



# THE NATIONALIST

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Special Article

## **NAGA ACCORD – Sagacity, Wisdom, Acceptance of Reality**

**Why I Feel Modi Gave India the  
Best Independence Day Speech**

**A Sui-Generis  
Address**

**Marhaba  
Namo**

## 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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## Editorial

Prime Minister Modi's speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort on Independence Day 2015, was a state of the union address where he not only articulated the intent and will of his government to work for the years ahead but also made a presentation of the work promised and achieved so far. Listening to the address one saw the new energy and vision that has permeated governance in the last sixteen months. New ideas and new initiatives are being welcomed and thought of. PM Modi's call for start-up and stand-up India, his call for encouraging and supporting Dalit and Women entrepreneurship was essentially a call for strengthening the sustaining base of Indian society. His vision of a "Team India" working was essentially an earnest message of national unity and a unity of will and vision. It articulated his faith in a genuinely federal approach to governance in India. It was a stark contrast to the Congress approach of encouraging unilateralism and of treating the states and regional leadership in India as appendages to the party in power at the Centre. Prime Minister Modi through his Team India approach has essentially changed all of that.

The other crucial development of the past month has been Prime Minister Modi's visit to the UAE announcing the inauguration of a new era of

cooperation and partnership between India and the region. From the point of view of connect and success the trip was an extremely successful foray in a region long-neglected by India and yet so intricately connected with her through a varied dimension.

The nation is on the march and it is only those roundly rejected by the people who are unable to come to terms with the dynamic forward movement. Among these naysayers is of course the Congress and its controlling family which takes every electoral defeat rather personally and its drum-beater the Communists who hardly ever have India's interest at heart. The Congress's theatrics and the Communists' duplicitous approach to Indian polity and interests is in any case leading them to the nadir of Indian politics today, a low from where there is no recovery or recovery.

*-Dr. Anirban Ganguly,  
Director, SPMRF*

## लाल किले की प्राचीर से पीएम मोदी के भाषण की प्रमुख बातें



प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी आजादी की 69वीं सालगिरह पर लाल किले की प्राचीर से राष्ट्र को संबोधित करते हुए अपने भाषण में जनधन योजना, श्रमेव जयते योजना, क्लीन इंडिया, डायरेक्ट गैस सब्सिडी जैसी योजनाओं का जिक्र किया। मोदी ने भ्रष्टाचार और कालेधन पर भी सरकार का रिपोर्ट कार्ड रखा। प्रस्तुत है भाषण के प्रमुख अंश –

### कालेधन की वापसी

काले धन को वापस लाने के लिए हमने पहले दिन से ही काम शुरू कर दिया, एक हफ्ते के अंदर एसआईटी का गठन किया जिसमें काम जारी है। इसके अलावा बहुत से ऐसे कदम उठाए इतने कम समय में, हमने एक कठोर कानून बना दिया काले धन को लेकर। रोज हमें कोई न कोई फोन करके कहता है कि इतना कठोर कानून क्यों बना दिया, लेकिन बीमारी इतनी भयंकर है कि इसके लिए कड़ी दवाई देनी पड़ी। G-20 में मैंने यूएस के साथ मिलकर काले धन को वापस लाने के लिए काम किया है। बहुत से देशों के साथ समझौता हुआ है जो काले धन के बारे में हमें जानकारी देंगे। ये पैसा वापस आएगा और देश के गरीबों के लिए काम में आएगा। अभी तक बनाए गए कानून में 6500 करोड़ काले धन का

खुलासा हुआ है।

### भ्रष्टाचार पर काबू

हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार को लेकर बहुत बात होती है। हमारे देश में बीमार व्यक्ति भी स्वस्थ व्यक्ति को सलाह देता है। जो करप्शन में लिप्त वो भी सलाह देता है, जो परेशान है वो भी सलाह देता है। मैंने कभी ये घोषणा नहीं की है पर आज मैं हिसाब देना चाहता हूँ कि देश भ्रष्टाचार से मुक्त हो सकता है। अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ। ऊपर से शुरू होना पड़ता है। भ्रष्टाचार दीमक की तरह होती है, जब फैल जाता है तब पता चल जाता है। फिर हर स्केवेयर मीटर पर हर महीने इंजेक्शन लगाना पड़ता है। इतने बड़े देश में भी अनेक प्रकार के प्रयासों की आवश्यकता है। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि सरकार पर एक नए पैसे के भ्रष्टाचार का आरोप नहीं लगा है।

### महंगाई पर काबू

बारिश कम होने से किसान परेशान हुए, लेकिन फिर भी महंगाई को हम नीचे लाने में सफल हो गए। दो अंक से एक अंक पर लेकर लाए। लेकिन किसान की जमीन कम हो रही है, उपजाऊ कम हो रही है। हमने 50 हजार करोड़ पीएम किसान सिंचाई योजना के

लिए लगाने की योजना बनाई है। पहले अगर कभी नुकसान होता था तो 50 फीसदी नुकसान पर मदद मिलती थी, पर अब हमने 35 फीसदी कर दी है।

### गैस सब्सिडी

अगर मैं ये कहता कि मैं एलपीजी सब्सिडी के 15000 करोड़ की गैस सब्सिडी बंद करने वाला हूँ तो सब लिखते कि ये कैसा आदमी है। हमने व्यवस्था में सुधार किया है। सब्सिडी का करीब 15000 करोड़ रुपये हर साल जो चोरी होती वो देशवासियों को जाता है। गरीबों के पैसे लूटने वालों की इजाजत नहीं है। क्या ये काम भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ काम नहीं है। मैंने आर्थिक रूप से संपन्न लोगो से पूछा था कि क्यों नहीं आप लोग अपनी गैस सब्सिडी छोड़ें। आज मैं गर्व से कहता हूँ कि 20 लाख लोगो ने गैस सब्सिडी छोड़ दी है। ये 20 लाख कोई अमीर घराने के नहीं हैं, ध्यमवर्गीय लोग हैं। काम सही दिशा में करने से परिणाम मिलता है।

### वन रैंक वन पेंशन

मेरे देश का हर सैनिक देश की संपत्ति है। हर सरकार के सामने वन रैंक वन पेंशन का मामला आया है। मेरे आने के बाद भी अभी तक मैं इसे कर नहीं पाया हूँ। मैं आज फिर सेना के जवानों को विश्वास दे रहा हूँ कि तिरंगे की छत्रछाया में कह रहा हूँ। सिद्धांत: हमने इसे स्वीकार किया है। बातचीत करके इसे आगे लेकर जा रहे हैं।

### ऑनलाइन मार्कशीट के आधार पर नौकरी

आज मैं एक नई बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप जो उद्योग ला रहे हैं और अधिकतम से अधिकतम लोगों को रोजगार देंगे तो सरकार का फाइनेंशियल पैकेज होगा। जब नौकरी के लिए कोई आता है तो पहले ये देखा जाता है कि किसकी सिफारिश लगाई जा सकती है। मैंने आजतक कोई ऐसा बड़ा मनोवैज्ञानिक नहीं देखा जो 2 मिनट में एक इंसान के बारे में पूरा पता कर ले। क्या ऑनलाइन मार्कशीट के आधार पर नौकरी नहीं दी जा सकती। मैं राज्य सरकारों से आग्रह करता हूँ।

### स्टार्ट अप इंडिया

आज मैं घोषित करना चाहता हूँ कि विश्व में आगे बढ़ने के लिए युवाओं को प्रोत्साहित करना होगा।

हिंदुस्तान को कोई ऐसा ब्लॉक ना हो कि स्टार्ट अप हो। आने वाले दिनों में स्टार्ट अप इंडिया... स्टैंड अप इंडिया।

### क्लीन इंडिया

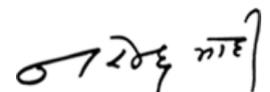
देश की स्वच्छता के मिशन में बच्चों को सर झुका के नमन करना चाहता हूँ, जिन्होंने बड़े लोगों से जल्दी स्वच्छता की महत्व समझ लिया, 2019 तक हमें इस काम को आगे बढ़ाना है, इसे रोकना नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी के जन्मदिवस तक इसे पूरा करना है। पूरे देश के विद्यालयों में लड़के और लड़कियों के लिए अलग-अलग शौचालय बनाने का काम बेहद मुश्किल था लेकिन टीम इंडिया ने तिरंगे का मान रखा। करीब करीब सभी विद्यालयों में ऐसा काम शुरू हो गया है। पिछली बार मैंने स्वच्छता की बात की थी। शौचालय की बात की थी। शुरू में सबको अजीब लगा लेकिन कुछ वक्त बाद समझ आया कि जन-जन को छूने वाली कोई बात है तो वह यही है।

### गरीबों की अमीरी

मेरे देश ने गरीबों की अमीरी को देखा है। क्योंकि जीरो बैलेन्स अकाउंट होने के बावजूद भी उस खाते में 20 हजार करोड़ उन खातों में डलवाए। और इन गरीबों की अमीरी के तहत टीम इंडिया आगे बढ़ेगी ये मेरा विश्वास है। हमारे यहां नए बैंक की शाखा खुल जाए तो लगता है विकास हुआ है, क्योंकि विकास को नापने का पैमाना यही है। लेकिन मेरे साथियों बैंक की शाखा खोलना कठिन नहीं है, मुश्किल है 17 करोड़ लोगों को बैंक के दरवाजे तक लाना।

