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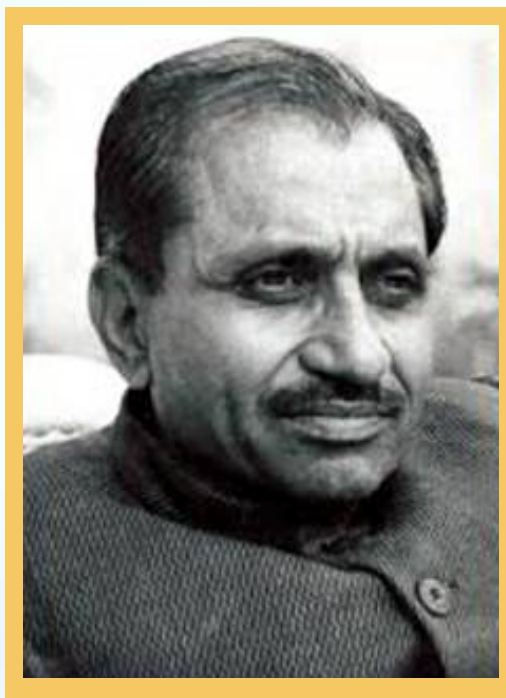
## EDITORIAL

IDEAL OF THE  
TIRANGA YATRA  
& FOUR GOALS  
OF FREEDOM

## SPECIAL ARTICLE

PRIME MINISTER  
MODI REACHES  
OUT TO AFRICA

# THE MODI DOCTRINE



“ But every and any ideology will not make a party a fit vehicle for ushering in a democratic era. The ideology must not go counter to the spirit and ideals of democracy itself. In fact in many a country democracy has suffered much at the hands of those who have used democracy only to subvert it. The communist have an ideology and claim to follow democratic means – only to ultimately put an end to democracy. “Democracy”, to quote Dr. Radhakrishnan again, “has for its basic principle the dignity and freedom of the individual. The free spirit of man is responsible for all progress in human history. Any system which tends to destroy the individual is undemocratic. The techniques of democratic way of life are discussion, persuasion, compromise, give and take.” Therefore, any ideology which is rigid and does not believe in human dignity and freedom will not suit a democratic set-up. Such parties should either adapt their ideologies to democratic conditions, or stop paying lip service to democracy.”

**-Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya,**  
(Democracy & Political Parties,  
February 27th, 1961,  
Political Diary)

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- \* The Modi Doctrine 13-08-2016

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- \* श्री अमित शाह द्वारा उल्लाल, मंगलोर (कर्नाटक) में देश की आजादी के 70 वर्ष पूरे होने के उपलक्ष्य में आयोजित 'तिरंगा यात्रा' रैली में दिए गए भाषण के मुख्य अंश



# THE IDEAL OF THE TIRANGA YATRA & FOUR GOALS OF FREEDOM



**Dr. Anirban Ganguly**

**T**he just concluded Tiranga Yatra announced by Prime Minister Modi to commemorate the 70 year of India's independence and to celebrate the contributions of revolutionary nationalists, now forgotten or marginalised since independence for political reasons and omitted from the saga of our freedom movement, has given rise to a wave of enthusiasm.

This Yatra was organised at various places across the country, in villages, in towns, in various districts has also understandably, given rise to palpable nervousness among those who have always questioned civilisational India, who have time and again in the name of "freedom of expression" forwarded insidious agendas of national disintegration and, more importantly, amongst those who have always argued the case of India's enemies and of those who wish to see her bleed and get cut into thousands of pieces. These elements have worn the mask of derision against the Yatra because it directly challenges their divisive mindset.

The Tiranga Yatra is a resounding speed-breaker, a formidable barrier, an unassailable dyke against these elements who wish to see India deluged and fragmented. The symbolism of seeing central ministers and ordinary karyakartas and citizens come out and make an effort to reach the spot where a particular revolutionary was born, or had attained martyrdom or had carried out a decisive feat that contributed to the strengthening of our aspiration for freedom and gave a fillip to the struggle itself was a moving one. It was a moving moment when senior leaders, senior ministers in the Union government undertook journeys to these sacred spots which were pilgrimages of freedom and along with the Tricolour paid homage to the sacrifices, spirit of selflessness that these forgotten freedom fighters themselves epitomised.

It was for the first times since independence that such a nationwide effort was made and such a tribute organised. For it has been the bane of our education system, of our political discourse, that often those who selected a certain path to freedom, the path of revolution have been erased from our texts and generations of young minds have grown up without even knowing of these great personalities. This deracination from our essential revolutionary struggle has thus led a group, goaded by some out of job politicians, to speak against the very existence of India and call for her vivisection. For those who have not had to struggle for our freedom, especially the communists among them, and some sections among later generations who got freedom on a platter the sense and spirit of freedom is an easily bartered commodity.

The Tiranga Yatra is a historic response to that attitude, an attitude that is now being flaunted with rashness and with the explicit aim of belittling the *raison d'être* of India. The Yatra in fact propitiates the memory of revolutionary nationalists and strengthens the fabric of freedom and as Prime Minister Modi said gives an opportunity for countless million of Indian youth to pledge that they shall live and sacrifice themselves for India's well-being, for her present prosperity and future greatness.

As BJP president Amit Shah said, during the course of his phase of the Yatra, reminded those gathered to listen to him at Ullal in Mangalore, the place where the legendary Rani Abbakka Devi carried on an epic struggle against the marauding Portuguese forces throughout 1500s, that it was "imperative today to unite against those who, in the name of freedom of expression, are working to divide and dismember the country." Without "nationalism and patriotism" pointed out Shah no nation or people could aspire to greatness, "inspiration", he observed "could only be derived from the lives of these valiant and sacrificing revolutionaries and not from NGOs who sloganeer against the very existence of India." Interestingly, he referred to the four goals of freedom, a thought he had derived from K.M.Munshi, philosopher-statesman, nationalist, freedom fighter and intellectual. Munshi is one such pre-eminent personality who has faced marginalisation since his death in 1971 simply because his politics, world view, cultural positions did not fit into the Congress-Marxist rubric. The BJP president spoke of how a free country trying to fulfil the dream of an ideal state needed to pursue four goals: protect national sovereignty along with safeguarding the borders, strive to acquire respect and self-respect in the comity of nations, strive to be prosperous and culturally vibrant and strive to establish a "kalyan rajya" - welfare based state on the vision of humanism. Those busy peddling the agenda of India's disintegration will naturally oppose these ideals and aims or deride them as false goals. The message of nationalism in our age is to pursue these four goals unequivocally.

It is a message worth introspecting especially on the 70th year of our independence. The forces of disintegration have to be countered and decimated...

## SALIENT POINTS OF PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS ON INDEPENDENCE DAY



**P**rime Minister Narendra Modi addressed the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the occasion of the country's 70th Independence Day.  
*The highlights of his speech are given below:*

- ☞ On this auspicious occasion of Independence Day today, I convey my greetings to 125 crore countrymen and the Indian Diaspora.
- ☞ This 70th Independence Day is an occasion of resolve to take the country to newer heights with new energy, new commitments and new passion.
- ☞ Behind this independence that we enjoy today, there is the saga of dedication and supreme

sacrifice by lakhs of great men.

- ☞ From the Vedas to Vivekanand, from the Upanishads to satellites ( Upagraha ), from the Sudarshan Chakradhari Mohan to Charkhadhari Mohan, from the Mahabharat famed Bhim to Bhimrao is the long history and heritage of ours.
- ☞ India is not 70 years old but this journey is 70 years long.
- ☞ Now turning Self Governance to Good Governance is the resolve of one hundred and twenty five crore countrymen.
- ☞ Whether it is Panchayat or Parliament, Gram Pradhan or Pradhan Mantri ( Prime Minister), everyone, every single democratic institution has to discharge his of its responsibilities, has to fulfil his or its duties to further the cause of Good Governance.
- ☞ If India has lakhs of problems, it also has one hundred and twenty five crore brains that have the ability to resolve them.
- ☞ The administration has to be responsive ( sensitive ) ; it has to be responsible also.
- ☞ You may remember there was a time when one had to wait for long if he or she was to go to a big hospital.
- ☞ Today issuing ( getting ) 15 thousand Rail- tickets in a minute has become a reality.
- ☞ Emphasizing on efficiency to bring ( for) good governance in the system is equally important.
- ☞ Earlier, it used to take four to six months to get a Passport if you had no recommendation; now you get it in one or two weeks.
- ☞ In 2015-16 only one crore 75 lakh Passports, issuing in such a short time, but we did it.
- ☞ We will take out Group C and Group D posts in the Government from the purview of Interview.
- ☞ Now, no Interview procedure will be there for these 9000 posts.
- ☞ We have to increase the speed of our work, we have to further speed it up.
- ☞ Earlier, 70-75 kilo metre of rural road used to be built in a day; today that speed (of work) has been increased to 100 kilo metre per day.
- ☞ Renewable energy is a focus area for us.
- ☞ In the past one year we could increase about 40 % in wind energy generation.
- ☞ About 30-35 thousand kilo metre transmission lines were laid in a year. Today we have advanced this work to 50 thousand kilo metre.
- ☞ If we talk of Rail line commissioning in the past ten years.....Today in two years we have succeeded in doing 3500 kilo metre of work.
- ☞ We have given four crore new gas connections in 60 weeks.
- ☞ More than two crore toilets have been constructed in our villages. Over 70 thousand villages have been free from open defecation.
- ☞ We are distributing the bulb for Rs. 50 which was earlier being sold for Rs. 350. This was possible because of Government's intervention.
- ☞ We have already distributed 13 crore bulbs; we are determined to distribute 77 crore bulbs.
- ☞ There will be a saving of 20 thousand megawatt of electricity, which means a saving of one lakh 25 thousand crore rupees.



- ☞ By saving 20 thousand megawatt of electricity we can fight Global warming.
- ☞ Because of our continuing measures we did not allow the Inflation rate to shoot up beyond 6%.
- ☞ We tried our level best to check Inflation.
- ☞ I will not allow the poor man's dish become costlier.
- ☞ We have given attention to health of soil. We have laid emphasis on soil health card and water management.
- ☞ I congratulate my farmer brothers for their unrelenting efforts to fill the country's food basket despite the drought in the past two years.
- ☞ We have fixed MSP for pulses; also given bonus. We have set up a well-managed arrangement for purchase of pulses.
- ☞ We have given emphasis to water management, irrigation and water conservation.
- ☞ Our current emphasis is on per drop more crop and Micro irrigation. We have resolved to complete first over 90 irrigation projects that were in limbo.
- ☞ We have distributed 77 thousand solar pumps.
- ☞ Our scientists have developed more than 131 new varieties of seeds that can enhance per hectare productivity of our lands.
- ☞ Scarcity of fertilisers is a thing of past. Now we have succeeded in producing maximum quantity of fertilisers.
- ☞ We have for the first time succeeded in ensuring maximum guarantee with minimum premium for Fasal Bima Yojana.
- ☞ We have built warehouses to store 15 lakh tons food grains.
- ☞ We have promoted 100 % FDI in food processing which will give fillip to our agro- based industries.
- ☞ Total transformation and transformation with transparency. We tried to implement the principle of Reform, Perform and Transform to set things right in every range.
- ☞ We have given priority to the country and not the Government.
- ☞ We laid emphasis on Integrated Development instead of Isolated Development. We concentrated on empowerment rather than entitlement.
- ☞ About 118 projects worth seven and a half lakh crore rupees which some past government began or thought of or planned remained pending. I identified these projects and asked the officials to complete them.
- ☞ Blocking projects , delaying them and wasting money amounts to criminal negligence and we tried to get over that.
- ☞ Railway projects are now cleared within six months and this was possible because of our clear cut policy and honest intensions.
- ☞ Thousands of crores of rupees dues of cane farmers remained pending; we cleared 95% of these arrears.
- ☞ We have resolved to provide gas stoves to five crore poor families. Out of which 50 lakh families



- have already been given stove within the first 100 days.
- ❧ We have taken steps to convert post offices payment banks. This will spread a network of banks across rural India. The people are now able to get benefit of their Jan Dhan accounts and MNRGEA payments are being credited to their accounts through Aadhar.
  - ❧ We have succeeded in bringing back Air India into profit. BSNL came into profit for the first time. Besides, Shipping corporation also came into profit.
  - ❧ All middlemen have been forced out the system through Aadhar.
  - ❧ Spectrum auction went online. This resulted in filling the exchequer, the competition was also healthy and the country benefitted.
  - ❧ In the matter of FDI, India has become an attractive destination.
  - ❧ As far as GDP growth rate is concerned, we have left behind even the big economies of the world.
  - ❧ The GST regime is to become a powerful tool to strengthen the economy.
  - ❧ The initiative that we have taken to save and educate the girl child needs cooperation of the society.
  - ❧ Three and a half crore people have got the benefit of Mudra Yojana. Most of the beneficiaries were the first timer as bank customers; among them about 80% were SCs, STs and OBCs. Among the borrowers 80% were women.
  - ❧ Maternity leave has been increased to 26 weeks so that mothers can take better care of their babies.
  - ❧ We have launched e-NAM for farmers. Today a farmer can sell his produce online to any market in the country.
  - ❧ We have given momentum to several projects including Bharatmala, Setu Bharatam and Bharat net.
  - ❧ Ramanucharyaji used to say, serve all people without discrimination, Do not disregard anyone for his age or caste, Respect all.
  - ❧ We have taken several initiatives to fulfil the aspirations of the youth.
  - ❧ India is exporting maximum quantity of software today, more than 50 new mobile factories have been set up and all these are generating jobs for the youth.
  - ❧ One rank one pension scheme has brought delight to every household of our defence personnel.
  - ❧ We declassified the files related to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.
  - ❧ Parliament passed the Real Estate bill and this resulted in regulating real estate sector and hindrances towards building houses for the middle class have been removed.
  - ❧ Unity in diversity is our strength, the sentiment of unity has struck deep roots into our society.
  - ❧ WE know how to respect, how to play host and how to make others our own. We inherit this great tradition and that is why there is no place for violence and atrocity in our country.
  - ❧ This country will not tolerate violence and terrorism. It will never bend before terrorism and Maoism.

