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Special Article

India- Bangladesh Relations: Narendra Modi's Triumph

NDA's New Flagship Programmes for Urbanization will change the Face of Urban India

Narendra Modi administration has introduced a new paradigm of governance

Left Slur on Yoga Akin to Taliban's Intolerance

राजनीति दलों के लिए एक दर्शन की आवश्यकता



“भिन्न-भिन्न राजनीतिक दलों को अपने लिए एक दर्शन (सिद्धांत या आदर्श) का क्रमिक विकास करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। उन्हें कुछ स्वार्थों की पूर्ति के लिए एकत्र होने वाले लोगों का समुच्चय मात्र नहीं बनना चाहिए। उनका रूप किसी व्यापारिक प्रतिष्ठान या ज्वाइंट स्टॉक कंपनी (Joint Stock Company) से अलग होना चाहिए। यह भी आवश्यकता है कि पार्टी का दर्शन केवल पार्टी घोषणा-पत्र के पृष्ठों तक ही सीमित न रह जाए।

सदस्यों को उन्हें समझना चाहिए और उन्हें कार्यरूप में परिणत करने के लिए निष्ठापूर्वक जुट जाना चाहिए।”

– पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय

–पोलिटिकल डायरी, पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय; सुरुचि प्रकाशन, नई दिल्ली; 2012; पृष्ठ -188

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अमित शाह

Editorial Advisors :

Shakti Sinha, IAS (retd)
Former Power & Finance Secretary,
Govt. of Delhi

Dr. Anirban Ganguly
Director, SPMRF

Dr. Shiv Shakti Bakshi
Executive Editor, Kamal Sandesh

Research Team:

Amarjeet Singh

Siddharth Singh

Shubhendu Anand

Ajit Jha

Priya Sharma

Gaurav Jha

Shailendra Kumar Shukla

Layout:

Nandan Singh Bisht

Published by :

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Research Foundation
11, Ashok Road,
New Delhi - 110001
E-mail : office@spmrf.org,
Telephone : 011-48005769

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Editorial

In his hugely popular radio-talk “*Man Ki Baat*”, Prime Minister made a very telling, though brief observation. While talking of his Government's resolve to construct toilets in every school by 15th August 2015 – a work which is nearly reaching completion – Prime Minister pointed out that such a thing, as basic as constructing toilets in schools, had never been attempted or completed even after six decades of independence. It was a profound observation and should make those who are now parading as the conscience keeper of the nation, think and reflect hard on the mess they have left the nation in.

Every crucial sector has been neglected; every basic need has been overlooked. Whether it was border infrastructure, defence preparedness or production, whether it was looking after our soldiers both serving and veterans, or such basic issues as sanitation, food situation, urban infrastructure, cleaning our rivers, our education system and its direction, the state of our universities, the health sector or the agrarian situation, or even as basic a thing as the fertiliser situation – each of these areas was left in a condition of crisis, confused, neglected and bereft of vision in the last six decades.

Ironical, isn't it that those who had brought to a near standstill the development march of the country are

the ones who are today shouting loudest and making false noises. Instead of analysing on why they were roundly rejected by the people, instead of engaging in some deep reflection and self-assessment they are indulging in false pyrotechnics and trying to generate a false discourse and create a diversion from the agenda of governance and development.

Supporting this diversionary agenda are the Communists – especially the CPIM – the unfailing cart-pusher of the Congress Party. Such is the present confused mentality of the Communist leaders that while the world celebrated YOGA as a special civilisational heritage of humanity, while far flung countries and its citizens in distant lands immersed themselves in the rhythm and light of YOGA, while our Prime Minister joined the nation in doing YOGA on that day and spoke of how the practice of YOGA expands consciousness and enhances well-being, a Communist leading-light – Comrade Yechury - could only discern dog postures in Yogic *asanas*. The standard of the Communists in India seems to have reached a new low, and from that debased level they will find it difficult to recover. Such a state of mind will only lead to ultimate political oblivion and irrelevance.

Meanwhile action-packed governance continues with Prime

Minister launching the Digital India Week – with the objective of generating greater connectivity and making life easier for the common citizens. Over the last few days Prime Minister undertook a detailed review of the progress of all major projects in crucial sectors, he also reviewed the progress of toilet construction as he did for highways and infrastructure. This Government has the zeal to work and focus for the regeneration of India from the grassroots. It is doing that without diversion and without let up. Prime Minister Modi's upcoming visit to Central Asian countries and Russia promises to be a watershed visit that will only give further fillip to India's quest for greater strategic depth and developing stronger civilisational linkages.

Meanwhile, BJP also undertook a grand training workshop for those leaders who have been given the responsibility of training and orienting the new workers and members of the Party. A deep and detailed programme schedule over two days gave a wide exposure to the trainees regarding the ideals of the party and the overall objectives of nation-building. BJP President Shri Amit Shah in his inaugural speech spoke of how BJP was a party which was different from the others since it was born to give a new orientation to India's progress basing itself on India's civilisational vision and not on imported ideologies. He also spoke of

how workers of the party needed to be trained and oriented to work for national regeneration and to usher in a true welfare state – *Kalyan Rajya*.

Addressing the programme on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the imposition of Emergency – Black Day for Democracy – BJP President Shri Amit Shah made two crucial observations. He pointed out that BJP was the only party with internal democracy and that parties with internal democracy were alone capable of leading India towards her future and destiny. He then spoke of how Emergency was the expression of a mindset which was essentially dictatorial. He also spoke of the aroma of democracy in Indian soil which can never be suppressed. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, whose birth anniversary falls on 6th July, was a leader who sought to preserve, protect and spread that aroma of democracy.

His party and the leaders inspired by him who are leading it and the nation today are therefore determined to preserve and disseminate the invigorating strength of that democratic aroma.

-Dr. Anirban Ganguly,
Director, SPMRF

Salient Points of PM's Speech on the Occasion of 'International Yoga Day'



What is Yoga?

From the Upanishads, comes the idea of Yoga to transform human consciousness through control of body and senses through constant practice. The body is the vehicle for the realization of the Supreme Being. The Bhagavad Gita – the song of the world – is a call to action and defines itself as a योगशास्त्र। The Gita says “योग कर्मेषु कौशलम्” - that is, yoga is excellence at work. Work with devotion and without attachment is yoga. Yoga is, therefore, a vision for a harmonious future for humanity. It is an “अवस्था”। That is a state of mind and is distinct from a “व्यवस्था”। कई लोगों को योग एक व्यवस्था के रूप में दिखता है, योग एक अवस्था है,

योग कोई संस्था नहीं है। योग यह आस्था है और जब तक हम उसे उस रूप में नहीं पाते, जब तक हम उसे टुकड़ों में देखते हैं उसकी पूर्णता को पहचान नहीं पाते। People often think that yoga is just a set of exercises. Yoga is a philosophy of discipline and meditation that transforms the spirit and makes the individual a better person in thought, action, knowledge and devotion.

Yoga spreads harmony between Man and Nature

The reach and spread of yoga spans continents, cuts across differences of colour, class and creed. From the banks of the river Indus to every continent in the world, yoga has spread harmony between man and nature and a holistic approach to



health and well being. In order to benefit fully from yoga, to understand yoga in its entirety, we must understand who is a yogi. A yogi is a person who is in harmony – with herself, her body, with her surroundings, with nature. Yoga is the means to achieve that harmony.

Results of evolution of the individual through yoga at a community level:

- Reduction of greed, coarseness and violence in thought and action.
- Enormous reduction in the cost of healthcare and social support.
- A dramatic reduction in conflicts and misunderstandings within families, communities, and between Nations.

- Increased collaboration and effective teamwork in businesses and communities.

- Compassion towards all beings: plants, animals and humans and long-term and ecological thinking in all socio-economic planning.

- Increased power of innovation, technology and knowledge; deeper impact of art, music, poetry, dance to uplift the quality of life and an overall increase in the pace of human development and evolution.

Yoga promises strength, courage and calm

In a world of excess, of seeking after materialism, yoga promises restraint and balance. In a world suffering from mental stress, yoga promises calm. In a distracted



world, yoga creates focus, creates concentration. In a world of fear, yoga promises strength and courage. A healthy body and a disciplined mind are the foundations of a world free from fear. In crafting a new self through Yoga, we create a new world.

Collective gift to humanity

We are at a point in history, where global warming threatens the world as we know it. The world's ecology is threatened by human greed and excess. Yoga shows the way to consumption that is healthy,

balanced, and in tune with nature. Yoga is our collective gift to humanity. It may have originated in India, but it draws its energies from the millions who practice it around the world. International Yoga Day is not the brainchild of a government or of the United Nations. It is a reflection of the largest knowledge based peoples' movement the world has ever seen. We will take this movement forward to aim for better health, more fulfilled lives and more connected communities.

NARENDRA MODI

Salient Points of PM's Remarks at the Launch of AMRUT, Smart Cities Mission and Housing for All (Urban) Mission



Challenges in Urbanization should be treated as an opportunity:

हमारे देश में करीब 500 शहर हैं। ज्यादातर गांव से रोजी-रोटी कमाने के लिए लोग आते ही चले जा रहे हैं। बहुत तेजी से हमारा **Urbanization** हो रहा है। अच्छा होता आज से 25-30 साल पहले हमने **Urbanization** को एक **Opportunity** समझा होता, **Urbanization** को एक अवसर माना होता। छोटी जगह में **Thickly Populated** लोग एक प्रकार से देश की **Economic** के **Driving Source** होते हैं। उस शक्ति को हमने पहचाना होता और हमारे

Urban Growth Engine के रूप में हमारी विकास यात्रा में उसकी भूमिका को हमने जाना होता और इस प्रकार से उसको ताकत दी होती तो हम भी आज दुनिया के उन समृद्ध और प्रगतिशील शहरों की बराबरी कर पाए होते। लेकिन.. देर आए दुरुस्त आए। पहले क्या नहीं हुआ उसका रोना-धोना गाते रहेंगे तो बात बननी नहीं है। पुराने अनुभव बहुत बुरे हैं, मैं जानता हूँ और उसी के आधार पर निराश बैठने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं है। अगर स्पष्ट अपेक्षित के साथ लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के इरादे के साथ और नागरिक को केंद्र में रखते हुए अगर हम योजनाएं करते हैं, तो मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कोई रुकावट आ सकती है।

Our housing scheme will fulfill aspirations and dreams of

million:

किसी भी इंसान, गरीब से गरीब इंसान का एक सपना होता है उसका अपना घर हो और एक बार अगर खुद का घर हो जाता है तो फिर वो सपने संजोने लग जाता है। जब मकान मिलता है तो सिर्फ छत नहीं मिलती चार दीवारें नहीं मिलती है जब गरीब को घर मिलता है तो धीरे-धीरे उसके इरादों भी बदलने लग जाते हैं। घर मिलते ही मन करता है कि यार एक-आध दरी ले आये तो अच्छा होगा। फिर मन करता है कि यार दो कुर्सी लाए तो अच्छा होगा। फिर करता है कि यार नहीं-नहीं टीवी मिल जाए तो अच्छा होगा, फिर लगता है ये सब करना है तो थोड़ी ज्यादा मेहनत करें तो अच्छा होगा फिर लगता है फालतू खर्चा करता था अब उसको थोड़ा पैसा बचाऊंगा, अगले महीने ये लाऊंगा। जीवन में बदलाव शुरू हो जाता है। और वही, **Self-Motivation** इन कारणों से आता है। हमारी कोशिश यह है सिर्फ मकान देना, यानी एक परिवार को जो कि बेघर है घर वाला बने इतना नहीं, उसको जीवन जीने की हैसियत देना, उसके मन में जीवन जीने की उमंग भरना, उसके जीवन में जीवन को साकार होने का आनंद देखने को मिले और आने वाले पीढ़ियों को देने का सपना पूरा हो, ऐसा एक माहौल बनाने का इरादा है। शहरों में करीब-करीब दो करोड़ से ज्यादा परिवार, उनके लिए घर बनाने हैं। अब हमारा देश ऐसा है कि अगर नहीं बना तो जवाब मुझसे मांगा जाएगा। कोई उनसे जवाब नहीं मांगेगा कि ये दो करोड़ बेघर रहे क्यों। कोई नहीं मांगेगा, है देश का स्वभाव है, क्या करेंगे। हमें उसी से गुजारा करना है। लेकिन कोई कुछ कह देगा इस डर के कारण हम काम करना छोड़ दें तो देश का भला नहीं होगा। और इसलिए हमारा दायित्व बनता है कि हमारे गरीब परिवारों को घर मिले।