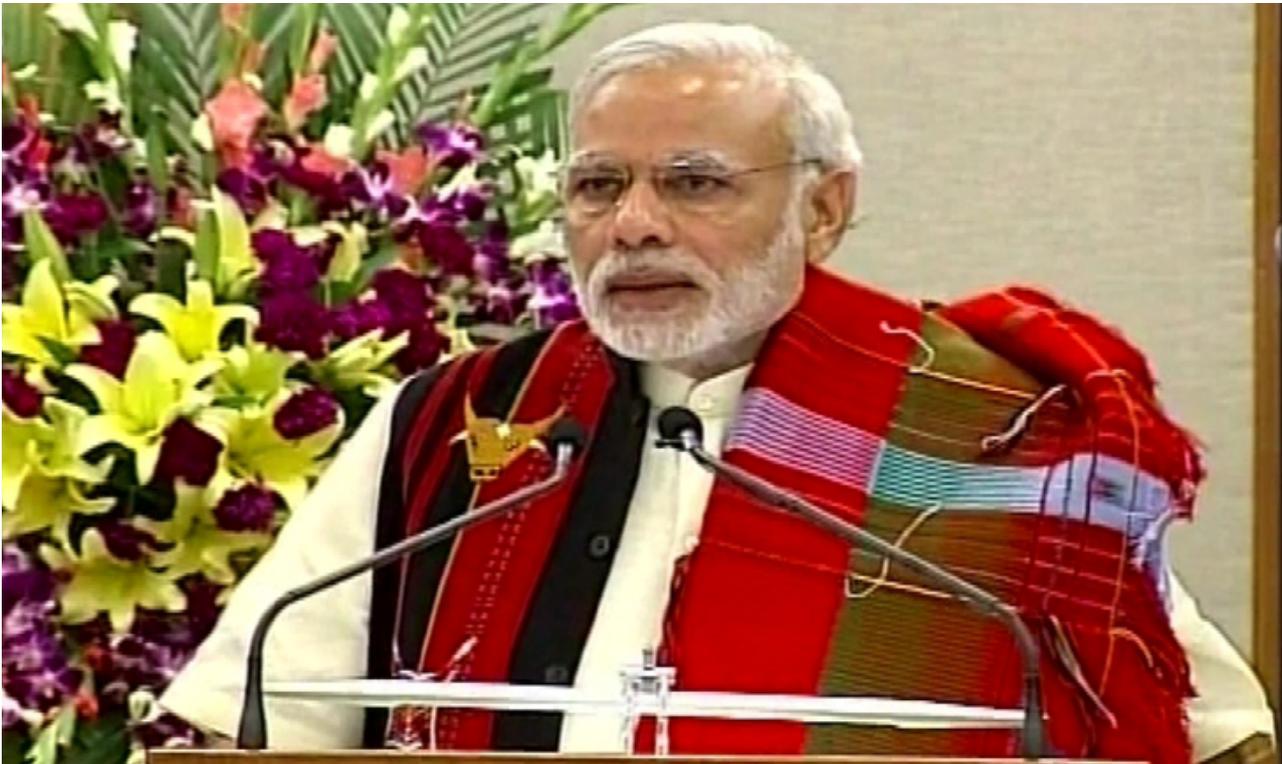
### टीम इंडिया

ये देश टीम इंडिया की वजह से आगे बढ़ रहा है। और जब सवा सौ करोड़ देशवासियों की टीम हो तो वो देश को आगे बढ़ाते हैं, देश को बनाते हैं। हम उनका आभार व्यक्त करते हैं। दिनों दिन जन भागीदारी बढ़ती जा रही है। और यही टीम इंडिया की ताकत है। इस टीम का एक ही जन-आदेश है कि हमारी सारी योजनाएं इस देश के गरीब को काम आनी चाहिए।



NARENDRA MODI

## Text of PM's Remarks After Witnessing the Signing of the Historic Agreement Between Government of India and NSCN



**H**ome Minister Shri Rajnath Singh ji, Shri Muivah and all senior leaders of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland. My warm greetings to all those present here today on this historic occasion!

I wish that Shri Isak Swu, who played a leading role in reaching this agreement, was present today. He could not be here because of poor health. I wish him speedy recovery. Just as his contribution to this agreement has been huge, his guidance will remain crucial in the times ahead.

The Naga political issue had lingered for six decades, taking a

huge toll on generations of our people.

I sincerely thank Shri Isak Swu, Shri Muivah and other Naga leaders for their wisdom and courage, for their efforts and cooperation, which has resulted in this historic agreement.

I have the deepest admiration for the great Naga people for their extraordinary support to the peace efforts. I compliment the National Socialist Council of Nagaland for maintaining the ceasefire agreement for nearly two decades, with a sense of honour that defines the great Naga people.

My relationship with the North East has been deep. I have travelled to Nagaland on many occasions. I have been deeply impressed by the rich and diverse culture and the unique way of life of the Naga people. It makes not only our nation, but also the world a more beautiful place.

The Naga courage and commitment are legendary. Equally, they represent the highest levels of humanism. Their system of village administration and grass-root democracy should be an inspiration for the rest of the country.

The respect for the infirm and elders, the status of women in society, sensitivity to Mother Nature, and the emphasis on social equality is a natural way of Naga life. These are values that should constitute the foundation of the society that we all seek.

Unfortunately, the Naga problem has taken so long to resolve because we did not understand each other. It is a legacy of the British Rule. The colonial rulers had, by design, kept the Nagas isolated and insulated. They propagated terrible myths about Nagas in the rest of the country. They deliberately suppressed the reality that the Nagas were an extremely evolved society. They also spread negative

ideas about the rest of India amongst Naga people. This was part of the well known policy of divide and rule of the colonial rulers.

It is one of the tragedies of Independent India that we have lived with this legacy. There were not many like Mahatma Gandhi, who loved the Naga people and was sensitive to their sentiments. We have continued to look at each other through the prism of false perceptions and old prejudices.

The result was that connectivity between Nagaland and the rest of India remained weak across this divide. Economic development and progress in Nagaland remained modest; and, durable peace was elusive.

Since becoming Prime Minister last year, peace, security and economic transformation of North East has been amongst my highest priorities. It is also at the heart of my foreign policy, especially the 'Act East' Policy.

I have been deeply concerned about resolving the Naga issue. Soon after entering office, I appointed an interlocutor for talks with the Naga leaders, who not only understood the Naga people as also their aspirations and expectations, but has great affection and respect for them.



Given the importance of this initiative, I asked my office to supervise these talks; and I personally kept in touch with the progress. I want to especially thank my senior colleague, Home Minister Shri Rajnath Singhji, whose support and advice was invaluable in bringing us here today.

Today's agreement is a shining example of what we can achieve when we deal with each other in a spirit of equality and respect, trust and confidence; when we seek to understand concerns and try to address aspirations; when we leave the path of dispute and take the high road of dialogue. It is a lesson and an inspiration in our troubled world.

Today, we mark not merely the end of a problem, but the beginning of a new future. We will not only try to heal wounds and resolve problems,

but also be your partner as you restore your pride and prestige.

Today, to the leaders and the people of Nagaland, I say this: You will not only build a bright future for Nagaland, but your talents, traditions and efforts will also contribute to making the nation stronger, more secure, more inclusive and more prosperous. You are also the guardians of our eastern frontiers and our gateway to the world beyond.

Equally, the rest of the nation will join you in shaping a future of dignity, opportunity and prosperity for the Naga people.

Today, as you begin a new glorious chapter with a sense of pride, self-confidence and self-respect, I join the nation in saluting you and conveying our good wishes to the Naga people.

NARENDRA MODI

# NAGA ACCORD – Sagacity, Wisdom, Acceptance of Reality

• Nitin Gokhale



Since 1947, there have been four agreements with the Nagas. The first Naga People's Convention held in 1957 demanded that the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier division of North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) be merged into a single unit. The demand was conceded and Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed the same year. The third Nagas People's convention held in 1959, demanded the creation of a new state of Nagaland. This was also conceded, and the state of Nagaland was carved out on December 1, 1963. Peace, however, continued to elude

the Hills.

There was yet another agreement in 1975 – the Shillong Accord. The representatives of Naga underground organizations conveyed their decision “of their own volition, to accept, without condition, the Constitution of India.” The underground leaders also agreed to deposit their weapons at “appointed places”. Another group of Naga leaders, which included Issac Chisi Swu, T. Muivah and SS Khaplang, however refused to abide by the agreement and they formed the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in 1980, which spilt again to form two factions

NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) in 1988.

The Accord signed on August 3, 2015 is the fourth agreement in the series. Will it work?

It has evoked reactions ranging from outrage to outright support.

While the unease among the people in Nagaland and Manipur is understandable in absence of details in public domain--both the government and the Issac-Muivah group of the national Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) have so far refrained from making the exact contours of the agreement public—a short conversation with RN Ravi, the Centre's interlocutor for the Naga talks and details available from representatives of the civil society in Nagaland gives a fair idea of how the framework agreement has been arrived at.

To begin with, this round of negotiations that started with Ravi's appointment in end-August 2014, have perhaps been the most broad-based talks on the issue. "This was not a factional approach. I took care to consult a broad spectrum of Naga civil society and those in the Imphal Valley besides talking to the collective leadership of the NSCN-IM. Therefore, this agreement should not be seen as a pact merely between the NSCN-IM and the Government of India but between the Naga people and the Centre," Ravi told this

writer.

Indeed, representatives of civil society and NGOs confirmed the approach. Organisations like the Naga Ho Ho, the Naga Mothers Association (NMA), the Naga Students Federation (NSF), the Eastern Naga Students Federation (ENSF), Eastern Naga Peoples Organisation (ENPO), the Gaon Burrah Federation (GBF), Federation for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) and the United Naga Council (UNC), Manipur, among others, held extensive discussions with Ravi over the past 10 months. They are still meeting him in batches of 10 to 20 this week as a follow up to the 3 August signing of the agreement. At one time, the top NSCN-IM leadership including Muivah, requested the interlocutor to explain the details of the way forward to some of the senior commanders and cadres which he did much to the satisfaction of the cadres.

