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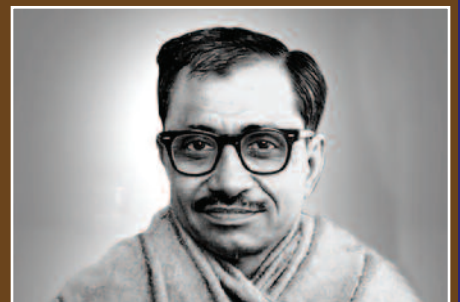
Prime Minister Modi's Myanmar Visit has Created Great Opportunities



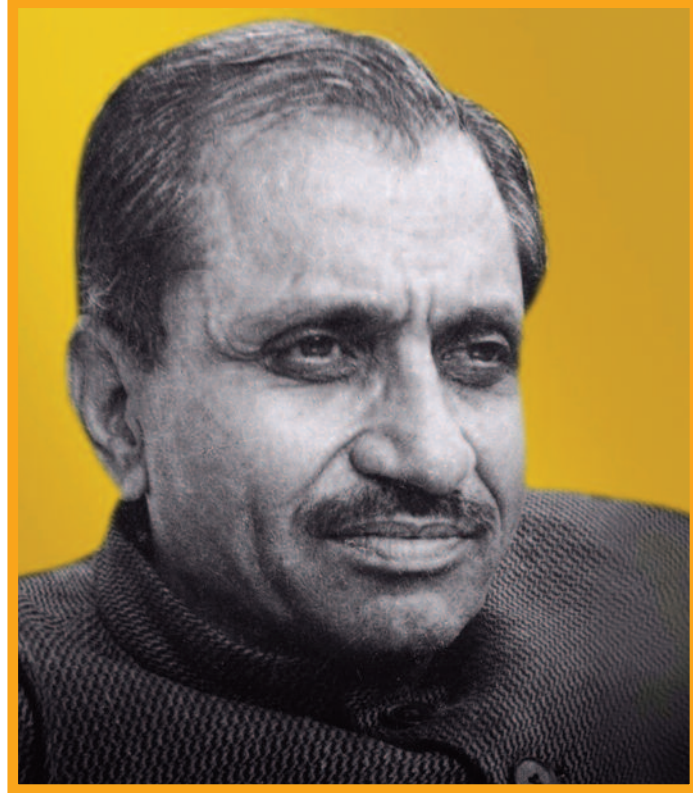
विमुद्रीकरण और जीएसटी से अर्थव्यवस्था को फायदे



Narendra Modi's Leadership,
Abolition of Triple Talaq, Liberation
of Muslim Women: a reflection



Integral Humanism and Labour



"Unity in diversity and the expression of unity in various forms has remained the thought of Bhartiya Culture."

- Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya

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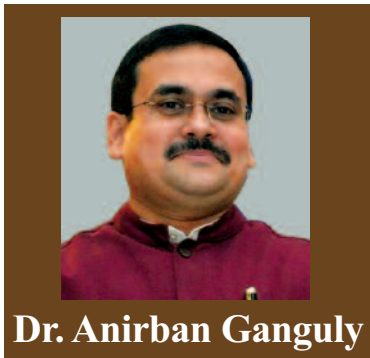
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EVENT @ SPMRF

- * Release of book "India @70 Modi @3.5" by Shri Arun Jaitley (Union Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs) at Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi on 28th September 2017
- * SPMRF & NMML organised a Special Lecture on "LPG in India: the past, present & future of Ujjwala" by Professor Kirk R Smith MPH PHD (Prof. of Global Environmental Health School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley & Visiting Sr. Scholar, IIT, Delhi) on 11th August 2017
- * SPMRF Round Table Series: Discussion on "दास्ता के दाव में भारतीय शिक्षा" by Shri Hitesh Shankar (Editor, Panchjanya) on 08th August 2017
- * Interaction with A Visiting Team Led by Prof. Le Van TOAN (Director, Centre for Indian Studies, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Hanoi, Vietnam) on 10th August 2017

India is Transforming: the discerning see it, the purblind ignore it



Prime Minister Modi's visit thus was one of the most successful ones by an Indian Prime Minister in decades, it also demonstrated that both India and Myanmar were willing to cooperate over and stand by their own national security priorities without being swayed by false narratives of human rights.

P rime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Myanmar in September was a path-breaking one with both countries reaffirming their commitment to work towards greater cooperation in the region, on the global stage and for effectively tackling the scourge of terrorism. Prime Minister Modi's visit thus was one of the most successful ones by an Indian Prime Minister in decades, it also demonstrated that both India and Myanmar were willing to cooperate over and stand by their own national security priorities without being swayed by false narratives of human rights.

The document adopted on India-EU relations in the just concluded India-EU summit in New Delhi (6th October) was also a sign of the impact of India's leadership at the global level in terms of altering the perception of India and enhancing engagement with her. The EU, recognizing India's commitment to the fight against terrorism and expansionism not only expressed solidarity but also resolved to work at multiple levels to jointly tackle these challenges. In short, the tide is turning in India's favour on the international arena.

Similarly, the manner in which the Doklam issue was addressed, the maturity and sagacity displayed by the Indian establishment under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has been extremely commendable. It has set an example of how a responsible and mature power like India ought to handle such challenges. There has been no display of triumphalism and despite what the Congress party and Prime Minister Modi's detractors say, the handling of the Doklam episode shall remain a shining example for future leaders and policy makers. The point that needs to be recognized in this case is that it does not matter how limited your power and capacities are, what matters is one's willingness to exercise that power and acumen.

On the global arena, India has been successful in not only working towards achieving the objectives of her national interest and national security but also in exposing elements that work against the interest of humanity as a whole. External Affairs Minister Smt. Sushma Swaraj's speech at the UNGA this year

was a resounding articulation of our world vision and exposed those who have encouraged and patronized terrorists across the world and allowed their territory to be used for breeding terrorism.

At home, the pace of governance remains undiminished and the commitment towards empowering the marginalized, towards empowering the deprived is not receiving mere lip service but is seeing action oriented implementation. Connectivity, power availability, electrification, sanitation and the effort to alter the scale of our thinking vis-à-vis development and growth is seeing greater inputs, greater delivery and results. The vision and concept of good governance is visible on the ground, not just reforming but also transforming India.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Myanmar trip, his exhortation to empower women through the abolition of the Triple Talaq, India's outreach in southeast Asia, a focus on the life and contributions of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, the state of the economy, the launching of the Saubhagya Yojana are some of the focus areas of this current issue. India is transforming, the discerning see it and the purblind ignore it.

Salient Points of PM Modi's speech at 3rd Anniversary of Swachh Bharat Mission on 02 Oct, 2017



आज 2 अक्टूबर है; पूज्य बापू की जन्म-जयंती, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की जन्म-जयंती।

अब मेरा स्वभाव है बहुत चीजें मैं चुपचाप झेलता रहता हूँ क्योंकि दायित्व भी ऐसा है कि झेलना भी चाहिए और धीरे-धीरे मेरी capacity भी बढ़ा रहा हूँ झेलने की।

लेकिन आज तीन साल के बाद बिना डगे, बिना हिचकिचाए इस काम में हम लगे रहे और लगे इसलिए रहे कि मुझे पूरा भरोसा था कि महात्मा जी ने जो कहा है, बापू ने जो कहा है, वो रास्ता गलत हो ही नहीं सकता।

वही एक श्रद्धा, इसका मतलब ये नहीं है कि कोई चुनौतियाँ नहीं हैं। चुनौतियाँ हैं, लेकिन चुनौतियाँ हैं इसलिए देश को ऐसे ही रहने दिया जाए क्या?

कोई इंसान ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है कि जिसको स्वच्छता पसंद न हो।

अगर आप रेलवे स्टेशन पर जाइए, चार बेंच पड़ी हैं, लेकिन दो में कुछ गंदगी है तो आप वहाँ नहीं बैठते, जहाँ अच्छी जगह है वहाँ जाकर बैठते हैं, क्यों? मूलतः प्रकृति स्वच्छता पसंद करने की है।

दुर्भाग्य से हमने बहुत सी चीजें तो सरकार ने कि बना दीं, सरकारी बना दीं। जब तक वो जनसामान्य की रहती हैं, कठिनाई नहीं आती ऐसी। अब आप देखिए कुंभ का मेला होता है। हर दिन गंगा के तट पर कुंभ के मेले में यूरोप का एक छोटा सा देश इक्वेटोर होता है। लेकिन वो ही सब कुछ संभाल लेते हैं, अपनी चीजें कर लेते हैं और सदियों से चला आ रहा है।

समाज की शक्ति को अगर स्वीकार करके हम चलें, जन-भागीदारी को स्वीकार करके चलें, सरकार को कम करते चलें, समाज को बढ़ाते चलें; तो ये आंदोलन कोई भी प्रश्नचिन्ह के बाद, बावजूद भी सफल होता ही जाएगा ये मेरा विश्वास है।

आज स्वच्छता अभियान, ये न पूज्य बापू का रहा है, न ये भारत सरकार का रहा है, न ही ये राज्य सरकारों का रहा है, न ही ये municipality का रहा है।

आज स्वच्छता अभियान देश के सामान्य मानवी का अपना सपना बन चुका है। और अब तक जो सिद्धि मिली है, वो सिद्धि सरकार की है, ऐसा मेरा रत्ती भर claim नहीं है। न ये भारत सरकार की सिद्धि है, न ये राज्य सरकार की सिद्धि है, अगर ये सिद्धि है तो स्वच्छाग्रही देशवासियों की सिद्धि है।

कोई मुझे बताए क्या हिन्दुस्तान में अब आवश्यकता के अनुसार स्कूल बने हैं कि नहीं बने हैं? आवश्यकता के अनुसार टीचर employ हुए कि नहीं हुए? आवश्यकता के अनुसार स्कूल में सुविधाएं स्कूल के अंदर किताबें, सब हैं कि नहीं? बहुत एक मात्रा में हैं।

उसकी तुलना में शिक्षा की स्थिति पीछे है। अब सरकार ये कोशिश करने के बाद भी, धन-खर्चों के बाद भी, मकान बनाने के बाद भी, टीचर रखने के बाद भी, समाज का अगर सहयोग मिलेगा तो शिक्षा शत-प्रतिशत होते से नहीं देर लगेगी। यही infrastructure, इतने ही टीचर शत-प्रतिशत तरफ जा सकते हैं।

समाज की भागीदारी के बिना ये संभव नहीं है।

सरकार सोचे कि हम इमारतें बना देंगे, टीचरों को तनख्वाह दे देंगे तो काम हो जाएगा। हमें संतोष होगा, हां पहले इतना था इतना कर दिया। लेकिन जन-भागीदारी होगी, एक-एक अब स्कूल में बच्चा भर्ती होता है फिर आना बंद कर देता है। अब मां-बाप भी उसको पूछते नहीं हैं।

ये toilet का भी वैसा ही मामला है जी। अब इसलिए स्वच्छता एक जिम्मेवारी के रूप में, एक दायित्व के रूप में, जितना हम एक वातावरण बनाएंगे तो हर किसी को लगेगा हां भाई जरा 50 बार सोचो।

मोदी को गाली देने के लिए हजार विषय हैं अब। आपको हर दिन में कुछ न कुछ देता हूँ, आप उसका उपयोग करो यार। लेकिन समाज में जो बदलाव लाने की आवश्यकता है, उसको ऐसे हम मजाकिया विषय या राजनीति के कटघरे में खड़ा न करें। एक सामूहिक दायित्व की ओर हम चलें, आप देखें बदलाव दिखेगा।

मैं जब से प्रधानमंत्री बना हूँ बहुत सारे लोग मुझे मिलते हैं। राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता मिलते हैं, जो retired अफसर हैं वो मिलते हैं, कुछ समाज जीवन में काम करने वाले भी मिलते हैं। और बहुत विवेक और नम्रता से मिलते हैं, बहुत प्यार से मिलते हैं। और चलते-चलते फिर एक बायोडाटा मुझे पकड़ा देते हैं और धीरे से कहते हैं कि मेरे लिए कोई सेवा है तो बताना। बस मैं हाजिर हूँ आप जो भी कहेंगे।

इतना प्यार से बोलते हैं जी, तो मैं धीरे से कहता हूँ, ऐसा करिएगा स्वच्छता के लिए कुछ समय दीजिए ना; वो दोबारा नहीं आते हैं।

Salient Points of PM Modi's speech at foundation stone laying ceremony of Bridge between Okha and Bet Dwarka on 07 Oct, 2017



☞ Today I am seeing a very different mood here in Dwarka. There is tremendous enthusiasm here. What we are working towards is not merely a bridge to reach Bet Dwarka, it connects us to our history and culture.

