



परमक्रमयुता प्रज्ञा राष्ट्रभ्युदयसाधिका
Wisdom with valour brings glory to the nation

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
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Special Article

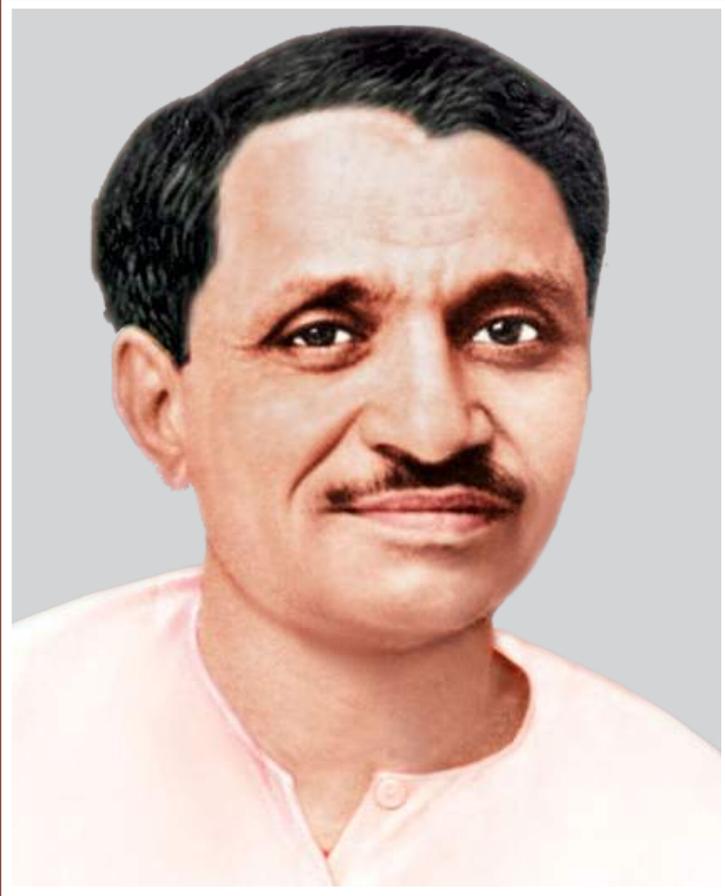
- **Prime Minister Modi's
Second US Visit**

The NJAC Judgement –
An Alternative View

BJP's Vision Document for Bihar –
from Anarchy towards Development

Bihar Polls 2015:
Sting in the Tale

Party, Philosophy & Discipline



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

Let the different political parties try to evolve a philosophy for themselves. Let them not be mere conglomerations of persons joined together for some selfish

ends. It should be something different from a commercial undertaking or a joint stock company. It is also necessary that the philosophy of the party is not kept confined to the pages of the party manifesto. Members should understand it and devote themselves to translating it into action.

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

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Paper Revolution for Diverting India

When there is a lot that is happening all around, a lot that is gradually lifting India out of a state of stagnation and paralysis of decision making, the only thing that a section of opportunist intellectuals goaded by their political patrons are busy with is in trying to target Prime Minister Modi. This section is yet to absorb the fact that he has become Prime Minister, that he received one of the most resounding mandate ever given to a leader in three decades and that he rose from humble beginnings, through the ranks to make it to the top political office in the country. In reality this manufactured protest of rootless intellectuals and *littérateurs* is an expression of intolerance, an intolerance that stems from a disdain for a democratic mandate and a disdain towards the political wisdom and understanding of the teeming millions who struggle for a daily living and who aspire for a better and opportunity filled India.

Any violence is condemnable and any act of intolerance must never be tolerated and Prime Minister Modi expressed his deep distress at the developments in the recent past. When he spoke asking all to work towards fighting poverty and inequality these very same intellectuals who were crying themselves hoarse asking him to speak declared that it was inadequate – in effect it actually means that without having any accountability or public mandate these paper intellectuals

arrogate themselves the role of arbiter of the discourse and confer upon themselves the right to dictate to popularly elected leaders the position they ought to take or the opinions they ought express. It is true that some among these self-anointed guardians of India's destiny had opposed Emergency in 1975 – the ultimate fascist episode in post-independent India's democratic history – but again be it reminded that soon enough they capitulated and accepted awards from those very forces that imposed Emergency, clamped down on human rights and free expression.

These intellectuals have always been selective in their expressions of outrage mainly because they either belonged to a political dynasty which, as much as they condemned it, does radiate its luster and privileges or they were plain political courtiers who had strayed in the literary world and mainly won their laurels by singing paeans to their political patrons and celebrating their and not India's glory. Otherwise how does one explain their argument that Indira Gandhi – the one who imposed Emergency and turned the country into a vast prison – was essentially a democrat!

Law and order is a state subject and the killings under discussion have taken place in states ruled by the Congress or other political parties opposed to the BJP. Intriguingly none of these intellectuals – all rebels in search of a cause – have ever taken this into account. As far as the

Maharashtra Government was concerned an SIT was formed and then the investigation also given over to the CBI. Strange and unethical that the award returnees did not ask for the then Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh to speak up when Narendra Dhabolkar was killed in 2013. The Kalburgi episode happened in Congress ruled Karnataka and yet not one of these captive intellectuals dared ask for a response from the Congress High Command – which usually always handpicks and dumps regional leaders – as to why in a state being ruled by it has law order deteriorated to such an extent?

Hundreds of BJP workers have been killed in Kerala, hundreds more have been attacked, intimidated and at times maimed for life in Communist ruled West Bengal in the past and also in the present under TMC rule – none of these intellectual ever saw or took note of that violence. When a senior leader of the CPIM Politbureau Brinda Karat – who perennially hallucinates about dangers to India from the Modi model while being party to the creation of the Nandigram model – talked of administering the “Dum Dum Dawai” to political opponents none protested the raw and politically volatile and inappropriate observations. When in November 2007 parts of Kolkata were given over to lumpens who wanted a certain writer to quit the city because of her views, these paper tigers were hardly audible in their protests. Even if they did protest, they could not prevent the particular writer under discussion from being thrown out

of the city, nor did they castigate their then Comrade Chief Minister of the state nor did they ask for an answer from the then Prime Minister of India who belonged to the Congress party nor did they conduct processions and seminars on how the situation of free expression in India was being compromised or was in peril.

In essence these intellectuals exude a class-hatred and disdain for Prime Minister Modi – a disdain that essentially stems from their political conviction and training which always hopes that the marginalized shall never inherit the earth. Meanwhile the ship of the Indian state moves, India is on the move. Prime Minister Modi had a hugely successful US visit – a special article looks into its various dimensions of what was achieved during this visit. Hectic preparations are on for the upcoming India-Africa Summit and many more positives have taken place and are generating an atmosphere of dynamism and mobility. The vast majority of the people of India aspire for a better life and see hope in Prime Minister Modi's leadership. They feel the difference it is making in a number of ways. Paper revolutions, “manufactured protests”, or de-rooted homilies from disjointed intellectuals hardly make a difference, as far as they are concerned. Let India march ahead, let not some hold her back by raising bogeys of specters that are long dissolved and dead!

*-Dr. Anirban Ganguly,
Director, SPMRF*

Text of PM's address at the public meeting to mark Bhoomi Poojan of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Memorial at Mumbai

बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के पंच-तीर्थ का निर्माण



ये इंदु मिल की जमीन में प्रधानमंत्री बना उसके बाद आई है क्या? पहले थी, लेकिन कोई पवित्र काम करने का सौभाग्य हमारे ही हाथ में लिखा हुआ है और इसलिए आज उस इंदु मिल की जमीन पर डाक्टर बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर का, एक प्रेरणा स्थली बनने वाली है। ये चौत्य भूमि.. भारत में नई चेतना जगाने का एक कारण बनने वाली है। और आप देखिए पंच-तीर्थ का निर्माण, ये पंच-तीर्थ का निर्माण.. आने वाले दिनों में ये पंच-तीर्थ, जिनकी लोकतंत्र में आस्था है, जिनकी

सामाजिक न्याय में आस्था है, जिसकी देश की अखंडता और एकता में आस्था है, उन लोगों के लिए ये तीर्थाटन के.. यात्रा के धाम बनने वाले हैं। ये पंच-तीर्थ, इसका सौभाग्य हमें मिला। आप देखिए मध्य प्रदेश में महोह, इतनी सरकारें रहीं लेकिन उसकी तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं गया। जब मध्य प्रदेश में भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनी तब जा करके उस जगह पर बाबा साहेब का स्मारक बना, जीवंत स्मारक बना और आज बाबा साहेब के प्रति श्रद्धा रखने वाले लोगों के लिए वो

एक तीर्थ क्षेत्र बना हुआ है। उसी प्रकार से दिल्ली में, दिल्ली में जहां बाबा साहेब रहते थे, वो जगह अलीपुर रोड वाली, 25 साल तक ये विषय फाइलों में लटकता रहा। बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के प्रति श्रद्धा रखने वाले लोग इसके पीछे प्रयास करते रहे। अटल जी की सरकार ने उसको move किया। लेकिन सरकार गयी उसको फिर दबा दिया गया। हम आये, हमने उस बात को हाथ में लिया और कुछ महीने पहले मुझे अलीपुर रोड के बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के उस मकान में एक भव्य स्मारक बनाने का Foundation उसका शिलान्यास करने का सौभाग्य मिला, करीब 300 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से एक भव्य स्मारक वहां बन रहा है। बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के माता-पिता रत्नागिरी जिले के Ambavade गांव में रहते थे, हमारे एक सांसद ने उस आदर्श गांव के लिए strike किया और महाराष्ट्र सरकार भी उसमें मदद कर रही है, जहां बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के माता-पिता रहे, वो भी एक तीर्थ क्षेत्र के रूप में विकसित हो रहा है। और आज ये इंदु मिल में एक नए स्मारक का निर्माण और पांचवां लंदन में, जहां बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर रहते थे, वो भवन, अब हिंदुस्तान से कोई लंदन जाएगा, तो प्रेरणा का केंद्र बिंदु बनेगा, विश्व के लोग भारत के आर्थिक चिंतन को समझने के लिए लंदन में जो बाबा साहेब रहते थे, उस मकान के अंदर आ करके, अध्ययन करके, विश्व को, भारत के संबंध में समझ करके, अपनी बात बताने का उनको अवसर मिलेगा। ये पंच-तीर्थ, ये पंच-तीर्थ निर्माण सिर्फ और सिर्फ हम भारतीय जनता पार्टी के समय में ही हुआ है और हम सब जानते हैं, मुझे राजनीति नहीं करनी है, लेकिन मेरे मन की पीड़ा मैं कहे बिना रह नहीं सकता हूं, क्या कारण है कि बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर की पार्लियामेंट में, जिस महापुरुष ने संविधान दिया, उस महापुरुष का तैल चित्र पार्लियामेंट में रखने के लिए वो सरकारें सहमत नहीं थीं। 1990 में जब गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार बनी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के समर्थन से बनी, तब जा करके बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर का तैल चित्र हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट में लगा।

ckck l kgc vkMdj dk thou ejh çj .kk

भारत रत्न, हम जानते हैं औरों को कब मिला, लेकिन बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर को भारत रत्न दिलाने के लिए नाकों दम आ गया और वो भी उन लोगों के द्वारा नहीं मिला। और इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि देश में जिस प्रकार के एक सामंतशाही मानसिकता वाले लोग हैं, एक दलित के बेटे को स्वीकार करने के लिए कभी तैयार नहीं, और मैं, आज कई लोग यहां बैठे हैं, जिन्होंने

