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Research Foundation



# The Nationalist

Issue : December, 2015



## Special Article

- Dr. Ambedkar & Prabuddha Bharata
- India-Japan Summit: Forging New Dimensions in a New Partnership
- Whose Idea of India is it anyway?
- Paris climate summit: an agreement for humanity

## Party, Philosophy & Discipline



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

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

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

*-Deendayal Upadhyaya*

# The Nationalist

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## Balance between Domestic Dynamism and Global Outreach has Been Well Laid



2015 for the Narendra Modi government was indeed a year of consolidation and of striving to keep promises. Regardless of the cacophony of the mandate losers, Prime Minister Modi continued with his speed and his direction, determined to place India dynamically on the global map.

While laying new roads, enhancing connectivity, lighting up villages that have not seen the touch of electricity even in six decades, while launching and completing a nationwide exercise of consultation on how India's new education policy must look, Prime Minister Modi and his team have relentlessly worked to make India's voice heard on the world stage. The programme for rural electrification, the MUDRA disbursement, have all attained a steady pace of performance and delivery. The innovative PAHAL, the give it up campaign, has been so successful that it has been acknowledged by the Guinness Book of World Records as the largest cash transfer program (households).

The Indian effort at Paris and the launching of the Solar Alliance platform, an innovative and watershed intervention and proposal by India, generated a new wave of optimism among nations that were trying to articulate their hopes and vision on climate change.

Prime Minister Modi's launch of the special

music album on India's age-old environmental consciousness along with the French President Hollande and the articulation of India's civilisational vision of the environment and of how a balanced and cohesive living was always the Bharatiya ideal caught the attention of representatives of the global community gathered in the Paris Climate meet. When he told the friends of India audience in Moscow that situations have changed now and India plays a role in every crucial global decision, Prime Minister Modi was essentially referring to this approach of responsibility that India has begun to display on the world stage.

From putting India's Russia connect on track, to articulating a dynamic terms of engagement with ASEAN and the entire southeast Asian region, to dynamising India's connect with Central Asia and her special and multi-dimensional relation with Japan, to reaching out to the Buddhist world and calling for a partnership that aspires to work for conflict avoidance based on the East's civilisational vision and to untiringly articulating the need to formulate a cohesive and consistent approach to terrorism, Prime Minister Modi's efforts on the global front have been multi-hued and well recognized.

The balance between domestic dynamism and a global outreach has been well laid. There has been no deviation from the vision and commitment of "development with and for all", the naysayers notwithstanding. 2016 augurs well.

– Dr. Anirban Ganguly,  
Director, SPMRF

## Salient points of PM Modi's speech at Combined Commanders Conference on board INS Vikramaditya at Sea



**Role of India Armed Forces:** The Indian Armed Forces have always been known not just for the power they represent, but by the maturity and responsibility with which they wield it. They defend our seas and protect our borders. They keep our nation secure and our citizens safe. And, in calamity and conflicts, they do more than just bring relief and hope to our people. They lift the spirit of the nation and win the trust of the world. Our forces reflect our nation's diversity and its unity. They embody the timeless culture of India and the finest tradition of our

military. And, their success comes from the leadership that you provide.

**Our Commitment:** We have moved with speed to implement the One Rank One Pension promise that had remained unfulfilled for decades. And, we will build the National War Memorial and Museum that you so richly deserve in the heart of our nation's capital. We will also improve skills and opportunities for our ex-servicemen, so that when they leave the Service, they can still serve the nation with pride and dignity.

**Foreign Policy approach:** In an inter-dependent world, India's

transformation is closely linked with our international partnerships. And, so is our security. So, there is new intensity and purpose in our foreign policy. Across the world, India is seen not just as a new bright spot of the global economy. It is also seen as an anchor for regional and global peace, security and stability. And, as the world seeks to deal with rising threat of terrorism and radicalism, countries across all regions, including in the

**Our Commitment: We have moved with speed to implement the One Rank One Pension promise that had remained unfulfilled for decades. And, we will build the National War Memorial and Museum that you so richly deserve in the heart of our nation's capital. We will also improve skills and opportunities for our ex-servicemen, so that when they leave the Service, they can still serve the nation with pride and dignity.**

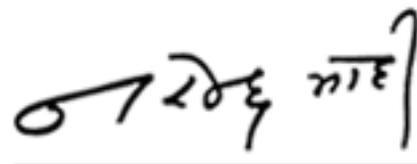
Islamic world, have reached out to seek cooperation with India. Above all, it is our neighbourhood that is most critical for our future and for our place in the world. We see terrorism and ceasefire violations; reckless nuclear build up and threats; border transgressions; and, continuing military modernization and expansion.

**On Pakistan:** We are engaging Pakistan to try and turn the course of history, bring an end to terrorism, build peaceful relations, advance

cooperation and promote stability and prosperity in our region. There are many challenges and barriers on the path. But, the effort is worth it, because the peace dividends are huge and the future of our children is at stake. So, we will test their intentions to define the path ahead. For this, we have started a new NSA-level dialogue to bring security experts face to face with each other. But, we will never drop our guard on security and we will continue to judge progress on their commitments on terrorism.

**Beyond Border:** As our security horizons and responsibilities extend beyond our shores and borders, we must prepare our forces for range and mobility. We must also have a comprehensive strategy for external defence engagement, to develop our capabilities and fulfill our responsibilities to advance peace and stability, including in our extended maritime region.

**Our UN peace mission:** We have kept peace in the blue helmet of the UN. And, our forces can be messengers of peace and hope, for example, by taking medical ships to remote island nations, and building relations with other militaries.



NARENDRA MODI

# Salient points of PM's speech at Jagran Forum



► लोकतंत्र की सबसे पहली अनिवार्यता है जागरूकता और उस जागरूकता के लिए हर प्रकार के प्रयास निरन्तर आवश्यक होते हैं। अब जितनी मात्रा में जागरूकता बढ़ती है, उतनी मात्रा में समस्याओं के समाधान के रास्ते अधिक स्पष्ट और निखरते हैं, जन भागीदारी सहज बनती है और जहां जन-भागीदारी का तत्व बढ़ता है, उतनी ही लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्थाएं मजबूत होती हैं, विकास की यात्रा को गति आती है और लक्ष्य प्राप्ति निश्चित हो जाती है।

## **Mann-tantra and Money-tantra are dangerous for Lok-tantra**

► हमारे देश में लोकतंत्र के सामने दो खतरे भी

हैं। एक खतरा है मनतंत्र का, दूसरा खतरा है मनीतंत्र का। आपने देखा होगा इन दिनों जरा ज्यादा देखने को मिलता है, मेरी मर्जी, मेरा मन करता है, मैं ऐसा करूंगा। क्या देश ऐसे चलता है क्या? मनतंत्र से देश नहीं चलता है, जनतंत्र से देश चलता है। आपके मन में आपके विचार कुछ भी हो, लेकिन इससे व्यवस्थाएं नहीं चलती है। अगर सितार में एक तार ज्यादा खींचा होता है तो भी सुर नहीं आता है और एक तार ढीला होता है तो भी सुर नहीं आता है। सितार के सभी तार सामान रूप से उसकी खिंचाई होती है, तब जा करके आता है और इसलिए मनतंत्र से लोकतंत्र नहीं चलता है<sup>३</sup> मनतंत्र से जनतंत्र नहीं चलता है। जनतंत्र की पहली शर्त होती है मेरे मन में जो भी है जन व्यवस्था के

साथ मुझे उसे जोड़ना पड़ता है। मुझे **assimilate** करना पड़ता है, मुझे अपने आप को कपसनजम करना पड़े तो कपसनजम करना पड़ता है। और अगर मुझमें रूतबा है तो मेरे विचारों से **convince** कर करके उसे बढ़ाते-बढ़ाते लोगों को साथ ले करके चलना होता है। हम इस तरीके से नहीं चल सकते।

- ▶ दूसरा का चिंता विषय होता है दृ मनीतंत्र। भारत जैसे गरीब देश में मनीतंत्र लोकतंत्र पर बहुत बड़ा कूटाराघात कर सकता है। हम उससे लोकतंत्र को कैसे बचाएं। उस पर हमारा कितना बल होगा। मैं समझता हूं कि उसके आधार पर हम प्रयास करते हैं। हमारे यहां मूलतः लोकतंत्र के सिद्धांतों में माना गया है 'वादे-वादे जायते तत्त्व गोधा' यह हमारे यहां माना गया है कि जितने भिन्न-भिन्न विचारों का मंथन होता रहता है उतनी लोकतांत्रिक ताकत मजबूत होती है। यह हमारे यहां मूलभूत चिंतन रहा है। इसलिए जब हम लोकतंत्र की बात करते हैं तो हम उन मूलभूत बातों को लेकर कैसे चलें उस पर हमारा बल रहना चाहिए।

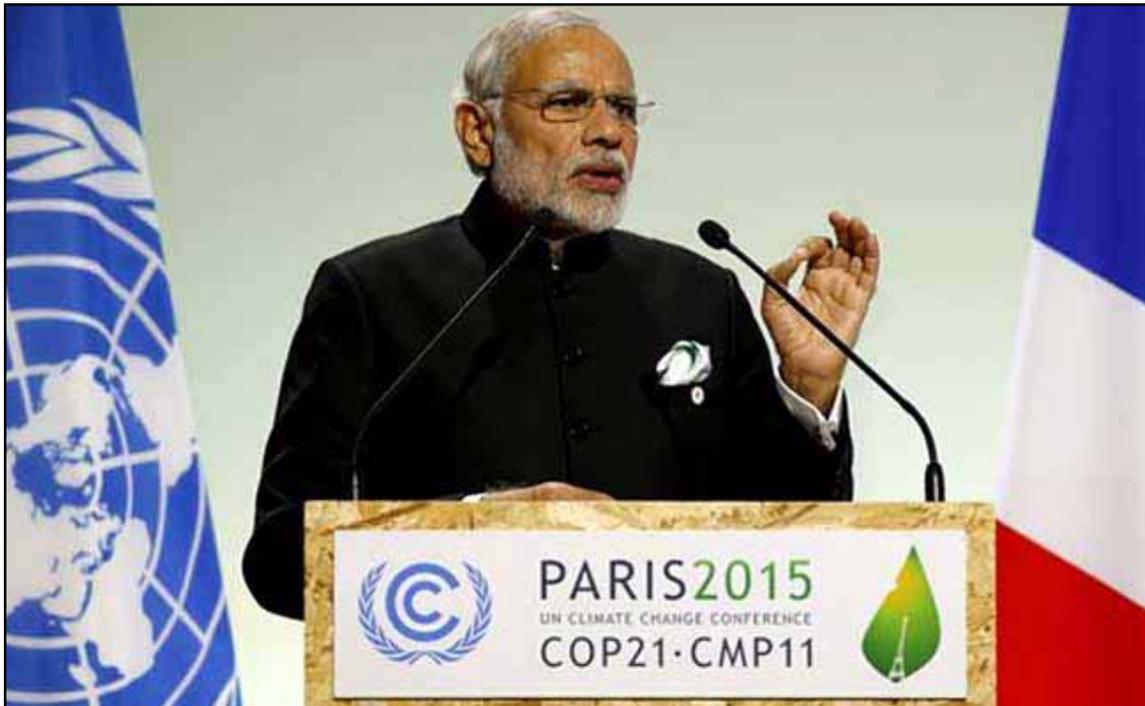
### **Importance of Personal Sector apart from public and private sector:**

- ▶ आर्थिक विकास की दृष्टि से हमारे देश में दो क्षेत्रों की चर्चा हमेशा चली है और सारी आर्थिक नींव उन्हीं दो चीजों के आस-पास चलाई गई है। एक **private sector**, दूसरा **चनइसपब sector** अगर हमें विकास को जन आंदोलन बनाना है तो **private sector public sector** की सीमा में रहना हमारी गति को कम करता है और इसलिए मैंने एक विषय जोड़ा है उसमें – **public sector, private sector and personal sector**- यह जो **personal sector** है यह अपने आप में एक बहुत बड़ी ताकत है। हम में से बहुत कम लोगों को मालूम

होगा कि हमारे देश की **economy** को कौन **drive** करता है। कभी-कभी लगता है कि यह जो 12-15 बहुत बड़े-बड़े कोरपोरेट हाऊस हैं, अरबों-खरबों रुपये की बातें आती हैं। जी नहीं, देश की **economy** को या देश में सबसे ज्यादा रोजगार देने का काम यदि कहीं हुआ है तो हमारे छोटे-छोटे लोगों का है। क्या ऐसी हमारी व्यवस्था न हो जो हमारे इस **personal sector** को हम **empower** करे। कानूनी दिक्कतों से उसको मुक्ति दिलाए। आर्थिक प्रबंधन में उसकी मदद करें। आज वे लोग ऐसे हैं जो ज्यादातर करीब 70 प्रतिशत लोग इसमें से **scheduled caste, scheduled tribe** और **OBC** हैं। गरीब हैं, पिछड़े तबके से हैं। अब वे लोग देश में करीब-करीब 12-14 करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देते हैं। इतनी ताकत हैं इन लोगों में। हर कोई एक को रोजगार देता है, कोई दो को देता है, कोई **part-time** देता है।

लेकिन 12 से 14 करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देते हैं। अगर उनको थोड़ा बल दिया जाए, थोड़ी मदद दी जाए उनको थोड़ा आधुनिक करने का प्रयास किया जाए तो इनकी ताकत है कि 15-20 करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देने का सामर्थ्य है। और इसके लिए हमने एक प्रधानमंत्री मुद्रा योजना को बल दिया है। यानी हम **personal sector** को कितना बल दे। **personal sector** का एक और आज हमने पहलू उठाया है जिस प्रकार से समाज का यह तबका है जो अभी मध्यम वर्ग में पहुंचा नहीं है, गरीबी में रहता नहीं है ऐसी अवस्था है उसकी कि वो सबसे ज्यादा कठिन होती है। लेकिन एक और वर्ग है जो **highly intellectual** है-जो भारत का **youth power** है। उसके पास कल्पकता है, नया करने की ताकत है और वो देश को आधुनिक बनाने में बहुत बड़ा **contribute** कर सकता है। वो **globally** कम्पीट कर सकता है।

## Salient points of PM's Statement at the Plenary Session in CoP-21 Summit at Paris



- » The prosperous still have a strong carbon footprint. And, the world's billions at the bottom of the development ladder are seeking space to grow. So, the choices are not easy. But, we have awareness and technology. We need now national will and a genuine global partnership.
- » Democratic India must grow rapidly to meet the aspirations of 1.25 billion people, 300 million of whom are without access to energy. We are determined to do so, guided by our ancient belief that people and planet are inseparable; that human well being and Nature are indivisible. So, we have set ambitious targets. By 2030, we will reduce emissions by 33 to 35% per cent of 2005 levels, and 40 per cent of our installed capacity will be from our non-fossil fuels. We will achieve it by expanding renewable energy - for, example, by adding 175 Gigawatts of renewable generation by 2022. We will enlarge our forest cover to

absorb at least 2.5 billion tonnes worth of carbon dioxide.

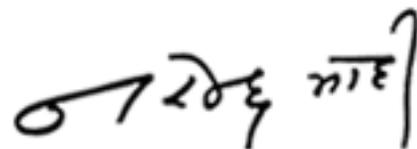
- » We are reducing dependence on fossil fuel through levies and reduction in subsidies; switching sources of fuel where possible; and, transforming cities and public transportation. We hope advanced nations will assume ambitious targets and pursue them sincerely. It is not just a question of historical responsibility. They also have the most room to make the cuts and make the strongest impact.

**Developed countries must fulfill their responsibility to make clean energy available, affordable and accessible to all in the developing world. This is in our collective interest. So, we look to the developed countries to mobilize 100 billion US Dollars annually by 2020 for mitigation and adaptation in the developing countries. They must fulfill their commitment in a credible, transparent and meaningful manner.**

And, climate justice demands that, with the little carbon space we still have, developing countries should have enough scope to grow. This also means aggressive mitigation action by developed countries before 2020, including ratification of 2nd Commitment period of Kyoto Protocol, removing

conditions and revisiting targets.

- » The principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities must remain the bedrock of our collective enterprise across all areas - mitigation, adaptation and means for implementation. Anything else would be morally wrong; and disparities.
- » Developed countries must fulfill their responsibility to make clean energy available, affordable and accessible to all in the developing world. This is in our collective interest. So, we look to the developed countries to mobilize 100 billion US Dollars annually by 2020 for mitigation and adaptation in the developing countries. They must fulfill their commitment in a credible, transparent and meaningful manner.
- » The presence of 196 countries tells us that we have a chance to unite behind a common purpose. We will succeed if we have the wisdom and courage to craft a genuinely collective partnership that balances responsibilities and capabilities with aspirations and needs.