- ❧ If we fight against poverty only then we will march ahead towards prosperity and so, I call upon all neighbours to join this initiative.
- ❧ The way the people of Baluchistan, Gilgit and Pak occupied Kashmir praised me, has enhanced the prestige of my 125 crore countrymen.
- ❧ 20 % increase in Pension given to freedom fighter families is under our consideration.
- ❧ The Government will build a Museum in memory of our brave tribal freedom fighters
- ❧ The Government will bear the treatment expenses of a poor family up to one lakh rupees.
- ❧ Let one society, one dream, one resolution , one direction and one destination be our guiding spirit.

## SALIENT POINTS FROM EXCERPTS OF PM MODI'S INTERACTION AT THE TOWN HALL MARKING TWO YEARS OF MYGOV



❧ **गुड** गर्वनस, हमारे देश में माना गया है गुड गर्वनस is a bad politics ये सही है ज्यदातर राजनीति में चुनाव जीतने के बाद सरकारों को इस बात पर ध्यान रहता है कि वे अगला चुनाव कैसे जीते और इसीलिए उनकी योजनाओं की priority उसी बात पर रहती है कि भाई अपना जनाधार कैसे बढ़ाए और अधिक वोट पाने के रास्ते खोजे और उसके कारण जिस उद्देश्य से कारवाह चलता है वो कुछ ही कदमों पर जाकर के लुढ़क जाता है। अगर हम गुड गर्वनस पर बल नहीं देंगे तो सामान्य मानव के जीवन में बदलाव नहीं आएगा। डेवलपमेंट एंड गुड गर्वनस इन दोनों को संतुलित संबंध होना चाहिए तभी जाकर कर सामान्य मानव को लाभ होगा। गुड गर्वनस के लिए पहली आवश्यकता है जिस जिस की जो जिम्मेवारी उससे उस जिम्मेवारी का हिसाब मांगना चाहिए न नीचे हिसाब मांगना चाहिए न उपर ये सीधा सीधा उससे मांगना चाहिए तब सुधार होगा।

❧ Optimal utilization of the natural resources जितना ज्यादा हम, हमारे पास जो प्राकृतिक संपदा है उसका हम जितना ज्यादा उपयोग करेंगे, उतना हमारी इकोनॉमी बढ़ेगी। हम ह्यूमन रिसोर्स का भी प्रॉपर यूटीलाइजेशन कर पाएंगें।

❧ भारत जैसा देश हजारों साल पुरानी विरासत हमारे पास है। हम अगर टूरिजम को बढ़ावा दें और सफलतापूर्वक बढ़ावा दें।

दुनियाभर के टूरिस्ट आए तो हमारी ये जो, हजारों साल से हमारे पास ये जो विरासत है वो हमारी इकोनॉमी में कनवर्ट हो जाएगी, वो हमारी इकोनॉमी को बढ़ा देगी।

भारत के जो मैनुफैक्चर्स हैं, उन्हें ग्लोबल मार्केट की ओर टारगेट करना चाहिए। जब भारत में बनी हुई ट्रेन मेट्रो ऑस्ट्रेलिया में एक्सपोर्ट होती है। भारत में बनी हुई जापानी कंपनी मारुति जब भारत में कार बनाती है और जापान उसको इंपोर्ट करता है तो हिंदुस्तान की इकोनॉमी बढ़ती है। आज हम अरबों-खरबों रूपयों का पेट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट बाहर से लाते हैं, हम सोलर एनर्जी पर बल दें। हमारी अपनी ताकत पर हमारा इंपोर्ट कम करने की स्थिति में आ जाए, हम ग्रोथ में एक नया एडिशन जोड़ सकते हैं। डिफेंस अरबों-खरबों रूपयों का डिफेंस इक्यूपमेंट हमको बाहर से लाना पड़ता है। भारत के नौजवानों के पास टैलेंट है। अगर हम डिफेंस इक्यूपमेंट मैनुफैक्चरिंग के लिए टेक्नोलॉजी ट्रांसफर करेंगे, एफडीआई लाएंगे, लेकिन बनाएंगे यहां नौजवान को रोजगार भी मिलेगा और हमें इंपोर्ट की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी।

अगर हम पीने का शुद्ध पानी ये अगर हम पहुंचाने में सफल होते हैं जो सामान्य मानव का हक है। मैं जनता हूं काम बड़ा कठिन है लेकिन किसी ने तो सोचना चाहिए। बिमारियों की काफी कठिनाईयां वहीं से दूर होना शुरू हो जाएगी। ये जो मैं स्वच्छता अभियान के पीछे लगा हुआ हूं।

स्वच्छता अभियान एक प्रकार से बीमारी के खिलाफ लड़ाई है और गरीब को मदद करने का सबसे बड़ा उपक्रम है। अगर एक गरीब परिवार में बीमारी आती है तो वर्ल्ड बैंक का कहना है एवरेज 7 हजार रूपया उस गरीब परिवार का बीमारी को लेकर खर्च होता है। अगर वो परिवार स्वस्थ रहें, सिर्फ दवाई नहीं एक ऑटो रिक्शा वाला बीमार हो जाता है तो तीन दिन ऑटो रिक्शा बंद हो जाती है और तीन दिन पूरा परिवार भूखा बैठा रहता है और इसलिए जब हम हेल्थ की चर्चा करें तब सामान्य मानवीक जिंदगी में हम क्या कर सकते हैं उस पर अगर हम बल देंगे तो हम वाकई, वाकई हेल्थ सेक्टर में बदलाव आएगा। preventing health care पर बल देना पड़ेगा। चाहे वो स्वच्छता का विषय हो, योगा हो एक्सरसाइज हो, खान-पान की आदतें हो, दूसरा affordable health care।

विदेश नीति कोई ये सारे एग्रेसिव, प्रोग्रेसिव और प्रोएक्टिव इन शब्दों की जरूरत नहीं है एकचूली विदेश नीति देश के हित की नीति होती है। इंडिया फास्ट उसका सेंटर पॉइंट यही है इंडिया फास्ट भारत के स्ट्रेटजिक जो हित है उसकी रक्षा हो भारत आर्थिक दृष्टि से फले फूले दुनिया में जहां जगह हो वहां पहुंचे और तीसरी बात है वक्रत बदल चुका है पूरी दुनिया इंटरडिपेंडेंट है दुनिया का कोई देश एक खेमें में भी नहीं है और खेमे वाला युग भी पूरा हो चुका हो हर कोई किसी से जुड़ा हुआ है और पांच चीजों में साथ चलता होगा दो चीजों में सामने चलता होगा फिर भी साथ-साथ रहते होंगे ये अवस्था है इसका बारीकी से समझना उपयोग करना और भारत के हितों की चिंता करना ये मैं समझता हूं बहुत बड़ा काम है और दूसरा एक पहलू जो हमने उपयोग करना चाहिए वो है हमारा diaspora दुनिया में बसे हुए भारतीयों की अपनी एक ताकत है, दुनिया में बसे हुए भारतीयों की अपनी एक साख है, इज्जत है, उनकी उन उन सरकारों ने उनके प्रति बड़ा आदरभाव है ये हमारी शक्ति का भारत के लिए दुनिया के साथ संबंधों को जोड़ने के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी भूमिका अदा कर सकते हैं इन दिनों diaspora काफी प्रोएक्टिव हुआ है। एसरटिव भी होने लगा है। मैं समझता हूं ये भारत के लिए बहुत आवश्यक है और बहुत अच्छी तरह दुनिया के लिए भारत एक नई उर्जा के साथ, एक प्रतिष्ठा के साथ अपनी जगह बना रहा है और लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों से जुड़े हुए देशों में भारत आज कई initiative ले रहा है जिसमें दुनिया हमारा साथ दे रही है

मैं कभी-कभी ये जो गौ-रक्षा के नाम पर कुछ लोग अपनी दुकानें खोल करके बैठ गए हैं, मुझे इतना गुस्सा आता है। गऊ भक्त अलग है, गऊ सेवक अलग है। पुराने जमाने में आपने देखा होगा कि बादशाह और राजाओं की लड़ाई होती थी, तो बादशाह क्या करते थे अपनी लड़ाई की फौज के आगे गायें रखते थे। राजा के परेशानी होती थी कि लड़ाई में अगर हम शास्त्रों



का वार करेगे तो गाय मर जाएगी तो पाप लगेगा और इसी उलझन में वो हार जाते थे और वो भी बड़ी चालाकी से गाय रखते थे। मैंने देखा है कि कुछ लोग जो पूरी रात एंटी सोशल एक्टिविटी करते हैं, कुछ लोग। लेकिन दिन में गऊ रक्षक का चोला पहन लेते हैं। मैं राज्य सरकारों को अनुरोध करता हूँ कि ऐसे जो स्वयंसेवी निकले हैं, अपने आप को बड़ा गौ-रक्षक मानते हैं उनको जरा डोजियर तैयार करो। 70-80 percent ऐसे निकलेंगे जो ऐसे गोरख धंधे करते हैं जो समाज स्वीकार नहीं करता है लेकिन अपनी उस बुराईयों को उनसे बचने के लिए ये गौ-रक्षा का चोला पहन करके निकलते हैं। और सचमुच में, सचमुच में वो गऊ सेवक हैं तो मैं उनसे आग्रह करता हूँ एक काम कीजिए। सबसे ज्यादा गाय कत्ल के कारण मरती नहीं है, प्लास्टिक खाने से मरती है। आपको जान करके हैरानी होगी गाय कूड़-कचरे में से प्लास्टिक खा जाती है और उसका परिणाम होता है कि गाय मर जाती है।

# PRIME MINISTER MODI REACHES OUT TO AFRICA



 **Ambassador Virendra Gupta**

**P** rime Minister Modi's visit to four important nations in Africa s- Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Kenya – in early July 2016 reflects his commitment to keep Africa at the centre of India's attention and substantially expand our outreach. Surprisingly, Mozambique and Kenya had not hosted an Indian Prime Minister in more than 30 years!! Taking place shortly after the visits of our President and Vice President to Africa covering a diverse geographical spread and also counting PM Modi's own previous outing to Seychelles and Mauritius, it does represent an unprecedented high level of political engagement with Africa. In fact, that has been the missing aspect in our otherwise very robust and extensive relations with Africa and PM Modi has done well to address that issue upfront.

PM Modi was received with warmth and brotherly bonhomie which characterize India's relations with Africa. In an unusual departure from the protocol regulations, he was received in Tanzania by the Prime Minister and later seen off by President Magufuli himself. In Kenya, President Kenyatta made a special gesture of accompanying Modi to the Indian community reception. Reflecting on the type of relationship between India and Africa President Kenyatta noted that the fundamental engagement was based on people to people relationship. These

relations cannot be measured solely in terms of trade and investment links even though those have grown at an impressive rate with our annual trade turnover with the continent hovering around US \$ 70 billion and our total investments in Africa having already crossed US \$50 billion mark. The underpinning for the relations is provided by the solidarity of our peoples during our struggle for freedom and independence, the shared empathy of having suffered colonial subjugation and oppression, the humiliations and depredations of the past and our common aspirations to provide a life of freedom and equality for our people.