अपना जीवन बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के विचारों के पीछे खपा दिया है, मैं उनको भी आज कहना चाहता हूं, मेरी बात शायद कड़वी लगेगी, लेकिन ये बात करने का मैं साहस करता हूं, अगर हम दीर्घ दृष्टि के अभाव में बाबा साहेब को, अगर सिर्फ दलितों का बाबा साहेब बना देंगे तो उससे बड़ा बाबा साहेब को कोई अपमान नहीं होगा, कोई अन्याय नहीं होगा। बाबा साहेब न सिर्फ भारत के, विश्व के दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित, वंचितों की प्रेरणा का नाम बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर है। दुनिया मार्टिन लूथर किंग को तो जानती है, लेकिन दुनिया बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर को नहीं जानती है, ये हमारा दुर्भाग्य है और इसके लिए हम लोगों का दायित्व है, कि विश्व बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर किस परिस्थिति में पैदा हुए, कैसे पले-बढ़े, और इतना जुल्म सहने के बाद, इतना अपमान सहने के बाद किसी भी व्यक्ति के मन में लबालब जहर भरा रहना, शायद कोई बुरा नहीं मानता। इतना अपमान झेलने के बाद कटुता होना, कोई बुरा नहीं मानता लेकिन ये बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर थे, जिंदगी के हर पल अपमान झेला, हर पल बाबा साहेब को संकटों से गुजरना पड़ा, लेकिन जब खुद को निर्णय करने के अवसर आए, कटुता का नामो-निशान नहीं था, बदले की भावना का नामो-निशान नहीं था, किसी को मैं बता दूंगा ये भाव नहीं था, इससे बड़ा महापुरुष कौन हो सकता है और इसलिए मेरे जैसे लोग बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के प्रति वो श्रद्धा भाव से देखते हैं। मैं तो खुद के लिए कभी सोचता था, कभी-कभी मेरे मन में विचार आता था कि बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर न होते तो मोदी कहां होता? हम जैसे सामान्य लोगों को कौन पूछता? ये बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर हैं, जिसके कारण ये बातें संभव हुई हैं और इसलिए मैं कहता हूं हम जो कर रहे हैं, वो तो सिर्फ कर्ज चुकाने का एक प्रामाणिक प्रयास कर रहे हैं। इस महापुरुष ने जो किया है.. और इसलिए हम सबका दायित्व बनता है लेकिन बाबा साहेब ने जो हमें कहा है उससे हम अगर हटेंगे तो बाबा साहेब के साथ घोर अन्याय होगा। बाबा साहेब ने हमें कहा, शिक्षित बनो। दलित हो, शोषित हो, वंचित हो, गरीब हो, शिक्षा उसके जीवन का सबसे प्रमुख धर्म बनना चाहिए, जो बाबा साहेब ने हमें सिखाया। बाबा साहेब ने हमें सिखाया संगठित बनो।

बाबा साहेब की इसलिए सबसे बड़ी श्रद्धांजलि यही है कि हम संगठित बने, हम एक बने और अन्याय के खिलाफ जब संघर्ष की बात आए तो उसके लिए भी हम तैयार रहे। यही हम लोगों को बाबा साहेब ने संदेश दिया है और इसलिए मेरे भाइयों-बहनों आज Indu mill में बाबा साहेब का जो



स्मारक बन रहा है। मेरे मन में एक इच्छा है, मैंने अध्ययन तो नहीं किया है लेकिन जिस दिन मैंने जमीन दी थी उस दिन भी मैंने कहा था। आज architecture मिले तब भी मैंने कहा। मैंने कहा मुंबई या महाराष्ट्र में आया हुआ व्यक्ति जिन्दगी से तंग आया हो, परेशान हुआ हो तो यहां ऐसी जंद जगह बननी चाहिए कि वो घंटे भर वहां बैठे, एक शांति का अहसास लेकर के जाए, ऐसी जगह बननी चाहिए और इसलिए मैंने कहा जहां स्मारक बने वहां साथ-साथ, ये विशाल भूमि है, वहां एक घना जंगल बनाना चाहिए। इतने पेड़ लगाने चाहिए, इतनी हरियाली कर देनी चाहिए कि एक शांति की भूमि 60 फुट में बन जाए और ये बन सकता है। और मैं देवेन्द्र जी से आग्रह करूंगा कि ये स्मारक सिर्फ ईट-माटी-पत्थर-चूने तक सीमित न रहे। वो तो भव्य होना ही चाहिए, दुनिया के लोगों के लिए अजूबा होना चाहिए। लेकिन इसको जन भागीदारी से जोड़ा जा सकता है क्या? महाराष्ट्र में 40 हजार गांव है। हर गांव से लोग आए और उनको जो बताया गया हो वो पौधा लेकर के आए और वहां पर हर गांव का एक पौधा लगे और वो गांव भी उसके लालन-पालन के लिए गांव समस्त की तरफ से एक रुपया, दो

रुपया, पांच रुपया collect करके एक पेड़ लगाए और 11 हजार रुपया दान दे। आप देखिए कितनी बड़ी जन भागीदारी से काम हो सकता है। हर गांव को लगेगा कि चौत्य भूमि में, Indu mill के मैदान में जो स्मारक बना है, बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के प्रति हमारे गांव की भी श्रद्धा है, हमारा भी एक पेड़ उस गांव में लगा है।

दूसरा, हिन्दुस्तान के सभी राज्यों से एक पेड़ मंगाया जाए, वो पेड़ भी लगाया जाए और दुनिया के सभी देशों से हर देश से एक पेड़ मंगवाया जाए और ये विश्व महापुरुष थे, उनका भी एक पेड़ लगाया जाए दुनिया का और वहां लिखा जाए। सारा विश्व प्दकन उपसस के इस हरियाली के साथ कैसे जोड़ा जाए। अगर हम नई कल्पना के साथ, जन सामान्य को जोड़ने के विचार के साथ स्मारक को बनाएंगे, हिन्दुस्तान में शायद कभी किसी महापुरुष का ऐसा स्मारक नहीं बना हो जहां पर 40 हजार गांव सीधे-सीधे जुड़े हों। ऐसा कभी नहीं हुआ होगा। ये हो सकता है और महीने भर हर सप्ताह गांव के लोग आते चले, वहां रहे, चौत्य भूमि जाए, देखे Indu mill जाए, जहां डिजाइन हो वही पर पौधा लगाए। जो पौधे का sample तय

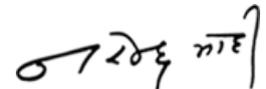
किया हो, वही लगाए। आप देखिए क्या से क्या हो सकता है और इसलिए ये अपने आप में प्रेरणा स्थल बनना चाहिए और इसलिए मैंने कहा, हम पंचतीर्थ निर्माण कर रहे हैं। ये पंचतीर्थ लोकतंत्र पर आस्था रखने वालों के लिए, संविधान को स्वीकार करने वाले लोगों के लिए, सामाजिक एकता के लिए जीने वालों के लिए वे तीर्थ क्षेत्र बनेंगे।

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कभी-कभी हम लोगों के खिलाफ झूठ फैलाना, अफवाहें फैलाना, लोगों में भ्रम पैदा करना इसके लिए टोली लगातार लगी रहती है, क्योंकि वो सहन नहीं कर पाते हैं कि ऐसे लोग कैसे आए गए। उन लोगों को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। आज हिन्दुस्तान में जिन राज्यों में सर्वाधिक दलित जनसंख्या है, जिन राज्यों में सर्वाधिक आदिवासी जनसंख्या है, जिन राज्यों में सर्वाधिक OBC जनसंख्या है, उनमें से अधिकतर राज्य ऐसे हैं, जहां के नागरिकों ने भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार को चुना है। महाराष्ट्र हो, हरियाणा हो, पंजाब हो, सबसे ज्यादा आदिवासी जनसंख्या महाराष्ट्र हो, गुजरात हो, राजस्थान हो, छत्तीसगढ़ हो, उड़ीसा हो, उड़ीसा हमारा NDA का Partner है, हमारा झारखंड हो। अधिकतम! इसका मतलब हुआ कि बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर के साथ तत्त्वतः जुड़कर के काम करने वाले कोई लोग है, तो हम लोग हैं और समाज के ये दलित पीड़ित शोषित आज हमें स्वीकार करते हैं। इसका ये जीता-जागता सबूत है।

दूसरा, जब भी हम सत्ता में आते हैं, जब भी चुनाव आता है, जब भी सरकार बननी होती है एक झूठ प्रचारित किया जाता है भाजपा वाले आएंगे आरक्षण खत्म कर देंगे। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी की जब सरकार बनी थी ऐसा ही बवंडर खड़ा कर दिया गया था। अटल जी की सरकार में बैठे लोग कह कहकर के थक गए, लेकिन ये झूठ फैलाने वाली टोली मुंह बंद करने को तैयार ही नहीं थी। फिर एक बार जब हम राज्यों में चुनकर के आते हैं, तो राज्यों में चालू कर देते हैं - आरक्षण हटा देंगे, आरक्षण हटा देंगे, आरक्षण हटा देंगे। फिर हमारी दिल्ली में सरकार बनी, फिर तूफान खड़ा कर दिया। बाबा साहेब आंबेडकर ने जो हमें दिया है, उसी ने देश को एक ताकत दी है और उस ताकत को कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। और इसलिए मैं ऐसा भ्रम फैलाने वाले लोग, आज तक कोई राजनीतिक फायदा ले नहीं पाए हैं लेकिन समाज में वही वैमनस्य पैदा करते हैं, झूठ फैलाते हैं, समाज को भ्रमित करते हैं। मैंने, मैंने गरीबी देखी है, मैं उस दर्द को जी चुका हूँ और मुझे मालूम है समाज की इस

अवस्था में जीने वालों के लिए अभी भी बहुत कुछ करना बाकी है, बहुत कुछ करना बाकी है और ये देश दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित, वंचित, गरीब, इनको छोड़ करके आगे नहीं निकल सकता है। और मेरी सरकार, मुझे जब संसद के अंदर नेता के रूप में चुना गया, संसद के अंदर नेता के रूप में चुना गया, अभी प्रधानमंत्री बना नहीं था, उस दिन मेरा भाषण है कि मेरी सरकार गरीबों को समर्पित है, गरीबों के कल्याण के लिए हम जीएंगे। देश में गरीबी को, गरीबी से मुक्ति चाहिए, गरीबी से मुक्ति के मार्ग अलग-अलग हो सकते हैं, हमारा मार्ग है, वो देश पूरी तरह जानता है और इसलिए भाइयो-बहनों ये अप्रचार बंद होना चाहिए, ये झूठ बंद होना चाहिए, समाज को आशंकित, भयभीत करने का खेल बंद होना चाहिए, इससे राजनीति नहीं होती। आइए, मिल-बैठ करके चलें। दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित, वंचित, गरीब, गांव का हो, उनको आगे बढ़ाए बिना देश कभी आगे बढ़ नहीं सकता। और इसलिए मेरे भाइयो-बहनों, इस मूलमंत्र को ले करके, समाज के सभी लोगों को साथ ले करके चलने का इरादा ले करके देश चल रहा है। राज्यों में जहां हमें सेवा करने का मौका मिला है, हम पूरे मनोयोग से काम कर रहे हैं। दिल्ली में हमें सेवा करने का मौका मिला है, जी-जान से जुटे हुए हैं और बदलाव ला करके रहेंगे, ये विश्वास में प्रकट करता हूँ।


NARENDRA MODI

Prime Minister Modi's Second US Visit

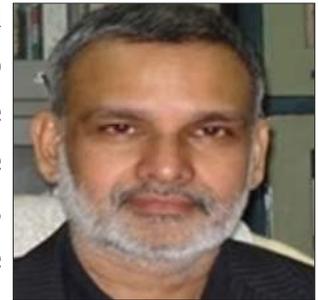
•Prof. Chintamani Mahapatra

About a year after his path-breaking voyage to the United States, Prime Minister Narendra Modi made his second significant visit to the United States in September this year. Many analysts paid little importance to the second Modi visit to the US for the simple reason that unlike the first one in September 2014, this visit was not at the invitation of the White House.

In fact, it was the Chinese

“The truth, however, lies elsewhere. To the keen mind and alert observer, Modi's second visit to the US was loaded with novelty, originality and purpose.”

President Xi Jinping who went on a State Visit to the United States around the time the Indian



Premier was on the American soil. Many Heads of States or Heads of Governments were also in the United States for participating in the 70th United Nations General Assembly meeting in New York in September. Thus on the surface, it was not a unique or unusual or a stand-alone journey by the Indian Prime Minister to the United States.

The truth, however, lies elsewhere. To the keen mind and alert observer, Modi's second visit to the US was loaded with novelty,



originality and purpose. First of all, Modi visited both the East Coast and the West Coast and the latter destination was unique since none of his predecessors in last three decades had made a trip to that part of the US, despite its economic and technological significance for the Indian economic growth.

The second novel ingenuity by the Indian Prime Minister was to refrain from the usual annual ritual by the heads of governments to make a speech at the UN General

“The second novel ingenuity by the Indian Prime Minister was to refrain from the usual annual ritual by the heads of governments to make a speech at the UN General Assembly and to choose to make his mark by addressing the Sustainable Development Summit convened by the United Nations. ”

Assembly and to choose to make his mark by addressing the Sustainable Development Summit convened by the United Nations.

