

*Special Issue*

# Nationalism, Good Governance, Development

Editor  
Prabhat Jha, MP

Executive Editor  
Dr. Shiv Shakti Bakshi

Editorial Board  
Ram Prasad Tripathy  
Vikash Anand

Creative Editor  
Dharmendra Kaushal  
Vikas Saini



---

**Dr. Mookerjee Smruti Nyas**

---

- ♦ Opinions expressed in the articles are those of the writers themselves
- 

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay's *birthday*, September 25, 2011

**Printer :**

Excelprint  
C-36, Flated factory Complex  
Jhandewalan, New Delhi-110055

**Publisher :**

Dr. Nand Kishore Garg  
Secretary  
Dr. Mookerjee Smruti Nyas  
PP-66, Subramanya Bharati Marg  
New Delhi-110003  
Ph.: 011-23381428  
e-mail : kamalsandesh@yahoo.co.in

**Price :** ₹ 200/-

## Contents

Page		
5	Editorial	
9	P. Parameswaran	Integral Humanism Revisited
25	Jagmohan	Creativity, Compassion and Commitment in Governance for inclusive growth
34	Dr. M. Rama Jois	Need for reforming Judiciary on the basis of Swadeshi Jurisprudence
51	Subhash C. Kashyap	Indian Constitution, Democracy and Good Governance
58	J.S Rajput	India of Today and Tomorrow for the Young
66	Prakash Singh	Governance and Left Wing Extremism
71	Dr. R Blashankar	Vote-Bank part of legitimate political accession but guard against undermining the country
81	Ajit Doval	Internal Security- need for course correction
91.	N.K Singh	Challenges of Good governance in India
100.	Dr. Yogendra Kumar Srivastava	Role of 'Good Governance' in Protection and Promotion of 'Right to Development'
104	Ramesh Patenge	Ultimate formula for success
109	Nitin Gadkari	Inspired by Nationalism, let's work for strengthening good governance..!
118	Lal Krishna Advani	From Self-governance to Good Governance
125	Arun Jaitley	National Security will have to prevail over vote bank politics
130	Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi	Join hands for a Corruption free India, let us first free ourselves from corruption
145	Shanta Kumar	Context: Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Nationalism Good Governance and Development
148	Joginder Singh	Can India follow the way British and Germany tackle their Black Money
151	Prof. Brij Kishor Kuthiala	The secret of Good Governance in questions of Narad
154	Shankar Sharan	Creating an accountable administrative System
164	Atul Kothari	The Need of Educational Transformation in India and its Form
175	Mridula Sinha	Complete Truth of half the world
180	Dr. Vinay Sahasrabuddhe	Reform polity, a prerequisite- for Nationalism and Development centric politics
190	H.N.Dixit	The tradition of Knowledge in India
198	Amba Charan Vashishth	Nationalism, Antodaya & Sushasan : Keys to Peace, Progress & Prosperity

204	Gopal Agarwal	For effective Governance and development Strong Anti-Corruption Institutions and Laws required
212	Satyapal Malick	Neglecting agriculture and farmers in India
219	J.P Sharma	Politics of Appeasement: A threat to National Unity
224	Ram Kumar Ohri	Looming Spectre of Post Hindu India
232	O.P Gupta	The Conspiracy behind Rangnath Mishra Commission and Sachar Committee
238	Dr. Arvind Gupta	Correct technology will bring transparency and accountability to government procurement
241	Anirban Ganguly	Values, Vision, Idealism in service of Nation- Shri Aurobindo's pointers for Youth
246	Narendra Modi	Gujarat Model of Good Governance
258	Shivraj Singh Chouhan	Nationalism is the basis of development
263	Dr. Raman Singh	Towards a new era of Nationalism, Good Governance and Development
272	Prof. Prem Kumar Dhumal	Sushasan gives priority to common man's interest
279	Arjun Munda	Transparent Good Governance for inclusive national development
284	D.V Sadananda Gowda	Nationalism, Good Governance and Development
288	Ramesh Pokharia 'Nishank'	Towards a model State
290	Rabi Ranjan Sen	The Demand for Good Governance; Total Systemic Change is the Need of the Hour
297	Dr. Shiv Shakti Bakshi	Ideological Perspective of Governance: Gandhi, Deendayal & Jayprakash
310	Ram Prasad Tripathy	Politics of Poverty <i>Imperative of an economic vision of Antyodaya</i>
316	Vikash Anand	Electoral reforms essential for Good Governance





## **Nationalism, Good Governance and Development are part of India's intellectual tradition**

**T**he notion of Nationalism, Good Governance and Development is replete with the feelings for the common man. The infusion of this notion in people's mind is the need of the hour. We now can no longer go against this need. The concept of 'Nationalism, Good Governance and Development' is therefore akin to the trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. We wish to state in categorical terms that entire world is looking towards India with hope and expectation. 'Bharat' means one which always emits light. Only Bharat has the capacity to illuminate the world. It is not only we who believe in it but it has long been a point of discussion among the developed nations of the entire world. This is the main reason that has led us to adopt 'Nationalism, Good governance and Development' as the theme of our special issue.

You all know that we began with 'Antyodaya' and through the path of '21<sup>st</sup> Century – India's Century' we tried to understand the 'Challenges'. After that we focused our attention on 'Samadhan'. The path was long so we followed it up with 'Sankalp' and then marched towards 'Vikalp'. The path from 'Antyodaya' to 'Vikalp' was full of hurdles but neither we faltered nor we stopped, instead we faced the 'Challenges' with indefatigable spirit. Today we have registered our presence in the form of 'Nationalism, Good Governance and Development'.

The present president of Bharatiya Janata Party Shri Nitin Gadkari has upheld these three words as agenda of his tenure. It bears the signature of a positive politics. He said that the future of only that nation will be glorious which will march towards development to establish *suraaj* through *sushashan* with the spirit of nationalism.

We got independence but we never cared to move forward in the belief that independence was an end in itself. We got carried away. We had a feeling that our main goal was only to oust the Britishers. We never cared to ensure that the flame of nationalism keeps glowing in the heart of every Indian. It is a fact that we became independent but after that we never paid proper attention to the process of nurturing the thought process of the nation. We felt that since we had got



independence so nothing more was required to be done. We should have devised ways to keep the flame of nationalism ignited in the heart of every Indian. But it did not happen, we missed the opportunity. It was our first and foremost mistake which has now made us to chant the slogan of nationalism every now and then. Nationalism is the fundamental element of our character. We cannot live on this land without keeping the spirit of nationalism alive. The then rulers began to weaken the basic principle of nationalism instead of strengthening it. This national crime was committed by Congress. Our current generation is bearing the brunt of this unforgivable crime. It is a very important factor for any nation to see whether its citizens are bound by its fundamental characteristics. The basic principles of development will find their manifestation only where the spirit of nationalism and love for the nation prevail. Development can take place only in the nation where citizens aspire to become the leaders of the world. Along with the individuals, development is also extremely necessary for the nation. The process of development should always continue. Change is nature. Nature always moves towards dynamism; it is never stagnant. Moving ahead is the fundamental nature of human beings. Therefore the nature to progress is the main strength, the first step towards development. That is why Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay gave the great mantra of *chairevati-chairevati* to the nation. Development gives the proof of being a human being to an individual. Wherever there are human beings the possibilities of both development and destruction will always be there. But if the spirit of nationalism is strong in the nation then human beings will march towards development. With nationalism the fundamental spirit of the constitution will itself inspire India towards development. The possibility of all round positive development finds expression only where nationalism is strongly ensconced.

The most interesting thing is that in India experiments with socialism, communism and liberalism have been taking place from time to time. But the idioms of development cannot be coined by the 'isms' borrowed from foreign lands. Therefore only nationalism is the way forward for India. The country readily accepts the development that comes through the path of nationalism. The development inspired by nationalism is always steady and stable. The kind of degeneration that we witness today in Indian politics is only because the roots of nationalism have been weakened. It will not be wrong to say that the burning problems of today, like terrorism, Maoist-Naxal problem are mainly the result of weakening of nationalism. All the national problems will be resolved the day we accept nationalism not only as a word but also as a matter of national commitment and dedication. Love for nation is in the heart of every Indian. There is no need to point fingers at any Indian. The only thing required is



to collectively awaken the feelings of nationalism in everyone. It is not solely the responsibility of any institution, organization or individual but it is the responsibility of the entire nation and every individual. The only thing needed is the efforts of everyone - all the people who can simply connect with each other.

The all round development of a nation is dependent on its security and good governance. Good governance is in our blood. In the Mahabharata, Bhishma Pitamaha says, "Bharatnandan, you protect the livelihood of your own as well as others and nurture your attendants and your subjects as you nurture your own children". In the same epic Raja Shibi says that it is damning for the king in whose kingdom even a single person suffers from hunger. It has also been said that the king who doesn't provide security to his subjects and only indulges in appropriating their wealth is not a king but 'kalyuga' in himself. In the Ramcharitmanas it is being said:

***"Mukhia much so chahiye, khan-pan kahu ek  
Palahi, posati sakalag Tulsis sahit vivek"***

It means that the manner in which mouth receives the food and nurtures all parts of the body by transferring it to them as per requirements, the head or the ruler or leader should also act in the same manner.

*Ramrajya* is considered to be an ideal state in Indian tradition. The most striking feature of *Ramarajya* which was the main reason of its success was that every individual used to work as per his own responsibility. They were not required to be instructed about their responsibilities. There was an atmosphere of self-discipline. Otherwise also administration never functions solely on the basis rules, regulations and laws. Chinese philosopher Confucius had said that the nation cannot be governed only through prohibitory laws and deterrent punishments. Leaders should publicly display their exemplary moral conduct. They should present such examples which can be emulated by the people. The same thing has been said firmly in the Indian intellectual tradition. Shrikrishna says in Shrimad Bhagwadgita:

***"Yadyadaatcharit shreshtha tattddevetrojan"***

It means that the conduct of noblemen is followed by other people.

There is also a Chinese saying that soft laws are followed only by few people and many strong laws are rarely implemented.

One more thing which is said in the Indian intellectual tradition is very important. According to this tradition King alone is not responsible for nation's success and prosperity. The duty of every citizen is also being discussed. Only such nations are successful in which people are



patriotic and committed to their duties. Therefore the people cannot absolve themselves of their responsibility that they cannot do anything as the king is at fault.

In view of all these intellectual traditions and political philosophies we feel helpless in seeing the current situation prevailing in the nation. One couplet is worth quoting here:

**“Samar (phal) jis shaakh par dekha  
Uchak kar uspar ja baitha  
Siyasat ban gayi hai aajkal languor ki soorat”**

(Wherever making profit was possible, opportunists tried to grab it. The politics has taken the form of a monkey which keeps switching over from one branch to another looking for fruits.)

In fact, nation is not the name of any geographical boundary or a piece of land. Nation is a feeling. It is directly related to development and good governance. If there is good governance, the spirit of nationalism will get stronger and it will lead to desired development. Today due to lack of good governance the nation is in the labyrinth of many big problems and we are not able to do anything. The monster of corruption has raised its head due to lack of good governance. Naxalism, separatism, regionalism, casteism, vote bank politics and other such evils are there because of absence of good governance.

Therefore the *mantra* of nationalism gives intellectual inputs to our development. It also gives fast pace to our development. We all will have to come forward to lighten the lamp of hard work, transparency and vigour. This is the need of the hour.

While preparing for this special issue, *Kamal Sandesh* team has worked very hard on ‘Nationalism, Good governance and Development’. It is because of its effort that this issue is in your hands. Your blessings are our strength. We are also grateful to all the writers and thinkers whose contributions have enriched this special issue. We are also thankful to those who have helped through advertisements for this noble cause. How can we forget the trustees of the Dr. Mookerjee Smruti Nyas who have contributed wholeheartedly in completion of this work. Everyone’s support is our strength. “Come, let’s hold the flag of ‘Nationalism, Good governance and Development’ high in our national life” – this is the message of *Kamal Sandesh*.

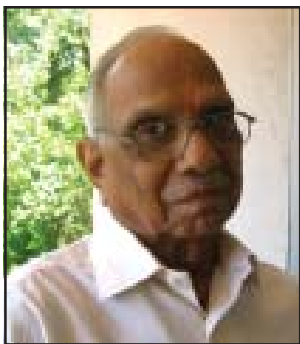
(Prabhat Jha)

Editor, Kamal Sandesh



# Integral Humanism Revisited

*Integral humanism is not a quick-fix solution for electoral success nor is it a convenient strategy for capturing power. It is not even a political philosophy devised to promote and support any political party. It is a comprehensive world-view which originated in India as a result of the profound insight of generations of wise men who are known as the 'Rishis'. It covers every spectrum of human life and its foundations are eternally sound and always relevant. It is from that rich philosophy that the great Indian culture evolved. Any truly nationalist movement can benefit from this all embracing philosophy. It is inclusive of spiritual as well as material progress of mankind.*



 **P. Parameswaran**

**T**he current global paradigm which is basically Western (American) is crumbling from within due to the weakness of its foundation and unsustainability. It is also being attacked by external forces. The world is desperately in quest of a different paradigm which is both sustainable and fair to all.

During the last quarter of

the previous century there were discussions about a "Third Alternative". Shri. Dathopanth Tengdiji, a profound thinker, wrote a book "The Third Way". That was the time when there were two major paradigms claiming leadership of the world- the Capitalist and the Communist. Both were Western in origin though based on conflicting ideologies. But, the Communist paradigm collapsed in its own citadels, leaving capitalism triumphant and USA, its citadel claimed monopoly for reshaping a new world order showcasing itself as the only successful paradigm for the whole humanity. But, the celebration did not last long. The recent collapse of American Economy, bursting like a balloon played havoc, not only within America but



also among the countries of the world, which had integrated with the American economy in different degrees. Fidel Castro, the architect of a distinct paradigm of development, has now candidly admitted that the Cuban model is a total failure. Countries of Europe - the erstwhile imperial masters, colonizing large parts of Asia and Africa, have miserably fallen behind.

World is in need of a new paradigm considering the chaotic conditions engulfing the globe. What we need is not an alternative paradigm, but

a "True Paradigm" based on a globally relevant view and vision of life. Any paradigm presupposes a vision of Reality which inspires to reconstruct a world order. Vision depends upon the level of consciousness in which the visionary functions. The present chaotic, conflictual, exploitative, threatening scenario is a true reflection of the level of consciousness at which the leadership of the world operates. They cannot do better. All the machineries, all sophisticated instrumentations, all the economic and political apparatus, and all the cultural and civilizational structures, they have introduced are all the products of this consciousness. To have an alternative paradigm it is of utmost importance that the level of consciousness on which their conceptual framework functions must undergo corresponding changes.

The Western conceptual frame work, whether capitalist or communist, is basically materialistic. The changes they want to bring about are at the material level by re-arranging the resources, both human and natural, in such a way that an 'ideal' paradigm could be shaped. The concept of development and the concept of human welfare in all its aspects are



The Western conceptual frame work, whether capitalist or communist, is basically materialistic. The changes they want to bring about are at the material level by re-arranging the resources, both human and natural, in such a way that an 'ideal' paradigm could be shaped. The concept of development and the concept of human welfare in all its aspects are measured in terms of material parameters. Needs, comforts and luxuries all indicate that varying degrees of material possessions. Man, for whose sake all development programmes are aimed at also, according to them, is a material being with the body as the main substratum. This is a highly partial and parochial view of Man.

measured in terms of material parameters. Needs, comforts and luxuries all indicate that varying degrees of material possessions. Man, for whose sake all development programmes are aimed at also, according to them, is a material being with the body as the main substratum. This is a highly partial and parochial view of Man. Enjoyment and a materially satisfying supply of goods and services is what they aim at. In the whole process they totally ignore that man is much more than an advanced animal. The same is true with the Western vision about the reality. They see a compartmentalized world with conflicting interests.

## I

There is a general consensus across the world that humanity is facing a civilizational crisis. Many leading thinkers rank it as an existential crisis, which if not immediately averted can even spell doom for the human species. But this awareness is only at the rational or intellectual level. It has not sufficiently seeped into the emotional dimension with the result that although there is enough of discussions and debate, they are not matched by adequate operational agenda. When it comes to that there is no unanimity of approach. Cancun conference is indicative of this. Decisions

are postponed and follow up are not undertaken.

It is also accepted that the crisis is the outcome of the aggressive western civilisational paradigm, mainly spearheaded by the world's lone superpower, the USA. That much is conceded even in the European countries. The American model is basically and essentially materialistic and consumeristic. It has its roots in the biblical command by the Lord that the Nature is meant for exploitation by man for his comforts. The communist model has not succeeded in evolving a suitable solution for the ills of capitalism, the main reason being that it is equally materialistic. It is another version of Christianity turned upside down. It is only a reactionary fruit born out the root of capitalism.

Asian continent is on the rise. But Asia is not one united power nor has it one common civilization. There are two major contestants emerging as promising super powers, China and India. Among the two, China is ahead in many ways which compels world powers to rank China as the immediate winner. China is in all likelihood to dominate the world scene in the near future. But that is not going to be for a long time. The world will not like to be under a dominating superpower especially when it is dictatorial and not democratic. The outcome is, in all probability to be in India's favour. It is only a matter of time. But

meanwhile, India has to equip herself to play the role required and expected of her cultural and civilisational genius.

The really serious question that India has to face is what model of civilization and what fundamental values will India present before the world which is capable of providing a suitable alternative for the present crisis. It is not only a matter of theoretical or ideological paradigm but a practical and workable solution with a universal appeal. That means it should be sustainable and inclusive, tolerant and equitable. Such a

**The really serious question that India has to face is what model of civilization and what fundamental values will India present before the world which is capable of providing a suitable alternative for the present crisis. It is not only a matter of theoretical or ideological paradigm but a practical and workable solution with a universal appeal. That means it should be sustainable and inclusive, tolerant and equitable. Such a model has to be evolved in all spheres of life so that the world could appreciate it and draw appropriate and useful parallels for their application also.**

model has to be evolved in all spheres of life so that the world could appreciate it and draw appropriate and useful parallels for their application also. This will be the main job for India for at least the coming generation. But the crucial question is whether the dominant policy makers is sufficiently or even vaguely aware of this mighty challenges we are facing?

## II

The situation resembles one that prevailed at the beginning of the British colonial rule over India. The context was one of contact and confrontation between two radically different civilizations, India representing the oldest surviving civilization of the East and the British representing the comparatively new Western civilization. Even though the imperialists came under the garb of traders, their real motive was to establish an empire and exploit its rich resources to enrich themselves. Along with the East India Company came the Christian Missionary also. Each supporting the other; the company establishing trading centers first and their rule subsequently while the missionaries 'harvested the souls' of Hindus by converting them to Christianity. To serve both the purposes they started educational institutions to win over the minds of the people. As education spread and conversion increased, Hindus began to realize the





gravity of the situation and started reacting. There were three kinds of reactions or responses. The immediate beneficiaries of the British rule who were taken into the Establishment got enamored of the white man's culture and considered it superior to their own. They became "White Sahibs" and became their native ambassadors. There were others who saw a mortal threat to the indigenous civilization and strongly reacted by adopting the policy of total rejection of the western system, lock, stock and barrel. In the mean while, another section grew up who got educated in the western system but were not totally

taken in. They were proud of the ancestral heritage. By evaluating the situation they came to the conclusion that the approaches, outright rejection or total acceptance, were neither good nor practicable. They became the exponents of a middle path of standing firmly rooted in the culture of the soil, accept and adopt whatever is good and desirable from the new and alien civilization. Present situation resembles more or less a similar scenario. Globalization is the order of the day. Its impact all over the world is terrific. India is no exception. But unlike other countries, India is continental in size, gigantic in population and incomparably strong in its cultural and civilizational wealth. How a country like India is going to deal with the challenge of globalization is crucial not only to India but to every other country. So it is the onerous duty of the Indian leadership to seriously think over the situation and play its leading and decisive role for the benefit of the entire humanity.

One of the crucial factors to be taken into account in the present global context is the role of technology. Technology, though, apparently only a tool to make use of its impact, is so powerful that it can totally change the very texture of a culture on a civilization. Technology is knowledge, it is power, it is wealth, and in short it signifies what is meant by the word development.

The whole world is after development, mostly in terms of economic development. Those who possess the latest technology are the most powerful. It exerts unparalleled influence over the minds of leaders and rulers in all the countries of the world whether developed, developing or underdeveloped. There is a mad rush for acquiring the latest technology, but technology does not come alone, it brings a whole world of complicated relationships, cultural, political, educational and what not. As a matter of

There is a mad rush for acquiring the latest technology, but technology does not come alone, it brings a whole world of complicated relationships, cultural, political, educational and what not. As a matter of fact, one of the root causes of the present civilizational clash is technological superiority or inferiority. Along with other countries of the world, India is naturally in the competitive market of the technological trade along with all the baggage it brings in. India needs development but in her context development cannot be thought as separated from the ancient age-old cultural heritage, values and systems.

fact, one of the root causes of the present civilizational clash is technological superiority or inferiority. Along with other countries of the world, India is naturally in the competitive market of the technological trade along with all the baggage it brings in. India needs development but in her context development cannot be thought as separated from the ancient age-old cultural heritage, values and systems.

The real challenge before India is how much and what kind of modern technology she needs, she can adopt without jeopardizing her own cultural uniqueness. In this case also there are people advocating three different options- total acceptance, total rejection, or selective absorption. The choice we make will change the course of history. It has to be done after careful study, proper evaluation and with great far sight in which the most mature; wise and unbiased minds of the country have to exercise their capacities. This is a critical phase not only for India but for all mankind.

There are certain considerations which have to be born in mind in this context. Cultures are organic systems and have their own law of "being and becoming". They are qualitatively different from machines. While dealing with machines you can borrow from other machines and fit in to your own without injuring the functioning. But in organic system such borrow and fit

approach will not work. It will destroy the system itself. So a mechanical approach will not do in this case. It is here that the danger in inter-cultural contact lies, particularly if one of the two is aggressive and dominating and the other submissive and tolerant. In the present global situation where the western paradigm is still the dominant one and India, though emerging in to lime light, is still at the receiving end. There is every danger of India becoming a borrower and a debtor thereby forgoing her ability and capacity to be an equal partner, much less an independent and equal contestant.

---

**It must be clearly remembered that from the Hindu point of view nations are vibrant , living organic entities which are not only relevant but also absolutely necessary for the new world order. Each nation is the expression of a Divine power and has a mission to accomplish. So longer that mission is preserved and promoted the nation has a vital role to play not only for its own sake but for the sake of the well being of the entire humanity. Therefore nothing should be done in international relationships that will compromise the national identity and its specific cultural ethos.**

Another consideration is that unlike in the case of mechanical transplantation a selective borrowing of "nuts and bolts" which you are free to choose and fit, in an organic entity even a small part from another organic system comes along with some other aspects develops incompatibility, which may be injurious. Take the case of technology. If you blindly borrow a sophisticated technology, there are two dangers, one, there is bound to be conditionalities attached to bargain, another that might bring along with it much wider spectrum of not only the technological but also the cultural values . That is what is presently happening. If this goes too far then we will be facing the danger of losing our cultural ethos and value systems along with our national identity.

When we look at the entire world scene, along with our national predicaments and the chances ahead, Shri Aurobindo's guidelines will be highly useful.

"The principle I have affirmed results both from the necessity of our nature and the necessity of things, of life, fidelity to our own spirit, nature, ideals, the creation of our own characteristic forms in the new age and the new environment, but also a strong and masterful dealing with external influences which need not be and in the nature of the situation cannot be a total rejection; therefore there must be an element of

successful assimilation. There remains the very difficult question of the application of the principle, the degree, the way, and the guiding perceptions. To think that out we must look at each province of culture and, keeping always firm hold on a perception of what the Indian spirit is and the Indian ideal is, see how they can work upon the present situation and possibilities in each of these provinces and lead to a new victorious creation. In such thinking it will not do to be too dogmatic. Each capable Indian mind must think it out or, better, work it out in its own light and power, as the Bengal artists are working it out in their own sphere, and contribute some illumination or effectuation. The spirit of the Indian renaissance will take care of the rest, that power of the universal Time-spirit which has begun to move in our midst for the creation of a new and greater India"

*(Page no-393-94, the foundation of Indian Culture, Shri Aurobindo)*

The so called progressive elements which are enamored of the idea of globalization and have become aggressive advocates of global markets say that the concept of specific national and cultural identities are fast becoming obsolete in the emerging world scenario. According to them there is no room for separate national identities or different and specific cultures. Everything will be steam

## Integral Humanism

**Integral Humanism (Ekatma Manava Darshan) is a term coined by the late Deendayal Upadhyaya to define India's 'Yuga Dharma' in the context of the present national and international situation. It was an attempt to provide a philosophical frame work for the national reconstruction of post Independent India in the light of her own indigenous culture and tradition. As the term indicates, it is a humanistic philosophy with 'Man' at the centre. Any philosophy, for that matter, is meant for 'Man'. Difference between the various philosophies is basically because of the differences in their concept about 'Man'. Integral Humanism is about the Indian concept of 'Man' which is essentially different from the Western concept.**

rolled into one global entity. This is a dangerous idea though fascinating at the beginning particularly for Indians who, because of the shallowness of their understanding, confuse between the 'global family' and 'global market'.

It must be clearly remembered that from the Hindu point of view nations are vibrant, living organic entities which are not only relevant but also absolutely necessary for the new world order. Each nation is the expression of a Divine power and has a mission to accomplish. So long as that mission is preserved and promoted the nation has a vital role to play not only for its own sake but for the sake of the well being of the entire humanity. Therefore nothing should be done in international relationships that will compromise the national identity and its specific cultural ethos. It is the harmonious cooperation of all living and flourishing nations' faithful to their own self that can make humanity richer, colourful, and lead it towards the glorious goal for which it is destined. Diversity cannot and should not be annihilated for the sake of uniformity. What is required is unity and not uniformity. This is a serious and profound issue which must be scrupulously kept in mind while considering and giving shape to our future amidst the complexities of international relationships involving

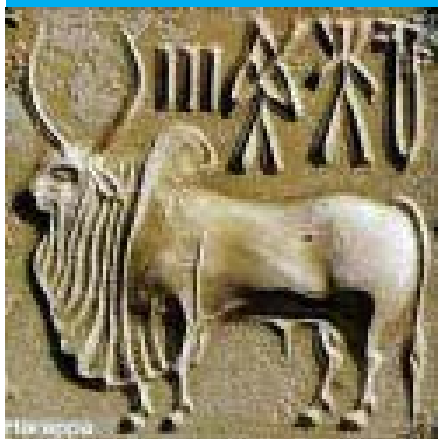


technological and other exchanges.

The other day Dr. Amartya Sen while addressing the International Tagore Conference, organized by the Netaji Research Bureau and Kolkatta Museum of Modern Arts, said that poet Rabindranath Tagore considered the love for humanity more important than patriotism. In a sense

family. Swami Vivekananda addressed the Cosmopolitan Assembly at the Chicago Parliament of Religion as "sisters and brothers". But it should be remembered that he was one of the most ardent and aggressive advocate of nationalism. In this context, it is important to clearly understand the root cause of Tagore's suspicion about nationalism. It was the period

based on, political and economic, conflict and competition. The truth of Indian nationalism is totally different. It is true that India as a 'nation state' is of recent origin. It came under one constitution only after independence. Prior to that, though geographically and culturally looked upon as one entity; India was not governed by one constitutional authority. But India was one nation right from the earliest times. What united her was the cultural unity and not political or administrative machinery. Indian nationalism had been essentially cultural which unified it in a powerful bond of identity based on spirituality which in its outward manifestation had taken various forms and names. It was a tolerant, inclusive, courteous, friendly and generous culture which not only believed in peaceful co-existence, but also welcomed even alien cultures with due respect and generosity. That is why in the long history of India, we never find Indian Kings and Emperors, Conquerors or Adventures, stepping out of India and conquering and enslaving alien territories. Indian nationalism is qualitatively different from the recently emerged European and other nationalisms. Tagore was well aware and extremely proud of the culture of Bharat. He was never a critic of India's cultural nationalism. Therefore Amartya Sen's implied



History of India is the story of the most ancient civilization successfully overcoming threats and challenges of unparallel magnitude and still continues vibrant enough to play the role of world leadership. Through all vicissitudes she has been able to maintain the thread of her cultural identity unbroken. The Vedic civilization still continues. This was possible because of her unique ability to combine tradition with modernity. The foundation of Indian culture is eternally relevant and universally valid. That is what is known as "Sanathana Dharma".

what he meant was that internationalism is more important than nationalism. What is important in this statement is that Dr. Amartya Sen believes these two concepts to be not only contradictory but also conflictual. This is an unwarranted assumption. It is true that Gurudev Tagore had his own reservation about nationalism. As a poet and a *Rishi* born in the Hindu tradition naturally looks upon the whole humanity as one

when nationalism had become quite militant and aggressive in the European continent where each nation not only jealously guarded its own self interest but looked upon other nations with a hostile attitude and a conquering mentality. This had led to national chauvinism and also to bloody wars. It was this kind of negative nationalism that was in the mind of Tagore when he criticized nationalism. Nationalism in Europe was

criticism of nationalism which he attributed to Tagore has really no legs to stand upon.

### III

Integral Humanism (*Ekatma Manava Darshan*) is a term coined by the late Deendayal Upadhyaya to define India's '*Yuga Dharma*' in the context of the present national and international situation. It was an attempt to provide a philosophical frame work for the national reconstruction of post Independent India in the light of her own indigenous culture and tradition. As the term indicates, it is a humanistic philosophy with 'Man' at the centre. Any philosophy, for that matter, is meant for 'Man'. Difference between the various philosophies is basically because of the differences in their concept about 'Man'. Integral Humanism is about the Indian concept of 'Man' which is essentially different from the Western concept.

The Western civilization, primarily rooted in the biblical tradition and accepted by the Abrahamic religions believes that man is born in sin and that only faith in certain religious dogmas can save him from going to hell. According to Bharatheeya Philosophy man is essentially divine. The ancient *Rishis* addressed him as "Child of Immortality" (*Amrtasya Putraha*). As Swami Vivekananda told the Chicago Audience "it is a sin to call man sinner". The divinity in man is covered over by ignorance and illusion. So

the Hindu Philosophy believes that the veil of ignorance should be removed so that the inner divinity will manifest itself. Religion and Education are the means for this. It is pertinent to remember that Swami Vivekananda has defined religion as "the manifestation of the divinity already in Man". He has defined education as "the manifestation of the perfection already in man". Shri Guruj i prefers the term "P o o r n a Manav"- a perfect and fully blossomed man. In short Integral Humanism has kept as its goal a fully developed human being. Man is the product of a long evolutionary process. But the

present man is not the ultimate goal of this process. Shri Aurobindo has made a profound study of man's future and has categorically stated that the present man has to evolve into a "Superman". Whichever way we may put it, Man's destiny is to evolve until he becomes the embodiment of divinity, which is concealed within him. Integral Humanism as explained by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya envisages for the immediate future for man a fully integrated personality which

includes the fullest development of the various dimensions of his being. Man is a multidimensional entity with the soul (*Atma*) as the core. *Atma* is an abstract entity which is encased within five different sheaths (*Koshas*). In the Hindu terminology they are *Annamaya*, *Pranamaya*, *Manomaya*, *Vijnanamaya* and *Anandamaya* (the physical, vital, mental,



Integral Humanism will ultimately lead humanity to the threshold of a higher level of social evolution. As stated earlier Man is an evolutionary being and has yet to evolve further so that he could progressively manifest his Divinity. In Western paradigm he is called variously as a social, political, economic or national animal. He is all these but potentially much more.

intellectual and blissful). Though termed differently and though each has its own specific characteristics, they are not entirely disconnected, but are so intimately interrelated that all these together constitute one integral whole. It is this integrated individual that is called "*Poorna Manav*". Integral Humanism primarily looks at this "Man" as the centre of its philosophy. It is the total 'Man' in all his various dimensions, has to be treated as one single entity. While considering the well



Whenever great changes take place and adaptation becomes necessary Indian genius has found it flexible enough to accept necessary adjustments through reforms. Most of the reformers were saints and sages. *Rishi* mean men with intuition and far sight. "Eternal values for a changing society" has been our traditional method of reforming the society. That is how the concept of "Sanathana Dharma" and "Yuga Dharma" came into existence.

being of the man Integral Humanism takes an integrated view. Each constituent dimension as stated earlier, has its own characteristics, needs and demands. Only when these are met in an integrated manner, the man can grow to his full stature. Though it is the soul that is the core of his being, its fulfillment depends upon the integrated development of his physical, vital, mental and intellectual needs and demands.

Each has to be studied and understood correctly and in due proportion. Provision has to be made for the total development of each in order to ensure that a perfect man is evolved. This can be achieved only when the society provides the congenial

climate. Man is not an isolated being nor can he evolve to his full stature in isolation. It is because of that the philosophy of Integral Humanism takes into account the whole gamut of circumstances necessary for the full growth of all the individuals. This includes primarily the society which is constituted by the basic unit – family, and also the nation and ultimately the entire humanity. Integral Humanism as a philosophy is pragmatic enough to deal with all the problems and demands of the present times. That is why it is called the "Yuga dharma"

Naturally it must lay down the guidelines for a practical restructuring of all the areas of human life. In today's situation, dominated by the Western paradigm, this is a Herculean task. It may be comparatively easy to enunciate a philosophy, but to work out and apply it in the individual and collective life, requires collective thinking and action by the best minds of the country through ceaseless effort involving repeated trial and error. It should be stated to the credit of Deendayalji, that he has broken the path for this eventual transformation. It is up to us to earnestly follow up this philosophy through serious effort to its ultimate fulfillment.

#### IV

History of India is the story of the most ancient civilization successfully overcoming threats and challenges of unparallel

magnitude and still continues vibrant enough to play the role of world leadership. Through all vicissitudes she has been able to maintain the thread of her cultural identity unbroken. The Vedic civilization still continues. This was possible because of her unique ability to combine tradition with modernity. The foundation of Indian culture is eternally relevant and universally valid. That is what is known as "Sanathana Dharma". But whenever great changes take place and adaptation becomes necessary Indian genius has found it flexible enough to accept necessary adjustments through reforms. Most of the reformers were saints and sages. *Rishi* mean men with intuition and far sight. "Eternal values for a changing society" has been our traditional method of reforming the society. That is how the concept of "Sanathana Dharma" and "Yuga Dharma" came into existence.

"Ekatma Manava Darsan" is the "Yuga Dharma" for this age. The chief characteristics of "Ekatma Manava Darsan" can be broadly enumerated this.

- (1) Unity of existence – 'SARVAM KHALIDAM BRAHMA'
- (2) Multiplicity and variety that we experience are only the varied expressions of this latent unity under different names and forms.

(3) Being the expression of one, multiplicity is interconnected and interdependent. They are not independent of each other – all relations whether inter human or between Man and Nature or between nations and nations should be on the basis of this interconnections and inter dependences. They should not be conflictual.

(4) The same is true about the various constituents that make up individuals and society. The principle of existence is mutual cooperation and coordination and not conflict and contradiction. On the basis of this, every department of life, every discipline should be looked upon as part and parcel of one single whole and therefore mutually supporting and making up one whole.

(5) Science and spirituality should be viewed as two different approaches to realize the ultimate



**India had a perspective vision of the evolution of human society through various stages, from the Man the Individual, to Humanity the Universal. In between there are a number of stages one evolving into a larger one in successive wider and wider circles. They do not cancel each other. The smaller unit evolves into the next one each accepting the other. Indian concept was of "Akhand Mandalakara" in the shape of unbroken evolutionary circle. Each is necessary for the other and fulfils the other. So the individual man evolves into the family, it grows into the society, expands into the nation and then to humanity which comprises of all the nations, embracing each other in a warm and co-ordial relationship.**

Truth. As such, there is no real conflict between the two. Consequently science and technology must complement spirituality and humanity. It is on the basis of this fundamental

approach that all the areas of activities from the individual to the universal should be formulated. The motto can be well summarized in the words of Bhagavad Gita "Parasparam Bhavayanthaha Shreyaha Paramavapsyathe". When this principle is properly understood and honesty pursued it will lead humanity towards the goal of "Vasudhaiva kudumbakam".

But it is quite true that to give concrete shape to this sublime idea in the midst of the most complicated circumstances in which we live requires a lot of strenuous effort, unshakable determination, practical wisdom, infinite patience and perfect understanding and mutual cooperation among all who are committed to the

idea of Integral Humanism. For humanity to survive there seems to be no other way. This is not an alternative paradigm but the only paradigm which is open to us.

V

Leaders of independent India, traumatized by partition and its legacy of problems took India in a direction quite different from that envisaged by her national geniuses, and which she legitimately deserved. They were unduly influenced by foreign models of ideologies. Though they spoke in terms of non alignment they leaned heavily on the side of Soviet model of socialism for economic development. Domestic policy was aggressively anti-Hindu though they clothed it by the word "secularism". The net result was self aberration. It was to correct this aberration and give a genuinely national orientation that Integral humanism was conceived. It was a holistic philosophy covering all the areas of national life.

Mahatma Gandhi had popularized the concept of *Rama Rajya*; Vinoba Bhave was an ardent advocate of *Sarvodaya*. Integral Humanism largely resembled both these in broad details. Those were the days when there were many world thinkers who saw the danger ahead posed by the current Western model and emphasized the need for an alternate approach to capitalism and communism, which were not only materialistic but also promoted vulgar consumerism. They believed in gigantic mode of production – whether industrial or agricultural.

Humanistic economic thinkers like Prof. Shoemaker, had started advocating "technology with human face" and "small is beautiful". But our first Prime Minister borrowed heavily from the Soviet model of gigantic industrialism and 'green revolution' in agriculture. Both were not only unsuitable to Indian conditions but also were fiercely opposed by

agriculture, family- owned plots of land were to become the units of intensive cultivation. Irrigation facilities were to be assured to every farm, so that agriculture will not solely depend on the monsoon. This would result in improved production, large scale employment and balanced development of rural and urban areas. The spirit of *Swadeshi* would become alive.

Corruption and other social evils cannot be abolished by legislation. Values have to be promoted, for this education has to be revamped. Spiritual values which were the foundations on which the great Indian culture was built up have to be given due respect instead of condemning them as anti secular as we do today. Vulgar consumerism which has become a matter of prestige should be socially discouraged; even social boycott of people indulging in such harmful practices can be

Mahatma Gandhi whose 'brand name' they liberally exploited. It was in this context that Deendayal Upadhyaya propounded the concept of Integral Humanism in which the total development and well- being of Man were to be the goal of all economic and political activities.

As opposed to gigantism he advocated decentralized economic and political system where 'Man' could fully exercise his economic and political freedom through small scale industrial units and agricultural farms supported by the local bodies. It envisaged every home to be a centre of production of goods. In the field of

Cultural values could be maintained. Self Government (*Swaraj*) would become a reality. Man's individuality will not be drowned in an ocean of urbanized chaos. Latest technologies available now could be eminently suitable for this kind of small scale, decentralized production. Such a model would also be in tune with the tradition, values and experience of India's vast population. In spite of all these favorable factors, unfortunately the Nehruvian model became the order of the day in independent India.

After the collapse of Communist model in 1990, our country was taken to the other extreme of economic



liberalization where private capital and corporate bodies began to run the show. The need and relevance of a truly Indian model such as integral humanism was not seriously considered much less experimented. Now is the time for such a leadership to emerge who can think unblended by prejudices and harmful hangovers. They can launch a bold experiment on the basis of integral humanism as enunciated by saintly visionaries like Swami Vivekananda and Mahayogi Aurobindo, Gandhiji and Sri Guruji with a comprehensive and practical vision. To embark upon such an indigenous model will be the true way of paying our debt to Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya who gave us the philosophy of Integration and who passed away prematurely.

## VI

Integral Humanism will ultimately lead humanity to the threshold of a higher level of social evolution. As stated earlier Man is an evolutionary being and has yet to evolve further so that he could progressively manifest his Divinity. In Western paradigm he is called variously as a social, political, economic or national animal. He is all these but potentially much more. At present he is distinguished from other living beings by his rationality which has given him a good deal of leverage over every other creation. All the

advances which he has made, which are the characteristics of the present civilization, are the outcome of his capacity to act in a rational manner. 'Science and Technology' is the flowering of this unique human faculty. It has worked wonders but simultaneously it has created problems of catastrophic consequences. In the utilization of his power of reasoning, it seems, he has forgotten the very purpose of this talent which he gifted with. Very often we find the present day civilized man acting in a way detrimental to the society, bringing about destruction of environment, extinction and endangering of innumerable species and threatening his own future. The hall mark of today's much flaunted civilization is extreme vulgar consumerism.

**When such a well balanced society is established wherein material prosperity and spiritual enlightenment go hand in hand, it can be stated that an ideal condition prevails. Such a stable Dharmaic society will provide the conducive and congenial basis for future evolution. At that level Man will transcend the limitations of rationality and enter into a higher realm where the law of the spirit will operate. Sri Aurobindo calls it a 'spiritualized society'.**

Today neither his rationality nor social or political thinking seems to guide him in the right direction. Economic motive is paramount but economy devoid of humanism motivates only consumerism. In many respects man whose next higher stage of evolution is to manifest his divinity, appears to be sinking below the level of beastiality, because animals neither act against their own interest nor indulge in pleasures beyond the permissible level.

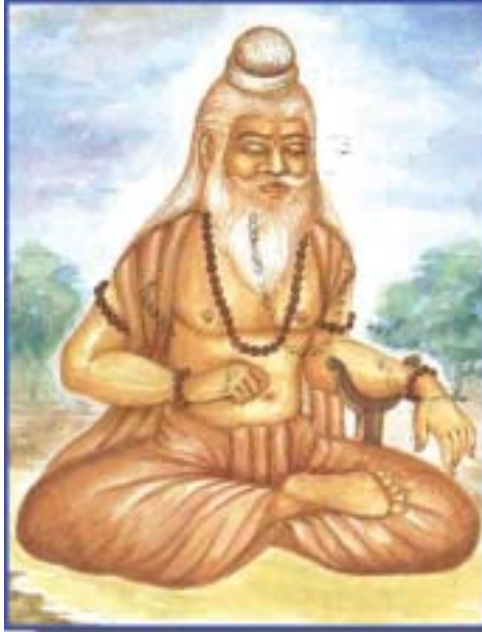
Man has the capacity of discrimination to choose whether he should sink further down or climb higher up in the scale of evolution. What distinguishes as Man from Animal is *Dharma*. The old wisdom says that a Man devoid of *Dharma* is only an animal. The present critical stage demands a *Dharma*-based society. That is what integral humanism actually proposes. Every field of operation should be governed by the rule of *Dharma*, whether it is economic or politics. It is legitimate for man to earn money and enjoy happiness. But these should be on the basis of *Dharma*. The ultimate goal is *Moksha*. Man should live a full life, as an integral part of the society, responsible to the nation, and contributing for the welfare of the humanity governed his life by *Dharma*. When such a well balanced society is established wherein material prosperity and spiritual enlightenment go hand in hand, it can be stated that an ideal condition

prevails. Such a stable *Dharmic* society will provide the conducive and congenial basis for future evolution. At that level Man will transcend the limitations of rationality and enter into a higher realm where the law of the spirit will operate. Shri Aurobindo calls it a 'spiritualized society'. It is only at that level that the cause of the present maladies could be totally eliminated. To bring out such an era the condition precedent is the establishment of 'Dharma Rajya' or 'Rama Rajya'. That is what Integral humanism aims at and we believe that it is the divinely ordained duty of Bharat.

As to the nature of a 'spiritualised society' Shri Aurobindo's vision is as follows:-

"A spiritualised society would treat in its sociology the individual, from the saint to the criminal, not as units of a social problem to be passed through some skillfully devised machinery and either flattened into the social mould or crushed out of it, but as souls suffering and entangled in a net and to be rescued, souls growing and to be encouraged to grow, souls grown and from whom help and power can be drawn by the lesser spirits who are not yet adult.

The aim of its economics would be not to create a huge



**"A spiritualised society would treat in its sociology the individual, from the saint to the criminal, not as units of a social problem to be passed through some skillfully devised machinery and either flattened into the social mould or crushed out of it, but as souls suffering and entangled in a net and to be rescued, souls growing and to be encouraged to grow, souls grown and from whom help and power can be drawn by the lesser spirits who are not yet adult.**

engine of production, whether of the competitive or the co-operative kind, but to give to men - not only to some but to all men each in his highest possible measure - the

joy of work according to their own nature and free leisure to grow inwardly, as well as a simply rich and beautiful life for all. In its politics it would not regard the nations within the scope of their own internal life as enormous State machines regulated and armoured with man living for the sake of the machine and worshipping it as his God and his larger self, content at the first call to kill others upon its altar and to bleed there himself so that the machine may remain intact and powerful and be made ever larger, more complex, more cumbrous, more mechanically efficient and entire. Neither would it be content to maintain these nations or States in their mutual relations as noxious engines meant to discharge poisonous gas upon each other in peace and to rush in times of clash upon each other's armed hosts and unarmed millions, full of belching shot and men missioned to murder like hostile tanks in a modern battlefield. It would regard the peoples as group - souls, the Divinity concealed and to be self-discovered in its human collectivities, group

-souls meant like the individual to grow according to their own nature and by that growth to help each other, to help the whole race in the one common work of humanity. And that work would be to find the divine

Self in the individual and the collectivity and to realize spiritually, mentally, virtually, materially its greatest, largest, richest and deepest possibilities in the inner life of all and their outer action and nature.

(Page no- 241-42, *The Human Cycle The Ideal of Human Unity War and Self-Determination*, Shri. Aurobindo.)

## VII

nation and then to humanity which comprises of all the nations, embracing each other in a warm and co-ordial relationship. Nationalism is an important and vital link in this ladder of human evolution. It cannot be set aside or eliminated as long as human society has not evolved into a level of consciousness which makes nations redundant. But things are as they today, it is too farfetched and unrealistic

at the earliest.” This seems to be the demand of everyone who enters political arena, especially from the younger generations. They look upon politics as a career, a shortcut of success. Which also means a shortcut to amass wealth regardless of means? Those who are more talented choose placement in global corporate bodies. Those who are not up to the mark choose politics. This approach to politics



How do we successfully solve the problems which our country faces? Problems are in fact not only national but global. They are critical. The challenge has to be met. If we fail, the cost we have to pay will be too high. What are the problems? Climatic change, ecological destructions, the divide between the rich and the poor, huge unemployment, terrorism and what not? How can Integral humanism help us in solving these problems?

India had a perspective vision of the evolution of human society through various stages, from the Man. the Individual, to Humanity the Universal. In between there are a number of stages one evolving into a larger one in successive wider and wider circles. They do not cancel each other. The smaller unit evolves into the next one each accepting the other. Indian concept was of “Akhand Mandalakara” in the shape of unbroken evolutionary circle. Each is necessary for the other and fulfils the other. So the individual man evolves into the family, it grows into the society, expands into the

to think that we are anywhere near that stage. What can be the best solution for today’s conflict of nations and civilizations is to organize forum where peaceful co-existence of each is assured in the best manner possible. In this, India with its strong tradition of Universal acceptance can play its role. It is precisely this that the concept of Integral humanism envisages.

“Don’t preach big ideas. Give us something practicable, something that will bring immediate results. We are a political party. Tell us how we can come to power

wipes away at one stroke all claims of being “party with a difference”. Pre- independent politics was service, patriotism and above all mission. Unless we restore that attitude and image, things will go from bad to worse.

Ideology is philosophy. Philosophy according to some people is impractical. Politics is the art of the possible. So how do you reconcile politics with philosophy and ideology? This is a question that confronts the younger generation of the political workers, even those who enter politics with the best of intentions. Therein lies the



challenge, Bhagavad Gita says “Yogah karmasu kousalam”. Yoga is skill in action. It lies in combining idealism with pragmatism. Our great political leaders were also highly venerated philosophers. At least in India, there should be no dichotomy.

### Conclusion

How do we successfully

peaceful and harmonious society. Our post independent leaders thought that agriculture based economy breeds poverty and backwardness. They wanted to shift agriculture workers from villages to towns and industrial cities. The country had to be industrialized, means urbanized. After 60 years, we find rural areas stand neglected and

destroying the mandatory forest cover and playing havoc with our natural resources. Sacred rivers and water resources are getting depleted and polluted. The deprived lot in large numbers migrates to megacities and creates unmanageable problems including anti-social activities. This overall view shows that the policies often followed have proved not only unsuccessful but positively unhealthy. It is high time that we change the track.

How do we change the track unless we are sure of our direction and our destiny? India was a country which has a very long history of peaceful and harmonious co-existence among divergent regions and populations. Forest cover was well protected. At one time, they were centers of learning. Teachers retired to forests, built *ashrams* which became *gurukulas*. The culture that vibrated from these influenced the *vanavasis*. They were not barbarians, but highly cultured people living in harmony with nature and protecting and producing forest wealth for the whole country. Rural areas with well established local governing systems carried on their life with agriculture and village industries as their main stay. They had their own economic, political, social and healthcare system along with suitable educational institutions. Middle class towns flourished as trading centers, well provided with all the necessary communication facilities where free exchange

**India was a country which has a very long history of peaceful and harmonious co-existence among divergent regions and populations. Forest cover was well protected. At one time, they were centers of learning. Teachers retired to forests, built ashrams which became gurukulas. The culture that vibrated from these influenced the vanavasis. They were not barbarians, but highly cultured people living in harmony with nature and protecting and producing forest wealth for the whole country.**

solve the problems which our country faces? Problems are in fact not only national but global. They are critical. The challenge has to be met. If we fail, the cost we have to pay will be too high. What are the problems? Climatic change, ecological destructions, the divide between the rich and the poor, huge unemployment, terrorism and what not? How can Integral Humanism help us in solving these problems? We have to begin by ridding our own house of these complex problems to start with. Most of our assumptions have gone wrong. It was thought that industrialization will bring about fundamental changes by providing more employment, enrichment and empowerment of the poor and

backward. While industrialization has not been able to provide employment anywhere near our expectation, sophisticated technology has reduced the demand for employment. Organised sector has failed to provide employment to the skilled labour. Unskilled labour which form the largest chunk of our population are unorganized, incapable of bargaining and are living at the mercy of middlemen who exploit them. Condition of those who were traditionally living in forests, owning, enjoying and also sustaining the forest wealth are now at the mercy of outside capitalist who have no sympathy for the forest dwellers. Maoism and naxalism are thriving in the forest. Deforestation at a rapid rate is de-



Agriculture must be given back the due respect it deserves. The farmer must be respected. Intensive organic agriculture should be promoted. Agriculture promotes love for the land, as also a life of simplicity and human values. It provides the resources and raw materials for many agro based and allied small scale industries.

between the rural and town people took place on a systematic basis. Then there were capital cities from where administration was conducted on the basis of codes of justice which were modified from time to time by *shastrakars*. This four tier system was successfully practiced within the framework of a harmonious blending. The root cause of our present malady can be traced to the calculated destruction of this well balanced and time tested civilisational pattern. The question before us is can we bring about balance and harmony in their mutual relationship. There should be a determined effort to restore the rights and privileges, the duties and services which are required of the people in the forest, rural areas, mid- size towns and mega cities.

Agriculture must be given back the due respect it deserves. The farmer must be respected. Intensive organic agriculture should be promoted. Agriculture promotes love for the land, as also a life of simplicity and

human values. It provides the resources and raw materials for many agro based and allied small scale industries. Rural areas must be provided with facilities available in urban areas, but luxurious consumption must be discouraged.

Healthy lifestyle, native system of medicine, practice of yoga and Sanskrit would enable them to lead a natural healthy life. The mad rush for super specialty hospitals should be discouraged. Development should start from agriculture through small scale industries side by side and heavy industries in areas where they are absolutely necessary like defense, railway etc. It should be from the bottom to the top and not otherwise.

This kind of reversal should naturally bring about decentralization of economic and social power and eliminate to a large extent the alarming kind of corruption which percolates from the top to the bottom. Corruption and other social evils cannot be abolished by legislation. Values have to be

promoted, for this education has to be revamped. Spiritual values which were the foundations on which the great Indian culture was built up have to be given due respect instead of condemning them as anti

secular as we do today. Vulgar consumerism which has become a matter of prestige should be socially discouraged; even social boycott of people indulging in such harmful practices can be encouraged.

Remember how Gandhiji boycotted liquor shops. Conscientious people should take initiative, come forward and organize resistance to all such practices. Civil society has to wake up. These are all within the bounds of our *Dharmic* code.

Individual liberty and civic rights cannot and should not be allowed to destroy *Dharmic* values. Where the administration fails, the civil society must take over. *Dharmic* resistance like boycott and civil disobedience need not be ruled out when the authorities fail to act or collude with the anti-socials. Integral humanism in practice would mean civil activism in the wider interest of the country and its culture. That alone can bring about *Dharma Rajya* or *Rama Rajya*. ■

(The writer is the President of Vivekananda Kendra, Kanya Kumari)



# Creativity, Compassion and Commitment in Governance for Inclusive Growth



 **Jagmohan**

**W**e must first clearly understand what is meant by the terms, Governance and Inclusive Growth. What is their ambit? How far do their spans extend? And in what way are they linked with the overall national ethos and national capacities?

## Governance

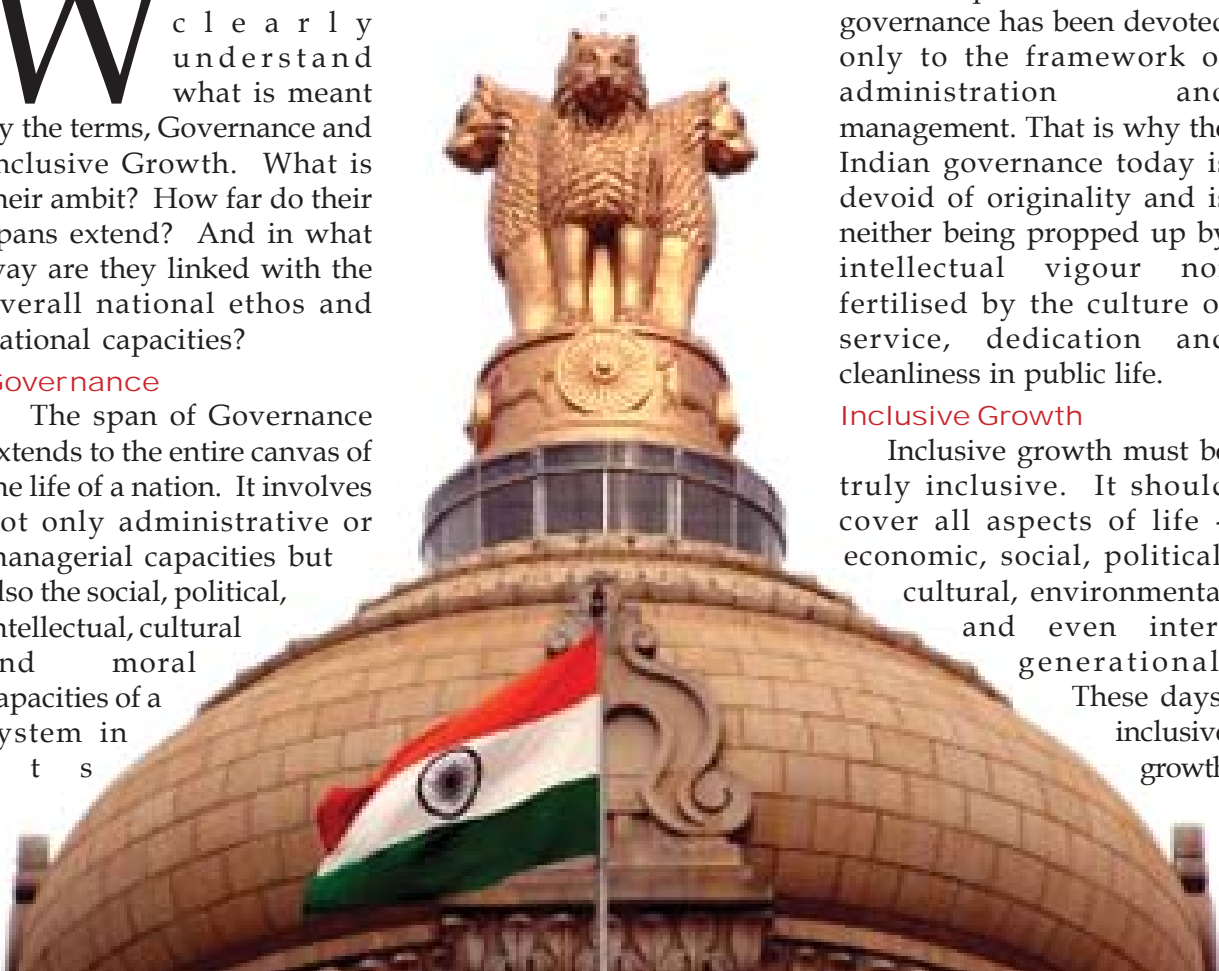
The span of Governance extends to the entire canvas of the life of a nation. It involves not only administrative or managerial capacities but also the social, political, intellectual, cultural and moral capacities of a system in its

entirety. And the best governance machinery is the one which harnesses all these capacities and directs their focussed beam on the resolution of the problems that confront the nation. If, for example, the intellectuals provide no fresh or creative ideas or if the culture of a nation is not generative of values of honesty, dedication, compassion and the like, the quality of governance would suffer, no matter how perfect its institutional arrangements are.

The present-day India, by and large, has failed to recognise the vital role which the intellectual, cultural and moral capacities of its system play in determining the quality of its governance. It does not understand that, unless the system is productive of constructive urges and is propelled by values of fairness, justice and compassion, its governance would not improve. So far, whatever little attention has been paid by the national leadership to the issues of governance has been devoted only to the framework of administration and management. That is why the Indian governance today is devoid of originality and is neither being propped up by intellectual vigour nor fertilised by the culture of service, dedication and cleanliness in public life.

## Inclusive Growth

Inclusive growth must be truly inclusive. It should cover all aspects of life – economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and even inter-generational. These days, inclusive growth



is usually talked about only in the context of economic development. But man does not live by bread alone. His requirements in other spheres of life are no less pressing. Holistic development of man alone would result in the growth of a happy and healthy society.

### Compassion and Commitment

If Governance is conceived as a sum total of national capacities, then alone it could be equipped to yield wholesome results. Exclusive or imbalanced growth would be repelled only if all the capacities of a system are simultaneously upgraded and made healthy and strong. In absence of compassion and commitment, for example, inclusive growth would not be achieved even if law, plans and programmes seek to achieve it. The developments of the last sixty-three years in the social, economic and other arenas of public life bear ample testimony to this assertion. Let me illustrate.

### Inclusive Gender-Growth

After independence, several measures were taken to attain inclusive gender-growth. The constitution prohibited discrimination on ground of sex. The Hindu-Law was amended and liberalised. A number of special schemes for the welfare of women were introduced. Huge representation in the Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local bodies was given to them. Quite a few

women came to occupy high public offices. But what is the position of the common woman in India today?

A sizeable section of the Hindus still treats girl as a 'child of lesser god'. Female infanticide and foeticide are prevalent to a considerable extent. This is reflected in the

Female infanticide and foeticide are prevalent to a considerable extent. This is reflected in the national sex ratio which is still as low as 927 that is, against every 1000 males there are 927 females.

*Development Report of UNDP, Power, Voice and Right, 2010*, paints a rather dismal picture of the conditions prevailing at the ground-level with regard to the Indian women.

All this shows that the law, the Constitution, the plans and the schemes floated by the government and the stray



national sex ratio which is still as low as 927 that is, against every 1000 males there are 927 females. In my book, *Reforming Vaishno Devi and a case for Reformed, Reawakened and Enlightened Hinduism*, I have underscored, by citing examples, the tragic irony of women going to 'woman-goddess' and praying for the birth of a son only.

Likewise, on account of what are considered as culturally sanctioned practices, the evil custom of child marriage persists. The state has contented itself by merely banning it under law, caring little about its enforcement. According to the latest report of the UNICEF, *State of the World's Children* (2009), "40 per cent of the world's child marriages occur in India". No wonder, the latest *Asian-Pacific Human*

efforts made by a few social groups cannot alone cure a chronic ailment rooted in the attitudes that were fashioned out of practices followed for centuries together in the name of social and religious obligations of women. The poison that has gone deep into the psyche can be drained off only if, along with legal and administrative measures, a strong movement is initiated and put in top gear to create new cultural and social capacities in the system as a whole and to also inject new commitment in the mind of political and bureaucratic executive to implement with gusto their laws, plans and programmes.

### Inclusive Economic Growth

Take, again, the goal of inclusive growth in the economic arena. The

provisions of the Constitution and Five-Year Plans are tuned to the attainment of this goal. The former even resolves to make the country a socialist republic. But so pervasive is the poverty of commitment that a World Bank report of 2007, titled: *Global Economic Prospect*, has ruefully observed: "India, a country with low initial inequality, is headed for one of the fastest increases in income inequality anywhere".

Anyone who goes around Delhi's restaurants and hotels on new year's eve would find thousands of sleek cars parked outside, with their owners spending virtually lakhs of rupees at every table, while thousands sleep, at the peak of winter, on pavements, in corridors and underneath the fly-overs. When the huge spenders come out and drive to their residence, the spectacle of misery around does not register anything on their mind. With such dead souls dominating the power structure of the State, would inclusive economic growth ever become a reality?

#### Inclusive Urban Development

The simultaneous existence of opulence and deprivation is nowhere so striking as in urban areas of the country. Cities, in the ultimate analysis, are

the spiritual workshop of the nation. In their contours are embedded the attributes of a civilisation. If these attributes are devoid of compassion and commitment, they would become places, not of balance and harmony but of callousness and contradictions. The prevailing conditions in our cities should hardly leave anyone in doubt about the general soundness of this proposition.



Despite repeated declaration for removal of poverty and avowed objective of securing planned, disciplined and sustainable development, our cities have become, with a few exceptions, a beehive of urban blight and civic corruption. They have earned the dubious distinction of having the highest congestion rate in the world. About 19 per cent of the families live in less than 10 square metres of space, and about 44 per cent have only one room accommodation. On an average, the slums and squatters have been increasing at more than double the growth rate of population of cities.

Despite repeated declaration for removal of poverty and avowed objective of securing planned, disciplined and sustainable development, our cities have become, with a few exceptions, a beehive of urban blight and civic corruption. They have earned the dubious distinction of having the highest congestion rate in the world. About 19 per cent of the families live in less than 10 square metres of space,

and about 44 per cent have only one room accommodation. On an average, the slums and squatters have been increasing at more than double the growth rate of population of cities. With about 6 million squatters, Mumbai is derisively called the 'global capital of slums dwellings'. Bangalore, which has recently emerged as thriving capital of India's software and computer service industries and which can take legitimate pride in its glittering malls, shopping centres and housing-estates, has also a slum population of about two million spread over 1,000 slums and as many as 90,000 street children and rag-pickers. Almost all other metropolitan cities of India have similar settlements of slums, submerged in extraordinary densities and wafts of poverty and

pollution. Quite a few of these settlements are no less deadly than the Jewish 'ghettos' and no less 'frowzy' than the slums of Dickens' England. Every year, most of them have to undergo incredible hardship during the rains. They are enmeshed in "rivers of sewage and rain water".

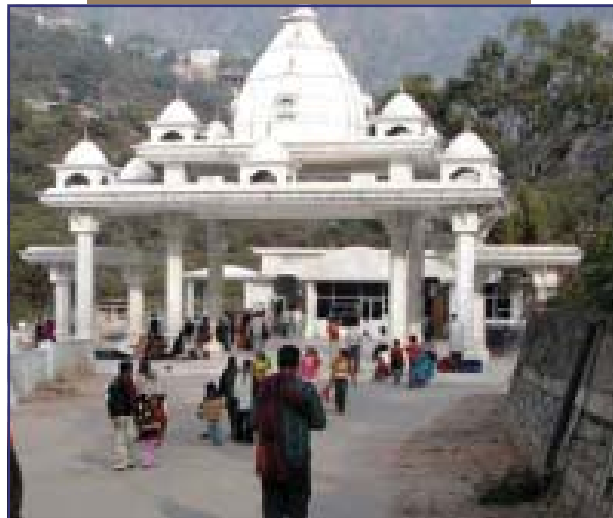
### Growth and Inter-generational Equity

Is growth a one generation issue? Should it include intergenerational equity? Most people do not understand that for every ₹ 3 spent by the Union government, ₹ 2 comes from its own resources and Re.1 from its borrowed funds which would have to be paid by our children and grand-children. Nor is adequate attention being paid to the rapid depletion of natural resources. In not too distant future, water would become a scarce commodity. Already, the level of ground water has fallen sharply in most areas of the country.

### Realisation of the Objective

I have indicated above how the objective of inclusive growth largely remains a paper objective if elements of creativity, compassion and commitment are not in-built in the machinery of governance. Hereinafter, I would show what happens when these elements and their adjuncts become an integral part of a setup of governance. I would

If one were to see the moral and material degeneration of the present-day India, all that one has to do is to walk from Katra to the Mata Vaishno Devi Bhavan. The entire area looks like one 'grand abomination'. Here, despiritualisation of India seems to be total. The self-appointed guardians of 'gods' have poisoned the entire environment and established a tyranny of corruption and crookedness and caused a wasteland of superficiality and superstitions.



invite your attention to two cases. The first pertains to the reforms undertaken with regard to Vaishno Devi Shrine, and other to the formulation and implementation of First Master Plan of Delhi.

### Vaishno Devi-Reforms

After my first visit to the shrine as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, I recorded a

note the following, excerpts from which speak for themselves:

"If one were to see the moral and material degeneration of the present-day India, all that one has to do is to walk from Katra to the Mata Vaishno Devi Bhavan. The entire area looks like one 'grand abomination'. Here, despiritualisation of India seems to be total. The self-appointed guardians of 'gods' have poisoned the entire environment and established a tyranny of corruption and crookedness and caused a wasteland of superficiality and superstitions. Even the most denuded landscape would have a patch or two of green; but none was here.

Pilgrimage, in its true tradition, is undertaken to meet 'gods', have face to face communion with them, attain a deeper state of spirituality and experience a higher vision of truth. In the ancient times, the pilgrim invariably encountered a charming environment. The air was exhilarating, the forest thick and green and the streams full of crystal clear water. The spell that Nature caused on the pilgrim's mind brought in peace and created within him a new verve, a new rhythm and a new spirit. A sublime environment evoked a sublime vision. And a feeling of being 'upward and divine' swelled



from within.

But what happened during my journey from Katra to the Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine was an encounter not with an exhilarating air but a foul stench; not with thick and green forests but a raped and ravaged landscape, not with crystal clear waters of 'Ban-Ganga' but a dreary, and mostly dry, bed of a dirty drain. Worse, it was being face to face, not with the spirits of the great souls and the great seekers of truth but with the machinations of the manipulators and corroded and closed minds who, though spiritually blind, carried spurious maps in their hands for guidance of the pilgrims. It was not meeting 'gods' in their heaven but gods enchained, strangled and suffocated by the limitless physical and moral degradation that prevailed around. It was a thoughtless and actionless India at its ugliest, where both body and soul had fallen asunder – an India which had been sucked of its fundamental values and in which the people had lost the capacity to "be good and do good".

Allegation and counter-allegations were galore. Accountability was conspicuous by its absence. Every one passed on the buck to the other. The 'Dharmarth' blamed the *Baridars* and the State Government. The *Baridars*, in turn, castigated the 'Dharmarth'. The State Government had its own alibis. Amidst the managerial

chaos and confusion, several crores of offerings and donations were pocketed. Powerful caucuses and mafias came into being and entrenched themselves.

The aforesaid visit confirmed my belief that the post-1947 Indian State was making a cardinal error by leaving religion alone. Because what was being left

resolved within myself, I would show how a spiritual wasteland could be regenerated, how new channels could be cut to bring in pure water, how an elevating tradition of the ancient *yatra* could be recreated, how the journey to the shrine could act as a tonic both to body and soul, how the tyranny of the upstarts of

If I got an opportunity, I resolved within myself, I would show how a spiritual wasteland could be regenerated, how new channels could be cut to bring in pure water, how an elevating tradition of the ancient *yatra* could



be recreated, how the journey to the shrine could act as a tonic both to body and soul, how the tyranny of the upstarts of religion could be replaced by a benign, responsive and dynamic setup and how the true face of Hinduism could be seen through the mirror of service to the poor, the sick, and the needy.

alone was not the true religion, but all the dirt and dross, all the material and mental garbage and all the superstitions and perversities that passed under its name. The post-1947 Indian State had ignored the stage of its historical development and acted as if it was on the same level of social, cultural and scientific development as that of the State in the West, where religion and politics could be successfully separated.

If I got an opportunity, I

religion could be replaced by a benign, responsive and dynamic setup and how the true face of Hinduism could be seen through the mirror of service to the poor, the sick, and the needy.

After a long and agonising wait, the opportunity did come in the form of Governor's Rule in the State. But I could not act straightaway. I had to first strengthen my credentials with people of all faiths. I

undertook a number of measures in the arenas of development and administrative reforms. All such measures were warmly applauded by the public and created a favourable climate for the success of my intended action in respect of Vaishno Devi Shrine. My belief that, in the event of opposition by vested interests, the people

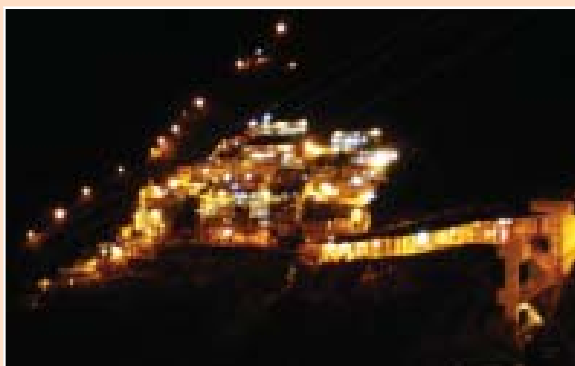
Vaishno Devi Shrine. I knew that I had to steer clear of the provisions of Article 25 and Article 26 of the Constitution, which guaranteed freedom of religion. The proposed enactment had to be so designed that the management of the Shrine and its properties alone were taken over. I had also to ensure that the management

of running the state as constitutional head of the State Government.

After sailing across a sea of trouble, including the high wave of legal battles upto the Supreme Court, I succeeded in my mission. All the while, I remained conscious of the fact that the real success of the reforms would depend upon the development and welfare programmes undertaken in the area and the creative, constructive and committed approach that was brought to bear on their implementation. With this consciousness as uppermost in my mind, a highly animated establishment was created.

In a short time, the entire 13 km route was widened, made pucca, tiled and lighted with about 1000 sodium vapour lamps. More than 15 lakh tiles were fixed, about 5,000 parapet walls constructed, about 2,000 metres of protective railings installed at dangerous points, 26 shelter units were set up and all modern sanitary facilities, including thousands of flush latrines, vacuum cleaners, fogging machines and brooms were provided, besides thousands of blankets which were cleaned through automatic dry-cleaning plants. To save the *Yatris* from costly and unhygienic food, scores of eating places – *Bhojanalayas*/restaurants – were set up at all the sites visited by the pilgrims and also at various places on the route. From these *Bhojanalayas*, simple

In a short time, the entire 13 km route was widened, made pucca, tiled and lighted with about 1000 sodium vapour lamps. More



than 15 lakh tiles were fixed, about 5,000 parapet walls constructed, about 2,000 metres of protective railings installed at dangerous points, 26 shelter units were set up and all modern sanitary facilities, including thousands of flush latrines, vacuum cleaners, fogging machines and brooms were provided, besides thousands of blankets which were cleaned through automatic dry-cleaning plants.

would, by and large, support me, grew stronger. These interests, I had apprehended, would cause a controversy, accuse me of interfering in matters of religion and organise a public agitation by whipping up emotions of the ignorant and the fanatics.

The first major task was to draft a suitable law which I could promulgate under the legislative powers that vested in me during the period of Governor's Rule. I had conceived of its broad framework after my visits to

was handed over to a wholly independent statutory board, headed by the Governor, who functioned as chairman of the said board, ex-officio, and not as an executive head of the State Government, whereby he was required to function on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The State Government had to be kept out. I had also in mind the functions of the Governor as a Chancellor of the university, whereby he acted as an independent entity, outside the constitutional mechanism

vegetarian food, cooked with latest appliances, was made available to the *Yatris* at a fixed rate. Burning of charcoal and wood was strictly prohibited; only LPG or furnaces could be used. The automatic water-machines for cleaning the

Scores of cottages, shops and kiosks were also built. Solar-panels were also installed at the rest houses. Sixty green spots with flower beds and shrubs were created in addition to massive plantation in the complex. A dramatic improvement in the environment of the area was brought about. The entire area, from Katra Bus stand to the *Bhavan*, was made beggar-free.

Particular attention was given to the provisions of humanitarian services to the people living in the neighbouring villages and small town. A large number of schools and medical units were set up. A special measure of immense benefit for the hitherto

*Cholas* were purchased by the pilgrims every day, substantial income accrued to the women who were involved in the work of fabrication. Consequently, they became economically independent and their family and social status went up. Previously, the women of the area were generally neglected and led a miserable life. Their husbands, mostly *Baridars*, being flushed with ill-gotten money and having little sense of healthy values, indulged in merry-making and drinking-bouts. They also spent large sums of money in litigation amongst themselves. A leading advocate of Jammu told me that before Vaishno Devi reforms were undertaken, he seldom saw a *Baridar* who came to his office in a non-inebriated state.

No less attention was given to the welfare of the animals. The ponies as well as the pony-operators were given a new deal. Each pony was licenced. Fair charges and fair weightage were fixed. For medical examination and treatment of the ponies, six veterinary dispensaries were set up. Pony operators were given free uniforms. Pony sheds were constructed at main halting places.

The reforms have also brought about a huge economic bonanza to the State in general and Jammu region in particular. The number of *yatris* has increased ten to twelve fold. From the offerings and donations of the *yatris* alone, about 1300 crore



On the basis of a recent study, conducted with the help of IIT Delhi, it has been calculated that about ₹ 750 crore are being injected annually in the economy of the small town of Katra alone. In Jammu, most *yatris* stay for a longer period and spend much more on what are known as specialties of this city. The sales-tax of the State has gone up substantially. The air, rail and road transport-services have also increased manifold, bringing all round mobility and consequent prosperity to the region.

crockery were also installed. Consequently, the cases of gastro-entritis, which were previously common amongst the *yatris*, practically vanished from the entire complex. A virtual revolution in the arena of public health was brought about.

neglected women-folks of the area pertained to the setting up of the work-centres, where only women were engaged on fabrication of *Chunis* and *Cholas* which, as a matter of custom, were offered by the devotees to the Shrine. Since hundreds of *Chunis* and



have so far flown into the Shrine Fund which is being utilised for economic, social, environmental and cultural upgradation of the region. Apart from provisions of civic amenities and items of key infrastructure, a full-fledged modern university, imparting education in science, technology and management, has been set up with the finances emanating from the Shrine. The area now boasts of vast employment opportunities, both direct and indirect. On the basis of a recent study, conducted with the help of IIT Delhi, it has been calculated that about Rs.750 crore are being injected annually in the economy of the small town of Katra alone. In Jammu, most *yatris* stay for a longer period and spend much more on what are known as specialties of this city. The sales-tax of the State has gone up substantially. The air, rail and road transport-services have also increased manifold, bringing all round mobility and consequent prosperity to the region.

The benefits of reforms have not been restricted to economic and social development or environmental improvement; they have been extended to preservation of history and heritage of the region. The monuments associated with legendary figures, such as Zorawar Singh and Baba Jitto, which were crumbling, were conserved with the Shrine funds.

From the above narration

and analysis, it would appear that this case is, perhaps, the best specimen of a creative, constructive, compassionate and committed governance to secure inclusive growth in all its aspects. *Culturally*, the ancient philosophy of *Shakti* has been given a proper context and those who are knowledgeable now see it as a science of the *s o u l*<sup>1</sup>. *Environmentally*, the entire area in and around the Shrine has been upgraded and made congenial to the realisation of *s p i r i t u a l* powers<sup>2</sup> which usually lie *b u r i e d* underneath the 'dust and din' of day to day life. *Economically*, huge resources have been mustered and ploughed in the vast region around the complex for its development. *Socially*, the evil of beggary has been rooted out in the area and a number of new avenues opened up for providing employment to the deprived and disprivileged, especially the women. *Administratively*<sup>3</sup>, a new model for creative, constructive and effective governance has been evolved and presented to the nation. And, above all, the core-component of Hindu faith has

been put in its *highest orbit*<sup>4</sup> and its humanistic and service-oriented face brought out for the education and enlightenment of millions of pilgrims, from India and abroad, who now visit the Shrine every year. *Tradition and modernity*<sup>5</sup>, moreover,



It declares that 'illegal' would be 'legal', 'foul' would be 'fair', principles of town planning would be followed in breach and it would not be the ravishers of the city but their victims that would be penalised. Petty-politics is its prime motivation and short-termism its only goal. There is no creativity, no compassion and no commitment. The emphasis is only on securing un-earned increases in land and building.

have been synthesised in a manner which does not undermine either of the two.

#### Delhi's First Master Plan

This Plan (1962-81) was a comprehensive document. It assessed in a scientific manner the then existing deficiencies in various directions and estimated future requirements. To hold the projected population, urbanisation of 1,10,000 acres was envisaged. It was



stipulated that 42 per cent of the area should be earmarked for residential use, 23.7 per cent for recreational and green use, 8 per cent for public utilities, 7.4 per cent for government offices, 5.4 per cent for industrial use, 2.3 per cent for commercial use and the remaining land for circulation, institutional use, and other community facilities.

I may underline that it is because of Delhi's Land Acquisition Policy and Development Projects, covering about 70,000 acres of land, initiated in the late sixties, through the agency of the DDA, and its effective implementation that, starting with a small revolving fund of Rs. 5 crore, thousands of crores have been generated and lakhs of poor, low income and middle income persons provided with plots and houses and thousands of acres of woodland and parks created not only as 'community green' but also as protective shield to several hundred monuments.

Some of the biggest residential colonies of the world like Naraina, Maya Puri, Janak Puri, Vikas Puri,

Ashok Vihar, Shalimar Bagh, Pitampura, Yamuna Vihar, Vivek Vihar, Rohini, Saket and Pushp Vihar have come into being along with 3 lakh flats built by the DDA, and 2 lakh flats built through 900 cooperative housing societies and 3.4 lakh plots through plotted schemes of the DDA. The great city forests now serve as the healthy lungs for the metropolis. Ten regional parks, 104 district parks, 190 neighbourhood parks and 38 sports centres make their own contribution in preserving its environment and ecology. No private acquirer and developer of land would have entertained such a comprehensive vision or taken care of housing for the poor or green areas for the community. It is out of acquired pool of land that about 2,000 hectares was allotted virtually free to poor migrants under the special squatters' resettlement project of 1976.