NARENDRA MODI

## Salient points of PM's Statement in Lok Sabha on conclusion of debate on commitment to the constitution as a part of 125th birth anniversary celebration of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar



- ▶ भारत विविधताओं से भरा हुआ देश है। हम सबको बांधने की ताकत संविधान में है। हम सबको बढ़ाने की ताकत संविधान में है और इसलिए समय की मांग है कि हम संविधान की sanctity, संविधान की शक्ति और संविधान में निहित बातों से जन-जन को परिचित कराने का एक निरंतर प्रयास करें। और इसको हमें एक पूरे Religious भाव से, एक समर्पित भाव से इस प्रक्रिया को करना चाहिए। 26 नवंबर संविधान दिवस के माध्यम से सरकार की सोच है और इसमें धीरे-धीरे सुधार भी होगा। यह evolve भी होगा क्योंकि ये तो प्रारंभिक विषय है। कोई चीज अल्टीमेट नहीं होती है। उसमें निरंतर विकास होता रहता है।
- ▶ इतना उत्तम संविधान जो हमें मिला है, इसकी हम जितनी सराहना करें उतनी कम है। हम जितना गौरव करें उतना कम है। और अगर संविधान को सरल भाषा में मुझे कहना है तो हमारा संविधान Dignity for Indian and unity for India इस दोनों मूल मंत्रों को साकार करता है। जनसामान्य की Dignity और देश की एकता और अखंडता। बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर की भूमिका को हम कभी भी नकार नहीं सकते। इसका मतलब ये नहीं कि बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर की बात करते हैं तो औरों का कोई काम नहीं होता।
- ▶ अगर संविधान बनाने में बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर न होते, मुझे क्षमा करें मैं किसी की आलोचना

नहीं कर रहा, तो शायद, हमारा संविधान देश चलाने के लिए, शासन चलाने के लिए उत्तम हो सकता था। लेकिन वो संविधान सामाजिक दस्तावेज बनने से चूक जाता। यह सामाजिक दस्तावेज जिसने बनाया है, उन बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर का दर्द, उनकी पीड़ा, उन्होंने जो झेला था, उन यातनाओं का अर्क उसमें शब्द बनकर जहर निकल रहा होता और तब उस समय जा करके संविधान का निर्माण हुआ था। और तब जा करके विदेशी व्यक्ति ने कहा था कि यह एक सामाजिक दस्तावेज है। और इसलिए इसे वैधानिक दस्तावेज न मानते हुए, सामाजिक दस्तावेज कहना कभी-कभी मुझे लगता है हम भी जानते होंगे।

- ▶ हम सब मनुष्य हैं, कमियां हम सब में हैं और एकाध गलत चीज हो जाए तो लंबे अरसे तक दिमाग से जाती नहीं हैं। किसी ने कुछ शब्द बोल दिया हो तो चुभता रहता है, सामने मिलता है तो वो नहीं दिखता है, शब्द याद आता है। यह हमलोगों का स्वभाव है। आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं कि एक दलित मां का बेटा जिसने जन्म से जीवन तक सिर्फ यातनाएं झेलीं, अपमानित होता रहा, उपेक्षित होता रहा, डगर-डगर उनको सहना पड़ा। उसी व्यक्ति के हाथ में जब देश के भविष्य का दस्तावेज बनाने का अवसर आया, तो इस बात की पूरी संभावना होती कि यदि वह हम जैसा मनुष्य होता तो वो कटुता, वो जहर, कहीं न कहीं प्रकट होता। बदले की कहीं आग निकल आती, कहीं भाव निकल आता। लेकिन यह बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर की ऊंचाई थी कि जीवन भर उन्होंने ने झेला लेकिन संविधान में कहीं पर वो बदले का भाव नहीं है। यह उस महानता, उस व्यक्तित्व की ऊंचाई है, जिसके कारण ऐसा संभव होता है। वरना हम सब जानते हैं हम मनुष्य हैं, हमको मालूम है, एक शब्द भी ऐसा चूक जाता है निकलता नहीं है। जीवन में कितनी ऊंचाई होगी, भीतर की सोच

कितनी मजबूत होगी। उस महापुरुष ने उन सारे जहर को पी लिया और हमारे लिए अमृत छोड़ करके गये और इसलिए उस महापुरुष के लिए मुझे संस्कृत का एक शब्द याद आता है।

**स्वभावम् न जहा त्वेव साधुरा त्रापद् गतोऽपि सन्।**

**कपूर्ः पावक स्पर्शः सौरभं लभते तशम्।**

- ▶ यदि हम लोकतंत्र को रूप में ही नहीं बल्कि सच में बनाये रखना चाहते हैं, तो हमें क्या करना चाहिए। मेरे विचार में पहली चीज जो हमें करनी चाहिए वह है कि अपने सामाजिक और आर्थिक लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए संवैधानिक तरीकों का दृढ़ता से पालन करना चाहिए। जहां संवैधानिक तरीके खुले हैं वहां इन असंवैधानिक तरीकों का औचित्य नहीं हो सकता। यह तरीके और कुछ नहीं बल्कि अराजकता हैं, और उन्हें शीघ्र ही छोड़ना हमारे लिए बेहतर होगा।
- ▶ संविधान आधारभूत दस्तावेज है। यह वह दस्तावेज है जो राज्यों के तीनों अंगों कार्य पालिका, न्याय पालिका और विधायिका की स्थिति और शक्तियों को परिभाषित करता है। यह कार्य पालिका की शक्तियों और विधायिकाओं को नागरिकों के प्रति भी परिभाषित करता है। जैसा कि हमने मौलिक अधिकारों के अध्याय में किया है। वस्तुतः संविधान का उद्देश्य राज्यों के अंगों का मात्र सृजन करना नहीं है। बल्कि उसके प्राधिकार को सीमित करना है। क्योंकि यदि अंग के प्राधिकार पर सीमा नहीं लगाई जाती तो वह पुनरु निरंकुश होगा। विधायिका किसी भी कानून को बनाने के लिए स्वतंत्र हो, कार्य पालिका कोई भी निर्णय लेने के लिए स्वतंत्र हो तथा सर्वोच्च न्यायालय कानून की कोई भी व्याख्या करने के लिए स्वतंत्र हो, तो इसकी परिणति अराजकता में होगी। यह बात बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर ने बहुत ही पूरी

ताकत के साथ कही थी।

- ▶ बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर ने आरक्षण की व्यवस्था को बल न दिया होता तो कोई मुझे बताएं कि मेरे दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित समाज की हालत क्या होती। परमात्मा ने उसको सब दिया है जो मुझे आपको दिया है, लेकिन उसे अवसर नहीं मिला और उसके लिए उसकी दुर्दशा है। अवसर देना हमारा दायित्व बनता है। अवसर देना हम सबका दायित्व बनता है और समाज का इतना बड़ा तबका जब विकास की यात्रा पर हमारे साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर चलने वाला साथ खड़ा हो जाए तो देश कहां से कहां पहुंच जाएगा।
- ▶ कोई भूभाग पीछे नहीं रहना चाहिए। कोई समाज पीछे नहीं रहना चाहिए। अगर शरीर का एक अंग लकवा मार गया हो, तो शरीर को स्वस्थ नहीं माना जाता है। अगर शरीर का एक अंग भी weak है तो ये शरीर कभी स्वस्थ नहीं माना जाता। इस समाज में पुरुष का कोई एक अंग निर्बल है तो फिर ये समाज सशक्त नहीं माना जा सकता। यह राष्ट्र सशक्त नहीं माना जा सकता। और इसलिए राष्ट्र का सशक्तिकरण उसमें है कि समाज के सभी अंग, सभी अंग सशक्त हों। पुरुष हों, स्त्री हों इस जाति के, उस जाति के, इस पंथ के, उस पंथ के हों। ये भाषा वाले, उस भाषा वाले हों इस भू भाग रहते हों, उस भू भाग रहते हों। हमारे लिए आवश्यक होता है कि सबके सशक्तिकरण के लिए हम क्या काम करें और उस काम को हमको पूरा करना होगा। हमारे सामने बहुत बढ़िया अवसर भी है, चुनौती भी है।

भारत, मूलतः जिन आदर्शों विचारों से पला-बढ़ा है वो हमारी एक ताकत है। वो हमारी एक आत्मिक शक्ति है और इसलिए हमें कभी हमारे देश की जो अंतर ऊर्जा है उसको कम आंकने की जरूरत नहीं है। हजारों साल की तपस्या से अंतर ऊर्जा तैयार हुई है। और वही देश को भी गति देती है, समाज को भी गति देती

है और संकटों से उबरने की ताकत भी देती है। और तब मैं जब उसकी बात करता हूँ तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा Idea of India.

My Idea of India – सत्यमेव जयते

My Idea of India – अहिंसा परमो धर्मः

My Idea of India – एकम सद विप्राः बहुधाः वदन्ति सत्य

My Idea of India – पौधों में परमात्मा दिखना

My Idea of India – वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्

My Idea of India – सर्व पंथ समभाव

My Idea of India – अप्य दीपो भवः

My Idea of India – तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जिथा

My Idea of India – सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः

My Idea of India— न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं न पुनर्भवम् कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम्

My Idea of India – वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिये जे पीड परायी जाणे रे

My Idea of India – जन सेवा ही प्रभु सेवा

My Idea of India – सह नाववतु सह नौ भुनक्तु सह वीर्यं करवावहै तेजस्वी नावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषाव है

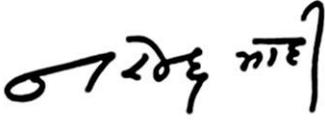
My Idea of India – नर करनी करे तो नारायण हो जाए

My Idea of India – नारी तू नारायणी

My Idea of India – यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः

My Idea of India – आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः

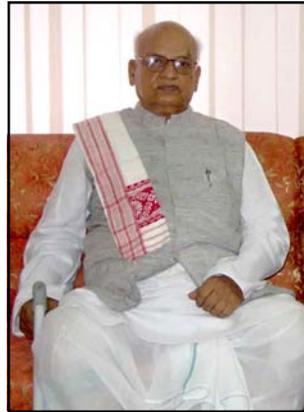
My Idea of India – जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी

  
NARENDRA MODI

## Pandit Deendyal Upadhyaya A Guiding Spirit for Ideal Journalism

✍️ Yadav Rao Deshmukh

**G**od on this earth not only creates everyone but also endows everyone with some special quality. But there are also certain people whose talent is multi dimensional. If they get an opportunity for "development", they become "Great." Such was the persona of Pandit Deendyal Upadhyaya. In such a simple looking man were reflected different aspects of a social thinker, economist, educationist, politician, writer, journalist, speaker, organizer etc. All these talents bloomed as the opportunities arrived. Though it is a different matter that he is mainly known for his organizing capability, serious thinking and for being a skillful political leader.



up this job at that time for earning his livelihood. So, it is quite natural that Pandit ji's personality reflected a journalist with missionary zeal and not having commercial considerations.

The journalist within Pandit ji first came to light with the publication of monthly "Rashtradharm" from Lucknow in 1940s. The publication was meant for spreading the ideology of nationalism. Though he did not have his name printed as editor in any of the issues of this publication but there was hardly any issue which did not have his deep impression due to his though provoking writings. He chose to publish those items that had a positive side. He never had a problem with the criticism of anti-people thoughts or movement if the language was balanced and the criticism was healthy. Later on Panchjanya weekly and daily Swadesh also started getting published from there where the present Prime Minister Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee [This was written in 2003] was appointed as an editor. After sometime Deendyal ji was asked to work in the political field. There he had regular interaction with scribes

First and the foremost thing to remember is that Deendyal ji represented an era when journalism was an ideal and not a subject for crass commercialization. During our struggle for freedom, many of our great leaders used journalism for the cause of the nation and for awakening the people of the country. Especially in Hindi and regional languages, one might hardly find an editor who took

and he had to issue statements quite frequently.

He had a column in the Organizer weekly. The name of the column was Political Diary. While reading this column, one realized that despite being critical of several policies of Nehru era, his language was always decently balanced. In 1959, I was asked to edit Panchjanya. Annoyed over the Nehru government's policy about China and Tibet, I wrote a strong editorial in the first issue of the weekly itself. After reading it, Deendyal ji said your piece was excellent but perhaps you should be little more cautious with the heading as Pandit Nehru is after all the Prime Minister of the Country. We should not be careless in using words while criticizing him. His message was clear and worthwhile. 'Don't distort the News' was his mantra. Once he gave a statement which was quoted out of context by one of the English dailies.

When he met the journalist concerned, he told him in a polite manner and with a personal touch, "I know you just cannot do this, but kindly tell your news editor not to publish statements out of context as it just not seems right to mislead the readers! It is the responsibility of a journalist to report the facts correctly and if he does not agree with somebody's views then that should also he published". A mature journalist always has his own perception about a problem. He himself is also motivated by an

ideology. Sometime he is also a follower of a particular Party or Organization.

The natural question is that as a journalist, he should be loyal to whom? To his ideology? To the Party or organization he is related to? Or to the wider interest of the Country and the common people? In a similar situation, I received a directive about publication of one of my edits. It was 1961 and the Country was facing a distinct threat of Chinese invasion. At that time, a number of political parties and trade unions called for a nation-wide strike to support certain demands of Railway employees. In view of the elections in 1962, Bharatiya Jana Sangh had also supported the call. Most of its leaders were expecting that Panchjanya will obviously support the strike. But then I consulted by editorial colleagues and took the stand that the strike is not in the interest of the nation. "Navjivan" of the ruling Congress Party used this ploy to mount an attack on Jana Sangh. A number of Jana Sangh leaders quite naturally were not happy. They complained to Deendyal ji who was General Secretary of the Party at that time, that whether it is appropriate for Panchjanya to criticize the policies and programmes of Jana Sangh? In the evening he called me and these leaders at his residence. He told me why these leaders were unhappy.

Then he himself asked, "If something is in interest of Party but not in the interest of nation, then what

should be done?" The answer was inherent in the question. Then he said, "The Party might have certain compulsions to support the strike but Panchjanya should not have any such compulsion. I think everybody has taken right decision in their position. Parties cannot be larger than the society or the country. The national interest should get top priority. A journalist should be loyal to the country."

Why English newspapers have an anti Indian attitude? In our conversations several issues related to journalists and journalism used to come up. Once I asked him, "Why English newspapers take a negative stand when it comes to Indianisation, while the Hindi and regional newspapers always have a positive approach on this issue? His answer was- "Almost all the major English newspapers were run by the Englishmen. Though after independence the ownership came in to hands of Indians but the scribes and the editors were the same and so was their psyche. They were no more with the Britishers, but the attitude was same. They remained alienated from the culture, civilization and tradition of this country. There are certain exceptions to this too. Generally, the English journalist was from the highly educated class and he was overawed by the old attitude."

Going further deep in to the issue he said, "Even after the Britishers have left, India has failed to develop an education system according to its

traditions. Physically Indian but intellectually English oriented Macaulay oriented education system is still prevalent with minor changes. How could the journalists coming out of this system be not alienated?"

*(Late Yadav Rao Deshmukh, was a veteran Swayamsevak and editor of Panchjanya, who for over seven decades actively contributed to India's social, cultural and intellectual life. This is the transcript of his talk delivered at a national symposium on "Patrakar Deendayal Upadhyaya" organized by the Research and Development Foundation for Integral Humanism in January 2003)*

# Dr. Ambedkar & Prabuddha Bharata

✍️ Abhinav Prakash

In 2015, two important announcements were made by the central government to mark the contributions of Dr. Ambedkar in the formation of the modern India. One was the establishment of the Ambedkar International Centre in Delhi and the other was the Ambedkar memorial in his native state of Maharashtra. These announcements are an indicator that Ambedkar is finally coming out of the restricted boundaries of caste politics and is taking his rightful place as one of the founding fathers of the modern India.

Ambedkar evokes different responses among different people, for some he is the greatest emancipator of the downtrodden for others a hated Dalit leader who introduced reservations in the constitution. For some he is the fiercest enemy of Hinduism for others a reformer in the long line of the Hindu reformers. For some he was just a lawyer who drafted the Constitution of India for others a political leader and progenitor of a social revolution. This is hardly surprising because the multi-dimensional personality and brilliance of Ambedkar was not confined to a single field. He was a lawyer, politician, social reformer, an economist, philosopher and among

the foremost thinkers of his time. He expressed himself prolifically on issues ranging from religion, law, history, philosophy, politics, society



and even established a new religious sect of Buddhism, the Navayana.

His voluminous writings on a wide range of topics present a seemingly intractable problem of defining his vision for the India. But fortunately for us he has himself put it in words; he called it Prabuddha Bharata, an enlightened India. It is this vision of an enlightened India, which continues to define his enduring legacy. But what is this enlightened India, which Ambedkar sought to create? What are its contours and central points?

Ambedkar's foremost concern was the creation of a post-caste egalitarian society where an individual's status and access to opportunities does not depend on his birth. He wanted to recast the caste-ridden society, which he said has made every village of India into an arena of continuous civil

war, into a strong unified society compatible with nationhood. Here he believed that a nation is a community where people relate to each other's concerns, aspirations, and grief unlike the fragmented caste society. Ambedkar was one of the few who recognised that such a transformation was not only desirable but also a necessity for the continued survival of the Hindus as a people and ensuring political independence of India.

The second component of the enlightened India is education. In fact, he placed special emphasis on education, which he saw as the route to not only individual mobility but social transformation as well. It is no surprise that education comes first in his famous slogan of 'Educate, Organise, Agitate'. He held the deprivation of education as a major cause of backwardness and downfall of the depressed classes. In his vision, an India with universal education would not only eradicate various prevalent social ills but also establish India as a world leader.

The third part of India of his dreams was the emancipation of women and ensuring their equal status in all realms of life be it educational opportunities, marriage, economic activities or right to property. He not only ceaselessly championed women's cause but as India's first the law minister drafted the revolutionary 'Hindu Code Bill', which he was unable to get passed due to strong opposition from a certain section. But the same provisions were

later passed in bits and pieces, validating the Ambedkar's firm belief in the necessity of social reforms.