Africa's rich mineral resources hold an immense strategic significance for us. We already import roughly 20% of our oil and gas requirements from this continent and this figure is set to increase further as we continue to diversify our energy supplies and reduce our dependence on the volatile Middle East region. Viewed from the above perspective it was only appropriate that PM Modi's current African outing should have included Mozambique and Tanzania. Both these countries have substantial reserves of natural gas to meet our growing requirements and there are no security issues involved unlike in trying to source this strategic commodity from elsewhere.

In Mozambique, PM Modi gifted a large consignment of medicines including ARV drugs symbolizing our solidarity with that country in fighting the menace of HIV/AIDS and committed India's support for the capacity building of security forces. A long term agreement for purchase of 100,000 tonnes of pulses with the provision to double that figure in four years was particularly important from India's point of view as it would help alleviate shortages and check the rising prices in our country. This would also bring some balance in our bilateral trade which is currently heavily weighted in our favour with annual Indian exports being around US \$ 1.3 billion.

PM Modi's next stop was South Africa. Despite our close strategic ties and extensive functional links covering almost all areas because of our membership of IBSA and BRICS, sadly there had not been any official bilateral visit by our Prime Minister in nearly ten years. Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited South Africa in October 2011 for the IBSA summit and later in March 2013 for the BRICS summit but despite availability of adequate windows on both the occasions; our side sadly did not consider adding the bilateral segment in either of these visits. Ironically, President Putin of Russia as well as President Xi Jinping of China undertook bilateral official visits to South Africa on the occasion of BRICS summit in 2013 and we lost a crucial opportunity to underscore our special ties with the land of Madiba, where Mahatma Gandhi spent over 20 years constituting critical formative part of his political life.

For PM Modi the visit to South Africa was like a pilgrimage, an opportunity to pay a tribute to the birth of the Satyagraha movement and the methods employed by Gandhi in mass mobilization against unjust and oppressive apartheid laws in the country which laid the foundation of our own freedom struggle. It was an opportunity to thank South Africa and express our deep

sense of gratitude in having given us the gift of Mahatma. It was also an opportunity to remember Mandela's legacy of forgiveness and reconciliation in the true footsteps of Mahatma.

South Africa is our largest trading partner on the continent if one were to exclude oil imports with annual trade turnover reaching nearly US \$ 15 billion mark in 2011-12. Since then our imports from South Africa have come down a notch because of depressed commodity prices. The focus sectors are pharmaceuticals, IT, financial services, tourism and SMEs and talks between PM Modi and President Zuma covered all these areas. The two leaders also underscored the potential to enhance cooperation in the promising defence production sector. South Africa has an extensive defence production establishment which saw considerable innovation and development during the apartheid era and the technologies available with it hold considerable relevance in terms of our actual needs. It could well prove a reliable partner in our quest to ramp up manufacturing of defence hardware in our country.

While in South Africa, PM Modi also took up the question of India's membership of NSG. Some media reports had indicated that South Africa was holding out in Seoul along with China and some other countries. We do understand that it has a certain outlook towards NPT considering that it had the nuclear capability during the apartheid era and that it had voluntarily rolled back its nuclear programme before transition to the democratic dispensation there. Be that as it may, we do appreciate President Zuma conveying South Africa's support for our membership of NSG in most unambiguous terms.

In Tanzania, which we remember as Nyerere's country, PM Modi's visit saw 5 agreements including the grant of a new US \$ 92 m Line of Credit for a water supply project. Tanzania is our major trading partner with annual trade turnover of US \$ 3.6 billion and India accounting for more than one thirds of total pharmaceutical imports. Modi offered to share India's experience in wide ranging areas of agriculture, education, healthcare and skill development.

There was considerable media focus on the work of 'Solar Mamas' a group of rural women solar technicians trained in Bunker Roy's Barefoot College in Tilonia, Rajasthan to install, use, repair and maintain solar lanterns and other household lighting appliances. The improvement in the quality of lives of rural population in Tanzania that they have brought about is really remarkable.

The last leg of PM's visit was Kenya, an important East African country with which we have traditionally enjoyed extensive wide ranging relations. Jomo Kenyatta the country's first President is widely revered in India. India is currently Kenya's largest trading partner with our exports reaching close to US \$ 4 billion per annum. With growing trade and investment links the agreement on avoidance of double taxation which was one of the seven pacts signed during the visit would prove beneficial to our investors. India also provided a new Line of Credit for US \$ 45 million to Kenya for development of Small and Medium enterprises. India's offer to build a cancer hospital was also deeply appreciated.

All the four countries covered by PM Modi share the Indian Ocean seaboard with the



ocean provides us enormous opportunities in harnessing the blue economy but at the same time enjoins upon us the collective responsibility to secure the critical sea lanes of communications through which much of our trade and energy supplies flow. These issues dominated the agenda for PM's discussions with his counterparts and a number of agreements were signed during the visit to strengthen our bilateral cooperation in order to build up the capacity of these countries in this key area. India is to also provide support in hydrographic survey and extend requisite training facilities. South Africa is to assume the Chairmanship of Indian Ocean Rim Association in 2017 and agrees with us on the need to give priority attention to maritime security issues in the grouping.

International terrorism has emerged as one of the biggest challenges of our times and PM Modi also focused on the need to forge concerted action to deal with this problem. Number of agreements were signed to enhance our cooperation through greater networking and exchange of intelligence.

South Africa has a strong Indian diaspora numbering around 1.5 million including nearly 50,000 expatriates comprising of IT professionals and representatives of hundreds of Indian companies with offices in Johannesburg. Kenya and Tanzania also have a large concentration of people of Indian descent. PM Modi addressed well attended community receptions in all these places in order to reach out to the diaspora and urged them to be a part of growing India-Africa economic connect. He conveyed his admiration for the diaspora's contribution in their respective adopted countries' economic and political development and in this context recalled the distinguished role played by several individuals in the struggle against apartheid with which India herself had been closely associated. Diaspora's presence lends a strong people connect to our relations with Africa but the time had come to take those connections forward to build a more prosperous and mutually beneficial economic and commercial relations.

The India Africa Forum summit held in New Delhi in October 2015, where PM Modi took the initiative to invite all African leaders in a departure from the previous arrangement of Banjul formula, provided an opportunity for us to reinforce the pan African platform to further cement our ties with this continent. With his visit and other high level visits, PM Modi has sought to strengthen bilateral linkages with key countries for more tangible cooperation in specific areas including in defence and security fields. Overreliance on the pan African platform has obvious limitations because of institutional capacity constraints of AU Commission and we must continue to invest sustained efforts at bilateral and regional levels. It is worth noting in this context that the African continent is not all that homogenous given regional disparities, continuing rivalries and competing aspirations among big nations, which is in evidence most palpably on the question of UN Security Council expansion.

PM Modi did well in offering India's experience and expertise to support the development

processes in Africa and for the capacity building of governance and technical institutions there. His assertion that Africa would find a credible partner in India went down well with African leaders and the general public. In my own interaction with African leaders I have found that they are generally aware of our own resources constraints and what they really want from us is to teach them “how to fish rather than giving them the fish.”

India and Africa share deep emotional bonds and our relations are as between brothers; African countries regard India as one of their own and rejoice in the success of India to draw inspiration for their own development and advancement. The sense of mutual respect and equality which pervades this relationship makes it rather unique. PM Modi’s approach towards Africa is conditioned by the need to preserve that dictum as the underlying basis of our relations with Africa. He is, in fact, driving our engagement with Africa to the next level, investing considerable personal attention.

We have made substantial financial allocation to Africa by way of soft loans and outright grants which were considerably augmented at the Delhi India Africa summit. In my view any comparison with richer western nations or Japan or for that matter China is meaningless since our circumstances are different and we must seek to optimally utilize our unique strengths and leverages. In fact, there is a widespread disenchantment within Africa at somewhat predatory policies followed by China and it is an appropriate time for us to make a renewed thrust in Africa. PM’s visit indeed provided us a good opportunity to demonstrate our presence and driving philosophy for development there.

Before PM Modi undertook his visit to Africa there were some unfortunate incidents of attacks on African students in Delhi and other parts of the country. Our government was quick to assure that the perpetrators of those criminal activities would be brought to justice and that steps would be initiated to prevent recurrence of such incidents, these did cause a little flutter in some African capitals. PM Modi’s visit, which underlined our abiding commitment to friendship with the African people as well as our support and partnership in their development, has certainly helped assuage any frayed emotions at their end. Reports from Africa indicate that this round of visit has, in fact, had a significant impact on relations and is being seen there as historic and unprecedented.

*(The Author retired from the Indian Foreign Service recently and served as Indian High Commissioner in Tanzania and South Africa. While serving at the Indian Mission to the United Nations in New York he was elected as the Rapporteur of UN Special Committee against Apartheid)*

# GST WILL IMPART A GIANT ECONOMIC LEAP TO INDIAN ECONOMY



Siddharth Singh



**I**ndia is at a position where the world is looking at it as a major economic power and all the ingredients are available to convert our nation into one quickly. Our prime minister has a sincere and result-oriented approach, which is clubbed with his resourceful Cabinet, which laid the foundation stone of clearance of the reformative GST Bill. The GST Bill was first mooted in 2000 under the NDA government and the GST framework has been under development since then. Significant efforts have been made during the last two years under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi who made the passage of the Bill a collective responsibility and achievement of every Member of Parliament. This is the best gift for a nation as we celebrate our Independence Day. India is known for its unity in diversity where people with diverse cultural backgrounds co-exist in harmony. From financial and growth perspective it may be derived that India has united once again to emerge as a single market with the passage of GST Bill. The complex web of tax structure may be eradicated and India will rise further in the Ease of Doing Business Index. The complex and cumbersome tax system, which has pushed entrepreneurs to limits in

order to abide by all the laws laid by authorities at central and state levels, will be history soon. GST framework will make the entire country of 1.3 billion consumers a single market.

GST has been hailed as one of the biggest and boldest reforms in post-Independence India. The power to make laws in respect of supplies in the course of inter-State trade or commerce will be vested only in the Union government. States will have the right to levy GST on intra-State transactions including on services. Centre will levy IGST on inter-State supply of goods and services. Import of goods will be subject to basic customs duty and IGST.

GST defined as any tax on supply of goods and services other than on alcohol for human consumption. Central taxes like, Central Excise duty, Additional Excise duty, Service tax, Additional Custom duty and Special Additional duty and State level taxes like, VAT or sales tax, Central Sales tax, Entertainment tax, Entry tax, Purchase tax, Luxury tax and Octroi will subsume in GST.

Petroleum and petroleum products i.e. crude, high speed diesel, motor spirit, aviation turbine fuel and natural gas shall be subject to the GST on a date to be notified by the GST Council. Entertainment tax, imposed by states on movie, theatre, etc will be subsumed in GST, but taxes on entertainment at panchayat, municipality or district level to continue.

GST may be levied on the sale of newspapers and advertisements and this would give the government's access to substantial incremental revenues.

Stamp duties, typically imposed on legal agreements by the state, will continue to be levied by the states.

Administration of GST will be the responsibility of the GST Council, which will be the apex policy making body for GST. Members of GST Council comprised the Central and state ministers in charge of the finance portfolio.