All this is a fine example of urban development in which all elements of inclusive growth are in-built. Now, most of these elements have disappeared. The Third Master Plan treats city only as

a money-making machine. It makes no attempt to collect the dismembered threads and weave them into a coherent pattern. It merely dances to the tune of vested interests. It declares that 'illegal' would be 'legal', 'foul' would be 'fair', principles of town planning would be followed in breach and it would not be the ravishers of the city but their victims that would be penalised. Petty-politics is its prime motivation and short-termism its only goal. There is no creativity, no compassion and no commitment. The emphasis is only on securing un-earned increases in land and building. ■

*(The writer is a former Governor of J&K and a former Union Minister.)*

<sup>1</sup> For details, chapter VII, titled: Stones, Shakti and Science of the book -

*Reforming Vaishno Devi And a Case for Reformed, Reawakened and Enlightened Hinduism*, may be seen.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter III : Signpost of Inner Radiance.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter VIII, titled: Towards Action.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter XV, titled : Reform Pattern and Propositions.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter IX, titled: Response, Reaction and Results.

---

*"The principles of Marx have changed both with the changing times as well as with varying conditions to the extent that parrot-like repetition of Marxism for solving problems facing our country would amount to a reactionary attitude rather than a scientific & pragmatic one."*

**Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay**

---



 **Dr. M. Rama Jois**

Ours is the most ancient Nation, which had evolved and developed the oldest legal and judicial system in the World. Administration of justice was according to the *Smritis*, one of the most important and obligatory functions of a King. The *Smritis* stressed that the very object with which the institution of 'Kingship' was conceived and brought into existence was for the enforcement of *Dharma* by the use of the might of the King [State] and also to punish

individuals for contravention of *Dharma* and to give protection and relief to those who were subjected to injury and in whose favour *Dharma* [Law] lay. The *Smritis* greatly emphasised that it was the responsibility of the King to protect the people through proper and impartial administration of justice and that alone could bring peace and prosperity to the king as well as to the people. Any indifference towards this important function of the King, the *Smritis* cautioned, would bring calamity to the King himself and to the people as well.

#### Importance given to administration of Justice:

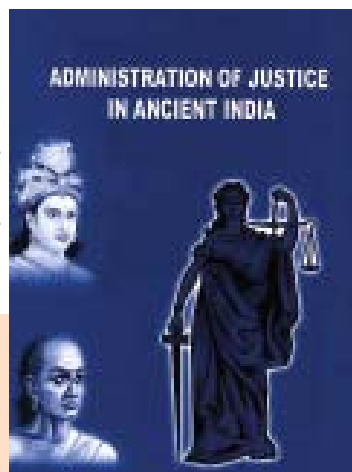
Ancient Indian jurists bestowed great attention in evolving the law governing administration of justice. The provisions made on the topic gave the description of the highest court to be located at the capital city, of lower courts under royal authority, and of people's courts recognised as having the power to decide cases. The qualifications of judges and other officers of the Court were prescribed. Appointment of experts as assessors to assist the court on technical questions, whenever necessary, was provided for. Laws of

procedure and of evidence were laid down. A code of conduct for judges and others concerned in the administration of justice and provisions for punishment of officers committing offences in the course of the administration of justice, had also been provided. After making a detailed survey of the Hindu judicial system and the historical evidence available, Sir S. Varadachariar concludes:

“Whenever and wherever and so far as circumstances permitted, attempts were all along being made in Hindu India to administer justice broadly on the lines indicated in the law books [The Hindu Judicial System [1946], P-258, Q. in the 14th Report of the Law Commission, Vol. 1, P-26].

The elaborate provisions made on the topic are indicative of a fairly well developed system of administration of justice.

In the meandering course of history, firstly Muslim Rulers and thereafter the British Rulers introduced their own constitutional, legal and judicial system. Particularly the latter introduced Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence which we had immediately prior to our acquiring independence on 15th August 1947. On becoming a free nation, it was essential that in all spheres of National activity, we should have incorporated principles and doctrines of eternal value evolved in this country which would have made our



Ancient Indian jurists bestowed great attention in evolving the law governing administration of justice. The provisions made on the topic gave the description of the highest court to be located at the capital city, of lower courts under royal authority, and of people's courts recognised as having the power to decide cases. The qualifications of judges and other officers of the Court were prescribed. Appointment of experts as assessors to assist the court on technical questions, whenever necessary, was provided for. Laws of procedure and of evidence were laid down. A code of conduct for judges and others concerned in the administration of justice and provisions for punishment of officers committing offences in the course of the administration of justice, had also been provided.

Constitutional, Legal and Judicial System qualitatively distinct and superior. In fact, Mahatma Gandhiji's Swadeshi concept was that after securing political independence, every sphere of National activity must be swadeshi oriented. In this regard he had said:

“It seems to me that before we can appreciate *Swaraj*, we should have not only love but passion for *Swadeshi*. Every one of our acts should bear the *Swadeshi* stamp. *Swaraj* can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole sound”. [MY PICTURE OF FREE INDIA, PP-74].

But unfortunately, we failed to do so. On the other hand, there is greater tendency to import more and more western concepts and life style. We have not made any changes in judiciary, education, administration etc, so as to bring about qualitative changes in conformity with our requirements. This is the main cause for most of our social and economic problems.

The plea that we should incorporate our concepts in the sphere of judicial, constitutional and legal

system, does not mean that we should not enrich our knowledge by the legal, judicial and constitutional system of other countries. In fact



from ancient times our slogan has been:

vk ukshknk% Øroks ; Urqfo' or%a

"Let Noble thoughts come to us from every side" [Rigveda - 1-89-i]

Therefore, we always welcome thoughts and principles which enrich our knowledge and strengthen our social life. But at the same time, our legal, judicial and constitutional system must be rooted in the basic concepts evolved in this land from times immemorial.

Justice S.S. Dhavan, a former Judge of Allahabad High Court, in his enlightening paper entitled "WHY STUDY INDIAN JURISPRUDENCE AT ALL" (1966) has forcefully brought forth this aspect. I consider it appropriate to mention what he has stated on this aspect. The relevant portion of the article reads:-

"I consider that the teaching of Indian jurisprudence in our law faculties is essential for the healthy development of our judicial process.....

Today, a law student in India is virtually ignorant of Indian jurisprudence. He does not know as I did not know - that the Indian Juridical system and the Indian judiciary have the oldest pedigree of any existing judicial system in the world, that the "dharmasthiyam" part of Kautilya's Arthashastra is, in the words of present Chief Justice of India, "one of the earliest secular codes of law in the World, and the high level at which legal and judicial principles were discussed, the precision with which statements are made, and the absolutely secular atmosphere which it breathes throughout, give it a place of pride in the history of legal literature". [Excerpts from the paper presented by him on "Secularism: Its implication for law and life in India for a Symposium organised by the Indian Law

Institute, New Delhi, in November 1965].

With the same preface, I proceed to relate some basic concepts of our jurisprudence:

**Supremacy of law: an excellent definition:-**

The doctrine "King can do no wrong" was never accepted in *Raja Dharma*, the constitutional law of ancient India. *Dharma* was regarded as Supreme or ultimate authority and the King was given only the penultimate authority as the enforcer of law. This principle was incorporated in The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. It reads:

nrnr&{k=L; {k=a; ) eMA

rLek) ekRi jaukflrA

vFksvcyh; ku-

cyh; kl ek'kl rsèkei kA

; Fk jkKk , oeAA

"Law is the king of kings. Nothing is superior to law. The law aided by the power of the King enables the weak to prevail over the strong".

Even the Kings are sub-ordinate to *Dharma*, the Rule of

Law.

Firstly, the above verse by laying down that *Dharma* [or law] is the King of kings, it was emphatically laid down that king was bound by *Dharma* and he had to function within the four corners of *Vyavahara Dharma* and *Raja Dharma*.

Secondly, it declared that no one is superior to law. This is the principle we have adopted in it.

Thirdly, it laid down that the law is that with whose support aided by the power of the State, a weak can prevail over the strong.

Thus, the doctrine that in the eye of the law, everyone is equal and the law comes to the rescue of a person who is subjected to any legal injury, however weak he may be and however strong the person who has subjected him to injury, was firmly laid down. Further,

it brings forth the idea that law by itself is of no use unless it is enforced by the might of the State. Thus, at the earliest point of time in our history, *Dharma* or law was regarded as superior to the Ruler whereas in Western jurisprudence, "the law was regarded as a command by a political superior to a political inferior enforced by the might of the State called the Sanction". Political superior is not bound by the law, was never accepted in our jurisprudence. On the other hand, our basic doctrine was that political superior is also bound by the law or *Dharma* which is superior to him.

Dr. Radha Krishna quoted the above verse in the Constituent Assembly and said that what we were establishing was constitutional supremacy.

(Dr. Radha Krishnan - The Principal Upanishad - P-170)

### Doctrine of Separation of Sovereign powers:

Concept of doctrine of separation of sovereign power had also been evolved. Though, Executive and Judicial power was vested in the King, he has to act on the advice of the council of ministers in administrative matters. He was required to give his decision in judicial matters on the advice of the Chief Justice. He had only sub-ordinate Legislative power, but had no plenary Legislative power. In this regard, The Manusmriti-II-6 laid down thus:

onks f[kyts ðekbya Le'fr'khy sp rf}nkeA  
vkpkj'opb I kekukReulr{Vj o pAA

"The Vedas are primordial source of *Dharma*. The exposition by seers [*Smritikars*] handed down from generation to generation by memory, the virtuous conduct of those who are well versed in the vedas and lastly what is agreeable to the good conscience are the source

In most of the ancient jurisprudence, there was no demarcation between civil and criminal wrongs. The criminal offences were treated as tort. As a result a person could be punished for criminal offence committed by him, if only some one related to him lodged a complaint. But it was not so in ancient India. As regards a civil wrong, only the injured party could lodge a plaint i.e., one who had locus standi.

of *Dharma*".

In addition to the aforesaid sources of law, new law could be laid down only by a *Parishad* consisting of persons well versed in law, logic and Rules of jurisprudence. [Vide Manusmriti-VHI-110-114]. Thus, legislative power was not vested in the King.

The executive power had to be exercised with the aid and advice of council of ministers [Kautilya P-12].

I gk; I kè; ajktRoapðedha u  
orhA  
dphir I fpoklrLekr-rskap  
'k.k. kwereAA

"The exercise of sovereign power [*Rajatva*] is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move forward [the carriage of State]. Therefore, the king shall appoint ministers and take their advice.

**Consultation essential and should be in secret:**

eU=i wK% I okj EHkk%A

"Every kind of administration measure should be preceded by deliberation in the council of ministers, which shall be kept absolutely secret. Until the decision is given effect to, none else should know about it. [Kaut. P-26].

Mauryan kings used to take decisions only after due deliberations in the Council of Ministers [Bihar, through the Ages - P-209].

As regards exercise of judicial powers, the Rule laid down was (vide Narada Smriti P-1-35, 24-74, Sm.Ch. P-66 and P-289).

ðkež kkL=a i j LÑR; i kfMookders fLFkr%  
I ekfgrefr%i ' ; r-0; ogkjkuuðekrAA

"The King should, try cases with great care and caution and should give decision according to law adhering to the opinion of the Chief Justice".

Thus, in the exercise of both executive and

judicial powers, he could not act according to his whims and fancies.

**Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice was part of the five fundamental duties of the State.**

Every King was required to discharge five fundamental duties which were specified in The Atrismhita-28:

n' "VL; n. M% l qtuL; i wtk U; k; u dks kL; p  
l i d' f) %  
vi {ki krks fFk'kq j k" Vj {kk i p d ; Kk% dffkrk  
u' i k. kkeAA

"To punish the wicked [administration of criminal justice] to honour and protect the good, to enrich the treasury [exchequer] by just methods, to be impartial towards the litigants [administration of civil justice] and to protect the kingdom [defence of the realm] these are the five *yajnas* [selfless duties to be performed by a King].

**Observance of *Dharma* a must for existence [Rule of Law]:**

The concept of rule of law means that the society must be governed by law or *Dharma* and not according to the whims and fancies of a Ruler or by powerful individuals. This has been evolved in this Country from most ancient times. The necessity of scrupulous practice of *Dharma* is forcefully expressed by Manu:

ekel , o grks glur ekek j {kfr j f{kr%  
rLek) ek u glur0; ks ek uks ekek grks oekhrAA

"*Dharma* protects those who protect it. Those who destroy *Dharma* get destroyed. Therefore, *Dharma* should not be destroyed, so that we may not be destroyed as a consequence thereof, (manu VIII-15),

In the above shortest saying, the entire concept of Rule of Law is incorporated. The meaning it conveys is that an orderly society would be in existence if everyone acts according to *Dharma* and thereby protect *Dharma*, and such an orderly society which would be an incarnation of *Dharma*, in turn, protects the rights of individuals. Rules of *Dharma* were meant to regulate the individual conduct, in such a way as to restrict the rights, liberty, interest and desires of an individual as regards

all matters to the extent necessary in the interest of other individuals, i.e., the society and at the same time making it obligatory for the society to safeguard and protect the individual in all respects through its social and political institutions. Shortly put, *Dharma* regulated the mutual obligations of individual and the society. Therefore, it was stressed that protection of *Dharma* was in the interest of both the individual and the society. Manu warns, "do not destroy *Dharma*, so that you may not be destroyed". A 'State of *Dharma*' was required to be always maintained for peaceful co-existence and prosperity.

**Meaning of *Dharma Rajya*:-**

In this context, it should however be made clear that "*Dharma Rajya*" means Rule of Law and not Rule of Religion or a theocratic State. This aspect was very emphatically brought forth in the following verse of The Narada Smriti:

i k'k. MuSkeJs khi wokr x. kkn"ka  
l j {kRl e; ajktk nq x tuins rFkAA

"The King [State] shall afford same amount of protection to disbelievers in Vedas as is given to the believers in Vedas".

Thus, just as is said in modern Legal Vocabulary that Rule of law and Arbitrariness are sworn enemies. *Dharma* and Theocracy are sworn enemies. They cannot coexist just as light and darkness cannot co-exist.

**Classification into civil and criminal unique:-**

In most of the ancient jurisprudence, there was no demarcation between civil and criminal wrongs. The criminal offences were treated as tort. As a result a person could be punished for criminal offence committed by him, if only some one related to him lodged a complaint. But it was not so in ancient India. As regards a civil wrong, only the injured party could lodge a plaint i.e., one who had locus standi. As regards offences any private informant or an officer of the State could initiate. In either case, it was the duty of the State to hold trial and punish the accused found guilty. This classification was made. [Brihaspati Smriti {P-283-4})..

f}i nks0; ogkj%L; kr-èkufgd kl epHk; k%AA  
f}I lrdks FkZyLr' fgd kely' prfozèk%AA

"There are two branches of *Vyavahara* [litigation] one arising out of wealth and another out of violence".

— .knkukfn nk; fohkxklurkukans fucèkuRou  
i fri knueA

I kgl kn&i pdL; n.MfucUèkuRoeAA

"In the case of disputes relating to debt, etc, pecuniary relief is provided for. In the case of offences, punishment is prescribed".

#### Gradation of Courts:-

dykfu Js k; 'ps x.kLrofekNrkus u' i %  
i fr"Bk 0; ogkj k. kka xpH; LrWkj kUkj eAA

- (i) *Kula* [Gatherings of family councils]
- (ii) *Shreni* [Corporation]
- (iii) *Gana* [Assembly]
- (iv) *Adhikrita* [Court appointed by the King]
- (v) *Nripa* [king himself]

These are invested with the power to decide cases. Among these each of the Courts mentioned later is superior to the one mentioned earlier. [Kat.82].

i frf"Brk i js xkes pyk ukeki frf"BrkA  
efnrk-è; {kl a Ørk jkt; Ørk p 'kkfl rkAA

"*Pratistitha* is a Court which is established at a particular village or town. *Apratistitha* is a mobile Court, moving from village to village. *Mudrita* is a Court appointed by the King and authorised to use Royal seal. *Sasita* is the Court over which the king himself presided. [Br. P-277 2-3 (P 10.58.5].

From this it appears that Mobile Courts moving to the villages or towns concerned and holding the Court there to avoid inconvenience to the party, had also been established. This is a provision worthy of emulation, in respect of minor disputes and complaints arising in Rural parts in particular regarding

boundary disputes.

#### King the highest Court:-

dykfnfhkfuZ prs fi l rkska u xRLrq; %  
fopk; LrRÑrajtk ddp' ra i q; ) jrAA

If a party was not satisfied with a decision given by any Court or tribunal, the King should consider the matter and reverse the decision if it was wrongly decided.

This rule indicative of sovereign power is comparable to the power of the Supreme Court under Article 136 of the Constitution of India.

#### Hall of Justice:

èkeZ kkl=fopkjs k eyl kj foosopueA  
; =kfekfØ; rs LFkkus èkekfekdj . kavg rrAA

"The place where the truth [in a dispute] is investigated according to the *Dharmasastras* is called *Dharmadhikarana* [Hall of Justice].

In order to bring home what is being done in a court hall we could give a common name as "*Dharmadhikarana*" or "*Nyayadhikarana*" or "*Nyaya Bhavana*" for all the Court halls in the Country".

#### Procedural law:

The procedural law laid down in the *Smritis*, particularly in the three *Smritis* of the *Triumverate*, Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana indicate the highest water mark in ancient indian administration of justice, some of the example are:

#### (a) How to write a complaint (Pratijiia):-

vYi k{kj% i Hkr-kFkkZ fu% flunXekks fu j kdg%  
fojkfekdkj . ks Ørks fojkfeki fr'kek d%AA

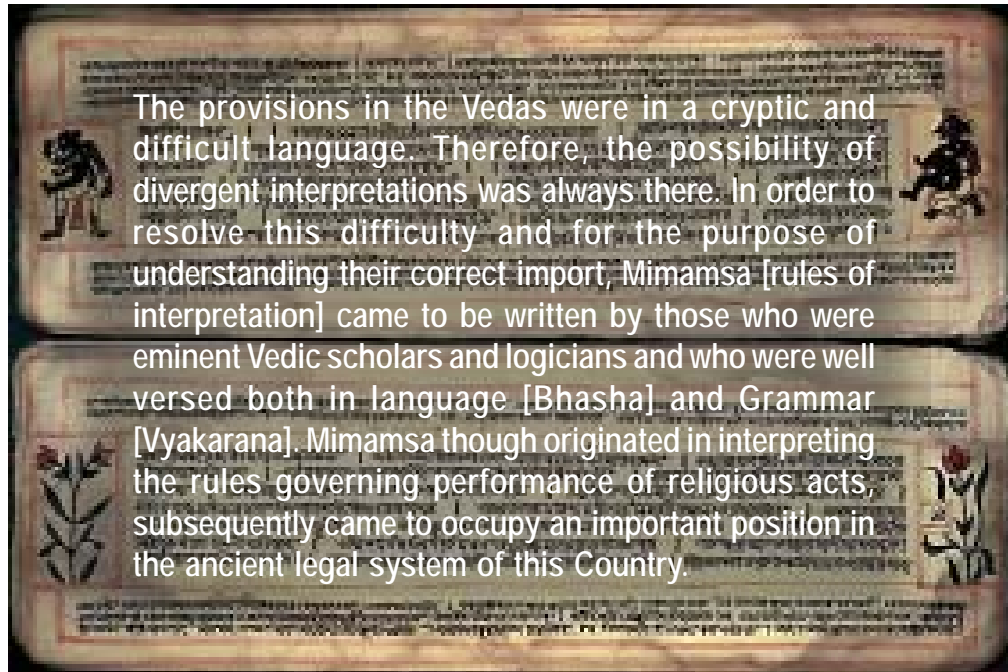
"A plaint should be brief in words, rich in contents, unambiguous, free from confusion, devoid of improper arguments and capable of being traversed by the defendant and it should set out the prayer sought against the opponent". [Br. P,290-5-6; Dharmakosa P-144).

#### (b) Written Statement

fofuf' prs i mZ {ks  
xkákxkáfó' k'krA  
i frKkrs fLFkj hHkrs ysc[; nUkj a

The *Smritis* provided that after administering the oath and before recording the evidence, the Judge should impress upon the witnesses the greatness of telling the truth and of the sin which they would be committing by giving false evidence.





rr%AA

“When a plaint of this description has been preferred by the plaintiff, the defendant should tender an answer conformable to such print”. [Br. P-290.6 (P-36-2S.)]

(c) Pleadings in defence:

I R; afeF; kùkj a pò i R; oLdUnua rFkka  
i wù; k; fofek' oðeùkj aL; kPprfoðeAA

“Reply [the plea of the defendant] may be of four kinds viz , *Satyam* [admission], *Mithyam* [denial], *Pratyavaskandanam* [special plea] and *Purvanyaya* [former judgment].

Åukfekda i wù {ks rko} knh fo' kkek; r-A u n | knùkj a  
; kor~i R; Fkhd H; I flUèkka

The plaintiff has the liberty of amending his plaint and correct errors if any, but he should do so before the defendant files written statement. [Brihaspati - P-292-15]

(d) *Jaya Patra*:-

I dya i wòbkna p I kùkj a I fØ; a rFkka  
I koèkkj . kda pò rTKs a t; i =deAA

“Document which incorporates the contents of the plaint, the answer, the gist of the trial, the consideration given to them and the decision thereon is called “JAYA PATRA”.

We could give the name “Jaya Patra or

Nirnaya to judgments”. (Narada 307-19; Dharmakosha. P-357].

**Administering oath and exhortation to witnesses:-**

Great sanctity was attached to the act of giving oral evidence before the Courts.

For this purpose the *Smritis* provided that after administering the oath and before recording the evidence, the Judge should impress upon the witnesses the greatness of telling the truth and of the sin which they would be committing by giving false evidence.

I HkkUr% I kf{k. k% i klrkufFkà R; fFkà flUèkka  
i kfmòokdks uq qthr fofekuk ru I kUro; uAA  
; n; kj u; koRFk dk; fLeu-ps"Vra feFk%  
rnør I oL I R; u ; qekad á= I kf{krkAA

“A witness being present in the Court, the judge should examine him in the presence of the plaintiff and the defendant after advising him in the following manner:

What you know about the transaction that has taken place between the two persons before us, tell us in accordance with truth, for, you are the witness in the case.

**Exhortation to witness:-**

I R; u i w rs I kf{kh èke% I R; u oèkà-A rLekRI R; a  
fg oä0; aI ob. kà qI kf{fHk%AA



vkRe\$ ákReu%l k{kh xfrjkRek rFkk·Reu%A  
ek·oeL Fkk%LoekRekuau' .kka l kf{k.ke\$keeAA  
ell; Urs o\$ i ki ņrks u df'pr-i ' ; rhfr u%A rkdLrq  
n\$ok%i z ' ; flUr LoL; \$kUrji i#%"k%AA  
ekks\$ikTejki ks ân; aPlunkdkfXu; ekfuyk%A j kf=%l Uè; s  
p èkeZ p o' ūkKk%l ohf\$gukeAA

"A witness who speaks the truth in the evidence gains [after death] the most excellent regions of bliss, and when alive, acquires unsurpassable fame in the world. Such testimony is even revered by *Brahma* [the creator] himself.

He who gives false evidence, is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless, during 100 rebirths. Therefore, you should give true evidence.

By telling the truth a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses.

The soul itself is the witness of the soul and the soul is the refuge of the soul; despise not thy own soul, the supreme witness of men.

The wicked, indeed, think in their mind that 'nobody' sees us, but god [the *Atman* within one's own heart] sees the truth.

The sky, the earth, the waters, the *Atman* in the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, *Yama* and the wind, the night. The two twilights and justice - all these know the conduct of all living beings. Therefore, tell the truth.

The usefulness of the exhortation needs no further emphasis. It stirs the conscience of the witness and makes him afraid of telling untruth. This could be adopted with appropriate modification.

The procedure prescribed for exhortation was that the witness should state whatever he has to say on his own without any one reminding or coaxing him to say anything. This is also worthy of being followed.

#### *Mimamsa* - Rules of Interpretation:-

As the Vedas and *Smritis* were the source of law, and the former prevailed over the latter, in case of conflict, it became essential to

lay down the rule of interpretation.

The provisions in the Vedas were in a cryptic and difficult language. Therefore, the possibility of divergent interpretations was always there. In order to resolve this difficulty and for the purpose of understanding their correct import, *Mimamsa* [rules of interpretation] came to be written by those who were eminent Vedic scholars and logicians and who were well versed both in language [Bhasha] and Grammar [Vyakarana]. *Mimamsa* though originated in interpreting the rules governing performance of religious acts, subsequently came to occupy an important position in the ancient legal

The art of interpretation had been mastered by ancient Hindu Jurists. An excellent example of this is the *Manvartha Muktavali* of Kulluka Bhatta.

system of this Country.

Mr. Colebrooke, who recognised the importance of *Mimamsa* in the interpretation of Hindu law, observed thus:-

"The logic of *Mimamsa* is the logic of the law -the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon general principles; and from the cases decided, the principles may be collected. A well ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of the law, and this is , in truth, what has been attempted in the *Mimamsa*".

Dr. Thibaut, in his introduction to the translation of *Artha Sangraha*, observes:

"The *Mimamsa* certainly deserves greater attention that it has hitherto received. It has indeed none of the attractions which the order *Dharshanas* derive from the speculative character of their contest; its scope is limited and the nature of the investigations in - which it is engaged leaves no room for high flights of imagination. But it possesses counter balancing advantages. Its subject matter is of a positive nature, its method is sound and its reasoning in most cases convincing".

Ganganatha Jha in his introduction to the

third volume of his English translation of Sahara Bhasya which is an elaborate and authoritative commentary on Jaimini states thus regarding its importance:

"It continues to be recognised that the rules that Jaimini evolved are still found useful in the interpretation of Jaw texts; and they have been so widely used that there is no important legal digest which does not draw upon the *Nyayas* of Jaimini".

K.L. Sarkar, in his "Tagore Law Lectures, 1905" observes:

"Jaimini's sutras are quoted and discussed in the *Mitakshara*. They are referred to as the venerable old authorities"... "But whatever be the date of the *Sutras*, they are decidedly the most comprehensive and prevailing authorities on the subject of interpretation. Jaimini's work, for the first time, reduces the subject of interpretation to what is called *Darshana* or Philosophy and, in effect, may well be regarded as a scientific system of interpretation".

Knowledge of *Mimamsa* was a qualification for a Judge:-

*Mimamsa* was declared to be a part of the knowledge of the *Shruti* and the *Smritis*, vide Yaj-1-3, and consequently considered as one of the qualifications to be possessed by a person for being appointed as a Judge.

The prescription of *Mimamsa* as a qualification for judges spells out its importance in the interpretation of civil and criminal laws.

The art of interpretation had been mastered by ancient Hindu Jurists. An excellent example

of this is the Manvartha Muktavali of Kulluka Bhatta. Justice Sir. William Jones has expressed his views thus:-

"It may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, deepest yet the most agreeable commentary ever composed on any author ancient or modern" [ILR 2 MAD. 286 AT 291 ].

Two examples of such interpretation will give us the high water mark of development of ..... of interpretation. They are:

I eka kgkfj .kh ekrkA

"Mother shall be an equal sharer".

The above rule was laid down to specify the share of the mother at a partition between sons.

The question for consideration was whether the expression 'mother' included 'step-mother' [childless]. Jimutavahana applied the Arthaikatva rule and held:

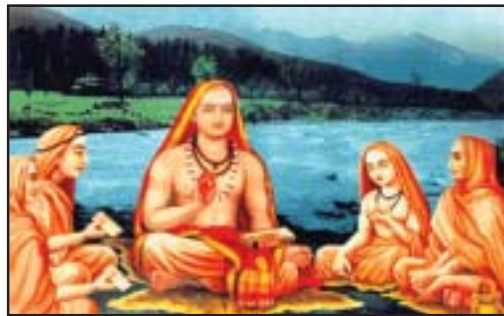
I eka kgkfj .kh ekrkr opukr-  
ekr' i nL; tuuhi j Rokr-u  
I i Uuekr' i j Roefi A I Nr-  
JrL; eq; xks kRokuq i UkA

"Since the word 'mother' intends natural parent, it cannot also mean a step-mother, for, a word once employed cannot bear literal and metaphorical senses at the same time".

Mit. On Yaj-II-123 is silent on the meaning of the word 'mother' as used in the rule, but Devannabhatta gave a liberal interpretation to it.

t uuhxg. ke-rRI i RU; kns i y{k. kkfkA

"The word 'mother' used here includes her co-wives".



"A person who is (i) well versed in Vyavahara [procedural laws regulating judicial proceedings] and Dharma [substantive law on all topics], (ii) a Bahushruta [profound scholar], (iii) a Pramanajna [well versed in the law of evidence], (iv) Nyayasastravalambinah [of law abiding nature], and (v) has fully studied the Vedas and Tarka [logic] should be appointed to carry on the administration of justice".

### Who can be a witness (Sakshinah):-

The fundamental rule regarding the admissibility of oral evidence is stated in the *smritis*.

I e{kn' kLukRI k{; aJo. kPpD fl ) ; frAA

Evidence of what had actually been seen or heard by a person is admissible. [Manu-VIII-74].

vFFk R; fFk kfluè; knuHkrrarq; ) orA  
rnXkAaI kf{k. kksokD; eU; Fkk u c'gLi frAA

**"The King [Judge] should not leave an offender unpunished whatever may be his relationship with him. Neither father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor mother, nor wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest should go unpunished for the offence committed". failure of do so leads to failure of *Dharma*.**

"The statement of a witness as to whatever has been perceived or experienced by him because of his being present at the time of the transaction should be accepted and not otherwise". (Kat. 346)

I e{kn' kLukRI k{kh foKs % Js=p{kqkksAA  
Jks=L; ; Ri jks crrs p{kqkksnZ kLua Lo; eAA

"He should be considered as a witness who has been a witness to a deed with his own ears, or eyes; with his ears if he has heard another man speaking, and with his eyes if he has seen something himself. [Nar. P-80-148 : Dharmakosha P-296].

I e{kn' kLukRI k{kknukkoPNb. kPp I e{k' kCnkuqk<sup>3</sup>x  
drD; %  
; Rdqf' pnsdu Jw rsrrkd; u rRi j jk Jqaru  
i j jk Jkfo u I kf{kA

"The expression 'Samaksha darshana' means direct seeking, perceiving or hearing when a person who hears another saying that he had heard, comes forward to give evidence before the Court, such an evidence is called 'hearsay evidence' and that is no legal evidence". (Manu VIII-74).

### Appointment of Judges:-

As part of Rajadharma, the King was advised to appoint suitable judges and the

qualities and qualifications of persons to be appointed as Judges were also indicated in Mahabharata Shanthiparva 24-18 thus:-

0; ogkj s'kq èkèZkq; ksä0; k' p cgpJrk%  
i æk. kKk eghi ky U; k; ' kL=koyfEcu%AA  
onkFkL Uofon-jktu-rdZ kL=cgpJrk%AA  
eU=s p 0; ogkj s p fu; ksä0; k fotkurkAA

"A person who is (i) well versed in *Vyavahara* [procedural laws regulating judicial proceedings] and *Dharma* [substantive law on all topics], (ii) a *Bahushruta* [profound scholar], (iii) a *Pramanajna* [well versed in the law of evidence], (iv) *Nyayasastravalambinah* [of law abiding nature], and (v) has fully studied the Vedas and *Tarka* [logic] should be appointed to carry on the administration of justice".

The Narada Smriti also prescribed the guidelines for appointment as judges in the following words:

jktk r qèkfeZdku-I H; ku-fu; q; kr-I q jhf{krkuA  
0; ogkj èkj a oks<q; s' käk% I nHkok boAA  
èkèZ kL=kFkdq kyk% dgyhuk% I R; okfnu%AA  
I ek% 'k=kS p fe=s p uir% L; q I Hkkl n%AA

"Let the king appoint, as members of the Court of Justice, honourable men of tried integrity [*Sabhyas*] who are able to bear the burden of the administration of justice and who are well versed in the sacred laws, rules of prudence, who are noble and impartial towards friends or foes. [Dharmakosha P-43].

In Sukraniti an ancient treatise on polity [compiled and edited by Gustav Oppert. (1882) there are illuminating provisions prescribing qualifications and quality of Judges. Sukraniti page 149, 15 to 18 reads:

0; ogkj fon% i kKk o' Uk' khyxq kfluork%AA  
fj i kS fe=s I ek; s p èkèZkL I R; okfnu%AA  
fujkyl k ftrØèkdkeyk% fi z; onk%AA  
jkKk fu; ftr0; kLrs I H; kL I okZ q tkfr%kAA

"One who is well versed in civil and criminal law and law of procedure, sprightfull, of sterling character, impartial towards friends and foes, of *Dharma* abiding nature, truthfull, ever active and who has established control



over anger, desire and greed and pleasant in speech and demeanour should be appointed as Judge irrespective of the caste to which he belongs”

A reading of these provisions at once indicates not only the qualifications and personality traits of a person who should be appointed as a Judge but also throws light on the independence and impartiality required of a judge in dispensing justice. This is an important aspect, which should be taken into account and a foolproof method should be prescribed for appointment of Judges at all levels.

Regarding dispensation of justice, the guide lines given to the judges in Shukraniti are of great value and worthy to be followed by Judges at all times.

ॐ कल=कुड क्स क  
ॐ क्यकफूत-॥

“The case should be decided in accordance with law [Dharma], bereft of anger and greed” [Shukraniti - IV - 5- 9]

The Judges were cautioned that they should avoid five causes which would constitute the basis for attributing reasonable likelihood of bias against them. [Shukraniti IV-5-14, 15]. They are:

i {ki krkfekjki L; dkj . kfu p i p oA  
jkxykHk; }sk okfnuks p jg' J(r-AA

[1] *Raga* : Exhibiting affection infavour of a party to a litigation by speech or conduct in the Court or outside.

[2] *Lobha* - Being greedy, which creates an impression in the mind of the litigant public that he is amenable to receive bribes, pecuniary or otherwise.



The idealism placed before the judges in the provisions of 'Dharma Sastras' regarding administration of justice are such which are of eternal value and it is only by keeping those ideals uppermost in the minds of judges and acting in conformity with it, they would be able to sustain the implicit faith and confidence of the people in the judiciary which constitutes one of the main pillars of the Constitution of India and fulfill the role assigned to the judiciary by the Constitution.

[3] *Bhaya* : [Fear] Afraid to deliver judgment against powerful parties or Government.

[4] *Dwesh* : [Ill-will] Giving an impression that he has enmity against one of the parties to the litigation by his conduct in the Court or outside.

[5] *Vadinoscharashruthi* : A judge meeting and hearing a party to a case secretly, which in the present day context includes meeting of their Advocates secretly.

Every one of the above circumstances or causes indicated in Shukraniti which would furnish a valid ground to level charges of partiality against a Judge, were intended to warn the Judges not to give room for these causes which would destroy the faith of the people on the Independent and impartial judiciary. This warning must be borne in mind by all judges and members of Tribunals who are conferred with power to decide cases.

It is of great significance to note that the form of oath, to be taken by the Judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court before assuming their office, prescribed in the

third schedule to the Constitution, incorporate the very words specified in the aforesaid verse of Shukraniti.

The King and Judges were also cautioned against the delay in disposal of cases. The Katyayana Smriti [339-40) incorporated its importance in the following verse:

u dkygj . ka dk; Z j kKk I kf {ki Hk'k. kA  
egku-nkskks Hko&dkyn-eked; ko' fUky {k. kAA

“The King [Judges] should not delay in examining the witnesses and (decide the cases)



a serious defect namely miscarriage of justice would result owing to delay in the trial of the case”.

**Manner of writing Judgment (Jayapatra):-**

I dya i obknap I kjkj a l fØ; a rFkka  
I koëkj .kda pØ rKs a t; i =deAA

“Jayapatra (judgments) must incorporate the contents of the plaint, so also the contents of written statement, the gist of the evidence adduced by the parties and the considered decision of the Judge”.

**No offender should remain unpunished:-**

Another most important guideline regarding the imposition of penalty on wrong doers was to the following effect. [Manu Smriti - VIII-335].

fi rk. pk; % l øUekrk Hkk; kZ i q-% i j kfgr%A  
ukn. M; ks uke j kKks fLr ; % Loëkei u  
fr”BfrAA

“The King [Judge] should not leave an offender unpunished whatever may be his relationship with him. Neither father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor mother, nor wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest should go unpunished for the offence committed”. failure to do so leads to failure of *Dharma*.

Apart from the above verse which- directed the King to punish the offender whatever be his relationship, in view of the definition of law given in The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, which declared that the law is the king of kings and no one is superior to law [*Dharma*], even the king was liable to be punished for any offence committed by him.

A shining example of supremacy of *Dharma* and fearless Judiciary and making an order convicting the ruler himself on a charge of murder is recorded in the history. The gist of the case was that after the death of Peshwa Madhava Rao on 18-11-1772, his only surviving younger brother Narayana Rao, who was just seventeen years of age, succeeded to the position of the Peshwa and became the ruler. His uncle Raghunatha Rao, being ambitious for power, hatched a conspiracy to overthrow Narayana Rao. As a result of this

conspiracy, young Narayana Rao was murdered on 30-8-1774, and Raghunatha Rao assumed power as ruler. Ramasastry, the Chief Justice, probed into the charge of murder of Narayana Rao. He held the accused Raghunatha Rao and 49 others including a woman guilty of murder and convicted them for the offence. This decision was communicated to the ruler, Peshwa Raghunatha Rao, as according to Law, the power to decide the quantum of penalty and to impose it on the person found guilty of an offence by a judge vested in the King. The Peshwa took no action, he himself being the first accused in the case. The Chief Justice insisted on his decision being given effect to. As a consequence of this insistence, Raghunatha Rao dismissed Ramasastry from

**“The king should cause restoration of stolen property to the owner. If in a given case, it is not possible to restore the stolen property, the owner should be compensated by paying its value”. [Kat. 816-817].**

his post, who then quietly returned to his village. But *Dharma* asserted its supermacy through the people. They refused to recognise Raghunatha Rao as the Peshwa as he had been found guilty of the murder of young Narayana Rao who was their lawful ruler. A council of twelve persons called ‘Barabhai’, was formed which took over the administration after deposing Raghunatha Rao, which continued until legitimate ruler attained majority. In this regard, eminent historian Sardesai observes:

“Thus once in a way both Raghunatha Rao and the public realised what power the silent ‘judiciary possessed in a well governed State and what support it has to its preservation”. [New History of Marathas, Vol.11, PP-30-33].

The case is an ever inspiring one; a glowing tribute to the ‘Supremacy of *Dharma*’, the independence of judiciary and the exemplary conduct exhibited by a Judge.

The idealism placed before the judges in the provisions of ‘*Dharma* Sastras’ regarding administration of justice are such which are

of eternal value and it is only by keeping those ideals uppermost in the minds of judges and acting in conformity with it, they would be able to sustain the implicit faith and confidence of the people in the judiciary which constitutes one of the main pillars of the Constitution of India and fulfill the role assigned to the judiciary by the Constitution.

### Protection against Officers of the State and Royal Favourites:-

vk; p̄dē; 'pk̄ē; %ij̄t; ks  
jktōYyHkkRA  
i 'ffkōhi fryk̄k̄p̄p i zt̄kuka i p̄ekk  
Hk; eA  
i p̄i d̄kjel; r̄ni k̄āu' i r̄t̄k; eAA

"The subjects require protection against wicked officers of the King, royal favourites, thieves, enemies of the king, and more than all against the greed of the king himself. The king should ensure the people against these fears". [Kamandaka V-82-83 pp-63-64]

The above verse cautions the rulers not to yield to such influences and cause loss, hardship or damage to citizens by the action or inaction of officers in order to secure what they desire or what their favourites desire and it was his personal obligation to secure justice to the people.

### Suo-motu relief granted:-

There is an illuminating instance related in Rajatarangini, as to how Chandrapida, the King of Kashmir [680-688 AD] upheld the rule of law. The officers of the king undertook construction of a temple of Lord Tribhuvanaswami on -certain site. On a portion of that site there was a hut belonging to a Charmakara [cobbler]. He refused to remove his hut inspite of being asked to do so



Under our constitution, clause (3) of Article 15 empowers the State to make special provisions in favour of women. But no such provision has been made. This provision is also worthy of emulation. Hence, a general suitable provision on the above lines regarding women offenders should be introduced in the Penal Code.

by the King's officers. Thereupon the officers complained to the king about the obstinacy of the Charmakara. However, to their surprise, the officers got a rebuff from the king, who censured them for lack of foresight in encroaching upon the site by making the following order:

fu; E; r̄kafofuek̄z ka; }kU; =  
foēkh; r̄keA  
i j̄Hk̄ē; i ḡkj̄s k̄ l̄ q̄r̄a d̄%  
dy<sup>3</sup>d; r̄AA  
; s n̄r̄Vkj̄% l̄ n̄l r̄ka rs̄ ēkef̄oxq̄ k̄k%  
f̄Ø; k̄AA  
o; eō fonēē' p̄r̄~; k̄r̄q̄U; k; u  
d̄ks ēoukAA

"Stop the construction or build [the temple] somewhere else. Who would tarnish such a pious act by illegally depriving a man of his land?

If we, who are the judges of what is right and what is not right, act unlawfully, who then would abide by law?"

### Duty to restore stolen property of its value:

pk̄j̄ s̄raiz RusLo: i a i f̄ri kn; r̄A  
r̄nHkkos r̄q̄eW; aL; knU; Fkk f̄d̄f̄Yc"kh u' i %AA

"The king should cause restoration of stolen property to the owner. If in a given case, it is not possible to restore the stolen property, the owner should be compensated by paying its value". [Kat. 816-817].

It is a very enlightening and humane provision. Now a days with all modern set up of Police force, it so happens in many cases that when a complaint is lodged about an offence of theft, the Police would come forward with what is called "B" report i.e., stating that the offence is not traced. There

ends the responsibility of the State. But, the aforesaid provision made in Katyayana is of considerable importance, because it might so happen in a given case on account of theft, hard earned money or moveable property by years of toiling might be lost if it is stolen. If in such a case the offence goes untraced, and police were to give "B" report, one can imagine the hardship the person would be put to. Therefore, a compensatory provision should be provided at least in certain specified category of cases where the theft is proved and the stolen articles or money is not recovered as in the absence of any compensation by the State, the person would be unable to bear the loss.

**Awarding compensation to the victim apart from punishing the guilty:-**

*Liability to compensate in addition to suffering punishment:-*

n%[keRi kn; s| Lrq l l eRfkkuta0; ; eA  
nkl; ks n. Map ; ks ; fLeu-dyg l enkgR%AA

"He who causes bodily injury to another shall pay the fine imposed and shall also pay the incidental expenses.

Mit. States that the offender has to pay medical expenses as well as expense on diet, etc.

This again is a wholesome provision. Not only the offender had to be punished by the State, but it was also necessary to award compensation to the victim and/or members of his family in the same proceedings.

Infact, there was no similar provision in the code of criminal procedure 1898. Such a provision has been made in the Code of Criminal Procedure 1973 vide Section 173. But

pecuniary relief which could be provided therein is only out of the amount of fine levied. It should be enlarged.

Robertlingat in his classical law [P-123] observed thus:-

"Numerous texts establish a strict correlation between the duty of protection, incumbent upon the king and his subjects paying tax to which they were assessed.

**Special provisions in favour of Women:-**

I o7kq pki j kks'kq i d ks ; ks Fkz ne%Le'r%A  
rneKz ; ksf"krks nekpkks i d ks3 xdrLueAA

"In respect of offences committed by women only half of it [quantum of penalty] is prescribed for women", [Kat. 487].

See the special treatment accorded to women in the

above verse. The above provision certainly takes into account not only the general possibility of women committing the offences, having been instigated by men, but also the tender nature of womanhood who could not withstand the heavy penalty prescribed for man, which might be injurious to the interests of children, if any.

Under our constitution, clause (3) of Article 15 empowers the State to make special provisions in favour of women. But no such provision has been made. This provision is also worthy of emulation. Hence, a general suitable provision on the above lines regarding women offenders should be introduced in the Penal Code.

**Punishment on both indulging in adultery:-**

L=hi d ; kfeFkqhHkko% l 3xg. keA  
l 3xg. ka i j fL=; k l g i d # "kL; l aUek%



**The present system of appeal from the decision rendered by a single judge of the High Court to two judges of the same Court is wholly unconstitutional, as the single judge's decision is a decision of the High Court and constitution does not provide for an appeal from High Court to High Court. As held by the Supreme Court in A.L.R. 1970 S.C. P-I, appeal means approaching a higher court.**



“Unlawful coming together of a man and woman for sexual enjoyment constitutes the offence of *Strisangrahana* [Adultery]. [Mitakshara on Yajnavalkya 11-283, Narada Vide Smriti Chandrika P-16].

x'gekxR; ; k ukjh i ykkl; Li 'kLkfnukA  
dke; jk= l k n. M; k ujL; kekhe% Le' rAA

Both man and woman indulging in adultery are liable to be punished. [Brihaspati - P-367-15].

But Section 497 provides punishment only for man, and thereby provides no remedy to the wife of the adulterer to prosecute the woman offender. Thus, it is discriminatory against women for, an aggrieved woman can prosecute her husband but not the woman offender.

But our Supreme Court has upheld the constitutional validity of Section 497 of the I.P.C challenged (in *SOWMITHRI VTSHNU Vs. UNION OF INDIA — A.I.R. 1985 S.C. 1618*) inter alia on the ground that it is a provision in favour of a woman, by a curious reasoning.

With utmost respect to the Supreme Court it is submitted that the above view is not justified and is not in conformity with our values of life as could be ascertained from ancient law on adultery as indicated above. Further, the Supreme Court has not viewed from the point of view of the woman whose matrimonial happiness is destroyed by another woman against whom no legal action can be taken. So viewed the provision is wholly discriminatory against the woman, for offence of adultery is not unilateral. It is bilateral. It is wrong to say man alone is guilty of offence of adultery and the woman concerned is a victim. She is as much an offender as the man is. Any provision under clause (3) of Article 15 to be considered as a special provision in favour of women, should be favourable to women who are victims and not in favour of women who are offenders. Law to be fair, equitable and non-discriminatory, must afford remedy to woman who suffers injustice and

not to woman who indulges in offence. A comparison of the definition of adultery in Section 497 of the IPC and the ancient law would at once show that the ancient law is reasonable and conform to morals whereas Section 497 excludes all extra marital connections except with the wife of another whose husband is living and that too only if it is without his consent. Thus, it gives a free license to indulge in sexual intercourse outside the wed lock with another woman who is unmarried or a widow and even with a woman whose husband is alive, with the consent of the husband. Thus, present Section 497 is irrational. The section instead of preventing adultery, it encourages adultery

**But our Supreme Court has upheld the constitutional validity of Section 497 of the I.P.C challenged (in *SOWMITHRI VTSHNU Vs. UNION OF INDIA — A.I.R. 1985 S.C. 1618*) inter alia on the ground that it is a provision in favour of a woman, by a curious reasoning.**

whereas the ancient provisions by defining adultery to the effect that any sexual intercourse by a man with a woman who is not his wife is adultery is rational and in conformity with moral code of conduct.

Thus, both on moral and rational grounds, the ancient provision is sound and that is why the Law Commission recommended that Section 497 should be amended accordingly. It has not been done so far. It should be amended.

#### Execution of Decrees:

fl ) ukFkl i q kt; ks oknh l Rdkj i wZdeA  
ys; a LogLrl q qarLeSn | kUkq i kFfb%AA

“After a suit is decreed, it is not only the duty of the Court to give a copy of the judgment, but it is also the duty of the Court to ensure that fruits of the decree is secured by the decree holder”. [Kat.262].

This again is a very important provision relating to procedure. Under the present Code of Civil Procedure, it is notorious that it is easier to get a decree, but it is difficult to get it executed. Under the Code of Civil Procedure,



after the suit is decreed, a party has to execute the decree by filing separate execution proceedings. All possible obstructions for the execution of the decree could be put up utilising the procedure prescribed under the Code of Civil Procedure in particular under Order 21.

Therefore, Code of Civil Procedure should be amended to the effect that the Court after passing the decree shall direct that it should be posted for execution after the expiry of the period of limitation for filing an appeal and that the execution shall proceed unless an order is granted by a competent Court, staying the execution of the decree.

**Judgment should be unanimous:**

; = I H; ks tu% l o% l kèorfnfr  
eU; rA

I fu% kY; ks fookn% L; kr~

I 'kY; %L; knrks U; FkkA

I a[; koSkH; srqHkY ks Yi fojkèks

HkY I kaL; KRI èkeRofefr U; k; u

foi fri Ükksvfekdl a[; kopueknj . kh; axqkl kE; A

“Unanimous decision by all the Judges gives no room for doubt while a majority decision leaves doubt in the mind of the litigants” [Narada Smriti Vide Dharmakosha P-48].

When there is no unanimity among the judges, opinion of the majority of *Sabhyas* [Judges] should prevail.

This is a very salutary provision. It emphasise the importance and efficacy of an unanimous judgment as distinct from decision by majority. It is needless to stress about the desirability of an unanimous judgment. In the present context it applies to High Courts and the Supreme Court, where cases are heard by benches comprising of three or more judges. A provision should be made for delivering one unanimous judgment.

However, if it is not possible, at least one majority judgment should be delivered to

avoid confusion as also waste of time in reading several judgment while relying on them before the Courts.

The present system of appeal from the decision rendered by a single judge of the High Court to two judges of the same Court is wholly unconstitutional, as the single judge's decision is a decision of the High Court and constitution does not provide for an appeal from High Court to High Court. As held by

the Supreme Court in A.L.R. 1970 S.C. P-1, appeal means approaching a higher court. Hence, Intra-Court Appeals should be abolished as recommended by the High Court Arrears Committee.

I have referred to some of the salient aspects regarding our ancient legal and judicial system. There are many other valuable ideals and provisions. In order to reestablish our National identity and resurrect our values, we have to

restructure our existing Anglo-Saxon legal and judicial system. Some of the steps which could be taken are:

- [1] To draft all our laws in our own languages using our own vocabulary.
- [2] To make official language of the State as the sole language to be used in the subordinate courts, and the official language of the Union as the Language of the High Courts and Supreme Court and other National forums.
- [3] A common legal vocabulary and nomenclature should be developed taking the words preferably from Samskrit, and wherever necessary from other languages, such as *Adhinyam*, *Vidhi*, *Adhivakta*, *Mimamsa*, *Nyayalaya*, *Nyayamurti*, *Nyayadisha*, *Dharmadhikarana* or *Nyayadhikaran*, *Uchha Nyayalaya*, *Sarvocha* or *Sreshta*, *Nayayalaya*, *Sakshi*, *Vadi*, *Prativadhi*, *Piryadi*, *Vakalath*, etc, There should be no

translation of these words to English or other languages.

- [4] Bharatiya dress for Judges and Advocates.
- [5] Inquisitional system instead of adversary system in Court procedure.
- [6] Panchayat system for rural litigations.
- [7] Provision for unanimous or one majority judgment in High Courts and Supreme Court by benches of three or more judges.
- [8] Provision for exhortation to witnesses on the lines prescribed in the *Smritis* before recording evidence.
- [9] Empowering Courts at District Levels with suo-motu powers to, secure justice to individuals when and in whatever manner the injustice is meted out and power of judicial review of administrative and Quasi judicial orders made by authorities functioning within the district and having jurisdiction within the district.
- [10] Conferment of revisional powers under S 115 of the CPC on District courts also.
- [11] To make single procedure both for criminal and civil liability in cases of defamation, cheating, [bouncing of cheques] etc, in which not only decree for money would be passed but also punishment for offence could be imposed.
- [12] In all criminal cases, the victims could claim compensation in addition to the punishment to be imposed on the accused found guilty and in cases where the offender is in indigent circumstances, the compensation should be paid by the State.
- [13] Provision for recording oral evidence without delay and exhortation of witness on the lines indicated in the *Smritis*.
- [14] Special Bharatiya design for Court buildings which would include resting accommodation for litigants, witnesses. (Waiting rooms)
- [15] Uniform law regulating constitution,

organization and general jurisdiction of all the High Courts.

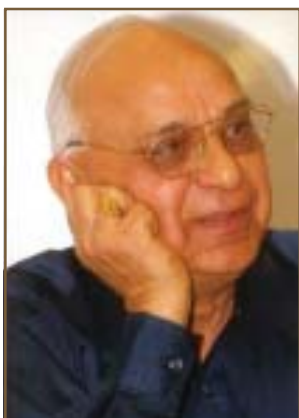
- [16] Making litigation less expensive by providing highest Court of Appeal as part of each of the High Courts and confining special leave petition to the Supreme Court on constitutional grounds and abolition of intra court appeals in the High Court, i.e., an appeal from the order of the High Court rendered by a single Judge to the High Court itself i.e., to the two judges bench.
- [17] Appropriate procedure for selection and appointment of suitable persons as Judges at all levels should be prescribed, having due regard not only to qualification, but also qualities and person without bad habits, such as addiction to alcohol, alone should be selected.
- [18] Periodical training to lawyers and judges on ETHOS AND ETHICS.
- [19] Dispensing with the separate execution proceedings and making it obligatory for the Court passing the Decree to proceed to execute the same and secure the fruits of the decree to the decree holders unless until it is stayed by the Higher Court.

I have given some highlights of Bharatiya or Hindu Jurisprudence and indicated their utility even now and I have also suggested some of the steps to be taken to establish *Swadeshi* Legal System. By an indepth study and research, we can evolve many principles which would enrich and reinforce and change the present face of legal and judicial system to make it "Bharatiya" [Swadeshi] in letter, content and spirit as desired by Mahatma Gandhiji.

A special law Commission comprising of experts both in the present and the past legal and judicial system should be constituted to make a detailed study and to make specific recommendations, and its recommendations should be implemented so as to bring into existence a "Swadeshi Judicial System". ■

*(The writer is a Member of Parliament RS, former Governor and a Chief Justice of High Court.)*

# Indian Constitution, Democracy and Good Governance



 **Subhash C. Kashyap**

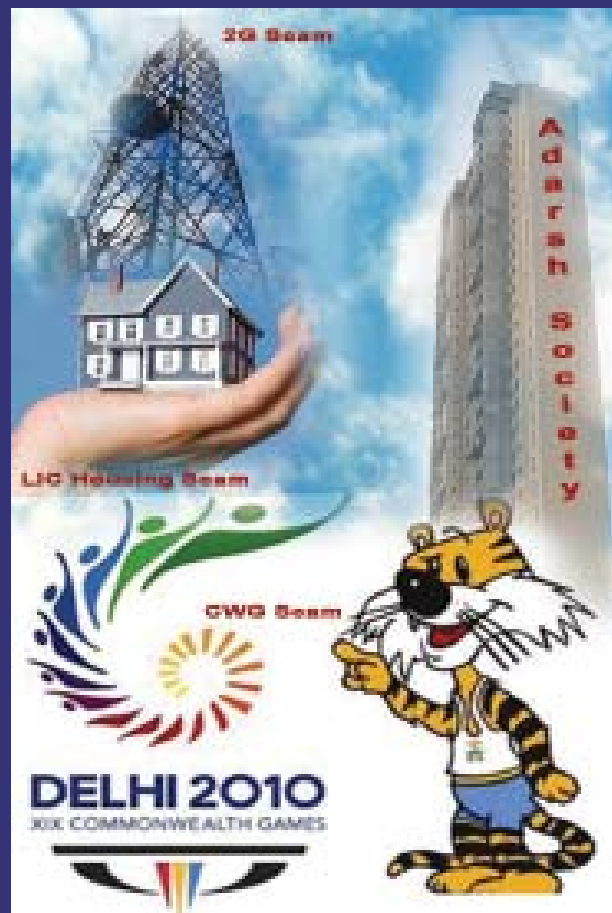
**W**e are very fond of bragging about our democracy being the largest in the world but if we look around at the state of our polity today it would be difficult to feel proud. Before the closing of the year 2010, we were privy to some of the most massive corruption scandals of people

in high places swindling lakhs of crores of public money. The series of scams – the Commonwealth Games, the 2-G Spectrum Licenses, the Adarsh Society, the LIC Housing Loans, the Lavasa Hill Station project, the Neera Radia Tapes and the heavily subsidized foodgrains meant for BPL families in U.P. being diverted for sale in open markets elsewhere – were enough to make us hang our heads in shame. Parliament which should have arisen to the occasion had rendered itself dysfunctional by remaining involved in an unreal JPC or PAC controversy throwing the corruption issue into the background.

To a very large extent, the present day crises and problems in governance have their source in the Constitution which we, the

people of India were supposed to have given to ourselves in our Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949. Actually, the Constitution of India is not a revolutionary document. It was not fully made by Indians in their Constituent Assembly. The Assembly did not have a *tabula rasa* to write on. The Constitution had had an organic growth through the various stages of the nationalist demands for self-governing institutions, struggle for freedom and reforms grudgingly and haltingly granted by the British. The primary concern of the British naturally was how to rule over India, keep the 'natives' weak and divided and control and govern them. Finally, the Government of India Act 1935, the Cabinet Mission Plan 1946 and the Indian Independence Act 1947, all drafted by the British

*Before the closing of the year 2010, we were privy to some of the most massive corruption scandals of people in high places swindling lakhs of crores of public money. The series of scams – the Commonwealth Games, the 2-G Spectrum Licenses, the Adarsh Society, the LIC Housing Loans, the Lavasa Hill Station project, the Neera Radia Tapes and the heavily subsidized foodgrains meant for BPL families in U.P. being diverted for sale in open markets elsewhere – were enough to make us hang our heads in shame.*



to serve their interests, contributed nearly three-fourths of the Constitution of India as it came out of the Constituent Assembly.

No wonder, the entire infra-structure of the Constitution remained colonial. The focus was on organization of the State apparatus, on a political system, on institutions of government, on division of powers, on functionaries and officers – their rights and jurisdictions etc. There was little emphasis on the principles of governance or traditional values of Indian political thought. Whatever little thought was given to

governance got relegated to the non-enforceable 'Directive Principles' part of the Constitution. Perhaps, the only place where our Constitution uses the term 'governance' is in article 37 under the Directive Principles. Article 37 speaks of certain "principles" being "fundamental" in the "governance of the country" but not "enforceable by any court".

These and other fundamental principles of good governance ordained by the Constitution are defiled, defaced and debunked openly almost daily and yet nobody can do anything. If these were

given the status of enforceable fundamental rights, the story of the Constitution in the 21st Century, would have been very different and much less distressing than what it is today.

It is often said that there was nothing wrong with the Constitution and if it failed, those working it must be vile. But, it cannot be ignored that the vile were the products of this Constitution – its demands, constraints, compulsions and the system established under it, for example, the electoral system under the Constitution encouraged and necessitated the role of vote mathematics –



of vote banks, corruption, black money, criminalization, casteism, communalism, violence and mafia power.

In the midst of dismal poverty, abysmal illiteracy and alarming inequalities, a functioning participatory democracy is inconceivable. The framers of the Constitution did not seem to have foreseen a situation where the concept of collective ministerial responsibility to Lok Sabha would tend to absolve the Ministers of all responsibility to the people at large and where the government would become so very desperately dependent on shifting party loyalties and temporary majorities.

In the history of democracy world over, there never has been a fully developed or perfect democracy. It is always developing. Every challenge offers an opportunity to move further faster. On the road to democracy there is no journey's end. However, it cannot be denied that never before has Indian democracy been confronted with more formidable challenges than during recent years. Democratic institutions are passing through a critical phase. There is a general deinstitutionalisation of institutions and devaluation of democratic values. That there

has been a steep fall in the standards of conduct in public life and administration is widely accepted. That there is a crisis of character and values in politics and public administration, is saying the obvious. Growth of a certain cynicism towards normal democratic processes and an erosion of respect for political parties, politicians, legislators and civil servants, present a disturbing scenario. Nothing

*The conduct of our legislators, ministers and bureaucrats and the goings on in the houses of our legislatures are matters of disgrace for Indian democracy. In large parts of India, Marx seems to have been proved right as the State appears to have withered away. There is no sign of administration. Mafia gangs terrorise and rule. An ugly atmosphere of near anarchy prevails and even the thin dividing line between the politicians and criminals has disappeared. Earlier, the criminal sought the protection of the politician, now it is the politician who needs the protection of the dada or the two have become one and the same person.*

can conceal the truth that our democratic processes are largely dependent on caste and communal vote banks and criminals and are run with colossal amounts of black money generated through crime and corruption and that the parties and leaders who present before the people opposite agenda and fight the polls against each other often commit a fraud on the electors by coming together after the polls to share the fruits of power. The areas of concern include. (1) Union – State

Relations, demands for further reorganization of States, decentralization of powers to grassroots, misuse of article 356, responsibilities for handling problems of jihadi terrorism and Naxalism, Maoism etc. sometimes acting in concert with their internal and external ramifications, (2) reforming and regulating by law the political parties and electoral system and processes, (3) systemic political reforms including parliamentary and judicial reforms and review of public administration – all with a view to ensuring citizen-centric, clean and corruption free, transparent and accountable governance, (4) population control, (5) reservation policies.

Enough has been written on criminalization of politics and politicization of crime, all pervasive corruption, role of money, muscle and mafia power and caste and communal vote-bank politics.

The conduct of our legislators, ministers and bureaucrats and the goings on in the houses of our legislatures are matters of disgrace for Indian democracy. In large parts of India, Marx seems to have been proved right as the State appears to have withered away. There is no sign of administration. Mafia gangs terrorise and rule. An ugly

atmosphere of near anarchy prevails and even the thin dividing line between the politicians and criminals has disappeared. Earlier, the criminal sought the protection of the politician, now it is the politician who needs the protection of the *dada* or the two have become one and the same person. A prominent Communist Party (CPI) leader and a very fine man, Shri Indrajit Gupta as the Union Home Minister in the United

such a pass that some concerned citizens and thinkers have begun to see question marks against the democratic model adopted by us and operated for more than 60 years. Can we hope to achieve good governance, *c i t i z e n - f r i e n d l y* administration, human development and nation-building without changing the system?

The spectacle of unethically engineered or

being moved by new ideologies. They are getting tired of government by the people. They are prepared to have government for the people and are indifferent whether it is government of the people and by the people".

People have seen the so-called representative democratic governments becoming governments of the corrupt, by the corrupt, for the corrupt. It is a highly competitive world and we have to strive towards excellence, reform and perform or perish. People need governments that can govern and good governance and not merely government by the claimants in the spoils of power in the name of representation. The policy of reservations has ceased to be a policy for the upliftment of the deprived sections. It has instead become the vote-bank politics of always keeping them backward and deprived. There is clamour for representation through reservation for newer and newer categories. With the greatest respect to them, why are there no reservations for the eunuchs, the disabled, the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the illiterates, the below poverty liners, the sex workers – the list is endless – if we really want that kind of representative government?

Good governance has to be limited constitutional government. It has to be democratic government but for that democracy would have to reinvent itself and to

*The picture is no better on the public administration front. A large percentage of civil servants has become servile or developed a nexus with the politicians in corruption and defrauding the people. They have not learnt the simple truth that in a democracy the people are the masters and all the functionaries of the State are and must function as servants of the people.*

Front Government, despite his leftist moorings, was not ashamed of confessing that he could do nothing to remove the role of crime and criminals in politics.

Governments have lost their credibility, legitimacy and even their representative credentials. The degradation and erosion of democratic processes has reached such low levels that fighting elections has become impossible without several crores of rupees and private armies or goonda gangs. In big cities, slums are big business for the politicians/criminals.

The many fissiparous and divisive tendencies and ugly assertion of separate parochial identities are a negation of all concepts of 'one India, one people'. Things have come to

defection-manipulated majorities or of several successive hung Legislatures or coalition governments of disparate elements coming together solely for sharing the fruits of power and including some of the goon leaders with criminal records or otherwise doubtful antecedents, are all matters of grave concern. The price of legislators on sale is said to be running into several crores of rupees a piece.

Democracy has often been described as the government of the people, for the people and by the people. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his concluding speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1949, however made the following pregnant remark: "Times are fast changing. People including our own are

rethink its fundamentals to suit the needs of the 21st century. Perhaps democracy as we know it is not enough. We have to transcend it and go beyond.

Today, there is a tremendous disconnect between the people and the politicians. There can be no greater challenge to democracy than a sad scenario in which there is a clearly perceptible erosion in the respect of the people for their own elected representatives. A very distinguished senior parliamentarian remarked: "It will not be far wrong to say sorrowfully, that there never was a time in living memory when politics and politicians were, almost rightfully as denigrated, even degraded and sometimes detested, in the eyes of our people as they are at the moment".

In fact, with majority of members of the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies elected with minority of votes cast, the representative credentials of the representatives themselves have come to be questioned. When more votes are cast against the winners, how can they be called representatives of the people. Almost all parties and candidates are busy building their vote banks on the basis of caste, communal, linguistic or other such identities as with 15 per cent or so votes they can hope to win. There is all the advantage in the power game in playing divisive politics and building separate identities.

The picture is no better on the public administration front. A large percentage of civil servants has become servile or developed a nexus with the politicians in corruption and defrauding the people. They have not learnt the simple truth that in a democracy the people are the masters and all the functionaries of the State are

Security of the citizen is the primary responsibility of the state. But, the policeman in India, perceives his role as one of assisting the administration to control the people rather than of being a helper, friend and servant of the citizens. While colossal amounts of public money are spent to provide security to those many of whom may deserve

*For power merchants, the highest value is vote mathematics. Religion, caste, sub-caste, language, region etc. come handy to divide the people, to create vested interests in their separate narrow identities. Religion, caste and even secular slogans are used to buttress vote-banks. No politician and no party can dare even to talk about population control or issues like dereservation in jobs at least for the creamy layer among the SC/STs and OBCs.*

and must function as servants of the people.

Till recently, judiciary was said to be the saviour and last sheet-anchor of democracy and rule of law but of late, like the legislature and the executive, judiciary also seems to be failing in many parts. Things are getting increasingly disturbing and one is no more in a position to say that all is well with the judiciary.

One of the most foundational norms of Indian democracy – sovereignty in the hands of the people – stands grievously eroded. During the last few years, it has come to be widely believed that the State has failed to provide security and meet our hopes, aspirations and basic needs.

the security of jails, there is very little security for the ordinary citizen. The law and order machinery needs to be insulated from gross political influence and politicians. In this connection, the Police Commission and the Vohra Committee reports remain relevant. Democracy must be directed towards clean and quality governance as it affects the lives of the people.

After more than six decades of democratic rule and all the much bandied about programs, we have some 300 million people below poverty line. In absolute terms, we have more poor people today than at the time of independence. Also, we have the largest number and the



majority of the poor of the world. The same is true of the illiterates. More than a lakh of villages still do not have drinking water. According to recent U.N. statistics, majority of Indians – men and women – are constrained to defecate in the open as they lack toilet facilities. Lakhs of children of tender age, laws notwithstanding, are subjected to high levels of insanitary conditions and work or beg in sub human conditions. As for national integration and unity, today we are more divided than ever before. Emotional divisions – differences and lack of mutual confidence in the hearts and minds of men – are more dangerous than the dividing lines on maps. Instead of coming together as members of the one Indian fraternity, we have become more and more separated from our fellow countrymen on grounds of narrow religious, linguistic, caste and other such loyalties. We are all anxious to find and strengthen identities other than the national. 'Indian' has become the smallest minority in the country.

Democracy presumes a general agreement on matters of national interest and public weal. But for power merchants, the highest value is vote mathematics. Religion, caste, sub-caste, language, region etc. come handy to divide the people, to create vested interests in their separate narrow identities. Religion, caste and even secular slogans are used to

buttress vote-banks. No politician and no party can dare even to talk about population control or issues like dereservation in jobs at least for the creamy layer among the SC/STs and OBCs.

It has come to be believed that Indian democracy as it has operated has led to and nurtured an unholy nexus between the businessman, the

Unfortunately, despite 63 years of freedom, the ordinary Indian – the much touted *aam admi* – has yet to feel the glow of the dawn of freedom or the transfer of power to his hands. The colonial model of administration and the colonial mind-set have continued with the people being still treated as the subjects and not as the citizens of a sovereign, democratic republic.

politician, the civil servant, the police and the criminal. For the new breed of politicians, national interest is the last priority, if any. Power for its own sake, for getting rich quick or for other personal ends has become the supreme value. Those in government remain so occupied in the sheer survival struggle that they have no time for serving the people. The case for

revising and renewing the character of Indian democracy is unassailable.

Unfortunately, despite 63 years of freedom, the ordinary Indian – the much touted *aam admi* – has yet to feel the glow of the dawn of freedom or the transfer of power to his hands. The colonial model of administration and the colonial mind-set have continued with the people being still treated as the subjects and not as the citizens of a sovereign, democratic republic. While it has become a fad to blame the politicians for all our miseries, very little is done to educate and awaken the citizens in the matter of their citizenship obligations in a representative, participatory, democratic polity. The people themselves would have to rise, assert their civic sovereignty and become active participants in the process of democratic governance. Democracy obligates the citizens to accept responsibilities. In a democratic polity, almost by definition, people have to be participants in processes of governance. Citizens have also to exercise constant vigilance over the conduct of those elected to public office. To save democracy ways and means have to found for reasserting the will of the people over the organs and functionaries of the State and restoring power to the citizen where it belongs. Ultimately, the responsibility to save India's freedom and democracy is that of "We, the People of India."



We have to consider what changes are imperative to solve the main national problems of poverty, illiteracy, corruption, over-population, criminalization of public life, devaluation of values, crisis of character, casteism, communalism, black money etc. We have to ensure our nation's socio-economic development and quality of life for all citizens. Since the representatives are supposed to be responsive to public

bringing about the needed reforms even if most of us arrive at some agreed suggestions. Those who can bring about the changes are the very people who have the greatest vested interest in the *status quo*. If more radical remedies are not to be advocated, we would have to be content with keeping up the efforts for creating greater awareness and building public opinion in the fond hope that one day, before it is too late,

themselves are prepared to fight it out, the vested interests shall never allow a citizen-friendly administration. After all, why would the beneficiaries of bad governance give up their benefits? People need education in democracy and for democracy. Without an educated populace, democracy is a sham. All of us need intensive education in citizenship values in the duties and obligations of citizens. The first and foremost duty of every citizen, therefore, is to be an active participant in the business of democratic government. Governance is too serious a matter to be left entirely in the hands of politicians and bureaucrats.

What we should be talking about is a citizen's movement against corruption, criminalization and concentration of power, or, in short, a crusade for good governance. Unless the people themselves are prepared to fight it out, the vested interests shall never allow a citizen-friendly administration. After all, why would the beneficiaries of bad governance give up their benefits? People need education in democracy and for democracy. Without an educated populace, democracy is a sham.

Nations are made only when people rise above their narrow self interests and are prepared to make sacrifices for their fellow citizens. Unless we are vigilant and conscious of our obligations as citizens, there is no reason why freedom and democracy should continue for ever. These plants are very fragile and unless nursed with care they are bound to wither away. If we fail to wake up, not only we will lose our freedom and democracy but as a nation we may be forever thrown in the dust bin of oblivion. ■

opinion and pressure, the ultimate responsibility for good and responsive governance is on us, the citizens of India.

Quality of governance is dependent upon the quality of citizens. If we, the citizens, are looking for undeserved or illegitimate benefits from the system through our representatives' favours, good governance can never take shape. This is a stupendous responsibility and calls for education in the values and responsibilities of good governance in a democratic polity.

The most difficult question is that of the mechanism for

the elite and the people would wake up, arise and act to bring about the dawn of good and responsive governance and save our nation, freedom and democracy.

Mere setting the agenda for action would not be enough. We cannot leave it to the government either. Blaming the politicians and the bureaucrats also would not do. We need to develop an awakened and aware activist citizenry. What we should be talking about is a citizen's movement against corruption, criminalization and concentration of power, or, in short, a crusade for good governance. Unless the people

*(The Writer is former Secretary-General Lok Sabha. He is currently President Rashtriya Jagriti Sansthan and Citizenship Development Society. Also Editor of South Asia Politics (Monthly), he is an advocate and consultant in constitutional law, parliamentary affairs and Political Management.)*



 **J.S. Rajput**

**I**t is not infrequent to come across statements like 'the country is at the cross-roads', particularly after informed deliberations on various facets of governance, people's unfulfilled

expectations and aspirations, relations with neighboring countries, international pressures, readiness to face external aggression and so many other aspects and factors. India has before it certain concerns of gigantic proportions which are not only defying solutions but have created a stage when the very credibility of the system of governance is under severe criticism of the people for whose welfare it has been created. The majority of Indians are reeling under ever-rising inflation that makes their daily life miserable. It impacts their physical health, emotional health and a sense of helplessness. There is the serious issue of internal security that disturbs the

countrymen who are conscious of its possible imports. Fundamentalism, terrorism, fanaticism, insurgency, Naxalism considered in totality makes the system of governance highly fragile. Corruption is all pervasive and, to some, it is no issue but to most of Indians it is the issue which needs to be tackled on priority basis. Corruption, obviously, is a consequence of neglect of human values in the political arena and all the sectors of government which receive instructions from the politicians in power. The entrenched grip of corruption extends to all the 360 degrees; from top to bottom and from Right to Left. The common refrain from the people could be heard all around the

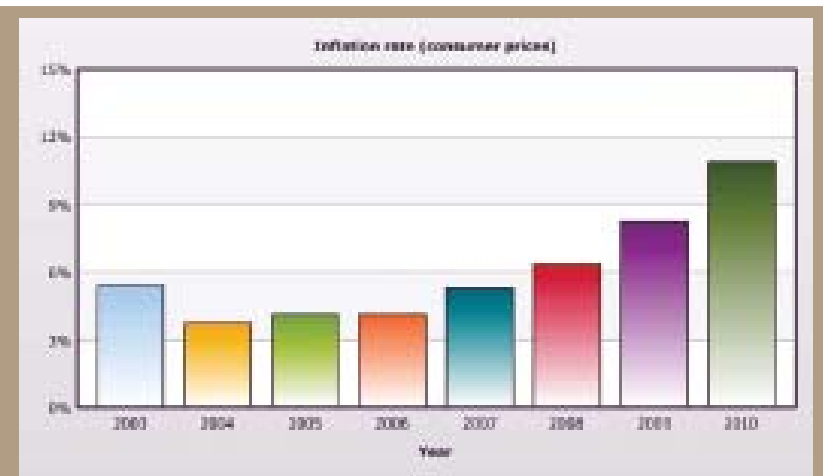
nation: with political power, all behave alike. They forget everyone, including the people who put them in the pedestal of power and focus only on accumulating for themselves and their kith and kin. Well; exceptions could be located everywhere but people are always right in their general assessment. In these conditions how one does summarize the state of affairs of the nation? Several of the leaders of the freedom struggle had anticipated the crisis in which India was to land itself in future. C. Rajagopalachari wrote much earlier: "Every people has its own culture, history and customs. So far we in India are concerned, whatever the particular community we belong to, we have, all of us, inherited traditions, scriptures, and literature which are waiting to serve us. We have been led in recent days to ignore the inheritance in favour of seeking wealth. Material wealth is a moving target and does not stay fixed. It flies higher and higher as we try to reach it." This is exactly the real problem of India faces today. In the final count it is the crisis of values. The solution requires a search for strategies of value inculcation, value nurturance and value development in every sphere of human Endeavour.

### Concerns

Every country continuously faces some sort of a moral crisis. There are occasions in history when the erosion of moral, ethical and humanistic values takes

gigantic proportions. Umpteen examples of the past could be cited in this context. In the contemporary context, it would be relevant to recall the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini. The combined human consciousness of the two nations was usurped by two depraved and disoriented individuals and the coterie of

innocent children, women including the entire population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki paid for with their lives. Horrible sufferings were inflicted not only those who perished but even the generations ahead were not spared. Have human beings shunned violence, exploitation of fellow human



The majority of Indians are reeling under ever-rising inflation that makes their daily life miserable. It impacts their physical health, emotional health and a sense of helplessness. There is the serious issue of internal security that disturbs the countrymen who are conscious of its possible imports. Fundamentalism, terrorism, fanaticism, insurgency, Naxalism considered in totality makes the system of governance highly fragile. Corruption is all pervasive and, to some, it is no issue but to most of Indians it is the issue which needs to be tackled on priority basis.

a few around them. Not only their citizens suffered inhuman miseries but the entire world was thrown in unprecedented violence, war of unparalleled magnitude and resulting in unaccountable human misery. Because of a few convoluted minds, millions including

beings and nature? If it were so, the world would not have been suffering hunger, misery, violence, external aggression and are forced to deliberate upon serious concerns of their own creation like: 'will the planet earth survive'? Most pertinent question before every individual today is: did

we learn from past holocausts and made amends? Those who do not learn from history become history. The level of violence, fundamentalism, bigotry, exploitation and distrust that prevails in the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalized world does not indicate that the world

has really learnt its lessons effectively. It is the erosion of values that has thrown the world in a tizzy and people are forced to seriously consider the imports of not protecting environment, destroying the mutuality of human beings and nature and putting the very existence of the planet Earth at stake. Stark and threatening realities are before the young of today who shall be managing the affairs of the globe tomorrow.



Is India ready to play its role as the second most populous nation on planet earth credited with the most ancient and enriched of the civilizations? Other nations have every right to expect India to play a leadership role as it is a young nation with half of its population below 25 years of age. The ageing Western countries are now telling Indians that this is India's period of golden demographic advantage. India must incisively examine its inner strength: is it ready to shoulder the responsibility to reverse the global tide in which materialistic pursuits dominate the spiritual quest; in which Western values are being given over-riding preference as against the traditional Eastern values? India needs to examine whether it is still proud, as nation with all its diversities, of the great spiritual traditions of search for truth, establishment of respectful harmony between man and nature and its overall cultural and spiritual heritage?