Twenty years after they first met Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao in Paris and agreed to talk with Government of India, Swu and Muivah have agreed to a pact on terms that it may have rejected outright even a decade ago. Clearly, the civil society's desire for lasting peace has forced even as organised and powerful insurgent group as the NSCN-IM to relent.

More importantly, aware of the sensitiveness in Manipur (many areas in the state are Naga-dominated and Naga-inhabited), Manipur Chief Minister O. Ibobi Singh was kept in the loop at every stage about the progress of the government's talks with the NSCN-IM. Ravi met and briefed the Manipur Chief Minister at least a dozen times to apprise him of the negotiations with the NSCN-IM. Similarly, Tarun Gogoi and Nabam Tuki—Chief Ministers of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh respectively—had a broad idea of the direction in which the talks were headed. In any case, given that the NSCN-IM and the Nagas have de-escalated their old demand for integration of Naga areas, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh do not have too much at stake.

In Nagaland too, political leaders cutting across party lines were briefed from time to time. In fact, even before the 3 August agreement, all stakeholders had agreed to approach SS Khaplang, the leader of the other faction of the NSCN—currently reportedly under treatment in Myanmar—to try and get the group on board. The approach is to try and arrive at a wide consensus even as the broad pattern of a more detailed accord is worked out in coming months. Given such wide-ranging consulta-

tions and the fact that Nabam Tuki first welcomed the accord through a tweet and then deleted it, shows that charge levelled by Congress president Sonia Gandhi that the Centre did not consult Congress Chief Ministers, is neither valid nor true, but is just a case of sour grapes.

But how is the 3 August agreement any different from the first three? As Naga leaders too have admitted, it accords the Nagas a 'life of dignity, opportunity and equity for the Naga people, based on their genius and consistent with the uniqueness of the Naga people and their culture and traditions.' For decades, the Nagas have demanded respect and dignity from the Indian State and recognition of their unique status as a people.

According to a note issued by the Press Information Bureau, under the accord, 'The Government of India recognised the unique history, culture and position of the Nagas and their sentiments and aspirations. The NSCN understood and appreciated the Indian political system and governance.' In other words, while the Indian government agreed to recognise the 'uniqueness' of the Nagas, the Naga leaders also accepted the Indian Constitution. Although in 1975 too, the Naga leaders had accepted the Indian Constitution, the Indian govern-



ment had failed to accept the 'uniqueness' of the Naga people. That is the essential and perhaps the most crucial difference.

As VS Atem, a senior NSCN (IM) leader said, this is a 'historic agreement' of reconciliation and unity on the basis of political and historical right of the Nagas. He maintained that both the Shillong Accord and the 16 point agreement of 1960 were not made on the basis of the political and historical right of the Nagas.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi also indirectly acknowledged that mistakes were made in the past. 'Today, we mark not merely the end of a problem but the beginning of a new future. We will not only try to heal wounds and resolve problems but also be your partner as you

restore your pride and prestige,' Modi said, paying compliments to the Naga people at large and to the 'wisdom' of the NSCN leaders who honoured the 1997 peace pact for almost two decades.

The details of the overall roadmap will emerge in the next few weeks, but for the moment, those who worked long and hard to achieve this major breakthrough, need to be complimented for their sagacity, wisdom and acceptance of reality.

*(The writer, a veteran journalist, lived in and reported from the north-east for 23 years. Currently he is senior Fellow at the Vivekananda International Foundation)*

## PM Modi's UAE Visit – A Path-Breaking Initiative

• *Ambassador R. Dayakar*

Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi's two day visit (16-17 August) to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) is his first to an Arab country and for UAE, the first by an Indian PM in 34 years. Judging by the special courtesies and extra protocol extended to him and the concrete outcome in political, economic, strategic and security terms from his substantive exchanges with the UAE leadership, the visit is exceptionally successful.

The visit has all the hallmarks of PM Modi's overseas visits. Hard analysis is matched by sound instincts in structuring the programme, the itinerary and the agenda with business-like time management. Targets and deliverables are defined in advance and identifiable takeaway is a sine-qua-non. Professional advice is valued and the event is politically led and overseen. Importance of the protocol is recognized but it is not an end in itself but a means to further the diplomatic objectives and hence strict adherence is not unexceptional. Hierarchical equation is important but may not be rigidly followed at times, if so warranted. Vicissitudes of weather would not dictate the timing of the visit. Indian

diaspora has to have a meaningful engagement. Even so, unlike most of Modi's earlier visits abroad, this was a stand-alone visit, not forming part of a cluster and was organized in less than two weeks, raising speculation on both the counts about its timing and purport.



Protocol in State Visits is a well laid-out drill that is uniformly followed by the host country and a variation reflects the degree of importance attached to the visit, impacts positively on the chemistry between the principals and adds lustre to the substantive aspects of the visit. In a marked departure from the protocol, the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi Sheik Mohammed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan the formal host for the visit, received Modi with a Guard of Honour on arrival at the airport along with his five brothers who hold key positions in the Emirate. Such an honour to visiting Heads of Government in UAE is more of an exception than a rule and was last accorded to the King of Morocco.

History and geography have woven an enduring legacy between India and UAE. India's western security



perimeter abuts UAE. In colonial times, particularly in the 19th and the early 20th centuries when oil was yet to become a strategic determinant, the British secured the region against contemporaneous threats to its colonial Indian empire from French, German and Russian machinations by turning the emirates into dependent Trucial States through a Truce and by giving generous bounties to its rulers. Indian rupee was a legal tender in UAE until its massive

devaluation in 1967.

UAE's importance to India in present times is self-evident. It is the third largest trading partner (with trade balance in India's favour) after China and USA, a perennial source of oil, the work-place for some 2.6 million Indians who remit to the motherland yearly their savings of US\$ 10 billion and a source of investment with further potential for hundreds of billions of dollars awaiting profitable outlets. Dubai has emerged as a financial

and trading centre matching the competitiveness of Singapore and Hongkong and with better people-to-people contacts with India. It is also the first port of call for Indian fugitives, including terrorists, mafiosi and economic offenders. In the contemporary world, both the countries face the threats, looming from the destabilizing forces of terrorism, extremism and radicalization and financial subversion, superposing on the two a shared security concern and adding a new dimension to bilateral cooperation.

Though the wide ranging deliberations in the visit are not Pakistan-centric, it is inevitable that concerns about terrorism in the joint statement is read into by media and think-tanks as a message to epicentres of terrorism and radicalization, Pakistan being one. Even the entry by Modi at Sheikh Zayed mosque in Abu Dhabi and his statement to the effect that Islam is a religion of peace, piety, harmony and inclusiveness is seen by some as containing an unintended message for Pakistan with its self-inflicted sectarian strife and violence.

UAE, with enormous wealth created in less than four decades with “unmatched vision” (to quote Modi) and located in a region with its peace and stability challenged from within and without by terrorism,

extremism and geopolitical threat perceptions, requires a peaceful neighbourhood and sees India as a factor in regional stability and a partner in economic development. With billions in its treasury looking for reliable investment opportunities, it wants to be part of India's growth story. The presence of 2.6 million Indians on its soil creates a vital stake for it in India's internal cohesion and stability. On the economic side, Abu Dhabi looks for safe and hassle free investment in a clearly laid framework, free of ambiguities and shifting interpretations of policies and rules. While its investments have found way into China, Japan, South Korea and Australia, India lagged behind as no attractive proposals could be presented to the Gulf leaders and for reasons of perceived ambiguities in policy and procedures and labyrinthine regulations and red tape.

Planned and executed at a short notice, the visit none the less has given remarkable takeaways of varying significance. Both the countries have proclaimed Strategic Partnership which denote a clear understanding of each other's concerns, The exhaustive Joint Statement embodies the shared desire and determination of the two sides to work together in crucial area of defence, security, terrorism, extremism and radicalization. The

unambiguous stand of UAE to fight terrorism and extremism jointly with India is a signal to those who make use of its territory for those nefarious ends. UAE's categorical support to India's candidature for permanent membership of UN Security Council indicates its distancing away in the matter from Pakistan which has been crusading through the so-called Coffee Club, a grouping of countries which contest the claims of other serious contenders UNSC's permanent membership. The allocation of 75 billion dollars for investment in India and land for a temple in Abu Dhabi are other significant outcomes from the visit.

For any country, expatriate groups are a source of concern for their potential influence in political, social and cultural domains. In an unprecedented gesture, Dubai allowed at a short notice and facilitated a massive congregation of 50,000 expatriate Indians to listen to PM Modi, in a bit replay of town hall gatherings in a democracy. It is a measure of the host country's esteem shown to the visiting Indian PM.

While the visit has delivered path-breaking results, the actualization of the outcome will fall on the shoulders of a host of stake holders like corporate India, investment promo-

tion bodies, regulatory authorities, diplomatic missions, state governments etc. The process will not be free of inherent challenges from both the sides. For instance India's position in the Ease of Doing Business Index is hovering around 140 and though improving steadily could take a while to reach a comforting level.

None the less, the visit has set the tone for the growth of the bilateral relations between India and UAE in the years to come. It could also be a template to follow for other countries in the Gulf with shared interests with India in geo-politics, internal security, counter-terrorism and economic partnership.

*(The author a former diplomat was head of the Gulf Division in the Ministry of External Affairs and was also India's Ambassador to Iraq, Jordan and Sweden)*

# Highlights of PM's Speech on 69th Independence Day – A New Perspective & Vision Statement

• *Professor A.C.Brahmbhatt*

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's almost two hour long speech on 69<sup>th</sup> Independence Day was a wonderful mix of vision, action, appreciation, recognition, aspirations and assurances. It was an expression of the sense of empathy and concern as well as thought leadership and stewardship.