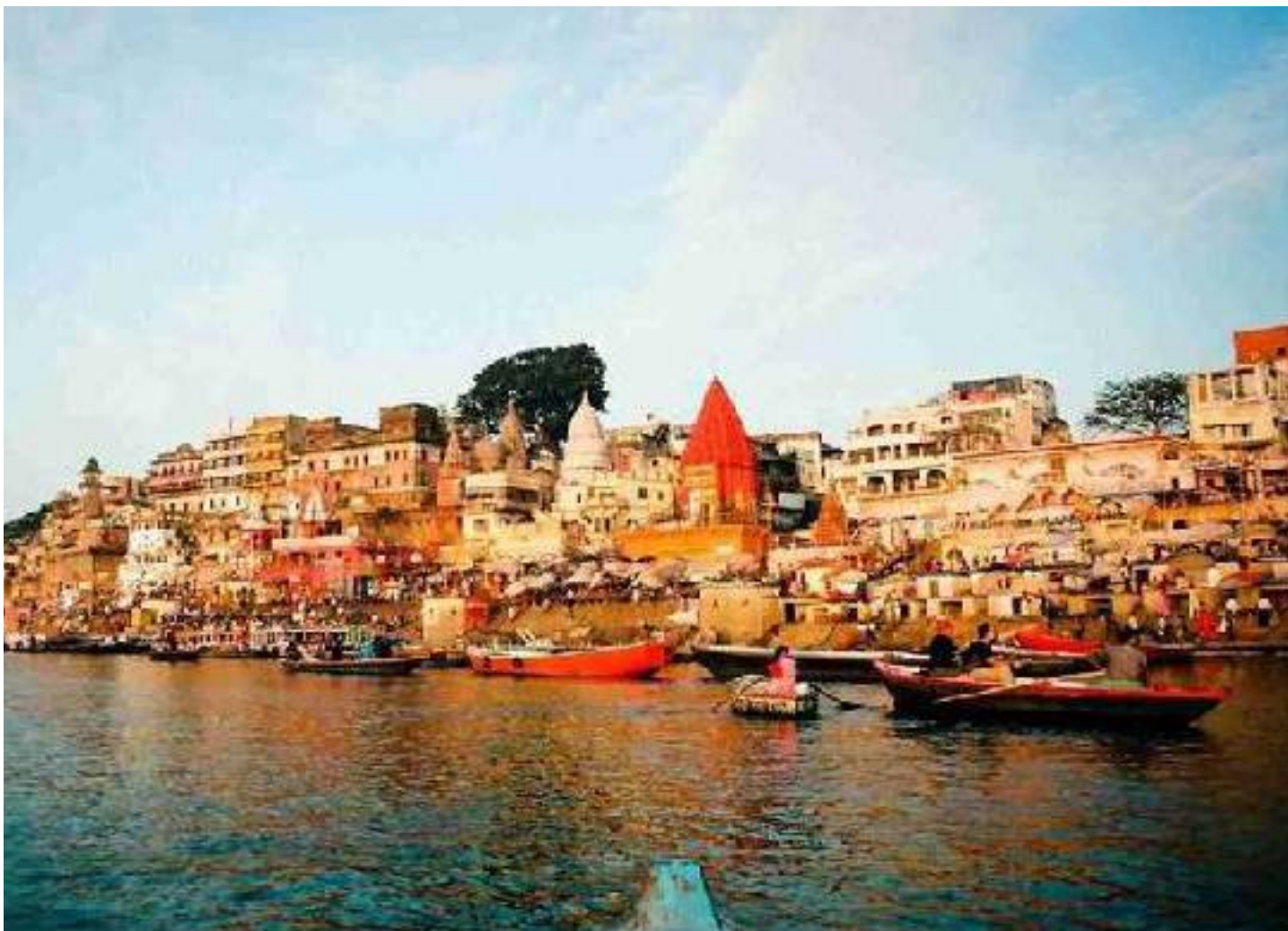
So the initiatives have the potential to make India unified and a top economic power.

*(Siddharth Singh is Research Scholar  
at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)*



# GANGA GRAM YOJANA

 SPMRF Desk








**M**odi Government has started an initiative called “Ganga Gram” under the Namami Gange Programme. Under this, villages will be developed as model villages by developing sustainable sanitation infrastructure and cleanliness practices. In the first phase, government has started the Ganga Gram initiative in 306 villages.

The details of the Ganga Gram initiative are given in next page:

## **Conditional Assessment and Feasibility Study of Ganga Gram:**

IIT consortium have been entrusted to carry out conditional assessment and feasibility study in 100 identified villages. CPSUs are engaged to carry out conditional assessment and feasibility study in 128 identified villages; and UNDP has been engaged to carry out conditional assessment and feasibility study in 78 identified villages in Sahebganj district, Jharkhand.

*The Ganga Gram initiative would help in the rejuvenation of river Ganga by:*

-  Making the village open defecation free
-  Abate direct discharge of untreated liquid wastewater from such villages into river Ganga
-  Facilitate adequate infrastructure for crematoria
-  Develop proper solid waste disposal facilities in order to avoid any pollution to river Ganga
-  Promote better sanitation practices in the villages through IEC activities.

# INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH EASTERN REGION



SPMRF Desk

**M**odi Government is giving special attention to infrastructure development projects, such as, road, rail, communication, and telecom network in the North Eastern Region. A total of 197 on-going road development projects are being implemented under various programmes/schemes of Ministry of Road Transport and Highways (MoR&TH) in the North Eastern States. The total length and the total sanctioned cost of these projects are 4320.95 kms and Rs.37691.05 crore respectively. 20 major railway projects consisting of 13 new lines, 2 gauge conversions and 5 doublings, having aggregate length of 2624 km at a cost of Rs.52030 crore have been taken up in the North Eastern Region. An expenditure of Rs.21336 crore has been incurred on these projects upto March, 2016. An outlay of Rs.5040 crore has been provided for 2016-17 for these projects and for the residual liabilities of some completed projects. Comprehensive Telecom Development Plan for North-Eastern Region at a cost of Rs.5336.18 crore is under implementation.

North Eastern Council (NEC) is implementing 715 various development projects in North Eastern States, and are underway at a total approved cost of Rs.714864.98 lakh. Ministry of Rural Development is providing assistance in respective State Governments under the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) programme.

Ministry of DoNER is also providing funds for meeting gaps in infrastructure, subject to the availability of funds. An amount of Rs.4113.31 crore has been released for 608 Roads and Bridges under Non-lapsable Central Pool of Resources (NLCPR) scheme upto 5.8.2016. Under the scheme, North East State Roads Investment Project, a total of 433.4 kms is undertaken for upgradation/ construction in the North East at a total cost of Rs.1355.83 crore. Under North East Road Sector Development Scheme (NERSDS), four inter-state neglected road projects have been taken up by Ministry of DoNER for upgradation through National Highway & Infrastructure Development Corporation Limited (NHIDCL).

# TRANSFORMING DEFENCE PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS



Vaibhav Chadha



**O**n 27th July, 2016 the Union Cabinet chaired by PM Narendra Modi approved the abolition of Guidelines for establishing Joint Venture Companies by Defence Public Sector Undertakings (DPSUs). The Guidelines for establishing Joint Venture Companies by DPSUs were approved by the previous Government in February, 2012. As per the Government note, the abolition of the existing JV Guidelines will provide a level playing field between DPSUs and the private sector. It will allow DPSUs to forge partnerships in an innovative manner enhancing self-reliance in defence and provide for enhanced accountability / autonomy of DPSUs in ensuring that the process of JV formation is effectively managed by them, so as to secure best outcomes in the interest of national security.

The prime responsibility of DPSU's is to provide state-of-the-art equipments to the Armed Forces and at the same time augment India's self-reliance in defence production. With this decision of the Union Cabinet, all nine DPSUs namely Mazagon Dock Limited, Bharat Electronics Limited, Goa Shipyard Limited, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Garden Reach Shipbuilders & Engineers Limited, Hindustan Shipyard Limited, Bharat Earth Movers Limited, Bharat Dynamics Limited and Mishra Dhatu Nigam Limited, are likely to be benefited.



In January, 2015 Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar at the meeting of Consultative Committee had announced major reforms in the Defence Procurement Procedure and the Defence Production Policy. The motive of such reforms was to provide greater autonomy to the DPSUs and Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) units for their enhancement. Defence Minister had stated “Defence industry in India is a unique industry where the only customer is the Services.” “We need to delegate powers to DPSUs to enable them to take decisions so that they improve the service of the platforms available to the Armed Forces...Every machine in operation is like adding an additional equipment. DPSUs will be provided support but they must think like a commercial organization,” he said.

PM Modi while inaugurating the 10th edition of Aero India held in Bengaluru at the Yelahanka Air Force Station in Feb, 2015 had said: “The country should work towards increasing domestic procurement from 40% to 70% in five years. And that is why defence is at the heart of our Make in India programme. We are reforming our defence procurement policies and procedures. There will be a clear preference for equipment manufactured in India. Our procurement procedures will ensure simplicity, accountability and speedy decision-making.” With the increase in participation by private players in the defence sector, the requirement of having separate JV guidelines for DPSUs was no longer considered necessary by the Government. Multifarious guidelines for DPSU’s were likely to create obstruction in the growth of this industry, but now by doing away with such guidelines the Government has tried to bolster the indigenous defence manufacturing industry. The recent cabinet decision is in consonance with the visions laid down by Prime Minister and Defence Minister for the defence sector. The decision will also help in paving way for the defence public sector undertakings in becoming self-reliant.

In a report released in March, 2016, Sweden based think tank Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) mentioned that India has again emerged as the world’s largest buyer of weapons and military equipment, accounting for around 15 per cent of all such international imports. “A major reason for the high level of imports is that India’s arms industry has so far largely failed to produce competitive indigenously-designed weapons,” the report said. Since long the performance of these DPSU’s has not remained up to the mark leading to a rise in India’s defence imports worth billions of dollars each year. But with abolition of such guidelines and more reforms likely to be infused in this industry, it may turn out to be a major game changer for the Indian defence set up. Government is working in a direction to make advancements in the Defence Public Sector Undertakings. Only by transforming the DPSU’s, India will be able to cut short its defence imports and reach a phase where we shall see an escalation in exports of indigenous arms and equipments to the World.

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# CONGRESS RESORTS TO PROPAGANDA AND FALSE HISTORY



Dr. Anirban Ganguly

**T**he Congress party through Anand Sharma made a puerile statement on Friday 19th August, regarding the BJP, Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), RSS and the freedom movement. The statement was puerile because it had either emanated from a shallow trawling of the internet by some callow researcher in Anand Sharma's office or perhaps it was the result of some so-called research done by the Congress Vice-President's office which, of late, increasingly resembles a crèche.

The Congress was particularly peeved at Prime Minister Modi's observation, that post-independence, the workers of the BJS had to swim against a strong adverse tide, and face difficulties which were often more excruciating than those faced by Congressmen during the freedom movement.

Prime Minister's reference was mainly in the context of BJS and BJP's long struggle against decades of state sponsored ideology before emerging as a popular choice. In that era of a dominant state sponsored ideology the Congress, in cahoots with the Left, did everything in its power to exclude all alternate narratives and viewpoints. It was, swimming against this rough and high tide of political intolerance that BJS and then BJP eventually succeeded in striking deep roots and in ultimately emerging with a resounding electoral mandate.

We have always argued that the Congress party was never cerebrally strong and had outsourced a lot of its intellectualism – if at all it had any – to patronized historians and intellectuals from the Marxist fold. Anand Sharma's press comment this 19th August, was actually a reflection of how disastrous that intellectual outsourcing can be. Thus a refresher for the depleting memories of uninitiated Congress leaders may be useful here. Some points to dispel the propaganda of falsehood that they have churned out follows:

Anand Sharma must remember that the Congress party to which he belongs is the Congress (Indira) and not the original Congress which, as a platform of diverse political opinion and views, spearheaded the freedom struggle. That Congress wasted away after independence, especially after

Sardar Patel's death, and finally ceased to exist in 1969. The present Congress party calling itself the Indian National Congress is thus a travesty of historical facts.

The Congress was never a party it was rather a vehicle for various political opinions to come together to fight for India's independence. Anand Sharma's poor knowledge of the freedom struggle and modern India's history was reflected in his statement. It must have been surely drafted by communist historians who are on the payroll of the Congress party.

It is common and historically supported knowledge that Dr. K.B.Hegdewar, founder of the RSS, was actively involved with the Anushilan group of revolutionary nationalists in his days in Kolkata in the early part of the last century. Dr. Hegdewar continued to be actively associated with the Congress, with the freedom struggle and was jailed twice. In a sense, Hegdewar's political career spanned from 1905 and ended with his death in 1940. Between 1905 and 1918 he followed Tilak's political line. The legendary revolutionary Pandurang's Khankhoje, (1884-1967) once wrote of this period, "Hegdewar and the other young men were in the forefront of Swadeshi propaganda and delivered speeches".

On joining the Medical College in Calcutta in 1910 Dr. Hegdewar became an active member of the "Anushilan Samiti". These dimensions of Hegdewar's life too are well documented by other revolutionaries and participants who were not members of the RSS!

Veteran Communist leader late E.M.S. Namboodiripad (in his booklet 'BJP-RSS: in the service of the Right Reaction') accepts that "Dr.Hegdewar, the founder of the RSS" was a "nationalist who participated in the Gandhi led movement, [and] continued to be a Congressman for a decade more and participated in the 1930 Salt Satyagrah".

Dr. Hegdewar had unequivocally declared that "there is no politics for a dependent nation other than the politics of freedom struggle. It is a sine qua non for it". He responded to Mahatma Gandhi's call for civil Disobedience and along with others plunged into the movement.

The second phase of Dr. Hegdewar's political career began with his active participation in the Amritsar Congress in 1919 and soon he was elected the secretary of the Central Provinces Congress Committee. He plunged again into the non-cooperation movement with great vigour and was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment on August 21, 1921.

