

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Research Foundation



The Nationalist

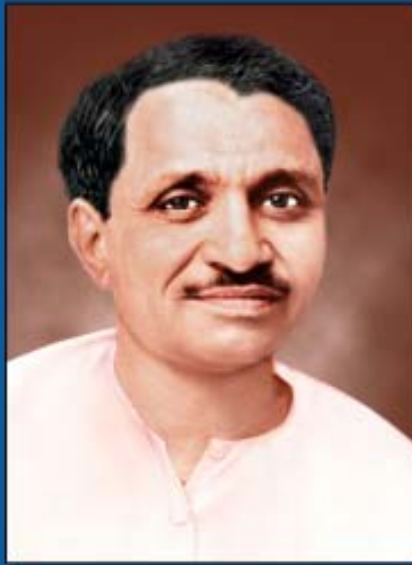
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Special Article

- The 2016-17 Budget: A Positive step in India's Transformation Process
- Budget Reflections - Transforming Social Sector Spending
- India-Qatar Gas Agreement: Win-Win Deal for Both

Party, Philosophy & Discipline



Which is a good party? Evidently the one that is not simply a collection of individuals but is a body corporate with a distinctive purposeful existence, different from its desire to capture power. Political power should be a means rather than an end to the members of such a party. There should be devotion to a cause in the rank and file of the party. Devotion leads to dedication and discipline. Discipline does not mean simply outward conformity to certain do's and don'ts. The more you impose discipline from above the less is the internal strength of the party. Discipline is to a party what Dharma is to a society.

Let the different political parties try to evolve a philosophy for themselves. Let them not be mere conglomerations of persons joined together for some selfish ends. It should be something different from a commercial undertaking or a joint stock company. It is also necessary that the philosophy of the party is not kept confined to the pages of the party manifesto. Members should understand it and devote themselves to translating it into action.

The question of discipline in the rank of a party is important not only to keep the party in perfect health but also because of its bearing on the conduct of the people in general. A government is primarily an instrument of conservation and protection and not of destruction, or change. To inculcate reverence for law in the people demands that the parties who aspire to be guardians of law should themselves set an example in this direction. The essence of democracy is a spirit of, and capacity for, self-governance. If the parties cannot govern themselves how can they hope to create in the community a desire for self-governance? While on the one hand it is essential for the community to guarantee and protect individual freedom it is desirable, on the other hand, for the individual to willingly submit to the general will. The greater this submission the less will be the coercive power of the State. In a party whose affairs are regulated not by any state law but by the decisions voluntarily accepted by the party units, one can set an example of how best individual freedom and social responsibility can be balanced. It is, therefore necessary for the parties to prescribe a code of conduct for their members and to strictly follow it.

-Deendayal Upadhyaya

The Nationalist

Editorial Advisors :

Shakti Sinha, IAS (Rtd)
Former Power & Finance
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Research Team :

- Siddharth Singh ● Shubhendu Anand
- Ajit Jha ● Pradip Bhandari
- Shailendra Kumar Shukla

Layout :

Vikas Saini

Published by :

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Research Foundation,
9, Ashoka Road New Delhi- 110001
E-mail : office@spmrf.org,
Telephone : 011-48005850

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- ▶ श्री अमित शाह द्वारा मथुरा में आयोजित भारतीय जनता युवा मोर्चा के अधिवेशन में दिए गए संबोधन के मुख्य अंश



The fig-leaf of dissent has been used for years, especially by the Communist parties in India as a cover for propagating an ideology that essentially and always tried to hack away at India and at her unity and integrity. In the name of dissent the Communist parties have always preached and pushed for an agenda that is essentially a retrograde and violent one meant to create disturbances in the country, to inject in some young minds anti-national and anti-India tendencies and then to justify these as freedom of expression and of speech.

A veteran communist historian who has pushed the Marxist agenda throughout her life has in fact justified the JNU programme of 9th February held to observe the death "anniversary" of a terrorist and to call for the vivisection of the Indian state, as a programme that aimed at discussing the issue of "capital punishment." In an article in an established weekly she justified the gathering, sought to blanket over the slogans raised arguing that "slogans took over in a confused fashion, as happens in such situations, and the serious issue of capital punishment was lost."

The classic communist habit of diversionary tactics is evident in such false statements when one keeps in mind that as per the organisers own publicity posters and pamphlets the agenda of the programme was to support secessionism in Kashmir, to support those who call for Kashmir's secession from India and for all those who "struggle" for "self-determination" from the Indian Union and to celebrate the actions and life of a convicted terrorist who had played a role in attacking the Indian Parliament in 2001. The organisers had also declared that they were "ashamed" that the terrorist's killers continued to live - thereby inciting violence against the various wings of the

Indian state and its officers and holders of constitutional positions who had carried out their constitutional duties in the trial of the terrorist. A discussion on "capital punishment" as stated by this "confused" veteran communists historian was nowhere remotely seen to be the topic of the evening's gathering. In typical communist and ultra-leftist manner a lie is propagated until it starts appearing to be the truth, at least to some.

Such has been the agenda of Maoism, Naxalism and Jihadism in India. The sloganeers in JNU have become pawns - conscious pawns - in this game of trying to dissolve the civilisational idea of India. The manner in which the common citizens came out in condemnation of these sloganeers was something that was reassuring. A vast multitude of ordinary Indians responded to the call for a march for unity and came out in large numbers to reiterate their faith in the true idea of India - nurtured and shaped over millennia. A large number of academics from leading institutions openly called for safeguarding our universities from forces that wish to destroy India while trying to turn our educational institutions into battlefields for their nefarious political objectives.

But what was most ironical the Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi's open support to such secessionists and to those who were calling for India's breaking apart. The Congress vice-president justified this support in the name of freedom of expression. It is in fact such irresponsible political behaviour, inspired by cheap and shallow opportunism that gives winds to the sails of those who wish to create disruption and instability in the country. Having been in power for so long, the Congress leadership should have shown maturity - but perhaps that is too much to expect. India's unity, integrity, her security and well-being is non-negotiable and that has been made amply clear by BJP President Amit Shah in his presidential address at the just concluded National Executive meet in Delhi. While the communist parties do not believe in nationalism and nation and the Congress works to continuously try and dilute the larger vision and faith in nationalism, the Narendra Modi led government continues to strive to strengthen the forces of unity and inspire affirmative action to put India on track towards a great power status.

Those who refuse to strive for India's emergence, to celebrate her potential, or work to position her in the comity of nations belongs to the anti-India tribe, whose sole objective is self-glorification. In an India that aspires to evolve to a new dimension of energy and growth, in an India that aspires for prosperity, equity and justice for all, anti-Indianness and glorification of India's enemies have no place as have no place all those who advocate or support that line.

– Dr. Anirban Ganguly,
Director, SPMRF

Salient points of PM Modi's speech in Rajya Sabha on the 'motion of thanks' to President's Address



- ▶ सदस्यों के सवालों के जवाब देने के लिए मंत्रियों को देर रात तक तैयारियां करनी पड़ रही हैं। executives को हिसाब देने के लिए सजग रहना पड़ा रहा है और यही लोकतंत्र की ताकत है।
- ▶ एक बात जरूर है मृत्यु को एक वरदान है और मृत्यु को ऐसा वरदान है मृत्यु कभी बदनाम नहीं होता। कभी मृत्यु पर आरोप नहीं लगते। कोई मरे तो ये कैंसर से मरा है, आरोप कैंसर पर जाता है। कोई मरे तो ये अकस्माकत मरा है तो अकस्मात पर आरोप

जाता है मृत्यु पर नहीं जाता है। बड़ी आयु में मरे तो वे उम्र के कारण मरे हैं, मृत्यु को कभी दोष नहीं आता। मृत्यु कभी बदनाम नहीं होती। कभी-कभी ऐसा लगता है कि कांग्रेस को ऐसा वरदान है... वरदान इस अर्थ में है कि अगर हम कांग्रेस की आलोचना करें तो आपने मीडिया में देखा होगा कि विपक्ष पर हमला, विपक्ष पर आरोप, कभी ये नहीं आता है कि कांग्रेस पर हमला, कांग्रेस पर आरोप हम अगर शरद जी के खिलाफ कुछ कहें, मायावती जी के खिलाफ कुछ

कहें तो अखबार में आएगा, टीवी में आएगा कि बीएसपी पर हमला, जेडीयू पर हमला, शरद जी पर हमला, मायावती जी पर हमला लेकिन कांग्रेस एक ऐसी है जब भी हमला हो तो विपक्ष पर हमला। कभी कांग्रेस को बदनामी नहीं मिलती और ये अपने आप में बड़ा गजब का विज्ञान है।

- ▶ देश हमारे कई बिल पारित हो, इसका इंतजार कर रहा है। जीएसटी की चर्चा हो रही है बाकी बिल की चर्चा मैं नहीं कर रहा हूँ। बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में अब जो जनप्रतिनिधि चुन करके आए हैं उन्होंने तो इसको स्वीकार कर लिया है। लेकिन राज्यों के जो प्रतिनिधि हैं वहां। अब ये जगह ऐसी है जो अपर हाऊस हमारा, एक **chamber of ideas** है। यहां देश को मार्गदर्शन मिलेगा, दिशा मिलेगी और इसलिए दोनों सदनों के बीच तालमेल होना बहुत जरूरी है। दोनों सदन वस्तुतः उसी **structure** के भाग हैं और सहयोग एवं सामंजस्य की भावना की किसी भी कमी से कठिनाइयां बढ़ेगी और हमारे संविधान के उचित रूप से कार्य करने में बाधा खड़ी होगी। ये चिंता पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने जताई थी। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हम पंडित जी की इस चिंता को महत्व दें।
- ▶ हमें **incremental improvement** से हटकर के एक **quantum jump** की ओर जाना बहुत जरूरी है और इसलिए शक्ति भी जरा ज्यादा लगानी पड़ती है और शक्ति जोड़नी भी पड़ती है। तो उसकी दिशा में हम प्रयास कर रहे हैं।
- ▶ हमने एक बल दिया है **good governance** पर, और जब मैं **good governance** की बात करता हूँ, सुशासन की बात करता हूँ तो उसकी पहली शर्त होती है **transparency**. पिछले दिनों चाहे

कोयले की चर्चा हो, स्पेक्ट्रम की चर्चा हो, न-जाने क्या-क्या बातें उठी, अब तो मामले सारे कोर्ट में भी पड़े हुए हैं। लेकिन हमने **transparency** पर बल दिया है। उसका परिणाम यह है . कोयला **auction** में हम गए 3.33 लाख करोड़, स्पेक्ट्रम में गए 1 लाख करोड़, हम एफएम रेडियो में गए। अभी-अभी चल रहा है। शायद आप लोगों को ज्ञान होगा 6 अन्य उपदमंतसे का और अभी-अभी **auction** में जो 18 हजार करोड़ रुपया **cross** कर गया।

- ▶ दूसरा पहलू है **good governance** का **accountability**. हमें यह मानकर चले कि कुल मिलाकर के जो **deterioration** आया है उसमें हम खबरों की **speed** से चलते चले जा रहे हैं, पीछे की चीजें छूटती चली जा रही हैं। खबरें आती हैं जाती हैं, घटनाएं आती हैं जाती हैं, **accountability** का विषय छूट जाता है। हमने कोशिश की है कि **accountability** पर बल दिया जाए। मैं लगातार इन दिनों **Infrastructure** के **review** कर रहा हूँ। इस सदन के सभी माननीय सदस्यों को आश्चर्य होगा 10-10, 20-20 साल से हमारे बड़े-बड़े प्रोजेक्ट लटके पड़े हुए हैं। या तो **environment** वालों ने रोक दिया होगा, कोर्ट-कचहरी ने रोक दिया होगा, या स्थानीय कोई **body** होगी छोटी, नगरपालिका वो रोककर के बैठ गई होगी। रुका हुआ है, क्यों रुका हुआ है, कोई देखता नहीं, पूछता नहीं, इसी कारण, कभी **financial** कारण भी रहे होंगे लेकिन 10-10, 20-20 साल से रुके हुए प्रोजेक्ट्स। मैंने पिछले दिनों करीब 300 प्रोजेक्ट का खुद **review** किया और उसकी **worth** है करीब 15 लाख करोड़ रुपया। मैं इस सदन को नम्रतापूर्वक कहता हूँ कि वो सारे छोटे-छोटे संकटों में फंसे हुए, ये 15-15, 20 साल पुराने **stalled projects** आज

चालू हो गए है, गति बढ़ रही है।

- ▶ **Good governance** का तीसरा पहलू होता है - **decentralization**. इतना बड़ा देश हम **centralized mechanism** से नहीं चला सकते। जितनी बड़ी मात्रा में **decentralize** करेंगे और इसलिए सरकार ने नीतिगत रूप से **decentralize** करने की दिशा में नीतिगत कदम उठाए हैं जैसे **environment**. हम **environment** की हर **permission** को दिल्ली ले आए।
- ▶ **Good governance** की एक महत्वपूर्ण बात होती है **effective delivery**.
- ▶ वर्तमान सरकार के कार्यकाल में 2014 में हमने **skill development** एक अलग उपदपेजतल बनाई। **skill development scheme** के लिए **common norms** तय किए। **skill initiatives, consistent quality** हासिल करने पर बल दिया गया। NSDC के तहत हमने डेढ़ साल में ढाई गुना उसमें बढ़ोतरी की। **Industrial training institutions (ITI)** हमने डेढ़ साल के भीतर-भीतर 20 प्रतिशत उसमें इजाफा किया। पिछले दो वर्ष में क्षमता 15 लाख 23 हजार सीटों से बढ़कर के 18 सी 65 जीवनेंदक कर दी गई, 20 प्रतिशत हमने बढ़ोतरी की। 1 लाख 70 हजार प्रतिवर्ष जो तय होते थे उसमें हमने 53 thousand और जोड़ दिए। 10जी और 12जी उसमें **vocational education** करीब बारह सौ तेरह सौ स्कूल में चलता था। आज हमने उसको एकदम से **quantum jump** लगाकर के तीन हजार पहुंचा दिया। डेढ़ लाख अतिरिक्त छात्रों का लाभ उसके लिए हुआ। **International mobility**, एक बात मानकर के चलें कि 2030 वो समय आएगा, जब दुनिया की नजर हिन्दुस्ता न के **workforce** पर रहने वाली है। हमने अभी

से **global standard** का **workforce** तैयार करने की दिशा में हमें काम करना चाहिए। **International mobility** पर हमें बल देना चाहिए और उसके लिए ऑस्ट्रेलिया और UK के जो **standards** है उसको **match** होते हुए, कामों को हमने शुरू किया है और भी **requirements** के अनुसार उस **standard** को लेने की दिशा में हम काम करना चाहते हैं।

- ▶ पहले हमारे यहां **target** होता था – कितने बच्चों को तैयार किया। उसी को पूरा करने की दिशा में प्रयास था। हमने **market** में **requirement** क्या है, किस प्रकार के **syllabus** की जरूरत है, किस प्रकार की **training** की जरूरत है, उसका सर्वे किया और **according to that** हमने **skill develop** किया ताकि **job** के साथ उसको **connect** किया जाए और उसको उसका काम मिल जाए और उस दिशा में हमने प्रयास किया है।
- ▶ हमने रोजगारी को बढ़ावा देने के लिए जो **micro and small industry** है उसको हमने **Tax** के अंदर सुविधाएं दी हैं। **Start Up** को बल दिया है। तीन साल के लिए टैक्स में हमने रियायत दी है ताकि नौजवानों को **Start Up** के लिए मौका मिले। मुद्रा बैंक के द्वारा करोड़ों-करोड़ों लोगों को हमने धन दिया है, जो पुराने थे उन्होंने **expansion** किया है। **expansion** के कारण उसको एक-दो लोगों को और रोजगार देने का उसको अवसर मिला है और इसमें भी ज्योदा **SC, ST** और **women** हैं। मुद्रा के लाभार्थी सबसे ज्यादा **SC, ST, OBC and women** है।
- ▶ हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े मॉल हो, वो तो सात दिन चल सकते हैं, लेकिन गांव के अंदर एक छोटा दुकानदार हो, वो सात दिन खुली नहीं रख सकता है। हमने बजट में इस बार

घोषित किया है कि छोटे दुकानदार भी सात दिन चला सते हैं, देर रात चला सकते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह आने वाला है कि हर छोटा दुकानदार भी एक न एक काम करने वाले को रखेगा, एक-एक दुकान पर एक नए व्यक्ति के रोजगार की संभावना होने वाली है। उस दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण काम में समझता हूं आने वाले दिनों में रोजगार की दिशा में होने वाला है।

- ▶ जब हमने कहा कि क्यों न देश जिसमें किसान हो, **progressive** किसान हो, राज्य सरकारें हो, केन्द्र सरकारें हो, हम सब मिलकर के, हमने बहुत जिम्मेदारी के साथ इन शब्दों का प्रयोग किया हुआ है। सब मिलकर के ये लक्ष्य क्यों न तय करे कि 2022 में किसान की **income double** हो। अगर हम सही दिशा में प्रयास करे तो परिणाम आएगा। मैं एक हमारे देश में इस विषय के जानकार है, श्रीमान एम. एस. स्वामीनाथन, उनका एक **latest article** का **quote** मैं कहना चाहता हूं "seeds have been sown for agricultural transformation and for attracting and retaining youth in farming. The dawn of a new era in farming is in sight."
- ▶ अब किसान की आय दोगुना हो सकती है कि नहीं हो सकती है। किसान मतलब, अगर जो हम **soil health card** के काम को लेकर के चले है, उसको हम सफलता से लागू करे और किसान **soil health card ds advices** के अनुसार अपनी जमीन का उपयोग करना शुरू करे। **productivity** बढ़ सकती है, **input cost** कम हो सकती है।
- ▶ हमें **value addition** की दिशा में प्रयास करना होगा और इसलिए अगर आलू किसान

बेचता है तो कम कमाई होती है लेकिन **wafer** बनाकर के बेचता है तो ज्यादा कमाई होती है। हरी मिर्च बेचता है तो कम कमाई होती है लेकिन लाल मिर्च का पाउडर बनाकर के बेचता है तो ज्यादा कीमत मिलती है। हम लोगों ने **value addition** पर बल देना शुरू किया है जिसके कारण हमारे किसान की **income** में बढ़ोतरी होना पूरी तरह लाजिमी है। उसी प्रकार से **blue economy**, हमारे जो सागर, जो हमारे **fisheries** में हमारे **fisherman** लगे हैं। हमारे समुद्री तट पर **seaweed** की खेती, पूरी संभावना है आज दुनिया में **pharmaceuticals** के **manufacturing** में **base material** के लिए **seaweed** बहुत बड़ी ताकत बनकर उभरा है। हमारे **fisherman** के परिवार समुद्री तट पर आराम से **seaweed** की खेती कर सकते हैं और वो **seaweed** की **marketing** और हमारे **pharmaceuticals** से हम जपम नच करे, हमारे **fisherman** की **income** भी हम बढ़ा सकते हैं। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि हम जो सोचते हैं कि **agriculture sector** में हम किसानों की आय बढ़ा नहीं सकते, ये निराशा का कोई कारण नहीं है। अगर हम वैज्ञानिक तरीके से, उसी प्रकार से **National Agriculture Market**, आज **National Agriculture Market** के द्वारा, **e-platform** के द्वारा, किसान अपने गांव में बैठकर के यह तय कर सकता है कि अगर महाराष्ट्र के अंदर उसकी पैदावार की कीमत ज्यादा है, वहां बेच सकता है। 14 अप्रैल बाबा साहेब आम्बेडकर की जन्मजयंती पर यह सरकार इसको **launch** करने जा रही है। किसान अपनी जहां ज्यादा कीमत मिलेगी, वहां **market** में जाने के लिए उसको सुविधा मिलने वाली है। ●

Salient points of PM Modi's address during the International Conference on Rule of Law for supporting 2030 Development Agenda



Role of Rules and Laws in Achieving Sustainable Development:

The role of rules and laws in achieving sustainable development goals is going to be very important in the days to come. However, rules should be such that they facilitate the achievement of these goals. Unfortunately, some times, the concern for environment is defined narrowly. We all have to realize that if there is conflict, no one's purpose will be served.

The problems of environment are largely the effect of our consumptive lifestyles. If we want to make a meaningful impact, we all need to look within; before we read the books of law.

Indian way of looking at Sustainable Development:

I have always felt that anything which is not sustainable cannot be called development. In our culture, development means 'बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय', 'सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनो' and 'लोकाः समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु'. This cannot happen unless the development process is inclusive and sustainable. Anything which compromises on the ability of future generations to meet their requirements cannot be called development. We in India have always believed in sustainability. For us, the law of nature holds great value. If we all observe it, then many man-made laws will not be required. Only

the practice of सह जीवन and सह अस्तित्व will be enough to help us. In modern terminology, there is a word called stakeholder. A path becomes sustainable, if all stakeholders are benefitted. However, I must add a word of caution here. The stake should be natural. It should be inherent. It cannot be stretched to include those who may be working with ulterior motives. Nature is pure. Hence, only pure intentions can keep it intact.

Nature is an integral part of Indian culture:

We, in India, have a strong tradition of living in harmony with nature. We worship nature. We worship the sun, the moon, rivers, land, trees, animals, rain, air and fire. These elements of Nature have been given the stature of Gods in our culture. Moreover, in Indian mythology, most of the Gods and Goddesses are associated with an animal and a tree. Thus, respect for Nature is an integral part of our culture, and has been passed across generations. Protection of environment comes naturally to us. This strong tradition has been a guiding principle for all of us.

We always pray for welfare, peace, fulfillment and sustainability of all; at all places and for all times.

The ideas of YAM, NIYAM, PRATYAHAR teach us discipline, austerity and control.

Collective efforts are required and conflict of interest should be avoided:

The problems we face in India today are not unique. Other civilizations have also faced similar problems and were able to overcome them. I believe that through our collective efforts we will succeed as well. While doing so, we must ensure that we avoid contradictions between our need to develop and develop sustainably. Our culture teaches us Union between the व्यक्ति and समस्ती. If we become one with the universal order, there are no conflicts of interest.