In the opening itself, he very heartily and honestly attributed all the achievements of the first year of his Government to the collaborative and hard efforts of 125 crore Indians, referring to it as 'Team India' efforts.

Prime Minister Modi described and spelt out some of the leading and successful achievements of his government and narrated it with a sense of humility, instead of making tall promises – the norm till he became Prime Minister, he presented a report card, as it were, of the work done till then. He pointed out how, “Rs. 20000 crore has been deposited under Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana despite the option of zero balance” and how, “Over 17 crore people have opened the accounts.” He hailed them

saying, “I have seen the richness in the poor” and that “Setting the branch of a bank [was] simple but getting [a] deposit in it [was] not easy.” PM Modi also expressed his profound gratefulness for this effort made by the vast majority of financially marginalised Indians and said, “I bow down to them.”



PM Modi is a great Action Researcher. He adopts entire processes of Action Research in all his endeavours—pre-planning, planning, worrying about speed, rate, pace and directionality of action; evaluating, receiving feedback, modifying the action if needed and ultimately action taking.

Referring to the issue of Black Money, for example, he said, “the very day his new government took over, he formed the SIT under Supreme Court. A new foreign black money law was enacted with the provisions of stringent punishments. Agreements with countries like US are made for real



time sharing of information on Indian nationals holding assets abroad. As a result 6500 crore of undisclosed foreign assets have been declared under the compliance window of the new law and the drive continues.”

Referring to the concrete action taken with regard to Coal scam, he said, “UPA had caused a loss of over 1 lakh crore due to an unfair method of coal allocation. We immediately ordered the reallocation of coal blocks. And because of that the government has made Rs. Three lakh crore from the fair auction of coal blocks.”

He promised to electrify 18,500 villages remained unelectrified so far in the next 1000 days.

There is a paradigm shift, in Agriculture Ministry making it

much more farmer focused. PM renamed it as the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' welfare.

Talking about the issue of corruption, he compared it with termite that needs regular and rigorous treatment. “Every square meter is to be injected with medicine”, he said.

Prime Minister Modi also eulogised the singular services of Indian army ex-servicemen of all ranks rendered for the safety and security of the motherland. Referring to One Rank One Pension scheme, he expressed his deep concern saying that, “he is committed to that [and that] the discussion is in its last leg.” Twice he reiterated that his government had, on principle, agreed to it but the method, the process was still being worked out. In fact, he went so

far as to say that standing below the Tricolour and before the nation he was committed to working this out. It was sincere statement of intent and of action. OROP thus is bound to come about.

Prime Minister Modi came forward as a master motivator and unique inspirer. Referring to the Swachh Bharat Initiative, he admired the children of our country for their untiring in undertaking cleanliness drives and insisting on cleanliness in different parts of the country. He called them the 'Biggest Brand Ambassadors of this Initiative'.

Like his 'Make in India' slogan given in the last year's Independence Day speech, he coined another creative, innovative and highly relevant slogan, 'Start up India, Stand up India' in this speech. Keeping in mind the initiative oriented, energetic, intelligent segment of the youth of our country, which is whopping 65% of the population, he announced this initiative which is poised to nurture and nourish the entrepreneurial culture of our civilisation. This initiative looks set to prove to be an epitome of the Young Entrepreneurial India reverberating the energy, enthusiasm and innovativeness by stretching the country's

productivity graphs sky-high. His reference to Dalit and Women entrepreneurship and the need to generate an ambience where start-ups initiated by them can succeed was a refreshing articulation expressing the will and the path towards change, empowerment and independence.

How precisely and with pristine clarity he recognizes the true, real strength and the asset of the country reflected in his speech when he said "Diversity, simplicity and unity are our biggest strength and wealth. *Jan Bhagidari* is the biggest asset of Democracy and we are happy at the way the people are partnering." According special respect for dignity of labour Prime Minister Modi said, "Respect for dignity of labour needs to be ingrained in our national consciousness." All in all, it was a refreshing perspective, a sort of the State of the Union Address – where intent, will and the determination to take along all sections and regions of our diverse nation towards the common goal of prosperity, self-reliance and progress was evident. It gave a distinct feeling of the nation being on the march...

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# Why I Feel Modi Gave India the Best Independence Day Speech

• *Kumar Shakti Shekhar*

Coming just two days after the depressing Monsoon Session of Parliament, which adjourned sine die on August 13 without transacting any meaningful business, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's second Independence Day speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort was quite refreshing. It generated some hope among the people who saw the Opposition parties, particularly Congress, disrupt Parliament proceedings on almost all the 18 days that it met, and the government failing to strike a compromise with them. However, Modi's speech was different and here are the reasons why:

## 1. No Bulletproof Enclosure

For the second year in a row, Modi refused to speak from a bulletproof enclosure. People had got used to watching his predecessor Manmohan Singh making his Independence Day speech from inside the bullet proof enclosure. But Modi stunned one and all last year by rejecting the enclosure. And it requires ultimate courage to do so. It helps instil confidence among the people about the law and order situation in the country. It also

sends out a message outside the country about the nation's internal security condition.



## 2. No Written Speech

One had got used to watching Manmohan Singh read from written speeches year after year. Hearing anyone do so is highly boring because such speeches are monotonous. It is during such speeches that one dozes off. It also reflects poorly on the speaker. However, speaking extempore requires confidence. For the second consecutive year, Modi delivered an unwritten speech. He did not even use teleprompters which he takes help of occasionally during his foreign trips.

## 3. Refreshing Address

As a result of the speech being unwritten, Modi's address to the nation was quite casual and informal. At times he enlivened the atmosphere by his repartees. For instance, he laughed at himself saying he was made fun of when he spoke of toilets during his last year's address. "People laughed at me, saying what kind of a PM is he, who speaks about toilets from the



ramparts of Red Fort on such an occasion?" Though Modi spoke for roughly 90 minutes (from 7.32am to 8.59am), his speech was not boring or monotonous. It had variety. Modi was loud and bold when he spoke about not a single rupee corruption charge levelled against his government in the past 15 months, he was awed by the children when he credited them with giving maximum strength to Swachh Bharat Abhiyan and the poor for depositing Rs 20, 000 crore in their bank accounts even though they are "zero balance" ones. He called it "gareebon ki ameeri". He sounded statesman-like when, speaking

about electrifying 18,500 villages in the country within 1,000 days, he refrained from naming the states which had lagged behind on this count.

#### **4. Report Card**

The PMs have been making announcements on every Independence Day. But the nation never heard them presenting a report card. Perhaps it was for the first time that a PM had volunteered to present an evaluation of the promises he had made in the previous year's speech. Critics may question the authenticity of the claims he made, but Modi presented

an account of the accomplishments of the tasks he had promised last year, like building more than 4.25 lakh separate toilets for girls and boys in 2.65 lakh schools, opening bank accounts of 17 crore people under the Jan Dhan Yojana, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan and constituting a special investigative team (SIT) to unearth black money under the watch of Supreme Court within one week of coming to power.

### **5. Time Frame**

We have perhaps never heard any PM giving time frame for carrying out a work, more so the announcements which were made on Independence Day. However, very much like last year, Modi gave a time bound target for completion of the announcements he made today. Last year, he had given a year's time for building separate toilets for girls in schools, this year he promised a 1,000-day deadline for electrifying all villages in the country.

### **6. Breaking Protocol**

How many times did we see Manmohan Singh or his predecessors break the protocol and mingle with school children who brave the heat, dust and humidity since early morning to add colour and joy to the occasion? Never. But like previous year, Modi, before returning from the venue, went

among the children, shook hands with them and exchanged pleasantries. A wave of school children swarmed towards him, inadvertently pushing him backwards by a few steps before the security personnel took over charge and stopped them. We also saw the PM taking quite a large number of red-carpeted steps all the way to the podium instead of using lift to unfurl the National Flag. The sight of an agile and healthy PM is certainly pleasant.

### **7. National Anthem**

Observers who have been closely watching the Independence Day celebrations at the Red Fort for several years now claim that it was also for the first time that the National Anthem was sung even after the PM's speech. Earlier, it would be sung only once - just after the PM hoisted the National Flag and before s/ he delivered the customary speech. The programme would end after the speech got over. But this time, the programme ended with the National Anthem being sung again.

*(Courtesy: Daily Opinion, 15.8.2015)*

## A Sui-Generis Address

• C.Rajsekhar

**P** rime Minister Narendra Modi's speech from the Red Fort on India's 69<sup>th</sup> Independence Day was *sui-generis* or in a class of its own in many ways.

For one, he exuded dignity- in his attire, in the words spoken and in his eloquence; something that is often missing in politics today in our country. In fact, in the just

concluded Parliament session, the people of our country witnessed parliamentarians of the principal opposition party, including its top leaders, using crude language, shouting at deafening pitches and rushing to the



Well of the House creating a ruckus and pandemonium in the Parliament in a most undignified manner.

Two, the PM tried to use his I-Day address to bring about a qualitative change in the nature of political discourse in the country- from one based on virulent criticism to one based on ideas. While refraining from commenting on the obstructionist and negative role of the Congress in the last session of the Parliament which led to holding up the passage of some key socio-economic legislations, he urged all stakeholders in society, including bankers and ordinary people to move forward to 'Start Up India' and in the process, make India



“Stand-Up”.

