

PARALLAX VISIONS

Anthology of Writings
by India China Fellows
2006-2008

INDIA CHINA INSTITUTE
THE NEW SCHOOL

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An Anthology of Writings by India China Fellows

Urbanization and Globalization, 2006-2008
India China Institute, The New School

FOREWORD

This anthology of essays, articles, and a poem reflects a process of coming together of leading scholars, economists, urban planners, and social scientists who were selected to the first cohort of fellows at the India China Institute (ICI) at The New School. ICI fosters study, research, and connections among India, China, and the United States, countries that increasingly share interests and challenges, but have not yet been fully engaged in three-way conversations. The fellows were part of India China Fellowship Program, a two-year fellowship that was founded on the conviction that Chinese, Indian and American scholars and professionals would need to agree on the key questions first, before they could devise innovative and creative solutions for the future of their countries.

In early 2006, the first cohort of ten fellows, five each from India and China, were joined by six faculty members from The New School, who served as facilitators and provocateurs in the dialogue on Urbanization and Globalization. While keeping their full-time job, these fellows met three times during the last two years at ICI's intensive residencies in New York, India, and China. The dialogue generated during the residencies traversed disciplines, cultures, and generational differences. The conversations among the fellows were striking in their depth, breadth, and seriousness. The insights they developed together during workshops and retreats were nuanced, honest, and ran counter to the much-hyped patriotic competition between India and China.

At its third year of establishment, India China Fellowship Program is still an experiment in the making. Many Chinese fellows traveled to India for the first time during the India residency in November 2006. Likewise, it was the first visit to China for many Indian fellows during the China residency in June 2007. Many ICI Fellows used the opportunity to continue to travel and research beyond the residency periods. For those fellows who write and publish as part of their professional lives, they wrote articles about their observations in academic journals, monthly magazines, and newspapers. This anthology is a selection of these writings. All of the essays were written on the fellows' own initiative, independent of the projects undertaken at ICI. Recognizing, however, that many of these writings reflect the conversations and learning opportunities through the fellowship, we decided to share them with others.

In many ways, these writings are as diverse as the individual authors, and the context in which they were written—be it a cover story for a popular Sunday magazine in India, a policy document, or a series of columns in a liberal newspaper in China. For example, Chakrapani Ghanta and Amita Bhide wrote in their native language of Telugu and Marathi respectively, whereas Guo Yukuan and Yao Yang published in Chinese.

These publications reflect a process: the fellows grappled with long-held concepts about each other country's economy, urbanization, globalization, and governance. This is why we chose "Parallax Visions" as the title of the anthology. Parallax is an apparent change in the direction of an object, caused by a change in observational position that provides a new line of sight. The works we have collected here thus illustrate a deepened understanding of ideas that are being challenged, explored, and shaped by this unique three-country conversation. The process also gave opportunities for them to grow as public intellectuals, to expand their international networks, and solidifying their positions in their own professional fields.

We have divided the essays into four major categories. Part 1 is Beyond First Impressions, which shows how the fellows are asking familiar questions in a different context. Part 2 is Intertwined Development Paths, which delve deeper into the fellows' areas of expertise. The articles offer contrasting approaches and modes of analysis between disciplines in India and China. Part 3 is Vexing Urbanisms, which focus on the ever-changing relationship between land and people through economic policies, migration, and social behaviors. Part 4 is Governance and Democratization, which covers minority rights and its relationships with political ideology.

At ICI, we feel fortunate to be part of this three-way dialogue, and we are confident that this anthology is the beginning of a series of conversations that will continue for many years to come.

Ashok Gurung
Senior Director
India China Institute

CHINI KAVITA

By Amita Bhide

Translated by Jyotsna Nene

Eager wonderment illuminating faces
China managing easy and clear
Why, oh why, in India here,
Rosy dreams too, go ethereal?

Barely before decades twin,
China, India atop a swing
Panting together towards a dream,
Poor countries, progress chugging

Indian democracy
Hearty breath of exhilarating freedom
Promising progress quaffed everywhere
By selfish, blind politics Machiavellian!

China believes and worships equality
Comprehensive cultural revolution in totality
Steady work and home with guarantee
Considered the Essence of life and dignity!

On a foundation so reassuring
Nation set on production a-thriving
Cities and export the twin engines
Modern China aims enhancing.

Clear as crystal is their aim
Of expanding economy and gain
Following everything spelt in the guide
Meticulous and determined in their stride!

Decentralization, the mode of governance,
Cities–regions competitors apace
Attention all riveted on the advance
Of wealth and overall finance!

Swanky, imposing buildings and structures
Skyline dotted with lofty towers
Highways spanning wide and spacious
Roads all smooth and slick and lustrous.

Prosperity so pervasive and striking
Discipline utterly mind boggling
Efficiency at the public set-ups
Indeed a never-before experience!

Super-sonic speed of progress
Novel craze to accelerate and accelerate
Each and every building, a monument
A true epitome of visual delight!

Behind this bewitching array
Lurks a deathly, numb calm
A certain storm, just contained within,
Still very much palpable and strong!

Nativity left far behind
Gotten entwined in problems around
De-centralization—a burden overhead
Son of soil—a defenseless bundle!

For the sake of a compelling hunger
Exodus towards cities starts
But 'hukou'—the devil permit
Makes the way, a path of thorns!

Landing jobs—a good money to boot
An uncertain life is the truce
Denial of health-aid and chance to educate,
No place for burial after death!

Agitation has simply no place
In this 'Capitalistic' communism,
Any, just any pretext
Serves to trample an instinctive spasm!

Thousands get hanged year after year,
Thanks to the well-oiled governance!
Justice—so quick and prompt,
Though a rule of law is down in the dumps!

India, all dreamy-eyed,
To step into the boots of China
Mumbai to become Shanghai,
Dreaming big, weaving utopia!

Democracy ideally forwarding
Vote bank of the down-trodden
The crafty rich shamelessly negotiates
To push in out of turn!

Freedom to die—for the farmer
Choice to toil—for the labourer
And for the capital surfeit
It's freedom to invest and prosper!

Votes are snuffed
Agitations defunct
Competitive capitalism
Gets a decisive boost!

Which path to take
A poser insurmountable,
Whither democracy—whither communism
When both mean 'dough' uncountable!

चीनी चारोळ्या

अमिता भिडे

अचम्बित, उत्सुक भाव सार्यांचे
चीनला हे कसं जमतं
भारतामध्ये जेव्हा
स्वप्न देखील विरळ असतं

वीस वर्षांपुरवी केवळ
चीन भारत सम-समान
प्रगती व गरिबीचा
तोल साधती दोलायमान

भारताची लोकशाही
स्वातंत्र्याचा मुक्त श्वास
स्वार्थी, अंध राजकारणाने
विकासाचा घेतला घास

चीनमध्ये घोष समतेचा
सर्वकष, सांस्कृतिक क्रान्तीचा
स्थिर काम, घर, शाश्वती
यांस जगण्याची 'नीती'समजण्यचा

या आस्वासक पायावरती
वाढली उत्पादनाची गती
शहरे, निर्यात क्षेत्रे
हे नवचीनचे सारथी
स्पष्टता असे ध्येयाची

वाढ अर्थ व्यवहाराची
यास्तव जे जे लागे
ते सर्व काही करण्याची

विकेंद्रित कारभाराचे वारे
शहरे, गावे-स्पर्धक सारे
लश्च सतत अर्थवाढीवर
शिश्न हे दुस्तर

टोलेजंग इमारती
उत्तुंग मनोरे
महामार्ग प्रशस्त
रस्ते खडडेरहित सारे

संपन्नता नजरेत भरावी
शिस्त 'आ' वासुन पहावी
सरकारी कार्यालयांची
कार्यतत्परता वाखाणावी

प्रगतीचा येथ झपाटा
वेगाचा आटापिटा
सर्व स्थापत्यांत दिसे
नेत्रदिपक प्रदर्शनीयता

या प्रदर्शनाच्या मागे
असे सुन्न शान्तता
जी बनली नाही वादळ
तरी जाणवे चाहूल आता

गावांस टाकले दूर
अनेक समस्यात चूर
पेलता विकेंद्रीतेचा बोजा
गावकरी संचित, मजबुर

पोटाच्या खळगीकरता
धरती शहराची वाट
'हुको'नामक परवाना
बनवे मुश्किल हा घाट

कामही मिळते, पैसाही मिळतो बरा
जन्म परि अस्थायी होत सारा
शिश्न, आरोग्य सेवास मुकणे निश्चित
मरता, दफनासही नाही येथे थारा

श्लोभास नाही स्थान
साम्यवादी भांडवलदारीत
आंदोलनांस तुडवण्याकरता
पुरते काहीही कोलीत

दरवर्षी हजारांना फ्रांशी
येथे असते सुव्यवस्था
न्यायातही तत्परता
असली जरी कायद्याची दुरावस्था

भारत चालू पायवाट
चीनने दाखवलेली
मुंबई व्हावी शांघाई
अशी स्वप्ने रचलेली

लोकशाही येत आडवी
अधिकांश मते गरिबांची
काढती युक्त्या नामी
अडथळे मागे सारण्यासाठी

शेतकर्यांस मरण्याचे स्वातंत्र्य
कष्टकर्यांस कष्टाचे स्वातंत्र्य
बेबंद भांडवलास
गुंतवणुकीचे स्वातंत्र्य

मते होती मुक्ती
आंदोलने पडती थिटी
स्पर्धात्मक भांडवलास लाभे
निर्णायक सामर्थ्याची दिठी

चालावे कुठची वाट
ना सुटत ही निरगाठ
काय लोकशाही, काय साम्यवाद
जेव्हा दोहोंचा गाभा होतसे "अर्थ"

大学比政府更加永恒

—专访“新学院”大学校长鲍勃·凯瑞

郭宇宽

社会研究新学院 (New School for Social Research) 简称新学院 (New School), 大多数中国人都没有听说过这所学校的名字, 但在美国这所学校却有着卓越的声誉, 并且在现代思想学术史上有着重要的地位, 中国人也许比较熟悉的胡适的老师约翰·杜威就曾在这里工作过。

这所大学最初成立于1918年, 由一批对于美国传统教育感到不满的分子和学者所组建, 他们把大学命名为“新学院”以表明自己的抱负, 要给他们当时认为死气沉沉并且自以为是, 缺乏学术自由的美国高等教育, 展现出一种新的选择。与当时的传统大学相比“新学院”率先把重点放在学者和成年学生共同进行的社会问题研究, 而不是本科生教育, 和一般意义上的职业教育。那时从各区下班后赶到新学院听讲座的人群成了纽约一景。

“新学院”真正成为美国学术和思想史上的传奇是在1933年, 法西斯的幽灵开始在欧洲大陆肆虐, 当美国的主流社会尚对欧洲的知识分子的“左翼思想”甚至“共产主义思想”心存戒惧的时候, “新学院”怀着拯救欧洲知识分子传统的文化责任感顶着压力开始大批接纳逃离从希特勒和墨索里尼统治下逃离的欧洲知识分子, 这一选择成就了新学院“流放者的大学”(university in Exile) 的声誉, 也最后促进了美国思想和文化的空前繁荣。

今天的“新学院”依然秉承这样的传统, 笔者在今年五月有幸到New school进行交流, 让我感到惊讶的是: 一所私立大学居然有这么大的学术抱负; 在这所学校里这么多学者会超越专业的界限有如此强烈的公共关怀; 一个胸怀天下有八千多名来自世界各地注册学生的大学这么多年来居然连自己的校园也没有。。。。。。怀着种种疑问, 笔者采访了新学院的校长鲍勃·凯瑞 (Bob Kerry), 鲍勃·凯瑞是一个经历非常丰富的人, 在2003年起担任新学院校长之前, 是民主党资深参议员, 并曾当选内布拉斯加州州长。在他简朴的办公室里我们进行了愉快的谈话, 解答了笔者的一些疑问。

而这些也许可以给我们忙于圈地, 办大学城的高等教育工作

New York City Is Our Campus

An Interview with Bob Kerrey, President of The New School

Guo Yukuan

Nanfengchuang (hereafter the NFC): It was only after my arrival that I realized there is no campus or sports facility at The New School, a university with a wide array of services and amenities. Do you feel uncomfortable about that?

Bob Kerrey (hereafter BK): Why should I? We are very fortunate that all of New York is our campus. New York City is unique. It is a charming international city with access to rich resources—theatres, shopping malls, bookstores, cafeterias, parks, playgrounds, and more.

NFC: These are all public places. In China, if a student gets into trouble—say committing a crime while at school—parents believe that the university should accept responsibility. After all, the parents hand their children over to the university.

BK: Yes, our school is also responsible for our students. We provide assistance whenever students need it. We feel, however, that it is silly to build a closed wall that cuts off the university from the community. We have created a university with no boundaries, the idea being that our students are adults, not children. They possess independent minds and

者及教育管理机构包括公众一些启示, 让我们能够体会大学之大并不在于大楼, 大投资, 甚至也不在于有大师, 而在于博大的情怀。在采访结束后, 笔者最大的感慨是, 我们的高校每年组织大批干部出国考察, 却从来没有把这些告诉我们。

整个纽约都是我们的校园

郭: 我到了贵校才发现, 一个有这么多学术资源的学校居然连校园和操场都没有, 你们真的不觉得别扭么?

鲍勃: 怎么会呢? 我们是很幸运的, 整个纽约都是我们的校园, 纽约是一个非常独特的城市, 也是一个非常有魅力的国际化城市, 可以有丰富的资源被我们享用, 剧场, 商场, 书店, 咖啡屋, 公园, 运动场应有尽有。

郭: 但这些毕竟是公共场所, 在中国的大学如果一个学生在社会上遇到麻烦, 比如遇上犯罪, 家长会觉得, 把孩子交给了学校, 学校是要负责责任的。

鲍勃: 当然, 我们学校也对学生负有责任, 学生遇到麻烦的时候, 我们总是会提供协助。但我们觉得建立封闭的围墙是一个愚蠢的想法, 这会切断我们的学校和社区的密切联系, 我们的选择建一所没有围墙的大学, 前提是我们把学生视为独立的有选择权利的成年人, 不能把他们总当作孩子一样看待, 在大学里他们需要面对他们迟早都要面对的东西。他们很快就会学会怎么样乘地铁, 怎么样利用社会资源, 怎么样和不同的人, 包括社会上的人相处, 成为一个有丰富生活技能和成熟价值观的人, 当然学校会给他们提供适当的辅导。

郭: 我们中国的普遍观念是, 大学必须有一个安静的校园, 才能有良好的学术气氛, 让师生能够不受干扰的钻研学术, 你怎么看?

鲍勃: 我们完全不同意这种观点, 我们认为二十一世纪教育最重要的目标之一就是教给学生学习的能力, 这种学习的能力不是把人关在安静, 没有干扰的环境中来培养的。在这个社会上诱惑无处不在, 人因该学会抓住机会, 抵御诱惑, 如果一个人在学校里关了四年, 躲在学校的围墙里, 在老师的监督下, 他们侥幸确实没有受到诱惑, 但这样的学生一旦毕业了, 遇到了丰富的, 充满诱惑的世界, 你觉得他能干什么? 你觉得他能很好的适应社会

么？你觉得他能管住自己么？

你知道纽约是一个喧嚣的城市，但是人必须学会在这样的环境下怎么学习，我们的学生毕业后会当丈夫，做妻子，生孩子，得应付自己的事业，但new school培养学生，学会在再繁忙吵杂的环境中也能找到自己安静的角落，这是一个挑战，但这就是生活，一个在城市里生活的人只有接受了这种挑战，才可能成为一个能够终生学习的人。所以我们的学校虽然没有很大的校园，可这却使得我们的学生在社会上有更好的竞争力。

郭：但是我们印象中的大学生活总少不了足球队，篮球队，拉拉队，这些能够代表学校荣誉的东西，如果少了这些，大学生活好象挺遗憾的。

鲍勃：确实，我们得承认，我们没有橄榄球队或者篮球队，这对于培养学生的集体荣誉感，归属感会有一些不利影响。目前我们也有计划造一些健身设施，还有一些室内建筑能够让学生有更多条件聚会交流，但在纽约低价这么高的地方，要造体育场这对我们来说太奢侈了，美国有很多像我们这样在城市里的学校，纽约大学有五万多学生，也没有自己的体育场，我们只能把钱花在刀刃上。

人文教育同样创造价值

郭：维持这样一所学校，你们的预算一年有多少？

鲍勃：我们的预算一年是两点四亿美元，这是一个比较节约稳健的预算规模。

郭：你们这样一所私立大学，这是不是意味着你们在财务方面有比较大的压力？

鲍勃：是这样，作为私立大学意味着这我们无法依靠政府的资助，虽然也通过一些课题有一些补助，当总体而言我们必须对自己的财政负责。

郭：假如你们遇到收入抵不上支出的情况，你们会怎么办？比如遇上经济危机的时候。

鲍勃：我们的财政预算非常保守，为了我们的学校能够长久存在，我们有很完善的风险评估系统，其中最重要的就是财务风险评估，如果我们遇到财政危机，我们会削减我们的开支，来渡过难关，事实上在911之后的一段时间我们就这么做了。

can think for themselves. What they face in college they will face in the real world. Our students learn quickly how to take subways, use local resources, and relate to people of different backgrounds, including getting along with others in the community. They become people with solid living skills and matured values. Throughout their experience here, we provide them with appropriate guidance and structure.

NFC: A common perception in China is that a university is a quiet campus, a nurturing academic environment in which students and professors conduct uninterrupted research. What do you think about that?

BK: We totally disagree. An important goal of education in the 21st century is to empower all students with the ability to learn, which cannot be achieved when they are shut off in a quiet and sterile environment. There are all sorts of temptations in the world. A person needs to learn how to seize the right opportunities at the right time in order to resist temptations. A student, hidden behind school walls for four years under the strict supervision of teachers, may happen not to be lured. But after graduation, in a world full of temptations, what do you think that student will do? Will he be able to adapt to the real world all of a sudden? Will he manage to control himself?

New York is a bustling, unpredictable city. A person has to learn how to study in such an environment. Our students will become husbands and wives with children and their careers. The New School teaches our students how to find their own quiet corners within a noisy environment. It is a challenge, but this is life. A person living in the city has to learn to cope with these challenges in order to become a life-long learner. Our university, though it does not have a traditional campus, prepares students to compete in the real world.

NFC: In China, our impression is often that university life means a football team, a basketball team, cheerleaders, and others that show spirit for their school. It is a pity not to have such things at The New School.

BK: Indeed, we do not have a rugby team or a basketball team, both of which would help give students a collective sense of honor and firm sense of belonging. We plan to build fitness facilities and indoor areas where students can gather and exchange ideas. It is a luxury for us to consider building a stadium. The real estate in New York is pricey. Many universities in American cities do not have a stadium. New York University enrolls 50,000 students and has no stadium.

郭：你们的财政收入如何构成？

鲍勃：大约75%来自于学生的学费，25%来自捐赠。

郭：给贵校捐款的是一些什么样的人？

鲍勃：各种各样的美国公民，他们认同我们的价值观念。这是让人自豪的美国传统，在美国有大量成功公民，相信自己有回报社会的责任，并且付诸行动，他们相信一所具有具有批判思考，关怀社会传统的学校的对于美国社会的重要意义。

郭：这也是让我奇怪的地方，这样一所自负盈亏的私立学校，按理来说应该开设一些企业管理，会计，计算机。。。之类，实际的，能赚钱的热门专业，可你们学校主要的专业却是人类学，社会学，历史学。。。这种在我们看来不赚钱的专业，这是为什么？

鲍勃：确实我们得承认，研究人类学，社会学是发不了大财的，但是教育的目地不仅仅是为了培养富翁，这么多学生选择了我们，就说明了我们的专注于社会研究的传统存在的价值。

郭：这也是最让我不解的地方，为什么会有这么多家长，选择花不菲的学费，据我所知你们的学费可不便宜呀，真会有人把孩子送来学为了不能挣大钱的专业么，在中国人们愿意花上10万学个MBA，因为这教人怎么赚钱，据说一毕业就可以年薪十万，但没听说谁愿意花上几千块修一个学分的社会学，历史学。

鲍勃：我们也有很多的财务支持的项目，给一些优秀的学生以经济补助，但相对于公立学校来说我们的学费确实是比较贵的。

但是幸运的是很多美国公民还是认为我们的提供的教育和向社会传播的思想物有所值，我们对我们的学校的知识分子传统非常自豪，很多家长和怀有和我们同样的观念，他们希望让自己的孩子通过学习哲学深入的理解理解自身；通过学习社会学，人类学和历史理解人与人之间的关系；通过研究政治学，国际关系，理解公共权力的运作；包括从自己感兴趣的角度去研究整个社会，在我们学术氛围的激发下，去努力回答那么多我们社会需要解答但却没有现成答案的问题，这样的学生更知道社会需要什么，更知道自己该在社会中如何为自己定位，更有抱负和能力去服务社会。

所以有一个常见的误解需要纠正，不要以为在我们的知识分子传统熏陶下的学生都是不能实际工作的书呆子。我们很多研究社会学，人类学，历史的学生即使以后不从事学术工作，走上社会也

都能找到不错的工作，很多人干得很成功。

郭：我能够感受到在new school有很强的批判新思维的传统，我遇到的不少师生都对美国的当前政策持批判性的态度，这里的学术气氛在外人看来非常的倾向左翼，在当前美国总体政治氛围有保守化倾向的年代，new school 会不会被边缘化？

鲍勃：如果我们的学风完全是不切实际的，不重视调查研究的，为了批判而批判，为了显得与众不同而批判，那我们确实会被边缘化。但我们学校没有这样的迹象，我们的批判性思考是建立在对社会的深入研究和关注基础上的。我们学校的发展证明了这一点，始终保持强大的批判能力和反思能力，不仅是我们学校所珍视的传统，也是美国社会的价值观。懂得独立思考，不盲从，不仅对学生的成长，对美国社会有重要的意义。

卓越的理念通过卓越的机制成就卓越的大学

郭：我注意到在new school各学科的界限似乎不是很清晰，社会学，历史学，甚至设计专业的教师合作非常密切，教师们不是很强调自己的专业性，而是共同关注一些公共问题，在中国这样的学者往往会被边缘化，当作不务正业，你们为什么会这样？

鲍勃：事实上我们的一些教师即使从专业角度来看也是非常杰出的，比如我们的Parsons设计学院，在设计领域是有卓越声誉的，在全美也是数一数二的。但我们最自豪的是我们一贯秉承的理念，我们相信设计和民主，设计和环境，设计及社会发展密不可分的关系，一个优秀的设计师不仅要懂技术，也要有人文关怀，也要理解政治和社会，真正理解社会的需要和人的需要。一个优秀的设计师不仅会在纸上画水泥房子，他一定对洁净的水源，空气，泥土和植物怀有感情，懂得他的社会和环保及人的生活方式之间的联系。

郭：这是你们无意之间形成的传统，或是你们有意通过某种机制鼓励这么做？

鲍勃：这当然是我们的传统，从new school建立之初，我们就一向认为专业不能成为思想的限制，社会研究需要打破专业的界限。但同时也是我们的努力方向，不仅在研究领域的合作上，在学生的培养上也是这样，我们目前在打造一个全面的教育计划，让学科之间的合作更加紧密，把不同的领域学者团结在一起，为

Education in Humanities Creates Values

NFC: *How big is your operating budget at the university?*

BK: This fiscal year it is \$240 million. Our budgetary scale is economical and stable.

NFC: *You are a private university. Does it mean that you shoulder more financial pressure?*

BK: Yes, as a private university, we cannot rely on government funding, although certain research areas can draw upon some subsidiaries. Ultimately, we are responsible for our own finances.

NFC: *When your revenue falls short of your expenditures, what do you do? What if an economic crisis hits?*

BK: Our budget is very conservative. We have sound risk assessment systems, the most important being financial risk assessment. We reduce our spending when difficult times emerge. We did so after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

NFC: *What constitutes your revenue?*

BK: About 75% of the revenue comes from tuition; the other 25% comes from donations.

NFC: *What sort of people donate to your institution?*

BK: American citizens of all stripes who agree with our values. It is a proud American tradition. Many successful citizens in the United States believe they have a special responsibility to give back to the community and they translate that belief into action. People believe that it is socially significant to have a university that criticizes but cares about the well-being of the United States.

NFC: *This is where I am amazed. A self-financing private university, in theory, would offer popular money-generating courses such as business management, accounting, computers, but your courses are heavy on anthropology, sociology, history, etc. These areas of inquiry are not money makers. Why?*

BK: We indeed recognize that the study of anthropology and sociology does not make a fortune. Education is not about generating millionaires.

我们的学生提供一个广阔的视野，把学生不是培养为一个会工作会挣钱的专业机器而是全面发展的人。对于一个民主社会，培养视野全面，具有人文关怀的公民尤其重要。

郭：作为校长，你是怎么推动这样的计划的？

鲍勃：教授们有充分的权利决定怎么用自己的风格来教学生，学校管理机构是无权干涉的，作为校长为了鼓励学校发展所需要的方向，我所掌握的主要资源是预算。

郭：中国国内现在有一种很流行的说法是“教授治校”，你所说的预算控制好象和“教授治校”有冲突？

鲍勃：我认为让教授们为学校的全面发展负完全责任是不恰当的，当然教授们在学术和教育有拥有绝对的自主权，但特别是对于学校的整体财务规划不能都由教授来决定，就好像不能都由学生来决定一样，当然他们的意见应该被重视，但如果教授们仅仅从自己专业的考虑作决定，那也是一种专制和官僚主义。

郭：据我所知您多年以来一直是一个政治人物，并没有学术工作的经历，您这样的人成为大学校长，在美国常见么？

鲍勃：确实很罕见，我想也许是董事会比较认同我的领导能力和社会关系。

郭：而且你还是一个民主党的资深人物，你的政治倾向和价值观念会不会干扰new school的学术自由传统？

鲍勃：希望我没有，首先new school选择了我就说明了大家对我的认同，学校不会选择一个在观念上和师生格格不入的人来担任校长。但最重要的是，我的权力不是不受制约的，我对预算负责，但我在任期内更要向董事会负责，没有他们的认可，我一个子儿也不能花。

当然好的董事会会懂得，怎么把握学校发展的大方向，而不是盯着办公室里该用什么牌子的矿泉水。这个大方向就是董事们对new school 传统的理解，对于美国社会需要的理解。

这种机制保证了校长又发挥的空间，又受到制约，这样的机制能够让new school 这样的学校一直办下去，避免受一些外在因素和管理失误的干扰，这样的大学才能长久不衰，我们相信从某种意义上讲上大学比政府更永恒。

(鲍勃·凯瑞为民主党资深参议员，并曾当选内布拉斯加州州长，

2003年出任New School 校长)

The fact that so many students choose us exemplifies the enduring value of the social sciences here.

NFC: *This is what puzzles me. Why do so many parents choose to spend high tuition and send their children here to study majors that do not guarantee high incomes? I know for a fact that your tuition is not modest.*

BK: We offer as much financial support as we can. Many outstanding students receive financial aid and scholarships. But it is true that when compared to public universities our tuition is high.

Luckily, many U.S. citizens believe it is worthwhile to receive the education we provide. We are proud of our intellectual tradition and many parents are too. They hope that their children here come to understand themselves and human relations through in-depth work in philosophy, sociology, anthropology and history. They also hope their children learn about how power works through the study of political science and international affairs. Through our inspirational academic environment, our students learn to understand the world from their own perspectives and interests, learning how to design solutions to problems felt throughout society. Students learn what our society needs and become aware of what they can do to help. They leave here with the ability to serve others with clarity and capability.

A common misconception is that our students are unpractical bookworms. The fact is students in sociology, anthropology, and history studies, aside from engaging in academic research, find good jobs. Many of our students are truly successful in the real world.

NFC: *It seems The New School transmits a strong tradition of critical thinking. I have met many teachers and students who are critical of current American policies. To outsiders, the academic atmosphere here is rather left-wing. At a time when American politics is generally conservative, will The New School be marginalized?*

BK: We would indeed be marginalized if our work was entirely unrealistic, and if our criticism was only for the sake of criticism, going against the grain. But we have found no sign of being marginalized. Our critical thinking is based on in-depth social research and attention to basic problems in the world. The growth of our institution shows that incisive criticism and sharp reflection are not only treasured here, but widely supported values in American society. It is important to be able to think independently, and not to follow others without proper judgment. This is significant both for the growth of our students and for the United States more generally.

Outstanding University, Outstanding Ideas, Outstanding Tradition

NFC: *I notice that there is no clear distinction among disciplines at The New School. Faculties of sociology, history, and even design profession work cooperatively. They do not seem to emphasize their own specializations, but concentrate, instead, on shared public concerns. Why is that?*

BK: Many of our faculties are very distinguished in their respective fields. For example, Parsons The New School for Design is considered one of the best design schools in the country. But we acknowledge that design and democracy, design and environmentalism, design and social development are all inseparable. A good designer should not only understand technology but also care about the environmental health of the human beings and possess a good understanding of politics and social relations, and what is needed most by people and their communities. An excellent designer does not build houses on paper—he must be passionate about protecting clean water, air, soil and plants. He must understand the actual world in which we live.

NFC: *Is your tradition unintentional or something you have nurtured over time?*

BK: It is a very self-conscious tradition. We have always believed academic fields should set no limits to inquiry and action. Social science must break through the boundaries of departments and disciplines. This is what we strive for in our research and in the teaching of our students. We are currently working on a comprehensive academic plan that enables closer cooperation among all fields of study here. It provides a broad vision for training our students to be professional and well-rounded. In a democratic country, after all, citizens must be visionary and humanistic.

NFC: *As the president, how do you promote such an academic plan?*

BK: Professors have complete freedom to decide how and what they teach. The administration does not interfere with that. As the president, I am instead responsible for the budget that enables the growth and development of the institution.

NFC: *You are a politician with plenty of experience in government but with no experience in the academic world. Is it common for people like you to become university presidents?*

BK: It is rare. I think the Board of Trustees saw my leadership abilities and strong commitments.

NFC: *You are a senior leader in the Democratic Party. Do your political ideas and values interfere with the traditional academic freedom of The New School?*

BK: I hope not. My selection by The New School shows that they accept me for who I am. The institution would not have appointed someone whose ideology risks alienating the faculty and students. I do not possess unconstrained power. In my tenure, I am responsible for the budget and respond to the Board of Trustees. I cannot spend a dime without their approval.

The Board understands the big financial priorities the school—it does not waste time monitoring the brand of mineral water we drink in my office. This reflects the trustees' understanding of The New School tradition, and their understanding of the needs of citizens in the United States.

The Board ensures that the President plays a prominent role, but within limits. It allows The New School to operate successfully by avoiding external interference and mismanagement. Universities that function under such guidance will last—often longer than governments.

This essay was published in Nanfenchuang in Chinese in June 2006. The bi-monthly journal was established in 1985 in the city of Guangzhou. Its title could be literally translated as "Window on the Southern Winds" but its official name in English is For the Public Good.

HOW IS CHINA DIFFERENT?

PARTHA MUKHOPADHYAY

Comparing India and China, once a cottage industry limited to a few academics, has now become a multinational preoccupation. Much is made of the difference between us and them, e.g. “India is democratic, service-based, and software-focused while China is authoritarian, manufacturing-based, and hardware-heavy”. But are we really so different?

Originally published in SENSEX Magazine (April-May 2007).

The age old question is revisited and new insights emerge, as the difference between India and China's attitudes, urbanization trends, and infrastructure are explored.

As you invest, so you grow

Take our differences in growth, which have recently narrowed. Our macro-economists, who avoid cultural and institutional explanations like the plague, tend to focus on a single factor, i.e., China saves and invests nearly half its income, while India used to save and invest only about a quarter and now about a third. A close look reveals that Chinese households save about as much as Indian households - the difference is due to much larger corporate and government savings in China.

The ratio of GDP growth to investment is a measure of the efficiency in the use of capital, called the Incremental Capital Output Ratio (ICOR) - the lower it is, the less investment you need to grow. Since we achieve 8% (even 9%) growth by investing only 32% of our income, we have an ICOR of less than 4, much more efficient than China's, which is close to 5!

The efficiency of use in capital is related to the nature of financial intermediation. The absence of avenues to deploy the savings means that the Chinese banking system has over \$ 4 trillion in assets, the Bank Deposits to GDP ratio is around 200% and the loans to GDP ratio is around 130%. This is comparable only to the “two other Chinas”, viz. Taiwan and Hong Kong. In India, by contrast, a considerable portion of savings is not intermediated, which implies that we should be able to lower our ICOR even further! The Chinese have been improving their financial system and can therefore be expected to become more efficient in the use of capital (i.e., increase its growth rate further!) Concomitantly, Indian corporate and government savings have also increased.

In sum, Chinese and Indian households are not much different in their saving behaviour. However, we need to increase corporate and government savings while China needs to improve their financial system. Prima facie, it would appear that we are both on the job. So not much difference here!

No “not invented here”

However, differences do exist. Visitors to China usually come away with a strong sense that the Chinese are always trying to find areas where they can improve. They do not subscribe to a ‘not invented here’ syndrome, rather the opposite. Rather than additional resources, foreign investment, which is less than 10% of domestic investment, is still sought actively, as a method of reforming a system. The sale of equity in the banking sector is a recent example.

Indeed, the entire foreign direct investment strategy in the initial post-Shenzhen SEZ era was a process of assimilating and seeking foreign know-how and market access. In this they were helped by strong diaspora based in Taiwan and Hong Kong who had deep links in developed country markets. Indeed, almost all of Hong Kong's manufacturing moved to Shenzhen, located just across the sea. Most importantly, Chinese authorities did not let political inconveniences, like strained Sino-Taiwanese relations, prevent the use of these networks. The Chinese attitude towards policy change has consistently been one of empirical pragmatism, where new ideas are experimented with in selected firms or areas, following which they are adopted with the necessary modifications. Compare this with our attitude towards SEZs, where are developing protected enclaves because we cannot provide good infrastructure and efficient governance across the country.

“Much is made of the difference between us and them, e.g. “India is democratic, service-based and software-focused while China is authoritarian, manufacturing-based, and hardware-heavy”. Are we really so different?”

Embracing Urbanization

“Some areas will become rich first”

- Deng Xiaoping

Unlike India, which has been a hesitant urbanizer, China has enthusiastically embraced urbanization. It is as if China decided that since the developed world is urban, if only it could somehow become urban, it would become developed automatically! Growth has been concentrated on the coast and in urban regions like Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen/ Guangdong. The resulting regional inequality is substantial but it has been accepted, thus helping in taking full advantage of scale economies in its early growth experience. This focus on manufacturing was harnessed, supported by over providing infrastructure; especially power, transport and telecommunication (see section on “Infrastructure Snapshots” below).

Another reason this inequality was accepted was because people moved to development rather than vice versa. Compared to a mere 2 million a year in India, around 15 million Chinese move each year. This is despite a system of residence permits (“hukou”), which though weaker than before, still limits the access of urban migrants to public services like health and education for children in cities. Since these rural migrants have a relatively high level of education compared to countries like India, they provide industry with an educated work force. Many of these stay in low-grade gender segregated housing with many persons per room, often provided by firms, both to attract workers and retain control over them. This prevents the development of overt informal housing, that is, slums.

Chinese tax collection has historically been bottom-up (like India’s old land revenue collection system). This has allowed retention of tax revenues to be used as an incentive, e.g., in the initial days, Guangdong and Fujian were allowed to retain almost all taxes. This has since changed and the current focus is on performance oriented fiscal transfers, linked to regional equalisation. These provinces have a lot of local autonomy in granting permissions, including foreign investment. City government is very strong and party chiefs in large cities are equivalent to central ministers. They have both the resources and the authority to respond to local needs, much like New York, London, Paris, etc. and utterly unlike Indian cities. In India too, there are substantial regional variations in growth, but while slow growing Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh are among the most populous states of India, the high growth coastal regions of China are also the most populous, accounting for over two-thirds of its population.

Infrastructure snapshots

Telecom: China has four listed publicly owned telecom operators. License fees are negligible, though there is a spectrum charge as here. Total revenue is over three times higher, with a much larger share coming from mobile telephony as compared to India.