Why we need Climate Justice:

The rule of law dictates that no one can be punished for another's misdeed. We need to recognize that there are many people who are least responsible for the problem of climate change. They are also the people who still wait for access to modern amenities. They face the adverse impact of climate change more than anyone else. This includes cyclones, droughts, floods, heat waves, and rising sea levels. The poor, vulnerable and marginalized groups have fewer resources to cope with climate disasters. Unfortunately, their present and future generations are also burdened by laws and agreements on environment. That is why I talk about Climate Justice. Moreover, the rules, laws, practices and principles of one country cannot be applied to another uniformly. Every country has its own challenges and its own ways of dealing with them. If we apply the same set of rules for all countries and for all people; it will not work. ●

Salient points of PM Modi's address at the National Conference of Women Legislators



- ▶ सशक्तिकरण उनका होता है, जिनका सशक्तिकरण नहीं है लेकिन जो सशक्त है, उनका सशक्तिकरण कौन करेगा और ये बात मेरे गले नहीं उतरती कि पुरुष होते कौन हैं जो सशक्त करेंगे लेकिन आवश्यक ये है कि हम स्वयं को पहचानें।
- ▶ हम अपनी शक्तियों को तब तक नहीं पहचानते हैं, जब तक हमें चुनौतियों से जूझने का अवसर नहीं आता है।
- ▶ जहां-जहां महिला को अवसर मिला है, उसका सफलता का स्तर बहुत ऊंचा है।
- ▶ मैं नहीं जानता हूं कि किसी ने सर्वे

किया है कि नहीं किया है लेकिन अगर सर्वे करे तो शायद पुरुषों को मिले हुए अवसर, उनका **success ratio and** महिला को मिला अवसर, उनका **success ratio**, मैं विश्वास से कहता हूं महिलाओं का ऊपर गया होगा। इसका मतलब ये है कि सामर्थ्य है। हमारे देश में ये पहली सरकार ऐसी है जिसमें इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में महिला मंत्रियों का प्रतिनिधित्व है क्योंकि मेरा **conviction** है कि उनको अगर अवसर मिले तो वो बहुत उत्तम परिणाम दे सकते हैं और आज हम अनुभव भी कर रहे हैं कि परिणाम देते हैं।

- ▶▶ राष्ट्र का जन-जन राष्ट्र को सशक्त बनाता है। उसको अगर सामर्थ्यवान बनाता है, उसको अगर चरित्रवान बनाता है तो मां बनाती है, उससे बड़ा राष्ट्र का निर्माण कोई नहीं कर सकता है। उससे बड़ा सशक्तिकरण कोई नहीं कर सकता, जो सदियों से माताएं-बहनें करती आई हैं।
- ▶▶ हम ये तय करें, हमारे हर एक के कार्यक्षेत्र में, एक-तिहाई महिलाएं नेतृत्व कर रही हैं। कोई गांव का नेतृत्व कर रही हैं, कोई नगर का नेतृत्व कर रही हैं, कोई शहर का कर रही हैं, कोई बड़े शहर, एक तिहाई क्योंकि **one-third chairmanship** किसी न किसी महिला के हाथ में है। ये एक-तिहाई प्रतिनिधि, बाकी छोड़िए, ये एक-तिहाई प्रतिनिधि वो आपकी सोच, आपके विचार को, जो आपके **under** में काम करते हैं, आपके कार्यक्षेत्र में हैं। अगर आप विधायक हैं और 100 गांव हैं, अगर उस 100 गांव के अंदर से 30-35 महिलाएं हैं, प्रधान महिलाएं हैं क्या आपने उनको **empower** किया है, क्या आपने उनका सशक्तिकरण किया है, क्या आपने कभी एक दिन उनके साथ बिताया है।
- ▶▶ मैं आपसे आग्रह करूंगा कि आपको अपने आपको प्रभावी भी बनाना पड़ेगा और अगर आप अपने आप को प्रभावी बने रहने के लिए जो प्रयास करने चाहिए अगर उसको आप नहीं करेंगे तो सिर्फ व्यवस्थाओं बदलने से परिणाम नहीं आता है। **Structure** में इधर-उधर बदलाव होता रहेगा, समय-समय पर होता भी रहता है। आवश्यकता है उसमें प्राणवान कैसे बनाएं हम अपनी ताकत को कैसे जोड़ें।
- ▶▶ **leadership establishment** करने के लिए आपके पास उम्दा व्यक्तित्व जरूरत नहीं है, आपके पास विषयों की जानकारी होना जरूरी है।
- ▶▶ वो दिन दूर नहीं होगा कि जब **women empowerment** तो होता ही होता चला जाएगा लेकिन देश में **women development** से आगे बढ़ कर के **women led development** की दिशा में आगे बढ़ेगा। ●

Salient Points of PM Modi's address at Centenary Year Convocation of Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi



में भारत रत्ने महामना जी के चरणों में वंदन करता हूँ कि 100 वर्ष पूर्व जिस बीज उन्होंने ने बोया था वो आज इतना बड़ा विराट, ज्ञान का, विज्ञान का, प्रेरणा का एक वृक्ष बन गया। 100 साल पहले महामना जी के इस कार्य को देखें तो पता चलता है कि दीर्घाष्टा किसे कहते हैं, visionary किसे कहते हैं। गुलामी के उस कालखंड में राष्ट्रघ के भावी सपनों को हृदयस्थ, करना और सिर्फ यह देश कैसा हो, आजाद हिंदुस्ता न का रूप-रंग क्या हो, यह सिर्फ सपने नहीं है लेकिन उन सपनों को पूरा करने के लिए सबसे प्राथमिक आवश्यकता क्या हो सकती है? और वो है उन सपनों को साकार करे, ऐसे जैसे मानव समुदाय को तैयार करना है। ऐसे सामर्थ्य वान, ऐसे समर्पित मानवों की श्रृंखला, शिक्षा और संस्कार के माध्यम से ही हो सकती है और उस बात की पूर्ति को करने के लिए महामना जी ने यह विश्वविद्यालय का सपना देखा। महामना जी उन महापुरुषों को

तैयार करना चाहते थे कि वे भारत की महान परंपराओं को संजोए हुए, राष्ट्र के निर्माण में भारत की आजादी के लिए योग्या, सामर्थ्य के साथ खड़े रहे और ज्ञान के अधिष्ठान पर खड़े रहें। संस्कारों की सरिता को लेकर के आगे बढ़े, यह सपना महामना जी ने देखा था।

Convocation ceremony is not the end of study but starting of a new phase in life:

यह दीक्षांत समारोह है, हम यह कभी भी मन में न लाएं कि यह शिक्षांत समारोह है। कभी-कभी तो मुझे लगता है दीक्षांत समारोह सही अर्थ में शिक्षा के आरंभ का समारोह होना चाहिए। यह शिक्षा के अंत का समारोह नहीं है और यही दीक्षांत समारोह का सबसे बड़ा संदेश होता है कि हमें अगर जिन्दोगी में सफलता पानी है, हमें अगर जिन्दागी में बदलते युग के साथ अपने आप को समकक्ष बनाए रखना है तो उसकी पहली शर्त

होती है . हमारे भीतर का जो विद्यार्थी है वो कभी मुरझा नहीं जाना चाहिए, वो कभी मरना नहीं चाहिए। दुनिया में वो ही इस विशाल जगत को, इस विशाल व्य,वस्था को अनगिनत आयामों को पा सकता है, कुछ मात्रा में पा सकता है जो जीवन के अंत काल तक विद्यार्थी रहने की कोशिश करता है, उसके भीतर का विद्यार्थी जिन्दाक रहता है। आप सब को पता होगा कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा के बाद दीक्षा, यह परंपरा हजारों साल पुरानी है और सबसे पहले तैतृक उपनिषद में इसका उल्लेख है, जिसमें दीक्षांत का पहला अवसर रेखांकित किया गया है। तब से भारत में यह दीक्षांत की परंपरा चल रही है और आज भी यह दीक्षांत समारोह एक नई प्रेरणा का अवसर बन जाता है।

The Student in yourself should never die, always focus on innovation:

जीवन में आप बहुत कुछ कर पाएंगे, बहुत कुछ करेंगे, लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा, आपके भीतर का विद्यार्थी कभी मरना नहीं चाहिए, मुरझाना नहीं चाहिए। जिज्ञासा, वो विकास की जड़ों को मजबूत करती है। अगर जिज्ञासा खत्म हो जाती है तो जीवन में ठहराव आ जाता है। उम्र कितनी ही क्यों न हो, बुढ़ापा निश्चित लिख लीजिए वो हो जाता है और इसलिए हर पल, नित्य , नूतन जीवन कैसा हो, हर पल भीतर नई चेतना कैसे प्रकट हो, हर पल नया करने का उमंग वैसा ही हो जैसा 20 साल पहले कोई नई चीज करने के समय हुआ था। तब जाकर के देखिए जिन्दगी जीने का मजा कुछ और होता है। संकटों के सामने भी उसको झेलने का सामर्थ्य आना चाहिए और जो इसे पचा लेता है न, वो अपने जीवन में कभी विफल नहीं जाता है। लेकिन तत्कालिक चीजों से जो हिल जाता है, अंधेरा छा जाता है। उस समय यह ज्ञान का प्रकाश ही हमें रास्ता दिखाता है और इसलिए ये BHU की धरती से जो ज्ञान प्राप्त किया है वो जीवन के हर संकट के समय हमें राह दिखाने का, प्रकाश-पथ दिखाने का एक अवसर देता है।

Innovate new technologies to help farmers of this country:

हमारा उत्तम प्रदेश, गन्ना किसान परेशान रहता है लेकिन गन्ने के रास्ते इथनॉल बनाए, petroleum product के अंदर उसको जोड़ दे तो environment को फायदा होता है, मेरे गन्ना किसान को भी फायदा हो सकता है। मेरे BHU में यह खोज हो सकती है कि हम maximum इथनॉल का उपयोग कैसे करें, हम किस प्रकार से करें ताकि मेरे उत्तर प्रदेश के गन्ने किसान का भी भला हो, मेरे देश के पर्यावरण और मानवता के कल्याण का काम हो और मेरा जो vehicle चलाने वाला व्यक्ति हो, उसको भी कुछ महंगाई में सस्ता मिल जाए। यह चीजें हैं जिसके innovation की जरूरत है। हम Solar energy पर अब काम कर रहे हैं। आज जो Solar energy के equipment हैं, उसकी कुछ सीमाएं हैं। क्या हम नए आविष्कार के द्वारा उसमें और अधिक फल मिले, और अधिक ऊर्जा मिले ऐसे नए आविष्कार कर सकते हैं क्या? मैं नौजवान साथियों को आज ये चुनौतियां देने आया हूँ और मैं इस BHU की धरती से हिन्दुस्तान के और विश्व के युवकों को आह्वान करता हूँ।

The way forward:

आइए, आने वाली शताब्दी में मानव जाति जिन संकटों से जूझने वाली है, उसके समाधान के रास्ते खोजने का, पददवअंजपवद के लिए आज हम खप जाए। दोस्तों , सपने बहुत बड़े देखने चाहिए। अपने लिए तो बहुत जीते हैं, सपनों के लिए मरने वाले बहुत कम होते हैं और जो अपने लिए नहीं, सपनों के लिए जीते हैं वही तो दुनिया में कुछ कर दिखाते हैं। जो नौजवान आज समाज जीवन की अपनी जिम्मेवारियों के कदम रखते हैं। बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेवारियों की ओर जा रहे हैं। दीवारों से छूटकर के पूरे आसमान के नीचे, पूरे विश्व के पास जब पहुंच रहे हैं तब, यहां से जो मिला है, जो अच्छाइयां है, जो आपके अंदर सामर्थ्य जगाती है, उसको हमेशा चेतन मन रखते हुए, जिन्दगी के हर कदम पर आप सफलता प्राप्त करें, यही मेरी आप सब को शुभकामनाएं हैं। ●

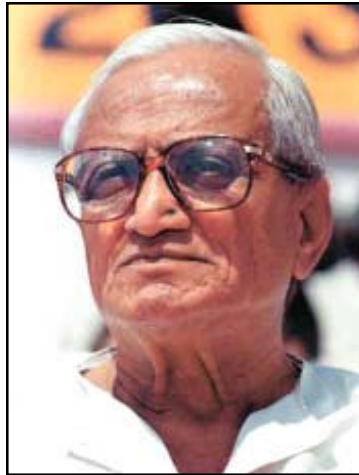
(Continued from February 2016 issue)

Marx & Deendayal— the Two Approaches

 **D.B. Thengdi**

III MARXIAN GOALS

According to Marx, “The goal for man is to realize his humanity, his human nature, and this carries the categorical imperative to overthrow all the relations in which man is debased, enslaved, helpless, contemptible creature”. He sought to put an end to dehumanization and self-alienation which is characteristic of capitalist system. He was sorry to find out “man exists in this world as ‘Unmensch’ (Unman)”. For him, communism was “the actual phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and recovery”. Again, “Communism is for us not a stable state which is to be established, an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things.” The fundamental principle of a higher type of society, Marx thinks, is “the full development of every individual.” The accumulation of wealth at one pole of society involves a simultaneous accumulation of poverty, labour, torment, slavery, brutalization and moral degradation at the opposite pole. Money is the alienated essence of man’s work and his being. The end and



aim of capitalist production is an endeavour to promote to the utmost the self-expansion of capital, meaning thereby the production of the largest possible amount of surplus value and, therefore, the maximum possible exploitation of labour-power by the

capitalist. He wanted man to be liberated from the bondage of economics, to leave behind the ‘realm of necessity’, and to enter ‘the realm of freedom’. Under ideal conditions, “the productive labour”, says Engels, “instead of being a means to the subjection of man, will become a means to their emancipation by giving each individual the opportunity to develop and exercise all his faculties, physical and mental, in all directions”, Marx observes; “The main principle which must guide us in the selection of a vocation is the welfare of humanity and our own perfection”.

For this, it is necessary to change the current capitalist value-system, which debases both—the exploiter and the exploited, demolish the structure of capitalism under which a worker no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal; and enable him to separate

finally from the animal world, to leave the conditions of animal existence behind him, and enter conditions which are really human. Being liberated from the bondage of material needs, man will cherish the vision of the 'realm of freedom' beyond which "begins that development of human power which is its own end." Mr. H.S. Sinha has ably shown in his 'Communism and the Gita', that the inspiration of Marx was in ethics, and he used economics as his instrument. But in his zeal to change the world instead of merely interpreting it, he allowed himself, as far as the solutions were concerned, to be completely pre-occupied with the then current maladies of the industrialised west dominated by the inhuman capitalists and the anachronistic Church, and tried to generalize his conclusions which were partly valid in the immediate context. Hence his error of judgement regarding the efficacy of the Western parliamentary democratic system, trade unionism and cooperative movement; capacity of capitalism to adjust itself with the change level of mass consciousness; role of proletariat; the potentialities of the peasantry; and the inherent strength of social organism, such as, nation and family. But for such lopsided preoccupations, Marx was certainly capable of giving a comprehensive thought to the problems of the entire humanity and working out solutions which could have been more universal in nature.

IV INTEGRALISM

Deendayal ji did not suffer from any such inhibitions. As a leader of a national

political party he was called upon to offer solutions to immediate national problems; and he did it in a commendable way. But this role did not overshadow his thinking process in his evolution of the theory of Integral Humanism. Only a mind that attains universality can conceive of remedies that are universal in character. In fact, his comprehension was not confined to the human species. He expected human consciousness—without suffering from homocentricism. He had a vision of the world-state enriched by the growth and contribution of different national cultures, and of *Manava Dharma* enriched by the perfection of all religions, including Marxism. He had realized that the identification of an individual with different organisms, ranging from family to the universe, was only an outward manifestation of the evolution of his consciousness,

The more developed the consciousness, the larger and higher would be the organism with which one is identified. But this being a process of subjective evolution, the higher level of consciousness does not preclude the previous lower levels. It is inclusive, not exclusive, in character. One can be equally and simultaneously attached to all the organisms without doing injustice to anyone of them. This is an integral view of things. Every human being must be considered in an integrated way; the body, mind intelligence and soul of a person must not be thought of as separate entities.

Integralism is the special characteristic of Panditji's Humanism.

While he appreciated the utility of appropriate socio-economic order in any scheme for human happiness, he laid greater stress on the moulding and development of human consciousness, in absence of which no social ordeal, howsoever meritorious, can yield its desired results. According to Marx, life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness is determined by life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. Pandit ji, on the other hand, believed that while life or social being and consciousness act and react upon each other, it is consciousness that is more decisive. Integralism and consequent stress on development of consciousness distinguish his approach from that of Marx.

For example, both—Marx and Pandit ji considered statelessness as an ideal condition of any society. Marx also considered the State as an expression of man's self alienation. But because he considered mind as only a superstructure on matter, he conceived of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as the transitional phase. For Deendayal ji, the effective instrument was Dharma consciousness. The ideals of the nation constitute 'Chiti', which is analogous to the soul of an individual. The laws that help manifest and maintain *Chiti* of a nation are termed as Dharma of that nation implying that every social organism has its own Dharma.

V THE TWO APPROACHES

Both of them were against exploitation and the system that gives rise to it, Pandit ji said:

“But one thing is clear, that many institutions will yield place to new ones. This will adversely affect those who have vested interests in the old institutions. Some others who are by nature averse to change will also suffer by nature averse to change will also suffer by efforts of reconstruction. But diseases must be treated with medicine—therefore, we shall have to discard the *status quo* mentality and usher in a new era. Indeed our effort at reconstruction need not be clouded by prejudice against, or disregard for, all that is inherited from our past. On the other hand, there is no need to cling to past institutions and traditions which have outlived their utility,

Marx advocated bloody revolution for destroying not only the superstructure but also the foundations of the existing social order; Pandit ji stood for mass awakening, mass education and mass mobilization through appropriate *sanskaras* with a view to alter the superstructure, leaving intact the eternal foundation of Dharma.¹

Both these thinkers visualized full development of all the faculties of every individual. But while Deendayal ji considered man in an integrated way, Marx, under the influence of the then prevailing objective conditions, treated man as an economic being. In fact, Marx was against the power of money, against the sense of possession. He wanted man

to be liberated from the lust for wealth and the bondage of economic factors. But, in practice, he emphasized mainly the economic aspect of human existence. This has caused lopsidedness in his theory.

Deendayal ji was a bitter critic of corruption and perversion in the field of religion. But he did not throw away the baby along with the bathwater. The Western tradition of anti-religious intellectuals and the nauseating picture of the Christian Church turned Marx against religion and he declared crusade against all religions about some of which he had no intimate knowledge.²

Integral Humanism believes in the plurality in the midst of a single mankind in the form of different national personalities. It simultaneously believes that internationalism is the outward manifestation of the development of human consciousness from the earlier stage of nationalism. Marxism is the embodiment of national nihilism. 'The proletariat has no fatherland'. According to Lenin, "Socialism's aim is not only to abolish the fragmentation of humanity into small states and to end all distinctions between nations, not only to bring the nations closer together but to bring about fusion". This is based upon the ignorance of the inherent strength of the nation-concept. Let it be remembered that nationalism has always been strong even in countries under communist governments. It has been the case even during periods of actual communist revolution.³

It is a shallow view of Russian

history which sees Bolshevism as an alien excrescence grafted on the Russian body politic by a handful of power-lusting conspirators without roots in the past. The triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution was in no sense inevitable; but Bolshevism as a movement was an indigenous, authoritarian response to the environment of Tsarist absolutism which nurtured it." "Chinese Communism" Malcolm D. Kennedy observe "is a child of Chinese Nationalism, which means a determination to shake off foreign domination."⁴ This also holds good for Communism in Vietnam and other developing countries.

On this point Marx was thoroughly wrong. Consider, for example, the resurgence of nationalism in all communist countries; patriotic uprisings in Eastern Europe; demand for complete internal autonomy by communist parties of the western Europe conscious efforts in all countries, including India, to reconcile Marxism with national heritage; war between Vietnam and Cambodia, and tussle between USSR and China prompted by the instinct of national self-interest.

Marxism proclaims the disappearance of the 'Bourgeois family'. Engels⁵ expounds in details the Marxist views on the development of family, which is one of the super-structures erected on the economic base. In an ideal society, the management of the individual household would be turned in to a branch of social work. The family will lose all its social functions. It will die out. Being purged of its social

content, the family will wither away.

Marxism does not view marriage with favour.⁶ Though Marx said, “we shall interfere in the private relations between men and women only insofar as they disrupt our social structure,” what disrupts social structure is to be decided finally by the Communist State only. Academic discussion on this point seems to be superfluous. Even under communist regimes, family has come to stay, and “official and open wife-sharing instead of hypocritical and concealed wife-sharing” could not yet acquire any measure of respectability.

Though Marxism ultimately pleads for the full development of every individual, it negates, in the immediate context, the individuality of men. In practice, equality is turned into equivalence. Individual citizens are components of the state-apparatus. Individual relations between husbands and wives and between parents and children are to be destroyed. Children need not know their parents, and should be brought up by the state. The individual, family, marriage and the familial rearing of children should not exist.

Such a negation of individuality is bound to result in the destruction of Man. As Igor Shafarevich puts it, the basic problem is really that “the establishment of a social order fully embodying the principles of socialism will lead to a complete alteration in man’s relation to life and to a radical break in the structure of human individuality.”

VI ‘ISM’ LESSNESS

The ideology of Deendayal ji as well as of Marx is essentially humanistic. But unfortunately, the traditional prejudices of European intelligentsia, coupled with pressing requirements of the immediate and lack of adequate knowledge of the Hindu *Darshana*, contributed largely to the imbalance and compartmentalization in Marxian thought-system. Both of them were wise enough not to found any ‘ism’, Deendayalji’s use of the term ‘ism’ was a practical concession to the common man’s level of understanding which could not comprehend the grand ‘ism’-lessness of *Sanatana Dharma*; and Marx is reported to have once remarked, “Thank God! I am not a Marxist.” Both of them were, again, mature enough not to present any elaborate blueprint, though they certainly provided the guidelines. Neither of them offered any precise description of the ideal socio-politico-economic institutions and their mutual relationships. This is as it should be. A clear-cut blueprint is necessarily evolved by pragmatic system-builders in course of time on the basis of practical experience and continuous appraisal of the situation. The maxim ‘from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs’ is quite consistent with the spirit of Integral Humanism. Both thought-systems consider freedom from want and production or action for the sake of self-fulfilment, as an ideal condition. The final stage of communism consisting of ‘socialised humanity’ that is “a classless, stateless, and generally a structureless collectivity of complete

individuals who live in harmony with themselves and with each other' is broadly compatible with the ultimate goal of Integral Humanism.

But Marx was at a disadvantage in that he had no heritage to fall back upon, which would readily offer suitable instruments for achieving the end. How to raise complete individual? What precisely would constitute the sustaining force for the ideal society?