The third Modi inventiveness was to use the opportunity to hold serious business discussion with the CEOs of several American companies in New York towards putting into operation his schemes related to “Make in India” and

“Smart Cities”. This interaction was essential in view of Indian domestic political constraints in fast forwarding the economic reforms legislations. The political hurdles encountered by the Government in getting Parliamentary approval for the GST Bill and Land Acquisition Bill, along with a few others, appear to have disheartened several international investors and traders who had expected India to grow faster and internationalize its economy quicker after the landslide victory of the Bharatiya Janata Party in May 2014 General election. Prime Minister Modi is known for his skill to attract investors and traders by generating confidence in them about his determination to make doing business easy in India. By pointing out that India has drawn a large percentage of foreign investment in the midst of declining rates of foreign investment in many countries around the world, Modi sought to project the positives in India in the midst of general global recession.

Fourthly, by engaging the start-up companies in the Silicon Valley in discussions over their involvement in his “Digital India” scheme, Modi achieved yet another new milestone in his effort to modernize India. India is one of the fastest growing markets for internet and smart phones. However, internet is relatively slow and the large parts of



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rural India remain unconnected. The “Digital India” programme seeks to expand and enhance connectivity among people and modernize the communication infrastructure that is so very indispensable for education, business and the service sector of the Indian economy.

Seeking technology from the US companies, who happen to be the leaders of the IT in the world, was

only one part of the Modi project. The other integral part was to build social bridges with the Indian community in the US that constitutes a major slice of the American IT sector.

Fifthly, Prime Minister's meeting with the CEOs of the foremost social media companies, such as Face Book and Google, was noteworthy in the backdrop of their desire to expand their business in the vast Indian market at a time when they have prolonged disputes with China's market access policy. Prime Minister Modi's interactive session with Face Book CEO Mark Zuckerberg was outstanding. By striking a personal chord in his question, Mark was able to reveal a very sensitive part of Modi's personality. This is in sharp contrast with Chinese President's point blank refusal to name his child when

Mark approached him and introduced his ethnic Chinese-Vietnamese wife and the little child.

Last but not least, Prime Minister Modi held discussions with President Barack Obama for the fifth time in less than a year and half since assuming office. No other Indian Prime Minister seems to

“Prime Minister's meeting with the CEOs of the foremost social media companies, such as Face Book and Google, was noteworthy in the backdrop of their desire to expand their business in the vast Indian market at a time when they have prolonged disputes with China's market access policy. Prime Minister Modi's interactive session with Face Book CEO Mark Zuckerberg was outstanding.”

have had the occasion to discuss a wide range of bilateral, regional and global issues with a US President for so many times in so short a time. Indian leaders have always aspired to play the role of a major power in world affairs. Modi appears to have succeeded in making India behave like a major power. Modi's periodic and intensive interactions with world leaders, including the US President, reflects the value the

major powers attach to India in managing world affairs.

The significance of Modi's second US visit can be analyzed by comparing this with his maiden visit to the US as the Indian Prime Minister. An additional method would be comparing his visit with the visit by our important neighbours. Modi's first visit to the US was an unqualified success story. He was received as a rock star by the Indian American community, as a powerful champion of Indian economic growth by the Corporate America and a trust-worthy statesman by the US President. Modi in a few days during his visit could transform the image of India in American eyes and altered the course of the bilateral relationship that had appallingly soured due to a slow economic growth rate, hugely reported corruption cases, lack of promised economic reforms and a diplomatic standoff on the issue of arrest of an Indian diplomat by the NYPD.

Modi's article in the *Wall Street Journal*, a co-authored article by Modi and Obama in the *Washington Post*, a Joint Vision Statement captioned “*Chalein Sath Sath*” and a Joint Statement that called a spade a spade by naming Pakistan-based terrorist groups and calling for freedom of navigation and respect for international law in the South China Sea symbolized

further cementing of the Indo-US “strategic partnership” that appeared to have reached a plateau during the closing years of the UPA government.

The first visit was successful in breaking the logjam in strategic partnership and in raising the hopes of deeper economic and strategic engagements. Obviously, the ambitious goals could not have been achieved in just about a year's time. But the Americans were earnestly

“It so happened that Modi was very successful in springing surprises, as has been discussed earlier, and, more significantly, succeeding in convincing the American CEOs that India deserved to be under the spotlight in the light of the economy's positive performance amidst global recession.”

watching the domestic developments in India for signs of activities that would convince them that the Indo-US relationship would move in a stronger trajectory as seemed in the wake of Modi's rise to power in Indian politics. It was clear that certain amount of apprehensions afflicted the prospective investors and traders in the US due to difficulties encountered by the Modi Government in successfully

enacting reforms related legislations.

Thus no one expected any new big ticket initiatives during the recent visit of Modi to the US. Expectations from this visit were really low. But it so happened that Modi was very successful in springing surprises, as has been discussed earlier, and, more significantly, succeeding in convincing the American CEOs that India deserved to be under the spotlight in the light of the economy's positive performance amidst global recession. He appeared to have convinced the American business sector that his policies would bring dividends in time.

One of the ways the analysts judge the success of a foreign trip by the leaders is to watch the media attention it gets. Modi did get a lot of media attention even during his second trip to the US. This was in sharp contrast to Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to the US.

Here one may attempt the second level of analyzing Modi's US trip. Xi Jinping visit was the State visit and yet it failed to draw sufficient media attention. Some analysts have pointed out that Pope's visit to the US almost coincided with Xi's visit and the media coverage of the Pope overshadowed the Chinese President's itinerary. When Xi landed in Washington, DC for

holding talks with President Obama, the Pope landed in New York to address the UN General assembly. The mainstream media treated the pope as a rock star and paid much less attention to Xi.

The second major political development in the US took place when Obama and Xi were appearing in a joint press conference. The

“Modi did get a lot of media attention even during his second trip to the US. This was in sharp contrast to Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to the US.”

breaking news was resignation of the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, John Boehner. The media attention swiftly switched to the breaking news annoying the Chinese sides who were responsible for media management and public diplomacy.

Prime Minister Modi's second visit took place in the midst of momentous changes occurring in the Asia Pacific region. The most serious development is related to rising trust deficit in US-China relations. In fact, before President Xi was to land in the US, the Obama Administration was considering imposition of sanctions against some Chinese entities on the ground of their involvement in industrial espionage. President Obama at one

point had warned of a potential cyber warfare involving China. The US companies likewise had expressed concerns over China's new National Security Law that would have compromised their information base while doing business in China.

Xi's visit actually aimed at reducing the trust deficit in China's relations with the United States. Prime Minister Modi's visit, on the other hand, was meant to build additional trust between the United States and India. Modi's visit took place in the backdrop of rising defense and security ties in US-India relations. Modi, moreover, has been trying to woo Corporate America for investing in India's infrastructure developments in diverse sectors of the Indian economy.

Secondly, Xi's visit coincided with relative decline in the Chinese economic growth rate and extremely volatile movements in the Shanghai stock market. The international business community is visibly anxious over the future course of the Chinese economy. The days of chivalrous Chinese economic growth and high expectations of the international companies to reap benefits from the vast Chinese economic expansion seem to have been over.

Significantly, Modi's US visit

coincided with rising expectations of international business community from the prospective expansion of the Indian economy. The publicized reform plans of the Modi government, the promise to make doing business in India easy, the proposal to establish smart cities around the country, the scheme to develop the country's critical infrastructure and the desire to digitalize India have drawn wide attention of the countries around the world, including the United States.

Can India be a viable alternative to China in coming years? India's growth rate has already surpassed that of China. Modi government holds lots of promise to institute reforms that would attract foreign traders and investors. The country is large in size, population and human resources and thus presents a huge market as well. At one time, India's economy was doing better than China's. Then came a time when Chinese economic growth put India's way behind. India does not have to compete with China. India can just aim at competing with its own past record and turn itself into an economic power house.

Managing positive and constructive ties with the United States is crucial to India's economic rise. No other country than the US is equipped with the technology, market, talent and a prosperous

ethnic Indian community to help India rise as a power centre of global economic activities. Plural society and democratic governance are two supplementary force multipliers.

It appears that Modi's vision of a vibrant India took him to the US twice in a year and made him meet President Obama five times in a year and a half and encouraged him to touch base with the Indian American community and build relationship with Corporate America.

Compared to Xi's visit, Modi's visit was more positive and constructive. Another critical neighbor of India is Pakistan. Nawaz Sharif too visited the US around this time. His visit does not stand comparison with Modi's visit. Modi actually made Pakistanis jealous by his performance and the Pakistani media hinted at it in no subtle manner.

Plans are in place and understanding has been reached. The challenge ahead lies in timely implementation.

(The author is Professor & Chairperson CCU & LAS at School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi and has extensively written and discussed foreign affairs and strategic issues)

Project "Neeranchal" for the Watershed Component of the Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayi Yojana

The Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs (CCEA) has given its approval to implement the National Watershed Management Project "Neeranchal". The project will be implemented at the National level as well as in the nine States of Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan and Telangana. The total cost of the project is Rs. 2142.30 crore of which the Government's share is Rs. 1071.15 crore (50 percent) and rest is the loan component from the World Bank.

For achieving the major objectives of the Watershed Component of the Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayi Yojana (PMKSY) and for ensuring access to irrigation to every farm (Har Khet Ko Pani) and efficient use of water (Per Drop More Crop), Neeranchal is primarily designed to address the following concerns:

- To bring about institutional changes in watershed and rainfed agricultural management practices in India,
- To build systems that ensure watershed programmes and rainfed



irrigation management practices are better focussed, and more coordinated, and have quantifiable results,

- To devise strategies for the sustainability of improved watershed management practices in programme areas, even after the withdrawal of project support,
- Through the watershed plus approach, support improved equity, livelihoods, and incomes through forward linkages, on a platform of inclusiveness and local participation.

Neeranchal will translate into better implementation outcomes of PMKSY. The programme will lead to

reducing surface runoff of rainwater, increasing recharge of ground water and better availability of water in rainfed areas resulting in incremental rainfed agriculture productivity, enhanced milk yield and increased cropping intensity through better convergence related programmes in project areas.

Neeranchal is designed to further strengthen and provide technical assistance to the Watershed Component of PMKSY, in particular and all components of PMKSY, in general, to enhance its delivery capacity. Neeranchal will support the Watershed component of PMKSY (erstwhile IWMP) which was implemented by the Department of Land Resources (DoLR) in 28 States.

Watershed development projects are area development programme and all people living in the project area will be benefitted. The Integrated Watershed Management Programme (IWMP) was implemented since 2009-10 by the DoLR, for supporting watershed development in 28 States. From 2015-16 onwards, the IWMP will be implemented as the Watershed Component of PMKSY.

The potential of the watershed approach followed by the erstwhile IWMP to support both conservation

and production outcomes including the availability of water in rainfed areas, catering to the needs of small and marginal farmers as well as the asset-less, including women, has been successfully demonstrated at scale across various States of India. However, despite these successes, a number of challenges remain for watershed development to achieve better outcomes, including enhanced participation of communities, building stronger capacities and systems to plan, implement, monitor and post-project sustainability of local institutions and assets.

SPMRF Desk

DBT Scheme Saves Rs 14,672 Crore on LPG Subsidy in a Year



A total of Rs 14,672 crore has been saved in LPG subsidy in a year as a result of direct benefit transfer. An Oil Ministry statement said as on April 1, 2015, there were 18.19 crore registered LPG consumers and 14.85 crore active consumers implying a gap of 3.34 crore consumers which are duplicate/fake/inactive accounts. The duplicate/fake connections were blocked under the direct benefit transfer scheme, called PAHAL. If we take into account the quota of 12 cylinders per consumer and the average LPG subsidy of Rs 336 per cylinder for the year 2014-

15, estimated savings in LPG subsidy due to the blocking of 3.34 crore accounts work out to Rs 14,672 crore, during that year.

The new DBTL scheme was launched on 15th November 2014 for the 54 districts of the country. For the remaining districts, the scheme has started on the first day of new year that is 1st January 2015. The scheme, Pratyaksh Hanstantarit Labh or PAHAL, covers more than 15 crore consumers spread across 676 districts of the country.

SPMRF Desk

Let's Leave No Child Behind

•J.P. Nadda

Mission Indradhanush is a successful intervention in scaling up immunisation for full coverage.

Around the world, vaccines are considered to be one of the most cost-effective solutions for preventing child mortality and morbidity. The Universal Immunisation Programme (UIP) started in 1985 by the government of India has helped India make remarkable progress towards reducing child mortality rates in the country. Through the UIP, India has achieved the momentous elimination of diseases such as polio, smallpox and, recently, maternal and neonatal tetanus.