☞ I still recall how tough it was for people of Bet Dwarka. Lack of infrastructure meant transportation was tough, people faced difficulties if an emergency came up. We wanted to change this with a push on infrastructure

☞ Development of the tourism sector cannot be in isolation. If we want to draw more tourists to Gir, we should also inspire the tourist to visit other parts like Dwarka

☞ Building of infrastructure should enhance economic activities and add to the atmosphere of development

☞ When Madhavsinh Solanki ji was CM, I recall front page advertisements for the CM coming to Jamnagar to inaugurate a water tank. This is how narrow their conception of development was. We have come a long way since then & are looking at more all round & extensive progress

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Jamnagar to inaugurate a water tank. This is how narrow their conception of development was. We have come a long way since then & are looking at more all round & extensive progress

☞ Government of India is taking steps towards the empowerment of fishermen. We do not want our fishermen to live in poverty, we want to create more opportunities for them

☞ Kandla Port is seeing unprecedented growth. This is because we devoted resources to improve the port. New lease of life was added to Alang, steps were taken for the welfare of the labourers working there. These are steps we are taking towards development

☞ Marine policing is a sector we are looking at very closely. We are modernising marine security apparatus. An institute for this will be set up in this Devbhoomi of Dwarka. It will draw people and experts from all over India

☞ Diwali has come early for our citizens due to the decisions taken in the GST Council. We had said we will study all aspects relating to GST for 3 months, including the shortcomings. And thus, the decisions were taken with consensus at the GST council

☞ When there is trust in a government and when policies are made with best intentions, it is natural for people to support us for the best interests of the nation

☞ The common citizen of India wants the fruits of development to reach him or her. Nobody wants their children to live in poverty. We want to help our people fulfil that dream and want to fight poverty

☞ The world's attention is being drawn to India. People are coming to invest here. All this will bring opportunities for the people of India. I see Gujarat contributing actively to the development of India & congratulate the Gujarat Government

Salient Points of PM Modi's speech at the birth centenary celebrations of Nanaji Deshmukh at IARI on 11 Oct, 2017

आज लोकनायक जयप्रकाश जी की जन्म जयंती का अवसर है और आज ही के दिन लोकनायक जयप्रकाश केनिकटस्थ साथी श्रीमान नानाजी देशमुख की जन्म जयंती शताब्दी का भी अवसर है।

इन दोनों महापुरुषों ने अपने जीवनकाल में एक ऐसे संकल्प का परिचय कराया और जिस संकल्प के लिए उन्होंने स्वयं को झोंक दिया और सिद्धि प्राप्त करने तक वे जीवन का पल-पल मातृभूमि के लिए देशवासियों के कल्याण के लिए अपने संकल्प को साकार करने के लिए वे जीवन भर जुटे रहे।

नाना जी देशमुख, देश उनको ज्यादा जानता नहीं था। देश के लिए उन्होंने अपना जीवन दे दिया था, लेकिन जब जयप्रकाश जी भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ जंग लड़ रहे थे, आपातकाल के पूर्व फिर एक बार जयप्रकाश जी देश में पनप रहे भ्रष्टाचार, उच्च पदों पर पले-बढ़े भ्रष्टाचार उसके खिलाफ दुखी हो करके विद्यार्थी आंदोलन के साथ जुड़ गए थे।

गुजरात के नौजवान आंदोलन से प्रेरणा ले करके जयप्रकाश जी एक बार फिर मैदान में आ गए और जयप्रकाश जी के आने के बाद दिल्ली की सलतनत में खलबली मच गई।

आज मुझे खुशी है कि नानाजी के जन्मशती के अवसर पर भारत सरकार इन महापुरुषों के सपनों के आधार पर और महात्मा गांधी ने जो रास्ता दिखाया उस रास्ते पर ग्रामीण विकास की दिशा में हम कैसे आगे बढ़ें हमारे गांव आत्मनिर्भर कैसे बने, हमारे गांव गरीबी से मुक्त कैसे बने, हमारे गांव बीमारी से मुक्त कैसे बने, हमारे गांव जिसमें आज भी जातिवाद का जहर गांव को बिखेर देता है, गांव के सपनों को चूर-चूर कर देता है, उस जातिवादी भावनाओं से ऊपर उठ करके गांव एक समृद्ध गांव बने, सबको जोड़ने वाला गांव बने और सब मिल करके गांव के कल्याण के लिए संकल्प करे।

उस प्रकार के गांव के विकास को जन भागीदारी से आगे बढ़ाने की दिशा में भारत सरकार अनेक कदम उठा रही है।

आज मुझे यहां पर देश के ग्रामीण जीवन के लिए सोचने वाले, ग्रामीण जीवन के लिए योगदान देने वाले, ग्रामीण अर्थकारण का, ग्रामीण कृषि जीवन का ऐसे भिन्न-भिन्न विषयों पर जिनकी महारथ है, ऐसे देश के तीन सौ से ज्यादा लोग कल पूरा दिन बैठे, अलग-अलग गुटों में बैठे, आधुनिक संदर्भ में गांव का विकास कैसे हो, उसका विचार-विमर्श किया और पूरा दिनभर इन अनुभवी लोगों ने जो मंथन किया है।

अगर इंटरनेट... आज कभी-कभी गांव में टीचर रहने को तैयार नहीं, डॉक्टर रात में चला जाना चाहता है, लेकिन जो सुविधाएं शहर में है, वैसे अगर हम सुविधाएं... अगर नल से पानी आता है, optical fibre network है, इंटरनेट से जुड़ा हुआ है, चौबीसों घंटे बिजली है,



चूल्हा जलाने के लिए गैस उपलब्ध है।

नानाजी और जयप्रकाश जी लोगों ने जिन विचारों को ले करके जिया था इन्हीं आदर्श धारा को लेते हुए हम लोगों का भी यह प्रयास है कि हम ग्रामीण जीवन में बदलाव लाने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण दिशा में आगे बढ़े।

जिन-जिन राज्यों में Good Governance हैं, सरकारी मशिनरी निर्धारित समय में टारगेटेड काम को पूरा करने की आदी हैं तो वहां पर बदलाव नजर आता है।

आज जो DISHA नाम का जो डिजिटल डैशबोर्ड आपके सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया वो एक प्रकार से Good Governance की दिशा का एक अहम कदम है। जिसके कारण सेंट्रली हर चीज को मॉनिटर किया जा सके, समय-सीमा में review किया जाए, अगर उसमें कमियां हैं तो उसको correct करने के लिए measure लिए जाए, और policy problem है तो policy correct किया जाए, अगर person problem है तो person को correct किया जाए, लेकिन DISHA इस प्रकार के डैशबोर्ड के कारण एक तो इसके मॉनीटरी की पूरी व्यवस्था हिंदुस्तान के सभी गांव के साथ जुड़ेगी।

ढाई लाख से अधिक गांव Open Defecation Free होने के लिए आगे आए। उन्होंने करके दिखाया। मैं उन गांवों को हृदय से बधाई देता हूं, उन्होंने मां-बहनों की इज्जत के लिए एक बहुत बड़ा कदम उठाया है। और मां-बहनों की इज्जत करने वाला गांव मेरे लिए पुण्य गांव होता है। मैं उसको नमन करता हूं, उन गांव वासियों को नमन करता हूं कि जिन्होंने इस महत्वपूर्ण काम को किया है।

स्वच्छता आज गांव का स्वभाव बन रहा है। गांव भी जिम्मेदारी को लेने लगा है। हमारे कई गांव आजादी के 70 साल बाद भी, 18 हजार गांव ऐसे, जो आज भी 18वीं शताब्दी में जीते हैं।

Prime Minister Modi's Myanmar Visit has Created Great Opportunities



The visit was an opportunity for the Prime Minister to get acquainted personally with the prevailing ground realities in Myanmar especially on several areas where India has strong interests. The visits to the revered Shwedagon Pagoda, to the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah Zafar and the meeting with the Indian Diaspora were the other noteworthy features.

■ P.M. Heblkar



Introduction:

The recent visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Myanmar (Sept 5-7, 2017) served to underline the strategic importance of Myanmar in India's national security calculus. It was his first bilateral visit though highest

level interactions have taken place between him and Myanmar's civilian leadership. The interaction between the powerful Myanmar military and Indian

defense establishment has proceeded apace with consensus on vital security and strategic issues. Both countries endorsed the Look East Policy (LEP) or Act East Policy (AEP) to be a vital platform for mutual engagement. The AEP has accorded equal importance to India's North East Region (NER). Both NER and Myanmar are therefore important pillars of AEP from peace, stability, progress and economic development point of view. The Joint statement issued at the conclusion of the visit underlined the state of excellent bilateral relations between India and Myanmar in all sectors.

Over view of ground realities:

The visit was an opportunity for the Prime Minister to get acquainted personally with the prevailing ground realities in Myanmar especially on several areas where India has strong interests. The visits to the revered Shwedagon Pagoda, to the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah Zafar and the meeting with the Indian Diaspora were the other noteworthy features. The briefings would, no doubt, have assisted India in setting its compass for future direction in its relations with Myanmar and the role therein for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (ASSK). There is no doubt about her contribution to multi-party democracy in Myanmar and also her central role in ending Yangon's international isolation. It is obvious she will remain a major force in the national political arena irrespective of recent developments. The military has existed and will continue to do so as arbiter of national unity and integrity and therefore exerts its influence as felt necessary. It is a critical element in Myanmar's power structure and its role must be understood in the current scheme of things.

Way forward in bilateral ties:

The Prime Ministerial visit has identified several new areas of cooperation as also measures to ensure that existing projects deliver results without loss of time. Agriculture, Health, Border development, Vocational training, capacity building, IT and Connectivity Infrastructure Projects form its backbone and represent India's "constituency" in Myanmar. Progress in other critical areas is also growing at an appreciable pace.