VII THE DESTINATION

The Hindu culture conceives of progress of man as simultaneous progress of the body, mind, intellect and soul. It places before us the ideal of the fourfold responsibilities of catering to the needs of body, mind, intellect and soul with a view to achieving the integrated progress of man. The fourfold 'Purushartha', i. e., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, in an integrated way, constitute the ultimate goal of individual life. In this scheme of *Purusharathas*, the Artha and the Kama are sandwiched between the Dharma and the Moksha. The material is happily, and in a balanced way, integrated with the spiritual. And among these the Dharma is basic, and supreme. It sustains society in its ideal condition. Dharma renders validity and stability to an ideal socio-economic structure and the various institutions functioning within its framework.

Thus, the Hindu heritage furnishes us with the tools of reconstruction at different levels. This is the destination envisaged by Integral Humanism. It would be superfluous to inquire about

comparative merit of different thought-systems. Each system is great in its own way. The problem is how to make them mutually complementary. For us, it should not be an insoluble problem. An aptitude for synthesis, as manifested brilliantly by Vyas and Sankara, has been one of the unique features of our national genius.

REFERENCES

1. It is also noteworthy that in the west there prevailed nothing equivalent to Dharma which comprises eternal, unchanging Universal Laws and socio-economic orders changing from time to time in the light of the former.
2. Paradoxically enough, freedom of religion has been incorporated now in the latest constitution of USSR and China, and religion is raising its head even in Albania which is "the world's first atheist state".
3. Fainsod in his *How Russia is Ruled*.
4. *A Short History of Communism in Asia*.
5. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.
6. *The Communist Manifesto* devotes some space to wife-sharing. ●

(This paper is being reproduced from journal of Deendayal Research Institute, Manthan, Vol.3, No.4 March 1981. The author was a veteran thinker and a leading social-philosopher, who largely shaped the Swadeshi narrative in post independent India)

The 2016-17 Budget: A Positive step in India's Transformation Process

 Mukul Asher

Abstract: This paper analyses Union Government of India's 2016-17 Budget, comprising the Railway Budget as well as the main Budget components. It is argued that this Budget should be viewed as a part of the process of transforming India towards meeting challenges of growth and competitiveness in a manner which eases the ordinary life of the citizens, and which encourages aspirations for a better quality of life. The paper discusses several seemingly small initiatives with disproportionately positive impact on outcomes, an important feature of competence in governance. The assessment criteria for transforming India include consistency with growth diagnostics, fairness, and preparing the country to rapidly progress towards an upper -middle -income category of nations. It provides examples of how in some cases, better efficiency in resource use and improved fairness can be achieved simultaneously. The paper concludes, that, on balance, India's 2016-17 Budget does improve India's public financial management, and advance the process of transforming India in the right direction.

(Key Words: India, Public Financial Management, growth diagnostics, fairness, cooperative federalism, quality of living and of life, Fiscal Consolidation)

India's Railways and Union Government Budgets (hence forth the Budget) for 2016-17 should be assessed as part of a continuing process of transforming India rather than as a stand-alone event (albeit the most important event of the year).

Any budget is constrained by past policies and developments, and it will have impacts which transcend the fiscal year. Broader domestic and global developments, and perceptions



and expectations of the stakeholders are also relevant in formulating a Budget.

The current external environment of subdued global growth and global trade, low or negative nominal interest rates, and a pervasive sense of

fragility globally are factors which formed a part of the broader context in which the 2016-17 Budget was formulated. The domestic economic environment has also been

challenging shaped by two continuous years of drought and a reduction in the resources available to the Central government in line with the recommendations of the 14th Finance Commission.

Given the above, the trade-offs are among different objectives (such as fiscal consolidation, sectoral priorities, giving impetus to “animal spirits”, and assigning proper roles to the state-market and public-private-social enterprise sectors complementarities, were exceptionally difficult to manage in this Budget.

The Budget projects nominal GDP growth of 11 percent in 2016-17. Assessing the Budget including the implicit or explicit trade-offs, therefore requires nuanced judgments and understanding of how and over what period the government measures may translate into desired outcomes. The judgments of policymakers about political feasibility and readiness of the stakeholders to accept proposed initiatives are also relevant in the budget assessment.

As the Prime Minister Narendra Modi led government’s overall aim is to Transform India, the extent to which the 2016-17 Budget constitutes a positive step in transforming India is arguably a sound basis for its assessment.

There are three aspects of the Transforming India aim which are relevant for assessing the 2016-17 Budgets.

First, does the budget meet growth diagnostics tests which are relevant for the Indian context?

Second, does the budget improve fairness by delivering public services and amenities to help improve quality of living (facilitating day to day activities through easier and wider accessibility and affordability), and quality of life (taking steps to address aspirations of the people for better quality of life)?

Third, does the Budget help prepare India’s economy, polity, and society for progression from the lower-middle-income to upper-middle-income category of nation?

When assessed on the above three aspects, the Budget, on balance, does indeed advance the Transforming India objective and facilitates India’s progress towards moving up the income category as explained below. The Budget therefore deserves to be welcomed by all stakeholders who desire India to emerge as an important power globally.

Growth Diagnostics Tests

The analogy here is with medicine where few vital signs are examined to assess health. In growth diagnostics, these signs are fiscal consolidation as an important element of fiscal and macroeconomic sustainability, investments, both direct, and those that crowd-in private and other investments as a result of public investments; use of knowledge, including when it is embodied in technology; encouraging formation of

human skills and generation of livelihoods; and progressing towards cooperative federalism.

In all these aspects, it is essential that large imbalances between demand side and supply side forces should not be permitted to arise, but if they do, then they are effectively addressed. In India, too often the demand-side forces have been increased significantly (in some cases through giving statutory power to certain rights), but supply side elements, whether in health, education, power, transport, and other areas have lagged considerably. This has led to significant distortions not just in economy, but also in society, which the current government has been attempting to address. The fiscal consolidation and perceived fiscal prudence are especially important in the current global environment.

The budget meets this objective fairly well. This is indicated by the reduction in fiscal deficit (3.5 percent as compared to 3.9 percent of GDP in 2015-16), revenue deficit (2-3 percent as compared to 2-5 percent), and total outstanding liabilities (47.1 percent as compared to 47.6 percent, and projected to decline to 44.4 percent in 2018-19).

These are to be achieved with projected constant tax revenue to GDP ratio of 10.8 percent; (with welcome provisions to reduce compliance costs and burden imposed on the rest of the economy in generating the revenue) and reasonable assumptions of 11 percent growth in nominal GDP (real

plus inflation) for 2016-17; 12 percent in 2017-18, and 13 percent in 2018-19. The total government expenditure in 2016-17 is projected to be INR 19.8 trillion.

The budget continues to focus on obtaining fiscal revenue from not just the current year's income, consumption, and production flows, but also from using state assets more productively.

This is indicated by the plan to generate INR one Lakh crore from spectrum sales. The change in the name of Department of Disinvestment to Investment and Public Asset Management also reflects the new mind-set in generating revenue and improving the accountability of state assets. The Union government is among the largest owner of assets, including land. They also can create property rights (such as spectrum, air-space rights, airline landing allocation rights etc.) to generate revenue. But this requires a good asset registry, and reforms in accounting, budget management system, competency in auctioning in the transparent and accountable manner, and re-skilling of relevant staff. Initiatives by the government to track and reward performance of the officials and of office holders should therefore be welcomed.

The Budget has taken a welcome step to discontinue the practice of classifying expenditure into Plan and Non-Plan expenditure from 2017-18. The States should be encouraged to follow this practice as well.

The Budget, particularly the Railway Component, has focused on obtaining better outcomes from budgetary outlays, widening the sources of revenue; including using assets of the railways more productively (a neglected area so far); and more competent use of the Public-Private- Partnerships (PPPs), including Indian Railways partnering with the State governments to make railway assets more productive, and thereby crowd-in additional investments by other parties.

The Budget's investment proposals are designed to improve productivity in the use of capital, and to crowd-in private investments from both domestic and global investors.

This suggests that merely focusing on the level of budgetary capital expenditure and increase (INR 2.18 trillion, growth of 4 percent), as some analyst have done, misses the main thrust of the Budget concerning investments.

Plan to award 10,000 km of highway contracts in 2016-17; higher tripling of allocation to INR 270 billion, for Gram Sadak Yojna with potential for large multiplier effects; connectivity with the northeast, and investment in urban transport systems, with long-neglected in Mumbai receiving priority in capital expenditure of the Railways; and investments in coastal shipping, with huge savings in logistics and transport time and costs; investment in Digital Depository of academic transcripts; investments to provide urban-type

facilities in rural areas under the Rurban clusters, are only some of the examples of the growth diagnostics consistent design of investment proposals in the 2016-17 Budget.

The importance of other growth diagnostics signs is also evident from the Budget. Thus, Start-up India, Mudra (Micro Units Development and Refinance Agency) Bank, Digital India, and combination of Aadhar - Jan Dhan Yojna (involving opening of bank accounts, overdraft, and accident insurance coverage, under which 212.2 million accounts and INR 342 billion have been deposited by members); and use of mobile payment and other technology to directly transfer amount to the bank accounts of the beneficiaries; near tripling of issuing of E-tourist visas on arrival about 120,000 per month, all require significant and skill-mix process improvements, as well as the use of technology.

The cooperative Federalism initiatives of the Budget are exemplified by meeting the commitment to increase devolution to stakes by 55 percent as recommended by the 14th Finance Commission; involving States in recognizing centrally sponsored schemes; and the UDAY (Ujjwal Discom Assurance Yojna) scheme to revive power distribution companies in the States. The Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Bill passed on March 10, 2016 will also positively impact States.

The above brief overview of the

Budget concerning growth diagnostics strongly suggests the following.

First the Budget incorporates insights from modern growth theory and experiences by aiming to generate many growth nodes for the country, to help diversify the economy, and increase its resilience.

Second, the proposals recognize that a combination of use of ideas and knowledge, process improvements, and reconfiguration of skill-mix (but with requisite certification for signaling) is essential for good quality broad-based growth.

Third, it is encouraging India's entrepreneurship and business instincts, facilitating it by better accessibility, affordability, and reliability of basic public amenities, particularly physical and digital connectivity.

Improving Fairness

It is widely acknowledged that corruption at the higher levels of the Union Government that was previously ubiquitous with the Congress-led government's tenure has been nearly eliminated, if not completely. As with inflation, corruption hurts the bottom-half of the population particularly hard. This factor has improved the fairness of fiscal operations and enhanced stock of social capital or trust significantly. This aspect has not been sufficiently acknowledged by the commentators.

The 2016-17 Budget also continues the focus of the current government

to improve fairness by making basic public amenities more accessible, affordable, while improving their reliability. These in turn will positively impact on the quality of living of India's households, facilitating their daily lives.

Illustrative examples from the Railway component of the budget include:

- ▶ A Centrally managed "Railway Display Network" to provide information
- ▶ Addition to seats in general class on busy travel nodes
- ▶ Measures to improve cleanliness and hygiene facilities on stations and in trains
- ▶ Railways Research centers to continue to improve services.

An example from the Power sector includes the Deendayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojna (DDUGJY) under which 35 percent of 18, 452 currently un-electrified Villages have already been electrified. This in turn will not only improve quality of living, but also widen livelihood opportunities for the villagers, facilitating inclusive broader-based growth.

The transparent nature of this power initiative is exemplified by the continuous updating of the progress in electrification of villages by visiting <http://garv.gov.in/dashboard>. The use of dashboard as a technique, usually used by effective managers, reflects focus in outcomes of policy initiatives, rather than on government expenditure, which constitute only

financial (not even physical) inputs.

The Pratyaksh Hanstantrit Labh (PAHAL) scheme under which subsidies for cooking gas are transferred directly to the beneficiaries, and the accompanying for citizens to voluntarily not avail of the subsidy (6.5 million citizens have already voluntarily given up the subsidy), whose savings are channeled to giving new gas connections for low income families, improves both fairness and growth prospects while reducing leakages, thus improving expenditure management. The use of cleaner energy sources would also potentially improve maternal and child health.

The focus on outcomes enhances the fairness of the initiatives, a point missed by many analysts who only compare financial inputs, without understanding the processes by which such inputs are to be turned into outputs and then into outcomes focusing on improving household welfare.

The Budget also provides for meeting the pension benefits, including arrears, to the military personnel who, for the first time, were promised "One-Rank-One-Pension" by the current government. This is an issue of fairness as the earlier governments implemented such arrangements only for the civilian, but not for the military personnel.

The Budget and related measures also contain initiatives to address natural and other risks faced by households by specific risk-mitigation and management Programs. These

include, the Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojna (PMFBY) to provide insurance cover and stabilize farm incomes in the event of natural calamities, pests, and diseases (<http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=134432>), a dedicated long term irrigation fund, program to make ground-water resources more sustainable; reconfiguring MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National rural employment guarantee act) scheme to help generate such productive assets as ponds, wells, and compost pits to reduce farm risks and new health insurance scheme.

There are also initiatives to improve quality of life by meeting aspirations of the citizens to significantly improve their economic prospects and social position. Some of the initiatives such as Start-Up India, Mudra Bank have been mentioned.

Proposal to double farm incomes by 2022, an achievable goal, would potentially improve quality of living and of life. Empowering powers through greater economic freedom and access to technology will assist in this goal.

Perhaps bolder measures to reform education and research institutions, with much more accountability for outcomes, could have served this objective to even greater extent.

Preparing India to Progress towards Upper-Middle-Income Category

The analysis under growth diagnostics and fairness above, attempting to channel energies of the

stakeholders into nation building, and efforts being made to shift political accountability based on improving citizen's quality of living and of life suggest that the Government is preparing the country towards challenges of moving up the income category. This is however rarely a linear process. The Budget however does lay solid groundwork for managing India's future.

Some Measures Needed Greater Preparation

There are some proposals in the budget for which better background work were needed. An example includes the method (but not the intent) of encouraging widening access to retirement income security by levying tax on EPF (Employee's Provident Fund) accumulations.

Pension economics is subtle, has tyranny of small numbers where seemingly small changes can have disproportionate impact; and requires long-term policy stability and credibility. A systematic rather than a scheme-based ad-hoc approach to achieve the Budget's intent is needed.

There is an urgency to develop international financial services in India. To achieve this, greater clarity on their tax and other regulatory aspects, and for such products as "Masala Bonds", INR denominated bonds listed abroad, in which exchange rate risk is borne by the lender not the Indian borrower, could have been forthcoming in the budget. Perhaps as with banking sector reforms, and bankruptcy law reform, these will be

undertaken outside the Budget.

There is a need for greater urgency in passing the Constitutional Amendment Bill for GST (Goods and Services Tax). Insistence by the opposition Congress party that the rate of GST be made as part of the Bill should be rejected outright as inimical to the spirit of any tax Bill. The so-called "origin" states must be persuaded to drop their insistence on levying 1 percent additional GST rate on inter-state sales. Such sales should not attract any tax to realize full benefits from GST. States will not lose revenue as the Union government has agreed to reimburse to the States any shortfall in sales tax revenue for five years.

Concluding Remarks

The 2016-17 Budget must be viewed as a part of the process of transforming India towards meeting challenges of growth and competitiveness in a manner which eases the ordinary life of the citizens, and which encouraging aspirations and hope for better quality of life. As argued above, the 2016-17 Budget does advance the process of transforming India in the right direction.

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*The writer is
 Professorial Fellow
 Lee Kuan Yew School of Public
 Policy,
 National University of Singapore,
 Fellow, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
 Research Foundation, New Delhi
 sppasher@nus.edu.sg*

Budget Reflections – Transforming Social Sector Spending

✍️ Praful Shankar

The NDA government which came to power in the summer of 2014 and inherited one of the most troubled Indian economies in recent times. The UPA decade-filled with indiscriminate public spending and politically backed crony capitalism—had left the Indian economy facing the lethal combination of low growth and high inflation.



political opposition to the Prime Minister has never tired from hurling accusations built around the alleged 'pro-rich' tilt of the NDA government. The complete absence of attacks along these lines post the Finance Minister's speech is a testament to the extent to which the Budget of 2016

has succeeded in demonstrating the Modi government's deep commitment to providing comprehensive and systemic solutions to various challenges that have gripped India's social sectors over the past few years.

Looking retrospectively at the three budgets presented by the NDA government, it is evident that the primary objectives of the first two were to stop the bleeding and lay the groundwork for future economic growth which was more fiscally secure and self-sustaining.

A deeper look at some of the Government's key initiatives in the social sector is presented below.

Agriculture and Rural India

In this respect, the Finance Minister's latest Union Budget has taken a marked departure from his preceding ones in that, having sufficiently addressed some of the more serious gaps that had emerged during the UPA years, the Government has decided to put the Prime Minister's plan of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikaas' into full action.

If there has been one item of unanimous agreement across all commentaries on the Union Budget, it is that there has been a definitive rural and agricultural tilt in this Budget.

Over the past 20 months, the

Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have shown that they are tuned in to the fact that rural India is facing an acute crisis due two successive years of bad monsoons and almost half a decade of low wage growth. Their reaction to this problem

has been both pragmatic and far-sighted.

The most prominent of measures, lavishly covered by the press, has been the huge increase in outlay towards the agriculture sector – more than doubling of the total expenditure from Rs 16,000 crores to Rs 36,000 crores. But the jump in public spending is only the tip of the iceberg.

The modes of expenditure outlined by the Finance Minister in his budget speech signify the ‘Narendra Modi’ approach to poverty reduction. The schemes and initiatives of the NDA are a marked departure from the handout culture that had taken root under the previous administration, with the Modi government preferring to address rural and agricultural issues at a more systemic level.

The Prime Minister’s new crop insurance scheme, the Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana, received an outlay of Rs 5,500 crores in the budget. The scheme aims to de-risk farmer incomes by giving them risk coverage at low premiums. If implemented successfully, this scheme is a surefire game-changer for the agriculture sector. Apart from the increased levels of available funding, the scheme also seeks to address some of the major deficiencies of previous crop insurance initiatives – one such example being the removal of the existing artificial caps on the sum insured. Such alterations in the terms of insurance should help increase the scheme’s effectiveness and allow

the Indian farmer to increase his income security considerably, thereby decreasing the need for desperate borrowing from hawkish moneylenders and consequently, reducing the spate of farmer suicides which tend to grip the countryside whenever there is a bad monsoon.

The other major push in the agricultural sector has come in irrigation. The government has proposed to spend Rs 86,500 crore on irrigation projects over the next 5 years. **A total of Rs 5,300 crores has been allocated to micro-irrigation projects, watershed development programs and the Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchai (Irrigation) Yojana. The latter scheme will be implemented in ‘mission mode’ with the aim to bring 28 lakh hectares of land under the farm irrigation plan.**

An additional Rs 6,000 crores has been allocated to programs aimed at recharging groundwater along with an allocation of Rs 17,000 crore to the Accelerated Irrigation Programme Benefit (AIPB) for the coming year. The government has also said that it plans to leverage MNREGA to create 5 lakh farm ponds and dig wells in rain fed areas.

Also, by announcing the creation of a Long Term Irrigation fund under the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) with an initial corpus of Rs 20,000 crores, the Finance Minister has signaled that Government understands that sustainable

irrigation is a solution which is achievable only over the long term and that the Government has decided that it's in it for the long haul.

This sharp focus on irrigation is very much in tandem with Prime Minister's successful Gujarat model and is built on his belief that the key to long term agricultural health lies in increasing the farmer's access to water for irrigating his lands.

The government has also signaled its plan to push State governments towards modifying the Agricultural Produce Market Committee Act, with the goal of creating a National Agricultural Market. The platform is expected to be active by April 2016 and, if the states buy in, it could serve as a great liberator of the common farmer from the mercy of his local traders and middlemen.

The agricultural and rural focus of the Budget extends into non-agricultural initiatives of the Government also - with the government looking to rationalize welfare expenditure by redirecting some of its welfare programs towards the agricultural sector.

The leveraging of MNREGA funds towards creating infrastructure for drought-proofing farms through ponds and wells follows the Gujarat model of utilizing welfare schemes to create productive assets.

The ambitious Rural Electrification Program - one of the runaway successes of the Modi Government - along with the Prime Minister's rural

roads scheme addresses critical areas of India's rural infrastructure which have been crying out for reform for decades. These schemes can give the rural populace access to technology, information and markets - key enablers towards building a thriving and empowered rural economy.

The Budget has also signaled the Government's intent - again along the lines of one of the pet themes of the Prime Minister - to move the Indian agriculture industry towards a more modern and technology-driven practices. The 'Soil Health Card' and 'More Crop per Drop' initiatives are examples of the Government's commitment to this approach. With a further Rs 800 crores being earmarked for agricultural research and education, we can expect more programs of this nature to be launched in the not-so-distant future.

Women and Child Development

Women and Child development (WCD) has been another favorite theme of the Prime Minister Modi since his days as Gujarat CM. The Beti Bachao Beti Pado (BBBP) Yojana has been one of the flagship and most popular schemes of the Modi Government.

The scheme was launched in January 2015, by the Prime Minister himself, from the Panipat district in Haryana - no doubt a strategically chosen location considering the state's grim Child Sex Ratio. Since then, the Prime Minister has invested tremendous political capital in the project. Early signs are that the effects

are being felt on the ground with Haryana's sex ratio touching 903 in December 2015, showing improvement for the first time in a decade. **A report of the WCD ministry, released in the same month, noted that more than 50% of the districts covered under the scheme were showing signs of credible improvement.**

In fact, prior to the Budget, the Minister for Women and Child Development, Maneka Gandhi, had already announced that the scheme was going to be expanded to 61 more districts from the initial hundred. The Union Budget listed these districts to be split across 11 states - Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Delhi, Maharashtra, Jammu-Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab.

Apart from BBBP Yojana, the major focus areas of the Budget in this sphere have been the National Nutrition Mission, the creation of One-Stop Crisis Centers for Women and the promotion of women entrepreneurs.

The National Nutrition Mission has received an outlay of Rs 360 crores, almost 6 times the allocation from last year's budget, with an added emphasis on establishing labs for testing the food given under the scheme.

The Budget has also taken concrete steps in providing significant investment to improve the safety and security of women across the country.

In addition to mootng an increase in the number of One-Stop Centers for providing safety to women affected by violence to around 150 in the current financial year, the Government has also allocated Rs.500 crores to the Nirbhaya Fund - out of which Rs 324 crores will be spent on establishing special investigative units to deal with crimes against women across all states. The Nirbhaya fund will also bankroll the creation of a Central Victim Compensation Fund, the setting up of a special investigative agency to look into cases of women and child trafficking and the opening of special units for the support and protection of women in the North-East.