One can safely conclude at this juncture of human history that the world is at cross roads and India has a major role to play in reversing the trends that' if allowed to go unchecked, are sure to cause havoc to future generations all around the globe. Is India ready to play its role as the second most populous nation on planet earth

credited with the most ancient and enriched of the civilizations? Other nations have every right to expect India to play a leadership role as it is a young nation with half of its population below 25 years of age. The ageing Western countries are now telling Indians that this is India's period of golden demographic advantage. India must incisively examine its inner strength: is it ready to shoulder the responsibility to reverse the global tide in which materialistic pursuits dominate the spiritual quest; in which Western values are being given over-riding preference as against the traditional Eastern values? India needs to examine whether it is still proud, as nation with all its diversities, of the great spiritual traditions of search for truth, establishment of respectful harmony between man and nature and its overall cultural and spiritual heritage? Does India realize that visitors from western world and other developing nations do not come to India to witness huge and high-rise mansions comparable to those in Toronto, Shanghai or New York but to see its quest for the essence of life, the purpose of human sojourn on earth and the genuine efforts to explore the mysteries of nature; all for the benefit of mankind in general and for the deprived, deficient and destitute in particular. Not many may really understand its implications in the time of unbridled commercialization



and rush for registering patents amongst the pharmaceutical companies which are engaged in fierce competition amongst their scientists who produces the new drug first; something like the making of the Atomic Bomb race between US and the Soviet Union during World War II! The 'accumulating societies' may just fail to comprehend the essence of a non-accumulating civilization that developed in India thousands of years before the Western influence overshadowed the Eastern

philosophy. Now, India itself has a section of its population that is keen to urbanize the entire country at the earliest, which believes in accumulating as much as possible in shortest of the time

quick to auction more liquor shops in areas inhabited by the poorest of the poor. It exports sugar and onion from the same port on which it receives consignments of same items, of course, at the double



43-45 percent children below the age of five years suffer from malnutrition, nearly 77 percent or so of the Indians survive on less than Rs 20/- per day. And around 300 million Indians definitely sleep hungry every evening. The India of today pollutes its rivers and launches huge projects to clean rivers. It pleads for prohibition and is quick to auction more liquor shops in areas inhabited by the poorest of the poor. It exports sugar and onion from the same port on which it receives consignments of same items, of course, at the double or triple of the export price! In the India of today, scams and scandals stand routinized.

interval without caring for those who are being exploited in the process as they are being deprived of their due. India of today is proudly targeting ten percent economic growth, becoming a superpower and aspires to get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. More and more Indians are getting a place in the lists of the richest of the world. From India shining of 2004 to Emerging India of 2009 the story remains the same. What is ignored is that 43-45 percent children below the age of five years suffer from malnutrition, nearly 77 percent or so of the Indians survive on less than Rs 20/- per day. And around 300 million Indians definitely sleep hungry every evening. The India of today pollutes its rivers and launches huge projects to clean rivers. It pleads for prohibition and is

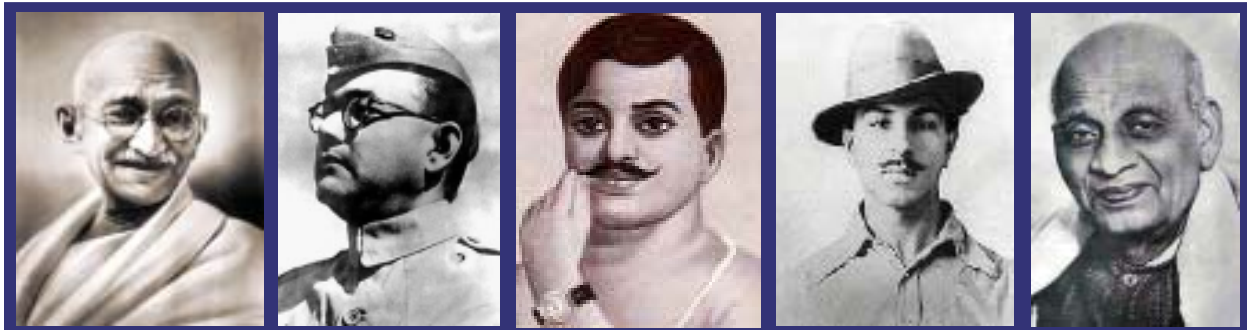
or triple of the export price! In the India of today, scams and scandals stand routinized. Instances of unscrupulous swindling of public funds broke all the previous records during the last three months of the year 2010. All this was inflicted on the country by its own sons and daughters whose upbringing was certainly deficient in values and traditions in one way or the other. In most of the cases, the culprits behave like kings and the system remains a moot witness. Is India not at cross roads?

But eternal and determined India cannot give up. Never before, people were as anguished and disturbed as has been witnessed during the last quarter of the year 2010. If the current generation in power and decision making positions has failed to check the erosion of values,

alternatives must be explored. Unprecedented and determined initiatives are needed not only on the political and systemic fronts but more strongly on social and cultural fronts. Who would take the lead and

human society. It is a universal phenomenon that continuously manifests itself everywhere irrespective of any diversities and boundaries created by nature or man. Youth represents idealism, adventure, entrepreneurship,

cultural and economic order. In the process, talented, committed and devoted persons emerge as leaders in respective professional fields and bring glory to their people and the country. They motivate next generations as



The great saga of India's independence is full of great instances of courage, and valor displayed by the young persons of India. They cared for the nation, the Indian ethos and heritage and were always in the forefront in the war of independence against the alien rulers. They trusted Gandhi even when not in total agreement with his strategies and policies. They had their heroes and icons before them: Subhas Chandra Bose, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Khudiram Bose, Ashfaqullah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil, Prafulla Chako and so many other illustrious ones.



accept the challenge? The existing system suffers from serious decline in credibility and loss of public confidence. Only alternative is to look towards the next generation; the young of today.

#### For the Youth

In every generation, the young represent emerging hopes and aspirations of the

exploration and change. Creativity abounds amongst the young and the freshness of the ideas empowers them to give concrete shape to their vision and perspective. It results not only in discoveries, inventions, innovations that make human life easier and comfortable but also simultaneously impacts social,

they become the role models and icons for the young once again. When the potential of the young person is channelized in the right direction and their learning and education is sprinkled consistently with eternal value elements, no extraneous factor can impede the march ahead of such a nation.

History world over is full of the innumerable instances of the young for their contributions in human progress on one hand and that of great sacrifices for the sovereignty of their country and people; for their dignity and honour.

The great saga of India's independence is full of great instances of courage, and valor displayed by the young persons of India. They cared for the nation, the Indian ethos and heritage and were always in the forefront in the war of independence against the alien rulers. They trusted Gandhi even when not in total agreement with his strategies and policies. They had their heroes and icons before them: Subhas Chandra Bose, Chandrasekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Khudiram Bose, Ashfaqullah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil, Prafulla Chakravarty and so many other illustrious ones. Subhash Bose became the idol of the nation in his time as he displayed unheard of personal courage and rare capacity to mobilize and organize people for a great cause. There was Jawaharlal Nehru, full of fire who endeared himself to people of all ages. Sardar Patel was an embodiment of firm determination and action and consolidated the unity of what remained of India after partition. Who can forget Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Maulana Azad, Govind Ballabh Pant and the array of illustrious individuals each one of whom deserves to be respected and emulated by

every Indian? They all represented higher values in life and were living examples of willingness to sacrifice for the nation and the people. They did not accumulate millions and billions but worked and sacrificed to give dignity and decent life to every Indian.

In the eleventh year of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Indian youth have another monumental challenge before them: Once again they have to plunge in another great struggle: the struggle against ignorance, ill health, hunger, inequality and

failed in sustaining the values that the nation has accepted and practiced in the pre-independence era. The trend of value erosion has reached staggering proportions. From a non-accumulating society, India is fast becoming an accumulating society, of a section of privileged people, in which the race is being run trampling all the principles of human behavior and values. India which always provided leadership in spirituality and human values to all other civilizations now ranks amongst worst of the nations

---

**In the eleventh year of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Indian youth have another monumental challenge before them: Once again they have to plunge in another great struggle: the struggle against ignorance, ill health, hunger, inequality and most importantly against unethical immoral and unsocial practices being indulged in to by certain vested interests and people in power and authority.**

---

most importantly against unethical immoral and unsocial practices being indulged in to by certain vested interests and people in power and authority. People must get the dignity and self-esteem that stands promised in the Constitution of India. This struggle would aim to eradicate discrimination of every kind and establish respect for the rule of law which should apply to every one with equal authority, force and consideration, irrespective of one's socio-economic standing. The post-independence leadership has

indulging in corruption and its citizens suffer because of value erosion and moral downgrading. It appears India has forsaken its ideals of serving others, sharing and trusteeship principle altogether and has joined the race for materialistic pursuits putting its own illustrious heritage in the background. Reversal of this disastrous trend requires a new resurgence amongst the young of India. The new 'revolution' must take roots in educational institutions: schools, colleges, universities and other professional centers. Every teacher in these places



has to become a teacher of values and must imbibe a sense of pride in the Indian concept of man and the objectives of living a blissful life on the planet earth. Institutions have also to make the young realize their responsibilities towards the fellow citizens, society and the nature. They must equip themselves to earn and acquire wealth and excel in it but, only through right and judicious means. They must know that the very survival of



**Constitutional guarantees of social justice, equity, equality and human dignity still remain a utopian dream for the vast majority of the countrymen. Educated young persons in job or in colleges can play great part in public education. Awareness of right and responsibilities is essential in strengthening the roots of democracy and in building up the people's confidence in the system.**

earth is at stake because of the greed of 'man' that has leapfrogged during the last five-six decades. It is the young that have to launch nationwide movements to restore life to dead and polluted rivers, stop deforestations, plundering of mineral resources and put a check on the unbridled nexus of the land mafia, politician and the bureaucrat. They have to act as the sentinels of the weak, destitute and deprived and ensure that their share is not usurped by unscrupulous elements. They need to generate awareness amongst the people about their rights and ensure them that they stand by them in toughest of the situations. The

Right to Information Act is a result of young person's initiatives and should not be allowed to be diluted as is very much on the cards, obviously, because of vested interests. Youth shall invariably succeed whenever their actions and initiatives are based upon sound humane principles.

Constitutional guarantees of social justice, equity, equality and human dignity still remain a utopian dream for the vast majority of the countrymen. Educated young persons in job or in colleges can play great part in public education. Awareness of right and responsibilities is essential in strengthening the roots of

democracy and in building up the people's confidence in the system. It enhances their self-esteem. With 43 percent children below the age of 5 years suffering malnutrition and around 80 crores not getting two square meals, the fruits of independence and progress and development have certainly not reached the vast majority of the people. The health services and education of even tolerable quality is not available to around 80 percent of the population. It extends even to metros, cities and town. So much is yet to be done in the sector of education and health. It has to be taken as societal initiatives in which youth has to be in the forefront. They could also ensure that functionaries responsible for providing basic services like functional school and health care centers perform their duties in the right spirit. It is the young people who alone can visualize the change, analyze it and educate people in accepting only such changes as fit in well with the specific needs and requirements of the community. The concerns of environmental degradation and climate change can best be appreciated and responded to by the youth. Young must be made aware of the glorious history, culture and spiritual tradition of India to enable them to feel proud of the past and be committed to take it ahead strengthen it further.

### Conclusion

How can the young people be readied to shoulder



**As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts."**

the responsibilities that history has thrust upon themselves and India is looking towards them to redress its concerns and crises? One again let the words of Rajaji be recalled "It is through the spoken word and pious worship and rituals that the knowledge as well as the capacity to work and suffer for the good were acquired and conserved by our people through the ages. And it is this old and tried instrument that we must use,

over and above the production of new literature whose lessons can be directly absorbed by those who have learnt to read." He many others invariably emphasized the need for proper interpretation of secularity in India. There is need to realize that religions are probably the most important means of value inculcation and preparing the young to realize and imbibe their social and national responsibilities and become determined to lead a value based life. Every young person now needs to seriously analyze the current state of the nation and after incisive analysis, delineate his/her own role and possible contribution. They must get convinced that despite all the aberrations, India deserves to lead others in several aspects in which it has established its superiority for ages. Young of India have a task to be performed in every village and habitation. Entire nation looks towards them. Let the young

of India be the soldiers of India marching ahead in future to establish peace, harmony, justice and equality of all men and women irrespective of any conceivable diversity. Let these soldiers of peace recall the words from the immortal speech of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose delivered on July 5, 1943 to the brave soldiers of the Indian National Army : "As soldiers, you will always have to cherish and live up to the three ideals of faithfulness, duty and sacrifice. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives, are invincible. If you, too, want to be invincible, engrave these three ideals in the innermost core of your hearts." ■

*Professor J.S. Rajput is a former Chairperson of the National Council for Teacher Education; NCTE; (1994-99) and the former Director of a NCERT (1999-04). He was awarded Jan Amos Comenius Medal by the UNESCO for outstanding contributions in Research and innovations.*

*"Western Science and the Western Ways of life are two different things. Whereas Western Science is Universal and must be absorbed by us if we wish to go forward, the same is not true about the Western Ways of life and values."*

**Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay**



 **Prakash Singh**

**T**he universally accepted features of good governance, according to the Planning Commission, are “the exercise of legitimate political power and formulation and implementation of policies and programmes that are equitable, transparent, non-discriminatory, socially sensitive, participatory, and above all accountable to the people at large”. There could, however, be aspects of governance that are contextually driven and geared to address the local concerns.

Good governance helps secure human well being and sustained development. It is,

as Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, said, “the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development”. On the other hand, poor governance erodes individual capabilities as well as institutional and community capacities to meet the needs of sustenance.

Addressing the Chief Secretaries and the State Police Chiefs a few years back, the then Prime Minister said that one of the fundamental reasons for the ills of insurgency, extremism and crimes affecting internal security was the lack of good governance, especially at the cutting edge level. According to Madhav Godbole, former Union Home Secretary, “our whole administrative apparatus is in shambles and the organized and highly qualified civil services based on open competitive examinations are on the brink of extinction”.

There are remote areas in the country where there is

hardly any governance. Abujmarh in Narainpur district of Chhattisgarh is one such area. It has a tribal population of 27,000 inhabiting some 260 far-flung villages over a sprawling area of 4000 sq. kms. The tribals here are primarily the Maria; they are the most backward tribals between the rivers Ganga and Godavari. Abujmarh remains cut off

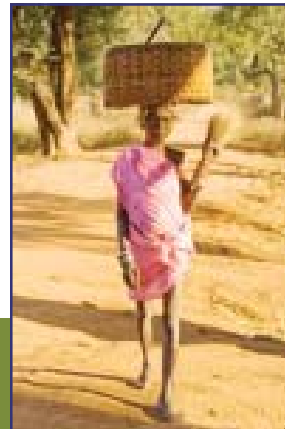
**Good governance helps secure human well being and sustained development. It is, as Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, said, “the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development”. On the other hand, poor governance erodes individual capabilities as well as institutional and community capacities to meet the needs of sustenance.**

from the rest of the civilized world for about six months a year. Surprisingly, the area has not been surveyed to date and has hardly any revenue or police presence on a regular basis. No wonder, the Naxals have made it one of their strongholds. Even in areas which are not so much in the interior, the absence of adequate public intervention, especially in education, health and employment has allowed the non-state actors to push their agenda among the people.

Apart from poor governance, several other factors have contributed to the growth of left wing extremism in the country. Poverty continues to be a huge problem. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) document concedes that sixty years after independence over a quarter of the population still remains poor. Land reforms have unfortunately become a forgotten item of the planning agenda. Unemployment figures have been worsening. The socio-economic conditions of the tribals, as noted by an Expert Group constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development, are beset with “severe complexities and problems” and the quality of life of the tribals has not improved despite the existence of an umbrella of protective legislation. It is this combination of factors – poor governance reflected in acute poverty, neglect of land reforms, mounting unemployment and the alienation of tribals – which contributed to a sense of grievance and frustration among large sections of the people. They felt that the peaceful political process would not bring about the necessary changes. An armed struggle was the only way out. Thus was born the Left Wing Extremism in India.

#### Present State of Movement

The Prime Minister has described Left Wing Extremism as “the gravest internal security threat our country faces”. The Home Minister, addressing the police chiefs of the country towards the end of 2009, stated that various groups



Apart from poor governance, several other factors have contributed to the growth of left wing extremism in the country. Poverty continues to be a huge problem. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) document concedes that sixty years after independence over a quarter of the population still remains poor. Land reforms have unfortunately become a forgotten item of the planning agenda. Unemployment figures have been worsening. The socio-economic conditions of the tribals, as noted by an Expert Group constituted by the Ministry of Rural Development, are beset with “severe complexities and problems” and the quality of life of the tribals has not improved despite the existence of an umbrella of protective legislation.





subscribing to the Maoist ideology had their pockets of influence in 20 states across the country, and that over 2,000 police station areas in 223 districts in these states were partially or substantially affected.

The Home Minister

nevertheless expressed his confidence in early 2010 that “if we remain steadfast in this path of carefully controlled, calibrated operations to reclaim territories that are dominated with Maoists, we should be able to

rid ourselves of this menace in about two-three years”. The paramilitary forces were mobilised in pursuance of his plan of ‘Clear, Hold and Develop’, and placed at the disposal of the worst affected states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Maharashtra. The results, however, have not been very encouraging so far.

The Maoists continued to be on rampage during 2010. The Ministry of Home Affairs, in its report card for the month of December 2010, admitted that the loss of lives in Silda, West

Bengal (February 15, 2010), Dantewada, Chhattisgarh (April 6, 2010), Bijapur, Chhattisgarh (May 8, 2010) and Dhaudhai, Narayanpur, Chhattisgarh (June 29, 2010) were the low points during the year. A total of 713



The Maoists continued to be on rampage during 2010. The Ministry of Home Affairs, in its report card for the month of December 2010, admitted that the loss of lives in Silda, West Bengal (February 15, 2010), Dantewada, Chhattisgarh (April 6, 2010), Bijapur, Chhattisgarh (May 8, 2010) and Dhaudhai, Narayanpur, Chhattisgarh (June 29, 2010) were the low points during the year. A total of 713 civilians were killed by the Naxalites (as against 591 in 2009), and the security forces lost 285 personnel (as against 317 in 2009). 171 Naxalites were neutralised during the year (as against 219 in 2009).

civilians were killed by the Naxalites (as against 591 in 2009), and the security forces lost 285 personnel (as against 317 in 2009). 171 Naxalites were neutralised during the year (as against 219 in 2009).

The Central Reserve Police Force was generally at the receiving end. It suffered a massive disaster on April 6, 2010 at Chintalnar village in Dantewada district, where 75 jawans of the paramilitary force were massacred in a single incident. The

CRPF thereafter virtually went into a shell. There were no offensive operations for almost four months. The change in CRPF leadership, both at the central and state levels, has however brought about a distinct change in the ethos and attitude of the force. It is now gradually trying to establish its dominance. In an engagement on November 23, 2010 in the Jagargunda area of Dantewada district, the CRPF was able to liquidate 20 Maoists.

In other states also, the much publicised operations did not make much of headway. In West Bengal, the Maoists are a force to reckon. with even though the security forces have been able to gain an upper hand in the Jangalmahal area. They caused considerable disruption to normal life, particularly in the running of railway trains. On May 28, 2010, they derailed the Gyaneshwari Express,



Maoists meanwhile continue to forge links with other insurgent outfits. Their links with the NSCN (IM) and ULFA were known. According to a recent information, they are now trying to have a nexus with the Lashkar-e-Toiba. Two operatives of the LeT are reported have attended a CPI (Maoist) Central Committee meeting as observers near Bastar in April or May of 2010.

development of the area. However, he found himself hamstrung by Congress Party's perception articulated by its General Secretary, Digvijaya Singh, who emphasised the developmental approach and expressed his opposition to the use of force. Mamta Banerjee, whose Trinamul Congress is in alliance with the Congress, has also a different take on the Maoists. Addressing a rally in Lalgarh on August 9, 2010, she referred to the Maoists as "friends" and offered to play mediator in peace talks with the Government of India. In Bihar, Chief Minister Nitish

member and beloved leader Azad and ten state level comrades had either been caught and killed by the enemy, or had been put behind bars". The Special Task Force of Kolkata Police picked up four top Maoist operatives, including the central committee member and the party's state secretary, Sudip Chongdar alias Kanchan, from downtown Kolkata on December. Government claimed on October 7, 2010 that the security forces had regained control over 10,000 sq kms. area dominated by Maoists in the Naxal- affected states.

resulting in the death of 148 passengers. The Railways admitted that they had incurred a loss of INR 10 billion in attacks by Maoists during 2010. In Bihar, 33 out of 40 districts are affected by Left-Wing Extremist violence, though the state police have been underplaying the rise in Maoist violence.



**'Maoist' links with other insurgent outfits**

Maoists meanwhile continue to forge links with other insurgent outfits. Their links with the NSCN (IM) and ULFA were known. According to a recent information, they are now trying to have a nexus with the Lashkar-e-Toiba. Two operatives of the LeT

#### Factors affecting Security forces

A number of factors were responsible for blunting the sharpness of security forces' offensive against the Maoists. There is no clarity on the policy government should pursue while dealing with the Maoists. Chidambaram's approach was clear; he wanted to go all out against the insurgents, put them down with a heavy hand, and thereafter undertake

Kumar has been repeatedly saying that the Maoists could not be countered by force and that all round development and welfare measures alone will bring the Maoists back to the mainstream.

The Maoists nevertheless suffered several setbacks. A circular issued by the Maoist Central Committee on September 21, 2010 admitted that "starting from May 2009 to July 2010, eight topmost comrades, including politburo

are reported have attended a CPI (Maoist) Central Committee meeting as observers near Bastar in April or May of 2010. The Chief Minister of J&K, Omar Abdullah, also said on November 19, 2010 that there were "visible and invisible links" among militants in his State and the CPI (Maoist). The Chief of Kolkata Police STF, on December 5, 2010 threw light on Maoists' links with Manipur's People's

Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) which, as he said, were “not limited to ideological sympathies but have reached a practical level”.

There are also indications that the Maoists would be spreading their network to the urban areas. It may be recalled that Kobad Ghandy, a politbureau member of the CPI (Maoist), was arrested from South Delhi on September 20, 2009. Another Maoist leader, Arvind Joshi, who had acted as a key facilitator for Kobad Ghandy, was arrested from Kanpur on February 21, 2010. Gopal Mishra and his wife Kanchan Bala alias Anu, who were involved in organisational activities in Delhi, were arrested from their residence in Shahdara area of East Delhi on April 26-27, 2010. Besides, Hemchandra Pandey, the journalist who was killed along with Maoist leader Azad in Andhra Pradesh, had

his base in the Shastri Nagar area of Delhi. Kolkata has seen the appearance of Maoist posters in the City in the recent past. Responding to a question on the subject, Ganapathy, General Secretary of CPI (Maoist) in a statement recently released to the media said: “It is ridiculous and unreal to say that we would never be able to extend to urban areas. If rural areas are liberated first, then basing on its strength and on the struggles of the working class in the urban areas, cities would be liberated later. Along with the liberation of cities the comprador rule and imperialist control would also be forced to end in our country”.

The future has a big question mark. Much will depend on the performance of the security forces, which in turn will depend on how much latitude they are given by the government, and the faithful implementation of government’s flagship

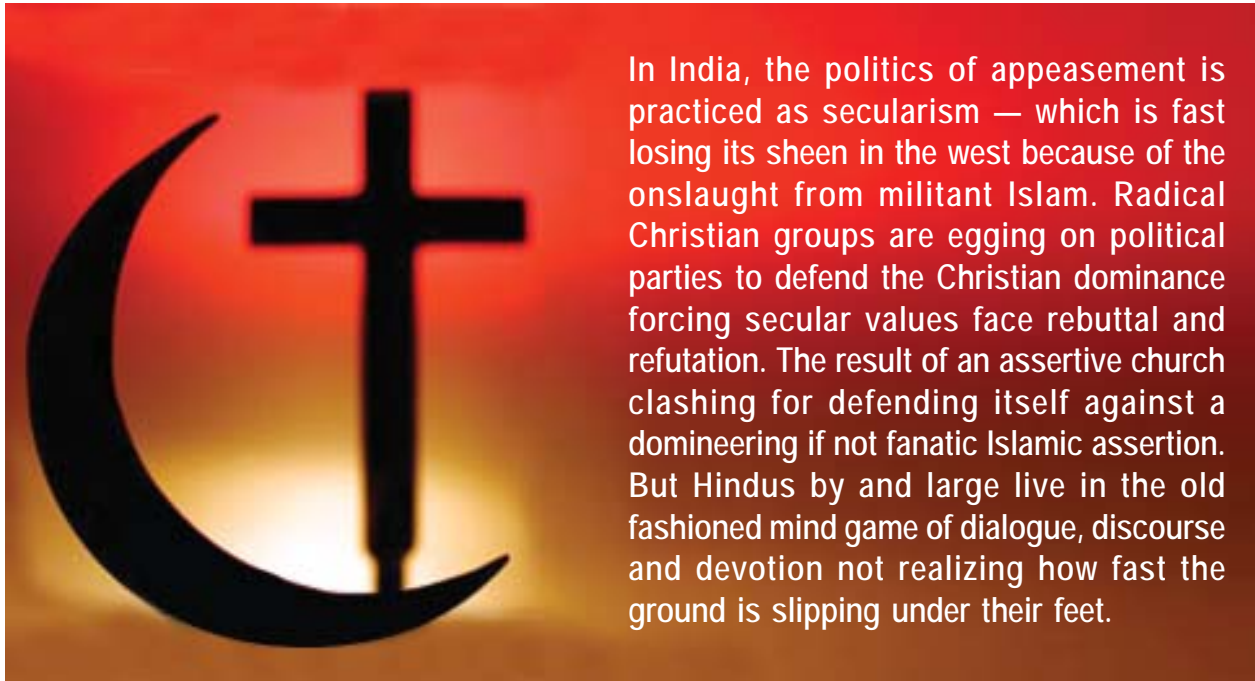
schemes. The government recently announced a Rupees 3,300 crore Integrated Action Plan for the sixty Naxal affected districts across nine states of the country to ensure overall development of these areas. Under the plan, the districts would get Rs. 25 crore this fiscal year for developmental work – setting up schools, health facilities, roads and access to safe drinking water. The government’s sincerity in wanting to develop the Naxal affected areas perhaps cannot be questioned. However, the fact remains that partly because of lack of commitment and partly because of rampant corruption, the fruits of development are not reaching the intended beneficiaries. Government must understand that corruption and a successful campaign against the Maoists cannot go together.■

*(The writer is a former Director General of the Border Security Force.)*

*“If we are to live and grow as a university, one of whose paramount tasks is to not only leaders of thought and action but also workers dedicated to the service of the nation, we cannot sit idle with philosophic concern and let things drift as they may. So far as we are concerned, it is for us to set our house in order. It is for us, and specially the younger generation, Hindus, Moslems and Christians alike, to combine and resolutely stand for the permanent well-being of our province and to rescue her from the deadly stagnation which now seems to envelop her.”*

**-Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee**

# Vote-bank part of legitimate political accession, but guard against undermining the country



**N**ot long ago, before our own eyes, religion had become politics. In India, the politics of appeasement is practiced as secularism — which is fast losing its sheen in the west because of the onslaught from militant Islam. Radical Christian groups are egging on political parties to defend the Christian dominance forcing secular values face rebuttal and refutation. The result of an assertive church clashing for defending itself against a domineering if not fanatic Islamic assertion. But Hindus by and large live in the old fashioned mind game of dialogue, discourse and



 **Dr. R Balashankar**

devotion not realizing how fast the ground is slipping under their feet.

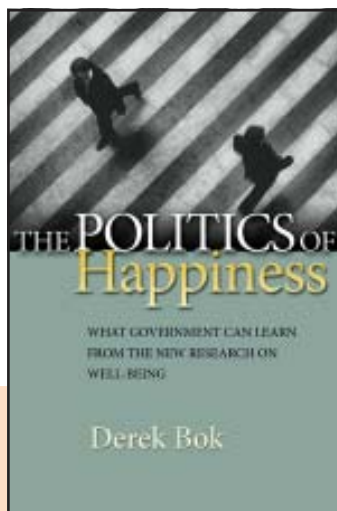
Who would have

imagined that a Hindu majority country like India after independence would be ruled by a clique whose common bond is their intimate Christian linkage. The present day Congress government and party have in all sensitive positions persons who are either Christians by faith or who have a Christian bloodline. Who would have imagined that in six decades of independence all the important positions which include Congress president, party general secretaries, Prime Minister, Home Minister, Finance Minister, Defence Minister, Law Minister, Food Minister, Civil



Aviation Minister, Foreign Minister and Railway Minister – all boast of one common trait, that they cannot speak the national language and that they feel more comfortable in a foreign language, which we call the link language. This is not because of the compulsion of coalition politics. It is by design. The comfort level of the UPA chairperson. In the bureaucracy also the same story can be repeated. Most members are enjoying repeated extensions after retirement because a certain category of people continue to occupy vital positions even though that is depriving many deserving candidates their due recognition.

One aspect of all these is the growing influence and popularity of evangelical Christianity and jehadi Islam on the political power structure of India. Consequently, the space, power, prestige and ascent of Hinduism is shrinking. Modern politics is more about sharing and wielding power. Hindus still confuse their religion as a way of life, universal brotherhood, a perplexing paradox of dialectics of spiritual evolution and moral uplift. We are losing the political construct and utility of the religious paradigm. Politics is all about, at least practically speaking, creating and expanding areas of influence for the ideological architecture of a party. Those who believe that ideology has lost its relevance in the age of



*The Politics of Happiness* by Derek Bok explores the way in which the governments can incorporate the happiness factor in their planning and policy making. The ultimate aims of which would be to increase the over-all well-being of the people and improve their quality of life. There is a point to note for us here, a recent survey had indicated that Indians are way below in world ranking in quality of life. We come 78<sup>th</sup>.

globalization are unaware of the sweeping changes enveloping the world order. The political capital of a party is built on the idea of preservation, inspiration and aspiration. World over every political party owes its allegiance to certain vested interest groups and a co-opted

coalition of leverage groups. Hence, appeasement or vote-bank in its raw interpretation is a much abused and disused term. As a political tactics one cannot blame a party for trying to create a constituency of its own. In a country where a national election is won on a vote share of less than 35 per cent of popular vote it is legitimate to work towards wooing this percentage of voters and in this, religion – both Christianity and Islam are more politics than religion – whose voting strategy is dictated by power game enjoy greater appeal. Both the national parties, the Congress and the BJP have been steadily losing vote share. Congress seems to have identified a divisive agenda to arrest its decline; the BJP seems to be groping.

Every party tries to carve out a niche for itself which could bring it a solid vote base along with a general inclusive agenda of that elusive thing called happiness for the largest possible segment of the society. When it becomes a ploy to maximize the happiness of an increasingly smaller minority of the population as the Congress is presently being accused of, politics deteriorates into cronyism. When Bhutan introduced the concept of 'Gross National Happiness' a few years ago the cynics smirked and the others nodded in approval. Can there be anything 'gross' about happiness? Can it be measured? These were the



natural questions. Well, may be or not be, but on the whole well being of the people can

with some ways by which the governments and policy makers can alter the plans to

environmental protection and preservation of culture. Not that all is well in Bhutan now. In fact, there have been reports of human rights violations, in the name of preservation of culture. What to do about inequality? This is perhaps the most challenging task for all politicians. It is often said about India that so few people corner lion share of the national wealth as in the case of most capitalist countries. For instance Derek Bok discusses how the income inequalities are wide and getting wider in America. "From 1973 to 2000, the most affluent 20 percent Americans



be gauged. Not from the rate of growth of income, GDP, or the purchasing power of the individual but from the feeling one gets while ploughing through one's daily rigmarole. If you have more things to smile about today than, say two years ago.

In the book *The Politics of Happiness* by Derek Bok explores the way in which the governments can incorporate the happiness factor in their planning and policy making. The ultimate aims of which would be to increase the overall well-being of the people and improve their quality of life. There is a point to note for us here, a recent survey had indicated that Indians are way below in world ranking in quality of life. We come 78<sup>th</sup>. Derek Bok says that after 35 years of research into 'happiness' the researchers have been able to come up

give maximum benefit to the people. He has said that it is not the monetary concern alone that gives happiness. In which case he says the countries that grew fastest should be the happiest, but it is not so. Though the book is America-centric, most of which he has said is applicable to all societies.

Bhutan has recognized four pillars for calculating the Gross National Happiness. They are: Good governance and democratization, stable and equitable socioeconomic development,

When politics get embedded in vote-bank the demand and desire to propitiate the shareholders of bulk vote increase. Generally, all around the world there is a feeling that Muslims vote en bloc.

This is also true of Christians, particularly in states like Kerala for instance where the Church of various denominations issue guidelines to the laity as to whom to vote and whose defeat has to be ensured. To make a maximal political killing these denominations also create a myth that it was their vote that dictated a particular outcome. It may not be the case always. But it is always advantageous to claim the victor as theirs to make better bargains and sustain the myth. This is a strategy adopted by the Muslims everywhere they are in minority.

increased their income by 61.6 percent, six times faster than the poorest 20 percent (10.3 percent). By the end of the century, the richest 1 percent claimed a share of the national income not equaled since the 1920s." He goes on to add that public health experts have "argued forcefully that added income inequality in America has widened differences in longevity between rich and poor. They also claim that states with greater inequalities of income tend to have larger differences in longevity than states with a more equal income distribution."

When politics get embedded in vote-bank the demand and desire to propitiate the shareholders of bulk vote increase. Generally, all around the world there is a feeling that Muslims vote en bloc. This is also true of Christians, particularly in states like Kerala for instance where the Church of various denominations issue guidelines to the laity as to whom to vote and whose defeat has to be ensured. To make a maximal political killing these denominations also create a myth that it was their vote that dictated a particular outcome. It may not be the case always. But it is always advantageous to claim the victor as theirs to make better bargains and sustain the myth. This is a strategy adopted by the Muslims everywhere

they are in minority. A fascinating recent book, *The Arab Lobby* by Mitchell Bard, gives a gripping analysis of this myth working in the US. The Arab population is concentrated in five states - California, Florida, Michigan, New Jersey and New York, which are all key electoral colleges. The Muslim lobbies have attempted to portray the victory of the candidate from these constituencies as owing to their votes. In 2008, the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections claimed that 89 per cent of Muslims voted for Obama, while only 2 per cent voted for John McCain. This, despite the fact that Obama emphasized his Christian beliefs and according to reports during election rallies, women with

headscarves were prevented from sitting behind him in front rows, where their images would come on the camera.

Indians are more familiar with the working of this phenomenon. Till the other day as long as Lalu Yadav was winning in Bihar he was the darling of the Muslims. Even without their support in 1991 Kalyan Singh became chief minister in UP. The NDA formed government at the centre twice. Narendra Modi became chief minister thrice in Gujarat. And Nitish Kumar's victory in Bihar in 2005 had no Muslim input. But this time all over the media it is projected as the result of the great Muslim shift that Kumar won. Has Lalu become communal that they deserted the poor chap? Has he joined hands with the BJP? It is in this background that we have to understand the vote-bank politics in India.

**Till the other day as long as Lalu Yadav was winning in Bihar he was the darling of the Muslims. Even without their support in 1991 Kalyan Singh became chief minister in UP. The NDA formed government at the centre twice. Narendra Modi became chief minister thrice in Gujarat. And Nitish Kumar's victory in Bihar in 2005 had no Muslim input. But this time all over the media it is projected as the result of the great Muslim shift that Kumar won. Has Lalu become communal that they deserted the poor chap? Has he joined hands with the BJP? It is in this background that we have to understand the vote-bank politics in India.**

The Congress has been functioning as if it has consciously decided to cut itself free of its nationalist moorings. It has charted a course which will permanently create a chasm in the society and project it as the champion of all the centrifugal and disaffecting tendencies in India. It hopes to regain its lost ground in north India by creating a loose, amorphous collection of caste, communal and regional vested interests.

The consequence is the rejection if not denial of all majority aspirations that strengthen national unity.

Look at this for instance. A borrower from a bank was not required to disclose his religion in an application, so far. And there has been no report of discrimination against minorities in banking institutions. There is already a mechanism of disbursal to minority community. But soon, a banker writing a loan cheque will have to take into account the borrower's religious practice. For, according to a report in *The Economic Times*, the government has asked the Indian Banker's Association to earmark a part of total loan disbursement for members of minority communities. On January 9, 2007 the banking division under the Finance Ministry told the IBA to set aside 15 per cent of priority sector lending in all categories for this segment. IBA in turn has asked member banks to furnish details of loans to minorities.

The UPA has embarked on a course that mocks at those who talk about national integration. They are not taking a calculated risk. But brazenly provoking a divide through cynical

There is an interesting survey taken up by the Left leaning socio-scientific NGO Shastra Sahitya Parishad, Kerala two years ago, titled 'Kerala: How it lives, How it thinks.' According to the survey, it is not minority Muslims or Christians but Hindus comprising 54.47 per cent of Kerala's 3.2 crore population who are at the economic downslide. The survey, by the Marxist NGO, says Hindus in the state form the major chunk of the state's poor with over 39 lakh living below poverty line. Condition of Hindus is worse than that of Christians and Muslims in employment, land holding and income. And the survey says the condition of so-called forward castes is more pathetic than the backward caste Hindus.



machinations. The Planning Commission reports say that at least 26 per cent of India's population is living below poverty line. The actual figure is much higher. If

emancipation of this deprived segment is the priority why talk only of 13 per cent Muslims, and two per cent Christians, all of whom in any case are not below poverty line? As such, learned *maulanas* of Muslim Personal Law Board have decreed that Muslims cannot take to banking or insurance, polio drops or yoga classes, as these militate against their religious dogmas. The Sachar Committee appointed by Manmohan Singh claims that only three per cent of Muslim children go to madrasas. The evolutionary volume was an attempt to tell social scientists that the 'Missing Muslim' in jobs was not the result of madrasa education. Sachar was

trying to emphasise on a chimera of conspiracy against Muslims for their backwardness. At another place the report stated that the condition of Muslims is worse than that of Dalits. One of the instant response was from late Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Rajasekhara Reddy

followed by then HRD Minister Arjun Singh. Reddy said in his state he was going to finance madrasas in a big way to encourage Muslim education. Arjun followed suit and announced enhanced



funds for madrasas all over the country. The contradiction is striking. On the one hand Sachar says Muslim backwardness cannot be attributed to madrasa education, but our Congress leaders want to push our poor Muslim children right into the vortex of madrasa theology by funding and mushrooming them. Pro-Muslim politicians are promoting Urdu, Arabic and Persian studies for Muslim students. Will it fetch them jobs? But it sure enough helps drain our scarce national resources. By the same logic they should be promoting Hebrew for Christians. But that community is wise enough not to take such an insult as an encouragement.

With state assembly elections drawing closer, there is a ferocious bullfight on the streets of UP for Muslim votes. Mulayam Singh Yadav, who feels Congress has stolen away his mullah cap, is flooding the Urdu press with advertisements listing his services to Muslims from readmitting Azam Khan, removing Amar Singh, protesting the removal of the illegal mosque in Delhi's Jungpura, opposing US plans on Iran and Iraq, hanging of Saddam Hussein, Danish cartoons and certificate of encouragement to terrorist outfit SIMI. His list is unending. He accuses the Congress of not doing enough, even betraying the Muslim cause. To recount all that Mulayam has done for Muslims, according to his sponsored pull-outs, it would

look as if he had not done anything else in his entire political career. But Sachar says, UP is only just behind West Bengal, in the deprivation of Muslims. The red bastion under the CPM takes the top slot in Muslim deprivation. Is it that the comrades' obsession with Muslims in Pakistan, Bangladesh and West Asia

Shastra Sahitya Parishad, Kerala two years ago, titled 'Kerala: How it lives, How it thinks.' According to the survey, it is not minority Muslims or Christians but Hindus comprising 54.47 per cent of Kerala's 3.2 crore population who are at the economic downslide. The survey, by the Marxist NGO, says Hindus in the state form

**Like the British, the UPA is smelling its chance in a divided, weakened and shattered India. One should not assume that the Ranganath Misra Report presented in Parliament before the 2009 poll is the last in a series of duplicitous vote bank play. The UPA, is not stopping there. Its Minority Affairs Minister, recently disclosed that the Union Finance Ministry will soon write to the Kerala High Court, supporting the proposal to introduce Islamic Banking in**



made them forget about their next-door brothers? The comrades are not that easily cowed down. They blare 'Sachar Committee Report is accurate about everything else except West Bengal.' They don't mind even if that means, the BJP-ruled states like Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, have better and enviable record in Muslim empowerment. So much for the red concern for the white cap.

There is an interesting survey taken up by the Left leaning socio-scientific NGO

the major chunk of the state's poor with over 39 lakh living below poverty line. Condition of Hindus is worse than that of Christians and Muslims in employment, land holding and income. And the survey says the condition of so-called forward castes is more pathetic than the backward caste Hindus.

Sachar and Ranganath Reports are just the tools. To keep the Muslims alienated from the national mainstream, separatist Muslim fringe groups in the late eighties used to raise these demands. All the



nationalist parties then had frowned at such fundamentalist assertions. Even the Congress Party under the late Rajiv Gandhi had criticised them. But Sonia Congress has now adopted that divisive Muslim charter of demands wholesale. This is a carbon copy of the demands of pre-Partition Muslim League of Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Poverty has no religion. To see religion in poverty is a sin. A crime that no recourse to political expediency can hide. UPA is out to create a class war in the country. Like the British, the UPA is smelling its chance in a divided, weakened and shattered India. One should not assume that the Ranganath Misra Report presented in Parliament before the 2009 poll is the last in a series of duplicitous vote bank ploy. The UPA, is not stopping there. Its Minority Affairs Minister, recently disclosed that the Union Finance Ministry will soon write to the Kerala High Court, supporting the proposal to introduce Islamic Banking in India. The court, responding to a petition of Dr Subramanian Swamy, stayed a Kerala Government proposal to set up Islamic Banks. The case is now pending in the court. Addressing the social Editors' Conference in Delhi on January 19, 2010 the UPA Rural Development Minister announced that all Muslims in India will be included in the Below Poverty Line (BPL) list.

This will accrue them extra benefits, he said. The Minister said, this is necessary so that the automatic inclusion in the BPL list would ensure all benefits of central and state-sponsored schemes like Indira Awas Yojna, NREGS, old-age pension, special loans etc. These are over and above Sachar and Ranganath. In the normal course one would have thought the fellow had gone crazy, that he was either out of his senses or had gone mad. No, in the milieu in which we live such are the kind of pronouncements we hear from ministers whose only reason for their being there is that they enjoy Sonia Gandhi's patronage. Have not we heard a few years ago India's selected Prime Minister pompously bragging that Muslims have the first right on India's resources? This is the man who lost his sleep thinking of the agony of the mother of a terror plot accused in Australia. Sad, that he is yet to come out with a decent reaction to hundreds of racial attacks on Indian students and taxi drivers in Australia in which about a score of Indians have lost their lives. This is the kind of selective amnesia and charlatan hypocrisy guiding this regime. They are not interested in the progress of India or the

welfare of minorities. The UPA appointed Arjun Sengupta committees on poverty have estimated the number of poor people in the country at 700 million. The Saxena Committee Report submitted to the Rural Development Ministry has estimated that 37 per cent of

Strategic voting has never been a Hindu forte. At the time of elections, media is flooded with reports about how Muslims and Christians manipulated the outcome by their en bloc voting, which in secular parlance is strategic voting to defeat the only whipping boy of Indian politics, the BJP, which according to them is seen as a Hindu party. The BJP gets beaten by both ends of the stick. The protagonists of strategic minority voting dump it and ostracise it as a Hindu party. The leaders who aggressively espouse Hindu grievances condemn it for not being Hindu enough.

Indians are living below poverty line.

Politics to unite and garner vote

The essential unity of the country should be the basic format of any political discourse. That is what they do in developed democracies. Political diatribe is not allowed to come in the way of national unity and territorial integrity. India is not an idea as our political commentators often describe, but it is in reality, a live and dynamic spiritual

entity, worshipped and nurtured through ages, that is ever changing and renewing and yet ever the same emotive force. This reality is cast in our memory, scripted in concrete, carved in granite, etched in stone in the innumerable symbols of India spread along



Change is the only permanent facet of politics. In every act of Muslim fanatic assertion Indians are reminded of the tragic sequence of Partition. A weakened Hindu society, split on caste lines, falling prey to the whims of short-sighted and disparate political gamblers offer a frightening prospect for the Hindu. The majority community, the mosaic of the Unitarian federal structure is under siege from within.

the large land mass, above all in the conscience of every Indian. It is celebrated in our tradition, sung by our poets, recited in rituals, relived in festivities, rededicated by great saints and leaders of men. It is preserved in our temples, cultivated in our custom and imbibed through the ages. Every folklore in every village tells this unending romance of the Indian with this land. This is

an endless saga beyond time. This unity of India, this cultural mosaic of the nation is under attack as never before from terrorists, evangelists, separatists promoting identity politics and blasé ideas of regionalism and caste.

Strategic voting has never been a Hindu forte. At the time of elections, media is flooded with reports about how Muslims and Christians manipulated the outcome by their en bloc voting, which in secular parlance is strategic voting to defeat the only whipping boy of Indian politics, the BJP, which according to them is seen as a Hindu party. The BJP gets beaten by both ends of the stick. The protagonists of strategic minority voting dump it and ostracise it as a Hindu party. The leaders who aggressively

espouse Hindu grievances condemn it for not being Hindu enough.

It is seldom that Hindus vote as Hindus. Hindus vote as Jats, Yadavs, Dravidians, Dalits and even as Brahmins. But only the call of nationalism, the need for asserting territorial integrity of the country, make Hindus react as a united whole and in this they are not swayed by

political affiliations. Both the BJP and the Congress benefited from this Hindu sentiment. Till mid-eighties Congress rode to decisive victories cashing in on the Hindu aspiration to keep India one. The emergence of casteist formations with their open and sectarian appeal to the minority vote coupled with the Congress overdrive to keep its traditional vote banks intact created a situation where Hindus lost their political worth. The politics of vote bank divided the social fabric and weakened national unity. The Congress under Rajiv Gandhi cynically overturned the political balance, even overruled the Supreme Court wooing communal vote banks. This fast depleted the national mandate that gave him unprecedented victories.

Change is the only permanent facet of politics. In every act of Muslim fanatic assertion Indians are reminded of the tragic sequence of Partition. A weakened Hindu society, split on caste lines, falling prey to the whims of short-sighted and disparate political gamblers offer a frightening prospect for the Hindu. The majority community, the mosaic of the Unitarian federal structure is under siege from within.

It was the revered His Holiness Swami Chinmayananda, the founder of Chinmaya Mission, who first envisaged the Hindu vote bank idea in the mid-eighties.

It was the outcome of a deep felt cultural angst, the fear of Hinduism being submerged by the onslaught of Semitic evangelism, Islamic fundamentalism and pusillanimous political paganism. At this stage discussions veered around the need for creating a Hindu vote bank or a strong Hindu lobby in the centres of power. Simply put, Hindus have to be made aware of their political strength. Osmosis of the religious Hindu into a political Hindu like his Muslim and Christian counterpart. The debate is endless. Can Hindu be used in a religious context? What is the definition of a Hindu? Who after all is a Hindu? How can the majority community shrink itself into a vote bank? And if it happens, it could prove counter-productive. This will encourage other communities to become more assertive and focused. And the very phrase vote bank has acquired bad connotations by usage. Should Hindus who have been critical of vote bank politics all these days make a U-turn on the same absurd strategy? Even there is a fear that the parties indulging in Hindu vote bank politics will frighten away the liberal Hindu votes and the votes of other communities. All these considerations make such parties sympathetic to Hindu sentiments wary.

Unlike in the context of other en bloc votes the Hindu vote bank idea is rejected outright because of two critical concerns. First, it is

uncharacteristic to fathom a universal Hindu political personality. To unite Hindus under one banner is like keeping a basketful of crabs together. Second, all political parties in India are largely headed by Hindu leaders.

**A well-established fact is that the dominant English press in the country is anti-Hindu. It is insensitive to Hindu feelings. But a more vital aspect of this is that the media ownership pattern particularly after globalisation has slipped into the hands of multinational companies and interests, who are either Islamic or Christian in their political belief. The systematic campaign through the media to defame and devalue Hindu interests, and leadership speaking for Hindu cause, is the direct outcome of this economic phenomenon. In the end Hindu is powerless, penniless and landless. Even numbers are slowly being worked against him.**

Only that they don't speak or look after Hindu interest. Both these assumptions are arguably valid. But they miss the major concern behind the vote bank idea. The vote bank is a weapon to remind Hindu of his innate strength. Hindu vote bank is not a status quo of a vested religious interest. It is a dynamic process in redefining Indian polity. The

crux of this idea is to make Indian polity Hindu centric, whatever may be the definition attributed to the term Hindu. Like, the political character of western democracies is Christian. Not to talk of Islamic countries, where there is neither democracy nor religious freedom. Awakening the Hindu consciousness in the political circuit is the demand of the Hindu vote bank. Creating a realisation that the Hindu too has a stake, sensitivity and anger, when it comes to his core existential question, is the purpose. Hindus cannot remain spiritual islands invoking philosophical platitudes, when their very identity, their legitimate share in the national resources is denied.

Hindus are taken for granted. All electoral calculations are made as if the Hindus do not exist. The engineering of Hindu vote bank is the maturing of the Hindu constituency to ensure an electoral outcome of his choice, solely dictated by his collective understanding of the best possible national goal. Only this will restore, defend, protect and preserve the Hindu-centric power structure of this land. Thus the Hindu vote bank need not be loyal to particular political formations. It is a bargaining chip to protect permanent Hindu interests.

The need for this comes from the experience of the past six decades of secular democracy. It is not only the



political space, but the geographic area of the Hindu is getting squeezed. Besides the alarming demographic invasion, proselytization and petro-dollar alienating large population of India from the national mainstream, there is the danger of the vicious secular ploy of dividing and dissipating Hindu society.

For argument, they say Hindus are in a majority. Then they dissect on caste lines. They promote the theory that Vanvasis are not Hindus, Dalits are not Hindus and that Hindus are only the so-called upper castes.

And that argument, if accepted, makes us the minority. But atrocities, political discrimination in the name of religion are justified with the plea that as majority Hindus should bear the brunt. What is this logic?

A well-established fact is that the dominant English press in the country is anti-Hindu. It is insensitive to Hindu feelings. But a more vital aspect of this is that the media ownership pattern particularly after globalisation has slipped into the hands of multinational companies and interests, who are either Islamic or Christian in their political belief.

The systematic campaign through the media to defame and devalue Hindu interests, and leadership speaking for Hindu cause, is the direct outcome of this economic phenomenon. In the end Hindu is powerless, penniless and landless. Even numbers

are slowly being worked against him.

It is time for a new politics. This is not about dividing. This is about reconciling to realities. At one level the rural India travels to the urban India in search of its dream, a job, a better living and a secure future. And at another level the urban India sets the trend for the rural India to follow. Simply put, people travel from villages to cities, ideas travel from cities to villages.

Any political idea that loses the urban trust loses the India of tomorrow. That was what happened to the NDA in 2004. That is what is happening to the UPA today. The urban middle class is uncertain and insecure about the future of his children. The cream of urban Indian youth is migrating to the west, even to the far east. India is witnessing the highest human talent exodus of modern history, thanks to the politics of quota and Sachar.

Is India becoming a place unsafe for the average educated Hindu? Why should the middle class Hindu children seek their dreams in the west? This is another worry confronting the Hindu. The deprivation of the real Hindu is not only political but also economic. His history is distorted, his religion is lampooned, his heroes are caricatured, his social fabric is destroyed. All this because of his immense capacity to tolerate and his self-denial of power.

Hindus have to survive

and dominate their land for humanity's sake. This is the only guarantee for peace, co-existence, freedom and democracy. Should India become like Pakistan, Bangladesh, China or the West, whose record in keeping peace is nothing to emulate, secularism and democracy will become unworkable.

Considering that India is Hindu majority, issues concerning the community should have found a place in the manifestos of political parties. Why should Ramjanmabhoomi, cow-protection, Ram Setu, protection of Hindu temples, common civil code, writing a national history, subsidy to Hindu pilgrims, conversion by inducement or fight against terrorism be issues of partisan politics? Relatively these are more secular than most issues on which there is a political consensus.

There is a strong Babri lobby, there is a stronger evangelical lobby. There is a Pak lobby, like a Chinese or US lobby, there is an Afzal and anti-Narendra Modi lobbies. Staines and Setalvads will get Padma Shri for Hindu-baiting. But in India there is no Hindu lobby! There is no Hindu issue on which parties across the board will sit and argue so that the majority sentiment is also taken note of.

A Hindu vote bank will also emerge one day more as a consequence of the UPA misrule. ■

*(The Writer is Editor, the Organiser Weekly)*



# Internal Security – Need for Course Correction



 **Ajit Doval**

India is on a surge; a great destiny awaits it. If there is one single factor that could negate or retard it, it will be its failure to govern itself. Ensuring safety and security of its people, upholding the rule of law, managing change with order

and ensuring legitimacy of power by those who wield it shall be critical components of that governance. Should it fail to happen, history will once again lament India couldn't do what it could.

In post war period, internal security has become primary source of degradation, destabilization and retardation of the states as against external aggression. More than 80% of the states during this period faced state failure, disintegration, break down of their political or constitutional systems consequented by internal conflicts and violence. The causative factors leading to internal security dysfunction ranged from political turmoils, sectarian violence, economic deprivation or social breakdowns. Significantly,

while the internal fault lines provided the basic munition, the external factor often catalyzed the process to make it decisively unmanageable. Failure to address the external factor in internal security management made the states to lose their capacity to control the avalanche that initially appeared as a trickle. In the evolving security setting, the conventional law and order approach is increasingly proving to be grossly inadequate to meet the new generation Internal Security threats.

## Management of Internal Security – New Realities

India, in architecting its internal security doctrines, systems and policy needs to factor in the following:

(a) Wars are increasingly proving to be cost

ineffective instruments of achieving strategic and political objectives. With the emergence of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), a fight against an invisible enemy, hidden within the civil society, the consequences of wars can be highly unpredictable with no assured guarantee of success to the stronger. Defeat of Soviet Union by religious irregulars in Afghanistan, American experiencing in Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, Pakistani army losing out to Shanti Bahini in Bangladesh etc. are illustrative of the limits of military power against Fourth Generation Warfare.

(b) Civil society has become the battle grounds whose control is sought both by the violent anti state groups and the state. It has given rise to the doctrine of proxy war. Hostile states, to bleed their adversaries, are increasingly patronising armed groups operating in their enemy countries. It has opened a new window of opportunity to weaker powers to take on their more powerful adversaries in what we call as asymmetric warfare. In these, weaker states can bleed their more powerful adversaries through

Covert Action (CA) at a low cost, in a sustained manner and claim deniability.



**In post war period, internal security has become primary source of degradation, destabilization and retardation of the states as against external aggression. More than 80% of the states during this period faced state failure, disintegration, break down of their political or constitutional systems consequented by internal conflicts and violence. The causative factors leading to internal security dysfunction ranged from political turmoils, sectarian violence, economic deprivation or social breakdowns. Significantly, while the internal fault lines provided the basic munition, the external factor often catalyzed the process to make it decisively unmanageable.**

In the Indian context, Pakistan that harbours compulsive hostility against India but lacks the capability to achieve its political and strategic objectives, militarily or otherwise, has made CA as an instrument of its state policy. Pakistan has leveraged its geographical proximity, radical Islam, India's soft governance, nuclear blackmail, military alliances etc. as tools to capitalize over India's internal security

vulnerabilities.

(c) Phenomenal up-gradation in capabilities, resources, international linkages and support base of violent groups is another disturbing phenomenon. Countering them requires security infrastructure much beyond and complex than required for maintaining peace and order in civil society and enforcing the rule of law. With the emergence of large well armed and organized armed groups the states are facing erosion in their monopoly over coercive power. With the sophisticated weapons systems, modern communication equipments, huge financial resources, access to modern technology and support of rogue states, activities of

these groups have placed internal security in a different orbit altogether.

In the Indian context, the Islamic terrorist groups not only are patronized and supported by Pakistan but maintain close nexus with gun runners, drug traffickers, organized crimes, hawala racketeers, currency counterfeiters etc.

(d) Diminishing efficacy of conventional

response policies and systems and inability of states to keep pace with them is another infirmity. The conventional response, particularly in liberal democracies, treats acts of violence (no matter how gruesome) as normal crimes, punishable through due process of law, and not as acts of war. This jurisprudence is heavily weighed in favour of the wrong doer and is practically inoperable against those who

illustrative of politicization of internal security management.

(e) Role of non state actors like the Media, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), think tanks, etc., have also added to complexity of the situation. Publicity is the oxygen of terrorism and media inadvertently plays in their hands by giving them undue coverage. As perception management is an important aspect of internal

political will. The systems, doctrines, methodology, laws, empowerment and enablement of security apparatus have by and large remained unchanged. Within 48 hours of September 11 (9/11) strike, the US took the policy decision to revamp the whole system and bring in the huge new infrastructure, concepts and laws to create Department of Home Land Security and institution of Director National Intelligence. President Bush announced that "It values individual freedom but should it get in conflict with supreme national interest, the latter will prevail". Instead of systematic improvements we merely resorted to quantitative response hoping that enhanced force level without change in training, systems, equipment etc would be sufficient to counter terrorism and fight insurgencies.

The expenditure on state police forces and central para military forces cumulatively have increased in last few years from Rs. 15,092 crores nearly to Rs. 26,000 crores, depicting an increase over 70%. In terrorist and insurgency affected areas 22% troops are tied on duties to protect themselves and other 45% on protecting the VIPs and vital installations. With 11% force personnel on leave and training reserves and 5% engaged on administrative duties; what is really left to mount field operations is less than 20%. For want of powerful laws, enhanced

**Political factor has started casting its ominous shadow, both over enactment of right laws and their enforcement with full political will. The withdrawal of Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), Centre's reluctance to approve Special Acts against organized crimes in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh etc. are illustrative of politicization of internal security management.**

operate from foreign lands. Instruments of state, its laws, police, judicial systems and even militaries, find themselves grossly inadequate to prevent, protect and penalize the wrong doers.

Besides above, in India, soft governance, political factor and corruption have further eaten into the vitals of state power. Political factor has started casting its ominous shadow, both over enactment of right laws and their enforcement with full political will. The withdrawal of Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act (POTA), Centre's reluctance to approve Special Acts against organized crimes in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh etc. are

security management, ability of these groups to influence the public opinion, without any corresponding responsibility, only confounds the problem.

#### **India: Slow to Transform**

India is not unique in experiencing this paradigm shift. What singles it out is the fact that having paid the highest price in battling against terrorism, insurgencies etc. in terms of over 90,000 human lives lost and nearly 14,000 security personnel killed and huge drain on its scare financial resources; it has been the slowest, if at all, to change. Globally, the response has been swift and decisive while in India it has been delayed, half hearted and often lacking



operational level intelligence, bold political decisions, lack of new strategic and tactical ideas, we have got entrapped in conventional stereotype of numerical response to internal security. The dogma of 'time-tested methods' has become a doctrine to resist change.

India's internal security landscape in recent decades has undergone a paradigm shift. The conventional pattern of civil disorders, communal disturbances, social and economic turmoil, political conflicts etc. have seized to be the nation's primary internal security concerns. They have been substituted by externally sponsored covert offensives by hostile powers targeting country's internal fault lines to achieve their strategic objectives. While country's democratic polity, economic growth, and social transformations are steadily bringing down conventional threats, except probably the Left Wing Extremism, the external factor has been an important catalytic factor in promoting terrorism, insurgencies, espionage, subversion, cyber space violations, currency counterfeiting, Hawala transactions, demographic invasion etc. India considering its Comprehensive National Power (CNP), has failed to politically and diplomatically leverage it to its best security advantage.

### **Jehadi Terrorism:- Kashmir and Beyond**

Pakistan which, during the Afghan war through Western assistance, had acquired formidable covert capabilities, re-positioned the



**Growth of Jehadi forces, perceiving India as its target, both in India's western and eastern neighbourhoods, is a serious security and ideological threat given India's large indigenous Muslim population. While sizeable population of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh has come under its spate, desperate attempts are being made to spread its tentacles within India. Superimposition of this exported variant of Islam constitutes a high potential long term threat for India and will have to be countered – ideologically, politically and physically.**

elaborate infrastructure to bleed and destabilize India through terrorism. It wanted to replicate Afghan model in Kashmir, hoping to make it a theatre of Jihad for all the Muslims and force India to a settlement acceptable to Pakistan. Though it failed to achieve this objective, over the years Jihadis have become integral part of Pakistan's war-machine and a low cost instrument in its hands to bleed India. Pakistani

researcher Sabina Ahmad in her report to International Crisis Group (ICG) calculated 11,500 Pakistani nationals having been killed in India in terrorist operations from 1990 to 2005. This is indicative of the scale and intensity of Pakistan sponsored Jehadi terrorism.

Growth of Jehadi forces, perceiving India as its target, both in India's western and eastern neighbourhoods, is a serious security and ideological threat given India's large indigenous Muslim population. While sizeable

population of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh has come under its spate, desperate attempts are being made to spread its tentacles within India. Superimposition of this exported variant of Islam constitutes a high potential long term threat for India and will have to be countered – ideologically, politically and physically.

Besides J&K, hundreds of Muslim youth drawn from other parts of the country



have been trained and motivated for subversive activities in Pakistan. A large number of Pakistani youth trained by the ISI and disguised as Indians have been positioned as part of an intricately networked covert apparatus. Mushrooming of Madrassas and Islamic institutions in large numbers propagating an ideology of hate and exclusiveness, particularly in the border areas, is another disturbing trend. An imaginative policy initiative and counter measures would have to be taken to meet this threat.

The 26/11 terrorist action at Mumbai depicted a new order of lethality in Pakistan's unabated covert offensive against India. For almost three decades, India has passively accepted such provocations. It has failed to retaliate in a proactive manner that could raise costs for Pakistan and compel it to roll back its anti-India terrorist infrastructure. India ceded the strategic and tactical initiative to Pakistan some three decades ago and needs a course correction before it poses an existentialist threat. India's tolerance threshold should not be unrealistically raised

in the backdrop of nuclear blackmail as Pakistan has its own vulnerabilities many times higher than India and in its strategic calculus it cannot

**Left Wing Extremism has emerged as country's most serious internal security challenge. After its cyclic rise and fall, it assumed serious proportions after 2004 when PWG and MCC, along with other splinter groups, merged together to form the CPI (Maoists). The spatial growth of the LWE thereafter has been meteoric and alarming. Maoists for furtherance of their political objective of seizing power through gun have exploited alienations caused by issues like denial of social and economic justice to deprived sections of society, large scale displacement of tribal populations by major hydro-electric projects and extensive mining in tribal areas. This has led to their influence rising from 53 Districts in 9 states in 2001, to nearly 203 Districts in 18 states by 2010.**



ignore the threat that India can pose should the conflict grow beyond a point. India also needs to revisit its no first use nuclear doctrine.

#### Left Wing Extremism:

Left Wing Extremism has emerged as country's most serious internal security challenge. After its cyclic rise and fall, it assumed serious proportions after 2004 when PWG and MCC, along with other splinter groups, merged together to form the CPI (Maoists). The spatial growth of the LWE thereafter has been meteoric and alarming. Maoists for furtherance of their political objective of seizing power through gun have exploited alienations caused by issues like denial of social and economic justice to deprived sections of society, large scale displacement of tribal populations by major hydro-electric projects and extensive mining in tribal areas. This has led to their influence rising from 53 Districts in 9 states in 2001, to nearly 203 Districts in 18 states by 2010. Among these

the core of insurgency is focused in Chattisgarh (Abujmar Region) and Jharkhand with significant activity levels in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. The movement has been substantially militarised with 16,000 armed cadres, some 15,000 assorted

weapons (including 900 AK-47 Rifles, 200 Light Machine Guns and locally fabricated Rocket Launchers), over 85 camps where they are able to

impart training in tactics and field craft and strong financial back up to pay regular salaries to members of its so called 'People's Liberation Army'.

The Left Wing Extremism embodies many features that make the problem intractable. A large inaccessible and scantily governed terrain that is difficult to dominate or sanitize no matter what force levels are pumped is one major problem. Further, to their advantage, the Maoists have a large alienated population that has suffered decades of social and economic neglect and are easily susceptible to motivated propaganda of the Maoists who promise to establish an order that will deliver justice, freedom from exploitation, jobs and protection of their way of life. A corrupt and callous governance further makes the people an easy prey to Maoist propaganda. They are able to exploit all local grievances and conflicts to gather support by promising different things to different people. It may range from exploiting caste conflicts in Bihar, resentment against land lords in Andhra, sentiment against forest laws and practices in

tribal areas, unemployment among youth or Islamic sentiment among sections of Muslims telling them all that Maoism provided solutions to all their woes. Availability of large sums of money to pay regular salaries; to their cadres in areas where there are large bodies of uneducated and unskilled who are not only unemployed but for most

jobs unemployed.

However, they have some high vulnerabilities as well. Illustratively, like the most ideology driven movements, Left Wing Extremism is controlled by less than a dozen top kingpins and nearly 30 commanders of its armed cadre. They determine the political line, control the resources and design the strategy. The bulk of 16,000 odd armed cadres and many times more supporters are only gullible tribals and poor people misled by vicious propaganda, frightened by the gun or lured by the money. For the leaders, who live in conditions of safety and comfort, they are easily replaceable commodities. Neutralization of top leaders and activists in four decade long history of Left Extremism has invariably led to ideological dilution, dissensions, and demoralization giving a blow to their image of invincibility and surfacing of doubts about viability of the movement to achieve its goals through violence. At tactical level, it has led to struggle for leadership, disruption in sources of funding and abandonment of plans in the offing. Further, the questioning of top leaders has often provided



China, with which India has uneasy security relationship, shares a border of nearly 1,561 kms with NE states. It also has a dubious track record of meddling with local insurgent groups till mid eighties. After a long lull, there is increasing evidence of China reviving its Covert offensive in the North East. Chinese support to the rebel groups has waxed and waned depending on content and direction of bilateral relationship, their evaluation of the strength and grit of people in power in Delhi, viability and reliability of insurgent groups etc. It is also noteworthy that whenever assistance from erstwhile East Pakistan, and later Bangladesh, to NE insurgents became difficult, the Chinese stepped in to fill in the gap.

strategic and tactical inputs which, when pursued imaginatively, substantially weakened the movement.

Devoid of its ideological plank the movement stands reduced to a problem of organized crime. A credible, focused and sustained psy-war offensive to expose the movement as anti-people will

1200 crore a year, which is a huge money resource in tribal and backward areas. Maoists raise these funds through extortions, collections from corrupt government officials, protection money, levies on rich landlords, businessmen, contractors, transporters etc. Paradoxically, increase in government outlays for development activities in affected areas has strengthened them financially

rebels, improved security cooperation from Bangladesh, dissensions within insurgent groups etc. However, external factor in a region that has 5,215 kms contiguous international border with other countries and only about over 1% with the Indian main land though pivotal is being glossed over. External factor has and will continue to remain a vital factor in our management of North Eastern security.

**Demographic invasion from Bangladesh, has already assumed alarming proportions. In many of the bordering districts of Assam and West Bengal it has brought about a total demographic transformation, forcing the original inhabitants to sell their lands and flee. Instead of abating, the last two years have witnessed an unprecedented increase in the inflow – the new migrants becoming more abrasive and emboldened, considering their illegal migration almost a matter of right. Subdued though, voices in support of greater Bangladesh have started surfacing both in Assam and Bangladesh.**



be hard for them to bear.

Money factor is another important element that is empowering the Left Wing Extremism to raise new cadres, procure weapons and expand their arc of influence. A freshly recruited youth is being paid rupees 2,000 to 2,500 per month, which in a poverty stricken area attracts many youth. It is estimated that the left wing extremist are able to collect nearly rupees

as enhanced outlays are not backed up by effective and accountable administrative machinery. Their dependency on funds is a vulnerability and it is possible to take series of steps to minimize if not totally eliminate it though strong administrative and legal actions against the fund providers.

#### North-East:

North East security discourse, of late, has been marked by good news of peace engagement with the

China, with which India has uneasy security relationship, shares a border of nearly 1,561 kms with NE states. It also has a dubious track record of meddling with local insurgent groups till mid eighties. After a long lull, there is increasing evidence of China reviving its Covert offensive in the North East. Chinese support to the rebel groups has waxed and waned depending on content and direction of bilateral relationship, their evaluation of the strength and grit of people in power in Delhi,



viability and reliability of insurgent groups etc. It is also noteworthy that whenever assistance from erstwhile East Pakistan, and later Bangladesh, to NE insurgents became difficult, the Chinese stepped in to fill in the gap.

There are definite indications that, after a long lull, there is major policy shift in China. In October, 2007, on the invitation of Chinese authorities, Anthony Shimray in-charge foreign affairs of NSCN(IM), visited China and held meetings with Lee Wuen, head of intelligence of Yunnan province and Chang local intelligence head at Dehong Mansi near Kunming in China. Shimray, handed over a letter to the Chinese authorities signed by Muivah, self styled Prime Minister of NSCN(IM), holding peace talks with government of India.

The letter informed Chinese of appointment of Kholose, a Sema Naga, as their permanent representative in China. Chinese welcomed this institutionalized arrangement and wanted Nagas to keep them informed about (i) Activities and movements of Indian Army, particularly in Arunachal Pradesh, (ii) Intelligence regarding activities of Dalai Lama and Tibetans in India and (iii) Progress of peace talks with India. Chinese also tasked them to keep track of other NE insurgent groups and progress of their peace parleys with India. One of the major responsibilities of Kholose was

procurement of weapons from China.

In April 2009, the self styled President of NSCN(IM), Isak Chissi Swu, leader of group talking to India, accompanied by Shimray visited China for which the Visa was arranged by the Chinese intelligence in Philippines. They held a high level meeting with one General Lee and three senior

also visited China in 2010. Reports indicate that he led a group of about 80 that after receiving training in Ruili in Yunnan was provided substantial quantities of weapons. It is significant that ULFA has been a source of procurement of weapons by Left Wing Extremists and possibility of some of the Chimes weapons reaching them through ULFA channels

**Illegal migration from Pakistan and Afghanistan is relatively small but its security implications are much greater. Pakistan as part of a long-term covert action programme, is trying to establish modules in different parts of the country with well trained and highly motivated Pak residents masquerading as Indians. A large number of Pakistanis who enter India with regular visas frequently go underground and become untraceable.**

Chinese intelligence officers. The Chinese while assuring them of Military cooperation, again reiterated their earlier requirement regarding information about army movements in Arunachal, activities of Dalai Lama etc. NSCN(IM) leadership subsequently initiated follow up actions in Delhi, Dharmshala, Arunachal Pradesh and NSCN(IM) headquarters to meet Chinese intelligence requirements. Steps in the meantime also commenced to ship 1000 weapons from South Chinese port of Beihei to Cox's Bazaar in Bangladesh for the NSCN (IM).

Paresh Baruah of ULFA after being pressurized by Bangladesh security agencies,

can not be ruled out.

Reality of Chinese renewed interest in NE insurgency can not be wished away in our security calculus. It assumes special import in the back drop of China's emerging aggressiveness, military activities in border areas, claims on Arunachal Pradesh and linkages of Left Extremists with NE insurgent groups. The government in pursuing its policy of engaging the rebels in peace talks needs to display greater clarity of vision, well defined objectives and strategic precision. Mistaking the talks as an end rather than means to an end can push India into a self made strategic trap. While the rebel groups are enhancing their capabilities, establishing trans-border

linkages, procuring new weapons and recruiting new cadres, the government appears to be calculating publicity mileage and possible electoral advantages as their sole gains. This can be a self defeating strategy.

#### **Illegal Immigration:**

The size geographical

shortcomings of Indian political, administrative and judicial systems etc. have all contributed to make illegal immigration a major internal security problem.

Demographic invasion from Bangladesh, has already assumed alarming proportions. In many of the

surfacing both in Assam and Bangladesh.

The illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, who well exceed 2.5 million now, are no more confined to bordering states of Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya etc. but have found new habitations in depth areas of the country. Most of them have been able to acquire identity documents with local political patronage and connivance of corrupt officials. The local Muslims in some areas are facilitating their settlements and helping them in procurement of ration cards, identity documents, jobs and political patronage.

This large scale migration is no more only a cause of demographic change, social conflicts, denial of economic opportunities and civic amenities to our own poor people but has become a security concern. The Islamic terrorists from Bangladesh readily find local shelters in length and breadth of the country.

These immigrants also bring with them deeply ingrained anti-Indian ideas and seeds of fundamentalism. The border is porous and the infiltrators get full support from Bangladesh Border Forces. This unending stream of migrants is likely to become much more pronounced in the times to come, given the push factor in Bangladesh and the pull factor on the Indian side.

Illegal migration from Pakistan and Afghanistan is relatively small but its security implications are much



**The total sum of jobs presently in India's Public and private sector (including those in the unorganized private sector) work out to barely 300-350 million. India's economic liberalization, so far is only producing the miracle of jobless growth. Most Indian industries have been imitating the Western corporate model – downsizing the workforce to maximize the profits.**

location and porosity of our borders makes large illegal migration to India from neighboring countries possible. People of all neighbouring countries share at least one important ethnic, religious or linguistic commonality with a section of the Indian population, which makes it possible for them to find easy shelters and go undetected. Economic opportunities afforded by relatively higher economic growth, freedoms of a liberal democratic polity, corruption,

bordering districts of Assam and West Bengal it has brought about a total demographic transformation, forcing the original inhabitants to sell their lands and flee. Instead of abating, the last two years have witnessed an unprecedented increase in the inflow – the new migrants becoming more abrasive and emboldened, considering their illegal migration almost a matter of right. Subdued though, voices in support of greater Bangladesh have started

greater. Pakistan as part of a long-term covert action programme, is trying to establish modules in different parts of the country with well trained and highly motivated Pak residents masquerading as Indians. A large number of Pakistanis who enter India with regular visas frequently go under ground and become untraceable.

#### Unemployment in Youth:

Though, essentially an economic and not a security issue if left unattended large scale youth unemployment

indigenous and foreign inspired. Channelised constructively, they can catapult India into a new power orbit making its human resource capital in the ageing world as a non-competeable CNP component for many decades ahead.

The total sum of jobs presently in India's Public and private sector (including those in the unorganized private sector) work out to barely 300-350 million. India's economic liberalization, so far is only producing the miracle

cannot afford to produce at high costs, it at the same cannot afford to keep its millions out of a job. A paradigm shift in over growth strategy is required and heavy investments need to be done in areas that can create large employment opportunities; nearly 700 million jobs by 2026.

Man power intensive industries like ship building, infrastructure projects, rural employment schemes etc. will have to be accorded high priority. Generation of new and upgradation of existing skills through massive vocational training programmes need to be launched substituting the conventional educational pattern that churns out youth who are educated but unemployable. One of the ironies of Indian employment market is that while there are large numbers of youth with 10 to 16 years of formal education, most of the industries and employers find it difficult to get appropriate manpower that hardly requires training of two years or less beyond two years beyond basic 10 to 12 years of schooling. Non inclusive growth, large scale unemployment, huge income disparities etc. can be potential causes of internal instability and degradation.

In national economic planning the strategico-security factors need to be given its deserved importance.■

*(The Writer is a former Director IB and Director Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi)*

**One of the ironies of Indian employment market is that while there are large numbers of youth with 10 to 16 years of formal education, most of the industries and employers find it difficult to get appropriate manpower that hardly requires training of two years or less beyond two years beyond basic 10 to 12 years of schooling.**

can have serious security implications.

India currently has a population of nearly 1.2 bn, 62.9% of which is in working age group. By 2026, India's population profile is likely to grow even younger (68.4% in working age group) and the total population at 1.4 bn will overtake that of China. This translates into one billion people in the working age group that will need to be gainfully employed. Any failure will make large sections of unemployed youth vulnerable to forces of destabilization, disruption and destruction - both

of jobless growth. Most Indian industries have been imitating the Western corporate model - downsizing the workforce to maximize the profits. The Jamshedpur Steel plant of the Tatas that employed 80,000 workers some three decades ago with a production of 1 million tons per annum halved it to just 40,000 in the 1990's and the output rose to 5 million tons per annum by automation.

The plan is to further reduce the work force to just 20,000 but raise the production to 10 million tons per years. While to achieve global competitiveness India



# Challenges of good and inclusive Governance in India

Good governance is in high fashion. Everybody pays lip service as if this is the new magic wand. We must

*constitute state policy. If the people are prosperous, even a leaderless state can be governed."* Good governance is a system of rule that ensures

an efficient, effective and transparent administration through representative institutions for improving the quality of life of the citizens.



recognise however that by no means this is a modern day invention. It is as old as human civilization. Philosophers like Kautilya advocating this some two millennia ago had described it in his famous treatise of *Arthashastra* as, "Getting what has not been got, guarding it, developing it and then distributing it, these four



 **N.K.Singh**

It is about what people expect from the state and the willingness and ability of the state to fulfill these expectations. Good governance enables a pro-people and responsive administration resulting in the exercise of public authority for the larger common good.

Although the necessity of



The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) in its report entitled "What is Good Governance?", outlines eight major characteristics of good governance as, participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, enforcement of rule of law, responsive, efficient and equitable and inclusive. It also includes respect for individual human rights which is intrinsically linked to inclusive growth that we endeavour to secure.

good governance is unquestioned, what actually constitutes good governance and how that is to be delivered are very much under debate. The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) in its report entitled "What is Good Governance?", outlines eight major characteristics of good governance as, participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, enforcement of rule of law, responsive, efficient and equitable and inclusive. It also includes respect for individual human rights which is intrinsically linked to inclusive growth that we endeavour to secure. This is indeed the social compact which lends the legitimacy and credence to elected governments. It therefore defines the relationship between the people and the administrative apparatus. This approach has inspired a compelling question; is governance an issue of ethics or one of law? Notwithstanding a lack of consensus on this, there is agreement on one issue that good governance is indispensable for the pursuit of sustained and inclusive development. Inclusive growth is the new paradigm change that is inescapable for equality of opportunity and for a meaningful and dignified life.

Good governance more than policies is the key to India achieving inclusive growth by translating outlays into

outcomes. The miraculous economic growth of the last two decades has given us the resilience to shape the direction and distribution of economic growth. Though equitable development has been one of the priorities for India since independence, but the path followed to achieve it only resulted in growing inequality, social and economic backwardness with growth failing to trickle down to the bottom of the social pyramid. In preparing the Approach Paper for the 12th Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission has outlined *Faster and More Inclusive Growth* as our overarching development objective. However, inclusiveness is a multi dimensional concept hinged up on the quality of governance. Therefore it is necessary to judge performance based on a set of monitorable targets to measure the index of inclusive governance. Our performance in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

leaves a lot to be desired and that poorly reflects our governance quality and lack of inclusion as it comes in the



Different committees set up to study poverty be it the Arjun Sengupta, Suresh Tendulkar, NC Saxena have come up with poverty numbers ranging from 37% to 78% based on differing methodologies. The Planning Commission figures on poverty have proved to be over optimistic going by the results of the World Bank and ADB studies on global poverty. By using the new poverty line of World Bank, the estimated number of poor in India during 2004-05 was 456 million or 41.6% of the total population. According to the ADB estimates, the number of poor in India was 622 million, which is 54.8% of the population, much higher than the 238 million figure of the Planning Commission.

backdrop of a decade of robust economic growth. Poor governance, regardless of the quantum of public expenditure and range of social schemes, leads to inefficiency and corruption which corrode the moral fabric of society apart from creating social and economic inequity and political instability. In this context, our

widening Gini coefficient is a matter of deep concern, as much to our consciences as to the stability and sustainability of our political system.

