठा 'वसुधैव कुटुंबकम्'-रु39य के विचार की भी प्रतिष्ठा है।

आज अयोध्या में, केवल श्रीराम के विग्रह रूप की प्राण प्रतिष्ठा नहीं हुई है। ये श्रीराम के रूप में साक्षात् भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रति अटूट विश्वास की भी प्राण प्रतिष्ठा है। ये साक्षात् मानवीय मूल्यों और सर्वोच्च आदर्शों की भी प्राण प्रतिष्ठा है। इन मूल्यों की, इन आदर्शों की आवश्यकता आज सम्पूर्ण विश्व को है। सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनरु ये संकल्प हम सदियों से दोहराते आए हैं। आज उसी संकल्प को राममंदिर के रूप में साक्षात् आकार मिला है। ये मंदिर, मात्र एक देव मंदिर नहीं है। ये भारत की दृष्टि का, भारत के दर्शन का, भारत के दिग्दर्शन का मंदिर है। ये राम के रूप में राष्ट्र चेतना का मंदिर है। राम भारत की आस्था हैं, राम भारत का आधार हैं। राम भारत का विचार हैं, राम भारत का विधान हैं। राम भारत की चेतना हैं, राम भारत का चिंतन हैं। राम भारत की प्रतिष्ठा हैं, राम भारत का प्रताप हैं। राम प्रवाह हैं, राम प्रभाव हैं। राम नेति भी हैं। राम नीति भी हैं। राम नित्यता भी हैं। राम निरंतरता भी हैं। राम विभु हैं, विशद हैं। राम व्यापक हैं, विश्व हैं, विश्वात्मा हैं। और इसलिए, जब राम की प्रतिष्ठा होती है, तो उसका प्रभाव वर्षों या शताब्दियों तक ही नहीं होता। उसका प्रभाव हजारों वर्षों के लिए होता है। महर्षि वाल्मीकि ने कहा है- राज्यम् दश सहस्राणि प्राप्य वर्षाणि राघवः। अर्थात्, राम दस हजार वर्षों के लिए राज्य पर प्रतिष्ठित हुए। यानी हजारों