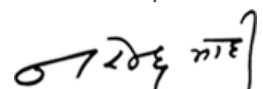
Better planning is the key for successful urbanization:

मैं मानता हूँ आजादी के जब 75 साल मना रहे हैं तब, हमारे भीतर एक आवाज उठनी चाहिए कि मेरे देश में कोई गरीब ऐसा न हो कि जिसको फुटपाथ पर या झुग्गी-झोपड़ी पर जिन्दगी गुजारने के लिए मजबूर रहना पड़े ये हम बदलेंगे। यह हमारा दायित्व है और एक बार इस मिजाज को लेकर यहां से निकलेंगे तो रास्ते आप मिल जाएंगे। आज शहरों का विकास कैसे

हो रहा है? आप किसी भी शहर में जाकर पूछिए बहुत कम शहर ऐसे मिलेंगे कि जहां पर पांच साल के बाद शहर कैसा होगा उसका कोई खाका कागज पर मिलेगा। दस साल के बाद कैसा शहर होगा उसका खाका कागज पर नहीं मिलेगा। जो **Private property developer** हैं, उनको तो पता होता है कि शहर इतना बढ़ेगा, इस दिशा में बढ़ेगा फिर वो वहां जमीन ले लेगा, योजनाएं डाल देगा। मकान तो खड़े कर देगा लेकिन जिंदगी जीने योग्य व्यवस्था पहुंचती नहीं है। न रोड बनता है, न बिजली पहुंचती है, न **drainage** की व्यवस्था होती है। लोग आते हैं, पैसे देकर मकान भी लेते हैं। बाकी व्यवस्था होती नहीं क्यों? क्योंकि शहर के नेतृत्व ने शहर नहीं बनाया कुछ **property dealer** ने शहर को बढ़ाया है। ये जो **mismatch** है उस **mismatch** को बदलना है। शहर कैसा बढ़ेगा, कब जाएगा कहां, किस रास्ते आगे बढ़ेगा, **west** में बढ़ेगा आगे **East** में बढ़ेगा, समाज के छोटे से छोटे व्यक्ति के लिए भी उसमें क्या जगह होगी, ये **Plan**, जब तक शहर का नेतृत्व दीर्घ दृष्टि के साथ नहीं करता है ये स्थिति बनी रहेगी।

Bottom up approach for building smart city:

स्मार्ट सिटी योजना ऐसी है कि जिसमें शहरों का निर्णय भारत सरकार नहीं करेगी। शहरों को स्मार्ट बनाने का राज्य सरकार नहीं करेगी। शहरों को स्मार्ट बनाने का निर्णय वो शहर का नेतृत्व, वो शहर के नगरिक, वे शहर के **municipality** के लोग तय करेंगे। थोपा नहीं जाएगा, आवाज नीचे से उठनी चाहिए और इसलिए पहली बार हिन्दुस्तान में **challenge route** के आधार पर स्मार्ट सिटी बनाने का निर्णय किया है। दुनिया के कई देशों ने ये प्रयोग किया है। कुछ पैरामीटर तय किये गए हैं और जो शहर इस पैरामीटर को पूर्ति करेगा वो **entry** पाएगा इस स्पर्धा में। फिर उसकी दूसरी **Exam** देनी पड़ेगी फिर उसको पार करेगा तो **select** होगा, जब **select** होगा तो फिर भारत सरकार, राज्य सरकार मिल करके उस शहर की ताकत को जोड़ करके उसको स्मार्ट सिटी बनाने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ेगी।



NARENDRA MODI

India- Bangladesh Relations: Narendra Modi's Triumph

• Dr. Jayanta Kumar Ray

It is not often that a Prime Minister's visit to a foreign country's capital can be termed 'historic.' There are a variety of explanations of why Modi's visit to Dhaka on 6-7 June 2015 can be treated as historic.

Before I proceed to outline these explanations, I must stress that wherever Modi goes – be it to the United States or a neighbour like Nepal - he summons the energy and patriotism to promote India's vital interests. This is in sharp contrast to what Jawaharlal Nehru did in the first two years of his career as a Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister. In 1948, in course of his first visit to London, after he became India's Prime Minister, he had a luncheon meeting with editors of *The Times*, *Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Observer* and *New Statesman and Nation*. India's High Commissioner to Britain, V.K. Krishna Menon, was present. Not long after the meeting began, Menon was nodding his head; he was evidently sleepy. Nehru too got disinterested, leaving even a question by an editor unanswered, and emulated Menon's sleepy mode before the dessert was placed on the table.

In late 1949, Nehru's tour of America (including some stay in Canada) lasted nearly a month. Nehru used this highly expensive



opportunity to expound the divergence between Indian and American viewpoints on world affairs, lecturing Americans (including Secretary of State Dean Acheson) on imperialism. As the leader of a food deficit country dependent on American aid, Nehru's speeches in America did not reflect the potentialities of America's Point Four programme announced in early 1949, even though India turned out shortly to be the first recipient of a significant grant under the Point Four programme. In other words, Nehru's America visit was not planned to attach a proper priority to the promotion of national interest.

All this will enable us to gain a proper appreciation of Narendra Modi's 40-hour visit to Bangladesh on 6-7 June 2015. Foreign tours of an Indian Prime Minister should be short and businesslike – as in the case of Modi's Bangladesh trip. Obviously, this required expert planning by India's Ministry of External Affairs. Moreover, political planning by the Prime Minister was an essential



prerequisite to the successful outcome of his Dhaka trip. This took place at two levels: Union and State. At the Union level, it was a herculean task to enlist the support of both Houses of Indian Parliament. The task was accomplished so marvelously, that the two Houses of Parliament passed a unanimous resolution, which facilitated the settlement of the India-Bangladesh boundary, 4098 kms in length, after the lapse of 68 years since 1947, and of 41 years since 1974.

In Bangladesh, the effect upon the populace of the unanimous Parliamentary approval for the LBA was electrifying. Many people reminded themselves of the days of 1971 liberation struggle when the people of India extended whole-hearted support to the struggle, and, consequently, the people of Bangladesh developed a deep enthusiasm for Modi's visit to Dhaka. Hasina, too, deftly made her contribution to generating a favourable atmosphere for this visit. The number

of stateless people in the enclaves was approximately 51,500. But the fact that they would become lawful citizens of two countries, and would have the opportunity to get rid of the usual law and order problems in the enclaves (including terrorism), had an overwhelming impact on the people of Bangladesh. This could sweep off the projected protests of extremist groups against Modi's visit. These protests did not materialise. Even the principal extremist party, the Jamaat-e-Islami, was forced to welcome Modi's visit.

On 7 June, Modi received, on behalf of former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, the Liberation War Honour from the Bangladesh Government. In 1971, Vajpayee, though an opposition leader, fully cooperated with the Government of India in facilitation of the freedom struggle in Bangladesh. He organised a Satyagraha in support of this struggle, and as a young volunteer, Modi too played an active part in this Satyagraha. This, when announced

by Modi in Dhaka, could not but stir up the emotions of the people of Bangladesh.

The two Governments signed 22 agreements. Some of the new agreements are no less important than the LBA. Actually, a few of them may turn out to be more significant than the LBA in the long run. For, they may promote not only the goal of development in India and Bangladesh, but also the larger goal of development of sub-regional cooperation among Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar and Nepal. Currently, Indian goods take 30-40 days to reach Bangladesh by sea. Indian ships have to go as far as Singapore in order to offload their cargo in other vessels which are then allowed to move to Bangladesh. One of the Hasina-Modi agreements permits direct connectivity to Chittagong and Mongla ports of Bangladesh, enabling Indian ships to reduce to 7 days the aforesaid journey of Indian goods. This commercial benefit will also be coupled with strategic advantages

Connectivity received a big boost with the introduction of the Kolkata-Dhaka-Agartala bus service (being an extension of the Kolkata-Dhaka service commencing in 1999) and the Dhaka- Guwahati-Shillong bus service. The people of Bangladesh as also the people of three Northeastern States of India (Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura) will benefit immensely from these services. While nearly

one- third of Kolkata-Agartala distance will be reduced by the new bus service, the two new services will together act as a sort of bridge between India's Northeastern region and southeast Asia.

India has opened a \$2 billion Line of Credit (LOC) with Bangladesh. This \$2 billion LOC to Bangladesh is a component of about \$6 billion LOC to Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal and now Bangladesh, and represents the implementation of Modi's Act East Policy. The new line of credit to Bangladesh will reinforce and expand the infrastructural work in the field of energy, railways. Hasina's announcement during Modi's visit that two special economic zones (SEZs) would be set up in Mongla and Bheramara can be operationally significant if India's subsidised LOC can facilitate the establishment of a network of roads and railways with active Indian cooperation. The railway cooperation between the two countries will be substantially expanded under the new LOC, resulting hopefully in a conversion of metre-gauge tracks in Bangladesh into broad-gauge tracks, and the revival of the entire railway network prevalent in British days.

If all the above noted infrastructural projects materialise, Bangladesh, a country (like India) having 65% of people below 35 years of age, will be able to upgrade economic development substantially and reduce unemployment. This may be an antidote to terrorism, which both Hasina and

Modi are determined to combat. After coming to power, Hasina has been actively fighting terrorism and handing over to India a number of terrorists (hailing from Northeast India). It may be added that Northeast India too suffers from a development deficit, and with his commitment to develop northeast India as part of his Act East Policy, Modi has ensured, among other things, that a Union Minister visits this region every fortnight. Presumably, as a part of this Policy, India's Railway Minister Suresh Prabhu has announced that he intends to develop Kolkata as the financial capital of India. Actually, the development of the entire sub-region as a part of Act East Policy will depend greatly on the emergence of Kolkata as the commercial capital of India.

This, moreover, has the potentiality to resolve other issues like the Teesta issue. Modi has announced in Dhaka that rivers should unify, and not divide, neighbouring countries. He has promised to explore solutions to the issues of Teesta and Feni rivers. Later on, he may add the Atreyee river to this list. For, Bangladesh has built a dam on the Atreyee, and this has had a very adverse impact upon the flow of Atreyee waters to West Bengal's North Dinajpur district. Atreyee and Teesta have a common point of origin. On Teesta, New Delhi has already set up two groups of officers of Union and West Bengal Governments for finding out a proper

solution. As Modi has already pointed out in Dhaka, he has to enlist the collaboration of States for the resolution of such complex issues. This is in tune with the spirit of cooperative federalism that Modi wants to achieve for India.

Modi's 40-hour programme in Bangladesh is an attempted translation of his Act East Policy into reality. An Integrated Check Post (ICP), with facilities reminding one of an airport, has already been built in Akhaura at India's (Tripura's) border with Bangladesh. Similar ICPs are being built in Raxaul and Jogbani at India's border with Nepal, in Dawki at India's (Meghalaya's) border with Bangladesh, and in Moreh at India's (Manipur's) border with Myanmar. These ICPs, expected to minimise bureaucratic hassles, will go a long way towards strengthening India's Act East Policy, and bringing enormous economic benefits to India's northeast region as also some neighbouring countries, including Bangladesh, which is a centrepiece of India's endeavour towards sub-regional collaboration.

In an action packed 40 hours Prime Minister Narendra Modi has pushed India-Bangladesh relations to a higher level – a visit which ushers in such a transformation is indeed historic.

The author is National Research Professor, a veteran teacher of international relations and has authored a number of books and monographs on India's foreign policy, India-Southeast Asia relations etc.

Productivity of Budget Session 2015

• *Karan Javaji*



Parliament is the temple of democracy. In recent years however, the quality of Parliamentary proceedings has been of increasing concern. Rather than a forum for serious legislative debate, our Parliament sessions would sometimes resemble a chaotic TV soap opera. Most of the scheduled time for business was wasted in disruptions or cut short without accomplishing what was planned.