Highways: Since 1990, when China and India spent equally on highways, their spending rose 38 times, while India’s tripled. New access controlled networks used 60% of China’s funding, 25% was spent on upgrading existing networks and 15% on rural roads. The experience seems to be that improved free roads are congested but tolled highways are empty, except along the coast! Thus, while it is a marvel of implementation, Chinese highway development and pricing has not been very economically efficient.

Ports: In 2003, there were over 3300 productive berths in the coastal ports of China, with a handling capacity of nearly 1.7 billion tons. Though the coastal ports dominate, the size of the larger container ports on inland waterways is similar to many coastal container ports in India. Port administration is delegated to the municipalities where the ports are located resulting in ‘One Port, One Administration’.

Rail: The traffic density on China Rail is much higher than ours. Despite a rail construction surcharge, rail freight tariffs are lower in China and passenger tariffs much higher. While we have improved and they have fallen behind due to congestion, China’s wagon productivity remains higher and its turn-around time lower than ours. The increased freight handling capacity is due to better signaling and newer rolling stock and lines.

Electricity: In 1970s urban power shortages meant that rural areas followed the maxim of “self-construction, self-management, and self-consumption”. With little central support, communes and villages developed small, mostly hydro, local power stations. By 1979, about 90,000 (total of 6.33 GW) small hydropower stations had been built by local bodies. This delivery structure may have helped to maintain payment discipline in rural areas. The real growth in connections was over 1992 to 2001 when over 12 million persons were given electricity access every year. This was helped by the growth of rural non-farm activity, e.g., township and village enterprises (TVEs), which made rural supply more viable. It also led to the setting up of more reliable (and more polluting) fossil fuel stations. As a result, more than 60% of China’s fossil fuel plants are less than 100 MW, but many are now being closed for environmental reasons.

GOOD OR BAD: IT IS PEOPLE'S CHINA

—CHAKRAPANI GHANTA

PROLOGUE

1

The journey to Beijing was almost like a fantasy for me as it was my long cherished dream coming true.

The flying time from Hyderabad en route Singapore was just nine hours, but it looked like a long march, nay flight, to me as I was reading an old translation version of a Chinese story book "Harvest" by a revolutionary writer Yezu. The stories describe the situation in rural China in 1920s and 30s. The book was translated and published in Telugu, 1970s as part of the flow of translations on revolution in China.

I was lost in the thoughts of China, the country which perplexes many people as it is projected in a complex and contrasting manner to the outside world. Secluded by the great wall from the rest of the world, it is not easy to get a feel of the life in China.

Neither free press to tell the inside stories nor private television channels to spin tales and flash news with amazing speed exists there.

Government decisions not published and moreover there is no powerful opposition to that monitors and regulates the state projects.

No need for transparency.

It is not democracy.

While the Communist bastions collapsed one after the other, how could China survive as a Communist country?

On the other hand, China is world's "Super Market"! It has a vibrant market economy and a potential market force while the other third world countries are falling prey to liberalization.

From needles to digital wonders, China manufactures all goods and its production force has jolted even the Asian giant Japan. No wonder United States has given half of its production orders to China. While factories are closing down all over Europe, China has emerged as a major production destination in the world.

Despite its population density, China is making giant strides in production of goods and if the trend continues so, it would emerge as a 'super power' in the coming ten to fifteen years, feel Market Analysts.

Those closely following globalization project India and China as equal partners in the consequential prosperity. While India has great potential in service sector, China tops in production.

But what is the opinion of common people in these two countries? Who is the winner and who is the loser in this race? To study these factors and have an inside-in-depth analysis, New York-based The New School has taken up a programme under the banner of India China Institute involving young researchers of India and China to study the pros and cons of development

Visiting China was my dream, my long cherished ambition and my only fascination for a foreign land. When I got selected for India China Fellowship of the India China Institute (ICI) at The New School, New York, I thought it will be a great opportunity to visit my dream land. Visiting China may not be a big deal as a tourist or as a researcher to attend a conference or seminar. But to study, understand and interact with the people, society and culture is something different. ICI has offered me not only the fellowship, but also a great opportunity to fulfill my dream. I should thank my friends who encouraged me to apply for the fellowship. My voyage to my dreamland began when I left of China on 25 May 2007 to attend the China Residency. ICI organizes 3 to 4 residencies in US, India and China in two years as part of the Fellowship programme. Last year we had New York Residency and India Residency where all 5 Chinese and 5 Indian fellows participated.

It was 3.00 PM on 26th May when I reached the Beijing airport.

Surprisingly, I did not feel anything different or strange about the weather, air, people or their smiles. Every thing was as usual and similar to my own country. Born and brought up in a small village in Telangana region in South India, which still retains the memories of the Chinese Revolution, things looked but similar to me. It could be because it was my first visit to an Asian country—Singapore is an exception—or it could be because of my admiration and attachment with the country and its people, I did not feel like an alien in a foreign land. The airport had surprises; most of them were pleasant, for me in store. I proceeded towards the immigration desk. There were several counters as usually specified for foreigners and natives like in any international airport. Just next to me in the queue stood a Buddhist monk in the brown monk's dress. I smiled showing my respect, but he did not respond. It is intriguing why the priests of all religions maintain distance from common people.

Suddenly I heard some sound from the crowd, a police officer calling loudly, waving his hand in my direction. Me! Why he was calling me? I am sure this is not US where people of colour are identified for special security screening in the airports. Of my three visits to US, twice I had such experience when my boarding pass was stamped SSSS and I was specially screened. But this call was not for me, he was calling a woman with a child who stood before me in the queue. He reached us and told her, "Madam you please go this way, you need not wait in the queue with your child". I could not but appreciate the way an officer dealt with the passengers. He went to each and every woman with children and guided them to come out of the line and go straight to the counter. It was really heartening to see this and it struck me again that I was in a communist country. Suddenly I became cautious and curious to watch such exceptions and concessions based on humaneness.

The officer in the immigration counter was a stern-looking man. He checked my papers and me twice and put the stamp. Not a word. Unlike in America, where sweet talks, offering chocolate candies lead to taking of finger prints at the airport.

On the desk there was an electronic board seeking your judgment on the Immigration officer's performance, Very Satisfactory, Satisfactory, Not Satisfactory are the three options and you are asked to press one button to appraise the Immigration Officer's work. Within ten minutes of landing, I could experience the kindness and bitterness of the Communist regime of China.

2

I was planning to visit China much before the ICI official Residency in order to do some fieldwork and collect material required for my research. However, I could not do so because of my responsibilities at the work place. Even this time, I had to organize my official and personal schedules in such a way so as to fit in a trip to China ten days before the Residency. The residency started from 6th June in Shanghai and ended on 17th June in Beijing. I landed in China on 26th May. I had already requested Mr. Guo Yukuan, my friend and co-fellow to coordinate my programme while I was in China before the Residency.

On the day I landed in China I stayed in a hotel in Beijing. Next day I had to go to the field work in rural parts of China with my counterpart Guo Yukuan. Yukuan, a young journalist, is from Beijing. He is very enthusiastic, dynamic and interestingly he is a great admirer of democracy. He spends most of his time in rural areas and we had decided to visit some villages in Yunnan. But, I did not know the exact plan and programme. I was handed over my ticket to the next destination in Yunnan province and a cell phone by Yukuan's wife as he had already left for Yunnan and I had to join him on the following day.

Language: Next day, I wanted to change currency and could not find the bank in my two-hour effort because of the language problem. I asked each and every person I came across but they could not understand English language to guide me. Finally I located the bank and, to my surprise, none of the employees knew English. When I gave them the dollars, they converted them into RMB (Chinese currency) and showed me the calculator to tell me what I will get in exchange.

The appraisal board announcing "You are welcome to comment on my work" with three comments was present at the bank too. My friend told me later that they follow this method in all their offices.

While English is being viewed as a universal language and especially in India we are trying hard to master English, big business houses and captains of corporate world in China are trying to learn Chinese language without which it is difficult to trade in China. Translators come at a premium with a service charge of 500 to 1000 dollars per day. It would be very difficult to move about in China without learning their language as all transactions would be in Chinese and I could not hear a single word of English anywhere.

However, things are changing gradually. I was told so. People are looking towards English and are beginning to learn the language. But they never consider lack of English knowledge as a drawback. They view it only as a tool to earn more money as translation is becoming a lucrative profession. Many English coaching centres have emerged in abundance.

While Zhejiang University professors contend that it is necessary for the

multinationals to learn Chinese language in the wake of globalization since they have to interact with the local people, people of Hangzhou city, which is considered the Silicon Valley of China, say that they are turning towards English for the benefit of next generations.

During our visit to this southern city Hangzhou, we were taken around the 20-acre Hi-Tech city, housing world's major IT giants. It is the biggest Hi-Tech zone of the country. The chief of the Hangzhou Hi-Tech city, Mr. Cha Peng, spoke to us for one hour about the development in the centre with all the technical and scientific details, all in fluent Chinese without using a single English word. We had a translator but the original version sounded very impressive.

I understood later that Journalists, Professors, Officers, and Vice Chancellor level academics too speak only in Chinese and never bother to switch over to English.

3

Foot Prints of Buddha: My discovery of China started by tracing Gautama Buddha's footprints. Buddha is popularly known as Sajiamuni (Sakhya Muni) in China. Without my knowledge I landed where Buddha entered into China. My friends told me that I was the first foreigner to visit that remote part of the great country. People generally visit Shanghai, Beijing or other provinces that have transport and technology connectivity. Yunnan is densely covered with forest and mountains. My purpose of visiting this area was to study traditional and ancient tribal community "Yi" that lives there. Yi- community sociologically resembles the Indian caste system with hierarchy of four fold social order and similar cultural practices.

Thanks to Yukuan who told me about this community and promised to arrange my visit to those villages. He had booked me an e-ticket and I had only the slip with me, which had to be shown at the airport's China Eastern Airlines counter. In his mails Yukuan had mentioned that I should get off at Kunming, the capital city of Yunnan. But the boarding pass mentioned "Xishuangbanna" as my destination. The booking officer clarified that my destination was Xishuangbanna, 40 minutes journey after Kunming. I found out later that Xishuangbanna is Dai Autonomous Prefecture within the Yunnan province and its capital city is Jinghong.

Jinghong is a beautiful place that resembles Northern Thailand. It is to this geographic region that most Thai people trace their ancestral roots. Jinghong, literally means the Town of Dawn: "Jing" is town and "Hong" is dawn. It is said that when Sakyamuni (Gautama Buddha) arrived there it was daybreak, with cocks crowing. So He gave the name "the Town of Dawn" to that place. All the names of the roads and places in the city are associated with Buddha's tour in the area. Sakyamuni moved on, and reached the present Zhuanghong Lu in Jinghong at was breakfast time. Thus the street got its name -- "Zhuanghong Lu" which consists of Chinese and Dai words; Zhuanghong is Dai, meaning the first meal or breakfast, while "Lu" is Chinese, meaning road. Then Sakyamuni crossed Mengyang and climbed Manpo of Jinuo Mountain, from where he looked behind and found that there was still a small piece of land he had not stepped on. So He cried out in surprise "Meng Yang Nan!" - still a small piece of land! Thus the place gets the name of Mengyang or Little Mengyang. "Meng" means place, "Yang" means remaining, and "Nan" means small. The above names are all of Buddhist origin and this shows how Dai people respect and worship Sakyamuni.

Religious Cultures: Like many people, I too was under the impression that there would be no religion in Communist China, but I was wrong. Though there is no official sanction attached to religion, religion does exist there.

Buddhism and Confucianism are followed in rural China while in urban areas Christianity and even Islam could be seen. Many of the monasteries, churches, temples and mosques were closed during the Cultural Revolution but now they are slowly opening again.

Jinghong city has a population of over 40,000 and is a tourist spot with high levels of Buddhist influence. The serene atmosphere, fresh air, typical tribal hamlets, flowing Mekong river, Buddhist architecture, monasteries, local tribes and foreign tourists appeared to be a new world and a different experience.

Resuming our journey next day, I was curious to know the names of the streets and their meanings. When my friend Yukuan translated them, I had a feeling that this place must have been closely associated with the life and times of Buddha.

The rural landscape with its pristine beauty and greenery was a delight to the eye during our daylong journey in a van. Moving along the Mekong River on one side and a mountain range on the other felt traveling along the Godavari river in Telangana which flows through mountains, plains and valleys.

4

Hooked to Hukou: We stayed in a small lodge for two days at a county centre which is like a block headquarters in India, having ten rooms. Four to five youth shared a room. On enquiry, we found out that they were migrant labourers who have come from the neighboring Province. This being a remote place they were spared otherwise their migration attracts penal action for violating *hukou* regulations. Hukou is like citizenship. They have identity cards, are supposed to work only in their native place, and are not supposed to move out for employment. It is basically a resident permit given by the government of China. It is issued on family basis. Every family has a hukou booklet that records information about the family members, including name, birth date, relationship with each other, marital status, details of the spouse, address and the details of the employer etc.

Work permit is needed to work at places other than one's native place and the Village public Security officer issues it. This hukou proves very troublesome for the rural folk. hukou was introduced to cater to the needs of rationing and social security (free medical care, education and provisions) during the socialist regime. It was aimed at developing villages as self sufficient entities, to check migration and increase agricultural production.

Before 1980, hukou was extremely crucial. People had to stay wherever they were born (where the hukou is) until they die. They could not migrate. They could travel, but there was no access to jobs, public services, education, or even food in other places. It was like visiting other places with a B-1 (business) type of visa - you can visit, but cannot work there (it is illegal), cannot go to school (not accepted), cannot go to hospital (without a hukou, you are not treated). Food could not be bought even if people had money. They had to give *liangpiao* (The currency for food) along with money to get food. Liangpiao was issued only by the government of the place where one's hukou was registered. So basically, people could survive with the liangpiao they had for sometime, but not long (especially because liangpiao issued by one province or city could not be used in another province or city).

So basically, at that time, without hukou, people could not move. Very few people in the country moved from one place to another. But, their status was practically the same as the illegal immigrants in U.S. To move hukou from one place to other was very difficult - just as difficult as getting green

card for U.S. It is even more difficult to move from rural areas to urban areas because hukou was of two types, rural hukou and urban hukou. To move from rural to rural was easier, but to move from rural to urban was very difficult - it took years. Only in very few situations was it different. 1) Entry into a university in a city, or 2) Marriage with a resident of a city. In both of the cases, people had to wait for a long time to get hukou. There was limited hukou open every year, so one had to compete to get it.

After 1980, a lot of things changed. In practice, hukou was not enforced as strictly as it was earlier. The starting point was that liangpiao was not required to buy food—money came with work. As far as work was concerned, there was still a great difference between people with a hukou and without a hukou (like it is today), but it was possible to move.

This made it possible for many immigrant workers to leave their land and go to cities seeking labor-intensive work. Typical works were workers in textile factory, construction workers, and nannies. However, the education of their children was still a big problem. They could not access education like other children, so school meant only for people without hukou (immigrant worker schools) were set up at some places.

Though the hukou does not play that important role as before, still there is great discrepancy between people who have it and who do not have it. It is still a deciding factor for Medical Insurance, jobs and other social security measures. In the context of globalization and opening up of the economy, the cities are providing better opportunities. Clandestine influx to cities started and people started taking up odd and unauthorized jobs. For the violators of the hukou system there are punishments under the law. When I learnt that the number of such hukou violators is about 200 Million, it struck me that citizenship is the main cause of the problem. In 1980 Township Vigilance Enterprises (TVE) was formed as part of rural economic reforms in 1980s. Surplus labour was to be sent to TVE. Employment was provided to over 300 million people in 1980 and by 1990 the figure touched nine hundred million. At this point of stagnation, people started looking towards cities. Facilities, income and opportunities could be the reasons for the migration. With economic reforms came hi-tech zones, special economic zones and the hopes for better employment opportunities, which increased the influx to cities.

Facing tough competition from locals, migrants are reduced small time workers. On the other hand, people without hukou are nabbed and sent back to their native place as indicated in their respective identity cards. If the same offence is repeated the person would be jailed, the migrant farmers said.

The hope for a job in a big company in the city looms large over the rural people's minds. In fact until 1980 villages too had all facilities like free education (up to nine years). This system still exists but one has to pay for mid-day meal and books. But in urban areas, higher education is also free for people who have hukou. In villages, education after ninth standard is expensive and it adds to the plight of poor, migrant farmers.

Health insurance is the other attraction in cities. The contractor who hires labour should pay the insurance amount and take care of their shelter. However, this system disappeared in the economic reforms. China stood as a shining example in public health until 1970. It was very poor in health sector and the average life expectancy in 1949 was 35 years. But brilliant steps were taken in 1965 including the three-tier health care system which covered 90 per cent of the population. Effective medical care and health insurance increased the life expectancy up to 69 years. Literacy rate has gone up from 19 to 90 per cent.

5

One Country Many Worlds: The success of initial reforms has now widened the gap between rural and urban areas. The fat salary paid by government and private units in city has been a sore fact for villagers. “Depriving us of the opportunity of a better life is not justified”, said a farmer in Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan province. After seeing the situation of migrants at Chengdu and Chongqing near controversial Three Gorges Dam, I thought basic wants had pushed them that far.

Many people migrate to far away places with temporary work permits leaving behind their family and children who are deprived of proper education. Of late, government has been considerate towards such people and is taking steps to rehabilitate them. NGOs are coming forward to provide education facilities to children. State is also helping such NGOs in cities like Beijing.

Villages in south coastal districts are prosperous. We could see the 200 km stretch between Shanghai and Hangzhou flourishing with lush fields, spacious buildings, cars and all modern amenities. In this stretch, one *mu* (660 metres) field costs around Rs 20 lakh, said a friend. In China no one owns land. It is only leased out. The lease period in villages was stretched up to 70 years recently. Sale or transfer of lease is not allowed.

One country, two systems has been the slogan of New China. In tune with the same spirit, rural and urban areas are being developed in different ways. Probably, this could be a major issue in the country now.

Having seen the diversity between the villages and cities in Yunnan and Sichuan provinces, Chongqing industrial city, development in Beijing, Shanghai and Hangzhou, I wondered how many different worlds exist in China.

The rural-urban divide appeared to be a matter of concern. After the scrapping of cooperative farming and communes, land was distributed on the basis of family as one unit, and this widened the gap. Land came to all but it created a rich-poor society. In villages, land was distributed on the basis of population.

In Yunnan province, where we stayed the longest, every family held about five to ten acres of land. Yunnan is full of forests and mountains and the population density is less. In Sichuan province, the story is different due to thick population density. Here each farmer has hardly one acre of land. Certain flaws in land distribution have led to disparities in the society. When we compare coastal plains, Southern industrial areas and Yangtze River delta areas, the disparities are more. It could be five times between farmers from one region to the other.

New Society, Equal Society: Keeping in view the unrest among rural folks, the state is now contemplating to bring back the 1970 policies. Last year, it announced a five-year plan named “New Socialist Countryside”. Under this plan, backward provinces and counties are notified and subsidies running in to millions are provided to farmers as subsidies for tractors and other agriculture implements supplied at half the cost. To give a fillip to education, hostel facilities and education are provided free of cost and budget for agriculture is increased by seven fold as compared to 2005 funds. Plans are afoot to improve medical facilities in backward regions with medical insurance, huge amounts of pensions and subsidies. Decentralisation of power down the village level is also under consideration.

These steps are raising the hopes of rural folks for the past one year. Farmers will stop thinking of moving out of villages only if the fruits of reforms

reach rural areas. “Our villages are like heaven. But globalization is giving the illusion that cities are top class and people in villages are feeling that the country side is hell-comparatively”, said a journalist friend. There is no exaggeration in it, I thought and I had seen it too.

I was surprised to see that a remote far-flung village we visited had a cement road; every hut (settlement) had a television dish antenna, a toilet and a school building. The interesting point is that the village we stayed was 3,000 km from the national capital and 1,000 km from state capital and was 1,000 meters above sea level.

Icing on the cake came when international roaming cell phone started working there. Imagine a clear voice reception in the outskirts of Hyderabad!

6

Whether or not the funds earmarked for New Socialist villages would reach the intended target groups is a doubtful question. The integrity of old time Communists is lacking in the new generation leadership. The introduction of market and capital dynamics has tilted the party secretary level leaders. Many people turned into billionaires and started their own business. As in olden days, oppressive landlords also came in to existence. The state itself has started real estate business. There is an argument that Party secretaries are the business agents. The kin of these leaders own industrial estates and new industrial zones—so goes the argument.

Still people have faith in Party and the government. It may be because leaders like Chen Gang have a sway in the party and could convince people as they closely work with them.

Chen Gang is the Deputy Mayor of Beijing. An engineer by profession, he worked as municipal planning officer before getting elected as the Deputy Mayor.

We invited him to our valedictory function to deliver keynote address. Our Director Ashok Gurung asked us to come in formal dress to the function.

All of us went there in full suit, tie and shoes. A diminutive figure wearing an unkempt shirt emerged in the hall and we were taken aback when he was introduced as the Deputy Mayor and our chief guest.

With all humility, he apologized about his dress. “You could maintain dress code. I apologize for not being able to come like you. I know that this is a prestigious conference. Nevertheless, our government has decided not to use air conditioners unless the temperature goes beyond 26 degrees celsius. Today it is much less than that. If I wear a suit and tie, we have to use A.C. To respect our own decision, I have to come like this”, he explained. Though he sounded humorous, he was thought provoking.

When we enquired about him, people said that he is a man of integrity. In an effort to transform Beijing into an excellent sports facility for the forthcoming Olympics, quite often he too joins labourers in their work.

EPILOGUE

Before leaving for Hyderabad, I called a friend in India who asked me, “Is there a red flag (Yerra jenda) in China?”

“It is not the colour of the flag (jhenda) but the agenda of the country that matters”, was my reply, which is a fact.

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మంచైనా చెడైనా

అది జన చైనా

డా. ఘంటా చక్రపాణి.

ఫెలో, ఇండియా చైనా ఇన్స్టిట్యూట్, న్యూ న్యూఢిల్లీ, న్యూ న్యూఢిల్లీ

రైటర్, సెంటర్ ఫర్ సోషల్ ఎంపవర్మెంట్, డా.బి.ఆర్.అంబేద్కర్ యూనివర్సిటీ, హైదరాబాద్

GOOD OR BAD: IT IS PEOPLE'S CHINA —CHAKRAPANI GHANTA (IN TELUGU)

చైనాలో ఏం జరుగుతోంది? కమ్యూనిస్టు కోటలన్నీ కుప్పకూలిపోయిన తరువాత కూడా చైనా ఇంకా కమ్యూనిస్టు దేశంగా ఎలా వెలామణి అవుతోంది? చైనాలో అంతరాలు, అంతర్గత వైరుధ్యాలు లేవా? ప్రపంచవీకరణ ప్రవాహంలో వర్తమాన దేశాలు, ఆర్థిక వ్యవస్థలన్నీ అతలాకుతలమై కొట్టుకుపోతోన్న కాలంలో చైనా ఒక అడుపులేని మార్కెట్ శక్తిగా ఎలా విడుగుతోంది... ఇలాంటి సవాలక్ష నందేహాలు మనం దరిలో ఉన్నాయి. అయితే చైనాలో ఏం జరుగుతోందో చెప్పడానికి అభ్యుదయ స్వతంత్రంగా పనిచేసే పత్రికలు లేవు. మన దేశంలోలాగా క్షణాల్లో సమాచారాన్ని చిలువలు పలువలుగా సాగదీసే స్వతంత్ర టెలివిజన్ ఛానెళ్ళు లేవు. ప్రభుత్వం తీసుకునే ప్రతి నిర్ణయాన్నీ పనిగట్టుకుని ఎండగట్టే ప్రతిపక్షం లేదు. ప్రజాస్వామ్యం లేదు. పౌరదళకత అసలే లేదు. ఒక లోగిగిహాకుడు లోపల ఏం జరుగుతోందో బదులుకు పొత్తే అవకాశం లేని కంచుకోట చైనా. ఇది ఒక పార్శ్వం.

మరోవైపు చైనా ఒక సూపర్ మార్కెట్లో పెట్టుబడిదారుల కలల కర్మాగారం. గుండుపిన్నుల నుంచి అత్యధునిక ఎలక్ట్రానిక్, డిజిటల్ వ్యవస్థలన్నీ ఇవాక్ మేడిన్ చైనావే. వస్తుశక్తి రంగంలో ఆసియా దేశాలన్నీ కలహనికంగా ఉన్న జపాన్ ఇవాక్ చైనా ధాటికి వెలవెలబోయింది. అమెరికా తన వస్తుశక్తిని సగానికి సగం చైనాకు అప్పగించింది. యూరప్ కర్మాగారాన్ని మూతపడి చరిత్రలో కలిసిపోయాయి. ఇప్పుడిక వస్తుశక్తికి మారుపేరుగా చైనా ఒక్కటే మిగిలిపోయింది.

ఏ వెలుగులకీ ప్రస్థానం?

ఒక కమ్యూనిస్టు దేశం పెట్టుబడికి కేంద్ర బిందువు కావడం, ప్రపంచంలోనే అత్యంత జనాభా కలిగి ఉండి, అనేక సమస్యలతో సతమతమైన దేశం అసూహ్యంగా ఎదిగిరావడం ఆశ్చర్యం కలిగించే పరిణామం. ఈ క్రమం, ఈ వేగం ఇలాగే కొనసాగితే చైనా మరో పది పదిహేనేళ్ళలో తిరుగులేని ఆర్థికశక్తిగా ఎదుగుతుందని మార్కెట్ మేధావులు విశ్వేషిస్తున్నారు. చైనాను రేపటి సూపర్ పవర్ గా చూపిస్తున్నారు. అయితే చైనా గమ్యం ఏమిటి? గమనం ఎటువైపు? అన్న సందేహాల వ్యక్తమవుతున్నాయి.

ప్రపంచీకరణను నిశితంగా గమనిస్తోన్న వాళ్ళు చైనాతో పాటు భారత్ కు కూడా సమాన భాగస్వామిగానే చూస్తున్నారు. చైనా ఉత్పత్తి రంగంలో ఎలాంటి 'బామ్' ఉందో, సేవారంగంలో ఇండియా అదే 'ఫామ్'లో ఉంది. మార్కెట్ మాయలో పడి పరుగులు తీస్తోన్న ఈ రెండూదేశాల్లో ప్రజలేమవుతున్నారు? ఎవరు లాభపడుతున్నారు? ఎవరు నష్టపోతున్నారో తెలుసుకునే ప్రయత్నానికి న్యూయార్క్ లోని న్యూస్ వ్యాల్ పూనుకుంది.

క్రమశిక్షణ, కార్యం..

హైదరాబాద్ నుంచి సింగపూర్, అక్కణ్ణించి బీజింగ్ ప్రయాణం మొత్తం 9 గంటలే అయినా చైనా గురించి, అక్కణ్ణి ప్రజలు, పరిస్థితులు, ప్రపంచీకరణ నేపథ్యంలో చైనా ఎదుగుతున్న తీరుకు సంబంధించిన ఆలోచనల్లో అదొక సుదీర్ఘ ప్రయాణంగా అనిపించింది. బీజింగ్ లో దిగాక నాకెందుకో పరాయి దేశంలో దిగానన్న భావం ఏమాత్రం కలుగలేదు. మనలాంటి మనుషులు, మనలాంటి వాతావరణం గుంపులో నడుస్తూ వెతుకోవటంలేదే నిజంగానే మా ఊరికే వెతుకోవట్టునిట్టించింది. చైనాలో విప్లవ వైకస్యం వెలువెత్తుతోన్న కాలంలో తెలంగాణ పల్లెలో పుట్టి పెరిగినందువల్ల, చైనా వైకస్యంతో వచ్చిన ఉద్యమాల నీడన ఎదిగి వచ్చిన తరం కావడం వల్ల మొదట్నుంచీ నాకు చైనా అంటే చెప్పలేని ప్రేమ. బహుశా ఆ భావజాల ప్రభావం వల్ల నాకిది వేరే దేశంగా అనిపించి ఉండకపోవచ్చు.

పాన్ పోర్టు ఇచ్చి తనిఖీ అవివధికారిని విప్లవే శాసనం. అతను ఒకటికి రెండుసార్లు పోర్టు చూసుకుని స్టాంప్ వేసి ఇచ్చేశాడు. అతని ముఖంలో ఏ భావమూ లేదు. నవ్వు లేదు పలుకరించలేదు. అమెరికన్ విమానాశ్రయాల్లో పరిస్థితి భిన్నంగా ఉంటుంది. తనిఖీ అధికారులు ప్రయాణికుల్ని పలుకరిస్తారు. తినడానికి చాక్లెట్లు, క్యాండీలు ఇస్తారు. కుశల ప్రశ్నలు వేస్తూ కూపీలు లాగుతారు. చివరికి వేలిముద్రలు తీసుకుని తప్ప పడదరు. 'ఎంత తేడా' అనుకునేలోపే నా దృష్టి కౌంటర్ పై ఉన్న ఎలక్ట్రానిక్ బోర్డుపై పడింది. ఆ అధికారి పనితీరు ఎలా వుందో చెప్పమన్నది ఆ బోర్డుపై ఉన్న సూచన సారాంశం. చాలా సంకృష్టికరంగా ఉంది, సంకృష్టికరంగా ఉంది, బాగాలేదన్న మూడు సమాధానాలున్నాయి. మనం ఏదో ఒక బటన్ నొక్కాలి. దాన్ని ఇట్టి ఆ అధికారి పనితీరు నిర్ధారణ అవుతుంది. అదొక కొలమానం అన్నమాట. అప్పుడు మరోసారి ఆశ్చర్యమేసింది. బహుశా ఆ భయానికోసమో ఆ అధికారి అంత 'క్రమశిక్షణ'తో పని ముగించాడు. కమ్యూనిస్టుల కారుణ్యం, కారిస్యం రెండూ చైనాలో దిగిన పది నిమిషాల్లోనే ఈ రెండు సంఘటనల్లో అర్థమయింది. అప్పటి నుంచి ప్రతి నిమిషం అది అనుభవ పూర్వకంగా తెలిసి వచ్చింది.

ఆ రాత్రికి బీజింగ్ లో ఒక హోటల్లో బసచేసి మరుసటి రోజు ఫీల్డ్ వర్క్ కు బయలుదేరాం. యుకోవాన్ గూనా నా కంటే పదునులో చాలా చిన్నవాడు, ఉత్సాహవంతుడు, సాహసి, అంతకు మించి ప్రజాస్వామ్య పిపాసి. బీజింగ్ లో నివసించే యుకోవాన్ తరచూ గ్రామాల్లో పర్యటిస్తుంటాడు. నేను వెళ్ళేసరికి అతను యునాన్ ప్రావిన్స్ లోని మారుమూల ప్రాంతంలో ఉన్నాడు. అతని భార్య నేను అక్కడికి చేరుకోవడానికి కావాల్సిన విమానం టిక్కెట్లతో పాటు ఒక సెల్ ఫోన్ ఇచ్చి వెళ్ళింది. తను ఎయిర్ పోర్ట్ కు వస్తాడని చెప్పింది.

అంతటా ఒకే ఒక్క విగ్రహం

చైనా ప్రజలందరికీ సుపరిచితమైన ఒకే ఒక్క పేరు చైర్మన్ మావో. లాంగ్ మార్చ్ లో పాల్గొన్న వాళ్ళకో, ఆ విముక్తి ఉద్యమాల గురించి విన్న ఆ కాలపు పౌరులకో మాత్రమే కాదు నేటి యువతలో కూడా మావో జెడాంగ్ అంటే చెప్పలేని అభిమానం. మారుమూల గ్రామాలు మొదలు బీజింగ్ నగరం దాకా మావో తప్ప మరో విగ్రహంపీడి కనిపించదు. ఐతే కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీ కావాలనే మిగిలిన నేతలందరినీ కనుమరుగు చేసి ఒక్క మావోను మాత్రమే ప్రాజెక్ట్ చేస్తూ వచ్చినందుకు విమర్శలు కూడా ఉన్నాయి.

భాషా సమస్య

మరుసటి రోజు ఉదయం డబ్బులు మార్చుకోవడానికి బయలుదేరిన నాకు బ్యాంకు ఎక్కడోగిగి కనుక్కోవడానికి రెండు గంటలు పట్టింది. ఈ రెండు గంటలూ కనిపించిన ప్రతి మనిషినీ బ్యాంకు ఎక్కడుందో అడిగి ప్రయత్నం చేశాను. ప్రయోజనం లేక పోయింది. చివరికి బ్యాంకు బోర్డు కనిపిస్తే నేరుగా నేనే వెళ్ళి మార్చుకున్నాను. ఆశ్చర్యమేమిటంటే బ్యాంకు అధికారులు కూడా చైనా భాషలో తప్ప ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడరు. వారికది తెలియదు కూడా. నేను దాలర్లు ఇచ్చి ఆర్ అండ్ బి (చైనా కరెన్సీ) కావాలని ఇంగ్లీషులో చెప్పితే ఆ అధికారి కాలిక్యులేటర్లో ఎంత పస్తుందో ఆ సంఖ్యను టైప్ చేసి చూపించింది. అప్పటి నుంచి ఆర్థిక లావాదేవీలన్నీ కాలిక్యులేటర్ టైపింగ్ కోసే.

ప్రపంచ భాష అనుకుని మనమంతా నానా తంటాలుపడి ఇంగ్లీషు నేర్చుకుంటుంటే ప్రపంచ వాణిజ్య, వ్యాపార సంస్థలన్నీ ఇప్పుడు చైనా భాషను నేర్చుకుంటున్నాయి. ప్రపంచీకరణ నేపథ్యంలో సరుకుల ఉత్పత్తికి ప్రధానమైన కేంద్రంగా మారిన చైనాలో బతకాలన్నా, వ్యాపారం చేయాలన్నా అక్కణ్ణి భాష రావడం తప్పనిసరి. లేకపోతే దుబానీ కోసం రోజుకు 500 నుంచి 1000 దాలర్లు అంటే కనీసం రెండు నుంచి నాలుగు వేల రూపాయలు చెల్లించుకోవాల్సి ఉంటుంది. మెయిన్ ల్యాండ్ చైనా నగరాలు, పట్టణాల్లో అక్కణ్ణి భాష తెలియకపోతే కాలా కదపడం కూడా కష్టమే. హోటళ్ళు, దుకాణాలు, ప్రభుత్వ కార్యాలయాల లావాదేవీలన్నీ చైనా భాషలోనే ఉంటాయి. కాబట్టి వాళ్ళ భాష తెలియడం తప్పనిసరి. లేకపోతే ఏం కొనాలో, ఏం తినాలోగిగి కూడా తెలుసుకోవడం కష్టం. ఇక గ్రామాల్లో ఒక్క ఇంగ్లీషు పదం కూడా వినిపించదు.

పెరుగుతున్న ఇంగ్లీష్ క్రేజ్

అయితే ఇప్పుడిప్పుడు చైనాలో ఇంగ్లీషుకు క్రేజ్ పెరుగుతోంది. కానీ అది రాకపోవడం లోపమన్న భావనగానీ, అజ్ఞానమన్న తప్పుడు అవగాహన గానీ వారిలో లేదు. అదొక అదనపు ప్రయోజనంగా మాత్రమే వాళ్ళు భావిస్తున్నారు. దానివల్ల కొందరు ట్రాన్స్ లేటర్లుగా, దుబానీలుగా బాగా డబ్బు సంపాదించచ్చని నేర్చుకునే ప్రయత్నం చేస్తున్నారు. అనేక కోటింగ్ సెంటర్లు, ట్యూటర్లు ఇంగ్లీషు నేర్పించే

పనిలో నిమగ్నమై ఉన్నాయి. హాంగ్కాలో దాదాపు 20 వేల ఎకరాల విస్తీర్ణంలో ఒక హైటెక్ సిటీ ఉంది. ఇది చైనాలో ఉన్న అన్ని హైటెక్ జోన్లలో కెల్లా పెద్దది. ప్రపంచంలోని అగ్రశ్రేణి కంపెనీలన్నీ ఇక్కడ పనిచేస్తున్నాయి. ఈ జోన్ పాలక మండలి డైరెక్టర్ జిన్ జాపెంగ్ను మేం కలుసుకున్నప్పుడు ఆయన గంటకు పైగా అక్కడి అభివృద్ధి కార్యకలాపాలను వివరించారు. ఒక్క ఇంగ్లీషు మాటకూడా మాట్లాడకుండా ఆయన శాస్త్రీయ, సాంకేతిక విషయాలను, వాణిజ్య వ్యాపార అంశాలను, ఎగుమతులు దిగుమతులు వివరాలను పూర్తిగా సా చైనా భాషలోనే చెప్పడం ఆశ్చర్యం కలిగించింది. ఆయన వెంట ఉన్న దుబానీ ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడిన దానికంటే ఆయా విషయాలను జాపెంగ్ చైనా భాషలోనే అనర్థకంగా చెప్పేయడం చూసినప్పుడు చైనాకు ఇంగ్లీషు అవసరం లేదనే అనిపించింది. జర్నలిస్టులు, అధికారులు, ప్రొఫెసర్లు, చివరికి వైస్ ఛాన్సలర్ స్థాయి విశ్వవిద్యాలయాల అధిపతులు కూడా ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడలేరు. మాట్లాడాలని కోరుకోరు.