The budget has also attempted to push the envelope on women empowerment - **Rs.2000 crore has been allocated for liquefied petroleum gas connections in the name of women in rural households along with the inclusion of women under the Stand Up India umbrella, aimed at enabling the creation of women entrepreneurs around the country.**

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

One of the more major - and less discussed- projects of Prime Minister Modi has been his efforts to bring Dalits and other backward sections into the economic mainstream and make them a part of the India growth story. To this end, the Prime Minister has relentlessly used the iconography

of Dr. Ambedkar – this year being his 150 birth anniversary – to disseminate his message of empowerment through entrepreneurship across the Dalit community.

The budget outlays for schemes aimed at the Dalits and Adivasis bear the imprint of this vision.

The Finance Minister, in his budget speech, said that 2016 should be remembered as the year of economic empowerment of the Dalits. Stand Up India - the government's flagship scheme aimed at promoting entrepreneurship amongst SCs, STs and women has received funds to the tune of Rs 500 crores. The scheme is estimated to benefit at least 2.5 lakh entrepreneurs, with the long term goal of turning Dalits from job seekers into job givers. This is in addition to an earlier initiative of the Modi government to provide SC and ST entrepreneurs with access to capital for investment through the Mudra Bank.

The Finance Minister has also proposed to establish a National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Hub, in partnership with industry associations and the Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI), in order to create an ecosystem which will connect Dalit businessmen with the Government. The primary goal of the Hub is expected to be the smooth implementation of the Government's procurement policy under which 4 per cent of the overall order by all

Government and public sector undertakings is expected to be sourced from SC and ST entrepreneurs.

Human Resource Development

In his budget speech, the Finance Minister spelt out the focus of the Government in the education sector to be towards increasing the quality of education and skill levels of the Indian workforce.

He said that the Government will strive to make 10 private and 10 public institutions in India world class. The drive to concentrate focus on selected institutions with the purpose of increasing quality and international recognition is a welcome deviation from the strategies of previous Governments which were more aimed at increasing volumes. Considering the civilization history of India as a hub of knowledge, the initiative that the Government is demonstrating by trying to return India's educational institutions to a standing of global eminence is more than overdue.

The budget has also allocated Rs 1000 crores for the creation of a Higher Education Funding Agency (HEFA) which will be a Not For Profit organization working to bring in market capital to finance infrastructure improvements in the country's leading institutions - a bold move which may serve to infuse some of the energy associated with private enterprise into a lethargic system.

The other major investment in the

education sector has been towards the Skill India initiative, for which Rs 1700 crores has been allocated to develop 1500 multi-skill centers across the country. The Government has set itself an ambitious target to skill one crore youth across the country in the next three years.

The success of Skill India is crucial for the Prime Minister's ambitious Make in India program. The Make in India initiative (along with the Infrastructure drive) is –quite simply put– the NDA government's big ticket idea to generate large scale employment for the ever growing Indian workforce, and its success will be heavily dependent on levels of employability that Skill India is able to achieve.

Additionally, in tune with the Prime Minister's bent towards technology and digitization, the government has also announced two major schemes which seek to address age old problems through the use of new technology.

The first is the Digital literacy scheme which aims at using technology to impart education to six crore rural households across the country. The second is the Government's plan to create a Digital repository of academic records for each citizen – a simple yet highly effective move, aimed towards increasing the ease of access and storage of educational records while also reducing the chances of forgery of educational credentials.

Health

Most of the media and expert analysis of the Budget has been centered on the rural and infrastructure push of the Government. Consequently, the efforts of the Government to bring health onto the center-stage of its agenda largely missed the public eye.

If channeled in the right direction, the Indian health sector has the potential to become one of the major drivers of the economy – every rupee invested in the health sector results in 4 rupees worth of economic activity for ancillary sectors. However, **the health sector has been facing an acute shortage in infrastructure over the past years and if the Budget announcements are anything to go by, the Modi government has taken cognizance of the situation.**

The government has announced its plans for a new Universal Health Insurance scheme which will provide an insurance cover of up to Rs 1 lakh for each family, with the option of adding an extra Rs 30,000 for senior citizens. The consequent increase in healthcare affordability is expected to ramp up demand – especially in rural areas – which in turn should serve to incentivize investments in healthcare infrastructure.

Additionally, the Finance Minister also announced the expansion of the Jan Aushadhi Yojana to 3,000 more drug stores which are expected to work towards providing generic medicines to the

public at affordable prices, along with the plan to leverage the PPP model to create a National Dialysis Services Programme under the National Health Mission.

Over and above this, the mass toilet construction and reduction in open defecation resulting from the Prime Minister's Swachh Bharat program is expected to have a long lasting effect in increasing the prevention levels of diseases amongst the poor in both rural and urban sectors. If successful, this could lead to a drastic rationalization of healthcare expenditure across the board - allowing both the Government and the healthcare industry to concentrate their efforts on more serious needs.

Post the Budget presentation, most experts and analysts opined that the key takeaway from the budget was the radical departure of the NDA government from its supposed position of being ideologically opposed to social spending, especially in rural areas. This may seem to be a legitimate conclusion to casual observers of the Prime Minister's political career. But those engaged in a slightly deeper level of observation would not have failed to notice that the narrative of the budget runs very much in tune with the Prime Minister's unique approach to economic management and welfare spending.

Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have made it a point to shun the usual route of populism that most previous Governments have

taken towards welfare programs in their annual Budgets.

During his campaign for the General Election, Prime Minister Modi placed a variety of ideas before the people. Chief among those was his belief that poverty alleviation schemes - the hallmark of the UPA's economic strategy - do not work when structured as simple handouts to the poor. Post his election as Prime Minister, even when faced with two consecutive years of drought and a challenging global economy, he has stuck to his beliefs - preferring to invest in schemes which are tuned to bring about systemic changes rather than the usual quick fixes that the political classes are known to dish out year after year.

The common thread running across almost all of the Government's initiatives has been the effort to reduce the dependency of underprivileged sections on constant state patronage and to create mechanisms which will enable today's marginalized sections to take concrete steps towards leading lives of strength and self-dependence.

This approach may be one which is a marked departure from how welfare politics has been conducted in India over large periods of its modern history. However, it is also one which the country sorely needs.

(The author is an IT Strategy Consultant, a columnist with interest in analyzing national politics)

India-Qatar Gas Agreement: Win-Win Deal for Both

 Ambassador R. Dayakar

Among non-traditional security imperatives of nation-states, energy is now recognized as a top-rung concern. Assured energy supply constitutes a sine quo non for any country in achieving prosperity and social stability so much so that quest for energy impacts significantly the country's foreign and domestic policies. Energy, in both have and have-not countries, has come to play the role of a key determinant in shaping foreign policy's focus and orientation and geo-political identity. With a projected annual growth rate of about 8 %, the avowed objective of raising share of the manufacturing sector in its economy from the present 17% to 25 % by 2025 and an obligation to meet the growing demands of its 1.25 billion people whose per-capita energy consumption is one of the lowest in the world, India faces enormous challenges in coping up with the energy needs.

India is the third largest consumer of energy after China and USA with the conventional sources like coal, oil, and natural gas



accounting for much of its consumption. Nuclear, solar and wind energy account for the rest. Its current energy mix broadly consists of coal (53%), oil (29%), natural gas (9.8%), renewable (6%) and nuclear (1%). Coal has the dominant share, followed by oil and gas.

With limited energy resources coupled with several policy constraints, the country has to look abroad willy-nilly for its energy needs. In practical terms, call for self-sufficiency in energy is not a conceivable goal for India much less an achievable prospect and is likely to remain no better than an aspiration. However energy independence based on sufficiency which in turn is based on guaranteed and dependable supplies unaffected by political vagaries is an imperative and achievable objective through overseas supply tie-ups and production investments. The government has prioritised energy as a focal point of its economic diplomacy. Close attention, paid by India in recent summit meetings particularly those with Japanese PM Shinzo Abe in New Delhi and the Russian President Putin in Moscow,

to nuclear power and hydro-carbons, bears this out.

India's needs for petroleum and natural gas are humongous. Of various sources of energy, natural gas is a preferred choice for being the least polluting hydro carbon, globally abundant reserves, relative safety in handling and comparatively easy portability. It is principally used in India in power generation, fertilizer production, transportation and as domestic fuel. Natural gas has always been cheaper than oil on thermal equivalent criterion and the difference in monetary value between gas and oil varied from time to time, given the volatility in oil price. However in comparison to oil logistics, infrastructure required for gas liquefaction and shipment involves a higher financial outlay. Also its storage as a strategic reserve is not a feasible proposition. But on the whole, economic and environmental considerations favour gas over oil as a source of energy. Global quest for clean energy will make natural gas a prized commodity. India's current natural gas reserves account for only 0.6 % of the world's total proven gas reserves and are projected to last 26 years at the current level of exploitation. It is therefore inevitable that India sources its gas needs from abroad.

Qatar is the first country with which India has entered into a long-term agreement for supply of gas. It fulfils the four basic criteria to play

a role in India's energy security namely abundance, availability, accessibility and affordability of its gas supplies. The gas is found in Qatar in abundance with the reserves rated as the third largest in the world and its less than a quarter million of natives do not pose any conflict from domestic demand that could cause fluctuations in supply. The historically cordial relations between the two countries provide a politically conducive setting to be a long term supply arrangement. The geographical proximity, availability of a fleet of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) tankers and the gas terminals at both the ends ensure easy accessibility. Finally the business-like attitude of Qatar, the professionalism of the two principals and the price agreed make the gas affordable.

Petronet India Ltd, the country's biggest gas importer, signed an agreement in 1999 with RasGas, the state-owned offshore drilling company of Qatar for supply of LNG for 25 years for deliveries beginning from 2004 and the first shipment arrived in Dahej in Gujarat in end 2004. Subsequently, Petronet's LNG terminal at Kochi in Kerala began receiving Qatar's LNG supplies from 2008 onwards. The original agreement between Petronet and RasGas had specified the price and the duration of the sale and purchase agreement, the quantities of LNG to be lifted by India annually and penalties for any shortfall by either

side for failure to deliver or to lift the contracted quantities. India is committed to buy annually 7.5 million tonnes of LNG from RasGas under the long term contract. However, in fixing the price for the 25-year term, both the sides seemed to have not adequately factored in the cyclical nature of supply and demand of energy that tend to move in parallel with the economic cycles and the original contract omitted to make allowance in price structure for possible cyclical character inherent in commodity markets.

Hydrocarbon carbon prices are market-sensitive. The drastic fall in oil price over the last 2 years from a peak of \$115 to \$30 has made gas less attractive as a fuel. The peak difference in oil and gas price in thermal equivalent terms has come down from \$80 to \$15. When the global gas prices fell steadily in the last two years, Petronet made the commercial decision to go for the spot purchases for its needs at market based prices rather than buy from RasGas at economically unviable rates. In other words, for Petronet, the 1999 agreement needed to be renegotiated to reflect the market trends. But such a proposal faced heavy odds. RasGas had no ready incentive or compulsion to renegotiate the contract because as Petronet was legally bound to lift the agreed quantities at a calculated price of \$12 - 13 per mm BTU or pay substantial penalty to RasGas in case of default.

A breakthrough became possible following the discussions between Prime Minister Modi and Qatar's Ruler Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani in March last year in New Delhi during the State visit. Soon a series of meetings ensued, reportedly 51 in all, between Petronet and RasGas, culminating in a revised Agreement. The dented gas demand, sober studies and projections of gas market dynamics in the short and medium term by energy think tanks, growing competition (e.g. China has tied up with Russia for \$400 billion long term gas supply), India shining bright in the near-stagnant world economy with a huge market potential and Qatar's own sense of realism paved the way in driving home the summit breakthrough. Petroleum Minister Dharmendra Pradhan's activism, energy and pragmatism ensured that India counted and the proposed arrangement accepted. The new agreement with its better costing formula makes an allowance for price fluctuations and provides for a reasonably calculated market driven price throughout the contract period. In the revised formula, the gas price is fixed on the basis of 3-month average of the benchmark Brent crude oil price as against the earlier provision of 5 year average of the crude import basket of Japan. The entire exercise makes a good case study in successful economic and energy diplomacy.

The key features of the revised

agreement, renegotiated and finally signed on 30, December 2015 are that the contract period remains the same as in the original agreement that ends in 2028. The revised price is \$ 6-7 per mmBTU, almost half of the previous price, and becomes effective immediately from January 1, 2016. There are multiple benefits for India in the revised agreement. Halving of the price saves Petronet Rs.4000 crore per year. Waiver of the penalty for the past shortfalls in the purchase of the contracted quantities saves another Rs 12,000 cr. The previous shortfall will now be lifted by Petronet at the revised price. Petronet's savings, apart from supporting its balance sheet, cascades to a host of beneficiaries in India who are the major end users of gas like the public sector undertakings IOC, GAIL, BPCL and GSPC. A number of fertilizer companies also stand to benefit. In fact , upto one-third of the annual import of 7.5 million metric tonnes of gas goes to the fertilizer sector, giving it a overall saving of Rs 4700 crores per annum and benefitting ultimately the farmers with the resultant lower prices for urea and ammonia. Also, the long term gas contract, now resuscitated, has given, in its own way, an impetus for the Make in India campaign. India will soon be manufacturing LNG tankers with South Korean collaboration.

By agreeing to the revised formula, both the sides have

displayed maturity, prudence and a long- term business outlook and a firm belief in the natural complementarity between the world's third largest gas-rich country and the third largest energy consumer. It spared both the sides a costly and unproductive litigation and a negative political fallout and prevented a major diplomatic irritant in the historically cordial bilateral relations. The new agreement helped Qatar preserve its global market share. It also strengthens Qatar's reputation as a dependable supplier. As the Minister for Petroleum and Natural Gas, Dharmendra Pradhan, summed -up the whole outcome saying that "the new deal has elevated the relationship between the two countries from one of buyer-seller to a truly long-term partnership." A spirit of give and take informed the negotiations and the resultant agreement. The bilateral relations successfully withstood a serious challenge. It is too good to be not noticed and copied by other countries. This agreement becomes a major achievement for Prime Minister Modi's redefined diplomatic approach - especially in the field of energy security.

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(The author is a veteran diplomat, former Ambassador to Iraq, Norway, Sweden and was also Secretary Gulf Division in the MEA)

Highlights of Budget 2016-17


Government's agenda for the upcoming financial year is to 'Transform India'. Budget proposals are, therefore, built on the transformative agenda with nine distinct pillars. These include:

- (i) Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare: with focus on doubling farmers' income in five years;
- (ii) Rural Sector: with emphasis on rural employment and infrastructure;
- (iii) Social Sector including Healthcare: to cover all under welfare and health services;
- (iv) Education, Skills and Job Creation: to make India a knowledge based and productive society;
- (v) Infrastructure and Investment: to enhance efficiency and quality of life;
- (vi) Financial Sector Reforms: to bring transparency and stability;
- (vii) Governance and Ease of Doing Business: to enable the people to realise their full potential;
- (viii) Fiscal Discipline: prudent management of Government finances and delivery of benefits to the needy; and
- (ix) Tax Reforms: to reduce compliance burden with faith in the citizenry.

Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare

- ▶▶ Government will reorient its interventions in the farm and non-farm sectors to double the income of the farmers by 2022. Govt's total allocation for Agriculture and Farmers' welfare is 35,984 crore.
- ▶▶ Government has tried to address issues of optimal utilisation of our water resources; create new infrastructure for irrigation; conserve soil fertility with balanced use of fertilizer; and provide value addition and connectivity from farm to markets.
- ▶▶ The 'Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchai Yojana' has been strengthened and will be implemented in mission mode. 28.5 lakh hectares will be brought under irrigation under this Scheme.
- ▶▶ Implementation of 89 irrigation projects will be fast tracked. This will help to irrigate 80.6 lakh hectares. These projects require 17,000 crore next year and 86,500 crore in the next five years.
- ▶▶ A dedicated Long Term Irrigation Fund will be created in NABARD with an initial corpus of about 20,000 crore. To


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PROSPEROUS FARMERS & PROFITABLE AGRICULTURE



From 'Food Security' to 'Income Security'



- ‡ Total allocation - ₹35,984 cr.
- ‡ 'PM Krishi Sinchai Yojana' in mission mode - 28.5 lakh hectares under irrigation
- ‡ Long Term Irrigation Fund in NABARD - initial corpus of ₹20,000 cr.

- ‡ 89 languishing irrigation projects covering 80.6 lakh hectares fast-tracked
- ‡ Soil Health Card scheme - to cover all 14 cr. farm holdings
- ‡ Unified Agricultural Marketing ePlatform - common platform for wholesale markets
- ‡ ₹15,000 cr. fund for interest subvention to reduce burden of loan repayment on farmers
- ‡ PM Fasal Bima Yojana - allocation of ₹5,500 cr.

- achieve all these, a total provision of 12,517 crore has been made through budgetary support and market borrowings in 2016-17.
- ‡ A major programme for sustainable management of ground water resources has been prepared with an estimated cost of 6,000 crore and proposed for multilateral funding.
 - ‡ At least 5 lakh farm ponds and

- dug wells in rain fed areas and 10 lakh compost pits for production of organic manure will be taken up by making productive use of the allocations under MGNREGA.
- ‡ The Soil Health Card Scheme is now being implemented with greater vigour. Through this, farmers get information about nutrient level of the soil and can make judicious use of fertilizers. The target is to cover all 14 crore

- farm holdings by March 2017. 368 crore has been provided for National Project on Soil Health and Fertility. Besides, 2,000 model retail outlets of Fertilizer companies will be provided with soil and seed testing facilities during the next three years.
- ▶▶ A total provision of 412 crore has been made for the 'Parmparagat Krishi Vikas Yojana' which will bring 5 lakh acres under organic farming over a three year period and a value chain based organic farming scheme called "Organic Value Chain Development in North East Region".
 - ▶▶ Incentives are being given for enhancement of pulses production. 500 crores under National Food Security Mission has been assigned to pulses. The number of districts covered has been increased to 622.
 - ▶▶ The Unified Agricultural Marketing E Platform will be dedicated to the Nation on the birthday of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar on 14th April this year.
 - ▶▶ Government is implementing the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) as never before. This Scheme had suffered in the past because of underfunding. The allocations in 2012-13 and 2013-14 were only 8,885 crore and 9,805 crore respectively. Government have substantially increased the allocation in the last two years and have now allocated 19,000 crore in coming financial year 2016-17. The aim of the government is to advance the completion target of the programme from 2021 to 2019 and connect the remaining 65,000 eligible habitations by constructing 2.23 lakh kms of roads.
 - ▶▶ Special focus has been given to ensure adequate and timely flow of credit to the farmers. Against the target of 8.5 lakh crore in 2015-16, the target for agricultural credit in 2016-17 will be an all-time high of 9 lakh crore. To reduce the burden of loan repayment on farmers, a provision of 15,000 crore has been made in the BE 2016-17 towards interest subvention.
 - ▶▶ Government has approved the path breaking Crop Insurance Scheme, namely, Prime Minister Fasal Bima Yojana. For effective implementation of this Scheme, Government has provided a sum of 5,500 crore in the Budget 2016-17.
 - ▶▶ An online Procurement System will be undertaken through the Food Corporation of India. This will usher in transparency and convenience to the farmers through prior registration and monitoring of actual procurement.

▶ Farmers also take up other allied activities to supplement their family income. To make dairying more remunerative to the farmers, four new projects will be taken up by the government: first, the 'Pashudhan Sanjivani', an animal wellness programme and provision of Animal Health Cards ('Nakul Swasthya Patra'); second, an Advanced breeding technology; third,

Creation of 'E-Pashudhan Haat', an e market portal for connecting breeders and farmers; and fourth, a National Genomic Centre for indigenous breeds. These projects will be implemented at a cost of 850 crores over the next few years.

Rural Sector

▶ A sum of 2.87 lakh crore will be given as Grant in Aid to Gram Panchayats and Municipalities as per the recommendations of

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ENERGISING RURAL INDIA



Transforming Villages to
Transform Lives



🏠 Total allocation - ₹87,700 cr.

🏠 ₹2.87 lakh cr. Grant in Aid to Gram Panchayats and Municipalities. Quantum jump of 228% compared to the previous 5 year period

- 🏠 Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Rurban Mission - 300 Rurban Clusters
- 🏠 100% village electrification by 1st May 2018
- 🏠 Digital Literacy Mission Scheme - cover 6 cr. additional households
- 🏠 Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan - ₹655 cr.
- 🏠 PMGSY - ₹27,000 cr. allocation

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**A NEW DYNAMISM
IN SOCIAL SECTOR**

विकास का
BUDGET
2016

**Protecting and
Empowering
the Vulnerable**




- ♥ LPG connection to all BPL families
- ♥ New Health Protection Scheme - health cover up to ₹1,00,000
- ♥ Prime Minister Jan Aushadhi Yojana - 3,000 stores to be opened
- ♥ 'National Dialysis Services Programme' in PPP mode
- ♥ 'Stand Up India Scheme' - 2 projects per bank branch to benefit 2.5 lakh entrepreneurs
- ♥ National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hub in partnership with industry associations

the 14th Finance Commission. This is a quantum jump of 228% compared to the previous five year period. The funds now allocated, translate to an average assistance of over 80 lakh per Gram Panchayat and over '21 crore per Urban Local Body. These enhanced allocations are capable of transforming villages and small towns.

- ▶▶ A sum of 38,500 crore has been allocated for MGNREGS in 2016-17.
- ▶▶ 300 Rurban Clusters will be developed under the Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Rurban Mission.
- ▶▶ 8,500 crore has been provided for Deendayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojna and Integrated Power Development Schemes.

- ▶ Government plans to launch a new Digital Literacy Mission Scheme for rural India to cover around 6 crore additional households within the next 3 years.
- ▶ Modernisation of land records is critical for dispute free titles. The National Land Record Modernisation Programme has been revamped under the Digital India Initiative and will be implemented as a Central sector scheme with effect from 1st April, 2016. The revamped Programme will build an integrated land information management system. 150 crore has been provided for this purpose.
- ▶ Government has proposed to launch a new restructured scheme to develop governance capabilities, namely, Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan, for which 655 crore is being set apart in 2016-17.
- ▶ For rural development as a whole, I have allocated 87,765 crore in the Budget for 2016-17.

Social Sector including Health Care

- ▶ Allocation for social sector including education and health care -1,51,581 crore.
- ▶ Government has decided to embark upon on a massive mission to provide LPG connection in the name of women members of poor households. Government has

set aside a sum of 2,000 crore in this year's Budget to meet the initial cost of providing these LPG connections. This will benefit about 1 crore 50 lakh households below the poverty line in 2016-17. The Scheme will be continued for at least two more years to cover a total of 5 crore BPL households. This will ensure universal coverage of cooking gas in the country. This measure will empower women and protect their health. It will reduce drudgery and the time spent on cooking. It will also provide employment for rural youth in the supply chain of cooking gas.