His statement on 5th August in court is worth remembering, perhaps Anand Sharma and his Congress Vice-President may try to learn it by heart, it has very inspiring and useful pointers for inculcating the spirit of nationalism and freedom. "It has been charged", began Hegdewar, "that my speeches [delivered in course of the non-cooperation movement] have spread discontent, hatred, feelings of sedition towards the British Empire in the minds of Indians and sown seeds of enmity between Indians and Europeans. And I have been asked to explain. I consider it an affront to the dignity of my great country that a foreign government should subject a native Indian to inquiry and sit in judgment. I do not recognize that there exists in India today any lawfully

established government. It will be surprising if anybody should claim so. What obtains today is a regime of usurped authority and repressive rule deriving power therefrom. The present laws and courts are but handmaids of this unauthorized regime. In any part of the world it is only a government of the people constituted for the people that is entitled to administer law. All the other forms of rules are but ruses adopted by deceitful usurpers to loot helpless nations. What I tried to do was to inspire in the hearts of my countrymen an attitude of reverential solicitude for their motherland which at the moment happens to be in a wretched condition. I tried to instill in the people the conviction that India belongs to Indians. If an Indian speaking for his country and spreading the nationalist feeling is regarded as committing sedition, if he cannot speak the truth without promoting hatred between Indians and Europeans, Europeans and those claiming to be the Indian government would do well to bear in mind that the day is not far off when foreigners will be forced to quit this country.” The judge passing delivering the judgment remarked that his defence was “more seditious than his speech”.

In fact Dr. Hedgewar’s vision for declaring complete Independence saw its fruition with the Congress’s decision to observe Jan 26, 1930 as Independence Day. His letter to RSS Shakhas on the occasion reads, “This year the Congress has passed a resolution declaring complete Independence as its goal. The Congress Working Committee has called upon the entire nation to celebrate Sunday the 26th January 1930 as Independence Day. We of the Sangh are naturally immensely happy that the All India Congress has endorsed our goal of Complete Independence...It is therefore suggested that all Swayamsevaks of each Shakha meet at 6 p.m. on Sunday, 26th January 1930, at the respective Sanghatans. After offering salutation to the National Flag, i.e. the Bhagwa Dhvaj, the concept of Independence and the reason why this ideal alone should be kept before every one should be explained. The function should conclude with an expression of congratulations to the Congress for having accepted the ideal of Complete Independence.”

Swayamsevaks in large numbers and Dr. Hedgewar himself participated in the Salt Satyagraha. For Dr. Hedgewar, as he said on the eve of his participation in the Salt Satyagraha, “Preparedness to lay down one’s life for the country is the essence of such lasting patriotism [and] the present fate of the country [could not] be changed unless lakhs of young men dedicate their entire lifetime for that cause. To mould the minds of our youth towards that end [was] the supreme end of the Sangh.” He was also arrested in Yavatmal for breaking the “Forest Law” while participating in the “Jungle Satyagraha” under Loknayak M.S.Aney and was interned for nine months.

Displaying his ignorance, Anand Sharma said that the Jana Sangh and BJP did not participate in the freedom movement. Jana Sangh & BJP could not have participated in the freedom movement because they were founded after independence. The former, was founded, to provide an alternative to the increasingly dictatorial Congress under Nehru and the latter to prevent anymore desecration of India’s democracy by the fascist Congress under Indira Gandhi



which had suspended all democratic rights between 1975 and 1977.

It is common historical knowledge that during the Quit India movement a large number of Congressmen continued their political struggle and existence under the umbrella of the RSS. A large number of RSS Swayamsevaks were, in fact, part of the Congress and were active throughout the Quit India movement. The Hindu Mahasabha too had become the umbrella under which a large number of Congress volunteers and workers continued the struggle.

It is the Congress party's eternal political bedfellows the Communists, who had in fact collaborated with the British during Quit India, with the aim of containing the movement and getting revolutionaries arrested. A large number of files exists which show how Indian Communists were patronized by the British and worked to sabotage the movement. It is only a party as shameless as the Congress that has, till date, repeatedly aligned itself with the Communist parties in India. It was Savarkar and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee who spearheaded a countrywide movement demanding the release of Gandhiji during his Poona incarceration and fast. It was again Savarkar and Dr. Mookerjee who took out a countrywide movement in support of the INA soldiers. It was Dr. Mookerjee who exposed the horrors of the manmade Bengal Famine of 1943. While Nehru wrote his Discovery of India as a guest of the British Government – Dr. Mookerjee kept up the pressure on the colonial government exposing its misdeed and its collusion with the Muslim League. Dr Mookerjee's English daily, The Nationalist, was considered to be, as per British intelligence records, "consistently anti-British." It was this anti-British attitude of his during the war that led to Dr. Mookerjee's exclusion in the Shimla Conference held at the end of the war under Wavell's chairmanship.

Anand Sharma's little propaganda statement turned pamphlet ludicrously accuses Dr. Mookerjee of colluding with the Muslim League through his alliance with A.K.Fazlul Haq, little knowing that Fazlul Haq was not a member of the Muslim League when the Democratic Progressive Coalition was formed in 1941 with Haq as premier and Dr. Mookerjee as finance minister.

In fact, Haq had already left the Muslim League and there was a golden opportunity for the Congress to form a coalition with him and the MLAs of his Krishak Praja Party and sideline the League. But the Congress did not do it, abdicating a great opportunity. Dr. Mookerjee stepped in with the support of Sarat Chandra Bose, formed a successful coalition of Hindus & Muslims in Bengal and succeeded in sidelining the Muslim League and in providing a successful administration. It is too much to expect the Congress party and Anand Sharma to know this much history.

One of the disastrous effects of the resignation of the Congress provincial ministries, however, was that it allowed the Muslim League to take a lead. The letter that Anand Sharma quotes selectively and with malicious intent is a letter Dr. Mookerjee wrote on July 26 1942 asking

the British Governor of Bengal to allow Indian ministers to work and to take steps to diffuse the situation that was gradually building up and to take the leaders and the people of India in confidence and make a joint effort to face the Axis threat. Dr. Mookerjee basically argued that his Indian colleagues in the ministry be allowed to take decisions without hindrance or interference. The letter's context, its content and its objective is too vast and too complex and too multi-dimensional for the comprehension of Congress party spokespersons or that of its Vice President.

The paragraph that Anand Sharma asininely and selectively quotes from Dr. Mookerjee's letter ends with the following exhortation which his prompters have cleverly omitted, "You as Governor will function as the constitutional head of the province and will be guided entirely on the advice of your [Indian] Ministers. Permanent officials must be made to feel that Ministers will have both power and responsibility, and that they can never approach you over the head of the Ministers, or by way of appeal from their decision. The policy to be pursued by the Ministers will be related, on the one hand, to the genuine economic and political rights of the people, and on the other hand, to the paramount needs of defence against the enemy's attack. It is only by a transfer of power to Indians that you can hope to win the active and willing support of the people of Bengal." Dr. Mookerjee tried his best to prevent the crackdown on satyagrahis and Quit India volunteers in Bengal and eventually resigned in protest against it and against the effort to block the functioning of provincial autonomy by the permanent civil service controlled by the British.

In a final letter he wrote to the Viceroy on August 12 1942, Dr. Mookerjee emphatically argued that, "The British Government should declare that India's freedom is formally recognized" and that "the demand of the Congress as embodied in its latest resolution virtually constitutes the national demand of India as a whole." "It is regrettable", he observed, "that a campaign of misrepresentation is now being carried in some sections of the foreign press characterizing the Congress demand as a virtual invitation to Japan and a surrender to chaos and confusion." In fact during this period Dr. Mookerjee emerged as the stoutest champion of India's freedom.

Post independence the BJS faced and survived under highly adverse circumstances. Be it remembered that its founding president, Dr. Mookerjee, himself a former union minister in free India's first cabinet, member of the Constituent Assembly and thus one of the founding fathers of our Constitution, member of the first Lok Sabha, unofficial leader of opposition was tricked into entering Kashmir, detained and incarcerated there simply because he demanded greater integration of that part with the Indian Union and argued that the writ of the Indian Constitution run uniformly across the country. He paid the price for struggling for unity, greater integration and for protecting India's sovereignty. Dr. Mookerjee was imprisoned at the behest of the present Congress Vice-President's great grandfather and died in detention, unattended, medically neglected and segregated from family, friends and supporters. What greater adversity could there have been

for the fledgling Jana Sangh?

While Nehru's Congress twiddled its thumb on the Goa issue and allowed Portuguese rule to continue, it was BJS which took part in the Goa liberation movement and on 23rd June 1955, launched the Goa mukti satyagraha under the leadership of Jagannath Rao Joshi. The satyagrahis under Joshi's leadership were fired upon, many killed and injured, and then imprisoned and tortured. The movement continued unabated while Nehru procrastinated and finally ordered a military action only in 1961. When Prime Minister Modi referred to the extreme adversity through which the party grew he referred to this phase as well, to this era of sacrifice. These were the kind of adversity and struggle that BJS and later the BJP went through in independent India. The resistance of BJS and RSS workers during Emergency, their struggle for preserving democracy by facing torture, imprisonment and death is a saga that is yet to be told in its entirety.

Apologists of separatism, communist sympathizers and leaders who have lost all national moorings and vision invariably resort to false propaganda – it is a sort of oxygen for them. The present Congress party is unfortunately full of such elements.

As for for Rahul Gandhi whose latest fad is to quote – again out context – passages from the Upanishad, he would be well advised to remember and internalise the following adage – buddhir yasya, balam tasya, nirbuddhisya kuto balam – strength and power lies with the intelligent, the unintelligent, the uninformed is devoid of strength and power.

Rahul can lead his party into a deep introspective reflection on that ageless maxim sprung from the perennial wisdom of our traditions!

# संघ के संघर्षों और बलिदानों की अमिट गाथा है गोवा मुक्ति आन्दोलन!



प्रवीण शुक्ल 'पृथक'

**पु**र्तगाली वास्को-डि-गामा हो या स्पेनिश कोलम्बस, इन सबको इतनी दूर भारत आने के लिए जिस एक चीज ने विवश किया वो थे भारतीय मसाले, यह मसाले जिस जगह पैदा होते थे वो पश्चिमी घाट का तटवर्ती इलाका था, उसमें भी मालाबार और गोमान्तक इस व्यापार के केंद्र में रहे हैं। कोलंबस तो कभी भारत नहीं पहुँच पाया, पर वास्को-डि-गामा का बेड़ा सन 1498 में भारत पहुँच गया, जिसके बाद पुर्तगालियों का भारत में लगातार आना जाना लगा रहा। इन व्यापारिक यात्राओं ने शीघ्र ही राज्य विस्तार का रूप ले लिया जिसके बाद का इतिहास पुर्तगालियों और मालाबार – गोमान्तक की जनता के संघर्ष का इतिहास है। जमोरिन, अब्बक्का महादेवी आदि कितने ही भारतीय नायकों ने जमकर पुर्तगालियों से लोहा लिया पर गोवा समेत कुछ इलाका पुर्तगालियों के हाथ में लग गया। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी तक यूरोप की कालोनी बन चुके भारत में स्वतंत्रता की चेतना 1857 के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से ही आ गयी, पर फलीभूत ठीक 90 साल बाद 1947 में ही हो पायी। इस स्वतंत्रता में भी पाकिस्तान के अस्तित्व में आने के साथ-साथ ही फ्रेंच और पुर्तगाली कालोनियों की गुलामी की भी समस्या थी। लगातार बातचीत व जनप्रयासों से साल 1956 तक फ्रेंच कालोनियों की तो भारत में विलय की सहमति या विलय की प्रक्रिया पूर्ण हो गयी, पर पुर्तगाली हठधर्मिता के कारण ऐसा गोमान्तक क्षेत्र में नहीं हो पाया। सन 1932 में सलाज़ार के सत्ता सम्भालने के बाद ही पहले से लागू सेंसरशिप गोवा में और मजबूत हो गयी, गोवा में पुर्तगालियों की नीति के विरुद्ध जाने पर बेइंतहा जुल्म की आंधी चल पड़ी, जिसके कारण पिछले 100 वर्षों से शांत रहे गोवा में राष्ट्रवाद की नींव पुख्ता होने लगी। साल 1946 में डॉ जुलियो मेनिंजेस ने अपने सहपाठी और हिंदुस्तानी मेनलैंड के बड़े सोशलिस्ट डॉ राममनोहर लोहिया को बुलाकर स्वतंत्रता के लिए बड़ी रैली की जिसमें बाद में लोहिया जी ने सविनय अवज्ञा (सिविल डिसेबेडियेन्स) का आह्वान किया।