However, despite achieving a decline in child mortality, serious challenges still remain. The progress of full immunisation coverage seemed to have become stagnant. Immunisation coverage, which was 61 per cent in 2009, increased only to 65 per cent by 2013. That is, between 2009 and 2013, the rate of expansion in immunisation coverage was merely 1 per cent per year. At this rate, India will take another 25 years to achieve 90 per cent immunisation coverage.



Even a single child without the necessary vaccination has the potential to make other children in the vicinity vulnerable, and there are 89 lakh such children in our country who have missed one or more doses of vaccines.

Even a single child without the necessary vaccination has the potential to make other children in the vicinity vulnerable, and there are 89 lakh such children in our country who have missed one or more doses of vaccines. A survey conducted to gauge awareness of vaccines among parents found that, in more than 60 per cent of instances, parents were either not aware about the benefits of immunisation or had apprehensions regarding its side effects. Therefore, in order to make the community aware of the importance of vaccination, a nationwide intervention was needed. To achieve the objective, something had to be done – not different, but differently. And thus, the initiative of Mission Indradhanush was envisaged to scale-up immunisation in India.

The Indradhanush initiative was launched in December 2014 to further boost the reach of the routine immunisation programme, with the ultimate aim of immunising every Indian child by 2020. To begin with, 201 high-focus districts, across 28 states, with poor immunisation coverage were identified. Of these high-focus districts, 82 were located in high-focus states, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya

Pradesh, which alone accounted for the highest number of unimmunised and partially immunised children in the country.

The first round started on April 7, which also happens to be World Health Day. With meticulous micro-planning and the mobilisation of more than 5,00,000 trained frontline workers, the focus of the initiative was to build sustainable health systems. By keeping communication at the centre stage and enabling better monitoring and sharing of feedback between all levels of the health system, a sense of primacy and urgency was inculcated right from the top management down to the frontline healthcare workers. Under the first phase

of Mission Indradhanush, four special vaccination drives were conducted in high-focus districts in the months of April, May, June and July. Generally, under routine immunisation over a four-month period, about 13 lakh immunisation sessions are held throughout the country.

But with the impetus from Indradhanush, 40 per cent more sessions were conducted, where 21 lakh pregnant women and about 20 lakh children were fully immunised.

Running a robust delivery

mechanism is another challenge in scaling-up immunisation in a vast and diverse country such as India. Last year, under routine immunisation, more than 400 million doses of vaccines were delivered to 2.7 crore children that protected them against life-threatening diseases. This is much more than the combined number of packets delivered annually by top logistics companies such as DHL and FedEx.

What makes the process even more challenging is the fact that vaccines have to be kept at a particular temperature — right from the moment they are manufactured to the time they are administered to children. To streamline the vaccine-delivery system, an innovative cold supply chain management system is being implemented to enable health workers to monitor and ensure that vaccines are delivered even to the remotest corners of the country without getting spoilt.

By filling the gaps in routine immunisation through innovative strategies and solutions, Mission Indradhanush has become an important intervention that has helped scale-up immunisation for full coverage in India. The initiative has helped accelerate the momentum of immunisation, setting in motion the aim to achieve

90 per cent immunisation coverage by 2020.

Building on the success of the first phase, the second phase begun on October 7. Week-long intensive activities to cover those children who were missed during the routine immunisation rounds are being taken up from October to January next year. A total of 352 districts have been selected for this phase across the country. The same level of preparedness and meticulous planning, with keen attention to the monitoring of each round, characterises this round too.

India stands committed to covering each and every child with the protection of full immunisation.

The writer is Union minister for health and family welfare.

Courtesy: <http://indianexpress.com>, October 15, 2015

Construction of National War Memorial: An Unfinished Work in Nation Building



The Narendra Modi Government has recently approved the construction of a National War Memorial and a National War Museum at Princess Park, near India Gate, New Delhi in memory of all Indian soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifice for the country post-independence. The estimated cost of the project will be around Rs. 500 crore and the total time for completion of the entire project is estimated to be five years.

Post-Independence, more than 22,500 soldiers have made the supreme sacrifice in national interests and in defence of the sovereignty and integrity of the country. However, even after 69

years of Independence, no memorial to commemorate the martyrs has been constructed till date. With the present decision of the Union Cabinet, a long pending demand of the Armed Forces has been redressed.

It has been decided that the prestigious project will be monitored by an empowered Steering Committee chaired by Defence Secretary and assisted by a dedicated project management team, to ensure that the proposed project is completed within scheduled time frame, post commissioning, a management body will be formed for maintenance of the National War Memorial and Museum.



The Narendra Modi government will be establishing a War Memorial and a Museum with a deep sense of gratitude to honour those brave soldiers, who laid down their lives. The memorial will promote a sense of patriotism in the minds of visitors, and will provide an opportunity to citizens of this vast nation, to express their token sense of gratitude to the brave soldiers, who laid down their lives for the Mother land. While final moments of soldiers would have gone unnoticed and on occasions their final resting place unknown, this museum will capture those poignant moments in history and bring out the variegated nature of

their commitments.

A visit to the memorial shall inspire us to rededicate ourselves to this great nation with utmost devotion.

SPMRF Desk

Transforming Indian Railways: New Initiatives to Make Rail Journey More Comfortable and Safe



Indian Railways have a total fleet of 62000 coaches (approx.) running in around 12600 trains and carries over 25 million passengers daily. To meet growing expectations of the passengers for comfort and safety, there is a need to upgrade interiors of Indian Railway (IR) coaches for better comfort and safety through use of innovative materials and designs. Majority fleet on Indian Railway coaches is non-air-conditioned which poses different challenges in their interior designs. These coaches traverse the length and breadth of the country with varying climatic conditions. This requires adaptation of proven

products and technologies under IR operating conditions. New ideas and concepts also need to be tried out. Research Designs and Standards Organisation (RDSO) is the R & D arm of Indian Railways located at Lucknow is responsible for R and D works in all railway related disciplines and leads the process of technology induction. Working directly under Ministry of Railways, it is also responsible for standardization of all railway systems on Indian Railways. RITES Ltd. is a Government of India Enterprise under the aegis of Indian Railways. RITES is a multi-disciplinary consultancy organization in the field of

transport, infrastructure and related technologies.

Indian Railway carries nearly 23 million passengers everyday in its fleeting nearly 60,000 coaches serving all sections of society and continue to be an uniting force of this vast nation. A passenger/customer leads the longest time in a coach during his travel. His experiences in coach create the overall image/ impression of Indian Railways and coach interiors play the most important role in it. The expectations of passengers continue to grow for better services with economic growth of country. Moreover to keep pace with international developments, government is continuously upgrading the coach interiors.

Efforts have to be made by Indian Railways to make rail journey more comfortable and safe. The coaches and its system should be more passenger friendly to enhance the overall travel experience. Now the environment is a great concern hence for future, the interior design of the coaches are being made in such a way so that they are more energy efficient, light weight, eco-friendly and sustainable.

Now all the designs have to keep three factors in mind namely convenience, comfort and unique

needs. The Railway Ministry has already given instructions to provide charging point in general coaches. Moreover, dustbins are also going to be made available in all coaches. Railways have also embarked upon the project of installing bio-toilets which have given good results. However, Railways may have to still continue to work for any other better solution which uses less water and is further cost effective. The coach designs now also take into account safety aspects.

In Railway Budget for 2015-16, many new initiatives in this direction had already been incorporated. An MOU has been signed recently with National Institute of Design (NID) to assist Indian Railways in evolving a user friendly design of coach interiors and also the stations. Similarly an MOU has been entered with NIFT to suggest improvements in linen supplied to passengers.

The whole idea is to tap the design expertise available outside railways in India or abroad to supplement the in-house capabilities available with RDSO or Production Units. On board experience, which also include issues like cleanliness, food i.e. entire gamut of on board service, need to be addressed in the most effective manner. Railways have

also undertaken the Mega scheme of redevelopment of all 400 modern railway stations on PPP modal. It will really change the face of Indian Railway. The steps which have been taken by the ministry will help in developing designs which will make the coaches aesthetically pleasing, convenient for use and provide more comfortable, hygienic and safe travel to passengers. Capacity enhancement by optimum use of space in the coaches has been the main focus.

Indian Railway is truly a national carrier by its sheer size and volume of traffic. It carries nearly 23 million passengers everyday. It started with IRS coaches, then ICF coaches and now the LHB coaches to meet the rising expectations of passengers. Coach interiors are very important in projecting the image of Indian Railway as the passengers spend a long time in the coach while travelling. Hence, improving the interiors of coaches to provide greater comforts and safety to passengers is an important mission of Indian Railways. Passengers expect a neat and hygienic environment, good working fittings and amenities and their safety and security while travelling in train. Indian Railways has been trying to fulfill their expectations by time to time upgrading the designs of

coaches.

These efforts are made by Indian Railway to make rail journey more comfortable and safe. The purpose is to make the coaches and its system more passenger friendly and to enhance the overall travel experience of the passengers. Keeping the environmental concerns in mind, the Rail Ministry has also decided that the interior design of the coaches must be more energy efficient, light weight, eco-friendly and sustainable. The new initiatives are expected to improve understanding of Railway engineers and administrators regarding latest trends and technologies and “Make-in-India” programme a success as well as help reach informed decisions.

SPMRF Desk

India is rising up in Global Competitiveness Index presented by World Economic Forum

World Economic Forum (WEF) has released its **G l o b a l** Competitiveness Index, according to which India's ranking has improved 16 positions and now ranks at 55th position. WEF said that the most factors like ease of doing business in India, policy

stability, lower inflation and access to finance has shown remarkable improvement since last one year. Although the global scenario is bad but still investors see India as Bright spot. Economic governance is improving. Decentralization of finance is also one of the key reforms that has been initiated by the central

India jumps 16 places in The Global Competitiveness Index by World Economic Forum

PM Modi's development approach dramatically improves India's ranking globally

The Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016

This dramatic reversal is largely attributable to the momentum initiated by the election of Narendra Modi, whose pro-business, pro-growth, and anti-corruption stance has improved the business community's sentiment toward the government.



Source: World Economic Forum

Published Date: September 30, 2015

government. With the increasing decentralisation, making business more investor friendly and providing infrastructure is also the responsibility of the states and so to increase the competition among various states, the government has launched the ranking of states. Macroeconomic conditions in the country have also improved as per the WEF report. The RBI's recent decision of cut in repo rate reflects the change in environment and industrial sector mood. Fiscal policy and monetary policy are mostly on same lines. The reports also mentions that many sectors in India have been opened up for investors like defense, railways so technologies will come, which do have a spillover effect, as in case of IT and its benefits in various sectors. As per the report, Core industries growth is also increasing, IIP has improved. A number of taxation reforms and structural reforms are pending; these are struck in Parliament because of the adamant and disruptive opposition thus the government will require more political convergence.

The Narendra Modi government has launched big programs like Skill India, Make in India, Digital India, etc. All the programs have potential to change the face of India. Make in India will improve domestic manufacturing sector and will

improve our export and will make us independent. For that Skill India and Digital India will provide human resource and the convergence of all three would be favourable for timely harvest of demographic dividend. But, to reap the full benefit, opposition parties need to cooperate for reforms like GST, Labour reform etc.

At the same time, to realize the potential of cooperative federalism and also to utilize the benefits of financial devolution given to states according to the recommendations of Fourteenth Finance Commission, State level reforms are very important. There are widespread regional disparities and since many such subjects come under state list, the state level reforms and their integration with central level plans becomes very crucial. For example, APMC reforms cannot be avoided at all, but no action or convergence has been seen.

With the spirit of cooperative federalism, the action and performance of the states in economy growth of the country becomes the prime moving force. The current way of working, needs to be changed. States need to change their duty structure, to attract investors. Team India Approach of NITI Aayog will act as a push factor for the above mentioned actions.

SPMRF Desk

Long Wait For Printed Gazette Notifications Over, Government Shifts to E-Publishing

Urban Development Ministry has stopped physical printing of 3.50 cr pages of Gazette Notifications per year. In a significant initiative, the Ministry of Urban Development has stopped physical printing of Government of India's Gazette Notifications and introduced e-publishing of the same, putting an end to the long wait for the important documents. This shift to e-publishing came at the behest of Minister of Urban Development Shri M.Venkaiiah Naidu.

Gazette Notification is an important legal requirement to validate, authenticate and to make effective various kinds of Laws, Acts, Rules, Orders and Government decisions. All user groups had to wait for a few months for copies of such notifications as physical printing of the same was a time taking exercise. The Ministries and Departments of government used to submit their Gazette publication requirements to the Government Printing Presses where the work of typesetting, printing and publishing was undertaken. Hard copies were then made available for sale and for usage by all government and private users.

