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Research Foundation



The Nationalist

Issue : February, 2016



Special Article

- Modi, India and France
- Towards a New Defence Procurement Procedure in 2016
- Japan rising: Civilizational ally that should be the most enduring partnership in Asia

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

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Content

PM MODI'S VISION

- ▶ Salient points of PM Modi's address at International Fleet Review 2016
- ▶ Salient points of PM Modi's speech at Economic Times Global Business Summit 29th January 2016
- ▶ Salient points of PM Modi's address at the 6th convocation of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow
- ▶ Salient points of PM Modi's address at Akhil Bharatiya Prachaarya Sammelan

PARTY PRESIDENT

- ▶ क्या यही है कांग्रेस की राष्ट्रभक्ति की नई परिभाषा? **अमित शाह**

POLITICAL THOUGHT

- ▶ Marx & Deendayal—the Two Approaches **D.B. Thengdi**

SPECIAL ARTICLE

- ▶ Modi, India and France **Claude Arpi**
- ▶ Towards a New Defence Procurement Procedure in 2016 **Amit Cowshish**
- ▶ Japan rising: Civilizational ally that should be the most enduring partnership in Asia **Rajeev Srinivasan**

POLICY ANALYSIS

- ▶ Revolutionizing the Power Sector through a Comprehensive UDAY Scheme **Siddharth Singh**

NATIONAL AGENDA

- ▶ Modi's dream of Smart Cities: A hub of 21st Century Commerce **Siddharth Singh**
- ▶ Modi Government's efforts for Sustainable Agriculture Development and Promotion of Entrepreneurship in Rural areas

POLITICAL COMMENTARIES

- ▶ The Decline of West Bengal **Dr. Anirban Ganguly**

INDIA'S WORLD OF DIPLOMACY

- ▶ India-UAE relation on the trajectory of Comprehensive Strategic ties **Siddharth Singh**

INDIA@POSITIVE

- ▶ For First Time In 10 Years, Haryana's Sex Ratio Crosses 900 Mark!!
- ▶ Highway construction set to cross record 6000 km this fiscal year

EVENT@SPMRF

- ▶ Report of program India-France relationship on 22nd January 2016 by Amb Dr Mohan Kumar



Those preaching 'constitutional patriotism' whatever that means have generally and always kept silent when the actual idea of India has been challenged, threatened and attacked. Having built careers in the sanitised confines of Ivy-league institutions and having survived on political doles thrown to them by patrons who expect to be shielded and eulogised for the stupidest or unkindest moves, these 'finest public intellectuals' live on obfuscation, intellectual subterfuge and hermeneutical dishonesty.

Those using their letter-power and hollow logic to 'support' the celebration of terrorists in the hallowed precincts of a leading educational institution in the country and thereby encourage the further replication of these acts across the land, those justifying the abuse of the constitutional institutions of the land and the incitement to violence against these institutions "Afzal, your killers are still at large" is not an innocent cry but a blood-thirsty howl to eliminate all those who work to uphold the unity and sovereignty of India also fall in the league of anti-nationals, anti-national intellectuals who owe allegiance not to the all-encompassing and inspiring idea of India but rather to themselves first, to India-haters next, to a section of their political patrons who have only the interest and welfare of a particular dynasty or family in mind, a welfare and benefit to be accrued at the cost of India, at the cost of her well-being, at the cost of the security of her millions of ordinary citizens.

Such an 'avant garde' intellectual action by these 'free-thinkers' has generated a peculiar spectacle where worshippers of Mao and Stalin - the two crudest genocidal leaders in the history of mankind and members of a family which, following Adolf Hitler, blacked out democracy in India in 1975 and allowed a mass-killer of Indians, Warren Anderson, to escape India with impunity after having committed his genocide, articulate definitions of nationalism and patriotism. It was thus a hugely ironical spectacle to see comrade Sitaram Yechury, whose ideological ancestors had opposed India's freedom movement and were active in subverting that freedom once it was achieved. speak of freedom, free expression and democratic rights. Or was it ironical, comrade Yechury was just loyally following the footsteps of these ancestors of his by remaining true to his ideological indoctrination which has taught him to see India not as a nation but as a sub-continent where a ceaseless clash of class continues and which needs dismemberment at the first instance so that there could be 'true liberation'. Weren't the communists the ones who cried in 1947: "Ye azadi jhuta hai (this freedom is false)" and took up arms to oppose free India?

No column space or ink is spilled on asking a few fundamental questions; the Ivy-league and world-certified intellectuals are busy justifying why it is necessary to allow a group to create unrest and celebrate

the 'martyrdom' of those elements who worked, in collusion with forces inimical to India, to wrack her apart. Ironically these intellectuals, many of whom have survived over the years on doles from the nodal Indian Council for Social Science Research, the Reserve Bank of India and other such 'hated state' institutions, have risen to support the breaking of India, "tukde tukde", the dissolution of India, the severance from India and freedom for Jammu & Kashmir the azadi that the JNU sloganeers demanded for Kashmir was the azadi as defined by the actions of "Maqbool, Afzal and Hurriyat" the first two terrorists who conspired to dismember India and the other a discredited self-styled people's front supported by Pakistan and dreaded terrorists outfits. Any sane and impartial observer would discern that the sloganeers have honed their skills elsewhere and where not the usual 'made in JNU' types who stick posters and take out marches in support of some far-off revolution.

The appeal to join the 'cultural evening' on February 9 in support of terrorists said, "We appeal to you to join a cultural evening in rage against the occupation of Kashmir by the Indian state, and in solidarity with the valiant struggle of the people of Kashmir for their inalienable right to self-determination." The appeal also cited with certain aplomb, "Comrade Charu Mazumdar" (CM), an ideological relic from a hoary past, and his call for dismembering India,

"The slogan, 'Kashmir is an inalienable part of India', is given by the ruling class in the interest of plundering. No Marxist can support this slogan. It is the essential duty of Marxists to accept the right of self-determination by every nationality. On questions of Kashmir, Nagas etc, the Marxists should express their support in favour of the fighters." Comrade Karat, comrade Sita and the hordes of Marxists thus, both, expelled and liberated, strove hard to stay true to the vision of 'CM' and have also accepted in that act that Kashmir was an 'occupied state'.

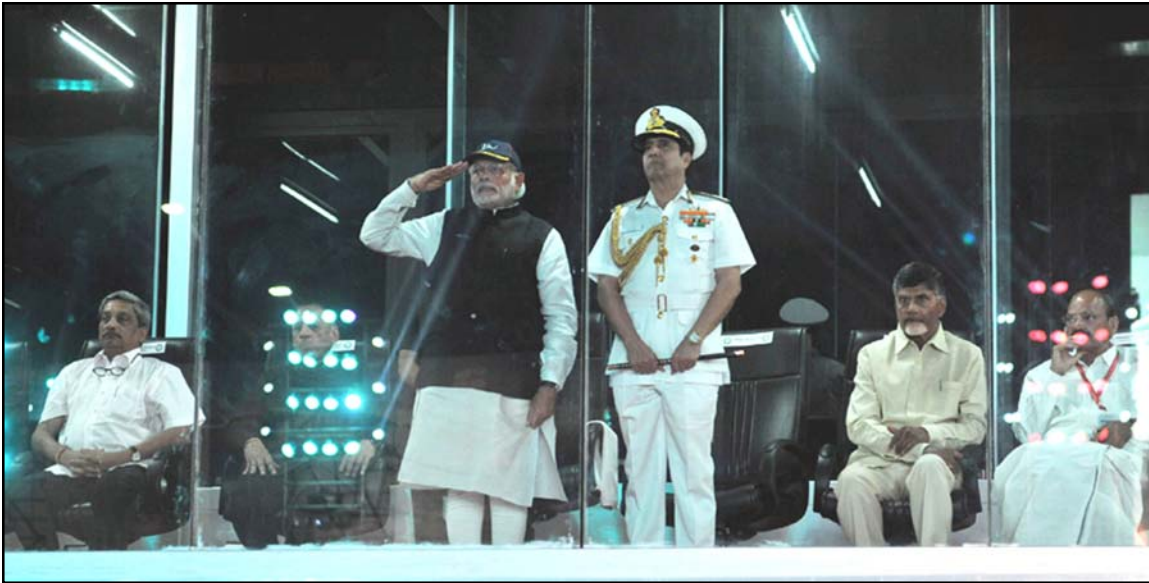
It was this evening that gradually manifested itself through slogans that demanded the not only the 'liberation' of Kashmir but also of Assam, 'Nagalim', Manipur and ,of all places, the Indian state of Kerala. In no other democratic nation, whose leading lights had toiled so hard to give the people a stellar Constitution, would one witness the vulture-like convergence of political leaders and Members of Parliament who have taken oath on the Constitution of India, in support of those who have essentially and unequivocally called for the dissolution of India. Thus comrades Yechury, Sudhakar Reddy, D Raja and that lost and confused scion of the Congress first family, himself a 'comrade' of sorts, Mr Rahul Gandhi under whose grandmother's premiership Maqbool was hanged and under whose party's rule later Afzal was tried and hanged had

essentially converged to support the 'vision' of Charu Mazumdar and present-day terrorists whose sole objective is to see India broken and fragmented. For them nothing is sacrosanct in the Indian constitutional set-up, the Supreme Court of India which had passed the judgements least of all. No one asks, for example, how is it that parliament member and Communist Party of India leader D Raja's daughter was an active and leading part of a demonstration that called for India's destruction. Hasn't Mr Raja owed his allegiance to the Constitution while taking oath as member of Parliament? Or is that too a diversionary tactics for the adoption of revolutionary methods to dupe the Indian constitutional framework? The 'constitutional patriotism' oozing intellectuals and historians who have only tried to understand India either 'before' or 'after' Mahatma Gandhi, are consciously pushing forth agendas that aim to destabilise India and halt her march towards self-reliance. The argument for freedom of expression is just a smokescreen.

Yes indeed, the struggle and 'jung' shall continue but not until "India is destroyed"; until India triumphs and the enemies of her civilisational soul are relegated and dissolved for perpetuity.

— Dr. Anirban Ganguly,
Director, SPMRF

Salient points of PM Modi's address at International Fleet Review 2016



- » The oceans and world's waterways are global commons. Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam- the concept of whole world as a family - is perhaps most vividly witnessed on the oceans of the planet that connect us all.
- »" The world of 2016 is vastly different. Its politics is turbulent, and its challenges complex. At the same time, the oceans are the lifelines of global prosperity. They present us with great economic opportunities to build our nations.
- » Over 90% of global merchandise trade is carried on the oceans. Over the last 15 years, its value has grown from about 6 trillion dollars to about 20 trillion dollars.
- » Oceans are critical for the global energy security as over 60% of world's oil production moves through sea routes.
- » Our ability to reap economic benefits from the oceans rests on our capacity to respond to the challenges in the maritime domain.
- » The threat of sea borne terror, of which India has been a direct victim, continues to endanger the regional and global peace and stability. Piracy too remains a strong challenge.