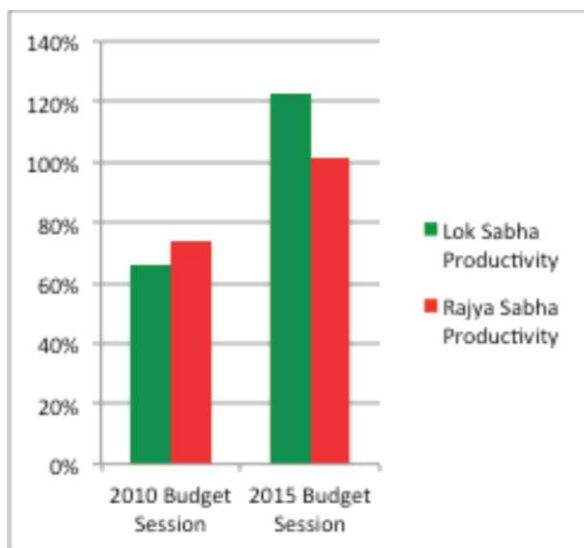
The recently concluded Budget

Session (2015) thus comes as a breath of fresh air. It has been one of the most productive sessions of Parliament that India has witnessed. Members of both houses worked for longer than the scheduled time and accomplished more legislative business than was planned.

Some may argue that the reason for the productivity was because it was the first full budget session as opposed to any other ordinary parliamentary session. Budget

sessions are very important from the financial perspective of the country and are therefore unlikely to be disrupted. Further, they may not be a good measure of productivity, because most of the Bills introduced and passed are routine Finance and Appropriation Bills. But a simple comparative analysis of this Budget Session with the Budget Session 2010¹ held five years ago presents a compelling picture of improvement.

The most convincing measure of productivity is the number of actual sittings and hours and further comparing that with respect to planned sittings and hours. In 2010, the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha had both



planned 35 sittings but only managed 32 sittings. This year, both houses had planned 33 sittings. The Rajya Sabha managed 32 sittings,

but the Lok Sabha ended up sitting for 35 sittings, even beating the goal it had set for itself. It is in this context that one would find it truly amusing that instead of showing support, the opposition parties were protesting against the government's decision to extend the Lok Sabha session by 3 days.

In terms of scheduled hours, the Lok Sabha in the 2010 Budget Session worked for only 66% while the Rajya Sabha worked for 74% of the scheduled hours.

In contrast, this year's Lok Sabha clocked an astounding 123% of the scheduled hours while the Rajya Sabha achieved 101% of the scheduled hours of the Budget Session.

It is therefore not surprising that the higher work productivity translated into better legislative achievements. While comparing legislative achievements we need to focus on non-Finance and Appropriations Bills since Finance and Appropriations Bills would be routinely passed in a Budget session anyway. This year's Parliament had planned to get 16 other Bills (non-Finance and Appropriations) passed and was actually able to get 16 passed. On the other hand, in the 2010 Budget Session, Parliament had planned to pass 27 other Bills

¹The Budget Session 2010 of the 15th Lok Sabha was the first full budget of the UPA II government just as this Budget Session was the first full budget session of the NDA government.

but only managed to pass an abysmal 6 Bills. This shows not only poor execution but also poor planning in terms of unrealistic expectations.

How was it that this Government achieved this level of productivity? A critique leveled by the opposition is that parliamentary proceedings were efficient because the Government steamrolled legislations without much debate. This criticism can safely be put aside. Even though the Government enjoys majority in the Lok Sabha, it does not have the numbers in the Rajya Sabha for it to be able to force down Bills. The past has taught us that, even with the weakest opposition, pushing through legislations disregarding democratic debate, will undoubtedly lead to disruptions.

Thus, the only way this Government has performed well is through consensus building and legitimate engagement with the opposition.

One measure of the quality of discussions in Parliament, is the question hour. A high percentage of questions were answered orally. Lok Sabha saw 134 questions being answered orally while Rajya Sabha saw 135. This is against a decadal average of about half that number in both houses.

It is also important not to underes-

timate the importance of inherent factors such as the ideals guiding the party and leaders in power. The BJP's genesis is situated in strong moral and ethical principles. Discipline is a Karyakarta's guiding force. Prime Minister Modi has accentuated this quality along with the spirit of working hard. Understanding this, it immediately becomes very clear how these qualities are then imbibed in Parliament and lead to a positive change in its functioning. The Lok Sabha sat late for over 55 hours to complete the listed business. While most governments cut short the parliamentary session, this year the Lok Sabha was extended by 3 days to complete its business. The opposition ironically protested against this decision claiming that it got in the way of the MPs' work.

The Government must continue working hard towards building consensus and enhancing parliamentary performance. On the other hand the opposition, must resist the temptation to allow creeping insecurities to derail future proceedings.

(Karan Javaji is Research Associate at SPMRF)

“Housing for All by 2022” Mission – National Mission for Urban Housing

• *Rastriya Prahari*



The Union Government has launched the new scheme of “Housing for All by 2022” aimed for urban areas with following components/options to States/Union Territories and cities:-

- 1) Slum rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers with participation of private developers using land as a resource;
- 2) Promotion of affordable housing for weaker section through credit linked subsidy;
- 3) Affordable housing in partnership with Public & Private sectors and
- 4) Subsidy for beneficiary-led

individual house construction or enhancement.

Central grant of Rs. one lakh per house, on an average, will be available under the slum rehabilitation programme. A State Government would have flexibility in deploying this slum rehabilitation grant to any slum rehabilitation project taken for development using land as a resource for providing houses to slum dwellers. Under the Credit Linked Interest Subsidy component, interest subsidy of 6.5 percent on housing loans availed upto a tenure of 15 years will be provided to EWS/LIG categories, wherein the subsidy pay-out on NPV basis would be about Rs.2.3 lakh per house for

both the categories. Central assistance at the rate of Rs.1.5 lakh per house for EWS category will be provided under the Affordable Housing in Partnership and Beneficiary-led individual house construction or enhancement. State Government as well as Housing Boards can take up project of affordable housing to avail the Central Government grant.

The scheme will be implemented as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme except the credit linked subsidy component, which will be implemented as a Central Sector Scheme. The Mission also prescribes certain mandatory reforms for easing up the urban land market for housing, to make adequate urban land available for affordable housing. Houses constructed under the mission would be allotted in the name of the female head of the households or in the joint name of the male head of the household and his wife.

The scheme will cover the entire urban area consisting of 4041 statutory towns with initial focus on 500 Class I cities and it will be implemented in three phases as follows, viz. Phase-I (April 2015 – March 2017) to cover 100 Cities to be selected from States/UTs as per their willingness; Phase – II (April 2017 – March 2019) to cover additional 200 Cities and Phase-III

(April 2019 – March 2022) to cover all other remaining Cities. However, there will be flexibility in covering number of cities in various phases and inclusion of additional cities may be considered by the Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation in case there is demand from States and cities and have capacity to include them in earlier phases. Credit linked subsidy component of the scheme would be implemented across the country in all statutory towns from the very beginning.

Dimension of the task at present is estimated at 2 crore. Exact number of houses, though, would depend on demand survey for which all States/Cities will undertake detailed demand assessment for assessing actual demand by integrating Aadhar number, Jan Dhan Yojana account numbers or any such identification of intended beneficiaries.

A Technology Sub-mission under the Mission would be set up to facilitate adoption of modern, innovative and green technologies and building material for faster and quality construction of houses. The Technology Sub-Mission will also facilitate preparation and adoption of layout designs and building plans suitable for various geo-climatic zones. It will also assist States/Cities in



deploying disaster resistant and environment friendly technologies.

The Technology Sub-Mission will coordinate with various regulatory and administrative bodies for mainstreaming and up scaling deployment of modern construction technologies and material in place of conventional construction. The Technology Sub-Mission will also coordinate with other agencies working in green and energy efficient technologies, climate change etc.

The Technology Sub-Mission will also work on the following aspects: i) Design & Planning ii) Innovative technologies & materials iii) Green buildings using natural resources and iv) Earthquake and other disaster resistant technologies and designs.

In the spirit of cooperative federalism, the Mission will provide flexibility to States for choosing best

options amongst four verticals of the Mission to meet the demand of housing in their states. The process of project formulation and approval in accordance with Mission Guidelines would be left to the States, so that projects can be formulated, approved and implemented faster. The Mission will provide technical and financial support in accordance to the Guidelines to the States to meet the challenge of urban housing.

The Mission will also compile best practices in terms of affordable housing policies of the States/UTs designs and technologies adopted by States and Cities with an objective to spread best practices across States and cities and foster cross learning. The Mission will also develop a virtual platform to obtain suggestions and inputs on house design, materials, technologies and other elements of urban housing.

NDA's New Flagship Programmes for Urbanization will Change the Face of Urban India

• *Siddharth Singh*



Setting in motion the process of urban transformation to provide better living and drive economic growth, Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched three ambitious urban projects on — 100 Smart Cities Mission, Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), and Housing for All in urban areas. Together, the three projects will entail an investment of over Rs 3 lakh crore in the next five years. As part of the three missions, the Government plans to create 2 crore houses by 2022 by providing a central grant of Rs 1 lakh to Rs 2.3 lakh per house by way of a 6.5 per cent interest subvention scheme, to create 100 Smart Cities through a Rs 48,000-crore initiative, and push for urban infrastructure upgrade for 500 cities in a Rs 50,000-crore scheme.

Many people may wonder about what exactly is a Smart City, but one

does not need to think a lot. Smart City is a city that provides more than what a citizen expects. Smart City will be selected through a competition among cities proposed by the States while 500 cities are being identified under AMRUT. For the first time in India, a challenge is being floated, in which the residents of urban India can contribute in the formulation of development visions of their cities. Those cities which were able to competitively meet the required parameters would be developed as Smart Cities. This competitive mechanism would end the top-down approach, and lead to people-centric urban development. These urban development schemes have not been prepared by the Government alone, but it has perhaps involved the biggest consultation exercise ever undertaken by the Union Government, involving all stakeholders and examining global



HERALDING A NEW URBAN ERA

AMRUT	HOUSING FOR ALL (URBAN)	SMART CITIES MISSION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Ensures basic infrastructure and sanitation + Focus on water supply and sewerage + Promoting public transport + Enabling walking, cycling, greenery and open spaces + Improving urban governance through reforms + Capacity building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Every urban poor household to be enabled to own a house + 2 crore houses to be built for urban poor + Central assistance ranging from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 2.30 lakh per house + Promotes slum free cities + House in the name of woman or jointly with husband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + High quality core infrastructure + Application of smart solutions for better services + Enhanced quality of living + Drives economic growth benefitting all sections + Promotes clean & sustainable environment + Selection of cities through competition

best practices.

Till now in every scheme related to urbanization, there was a lack of holistic vision about urban planning, and thus expansion plan of the cities was driven not by the administrators of a city, but by property developers. Through AMRUT, the aim of the Government is to give cities themselves the chance to plan their future growth. Under the Smart City scheme, each selected city will be provided Central assistance of Rs. 100 crore a year. Under the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), allocation of funds will be as per urban population and the number of cities and towns in each State or Union Territory.

Under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana in urban areas, the allocation will be based on the number of urban poor and slum dwellers. To avoid delays and non-completion of projects on account of lack of

resources, the States and the Union Territories will now be required to indicate firmly resource tie-ups under State-level action plans. Consultations with urban citizens have been made mandatory to ensure need-based and bottom-up planning of projects.

Women's empowerment has been made a component of the Housing for All scheme that envisages houses for all by 2022. Ownership of houses will be in the name of women or jointly with the husband. The aspirations of migrants from rural areas, and slum dwellers, should be balanced with the changing global environment and thus ensuring a good life for them is the Government's responsibility. The Government is putting the spotlight on smart cities and allowing the business community to lead the development.

(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate at SPMRF)

. India Surging Ahead in the Field of Green Energy – 100 GW Solar Scale-Up Plan



The Union Government has given its approval for stepping up of India's solar power capacity target under the National Solar Mission by five times, reaching 1,00,000 MW by 2022. The target will principally comprise of 40 GW Rooftop and 60 GW through Large and Medium Scale Grid Connected Solar Power Projects. With this ambitious target, India will become one of the largest Green Energy producers in the world, surpassing several developed countries.