In the Indian context there



The issue of public health is now being viewed within the rights perspective and which is reflected in Article 12 (*The right to the highest attainable standard of health*) of the UN Charter, to which India has acceded. According to it the right to health requires *availability, accessibility, acceptability, and quality* with regard to both health care and underlying preconditions of health.

are **Eight major challenges** of good and inclusive governance which consist of the following:

#### 1. Challenge of tackling Poverty

Six decades after India's independence, the great Indian poverty debate is as perplexing and unresolved as ever before. India is still grappling with the question of actual number of poor with inconsistent methodologies and short-sighted visions on dealing with the poverty challenge. Innumerable

policies have been put in place, number of social schemes have been unveiled by the state and central governments and financial provisions for dealing with poverty has gone up substantially over the years but the scourge of poverty remains as stubborn and daunting as it was decades ago owing to weak delivery system, poor governance, corruption and lack of innovative practices in reaching the benefits to the poor. Different committees set up to study poverty be it the Arjun Sengupta, Suresh Tendulkar, NC Saxena have come up with poverty numbers ranging from 37% to 78% based on differing methodologies. The Planning Commission figures on poverty

have proved to be over optimistic going by the results of the World Bank and ADB studies on global poverty. By using the new poverty line of World Bank, the estimated number of poor in India during 2004-05 was 456 million or 41.6% of the total population. According to the ADB estimates, the number of poor in India was 622 million, which is 54.8% of the population, much higher than the 238 million figure of the Planning Commission. As far as per capita Income of India

is concerned the gross national income (GNI) per capita measured on purchasing power parity terms for India was less than a third of the world average at \$3,337 in 2008. Despite the strong articulation of a multidimensional view of human poverty, India's policies have been overwhelmingly concerned with income poverty. The 2010 UNDP Human Development Report introduces the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). It is a new international poverty measure which complements the income poverty measures by reflecting acute deprivations that people face at the same time. Ten indicators namely nutrition, child mortality, years of schooling, children enrolled, cooking fuel, toilet, water, electricity, floor and assets across three dimensions- education, health, and living standards are factored in to assess poverty. Currently, about 645 million people or 55% of India's population remains poor as measured by this composite indicator. While poor governance and corruption are the main causes of poverty, the key question is, how do we fight poverty? How can India mix and match internationally consistent macroeconomic policies with suitable microeconomic ones? The answer perhaps lies in restructuring the anti-poverty programmes and revamping the Public Distribution System



to ensure an effective pro-poor growth.

## 2. Challenge of Human Development

The present Human Development indicators are quite disturbing for India. The country ranks a low 119 among 169 countries in the 2010 Human Development Report published by the UNDP. And the reasons are obvious. India compares very poorly with countries with high level of human development on all indicators such as life expectancy, education and per capita income. For instance, life expectancy at birth is 64.4 years in India. In comparison, people living in countries such as Norway, Australia, New Zealand and many countries across Europe are expected to live beyond 80 years. The world average is 69.3 years. Similarly, the number of years a person has spent in school is a dismal 4.4 years for India as compared to global average of 7.4. Similarly, the gross national income (GNI) per capita measured on purchasing power parity terms for India is less than a third of the world average of \$3,337. Over 30 years beginning 1980, India's HDI values have increased from 0.320 to 0.519, an increase of 62%. Yet India is a relative laggard, as many other countries have moved faster on the measured indicators, some more rapidly on non-income ones while others such

as China and many south east Asian nations on income indicators.

The issue of public health is now being viewed within



The ASER Report of 2010 presents a dismal picture of the quality of school education in India notwithstanding the enactment of the Right to Education Act and conventional methods will be inadequate to respond to these challenges. In a populous country like India where even with education life is difficult, there can be little hope without it.

the rights perspective and which is reflected in Article 12 (*The right to the highest attainable standard of health*) of the UN Charter, to which India has acceded. According to it the right to health requires *availability, accessibility, acceptability, and quality* with regard to both health care and underlying preconditions of health. The Charter interprets the right to health, as an inclusive right extending not only to timely and appropriate health care but also to the underlying determinants of health, such as access to safe

and potable water and adequate sanitation, an adequate supply of safe food, nutrition and housing, healthy occupational and environmental conditions, and access to health-related education and information. The national policy in India lacks specific measures to achieve the above broad stated goals on health. Particular problems include the failure to integrate health services with wider economic and social development, the lack of nutritional support and sanitation, and the poor participatory involvement at the local level. Even so, the vast majority of the country suffers from a poor standard of healthcare infrastructure which has not kept up with the growing economy. Despite having centers of excellence in healthcare delivery, these facilities are limited and are inadequate in meeting the current healthcare demands. Nearly one million Indians die every year due to inadequate healthcare facilities and 700 million people have no access to specialist care.

According to a WHO study of 2009, India ranks 171 out of the 175 countries in the world in public health spending which is less than some of the sub-Saharan African countries.

*"There is in our time no well educated literate population that*

*is poor; there is no illiterate population that is other than poor"* (John Kenneth Galbraith).

This uncomplicated but forceful message reiterates that education alone can be a critical silver bullet for poverty and up-liftment of the socially discriminated. The education indicators give no reasons for comfort as India is far behind the global average in school enrolments and educational attainments. As far as the education sector is concerned, there is a huge gap between our policy aspirations and on-the-ground achievements. The classic challenges are equity vs quality and excellence vs inclusiveness. Despite improvements in access and retention, the learning outcomes for a majority of children continue to be an area of serious concern. The effort to expand educational access is severely constrained by the lack of suitably qualified, appropriately trained human resources in adequate numbers. The Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) at the secondary school stage is currently around 55 percent which is woefully low.

India has survived with a mediocre education system for decades, but as the possibility of a demographic dividend looks bright, the quality of education has become increasingly important. The Indian education sector is plagued by

many problems stretching from policy deficiencies to implementation difficulties and from supply constraints to quality concerns. Notwithstanding the recent initiatives for structural reforms in the education sector there remain numerous challenges to be addressed.



**With half of our population dependent on agriculture & allied activities, we need faster farm sector growth to benefit poor farmers. The below target growth in this sector is one of the reasons for increase in food prices over the last two years. Global development experience, especially from the BRIC countries, reveals that one percentage point growth in agriculture is at least two to three times more effective in reducing poverty than the same degree of growth emanating from non agriculture sector.**

Despite their generally acknowledged importance, schools frequently fail to receive the resources necessary to improve the quality of education. The ASER Report of 2010 presents a dismal picture of the quality

of school education in India notwithstanding the enactment of the Right to Education Act and conventional methods will be inadequate to respond to these challenges. In a populous country like India where even with education life is difficult, there can be little hope without it. Availability of resources alone does not guarantee faster social sector development. Efficacy of the programmes will depend a lot on the manner in which States implement various social sector programmes, which are primarily in the domain of the States. States, which have given high priority to investment in education, have shown greater economic progress in recent years. Though India is moving towards inclusive growth, lack of education, skills development and vibrant and transparent governance are a few hurdles in progressing towards it at a faster pace. Improved training and skill development is critical for providing decent employment opportunities to the growing youth population and necessary to sustain the high growth momentum. There is a need for concerted action in several key areas in order to ensure that skill formation takes place in a demand driven manner.

### 3. The challenge of food security

Ensuring food and livelihood security forms the core of inclusive governance strategy. The commonly used definition of food security come from the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which defines it as, "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their

hence core among our development priorities. However, a narrow view on food security; i.e., cheap food grains for the poor, would not help us in addressing the issue of endemic poverty, disease and malnutrition. In fact, the definition of food security itself has undergone a great deal of change in terms of scope to include other variables like drinking water, health, sanitation and education etc which is in conformity with

growth, rising food inflation and cost of living etc. have led to a rural stagnation. An effective inclusive growth strategy must be judged by its effectiveness in improving the rural infrastructure and thereby their standard of living.

With half of our population dependent on agriculture & allied activities, we need faster farm sector growth to benefit poor farmers. The below target growth in this sector is one of the reasons for increase in food prices over the last two years. Global development experience, especially from the BRIC countries, reveals that one percentage point growth in agriculture is at least two to three times more effective in reducing poverty than the same degree of growth emanating from non agriculture sector. Finding the most effective ways of improving agricultural growth should become a key priority area in the Twelfth Plan.

Current agricultural practices are neither economically nor environmentally sustainable and India's yields for many agricultural commodities are low. Poorly maintained irrigation systems and almost universal lack of good extension services are among the factors responsible. Farmers' access to markets is hampered by poor roads, rudimentary market infrastructure, and excessive regulation. Consequently,

**There is a strong case for focused reforms of the factor markets—namely labour, land and natural resources like minerals and water. We must look to new strategies for job creation with more incentives for labour intensive technology with a special monetary and fiscal package. There is also need for skill development through vocational training to make the labour force more competitive.**

dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". Food security at the national level does not automatically translate into food security at the household level as presence of food does not mean that it can be afforded by all people. Ensuring food and nutrition security is a challenge for India, given its huge population and high levels of poverty and malnutrition. Economic access to food by about a third of the population living below the poverty line is problematic, despite impressive economic growth in the recent years. There is no denying the fact that guaranteeing food is crucial to fighting hunger and

the United Nations charter on human rights.

### 4. Revival of Agriculture sector

Slow agricultural growth in India has been a cause of concern as far as the issue of faster and inclusive growth is concerned. A staggering two-thirds of India's people depend on agriculture and the rural sector for a living. The growth momentum witnessed in the last two decades have in a way bypassed this vast majority of population living in rural areas mostly because the growth witnessed was primarily driven by service sector which are mostly urban centric. Coupled with this, agricultural stagnation, declining employment

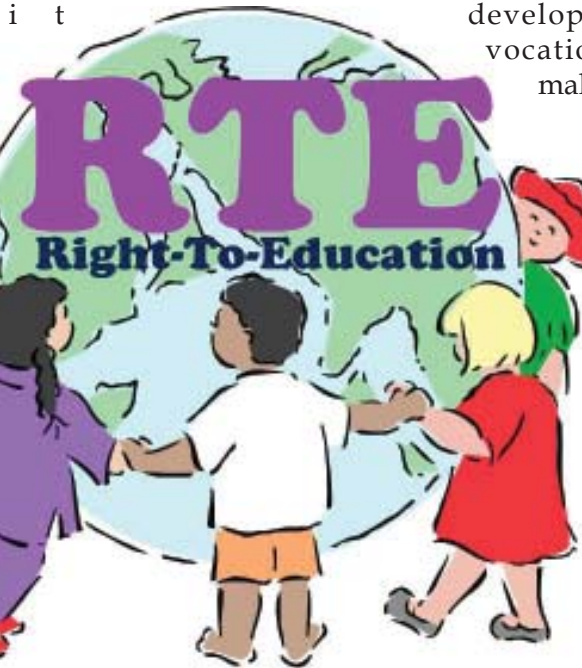


India has just managed to maintain its per capita growth in food and non-food crop production. This does not bode well for the food security of the nation. The last time the country saw a productivity boost was during the "Green Revolution" and the adoption of hybrid crops. With such a huge population dependent on agriculture, India has every reason to push for agricultural research and disseminate such knowledge and practices to farms across the country. If the growth story in India is to be inclusive, farm productivity has to rise for income levels to increase.

#### 5. The Unemployment Challenge

The ability to generate an adequate number of productive employment opportunities is a major factor on which the inclusiveness of growth is judged. India is currently at a stage of 'demographic transition' where population growth is slowing down but the population of young people entering the labour force continues to expand. But, the recent estimates of employment and unemployment from the 66th round (2009-10) of the National Sample Survey (NSS) belie any hopes that the growth of the Indian economy between has been inclusive. According to the NSSO data, the employment rate has

declined in the five-year period ended 2009-10 to 39.2% from 42% in 2004-05. As the Indian economy looks to grow further in the coming decades,



must look to new strategies for job creation with more incentives for labour intensive technology with a special monetary and fiscal package. There is also need for skill development through vocational training to make the labour force more competitive. Reforming the agriculture and small and medium enterprises sectors which continue to employ majority of the workforce in India and the sectors which are characterized by underemployment and migration should take

The slogan of Inclusive Growth has seen tangible action in the Right to Education Bill and the extension of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. The social security systems are being strengthened by extending the Right to Education and Right to Employment to now cover Right to Food, Right to health and hopefully Housing.

faces the key challenge of increasing the earnings of millions of workers who live in poverty, and meeting the demand for jobs by new entrants to the labour force. The need for making growth more broad based and employment elastic is an imperative like never before.

There is a strong case for focused reforms of the factor markets—namely labour, land and natural resources like minerals and water. We

precedence. Enhancing competitiveness of manufacturing sector and creation of new engines of growth based on small manufacturing hubs which have high employment coefficient to harness our comparative advantages in human resource should be the way forward. These reforms must be complemented with effective and active labour market policies that can help workers, especially those in

the informal sector, become more productive, obtain more protection against unemployment, and enhance skills. Joblessness disrupts the social compact and cohesiveness of our society. The challenge to create jobs goes beyond economics. It has wider implications for the health of our polity.

#### 6. Challenge of strengthening the public delivery system

Over the years, the governments at the Centre and the States have launched a large number of initiatives at substantial public expense to achieve the objectives of growth with poverty alleviation and inclusiveness. Experience suggests that many of these initiatives have floundered because of poor design, insufficient accountability and also corruption at various levels. Increasingly, there is demand for effective implementation without which expanded government intervention will be infructuous. The strategy must therefore aim at bringing about major innovations in governance which would make government-funded programmes in critical areas more effective and efficient. The best possible way of achieving this objective may be by involving communities in both the design and implementation of such programmes, although such engagement may vary from

sector to sector. As we try to make this crippled system work, the debate is limited to newer legislations and policies and not on strengthening the delivery system through innovative practices. Many countries have successfully used Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs), Food Coupons, School vouchers etc.



Electorally there seems growing maturity among our voters on the issue of quality of governance. The recent electoral verdict in several States has demonstrated the desire among the people for good and inclusive governance. Nobody had expected the results to be so unambiguously and clearly in support of rapid, sustained and inclusive governance.

Some Indian states have also successfully implemented direct cash transfer schemes. But transition to direct cash transfer would need clear identification of beneficiaries, improving technology for disbursement of benefits and verification procedure for ascertainment of fulfillment of conditions to be successful.

Biometric systems, point of sale devices, electronic identification cards and effective grievance redressal systems are essential to ensure transparency in operating the mode of direct cash transfer. Using wide networks of post offices and bank branches can also help in reducing

corruption. The new program must have effective monitoring and control mechanisms to check periodically its success in meeting its targets.

#### 7. Access to Justice

Access to justice is one of the important measures of good governance and India has been faring very poorly in this front. Access to justice is based upon the basic principle that people should be able to rely upon the correct application of law. In actual practice there are several countervailing factors. Some citizens do not know their rights and cannot afford legal aid to advocate on their behalf. The most severe challenge relates to complexity of adjudication as legal proceedings are lengthy and

costly and the judiciary lacks personnel and logistics to deal with these matters. For example, over 4 million cases are pending in high courts and over 30 million in the subordinate courts in the country. Systematic solutions are, therefore, needed for strengthening access to justice. Connected with this is the need for capacity building and strengthening local institutions in partnership with civil society. The Right to Information Act imposes new standards of transparency. In the last two decades regulatory institutions have been created and therefore ensuring access to justice and developing mechanism for conflict resolution without diluting regulatory standards poses a challenge. Effective administration of criminal justice requires expansion of courts, innovative ways for early trial and settlement of cases, need for effective alternative dispute resolution mechanism, and other reforms in the judicial system.

### 8. Challenge of Corruption

The high level of corruption in India has been widely perceived as a major obstacle in improving the quality of governance. The structural incentives and poor enforcement system to punish the corrupt have contributed to the rising curve of graft in India. The complex and non-transparent system of command and control, monopoly of the government as a service provider, underdeveloped legal

framework, lack of information and weak notion of citizens' rights have provided incentives for corruption in India.

An inclusive strategy can't work if there is weak governance riddled with political uncertainty and corruption. The civil society has a significant role in ensuring and maintaining good and inclusive governance. Governance is the process by which a society manages itself through the mechanism of the state. People's effective participation forms the core ingredient of good governance and constitutes the bedrock of democracy.

The slogan of Inclusive Growth has seen tangible action in the Right to Education Bill and the extension of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

The social security systems are being strengthened by extending the Right to Education and Right to Employment to now cover Right to Food, Right to health and hopefully Housing. Rights being embedded in Parliamentary enactments does guarantee entitlement. Their implementation no doubt remains worrisome and learning curve can be tedious. Implementing these will test the commitment of the political executive for good governance and their success or failures will be determined by the quality of their

governance.

Electorally there seems growing maturity among our voters on the issue of quality of governance. The recent electoral verdict in several States has demonstrated the desire among the people for good and inclusive governance. Nobody had expected the results to be so unambiguously and clearly in support of rapid, sustained and inclusive governance. More than anything else, the people of India want to improve their standard of living and that of their children. They're clearly fed up with the out-dated *mantras* of identity politics and sterile ideological slogans. They have used their constitutional right with unambiguous clarity that government must meet their developmental aspirations. This is both a challenge and an opportunity. An opportunity to revitalize our institutions and governance structure to meet the rising aspirations of a young demography.

Awareness and hopes as well as frustration is constantly rekindled by the new import of media even in ordinary lives and in rural areas. The challenge for inclusive good governance is now an inescapable political and social reality. We must rise to the challenges of this contemporary reality. ■

*(The Writer is a Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha and a former Member Planning Commission)*



# Role of 'Good Governance' in Protection and Promotion of 'Right to Development'

*"Yedeva vidyaya karoti,  
sraddhaya, upanisada,  
tadeva viryavattaram bhavati"*



Good governance is a phenomenon rooted in the Indian culture. It has been in some or the other forms, a part of geography, political, administrative traditions and economic conditions. We find a great message on this subject in a verse of one of our Upanishads, namely, The Chandogya Upanishads (1.1.10) which is the essence of good governance:

*"Yedeva vidyaya karoti,  
sraddhaya, upanisada,  
tadeva viryavattaram  
bhavati"*

It is very simple Sanskrit utterance. *Yedeva* karoti- whatever is done ; *vidyaya*-through knowledge-what we call today the 'know-how'. The first thing to acquire is the 'know-how' of a task. Is that enough? No says the

Upanishad, and it adds: *sraddaya*-through *sraddha*-faith or conviction-there must be faith in the great urges and longings of man in front of me,

Dr. Yogendra Kumar Srivastava

faith in the work I am called upon to do to fulfill those urges, and faith in myself-*atam-sraddha*-in my capacity to rise to the occasion. Even these two are not enough. A

**The good governance is also an inbuilt character of the "Nationalism" and those who are followers of this can be ready to sacrifice their lives for the overall development of the state as well as of the individuals.**

third quality is also necessary, namely, *Upanisada*, through deep thinking and contemplation. Action done with these three energies behind them alone become not only efficient, *viryavattaram*, says the verse. These ideals give the birth to good governance.

Good governance is a 'mantra' of success for all organs of the State. Recently, it has attracted the attention of the political parties and very successfully used in the Loksabha and state legislative elections. The good governance is also an inbuilt character of the "Nationalism" and those who are followers of this can ready to sacrifice their lives for the overall development of the state as well as of the individuals. The Preamble of the Constitution of India is

talks about socialistic, secular, democratic and republic character. Where the concept of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity also incorporated for the welfare of the state and individuals. All the objectives of the Preamble can be achieved through the adoption of 'Good Governance' by the different important state agencies. The good governance would promote welfare state in its true connotation. B.K.Gokhale writes, "The

continuously in the process of adoption of different state government schemes like - *Ladli Luxmi Yojana*, *Mukhyamantri Kanyadan Yojana*, *Janani Prasava Yojana* etc. are few good examples in this regard. Due to adoption of the 'mantra' of good governance they are in power since last ten years.

M. Aziz Ahamed in his Article, "Good Governance through Transparency" in *Management in Government*, Oct-Dec, 1999, mentioned

The conflict between Civil Society and the Central Government on Lokpal Bill is a very good example at this stage in this regard. Thus it continues to distort the very objectives of Government both in regulatory and developmental process at grass-root level by way of corruption and apathy over the people's problems.

welfare state is one which is wedded to the principle of promoting the general happiness and welfare of the people".

The State agencies performing according to the formula prescribed under the vision of 'Good Governance' are bound to have very positive results. It is important to mention here the BJP and NDA ruled States like - Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, H.P., Gujarat, Punjab, etc. are moving ahead on the basis of good governance and this is directly linked with overall development of the State in particular. The two BJP ruled State Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat are now the role models for the other States as well as for the centre. The Central Government is

that over the years governance has become more and more decentralized. However, still the distance between the decision makers and the subjects is very large enough. The conflict between Civil Society and the Central Government on Lokpal Bill is a very good example at this stage in this regard. Thus it continues to distort the very objectives of Government both in regulatory and developmental process at grass-root level by way of corruption and apathy over the people's problems.

Here comes the importance of Right to Information in bridging the gap and now it is a tool in the hands of common people to act as a 'Pressure Group' because the good governance demands transparent

administration by letting both not only decision making criterion and the programmes drawn up open to the public but also by involving them. People's participation through right to information becomes a need of the hour as corruption and mal-practices have become an undeniable fact in the administration. A combination of the Citizen's Charter and Right to information would ensure greater accountability in the administrative system. The process of consultation with the participation of citizens in decision making would gradually become more propounded in order to ensure accountability. In this regard the Government of Madhya Pradesh under the Active leadership of Hon'ble Shivraj Singh Chouhan enacted a "Lokseva Guarantee Adhiniyam, 2010" for 26 essential services (Like-ration card, birth certificate etc.) and ensure the liability and accountability of the respective officers to provide it in a specific time frame strictly. If there is any delay or latches from the part of the Government officials then a fine will be imposed on them. Very soon the Government will include more services under the cover of this Act. Bihar again taken initiative in this regard and also enacted the same Act and included more than fifty essential services under the cover of this Act. The Central Government and other states are planning and working on this Act to implement it for more

transparent , accountable and effective administrative system.

According to the Annual Report of the Asian Development Bank (1998), the four key components of the governance are accountability , transparency, predictability and participation. Always it is essential that good-governance emerges through sincere and honest application of existing laws in the interest of the public and respect the spirit behind these prevailing laws. As the International Instruments suggested that good governance is a key to achieve developmental goals in 21<sup>st</sup> century and through this the protection and promotion of civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights. **Article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development as follows:**

“The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in , contribute to and enjoy economic , social, cultural and political development , in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.” (1.1)

Thus the right to development is of multidimensional character incorporating all civil , political, economic, social, and cultural rights necessary for the “full development of individual and protection of his dignity.” A renowned Professor Louis B. Sohn has said that the right to

development “requires careful balancing of interests of the community and of the individuals. A healthy regard for the rights of the individual is indispensable for a State’s success in pursuing its right to development.” **The Tehran International Conference on Human Rights in its Declaration (1968)** says that since “human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, the full realization of civil and political rights

The challenges of good governance would certainly require government to be reinvented, bureaucracy, to be re-positioned, non-business business sectors to be re-invigorated with a social motive.

without the enjoyment of economic , social, and cultural rights are impossible. The achievement of lasting progress in the implementation of human rights is dependent on sound and effective national and international policies of economic development.” Also the **United Nations General Assembly in its Resolution (1977)** asserted that , “All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and inter-dependent ; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation , promotion and protection of both civil and political and economic , social and cultural rights.”

The challenges of good governance would certainly require government to be reinvented, bureaucracy, to be re-positioned, non-business business sectors to be re-

invigorated with a social motive. Recently the Central Government has taken three very important initiatives in this regard through Right to Education (Article 21-A of the Constitution of India ), Public Services Guarantee Act , and 100 days employment guarantee scheme for rural peoples under Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Act. But the real strength is coming from **International Covenant on**

**Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)**

**Article 6:** “1. The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes to everyone the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely choose or accepts and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.

2. The steps to be taken by State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental and economic freedom to the individual.”

**Also Article 13.1:** The State parties to the Present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human



personality and the sense of its dignity and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It is important to note that Madhya Pradesh is the first State at national level that implemented the Right to Education at grass root levels not only in government schools but also in private schools of the State. Hon'ble Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan has taken personal interest in the implementation of this scheme and also monitoring the MANREGA through video conferencing. He also directed the commissioner and collectors of respective division and districts to ensure full 100 days employment and payment directly to their personal bank accounts.

The concept of Good-Governance is a good government and 'mantra' of overall development of the State and individuals. The concept relates to the quality of the relationship between government and the citizens for whom it exists to 'serve' and 'protect', i.e. "citizen centric". It is the responsibility of the Governments, both at the Centre and State level, share the concern for ensuring responsive, accountable, transparent, decentralized and people friendly administration at all levels. Due to this reason a considerable frustration amongst the people, especially the weaker sections of the society about the apathy, irresponsiveness and lack of accountability of public

servants, even as expenditure on staff continues to increase in high rate particularly after the implementation of the Sixth Pay Commission at Central and State levels.

There is increasing anxiety about growing instances of corruption and criminalization in public life, politics and administration.



**The Government has to create conditions and encourage people to participate in governance to make the people participation –a reality in true sense.**

**Means Good Governance is dependent mainly on the excellence of human being engaged in government and enlightened citizenry.**



The people particularly the vulnerable groups are greatly concerned about the deterioration in the performance of agencies concerned with law and order the investigation of offences. Their faith in the registration of offences, their timely investigation and the delivery of prompt justice has been eroded.

Good Governance can be a reality provided that every organ of the State, i.e. legislature, executive, and judiciary work meticulously and with integrity. This reality would multiply manifolds through the active support and participation of the people in all the task of the Government i.e. policy-making, planning, implementation and monitoring. The Government has to create conditions and encourage people to participate in governance to make the people participation –a reality in true sense. Means Good Governance is dependent mainly on the excellence of human being engaged in government and enlightened citizenry. In nutshell concluding with remark of Mahatma Gandhi as, "I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have effective voice, an India in which there shall be high class and low class people, an India in which all communities shall live with perfect harmony". No doubt that Good Governance(Ram Rajya) can be established only by following the actions ordained in our ancient Sanskrit Literature like – Bhagvad Geeta, Ramayana, Vedas, Upanisads etc. The value enshrined in our scriptures are basics to good governance and a sure success is asserted if acted upon.■

*(The writer is an Assistant Professor of Law, National Law Institute University, Bhopal (M.P.))*

# The Ultimate formula for success



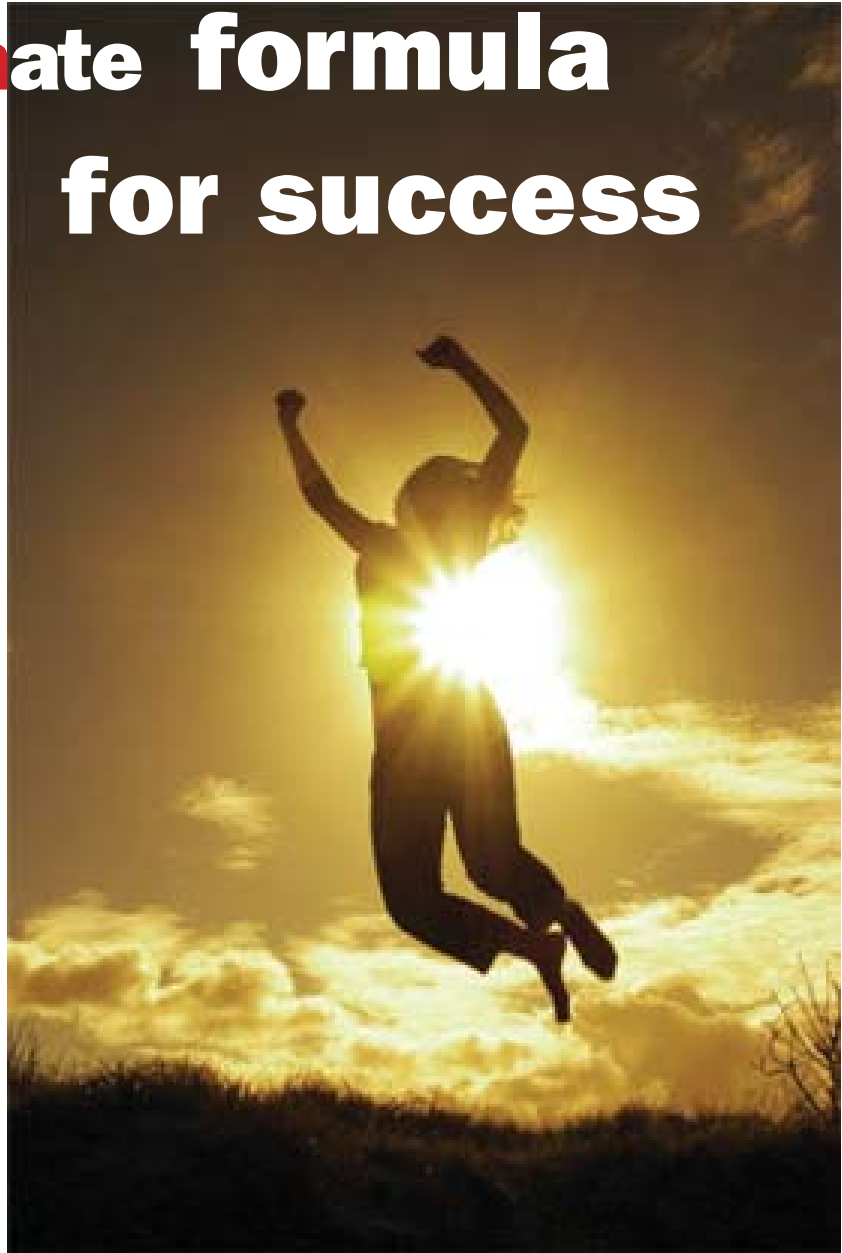
 **Ramesh Patenge**

**T**here is an English proverb - nothing succeeds like success- there is no success parallel to success. In all the sectors of life there is stiff competition to prove oneself. In personal life everyone wants that he should be successful. There are some yardsticks to prove personal happiness. Everyone wants to own a house, live a comfortable life by owning facilities like a four wheeler car, good job or may be well established business. If someone has attained all these, then his life is considered to be successful. There are so many organizations engaged in social life. All of them want to reach the peak of success. If it's a commercial organization then it aspires to have substantial profitability. While an educational organization wants to provide the best

quality of education, a service organization wants to reach every corner for its services.

In political sphere also many parties are working. Every party wants to win elections. These political parties hold many meetings. In these meetings many people participate, however one cannot judge success of a political party on account of

its oratory qualities. Success is measured by the number of candidates elected in an election. That is why every party prepares strategy for winning elections. Some techniques are adopted to win the elections. If a party gets thumping victory in an election, then a series of debate and discussions start on their winning strategy at national



level, and other parties start copying the strategy of the winning party.

#### Formula for success

In general there are four ingredients to win an election. 1) Money 2) caste calculations 3) minority appeasement 4) Emotional issues. There is tendency to choose candidate from the caste whose numbers are quite high in a given constituency. Huge sum of amount is being spent for contesting elections. Some political parties even appease minorities. Caste reservation, language related issues, river water dispute etc. are some issues that figure out during elections. Sometimes, issues related to domicile of other states and migrants are also raised. Many times the strategy consisting of mix of all these four is applied. At times one issue out of all these four dominate rest others. For example, Ms. Mayawati used caste equation in such a way that rest all other issues were over shadowed.

Sometimes this formula of success seems to captivate the lotus party as well. And then we see many good workers and ministers proclaiming that the politics is an art of possibility. The ideology based politics will not work now. The politics of practicality should be followed. The tactics used by other political parties for winning election should be followed by us as well. We should also adopt these. At last we also have to achieve success. And the success of political party is judged by the

success in elections. By and large power and strength of a political party depend on their success in elections. That is why money, caste and sentiments - all should be used while going for elections. It is natural that this idea has struck the minds of many people.

“A party with difference”

We should never forget that we are the branches of a



In general there are four ingredients to win an election. 1) Money 2) caste calculations 3) minority appeasement 4) Emotional issues. There is tendency to choose candidate from the caste whose numbers are quite high in a given constituency. Huge sum of amount is being spent for contesting elections. Some political parties even appease minorities. Caste reservation, language related issues, river water dispute etc. are some issues that figure out during elections.

vast tree. We are born out of ‘Sangh’. Our identification is different, we are not here just for namesake, but actually we are ‘a party with difference’. It doesn’t matter if the entire world is going the same way. But we have to make our own way. Whichever path we choose, we will follow the same. For over 85 years the ‘Sangh’ has been working for the entire nation. Taking inspiration from the ‘Sangh’ many volunteers have been working in social sector. They have constituted countless number of organizations. With more or less degree of success all such organizations have been working with success. Understanding of their success model is very important. That’s why we will highlight some of the issues here.

#### Basis of ideology

The success of this structure is based on ideology. Whatever we have to do, we must take forward our ideology. This applies in all spheres. The way it applies to political field, same way it applies to educational sector. The way it applies to journalism similarly it applies to publishing organizations as well. We all have to work as per our ideology. The expression of every field will be different. In the field of economy, the volunteers of ‘Sangh’ operate banks. There one may not have to chant words like Hindu, Hindutva or Hindu nation all the time. There it is important to maintenance transaction



records. Taking inspiration from "Sangh", volunteers work with the workers. There he remains a worker amongst workers. He does not separate them on the basis of caste and religion. The same ideology applies in the politics as well. We may not have to repeat time and again that we have not left Hindva. But, how the same shall be reflected in

theories are very good and the same are not put in practice, it will not work. There is dire need to have parity between theories and practices. We need to be sticking to our ideology. At one hand to declare that corruption is a bad thing, and on the other hand get involved in the same is sheer hypocrisy. This hypocrisy does not take us towards success.

The other aspect of this universal structure of success is that of right coordination. In various areas of works many organizations are engaged. They work under the same ideology. They follow the same rules. They follow personal and the organizational ethics. All such organizations have their own are of influence. Ideology and character provide strength to these organizations that emerge as center of power. There exists various centers of power in a society. If one expects attainment of common goal, then there exists dire need of coordination amongst these centers of power.

Even if one gets success in short run, it will get moral grounds. Therefore one should always keep in mind that such action may lead to failure any time.

The organizations that do not make difference between theory and practice make progress. The organizations that work contrary, they dig their own grave, and fail.

### The agreement between thought and action

The agreement will be attained automatically on account of structure of universal success and recognition of significant issues. This fourth aspect relates to agreement between thought and action. One cannot bring agreement without having made developmental works through united actions, and without united actions one cannot get

success. In the working structure of 'Sangh' at every level with the agreement is reached through

developmental works. It is not that *Sanghchalak* (the leader) works in an arbitrary manner and that he cannot be questioned. In Maharashtra, in year 1983, camp for 35 thousand sangh volunteers was organized. For organizing this camp talks were on to reach at a consensus for more than a year. Those who were part of this process can easily imagine about it. In Dodhbili city, there started a welcome march procession. This welcome march is being organized by entire Hindu community, but planning and execution is done by "*swayansevaks*" engaged in different walks of life. This itself demonstrates that whatever has been explained in theory above, *swayansevaks* of Domnivali put them in practice as well. One may not need to teach them anything new about it.

### No shortcuts.

Many times one tends to ignore coordination and agreement. There are many reasons for this. Some people are taken over by success as much that they don't even bother to take all in confidence. They also start feeling that Sangh workers do not know how to win elections, and that acting as sycophants of a few of the top senior workers of Sangh would help them get what they want. But they fail to understand that top most members are simple but not

politics is important. We should not think about cult worship or caste based politics. Considering everybody as citizen of this country, we should look at them with sense of equality. We don't have to appease someone nor do we have to do injustice to anyone.

### As you sow so shall you reap

There is one more aspect of this ultimate success. i.e. theory and practice. If

the fools. They are well aware of the reasons of the regular visits of these politicians at their home. Such politicians who remain under influence of false pride fail to understand such significant points. Therefore, there is no other option left except to accept coordination and agreement. In English there is proverb 'shortcut will cut you

direction, and one gets expected results.

### Group Leadership

The existence of coordination and agreement automatically leads to group leadership. The group leadership may not be taken as leadership in the hands of ten officers. Group leadership means following a procedure that allows participation of all

prevail. This kind of mentality can never make an organization big nor can it bring success.

Group leadership is ultimate success structure and it is extremely important. It is important to know the minute details of this powerful structure. Group leadership is required for mobilization of men and resources. While



This path to success is timeless, eternal and ultimate. There is nothing parallel to it. There is no shortcut. If we follow this path, we will definitely get success. This success will not be temporary. It will be long lasting. Wherever there has been success, it has been achieved through this formula only.

dealing with the society it is important to project one person as a leader, an organization cannot project ten faces as leaders. Where there is statutory constitution of an organization, the

short'

### Right coordination

The other aspect of this universal structure of success is that of right coordination. In various areas of works many organizations are engaged. They work under same ideology. They follow the same rules. They follow personal and the organization ethics. All such organizations have their own influence zone. Ideology and character provide strength to these organizations that emerge as center of power. There exists various centers of power in a society. If one expects attainment of common goal, then there exists dire need of coordination amongst these centers of power. If the proper coordination is feasible, everybody works in the same

those members in a decision making whose presence and support is needed. Before taking a decision, one is required to clearly discuss pros and cons of the given situation. Everybody puts his perception forward. It is necessary to listen to them carefully. There is need to have openness amongst decision makers. If anybody's opinion is different, he should not have fear of losing his position for the difference he made by presenting different opinion. If a fearful environment prevails then, under that situation only "yes boss" mentality will be born. This will further give rise to a situation where officials will only give decisions, and rest others will follow them like workers, and dishonesty will

President is the leader of the organization. He is the representative of group leadership. This idea is best depicted in the organizational structure of *Sangh* and the position of *Sarsanchalak*. Appearance in public meeting, Intellectual group, journalist council, meetings etc are the activities that are decided well in advance. All such pre decided programs are presided over by *sarsanchalak*.

He plays the leadership role, decision making following the process of group decision making. People who are not part of *Sangh*, may not understand this, however for people who have grown up with the '*Sangh*' ideology will not find it difficult to

understand this.

With everybody's consent and consensus whosoever is chosen as a leader, one needs to support him with full energy and vigor. For this one



Common man has developed a very dangerous thinking that one contests elections for amassing wealth, and that if a politician has amassed wealth than people who voted him should also get their due share. This feeling is a danger bell for both politics and democracy. It is the need of the hour that we should listen to this warning bell and we should follow the formula for ultimate success based on sacrifice, penance and service. By doing so we will be blessed.

needs to learn community living. We want to present our thought and make it more influential in a district, and we want to be successful in all other areas. If we feel this way, than question of leadership will not result in competition,

rather it will pave way for common decision making. This is urgently needed in our society.

**Put an end to Corruption,  
Lotus will blossom**

This path to success is timeless, eternal and ultimate. There is nothing parallel to it. There is no shortcut. If we follow this path, we will definitely get success. This success will not be temporary. It will be long lasting. Wherever there has been success, it has been achieved through this formula only. By giving up this formula, if one gets success, that success never lasts for long. If the lotus has to blossom then it should derive its nectar from river that is made of common mass of India. In the current situation, there is suffering all around.

Inflation has literally broken the backbone of a common man. A common man cannot get his work done at a government office without engaging in corruption. Everybody is discussing about 2G spectrum, but the

common man is the most affected one. Politicians do not talk about bringing revolution to solve problems related to rationing, RTO, sales tax, municipal tax etc. Even the auto-rickshaw driver loots the common man. All auto rickshaw drivers will not fall under this category, but the honest ones are very littler in number.

**Sacrifice, Penance and Service**

An ordinary man has to migrate. In big cities he has to travel in bus, railways and through other means of transport. Travelling in Mumbai local is the most terrible experience of the day. There are long queues for tickets. Trains lack basic amenities. Upon getting down at railway station one has to suffer by going through narrow ways which are overcrowded. Political leaders should take care of such problems of the common man. They should be answerable to people. Common man has developed a very dangerous thinking that one contests elections for amassing wealth, and that if a politician has amassed wealth than people who voted him should also get their due share. This feeling is a danger bell for both politics and democracy. It is the need of the hour that we should listen to this warning bell and we should follow the formula for ultimate success based on sacrifice, penance and service. By doing so we will be blessed.■

*(The writer is the Editor of the Vivek)*



# Inspired by Nationalism, let's work for strengthening Good Governance..!



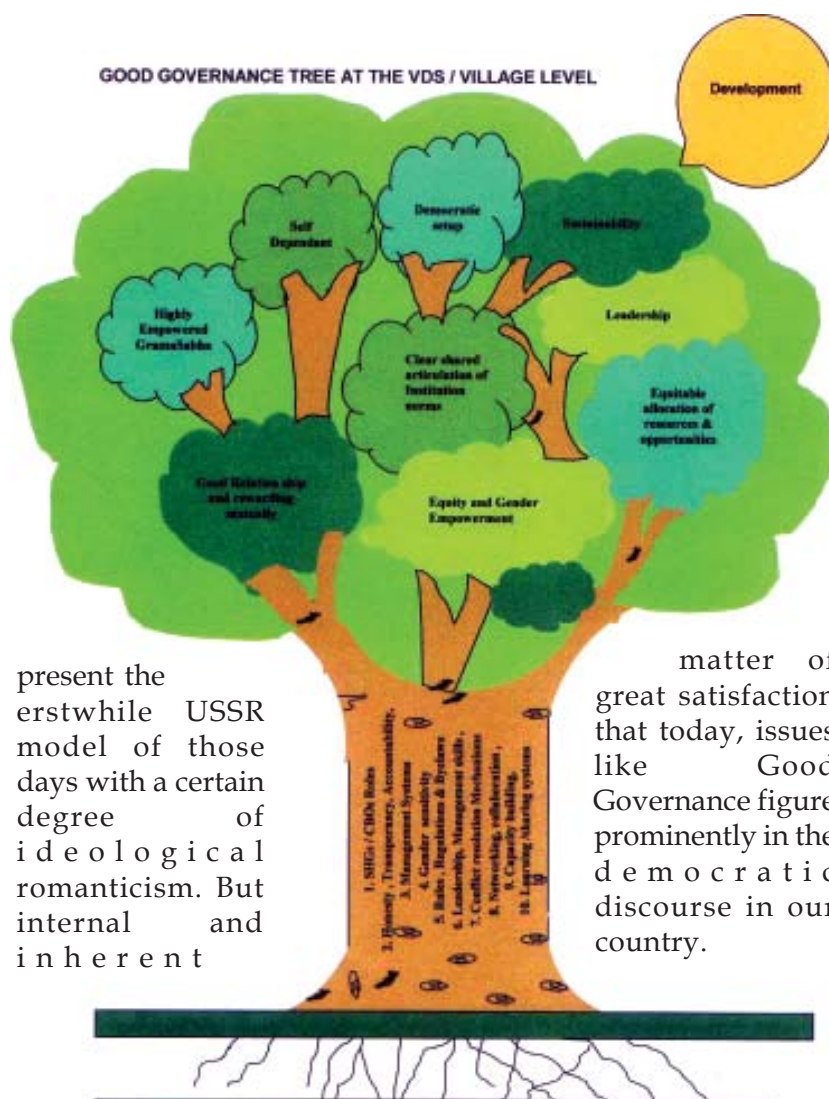
 Nitin Gadkari

In the prevailing circumstances in our country, there appears to be a kind of paradox. On the one hand, people are increasingly articulating their disenchantment with the entire political class, on the other; are also becoming far more conscious and concerned about the issues like Good Governance, development and social justice as well. With the changing times and increasing pressure of popular expectations, politics again will have to establish itself as an instrument of socio-economic development. On this backdrop, it is essential that the larger issue of purpose of politics is revisited effectively. Once upon a time, governments and the entire governance machinery was largely seen as a money making machine. Socialists and Communists used to

present the erstwhile USSR model of those days with a certain degree of ideological romanticism. But internal and inherent

contradictions ensured the failure of this model. This failure made people sit up and think about ways and means of Good Governance and welfare of the people. These changing times witnessed how voters decisively and totally rejected those political parties while had reduced themselves as mere 'election fighting machines'. It is a

matter of great satisfaction that today, issues like Good Governance figure prominently in the democratic discourse in our country.



BJP is a political party and attempting for attaining political power by way of contesting elections is one of our objectives. But for us, politics is not only for power. Patriotism has always remained the mainstay of our politics right since the Jan Sangh days. What we tried was Politics for Patriotism.

Hence, our party is not an organisation functioning from one lection to the other. We insist on our functionality between the elections as well. Our objective is to make India a frontline developed country. We have a distinct ideological standpoint. We have a vision for the nation. Also we have a cadre of dedicated party workers. I remember in 1980, when we were forced to leave the then Janata Party and to establish the Bharatiya Janata Party later, our leader Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had asked the party workers to engage themselves in Party organisation building, constructive work and struggle for bringing justice to the oppressed! (*Sangathan, Sanrachana and Sangharsh!*)

No wonder then, when the NDA was in power at the centre, our government came to be known as the most pro-development government. Several new initiatives go to the credit of the Vajpayee government. Today, in all those states where we are ruling, a number of pro-people, Good Governance initiatives are being taken. We have always believed that it is the fundamental right of the fellow countrymen to have a clean and efficient government, which is sensitive to the agonies and aspirations of the people. We are committed to this ideal. We have been working towards that, as we firmly believe that Good Governance will greatly strengthen Nationalism. We just cannot afford weakening of the national spirit and

hence, providing Good Governance to all sections of the society, to every nook and corner of our far flung corners of the country becomes our first and foremost duty.

I must also refer here the most important tasks outlined in my presidential address to the BJP National Council



**BJP is a political party and attempting for attaining political power by way of contesting elections is one of our objectives. But for us, politics is not only for power. Patriotism has always remained the mainstay of our politics right since the Jan Sangh days. What we tried was Politics for Patriotism. Hence, our party is not an organisation functioning from one lection to the other. We insist on our functionality between the elections as well. Our objective is to make India a frontline developed country. We have a distinct ideological standpoint. We have a vision for the nation.**

meeting at Indore on February 18, 2010. I had promised to the party functionaries that based on our experience of government at the centre and in the states, we would conceptualise, propagate & implement an alternative model of development & governance.

I am glad that we were able to follow upon this later and conduct a Su-raj Sankalp Sammelan of all our Chief Ministers and other key ministers in June 2010. We tried to prepare a road map aimed at achieving our cherished goal of "SU-RAAJ" in a definite time frame.

The background note of the convention underscored BJP's strong commitment to democratic polity. It is apparent that parliamentary democracy alone does not ensure good governance. As the best available system we need to strengthen it. This we can by taking a resolve to redefine the meaning of politics, refine our engagement with it, individually and collectively and, as a national political party.

We also tried to examine good governance from various angles such as bureaucracy, police, responsive administration, central & provincial security forces, corruption, health, agriculture & food, rural development, infrastructure, environment & forests, water management, energy & non-conventional energy sources, democracy, terrorism, human

rights, public participation, legislature, decentralization, social justice, tribal welfare, women & child welfare, education & employment, universities & NGOs, etc. We must also examine the concerns for good governance at the Panchayat level & at

repository of values.

The test of Good Governance is to promote physical, social and spiritual development of the people. Governance is the manner to exercise authority, control and power of government in mobilising the society's

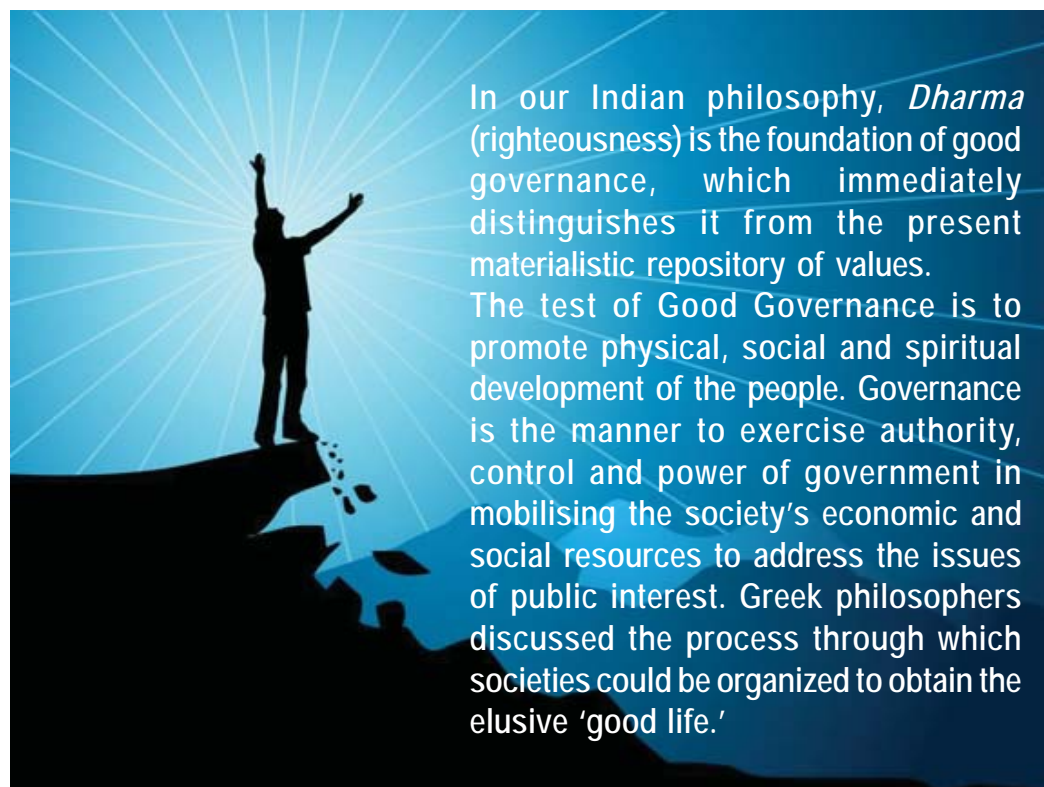
well before 900 AD is well documented.

Regulations as administered by the village assembly on public works or judicial matters were inscribed on the walls of the gram sabha. Criteria for election/selection and disqualification of peoples' representatives were clearly laid down - accepting bribes, misappropriating others' property were serious disqualifying clauses.

The Millennium Development Goals which guides the comity of nations today on attaining a universally accepted good quality of life

are targets which most countries hope to attain within a time frame. Good governance is the process through which such targets can be achieved.

Importantly, good governance is enabled by the prevalence of the rule of law. Transparency marks the entire process of decision making and the process of implementing those decisions made. Both the process and the end result should be clearly inclusive in every sense of the word.



the level of other civic bodies such as Zila Parishads, municipalities & municipal corporations. Consensus building, an important defining feature of good governance, should be considered as an effective lubricant in the process of decision making.

In our Indian philosophy, *Dharma* (righteousness) is the foundation of good governance, which immediately distinguishes it from the present materialistic

economic and social resources to address the issues of public interest. Greek philosophers discussed the process through which societies could be organized to obtain the elusive 'good life.'

According to ancient Indian scholars, good governance is a comprehensive and ultimate solution to achieve the ideal state of bliss and overcome any crisis in administration. In south India, the UttaraMerur model of democracy which prevailed



Some experts have described governance as the exercise of power or authority – political, economic, administrative or otherwise – to manage a country's resources and affairs. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Good governance means competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is transparent, accountable, equitable, participatory and responsive to people's needs.

It is worth recalling here that we firmly believe that change can be brought about at a national level only when all sections of our society are awakened. In this process of building a well awakened society, the government has a big role to play.

*"Kaalo Vaa Kaaranam rajnah, Rajah Vaa Kaalakaaranam,*

*Iti te samsayo maa aboot, raja kaalasya kaaranam!! – Mahabharata*

In short, the ruler shapes his time. As the ruling party in states where we are elected to power the BJP has come up

with innovative initiatives which are fulfilling the MDGs and standing out as replicable models in good governance.

The important elements of good governance such as predictability and

foresight require visionary leadership.

Governments should anticipate future needs and based on current data and trends must develop policies that take into account future costs. Governments must also effectively enforce all laws, regulations and codes without fear, favour or discrimination.

In the present Indian context, good governance is essential for sustainable development and for improving the welfare of the people. Wherever possible we should emphasise on e-governance as this will remove manipulations and improve efficiency.

We are the largest democracy in the world. Our

democratic institutions have functioned fairly well in the last sixty-four years, barring of course, the year long State of Emergency. There is rule of law and we have a vibrant media. The Indian Constitution, in letter and spirit, provides for all the essential elements of good governance. Our priority, rightly, has been to introduce and boost welfare schemes.

However, the absence of good

**We are the largest democracy in the world.**

**Our democratic institutions have functioned fairly well in the last sixty-four years, barring of course, the year long State of Emergency.**

**There is rule of law and we have a vibrant media. The**

**Indian Constitution, in letter and spirit, provides for all the essential elements of good governance. Our priority, rightly, has been to introduce and boost welfare schemes.**

**However, the absence of good delivery and the prevalence of petty and serious corruption have resulted in dissatisfaction in certain sections/regions of the country.**

delivery and the prevalence of petty and serious corruption have resulted in dissatisfaction in certain sections/regions of the country.

Unlike some countries where development has suffered seriously due to excessive military influence, abuses of human rights and lack of accountability, the Indian track record on governance has not been dismal, but has wide scope for improvement. Even today, several of our elected representatives need to have greater sensitivity and appreciation of the norms of good governance. As a result, there is a long way to go to achieve our "Su-raj."

When I see the unrest and conflict in society – be it due to some identity issue or issues like growing number of the poor, unemployment, starvation, and unabated suicides of the farmers I ask myself: "What is at the root of these problems?" The two conclusions that I have come to are that, firstly, all these problems are rooted in the wrong economic policies and bad governance that have plagued our country almost since Independence. Secondly, the solutions to these problems cannot be found in a piecemeal manner to satisfy this or that section of society. Ours is a nation of immense diversities. Every section of our society has legitimate aspirations. But the fulfillment of these aspirations has to be a part of the holistic

approach guided by what is good for the nation as a whole. Harmony and balance are the cornerstones of the architecture of every creation



**The first and foremost task in correcting India's development imbalance is to follow the principle of Antyodaya - eradication of abject poverty, provision for the basic necessities of every Indian family, and ensuring that the last man in society gets the first opportunity to rise in life. This is what Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Deendayal Upadhyaya and other saintly figures in India had emphasized. Long before I entered politics, I was moved by the following lines from Sant Tukaram. I continue to seek inspiration from these lines even today.**

of Mother Nature. Why shouldn't the same be true about the human society?

The harmonious development of individuals and society was the hallmark of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's treatise of 'Integral Humanism', which the BJP regards as its guiding philosophy. Unfortunately, it is nowhere to be seen in the scheme of things of policy makers in our country. The Congress party, which has ruled India for the longest period since Independence, has followed policies that have resulted in severe imbalances in development. These imbalances are both social and geographical in nature. In our march towards economic prosperity, often our people are encouraged to violate the ethical traffic signals, with the rich and the powerful leading the way. This is a harmful impact on the moral, social and cultural fabric of India.

The first and foremost task in correcting India's development imbalance is to follow the principle of Antyodaya - eradication of abject poverty, provision for the basic necessities of every Indian family, and ensuring that the last man in society gets the first opportunity to rise in life. This is what Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Deendayal Upadhyaya and other saintly figures in India had emphasized. Long before I entered politics, I was moved by the following lines from

Sant Tukaram. I continue to seek inspiration from these lines even today.

*Je kaa ranjle gaanjele, tyaasi mhane jo aapule!*

*Tochi saadhu olakhaava, Dev tethechi jaanaava!!*

(One who embraces the disadvantaged and oppressed, the downtrodden and the suffering as his own, is a true saadhu or a pious person. God dwells in his/her abode.)

#### ANTYODAYA

Let me share with you that one year before we have launched an innovative Campaign namely Antyodaya Abhiyan. This is a campaign that promotes politics for development through social work. We want all our party workers, our organisational units as well as all our elected representatives at every level to take up at least one Service (SEWA) and Development (VIKAS) project in their respective areas. Through this our workers should try and reach out to the disadvantaged effectively. It has always been our thinking that Politics is the instrument for social and economic transformation. We all are now expected to make a resolve and reinstate the element of Sewa in the political culture of this great nation. If you make a determined effort, you can easily take up such activities

Ending the systemic neglect of agriculture and rural development is the first requirement of an alternative economic model for India. The goal of 'Gramodaya' was very dear to both Mahatma Gandhi and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Congress leaders paid only lip service to rural India. They neither truly understood its potential nor cared for its needs. The foremost requirement today is to redesign government policies to ensure a massive flow of public and private investments into agriculture and rural infrastructure. Capital should be made available to farmers and rural entrepreneurs at low cost and on easy terms. This can help augment land and water resources, set up value-addition agro-processing and develop new high-yielding farm practices, including organic farming.



and derive satisfaction of serving the last person in the queue. We will have a proper mechanism set up within the party to train our workers, guide them and to monitor their work.

The key to Antyodaya at the public policy level is in enabling the economy to produce gainful and sustainable livelihood. In the Indian context, it means that the test of success of economic growth is whether our agriculture and rural economy are so revitalized that productive employment and high quality of life are ensured in rural areas. We must admit that India has not passed this test. The huge and rapidly growing divide between cities and villages, and also the disparities within cities and villages, is a matter of concern.

#### India needs a new model of development and governance

Since we are a party in the opposition at the Centre, it is our duty to oppose and resist the wrong policies of the government. We shall perform this role resolutely. Nevertheless, the people expect more from us. As a party that has governed at the Centre, and that aspires to do so again; it is also our duty to evolve practical solutions to the multifarious problems that India has been facing. Neither the people



nor we are happy with India's socio-economic development, which is full of imbalances, and also with its governance, which is full of corruption and inefficiency. As I have said earlier, most problems before the nation have very little to do with caste, creed, language or such other factors. They are rooted in the wrong policies of development and wrong kind of governance. I must point out here that to day, the nation has an energy shortfall of 55000 Megawatts and we have no stocks of coal for power generation under the 12th plan. This Energy Deficit is making this great nation development starved, thanks; mainly to the absolute lack of foresight.

We in the BJP are proud of the initiatives and achievements of the NDA government. Now, based on our experience of governance at the Centre and in the states we should conceptualise, propagate and implement an alternative model of development and governance. I regard this to be one of the most important tasks before the Party.

India has come a long way since 1947, when under the influence of the Soviet model; the government gave state-run enterprises primary role in the nation's economy. The past six decades have seen an enormous growth in the capabilities of India's entrepreneurial class. The same period has also shown that, by and large, governments cannot run

economic activities efficiently. It is time for India to abandon the old model completely by redefining the role of government in economics. The government's duty is confined mainly to strategic planning, legislation of sound laws and their effective enforcement. The actual business of performing economic activities should be left to non-governmental enterprises.

When I talk of enterprises, by no means do I refer only to big corporates. Our small and medium enterprises have immense potential, which, unfortunately, has been stifled by wrong policies and insensitive governmental functioning. Even the enormous energy of cooperatives has been smothered. Moreover, government enterprises have been reduced to grazing grounds for corrupt politicians which is evident in the manner in which the Prime Minister has allowed his colleagues to loot national resources in civil aviation, telecommunications, textiles, coal and mining and other sectors. Further, unscrupulous politicians and bureaucrats have formed a nexus with unscrupulous businessmen, and this has resulted in an alarming spread of corruption and criminalization at all levels. Unfortunately, even law enforcement agencies and sections of the judicial system apparently have become a part of this nexus. Breaking this nexus, and encouraging healthy entrepreneurship, ensuring lawful and people-

focused economic growth, has to be the objective of government's role in the economy.

### Gramodaya

Ending the systemic neglect of agriculture and rural development is the first requirement of an alternative economic model for India. The goal of 'Gramodaya' was very dear to both Mahatma Gandhi and Deendayal Upadhyaya. Congress leaders paid only lip service to rural India. They neither truly understood its potential nor cared for its needs. The foremost requirement today is to redesign government policies to ensure a massive flow of public and private investments into agriculture and rural infrastructure. Capital should be made available to farmers and rural entrepreneurs at low cost and on easy terms. This can help augment land and water resources, set up value-addition agro-processing and develop new high-yielding farm practices, including organic farming. A number of rural infrastructure development works can be taken out of inefficient government departments and entrusted to rural entrepreneurs and farmers' bodies with people's supervision. Rural areas should have the same priority for power supply as urban areas.

I would like to emphasise another important requirement of an alternative development and governance model. In spite of the Congress

party's tom-tomming of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments, there has been no effective financial and administrative empowerment of panchayati raj institutions and municipal bodies. I am, therefore, of the view that at least 10% of the Central tax revenues should be transferred directly to gram panchayats and municipal bodies. Similarly, funds under the Special Component Plan for the SCs and Tribal Sub-Plan for the STs, should be fully devolved for the welfare of these communities and utilized with their democratic participation.

I am stressing the need for unleashing Rural India's growth potential not out of bookish learning but out of practical experience. For

example, encouragement to rural tourism and wildlife tourism has resulted in good roads and hotels being built by local entrepreneurs even in certain tribal areas. There are examples to show that a cow, a Neem tree and a family make a sustainable economic unit.

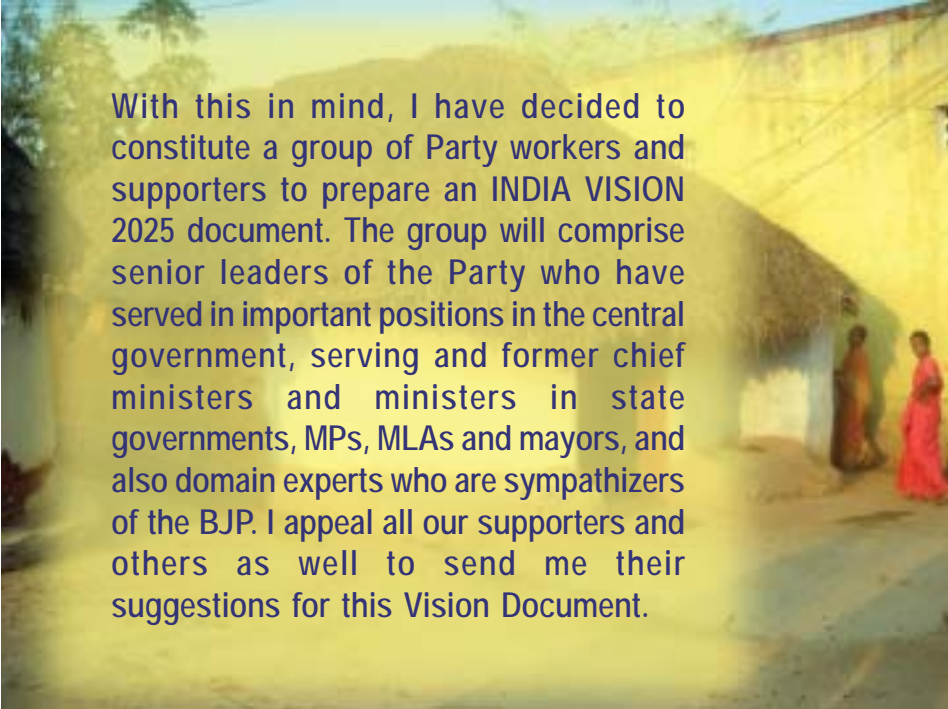
The goal of India's alternative development model should be "GAON CHALO". Rural India will begin to bloom with the provision of good roads and public transport, world-class

telecom and IT facilities, 24x7 power supply, availability of pre-cooling plants and cold storages near markets, water and other basic needs, efficient financial services and market connectivity. This will attract new types of high-skilled and high-value enterprises in rural India. The new advances in

go and live in India's Modern Villages. Let the BJP become the harbinger of this New Vision, appropriate to the needs and conditions of the 21st century.

### Our Performance in Governance

I am happy to note that BJP-run state governments are



With this in mind, I have decided to constitute a group of Party workers and supporters to prepare an INDIA VISION 2025 document. The group will comprise senior leaders of the Party who have served in important positions in the central government, serving and former chief ministers and ministers in state governments, MPs, MLAs and mayors, and also domain experts who are sympathizers of the BJP. I appeal all our supporters and others as well to send me their suggestions for this Vision Document.

information technology, biotechnology, nano-technology and energy-saving and material-saving sciences in the 21st century indeed hold the promise of decentralizing and dispersing production and other economic activities. The compulsions of environment protection have made this a global imperative. Therefore, all our policies should be geared to hasten this transformation. Not only should we stem distress migration of rural populations to urban areas, but also create conditions for urban people to

actually moving towards realizing the vision of Antyodaya. Gujarat has succeeded in supplying 24x7 power supply to all its villages. Its recent initiative of holding Garib Kalyan Melas is also very commendable. Bihar too has made a remarkable progress under the NDA government there. In Madhya Pradesh, Ladli Lakshmi and several such schemes have achieved a remarkable success. Chhattisgarh government's success in accomplishing the Herculean task of improving the Public

Distribution System deserves compliments. Karnataka Government is perhaps the first State Govt. to have prepared a Vision 2020 plan and started implementing the same and I compliment the state for this. Similarly, Himachal Pradesh under BJP rule is likely to become the first Carbon-neutral state while Uttarakhand has ambitious plans for energy generation. In Punjab too we are taking new development initiatives and I am sure our new Jharkhand government will also perform well. This certainly should not make us complacent and we must further better our performance in governance. If we come across some examples of good governance in non-BJP states, I am sure we will try to replicate them and strive for a quality transformation in Governance.

#### BJP's INDIA VISION 2025

I believe that India has all the resources, natural as well as human, to grow to its full potential. We can indeed create a better tomorrow, with our own resources, to provide education for all, healthcare for all, housing for all, employment for all, and a better future for all the billion-plus people of India. If this has not been possible so far, it is due to a lack of good policies and good governance. However, it is not enough for the BJP to just criticize others for following wrong policies; rather, we should take the lead in presenting superior policies. We should not just talk about the problems before

the nation, but be in the vanguard of offering practical and effective solutions.

With this in mind, I have decided to constitute a group of Party workers and supporters to prepare an INDIA VISION 2025 document. The group will comprise senior leaders of the Party who have served in important positions in the central government, serving

**Our vision is to build an India that is free of *bhookh* (hunger), *bhay* (fear) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption), and also free of *vishamata* (inequity) and *anyaay* (injustice) of all kinds. We want to build a New India that is *swavalambi* (self-reliant), *samarthyavaan* (capable) and *parakrami* (achiever of impossible feats).**

and former chief ministers and ministers in state governments, MPs, MLAs and mayors, and also domain experts who are sympathizers of the BJP.

I appeal all our supporters and others as well to send me their suggestions for this Vision Document.

Let us remember that India can not become a super power just because we all want it to be. We will have to work for transformation. We will have to revisit our objective for being in public life. Why should we seek inspiration only from getting

a party post, a ticket in elections or a berth in the ministry, etc? Can we not derive inspiration from the higher purpose and power of politics •• such as the desire to bring a smile on the faces of underprivileged brethren; to end the distress of farmers that has forced thousands of them to commit suicide; to eliminate malnutrition that is killing tens of thousands of tribal children; to create employment opportunities for our talented youth? Isn't the goal of making India a strong nation once again powerful enough to motivate us?

Our vision is to build an India that is free of *bhookh* (hunger), *bhay* (fear) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption), and also free of *vishamata* (inequity) and *anyaay* (injustice) of all kinds. We want to build a New India that is *swavalambi* (self-reliant), *samarthyavaan* (capable) and *parakrami* (achiever of impossible feats). We want to build an India that has peace and harmony within, and strives ceaselessly for peace and harmony in the entire world.

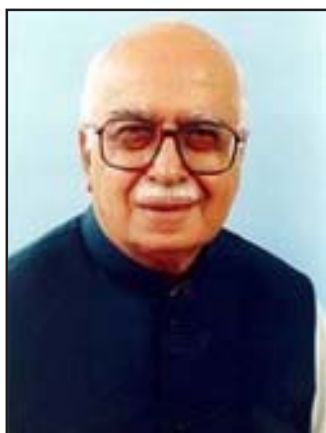
An India whose ancient intellectual-material prowess, cultural light, civilisational genius and spiritual force is revived and taken to unprecedented new heights.... Remember, the 21st century undisputedly is that of India, our great Bharatmata! ■

*(Based on the compilation of views expressed by BJP National President Sh. Nitin Gadkari on different occasions.)*



# ***From self-governance to good governance***

Corruption is a bitter reality of the present day Indian politics. Right after the independence, various scams were exposed under Congress led Government. Since then, India has been suffering from this disease of Corruption. These days, the issue of Lokpal has caught the attention of the people. BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) has been in favour of "probity" in public life right from the beginning. The then BJP National President Shri Lalkrishna Advani went to the people on the "*Rathiyatra – Swaraj se suraaj tak* (from self-governance to good governance)" in the year 1996 from March, 9 to April, 14. Even at that time, the mite of corruption was eating into the vitals of the country. At that point of time, Advani ji committed himself to re-establish "probity and ethics" in public life and started a movement in order to deal with the corruption by creating the institution of Lokpal at important levels. The thoughts put forward by Shri Advani then are still relevant. We are taking them forward and publishing the text of the pamphlet which was published in the wake of his *Suraaj Se Swaraaj Tak Rathiyatra* in 1996:



 **Lal Krishna Advani**

## **Hindutva**

The Bharatiya Janata party believes in the concept of One Nation, One People and One Culture –India is one country and all citizens of India belong to the same culture. Therefore, nationalism for BJP is not only geographical or political, but

also a cultural concept and this is what gives birth to the BJP's belief in cultural nationalism, which forms the foundation of Hindutva. This is also called "Bhartiyata (Indianness)".

People who are opposed to BJP ideology have been attacking this belief of cultural nationalism be the weapon of pseudo-secularism. However, despite all their efforts, they have been unsuccessful in reducing the ever-increasing impact of cultural nationalism. BJP has successfully awakened the consciousness of Hindutva and our cultural nationalism, as well as the innate presence of national consciousness from one end of the nation to the other, which the pseudo-secularists have been trying to assault since last 50 years.

This is the same consciousness that illuminated the fire of the struggle of freedom movement and this is the ever increasing influence of the same consciousness that will herald an era of good governance. The Constitution of India acknowledges that ancient India which has been in existence since thousands of years. The inclusion of the provision of "cow protection" in the constitution as a directive principle of the state policy is the mark of acceptance of the same cultural nationalism and "Hindutva".

On the other hand, the pseudo-secularists under the pretence of secularism never ceased trying to convince the Indians and India to abandon their indispensable identity. The distortion of the principle

of Secularism not only encouraged the radicals and separatists to carry out their disgusting activities, but also gave them the liberty to become more powerful. As a result of this policy, the situation that we see in Jammu & Kashmir as well as in Poorvaanchal today in the form of a separatist movement is pretty clear.

This is the same pseudo-secularism which legitimised the vote bank politics and the policy of appeasement, thereby causing huge damage to the Indian society. Under the pretence of protecting the interests of the minorities, the pseudo-secularists have further encouraged the activities of fundamentalists who have been receiving political patronage as well. Even after 50 years of independence, the goal of realizing a Uniform Civil Code remains a distant dream, thanks to the politics of vote bank and the policy of appeasement.

On the contrary, BJP firmly believes that the recognition of infinite power contained in the cultural foundations of Indian nationalism which can help eliminate the separatists and unite the country. The struggle for the construction of Ram Mandir in Ayodhya by BJP has the aim of strengthening

these very cultural foundations, its main goal being the erection of a Grand National temple of Mother India.

This is precisely the reason why, Hinduism is an integral principle of ensuring protection for the unity and integrity of India as well as for

Mother India. This is a collective enterprise for the protection of the soul of India and reenergizing it, which can take us to the next century in the form of a successful and prosperous nation. This is a positive initiative which unties the creative potential of this great land and halts the shameful attempts of



**This year is also the year of birth centenary of our Freedom Movement's great leader Subhash Chandra Bose. On August 25, 1943, Netajee while formally taking charge of the army of Aazad Hind Fauj said, "We shall carry the slogan "dillichalo" on our lips while struggling and keeping our lives on stake, until our National Flag on New Delhi's Vice-Roy Bhavan is hoisted.**

selfishness to someone's cost. Hindutva is a discipline, self-discipline and a penance for its supporters, not a ticket to the legislatures and position.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Hindutva has received so much support! Due to the fear of the popularity of the cultural nationalism, the people who work against BJP attempted to get two Electoral Reform Bills passed. They pretended to segregate religion and politics from each other, but in reality, the aim was to suppress BJP and most importantly, declare the concept of Hindutva as

illegal. BJP successfully countered this attempt by not allowing these bills to be passed in the parliament.

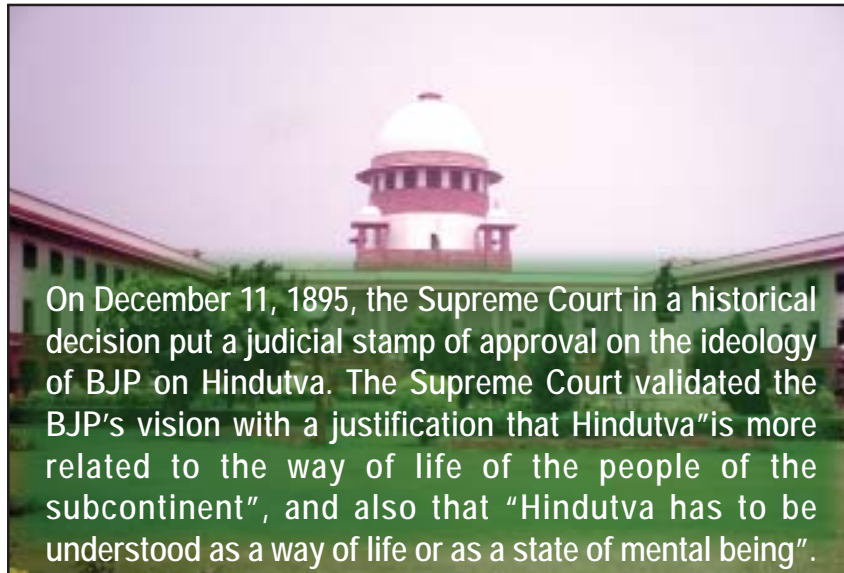
On December 11, 1895, the Supreme Court in a historical decision put a judicial stamp of approval on the ideology of BJP on Hindutva. The Supreme Court validated the BJP's vision with a justification that Hindutva "is more related to the way of life of the people of the subcontinent", and also that "Hindutva has to be understood as a way of life or as a state of mental being". This decision has been a blow to rivals of BJP. On the other hand, it has indeed strengthened the resolve to gain support towards the concept of cultural nationalism. One nation, one people, and one culture will be the identity of self-governance of BJP.

### Security

Country's security faces dangers not only from the external forces, but the security situation at home is worrisome. The event of dropping of arms in Purulia last year in December, is an illustration of how unprotected the country is under the governance of Congress. Any country by entering through the airway or land route can create disturbances. The big "Jakheera" of arms & ammunitions which was sent from Pakistan was dropped in Purulia. It has caused a severe damage to our internal security. However, the

Government has still not been able to reach the sources of this incident. As the Defence Minister, Mr. P.V. Narsimha Rao has shown an astonishing neglect towards this incident. Likewise, the Home Minister was not worried either. Recently, the capture of the arms & ammunitions in Delhi

BJP believes that such violations must be stopped, and the issues pertaining to the national security must be given a preference. Only a strong and powerful nation can help make its citizens prosper. To achieve this security and protection is a must. Our good governance



On December 11, 1895, the Supreme Court in a historical decision put a judicial stamp of approval on the ideology of BJP on Hindutva. The Supreme Court validated the BJP's vision with a justification that Hindutva "is more related to the way of life of the people of the subcontinent", and also that "Hindutva has to be understood as a way of life or as a state of mental being".

brought by two foreigners from Pakistan aptly prove that BJP had rightly pointed out the ISI link to such incidents. The party is also justified in pointing out that Mr. Narsimha Rao is guilty of being unsuccessful in stopping the violation of the nation's integrity at the borders. BJP is well aware of the fact that this a conspiracy led by ISI to bring disturbances in peace and harmony of the nation. Moreover, it has been proved that Pakistan has been very easily sending huge stocks of arms & ammunitions to India. This revelation is very disturbing. The country's security has never been in such a serious danger as it is now.

will be free from the fearful environment created by ISI, its allies and similar other organizations that continuously work to disturb peace and security of our society.

The security concern against ongoing terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir has been deteriorating constantly. Lack of policy and the essential political willpower to crush the separatism and terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir has further aggravated the situation. The terrorists through their venomous campaigns against the Hindus in the district of Doda have formed a purview of



their bloody activities. Massacring innocent citizens in Doda is a daily activity now, and the government has done nothing to prevent such murders of innocent people. This year, on 5<sup>th</sup> of January, 15 people were ghastly



The security concern against ongoing terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir has been deteriorating constantly. Lack of policy and the essential political will power to crush the separatism and terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir has further aggravated the situation. The terrorists through their venomous campaigns against the Hindus in the district of Doda have formed a purview of their bloody activities. Massacring innocent citizens in Doda is a daily activity now, and the government has done nothing to prevent such murders of innocent people.

murdered.

The situation is worsening day by day. Shri Narsimhaan Rao and his Home Minister Shri Shankarrao Chahavan

have been supporting the demands made by the politicians who have lost all reputation of being honest and upright. Not only that, even terrorist organizations have received encouragements from Rao's government, so much so that the Prime Minister is desirous of reviving the separatist organizations like "Sadr-e-Riyasat" and "Vazir-e-Azam". He has even proposed to grant all the concessions "slightly less than the freedom" to the terrorists.

The good governance of BJP that would include no concessions to the separatists will deal with the problems of terrorism and separatism. We will put an end to the danger caused by the armed revolt. The first step in this regard will be to abolish section 370 that prorogates thoughts of separatism. Besides, we will ensure the protection of life and property and the security of those 3 lakh Hindus, who have been expelled from the valley.

The situation related to the security has turned very grave on account of continuous infiltration from Bangladesh and Pakistan. The dangerous

rise in Muslim population clearly indicates that the magnitude of infiltration is on the rise every day. However, the Congress Govt. and their secular friends are unwilling to put a stop to this wave of infiltration since this will prove to be harmful for them at the time of elections, and above all, such step will also go against their policy of appeasement. They are emphasizing on turning these infiltrators into a Vote Bank. BJP believes in tracing these infiltrators without wasting any time, cutting off their names from the voter's lists and sending them back to their respective countries from where they have landed in India.

#### Probity

The Bofors scam was an issue at the time of the elections, and Rajeev Gandhi was forced to leave his position as Prime Minister. Similarly, the government under Narsimha Rao proved to be the most corrupt government. Failures and crimes under his government have become major issues. They initiated campaign to malign BJP and the political rivals. They included in their agenda steps to malign me. But this campaign was confronted by BJP with more energy and vigor and the party continued to fight against corruption and re-install cleanliness and ethics in public life.