బుద్ధుడి పాదముద్రలు

చైనాలో మతం లేదనుకుంటాం. కమ్యూనిస్టు దేశం కాబట్టి మతం ఉండదనే అభిప్రాయం నాకూ ఉండేంది. అధికారికంగా లేకపోయినా అక్కడి గ్రామాలు, మారుమూల ప్రాంతాల్లో ప్రజలు మతాన్ని ఆచరిస్తుంటారు. గ్రామాల్లో బౌద్ధ, కన్ఫ్యూషియన్ మతాచారాలు కనిపిస్తుంటాయి. నగరాల్లో, పట్టణాల్లో క్రైస్తవమతం, కొన్నిచోట్ల ఇస్లాం ప్రాబల్యం కూడా ఉంది. గుడులు, మసీదులు, చర్చీలు ప్రతిచోటా కనిపిస్తుంటాయి. సాంస్కృతిక విషయాల కాలంలో చాలా వరకు ఇవి మూతపడ్డప్పటికీ దేశవ్యాప్తంగా అన్ని చోట్లా ఇవి మళ్ళీ మొదలయ్యాయని ఇప్పుడు పట్టణాల్లో క్రైస్తవమతం బలంగా విస్తరిస్తోందని తెలిసి ఆశ్చర్యం కలిగింది.

బీజింగ్ నుంచి 2800 కిలోమీటర్లు ప్రయాణించి శుశాంక్ బన్నా చేరుకున్నాను. శుశాంక్ బన్నా నగరం కాదు ఒక ప్రాంతం. యునాన్ రాష్ట్రంలోనే ఆదివాసులు అధికంగా నివసించే ఒక స్వయం ప్రతిపత్తి కలిగిన ప్రాంతీయ మండలి. బదారు గిరిజన తెగల్లో థాయ్ తెగ మెజారిటీగా ఉన్న వేలాది చిన్న చిన్న గ్రామాల సమూహం. ఈ ప్రాంత గిరిజనులంబా బౌద్ధమతస్థులు. మేం ఆ రాత్రికి జింగ్హోంగ్ అనే చిన్న పట్టణంలో బసచేశాం. కేవలం 40 వేల జనాభా ఉన్న ఆ పట్టణం బౌద్ధ పర్యాటకులకు ఆనంద నిలయం. పచ్చటి వనాల మీది నుంచి వీచే పూల పరిమళం, దారిపొడవునా పారే మెకాంగ్ నది, అడుగుడుగునా థాయ్ సంస్కృతి ఉట్టిపడే కట్టడాలు, బౌద్ధ ఆలయాలు, ఆరామాలు, దేశీయ గిరిజనాలు, విదేశీ యాత్రికులు ఒక వినూత్న లోకంగా కనిపించిందా ఊరు. రోడ్డు పక్కనే ఉన్న ఒక హోటల్లో భోజనం చేస్తుంటే అక్కడ గోడమీద ఉన్న బుద్ధుడి పోస్టర్ నన్నాకర్చింది. దగ్గరగా వెళ్ళి పరిశీలించాను. ఆ పోస్టర్ పై ఆ పట్టణ వృత్తాంతం ఉంది. పూర్వకాలంలో గౌతమ ముని భారతదేశం గుండా ప్రయాణిస్తూ ఆ ఊరి పొలివమేరలోకి వచ్చేసరికి వేకువ జాము అయ్యిందట. సూర్యుడి తొలికిరణాలు ప్రసరించడం చూసి బుద్ధుడు ఆ ఊరికి జింగ్హోంగ్ (రైట్ ఆఫ్ ద దాన్) అని పేరు పెట్టాడట. ఆ ఊరిలో ప్రతి వాడా బుద్ధుడి పాదధూళితో పవిత్రమైందని అన్ని ప్రధాన ప్రాంతాలకూ బుద్ధుడే నామకరణం చేశాడనీ దానిపై రాసి ఉంది.

ఒకే దేశం భిన్న ప్రపంచాలు

ఒక దేశం రెండు వ్యవస్థలన్నది నవచైనా నిర్మాణం నాటి కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీ నినాదం. ఆ నినాదానికి అనుగుణంగానే చైనా గ్రామీణ, నగర ఆర్థిక వ్యవస్థలను వేరువేరుగా, భిన్నంగా అభివృద్ధి చేస్తూ వచ్చారు. అదే ఇప్పుడు పెద్ద సమస్యగా మారిందా అనిపించింది. యునాన్, సిచూవాన్ ప్రోవిన్స్లలోని గ్రామాలు, పట్టణాలు, అలాగే చుంగ్చింగ్ లాంటి పారిశ్రామిక నగరాలు ఆ తరువాత బీజింగ్, షాంఘై, హాంగ్కాలో జరుగుతోన్న అభివృద్ధి మాతాక కమ్యూనిస్టు చైనాలిటిలో ఎన్ని ప్రపంచాలున్నాయో అనిపించింది. అయితే ఆకలి, పేదరికం, నిరుద్యోగం, దోపిడీ, బానిసత్వం కులవివక్ష ఉన్న మన గ్రామాలతో పోల్చి చూసుకున్నప్పుడు అక్కడి గ్రామాలు, ప్రజలు ఎంతో స్వేచ్ఛగా బతుకుతున్నట్లే అనిపించింది. కాని ప్రజల మధ్య అంతరాలు, గ్రామాల మధ్య, నగరాల మధ్య ఆర్థిక అసమానతలు ప్రధానమైన సమస్యగా ఉన్నాయి.

కమ్యూన్లు, ఉమ్మడి వ్యవసాయ క్షేత్రాలు రద్దయి కుటుంబ ప్రాతిపదికన భూకమతాల పంపిణీ జరిగాక ఈ అంతరాలు ప్రస్ఫుటమవుతూ వచ్చాయి. అందరికీ భూమి లభించింది కానీ అది పేద ధనిక తేడాలను సృష్టించింది. గ్రామాల్లో భూమి పంపిణీ జనాభా ప్రాతిపదికన జరిగింది. మేం పరిశీలించిన యునాన్ గ్రామాల్లో రైతులకు ఒక్కొక్క కుటుంబానికి ఐదు నుంచి పదికరాల దాకా భూమి ఉంది. యునాన్ కొందలు, అడవులున్న ప్రాంతం, జనాభా తక్కువ, భూమి ఎక్కువ. దీంతో రైతులు మంచి స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. అదే

సిచూవాన్లో భూమి జనాభాకు సరిపడా లేదు. ఎక్కువ మైదాన ప్రాంతం ఉన్నా, జనసాంద్రతా ఎక్కువే కావడంతో ఒక్కొక్క రైతుకు ఎకరం కూడా దొరకలేదు. ఇలా భూమి పంపిణీ గ్రామం, కమ్యూన్, కౌంటి ప్రాతిపదికన జరగడంతో గ్రామాల వారీగా, ప్రాంతాల వారీగా రైతుల స్థితి గతుల్లో తేడాలు రావడం మొదలైంది, ఇది కోస్తా తీర ప్రాంతాలు, దక్షిణాది పారిశ్రామిక రాష్ట్రాలు, యాంగ్జీనది పరివాహక డెల్టాలతో పోల్చుకున్నప్పుడు ఒక రైతుకూ, మరో రైతుకూ మధ్య బదారు రెట్ల తేడా కనిపిస్తుంది.

హూక్యో పెద్ద ఆద్యంతి

మేం ఒకటి రెండు రోజులు మన దగ్గర మండల కేంద్రం లాంటి కౌంటి సెంటర్లో ఒక చిన్న సత్రంలో ఉండాల్సి చెప్పింది. దాదాపు పది గడులున్న ఆ సత్రంలో ఒక్కొక్క గదిలో నలుగురైదుగురు యువకులుంటున్నారు. ఆరా తీస్తే వాళ్ళంతా పొరుగు రాష్ట్ర రైతులు. అక్కడ భూమి సరిపోక వలస కూలిలుగా వచ్చి బతుకుతున్నారు. అయితే అది మారుమూల గ్రామం కాబట్టి చెల్లింది. లేకపోతే హూక్యో ఉల్లంఘించినందుకు జైలుపాలురిరి కావాల్సిందే. హూక్యో అనేది పౌరసత్వం లాంటిది. ప్రతి గ్రామంలో ఒక్కొక్క కుటుంబానికి హూక్యో పేరుతో గుర్తింపు కార్డు ఉంటుంది, ఏ ఊరిలో లేదా నగరంలో హూక్యో ఉంటే అక్కడే ఉండాలి తప్ప వేరే చోటికి (వలస) వెళ్ళడం చైనాలో నిషేధం. నగరంలో గానీ, పొరుగు ప్రాంతంలో గానీ ఉపాధికోసం (పనికోసం) వెళ్ళాలంటే వర్క పర్మిట్ ఉండాలి. అది ఆ గ్రామపు పబ్లిక్ సెక్యూరటీ అధికారి ఇవ్వాలిజేజీ. అలా వెళ్ళడానికి వీలులేదు కూడా. ఇది ఇప్పుడు గ్రామాలను ఉక్కిరి బిక్కిరి చేస్తోంది.

నిజానికి ఈ హూక్యో అనేది సోషలిస్ట్ కాలంలో రేషనింగ్కు, సోషల్ సెక్యూరిటీ (ఉచిత వైద్యం, విద్య, సరుకుల పంపిణీ) వంటి అవసరాల అంచనా కోసం మొదలైంది. అలాగే స్వయం సమృద్ధి కలిగిన గ్రామాల నిర్మాణం కోసం, వలసలు నియంత్రించి వ్యవసాయ ఉత్పత్తి పెంచడం కోసం వాడడం జరిగింది. అయితే గ్రామాల కంటే పట్టణాల్లో అవకాశాలు పెరిగి, ఆదాయం మెరుగైన తరువాత ప్రజలు వలసల కోసం వెతుకుతున్నారు. అధికారికంగా వీలు లేదు కాబట్టి దొంగదామీగా వెళ్ళి నగరాల్లో చిత్తుకాగితాలు ఏరుకోవడం, అనుమతి లేని పనుల్లో నియంతులు కావడం చేస్తున్నారు. ఇలాంటి వారి సంఖ్య చైనాలో ఇప్పుడు 20 కోట్లు దాటేదని తెలిసినప్పుడు చైనాకు పొంచి ఉన్న ప్రధాన సమస్య ఈ పౌర సత్యమే అనిపించింది. ఈ వలసలను అరికట్టడానికి 1980 దశకంలో గ్రామీణ ఆర్థిక సంస్కరణల్లో భాగంగా లోన్షిప్ విలేజ్ ఎంటర్ ప్రైజెస్ (టివిఇ)ను ఏర్పాటు చేశారు. మిగులు శ్రామికులను వ్యవసాయం నుంచి ఈ టివిఇలకు పంపేవారు. 1980లో దాదాపు 3 కోట్ల మందికి ఉపాధి కల్పించిన టివిఇలు 1990 నాటికి దాదాపు 9 కోట్లకు పైగా గ్రామీణ కూలీలను ఆదుకున్నాయి. ఆ తరువాత విస్తరణ లేకపోవడంతో కూలీలు తప్పనిసరిగా నగరాల వైపు చూడాల్సి వస్తోంది.

ఆరోగ్య బీమా

ఆరోగ్య బీమా మరో ప్రధాన ఆకర్షణ. నగరాల్లో పని దొరికితే అది తాత్కాలికంగా దొరికే భవన నిర్మాణపు కూలీ పని అయినా వర్క పర్మిట్ ఉంటుంది. ఏ కాంట్రాక్టర్ అయితే కూలీకి తీసుకొస్తాడో అతనే ఆ కూలీలందరి సోషల్ సెక్యూరిటీ రుసుములు చెల్లించి తాత్కాలిక నివవాస సౌకర్యం కల్పిస్తాడు. అయితే ఆరోగ్య బీమా సౌకర్యాలు కూడా సంస్కరణల వెల్లుబాలో ఎగిరిపోయాయి. నిజానికి చైనా 1970 నాటికి ఆరోగ్యరంగంలో అద్భుత విజయాలు సాధించింది. 1949లో చైనా అనారోగ్య దేశమే. చైనా సగటు ఆయుర్రాయం 35 సంవత్సరాలు మాత్రమే అంటే ఆశ్చర్యం కలుగుతుంది. విప్లవానంతర చర్యలు, ముఖ్యంగా 1965లో ప్రవేశపెట్టిన రూడంచెల వైద్య సౌకర్యాలు 9000 శాతం మందికి ఆరోగ్య బీమా, వైద్య సదుపాయాలను అందుబాటులోకి తేవడంతో అది ఇప్పుడు 69 శాతానికి చేరుకుంది. అలాగే అక్షరాస్యత 19 శాతం మించి 90 శాతానికి చేరుకుంది.

ఆ గ్రామాలు స్వర్ణసీమలే

దక్షిణ కోస్తా తీరంలో ఉన్న గ్రామాలు మాత్రం నిజంగానే స్వర్ణసీమలుగా కనిపించాయి. షాంఘై నుంచి హాంగ్కా నగరానికి దాదాపు 200 కిలోమీటర్లు బస్సులో ప్రయాణిస్తున్నంత సేపు పచ్చని పొలాలు, విశాలమైన భవంతులు, ఇంటింటికి కార్లు ఇలా ఎన్నో ఆధునిక హంగులు కనిపించాయి. ఆ ప్రాంతంలో ఒక్క మవు (660 మీటర్లు) పొలం దాదాపు 20 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఉంటుందని మిత్రుడు చెప్పారు. అయితే చైనాలో ఎవరికీ సొంత భూమి ఉండదు. కేవలం హక్కులు మాత్రమే ఉంటాయి. ఈ కౌలు హక్కులు గ్రామాల్లో 70 సంవత్సరాలకు ఇటీవలే పొడిగించారు. వాటిని అమ్ముకోవడం, బదిలీ చేయడం కుదరదు.

చైనా ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజల్లో రంగుల్లోను ఈ అసంతృప్తిని గమనించి మళ్ళీ 1970 నాటి గ్రామీణ సమాజం వైపు మొగ్గడం ప్రారంభించింది. రైతులను గ్రామాల్లో ఉండే విధంగా గ్రామాలను పరిపుష్టం చేయడానికి ప్రయత్నాలు మొదలు పెట్టింది. 'స్వా సోషలిస్ట్ కంట్రీ సైడ్' పేరుతో ఒక సరికొత్త పంచవర్గ ప్రణాళికను గత ఏడాది ప్రభుత్వం ప్రకటించింది. వెనుకబడిన ప్రావిన్సులు, కొంట్రీలను నోటిపై చేసి అక్కడి రైతులకు గత రెండేళ్ళుగా కోట్లాది రూపాయల సబ్సిడీలు, సగం ధరకే ట్రాక్టర్లు, వ్యవసాయ పనిముట్లు అందిస్తోంది. విద్యావకాశాల మెరుగుకోసం ఆయా ప్రాంతాల్లో ఫీజులు పూర్తిగా రద్దుచేసి పుస్తకాలు, హాస్టల్ సౌకర్యాలు కూడా ఉచితంగా అందిస్తోంది. వ్యవసాయ రంగానికి 2005తో పోలిస్తే ఏడు రెట్లు వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాల్లో ఆరోగ్య బీమా సౌకర్యాలు, భారీగా పెన్షన్లు, సబ్సిడీలు సమకూరుస్తోంది. దాంతోపాటు గ్రామస్థాయి నుంచి పరిపాలనను ప్రజా స్వామ్యీకరించాలని కూడా ప్రభుత్వం భావిస్తోంది. ఈ చర్యలు గత ఏడాది కాలంగా కొత్త ఆశలు రేకెత్తిస్తున్నాయి. సంస్కరణలు ప్రజలకు చేరిగే నగరాలకు రావాలన్న ఆలోచన రైతులకు ఉండదు.

'నిజానికి మా గ్రామాలు స్వర్గాలు. అయితే ప్రపంచీకరణ వెలుగులో నగరాలు స్వర్గాలన్న భ్రమ కలుగుతోందని ఒక జర్నలిస్టు మిత్రుడు ఆనందం అతిశయోక్తి కాదనిపించింది. నిజానికి అన్ని రకాల సౌకర్యాలు అక్కడి గ్రామాల్లో ఉన్నాయి. ఒక రోజు మేం మారుమూల గ్రామంలో అంటే దేశ రాజధానికి దాదాపు 3 వేల కిలోమీటర్లు, రాష్ట్ర రాజధానికి వెయ్యి కిలోమీటర్ల దూరంలో, సముద్ర మట్టానికి దాదాపు వెయ్యి మీటర్ల ఎత్తులో ఉన్న పల్లెలో ఉండాల్సి వచ్చింది. అక్కడి దాకా విశాలమైన రోడ్లు, ఆ ఊరిలో సిమెంటు రోడ్లు, ప్రతి గుడిసెకూ టెలివిజన్ యాంటెనా, మరుగుదొడ్లు, పాఠశాల భవనాలు చూస్తే నాకు ఆశ్చర్యమేసింది. అంతెందుకు హైదరాబాద్ శివార్లు దాటితే పనిచేయని నా సెల్ ఫోన్స్ ఇంటర్నెట్ రోమింగ్ లో అంపీవీత మారుమూల ఊరిలో కూడా పనిచేయడం ఆనందం కలిగించింది.

బీజింగ్ డిప్యూటీ మేయర్ కలిగిస్తున్న ఆశ

చెన్ గాంగ్ వ్యక్తిత్వం అజ్ఞానం. బీజింగ్ లో మునిసిపల్ ప్లానింగ్ అధికారిగా ఉండి ఆ తర్వాత డిప్యూటీ మేయర్ గా ఎన్నికయ్యాడు. అతణ్ణి చివరి రోజున మా కాన్ఫరెన్స్ కు కి నోట్ స్వీకర్ గా పిలిచారు. ముమ్మల్లుండన్నీ ఆ రోజు ఫుల్ సూట్ లో రావాల్సిందిగా మా డైరెక్టర్ అశోక్ గురుంగ్ ఆదేశించారు. హాలులో అంతా ఫార్మల్ డ్రెస్ లో ఉన్నారు.. ఈ లోగా ఒక బక్క పలుచని మనిషి ముడతలు పడ్డ షర్ట్ తో అక్కడ ప్రత్యక్షమయ్యాడు. అతనే ముఖ్య అతిథి అని, ఆ నగర డిప్యూటీ మేయర్ అని చెప్పేదాకా నమ్మలేకపోయాం. ఆయన వివరంగా నిలబడి సభికులందరికీ క్షమాపణలు చెప్పారు.

"మీరంతా చాలా ఫార్మల్ కా సూట్ లు ధరించారు. నేనలా రాలేక పోయినందుకు మన్నించండి. నాకు తెలుసు, ఇది ప్రతిష్టాత్మకమైన కార్యక్రమమని. కానీ మా ప్రభుత్వం ఉష్ణోగ్రత 26 డిగ్రీలు దాటితే తప్ప కార్యాలయాల్లో ఎనిలు వాడరాదని నిర్ణయించింది. ఇవాళ ఉష్ణోగ్రత చాలా తక్కువ ఉంది. నేను పర్లు పైన సూట్ వేసుకుని, బై కట్టుకుంటే ఖచ్చితంగా ఎ.సి వేసుకోవాల్సి వస్తుంది. కాబట్టి మా నిర్ణయాల్ని మేం గౌరవించడం కోసం ఇలా రావాల్సి వచ్చింది" అంటూ వివరణ ఇవ్వడం నవ్వు తెప్పించినా అక్కడున్న చాలా మందిని ఆలోచింపజేసింది. అతని గురించి తరువాత వాకబు చేస్తే ఎంతో నిజాయితీతో పనిచేస్తోన్న వ్యక్తి అని, బీజింగ్ ఒలింపిక్స్ కోసం నగరాన్ని ప్రపంచ స్థాయి క్రీడా వేదికగా మలిచే పనిలో తనూ కూలీలతో పాటించి పాల్గొంటున్నాడని చెప్పారు. చైనా నుంచి బయలుదేరడానికి ముందు నేను మైదరాబాద్ లో ఉంటున్న మిత్రుడికి ఫోన్ చేశాను. 'చైనాలో ఎర్రజెండా ఉందా' అనడీగాడతను. 'ఏ జెండా ఉన్నా నాకభ్యంతరం లేదు. ఎందుకంటే ఎజెండా మాత్రం ఉంది' అన్నాను. అది నిజం కూడా.

స్వా స్మార్ట్.....

వాసుపక్ష భావజాలం, ప్రగతిశీల దృక్పథాలకు నిలయంగా పేరుపొందిన స్వాస్మార్ట్లకు సుదీర్ఘమైన చరిత్ర ఉంది. మొదటి ప్రపంచ యుద్ధకాలంలో జర్మన్ పాలకుల నియంతృత్వాన్ని ధిక్కరించి వెలికి గురైన మేధావులు కొందరు అమెరికా చేరుకుని 1919లో ప్రారంభించిన స్వాస్మార్ట్ 1922 నాటికి స్వాస్మార్ట్ ఫర్ సోషల్ రీనెర్షిగా మారి ప్రపంచంలోనే ప్రతిష్టాత్మకమైన పరిశోధన సంస్థగా రూపొందింది. 'మనుషుల్లోని ప్రజ్ఞను భావదాస్యం నుంచి విముక్తం చేయడం తప్ప మాకు మరో సంస్కరణ ఏదీ లేదని' ప్రకటించిన అప్పటి మేధావి పద్ధతు ఆలోచనలకు అనుగుణంగా ఇప్పుడు ఇండియా - చైనా ఇన్స్టిట్యూట్ పేరుతో ఒక సంస్థను ప్రారంభించి

ఆయడీ దేశాల్లో సాగుతోన్న సంస్కరణలను అధ్యయనం చేసి, చర్చించుకుని, మంచిచెడ్డలు బేరీజు వేసుకునేందుకు ఒక ఉమ్మడి వేదికగా ఈ సంస్థను రూపొందించారు. ఏటా పదిమంది (బదుగురు భారతీయులు, బదుగురు చైనా వాళ్ళు) యువ సామాజిక, ఆర్థిక, సాంకేతిక రంగాల పరిశోధకులను ఎంపిక చేసి రెండు సంవత్సరాల పాటు పరిశోధనల్లో తోడ్పడుతుంది ఈ సంస్థ. పరస్పర చర్చలు, గోప్యతతో పాటు ఆయా దేశాల్లో పర్లుటింది, ప్రత్యక్షంగా విషయ సేకరణ జరిపేందుకు వీలుగా ఇండియా చైనా ఇన్స్టిట్యూట్ 'రెసిడెన్షి' లు నిర్వహిస్తుంది.

గత ఏడాది ప్రారంభమైన ఈ సంస్థ మొదటి బ్యాచ్ లో ఫెలోగా ఎంపిక కావడంతో నాకు చైనా గురించి చదువుకునే అవకాశం లభించింది. ఈ ఏడాది మే జూన్ లలో దాదాపు ఒక నెల రోజులపాటు చైనాలోని వివిధ ప్రాంతాల్లో వివిధ పర్లుల ప్రజలతో గడిపి అక్కడి పరిస్థితులను ప్రత్యక్షంగా గమనించే అవకాశం కలిగింది.

నవతరం కామ్రేడ్లంటే..

కొత్త సోషలిస్టు గ్రామాల నిర్మాణం కోసం వస్తోన్న నిధులు నిజంగా ప్రజలకు చేరుతాయా అన్నది అనుమానమే. పాతతరం కమ్యూనిస్టు నేతల్లో ఉన్న నిజాయితీ ఈ తరంలో లేదు. పెట్టుబడి, మార్కెట్ పరిచయమైనాక పార్టీ కార్యదర్శులకు సైతం అవినీతి అంటుకుంది. నాలుగైదేళ్ళలో కోట్లకు పడగెత్తిన వాళ్ళూ, వ్యాపారాల్లో దిగి పెట్టుబడిదారులై పోయిన వాళ్ళు కోకొల్లలు. అంతేకాదు గ్రామాల్లో పాతకాలపు భూస్వాముల్లా ప్రజలను వణికిస్తోన్న వాళ్ళూ, వేధిస్తోన్న వాళ్ళూ ఉన్నారు. చైనాలో ప్రభుత్వమే రియల్ ఎస్టేట్ కంపెనీలను స్థాపిస్తుంది. దానికి పార్టీ సెక్రటరీలే ఏజంట్లు. పారిశ్రామిక వాడలు, కొత్త ప్రైవేటు ఇండస్ట్రీయల్ జోన్లు ఎక్కువ భాగం వీరి బంధువులవేనన్న ఆరోపణా ఉంది. నిజంగానే అక్కడి పరిశ్రమల్లో జీతాలు చాలా తక్కువ. సాంకేతిక విద్య, అనుభవం ఉన్న వాళ్ళు కూడా కేవలం నాలుగైదువేల రూపాయలకు పనిచేయడం అన్యాయమనిపించింది. ఇలాంటి అన్యాయాలు అనేకం కనిపిస్తున్నా అక్కడి ప్రజల్లో ఇంకా పార్టీపట్ల, ప్రభుత్వం పట్ల విశ్వాసం సడల లేదు. అందుకు కారణం బీజింగ్ డిప్యూటీ మేయర్ చెన్ గాంగ్ లాంటి మేధావులు పార్టీ క్రేజులను కదిలించడంలో, ప్రజలను కన్ఫ్యూస్ చేయడం అదర్లువంతమైన పని చేయడం కూడా ఒక కారణం కావచ్చు.

Learn to Say Thank You in Chinese

HIREN DOSHI

My encounter with China dates back to 2002 when I was based in Hong Kong and looking after business development for Infosys in the region. After months of shuttling between HK and Beijing, the time came to make a permanent move to Beijing.

Unlike popular belief back in India in those days India was not that far behind China in infrastructure or development and prosperity. I had a sense of the difference between India and China and what to expect when I landed in that country for the first time. But nothing can prepare you for the full impact until you see it with your own eyes. Travelling from the airport to my residence—the experience was overwhelmingly world class. The question which puzzled me many times before haunted me again - why had we not been able to do this in India? This time the urge for finding an answer was much higher.

I have now been residing in China for 4 years. During that time, I got married and became a father couple of years ago. My personal experience has been very nice living in this country. The small Indian community has a strong sense of bonding and we socialise frequently. Being a small community gives you a sense of closeness which you often miss in the United States or even in Hong Kong which now has second and third generation Indians living there and who have very little in common with other Indians.

The Indian community in the Chinese capital is called ICB or 'Indian community in Beijing' and we try to meet almost every month over dinner or outings on weekends apart from regular celebrations during Diwali, Navaratri or Holi. Most of the Indians in Beijing work for multinationals. Few work for Indian companies. Most of the Indian IT companies set up their first shops in Shanghai. Surprisingly you will find many multinationals hiring Indians in expat positions and senior roles to run their China operations.

The lifestyle for a well-earning expat in any major city of China can be world class. The cost of living can be easily as high as living as New York or London, if not more. China has created a parallel universe for expats to feel at home. This universe includes best that is available in the realm of housing, schooling, healthcare, shopping, groceries, nightclubs and restaurants. The choice may not be as wide as back in India, but if you throw in unique advantages of being in developing world such as affordable house help or driver, it more than makes up for it.

Foreign investment has played a catalytic

role in China's economic marvel. Every foreign investor or company tends to place someone senior from the headquarters to safeguard and monitor investment. That person and how comfortable his experience in China has been go a long way in determining the future and quantity of future investments.

China does a fantastic job of making this layer of corporate decision makers' life more than comfortable. We still have to learn a lot from them. India attracts much of the foreign investment in the form of FII which is volatile and does not have any technology transfer element to it.

Working in China, when you are new, can be quite challenging. When you are not familiar with the culture and cannot speak any Chinese, you will find tons of volunteers, eagerly wanting to help you navigate through the local way of getting things done. You can find people -- or more often than not, people will find you, to help get your visa done, register your company, find a local partner and even propose a joint venture in the first meeting you have with them.

Once you have been about the block, picked up a bit of Chinese, you no longer qualify as a needy foreigner and find yourself alone to battle the local systems.

Mastering "Chinese" is not essential if you do not deal with local companies or the government, however, making an effort to learn a bit of it can have a marked improvement in quality of your personal life. You feel like a semi-local and the locals appreciate the effort put in by you to blend in their system. Suddenly, you find the options of restaurants, shopping centres and friends increase dramatically even if you are just able to converse enough to get around the city.

Taxi rides become enjoyable since the cabbies in Beijing love talking to strangers. You also do not end up dialing your secretary from a supermarket to get her to ask someone where they keep salt and sugar. It's a misconception that surviving in China is difficult if you are a vegetarian. Agreed that the concept of vegetarianism is not very popular here, but it is not that you cannot find vegetarian food, it is your inability to communicate that well in a restaurant in local language which makes it difficult. Once you speak a bit of local language, you can virtually walk into any restaurant, baring hotpots and specialty meat restaurant, and order veggies the way you like it and get it cooked exactly the way you want it. Chinese people are very hard working and disciplined. You do not see them arguing endlessly like we do in India.

My wife, Arpita is currently pursuing her

MBA through correspondence along with taking care of our 2-year-old daughter, Ruhi. Ruhi is picking up Chinese faster than English or Gujarati—my mother tongue.

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Thoughts on My Visit to India part one

Yao Yang

The development momentum in China and India are attracting excitement around the world.

Bob Kerrey, a visionary president of The New School in New York, established the India China Institute (ICI) with the support of USD \$10 million from the Starr Foundation. ICI is dedicated to research on and academic exchanges with China and India. The New School was originally founded in the 1930s. It has always been known as a home for liberal education and at times radical intellectuals. Even though most social science departments in American universities tend to be liberal except in economics and law, The New School is still unique. While skepticism towards China and India are emerging in the United States, Mr. Kerrey, former governor of Nebraska and U.S. senator, believes that animosity towards these two countries would work against U.S. interests. On the contrary, a more engaging attitude would create better understanding of the two countries and to facilitate the dialogues between academics, officials and the public in the U.S., China and India. To this end, ICI's India China Fellowship Program is a major effort in advocating an active engagement between the three countries. In this program, five fellows from each country form a team of fifteen to conduct research and engage in discussions over two years.

I was luckily selected as one of the five Chinese fellows in the first round of India China Fellowship Program. In April 2006, our cohort participated in a two-week residency in New York. Although I obtained my Ph.D. in Wisconsin, this residency provided me more insights into American society. In November and December 2006, we participated in a second two-week residency, this time in India, where we had opportunities to have lengthy dialogue with Indian experts and grassroots communities. This visit offered us more in-depth understanding on India's strengths and weaknesses. In such a complex society, multiple ethnicities, languages and the caste system constantly bring the society to the edge of discord and secession. Yet, social stability was maintained by the democratic system. On the other hand, democracy has also brought inefficiency and irresponsibility. A small group of politicians seems to take advantage of India's government so that the needs of the public fall far off the agenda. By contrast, civil society in India has developed far above China's level. Again, thanks to the democratic system, which offers ample space for civil society to grow, so that grassroots organizations play a more functional role than the government.

We Chinese tend to regard China's situation complicated. In contrast with India, however, China's recent history of development is more linear. India is a different case—what maybe considered as good by one person could possibly be regarded as evil by ten others. As Gunnar Myrdal claimed, there is no clear distinction between right and wrong in India. Since economic reform in 1992, India's economic

growth rate has closely followed China's, reaching 9% in 2006. The fast pace of growth in both countries is unstoppable and irreversible. On this issue, India is partially inspired by China's emergence. Not many Indians would willingly acknowledge the irreversibility of China's growth until the 1990s. Moreover, it seems that this attitude came from the self-proclaimed aristocracy, who were the ones discriminated against China (this is where Richard Nixon erred on the question of India and China). In a sense, it is China's growth that has inspired India, leading some to give up on the idea of a so-called Hindu equilibrium, and eventually support economic reform. In spite of this fact, economic development has not been a smooth process given India's social complexity. Debates, confusions, and even regressions are all possible. After all, it is a society full of complexities, vitality and contradictions. India is a mirror for China, reflecting our past, present and future.

The City of Victory

Our group of eight (including Ms. Jianying Zha, the ICI Senior Advisor in China) gathered in the afternoon of Nov. 23, 2006 at Pudong Airport, then left for a direct flight to New Delhi on China Eastern Airlines. We arrived at Delhi airport at about 3 o'clock the next morning. Being located in the middle of the two economic poles of East Asia and Europe, South Asian countries are at a disadvantage—flights usually leave and arrive in the middle of the night. But our hosts were very enthusiastic. Ashok Gurung, a Nepalese and the ICI director; Ms. Anita Deshmukh, the ICI Senior Advisor in India, and several others were already waiting for us at the airport. Sharing the name of one of the most famous kings in South Asian history, Ashok often jokes that he is a reincarnation of that great emperor, hence we are his subjects. Despite her recent bout of illness, Anita was in good spirits. Her only change since our New York residency was that her long hair became short. She prepared a wreath of flowers for each of us; their scent was especially fresh in the midnight air. As planned, our bus went to pick up the other five ICI Fellows from India. We then headed to our first stop in India, the ancient city of Agra. The traffic infrastructure in India resembles those in China in the early 1990s. There is only one highway in India, from Bombay to Puning. Other roads in good conditions are similar to the freeways in China. Among them is the road from Delhi to Agra. It often runs through towns and villages. In addition, we could not resist the lure of the delicious snacks offered by small shops where we stopped for a rest along the way (Anita had warned us not to take roadside foods, but had to leave us alone because we were all hungry). As a result, the journey of about 200 kilometers took six hours.

Once the capital of the Mughal dynasty, Agra is most famous for the Taj Mahal. However, our first stop was the City of Victory, Fatehpur Sikri (Fateh means victory, pur is city), 37 kilometers west of Agra. Akbar, a king as prominent as Ashoka, built the city in the late sixteenth century. Despite having three queens, Akbar had been unable to have a child. So he went to meet Saint Sheikh Saleem in Fatehpur Sikri, asking for help in conceiving a child. According to the legend, Saleem sacrificed his own six-month old son to worship the gods in exchange for a son for Akbar. Consequently, one of Akbar's queens did give birth to a son on August 30, 1569. Akbar named him Mohammed Saleem. Later, Akbar built a grand royal palace on the site where Saint Saleem used to live, as well as a sleeping chamber in marble for him when he died. The marble used was exactly the same as those in Taj Mahal. But Akbar made a fatal mistake in the construction, the absence of water supply. Fatehpur Sikri is situated on top of a piece of high land. There is no water running on the surface or underground. The supply of rainwater from a reservoir in the city is far from enough to meet the residents' needs. Akbar spent fifteen years in building the city, and after another fifteen years living there, he had to move back to Agra. Fatehpur Sikri has been deserted ever since.