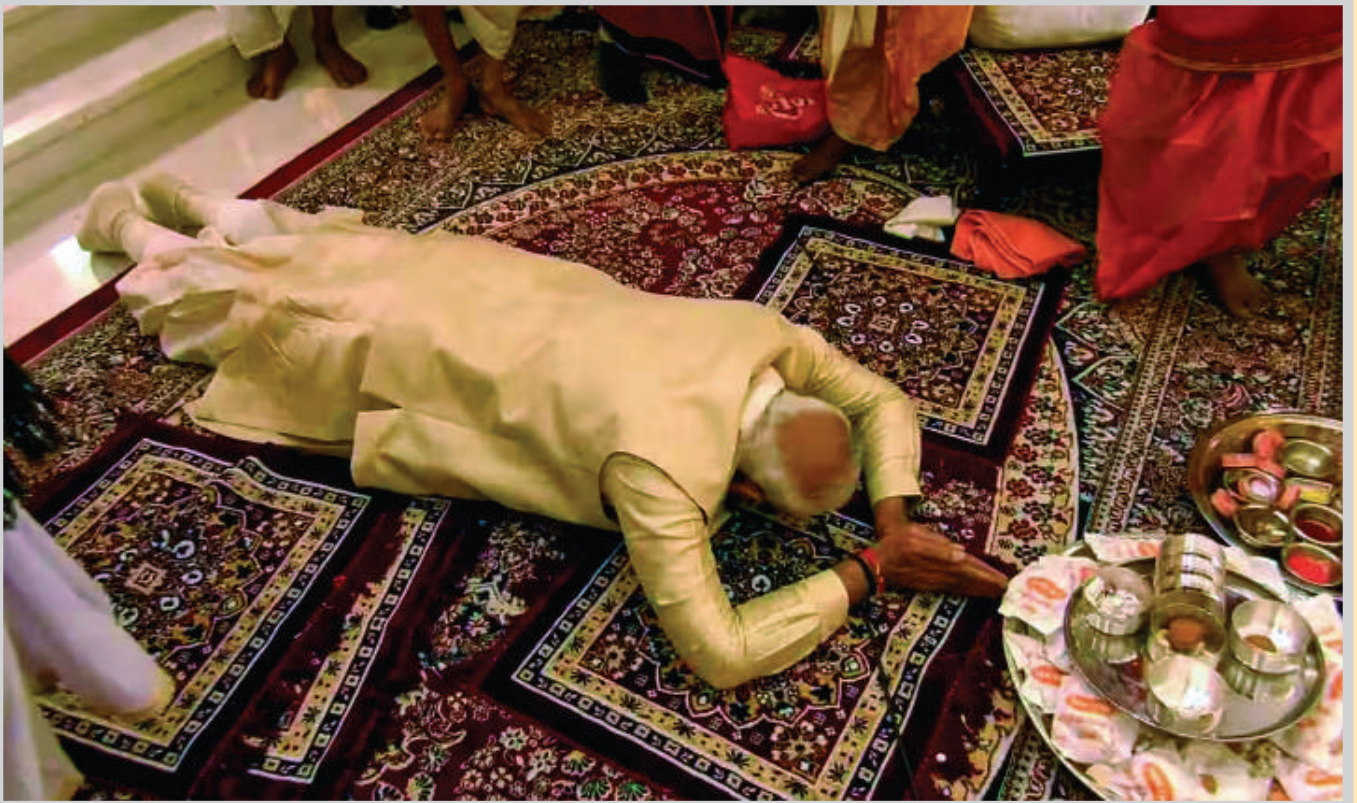
वर्षों के लिए रामराज्य स्थापित हुआ। जब त्रेता में राम आए थे, तब हजारों वर्षों के लिए रामराज्य की स्थापना हुई थी। हजारों वर्षों तक राम विश्व पथप्रदर्शन करते रहे थे। और इसलिए मेरे प्यारे देशवासियों, आज अयोध्या भूमि हम सभी से, प्रत्येक रामभक्त से, प्रत्येक भारतीय से कुछ सवाल कर रही है। श्रीराम का भव्य मंदिर तो बन गया...अब आगे क्या? सदियों का इंतजार तो खत्म हो गया...अब आगे क्या? आज के इस अवसर पर जो दैव, जो दैवीय आत्माएं हमें आशीर्वाद देने के लिए उपस्थित हुई हैं, हमें देख रही हैं, उन्हें क्या हम ऐसे ही विदा करेंगे? नहीं, कदापि नहीं। आज मैं पूरे पवित्र मन से महसूस कर रहा हूँ कि कालचक्र बदल रहा है। ये सुखद संयोग है कि हमारी पीढ़ी को एक कालजयी पथ के शिल्पकार के रूप में चुना गया है। हजार वर्ष बाद की पीढ़ी, राष्ट्र निर्माण के हमारे आज के कार्यों को याद करेगी। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ- यही समय है, सही समय है। हमें आज से, इस पवित्र समय से, अगले एक हजार साल के भारत की नींव रखनी है। मंदिर निर्माण से आगे बढ़कर अब हम सभी देशवासी, यहीं इस पल से समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत के निर्माण की सौगंध लेते हैं। राम के विचार, 'मानस के साथ ही जनमानस-रु39य में भी हों, यही राष्ट्र निर्माण की सीढ़ी है।

आज के युग की मांग है कि हमें अपने अंतःकरण को विस्तार देना होगा। हमारी चेतना का विस्तार... देव से देश तक, राम से राष्ट्र तक होना चाहिए। हनुमान जी की भक्ति, हनुमान जी की सेवा, हनुमान जी का समर्पण, ये ऐसे गुण हैं जिन्हें हमें

बाहर नहीं खोजना पड़ता। प्रत्येक भारतीय में भक्ति, सेवा और समर्पण के ये भाव, समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत का आधार बनेंगे। और यही तो है देव से देश और राम से राष्ट्र की चेतना का विस्तार! दूर-सुदूर जंगल में कुटिया में जीवन गुजारने वाली मेरी आदिवासी मां शबरी का ध्यान आते ही, अप्रतिम विश्वास जागृत होता है। मां शबरी तो कबसे कहती थीं- राम आएंगे। प्रत्येक भारतीय में जन्मा यही विश्वास, समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत का आधार बनेगा। और यही तो है देव से देश और राम से राष्ट्र की चेतना का विस्तार! हम सब जानते हैं कि निषादराज की मित्रता, सभी बंधनों से परे है। निषादराज का राम के प्रति सम्मोहन, प्रभु राम का निषादराज के लिए अपनापन कितना मौलिक है। सब अपने हैं, सभी समान हैं। प्रत्येक भारतीय में अपनत्व की, बंधुत्व की ये भावना, समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत का आधार बनेगी। और यही तो है देव से देश और राम से राष्ट्र की चेतना का विस्तार! आज देश में निराशा के लिए रत्तीभर भी स्थान नहीं है। मैं तो बहुत सामान्य हूँ, मैं तो बहुत छोटा हूँ, अगर कोई ये सोचता है, तो उसे गिलहरी के योगदान को याद करना चाहिए। गिलहरी का स्मरण ही हमें हमारी इस हिचक को दूर करेगा, हमें सिखाएगा कि छोटे-बड़े हर प्रयास की अपनी ताकत होती है, अपना योगदान होता है। और सबके प्रयास की यही भावना, समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत का आधार बनेगी। और यही तो है देव से देश और राम से राष्ट्र की चेतना का विस्तार! लंकापति रावण, प्रकांड ज्ञानी थे, अपार शक्ति के धनी थे। लेकिन जटायु जी की मूल्य निष्ठा