The total investment in setting up 100 GW will be around Rs. 6,00,000 cr. In the first phase, the Government of India is providing Rs. 15,050 crore as capital subsidy to promote solar capacity addition in the country. This capital subsidy will be provided for Rooftop Solar

projects in various cities and towns, for Viability Gap Funding (VGF) based projects to be developed through the Solar Energy Corporation of India (SECI) and for decentralized generation through small solar projects.

Solar power can contribute to the long term energy security of India, and reduce dependence on fossil fuels that put a strain on foreign reserves and the ecology as well. The solar manufacturing sector will get a boost with this long term trajectory of solar capacity addition. This will help in creation of technology hubs for manufacturing. The increased manufacturing capacity and installation are expected to pave way for direct and indirect employment opportunities in both the skilled and unskilled sector.

The new solar target of 100 GW is

expected to abate over 170 million tonnes of CO₂ over its life cycle. This Solar Scale-up Plan has a target of 40 GW through Decentralized Solar Power Generation in the form of Grid Connected Rooftop Projects. While Decentralized Generation will stabilise the grid, it will minimize investment on power evacuation.

To facilitate such a massive target, the Prime Minister's Office has been pushing various Ministries to initiate supporting interventions, like:-

1. Incorporating changes in land use regulations and tenancy laws to facilitate aggregation and leasing of land by farmers/ developers for solar projects;
2. Identification of large chunks of land for solar projects;
3. Identification of large government complexes/ buildings for rooftop projects;
4. Clear survey of wastelands and identification of transmission/ road infrastructure using satellite technology for locating solar parks;
5. Development of power transmission network/ Green Energy Corridor;
6. Setting up of exclusive parks for domestic manufacturing of solar PV modules;
7. Provision of roof top solar and 10 percent renewable energy as mandatory reform under the new scheme of Ministry of Urban Development;

8. Amendments in building bye-laws for mandatory provision of roof top solar for new construction or higher FAR;

9. Considering infrastructure status for solar projects; raising tax free solar bonds; providing long tenor loans; making roof top solar a part of housing loan by banks/ NHB and extending IIFCL credit facility to such projects by the Department of Financial Services;

10. Suitable amendments to the Electricity Act for strong enforcement of Renewable Purchase Obligation (RPO) and for providing Renewable Generation Obligation (RGO);

11. Incorporating measures in Integrated Power Development Scheme (IPDS) for encouraging distribution companies and making net-metering compulsory.

The price of solar energy has come down significantly from Rs.17.90 per unit in 2010 to under Rs.7 per unit now. With technology advancement and market competition, this Green Power is expected to reach grid parity by 2017-18. These developments would enable India to achieve its target of 1,00,000 MW. This will also fulfill India's international commitment towards Green and climate friendly growth trajectory.

- SPMRF Desk

Strengthening and Establishment of Krishi Vigyan Kendras

The Union Government has recently given its approval for continuation, strengthening and establishment of Krishi Vigyan Kendras (KVKs) with an outlay of Rs.3900 crore. The scheme envisages continuation of 642 KVKs established till date and establishment of 109 new KVKs to carry out wide range of activities related to agriculture.

The scheme includes initiation of new components namely ICT in agriculture, Farmer FIRST programme, creation of the Farm Innovation Fund, Disaster Management Fund, Technology Information Units, mini seed processing facilities, micro nutrient analysis facilities, solar panels, V-KVKs and KVK net, specialized KVKs and e-farmers; and extending existing components like Integrated Farming System, rain water harvesting structures, soil and water testing laboratories, minimal processing facilities, carp hatcheries to new KVKs, establishment of 16 new Agricultural Technology Information Centers (ATICs), Network Project on Expert System and New Extension Methodologies and Approaches. The scheme provides support to the Directorates of Extension Education (DEE) of

State and Central Agricultural Universities.

Krishi Vigyan Kendras (KVKs), a unique model of frontline extension in agriculture, serves as a single window mechanism for addressing the technology needs of farmers with a multidisciplinary approach. KVKs function as knowledge and resource centre at district level and play a very important role in demonstration of Location Specific Technologies. They are the links between research and extension and also with farmers, and support the initiative of public, private and voluntary sectors for improving the agricultural economy in a holistic manner.

The KVKs lay strong emphasis on skill development training of rural youth, farm women and farmers, as also provide latest technological inputs like seeds, planting materials and bio-products. They continuously advise farmers on timely crop/enterprise related recommendations, including climate resilient technologies for enhancing their production and income levels. KVKs also diagnose and solve problems emerging from district agro-ecosystems and are perfectly located to lead adoption of innovations.

SPMRF Desk

राजपथ बन गया योगपथ

• राष्ट्रीय प्रहरी



क्या कभी किसी ने सोचा होगा कि राजपथ भी योगपथ बन सकता है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र के द्वारा 21 जून को अंतर्राष्ट्रीय योग दिवस का आरम्भ किया गया है। लेकिन अंतर्राष्ट्रीय योग दिवस से न सिर्फ एक दिवस मनाने का प्रारम्भ हो रहा है बल्कि शांति व सद्भावना जैसी ऊंचाइयों को प्राप्त करने के लिए मानव मन को प्रशिक्षित करने के लिए एक नए युग का आरम्भ हो रहा है। कभी-कभार बहुत-सी चीजों के प्रति अज्ञानतावश कुछ विकृतियां आ जाती हैं। सदियों से ये परम्परा चली है, कालक्रम में बहुत सी बातें उसमें जुड़ी हैं। सदियों से जिन महापुरुषों ने, जिन ऋषियों ने, जिन मुनियों ने, जिन योग गुरुओं ने, जिन योग शिक्षकों ने, जिन योग अभ्यासियों ने सदियों से इस परम्परा को निभाया है, आगे बढ़ाया है उसमें विकास के किंद-बिंदु जोड़े भी हैं। ये शास्त्र किस भू-भाग में पैदा हुआ, किस भू-भाग तक फैला, यह ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। महत्व इस बात का है कि दुनिया में हर प्रकार की क्रांति हो रही है। विकास की नई-नई ऊंचाइयों पर मानव पहुंच रहा है, टेक्नोलॉजी एक प्रकार से मनुष्य जीवन का हिस्सा बन गई है, बाकी सब बढ़ रहा है। बाकी सब तेज गति से बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन कहीं ऐसा तो न हो कि इंसान वहीं का वहीं रह जाए। अगर इंसान वहीं का वहीं रह गया और विश्व में सारी की सारी व्यवस्थाएं विकसित हो गईं तो यह

असंतुलन भी मानव जाति के लिए संकट का कारण बन सकता है और इसलिए आवश्यक है कि मानव का भी आंतरिक विकास होना चाहिए, उत्कर्ष होना चाहिए।

आज विश्व के पास योग एक ऐसी विद्या है और जिसमें विश्व के अनेक भू-भागों के अनेक रंग वाले लोगों ने, अनेक परंपरा वाले लोगों ने अपना-अपना योगदान दिया है। उन सबका योगदान स्वीकार करते हुए अंतर्मन को कैसे विकसित किया जाए, अंतरदृष्टि को कैसे ताकतवर बनाया जाए, मनुष्य तनावपूर्ण जिंदगी से मुक्त हो करके शांति के मार्ग पर जीवन को कैसे प्रशस्त करे, ज्यादातर लोगों के दिमाग में योग, यानी एक प्रकार से अंग-मर्दन का कार्यक्रम है। लेकिन यह सबसे बड़ी गलती है। क्योंकि योग अंग-उपांग मर्दन का कार्यक्रम नहीं है। अगर यही होता तो सर्कस में काम करने वाले लोग योगी कहे जाते और इसलिए सिर्फ शरीर को कितना हम लचीला बनाते हैं, कितना मोड़ देते हैं, वो योग नहीं है। मन, बुद्धि, शरीर और आत्मा ये सभी संतुलित हो, संकलित हो तथा सहज हो, इस अवस्था को प्राप्त करने में योग की बहुत बड़ी भूमिका होती है। उम्मीद है कि हम सब लोग आगे भी पूरे हिंदुस्तान के हर गली-मोहल्ले में जो योग का माहौल बना है, उस माहौल को हम निरंतर आगे बढ़ाएंगे।

Narendra Modi Administration has Introduced a New Paradigm of Governance

• *P. Muralidhar Rao*

The NDA's first year in office has been a game-changer. A new paradigm of governance where growth and welfare go hand in hand has been introduced — investment aimed at double-digit growth is being planned in tandem with pro-poor initiatives. Transparency and probity, as evidenced by the coal and telecom auctions and the initiatives against black money, are the order of the day. The results are already visible, with the economy growing at 7.3 per cent in 2014-15. This, after inheriting a low growth rate due to 10 years of scams, indecisive governance, global recession, etc.

Acting on the premise that infrastructure-creation drives economic growth, the NDA has focused on this sector. A Rs 70,000 crore increase in infrastructure investment in 2015-16, over the last financial year, is on the cards. Five new power projects of 4,000 megawatts (MW) each, in plug-and-play mode, have been announced. Public investments in irrigation and rural infrastructure have been prioritised and government policy has been tailored to attract both public- and private-sector investment in infrastructure.

A transparent approach to natural resources was vital, given that the biggest scams during the UPA years had to do with coal and spectrum

allocation. The NDA thus opted for e-auctions. Revenue of more than Rs 2 lakh crore for coal-bearing states has been



generated through this process (during the UPA regime, the states only received royalty from coal mining). The telecom spectrum auction fetched more than Rs 1 lakh crore.

Centre-state relations and India's global image have improved drastically. The prime minister has repeatedly emphasised the importance of Team India for progress. To help states focus on their development plans and strengthen the federal structure, the NDA swiftly implemented the 14th Finance Commission's recommendation to increase the states' share of total federal tax revenues from 32 to 42 per cent.

The government and the BJP stand firm on curbing the growth of black money, a major handicap in resource-generation for the empowerment of the poor. Not only does it drain capital but also compromises international relations. The PM has been successful in evolving a consensus among world leaders on the black

money issue. Indeed, the NDA's first cabinet decision was the constitution of an SIT to investigate black money. Two important pieces of legislation, the Undisclosed Foreign Income and Assets (Imposition of Tax) Bill and Benami Transactions (Prohibition) Bill, were enacted to curb the generation of black money.

In terms of legislation, the past year has been fruitful thanks to the BJP's clear majority in the Lower House. The 2015 budget session was the most productive of the last 15 years. Lok Sabha productivity — the number of actual working hours as a percentage of the total scheduled hours — was 123 per cent. The Upper House was slightly behind, with productivity of 101 per cent.

Financial inclusion of the poor has been an immediate priority. Accordingly, three social security schemes providing insurance cover and pension have been launched. Dovetailed with the Jan Dhan Yojana, they are a decisive step towards institutionalised financial inclusion, rather than dole.

The launch of the Mudra Bank was another significant step towards the financial empowerment of citizens. India boasts some 5.7 crore small enterprises, which account for 90 per cent of the non-agricultural workforce and 40 per cent of the non-agricultural GDP. The majority, around 62 per cent, of these are run by individuals from SC, ST or OBC communities. Cut off from the bank-

ing system post-Independence, they have now been given access to minimal interest loans of Rs 50,000 to Rs 10 lakh. Interestingly, these small enterprises contributed to India's global economic dominance before the Industrial Revolution. Strengthening the traditional small-is-beautiful model could well help realise the dream of turning India into a global manufacturing hub.

Addressing the skills gap, which has thus far hampered efforts to take advantage of the demographic dividend and generate largescale employment, the NDA has created a special ministry for skilling 500 million youth by 2020. Nearly 1.5 crore youth enter the job market every year, but only a tiny fraction receive formal vocational training, as compared to 60-96 per cent in industrialised countries.

India enjoys a huge demographic advantage with a billion people under 45 — in contrast to the increasing dependency ratio in the West. By 2020, the average Indian will be 29 years old, compared to 37 for China and 48 for Japan. Instinctively realising that a decisive leader is needed to make the most of this opportunity, the electorate has placed its faith in Narendra Modi. Judging from the first year, he has used that mandate to forge ahead with an innovative, even revolutionary, paradigm of equitable growth.