Our tour guide was a young man with a master's degree in history. Similar to what I know about Egypt, Indian tour guides also work independently, so the success of their businesses largely depends on their own reputation. With his large reserve of knowledge on Indian history, our guide shared with us one story after another. He claimed himself not only a guide, but also a promoter of the Indian culture. His pride in Indian culture was obvious. Among all his stories, the most impressive was one of Akbar's tolerance of various religions. Akbar's ancestors were the Mongols. While they conquered the Islamic world, they also assimilated with local cultures and so the Mongol descendents became followers of Islam. Akbar held no bias or restrictions on the practice of any religion. Among his three queens, one was Hindu, one was Muslim, while the third was Christian, which covered the major religions in the Indian subcontinent at that time. Akbar treated his queens equally, in the guide's words, "both spiritually and physically." He often invited famous personalities from different religions to his palace for debates, hoping to ease the misunderstandings among religions.

Fatehpur Sikri is spacious, with dozens of palaces in various sizes. When we arrived at one of them, an Indian woman showed us signs saying "Whispering Gallery here!" When one whispers at the corner of the wall, another person at the opposite corner could clearly hear what was said. After all of us tried, the woman came to collect money. We then realized she was a different kind of tour guide!

The construction materials used in building Fatehpur Sikri and the Forbidden City in Beijing differ a great deal: red Sandstone for Fatehpur Sikri, bricks and wood for the Forbidden City. But the major difference between the two lies in the layout. As my Ph.D. advisor once told me, the moment he entered the Forbidden City from Tian'anmen, the spectacular buildings compelled him to kneel down. Fatehpur Sikri is different. It is apparent from the opulence that Akbar lived a luxury life. But I find an easy-going feeling while walking through the palaces. Compared to the Forbidden City, which conveys solemnity through perfect symmetry and magnificent buildings; at Fatehpur Sikri, I could not perceive a deliberate planned layout—there are no visual links between the palaces, nor are there obvious purposes in their distributions. The differences between the two palaces may well demonstrate differences between the two cultures: the Forbidden City for unity and order, while Fatehpur Sikri for variety and dynamic rhythms.

Despite the fact that the Mughal dynasty was the result of an invasion in the subcontinent, Mughal culture has been regarded as part of Indian culture, especially in regards to cultural relics in north India. The way Indians value Taj Mahal can be a good example of their affinity towards Mughal relics. Instead of calling the Taj Mahal with its official name, they call it Our Taj. While Chinese constructed grand palaces for their deceased ancestors and Europeans buried the coffins of their ancestors in the underground chambers in churches, only Indians created such a sparkling crystalline sleeping chamber. The spectacle of Taj Mahal is clearly beyond words, just like Emperor Shah Jahan's ever-lasting love towards his wife. Walking barefoot on its spacious base overlooking the Yamuna River, everyone would be in awe by the glory of India and its culture.

The majority of Indian scholars truly appreciate the variety of Indian culture. Among them is Amartya Sen, a Nobel Prize Laureate in economics in 1998. Since the Muslim-Hindu riot in Mumbai in 1993 and 1994, religious fundamentalism has dominated the Indian political arena and society. As a result, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) with a strong Hindu background won the election. Sen became deeply concerned with this situation, which reminded him of the prejudice and persecutions against Muslims in the violence he witnessed in Calcutta during his childhood. In the mid and late 1990s, he highlighted the culture of tolerance in India in a series of articles against religious fundamentalism. This series was collected in the book entitled *The Argumentative Indian*. In the history of India, debates were part of the tradition, and even women were allowed to participate. Sen points out how debate means tolerance. While in discussions with ICI Fellows from India, we clearly saw their

argumentativeness. In every meeting, Indian scholars were always active and ready to talk, whereas our Chinese fellows acted mostly as the audience. The quality of being practical brings a lot of benefits to China, but without metaphysical debates, are we still able to keep going in the right direction?

In the Beijing Forum in 2006, Sen gave the keynote address. During a banquet before his speech, I told him that his topic "Our Global Civilizations" was very interesting. He corrected me: "It's not the plural form (civilizations), but the singular form (civilization)." The next day, his compelling speech elaborated concisely and in detail that the differences among various civilizations are not as significant as we have imagined, and that there is only one civilization, i.e. our global civilization. Another speaker at the forum was a respected professor from Peking University. His theme was that openness is necessary for Chinese culture to thrive. This interesting concept has the potential to develop into a compelling theory and the professor presented convincing evidence. Surprisingly, however, he came to the conclusion that economic globalization is good, but cultural globalization could never happen. Whether this conclusion is right or wrong, the logic apparently contradicted with his conception: if China could prosper only when it is opened to the world, why couldn't it be open now? Didn't he agree that the prosperity in Tang Dynasty benefited from the influx of ethnic and foreign cultures? Obviously our professor would need to climb several more mountains to reach Sen's level. Another incident also disappointed me. One scholar from Peking University expressed his appreciation to Sen's speech, but not because Sen developed his notion of global civilization, but because he mentioned the fact that it was Chinese who invented printing. "Show this to those Koreans. They always claim printing was their invention." Alas! God is fair. He made Chinese hardworking but lacking in metaphysical thinking; he made Indians appreciate variety but tend to tolerate stagnation. Variety is India's pride, but could also become a significant obstacle to its development, which has been fully demonstrated in the way Indian democracy functions.

This essay was originally published in Chinese in Nanfang zhoumo (Southern Weekly), a liberal newspaper in China with circulation of 3 million. It appeared as a series on March 15, 22, 29, April 5, 2007, Section c19. Yao's essays were extremely well received and he was invited to give the prestigious Centennial Lecture Series at Peking University. The lecture, "A Close Look at the Indian Democracy," was delivered on April 16, 2007 to an audience of university students and faculty members. Over the course of the next month, the event was re-broadcast on Phoenix Satellite Television.

Tango of the Dragon and Elephant

HIREN DOSHI

For much of the last 1,000 years, what India and China had in common was the fact that they were the richest nations on earth. In 1500 AD, their combined GDP commanded 25% of world's GDP. Then they both had a disastrous phase during the last decades of the 19th century, partly eclipsed by famines and earthquakes and partly due to the emergence of Europe and America. By mid-20th century both countries were relatively poor. The reversal of China's fortunes started with Deng Xiaoping in power in 1978 and the institutionalisation of the market-driven economic policies. India adopted that path in the early 1990s. Since then, both the economies have been growing at breakneck speed. China has done better than India in its ability to attract foreign investment suitable for an export-led, low-cost manufacturing economy while India has largely been a domestic consumption story with success in knowledge and services industry.

The bilateral trade between India and China has increased 30-fold in the last decade. Last year, bilateral trade touched \$18 billion and an aggressive goal of \$50 billion is set to be reached by 2010. These numbers may seem low looking at China's overall trade numbers but the trajectory is on a fast track and China, which is currently the second largest trading partner of India may replace the US to be the largest trading partner within the next few years.

Indian companies have invested in industries like pharmaceuticals, IT, electronics, engineering goods, auto components and diamonds. The way Indian companies have taken advantage of Chinese power in manufacturing and market, Chinese companies have responded with equal vigour. Huawei has already invested \$100 million in India in R&D and has committed a further \$150 million. Their revenue from India was around \$300 million last year. Haier considers India a very important market and had set a revenue target of \$65 million last year (from India).

The company has struck local alliances with Whirlpool and Voltas and more strategic alliances are on the cards. Apart from the private sector, there has been action in public sector too. We have seen the government moving from competition to co-operation in important sectors such as energy after realising that working together is going to be in their best interest.

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China focusing its energies on innovation

Hiren Doshi

The dragon is investing billions of dollars in research to move away from the tag of being an imitator of global brands

Innovation has played a big role in rise of America in the forefront of economic and military power in the last century. In today's world, innovation is even more vital for emerging economies to compete with their more developed cousins in the face of highly integrated and globalized 21st century economy. This century will no doubt be run by innovators; those who are able to translate today's ideas into tomorrow's path-breaking products and services not just for home market but for the global market. Computer, which itself is one of mankind's most remarkable innovations, along with software and internet has unleashed unique ability to collaborate across the boundaries like never before, which is one of the most critical elements for successful innovation in this century. Technology is a great leveler and can produce dominant player from any country in any industry within years. This is sure to change the pecking order of innovation superiority in the coming decades if not years. India and China are the leading contenders amongst the emerging economies on global stage to steal the limelight of being the next generation innovators.

Historically America has played the father figure role of being the world's innovation leader in almost all sectors ranging from agriculture, technology, manufacturing and services. Japan followed close behind and enjoyed its time at the top in 1990s. India and China are moving in that direction albeit with a slightly different agenda and scale. Both India and China are late comers to the innovation party and hence find themselves at the bottom on many statistics used to measure national innovation system. Some of the best brains who invent and innovate in US are of Indian and Chinese origins. But it takes much more than sheer brain power to be on the cutting edge of innovation and more importantly on a sustainable basis. Some of the key factors that contributes to culture of Innovation society includes investment in and quality of education, infrastructure which facilitates collaboration, institutions that fosters knowledge dissemination, Business network that can exploit commercial value and law enforcement which protects the inventors and invention. However both countries are learning quickly and have made rapid strides in many of the above areas leapfrogging their developed counterparts just as Japan and Germany did long time ago.

China had a rich tradition of innovation in the past and is quite well known for innovation in compass, gunpowder, iron casting, printing, porcelain, iron casting, shipbuilding, etc. These days it is in media for all the wrong reasons. Take a walk down the silk market alley in China and you mostly witness mass manufactured

goods and knock offs of renowned brands and pirated DVDs of Hollywood blockbusters. China adopted a fast track growth path from 1980s by attracting FDI through open door policy resulting in relocation of world's factories to China at an astonishing scale. These factories produced goods which were designed abroad at the cheapest price and reasonable quality. Although technology transfer was always at the core of all local relationships that MNC had with Chinese government and Chinese companies, the culture was predominantly of cost reduction leveraging economies of scale and not of fostering innovation. While this has started to change lately, it typically takes a generation if not more to inculcate the culture of innovation in the society and create the ecosystem of institution to sustain and derive commercial value.

Apart from "harmonious society" the second most frequently used phrase amongst the Chinese politicians and elite is "Innovation" these days. The Chinese government would like to see China move up on the value chain – from "Manufactured in China" to "Designed in China". In the last decade or so China has made significant investment in strengthening national innovation system. Investment and Quality in Education, Volume of R&D activities, Infrastructure and Policies are the 4 main pillars for National Innovation System.

On education front, China has invested in world class primary and secondary education system which is far ahead of India. It boasts of a literacy rate of more than 90% for all citizens above 15 years of age. China spends almost 3.3% of its GDP on education which is far higher than India in absolute value. While India scores better than China in higher education front. Both India and China combined produces half a million of engineering graduate each year as compared of mere 60,000 in US. China has witnessed a surge in engineering graduate rates since late nineties partly due to change in government policy to transform the science and engineering education from "elite education" to "mass education". However the quality of education remains a big concern as number of institutes or the teachers have not kept pace with this increase in enrollment in engineering programs of more than 140% over last 5 years.

One more factor which fuels China's development in this regard is the reverse brain drain which has picked up in the last few years. With the quality of lifestyle improving significantly in china and opportunities abound, it is estimated that more than 30% of Chinese Students returns back to home country after

finishing higher education overseas. Equally strong is rush of overseas working Chinese wanting to return back to motherland for better opportunities bringing back years of experience working in MNC in various streams. It is well known that while Indians in US are credited for starting new businesses, the Chinese are known for creating the most intellectual property.

China spends almost US\$ 30 billion on basic and applied research with a little less than a million researchers involved directly and a whopping 42 million people involved indirectly in R&D activities. Much of the “development” research spend, which is far higher than basic and applied research, is contributed by over 700 odd R&D centers setup by MNC in China over last couple of decades. The pace of these R&D centers mushrooming in China have picked up in recent years with rise of purchasing power of Chinese consumers. The centers which were initially setup as lip service to government’s demand for technology transfer are now being taken seriously by MNC, more money is being pumped in, bright talent being hired and converted into innovation labs researching in product customization for Chinese market and in some cases innovating products even for world market.

More than 20 silicon wafer fabrication plants are being built by MNC in China. Intel, the world’s largest semiconductor maker, said this March it would invest \$2.5 billion to build a 12-inch wafer fabrication plant in Dalian. Using the 90-nanometer process technology, the facility is slated to churn out 52,000 pieces of chipsets each month upon its completion in 2010. The Dalian plant is the company’s first wafer fabrication plant in Asia. With a total investment of \$2.5 billion, the facility is one of China’s biggest-single foreign-financed projects. Some other MNC with significant R&D investment in China includes marquee names such as Microsoft, Motorola, Texas Instrument, GE, Caterpillar, Boeing, Nokia and SAP.

However China does face a challenge in attracting core product design activities due to its perceived weak IP protection and enforcement mechanism. While the regulations are well crafted to portray a matured IP protection regime, it is the enforcement mechanism that most of the people are skeptic about. This will only change when China becomes a serious contributor of indigenously developed IP and filing Patents themselves which will then demand a much stringent domestic IP protection regulatory and enforcement regime.

While most of the domestic players in China are imitators rather than innovators, handful of companies in some sectors has emerged as global players. Most of these are from industries such as consumer electronics which the government had opened up to foreign competition quite early and as a result forced the local companies to invest in product design, engineering and manufacturing to be competitive globally. Some others in strategic and highly regulated sector such as Automobile industry had ample time to learn from their MNC partners and have announced their ambition to be global player but have yet to make a dent on global scene yet.

China can be quite focused and effective in innovation and development of technologies in areas which it regards as strategic and of national importance. For instance, it has almost single handedly created the third global standard for 3G mobile technology called as TDS-CDMA. While China may not find any other country interested in adopting this standard, but it helps the government reinforce its message to the world that China wishes to be active participant in deciding global standards for future technologies and it has the technical might, political will and the largest consumer market to go along with it.

Other areas where China has made focused investment in R&D are Nanotechnology, Biotechnology, Material Science, Energy, Space technology, RFID, EVD, Audio Video Coding and few others. The goal is to reduce dependence on foreign science and technology by 30% and make China top in innovation in that field. To this effect, the Chinese government is developing national innovation system involving development of science parks. There are over 850 programs for high technology research and over 1000 programs for basic research. Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) has invested in creation of Science and technology innovation programs. Special attention and incentives are given to foster innovation in small and medium enterprises which was sorely lacking in the past. There are special incubation programs in partnership with top notch universities to facilitate startups by foreigners and by Chinese returning from overseas.

Another example - China has poured over US\$ 250 million in R&D of NanoScience and NanoTechnology over the last 15 years. To boost the R&D activities, it has setup the National Center for NanoScience and Technology, National Engineering Center for NanoTechnology and its Application and various outfits for commercialization of applied research.

As of today, more than 300 enterprises and 50 universities are involved in R&D activities for Nano-Science and Technology. Till date 15 standards on Nanotechnology have been issued by China.

China has done remarkably well as low cost manufacturing base for the world where the critical drivers are low price, scale and infrastructure. India has earned its name in IT enabled services sector and generic pharmaceuticals where prime drivers are availability of English speaking engineering talent, connectivity, expertise in chemistry and low cost quality manufacturing respectively. Both have been relatively busy tackling with more important burning issues such as rural migration, poverty, infrastructure development, better education, wealth distribution, jobs creation and so on. Very little energy was focused on development of Innovation ecosystem. But this is changing very quickly and MNC are playing a crucial role in exploiting the full potential of knowledge talent in both countries.

While it is tempting to engage in rat race to create a major world shaking technology, there is a unique opportunity for both countries to be innovative about areas and format in which it develops the national innovation system for future. It should encourage and support creation of institutions and ecosystem which fosters innovation addressing problems relevant for today and even more relevant for tomorrow such as agriculture productivity, green industrialization, renewable energy, fuel efficient mass transportation, low cost mass communication, low cost housing, etc. While creating world’s fastest supercomputer is matter of national pride, it may be even more important to design low cost computer that is affordable for all schools and the bottom rung in the society. While it is nice to design the world’s best cell phone, it is even more important to innovate in designing low cost mobile network making it profitable to connect even the most remote part of the country. While it may be good to construct the world’s tallest building, it is even more important to innovate how to make the economics of low cost housing work for millions who are homeless. The key question is can India and China rise to the challenge and foster sustainable, relevant and meaningful national innovation system given the socio-economic imperatives that faces both the countries.

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China: Agriculture

Reaping Rich Harvest

Chakrapani Ghanta

India and China have been recognized as agricultural countries for a long time. The agricultural scenario in India is pitiful compared to China, for the former galvanized all its efforts to lift agriculture to industrial status and has taken steps towards providing rural areas with a more urban look.

Recently, the contrast between the two countries has been widely captured by the media. Hence a deep insight into the two news stories gives us a clear picture of the standard of living of farmers in the two countries. One of the documents was released by a Chinese developmental research organization, which gives an in-depth analysis on the farmers' suicides between 1997 and 2005, of the causes for their distress, and the economic reforms that were in full play.

The report is based on a study conducted by Prof. K. Nagaraj of the Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS) and was published by The Hindu on November 12, 2007. It claims that about 150,000 farmers committed suicides during those seven years and the number is going up. The report revealed that while the number of suicides in 1997 was recorded at 14,000, it went beyond 17,000 in 2005, the report revealed. The number of Indians committing suicide each year rose from around 96,000 in 1997 to roughly 1.14 lakh in 2005. While the rise in farmers' suicides has been going on for over a decade, there have been sharp spurts in some years. For instance, during 2004 over 18,200 farmers' suicides had been committed across India. The year 1998, saw a huge increase as well, compared to the previous year. Farmers' suicides crossed the 16,000 mark, beating the preceding year by nearly 2,400 of such deaths. Farmers' suicides as a proportion of total suicides rose from 14.2% in 1997 to 15% in 2005. Professor Nagaraj also points to the Annual Compound Growth Rate (ACGR) "for suicides nationally, for suicides amongst farmers, and those committed using pesticides." The ACGR for all suicides in India over a nine-year period is 2.18 per cent. This is not very much higher than the

population growth rate. On the other hand, for farmers' suicides it is much higher, at nearly 3 (or 2.91)%. Powerfully, the ACGR for suicides committed by consuming pesticide was 2.5%, close to the figure for farmers' suicides. Such suicides are often linked to a crisis in the farm, with pesticide being the handiest tool available to the farmer. "There are clear, disturbing patterns and trends in both farmers' suicides and pesticide suicides." Although this is alarming, it still does not capture the full picture. The data on suicides is complex, and sometimes misleading. This is the case not just because of the flawed manner in which they are put together, or because of who puts them together, but because there are other problems as well. Farmers' suicides, as a percentage compared to the total number of farmers, is hard to calculate on a yearly basis. A clear national 'farmers' suicide rate' can be derived only for 2001 because we have a census that shows how many farmers there were in the country that year. For other years, that figures would be a conjecture, however plausible, says Professor Nagaraj.

Governments and the authorities should realize that the unkempt rural economy is on the slide, instead of boasting of economic reforms and growth rates. Farmers are facing severe hardships and are driven into distress, despair and suicides. It is surprising though that more suicides occur in the developed states.

The situation in China is completely different. In a concerted effort, farmers, farmers' unions and local industries have painted the rural landscape pink. A week before the report on suicides in India came out, on November 5, 2007, People's Daily Online published a survey of Chinese Rural-Urban Developmental Federation, prepared by the Chinese Association for Promoting Township and Village Development.

This report stated that Chinese villages and the rural economy are prospering with every day that passes. This year about 8,000 villages produced more than 100 million yuan (equivalent to 13.3 billion US dollars). Statistics from the Chinese Association for Promoting Township and Village Development says all these villages on the Chinese mainland have each generated wealth of 100 million yuan or more since the first of its kind emerged in 1987. According to the latest survey, the villages, including eleven of them

whose gross domestic product surpasses 10 billion yuan (1.3 billion US dollars) each, create a total of 1.6 trillion yuan of wealth. The survey shows more than 60 percent of the 100-million-yuan villages are located in eastern developed regions such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Jiangsu, Guangdong and Zhejiang.

The development of villages is mainly driven by special farming and raising industries, heavy industries, tourism, trade and commerce. Daqiu village, located in the suburbs of Tianjin, became the first 100-million-yuan village in 1987 on the Chinese mainland, driven by industries, such as steel and printing since the country started economic reform and opening-up policy in 1978.

In 2003, Huaxi village, in east China's Jiangsu Province, became the first village to generate 10 billion yuan of gross domestic product. China now has 600,000 villages. "The rich villages will play an active role in driving the underdeveloped rural areas in China through economic strength and experience," said Yang Yongzhe, a consultant to the association.

With focus on irrigation, village industries and other progressive plans could help China to earn 1.6 trillion dollars. Of the six lakh villages, about 10,000 villages prospered to a position which could be envied by cities with increased production. This does not mean that there is no poverty in China. More than 100,000 villages are reeling under poverty. Villages in coastal areas have seen that massive industrialization and market economy is in play. Prosperity bloomed in that part of the country.

The context in India is completely different. Imbalances shadow development and the lack of mechanism to proper distribution of wealth, plunged rural India into a deep crisis

Development of rural China is going in a planned manner. After the revolution, the Peoples' Republic of China has laid the necessary foundation for rural development through proper reforms. China has taken up major rural reforms in 1978, keeping in view the nationalization of land and commune farming experiences. As part of the reforms, China registered families in rural areas and introduced the "hukou" system, which supplies the authority information on manpower, families and natural resources, so they could make decisions on how to utilize these resources.

Land reforms were targeted so that fertile land is evenly distributed, besides giving proper protection. 84,000 new reservoirs were developed to regulate rain water to irrigate 20 million hectares of land. These radical measures taken up by the Chinese government increased water availability from 16 million hectares during the revolution to 50 million hectares of today.

In the second phase, the country modernized the agriculture sector and created a new record in increasing productivity. The number of tractors drastically increased from 1,300 in 1950 to seven lakh in 1999. The figure is estimated to be about 12 lakh today. China brought down the prices of agricultural implements and popularized its use among farmers. Agriculture was given 20 per cent of the budgetary allocation while it has taken steps to ensure that 10 to 15 per cent lending of banks account for agriculture sector.

All these measures enabled China to change its agriculture landscape. Ever since the advent of WTO, China initiated steps to increase exports and cut down imports. The balance of payments of China is very healthy and the gap is narrow. This could be possible through proper planning.

The rural economy got a boost with decentralization of power to local bodies, providing unrestricted trade to farmers, encouraging agro-based industries. Investments in rural areas formed part of the plan.

The fruits of research were disseminated to farming communities by the scientists while the budget for agro-based research was increased three-fold. It germinated new breeds for main crops like paddy, cotton and soya bean. Not just agriculture but budget allocation for rural development is being taken care of by the government. Developing infrastructure like roads and irrigation is adding lush to the verdant villages.

During 2006, around 20 billion dollars was pumped into the villages and 325,000 rural roads were laid.

Agencies like the UN 'recognize' that the boom in rural economy helped poverty alleviation in China. There are at least 80 - 100 million people on the move in China as a result of poverty in the rural areas. Estimates of the extent of poverty vary depending on which indicators one chooses. Using the government's poverty line, the number of China's rural poor decreased dramatically from 250 million in 1978 (30% of the rural population) to 42 million in 1998 (4.6% of the rural population). Using a standard international poverty line of \$1 per day would result in a substantially greater number of absolute poor, so the rate of reduction of people living in poverty is still to be confirmed. Further the report says "When poverty is measured in terms of nutrition, it often seems similar to that measured by the official income poverty line". It observes that over one billion people live above the poverty line in China. Relatively speaking, Indian progress, despite its

vast and rich resources, is growing at a snail's pace. Though the extent of land in China is more, India has more cultivable land. China, the second largest country in the world, has a cultivable land of about 130 million hectares while the figure is about 161 million hectares in our country. In China land under irrigation is pegged at 54.5 million hectares while in India it is 55.5 million hectares. Land holdings in our country are much more than in China. Land reforms reduced the holding to 0.4 hectares there while in India the extent is about 1.4 hectares. Still the progress is not up to the desired extent as it could achieve 2.5 per cent growth rate

During the past 15 years China achieved a growth rate between four and five per cent which could enrich farmers. A comparative study of crop pattern between the two countries would reveal difference in approach. During 2003-05 the average yield of food grains in India was 3,034 kg per hectare in paddy, while the yield in China during the same period was two-fold at 6, 233 kg per hectare. While the yield per hectare of wheat was 4,155 kg there it was 2,688 kg per hectare in India.

The changes that took place in the field of agriculture field during the past two decades resulted in higher yield per hectare. In 1980 horticulture ratio between the two countries was 55:60 million tones in favour of China. By 2003 China reached 450 million tones while India had to settle at 135 tons. The agriculture yield was not just in paddy, wheat, cotton, soya, vegetables and fruits but medicines, livestock and aqua culture were also modernized.

However, the rural-urban divide in China is growing. The government identified new rural areas for development to address this problem. It has launched various schemes to take care of insurance, medical and education needs of the populace in the most backward areas. Orders were issued to cut down the fees in educational institutions in backward regions. Subsidy on agriculture implements was increased to 50 per cent in these areas by pumping in huge sums to restructure the rural areas.

China recently released its first major document of the year which calls for the construction of a "new socialist countryside" as the foremost task facing China in the 2006-2010 five-year period. The document embraces a set of ideas set forth by the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and the State Council. It's the third consecutive time since 2004 that agriculture, farmers and countryside development have been the first document of the central authorities, showing the government's determination to solve problems in rural areas.

The document said that the next five years will be key to laying a solid foundation for the new socialist countryside construction. Its aim is to boost modern agriculture, develop new relationships between industry and agriculture,

cities and countryside, and to increase rural affluence.

The ideas set forth by the central authorities listed eight policy priorities to promote the reconstruction of the countryside:

- Plan economic, social development in urban, rural areas as a whole, and firmly promote construction of the new countryside;
- Boost modern agriculture to consolidate industrial support to the new countryside construction;
- Ensure sustained increases of farmers' income to lay a solid rural economic foundation;
- Increase infrastructure construction in rural areas to improve rural material conditions;
- Accelerate development of public services in the countryside and encourage new farmers;
- Deepen comprehensive rural reform to guarantee systematic protection for rural people;
- Improve democracy in rural areas and perfect rural management;
- Enhance leadership and motivate all party members and the entire society to care, support and participate in the construction of a new countryside.

As mentioned in the document constructing a new socialist countryside is an important historic task in the process of China's modernization. It is because, the document clearly says "with more than 800 million people living in the countryside, the only way to ensure sustainable development of the national economy and continuous expansion of domestic demand is to develop the rural economy and help farmers to become more affluent".

In China, agriculture and villages are listed as 'top priority' now, as well as providing money to develop villages. The government in India, on the other hand, is relegating agriculture in the priority list.

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THE COMPARISON OF CHINA AND INDIA WITH THE VIEW OF NATIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM

WU XIAOBO

Abstract: There are different development modes and innovation patterns behind China and India's fast economy growth. National Innovation System has built an effective frame of economy growth in knowledge-orientated period. Under the background of National Innovation System, the essay analyzes China and India's innovation system from three parts, including innovation environment subsystem, innovation operation system and innovation economy performance, and comment on the basis of comparison.

1. Introduction

Recent years, as China and India develops constantly in terms of economy and comprehensive power, the comparative study of China and India has not only enjoy a world-wide attention among various kinds of media, but also attract attention from science and policy study. On one hand, the two countries have something in common as is known in many perspectives. The two are both civilized ancient countries, and have both experienced comparatively similar, painful process of economy and politics development. After World War II, both were politically independent, and devote to developing economy. On the other hand, both have taken on different modes and characteristics, Kenneth Rogoff, the professor of Harvard University once composed an essay and compared the competition of China and India as the racing between tortoise and rabbit, in other word, India may exceed China early or late.

People with different academic backgrounds give different explanations from various perspectives while comparing China with India. The Dragon and Elephant Competition between China and India forwarded first by HUANG Yasheng, a scholar from MIT pointed out that the fact that China has introduced a great amount of FDI, and FDI is warmly welcomed actually reflects some defects of Chinese economy rather than strengths, even a foreign investment reliance, while India has surpassed China from a microcosmic perspective and will be a competitor. The following studies compare China and India's software and hardware fundamental facilities and find India has advantage in terms of software fundamental facility and even some key areas of promoting economy. Kapil Sibal, the minister of Science and Technology of India once made a comparison during the visit in China in 2006. He holds that the main feature of China's Socialist Market-oriented Economy is driven by government, lead by industry, accompanied by inner high-savings, large-scale investment of fundamental facilities, foreign direct investment and expansion of foreign trade, which considers both internal need and external relations. However, India's development mode is unique, which values consumption rather than investment, internal need

rather than export, service industry rather than industry, high-tech industry rather than labor-intensive, low-tech industry, which enforces India a stronger resistance towards depression of global economy and shows a strong tenacity and a long-term economy stable growth. The economy growth of India shows the contribution of knowledge-oriented economy, the software industry and Business Processing Outsourcing (BPO) and a strong development of bio-medicine industry, what is more, an impetus of "world office" lead by Indian economy.

The discussion of the comparison between the two countries' economy in academia in China is increasing. Resent research tend to keen on an overall discussion from a certain perspective, such as the comparison of the ability to attract foreign investment and the method, the comparison of the development of the two countries' service industry, the environment of industry development or a competitive power comparison or a certain industry's comparison like software, etc. Viewing "the comparison between China and India" from China's perspective, and learning from it seem more meaningful, however, as for the long-term trend of the two countries' economy development, the present literature keen on narration, and the proof seems not enough, the conclusion always falls into a paradox.

From the statistics, the economy development of the two countries is both fast, and the rating is quite similar, then, which country will own a permanent power and advantage in the future? We believe that the technology competitive power is a key index. According to the 2006-2007 Global Competitive Power Report forwarded by 2006 World Economy Forum, China falls behind India, respectively No.54 and No.43, while 2006 World Competitive Power Yellow Book issued by Lausanne International Management School in Swiss shows that mainland China ranks higher than India (Respectively Scored 71.554 and 64.416, ranking 19 and 29), it is obvious that it is difficult to directly compare the technology competitive power of the two countries, while the innovation elements and its assortments are different in different countries, which decides the performance

of a country's innovation, the extent of the combination of technology activity and economy action of one country, the easiness of innovation, thus constitutes the innovation system of various countries' innovation system. The essay tries to analyze the background and environment elements that constitute technology power, and investigate some key indexes of the two countries' national innovation system, thus to gain some references of the two's economy development.

2. Theoretical Background and Methodology

From the concept of Technology Innovation to National Innovation System reflects a further understanding of the relations between technology and economy development. In late 1970s, Lundvall put forward that users and suppliers play key roles to technology innovation, which becomes a rudiment of a concept that technology is a systematic concept. Freeman, a famous scholar in Britain discovered during the visit in Japan in 1987 that the technology innovation of Japan was mainly out of gradual innovation rather than formal research and development, and the innovators were mainly engineers in production sectors and technology workers in workshops. They keen on a dominant power of technology innovation, assisted by organizational innovation and systemic innovation. Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry also plays an important role chasing after technology. On the basis of inspecting Japan, Freeman proposed the concept of National Innovation System. After that, Nelson and Lundvall further developed the concept of National Innovation System.

Freeman and other scholars insist that the essence of National Innovation System actually is a system and institution that related to innovation, which decide the relate and interact power of promoting knowledge's creation, diffusion and application among companies, universities, research institutions, intermediate institutions, and finance institutions. In a word, National Innovation System is a different method interpreting the national economy development race from a perspective of system (Freeman, 1997). From this perspective, Cimoli and other scholars proposed a method of measuring the power of National Innovation System. They believed that the ability of a country decides the technology ability of the country, e.g. the ability of solving technology and organizational problems by enterprises, institutions and countries, while the performance of the country is its competitive power and industrial growth power, between power and performance is National Innovation System. When it is appropriately organized, National Innovation System is a forceful engine; oppositely, innovation will be restricted.

Academia of our country has done some fundamental research towards theory of national

innovation. When it comes to national innovation system judging index, some scholars analyze it from several perspectives, including the main effect of national innovation system, fundamental nature, and moving rules and believe that national innovation system is a multilayer system, multivariable, multi-subsystem under a dynamic external environment, including 4 elements, including innovation impetus, innovation resources, innovation movement and innovation values. The innovation of national innovation system is accomplished by 3 systemic processes, respectively innovation driven system (innovation movement transferred by innovation impetus), innovation marketing process (innovation value transferred by innovation movement) and innovation feedback system (new innovation impetus introduced innovation values). The three systems constitute the basic mode of national innovation, under which the effects and combination of various types of elements in national innovation system will result in various innovation results. Basic rules of innovation driven system contain two key stages. One is called innovation principal integration period, in which various innovation policies will lead to various kinds of combinations of national innovation principals, the other is named innovation resource optimization deploy, that is, the combination of innovation principal and other innovation resources. Essentially, national innovation always results in an upgrade of national resources, further more, to conduct a higher level innovation process. The above thoughts are concluded to be the basic modes of national innovation, which is the so-called national innovation system mode as 4-3-2-1 shows. We can start from the mode of national system mode, and then deepen the four elements, and build a correspondent index system.

Take the category of OECD for reference, national innovation system includes 4 principal parts including knowledge innovation system, technology innovation system, knowledge transmission system and knowledge application system. Knowledge innovation system is a net system constituted by institutions and organizations which relate to the production, diffusion and transmission. (Knowledge innovation refers to a process of gaining knowledge about new fundamental science and technology science through scientific research). The core principal part is national science and research institutions (including national scientific research institutions and sector scientific research institutions) and teaching scientific research universities. Technology innovation system a net system constituted by institutions and organizations which relate to the whole process of technology innovation, the core part is enterprises. Knowledge transmission system mainly refers to higher education system and profession training system, the main affect is to cultivate human resources capable of comparatively high skills, new knowledge and innovation

ability, the main function is the real application of knowledge and technology. The main index of national innovation system now is rendered by investment, utilization and output of R&D.

Based on the understanding of national innovation system from above research, taking the evaluation framework of national innovation system announced by domestic scholars, this study simplifies China and India's national innovation system into three parts, including innovation environment sub-system, innovation operation system and innovation economy performance.(see figure 1)

Figure 1: National innovation system summary chart

According to the above research framework, and with full consideration of the availability of involved data in two countries, we construct the national innovation system evaluation indexes from the three parts. The entire Evaluation system, including absolute indicators, relative indicators and growth indicators.(see Table 1)



Table 1: National innovation system evaluation Index

Main index	Sub-index	Third index
innovation environment	Scientific research institution organization structure	
	Infrastructure	1. Mobile telephone communications 2. Highway 3. Railway
	Education	1. Financial education investment 2. The percentage of financial education investment in GDP 3. Literacy (above 15 years old) 4. The percentage of people with high education diploma
innovation operation	R&D Input	1. Researchers in R&D 2. R&D researchers per million population 3. Spending on R&D 4. The percentage of R&D expenditure in GDP 5. R&D expenditure distribution
	R&D Output	1. Scientific and technical article 2. Scientific and technical article per million population 3. Patents granted by US. Patent Office 4. Patent applications granted by US. Patent Office per million population
	R&D Efficiency	1. US\$ 1000s of R&D spending per scientific and technical article 2. US\$ millions of R&D spending per patent granted
economy performance	Economic growth	1. GDP 2. GDP growth rate
	Industry Structure	1. Share of the Three Industries to the Increase of GDP 2. Proportion of high-tech in GDP

3. The Comparison of China and India's National Innovation System

3.1 Innovation Environment Subsystem

Innovation Environment subsystem is a key to the capability of national innovation system. Technology innovation system involves in many elements. The essay compares the two countries' s innovation environment from several perspectives including scientific research institutions organization, the development extent of innovation infrastructure, innovation human resources.

3.1.1 Scientific research institution organization structure

China and India have some similar structure features in terms of scientific research

organizational structure. China has established some large-scale comprehensive scientific research institutions such as China Science Institution and China Social Science Institution, The Ministry of Technology, Agriculture, Irrigation and many other Ministries establish professional comprehensive institutions. Besides, there are key universities of research type, which constitute the principal part of national technology scientific innovation. In entire national technology activities in India, central government takes charge of science and technology development policy and plan, supports R&D activities and technology transfer and some work in other areas or links,. While state governments' institutions and university research institutions keen on incorporating local resource, support and

coordinate technology activities mainly for solving local real problems. The scientific institutions belong to the government are subordinate to different social economy departments, government minister its subordinate research institutions directly.