Out of box initiatives:

Mandalay Region must occupy a central position in India's developmental programs given its proximity to India by air and road. Senior Myanmar political leaders, including Chief Ministers from Bago, Sagaing and Karen regions respectively are looking at major investments for development projects for their respective areas. India has the capacity today for greater participation in these regions. An Out of the Box (OTB) policy is advocated that addresses the need to make India's participation in Myanmar deeper and result-oriented as also to signal readiness to make India as one shop stop to meet their requirements. It will also contribute to building India's image and visibility in Myanmar leading to a greater traction in bilateral relations.

Some of the OTB projects are mentioned below:

1. Mandalay Special Economic Zone (MSEZ):

Agriculture is an important activity in central Myanmar and requires India's assistance for better productivity. India already has a network of institutions such as Advanced Centre for Agricultural Research and Education (ACARE) to facilitate access to technology to improve agriculture sector of Myanmar. India must develop a program to not only enhance agricultural production of Myanmar but can also think of a framework to purchase on buy back scheme.

The advantages are mentioned below:

- The agriculture produce/food grains can be sold to states in the NER. Cambodia and Laos could also benefit.
- This will earn precious foreign exchange for Myanmar and make it a leading importer of food grains.
- This will lead to improvement in transportation and logistics arrangements between India-Myanmar.
- Border states such as Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and even Assam can significantly reduce dependence on meeting their requirements from Punjab, Haryana.

- India can invest in supply of agricultural machinery at subsidized rates to farmers, encourage large food grain production through mechanization, supply of seeds, fertilizers and other forms of assistance

- Will have a direct bearing on insurgency situation on both sides of the India-Myanmar international border

- Will create capacity building and employment.

- India is already assisting Myanmar in this direction and therefore needs to network the existing facilities to maximum advantage

- SMSE (manufacturing) industries in Information Technology or Industrial Training Institutes

- Agricultural machinery and spare parts for Tractors and automotive parts

- Fertilizers and related packaging and storage facilities

- Manufacture of White House-hold goods

- Garment Manufacturing and exports

India may also envisage the following projects for the MSEZ with participation of local entrepreneurs:

- Food Processing – Small and medium production units in Mandalay, Bago, Yangon and Karen states/regions. Both Fruit and Vegetable. For export to markets in India, ASEAN, BIMSTEC and other markets.

- (Food Processing – in fishery products. This can be done in Sittwe SEZ)

- Low Cost Housing Products/Items

- Solar Energy Production and Rural Electrification Projects and

- Manufacture of Pharmaceutical products.

Enhancement of people to people contact:

The need for enhancement of people to people contact must capture attention of the policy planners. The first and the foremost on this front is to establish a joint parliamentary friendship group between the two countries. Its advantages are many.

Indian Legislative bodies could also consider linkages with Myanmar counterparts so as to broaden the contacts between them. India's outreach through this will enable it, at many levels, to create opportunities for development of people-to-people relations leading to collaborations in fields of mutual interest. The need for creating a platform for the 27 Hon'ble Members of Parliament from the northeast region to participate in the Look East Policy or Act East Policy is important.

The Prime Minister's announcement of a new visa-free regime to facilitate visitors to the northeast region is an important aspect to connect India and its neighbors. Connectivity must be given top priority with a clear mandate to Air India towards creating more routes to get people on both sides to travel to Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Gujarat, Mandalay and Yangon for tourism purposes. Air India can certainly add to India's image and visibility by this method. Nothing less than top quality is expected from the national flag carrier. Air India must offer its services to Myanmar airlines for training of cabin crew and ground handling services. The Tourism ministry needs to be more visible in pursuing specific projects in consultation with relevant counterparts. More sporting exchanges must be offered.

A large number of Myanmar nationals of Indian origin have been successful entrepreneurs in construction business. A case exists for getting them to visit India as a destination for their raw materials and also for joint ventures.

The joint statement issued at the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit is a play book full of opportunities. The government must encourage more private sector participation in developmental projects and in this direction support them actively even aggressively by creating opportunities and projects. Time is opportune for India to play an important role in Myanmar; Prime Minister Modi has created opportunities that have to be followed up with alacrity. This is the time.

(PM Heblkar is Managing Trustee of Institute of Contemporary Studies Bangalore and former Special Secretary, Government of India.)

Narendra Modi's Leadership, Abolition of Triple Talaq, Liberation of Muslim Women: a reflection

We, the Muslim women of India, were eagerly looking forward to at least an observation from the Congress scion, Rahul Gandhi! More so, because exactly 32 years ago, his father, the late Rajiv Gandhi, had insistently pushed the most regressive ordinance, thereby successfully setting back the clock in the Indian Muslim women's journey towards modernity and secularism.



■ Dr. Tanvir Nasreen



I am writing this piece from Kyrgyzstan, a predominantly Muslim country, now evolved into a republic in Central Asia. I am here to attend a conference on 'Islam in Modern Secular State'. Questions came pouring in as soon as I finished my presentation on the contemporary South Asian discourses on politics and Islam.

Why did I face these questions? Why are Indian Muslim women in the centre of discussion? Was it

only because I mentioned these in my presentation?

Certainly not. There has been considerable worldwide media coverage on triple talaq and its ban by the Supreme Court of India. But the manner in which the matter was reported in the Western Press and presented to Western audiences is considerably different from the reality.

Unfortunately, there has not been a single measure of reform for Indian Muslim women during the last seventy years, when the self-proclaimed 'progressive' and 'secular' governments were in power. Thankfully, for all of us, the ten crore Muslim women in India, a first initiative at reform finally did happen



when a so called 'Hindu nationalist party' is in power at Delhi! And what could be more unfortunate than the principal opposition party, Congress, and its de facto supremo, Rahul Gandhi, not uttering a single word on this historic verdict!

We, the Muslim women of India, were eagerly looking forward to at least an observation from the Congress scion, Rahul Gandhi! More so, because exactly 32 years ago, his father, the late Rajiv Gandhi, had insistently pushed the most regressive ordinance, thereby successfully setting back the clock in the Indian Muslim women's journey towards modernity and secularism. I am referring to the Shah Bano case and its consequences, when, Rajiv Gandhi and his government, in spite of the majority in Parliament, passed the ordinance on the maintenance of Muslim women after divorce. The historic judgment of the Supreme Court

was rolled back by this Ordinance in 1987.

For the last 32 years, Muslim women have fought the toughest battles for their equal rights inside the courtroom, and out of it. The orthodox patriarchal adversaries were not easy to fight against. History needs to record that when Prime minister Narendra Modi repeatedly raised his voice supporting the rights of Muslim women as guaranteed by the Constitution, Rahul Gandhi, and even his mother, maintained a majestic silence on the issue. Surprisingly, two of his most trusted and senior lieutenants, two leading legal luminaries, Kapil Sibal and Salman Khurshid – like Mir Jafar and Jagat Seth – joined hands with the All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB) to completely betray the cause of Muslim women.

The AIMPLB, an NGO, claiming to be the sole mouthpiece for Muslims in India, is an

orthodox patriarchal organisation that has systematically opposed any attempts at reform in the Muslim society during the last forty years.

Kapil Sibal, the maverick former UPA Minister for Human Resource Development and Telecommunications, denied all allegations against patriarchy and defended triple talaq in his own typical way. Triple talaq was a fourteen hundred year old custom, and therefore, deserved to be legitimately continued, Sibal blatantly argued. Sibal thought it was neither regressive, nor denied the Muslim women's right to equality. It only reminded me how he had claimed that there was no revenue loss in the telecom auction even after the revelation of the CAG in this regard. After all the spirited arguments of his erudite and eloquent senior colleagues, what could Rahul Gandhi say in favour of the Supreme Court judgment, or for the ten crore Muslim women in India?

As I was explaining to my friends from Europe, the total number of Muslim women in India is more than the population of many European countries, and is, indeed, a numerical figure to reckon with. Perhaps PM Narendra Modi could comprehend the significance of this number and also that any agenda of inclusive development would be impossible to achieve with this section of the population being left behind.

Muslim women were being deprived of their Human Rights

(Art16; 1) and their Constitutional Rights in the name of Minority Rights and protection of Personal Law. Ironically, this Constitution of India, had been presented in the Parliament by the great grandfather of Rahul Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Constitution has a clear indication that the spirit of the Preamble shall prevail in case two or more articles of the Constitution are found to be in contradiction.

Like his father, Rahul Gandhi too, missed a great chance to gauge the aspirations and ambitions of Indian Muslim women. It is extremely unfortunate that he too continued to engage with the patriarchal forces, keeping an eye on what is commonly known as the 'Muslim vote bank'. The Muslim vote bank, like the community itself, is not homogeneous.

The concern of Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, for the suffering Muslim women in India, reminds me of the example of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln, too, had taken up a difficult struggle with the agricultural South to liberate the United States from the institution of slavery.

Just as Lincoln tried to ensure Justice and Equal Rights for every citizen of the United States, the Indian Prime Minister pushed the agenda of equal rights for Muslim women. If the comparison appears to be too far-fetched to some, it has been during his tenure that Muslim women received two landmark judgments. Firstly, the doors of Dargah-e-Haji Ali were opened for women (considered to be too inauspicious to enter the shrine until then) by a landmark judgment of the Mumbai High Court in 2016. This was followed by the triple talaq verdict this year. Although the judiciary functions independently in India, we have to remember that the Central Government led by the Prime minister did submit separate affidavit in support of the cause in both cases. This support definitely strengthened the struggle of Muslim women against injustice and discrimination.

What other qualifications of progressivism and liberalism would a so-called 'Hindu nationalist Party' and its Prime minister require to establish his or his party's credential as the next

generation organization? The government stood strong in its support for Muslim women in their fight for equality of status and of opportunity, as guaranteed in the Indian Constitution. I reminded the American scholars that it was the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, which assumed a role of progressive and liberal leadership in the US during the 1860s. The Democrats had been essentially conservative during the Civil War. This brings us to the entire discourse of subjectivity regarding progressivism and liberalism. These cannot be monopolized by a particular group nor by a certain political party; time and space have an enormous impact on these ideologies. Political circumstances and the course of historical realities shape the sensibilities of people.

History has already recorded the respective roles of the BJP and the Congress in this momentous struggle of Muslim women. We are eagerly looking forward to the legislations.

(The author is Professor, Department of History and Professor-in-Charge of the Department of Women's Studies at the University of Burdwan, West Bengal, India, where she is teaching for the last two decades. She has done her PhD on the identity of Muslim women from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She led the movement for the ban of triple talaq and has been crusading for the equal rights of Muslim women. She is a regular columnist in several Bangla newspapers and appears regularly on television as a commentator on contemporary issues)



Integral Humanism and Labour



■ Karan Javaji



May 1st is celebrated around the world as International Worker's Day. This May Day saw numerous riots and protests around the world. It presents us with an opportunity to reflect on labour from a Bharatiya perspective.

The history of May Day can be traced back to 4th May 1886. Workers gathered in Haymarket Square, Chicago for a peaceful protest in support of the 8-hour workday. But the protest took a violent turn, when few anarchists in the crowd used this as an opportunity to create chaos. Bombing and ensuing gunfire led to several deaths of policemen and civilians.