Unlike several of his contemporaries, Ambedkar was an enthusiastic believer in modernisation and urbanisation, which he saw as the precursor of the social change by fundamentally transforming the basis of social organisation. This forms the fourth component of his vision of an enlightened India. He was a critic of the Nehruvian economic policies, which according to him limited the growth potential of India and thus denying millions a chance to escape the oppressive traditional village economic setup.

The fifth component was the culture and value based education. He was deeply concerned that human values were fast disappearing from the society and those values like compassion; honesty, truthfulness, sacrifice etc were being mocked upon. According to him, a society can never be strong and just unless it is moved by high moral values. His Navayana is essentially a system of moral values to restore the spiritual centre of the society to create a healthy, humanistic society.

Dr Ambedkar was one of those rare personalities who could gaze into the future and understand that social-religious and political reforms were not only desirable but also a necessity for India to regain and maintain its independence and re-emerge as a pre-eminent country in the world. Even his opponents eventually conceded the

path that he envisioned and the reforms, which he advocated. But for decades after independence, he was a neglected figure in the national and civilizational narrative of India dominated by the Congress party and the Nehru family.

However, as the sun does not have to announce its brilliance, great people like Ambedkar do not need an army of court historians to pronounce their greatness. Greatness is self-evident. After all, it is Dr Ambedkar who was voted by the people of India as the greatest Indian with a massive lead in the 2012 poll conducted by the

Outlook magazine even as the 'panel of experts' went against this massive vote and crowned Nehru as the greatest Indian!

It is in this context, the current initiatives of the Narendra Modi government to commemorate Dr Ambedkar assume special importance. The real tribute to him would be to work pro-actively towards realising his dream of an enlightened India.

*(Abhinav Prakash is a Doctoral scholar Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and a prolific writer and commentator on socio-political and historical issues)*

## India-Japan Summit: Forging New Dimensions in a New Partnership

✍ Ambassador R. Dayakar

The 3-day visit of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to India (11-13 December) represents a high water mark in Indo-Japanese relations. As a vibrant Asian democracy that nurtures the second largest economy in Asia anchored in an innovative manufacturing hub with a number of firsts in its bag, a vast industrial base, a wide range of scientific and industrial achievements and a global reach for its quality products and services, Japan can address India's needs significantly in its quest for a sustained high economic growth and up-gradation and expansion of infrastructure, particularly in transport and energy sectors. Not surprisingly, Japan was the first country Prime Minister Modi chose to visit outside the sub-continent in August 2014. Prime Minister Abe's visit to India is his first after NDA assumed the political direction of the country. The outcome of the visit reinforces Japan's role as a key partner in India's development and in sustaining the country's targeted GDP growth rate. The visit has given a boost to India's infrastructure expansion particularly in energy and transportation.

The text released at the end of the visit, captioned "Joint Statement on India and Japan Vision 2025" speaks

of a Vision for a "Deep, Broad-based and Action-oriented Partnership" and recognizes a high degree of congruence of political,



economic and strategic interests between the two who "view each other as partners" in responding to global and regional challenges. India and Japan are thus poised to play a significant role in shaping the 21<sup>st</sup> century branded as the Asian century, in the direction of peace, stability, development and prosperity.

In terms of concrete takeaways, the visit stands unique and illustrates the benefits of summit diplomacy under committed leadership in imparting momentum to critical areas of cooperation and in consolidating strategic objectives. Defence, energy and infrastructure made significant gains from the visit. While 16 agreements/ Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) were signed during the visit, two areas deserve special mention as they bolster India's traditional and non-traditional security concerns. In the former category stand the Agreements for the Transfer of the Defence Equipment

and Technology and for the Security Measures for the Protection of Classified Military Information, that pave the way for co-production and co-development in India of defence ware such as amphibious aircraft to begin with.

The existing executive and institutional framework for defence and security dialogue is further strengthened with the addition of Air Force-to-Air Force Talks to the already existing array of "2+2 Dialogue", Defence Policy Dialogue, Military-to-Military Talks and Coast Guard to Coast Guard cooperation. Japan has now become a regular participant in the biennial Malabar naval exercise. Both the PMs reiterated the principled position on freedom of navigation in the light of UN Convention on Law of Seas (UNCLOS) and over-flights in South China Sea as part of maritime interest. Japan has expressed support to India's membership in technology control regimes and APEC. Both countries continue to work jointly for permanent membership of the expanded UN Security Council

In the non-traditional areas, India's energy security received a boost with the MoU on Cooperation in Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, signed by none other than the two Prime Ministers, underscoring the importance of the agreement. PM Modi himself acknowledged this in his media statement at the conclusion of the talks when he said the MoU "is a shining symbol of a new level of mutual confidence and strategic

partnership in the cause of a peaceful and secure world" and that "I know the significance of this decision for Japan". The MoU will be followed by a formal Agreement after technical and legal procedures are completed on the Japanese side. Such an agreement will unblock supply to India of nuclear reactors made in third countries with Japanese components, in addition to the supply of Japan's own reactors. Japan will also share with India environmentally friendly Clean Coal Technology and renewable energy generation.

In infrastructure, Shinkansen or the bullet train, the high speed rail (HSR) between Mumbai and Ahmedabad is to be funded and built by Japan with a US \$ 12 billion loan on highly concessional terms of 0.1 % interest with a 50- year repayment period including 15 year moratorium. When completed, HSR marks the most significant addition to India's railway network, post-Independence. Other infrastructure projects agreed to be considered for the Japanese finance are metro projects of Chennai and Ahmedabad, Mumbai Trans-Harbour Link, Tuticorin Outer Harbour, road network in North-Eastern India and Bengaluru's ring road. Japan is already committed to assist Western Dedicated Freight Corridor, Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor and Chennai-Bengaluru Industrial Corridor.

In addition it is agreed that Japan will also support India's signature developmental programmes like

“Make in India”, “Digital India”, “Skill India”, “Clean India” and “Smart City” by sharing its advanced skills and technologies and through its public and private sector involvement. In particular, Japan has set up “Make-in -India Special Finance Facility” to promote direct investment by Japanese companies in Make-in -India ventures. Japan will also set up Japan Industrial Townships (JITs) and jointly with the government of India will create special incentive packages to attract Japanese investments into JITs. Both the PMs met the India-Japan CEO Group and received their recommendations. In a facility not available to any other national, India will issue visas to Japanese nationals, effective from 1<sup>st</sup> March, on arrival at Indian airports without requiring any advance application for visa or notification of the visit (which is thus different from E-visa which requires prior on-line application).

By any yardstick, Japan has proved itself to be a true partner in India’s development. At the last summit in September 2014 in Tokyo, PM Abe had spoken of US \$35 billion for financing projects and investments in India by Japan over a 5-year period. The current visit seems to give a broad break-up of that figure that includes \$12 billion for HSR, \$12 billion for Make-in-India Fund, \$5 billion under ODA and \$5 billion for Chennai-Bengaluru industrial corridor.

India and Japan have a long history of cultural relations,

manifested in the shared heritage of Buddhism. Zen is derived from the Sanskrit word *Dhyana* meaning meditation. It is only appropriate that the two ancient cities of Kyoto and Varanasi are aptly partnered and PM Modi accompanied PM Abe to Varanasi and participated in *Ganga Aarti*, reciprocating Abe’s gesture of escorting him to Kyoto in the last summit in Japan. Japan will play a role in rejuvenation of Ganga and Varanasi.

There has been some comment in the media that the current upsurge in India-Japan relations are motivated by security concerns arising from China’s rise. Such observations seem to ignore the reality that India is known to pursue an independent foreign policy in pursuit of its national interests and principles. India is against joining any bloc or group. This is an unstated constant in India’s engagement with the world. So the speculation and debate to see anti-Chinese undertones beneath Indo-Japanese relations is misplaced.

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

# Whose Idea of India is it anyway?

✍ Parag Amalnerker

India's journey post-independence needs an objective analysis for any meaningful view on the "Idea of India"

The idea of America has been built upon the innate belief of Americans for Freedom and Liberty. This does need to be looked at in the context of slavery that existed in past though. The idea of Britain from the 1800's grew into one of building an empire with an undercurrent of racial superiority.

While every country is entitled to their Idea, India sadly was held hostage to Congress's idea(s) of India over the decades. The pattern was never designed to unshackle India to let it achieve its potential greatness but subvert it to propagate the self-serving dynasty. It would not be far-fetched to say that the Idea of India has been shackled for over five decades, which in many ways is an almost irreparable time loss.

**Let's deconstruct the attributes of the Idea of India painted so far:**

## **Socialism:**

The world ideally expected India to rise to the occasion post-Independence but Nehru's please all ambivalence bereft of a long term vision chose to set-up the Planning

Commission on the lines of the Gosplan of the Soviet Union. He would also imitate the Soviet Union by drawing up Five Year Plans. At the time of



drafting the first Five Year Plan, Nehru was ambivalent and talked of a mixed economy that would accommodate the private sector.

However, as his power grew, he imposed controls on the press while progressively decreasing the economic freedoms of the people. As a result, the voices of dissent got muffled, and even some opponents of socialism, who were Nehru's colleagues, defended the nationalization of industries in order to be in Nehru's good books.

## **Foreign Policy:**

Instead of recognizing it as an instrument of furthering National Interest, India chose to become part of an ambivalent NAM movement. India was always USSR aligned (all defense procurement then) and Pakistan was aligned to America and yet both were part of NAM. Countries with dubious human rights records like North Korea, Iran continue to be

a part of NAM. It never really did have a charter and neither did it dissuade both the superpowers then from anything that they wished to do, all it was reduced to over the years was a platform for weak and in some cases failed states to cry on each other's shoulders. Times changed, the world became unipolar and the Cold War ended.

### **Secularism:**

One must grant here that the Congress recognized the potential of the word Secular and exploited and misused it to its advantages for decades. The usage was a vitiating twist which served to create unrest. It has been used to perpetrate a certain dimension of identity politics that has tried to obstruct the growth of aspirational India and of aspirational politics. The Shah Bano case, the banning of Salman Rushdie's book are but a few examples of how the Congress party allowed this skewed sense of secularism to thrive and spread.

### **Dynasty vs. Merit:**

It is not hard to see why India could accomplish so little in spite of the wealth of talent, size and scale that it has. Mediocrity breed mediocrity and the Gandhi dynasty ensured that no independent thinking talent ever attained leadership roles. Be it the most recent revelation by Sharad Pawar in his book that Sonia never wanted an independent thinking person at the helm, be it the plight of PVNR (P.V.Narasimha Rao) who has

all but been erased even from Congress history or even now when we see the likes of Shashi Tharoor, Sachin Pilot, PC with superior acumen and pedigree genuflect to the forever in the making Rahul Gandhi. This part is important as mediocrity engulfed India as a whole where there was no premium on ideas, talent or for that matter spine.

### **Subversion of Institutions:**

The imposition of Emergency by Indira Gandhi in June 1975 actually took the mask of what was being done behind the scenes till then and continued till they were absolutely voted out in May 2014. While the Shah Commission report and all that transpired during those dark years has been in cold storage for years, institutional subversion both overt and covert has had telling consequence on India's fabric and will take years to get undone. The recent reactions to the HC squashing the appeal of Gandhi's in the National Herald case and asking them to attend the summons issued by the lower court had the Congress repeatedly saying that the PMO is behind this. Even when it is clear that the facts do not support this wild allegation, it is clear that it stems from their own history of subverting Institutions to target Individuals and establishments over decades. Modi being amongst some who were always kept on their toes by having every agency go after them repeatedly.

**Corruption:**

The list of scams that have almost become the grammar for India globally is too long to delve into here but Bofors, 2G, CWG, Antartix and Coal are clear indicators that the Congress so ably led by the Dynasty never followed transparent policy led decision making thereby vesting individual discretion with the reigns eventually leading to we know who so that India could be pilfered rupee by rupee making India's foundations weak.

**Focus on Banking- Vote "Banks":**

It is saddening to say the least that even now India's political discourse (the Gandhi's particularly) has to forever pay obeisance to these two sections – Poor and Weak! Just how do these two sections exist even after six decades of Independence in such abundance is a question that India must ask the dynasty! Keeping the poor in continued poverty by doles and not skill empowerment, keeping the minorities segregated without integration into the mainstream and creating an artificial bogey of communalism reaped dividends for decades. India actually had a "National Integration Council" set up by the Congress and yet it keeps threatening that India's unity and diversity is under imaginary and artificial threat every other day!

It was therefore overdue and critical that the PM , Modi himself sought to draw attention to the "Idea of India" during his concluding

remarks on the Constitution debate in this session of the parliament. It is imperative that we do not let self – defeating attributes of the Idea of India run unchallenged anymore. India has been deprived of much of its potential both domestically and internationally all these decades and it is time for a resurgent and visionary Idea of India to come to the fore. This Idea of India is taking shape over the last 18 months in a cohesive and visionary manner and needs all strength and support from all right thinking citizens.

India cannot be held hostage to a shallow, mediocre idea - wrapped up in scaremongering anymore.

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# Paris climate summit: an agreement for humanity

✍ Dr. Uttam K Sinha

**E**very success symbolises a new beginning. In all fairness and leaving aside some merchants of doubts and the rigid sceptics, the Paris climate agreement can be regarded as a breakthrough or as the UN secretary general described “a monumental triumph”.

Unlike the other conference of the parties (COP) to the UNFCCC agreements, the Paris agreement finely balanced ambition of aggressively reducing greenhouse gases emission and yet upholding the principle of differentiation in efforts between the rich developed and developing countries and very crucially mobilising financial resources to support the efforts for a decarbonised world. But more significantly, the agreement provides the much needed space for facilitating action to empower the poorest people and developing countries in their efforts to achieve sustainable and people-centred development. In a nutshell climate justice! Indeed in any effort to secure global justice the disempowered and the marginalised people, vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, cannot be neglected. With the world in unison, a transition to a decarbonised economy by focusing on solar, wind and hydro as well as grid integration, energy efficiency and demand management is quite achievable.

The emphasis on renewable was the hallmark of the climate summit and solar

was, in a sense, the “game-changer”. Taking the initiative and seizing the opportunity,



**India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the international solar alliance (ISA) of over 120 countries along with the French president Francois Hollande. Calling it “the sunrise of new hope”, Modi clearly demonstrated that India is ready to take on the challenges of climate with such bold approaches.**

Earlier in October, the Prime Minister took the lead by launching a group of 107 sunshine countries at the India-Africa Summit and calling them “suryaputra”. This alliance is called the International Agency for Solar Policy and Application (IASPA). Taking the alliance seriously, the government has pledged to invest USD 30 million and set up the alliance headquarters in India with an eventual aim of raising USD 400 million. The power from the sun emphasised India’s own Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) action plan which outlines an increase in non-fossil based power capacity to 40 per cent by 2030. The renewable road map is ambitious yet

achievable with 175 GW by 2022 and an additional 200 GW by 2030. The solar component is 100 GW by 2022 and with the solar technology fast evolving, costs increasingly coming down and better grid connectivity, India can achieve a much higher target of solar energy.

The solar stress has made the world look at India in a new light. With 300 million people without electricity (described as energy poverty) and with vast coal resources, India's development has always posed a moral question – to pollute and develop like what the western developed countries did or to develop with responsibility. **India's renewable roadmap is a stamp of its leadership role in the climate conundrum, what Hollande described as "climate justice in action".** As a serious follower of the climate debate and a keen observer of the COP summits, I have never seen India bring so much of positivity and drive. **India has emerged as the natural leader of the solar alliance and Modi as the "clean energy enabler" as someone remarked in Paris.**

Leadership can inspire. It can equally trigger a series of responses and commitments, for example, the US and 18 other countries promised to provide USD 20 billion for clean energy research by 2020. Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook have set up the Breakthrough Energy Coalition, which will act as an investment platform for clean energy technologies. The rulers of Dubai, an oil-rich emirate, have announced USD 27 billion to set up solar panels on every rooftop in Dubai by 2030.

For long, we were clubbed as climate

deniers by the western world, painting us as the polluter. While we solidly argued our development motives and defended the 'common but differentiated responsibility' (CBDR), we now have taken the 'respective capabilities' principle soundly forward with voluntary targets and with necessary financial and technological help. The climate change issue and the NDA government's position is not a partisan one but one of national consensus. This is refreshing in a rather contentious politics and a non-functioning Parliament.

The Paris agreement is a great example on how to collectively deal with the intertwined challenges of climate. Foremost, to be bold and ambitious is not necessarily foolish and certainly has merit, especially when more action is required than words. By announcing that the world will aim to limit global temperature rise to "below 1.5 C" from the earlier internationally accepted 2C, was uniquely pathbreaking. For long, scientists have voiced that the 2C was a politically convenient target with no great drive to counter the rising temperature. It was being viewed as almost inevitable and that the world would have to simply learn to adapt with the changing climate. Now with the ambitious aim of 1.5C, the global desire brings in the need for greater differentiation between the developed and developing countries with the former having to take more emissions cut and to help developing countries in supporting financial and technological resources to achieve the target.

The Paris agreement ties together ambition, differentiation and finance in inseparable ways – triumvirate so to speak. This is how the climate roadmap largely will be defined and its success and failure will

depend on the tightness of the triumvirate. The final text of the Paris agreement after days and long hours of negotiations is a triumph of the Indian negotiators and the Ministry of Environment and Forests and Climate Change (MoEF).