3.1.2 Infrastructure of innovation

Infrastructure is considered as carriers of a variety of flowing factors of Country or Region innovation. We select developing level of carriers containing information and knowledge, such as mobile telephone, internet, computer, as well as quantity and efficiency of carriers of the interflow of goods and materials, for example, highway, railway, as evaluation standard.

Table 2: Infrastructure Comparison

Index of Infrastructure		China	India
Mobile telephone communications	Number of telephone masterstrokes of one thousand	205.00	46.28
	Number of mobile telephones of one thousand	210.20	24.17
	Number of computers of one thousand	27.6	7.2
	Number of Netizens of one thousand	63.25	17.49
Highway	Quantity of miles	1765222	3315231
	Rotation volume of good transport	6782.5	null
Railway	Quantity of miles	73000	63140
	Rotation volume of good transport	17246.70	3332.28

Data Source: China Statistical Yearbook 2006, Indian government budget and economic research website, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/>

From Table 2, we could see that index of mobile telephone in China is apparently better than that in India. And there is no big difference between these two countries in quantity of highway and railway, but China has better utility efficiency of the interflow of goods than India, which reflects that the quality of infrastructure in India is worse than that in China. That is to say, the weakness of infrastructure is the bottleneck of the

manufacturing development in India. According to some reports, the average cost of infrastructure in India is 1.5 to 2 times as much as that in China except telecommunication, the blockage of highway and railway make the transport time cost increase greatly. In the other hand, trade and financial double deficit in India restrict the ability of the government in improving the infrastructure.

3.1.3 Innovate human resource

The quality and quantity of innovate human resource directly influence the cost and efficiency of innovate human production, further have effect on behavior of innovation itself. We evaluate their levels of innovate human resource by comparing the investment and production of the two countries' educations.

Table 3: Education system comparison

Index of input and output of education	China	India
Education investment	3850.6	2689.5
The percentage of financial education investment in GDP(%)	3.3	5.0
Literacy (above 15 years old)(%)	88.4	61.3
The percentage of people with high education diploma(%)	5.2	16.2

Data Source: China Statistical Yearbook 2006, Indian government budget and economic research website, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/>

According to the data in 2003, the quantity of financial education investment in China is more than that in India, but the relative quantity in China is still low, such as the percentage of financial education investment in GDP is 3.32. at the most, which is lower than that in India. And relative quantity in India reaches the level of developed countries. According to the comparison of data in Table 2, we think that basic education in China is more successful than that in India, the quantity of people who could not read in China is less than that in India, but the high education in India is better than that in China. India extremely emphasizes on the cultivation and utility of technical people, expands the high education especially the high education of engineering, intensify the science research. India has achieved success in economy especially IT industry, which high education has great influence on.

3.2 Innovation operating subsystem

The two countries focus on R&D in the recent two years. As the increasing of investment,

the utility efficiency of cost in R&D has been improved, which could be reflected in nuclear technology, space technology, and biological technology. According to the comparison of data of the investment and production in the two countries, we could find out the advantage and disadvantage of innovation individually.

In the investment of R&D, the common evaluation index of investment is the quantity of engineers and funding for R&D. From Table 4, the quantity of engineers in China is about 8 times as many as that in India in 2004.

The expenditure of R&D in China increased greatly from 2002. In 2004, it is the 1.44% of GDP. Although the percentage is still lower than that in developed countries, usually 2-3%, the distance is shorten gradually. In the form of activity type, the basic research funding is 13.12 billion, application research funding is 43.35 billion, experiment development funding is 188.53 billion, their proportions is orderly 5.4%, 17.7% and 76.9%. In the 2006-2020 National Technology

Long-term Plan, it demonstrates that the goal proportion of expenditure of R&D in GDP in China is 2% in 2010 and 2.5% in 2020. In the recent twenty years, the proportion of expenditure of R&D in GDP in India is between 0.8%-0.9%, 70% of it is from the government investment. According to data published by the department of Indian technology, the basic research funding is 17.6%, application research funding is 39.9%, experiment development funding is 33.3% in national technology investment. Private departments, for instance, information communication technology, automobile, pharmacy industry have greater proportions in the last few years.

Table 4: Comparison of innovation input and output in China and India

Index		China	India
Researchers in R&D		926,252	117,528
R&D researchers per million population		708	119
Spending on R&D (US dollars billion)		27.8	5.9
The percentage of R&D expenditure in GDP(%)		1.44	0.85
R&D expenditure distribution(%)	Basic research	5.4	17.6
	Applied research	17.7	39.9
	Development	76.9	76.9
Scientific and technical article		29,186	12,774
US\$ 1000s of R&D spending per scientific and technical article		953	462
Scientific and technical article per million population		22.7	12.0
Patents granted by US. Patent Office		597	376
US\$ millions of R&D spending per patent granted		46.6	15.7
Patent applications granted by US. Patent Office per million population		0.46	0.34

Data source: China National statistic bureau, Indian science and industry research department, world bank in 2006

In the output of R&D, the number of Chinese science papers increases fast. Although it also happens in India, the quantity in China is two times as many as that in India in 2003, from the situation of the reference of science papers, the production of Chinese technology papers is better than that of India. We should pay attention to

that India have better efficiency, the expenditure of R&D per patent and paper is lower than China, since India has advantage in the research of human resource. In some statistic reports, the cost of Chinese researchers is 20%-50% higher than peers in India

3.3 Innovation performance subsystem

The merit of innovation system in a country ultimately embodies on the contribution to economic increase. We could evaluate the economic performance of innovation system in the two countries by GDP, industry structure, production international competitive strength, average income per person.

Table 5: economic performance comparisons

Index of innovation performance		China	India
2006 GDP		27,000	8000
GDP growth rate	1990-2000	10.6	6.0
	2000-2005	9.5	6.8
	2005-2006	9.9	8.5
GDP per capita		1700	720
Industry Structure (2006)	Three industry ratio	12.6: 47.5: 39.9	22: 27: 51
	Proportion of high-tech in GDP	4.0	4.75

Data Source: China Statistical Yearbook 2006, Indian government budget and economic research website, <http://indiabudget.nic.in/>, and world bank, www.worldbank.org.

From Table 5, the two countries develop very fast in the recent years. China has better performance in economy development by earlier market reform and reception of world industry transfer. At the present, GDP in China is more than two times as much as that in India, and the develop speed is still high. But deeply analyzing, we see that India has better increase from 2000. It could not be separated from the development of information technology and other high-tech industries in knowledge economy background. Three industry ratio in the two countries could testify the name of world factory and world office for China and India. In the proportion of output value of high-tech industry in GDP, India is better than China.

4 Implication

By analysis of environmental, running, performance of the innovation system in the two countries, we could simply conclude as follow.

1. Research organization structure in the two countries are both in the leading of governments. China has apparent advantage in innovation infrastructure. But in human resource, China should increase the investment for education in one hand, and in the other hand, China should improve the high education to cultivate more engineers.
2. By analysis of innovation running system, we could see that China has apparent advantage in the investment for innovation. But the

competitive strength is not above India in the world. In some extent, we could see the problems of our national researchers structure, lack of high level researchers. And more important is that India has higher efficiency of input and output than China, it is really worthy considering.

3. R&D expenditure in GDP in the two countries is still low. Although R&D expenditure increase fast in China, most of it is concentrated on experiment development and applied research, basic research investment is extremely low. And India has more reasonable ratio for R&D expenditure. In the long term, it could has good effect on Indian technology development.

4. Innovation performance subsystem could reflect that the economic development of India has greater potential in the background of knowledge economy. Although economy quantity index in China is higher than that in India, India has the economic form led by three industry, which is more worthy paying attention to.

In one word, innovation systems in the two countries are both in the initial stage of national innovation system form under market economy conditions as the economy development, which has proceeded for a long time and is proceeding now. Deep analysis of the same and different points of innovation systems in the two countries could help the development of nation innovation systems in knowledge economy period according to the laws of economy and technology development, which further pushes the sustained economy development.

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中国“房奴”和印度“贫民窟主” ——写在《物权法》尚未颁布之际 郭宇宽

现在中国朋友聚会聊聊天下大势，很难不谈到房价问题。外地朋友聚会，房价成了提升地区自信心的最主要指标，哪个地方房价高，那个地方的人身板儿都高了一截，特别是来自中西部地区或者浙江江苏农村的朋友聚到一起一个说：“我们那儿房价也上伍千了。”那个就会接上，“这算什么，咱们那儿都上六千了。”言下之意，别以为就上海北京牛逼，看谁还敢小瞧咱们，那口气跟赫鲁晓夫和尼克松在厨房辩论社会主义优越性一样。

不过前一段时间，一个印度孟买的朋友把北京上海的威风都给灭了。聊到房价问题，她说孟买象样点的高档公寓楼平均得4000美金每平方米，说的举座皆惊，要知道人均GDP印度可远远没有赶上中国啊。去年年底我去了一趟印度，发现此言非虚，孟买的房价水平足以灭了上海北京经济崛起的优越感。

能在孟买买一套体面公寓的，在印度社会中绝对属于上层社会，这样的公寓通常有不错的社区环境，穿着制服的保安，小区里甚至有网球场和游泳池。要买这样一套公寓即使对于政府公务员或者教师一类的中产阶级工薪阶层来说，也是极为吃力的。而且印度不像中国一样有房价双轨制，一些干部可以买到远低于市场价格的房子，印度的军人，公务员，大学教授很多可以享受不错的住房，不过一旦离职就要搬出去。

在中国房价的上升已经给大量尚未买房的人带来了巨大的心理压力，唯恐以后再无立锥之地，所以哪怕背上巨额贷款也要买房，没有房子的人和咬紧牙关买了房子的人但转而成“房奴”的人与地产开发商之间几乎已经产生了阶级对立？那么在印度这种矛盾岂不是要更加尖锐？

在孟买贫富差距是如此明显，由于法律对迁徙权和乞讨权的保护，孟买涌入了大量寻求生计的人，让很多中国人到印度会感到得意的，孟买和上海相比从外观看一点都不像国际化大都市的样子，可以用脏乱差来形容，乞讨者随处可见，高楼大厦边上就是挨着贫民窟。不知道这些住在贫民窟里的人看着高楼大厦会是什么心情，他们大概一辈子买不起这样的公寓。

和那些公寓相比，贫民窟简直是地狱，成片低矮的小房子和二十年前上海的棚户区差不多，拥挤不堪，一个不到十平米的小屋子，可以住上一家五口人，甚至更多，环境也极不敢恭维，杂乱无章，没有绿化，没有运动场所，孩子们只有在街道上打板球。但是奇怪的是，这些住在贫民窟里的人似乎很有些悠然自得，大概也和和印度人乐天知命的民族性格有关系，作为外国人如果你路过表示一点点好奇，他们就会主动邀请你进他们的“寒舍”坐坐，这些住在贫民窟的人丝毫没有扭捏，不好意思的表示，还会给你端上特别甜腻的印度茶，大方给你展示他们在那里睡觉，哪里洗衣服，哪里做饭，还会给你打开家里的电视机，指给你看他养了一缸金鱼。。。。。

尽管这些住在贫民窟里的人通常教育程度不高，还会主动用口音很重的英语有一句没一句地和你聊天，“你是日本人么？”“奥，中国，太好了，我喜欢中国。”无论大人孩子孩子眼中都分明有一种自豪感，既有为自己的房子的

Chinese ‘house slaves’ and Indian ‘slum owners’

-- When the Property Law is about to be published
Guo Yukuan

When talking about the general social trend in a friend gathering, housing price is an inevitable topic. When meet up for a chat, friends from different cities tend to take the housing price in their city as an indicator of their confidence. The higher housing price from their area can even boost their confidence. This is especially true among people from middle west area or the villages in Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces. When one announces proudly ‘The housing price in our area has reached 5,000’, another will follow up immediately, ‘It’s nothing compared with that in our area. Over 6,000 already!’ They try to imply that besides the cosmopolitans such as Beijing and Shanghai, their areas are with great potential too, in a way that Khrushchev and Nixon would argue in the kitchen about the advantages of socialism.

Not long ago, an Indian friend from Mumbai undermined the self-importance of Beijing and Shanghai. When talking about housing prices, she told us that the price of an apartment building with reasonably high quality in Mumbai was USD 4,000/m² on average. It is really shocking, given the far less GDP per capita in India than that in China. My Indian trip late last year proved this to be true. And that indicator is indeed strong enough to undermine the superiority of Beijing and Shanghai, gained from the economy growth.

If one can afford a decent apartment in Mumbai, he/she is undoubtedly the upper class in India. Usually it is a nice neighborhood with tennis courts and swimming pools, and security guards in uniforms. Such an apartment is usually unaffordable even for salary-earning middle class, such as government officials or teachers. In China, there are two housing price systems, which offer to sell some apartments at prices much lower than the market. The case in India is different. Nice places are provided to people serving the army, the government officials, and university professors only when they are in the positions.

In China, the rising housing price caused substantial stress on those who haven’t bought their own places. People would rather buy a place with a huge amount of mortgage, in fear that they lose the space to live. Those who haven’t their own places, or those who have in exchange of their own ‘freedom’ have developed bitter hatred against the real estate developers, as strong as class antagonism. Is the situation in India likely to be even more severe?

There exists a drastic contrast between the rich and the poor in Mumbai. But due to the legal protection on the rights to move and to beg, an influx of people comes to seek livelihoods. To Chinese pride, Mumbai doesn’t appear a metropolitan at all, compared with Shanghai. It is dirty and chaotic. Beggars are everywhere and the slums next to skyscrapers. I wondered how the slummers felt, looking at skyscrapers which they can never afford.

Compared with the apartments, the slums are almost hell. Clusters of small rooms are just similar to the Shanty Town in Shanghai, fully packed with a family of five or more in a tiny room of less than 10 m². No compliment to the environment either! Chaos, no green, no playground. Children can only play cricket in the street. But the slummers seemed to feel surprisingly at ease and relaxed, which might be explained with the nation’s optimism. If you show any curiosity as a foreigner, they would happily you to their ‘shabby home’. They won’t feel embarrassed or shy, instead, will serve you with very sweet Indian tea, and willingly show you the place to sleep, to do laundry, to cook, maybe to turn on TV and show you his tank of goldfish...

Not being well-educated, the slummers are still willing to greet you at times in English with strong Indian accent, ‘Are you from Japan?’ ‘Wow, China, great, I like it.’ Both adults and children are obviously proud of their rooms, and also of bringing a foreign guest in front of the neighbors. I felt amazed by one word I heard here. The people living here are called ‘slum-owners’. Very amusing. Yes, we stay in the slum, but as owners!

How can they be 'owners'? In Chinese standards, these rooms are absolutely illegal, built by some homeless or immigrants in the deserted corners, such as along the railway, near the garbage area. The Indian Institution grants its people the rights to move, and to vote where you get registered. It also stipulates that its people have the rights to decide where to move, which seems ridiculous. I asked my Indian friends whether it really means anywhere you choose to, then how about a tent in front of the Prime Minister's residence as a neighbor of his? Or to have a tent in someone else's private garden? According to them, that is not a problem theoretically, but can be very difficult practically because the owner can always drive you away from his private land. However, once you manage to stay in one such place for a period of time, such as one year, no one is entitled to drive you away any more. That is similar to Rousseau's theory of contract: acquiescing is also regarded as one form of contract. I found this very true later. In many residences and gardens for the rich, there are a sign 'Private property, no tent!'

Nowadays, several millions of slummers come to own the land in this way. Their reasoning is that we took this piece of land when it was deserted; so there's no way to drive us away when it becomes more valuable now. A large area of slum is in the prime location of Mumbai, which is far more expensive than that in Beijing and Shanghai. More than 80% of the housing price at USD 4,000/m² comes from the land value. Even if the slummers can be reallocated to suburbs with rooms ten times as big, it is still a very good bargain for the government or the developer. Moreover, it's not difficult to find excuses such as renovation of the old houses.

To make people move by force can never work in India, especially in such a large area of slums packed with slummers. Each of them is extremely difficult to handle, and one careless action may, at any time, trigger demonstrations or even riots. Moreover, the politicians will lose votes if they offend the 'slum owners'. It is impossible to make them move without compensating them in the preferred ways. These facts cause the huge cost to move the owners and destroy the old houses, and in turn mainly account for the unreasonably high housing price in Mumbai. Compared with China, the real estate industry in India doesn't have exorbitant profits. The grassroots are the group enjoying the most benefits from land revaluation. I was surprised to know that according to a medium in 2006, only six of the top 500 richest people in India came from the real estate industry.

In this way, the high apartment price turned out to be beneficial for the 'slum owners'. Instead of feeling jealous, they mock at the rich. I heard from more than one person the comment 'The rich should spend more of their fortune'. The lives of the 'slum owners' are not as miserable as we imagine. Although generally referred to as the slums, some of them get developed when the owners improve their financial conditions. A large number of them even have air-conditioners, a luxury in India. Even considerable amount of civil servants in the government and teachers rent the places in the slums for economical reasons. The government also establishes some practical public infrastructures such as hospitals, schools.

In India, the slummers are not necessarily people in extreme poverty. They lead a stable and happy life here, often work nearby or start their own businesses, or sometimes even workshops. In some areas, some cooperatives or businesses with local characteristics are set up, for instance, some are famous for producing jewelry while some for potteries... After having their own properties, and even being able to afford apartments, they still prefer to stay in the slums because their 'factories' are here. It also explains the pride the slummers take towards their own places. The people to buy spacious apartments by mortgage are the 'slaves' in China, while those in the slums in Mumbai are the 'owners'. They can't resist wind or rain to come into their place, but definitely can refuse the royal arms to enter. Shabby as it is, it is still their own property in the prime location in Mumbai, the richest and the most internationalized city in India.

Many 'slum owners' share a similar background, coming from the rural areas to seek livelihood in Mumbai. To have their own place even in the slums means that they are properly settled. So instead of improving their own living conditions, they send the money back to his family, to build a spacious house

自豪，也在邻里面前为家里来了一个外国客人而自豪。在这里我听到一个词让我诧异不已，这些住在贫民窟里人被称作“贫民窟主”（slum-owner），这个词简直充满了幽默感，我们是住在贫民窟里，但我们是业主（owner）。

他们怎么能叫业主（owner）呢？这些房子按照中国的标准都是不折不扣的违章建筑，十几年前一些国家可归者和外来移民选择在一些没有人关注的铁道边，垃圾场边，印度的宪法规定，印度公民有迁徙的自由，你愿意在哪里登记，就可以在哪里投票，同时宪法还规定“印度公民有选择在哪里居住的权利”，这条规定看上去有点滑稽我问印度朋友难道想在哪里住都可以，那跑到新德里在总理府门前搭个帐篷跟总理作邻居行不行？或者把帐篷扎在人家私人花园里行不行，他们告诉我理论上是没有问题的，不过操作上比较难，因为主人会把你赶走，这是人家的地盘。不过如果你成功的在一块地上住了一段时间，比如一年，别人没有赶走你以后就再也不能赶你了，这倒挺符合卢梭的契约理论，默认也可以视为一种契约。后来我发现果然不假，印度很多富人的宅第和花园都会树一块牌子“私产，禁搭帐篷”。

今天住在孟买贫民窟里的几百万人就是这样获得产权的，他们的理由是这块地儿没人要，我们才住在这里，今天土地升值了就想把我们赶走，没门。今天大片的贫民窟占据了孟买市区的黄金地段，孟买的地价比上海和北京高出很多，前面提到4000美金每平的房价中往往超过百分之八十都是地价，假如能把那些贫民窟的居民能够被赶走，安置在远郊哪怕面积大上十倍的郊区里，对政府还是开发商都是非常划算的买卖，而且很容易找到类似危房改造的理由。

但在印度强制拆迁是行不通的。特别是这样集中的大片贫民窟，个个都是钉子户，牵一发而动全身，随时可以引发示威乃至骚乱，而且政治家得罪了这些“贫民窟主”就会丧失选票，所以不让这些“贫民窟主”得到心满意足的补偿，让他们搬家是不可能的，这使得在印度拆迁成本巨大，这也是孟买房价如此之高的主要原因，而和中国相对比的是尽管房价如此之高，房地产却并不是暴利的产业，底层的群众成了土地升值的最大受益者，笔者吃惊地从一个IT的商人口中得知在06年某媒体排出印度的500个最有钱的人中，只有6个是房产开发商。

这样一来，高昂的公寓价格对“贫民窟主”来说倒是件好事，他们非但不嫉妒反而有些兴灾乐祸，我听见不止一个人说“这些有钱人就该让他们多花点钱。”而那些住在贫民窟里人很多时候并不像我们想象的那么悲惨，贫民窟是一个广义的概念，一些“贫民窟主”在经济条件改善了以后，也会修整自己房子，不少贫民窟房子也装上了在印度算是奢侈品的空调，甚至不少公务员教师为了省钱，也租贫民窟的房子来往。在贫民窟区域政府也建了实用的医院、学校之类的公共设施。

贫民窟在印度也不意味着居住者都是赤贫的人，他们在此安居乐业，往往附近上班或者做生意，甚至建起小作坊，当起个体户，一些区域还发展出了特色产业，建立了合作社，有的地方以生产首饰闻名，有的地方以生产陶器闻名。。。。。这些住在贫民窟里的人成了地道的有产者，个别的人甚至已经买

贷款买大公寓的人被称作“奴”，而在孟买住在贫民窟里的人，被称作是“主”。因为那是他“风能进，雨能进，国王的军队不能进”的家园，即使简陋，也意味着他在孟买这个印度最富裕，最国际化的都市的黄金地段有一块谁都拿不走的产业。

很多“贫民窟主”，是这样的背景，他们来自农村，为了谋生来到孟买，当得到一个贫民窟的房子就意味着他在这里彻底站稳了脚跟，他们并不急于改善自己的生活居住条件，而是源源不断把钱寄回农村老家，在老家的村子里盖一个让乡亲们羡慕的大房子，他们的孩子能在孟买接受教育，上英文学校，也许能找一份体面的工作。而当他们老了以后，他们会把贫民窟的房子留给孩子，或者租给别人，自己回农村老家的大房子里享天年。

很多中国人来到孟买会非常得意“你看印度最大的城市都解决不了贫民窟问题。”这种得意显示出我们的浅薄，在很多人眼里，整齐划一的街道，摩天大楼，让贫苦者远离我们的视线，不要让农村人涌入城市来分享城市的福利，是比公民的宪法权力和哪怕相对公正的发展机会更加重要的事情。所以表面上看了印度高楼大厦边上就是贫民窟，其实印度的贫富差距比中国要小，笔者在印度一份主流报纸上看到一个专栏作家的文章标题是“中国模式为什么不是印度的选择”，也许能够代表印度知识界一部分人的观点，她讲她刚到中国时看到中国的城市发展水平比印度高很多，到处都是高楼大厦，没有小房子，后来从北京市区出来只是几十公里就看到大片的农村地区，发展水平及基础设施状况和印度农村差不多，农民生活水平也很穷，她就得出结论这样的社会发展模式的表面辉煌是不可靠的。

还有一个让笔者自己也感到吃惊的信息值得和大家分享，我刚到印度时一方面对贫民窟很感兴趣，一方面又担心安全问题，总得叫上当地人陪同才敢去转转。因为在中国有一个已经成为公理的偏见，外来人口和穷人是犯罪的根源，一旦提到治安恶化，公安机关总是把清理外来人口作为工作重点。而很多印度朋友都告诉我，在印度的贫民窟比新德里的大街上还要安全，一个孟买的社会工作者告诉我，即使一个女孩子深夜走在贫民窟的巷道里，用不着为安全担心，这里也没有小偷强盗，谁假如遇到危险，只要喊一嗓子，就会有很多人出来帮忙。他补充“这里是他们的家，他们是这里的主人，他们爱这个地方。”

which their fellow villagers admire greatly, to make their children educated in Mumbai, to go to English schools, and maybe to get a decent job. When they grow old, they give the slums to the children or rent them, and go back to hometown and enjoy the big house in their villages.

Many Chinese are pleased, 'the biggest city in India can't even solve the slum problem'. But that's very superficial. For many people, the tidy streets, the skyscrapers, to keep the poor out of sight, and to prevent people from the rural areas from coming to the city and sharing the welfares, these are all more important than the institutional rights and even the comparatively fair opportunities for development. Superficially there are the slums next to the skyscrapers in India, but in fact the difference between the rich and the poor is less radical than in China. In a major Indian newspaper, I read an article by a columnist, entitled 'Why is the Chinese Model not India's choice'. This may reflect the thought of some Indian academics. She mentioned her initial thought on Chinese city development as much higher than in India, having seen skyscrapers everywhere, no small houses. But when seeing a large area of villages dozens of kilometers away from Beijing urban area, she found the development and infrastructure at similar stages with that in Indian villages, and the living standard was also quit low. She concluded that such development model with superficial glory is not reliable.

Another surprise to me is worth sharing. When I arrived in India, I was very interested in the slums, but also concerned about the security issue there, so always asked local people for company. It is a stereotype and almost a belief in China that immigrants and the poor are the origins of crime. Once the situation gets worse, the public security authority always takes the immigrants as the focus. Different in India, friends told me that the slums in India are even safer than the streets in New Delhi. A social worker in Mumbai said that walking in the lanes in the slums late at night, even a girl doesn't have to worry about her security. There are no thieves or robbers. Anyone in danger can get a lot of help with just a shout. He added, 'this is their home. They own this place and love it.'

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Migration and Slum Dwellers: Some Reflections

AMITA BHIDE

Today urbanization is synonymous with development of slums. The pace of urbanization; 4% growth in urbanization while 6% growth in the slum population is a testimony to this phenomenon. This statistics of different growth parameters is looked upon as a “problem” issue and is of grave concern to all involved.

During my visit to China I found a new lens to examine this issue. Although China does not seem to have slums per se, the percentage of migrants is large. In the prosperous East Coast cities of China, the migrant population is close to 30-40 % These migrants are treated as second class citizens, and are deprived of basic amenities like health, habitat, basic education and basic services. While the migrants contribute significantly in creating wealth for the city, the local administration continues to treat them and even their children as outsiders.

In 1960, China had hukou system which denoted an official permission to be associated with her/his designated living quarters. It was very difficult to get a hukou permit, thus making it a powerful tool to encourage people not to migrate to the cities. Eligibility for the formal education system, proof of the employment in the city or a senior position in the city government were some of the conditions for getting a hukou permit. This worked smoothly till 1975 when the economic opportunities remained limited to government employment. Till that time everyone who got the hukou permit received all the services in the city to which the citizens are entitled.

As China opened itself to the market economy, the hukou system developed fault lines. In current times there is enormous disparity between the developmental process of rural and urban China. While burgeoning industries and growing service sector needs all the cheap labour the migrant provide, the government is unwilling to accept their actual presence in the cities, thus making them invisible. This emerging inequality speaks eloquently of the migrants and their plight.

Indeed there are rapid changes taking place in this system with time. Zhejiang , an economically affluent and politically progressive province has taken a lead position in creating a better system for the migrants. This means providing them with health and educational services and in certain areas, also providing them with a temporary hukou permits. Yet, upon retrospection, it is evident that for the majority of the cities, the migrant continue to remain “invisible”.

In India similar approach was taken towards the slum development which was clearly delineated in 1956 policy of “Slum Clearance.” But this policy had to give away under the pressure of increasing population density in slums, and constitutional rights of universal adult franchises, and freedom of movement. Today there are multiple policies, projects and programmes for the slum dwellers, apparently in existence but implemented half heartedly. On one hand these programmes claim to make the slum dwellers equal stakeholders in the process of their development yet the actual implementation is not based upon equity. The slum dwellers are provided with basic services like water, sewage, roads which are qualitatively and quantitatively inferior compared to the services provided in the other parts of the city. This forces the slum dwellers to access private services, paying a large chunk of their marginal income for these services. These services are delivered not on a right based approach but as a charity towards the slum dwellers, thus creating vote banks of their locality. While low cost housing is being planned for them, it is mainly for the objective of giving more Floor Space Index (hence monetary benefit) to the builders and not for the meaningful redevelopment of the slum dwellers.

Today globalization has become synonymous with urbanization. Today's cities are becoming centers for progress in trade, technology, new knowledge production, thus fostering economic growth. Migration and migrants, whether intra-national or international, have become an essential part of this process, becoming almost indispensable for globalization to succeed. Despite this reality, why policies all over tend to disregard this important human force? In China and India, the labour in the unorganized sector and their contributions at various levels forms the mainstay of the economic growth of both these countries. When will Chinese and Indian policy makers be cognizant of this reality? When will the issues of migration and slum dwellers be looked upon as opportunities instead of “problems”? Making these people invisible will not benefit the people or the cities in the long run. At least in the current times, neither the State Centered Chinese policies nor the democratic Indian policies are willing to solve this issue. Are they waiting for some policy directions from the famous “Big Brother?”

THE PROMISED LAND OF SEZs

PARTHA MUKHOPADHYAY

IN the last year, Special Economic Zones (SEZs) were a much discussed issue. Most of the discussion focused on two issues, viz. (a) the acquisition of land, rehabilitation, the consequences for farmers and agricultural output, and (b) the cost of the various tax benefits provided to developers of SEZs and the units to be located in them. While these are important issues, they address only the cost aspect of the equation. Taking another path, this paper tries to determine the expected benefits from SEZs and whether they are being achieved. For this, it relies not on aggregate data but on projections made by the developers of individual SEZs that form the basis of claims advanced by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. What does the data say about the promised land of SEZs, the exports, the nature of investment and employment, regional dispersion and overall governance?

While the preamble to the SEZ Act 2005 says that SEZs have been established “for the promotion of exports,” section 5 of the Act says that the central government will be guided by the following principles while notifying any area as a SEZ, viz.: “(a) generation of additional economic activity, (b) promotion of exports of goods and services; (c) promotion of investment from domestic and foreign sources; (d) creation of employment opportunities; [and] (e) development of infrastructure facilities.”

A reading of the brief discussion in both Houses of Parliament on the SEZ Bill in May 2005 indicates that lawmakers were more concerned with investment, growth of manufacturing and employment and referred to costs only in passing. The focus was much more on the condition of labour, the role of the state governments and the private sector in the administrative structures, and most critically, employment.¹

Exports were seen not an end in themselves but as a route to increasing employment. The Minister for Commerce and Industry, Kamal Nath stated in the Lok Sabha: “We no more talk of exports to earn foreign exchange. [In the] Foreign Trade Policy which was announced by the UPA government. We kept the focus on how we would generate employment. In fact, exports today represent one of the most important employment generating activities.”

The other benefit apparently expected from SEZs is inclusive development. Speaking in the Rajya Sabha the minister said: “A concern expressed by almost all the members was that the development which takes place, the SEZs which takes place, don’t happen in a localized area. What happened in China? Largely the development and SEZs are highly localized. We don’t. We have always stated that our developmental process has to be all-inclusive. Not only all-inclusive but must encompass all states. That is not the Chinese belief. So, we cannot have a Chinese concept.) So, will SEZs help increase employment growth, especially manufacturing employment and help spread development more evenly? What does the data say?

Discussing benefits does not mean that the issue of costs is resolved. There

are serious deficiencies in our land acquisition policy. With changes in economic structure, the pattern of land use will change. If the new uses generate enough surpluses, most affected persons, can be persuaded to part with land voluntarily. Unfortunately, in India, state power has been used not to overcome recalcitrant hold-outs, e.g., through supermajority provisions, but to subsidize the cost of acquisition.

Dispossessing poor farmers to subsidize SEZs is prima facie unconscionable. In the land acquisition process, it is important to ensure (a) security for the family whose livelihood is being affected, (b) fairness, i.e., enabling them to share in the gains (Box 1 addresses some of the recent suggestions in this regard), and (c) capability to take advantage of the changes in economic structure. Our current land acquisition policy ensures none of these. Even when one agrees with the objectives of SEZs, this aspect needs to be thought through much more carefully.

Similarly, the fiscal benefits for SEZs are ill-designed. The current structure of incentives for SEZs envisages a tax holiday for five years, then a low tax rate for the next five, and an investment tax credit for the final five. Various estimates of revenue loss as a result of these incentives have been presented but a greater cost may be induced by investment distortions. Tax holidays tend to reward the founding of a company, rather than investment in existing companies and benefits short-term investments, characterized by companies that can quickly relocate from one jurisdiction to another. This undermines the effort to attract long-term stable investments. So, if tax incentives are indeed necessary, and this in itself is debatable, an investment tax credit or a lower tax rate may be better than a blanket tax holiday.

BOX 1: Sharing the Gains

One idea that has gained currency is to give affected persons a stake in the proposed project. This is not always sensible, since it ignores the possibility that the project may fail. There is little logic in making a deprived section of the population absorb the cost of failure, especially when they had little choice in initiating the project. Ideally, they should share in the gains, while their losses should be limited. One way to achieve this would be to transfer the payback from successful projects into a community fund that would go towards improving common physical and social infrastructure, like electricity, water, road connectivity, schools and hospitals. In case the project fails, the government can assure that it would provide these services.

The challenge is to ensure premium educational, health and physical infrastructure in the affected area so that the next generation, the teenage child of the forty year old can aspire to be and work as engineers and managers in the factory and not as unskilled workers. This is not romantic utopia. Even within our existing institutional system, our little-touted Navodaya Vidyalayas, coupled with an extensive scholarship and training programme, can make this happen.² Sadly, any reasonable person would disbelieve the government’s assurance of basic rehabilitation, leave alone such tall promises. The basic problem is a lack of trust in the state. In the final analysis, until the state is seen not as an instrument of expropriation, but as a fair arbiter, conflict is inevitable. The way to gain such confidence is by repeated demonstration of good intent. Regretfully, there are no signs that the state wants to start on this path.

¹ *The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Commerce however did address the land acquisition issue and recommended a reduction in the maximum size of the SEZs, a proposal that the Government acceded to by putting a cap of 5000 hectares on the SEZ, which it now seems to be reconsidering (see ‘Govt. may ease land ceiling on multi-product SEZs’ Indian Express, 4 December 2007 <http://www.indianexpress.com/story/246437.html>)*

² *While the Tatas have undertaken an initiative to train some local Singur youth in ITIs, this effort is so limited that it appears to be more tokenism than rehabilitation.*

TABLE 1	
Data Availability for Notified SEZs	
Item	No. of SEZs reporting data
Proposed Investment by Developer	109
Proposed Investment by Units	47
Proposed Indirect Employment	82
Proposed Direct Employment	110
Proposed Rupee FDI	18
Proposed Dollar FDI	15
Cost of Land	82
Projected Exports 2007-08	63
Current Investment in Land	87
Current Investment (non-land)	54
Current Investment by Units	23
Current Number of Units	49
Current Indirect Employment	58
Current Direct Employment	57
Current Rupee FDI	13
Current Dollar FDI	11

The SEZ policy may be much more costly than necessary, but is it delivering the expected benefits? Earlier this year, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (MOCI) began releasing data on the commitments made by developers in their applications for the grant of SEZ status. These promises are the basis of the ministry's projections of employment and investment in the SEZs. A close look at this data can help us understand the promised land of SEZ.

For comparability, we focus only on the 154 SEZs that have been notified under the SEZ Act. These SEZs occupy a total of 20,388 hectares, i.e., about 204 sq km. Information about the name, location, area and type of SEZ is available for all 154 SEZs. For the purposes of analysis, the types of SEZ have been grouped under four broad heads, viz. (i) IT/ITES, which includes information technology (IT) and IT enabled services (ITES)³ (ii) Existing Strengths, which cover our current export basket, i.e., apparel, textiles, gems and jewelry, footwear and pharmaceuticals (iii) Multi-product and (iv) Others.

³ This includes electronic hardware, which is a very small proportion of this group.

Table 1 shows the number of SEZs for which data is available for an additional set of sixteen items of data. It is curious that data on items mandated in the SEZ application is not available for all the notified SEZs. Indeed, only three notified SEZs seem to have provided the necessary details. This shows up the approval process negatively.