देखिए, वे महाबली रावण से भिड़ गए। उन्हें भी पता था कि वो रावण को परास्त नहीं कर पाएंगे। लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने रावण को चुनौती दी। कर्तव्य की यही पराकाष्ठा समर्थ-सक्षम, भव्य-दिव्य भारत का आधार है। और यही तो है, देव से देश और राम से राष्ट्र की चेतना का विस्तार। आइए, हम संकल्प लें कि राष्ट्र निर्माण के लिए हम अपने जीवन का पल-पल लगा देंगे। रामकाज से राष्ट्रकाज, समय का पल-पल, शरीर का कण-कण, राम समर्पण को राष्ट्र समर्पण के ध्येय से जोड़ देंगे। प्रभु श्रीराम की हमारी पूजा, विशेष होनी चाहिए। ये पूजा, स्व से ऊपर उठकर समष्टि के लिए होनी चाहिए। ये पूजा, अहम से उठकर वयम के लिए होनी चाहिए। प्रभु को जो भोग चढ़ेगा, वो विकसित भारत के लिए हमारे परिश्रम की पराकाष्ठा का प्रसाद भी होगा। हमें नित्य पराक्रम, पुरुषार्थ, समर्पण का प्रसाद प्रभु राम को चढ़ाना होगा। इनसे नित्य प्रभु राम की पूजा करनी होगी, तब हम भारत को वैभवशाली और विकसित बना पाएंगे। ये भारत के विकास का अमृतकाल है। आज भारत युवा शक्ति की पूंजी से भरा हुआ है, ऊर्जा से भरा हुआ है। ऐसी सकारात्मक परिस्थितियां, फिर ना जाने कितने समय बाद बनेंगी। हमें अब चूकना नहीं है, हमें अब बैठना नहीं है। मैं अपने देश के युवाओं से कहूंगा। आपके सामने हजारों वर्षों की परंपरा की प्रेरणा है। आप भारत की उस पीढ़ी का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं...जो चांद पर तिरंगा लहरा रही है, जो 15 लाख किलोमीटर की यात्रा करके, सूर्य के पास जाकर मिशन आदित्य को सफल बना रही है, जो आसमान में तेजस... सागर में विक्रांत...का परचम लहरा रही है। अपनी विरासत पर गर्व करते हुए आपको भारत का नव प्रभात लिखना है। परंपरा की पवित्रता और आधुनिकता की अनंतता, दोनों ही पथ पर चलते हुए भारत, समृद्धि के लक्ष्य तक पहुंचेगा। आने वाला समय अब सफलता का है। आने वाला समय अब सिद्धि का है। ये भव्य राम मंदिर साक्षी बनेगा- भारत के उत्कर्ष का, भारत के उदय का, ये भव्य राम मंदिर साक्षी बनेगा- भव्य भारत के अभ्युदय का, विकसित भारत का! ये मंदिर सिखाता है कि अगर लक्ष्य, सत्य प्रमाणित हो, अगर लक्ष्य, सामूहिकता और संगठित शक्ति से जन्मा हो, तब उस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करना असंभव नहीं है। ये भारत का समय है और भारत अब आगे बढ़ने वाला है। शताब्दियों की प्रतीक्षा के बाद हम यहां पहुंचे हैं। हम सब ने इस युग का, इस कालखंड का इंतजार किया है। अब हम रुकेगे नहीं। हम विकास की ऊंचाई पर जाकर ही रहेंगे। इसी भाव के साथ रामलला के चरणों में प्रणाम करते हुए आप सभी को बहुत बहुत शुभकामनाएं। सभी संतों के चरणों में मेरे प्रणाम।





Shri Narendra Modi offers Sashtanga Namaskar to Sri Ram Jee after Pran Pratistha at Ayodhya



Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi showers flower petals on 'shramjeevis' who contributed to the construction of the Ram Mandir. Credit: PTI Photo





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