May Day, up until this point was an ancient European Spring Festival marked by harvest

celebrations. Somehow, the International Socialist Conference in 1889 saw it fit to commemorate the Haymarket riots by declaring the traditional celebratory May Day as International Worker's Day.

The contradictory nature of celebrating the tragic history of May Day, seems to have been lost on people's minds because of the genuine lack of awareness about its history. Few Americans themselves are aware of the history of May Day despite its origins in the US. In fact, the US celebrates its own National Labor Day in September.

In India, it provides an illustration of how the Western-centric view of labour and the labour movement has come to dominate our mainstream thinking even without us realizing the stark irrelevance of it to the Indian context and more recently, to the broader global context as well.

Historical Context of Labour

To labour simply means to work and to work is to put in effort to achieve something. Humans have

always been engaged in work, right from the times of early hunter-gatherers. Indeed it may be said that work is an integral part of human life. But the idea of labour has changed with time and across cultures.

India has had a strong entrepreneurial tradition where the idea of 'work' was historically associated with self-employment or working within a family enterprise. In agriculture, the family itself laboured on the farm generally on a subsistence basis. Even where there was employment of labour, the condition of labour was generally quite good. This was due to a couple of factors. In the rural agrarian sector, there was a strong sense of community and caring for one another rather than simply an employee-employer relationship. Labour was hired as "helping hands"—the employer and his family would themselves also work along with those who may be hired. Hence, there was little chance that there could be harsh working conditions, since the employer would also have been subjected to these. Payment often took the form of a share in the crop, which made labour feel like they had a stake in the success of the crop.

In the manufacturing sphere, India was a leader due to its prowess in artisanal production. The artisan was both the entrepreneur as well as the worker. He invested his own capital, procured his own raw materials, spilled his own sweat, creating marvelous products with his bare hands, took these to the market and sold them himself. There was no strict distinction between labour and capital.

But this harmonious balance was disrupted with the Industrial Revolution. Driven by the greed of surplus production, factory-based urban-centric mass manufacturing became the norm. Whereas earlier the artisan was both the labourer and capitalist, now a strict dichotomy appeared between labour and capital. In the new capitalistic society, workers became an emotionally disconnected means to an end—with profit motive trumping everything else. The workers were exploited and their condition increasingly worsened. Production, which once involved the creativity, skill, passion, uniqueness and human connection that comes with artisanal creation, now became a mundane, monotonous, repetitive, stressful affair that stripped away the "human" quality of work that had existed thus far.

The wide reach of the industrial revolution across sectors and regions, meant the simultaneous rise of workers as a distinct class and the collapse of artisanal manufacturing. It was based on this unique situational evidence that Marx predicted the fall of capitalism and the rise of communism. Communist ideology was right insofar as recognizing the flaws of the materialism inherent in capitalism. But that's as far as Marx got it right. The World witnessed the failure of communism over the past 80 years and most people are certain today that Marx's predictions were deeply flawed. So if both capitalism and communism are flawed, what is the alternative lens through which we can understand labour?

Bharatiya View

Great thinkers like Dattopant Thengadi and Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya have articulated the Bharatiya view of labour.

Unlike capitalism and communism with brief histories of about 200 years and 80 years respectively, our Bharatiya school of thought is an ancient one yet can be adapted to provide a fresh framework to understand labour issues.

In the Bharatiya tradition, the basis for human life rests on the four pillars of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. Whereas, capitalism and communism are only concerned with Artha and Kama, in the Bharatiya philosophy, even while recognizing the materialistic role of Artha and Kama to labour welfare, we give prime importance to the spiritual aspects of Dharma and Moksha to elevate welfare to true empowerment.

Humanistic Labor

Adam Smith, the father of capitalism, thought labour and materialism were inseparable. Labour is the basis for ownership of private property. He who puts in effort to pluck the apple, owns the apple by virtue of having laboured for it. Smith's Labor Theory of Value argued that the price of a commodity is based not on its usefulness but rather how much labour has been put into it. Marx used this very same theory to argue that labour is exploited when capitalists produce surplus value.

Such a narrow interpretation of labour fails in recognizing that workers are human beings. They

cannot be reduced to a mere transactional exchange of wages for work. Materialist aspirations may only soothe the body. But the mind and soul need to be cultivated and nurtured as well. It is precisely the failure of this that has led to the persistently depraved condition of workers across the world.

Unfortunately, workers have been political pawns used by various stakeholders for their respective benefits. It is a shame that even today, workers are protesting for basic conditions such as minimum wage. Going back to May Day, it is pitiful to think that protests were required to demand for an 8-hour work day. Humans require far more than material basics such as wages to thrive and lead a fulfilling life.

Humanistic Needs of Labour

At the core, workers need a sense of purpose. This may be an innate purpose such as a feeling like one is doing what one's life is meant for. Such passion will not only lead to higher productivity and output, but also work will not be perceived as a burden. Such a sense of purpose is especially magnified when it is a Dharmic calling; a duty that we have not only for ourselves but also for society, because it is a realization that we are all connected and our actions affect those around us. We see our work in the broader context of societal impact. This becomes a form of meditation—Karma Yoga. This state of mind will help us work through stressful situations in a balanced manner and come out victorious. All these components lead to a transformation from work to 'Seva' (service) without any expectations. In the Mahabharata, it says:

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्तेमाफलेषु कदाचन ।

माकर्मफलहेतुर्भूमतिसङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

(You have a right to perform your prescribed duties, but you are not entitled to the fruits of your actions. Never consider yourself to be the cause of the results of your activities, nor be attached to inaction.)

When these components are in place, then no longer does one seek an 8-hour workday. Our Prime Minister works not for 8 hours but 18 hours a day. In our culture (and some other cultures like the Japanese), hard work ('Shrama') is held in high esteem for its own sake. The Western concept of "work-life balance" makes it seem like work and life

are two separate things. Work is a part of life.

Growth is another vital need for humans. Workers need to be provided opportunities for growth. Growth may take the form of promotions and training. But equally growth must be in the form of personal growth. Work must carve us out as the best version of ourselves—man-making. For this, nature of work must not be routine. It must be diverse and provide a wide range of exposure. This goes against the Western dictum of division of labour and specialization.

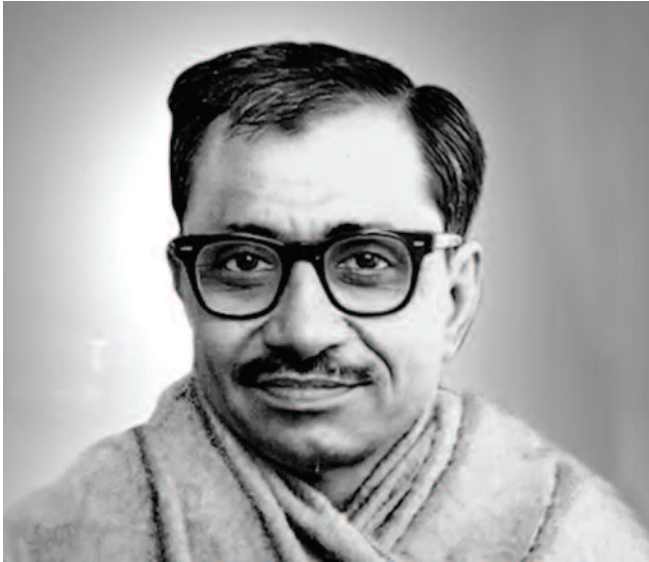
Dignity is also important from a humanistic lens. Dignity does not mean merely the absence of disrespect and exploitation. In its true sense, dignity must mean true empowerment of workers to elevate workers above the mere material conditions they are currently subjected to. In this regard, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, has given a call to celebrate September 17th, Vishwakarma Jayanti as National Labour Day. Vishwakarma was the first artisan, craftsman, engineer, architect and creator. This elevates labour to the status of creators and doers who are making things happen.

Finally, another vital component that we can borrow from our philosophy is the importance of community. Humans work best in a group. Trust and loyalty evoke powerful emotions. Unlike the individualistic nature of Western society, ours is a community-based one.

'Integral'ism

So far we have discussed labour from a humanistic lens. But, labour does not exist in vacuum. Labour exists in the context of society, and in our philosophy, society is a living breathing being where each individual has a vital role in making society thrive. Both labour and capital are equally important and only a harmonious relationship between the two can lead to balanced blossoming of society.

In economics, unlike partial equilibrium analysis, that only looks at one particular aspect of the economy, general equilibrium analysis recognizes that all components of the economy are interrelated and have an effect on each other. Similarly, an integral view holds that all stakeholders—labour, employers, entrepreneurs, government and citizens—have a role



to play. It is for this reason that the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, has its slogan--‘Workers Unite the World’ instead of the more familiar Communist call for ‘Workers of the World Unite’.

Relevance to Present Day

The global economy is experiencing a slow down with rising unemployment. There is also an anti-globalization wave. The world is looking to India to emerge as the torch-bearer.

When most nations are facing a demographic crises, India is about to reap its demographic dividend with a large young population. But for the past decade, we have experienced ‘jobless growth’. Even where jobs were created, it was in the informal and unorganized sector with low productivity.

At the same time, the World is set to embark on the Fourth Industrial Revolution, where Artificial Intelligence and related technologies might threaten to replace much of today’s labour.

In this context, the above discussion of Integral Humanism offers some lessons:

1. Due to complex labour laws that inherently pitch workers against employers, it has led to rigidities in the labour market. Employers consequently prefer to hire labour informally on contractual basis to avoid regulation. The government has rightly focused on reforming labour laws. Progressive reform should go beyond materialistic benefits and truly help empower labour in the long

run. The recent Maternity Benefit amendment that provided for increased maternity leave to 26 weeks (one of the highest in the world) is one such progressive reforms that recognizes the “human” nature of work and prioritizes the institution of family. Employers must actively be involved as stakeholders so that they understand that such reforms are in their best long term interest.

2. With the transformation to a knowledge economy and the arrival of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the focus should be on high skill creation. Government’s Skill India Mission is a right step in this regard. Where China grew from unskilled labour and industrialization, India’s growth strategy must be based on a high skill knowledge-based economy. It is only such high skill jobs that allow labour to grow on a sustainable path without fear of being replaced by Artificial Intelligence.

3. We must take inspiration from our entrepreneurial tradition and encourage entrepreneurship. Startup India/Standup India, NitiAyog’s Startup Venture Fund, Mudra scheme are all great steps. But there also needs to be a stronger push for incubation platforms for collaboration between youth.

4. Creation of a talent identification and mentoring network infrastructure that can successfully create domain leaders instead of only average workers. In this regard it is important to recognize that talent may be in unique and diverse fields.

Conclusion

The world is looking for an alternative way to understand labour relations. Bharatiya philosophy offers such an alternative. Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya’s Integral Humanism is applied here to understand the “human” needs of labour beyond mere materialistic necessities.

The discussion above is a snapshot of the wide range of analyses and conclusions that can help India lead the World on a path of harmonious economic growth.