Seeking to end such delays, Ministry of Urban Development has directed the Department of Publication to stop

physical printing and switch over to e-publishing of all Gazette Notifications on its official website <http://www.egazette.nic.in> within five days of receipt of the same from respective ministries and departments. The records for the gazette will be maintained by the department for all future references.

User groups and citizens can download and print all Gazette Notifications free of charge. Under the provisions of the Information Technology Act, 2000, downloaded and printed Gazette copies are sufficient for all official and legal purposes.

e-publishing assumes importance since many Gazette Notifications pertain to projects of national interest including matters related to land acquisition. Quick availability of the same enables early start for further processes.

Besides substantial saving in time, e-publishing does away with the need for printing about 3.50cr pages of such notifications every year leading to a saving of publication cost of Rs.40 cr per year being incurred on 90 tonnes of paper besides power, chemicals, colour, dyes etc and as such is a major environment friendly initiative.

SPMRF Desk

Setting up of new AIIMS under Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojna

The Narendra Modi Government has recently given its approval for setting up of three new All India Institutes of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) at Nagpur in Maharashtra, at Manglagiri in Andhra Pradesh and at Kalyani in West Bengal under Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojna (PMSSY). This involves financial implication of Rs.4949 crore.

The new AIIMS will be established as institutes of national importance for providing quality medical education, nursing education and also to provide tertiary healthcare facilities to the people of these locations. The proposed institution shall have a hospital with capacity of 960 beds. In addition, there shall be a teaching block, administrative block, AYUSH block, auditorium, nursing college, night shelter, hostel and residential facilities.

Of the total expenditure of Rs. 4949 crore, the cost of the new AIIMS at Manglagiri in Andhra Pradesh will be to the tune of Rs. 1618 crore, at Nagpur in Maharashtra of Rs.1577 crore and at Kalyani in West Bengal of Rs. 1754 crore.

Setting up of these AIIMS will address regional imbalances in availability of affordable and reliable tertiary health care services in these regions. It will augment the facilities



of quality medical education and would also address the shortfall of health care professionals in these regions. The large populations of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra (Vidarbha) and West Bengal along with adjoining States and region will be beneficiary of this project.

Six new AIIMS under the Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojna (PMSSY) have been made functional. Also construction of AIIMS, Rae Bareilly is under progress.

This approval is in accordance with the announcement made by Union Finance Minister in his Budget Speech 2014-15 establishing new AIIMS at these places. This also fulfils the promise made under the Andhra Pradesh re-organization Act 2014 that provides for establishment of one AIIMS type institute in the Successor State of Andhra Pradesh.

SPMRF Desk

The NJAC Judgement – An Alternative View

• Arun Jaitley



The Supreme Court of India, by a majority opinion, has struck down the 99th Constitution Amendment, which provided for the establishment of the National Judicial Commission to appoint judges of the High Court and the Supreme Court. Having read the opinion of the five Hon'ble Judges, a few issues arise in my mind.

The key rationale behind the majority opinion appears to be that independence of judiciary is an essential ingredient of the basic structure of the Constitution. This is unquestionably a correct proposition. Having stated this, the majority transgresses into an erroneous logic. It argues that the presence of a Law Minister in the Commission and the appointment of two eminent persons in the

Commission by a group, which will, besides Chief Justice of India, comprise of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, will constitute political involvement in the judicial appointments. Judges appointed on this basis may feel gratified to the politicians. Political persons would be obviously guided by their political interest. The Judges warn of “adverse” consequences if politicians were a part of the appointment process. Hence protection of the judiciary from political persons was essential. This is key reason on which constitution amendment, unanimously passed by both the Houses of Parliament and the State Legislature, has been struck down.

Politician bashing is the key to the judgement. One learned judge

argues that Shri L.K. Advani has opined that dangers of an Emergency like situation are still there. Civil society in India is not strong and, therefore, you need an independent judiciary. Another argues that it may be possible that the present Government does not favour appointment of persons with alternative sexuality as Judges of the High Court and the Supreme Court. Politician bashing is akin to the 9.00 PM television programmes.

The judgement ignores the larger constitutional structure of India. Unquestionably independence of the judiciary is a part of the basic structure of the Constitution. It needs to be preserved. But the judgement ignores the fact that there are several other features of the Constitution which comprise the basic structure. The most important basic structure of the Indian Constitution is Parliamentary democracy. The next important basic structure of the Indian Constitution is an elected Government which represents the will of the sovereign. The Prime Minister in Parliamentary democracy is the most important accountable institution. The Leader of the Opposition is an essential aspect of that basic structure representing the alternative voice in

Parliament. The Law Minister represents a key basic structure of the Constitution; the Council of Ministers, which is accountable to Parliament. All these institutions, Parliamentary sovereignty, an elected Government, a Prime Minister, Leader of Opposition, Law Minister are a part of the Constitution's basic structure. They represent the will of the people. The majority opinion was understandably concerned with one basic structure – independence of judiciary - but to rubbish all other basic structures by referring to them as “politicians” and passing the judgement on a rationale that India's democracy has to be saved from its elected representatives. The judgement has upheld the primacy of one basic structure - independence of judiciary - but diminished five other basic structures of the Constitution, namely, Parliamentary democracy, an elected Government, the Council of Ministers, an elected Prime Minister and the elected Leader of the Opposition. This is the fundamental error on which the majority has fallen. A constitutional court, while interpreting the Constitution, had to base the judgement on constitutional principles. There is no constitutional principle that

democracy and its institutions has to be saved from elected representatives. The Indian democracy cannot be a tyranny of the unelected and if the elected are undermined, democracy itself would be in danger. Are not institutions like the Election Commission and the CAG not credible enough even though they are appointed by elected Governments?

As someone who has spent more years in court than in Parliament, I feel constrained to speak out for Indian democracy. There is no principle in democracy anywhere in the world that institutions of democracy are to be saved from the elected.

The illustrations given had to be on a sounder footing. If one leader feels that there are dangers of emergency, there is no presumption that only the Supreme Court can save it. When in the mid-Seventies the Emergency was proclaimed, it was people like me – the politicians, who fought out and went to prison. It was Supreme Court that caved in and, therefore, for the court to assume that it alone can defend the nation against Emergency, is belied by history. As for the cause of those representing alternative sexuality, the Delhi High Court had decriminalized it. I am a part of the

present Government, but I had publically supported opinion of the Delhi High Court. It was the Supreme Court which recriminalized alternative sexuality. The assumption that the cause of the practitioners of alternative sexuality to be appointed as judges, can only be protected by Supreme Court, is again belied by history. The Supreme Court opinion is final. It is not infallible.

The judgement interprets the provision of Article 124 and 217 of the Constitution. Article 124 deals with the appointment of Judges in the Supreme Court and Article 217 deals with the appointment of Judges of the High Court. Both provide for the appointment to be made by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice of India. The mandate of the Constitution was that Chief Justice of India is only a 'Consultee'. The President is the Appointing Authority. The basic principle of interpretation is that a law may be interpreted to give it an expanded meaning, but they cannot be rewritten to mean the very opposite. In the second Judge's case, the Court declared Chief Justice the Appointing Authority and the President a 'Consultee'. In the third Judge's case, the courts interpreted the Chief Justice to mean a

Collegium of Judges. President's primacy was replaced with the Chief Justice's or the Collegium's primacy. In the fourth Judge's case (the present one) has now interpreted Article 124 and 217 to imply 'Exclusivity' of the Chief Justice in the matter of appointment excluding the role of the President almost entirely. No principle of interpretation of law anywhere in the world, gives the judicial institutions the jurisdiction to interpret a constitutional provision to mean the opposite of what the Constituent Assembly had said. This is the second fundamental error in the judgement. The court can only interpret – it cannot be the third chamber of the legislature to rewrite a law.

Having struck down the 99th Constitutional Amendment, the Court decided to re-legislate. The court quashed the 99th Constitutional Amendment. The court is entitled to do so. While quashing the same, it re-legislated the repealed provisions of Article 124 and 217 which only the legislature can do. This is the third error in the judgement.

The fourth principle on which the judgement falls into an error is while stating that collegium system, which is a product of the judicial legislation, is defective. It fixed a

hearing for its improvement. The court has again assumed the role of being the third chamber. If there is a problem with the procedure of judicial appointments, have those legislative changes to be evolved outside the legislature?

As someone who is equally concerned about the independence of judiciary and the sovereignty of India's Parliament, I believe that the two can and must co-exist. Independence of the judiciary is an important basic structure of the Constitution. To strengthen it, one does not have to weaken Parliamentary sovereignty which is not only an essential basic structure but is the soul of our democracy.

(The views expressed are personal)

(Courtsey: Arun Jaitley's Facebook Post, Dated: 18th Oct., 2015)

Little Understanding of NMML's Objectives

• A. Surya Prakash

The controversy whipped up over an exhibition at the Nehru museum, outlining the life and work of Deendayal Upadhyaya, seems silly. NMML's remit has been confined to Nehru, his papers, his thoughts and nothing else

Barring historians, scholars and serious students of modern Indian history, who are regular visitors to the Teen Murti Bhavan and who have a fair idea of what is on offer, everyone else, including the aam aadmi, is certain to be utterly confused about the activities of the Nehru Memorial

Museum and Library Society, which runs the place.



The cacophonous debate over the future of this society and its plans for development has drowned out saner voices and resulted in needless controversies and disinformation in



नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय

Nehru Memorial Museum & Library



regard to the activities of this institution, which will celebrate its golden jubilee next year. At the heart of this political wrangle is propaganda that the NMML society's remit is confined to Jawaharlal Nehru, his papers, his thoughts, his family and nothing else. Second, that the key personalities of the so-called 'Right' can have no place in the NMML premises.

Some facts about how this institution was conceived and run over the last 49 years should not only set the record straight, but also help the general public wade through the disinformation and get closer to the truth.

As decided by its founders, the NMML society has three main constituents: A Nehru memorial museum; a library on modern India; and a centre for research in modern Indian history. These are the three main functions of the institution. The NMML's Memorandum of Association mandates the institution "to acquire, maintain and preserve papers of nationalist leaders of modern India and other eminent Indians who distinguished themselves in any field". It is also called upon "to organise lectures, seminars to encourage the study of modern Indian history".

Further, it has the responsibility to

maintain a library of books, pamphlets etc "and other materials bearing on the history of modern India, with special reference to the freedom movement". In addition, the society has to institute fellowships and maintain records of non-official organisations and associations.

As the society's remit covers such a wide range of activities, specific to modern Indian history, it has, despite the resistance from some individuals claiming proprietorial rights over the institution, carried on its task as ordained by the society's founders. Since "modern Indian history" is central to the institution's work, the NMML library has diligently gone about collecting manuscripts, personal papers and published works of individuals and documents pertaining to institutions. Notwithstanding the myopic view, intellectual dishonesty and pressures from Left academicians and some members of the Nehruvian school, the society has had curators who have remained loyal to the Memorandum of Association.

That is why, the library boasts of material pertaining to icons of the so-called 'Right'. These include personal papers and letters written by KB Hedgewar, the founder of the

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh; Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar (Guru Golwalkar), who succeeded hedgewar as the sarsanghchalak of the RSS in 1940, and headed the organisation for over three decades; BS Moonje, who was the president of the Hindu Mahasabha and Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and founder of the Jana Sangh. The institution papers in the possession of the library include that of the All India Hindu Mahasabha. The library also has the published works of Deendayal Upadhyaya, the co-founder of the Jana Sangh and its chief ideologue. The material available in the library is documented in the publication N M M L manuscripts — an introduction, brought out by the institution. Some excerpts from this publication are listed below:

The library has 949 letters written by Hedgewar to various individuals in Marathi and English between 1903-1937. These documents, which were donated by the Shri Guruji Smriti-Sankalan Samiti, are valuable because of Hedgewar's political activities during that period including his participation in the Home Rule campaign in 1918. He organised the volunteer corps at the Nagpur session of the Congress and was jailed for his involvement in

the non-cooperation movement in 1921. He founded the RSS in 1925.

BS Moonje's papers include his diaries between 1926-1936, his correspondence with various personalities prior to 1936 with considerable material on the affairs of the Hindu Mahasabha. Moonje lived with Mahatma Gandhi in Durban, took part in the Home Rule Movement and was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly. He also headed the Hindu Mahasabha.

On Guru Golwalkar, the material available includes Golwalkar's correspondence with Hedgewar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Govinda Menon, Babasaheb Apte and many others. The letters deal chiefly with the activities and organisational work of the RSS. Interestingly, the Golwalkar papers were handed over to the library by the person in-charge of the RSS office in New Delhi.