Of course, his penchant for ideas is not new. In the last year's speech from the Red Fort, he had exhorted MPs to create model villages and had spoken of the necessity of manufacturing goods in the country or 'Make in India'. Or take his speech at the two day bankers' retreat, '*Gyan Sangam*' held in January 2015. Stating that the “Swachh Bharat Abhiyan” had caught the imagination of the younger generation, the PM advised public sector banks to develop 20000 to 25000 *Swachhta* entrepreneurs.

Even earlier, as Gujarat Chief Minister (CM), his idea of giving away gifts that he got as CM to the state treasury for auction to fund girls education under the *Kanya Kelavani Yojna* won praise from former Supreme Court judge, Late V R Krishna Iyer in 2011. Iyer, a Minister in the first Marxist government in Kerala under E M S Namboodiripad, wrote to Narendra Modi, lauding his decision to auction all articles he received as gifts to fund girl education and termed it as a model for other Chief Ministers to follow.

Three, the Prime Minister has, in a subtle way, also tried to curb the influence of big business on the Indian economy and its attendant

consequences of crony capitalism. By advising the more than 1.25 lakh branches to lend to at least one Dalit or Adivasi entrepreneur, Narendra Modi has tried to encourage small and medium businesses in our country and create a phalanx of new entrepreneurs.

Four, unlike many other top political leaders in the country, Modi's political economy narrative is not 'India vs Bharat'; instead the PM wants both India and Bharat to move forward at the same time. While the “Start Up” initiative would largely benefit the educated, young entrepreneurs in urban India, his emphasis on renewal of the farm sector through emphasis on irrigation, the massive programme of financial inclusion through the opening of about 17 crore Jan Dhan accounts with deposits worth Rs 20,000 crores, building 462,000 toilets in 262000 schools and the promise of delivering electricity to the 18,500 unelectrified villages in our nation in 1000 days are meant to economically empower rural India. Clearly, the Prime Minister's economic roadmap aims at building a just and prosperous India.

Five, the PM's speech also championed innovation as a tool for economic development. His vision and intention to make India a “Start

Up” hub conveys his passion to build an innovative society. While Indian firms are good in management and business skills, they lag behind in innovation. By using the ramparts of the Red Fort to call for a 'Start Up” movement, the PM has tried to address the key issue in innovation; that is, to get society interested and involved in the process of innovation. Unless, the entire society- political leaders, bureaucrats, scientists and engineers and the common man –are not on board, innovation would not take off.

Six, while sharing his desire to transform India into a developed country by 2022 i.e the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Independence, Narendra Modi struck the right chord with his countrymen particularly with the young who constitute about 65 percent of India's population when he spoke of the 'termite' of corruption sapping the vitals of the nation, and thereby impeding the development of the country. By highlighting his government's willingness to fight financial sleaze, the graft-free auction of spectrum, coal and FM licences, the 1800 or so corruption cases registered by the CBI and the drive against black money illicitly parked abroad that has already yielded Rs 6500 crores through the

compliance window, Narendra Modi created a different narrative of a 'corruption-free developed India'; something that would excite the idealistic youth and create a fervor in them to work for building a developed India. Clearly the message of getting rid of corruption to build an affluent India was potent and the PM articulated it convincingly.

Meanwhile, the corporate sector must now put 'Start-Ups' on their Corporate Social Responsibility(CSR) radar and increase CSR fund flow to this starved sector. Likewise, the higher civil services must also get cracking and come out with concrete initiatives to encourage “Start-Ups” so as to translate the PM's vision into reality. For instance, the government could set up formal mechanisms for Indian youth to learn from Silicon Valley ventures, the powerhouse of technical innovation in America.

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## From the Ramparts of Red Fort...

• *Dr. Shiv Shakti Bakshi*

**P**Prime Minister Narendra Modi's address to the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort has further strengthened the faith of the people in our political system and democracy. He has again emphasized that development is the only mantra which may be an answer to many problems like casteism and communalism. 'Vikas ke amrit se smapradayikta aur jativad ko mitana hai' should be welcomed and pursued with full strength. At the same time he highlighted the importance of people's participation to make democracy successful. It is a fact which is known to everyone but practiced rarely by the political leaders. The Prime Minister has reiterated his commitment towards 'Jan Bhagidari' and the manner he has tried to ensure it through myGov.in, Mann ki Baat, inviting letters in lakhs from the people and different interactions and dialogues with the people. In fact he has tried to make democracy function in a more effective and meaningful manner because India may succeed only when we make our democracy successful.

In his speech Prime Minister also

highlighted the achievements and commitment of his government. It is true that Jan Dhan Yojana today has become a huge achievement of the government not only in term of the 17 crore bank accounts but the record time in which it was completed. He reminded the people that on the last Independence Day he had promised to ensure time bound completion of the scheme and after one year it may be said that the promise has been fulfilled. While talking about the need for financial inclusion he also talked about the pyramid of development, the wide base of which is constituted of Dalits, the exploited, oppressed, deprived and neglected people. He said that his government is committed to strengthening this section of society by opening the door of their financial inclusion through bank accounts and thereby bringing them in the financial mainstream of the economy. He also talked about world's largest social security initiative taken by his government to include the poorest of the poor sections of the society. Pradhanmantri Suraksha Yojana,





Atal Pension Yojana and Pradhanmantri Jivan Jyoti Yojana – these are the three schemes which have created a new roadmap of social security through insurance and pensions. Swachh Bharat has also caught the imagination of the people and he thanked the children for acting as the most important brand ambassador by creating awareness about cleanliness both within and outside the family. He also talked about Shramev Jayate which has brought in revolutionary change for the labourers of unorganized sectors by ensuring

dignity of labour along with many social security schemes. By simplifying labour laws and reducing them from 44 to four codes has further helped the labourers.

While talking about corruption Prime Minister further resolved to make India corruption free and talked about various initiatives taken by the government in a very short time. The DBT scheme of the LPG cylinders has not only removed corruption in the system but also saved 15000 crore rupees while 20 lakh people have voluntarily given up LPG subsidy. The nation has

earned around 3,00,000 crore rupees through the auction of coal blocks and country has also earned enormous amount through transparent system of auction of spectrum. He also talked about the efforts made on the issue of black money which he had raised during the G-20 summit. The strong law enacted on black money has ensured that now no black money can be transferred outside the country while the process of bringing in black money stashed away in foreign countries is progressing. The other achievement of the government was on the front of price control – the inflation was kept in control even in the face of deficit rain last year. The double digit inflation was tamed and progressively brought down and the trend is continuing.

The Prime Minister touched upon almost all issues related to villages, farmers, jawans, youth, Dalit, tribal and women. While talking about several initiatives taken for the farmers and improvement in agriculture he said that the name of Ministry of Agriculture will be changed to include 'Welfare of Farmers' with a focus on farmers also. He further said that while steps are being taken to ensure supply of water and electricity to the farmers, 18,500 villages which have not yet

seen electricity will be connected with electricity lines.

Announcing an innovating scheme of start of Startup India and Standup India he called upon the 1,25,000 branches of the banks to give loans to at least one dalit or tribal and a women and help nurture entrepreneurs from these sections as a tribute on the 125th anniversary of Baba Saheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar. He also called upon those who want to invest in India to create maximum employment opportunities which will entitle them to a special package. He also appealed to remove the provision of interviews for junior level government jobs as it will help in removing corruption also. He announced that the government has accepted 'One rank, One pension' in principle and modalities for its implementation are being worked out and people will receive the good news shortly.

The last one year has seen India moving forward with great speed on almost all the fronts. There has been a perceptible change in the work culture and the bureaucracy is also being encouraged to perform and deliver results. Many innovative schemes have been launched keeping in mind different sections of society and the overall progress of the country. Many stalled and

closed projects have been revived and investments are pouring in, rescuing the economy from the era of pessimism and negativity. From farmers to labourers, from skilled to unskilled and from unemployed to employed – everyone has been on the priority list of the government. The Modi government has heralded a new era of hope and confidence. People have been exhorted to march along the government by opening avenues for them to participate in governance at different levels. It is happening and as long as there is sincerity to involve people in the nation building process, people have shown that they will participate to make it happen.

The Prime Minister's address to the nation has further strengthened hope and confidence about the future and people are feeling encouraged to participate in the nation building process. The nation was assured of the good works done by the government and apprised of the fast progress that has been achieved on almost all fronts. The expectation of the people has been answered by the untiring efforts of Narendra Modi who is working day and night to ensure that India attains its desirable place in the comity of the nations. His appeal to every countrymen to contribute to the process of nation building and

resolve to make India a developed, prosperous, corruption free and vibrant nation is finding resonance with every Indian. Prime Minister's address has not only motivated the nation but instilled in every Indian a new energy to work for a great future.

*(The writer is the National Convenor of Party Journals and Publication Department of BJP and Executive Editor of Kamal Sandesh)*

## डा. कलाम के विरोध में और याकूब के साथ खड़े लोग

• एस. शंकर

1993 में मुंबई आतंकी हमले के एक मुख्य दोषी याकूब मेमन को फांसी से बचाने के लिए अनेक बुद्धिजीवियों, नेताओं और प्रोफेसरों ने राष्ट्रपति से एक अपील जारी की है। रोचक तथ्य यह है कि इनमें अनेक वे बुद्धिजीवी भी शामिल हैं, जिन्होंने जून 2002 में एक और सामूहिक अपील जारी की थी। वह अपील थी — डॉ. अब्दुल कलाम को राष्ट्रपति न बनाने की!