(The writer is national general secretary, BJP)

Courtesy: The Indian Express, Opinion, 18th June 2015

To Forget is Costly

• *SwapanDasgupta*

At the best of times India is bad at commemorating the past. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the 40th anniversary of Indira Gandhi's 20-month Emergency will be marked in a perfunctory way. Although even this patchy commemoration wouldn't have happened had the Congress still been in power at the Centre, the casual way India approaches its history — both distant and recent — is quite galling. This makes it possible for the entire horrific experience that shaped the political outlook of a generation to be reduced to a set of slogans and catchy headlines.

Part of the distortion arises from the fact that the events between June 1975 and March 1977 are outside the personal experiences of the vast majority of a young country. In the absence of proper documentation, the Emergency often appears too distant for meaningful comprehension. Moreover, most of the chief actors of the period have died and the stray TV reminiscences of individuals who were relevant to the period, valuable as these are, can't really substitute for India's larger problem with consciously remembering. Even those who have a con-

scious stake in ensuring that India never forgets its experience with arbitrary and authoritar-



ian government are often hamstrung by the profound embarrassment over the Janata Party fiasco between 1977 and 1979. And there is no getting away from the disconcerting reality that those who were most responsible for the derailment of democracy during the Emergency were subsequently rehabilitated politically. Some even made the seamless shift to the other side.

In a recent interview, veteran Bharatiya Janata Party leader L.K. Advani stressed the total lack of contrition of the Congress Party. The point is well made and needs to be addressed. However, it is useful to remember that the Emergency happened and was sustained not merely by the personal agendas of Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, Siddhartha Shankar Ray, D.K. Barooah, Bansi Lal, Ambika Soni, et al. It struck terror into the hearts of India and reduced a country to abject submission because it was backed up by a large number of functionaries who included second-

rung politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, industrialists, judges and academics. Without their complementary support, constitutional authoritarianism may well have been more fragile and more short-lived.

The role played by a supine judiciary in legitimising the suspension of habeas corpus and even the right to life has been among the better-documented features of the Emergency. Equally, the remarkable ease with which the media — otherwise so conscious of its rights and entitlements — capitulated before the likes of Sanjay Gandhi and Vidya Charan Shukla (the then information and broadcasting minister) and crawled when asked to bend is now part of folk memory. However, what has been neatly obliterated from popular memory is the contribution of what was called “progressive forces” in constructing the intellectual scaffolding of the Emergency.

The term “progressive forces” needs a little explaining in the context of the times. After the Congress split of 1969, and Indira Gandhi's expedient adoption of aggressive socialist rhetoric, a big chunk of the Communist movement, especially those tied to the apron strings of the Soviet Union, felt that an alliance with the Congress was imperative to

push a “progressive” agenda. In this respect, the importance of the Communist Party of India (CPI) was paramount.

In the India of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, the CPI was far more important than its parliamentary representation suggested. It was the beacon of “progressive” thought and it showed the way to an influential Left body whose membership spanned the Congress, CPI and unattached individuals in academia, media, public sector units and even business (usually linked to trade with the Soviet bloc). The CPI's formal alliance with the Congress in 1971 strengthened Indira Gandhi's socialist credentials and made it a fight against the parties of “right reaction”. Communists and fellow travellers were generously rewarded with state patronage and in turn they were a big influence in the moves to secure a “committed bureaucracy” and “committed judiciary”. When the anti-corruption movement headed nominally by Jayaprakash Narayan shook Bihar and Gujarat in 1973-74, it was the CPI ecosystem that convened umpteen “anti-fascist” conventions and warned of the advancing tide of “counter-revolution”.

Predictably, the CPI was in the vanguard of the forces that cheered on the Emergency. In his speech on

February 28, 1976, to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, CPI chairman S.A. Dange said, “The rightist and fascist forces made a diabolic bid for the seizure of power which was foiled by the bold pre-emptive actions taken in declaring a national emergency.” The party asserted that “a new stage of popular anti-fascist unity had been reached between the Congress and the CPI at all levels...” Exhibiting characteristic Communist sophistry, CPI ideologue Mohit Sen — who enjoyed a special relationship with the Nehru-Gandhi family — claimed that “the mantle of destiny” had “slipped over the broadening shoulders of our party”: it had “ceased to become the object of history and become its subject... not so much the product, as the producer of history”.

The CPI's lyrical ecstasy over the Emergency was understandable. It saw the Emergency — particularly the ability to function without any political challenge — as the means of increasing “progressive” influences over both policy making and the state. It was seen as an important step in ensuring a permanent left and pro-Soviet domination of India. This onward march was particularly visible in the universities where fellow traveller, education minister S. Nurul Hasan, ensured the dominance of professed Marxists (who

included out and out careerists) into positions of power and influence. It was an enduring legacy that outlived the Emergency and continues to plague contemporary India.

The CPI's dream of becoming intertwined with the Congress was thwarted by Sanjay Gandhi, who hated all shades of Communists. However, as the only non-Congress party that could function openly during the Emergency, the CPI penetrated into different layers of society. Its fellow travellers maintained their close links with the Congress and, in time, became valuable allies in the Gandhi family's larger political battles against, first, the Janata Party, and, subsequently, the BJP. The history of the ideological battles that the National Democratic Alliance governments of Atal Behari Vajpayee and Narendra Modi have had to encounter can be traced back to the dark days of the Emergency.

Forgetting the past, it would seem, also involves the inability to grasp the essence of contemporary political battles.

(The writer is a senior journalist)

Courtesy: Deccan Chronicle, Opinion, 26th June 2015

Left Slur on Yoga Akin to Taliban's Intolerance

• *BalbirPunj*

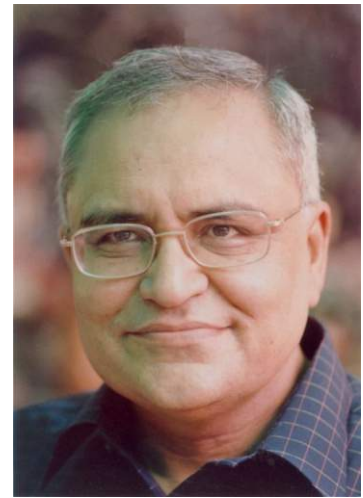
When JNU's bright student and Marxist intellectual Sitaram Yechury took over the leadership of the CPM, even his enemies felt that here was a man for the season in a party that was increasingly becoming irrelevant to Indian politics. But his taking up cudgels against a national movement to project yoga as a worldwide body-mind fitness programme has proved the cliché that the more things change, the more they remain the same.

Even worse is his comparing yoga postures to the morning stretching by dogs. Yechury's opposition to yoga, however, underlines the fact that the Indian Left has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. It's disconnect with the Indian ethos and interests remains unchanged.

In fact, it is not surprising given the fact that the Indian Left has seldom been on the same page as with rest of India in its over 80-year history. The communists opposed the Quit India movement, vilified and abused national leaders such as Gandhiji and Netaji and spied on freedom fighters for the British Empire.

When most Indians wanted the British to leave behind a unified India, the communists, hand in

glove with the Muslim League, successfully worked for the creation of a theocratic Pakistan. They waged an armed war against



independent India in 1948, sided with aggressor China in 1962 and joined anti-Indian forces in denouncing India after the nation went nuclear under the NDA. So Yechury's tirade against yoga is of no surprise. Yoga must be opposed and condemned by the CPM because of its Indian origins, irrespective of its global acceptance and proven benefits. It reminds one of the Taliban's senseless opposition to polio eradication programme in parts of Pakistan because of its western origins. By opposing yoga, Yechury has proved that his party is the Taliban's counterpart in India.

The Taliban portrays anti-polio campaign in Pakistan as a conspiracy by Western imperialism and the Church, CPM sees yoga as an extension of BJP's Hindutva agenda! The fact is, both polio eradication programme and yoga are ideology-

and religion-neutral and are aimed at the well-being of humanity.

When ambassadors from a host of countries from the US to Japan are found among the yoga enthusiasts participating at the Rajpath show, when across the world in New York, London, Paris or Beijing people are gladly practising yogic postures, where is the question of a Hindutva agenda?

The CPM leader, however, does not stop at accusing the International Yoga Day resolution of the UN endorsed by 190 nations as a partisan agenda of the Modi government. He goes overboard, perceiving in it “a tactic adopted by dictators in the past”.

Surely, the Marxist who found virtue in such dictators as Stalin, Mao, North Korea's Kim Jong-il, Cambodian butcher Pol Pot, Cuba's Castro, among other communists, has such a warped mind that he fears seeds of dictatorship in an internationally hailed body-mind health movement and greatness in communist-led wholesale killing of innocents.

From Patanjali to B K Iyengar, did the communist leader find even a trace of dictatorship in the vast and varied literature and practitioners of yoga? Even stranger is Yechury's accusation that celebrating an Indian contribution to global civilisation is meant to “divert attention

from basic issues confronting people” like malnutrition and hunger. He remembers that some 190 million people in the country are below poverty line.

One may ask this Marxist intellectual whether asking people to read Tagore or listen to Ravi Shankar's sitar recital is also a diversionary tactic? In fact, building body-mind harmony is by all criteria part of creating a nation that can better resolve the extreme and complex issues of solving the burning problems of people.

Both leadership and the common man need the discipline of body and mind to deal with the humongous problems of poverty. For one who heads a party that ruled West Bengal for 34 years and left the state and people so frustrated that they overthrew his party wholesale from power, such accusations betray his anti-people past and a future of increasing irrelevance that is staring at his party's poverty of ideas.

The Marxist leader fails to see any virtue in the promotion of yoga. This is in line with the Marxist thinking that seems to say that true thought began only with Marx. And this mindset is close to the marauding Taliban who want the world to accept on pain of being butchered or buried alive—a daily practice in Islamist held parts of West Asia—that their creed alone has monopoly of divine truth.

Nationalism is anathema to the Marxists. Their guru had proclaimed proletarian unity across countries will emerge out of the dialectic process of the intensifying class war. National boundaries and specific national symbols were to dissolve in the emergence of proletarian internationalism. “Workers of the world unite, you have nothing but your chains to lose” was the clarion call of Marx. But 20th century saw Russian and Chinese communism, Stalin and Mao at loggerheads. It saw communist China marching its forces into communist Vietnam and communist Vietnam driving communist leaders of Cambodia into exile. Marxism died in Russia and the once-communist Putin is now Putin, the Russian nationalist. How communism in North Korea, one of the very few last bastions of Marx's heaven on earth morphed into a family dictatorship of the worst order challenges Marx's vision as naïve and untrue.

Yet another Marxian utopia, Cuba, is also changing after subjecting its dissidents into lifelong prison and its people into primitive poverty. As for Red China, free market came to its rescue even as its proletarian dictatorship has meant that even a blind intellectual and dissident had to be locked up in his own house with walls raised high and soldiers keeping constant watch.

What happened to East Germany, where the regime sought to surround the country to prevent its people from escaping the Marxist utopia with a huge concrete and steel wall for decades, is also part of recent history.

The refusal of Marxists like Yechury to take pride in their own nation's ancient achievements is in line with the West Asian Taliban who physically destroy the monuments of their own past. That leads us to understand why the invading Turks burnt the great library of Alexandria in the mid-15th century and the marauding Ghaznis and Ghoris as well as their later avatars like Aurangzeb could not tolerate the magnificent and the sacred in India.

Such hatred for the past glories of your own country and people lead to Kashmiri extremists driving the Pandits out of the Valley. In the Indian Marxist's hate speech against the yoga day observance, you see the same bitter intolerance of the Taliban working within the communist bonnet.