It is important to note that for the first time in COP summits, India set up a pavilion highlighting the climate issues, the actions towards meeting the challenges as well as India's *parampara* of climate friendly sustainable practices. Interestingly, the India pavilion was next to Germany which said, "Below 2C – together we'll make it". Quite a coincidence given that India-German collaboration on cleaning rivers and on renewable will be critical.

Integrated coastal management was another significant highlight. With a coastline of 7500-km, with about 1300 islands and about 25 per cent of the population living along the coast, sea level rise and its impact on coastal ecosystem are a huge challenge for India. Importantly, the Sunderban ecosystem shared between India and Bangladesh was discussed and the Indian minister for environment and forests Prakash Javadekar showing fine climate diplomacy reached out to the Bangladesh environment minister Anwar Hossain Manju and invited him to the Indian pavilion to share the Sunderban experience with both emphasising on joint management and cooperation of the shared ecosystem. The Bangladesh minister's observation on the greatness of India's democracy and the lessons that the neighbouring countries can learn was not just customary but reflected the goodwill that Bangladesh has towards India and the willingness to cooperate on

critical issues. This side-event, one of the many such events facilitated by the MoEF, carried forward the 2011 MoU on Sunderban signed between India and Bangladesh. It is now hoped that the Sunderban mangrove forest with its huge carbon absorption capacity will gain the necessary policy traction and can lead to better management of this very vulnerable ecosystem.

As climate continues to change, and as actions are being forged, it is important to re-conceptualize and re-imagine regions from an ecosystem perspective. For example, South Asia should be seen as a 'riverine neighbourhood' or a 'Himalayan watershed' or a 'monsoon Asia' or a 'glacial Asia'. Such kind of conceptualisation is a departure from the conventional ways of dividing the world into political-geography to using specific ecosystem to understand regions as one organic continuum and as an organic cultural whole. Viewing seas as a great "commons" or considering Himalaya as the ultimate watershed or charting the monsoon as a rain-dependent phenomena gives us a new lens to look at the world. It is said, "Man and not nature initiates, but nature in large measures control". Ideas will thus have to meet the dictates of ecosystem.

What we also see in India's climate policy is a recall to a traditional notion of *sri-yantra* or geo-philosophy. This means a confluence of science, philosophy, spirituality, and politics to achieve peace and prosperity.

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# Bullet Train can dramatically change the face of India

✎ Siddharth Singh



Close to Rs 100,000 crore will be spent on building a high-speed railway line between Ahmedabad and Mumbai. There will be massive dividends from high-speed rail projects in terms of economic growth and employment. The criticism of this plan has been relentless by the opposition parties ever since the Bharatiya Janata Party actually laid out its intention to build a 'Diamond Quadrilateral' of high-speed railway track in its manifesto last year. Much of the criticism has been on whether the money could be better spent on developing the existing railway network in the country that is over-burdened and always on the precipice.

The development of high-speed rail networks will considerably reduce

loads of existing railway tracks which can then be deployed to haul more freight. The proposed route will be a vital start in building up the infrastructure required for a nationwide network of tracks and routes that can dramatically change the face of India.

While Japan will significantly finance the project and Japanese technology will be used for the line, there is little doubt that Japanese technology is among the best in the world when it comes to high-speed rail. The Tokaido Shinkansen line, which opened in 1964, is the world's oldest high-speed railway track, and has carried over 5.3 billion people - the most of any high-speed railway line in the world since it opened - and has an unmatched safety record. It is for

this reason that this railway line is considered as a historic mechanical engineering landmark.

Longest loan tenor, longest moratorium on repayment and lowest interest rate - these three terms define the finance extended by Japan to India for the Mumbai-Ahmedabad high speed rail in project, in context of Japan's earlier loans to India in the rail-based sector. The Japanese loan component of \$12 billion has been worked out on one of the most attractive repayment terms at almost zero per cent - 0.1 per cent to be precise -- after pretty strong negotiations for the financing, with a 15-year moratorium on a 50-year repayment period. Along with the financing deal, there also other agreements related to the transfer of knowhow. For instance, Ministry of Railways and Japan's Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport on Technological Cooperation in Rail Sector have signed agreement that establishes areas for technological cooperation including sharing of information and best practices; exchanges of officials and technicians; facilitating the participation of other institutions, organisations and ministries and conducting joint research and studies. Another agreement is related to the memorandum of understanding on technological cooperation between Research Designs and Standards Organization (RDSO) and Japan Railway Technical Research Institute (JRTRI). The memorandum proposes to cooperate in the areas of safety in

train operation; advanced techniques of maintenance; use of environment friendly technologies.

Not only will the culture of high-speed railways bring in technological and manufacturing prowess into India, it will also jump-start the infrastructure economy and provide jobs to thousands, possibly hundreds of thousands, of Indians. The Mumbai-Ahmedabad project and other subsequent ones will dovetail nicely into several other key Government schemes, particularly Make in India, Skill India and the Smart Cities initiative. In addition, once these lines are developed, they will not only lead to the obvious de-carbonisation through fewer vehicles, but also could possibly aid in the decongestion of large metropolitan areas such as Delhi and Mumbai. High-speed rail ought to provide fast, safe, and reliable transport into cities for people who could stay a couple of hundred kilometres away from their workplace.

The Modi Government has followed in the footsteps of Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee who at his time had constructed the Golden Quadrilateral project connecting the Metro cities and now the High Speed Rail network is just a step further in that direction. It's a move that has the potentially to transform India.

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# India and the Concept of Climate Justice

✍ Siddharth Singh



The idea of justice will manifest itself in the realm of international negotiations, when the global community meets in Paris at the 21st Conference of Parties (COP-21) and negotiates an agreement on climate change. The objective of this agreement would be to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in order to limit temperature increase from pre-Industrialised era (around the year 1850) to 2 degrees Celsius. The incidence of this responsibility, however, will not be equal. This is because there is recognition that those

responsible for the largest quantum of emissions are not necessarily the ones who suffer most from a changing climate, and are often better placed to deal with its consequences.

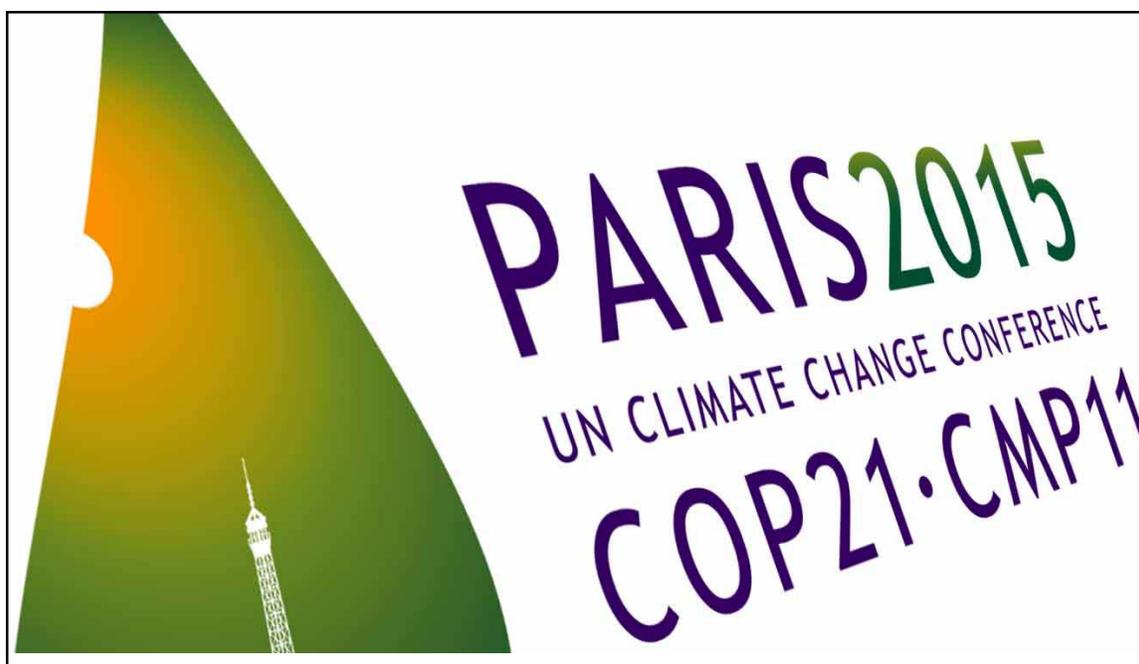
In a period of global economic slowdown, an international treaty that would curb economic activity or impose costs in the form of mandated efficiency improvements will prove to be a difficult task if not impossible. Therefore, in order to facilitate a global agreement, the approach to COP-21 has been to let individual countries provide something called 'Internally Determined National

Contributions' (INDC) to curb GHG emissions. These INDCs are voluntary pledges that governments have independently decided towards the larger goal of limiting global temperature increases.

Indian government has also submitted its INDC document on 2nd October 2015. India's INDCs are ambitious, with a goal to reduce the emissions intensity of the GDP (i.e. energy required to produce one unit of GDP) by 33%-35% by 2030 from 2005 levels, and to have non-fossil fuel sources contribute to 40% of India's electricity supply by 2030, conditional upon technology transfer and financial help from the developed nations. Further, India would create a 'carbon sink' through additional forest and tree cover.

Importantly, the subtitle of India's INDC document is 'Working Towards Climate Justice', which is an idea not

referred to at all in the INDCs of most other countries, notably United States, European Union and Japan (and China mentions it only once). This is not to say that other countries do not recognise the climate justice angle as described by the 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities' principle. Here, 'differentiated responsibilities' refers to the contribution to the climate change problem, while 'respective capability' refers to national capacities to deal with climate vulnerability. There is also a dimension of 'national circumstances', which accounts for economic and other inequalities, war and availability of resources in countries, which are all unequally distributed. Aspects of climate justice also include asymmetrical impacts on the marginalised and the poor within nations; and intergenerational



injustices, where the unsustainable consumption by older generations imposes costs on later generations.

The acceptance of varying focus on climate justice by different countries is a reflection of the stances that each nation wishes to take and the expectation it has of other countries to act. India's focus on climate justice is based its vulnerability to climate change complemented by its low per capita energy consumption and low per capita emissions.

In the coming years, India's energy demand will rise in the coming years as over 300 million Indians still do not have access to electricity in India and 380 million do not have access to modern cooking fuels such as LPG. Energy consumption will also increase as the economy grows (India's per capita income is a tenth as much as that of the United States on purchasing parity terms and less than half as much as China's).

On the other hand, in spite of larger historic responsibility, greater capacity to undertake decarbonisation, and existing high standards of living, industrialised nations have not submitted ambitious enough INDCs. Issues such as finance, technology transfer and carbon taxes have also not been appropriately addressed.

The vulnerability of fragile countries to climate change, however, necessitates bold measures, especially by nations that have the capacity to do so. Together, the global community

will have to challenge itself to ambitious emission cuts if it is to curb temperature increases to below 2 degrees Celsius. Currently, the fear among observers is that the planned emission reduction pathways will overshoot this limit, the fallout of which would be shared unequally by the global community.

It is extremely important, therefore, that while poor and developing countries including India are looking at all the sources of investment in clean energy, developed countries also chip in with supply of technology and resources to lessen the impact. The way global discourse is shaping up, it will not be a surprise if PM Modi's slogan of turning the 'climate change' talks into 'climate justice' takes centre-stage in Paris.

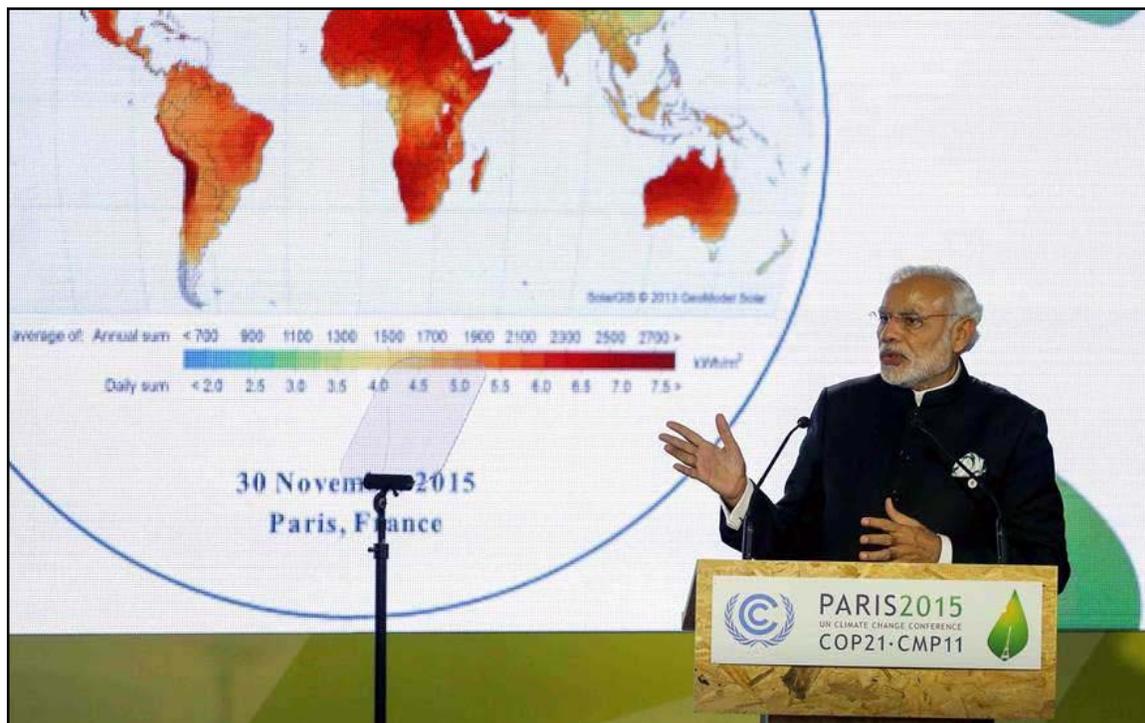
*(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate at SPMRF)*

# India takes lead in Solar Power Alliance

Prime Minister Narendra Modi along with French President François Hollande jointly launched the International Solar Alliance and pledged India's assistance of USD 30 million (Rs 199 crore) for the initiative that brings together developed and developing countries. PM Modi said that India will provide land and contribute about USD 30 million to build the Secretariat infrastructure of the initiative and support its operation for the next five years.

India has proposed an International Agency for Solar Technologies and Applications

(INSTA) to bring together nearly 125 countries rich in solar resources that lie between tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, notable from Africa and Asia, to pursue this clean, perennial and sustainable source of energy. The Alliance is likely to boost the absorption and deployment of solar power, which has already seen exponential expansion in the last five years. It is an invitation to 121 countries lying between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn, which get the most solar insolation, to make collaborative efforts to harness solar energy to generate electricity. Most of these countries are in Asia,



Africa and South America, and many of them are power deficient. By coming together to install solar power plants, these countries can drive up the demand for solar technologies manifold, in the process forcing down prices even more. Currently, the growth of solar installed capacity has been coming from very few countries. The grouping aims to raise US\$400 million from member countries and multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank, to invest in solar power research and usage, address regulatory issues, and draft universal standards.

This is an alliance that brings together developed and developing countries, governments and industries, laboratories and institutions in a common enterprise. This initiative is a sunrise of new hope -- not just for clean energy, but for villages and homes still in darkness; and for mornings and evenings filled with a clear view of the glory of the sun because as the developing world lifts billions of people into prosperity, the hope for a sustainable planet rests on a bold global initiative. The advanced countries need to leave enough carbon space for developing countries to grow and that is what natural climate justice is all about.

Another objective of the Alliance is to bring standardisation to manufacturing processes and solar technologies. If every country starts using similar products and processes, costs of manufacturing elements of solar technologies can fall

substantially. The fall in prices of solar power so far has been propelled mainly by rising demand. Analysts say prices haven't bottomed out yet. It can easily go down further. Not just by demand but by technology innovations too. We have not seen enough research and development activities happening in the solar sector as of now, especially in the developing countries for their own use.

To highlight the importance of solar energy, Modi said that in Indian tradition, Sun is the source of all forms of energy. "As Rig Veda says, Sun God is the Soul of all beings, moving and non-moving. Many in India begin their day with a prayer to the Sun. Today, when the energy sources and excesses of our industrial age have put our planet in peril, the world must turn to Sun to power our future," he said. The idea of solar alliance was mooted by Modi during the the India-Africa Forum Summit.

There is already a revolution in solar energy. Technology is evolving, costs are coming down and grid connectivity is improving. It is making the dream of universal access to clean energy has become more real. The Solar Alliance model, if it succeeds, can potentially be extended to other forms of renewable energy like wind or biogas. It can, in turn, foster south-south cooperation and bring transformational changes in providing affordable access to energy in poorer countries, and lift living standards.

*(SPMRF Desk)*

## How 'Skill India' is giving a fillip to 'Make in India'

Underscoring that there is no 'one size fits all' solution for social development, the NDA government has adopted an industry oriented agenda to boost employment and productivity in the economy. Keeping the focused approach of Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi to develop a conducive environment for business in mind, the central government has released thousands of crore rupees under various flagship programmes since April this year to impart industrial training to the youth.

According to a recent report released by National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC), India will need around 28.4 million workers in India's booming transportation, logistics, warehousing and packaging sector. Currently the sector employs over 16.74 million people, and aims to meet the stipulated target of 28.4 million employees by 2022. According to the report, this sector will have one of the highest incremental human resource requirement of 11.7 million from



2017-2022, across the 24 sectors that have been mapped for assessing incremental human resource requirement in the country.