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विमुद्रीकरण और जीएसटी से अर्थव्यवस्था को फायदे

विश्व बैंक का कहना है कि भारत की आर्थिक वृद्धि में हाल में आई गिरावट अस्थायी है। विश्व बैंक को भरोसा है कि आने वाले दिनों में विकास दर में आई गिरावट सुधर जायेगी। विश्व बैंक यह भी दावा कर रहा है कि जीएसटी के कारण जल्द ही भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था में गुलाबीपन आ जायेगा।

■ सतीश सिंह



वस्तु एवं सेवा कर (जीएसटी) के क्रियान्वयन से पैदा हुई समस्याओं को लेकर कुछ लोग देश भर में हो-हल्ला मचा रहे हैं, लेकिन इसे अतार्किक ही माना जाना चाहिये। किसी भी नये कानून, नियमावली या व्यवस्था में हमेशा संशोधन की गुंजाइश होती है। अगर ऐसे कानून या व्यवस्था में सुधार नहीं किया जाता है तो जरूर उसे गलत कहा जाना चाहिए, लेकिन

सरकार यदि नई व्यवस्था में मौजूद कमियों को दूर करने का प्रयास कर रही है तो उसे लेकर वितंडा खड़ा नहीं किया जाना चाहिये।

विश्व बैंक ने भी जीएसटी का समर्थन किया है। विश्व बैंक का कहना है कि भारत की आर्थिक वृद्धि में हाल में आई गिरावट अस्थायी है। विश्व बैंक को भरोसा है कि आने वाले दिनों में विकास दर में आई गिरावट सुधर जायेगी। विश्व बैंक यह भी दावा कर रहा है कि जीएसटी के कारण जल्द ही भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था में गुलाबीपन आ जायेगा। विश्व बैंक के अध्यक्ष जिम योंग किम ने यह भी कहा कि आने वाले दिनों में जीएसटी का सकारात्मक प्रभाव अर्थव्यवस्था पर पड़ेगा। किम ने प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी की तारीफ करते हुए कहा कि उनके प्रयासों से भारत के कारोबारी माहौल में सकारात्मक सुधार हुआ है।

इधर, 6 अक्टूबर को जीएसटी परिषद की बैठक में 27 वस्तुओं पर जीएसटी की दरों में कटौती की गई है। सरकार ने यह भी स्वीकार किया कि जीएसटी के अनुपालन संबंधी नियमों एवं शर्तों में राहत दिये जाने की जरूरत है, ताकि छोटे, मझौले एवं निर्यात करने वाले कारोबारियों को होने वाली परेशानियों में कुछ कमी आ सके। जीएसटी परिषद ने 1.5 करोड़ रुपये तक के कारोबार वाली इकाइयों को प्रत्येक महीने की जगह तीन महीने में एक बार रिटर्न जमा करने की छूट दी है।

छोटे कारोबारियों के लिए कंपोजिशन योजना की सीमा भी 75 लाख रुपये से बढ़ाकर 1 करोड़ रुपये की गई है। केंद्रीय वित्त मंत्री अरुण जेटली के मुताबिक छोटे एवं मझौले कारोबारियों को राहत देना जरूरी था, क्योंकि इससे उन्हें नुकसान हो रहा था। अब तक जीएसटी के तहत पंजीकृत हर एक कारोबारी को मासिक आधार पर अपना रिटर्न जमा करना होता था, लेकिन ऑनलाइन रिटर्न जमा करने के लिए बनाई गई व्यवस्था की वजह से छोटे एवं मझौले कारोबारी हर महीने रिटर्न जमा नहीं कर पा रहे थे, जिसका एक बड़ा कारण ऐसे कारोबारियों का कम पढ़ा-लिखा होना या नये तकनीकों या कंप्यूटर से परिचित नहीं होना था। देखा जाये तो इसी वजह से जुलाई, अगस्त और सितंबर के महीनों में जीएसटी रिटर्न कम जमा हुए और जुलाई महीने में सरकार का कुल जीएसटी संग्रह करीब 95,000 करोड़ रुपये और अगस्त में 90,669 करोड़ रुपये रहा, जो पूर्व के कर संग्रह से कम है।

जीएसटी के कारण कार्यशील पूँजी फँस जाने से निर्यातकों को अनेक परेशानियों का सामना करना पड़ रहा था। निर्यात करने वाले कारोबारियों का कहना है कि 60,000 करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा की उनकी पूँजी अभी भी फंसी हुई है, जिसे उन्होंने एकीकृत जीएसटी के रूप में पहले जमा कर दिया था। उन्हें उन सामान पर कर के भुगतान की वापसी लेनी है, जिनका निर्यात किया जाना शेष है, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हो पा रहा है।

निर्यातकों को फंसी राशि की वापसी में आ रही समस्या से राहत मिल सके, इसके लिये सरकार जल्द ही इलेक्ट्रॉनिक रिफंड व्यवस्था को लागू

करने जा रही है। इसके लिये ई-वॉलेट व्यवस्था को भी जल्द लागू किया जायेगा, ताकि कारोबारियों को रिफंड ई-वॉलेट के जरिये देना सुनिश्चित किया जा सके। निर्यातकों को जुलाई-अगस्त के लिए रिफंड प्रक्रिया 10 अक्टूबर से शुरू हो जायेगी।

कहा जा सकता है कि सरकार कारोबारियों की समस्याओं से अच्छी तरह से वाकिफ है। जीएसटी से होने वाली परेशानियों को दूर करने के लिये ही सरकार ने जीएसटी के प्रावधानों में राहत दी है। भविष्य में जीएसटी के संदर्भ में आने वाली समस्याओं को दूर करने के लिये भी सरकार कटिबद्ध है। किसी भी नई व्यवस्था में विसंगतियों के होने से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है, लेकिन उसे दूर किया जाना चाहिये। मोदी सरकार भी यही काम कर रही है। इसलिए इसे मुद्रा बनाने के किसी भी कुतर्क को सही नहीं ठहराया जा सकता है।

नोटबंदी से भी हुआ फायदा

आठ सितम्बर 2017 को नोटबंदी के 10 महीने हो गये। आज बड़े मूल्य वर्ग के चलन से बाहर की गई मुद्राओं के बदले छापी गई नई मुद्रायें 84% चलन में हैं, जबकि नोटबंदी के पहले बड़े मूल्यवर्ग यथा 1000 और 500 की मुद्रायें 86% चलन में थीं। फिलवक्त, चलन में मुद्राओं का केवल 5.4% ही बैंकों के पास उपलब्ध है, जबकि नवंबर, 2016 में बैंकों के

पास 23.2% मुद्रायें उपलब्ध थीं। नोटबंदी के तुरंत बाद बैंकों में नकदी की उपलब्धता उसकी निकासी पर बंदिश होने के कारण अधिक थी, लेकिन धीरे-धीरे इसके स्तर में कमी आई। 25 नवंबर, 2016 को बैंकों के पास नकदी की उपलब्धता 23.19% थी, जो 23 जून, 2017 को घटकर 5.4% रह गई, जो यह बताता है कि आम आदमी तक छोटे मूल्यवर्ग की नकदी पहुँच रही है। मार्च, 2016 में प्रकाशित रिजर्व बैंक की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार 500 मूल्यवर्ग के मुद्राओं की संख्या 16 अरब थी और 1000 मूल्यवर्ग के मुद्राओं की संख्या 6 अरब। यह कुल मुद्राओं की संख्या का क्रमशः 48% और 38% था, जबकि 100 मूल्यवर्ग के मुद्राओं की संख्या 16 अरब थी, जो कुल मुद्राओं के मूल्य का 10% था। बचा हुआ 4%, 50 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं का था, जिनकी संख्या 53 अरब थी। रिजर्व बैंक के वार्षिक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार रिजर्व बैंक ने वित्त वर्ष 2017 के लिये 24.55 अरब विविध मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की छपाई हेतु माँग पत्र जारी किया था, जिसमें 1000 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 2.2 अरब, 500 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 5.175 अरब, 100 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 5.5 अरब, 50 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 2.125 अरब, 20 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 6 अरब और 10 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की संख्या 3 अरब थी।

ऐसा लगता है कि नोट प्रिंटिंग प्रेस ने इस माँग की आपूर्ति कर दी थी। साथ ही छोटे मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं के बढ़े हुए माँग की भी आपूर्ति कर दी थी। इसलिये, मौजूदा समय में वृद्धिशील 37 अरब छोटे मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्रा जो कुल मुद्रा का 28% है चलन में है, जोकि पूर्व में 14% था। बची हुई मुद्राओं को 500 और 2000 के मूल्यवर्ग में बाँटा जा सकता है जो 72% है। देखा जाये तो नोटबंदी के बाद छोटे मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की मदद से आमजन की जरूरतों को पूरा किया जा रहा है, जिसका सीधा फायदा नकदी विहीन लेनदेन की संकल्पना को मिल रहा है।

एक अनुमान के मुताबिक नोटबंदी के कारण बैंकिंग प्रणाली में 3 लाख करोड़ रुपये की सस्ती पूँजी पड़ी है और पॉइंट ऑफ सेल से किये जा रहे लेनदेन में 40% की बढ़ोतरी हुई है। इतना ही नहीं दूसरे डिजिटल माध्यमों के प्रयोग में भी उल्लेखनीय बढ़ोतरी हुई है। नोटबंदी के कारण जाली मुद्रा को भी रोकने में मदद मिली है। इससे नक्सलवाद और आतंकवाद आर्थिक मोर्चे पर कमजोर हुए हैं। नकदी से लेनदेन में कमी आने के कारण कालेधन एवं भ्रष्टाचार में कमी आई है। मकान व प्लैट और सोने के खरीद-फरोख्त में कालेधन के इस्तेमाल की वजह से इनकी कीमत नोटबंदी के पहले उछाल पर थी, जिसमें अब नरमी का रुख देखा जा रहा है।

नकदी के इस्तेमाल में कमी आने से विविध वस्तुओं की माँग में भी कमी आई है, जिससे महँगाई भी रिजर्व बैंक के लक्ष्य से कम है। बहरहाल, बैंकिंग प्रणाली में मौजूद सस्ती पूँजी को स्थायी माना जा सकता है, जिससे कर्ज दर में कटौती की जा सकती है। लोन के सस्ते होने से कोर्पोरेट्स कर्ज लेंगे, जिससे उद्योगिक कार्यकलापों में इजाफा, रोजगार सृजन, विविध उत्पादों की माँग में तेजी, विकास को गति मिलना आदि संभव हो सकेगा। छोटे मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्राओं की किल्लत की वजह से फिलहाल कुछ समस्याएँ हैं, लेकिन 200 मूल्यवर्ग की मुद्रा के बाजार में आने के बाद इनका भी समाधान हो जायेगा।

(लेखक भारतीय स्टेट बैंक के कॉरपोरेट केंद्र, मुंबई के आर्थिक अनुसंधान विभाग में मुख्य प्रबंधक हैं। ये उनके निजी विचार हैं।)





Jan Raksha Yatra

- an assertion against communism's politics of death

■ **Dr. Anirban Ganguly**



When India did finally send in her troops into East Pakistan to deliver the final push for the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPIM), it is said was “taken aback and stated that outside intervention in the

internal affairs of another country could only lead to negative consequences.” In short the CPIM was peddling the Pakistan line and painting India as the aggressor and imputing that our armed forces were mercenaries carrying out illegal political order.