- » The threat of natural disasters like tsunamis and cyclones is ever present.
- » Manmade problems such as oil spills, climate change continue to risk the stability of the maritime domain.
- » A peaceful and stable maritime environment is, therefore, critical for the regional and global security. It is also a must to harvest the riches of the oceanic ecosystems.
- » Given the scale and complexity of modern day challenges, the international maritime stability cannot be the preserve of a single nation. It has to be a shared goal and responsibility of all the seafaring countries. To this end, the Navies and maritime agencies of the world need to work together, and engineer virtuous cycles of cooperation.
- » I believe that if oceans were to propel our economies, then we must:
 - » Use seas to build peace, friendship and trust, and curb conflict;
 - » Respect and ensure freedom of navigation; and
 - » Cooperate, not compete in responding to the challenges in the seas.
 - » The large presence of foreign Navies at this Fleet Review is a confirmation of our shared urge to walk the pathways of peace and cooperation to keep the maritime domain safe and secure.
- » India as a maritime Nation: India is, and has always been, a maritime nation. India's ancient Sanskrit texts also refer to the oceans as the storehouse of Chaturdashanam Ratnanam, the 14 gems. Surrounded by sea from three sides, India has a long coastline of over 7500 kilometres. We have been blessed with a rich maritime heritage ever since. Lothal in Gujarat became one of the earliest sea ports of the world. India's central location in the Indian Ocean has connected us with other cultures, shaped our maritime trade routes, influenced India's strategic thought, and defined our maritime character. Since the days of the Indus Valley Civilization, India has maintained an extensive network of maritime links, including with Africa, Western Asia, the Mediterranean region, the West, South East Asia and the Far East. In modern times too, the oceans, especially the Indian Ocean, occupy a vital place in India's national security and economic prosperity. The waters of the

- Indian Ocean touch the shores of over 40 countries. About half of world's container traffic; and close to one-third of world's cargo traffic passes through this region. India's 1200 island territories, and our huge Exclusive Economic Zone of 2.4 million square kilometres makes clear the economic significance of the Indian Ocean. For us, it also serves as a strategic bridge with the nations in our immediate and extended maritime neighbourhood.
- » Our Vision of SAGAR: The Indian Ocean Region is one of my foremost policy priorities. Our approach is evident in our vision of "Sagar", which means "Ocean" and stands for - Security And Growth for All in the Region. We would continue to actively pursue and promote our geo-political, strategic and economic interests on the seas, in particular the Indian Ocean. To this end, India's modern and multi-dimensional Navy leads from the front. It is a force for peace and good.
 - » A network of growing political and economic maritime partnerships, and strengthening of regional frameworks also helps us pursue our goals.
 - » India's quest for economic prosperity through oceans is a part of our larger efforts to transform India.
- » We are not just a bright spot in the global economy. Regionally and internationally, we are a pillar of stability and an important growth centre.
 - » India's rise is in harmony with the goal of maintaining the regional and global peace and security.
 - » Vision of Blue Economy: An important part of India's transformation is my vision of "Blue Economy" in its widest sense. The Blue Chakra - or the wheel - in our National Flag, represents the potential of the Blue Economy. An essential part of this pursuit is the development of India's coastal and island territories: but, not just for tourism. We want to build new pillars of economic activity in the coastal areas and in linked hinterlands through sustainable tapping of oceanic resources. Strengthening our marine research, development of eco-friendly, marine industrial and technology base, and fisheries are other elements of our goal. In this endeavour, I see youth in the coastal areas as our true assets. They have a natural and deep understanding of the Oceans. They could lead the way in the development of blue economy in India. ●

Salient points of PM Modi's speech at Economic Times Global Business Summit 29th January 2016



Our Goal: Reform to Transform

Firstly, we have to improve the use of our natural and human resources, to increase the value addition we can get from them. This means increasing the efficiency in allocation of resources. It means greater managerial efficiency. It means removing unnecessary controls and distortions.

Secondly, we should create new opportunities for citizens to progress

and also give them a choice of opportunities. Opportunity is like oxygen to the aspirational citizen and we are keen that this is never in short supply. In simple terms, it means Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas.

Thirdly, we have to increase the quality of life of the common citizen and even more so, the quality of life of the poor. Quality of life may have an economic aspect, but it is not economics

alone. If a government is progressive, and runs an honest and efficient administration, the biggest beneficiaries are the poor. I know from my experience, that poor governance hurts the poor more than it hurts others. Therefore, improved governance is as important as economic reform.

India: A bright spot in the time of Global Economic Stagnation

Many of you are aware of the contribution India can make to the global economy at a time of economic stagnation in many parts. For the last four quarters, India has been the fastest growing large economy in the world. In 2014-15, India contributed 7.4% of global GDP in purchasing power terms. But it contributed 12.5% of global growth. Thus its contribution to growth is 68% higher than its share of the global economy. FDI in India has increased by 39% in the last 18 months, at a time when global FDI has fallen.

Some Facts

- ▶ India's highest ever urea fertiliser production was achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever production of ethanol as blended fuel, benefiting sugar cane farmers, was in 2015.
- ▶ The highest number of new cooking gas connections to the rural poor was achieved in

2015.

- ▶ India's highest ever output of coal was achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever generation of electricity was achieved in 2015
- ▶ India's highest ever quantity of cargo handled by major ports was in 2015.
- ▶ India's fastest average turnaround time in ports was in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever increase in railway capital expenditure was achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever number of new highway kilometres awarded was in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever production of motor vehicles was achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever software exports were achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever rank in World Bank Doing Business indicators, was achieved in 2015.
- ▶ India's highest ever foreign exchange reserves were achieved in 2015.

Enhancing Entrepreneurship Zeal

Entrepreneurship is one of India's traditional strengths. It was sad to see it neglected in the last few years.

“Business” and “profits” had become bad words. We have changed that. We need to value enterprise and hard work, not wealth. Our programs ranging from MUDRA to Start Up India and Stand-Up India provide opportunity to the hard working and to the enterprising. In so doing, we have placed special emphasis on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and women. We are empowering them to become masters of their own destinies.

The Big Picture: Our dream

Like all long journeys, there may be obstacles on the way, but I am confident we will reach our destination. We have created a platform for a new future and for a new India:

- ▶ An India where every child is born safely and maternal and infant mortality are below world averages,
- ▶ An India where no person is houseless,
- ▶ An India where every town and every village, every school and every train, every street and every house, are clean and sanitary,
- ▶ An India where every citizen has access to good health care,
- ▶ An India where every village has 24×7 electricity,
- ▶ An India where every city is vibrant and livable,
- ▶ An India where girls are educated and empowered,
- ▶ An India where every boy and every girl is skilled and ready for productive employment,
- ▶ An India where agriculture, industry and services provide well-paying jobs to all who need them,
- ▶ An India where farmers know the nature of their soil, have the best inputs and reach global levels of productivity,
- ▶ An India where enterprises, large and small, have access to capital and credit,
- ▶ An India where start-ups and other businesses provide innovative solutions,
- ▶ An India which is at the forefront of a global digital economy,
- ▶ An India which leads the world in clean energy,
- ▶ An India where every citizen has basic social security and a pension in old age,
- ▶ An India where citizens trust Government and are trusted by Government.
- ▶ And above all, a transformed India where all citizens have the opportunity to reach their full potential.

Salient points of PM Modi's address at the 6th convocation of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow



- » बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने इस देश को बहुत कुछ दिया। लेकिन एक बात जो इस देश के भविष्य के लिए अनिवार्य है और जिसके लिए बाबा साहेब समर्पित थे, एक प्रकार से उसके लिए वो जिए थे, उसके लिए वो जूझते थे और वो बात थी, शिक्षा। वो हर किसी को यही बात बताते थे कि अगर जीवन में कठिनाइयों से मुक्ति का अगर कोई रास्ता है तो शिक्षा है। अगर जीवन में संघर्ष का अवसर आया है तो संघर्ष में भी विजयी होकर निकलने का रास्ता भी शिक्षा है। और उनका मंत्र था। शिक्षित बनो, संगठित बनो, संघर्ष करो। ये संघर्ष अपने आप के साथ भी करना होता है। अपनों के साथ भी करना होता है और अपने आस-पास भी करना पड़ता है। लेकिन ये तब संभव होता है जब हम शिक्षित हो और उन्होंने अपने मंत्र के पहले शब्दों भी शिक्षित बनो कहा था।
- » बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर भगवान बुद्ध की परंपरा से प्रेरित थे। भगवान बुद्ध का यही संदेश था अप्य दीपो भवरू। अपने आप को शिक्षित करो। पर प्रकाशित जिन्ददगी अंधेरे का साया लेकर के आती है और स्वप्रकाशित जिन्दरगी अंधेरे को खत्म करने की गारंटी लेकर के आती है और इसलिए जीवन स्वद प्रकाशित होना चाहिए, स्वदयं प्रकाशित होना चाहिए। और उसका मार्ग भी शिक्षा से ही गुजरता है।
- » बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर राह चुनी संकटों से सामना करने की, सारे अवरोधों को पार करने की, उपेक्षा के बीच भी, अपमान के

बीच भी अपने भय भीतर के बीच जो संकल्प शक्ति थी उसको विचलित नहीं होने दिया और आखिर तक उन्होंने ने करके दिखाया। बहुत कम लोगों को मालूम होगा, हम ज्यादातर तो जानते हैं कि वो संविधान के निर्माता थे, लेकिन अमेरिका में वो पहले भारतीय थे जिसने अर्थशास्त्र में पीएचडी प्राप्त की थी। दुनिया के हर देश में उनका स्वागत और सम्मानन था। उन्होंने सब कुछ पाने के बाद ये सब समर्पित कर दिया इस भारत माता को। वापिस आए और उसमें भी उन्होंने तय किया कि मैं अपने जीवन काल में दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित, वंचित उनके लिए मेरी जिन्दकगी काम आए, मैं खपा दूंगा और वो जीवन भर ये करते रहे।

- ▶ हम जहां भी हैं, जो कुछ भी हैं, जो भी बनने जा रहे हैं, अपने कारण नहीं बनते हैं, ये पूरा समाज है, जिसके छोटे से छोटे व्यक्ति का हमारे लिए कोई न कोई योगदान है तब जाकर के हमारी जिंदगी बनती है।
- ▶ कुछ करना, कुछ करने का इरादा, उस इरादे को पार करने के लिए जिंदगी खपाना, ये बहुत कठिन होता है और इसलिए आज जब हम जा रहे हैं तब कुछ करने के इरादे से निकल सकते हैं क्या अगर कुछ करने के इरादे से निकल सकते हैं तो क्या बनते हैं, इसकी चिंता छोड़ दीजिए, वो करने का संतोष इतना है, वो आपको कहीं न कहीं पहुंचा ही देगा, कुछ न कुछ बना ही देगा और इसलिए जीवन को उस रूप में जीने का, पाने का प्रयास, जिंदगी से जूझना, सीखने चाहिए दोस्तों। दुनिया में जितने भी महापुरुष हमने देखे हैं। हर महापुरुष को हर चीज सरलता से नहीं मिली है। बहुत कम लोग होते हैं जिनको मक्खन पर लकीर करने का सौभाग्य होता है ज्यादा वो लोग होते हैं, जिनके नसीब में पत्थर पर ही लकीर करना लिखा होता है।

- ▶ मैं आज जब नौजवानों के बीच में खड़ा हूँ तब एक तरफ मेरे जीवन में इतना बड़ा आनंद है क्योंकि मैं अनुभव करता हूँ कि 21वीं सदी हिंदुस्तान का सदी है और 21वीं सदी हिन्दुस्तान की सदी इसलिए है कि भारत दुनिया का सबसे जवान देश है। 65 प्रतिशत नौजवान 35 साल से कम उम्र के हैं। यह देश जवान है, इस देश के सपने भी जवान हैं। इस देश के संकल्प भी जवान हैं और इस देश के लिए मर-मिटने वाले भी जवान हैं। ये युवा शक्ति हमारी कितनी बड़ी धरोहर है, ये हमारे लिए अनमोल है। लेकिन उसी समय जब ये खबर मिलती है कि मेरे इस देश के नौजवान बेटे रोहित को आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ा है। उसके परिवार पे क्या बीती होगी। माँ भारती ने अपना एक लाल खोया। कारण अपनी जगह पर होंगे, राजनीती अपनी जगह पर होगी, लेकिन सच्चाई यही है कि माँ ने एक लाल खोया। इसकी पीड़ा मैं भली-भांति महसूस करता हूँ।
- ▶ हम इस देश को इस दिशा में ले जाना चाहते हैं, जहाँ नया उमंग हो, नया संकल्प हो, नया आत्म-विश्वास हो, संकटों से जूझने वाला नौजवान हो और बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर के जो सपने थे, उन सपनों को पूरा करने का हमारा अविरत प्रयास है। उस प्रयास को आगे लेकर के आगे चलना है।
- ▶ बाबा साहेब अम्बे डकर के सपनों की जो अर्थव्यवस्था है, उस अर्थव्यवस्था के बिना यह देश आर्थिक प्रगति नहीं कर सकता है। बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने जो आर्थिक विकास के सपने देखे थे, उन सपनों की पूर्ति करनी है तो निजी क्षेत्र का अत्यंत महत्व है और मैं निजी क्षेत्र कहता हूँ मतलब। मेरी परिभाषा अलग है, हर individual अपने पैरों पर कैसे खड़ा रहे। मेरे देश का नौजवान job-seeker न बने, मेरे देश का नौजवान job-creator बने।