Table 2 shows the share of different types of SEZs for six different parameters, viz. (a) number of SEZs, (b) area under SEZs, (c) proposed investment by the developer (d) proposed investment by units (e) proposed direct employment and (f) proposed indirect employment. This provides a measure of sectoral concentration of SEZs. As a measure of the geographical concentration for each of these six items, the table also shows the share of two states, viz. Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat and five states, viz. Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, usually, the top two and top five states, except as noted below.

TABLE 2		Sectoral and Geographical Share of SEZs by Different Measures				
Sector	Number	Area	Investment (developer)	Investment by units	Direct jobs	Indirect jobs
Existing strengths	14%	13%	4%	4%	15%	12%
IT/ITES	64%	14%	45%	9%	61%	68%
Multi product	5%	58%	26%	78%	21%	17%
Others	17%	15%	25%	9%	3%	3%
Share of two states	38%	67%	62%	92%	58%	54%
Share of five states	76%	92%	83%	97%	85%	76%

Note: The two states are Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat, to which Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are added to make up the five states.

To begin with, consider the number of SEZs and the area under SEZs. As is clear, the IT/ITES sector dominates the number of SEZs, with almost two-thirds in this sector. However, most of these SEZs are small in size and therefore the large multi-product SEZs, though much smaller in number, dominate in size, with over half the area under the eight multi-product SEZs that have been notified so far. Geographically, more than three-fourths of the SEZs by number and 92% by area are in the five states. Of this, two-thirds of the area is in just two states. The distinction in share between number and area occurs because Gujarat has relatively few IT/ITES SEZs and more large multi-product zones.

Information about proposed investment by the developer is available for 109 SEZs, with a projected total of over Rs 100,000 crore, i.e., USD 25 billion, apparently over five years.⁴ Of this, 46% is in IT/ITES, another 4% is in existing strengths and 25% in multi-product SEZs, amounting to 75%.

The remaining 25% is in other types of SEZs of which 17% is in port and power. Locationally, 83% of this investment is in five states with 62% in just two states. In this instance, the five states are not the top five. If one replaces Maharashtra by Kerala, which accounts for 12% of the total, the share of the top five states jumps to 89%.

Information about proposed investment by units is available for a much smaller number of SEZs, only for 63 SEZs, with a projected total of Rs 166,785 crore. For purposes of comparison, the investment in manufacturing in India in 2005-06 alone was Rs 360,000 crore. Of this, 9% is in IT/ITES, another 4% is in existing strengths and 78% in multi-product SEZ, amounting to 91%. Locationally, 92.4% of this proposed investment is in AP and Gujarat, (46% each) followed by Karnataka, Punjab and Haryana, who add another 4.4%. The proposed investment in units is therefore extremely skewed, even more so than investments by developers. To illustrate, 40% of this, Rs 67,500 crore, is accounted for by one 10 sq km. multi-product SEZ in Kakinada.

The criticality of employment as an objective is well exemplified by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Kamal Nath, who, at the end of the debate in the Lok Sabha, said: "With these few words, I request the support for this Bill to start a new avenue for employment generation.)

BOX 2: The fundamentals of SEZs⁵

Almost the entire indirect employment in Punjab comes from one zone, Quark City SEZ, in Mohali, which proposes to create half a million indirect jobs and directly employ 55,000 IT/ITES workers on a 13.75 hectare plot. If we could replicate Quark's proposed employment intensity, across the approximately 20,000 hectares of SEZs that have so far been notified, we would have created more than 500 million proposed jobs! Another SEZ that would create more than half a million jobs is the Sanghi SEZ in Ranga Reddy district in AP, which proposes to create 600,000 indirect but only 1,000 direct jobs on a 200 hectare SEZ. These cases need to be studied in more detail.

Information about proposed direct employment is available for 110 SEZs, projecting a total of 2.14 million employees. Of this, 61% is in IT/ITES and another 15% is in existing strengths with a further 21% in multi-product SEZ, amounting to 97%. It is interesting to note that the 1.25 million direct employment proposed to be created by the IT/ITES SEZs alone exceeds the current employment in that sector. Further 85% of this proposed employment is in the five states, with 40% in Andhra Pradesh alone, of which two-thirds is from IT/ITES SEZs.

In addition to direct employment, information about proposed indirect

employment is available for 82 SEZs, with a projected total of 2.94 million employees. The methodology for calculating the indirect employment is not apparent and varies widely across SEZs, even in the same sector, as noted later. Of this indirect employment too, 68% is generated by IT/ITES, another 12% is in existing strengths and 17% in multi-product SEZ, again amounting to 97%.

The five states account for three-fourths of the indirect employment generated but in this instance, if one replaces Tamil Nadu by Punjab, the share of the top five states jumps to an amazing 92%. This is because 17% of the total indirect employment, i.e., half a million jobs are generated by one IT/ITES SEZ, Quark City, in Mohali, Punjab. Even so, it is not the top job generator, which is another IT/ITES SEZ, viz. Sanghi in Andhra Pradesh, which proposes to create 600,000 jobs. Of the approximately two million indirect jobs to be created by the IT/ITES SEZs, over half, i.e., 1.1 million jobs are in just two SEZs (see Box 2).

Not only are SEZs located mostly in a few states, even within these states, they are concentrated in a few districts. The notified SEZs limited to only 53 districts out of 607 districts and even within these 53, they are highly concentrated. Figure 1 shows how the 154 SEZs and 20,388 hectares occupied by them are distributed across twenty districts and it shows the share of each district in the 2.1 million direct and 2.9 million indirect jobs proposed to be generated by the SEZs. These twenty, mostly urban, districts account for 71% of SEZs by number 82% by area, 88% by number of direct jobs and 89% of the indirect jobs generated. Even within these twenty districts, the top five districts in each category account for 43% of the number of SEZs, 53% of the area, 57% of the direct jobs and an astonishing 79% of the indirect jobs generated, the last, driven by three distinctive SEZs, which account for 1.5 million of the 2.9 million indirect jobs proposed to be generated by the SEZs.

Not only are the SEZs localized, they are also localized in particular types of districts. Table 3 shows how many SEZs are situated in districts that are above the national average on a variety of parameters. Only 35 and 22 SEZs are in districts with above average numbers of Scheduled Castes and Tribes respectively. By contrast, of the 154 notified SEZs, 124 are in districts with an above average urban population and 131 with an above average number of non-agricultural workers and a staggering 148 in districts with an above average level of literacy.

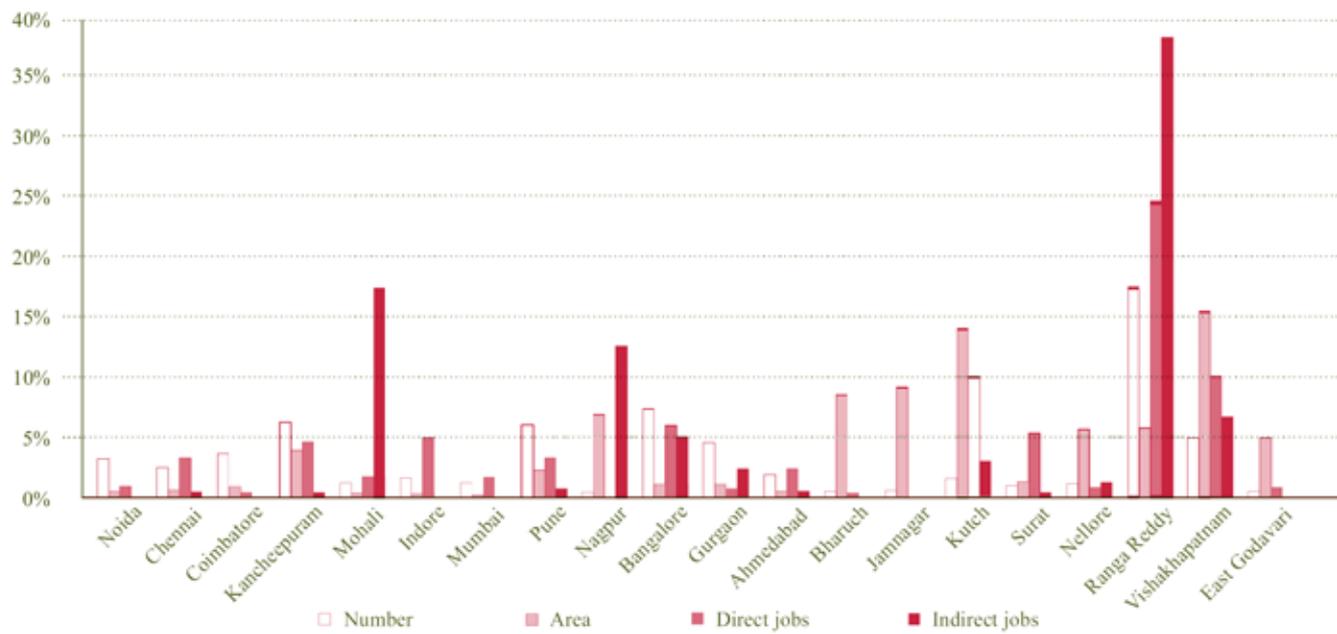
All the major cities except Kolkata are part of these districts, viz. Delhi (Noida and Gurgaon), Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chennai, etc. even though some of the larger proposed SEZs around Mumbai and Delhi have yet to be notified. In addition, many of the new cities, such as Pune, Vishakapatnam, Coimbatore, Indore, Ahmedabad, Mohali, Nagpur and Surat figure in the list.

As for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), information about proposed FDI is available for very few SEZs, 18 SEZs provide data on FDI in rupees and 15 for FDI in US dollars. These indicate that Rs 16,139 crore (roughly US\$ 4 billion) is proposed to be invested, of which 44% is in IT/ITES, another 21% is in existing strengths and 8% in multi-product SEZ, amounting to 73%. Most of the remaining (26%) is in two engineering products SEZs in Gujarat. Location-wise, 82% of the FDI is in three states, viz. AP (32%), Gujarat (28%) and Tamil Nadu (22%). The US dollar data indicate that another USD 1.92 billion is proposed to be invested, of which of which 38% is in IT/ITES, another 42% is in existing strengths, all of it in one textile SEZ in Andhra Pradesh and 17% in multi-product SEZs, amounting to 99% of proposed dollar FDI. Over 93% of this is in AP (55%), Punjab (21%) and Maharashtra (17%). The total FDI is thus USD 6 billion.

⁴ This is not clearly mentioned but is inferred from the fact that the SEZ Application Form mentions that the projections are over a five-year period.

⁵ A quark is a physical particle that forms one of the two basic constituents of matter and various species of quarks combine in specific ways to form protons and neutrons. Quarks are visible only fleetingly. The Quark City SEZ is promoted by Quark Inc., which has a large share of the publishing software market.

FIGURE I
Shares of Select Districts by Different SEZ Characteristics



Number of SEZ in Districts Above the National Average (Total = 154)	
Urban Population	124
Non Agricultural Workers	131
Literacy	148
Male Labour Force Participation	123
SC	35
ST	22

The available information also provides data for current investment by developers, separately by investment in land (Rs 8,447 crore in 97 SEZs) and in items other than land (Rs 10,220 crore in 66 SEZs). The combined total of Rs 18,667 crore is about 19% of the total proposed investment by developers in 119 units. Of the investment in land, 44% is in IT/ITES and 21% in multi-product SEZ with power accounting for another 10%. Of the investment in non-land activities, again 44% is in IT/ITES, but 51% is in multi-product SEZs, which is almost entirely in two Gujarat SEZs. Existing strengths attract only 5% and 3% of investment respectively. Information about current investment by units is available only for 42 SEZs, with a total of Rs 23,434 crore, i.e. about 14% of the total. Of this, 6% is in IT/ITES, another 3% is in existing strengths but most of the rest, i.e., 81% is in one multi-product SEZ in Gujarat. So far, this Rs 18,939 crore of investment has resulted in 680 jobs, including 43 indirect jobs. The data on current investments, therefore, if anything, reinforces the trend towards concentration seen in the data on proposals.

The examination of the data available from the ministry raises many questions. A few broad trends are discernible.

First, the SEZ boom is concentrated heavily in the IT/ITES sector, one that has already boomed. It may not be out of place to characterize the SEZ policy as a continuation of support for the IT/ITES sector through the back door. Nearly 75% to 80% of the proposed employment emanates from the IT/ITES and the traditional exporting sectors viz. i.e., apparel, textiles, gems and jewelry, footwear and pharmaceuticals. The multi-product SEZs, which are to be the harbinger of manufacturing growth contribute but a

sixth of the projected employment growth. Neither are the projections of FDI, limited as they are to a few SEZs, very encouraging. It is thus difficult to describe the SEZ policy as one promoting manufacturing employment, even going by the official numbers. If anything, it appears to be reinforcing existing paradigms and providing the IT/ITES sector with an arguably unnecessary tax loophole.

Second, regardless of the minister's statement in Parliament that the "developmental process has to be all inclusive; not only all-inclusive but must encompass all states," the forces of economic agglomeration appear to have triumphed over the minister. By all measures, whether by number or area or employment, most of the SEZs are in a small number of districts in select states such as Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat. These districts are more educated as compared to the national average and more industrialized and urbanised. SEZs can therefore be expected to exacerbate regional concentration.

BOX 3: How fast do SEZs grow?

An example from China may help to illustrate the time frame of growth in SEZs. The Beijing Economic-Technological Development Area (BDA) was established in 1993 on 46.8 sq. km, i.e., 4680 hectares of land, a size at the upper end of our current limit and is thus a more reasonable comparator as compared to SEZs like Shenzhen, which extend over 350 sq. km. This BDA area is designed to contain industrial, business and residential spaces. It is well connected by road, rail, sea and air. Investors benefit from leveled land and access to (i) roads, (ii) storm water drainage (iii) waste water drainage, (iv) tap water, (v) natural gas, (vi) power, (vii) telecommunication, (viii) heat and (ix) cable television. Initially, the enterprise income tax rate was 15%, reduced to 10% for enterprises that exported at least 40% of total value of output.⁶ By 2004, BDA was home to over 1600 companies from 30 countries employing about a 100,000 persons, with a total investment of USD

⁶ Further, high tech enterprises were exempt from income tax for the first three years with 50% reduction in taxes from the 4th to 6th year and software firms were exempt for the first two years with 50% reduction in taxes from the 3rd to 5th year. In a recent change in the law in China, these benefits have been rationalized and both Chinese and foreign enterprises now have a common tax rate of 25%.

8.12 billion, of which USD 3.2 billion was FDI. Of the original 47 sq km, only 23sq km had been developed. Compared to this, the ministry projects that the SEZs will create 2 million direct and 3 million indirect jobs. This will be a result of investing approximately USD 70 billion in an area of 200 sq km, an investment to employment and an area to employment ratio of about 5 times that achieved by BDA. Furthermore, this will be achieved in 5 years compared to 12 years for BDA.

This is not necessarily bad, since there can be significant benefits from such agglomeration. However, the consequences of such concentration and the need to put in place policies to ensure that people from other areas also benefit from SEZs is being ignored, perhaps because of an unwillingness to accept a reality that conflicts with a stated goal. To begin with, there needs to be much more readiness to accept migration on a larger scale to the favoured districts from other areas in the state and the country. For those who think that there is already plenty of migration in India, a comparison with China is a useful cross-check. While about two million people migrate from rural to urban areas in India each year on average, in China, the comparable figure is 14 million.

Third, the credibility of the projections is doubtful. Box 3 provides a Chinese perspective on this issue in terms of the kind of growth that was experienced. In contrast, the case of Quark City and Sanghi SEZ mentioned earlier are striking departures. A number of the other projections could prove equally misplaced. At this point it is useful to ask whether these commitments made by developers of SEZs binding? Is there any enforcement mechanism? What will happen if the projections are not met? Who will be held responsible? The answers to these questions are, as yet, unknown. The worrying part of these projections is that the Board of Approvals, composed of seventeen officers of the Government of India, one nominee of the state government (which may be a commentary on the participation of state governments), and one professor of IIM, has accepted them. Is this body applying its mind?

To answer this question, it is useful to consider the subset of 99 IT/ITES SEZs. Usually, similar projects should have similar characteristics, within some range of parameters. For example, the cost of a power plant per mw (for a given type of plant, e.g., coal, gas, hydro, etc.) would lie within some bounds, as also, the cost per lane kilometer of highway. Part of the appraisal and project approval process is to ensure that the project costs are within acceptable ranges.

In the case of SEZs, this does not seem to be the case. Table 4 shows the range of variation in a few basic parameters across different SEZ projects of a single type, i.e., IT/ITES projects. The parameters relate to (a) investment by developer per hectare, (b) direct employment per hectare, (c) direct employment per crore of investment and (d) ratio of indirect to direct employees. As can be seen, the distribution is quite wide, varying from less than Rs 5 cr. per hectare to Rs 200 cr. per hectare.

The variation in employment ratios is even more, from less than 100 direct employees per hectare to over 5000 per hectare in direct employment, less than 10 employees per crore of developer investment to more than 2000 and less than one tenth to over 10 (indeed, one SEZ has a ratio of 600!) for the ratio of indirect to direct employees. This kind of variation for a key parameter of interest in a given sector and relatively well understood sector, i.e., IT/ITES, is difficult to explain as variation across business models. Data such as this leads one to suspect non-application of mind at the approval stage.

Not just approval, this mindlessness prevails in monitoring too. Regardless of the statement by the minister in Parliament that “we no more talk of exports to earn foreign exchange, we kept the focus on how we would generate employment,” the monitoring formats remain antiquated. Form I, which is supposed to monitor the activities of units in the SEZ, and is issued as part of the SEZ Rules, focuses almost entirely on whether the unit is earning “net foreign exchange” devoting a couple of pages to gathering the relevant details. Employment, on the other hand, merits one line. From Form I,

all one can infer is the number of men and women employed, with no information about wages, quality of employment, etc.

Are these just more examples of implementation at odds with policy or lackadaisical and mindless administration?

From their location, it is evident that SEZs are very much an urban phenomenon, with the formation of new cities that will be clustered around existing cities. Worse, a number of the SEZs, especially in the IT/ITES sector, are too small to be planned in an integrated manner. For example, of the 27 SEZs in Ranga Reddy district around Hyderabad, 19, all in the IT/ITES sector, are less than 50 hectares. A higher rate of urbanization is an inevitable consequence and a necessary facilitator of rapid growth but are we prepared for this? What are the arrangements to run the SEZ cities that will emerge if the policy succeeds?

The existing SEZ Act⁷ mentions the word “urban” in two places, once to note that the Ministry of Urban Development may form part of the Board of Approvals, and the other to provide fiscal relief in case a unit moves from an urban area to an SEZ. The word “plan” or “planning” occurs once in the SEZ Act, in the fiscal context mentioned above, but it does occur twice in the Rules, to state that the building approval plan will have to be submitted to the Development Commissioner who shall place it before the Approval Committee for consideration and to state that the developer and co-developer should “abide by the local laws, rules, regulations or bye-laws in regard to area planning, sewerage disposal, pollution control,” etc.

It is apparent that the urban aspects of the SEZs have received little thought and consideration. This is true even in the deliberations of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Commerce, which did receive some submissions on the urban planning issue from the Ministry of Urban Development. However, the demand to reduce the overall size of SEZs and increase the processing area indicates an inappropriate comparison between SEZs and industrial estates, rather than industrial townships. It appears that the physical planning of the SEZ is at the mercy of the Approval Committee, composed of the Development Commissioner, five central government officers, two state government officers and the developer as a special invitee. The admonition to abide by local laws potentially involves the local panchayat that exercises jurisdiction over the SEZ area but it is unfortunately unlikely that they will get a role. Moreover, the capacity of the panchayat to engage in discussions with the SEZ developer on issues of area planning is questionable and significant capacity building would be needed in this area. Situations where multiple panchayats exercise jurisdiction over one SEZ can occur, and what will happen in this case is unclear. Indeed, the National Capital Region Planning Board has thus far been ignored in decisions regarding SEZs in the NCR.

So, if the SEZs were to succeed, they could well degenerate into the same kind of urban mess that we see in our cities today, for the same reason - lack of governance. There is almost criminal neglect of urban planning issues in the legislative and administrative framework for SEZs. Indeed, given the kind of location that we have indicated, the urban outgrowth from the existing cities and that from the SEZs can merge to form a large chaotic unplanned morass that will enclose the SEZ.

In contrast, the Chinese approach, e.g., in BDA, referred to earlier in Box 3, is to bring the zone under municipal management. BDA is one of the thirteen districts of Beijing Municipal government. A similar zone in Hang Zhou, in Zhejiang province, is also under the administration of one of the municipal districts of Hang Zhou. The Chinese can do this easily because of two differences: (i) the zone land is publicly owned and (ii) the zones are near major municipalities. Furthermore, each of these cities has substantive planning capacity, e.g., Shenyang, a city of about four million and the capital of Liaoning province has a Planning Institute with 300 professionals, including about 60 urban planners.

Since we have made it harder for ourselves by choosing privately owned SEZs, we will have to evolve alternative governance structures to address this issue. While on the issue, it is useful to clarify that there is no

⁷ *The Rules mention it only once, in the context of the Board of Approvals.*

conflict between public ownership of land and private provision of infrastructure services. The implicit cross-subsidy from profits obtained by developing the non-processing area to overall infrastructure can be achieved with the help of a dedicated fund. All the benefits of the SEZ that are currently touted could have been achieved as easily while retaining ownership of land with the public sector. The rationale for choosing this particular development approach has never been clearly explained. Based on an examination of data available from the ministry's own website, while the costs appear very real, the benefits of SEZs appear to be a mirage. If at all, the subsidies in terms of land and tax benefits extended are only helping to support the existing economic structure. More than two-thirds of the proposed employment growth is in IT and IT enabled services and almost 90% of the jobs will be available in twenty districts, which are all above average in terms of urbanization, industrialization, and education. Moreover, if SEZs were real, they foreshadow a promised land that we are not prepared for and appear unwilling, if not unable to manage. There has been no thinking of what would need to be done if the SEZs were to actually succeed and grow into cities. Given that many of them are close to existing urban areas, there are major implications for urban planning. Regrettably, this piece of the SEZ puzzle has been missing from inception and even today, there appears to be no recognition of the problem. It may well be that a Ministry used to dealing with Export Processing Zones and Export Oriented Units is quite unsuited to the task of regulating Special Economic Zones. However, given the multi-ministerial nature of the Board of Approvals, it appears that these issues are not appreciated by others in government either.

The failure is not so much of the SEZ concept as the fact that the existing governance of the process does not inspire confidence due to an inability to define priorities, and regulate and manage the phenomenon called SEZs. The government baldly accepts averments that half a million indirect jobs will be created from a 15 hectare zone. It appears to have no standard, even within sectors, for appraising a proposal and does not even insist on complete information being provided before an SEZ is notified. While monitoring, it ignores employment and sticks to hackneyed metrics like net foreign exchange earned. Evidently the government believes it can abdicate governance and outsource the task of development to the private sector. It will soon learn otherwise.

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The importance of independent research for national policy decision-making

Guo Yukuan

Guo Yukuan's essay addresses the role of independent think tanks in the protection of the public interest. It is framed around a conversation with K.C. Sivaramakrishnan, former Secretary at Ministry of Urban Development, and former chair of the Center for Policy Research in India. The essay was published in Nanfang zhoumo, (Southern Weekly), July 26, 2007. Nanfang zhoumo is a major liberal Chinese newspaper with circulation of 3 million.

民间独立研究是国家决策科学化的保障 对话印度政策研究中心主席西瓦教授

郭宇宽

编者按：公共政策关系到公共利益。必须保证充分的公众参与，公共政策才能符合民意，满足公众的现实需求。公共政策的民间研究机制也就成为必需。那么，民间政策研究机制到底应怎样发育？这方面，邻国印度的经验对我们或不乏启示。

在印度公共政策制定中很有影响力的西瓦教授(K.C. Sivaramakrishnan)，参加了北京和上海的一系列学术交流活动。西瓦教授曾任印度中央政府的国务秘书及世界银行顾问，现任“印度政策研究中心”(Center for Policy Research, India)主席。以下是笔者与西瓦教授的对话。

独立于政府的政策研究机构必不可少

听你的机构的名称，很多人会以为这是一个政府部门。

西瓦：当然不是，我们的影响力，恰恰因为我们不是政府的机构。政府里面也有一些研究性质的机构，但政府框架内的研究容易带有部门利益的色彩，无法保证中立，如果只有他们的声音，很难保障公共政策的制定过程能够符合公共利益。

你们的机构在创建之初就独立于政府么？

西瓦：是的。我们当初就是为了能在政府之外有不同声音，所以几个学者，其中既有政府部长级的退休官员，还有海归学者，一起发起了这样一个政策研究机构。

当时注册困难么？

西瓦：不困难，印度法律保障了民间结社和组织的自由，你只要凑上7个人，组织个什么政党也没关系，政府无权阻止你注册。

你们享受免税政策么？

西瓦：当然，我们是非营利机构，也就是说，我们筹集的资金都是用于研究的，包括研究人员津贴，并不给投资者带来盈利。而且因为我们从事的政策研究有利于公益事业，我们就说服政府减免税费，以在当时非常低廉的价格，卖给了我们一块小小的土地，盖了我们的办公楼。

能不能举一个例子，同样的研究如果独立于政府的部门，会起到什么不同的作用？

西瓦：这样的例子太多了，除了政府特殊利益以外，政府的角色也注定了它的很多

研究很难做出成绩，比如印巴问题就比较棘手；印度和孟加拉经常为了水资源问题产生纠纷，政府也很难作客观的研究，它必须在选民面前作秀，因为在民主国家，如果一个政治家在国家利益上对邻国态度不够强硬，往往会被国内骂作卖国贼。但如果两国的政治人物都这样作秀，问题就永远没法解决，甚至可能发展出地区冲突。这时候我们这样的研究机构就能发挥政府起不到的作用，我们可以和别的国家的专家学者、研究机构心平气和地坐下来谈，我们没有面子的包袱，可以充分地讨论出大家都能接受的建设性方案，再回过头来影响各自的国会和政府，这样实现双赢。这种民间工作是政府替代不了的。

公信力是我们的生命

你们的运作资金有多少？来自何处？

西瓦：资金都来自于研究项目，我们的研究员自由规划自己的研究项目，然后向外面的基金会，包括政府和各种机构申请研究经费。这几年的经费大约每年有3000万卢比左右。

我们都知道吃人家的嘴软，你们从政府拿钱，还怎么保证你前面说的中立呢？

西瓦：一是项目我们必须自己主导，如果资助有可能干扰我们的独立性，我们就不会接受。而且这些年来，我们获得的政府资助控制在10%—20%之间。我们有一个共识，就是既要和政府保持接触，又不能让自己依赖乃至受制于政府。

能举个例子，你们是怎么和政府博弈的么？

西瓦：比如最近中央政府要搞一个知识经济委员会，由社会各界的精英组成，负责设计如何推动印度的知识经济政策。我们的一位资深研究员也是这个委员会的委员，但是最近一位部长跑出来指手画脚，于是尽管辛格总理都表示挽留，我们这位研究员还是坚持退出这个委员会。因为我们政策研究的独立性是不容干涉的。

那你们做的事情会不会引起政府反感，给你们穿小鞋？

西瓦：他们高兴不高兴，这不是我们考虑的问题，我们角色不一样。我们现在做的一个项目就是监督印度国会，定期出报告，跟踪国会议员的提案和进展情况。就是监督这些国会议员究竟在给老百姓做什么事。有些人可能会很紧张，害怕在选民面前暴露自己的无能。但我前一段时间听国会里几个议长级的领袖说，当然他们也不会公开支持，不过私下对我们的人说，你们的报告对于推进国会议员改善工作很有好处。

会不会有一些商业部门希望通过你们的政策研究来起到游说作用？

西瓦：当然有，印度从事政策游说的机构也很多，有一些是比较公开的，不过这和我们机构的宗旨不符，我们不会沾边。

但是你们的研究经费要向外部筹集，资助者难免带有自己的利益，他们会潜移默化地影响你们吗？西瓦：要说绝对没有影响可能不现实，但资助我们研究的人或者机构都必须认同我们独立研究的理念，否则就不可能合作。如果我们破坏了这个游戏规则，我们这个机构存在的价值就会受到社会的质疑，如果失去了公信力，很难想象我们这样的机构还能生存下去。

用理性的声音来影响公共意见

你们作为一个中立独立的机构，你们靠什么途径来影响政策制定？是不是需要和政府保持非常密切的联系，包括和一些有实权的政府官员建立私人关系？

西瓦：早年这种情况比较普遍，研究机构往往靠自己与政府官员的私人关系才能影响到政府的决策。以至于很多研究机构积极地邀请退休官员加盟，主要是利用他们的人脉关系，过去曾经有人笑话一些研究所成了退休官员疗养院。

不过现在情况已经变了。代议制民主的深入，使得政治家不得不去聆听人民的声音，所以今天印度的政策研究机构并不特别需要去游说政府采纳自己的研究成果，我们的研究成果可以通过研究者个人的影响力和公信力辐射出去，大多数研究成果可以在媒体上发表，或者出版成书籍，我们有一些研究员还经常被电视台邀请作为嘉宾。只要你的研究扎实，公众觉得你的政策建议言之有理，那么公众意见就会受到影响，反过来就会作用于立法机构和政府部门。

小资料

智库(Think Tank),

又称思想库，兴起并繁荣于1970年代。美国智库最为发达，目前全美大约有两千多个，仅华盛顿特区就有一百多个。它们对政治和社会生活有着特殊的影响力，故被称为除立法、行政、司法和媒体以外的“第五权力中心”。美国的智库一般具有如下特点：第一，以政策研究为主要任务；第二，都是非赢利的团体；第三，独立于政府，包括资金方面。比较著名的美国智库有：布鲁金斯学会、对外关系委员会、兰德公司、胡佛研究所、企业研究所、卡内基国际和平基金会、国际战略研究中心、传统基金会、战略与国际问题研究中心、史汀生中心、哥伦比亚大学东亚研究所、国际战略研究中心、亚太安全研究中心、大西洋理事会等。

Thoughts on My Visit to India part two

Yao Yang

An Ongoing Revolution

To contrast between China and India, one prevalent view holds that India's democratic and legal environment will eventually fuel more momentum. India is compared to a road with lots of bumps and holes but with a clear sense of direction. Cars along this road have to be slow but they are never in danger of great perils. Whereas China is compared to a magnificent four-lane highway that is still being built, thus cars may run into an abyss. But for many Chinese, the biggest doubt towards India is its democratic system in its form and operation. This is also a main topic of discussion during ICI Fellows' residency in India.

The topic of Indian democracy can be summarized in two main aspects. First, democracy is the inevitable choice to hold a complex society together. Second, the effectiveness of Indian democracy cannot be measured in terms of efficiency. I agree with the first aspect in light of India's independence. Since 1948, democracy has kept the country with multiple ethnic groups integrated despite a few major turbulences. Tolerance, one major requirement of democracy, has made great contributions. In a democratic system, people can express their wills in various forms, such as meetings, speeches, demonstrations etc. These forms of expressions may not necessarily bring desirable results, but the expression itself can, in a large degree, alleviate potential major conflicts. However, the danger of India's democracy lies in that this tendency is so forceful that the government is put in the situation of inaction. In other words, there is a tendency that the government becomes a commons, i.e. a situation where no one is responsible. For this reason, I was not convinced by the second answer given by the Indian scholars—the effectiveness of Indian democracy cannot be measured in terms of efficiency. Although I do not agree that democracy will necessarily lead to economic successes, I do believe that a democracy should at least hold the government accountable to its people. It is at this accountability that India's democracy is disappointing indeed.

From independence to 1977 when Indira Gandhi was ousted, India's democracy had operated as an aristocracy under the control of the Congress Party. Nehru ruled India almost as a king with his tremendous reputation established during the Independence Movement. In his own words, he was 'the last English gentleman' in India. Under his leadership, India witnessed more than a decade of stability. One Indian scholar from The New School frequently reminded us of Bombay in the booming 1950s. Bombay is the name for Mumbai given by the British colonialists, while Mumbai is how the local language Marathi names the city. To erase the colonial marks, the Maharashtra state government changed the name from Bombay to Mumbai in

early 1980s. But for the upper English-speaking society in India, it is always Bombay, which is not only reminiscent of the past but also of the social orders in the past. Although the underclass gained some respect in theory (one milestone was Dr. Ambedkar's being granted the chance to draft the Constitution after independence), neither the Congress Party nor Nehru showed any intention to change the Caste System. Indian society before Indira Gandhi's assassination was one of "everyone rests on his/her due position." However, since 1980s, Indian society has been rapidly fragmenting with various emerging political powers. Meanwhile, political powers at local levels became active too, and even showing tendency to rival against the center. Hence, to be precise, Indian democracy started after 1977, instead of 1948.

To contrast Indian democracy and Chinese authoritarian system, I was most alarmed by the dominance of political populism in India. In one international conference, Professor Fan Gang talked about why China's economic reform has been successful and he regarded a non-populist government as one major reason. After the conference, some British scholars expressed their shock to me: for them, Prof. Fan's opinion seems to be an excuse for the Chinese authoritarian system. But political populism can indeed, at its early stage, slow down economic growth and interrupt democracy. When income is low, politicians can win votes with small bribes. In India, a trick to gain more votes is to offer slum dwellers small benefits, such as power connection, water supply and access to toilets. While not blaming the slum dwellers for being gullible, they are too poor to let a small chance to improve their lives slip away. Yet this is all they can get. The politicians just show up once for the election, and do not care about them the rest of the time. Fortunately, political populism has not become as disastrous as in Latin America, but its negative effects are obvious. A major manifestation is that politicians take advantage of the public for their own benefits, regardless of the society as a whole or their party's positions.

One incident during my visit can be revealing. Tata Group, a long-established Indian enterprise, planned to start a car factory in West Bengal. Conflicts with the local farmers triggered when they tried to buy their land. This happens frequently in India. It reflects one advantage of Indian democracy, which allows various interests to be represented. In this case, the Communist Party was the ruling party of West Bengal while the right-wing BJP was amongst the organizers in the farmer protests. It was understandable that the Communist Party in West Bengal changed their long-term political position—after all, the factory would spur economic growth. Therefore, it is difficult to understand BJP's participation in the public outcry. The only way to explain their action is that they wanted to gain more votes in

the next election. For during the last election, BJP got a big lesson. Confident about the economic growth rate of over 7% and the overall prosperous situation, the ruling BJP decided to hold an early election in 2004, hoping to win over the unprepared Congress and other left-wing parties. But the reality fooled the BJP. The election winner turned out to be the Congress Party. The main reason was that voters in rural areas were not happy about BJP's policies because they did not benefit from India's economic growth. To show their gratitude to the farmers, soon after their take-over, the coalition government led by Congress passed a law requiring the government to offer a government job to everyone who does not work for more than half a year. Obviously such a law is not practical; it is just a grand gesture to please the voters.

Populism not only wins more votes for politicians, but also blinds many intellectuals. The reconstruction of a textile district in Mumbai is a good example. The textile industry in Mumbai had been thriving until the 1980s. The textile factories are clustered on prime real estate in the center of the peninsular that comprises the city of Mumbai. Mumbai government had been planning on relocating these factories since the 1980s. The discussions on land and worker relocation went back and forth. When the city council finally passed the law in 1990, an effective solution on workers' relocation had not been reached. As for the use of the factory land, a seemingly fair solution was proposed: one third of the land could be used to develop businesses, one third to build residence, and the rest for public use. For the factory owners, this was extremely difficult and expensive to put into practice. As a result, only a few factories executed the redevelopment plans. In 2000, the Mumbai government discreetly released a new interpretation of the 1990 law: 'factory land' in the previous version changed to 'the land without buildings'. This way, little land had to be developed for public purposes. This provoked wide dissatisfaction, prompting frequent protests in the following years.

During ICI's India residency, we had an in-depth discussion on this topic with a professor in the School of Architecture. As a social activist, she argued that most factory owners obtained the land during colonial times at nominal costs, such as one rupee per acre. By this logic, it should be public land. Meanwhile, when the factories closed, workers' lives became vulnerable because of the lack of a government re-employment scheme. She suspects that most of these factories are still profitable. Closing down factories would start a cycle of land revaluation, which would raise their profits. She points out that the redevelopment plan not only destroys the factories, but also the social ecosystem, which is worth preserving.