(The author is national vice president, BJP)

Courtesy: The New Indian Express, 27th June 2015

भारत के प्रति विश्व दृष्टिकोण में पिछले एक वर्ष में आये प्रमुख बदलाव

• सिद्धार्थ सिंह

पिछले एक साल की व्यस्त राजनयिक गतिविधियों पर अगर नज़र डालें तो श्री मोदी, सुश्री स्वराज और जनरल वीके सिंह ने 101 देशों के साथ 162 राजनयिक आदान-प्रदान किया है। लोकसभा में अपने बल पर बहुमत हासिल करने वाली भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने अपने चुनावी कार्यक्रम में यह वादा किया था कि भारत अपने पड़ोसी देशों के साथ संबंधों पर ध्यान देगी। पड़ोसियों तक दोस्ती का हाथ पूरी तन्मयता के साथ बढ़ाया गया। यह इस बात से साबित होता है कि कार्यभार संभालने के बाद श्री मोदी सबसे पहले भूटान की यात्रा पर गये। भूटान दशकों से भारत का नजदीकी मित्र रहा है और उसकी सीमाएं चीन से मिलती हैं। भूटान, नेपाल, म्यांमार, श्रीलंका और अभी हाल में बांग्लादेश की यात्राओं के अलावा श्री मोदी ने फ्रांस, जर्मनी, अमेरिका, कनाडा, चीन और ऑस्ट्रेलिया का दौरा किया तथा मंगोलिया यात्रा करने वाले वे पहले भारतीय प्रधानमंत्री बने।

प्रधानमंत्री श्री मोदी ने जापान, दक्षिण कोरिया, सिंगापुर, मॉरीशस, सेशेल्स, फीजी और ब्राजील की यात्रा की। उन्होंने ब्रिक्स, आसियान, ईएएस और जी-20 जैसे कई बहु स्तरीय शिखर सम्मेलनों में हिस्सा लिया। श्री मोदी ने 'लुकईस्ट' नीति को आगे बढ़ाने की अपनी सरकार की प्रतिबद्धता दर्शायी और उसे 'एक्टईस्ट' नीति का नाम दिया। इसके तहत उन्होंने दक्षिण पूर्व एशियाई क्षेत्र के साथ सक्रिय भागीदारी शुरू की। 'एक्टईस्ट' नीति को कारगर बनाने के लिए सरकार ने आसियान देशों के साथ भारत होते हुए संपर्क परियोजनाओं पर बल दिया।

इसके अलावा, श्री मोदी ने 'लिकवेस्ट' नीति की शुरुआत की, जिसके तहत मध्यपूर्व क्षेत्र सहित पश्चिम के साथ भारत की साझेदारी शुरू की गई। श्री मोदी की विदेश नीतिका जोर आर्थिक कूटनीति पर है। इसके लिए उनकी सरकार 'मेक इन इंडिया' पहल को सक्रिय रूप से प्रोत्साहन दे रही है। विदेशी

सरकारों और बड़े कॉरपोरेट जगत को यह आश्वासन दिया गया है कि भारत में व्यापार करना कितना आसान है। 'मेक इन इंडिया' पहल के तहत प्रधानमंत्री ने विदेशी सरकारों से आग्रह किया है कि वे भारत के रेल क्षेत्र, निर्माण, संरचना, रक्षा, स्मार्ट सिटी, शहरी योजना और अन्य क्षेत्रों में भागीदारी करें। उन्होंने डिजिटल इंडिया, स्किल इंडिया, स्वच्छ गंगा अभियान, स्वच्छ भारत अभियान और नवीकरणीय ऊर्जा जैसी अन्य पहलों में भी विदेशी सरकारों की सक्रिय भागीदारी का आग्रह किया है।

उनकी विदेश नीति का दूसरा महत्वपूर्ण पहलू यह कि वे विदेशी दौरों के समय व्यापार जगत के बड़े नेताओं के साथ व्यक्तिगत रूप से बातचीत करते हैं। प्रधानमंत्री ने विश्व की शीर्ष कंपनियों के नेताओं के साथ मुलाकात की है और उन्हें भारत में साझेदारी करने के लिए आमंत्रित किया है। 2014 में श्री मोदी की अमेरिका यात्रा ने पूरे विश्व का ध्यान खींचा। 2005 में अमेरिका द्वारा वीजा न दिये जाने की कटुता को भुला कर उन्होंने अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति बराक ओबामा के साथ अपने संबंध प्रगाढ़ किये। एक बड़ा कूटनीतिक दांव खेलते हुए उन्होंने 26 जनवरी, 2015 की गणतंत्र दिवस परेड में राष्ट्रपति ओबामा को मुख्य अतिथि के रूप में आमंत्रित किया। श्री ओबामा गणतंत्र दिवस की परेड में उपस्थिति होने वाले पहले अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति बने। वे अपने कार्यकाल में दो बार भारत दौरा करने वाले भी पहले अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति बने। इसके पहले वे 2010 में भारत यात्रा पर पधारे थे। ओबामा ने प्रधानमंत्री मोदी को "मैन ऑफ एक्शन" बताया और उनके साथ प्रगाढ़ संबंध बनाये। उन दोनों नेताओं ने इस वर्ष जनवरी में रेडियो पर संयुक्त रूप से श्मनकीबातश भी की। चीन के साथ भी भारत के नजदीकी आर्थिक संबंध तो हैं, लेकिन सीमा विवाद के तनाव की छाया दोनों देशों के संबंधों पर मौजूद है। हालांकि, श्री मोदी ने चीनी नेतृत्व के साथ स्वस्थ संबंध बनाने का

प्रयास किया है। पिछले एक वर्ष के दौरान उन्होंने चीनी राष्ट्रपति शीजिन पिंग के साथ चार बार मुलाकात की। शायद यह विश्व के किसी भी नेता के साथ की गई मुलाकातों से अधिक है। सितंबर में जब राष्ट्रपति शी भारत आये थे तो श्री मोदी ने उन्हें अहमदाबाद आने के लिए आमंत्रित किया था। दोनों नेताओं ने साबरमती नदी किनारे चहल कदमी की। इस वार्तालाप के दौरान लोकनर्तकों और लोक संगीतकारों ने नदी किनारे कार्यक्रम भी प्रस्तुत किया। इस तरह श्री मोदी ने औपचारिक कूटनीतिक वार्तालाप को किनारे करके अनौपचारिक वातावरण में चर्चा की। उन्होंने पहली बार भारत की विदेश नीति में राज्यों को बराबर की हिस्सेदारी दी। प्रधानमंत्री मोदी की इस पहल का जवाब देते हुए राष्ट्रपति शी ने मई में श्री मोदी की चीन यात्रा के दौरान उन्हें अपने गृहनगर शियान में आमंत्रित किया। वहां उनका परंपरिक रूप से शानदार स्वागत किया गया।

रूस के साथ श्री मोदी ने भारत के नजदीकी परंपरिक संबंधों पर जोर दिया। ब्रिक्स और एस सी ओ शिखर सम्मेलनों के लिए जुलाई में जब श्री मोदी रूस जाएंगे तो राष्ट्रपति व्लादिमीर पुतिन के साथ चौथी बार मुलाकात करेंगे।

अपने पूर्वी मित्र देश बांग्लादेश की श्री मोदी की हाल की यात्रा बहुत ऐतिहासिक रही है। इस दौरान दोनों देशों ने 41 वर्ष पुराने सीमा समझौते को पूरा किया। यह मामला दोनों देशों के बीच बहुत पुराना था और ढाका यह चाहता था कि भारत इसे जल्द से जल्द पूरा करे। प्रधानमंत्री शेख हसीना के साथ अपनी बातचीत और ढाका विश्वविद्यालय में अपने व्याख्यान में श्री मोदी ने बांग्लादेश को आश्वस्त किया कि उनकी सरकार सभी हित धारकों के साथ मिलकर तीस्ता नदी का मामला भी हल करने का प्रयास करेगा।

पिछले साल सितंबर में एक अन्य मित्र देश जापान की यात्रा के दौरान श्री मोदी ने प्रधानमंत्री शिंजो आबे के साथ अपनी मुलाकात में विशेष रणनीतिक विश्व साझेदारी को रेखांकित किया। ऑस्ट्रेलिया के प्रधानमंत्री टोनी एबट के साथ भी उन्होंने नजदीकी

संबंध स्थापित किये और पिछले वर्ष नवंबर में श्री मोदी की ब्रिसबेन यात्रा के दौरान दोनों नेता बड़ी गर्म जोशी से मिले थे। श्री मोदी ने अभी मई में दक्षिण कोरिया की यात्रा की और दोनों देशों ने अपने संबंधों को विशेष रणनीतिक साझेदारी का दर्जा प्रदान किया। दोनों देशों ने अपने विदेश और रक्षा सचिवों के बीच कूटनीतिक तथा सुरक्षा संवाद की शुरुआत की। अब तक भारत इस तरह का संवाद केवल जापान के साथ करता रहा है।

भारत की विदेश नीति में श्री मोदी ने एक प्रमुख बदलाव यह किया है कि जिस पारंपरिक कूटनीतिक भाषा का इस्तेमाल साउथ ब्लॉक में दशकों से हो रहा था, उसे हटा दिया है। श्री मोदी के व्याख्यान अनौपचारिक और साधारण शैली के होते हैं। उनकी छवि इस प्रकार की है कि वे अनौपचारिक रूप से लोगों के साथ बातचीत करना पसंद करते हैं। विदेशों में प्रधानमंत्री द्वारा की जाने वाली चर्चाओं में सब से बड़ा हिस्सा विदेशों में रहने वाले भारतीयों का है। पिछले साल सितंबर में उन्होंने न्यूयॉर्क के मैडिसन स्क्वैयर में उत्साहित भारतीयों को संबोधित करते हुए उन्होंने मंत्र मुग्ध कर दिया था। इस तरह उन्होंने विदेशों में रहने वाले भारतीयों के साथ नजदीकी संबंध बनाये और उन्हें भारत के विकास में बड़े पैमाने पर हिस्सेदारी करने के लिए प्रेरित किया। प्रधानमंत्री ने भारतीय मूल के व्यक्तियों (पीआईओ) कार्ड को विदेशों में रहने वाले भारतीय नागरिकों (ओसीआई) कार्ड के साथ जोड़ने की घोषणा की। इस तरह इन लोगों को बड़ी राहत दी गई। इसके अलावा, पीआईओ को जीवन पर्यन्त वीजा देने की भी घोषणा की गई। श्री मोदी की विदेश नीति का एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण पहलू यह है कि वे ट्विटर और फेसबुक का इस्तेमाल भी करते हैं, जिनसे न केवल उनके असंख्य प्रशंसक और समर्थक जुड़े हैं बल्कि विदेशी नेता भी इन में शामिल हैं। जिससे उन के फॉलोवर्स को भारत की विदेश नीति की प्रगति के बारे में जानकारी मिलती रहती है।

(सिद्धार्थ सिंह डा. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान में रिसर्च एसोसीएट हैं)

Modi's Push on 'Act East Policy': Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicle Agreement Signed

India recently signed the Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicle Agreement for the Regulation of Passenger, Personal and Cargo Vehicular Traffic amongst BBIN countries. The agreement was signed on 15th June at the BBIN Transport Ministers meeting in Thimpu, Bhutan. The BBIN agreement will promote safe, economical efficient and environmentally sound road transport in the sub-region and will further help each country in creating an institutional mechanism for regional integration. BBIN countries will be benefited by mutual cross border movement of passenger and goods for overall economic development of the region. The people of the four countries will benefit through seamless movement of goods and passenger across borders. Each Party will bear its own costs arising from implementation of this agreement. SAARC Motor vehicle agreement was red flagged by Pakistan during the last SAARC Summit in Kathmandu in November 2014. In that backdrop it was decided by the sub-regional group that to promote the movement of goods and people, it is in the interest of the region to have this kind of mutual agreement and that has been fructified now.

India's 'Act East' policy essentially

reckons that opening the trading corridors with its eastern and south-eastern neighbours will usher in an era of development for its north-eastern States. Further, connectivity is also meant to unlock the tremendous untapped trading potential of India with its immediate South Asian neighbouring economies. This agreement allows the four countries to pave the way for transit of personal and commercial vehicles. Movement of vehicles across borders has been thought out to facilitate trade and movement of freight with passenger carrying vehicles, a value addition. The land-locked trading centres of Nepal and Bhutan can get access to ports in India and Bangladesh. The idea is to link the South Asian Corridors with the Asian Highway network. Tripura can get access to Bangladesh's Ashugunj port; and Chittagong and Mongla ports can be accessed to move foodgrain from Kolkata to the North-East. The opening of the Bangabandhu Bridge over the Jamuna river (the Jamuna multi-purpose bridge) and the development of the Padma bridge, the Dhaka-Chittagong transport corridor, and other strategic transport corridors can facilitate trade between Bangladesh and India's North-East and West Bengal.