18 जून का वह दिन गोवा के इतिहास में आज भी याद किया जाता है, जब दोनों मिलों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और रात के अँधेरे में लोहिया को गोवा के बाहर निकाल दिया गया। इस सबके बावजूद 15 अगस्त 1947 को भारत को आजादी मिली तो गोवा गुलाम ही रह गया, ऐसे में महाराष्ट्रियन-गोमांतक लोगो ने गोवा के अंदर से बगावत कर दी। सलाज़ार के अड़ियल रवैये को देखते हुए साल 1953 में भारत सरकार और पुर्तगाल के बीच आधिकारिक रूप से सम्बन्ध-विच्छेद हो गए, भारतीय मिशन को गोवा से वापिस बुला लिया गया, उसके साथ ही मुंबई में गोवा एक्शन कमिटी बनी। सन 1954 में मापुसा के बड़े सर्जन को जब पुर्तगाल द्रोह के आरोप में पत्नी समेत पुर्तगाल भेज दिया गया तो गोवा, महाराष्ट्र व कर्नाटक में इसके विरोध की आंधी चल पड़ी, मुंबई में यूनाइटेड फ्रंट ऑफ गोवन (युएफजी) का संगठन अस्तित्व में आ गया।

युएफजी ने उसी वर्ष 21 जुलाई को दमन और 31 जुलाई को दादरा को आजाद करा लिया वहीं 11 अगस्त के दिन इन दोनों से कहीं बड़े नागर हवेली को विनायक राव आप्टे के नेतृत्व में 40-50 संघ के स्वयंसेवकों और प्रभाकर विठ्ठल सेनारी व प्रभाकर वैद्य के नेतृत्व में आजाद गोमान्तक दल के दमन व गोवा से आये कार्यकर्ताओं ने पुर्तगालियों से आजाद करा लिया।



अब दबाव गोवा के लिए बढ़ने लगा, प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू इस समस्या का कूटनीतिक हल चाहते थे। उनका मत था कि उस वक्त पुर्तगाल नाटो का सदस्य था, उस पर कश्मीर का भी विवाद चल रहा है, सो ऐसे में भारत की तरफ से सैनिक कार्यवाही उचित नहीं है। जनता, नेहरू के कूटनीतिक रास्ते के लिए तैयार नहीं थी और नागर हवेली की फतेह के साथ ही उत्साहित थी। जिसे देख साल 1955 में संघ के कार्यकर्ताओं ने गोवा मुक्ति आन्दोलन की शुरुवात कर दी, आन्दोलन के शुरुवाती दिनों में ही राजा भाऊ महाकाल की गोली लगने से मृत्यु हो गयी, इस घटना पर लोगो ने भारत सरकार पर आंदोलनकारियों की मदद की गुहार लगाई जिसपर सरकार ने उलटे आन्दोलनकारियों पर ही रोक शुरू कर दी। इस घटना के विरोध में गुरुजी गोलवलकर ने सरकार से कार्यवाही कर गोवा मुक्ति करने को कहा, जिससे भारत के अन्य पड़ोसियों को भी जवाब मिल सके।

13 जून, 1955 में कर्नाटक के बड़े जनसंघ नेता व् आरएसएस के सदस्य जगन्नाथ राव जोशी ने गोवा सत्याग्रह का आह्वान किया, वे सभा से घर ना लौटकर सीधे गोवा की तरफ रवाना हुए। उनके साथ 3000 संघ के कार्यकर्ता भी थे, जिसमें बड़ी संख्या में महिलाएं भी थी। गोवा की सीमा पर पहुँचने पर पुर्तगालियों ने सब सत्याग्रहियों पर लाठी-गोली चला दी। संघ व् प्रजा सोसलिस्ट पार्टी की मदद से यह सत्याग्रह लगातर जून से अगस्त 1955 तक होते रहे। गोवा मुक्ति विमोचन समिति ने गोवा के अंदर शुरू कर दिया। 15 अगस्त 1955 को उनका साथ देने 8000 राष्ट्रभक्त भारत से कूच कर चले, गोवा में तैनात पुर्तगाली सेना ने गोलियां चला दी और करीब 32 लोग मारे गए। नेहरू सरकार मौन रही। इस प्रकार कई-कई आन्दोलन 1961 तक चले, उस वर्ष एक भारतीय कश्ती पर हमले के बाद भारतीय सेना ने पुर्तगाल की सेना को गोवा से खदेड़ गोवा का भारत में विलय करा लिया। गोवा आन्दोलन के लिए प्रसिद्ध संगीतकार व् संघ स्वयं सेवक सुधीर फड़के 'बाबुजी' ने सांस्कृतिक आधार पर मदद करी तो वहीं प्रमुख संचालिका 'ताई' सरस्वती आपटे के नेतृत्व में गोवा मुक्ति आंदोलन में राष्ट्रिय सेविका समिति ने भी हिस्सा लिया वे पुणे में एकत्रित होने वाले सभी सत्याग्रही गुटों भोजन आदि की व्यवस्था करती थी। आन्दोलन में गोलीबारी में मृत लोगों के दुर्गंध भरे शव भी आते थे, उनकी व्यवस्था में सेविकाओं ने भी खूब सहयोग दिया।

इन दिनों जब भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष अमित शाह तिरंगा यात्रा को लेकर पहले गोवा फिर मंगलोर पहुंचे तो सारे गोमान्तक से जनसंघ व् संघ के उन्ही दिनों के रिश्तों को उन्होंने मजबूत किया। उस विरासत के मद्देनजर अमित शाह ने उल्लाल, मंगलोर की वीरांगना अब्बक्का महादेवी को श्रद्धांजली दी, अब्बक्का ने 40 साल तक पुर्तगालियों को उल्लाल से दूर रखा था। अपने सन्देश में शाह ने कहा कि आज अपने लिए नहीं, देश के लिए जीने की जरूरत है और यही संदेश युवाओं तक पहुंचाने के लिए इस तिरंगा यात्रा का आयोजन देश भर में किया गया है। शाह ने अपने संदेश में संविधान सभा के कन्हैयालाल मुंशी की राष्ट्र की उस व्याख्या को दोहराया जिसमें उन्होंने एक आदर्श राष्ट्र के लिए चार बिन्दुओं को सुझाया था – राष्ट्र जो अपनी संप्रभुता के साथ अपनी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा कर सके, राष्ट्र जिसकी दुनिया में मान-प्रतिष्ठा हो, राष्ट्र जो समृद्ध और सुसंस्कृत हो और राष्ट्र जो कल्याण राज्य की परिकल्पना पर आधारित हो। उन्होंने भारतीय जनता पार्टी के मूल्यों में इन सभी चार बातों का उल्लेख किया। पहली तीन बातों के लिए प्रधानमंत्री मोदी के विदेश दौरे, कुटनीतिक सफलताएं व् सामरिक शक्ति की बढ़ोतरी पर उठाये गए कदमों को बताया तो वही चौथे आयाम के सन्दर्भ में बताया की उनकी सरकार हर 15 दिन में एक लोक कल्याण योजना लाती हैं। उन्होंने राष्ट्रवाद के सही मूल्यों को युवाओं को समझने की जरूरत पर बल दिया तथा उन्होंने युवाओं से गोवा समेत सब कुर्बानियों के इतिहास को पढ़ने और फिर राष्ट्रवाद की समझ बनाने को कहा, साथ ही उन्होंने फ्रीडम की स्पीच पर अनर्गल मिथ्याचार को समझने की जरूरत पर भीबल दिया।

(लेखक सेंटर फार सिविलाइजेश्नल स्टडीज,  
नयी दिल्ली में शोधार्थी हैं। ये उनके निजी विचार हैं।)

# प्रधानमंत्री मोदी के नेतृत्व में हो रहा भारत का पुनर्निर्माण



शिवानन्द द्विवेदी

**भा**वी भारत के निर्माण और प्राचीन भारत के मूल स्वरूप की जब बात आती है तो यह बहस शुरू हो जाती है कि आखिर 'भारत' है क्या ? क्या यह महज संविधान शासित लोकतांत्रिक राज्य वाला एक भू-भाग मात्र है अथवा इससे आगे भी इसकी कोई पहचान है ? इस बहस के सन्दर्भ में अगर समझने की कोशिश की जाय तो भारत कोई 1947 में पैदा हुआ देश नहीं है। इसका एक अतुलनीय इतिहास रहा है, विराट वैभव रहा है और समृद्ध संस्कृति रही है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि लम्बे समय की दासता की बेड़ियों ने भारत और भारतीयता के मूल स्वरूप को कुछ हद तक प्रभावित जरूर किया है। लेकिन इसकी मूल अवधारणा को पूरी तरह से खत्म करने में कोई भी आक्रमणकारी शासक सफल नहीं हो सका है।

आजादी के बाद तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू भारत के नवनिर्माण की बात करते थे, जबकि इसके उलट जनसंघ भारत के पुनर्निर्माण की वैचारिक सोच के साथ आगे बढ़ा। नवनिर्माण और पुनर्निर्माण के बीच जो वैचारिक फर्क है, वही कांग्रेस और भाजपा के बीच का वैचारिक फर्क भी है। हालांकि आजादी के बाद लम्बे समय तक देश की सत्ता कांग्रेस के हाथों में ही रही है जबकि पुनर्निर्माण की विचारधारा का संकल्प लेने वाली भाजपा की पूर्ण बहुमत की सरकार पहली बार आज से तकरीबन ढाई साल पहले 2014 में प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में बनी। पूर्ण बहुमत की इस सरकार के बनने के बाद तमाम अपेक्षाएं भी इस सरकार से लगी हुई हैं। लेकिन भारत के पुनर्निर्माण की जो परिकल्पना है, उसको लेकर प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी की सोच स्पष्ट दिखाई देने लगी है। यह सच है कि विश्वगुरु के रूप में दुनिया को ज्ञान देने वाले प्राचीन भारत के उस वैभव को पुनः हासिल करना कम समय में संभव नहीं है, लेकिन उस दिशा में जिस ढंग से प्रधानमंत्री मोदी लगातार प्रयासरत हैं, ऐसा लगता है कि एकबार पुनः भारत का लोहा दुनिया मानने लगी है। खुले मंच से देश-विदेश में जाकर और वहां अपने देश के नागरिकों के साथ प्रधानमंत्री ने संवाद की जिस प्रक्रिया की शुरुआत की है, वह कहीं न कहीं भारत को विश्व के पटल पर पुनः स्थापित करने के लिहाज से बेहद कारगर होती दिख रही है।

दुनिया के विभिन्न देशों में भारतीय सनुदाय के लोग पहले भी रहते थे लेकिन असंगठित होने की वजह से उनका महत्व उन देशों में वैसा नहीं था। प्रधानमंत्री मोदी ने दुनिया के देशों को यह बता पाने में कामयाबी हासिल की है कि उनके लिए भारत और भारत के लोग कितने अहम हैं। दुनिया के विविध देशों में जाकर वहां रह रहे भारतीयों से सीधा संवाद करने की मोदी की नीति इस लिहाज से बेहद महत्वपूर्ण मानी जा सकती है। वैश्विक पटल पर भारतीयता की परम्परागत प्रणालियों को स्थापित करने की दिशा में बड़ा कदम अन्तराष्ट्रीय योग दिवस की मान्यता प्राप्त करने को माना जा सकता है। योग भारत की प्राचीनतम क्रिया है और इस बात को दुनिया को समझाने का काम प्रधानमंत्री मोदी ने बहुत कम समय में किया है। कहीं न कहीं योग को लेकर भारत ने दुनिया में एकबार फिर अपनी प्रतिष्ठा को पुनः स्थापित किया है जो किसी जमाने में हुआ करती थी। मोदी विदेश नीति के मामले में भी स्पष्ट रुख रखते हैं। वे इसबात को अनेक बार दोहरा चुके हैं कि न हम दुनिया से आँख उठाकर बात करेंगे न आँख झुकाकर बात करेंगे, बल्कि आँख में आँख मिलकर बात करेंगे। मोदी का यह कहना अब सही साबित होता दिख रहा है। देश की आंतरिक स्थिति की

बात करें तो देश को एक ऐसा प्रधानमंत्री मिला है जो देशवासियों के लिए खुद का सर्वाधिक समय समर्पित करता है। मोदी ने देश के लोगों से संवाद की प्रक्रिया को कई माध्यमों से सशक्त करने की दिशा में काम किया है। चाहे ई-शासन के माध्यम से हो अथवा मन की बात एवं ऑनलाइन कांफ्रेंस के माध्यम से हो, मोदी जनता के बीच लगातार पहुँचने को लालायित और उत्सुक दिखते हैं। वे जन भागीदारी से सरकार की नीतियों को बनाने के लिए लगातार जनता से सुझावों को अपील करते हैं। जनता के प्रति मोदी का विश्वास यह दर्शाता है कि वे जनता की शासन में भागीदारी को अधिकतम सुनिश्चित करके, लोकतंत्र को अधिकतम लोक के करीब ले जाने की कोशिश में लगातार प्रयासरत हैं।

पैंसठ साल तक एक दूसरी विचारधारा के शासन में चलने वाले देश को जब एक एकदम उलट विचारधारा का शासन मिलता है तो बदलाव के लिए ढाई साल का वक्त बेहद कम माना जा सकता है। लेकिन यह प्रधानमंत्री मोदी के सतत परिश्रम का परिणाम है कि आज बदलाव की आहट दिखने लगी है। तमाम सर्वेक्षण इस बात की तस्दीक करते हैं कि आज भी मोदी के प्रति जनता के मन में कोई शंका नहीं है और आज भी वो अपने इस परिश्रमी नेता को सबसे लोकप्रिय नेता के रूप में स्थापित करती है। मोदी विश्व पटल पर अतुलनीय भारत के दूत बनकर उभरे हैं तो वहीं भारत की जनता के बीच भारत के पुनर्निर्माण के वाहक के तौर पर भी स्थापित हुए हैं, जिसे राजनीतिक पंडित 'मोदी-युग' कहते हैं, दरअसल यह अतुलनीय भारत के पुनः प्रतिष्ठित होने का युग है।

(लेखक डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी रिसर्च फाउंडेशन में रिसर्च फेलो हैं एवं नेशनलिस्ट ऑनलाइन डॉट कॉम में सम्पादक हैं।)

# ASKED TO PROVE CHARGES AGAINST RSS, TIGER RAHUL TURNS SHEEP



Rajesh Singh

**C**ongress vice president Rahul Gandhi has learnt it the hard way that, as part of election rhetoric, it's easier to blame an organisation for a killing than to substantiate the accusation legally. Dragged to the court for alleging that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, he did a flip-flop this week, claiming in the Supreme Court that he had not held the RSS responsible for the crime.