Salient points of PM Modi's address at Akhil Bharatiya Prachaarya Sammelan



- ▶ समाज में परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयास जो किसी को करना है, जो शिक्षा और संस्कार दोनों को मिलाना चाहते हैं, साथ-साथ चलें ऐसा चाहते हैं, उनके लिए जिम्मेवारी बहुत बढ़ जाती है।
- ▶ आज हिंदुस्तान में किसी भी व्यक्ति को हम पूछें, कितना ही बड़ा धनी क्यों न हो, कितना गरीब क्यों न हो अगर उसे पूछें कि आपकी क्या इच्छा है, एक इच्छा महत्वपूर्ण क्या है तो अमीर से अमीर से व्यक्ति होगा या गरीब से गरीब व्यक्ति ये कहेगा कि मेरे बच्चों की अच्छी शिक्षा हो। आप ड्राइवर को भी पूछ लीजिए कि भई बच्चों को अच्छा पढ़ाना है, हमने तो ये जिंदगी ड्राइवरी में निकाल दी, उसको उससे बाहर निकालना है। हर किसी के मन का कोई एक अजेंडा अपना है तो अपने संतानों की शिक्षा है। अगर ये करोड़ों-करोड़ों लोगों के मन में है। अच्छी शिक्षा का मतलब ये नहीं कि उसको स्कूल उपलब्ध नहीं है, अच्छी शिक्षा का मतलब ये नहीं कि फीस देने से कोई बढ़धिया स्कूल मिलने वाली नहीं है। अच्छी शिक्षा का मतलब उसके दिमाग में साफ है कि अच्छे शिक्षक कहां हो। मेरे बालक की जिंदगी में बदलाव लाने में कोई रुचि ले, ऐसी व्यवस्था कहां हो।
- ▶ हमने हमारे लक्ष्य बदलने की जरूरत है, मुझे ऐसा लगता है। हम देश को ऐसा, हर क्षेत्र में ऐसा नेतृत्व कैसे दे सकते हैं कि जो गर्व करें कि इस परंपरा ने मुझे बनाया है, इस संस्कारों ने मुझे सजाया है और आज मैं देश की यहां बैठकर सेवा कर रहा हूं, इसका गौरवगान करने का अवसर कैसे आए।

- ▶ हम वो लोग हैं जो इस बात को मानते हैं कि ज्ञान चारों दिशा से आने दो, हमने कभी ज्ञान के दरवाजे बंद नहीं किए हैं, हम कभी किसी के ज्ञान के प्रवाह से भयभीत नहीं हुए हैं, विचलित नहीं हुए हैं। क्योंकि वेदकाल से हमें ये तत्व ज्ञान तो मिला है कि चारों तरफ से विचारों को आने दो, ज्ञान को आने दो। वेदकाल से हम कह रहे हैं। हम वो लोग हैं जो कहते हैं— “वसुदैव कुटुंबकम्”। अगर ये पूरा विश्व मेरा परिवार है तो कौन, क्या, कहां रहता है, कैसे रहता है, किस अवस्था में रहता है, क्या रंग है, वो मेरे लिए मतलब ही नहीं रखता है क्योंकि समग्र विश्व को मैंने परिवार माना है। मैं उस प्रकार से उसके जीवन के विकास में कोई भूमिका अदा कर सकता हूँ, अगर मैं उसके जीवन के विकास में भूमिका अदा कर सकता हूँ तो मुझे मेरे उस परिसर के माहौल को भी उसी प्रकार से बनाना पड़ेगा।
- ▶ इन दिनों देश में और दुनिया में एक चर्चा चल रही है Climate change, Global warming, हमारे बच्चों को हम वृक्षारोपण, पौधे लगाना ये तो साल में एकाध बार कार्यक्रम करते हैं लेकिन क्या 12 हजार स्कूलों को एक मिशन बन सकता है, जो स्थानीय व्यवस्थाओं को कहे कि हमें, हमारी स्कूल 100 पेड़ गोद लेना चाहते हैं, हमें जगह दो हम 100 पेड़ इस नगर को दे देंगे, 5 साल में दे देंगे, हमारी ये contribution होगा। फायदा ये होगा हमारे सारे बच्चों को environment की शिक्षा अपने आप मिलेगी और समाज के साथ हमारा जुड़ना बहुत स्वाभाविक बनेगा। चाहे हमारा परिसर बड़ा हो, वहां करे नहीं तो जो व्यवस्था है, उसे हम मांगें कि हम आपको, हमें जगह दीजिए, हम 100 पेड़ लगाकर देना चाहते हैं आपको। हम समाज-जीवन में किस प्रकार से बदलाव लाएंगे
- ▶ विद्या भारती ने जो ये इतना बड़ा आंदोलन खड़ा किया है जिसमें संस्कार सर्वोपरि है। जिसमें देशभक्ति लबालब भरी हुई है। जिसकी वाणी में वर्तन में उपदेश में सिद्धांतों में सादगी सहज है। ये ऐसी चीजे हैं जो आज सहजता से प्राप्त नहीं है। जो आपने 50 साल की लंबी तपस्या से इसे कमाया है।
- ▶ शिक्षा और संस्कार, मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कि यह अभिभावकों का विषय है और संस्कार की मेरी बड़ी simple definition है। प्रयत्नपूर्वक की हुई, develop की गई अच्छी आदत। वो संस्कार है और क्या है? और इसलिए आपके पास उस आयु के बच्चे होते हैं, जिसमें ऐसी आदतें विकसित होती हैं जो अपने आप में संस्कार बन जाती हैं। जिसके कारण संभव जीवन, यह विद्या भारती का स्वभाव है। सामूहिकता को महत्व दिया जाता है। यह अपने आप में आज के युग में बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है, वरना हर कोई एक Island बनता चला जा रहा है। अगर इंसान Island बन जाएगा तो क्या हो जाएगा? सामूहिकता बहुत आवश्यक है।
- ▶ एकल विद्यालय का अभियान, बहुत कम लोगों को अंदाजा होगा कि 50-52 हजार एकल विद्यालय कुल-मिलाकर के, विद्या भारती से अलग बाकी लोगों के द्वारा चल रहे हैं। दूर-सुदूर जहां शिक्षक जाने को तैयार नहीं, जहां सरकार पहुंचने को तैयार नहीं, वहां पर एकल विद्यालय जाकर के काम कर रहा है। समाज जीवन में बदलाव ला रहा है। बहुत लोग होते हैं जो जीवन में सिर्फ एक अवसर ढूंढते हैं, कुछ चाहते हैं। यह अवसर देने का काम और ज्यादातर विद्या भारती का काम गरीब बस्तियों में शुरू हुए, समाज के दबे-कुचले लोगों के बीच में शुरू हुए हैं। लेकिन शिक्षा के द्वारा उनके जीवन में परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयास हुआ है। और उस अर्थ में विद्या भारती ने बहुत बड़ी सेवा की है। आप सब के माध्यम से देश की अपेक्षाएं भी बहुत हैं। आप सभी प्राचार्य, आपके यहां जो शिक्षा उत्तम चलती होगी तो उसका तो एक बराबर mechanism बन गया होगा, लेकिन आपका अपना स्कूल, जिसको आप संभाल रहे हैं वो टॉप पर आए कैसे? उस पर आप लक्ष्य दें, यही मेरी अपेक्षा है। ●

क्या यही है कांग्रेस की राष्ट्रभक्ति की नई परिभाषा?

✍ अमित शाह

केन्द्र में प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी सरकार की सफलता से निराश और हताश कांग्रेस गहरे अवसाद से ग्रस्त है। पार्टी और उसके नेता यह समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं कि इस अवसाद की अवस्था में वो देश के समक्ष कैसे एक जिम्मेदार राजनीतिक दल की भूमिका निभायें।

कांग्रेस उपाध्यक्ष राहुल गांधी तो इस हताशा में देश विरोधी और देश हित का अंतर तक नहीं समझ पा रहे हैं। जवाहर लाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय (जेएनयू) में जो कुछ भी हुआ उसे कहीं से भी देश हित के दायरे में रखकर नहीं देखा जा सकता है। देश के एक प्रतिष्ठित विश्वविद्यालय में देश विरोधी नारे लगें और आतंकवादियों की खुली हिमायत हो, इसे कोई भी नागरिक स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन कांग्रेस उपाध्यक्ष और उनकी पार्टी के अन्य नेताओं ने जेएनयू जाकर जो बयान दिए हैं उन्होंने एक बार फिर साबित कर दिया है कि उनकी सोच में राष्ट्रहित जैसी भावना का कोई स्थान नहीं है।

जेएनयू में वामपंथी विचारधारा से प्रेरित कुछ मुट्ठीभर छात्रों ने निम्नलिखित राष्ट्रविरोधी नारे लगाए:



- » "पाकिस्तान जिंदाबाद"
- » "गो इंडिया गो बैक"
- » "भारत की बरबादी तक जंग रहेगी जारी"
- » "कश्मीर की आजादी तक जंग रहेगी जारी"
- » "अफजल हम शर्मिन्दा है तेरे कातिल जिंदा हैं"

- » "तुम कितने अफजल मारोगे, हर घर से अफजल निकलेगा"
- » "अफजल तेरे खून से इन्कलाब आयेगा"

इन छात्रों को सही ठहराकर राहुल गांधी किस लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था की वकालत कर रहे हैं। क्या राहुल गांधी के लिए राष्ट्रभक्ति की परिभाषा यही है? देशद्रोह को छात्र क्रान्ति और देशद्रोह के खिलाफ कार्यवाही को अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता पर कुठाराघात का नाम देकर उन्होंने राष्ट्र की अखण्डता के प्रति संवेदनहीनता का परिचय दिया है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन नारों का समर्थन करके क्या उन्होंने देश की अलगाववादी शक्तियों से हाथ मिला लिया है? क्या वह स्वतंत्रता की अभिव्यक्ति की आड़ में देश में अलगाववादियों को छूट देकर देश का एक और बटवारा करवाना चाहते हैं?

देश की राजधानी में स्थित एक अग्रणी विश्वविद्यालय के परिसर को आतंकवाद और अलगाववाद को बढ़ावा देने का केंद्र बना कर इस शिक्षा के केंद्र को बदनाम करने की साजिश की गयी। मैं राहुल गांधी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या केंद्र सरकार का हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठे रहना राष्ट्रहित में होता? क्या आप ऐसे राष्ट्रविरोधियों के समर्थन में धरना देकर देशद्रोही शक्तियों को बढ़ावा नहीं दे रहे हैं?

जेएनयू में राहुल गांधी ने वर्तमान भारत की तुलना हिटलर की जर्मनी से कर डाली। इतनी ओछी बात करने से पहले वह भूल जाते हैं कि स्वतंत्र भारत की हिटलर की जर्मनी से सबसे निकट परिकल्पना सिर्फ श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा लगाए गए 1975 के आपातकाल से की जा सकती है। स्वतंत्रता की अभिव्यक्ति तो दूर, आपातकाल में विरोधियों को निर्ममता के साथ जेल में ठूस दिया गया था। वामदलों के नेता जिनकी वह आज हिमायत करते घूम रहे हैं, वह भी इस बर्बरता के शिकार हुए थे। हिटलरवाद सिर्फ कांग्रेस के डी. एन.ए. में है, भाजपा को राष्ट्रवाद और प्रजातंत्र के मूल्यों की शिक्षा कांग्रेस पार्टी से लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। हमारे राजनैतिक मूल्य भारतवर्ष की समृद्ध

संस्कृति से प्रेरित है और भारत का संविधान हमारे लिए शासन की निर्देशिका है। मैं राहुल गांधी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि 1975 का आपातकाल क्या उनकी पार्टी के प्रजातांत्रिक मूल्यों को परिभाषित करता है और क्या वह श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की मानसिकता को हिटलरी मानसिकता नहीं मानते?

देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा और कश्मीर में अलगाववाद को नियंत्रित करते हुए हमारे असंख्य सैनिक वीरगति को प्राप्त हो चुके हैं। 2001 में देश की संसद में हुए आतंकवादी हमले में दिल्ली पुलिस के 6 जवान, 2 संसद सुरक्षाकर्मी और एक माली शहीद हुए थे। इसी आतंकी हमले के दोषी अफजल गुरु का महिमामंडन करने वालों और कश्मीर में अलगाववाद के नारे लगाने वालों को समर्थन देकर राहुल गांधी अपनी किस राष्ट्रभक्ति का परिचय दे रहे हैं? मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अभी हाल में सियाचिन में देश की सीमा के प्रहरी 10 सैनिकों जिनमें लांस नायक हनुमंथप्पा एक थे के बलिदान को क्या वह इस तरह की श्रद्धांजली देंगे?