SPMRF Desk

Ministry of Culture Setting up of a National Memorial at the Birth Place of Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan in Bihar

The Union Government recently gave its approval to the proposal of the Ministry of Culture for setting up of a National Memorial at Lala Ka Tola, Sitab, Diara, District Chhapra (Saran) in Bihar – the birth place of Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan. The Memorial will also house a virtual museum and an institute to undertake study and research on (a) democracy, (b) enhancing the role of Panchayats in nation building, (c) Gandhian thoughts, and (d) centre for Khadi and constructive work keeping in view the thoughts of Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan, along with Lok Nayak Khadi Gaurav Samvardhan Kendra at the same place for making national flags by women cluster(s).

Bharat Ratna Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan's contribution as an exemplary leader of Indian independence movement, a freedom fighter, social reformer and a visionary political leader will be commemorated through these decisions. As sentinel of Indian democracy, his contribution to redeem democracy will be remembered for long. After proclamation of National Emergency, on the mid-night of 25th June, 1975, Lok Nayak Jai



Prakash Narayan was arrested and kept as a detenu at Chandigarh.

Jai Prakash Narayan's call for a Sampoorna Kranti (Total Revolution) for upholding and defending civil liberties at a very critical juncture in the post-independence history of India, ushered a new democratic movement for India and contributed to strengthen the roots of democracy.

For so many decades no memorial was thought of for the late leader and no effort made to disseminate his thoughts on the various dimensions and aspects of Indian society and polity. By deciding to undertake the creation of a memorial, the Narendra Modi led BJP Government has initiated a watershed step to preserve and perpetuate the contributions and work of Jai Prakash Narayan.

Ministry of HRD

Modi Govt Okays Setting Up of 6 New IIMs

The Narendra Modi Government has cleared the proposal for setting up of six new IIMs in the country, which will start offering courses from the coming academic session itself. The new IIMs will be located at Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh), Bodh Gaya (Bihar), Sirmaur (Himachal Pradesh), Nagpur (Maharashtra), Sambalpur (Odisha) and Amritsar (Punjab). Each institute will start with an intake of 140 students for the post-

graduate course, the flagship programme of the IIMs, admission for which will be through CAT. In his Budget speech in July last year, Finance Minister Arun Jaitley had announced a proposal for the setting up of five new IIMs. In addition, an IIM was also proposed for Andhra Pradesh in keeping with the AP Re-organisation Act, 2014. There are at present 13 IIMs in the country.

PM office

PM launches 'Narendra Modi Mobile App'



Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, recently launched the 'Narendra Modi Mobile App'. The application provides updates on the day-to-day activities of Shri Narendra Modi. It presents an

opportunity to receive messages and emails directly from Shri Narendra Modi. There is also an option to contribute and earn 'badges' through to-do tasks.

Using the app, one can tune-in and listen to the various 'Mann kiBaat' editions of Prime Minister Modi, read his blogs, and get to know more about him from the Biography section. The app provides comprehensive information on initiatives and achievements of the Union Government, including an 'info-graphics' section.

FDI inflows surge by 112% in April'15 under NDA Govt

Make In India & Ease of Doing Business usher rapid rise in FDI



Source: DIPP

India's Forex reserves surges to a new high under NDA Govt

Forex reserves register higher jump in 2014-15 than last 4 years put together



Source : Reserve Bank of India

25 जून, 1975 – आपातकाल आपातकाल का काला दिवस



नई दिल्ली, 25 जून 2015। डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान द्वारा मीसा बंदियों के सम्मान में एक संगोष्ठी का आयोजन 25 जून गुरुवार को दिल्ली स्थित मावलंकर हॉल में किया गया। संगोष्ठी का विषय "लोकतंत्र का काला दिवस" था। कार्यक्रम में बतौर मुख्य अतिथि भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह जी एवं विशिष्ट अतिथि भारतीय जनता पार्टी के संगठन महामंत्री माननीय रामलाल जी उपस्थित थे। अन्य अतिथियों में भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय उपाध्यक्ष श्री श्याम जाजू और डॉ विनय सहस्त्रबुद्धे, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के वरिष्ठ नेता श्री विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा एवं विशेष वक्ता के रूप में प्रसार भारती बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष डॉ ए.सूर्यप्रकाश उपस्थित थे।

कार्यक्रम के मुख्य अतिथि और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह ने सभागार में मौजूद लोगों को संबोधित करते हुए सर्वप्रथम उन लोगों को श्रद्धा-सुमन अर्पित किया जिन्होंने आपातकाल की मानसिकता के खिलाफ संघर्ष किया था और 1975-1977 के दौरान भयंकर यातनाएं झेलीं थी। उन्होंने कहा कि इन्हीं लोगों ने उस नाजुक मोड़ पर

देश के लोकतंत्र को न केवल बचाया वरन लोकतंत्र की जड़ों को और मजबूत किया तथा यह सुनिश्चित किया कि सालों साल तक किसी की हिम्मत न हो सके फिर से ऐसा दुस्साहस करने की। श्री शाह ने कहा कि उनका बलिदान आने वाली कई पीढ़ियों के लिए वंदनीय है।

उन्होंने कहा कि आपातकाल इंदिरा गांधी के अधिनायकवादी मानसिकता का परिणाम था, जिसमें वह पूरे लोकतंत्र और संविधान पर अपना अधिपत्य जमाना चाहती थी। द्वारिका में श्रीकृष्ण की शासन प्रणाली व मगध साम्राज्य के शासन व्यवस्था की चर्चा करते हुये श्री शाह ने कहा कि विश्व में सबसे पहले संवैधानिक शासन प्रणाली की शुरुआत भारत से ही हुई थी। उन्होने कहा कि भारत का लोकतंत्र दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा, सबसे मजबूत और सबसे परिवर्तनशील लोकतंत्र है।

उन्होंने कहा कि 25 जून 1975 से लेकर मार्च 1977 तक का समय लोकतंत्र के इतिहास का सबसे काला अध्याय है। आपातकाल के संघर्ष को याद रखना नई पीढ़ी के लिए जरूरी है। उन्होंने कहा कि आपातकाल ना तो अध्यादेशों से आता है और ना ही अध्यादेशों को

कार्यक्रम की झलकियां



लाने के विचारों से आता है यह कुसित्स मानसिकता से आता है। उन्होंने कहा कि कांग्रेस के शासन काल में सरदार पटेल को जहां गुमनामी में ढकेल दिया जाता है, सुभाषचंद्र बोस के परिवार की जासूसी कराई जाती है, बाबा साहेब अंबेडकर का चित्र संसद में लगाने में वर्षों लग जाते हैं, वहीं भारतीय जनता पार्टी की नेतृत्व वाली सरकार द्वारा नेहरू की जन्म शती मनाने के लिए कमेटी गठित की जाती है।

इस अवसर पर भारतीय जनता पार्टी के वरिष्ठ नेता श्री विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा ने कार्यक्रम में अपने बंदी काल के अनुभवों को साझा करते हुए कहा कि आपातकाल के दौरान मुझे चार जेलों में जाने का मौका मिला, अंत में पीठ की दर्द के कारण मुझे चण्डीगढ़ पीजीआई में भर्ती कराया गया। उन्होंने कहा कि जिस कमरे में मुझे रखा गया उसमें पूर्व में जय प्रकाश नारायण को रखा गया था, कमरा तो ठीक था लेकिन उसकी खिड़कियां, रोशनदान, और दरवाजे सील कर दिए गए थे, मुझे एक महीने तक सूर्य का दर्शन नहीं हुआ। यही नहीं डॉक्टर और नर्स के साथ दो इंटेलीजेंस के लोग और सुरक्षाकर्मी आते थे, स्थिति इतनी विषम थी कि सांस लेना भी कठिन प्रतीत हो रहा था।

कार्यक्रम के विशिष्ट अतिथि और भारतीय जनता पार्टी के संगठन महासचिव और आपातकाल के दौरान लोकतंत्र के एक सजग प्रहरी की भूमिका निभाने वाले माननीय रामलाल जी ने उस समय की परिस्थितियों का जिक्र करते हुए कहा कभी-कभी आपातकाल के लिए संघर्ष करने वालों को लगता है कि हमको याद भी किया जाता है कि नहीं? उन्होंने कहा कि मैं सोचता हूँ कि आपातकाल के संघर्ष के अनेक संगठन नायक थे, अनेक व्यक्तित्व नायक थे, लेकिन आपातकाल के संघर्ष के यदि महानायक थे तो वो बाबू जय प्रकाश नारायण जी थे, और उनके जन्म स्थान को स्मारक बनाकर आपातकाल के सभी सेनानियों का सम्मान माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने की, जो कि स्मरणीय एवं प्रशंसनीय है। उन्होंने कहा कि उस समय केवल सत्याग्रहियों को ही नहीं अपितु उनको सहयोग करने वालों को भी जेल में डाल दिया जाता था। बोलने के लिए बहुत सारी बातें हो सकती हैं, लेकिन आज संकल्प लेने का दिन है, हम अंधेरे को

याद ना करें बल्कि अंधेरा कैसे मिटेगा, देश कैसे एकजुट होकर अपनी प्रगति की राह पर आगे बढ़ेगा इस बात पर जोर दें और इसको याद करें।

कार्यक्रम के विशेष वक्ता और प्रसार भारती बोर्ड के अध्यक्ष डॉ ए.सूर्य प्रकाश ने आपातकाल के अनुभवों और घटनाओं को पॉवर पॉइंट के माध्यम से जीवंत प्रस्तुति दी, तथा एक-एक बिंदुओं और तत्कालीन कांग्रेस सरकार के अत्याचारों से सभागार में मौजूद लोगों को अवगत कराया।

भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय उपाध्यक्ष श्री श्याम जाजू ने आपातकाल के अपने अनुभवों को जीवंत करते हुए अपने पिता जी के द्वारा लिखित पत्र को पढ़कर सुनाया। उक्त पत्र उनके पिता जी ने आपातकाल के दौरान जेल से उनके लिए लिखे थे।

इस अवसर पर आपातकाल बंदी स्मरण समिति के संयोजक एवं दिल्ली के पूर्व महापौर श्री महेश चंद्र शर्मा ने हॉल में उपस्थित सभी मीसा बंदियों का सामुहिक रूप से स्वागत करते हुए उन्हें पीले रंग का फटका पहनाकर सम्मानित किया। कार्यक्रम के दौरान वीर रस के प्रसिद्ध कवि गजेन्द्र सोलंकी ने अपनी कविताओं से सभागार में मौजूद लोगों को भाव विभोर कर दिया। कार्यक्रम का संचालन भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव श्री अरुण सिंह ने किया और आभार ज्ञापन डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान के निदेशक डॉ अनिर्वान गांगुली ने किया।

इस अवसर पर केन्द्रीय मंत्री डॉ जितेन्द्र सिंह, पूर्व राज्यपाल डॉ त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी, राज्यसभा सांसद श्री विजय गोयल, भाजपा वरिष्ठ नेता श्री सी.पी. ठाकुर, भाजपा राष्ट्रीय महासचिव श्री कैलाश विजयवर्गी, दिल्ली के सांसद श्रीमती मीनाक्षी लेखी व श्री रमेश बिधूड़ी समेत भारतीय जनता पार्टी के अनेक वरिष्ठ नेता, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, जवाहर लाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय, आईआईटी और आई.आई.एमसी समेत कई प्रतिष्ठित शैक्षणिक संस्थानों के छात्रों ने इस कार्यक्रम में बढ़-चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया।

SPMRF Desk

‘लोकतंत्र का काला दिवस’

विषय पर आयोजित संगोष्ठी में श्री अमित शाह द्वारा दिये गये भाषण के प्रमुख अंश
**आपातकाल ना तो अध्यादेशों से आता है और ना ही अध्यादेशों को लाने के विचारों से आता है,
 आपातकाल कुत्सित मानसिकता से आता है: अमित शाह**



भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह ने आज दिल्ली के मावलंकर हॉल में आपातकाल के 40 वर्ष पूरे होने के उपलक्ष्य में आयोजित संगोष्ठी ‘लोकतंत्र का काला दिवस’ को सम्बोधित किया।