जी हां, अभी जो लोग लगभग तीन सौ निरीह लोगों की हत्या में संलग्न प्रमाणिक आतंकी योजनाकार याकूब मेमन के पक्ष में खड़े हैं, उन्हीं स्वनामधन्य बुद्धिजीवियों, नेताओं ने डॉ. अब्दुल कलाम को राष्ट्रपति बनाए जाने का विरोध भी किया था। यह शिक्षात्मक प्रसंग है, जिससे हमें नकली बौद्धिकों की असलियत पहचाननी चाहिए। उनकी समझ, योग्यता और वास्तविकता की असलियत। डॉ. कलाम का विरोध करते हुए इन्हीं लोगों ने कहा था कि डॉ. कलाम का रुख शसामाजिक मुद्दों पर बचकाना और भटकाने वाला है और इनका राष्ट्रपति बनना शशांति, सेक्यूलरिज्म और लोकतंत्र के हित में नहीं होगा। उस बयान को सालों बीत चुके हैं। तबसे डॉ. कलाम ने देश के लिए जो किया, अपने जीवन के अंतिम क्षण तक जो कुछ वह करते रहे क्या उसके प्रकाश में हमें इन बुद्धिजीवियों, नेताओं का मूल्यांकन नहीं करना चाहिए, जो डॉ. कलाम को अशांति, सांप्रदायिकता और तानाशाही का पक्षधर बताते थे? क्या ठीक उसी मूल्यांकन से हमें यह भी नहीं समझना चाहिए कि अभी याकूब मेमन जैसे लोगों को माफी देने की पैरवी का मतलब क्या

होगा? यही लोग मुहम्मद अफजल के लिए भी धरने पर बैठे थे, जिसने संसद पर आतंकी हमले को अंजाम दिया और जिसका उसे कोई पछतावा भी नहीं था। इसलिए याकूब मेमन, मुहम्मद अफजल के पक्ष में और डॉ. अब्दुल कलाम के विरुद्ध खड़े होने वाले बुद्धिजीवियों, नेताओं की वास्तविक भूमिका को हमें समझना चाहिए। अभी याकूब के पक्ष में अपील करते हुए एक ने यह भी कहा कि श्याकूब को माफी दे देना डॉ. कलाम को श्रद्धांजलि देने जैसा होगा। यह बिलकुल झूठी बात है और ऐसे बुद्धिजीवियों के घातक अज्ञान और समाज-विरोधी भूमिका का प्रमाण भी।

वास्तव में स्वयं डॉ. कलाम ने ही आतंकवादी घटनाओं पर कहा था— शन भूलो, न क्षमा करो। सच कहें तो यही मानवतावादी और व्यवहारिक दर्शन है। आतंकवादियों को माफी का मतलब है आगे पुनरु हमलों को निमंत्रण देना। जो देश जिहादियों, नकलसियों, आतंकवादियों के प्रति कठोर रहे हैं, वहीं लोग अधिक सुरक्षित रहे हैं। इसके विपरीत जिन देशों ने ऐसे लोगों के प्रति नरम रवैया दिखाया, वहां की जनता निरंतर आतंकी हमले झेलने के लिए अभिशप्त रही है। भारत इसी का उदाहरण है। कश्मीर से केरल और असम से महाराष्ट्र तक कितने आतंकी प्रहार हम पर हुए हैं इसका हिसाब वे बुद्धिजीवी कभी नहीं करते। दिखाने पर भी वे इसका दोष शड़ंडियन स्टेट पर डालने की धृष्टता करते हैं। यानी उसी पर जिससे अभी वे याकूब को माफी दिलाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।



राष्ट्रपति बनने के बाद डॉ. कलाम ने जो आचरण और आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया, वह प्लेटो के शफिलॉसफर—किंग (दार्शनिक राजा) से बखूबी मिलता है। प्लेटो ने अपने आदर्श राज्य के खाके में शासक—संरक्षक के जो गुण बताए थे, वे सभी के सभी राष्ट्रपति कलाम के कार्य, व्यवहार में मिलते हैं। निजी संपत्ति और परिवार से दूर रहना तथा सदैव समाज की भलाई के लिए सोचना एवं कार्य करना। ठीक यही राष्ट्रपति कलाम ने अपने कार्यकाल और उसके बाद भी जीवन की अंतिम सांस तक किया। क्या उन विख्यात मार्क्सवादी प्रोफेसरों, सेक्यूलरवादी नेताओं ने कभी अपनी भूल मानी कि डॉ. अब्दुल कलाम को राष्ट्रपति बनाने का विरोध करके उन्होंने गलती की थी? कि उनका मूल्यांकन भ्रामक था? कि कलाम को युद्धवादी, अंधराष्ट्रवादी, सैन्यवादी और पता नहीं कितनी भयानक प्रवृत्तियों का प्रतीक बताना भारी अज्ञान था? जी नहीं, उलटे उन्होंने 2007 में डॉ. कलाम को दूसरा कार्यकाल देने का भी पुनरु विरोध किया था। उन्हें डॉ. कलाम का स्वतंत्र—चेता, सत्यनिष्ठ और कर्तव्यनिष्ठ होना ही पसंद नहीं था। इसीलिए कलाम के बदले उन्होंने पार्टी—बंदी निभाने वाले श्रोफेशनल कांग्रेसी को राष्ट्रपति बनाया।

साथ ही, डॉ. कलाम के उदाहरण से भी सीख लेनी चाहिए कि सही जगह पर सही व्यक्ति नियुक्त करने का कौटिल्य—सिद्धांत या प्लेटो—सिद्धांत कितना कारगर है! अपने जीवन में डॉ. कलाम ने जो कहा, किया वह गंभीरता से शोध करने और समुचित निष्कर्ष निकालने का विषय है। पहली बार ऐसा राष्ट्रपति देश को मिला, जिसने नई पीढ़ी को छूने में और प्रेरित करने में अभूतपूर्व सफलता पाई। यदि राष्ट्रपति कलाम एक प्रतिशत बच्चों, युवाओं में भी

अच्छाई, कर्तव्यनिष्ठा, राष्ट्र प्रेम और आदर्श के बीज बोने में सफल हुए हों तो उन्होंने देश को भविष्य में अपने जैसे असंख्य नागरिक देने का उपाय कर दिया। उन्होंने समाज के हर तबके में कर्तव्यबोध पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया। हमारे देश में प्रतिभाओं, चरित्रवान लोगों की कमी नहीं है। समस्या है उन्हें ढूंढने तथा उचित स्थान देने की। इसकी कभी, कोई चिंता नहीं हुई। ठीक जगह पर ठीक व्यक्ति रहे, इसके लिए स्वतंत्र भारत में आरंभ से ही कोई उपाय नहीं किया जा सका। हर महत्वपूर्ण पद को लाभ देने—लेने का पुरस्कार मात्र मान लिया गया। प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री ही किसी के विशेष प्रिय—पात्र होने के कारण पद पा गए थे। फिर उन्होंने अपने चहेतों को महत्वपूर्ण स्थानों पर रखने की राजनीतिक संस्कृति की नींव डाल दी। धीरे—धीरे वह घातक रोग राज्यतंत्र के हर अंग में फैल गया। यह एक असुविधाजनक, किंतु कड़वा सच है। योग्य के बदले प्रिय—पात्र हमारी राजनीति का दिशा—निर्देशक बन गया। प्रिय व्यक्ति, जाति या समुदाय को प्रश्रय। उसी राजनीतिक संस्कृति को सेक्यूलरवाद, जनवाद आदि कहा गया। डॉ. कलाम का विरोध और याकूब मेमन का समर्थन उसी गांधी—नेहरूवादी संस्कृति का नमूना है, जिसकी जड़ें हमारे बौद्धिक—राजनीतिक जीवन में गहरे जमी हैं। नई सरकार को इसे निर्मूल करने पर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए।

(लेखक एस. शंकर, वरिष्ठ स्तंभकार हैं)

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# Goddess Lakshmi: The Maker Of Our Foreign Relations

• *Bharat Variawalla*

**G**oddess Lakshmi is today the principle maker of the foreign policy of the Modi Government. How best can our foreign relations help generate Lakshmi, or wealth, is at the centre of Narendra Modi's foreign relations pursuit. Just before his recent visit to France, Germany and Canada, Prime Minister Modi twitted that the visit had one purpose: bring investments from there and create jobs for our young people.

It is important that we know why a man whose formative experience has been that of Chief Minister of Gujarat should take such interest in world affairs. The answer is that his thinking on foreign policy is very largely shaped by the culture of Gujarat. That culture, what I call, the *Vanijjya* culture. It is the *Vaishya* who have historically spawned this culture.

The *Vaishya* in the traditional *Varnashrama* order creates wealth, or more correctly put *sampatti*, (capital and wealth). It is the *Vaishya* who occupies the central role in Gujarat's economy, and with increasing democratization of politics in the early eighties, also politics. Then the old *varna* divide began to breakdown. Narendra Modi was the first politician in Gujrat to notice that the old caste divide was

breaking down. Devraj Urs of Karnataka too realized this in the early seventies but he could not shape the politics of Karnataka accordingly because Indira Gandhi would not let him. She knew only the politics of caste and religious divide.

Let's return to Gujarat. With caste barriers breaking down and the resultant economic mobility and social mobility, the people of Gujarat began to value economic growth. The *Vanijjya* culture of the state reasserted then. Modi was the foremost exponent of this culture, not just in Gujarat but also in the country.

The *Vanijjya* culture was in full display at the annual meeting called Vibrant Gujarat. In his ten years in office as Chief Minister, Modi's Vibrant Gujarat meetings became the occasion for important decision makers of the world of business, politics, academia and media to transact business. It also became an important event in international business circles.

It is important to know what the Vibrant Gujarat meetings signified, nationally and internationally. It signified the end of the license permit raj. Here was a Chief Minister of one of economically most advanced state of the country openly interacting with the leaders of the corporate world.

Business leaders were not pariahs for him, as they were for Indira Gandhi and her children and grand children.