भाजपा के केंद्र की सत्ता में आने और प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के प्रयासों से कश्मीर में भी देश विरोधी भावनाओं को नियंत्रित करने में सफलता मिल रही है। लेकिन प्रमुख विपक्षी दल होने के बावजूद कांग्रेस इस काम में सरकार को सहयोग करने के बजाए जेएनयू में घटित शर्मनाक घटना को हवा दे रही है। प्रगतिशीलता के नाम पर वामपंथी विचारधारा का राष्ट्रविरोधी नारों को समर्थन किसी भी रूप में स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता।

मैं कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष श्रीमती सोनिया गाँधी और उपाध्यक्ष राहुल गाँधी से ऊपर उल्लेखित सवालों का 125 करोड़ देशवासियों की ओर से जवाब मांगता हूँ और यह भी मांग करता हूँ कि राहुल गाँधी अपने इस कृत्य के लिए देश से माफी मांगे।

अमित शाह भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष हैं

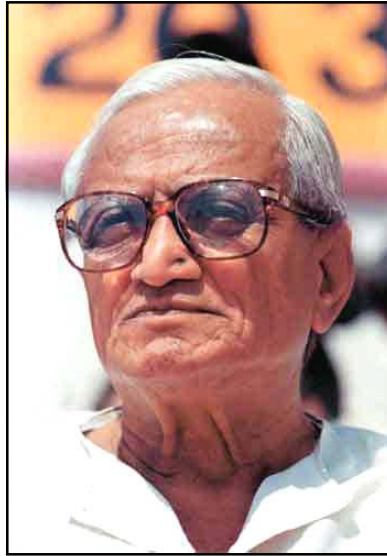
सौजन्य: अमित शाह के दिनांक १५ फरवरी २०१६ के ब्लॉग से

Marx & Deendayal— the Two Approaches

✍ D.B. Thengdi

I MARX

Like Deendayal Upadhyaya, Karl Marx was also a great basic thinker. Though like any other thinker, he also borrowed from diverse sources. He utilized findings of Newton and Darwin for constructing his cosmology, though he rejected the latter's law of natural selection. Besides the theories of Plato, he was influenced by the medieval heretics, Niklas Storch, Thomas More, Campanella, Winstanley, Vesras, Fontenelle, Meslier, Morelly, Diderot and Deschamps in his views on marriage, family, religion and private property. He used Hegelian dialectics and turned it upside down. Feuerbach's method of 'transformational criticism' was adopted by him for inverting Hegelianism. Moreover, the idea of economic interpretation of politics, linkage of the state with class interests and property system coming "through a long line of heritage from Aristotle to Machiavelli, Locke and James Medis" were his arsenals for substantiating his verdict against



capitalism. Lassalle's economic view of history came handy for his scientific formulation, Freud's concept of alienation and existentialism in psychology for elevating his economic determinism to the status of a collective socio-economic problem. He collected the facts of

contemporary British economy to attack both the 'Laissez Faire' system and the tenets of Adam Smith's 'The Wealth of Nations'.

However, he was not a blind borrower. Marx's genius transformed ideas. Nothing on which he worked was left in its original form. Though economics, sociology, political theory, history and philosophy are all used in his sweeping analysis, he synthesized all these disciplines into his own basic thought-structure. English utilitarianism, French socialist thought and the beginning of German radicalism were suitably incorporated into his basic framework. All up-to-date knowledge was pressed into service of a single cause.

To be fair, one should not identify

Marx with his more fanatic followers who carved a religion out of his thought-system. They have gone so far as to assert that real science must flow from, and further substantiate the Marxian dialecticism. They are making a ridiculous attempt to prove that all scientists are unconscious adherents of dialectical materialism.

According to orthodox Marxists, Faraday's discovery of electromagnetic induction, von Mayer's discovery of the law of the conservation of energy, Einstein's formulation of the theory of relativity, or the construction of quantum mechanics as a physical theory, could not have been possible had Marx not formulated his theory of dialecticism. These fanatics trace the source of the theory of relativity and quantum theory to 'Das Capital'.

But generally, the western scientists either ignore Marxism or positively reject Dialectical Materialism as the philosophy of modern science; some of them even actually oppose dialectical materialism which has not yet led to any major scientific discovery. Such assertions are certainly not in keeping with the scientific way of Marx's thinking. What we are concerned with is original Marxian thinking and not its interpretation as presented by his dogmatic followers.

Nevertheless, any thinker can base his thought-system only on the

contemporary level of human knowledge. But the frontiers of human knowledge are ever-expanding. Consequently, an absolute truth of today becomes a relative truth of tomorrow. For example, conclusions drawn on the basis of the nineteenth century science are bound to appear outmoded in the light of the twentieth century science.

II DEENDAYAL

Long back Arnold Toynbee had observed: "On the surface, those Hindus who have adopted one, to them, extremely alien Western Culture on the planes of technology and science, language and literature administration and law, appear to have been more successful than the Russians in harmonizing with their native ways of life a Western way that is intrinsically more alien to them than it is to the Russians. Yet the tension in Hindu souls must be extreme, and sooner or later it must find some means of discharging itself."

"Whatever may be the relief that Hindu souls are going to find for themselves eventually, it seems clear that, for them, there can be no relief from the impact of our Western civilization by opening themselves to the influence of Communism; for Communism – a Western heresy adopted by an ex-orthodox Christian Russia – is just as much part and parcel of the Graeco-Judiac heritage as the Western way of life is, and the

whole of this cultural tradition is alien to the Hindu spirit.

It must, however, be noted that Deendayal ji was well conversant with all the thought-currents of the West.

Apart from Marxism, (and different versions of revisionists – from Edward Berstein to Tito) he was very well acquainted with the direct or indirect social experiments of Robert Owen, Fourier and Cabet; theories of Saint Simon: socialist militancy of Gracchus Babeuf; agrarian socialism of O' Connor; proletarian socialism of O' Brien, 'minority conscience' theory of Blauqui; evolutionary socialism of Louis Blanc: the 'self-help' doctrine of Schulze- Delitzsch; and 'true socialism' of the German trio, Bruno Bauer, Moses Hess, and Karl Grun. He had also studied Lassalle, Sismondi, Lamennais and Proudhon. He had critically analysed all the pre and post-Marxian European thought-systems ranging from capitalism to anarchism and including all the varieties of 'Socialism'

Deendayal ji had an additional advantage of being closely acquainted with different streams of traditional Indian thought. He had fully grasped the implications of the term 'Dharma' which is the characteristic gift of Hindu seers to humanity. The claim of Shri Dange and Shri Bani Deshpande that most of the basic tenets of

Marxism were anticipated by Vedanta may be controversial; but there can be no difference of opinion about the fact that Marxian thought-system would have been considerably altered had Marx been conversant with the Hindu view of life and universe.

Realisation of unity in the midst of diversity, on the rock-like basis of *Advaita Darshana*; understanding of complementarity between the material and the nonmaterial; comprehension of truth along the line of 'Syad-Vada,' the art of dealing with immediate human problems in the light of the eternal universal laws; these, among other things, are some of the contributions of Hinduism which could have added valuable dimensions to Marxian thought and probably altered it beyond recognition. Both these thinkers were humanists of the first order, though their humanism assumed apparently different forms on account of differences in their mental backgrounds, sources of inspiration and contemporary world situations. (To be continued)

●

(This paper is being reproduced from journal of Deendayal Research Institute, Manthan, Vol.3, No.4 March 1981. The author was a veteran thinker and a leading social-philosopher, who largely shaped the Swadeshi narrative in post independent India)

Modi, India and France

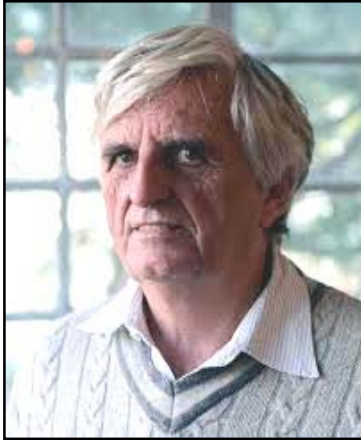
✍ Claude Arpi

The visit of President Francois Hollande of France in India between January 24 and 26 was a visit with a difference. Let me explain!

In December 2010, when President Nicolas Sarkozy came to India; after the ritual signatures of agreements at Hyderabad House, while travelling in the bus taking us back to the press room, a press counsellor to the President was grilled by the French journalists, they wanted 'figures'. The official took his pen and started adding 'figures' and triumphantly announced '17 billion Euros'.

The bulk of the then total was related to the 'Jaitapur deal' for 2 EPR nuclear plants from Areva of France. More than 5 years later, many projects, including the EPRs have not yet manifested (though the Joint Statement during this present visit mentions the possibility for 6 nuclear plants in Jaitapur).

The moral of the story is that there is often a gap between 'signed agreements' and the reality of a few years later. The reason is often that there is lack of political will (it can be on both sides) to make the projects fructify.



What has made the difference during the present visit is the human warmth shown by the Indian Prime Minister towards his guest, which is bound to help once the fever of the State visit has died down. Prime Minister Modi is a master in the field of human relations.

Travelling to Chandigarh to receive the French President or a 20 minute-ride in the Metro to Gurgaon with Hollande and his colleagues (to inaugurate the new building of the Solar Alliance) are seemingly innocuous details, but they make a difference; for the French, they make the visit remembered as 'special'.

Moreover, the success was not just due to the long list of MoU and Agreements exchanged after the India-France Business Summit in Chandigarh on January 24 (mainly on sustainable urban development and 'smart cities'), or even because of a MoU to purchase of 36 Rafale Aircrafts from Dassault Aviation or a Letter of Intent with the CNES (National Centre for Space Studies) to jointly participate to ISRO's next Mars Mission, signed the next day at Hyderabad House.

The visit will be remembered

because Prime Minister Modi went out of his way to make President Hollande's visit different: Narendra Modi not only used his personal charm as he received Hollande in Chandigarh, but he also invited French troops, belonging to the 35 Infantry Regiment (RI) to participate in the Republic Day Parade. It was the first time since Independence that foreign troops walked down Rajpath to India Gate.

It was highly symbolic and showed

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the interest the Prime Minister has for France. And the 35 RI, who had recently participated in the Shakti-2016 joint-exercises with the 2 Garhwal Rifles of the Indian Army in Bikaner, is not an ordinary regiment. Presently associated with the 7 Armoured Brigade, it is one of the oldest French regiments, created in 1604. During its long history, the regiment was renamed several times, i.e. Anjou (in 1671) and Aquitaine (in 1753); later it participated in Napoleon's campaigns and earned laurels for its heroic actions during

the battle of Wagram in 1809 and the Russian campaign in 1812.

The regiment carries four citations on to its flag earned during WWI: Alsace-The Ourcq in 1914, Champagne in 1915, Verdun in 1916 and Reims in 1918. More recently, the 35 RI was engaged in external operations in places like Afghanistan, Lebanon, Ivory Coast, Kosovo, Chad or Centre African Republic; the 35 RI has also been extensively used for internal security ops in France. It is not only the best French infantry regiment, but also the best equipped unit with the latest gadgetry in its armoured vehicles.

Its 1195 members are known as 'les gaillards', which could be translated as 'the tough guys' (though female jawans also serve in the 35 RI).

The way this small contingent of 76 soldiers were cheered by the Indian crowds on Rajpath on the Republic Day, was telling.

Chandigarh and the Smart Cities

The *hors-d'oeuvre* ('appetizer') in the French President's visit was his trip to Chandigarh, one of townships selected by the Indian Government to be a 'smart city'. Contrary to other Indian cities, Chandigarh was born 'smart'. In the Indian public's mind, the Punjab's capital remains synonymous with Le Corbusier, the Franco-Swiss architect who had the vision of a city with a difference.

In 1952, in a communication to Planning Commission, the Indian Prime Minister announced that the

Punjab Government had engaged Le Corbusier, as their senior adviser. It was the beginning of a long, though at times difficult odyssey.

The French architect, as well as the Indian Government, soon learnt that smartness does not come in one day and without intense labour pains. Today, India would like to make Chandigarh 'smart' according to the latest modern norms. Paris has already informed Delhi of its willingness to participate in the 'smartisation' of three cities: Puducherry, Nagpur and Chandigarh. France is ready to offer a line of credit of 2 billion Euros through its Agence française de Développement (French Development Agency) and to bring in French creativity and expertise. The visit to Chandigarh confirms that France will be by India's side.

Fighting Terrorism together

Another important issue discussed during the visit was terrorism. As the French government was recovering from the November 13 horrific attack and paying tribute to several journalists killed in the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, the symbol of the French 'Liberté' of expression, attackers from the other side of the Indian border, stepped into the Pathankot airbase and created havoc for nearly 3 days.

A Joint Statement on Counter-Terrorism after the meet at Hyderabad House noted: "Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Francois Hollande strongly condemned the heinous terrorist

attacks that have struck many parts of the world recently and expressed their shared anguish and outrage at the loss of innocent lives in Paris, Bamako, Beirut, Tunis, San Bernardino, N'Djamena and the Lake Chad Basin Region, Kabul, Gurdaspur, Istanbul, Pathankot, Jalalabad, Jakarta, Ouagadougou and

Another important issue discussed during the visit was terrorism. As the French government was recovering from the November 13 horrific attack and paying tribute to several journalists killed in the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, the symbol of the French 'Liberté' of expression, attackers from the other side of the Indian border, stepped into the Pathankot airbase and created havoc for nearly 3 days.

Charsadda." Both leaders affirmed that such terror attacks were an attack on the whole of humanity and foundational human values.