The situation after more than four decades of that eventful episode has not altered. The only change that has taken place is that the Congress party under Rahul Gandhi finds itself, on most issues, on the same page as the communists. Both the communists and the Congress have clubbed themselves together and, in the last few years, extended their hands of support and of friendship

to an alliance of ultra leftists and extreme jihadis.

It is this alliance that is at the root of most attempts being made to create instability, to character assassinate, to carry out the agendas of fifth-columnists – to borrow a highly favourite term of the communists – in trying to destabilise India. The focal point of their attack is of course Narendra Modi and anyone who works to strengthen his vision of India. What causes worry is that two mainstream parties in India have agreed to play with fire by aligning with these forces of subterfuge and of sabotage. However, such a fire, will someday consume those who dangerously play with it.

It would be of course instructive to see the descriptions of Indian leaders that the international bosses of Indian communists have made in the past. But why reiterate this now, when decades have passed and much has already been discussed on these aspects. The answer is simple; such a discussion ought to be a continuing one. Every generation of Indians ought to be educated in the history of the perfidious politics practised by Indian communists. Not only have they heaped calumny on some of our most revered leaders

in history, they have also followed the path of Stalinism and of fascism and have practised the most violent politics wherever they have been in power. Independent India has been no exception to this rule. The states of West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala have been the worst affected by communist violence.

In Kerala now, under the present communist regime, it is communist violence laced with jhadism that is the order of the day. We shall come to that in a while, briefly mentioning here, that the ongoing Jan Rakshana Yatra in the state against the practice of communist violence has generated a massive response among people pushing the habitually blood thirsty comrades on the back foot.

But in an aside, let us see the intellectual tradition to which the Karats, the Yechuris, the Vijayans and the Brindas belong. The Soviet weekly New Times dated January 1, 1950 in an article on Jayaprakash Narayan called him “An Indian Agent” of the British Labour Party who “slavishly apes the manners and methods of his London bosses”. The same New Times in an article dated July 19, 1950 had attacked Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, “as an Indian pseudo-socialist now endeavouring to smuggle through Washington’s schemes under the flag of Socialism”, understandably the Indian communists, subsisting on international communism’s crumbs, applauded these epithets. It is this same habit that made them decades later write and sign letters appealing to the so-called high priest of capitalism, the President of the United States, to deny an audience to Narendra Modi or even better prevent him from entering his realm.

Sometime in 1955, Sita Ram Goel had written with prescience that “If we allow the CPI to exist and grow in this country, we may sign any number of Panchsilas and exchange any number of cultural missions with Moscow and Peking, our defeat and destruction is inevitable.” One can modify this statement to the present context, apply it to the remaining communists, especially to the CPIM among them which is filled with pseudo-marxists, and say that as long as communists continue to survive as a political and intellectual force in this country the threat to India’s democratic polity and to her security and sovereignty shall continue to exist. It is their depleting strength that has forced the communists today into an alignment with ultra-leftists and the extreme jihadis. Such a “tactical alignment”

gives them oxygen to try and fight for another day.

In the areas where they still retain sufficient political oxygen, communists continue to resort to violence against their political and ideological opponents. The confines of Gole Market in Delhi is used to churn out homilies on human rights and to manufacture false stories through proxy portals which function like present day communist propaganda mouthpieces – The Wire being foremost among them – while the villages, hamlets and by lanes of Kerala are used for hacking at political opponents, cutting them to pieces, burning and bludgeoning them because they have dared to believe in an opposite political philosophy and have resolved to work for it. BJP president Amit Shah rightly questioned the silence of the candle light activists who resort to selective outrage, who speak of intolerance selectively and who are criminally silent when young political and social workers are hacked to death in Kerala, often in front of their children, wives and ailing parents.

It does not matter to which social strata these workers and activists belong to, since they have opposed communist politics, they have to be liquidated. This is the philosophy and practise followed by Yechuri’s comrades with tacit support and connivance of their central leadership. Since they cannot win through a competing model of governance, since they cannot win through a better political performance, since they have no credible narrative to offer, Indian communists especially in states where they are in power resort to blood and death.

The ongoing Jan Rakshana Yatra spearheaded by the Kerala unit of the BJP is a historic response to this politics of death, it is stand against this practise of seven decades, it responds by affirming faith in the ways of democracy. It is an assertion of our right to choose our path of political expression and to work in accordance with its spirit and ideal.

Being political opportunists, communists are heaping calumny against such a democratic assertion. They are displaying their nervousness because they have no rudder of spirit and no guide of an ideal and function as mere political mercenaries.

(Director, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation)

India and South East Asia: Time to Strengthen Relations



we must recognise that world is changing, and it is changing much faster than what we realise. The trouble with any major change in world affairs is that people do not understand that such a major change is happening till it is over.

■ Shakti Sinha



When one visits the temple complexes of Bagan (Myanmar), or Angkor Wat (Cambodia), or further east at Prambanan (Indonesia), what one sees out there is the natural genius of the society that it is located in, the people who have built it. As

an Indian, I am very comfortable there, in familiar surroundings. But I also realise that each in its own way has its individual stamp and style to it. And that is the beauty of how an external impulse (from India) has been so well internalised that while retaining its core, the balance between the universality and the contextual.

What makes the Indo-South East Asian partnership even more fascinating is that the latter have retained what Indians themselves have forgotten? To give the example of Indira, whose worship has been completely given up in India, but who can forget the lovely roadside shrine of Erawan in Bangkok. Which inspires tremendous faith and devotion of all, not just of Thais or of Hindus.

My first introduction to the pervasiveness of broader Indic civilisation in all its multi-dimensionality was in national museums at Jakarta and Bangkok. Ganesha and Buddha dominate the galleries in all variety and idiom, though Siva, Vishnu, Brahma and others are present in impressive numbers. The whole atmosphere is so locally rooted and yet where an Indian would feel completely at home. That I think capture the essence of our two-way relationship. There can be no productive relationships if it is simply a one-way relationship. I remember reading an article written by an Indonesian scholar from the Gadjadara University, Yogyakarta arguing very strongly that Ganesha was Indonesian god who travelled to India. There is a belief that the first mythical king of Burma was a prince of Ayodhya. And the Thais named their capital as 'Ayutthya', and their kings took on the name 'Rama'.

In our own history, members of the Chola dynasty had gone and settled down in Cambodia. Generations

later, the Cholas themselves had problem of succession, so a prince, a Chola descendant was summoned from Cambodia and made the king. Though from Cambodia, he was seen as a legitimate claimant. These shows clearly that that people in those days did not think of Cambodia or other areas as different entities but part of a common, larger sphere, a common sphere for everybody, which we call for Swarnabhumi. One cannot say where the real, or original, Swarnabhumi is, but we know we are a part of it. The Burmese have this belief that Myanmar is Jambudwip, but for us in India, Jambudwip is the land that India is located on. The question is not who is right since it establishes that we always thought of each other as inhabiting the same 'cultural' space. It is not just from the first mythical king of Burma, who was a prince of Ayodhya.

History, as taught to us, tells us that the close India-South East Asia relationship stopped 1000 years ago when in fact this is wrong. Pilgrims, even members of the ruling classes from Burma, Thailand etc. always came to India and built temples to resemble temples and shrines in India. The kings from Burma regularly contributed for the upkeep of the temple in Bodhgaya in the 18th and 19th century. A Thai king in the 19th century almost bought the village of Bodh Gaya from the Tekari Raj when the incumbent raja was a minor and the state was being administered by a Court of Wards. It was only the vigilance exercised by staff members of the Tekari Raj, who petitioned senior officials and prevented this transaction. To put it in another way, the linkage between the people and societies continued throughout and was limited to pre- or early history.

Unfortunately, in our own reading of history, these 'facts' and 'links' do not exist. There is a complete black spot over the thousands of years. The reality is that it always been there, a very vibrant two-way relationship throughout. The Portuguese found thousands of Indians living and working in Malacca for instance in the 16th century. The relationship was strong because this relationship started initially with trade and in any sustainable relationship in trade, it can never be a one-way relationship. It then developed into a strong cultural and people-to-people relationship that did not employ

any form of political or economic dominance.

In the early part of the colonial period when the Europeans were merely traders, the relationship between India and South East Asia remained very dense and was not disrupted. However, the establishment of the Raj and its economic policies resulted in India becoming de-industrialised and so we did not produce manufactured goods for export anymore. Instead, we all become exporters of raw materials and our trade links were therefore largely but not completely disrupted. Therefore, in our minds the whole relationship with Myanmar, Thailand, Lao PDR and Cambodia and Vietnam were fairly erased from collective memory, helped by colonial education. That's the negative effect of colonial education, which we are still not ready to discard. Post-independence, we all tried to become economically strong and adopted policies according to what we thought would be most effective. Two things happened as a result of these choices. One is that that India became autarkic and we cut our self from the world. Therefore, we in India did not expand our trading relations or form regional economic groupings. Two, as a consequence, the network of our relationship far from reviving, took a downward trend. People-to-people ties in fact got disrupted.

However, we must recognise that world is changing, and it is changing much faster than what we realise. The trouble with any major change in world affairs is that people do not understand that such a major change is happening till it is over. Nobody knew when Germany started becoming such a serious challenge to United Kingdom in Europe that it would lead to a debilitating and long-drawn out war such as World War I. Similarly, nobody realised when America became stronger than the European powers put together. Today, one can say that Germany from the 1870's emerged as a very big challenge to England. In fact, by that time America was in fact the largest economy in the world; we can see it now but at that moment none realised, or understood, it. Arguably the world is undergoing a tremendous amount of change at present, possible the most transformative in human history. Our ability to use the international system would become weaker and weaker. The Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) has not happened and the WTO negotiations

are winding down with no results. The negotiations on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) are also getting delayed.

Therefore, we are being forced to reconsider this larger global picture and start looking at alternative approaches; this is the time to re-engage with each other is much more in a comprehensive manner. To give the example of Myanmar, any scholar or even bureaucrat about 70 years of age would be familiar with Rabindranath Tagore, with Calcutta University etc. But when we meet anybody about 20 years, their world revolves around the USA and the West. We must recognise that the world view of the younger generation has changed and therefore, in these circumstances, the need to re-engage across this broad swath of Asia with whom we traditionally share so much.

When the world is simultaneously becoming one village but separated by economic walls, is it not time to start seeing each other more closely, start interacting not just at the government level but also at the people-to-people level. We must make efforts to

create more opportunities at local level, university to university, think tank to think tank, industrial sector to industrial sector. In this manner, we would make our relationship so much stronger. This kind of understanding would need our school curriculum to understand our local and regional history in a manner that we appreciate each other so much better.

People to people to contacts do start with familiarity. And as we also have to look at the future we will see that we would be left standing pretty much on our own; partnership outside powers are important but ultimately they would look after their own interests, and would have limitations of capability. We must, therefore, understand that standing together with our old cultural partners, developing better understanding would be a natural development since we share common challenges. This would lead to synergy and to better outcomes in this part of the world for all stakeholders.