- ▶ Government will launch a new health protection scheme which will provide health cover up to Rs.One lakh per family. For senior citizens of age 60 years and above belonging to this category, an additional top-up package up to 30,000 will be provided.
- ▶ Government will reinvigorate the supply of generic drugs. 3,000 Stores under Prime Minister's Jan Aushadhi Yojana will be opened during 2016-17.
- ▶ 'National Dialysis Services Programme' to be started under National Health Mission through PPP mode
- ▶ National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Hub to be set up in partnership with industry associations

Skill Development

- ▶ Government has decided to set up 1500 Multi Skill Training Institutes across the country. Government has set aside an amount of 1,700 crore for these initiatives.
- ▶ Further scaling up of Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojna to skill one crore youth over the next three years.
- ▶ Entrepreneurship Education

and Training will be provided in 2200 colleges, 300 schools, 500 Government ITIs and 50 Vocational Training Centres through Massive Open Online Courses.

Women & Child Development

- ▶ A total of Rs 17408 cr has been allocated to WCD Ministry in the budget 2016-17.
- ▶ The Economic Survey for 2016-17 states that investment in

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EMPOWERING INDIA'S YOUTH

विकास का BUDGET 2016

Better Skills, More Opportunities, More Jobs

- ▶ Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY) - 1500 Multi Skill Training Institutes to be set up
- ▶ National Board for Skill Development Certification - to skill 1 cr. youth in next 3 years
- ▶ 100 Model Career Centres
- ▶ Model Shops and Establishments - Bill to be circulated to states
- ▶ Entrepreneurship Education and Training - 2200 colleges, 300 schools, 500 Government ITIs and 50 Vocational Training Centres through Massive Open Online Courses
- ▶ GoI to pay off 8.33% on behalf of all new employees enrolling to EPFO in first 3 years
- ▶ Deduction under Section 80JJAA of IT Act available to all assesseees

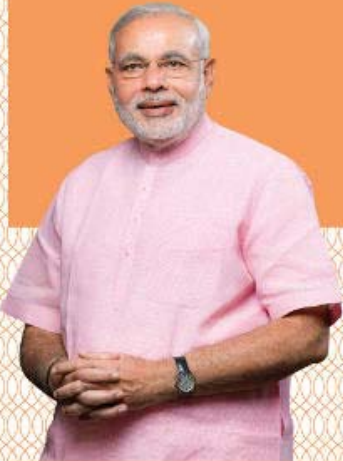
- maternal and child nutrition is a must for the country to capitalize on the 'demographic dividend'. Taking this forward, the Budget for 2016-17 has provided enhanced budgetary support for critical areas where schemes of the Ministry of Women and Child Development are operational particularly for providing supplementary nutrition as well as protection for women and children.
- ▶ As per the Expenditure Statement, the total budget allocation for 2016-17 stands at Rs. 17,408 crores. A total amount of Rs. 15,860 crores has been provided for the development of children which includes additional funds to the tune of Rs. 415 crores and Rs. 300 crores respectively under the World Bank assisted strengthening programme for ICDS and the National Nutrition Mission. Additional funds have also been provided for setting up of the Food and Nutrition laboratories. Both these will ultimately provide support to the Ministry's effort to fight child malnutrition in the country.
 - ▶ The Beti Bachao Beti Padhao budget has been enhanced from Rs. 75 crores (RE) to Rs. 100 crores in 2016-17.
 - ▶ Allocation for establishment of shelter homes for women has been increased from Rs. 52 crores in 2015-16 to Rs. 100 crores in 2016-17
 - ▶ The allocation for establishment of One Stop Centres has been increased by almost 500%, from Rs 13 crores to Rs 75 crores.
 - ▶ Budget 2016-17 has also allocated an amount of Rs. 500 crores to be transferred into the Nirbhaya Fund for meeting requirements for additional schemes for women's safety.
- ### HRD Ministry
- ▶ 62 new Navodaya Vidyalayas will be opened in the remaining uncovered districts over the next two years.
 - ▶ An enabling regulatory architecture will be provided to ten public and ten private institutions to emerge as world-class Teaching and Research Institutions.
 - ▶ Government has decided to set up a Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA) with an initial capital base of 1,000 crores. The HEFA will be a not-for-profit organisation that will leverage funds from the market and supplement them with donations and CSR funds.
 - ▶ Digital Depository for School Leaving Certificates, College Degrees, Academic Awards and Mark sheets to be set-up.
 - ▶ 120 Crore has been allocated to Education Scheme for Madrasas modernisation and

- Minorities education
- ▶ **General Education:** In keeping with priority of the Government for social sector programmes, an allocation of 40000 crore has been provided for Department of School Education & Literacy. An estimated receipt of 20272.65 crore by way of proceeds from Education Cess will be credited to Prarambhik Shiksha Kosh .


The funds under the Prarambhik Shiksha Kosh will be utilized for Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and Mid Day Meal Scheme (MDM).

- ▶ **National Education Mission:** Towards achieving the goal of providing education to all, the schemes of SSA and RMSA have been encompassed in National Education Mission.
- ▶ **Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA):**


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EDUCATING INDIA'S FUTURE



Unprecedented Focus on Quality of Education



- Increased allocation to Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan - better quality of education
- Regulatory architecture to 10 public and 10 private institutions to emerge as world-class Teaching and Research Institutions

- Higher Education Financing Agency - initial capital base of ₹1,000 cr. can leverage more funds from market
- Digital Depository for School Leaving Certificates, College Degrees, Academic Awards and Marksheets to be set-up.
- 62 new Navodaya Vidyalayas to be opened

An outlay of 22200.00 crore has been provided for SSA including 2200.00 crore earmarked for North Eastern Region.

- ▶ **Mid-Day Meal Scheme:** An outlay of 9700 crore has been provided for this scheme, which is inclusive of 942.00 crore for North East Region (NER) and Sikkim.
- ▶ **Secondary Education:** An allocation of 6633.50 crore has been made for Secondary Education, which is inclusive of 653.00 crore for NER & Sikkim. This includes allocation, inter-alia, of 1900.00 crore (including 190.00 crore for North Eastern Region) for Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti and 1100.00 crore (including 110.00 crore for North Eastern Region) for Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan. In view of the success of SSA and large number of students completing upper primary level, to meet the growth in demand for secondary education, as a major policy initiative, Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) scheme has been approved with a provision of 3600.00 crore (including 350.00 crore for North Eastern Region).
- ▶ **Adult Education:** An allocation of 430.00 crore has been made for Adult

Education, inclusive of 43.00 crore for NER and Sikkim. This allocation, inter-alia, includes allocation of 100.00 crore (including 10.00 crore for North Eastern Region) for Support to NGOs/ Institutions/SRCs for Adult Education & Skill Development.

- ▶ **Higher Education:** The Department of Higher Education has been provided an allocation of 16,500.00 crore. This amount also includes provision for various higher and technical institutions. The University Grants Commission has been provided an allocation of 2050.00 crore. The allocation for Central Universities and Deemed Universities is 1925.00 crore. For the “Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA)”, a provision of 1300.00 crore (including 140.00 crore for NER) has been made. For the “National Mission in Education through ICT”, a provision of 200.00 crore (including 20.00 crore for NER) has been made. The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) which has been in the forefront of distance education, has been provided an allocation of 100.00 crore (including 15.00 crore for NER). There is a provision of 2625.00 crore

(including 200.00 crore for NER) for Indian Institutes of Technology. 190.00 crore has been earmarked for “Setting up of New IITs”. For National Institutes of Technology a provision of 1444.90 crore has been made. The Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research (including Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore) has been provided 800.00 crore. A provision of 695.00 crore has been made for Indian Institute of Management and “Setting up of new IIMs”. The provision for *Unnat Bharat Abhiyan*, *Uchhatar Avishkar Abhiyan*, Implementation of Imprint Research Initiative, National Digital Library, National Institutional Ranking Framework and Global Initiative for Academic Network has been kept at 165.00 Crore.

Welfare of Scheduled Castes

- ▶ An allocation of 6500.00 crore has been made for Schemes/ Programmes of the Department of Social Justice & Empowerment. There is a provision of 2791.00 crore for Post-Matric Scholarship for Scheduled Castes and 800.00 crore for Schemes of Special Centre Assistance to Scheduled Caste.
- ▶ Government’s “Stand Up India Scheme” is to promote

entrepreneurship among SC/ ST and women. 500 crore has been provided for this purpose. The Scheme will facilitate at least two such projects per bank branch, one for each category (1 SC & 1 ST) of entrepreneur. This will benefit at least 2.5 lakh SC/ ST entrepreneurs.

Tribal Affairs

- ▶ A new strategic process, *Vanbandhu Kalyan Yojana* (VKY) has been adopted by converging of resources of all schemes of the Ministry for identified outcomes. Focus on evidence based planning and re-engineering of interventions is key to this. Special focus on employable skills and value added livelihood projects supported. Improving Human Development Indices and third party evaluation are part of this process.
- ▶ The allocation of 4800.00 crore includes provision for, Special Central Assistance to Tribal Area Sub Plan (1250.00 crore), Scheme under provision to Article 275 (1) of the constitution (1400.00 crore), Tribal Institutions (140.00 crore), Umbrella Scheme for Development of STs; *Vanbandhu Kalyan Yojana* (504.78 crore) and Umbrella Scheme for Development of STs; Tribal Education (1505.22 crore).

Highlights of Railway Budget 2016-17

- ▶ There is no hike in passenger fare in this year's Railway Budget.
- ▶ In order to make travel on Indian Railways more comfortable, the Indian Railways proposes to give more facilities to passengers. 65,000 additional berths will be provided in the trains and 2500 water vending machines will be installed.
- ▶ Indian Railways will provide 17,000 bio-toilets in trains and additional toilets at 475 stations before the close of this financial year.
- ▶ With the purpose of improving punctuality of trains operations audit will be launched on a trial basis from Ghaziabad to Mughalsarai.
- The Indian Railways proposes to introduce 1,780 Automatic Ticket Vending Machines all over the country with mobile apps and *GoIndia* smartcard for cashless purchase of UTS and PRS tickets.
- ▶ The capacity of e-ticketing system has been enhanced from 2,000 tickets per minute to 7,200 tickets per minute to support 1,20,000 concurrent users as against 40,000 earlier.
- ▶ Railway budget has proposed to commission Wi-Fi services at 100 stations this year and at 400 more stations in the next 2 years. Indian Railways is partnering with Google in this endeavour.
- ▶ As a part of social initiatives, online booking of wheelchairs and Braille enabled new coaches will be introduced for the Divyang.
- ▶ An increased quota of lower berths for senior citizens and women has been proposed.
- ▶ Passengers' security will be enhanced through more helplines and CCTVs.
- ▶ To reduce accidents at level crossings, the rail budget proposes to eliminate 1000 unmanned level crossings and closures of 350 manned level crossings.
- ▶ 820 Rail Over Bridges (ROB)/ Rail Under Bridges (RUB) will be completed during the current financial year and work is in progress on additional 1350 of them.
- ▶ Rs.24,000 crore worth contracts has been awarded since November 2014 as against Rs. 13,000 crore contracts awarded during the last six years.

- ▶ Railway budget has proposed to take up North-South, East-West and East Coast freight corridors through innovative financing including PPP.
- ▶ All procurement including procurement of works will be moved to e-platform.
- ▶ Introduction of AC and non AC double decker trains on busy routes with the potential to increase carrying capacity by almost 40%.
- ▶ Sale of tickets through hand held terminals;
- ▶ E-Ticketing facility to foreign debit/credit cards;
- ▶ Bar coded tickets,
- ▶ Expansion of Vikalp - train on demand to provide choice of accommodation in specific trains to wait-listed passengers.
- ▶ E-booking of tickets facility on the concessional passes available to journalists;
- ▶ Facility of cancellation through the 139 helpline post verification using 'One Time Password' sent on registered phone number,
- ▶ CCTV cameras on Tatkal windows
- ▶ Periodic audit of PRS website will also be introduced.
- ▶ Rail budget has proposed to convert all operational halts into commercial halts for the benefit of common man.
- ▶ Konkan Railway will be expanding to help the old and disabled passenger. The existing services for enabling passengers to book battery operated cars, porter services, etc. on a paid basis in addition to the existing pick up and drop, and wheel chair services will be strengthened. Sarathi Seva was introduced in Konkan Railway to help the old and disabled passengers requiring assistance at stations. This service will be expanded at many more stations.
- ▶ All stations under redevelopment will be accessible for Divyang. There will be at least one Divyang friendly toilet at each platform in A1 class stations during the next financial year and availability of wheelchairs in sufficient numbers at these stations will be ensured.
- ▶ Children's menu items, baby foods, hot milk and hot water would be made available under Janani Sewa.
- ▶ SMART (Specially Modified Aesthetic Refreshing Travel) Coaches will be introduced to ensure higher carrying capacity and provision of new amenities including automatic doors, bar-code readers, bio-vacuum toilets, water-level indicators, accessible dustbins, ergonomic seating, improved aesthetics,

vending machines, entertainment screens, LED lit boards for advertising, PA system.

- ▶ It is also proposed to integrate all facilities into two mobile apps dealing with ticketing issues and for receipt and redressal of complaints and suggestions.
- ▶ With a view to improve customer interface information boards in trains enumerating the on-board services and GPS based digital displays will be installed inside coaches to provide real time information regarding upcoming halts.
- ▶ Work is underway for the installation of a high-tech centralized network of 20,000 screens across 2000 stations for enabling real time flow of information to passengers and also to unlock huge advertising potential. All A1 class stations will be manned with duly empowered Station Directors supported by cross functional teams, to make one person accountable for all facilities on trains.
- ▶ Railway budget has proposed to take up on priority the provision of passenger amenities and beautification on stations at pilgrimage centres including Ajmer, Amritsar, Bihar Sharif, Chengannur, Dwarka, Gaya, Haridwar, Mathura, Nagapattinam, Nanded, Nasik, Pali, Parasnath, Puri, Tirupati, Vailankanni, Varanasi and Vasco.
- ▶ Aastha circuit trains will be introduced to connect important pilgrim centres.
- ▶ Optional travel insurance for rail journeys at the time of booking and “clean my coach” through sms will also be introduced in due course.
- ▶ High speed passenger corridor from Ahmedabad to Mumbai will be developed with the financial assistance from Government of Japan.
- ▶ FM Radio Stations will be invited to provide train borne entertainment,
- ▶ Rail Bandhu Magazine will be provided in all reserved coaches in all regional languages.
- ▶ 74 more trains have been added under On-board Housekeeping Service and another 400 are to be covered soon, leading to a total number of almost 1000 trains under the scheme.
- ▶ E-catering services will be extended to 408 A1 and A class stations. 10 more IRCTC operated, mechanized, sophisticated base kitchens will be added to ensure fresh and hygienic supply of food on trains.
- ▶ Railway budget has also proposed to ensure reservation

in catering units to SC, ST, OBC, Women, and persons with disabilities. To build local ownership and empowerment budget has proposed a process of giving weightage to district domicile holders for commercial licenses at stations.

- ▶ In pursuance of the objectives of Accessible India Campaign Indian Railway will ensure that all stations under redevelopment are made disabled friendly.
- ▶ **North East:** BG Lumding-Silchar section in Assam opened thus connecting Barak Valley with rest of the country; Agartala brought on to the BG network. States of Mizoram and Manipur shortly to come on BG map of the country with commissioning of the Kathakal-Bhairabi and Arunachal-Jiribam Gauge Conversion projects.
- ▶ **Jammu and Kashmir:** Work on Katra-Banihal section of Udhampur-Srinagar-Baramulla Rail Link Project progressing satisfactorily- 35 kms of tunnelling out of total of 95 kms completed; Decongestion work on Jalandhar - Jammu line in full swing and doubling of two bridges to be commissioned by March 2016, while the other

two bridges will be completed by 2016-17.

▶ Improving quality of travel

For the unreserved passenger- Antyodaya Express unreserved, superfast service.

Deen Dayalu coaches - unreserved coaches with potable water and higher number of mobile charging points.

For the reserved passenger -

Humsafar - fully air-conditioned third AC service with an optional service for meals

Tejas - will showcase the future of train travel in India. Will operate at speeds of 130 kmph and above and will offer onboard services such as entertainment, local cuisine, Wi-Fi, etc. through one service provider for ensuring accountability and improved customer satisfaction

Humsafar and Tejas to ensure cost recovery through tariff and non-tariff measures

UDAY - overnight double-decker, Utkrisht Double-Decker Air-conditioned Yatri Express on the busiest routes, has the potential to increase carrying capacity by almost 40%.



Better Late than Never: Slow, but steady will win the “Road” race.

 **Rahul Mehta**

The Grand Trunk Road was constructed by Sher Shah Suri in 1545 and rebuilt by the British in 1860. But since independence little work was carried out in strengthening our road infrastructure which is the backbone of any country’s holistic development. Most of our roads are unpaved, full of craters and potholed and badly in need of upgradation and repair. The first proactive step in this direction was taken by the NDA government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee through the highly ambitious golden quadrilateral project launched in 2001. The UPA government admitted in July 2013 before the Indian Supreme Court that the NDA1 regime in five years constructed nearly half of the total highway network laid out in the country during the last 32 years. However, in the last decade confusion, corruption and depression prevailed amongst the lender, developer and authorities over highway projects. This was primarily due to lack of clarity, shortage of funds, skewed risk allocation and inappropriate financing models.

In 2014, when NDA returned to power with a thumping public mandate, the whole infrastructure sector was in shambles. The misdoings of the earlier regime could not be righted overnight and the Government decided to carefully analyze and develop a solution which maximized public funds deployment and reduced the quantum of risk for all stakeholders (The Authority, Lender and Developer). In the view of Prime Minister Modi’s commitment to

development and “*Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikaas*”, the NHAI was asked to draft a model of financing for implementing road projects which lowered the pressure on the exchequer and increased private participation in the form of PPP projects. Accordingly, an MCA (Model Concession Agreement) was drafted in April 2015 and has recently been given approval by the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs (CCEA) on January 27th, 2016 clearing the way for stranded projects worth Rs. 25,000 Crores.

The National Highways Authority of India (NHAI) is the nodal agency responsible for building, upgrading and maintaining most of the national highways network. It operates under the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways. The National Highways Development Project (NHDP) is a major effort to expand and upgrade the network of highways. NHAI often uses a public-private partnership model for highway development, maintenance and toll-collection.

There were three primary modes of awarding road projects which were in practice earlier.

1. BOT (Toll) – Developer bears construction , maintenance and revenue collection risks
2. BOT (Annuity) - Developer builds a highway, operates it for a specified duration and transfers it back to the government, which then pays the developer annuity over the period of concession

3. EPC - (Engineering, Construction & Procurement) – Developer bears only construction risks and executes the project on behalf of the Government. This is challenging as Government is short of funds to allocate for road projects.

The MCA proposes a new Hybrid Annuity Model (HAM) which is based on DBOT (Design, Build, Operate, Transfer). This will pave the way for NHAI to breathe new life into projects stuck for lack of funding. Under HAM, the Government will provide 40% of the project costs to the developer to start work.

HAM or Design, Build, Operate & Transfer (DBOT)

- ▶ Only certain percentage of project cost to be financed by private investor
- ▶ Recovered through annuity payments made by the Government commencing from the date of commissioning (10 years in 20 equal installments)
- ▶ Balance percentage provided by the Government during construction
- ▶ Clauses like traffic determination, projection and grant or viability gap funding to make the project viable would not be there in MCA

Benefits

- ▶ Allocation of risks between PPP partners (Govt 40%; Private Partner 60%)
- ▶ Private partner continues to bear the construction & maintenance risks
- ▶ Only partly bears the financing risks
- ▶ Does not bear revenue and inflation risks
- ▶ Gets more leverage from the banks because of assured repayments
- ▶ Lowers the upfront costs for the developer

- ▶ Cash Flow pressure on NHAI gets reduced
- ▶ Speedy completion of projects
- ▶ Model involves lower equity outlay upfront and substantially higher revenue certainty
- ▶ Will encourage select Indian contractors to come back into road construction business where they were struggling to deploy capital in toll based road projects

Future projects planned under HAM

- ▶ 2014-15: 3 projects; 576 Kms
- ▶ 2015-16: 12 projects; INR 15905 Crores; 1300 Kms (Delhi, UP, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra)
- ▶ 2016-17: 15 projects; INR 12185 Crores; 1105 Kms

The rate of new highway construction across India accelerated after 1999, but had slowed in recent years. Policy delays and regulatory blocks reduced the rate of highway construction awards to just 500 kilometers of new road projects in 2013. India had a road network of 47 Lac Kilometers in 2013, the second largest in the world. Still, India has less than 3.8 kilometres of roads per 1000 people, including all its paved and unpaved roads. In terms of quality, all season, 4 or more lane highways, India has less than 0.07 kilometres of highways per 1000 people, as of 2010. These are some of the lowest road and highway densities in the world. With the introduction of HAM we expect to see these figures change rapidly, infusing a boost to the infrastructure sector and PPP model. ●

(The author is an expert on infrastructure issues, an entrepreneur & social worker)

Indian Railways – The Growth Engine

 Aseervatham Achary

In the morning of 19th February, the Howrah – Tiruchirapalli Super Fast Express left Vishakhapatnam Station for its next Station Vijayawada. When the train was approaching Anekapalli at 7.00 a.m., the water in one of the coaches had completely dried up leaving the passengers in utter shock and disbelief. Being the morning hour, passengers were in the mode of doing their morning chores. They tried to move to the next coach with the hope that there may be water there, but could not find water there also. All hell broke when passengers got agitated because of lack of water in the train.

At the same time, one of the passengers, a Tamil settled in Visakhapatnam, immediately messaged on Facebook to one of the members of the Passengers Amenities Committee of the Indian Railways explaining their plight in the train and sought help in getting water. The Passenger Amenities Committee's member approached on social media immediately alerted the Ministry of Railways through its twitter handle @RailMinIndia by Achary. The Railway Ministry in turn alerted Divisional Railway Manager of Vijayawada for providing water immediately. At 9.30 a.m. sharp, at the Rajamundry Station, coaches were filled with water, giving a big relief to all the passengers. The said passenger sent back a thank you message. This is level of micro-response mechanism

and framework that the Railway Ministry has succeeded in evolving in the last two years.