The library boasts of a huge collection of papers pertaining to Syama Prasad Mookerjee, running to 70,000 pages. These papers, which include over 3,000 letters, speeches and writings and Press clippings, were gifted to the library by Justice Rama Prasad Mookerjee and Uma Prasad Mookerjee. It has the exchange of correspondence between Mookerjee and Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, M

Visvesvaraya and many others. The library states that a bulk of these papers pertain to the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Constituent Assembly, Hindu Mahasabha, the Wavell Plan, the partition of Bengal, Gandhi's assassination, and the formation of the Jana Sangh.

It also includes his diaries between 1939-1946. These papers are of immense value to the students of modern Indian history because of Mookerjee's extraordinary life and achievements. He became the Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University at the age of 33; was a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Constituent Assembly and the first Lok Sabha. He was Finance Minister in Bengal and later, the Union Minister for Industry and Supply. He resigned from the Nehru Cabinet over the Nehru-Liaquat Pact in 1950 and went on to launch the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, which in later years became the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Given these facts, the controversy whipped up in some quarters over an exhibition at NMML outlining the life and work of Deendayal Upadhyaya, seems rather silly. Upadhyaya joined Mookerjee to launch the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, became the party's first general secretary and chief ideologue. His

mantra of integral humanism and his concept of anthyodayais at the core of the policies pursued by India's largest political party — the BJP — today and his imprint is already there in many socio-economic programmes launched by the Narendra Modi Government at the Centre.

So, the question really is not why the Sangh parivar is now visible in these precincts. We need to ask why members of this political 'family' stayed away from NMML all these years when the library had such a wealth of material of original material on their icons?

(The writer is the Chairman, Prasar Bharati)

Courtesy: The Pioneer, Tuesday, 13 October 2015

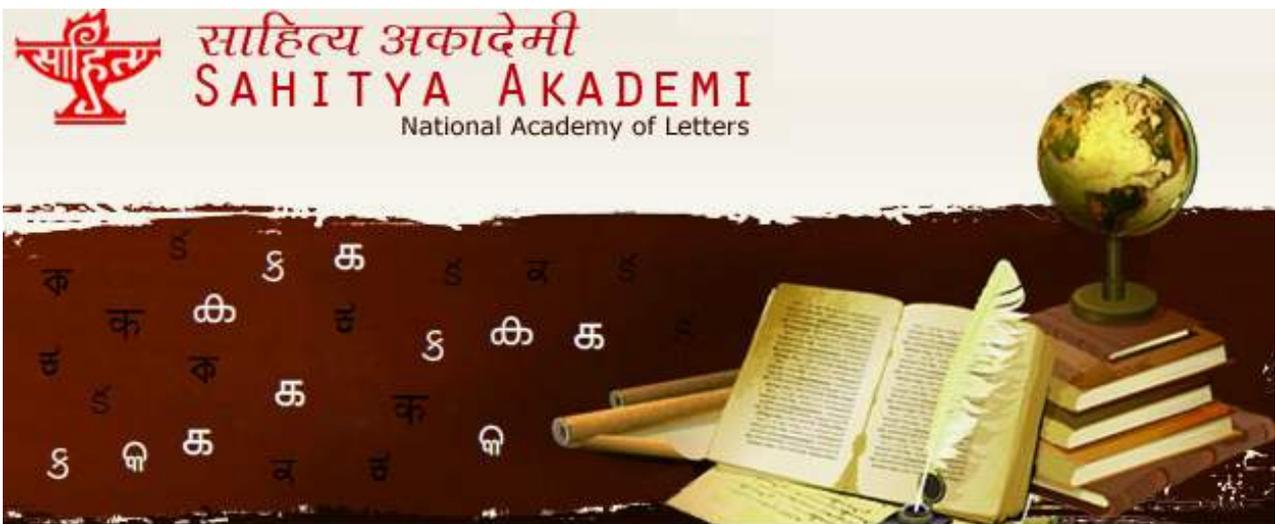
Award as Political Tool

Some eminent writers are selective sight-seers

In recent weeks, more than a dozen writers and public intellectuals have either returned their Sahitya Akademi awards or resigned from their positions at the prestigious council to oppose what they see as the emergence of an increasing intolerance in sections of our society and a supposedly indifferent state. Two recent events have served as catalysts to their protest movement: First, the murder of scholar and Sahitya Akademi award winner MM Kalburgi in Karnataka on August 30, which came on the heels of Marathi author and CPI leader

Govind Pansare's murder in February, and the killing of anti-superstition activist Narendra Dabholkar in 2013.

The second was the mob-lynching of a Muslim following rumours that he kept beef at his home in Dadri, Uttar Pradesh, on September 28. While each of the thinkers is well within his or her rights to express opposition in any which they want, as long as it's within the purview of the law, surely they realise that they have ended up tarnishing the name of the Akademi in the process. Even if we assume (difficult though it is to make such as sweeping remarks)



Sahitya Akademi, India's national academy of letters established in 1954. It is an organisation committed for promoting Indian literature, throughout the world & it recognise twenty four Indian Languages including English.

that these intellectuals are correct, and that India is indeed facing a wave of intolerance and communal violence, there is nothing that the Akademi could have possibly done about one murder in Karnataka and another in Uttar Pradesh.

The Akademi had given the awards or inducted officials on the basis of talent and merit, and those factors stand undiminished. How then does returning the awards or resigning from the Akademi serve any purpose? Apart from the fact that it catches some eyeballs on television and grabs some space in the Op-ed sections of newspapers, such actions have in fact only put the Akademi under the spotlight, with many now pointing fingers at the institution for being a Soviet relic to perpetuate state patronage. This argument may not be entirely unfounded. Still, the Akademi hardly deserves the kind of ridicule that it has faced in recent weeks.

What has made matters worse is the hypocrisy of many of the eminent protesters, who have chosen to highlight certain issues while conveniently glossing over others. For example, as many commentators have already pointed out, Ms Nayantara Sahgal, arguably the most high-profile of the protesters due to her lineage, was so moved by the unconscionable

killing of one man in Dadri that she returned her award to a Government that didn't give it to her in the first place. Yet, she had no qualms in accepting the award in 1986 from the same Government that had overseen the anti-Sikh pogrom of 1984.

Years later, when Kashmiri Pandits were driven out of the valley and made refugees in their own country, there was hardly a pipsqueak of protest from the likes of Ms Sahgal. This is not to say that she and others from the literary fraternity have no business speaking up now, but only that when one compares the list of incidents that they have opposed to the ones they have ignored, it is difficult to overlook the political overtones that emerge. What could have been a genuine call for course-correction from the nation's most respected thought leaders has now turned into an ideological brawl between the agitators and those who view them as being intellectual opportunists at best.

Courtesy: The Pioneer, Edit page, 13 October 2015

BJP's Vision Document for Bihar – from Anarchy towards Development

• *Pradip Bhandari*

The 1st phase of polling for Bihar elections has begun. The development of the state is contingent on the party which will be entrusted by the electorate. Bihar is restless to see the sunshine of development at the end of the election results. With 90 per cent rural demography and 2/3rd of the state reeling under darkness after more than six decades of independence, Bihar deserves better, in fact best possible alternative. One parameter to judge the 'governing choice' is by means of the vision document. In this context the vision document of NDA alliance is a visionary charter of development.

Firstly, on the front of agriculture the document aims at holistic empowerment of the farmer. The varied initiatives try to address specific problems of the farmer in an integrated manner. Movement from agriculture to agriculture and farmer development ministry is not a nominal change. It reflects a change in approach. The new approach focuses on the 'dignity of farmer'. It hopes to achieve this monumental shift by-

- 1) getting farmers the required price in the

- market
- 2) supporting the farmer amidst weak monsoon
- 3) increasing yield per acre of land
- 4) helping farmers in distress through continuous monetary and non-monetary support
- 5) raising the income level of farmers by promoting scientific methods.

Moreover, a separate yearly budget for agriculture will avert any shortage in allocation in lieu of variable state finances. All these steps can only happen with regular supply of electricity. The decision to introduce separate feeder line for agriculture consumption is a progressive shift in stance. This shift in stance will create the necessary condition for farming in the State to become a productive investment.

Secondly, the focussed approach to improve the law and order situation in the state and to arrest corruption deserves praise. A separate police force for cyber and financial crimes, around the clock force to cater to women security, will assist in maintaining a safe and secure environment. In fact, installation of CCTV cameras in police station and important traffic signals will check arbitrary abuse of power by some

members of the state police force itself. The creation of a safe and secure environment is a pre-requisite to development and employment. Separate courts for fast-tracking corruption cases, toll-free number for grievances and an institutional mechanism for electronic file system based clearance will stem corruption at the individual and organizational level. These steps will arrest the fall of the state into “jungle-raj” of 1990's during which more than 20k murders and kidnapping had been reported.

Thirdly, the document focuses on generating employment opportunities for youth, improvement in education standards of state universities, provision of electricity to all households, quantum spending on capital infrastructure (roads in particular) and focussed steps to enhance the social stature of backward communities. Vision to provide sufficient opportunities to backward communities will hinder any social discrimination against them. Filling the vacant seats in government services in mission mode, and constituting a 'Welfare Board' will give a push to complete social inclusion of backward communities and address the grievances in a time bound manner.

In addition, the establishment of one Stop rape crisis centre will help woman in distress, and the girl child education scheme ‘हर बच्ची जाएगी स्कूल’ (each girl child will go to school) will increase enrolment rate. Good mental and physical health is a pre-condition to benefit from overall development efforts to be undertaken by the State. The vision document acknowledges this by 1) promising a special health card for poor and backward 2) increasing the support ceiling to 50k 3) building an effective system of availing free medicine and healthcare check up facility in the State 4) improving the condition of primary health centres. In addition to above steps listed, the document moves further towards the goal of 'preventive health care' by focussing on 1) power generation using renewable sources of energy like solar and biodiesel 2) constructing hygienic public toilets at all important destinations and roadways under 'Swachh Bihar'.

Lastly, the varied steps to create an environment for investment in the state will increase the GDP and growth rate of Bihar. 'Make in Bihar' will provide skilled employment to young population. Skilling youth in Bihar will stem their migration to other states for employment opportunities. Local

entrepreneurs and small businessman will be given access to a Rs 500 crore Venture capital fund. The local craftsmen, weavers and handicraft artisans will also benefit from the venture capital fund. It will help them integrate and sell their products in global markets. In addition financial support from the MUDRA bank will prevent distress shift to other low income opportunities. These steps will support a food sufficient Bihar, receiving the benefits through improved, computerized and leakage proof PDS (public distribution system). An effective Public Distribution System will catalyse targeted delivery of wheat at 2Rs/kg and rice at 3Rs/kg under the Food Security Scheme. Further, and most importantly the senior citizens will not be left out of the welfare initiatives undertaken by the state. Equipping the district with modern old age homes, and introducing 'बीट पुलिसिंग' (beat policing) for protection of single senior citizens are progressive steps to achieve respectable living for them in the state.

All the steps in the vision document are means to help Bihar move away from जंगलवाद towards विकासवाद. The document channelize the Central development plans with State development goals. The

unified approach of 'cooperative federalism' will fuel the engine of development in the State. Cooperation between Centre and State will provide accountable and effective governance in the State. It is Bihar's right to develop and deserve the best possible alternative. The vision document is undoubtedly a step away from history of 'गुंडागर्दी' (violence and intimidation) towards a future of 'विकासगिरी' (developmental future).

(The author is a public policy graduate from Takshashila Institution and his areas of interest are public policy, economy, internal relations and national security. He has worked in youth advocacy initiatives across the country after having received the young leader award in 2014, 1st youth parliament.)

Bihar Polls 2015: Sting in the Tale

• *Shamik Moitra*

Most pre poll surveys seem to imply a race to the wire between BJP led NDA and the increasingly Laloo Yadav dominated Mahagathbandhan. There are certain critical factors, even if one were to indulge in pure caste based arithmetic that are noteworthy for any serious analysis of poll prospects in Bihar:

- JD(U) has suffered steady erosion in its principal caste based coalition among Kurmis and Mahadalits and is seeking to replace BJP's core, transferable vote base with Laloo Yadav's equally transferable vote bank
- While RJD's core voters can be traditionally mobilized in favour of any candidate anointed by its leader Laloo Yadav, the reverse is not the case for JD(U)'s voters who are a relatively fickle lot
- Bihar's voters are the most practical and needs driven of all Indian voters and usually swing decisively in favour of one socio-political coalition or another. It tends to have a significant proportion of last minute fence sitters who watch which way the mood is swinging before deciding at the penultimate hour. This makes

many pre-poll surveys somewhat misplaced.