But more importantly, for the first time, Pakistan was expressly and strongly named: "Stressing that terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstance, both leaders asked for decisive actions to be taken against Lashkar e tayyiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Haqqani Network and other terrorist

groups such as Al Qaeda.”

The Statement reiterated a call for Pakistan to bring to justice the perpetrators of the recent events as well those of the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai. This statement was not appreciated in Islamabad, but it should become the basis to take the 1998 Strategic Partnership with France to a much higher level.

The Defence Collaboration

And as on any good cake, there should be a cherry on the top, in a few weeks, the Rafale deal will become the cherry. It is true that President Hollande did not come to India only to discuss ‘smart cities’ or the change of climate with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, though the Paris Conference, for which France worked hard for several months, has been an example of fruitful collaboration between the two countries.

Hollande came to India to take the next step in the Rafale deal. The last agreement announced at Hyderabad House (later listed first by the MEA) was the MoU between India and France for the purchase of 36 Rafale aircrafts; it was signed by Jean-Yves Le Drian, the French Defence Minister and Manohar Parrikar, his Indian counterpart.

Does this mark the end of the tortuous process for the mega deal? No.

The sad fact is that the initial Request for Information 126 MMRCA was issued in 2001, 15 years ago! It was

only six years later that the Request for Proposal was published, as the then Defence Minister wanted to add new clauses, such as the Total Life-cycle Costs, in the Indian defence procurement policy. This is where the ‘complications’ started.

Five years later, in January 2012, Dassault Aviation was selected for supplying to the IAF after a long five years competitive process with the American F/A-18 and F-16, Russian MiG 35, European Eurofighter and Swedish Saab Gripen in the race. Realizing the difficulty with the transfer of technology to HAL and to avoid going back to the starting blocks, Prime Minister Modi wisely opted for 36 ‘off-the-shelf’ planes.

One important factor is that France has always been India’s privileged partner in the field of defence. Between 1947 and 1962, France, though not an ally (only a ‘friend’ in General de Gaulle’s words) supplied a large quantity of crucial armament to India. Although the purchase of 150 Mirages 2000 was announced in December 1981 (in order to counter the American F 16 ordered by Pakistan), the first agreement was for 40 planes only. On April 17, 1982, according to *Le Monde*, a preferential credit rate of 9,25 % was offered to India. Since India needed the fighter aircraft quickly, the first part of an initial batch of 26 single-seaters and 4 two-seaters was shipped in 1985.

Ultimately by 1986, India had purchased 51 Mirages and in March

1998 an agreement was reached between HAL and Dassault Aviation authorizing HAL to offer over-hauling facilities for the Mirages.

The tragedy has been that India lost 15 years in reaching a decision to finally buy planes 'off-the-shelf', but

What touched me is the fact that France considers Prime Minister Modi as 'different' from his predecessors. A senior French minister privately admitted that Modi was a doer, someone 'with whom we can talk' and India under his leadership is playing at 'another level' on the world scene.

with the cost escalation involved.

After the joint statement on January 25, commentators were quick to point that the process had not come to a conclusion. Prime Minister Modi and President Hollande did not sign the final contract which should include not only the price of the planes, the cost of their maintenance, the required armament, the training of pilots and mechanics, etc. All this still needs to be finalized.

Will it go the way the 2010 EPR framework agreement between Areva and NTPC went, or will the promises

be kept this time? Though there is still a gap between the price offered by Dassault and what India is ready to pay, both sides seem determined to finalize the project as soon as possible. From the Indian side, the IAF immediately needs these 2 squadrons (while praying for a third one!)

There is a fact to remember, as François Hollande told PTI as he was leaving for India: "The Rafale is a major project for India and France. It will pave the way for an unprecedented industrial and technological cooperation, including 'Make in India', for the next 40 years." From the French side, Dassault would like to conclude the deal as soon as possible. The big change is that this time Modi and Hollande are really determined, and this should help to finalize the price and other technical details, hopefully it will be done during the coming months.

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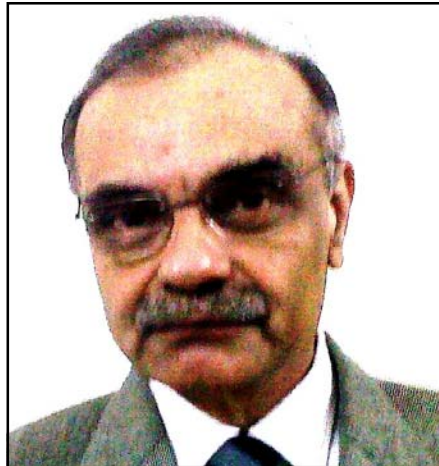
It was visible at the recent Davos Forum, the person said. This too makes it a visit with a difference.

(The author is a veteran journalist, Indophile, well-know author and has lived in India for over four decades)

Towards a New Defence Procurement Procedure in 2016

✍ Amit Cowshish

The Ministry of Defence (MoD) created a flutter last month when it made public the changes being made in the existing capital procurement procedure, seen by many as too complex to facilitate expeditious procurement of equipment, weapon systems and platforms required by the armed forces.



through at the intervening stages.

Stagnation in indigenisation has exacerbated the problem. Defence production was opened to the private sector in 2001 and the successive governments have

Though the revised procedure for capital procurement is yet to be finalised in its entirety, the preview of the things to come has generally been received well by the Indian industry which has for long been striving to come into its own in the monopsonic defence market in India, dominated so far by the foreign vendors and the Indian public sector undertakings.

All capital acquisitions are regulated by the Defence Procurement Procedure (DPP), first promulgated in 2002. This document has been revised several times since then but misgivings about the efficacy of the procedure persist, largely on account of the painfully slow pace at which the procurement proposals move from the stage of initiation to award of the contract, many of them falling

reiterated their commitment to indigenisation but India continues to depend on import, with just about 30 to 40 per cent of the requirement being met through indigenous sources, mostly the public sector.

These factors have had a debilitating effect on India's military capabilities. From artillery guns to fighter aircraft and from night vision capabilities to ammunition, the insidious voids in military capabilities have only grown over the years, with grave implications for the national security.

Mindful of the need to adopt a multi-pronged approach to fix an indolent procurement system and involve the private sector in defence production, the present government set up a committee of experts in May 2015 to recommend a policy

framework for promoting 'Make in India' in the defence sector and suggest concomitant amendments required to be made in the existing procurement procedure. The report, submitted in July 2015, contains several recommendations ranging from the mundane to the extraordinary.

It has, for example, recommended that the term 'Indian vendor' be clearly defined, attributes of the existing procurement categories be spelt out, minor deviations from the qualitative requirements specified in the Request for Proposal (RFP) be permitted, retraction of the RFPs in single-vendor cases be resorted to only as an exception, and improvements be made in the model contract document. These, and many other similar mundane recommendations, are clearly intended to remove the procedural glitches that tend to derail procurement proposals.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are extraordinary recommendations, such as setting up of a defence procurement executive, supported by specialist wings and personnel, but working outside the staff-oriented environment of the government of India. The committee has also recommended an innovative funding mechanism to channelize the foreign direct investment coming through the offsets.

But, arguably, the most significant of all the extraordinary recommendations is the one about forging strategic partnership with the

private industry to 'support sustainability and incremental improvements in the capability of platforms through technology insertions over their lifetime'. A follow-up committee set up by MoD to recommend the bases for selection of these partners could also seem to have submitted its report.

Between these two ends of the spectrum, **the committee has made several pragmatic recommendations concerning taxation, incentives to the private industry, policy on agents in defence and blacklisting of firms, export facilitation, and single-window clearance, to mention a few. These recommendations need to be accorded priority as they have a direct bearing on ease of doing business.**

The idea is not to list out all the recommendations but to point out that the decisions taken by MoD last month touch only the tip of the iceberg, as it were. There is much more to come but, given the nature of some of the recommendations, it would be unrealistic to expect all the changes, recommended by the committee and acceptable to the government, being effected immediately as some of them will require inter-ministerial consultation, while some others would require MoD to work out the details.

Be that as it may, one thing is quite clear: the decisions taken so far indicate MoD's willingness to go beyond the recommendations of the

experts' committee. For example, the committee has not recommended any change in the basic architecture of the procurement procedure which is predicated on categorization of purchases into five categories – Buy (Indian), Buy and Make (Indian), Make, Buy and Make and Buy (Global) – and a procurement process that comprises ten stages from formulation of the Services Qualitative Requirements (SQRs) to the award of contract.

However, MoD has gone ahead and approved introduction of a new category – Buy (Indian Designed, Developed and Manufactured), or Buy (IDDM). Under this category, the Indian designed equipment will be acceptable to the MoD with just 40 per cent indigenous content. Undoubtedly, this category is intended to incentivise the Indian companies for designing the defence equipment but, considering that under the existing Buy (Indian) category the equipment to be offered by the vendors has to have only 30 per cent indigenous content, categorization of proposals as Buy (Indian) or Buy (IDDM) may present some difficulty. Hopefully, the fine print of the new DPP will make the position clear.

Apart from introduction of this new category, MoD has also decided to make the following changes:

- (a) Essential parameters will be divided into two categories. Contracts will be signed based on category 'A' of the essential

parameters. Vendors can then work on category 'B' of the essential parameters, involving changes to the existing product specifications, on receipt of the assured orders.

- (b) Vendors meeting the enhanced performance parameters specified in the Request for Proposal (RFP) will be given additional weightage while evaluating the cost of their product.
- (c) Offset obligations will be applicable only in those cases where the acquisition cost exceeds INR 2,000 crore. The threshold for technical oversight is also being increased from INR 300 crore to INR 2,000 crore.
- (d) Private industry will be involved as production agency and technology transfer partner.
- (e) RFPs will not be retracted as a matter of course if only a single vendor is left in the fray at the stage of submission of bids or after the technical/staff evaluation.
- (f) 'Make' procedure will have three sub-categories. For Make I government-funded developmental projects, the cost of development of the prototypes will be increased from the existing 80 per cent to 90 per cent and the remaining 10 per cent will also be reimbursed if the RFP is not issued within 24 months of

the successful development of the prototype. There will be a provision for mobilization advance of 20 per cent.

- (g) The development cost of Make II category projects, which are initially self-funded by the industry, will also be reimbursed in full if the RFP is not issued within two years of successful development of the prototype.
- (h) Make III projects, where the estimated cost of development is less than INR 3 crore, will be similar to Make II projects but these will be reserved for the Micro, Small, Medium Enterprises (MSMEs).

These decisions may not amount to doing away with any of the ten stages that constitute the procurement cycle but they should go a long way in easing the rigours of doing business with the MoD. This is extremely important from the point of view of improving the eco-system which is a *sine qua non* for galvanizing the private industry and making it a partner in the government's quest for making India a manufacturing hub.

Defence manufacturing is one of the 25 sectors identified by the government under its Make in India initiative. This sector has a great potential, both for the growth of the Indian industry as well as for the foreign companies to do business in India, especially as technology partners. Resurgence of defence production in India would not only

attract foreign investment and spawn skill development but also give a fillip to technological innovation.

The ministry has taken some very decisive steps in that direction but major challenges lie ahead. To start with the MoD must carefully select the recommendations which can be implemented immediately and make sure that the decisions it takes on those recommendations are incorporated in the DPP in unambiguous terms that do not lend themselves to varying interpretations.

The temptation to address larger policy issues, such as creation of a procurement executive, may perhaps be avoided at this stage. These issues cannot be resolved immediately and further delay in promulgation of the new DPP will rob the government of the opportunity to claim the credit for bringing about a paradigm shift in the area of defence production and procurement as it is bound to take two to three years for the new provisions to start showing some tangible results.

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Japan rising: Civilizational ally that should be the most enduring partnership in Asia

✍️ Rajeev Srinivasan

There is clearly one issue that brings India and Japan together, and that is the concern both have about an overbearing, militarily ambitious and imperialistic China that views itself as Asia's hegemon. As the three biggest economic and military powers in Asia, the three will increasingly engage in a dance of collaboration and confrontation as they jockey for position. And it is usually not a bad idea for the #2 and #3 powers to gang up against #1. That much is obvious.

But there is much more to an Indo-Japanese waltz. For, there are cultural and civilizational links that go back a millennium or two. Most apparently, India is the Holy Land for pious Buddhist Japanese, and many of them do come to India on pilgrimage. The Indian monk, Bodhidharma, known as Daruma, created the Zen school of Buddhism, circa 450 CE, and he is still revered as the preceptor. In addition, there are many Hindu deities in the Buddhist canon with Japanized names, for instance Sarasvati as Benzaiten.

The two nations are both old, living



civilizations that have resisted being erased by the west. Over the centuries, from the time of the Yokugawa shogun Ieyasu, Japan attempted to keep foreign influences at bay. They succeeded in keeping out missionaries and traders from the

west until American Commodore Perry and his 'black ships' forced open their markets in the 19th century. The western intrusion had a profound influence on Japan, which, under the Meiji Restoration, resolved to make itself a major power, and proceeded to do so.