(The writer is a strategic thinker and presently Director, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi)



पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय: एक कुशल संगठन वाहक

कम उम्र में ही दुनिया को अलविदा कहने वाले पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने तत्कालीन कांग्रेस सरकार अर्थात पंडित नेहरु की नीतियों का न सिर्फ विरोध किया बल्कि उस विरोध के साथ-साथ वैकल्पिक वैचारिक मॉडल भी प्रस्तुत किया। उनके जीवन के अनेक पक्ष, अनेक आयाम और अनेक कार्य हैं जिनपर बहुत चर्चा नहीं हो पाई है।

■ शिवानन्द द्विवेदी



25 सितम्बर 1916 को उत्तर प्रदेश के मथुरा में जन्म लेने वाले पंडित दीन दयाल का स्पष्ट मानना था कि समाजवाद, साम्यवाद और पूँजीवाद व्यक्ति के एकांगी विकास की बात करते हैं जबकि व्यक्ति की समग्र जरूरतों का मूल्यांकन किये बिना कोई भी विचार भारत के विकास के अनुकूल नहीं होगा। पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने

भारतीयता के अनुकूल पूर्ण भारतीय चिन्तन के रूप में “एकात्म मानववाद” का दर्शन प्रस्तुत किया जो आज भारतीय जनता पार्टी की विचारधारा का आदर्श है। पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय की जीवन यात्रा के विविध आयाम हैं। कम उम्र में ही दुनिया को अलविदा कहने वाले पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने तत्कालीन कांग्रेस सरकार अर्थात पंडित नेहरु की नीतियों का न सिर्फ विरोध किया बल्कि उस विरोध के साथ-साथ वैकल्पिक वैचारिक मॉडल भी प्रस्तुत किया। उनके जीवन के अनेक पक्ष, अनेक आयाम और अनेक कार्य हैं जिनपर बहुत चर्चा नहीं हो पाई है।

संघ प्रचारक से जनसंघ अध्यक्ष तक

उत्तर प्रदेश में अभी राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ का कार्य आरम्भ के दौर में ही था जब पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय 1937 में संघ के स्वयंसेवक बने। वे उत्तर प्रदेश से बने प्रथम स्वयंसेवकों में से एक रहे होंगे। संघ का कार्य करते हुए उन्होंने पढ़ाई पूरी की लेकिन नौकरी नहीं करने का निश्चय करते हुए अपने जीवन को संघ कार्य हेतु समर्पित करने का निश्चय किया। इसी क्रम में 1942 से उनकी प्रचारक के रूप में दायित्वों की शुरुआत हुई। तबसे लेकर 1951 तक वे संघ के सह-प्रांत प्रचारक के दायित्व पर कार्य



किये। यही वो दौर था जब डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने नेहरु केबिनेट से इस्तीफा देने के बाद संघ के सर संघचालक गुरुजी से मिलकर एक वैकल्पिक राजनीतिक सन्गठन बनाने का प्रस्ताव रखा था। गुरु जी ने राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ को राजनीतिक सन्गठन बनाने का प्रस्ताव तो खारिज कर दिया लेकिन उन्होंने अपने प्रचारक पंडित दीन दयाल को भारतीय जनसंघ के कार्य हेतु अर्पित कर दिया। यहीं से दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के राजनीतिक सन्गठन में जीवन की शुरुआत होती है। वे जनसंघ के उत्तर प्रदेश सन्गठन मंत्री फिर संगठन महामंत्री बने। अपनी हत्या से कुछ दिनों पूर्व ही कालीकट अधिवेशन में वे जनसंघ के अध्यक्ष बने थे।

कुशल संगठक, सफल नेतृत्वकर्ता

वर्ष 1953 में जनसंघ के संस्थापक अध्यक्ष डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी की रहस्मय मृत्यु के पश्चात सन्गठन का समस्त दायित्व दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के कन्धों पर आ गया। वे कुशल संगठक थे। लोकसंग्रह करने के कौशल के धनी थे। सौम्यता, साधारण जीवन और कार्यकर्ताओं से जुड़

जाने का कौशल उन्हें संघ कार्य से ही मिला हुआ था। उन्होंने संगठन विस्तार पर कार्य शुरू किया। जब पंडित दीन दयाल जनसंघ के सनाठन महामंत्री बने थे तब जनसंघ की लोकसभा में महज 2 सीटें होती थी एवं कम्युनिस्ट एवं स्वतंत्र पार्टी जैसे दल कांग्रेस के सामने दूसरे-तीसरे पायदान पर होते थे। लेकिन बिना शोर किये पंडित दीन दयाल ने संगठन कार्य को जमीनी स्तर पर इस तरह से किया कि वर्ष 1967 के चुनाव में भारतीय जनसंघ कांग्रेस समक्ष प्रमुख विपक्षी दल के रूप में दूसरे पायदान तक पहुँच गया था। यह देश के लिए वह आश्चर्य अनुभूति थी जिसे दीन दयाल उपाध्याय ने कर दिखाया था। शायद दीन दयाल के इस गुण-कौशल की अनुभूति करते हुए 1953 में डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने कहा था, “यदि मेरे पास और दो दीन दयाल हों तो मैं भारत का राजनीतिक रूप बदल दूंगा।”



नेहरू की नीतियों के प्रबल विरोधी

राज्य व्यवस्था द्वारा शासन द्वारा नागरिकों की सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं राजनीतिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ती का दावा किसी न किसी विचारधारा के माध्यम से ही किया जाता है। भारतीय लोकतंत्र में भी दलीय उभार के मूल में विचारधाराएं ही रही हैं। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात समाजवाद, मार्क्सवाद, पूँजीवाद जैसे मॉडल देश के सामने थे। प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू को देश के आमजनमानस का विश्वास हासिल था। सवाल सिर्फ इतना था कि नेहरू भारत के नागरिकों की आवश्यकताओं के लिए कौन सा वैचारिक मॉडल शासन की नीतियों में लागू करते हैं! नेहरू की नीतियों को देखने से साफ पता चलता है कि वे किसी भारतीय विकासवादी मॉडल की बजाय आयातित समाजवाद और साम्यवाद के आकर्षण के पुर्वग्रह से कुछ ज्यादा ही ग्रसित थे। क्योंकि, उनके शासन का वैचारिक मॉडल समाजवाद के करीब जाता नजर आता है। ऐसा नहीं है कि तब नेहरू की नीतियों का विरोध नहीं हुआ था। उस दौरान भी अनेक दलों और अनेक विद्वानों ने उनकी नीतियों का विरोध किया। लेकिन नेहरू की नीतियों का तर्कसंगत विरोध करते हुए भारतीयता के अनुकूल विकासोन्मुख “भारतीय मॉडल” रखने का कार्य जनसंघ के अग्रणी नेता पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय कर रहे थे।

एकात्म मानववाद के प्रणेता और अन्वोदय की अवधारणा

पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय का दृष्टिकोण सिर्फ विरोध का नहीं बल्कि रचनात्मक भी था। जिस बिंदु पर उनका विरोध होता था, उस बिंदु पर उनके पास विकल्प की दृष्टि भी होती थी। उन्होंने समाजवाद, मार्क्सवाद और पूँजीवाद को भारतीय दृष्टिकोण के प्रतिकूल मानते हुए अस्वीकार किया तो भारतीय दृष्टिकोण के अनुकूल “एकात्म मानववाद” का वैचारिक दर्शन भी प्रस्तुत किया। उनकी दृष्टि थी कि मनुष्य को सिर्फ एकांगी होकर “आर्थिक प्राणी” के रूप में देखने से विकास उन लक्ष्यों को नहीं प्राप्त किया जा सकता जिससे राष्ट्र को परम वैभव तक ले जाया जाए। मनुष्य को इकाई मानकर उसकी समग्र जरूरतों, जैसे-सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, का समग्रता में चिन्तन करते हुए हमें विकास की प्रक्रिया को चलाना होगा।

सादगी, शुचिता और सरलता के मिसाल

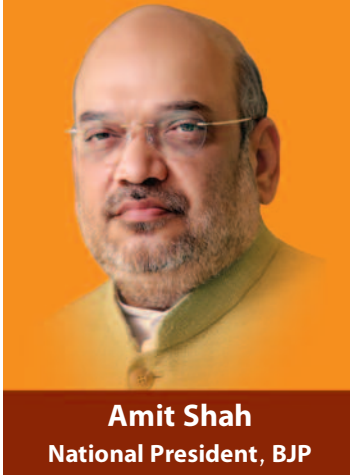
भारतीय राजनीति में सादगी के कुछ उदाहरणों में से एक पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय थे। बेहद साधारण जीवन जीने वाले नेता थे। पॉलिटिकल डायरी में लिखा है, “दीन दयाल एक महान नेता बन गए थे, परन्तु अपने कपड़े स्वयं साफ करते थे। वे स्वदेशी के बारे में शोर तो नहीं करते थे लेकिन कभी विदेशी वस्तु नहीं खरीदते थे” पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को उनके साथ कार्य करने का अवसर मिला है। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के बारे में कहा है, “वे स्वयं संसद सदस्य नहीं थे, परन्तु वे जनसंघ के सभी संसद सदस्यों के निर्माता थे। ‘मैं’ शब्द के प्रयोग को वे निषिद्ध मानते थे।” राजनीति में पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय के लिए शुचिता प्राथमिक थी। उनके बारे में कहा जाता है कि वे कार्यकर्ताओं के आग्रह एवं तत्कालीन प्रांत प्रचारक भाऊ राव देवरस के कहने पर जौनपुर से चुनाव लड़े। यह वह चुनाव था जिसमें कांग्रेस ने जातिवाद और भ्रष्टाचार जैसे हथकंडों का इस्तेमाल शुरू कर दिया था। कांग्रेस ने राजपूतवाद का माहौल तैयार किया तो कुछ जनसंघ कार्यकर्ताओं ने दीन दयाल जी का नाम लेकर “ब्राह्मण” कार्ड चलाने की योजना तैयार की। जब यह बात पंडित जी को पता चली तो वे बुरी तरह बिगड़ गये और फटकार लगाई। वे चुनाव नहीं जीत सके लेकिन अपनी राजनीतिक शुचिता को कभी हारने नहीं दिया। जौनपुर के लोग उस हार को आज भी एक आदर्श हार की जीत के रूप में याद करते हैं।

अपने जीवन में संगठन एवं राजनीति के तमाम आदर्शों को स्थापित करने वाले पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय कुशल संपादक और लेखक भी थे। 11 फरवरी 1968 को उनकी रहस्यमयी हत्या ने असमय उनको हमसे छीन लिया, लेकिन वे जबतक रहे अपने मानदंडों पर जीने वाले सबके प्रिय रहे। यही कारण है कि कांग्रेस के नेता एवं उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री रह चुके संपूर्णानंद ने न सिर्फ उनके लेखों के संकलन “पॉलिटिकल डायरी” का प्राक्कथन लिखा है बल्कि उन्हें महान और भविष्य की राजनीति के लिए प्रेरणादायी नेता बताया है।

(लेखक डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी रिसर्च फाउंडेशन में रिसर्च फ़ैलो हैं।)