The dynasty shunned and even disdained business. An open and clean partnership between business and politics or the market and the state, as indeed it exists in the democracies of Europe and America, was disdained by the dynasty. It professed socialism which, in the Indian contest, meant a clandestine dirty relationship between the money bags of the Congress and some big business houses.

This kind of relationship between the state and business was born in the years of Jawaharlal Nehru rule but really flowered in the years of Indira Gandhi's fourteen years old rule and then under her children and her daughter-in-law. What this meant in sociological terms, and that is more pertinent here, is the perpetuation of the caste, ethnic and religious divisions of the country. Under the license permit raj, the country remained economically stagnant, at about three percent of rate of growth in the years between 1960 and 1990 and generated what I termed "babu socialism".

These were wasted years. We, with our strong business culture, could have been the highest growth rate country in the world. Instead we became a basket case, living on American wheat and American money. South Korea was at a lower level of growth than we were in 1961.

Where was South Korea 20 years later and where were we!

Modi loathed the license permit raj and did everything to bury it in Gujarat. Today he is the Prime Minister. He wants to dismantle the license permit raj and put in its place a clean, transparent and accountable relationship between the State and business.

Modi has to wage a battle on several fronts to put in place a healthy relationship between the state and business. His interest in foreign relations comes from his policy design for economic development at home. His foreign policy then, is an extension of his economic policies at home. Narasimha Rao evolved a foreign policy in the 1990s that would complement his policy turn toward a market economy.

Modi has turned to our east, the Asia-Pacific region, the world's power house. The Asia-Pacific Region (APR), broadly defined, consist of the countries of South East Asia (the ASEAN group of countries and the Pacific sea board (China, Japan and the two Koreas). There is also a larger grouping of countries, of which APR is a part, and they consists of the United States, Australia, and some would include Russia in it. This is indeed a formidable grouping of countries – three largest economies of the world, American, Chinese, Japanese and four largest military powers, the US, Russia and China and India.

India is not a part of the APR, though by the virtue of the fact that it is the world's third largest economy, it has considerable weight. It cannot be ignored. Most would like India to play a major role in APR.

This is the abode of Lakshmi. Understandably, it is the thrust area of the Modi Government's foreign policy. Since assuming the Prime Ministership, Modi has visited some of the countries of the area and has hosted some leaders of the countries from there. What do these visits tell us about the purpose of his foreign policy? It is very largely domestic. His foreign policy thus is an extension of his domestic policy.

The Asia-Pacific Region today is the pivot of world politics in the way Europe was during the Cold War years. Here is where China and India, world's second and third largest economies and military power of about the same ranking converge.

We may be rivals but it is my strong contention that our rivalry need not lead to armed conflict, and that on-going globalization could even moderate our rivalry. A simple fact would illustrate why the globalization of trade could bring us closer. Our trade with China today stands at \$ 61 bn and the possibility of doubling it in five years is high.

The paradoxical thing is that all those who fear the rise, certainly impressive, of China are all also its strong trading partners. The United

States, Japan, South Korea, India and Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore are China's best trading partners. In fact the rise of China is entirely due to its remarkable ability to adopt its state controlled economy to global capitalism. Japan and later South Korea and Taiwan did it the sixties and seventies. China now broadly follows their path. In 1970 China accounted for a miserable 0.78 percent of global GDP. In 2010 the figure was 7.43 percent. Strangely enough, India accounted for a slightly higher share of world GDP, 0.87 percent in 1970 but in the forty years up to 2010, we increased just over two fold, 2.26 percent.

Historically speaking China's rise to preeminence is without precedent, not just for its rapidity but also by the route it has taken to reach it. In forty years, from 1970 to 2010, it increased its GDP share of the world GDP by eight times. The nearest historical parallel to China's rise is the rise of Imperial Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Germany became a nation in 1870 under the leadership of a man of extraordinary leadership quality, Otto von Bismarck. By 1890, twenty years after its birth as a nation, it economically surpassed Great Britain to become the foremost industrial power in the world.

But the route Germany chose to world preeminence was basically a military route, though it was accompanied by great acquisition of

economic power. In the case of China, it is the latter's acquiring of economic power, accompanied by some growth in military power. We will grossly misread this fact if we only see China's rise as solely due to its acquisition of military power.

Instead all major powers of Asia-Pacific Region and the US and India are China's major trading power. Their economies are greatly interdependent on each other. None can afford to snap these links without seriously hurting itself. This is the logic of interdependence. It attenuates conflict among sovereign states. As Prime Minister Modi said in his speech at Tsinghua University this is the age of "interdependence" and India and China have to work in that spirit. Such logic is at work in our relations with China. We are the second and the largest economies today and with a difference of 1: 5 in our GDP. India is about \$ 2 trillion and China's is about \$ 10 trillion. But by all estimates, that this GDP gap will narrow to 1:3.

It is then time to rethink of our relationship with China. It is not the China of 1962. Today's China is a confident China, fully enmeshed in the world capitalist economy. So must we be confident that we are firmly set on a growth path that enjoys the support of the people. Our modernization rests on consensus: China's modernization rests on coercion. We have seen what coerced modernization did to the Soviet

Union. It disintegrated in 1992.

We have enough power to protect our interests. We both can reap together Lakshmi by greatly expanding our economic cooperation. Let us not make the unresolved border dispute a hostage to the larger economic relationship. The border problem too will fall in place once we have strong economic relationship with them. Chinese also knows that there is now a leadership in India that can make a settlement that appears to be just. This was not the case before.

South Asia is a region of many complexities and challenges. Regional trade in the region is also one of the lowest in the world. But a ray of light has been shown by the Modi Government. A land boundary agreement between India and Bangladesh has now been passed by Parliament. The much awaited Teesta River agreement with Bangladesh may follow, and with it, hopefully, extensive cooperation between India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Bhutan. A part of South Asia will be knit together by trade, energy and communication links. Prime Minister Modi's promised shared zone of prosperity is indeed taking gradual shape.

*(The author is a veteran scholar & Honorary Fellow with the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi)*

## Marhaba Namu

• *Suresh Radha*

In true Bharatiya tradition bending forward with folded hands Narendra Modi stepped on stage and gestured Namaste on a high pedestal at Dubai cricket Stadium to the animated crowd of more than fifty thousand. He waved to the crowd in his inimitable style sending the crowd into tizzy with the chants of Modi, Modi still reverberating in the sands of Dubai. The Emirates was fully Modi-fied.

Sultan Sooud al-Qassemi, a member of one of the UAE's ruling families, and one of the federation's pre-eminent commentators summed the moment in a perfect tweet. "Indian PM@narendra Modi has as much charisma as I've ever seen in a World leader. He emphasizes & stresses on words. He can work the crowd". Sultan Sooud al-Qassemi has more than 250,000 followers and is one of the most well known Twitter users in the Middle East was seated along with this author and I could see him tweeting furiously the details of the electric evening in Dubai.

Prime Minister Modi as is well known across the world by now has a unique ability to connect across generations'. Whether it is explaining the scourge of terrorism or getting approval for a Hindu

Temple or inviting investment opportunities in India, Modi had the entire audience riveted for the entire speech. He started the speech with "Standing on the soil of UAE, I witness a laghu bharat- (mini India) "With this he made an instant connection with the crowd who had been waiting for hours for this moment. The crowd also was a true depiction of the Inclusive slogan- Sab ka Saath Sab Ka Vikas, with people across classes and across regions standing and cheering together and he got standing ovation multiple times.

Modi prepares his speeches well and knows his audience. He specifically mentioned the nuclear tests during Vajpayee regime when world powers immediately slapped sanctions on India. Vajpayee requested all NRI's to contribute liberally to strengthen Indian Economy. Indians living in gulf nations contributed large amounts in the time of national crisis. This resonated hugely with the audience and was a fairly emotional moment. Modi reminded the large audience that inspite of 700 flights a week, and close proximity of UAE and Delhi, still no Prime Minister found time to visit UAE for 34 years. Modi did spend a minute to thank his

hosts who broke the protocol when Crown Prince along with his 5 brothers came to the airport to receive him.

It was not just rhetoric and emotion, the trip was pure business. PM's entourage included National Security Adviser, Ajit Doval, Foreign Secretary, S Jaishankar who along with him met the ruling families of the kingdom. The joint statement about terror will resonate for a long time considering most people thought that there was veiled reference to Pakistan.

Modi reminded Indians sitting in the crowd of many schemes his government has introduced for the benefit of people. He urged the Indians sitting there to gift a Jeevan Suraksha scheme to their sisters for this Raksha Bandhan by just depositing Rs600/- in their bank accounts. With that Modi reiterated his commitment to gender equality and women who have been getting the raw deal till now. I did notice that people across the ideological spectrum were moved and motivated by the speech. Modi also greeted Malayali audience on their new year and spoke in Malayalam which enthused the audience from Kerala.

The presence of the large contingent of Ahmedia Bohri community who are wealthy

business men of UAE and a closely knit community has sent some positive vibes to the Malapurram region in the North of Kerala and to those who pretend as custodians of that geographical location. With many stalwarts owning business empires to the likes of Lulu (Yousef Ali) or the Aster Group who is into Health Care, closely moving around Modi; the Rulers have changed the mindset of the minority leaders back in Kerala, which was reflected in the Welcome Statement issued by the veteran Muslim League leader and former Minister E. Ahmed on media.

It is now the task of BJP party machinery in Kerala to work towards capitalizing on the foundation given by Modi in UAE. This could be the beginning of BJP spreading tentacles in Kerala and hopefully one day can win electoral battles in Kerala.