The economy has witnessed rising investment, rapidly evolving regulatory policies, mega infrastructure projects and several other developments since the NDA government under the able leadership of Narendra Modi and it has driven the Indian logistics market overcoming infrastructure-related constraints and logistics-centric inefficiencies. The primary reason behind this growth is the thrust on important projects like dedicated freight corridors, DMIC, JLN Port Trust container terminal, and national waterways. Organised retail, e-commerce, QSR and containerisation has also witnessed a huge boost to their business.

The policy makers in finance ministry must have kept this in mind and it might have been a reason for allocating Rs 1,500 crore under the Deen Dayal Upadhyay Gramin Kaushal Yojana for skilling rural youth. The scheme has helped in penetrating the skill development deeper into the country's landscape, ie. the rural hinterland. Another Rs 1,350 crore which were allocated for National Skill Certification and Monetary Reward Scheme has gone a long way in helping those who wish to acquire a skill but need financial support. Further Rs 150 crore allocated under Kaushal Vikas Yojana is providing an essential fillip to the

Skill Development initiatives in the country.

All these measures reflect the urgency and seriousness of NDA government to nourish the talent and develop India to a manufacturing hub. Jobs and hiring in India has started shifting from 'qualification based' to 'skill based' since the skill development mission has kicked off. In recent past almost every hiring done in India used to take education and qualification as a surrogate for skill.

The attitude has changed a bit as industry is also giving a preferential treatment to those who are equipped with required skills. Even educational institutions have shifted their focus on imparting skills that lead to employability, rather than doling out certificates and degrees. All these developments are important if we want to leverage the demographic dividend, of which we will have over 850 million Indians in the working age group by 2020. This will account for 28 per cent of the global workforce. It is heartening to know that employability of youth has been emphasised by the NDA regime. The 'Skill India' program and 'National Skill Mission', are already helping youth become employable. Additional funds for MNREGA and initiatives like 'Make in India' will provide a platform for employing this skilled workforce.

*(SPMRF Desk)*

## Modi Government's DELP scheme: Lightening the LED way

Power minister Piyush Goyal's Domestic Efficient Lighting Programme (DELP) is possibly the most effective government scheme in recent times, and in the shortest possible time-frame. DELP was launched by the Prime Minister on January 15 and, within a period of 10 months, 3.1 crore LED bulbs have been distributed by a public sector firm in six states, as a result of which 1,042 MW of peak power demand has been avoided, 9,064 tonnes of carbon dioxide emissions reduced every day (3.3 million tonnes a year) and consumers are saving Rs 4.4 crore every day (Rs 1,600 crore a year). Once the scheme is fully rolled out across 100 cities, it hopes to replace 77 crore regular light bulbs, by which time this would have resulted in a saving of 20,000 MW load – that's around a tenth of India's connected load – along with a reduction of around 80 million tonnes of carbon emissions each year; consumer savings, at that point, will be a whopping Rs 40,000 crore per year. Most important, as a result of the government launching such an ambitious scheme and the state governments buying into it, there has been a dramatic reduction in costs of LED bulbs from an unaffordable Rs 350

apiece last year to around Rs 75 today.

Another very good example of how the government is using its powers of bulk purchases to dramatically drive down costs is what's happened to cement. When highways minister Nitin Gadkari first spoke of constructing concrete highways, most rubbished this as too

expensive and, in fact, cement prices started rising in anticipation of the increased demand. The government, however, decided to create a portal for purchasing cement and, in the process, managed to convince producers that they would

benefit by lowering prices. With poor off take for cement and capacity utilisation at most plants low, a total of 37 cement manufacturers have committed to selling the government 9.5 million tonnes at a price of Rs 120-140 per bag as compared to Rs 300 or so at the time Gadkari first announced the construction of concrete roads. The same exercise is now being replicated for steel. These schemes clearly show that when the government wants, it can play the role of a catalyst in promoting and pushing necessary changes quickly.

*SPMRF Desk*

**PM Shri Narendra Modi's Initiative has changed the way India is lit**  
All incandescent bulbs and CFLs to be replaced with energy efficient LEDs in 3 years

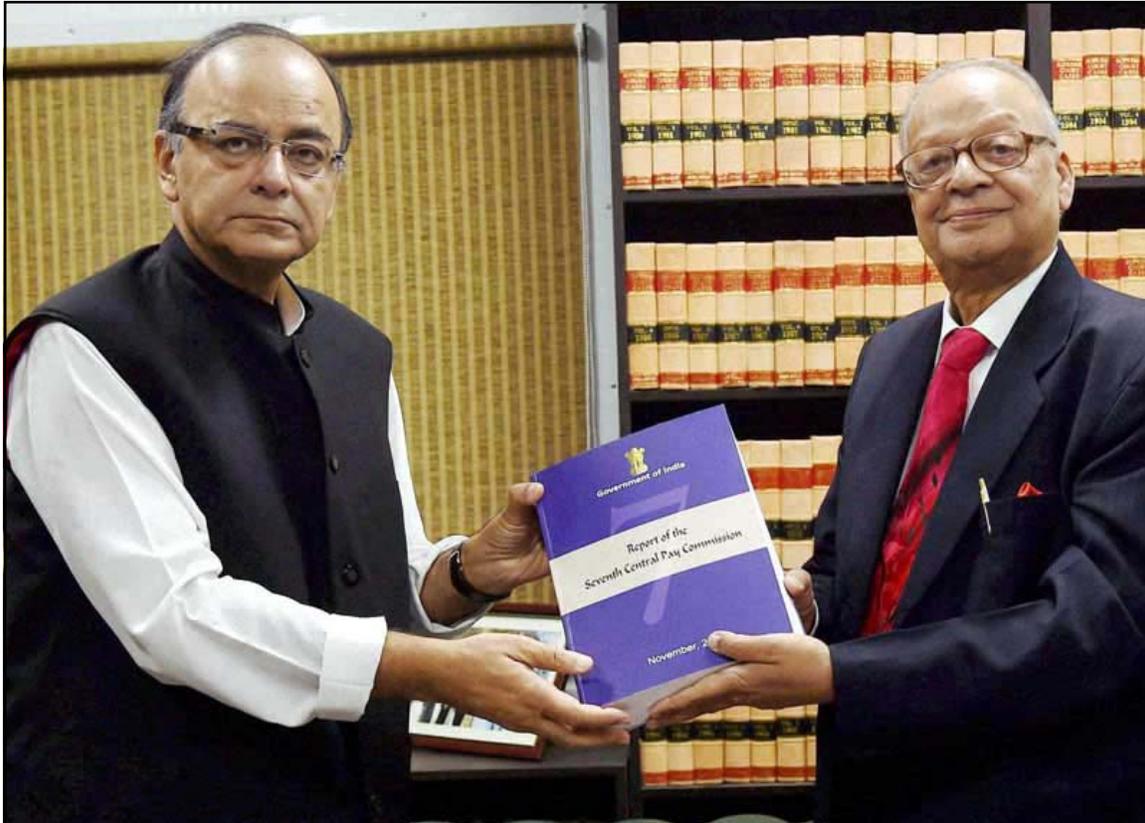
Domestic Efficient Lighting Programme (DELP)	StreetLight National Lighting Programme (SLNP)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Target: Replace 77 crore bulbs with LEDs</li> <li>Already replaced about 3 crore bulbs</li> <li>LED procurement price reduced from Rs. 310 to Rs. 73 while improving wattage from 7W to 9W</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Target: Replace 3.5 crore streetlights</li> <li>Already replaced more than 4.5 lakh streetlights</li> </ul>

**Benefits:**

- Reduce peak-load demand by 22.5 GW
- Save 11,400 crore units of electricity worth Rs. 45,000 crore annually
- Reduction of 85 million tons in CO2 emissions every year

www.iledtheway.in | www.delp.in

## Highlights of Recommendations of Seventh Central Pay Commission



**Recommended Date of implementation:** 01.01.2016

**Minimum Pay:** Based on the Aykroyd formula, the minimum pay in government is recommended to be set at Rs 18,000 per month.

**Maximum Pay:** Rs 2,25,000 per month for Apex Scale and Rs 2,50,000 per month for Cabinet Secretary and others presently at the same pay level.

**Financial Implications:**

The total financial impact in the FY 2016-17 is likely to be Rs 1,02,100 crore, of this, the increase in pay would be Rs 39,100 crore, increase in allowances would be Rs 29,300 crore and increase in pension would be Rs 33,700 crore.

Out of the total financial impact of Rs 1,02,100 crore, Rs 73,650 crore will be borne by the General Budget and Rs 28,450 crore by the Railway Budget.

In percentage terms the overall increase in pay & allowances and pensions will be 23.55 percent. Within this, the increase in pay will be 16 percent, increase in allowances will be 63 percent, and increase in pension would be 24 percent.

*SPMRF Desk*

# Accessible India Campaign



The Central government recently launched the “Accessible India Campaign” (*Sugamya Bharat Abhiyan*) which seeks to make at least 50 percent of all government buildings in the national capital and all state capitals “fully accessible” for the disabled by July 2018. This is an ambitious move that aims to enable persons with disabilities to gain

universal access, equal opportunity for development, independent living and participation in all aspects of life in an inclusive society. Similar deadlines have been set to make airports and railway stations accessible to the disabled.

The proposed smart cities will also have the provisions for full accessibility for person with

disabilities. All central ministries and states are making all efforts to make “*Sugamya Bharat Abhiyan*” successful. Prime Minister Modi in his message said that “we should consider replacing ‘*Viklang*’ word with ‘*Divyang*’ so as to bring about a change in the way we think about those with disabilities. The PM also added that the slogan of ‘*sabka saath, sabka vikas*’ will not reach fruition until all sections of society, including the differently-abled, are made part of it.”

Apart from Government, it is also the society’s responsibility to take up the campaign in mission mode. *Sugamya Bharat* is a right step towards inclusive society. Accessibility for persons with disability to all infrastructure and activities should be one of the parameters of our development. Mass awareness should be created about the issue of accessibility for those persons. The Accessible India Campaign envisages making all the international airports in the country and railway stations of A1, A & B categories fully accessible to the disabled by July 2016.

As per campaign drafted by Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, at least 10 percent of government owned public transport carriers in the country will be converted into fully accessible carriers for these persons by March 2018. It will also be targeted that at least 50 percent of all public documents issued by the Central Government and the State Governments meet accessibility standards for persons with disabilities

by March 2018.

The Central government has also taken a number of initiatives for the empowerment of persons with disabilities which include scholarships, separate institute for deaf and dumb persons and development of new braille language. Government has also decided to set up a special University for persons with disabilities with the cost of Rs 1,700 crore. It will start functioning with next academic year. A web portal and mobile application for creating a crowd-sourcing platform to get information about inaccessible areas was also launched on the occasion.

## National Herald Case: Sonia and Rahul Gandhi should fight it in the court not in Parliament

The word 'vendetta' replaced the word 'intolerance' in the last month and Congress continued its regressive politics of disrupting Parliament through one-way or other. There certainly seems to be an effort underway by Congress to hide facts and drag the attention of people of the country in the other way after the Delhi High Court dismissed pleas to quash the summons of seven individuals including Sonia and Rahul Gandhi accused in the National Herald case. The matter, as has been repeatedly pointed out, is a "routine judicial action where the government has no role". Petitioner Subramanian Swamy maybe a member of the BJP, but he seeks to bring the Gandhis and others to trial in his individual capacity. In any case the entire process was initiated in 2012, when Dr. Swamy was not a member of the BJP.

Earlier, Congress had also wasted the entire monsoon session of Parliament since it believes only in the benefits of Nehru-Gandhi family and not that of the nation and now the winter session of the Parliament is going to be whitewashed because of Congress anti-development agenda. Crores of rupees were wasted since the Congress did not let the Parliament function. The GST bill could not be

passed and MPs were not able to ask questions. This clearly reflects that the Congress does not believe in national interest. GST, which has been called the biggest tax reform post-Independence by the government, proposes to create a uniform tax rate across the country by subsuming excise, service tax and other local levies. The Constitution Amendment Bill on GST is still awaiting the nod of Rajya Sabha, which could hardly transact any business this session.

Although at the starting of the winter session, PM Modi had a '*Chai pe Charcha*' with Manmohan Singh and Sonia Gandhi to talk and smoothen things out for the passage of key Bills like the goods and services tax in Parliament. At the end of the day, it is about a judicial process where the law applies to everyone. The Congress party will have to convince judges, not anyone else, even if the case involves those individuals around which the whole party revolves.

*SPMRF Desk*

# Formulating the New Education Policy

✍ Smriti Zubin Irani

**A** collaborative, multi-stakeholder approach to national policy formulation

On January 26th 2015, the Ministry of Human Resource Development initiated the process of formulating the New Education Policy (NEP) to meet the changing dynamics of the population's requirements with regard to quality education, innovation and research, aiming to making India a knowledge superpower by equipping its students with the necessary skills and knowledge and to eliminate the shortage of manpower in science, technology, academics and industry.

Unlike the past where the consultative processes have depended on a top-down approach which involved a few experts, the current NEP consultations is undertaking an extensive, time-bound, participatory bottom-up approach.

Celebrating the true spirit of democracy, citizens, parents, teachers, administrators, field practitioners, industry, academicians and experts, from across the country, have been invited to actively engage in the policy development process. 33 themes have been identified to ensure focused deliberations. The Government's citizen engagement platform, MyGov, has played a critical role in enabling

the inclusive consultations.

In February, earlier this year, I convened a meeting of representatives of various ministries of



the Government of India, inviting suggestions for devising curriculum from their perspective as well as providing inputs in terms of employability and manpower requirements. In March, consultations were held with state education ministers and state education secretaries to discuss the consultation process for the formulation of the NEP, in New Delhi. The NEP consultations were also extensively discussed during the CIBE meeting in August. This was followed by six zonal meetings in September- October which were attended by Education Ministers and officials of the respective States/ UTs. I have also had the opportunity to directly interact with district collectors and sarpanches across the Nation through video conference.

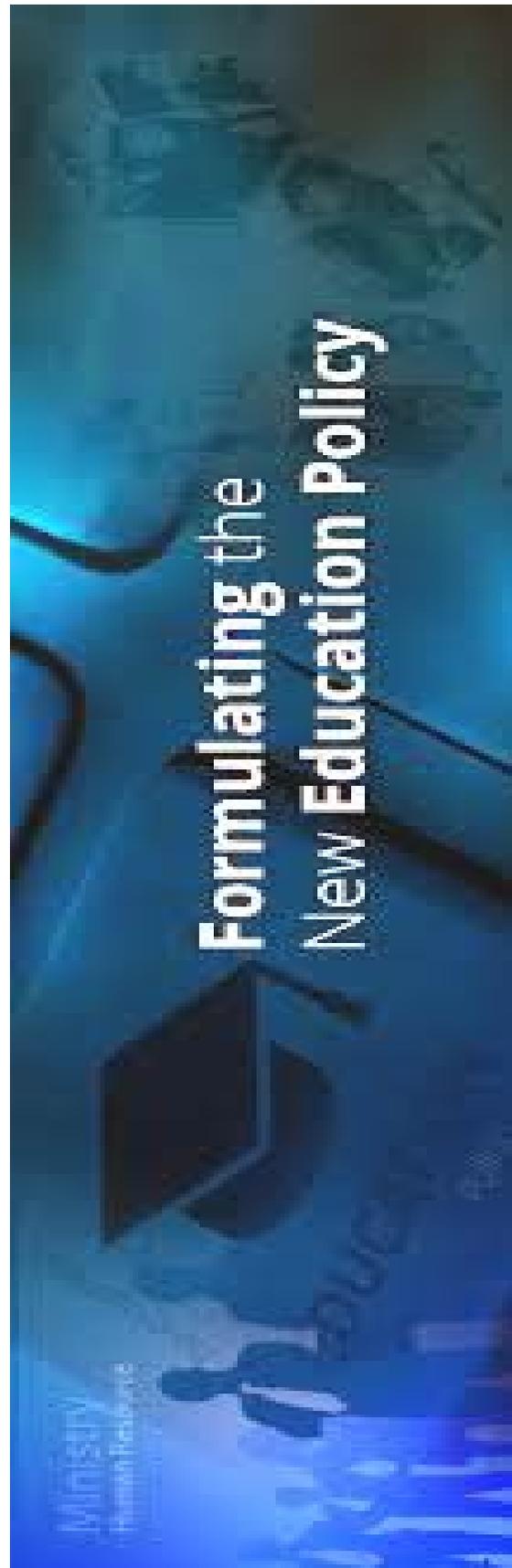
Additionally, various central and state institutions, including UGC, AICTE, Association of Indian

Universities (AIU), NCERT, CBSE, the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS)-Shimla, Indira Gandhi Open University, Maulana Azad National Urdu University- Hyderabad, Central University of Gujarat, NLMA, Central University of Rajasthan, NUEPA, Central University of Sikkim and National Council for Teach Education, have held national thematic workshops.

The extensive grassroots consultations, which included deliberations by village education committees across 2.5 lakh gram panchayats along with multi-stakeholder meetings in blocks, districts and urban bodies/ municipalities, commenced in June 2015. Parents, students, teachers, elected officials, administrators, members of civil society and citizens have actively participated in these meetings, which addressed issues across the 33 themes. Based on the consultation reports, State teams have held state consultations and are in the final stages of submitting their reports to the Centre.