This is not onetime incident. Daily thousands of passengers engage with Social Media of Indian Railways, especially with its Twitter handle @RailMinIndia. The Railway Ministry, under the leadership of Suresh Prabhu, strives to provide passengers all the comfort and safety in order to make their journey a memorable experience. Revenue from passengers have brought in of Rs. 1,03,100.15 crores last year. Dynamic interaction of Railway officials through Social Media has never happened before. It is a new phenomenon after tech-savvy **Narendra Modi** took over the reigns of governance 20 months back. The rail passengers now feel comfortable, safe, and have got sense of pride when they travel on Indian Railways due to a process of continuous redressal of public grievance using effective social media tools.

On 25th of February, **Suresh Prabhu** rose to present his Railway Budget for the FY 2016-17 amidst hope of bringing robust energy to the already energized Indian Railways through his earlier budget. He outlined three priorities of his proposals namely, **(1) to reorganize, (2) to restructure, and (3) to rejuvenate**

the world's third largest railway network, next only to the United States and China. In order to achieve these priority areas he focused on three strategies viz., mobilization of new source of revenue (*Nav Arjan*), optimizing outgo on each and every activity of the biggest transport provider of the country (*Nav Manak*) and revisiting all processes, rules and structures (*Nav Sanrachna*) of Indian Railways. He gave a new orientation towards the restructuring of the Railway Board on business lines, which has, so far, been based on functional lines. This new push in reform of railway administration will enable the formation of cross-sectional directorates to ensure that an organization employing 13,26,400 employees, next only to defence, enjoys an organizational structure based on modern management technics.

The Railway Budget, 2016-17 has pegged a Plan Expenditure of Rs. 1.21 lakh crore, 21% higher than the Plan Expenditure of FY 2015-16. This huge money will be used in the renewal of 1500 km of line, in the electrification of 2000 km of line, converting 800 km of Meter Gauge line into Broad Gauge, laying of 400 km of new lines, 1600 km, of doubling and manufacture of 747 additional locos. This is a mammoth Plan Outlay indeed, but fully executable thanks to lakhs of railway employees working round the clock without giving any sort of room for imperfection. Suresh Prabhu also announced three new Dedicated Freight Corridors on the same pattern of two under-construction Dedicated Freight Corridors. These new corridors will ensure connectivity between Delhi and Chennai (**North - South Corridor**),

Kharagpur and Mumbai (**East - West Corridor**) and the third, between Kharagpur and Vijayawada (**East - Coast Corridor**). The construction work of ongoing two corridors (Mumbai - Dadri line of 1502 km and Ludhiana - Dankuni line of 1840 km) has shown good progress in construction with cumulative expenditure of Rs. 6,130.24 crore so far.

The Indian Railways carries 8,224 million number of passengers daily on the entire network spanning from Baramulla in the north to Kanya Kumari in the south; and Ledo in the east to Vayor in the west. The Indian Railway's motto is "*Passengers are the Gods*" because they make Indian Railways a strong and vibrant network and the Railway Minister has given special attention to their amenities and services. He has introduced a new *Antyodaya Express*, a long distance, fully unreserved, superfast train service to be operated on dense routes. He has proposed to add two to four *Deen Dayalu coaches* in some long distance trains for unreserved travel with facility for potable drinking water and a higher number of mobile charging points.

Cancellation of railway tickets has been an arduous task for railway passengers, especially those who have booked their tickets through Railway Ticket Counters. Travelling again to the Railway Stations, sometimes rushing at the last moment for cancellation, will become a habit of past. He has proposed introduction of a new *helpline number "139"* which can be used for cancellation of journey ticket. The helpline number will generate a "**One Time Password**"

which is safe and secure so that miscreants do not misuse the facility. The modalities of this cancellation system are being worked out and the facility will be launched soon across the country. One of the major concerns of passengers is enjoying good meals during the long and tiresome journey running into several hours and sometimes a few days. The Railway Minister has proposed to bring in a changeover in the existing catering service and entrust this important service into the hands of the experienced IRCTC, the catering wing of Indian Railways. Besides, the stations will have stalls that can provide multiple products including milk products and OTC medicine, which will be a boon to mothers for nourishing their children and elders/sick for getting their medicine.

This Budget offers something or the other for every railway employee. The railway employees will benefit from the pay hike on account of the implementation of the recommendations of 7th Central Pay Commission; the porters will have a new and respectable designation “*Sahayak*”; railway employees will get treatment on Indian Systems of Medicine in 5 Railway Hospitals; introduction of “*Rakshak*”, a device which will intimate the gangman about the approaching train on his track of duty; the Loco Pilots, who are non-stoppable work horses, getting the comfort of driving the locomotives in an air-conditioned cab with attached washrooms; a first time dedicated railway university in Vadodara; and, for promoting the railway staff’s skill, a partnership programme with Ministry of Skill Development.

For making one’s journey a memorable one and to move 1095.26 million tonnes of freight from every nook and corner of the country, the Railways require large resources. The proposals to raise this magnitude of resources have been explained in the Budget proposals. LIC of India, India’s public sector life insurance company, has pledged Rs. 1.5 lakh crores over five years; setting up a Fund with multilateral assistance for financing railway projects; station development through commercial exploitation of vacant land and space rights over station buildings; monetizing land along 66,030 km. of railway tracks; and monetizing soft assets such as data software and some of the free services such as PNR enquiry, e-commerce activities on IRCTC website are the target areas for generating a whopping 1,84,820 crores of rupees in the ensuing FY 2016-17.

The next one year is going to see introduction of a *Humsafar* (fully air-conditioned 3AC service with optional meal service), *Tejas* (a train with a speed of up to 130 kmph), and *UDAY* (a double-decker air-conditioned overnight train service) for the enjoyable rail journey of common passengers for whom the Indian Railways has been a part and parcel of their daily life.

(The author was formerly with the Indian Railways; presently he is Member of the Passengers Amenities Committee of the Indian Railways and a Research Fellow at SPMRF.)

Highlights of Real Estate (Regulation & Development) Bill passed by Parliament

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 **Rashtriya Prahari**

The Bill that has now been passed by Parliament actually seeks to regulate the real estate sector, bring in transparency and help protect consumer interests. It is a major reform measure to regulate the vast real estate sector and bring order in it. This bill is a much-needed relief for homebuyers because it seeks to regulate a sector that lacks clarity and is riddled with consumer disputes.

PM Modi, after passage of the Bill, said that "Effective regulatory mechanism will lead to orderly growth of the real estate sector and will give a strong impetus to our vision of Housing for All".

Salient features of the Bill are as follows:

▶ The Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Bill regulates transactions between buyers and promoters of real estate projects and sets up state-level regulatory

authorities to oversee the sector.

▶ The Bill regulates both commercial and residential real estate projects. It seeks to set up Real Estate Regulatory Authority (RERA) in states and union territories to oversee real estate transactions.



Benefits to consumers

- ▶ Make operations transparent promoting informed choice for buyers.
- ▶ Disclosure of 'carpet area' for sale will curb unfair trade practices.
- ▶ Model Agreement would end one-sided agreements.
- ▶ Time and cost overruns due to fund diversion will be controlled.
- ▶ Will help curb black money & speculation - leading to price control.
- ▶ Indefinite delay in dispute resolution through civil courts will end.
- ▶ Bill provides curative & preventive measures, with powers to enforce specific performance unlike consumer protection laws.

▶ It makes registration of real estate projects and real estate agents with the authority mandatory. It mandates that builders should disclose details of all registered projects, including those about the promoter, project, layout plan, land status, approvals, agreements along with details of real estate agents, contractors, architect, structural engineer etc. All these details should be uploaded on the website of the RERAs. Real estate agents also need to register with the RERAs.

How the Bill will benefit the real estate sector

- ▶ Promote timely execution of projects thereby achieving the objective of Housing for All.
- ▶ Ensure speedy adjudication of disputes and orderly growth of the real estate sector through efficient project execution, professionalism / standardization.
- ▶ The Bill aims at restoring confidence of consumers in the real estate sector by institutionalizing transparency and accountability.
- ▶ The Bill like other sectors such as telecom, electricity, banking, securities, insurance etc. provides for specialized regulation and enforcement.
- ▶ It will boost domestic and foreign investment in the sector and help promote private participation.
- ▶ Illegal & unplanned development due to absence of regulator would end.



▶ The Bill makes it mandatory for the builders to park 70% of the amount collected from buyers for a project in a separate bank account. This must only be used for construction of that project. However, The state government can alter this amount to less than 70%.

▶ It seeks to establish fast track dispute resolution mechanisms for settlement of disputes through adjudicating officers and Appellate Tribunal. The Bill bars civil courts from taking up matters defined in it. However, consumer courts are allowed to hear real estate matters. There are 644 consumer courts in the country. The more avenues for grievance redressal would mean lower litigation costs for the buyers. Promoters are barred from changing

plans and design without consent of consumers.

▶ If the promoter does not register his property, he will have to pay up to 10 percent of the project cost as penalty. If he dodges order issued by the RERA, he faces imprisonment for up to three years, and/or an additional fine of 10% of the estimated cost of the project. In case the builder violates any other provision of the act, he will have to pay up to 5 percent of the estimate cost of the project. Meanwhile, the fine for the agents is Rs 10,000 per day during the period of violation of provisions.

▶ The Bill is expected to boost consumer confidence as it is expected to bring in transparency in the sector.

Highlights of National Inland Waterways Bill passed by Parliament

 **Rastriya Prahari**

The Rajya Sabha recently passed the National Waterways Bill 2015 unopposed. This Bill can potentially provide an alternative form of transporting goods, which at present is dominated by road and rail, and open up economic opportunities to new regions. The Bill which was introduced by Nitin Gadkari was approved by the Lok Sabha last year. Most of the MPs in Rajya Sabha who participated in the discussion complimented the minister for such a radical plan to makeover the transport matrix.

The Bill is aimed at unleashing the navigation potential of India's larger river ways resources. As part of this Bill, under entry 24 of the Union List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, the Union government can make laws on shipping and

navigation on inland waterways that are classified as national waterways. The Bill identifies an additional 101 waterways as national waterways. The Bill also specifies the extent of development to be undertaken on each waterway.

Allaying fears of the state governments that the new law will infringe upon their rights, Road Transport, Highways and Shipping Minister Nitin Gadkari said the passage of the much-awaited Bill will in fact boost the maritime trade of the states and augment their economy.

The declaration of National Waterways does not restrict the rights of state governments in any way. It only facilitates Government of India in developing the waterway for shipping and navigation. It will not infringe upon their rights on minerals



and water etc. Waterways had taken a backseat in India, with only 3.5% of trade being done through this mode in India. While countries such as China, Europe and Korea channelize over 40% of their passenger and freight traffic, in India the proportion was only 3.5%; and this despite it being the most fuel-efficient, cost-effective and eco-friendly form of transport.

Inland Water Transport is an environment-friendly and cost-effective mode of transportation, which on development will have the potential to establish an optimal modal mix and reduce logistic cost

According to the Shipping Ministry, transportation by waterways would cost 25 paise per km, while by railways and road it's Rs.1.50 and Rs.2.50, respectively. In terms of fuel efficiency, too, waterways compare favourably: one horse power can ferry four tonnes of cargo by waterways, while the equivalent is 150kg and 500kg by road and rail, respectively. The inland waterway projects will be developed through public private partnership and infusion of foreign direct investment (FDI). The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) has been eyeing the constitutional mandate to develop these inland waterways since it took charge. Surface Transport Minister Nitin Gadkari has been advocating the development of waterways, arguing that it would reduce logistic costs substantially.

The Inland Waterways Authority of India (IWAI), responsible for

developing inland waterways, in a study done during 1998 had set a target of 9,286 km of national waterways, state waterways and feeder routes by 2020 in its "IWT Vision 2020". At present Inland waterways comprising rivers, lakes, canals, creeks and backwaters extend to about 14,500 kms across the country.

The legislation provides conversion of 15 rivers in West Bengal, 14 each in Assam and Maharashtra, 11 in Karnataka, 12 in Uttar Pradesh, 9 in Tamil Nadu and 6 each in Bihar and Goa and 5 each in Gujarat, Meghalaya, Odisha and Telangana, among others.

The proposal also includes plan to convert the Yamuna in Delhi and Haryana into a waterway. Five of the river-stretches, which have been declared as National Waterways, include Allahabad-Haldia on Ganga (1,620 km), Brahmaputra's Dhubri-Sadiya (891 km), West Coast Canal Kottapuram-Kollam (205 km), Kakinada-Puducherry canals (1,078 km) and East Coast Canal integrated with Brahmani river and Mahanadi delta rivers (588 km).

The government aims to garner Rs 1 lakh crore to fund projects for low-cost river transportation and seeks to develop national waterways to cut logistics cost, make Indian industry competitive and help developing smart townships along the rivers. India currently has five inland waterways as national waterways. These include waterways on Ganga from Haldia to Allahabad and on Brahmaputra from Dhubri to Sadiya and others. ●

Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana Scheme for Providing Free LPG connections to Women from BPL Households

The Modi Government recently approved Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana which is a Scheme for Providing Free LPG connections to Women from BPL Households. Under the scheme, Rs 8000 crore has been earmarked for providing five crore LPG connections to BPL households. The Scheme provides a financial support of Rs 1600 for each LPG connection to the BPL households. The identification of eligible BPL families will be made in consultation with the State



Governments and the Union Territories. This Scheme would be implemented over three years, namely, the FY 2016-17, 2017-18 and 2018-19.

This is the first time in the history of the country that the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas shall implement a welfare scheme benefitting crores of women belonging to the poorest households.

In India, the poor have limited access to cooking gas (LPG). The spread of LPG cylinders has been predominantly in the urban and semi-urban areas with the coverage mostly

in middle class and affluent households. Now this new scheme will help to provide LPG connections to those living in rural areas. Providing LPG connections to BPL households will ensure universal coverage of cooking gas in the country. This measure will empower women and protect their health. It will reduce

drudgery and the time spent on cooking. It will also provide employment for rural youth in the supply chain of cooking gas.

In this direction, Union Finance Minister in his Budget speech on 29.2.2016 had announced a budgetary provision of Rs. 2000 crore for 2016-17 to provide deposit free LPG connections to 1.5 crore women belonging to the Below Poverty Line (BPL) families. Further, the Budget announced that the Scheme will be continued for two more years to cover 5 crore households. ●

(SPMRF Desk)

दलितों-पिछड़ों का भाजपा से बड़ा हितैषी कौन?

 शिवानन्द द्विवेदी

वर्तमान दौर अवधारणा आधारित राजनीति का दौर है। प्रत्येक राजनीतिक दल को लेकर एक निश्चित अवधारणा का बन जाना भारतीय राजनीति में आम हो चुका है। देश के यूपी एवं बिहार जैसे राज्यों की राजनीति में जातीय समीकरणों का चुनावी परिणाम में खासा महत्व होता है। लेकिन बिहार में भाजपा को लेकर यह भरसक प्रचार किया गया कि भाजपा सवर्ण-ब्राह्मणवादी आरक्षण विरोधी राजनीतिक दल है। इस प्रचार को हवा देने वालों को इसका लाभ भी मिला। राजनीति में इसी को अवधारणा का बनना कहते हैं। चाहें दुष्प्रचार के माध्यम से ही सही मगर पिछले दो दशकों में यह अवधारणा बनाई जा चुकी है कि भाजपा आरक्षण विरोधी राजनीतिक दल है।

रोहित वेमुला के बहाने एकबार फिर उसी दुष्प्रचार को हवा देने की कोशिश वामपंथी एवं तथाकथित अंबेडकरवादी दलित चिंतकों सहित भाजपा-विरोधी राजनीतिक दलों द्वारा की जा रही है। हालांकि अवधारणा तैयार करने के दुष्प्रचार का मूल्यांकन तथ्यों के धरातल पर किया जाए तो ऐसी कोई प्रामाणिकता नहीं नजर आती। चाहें राजनीतिक फैसलों के लिहाज से देखें अथवा दल में आंतरिक हिस्सेदारी के लिहाज से देखें, भाजपा का कोई भी कदम आजतक ऐसा नहीं नजर आया जिस आधार पर उसे आरक्षण विरोधी दल माना जा सके। कई मामलों में भाजपा द्वारा दलितों-पिछड़ों के लिए किए गए कार्य पिछड़ों एवं दलितों की राजनीति करने वाले किसी भी दुसरे दल से ज्यादा बेहतर नजर आते हैं। अगर राजनीति में दलित-पिछड़ा ही मुद्दा है तो भाजपा द्वारा इस तबके के लिए लिए गए फैसलों का मूल्यांकन किया जाना चाहिए।

अगर ढाई-तीन दशक पूर्व की राजनीति देखें तो वीपी सिंह की सरकार भाजपा के समर्थन से चल रही थी। वीपी सिंह ओबीसी को 27 फीसदी आरक्षण वाला मंडल कमिशन लागू कर रहे थे। इस बात को

नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि जिस सरकार द्वारा पिछड़ों को 27 फीसदी आरक्षण दिया जा रहा था वो सरकार भाजपा के समर्थन से चल रही थी। लिहाजा मंडल लागू होने के श्रेय में हिस्सेदारी उस दल को क्यों नहीं मिलनी चाहिए जिसके समर्थन से एक आरक्षण समर्थक सरकार चल रही थी? ओबीसी आरक्षण लागू होने के सन्दर्भ में यह भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि यह वही मंडल कमीशन की रपट है जो इंदिरा गांधी के प्रधानमंत्री रहते अस्सी के दशक के उत्तरार्ध में आ चुकी थी। अर्थात अगर इंदिरा गांधी चाहतीं तो वे भी मंडल कमीशन लागू कर सकती थीं। उनके बाद राजीव गांधी प्रधानमंत्री बने लेकिन उन्होंने भी पिछड़ों को 27 फीसदी आरक्षण देना मुनासिब नहीं समझा।

आखिर मंडल कमिशन लागू करने के लिए यह इन्तजार इस देश के पिछड़ों को करना पड़ा कि जब देश में भाजपा के समर्थन से चल रही एक आरक्षण समर्थक सरकार आएगी तो यह लागू होगा। आज जब कांग्रेस खुद को पिछड़ों का हिमायती बताते हुए भाजपा पर आरक्षण खत्म करने का दुष्प्रचार करती है तो कांग्रेस से यह पूछा जाना चाहिए कि अगर भाजपा आरक्षण के खिलाफ है तो इसे लागू क्यों कराया? साथ ही यह भी पूछा जाना चाहिए कि इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी यह काम क्यों न कर सके जो भाजपा समर्थित वीपी सिंह सरकार ने कर दिया! एक दुष्प्रचार यह भी है कि चूंकि वीपी सिंह ने मंडल लागू किया तो भाजपा ने समर्थन वापस लेकर उनकी सरकार गिरा दी। यह एक सरासर झूठ है। मंडल लागू करने के मुद्दे पर तो भाजपा सरकार के साथ थी लेकिन मंदिर के मुद्दे पर वीपी सिंह भाजपा के साथ नहीं थे।

यानी भाजपा ने तो पिछड़ों के आरक्षण देने के वक्त वीपी का साथ दिया लेकिन वीपी सिंह ने मंदिर आन्दोलन के दौरान भाजपा का साथ नहीं दिया लिहाजा मंदिर के मुद्दे और अडवाणी की गिरतारी की

वजह से वीपी की सरकार गई न कि आरक्षण के मुद्दे पर। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि आरक्षण का उद्देश्य समाजिक बराबरी के लिए था लेकिन मंडल लागू होते ही देश के हिन्दू समाज के अंदर दो खेमे बन गए थे जिनमें भयंकर टकराव की संभावनाएं बल लेने लगी थीं। आरक्षण लागू होने के बाद टूटते हिन्दू समाज को एकजुट करने के लिए मंदिर आन्दोलन अनिवार्य था।

लिहाजा अडवाणी ने रथयात्रा का ऐलान किया। अगर हिन्दू समाज को एकजुट करने के लिए वो रथयात्रा नहीं निकाली गयी होती तो आज देश में जातीय विभेद और कटुता का हिंसक चेहरा समाज में व्याप्त हो चुका होता। लेकिन उस रथयात्रा को आज मंडल के खिलाफ रथयात्रा के तौर पर दुष्प्रचारित किया जाता है जबकि वो मंदिर के समर्थन में यात्रा थी। खैर, इतना तो तय है कि कांग्रेस मंडल लागू नहीं कर रही थी जबकि भाजपा समर्थित सरकार ने पिछड़ों के हित में यह कार्य कर दिखाया।

समय के साथ-साथ राजनीतिक विकास के क्रम में भाजपा की ताकत राष्ट्रीय पटल पर बढ़ती गयी और कांग्रेस का वर्चस्व ढीला पड़ता गया। भाजपा में समाजिक हिस्सेदारी बढ़ ती गयी और कांग्रेस अपने दलित अध्यक्ष सीताराम केसरी को पचा तक नहीं पाई। नब्बे के दशक के उत्तरार्ध में ही नरेंद्र मोदी को महामंत्री (संगठन) बनाकर भेजा गया। नरेंद्र मोदी खुद पिछड़े समाज से आते हैं। बंगारू लक्ष्मण के रूप में दलित नेता का उभार भी भाजपा में सत्ता के दौर में हुआ। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की सरकार में सर्वाधिक पिछड़े, दलित और अनुसूचित जनजाति के सांसद चुनाव जीतकर आये। सदन में अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने बहुमत नहीं साबित हो पाने के बाद इस्तीफा से पूर्व जो भाषण दिया, वो अपने आप इस बात तथ्य की तस्दीक करता है कि अपने उभार के साथ ही भाजपा ने सामाजिक विविधताओं की व्यापक हिस्सेदारी को बल दिया।

उस चुनाव में अनुसूचित जाति के कुल 77 सांसदों में से 29 सांसद भाजपा से चुनकर आये थे। जबकि किसी भी अन्य दल के पंद्रह से ज्यादा

दलित सांसद नहीं चुनकर आये थे। अनुसूचित जनजातियों से कुल 41 सांसदों में से अकेले भाजपा से 11 सांसद आये थे। ये आंकड़े इस बात की गवाही देते हैं कि पहली बार सत्ता में आई भाजपा ने सभी तबके के लोगों को किसी भी अन्य राजनीतिक दल की तुलना में ज्यादा हिस्सेदारी दी थी। राजनीतिक दल में आंतरिक हिस्सेदारी के मोर्चे पर भी भाजपा का ग्राफ समाजिक न्याय के मानदंडों पर सबसे बेहतर दिखता है।

तमाम राज्यों में मुख्यमंत्री के रूप में पिछड़े समाज के नेताओं को आगे बढ़ाने के मामले में भी भाजपा कांग्रेस की तुलना में कहीं बहुत आगे है। संगठन के स्तर पर भी भाजपा में हर तबके के लोग हैं। यह विविधता किसी भी अन्य दल में नहीं दिखती है। यह वही भाजपा है जो एक पिछड़े समाज के नेता को प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में आगे करती है और एक अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के व्यक्ति को पार्टी अध्यक्ष बना देती है। विविधता का ऐसा उदहारण किसी अन्य दल में शायद ही दिखता हो!