Nevertheless, beneath a thin surface veneer of westernization – despite the ubiquitous navy blue suits and the kimono now being trotted out only on ceremonial occasions – traditional Japan lives on. Putting the needs of society above individual needs (in stark contrast with the west), they demonstrated remarkable fortitude in the aftermath of Fukushima: nobody rioted or looted. I am reminded of the powerful film *The Ballad of Narayama* where the

individual is sacrificed (literally) for the good of the community.

India, despite its demonstrably older civilization, has been less able to fend off pernicious western influences, partly because of the baleful influence of – who else – Nehru, whose idea of modernity was the demolition of everything traditional in India, and the aping of anything from abroad, especially ruinous and wholly inappropriate fads like socialism. Reading the astonishingly prescient insights of Japanese scholars, it is clear they decided to only absorb the good aspects of the west and reject the rest. India should study them and follow suit.

We need to engage each other more. On my travels, I often came across surprising little cultural artifacts that showed a certain affinity with India. Individually they may not mean much, but collectively they show parallels and maybe even direct borrowing of ideas. For instance, the classical dance-drama forms of Kathakali and Kabuki. The *torii* that are *torana*; Samurai and the *chaver* warriors of Malabar. The water-trough outside a Shinto temple with its wooden ladle to wash your feet. The legend that it's a fox's wedding when there is simultaneous sunshine and rain is common in Japan and in India.

I happened to read a great deal of Japanese literature (which endeared me to Japanese acquaintances!) when I was a child, translated into Malayalam: the classic *Tale of Genji*, Kawabata, Tanizaki, et al. And later I

read many modern writers in English translation: Mishima, Murakami, et al. While Japanese literature – and by extension its culture – is unique, I still see an underlying thread of empathy that we need to enhance.

Most of all, there is no record of animosity and conflict between the two. Partly because of distance, there have been no direct relations between the two civilizations. There is a historical bond between the two countries from the time of the Independence movement and the Indian National Army (INA). Besides, there is the memory of Justice Radha Binod Pal, the lone Asian member of the War Crimes Tribunal after the Japanese surrender in 1945. His dissenting opinion that the trial was flawed and that it was in essence victors' revenge endeared him to the Japanese: there is an honoured statue of his at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo.

India, as a rising power aspiring to be the third pole in a global G3, needs allies. In Asia, there is none better than Japan, though others such as Vietnam and Indonesia should also be targeted and cultivated. Some others, such as Malaysia, Cambodia, and Thailand, are perhaps not quite as liable to align with India as their ties to other powers are too great. But Japan is the prize.

PM Abe and PM Modi share warm relations

The recent visit by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to India was perhaps the most upbeat news in a while. There have been no major

issues between the two nations in hundreds of years, and there is complementarity between their economies: one rich but slowing, the other poor but accelerating.

But there has been a history of benign neglect between the two nations since the end of the Second World War. This was mostly due to the Americanization of Japan on the one hand, and India's obsession with the UK and Fabian socialism on the other. But the time has come for both to abandon these alien influences.

Japan set out to be even more American than America itself. Conversely, India did not "Look East" until recently, because Nehruvians were fascinated with the UK; and paradoxically repelled by capitalism. Thus Japan's rise to global economic power was ignored by India, which was busy pontificating as the champion of the ill-conceived Non-Aligned Movement.

But those days are behind us, and the aggressive rise of China has concentrated minds wonderfully. The fear of China has at last drawn Japan and India together. The announcement that Japan would henceforth be a permanent member of the annual Malabar naval exercises between the US and India had the Chinese huffing and puffing, but it is only the latest example of a possible Asian alliance to contain the rampaging dragon. Australia and Vietnam are other possible partners.

Thus, the agreements signed on nuclear cooperation, the possible sale

and manufacture of Shinmaywa US-2 amphibious aircraft, and the bullet train are all solid indicators of a possible convergence of interests. The optics of the meeting was highly atmospheric: the Ganga *arati* being held in Varanasi with deep cultural significance for India, as much as sister city Kyoto holds for Japan.

The deal on nuclear cooperation is particularly interesting, because Japan has a moral sense of itself as the only victim ever of a nuclear attack, and thus feels especially concerned about nuclear proliferation. Despite all of India's protestations that it has been a responsible nuclear power, Japan has insisted for years that India must sign the unfair Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) before it would work with India. That insistence has now been dropped quietly, as interests overrule moralization.

The sale of the amphibious plane also breaks new ground. Japan's military has been constrained by law to a very low profile confined to self-defense under a presumed American nuclear and defense umbrella. For the very first time since World War II, Japan is now actively selling its military technology; that India is the partner seems highly symbolic. Incidentally Japanese aeronautics in WWII was highly advanced: their Mitsubishi Zero fighter plane was considered one of the best in the conflict.

The bullet train collaboration is a big relief for Japan. After pioneering the *shinkansen* that criss-cross the

Japanese countryside at breathtaking speeds, they attempted to sell the technology abroad. They ran into a huge roadblock over the past few years because the Chinese appear to have covertly expropriated the technology that Mitsubishi Heavy Industries used in early bullet train contracts in China. Now they're competing, and defeated the Japanese in a hotly-contested tender in Indonesia.

Thus, Abe's recent visit to India was a major step forward in what should be one of Asia's enduring alliances. Despite the dictum that there are no permanent interests, the two nations have so many interests that converge at the moment that this could well be, in Abe's own words, "the most important alliance" for both countries, especially as Japan pivots and remakes itself for the 21st century.

But India needs to change, too. For one thing, the fastidious Japanese, who also like to eat their unique cuisine, find India challenging. The omnipresent dirt and dust make them uncomfortable, and so does the lack of Japanese restaurants and their cuisine. A few have sprung up in Bangalore, thanks to Toyota's joint venture, but India would be wise to invest in more, and in teaching the language - which is, at least to my ears, euphonious. The simple *katakana* script is not all that difficult either, although the *kanji* Chinese-derived characters are.

There is also a culture clash situation in terms of business ethics. After dealing with many cultures in

the US, Europe, and Asia, I find the Japanese to be unique in their business dealings. Since they work by consensus, it takes a long time for everyone to come to an agreement. But then, they intend to deliver to the letter whatever they say in the contract, and they absolutely will, without fail. There is the apocryphal story of a Japanese supplier whose contract specified no more than 3 defective parts per million. They delivered a million perfect parts, and then, separately, 3 parts they had specially manufactured to be defective!

This is likely to utterly shock Indian interlocutors, for whom a contract is merely a promise to put 'best effort' towards achieving the agreed-upon outcome, and not a commitment to deliver. This asymmetry will lead to much heart-burn unless a workable via media can be arrived at by people from both sides: a little more integrity from the Indian side, a little more flexibility from the Japanese side. The fact that Japanese have already invested heavily in the Delhi-Mumbai and other industrial corridors is an indication that this obstacle can be overcome.

A changing Japan is more assertive about its own interests

Most of the commentary about Japan these days concentrates on its economic malaise after a real estate bubble burst almost twenty years ago; with the demographic time-bomb (it is the most rapidly aging nation in the world), this seems to consign Japan to

the also-rans. However, a quiet political revolution has been taking place there as well.

In the recent past, Japan has taken a few steps to becoming a more 'normal' country, rather than one that had to continue to self-abase in atonement for its war crimes (both real and imagined) in WWII. There is a deep sense of shame in Japanese culture – and this used to mean suicide by *seppuku*, ritual disemboweling, for those who brought shame upon themselves.

The American-imposed Constitution, a vestige of their occupation of Japan, was intended to drill into the people a deep pacifism; in effect, breaking their spirit. But there also remains a pacifist streak in Japan, which objects to any assertion of national will.

But now, the offending Article 9 is under fire. It says that “land, sea and air forces, as well as other potential, will never be maintained”, as geostrategist Brahma Chellaney pointed out (“Loosening Japan’s pacifist bonds, *The Washington Times*, Jan 3, 2016). And exports of military equipment are prohibited. Japan does not even have the right to defend itself. The fact of China’s saber rattling in the South China Sea (through which most of Japan’s energy imports flow), and of their increasingly shrill claims to Japan’s Senkaku islands (the Chinese even invented a new name for it, Diaoyu) shows that this diffidence is misplaced in today’s world.

Even though there is a significant

pacifist sentiment in Japan, especially from a Buddhist party allied with the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, it is likely that there will be an overturning of Article 9 (as PM Abe has suggested) or a broader re-interpretation that can make Japan at the very least capable of defending itself, and working with allies, such as India.

The other surprise was their December 28th agreement with South Korea over ‘comfort women.’ This issue has been an irritant in relations between the two countries, which are otherwise similar, high-achieving democracies. PM Abe issued a formal apology and a fund of \$8.3 million for the remaining 46 comfort women still alive. If this can resolve the issue, Japan will have found an ally which shares its concerns about North Korea and China.

A more assertive Japan that lives up to its economic might as the third largest economy in the world, and one that is more worried about its own interests than about what the Americans think, is a welcome development for India. An alliance of like-minded nations in Asia is a prerequisite for containing a rampaging China and for India’s own ‘Peaceful Rise’ as a global super-power. An economic, cultural, and military partnership with a benign Japan is perhaps, without hyperbole, India’s most important diplomatic goal. ●

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Revolutionizing the Power Sector through a Comprehensive UDAY Scheme

✍ Siddharth Singh

The Ujjwal DISCOM Assurance Yojna (UDAY), launched by Modi Government, will not only improve the capability of distribution companies but it will also account to capital savings around Rs.12,000 Crore for Public Sector Banks (PSBs) as estimated by the Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited(CRISIL). The Overall losses of the power distribution companies were estimated to be around Rs.62,000 Crore as of March 2015(estimated by CRISIL). This is mainly due to operational inefficiencies, discounted tariffs and subsidies, power thefts and leftover interest rates on the past

debts. The companies were facing a total debt of about Rs.4.3 Lakh Crore and most of them were on the verge of bankruptcy. So in this backdrop, this scheme has been launched by Modi Government for financial restructuring for these companies.

How UDAY scheme is implemented:

According to this scheme the Union government allowed state governments to take 75% of the debt of the distribution companies owned by them and pay back the lenders by selling government bonds and for the remaining 25% the concerned companies will be issuing the bonds. The



State governments will be provided incentives which will allow them to borrow more from the Bond Market. The bonds issued by the state government are offered at a coupon of 8-9% and the rest will be reprised at the minimum lending rate of banks plus 0.1 percent.

Positive Outcomes of UDAY scheme for power DISCOMS

1. It helps to reduce the financial pressure of the power distribution companies and reduction in cost of power.
2. It helps in improving the operational efficiencies and to provide clean and 24×7 power supply across the nation.
3. It enforces financial discipline in the companies.
4. This prevents the standing loans from converting to Non-Performing Assets.
5. It improves liquidity in the financial market.
6. This Scheme has the potential to wipe out losses of DISCOMS in Andhra Pradesh, Telegana and Haryana by 2018. For the states of Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh Jharkhand and Bihar, losses will reduce. But the total elimination will only happen by the improved performance of the companies.

How will UDAY improve the situation?

UDAY scheme attempts to buffer the finances of the distribution companies, or discoms, from the subsidies that state governments may want to provide for

power. This is done by asking states to issue bonds to banks as repayment for discom dues. The states will now have to directly bear on their budgets the entire cost of the subsidies. It attempts to enforce discipline on States as it requires them to absorb a part of future losses of the discoms.

How is UDAY scheme different?

1. UDAY is about Financial Restructuring and Not a Bailout.
2. UDAY is not a simple central government driven bailout programme which just gives cash to discoms and states without accountability.
3. There's a specific roadmap for debt restructuring and there are hard budget constraints imposed for participating in the programme.
4. Once on board, the states will not be able to back out and the only prudent course of action for them will be to drive operational efficiencies.
5. The centre is allowing states to relax their Financial Responsibility and Budget Management (FRBM) Act 2003.
6. Under UDAY, participating states will take over their public discom (private discoms are not allowed to participate in the programme) debt over two years with the debt benchmarked to September 2015. In 2015-16, they can take over 50% and in 2016-17 25% of the outstanding debt on their books.
7. State government BONDS as State

Development Loans and not as Statutory Liquidity Ratio.

8. Another great point about this plan with respect to the banks is that these state government bonds cannot be counted against banks' statutory liquidity ratio (SLR) requirements – presumably the RBI was roped in for this provision already. While this will classify these bonds as state development loans (SDLs) available for sale in the bank books – currently overwhelmed by similar securities – over time, they can create a tradable market in these securities.