- Bihar as a whole is one of the most fragmented states when it comes to sub-regional compulsions, a mix of economic, social and cultural factors mixing in different proportions

- Polls published by various media houses, principally TV polls are unanimous in reflecting a singular consensus. i.e., it is still too close to call, but most agree with the above factors

Taking cognizance of above perspectives, this author has prepared a forecast which extrapolates available data on 2014 Lok Sabha results in Bihar, their actual deviation from his original prediction in April 2014 and potential attenuation over the last 18 months, grapevine impressions emerging from various parts of Bihar, particularly its print media and finally the variation percentage in forecasts published by different mainstream sponsored polls including C-Voter, Cicero, Nielsen and Zee News.

In this context, it is also worth noting that variations are more interesting than average or median



results as aggregate numbers seldom reveal as much as tails in a normal curve, i.e. the range of variation in forecasts. Sifting through final results on a constituency level is often revelatory and shows that aggregates for a region as well as overall variation may differ widely at the constituency level, except in wave elections, where aggregates at different levels of aggregation matter more than any other factor.

The crucial question then is whether this is a wave election or a constituency level denouement. All indications during 2014 showed that a distinctive Narendra Modi wave propelled BJP led NDA to a resounding triumph. So, although India's decidedly left of centre media may well prefer a definite answer in the negative, does that wave continue to lap the shores of Bihar's alluvial plains or has dissipated somewhat. Poll forecasts indicate, including those recently performed by mostly indecisive mainstream polls, Mr. Modi's popularity rating remains above 65% in Bihar. Is that translating secularly on the ground to votes for BJP candidates that indicates a continuing Modi wave or is the going tougher in the often caste driven maze of Bihari local politics?

This author's assessment, based on

impressions gathered from reliable local media sources, is that not only is the Modi wave continuing, but is in all probability being helped by widespread disenchantment with the incumbent government's apathetic governance performance since its self-imposed schism with the NDA. The attenuation that popularity usually suffers over time has been mitigated by this disenchantment wave. However, there are sub regional variations. Additionally, an attempt has been made to polarize the 16.5% Muslim voting population. Although it is worth mentioning that en-bloc voting by all sections of Muslim community is a bit of a myth as was proven in 2014 and subsequent state elections (with the exception of Delhi), the incredibly vicious wave of 'communal' disturbance reportage in media has pushed a section of the Muslim vote back towards the Congress and debutant MiM. However, the former is unlikely to gain significantly in seats while the latter is unlikely to open its account significantly, unlike in Maharashtra where the latter managed to evoke old Bahamani ties with local Muslim communities to generate a sense of lost prestige and convert those to votes.

The biggest loser in this entire process has been and will continue

to be the JD(U) under Mr. Nitish Kumar's leadership. His Mahadalit combination lies a bit tattered and his cross caste development appeal is diminished. Exodus of prominent grass roots leaders from his fold due to personality and control issues has not helped his cause. His new found bonhomie for Laloo has proven detrimental to his urban appeal while mistrust has replaced erstwhile faith in several rural areas.

BJP led NDA's challenge, much like India's international quest for investments versus China and other floundering large emerging economies, is to convert the opportunity thrown up on the ground by this disenchantment, mistrust and lost appeal, to votes and prevent those from migrating to the Mahagathbandhan. Has it succeeded in doing so in the months intervening between last year's General Elections and the imminent state polls? This author's surmise, is that this has worked well in all many parts with the exception of Magadh, Purnia and Saran Divisions. The latter two are still in the grips of Mahagathbandhan or some local Congress elements while Magadh is a mixed bag and also retains a small but significant communist influence.

The battleground contest remains against Laloo Yadav's appeal in

central and Western Bihar and wresting his pocket boroughs but more particularly his marginal constituencies. That would determine the difference between a marginal loss/ tie and the scale of victory for the NDA. There are more fence sitters in this area than in others and this is the crucial tie breaker contest. To a large extent the battle for the mind has been won across of law and order issues, although it has not retreated into the abysmal state of the 80s, 90s or this century's first decade

- Poor state of basic education and healthcare facilities while thousands of crores are being spent on UPA white elephants like Nalanda University

- The continued poor condition of roads and other means of communicating across the state. Post an initial spurt of construction in 2004-10, this program has completely stalled and only served to whet Bihari appetite for decent infrastructure and consequent angst when that was not fully delivered

- Repeated flooding of Bihar and the complete absence of an action plan to actually use the water in spare months and prevent flooding during rains

- Absence of farmer insurance and crop security. While a lot of

noise and aid is disbursed whether or not that aid reaches the ultimate beneficiary, the Bihari farmer would really like to see fall back plans and guarantees in the event of crop failure as well as improved storage, irrigation and soil quality that has the potential to turn Bihar into the bread basket of Asia

- Absence of regular sources of employment for lakhs of graduates who join the available worker bench but have very little scope in the state

The party which has captured these issues and builds communication around it stands to gain most in this election. BJP led NDA has done this successfully, but must maintain the tempo to ensure higher vote conversion. The message has to be aggressively hammered home, preferably by mobilizing community elders and leaders as entrenched caste patterns still control mindsets in many heartland zones.

All is still not pellucid but it is possible now to make an overall prediction via extrapolation of available data tempered by the above impressions and facts of Bihari politics. Here's my forecast with an error margin of +/-3% in aggregate seat share:

NDA: 136-145 of which BJP's tally is likely to be 125-132

JDU: 40-43

RJD: 49-53

Congress: 5-6

Others: 4-5

Based on the weight of impressions so far, the five phase polling is poised to produce a decisive mandate as a significant block of fence sitters move to ride the direction the electoral wind has shifted. Which is why the sting is both in this tale and its tail.

(Shamik Moitra is an expatriate British Indian Venture Capitalist based in Mumbai who writes on current affairs, economics and politics from a right of centre perspective. The views expressed in this piece are his personal)

Modi, Merkel Take Ties to Next Level

• *Rajeev Ranjan Chaturvedy*

India and Germany have been strategic partners since 2001. Angela Merkel's ongoing visit to this country must add a new dynamism to this important bilateral



Connected by a common thread of democracy, India and Germany are natural partners. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi chose to describe the two nations, when German Foreign Minister was visiting India last year in September, as “made for each other”. German Chancellor Angela Merkel is on a three-day India visit along with her Cabinet members for the Intergovernmental Consultations. The momentum of Indo-German relations has intensified under the strong leadership of Mr Modi and Ms Merkel. India and Germany have been ‘strategic partners’ since 2001. The time is ripe to take this partnership to the next level.

Germany is India's largest trade partner in Europe and the eighth largest foreign direct investor in India since 1991. Bilateral trade in the first half of 2015 was valued at 8.82 billion euros. Germany is also a significant source of technological know-how in several sectors. Economically, strategically and politically, India is an important partner for Germany and vice versa.

First, there is a strong realisation in

India about its huge skill deficit. While 75 per cent of workforce in Germany have received formal vocational training, only 2.2 per cent Indians have formal vocational training and much of it is outdated. The problem is more acute in rural areas. To reap the benefits of economic growth and demography, access to affordable and appropriate skills is crucial. Skill development and job creation has become one of the key objectives of the Modi Government, which has set up a dedicated Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship and launched a remarkable mission to impart skills training to 40 crore people by 2022. Germany is a global leader in the vocational training system and its partnership in the Skill India programme can be a game changer.

Second, India is keen to upgrade the current level of economic engagement with Germany, mainly in the areas of renewable energy, post-harvest infrastructure, transport infrastructure (including railways and ports), water and waste management, green energy corridor, solar energy and urban infrastructure. Germany is a global

leader in the use of advanced technology in water and waste management. It is willing to provide technological cooperation and other support to the Clean Ganga initiative. German technical expertise was very successful in cleaning one of the most important rivers of Europe – the Rhine. German technology can be helpful in various cleanliness initiatives.

Germany is also the front-runner in the field of solar energy and already cooperating with India in this area. German companies have done big investments in the Green Energy Corridor and the role of clean energy is indispensable in accelerating India's economic growth. Similarly, Germany can be a valuable partner in the field of quality infrastructure and mobility systems for the Smart Cities scheme.

The understanding between Mr Modi and Ms Merkel is providing a new direction to cooperation on global matters as well. The recently-concluded G4 summit is a remarkable endeavor to push for much-needed reforms in the United Nations. Demands for reforming the UN have long been in the works. Also, cooperation in the areas of counter-terrorism, climate change, refugee crisis and non-traditional security issues is expected to strengthen between these two nations.

Finally, the India-Germany

relationship is supported by several institutional instruments, for example, the Joint Commission on Industrial and Economic Cooperation, Foreign Office Consultations, High Technology Partnership Group, High Defence Committee, Indo-German Energy Forum, Indo-German Environment Forum, India-Germany Committee on Science & technology and Joint Working groups on various fields, including skill development, automotive, agriculture, coal, tourism, water, waste management etc.

There is an institutional set-up for political dialogue and communication in the form of the Germany-India Parliamentary Group. Direct interactions among political leaders not only strengthens democracy but also provides the required energy and push for strategic, economic, social and cultural ties. Let's hope that Chancellor Merkel's ongoing visit to India will provide a new dynamism to the bilateral relationship and take the India-Germany relationship to the next level.

(The writer is Research Associate at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. Opinions expressed here are personal)

Courtesy: The Pioneer, Tuesday, 06 October 2015

Realising Potential of Natural Partnership between India and Germany



The mechanism of Inter-Governmental Consultation is certainly unique. And, it has brought about all round growth in the bilateral relations. Germany is a natural partner in achieving the vision of India's economic transformation. German strengths and India's priorities are aligned. And, so is the mutual goodwill. The bilateral focus tends to be on economic ties. In a world of seamless challenges and opportunities, India and Germany can also be strong partners in advancing a more human, peaceful, just and sustainable future for the world. Both have a rich history of engagement and both also shares

values, comfort in the relations and a sense of responsibility to the world.

German response to India's development agenda is very encouraging. India can look forward with confidence to increased investment, trade and technology partnerships in manufacturing, infrastructure and skill development. German engineering and Indian IT skills can create the next generation industry that will be more efficient, economical and environment friendly. 1600 German companies in India, and growing in number, will be strong partners in creating a global work force in India. German cooperation

and assistance in areas like smart cities, Clean Ganga and waste management have taken a concrete shape. So, has India's cooperation in education, from engineering to humanities.

Germany has leadership in clean energy and has also shown commitment to combating climate change. This is an area where both the countries can have convergence of views, and rapidly growing cooperation. In the recent visit of Angela Merkel, both countries have agreed on India-Germany Climate and Renewable Alliance with a long term vision and a comprehensive agenda of combating climate change. India has placed great value on Germany's assistance of over one billion Euros for India's Green Energy Corridor and a new assistance package of over a billion Euros for solar projects. India also intends to deepen research cooperation in clean and renewable energy, and energy efficiency. India and Germany look forward to a concrete outcome at COP21 in Paris that strengthens the commitment and the ability of the world, especially of poor and vulnerable countries, to transition to a more sustainable growth path.

The bilateral partnership will also grow in areas like defence manufacturing, trade in advanced

technology, intelligence, and countering terrorism and radicalism. These are important security dimensions of an expanding relationship.

Germany's strong support for India's membership of the international export control regimes is also a welcome step. Both countries have a common perspective on the turbulence in West Asia; Europe's challenges; and, shaping a peaceful and stable Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean Region. PM Modi in his bilateral talks especially thanked Merkel for Germany's invaluable support for peace, security and development in Afghanistan.

PM Modi also thanked Chancellor Merkel and the people of Germany for the return of the 10th century statue of Durga in her Mahishasurmardini avatar from Jammu and Kashmir. That statue is a symbol of the victory of good over evil. This also suggests that in this age of transitions and turmoil, India-Germany partnership will be a force of good for the world. It is a saying common in both countries cultures that friendship is a plant that needs to be watered.

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List of 18 MOUs Signed between India and Germany

(October 2015)

India and Germany have signed around 18 agreements and memorandum of understanding (MoUs) in various sectors. These agreements were signed at the end of third edition of Indo-German Inter-governmental Consultations (ICG) in New Delhi. The Indo-German ICG was co-chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his visiting counterpart German Chancellor Angela Merkel.

Some important agreements signed are:

1. Joint Declaration of Intent (JDI) on Languages: It seeks to promote German as a foreign language in India and promote modern Indian Languages in Germany.