आज रोहित वेमुला के बहाने जो लोग जातिगत अवधारणा में भाजपा को पिछड़ों-दलितों के खिलाफ होने का दुष्प्रचार कर रहे हैं उन्हें एकबार अपने आंतरिक राजनीति की तर्हों को टटोलना चाहिए। क्या वामपंथी दलों से पोलित ब्यूरो में दलितों पिछड़ों और महिलाओं की हिस्सेदारी को लेकर सवाल नहीं पूछा जाना चाहिए? पोलित ब्यूरो में एकमात्र वृंदा करात केवल इस आधार पर नहीं हैं कि वो प्रकाश करात की पत्नी हैं! क्या यहाँ परिवारवाद का सवाल नहीं बनता है?

वामपंथी दल (सीपीआईएम) के पोलित ब्यूरो में कितने दलित, कितने पिछड़े हैं, इसका मूल्यांकन कब किया जाएगा? यूपी में बसपा और सपा में समाजिक हिस्सेदारी का प्रश्न क्यों नहीं उठता है? यूपी में जो दल खुद को समाजवादी कहता है उसने उसी मायावती के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया था जिस मायावती को भाजपा ने अपने समर्थन से मुख्यमंत्री बनाया। अगर भाजपा एक दलित नेता को मुख्यमंत्री के तौर पर समर्थन दे रही है तो कैसे माना जाय कि भाजपा दलित एवं पिछड़ों की विरोधी है? ●

कलमगिद्ध कम्युनिस्टों की हकीकत

शैलेन्द्र कुमार शुक्ला

जिस शोषित वंचित और सर्वहारा समाज की आवाज को बुलंद करके साम्यवादी आंदोलन ने दुनिया भर में अपना पांव पसारा था आज वह आंदोलन मृत्यु शैया पर लेटे अपना अंतिम दिन गिन रहा है। आकर्षक वैचारिक प्रवचनों की प्रबलता के कारण यह आंदोलन जिस गति से आगे बढ़ा अपने वैचारिक कुकर्मा की वजह से उतनी ही तेजी से उसका पतन भी हुआ। आज इनका अस्तित्व क्यूबा वितनाम, चीन और भारत के कुछ राज्यों (केरल, पं. बंगाल और त्रिपुरा) में ही बंचा हुआ है। क्यूबा में यह आंदोलन वेंटिलेटर पड़े-पड़े अपना अंतिम सांसे गिन रहा है, वियतनाम की स्थिति सबके सामने है और साम्यवादी चीन माओ की राह को छोड़कर बहुत पहले पूंजीवाद की राह को अख्तियार कर लिया है। रही बात भारत की तो यहां भी स्थिति स्पष्ट है। भारत के जिस राज्य में कम्युनिस्ट शासन में रहे उस राज्य का अहित ही हुआ है उदाहरण के लिए पं. बंगाल को ले लीजिए। 1978 में आपात काल के बाद वाम शासन आने के पहले बंगाल भारत के सबसे विकसित और साधन संपन्न राज्यों में शुमार होता था लेकिन 1978 के बाद से यह राज्य लगातार पतन की ओर अग्रसर होता गया। 35 साल के वाम शासन में पश्चिम बंगाल को विरासत में उद्योगों का पलायन, अवसरों की अल्पता, नक्सलवाद का जहर मिला।

भारतीय इतिहास में साल 1925 अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है। यह वही साल है जब डॉ. हेडगेवार के नेतृत्व में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की स्थापना हुई और इसी साल 6 दिसंबर को भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की भी स्थापना हुई थी। यह बताने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि दोनों आज कहां हैं!

संघ परिवार राष्ट्र के प्रति अपनी निष्ठा के बंदौलत लाखों समर्पित कार्यकर्ताओं का एक ऐसा समूह खड़ा कर लिया है जिसके मूल में राष्ट्रीयता और भारतीयता है, जिसका लक्ष्य सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रवाद है और राष्ट्र पुनर्निर्माण है। सेवा और समर्पण के इसी भावना के बंदौलत संघ परिवार दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा

संगठन बनकर उभरा है। वहीं दूसरी ओर गरीब वंचित और शोषितों की आवाज को बुलंद करने की दंभ भरने वाली भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अपनी वैचारिक दरिद्रता और पाश्विक प्रवृत्ति के कारण अपने सर्वनाश को प्राप्त करने की स्थिति में है।

मजदूर वर्ग की हित वामपंथी कितना किए, महिला हितों पर कितना काम किए, दलितों के उत्थान में इन लोगो का क्या योगदान था यह अनुसंधान का विषय है। संघ परिवार को दलित विरोधी बताने वाले ये वामपंथी कितने दलित पिछड़े और महिलाओं को प्रतिनिधित्व दिए इसका जवाब इन लोगों के पास नहीं हैं।

रूस की क्रांति के बाद दुनिया भर में कुकुरमुत्तों की तरह वाम पार्टियों का उदय हुआ, सबके मूल में सर्वहारा समाज का तथाकथित हित ही निहित था। उस दौर में इससे अछूता भारत भी नहीं रहा। भारत में इस आंदोलन के प्रणेता रजनी पाम दत्त और मानवेन्द्र नाथ जैसे वाम विचारक थे। महान देश भक्त क्रांतिकारी सरदार भगत सिंह भी इस आंदोलन से प्रभावित हुए। शुरुआत में उनका भी झुंकाव इस विचारधारा की ओर हुआ लेकिन जल्द ही वे वामपंथ के कुकर्मा को समझ गए और खुद को इससे अलग कर लिए। आज भले वामपंथी संगठन भगत सिंह के नाम पर क्रांति लाने का दंभी भरती हो लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि भगत सिंह अपने जीते जी इन पार्टियों से तौबा कर लिए थे।

टगर भारतीय स्वतंत्रता में कम्युनिस्टों के योगदान की बात करें तो यह भी अनुसंधान का विषय है। इतिहास साक्षी है कि भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट हमेशा से स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन को एक दर्शक की तरह देखा। भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के एजेंडे में कभी भी देश हित था ही नहीं इनकी निष्ठा हमेशा से रूस के प्रति ही रही। इनके उदय से लेकर आज तक इनका स्थान परिवर्तन हुआ है निष्ठा आज भी वहीं की वहीं है। पहले उसमें रसिया का स्थान था 1962 के बाद वह स्थान चीन ने ले लिया।

इतिहास के पन्नों को टटोला जाए तो इन लोगों का चरित्र और स्पष्ट होता है द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध में रूस जर्मनी के साथ रहा तब तक ये लोग जर्मनी के स्वागत में पलके पांवडेह बिछाए घूम रहे थे और ब्रिटेन का विरोध कर रहे थे लेकिन हिटलर के आक्रमण के बाद रातों रात इनकी निष्ठा बदल गयी। ये वही लोग थे जिन्होंने नेताजी सुभाषचंद्र बोस को जो भारत के बाहर भारतीय स्वतंत्रता की लौ को जर्मनी और जापान की मदद से जालाए रखे थे को जापानी सम्राट तेजो का कुत्ता तक कह डाला था। इन लोगों के भाषायी दरिद्रता और वैचारिक भटकाव का परिणाम था कि ये लोग महात्मा गांधी को भी गरियाने से बाज नहीं आए।

भारत जब आजादी को दहलीज पर दस्तक देने वाला था तब भी ये लोग अपने कुकर्मों से देश को तोड़ने में लगे रहे, अखंड भारत को खंडित करने का ख्वाब भी परवान चढ़ने लगा। यह कम्यूनिस्टों के कुकर्मों का ही परिणाम था कि एक ओर देश आजादी की ओर कदम बढ़ा रहा था तो दूसरी ओर विघटन की ओर। भारत विभाजन के जितने बड़े अपराधी जिन्ना नीत मुस्लिम लीग और गांधी-नेहरू का वैचारिक भटकाव था उतने ही बड़े अपराधी ये कलम गिद्ध कम्यूनिस्ट थे। ये वही लोग थे जो सोवियत संघ का समर्थन कर उसके अंतर्गत आने वाले अनेक देशों के अस्तित्व को अस्वीकार कर रसिया को एक राष्ट्र की मान्यता देते थे वहीं दूसरी ओर भारत को धर्म के अधार पर जाति के आधार पर और भाषा के आधार पर विभाजित करने में लगे हुए थे।

देश की आजादी के बाद भी इन लोगों के स्वाभाव में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया क्योंकि उनकी नजर में देश की आजादी का असली अर्थ कुछ और ही था, आजादी के समय भी इन लोगों की भावनाएं खुलकर सामने आयी जो उस समय दिए गए नारों में प्तीगत होता है " यह आजादी झूठी है..." । जब देश का आम जनमानस इन लोगों को नकारना शुरू कि तब ये लोग मुस्लिम तुष्टिकरण को हवा देने लगे उसके पीछे इन लोगों का तर्क था कि मुस्लिम विचारधारा और साम्यवाद में काफी समानता है। इसलिए ये लोग ना तो नुवाखाली दंगों का विरोध किया और ना ही भारत विभाजन के समय हुए व्यापक नरसंहार का।

चीन के आक्रमण के समय भी इन लोगों का रवैया देश विरोधी ही रहा, अपने हर मंच से ये लोग चीन को पाक साफ और युद्ध के लिए भारत और भारतीय सेना को दोषी ठहराते रहे।

विघटनकारी और पृथकतावादी रवैया के कारण 1957 में नंबूदरीपाद की सरकार को बर्खास्त कर दिया गया। तब देश में किसी हिंदु हृदय सम्राट की सरकार नहीं थी बल्कि घोर धर्मनिरपेक्ष नेहरू नीत कांग्रेस की सरकार थी।

आज जब जेएनयू में भारत विरोधी नारे लग रहे हैं भारत की अखंडता को तार-तार करने के मसुबे पाले जाते हैं, भारत विरोधी नारे लगाए जाते हैं तो इसमें कोई आश्चर्य नहीं होता है। क्योंकि यह तो उनके चरित्र के मूल में है। विदेशी मिशनरियों टुकड़े पर पलने वाले इन कलमगिद्धों से वफादारी की अपेक्षा तो नहीं की जा सकती क्योंकि कुत्ता भी रोटी देने वाले मालिक की ओर ही दुम हिलाता है। आश्चर्य तब भी नहीं होता जब कांग्रेस उपाध्यक्ष राहुल गांधी इन राष्ट्रविरोधियों के समर्थन में अपना डेरा-डंडा जेएनयू में गिरा लेते हैं क्योंकि ये सारे देशद्रोही कांग्रेस के कुकर्मों के ही उपज है। दुनिया जानती है कि किस तरह से नेहरू और उनके बाद इंदिरा गांधी ने इन कलम पिशाचों को प्रश्रय देकर भारत के सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को दबाने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया। 6 अप्रैल 2010 को बस्तर के चिंतलनार में जब नक्सलियों द्वारा छल से 75 जवानों को मार दिया जाता है तब देश भर में केवल जेएनयू कैंपस ही गुलजार होता है, और छात्रों में शराब और गोमांस का वितरण होता है।

आज जेएनयू कैंपस पूरी तरह सांस्कृति आतंकवाद का केन्द्र बना हुआ है जहां केवल आस्तित्व के सांप पल रहे हैं जिनका काम देश को अस्थिर करना है, इसलिए दिल्ली पुलिस द्वारा या भारत सरकार द्वारा की जा रही कार्यवाही सर्वथा न्यायोचित है क्योंकि अब समय कड़ी निंदा का नहीं रही अब कड़ी कार्रवाही का है...जेएनयू में फैले वैचारिक गंदगी को साफ करने का है...देश और देशवासियों की सहानुभूति भारत सरकार और दिल्ली पुलिस के साथ है। ●

(शैलेन्द्र कुमार शुक्ला, डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान में रिसर्च एसोसिएट है)

Lessons at JNU: Justifying Terror in the Name of Freedom?

 Dr. Prakash Shah

On 9 February 2016 a group of left wing and Kashmir separatist students organised an outdoors event at the Jawaharlal National University (JNU) in New Delhi, India. They shouted slogans wishing for the tearing of India into pieces and for the war against India to continue until the country's destruction. They also expressed support for Afzal Guru, who had confessed to helping five gunmen commit the terrorist attack against the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001. Afzal Guru was executed after a court sentence and multiple judicial confirmations that the death sentence should be carried out.

In his confession, he said that the aim of the 2001 attack, planned by Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, was to eliminate India's political establishment. Fourteen people were killed during the attack and a greater number injured. The student demonstrators at JNU also shouted "Pakistan Zindabad" and chanted slogans to the effect that many more would rise up in Afzal Guru's place.

The year 2001 is etched in the global memory as the year when the attacks took place on the World Trade Centre as well as the attack on the Pentagon. Much less is known about the terror strike on the Indian Parliament and the many other jihadi terrorist atrocities in India that have escalated over the years since 2001 but have been borne stoically by Indians so far. Unlike the US and NATO response to the 9/11 attacks, India took no international military action against the planners of multiple acts of terror on its territory. The evidence has clearly pointed to their organisation being carried out in Pakistan and with the help of the Pakistani state.



The 2001 attacks on the Indian parliament took place when a BJP government was in power. In some ways, it is not unlike the other currently much-discussed, terror-related case of Ishrat Jahan who, after being shot dead with three others in 2004, has often been referred to as an innocent student, despite being revealed as part of a plot to assassinate Narendra Modi when he was Chief Minister of Gujarat.

The gathering at JNU led to the arrest of its Students' Union president Kanhaiya Kumar and to charges against some twelve others for sedition under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. Charges of criminal conspiracy under section 120B have also been lodged but what type of conspiracy is involved is not yet public. The JNU administration had apparently revoked permission for the event to be held as it turned out that it had been billed, deceptively, as a cultural event, whereas its real role was to hold a demonstration in support of Afzal Guru. The JNU administration has since taken action to suspend some seven students.

As section of the media and academic opinion, within India and abroad, apparently supports the demonstrating JNU students and condemns their arrests and suspensions. One prominent petition, by over 400 academics mainly in the US, Canada, UK and India, with JNU alumni, describes the arrests as illegal and unconstitutional. To derive conclusions about legality, these detractors must have information to which only the JNU administration, the police or government could be privy. Another petition has been signed by 133 academics again mainly based in the US, Canada, UK and India including Noam Chomsky, Charles Taylor, Judith Butler, Sheldon Pollock and Orhan Pamuk. Condemning the police action and JNU's vice-chancellor for not speaking out, it refers to the "authoritarian menace" generated by the present government. It goes on to describe JNU as "the most prominent university in the country in the eyes of the academy all over the world". Signatories seem oblivious to the fact that JNU ranks nowhere in the Times Higher Education world university rankings and is similarly absent from other international rankings. When present, Indian institutions figure well behind their counterparts elsewhere, a hint of the parlous state of higher education in India.

Let us now try to view the JNU events in a wider frame. **Imagine that a student group in the UK say at the prominent Oxford University went around praising the killers of the soldier Lee Rigby, who was murdered in London in broad daylight by two jihadis in 2013. The murder was condemned in the international press and by British Muslim leaders. Imagine that the group of Oxford students shout slogans to the effect that, in place of the imprisoned murderers, many more would rise. Further, they audibly announce Britain's destruction into pieces.** How should the authorities and the police respond? Quite possibly they would feel compelled stop such a meeting and take the

leaders into custody. They could select from among many UK laws, including those covering public order or terrorism, to base arrests. For example, section 12 of the UK's Terrorism Act 2000 criminalizes a person who "arranges, manages or assists in arranging or managing a meeting which he knows is ...to support a proscribed organisation".

Most likely there would be public outrage and disgust and, surely, large sections of the media would condemn, not the police or government of the day, but the demonstrators. Many would legitimately question why university students demonstrate in support of terrorism. It is hard to imagine that student demonstrations ripple out across the UK and harder still to imagine they would be supported by academics. One cannot imagine a group of international scholars lending their names to petitions criticizing the police or the university administration. Substitute for Lee Rigby's murderers, those who helped the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks in the US; or those who attacked the Canadian parliament in 2014; or those responsible for the November 2015 attacks in Paris. While details may vary, the tenor of responses would likely not differ much.

British universities are already being enlisted for detecting radicalisation among youngsters. A new legal duty under section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 obliges universities to have "due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism". While there is some dissent on grounds of academic freedom, universities have broadly complied. There is nothing like the *tamasha* we witness in India.

Those suggesting that the JNU administration and police actions are unlawful and unconstitutional are not waiting for judicial proceedings to uphold or strike down the

charges. In a further email to JNU's vice-chancellor, Noam Chomsky says that the police presence on campus was "not legally required". In so doing, he compounds what he and other petition signers already imply: that the legal process in India deserves no respect and that law enforcers are culpable for holding justifiers of terrorism to account. This seems the very opposite of what would be expected of any responsible state in the world. Why is India treated differently by its own and external academic community?

It reflects a structure of thinking soaked in since colonial times whereby large parts of the intelligentsia learn and teach a view of India as a backward, immoral and degenerate culture. The not insignificant numbers of Indian origin academics who enjoy higher education in the West perform a vital role in its propagation. Having imbibed the latest distorted versions of India studies they are prominent among petition signers and well represented in other petitions about intolerance in India. Focusing their radical aspirations on India, they tend to remain silent about the depredations, home and abroad, of their adopted countries, which would rapidly constrain their career ambitions. For them a BJP government represents all that they have been taught to despise about India and its traditions. Such a government is *presumptively* guilty and, as the Prime Minister knows all too well, the mud of guilt continues to be thrown well after exoneration by the courts. The Western framework for studying and teaching about India performs another role too.

As Professors SN Balagangadhara and Jakob de Roover have suggested, terrorism is a crime distinguished by its transubstantiation into a morally exemplary set of supererogatory actions. Thus, although it is a crime, ideology enables it to be presented as justifiable to one or other moral community. Ideology is what enables the use of theories (which can be varied

- theological or otherwise) for justification. In the case of terrorism, an ideology performs the role of making a crime morally justifiable. From this standpoint, the complained of actions and statements by the JNU students can be seen as an exercise that makes acts of terror justifiable. As Balagangadhara has argued further, justification of crime as moral is rooted in the interplay of American culture, in which organised crime flourishes, and European culture, which legitimates actions through political justifications. The presence of Euro-American intellectual voices and their Indian acolytes among petition signers is therefore extremely worrying. The signers need not themselves justify terrorism; it may be enough to provide a means by which terrorism and its supporters can be seen as justified.

When globalised by extension beyond Euro-American contexts, exercises of providing moral justifications for crimes get distorted. That is why the Indian discussion looks more like a hyperbolic *tamasha*. At the same time, we already have much of the necessary equipment to justify the criminal actions of terrorists. We have the Western-Orientalist inheritance structuring the study of India and transmitted on Indian campuses. That provides the grounds on which an avowedly nationalist ruling party government can be demonised and demolished. Today, the same framework secularised grounds charges of fascism, autocracy, authoritarianism and intolerance. Add to that the jihadist teaching that appeals to the intolerance of submission to a "kafir" ruler. Thus the seeds enabling Afzal Gurus to be lionized as *shahid* are already sown. We also know who will be making a harvest of death out of them.