The Congress leader's capitulation came in the backdrop of an earlier hearing in the apex court in July, during which the Bench asked him to substantiate his charge or apologise for his comment. The court had observed, "You can't make collective denunciation of an organisation." His legal team, led by Kapil Sibal, realised that proving the accusation in a court of law was next to impossible, because there simply did not exist any material to pass legal muster. An apology would have been politically disastrous. A middle ground was, thus, discovered. Sibal contended that his client had not blamed the RSS, but held certain people associated with the RSS for the crime. In doing so, Rahul Gandhi hopes to escape the accusation and still not apologise.

Just for the record, the Congress leader had during the course of an election speech in March 2014 in Maharashtra, reportedly blamed the RSS for the assassination. When the matter reached a lower court, his counsel approached the Supreme Court against the criminal defamation case filed. His lawyers even challenged Sections 499 and 500 that dealt with criminal defamation. The court subsequently upheld the validity of these Sections, in the course of also dealing with other similar petitions.

Regardless of what the court decides on the Rahul Gandhi matter, even the contention (that not the RSS but members associated with the RSS were responsible), is problematic. From all available accounts, the assassin, Nathuram Godse, had quit the RSS in the thirties, well before he killed the Mahatma. It is said that he had been disillusioned by the 'soft' approach of the organisation towards the plight of Hindus and the role of Mahatma Gandhi in 'Muslim appeasement'. To now argue that, because Godse had been an RSS member once upon a time, the RSS cannot escape



blame, is to stretch the point to fit a pre-conceived notion. By this logic, the Congress as a party, and not just a few of its members, can be accused of the genocide of Sikhs in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination.

Critics of the RSS point to the fact that the RSS was banned after the tragic incident, with Union Minister of Home Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the helm. But it is also true that the ban was lifted during his tenure as Home Minister after no evidence was found to link the RSS with the murder. Moreover, Sardar Patel had written to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru that it was not appropriate to hold the organisation guilty for the incident. He said, among other things, "The RSS have other sins and crimes to answer for, but not this one."

On its part, the RSS has consistently denied any association with the crime. More recently, organisation ideologue Manmohan Vaidya categorically said, "I am against honouring and giving respect to Nathuram Godse. He was a murderer." His comment came in the backdrop of the Hindu Mahasabha eulogising Godse and calling the RSS a "traitor" to the so-called Hindu cause.

Interestingly, Godse was also a Hindu Mahasabha member. But even there he was considered somewhat of a misfit due to his extremist views. Remember that the Hindu Mahasabha then was a different organisation, with the likes of Damodar Vinayak 'Veer' Savarkar and Syama Prasad Mookerjee as its most prominent leaders. It must not be forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi had himself congratulated Mookerjee for assuming leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha, saying that the Hindus of the country needed someone of his calibre to lead them. Indeed, Mookerjee went on to join Nehru's Cabinet despite his Hindu Mahasabha credentials — it is widely believed that Mahatma Gandhi played a role in getting him inducted.

Following Rahul Gandhi's U-turn, it was amusing to see a Congress spokesperson on a television news channel still clinging to the accusation against the RSS. Among other things, he quoted a remark from Nathuram Godse's brother, Gopal Godse, who too was convicted of the crime but escaped capital punishment. Gopal Godse had said, "All the brothers were in the RSS. Nathuram said in his statement that he had left the RSS. He said it because MS Golwalkar and the RSS were in a lot of trouble. But he did not leave the RSS."

So, do we believe in Gopal Godse or the findings of the investigation agencies which gave a clean chit to the RSS — an organisation which went on to even participate at a Republic Day event?

*(The writer is editorial director of  
nationalistonline.com, English)*

# PM MODI HAS SHOWN MIRROR TO PAK IN HIS INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH



Siddharth Singh

**S**peaking from the Red Fort ramparts, PM Narendra Modi signalled a distinct hardening of posture on Pakistan, for the first time raising the Balochistan, Gilgit and PoK issues in an Independence Day speech. Prime Minister Narendra Modi became the first Indian leader to use Independence Day speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort to raise issues of Pak-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit, while almost reproaching Pakistan for human rights violations in Balochistan. The PM also criticised Pakistan for supporting cross-border terrorism and praising terrorists who kill innocent people on Indian soil in the Kashmir Valley and elsewhere.

In a no-holds-barred attack on Pakistan that came towards the end of his Independence Day speech, Modi said he was laying out two scenarios for the world to evaluate. The first picture, he said, was one in which India stood in solidarity with Pakistan when Islamic militants targeted a military-run school in Peshawar in December 2014, killing more than 140 people, including 132 school students. In contrast the second scenario was the picture of glorification of the death of a terrorist by none other than Pak PM himself. The reference was to Pakistan describing Burhan Wani, whom India considers a terrorist militant belonging to the Hizbul Mujahideen group, as a Kashmiri leader.

PM Modi's focus on Balochistan is a sea change from the Sharm-el-Sheikh joint statement where a reference to Balochistan was made which was vociferously opposed by the Indian Parliament, forcing Manmohan Singh to disown the statement. From there to openly acknowledging the struggle of the Baloch people, India is making a very different political statement.

PM Modi's highlighting of three regions in his independence day speech is also a message to Beijing. China, Pakistan's chief financier and supporter, runs its Belt & Road project through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This cuts through Gilgit and Balochistan. China has committed \$46 billion for the CPEC, which will end with Xinjiang joining Gwadar.

PM Modi's aggression seeks to rid India of its almost ingrained diffidence over Kashmir during the UPA regime and, his decision to highlight Pakistan's failings in POK and Balochistan

has gone down well with India's strategic community. PM Modi's tone sent a different message to Pakistan's military intelligence leadership. This has implications beyond the regular Indo-Pak war of words. PM Modi's comments should also be read in the context of a slew of provocative remarks from Pakistan, in particular one by its high commissioner Abdul Basit dedicating Pakistan's Independence Day to Kashmiris' freedom.

By raising Balochistan and PoK, India may tap into the former's independence aspirations, while the spike in PoK violence during its recent elections would be highlighted. India has also signalled that it could now work on the disenfranchised and discontented people of PoK, including Gilgit and Baltistan. If India provides "financial, political and moral support" to Balochistan, it could turn out tougher for Pakistan, already fighting the Taliban and other extremists on its soil because now New Delhi has signalled that it could play the same game.

*(Siddharth Singh is a Research Scholar  
at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)*

# Address by Hon'ble EAM Smt. Sushma Swaraj at the book launch of **"THE MODI DOCTRINE: NEW PARADIGMS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY"**

*on*

13th August, 2016 at  
India International Centre, New Delhi



❧ I am delighted to join you all this evening at the launch of the book “The Modi Doctrine: New Paradigms in India’s Foreign Policy”. Let me begin by congratulating the editors – Dr. Anirban Ganguly, Dr. Vijay Chauthaiwale and Dr. U.K. Sinha – for their compilation of these essays.



Contributors include a very broad spectrum of both practitioners and analysts. They span diverse specialisations, experiences and even nationalities. I am confident that their collective efforts would be a valuable addition to the understanding of contemporary foreign policy.

- ❧ Two years ago, the Modi Government came to power with a decisive mandate. It rode on the expectations of change in our society, responding to the mood of the nation. Before the election, there was a perceptible sense of drift in policy, whether domestic or external. The feeling, particularly among the younger generation, was that India deserved better and we could, in fact, do better. Much of it was focussed on a better quality of life and greater security, especially against terrorism. But in looking out at the world, there was also a growing feeling that we could contribute more and shape its future. Consequently, our Government came in with more ambitious goals, bolder policies to achieve them, and a commitment to more effective delivery. Two years later, much progress has been made. In addressing the external aspects of this endeavour, let me stress the linkage between domestic and foreign policy. This is key to understanding what the authors term as the Modi doctrine. It is not just that policy and priorities are articulated differently from the past. At the heart of the change is a vision of India's place in the world, its relationship with the international community, and indeed, an understanding of a rapidly transforming world itself.
- ❧ A week ago, in responding to questions on the second anniversary of MyGov.in, Prime Minister summed up our foreign policy approach with the phrase "India First". This term not only captures our commitment to protect strategic interests but also towards greater prosperity and development at home. In our diplomatic engagements in the last two years, you will therefore find that a major focus now is in using international partnerships to advance domestic flagship programmes like Make in India, Digital India, Skill India or Smart Cities. Equally important, we have been extremely active in spreading the message of India being easier to do business. If railway modernisation, for example, is a priority at home, it is so too for our diplomacy abroad. This tight meshing of domestic and diplomatic goals is in fact one of the hallmarks of the Modi Doctrine. It has led not only to flagship programmes accessing greater technology, capital and best practices but also to a marked improvement in FDI flows.
- ❧ The very first diplomatic move made by the Government was on its inauguration day, by inviting leaders of neighbouring nations to join us on that occasion. The underlying thought has since expanded into a 'Neighbourhood First' policy that stresses cooperation, connectivity and greater people to people contacts. By visiting virtually all our neighbours himself – many of them after a long gap – Prime Minister Modi has articulated a strong message of regional prosperity that resonates with the masses. Naturally, the pursuit of these objectives has not been without its challenges, among them cross-border terrorism. But the wisdom of our approach and the sincerity of our efforts are clearly gaining broader support.
- ❧ Comprehending recent shifts in the nature of international politics is essential to framing policies and choices. The global order has not just become more multi-polar. In fact, there is

an overall loosening of relationships and even countries that are formal allies are now hedging. Though the world as a whole is more globalised, distinct regional dynamics have also emerged. Situations to the east and west of India both offer examples. As a result, effective diplomacy increasingly calls for simultaneously engaging competing powers. It is now an exercise to manage differences and expand areas of agreement. Consequently, remaining passive to international developments is no longer an option. This understanding of the world explains the more active nature of Indian diplomacy now. We believe that India's interests and prestige have been well served by this more energetic engagement.


❧ An India that aspires to a greater global role must necessarily have a larger diplomatic footprint. At a structural level, this means more Embassies and a larger foreign service. Both are part of ongoing efforts. But more immediate is the requirement for broader and frequent engagements with other leaderships. It was clear to us that interactions can no longer be limited either by distance or size. We cannot expect understanding, leave alone support, from those who have not been engaged. And you would be astonished at the gaps we found when analysing high-level visits. It was, therefore, with a strong sense of purpose that the Modi Government approached this issue. In the last two years, in addition to the very vigorous efforts of the Prime Minister personally, my Cabinet colleagues and I have been to more than 140 countries. I have myself met almost 170 of my counterparts, Heads of State/Government and other dignitaries in this period. The impact this has had on the world's perception of India cannot be overstated. In addition to these bilateral engagements, we have also broken new ground in terms of multilateral gatherings. The Indian Africa Summit was expanded from the earlier 17 nations to its full complement of 54. For the first time, a summit of Pacific Island states with India was held, not just in that region but in India as well.