That evening, we spoke with two brothers

who recently returned from overseas with master degrees to help their family business re-develop factory land. Their views differed greatly from the professor's. First, they told us that 60% of the factory owners bought the land from other owners at market price rather than from the colonial government. For instance, the factory owner of their land got the land in the 1960s. Second, it is far more profitable to sell the land than to keep running a factory. Housing in Mumbai can be extremely expensive. For some apartments close to the sea, the price can be RMB 120,000/m². The building these brothers are developing is estimated at RMB 8,000/m². Moreover, according to the 1990 law, factory reconstruction could be postponed indefinitely. In addition, factory owners have to pay their workers as long as their factories are not formally closed. Many factories also accumulated sizeable debts because of wages. The two brothers paid the factory workers a large amount of overdue wages when they bought the land from the factory owner.

Our discussion on this issue lasted for a long time. On the one hand, I appreciate the democratic process in the redevelopment process and wish that the Chinese government would also allow different voices to participate in urban redevelopment. On the other hand, I would have to say that democratic participation in India has gone to another extreme—over-politicization of social and economic issues, resulting in deterioration of public trust. Thus, another planning scheme might offer a better solution to the 1990 law. For example, the 'one-third' rule could still be applied, not for each factory, but for the entire textile district. The better-situated real estate could be used for commercial purposes. Whereas those in quieter locations could be used for residential purposes, the rest could be used for public purposes. To execute this scheme, the government would need to invest in massive coordination and request compromises amongst various interest groups. The 1990 law seemed fair, but in reality, it hurts the interests of all groups concerned. A market-based solution could not function due to over-politicization, which is a major problem in India. Surprisingly, all the Indian scholars we talked with—at least those non-economists—barely thought about this question. When I proposed the above scheme, the architecture professor expressed strong objection. She argued that there were no good reasons to make workers move to quieter locations because it would cause difficulties in their lives. Indeed, if the government does not take the initiative to facilitate their livelihoods, the people will be affected. But why doesn't the government implement re-employment schemes? After the new scheme, the government could easily use a small part of the commercial area for small businesses to ensure worker re-employment, and leave the major part for commercial purposes.

One area where the world appreciates India—and indeed where the world criticizes China—is a more developed legal system. In China, the judicial system leaves the government much more space to perform than in India. In this sense, Indian legal system does outperform Chinese system. Nevertheless, the legal system is not a machine that runs automatically. It needs people to implement it. In India, the human factor is missing. Its judicial system is overloaded, leaving 1.5 million cases unsolved each year and some cases without a conclusion even after dozens of years. In the process of balance and compromise, the government lost the original motivation of the law. Hence, in regards to the rule of law, India is no better than China. Here are a few examples.

My visit to India coincided with a case involving Minister Shibu Soren. He used to be a hero among the lower caste, but was prosecuted in 1994 for murdering his secretary. To raise funds for the Congress party by illegal means, he asked his secretary to do the dirty job and promised 200,000 rupees as kickback. When it was done, his secretary attempted to raise the amount by threatening to reveal the illegal operation. With assistance, Soren murdered the secretary. But soon after being sued, he was released on bail, and even appointed as a minister after the Congress party came into power. After twelve years, he was finally convicted with life in prison. But his membership in the lower house was kept in tact. Theoretically, he could still attend house sessions.

In the coalition cabinet of the Congress government, Lalu Prasad, the Minister of Railways was another one who has run-ins with the law. Originating from a low caste family in Bihar, the poorest state in India, he has his own political party. Taking advantage of his background, he won many votes from lower castes and became Chief Minister in Bihar. He was notorious for being rude. Once in front of a large mass gathering, he questioned one local official whether he had finished a certain task to help the local residents. When the official answered no, he publicly slapped him in the face. Political populism made him a rising star. People call him by his first name Lalu instead of his family name. Suspected of raising illegal election funds, he was forced to quit the Chief Minister post. But his wife stepped in to be his successor. She is illiterate and cannot even write her name correctly. Prasad is very popular in Bihar, but it is unfortunate that it is still the poorest state in India. On the other hand, comments on his performance as the Minister of Railways differ greatly. One problem with the trains in India is that there are too many first and second-class seats/compartments compared with third class seats. While third-class cars are fully packed, the first and second are very likely to have empty seats. After his take-over, Prasad dramatically reduced the price and numbers of the first and

second-class seats to increase their affordability and third-class seat availability. Eventually, the financial loss of railways decreased. It is said that this reform has been used as a classic case study in Harvard Business School. Yet when local people and officials in the Chinese consulate in Mumbai were asked about this railway reform, I did not get many positive responses. People continue to complain that the trains are overcrowded. Prasad's anti-elitist and unorthodox attitude and his deliberated populism have made him unwelcome among the intellectuals. Many people thought that he took advantage of the public to consolidate his political power.

The police force in India is also worth our attention. Suketu Mehta, an Indian-American author, lived in his hometown Mumbai (which he continues to refer to as 'Bombay') for two years. Comparing the Bombay today to one of his childhood, all he saw was disorder, resentment and deterioration, in short, "a lost city." In his book *Maximum City*, published soon after his two years in Mumbai, he revealed in great detail the city he encountered, especially its underground world, which flourished after racial riots in 1993-94. Mumbai police invested heavily in efforts to eradicate organized crime, but were not successful. One of the reasons was that the courts had difficulties convicting the suspects, and many were eventually set free without punishment. In the worse cases, the judges were bribed or politicians were involved. Their collusion with crime organizations made it more challenging for legal institutions.

For instance, in late 1990s, Sena, a Hindu extremist organization, was rampant in Mumbai. They allied with BJP in Maharashtra, and also managed a massive underground world. They controlled grassroots communities and crept into Bollywood, the heart of the Indian film industry. In the riots in 1993-94, Sanjay Dutt, a popular actor, was sued for illegal firearm possession and suspected participation in the riot. Soon after his bail, he went to Bal Thackeray's house to show his gratitude. Bal Thackeray, the leader of Sena, facilitated Dutt's bail with his political and underground resources.

When the judicial system is too weak to eliminate the underground world, the police used their own means to deal with murderers. When they catch one murderer, they take him to a secluded place and shoot him dead. Then they put a gun in his hand to fake an encounter with the police. Gangsters are terrified at these 'encounters' because death comes by accident. The police were not entirely flawless themselves. Even the best cop (such as Ajay Lall, Mehta's friend) has abused suspects mercilessly and ruthlessly. One gangster told Mehta in an interview about his story with a police friend in Punjab Pradesh. After a big meal, the friend took him on a motorcycle ride with two other cops to a house in rural area, they gang raped the hostess when the husband and daughter

screamed under gunpoint in another room.

Although it was formally banned in the Constitution after independence, the caste system still has powerful influences. Two of our ICI Fellows from India are from low caste backgrounds. One of them shared a story about his uncle when he was still a child. In rural areas, people from low castes are not allowed to have eye contact with those from upper castes, let alone to touch them. Once an upper caste is touched by a low caste, the upper caste person would take a shower to clean himself. Our colleague's uncle often played tricks on the upper caste in the village. When they came out, he touched them. Of course it caused serious beating, but the upper caste had to go back to take a shower. After several rounds, the uncle felt content despite the physical pain. Another example shows how serious the caste system still hurts people's dignity in the countryside.

Kala Hoff, a scholar from the World Bank, held an experiment among Indian villages two years ago. She randomly picked a group of children aged twelve or thirteen from six villages, and chose one child from each village to form groups of six for a math quiz. She randomly divided these groups into two kinds. Children in the first group were asked to reveal their caste in front of other people; those in the second group were told not to do so. The findings are surprising: the low caste children in the first group scored 18% lower than the average of the low caste children in the second group. This shows the mere fact of speaking out caste origins could hurt a child's confidence.

To raise the social status of the low castes and women, local election laws from the early 1990s stipulates that a certain percentage of villages should elect a low caste woman as the village head. Kala Hoff interviewed one such village head. She was illiterate, and not allowed to go out without her husband's permission. 'Why would I need to go out anyway?' she asked Hoff. Her husband took the responsibilities of the village head, but he complained that it is still the upper caste people that control the village.

The conflicts between the lower and upper castes prevail in rural areas. In October 2006, an incident in Maharashtra triggered Dalit (lower caste) riots throughout the state. A road-building project required a low caste family to relocate, but was met with strong resistance from that family. The upper caste in the village hired a mob who raped the female members of the family, then burned all the family members to death along with their house. After the incident, slow reaction from the government ultimately intensified public outrage. On November 28, a statue of Dr. Ambedkar in Mumbai was beheaded. This triggered Dalit riots throughout the whole state. The riots occurred during our ICI Fellows' residency in Mumbai. Local scholars told us that this riot was different from other Dalit riots

because it was well planned and organized. For example, one train was burned in the suburb, but the passengers were removed from the train before the fire was set, so no one was hurt. It seemed that the Dalits had begun organized political movements in Maharashtra.

Since 1979, though Indian politics became more localized and began to involve more people from the lower castes, their systematic involvement in political issues remains largely limited. Having been disappointed by Hinduism, Dr. Ambedkar took a group of his Dalit followers to convert to Buddhism towards the end of his life in the 1950s. His hope was that Dalits would be treated equally in a different religion. For half a century, many Dalits have converted to Buddhism or Islam, but still failed to improve their situation considerably. Indian independence was achieved by non-violence means and led by intellectuals from the upper castes. As a result, a thorough social revolution was bypassed. Indian democracy inherited the caste system from the old system. Some academicians are so naïve as to believe that democracy itself can eradicate the caste system; others believe that globalization and economic growth can achieve that goal. However, more serious Indian scholars are more clear-minded. They realize that Indian democracy cannot automatically lead to the end of the caste system without true social reform. Globalization and urbanization may alleviate impacts of the caste system, but it would continue in the vast rural population and possibly hinder economic growth there. Therefore, political participation of lower castes in an organized way might be one significant step to eradicate the caste system.

Indian democracy is a transplanted institution. The country had been ruled by aristocracies until it opened to the public in 1979. In this sense, 'chaos' is inevitable, and India is still in 'chaos' now. According to Professor Morhanty, an established Sinologist in India, Indian democracy is 'an ongoing revolution'. In a revolution, 'chaos' happens, but the danger lies in that the society may be in 'chaos' forever, and there could never be 'governance'. From this perspective, I am confident of the Chinese democratic process. China takes a completely different approach: India is going from 'chaos' to 'governance'; China starts with 'control', and is trying to reach 'governance.' 'Chaos' provides the public freedom from the beginning, but may cause the public to lose their freedom eventually. On the other hand, 'control' keeps the society in order during social transitions, but asks the public to compromise on certain freedoms. Which is a better approach? It does not help much to just compare India and China. Their distinct histories determined that they couldn't follow the other's approach. But this does not mean that they cannot learn from each other. The current problem is that for most Indians and Chinese, Indian democracy is how democracy should be.

That means the regularity of democratization. If this were true, for Indians, India would not need to learn from China. As for the Chinese, China would not want to learn from India because the performance of democracy could be messy. I would rather regard both countries in the same process of democratization with different approaches but with the same objective—a liberal democratic system that protects the substantial freedom of the public. In this sense, both countries are undergoing ‘an ongoing revolution.’

A People's Movement

It is generally believed that democracy guarantees that a government will be accountable to the public. But this is provisional. This visit to India convinced me that social equality is one of the conditions that makes it possible for the public to monitor the government in a democratic system. Indian democracy can generally reflect the public's will. Indira Gandhi implemented the Emergency Law without authorization, hoping to enhance her personal authority. But the reality worked against her will. She lost the election and the Congress party lost its glory too. The recent loss of the BJP in the election also showed that democracy can reflect the public's will. However, India's democracy has failed to keep its promises to marginalized groups, such as the lower castes (e.g. there are 200 million Dalits in India) and the urban slum dwellers. During our residency, we visited the old streets in Old Delhi, semi-slums in New Delhi suburbs, and slums in Mumbai, and developed more in-depth understandings of their lives.

Slums can be found in every major city in India. Mumbai has the largest population of slum dwellers. Amongst its 14 million urban population, 60% live in slums. Dhalavi, in the center of Mumbai, is the biggest slum in Asia. It is extremely dense—the average space per person is only 1.8 m², this includes the space for houses, roads and other public areas. We took a narrow lane and arrived at the heart of Dhalavi. In the middle of a small piece of land, we found a ceramic kiln surrounded by dense thatched houses. If a fire occurs, it would be disastrous. When we visited, two women and a man were making ceramic products as if modern technology never arrived in India.

Dhalavi has a long history. One of the women told us that she was born in one of the thatched houses. In such a prime location, Dhalavi is the traffic bottleneck between Mumbai Airport and the high-tech development zone, to downtown. Mumbai government has long passed a law to redevelop this area and to provide a room of 20 m² for each family from this slum. We also visited one building from a slum-rehabilitation project by joint government-NGO efforts. The government only provided the land, and an NGO funded its building costs. The building is similar to an old Chinese style apartment building

where apartments are arranged on both sides of a long corridor. In this building, each apartment includes a kitchen and a toilet. Theoretically, each 20m² apartment is for one family, but in reality two or three families (eight to twelve people) live in each. Why are these apartments still so crowded? One reason is that the maintenance charges of these apartments are too expensive for one family to afford. Indian homes are always clean, even those in slums. We had to take off our shoes to visit a home. The furniture is simple, but tidy, not messy at all. There is no bed. People usually sleep on the floor. But outside the home, it is totally different. Most streets are not paved yet. Those already paved were not even. The main streets were dug open because the drainage system is being repaired. It seems the repair has been going on for a long time, nor does it seem like it will be finished in the foreseeable future. The leaking sewage formed a ditch. It was the dry season, but flies and mosquitoes were everywhere. Imagine what this area would look like in the wet season? I can assure anyone who comes here that they would definitely be surprised at the human capacity to endure. This is not where people should live! In the villages of middle and west China, I had seen some places in extremely unsanitary conditions. While nature surroundings around them helped absorb most of the bio-pollutants, this was not possible in Dhalavi. No nature exists where so many people are packed in such a small place.

How do slums come into being? I had thought that it was because people were too poor to live elsewhere. This visit helped me understand that not all the slum dwellers are extremely poor. Only 4% of the people in the slums in Mumbai live under the government poverty line. Some residents in Dhalavi work in the office buildings in the southern tip of the peninsular. Actually, the recent increase in slum dwellers in Mumbai has been closely related to the economic growth in the city. Compared with the unstable livelihood in the villages, to stay in slums is seen as lesser of the two evils. So with a formal or informal job, immigrants new to the cities often have the slums as the only option. It is in fact quite accurate that Indian scholars regard slums as ‘informal settlements.’ Slums usually began as illegal occupation of public or private land. The slum near the World Trade Building in Mumbai used to be a place for the building's construction workers to stay. As they were not offered a place to stay by their contractors, workers and their families had to build sheds near the construction site, which eventually turn into a slum. Slums are widespread in Mumbai. The ‘sidewalk slums’ are the worst. They are built along the walls on the pedestrian walkway. There is no water, no electricity, and no sanitary facilities. In fact, 28% of the slum dwellers, or roughly 2.4 million people, do not have access to toilets, and have to excrete their wastes in open air.

Since slums are illegal, why doesn't the government force the slum dwellers to leave? The government did and is still taking some measures, but with little effect. Crime organizations are one of the reasons why the measures don't work. The gangsters build shelters on public land and rent them to the immigrants. In some cases, no rent is needed as long as the residents help keep the land occupied so that the gangsters could lay claim to government compensation if it decides to take the land back. When the government destroys the shelters, the gangsters then re-build them again and again with very low costs of 100 to 200 rupees. Yet this is not the fundamental reason why slums exist. Such a vast and almost permanent slum as Dhalavi came into existence because of ineffective laws and politicians' maneuvers.

The Indian Constitution grants priority to the rights of free movement and settlement over the integrity of public and private properties. In fact, the phrase ‘to protect the integrity of private properties’ was deleted from the Constitution when Indira Gandhi amended the Constitution in late 1970s. In contrast, after two decades of countless requests, the Chinese Constitution finally included one entry to protect private properties (with a note to emphasize that the properties be ‘legal’, however). When China heads towards capitalism, India is dropping it for socialism. When I discussed slum rehabilitation issues with my Indian friends, they had the consensus that the residents' rights should come before the integrity of public and private properties. Government's demolition of slums causes outrage because of its disrespect to human lives. In China, the most effective resistance against demolishing is not to move; but in India, people die at times in the shelters when they are being demolished. More importantly, after the slums are demolished, many residents lose their means to support themselves. After leaving the slums, many would fail to survive.

In India, the service industry takes up a large percentage of employment, but most of these jobs are informal. It is said that China is the world's factory, and India is becoming the world's office. But this is a euphemized dream rather than reality. There is not a large country that can skip the manufacturing stage and leap forward to the service stage. India's weakness lies in that its manufacturing sector is under-developed, thus leaving many people clustering in the low-end, poorly-paid and location-restricted service sectors. Labor reallocation should be an important part of slum rehabilitation plans.

In Mumbai, the Rent Control Act is another reason that slums exist. Soon after WWII, there was an influx of immigrants to Mumbai. The British colonial government enacted rent control to keep rents at an affordable level. It was meant to be temporary and would be nullified after a few years. But its beneficiaries demonstrated their lobbying power and kept this law effective

until today. What is more, more terms were added. The most absurd one stipulates that once renting the place for one year, the tenant enjoys the priority to buy the property. If he pays the rent regularly, the tenant is entitled to stay as long as he likes. A funny consequence of the act is that an army of people has to move every October. Landlords would rather build temporary housing for the tenants to stay for two months than let them stay in one place for more than a year. Even worse, many people become unwilling to rent their own properties, let alone to build new places for rent. There have not been any new rental buildings built in Mumbai in the last fifteen years. While more than 7 million people are crowded in shabby slums, there are 400,000 empty apartments in Mumbai. The government's ambition is to provide a place of 20m² for each household in the slums. But the slum population increases much faster than the government's ability to build accommodation. Nehru and Indira Gandhi used to set the objective to develop a socialist country different from that of the Soviet Union or China. This objective is scarcely mentioned nowadays, but the government still interferes with the economy, as exemplified by the Rent Control Act.

To see China as a mirror of India, we can better understand China's progress in developing its market economy. In China, there are still many kinds of arbitrary interferences from the government, reflecting officials' wills. In India, interference is the result of democracy, instead of the free wills of the government. Too much government discretion is not desirable, but democracy does not always bring satisfaction either. A potential risk in democracy is that the government could become a commons where all the groups emphasize their own interests, leaving public interests unattended.

When the government becomes a commons, politicians can pursue their own benefits under the disguise of public interests. Slums exist largely as vote banks for politicians. Without trust in the government, many middle class people choose not to vote, so politicians turn to the poor. They desperately need the government to act on issues such as water/electricity supply, education, toilets and drainage system, etc. Politicians can easily bribe them with promises. The Indian government manages water and electricity supply to households. Decentralization of distribution of public services in fact facilitates politicians to win votes. The gangsters are another reason that politicians get votes easily. Most political parties in India, especially the local parties, are powerful in the underground world as well. The gangsters control orders in the slums, thus controlling the underground world ensures votes.

The incompetence of the government makes it possible for politicians to take advantage of the state and for the gangsters to bully the common people. However, one advantage of democracy

is that it offers people the right to organize and fight back against politicians and gangsters. We interviewed an NGO in a semi-slum area in a suburb of New Delhi. Through this interview, we gained a more profound understanding of India's civil society.

The NGO is named 'People's Movement.' There are many NGOs named 'People's Movement' in India, and this is a small one. After taking the subway, changing to motorcycles and a long walk in the streets bustling with people, cars and cows, we finally arrived at their office in the late afternoon. It was small in size with two rooms as tidy as a home. Sitting on the floor in the inner room, we began our discussion with four or five of their active members. They didn't speak English well, so our Indian colleagues became interpreters. People's Movement's founder, Arvind Kejriwal, looked young, well educated and energetic. The rest were younger and with one girl seemed to be only seventeen or eighteen years old. Arvind talked most of the time and the girl spoke at other times to give additional information.

The organization was founded because many poor people in this area could not get the food supplied at a cheap price from the government. To solve the problem of supplying food to people in extreme poverty, the Indian government subsidizes over one billion US dollars each year in the form of food coupons. The low-price foods are not directly delivered to the poor, but via community stores where the poor can buy foods with the coupons. This gives the storeowners some opportunities. When the poor come to get buy the subsidized foods, they refused to offer foods with the excuse that the poor were not on the subsidy list or that the government had not distributed the foods at all. Taking it as a bad luck, the poor buy food at normal prices and the storeowners gained considerable profits. For Chinese scholars, the Indian poor were incredibly meek. If it happened in China, at least a small group of them would certainly go to the government to complain. Indian scholars explained that the poor regarded these sufferings as their fate. They would consider themselves lucky to get government's support, and it was normal if they get nothing. A few active members of the People's Movement decided to seek justice for the poor with the aid of the newly passed Information Disclosure Act. This act grants the general public access to any information from the government not related to state secrets. They went to get the subsidy list from the local government and confronted the storeowners. This triggered bitter hatred against the activists, and the owners united to fight with them. Once they caught Arvind, after a violent beating, he escaped to the police station. The owners even dared to shout outside the police station to demand the police to let him out so they could burn him to death. Another time, the young girl from the NGO we just met was choked around the neck

from behind and almost killed her. In the end, the media helped the activists succeed. From newspapers and TV, people in Delhi showed their support and eventually pressured the stores to start selling enough subsidized foods to the poor.

The People's Movement is a true grassroots organization. There are many organizations of this kind in India, playing a role the government cannot replace. China should be inspired. There used to be powerful NGOs in China, such as the extended families in villages and neighborhoods, and trade unions in cities. These died out in the planned economy, leaving society to sole management by the government. The society became less dynamic. After almost 30 years of reform and economic growth, China is regaining its strength. The society is beginning to develop new self-governing mechanisms and organizations. But compared with India, the civil society in China is much weaker. Indian democracy offers a nourishing environment to civil society. Since we are undertaking a revolution towards democracy just as India is doing, there is no reason why we shouldn't start to build a richer civil society.

Communist China is on Siege of 'Capital'

Chakrapani Ghanta

“Shui ke zai zhou, yi ke fu zhou.”
-Water can carry a boat; it can also sink a boat-

This saying of Wei Zheng, Prime Minister for Emperor Taizhong in the Tang Dynasty during the early 7th century, is often quoted in China. Many people in China believe that darkness follows light, like the deadly night after a sunny day. People are applying the same moral to the growth of China. They predict that the limitless wealth accumulated in China is going to result in a crisis for China. This is not the whimsical propaganda of traditionalists. This is the estimate of scholars, sociologists and economists who have been studying the developments, conditions, and the consequences of capital in China. Although the series of successes that China is achieving in the economic field is amazing for every one, impatience and unrest in the society is covertly increasing due to great dissatisfaction, differences and inequalities. The capital that entered China like a cat has transformed into a tiger, and is intimidating people and the government. Although China is claiming to be a Communist country, a clear class divide is visible there. We can see several layers of differences beginning from the party leaders to common people.

At present, a portion of its population is dictating China in its political, mercantile and intellectual fields. This group, which is gaining from investments, does not recognize the needs, dreams and rights of the majority of people. Although this criticism is growing everyday, it is not reaching the outside world because of the lack of freedom of expression. The China that could curb the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests with an iron hand is not trying to understand the dissatisfaction and agitation that is growing with everyday. The protests that began with one or two incidents in 1980s (the demonstrations) are growing in number. In 2005, more than three million people took part in protests in China. According to official figures number of protests was 58,000 but Human Rights organizations report that this number of protests has reached over 2 millions. The reports in the media blame government policy for this unrest. The problems media mentions are wage disputes, social welfare problems, the restructuring of state-owned enterprises, and evictions.

Many protests in China happen far from the public eye, but these figures show they are on the rise. The Ministry of Public Security confirms that there were more than 58,000 “mass incidents” - the term they use to describe public protests - involving three million people: that is an increase of almost 15% over the year before. Especially, it is important to note that these protests are also increasing in the process of increasing SEZs and foreign investments. Normally, a protest rally in China is the most extreme act. When their requests, representations and other party cadres' discussions fail and problems do not get resolved, only then people protested, but only after getting official permission. Sociologists say that the number of such extreme acts are increasing into the thousands, is evidence for dissatisfaction and inequality.

According to Taiwanese Economics Professor Ching-hsi Chang China's economy is going to collapse soon. In his presentation, entitled “The Real Chinese Economic Miracle”, the head of Economics at the National Taiwan

University at a “China in the Spotlight” dinner-forum¹ says that China's economy is on the verge of collapsing. “I am not the first one, nor am I the second one. In fact, there are quite a number of people who have warned about this dangerous situation”. According to Chang, China's economy looks fine based on official figures and what appears on the surface. It has the highest economic growth rate in the world; more than nine per cent in recent years. The Chinese government has not even been able to bring it down, while other countries are struggling to pump it up. Trade is growing very rapidly. Foreign exchange reserve has been the largest in the world, second only to Japan. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is only second in the world, behind the United States.

China seems rich enough to offer high price bids to merge with multinational companies. Cities and urban areas on the east coast have been built in a very remarkable and impressive way. World prices fluctuate sensitively to China's economic happenings; up when it is over-heated and down when the Chinese government cools it down.

In fact, China has also built up its military power to the point where it could threaten world peace and has even been confident enough to threaten the U.S. with nuclear war. Doesn't China seem to be also so glamorous compared to other nations? China is the sponsor of the world's biggest hydroelectric project (the Three Gorges Dam), the site of the world's highest railway (5,000 meters, to Tibet) and the first commercialized Maglev in the world (Shanghai), the host of 2008 Olympics (Beijing) and the 2010 World Expo (Shanghai), etc. But it is truly a case of “beauty is only skin deep.”

In his presentation, Chang referred to the growing public unrest and protests. He says “there are problems everywhere in China: little incidents are becoming major riots. In the media there were 60,000 large scale riots that happened in China during 2004 (average 164 per day); but in the book titled *China Second Citizen*, published in Hong Kong, it states there were 100,000 riots that happened in the year 2000, and went on to say that this is only the official figure, implying there are many incidents unaccounted for. Therefore, 2004 may not be just 60,000. Any statistics from China cannot be trusted. Many people describe the current situation of CCP as sitting on top of a volcano. We shouldn't wait until things happen then regret it”.

On the other hand a survey, conducted by the Peking University revealed that China is certainly going to face a crisis in 2 or 3 years and with that China will collapse never to recover again. Peking University Professor Ding Yuanfu has presented a survey of governmental and non-governmental experts, most of whom predict that a crisis with a big effect on China's economic and social development will occur before the year 2010. The most likely type of crisis to occur, according to the experts, would be a social crisis. The survey, entitled “Dangers in a Prosperous Era,”² asked 98 experts to

¹ Professor Ching-hsi Chang, *The Coming Collapse of The Chinese Economy*, the *Epoch Times*, <http://en.epochtimes.com/news/5-8-25/31554.html>

² Beijing professor: serious crisis in China before 2010, translated by Manfred Elfstrom, <http://www.chinaelections.net/newsinfo.asp?newsid=3373>

make predictions on two questions: “Will a crisis with a big influence on China’s economic and social development occur before 2010?” and “What three kinds of crises could occur in China before 2010?”

The results of the survey surprised people. Of the 77 experts who replied to the questions, 51 believed that a crisis with major consequences for China’s economic and social development would happen. As to the realm of the crisis, the experts mostly thought that it would occur in 1) the social realm, because of growing social disparities, a worsening public health situation, and high unemployment rates; 2) the economic realm, because of the “three agricultural problems” and financial risks; or 3) the political realm, because of a change of leadership.

The experts were concerned that a crisis could hurt China’s ability to build a “well-off” society. They emphasized that although globalization and other international issues have a great impact on China, resolving domestic contradictions should be the country’s priority. China should not neglect social issues in its emphasis on general economic development.

According to this survey, the context for this, are the growing inequalities between rural and urban people. Because of the reforms taken up by Deng and the construction of vast SEZs, the coastal areas became industrial villages and production factories. Thus, compared with villagers’ income, their income increased from 500 to 1000 times. During the Reforms, the facility for free medicine for rural people in China was abolished and insurance methods were introduced. With this, medicine became an unbearable burden for the rural poor. On the other hand, the divide increased as not all could possibly access new jobs and ways of income earning that were coming into reach. Migrating from one place to another without permission from the government is banned in China.

Even to migrate to urban areas, they require government’s permission. The government will not permit anyone without a stable employment appointment letter. Those who are becoming imprisoned forcibly to land (agriculture) are being subjected to intense grief because of this.

On the other hand, the number of people who are migrating discretely, working illegally, and settling down, is in millions. Such people who are mortgaged for very low wages cannot access any government facilities, and cannot escape rigorous punishment, if they get caught. Growth of investments and decrease of liberty is going to become another major problem for China. As a result of Liberalization, the state completely changed many laws which were favorable to workers. Many public limited companies were closed on the pretext of losses. Private and public-private partnership companies are growing in number.

According to a study by Li Chengshui, chief of the State Statistics Bureau (SSB) in 1981-84 that was made public on October 12, 2006, the public sector employed only 32% of China’s industrial and service workers, and accounted for 37% of the country’s GDP. This represents a remarkable change from just what it was a decade ago. In 1995 the public sector accounted for 78% of GDP. Li presented his findings in a report first completed in May 2006. The report was uploaded to the www.hbgongren.com website in October 2007. Li based his study on the official SSB figures. He also drew data from a report released in March 2006 by the All China Federation of Industry and Commerce (ACFIC) that surveyed the state of China’s minying (“people’s-run”) enterprises during the 10th five-year plan (2001-05). Minying enterprises consist mainly of privately-owned firms. But the ACFIC defined them as all enterprises except those wholly or partly owned by the state, thus including in its net the cooperatively-owned enterprises. Yet in SSB statistics, the “public sector” covers both, state and cooperatively (“collectively”)-owned enterprises.

Since most of the private companies belong to Communist Party leaders the government has given freedom for these companies to make the workers slog, permitting to recruit workers on contract basis, non implementation of workers’ laws, minimum wages, job security and working hours etc. There is no opportunity to establish workers’ unions except as allies of the Communist (ruling) party. This situation pushed urban workers into insecurity.

From the days of reforms, China has removed at least 30 million workers from jobs. Majority of workers in industrial cities and SEZs are made to work for 8 to 10 hours a day for 2 to 4 thousand rupees in Indian currency. It is estimated that factories, working with foreign investments and foreign companies, number more than 3 million in 2006. According to latest reports, between 1995 and 2005 the number of private enterprises rose from 660,000 to 4.3 million. The number of workers they employed increased from 8.2 million to 47.1 million. Their capital base rose during this period 26-fold, from 226.2 billion yuan (US\$30 billion) to 6133.1 billion yuan (\$829.5 billion). In 2000, private capital accounted for 55% of China’s GDP (of which 42.4% was attributed to domestic minying enterprises and 12.6% to foreign capital). In 2005, private capital accounted for 65% of GDP (of which 49.7% was attributed to domestic minying enterprises and 15-16% to foreign owned enterprises). Over this five-year period, private capital grew by 10 percentage points or at two percentage points per annum. China has no control over investments and capitalist factories and is frightened to interfere in their management as if it is walking into the lion’s den.

Another argument is that, the elite section that has been growing strong over the past few years is responsible for the downfall of China. It seems the elite of all sections that are accessing financial benefits, have come together in China (like in India). Compared to the protests being expressed now, Tiananmen agitation was a minor one. But, since that suppression of the procession happened in the initial years of the capitalist phase and the majority intellectual section was with the agitators, that incident gained immense popularity. However, in the process of capital getting strengthened and markets expanding, political, business, intellectual sections have come together and have begun to argue that globalization is inevitable and that it will help China. Offering a major share in government and communist party for the section supporting capital began in Deng’s period itself. Party members collecting capital, establishing organizations, and getting contracts, also began in that period. Gradually, the Chinese Communist party became favorable to capitalists and China a favorable country to foreign investments, foreign companies and multinational firms. In this process, while the intellectuals who supported the government policies got high official positions, people who opposed the capitalist policies were branded as radical ideological forces.

Pressurized by this new capitalist section that emerged as a strong section in the Chinese Communist Party, the 16th congress of the party held in 2002 decided to give them membership. In a nationwide sample-based survey it is indicating that by the time Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin openly advocated in 2001 that capitalists be admitted to party membership, 29.9% of the CP members were already capitalists. Li estimated that 13% of the CP’s memberships were capitalists as early as 1993, increasing to 17.1% in 1995 and 19.9% in 2000. According to ACFIC figures about 33.9% of the membership of the ruling Communist Party were capitalist employers in 2005, noting that their weight in CP membership far exceeds that of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Interestingly from the top 100 richest people in China, in the list prepared by Forbes in 2002, more than ¼ people claimed to be the members of the Communist Party. Since government officials occupying high status in society, journalists, intellectuals, and lawyers are voluntarily joining the party. Because the benefits provided by the state reach mostly this

section, a concern is being expressed about the lack of voices speaking on behalf of common people. Criticism is being raised that the intellectuals supporting state and capitalists are leading China in a direction which has no destination.

In this way, China is slowly taking shape as a perfect capitalist country under the leadership of new policy makers. China's government is thinking that inequalities should also be eliminated with the help of investments. China has framed the scheme of "New Communist Rural System" towards achieving an amicable society, even that it is not able to clear the darkness enveloping the remote villages. Darkness denser than the light emitted by investments is laying siege on China.

Epilogue: CPM has the reputation of being the only party in India which follows the Chinese communist party meticulously. This is being declared proudly by that party. Although that party's dreams of transforming West Bengal into mini-China by attracting investments were shattered by Singur and Nandigram incidents, its policy has not changed. Interestingly, print media reported that there were discussions on the growing corruption in the party and leaders' income and those leaders alleged against each other in the recent state congress meetings held in Hyderabad. There was no resolution on this in the meeting but it instructed the leaders not to exhibit their income. Probably because it wants the illusion that communist party is the party that works for the poor or because it thinks that it is difficult to follow China's policy. But in fact, it quietly consents to wealth though suggesting that wealth should not be exhibit in public. So, the communists can 'privately' enjoy unlimited property! It is like this in China also!