उन्होंने अपने उद्बोधन की शुरुआत करते हुये सर्वप्रथम उन लोगों को श्रद्धा-सुमन अर्पित किया जिन्होंने आपातकाल की मानसिकता के खिलाफ संघर्ष किया था और 1975-1977 के दौरान यातनाएं झेलीं थी। उन्होंने कहा कि इन्हीं लोगों ने उस नाजुक मोड़ पर देश के लोकतंत्र को न केवल बचाया वरन लोकतंत्र की जड़ों को और मजबूत किया तथा यह सुनिश्चित किया कि सालों साल तक किसी की हिम्मत न हो सके फिर से ऐसा दुस्साहस करने की। श्री शाह ने कहा की उनका बलिदान आने वाली कई पीढ़ियों के लिए वंदनीय है।

श्री शाह ने सम्मलेन में द्वारिका में श्रीकृष्ण की शासन प्रणाली व मगध साम्राज्य के शासन व्यवस्था की चर्चा करते हुये कहा कि विश्व में सबसे पहले संवैधानिक शासन प्रणाली की शुरुआत भारत से ही हुई थी। भारत का लोकतंत्र दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा, सबसे मजबूत और सबसे परिवर्तनशील लोकतंत्र है।

श्री शाह ने कहा कि 25 जून 1975 से लेकर मार्च 1977 तक का समय लोकतंत्र के इतिहास का सबसे काला अध्याय है। आपातकाल के संघर्ष को याद रखना नई पीढ़ी के लिए जरूरी है। आपातकाल ना तो अध्यादेशों से आता है और ना ही अध्यादेशों को लाने के विचारों से आता है, आपातकाल कुत्सित मानसिकता से आता है जब शासनतंत्र दूसरे के विचारों को सुनना ही नहीं चाहती, स्वतंत्र विचारों का दमन करने लगती है और लोकतंत्र के चारों स्तम्भों को सीखचों के पीछे डाल देती है तो यह तानाशाही की ही मानसिकता

होती है।

श्री शाह ने आपातकाल की पृष्ठभूमि की चर्चा करते हुये कहा कि इंदिरा गांधी के प्रधानमंत्री बनने के साथ ही कांग्रेस में सिंडिकेट युग की शुरुआत हो गई और अंततः कांग्रेस के दो टुकड़े हो गये। उन्होंने इस बात पर जोर देते हुए कहा कि उस वक्त कांग्रेस के असंतुष्टों को पार्टी नहीं छोड़नी चाहिये थी, उन्हें पार्टी के अंदर रहते हुये संघर्ष करना चाहिए था ताकि लोकतंत्र की जड़ें मजबूत बनी रहती। उन लोगों के पार्टी छोड़ने से सत्ता और संगठन की सारी बागडोर इंदिरा गांधी के हाथों में आ गई और वह निरंकुश और तानाशाह हो गई और उसका ही परिणाम था कि देश को आपातकाल जैसी वीभत्स परिस्थितियों का सामना करना पड़ा।

श्री शाह ने कहा कि उस वक्त चापलूस और चाटुकारों का बोलबाला था, मुद्रास्फीति काफी बढ़ गई थी, शासन व्यवस्था पूरी तरह से चरमरा गई थी और भ्रष्टाचार अपने चरम पर था। आपातकाल देश की शान्ति, सुरक्षा और संविधान की रक्षा के लिए नहीं लाया गया था जैसा कि प्रचारित किया गया वरन इसे अपनी सत्ता को बचाने के लिये लाया गया जो कि निश्चित रूप से एक असंवैधानिक कदम था।

उन्होंने एक घटना का जिक्र करते हुये कहा कि पटना में देवकांत बरूआ की गाड़ी ने एक 9 वर्ष के बच्चे को कुचल दिया। पूरा काफिला उस बच्चे के ऊपर से गुजर गया पर किसी ने इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। जब यह खबर इंडियन एक्सप्रेस में अगले दिन प्रकाशित हुई तो पूरे देश में आक्रोश के लहर दौड़ गई।

श्री शाह ने सम्पूर्ण क्रांति आंदोलन का विस्तृत रूप से उल्लेख करते हुये कहा कि जयप्रकाश जी के आंदोलन ने पूरे देश में क्रांति की एक नई अलख जगाई थी। पटना के ऐतिहासिक गांधी मैदान में जयप्रकाश नारायण ने सम्पूर्ण क्रांति का आह्वान किया था।

3 जनवरी 1975 को तत्कालीन रेल मंत्री श्री ललित नारायण मिश्रा की हत्या कर दी गई। 12 जून 1975 को इलाहबाद हाई कोर्ट ने अपने ऐतिहासिक फैसले में इंदिरा गांधी के चुनाव को निरस्त कर इसे असंवैधानिक करार कर दिया। इस फैसले को सुप्रीम कोर्ट में चुनौती दी गई। उच्चतम न्यायालय ने उच्च न्यायालय के फैसले पर हालांकि रोक लगा दी और एक ऐसा फैसला दिया, जिससे इंदिरा गांधी का प्रधानमंत्री पद पर बने रहना बिल्कुल असंवैधानिक हो गया। इंदिरा गांधी और उनके पूरे शासन तंत्र ने यह प्रचारित करने की पूरी कोशिश की कि यह इंदिरा गांधी की जीत हो गयी है। इतने अपमानित तरीके से प्रधानमंत्री की कुर्सी बचाई गई कि पूरा लोकतंत्र शर्मसार हो गया और अंततः 25 जून की आधी रात को पूरे देश में आपातकाल लागू कर दिया गया और फिर शुरू हुआ दमन चक्र। विरोधी पक्ष के लोग जो जहाँ थे उन्हें वहीं गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया, उन्हें नज़रबंद कर दिया गया। सुबह 6 बजे कैबिनेट की बैठक बुलाई गई तब कैबिनेट को पता चला कि देश में आपातकाल लगा दिया गया है। एक आंकड़े के अनुसार सुबह 6 बजे तक लगभग 9 हजार से ज्यादा लोगों को एक रात में ही गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया था। श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी एवम श्री आडवाणी जी को बंगलोर में ही गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया।

सरकार ने अध्यादेश पर अध्यादेश जारी करके न्यायपालिका को मजबूर कर दिया, मीडिया पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया गया और मीसा को और अधिक मजबूत बना दिया ताकि लोगों की आवाजें पूर्णतया खामोश हो जाये। कांग्रेस सरकार ने लोकतंत्र के चारों स्तम्भों को कुचलने की भरपूर कोशिश की। लगभग 9 लाख 40 हजार लोगों को अमानवीय तरीके से लगातार 19 महीनों तक जेल के सलाखों के पीछे रखा गया और उन्हें कठोरतम यातनाएं दी गईं लेकिन इतना संघर्ष और दमन होने के बावजूद न कोई टूटा और न ही कोई झुका। वास्तव में भारत के मिटटी में लोकतंत्र की

खुशबू बहुत गहरी है।

इन संघर्षों के परिणामस्वरूप 1977 में जनसंघ ने नागरिक अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये और लोकतंत्र को और मजबूत करने के लिए जनता पार्टी में अपना पूर्ण विलय कर दिया। श्री मोरारजी के नेतृत्व में सरकार बनते ही आपातकाल के दौरान जारी किये गए सारे अध्यादेशों को निरस्त कर दिया गया और संविधान संशोधन द्वारा यह सुनिश्चित किया गया कि नागरिकों के मौलिक अधिकारों का हनन नहीं किया जा सके।

आज जो हमारा लोकतंत्र इतना मजबूत है, जो मीडिया की स्वतंत्रता बची है और लोगों की अभिव्यक्ति की जो स्वतंत्रता व्यापक हुई है वह आपातकाल के दौरान उन हजारों लोगों के बलिदान के फलस्वरूप ही संभव हो पाया है।

श्री शाह ने संगोष्ठी को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा कि क्यों कांग्रेस पार्टी को नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस की जासूसी करानी पडी, क्यों सरदार पटेल को भारत रत्न देने में सालों लग जाते हैं, संविधान निर्माता बाबासाहब अंबेडकर के चित्र को संसद में लगाने में वर्षों लग जाते हैं वहीं भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार नेहरू जी के जन्मशती मनाने के लिए समिति का तुरंत गठन कर देती है और लौह पुरुष सरदार पटेल की सबसे ऊंची प्रतिमा लगाने का कार्य गुजरात में शुरू करती है।

कांग्रेस के आंतरिक लोकतंत्र पर हमला करते हुए श्री शाह ने कहा कि जिस पार्टी का कभी भी आंतरिक लोकतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं रहा, जिसकी सोच ही तानाशाही है, जहाँ किसी भी फैसले में आम कार्यकर्ताओं की सुनी ही नहीं जाती उसके हाथ में सबसे बड़े और सबसे मजबूत लोकतंत्र की चाभी कैसे दी जा सकती है। कांग्रेस का पूरा अतीत इस बात की गवाही देता है कि शुरू से लेकर अब तक केवल एक परिवार के हाथ में ही पार्टी की पूरी कुंजी रही है।

उन्होंने सम्मलेन में उपस्थित लोगों से अपील करते हुए कहा कि आप व्यक्ति को वोट ना दें। देश

की जनता का विचार बदलने का वक्त आ गया है। आप पार्टी की विचारधार व विचारों में अपनी आस्था व्यक्त करें, आप एक ऐसी पार्टी को चुनें जहाँ आपकी बातों व हितों को महत्व दिया जाए, जिस पार्टी में आंतरिक लोकतंत्र की जड़ें गहरी हो। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि अगर ऐसा होता है तो देश में कभी भी आपातकाल नहीं आयेगा।

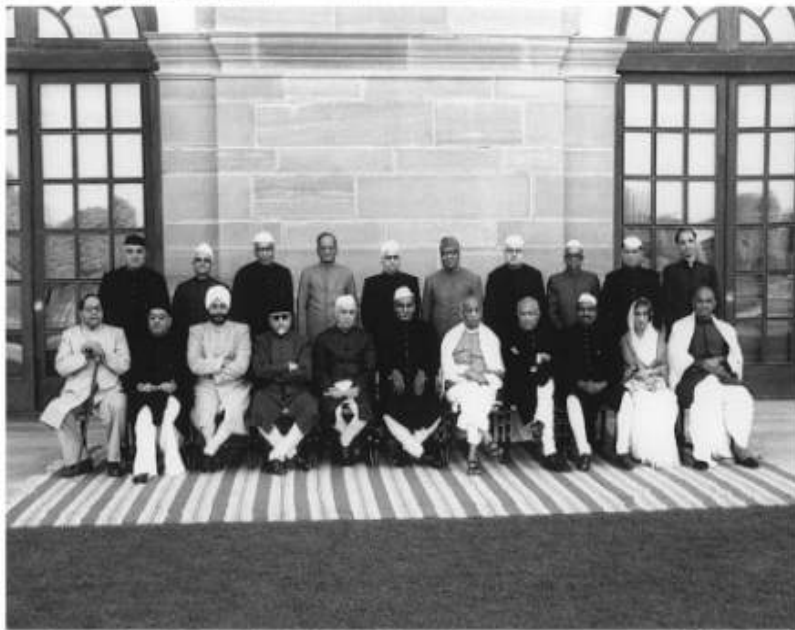
उन्होंने कहा कि वर्तमान में 1650 पार्टियों के जंगल में दो-तीन पार्टियां ही ऐसी हैं जिसमें आंतरिक लोकतंत्र है। उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी राजनीति को उन्हीं दिशाओं में ले जाने का सतत प्रयास करेगी जिसका सपना स्वर्गीय श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण ने की थी और जिसकी रक्षा के लिए हजारों लोगों ने संघर्ष किया और यातनाएं झेलीं।

उन्होंने प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेंद्र मोदी जी द्वारा बिहार के छपरा में जन आंदोलन के नायक स्वर्गीय श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण जी की स्मृति में स्मारक बनाये जाने की घोषणा पर अपना आभार व्यक्त करते हुये कहा कि हम लोग सदैव जय प्रकाश जी के जीवन से प्रेरणा लेते रहेंगे।

- SPMRF Desk

**SPMRF tributes to our inspiration,
Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on his birth anniversary
(6th July, 2015)**





"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 Indian 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