Shri Narsimha Rao is guilty of being involved in a series of scams. Narsimha

Rao's son was involved in Gold Star scam as beneficiary through bank and the securities scam. Rao's government was further blamed for taking bribe of Rs. 1 crore from Harshad Mehta, the kingpin of securities scam, followed by involvement of Rao's government in many other scams including Sat Kittens fraud, Jain Havala scam in which he was accused of taking Rs. 3.5 crores from the main accused S.K.Jain. Rao was further involved in bribing MPs for winning "no confidence motion". All such issues prove that Shri Narsimha Rao has been responsible for all such actions that have shocked the nation.



His tenure will be known for the fact that his cabinet associates upon having been found guilty of corruptions were released one by one. However, the culprits are yet to be punished. The people who were involved in the Bank and Securities scam haven't yet been punished. The sugar scam remains unresolved. The accusations pertaining to S.K.Jain have still not been investigated. The long series of the scams can be listed as follows:

1. The Bofors-Solki case which was a shameful attempt to suppress the investigation in the Bofors brokerage scam: As soon as Shri Narsimha Rao came to power, he sent his

**The Bofors-Solki case which was a shameful attempt to suppress the investigation in the Bofors brokerage scam: As soon as Mr. Narsimha Rao came to power, he sent his then trustworthy associate Madhav Rao Solanki to Switzerland with a letter addressed to the Swiss Foreign Minister.**

then trustworthy associate Madhav Rao Solanki to Switzerland with a letter addressed to the Swiss Foreign Minister. When people came to know about this, he removed Shri Solanki from the

Cabinet, but prevented the CBI from investigating who actually sent the letter.

2. In the Public Sector units, disinvestment of shares worth thousands and crores of rupees for peanuts: This benefitted the share brokers. The Senior Accounts Examiner and the Public Accounts Committee have held the government responsible for this, but no action was taken against the officials and minister involved.
3. The Bank scam of an incredible amount of Rs. Eight thousand crores: No response was provided by the government on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Moreover, they did their best to save Rao's Govt and his son.
4. In the Sugar scam, the consumers were duped and the state fund was fiddled with to take away Rs. 5,500 crores: At the time of the revelation of the facts of the scam, Mr. Kalpnath Rai was the Central Supply Minister. He claimed to have done everything in the full knowledge of the Prime Minister.
5. The main accused of Jain Havala scam S.K.Jain stated that he gave Rs. 3.55 crore to Mr. Narsimha Rao. Since the Prime Minister has a control on

the CBI, this hideous accusation was not even investigated.

6. To defeat the No Confidence Motion against his Government, Mr. Narsimha Rao bribed certain MPs of the opposition party with a huge amount of money so that they vote against the No Confidence Motion. The unequivocal evidence of this act of bribery has recently come into light.

Therefore, it is not surprising that on a scale of 1-10, where China and Indonesia (7.31) were the first to be counted amongst the most corrupt countries, India stood at the 7<sup>th</sup> point, not far from them. Smt Indira Gandhi tried to make corruption acceptable by saying that it is pervasive at the international level. However, while the other countries of the world are attacking the corrupt political leaders, this malpractice still continues to bloom in India. The pervasiveness of corruption is increasing every year. The purview of Bofors was that of Rs. 35 crore whereas the securities scam was a hundred times bigger. Meanwhile, certain Ministers ended-up indulging in many other scams such as the sugar scam. The vicious circles of smugglers, ringleaders of intoxicating drugs, mafia gangs and protection (extortion) for money have become Congress' main guardians. All of this can be found out simply through

Vohra Committee Report, which has been able to touch a mere corner of this giant iceberg.

The Finance Minister despite his big claims of having controlled the black money has now estimated that the black money is at present, 50 percent of the total money supply. The Fortune



BJP is committed to reestablish the Probity and ethics in public life and put an end to the influence made through money in the system. Right from the time of Jansangh, we the people of BJP have always stood in the fore front to favour the overall Electoral Reform Movement. We demand the Government to make the election expenses affordable and allow donation and make all such contributions transparent.

magazine has counted India and China as the most corrupt economies and has suggested means to get a job done here. For most of the foreign analysts, a bribe is like the grease that moves the mechanism of the equipment in India.

BJP is committed to reestablish the probity and ethics in public life and put an end to the influence made through money in the system. Right from the time of Jansangh, we the people of BJP have always stood in the fore front to favour the overall Electoral Reform Movement. We demand the Government

### Swadeshi

The BJP has always given emphasis to two important facets that underline the national development policies: self-governance which is enrooted in the political nationalism, and Swadeshi which is enrooted in the economic nationalism. Self-governance will be incomplete without Swadeshi. Self-governance implies government of the people, by the people and for the people, hence Swadeshi economy made by the people and for the people. There is no substitute to Swadeshi in our country.



Swadeshi or economic nationalism means that India's economic fate will be determined by the people of India, not by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund or Foreign Investors. However, they are welcome to cooperate with us in building our economy, especially in the field of Advanced Technology. BJP is against the foolish consumerism propagated by the unrestricted and uncontrolled foreign investment. BJP believes in dealing with the foreign investors at equal and mutually beneficial conditions.

To protect our political sovereignty, we will have to save our economic sovereignty. In the last 5 years, the Narsimha Rao government's economic policies have caused a severe damage to India's economic sovereignty. This is precisely the reason why our political sovereignty is now at stake. BJP's good governance will be a comeback of economic sovereignty in India which will make our political sovereignty strong.

#### **Samrasta**

The aim of the social philosophy of BJP's "social harmony" is to unite, not divide the Indian society. We

believe in social harmony instead of social divisions based on the identification of the caste, we are against the people who create animosity based on castes. BJP believes in alienating those social and economic inequalities that prevent India from emerging as a contemporary and progressive nation. We are socially committed to forming an integral Indian society, one which can enter the



**BJP believes in helping socially backward and weak classes so that they participate in the growth process with full capability. *Samrasata* means abiding by the aims, principles and ideals of equality and parity mentioned in the Constitution of our country, encouraging a caste-free social and economic system and dismissing the belief that a person's status is determined by his birth.**

new era with pride.

BJP believes in helping socially backward and weak classes so that they participate in the growth process with full capability. *Samrasta* means abiding by the aims, principles and ideals of equality and parity mentioned in the Constitution of our country, encouraging a caste-free social and economic system and dismissing the belief that a person's status is determined by his birth.

BJP condemns the tradition of untouchability which is not only against the law, but also against the principle of integral humanism. The commitment of BJP to achieve this goal becomes evident from the fact that the first brick of foundation stone for the purpose of building a Ram Temple in Ayodhya was laid by Shri Kameshwar Chaupaal who is from Scheduled caste category.

For strengthening people belonging to Scheduled caste and tribes, we are committed to making the existing institutions and constitutional mechanism more impressive and effective. We also remain committed to continue our support to existing policy of reservation until social and economic equality prevail in our society. ■

*(Shri L K Advani is the Chairman of BJP Parliamentary Party and former Dy. Prime Minister of India)*



# National security will have to prevail over vote bank politics



 **Arun Jaitley**

The 13<sup>th</sup> July 2011 terror attack at three places in Mumbai is both worrisome and condemnable. Our national concern has increased because three weeks after the blast, the investigation still has not revealed the identity of the

culprits.

This attack is one in the chain of repeated attacks which have taken place in Mumbai. The 1993 serial blasts was a major terrorist attack. Bombing of Local Trains during rush hours, repeated attacks on innocents continued at regular intervals which culminated in the 26/11 terrorist onslaught – one of the major ones in the world after 9/11. The 13/7 attack appears to have the same features as the earlier attacks.

## Why Mumbai Again?

There are four reasons why Mumbai is attacked repeatedly. Firstly, attacking Mumbai increases the credibility and visibility of terrorist outfits. Secondly, it exposes the weakness of our security apparatus. Thirdly,

- ♦ *Is the spirit of Mumbai only to present a superficial argument a day after the attack that the resilience of Mumbai is such that it becomes normal after every attack?*
- ♦ *Is it the spirit of Mumbai to be attacked repeatedly, do nothing and only wait for the next attack?*
- ♦ *Or is it the spirit of Mumbai to demonstrate a political resolve that it shall persuade each one of us to develop the political will and take all necessary steps to ensure that this indeed will be the last one.?*

when Indian financial capital is attacked, the global attention is drawn to it. Fourthly, a terrorist outfit feels that given the demographic character of Mumbai, there will be enough *protagonists* in the political system, who because of compulsions of vote banks, will then advocate the soft-line on terror.

#### What is the spirit of Mumbai?

- ♦ Is the spirit of Mumbai only to present a superficial argument a day after the attack that the resilience of Mumbai is such that it becomes normal after every attack?
- ♦ Is it the spirit of Mumbai to be attacked repeatedly, do nothing and only wait for the next attack?
- ♦ Or is it the spirit of Mumbai to demonstrate a political resolve that it shall persuade each one of us to develop the political will and take all necessary steps to ensure that this indeed will be the last one.

#### How does one fight terrorism?

The most important character that a nation requires to fight terrorism is its political will. Nobody has dared attack the US after 9/11. Unfortunately, that is not so in India. We lack the political will to take all necessary steps to fight terror. Every time a Government decides to fight terror, it is told that it is either anti-minority or against Human Rights. It is told that security mechanisms and security apparatus

cannot fight terror and we must resolve the root cause of terror. Political will to fight terror necessarily implies that India is determined to counter terror. A determination to counter terror will involve prevention of attack, containing an attack if it takes place and finally inflicting exemplary punishments on the terrorists so that nobody dares to attack India again. You need a State that resolves to equip itself with the necessary mechanism to comprehensively combat terror. You need an intelligence system both within and outside since a lot



**When terrorists were identified, some arrested and some killed at Batla House, senior politicians did not visit the house of the deceased security police officer who gave his life but cast doubts on the police theories.**

of terror in India emanates from across the border. You need quick response teams. You need a security set-up to combat terror as and when it takes place and you need a tough legal mechanism which expeditiously punishes the terrorists so that there is a deterrent for the future. This determination to fight terror must be extended to India's foreign policy *mandarins* in the Ministry of External Affairs who knowing the full reality of where is the epicenter of terror still feel helpless in dealing with such States.

#### Where have we blinked?

The Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi introduced TADA when terror was at its peak in Punjab and emerging in Jammu & Kashmir. There were reported cases of its misuse against farmers in Gujarat but TADA continued. TADA was not repealed. TADA was collectively used against those who blasted Mumbai in 1993 and a campaign for its repeal began. It was eventually repealed. The terror-friendly thought prevailed. Vote bank politics won a battle – its first against National Security. When POTA was introduced, it was described as an anti-minority law. Obviously, the present UPA Government felt compelled to repeal it. But for TADA, nobody could have been convicted in the case of assassination of Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi. But for POTA, the accused in the Parliament attack case and the Akshardham case would



have gone scot free. Today, the entire rationale of the campaign against the Armed Forces Special Provisions Act is to remove the provision for *prior* sanction against personnel of armed forces so that the separatists can file numerous cases against them. My conscience is shaken when I analyse the case of Lashkar-

and some killed at Batla House, senior politicians did not visit the house of the deceased security police officer who gave his life but cast doubts on the police theories. The village of the alleged terrorist in Azamgarh became a routine place for paying obeisance to their act. You did not have the political

Lecture on 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 2009, the Minister said, while referring to the situation on 26.11.2008, "The security establishment was in a disarray and numerous questions were being asked. Had the intelligence failed? Did the first responder, the Mumbai Police, prove to be totally inadequate? Was the



The Afghan Taliban is actively created and supported by the ISI. The LeT was created for the purpose of terror strikes in India. After its identification, it assumed different names. The JUD, the HUJI are all part of the same apparatus. The armed wing of the SIMI was created to provide local modules for these operations. After the ban on SIMI, most of the activists now are known as Indian Mujahidin.

famed National Security Guards (NSG) too slow to get off the block? Did the leadership of the police let down its men? Did the Central forces take too long to neutralize 10 terrorists? Did the Central and the State Governments fail to provide a strong leadership? Did the management system collapse? Did the country pay too heavy a

e-Toiba group in Gujarat which was liquidated probably by a joint operation of the Central intelligence and State Police. The Central Government affidavit before the Supreme Court affirmed this. Vote bank politics compelled the Central Government to withdraw that affidavit and instead prosecute the state officials even though the LeT website itself had acknowledged that the deceased was their operative. When terrorists were identified, some arrested

will to stop the separatists of different varieties from advocating secession/separatism in the heart of New Delhi near the seat of power but you would not allow Baba Ram Dev to hold a rally in Ram Lila Maidan or Anna Hazare to sit on fast at Jantar Mantar.

#### Situation after 26/11

The situation after 26/11 can best be described in the words of the present Home Minister. In his 22<sup>nd</sup> Intelligence Bureau Centenary Endowment

price before it repulsed the terrorist attack? Did the Government fail to believe in mounting a swift counter attack on the perpetrators of terror?"

The Home Minister then stated that he knew the answer but he would not give it. I can understand his embarrassment. The answer is a YES to each of the questions he put. He then provided a solution. His solutions included the setting up of the National Investigative Agency, bringing back some

provisions of the repealed POTA in the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act., establishment of a NATGRID and the setting up of a National Counter-terrorism Center.

Let us audit what the last three years have done.

- ♦ The three years in which the NIA have investigated the Mumbai case for such a major conspiracy which would have involved hundreds of conspirators both within and outside , only one man stands convicted.
- ♦ The wise men in our investigative and intelligence establishment could never detect the role of David Headley or Tahawwur Rana in 26/11. It is only the Chicago Trial and the FBI interrogation which could produce clinching evidence of LeT and ISI involvement. It demolished the distinction between the two.
- ♦ The National Counter-Terrorism Center is yet to be set up.
- ♦ The Natgrid ran into difficulties because of Opposition within. There are serious questions being raised whether actionable intelligence can ever be shared after the US experience where Wikileaks got hold of material which could not have got in to its custody. A question is being raised as to whether we are



National Security will have to prevail over vote bank politics. You will have to strengthen the prevention of terror, the combating of terror and the punishment of terrorists. There is no place for compassion in dealing with terror.

capable of providing firewalls around the Natgrid.

#### The foreign policy initiative

Unquestionably, Pakistan is the epicenter of terror. It uses terrorism as an instrument of State policy. There is hardly a major global terror strike which doesn't have a Pakistani connection. Even China and the US now experienced this. There is

now a convergence of global analysis of Pakistan. It has not cooperated in handing over the wanted terrorists. It has refused to give us voice samples of the handlers. Pakistan is an ally of the US in the war against terror. It is also an ally of the enemies of the US in its war against terror. One Think tank in US has rightly described Pakistan as an ally but not a friend.

The Afghan Taliban is actively created and supported by the ISI. The LeT was created for the purpose of terror strikes in India. After its identification, it assumed different names. The JUD, the HUJI are all part of the same apparatus. The armed wing of the SIMI was created to provide local modules for these operations. After the ban on SIMI, most of the activists now are known as Indian Mujahidin. The Indian Mujahidin today comprises home grown terrorists but externally created and externally inspired.

Does India have the will to use a foreign policy initiative to fight terror? In the absence of any other alternative of how to deal with Pakistan, the Government has been advocating an engagement with them. The Government has been advocating an engagement with Pakistan, but the engagement will only produce results if Pakistan shuns the path of terror and becomes a more democratic and more transparent society.

Today, we see dangers of a radicalized army and threats from the Pakistani Taliban of taking over its strategic assets.

While the Government engages with Pakistan and its accompanying fanfare, it must be conscious of the fact that until Pakistan alters its present course, the outcome of the talks could hardly lead to a positive result.

#### An Honest Analysis of Mumbai

Let there be an honest analysis of why the blasts in Mumbai took place. It is no gainsaying suggesting that this attack has come after a long time. No terrorist attack is ever acceptable. The Mumbai attack took us by surprise.

To say that it was not an intelligence failure because intelligence had reported nothing, doesn't make sense. Thus, the fact that the intelligence did not know that dozens of men and several modules were involved in attacking Mumbai at three places itself is an intelligence failure. Glib talk is not a substitute for the political will

to fight terror.

#### Maoists

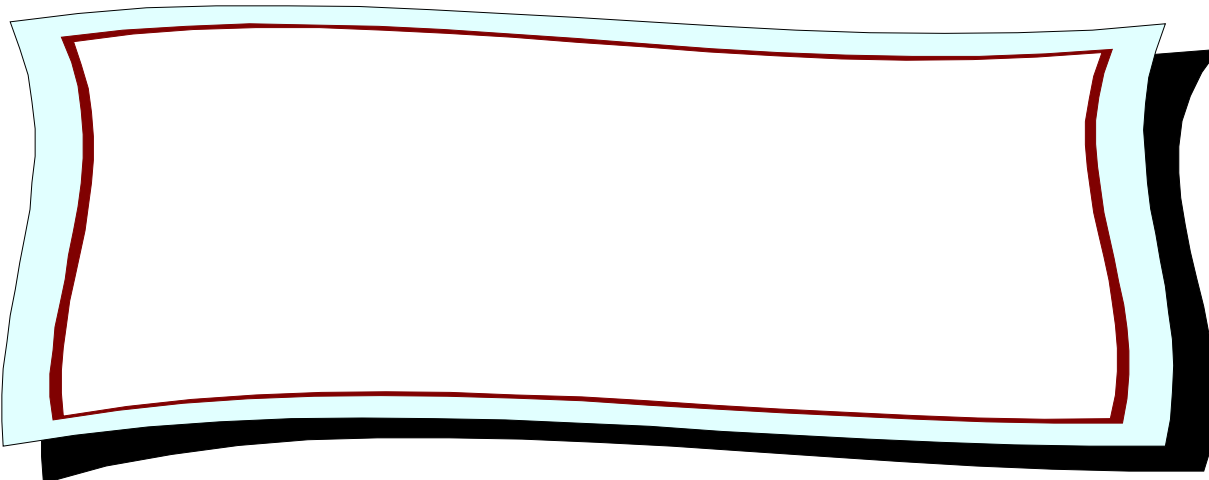
Since this House is separately going to discuss the situation emanating from Left Wing extremism, I am not dealing with it in detail. I will merely refer to the latest judgment of the Supreme Court – striking down the institution of Special Police Officers as unconstitutional. SPOs have existed since 1861. The concept of SPO is that since police cannot be present everywhere, members of the community are empowered to protect the community. SPOs have done an excellent job in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, North East and Chhattisgarh. In one go, the Supreme Court has deleted the institution as unconstitutional. The judgement has raised several issues. Its reading indicates that the Courts have enforced the ideology of the authors of the judgement rather than the Constitution. Judges can't fight terror. It is the responsibility of the Government to do so. I find the principle of separation of powers, a principle so vital to

the Constitutional order has been violated by this judgement. I would expect this Government to respond to this.

#### Conclusions

The fight against terror is a battle India cannot afford to lose. Nobody has dared attack the US after 9/11. Are we determined to ensure that this is the last time that Mumbai or any other part of India is attacked? If we believe it to be so, if we want it to be so, the Government will need a political will. National Security will have to prevail over vote bank politics. You will have to strengthen the prevention of terror, the combating of terror and the punishment of terrorists. There is no place for compassion in dealing with terror. My last advice to the Hon'ble Home Minister is to keep in mind the national interest and the feelings of all patriotic Indians. You will do this country a lot more good, if you follow a strong Anti-terror policy. ■

*(The writer is Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha.)*





# Join hands for a corruption-free India



**N**owadays corruption is at its peak. Thousands and lakhs of people have come out on the streets from all corners of India to present their anger against corruption. This is a wakeup call given by the people to the government of India. I am not sure whether this effect of the call would be - permanent or temporary. Many times, I have already



 **Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi**

pointed out in this house as well as in the other house that the policies that the government has followed in the past years have created great level of disturbances in the society that may be equated with a volcano which can erupt any time. When will this volcano erupt, and to what extent its effect will be felt can be judged by

seeing the indignation demonstrated recently in the capital and in many other parts of the country. This is a warning bell for all - the

confidence of common mass. I find it very painful to share that the government has lost all the trust that it should enjoy in last 4-5 years. One may

notice that in the past 5 years especially from the year 2005 to 2011, in this country, corrupt behavior of big leaders, officers, industrialists



political parties, the governments and the leaders must take immediate measures in this regard. Today it seems that general mass has rejected the authority of the government.

The government works on acceptance and trust. Under the given scenario, today people have lost their trust given to the government, and slowly efforts are being made to sideline and finally put an end to the political process. These are dangerous signals for the democracy, and hence we need to address these very carefully and consider these issues as national calamity. There is no need to be rigid about it, what is needed is initiative. There is dire need to build trust in the country. These issues deal with noble intentions of the leaders and the effectiveness of parliamentary and judicial processes. People should have confidence in us that we would be able to meet the expectations of the common mass. We must win the

**There is dire need to build trust in the country. These issues deal with noble intentions of the leaders and the effectiveness of parliamentary and judicial processes. People should have confidence in us that we would be able to meet the expectations of the common mass. We must win the confidence of common mass. I find it very painful to share that the government has lost all the trust that it should enjoy in last 4-5 years. One may notice that in the past 5 years especially from the year 2005 to 2011, in this country, corrupt behavior of big leaders, officers, industrialists and judiciaries and corrupt events at central and state levels have come to light.**

and judiciaries and corrupt events at central and state levels have come to light. This is very unfortunate. One may notice that in the year 2005 there came into light a scam named oil for food program scam. In the year 2006, there was Navy war room spy scandal, scorpion deal scam and stamp paper scam. In the year 2008, there was Satyam scam, Pune billionaire Hasan Ali Khan tax defaulter case followed by Cash for vote scandal. In the year 2009, Satyam scam was still going on while Madhu Koda mining scam also came into light. In the year 2010 Indian Premier League Cricket scandal took place in cricket followed by scams in the films. Year 2010 also witnessed Isro-Dewas S-Band spectrum scam, Lavasa scandal, LIC Housing Loan Scam, Common Wealth Games scam, Adarsh Housing Society Scam, 2G scam and Radia tape controversy scam. The year 2011 is witnessing Indian black money scam in Swiss banks, Dewas anthrax

deal scandal and Hasan Ali Khan scam. They are only a few of the bigger scams, the smaller ones are enormous in numbers.

I am quite worried with this trend, when the question of corruption arises then the people in government bodies try to suppress and kill voices.



It is necessary to draw attention as to where are we going. Prime Minister says we have to achieve 9% growth and by 2025 we have to become world economic power. But for this it is necessary to have investment in infrastructure. You have been repeatedly saying this, but if same condition of scams continues then from where we will be able to develop infrastructure. Taking into consideration that India is a developing country, and we want to become fully developed one, then one will need to invest at least 200 billions in infrastructure.

I would like to extend my warning to all the honorable members of the house that if attempts are made to destroy, suppress or strangle the voice against corruption then the country will not tolerate it. I fail to understand as to why

government is not ready to listen to the masses. It is mandatory for the government that they listen to such voices.

You see that our country's Annual Budget is about 4 lakh crores and even if estimated capital expenditure is 15 % then it comes to about 60,000 crores. The scams which took place in the last 15 years accounted for about 5 lakh crores and a v e r a g e annual scam per year was 33,000 crores. As such, yearly c a p i t a l expenditure was 60,000 crores and 55% of it was going towards scam.

It is necessary to draw attention as to where are we going. Prime Minister says we have to achieve 9% growth and by 2025 we have to become w o r l d economic power. But for this it is necessary to have investment in infrastructure. You have been repeatedly saying this, but if same condition of scams continues then from where we will be able to develop infrastructure.

Taking into consideration that India is a developing country, and we want to become fully developed one, then one will need to invest at least 200 billions in infrastructure. Under given situation when scams continue to happen year by year, it would be very difficult to mobilize such huge sum. If we wanted to make our country economic power we must take measures to curb scams. But I do not find any political will to stop these scams. One may also like to go through this revelation about scams. India corruption study, 2005 says, "According to the study, common citizens of the country pay a bribe of Rs. 21,068 crore while availing one or more of the 11 public facilities in a year. As high as 62 per cent of citizens think that the corruption is not hearsay but they, in fact, have had first-hand experience of paying a bribe or using a contact to get a job done in a public office."

These 210,68 crores rupees which go in to the market are unaccountable which increase the cost of commodities. At one hand, it is coming out from poor man's pocket and on the other hand it hits the poor man by increasing cost of living. It is amazing to note that it is the poor people of India who pay Rs. 21,068 crores for availing public facilities. No rich person goes to small offices, small income tax offices, and police offices to pay bribes. It is the Poor and ordinary man who are forced to go to these

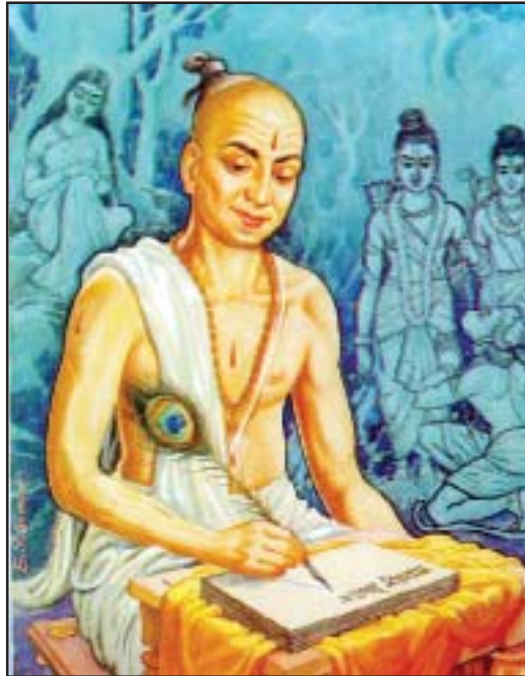


offices. It is nothing but a robbery of common man's pocket. This study demonstrates in detail where and how such bribes are given.

I want to tell you that our country is ranked 87<sup>th</sup> in transparency international

excuse me, but the actions taken by your government do not reflect right spirit and this has created doubt over the intentions of the government on this matter. Your actions show that your government is not serious on this matter at all. You promise that you will

I fail to understand this duality. I would like to suggest you to take this matter seriously. Today our country wants to see how serious we are. Corruption Perception Index, 2010 by Transparency International India shows that India continues to be corrupt.



**That day Laluji was talking about the glorious past of India which appealed me a lot. He mentioned that India has been land of saints and noble men and that there was a time when there were no prisoners in jails, and that judges and lawyers had nothing to do as crime was minimal.**

**Unfortunately, our country is placed at 87<sup>th</sup> position in terms of corruption. Still we say that the common men's perception towards corruption is changing!**

There has been a little decline in India's integrity score to 3.3 in 2010 from 3.5 in 2007, 3.4 in 2008 and 2009 on a scale from 0 to 10. India's rank on Transparency International's corruption perception Index is 87 out of 178 countries. This is where we stand.

That day Laluji was talking about the glorious past of India which

corruption perception index. Let it be Gujarat or any other place in the country wherever there is corruption, it must be stopped. Even if it exists outside India, we will never support it.

Corruption from all places, levels and institutions must be curbed. It is not necessary to focus on whether corruption is at my place or at yours; the focus should be to put an end to this practice of corruption whose samples we have already seen before. Members present here represent all States of India, nobody has escaped from it. Prime Minister Sir, please do

take action against corruption, and you do announce that the people's perception about corruption has changed, but the reality is totally different. I would rather suggest you to kindly change views of your colleagues on this matter, and that they should try and understand corruption without covering it up. It is very shocking to note that a few political leaders present here go and show their sympathy to the camps of people fighting against corruption but upon their return here they talk totally opposite and favor corruption.

appealed me a lot. He mentioned that India has been land of saints and noble men and that there was a time when there were no prisoners in jails, and that judges and lawyers had nothing to do as crime was minimal. Unfortunately, our country is placed at 87<sup>th</sup> position in terms of corruption. Still we say that the common men's perception towards corruption is changing!

I fail to see that change. If there has been positive change in this direction, then it should get reflected in the system. It should appear in our work, our thinking and in our action.

Now I do not want to talk in length about it, as more details are available on the internet.

India's money has gone out of the country, what do you have to say about it? How many billions or how many trillions? Does the government have any figures on it? Sometimes we hear that it is being tried. Sometimes we hear that convention will be rectified. Later on, it was said that we have done it. When was it done? How it was done? What does that mean? You have never taken the house into confidence? What are you doing? The money is going out of the country on international level. Such a huge sum of funds has gone out of the country that one is not able to make correct estimate. Whether, the figures are in millions or billions, nobody knows. If the government is serious about it, then it must disclose the names of individuals whose funds are outside the country, and how much tax has been evaded, and what ways were followed to siphon money out of India? We have not received any information about it till today. One can understand that each government faces such difficulties, but why India is not serious on the matters related to corruption at international level? Such a huge sum of money has gone out of India that we may not have to levy taxes on the common men of India and that if that fund comes back

to India, perhaps, there will be series of developmental work in the villages and all other corners of India. If this happens, our country need not wait till 2025 to become a world economic power, it will achieve this status only by 2015 or by 2020. Why the current government is not taking steps to bring those funds back to India. If

**Ex-Chief Justices, retired police officers as well as ex-chief election commissioner whose honesty and integrity may not be doubted have written letters to you. They have given you list of officers and asked you to take action against them, but till date they have not received any response from you. There is no seriousness about it. You may know that all such letters are sent to your office, addressing you only.**

government needs our help from the opposition, we are ready to extend our help for such a noble cause. I am sure, government will receive support from all corners including from Vasudevji, Sharadji, Mulayam Singhji and Laluji. But government must prove its honesty in dealing this case. We all are eager to bring India's black money back from foreign countries, and those found guilty must be punished. The

present condition in India is such that bribery is not limited only to national boundaries but foreign companies are bribing our officers in India who continue to take bribes. I have complete list with me.

"US Company bribed Customs Tribunal Judge. CBI sources said that a preliminary investigation into the veracity of allegations against officials of Pride Forasol and the CEGAT judge has been initiated."

The details are available that demonstrate how such acts have taken place. Many foreign companies are paying bribes for getting their work done. Some of them are paying bribes on account of business rivalry. At many places such acts are called business promotion. The same applies to the education as well.

Foreign companies come to India to open their offices, but they send money not in India rather outside. The bribe money is sent in dollars or in some other currency not in India but outside India in safe deposits. Can we stop this? Will you penalize your workers who have been involved in such acts? Will you initiate investigation against them? You say that the public's view has changed, and if you want to take severe action against corruption, you must take immediate action against all such cases where foreign companies have bribed Indian officials to get their work done, as it might be possible

that, they have indulged in activities which are not in the interest of our nation. I know, it won't happen, and all such corrupt officials will go scot-free.

People who were affected in Bhopal gas leakage tragedy are still crying for help, but those who were involved were let go scot-free. Till today the case has not been resolved. As you have been in power for many years, they all are related to your tenure. I can fully understand that we may not have to get agitated on this issue. But if mistakes have occurred, they must be accepted and corrected. We will together correct them, and we will extend our helping hand to carry out such Responsibilities. Already, India rejuvenation Initiative has written letters to you in this regard.

Ex-Chief Justices, retired police officers as well as ex-chief election commissioner whose honesty and integrity may not be doubted have written letters to you. They have given you list of officers and asked you to take action against them, but till date they have not received any response from you. There is no seriousness about it. You may know that all such letters are sent to your office, addressing you only. If needed, I can show you copies of those letters. In response to the

request made by Mr. Chidambaram dated July 21, 2005 on this matter, we did reply through our letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> of August 2005 informing

him with the list of corrupt officers mentioning "as desired by you, a list of the most corrupt officers of the State of UP is separately enclosed for such action as may be considered necessary."

All the lists have been given to you. We want to know what actions have been taken against such officials. You may also note that government officers are involved in corruption, they are working in close cooperation with such mafias who

promote corruption and you do not pay any attention to such corruption. The house wants to know," what action has been taken in Hassan Ali case?"

This is the case in which inquiry was initiated only after the intervention of Supreme Court. The investigation was initiated in such a manner that people have started raising doubts on the investigation, as the evidences presented in the court were so weak that a criminal was given bail. Just imagine, Tax evasion of thousands of crores of rupees, figures touching 60 thousand crores - that is corruption that spoils every sphere of life. The house is planning to impeach a judge, this itself is a burning example of the worsening situation in India and no area is left free.

I would request you to



Why do you hesitate in identifying the corrupt ones? Why don't you make such an arrangement that corrupt ones are identified and punished? When some people try to identify, then your ministers and your colleagues try to suppress that investigation. Why is this happening? If you have difficulties even in identifying, then forget about punishing the culprit. "If our system starts delivering justice in an effective manner, Government officials will think twice before committing such offences."



kindly pay attention to these matters seriously. There are many such people in India who are active to curb this menace.

I would also like to bring to your notice one more activity related to financial transaction. One of my friends has shown me replies to a question asked in Lok Sabha. There are instances whereby NGOs have received funds from foreign institutions. The figure demonstrates receipt of 28 thousand eight hundred seventy nine crores of rupees in last 3 years from these foreign institutions. Nobody knows where these funds went. Whether, they went into the market, or they were invested in securities etc. I wonder if RBI knows about it. I would want to know if our government is aware about these NGOs. Just imagine, only in Delhi these organizations have received funds to the tune of five thousand four hundred fifty six crores of rupees. This incident has taken place here in front of your eyes. Don't you get alarmed by these. Are we aware who the donors are? These are a few samples of the lethargy of Ministry of Finance, Enforcement Directorate, Reserve Bank of India etc. One can easily visualize the actions of the government. I have just presented before you some known facts. Honorable Prime Minister himself said in his Independence Day speech, "In the last few months many instances of corruption have

come to light. In some cases, functionaries of the Central Government face allegation of corruption. In other cases, it is the functionaries of various State Governments. Corruption manifests itself in many forms. In some instances funds meant for schemes for the welfare of the common man end up in the pocket of government officials".

The money is coming from foreign sources and from these foundations also goes into the labyrinthine path of corruption.

In some other instances Government discretion is used to favor a selected few. There are also cases where Government contracts are wrongfully awarded to the wrong people. We cannot let such activities continue unchecked.

Further, I will let you know how you have allowed these activities to continue not only unchecked but also with your consent and patronage.

We agree that we will have to improve our justice delivery system.

"Everyone should know that quick action will be taken against the corrupt and punishment meted out to them."

Why do you hesitate in identifying the corrupt ones? Why don't you make such an arrangement that corrupt ones are identified and punished? When some people try to identify, then your ministers and your colleagues

try to suppress that investigation. Why is this happening? If you have difficulties even in identifying, then forget about punishing the culprit. "If our system starts delivering justice in an effective manner, Government officials will think twice before committing such offences." You have been repeatedly telling that you are appointing a committee, but we have not seen any committee so far. You also say that "there is no magic wand", which is absolutely right. There is no magic wand



I am sure Prime Minister would take strong steps to curb corruption. Jailed DMK MP Kanimozhi told a special judge that she would seek the presence of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in the witness box if the court put her on trial in a case based on "national losses".

in your hand. But, have you ever given a thought to the fact that if the gathering of 16 lakhs that has come to Delhi, if they start cracking their whip what will happen. I still suggest you to please pay attention to these issues and it must be reflected in your action. If you do not have a magic wand you need to coin one. You need to design methods that would help get work done quickly. With advancement of modern science, I am sure we can develop a magic wand. I want to emphasize to the Prime

**CBI is an agency controlled by the government, which has on record mentioned the loss of 22,000 crores to the government. CBI has further increased this figure to 60,000 crores. You keep on organizing press conferences one after the other, and you say that you are not aware of it. Raja has been writing you letters and you have been responding to his letters. Even members of parliament have been writing you letters on this matter. I also wrote one mentioning that the security concern has not been taken into consideration. This way there are more than 50 letters sent to you.**

Minister that magic wands of economics can be made. We can also create magic wands of science and e-governance and for all other activities as well.

I have been dying to see a smile on the face of honorable Prime Minister that has come after a long time.

I am sure Prime Minister would take strong steps to curb corruption. Today there is a news in Indian Express – “Kanimozhi says will seek PM as witness in trial” and says that Jailed DMK MP Kanimozhi told a special judge that she would seek the presence of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in the witness box if the court put her on trial in a case based on “national losses”.

They have said, – “The PM and Chidambaram were fully in the loop on the modalities of the allocation of 2G licences?” We are also saying the same thing time and again. Now, it is news today. Radia tapes were made public that reveals the whole story. The page number 34 published on November 29 explains the whole fact. Today Indian citizens want to know about the actions taken in this case. Has any trial been done or is there any investigation going on. I can clearly tell you in detail whatever you said, and when you were misguided. I am still not ready to accept that you did this purposely. But the facts demonstrate that your comments have been contradictory at many places,

and they have been miles away from the truth. During a press conference on 24th October 2009 in Thailand, you said, “The allegations being made by the opposition against Mr. Raja were not necessarily correct.” They could be correct but not necessarily correct. But it is your CBI....., then you made him resign, and later he was sent behind bars and now the trial is going on. Here, I find contradiction. You say it is not necessarily correct, it means it was not correct. You knew that you were hiding fact. Later you have falsified the FIR filed by CBI.

You said above in a foreign country, and I would not commented on this in a foreign land. But here I find it important to say that whatever you commented was not correct. FIR filed by CBI also says that there was loss of 22 thousand crores, but our minister says that there was zero loss. CBI is an agency controlled by the government, which has on record mentioned the loss of 22,000 crores to the government. CBI has further increased this figure to 60,000 crores. You keep on organizing press conferences one after other, and you say that you are not aware of it. Raja has been writing you letters and you have been responding to his letters. Even members of parliament have been writing you letters on this matter. I also wrote one mentioning that the security concern has not been taken into consideration. This way there

are more than 50 letters sent to you. Even you have suggested in your letter to Raja that the auction would be a better option. This I am quoting from your letter only. Raja ignored your suggestions saying that he would make an estimate and fix the price. This shows that all statements made by you on this matter are false.

The whole policy has been turned upside down. Even a person with common intelligence can understand this. By the way, your home minister puts us under the category of individuals with less intelligence than the intelligence of an ordinary man. Therefore, even a person like me who has less intelligence than the common man can understand the loss suffered. These facts have already come to the light. Letters were also sent on this matter by the members of the parliament, by the industrialists and stake holders from all other corners, but your minister still continues to say that there was zero loss. Even you have acknowledged the great loss suffered. But it is very unfortunate to note that Home minister is supporting them, followed by support from Parliamentary Affairs Minister, thus all three are trying to hide the truth. I fail to understand this situation. Also, your Parliamentary Affairs Minister approached one of the honorable members saying, "You be on our side, why you are on the Joshi's

side". This means he was saying, "Why you are on the side of honesty, be on the side of corruption". I again fail to understand this act of your minister.

This country will never tolerate the unholy plan that is being contemplated to suppress the truth and truthfulness and hide the

**These facts have already come to the light. Letters were also sent on this matter by the members of the parliament, by the industrialists and stake holders from all other corners, but your minister still continues to say that there was zero loss. Even you have acknowledged the great loss suffered. But it is very unfortunate to note that Home minister is supporting them, followed by support from Parliamentary Affairs Minister.**

investigations. If you continue doing this, lakhs of people will again gather around. This is high time government should give proof of their good intentions. You would need to prove that you are committed to put an end to the corruption from all corners of India, and that you would not hesitate in penalizing those found guilty.

I would also like to

mention that, in the year 2008 a letter of intent was issued on 10<sup>th</sup>. Prior to it, on 9<sup>th</sup>, there was a news on the front page of Economic Times that it was decided to not to issue LOI to those 10 companies who were previously selected for the same. On 10<sup>th</sup> of morning these very 10 companies were issued letter of intent without any justification or discussions. I fail to understand as to why Economic Affairs Ministry (a very big ministry) failed to notice such a big issue. Why no inquiry was initiated on this matter, why it was not stopped, and why Finance Minister remained silent.

One can easily notice that whenever any attempts are made to bring to light any corruption, there are people and leaders who try to suppress them. I extend my sincere thanks to the god that I was not beaten up for bringing to light such truths and facts.

The facts that I have explained have not been picked up from any report. I have collected them through the speeches of the Honourable Prime Minister, newspapers printed in the public domain or through series of articles written by Shri J. Gopikrishnan. I would like to make an appeal to the Prime Minister that he really has intention to eradicate corruption, and if he is not interested in making only cosmetic changes then he must change this tendency of his people and ministers.



Even If there are corruption charges against me, bring them to light, penalize me, I will never put any hindrances. We will never stop you from curbing the corruption; it must be eradicated from the country from all levels.

Madam speaker, with your permission I would like to request honourable Prime Minister to kindly free this house from this mentality. If

mass as they would certainly notice the trend to seriously stop the corruption is being tried honestly.

I do not want to mention all those mistakes whose accountability lies with your office. I would only emphasize that they are already available in public domain, and hearing them would be very painful to my friends present here.

It hurts. It hurts more

**I do not want to mention all those mistakes whose accountability lies with your office. I would only emphasize that they are already available in public domain, and hearing them would be very painful to my friends present here. It hurts. It hurts more when our body has ailments. Ailments give pain to all.**

you can do so, the whole country will appreciate this while they watch us on the channel. If you don't do it, they would feel that the intentions of this government are not clear. They will lose the trust that they have reposed in you. Therefore, you must work.

Today the leader of the house is not present, so I would request the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, who is sitting here, to calm down their members. I would like to request the members to listen to me. I know one can commit mistakes, and the act of corruption has taken place. It is important to bring those corrupt leaders into light and punish them. This would help regain confidence of general

when our body has ailments. Ailments give pain to all.

Now case related to KG basin has come to light. I am surprised, as when in 2007 Gopi Krishna brought this to notice, no action was taken. Nor did you take action, nor CBI nor the judiciary. When CVC wrote asking for initiating investigation, CBI kept itself idle for 1 year and no investigation was initiated. Why? All these facts were disclosed not by us, but by CVC. This was the time, when you had not even started the investigation on this issue. The investigation on this issue started only after the supreme court's directives. If your intension is good then punish all the culprits, punish all those industrialists who were involved in looting the nation. Do not spare anybody.

Now one can notice news related to irregularities in allocation of KG basin. There was news that indicated that some points of CAG draft's report were printed. How this draft report was made public should also be investigated. CAG should also carry the investigation on this, and you should also do the same. It was mentioned in that report that they carried out investigation on K.G. Basin as well as Panna-Mukta-Tapti where industrialists have indulged in the acts of manipulation in such a way that the development cost of project was increased first by two fold and later by four fold as compared to its initial cost. This helped them earn a profit margin of approximately 31 to 40 thousand crores.

I also have a report dated 18th April 2011 that tells in and out of the episode. It was printed in September 2007 and the matter related to leakage of report came in 2011. The report says "even before the first cubic metre of natural gas has been produced from the Krishna-Godavari basin, questions are being raised about why the Reliance Industries hiked the capital expenditure to mine 80 mmscmd of natural gas from Rs. 20,000 crore to Rs. 36,000 crore." This resulted in the hike of gas prices. It is natural that if the initial price increases, the price of the product also increases thus finally increase in the total cost.

The current government

has put additional burden on poor people of India by extending undue favor to big industrial houses.

One can look into the letter written by the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. “Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Y S Rajasekhara Reddy, who has written a series of letters to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh questioning RIL’s pricing of gas and the hike in its capital expenditure, demanded that the Government monitor the investments by the contractors and have it scrutinized by independent and autonomous authority so that the costs are not unduly inflated, as is presently alleged in case of RIL, which has hiked the cost of investment by Rs. 16,000 crore overnight, even while the original capex of Rs. 20,000 crores is itself questioned as being very high.”

There was no reply received.

In one of the letters dated June 29, 2007, he again wrote, “Naturally, higher the capex, higher is the profit to the contractors and in the end the poor people of the country will be the casualty. A strong mechanism for verification of Capex has to be put in place.”

Don’t you notice that RIL has been allowed to function the way they have desired? Later when some questions will be raised, they will be replied saying, the matter has been sent, the court will

decide on the matter. But you never try to establish the mechanism. Why the transparency has not been introduced in the system.



“Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Y S Rajasekhara Reddy, who has written a series of letters to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh questioning RIL’s pricing of gas and the hike in its capital expenditure, demanded that the Government monitor the investments by the contractors and have it scrutinized by independent and autonomous authority so that the costs are not unduly inflated, as is presently alleged in case of RIL, which has hiked the cost of investment by ₹16,000 crore overnight, even while the original capex of Rs. 20,000 crores is itself questioned as being very high.”

Cabinet Secretary as well as the Economic Advisory Council have mentioned about it.

Now the situation is such that, when the prices were being increased, the fertilizer ministry and power ministry approached the Petroleum ministry and told them not to do so. The increase in the gas price would result in the increase of power prices. Prime Minister sir, I fail to understand your vision of becoming super power, this way it will never happen. You keep on repeating that Power is the key, on the other hand you did not get the Nuclear power and the state of affairs of gas is disappointing. This way where will we go? They say, you are right, but the ministry has no role to play in this matter of price sharing mechanism. They have written to the Ministry-

“With respect to the issue of this Ministry intervening to impress upon RIL in expediting finalization of the Gas Supply Purchase Agreement, you will appreciate that the provisions of the Production sharing Contract do not normally provide for the government to determine the outcome of commercial transactions between a buyer and a seller. The PSC provides that the contractor has freedom to sell the gas and the basis/formula for gas pricing requires Government approval.”

It is being said, “We shall

The Government has considered the matter. Under Section 23 of the DPC Act, 1971, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India has the powers to make regulations for carrying into effect the provisions of the Act insofar as they relate to scope and extent of audit. In pursuance of these provisions C&AG has been conducting Performance Audits in addition to Financial Audits and Compliance Audits based on guidelines, principles, regulations framed for the purpose. All Audit reports of the C&AG are placed before Parliament and State Legislatures, as the case may be, as constitutionally mandated.

not accord approval till the Company does not ask for approval from us". Why would the company ask for approval? Company has increased the cost. Gas price has increased, power cost has increased. Situation is that, Prime Minister constituted an EGoM. On 27th August, 2007 a meeting of EGOM took place in which Avani Royji who is a member of RSP, wrote a letter to Mr. Pranav Mukherjee.

"In this letter, Roy drew Mukherjee's attention to a report submitted by the Petroleum Ministry to the EGoM in which it has rejected the recommendations of the Prime Minister's EAC and the Cabinet Secretary. The letter also asked Mukherjee to note the striking similarity between the contents of the report of the Petroleum Ministry and a presentation made by RIL some time back on the same issue."

They have fully quoted as to which paragraphs are part of this presentation; this was placed in front of EGoM by Petroleum ministry. They have raised a question as to whether this report is prepared by Petroleum Ministry or by the officials of RIL? One can easily establish the nexus between the industry and the officials of RIL. Till what extent the Ministry of Hydrocarbon and Petroleum ministry will deteriorate? The same applies to EGoM which is under your office and the cabinet. When should this stop? Every day it is being said that the international prices of oil have increased, hence gas prices have increased. International prices have not increased, only national prices are being increased.

Recently, one of the ministers stated that he was an expert of law. I would like to draw your attention on the state of affairs of CAG about which I will talk in more detail when we have special session on this matter in the

parliament. It has been noticed that CAG keeps on doing one investigation or the other. I want to understand its authority and power. It should be noted that CAG is being allowed to just look into the books of accounts and nothing else. You have reduced their power and you do not want to give them their authority. When CAG wants to investigate, your officers hide the files and deliberately delay in sending information sought. All this must stop. If there is transparency then it should be everywhere. Now the authority of CAG is being questioned who has the authority to carry on 3 audits. In this regard please do refer to Performance Audit by Comptroller and Auditor General. Auditor General carries out 03 Audits - Finance, compliance and performance audit. I have an office memorandum dated 13th June 2006. F. No.65BR/99 by P.R. Devi Prasad, officer on Special Duty, FRBA:

"Clarification has been sought whether Performance Audit falls within the scope of audit by C&AG under the Comptroller and Auditor General's (Duties, Powers and Conditions of Service) Act, 1971.

The Government has considered the matter. Under Section 23 of the DPC Act, 1971, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India has the powers to make regulations for carrying into effect the provisions of the Act insofar as they relate to scope



and extent of audit. In pursuance of these provisions C&AG has been conducting Performance Audits in addition to Financial Audits and Compliance Audits based on guidelines, principles, regulations framed for the purpose. All Audit reports of the C&AG are placed before Parliament and State Legislatures, as the case may be, as constitutionally mandated.

It is, therefore, clarified that Performance Audit which is concerned with the audit of economy, efficiency and effectiveness in the receipt and application of public funds is deemed to be within the scope of audit by Comptroller and Auditor General of India for which performance auditing guidelines drawn up by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India already exist."

Madam speaker with your permission I want to request Prime Minister to kindly tell his colleagues that before making any comments they should read all the orders and policy of the of the government. This is very strange that they are passing comments on CAG. Your Finance Minister gave statement in Hanoi that in India there has been scams but there are 2 institutions in India that keep a watch on all activities and our system has a well-defined mechanism in the form of CAG and PAC, on the other hand your ministers attack CAG and members

attack PAC.

I also have a letter written by M.S.Srinivasan, Secretary, Petroleum & Natural Gas Ministry, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi that states,

"Dear Shri Kaul, as you are aware, Government has signed PSC with ENP operators for exploration of hydrocarbons under pre-NELP and NELP regime. Some of the blocks are producing properties and involve large stakes of the Government in the form of royalty, profit, petroleum, etc. In the recent past, concerns have been voiced in some quarters about the capital expenditure being incurred by some contractors in the development project awarded under NELP.

The Production Cell of the blocks provide a mechanism for monitoring of the costs and audit by a qualified independent firm of recognized Chartered Accountant. However, I would like to mention that recently Cabinet Secretary in his Report presented to the Government on gas pricing issue had recommended strengthening of the monitoring and audit mechanism of the Government.

Keeping in view the above recommendations, the large stakes of the Government in the form of royalty, profit, petroleum, etc. and considering the sensitivity of the matter, we request that C&AG may carry out special audit of blocks listed in the

**This is very strange that they are passing comments on CAG. Your Finance Minister gave statement in Hanoi that in India there has been scams but there are 2 institutions in India that keep a watch on all activities and our system has a well-defined mechanism in the form of CAG and PAC, on the other hand your ministers attack CAG and members attack PAC.**

annex for the years for which regular audit has already been carried out. This is proposed in addition to the regular audit mechanism."

Which are these six sites? They are : Ravva, Panna-Mukta, Tapti, KG-DWN 98/3, RJ OL 901, Kazira, KG-OSN 201/3, PY-3.

Minister wrote to the Government, they carried out the audit. But the audit report has not been made public yet. I want to understand when did the initial talk on this matter started, when did you receive the first para, when did they first talk to you, when did the draft reach, when did the vetting was conducted, when was it returned. Till date why the report has not been published? You yourself said that, you wanted it fast. The

matter was taken up in the year 2007 but even in the 2011, we have not seen the report. Why there is a delay. I can now understand that this delay has been caused because it involves big industrialists and there is involvement of huge transaction to the tune of 12-15 thousand crores to 30-32 thousand crores. I would still request you to look into the matter.

I would not like to say much about CAG. But still

I would like to mention the audit done in the year 2009 on the above matter. This audit was done in response to your inquiry asking them for information related to preparations. They responded with the

recommendations. But no attention was paid to their recommendations. They repeatedly kept on pointing it out that there exist lots of loopholes, but no attention was paid. I fail to understand as to how the price escalations took place to the tune of 3 to 4 times of the initial projection. We have been receiving notes with successive increase in the price. The Report kept on insisting about the inadequacy but no action was taken. Shunglu Committee report is

still awaited, even that was constituted by the prime minister. Hence, I am being forced to conclude that all these things are happening with prior knowledge of the Prime Minister. Prime Minister cannot escape just by saying that he was not aware of these incidents. You cannot escape by saying, "I do not know". You are fully aware of it and you must take measures to correct it.

At the end I would like to

I would not like to say much about CAG. But still I would like to mention the audit done in the year 2009 on the above matter. This audit was done in response to your inquiry asking them for information related to preparations. They responded with the recommendations. But no attention was paid to their recommendations. They repeatedly kept on pointing it out that there exist lots of loopholes, but no attention was paid. I fail to understand as to how the price escalations took place to the tune of 3 to 4 times of the initial projection. We have been receiving notes with successive increase in the price.

say one more thing. The mere existence of this government is based on corruption. In the year 2008 there was cash for vote which later helped them win the elections. All these efforts were made to win over nuclear deal. I would still want to repeat that the general mass of India which helped you win elections in the year 2009, the same general mass is ready to throw you out of power in the year 2011. There is dire need to pay attention to this

situation. Today in Ramlila Maidan, the huge gathering is shouting slogans, "remove corruption or else go". These words are not mine, they are words of general mass, the words of democracy. Keep this in mind, you cannot escape from it. This Government was born but of sins. This Government is corrupt, it is of the corrupt and for the corrupt. It is not the democracy for the people, by the people and of the people.....

I once again in most humble words would like to say,

*"Rahinam aah garib ki kabahu na khali jaye. Mare cham ke sans te lauh bhasm hoi jaye"*

Nobody can be saved, if the Poor population gets angry and starts protesting. The whole democratic system will collapse that

would lead us to uncertainties.

Be careful, and honestly accept your mistakes and declare that you are ready to correct them. I do remember once Mrs. Indira Gandhi had told the nation that she had made a mistake and the country had forgiven her. Do you have that much courage to admit your mistakes and say sorry to the nation? If it is so, come forward.

I fail to understand; you keep on promoting

corruption, and keep on plundering poor mass of India.

Before I conclude I would like to draw your attention to reforms and foreign investments in India. Please do take into consideration the following that leads us towards corruption. I am referring to UNDP Report, page 227; High foreign investment and corruption, Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives – Accelerating Human Development in Asia and Pacific. This says, “Importance of FDI/ODA. High foreign investments may make a country more vulnerable to corruption, especially ‘grand corruption’ involving businesses and politicians. In fact, there is a high correlation between corruption and FDI in countries with high levels of centralized corruption and state capture... Corruption is a stimulus for FDI, on the ground that corruption can be

**Before I conclude I would like to draw your attention to reforms and foreign investments in India. Please do take into consideration the following that leads us towards corruption. I am referring to UNDP Report, page 227; High foreign investment and corruption, Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives – Accelerating Human Development in Asia and Pacific.**

beneficial in circumventing regulatory and administrative restrictions..... Multinational firm with their capacity to engage in bribery do so whether or not there is transparency.”

I would like to emphasize that we need to keep

ourselves away from this path. Close all the sources of corruption. With courage close all such domestic and foreign sources and declare that India is free of corruption and that there will be zero tolerance for corruption.

Come, join hands and make India free from the clutches of corruption, and beforehand free our own selves from these clutches of corruption. If someone is indulging in the act of corruption, you must take action against that individual and put him behind bars. But for God’s sake please stop this process of corruption. Please do give opportunity to the common men to express their frustration and take measures to maintain democracy. ■

*(Above is the full text of the speech given on 24th August 2011 in the parliament by the former BJP National President and former human resources development minister Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, in the discussions related to corruption in the country.)*

*The moment I have realized God sitting in the temple of every human body, the moment I stand in reverence before every human being and see God in him - that moment I am free from bondage, everything that binds vanishes, and I am free.*

**-Swami Vivekananda**

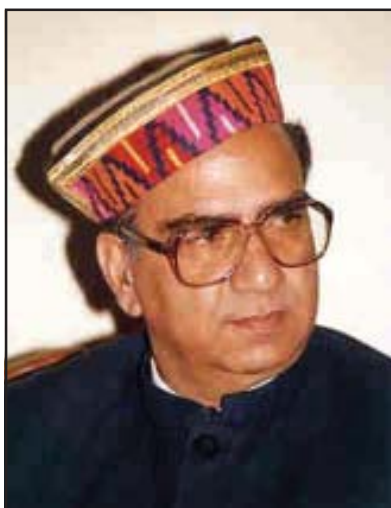


Context: Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay

# Nationalism, Good Governance and Development

**B**oundaries of nations continue to contract and expand across the world. Countries keep on losing and gaining their sizes. With geographical changes countries continue to appear and disappear from the globe as per their theories. Indian nationalism cannot be tested on the similar lines. India exists as a nation since ancient times. It has neither been created nor it is in making.

Not only of India but world's oldest sacred literature 'Vedas' have its explicit citation. It has been mentioned as one nation from Himalayas to the sea. Politically,



 **Shanta Kumar**

India has different states, languages and customs etc., yet the inner consciousness of the cultural nationalism has been the same. This has been called unity in diversity.

In fact Indian nationalism has been a cultural nationalism. Culture has been its soul. It may not be merely taken as a geographical mass of land. The spirit of cultural nationalism is very ancient. Why to refer to Ayodhya, Rama conquered Lanka long back. What Rama had said at that time is the oldest evidence of Indian cultural nationalism- Rama said “अपि स्वर्णमयी लंका न मे लक्ष्मण रोचते, जननी

जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी” Meaning that Lakshman was not interested in Lanka that has plenty of gold, for him mother and motherland was far more attractive than Heaven. Calling India ‘Mother India’ is not a new concept. Rama had also called it ‘Janani’ (Mother). Today, the reason behind most of the issues in India is that at times this country has wandered from the true spirit of cultural nationalism.

If the people who govern the country treat this nation not merely as a piece of land and consider whole nation including its masses as a mother, obviously the good governance will prevail and there will be no scope of ‘bad governance’. Under such situation the leaders are not the governors, they are the servants of the motherland. This very spirit of nationalism of India was conceptualized by Swami Ramteerth and Swami Vivekanand. Swami Vivekanand even visualized the poor man of India as God in the form of ‘Daridra Narayan’. The leaders inspired by this spirit are not rulers but servants of the motherland.

It is also essential for good governance that the leaders of each area should act like a source of inspiration, as people follow the persons sitting on higher posts. Lord Krishna himself said in ‘Geeta’- “यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः, स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते” meaning that if the persons at



If the people who govern the country treat this nation not merely as a piece of land and consider whole nation including its masses as a mother, obviously the good governance will prevail and there will be no scope of ‘bad governance’. Under such situation the leaders are not the governors, they are the servants of the motherland. This very spirit of nationalism of India was conceptualized by Swami Ramteerth and Swami Vivekanand. Swami Vivekanand even visualized the poor man of India as God in the form of ‘Daridra Narayan’.

higher positions act decently, people follow them accordingly. When this fragrance of inspiration continues to flow downwards, then everything becomes full of fragrance. But after all human beings are human beings, merely inspiration is not enough. Shortcomings will certainly prevail at some corners - some people will indulge in corruption, for them penalization is equally necessary. This is unfortunate today that one does not receive inspiration from the

higher ups, and those position holders who get caught (for misdeeds, corruption) are not being penalized in the form of appropriate punishment. This is the biggest reason of devaluation of the values of Indian life at all levels, but in recent years the new hopes have started coming in.

There has been a change in the situation with the activeness of the judiciary, public resentment and awareness created by mass media. The imprisonment of corrupt politicians occupying very high seats and they being sent to ‘Tihar Jail’ has created a ray of hope throughout the country.

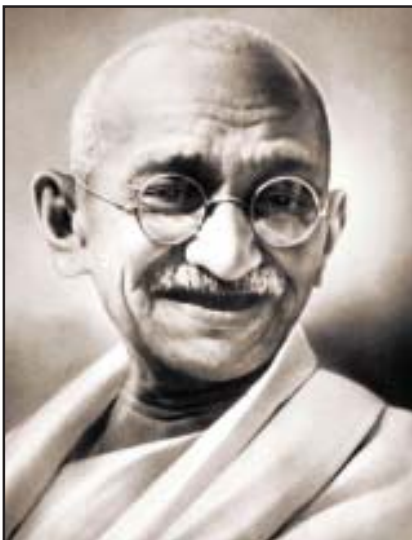
The essential condition of good governance is, “completion of all works of every citizen as per rules and in time”. Most of the time, this doesn’t happen which in turn becomes root cause of corruption. Many visible positive steps have been taken in this area which has become more visible in the recent days. Some states have

implemented Citizen's Charter. Indian government has started thinking in this direction after the movement of Anna Hajare.

A new direction of right development can only emerge when efforts are made for good governance through cultural nationalism and treating the whole nation as motherland. It is the duty of the governments that all round development be done for the welfare of the public. We

must take into consideration Vivekanand's model of 'Daridra Narayan' and Mahatma Gandhi model of 'Antyodaya' (upliftment of the poorest) for overall development of the nation. India is nation of poor where 26 crores of population lives below poverty line with ₹17 per day earning for their survival.

It is very painful story to understand how such poor survive under such conditions. There are thousands of villages in India that are deprived of basic facilities. In the given situation if, development is not made with the spirit of 'Antyodaya' that development may lead to devastation. This we have already noticed the past 60 years. A series of development has



It is the duty of the governments that all round development be done for the welfare of the public. We must take into consideration Vivekanand's model of 'Daridra Narayan' and Mahatma Gandhi model of 'Antyodaya' (upliftment of the poorest) for overall development of the nation. India is nation of poor where 26 crores of population lives below poverty line with Rs. 17 per day earning for their survival. It is very painful story to understand how such poor survive under such conditions.

At one end richness have been glittering, on the other hand poverty has prevailed amongst the majority to moan. The poison of economic inequality has escalated the social tensions and reinforced Naxalism. Such kind of development has to be controlled. The present process of development has to be completely reversed in favour of poor people. All plans first of all must work for

taken place in the country where the rich people have become more rich and on the other hand poor people have become more poor.

the poorest and then later reach the upper strata of the society. Today, approximately Rupees one lac crore is being spent on poverty alleviation but poverty is not being eradicated. On the contrary, economic inequality is increasing. If this money is utilized with the spirit of 'Antyodaya', the extreme poverty can be removed in next ten years. Not only development, but social justice is also essential.

The concept of nationalism, good governance and development

evolved from Veda - Upnishada. The nation builders like Vivekanand advanced it and then Gandhiji and Deendayalji implemented it across the nation.

Unfortunately after independence no attention was paid to above mentioned concept of nationalism, consequently India is counted amongst one of the most corrupt countries of the world. As per the report of United Nations maximum of hungry people live

in India, this perception needs to be changed. This can only be possible through cultural nationalism. ■

(The writer is a BJP MP and the former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh)





# Can India follow the way British and Germany tackled their Black Money?

A young politician, from Andhra, who was hoping, to become the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, to succeed his late father, has been ordered to be investigated for his assets by Andhra Pradesh High Court by the CBI for allegedly amassing of huge wealth and money laundering. Delivering its verdict on the writ petitions filed by politicians in Andhra Pradesh, High court said financial misdeeds involved huge government largesse and corporate dealings including huge investments as part of the quid pro quo arrangement for the largesse and benefits received by the investors from the state government.

The High Court observed that from May 2004 onwards, Jagan floated a number of companies "wherein quid pro quo investments have been made out of the benefits received by the investors/beneficiaries from the decisions of the state government in various forms like SEZs, irrigation contracts, relaxation/permission for real estate ventures, mines etc, besides payment of huge premium amounts in the



 **Joginder Singh**

shares and invested in the companies by such beneficiaries."

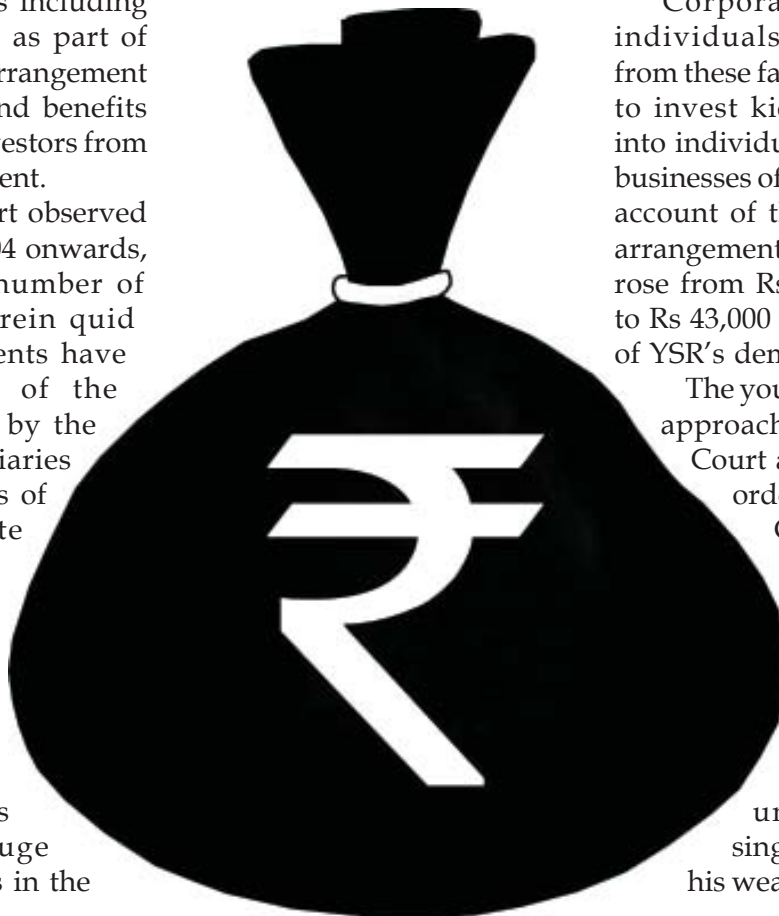
Stating that the material available supports a thorough probe into all aspects of the financial misdeeds on charges of corruption and money-laundering, the division Bench said there are also "criminal conspiracies and commission of other related offences involving huge investments by local and foreign companies" including some located in tax-haven countries like Mauritius.

Corporates and individuals who benefited from these favours were made to invest kickback amounts into individual and corporate businesses of Jaganmohan. On account of the quid pro quo arrangement, Jagan's income rose from Rs 11 lakh in 2004 to Rs 43,000 crore by the time of YSR's demise.

The young politician also approached the Supreme Court against the probe ordered by the High Court. The

Supreme Court has rejected the same, saying that the High Court order is a reasonable one.

It will be unfair, only to single out Jagan and his wealth and not quote



other equally wealthy politicians, like Madhu Koda or Lalu Prasad Yadav or even about Mayawati, Mulayam Singh Yadav, who at one time or other have faced or are facing CBI inquiries and cases.

**It will be unfair, only to single out Jagan and his wealth and not quote other equally wealthy politicians, like Madhu Koda or Lalu Prasad Yadav or even about Mayawati, Mulayam Singh Yadav, who at one time or other have faced or are facing CBI inquiries and cases. If the present Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Jayalalitha is to be believed, Sh M Karunanidhi-led party had pumped in Rs 5,000 crore during the April 13, 2011 elections. Recalling the stringent measures taken by the Election Commission to curb money power during the elections, she said Rs 50 crore had been reportedly seized.**

If the present Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Jayalalitha is to be believed, Sh M Karunanidhi-led party had pumped in Rs 5,000 crore during the April 13, 2011 elections. Recalling the stringent measures taken by the Election Commission to curb money power during the elections, she said Rs 50 crore had been reportedly seized.

"I came to know that some DMK men said they were not bothered by it as it was like little water spilling out of a pot full of water," she said.

A chargesheet filed by Delhi Police in Cash for Vote Scam, in August, 2011. has alleged that Amar Singh

conspired with Saxena and others to bribe then MPs and Kulkarni played an active role during the confidence motion. Singh has been charged under Section 12 of the Prevention of

Corruption Act. "There is concrete evidence against Amar Singh. He is the prime accused who played the major role in the scam. The total deal was of around 9 crore," according to the Police

chargesheet.

These are only the trailers, and that also small trailers, that Cores have lost their values, for even Municipal Level politicians.

The Supreme Court has more than once pulled p the government for withholding information on black money stashed in foreign banks, saying it is not just limited to tax evasion but a "mind boggling crime" amounting to

**From May 2004 onwards, Jagan floated a number of companies "wherein quid pro quo investments have been made out of the benefits received by the investors/beneficiaries from the decisions of the state government in various forms like SEZs, irrigation contracts, relaxation/permission for real estate ventures, mines etc, besides payment of huge premium amounts in the shares and invested in the companies by such beneficiaries."**

"theft" and "plunder" of national wealth having security ramifications.

The Government of course, goes on making the right noises saying that it is

committed to vigorously pursue all necessary steps to curb the menace of black money. Feeling that its apple car may not be upset, the Government told the Supreme Court, on 24th August, 2010, that the SIT appointed by it to probe and unearth the black money stashed abroad needs to be scrapped as the investigating agency cannot function like a "super power."

When the objective of the Supreme Court and the Government is the same, if one accepts the Government proclamations, it is amazing as to the technicalities can be objected raised in any Supreme Court order. If one looks at the ground reality, the stark truth, of no deal being completed without the black money stares at our face. Whether it is any reality deal, or getting a sanction for a quota permit, black money

rules supreme. The current anti-corruption campaigns has had no effect on the corrupt. CORRUPTION and black money are the two sides of the same coin, co-

existing side by side. Most micro and macro socio-economic problems faced by our nation have the same deep, underlying inter-connection. The way, the things are going on, and the wealth of the politicians, has been increasing, proves only what Truman once said that "YOU cannot get rich in politics, unless you are a crook," further adding, that I never give them hell. I tell them the truth and they think that it is hell. The problem in our country, is that we treat economic crime, and looting of the public and people's money, as something, not very serious. We do not look down on economic thieves, as we do, in so far, as burglars and dacoits are concerned.

In a first of its kind move, the Swiss government has agreed, in August, 2011, to tax black money held by UK citizens in Swiss bank accounts, while still hiding their identity. According to a report, the deal could see between 3 billion pounds and 6 billion pounds a year being handed to British Government.

The agreement is a part of the British Government's latest efforts to track down and tax money hidden in offshore bank accounts.

It follows a similar deal agreed earlier between Germany and the Swiss

**The problem in our country, is that we treat economic crime, and looting of the public and people's money, as something, not very serious. We do not look down on economic thieves, as we do, in so far, as burglars and dacoits are concerned.**



**For decades, Swiss banking laws have provided complete secrecy to foreigners operating bank accounts there.**

**The account holders have been able to use the accounts to hide money from the own tax authorities, without even having to pay any Swiss tax.**

authorities. No doubt, it is a land mark deal. The world has obviously changed for British tax evaders, as a few years ago, nobody would anticipate such an agreement, to tackle tax evasion.

Meanwhile, David Gauke, the Exchequer Secretary to the Treasury, said, "The historic agreement will enable us to collect billions of pounds from those who have for too long evaded their responsibility to pay UK tax by abusing Swiss banking secrecy."

For decades, Swiss banking laws have provided complete secrecy to foreigners operating bank accounts there.

The account holders have been able to use the accounts to hide money from the own tax authorities, without even having to pay any Swiss tax.

From 2013, the Swiss will tax the bank accounts of UK citizens and transfer the money directly to the Treasury, but without revealing the identity of the account holders.

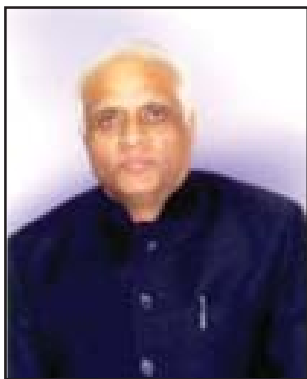
The least that Government of India, can do to tackle the menace of Black Money is to negotiate with the Swiss a similar agreement, so that at least a part of Indian Black money could be got to India, in the beginning.

As tax is levied every year, it will hold good for future years also. ■

*(The writer is a former Director, CBI)*



# The secret of Good Governance in questions of Narad



**-Prof. Brij Kishor Kuthiala**

**D**evarishi Narad arrived in the unique assembly of Maharaja Yudhishtir hailing Dharamraja. After giving due welcome and regards, Dharmaraj Yudhishtir made Narad seated. In a happy state of mind Narad preached Yudhishtir on *Dharma-Arth-Kaama*. This discourse is in question – answer form and contains a long list of duties of any King or ruler. Narad asked 123 questions in total which in themselves are a complete and enriched code of conduct. These questions are equally or much more relevant today as they were in the time of Mahabharata. The duties of the ruler as mentioned in the discourse were not suggestive only. Those duties were imperative to be done morally or statutorily. The discussion

between Narad and Dharmraja is a guidance which helps mankind to progress towards spiritual growth along with physical and worldly gains.

In present context, the discourse on “Good Governance” i.e. ‘Sushasan’ is naturally indispensable, as all the prevalent arrangements of administration represent demonic instincts.

Democracy has also been turned into a game of numbers which instead of favoring the best and skilled one, is in-fact standing on the pillar of crookedness and tactics. This has reached up to a stage where the virtuousness is missing and governance has become a business. It’s not good to blame foreign powers for wide spread problems after 60 years of independence. We ourselves are responsible for how we are and what we are today.

After the end of English regime and their subjugation, we achieved the independence. However, we neither created our own institutions nor we could follow our age old

traditions of political behavior. We simply copied the English institutions and traditions. In the name of democracy we established an electoral system that ignores the excellence, quality, devotion and faith and is based upon injustice, disparity, deception and delusion. We worsened the situation by adopting the colonial administrative structure without any real change. IAS has replaced ICS but the essence remained



same. Why the senior most public servant of a district is called 'Adhikshak'? In English this designation sounds more sick. The senior most officer of the district is called either Collector or Deputy Commissioner. Collector means an officer who collects money or property by hook or by crook. If we relate the term commissioner with commission then corruption becomes the soul of the system. Brokerage or agency is its one meaning while authorized officer is another. This term is completely devoid of fragrance of growth, upliftment and service. Similarly, the entire system of judiciary is what British made it to keep the country in slavery. Arrangements intended to keep an entire nation under dependence and slavery, were never dismantled. Expecting the good governance from those very colonial systems is just like living in a fool's paradise. If we believe in the uprightness of English and Englishness, there can be no good governance in India.

After Independence everybody accepted the essentiality of creating new systems, but this initiative could not proceed beyond the minor manipulations in the then existing structures and systems. Had the past experiences and knowledge of Indian society been kept in mind in the entire exercise, probably the country would



**In the present context, the discourse on "Good Governance" i.e. 'Sushasan' is naturally indispensable, as all the prevalent arrangements of administration represent demonic instincts. Democracy has also been turned into a game of numbers which instead of favoring the best and skilled one, is in-fact standing on the pillar of crookedness and tactics. This has reached up to a stage where the virtuousness is missing and governance has become a business.**

not have been in this pathetic situation. Almost each classical book contains the definitions of duties of individual, family, community, society, administrator, officer etc. These definitions are not only theoretical. Whether it is the arrangements of Krishna's Dwarika, Raj of Dharmaraj Yudishthir, or administration of Rama, the practical aspect of the theoretical facet is depicted in abundance in these scriptures.

All the questions which Vyas asked to Yuddhisthir through Narad, are very much practical. Vyas made to ask

more than 123 questions non-stop. It is matter of surprise that Yudhishtir did not answer all these questions one by one but by and large said that he has been ruling according to the preachings of Narad only. He also assured Narad that he will keep on doing so in future too. Questions asked by Devrishi Narad, require some explanation with reference.

Though, every question asked by Narad is a rule of good governance in itself, we can categorize them in five sections for better understanding. The first section of questions is related to four instincts of human spirit, namely *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha*. In the very first question Narad asks, "King! Do you practice economic contemplation along with religious contemplation? Did the economic contemplation not suppress your religious contemplation? In subsequent questions, Narad not only asks that whether the grandeur of wealth do create hindrance in the path of religious pursuit, but also ask that if engagement in meditation of religion do hamper the income. At the same time he asks whether you have abandoned religion and economic pursuits after being engrossed in the desire of *Kaama*? By putting the essence of all questions, he asks whether you enjoy the *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kaama* at the right time?

Second category of questions is related to social development works of the King. Narad described eight state functions and asked Yudhishtir, whether he is performing all these functions properly? Eight state functions- agriculture, commerce, maintenance of forts, building bridges, keeping animals at different places according to convenience of fodder, recovering tax from gold and diamond mines and building new colonies. Narad also questions the Maharaja whether the peasants of his state are contended and prosperous? Whether there are ponds full of water and excavated lakes available in the state? If the cultivation is not dependent only on rain, no scarcity of seeds and grains for the farmers? In necessity do you offer loan on normal interest? For which Indian, the bells will not ring after listening to these questions as his attention will be drawn to those farmers who committed suicide in the absence of administrative help.

The third category of questions is concerned with King's ministers and officers. Narad asks, do you appoint individuals with clean nature, rich in creating understanding and born in virtuous families as ministers? Do you entrust the management work of the State to the officers who are honest and well versed in managerial work? Do you appoint one expert instead of thousands of fools or not? Do

you appoint people on the basis of the level of work? Do the ruling ministers look upon you with disdain? If someone does a good job or shows benevolence, then do you reward him or honor him? Does your confident people only look-after and protect the fund, store, vehicles, gates, and earnings? Narad goes one step ahead and asks if you do remove those dear employees from office without any guilt, even if they are smart and protect the interest of the state? Do you engage good, average and mean men in works befitting their ability, only after examining them?

**Like wise several questions are related to king's position and welfare of the people. Narad Asks, "Hey Prithvinath ! Do you look at all the people of your state with affection like a mother and father? Does anyone feel fear from you? Do you protect women by consoling them? Hey Dharmaraj ! do you bring up blinds, dumbs, cripples, downtrodden and hermits like their father?"**

Narad asked a pertinent question from the perspective of today's political system plagued with corruption. He asks whether you do deliberately release a wicked thief caught along with stolen goods, with the intention of usurping the stolen goods? If your ministers faced with the situation of clash between rich and poor, involve in the

inappropriate thinking and action due to greed?

Similarly, numerous questions are related to king's personal conduct, thinking and behavior viz. - Do you get up at the right time? Do you contemplate in the last quarter while awake? Do you discuss alone or with the number of persons? Do your secret deliberations spread throughout the state after leakage? Hey Maharaj! Do you use to feed families of those who sacrifice and endanger their lives for you? Do you protect enemy in your asylum like your own son? Further Narad asks again that whether you listen to sermons of philosophers with knowledge of Dharma and Artha with full concentration? Have you removed the vices of sleep, laziness, fear, anger, idleness and long enmity?

Narad also quizzed on defense of state, intelligence and preparedness for attack on enemy and related strategies. It seems that by these questions Vyasa have not only made kings and administrators realize their duties but also have awoken conscience of common man that what sort of expectations they should have from their administrators. If today we want to formulate some action plan for good governance, then contexts of Narad's questions are capable of giving a beautiful guidance.■

*(The writer is the Vice Chancellor of Makhan Lal Chaturvedi University of Journalism and Communication , Bhopal (MP))*





# Creating an accountable administrative system



 **Shankar Sharan**

**T**he British Model of Parliamentary Democracy has not proved suitable for India. It is not tuned with the sentiments of the people of India. Adopting it was like a person using someone else's coat, behaving as if it was his own. The political system of

independent India is based on the "British India Act" promulgated by the British in 1935. Consequently, the law and order which was enacted by a foreign colonial power basically for their *own* vested motive, was adopted itself in independent India.