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把紅臉唱到底——毛主義在印度的前世今生

郭宇寬

一 前言

在中國早已悄然拋棄毛時代的意識形態之後，在世界特別是南亞政治局中依然有一股暗流湧動，依然以毛澤東思想作為自己的指導和旗幟，以暴力革命為手段，以推翻現政權建立他們所理解的社會主義為目標。很多人以為這不過是一小撮極端份子癡人說夢，但在不久前尼泊爾的政治動蕩中，尼共毛派武裝卻讓人重新認識了 這支不可小視的力量，儘管早已被美國政府定義為恐怖組織和全球反恐打擊的對象，卻絲毫沒有影響他們在國內民眾心目中的號召力，在農村包圍城市的戰略指引下 他們實際控制的地區已經超過了70%的尼泊爾國土，未來奪取國家政權似乎並不是一個遙遠的目標。

如果尼泊爾這個小國的政權更替尚不足以引起國際社會的憂慮，那麼更令人關注的是尼泊爾的毛份子力量不過是近年來浮出水面的冰山一角，一個跨越尼泊爾、巴基斯坦、孟加拉、印度、斯里蘭卡等南亞國家的毛份子相互支援的紅色走廊 (red corridor) 已經愈發清晰，而在這一紅色走廊中，從某種意義上來講其實最重要是印度，印度毛份子在南亞毛份子中有老大哥的地位，在尼泊爾1996年毛份子才走上武裝革命的道路，而印度毛份子在毛的旗幟下已經堅持了差不多四十年的武裝鬥爭，一直是南亞其他地區毛份子的鼓舞者和支持者。在2001年6月成立南亞毛份子黨派組織聯合行動委員會 (CCOMPOSA) 發布的聯合聲明裏，14個發起組織中，6個是來自印度的。而在印度國內毛份子的力量也愈發顯得 不容小視，06年4月印度總理 Manmohan Singh 在一次關於毛份子問題的重要講話中稱毛份子武裝為當前「印度國內安全和印度生活方式的最大威脅」(the greatest threat or challenge to India's internal security)，並且可能顛覆印度文明民主的生活方式 (civilised and democratic way of life)；國大黨領導人索尼婭甘地也譴責某種力量在試圖「共產主義化印度的外交政策」('communalising' India's foreign policy)。

在印度這個僅次於中國的世界第二人口大國，迅速崛起的經濟體，假如在未來國內政治力量對比中發生像尼泊爾那樣的變化，其對國際格局產生的影響無疑都將 是震撼性的，大概要讓印度商人和外國投資者一想到這種可能就要毛骨悚然。這使我對於印度毛份子力量產生了強烈的好奇心，2006年末我赴印度展開了調研，我的研究和採訪主要圍繞以下幾個方面的問題：

一、他們為甚麼堅持選擇毛的旗幟？

二、他們究竟要做甚麼？如果他們拿了權會做甚麼？他們是恐怖份子麼？他們是「紅色魔鬼」麼？他們會不會成為下一個紅色高棉？

三、誰會支持他們？誰會保護他們？他們的力量來自於何方？

四、在一個已經建立了比較完善的民主政體的國家，激進主義力量對印度社會產生了甚麼樣的影響，未來他們有可能成功麼？

二 邂逅「毛份子」與「毛份子同情者」

在印度毛份子又稱納薩爾運動份子，根據法國《解放報》2006年4月18日的報導，毛份子的行動和實際控制地區達到「印度國土的40%及人口的35%」；根據印度員警機關的估計，各派別（如 the people's war 'PW', maoist communist centre 'MCC', people's guerrilla army 'PGA' 等互不隸屬但是結成聯盟並相互支援的組織）的毛份子總共在全國僅核心幹部 (hardcore cadre) 就有9,300名，他們的武裝擁有約6,500支正規武器和大量自製武器；官方公布的統計資料從2000到2004年平均每年毛份子發動的武裝襲擊事件在1,500起左右，造成的死亡約500人。

從這些資料看，毛份子在印度確實無處不在，但筆者在印度卻發現這種資訊很容易被誤讀，「行動和實際控制」的含義很難確定。和尼泊爾不同，在印度毛份子雖然在叢林地區有很多訓練營地，但並沒有在一個行政區建立自己的根據地，在毛份子力量較為強大的地方，也基本上是政府統治白天，毛份子統治黑夜，他們的網路遍布全國，只是有些地方實力較為強大，有些地方較為弱小而己。至於印度毛份子具體有多少，我更是不懷疑官方資料的準確性，連毛份子自己恐怕都給不出準確的資料，因為很難界定甚麼是核心幹部。而且由於各毛份子派別組織形式和成員認定方式有所不同，又互不隸屬，甚至沒有比較準確的資料來表示印度的毛份子總數究竟有多少。在印度如果說崇拜毛澤東的人，全國有幾億，我決不會吃驚，不過我從毛份子口中聽說在全印度毛份子武裝的專職戰鬥人員大約不到一萬人。

由於在印度毛份子是被政府打擊的目標，被歸類為恐怖份子，所以即使核心骨幹在公開場合也不會承認自己是毛份子，他們作為地下黨，如果要搞活動和宣傳的話都用一個「黨名」，以各種隱蔽的形式出現，改頭換面為工會幹部、農會組織者、學生組織領袖、左翼新聞記者等身份，幕後操縱很多活動，當有一起暗殺發生，比如2003年用炸彈襲擊 Andhra Pradesh 省省長 Chandrababu Naidu 之後，還有2000年刺殺前內務部長 A. Madhava Reddy 後，都會有傳單標語宣布毛份子對此事負責，但在員警和公眾面前每一個具體的人都是「毛份子同情者」。

由於毛份子武裝在印度搞了大量爆炸、暗殺類型的「革命行動」，是被政府通緝的目標，早加上他們的精神導師來自中國，所以在印度作為一個中國人採訪毛份子也是非常敏感的事情，有幾種事可能發生：

一、一個中國人在印度和毛份子接觸會讓員警當局感到敏感，也許會被懷疑是軍火販子，而被傳訊。

二、給被採訪物件帶來麻煩，如果一個毛份子身份被披露，被眾多破不了案的刺殺綁架搞得焦頭爛額的員警，就會找上門來審訊此人，希望獲得情報。

我此次採訪的主要協助者是一位印度的大學教授，我們在一次在美國的純學術研討會上認識，由於都對社會公正問題比較感興趣，聊著聊著他就聊到了革命問題，他極為認同在印度搞武裝革命，並且對中國的文化大革命極為讚賞。這讓我非常吃驚，並激發了進一步的興趣，他跟我講了很多印度革命者的故事，那些故事彷彿發生在中國的昨天，但卻發生在印度的今天。後來我才知道這位教授自己從學生時代就秘密加入了毛份子的週邊組織，後來長期扮演印度某省毛份子武裝和政府之間的聯絡人 (communicator) 的角色。

通過這位教授和他的朋友，我得以接觸到了一些「毛份子的同情者」，其中有工人農民這樣的底層群眾，但骨幹人物都是一些左翼知識份子，我曾見到一位公開身份是某商業媒體編輯的「毛份子同情者」。他原本是一個大學生，讀了《毛選》以後，就加入了大學裏毛份子的組織，大學沒畢業就跑到叢林裏去參加了游擊隊，他輕鬆地告訴我他曾經參加過6次刺殺地主的行動，都成功了。他們殺了地主以後，地主剩下的家人通常會逃到城裏避難，於是他們就把地主的土地分給貧苦農民，大多數情況下，地主的家人不敢吭聲。他解釋這是以紅色恐怖來回擊白色恐怖。不過他自己在一次行動的籌備過程中不幸被捕，員警把他帶到叢林裏準備秘密處決他，幸虧他的同志們及時把消息捅給了媒體，在媒體的干預下，員警不得不把他帶去接受法庭審訊。那些被害地主的家屬大多不敢出庭指認他，而那些分了田地的農民更不會指認他，很多「毛份子同情者」對他聲援，結果由於證據不足，他在法庭上大義凜然地否定所有指控，最後被判無罪。他描述自己現在的工作是走出叢林在另一條戰線上和資產階級戰鬥。還有一個私立中學校長，告訴我他不會承認自己是毛份子，但他會利用他的課堂傳播毛澤東的革命思想。甚至還

Playing a Red Face to the End

Guo Yukuan

Guo Yukuan probes into the sensitive issue of Maoist movement in India. Guo asks whether violent revolutions like the ones in Nepal are catalysts for political change and whether Maoism in India would threaten the country's internal security. He concludes that a Chinese-style cultural revolution would not happen in India where democracy and rule by constitution have been well established. However, the noisy calls for revolution help keep the society from being anesthetized by inertia but to meet the demand for social change. The essay was published online Twenty-First Century (University of Hong Kong), July, 31 2007.

有一位大學教授，喝醉了告訴我，現在他的職業身份是大學教授，但一旦為了革命需要，他獻出自己的生命也在所不惜。

所以後來我放棄了去搞清楚，誰是毛份子，誰是「毛份子同情者」。我的採訪是非常謹慎低調地進行的，大多數時間我以了解印度社會的名義，到處逛逛，和各階層的人顯得無意的隨便聊聊他們對於毛份子的看法。但反諷的是，一些「毛份子同情者」和我說起「革命行動」來，一個個很是自豪，激動處嗓門就放大了，甚至一次在一個餐館，幾個人敲著桌子唱起了「革命歌曲」，店主知趣地避到了一邊，我都害怕是不是被別人聽見，會造成誤會。

和所有這些人的接觸獲得的資訊與公開的文獻資料相互印證，使我可以對印度毛份子革命的狀況作一個基本的判斷。

三 他們為甚麼選擇毛的旗幟

我曾多次詢問那些堅定的毛份子有沒有聽說過，2005年中國駐印度大使孫玉璽的公開表態：「我們不清楚這些武裝組織為何盜用中國領袖毛澤東的名字；而且我們也不喜歡這樣。他們要這樣稱呼自己，我們也沒有辦法；但中國與他們從來沒有任何關係，中國境內也沒有任何組織或團體與他們有任何聯繫。」他們的反應普遍非常不屑：「那有甚麼奇怪，現在中國是走資派當權。」

他們舉起毛的旗幟要從中國輸出革命的年代說起，共產主義運動在印度的萌芽幾乎和中國同時在上世紀初就開始了，在印度爭取民族獨立的鬥爭中，共產黨也是一隻活躍的政治力量，但不同的是中國共產黨通過暴力奪權，建立了無產階級專政，而印度走上了議會政治的道路，但議會民主並不能解決全部社會問題，貧富差距，種姓歧視，官員腐敗等依然困擾著印度社會，很多社會底層民眾有一種強烈的不公平感乃至絕望感。

而這時候中國成為了對印度充滿感召力的磁石，一個被投射了理想主義光芒的烏托邦。一位年紀比較大的老人告訴我，他那時還參加過一些以戲班子，演出隊名義組織的毛澤東思想宣傳隊。這些毛澤東思想宣傳隊通常會在田間地頭舉行文藝表演，當把農民召集到一起以後，他們就會用類似說書的形式講毛主席領導下的中國革命故事，在他們的描述中，中國原本和印度一樣貧窮落後，但在毛主席的領導下，中國人民起來推翻三座大山，建立了自由平等富強的社會主義國家，農民生活非常幸福，這個神話對於不了解中國近現代歷史的印度農民來說會有很大的感染力。

1965年8月，以國防部長林彪的名義發表的〈人民戰爭勝利萬歲〉更是給印度革命者打了一針強心劑，是中共60年代初重要的世界革命指導性檔案，其內容即為後來「輸出革命」的主要內容。我在印度見到一些毛份子能大段的背誦該文的內容，令人矚目。該文以紀念抗戰勝利二十周年的名義，總結了毛澤東的「武裝鬥爭」、「人民戰爭」、「農村包圍城市」、「統一戰線」、「黨的領導」等一系列「中國革命的取勝法寶」，加上「帝國主義和一切反動派都是紙老虎」的論斷，為當時推動「世界革命」提出了一套系統的戰略。這套革命理論給印度的革命者極大的鼓舞啟發，他們驚喜地發現，印度和中國都有「半殖民地反封建」的傳統，都以農業人口佔大多數，革命在中國能取得成功，在印度為甚麼不能？

1966年，印共(馬)西孟加拉邦委員會內，以查魯·馬宗達為首的一派由於對黨中央的路線不滿，秘密成立了「印度共產黨毛澤東主義中心」組織。在毛澤東思想的武裝下，1967年，以馬宗達為代表的革命家領導下，他們在西孟加拉邦以盛產大吉嶺茶著名的的納薩爾巴里村起義，這被看成印度人民戰爭的一個轉捩點。那並不是第一次造反，確是第一次被中國共產黨公開支持的造反，《人民日報》緊接著就發表社論，歡呼那是「印度的春雷」，讓他們至今都興奮不已。這場起義雖然不久即被撲滅，但它的「星星之火」卻傳播到了更廣大的地區，同年11月各地的革命者匯聚加爾各答召開秘密會議成立了全印革命協調委員會(AICCR)。他們相信只有依靠暴力革命才能建立起一個「新印度」，不過和中國共產黨不一樣的是，他們似乎比較忽略統一戰線的鬥爭策略，在革命勝利之前他們就急不可待地亮出了「興無滅資」的底牌。「納薩爾運動」的第一次代表大會上，馬宗達宣布：「任何反對這場消滅鄉村敵人的戰役的人都不和我們站在一起」。他為革命暴力辯護的理論是「階級仇恨」。馬宗達說，「當用階級敵人的血來書寫口號，把階級敵人的頭掛在他的屋頂上的時候，這就是人民的階級仇恨的表達。游擊隊員對敵人是如此仇深似海，以至於不但把他們的頭砍下來，而且從他們的屋頂上踢下去。」馬宗達甚至比中國的革命者更加激烈的宣稱：「一個雙手沒有沾滿階級敵人的鮮血的人不能被稱為是一個共產主義者。」而有趣的是很多像馬宗達這樣的革命家都是出生最高的種姓婆羅門，甚至是非常富裕的資產階級或者地主家庭。

也許是因為他們這種革命理論的極端性，使他們很難在一個地區徹底站穩腳跟。在我和毛份子交流的過程中，我多次聽到他們說，「我們總有一天會有一個自己的『葉南』」，我一開始沒有反應過來，後來才明白他們說的是延安。但幾十年來即使在一些毛份子勢力強大的地方，也基本上是「員警統治白天，毛份子統治夜晚」。同時這些革命者自身也在不斷分裂之中，其中

中國的影響是非常巨大的，可以說中國革命一感冒，印度革命者就要打噴嚏，1971年林彪墜機給了印度毛份子當頭一棒，很多人茫然了，因為他們把林彪當作了毛澤東軍事理論的繼承發揚者；1972年，毛澤東與「美帝國主義的頭子」尼克森握手言歡，又導致了毛份子的分裂；1977年中國粉碎四人幫，結束文化大革命，更是讓很多人心灰意冷，心目中無產階級革命的聖地落入修正主義者之手，如同耶路撒冷淪陷一樣讓人五內俱焚。

很多人因此出於失望或者反省，走出了叢林，放棄了革命道路，其中一些人投身議會政治，而那些堅持下來的革命者在更加艱難的環境下鬥爭，並且更加執著。除了農村包圍城市的武裝鬥爭，最近幾年毛份子的鬥爭重點從土地改革和工會運動，擴大到了反對全球化，反對國有企業的私有化，及反對種姓制度，這樣有助於擴大他們的支援面。當一個失業的工人、一個破產的農民或一個無法養家糊口的手工業者，對生活感到絕望的時候，也許一個身邊的熟人就會和他談心：「為甚麼有些人這麼富裕，而你這麼貧窮，不是因為你不努力，不是因為你不夠聰明，而是因為這個萬惡的社會制度，為甚麼不和我們一起把它砸個稀巴爛。」

可以確信的是只要一個社會的不公平感和被剝奪感存在，毛理論就能夠找到根植的土壤，而毛的旗幟就會繼續飄揚，就像我曾經問一個毛份子：你們為甚麼要把毛澤東當作神一樣崇拜呢？他回答：因為那些資產階級有他們的上帝，他們信仰他們的上帝，同時剝削我們，所以我們要有我們的上帝，而毛就是我們印度革命者的上帝，《毛選》就是我們的聖經，我們相信這一定是上天的安排，就如同釋迦牟尼誕生於印度，他的思想卻在中國發揚光大。毛澤東誕生於中國，也許今天中國人不再那樣崇拜他了，但對我們印度的勞苦大眾來說，唯有毛的光輝思想使我們看到了光明，我們就是把他當作自己的救星。

四 他們為甚麼唾棄選舉

通常的觀點，毛份子的政治主張諸如社會平等、土地改革、更好的窮人福利，為包括共產黨(CPI和CPM)在內的大多數黨派所贊同，至少不反對，不同的是其他政黨的共識是需要用漸進的議會政治的道路來實現社會改良，而毛派公開宣稱議會政治是骯髒的，用暴力革命來打破現有政治體制是唯一出路。

難道以共產主義為指導思想的政黨就無法通過選舉參與政治麼？答案顯然不是這樣。即使共產黨中的左派(CPM)都有過非常好的選舉成績。比如在擁有8,000萬人口西孟加拉邦(West Bengal)共產黨(CPM)從1977年開始通過選舉成為執政黨，2006年11月剛結束的地方議會選舉中，CPM更是贏得了約37%的相對多數選票，以超過其他政黨的優勢大獲全勝，獲得了175個席位。印共在喀拉拉(Kerala)邦早在1957年就獲得了選舉勝利，成立了世界上第一個民主選舉產生的地方紅色政權。左翼組織在國會中也有62席，是國大黨及其聯盟和印度人民黨及其聯盟分別擁有223席和187席之後的第三大政治力量，雖然沒有參加內閣，但確是國大黨和人民黨都不得不爭取的關鍵力量。

而各地毛份子雖然一貫抨擊議會政治，也有過試圖參與議會政治的努力，政府也非常歡迎他們參加議會選舉，而不要搞武裝鬥爭。比如在1985年有幾個毛份子派別參加了省議會選舉，在八個省，共推出130個候選人，但最後非常遺憾的只得到了兩個席位。之後也有過很多次這樣的嘗試，甚至在1990年，毛份子的派別印度人民前線(IPF)獲得了印度國會的一個席位，當然同時它也暫時放棄了原來的武裝鬥爭，轉而「在議會進行階級鬥爭」。

但總的來說也許是出於吃不到葡萄說葡萄酸的心態，毛份子的主流派系愈來愈表示出對選舉政治的鄙視，如果問他們為甚麼曾經參加選舉而又落選，他們會解釋之所以參加只是為了進一步暴露資產階級議會政治的虛偽性。

不過毛份子堅持那些在選舉中贏得席位的政黨，都是靠賄選這樣的骯髒手段，即使共產黨也不例外，而毛份子的落選恰恰顯示出他們的崇高。我相信他們講的並非完全沒有道理，和中國一樣，印度也有比較深厚的腐敗文化，賄選更是非常普遍，很多農民都向我證明在選舉期間會有不少政黨的助選人員來用酒、食品、收音機等物品和他們換選票，他們也很樂於接受這些。再加上根據2001年的印度全國普查，有34.5%的印度人是完全不會寫字的文盲，更使得選舉容易被當地有經濟勢力者操縱。

很難說清他們是因為堅持暴力革命而無法在選舉中成功，或是因為他們無法在選舉中獲得成功，而變得更加傾向暴力革命。我和一位公開身份是報社編輯的毛份子的對話，他在毛份子中被稱作為「理論家」，也許能比較全面地解釋他們的邏輯。

問 你們為甚麼不考慮通過選舉來參與政治？也一樣可以為窮人爭取權益。

：

答 那沒用，參加選舉就意味著腐敗，意味著和資產階級同流合污，就像現在的印度共產黨，它已經背叛了革命理想，我們相信毛主席的教導，『槍桿子裏出政權』，只有武裝鬥爭才能為人民大眾贏得權力，真正的權

力。

問 甚麼才是真正的權力？

答 就是人民大眾可以說算了算的權力。

問 不通過選舉、代議制，怎麼來代表人民大眾的真實意願呢？

答 我們當然有民主，不過不是資產階級那一套，我們要搞無產階級專政的民主，那才是屬於人民大眾的民主，乾淨的民主。

問 為甚麼建立了革命政權就不會有腐敗？有一句格言叫絕對的權力產生絕對的腐敗，你大概也聽說過。

答 理論上是這樣，不過我們的革命政權不會，就像毛主席建立的人民政府一樣。

問 為甚麼？

答 這很簡單，有個別資產階級份子混進革命隊伍裏搞腐敗，而毛主席自己把全部生命都獻給了受壓迫的人民，他雖然有絕對的權力但他自己決沒有一點腐敗。（當時他眼中閃爍著不容置疑的光芒。）

五 毛份子要幹甚麼

有一個問題讓我非常感興趣，就是假如這些毛份子真的掌握了政權，敢叫日月換新天起來，會是甚麼樣子。儘管有很多歷史經驗表明，即使革命政黨當權後，也可能背棄原來的原教旨主義態度，採取較為實用主義的政策。不過在一個有約四十萬人口的煤炭工業城市Godavari Khani，我了解到一些有趣的故事，可以反映出他們大致的社會治理理念。這裏由於大量的礦工家庭，工會勢力非常強大，曾經是納薩爾運動的重鎮，該地現在還有一些諸如人民廣場，列寧大街一樣的地名顯示出革命特徵，今天的礦工中依然有納薩爾運動的週邊組織和骨幹人員。

最初從毛份子領導工人為了更好的勞動權益進行罷工鬥爭，在1980年舉行了一次持續五十六天的大罷工，並迫使廠方讓步，這是當地工人的首次勝利，為毛份子贏得了威信。

在領導工人取得了罷工勝利之後，毛份子們意圖在該地區向腐朽的生活方式開刀，也許是工作壓力大的緣故，當地很多礦工都有酗酒的壞毛病，一下工就愛到酒館 花天酒地，糟蹋錢不說，酩酊大醉回家還打老婆。毛份子的措施非常簡單，禁止礦工喝酒，有違反規定者，將召開批鬥會，並用鞭撻等方式使他們記住教訓。同時毛份子還宣布，在該地區賣酒為「非法」，責令當地的酒館在限定時期內改行關門，賣酒比喝酒罪刑嚴重得多，被視為「毒害工人階級」，如果超過限定時期仍然膽敢在礦區賣酒者，將被槍斃。誰都知道，毛份子可不是開玩笑的，也沒人敢拿自己腦袋開玩笑，幾天之內礦區一個賣酒的地方都沒有了，也再沒有人喝酒了。從效果上來看，礦工們無處消磨時間，一下工早早就回家了，還能夠帶更多的工錢回家，家庭也更和睦了。看到自己的丈夫被管教了，礦工的妻子們也開始擁護毛份子。不過當後來員警重新獲得了該地區的實際控制權後，作的第一件事，就是荷槍實彈保護酒館重新開張，並保護酒鬼們進去喝酒，如今該地區又恢復了常態，不過毛份子需要向政府示威時，酒館是一個比較主要的襲擊目標。

毛份子還有一個充滿想像力的大手筆，由於該地區大多數都是礦工家庭，產業單一，農副產品都需要從其他地方運過來。一些小販就把價格抬得比較高，雖然不是高很多，但是給本不富裕的礦工家庭增加了負擔，群眾意見比較集中，於是毛份子調查了周邊地區的物價後，張貼告示，給從柴米油鹽到禽蛋魚蔬都規定了「標準價格」，宣布從今往後，如果有商販超過標準價格販賣貨物，將被宣判為奸商，加以懲處。這一套做法在整個80年代都非常奏效，我詢問一個毛份子，為甚麼不辦個平價商店之類的，用經濟手段來調節物價，他不屑地說，那是資產階級的做法。

而毛份子最有威懾力的行動是放在打擊資產階級上，在上世紀八十年代中期該地區曾有兩個大礦的經理先後被刺殺，一個現在公開身份是工人的「前毛份子」認為，當時他們是很講道理，那兩個經理都以對待工人苛刻著稱，比如講工人覺得不舒服要請假，他們就不允許，或者要發要扣工資。於是毛份子首先客氣地和他講道理，告訴他這樣是不對的，如果他仍然不改正；毛份子將警告他在限定時期內必須改正；到時候如果工人群眾對他的態度仍不滿意；這樣毛份子就已經仁至義盡了，他們將宣布此人為「階級敵人」，宣判其死刑，並派出特別行動小組來執行。政府方面經常譴責毛份子「濫殺無辜」，不過我可以感覺到在一些底層群眾中間，毛份子被當作除暴揚善的英雄。為了證明自己的隊伍是大公無私的英雄，而不是出於私仇的暴徒，我聽到海德拉巴 (Hyderabad) 的幾個毛份子告訴我有一個該省的革命同志，自己殺了他的親哥哥，因為他哥哥是個為富不仁的大地主，並把他哥哥的土地

分給了窮人，不管這個故事有沒有誇張的成分，他們對這種大義滅親行為的態度都頗讓我吃驚。

我曾採訪了Godavari Khani 一個主要礦業公司的總經理Veera Reddy，當我詢問他對毛份子的看法時，他的回答比較謹慎：毛份子有一些做法我不贊成，但他們推廣了平等的思想是很好的，過去印度礦工見到經理要叫「老爺」，現在大家都認同人是平等的。我問他，你現在害不害怕毛份子？他說，自己不怎麼怕，因為他和工人關係不錯，不過他補充，在有毛份子活動的地方，經理們都比較小心，會覺得有隻眼睛在盯著自己。他同時抱怨，我們現在這些工人每天能真正工作3個小時就很不錯了，隨便遲到早退，你也不敢批評他們，更不可能開除他們，是典型的大鍋飯。目前該地礦工的工資水準在每月250美元的水準，一個人工作就可以養活全家。

由於印度的農民是不用繳稅，而且享受政府補貼的，所以毛份子也要小心的不增加群眾負擔。他們通過一些被官方視為違法的手段籌措革命經費，除了在農村地區打土豪分浮財以外，還會綁架一些大地主和其他他們認為為富不仁的人來要求贖金，他們甚至承認他們「偶爾」也通過販運大麻一類毒品來籌措資金，不過那是為了崇高的事業。而他們最主要的籌款對象是承包商，大概是建築承包商和當地政府之間往往有不可見人的交易，所以承包商通常是容易的籌款目標，在接到毛份子的通牒後大多會破財消災，息事寧人。我在印度遇到中國某工程隊的管理人員，據說他們也曾遭到打著毛份子旗號的劫匪，他們事先通知工程隊僱傭的當地保安，某日某時要來工地拉鋼材，不得阻攔和報警，那些保安都很乖。不過這些讓官方十分頭疼的事情，特別在底層群眾中並沒有甚麼反感，我遇到不少工人，農民都覺得毛份子這樣做很好，有人這樣對我評價：「如果毛份子問誰要錢，他一定是活該。」

對於官方和西方國際社會把毛份子當作恐怖組織看待，很多人是不贊同的，因為印度毛派雖然製造了很多刺殺和炸彈爆炸事件，但都是以政府官員、員警當局、大地主等「階級敵人」作為襲擊目標，從來沒有針對民用建築和公共場所。而且有毛份子還向我解釋，他們和紅色高棉不同，參加和退出都是自願的，只要不向員警洩露組織機密，即使退黨並且公開表示不同意毛份子的主張，也不會被當作叛徒。

六 毛份子向何處去

我在印度的了解使我感覺政府依靠武力打擊是不可能消滅毛份子的，除了前面提到毛份子擁有的群眾基礎以外，印度法律體系的嚴謹和低效也是一個重要原因。

由於對於證據的強調，要證明一個人犯罪非常困難，印度沒有思想罪或者言論煽動罪，要證明一個毛份子殺過人更加困難，除非當場抓獲，或者在其據點連人帶槍抓獲，否則員警很難做甚麼，一個毛份子只要不帶武器和紅寶書，走出叢林，宣布自己是一個「毛份子同情者」，員警就拿他沒辦法，一旦政府的打擊減弱，他又可以重新拿起槍開展武裝鬥爭。員警對於毛份子非常絕望，所以很多員警假如有可能的話就不會把毛份子帶上法庭受審，很通常的做法是在抓捕現場就將毛份子擊斃，匯報說毛份子負隅頑抗，或者把毛份子帶到郊外槍斃，偽造現場說毛份子要逃跑。有一個在德里的毛份子告訴我，全國一年中被員警秘密處決的毛份子有上千人，一個海德拉巴的毛份子告訴我，僅在該省去年毛份子就有超過220個被殺，這個數字大概包括在戰鬥中被誤殺的平民，而根據人權組織的報告在過去的16個月中有211個毛份子被捕後被秘密處死。也許統計管道不同，我無從核實這個資料的可靠性，不過可以確信的是，殺戮和鎮壓反倒刺激了一些毛份子「唯有犧牲多壯志」的激情，很多毛份子懷著為革命同志討還血債的仇恨，把員警作為報復的目標，而這又更加刺激了員警對毛份子的圍剿，冤冤相報，沒完沒了。

在海德拉巴省，2004年10月在國大黨當選後在一批左翼知識份子的撮合下，政府伸出橄欖枝表示願意和毛份子談判，毛份子們之所以接受談判的邀請，很大程度上是受重慶談判的故事的影響，也想利用這次談判，在政治上佔據主動。和談期間，雙方都宣布停火，政府要求毛份子放下武器，既往不咎，甚至可以考慮邀請其參加聯合政府；2002年Andhra Pradesh省和毛份子也舉行過類似的談判，但最後都以談判破裂，雙方重新開戰為結局。因為毛份子提出的條件最主要兩條，一是，審判曾經秘密處決毛份子的員警，為革命同志報仇；二是，實行土改，把地主的土地分給農民，這兩個條件顯然政府無法滿足。

包括毛份子們自己也不知道，他們的革命鬥爭何時能取得勝利，或者說應該向何處發展，有時來自尼泊爾或者委內瑞拉的消息會讓他們感到振奮，不過更多的時候他們處在被邊緣化的悲憤和焦慮之中，他們所能做的只有「把革命堅持到底」。但同時他們仍然有一種希望在支撐著他們，一是寄希望於國際形勢的變化，他們的核心人物都非常愛讀喬姆斯基的著作，那些資訊使他們相信，國際帝國主義勢力已經是強弩之末，多行不義必自斃；二是寄希望一個天才領袖的出現，帶領他們經過「長征」通向最後勝利，因為他們知道中國的革命也曾經經歷過漫長的低谷，曾有一個毛份子告訴我說：我們的革命現在非常艱難，目前勝利的希望很渺茫，但我們還是會堅持下去，一定會有一個天才的革命家領導我們走向最後的勝利。我問：甚麼樣的天才革命家？他認真地說：那個人應該就是毛在印度的轉世靈童 (incarnation)。我

開玩笑說：「不巧呀，毛的轉世靈童現在在北朝鮮。」他瞪了我一眼：「我們還會等待他的下一個轉世。」

七 寬容激進也是維護民主

通常人們提到印度，會聯想起單食瓢飲的甘地、高貴的非暴力運動、神秘的冥想和清心寡欲的素食主義，在這樣一個國家可以有人高舉暴力革命的旗幟四十年之久似乎是一件很奇怪的事情。

實際這是一種美麗的誤會，早在甘地的年代，他的非暴力宣導就並非政治舞台上唯一一種聲音。在今天的很多印度人心中巴加·辛（Bhagar Singh）是更加偉大的民族解放英雄，他公開走和甘地不同的抗爭道路，比如往議會丟炸彈，來表現對被英國人操縱的議會政治的不滿，最後被捕犧牲。在很多人看來，甘地不過是一個下山摘桃子的人，如果沒有大量像巴加·辛這樣的革命志士，告訴當權者不要不顧及人民的怒火，「人民生氣了，後果很嚴重」，殖民主義者根本不會屑於和甘地這樣乾枯的老頭子坐到一張談判桌前。

很多歷史資料也證明了在很多方面甘地其實是一個保守的原教旨主義者。而印度教帶給印度社會的一個重要副作用就是種姓制度，甘地更多的時候，不願意激怒印度教的保守勢力，宣揚一種相互妥協的觀點，比如不同種姓「不一樣但是平等」，「人的五個手指頭都不一樣長短，功能也不同，但沒有高下之分。」這種觀念是意圖調和種姓之間的矛盾，但卻不能使低種姓的知識份子滿意。而安貝德卡（Ambedkar）博士就是甘地最激烈的抨擊者，這位來自達里茲（dalits，所有種姓中最底下的賤民）的傑出人物，在英殖民地時代享受了最好的教育，獲得了英國和美國的博士學位，而他對於甘地在種姓方面的保守態度怒不可遏。乃至於甚至表示過，假如不能讓低種姓享有平等權益，他情願讓英國人繼續統治下去也不希望印度教徒統治這個國家。他帶領低種姓的群眾衝進過去只有高種姓者才能進入的神廟，到過去只有高種姓者才能飲用的水源去取水，為此一度造成了很多地方的騷亂。還有更激進的力量乾脆組織了諸如達里茲黑豹黨一類的團體。但這些人的堅持卻使得印度的上層社會不得不傾聽來自弱勢族群的聲音，最後促成了給與低種姓階層在教育 and 就業等領域的一系列優惠保障政策。而安貝德卡博士的努力也最後贏得了印度主流社會的尊重，他在印度獨立後被任命為憲法起草委員會的主席，今天被稱作印度的憲法之父，幾乎在印度的每一個村莊都能看到他的塑像。

在印度這種對激進主義的同情乃至支援，並不僅僅是一種社會底層的情感。在主流知識份子中，也不乏毛份子的支持者，比如我採訪了德里大學發展中國家研究中心的主任莫漢蒂（Manoranjan Mohanty）教授，他在任何場合都不會放棄為毛份子辯護的機會，把他們稱作「推進社會進步的一支積極力量」。而在奧斯馬尼亞大學（Osmania University，為公立大學有五十多萬學生），一次和二十幾個社會學專業的教授及博士生的座談中，我聽見不止一個人表示印度現在就缺一次文化大革命。我很吃驚，就問他們有多少人持這種觀點，沒料到所有的人都舉起手來。我問他們，為甚麼他們這麼喜歡文化大革命，他們回答文革才能帶來平等。我向他們解釋，和馬丁路德金追求的平等不一樣，其實文革中人和人的關係並不平等，在政治上扶植起工農階層來鎮壓原來的上層社會人士，實際上是創造了一種新的不平等，而且工人農民通過文革在生活上並沒有獲得實際的好處，國家經濟經過文革處在崩潰的邊緣。我解釋這意味著在印度如果來一次中國式的文革的話，婆羅門都得淪為賤民，大學教授得去掃馬路，他們聽了面面相覷，有一個人大概覺得我是胡說八道，臉漲得通紅，拂袖而去。我又接著問：你們還有多少人認為印度應該來一次文化大革命？仍然有十幾個人舉起手來，其中有一位是社會學系系主任，還有一位博士生（後來我知道他自己就是婆羅門）。也許社會學專業的學者比較左傾一些，但仍然給我很大的震撼。讓我想起那句格言，把它改一下：「一個人的毒藥，對另一個人是美食。」（One man's poison is another man's meat.）

不僅在理想化的知識份子中間，在印度政府高層也同樣有一種對激進主義者的同情情緒。在印度我感到非常有趣的發現，儘管在毛份子眼裏國大黨之流，都是資產階級份子，共產黨也是修正主義份子，甚至有人向我控訴，共產黨當權的地方鎮壓毛份子比國大黨還要積極，徹底走上了反動道路，比如他們的領袖查魯·馬宗達就是1972年在共產黨執政加爾各答被捕並死在獄中的。但政治家們通常對毛份子用比較包容的心態，比如當重要毛份子被捕的時候，很多地方政治家會呼籲公正審判，確保其人身安全等；甚至把毛份子視為同盟軍，比如印共（馬派）海德拉巴省的省委書記 B. V. Raghavulu 先生，他是一位彬彬有禮的學者，在我採訪他時，他表示雖然共產黨對毛份子的激進做法並不贊成，但是他們的存在對於推進土地改革和社會公正也確實有積極的一面。不管是否心口如一，提倡用更寬容的態度瓦解毛份子，而不是光用鐵腕打擊，也是印度政壇的主流意見。比如2006年初會議上總理曼莫漢·辛格在提醒毛份子對於國家安全的威脅的同時提出了一個「兩條腿走路」的對策。除了採用有效的員警行動，還要使他們減少被剝奪和被拋棄的心情。例如進行一種寬鬆的招安和復興工作，並且在受毛份子控制的地區實施各種農村建設和改革計劃，如實行農村就業保證計劃、緩解農村高利貸

剝削、制止基層官員員警對農民的侵擾等等。甚至一位前任員警總監 Prakash Singh，他和毛份子鬥了一輩子，退休後卻寫了很多文章，呼籲社會理解毛份子，呼籲政府把著眼點放在解決社會矛盾，而不是軍事打擊上。

恰恰是這些寬容明智的政策制訂者，使我不相信民主和憲政已經根深蒂固的印度社會會爆發一場中國式的文化大革命或者武裝革命，但那些喧囂的革命呼聲，卻在給社會敲響警鐘，讓養尊處優的既得利益者，不要過於被惰性麻痹，盡力去滿足社會變革的願望，緩和社會矛盾，因為如果不這樣做，假如情緒被長久積壓，無法釋放，最後爆發出來會更糟。在去印度之前，我一直把激進主義思潮當作一種社會發展中的非建設性力量，對於革命宣傳我是反感的，而在印度的觀察，讓我固有的觀念有了一些變化，也許在一個有足夠包容力的憲政框架下，適當的激進主義同樣有一些建設性的作用，就好像為了達成一個社會進步的目的，既需要有人唱白臉，也需要人唱紅臉一樣。

從某種意義上講，我想正是那些革命力量的長期存在，和明智的領導者的不斷妥協改革，才使得印度這個和中國一樣人口多、底子薄的東方大國，不會徹底走上暴力革命的道路。

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