The team at MyGov has created an online consultation module, which enabled the upload of reports/ recommendation after each consultative meeting. I am happy to report that as on 26th November 2015, 1,00,421 villages, 5155 blocks, 1201 ULBs, 573 districts and 11 states have already uploaded their recommendations on their aspirations for education in our country.

To further support offline



consultations, online comments and suggestions were invited across platforms. Over 29000 citizens have submitted recommendations on MyGov.in. Field practitioners have participated in the online consultation process through UN Solutions Exchange (a knowledge management initiative of the UN). Over 15000 students have submitted their suggestions on education in India through CBSE's portal. Further, UNESCO and the Mahatma Gandhi Institute for Education for Peace, Sustainable Development has undertaken a youth survey on the National Education Policy.

The mammoth task of engaging with citizens from all corners of the country has required cooperation and coordination across all political parties, state governments, civil society members and institutions. State Education Ministers, state education secretaries and district Collectors are leading the efforts in their jurisdictions. In addition, 2.5+ lakh executive officers of local bodies are also directly involved in the process.

Technology has played a critical role in streamlining the process and ensuring transparency. In fact, the logo, slogan, and tagline for the NEP were finalised through an online competition on MyGov. In order to facilitate continued engagement with citizens, a dedicated website has been launched for the NEP, as a one stop portal for all information related to the consultations. To provide full

technical support, the consultations have leveraged state information officers (SIOs) from all 36 States/ UTs as well as the district information officers (DIOs) from all 650+ districts in India.

Currently, the Committee for Evolution of the New Education Policy, which includes Shri T.S.R. Subramanian, Former Cabinet Secretary (Chairman); Smt. Shailaja Chandra, former Chief Secretary, NCT of Delhi; Shri Sevaram Sharma, former Home Secretary, NCT of Delhi; Shri Sudhir Mankad, former Chief Secretary, Gujarat, and Prof. JS Rajput, former Director, NCERT, is in the process of drafting the National Education Policy along with a Framework for Action (FFA). The National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), New Delhi will assist the Committee, and perform the functions of a Secretariat to the Committee.

For the first time in independent India, citizens have been given the opportunity to actively participate in formulating a national policy along with experts. It is my conviction that only when the National Education Policy reflects the aspirations of all our citizens, will India be able to become a true knowledge super power.

*Smriti Zubin Irani is Union Minister  
for Human Resource Development,  
Government of India*

*Courtesy: Editorial on blog.mygov.in  
Date: 29 Nov 2015*

# असहिष्णुता का हौवा

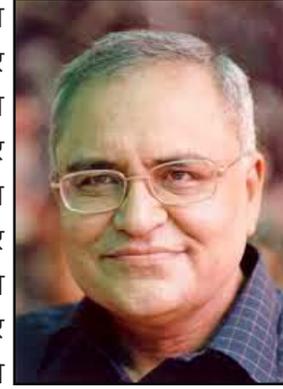
✍ बलबीर पुंज

पि छले कुछ समय से असहिष्णुता को लेकर मचाया गया प्रलाप अंततः संसद तक पहुंच गया। सदन में संविधान निर्माता बाबा साहब भीमराव अंबेडकर और संविधान पर चली दो दिनी चर्चा में विपक्षी दलों की बहस सुनकर तो लगता है कि देश में कथित असहिष्णुता का जो माहौल बना है, उसे बनाने में कहीं न कहीं भाजपा का सत्ता में आना और नरेंद्र मोदी का प्रधानमंत्री बनना जिम्मेदार है। उन्होंने और संघ परिवार ने ऐसा वातावरण बना दिया कि देश में असहिष्णुता और बहुत सारे तबकों में असुरक्षा की भावना पैदा हो गई।

संसद में सेक्युलरवाद को लेकर बहस चली। क्या संविधान बनने के 25 साल बाद संविधान में 'सेक्युलर' शब्द जोड़ने से पूर्व भारत पंथनिरपेक्ष नहीं था? भारत के संविधान में सेक्युलर शब्द जोड़ने या संविधान के किसी प्रावधान के कारण देश पंथनिरपेक्ष नहीं है। देश पंथनिरपेक्ष है तो इसका श्रेय यहां की बहुलतावादी सनातन संस्कृति को जाता है, जो 'एकं सद् विप्रारू बहुधा वदति' और 'वसुधैव कुटुंबकम्' की सहिष्णु मान्यता से ओतप्रोत है। यदि ऐसा नहीं होता तो देश के रक्तंजित विभाजन के बाद जब पाकिस्तान ने खुद को इस्लामी राष्ट्र के रूप में स्थापित कर लिया तो बहुत स्वाभाविक होता कि भारत भी एक हिंदू राष्ट्र के रूप में घोषित कर लेता।

आज सेक्युलरवाद कट्टरपंथ के पोषण और हिंदू, हिंदू संस्कृति और उसकी मान्यताओं के प्रति तिरस्कार भाव का पर्याय बन गया है। अन्यथा क्या कारण है कि किसी सार्वजनिक समारोह में दीप प्रज्वलन या किसी योजना या भवन के उद्घाटन पर नारियल फोड़े जाने को सांप्रदायिक ठहराया जाता है? क्यों राष्ट्रगान या वंदे मातरम् कहने में सांप्रदायिकता का प्रश्न खड़ा किया जाता है?

देश में फैली कथित असहिष्णुता को लेकर पिछले दिनों फिल्म जगत के शाहरुख खान और आमिर खान के बयान आए। इस कड़ी में आमिर खान ने जो कहा वह तो असहिष्णुता के नाम पर खड़े किए जा रहे हौवे की पराकाष्ठा है। आमिर खान के दो बयान आए। पहले उन्होंने कहा था, 'देश में असुरक्षा का भाव है। मेरी पत्नी अखबार खोलते हुए डरती है। उसने मुझसे पूछा कि क्या हम यह देश छोड़कर कहीं और नहीं जा सकते?' उसके दूसरे दिन उन्होंने कहा कि उन्हें देश पर गर्व है।



किंतु मैं अपने पहले के बयान के एक-एक शब्द पर कायम हूँ। आमिर खान उस देश पर कैसे गर्व कर सकते हैं, जिसमें उनकी पत्नी और बच्चे इतने असुरक्षित हैं? आमिर खान पब्लिक पर्सनलिटि हैं, इसलिए उन्हें दो टूक बताना होगा कि वे पहले दिन सच बोल रहे थे या दूसरे दिन झूठ बोल रहे थे। दोनों बयानों में अंतरविरोध है, सुधी पाठक निष्कर्ष निकाल सकते हैं।

अभी केरल की एक महिला पत्रकार ने फेसबुक पर इसका खुलासा किया कि मदरसों में मौलवी बच्चों का यौन शोषण करते हैं। उसका फेसबुक खाता बंद किया गया और अब उसे जान से मारने की धमकी मिल रही है। कुछ समय पूर्व केरल में एक ईसाई प्रोफेसर का हाथ जिहादियों ने बर्बरतापूर्वक काट डाला था, क्योंकि उसने प्रश्नपत्र पर पैगंबर साहब पर भी एक प्रश्न सेट करने का दुस्साहस किया था।

दिल्ली स्थित जवाहर लाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय

में एक हिंदू लड़के को अपने छात्रवास के कमरे में अपने जन्मदिन पर पूजा कराने के कारण वार्डन की प्रताड़ना का शिकार होना पड़ा। रमजान के दिनों में अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के छात्रवास में रहने वाले गैर मुस्लिम छात्रों के खानपान पर समय की पाबंदी लग जाती है।

पश्चिम बंगाल के मटियाबुर्ज में मदरसा चलाने वाले काजी मासूम अख्तर ने अपने छात्रों से प्रतिदिन क्लास प्रारंभ होने से पूर्व राष्ट्रगान गाने को कहा था। विगत अप्रैल माह में कट्टरपंथियों ने उन पर जान लेवा हमला किया था। पुलिस ने सुरक्षा देने से मना कर दिया। भय से वे अब तक मदरसा नहीं जा पा रहे। तस्लीमा नसरीन को देश में शरण न देना, रातोंरात उन्हें पश्चिम बंगाल से बोरियाबिस्तरा बांध तड़ी पार कराने में कौन सी सहिष्णुता थी? खान बंधुओं को ऐसे मामलों में असहिष्णुता क्यों नहीं दिखती?

असुरक्षा क्या होती है, यह उन हिंदुओं से पूछना चाहिए जिन्होंने मुसलमान सुल्तानों और मुगल बादशाह औरंगजेब से लेकर टीपू सुल्तान तक का बर्बर राज देखा है। उन हिंदुओं से पूछिए, जो देश के रक्तरंजित विभाजन के बाद पाकिस्तान में रह गए थे। तब वहां हिंदू-सिखों की आबादी 24 प्रतिशत थी। आज उनकी आबादी एक प्रतिशत से भी कम है। बांग्लादेश जब बना तब वहां हिंदू-सिखों की आबादी 30 प्रतिशत के करीब थी। अब उनकी संख्या 7 से 8 प्रतिशत के बीच है।

बाकी कहां गए? मजहबी कट्टरता के कारण वे वहां न तो अपनी पहचान बचा पाए और न ही अपने आप को। उन कश्मीरी पंडितों से पूछिए, जिनकी नब्बे के दशक से पूर्व घाटी में करीब पांच लाख आबादी थी। आज वे अपने ही देश के अन्य हिस्सों में शरणार्थियों की तरह दोयम दर्जे की जिंदगी जीने को अभिषप्त हैं। सन् 1993 और 2008 में मुंबई की सड़कें निरपराधों की लाशों से लाल हुईं। आमिर खान और उनकी पत्नी को तब असुरक्षा का माहौल क्यों नहीं नजर आया? अमेरिका और अन्य पश्चिमी देशों को लोकतंत्र और सहिष्णुता का पर्याय माना जाता है। नागरिक अधिकारों के

मामले में उन्हें आदर्श बताया जाता है।

फिर उन पर आतंकी हमला करने वाले किससे प्रेरित हैं, सेक्युलरिस्ट इसका जवाब दें। इस प्रश्न का उत्तर लंदन में 2005 में हुए हमले के बाद कराए गए एक सर्वे में निहित है। उक्त सर्वे में 45 प्रतिशत मुसलमानों ने अमेरिका में 11 सितंबर के आतंकी हमले को अमेरिका व इजरायल की साजिश बताया था। लंदन के हमले को चार में से एक ने उचित बताया। जब उनसे पूछा गया कि क्या ब्रिटेन उनका देश है तो चार में से एक ने ही हां कहा।

35 प्रतिशत मुसलमान ब्रिटिश कानून की जगह शरीआ कानून के अंतर्गत रहना चाहते हैं। 75 प्रतिशत ने पैगंबर साहब के काटरून बनाने वालों को कठोरतम सजा देने और बहुतों ने मौत की सजा की मांग की। यह है कट्टरपंथी इस्लामी मानस। सेक्युलरिस्ट पैगंबर साहब का काटरून बनाने वालों के खिलाफ संसद में निंदा प्रस्ताव तो पारित करते हैं, किंतु हिंदू देवी-देवताओं का नग्न चित्रण करने वाले एमएफ हुसैन के मामले में अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का प्रश्न खड़ा करते हैं। यही सेक्युलरवाद है?

आमिर खान से पूछना चाहिए कि दुनिया में कौन सा देश सहिष्णुता की प्रतिमूर्ति है, जहां वे परिवार समेत पूर्ण सुरक्षा के माहौल में बसना चाहेंगे? दुनिया में मजहब के नाम पर जो जहर फैला है, वह सही मायनों में असहिष्णुता का पर्याय है। प्रश्न यह भी है कि जहां मुस्लिम बहुसंख्या में है वहां भी आपस में मारकाट क्यों मची है? आतंकवाद के कारणों का विश्लेषण करने वाले विषेज्ञों के अनुसार आतंकवाद प्रताड़ित किए जाने के सही या काल्पनिक भय, असुरक्षा के भाव, किसी करिश्माई व्यक्तित्व से मुक्ति मिलने की चाह और वैचारिक विष से जनित है। खान बंधुओं का अपना व्यक्तित्व है, किंतु अपनी छवि का बेजा उपयोग कर क्या वे समाज के एक वर्ग में काल्पनिक भय का हौवा नहीं खड़ा कर रहे?

*(लेखक बलबीर पुंज भाजपा के राज्यसभा सदस्य रह चुके हैं)*

*Courtesy: Dainik Jagaran, Date: 01 Dec 2015*

# NITI Ayog – The Story so far and the Way Ahead

✍ Bibek Debroy

**N**ITI (National Institution for Transforming India) was formally set up on 1st January 2015, a few months after the rest of government. What does NITI do? What is NITI going to do? The second is a better question, because some strands of NITI's work will fall into place from 2016-17, not before. 2015-16 has been a year of transition. The 14th Finance Commission submitted its Report in December 2014. However, because the Report needed to be placed before Parliament first, when many States formulated their respective Budgets for 2015-16 they didn't factor in the recommendations of the 14th Finance Commission. Constitutionally, the only organ responsible for fiscal devolution to States is the Finance Commission. However, the mandate of the Finance Commission was diluted in the 1970s and the Plan versus non-Plan distinction came into existence. Plan transfers were routed through the historical Planning Commission. In addition, the Planning Commission designed templates for centrally sponsored schemes (CSS-s) and these increased in importance since the late-1960s. Legitimately, State governments complained about rigid templates of CSS-s, for which, they also had to provide matching grants. The 14th Finance Commission abolished the Plan versus non-Plan distinction and increases untied devolution from the divisible pool to States

to 42%.

There may still be additional Union government funding (even 100%) and CSS-s for schemes that possess national importance. Who decides what these



schemes are? It would have been easy for PMO, North Block or Niti Aayog to decide their contours. But that would have gone against the concept of federalism. Therefore, sub-groups of Chief Ministers were set up by Niti's Governing Council on CSS-s, the Swacch Bharat Mission and skill development. Their reports have only become recently available. In the interim, for 2015-16, devolution from the Union government couldn't stop. What has been done in 2015-16 is therefore a temporary measure, to be overtaken by the recommendations of the sub-groups. That's the reason 2015-16 was an year of uncertainty, triggered partly by the fact that the 14th Finance Commission, which recommended such a major institutional change, did not allow for a transitory mechanism.

A large part of Niti's mandate is the evaluation of public expenditure schemes, the examination of delivery and the linking of these schemes with tangible improvements in outcomes, difficult though this may be for social sectors, especially

health. One can't very well do this until one knows what these schemes are, whether funded (partly or wholly) by Union government, or whether funded by schemes States devise out of untied funds. That's the reason I said Niti's work will come into its own only from 2016-17.

This is also true of Niti's function as a repository of best practices in States. Several States have done interesting things in delivery, worthy of dissemination and replication. From next year, Niti will take stock of these. It will also take stock of data, which will give an idea of base-line indicators, on the basis of which, outcome improvements can be measured. We have already chosen a set of around 50 indicators, clustered under heads like education (school), health, roads, water, electricity and mobile penetration. We are building this district upwards, though as a terminal goal, there is an intention to take this down to blocks, if not villages. The historical Planning Commission was also a source of data. For instance, where else will you get data on social sectors in one place? Now that we have SDGs, as successor to MDGs, which organ of government will gauge improvements in these? That devolves on Niti. For some indicators, there are problems with quality of data. In other instances, data are very difficult to get. As an example, for roads, we have ready data for national highways and even PMGSY. But you have no idea how difficult it is to get data on district roads. On Monday, 30th November 2015, Niti has organized a conference of Chief Secretaries of States, to see how these ideas can be taken forward.

Niti is also a think tank, though different

people mean different things when they use this expression. It is not a think tank that dabbles in the abstract and the esoteric. It is interested in policy and suggesting better policy options, with networking with other such organization, including those that are outside government. But for this, Niti has to acquire some in-house expertise. Not many people know that the number of positions in Niti has been slashed from around 1250 in the former Planning Commission to around 600. These are positions, with vacancies. Niti doesn't begin to function only because there is a Vice Chairman and three members. We are gradually advertising for these positions (they won't only be filled from within government). Part of the think tank role is when issues are referred to you by government. That has started to occur, but will necessarily be in the private domain, not made public. The remaining part of the think tank role is when Niti picks up issues, suo motu, through a series of Working Papers. That's going to happen as soon as we have people and in-house expertise. There are two verticals within Niti, so to speak. One is the link with States, much more active than with the former Planning Commission. That's called the Team India initiative. The other is the think tank role, called the Knowledge Hub initiative.

Much of what I have said is already there on our website. Unfortunately, people often begin to judge an organization without bothering to check information that is already in the public domain.

*(Bibek Debroy is a veteran economist and Member NITI Ayog.)*

*Courtesy: blog.mygov.in, 28 Nov 2015*

## Modi's Singapore visit has laid the foundation of a modernisation-centred strategic partnership

✍ Siddharth Singh

The special status that Narendra Modi places on Lee Kuan Yew as leader of an Asian nation made his second visit as Indian prime minister to Singapore special. In March this year, PM Modi had attended Lee's funeral and described him as a "lion among leaders" and "a global thinker who saw things ahead of others".

The admiration which Modi has for Lee was built over earlier encounters when the former was Gujarat chief minister and the latter was minister mentor of Singapore.