2. MoU on Solar Energy: Seeks to promote Indo-German Development Cooperation for Indo-German Solar Energy Partnership.

3. Joint MoU on Skill Development: Boost cooperation in the Field of Skill Development and Vocational Education and


THE 3rd INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONSULTATIONS (ICG)


MoUs - AGREEMENTS SIGNED BETWEEN INDIA GERMANY

 <p>PROMOTION OF GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN INDIA AND THE PROMOTION OF MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES IN GERMANY.</p>	 <p>EXTENSION OF THE TENURE OF THE INDO-GERMAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTRE (IGSTC)</p>
 <p>SUMMARY RECORD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION</p>	 <p>INDO-GERMAN PARTNERSHIPS IN HIGHER EDUCATION (IGP)</p>
 <p>INDO-GERMAN SOLAR ENERGY PARTNERSHIP</p>	 <p>PLANT PROTECTION PRODUCTS</p>
 <p>SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING</p>	 <p>DEVELOPMENT OF THE COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF RAILWAYS</p>
 <p>SECURITY COOPERATION</p>	 <p>COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF MANUFACTURING</p>
 <p>AVIATION SECURITY</p>	 <p>SETTING UP A FAST-TRACK SYSTEM FOR GERMAN COMPANIES IN INDIA.</p>
 <p>DISASTER MANAGEMENT</p>	 <p>COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ADVANCED TRAINING OF CORPORATE EXECUTIVES AND JUNIOR EXECUTIVES FROM INDIA.</p>
 <p>COOPERATION IN AGRICULTURAL STUDIES.</p>	 <p>COOPERATION IN FOOD SAFETY BETWEEN THE FEDERAL INSTITUTE FOR RISK ASSESSMENT (BFR) AND THE FOOD SAFETY AND STANDARDS AUTHORITY OF INDIA (FSSAI).</p>
 <p>SUPPORTING PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN YOUNG SCIENTISTS IN NATURAL SCIENCES FOR THE LINDAU NOBEL LAUREATE MEETINGS.</p>	 <p>COOPERATION IN FOOD SAFETY BETWEEN THE FOOD SAFETY AND STANDARDS AUTHORITY OF INDIA (FSSAI) AND THE FEDERAL OFFICE OF CONSUMER PROTECTION AND FOOD SAFETY (BVL)</p>

Training.

4. MoU on Security Cooperation: It was signed between Union Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and Federal Ministry of the Interior of Germany.

5. MoU on Aviation Security: It was signed between Union Ministry of Civil Aviation and Federal Ministry of the Interior.

6. JDI on Disaster Management: It was signed between Union Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and Federal Ministry of the Interior of Germany.

7. Joint Declaration on IGSTC: It was signed between Union Ministry of Science and Technology and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research for extending the tenure of the Indo-German Science and Technology Centre (IGSTC).

8. MoU on Higher Education: seeks to promote Indo-German Partnerships in Higher Education (IGP).

9. JDI on Plant Protection Products: It was signed between Union Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare (MoA&FW) and the Federal Office of Consumer Protection and Food Safety (BVL).

10. JDI in the field of Railways: Seeks further Development of the Cooperation in

the Field of Railways both countries.

11. MoU in the field of manufacturing: It was signed between Department of Heavy Industries & Public Enterprises and Fraunhofer Society of Germany.

12. MoU for Food Safety: Cooperation in food safety between the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI) and the Federal Office of Consumer Protection and Food Safety (BVL). Cooperation in food safety between the Federal Institute for Risk Assessment (BFR) and the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI).

13. MOU For young scientists: Supporting participation of young Indian scientists in natural sciences for the Lindau Nobel Laureate Meetings.

14. Setting up a fast-track system for German companies in India.

15. Co Operation In Agricultural Studis: Cooperation in agricultural studies By Providing New And innovative technology to Agriculture,

16. Plant protection products

17. Cooperation in the field of advanced training of corporate executives and junior executives from India.

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Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers' Welfare KISAN Project and Hailstorm App.



Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers' Welfare has launched KISAN Project [Crop Insurance using Space technology and geo-informatics]. The project envisages use of Space Technology and geo-informatics (GIS, GPS and Smartphone) technology along with high resolution data from UAV/Drone based imaging for improvement in yield estimation and better planning of Crop Cutting Experiments (CCEs), needed for crop insurance programme.

The Pilot Study is proposed to be launched in one District each of Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra during Kharif season of 2015 and two Districts each of these States during Rabi season of 2015-16. While launching the project Hon'ble MoS informed that once the Pilot Study is successful, it will be extended to the other parts of the country. The KISAN project will be implemented by Mahalanobis National Crop Forecast Centre (MNCFC), an

attached Office of Department of Agriculture, Cooperation & FW, in collaboration with ISRO Centres (Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad & National Remote Sensing Centre, Hyderabad), India Meteorological Department, CCAFS, State Agriculture Departments and State Remote Sensing Centres.

Ministry has also launched an Android App which has been designed by ISRO (National Remote Sensing Centre, Hyderabad). This App will help real time data collection about hailstorm occurrences along with photographs and geographical coordinates (longitude and latitude). While launching the App, the Minister informed that App will help Government to get real time data about the Hailstorms which will be collected through the Agriculture Department officials of different States. This will support in deciding the crop loss more objectively and in a very fast manner.

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Tremendous Growth in Index of Industrial Production Brings All Round Cheer

Significant growth in Manufacturing, Capital Goods Output & Mining sectors

IIP Growth %

Aug-2014
Aug-2015



Source: MOSPI

Published Date Oct 13, 2015

Gujarat Marching Ahead in AMRUT Mission and Proposes Rs.15,375 cr to Ensure Basic Infra in 31 Mission Cities

The Government of Gujarat has proposed a Rs.15,375 cr comprehensive action plan to ensure basic infrastructure in 31 cities under Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) in the next five years. Of this, 42% is to be spent on providing water supply connections to all urban households in 31 AMRUT cities, 30% on providing sewerage connections to all households and 12% on ensuring drainage services to the extent of 50% and the rest on urban transport and provision of green spaces and parks. Keeping in view the availability of sewerage network services in the Mission states, the state government intends to set up 19 STPs (Sewerage Treatment Plants) at a total cost of Rs.4,721.57 cr to create a total treatment capacity of 869 million litres per day. For 2015-16, the Gujarat Government has proposed State Annual Action Plan (SAAP) for Rs.1,204 cr for taking up water supply related projects in 11 mission cities at a cost of Rs.233.65 cr, Sewerage Treatment Plants (STPs) in 19 cities at a cost of Rs.916.07 cr, storm water drainage projects in Bhuj and Vadodara at a cost of Rs.39 cr, urban transport projects in Gandhinagar at a cost of Rs.1.70 cr and works for providing green and open spaces in Amreli, Botad, Mehsana and Gandhinagar at a cost of Rs.14 cr.

In the AMRUT action plan sent to the Ministry of Urban Development, the state government projected that by the year 2030, Gujarat will emerge as the second most urbanized state in the country with urban population increasing from the present 43% of total population to 66%. Urbanisation in

Tamil Nadu is forecast to be 67% in 2030. Regarding financing during the five year Atal Mission period, the Gujarat Government has sought central assistance of Rs.2,478 cr with the State contributing Rs.1,941 cr and urban local bodies chipping in with Rs.700 cr as their share. Under convergence, investment of Rs.10,282 cr is to be met from ongoing schemes of the state government.

AMRUT aims at universal coverage of water supply and sewerage network services followed by storm water drains, urban transport and provision of green and open spaces. The national norm for water supply in urban areas is 135 litres per capita per day. Under AMRUT, central assistance is provided to the extent of 50% of projects costs for cities with a population of up to 10 lakhs each and one third of costs of the population is above 10 lakhs each. Of the 31 AMRUT cities in Gujarat, 4 cities-Ahmedabad, Surat, Vadodara and Rajkot have a population of above 10 lakhs each. The Gujarat government has agreed to contribute 20% to 40% of project costs under the Atal Mission during the Mission Period of 2015-20 while urban local bodies will chip in with their share in the range of 10% to 47% of project costs. Central Government has provisioned Rs.50,000 cr towards central assistance under Atal Mission for five years. State governments and urban local bodies are required to contribute equal amount as their share with States making a minimum contribution of 20% of project costs.

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Rajasthan First State to Firm up Private Investments in Affordable Housing

The Rajasthan Government has taken lead in promoting affordable housing by signing four Memoranda of Understanding firming up an investment of Rs.5,400 cr. These four MoUs were a part of 27 MoUs signed entailing an investment of Rs.12,478 cr in housing and urban development projects in Jaipur. These include 14 MoUs for promoting housing projects with an investment of Rs.9,273 cr.

Tata Housing Development Company Ltd has committed to invest Rs.2,000 cr in affordable and mixed use township over an area of 10.12 hectares. Mahima Real Estate Private Ltd has signed MoU with the state government to invest Rs.1,700cr in affordable housing and group housing followed by National Building Construction Corporation (NBCC) and Wish Empire who have undertaken to invest Rs.500 cr each in Rajasthan.

The 14 housing related investment projects are expected to provide employment to 26,650 persons. Total employment from the 27 MoUs signed today is expected to be 38,950.

Other MoUs related to Medical and

Health Care, Education, Industry and Tourism in different parts of Rajasthan. These MoUs will mobilize investments in affordable housing and will act as light house to others. Rajasthan was the first state to submit AMRUT action plan to the Ministry of Urban Development, first to identify 40 cities for taking up housing projects under Housing for All Mission in urban areas and the first state to ensure complete convergence in implementing Smart City Mission, Atal Mission (AMRUT), Heritage Mission and Housing Mission.

There is a new churning and new beginning by urban local bodies and the States since the launch of Smart City Mission and a new enthusiasm to address the challenges of urbanization in the country.

Recasting of country's urban landscape is a challenging task given the inadequacy of basic infrastructure in urban areas which also offered immense investment opportunities.

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SPMRF Round-Table Series: "Why Mudra Matters: Entrepreneurship and Civilisational Transformation in India"



SPMRF RT Series
Speaker
Hindol Sengupta
Editor-at-Large for Fortune India

Topic:
**Why Mudra Matters: Entrepreneurship
and Civilisational Transformation in India**

Date: Monday, 5th October, 2015, Time: 5.30pm



श्री अमित शाह द्वारा बिहार के नवादा के मेसकौर, औरंगाबाद के हसपुर और समस्तीपुर की रैली में दिए गए संबोधन के मुख्य अंश



- यदि राज्य में भाजपा की सरकार बनती है तो सम्पूर्ण गौ-वंश की हत्या को राज्य में प्रतिबंधित किया जाएगा
- भाजपा ने पिछड़े वर्ग से सबसे ज्यादा मुख्यमंत्री देश को दिए हैं
- महास्वार्थबंधन के नेताओं का अहंकार बिहार के विकास में मुख्य बाधक है
- प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में हमारी सबसे बड़ी प्राथमिकता विकास में पिछड़ गए गरीबों, दलितों, पिछड़ों, शोषितों और वंचितों का समुचित विकास कर उन्हें समाज की मुख्यधारा में शामिल कराना है
- यह कितना हास्यास्पद है कि प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के सवा लाख करोड़ रुपये के विशेष पैकेज पर श्री नीतीश कुमार कटाक्ष कर रहे हैं, उन्हें पता होना चाहिए कि ये पैकेज उनके लिए नहीं, बिहार के विकास के लिए है
- बिहार की जनता राजग को विजयी बनाने के लिए ऐसे बटन दबाए कि इटली तक करंट दौड़ जाए
- अगर बिहार में प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में भाजपा-नीत राजग की सरकार बनती है तो यहां के बेरोजगारों को मुम्बई और दिल्ली की ओर रुख नहीं करना पड़ेगा
- एक तरफ विकसराज का एकजुट राजग गठबंधन है तो दूसरी तरफ किसी भी तरह से राज्य की सत्ता पर काबिज होने की फिराक में किया गया महास्वार्थबंधन
- श्री नीतीश कुमार के एक कंधे पर तो जंगलराज और अपराध के प्रतीक श्री लालू यादव हैं तो दूसरे कंधे पर 12 लाख करोड़ रुपये का घपला करनेवाली कांग्रेस, ऐसे में भला उनसे राज्य के विकास की आशा कैसे
- लालू जी के शासन को जंगलराज का नाम हमने नहीं, श्री नीतीश कुमार ने दिया था, आज सत्ता-सुख के लिए वह उन्हीं लालू जी के साथ चल रहे हैं, यह कैसा विरोधाभास है

“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*