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(Prakash Shah is a Reader in Culture and Law and Director of GLOCUL: Centre for Culture and Law at the Department of Law, Queen Mary, University of London)

PSLV-C32 successfully launches India's Sixth Navigation Satellite IRNSS-1F

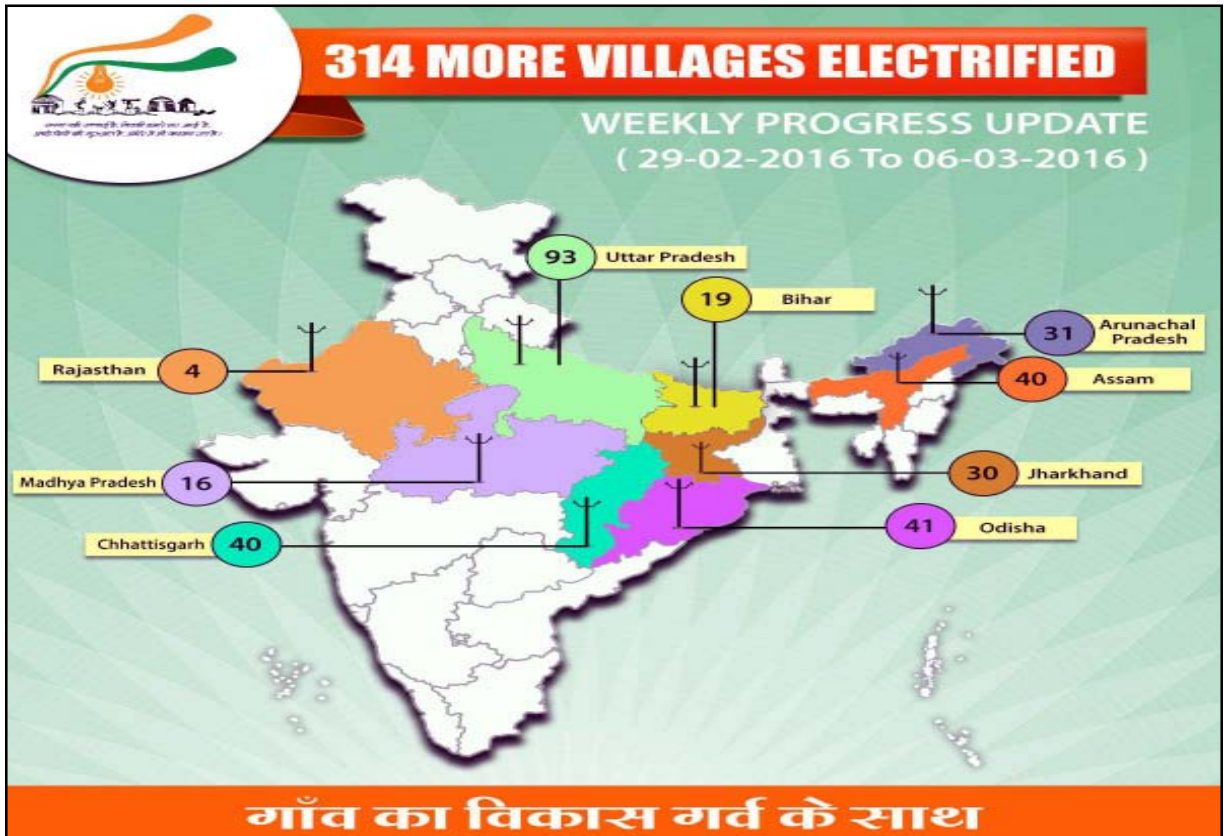
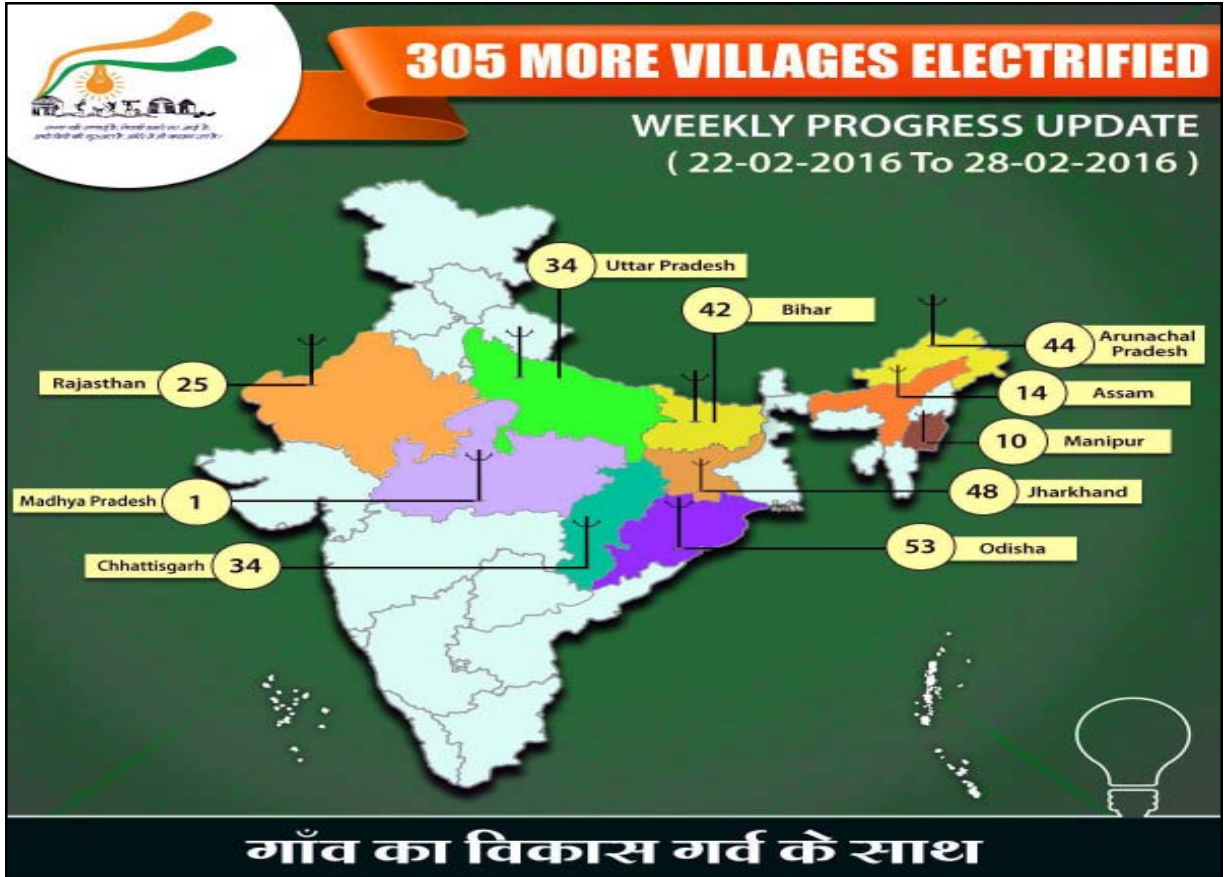
In its thirty fourth flight, ISRO's Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle, PSLV-C32, successfully launched the 1,425 kg IRNSS-1F, the sixth satellite in the Indian Regional Navigation Satellite System (IRNSS) from the Satish Dhawan Space Centre SHAR, Sriharikota. This is the thirty third consecutively successful mission of

March 28, 2015 and January 20, 2016 respectively. All the five satellites are functioning satisfactorily from their designated orbital positions. IRNSS is an independent regional navigation satellite system designed to provide position information in the Indian region and 1,500 km around the Indian mainland. IRNSS



PSLV and the twelfth in its 'XL' configuration. IRNSS-1F is the sixth of the seven satellites constituting the space segment of the Indian Regional Navigation Satellite System. IRNSS-1A, 1B, 1C, 1D and 1E, the first five satellites of the constellation, were successfully launched by PSLV on July 02, 2013, April 04, 2014, October 16, 2014,

would provide two types of services, namely, Standard Positioning Services (SPS) - provided to all users - and Restricted Services (RS), provided to authorised users. IRNSS-1G, the remaining satellite of this constellation, is scheduled to be launched by PSLV in April 2016, thereby completing the IRNSS constellation. ●

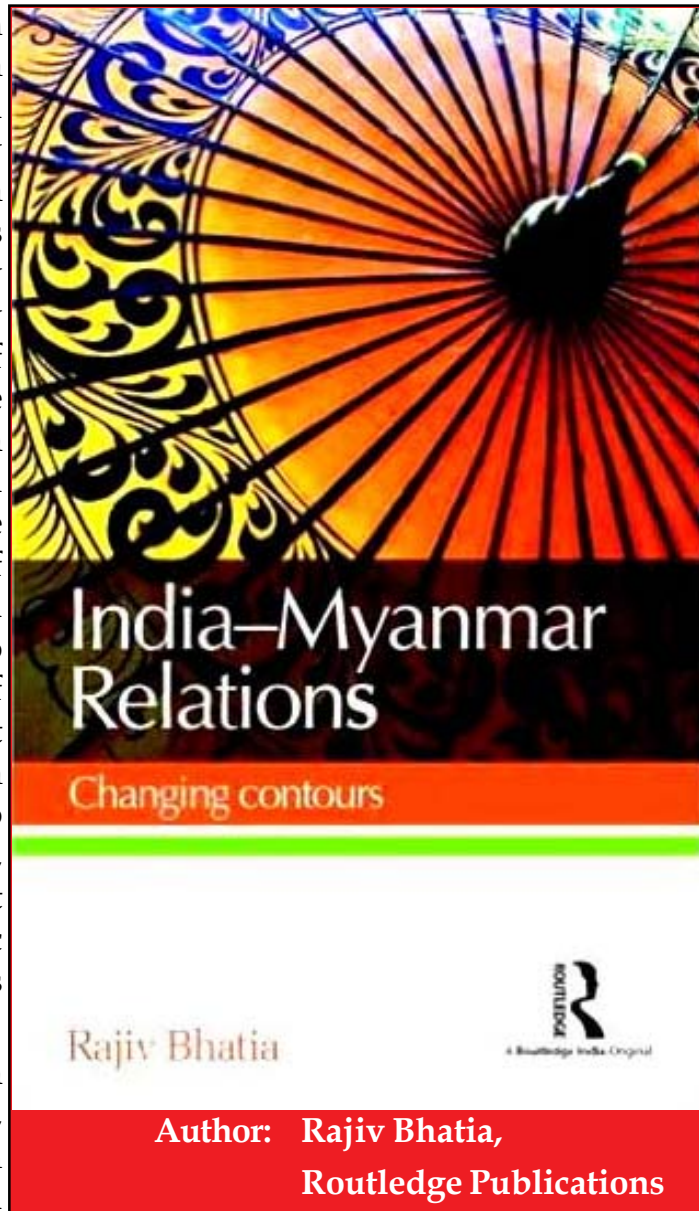


Book Review

India-Myanmar Relations: Changing Contours

The book is actually a storehouse of information on Myanmar's policies and politics. There are very few books by prescient Indian authors on the developments in Myanmar. India's security and development, prosperity and progress; particularly of the North Eastern States of the Union, are closely tangled with the itinerary of internal dynamics in our immediate North-eastern neighbour of Myanmar and if we regard Myanmar as our gateway to ASEAN and our first port of call in India's Look East/Act East foreign policy orientation then for that we need to understand the history, geography and politics of that country because the strategic location of the country needs no reiteration.

The book is useful, both from the point of view of facts, and points of view of idea because it covers long period which starts from as far as possible trace back to the history of India-Myanmar relation, far back into the antiquity, it touch into the archeological, historical period, then it covers the whole range of colonial



Author: Rajiv Bhatia,
Routledge Publications

periods during which two India and Myanmar became part of British emperor. The book traces the history of Myanmar, the content of bilateral relations and the impact of an India-

China conundrum on not only the internal politics of Myanmar but also the future orientation of India-Myanmar relations.

Two chapters of the book deals with a historical evolution of Myanmar, with chapter 2 touching on policies of various countries towards Myanmar. Three chapters deal with the course and content of India-Myanmar relations and one chapter refers to the current state of bilateral interplay. The India-Myanmar-China Triangle, as the author calls it, has a chapter. The last chapter offers future directions for India Myanmar relations.

Author has classified Myanmar's post-independence period under four categories:

- ▶ U Nu era (1948-62),
- ▶ Ne Win era (1962-88),
- ▶ the transition (1988-90) and
- ▶ the SLORC/SPDC era (1991 onwards).

U Nu's regime was strongly democratic. The Ne Win era saw a tilt towards an intolerant and authoritarian dictatorship with Myanmar slipping into isolationism. Ne Win's autarchic policies took the country into a condition where China was perhaps the only support. The gradual opening of doors towards democracy saw Myanmar slowly welcoming back friends and investments. A shift towards a perfect democracy, however, is currently constricted by the

Constitutional imperatives of a 25 per cent representation of the military through the electoral process in Parliament and some restrictions on Presidential candidates. The civilisational imprint and religious legacy of India on Myanmar should have drawn the two countries closer. Buddhism travelled from India and Sri Lanka to Myanmar. Both countries were victims of colonial rule. However, while India remained strongly democratic, Myanmar after a few years of democratic existence, fell victim to military dictatorship.

Author has devoted considerable thought in his book to the state of bilateral relations between India and Myanmar. India's relations with Myanmar were somewhat cool and distant during the 1980s with India's sympathy on the side of the democratic forces. Realising that sentiment had no place in foreign policy, India commenced a policy of constructive engagement with the Government of Than She in Myanmar. This led to a better balance in bilateral relations offering considerable scope for greater interaction in the political, economic and security spheres. The author calls for greater government-to-government, business-to-business, and people-to-people interaction between India and Myanmar as the way forward in the further development and consolidation of bilateral relations.

High-level visits between the two sides have gained higher traction in recent days. During PM Modi's meeting with President Thein Sein on the margins of the ASEAN Dialogue meeting, the latter said that there was a lot of commonality between the two countries and saw "the two countries as brothers".

Security related interaction has been significant. The reaction of Myanmar to action of Indian security forces against insurgent groups was to note "coordination and cooperation" between the armed forces. The invitation to the Indian National Security Adviser to the signing ceremony of a ceasefire between the Myanmar Government and the armed ethnic groups was a positive development.

Bilateral economic cooperation has significant untapped potential. While there is a need to push up commercial interaction, economic cooperation through projects and capacity building calls for serious attention. The clearance by the Indian Cabinet of the financial outlay for the Kaladan Multi-Modal transport project connecting Kolkata with Sittwe port and onwards to Mizoram is welcome. The India-Myanmar-Thailand Trilateral Highway is still ongoing. Infrastructure and connectivity have been accorded significant importance by leadership.

The author has written extensively on the role and

importance of Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar's political future and her impact on bilateral relations. While professing warm feelings of friendship and good feelings towards India, Suu Kyi has also expressed "sadness" and "disappointment" at the lack of unconditional support to the forces of democracy in Myanmar. She has called for "transparency" in Indian action against insurgent groups based in Myanmar.

The author has devoted an entire chapter on the cause and effect of Chinese policies and presence in Myanmar. His reference to India's holding up recognition of the PRC until Burma did so is a revelation. China's significant presence can be attributed to strong ethnic links across the Northern borders and its singular support during Myanmar's isolation. Its economic footprint was omnipresent. With President Thein Sein initiating a pragmatic approach towards foreign policy, a nuanced shift from an overweening dependence on China has been noticed.

The author has provided a list of bilateral Agreements and MoUs as an Annex. He has spent considerable effort at including a vast array of cross-references. And the bibliography at the end of the book is extensive. ●

(Siddharth Singh is Research Scholar in Jawaharlal Nehru University)

SPMRF Round-Table Series:
Discussion on 3rd March 2016 on
"Dimensions of India-UK Relationship in
the Current Global Scenario"

Foreign Affairs Department, BJP in collaboration with Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation (SPMRF) invited Mr. Peter Hill Director of Strategy Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Govt. of U.K. to speak on "Dimensions of India-UK Relationship in the Current Global Scenario" on 3rd March 2016. Dr. Vijay Chauthaiwale chaired the session while introductory remarks were given by Dr. Anirban Ganguly.

Mr. Hill's responsibilities include policy planning and the FCO's engagement with the National Security Council. Mr. Hill explained the India-U.K. relationship in perspective and how this relationship has evolved over a period of time. He said that India and the U.K. have a fundamental stake in each other's success-for the sake of our values and our many shared interests.

He also spoke at some length about Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to UK between 12-14 November, 2015 which took the relationship between the two countries to a new height.

He emphasized the importance and mutual benefit of continuing to work together in the areas of energy and climate change to enhance the prosperity of both nations.

He also emphasized that this enduring connection between the UK and India plays a vital role in safeguarding and promoting the security and prosperity of both

peoples. India's economic development and rise as a global power affords opportunities to further deepen and extend this partnership to foster economic growth



and inclusive development, update and strengthen the rules based international system, and counter global threats.

Mr. Peter Hill said that UK and India remain committed to working together to substantially increase trade and investment opportunities. The two governments have time and again underlined the particular importance of information technology and digital industries in both countries, and the contribution that they make towards strengthening trade ties between the UK and India as a key driver of growth and prosperity.

The Talk was attended among others by Vice President of BJP Dr Vinay Sahasrabudhe, Mr. V. Satish Jt General Secretary BJP, Mr Bhupender Yadav, General Secretary BJP, Mr. Arjun Ram Meghwal Member of Parliament, Amb. R. Dayakar, Amb. Pradeep Kapur and other Research Scholars. ●

श्री अमित शाह द्वारा मथुरा में आयोजित भारतीय जनता युवा मोर्चा के अधिवेशन में दिए गए संबोधन के मुख्य अंश



श शत्रोही नारों के समर्थन में खड़े होने को लेकर राहुल गांधी और कांग्रेस एंड कंपनी पर करारा पलटवार करते हुए श्री शाह ने कहा – 'इन दिनों देश में एक अजीब किस्म की बहस हो रही है। देशद्रोह को अभिव्यक्ति की आजादी के कपड़े पहनाए जा रहे हैं।' उन्होंने कहा कि जेएनयू में तमाम भारत विरोधी नारे लगाए गए। उन्होंने कहा, कांग्रेस को शर्म आनी चाहिए कि उसके उपाध्यक्ष राहुल गांधी जेएनयू में जाकर कहते हैं कि इन्हें सुनना चाहिए, इन्हें बोलने देना चाहिए। भाजपा अध्यक्ष ने कड़ा रोष जताते हुए कहा कि अगर राहुल इन राष्ट्र विरोधी नारों को आजादी की अभिव्यक्ति मानते हैं तो सोनिया गांधी

और कांग्रेस को साफ करना चाहिए कि वह इन नारों के साथ है क्या?'

जेएनयू में 'भारत तेरे टुकड़े होंगे' के नारे पर राहुल गांधी को आड़े हाथों लेते हुए श्री शाह ने कहा कि राहुल जी, आपको पता नहीं है, इस देश का युवा एक टुकड़ा भी नहीं होने देगा। युवा मोर्चा के कार्यकर्ताओं का आह्वान करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि आप हर विश्वविद्यालय में जाकर राष्ट्रभक्ति की अलख जगाएं और उन्हें इस प्रकार के राष्ट्रविरोधी तत्त्वों के बारे में आगाह करें। उन्होंने कहा कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी के सारे आंदोलन देशभक्ति से सराबोर रहे हैं और हमारी पार्टी की विचारधारा का मूल सिद्धांत 'एक भारत, श्रेष्ठ

भारत' और 'सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रवाद' है।

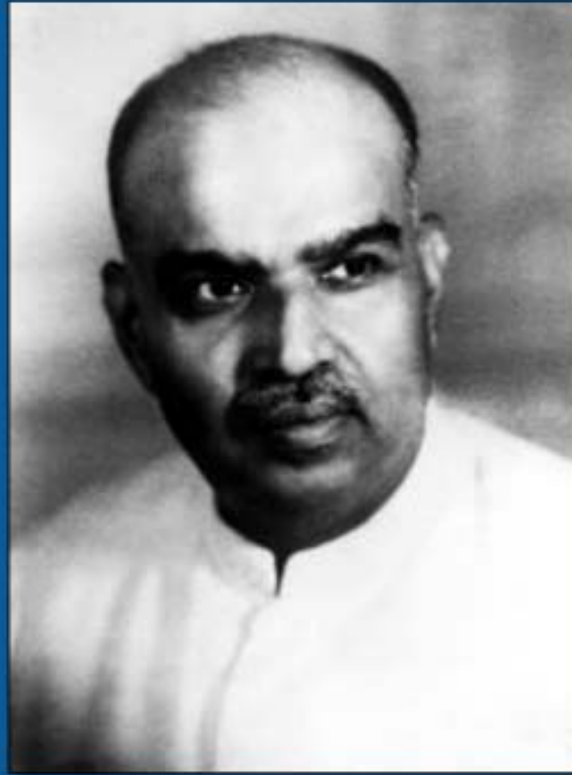
देश में विकास के लिए हो रहे बदलाव पर बोलते हुए भाजपा अध्यक्ष श्री शाह ने कहा कि प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में केंद्र सरकार गाँव के अंतिम छोर तक विकास की लहर पहुंचाने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध है। उन्होंने कहा कि गाँव के अंतिम व्यक्ति तक विकास पहुंचना जरूरी है और सरकार ने भी तय कर लिया है कि गाँव के हर कोने तक विकास कर के दिखाना है। उन्होंने कहा कि यह सरकार गाँव, गरीब, किसान और युवाओं की सरकार है। श्री शाह ने कहा कि इस बार के बजट में कई ऐसी योजनाएं हैं, जिनसे गाँव के अंतिम छोर तक विकास होगा, साथ ही सरकार ने फसल बीमा से किसानों के लिए समृद्धि के रास्ते खोले हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम सतत विकास के पथ पर चल रहे हैं और इसलिए केंद्र में भाजपा सरकार आने के बाद से लगातार भारत दुनिया की सबसे तेज गति से विकास करनेवाली अर्थव्यवस्था बनी हुई है। श्री शाह ने कहा कि प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में केंद्र सरकार ने युवाओं के स्वरोजगार, कौशल प्रशिक्षण और कल्याण के लिए कई सारी योजनाएं चलाई है चाहे वह मुद्रा बैंक योजना हो या मेक इन इंडिया, चाहे वह स्किल्ड इंडिया योजना हो या स्टार्ट-अप इंडिया या फिर स्टैंड-अप इंडिया। उन्होंने कहा – 'हम चाहते हैं कि यहां के युवा पूरी दुनिया में छा जाएँ और देश के नवनिर्माण में अपनी महती भूमिका अदा करें।'

भाजपा अध्यक्ष ने कहा कि केंद्र में श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में भाजपा की सरकार आने के बाद से दुनिया भर में भारत और भारतवासियों के मान-सम्मान में वृद्धि हुई है। उन्होंने कटाक्ष करते हुए कहा कि यूपीए शासनकाल में तो प्रधानमंत्री के विदेशी दौरे का पता ही नहीं चलता था, अब हजारों लाखों लोग विदेशों में प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के स्वागत में खड़े रहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि विदेशों में श्री मोदी जी का स्वागत भाजपा का

स्वागत नहीं बल्कि देश की सवा सौ करोड़ जनता का सम्मान है। उन्होंने कहा कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र महासभा में हिन्दी में भाषण देकर प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी ने देश की मातृभाषा और देश की मिट्टी को सम्मान दिया है। श्री शाह ने कहा कि श्री नरेन्द्र भाई मोदी जी की सरकार ने सबसे पहला काम देश की सीमा को सुरक्षित करने का किया है, अब किसी में हिम्मत नहीं है कि वह हमारी सीमा में घुसकर किसी जवान का सर कलम करके ले जाए।

श्री शाह ने कहा कि 1950 में केवल 11 सदस्यों के साथ शुरू हुई भारतीय जनता पार्टी के अब 11 करोड़ से भी ज्यादा सदस्य हैं और यह विश्व की सबसे बड़ी राजनीतिक पार्टी बन गई है। उन्होंने कहा कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी किसी राजनैतिक मकसद से बनाई गई पार्टी नहीं है अपितु एक विचारधारा की लड़ाई लड़ने वाली पार्टी है जिसके केंद्र में गाँव, गरीब, किसान और युवाओं का कल्याण एवं देश की एकता व अखंडता को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखने का सपना है। उन्होंने कहा कि सरकारें व्यक्तिगत उपयोग के लिए नहीं बल्कि उसका उद्देश्य देश के प्रत्येक नागरिक का कल्याण होता है। उन्होंने कहा कि दो वर्ष से भी कम अवधि में देश में चमत्कारिक परिवर्तन सामने नजर आ रहे हैं और भारत लगातार प्रगति के नए आयाम स्थापित करता जा रहा है।

भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह ने युवाओं का आह्वान करते हुए कहा कि युवा परिवर्तन का वाहक है। उन्होंने कहा कि केवल सरकार बनने से ही हमारा काम सम्पन्न नहीं हो गया, हमें भारत माता को विश्व गुरु बनाना है। भारतीय जनता युवा मोर्चा के कार्यकर्ताओं को संबोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि केंद्र सरकार की लोक कल्याणकारी योजनाओं को जनता तक पहुंचाने का दायित्व और 25 वर्षों तक केंद्र में भाजपा की सरकार लाने की जिम्मेदारी युवा मोर्चा पर है, इस लक्ष्य के साथ युवा कार्यकर्ता देश के नवनिर्माण में जुट जाएँ। ●



"The gigantic task of reconstruction, cultural, social, economic and political can be rendered possible through coordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians. Armed with the knowledge of India'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*