The adoption of the political system by the creators of our constitution in 1950 was merely a formality. In India, the institutions of the Prime Minister and the cabinet had already begun functioning. This demonstrates that even before independence it was already decided to adopt the Westminster parliamentary system. The Constituent Assembly simply approved the same. As a result, by

This was an example of the mismatch of European organisation with the Indian temperament. In the official constitution of the Congress something else was written while the leaders of the organisation practiced something totally different.

adopting British system we failed to get its soul in our system. We were able to get only its structure. One rule on paper, another in practice, this duality has been the inherent weakness of the political system of this country.

This duality was present in the Congress even before independence. The organizational system of the party was legislative or collective, but in reality administration was effected through a kind of executive system in which all important decisions were taken by a "high command" even if the

something totally different. Nobody objected to this since in Indian tradition members of a village or a family always accept the dictate of the elders even if they would not agree to it. Gandhi exploited this tradition extensively in the Congress party where as the European Constitutional model the organisation was



In independent India this duality and internal dissent has been instilled in the entire political system. This was evident in the selection of the first Prime Minister itself, when, despite the non-acceptance of Congress leaders, Gandhi imposed Nehru upon Congress and the nation. Thereafter, Nehru adopted the same style in running the government. The early demise of Vallabh Bhai Patel made it easier for him to do so.

decision making authority had no portfolio. The way Gandhiji governed the Congress was beyond imagination of the British Labour Party or Conservative Party. This was an example of the mismatch of European organisation with the Indian temperament. In the official constitution of the Congress something else was written while the leaders of the organisation practiced

totally different from what existed in India at that phase.

In independent India this duality and internal dissent has been instilled in the entire political system. This was evident in the selection of the first Prime Minister itself, when, despite the non-acceptance of Congress leaders, Gandhi imposed Nehru upon Congress and the nation. Thereafter, Nehru

adopted the same style in running the government. The early demise of Vallabh Bhai Patel made it easier for him to do so. All major decisions were taken by Nehru himself. His cabinet colleague, Narhari Vitthal Gadgil, has written that many times in cabinet meetings, decisions were only 'informed'. These included decisions of international importance. On the other hand, Nehru used to be spared of taking responsibility of the adverse results of his decisions as in principle these decisions were considered to have emanated from the 'cabinet'.

Consequently, the entire cabinet would accept the responsibility and become bound to defend the leader instead of removing him. They would try somehow to eyewash the entire issue (for example, Kashmir, Tibet, Panchsheel etc.).

Similarly, the duality in principle and practice, i.e. non-accountability, created such a deformation in our political system right from the beginning that it soon paralyzed the entire system. If someone on the top rank could go scot-free after committing such serious mistakes repeatedly, it was natural to practice the same irresponsible and uncaring plush style even by the people of low profiles. It should be noted that such things never used to happen in the British parliamentary system. A Viceroy or any officer committing mistakes or falling

short of his duties would seldom be spared of punishment. The same practice continues even today in Britain. Recently in India, the U.S Ambassador resigned from his post on account of a single failure. (It is doubtful if our administrators can expect such decisive action from our Ambassadors).

Thus, with the passage of time, parliamentary democracy remained like a mask in our political system whereas the actual style was presidential *in cognito*. Later, in addition to Gandhi and Nehru, many other leaders from Biju Patnaik, Siddharth Shankar Ray, N.T. Ramarao, Jayalalitha, Lalu Prasad (himself and through Rabri Devi, in both forms), Mulayam Singh, Mayawati, Karunanidhi etc. to Sonia Gandhi followed the same module. There is a Council on face value but monopoly *de facto*.

As a result an irresponsible executive system was created in which there is neither soul of the parliamentary system nor the benefit of a presidential system. Instead we were burdened by the deficiencies of both the systems. For this reason, in our country, such administrators become prominent who only sign and don't know anything about any subject.

And some leaders can repeatedly state that they are unaware of the decisions. On the other hand, there are such unbridled officials who take all

the decisions but are never held accountable. This is happening at all strata because this model has been enforced upon from the top levels since the beginning. It won't be an exaggeration to say that there are similarities in the way of working of Sonia Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi as they both represent an amalgamation of parliamentary as well as presidential systems.

Because of this, the present parliamentary system has become an inefficient and extremely expensive burden. Majority of the members of parliament are interested in everything except enacting suitable laws, their enforcement and coherent policy making. Many Prime Ministers have always tried to save their chair since their continuance is dependent on an invisible authority or group or party equations. Similarly after an expensive electoral system, instead of a capable and efficient ruler, the country gets a mere high salaried benefit-loving official.

In the time of party war games and blockades, members of parliament, ministers and leaders give full attention to these war games



Because of this, the present parliamentary system has become an inefficient and extremely expensive burden. Majority of the members of parliament are interested in everything except enacting suitable laws, their enforcement and coherent policy making. Many Prime Ministers have always tried to save their chair since their continuance is dependent on an invisible authority or group or party equations.

and administrative work remains neglected and obstructed.

In the midst of all this, the massive state bureaucratic system seems to remain independent, running on its own whims. The main duty is to take full care of themselves. At the top levels there are associations of I.A.S and I.F.S whose members cannot be held responsible for any sloth, failure or mistake. This also



affects their efficiency.

Due to the incompetence and lack of will of the legislators, policy formulation job is done practically by senior bureaucrats. They somehow formulate the policy framework and this becomes a decision in the parliament without any real research and study. Education, culture etc. are some of the most unfortunate examples of this, where in the same careless style, ordinary scribes make policy documents inspired by their harmful and politically influenced nonsense thoughts. This, too, is diversion from both the form and spirit of the parliamentary system.

In a way this, too, has taken place in independent India from the beginning. Its root cause lies in the same duality in which the person actually responsible delegates his work to others and does not even take care that the work has been carried out carefully or not.

A brief but poignant reference to this has been given by Prof. Rameshwar Mishra 'Pankaj' in his article "आधुनिकतावादी भारतीय बौद्धिकों की बौद्धिक भ्रांति की पराकाष्ठा : दर्शन के क्षेत्र में फैला अज्ञान" (Culmination of the intellectual myth of Modernist Indian Intellectuals – Spread of ignorance in field of Philosophy) in Chintan-Srijan quarterly, New Delhi, January-March 2009. Some of its thought-provoking passages are presented here as an example:

*Does Indian State*

*represent the political power of all the citizens of India? Or is it merely a synonym of governance mechanism? It is however written that "We the citizens of India deliver it ourselves". But in this the Indian people are not considered as cultured, righteous, intelligent and literate beings. Had it been so, then in the preparation of the constitution, the references of Indian intellectual traditions, cultural traditions and learning traditions would have been prominent. Here Indian citizens have been merely considered as people engaged in a special political process called election....*

*No member of the Constituent Assembly ever mentioned this truth to Indian Society or to the voters that they will not make Indian religious traditions and scholastic traditions as reference for governance but only "Anglo-Saxon Law" will be made reference for governance. They did not take the approval or permission of the electorate to do so. This European-Indian group considered its own decision as final and beneficial for all Indians....*

*The complete system of education-culture was prepared and is prepared and formulated practically by the executives only. Indian electorate has no role to play in it.*

*Therefore, India's political*

*freedom has not at all reflected the independence of civilization and culture-oriented Indian viewpoint. But it has become an occasion for the fierce supremacy of the Euro-Indian viewpoint. It is a moot issue whether the politicians in power did this due to kinship or this happened due to a mistake. Bureaucrats too allowed this to continue undebated -as a habit. Had they been wary they wouldn't have been so unconcerned about India.*

Prof. 'Pankaj' has written more on this theme elsewhere. Gandhian philosopher Dharmpal has also made significant comments on this subject. These points need to be brought to a core national consultation.

Certainly, all the points above are inter-related. Hence the diagnosis of this problem of duality and unaccountable system is also reciprocal. That does not seem possible presently because with the passage of time, a powerful clique of people with vested interest has been formed from top to bottom. They will not allow any discussion on such transformation which is bound to adversely affect their profitable, convenient but irresponsible political influence.

Due to this topsy-turvy and irresponsible system in the country many areas are facing a situation of chaos which is being exploited by national and international enemies. Nobody knows who is accountable for any work,

policy or decision. Domains of internal security, International relations, education etc. are badly affected by this. In the last decades the N.G.O system has emerged as a new, self sufficient, active and result-oriented infrastructure. Through some of its elements, unseen foreign powers are indirectly playing an important role in policy making and even in important appointments. Convicted traitors have

also been made members of leading policy-making institutions even though court proceedings are pending against them. Who took such unprecedented decisions and at whose behest?

Whoever took the decision, it was possible only in this unaccountable topsy-turvy system in which there are thousands enjoying the pleasures of power, but there is not even a single one who could be penalized for taking a wrong decision. It can be recalled that the scenario cannot be seen in European democracy, whose mask we have put on. Mocking the laws made and accepted by ourselves is a result of the fact that we have borrowed the coat of the other guy.

Compared to the parliamentary system prevalent in the country, the presidential system



**Compared to the parliamentary system prevalent in the country, the presidential system would have been more transparent, accountable and less expensive. In the presidential system, the President is elected to take and implement the decisions. He enjoys full authority. He is free from unnecessary pressures because his tenure is fixed and limited.**



would have been more transparent, accountable and less expensive. In the presidential system, the President is elected to take and implement the decisions. He enjoys full authority. He is free from unnecessary pressures because his tenure is fixed and limited. In addition, he can directly relate to his responsibility. He cannot escape consequences of erring because he is solely responsible before the parliament and the

people. Since in the presidential system, the role of legislators is limited, there are minimal chances of disintegration of the state system and political corruption.

The same is also true for organisation of political parties. Imagine what Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton would be doing if they were in an Indian Political Party. They would have been wasting their time for years in their houses not on talking terms with each other. In the name of work, they would have been waiting for the party to form the government so that they could be made ministers and could then do something for the country and the society.

On the contrary, if five or six top leaders of an Indian Political Party were at similar top positions in the American Democratic

Party then what would they be doing? Surely they would have been in a big or small but responsible position in the Obama Administration. Their rivalry would have taken a more fruitful form- who would perform his/her given responsibilities better. Under no circumstances would either of them be sitting idle. (The protest done by Anna Hazare could have been undertaken by any leader of these political parties).

This lethargy is primarily due to wrong organizational system. The qualifications or qualities of the leaders are not the main factors in it. On the contrary, the kind of fierce and bitter battle fought by Obama and Hillary with each other for the Presidential candidacy was not fought even during the presidential election itself. Then how did they resolve their months-old rivalry and bitterness?

This happened because the American Government system and the political parties both follow the presidential system. Hence both in principle and in reality one person and not a group or council, is given the prime responsibility. Thus, whosoever feels that he has the power, can first seek the support of the party members and then from general public. Whoever enjoys majority of support is the candidate for power and thence the Chief Executive. Further, he can choose his colleagues and make his other nominations. There the Governor in the

States and the President of the Federal Authority is vested with all the power right from forming the government to policy formulation. Hence it is upto him to seek advice from anyone, or he can appoint anyone from the party itself or outside the party, national or foreign to official services. He has full freedom, from making appointments to policy making. He has the authority and the responsibility. His term in office is fixed. He is not worried about losing

responsibility or retirement are clearly defined, in which the person's ability, wisdom and diligence are the crucial factors.

The role of the party is also limited in presidential system. There is no pretense that the party is continuously involved in 'public service' or movement for 'public grievances'. When they are fighting against each other with transparency and with the agenda of coming into power, then why at all this

---

**This lethargy is primarily due to wrong organizational system. The qualifications or qualities of the leaders are not the main factors in it. On the contrary, the kind of fierce and bitter battle fought by Obama and Hillary with each other for the Presidential candidacy was not fought even during the presidential election itself. Then how did they resolve their months-old rivalry and bitterness?**

---

power in the mid- term. He can concentrate on the proper functioning of government. The limit of two terms is also fixed so that he cannot think of life-long power. Thus, after expiry of one term, if his work is found to be good then the American electorate will re-elect him, otherwise he can go and take rest.

In this system, the claim for leadership, the authority and responsibility of the leader -all are comparably more transparent, accountable and also public. People know who takes the final decision. It is he who will bear the brunt, be rewarded or punished. All procedures of reappointment in the government, new

pretense? Once the result of the election is declared, the parties become completely passive and nonexistent. Party only works at the time of election to decide on its candidates and then works for their victory. This is better in many ways than the constant false pretense of 'party work' or 'public service'. Wasteful expenditure is saved for all the three - time, resources and efforts of party workers, so that every person can do some fruitful work. (This point may be considered that here in the present parliamentary elections in every constituency, spending of millions by parties and candidates, and the active role



of black money and organizational corruption etc., all these maladies can be diagnosed in totality).

It is not that there is no treachery-deception, money power or hypocrisy in American politics. But in comparison these have a very limited scope in their system.



Scams take place very secretly, which is considered as serious offence. Thus, once they are revealed, there is a firm tradition of punishment and political retirement for all offenders responsible. As a result there is no tradition there for advancement of those involved in scams. There is no question of convicts contesting elections there. Due to many such reasons, in comparison the presidential system is more transparent, efficient and free from the clutches of black money.

There may be a lot of criticism of U.S policies related to other countries, but

this should not mean that we oversee the efficiency of their internal system or the existence of the moral code which the American society has created and follows. Its attraction in the form of a society which is open, equal and united in word and this attracts people from all

**There may be a lot of criticism of U.S policies related to other countries, but this should not mean that we oversee the efficiency of their internal system or the existence of the moral code which the American society has created and follows. Its attraction in the form of a society which is open, equal and united in word and this attracts people from all corners of the world. This is not a point only about wealth, fame and luxury.**

corners of the world. This is not a point only about wealth, fame and luxury. Freedom, equality, rule of law and encouragement for talents are the incentives which attracts ambitious and aspiring people from all corners of the world. Why can't we create such an atmosphere in our country?

Compared to that open presidential system, the rules of our political system and political parties are mostly hypocritical. The written constitutions of the parties and the duties and rights of the party committees are different from the reality. It is strange that nearly all parties are run in an executive manner. But most of them have created diverse collective (committee) systems on paper. All are aware that major decisions of the party will be taken by Sonia ji, Mamta ji, Mulayam ji, Lalu ji etc. But it is shown that it has been done by the 'parliamentary board' or 'executive committee' or 'state committee' or 'election committee' of the party.

This organizational pretense is the root cause of the problem which makes our political system less competent, because right from top to bottom official protocols are different from what is actually practiced. In this system, the real puppet-players are behind the curtains while many times the responsible office-bearers find themselves helpless. Our entire political system is ailing due to this duality of thought and action. But it is not

surprising that there is not even one national party which has raised its voice for change. The reason is that all leaders are fond of this system – in which responsibility is less and luxury of receiving unlimited pleasures and benefits of power is permanent.

Many times this has happened without any discussion but has always been labeled as a decision of some “committee”. The same happens in the country’s power system. On paper, the highest authority resides at Race Course, but in reality it resides at Janpath. In the midst of this, accountability becomes an orphan. Both take a posture – ‘not me’ or ‘I do not know’. This pretense and irresponsibility has become the prime feature of our parliamentary polity. This is a mockery of the Westminster parliamentary system.



This causes harm from all directions. Firstly, the person actually taking the decision need not take responsibility for it. He easily gets away even after taking a wrong decision. Secondly, in this system major decisions too are taken without any thought or discussion. There is no need to show results to people and supporters, so why think so much? Thirdly, there is no universal rule regarding selection of a leader. In the last Delhi State Assembly

**On paper, the highest authority resides at Race Course, but in reality it resides at Janpath. In the midst of this, accountability becomes an orphan. Both take a posture – ‘not me’ or ‘I do not know’. This pretense and irresponsibility has become the prime feature of our parliamentary polity. This is a mockery of the Westminster parliamentary system.**

elections, how was the chief ministership candidate chosen? Who took the decisions - U.P.A Chairman, her heavy advisory board, its duties and authority, its relation to the official authority structure of the country etc.? There is no answer to these questions, because organizational and administrative rules are like the teeth of an elephant – one set for eating, other for showing.

This is the root cause of

the inefficiency and lethargy of the nation’s political system, since there is no definite benchmark to decide as to who is suitable for a particular post. There is no strategy to identify the person responsible for taking decisions which are wrong or dangerous for the nation. Then naturally he remains free to continue doing so throughout his life. Even after becoming feeble, old and inefficient, he can remain as a Governor, legislator or head of any important committee. The parliamentary system cannot do anything. On the other hand, in our society including the political parties, there are some people who really want to do something good for the society and the country. But a faulty organizational system does not allow them to grab their due position. Contrary to this, there are many leaders who do not have the requisite courage or ability, occupy one or other position. They are backed up by some invisible power.

The fourth major harm from collective hypocrisy is that scope for entry in administration reduces for new, capable and idealist leaders who could serve the nation to some extent by making and implementing suitable plans. This is because such posts on which active and diligent persons could have been placed are being manned by less calibrated,

incapable political leaders who are mere sycophants to serve as 'yesmen' to any right or wrong of a high command. Since such people are in a group, the person who supports a wrong deed can easily absolve himself of any personal responsibility for any mistake – 'what can we do, it was recommended by the committee'. In this way, everyone has an excuse to escape from responsibility for wrong or absurd decisions.

limit its role? If there is any responsible parliamentary body, then it should be run by intelligent, relatively selfless and diligent people. It is a sin to appoint useless, helpless and self-centered persons



**United States of America was also liberated from British colonial rule. The leaders of American independence were also of European origin. Why didn't they adopt the British Parliamentary System? A supplementary question to this: did our Constituent Assembly actually discuss and debate the comparable usefulness of the parliamentary, presidential or other systems, its expressiveness for a huge country like India, analysis of the British system itself, before adoption of the parliamentary system?**

Due to these reasons, such old people whose active tenure expired quite some time back still remain in the parliament and committees. They are kept on some party post, in Rajya Sabha or Governor's House lifelong. Few of them are not even in position to walk or think coherently. You can only feel pity while watching them on TV. Even then they do retire. This is not only wastage of national resources but depriving worthy people who can work in national interest. This is again a more harmful act. If the work of the country's supreme body-Parliament- is so trivial that a sick, corrupt or sycophant can be kept there, then why not to

there.

Even the portfolios with highly sane responsibilities are considered as mere rewards. It is a consequence of the same duality in which practices are far from precepts. This tradition is a gift of Gandhi and Nehru who considered personal affection or loyalty of a person more important than his deservingness for a position. This has been happening even since before independence. This has afflicted the parliamentary system since the very beginning. Gradually other political debilities emerged. All kinds of incompetent and inept people have a vulture eye on coveted

posts in the parliament and government. This malaise has affected all political parties. Senior leaders of all political parties give preference to such 'loyalists' who are not always competent. But arrangement is made so that they hold important party committees position and strengthen the hands of the leader.

These committees strengthen the leader but do not hold him accountable for his duties and decisions. There are many episodes that highlight that there is no procedure to decide on the responsibility for vital confidential matters. This may not be taken as a weakness of the parliamentary system, but, this is the result of adopting the parliamentary system without understanding our own internal needs. We did not adopt the British parliamentary system after seriously and carefully discussing every aspect and evaluating it as per the needs of the country.

From the critical review of the entire proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and Dr Ambedkar's statement and the number of actual participants, we know a little about how the complete political system of independent India was formulated.

United States of America was also liberated from British colonial rule. The leaders of American independence were also of European origin. Why didn't they adopt the British



Parliamentary System? A supplementary question to this: did our Constituent Assembly actually discuss and debate the comparable usefulness of the parliamentary, presidential or other systems, its expressiveness for a huge country like India, analysis of the British system itself, before adoption of the parliamentary system? Our constitution came into force in 1950. So how were the "Prime Minister" and "Council of Ministers" ruling since 15 August 1947? This means that a few selected people had beforehand accepted this system which was merely approved by the Constituent Assembly.

This was a replica of the system of the Congress party in which Gandhi, Nehru and a few other leaders used to decide on something themselves (for example, the partition of the country), and then used to get it passed somehow in the Congress Working Committee and National Convention. Later Nehru controlled his cabinet in a similar fashion. This same tradition became popular and all parties copied it knowingly or unknowingly.

The experience of the last few decades illustrates that it is necessary to have a policy which decides on actual authority and responsibility to be bestowed on an office bearer.

A transparent and uniform system needs to be implemented which should

hold the person responsible both in principle and practice instead of committee in principle and the person in practice. For this reason, it will be better for an accountable administration to adopt a presidential system for running the government. Then for all types of duties a specific person will be responsible.

Then if someone takes a decision at any stage, he will also have to bear responsibility for the outcome of his decision.

In such a situation the leader will have to choose his team thoughtfully and with due care because the responsibility for the work of this team will invariably reflect his competence or incompetence.

Moreover, numerous elections in India have shown that the public cast their votes for the candidate for Prime Ministership or Chief Ministership rather than for any party. Hence it has an expectation from a person not a party. This is the clear mandate.

The system of the Chief Executive Officer is prevalent in many areas including economics, major engineering production as well as in politics. Because everyone knows what will happen by appointing Kalmadi in the post of Narayan Murthy-whatever by the rules of that specific organisation on paper.

Hence, the presence in political parties of an invisible

'high command', in other words an executive system by proxy, should be made open and legal for administration of states and the country. Only then leader who has no potential or who has been rejected will retire and new people will enter the scene. Only then new, fresh, active and hardworking talent will enter the realm of politics. Only then worthless, convicted people and middlemen will be seen less in Parliament, since the head of the government will not be dependent on their support. Horse-trading of legislators, unnecessary electoral expenses and several nonsense works can then come to a stop.

Adoption of some type of presidential system will also benefit the leaders in finding a simple and concise way to their mutual rivalry. And the most vulnerable will get support.

If party workers at the state and national level have preferred someone, then other candidates will control their expectations and ambition and shift their focus to something more creative. Then they will work in unison.

Their ability will be used for something worthwhile rather idling away and wasting time. Alternatively, they will be involved in some other business. We must learn even something good from the Americans! ■

*(Shri Shankar Sharan is a freelance writer)*

# The Need of Educational Transformation in India and its Form



Transformation of the prevailing educational system of India is not only desirable but essential. The *Dealers Committee* report of the UNESCO has well emphasized that the fabric of the educational system of a country must correspond to its culture and developmental needs. Do we, in India, really have a similar form of educational structure? This is a gigantic question.

A small section of the country today believes that we are, undoubtedly, making a solid progress. If we look from the perspectives of our godhead in Space



 **Atul Kothari**

Technology, Information Technology, growth in GDP, financial rate index, etc., we surely can measure some substantial progress; however, we also cannot ignore the fact

that while there is a growing number of billionaires in the country compared to the past, the chasm of poverty and unemployment has also been widening day by day, thus contributing to a terrible economic disparity. Many other problems are increasingly rampant in our country, *viz.* corruption, intolerance, moral decline, a blind imitation of western values and culture, undue gratification of the minority class, decline in the cultural values, ecological crises, etc. – to name only a few. What is ironical is that, in spite of all these grave problems – a delusion is created that our

country is on developmental track. Is this a right attitude that a partial material progress is tantamount to the overall development of a country?

The emergence of these problems is the obvious result of our erroneous policies, illusive thoughts of some people and, by and large, a negative trend in our attitude. The facts become evident when we reflect on some incidents and examples taking place in our country. The policy of *Globalization* thrust upon us following the 90's is apparently failing. In fact, this policy was intentionally imposed upon the world by America and some developed countries. Today, America itself and several other countries are in the grip of a horrendous financial depression resulting from the same policy. The same USA which was untiringly singing the praises of an 'open' economy, is now putting hurdles on the way of outsourcing to India. What is amazing is that even in the wake of these blatant results which are bound to open the eyes, our Prime Minister and some economists are still playing the *sweet notes* of the said '*globalization*'.

Likewise, people who tend to make a great hue and cry over the incidences of injustice and atrocities against women, rape and other criminal offences, are –ironically– in favour of extreme liberty, homosexuality, live-in-relationship, and so on. The

same people who question the government and police on the break down of law and order, have no hesitation in blaming the '*saffronization*' (*Hinduization*?) of educational system when the question of values and *sanskara* arises in the area of education. Gratification of the minority class is misconstrued today as 'secularism'. It is a pity that most educated people today advocate such strange and perverted ideologies. The root problem lies in the educational system which was outlaid by Lord Macaulay in the expanse of 200 years of the British rule. Even after more than six decades of our independence, we are still carrying forward the same worn-out pattern. **"If the country has to be transformed, the educational system must first change".**

Our educational system today is out of its orbit. The *Rigveda* asserts the mission of education as something that leads us **"from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, from deadliness to life"**. In other words **"Saa vidya ya vimuktaye"** (education is liberating force). There should be no differentiation between the goal of education and that of our life. Today, however, there seems no aim either for education or for life. When these points are discussed, many people jump on the conclusion that we are merely talking about spiritual elements in education. But this is far from being true. We have, no doubt, spiritualism as

our cornerstone but, in our culture, there has been emphasis on *artha* (money matters) and *kama* (efforts driven by desires), too, along with *dharma* (righteousness) and *moksha* (emancipation of the soul). We, in our culture, never underestimated the importance of *artha* and *kama* but, of course, they must be motivated by spiritual values. If India had not been a country with immense wealth, why should it have

**A small section of the country today believes that we are, undoubtedly, making a solid progress. If we look from the perspectives of our godhead in Space Technology, Information Technology, growth in GDP, financial rate index, etc., we surely can measure some substantial progress; however, we also cannot ignore the fact that while there is a growing number of billionaires in the country compared to the past, the chasm of poverty and unemployment has also been widening day by day, thus contributing to a terrible economic disparity.**



been invaded by outsiders? Therefore, it is clear that we fostered a balanced attitude of spiritual and material progress. Shree Deenanath Batra has beautifully explained this attitude in his treatise *"Education for Living and Life"*. It sums up that education should be able to foster the right attitude for life and build capacities for living life. From this point of view, the form of our education needs to be in accordance with our culture, nature and perspectives of our progress. The objectives of education are to effect overall personal development and character-building, fulfillment of social and national needs and build capacities to meet national and international challenges. In order to embody this vision, it is essential that education assumes the form of service rather than business. Apart from viewing education as an integral whole, and not a fragmented entity, the vision of a 'family' of the tutor and the taught will need to be materialized. At the same time, this ancient vision will have to be blended with modern elements for progress – thus providing a viable alternative.

#### Autonomy in education

The development of any individual, society or a nation is possible only when they have an independent entity to move and grow in the appropriate direction. Independence means freedom from undesired objects. Autonomy thus assumes a pivotal importance in



Even the *Radhakrishna Commission* (1951-52) and *Kothari Commission* (1964) appointed by the government have recommended autonomy of education. Likewise, great personalities like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, etc., have also fervently advocated the need of autonomy of education.

theorization, practicality and policy-making in education. Therefore, in order to re-establish the true structure of our national education system in present days, it must be freed from the fetters of the government, bureaucracy, politics and market influences. In olden times, when our educational system was at par excellence, it was mainly because it was autonomous.

Even the *Radhakrishna Commission* (1951-52) and *Kothari Commission* (1964) appointed by the government have recommended autonomy of education. Likewise, great personalities like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, etc., have also fervently advocated the need of autonomy of education. At present, we have autonomy of judiciary as well as the Election Commission. Provisions and facilitations for these autonomous bodies are made by the government but at times these bodies have expressed their freedom by issuing a verdict against the government. The 2-G Spectrum episode could be easily suppressed if it had not been supervised directly by the honourable Supreme Court. We are of the view that education should have even greater autonomy than judiciary and the Election Commission. To this effect, an 'Autonomous Educational Institution' should be formed under parliamentary laws. This 'Institution' should further be expanded to state and district levels. Under the new provision, 'Indian Educational Service' should be constituted. Detailed contemplations can be done further on the process of formation of an autonomous commission and its components, etc.

#### The Integral Form of Education

At present, we think about education in fragments.

As a result, the youths undergoing this educational process are also coming out with a fragmented personality. The same fragmentation is reflected in our social life, too. Today our

follow different sects and creeds are but part and parcel of one traditional stream, this realization is a must. Thus, our educational system needs to be formed along this vision.

### Blending of the ancient

in the process of learning, we must revive the use of verbal communication. No problem if calculators are used widely, but the traditional tables of multiplication must not be neglected, too. While



This extremist thought is utterly wrong that all that is old is par excellence and modern practices are wrong. Similarly it is wrong to say all that old is rubbish and we must follow modernity in all matters. We need to infuse the modern into the ancient. On the firm basis of our fundamental educational philosophy, we will have to contemplate on adding new provisions in our school system as per the requirements of our modern society.

appreciating the importance of modern mathematics, the value of Vedic mathematics must not be forgotten. Even when conducting studies in modern school buildings, the sacred nature of the teacher and student relationship must be re-emphasized.

### The Concept of an 'Educational Family'

Today, a terrible scenario of strife and collision is rampant in our academic campuses. We see

society is divided against itself in several castes, linguistic groups, states, rich and poor, men and women, the so-called 'high caste' and unprivileged. Students are introduced with these divisive factors even at the time of admission.

However, the diversity of our social fabric should be used as a medium of our unification rather than division. We are one in spite of diversities in our food culture, languages, modes of living and wearing and similar other features. We share the same culture, religion, tradition, and genealogy. All those who

### and the modern

This extremist thought is utterly wrong that all that is old is par excellence and modern practices are wrong. Similarly it is wrong to say all that old is rubbish and we must follow modernity in all matters. We need to infuse the modern into the ancient. On the firm basis of our fundamental educational philosophy, we will have to contemplate on adding new provisions in our school system as per the requirements of our modern society. Computer must blend with Sanskrit. Even with the inclusion of computerization

various forms of conflicts, viz. teachers *versus* students, administrators *versus* employees, professors *versus* the principal, etc. For this purpose, there are unions of teachers, principals, etc. This attitude is not a part of Indian way of thinking. The prime cause behind these ill motivations is a lack of a sense of belonging to one educational 'family', this is the reason why the feeling of 'This is my school' is not reflected. This 'sense of belonging' is not possible without a vision of unity and reciprocity. To this effect, we will have to initiate some informal programs.

More focal attention will have to be paid on celebration of festivals like Guru Purnima, Raksha Bandhan, etc. and implementation of programs to evoke a sense of duty, such as National Service Scheme, National Cadet Core, etc.

### Education as a medium of service and not business

In our ancient culture, education was never considered as a business. Contributing to the enrichment of knowledge was taken as the best contribution one could offer. There were no such provisions in the ancient times like a fixed remuneration for the teacher, T.A., D.A. and other incentives, nor students were compelled to pay a fixed tuition fee. As such, there were no practices of admission of rich and poor children into different schools. Opportunities were equal for each and all. However, the commercialization of education has resumed a threatening shape nowadays. The relationship of the teacher and the taught is more like a merchant and a client. On the other hand, the terms between teachers and managers resemble that of employee and employer. The *Acharyas*, the *Gurus* have been reduced to the status of paid servants. True talents feel stunned as admissions into best institutions are granted for money. This tendency further expands the chasm of

class discrimination. In the already deplorable scenario, *globalization* added fuel to the fire as it promoted privatization and, thereby, commercialization.

The responsibility of

run away from the responsibilities of higher education, this must be ensured.

- The tuition fees for economically and socially backward classes should be

The responsibility of education must be co-accepted by the government and the society. The government alone cannot cater to the entire need of education but it will also not be proper if it severs its connections with education. Prominent people of our society must follow the example of Azim Premji.



education must be co-accepted by the government and the society. The government alone cannot cater to the entire need of education but it will also not be proper if it severs its relations with education. Prominent people of our society must follow the example of Azim Premji.

### In order to sustain the economic system of educational field, the following will be required:

- 6% of the GDP must be invested on education.
- Generally, in higher education 20% of recurring expenditure should be taken from students as tuition fees (Punaiyya Committee) and in vocational education this should be 30%.
- The government cannot

arranged by the government and the society.

- It must be ensured that talented students are not deprived of education. On the other hand, those who are from privileged section should pay higher tuition fees.

- Colleges and universities must have additional sources for income-generation.

- An Alumni Association should be constituted and their general meeting convened each year. These ex-students should be linked to the institutions and potential donors should be encouraged to give financial help.

- A viable financial infrastructure can also



be raised by prudential use of premises and facilities of the institutions.

### Restructuring of the Curriculum and Syllabus

While developing the curriculum, one must consider the need of catering to the needs of the present time and addressing the challenges of the future on the foundation of the values of the past. The educational plan must harmonize with the national objectives. It must blend together the elements of material life with the spiritual and practical life with the theoretical. The needs of a particular region and indigenous people must also be considered. The curriculum must be revised and restructured once in three years so that obsolete materials may be struck out.

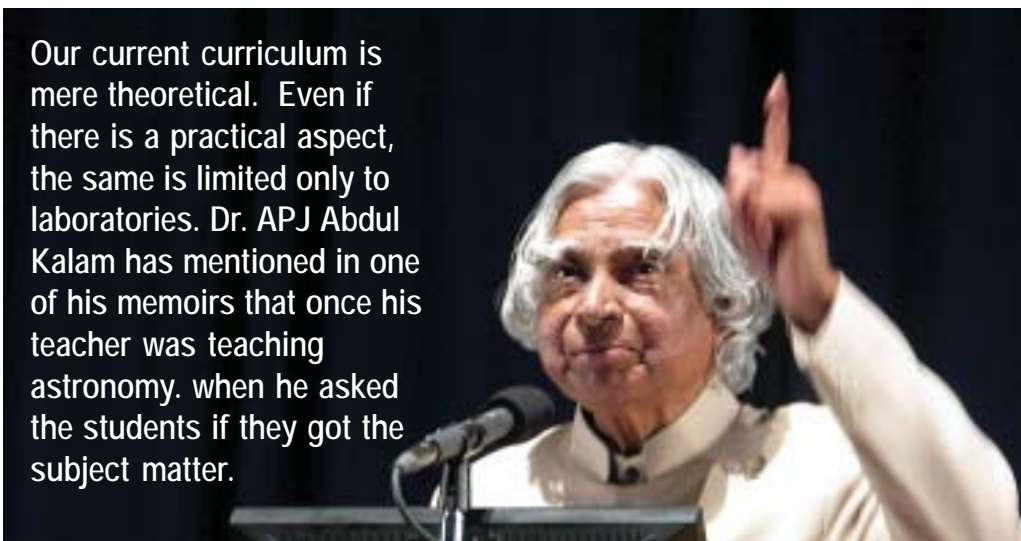
Today we find curricular imbalances in our educational system. Therefore, a "survey of human resources" should be conducted nationwide. Based on the kind and

number of human resource required in different sectors educational institutions need to be set up in the same proportion. Non-existence of such provisions in the present time, we find a number of

anomalies in the field of education. In many states, hundreds of seats lie vacant in engineering colleges. On the other hand, there is a dearth of computer technicians and stenographers in different languages. Many post-graduates in Management and Engineering have difficulty in finding jobs, generally the designation and remuneration do not match their qualification. Some days ago in a state, a good number of such post-graduates had come to be recruited as police constables.

On contrary, a number of masons and wage-workers are earning in thousands even though they lack in any specialized skill. In our country, there are hardly any courses for astrology and *Karmakanda*, and if such

Our current curriculum is mere theoretical. Even if there is a practical aspect, the same is limited only to laboratories. Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam has mentioned in one of his memoirs that once his teacher was teaching astronomy. when he asked the students if they got the subject matter.



courses are started, again, a great havoc is created by labeling such endeavours as 'saffronization' of India. As a result, there is dearth of quality astrologers and *Karmakandi*.

### A balance between theory and practice

Our current curriculum is mere theoretical. Even if there is a practical aspect, the same is limited only to laboratories. Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam has mentioned in one of his memoirs that once his teacher was teaching astronomy. Then he asked the students if they got the subject matter. The students said, "No". The teacher further explained the theme and again asked if the students were able to grasp the matter. "No", most of the students said. The teacher said, "No problem, today evening lets meet at the sea-shore". The students met the teacher at the sea-shore in the evening. The teacher showed them the constellation of stars and such thing and later asked if they could understand the

things. The students unanimously said: "Yes".

In all subjects, we need theoretical as well as practical knowledge. At the same time, we must also develop a practical attitude. Following

the verdict of the Supreme Court, today the Environmental Science is taught in the schools, though not in a systematic manner. It's bearing no fruit because a practical attitude is missing. Therefore, it is essential that students are given a practical insight into our environment and given realistic knowledge about preservation of electricity, water, food, etc. One example to teach in this manner is to ask students to put off the lights and fans of the classroom as they go out. While teaching science, it is also important to develop a scientific way of thinking. Such thinking will require complete banning of fast food, cold drink, etc. in school canteens and telling the students about their harmful effects.

#### Harmony between science and religion

This theme is gaining worldwide popularity now. There are many incidences – national and international – for which science has no explanation. On the other hand, the unidirectional growth of science and technology need to be aligned with spiritual susceptibilities otherwise it will lead us to destruction. Here, we must recall the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our first President, which is still relevant.

*"We do not only have to secure our nation's integrity but also, side by side, we have*



**In the national educational movement prior to independence, the issue was raised to bring proper balance between humanities and technological education.**

**This issue is still relevant. Today, one cannot study Sanskrit with Science, or Music with Commerce or Science with Economics.**



# Science

*to preserve our cultural traditions. The time is ripe for blending science with spirituality. Only harmony will ensure our safety and progress in this atomic age."*

#### History

Presently, the students of our country are being taught a wrong history. In the last 200 years, the history that was taught to our students simply led us to development of lack of self-esteem. Mostly, we were taught how we were defeated in the hands of the Moghuls and the British. We were taught such things which were blatant insult to our religion, culture, great men and our superb traditional values. For example, in an NCERT-developed curriculum it was taught that Lokmanya Tilak, Chandrashekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, etc. were terrorists. Due to "Save Education" campaign initiative such materials were successfully deleted from our courses.

History should not be taught only from the political perspective but in its totality. It should be taught with the vision in mind that it will enlighten the students about patriotic feeling, self-esteem and learning from the past mistakes and we should avoid reoccurrence of same mistakes.

To address national-international challenges the

## following elements should be incorporated in the syllabus

- Terrorism and National Security
- Economic Socialism and Global Depression
- Environmental Threats
- Study of Important Languages of the World
- Health Education

## Syllabus should not be static

In the national educational movement prior to independence, the issue was raised to bring proper balance between humanities and technological education. This issue is still relevant. Today, one cannot study Sanskrit with Science, or Music with Commerce or Science with Economics. Several scientists of the world learnt Sanskrit in order to study ancient literature of India and did several research. It is essential to learn Sanskrit to benefit from the knowledge enshrined in our ancient books.

Therefore, the rigidity in our syllabi and selection of subjects needs to be replaced by due flexibility.

## Social work

In order to ensure that our students become imbued with sensibility towards the country and the society, our curriculum must accommodate social activities. A national commission should be appointed to this effect. Each school must be service-linked to some villages or slums in towns and cities.

## Value education

All education-related commissions appointed in the post-independence India as well as scriptures and great personalities of all religions have underlined the importance of value education.

According to Shri Aurobindo: *"Since the time that education has been disassociated from the values*

**According to Kothari Commission (1964-1966), for moral and spiritual development the students should be taught about religious harmony. It also advised that spiritual education means moral education. The children should be encouraged to learn the good elements from different groups and use them for their character-building, nation building and welfare of the mankind.**

*of life, people of our country have gone 'unrighteous' and 'deviated from the goal'."*

## Recommendations of different commissions

- **The Radhakrishna Commission (1948-49)** said that there is no difference between the Indian approach to religion and secularism (tolerance to all religions). In India, the basis of religious education is spiritual and development

of ethical and moral values of life is not possible without spiritualism. Religion is tantamount to spirituality and, therefore, religious education amounts to spiritual education.

- The Radhakrishna Commission put up the following suggestions for religious, moral and spiritual developments:
- In all educational institutions, teaching should start after an observation of silent meditation by the students for a few minutes. Teacher's should also participate.
- With a view to foster comparative study of religions, the gist of various scriptures such as *Geeta, Bible, Quran, Guru Granth Sahib, Dhammapada*, etc. should be taught to the students.

**The Mudliyar Commission (1952-53)** underlined the importance of group prayers and sharing of inspirational anecdotes in the school campus and said that the environment of family, school and society should be conducive to the moral development and character building of the children.

- Morality and spirituality should assist in the students' character building.

According to **Kothari Commission (1964-1966)**, for moral and spiritual development the students should be taught about all-



religious harmony. It also advised that spiritual education means moral education. The children should be encouraged to learn the good elements from different groups and use them for their character-building, nation building and welfare of the mankind.

1. No separate books are required for value education.
2. Value education should be inherent in all subject matters.



3. For this purpose, all faculties should bring to the focus of the students the national and social motive behind each subject.
4. Schematic development of programs is also required according to the level of students for practical knowledge of value education.

#### Yoga Education

Swami Vivekanand had said: "If I were to take another birth in human form, I will like to study in a school where concentration is taught. Regular practice of *pranayam*, meditation and various yoga exercises will help increase students' concentration. Their life will be controlled, wisdom will expand and they will attain higher platform in life."

#### Physical Education and Sports

Healthy Student -  
Healthy Youth - Healthy

Swami Vivekanand had said: "If I were to take another birth in human form, I will like to study in a school where concentration is taught. Regular practice of *pranayam*, meditation and various yoga exercises will help increase students' concentration. Their life will be controlled, wisdom will expand and they will attain higher platform in life."

Nation! At present, our country of 120 crore people rarely has a chance to win one Gold Medal in the Olympics. On the other hand, small children are victims of major diseases. A healthy body is a must in order to realize our desired results. Sports and Physical Education must be an essential and intrinsic part of school curriculum. In addition, arts and music must also be given due priority. In the beginning of each subject, introduction of Indian history in that very subject, past legacies and ancient knowledge need to be incorporated.

#### Language

Language stands as the biggest barrier on the pathway of educational transformation. This was something to be addressed immediately after independence, but it could not happen due to lack of political will-power and it was decided to carry it further for next 15 years. However, after 15 years no effort was made to remove English, interestingly, it became even more dominant. After independence, when Mahatma Gandhi was asked to give an interview in English, he said: "*Go and tell the world that Gandhi does not know English*". Apart from Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malviya and other great men advocated the use of our own language. There is no country in the world where primary education is given in a foreign language. No scholar of the world has pleaded the

necessity of English. The former President of America Bill Clinton as well as Barak Obama, the present President, have addressed their students and asked them to pursue a deeper study of science and mathematics to compete Indian and Chinese students, but they never talked about English. However, the atmosphere in our own country is such that a person not knowing ABC of English wants his child to study in an English medium school. This is totally unscientific, illogical and inappropriate. In last 40 years, over 150 researches have been conducted in the world and all sum up that education must be imparted in mother tongue. When we study some of the economically strong countries of the world, we observe that they use one common language for education, public dealing and administrative work. We are not against learning or teaching any language whatsoever, but we are against the policy of imposing a foreign language on 120 crore people forcefully. Doing this type of injustice and iniquity is a sin, and those who are showing their acceptance to this type of injustice and iniquity are equally responsible. Under the circumstances, the struggle for our language is difficult but not impossible. The present condition of India with respect to English is similar to that of England 350 years ago, when

the French language has dominance over English language. However, the people of England reflected a strong will power and replaced French with English. Not only that, they succeeded in spreading their language worldwide. Therefore, we must demonstrate will power to promote our own language within boundaries of our motherland.

Our country needs to

Language stands as the biggest barrier on the pathway of educational transformation. This was something to be addressed immediately after independence, but it could not happen due to lack of political will-power and it was decided to carry it further for next 15 years.

adopt a "three-language formula": the first being our mother tongue, the second our *lingua franca* (national language) and the third language as Sanskrit, the mother of all languages. English should not figure as a compulsory language at all levels. Once this 'three-language formula' is adopted, it won't be difficult to place Hindi and Sanskrit as global languages. This process must start from our own individual level.

1. Put your signature in your own language.
2. Use the word 'Bharat' only (and not India), no matter in whatever language you speak or write.

3. Use Indian languages in general practice.
4. Insist on imparting your child's education in your mother tongue.
5. Insist on publishing literature of your institution, etc. in Hindi language.
6. Translation of books from other languages into Hindi should be done extensively.

#### Research Activities: We

will need to invest more on research-related projects with emphasis on quality. Presently, research projects carried out in different universities lack practicality. Therefore, research should be carried out keeping in mind its

applicability in national and social interest.

- ♦ In present global scenario, India spends only 2.5% on research and development while China spends 4-9%. (UNESCO 2000)
- ♦ In India research work in science should be encouraged as very less research is carried out in pure science subjects. India's share in scientific researches is only 2.1% while China accounts for 14.7%. (UNESCO 2000)
- ♦ The exploitation of students conducting research in different universities should be stopped.
- ♦ Research activities

conducted using unfair means or using corrupt practices should be stopped.

### Steps to increase the quality and efficiency of Teachers:

Acharya Binova Bhava had said that an 'Acharya' is the one who teaches through his 'acharan' (conduct). Teachers play an important role in transformation and execution of education system of any country. Therefore, it is very important that an appropriate training plan should be chalked out for our teachers. The following points demand attention:

- ♦ There should be a course for B.Ed spread into 4-years after class 12<sup>th</sup>.
- ♦ There should be a course spread into two years after graduation.
- ♦ The modus operandi of imparting education should be changed and diversified.
- ♦ Regular teaching and training of teachers should be ensured and these trainings should incorporate moral and professional values.
- ♦ In addition, state-of-the-art and technology should be imparted.
- ♦ Skill and capacity should be developed.
- ♦ Teachers should be made



Acharya Binova Bhava had said that an 'Acharya' is the one who teaches through his 'acharan' (conduct). Teachers play an important role in transformation and execution of education system of any country. Therefore, it is very important that an appropriate training plan should be chalked out for our teachers.

aware of the challenges faced by the country and the society and should be equipped to address these challenges.

- ♦ It should be noted that imparting education is an act of service and not a business, a mission and not a profession.

An Indian delegation once asked Kennedy about the secret of prosperity of America. He replied:

**Every teacher in America Looks at every student of America as a future President of America.**

In the same manner, a thorough change is required in examination and evaluation system. Examination and evaluation should be considered as a part of

educational activity. Efforts should be made for preserving and strengthening various traditional healing methods and authentic curriculum should be developed to this effect.

In order to revive the above-mentioned vision of education, there is dire need to create awareness among people through a number of educational activities. This has to be instilled in the minds of people that education is not only the responsibility of the government or some institutions alone but the responsibility lies in the hands of whole society.

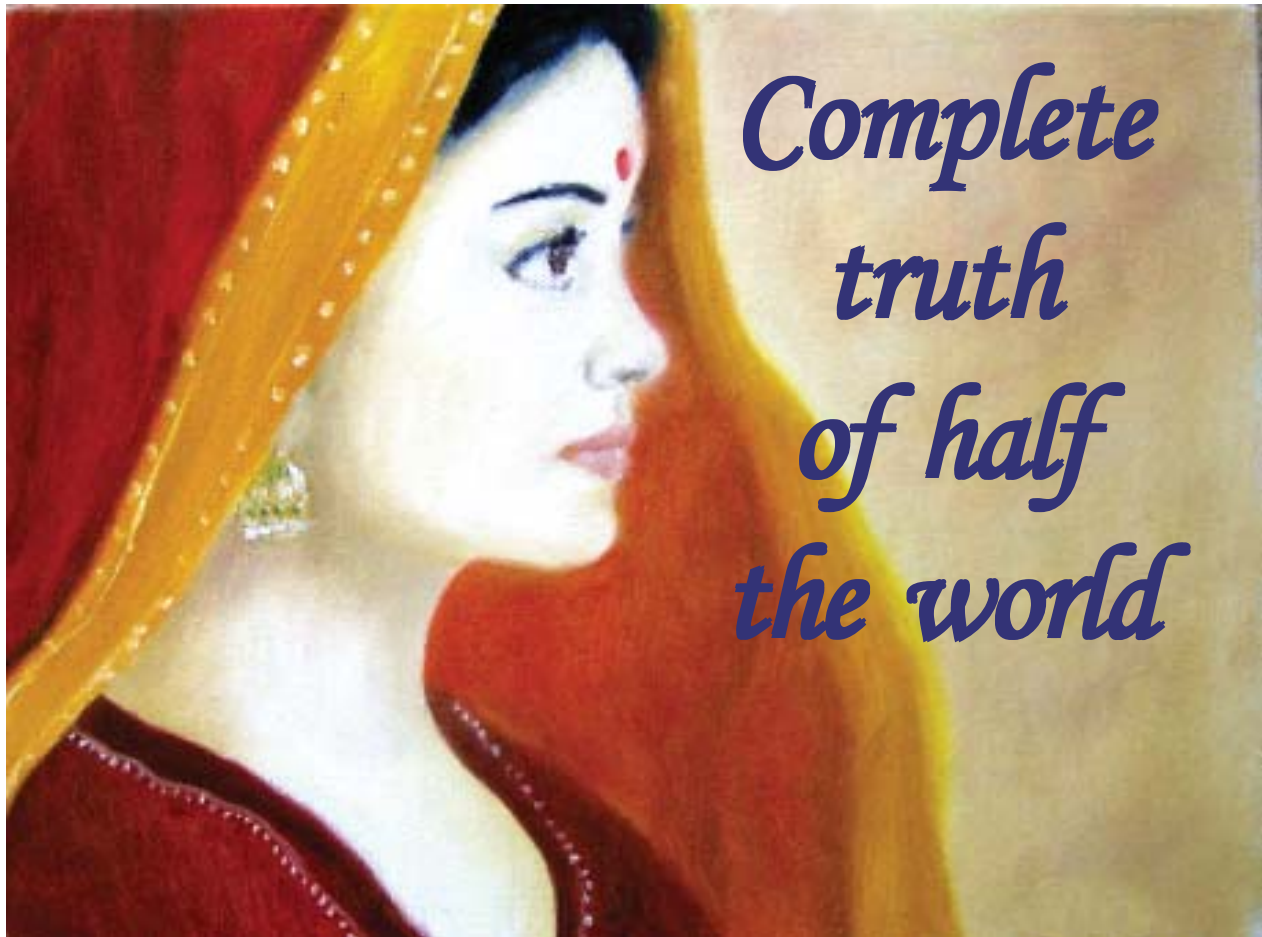
At the same time, everyone associated with the pious mission of imparting education will have to contribute his or her strength in the preparation for "new alternatives in the field of education".

In the last 1500-2000 years, it seems that the process of such thoughtfulness has come to a standstill – a process which must be reactivated now.

Such efforts must be pursued in all the schools, colleges and universities of our country. In this manner widespread transformation of education will start which will further lead to the transformation of the entire society. ■

(The writer is the Secretary of Shiksha Sanskriti Utthan Nyas)





**F**ormer Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is not only a statesman, but also a philosopher, thinker and poet. Twenty five years ago he had suggested some formula towards determining the direction of women development- "the direction of women's development in every sphere of life has to be ensured. But those who are intent on making men out of women in the name of equality, are worth being laughed at. A woman has to be a woman. We have to make sure that women made of flesh and blood just like a man, does not become a puppet, nor does she become



 **Mridula Sinha**

high minded, breaking all her relations with the ground. Determination of such a direction of women's

development is the responsibility of society, government and women themselves."

Today a handful of so called social thinkers, searching for the direction of women's development, are looking at Indian women through the prism of western concept of modernism. Failed slogans of "women's freedom" were imported from the west three decades ago. They created battle grounds in every household in the name of equality between man and woman. Women were tricked into playing beggars before man, society and the government in every sphere of life. In this situation,

radical Indian thinker and philosopher late Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra's thoughts and warnings became explicit. It also cautioned those philosophers and litterateurs who were intent on defining Indian women in such a way as she herself could not understand anything. Those handfull of men and women were eager on creating an image of woman which she

dignity for widows, spreading education and ensuring their political participation in the nationalist movement by providing economic independence through spinning wheel. In his efforts of bringing women at par with men again, Maharshi Dayanand took the help of Vedic rituals. He re-established the practice of education and *yojnopavit*

facing the challenges that are there before women in the entire world. She is again in the role of a *guru*. As a mother is the first *guru* of her child, she has to take command if she has to again make India leader of the world (*vishwa Guru*). It is a historical responsibility of the Indian women. Today's women cannot fulfill this huge responsibility without putting this target before her and living for self only. She cannot afford to be misled into a blind race with man and end in losing, tired and beaten. She cannot fulfill this responsibility without man's co-operation, without searching for her identity. That is why she has to complete a man in the form of *Ardhnarishwar*. Then a situation will come when no one is either big or small. Woman can not and should not avoid the responsibilities of giving birth and nurturing life. At the same time, she should not tolerate atrocity and exploitation. Demanding rights, without caring for her duties is not the trait of Indian woman. To understand the rights and duties of the Indian women, we need to know much more.

As Dr Vidya Niwas Mishra compared the life of a woman with a river in these words - "As a river continuously flows down the slopes, relinquishing the fascination of heights, so a mother slowly gets more attached to her son/daughter as compared to her father and



In the words of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the statesman, "Family is the smallest unit of society. A woman is the pivot of that unit. Due to many historical and social reasons she lagged behind the man. Now she needs equality with dignity vis-à-vis man. In certain areas she has to be brought ahead of man by giving special facilities and reservations. Due to some god gifted specialties she is special if compared to man."

would not like to be identified with.

Both Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra took forward the woman centric thought which was propagated by great people like Dayanand Saraswati, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Karve, Mahatma Phule, Swami Vivekanand and Mahatma Gandhi. In the process of national renaissance, the nationalists of the last centuries had put special emphasis on lighting the dark lives of women. That's why they thought of practical things like liberating them from convention of *sati pratha*,

(Sacred thread) for women also.

These were the requirements of the women of that generation. Now as we are in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Indian Society and women themselves are faced with many new challenges. Media and information revolution have turned the world into a global village and in this situation, Indian women, who have put their footprints on land, water and sky alike, have the challenge of maintaining their cultural heritage and at the same time not to be left behind. It is Indian women who only can shoulder the responsibility of

husband. She lives for the happiness of her family. It is in this happiness that a woman gets her full meaning."

In the words of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the statesman, "Family is the smallest unit of society. A woman is the pivot of that unit. Due to many historical and social reasons she lagged behind the man. Now she needs equality with dignity vis-à-vis man. In certain areas she has to be brought ahead of man by giving special facilities and reservations. Due to some god gifted specialties she is special if compared to man."

This resolution of a statesman removes the feeling of misery and inferiority; it also gives direction to the government and society by awakening - cautioning them.

Indian society respects both rivers and women. Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra says, "So Long as Ganga is entangled in Shivji's *jata*, she does not become such a huge river as if she is the river of gods. It is only when she becomes Bhagirathi, she gives *mukti* to crores of people from bondages of lakhs of years, becomes the pilgrimage of pilgrimages, becomes the carrier of a great culture in which small sub-currents merge with honour and pride, then she becomes the Ganga. Indian woman is also important in the Indian context because she is the centre of all relations. Indian woman gets her importance

because of her role in maintaining all the relations with modesty. She is a complete woman."

It is true that a woman gets more than she gives. Therefore, as the store of a *dani* (donor) is filled at a double rate and is never emptied, so a woman gives everything to her relations and in return

worrying for men. People get disenchanted by misbehavior of a boy in a family and say 'leave him, he has become a loafer.' Does anyone say so for a girl? No! This is because, we cannot even think of a girl becoming a loafer. A girl is not only a person, but a whole institution. Let men be mad. You must be cautious. Recognize your strength. You

Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra says, "So Long as Ganga is entangled in Shivji's *jata*, she does not become such a huge river as if she is the river of gods. It is only when she becomes Bhagirathi, she gives *mukti* to crores of people from bondages of lakhs of years, becomes the pilgrimage of pilgrimages, becomes the carrier of a great culture in which small sub-currents merge with honour and pride, then she becomes the Ganga. Indian woman is also important in the Indian context because she is the centre of all relations. Indian woman gets her importance because of her role in maintaining all the relations with modesty. She is a complete woman."



gets everything.

A woman is endowed as a giver. She gives in the forms of a mother, a wife, a sister, a daughter, a beloved and so many other forms of social family life. She feels contented even without abundance. She is ever fresh without sleeping for a moment. We cannot solve things, when considering women's problems and its solutions, by leaving aside her eternal responsibilities and her temperament.

Late Mahadevi Verma had cautioned women, "Leave

have to create a new world order on your own."

Mahatma Gandhi says, "Sacrifice gets personified in the form of a woman. Whenever she takes any responsibility in her true spirit, she even shakes mountains."

"O sacrificing woman! Keep your sorrow intact. That is not sorrow but happiness. Many have found solace in your laps and many more will."

Women's position, behaviour and course of her



development in society as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, Mahadevi Verma, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra is yet to be realised. There is a difference of two generations between Gandhi and the other three. But their ideas are same. Reason behind this is that all four persons knew and were inspired by the history of Indian women. We should not forget that the history of Indian women is not only laudable, but also of eternal importance.

She has never been a competitor of man. We cannot think of her in separation of man and family.

To achieve this object of the development of women, we need to think anew. It is necessary to make her strong individually and collectively (family, society, politics) with financial resources at her disposal. However, she should not be demanding. She needs to earn her rights by investing in her duties. She should not be an object only in this capitalist world. Efforts of changing her into a man should be resisted.

Education has a vital role in shaping a woman's personality. Education can be used for earning. However, family and children are more important in a woman's life than wealth. Therefore, a woman needs to learn the art of life for herself and for

others.

She is not equal to man, but special. Therefore, special education should be arranged for her. Her health also is not personal. A mother has to perform dual role. This duality in life begins at a very tender age. Special feeding and health check-up should be arranged for her, especially during and after pregnancy and child birth. She is also



She is not equal to man, but special. Therefore, special education should be arranged for her. Her health also is not personal. A mother has to perform dual role. This duality in life begins at a very tender age. Special feeding and health check-up should be arranged for her, especially during and after pregnancy and child birth. She is also entitled to special protection and reservation in every sphere of life. Nature has made her in a special way. She needs protection everywhere. She is an asset to family and the society.

entitled to special protection and reservation in every sphere of life. Nature has made her in a special way. She needs protection everywhere. She is an asset to family and the society.

Reservation in politics is not only for the sake of woman. Her participation in politics and governance brings in qualitative changes in these areas. While thinking of women and taking decision about her participation in social life, her special status in the family and the society should be kept in mind. This will also do away with the question of equality between man and woman and confrontation arising thereof. Woman is not to be pitied. Society does not do any favours to her by giving education, health security and political reservation. In fact society itself gets benefited by doing so. Sensitive and efficient functioning is the natural consequence of woman's participation in public life.

These are the Indian concepts of woman. We cannot forget and leave aside Indian thinking and practices by calling them outdated. Women are losing their place in the global village that we are thinking of. Any unilateral thinking about woman will not help her development.

Indian woman has her own glorious history. Her present is no less

bright. Only a little consideration about correct direction is needed. We need to evolve a conducive atmosphere for a woman's physical, mental and spiritual

and legal provisions. BJP has been the first political party to have made women empowerment her object, instead of women's freedom in society (the then reigning

strong, is our target and practice. We need to bring man, family, society and government forward in the development of this form of woman.



Mahila Morcha of the Bhartiya Janta Party has since its inception (1980) discussed Indian woman's all round development and has made efforts for political solutions and legal provisions. BJP has been the first political party to have made women empowerment its objective, instead of women's freedom in society (the then reigning slogan). It has been a political party which has emphasized on cooperation and complementation between man and woman in every sphere of life.

progress, without forcing her to become a man. She will be the superior (as a creator) to man by retaining herself as a woman. Only a fully developed woman, fulfilling her natural, cultural and social responsibilities, armed with her rights, can lighten this world.

We have to develop this sentiment in every girl. Only discussion won't do much. She has already moved ahead. She needs only direction. She should not fumble in the path of her true self.

Mahila Morcha of the Bhartiya Janta Party has since its inception (1980) discussed Indian woman's all round development and has made efforts for political solutions

slogan). It has been a political party which has emphasized on cooperation and complementation between man and woman in every sphere of life. Co-operation, not confrontation in the name of equality, is its guiding philosophy. It was first to demand 33% reservation for woman in 1996 Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections. It has continuously worked for strong law against domestic violence and female feticide.

To make efforts for development of her mental faculties and skills and to fight for her personality development and thus make her a cultured, self respecting, dignified and financially

Development is not achieved in reactions. It is to be noted that a woman's natural duties haven't altered in this changed ultra modern world. A family or a society cannot develop without her participation. Therefore, it is responsibility of every political party to work for her speedy development and cooperate in fulfilling her duties and remove complications therein. Society and government, too, have to do the same.

The thinkers, philosophers and social activists of today have sidelined women. She is sidelined in family and work place also. She is afraid. Laws made for her protection have failed to protect her in the homes and the offices. Why? Why should she fight for herself? This is not possible, nor practical. Women's problems are not the problems of women only. It is the problem of the society. Society needs to come forward for solutions. Her condition affects entire family. That is why Mahadevi Verma has cautioned women. It affects entire society. This is the complete truth about the woman. This explains the need to look at the women's problems in its totality. Ages passed but fundamentals of this debate have not. ■

*(The writer is the Editor of "Panchva Stambh")*

# Reformed Polity, a pre-requisite for Nationalism and Development centric Politics



 Dr. Vinay Sahasrabuddhe

To discuss Nationalism and Politics has several dimensions. There is ample scope for misinterpretation leading to greater confusion. Already several individuals, both from *Nationalism's* adversaries as well as advocates; have contributed to crass confusion about the concept of

*Nationalism*. Hence, to start with, this article tries to set a broad framework within which the terms like *Nationalism* and national unity are to be understood. Later, it examines if the present polity – mainly the democratic political system – in India is conducive or otherwise for the ideals of *Nationalism*. At

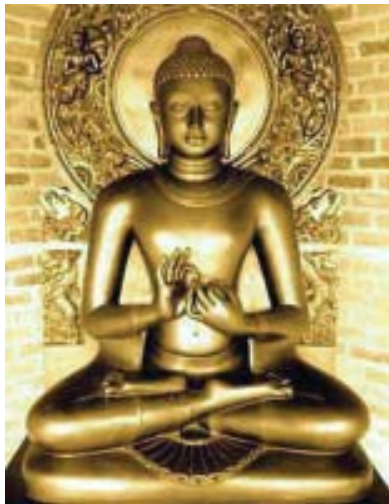
The concept of cultural nationalism is embedded in emotional unity and integrity. It is this emotionality which makes those in this movement a little touchy about assertion of different smaller identities.

Accommodating – and not rejecting – smaller identities by helping them merge with a greater national identity forms a policy perspective of Nationalism.



the end, an attempt is made to discuss as to how systemic and other reforms could possibly bring about a polity that can strengthen the fundamentals of *Nationalism*.

To anybody desirous of understanding the core ideas and concepts that form a part of *Nationalism*, actions,



statements and published literature of individuals and organizations actively associated with *Nationalism* movement provide ample source material. Content analysis of such sources leads us to draw a conclusion that following principles could rightly be described as the fundamentals of *Nationalism* ideology.

1. One People- One Nation
2. Justice for all, appeasement of none.
3. Social harmony (Samarasata) through equality and justice.
4. Unity and Integrity based approach while cultivating moral



A firm belief in this concept, as communicated in "*Ekam Sat, Vipra Bahuda vadanti*" (Truth is one, sages describe it differently) forms the foundation of Hindu and thereby the Indian world view. This notion has in effect, made all religions valid and reverential for all.

It is due to this fundamental faith in the existence of multiple ways of seeking salvation that the concept of proselytisation and the resultant competition for converting people finds no place in Hindu religion. This is also true in other indigenous belief systems, be it Jainism or Buddhism.

authority based Society and with all these,

5. Good Governance, with welfare of all (*Sarvepi Sukhinaa Santu*) at its core.

## One people- One Nation

National unity has always remained something very fundamental to *Nationalism*. Scholarly definitions and the debates surrounding them notwithstanding, *Nationalism*, to the lay supporters of the movement, is a reassertion of geo-cultural unity of India. This explains as to why



Kashmir and the North-East India have always been a powerful theme within the *Nationalism* movement, touching the emotional chord. Similarly, the concept of one people; far from straight jacketing all sub-cultures, simply underscores the expectation that every section of those living in India abhors secessionism, develops a sense of belonging and sincerely shares a sense of pride in the glorious past of this nation. The concept of cultural nationalism is embedded in emotional unity and integrity. It is this emotionality which makes those in this movement a little touchy about assertion of different smaller identities. Accommodating – and not rejecting – smaller identities

by helping them merge with a greater national identity forms a policy perspective of Nationalism. This is particularly important in the context of issues of regional, religious or community based identities. It is on this backdrop that *Nationalism* could well be described as anti

concept, as communicated in “*Ekam Sat, Vipra Bahuda vadanti*” (Truth is one, sages describe it differently) forms the foundation of Hindu and thereby the Indian world view. This notion has in effect, made all religions valid and reverential for all. It is due to this fundamental faith in

fundamental equality of and hence equal respect for all religions and all the ways of worship is the basis of such sustained pluralism. It must be remembered that if one commits him / herself to the cardinal principles of sustainable pluralism, one cannot talk of superiority of a

RSS is known for its organizational prowess and its conviction that scientifically built human organizations ultimately deliver. In a way this fundamental belief; shared by many the Nationalism movement is time tested.



everything that fragments the Indian society and promotes narrow sectarian identities.

Justice for all, appeasement of none

While one-nation, one-people may sound an attempt of imposing regimentation and give handle – or has already given one – to the adversaries of *Nationalism*, one must note that spiritual democracy and sustainable pluralism are the two very important corner stones of *Nationalism*. A deeper understanding of these concepts helps one appreciate the emphasis on the concept of Justice for all but appeasement of none.

A firm belief in this

the existence of multiple ways of seeking salvation that the concept of proselytisation and the resultant competition for converting people finds no place in Hindu religion. This is also true in other indigenous belief systems, be it Jainism or Buddhism. Let us not forget that this spiritual democracy, this fundamental spirit of accommodation alone could make India a shining example of centuries of peaceful co-existence of different religions and belief systems.

In other words, thanks to Hinduism, India could evolve a replicable model of sustainable pluralism. Acceptance of the

way of worship and hence of the need to convert adherents of other faiths. Besides, once one decides to indulge in the concepts of superiority of a religion, no meaningful dialogue between faiths can happen. It is on this backdrop that the concept of Justice for all but appeasement – meaning any kind of special treatment to – of none needs to be understood.

Social harmony (*Samarasata*) through equality and justice

As I understand, Nationalism is a unifying philosophy and hence absolutely against any caste discrimination. It was not for no reasons that Balasaheb

Deoras, the third Sarsanghachalak of the RSS proclaimed way back in early 1980s that caste discriminations have to go lock stock and barrel.

that the weaker sections not only get reservations but also are also duly empowered to take advantage of them. Those who are committed to the cause of Hindu unity just



Supporting caste based reservations also has been a considered policy of the RSS. *Nationalism* movement is well aware that universally accepted and widely acclaimed concepts of affirmative action and positive discrimination for social justice are at the root of caste based reservations. Supporters of *Nationalism* have realised long ago that larger and lasting Hindu unity will not be possible without the so-called upper castes cultivating a mindset for creating a space, at the cost of their own opportunity; for the underprivileged classes.

It would not be wrong to suggest that the privileged and comparatively less unfortunate sections of the society also have to ensure

**Nationalism as an all encompassing ideology sets welfare of all as its goal. Concepts like *Antyodaya*, and worshipping *Daridri Narayana* are essentially reflective of a doctrine which is essentially Indian, or Hindu. *Sarvodaya*, propounded by Mahatma Gandhi as also the philosophy of *Antyodaya* too has the same elements at its core. To achieve this welfare in a democratic set up, governments here have to deliver good governance.**

cannot afford to be unmindful of the fact that if emotional integrity is not achieved, Hindu unity will remain a chimera. For emotional integrity to sustain one has to promote this spirit of mutual understanding, accommodation with a sense of fundamental social responsibility. Those in the *Nationalism* movement are fully aware about the designs of anti-Hindu-unity forces aimed at dividing this society and breaking the cultural-emotional bonds and inter-community harmony.

**Pro – Organisation approach while cultivating a moral authority based Society**

RSS is known for its organizational prowess and its conviction that scientifically built human organizations ultimately deliver. In a way this fundamental belief; shared by many the *Nationalism* movement is time tested. Thanks to this core belief, the institution of Organising Secretary was painstakingly but uniquely established earlier in the Jan Sangha and now in the BJP. It may be mentioned here that Shri. M.S. Golwalkar, the second RSS Chief for over a quarter century; was always critical of party system as well as political system in India. A staunch nationalist, he had observed: “For, a party without persons of good character and self-less devotion to the total national cause is like a body with paralysed limbs useless and

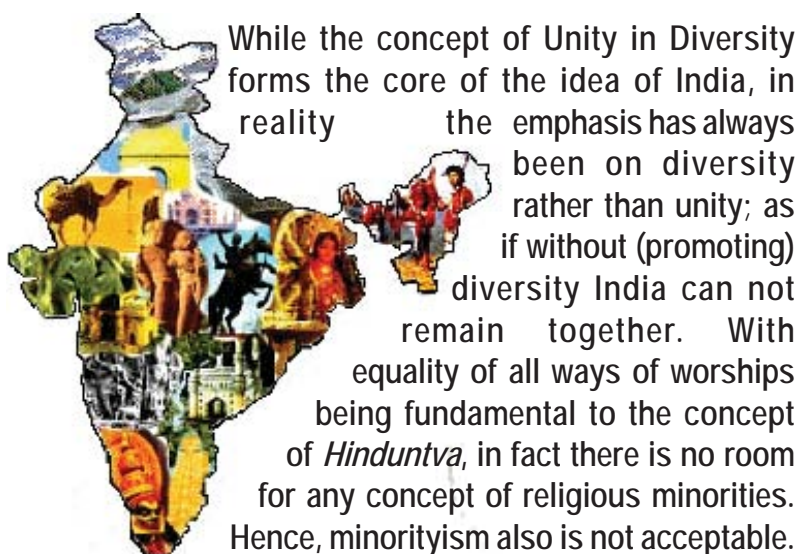


even harmful ...".<sup>1</sup> He wanted a party to be 'an organised homogenous party'. He was apprehensive that in the absence of a well-knit national life, "political parties (would) degenerate into mutual hostility and ruin the national fabric,"<sup>2</sup> since democratic institutions will come into play only when the

conduct.<sup>4</sup>

### Good Governance

Nationalism as an all encompassing ideology sets welfare of all as its goal. Concepts like *Antyodaya*, and worshipping *Daridri Narayana* are essentially reflective of a doctrine which is essentially Indian, or Hindu. *Sarvodaya*,



people are firmly rooted in the consciousness of 'nation above party'.<sup>3</sup> Understandably, Deendayal Upadhyay, ideologue and one of the founding fathers of the Jan Sangha had similar views. He had stressed that parties should be giving importance to qualities like devotion and discipline besides being "wedded to certain ideals" with all their policies "framed with a view to realising these ideals." He was of the firm view that democracy is not only elections but also well-organised people, well built parties and well-established conventions of political

propounded by Mahatma Gandhi as also the philosophy of *Antyodaya* too has the same elements at its core. To achieve this welfare in a democratic set up, governments here have to deliver good governance. However, that does not seem to be happening

### A Corroded System

The reasons behind the fact that democratically elected governments in India have failed in delivering are not far to seek. For democracy, elections and electoral politics is a must and similarly, for electoral politics; parties are essential. But when system

allows political parties to be run in an irresponsible manner, with practically no attempt at institutionalising their functioning, ideology takes a back seat, winning an election becomes the only agenda and competitive compromises becomes the order of the day. That community or caste leader centric parties with dynastic rule inherent to it mushroom under these circumstances and they hijack democracy to achieve their selfish goals should certainly not surprise us. A telling commentary on this situation comes from Pratap Bhanu Mehta, thinker and writer. Mehta says, 'the corruption, mediocrity, indiscipline, venality, and lack of moral imagination of the political class make them incapable of attending the well being of the citizens. The capture of political process by the meanest of interests, intermittently violent, occasionally unleashing uncontrollable passions, the lack of any ideological coherence, all suggest democracy (in India) has become a hollow shell. It is ritual, albeit an engaging and spectacular one'.<sup>5</sup> No wonder then the particular democratic model adopted by us has deeply corroded our body politic.

Unfortunately, our experience of the last 60 years has proved beyond doubt that the model of democratic governance adopted by us in India is just not conducive for any of the concepts considered

to be at the core of *Nationalism* ideology. If *Nationalism*, as explained earlier; stands for essential unity and integrity of the people, with no room for secessionist politics, regional chauvinism, discrimination on the basis of faith, social fragmentation leading to social bickering and anarchy, our present model of democracy and electoral system appears just incompatible with *Nationalism*. To cut the long story short, to adhere to the fundamentals of *Nationalism* drastic systemic changes are essential.

While the concept of Unity in Diversity forms the core of the idea of India, in reality the emphasis has always been on diversity rather than unity; as if without (promoting) diversity India can not remain together. With equality of all ways of worships being fundamental to the concept of *Hindutva*, in fact there is no room for any concept of religious minorities. Hence, minorityism also is not acceptable. However, unfortunately; thanks to the habit developed firstly in Congress and later in other political parties as well, the question of Muslims continue to haunt our process of governance as well. Muslims as a political class have developed a veto power on certain issues and the governments have meekly given in to their pressure primarily due to electoral considerations. From nationally important issues

such as banning cow slaughter, common civil code, abolishing IMDT act in Assam and abrogation of article 370 to locally relevant issues such as banning loud speakers on Mosques or Namaz on the streets; governance issues have been wantonly allowed to fall prey to the pressures of electoral politics. For spiritual democracy and pluralism to sustain, a particular

**To change all the way politics is being played in India introducing massive reforms is the only way. The agenda for reforms has to include mainly systemic reforms as it is the system that is not only perpetuating the existing failures in governance but also harming our basic national unity.**

community alone can never be given a special status and hence minorityism too is absolutely detrimental to *Nationalism*.

Again, what has added to the severity of this challenge of social unity within the Hindu society is our electoral system. Electoral politics here provides the best example of how for electoral purposes regional, religious and sectarian feelings are routinely stoked and vote-bank politics is heavily attempted at. Organised minorities – under caste and community labels –

are made to feel that they are separate than the vast majority and their identities are endangered and hence they have to vote for a particular party. This has happened with not only Muslims and Scheduled Casts, but also various OBC groups and other communities such as Jats, Kurmis, Lingayats and Marathas too. In this situation extreme identity politics is bound to get fillip under the present system, ultimately leading to further fragmentation of polity.

#### **Not without reforms**

To change all the way politics is being played in India introducing massive reforms is the only way. The agenda for reforms has to include mainly systemic reforms as it is the system that is not only perpetuating the existing failures in governance but also harming our basic national unity. This system has an inherent element of destructing national unity and social harmony as factors such as political and as a consequence furtherance of social fragmentation as well as minority appeasement for vote bank politics has taken centre stage in electoral politics of today. Besides, good governance and welfare of all has remained a chimera as bartering real good of the people for perceived good through populist politics is considered a must by today's politicians.

Several researchers have pointed out that

parliamentary democracies often lead to the fragmentation of political parties. Ever increasing number of political parties in India is a testimony of this observation. As per the Election Commission's Report on 2004 Lok Sabha Elections as many as 230 parties had put up their candidates. When elections to the UP assembly for 2007 were round the corner in April-May 2007 additional 150 parties had mushroomed.<sup>6</sup> This steady increase in the number of political parties is mainly because almost every minor caste and religious or social group has now started asserting itself politically. In the process, these groups are claiming a separate identity and subsequently an independent and exclusive representation. Another serious factor that calls for a systemic change is the fact that Parliamentary system promotes fragmented politics. Consequently, castes and community loyalties become the foundations of parties. This also influences the politics of larger parties with a national appeal and they too give in to the pressures of caste considerations. All this has had a great impact upon voting behavior of the people. Candidates are generally selected on caste lines and citizens vote on caste appeal. States like UP, Bihar and Tamilnadu are already in the grip of caste politics and other states like Karnataka, Maharashtra and Rajasthan are not far behind. In a

situation like this, the electoral system has been almost totally subverted by money power, muscle power and vote-bank considerations of caste and communities. As a result, although caste politics and communalism may appear to have diluted in social life, the same are being aided and abetted through electoral

**Coalition politics has added to the complications of representative democracy. Consequently, a trend of coalition politics with competitive political bargaining— largely on sectarian lines— at its core, is gripping the political scenario. Thanks to the phenomenon of identity politics, several smaller parties are out in the electoral malls to shop for votes.**

process.

Coalition politics has added to the complications of representative democracy. Consequently, a trend of coalition politics with competitive political bargaining— largely on sectarian lines— at its core, is gripping the political scenario. Thanks to the phenomenon of identity politics, several smaller parties are out in the electoral malls to shop for

votes.

As a consequence, small parties have become more prominent with their concentrated pockets of influence. While parties and candidates are theoretically compelled to appeal to the widest possible base to get elected, in reality the appeal gets further narrowed down. Arun Shourie underscores this point. According to him, several recent electoral verdicts bring forward three main features of the present situation, namely “—the electorate splintered, the splinters frozen, small swings in votes having such pronounced consequences for the share in seats—lead the politician to the same operational lessons: somehow exacerbate divisions, somehow swing a small fraction of the electorate; somehow stitch up the small sections.”<sup>7</sup>

Fragmentation on community, caste or religious lines is the fountainhead of populism and vice versa. Fragmentation gets a fillip due to politics of populism which is considered inevitable in the present day electoral politics. In India, we have witnessed several instances of minority groups joining hands with a section of majority and outnumbering those who are otherwise, numerically dominant. In the Indian scenario, communities that have strong community bonds and hence are traditionally voting en bloc; (i.e. Marathas, Dalits or Muslims)<sup>8</sup> prove to be



gaining more than the even a numerically larger community (i.e. all other Hindu communities put together). This explains, partly at least; why the Congress government at the centre could go resolutely ahead in introducing a Hindu Code bill in the sixties, but surrendered to the Muslim community leaders and went to the extent of amending the constitution simply to undo the impact of Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case, in 1988. It can be reasonably argued that the best example of certain sections of the electorate voting as one unified group in favour of one party is the Muslim vote bank in India. All parties are aware of the strength of this vote bank and the impact that their votes can have on the electoral verdict. Although Muslim community is a minority here, the undiluted sway that the religious leaders have on the thinking of this community, has converted the community into a vote bank. Tyranny of the Majority in actual terms proves to be the Tyranny of the 'more organised on communal lines', especially in a situation like India; where majority community is divided on caste and community bases. This obviously influences inter-community relations and abets fragmentation.