*(The author was present at the Dubai Cricket Stadium and witnessed the historic address. Article courtesy: MyIndMakers & is available at: <https://www.myind.net/marhaba-namo>)*

## Pm's Visits A Unifying Force For The Diaspora: Vijay Chauthaiwale

• *Archis Mohan*

**P** rime Minister Narendra Modi hand-picked Vijay Chauthaiwale to be the pointsman for his outreach to the 28.4-million strong Indian diaspora. He is currently the head of both the Overseas Friends of Bharatiya Janata Party (OFBJP) and the foreign policy cell of the party. Chauthaiwale has a PhD in microbiology from Pune's National Chemical Laboratories and is a former vice-president (research and development) at Torrent Pharmaceuticals. He has also spent several years abroad. Chauthaiwale tells Archis Mohan how Modi's influence is helping unite the disparate diaspora outfits and about his own efforts in the last 10 months to clean the stables of the OFBJP.

**The Prime Minister has been criticised for his frequent foreign visits. What have been the gains?**

The Prime Minister has spent more or less the same number of days abroad as his predecessor. What he has done is to make his trips more visible, not only to the host country but also to Indians and that is causing some heartburn to our opponents. To answer this



rhetorically, Rahul Gandhi must have spent more days abroad and no one knows where he was. Here the PM's every hour is accounted for and for the benefit of the country. That is the contrast.

The PM has set up high-level contacts with several countries that were ignored by previous regimes for decades. Strategically, the focus of the PM's foreign policy is on the neighbourhood and Pacific Rim countries. Third, of course is the economy. The PM is signing big commitments, like with China and the US. He is likely to visit another of India's major partner in November - the UK. He has been to the United Arab Emirates - one of India's largest trading partners. This will bring more investments into India

and strengthen the economy. Last but not the least are our security concerns. The India-UAE joint statement has talked about counterterrorism openly. The national security advisors of the two countries are going to meet twice a year, which is unprecedented.

### **How has the outreach to the diaspora helped?**

The diaspora was feeling alienated during the tenure of the previous regime. They were always thought to be money-minting machines by people here. Now, the PM is addressing them. This has sent a message that the PM cares for them and is concerned about their issues. The foremost example of this is the land for a temple in the UAE. It was a longstanding desire of the community there and it was resolved during the PM's visit to the UAE. These are small issues, emotive issues, but they add substantially to the comfort of the community.

Second, the Prime Minister's visits and his addresses to the diaspora have increased their stature in their own country, which is significant. I could see it in Canada, where elections are coming up in October: both the major political parties were racing to capture the votes of the Indian diaspora in various ways - intermingling with them, attending

our PM's functions and also attending religious ceremonies. This is because they have realised that wooing the Indian diaspora works in their favour politically.

### **Some critics say the diaspora is getting splintered along religious lines after the BJP intervened.**

Exactly the reverse is happening. I have travelled for the preparations of the diaspora events. The first thing I tell everyone is not about the BJP or the OFBJP event, but about the entire community. I give that message loud and clear in the very first meeting with the diaspora outfits. This is followed by action. The organising committees, which we set up, consist of representatives from all communities - linguistic and professional groups of the diaspora. For example, the Bay area organising committee (for the PM's visit to the Silicon Valley in September-end) has people from all linguistic and religious communities as well as techies, businessmen and hoteliers. We have brought these professional groups together, which would otherwise rarely happen. Even in the UAE we had a substantial number of Muslims in our organising committee. You must have seen the sizeable presence of Muslims at the event where the PM

addressed the diaspora in the UAE.

**Diaspora outfits are known to have differences.**

I agree. But the PM's persona goes beyond any community appeal, religious appeal or sectoral appeal. It also goes beyond the BJP's appeal. People are willing to come together in the name of the PM. It can happen only with Modi. When the larger goal is defined, people are willing to forget, at least temporarily, their differences. Otherwise, it is impossible to have 50,000 people gathering for the PM's speech in Dubai at a short notice of 10 days. More than 100 diaspora organisations attended the organising committee meetings in the UAE. There were some complaints when they started talking initially. The complaints were not regarding why the PM was visiting, but that they were informed late. We had very little time, so there were some communication gaps. They said, "Okay whatever is done is done, but now we are supporting the event." The PM's visits are becoming a great unifying force for the communities. Whether they can sustain it for a long period is a different issue, but at least there is some momentum now.

**Is there a plan of action to consolidate these gains?**

It is now the responsibility of the diaspora on one side and people like us on the other side to leverage the goodwill created by the PM. Soon, we will come up with some concrete plan of action, which will be pan-community and not confined to the OFBJP.

**How does the OFBJP, which has played a lead role in managing the overseas tours of the PM, influence the foreign policy architecture?**

I am clear about my role and my limitations. I am not here to define the foreign policy of India or that of the government. I am here to mobilise the diaspora and bring it to the next level where it can create a good impact on the issues that concern us or concern issues of the host country. To that extent, my role is limited. Actual foreign policy issues are being handled by the external affairs ministry. Of course, we have a dialogue. We give our inputs, like any citizen of the country. So, there is a demarcation of what I am supposed to do and I remain within those limits.

**The OFBJP expanded enormously in the last few years, opening chapters in places with little presence of the Indian community and appointing convenors there**

**who weren't exactly the most suitable ambassadors for the image of the party.**

I won't make a statement about the people who preceded me (as head of OFBJP). To an extent, I agree that the OFBJP expansion was not supported by any concrete plan. I am trying to consolidate the overall OFBJP in a few places in my first year (as its head). At a couple of places, our convenors themselves came to me and said there was no work there, either because of the political situation in that country or because the community is very small or dispersed and therefore, they would like to dissolve that unit or they would like to resign. I have accepted (their decisions). They were graceful enough to accept their limitations. The next phase would be to make the OFBJP an advocacy arm of the PM's agenda of governance in the host country. That transition is currently taking place.

**What are the major plans in the year ahead? There are reports of a speech even at the Wembley Stadium.**

The PM is scheduled to spend a day and a half in the Bay area (San Francisco). The good part is that those days are on the weekend and are exclusively for us: non-

diplomatic events and devoted to the diaspora. The star event will be the address at the SAP Centre in San Jose. Around 18,000 people will attend. More than 400 organisations have already registered for the event. There is also a plan to have some kind of meeting with the CEOs of all information technology companies. As for the UK, we are exploring certain things. Of course, Wembley is a big attraction and our confidence has gone up after the UAE event. But a lot will depend on scheduling of the visit and availability of the venue.

*Courtesy: [http://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/pm-s-visits-a-unifying-force-for-the-diaspora-vijay-chauthaiwale-115082200811\\_1.html](http://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/pm-s-visits-a-unifying-force-for-the-diaspora-vijay-chauthaiwale-115082200811_1.html)*

## भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह द्वारा कोलकाता में 'प्लेज फॉर एन इंटीग्रेटेड इंडिया' पुस्तक के विमोचन अवसर पर दिए गए उद्बोधन के मुख्य अंश



भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अमित शाह ने कोलकाता में विगत 12 अगस्त, 2015 को देवेश खंडेलवाल द्वारा सम्पादित पुस्तक 'प्लेज फॉर एन इंटीग्रेटेड इंडिया' का विमोचन करते हुए कहा कि यह पुस्तक डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के महत्वपूर्ण पत्रों का संकलन है और इससे कश्मीर समस्या को समझने में काफी मदद मिलेगी।

उन्होंने डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के जीवन पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कहा कि डॉ. मुखर्जी ने जम्मू कश्मीर की एकता और अखंडता के लिये अपना सर्वस्व बलिदान कर दिया। उन्होंने उस वक्त श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू के खिलाफ बोलने की हिम्मत दिखाई। श्री शाह ने कहा कि उन्होंने कहा था 'एक देश में दो निशान, दो प्रधान और दो विधान – नहीं चलेगा, नहीं चलेगा' और वह अंत तक अपने दृढ़ निश्चय पर अटल रहे। भाजपा अध्यक्ष ने कहा कि देश की एकता, अखंडता और कश्मीर के लिए उनके द्वारा दिये गए योगदान को भुलाया नहीं जा सकता।

उन्होंने कहा कि डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी न केवल जम्मू-कश्मीर के आंदोलन के सूत्रधार थे वरन एक प्रतिष्ठित लेखक, वकील, शिक्षाविद, विचारक और जन्मजात राष्ट्र भक्त थे और उन्होंने अनेक क्षेत्रों में

योगदान दिया।

श्री शाह ने कहा कि सत्ता छोड़कर अपने सिद्धांतों तथा देश सेवा के लिए अपना सर्वस्व न्यौछावर कर दिया और उन्होंने देश की मिट्टी के सुगंध से सुसज्जित देश के नव निर्माण के उद्देश्य से जनसंघ की स्थापना की और देश के लिए जीने और देश के लिए मरने वाले समर्पित कार्यकर्ताओं की फौज तैयार की। श्री शाह ने कहा कि यह उन्हीं के बलिदान का परिणाम है कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी आज विश्व की सबसे बड़ी राजनीतिक पार्टी बनी है और जनता ने भी अपना पूर्ण समर्थन देकर देश की बागडोर भाजपा के हाथ सौंपी है।

श्री शाह ने कहा कि उनकी नीतियां लम्बे समय तक देश का मार्गदर्शन करेगी।

अपने उद्बोधन के अंत में श्री शाह ने पुस्तक के संकलनकर्ता श्री देवेश खण्डेलवाल को साधुवाद देते हुए कहा कि इस पुस्तक के माध्यम से विद्यार्थियों, राजनेताओं और राजनीतिक विश्लेषकों को जम्मू-कश्मीर की समस्याओं को तथा डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के द्वारा किये गए प्रयासों को नजदीक से समझने का मौका मिलेगा।

"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*