Like the founder of Singapore, who perfected the art of conducting foreign policy that would contribute greatly to Singapore's economic benefit, Modi, too, is spearheading India's external relations to make the outside environment as conducive as possible to resolve India's internal bottlenecks.

Singapore is a pivotal partner not just for India's 'Act East' policy but, in a larger sense, a motor of India's ascent. PM Modi is a firm believer in transfer of capital, knowhow and best practices from around the world, which can then be adapted to Indian

conditions. He emphasized on the two important aspects of the 'strategic partnership' – smart cities and skill development – during his visit.

Singapore has already designed the master-plan for the development of the new Andhra Pradesh capital Amaravathi. During his visit to Singapore, PM Modi tried to extend

public policy cooperation to remake the face of urban India. His tour of Singapore's Institute of Technical Education (ITE) was to concretise

its contribution to the 'Skill India' programme of equipping youth from socio-economically underprivileged backgrounds with vocational knowledge for self-employment.

Indian chambers of commerce have identified science and technology as well as education as two sectors where there is vast potential for Singapore to invest in India. In his entire visit, PM Modi's developmental agenda aimed to tap Singapore's leading attributes in these fields.

Until 2005, Singapore accounted for only 3% of FDI entering India.



Today, that figure has gone up to 10% and Singapore is the second-largest investor in India. Indian companies have also made a beeline to open offices in Singapore thanks to its tax-friendly environment and its unparalleled advantage of hosting other global corporations which are based in the city-state.

PM Modi's stated ambition is to scale up investment and trade, capitalising on Singapore's unique attribute as a hub for payments, logistics and trans-shipment of Indian exports to the ASEAN region. One of the high-profile events which was scheduled during PM Modi's Singapore visit was his address to the Indian community at the Singapore Expo Centre.

Indian Singaporeans, a majority of them being Tamils, comprise 9% of the population and have often overachieved in terms of representation in government and parliament in the Lion City. PM Modi not only tried to reconnect them to India's economic growth saga but also to recognise and strengthen their positions as positive influences in Singaporean society.

PM Modi while delivering the Shangrila lecture in Singapore said that oceans, space and cyber world should not become "new theatres of contests" but be the avenues of "shared prosperity" and offered to work in this direction. He talked about how India and China have kept their border region peaceful and stable

despite the "unresolved issues", including the boundary question between the two countries. The statement is significant as tensions are growing over South China Sea with the US now getting involved and China warning it to keep away.

Singapore is a nation that has become a metaphor for reality of dreams. The lack of resources is no constraint for inspiration, imagination and innovation. Singapore's success has become an aspiration for Indians and, in turn, India has also been as the hope for a more peaceful, balanced and stable world.

Noting that India and Singapore have been together at many crossroads of time, PM Modi said, "We stood together at the dawn of freedom...Singapore's success has become India's springboard to the world and gateway to the East. We have comprehensive defence and security cooperation. Singapore is the biggest investment source." Starting from the first IT park in Bengaluru, the partnership has now moved to the newest city of Amaravathi, the new capital of Andhra Pradesh.

With defence cooperation, especially in the maritime and counter-terrorism realms, also being upgraded, it is not an exaggeration to claim that PM Modi has laid the foundation for a robust, modernisation-centred strategic partnership.

*(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate  
SPMRF)*

**Electrified 56 villages in Jharkhand in  
November 2015.  
Finally, people of these villages can avail  
the benefits of power**

Sr. No.	Village	District	State
1	Tenhuniya	Deoghar	Jharkhand
2	Barutoa	Pashchimi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
3	Basdiha	Palamu	Jharkhand
4	Charain	Palamu	Jharkhand
5	Kathautia	Palamu	Jharkhand
6	Kondadih	Saraikela-Kharsawan	Jharkhand
7	Raghunidih	Kodarma	Jharkhand
8	Ugahara	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
9	Chanbaria	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
10	Bagro	Kodarma	Jharkhand
11	Mahuadohar	Kodarma	Jharkhand
12	Khotwardih	Kodarma	Jharkhand
13	Birjamu	Kodarma	Jharkhand
14	Lakhipur	Bokaro	Jharkhand
15	Chargoi	Bokaro	Jharkhand
16	Turidih	Bokaro	Jharkhand
17	Gopinathdih	Bokaro	Jharkhand
18	Liludih/Barmasia	Bokaro	Jharkhand
19	Sarboa	Bokaro	Jharkhand
20	Chapatand	Bokaro	Jharkhand
21	Biswanathdih	Bokaro	Jharkhand
22	Raja Narcha	Chatra	Jharkhand
23	Gamharia	Chatra	Jharkhand
24	Bandih	Deoghar	Jharkhand
25	Hutugdagh	Ramgarh	Jharkhand
26	Rampur	Deoghar	Jharkhand
27	Barkatni	Dhanbad	Jharkhand
28	Noudiha	Dhanbad	Jharkhand
29	Jamdiha	Dhanbad	Jharkhand
30	Rupudih	Dhanbad	Jharkhand
31	Talbehar	Dhanbad	Jharkhand

Sr. No.	Village	District	State
32	Ukama	Dhanbad	Jharkhand
33	Daldali	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
34	Boliyary	Giridih	Jharkhand
35	Kamla Singha	Giridih	Jharkhand
36	Kanadih	Giridih	Jharkhand
37	Hanila	Giridih	Jharkhand
38	Chunglo	Giridih	Jharkhand
39	Bandh	Giridih	Jharkhand
40	Bijaiya	Giridih	Jharkhand
41	Phulchi	Giridih	Jharkhand
42	Naglo	Giridih	Jharkhand
43	Haninwatand	Giridih	Jharkhand
44	Magahaia Tola	Giridih	Jharkhand
45	Kajaro	Giridih	Jharkhand
46	Batharia	Giridih	Jharkhand
47	Mahuatand	Giridih	Jharkhand
48	Banamgutu	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
49	Dobapani	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
50	Nakta	Purbi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
51	Kumirta	Pashchimi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
52	Tholko	Pashchimi Singhbhum	Jharkhand
53	Piprahi	Kodarma	Jharkhand
54	Birsodih	Kodarma	Jharkhand
55	Barahmasia	Kodarma	Jharkhand
56	Harli	Kodarma	Jharkhand

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# Boost to Make In India with significant improvement in Ease of Doing Business under NDA Govt



## Improvements registered by World Bank

- Minimum capital requirement **eliminated**
- Certificate to commence business operations **not required**
- **Single application** form for new firms
- **Online registration** for tax identification numbers (TIN)
- New electricity connection **simpler and faster**
- Getting construction permits gets **easier**
- **Online systems** for filing and paying taxes

WB Report:  
 “ If efforts are sustained over the next several years, they could lead to substantial benefits for Indian entrepreneurs—along with potential gains in economic growth and job creation.”



INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES ARE UNANIMOUS

# INDIA IS RISING



	<b>WORLD BANK</b> Maximum increase in Ease of Doing Business Ranking		<b>BRAND FINANCE</b> World's 7 <sup>th</sup> most Valued 'Nation Brand'
	<b>WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM</b> 16 places up in Global Competitiveness Index		<b>OECD</b> India poised for the highest growth in Asian Economies'
	<b>GLOBAL FINANCIAL SECRECY INDEX (FSI)</b> 45 <sup>th</sup> Rank in the list of 92 Countries in 2015		<b>MORGAN STANLEY</b> Damage of Six years reversed in One year of Modi Govt.'

## E-Platform to provide access to the Farmers across the Markets for their Produce

In order to ensure free flow of Agricultural produce from one market area to another, save producers from multiple levies of mandi charges and to ensure agro commodities for consumer at reasonable prices, the Government has drawn a time bound programme for developing

Agriculture will provide free software and help in its customization for the states. National Agriculture Market (NAM) would offer a common market places by providing real time prices on a national level to the participants of the Agri Produce eco-systems. It would create an

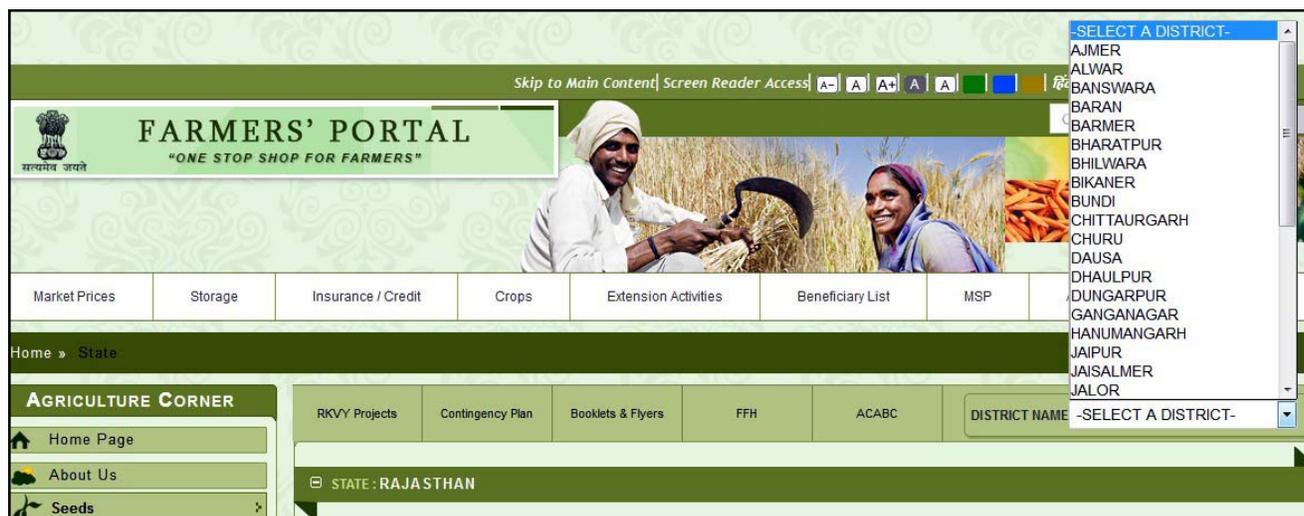


National Agriculture Market. The National e-platform developed for this proposes will cover 250 Agri mandis by September 2016 and by March 2018 total 585 mandis will have the system to ensure the farmers' access for their produce across the markets.

The Centre has also urged the state Governments to introduce an e-market platform within the state to unify mandis of the state so that farmers are free to sell in any of the mandis. Department of

efficient trading system for Agri-produce, which would enable transaction between buyers and sellers from their existing location, thus expanding the existing market and facilitating transactions in places where markets do not physically exist, over a period. A new distribution channel for procurement and sale will come into existence, which would result in better price discovery for Agri-Produce, largely benefiting the farmers.

# Ministry of Agriculture Farmer's Portal to Serve as a One Stop Shop

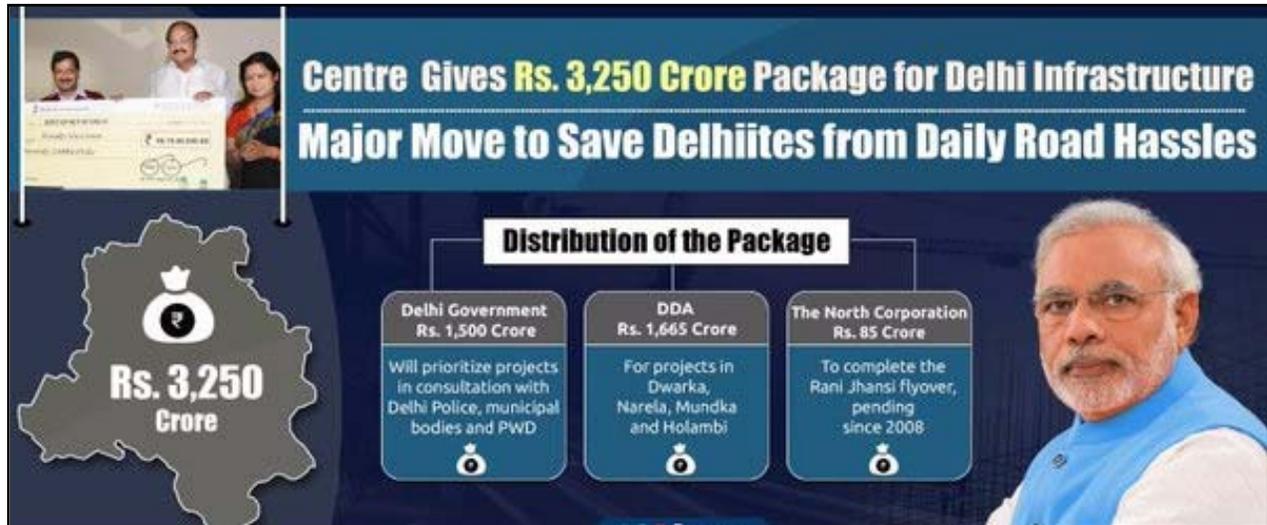


The Farmers Portal along with m-Kisan Portal aims to serve as a One Stop Shop for all the farmers for accessing information on agricultural activities. The Portal provides information about package of practices; crop and seed varieties; common pests; dealer network for seeds, fertilizers & pesticides; machinery and tools; agro-met advisories, credit & insurance, rain-fed areas etc. Both these Portals can easily be accessible from any part of the country free of cost by the farmers by visiting the Ministry's site at URL:

[www.farmer.gov.in](http://www.farmer.gov.in) and [www.mkisan.gov.in](http://www.mkisan.gov.in). Its activities are also highlighted through short discussion/interview on "DD Kisan Channel". Efforts are continuously being made to register farmers through mKisan Portal and Kisan Call Centre (KCC). Initiatives are also made to popularize this portal through advertisement in newspapers. Extension workers also put in their effort to popularize the portal among the farmers by holding meeting and workshop at different levels in the States. ■

# Ministry of Urban Development Rs.3,250 cr bonanza for decongestion and development of Delhi by Modi Government

(Additional Rs.96 cr for making Delhi clean)



Minister of Urban Development recently announced a Rs.3,250 cr special assistance for decongestion of roads and development of Delhi. Various projects to be taken up in this regard will be funded from the Urban Development Fund of the Ministry of Urban Development. This was announced by Shri Naidu after launching the intensive Swachh Delhi campaign at a programme organized by the Delhi Government. Under the package announced by the Modi Government, the Delhi Government will be provided with Rs.1,500 cr, DDA with

Rs.1,665 cr and North Municipal Corporation of Delhi with Rs.85 cr for executing various projects.

The Government of India is providing this fund to the Delhi Government for addressing different choking points through improvement of road geometry and construction of under passes and flyovers to enable traffic decongestion. The projects to be taken up by the Delhi Development Authority are:

1. Construction of 1 km long Rail Under Bridge at Holambi and Rail Over Bridge of 1.40 km length at Mundka, on Eastern Urban Road-I at a cost of Rs.615 cr;

2. Construction of 860 meter long Rail over Bridge at Narela on Urban Eastern Road-I for decongesting Outer Ring Road at a cost of Rs.400 cr;
3. Construction of 1.50 km long Tunnel near Bhagya Vihar and Meer Vihar on Urban Eastern Road-II at a cost of Rs.300 cr which helps in decongesting Outer Ring Road; and
4. Completion of the 3.50 km stretch of Dwarka Express Way between Urban Eastern Road-II and Northern Peripheral Road providing relief to the residents of Dwarka and Gurgaon by reducing travel time and decongesting NH-8.
5. North MCD will be provided with Rs.85 cr to complete balance work of construction of Grade Separator at Rani Jhansi Road that will reduce travel time from Karol Bagh to North Delhi by

about 50 minutes.