आदिवासी देशभक्तों को पुष्पांजलि नहीं कार्याजलि दे रही है भाजपा

पाटी के संगठनात्मक कार्य के लिए आयोजित विस्तृत प्रवास के अंतर्गत मुझे हाल में भगवान बिरसा मुंडा की धरती झारखंड में तीन दिन बिताने का अवसर मिला। इसी दौरान 17 सितम्बर को प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी के जन्मदिन के शुभ अवसर पर मनाये जा रहे “सेवा दिवस” को मैं भगवान बिरसा मुंडा की जन्मस्थली को नमन करने खूँटी जिला स्थित उनके पैतृक गाँव उलिहातू गया जहाँ मुझे उनके वंशजों को सम्मान देने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ। सेवा दिवस के अंतर्गत मुझे उलीहातू गाँव के सर्वांगीण विकास की विभिन्न परियोजनाओं का शिलान्यास करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ। झारखण्ड सरकार ने उलीहातू जैसे शहीदों की जन्मभूमि रहे 19 गावों के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए “शहीद ग्राम विकास योजना” बनाई है। इस योजना के अंतर्गत इन गावों की बिजली, पानी, सड़क, पक्का आवास, स्वास्थ्य केंद्र इत्यादि जैसी मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं को आदर्श रूप से विकसित किया जाएगा। मेरा मानना है कि झारखंड सरकार ने पूर्व में पारंपरिक रूप से शहीदों को दी जाने वाली पुष्पांजलि को विकास का रंग देकर इसे कार्याजलि में बदल दिया है। मैं झारखण्ड सरकार और उसके मुखिया श्री रघुबर दास को शहीदों को सम्मान देने के इस अनूठे प्रयास के लिए बधाई देता हूँ।



Amit Shah
National President, BJP

मेरा मनना है कि देश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में जनजाति और दलित समाज का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है और उन्होंने अनेकों बलिदान दिए। परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश इतिहासकारों ने उन्हें वह मान्यता नहीं दी जिसके वह हकदार थे। अगर हम झारखंड की बात कहे तो भगवान बिरसा मुंडा, सिद्धु कान्हु, नीलाम्बर, पीताम्बर, गया मुंडा और तेलंगा खडिया इत्यादि जैसे अनेकों देश भक्त आदिवासी सूरमाओं ने देश के लिए बलिदान देकर झारखण्ड और मां भारती की सेवा की। भगवान बिरसा मुंडा ने तो सिर्फ 20 वर्ष की अल्पायु में लगान माफी के लिए अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ आन्दोलन किया और दो वर्षों तक कारागार में रहे। जेल से बाहर आ कर उन्होंने अंग्रेजों से लड़ने के लिए मुंडा सेना गठित की और अनेकों अवसरों पर अंग्रेजों के दांत खट्टे किये।

आज भारत में लगभग 9% आबादी आदिवासियों की है जो कि देश के हर कोने में विभिन्न नामों से जाने जाते हैं। हमारा देश तरह-तरह की संस्कृति, भाषाओं, वेश-भूषाओं और खान-पान का एक रंगीन गुलदस्ता है और हमारा आदिवासी समाज इस गुलदस्ते का सबसे अनिवार्य और सुन्दर पुष्प है। अपने सार्वजनिक जीवन में मुझे देश के विभिन्न हिस्सों में

रहने वाले आदिवासी भाइयों और बहनों से मिलने और उनकी जीवन शैली को नजदीक से देखने का अवसर मिला। मुझे यह कहने में कोई गुरेज नहीं कि हमारी सभ्यता के संवर्धन में आदिवासियों की अहम भूमिका है क्योंकि उन्होंने आज भी अपने रीति-रिवाजों को संभाल कर रखा है।

सुदूर इलाकों में बसने और पूर्व की सरकारों की उपेक्षा के कारण दुर्भाग्यवश हमारे आदिवासी समाज का अभी तक वांछित विकास नहीं हो सका है। पिछले 70 वर्षों में सरकारों ने प्राकृतिक और खनिज संपदा से परिपूर्ण आदिवासी इलाकों का दोहन तो खूब किया परन्तु असंतुलित नीतियों की वजह से इस संपत्ति का लाभ इन इलाकों में रहने वालों का नहीं मिल पाया। जंगल और पहाड़ उजड़ते गए परन्तु न तो वनवासियों क्षेत्रों के मूलभूत ढाँचे को विकसित किया गया और न ही उनके पर्यावरण की सुरक्षा के प्रयास किये गए। वनवासियों से उनके प्राकृतिक संसाधन तो लगातार छीने जाते रहे परन्तु बदले में न उन्हें रोजगार मिले और न ही उनका विकास हो पाया। परिणाम स्वरूप देश का आदिवासी विकास की दौड़ में बहुत पीछे छूट गया।





जल, जंगल और जमीन का संवर्धन पहले भारतीय जनसंघ और बाद में भारतीय जनता पार्टी की प्राथमिकता रहा है। वास्तव में जनसंघ का जन्म ही “विकास के भारतीय मॉडल” के मुद्दे पर हुआ था जिसके केंद्र में पाश्चात्य तर्ज पर विकास की अंधी दौड़ से हट कर भारतीय सभ्यता के संवर्धन के साथ विकास था। अतः भाजपा के वैचारिक मूल में ही जंगल और जनजातियों के विकास को प्राथमिकता दी गयी है। लम्बे समय तक सरकार में न रहने के बावजूद भाजपा और उसके वैचारिक परिवार के वनवासी कल्याण आश्रम जैसे अनेकों संगठनों ने जनजातियों के विकास अविरल प्रयास किये हैं। पूर्व में जनजातीय विकास कार्यों को सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्रालय के अंतर्गत किया जाता था और इस विषय के लिए कोई समर्पित मंत्रालय नहीं थी। यह पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की सोच थी कि आदिवासियों के विकास के लिए उन्होंने एक प्रथक “जनजातीय कार्य मंत्रालय” की स्थापना 1999 में की।

केंद्र की मोदी सरकार ने जनजातियों के विकास के लिए कई कदम उठाये हैं जिनमें से सबसे प्रमुख 2014 में शुरू की गई “वनबन्धु कल्याण योजना” है जिसके अंतर्गत जनजाति आबादी वाले विकास प्रखंडों में अनेको काम किये जा रहे हैं। जैसा कि मैंने पहले भी कहा कि जनजाति इलाकों की प्राकृतिक संपदा का लाभ स्वयं को न मिल पाना इन क्षेत्रों के विकास में प्रमुख बाधा रहा है। मोदी सरकार ने इस नीतिगत विसंगति का संज्ञान लेते हुए The Mines and Mineral (Development and Regulation) Act, 1957 में संशोधन करके 2015 में District Mineral

Foundation (DMF) की स्थापना की जिसका मुख्य उद्देश्य खनन से प्रभावित क्षेत्रों के कल्याण के लिए काम करना है। जिसके अंतर्गत खनन से होने वाली आय की 10% रॉयल्टी कोष से “प्रधानमंत्री खनिज क्षेत्र कल्याण योजना” (PMKKKY) 2015 में शुरू की गई है। मुझे यह बताते हुए हर्ष हो रहा है कि अभी तक District Mineral Foundation (DMF) में 9,100 करोड़ रुपये जमा हो चुके हैं जो की खनन प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में जहां बहुतायत आदिवासी रहते हैं के विकास में खर्च किये जायेंगे।

मेरे गृह प्रदेश गुजरात में भी 14 जनजाति बाहुल्य जिले हैं। भाजपा की गुजरात सरकार ने लम्बे समय से आदिवासियों के विकास के लिए प्रयास किये हैं और मुझे बताते हुए असीम संतोष है कि आज प्रदेश के बजट का 14.75% सिर्फ जनजातियों के विकास के लिए समर्पित है। भाजपा सरकारों के प्रयास का फल है कि गुजरात के जनजाति क्षेत्र विकास के किसी भी पैमाने में प्रदेश के अन्य क्षेत्रों से पीछे नहीं है।

समस्त देश के साथ जनजातियों को भी 1947 में अंग्रेजों से स्वराज तो मिल गया परन्तु जनजातियों के वास्तविक स्वराज का समय अब आया है जिसके लिए भारतीय जनता पार्टी और मोदी सरकार कटिबद्ध है।

मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है प्रधानमंत्री नरेन्द्र मोदी की सरकार जिस तरह से काम कर रही है उससे पूर्वोत्तर के साथ-साथ संपूर्ण देश में जनजाति बाहुल्य क्षेत्रों का सर्वांगीण विकास होगा और उनकी स्वराज से सुराज की यात्रा शीघ्र पूरी होगी।

Release of book “India @70 Modi @3.5” by Shri Arun Jaitley (Union Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs) at Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi on 28th September 2017



SPMRF & NMML organised a Special Lecture on **LPG in India: the past, present & future of Ujjwala** by Professor Kirk R Smith MPH PHD (Prof. of Global Environmental Health School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley & Visiting Sr. Scholar, IIT, Delhi) on 11th August 2017

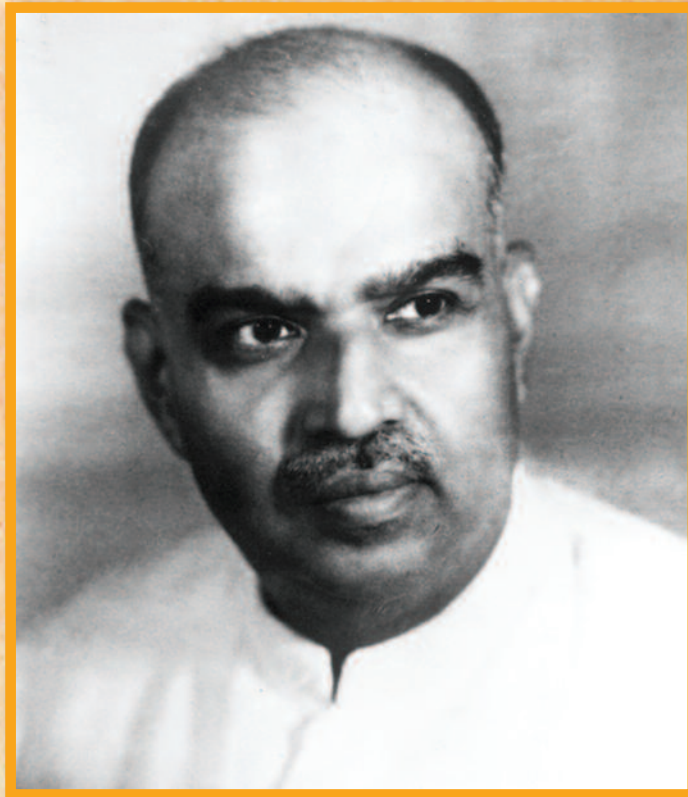


SPMRF Round Table Series: Discussion on “दासता के दाव में भारतीय शिक्षा” by Shri Hitesh Shankar (Editor, Panchjanya) on 08th August 2017



Interaction with a visiting Team Led by Prof. Le Van TOAN (Director, Centre for Indian Studies, Ho Chi Minh National Acedemy of Politics, Hanoi, Vietnam) on 10th August 2017





“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 Indian’s past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of India civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world.”

- Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee

*Convocation Address delivered at Gurukul Kangri
Viswavidyalaya, Haridwar, 1943*

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