Governance suffers when democratically elected governments abdicate their responsibilities. Elected governments well afford this as populist considerations

**Although reforms are hard to come about, they are integral to any living society and polity. There are scores of examples of nations who have opted for a particular form of democracy and subsequently switched over to the other. In neighboring Sri Lanka, several experiments were tried during the last three decades. Starting from majoritarian democracy at the time of independence (1947) to executive presidency and proportional representation (1978) to the present combination of run-off and preferential voting for the election of a president, Sri Lanka has come a long way. In far off Australia too, parties and politicians have experimented with a variety of voting systems that they believed would advance popular democracy and pragmatic politics.**

always dominate. This leads to some kind of a governance vacuum, inviting other pillars of democracy to fill the same. As pointed out by Pratap Bhanu Mehta, the weaknesses of political process emerging out of populist considerations

have provided ground for judicial activism. "In many cases governments routinely seek judicial dispensation to give them political cover for unpopular decisions they might have to make."<sup>9</sup>

In order to change this situation and create circumstances that would not hamper the processes of achieving greater unification of society and national integration, would substantially reduce the scope for indulging in populist politics and promote well organised political parties, drastic sounding reforms are a must. A broad outline of the objectives of these reforms could be as follows:-

1. Reforming the electoral process with a view to reducing the technique-orientation acquired by the electoral process.
2. Reducing scope for vote-bank politics.
3. Preventing competitive de-secularisation of electoral politics by prohibiting emotive and identity issues to dominate electoral campaigns.
4. Evolving a proper constitutional framework for ensuring a more democratic, professionalised, methodical and trustworthy organisational functioning of political parties.
5. Ensuring greater accountability and transparency in major areas of party-governance

especially financial affairs of the party.

Although reforms are hard to come about, they are integral to any living society and polity. There are scores of examples of nations who have opted for a particular form of democracy and subsequently switched over to the other. In neighboring Sri Lanka, several experiments were tried during the last three decades. Starting from majoritarian democracy at the time of independence

Representation (PR) was introduced for the Senate. Similarly, New Zealand and South Africa too have experimented with changes in either forms of governments or the electoral systems, or even both.

**Is MMPR the answer?**

Mixed Member Proportional Representation (MMPR) (also known as Mixed Compensatory Proportional Representation – MCPR) is a system well

for the election of the Scottish and the Welsh regional assemblies. Often described as a system that combines the “best of both worlds” MMPR allows voters to think both, locally as well as nationally.

Organisations like *Janadesh*, a platform for National Campaign for Political Reforms have been very strongly advocating that India should switch over to PR. Claiming that under PR, parties are under almost no pressure to be the biggest and loudest voice and hence less expenditure on elections, advocates of PR argue that PR is best suited to reduce corruption. “In the top 20 least corrupt countries 17 follow one form of PR or the other”, claims a pamphlet published by *Janadesh*.

Organisations like *Janadesh*, a platform for National Campaign for Political Reforms have been very strongly advocating that India should switch over to PR. Claiming that under PR, parties are under almost no pressure to be the biggest and loudest voice and hence less expenditure on elections, advocates of PR argue that PR is best suited to reduce corruption. “In the top 20 least corrupt countries 17 follow one form of PR or the other”, claims a pamphlet published by *Janadesh*.

(1947) to executive presidency and proportional representation (1978) to the present combination of run-off and preferential voting for the election of a president, Sri Lanka has come a long way. In far off Australia too, parties and politicians have experimented with a variety of voting systems that they believed would advance popular democracy and pragmatic politics. Compulsion in the enrolment of electors was introduced in 1911, while First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) was replaced with preferential voting for the House in 1918 and for the senate in 1919. Again, in 1948, Proportional

entrenched in Germany. The most noteworthy aspect of this system is that it perfectly blends two distinct worlds of mechanisms, allowing the election of one part of representatives of local districts by first-past-the post vote in single-seat constituencies, and at the same time, thanks to compensation mandates, allowing a fully proportional outcome. Of the various systems, MMPR seems to be one of the most popular systems. Countries like Albania, Bolivia, Lesotho, Mexico, New Zealand, the Philippines, Venezuela have adopted it at the national level. In the UK MMPR is used

PR or no PR, reforms are a must. **Attempts for bringing about reforms can succeed only when yearning for reforms is from within. It is a common experience and politicians who are genuinely concerned about the quality of democracy honestly commit themselves to strive for them and publicly declare their intention to do so, immediately after they get elected. However, once they get elected; it is everybody's experience that they just forget their resolve expressed earlier for several reasons. Many of them are not serious while making promises and hence they forget. Many others, with more honest intentions realise**

that the task of introducing reforms is easier said than done. This hampers their enthusiasm and later they just abandon the cause about which they had earlier made promises. When this happens again and again, some of the politicians also realise that continuing with the status quo, in fact serves their own

interest and hence they refrain from even talking about reforms.

Since Nationalism movement is free from such vested interests, many expect that it could take these reforms on its agenda lest its own ideals are threatened.

Dr. Vinay Sahasrabuddhe

is an independent researcher and Director general of Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini, India's only training institute working for the capacity building of elected representatives and voluntary social workers.■

*(The writer is Director General of Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini, Mumbai)*

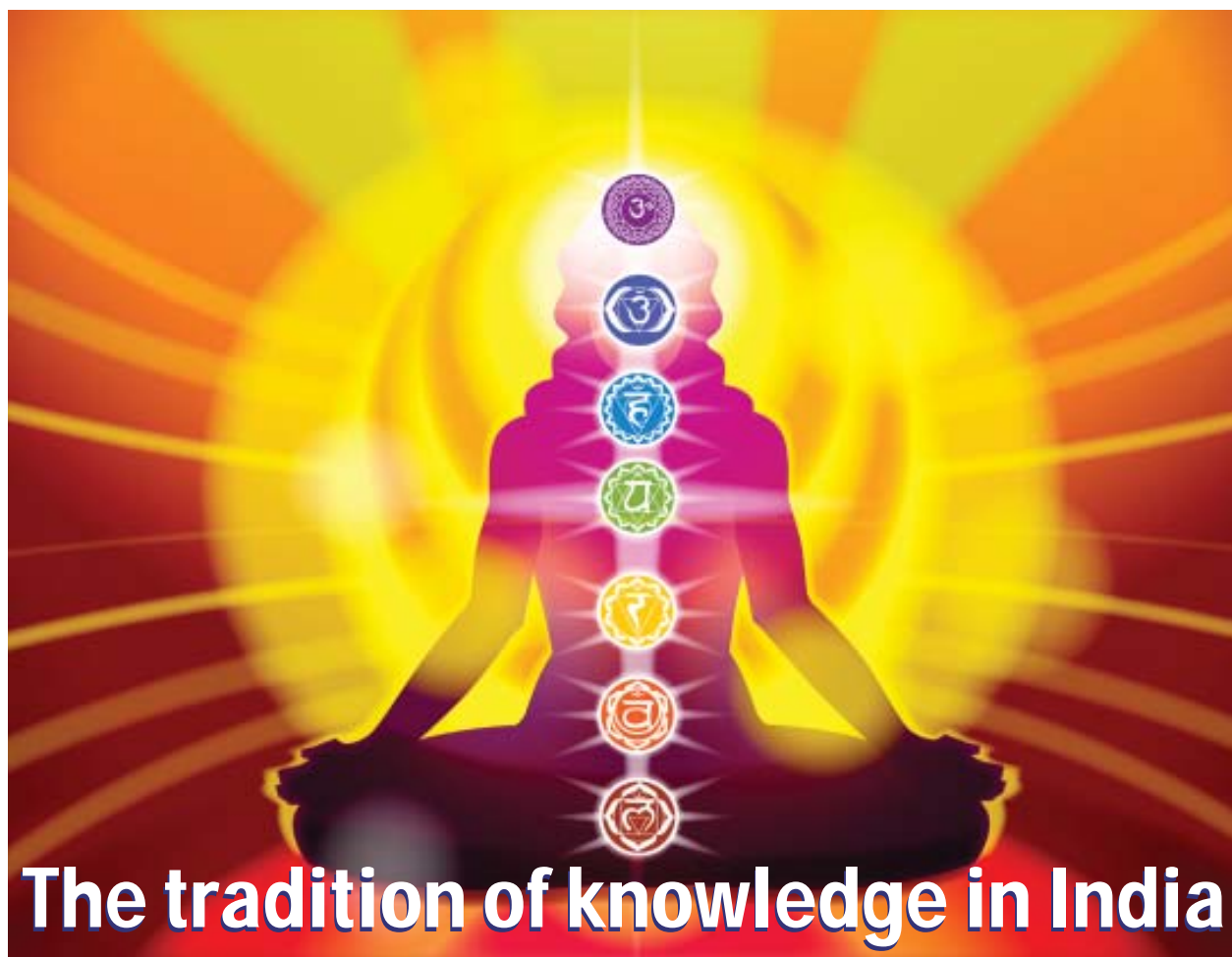
## References -

1. Golwalkar, M.S: *Bunch of Thoughts* (Bangalore, Jagran Prakashan, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1980)
2. From a compilation of his writings published in *Manthan*, New Delhi, April-June 2004 p. 32-36
3. Mehta, Pratap Bhanu, 'Epigraph', in *The Burden of Democracy*, (New Delhi, Penguin 2003) pp 17-19
4. Mehta, Pratap Bhanu: "Parliament and Judiciary: Where should the line be drawn?" *The Economic Times*, Mumbai. January 31, 2006
5. Shourie, Arun: *The Parliamentary System: What we made of it, What we can make of it* (Delhi, ASA/Rupa, 2006)
6. A Report on Global Corruption Barometer at the Transparency International website at [www.transparency.de/fileadmin/pdfs/Korruptionsindices/Global\\_Corruption\\_Barometer\\_2005\\_Report.pdf](http://www.transparency.de/fileadmin/pdfs/Korruptionsindices/Global_Corruption_Barometer_2005_Report.pdf) as on May 7, 2006

## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup> M.S. Golwalkar, 'Bunch of Thoughts' p.680
- <sup>2</sup> *ibid* p.523
- <sup>3</sup> *ibid* p.524
- <sup>4</sup> From a compilation of his writings published in *Manthan*, New Delhi, April-June 2004 p. 32-36
- <sup>5</sup> Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Epigraph, in *The Burden of Democracy*, pp 17-19
- <sup>6</sup> As quoted by Arun Shourie in 'The Parliamentary System' p.58
- <sup>7</sup> Arun Shouries, 'The Parliamentary System' p.58
- <sup>8</sup> Many political commentators and analysts perceive that Muslims, Dalits and some other marginal sections of the society in India traditionally vote en-bloc. Shafi Rafai, President of the United Muslims of America has appealed Muslims in USA to learn a good lessons from Muslims in India who "voted en bloc for the Congress party for fear of the fundamentalist Hindu party without getting anything in return". For reference, visit <http://www.umanet.org/cms.cfm?fuseaction=articles.viewThisArticle&articleID=45&pageID=159>. Also see *The Indian Express*, Mumbai, May 10, 1999 for a news item, quoting leaders of the Muslim Coordination and Action Committee (MCAC) with the title "Say Yes (to quotas for Muslims and releasing TADA prisoners) and Take the Muslim Vote En bloc".
- <sup>9</sup> Pratap Bhanu Mehta, in a debate on *Parliament and Judiciary: Where should the line be drawn?* *The Economic Times*, Mumbai, January 31, 2006 p.13. According to him, court decisions on issues "from waste management to clean air, admissions policy to fees structure, from property rights to religious liberty and many administrative matters" courts have shown extraordinary activism. This activism, although generally unacceptable and unexpected, is used by the politicians to their advantage as the buck can be passed on to the courts.





 **Hriday Narayan Dikshit**

**K**nowledge is bliss whereas ignorance is curse. Ignorance binds whereas knowledge

liberates. Knowledge encompasses the earth, the sky, and the whole space and time. Ignorance limits, whereas the knowledge sets free. India is a knowledge seeking nationalism. The land of the king Bharata has an ancient tradition of knowledge that goes back to many a thousand years. Rig-Veda is the oldest encyclopedia- the knowledge archive of the world. It is evident that India had a well established tradition of scientific approach, experience and philosophy. Rig-Veda is the first expression in verse of this

tradition of knowledge. The Brihदारanyak Upanishad is a part of the famous literature of knowledge the *Shatpath Brahmin* that was composed in post Vedic era. The Brihदारanyak Upanishad (1.4.10) mentions the phenomena of achieving ultimate knowledge of the *Brahma Gyan*. It explains that he, after achieving the complete knowledge, was evolved into *Brahma* who is expressed in all the forms. "He was *Brahma* from the beginning then he knew himself that it was he who is *Brahma*"- *Aham Brahmasmiti*. He became manifested in all.

Whoever among the deities (*Devta*) came to know the fact became the same. Whoever among the seers and men came to know the fact became the same. The Rig-Veda mentions that a seer (*Rishi*) named Vamdev came to know himself and declared, "It was I who was the Sun, it was I who evolved into the Sun." The *Swetashvar Upanishad* (6.22) mentions a post Vedic tradition of stories and mysterious knowledge, for which it was suggested that the knowledge should be handed over only to the son or to an able disciple and it should not be passed on to an inwardly unstable person. The period between the Rig-Veda and the post Vedic era was very long. The *Mundkopnishad* (1.1.1-2) explains, "*Brahma* passed on the knowledge to his elder son Atharva. Atharva passed that knowledge to Angi Rishi, Angi passed that to Bhardwaj. Bhardwaj passed that ultimate knowledge to Angira. The first and second verses of the fourth chapter of the *Geeta* depict Lord Krishna saying to Arjuna, "I handed over this knowledge to the sun-*Vivasvan*, the sun handed it over to Manu. Manu passed this knowledge to Ikshwaaku. The tradition got scattered and broken and ceased to exist after a long period.

There is a grand tradition of knowledge being inherited from one generation to another in India. Universe (*shrishti*) is vast. The world (*samsar*) is a small part of the

universe. Man is a far smaller entity of this world- universe. Man constantly seeks for bliss. World is big. When the man and the world are in favour to each other, it is happiness, whereas if they are not favourable to each other it is sorrow. 'Kh' in Sanskrit literature means sky. The sky

**There is an interesting *sukta* (Rig-Veda 10.71) related to knowledge (*Gyan*) in the oldest knowledge archive of the world. This was composed by the poet and philosopher seer (Rishi) Vrihaspati Angirash. "Gyan" has been taken as a deity here. This *sukta* of Rig-Veda has an astonishing explanation of the initial stages of knowledge. Initially, when the universe was coming into being there was a single element which may be said to be the basic element. This fundamental element or material got differentiated and took many forms.**

encompasses all. 'Kh' is all around man. Space is both outside and inside. When tilted towards good ('*Kh*') it is happiness (*sukh*), and when tilted towards bad ('*Du*') it is sorrow (*Dukh*). Sky is also a part of the universe. The Greek philosophers thought

this universe to be made of four basic elements, whereas in Indian tradition the sky is also one of the elements among the five basic elements. In Indian tradition, it is the fundamental curiosity of mankind how this universe came into being just as a process of permutation and combination of these five basic elements. Bliss (*Ananda*) is nothing but getting to the knowledge of these processes, whereas the ignorance of these is sorrow. The fundamental question in the discourse regarding knowledge is what the knowledge itself is.

There is an interesting *sukta* (Rig-Veda 10.71) related to knowledge (*Gyan*) in the oldest knowledge archive of the world. This was composed by the poet and philosopher seer (Rishi) Vrihaspati Angirash. "Gyan" has been taken as a deity here. This *sukta* of Rig-Veda has an astonishing explanation of the initial stages of knowledge. Initially, when the universe was coming into being there was a single element which may be said to be the basic element. This fundamental element or material got differentiated and took many forms. The seer (*Rishi*) explains, "The nomenclature of different materials in their initial forms was the first stage of knowledge. This pure knowledge is a subject matter of empiricism, and this also blossoms by dint of inner motivation." (Rig-Veda 10.71.1) To name on the basis

of the form after viewing the form, to know the name and the form in relation to each other, is first stage of knowledge. The attributes that are hidden in the forms can be known only with the tool of the experience. Here, the emphasis is there on experience. When the man saw the burning flames in forest, it was a form. It was

**The Brihदारanyak Upanishad (1.4.10) mentions the phenomena of achieving ultimate knowledge of the *Brahma Gyan*. It explains that he, after achieving the complete knowledge, was evolved into *Brahma* who is expressed in all the forms. "He was *Brahma* from the beginning then he knew himself that it was he who is *Brahma*"- *Aham Brahmasmiti*.**

named fire (*the Agni*). The first step of knowledge is to keep the newly assigned name constantly in memory. The knowledge of fire comes through experience. This is true knowledge. The name and the form together with each other make knowledge. The language evolves as a tool which becomes the evidence of the experience and knowledge. The language should be easy to understand and well groomed. The seer (*Rishi*) says, "The intelligent people create the language

and the kith and kin understand it by dint of the intimacy of relationship with him. The Laxmi resides in the words of these knowledgeable persons." (The same, hymn- 3) It is noteworthy that it is Laxmi and not Saraswati who resides in the words of the intelligent. Words or the speech (*Vaani*) has got the status of a deity. *Vaani* is Saraswati. The knowledge of language leads to extra richness. Therefore the metaphor of Laxmi has been used. The seer (*Rishi*) further says, "The knowledgeable person achieves the knowledge that is inherent in the soul of the great philosophers." (The same, hymn- 3) The knowledgeable persons inherited the treasure of language from the philosophers. Then it was expanded.

For materialists, truth or knowledge is always direct and worth experiencing. The seer (*Rishi*) cautiously says, "Many people are not able to get knowledge even after seeing. Many people do not get knowledge even after hearing the sound. But, the truth inherent in speech can be manifested only before a person who is able to achieve it." (The same, hymn - 4) To be able to write after reading is a virtue. Those who are able to do this are said to be knowledgeable. Those who can repeat after hearing get the prestige of a knowledgeable person. The seer (*Rishi*) says that the people who perceives the feelings inherent in words and

are able to express the same are always admirable. But, many who do not come to know the meaning and implications of the language but use it are like the persons who try to milk a cow that has ceased to give milk, and such persons try to befool others through their speech." (The same, hymn-5) Here, it is feeling which is important. The feeling makes the language a real thing. The seer (*Rishi*) suggests to be friendly with knowledge. The seer says, "The person who disconnects himself from the tradition of knowledge, who is not friendly with knowledge does not get his share of the divine speech (the knowledge). (The same, hymn - 6)

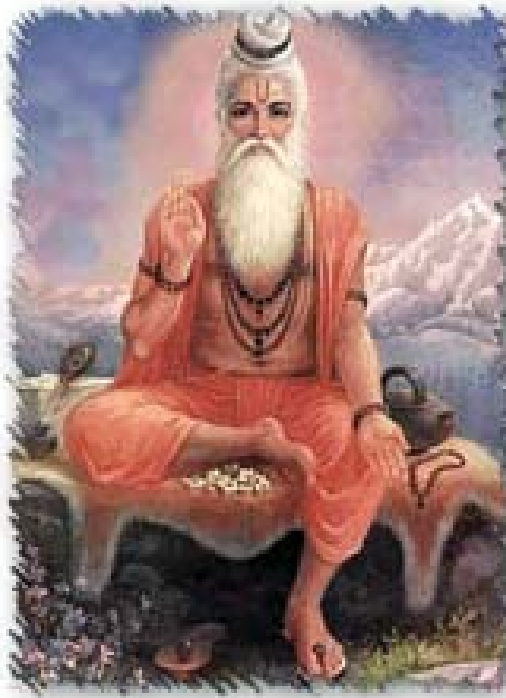
The Rig-Veda says that even the equitably learned philosophers, or the equitably intelligent warriors can not said to be the equals or the same. It says, "Friends having the same philosophical acumens, or the same military powers are different when it comes to experience the same thing." (The same, hymn-7) Even the friends who live together or the intellectuals who have achieved education of the same level can not be the same due to differences in their life experiences, or the differences in approach in perceiving the same experience. Knowledge is nothing but the perception of the truth. The form of a single object is accepted differently by the sense organs of different people. But, the truth is always the truth. The



Indian philosophy suggests that the truth is free from the effects of even time and space. Form is empirical, it is the truth, but is changeable. Therefore, changeability is also a truth. The inner part of the form is invisible. This inherent and unexpressed part is also a truth. The truth has been defined in many ways in Indian philosophy. The materialism suggests that the material world is the only truth. But, the truth is vast (*Virat*). The truth is not easy to know.

The western philosophers opine that the Indian tradition of knowledge is futilely highly spiritual. But, the *Mundkopnishad* says, "Whatever has been seen by the seers (*Rishi*) or has been told in the hymns is truth." The seers and not the others had the perception of the *Brahma*. The seers in Upanishad told, 'It is the *Brahma* which is the truth.' They again said, 'It is the soul (*Atman*) which is the truth.' But how can this soul be seen? The seers suggest that this goal can again be achieved through the truth. Here the truth is both the end and the means to achieve that end. Nachiketa was very deeply keen to know the truth. He has been named as '*Satya Dhriti*' by the Yama. Nachiketa asked the Yama, "Please tell me about the truth which is compulsorily free from *dharma* and *adharma*, which is free from the illusion

of the reason and cause and the past and the future. Tell me about that as it is you know that" (The



The western philosophers opine that the Indian tradition of knowledge is futilely highly spiritual. But, the *Mundkopnishad* says, "Whatever has been seen by the seers (*Rishi*) or has been told in the hymns is truth." The seers and not the others had the perception of the *Brahma*. The seers in Upanishad told, 'It is the *Brahma* which is the truth.' They again said, 'It is the soul (*Atman*) which is the truth.' But how can this soul be seen?

*Kathopnishad*-1.2:1.2) Here what is true is free from the '*dharma* and *adharma*' and from 'past and future'. Seeing the truth is not easy. The universe (*Srishti*) is vast (*Virat*). Krishna wanted to show Arjuna the vast form of the universe. Krishna said, "You can not see me that is the vast form of the universe with your simple eyes, therefore I give you the divine eye (*divya chakchhu*). It is a well accepted fact that the eyes and the light have limitations, the sense organs and the mind has limitations. Arjuna got the divine eyes even then he had difficulty in seeing the magnificent form. He said, "It is difficult to see you." (The Geeta- 11.17) That which is seen through eyes is also not the knowledge. The knowledge can truly be judged on the parameter of experience.

The basis for achieving this knowledge is extra curiosity. The Rig-Veda is full of instances that represent the extra curiosity. The seerly curiosities are great. They ask, "Who has seen the first born supreme element? Who Himself is without 'the body' but who brings up the vast embodied world?" (The Rig-Veda 1.164.4) Here the curiosity is to know what that original material which has formed the universe is. The center of this curiosity is scientific. There must be some basic material responsible for the origin of the universe. The sun is empirical. But even that

is the subject material of the curiosity. The Rig-Veda questions, "How the sun does spread the light." (The same, hymn-5) It again asks, "Which is the last end of the earth?" "Which is the centre of all the earth?" (The same, hymn-34) The Rig-Veda is the embodiment of the curiosities of these types. Again, the Rig-Veda is full of depictions of logical-philosophical journeys that are meticulously taken up to satisfy these curiosities. The Rig-Veda is full of philosophical perceptions and scientific deductions and is the oldest knowledge archive of the present world.

Indra is the greatest God in Rig-Veda. Here is the question, "Who has seen Indra, if nobody has seen Him whom should we worship to?" The next hymn gives the answer, "He is near you. He is there in all the worlds (*lokas*). In another instance (8.78.5), it says, "Truth is omnipresent, some are visible and many invisible. That which is invisible is not untrue, and it is also not so that only visible is true. The Rig-Veda (1.164.44) says, "All the existing materials belong to one of the three streams (*Surya, Agni, Vayu*)." The fire of the sun is manifest, but air is also there which does not have the form."

The curiosity restives. The knowledge is achieved. The tool to spread knowledge is language. The Rig-Veda is also

curious about the power of the speech. It questions, "Which is the basic source of the speech? (1.164.34) Again it answers, " The Brahma (the wholeness) is the origin of all speech. (The same, 35) The seer is not egoist. There is an expression of humility, "I do not know who I am, I have

**The tool to spread knowledge is language. The Rig-Veda is also curious about the power of the speech. It questions, "Which is the basic source of the speech? (1.164.34) Again it answers, " The Brahma (the wholeness) is the origin of all speech. (The same, 35) The seer is not egoist. There is an expression of humility, "I do not know who I am, I have been living attached with the mind, then the *Rit* (knowledge) present from the time immortal got manifested before me, and then I got my speech. (The same, 37) Here the existence of the knowledge is prior to that of speech.**

been living attached with the mind, then the *Rit* (knowledge) present from the time immortal got manifested before me, and then I got my speech. (The same, 37) Here the existence of the knowledge is prior to that of speech. Further they say that there is four types of speech. The first three (*Para, Pashyanti, Madhyama*) is not manifest. The speech being used in general by all the people is of fourth type. (The same, 45) Here too they do not claim to have explored something new.

All the statements are based on the prior existing knowledge propounded by older intellectuals (*manishi*) ('Yeh Manishnah'). The capacity of mankind to speak is aboriginal. It is the means to communicate the knowledge. Its four forms had been explored far before the advent of the Rig-Veda. *Paravani* is the pure form of knowledge. This is the latent stage of speech. This is the stage of thinking before starting to speak. This is the seed of speech. *Pashyanti* is the reason of speech. Here the reason is there, and this is the situation before the effect. This is the stage when an aspiration to speak on something has taken its form inside, and it is this aspiration which is the reason. *Madhyama* is the third stage, when the life energy stars to vibrate, and the speech organs get activated. The stage to start to

pronounce is all set. *Madhyama* is the form of speech just before starting to speak. *Baikhari* is the third form. That is the evident form of speech that we hear in our usual life.

One of the famous seers (*Rishi*) mentioned in Rig-Veda is Vagambhrini. *Vaksukta* is her composition. She says, " I roam about with *Rudragana and Vasugana*. I retain Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Agni and Ashwini kumar. My nature is expressed in many forms. I am the basic reason behind

the capacity of hearing, thinking and seeing. My origin is *Ap* (the original element in the making of the universe) that is situated in the space. I am the creator of all the worlds (*lok*). Here, it is the speech which is the *Rudra*, the *Brahma* and everything. Its

There is an instance in the Chandyogya Upanishad that when Narada reached to Sanadkumar, he told him that he had studied the Rig-Veda, the Sam-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, the Nirukta Vyakaran and all but he had not found the peace. Sanadkumar told

Agni. These are the same truth in different forms.

The Vedic age was animated with the energy of the curiosity. There is a hymn in the Rigveda about *Agni* saying, " the flames of *Agni* is constantly rising and enter into *matri, pitr, rup, dhyava,*

*prithi* and seven speeches."

Here the energy that works for speech is *Agni*. But what is *Agni*? There are about 200 hymns for the worship of the *Agni*. The *Rig - Veda* starts with the prayer of the *Agni*.

The Vedic age was animated with the energy of the curiosity. There is a hymn in the Rigveda about *Agni* saying, " the flames of *Agni* is constantly rising and enter into *matri, pitr, rup, dhyava, prithi* and seven speeches." Here the energy that works for speech is *Agni*. But what is *Agni*?



origin is sky. This is mentioned in Rig-Veda at other places, too. " The letters reside in space." "It is the speech which assigns certain 'names' to all the manifest forms and objects. But, the Rig-Vedic philosophy views the whole world to be one (*Advait*). The visible differentiations are those of names and forms, but the ultimate truth is singular. Here is the world famous hymn in the same *Sukta* (1.164.46) which connotes, " Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Garun all are the same truth whom the scholarly expresses in diverse forms." Speech is a medium of expression in science.

that all these are names and the speech is bigger than names. (The Chandyogya Upanishad 7.2.1) Here the normal speech has been said to be bigger than the name, but conscience and other inner elements are even bigger than speech, and the '*Bhuma*' is all encompassing. Physics takes speech and language as bodily or material activity. But, the speech in the Rig-Veda and other philosophies of this tradition is the synonym of that single entity that is the *advait*. The speech is a guise of that One, that one is represented in different names such as Indra, Mitra, Varuna,

*Agni* has been said to be well-wisher of the world, it provides with the jewels, it has been witnessed and praised by the seers of the present and the past. '*Aditi*' in the Rig-Veda is the synonym of the whole philosophy. There is a question(1.24.1) that ' which deity should we worshipped to get the view of '*Aditi*' and out father and monther". It is possible that this curiosity is to have a glimpse of the deceased parents. Here, the medium to meet them is *Aditi*.

The philosophy of Rig-Veda is scientific. The seer explains the situation before the formation of the universe as " that time there was



neither truth nor untruth, there was not any world beyond the space, there was not any vast and deep water. Who was placed where? There was neither death nor immortality. Neither day nor night. Even then that air free

about the evolution of truth from untruth." It further (hymn-5) says, "Then the rays of the divine light scattered all over. Water came into being. Then the universe evolved." The seers in the Rig-Veda give an honest statement, "Who

interesting," The *Purusha* has thousands of heads (*shir*)." The translation of the *shir* is head for human but it may be peak- the height in other instances. "The *Purusha* has thousands of eyes and thousand of legs." Here the meaning of the thousand should be taken as the infinite. Otherwise the number of legs or eyes should have been double of the number of heads. The *Purusha* encompasses the whole world with his ten fingers. (the same hymn-1). This is the notion of the science of dimensions. Further the notion of time is there which is another important criteria signifying science. "The *Purusha* is past, and only He is the Future." (hymn-2) The same is the situation with *Aditi*. It says, " *Purusha* is bigger than the expansion of this world. His three legs are there in the divine world (*divya lok*), and His one leg covers the creatures which are dependent on grains. The vast *Purusha* is the basic element. It got divided again and again. Thus many creatures came into being. (Hymn3, 4, 5) This is what the science says.

To experience the truth is the fundamental knowledge. The truth can not be seen with the open eyes but that which is seen, is said to be the truth. The exact citation of what has been seen, is truth. But the truth can not be explained through the explanation or narration. Truth is not the creature, not insects, birds, animal, not even the human



The *Yajurveda* expands the philosophy along with the explanations of the rituals/ *Yajna*. The *Brahmin* and *Upanishad* literature took the philosophies of knowledge to great heights after veda. The collective name of the *Upanishads* is *Vedanta*. *Brahma sutra* composed by *Vadrayan* is supposed to be the main book in *Vedanta* but all the *Upanishads* are the journey to explore the truth/ the *Brahma* / the God/ the ultimate.

vacuum space was filled with the life on its own." (10.129.1 and 2) It further (hymn 3) says, " There was a complete darkness. There was water which was not expressed. Then there came 'that one' power- the power of penance." Here the penance means the latent energy. It further (hymn-4) says, " First of all the desire came to the fore. The mind filled with desire caused to create the universe. The learned poets and intellectuals have thought

knows where the universe has come from and how has it come?" Here the seers do not try to form any sect. They have produced their opinion with humility and leave behind an honest statement that no one knows the mystery of the universe.

The symbol of the progenitor (*Purusha*) (*Purusha Sukt*-10.90) is an interesting philosophical symbol. The *Purusha* here is the Rig-vedic deity. The description is

being. One of the hymns of *Ishavashyikopnishad* says that the truth has a mouth which is covered with the utensil of the gold. It is evident that 'the truth' is interesting to experience. But it is difficult. The Indian philosophy is a journey to explore the truth. For the point of view of translation, *darshan* and philosophy are the same. But the literal meaning of philosophy is 'to love the knowledge' whereas *darshan* means to see in the totality. Therefore, a fundamental difference lies between the philosophies of the east and the west. The fundamental source of Indian philosophy is Rig-Veda. The seed of the philosophy lies in the Rig-Veda. The *Yajurveda* expands the philosophy along with the explanations of the rituals/ *Yajna*. The *Brahmin* and *Upanishad* literature took the philosophies of knowledge to

great heights after veda. The collective name of the *Upanishads* is *Vedanta*. *Brahma sutra* composed by *Vadrayan* is supposed to be the main book in *Vedanta* but all the *Upanishads* are the journey to explore the truth/ the *Brahma* / the God/ the ultimate.

India has a tradition of continuous flow of knowledge. Rig-Veda is its first manifestation. *Yajurveda* to *Atharvaveda* is the expansion. The *Brahmin* literature and the *Upanishads* have a wide canvass of the Physics, the History and the Philosophy.

Then there is *Sankhya* of *Kapil*, *Vaisheshik* of *Kanada*, *Purva Mimansha* of *Jaimini*, *Yog Darshan* and *Advait Vedanta*. These are the six main philosophical schools that grew in India. Then there evolved the Buddha and the

Jaina traditions. The *Purana*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* are the treasures of Indian history, stories and poetry, but the six streams have regularly been flowing. India has been the leader of the world even in physical sciences. We have the world famous *Patanjali Yogsutra* based on the yogic science. *Arthashastra* based on the economics. *Natya Shashtra* on drama and arts by *Bharatmuni*, *Kamsutra* on sex by *Vatsayayan* are the famous contributions of India to the World. *Charak* and *Sushruta* are the world famous in medicine. Here in India, knowledge is a continuous flow. Intellectuals from all over the World rush to the India to seek knowledge, just like a calf, running to mother cow for milk. ■

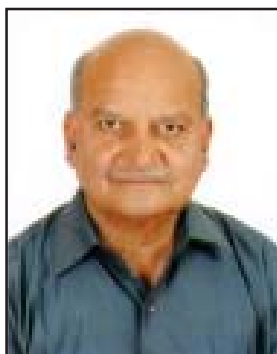
(The Writer is BJP MLC in  
Uttar Pradesh)

*The Vedanta recognizes no sin it only recognizes error. And the greatest error, says the Vedanta is to say that you are weak, that you are a sinner, a miserable creature, and that you have no power and you cannot do this and that.*

**-Swami Vivekananda**

# Nationalism, Antodaya & Sushasan

## Keys to Peace, Progress & Prosperity



**Amba Charan Vashishth**

**I**t is difficult to confine the meaning of the word nation to the contours of any definition. We have more of a diversity of opinion than unity of thought on this term. Some writers consider a nation as a figment of imagination, a fake notion. For others it is “a transitory identity continues to change with the change”.

But, for us, national identity, in sum, “is typically based on shared culture, religion, history, language or ethnicity” with “a reasonable degree of cohesiveness based on a common heritage”

### Nationalism

Nationalism for us, therefore, transforms itself into a sense of belonging to the nation and love for it – its

land, its people and its culture. It is a feeling of pride for what a nation stands for. Without such a feeling, one cannot assimilate oneself into the whole, the nation. Without the sense of fondness or attachment one cannot think good of the nation and its people. This sense inspires people to work for the good of the nation and even to sacrifice one's life to promote and protect its interests, its sovereignty and integrity. A nation, in effect, is a large family which embraces in its fold all the people living in a country. We cannot think of our nation's integrity, sovereignty, unity, progress and prosperity without a sense of belonging to it. So is true about the family's



welfare,  
protecting  
its

interests  
and  
safeguarding  
its identity.

Equally does it apply to people who neglect their families and as a consequence the family gets ruined. If India underwent the ignominy of slavery under successive invaders for about a thousand years, it was mainly because the sense of nationalism grew weak at that time. For some parts of





Peace, progress, prosperity, harmony, welfare and justice to all, and security of life and property of the citizens are the main objectives of an ideal democracy. All these elements spring out from the spirit of nationalism.

India their regional interests and aspirations overran the interests of the nation as a whole.

Peace, progress, prosperity, harmony, welfare and justice to all, and security of life and property of the citizens are the main objectives of an ideal democracy. All these elements spring out from the spirit of nationalism. The stronger this spirit, the stronger is the nation in every respect. The key to realization of all these goals in the shortest possible time with the maximum of speed at the minimum of cost to the nation is *sushasan* (good governance).

#### *Sushasan*

*Sushasan* is the key to putting the development agenda of a nation into motion and take it towards fulfillment. It alone can realize the dreams of the people and plans of an administration. It can plug the loopholes in the system and prevent the seepage of government funds. Late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had in 1985 said,

‘only 15 percent of the designated Plan resources reach the poor for whom it is intended’. This situation persists because of lack of *sushasan* leading to corruption.

*Sushasan* (good governance) is the *Brahmastra* that can destroy the demon of *k u s h a s h a n* (maladministration), corruption, injustice and neglect of the needy and downtrodden. It is a panacea for all the ills afflicting the country. The ever rising threat of Naxalism, Maoism and terrorism is the direct byproduct of lack of good governance. To an extent, a realization has dawned on the Congress leadership too. That is why a few months back, Home Minister P. Chidambaram confessed of “governance deficit” in the UPA-II government. In meeting the challenge of terrorism, he made a similar admission in September 2011.

Economic crisis, rising prices and inflation, unemployment and economic disparities draw their

sustenance from lack of *sushasan*. Good governance means an administration where there is appeasement of none and justice to all. It transcends all barriers of caste, creed, sex and region. It makes no distinction between man and man.

It is the miracle of wonders that has worked wonders in various State governments ruled by BJP. Gujarat under the leadership of its Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi has become a model of development for the country. It has surpassed the average economic growth in the country. Gujarat has become a role model for the whole country. Even the USA has ultimately had to acknowledge this fact. The other BJP states of Madhya Pradesh under Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan, Chhattisgarh under Chief Minister Dr. Raman Singh, and BJP-JDU government of Shri Nitish Kumar are far ahead in the economic growth performing far above the national average. The other States of Himachal and Uttarakhand have also made their remarkable impact.

BJP does not just speak of *sushasan*. It has practiced it in letter and spirit too. The BJP ruled States, like Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Himachal have taken a lead in this behalf and are the shining examples. Madhya Pradesh was the first to enact a Public Services Act which provided a time frame within which a

public service, like issue of a ration card, copy of one's land holdings to be issued by a patwari, arms licence, driving licence, etc., should be provided to the applicant, failing which the officer concerned will be punished with a specified fine which will be deducted from his/her salary. Similar laws have now

because of the corruption having skimmed the cream out of our development plans. One of the main reasons for thriving corruption beyond proportions is the 'license and permit raj' introduced by successive Congress governments. The NDA government of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee did a lot to do away

International India study estimates the monetary value of petty corruption in 11 basic services, like education, healthcare, judiciary, police, etc., provided by the government to be around '21,068 crore (US\$4.7 billion). The chief economic consequences of corruption are the loss to the economy, an unhealthy climate for investment and an increase in the cost of government-subsidized services. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India said, "As on March 31, 2010, unutilised committed external assistance was of the order of '1,05,339 crore."

A 2005 study conducted by Transparency International in India found that more than 55% of Indians had first-hand experience of paying bribes or influence peddling to get jobs done in public offices successfully. The truckers pay US\$5 billion in bribes annually.

India tops the list for black money in the entire world with almost US\$1456 billion in Swiss banks (approximately USD 1.4 trillion) in the form of black money. According to the data provided by the Swiss Banking Association Report (2006), India has more black money than the rest of the world combined. [<sup>^</sup> "ibnlive.in.com/news/govt-to-reveal-stand-on-black-money-on-jan-25/141423-3.htm" , <sup>^</sup> "www.currentnewsindia.com/nation-news/govt-to-reveal-



That is why a few months back, Home Minister P. Chidambaram confessed of "governance deficit" in the UPA-II government.

been enacted by other BJP States like Himachal Pradesh, NDA-ruled Bihar. Now even the Delhi government has followed the good example set by BJP governments.

The way numerous scams and scandals costing hundreds of crores to the people unfolded during 2010 and 2011 involving Congress and its allies corruption has emerged as a big issue tormenting the mind of the people.

Governments have failed to eradicate poverty primarily

with it.

Excessive stress on secretiveness in the affairs of the administration sows the seeds of corruption and wrong doing. Transparency is the key to openness in administration. It eliminates chances of underhand dealings. Greater the extent of transparency in administration in a country, the lesser is the degree of corruption there.

**Corruption: The burden of shame**

The size of corruption is monstrous. The Transparency

stand-on-black-money-on-jan-25.html").

**Indian-owned Swiss bank account assets are worth 13 times the country's national debt.** (^ "www.emirates247.com/news/world/tehelka-says-manorma-group-has-account-2011-02-12-1.355118")

While countries like Germany and USA have put pressure on Swiss government and banks to share information, UPA government still seems roping in the dark. Its prevarication and reluctance puts a question mark on the sincerity of the Congress-led UPA to act in the matter.

India had always taken pride in her great culture, high moral values, sense of honesty and transparency. She was acknowledged as the *Vishwaguru*. But now our head bows in shame when we find that among the 178 countries India ranks 87 with a score of 3.3 (out of 10 for a country free from corruption). India did inherit the legacy of corruption from the alien governments that ruled the country. But the advent of freedom and democracy did not mitigate the extent of corruption; on the contrary, it only multiplied in size. Corruption under the present Congress-led UPA has surpassed all records. India today has the dubious distinction of having the most corrupt government the country ever has had since independence. Congress



**According to the data provided by the Swiss Banking Association Report (2006), India has more black money than the rest of the world combined. Indian-owned Swiss bank account assets are worth 13 times the country's national debt.**

certainly is the mother of all forms of corruption. The seeds were sown during Congress rule and it earned bumper crops of corruption. The 2G spectrum, CWG, Antrix Devas deal, Adarsh Housing etc. scams are just the tip of the iceberg.

Corruption is the greatest enemy and impediment to the over-all development of the country, particularly the neglected sections of society. The hundreds of crores involved in various scams and the \$1.3 trillion illegal money

stashed in banks abroad could, to a greater extent, help wipe out the hunger and want from the country. It could provide potable water in every house in the countryside and irrigate the dry fields in the country.

#### Govt not serious

Our Government was itself not serious in combating corruption. The UN General Assembly adopted the Convention Against Corruption in as back as 2005 requiring all member-countries to ratify it. But it took six long years for the UPA Government to do so only in May 2011. According to the Convention, "Corruption can be prosecuted after the fact, but first and foremost, it requires prevention". It is not only at the point of "prevention" but also at the stage of prosecution that the Indian government has prevaricated and failed to act.

The Congress-led UPA's crusade against corruption is



bold in words and meek in action. It has acted very harsh and fast not against the corrupt but only against those who raised their voice against corruption and wanted the government to act against the corrupt. As a result, while no action has so far been taken against those whose names have directly or indirectly appeared in black deeds, every effort is being made to somehow or the other to frame and harass the likes of Anna Hazare, Baba Ramdev and their colleagues. Fellow activists be it Shanti Bhushan, Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi, Bal Krishan have been put in trouble on various counts. Government is digging every grave to extricate skeletons to link these people. The government has not taken note of the statements of persons like Hasan Ali who has implicated a few past Maharashtra chief ministers and other important leaders. A number of names have appeared in media and elsewhere to have accounts in Swiss and other foreign banks. Instead of prosecuting them for their crimes, the government is going all out to protect their 'honour' by not even making their names public.

In fact, charges of corruption have come as a tool handy for the Congress to overawe its allies to fall in line and to harass and silence its detractors. Congress hand of patronage continued on late Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister YSR Reddy's son, Jaganmohan Reddy as long as

he remained docile to the whims of Central Congress leadership. The moment he defied, a hell broke out on him. CBI and Income Tax authorities suddenly woke up to the 'fact' of his involvement in many wrong doings. Even the name of his most revered father is now under a cloud.

Again, Congress has used its fight — and no fight — against corruption to promote its electoral fortunes to gain power and to continue to cling to it. This played a greater role in acting against or protecting those involved in corruption. Motivated by these very considerations, the Congress-led UPA government did not file an



Our Government was itself not serious in combating corruption. The UN General Assembly adopted the Convention Against Corruption in as back as 2005 requiring all member-countries to ratify it. But it took six long years for the UPA Government to do so only in May 2011.

appeal in the higher court against the acquittal of former Bihar chief ministers Lalu Prasad Yadav and his wife in a case of alleged amassing of wealth disproportionate to known sources of income. In similar cases against former UP chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav and UP chief minister *Sushri* Mayawati, the CBI has been changing its stand for or against them to commensurate with the change of the stand for or against the UPA government. In these circumstances, can the UPA still claim that it is fighting the dragon of corruption?

#### Antyodya

The socialistic pattern of society propounded by India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and later followed by his daughter late Smt. Indira Gandhi failed to promote the welfare of the neglected sections of society. The strife and suffering of the downtrodden multiplied during the period when Congress boasted of strenuously working for *gharibi hatao* (eradication of poverty). The net result was the reverse. India witnessed increase in the percentage of poverty we inherited from the British. During Congress regime, two-thirds of India's population was living below the poverty line.

There is no doubt that India has recorded tremendous progress in almost every field. But the benefits of economic development have failed to

percolate down to the poorest of the poor. A travesty of the matter is that while the rich

further and enliven the spirit of *antyodaya* to give it a new meaning and direction. BJP's

freedom had no meaning for these neglected sections of society. He made it a vital part of his political and economic philosophy enunciated in his theory of Integral Humanism (*Ekatam manavvaad*).



**In fact, charges of corruption have come as a tool handy for the Congress to overawe its allies to fall in line and to harass and silence its detractors.**

have grown richer, the poorer have further been pushed down to a still lower level of poverty. Though the number of people living below \$1.25 ('21.6) a day in urban areas and '14.3 in rural areas, according to the World Bank Report, declined from 60 percent in 1981 to 42 percent in 2005, yet the problem remains monstrous.

*Antyodaya* is a concept that was first mooted by Mahatma Gandhi. Before he could put it into practice he was, unfortunately, assassinated within six months of the country gaining independence. Consequently, during successive Congress rule this ideal of Mahatma Gandhi withered away with his demise. It was then left to the great Indian ideologue late Pandit Deendayalji Upadhyay to carry the string

own and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) governments in States supported by it have taken upon themselves the onerous responsibility of implementing his philosophy in letter and spirit.

For Deendayalji *antodaya*,

For Deendayalji *antodaya*, in sum, meant the upbringing and development of the person standing at the lowest rung of society. He thought that India could not progress in real terms unless social and economic justice was dispensed to the poorest of the poorer. In its absence political freedom had no meaning for these neglected sections of society.

in sum, meant the upbringing and development of the person standing at the lowest rung of society.

He thought that India could not progress in real terms unless social and economic justice was dispensed to the poorest of the poorer. In its absence political

Since taking over as the BJP National President Shri Nitin Gadkari has been laying greater emphasis on the *antyodaya* ideology of Pandit Deendayalji. He has given to the BJP karyakartas the slogan: Nation first, party second and self the last. He has made *antyodaya* the guiding star for the BJP or NDA governments in States. In a conclave of chief ministers of BJP and NDA ruled States he sought a report from the administration on implementation of policies and programmes that fostered the spirit of *antyodaya*.

A government possessed with the zeal of *sushasan* and driven with the force of nationalism, tinged with the spirit of *antyodaya* alone can

take the country to greater and greater heights of peace, progress, prosperity, and justice to all. Our present ills flow from the fact that the present government is poorer by all these vital elements. ■

(The writer is National Convenor of BJP Literature & Publication Cell)

# For effective Governance and Development Strong Anti-Corruption Institutions and Laws required



 **Gopal K Agarwal**

India needs a strong, effective and independent anti-corruption institutions without these we cannot become a developed country in a true sense. The fruits of whatever development that takes place in the country will be limited to a selected few and our aim of *Antyodaya* i.e. the upliftment of the last man will remain a dream only.

Unless the menace of corruption is tackled through strong anti-graft laws and complete transparency in the governance, the benefit of economic growth will not reach every nook and corner of the country and every citizen. There will be more and more concentration of economic power at the top.



The accountability of the government and the people in power has to be ensured. Decentralization and distribution of power and decision making has to be improved through the institution of Panchayati Raj in the villages and Nagar Raj Bill in the cities. Strengthening these institutions in true sense and preserving Federal structure of the country can only lead to balanced growth in the country. Aspirations of the people have to be incorporated in the decision making through the participation of the common

man in the policy making. This will instill a sense of partition in him. This will help in the formulation of user friendly laws in the country. The aspirations of the civil society have to be independent of the political structure of the nation and the government should not try to occupy this important space as is being done today in the form of state sponsored National Advisory Council (NAC).

Democracy can survive only when it is supported by the existence of strong



institutions which act as a balancing force in the country so that no single institution becomes uncontrollable. We have the institutions like Judiciary, election commission, effective and independent media, a strong institution of Parliament etc. What we lack is an institution which can effectively tackle corruption. Lokpal is one such institution and we all need to work towards the establishment of an effective and independent Lokpal. We need to acknowledge the menace of corruption, understand the extent of its existence and resolve to eradicate it completely. Corruption in the country is eating into the very roots of our national existence. The recent spate of exposures like CWG and 2G spectrum and Adarsh housing society etc have exposed the vulnerability of our fragile economy.

It was not in a long past, that the mood of our fellow countrymen was booming with confidence and we along with the whole world were talking of resurgent India. Everything was right; a vibrant democracy, a young demography, booming service sector, developing knowledge economy, large domestic market, to name a few. The world was saying India has arrived. We were confident of taking on the world. We were to become world economic super power, a country with a vision for 2020.

What went wrong? The

sentiments at present are at its lowest ebb. The businessman's confidence is shaking. The world is deploring India for its high level of corruption. There is the intellectuals call What a complete governance deficit.

Uncontrollable inflation is one major cause of worry to economic planners. Inflation is the result of over liquidity in the system which creates

higher demand in the economy than the supply available. This over liquidity in the system is the result of black money or unaccounted money resulting from corruption, which fuels unsustainable demands from have-ones causing havoc to the common man.

Institutions are created in the country to uphold values



**Uncontrollable inflation is one major cause of worry to economic planners. Inflation is the result of over liquidity in the system which creates higher demand in the economy than the supply available. This over liquidity in the system is the result of black money or unaccounted money resulting from corruption, which fuels unsustainable demands from have-ones causing havoc to the common man.**

and check deviations, but the government is systematically demeaning each and every institution. How can the country survive in this deficit? Newer and newer innovative and unchecked methodologies are being evolved and adopted in conjunction with authorities to fleece ignorant people. Like Dabba trading to promote unofficial commodities market to manipulate inelastic supply and demand of food items, Participatory Note (PN) and Tax Haven routes in the financial markets, to shield the

identity of the investors along with legislative changes like Securities Transaction Tax (STT) to avoid payment of Capital Gains tax etc., to name a few so called Financial Innovations.

**expected to indulge in corrupt practices, make for even worse reading. The latest index places India 18<sup>th</sup> from the bottom. Below it are countries consisting mainly**



**Transparency International (TI) computes a Corruption perception Index every year. India is ranked at a lowly 87<sup>th</sup> position in the latest rankings, scoring 3.3 on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates totally corrupt and 10 corresponds to totally clean. Even the media and the judiciary; generally seen as watchdogs on others, were perceived as corruption-ridden, the media score is 3 and the judiciary 3.1. World Bank's incidences of Graft Index, which reflects the proportion of firms that are**

**of sub-Saharan African nations, some former Soviet republics, a couple from Indo-China and Pakistan.'**

It is said that the corruption is a low risk, high profit business in India. The country cannot realize its true potential unless it increases the risk for corruption by tightening its legal regime. Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon. In the world diplomacy it is said that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. But once a corrupt person comes to light anywhere around the world he is severely punished, his assets are confiscated. But in India he merely resigns and the case

is entangled in a long legal battle which will take years on to complete and in the end he will not be convicted for lack of evidence and will be left to enjoy the booty of his loot. Our anti-corruption mechanism lacks teeth. Current anti-corruption mechanism is ridden with ineffectiveness.

At central Government level, we have Central Vigilance Commission, Departmental vigilance and CBI. CVC and Departmental vigilance deal with vigilance (disciplinary proceedings) aspect of a corruption case and CBI deals with criminal aspect of the case.

Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) is the apex body for all vigilance cases in Government of India. However, it does not have adequate resources commensurate with the large number of complaints that it receives. CVC is a very small set up with staff strength of less than 200. It is supposed to check corruption in more than 1500 central government departments and ministries. CVC is merely an advisory body. Central Government Departments seek CVC's advice on various corruption cases. However, they are free to accept or reject CVC's advice. Even in those cases, which are directly enquired into by the CVC, it can only advise government. CVC mentions these cases of non-acceptance in its monthly reports and the Annual Report to Parliament.



CVC does not have powers to register criminal case. It deals only with vigilance or disciplinary matters. It also does not have powers over politicians. If there is involvement of a politician in any case, CVC can at best bring it to the notice of the Government. There are several cases of serious corruption in which officials and political executive are involved together.

Appointments to CVC are directly under the control of ruling political party, though the leader of the Opposition is a member of the Committee to select CVC and VCs. But the Committee only considers names put up before it and that is decided by the Government. The appointments are opaque. Therefore, though CVC is relatively independent in its functioning, it neither has resources nor powers to enquire and take action on complaints of corruption in a manner that meets the expectations of people.

CBI has powers of a police station to investigate and register FIR. It can investigate any case related to a Central Government department on its own or any case referred to it by any state government or any court. But CBI is overburdened. CBI is directly under the administrative control of the Central Government. Therefore, if a complaint pertains to any minister or politician who is part of a ruling coalition or a bureaucrat who is close to

them, CBI's credibility has suffered and there is increasing public perception that it cannot do a fair investigation and that it is influenced to scuttle these cases.

Therefore, if a citizen wants to make a complaint about corruption by a politician or an official in the Central Government, there isn't a single anti-corruption agency which is effective and independent of the government, whose wrongdoings are sought to be investigated. CBI has powers but it is not independent. CVC is independent but it does not have sufficient powers or resources.

**CVC is a very small set up with staff strength of less than 200. It is supposed to check corruption in more than 1500 central government departments and ministries. CVC is merely an advisory body. Central Government Departments seek CVC's advice on various corruption cases. However, they are free to accept or reject CVC's advice. Even in those cases, which are directly enquired into by the CVC, it can only advise government. CVC mentions these cases of non-acceptance in its monthly reports and the Annual Report to Parliament.**

The position is worse in the States. All vigilance agencies (like state vigilance department, departmental vigilance wings) and anti-corruption agencies (like anti-corruption department of state police, CID etc) are directly under the control of state government and therefore, ineffective in fairly investigating corruption cases against their political bosses. In some states, we have the institution of Lokayuktas. But Lokayuktas cannot initiate investigations on their own. They have to seek permission of state government to investigate cases involving officials above certain levels.

In some states, vigilance department has been given powers over bureaucrats and Lokayuktas have been given powers only over politicians. Such division of jurisdiction hampers investigations. So, in a case involving both politician and bureaucrats (which is the case most of the times), both Lokayukta and the vigilance department feel handicapped. Lokayuktas merely have advisory roles. They also do not have adequate resources to investigate the large number of complaints that they receive. In some states, their independence has been seriously eroded.

Therefore, there isn't any effective anti-corruption agency either at the centre or at state level, which is independent of political executive and which has the powers and resources to



entertain and investigate any complaint of corruption and then prosecutes the guilty people.

If the society does not rise against this menace then the corruption which started with sporadic incidence here and there, gets converted into an organized crime racket and if this is not checked it will become institutionalised as is being done in UP, especially Noida. Even social security schemes like NREGS, e Kiosk and PDS system, all become a tool in the hands of political outfit to setup shops for their workers in hinterland.

The situation is worst in the arena of International Financial Flows (IFF). We have no proper laws in place or ratification of International Conventions to check and bring back our illicit money stashed in foreign countries. The government not only lacks the will but is actively camouflaging and shielding the guilty. The government's intention is clearly doubtful when it classifies this as an tax evasion issue instead of crime of money and assets of the nation stolen. Recent spate of development and reports as mentioned below, once again point towards the menace;

*'Tax haven countries use*

*feeble technical reasons to blunt a foreign government's investigation into the accounts of unscrupulous elements who have stashed away huge amounts in violation of laws. SWISS banks will hold back information on cash allegedly stashed there on technical*



**The situation is worst in the arena of International Financial Flows (IFF). We have no proper laws in place or ratification of International Conventions to check and bring back our illicit money stashed in foreign countries. The government not only lacks the will but is actively camouflaging and shielding the guilty. The government's intention is clearly doubtful when it classifies this as an tax evasion issue instead of crime of money and assets of the nation stolen. Recent spate of development and reports as mentioned below, once again point towards the menace;**

*grounds. Swiss authorities' refusal to part with the information is on the premise that the offence allegedly committed in India – in this case*

*of not filing tax returns – is not an offence under Swiss law. A senior income tax official expressed surprise over choosing "not filing of returns" as the reason for initiating a letter rogatory to Swiss authorities. It's well known that 'not filing of returns' is not an offence under Swiss laws and therefore they are not bound to comply with the IT department's request.'*

The generation and parking of this money in foreign countries are very closely related. The money which is parked in tax havens can be brought back only if we get proper information about the accounts being held in those countries. Ratification of UNCAC was one of the important requirements towards our empowerment of exchange of information. But these tax havens are not bound to divulge information unless these account holders are proved holding criminal money. We are in catch 22 situation: unless we know the identity we can't prove it to be criminal money. These tax havens will not divulge information under tax evasion issue as they have zero tax liability and therefore tax evasion is not a crime in those countries. They will never provide information under Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DTAA).

**I suggest that we use the**

Floating Warrant Concept as was successfully done in USA known as John Doe Lawsuit. A John Doe Summons is any summons where the name of the culprit under investigation is unknown and therefore not specifically identified. A summons of this nature can only be served after approval by a Court. As we lack provisions relating to proving money stashed in tax havens as criminal money we can use this warrant. We know that the money stashed in foreign countries can be classified into three categories: money accumulated through corruption, money generated through drug trafficking, terrorism or crime related activities and the third category is the tax evasion. The identity of the culprit is not known to us. Therefore we have to issue a Floating Warrant on the unknown person. Based on this warrant, the person whose account is in the foreign country can be declared as offender and his information demanded. This warrant gets fixed on the person at a later stage when his identity becomes known. With this, Foreign Countries will be bound under UNCAC agreement to divulge information of these accounts. The information received through this process will not be classified as secret and therefore the government will be free to share it with public and other law enforcement agencies.

*Recently Rudolf Elmer, a rare whistleblower who has brought out much information on secret Swiss banks accounts, has accused the Indian government of not being serious enough in getting details of black money stashed away in Swiss banks.*

*In his first statement on Indian accounts in Swiss banks after being released from jail, Elmer said, "The Indian government doesn't do enough." He said society has to put pressure on the government to act. "India is a big country, which is getting stronger by the day. It has the negotiating power."*

Even for stolen assets US has proved its cynical populace that graft could be tackled successfully. American courts have used such laws and found mega corporations like Halliburton and Siemens guilty of bribery. It tightened accounting standards by establishing a new Sarbanes- Oxley law in 2002, and also pushed accounting firm Arthur Andersen into extinction. In United Kingdom, BAE Systems was found guilty of systematic bribery in the Middle East, and was then shielded by Tony Blair's government, a massive outcry finally led Britain to enact in 2010 what many now dub 'the toughest anti-bribery law in the world. Stiff penalties

and jail terms, in conjunction with relatively clear definitions of what constitutes malpractice, now make for what many agree is a powerful deterrent against institutional corruption. So there is nothing to hamper our resolve to tackle the menace.

The Society has to rise to the concept of tax payer's money. By the way, it's our money that is being stolen away. It's a drain on our national wealth. The person who gives solution to the masses always leads. He is the change agent and is a hope for the future. Let us all resolve to root out corruption from our system, build a strong anti-corruption mechanism where a person found guilty will be brought to book at a fast track and will be punished severally, leading to confiscation of all his wealth. Transparency in the governance is the need of the hour. RTI has shown the country how accountability can become an effective tool to control wavering beurocracy. E-Governance is also one such major move which will reduce corruption by bringing transparency and answerability in using discretion by the officials.

India is rising against corruption. Mass agitations are taking place. I see sign of similar momentum in the country as was seen at the time of late Shri Jay Prakash Narayan's crusade against the dictatorial and corrupt designs of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Civic society is rising

across all segments. The public outrage is also fueled by the widely felt experience of daily corruption. We have to stand up and fight with a strong resolve. We have seen success in the past, and nobody can stand against the mass movement. This is clearly evident from developments even in countries like Red Shirt movement in Indonesia, the flight of the dictatorial King from Tunisia on account of public outrage and strong protest against Housini Mubarak in Egypt. Therefore it is achievable in our country. For us, an independent, transparent and effective Anti-corruption agency, as was established in Hong Kong in 1970 is an example to be followed.

We all need to come together for the demand for a Lokpal bill. The new Lokpal bill is the need of the hour. Central Government should immediately pass a strong and effective

Lokpal Bill on the following lines. Lokpal at the Centre and Lokayukta at state level should be made the single apex, independent and effective anti-corruption agency. Those states, which



India is rising against corruption. Mass agitations are taking place. I see sign of similar momentum in the country as was seen at the time of late Shri Jay Prakash Narayan's crusade against the dictatorial and corrupt designs of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Civic society is rising across all segments. The public outrage is also fueled by the widely felt experience of daily corruption. We have to stand up and fight with a strong resolve. We have seen success in the past, and nobody can stand against the mass movement. This is clearly evident from developments even in countries like Red Shirt movement in Indonesia, the flight of the dictatorial King from Tunisia on account of public outrage and strong protest against Housini Mubarak in Egypt. Therefore it is achievable in our country. For us, an independent, transparent and effective Anti-corruption agency, as was established in Hong Kong in 1970 is an example to be followed.

do not have Lokayukta Acts, should pass Lokayukta Acts on these lines. All vigilance agencies should be brought directly under their control. At Centre, CVC should be placed under the superintendence of

the Lokpal. All departmental vigilance wings should be placed directly and completely (including administrative control) under the control of CVC. And that part of CBI, which deals with corruption cases, should be completely (both administratively and functionally) transferred to Lokpal. Lokayukta and Lokpal would have jurisdiction over both politicians and bureaucrats. The vigilance wing under Lokayukta and CVC under Lokpal would deal with vigilance aspect of any case. The anti-corruption wing under Lokayukta or that portion of CBI which has been transferred to Lokpal, would deal with criminal aspect of any corruption case. Offices of Lokpal/ Lokayukta would be declared as police stations to enable them to register cases. Lokayukta/ Lokpal should have complete autonomy. They should have the powers of a civil court to summon any

officers and documents, and should also have the powers of search and seizure. Lokpal has to be selected in an independent and transparent manner. The prime minister has to be under the preview



of Lokpal except in case the matters relating to some strategic cases of National Security. The conduct of the members of Parliament is also brought under the Lokpal, subject to the provisions of section 105 of the constitution, granting immunity to their conduct inside the parliament. All levels of bureaucracy have to be brought under the Lokpal with simultaneous declaration of Citizen's Charter in each department. Along with this bill we need to immediately set up a Judiciary Commission or Judicial Accountability Bill to tackle corruption in the judicial system.

**Further we need to fill the gaps such as bribery and corruption in the Private Sector and NGOs. In relation to generation and prevention of corruption, one major gap in our domestic laws is the prevention of bribery in the private and NGO sector. In all our existing laws regarding corruption one party has to be Government employee or a political person. United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) has also identified these gaps. Our provisions lack regarding Mispricing and valuation of contracts and licenses. The definition regarding gratification and bribery through third party is not clear. Lobbying and influencing decision through public policy debate is not covered under corruption clearly. This year's official**

**revenue foregone figures in our Budget are to the tune of Rs 5, 11,630 crores in the form of tax concessions and therefore leave a lot of scope for manipulations. We have also not defined code of conduct, rules, regulation and guidelines to be put in place by private sector to check and control bribery. Our laws do not enforce prevention of bribing of foreign nationals. To tackle these issues effectively I suggest that we come out with a specific legal provisions in the form of 'Prevention of Bribery in private/NGO sector bill' clearly defining all these terms and provisions.**

*Besides these provisions, this draft bill defines Bribe as facilitation payments, directly or through third parties including gift and hospitality expenses whenever they could affect the outcome of business transactions and are not reasonable. It says that a person shall be guilty of an offence of giving bribe, when committed intentionally in the course of economic, financial or commercial activities when it is established that there is a promise, offering or giving, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage to any person who directs or works, in any capacity, for a commercial entity, for the person himself or herself or for another person, in order that he or she, in breach of his or her duties, act or refrain*

*from acting. It also covers solicitation or acceptance, of an undue advantage, for the person himself or herself or for another person.*

The draft bill states that, the bribe becomes extortion when this demand is accompanied by threats that endanger the personal integrity or the life of the private actors involved, otherwise it takes the form of speed money. Speed money is the bribe given for expediting approvals and for providing services. The draft provides protection as a whistleblower in case of the extortionist bribe.

This draft puts an obligation on a commercial entity to make adequate procedures, designed to prevent persons associated with it from undertaking bribery. And clearly defines the code of conduct to be put in place by the commercial entity. These procedures provide for commercial entities to establish and ensure the effectiveness of internal controls and compliance measures for preventing and detecting bribery.

We strongly suggest that these two concepts are thoroughly discussed and considered for immediate implementation along with the establishment of a Lokpal. We already had several rounds of discussions with business associations, lawyers, professionals and civil activist where these concepts have found favor. ■

*(The writer is the National Convener of Economic Cell of BJP)*

# Neglecting agriculture and farmers in India



Agriculture makes way to economic development and sociological changes. Agriculture sector of India is the largest sector in the world but its contribution to G.D.P has been significantly going down, whereas approximately 52% of the workforce of the nation is engaged in this sector. Contribution of agriculture and associated sector in GDP was 18.9% in 2004-2005 which has got down to 10.2% in 2008-2009.



 **Satyapal Malik**

Everybody acknowledges the dismal condition of agriculture and farmers in India. Each year, before the budget, economic review is

presented in the parliament in which over the years the Government itself has acknowledged the dismal condition of agriculture sector. It has expressed its deep concern over reduction in production and stagnation of agriculture sector. Unfortunately, there is no proper allocation of funds in the budget to deal with this situation. Prime Minister himself has expressed his concern over worsening situation of food commodities, and emphasized the need to start another Green Revolution, but he has not done anything that can lead

to a revolution in agriculture or even nominal improvement in this sector.

Agriculture provides way to economic development and sociological changes. Agriculture sector of India is largest sector in the world but its contribution in G.D.P has been significantly going down, whereas approximately 52% of the workforce of the nation is engaged in this sector. Contribution of agriculture and associated sector in GDP was 18.9% in 2004-2005 which has got reduced to 10.2% in 2008-2009. On the global front wherever, there is increase in capital inflow in

agricultural sector, its share in GDP has increased. It has played a very significant role in poverty eradication and raising living standards of the people.

Similarly worrisome outcome has been noticed in total agricultural production as well as in the agriculture land under cultivation, certification of agricultural products, price of agricultural products with respect to cost incurred etc.

One can easily notice decline in public investment in agriculture sector since Sixth Five year Plan till tenth Five year plan. From sixth five year plan to ninth five year plan there has been reduction of 42,226 crores rupees in the investment in the sector. During 2002-2007 plan this tendency witnessed a changed and the public investment of ₹ 67,270 crores were made which shows increase of ₹. 25,034 crores of investment in this sector. It was a welcoming trend.

The analysis of Economic statistics of the period 2005-2009 related to production of crops provides astonishing facts and that they are a matter of deep concern. Although, between 2005 to 2009 there has been nominal increase in food production, but for the period 2008-2009, low production was witnessed in agricultural products like sugarcane, jute and cotton. During last few years very little change in production

was noticed and in totality it can be considered as stagnation period which is very worrying. The population is increasing, the agricultural land is reducing. If the production of food commodities does not take place in the same proportion then it will lead to a very complicated problem.

In 2009-2010 there has



It's a well established fact that most of the policy makers do not have rural background and neither they have understanding of agriculture nor they have affinity towards the farmers. That's why the policies are not made farmers centric. Farmers get loan for tractors at 13% rate of interest, whereas car loans are easily available at 8% rate of interest. If we were to bring new agricultural revolution, we would need to bring complete changes in thought process.

been reduction in the *kharif* crops. There has been reduction in rice, pulses, oilseeds, sugarcane and jute, however an increase has been noticed in the production of cotton. It is really very sad that the economic analysis report which is a government document, says that the rise and fall in production is proportional to monsoon conditions. It is very clear that the Indian agriculture is still dependent on the mercy of Lord Indra, whereas Pt. Deendayalji talked about keeping Indian agriculture outside the mercy of lord Indra. Similarly, Adev Malika has made reference to *Shastras* that gave focus on development of agriculture.

If we were to increase production in agriculture and consequently increase income of farmers, there is urgent need to bring complete reform in agricultural policy. Since independence and till today agricultural sector has been neglected. The entire focus and resources have been mobilized towards industries especially in favor of heavy industries.

It's well established fact that most of the policy makers do not have rural background and neither they have understanding of agriculture nor they have affinity towards the farmers, that's why the policies are not made in favor of farmers. Farmer's get loan for tractors at 13% rate of



interest, whereas car loans are easily available at 8% rate of interest. If we were to bring new agricultural revolution, we would need to bring complete changes in thought process. For that the following steps related to policy may be taken:

1. Capital investment has to be increased in agriculture.
2. Farmers have to be given cheaper inputs.
3. Using new technologies for seeds, new production seeds need to be developed.
4. Area under irrigation has to be increased and the available water has to be used scientifically.
5. Arrangement should be made so that market forces should not work against the farmers.
6. The profitable margin of agricultural production has to be fixed which farmers haven't received yet.
7. Modern technique and knowledge should be made available to the farmers. How information and knowledge flow from lab to land can be established, that has to be decided.
8. Expansion related works which has almost stopped should



How the market forces work has been explained in a World Bank survey. This survey report covers 117 countries where business conditions are against farmers. Peru topped the rank followed by India where business conditions are against farmers. Unfavorable conditions result in huge losses to farmers resulting in loss of thousands of crores of Indian rupees. At first, farmers had no liberty to sell their products wherever they wanted. Later, restrictions and limitations were put in force to control storage and stock. Restrictions have been imposed on transportation of procured grains. Because of this, every year right from the time of sowing till harvesting and selling the crop, farmers find huge difference in price that result in huge losses to tune of thousands of crores of Indian rupees.

be re-started.

9. A relationship has to be established between "lab and land"

Even if we only discuss about Price Policy, one may notice that till date farmers have been paid very little. In the year 2006, agricultural price commission itself accepted that for last 40 years, it had been paying 20% less to farmers so that the garment industry may flourish out of this saving. It is interesting to note that Government has been interfering in the market by fixing Minimum Support Prices. It means if government gets crops at lesser than the minimum support price then it will buy it or else it won't interfere. This does not provide ideal or profitable price value. Farmer's investment, family contribution, land value and other such inputs are not considered as a basis for price valuation.

Agricultural Price Commission was set up so that they help farmers and encourage them to increase their production capacity and get them good price. This could further help them reinvest the surplus in agriculture. After a few years Agricultural Price Commission was renamed as Commission for Agricultural Costs and

In America Monsanto has captured 35% of the market. In America, Monsanto has 85% share of corn. Still, it has not yet been established that these seeds are not harmful and the Indian government has done a remarkable job by restricting these GM seeds through enactment of seed bill. BJP has many



reasons not to accept these GM seeds as India do not need them. Brazil, China, and Israel have developed a variety of seeds through their own technology that give much higher yield, and India can take their help in developing its own seeds. I had an opportunity to be part of the delegation to Israel under Mr. Nittin Gadkari, the BJP National President. We discussed these issues with the Israel government as well as many other organizations. There exist many possibilities of collaboration and cooperation with Israel government on these issues.

Prices (CACP). Government did not allow selection of president and members on merit basis, rather it started selecting members to extend favor to some selected few. There has been hardly a few occasions when Agricultural Price Commission has shown its disagreement on price fixing. Price has been fixed as per the convenience of the government, and the commission has not been able to do enough for the farmers.

How the market forces work has been explained in a World Bank survey. This survey report covers 117 countries where business conditions are against farmers. Peru topped the rank followed by India where business conditions are against

farmers. Unfavorable conditions result in huge losses to farmers resulting in loss of thousands of crores of Indian rupees. At first, farmers had no liberty to sell their products wherever they wanted, later, restrictions and limitations were put in force to control storage and stock. Restrictions have been imposed on transportation of procured grains. Because of this, every year right from the time of sowing till cutting and selling the crop, farmers find huge difference in price that result in huge losses in tune of thousands of crores of Indian rupees.

Another big tragedy with the farmers is that on agricultural products there are all kinds of restrictions,

whereas at the places where farmer has to purchase things for his personal use there does not exist any control on these prices. The result is that the things like iron, cement, diesel or cloth that one could buy ten years ago in return of wheat, rice or cotton, today they are not able to buy because of huge price difference that has been created over the years. It means that the purchasing power of farmers is going down and they do not even know that they are becoming poor day by day.

Farmers have been given various justifications for keeping lower price of their crops. Fact is that, when farmers receive right price for their crops, they are able to

reinvest an adequate amount in farming. The farmer is able to give the proper wages to the laborers that in turn result in growth and prosperity in the region. It implies that

be only 60 kgs per hectare, but it increased to 400 kgs per hectare. Since then no major breakthrough in the wheat seeds has been noticed, nor can one see any breakthrough



overall business will increase if the farmers are paid well. The economic crisis which the world has undergone recently, its impact was less in India as the farmers of India were able to maintain the demand level. The business continued and impact of recession was minimal.

People who talk about the Green Revolution should first know how the green revolution took place. During the decade when Green Revolution took place in India, I used to oversee my farming. My land was already irrigated. But the new seeds and fertilizer increased the production many fold. The new wheat seeds played more important role than that of fertilizer. Changes could be seen in the villages. Earlier the production of wheat used to

in rice, pulses or the oil seeds.

Four out of five farmers continue to sow their own seeds every year. Because of this, the production has decreased and it continues to decrease. Unless one uses new seeds again, the production capacity will not increase. One may not need to buy GM seeds (Genetically Modified) for the sake of buying new seeds as already there are lots of controversies and doubts related to them amongst the farmers.

Although GM seeds have been used in 300 million hectares of land, it is believed that GM seeds are harmful in many ways. It is also interesting to note that 25 countries have accepted them, mostly those related to cotton and animal feed. Many other countries have also approved

Recently, a lot of publicity was done for the loan waiver of 60 thousand crores rupees of debt of farmers which has been done only once so far. This action was described as huge favor to the farmers. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the government has been waiving off debt of 40 thousands crore rupees of big business houses every year that are part of non-collectable loans. This fact itself explains where farmers stand in the eyes of the government.

them. European Union has given its permission to 120 GM Plants. In America Monsanto has captured 35% of the market. In America, Monsanto has 85% share of corn. Still, it has not yet been established that these seeds are not harmful and the Indian government has done a remarkable job by restricting these GM seeds through enactment of seed bill. BJP has many reasons not to accept these GM seeds as India do not need them. Brazil, China, and Israel have developed a variety of seeds through their own technology that give much higher yield, and India can take their help in developing its own seeds. I



had an opportunity to be part of the delegation to Israel under Mr. Nittin Gadkari, the BJP National President. We discussed these issues with the Israel government as well as many other organizations. There exist many possibilities of collaboration and cooperation with Israel government on these issues.

In Brazil, a big part of land turned infertile because of acidic effect. Dr. Narman Warlog, a well-known scientist had commented that the land would never become fertile again. But Brazil proved him wrong. After laying a thick layer of lime on the given land, the acidic effect of lime was eliminated. They developed bacteria that increase the Nitrogen percentage in the land. The bacteria were put in the land so that

nitrogen can be automatically generated. In addition, the research centers in Brazil have developed a new seed of soybean. This has helped *Saridha* (soyabean production zone in Brazil) to increase their soyabean production tremendously, thus helping Brazil to become world's number one exporter of soyabean. India needs to make health cards for entire land of India, on the lines of efforts made by Modi government in Gujarat. It is important to provide feed to the land and

**India imports edible oil to the tune of 9,000 crores of rupees. It imports pulses of 4,500 crores rupees. There is always scarcity of food items, and with increase in population, India may not be able to meet food demands properly. To cope up with this situation, we must take measure before hand by bringing organizational changes on top priority basis.**



take all measures to maintain its fertility, and also we need to make efforts to turn unfertile land a fertile one. For all this India has to invest a lot on research and development. It is necessary to invest in developing high yield seeds and put these activities on top priority. It is high time we should take measures to increase productivity of land, bring betterment in its health, develop new seeds, make correct use of new irrigation technologies, proportionally

use chemical fertilizers and Bio- fertilizers and put in practice the new technologies for sowing and cutting.

After the harvest, instead of taking the harvested crop to the market, if provisions are available at nearby places for value addition like food processing, cold storage, and other storage options, then the farmers will not be forced to sell their crops at low price. If banks make advance payment to the farmers as per the projection for the coming crop, they will get rid of the problem of selling crops at lower prices.

I want to share some important information. In India, in the research centers of agricultural universities, the expenditure is par with the expenditure done in England, Japan and Egypt for production of seeds of wheat, rice and cotton, also at the farmers end, only one third of such seeds reach. The primary reason for this lies in the fact that the land at these universities are not maintained properly. They are not provided with high yield seeds, right fertilizers and new technologies that affect productivity. If these are made available to the farmers, they can double and triple their productivity.

Recently, a lot of publicity was made for the loan waiver

of 60 thousand crores rupees of debt of farmers which has been done only once so far. This action was described as huge favor to the farmers. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the government has been waiving off debt of 40 thousands crore rupees of big business houses every year that are part of non-collectable loans. This fact itself explains where farmers stand in the eyes of the government.

After liberalization the subsidies which have been given to the Indian farmers have been quite low as compared to the subsidies given in Europe and America. Still, talks are on to put an end to these subsidies in India. It is also a fact that farmers do not get any subsidy directly. Subsidies are given to producers of chemical fertilizers. The final benefit is given to consumers who buy food grains at subsidized rate, but farmers do not get any benefit. The subsidies available for irrigation through canal and electricity

do not reach farmers due to lack of management followed by theft of electricity and corrupt practices in entire system. As a result the whole subsidy amount is wasted and farmers do not get any benefit from these. Also one may note that America and European countries are offering higher subsidies to their farmers and who use the produced food items to by export the same to the poor countries of Africa and Asia, thus destroying their economies. Even after having promised to decrease subsidies to their farmers during trade summits, America and European countries have not reduced subsidies given to their farmers.

India imports edible oil to the tune of 9,000 crores of rupees. It imports pulses of 4,500 crores rupees. There is always scarcity of food items, and with increase in population, India may not be able to meet food demands properly. To cope up with this situation, we must take

measure before hand by bringing organizational changes on top priority basis. Agricultural Scientist and economist Dr. Lundwill believes that green revolution wouldn't have been possible if new hybrid seeds wouldn't have been developed by mixing genetic material named Norin-10 with different varieties of wheat. Green Revolution was made possible by making heavy investment in rural infrastructure, by offering good prices of crops, by offering subsidies to the farmers and by making huge investment in this area. All such supports resulted in green revolution.