Value Chain reform in UDAY scheme

Indian power sector has a very complex value chain – which involves fuel, fuel linkages, power generation, power transmission, power trading and financing, distribution, and end consumption. Different steps in the chain are owned by different parts of the central and/or state governments. UDAY ensures that the discom reforms are not just distribution centric, but positively impact various inputs and outputs to the distribution function, even those which are not owned by the centre directly. This is a big positive vis-à-vis the past discom reform packages.

Reforms related to Operational Efficiency

UDAY compels the discoms to improve operational efficiency. The financial restructuring package will be based on a loss trajectory agreement where the discoms will sign up for ensuring their cost of operations reduces and their

revenue from operations is sufficient to cover their cost of supplies. The UDAY package will need the states to bring their AT&C losses to 10% or 15% (customized for each state) by 2018-19. This is a huge ask, but if the states achieve this, they will get the additional benefits of better infrastructure and technology via the centrally sponsored schemes. The central government will be monitoring the progress on this parameter regularly – a clause built in the UDAY MOU.

Towards Cooperative Federalism

UDAY creates enabling provisions across the power value chain for states to choose and do what fits them, with the view of reaching the committed operational goals. There are incentives at various stages of the value chain, and each state will find value in choosing different paths and different speeds of implementation.

Conclusion:

UDAY seems to be a well thought-out, scalable, future proof-reform and restructuring programme for the struggling power distribution companies. While there is nothing certain in a democracy laced with electoral populism and constantly edgy centre-state relations, this plan may well be the best example of Cooperative Federalism for discom revival. UDAY addresses a range of issues rather than doling out cash and hope things will improve operationally. It is broad-based and comprehensive, “ready for future” and agreed in principle by the states.



Siddharth Singh is Research Associate with SPMRF

Modi's dream of Smart Cities: A hub of 21st Century Commerce

✍ Siddharth Singh

Cities are the heart of 21st century commerce. They drive economic growth by bringing together new ideas, innovative businesses, and the entrepreneurs who shape our global economy. Cities also serve as magnets for people searching for better lives. That is why it is estimated that approximately 300 million people will move to India's rapidly expanding cities over the

next 20 years which is roughly equivalent to the entire population of the United States. As cities like Delhi expand, Indian policymakers in NDA Govt came up with the proposal of Smart Cities, an idea which was much talked about by none other than the Prime Minister himself in his election campaigns of 2014 so as to address the growing needs of citizens resulting from urbanisation.



It is clear that in the time of global economic stagnation, India has emerged out as a bright spot in the world economy and India is seizing the opportunity to attract investment by deploying smart technologies that make its cities more sustainable, which will reshape India's urban landscape and make the country an attractive location for businesses and consumers. As the recent Paris Climate Agreement demonstrated, a long term transformation to change the face of urbanisation in India is underway through building world class infrastructure in proposed Smart Cities.

A smart city's core infrastructure is information technology, where a network of sensors, cameras, wireless devices, data centres forms the key infrastructure providing essential services. Being environmentally friendly, smart cities use sustainable materials for building facilities and reduce energy consumption. The development of smart cities will bring with them innovative solutions like smart and efficient energy, traffic control and home automation, the likes of which currently do not exist in Indian cities. The government's decision to allot Rs 48000 crores for the smart cities projects will give a much needed thrust to the urban development program of India and will help will shape the nation's

growth story and harness faster economic development.

The Modi government's vision of creating 100 smart cities will require an investment of over \$150 billion over the next few years with private sector being a significant contributor. The government has already initiated two programmes with an initial outlay of \$7.513 billion for 'Smart Cities Mission' and the 'Atal Mission for Rejuvenation of Urban Transformation (AMRUT) for the upgradation of 500 existing cities.

Smart City project, when synergized with other key programs like Make in India, Skill India and Digital India, will provide a unique platform for Young India to achieve rapid, equitable and sustainable growth. The move to focus on encouraging innovation in urban design through a "City Challenge" is a smart way to begin the Smart City Journey.

The Government of India announced the first 20 smart cities under 'Smart Cities Mission'. The list has been released out of the 98 shortlisted cities. These 20 cities will be receiving finance for their further development into 'smart cities' and later, 40 cities and then 38 cities will be announced. These cities will be developed to have basic infrastructure through assured water and power supply, sanitation and solid waste

management, efficient urban mobility and public transport, IT connectivity, e-governance and citizen participation. The shortlisted 20 cities include Bhubaneswar, Pune, Jaipur, Surat, Kochi, Ahmedabad, Jabalpur, Vishakhapatnam, Solapur, Davangere, Indore, Coimbatore, Kakinada, Belgaum, Udaipur, Guwahati, Chennai, Ludhiana Bhopal and New Delhi Municipal Corporation.

These cities will get a funding from the Centre during the current financial year. About Rs 500 crore will be spent on each city in phases by the Centre, while the remaining amount will come from the states, urban bodies and private partners.

Rajasthan was the first state to submit Smart City plans last month. The state has proposed total investment of Rs 6,457 crore over the next five years for developing Ajmer, Jaipur, Kota and Udaipur as Smart Cities. The other key states which have submitted their Smart City plans are West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab, Jharkhand, Karnataka and Maharashtra. While Punjab has submitted a Smart City plan for Jalandhar, Jharkhand did so for Ranchi while Kerala handed in the proposal for Kochi. Bengal has submitted plans for New Town Kolkata, Bidhannagar and Durgapur. Karnataka submitted Smart City

proposals for Davanagere, Tumakuru, Hubli-Dharwad and Shimoga. Union Territory Puducherry, meanwhile, submitted its proposal for Oulgaret. Maharashtra has submitted plans for 10 cities, including Mumbai, with an estimated cost of Rs 29,647.45 crore. The Mumbai proposal estimate of just Rs 1,118 crore is the lowest among all the 10 cities. The Thane Municipal Corporation's proposal with an estimate of Rs 6,630 crore tops the list, followed by Amravati worth Rs 5,305 crore and Nagpur - Rs 3,409 crore. The other cities to submit their estimated proposals include Pune - Rs 2,932 crore, Solapur - Rs 2,921 crore, Kalyan-Dombivali - Rs 2,057 crore, Nashik - Rs 1,945 crore and Navi Mumbai - Rs 1,734 crore.

There is tremendous potential in India to build an effective ecosystem to enable our urban areas to become smart by using digital technology. This in turn will create employment opportunities and contribute to economic growth through innovation. Our cities are fast becoming the defining units of human habitation. How smartly we build, manage and operate our cities will be the single biggest determinant of our people's future.

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Modi Government's efforts for Sustainable Agriculture Development and Promotion of Entrepreneurship in Rural areas

✍ Siddharth Singh

Today, with the entire world, India is also making various effective efforts in the field of agriculture technology, agriculture trade and enterprise. In view of globalization, the agri-entrepreneurs, scientists and farmers of our country

agriculture development. In past, our farmers had accepted the challenge of food production in the country and their mindset has been completely changed after green revolution. There is a continuous rise in pressure in agriculture sector due to constraints

Entrepreneurship Perspectives *Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas*



and various departments of Central and State government are making concerted efforts to move forward collaboratively with global fraternity. However, besides formulating a joint strategy, there is a need for discussions, deliberations and coordination to achieve the targets of

like increasing population, climate change, change in food habits, high investment, reducing land holdings and market sensitiveness. Today, India's food security has been strengthened due to significant success in food production and productivity increased in milk



production through White Revolution and fish production through Blue Revolution.

Agriculture is being developed more sustainable occupation and profitable by increasing production, entrepreneurship, cooperativeness and crop innovations. According to National Sample Survey, approximately 90 percent farmers possess land holdings less than 2 hectare, out of which 42 percent farmers have taken loans from banks and 26 percent are still dependent upon money lenders. In the present context, due to adverse circumstances such as climate change, increasing cost of inputs, lack of remunerative prices of farm produce, farmers are in distress and rural youths are not taking interest in farming. In this regard, Central Government has

introduced new scheme 'Attracting and Retaining Youth in Agriculture (ARYA)' so that rural youth may get attracted towards farming to curb rural migration.

Central Government and specially its Agricultural Department is also creating extensive awareness among farmers about agri-business, profitable production systems, new research programmes & schemes and also trying hard to link domestic and global level markets and other concerned stakeholders. Modi Government, in its tenure of last 20 months, has shown its firm commitment towards dissemination of agricultural technologies. Large numbers of extension workers of State Agriculture and allied departments working at district level are being trained through Krishi Vigyan

Kendras (KVKs) on practical aspects of improved technologies and are successfully disseminating technologies to the farmers. In addition to research, Government has also emphasised on technology development and its overall dissemination at field level. With this, the Country is moving ahead towards the significant progress in production of pulses, fruits, vegetables, milks, fisheries and eggs.

In line with the far reaching and futuristic guidance of PM Modi for increasing the income of the farmers, Government has launched various schemes for agriculture development which are directly linked to the interest of farmers. Ambitious schemes like 'Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana' is being implemented to provide irrigation to every field; 'Soil Health Card' to improve soil fertility, 'Paramparagat Krishi Vikas Yojana' for bringing more area under organic farming; 'Agri-tech Infrastructure Fund' and 'National Agriculture Market' for providing remunerative prices to farmers. Keeping in view the continuous intensive cultivation of land, which resulted in reduced soil fertility, the 'Soil Health Card Scheme' was launched by the Prime Minister himself. In order to promote Soil Health Management, Government provides assistance to State Governments for setting up Soil Testing Laboratories, Fertilizer

Testing Laboratories as well as implementing of organic farming project across the country. In coming days, Soil Health Cards will be made available to 14 crore farmers during next three years.

Modi Government has also shown its firm commitment to promote Organic Farming which improves soil health and leads to better quality crops. Paramparagat Krishi Vikas Yojana, a new scheme to develop organic clusters and make available chemical free inputs to farmers is being implemented. In the next three years, it is proposed to form 10,000 cluster covering 5 lakh acre area.

Government of India is committed to accord high priority to water security. The objective behind Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchai Yojana is "Har Khet Ko Paani". To achieve synergy of resources, collaboration has been established amongst Department of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Water Resources and Department of Land Resources to implement Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchai Yojana (PMKSY). Cultivation of pulses under National Food Security Mission has been started in many states.

The Agricultural Department has also taken various step to formulate a scheme for implementation for National Agriculture Market through Agri-Tech Infrastructure Fund (ATIF) with an allocation of Rs. 200 crore.. ATIF is aimed at implementation of an

appropriate common e- market platform to regulate 585 regulated wholesale markets in the states across the country.

Agriculture marketing sector today presents a scenario wherein the market is fragmented not only amongst states but even within states into different market areas each governed by separate Marketing Committee thus entailing requirement of multiple licences for trading, levy of market fee and restrictive marketing practices which hinder both proper market access for farmers and also the development of required infrastructure for handling the produce. To overcome impediments in marketing of agriculture produce, the Agriculture Ministry has initiated National Agriculture Market scheme.

Modi Government has also initiated “Blue Revolution” to take forward the fishery sector as it will contribute to the betterment of livelihood of fishermen, fisher women and aquaculture fish farmers, besides providing high energy proteins for tackling protein malnutrition and creation of rural employment through ancillary industries like packaging, transportation, ice manufacturing, processing etc.

Agriculture is not only a source of livelihood but it also leads to job or entrepreneurship development. Today’s farmers cannot be self reliant

only by using old farm techniques because Agricultural inputs are costly and in order to use new Agriculture technologies, there is necessity of more investment. That is why, Modi Government has invested in lot of scheme like Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana, New Crop Insurance Scheme, and in other projects related to agriculture. Govt is also promoting many schemes as well as it is encouraging farmers to use low cost based Agriculture technology to get more crop yield and increase their income, so that the dreams of Prime minister “ JAI KISAN JAI VIGYAN” can be fulfilled.

Central Government has made concerted efforts for overall development of Agriculture sector. With a view to actualize the welfare sentiment of farmers, the name of Ministry of Agriculture was changed to “Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers welfare” so that ministry should work for Agriculture development as well as farmers welfare.

All these efforts will succeed only when, our entrepreneurs along with farmers and departments of agriculture of various states promise together for sustainable agriculture development and promotion of entrepreneurship in the rural areas.

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(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate with SPMRF)

The Decline of West Bengal

✍ Dr. Anirban Ganguly

The Trinamool Congress fought the West Bengal Assembly elections on the plank of “poriborton” promising to turn the state’s fortunes around after a debilitating 34 years of Communist rule. Yet five years down the line, actual “poriborton”, still eludes the state and its misfortune still continues even after four decades.