❧ It is not enough that India is heard or seen in different parts of the world. Perhaps our own people don't appreciate deeply enough how much of an example we can be, especially on development and governance issues. Our capabilities in technology, education or industry can make a difference to the growth of others. Even our inter-faith practices and resistance to radicalisation has a message for the world. Expanding programmes and platforms that share experiences and contribute to global development is an increasingly important element of our diplomatic outcomes. You can see this reflected in growing lines of credit, more grants and technical assistance, as well as in major development projects abroad. These are truly win-win situations because they also advance the international operations of Indian businesses. In an era where it is fashionable to talk of global issues, Indians must realise that representing one-sixth of humanity ourselves, we must do our utmost on challenges that will determine the future of our planet. It is with this global perspective that the Modi Government approaches key international negotiations in a positive and constructive manner. We not only had a key role to play in the Paris Agreement but also took the lead in creating the International Solar Alliance. Whether it is SDGs or PKO, we have built further on a long tradition of international activity. The sense that interests of the India and the world are in harmony pervades our thinking and

is certainly one of the noteworthy aspects of the Modi doctrine.

- ☞ Among the issues that dominate global concerns today is the threat of terrorism. As you all know, it is an issue which has confronted Indian diplomacy for many years because of its cross-border manifestation. Unlike in the past, we cannot agree that dialogue with sponsors and supporters of terrorism should carry on without being linked to action in that regard. In fact, we have insisted that addressing the terrorism challenge is central to engagement. At the international level, we are also putting the spotlight on early conclusion of a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism. Equally important, we have made counter-terrorism cooperation a key element in many of our bilateral interactions. I can share with you that this is having its impact.
- ☞ At a time when there is talk of a demographic dividend, it is also worthwhile to examine its foreign policy implications. India will surely make its presence felt in the world through its people. You can already see this happening. And as education, skills and employment progress, we can truly be a human resources super power. Already, there is an Indian diaspora that wields considerable influence in many nations. There are also other Indians, with varying levels of skills, who earn their living abroad and contribute to our prosperity at home. Our country makes as much by services and remittances as it does by trade in goods. These Indians abroad are a huge asset for the country, whether in the economy, in image or in influence. The Modi Government has broken new ground in appreciating their contribution, enhancing their standing and protecting their interests. The Prime Minister has again led the way himself. Another method of expressing that is to give them the comfort that the Indian Government is always there for them. That is the least we can do for our nationals who do so much for us. Perhaps you will now understand why Sushma Swaraj responds 24X7 to Indians in distress abroad. Or why General V.K. Singh has been sent to Saudi Arabia to deal first-hand with the problems of our stranded workers. In fact, we have brought about a change in systemic attitudes towards them – whether it is in faster issue of passports at home, better consular responses abroad, or even in major evacuation operations like Yemen, Iraq, Libya or South Sudan. Conversely, we are also working on involving PIO/NRIs more closely in the unfolding of our development flagship programmes.
- ☞ Projecting cultural identity and national branding are integral elements of enhancing global standing. India is actually particularly blessed because more than many others, our cultural heritage and traditions have an international relevance. This is a reservoir of goodwill that has not been utilised as effectively as it could have been in the past. We have devoted energies and resources to enhancing global appreciation of Ayurveda and of Indian languages. Its impact, as that of the IDoY, is known to all of you. Recognising the work of Indologists abroad is another expression of this intent.
- ☞ A defining characteristic of our Government has been its focus on delivery. In the realm of foreign policy too, we are striving hard in that regard. Long pending projects abroad, especially

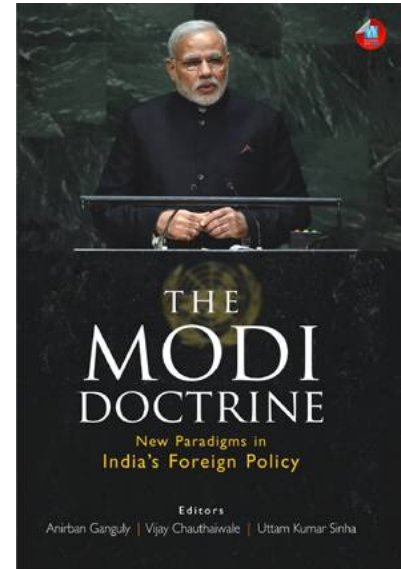
in the neighbourhood, are moving forward. The completion of the Parliament building and the Salma dam in Afghanistan, the Duriappah stadium in Sri Lanka, the Petrapole integrated check point with Bangladesh or the Trauma center in Nepal are some notable milestones. On the consular side, issuing passports on a pre-verification basis is a radical departure. Simplifying visa issuance through electronic format and merging PIO cards with OCI are also noteworthy. Within the Ministry and outside vis-a-vis the rest the Government, we have consciously moved towards a more integrated way of working.

 The Modi doctrine is led by vision and implemented through delivery. Its difference is there for all of you to see. How it will unfold in coming years is naturally a subject of great interest. But in foreign policy, as in other areas, we believe that broader consultations make an important contribution. I see today's event in that light and I once again thank the organisers for inviting me to it.



# THE MODI DOCTRINE 13-08-2016

**A Primer to Understand Modi's Foreign Policy:  
*The Modi Doctrine***



Minister of External Affairs **Sushma Swaraj** released the book *The Modi Doctrine : New Paradigms in India's Foreign Policy*, edited by **Anirban Ganguly**, **Vijay Chauthaiwale** and **Uttam Sinha** and published by Wisdom Tree in arrangement with **Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation**, in the presence of Rt Hon **Priti Patel**, Secretary of State for International Development, UK. The glittering event held at India International Centre on 13 August 2016 was attended by senior diplomats, artistes and politicians.

The nuanced and thought-provoking essays, by some of the most well-respected analysts and practitioners of diplomacy, make the book a must-read for not just professionals and serious readers but for the uninitiated as well. The book has foreword by Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs **Arun Jaitley**.

## About the Book

States today are far more engaged in diplomacy than ever before, actively building relations with other states to harness their mutual commercial and cultural strengths. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's outlook to global affairs is no different, yet there is a nuanced approach in linking India's foreign policy to domestic transformation. While on the one hand, his policies seek to attract foreign capital, technology and open foreign markets for Indian products, on the other, they are geared towards regional stability, peace and prosperity. All events are texts to be analysed and the authors in this volume do so but emphatically underline that India's diplomacy under Modi has got a go-getting edge, that it is no longer foreign anymore but a matter of public affairs and that with Modi at the helm, India is set to leverage its role and make itself a 'diplomatic superpower'.

## श्री अमित शाह द्वारा उल्लाल, मंगलोर (कर्नाटक) में देश की आजादी के 70 वर्ष पूरे होने के उपलक्ष्य में आयोजित 'तिरंगा यात्रा' रैली में दिए गए भाषण के मुख्य अंश



- ✿ आज अपने लिए नहीं, देश के लिए जीने की जरूरत है और यही संदेश युवाओं तक पहुंचाने के लिए प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने देश भर में इस 'तिरंगा यात्रा' का आयोजन किया है
- ✿ अब्बक्का रानी वीरता, त्याग और बलिदान की अदम्य प्रेरणास्रोत हैं, हमें इनके जीवन को जनता तक पहुंचाना चाहिए ताकि वे इनसे प्रेरणा लेकर देश के लिए कुछ कर गुजरने का संकल्प लें
- ✿ फ्रीडम ऑफ़ स्पीच देश में हर जगह है। किसी व्यक्ति, पार्टी अथवा किसी सिद्धांत के सामने विचार रखिये, हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, लेकिन राष्ट्र के विरुद्ध विचारों को फ्रीडम ऑफ़ स्पीच का चोला नहीं पहनाया जा सकता

- ❧ 'फ्रीडम ऑफ़ स्पीच' के नाम पर देश को बांटने की विचारधारा के खिलाफ एकजुट होने की जरूरत है। मैं राष्ट्र से आह्वान करता हूँ कि यदि कुछ गिने-चुने लोग ऐसे प्रयास देश के खिलाफ करते हैं तो उसे अलग-थलग कर दीजिये, यह देश राष्ट्रवाद के अलावे किसी और सिद्धांत पर नहीं चल सकता
- ❧ देशभक्ति और राष्ट्रवाद के संस्कार के बगैर कोई राष्ट्र एक नहीं रह सकता। यह 'भारत माता की जय' और 'वंदे मातरम' का ही नारा था जिसने देश के वीर सपूतों को एक सूत्र में बांधकर उन्हें देश के लिए मर मिटने की प्रेरणा दी
- ❧ मैं आज देश भर के युवाओं से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि पहले वे अपने देश के इतिहास को अच्छे तरीके से पढ़ें ताकि उन्हें देश के लिए मर मिटने वाले अमर शहीदों के बलिदान के बारे में पता चल सके
- ❧ यदि युवाओं को प्रेरणा लेनी है तो उन्हें यह ऐसे देश विरोधी नारा लगाने वाले एनजीओ से नहीं मिल सकता, उन्हें यह शहीद भगत सिंह, चंद्रशेखर आजाद, महात्मा गांधी, सुभाष चंद्र बोस जैसे महापुरुषों के जीवन से ही मिल सकता है
- ❧ मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है देश के युवाओं पर कि वे राष्ट्रभक्ति को हमारे समाज का अभिन्न अंग और एक महत्वपूर्ण संस्कार बनाकर रखेंगे
- ❧ एक आदर्श राष्ट्र के लिए चार लक्ष्यों का होना आवश्यक है: जो अपनी संप्रभुता के साथ अपनी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा कर सके, जिसका दुनिया में मान-सम्मान हो, जो समृद्ध और सुसंस्कृत हो और जो कल्याण राज्य की परिकल्पना पर आधारित एक वेलफेयर स्टेट की स्थापना कर पाए
- ❧ सच्चे अर्थों में प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में केंद्र की भाजपा सरकार एक आदर्श राष्ट्र के सभी चार लक्ष्यों को हासिल करने की दिशा में सही तरीके से और तेज गति से काम कर रही है
- ❧ श्री नरेन्द्र भाई मोदी ने प्रधानमंत्री बनने से पहले ही स्पष्ट कर दिया था कि यदि देश में भाजपा की सरकार बनती है तो हम 'सबका साथ, सबका विकास' के सिद्धांत पर काम करेंगे, सबको साथ लेकर देश का विकास करेंगे और मुझे खुशी है कि इसी सिद्धांत के आधार पर आज देश प्रगति के पथ पर आगे बढ़ रहा है
- ❧ प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी के ढाई वर्षों के शासन में ही दुनिया फिर से यह मानने लगी है कि 21वीं सदी हिन्दुस्तान की सदी है
- ❧ आज सीमा पर जवाबी कार्रवाई के लिए सेना के जवानों को दिल्ली से आदेश लेने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। हम संघर्ष नहीं, शांति चाहते हैं लेकिन यदि कोई हमारी सीमा का उल्लंघन करेगा तो हम उसे कदापि बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे
- ❧ भारत की संस्कृति को विश्व व्यापी पहचान दिलाने की जो पहल प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने किया है वह अप्रतिम है

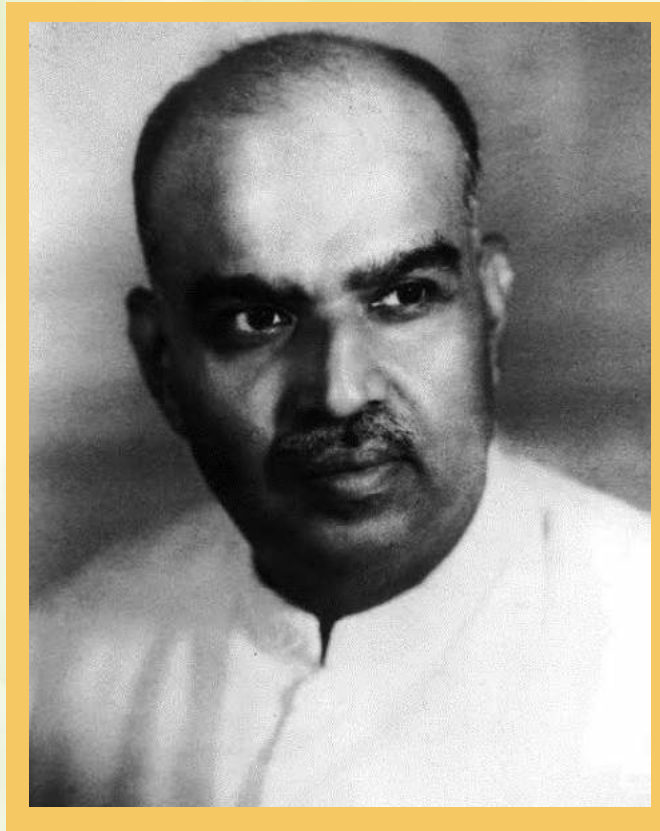




# Tiranga Yatra







“ The gignatic task of reconstruction, cultural, social, economic and political can be rendered possible thought coordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians. Armed with the knowledge of Indian’s past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of India civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world.

”

**-Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee**  
*Convocation Address delivered at Gurukul Kangri  
Viswavidyalaya, Haridwar, 1943*