Shri Venkaiah Naidu, the Urban Development Minister, also announced sanction of Rs.96.70 cr to Delhi Government for taking up Swachh Delhi works through Municipal Bodies and handed over a cheque to Delhi Government. Since the launch of Swachh Bharat Mission in October last year, good progress has been received in respect of construction of individual household toilets, community and public toilets and solid waste management. Almost 6 lakhs individual toilets and 29,000 community and public toilets have been built till October end. 100% Door-to-door collection of solid waste is being collected in 33,301 wards out of a total of 78,000 urban wards in the country. Central government is taking up policy and regulatory measures to promote conversion of municipal solid waste into energy and compost. ■

*SPMRF Desk*

## पुस्तक समीक्षा

# सशक्त भारत के निर्माण की कल्पना : सपने जो सोने ना दे

**भारत** के बारहवें राष्ट्रपति डॉ. अबुल पाकीर जैनुलाबदीन अब्दुल कलाम का व्यक्तित्व इतना व्यापक है कि उसको किसी तय मापदंड में उतार नहीं सकते या यूं कहें कि सम्मोहक बहुपक्षीय और विलक्षण प्रतिभा के धनी है। उनका महत्त्व मिशाइल मैन से राष्ट्रपति भवन तक की यात्रा में सीमित नहीं हैं। वह बचपन से ही मानवीयता तथा आध्यात्मिकता से प्रेरित रहे। उन्होंने अपने जीवन में सपनों को साकार करने का प्रयत्न किया और सफलता ने उनका दामन नहीं छोड़ा। 'मिसाइल पुरुष' नाम से प्रख्यात डॉ. कलाम सन् 2020 तक भारत को विकसित राष्ट्र का दर्जा दिलाना चाहते हैं। इस पुस्तक में डॉ. कलाम को कई बार समीप देखने और समझने वाले उत्तराखंड के पूर्व मुखमंत्री और सांसद डॉ रमेश पोखरियल निशंक ने उनके दृष्टीकोण को रेखांकित करने की कोशिश किए हैं। डॉ. कलाम उनकी इच्छा हमेशा आकाश की ऊंचाइयों को छूने की थी, उनका जीवन वैज्ञानिकों की टीमों, देश की प्रगति और इससे इतर कभी फुँसत मिलत तो अमलतास वन तथा पक्षी अभयारण्यों के इर्द गिर्द ही सीमित था। उनकी सोच देश के हर बच्चे की मस्तिष्क को प्रज्वलित करने तथा उसका उपयोग एक उज्ज्वल भारत के निर्माण करने में निहित थी।

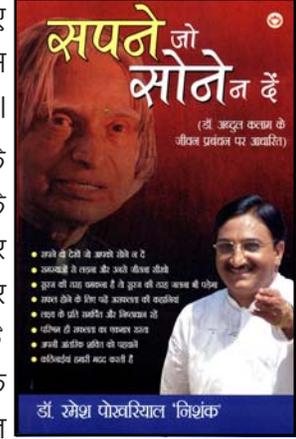
डॉ. कलाम क्या हैं कौन हैं वह सभी के प्रेम, सम्मान तथा प्रशंसा के पात्र क्यों हैं वे कौन सी बातें हैं जो उन्हें लोकप्रिय बनाती हैं कौन सी विशेषताएँ उन्हें दूसरों से भिन्न बनाती हैं यह पुस्तक इन प्रश्नों का सर्वथा सही उचित और सार्थक उत्तर देने का प्रयास करती है। यह न तो पारंपरिक अर्थों में जीवनी है न ही आलोचनात्मक विश्लेषण। इस पुस्तक में डॉ निशंक अपने उन अनुभवों और डॉ. कलाम के दृष्टीकोण का स्पष्ट

करने की कोशिश किए हैं जो उनको डॉ. कलाम के सानिध्य में प्राप्त हुआ।

यह डॉ. कलाम के व्यक्तित्व तथा जीवनी के अप्रकट पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डालती है और पाठक को उनके व्यक्तित्व के बारे में एक गहरी समझ विकसित

करने में मदद करती है इस पुस्तक के माध्यम से डॉ.कलाम का बहुपक्षीय दूरदृष्टा व्यक्तित्व प्रौद्योगिकी तथा राष्ट्र के विकास के अलावा संगीत साहित्य एवं पर्यावरण में भी रुचि रखते हैं। उनके व्यक्तित्व की जो विशेषता सबसे अधिक प्रेरक है, वह है उनकी मानवीय संवेदना। समय की महत्ता राष्ट्रपुर्निर्माण और एक सशक्त भारत की कल्पना उनके जीवन के सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहलू थे। डॉ. कलाम जीवन भर इसी के लिए जिए या यूं कहें कि अपने पूरे जीवन को राष्ट्र यज्ञ के हवनकुंड में समिधा बनाकर समर्पित कर दिया। देश के प्रति उनके मन में कितनी श्रद्धा थी इस बात का अंदाजा इसी से लगाया जा सकता है कि अपने अंतिम सम में भी वे देश के युवाओं को गढ़ कर षलिग्राम बनाने के प्रयास में थे। इस पुस्तक के माध्यम से लेखक कलाम के उसी स्वरूप को उकेरने का प्रयास किया है। डॉ.कलाम के सपनों को जानने-समझने के लिहाज से यह पुस्तक अत्यंत उपयोगी है।

**पुस्तक का नाम** : सपने जो सोने ना दे या हैं कलाम  
**लेखक** : डॉ रमेश पोखरियल निशंक  
**मूल्य** : 150  
**प्रकाशक** : डायमंड पाकेट बुक्स (प्रा)लि.  
**संस्करण** : 2016



## बाबा साहब हमारे दिलों में हमें शा अमर रहे गे: अमित शाह

(6 दिसंबर को बाबा साहब के पुण्य तिथि पर दिउ गऱु भ्राषण का मूल पाठ)



**आ** ज इस कार्यक्रम में उपस्थित भारतीय जानता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय संगठन महामंत्री श्री रामलाल जी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता एवं केन्द्रीय मंत्री श्री थावरचंद जी, एससी मोर्चा के अध्यक्ष भाई दुष्यंत गौतम जी, भाई अमीत आर्या जी, एवं इस सभागार मं उपस्थित उपस्थित भारत सरकार के मंत्री गण,सांसद गण, भाइयों और बहनों।

बाबा साहब अंबेडकर को आज उनकी 60वीं पुण्य तिथि पर समग्र राष्ट्र जब श्रद्धांजलि दे रहा है उस समय भारतीय जनता पार्टी के मुख्यालय में हम सब भी उनके प्रति श्रद्धा सुमन अर्पित करने के लिए एससी मोर्चा के तत्वाधान में यहां उपस्थित हुए हैं। मित्रों अंबेडकर जी के लिए इतनी सारी बातें भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार

की पहल से इन दिनों में हुई है। हम जब आजादी के कालखंड पर नजर डालते हैं तो अनेको चुनौतियां जो उस समय थी दृष्टीगत होती हैं। देश जब आजाद हुआ तब कई सारी चुनौतियां देश के सामने थी मगर राजनीतिक स्थितियों का आंकलन करने वाले जो पंडित होते हैं उनके मन में दो चुनौतियां प्रमुख रूप से दिखती थी एक कि अंग्रेजों का आजादी देने का जो तरीका था उसके कारण देश कई रियासतों में फिर से एक बार बंट गया था, पूरे देश के कई छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हो गए थे।

देश का एकीकरण किस तरह से होगा यह एक चुनौती थी। दूसरा देश का संविधान कैसा बनेगा देश के सभी हिस्सों को जोड़कर एक अखंड भारत का निर्माण किया जाए कि संविधान

के प्रति देश के हर हिस्से के लोगों की श्रद्धा बनी रहे और विकास के मामले में एक लंबे समय तक देश को आगे ले जाने में सफल हो।

यह दो बड़ी और प्रमुख चुनौतियां थी सरदार पटेल के कारण उनके अहर्निश प्रयास के देश एक बार फिर एकता की सुत्र में बंधा, और दूसरा जो प्रमुख कारण था वो शायद बाबा साहब अंबेडकर न होते तो यह समस्या कभी समाप्त नहीं होती। इस देश के हर वर्ग में देश के प्रति अपने कर्तव्य का बोध, हर वर्ग के मन में यह भावना और विश्वास की इस संविधान से हमें न्याय मिलेगा इस प्रकार के संविधान का निर्माण करना यह बहुत बड़ी चुनौती थी मित्रों। संविधान सभा बनी दो सालों तक चर्चा चली मगर उसका जब प्रारूप तय करने का समय आया तब मुझे लगता है कि बहुत महत्वपूर्ण फैसला हुआ और उसकी अध्यक्षता करने का अवसर डॉ. अंबेडकर को मिली। और सारे विचार मंथन के बाद जो अमृत इकट्ठा हुआ था, उस में इस प्रकार का आकार दिया गया जिसमें सभी वर्ग के लोगों की श्रद्धा अटूट हुई और देश में एक नयी हौसला, नयी व्यवस्था और नयी हिम्मत आयी, कि हम दुनिया में आगे बढ़ सकते हैं सबको समानता से लेकर आगे बढ़ सकते हैं।

यह मेरा मानना है कि अगर अंबेडकर जी को अध्यक्ष नहीं बनाया जाता, तो आज जितनी श्रद्धा से लोग संविधान को मानते हैं वह असंभव था। केन्द्र सरकार ने इसलिए अभी जो संसद का सत्र शुरू हुआ उसमें दो दिन चर्चा करके फिर से वह पूरी बात और विशेष करके नयी पीढ़ी को इस बात की जानकारी मिले इस बात का स्तुत्य प्रयास किया है। उसके माध्यम से देश के दबे-कुचले सभी वर्गों को एक संदेश गया है कि एक ऐसे व्यक्ति ने संविधान बनाया है जो उसी वर्ग से आया था, संघर्ष करके आगे आया था शिक्षित होकर आगे आया था और समाज को संगठित करने के बाद भी विधान ऐसा बनाया कि सभी को न्याय मिले। फिर से

एक बार संविधान पर भरोसा करने का एक स्तुत्य प्रयास भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने नरेन्द्र भाई के नेतृत्व में किया है। मैं मानता हूं कि बाबा साहब ने जो काम किया था उसको एक सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि है। मित्रों बाबा साहब के प्रति भारतीय जनता पार्टी और उसके कार्यकर्ताओं की श्रद्धा हमेशा बनी रहेगी। बाबा साहब से जितने भी स्थान जुड़े थे उस स्थान को उनकी स्मृति के रूप में संजोने का काम किया है। अभी हाल में ही आपको ज्ञात होगा कि इंग्लैंड में प्रधानमंत्री और महाराष्ट्र के मुख्यमंत्री गए थे वहां पर भी महाराष्ट्र सरकार और भारत सरकार ने मिलकर उस स्थान को बाबा साहब के स्मारक के रूप में संजोने का काम भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने ही किया है।

आज जब उस महामानव को उनकी 60वीं पुष्य तिथि पर श्रद्धांजलि दे रहे हैं उस वक्त भारतीय जनता पार्टी के हर कार्यकर्ता का दायित्व है कि समाज के अंदर समरसता के भाव के साथ सभी को उपर उठाने का कार्य भारतीय जनता पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता करें। और जिस उद्देश्य के लिए भारतीय संविधान का निर्माण हुआ है उस भावना के साथ समाज के अंतिम व्यक्ति के पास तक ले जाने का माध्यम भारतीय जनता पार्टी का कार्यकर्ता बने। आज इस अवसर पर मैं अनुसूचित मोर्चे को इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि बहुत अच्छे से यह कार्यक्रम आयोजित किए हैं। केन्द्र सरकार ने आज के ही दिन बाबा साहब की स्मृति दो सिक्कों को लोगों के बीच में रखकर चिरंजीव बनाने का प्रयास किया है। आज यहां सब मिलकर बाबा साहब को श्रद्धांजलि देने के लिए एकत्रित हुए हैं उस अवसर पर मैं भारतीय जनता पार्टी के करोड़ों कार्यकर्ता की ओर से आप सभी को बधाई एवं शुभकामना देता हूं।

वंदे मातरम

भारत माता की जय।

## Amit Shah while addressing the public gathering in Dibrugarh (Assam)

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) sounded the poll bugle in Assam with party president Amit Shah holding a party workers' rally in Dibrugarh in Upper Assam. Assembly polls are due in the state in around April next year. The BJP, which had displayed spectacular performance in 2014 general election by winning seven of the 14 Lok Sabha seats in the state, is hoping for a repeat of the performance again in 2016. The party is hopeful of forming the next government in Assam. In preparation for the polls, BJP had made a major change in its state leadership. It brought back Sarbananda Sonowal as state president, replacing the incumbent Siddhartha Bhattacharjee. It was under Sonowal's leadership that the party fought the 2014 election in Assam. "Assam will be the first state in eastern India where the BJP will form the government," said a confident BJP president Shri Amit Shah while addressing the rally. He also charged the ruling Congress party of holding closed door talks with All India United Democratic Front (AIUDF), headed by cleric Maulana Badaruddin Ajmal, for a pre-poll understanding. "Why is the Congress holding closed door talks with AIUDF? If it has courage, let it hold talks in open. Both Congress and

AIUDF have secret plans to make Assam an extended part of Bangladesh," said Shah.

While addressing the public gathering in Dibrugarh (Assam),



Amit Shah urged BJP Assam unit to launch a massive awareness campaign to expose the misdeeds & corruption of Gogoi government and to spread the following message and ask people whether:

- After 15 years of Congress government, does every village have 24hr power? Is every village connected by road? Do people get chloride free water?
- A government that hobnobs with AIUDF cannot get Assam freedom from infiltration. Only BJP can make North East free of Bangladeshi infiltrators
- If development has to reach grass root, Assam needs a BJP government because BJP have decide that one minister from centre will visit Northeast once in every 15 days.

*SPMRF Desk*

Roundtable Discussion organised by SPMRF on 26th  
December 2015 on the topic  
**"Dalit Entrepreneurship: Tracing the  
Empowerment Trajectory from  
Patronage to Partnership"**



**D**r. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation (SPMRF) organised a Roundtable discussion on 26th December 2015 on "Dalit Entrepreneurship: Tracing the Empowerment Trajectory from Patronage to Partnership". Mr. Milind Kamble who is the Founder Chairman of the Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce & Industry (DICCI) was the Guest Speaker who spoke in details on the various aspects of issue.

Welcoming the speaker Dr. Anirban Ganguly, Director, SPMRF, noted how his efforts were watershed and announced the beginning of a

new era. He also observed that SPMRF was determined to continue with a series of dialogue and outreach on this very crucial issue so that this new effort is better understood and supported.

Mr. Kamble said that when India became independent in 1947, its Constitution banned caste discrimination and reserved seats for Dalits in the legislatures, government services, and some educational institutions. These reservations created a thin upper crust of Dalits in politics and government services. But caste discrimination remained wide spread, especially in rural India.

## ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

However, major changes were sparked by economic reforms in 1991 by opening up the closed economy. The arrival of the competitive market and its creative destruction broke old caste bonds and facilitated the shift of Dalits to new occupations. The new economic reforms dismantled controls, accelerating growth and competition. Fierce competition soon ensured that the price of a supplier mattered more than his caste. This created openings for Dalit entrepreneurs. Although the Dalit revolution is still in its early stages, but now it is unstoppable. The new slogan is - Fight the caste system with capital. The new opportunities and fast growth created by economic reform opened up new business spaces for the Dalits to occupy. Traditionally, business was taboo for Dalits. But today millions of Dalits run their own businesses, and a few thousand have

emerged as millionaires. Instead of being condemned to live at the bottom of the social ladder, these Dalits have become bosses, hiring upper caste workers. This is an unprecedented social revolution. Dalit-owned companies are now important suppliers of components to top automobile companies including Honda, Tata Motors, Bajaj Auto, and Hero Corporation".

Mr. Kamble also spoke about how corporate farming boost yield and neutralises the caste order especially in rural areas. He said that mechanisation of farming is creating caste-neutral jobs that dismantle occupational hierarchy - the backbone of the caste order. The assembly line can be the greatest social equaliser. Bhautikvaad or materialism triggers consumerism - not just in towns but in the countryside as well. Consumerism boosts industrialisation



## ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION



Besides this, Mr. Kamble is also a member of the Planning Board of the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) and was awarded the Padma Shri in 2013, for his efforts towards the development of the Dalit industry. A lively discussion followed where a number of interesting suggestions came up and were discussed.

The Roundtable discussion was attended by many eminent guests like Shri Ravi Kumar Narra (President-DICCI South India and Padma Sri Awardee 2014), Shri

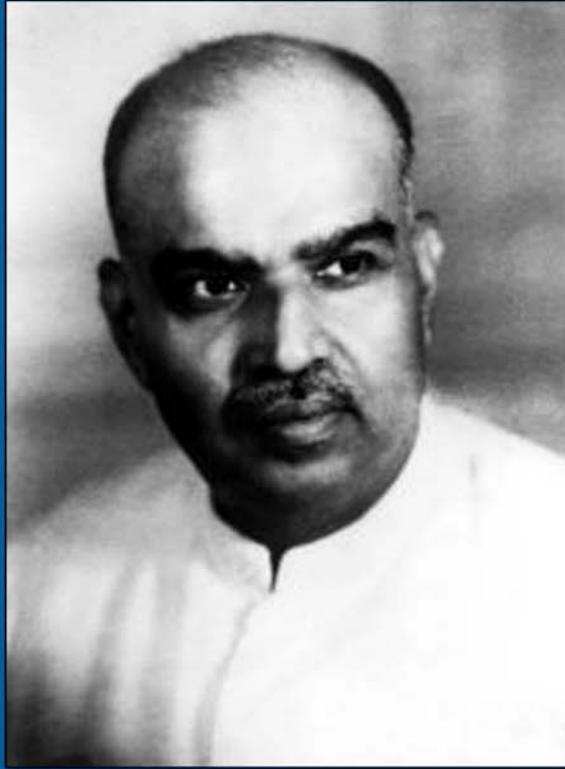
that produces classes to replace caste. He also pointed out flagship programmes such as Make in India and initiatives such as MUDRA Yojana were imparting a big boost to efforts of Dalit entrepreneurship.

Mr. Milind Kamble is also an entrepreneur and in 2005, he founded the DICCI, which is based in Pune. DICCI works for the financial and social development of Dalits and organizes activities such as trade fairs. Today DICCI comprises of over 3,000 member-millionaires.

Raja Nayak (President of DICCI-Karnataka), Shri Raj Liberhan, former Director, India Habitat Centre & member, SPMRF Advisory Council, Dr Vijay Chauthaiwala, Convener, BJP Foreign Affairs Department, Prof. Santosh Mehrotra, senior economist and expert in labour and skill development, (JNU), Dr. J.K.Bajaj, Director Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), Mr. Hindol Sengupta, author and many young scholars who are working on this issue on ground.

*(Report prepared by Siddharth Singh, Research Associate, SPMRF)*





**"The gigantic task of reconstruction, cultural, social, economic and political can be rendered possible through coordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians. Armed with the knowledge of India's past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of India civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world."**

**- Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee**  
*Convocation Address delivered at Gurukul Kangri  
Viswavidyalaya, Haridwar, 1943*