An uninterrupted four decades of CPIM led Left Front rule followed by five years of anarchic Trinamool Congress rule has proved to be acutely detrimental to the health of the state in its entire dimension. In assessing the decline of West Bengal, one sees how both the CPIM and the Trinamool Congress governments have failed the people of the state, denigrating their aspirations and reversing the fundamental promises on which they had come to power. The confines of a single report or narrative can never capture or recount in its entirety, the magnitude of West Bengal’s problems and challenges but at least it needs reiteration especially at a time when the aspiration for change or at least the hope for initiating a new process of change has again picked up. The assembly elections of 2016 will

essentially be fought on the argument that West Bengal has not yet achieved the “poriborton” that she was promised nearly four decades ago. Each phase of poriborton has in fact led her down the spiral to the nadir of stagnation, non-performance, insecurity and instability.

Perhaps one of the greatest political tragedies of post-independent India has been the fate of Bengal. At the forefront of industrial growth and development once, the state began falling back and losing momentum soon after the CPIM led Left Front government took over. The last great stalwart of the state was Dr. B.C.Roy who displayed a vision for the state’s progress and had worked to implement it in right earnest. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was the other stalwart because of whom West Bengal existed and was secured. Dr. B.C.Roy is of course forgotten, since he left behind no dynasty or financial legacy that could be exploited to create a political empire or narrative. The Congress, post 1977 rapidly degenerated into a scattered group in the state with most of its senior leaders working to protect and perpetuate Left rule in return for support in Delhi

and a few parliamentary berths.

In its long tenure in power the Left Front government not only worked to de-industrialise the state but developed the impression that the state itself was anti-progress, anti-development, anti-industry and anti-growth. The ruin and run of capital over the decades, the decay of educational institutions and the inability to inspire confidence in industry and attract prospects of growth and of jobs, encouragement to militant trade unionism, interference in educational institutions and handing them over to party apparatchiks, ruined an entire generation of youth who either left the state or stagnated and turned cynical due to lack of opportunities and avenues. A well entrenched and well-oiled network and nexus ensured that only a handful of conglomerates and party faithful benefitted, using the system and state's resource to promote the party's and their own interests.

For years, communist stalwarts such as comrade Jyoti Basu and Somnath Chatterjee (later disgracefully expelled from the CPIM after having served the party faithfully for decades) as Chairman of the West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation (WBDIC) would ritualistically visit foreign

countries ostensibly to seek investment for the state but eventually attracting very little that could turn the fate of the state. Over the years such visits came to be seen as state sponsored junkets and little else. As the flight of capital from the state continued the Left Front government kept denying that there was anything fundamentally wrong in the state of West Bengal.

On the education front, the CPIM government packed institutions of higher education such as colleges and state universities with mediocre party apparatchiks whose notions of academic performance and excellence started and ended with how well one could implement the party diktat and serve the local committee and state committee bosses. Then CPIM secretary, the late Anil Biswas, had particularly mastered the technique of controlling educational institutions in the state and of turning them into fronts and bastions of CPIM's activism. The state run schools were also packed with teachers whose main duty was to attend to party work during the period when they were expected to teach and attend to the school's administrative duties. Unless one was connected to the CPIM, unless one owed allegiance to its concept of proletarian revolution – whatever that meant – and unless one

agreed to carry out its political agenda one could never hope to get a job in the academia or anywhere in the state government.

The only development that the CPIM carried out in the name of academic development was the promotion of cadres within the state education system diverting resources in order to build a state-wide base of foot-soldiers who would implement the party's political objective. So determined was the Left Front government in this, that in 2003, about a year after the flagship *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA), it was the only state government which refused to cooperate with the Union government in its implementation. The CPIM led government's insistence that the funds for the SSA be sent to the state government directly delayed progress of the scheme. A direct control of funds was needed in order to keep the cadre-teacher-political work framework well-oiled. Interestingly, this was also a period which saw the likes of Professor Amartya Sen frequent the state as a celebrated guest and darling of the ruling elite. Of course speaking on academic mediocrity and communist control of institutions was *verboten* then.

The comrades and their captive intellectuals are loudest in their false accusations that the BJP has stuffed

bodies such as ICHR with ideologues, because they wish to hide their own, disastrous over three decades performance in West Bengal where they actually promoted, patronised and nurtured some of the most mediocre minds and party apparatchiks. The University of Calcutta, Presidency College and other such landmark institutions fell on bad days. But it served the comrades larger political purpose, they built a cadre of academics who were party faithfuls, had no concern for academic excellence but managed to control institutions and get their way. In post independent India's academic history, no other political party perhaps has played such a devastating role in politicising the Indian academia as has the CPIM.

To see it thus speak today of propriety and declining academic standards under BJP rule and Narendra Modi is akin to a hyena weeping over the carcass of a deer it had just mangled and devoured. The ruling Trinamool Congress has just taken over from where the Left Front left, with promises it never intended to fulfil, it has further accentuated the decline.

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(Courtesy: ToI Blog, 30th January 2016)

India-UAE relation on the trajectory of Comprehensive Strategic ties

✍ Siddharth Singh



The recent visit of Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan of Abu Dhabi, who will be the next President of the United Arab Emirates, marks the infusion of fresh spirit in the relationship between India and UAE with a view to consolidating it as a key partnership.

Prime Minister Narendra

Modi appreciated the significance of a strong bond with UAE which has the capacity to be a strong source of investible funds for India. The UAE is also home to approximately three million Indians who form roughly a third of the country's population and have been a vital source of foreign exchange remittances over the past three decades.

In recent years UAE has come down hard on terrorism and has consciously developed institutions to confront international terrorism, especially of the ISIS variety. This alone is a strong ground for enhancing cooperation with Abu Dhabi.

While India seek investment from the UAE, the latter looks at the impressive size of the Indian market and India's other capabilities. This is the basis of the "comprehensive strategic ties" the two countries now seek to build. This includes cooperation in the field of nuclear power and aerospace as well. Both sides have much to gain from the bilateral direction for ties they are looking at.

The two countries signed a slew of agreements in cyber security, space, infrastructure, energy and cultural exchange. One of a landmark deal struck on this occasion will see the UAE's national oil company Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (Adnoc) store crude in India's strategic storage units. In fact, it has also agreed to give two-thirds of this free oil to India, a move which will boost India's energy security.

The storage, which is likely to meet India's oil requirement for 10 days, will help her minimise the volatility in global crude prices, even if for a brief stint.

UAE's rethinking on stand on terror will certainly help India's strategic security. The two countries saw the most significant change in their relations in terms of cooperation in counter-terrorism plans. The UAE agreed to cooperate with India on the issue of fighting terrorism.

India and the UAE also recognise climate change as a serious global challenge and see the development of sustainable energy sources as a shared strategic priority.

In proclaiming a "natural strategic partnership" with the United Arab Emirates and putting security cooperation, including counter-terrorism, at the centre of it, PM Narendra Modi has seized a rare moment of change in the Gulf and launched a new phase in India's relations with a very critical region. ●

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For First Time In 10 Years, Haryana's Sex Ratio Crosses 900 Mark!!



For the first time in 10 years, Haryana's child sex ratio (0-6 age group) has improved, crossing the 900-mark in December 2015. This is a major jump since 2011 when census figures revealed the state had the worst sex ratio in the country with just 879 females per 1,000 males. In Sirsa district, sex ratio at birth increased from 948 in October 2015, to 978 in November, and to 999 in December. Out of the

100 worst districts in India for sex ratio, Haryana accounts for 12 districts. Prime Minister Narendra Modi had launched the 'beti bachao, beti padhao' programme from Panipat on January 22, 2015 and had also expressed appreciation for Haryana, including the 'selfie with daughter' campaign, during his visits to Faridabad in September, 2015, and Wembley Stadium in the UK on November 13, 2015. ●

276 Villages Electrified under DDUGJY



Ministry of Power has electrified 276 villages across the country in the week from 11th to 17th January 2016 under Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Gram Jyoti Yojna (DDUGJY). Out of these electrified villages, 139 villages belong to Assam, 25 villages to Bihar, 21 to Jharkhand, 60 to Odisha, 30 to Uttar Pradesh and one village fall in the state of Rajasthan. The progress of ongoing electrification process can be tracked on <http://garv.gov.in/dashboard>

In view of the Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi's address to nation, on Independence Day, Government of India has decided to electrify remaining 18,452 unelectrified villages by 01st May, 2018. The project has been taken on mission mode and strategy for electrification consists of squeezed implementation schedule of 12 months with 12 Stage milestones for village electrification monitoring with defined timelines.

Highway construction set to cross record 6000 km this fiscal year

Construction of national highways is powering along and is set to touch the maximum distance covered in a year. Work during the current fiscal is estimated to cross 6,000 km, surpassing the previous best – 5,700 km completed in 2012-13 during UPA-II. In less than two years since the Modi government assumed office, the average daily construction is set to touch at least 17 km.



Ministry data shows an uptick in the pace of awarding contracts and construction as well till December 2015 in comparison to the corresponding period in 2014-15. Total construction between April and December, 2015 was about 1,500 km more than the corresponding period in 2014 – the first year of the NDA government. Similarly, the increase in awarding highway projects came to 1,900 km during April-December, 2015. During January-March 2015, construction almost doubled to 1,500 km against the average of about 800 km a quarter in the previous three.

The real jump in construction will be visible over the next two years because government has set the target to touch the 30-km-a-day target by 2019. This is because the sharp increase in award of works since June 2014 will result in completion of these

stretches in two-three years. Due to positive decisions, including bringing in more public investment in road projects and doing away with irritants in contract norms, award of projects has increased manifold.

The transport ministry is also in the process of putting in place a web-based system called “e-pace” for real time monitoring of all projects since their inception to accelerate roll out and timely completion.

The Ministry of Road Transport and Highways under Shri Nitin Gadkari has undertaken several initiatives towards fulfilment of its larger objectives – to create and maintain a countrywide network of road infrastructure that is mechanically strong, designed to ensure safety for commuters and is compatible with the requirements of efficient and sustainable development. ●

SPMRF Desk

Report of program India-France relationship on 22nd January 2016 by Amb Dr Mohan Kumar



Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation (SPMRF) organized a Round Table discussion on the topic “India-France relationship” on 22nd January 2016. Dr. Mohan Kumar who is presently Indian Ambassador in France delivered the lecture. Amb Mohan Kumar pointed out that there seems to be more popular support than ever before in France during PM

Modi’s tenure for strengthening the relationship because everyone in France believes that PM Modi is a person who can deliver on the economic front. Amb Mohan Kumar said that Relations between India and France have traditionally been close and friendly. With the establishment of strategic partnership in 1998, there has been a significant progress in all areas of bilateral cooperation through

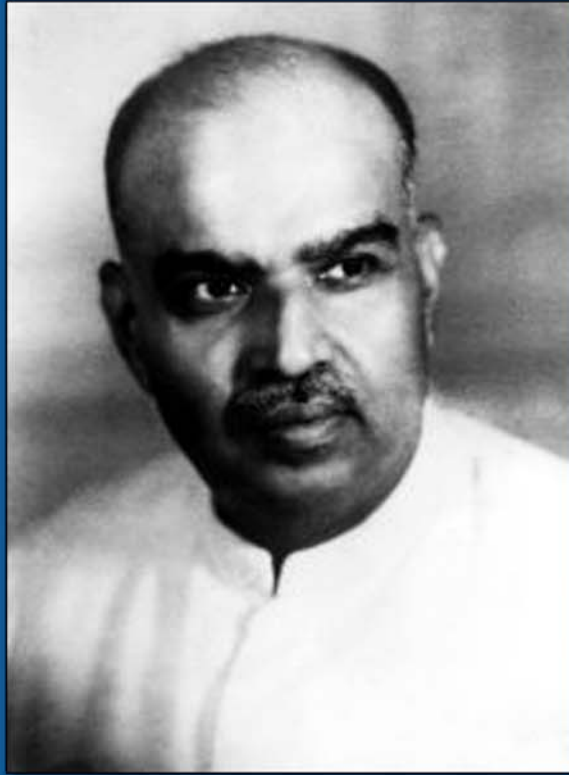


regular high-level exchanges at the Head of State/Head of Government levels and growing cooperation and exchanges including in strategic areas such as defence, counter-terrorism, nuclear energy and space. France was the first country with which India entered into an agreement on civil nuclear cooperation. Amb. Kumar also focused on the growing and wide-ranging cooperation in other areas such as trade and investment, culture, science & technology-based and education. France has consistently supported India's increasing role in international fora, including India's permanent membership of the UNSC.

Ambassador Mohan Kumar also highlighted the India-France cooperation in counter-terrorism area and said that both countries have recognized the urgent need to disrupt terrorist networks and financing channels, eliminate terrorist safe havens, training infrastructure and cross-border movement of terrorists.

He also spoke in some detail about the cultural cooperation between India and France.

The Talk was also attended by former diplomats, many experts from strategic and security fields as well as by some research scholars. ●



"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*