Therefore, agricultural policy should be reviewed completely for another green revolution. If something positive is to be done in agriculture sector, it is mandatory for us to bring major changes in the agricultural policy of India. ■

(The writer is Prabhari,  
National Kisan Morcha, BJP)

*Take up one idea. Make that one idea your life - think of it, dream of it, live on idea. Let the brain, muscles, nerves, every part of your body, be full of that idea, and just leave every other idea alone. This is the way to success.*

**-Swami Vivekananda**

# Politics of Appeasement : A Threat to National Unity



 J P Sharma

Soon after the end of British rule over India, the prospects of the newly created Hindu majority state of (residual) India surviving as a united country used to be a favourite subject of discussion particularly among the western scholars interested in our part of the world. One of the better known books focusing on the subject was Selig Harrison's "India; The Most Dangerous Decades" (published in 1960). Displaying a remarkable knowledge of the socio-cultural background of India, Harrison felt that the linguistic and regional loyalties of important population groups of India could prove a considerable obstacle in the integration of the country. Having successfully weathered the so called "Dangerous Decades" can we now assert that the Indian republic has acquired

adequate  
cohesive  
strength to  
withstand  
the

external  
and  
internal  
threats  
challenging  
its unity and  
territorial  
integrity?

## Threats to India's Integrity

Threats to India's integrity arise from external as well as internal sources. The most obvious among the external sources of threats are our neighbours Pakistan and China. Conceived on the hate Hindu idea, Pakistan embarked, soon after its birth, on an Islamist course which has led it into becoming the universally recognized epicentre of global Islamic terrorism. The recent murder of Punjab governor Salman Taseer illustrates the extent to which Pakistan itself has become a victim of Islamist extremism. Pakistan's obsession with Jammu and Kashmir is only one of the reasons for the visceral hatred

of Pakistanis towards India. The delusion of the superiority of the Pakistani Muslim soldier over his Indian counterpart having been shattered by successive

defeat suffered on the battlefield, Pakistan evolved and adopted the strategy of balkanizing India by inflicting 'a thousand cuts'. Since 1989 Pakistan's proxy war against India has been prosecuted by means of highly motivated Jihadis trained, armed, supported and sustained by the Pakistani army. This low cost proxy war is unlikely to end in the foreseeable future. Serious observers of Pakistan are convinced that even if the dispute over Kashmir is somehow resolved, Islamic Pakistan will never have friendly relations with India.

## CHINA

In our enthusiasm for being good friends of China even after its takeover by the communists we not only rejected the offer of a permanent seat on the UN Security Council but readily



conceded the Chinese claim of sovereignty over Tibet and surrendered our interests in that region without getting any compensation. China repaid the friendship extended by us by occupying Aksai-Chin and laying claim to large areas on the Indian side of the Mc Mahon line followed by the 1962 war. During the past few years the Chinese economy has seen a tremendous boom while kindling aspirations of replacing USA as the dominant superpower of the world, has done nothing to diminish the Chinese hostility towards India. Besides improving its offensive capabilities, extending its rail and road network in the regions bordering India, seeking facilities in our peripheral countries in a pattern of encircling India, China too has continued to remain hostile to us and keeps on resorting to territorial incursions and giving various kinds of provocations and threats. An important plank of China's foreign policy has been the development of a strong friendship with India's inveterate adversary Pakistan by helping it to substantially augment its military capabilities. Pakistan's mastery of nuclear weapon and missile technologies is largely due to Chinese help and USA's connivance.

Hostile neighbours coveting our territory are only a few of the many threats to our sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition to the influential players on the

world scene on the prowl in pursuit of military, political or economic advantages, major religions believing in aggressive proselytization are forever seeking to extend their domain. India with a vast population, large sections of which are still desperately needy, presents a prize target both to the forces of aggressive evangelism as well as radical Islam. Concern for bringing the heathens into the kingdom of God is not the sole objective of those seeking converts. There is always the unstated political purpose of extending the influence of the sponsors of the effort which generally translates into a subtle subversion of the loyalties of the converts to the parent country. Coupled with the flaws in our government system the aggressive seekers of converts represent perhaps the most serious threat to the integrity of India.

#### Indian Democracy

India is often lauded as one of the few countries which having won independence after the second world war chose the democratic form of government and made a success of it. That reputation unfortunately stands sullied by the spate of scams coming to light recently. But even otherwise, the flaws in our system had prompted scholars to question whether the Westminster model currently in use should be replaced by a better system. Among the



Since 1989 Pakistan's proxy war against India has been prosecuted by means of highly motivated Jihadis trained, armed, supported and sustained by the Pakistani army. This low cost proxy war is unlikely to end in the foreseeable future. Serious observers of Pakistan are convinced that even if the dispute over Kashmir is somehow resolved, Islamic Pakistan will never have friendly relations with India.

major flaws in our democracy are (1) the vast size of the component of illiterate, poor electors who are unable to comprehend the issues of vital interest to the nation and whose votes can be easily procured by election managers using various tricks, (2) a political system which does not (with rare exceptions) permit persons of integrity and competence to rise to the top leaving the leadership role to unscrupulous and greedy persons having little regard for national interest or public good and (3) absence of parties having nationwide acceptance resulting in power being wielded by opportunistic groupings called coalitions or alliances.

### The Politics of Vote Banks

The desire to wield power and to use all means necessary to get into the position of authority is a failing common to most political parties. Having fought many elections the master strategists in all major Indian political parties have worked out their plans to secure the maximum number of votes for their parties. For this they carry out a detailed analysis of the composition of the electorate in each constituency and then arrive at the formula that would deliver the most votes. Caste, region, religion, economic situation etc are the major factors setting apart one section from another and deciding the vote winning incentives to be offered to the electorate. Dalits, Tribals, OBCs, Muslims, Christians are among the major groups

which are sought to be wooed by offering incentives like reservations in government jobs, quotas for admission to institutions of higher learning and financial benefits of various kinds.

### Consequences of sectarian incentives

While offering incentives to particular sections of the electorate the politicians commanding the parties do not seem to be bothered by long term effects the sectarian incentives will have on the

While offering incentives to particular sections of the electorate the politicians commanding the parties do not seem to be bothered by long term effects the sectarian incentives will have on the process of integrating the country's population. Those at the helm of the country's affairs must remember that while being responsible for dealing with the issues brought to the fore by the current situation, they are also trustees of the nation's future.

process of integrating the country's population. Those at the helm of the country's affairs must remember that while being responsible for dealing with the issues brought to the fore by the current situation, they are also trustees of the nation's future. They must be fully alive to the current developments not only within the country but all over the world as also with the country's past and future. The use of reservations by the British as a device to accentuate the divisions within the Indian society should not be forgotten. Nor should we forget the fact that it was only some sixty five years back that the Muslims of

India declared that they could not coexist with the Hindu majority and demanded and took away their share of the country. It is therefore extremely important for the rulers of the country to proceed with great caution and refrain from doing anything that would encourage feelings of separatism among any section of the population. This exactly where the performance of the present rulers has been found most wanting.

### Reservations

Reservations in government jobs, institutions of higher learning, seats on elective bodies are some of the most common incentives offered by the politicians as a reward for votes. The original purpose supposedly was to help the historically discriminated and disadvantaged sections of the Indian population viz the Hindu Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to come up to the level of the rest of the population. The concession was intended to last for the first ten years of the republic but has continued for sixty years and seems to have become a permanent feature of our Constitution. Seeing the

advantage enjoyed by SC/STs other sections of the population came up with the demand that they too were historically deprived and therefore should be entitled to similar concessions. That gave rise to a new category of citizenry called Other Backward Castes (OBCs) enjoying the privilege of reservations. It was strange to see upper castes like Jats and Gujjars successfully demanding inclusion in the

beneficiary communities by making them addicted to the crutches of reservation instead of encouraging them to strive for self reliance. One illustration of the paradox of reservations is the situation of Meenas of Rajasthan. It appears that a concession meant for the Meena tribals of Mewar was erroneously extended to all Meenas of Rajasthan including the Meenas of Jaipur division who were by no means

able to take care of themselves.

### Religion Based Concessions

Among the worst kind of vote seeking concessions are those which are sought to be justified on the recipient's religion. Our politicians have failed to appreciate that concessions to Muslims and Christians are in a different class altogether because of the foreign origin of these religions and the aggressive territorial ambitions of the international powers supporting them. In spite of having lived together with other religious communities in India for a thousand years, the Muslims have not integrated with the rest of the society. The pious intentions of the framers of the constitution to have a common civil code equally applicable to all the citizens of India still remains unrealized. On the other hand there are enough indications of a disturbing rise in the separatist tendencies among Muslims wherever they happen to be in a majority (e.g. Hyderabad, West Bengal and some areas in UP) and Christians of the North East states.

Soon after partition the Indian National Congress party started projecting itself as the protector of Muslims in India and quickly developed a vote bank among Indian Muslims. It is a matter of much regret that this party which was in the forefront of the freedom struggle also took the lead in the anti-national activity of encouraging the

**If the politicians are really serious about improving the lot of the disadvantaged classes they should evolve a universally applicable criteria of entitlement to help and work out the kind of help which will enable the poor to rise above the poverty line after which they should be able to take care of themselves.**

OBC category. Now there are demands that Muslims and Christians whose ancestors belonged to the SC/STs before their conversion should also be granted the same concession.

Except for the politicians pleading the case for continuation and extension of reservations for whom the activism is a means to improve the benefits accruing to them by means of political bargaining, reservations by and large have failed to produce the results they were intended to produce. Even after sixty years of enjoying the benefit, the vast majority of SC/ST population still remains poor and backward. It must be realized that reservation, even harms the

backward or victims of discrimination. Even though by now the Meenas form the biggest class component in the Civil Services lists no politician has even suggested withdrawing the concession. Every demand for a concession is accompanied by a sustained media campaign highlighting the wrongs (real or imaginary) suffered by the claimant community.

If the politicians are really serious about improving the lot of the disadvantaged classes they should evolve a universally applicable criteria of entitlement to help and work out the kind of help which will enable the poor to rise above the poverty line after which they should be



settlement of illegal Muslim immigrants into Assam. Since then several other parties like Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party, Lalu Yadav's RJD, Ram Bilas Paswan's LJ Party and the leftist parties have entered into a reckless competition with the Congress Party for wooing the Muslim voters. Here again it was the Congress party which in its pursuit of Muslim votes brazenly violated the Constitutional

provisions guaranteeing to every Indian citizen Equality, Justice and prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion. In a speech before the National Development Council in December 2008 the Prime Minister declared that the **Muslims must have the first claim on the nation's resources.**

To facilitate the Government in granting grossly unwarranted favours to Muslims the Government took recourse to the well known method of appointing a high level committee filled with people of its choice to ensure that it would give the recommendations the Government wanted it to give. The Sachar Committee and the Ranganath Misra Commission were set up and they delivered the desired recommendations.



It is a matter of much regret that this party which was in the forefront of the freedom struggle also took the lead in the anti-national activity of encouraging the settlement of illegal Muslim immigrants into Assam. Since then several other parties like Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party, Lalu Yadav's RJD, Ram Bilas Paswan's LJ Party and the leftist parties have entered into a reckless competition with the Congress Party for wooing the Muslim voters.

It would require much space to catalogue the steps taken by the UPA to appease the Muslims but some recent actions of Congress party

General Secretary Digvijay Singh and the yuvraj Rahul Gandhi are truly shocking to the extent to which these leaders could go to harm national interest just for pleasing their Muslim followers. According to Wikileaks, during a

conversation in June 2009, Rahul Gandhi told the US Ambassador that radical Hindu extremists posed a bigger threat to India than the Pakistani Lashkar-e-Taiba. Not far behind was Digvijay Singh who has for long been carrying out a sustained campaign against the Indian security forces by questioning the genuineness of several encounters including the one in Batla House, choosing to release a book "titled RSS ki sazish" by a rabid Muslim journalist which tries to convince the readers that the Mumbai attack of 26/11 was the result of a conspiracy in which RSS was the chief conspirator.!!! With leaders of this kind we seem to be firmly set on the road to disaster. ■

(The Writer is an addl. Secretary (Retd.) Govt. of India and Editor Bharat Speaks )



 **Ram Kumar Ohri**

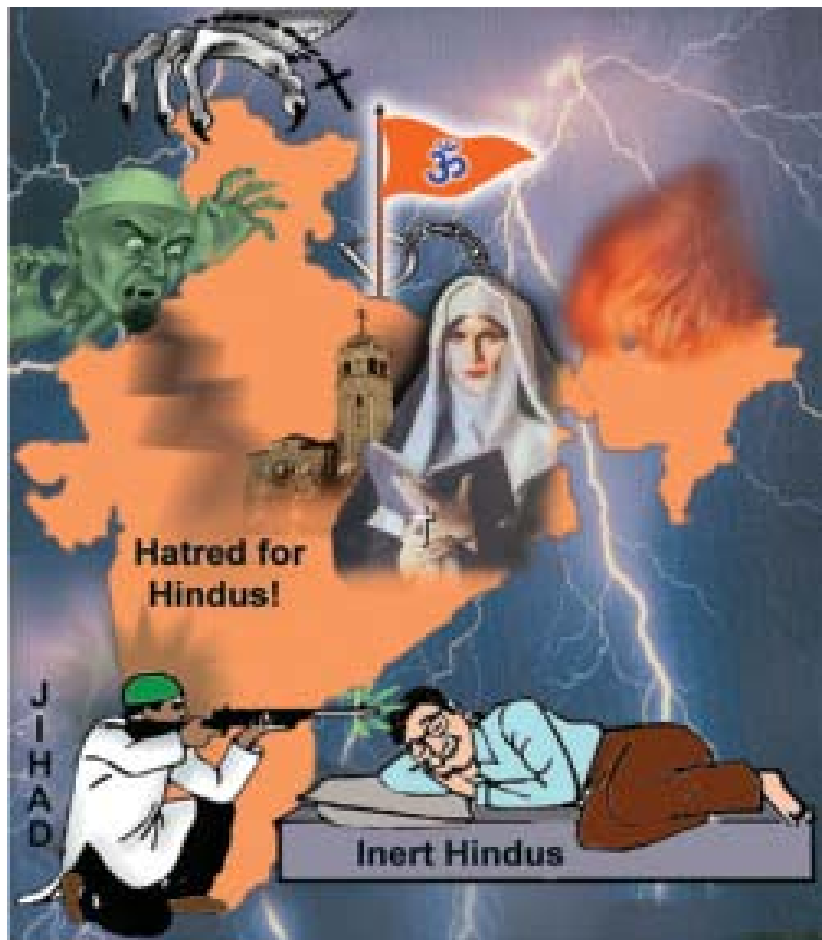
An in-depth discourse on the impending threat of a post-Hindu India is an anathema to the media analysts and self-styled intellectuals of New Delhi,

The civilisational identity of the Hindus of Assam was facing an existential threat. In a seminal researched Seminar Paper, titled 'Destiny of Hindus of West Bengal' Dr. Radhasyam Brahmachari, a Professor of Applied Physics in Calcutta University, has forewarned about the threat to Hindus of West Bengal. Similarly the demographically challenged Hindus of Kerala, too, are facing a stupendous challenge to their ancient identity because of fast growth of Muslim population and intense jihadi activity in that coastal State.

## Looming Spectre of Post Hindu India

trapped in the cult of political correctness. The deliberately ignored topic has, however, been engaging the attention of many intellectuals and concerned citizens of Assam, Kerala and West Bengal for more than a decade. Frankly, they foresee the high velocity growth of Muslim population as a foreboding threat to the Hindu identity of three geopolitically sensitive States. Sometime ago a well known

intellectual and senior journalist of Assam had claimed at an informal gathering that he belonged to an 'endangered species', meaning thereby that the civilisational identity of the Hindus of Assam was facing an existential threat. In a seminal researched Seminar Paper, titled 'Destiny of Hindus of West Bengal' Dr. Radhasyam Brahmachari, a Professor of Applied Physics



in Calcutta University, has forewarned about the threat to Hindus of West Bengal. Similarly the demographically challenged Hindus of Kerala, too, are facing a stupendous challenge to their ancient identity because of fast growth of Muslim population and intense jihadi activity in that coastal State. In a candid interview sometime ago Marxist V. Achutanandan, the former Chief Minister of Kerala, admitted that the fundamentalist Muslim groups were working overtime to establish an Islamic enclave in Kerala. The message conveyed by the then Kerala Chief Minister can be ignored by the powers-that-be only at grave peril to the unity and integrity of the Indian nation. Kerala is likely to become another strife-torn region like Kashmir, unless effective action is taken against well known jihadist outfits openly indulging in subversive activities all over the State.

In November, 2009, a self proclaimed critic of Hinduism, Prof. Kancha Ilaiah of Osmania University, brought the long-evaded subject out of closet in his controversial tome, 'Post Hindu India', though in an altogether different context. Prof. Ilaiah believes that Hinduism is in the Death Row because of the fast approaching internal war in the decadent caste-ridden society which will soon develop into a war of weapons between high caste

Hindus and the so-called dalits.

The imaginary scenario of a bloody strife erupting between the scheduled caste and high caste Hindus, as painted by Kancha Ilaiah, is highly unlikely. In any case, the imaginary civil strife cannot lead to the demise of Hindu India. The terminal threat to Hinduism, however, comes from radical Islam. The rapid demographic decline of Hindus and relentless jihadi onslaught by Islamists supported by Pakistan, do pose an existential threat to the Hindu identity of India.

While showering lavish praise on the Christians, the Muslims and the Buddhists for practicing equality, Prof. Ilaiah has roundly lambasted the Hindu religion and Indic civilization for discriminating against the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In doing so he has exhibited a singular lack of scholarship by not researching certain elementary truths about the perfidy of our former colonial masters, the Christian British, in heaping abominable insults on the huge mass of down trodden Hindus, presently known as Adivasis and scheduled castes, whose cause Prof Ilaiah claims to hold dear to his heart. It is amazing that the Osmania University teacher totally forgot that in the year 1871 the British rulers of India (who were practising Christians) had passed an uncivil, discriminatory and derogatory law, known as the Criminal Tribes Act, to brand

scores of castes and communities, steeped in grinding poverty, as 'born criminals'? The inhuman law was first notified and enforced in northern India and subsequently extended to Bengal and other provinces. It notified 160 castes, who presently constitute the core of today's 'dalit samaj' as "hereditary criminals" on the ground that as a community they were passing on the professions like theft, burglary, house-breaking, robbery, dacoity and counterfeiting of coins from one generation to the next. The total headcount of the so-called criminal tribes branded as 'pariahs' by our former Christian rulers at that time was approximately six

In the year 1871 the British rulers of India (who were practising Christians) had passed an uncivil, discriminatory and derogatory law, known as the Criminal Tribes Act, to brand scores of castes and communities, steeped in grinding poverty, as 'born criminals'? The inhuman law was first notified and enforced in northern India and subsequently extended to Bengal and other provinces. It notified 160 castes, who presently constitute the core of today's 'dalit samaj' as "hereditary criminals"



crores (i.e., 60 millions) constituting nearly 30 percent of the Hindu population. According to Census 1871 the total population of India was 20,34,15,000. Among them the Hindu headcount was roughly estimated to be 17 crores or so. Since almost all members of the so-called 'criminal tribes' were Hindus, with a single stroke of pen the British rulers reduced nearly 30 percent of the Hindu population as hereditary criminals thereby condemning their unborn generations to work as hewers of wood and drawers of water!. In the annals of world history there is no comparable example of codified discrimination sanctioned by law heaped upon such a large body of human beings.

Among the tribes declared as hereditary criminals were groups of Bhils who had fought against the British oppression on the banks of Narmada and in Khandesh. There were the Kanjars, the Sansis, the Nats and Meenas of Rajasthan, Chharas of Gujarat, Satnamis of Chhatisgarh, the Konds and Sabors of Odisha

(who fought battles against the British in Kandhamal region). Also included among the so-called criminal tribes were the Gonds, the Marias and Murias of Bastar and many tribes of Chhotanagpur belt like the Mundas and the Oraon. Tribes like Santhals and Ho and certain



Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj condemned untouchability and worked for reforming the Hindu society by preaching equality of all castes. Lokmanya Tilak once publicly declared that he would denounce even God if He accepted untouchability. Veer Savarkar had personally led the so-called untouchables into temples in order to eradicate the evil. Gandhi carried forward the campaign against untouchability started by Tilak and Savarkar, and wrote that freedom was unattainable without removal of the sin of untouchability. Numerous Hindu saints and savants like Guru Ravidas, Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh and founder of Arya Samaj, Swami Dayanand Saraswati tirelessly worked for eradication of untouchability.

clans of Chamars were also included in the long list of the tribes branded by the British as born criminals. Their movement was severely restricted by the new law enforced rigorously and they were required to report regularly at Police Stations due to which they could not move out of their villages to seek education and economic progress. The District Superintendents of Police were directed to track their movements. When the Bill was introduced in 1871 by the British Jurist, James Fitzjames Stephen (who also authored the Indian Evidence Act), considerable emphasis was placed on the ethnological theory of hereditary caste system which defined their profession, upbringing and background. The wonky logic advanced by James Fitzjames Stephen to deprive them of elementary human rights and permanently arrest their socio-economic development by restricting their mobility was that, "..... people from times immemorial have been pursuing the caste system defined job-positions,

weaving, carpentry and such were hereditary jobs. So there must have been hereditary criminals also who pursued their forefathers' profession."<sup>1</sup> The draconian law was thus based on an irrational assumption and not on any empirical research or data. On another occasion, while elucidating his illogical branding of several communities as criminals, he commented, "When we speak of professional criminals, we ..... (mean) a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from time immemorial, who are themselves destined by the usage of caste to commit crime, and whose descendants will be offenders against the law, until the whole tribe is exterminated or accounts for in the manner of thugs".<sup>2</sup> No attempt was made to investigate the causes which had compelled these hapless tribals to take to crime for earning livelihood - a phenomenon which took shape overwhelmingly in the long period of enslavement of Hindus by the Muslim rulers during which many parts of India were laid waste.

Mercifully the British did not take recourse to the 'final solution' hinted at by James Fitzjames Stephen, namely extermination of these hapless tribes, as proposed by the cross-eyed follower of Anglican Church, turned lawmaker for India. Why Prof Kancha Ilaiah chose to omit this gross injustice meted out to an important segment of

the so-called 'natives' (read Hindus) by the Christian British rulers remains a mystery. The gross discrimination continued for 76 long years, i.e., for more than three generations. It was undone immediately after independence by rescinding the Criminal Tribes Act.

Kancha Ilaiah totally misses the point that during the long history of Hinduism, these tribes and castes were

**The seamy side of the caste story is that today the Indian politicians are the most caste obsessed people. They are keeping the caste cauldron on boil for using certain castes as their vote bank. The recent attempts of caste-based political leaders trying to force a caste census reveal their divisive agenda for capturing political power.**

never ever condemned, or branded, as hereditary criminals. They were branded by law as criminals only by the British who were Christians and continue to be adored by Kancha Ilaiah. It is difficult to fathom the reasons which prompted him to shower praise on the Christian rulers and applaud them for being more just and egalitarian, than the so-called 'backward' Hindus. He conveniently glosses over the fact that it was the practicing Christians, the British, who did that grave injustice to

crores of down trodden masses. Also ignored by him is the important fact that those who agitated for abolition of untouchability and facilitated the passing of The Untouchability Offences Act in the year 1955, were Hindus, mostly high caste Hindus, certainly not Christians, nor Muslims. If the Christian Britishers were so solicitous about the condition of the deprived members of the Scheduled Castes, why did they not enact a law to ban untouchability during their long rule? Nor did the Muslim rulers act in a benevolent manner towards the lower castes. Their effort was totally focused on converting them to Islam by force and imposition of jiziya. Similar instances of wanton caste-based discrimination by the Muslims and the Britishers can be found *ad infinitum* in the troubled history of India.

The Osmania University teacher took no notice of the fact that due to inherent dynamics of Hindu religion many social reformers had relentlessly campaigned against the evil of untouchability. Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj condemned untouchability and worked for reforming the Hindu society by preaching equality of all castes. Lokmanya Tilak once publicly declared that he would denounce even God if He accepted untouchability. Veer Savarkar had personally led the so-called untouchables into temples in order to

eradicate the evil. Gandhi carried forward the campaign against untouchability started by Tilak and Savarkar, and wrote that freedom was unattainable without removal of the sin of untouchability. Numerous Hindu saints and savants like Guru Ravidas, Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh and founder of Arya Samaj, Swami Dayanand Saraswati tirelessly worked for eradication of untouchability. The great saint Ramanuja of South India (1017-1137) openly condemned untouchability and adopted many so-called untouchables as his disciples. In Andhra Pradesh, Veera Brahmendra Swamy (10<sup>th</sup> century) campaigned against the evil, while Basavesvara, a Minister of the erstwhile Mysore State (1131-1167 A D) vigorously fought the evil. Again in Andhra, a Minister Brahmananda Naidu of Paindu (14<sup>th</sup> century A D) had openly condemned the evil practice and even appointed an untouchable, named Chenna, as chief of his army. The evil practice was stoutly opposed by Gopal Krishna Ranade (1842-1901) and Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890). These are just a few of the scores of examples of Hindu social reformers taking up cudgels against untouchability. By ignoring these well documented facts Kancha Ilaiah has poured unmerited ridicule on Hindu religion and scriptures by recourse to inane rhetoric, including the use of undignified language,

unbecoming any serious scholar worth his salt.

Prof. Ilaiah again forgets that since times imemorial the so-called low caste Hindus have been the torch bearers of Hindu faith for which reason their iconic leaders are held in highest esteem, quite often ranking far above Brahmins. For instance, Maharishi Valmiki, composer of the Ramayana, was originally a fisherman and wayward robber who acquired the status of a 'Maharishi' by learning the scriptures. Again Maharish Ved Vyas, composer of the Mahabharata was the son of a fisherwoman, Matsya Gandha and Vidur who was the Chief Minister of Hastinapur was son of a *dasi* and an ardent devotee of Sri Krishna. Another low caste sage who rose to prominence was Maharishi Matanga, who was Guru of Shabari, a Bhil woman whose berries were fondly relished by Sri Ram despite the so-called low caste devotee first tasting each berry to ensure that none of them was sour. It is believed that the famous Hindu king Chandragupta Maurya rose from the Muria tribe who were traditionally collectors of Mor Pankhis (peacock feathers). And it was a Brahmin, Acharya Chanakya, who helped in establishing the Maurya dynasty when Hindus were facing threats from Huns and Greeks. Let us not forget that Sant Raidas, Guru of Meera Bai, was a Chamar (Cobbler), while Sant Namdev was a tailor (Darzi). Yet they were and continue to



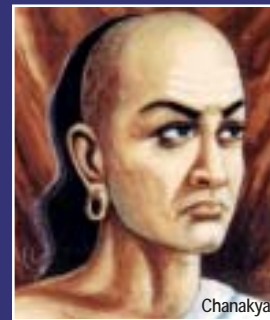
Maharshi Valmiki



Maharshi Ved Vyas



Shabari



Chanakya



Meera Bai



Sant Tukaram

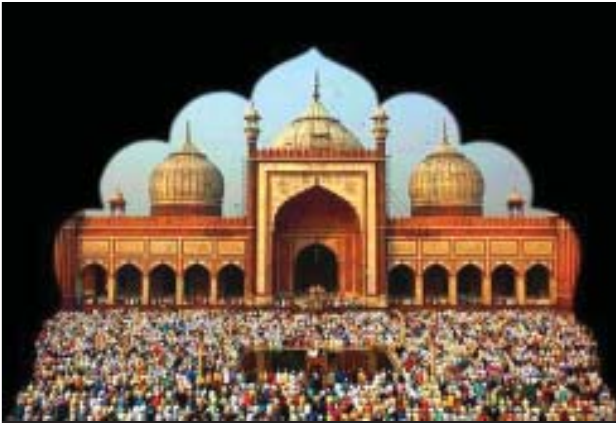


be held in greatest esteem across India. A

large chunk of stormtroopers of Chhatrapati Shivaji included Kunbis and Mawalis who were members of the castes subsequently declared as "criminal tribes" by the British. The widely revered Saint, Tuka Ram, was a Kunbi (the so-called Shudra). Frankly, the divide between the Hindus on the basis of high and low caste was accentuated by India's erstwhile colonial rulers, first by the Muslims and then by the British. Both

followed the policy of divide and rule. Indeed so deep is the commitment of the members of Scheduled Castes to Hinduism, the ancient faith of their forbears, that to avenge the tyranny of Muslim invaders who had attacked Gujarat in 1299, sacked the Somnath temple and looted the opulent city of Anhilwara, a retinue of 40,000 Dalits, mostly Barwaris, surreptitiously reached Delhi and sacked the main mosque at Siri and restarted the traditional pooja, after installing idols of Hindu gods. They re-converted to Hindu faith the ruling half-Muslim Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau and for a short time Delhi was re-conquered from Muslim rulers by the so-called Dalit Barwaris.

Kancha Ilaiah refuses to see the post independence fast



The census 2001 data of the 6 years old cohorts clearly shows that in 31 States and Union Territories of Indian Republic, out of a total of 35 (28 States & 7 Union Territories), the Muslim population will grow at a faster clip than that of Hindus. In that sense the fate of the Hindu civilization is already sealed.

changing ground reality. Today the younger generation is rapidly moving away from caste discrimination, especially in urban areas, including small towns and most villages. When one eats at a roadside dhaba or sits down for a cup of tea during travel, where is the scope for practicing caste discrimination? Gone are the days when people ate food cooked only by Brahmins or men belonging to their own caste. Similarly when one travels in a bus or train does anyone bother about the caste of the person sitting next to him or her? Again when a person goes to a hospital, does he or she ask for the caste of the doctor or the nurse? As pointed out by Chandrabhan Prasad in an insightful article, anonymity is the greatest weapon against untouchability. And

anonymity has increased with rapid urbanization.<sup>3</sup> The modern day urbanism is infusing a new lifestyle in cities and towns. Who knows that in a beauty parlour the woman giving a massage is a Gauda or Kamma, and the lady customer a Madhiga?<sup>4</sup> Alluding to the much advertised reports in the press about some high caste Hindus students refusing to eat food cooked by Dalit cooks, the well known writer Chandrabhan Prasad points out that out of 1.81 lakh schools in the

State, barely in one thousand schools the non-Dalit children refused to eat the food cooked by Dalits which reflects the rapidly changing social equations at the ground level in the heartland State of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>5</sup>

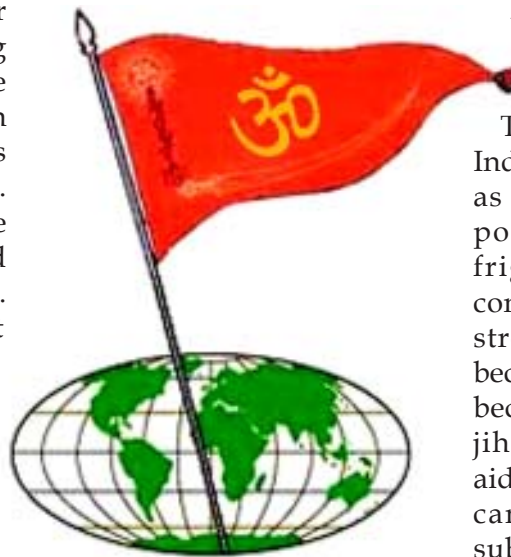
[Source: Chandrabhan Prasad, 'Caste revolution', *The Sunday Pioneer* (Foray), p.V]. He calls it a splendid story of attitudinal changes highlighting "a great social revolution" and rightly faults the journalists for ignoring the important fact that "in majority of UP schools non-Dalit children are now accepting food cooked by Dalit cooks".<sup>6</sup> [Source: Ibid]

Frankly, education, increased mobility and urbanization are three important social levellers for destroying the caste discrimination.

The seamy side of the caste story is that today the Indian politicians are the most caste obsessed people. They are keeping the caste cauldron on boil for using certain castes as their vote bank. The recent attempts of caste-based political leaders trying to force a caste census reveal their divisive agenda for capturing political power. Otherwise the caste discrimination is now in terminal decline as far as Hindu society is concerned. There might be a small caste conscious minority tucked away in some remote villages. But they too must be eating at dhabas and visting roadside tea stalls during their travels. And everyone knows that the men and women employed at such dhabas, excepting very few, could be the so-called low-caste workers. Frankly, the day our self-seeking politicians abandon their caste promoting politics, the caste discrimination will die a natural death. Sooner they do it, better it will be for India.

Over to Kancha Ilaiah's grand prophesy that there will be a civil war, a war of weapons, between the high caste Hindus and the so-called Dalits because of the simmering undercurrent of caste based hostility between the two constituents of the Hindu society. He asserts that the self-destructing contradictions in the Hindu cultural system are creating tensions which will soon explode into a civil war which

is likely to be a "war of power, of nerves and also of weapons". In making that grim forecast about the impending civil war between high caste Hindus and dalits, Kancha Ilaiah conveniently forgot that there is no history of any organized violent



**A wake up call for unity of Hindu society is the need of the hour. Hindus now stand at the crossroads of history. They must stop living in the past. This is their last opportunity to make a daring bid to break the siege. Alas, the Hindu society is totally bereft of a dour and dynamic leadership for which reason it continues to be discriminated against and stands marginalized despite constituting a powerful majority.**

clashes or regular 'war of weapons' between the two segments of Hindu society. On

the contrary, there are innumerable examples where all Hindus, irrespective of their caste, had jointly fought against the Muslim invaders and the British imperialists – a fact which Kancha Ilaiah conveniently ignores.

But that does not mean that the idea of a post-Hindu India is far removed from reality.

The spectre of a post-Hindu India looms large over India, as surely as the threat of a post-Christian Europe frightens the besieged continent. There is indeed a strong possibility of Bharat becoming a post-Hindu India because of the demographic jihad of Islam, powerfully aided by the current Islamist campaign to overrun and subjugate India. The census 2001 data of the 6 years old cohorts clearly shows that in 31 States and Union Territories of Indian Republic, out of a total of 35 (28 States & 7 Union Territories), the Muslim population will grow at a faster clip than that of Hindus. In that sense the fate of the Hindu civilization is already sealed.

There is a 900 years long history of violent wars and unremitting animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims. This important fact has been totally ignored by Kancha Ilaiah in his inadequately researched tome. And now due to the ongoing demographic *coup* of Islam and repetitive jihadi attacks on Hindus and their places of worship, a stage has

certainly been set for “a war of power, or nerves and also of weapons” between the two religious groups. The gory history of India’s partition and promotion of votebank centric grievance politics to garner Muslim votes by Indian politicians have further accentuated the communal divide between the two communities. It needs to be understood that due to historical reasons the Hindus and the Muslims do not merely represent their religious beliefs but are also principal markers of their civilisational identities and political outlook. The concurrent demographic coup of Islam and the fast approaching clash of civilizations between the peace loving Hindus and militant Islamists has the potential to usher in a post Hindu India. The denouement might happen after going through a violent war of weapons for supremacy in the sub-continent. . Hindu society should be grateful to Prof. Kancha Ilaiah for engaging the intellectuals and strategists for discussing the sensitive topic of a post Hindu India. Till now the manifest

threat arising out of the demographic decline of Hindus and incessant illegal infiltration from Bangladesh had been discussed in hush-hush tones only in the drawing rooms of Guwahati and Kolkata. Prof. Illiah has brought it to the centrestage, right here in New Delhi. Time has come to throw open the politically incorrect subject for public discourse across the country in the manner of Europeans who are discussing the menace of Eurabia, or emergence of a post Christian Europe, openly and frankly in media and at every forum. It is time to give a call to the somnolent Hindu leaders and the inadequately informed multitude of Hindus spread across the countryside to stand up and meet the fast approaching threat of post Hindu India. A wake up call for unity of Hindu society is the need of the hour. Hindus now stand at the crossroads of history. They must stop living in the past. This is their last opportunity to make a daring bid to break the siege. Alas, the Hindu society is totally bereft of a dour and dynamic leadership for which reason it continues to be discriminated against and

stands marginalized despite constituting a powerful majority.

To borrow the idiom used by Kancha Ilaiah, one can say with certainty that unless the Hindu leaders bestir themselves boldly and assertively, the anticipated demise of Hinduism in the coming decades “would reposition the cultures of the world in a major way”. Anyone studying the demographic changes across India and the high velocity population growth of Muslims will understand the foreboding dimensions of the looming threat. ■

*(The writer is former IG of Police and has written two books besides a numbers of articles on important national issues.)*

#### References

1. The Criminal Tribes Act, Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
2. *Ibid*.
3. Chandrabhan Prasad, ‘Being caste-neutral’, Dalit diary, *Sunday Pioneer (Foray)* January 24, 2010, p. V.
4. *Ibid*
5. *Ibid*
6. *Ibid*

*Whatever work you undertake, do it seriously, thoroughly and well; never leave it half-done or undone, never feel yourself satisfied unless and until you have given it your very best. Cultivate the habits of discipline and toleration. Surrender not the convictions you hold dear but learn to appreciate the points of view of your opponents.*

**-Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee**





✍ OP Gupta

**R**ecommendations of the Sachar Committee and the Ranganath Mishra Commission are on the one hand based on total falsehood, and, on the other hand, are violative of Article 16(4) of the Constitution of India aimed at fulfilling the core agenda of the Congress Party to reduce percentage of all categories of Hindus in government jobs, educational institutions and in trade and commerce below 85 percent which at present are in range of 92 percent to 98 percent.

In furtherance of this conspiracy Hindus were under represented in these entities so that data could be easily cooked and manipulated. As representation of Hindus in the Sachar committee and the Rangnath Mishra Commission were below their demographic strength it is obvious that these lack democratic legitimacy and democratic weight.

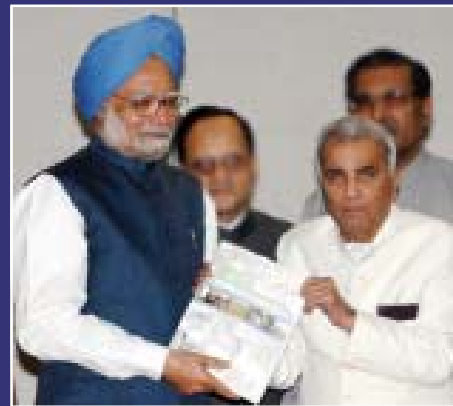
## The conspiracy behind Ranganath Mishra Commission and Sachar Committee

As per *Hindustan Times* of December 24, 2008 the Parliament was informed that as a result of special efforts made by the UPA Government such as the Sachar Committee, PM's 15 Point Programme etc. the share of minorities in central sector jobs increased from 6.9

6.3pc during the same one year period.

In a full page advertisement in the *Hindustan Times* [February 18, 2010] the Ministry of Minority Affairs claimed credit for increasing trend in recruitment of minorities in Government and public sector

Hindus were under represented in these entities so that data could be easily cooked and manipulated. As representation of Hindus in the Sachar committee and the Rangnath Mishra Commission were below their demographic strength it is obvious that these lack democratic legitimacy and democratic weight.



percent in 2006-07 to 8.7 percent in 2007-08. It increased from 7.6 percent in 2006-07 in the financial sector [Banks, FIs, RBI] to 10.2 percent; in the Armed Forces from 5.5 pc to 8.9 pc; and in the Railways from 2.7pc to

undertakings from 8.23% to 9.18% in 2008-09 as a result of the UPA guidelines. These reports prove that percentage of Hindus in job sector is declining and that the core agenda of the Congress Party to reduce Hindu percentage in

Government and public sector undertakings hook or by crook is materialising.

When I bring following facts to notice of educated Hindus most of them express shock on their being ignorant of these facts, and, blame media and Hindu politicians for this betrayal. But in my humble opinion Hindu voters are themselves responsible for this plight of their own and of their children who either abstain from voting or vote in favour of anti-Hindu parties like the Congress party, JD[S], NCP, Communist parties, DMKs, TDP, Mayawati party(BSP), Mulayam Singh party (SP) and Lalu Yadav party (RJD) etc.

**[A] Harm to serving Hindu civil servants & Hindu aspirants for civil services**

First let us look at the harm which the Misra Commission report would inflict upon all serving Hindu civil servants and all those Hindus who aspire for civil service careers.

Para 16.2.16 of the Rangnath Misra Commission reads: " Since the minorities - especially the Muslims - are very much under-represented, and sometimes wholly unrepresented, in government employment, we recommend that they should be regarded as backward in

this respect within the meaning of that term as used in Article 16 (4) of the Constitution - notably without qualifying the word 'backward' with the words "socially and educationally" - and that 15 percent of posts



**The Constitution of India as well as the Supreme Court have laid down that "social and educational" backwardness are essential to become eligible for getting reservation under Art 16(4). But Muslims as a community enjoy better literacy rate than Hindus in 11 states and better literacy rate than SC Hindus and ST Hindus on national level [Para 12.3 of Mishra and page 53 of Sachar]so they are not entitled for any reservation as they are not educationally backward.**

in all cadres and grades under the Central and State Governments should be earmarked for them"

The Rangnath Misra Commission and Sachar Committee made false claims that Muslims are under-represented in services. Supporters of Muslim reservation say that Muslims are about 13 percent of population but in IAS etc their representation is about 4% so there are under- represented

in services so there should be reservation for them.

Vide its own table 3.6 Rangnath Misra commission reports that graduation percentage of Muslims is only 3.6 % and as only graduates can aspire for public services percentage of Muslims in services at 4% is fair and already more than commensurate to their graduation percentage. So claim of Muslims of under representation is false.

The Constitution of India as well as the Supreme Court have laid down that "social and educational" backwardness are essential to become eligible for getting reservation under Art 16(4). But Muslims as a community enjoy better literacy rate than Hindus in 11 states and better literacy rate than SC Hindus and ST

Hindus on national level [Para 12.3 of Mishra and page 53 of Sachar]so they are not entitled for any reservation as they are not educationally backward. Muslims cannot be allowed to claim to be socially backwards as their ancestors ruled over India for many centuries.

According to the 2001 Census, the Sachchar Committee and the Rangnath Misra Commission [table 3.5, paras 12.3, 18.5 etc]

Christians have higher literacy rate [80%] as compared to other religious minorities as well as the national literacy percentage of 65%. Christians have higher literacy rate than Hindus. Christians have higher per capita income too. So Christians too cannot claim to be backward in any sense.

All Hindu officers serving under the Central Government or any State Government should take note that the Rangnath Misra Commission has recommended reservation of 15 per cent of posts for religious minorities in all cadres and in all grades under the Central and the State Governments. Ten per cent will be solely for Muslim officials/candidates and five per cent for other minorities.

As per *Hindustan Times* Report Hindus still held 91.7% of jobs in the Central sector in 2006-07 but after the Rangnath Misra commission report is implemented Hindus' promotional avenues will get restricted to 85% of posts so the pace of their promotions will get slowed with worsening stagnations. But minority officials who constituted only 8.3% in 2006-07 in civil services will fill up 15% of posts in the central sector i.e. pace of their promotions will become much faster than those of their batchmate Hindu officials.

It is said that Muslims are about 4 per cent in services but 10 per cent jobs in all cadres and grades are proposed to be

reserved for them by Congress Govt. It means that Muslim officers will have much faster pace of promotions vis-à-vis Hindu officers and will also occupy senior positions for longer periods than Hindu officers.

Under para 16.3.5 the Rangnath Misra Commission has recommended to confer scheduled caste status on

At present out of every 10,000 professional seats in non-minority institutions OBC Hindu students get 2700 seats reserved for them, 1500 seats for SC Hindus and 750 for ST Hindus. After Misra report is implemented 1500 seats would first get reserved for minority students, 27 pc of remaining 8500 seats i.e. 1250 for OBCs and 630 for STs. So mathematically speaking there shall be 15% reduction of seats for all sections of Hindu students and all Hindu students irrespective of their political affiliations would suffer.

what are known as dalit Christians and dalit Muslims. If Muslims and Christians are added into SC quota as Congress Party has planned they would take lions share because of their higher literacy rate further disadvantaging SC Hindu candidates leaving SC Hindus high and dry.

15% shrinkage in Educational seats for all Hindu students in terms of the Misra report:

The Rangnath Misra Commission Para 16.2.7 reads: "As by the force of judicial decisions the minority intake in minority educational institutions has, in the interest of national integration, been restricted to about 50 percent, thus virtually earmarking the remaining 50 percent or so for the majority community - we strongly recommend that, by

the same analogy and for the same purpose, at least 15 percent seats in all non-minority educational institutions should be earmarked by law for the minorities."

As and when it is implemented, Hindu students with marks better than minority candidates may start getting admissions refused

even in Hindu institutions managed by Hindu organizations such as Vidya Bharati, DAV Colleges etc. Till now Hindu students with better marks than a minority student are getting admissions refused only in minority run institutions.

At present out of every 10,000 professional seats in non-minority institutions OBC Hindu students get 2700 seats reserved for them, 1500 seats for SC Hindus and 750 for ST Hindus. After Rangnath Misra Commission's report is implemented 1500 seats would first get reserved for minority students, 27 per cent of remaining 8500 seats i.e. 1250 for OBCs and 630 for STs. So mathematically speaking there shall be 15% reduction of seats for all



sections of Hindu students and all Hindu students irrespective of their political affiliations would suffer.

### Merits of all Hindu Youth Ignored

[B] Hindu students with better marks are being denied admissions into nurseries, schools, colleges and



UPA Government stipulates that all private schools, aided or unaided, minority run or non-minority shall reserve 25% of seats for economically and socially backward sections of citizens. On one hand some minority run schools and some private schools are opposing in Supreme Court their inclusion under this rule on pretext of

Hindu youths get loans from commercial banks to start a new business at 15% to 18% interest and have to arrange 'margin money' of 15% to 40% of project cost from private sources, balance comes from

the bank. But a minority youth has to put in only 5% of project cost as margin money from his private source, other 35% is given by the National Minority Development & Finance Corporation at 3% interest, and remaining 60% of finance is given by commercial banks at two percentage points less than general lending rate for Hindus.

universities run by minorities, whether aided out of taxes collected from we Hindus or unaided.

Hindus are generally under-represented in the staff of minority institutions, and, posts of principals etc. are generally reserved for non-Hindus. For example the rule of St Stephan's College Delhi stipulates that a Hindu cannot be its principal and Vice principal though it receives annual grant of Crores of rupees from the Government out of taxes collected from we Hindus. The Right to Education Act passed by the

breach of their autonomy under Article 30 but on the other hand Shri Kapil Sibal HRD Minister has agreed to consider a proposal from some Muslims to allow Muslim candidates seats under this 25% REA quota in non-minority private schools. [Hindustan Times January 17 & 18, 2011]. Thus another channel for second class treatment for Hindu students is being prepared by the UPA riding on shoulders of their Hindu voters.

Hindu candidates with better CVs are generally denied jobs in these

institutions.

The minority institutions quote Supreme Court decisions to justify the second class treatment of all Hindus in matters of admission and employment. According to the Supreme Court Article 14 of the Constitution is not uniformly applicable everywhere and gets superseded by Article 29 and 30 in minority institutions. This is a flawed interpretation of Constitution by the Supreme Court which should be overturned like the Shah Bano case.

[C] The Articles 15 and 16 guarantee 15% reservations for SC Hindus and 7.5% reservations for ST Hindus but they are denied these constitutionally guaranteed rights in admissions as well as in employment in all minority institutions.

OBC Hindus have been given 27% reservations in academic institutions but the Manmohan Singh Government has framed rules in such a way that OBC Hindus are denied this constitutionally guaranteed reservation all over India in all minority institutions. The point is that as the Constitution is in force on every square inch of India so these reservations must be available to SC, ST and OBC Hindus in all minority institutions all over India.

### Student loans to Hindu students at higher interest rates

[D] Hindu students get student loans at higher interest

rate of about 10% per annum but minority students get student loan at 3% per annum from the National Minority Development & Finance Corporation under the Union Ministry of Finance. For confirmation and more details please visit [www.nmdfc.org](http://www.nmdfc.org).

On August 27, 2009 the Manmohan Singh government decided that any student whose parents' income is below Rs 4.5 lakh per annum will get full interest subsidy on his student loan for professional course during the course period. But after the course is over a Hindu student has to pay interest at same higher rate of 10 to 12 whereas a minority student will pay at 3%.

**Commercial bank loans to Hindus at higher interest rates**

[E] Hindu youths get loans from commercial banks to start a new business at 15% to 18% interest and have to arrange 'margin money' of 15% to 40% of project cost from private sources, balance comes from the bank. But a minority youth has to put in only 5% of project cost as margin money from his private source, other 35% is given by the National Minority Development & Finance Corporation at 3% interest, and remaining 60% of finance is given by commercial banks at two percentage points less than general lending rate for Hindus.

On March 13, 2007 the then Finance Minister

Chidambaram had told the Rajya Sabha that of the total priority sector lending, loans to minorities had increased by 33 per cent to Rs 45,490 crores on March 31, 2006 as against Rs 34,654 crores when the UPA Government took office in May 2004. In a full page advertisement in the HT,

Section 4 of the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act 2004 passed by the Man Mohan Singh Government stipulates that only persons from minority communities shall be eligible to be appointed as Chairman and members of this Commission. Hindus have been totally excluded from this Commission. It is like another Simon Commission.

February 18, 2010 the Ministry of Minority Affairs informed that Rs 2, 31,223 Crores was advanced by public sector banks to minorities under the priority sector lending during April 2007 to 31.12.2009.

Annual rate of growth of bank loans to minorities is much higher than growth rate of bank loans to Hindus.

**Hindu students pay more fees at IITs, IIMs etc.**

[F] The UPA Government has directed that all minority students admitted into 70 top institutions of India like IIMs, IITs etc will get their total fees paid by the Government but Hindu students, whether

leftist or Rightist, whether North Indian or south Indian, whether member of NSUI or SFI or ABVP have to pay their full fees.

If a minority student decides to join any coaching centre to prepare for admission into colleges or Public service examinations or jobs in government and private sectors he gets total fees of coaching centre paid by the government but a Hindu student or his parent has to pay the fees of coaching centre. Details of various schemes may be seen at [www.minorityaffairs.gov.in](http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in).

In a full page advertisement in the HT, February 18, 2010 the Ministry of Minority Affairs informed that Rs 20.75 crore was released for free coaching of 14,966 minority candidates during April 2006 to January 1, 2010.

**Hindus not eligible for many posts under the State**

[G] It may come as total surprise to many Hindus that there are many posts under the Government which are paid out of taxes collected from we Hindus but a Hindu howsoever liberal or Marxist he may be, he is legally debarred from holding such posts such as posts of the Chairman of National and provincial minority Commissions, principals of St Stephan's Delhi [and similar minority institutions running into thousands and thousands all over India] etc.

Section 4 of the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act 2004 passed by the Manmohan Singh Government stipulates that only persons from minority communities shall be eligible to be appointed as Chairman and members of this Commission. Hindus have been totally excluded from this Commission. It is like

will take a final decision in consultation with the State. However, if no reasons are given by a State government for not giving the NOC within 90 days, it would be deemed as the approval of the State

The Act also provides for the right of minority institutions to seek affiliation to any university of their choice listed in this Act. So, a Muslim or Christian

members in all Selection Boards and Departmental Promotion Committees. All selection panels recruiting ten or more vacancies must have one member belonging to a minority community. This circular instructs to give special considerations to minorities in all appointments, so danger bell is ringing loud and clear for all Hindu job seekers whether they are leftists or rightists, whether upper caste or lower castes that despite their better profiles they may not be selected. The correct policy should be equal treatment of all citizens including Hindus and appeasement of none.

It is thus clear that the Congress party as far as Hindus is concerned is actually the *naukri-chchinwa* party robbing all Hindu youth of jobs and educational seats.

Hindu voters who do not want to harm career prospects of their own or of their children and grandchildren must never cast their votes in favour of the Congress Party or Communist parties or any Jaichandi party. According to the Hindustan Times Youth survey conducted in 18 cities among 18-25 year olds almost 80% said they were worried about achieving success or finding a job. [HT, January 26, 2011]. Naturally most of youth participating in this HT survey were Hindu youngsters. ■

(The Writer is retired from Indian Foreign Service)



another Simon Commission.

ALL Hindu students living in rural areas disadvantaged

[H] In pursuance of the 2004 Congress manifesto, on 10th March 2006, the Lok Sabha passed the National Commission for Minority Educational (Amendment) Bill according to which the provincial governments will have to give no objection certificate within 90 days of application for setting up an institution by religious minorities, or, else the government will have to specify reasons for refusal. The aggrieved party will have right to approach the Commission which, in turn,

institution in a far off place, say, Jhumari talaian in Bihar can demand affiliation to any named central university of its choice and its students will get degrees of that central university and, thus, will enjoy better marketability in the employment market than Hindus as a Hindu student of the same region will have degree of a provincial university having less marketability in the employment market.

Communal DPCs

[I] To reduce percentage of Hindus and to increase the percentage of minorities in government sector the UPA government has ordered inclusion of minority





# Correct technology will bring transparency & accountability to govt. procurement



 **Dr. Arvind Gupta**

**C**orruption, lack of government transparency is the one of the biggest national epidemic. UPA II

government's poor governance and multitude of scams have drained thousands of crores from the public exchequer, which could have been used in developmental and welfare schemes for the poor. Public procurement is one area where corruption is rampant in India. The General Financial Rules, framed by the GOI Ministry of Finance, establish the principles for general financial management and procedures for Government procurement and purchases. Chapter 6 of the GFRs addresses procurement of goods and services and chapter 8 of the

GFRs addresses contract management. Rule 137 of the GFRs articulates the fundamental principles of public purchasing that Government Ministries and Departments provide:

1. Adequate information and announcement;
2. Non-discriminatory practices to provide equal opportunity, transparency in bidding, as well as in the evaluation process;
3. Accountability; and
4. Non restrictive bidding condition to unlock the particular market.

In reality, these principles

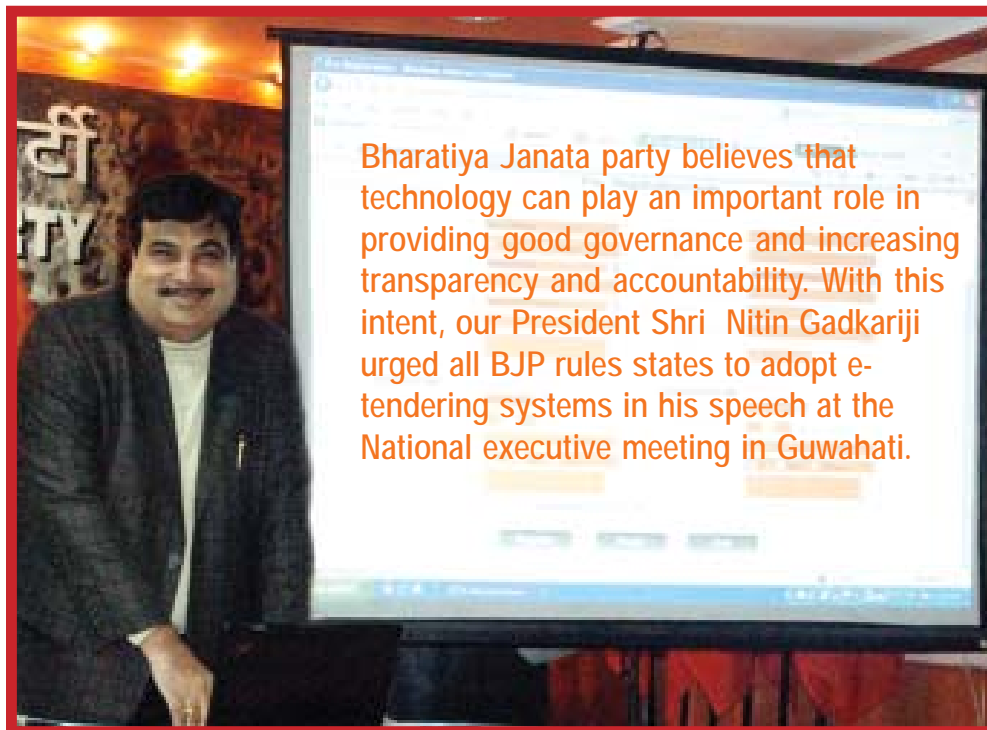
are seldom followed and many times flouted to provide unfair advantage to individuals or suppliers. Technology has been successfully used in many countries to address similar challenges and to ensure transparency, accountability and proper utilization of public funds. Bharatiya Janata party believes that technology can

agencies take fair and unbiased purchasing decisions. E-tendering is a process of carrying out the entire tendering cycle online through a website including the submission of price bids. This system harnesses the power of technology and internet to provide a structured method of evaluating suppliers,

as per the IT ACT of year 2000. In short, e-tendering not only provides transparency and accountability in the process but also simplifies the entire process for both buyers and suppliers.

#### Fair and easy access to information

An e-tendering/e-procurement) system allows government departments to



post tender notices on a dedicated websites. Suppliers who are interested in providing goods or services to a particular department or state government can register on the website to get tender notices on their email and even mobile phones. This works exactly like a job search or Google Alerts, where we are immediately

play an important role in providing good governance and increasing transparency and accountability. With this intent, our President Shri Nitin Gadkariji urged all BJP rules states to adopt e-tendering systems in his speech at the National executive meeting in Guwahati.

In this article, let us try to understand what e-tendering or e-procurement is and how it can help governmental

conducting negotiations, creating a strong audit trail and a system of records. Today's technology ensures that the systems are highly secure and can provide confidentiality needed to conduct government business. Also, any document which is digitally signed, by digital certificate issued by a licensed Certifying Agency (CA) who is approved by Controller of Certifying Agency (CCA), is considered as a valid document in the court of law

notified of potential vacancies and searches that fit our requirement. Compare this to traditional approaches, where advertisements are intentionally published in obscure newspapers or wrong editions with intent of hiding information to provide benefit to one or a group of suppliers. In many cases when a manual approach is followed, vendor questions and queries are not answered on time and some suppliers are provided access

to privileged information that can give them unfair and undue advantage, of course at a cost that goes out from the tax payers money. E-tendering systems create a level playing field for all suppliers by providing a transparent system of providing information, answering supplier queries that can be viewed by all suppliers. This approach not only helps creating a fair and transparent communication channel but reduce the advertising cost associated with a tender and most importantly build a long list of suppliers who are interested in doing business with a particular state government or one of its departments.

### Selecting the right supplier and at the right price

More often than not eligibility criteria of tenders are distorted or exaggerated to favor a particular type of suppliers. Technical specifications are concocted to debar suppliers. Most often it is done by putting in additional criteria and requirements, which typically results in inflated costs. Decision making is mostly like assigning a pass or fail grade. for e.g. if a supplier has an ISO certification he qualifies to bid otherwise he does not. In many cases, technical specifications are not defined properly and suppliers offering the highest specification or capabilities are preferred. These result in over spending on goods and services that may or may not

be required. E-tendering systems remove these ambiguities and subjectivity from supplier evaluation process. Using such system a very objective RFQ (request for quotation) document is created with a detailed check list of technical specification. Weightages can be assigned to different decision making criteria. The final output is a

10 to 30% in such auctions.

Suppliers benefit because an objective evaluation criteria is followed and the government benefits because it gets to select the right supplier at the best possible price. In the end everyone benefits from this process, except for ones who seek to make unlawful and corrupt gains by twisting procurement

Some governments in the western world make the bid evaluation and negotiation documents public once the process is over. General public can see how the bids were evaluated and the prices being paid to suppliers. This creates the best possible transparency and accountability and dissuades corrupt practices.

questionnaire that supplier can fill. Once they submit the bid their responses can be automatically scored and a cumulative rank is assigned. A process very similar to many engineering and medical entrance examinations. Once this is done, the department can decide to select top 3 or top 5 (which also is pre-decided) suppliers for negotiations. E-tendering systems also offer a very interesting and unique way of negotiating with suppliers, it is called reverse auction. In a reverse auction, suppliers who meet the technical qualification can anonymously bid against each other for a specific time period (30 to 60 minutes). This helps create competition and discovery of the fair market price, and destruction of cartelisation. It is very common to see prices drop by

processes to fleece the hard earned money of our tax payers. Most importantly, the entire process is captured including all supplier communication, evaluation and negotiation is captured electronically and can be audited for fiduciary and procedural compliance. It will be lot easier to provide information and records to RTI applicants if an e-tendering system is used.

Some governments in the western world make the bid evaluation and negotiation documents public once the process is over.

General public can see how the bids were evaluated and the prices being paid to suppliers. This creates the best possible transparency and accountability and dissuades corrupt practices. ■

*(The Writer is the National Convener of IT Cell BJP)*



## Values, Vision, Idealism in Service of Nation– Sri Aurobindo's Pointers for Youth



 **Anirban Ganguly**

Writing to one of his young disciples<sup>1</sup> who had become a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1937 and wanted a line of guidance on the attitude to be adopted in the Legislature and in the political field in general, Sri Aurobindo gave a significant answer in a letter dated, 21.2.1937. The answer is interesting, both in its pragmatism, as well as in its idealism and perhaps contains a significant message for those in active public life, especially for those youth who have begun looking upon political action as an instrument to be used for direct, dynamic and self-less national service:

'...the question of what to do in a body like the Assembly depends on circumstances, on the



practical needs of the situation which can change rapidly. In such a body the work is not of a spiritual character. All kinds of work can be done with the spiritual consciousness behind, but unless one has advanced very far, one must in the front be guided by the necessities of the work itself and characteristic nature. Since you have joined this

party, its programme must be yours and what you have to do is to bring to it all the consciousness, ability and selflessness which you can command...A sadhak entering politics should work not for himself but for the country. If he takes office, it should be only when he can do something for the country by it and not until he has

proved his character and ability and fitness for position. You should walk by a high standard which will bring you the respect even of opponents and justify the choice of electors.’<sup>2</sup>

The Indian nationalist movement was smouldering for a while until [Swami] ‘Vivekananda’s breath blew the ashes into flame’ and made the movement erupt in 1905 three years after his passing.<sup>3</sup> It was during this ‘eruption’ that Sri Aurobindo, having returned from Baroda (in 1906), emerged as the ‘real intellectual heir of Vivekananda’<sup>4</sup> and attempted to ‘mould the young men of Bengal’ [and other provinces which had also taken the lead in nationalist action] by ‘uniting education closely to the religion, politics and life of the nation.’<sup>5</sup> The Indian youth responded to his call and became the principle pillars and messengers of the new nationalism and the ‘new thought’ in Indian politics that he, Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and others spearheaded against tough opposition from the entrenched and influential section of moderate congressmen whose only political policy till then was inspired by the habit of mendicancy and of compromise with officialdom. Sri Aurobindo, in a sense, re-inaugurated the era of ‘youth’ in India’s struggle for freedom.

One of Sri Aurobindo’s principle preoccupations while in the political field was to inspire the youth to feel a



**‘He [Prof. Ghosh] pointed to a wall-map of India and said...Look at that map. Learn to find in it the portrait of Bhâratmâtâ. The cities, mountains, rivers and forests are the materials which go to make up Her body. The people inhabiting the country are the cells which go to make up Her living tissues. Our literature is Her memory and speech. The spirit of Her culture is Her soul. The happiness and freedom of Her children is Her salvation. Behold Bhârat as a living Mother, meditate upon Her and worship Her in the ninefold way of Bhakti.’<sup>7</sup>[Navavidha Bhakti]<sup>8</sup>**

living, organic and spiritual bond with the nation. Referring to this intense feeling in himself he called it ‘madness’. In fact, his by now famous and oft quoted letter written to his wife, Mrinalini Devi, (in 1905) perhaps bears repetition in this context:

‘...while others look upon their country as an inert piece of matter – a few meadows and fields, forests and hills and rivers – I look upon my country as the Mother. I adore Her, I worship Her as the Mother...’<sup>6</sup>

That such a feeling, such a uniting perception, was not mere rhetorical theorisation is evident from the following experience narrated by the legendary polymath K.M.Munshi (1887-1971), then his student at Baroda College. The experience also demonstrates how Sri Aurobindo provided, to his youthful followers, or for that matter to any youth who approached him with a sincere quest, an empirical and palpable method of developing and strengthening this organic link with the motherland. Munshi narrates how he once directly asked ‘Prof. Arvind Ghosh’, ‘How can nationalism be developed?’

‘He [Prof. Ghosh] pointed to a wall-map of India and said...Look at that map. Learn to find in it the portrait of *Bhâratmâtâ*. The cities, mountains, rivers and forests are the materials which go to make up Her body. The people inhabiting the country are the cells which go to make

up Her living tissues. Our literature is Her memory and speech. The spirit of Her culture is Her soul. The happiness and freedom of Her children is Her salvation. Behold Bhârat as a living Mother, meditate upon Her and worship Her in the

there had to be a deeper level to the sentiment and experience of patriotism. It could not be merely reactionary proposition and the youth of India were asked to delve deep into their eternal thought, tradition and

and labour for its fruition. The other point that ought to be made here is one of a rectification. A section of the political class in India spares no occasion to reiterate that its ideology alone speaks of the masses, and that they alone,

**Sri Aurobindo's faith in the Indian youth was unshakeable. In one of his exhortation to them to dream of one day gaining the mastery of the world, his message was for self-discovery first, the re-discovery of one's roots and civilisational definitions.**



ninefold way of Bhakti.’<sup>7</sup>[*Navavidha Bhakti*]<sup>8</sup>

The practicality and contemporaneity of this message, especially for youth in politics today, cannot be lost out. His columns in the ‘*Bande Mataram*’ are similarly replete with such pointers and can surely be invoked and followed, even today in adverse situations when the flame of service and idealism can hardly be kept alight. India’s young mind was treated to these, day after day, and it created the necessary momentum and imparted the rhythm towards developing an uncompromising patriotism and urge for freedom in the youth. For Sri Aurobindo

spirituality in order to awaken that deeper wave. For him this patriotism perceives:

‘God as the Mother in our country, God as *Sakti* in the mass of our countrymen, and religiously devotes itself to their service and their liberation from present suffering and servitude.’<sup>9</sup>

The message then for youth in politics remains at the onset twofold – the recognising of God as strength in the masses, and then devoting oneself religiously to the service and liberation of this mass and in incarnating and re-manifesting its intrinsic *Sakti*. The national agenda on this score remains unfulfilled and there remains ample challenge and scope for service

incarnating that ideology, have always worked for the masses and empathised with them and that the nationalist dispensation was more elite oriented and given to ignoring the subaltern. Sri Aurobindo’s above cited definition of patriotism and its duties as inspired by the roots of our spiritual culture definitely demolishes that illusion. Concern for the ‘proletariat’ and the ‘subaltern’ has never been the monopoly of one ideology or bloc in the course of the struggle for emancipation that the nation waged.

Is there place at all for love in political action? Should it be the love of self, or the love of the mission? What place



should such a fundamental emotion have when the goal of one's life becomes the country, her well-being, her progress, her advancement? In a strikingly lyrical expression, Sri Aurobindo assigns a unique place for love in the service of the country. For the young minds who read these words then, the motive of sacrifice and self-giving for national upliftment became an easy manifestation. Of love in public life he thus wrote:

'Love has a place in politics, but it is the love for one's country, for one's countrymen, for the glory, greatness and happiness of the race, the divine *ânanda* of self-immolation for one's fellows, the ecstasy of relieving their sufferings, the joy of seeing one's blood flow for country and freedom,...The feeling of almost physical delight in the touch of the mother soil, of the winds that blow from Indian seas, of the rivers that stream from Indian hills, in the sight of Indian surroundings, Indian men, Indian women, Indian children, in the hearing of Indian speech, music, poetry, in the familiar sights, sounds, habits, dress, manners of our Indian life, this is the physical root of that love. The pride of our past, the pain of our present, the passion for the future are its trunk and branches. Self-sacrifice, self-forgetfulness, great service and high endurance for the country are its fruits. And the sap which keeps it alive is the realisation of the Motherhood of God in the country, the vision of the

Mother, the knowledge of the Mother, the perpetual contemplation, adoration and service of the Mother.'<sup>10</sup>

Sri Aurobindo's faith in the Indian youth was unshakeable. In one of his exhortation to them to dream of one day gaining the mastery of the world, his message was for self-discovery first, the re-discovery of one's roots and civilisational definitions. The words written in the columns of his new thought-vehicle the '*Karmayogin*', a hundred years back, retain a striking

Live them and you will be great and strong, mighty, invincible and fearless...Difficulty and impossibility will vanish from your vocabularies. For it is in the spirit that strength is eternal and you must win back the kingdom of yourselves, the inner Swaraj, before you can win back your outer empire...Recover the source of all strength in yourselves and all else will be added to you, social soundness, intellectual pre-eminence, political freedom, the mastery of human

**True national service, true national emancipation, true attainment of national greatness and splendour can perhaps only be achieved when there is a true and fundamental de-colonisation of the national mind.**

relevance for those youth possessing a settled will to plunge for national action:

'...We say to the individual and especially to the young who are now arising to do India's work, the world's work, God's work...Materially you are nothing, spiritually you are everything. It is only the Indian who can believe everything, dare everything, sacrifice everything. First, therefore, become Indians. Recover the patrimony of your forefathers. Recover the Aryan thought, the Aryan discipline, the Aryan character, the Aryan life. Recover the Vedanta, the Gita, the Yoga. Recover them not only in intellect or sentiment but in your lives.

thought, the hegemony of the world.'<sup>11</sup>

Inspired political action had to begin with the re-discovery and re-appropriation of one's roots and identity. It was this re-discovery, re-statement and reinstating that would ultimately generate the driving motive and sustaining strength for national work.

It remains the responsibility of youth in every country and age to uphold, preserve and defend a freedom gained after a mighty struggle and acute sacrifices. Years before freedom Sri Aurobindo argued that the organising and maintaining of freedom were equally if not more challenging tasks than the

winning of freedom. He spoke of realising this challenge and working towards facing it. 'If the country is to be free,' he observed, 'it must first organise itself so as to be able to maintain its freedom. The winning of freedom is an easy task; the keeping of it is less easy. The first needs only one tremendous effort in which all the energies of the country must be concentrated; the second requires a united, organised and settled strength.'<sup>12</sup> He spoke of the need to form groups of selfless workers who would work for organising 'svarâja' and 'make it their sole life-work.' Interestingly he also

**Is there place at all for love in political action? Should it be the love of self, or the love of the mission? What place should such a fundamental emotion have when the goal of one's life becomes the country, her well-being, her progress, her advancement?**

proposed the formation of an institution that would train youth to become workers to serve the nation, [and would prepare youth] who would work towards organising and protecting its freedom and who would be 'selfless, free from the desire to lead or shine, [be] devoted to the work for the country's sake, absolutely obedient yet full of energy. They must breathe the strength of the spirit, of selfless faith and aspiration.'<sup>13</sup> The message was unequivocal, it was the duty of the youth of India to defend and preserve its hard won freedom and for that what was required was a special and visionary training to inculcate a determined strength of spirit as well as a temperament of service and self-forgetfulness in them.

It was on the power of youth that Sri Aurobindo placed a great premium for it to save India and to enable her to do her appointed work in global scheme of things. But in order to do that, in order to gain that strength and capacity, in order to acquire that *adhikâra*, he saw the necessity of a deep process of re-intellectualisation to begin taking place amongst the youth – initiated and sustained by them. He wrote many years back, perhaps foreseeing this one imperative that the youth of this country would have to undertake in

right earnest:

'...Our first necessity if India is to survive and do her appointed work in the world is that the youth of India should learn to think – to think on all subjects, to think independently, fruitfully, going to the heart of things, not stopped by their surface, free of prejudgments, shearing sophism and prejudice asunder as with a sharp sword, smiting down obscurantism of all kinds as with the mace of Bhima.'<sup>14</sup>

True national service, true national emancipation, true attainment of national greatness and splendour can perhaps only be achieved when there is a true and fundamental de-colonisation of the national mind. Sri Aurobindo saw the youth, especially those decidedly dedicated to national service, as the originators and sustainers of this process. A process he saw as eventually leading to that freedom which shall ultimately lead to all else – the *svarâja* of the mind, of 'ideas.' ■

(The writer is a research scholar, Vivekananda International Center, New Delhi)

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Birendra Kishor Roychowdhury (1901-1972?) of Gauripur, Mymensingh, East Bengal who was elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly in January 1937.
- <sup>2</sup> Sri Aurobindo, *Autobiographical Notes and Other Writings of Historical Interest*, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 2<sup>nd</sup> imp, 2006), p.448.
- <sup>3</sup> Romain Rolland, *Prophets of New India*, (trans. E.F. Malcom Smith) (London: Cassell & Company. Ltd, 1930), p.498.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.499.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> A.B.Purani, *The Life of Sri Aurobindo*, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Pub. Dept., 5<sup>th</sup> imp., 2006), p.82.
- <sup>7</sup> *Bhavan's Journal*, vol.3, no.26, 22 July, 1962.
- <sup>8</sup> *Sravana*: hearing of the Lord's miracles, stories, *Kirtana*: singing the Lord's glories, *Smarana*: remembrance, contemplating the Lord's name and invoking the Presence, *Padasevana*: service of the Lord's lotus feet, *Archana*: worshipping the Lord, *Vandana*: self-giving, prostration before the Lord, *Dasya*: cultivating the spirit of serving the Lord, become the divine servitor, *Sakhya*: cultivating the spirit of friendship-companionship with the Lord,
- <sup>9</sup> Sri Aurobindo, *Bande Mataram*, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 5<sup>th</sup> imp., 1997), p.235.
- <sup>10</sup> Sri Aurobindo, *On Nationalism*, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Pub. Dept., 2<sup>nd</sup> rev.ed., 1996), pp.361-362.
- <sup>11</sup> Sri Aurobindo, 'Karmayogin – political writings and speeches', *Complete Works*, vol.8 (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pub. Dept, 1997), p.28.
- <sup>12</sup> *Bande Mataram*, op.cit., pp.765-766.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> Sri Aurobindo, *Essays Human and Divine*, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1994), p.43.

## Gujarat

## Model of Good Governance



governance includes delivery of services but it goes beyond to ensure that the very process is people driven. But at the same time good governance is also seen as an enabling factor for functioning of democratic systems that include freedom of expression and independent judiciary.

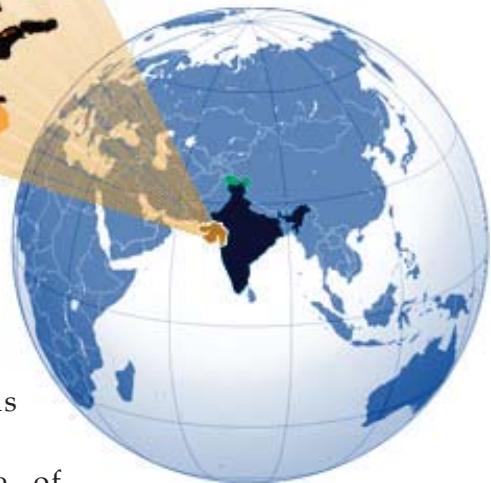
First



 **Narendra Modi**

took over. I want to share some of my experiences and thoughts with you hoping that they will initiate the thought process towards innovations.

The very purpose of democracy is to provide good governance. The free press, media, and elections would help better governance. Good governance may be there even in authoritarian regimes, but it may not be democratic. Democratic governance should empower people. It should put people at the centre of development process. Democratic governance means people should not only be beneficiaries but also participant in the development process. Thus one can say that good



Is good governance new to us? 'Su-raj' (Good Governance) or 'Sushashan' (good administration) is not new to us as we Indians have been hearing the concept of 'Ram Rajya' since our childhood days. Barthwal says that the concept of *Ram Rajya*, the advice given by Lord Krishan to Arjuna in Gita is only about good governance.

**G**ood governance is a topic close to my heart. At the same time it is one of the challenging tasks I face as the Chief Minister of one of the larger states in India. Good governance has always been my prime interest ever since I



let us look at good governance. Good governance is the modern *mantra* of development agencies. It has become a fashionable word in development circles, among activists, international funding agencies like World Bank, UN agencies and even in press and media. It should no longer remain a buzz word, an inevitable phrase to be included in the funding proposals, but a political reality. In the literature on good governance we see mainly discourses which try to portray as if good governance is apolitical. But good governance cannot be apolitical. It cannot be achieved without political parties realizing the need for good governance and make it part of their manifesto.

Is good governance new to us? 'Suraj' (Good Governance) or 'Sushashan' (good administration) is not new to us as we Indians have been hearing the concept of 'Ram Rajya' since our childhood days. Barthwal says that the concept of *Ram Rajya*, the advice given by Lord Krishan to Arjuna in Gita is only about good governance. In fact as he rightly points out some of these are embedded in our Constitution itself. Hence the question here is not about what good governance is but how to achieve it?

The good in Good Governance is the ability to differentiate between right and wrong, just and unjust, fair and foul and moral and

immoral. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* says that in order to ensure this the person who governs should understand that his happiness lies in the

about several key components of the same like rule of law, accountability, transparency, equity, respect for human rights and dignity and so on



happiness of his subjects, his welfare in their welfare. He adds, he will not consider whatever pleases him as good, but will consider what is good for their subjects as good. But this in itself does not make it good governance. But governance should go beyond governments to include all stakeholders- legislature, judiciary, executive, private sector, civil society and the citizens. Governance happens beyond the files and procedures of a government.

Good governance is very difficult to define. For some it is securing justice, empowerment, employment and efficient delivery of services. Some even define good governance as the relation between market, state and civil society. You can talk

and adding all of this does not make good governance. According to ADB, the four key components of good governance are: Accountability, Transparency, Predictability and Participation. According to World Bank, good governance means public sector management, accountability, legal framework, and information and transparency as the key components of good governance. According to DFID, good governance is centered upon three main concepts: 1. State Capability 2. Accountability and 3. Responsiveness.

All those who talk about good governance broadly agree on the following as the key components of good

governance

1. Accountability both political and bureaucratic
2. Participation of various stakeholders in the decision-making process
3. Rule of law
4. Transparency and freedom of information
5. Responsive
6. Equitable and inclusive
7. Effective and efficient administration
8. Robust grievance redress mechanisms

Good governance is the cause as well as effect of these contributing factors. Sometimes when I read about the discussion on good governance it appears like the chicken and egg story. Which comes first? Does good

governance creates all the above, or all the above create good governance. The question is if there is no good governance, then how to bring about it? This is the main point of difference between political parties and international funding agencies and NGOs. IFAs and NGOs think that it can be brought about mainly through the civil society, and NGOs. But though the role of civil society is critical, can it be achieved without political processes and political will? Can it be sustainable without political parties recognizing the need for good governance? Even through projects, external funding and aid such good governance is achieved will it be sustainable and permanent? Hence this

discussion becomes very important.

Good Governance in a political system may seem to be combining two incompatible structures viz., the political system and the manner by which the system uses its power to bring in economic development and growth. When ability, integrity and political will are the hallmarks then the two are in sync. But good governance is discussed more in the realm of academic discussion rather than with concrete examples that can inspire others.

We therefore need to understand, perceive and differentiate between what we are led to believe is good governance and what exactly that the good governance exemplifies. Let there be no



After the earthquake of 2001 in Gujarat, all the primary schools were repaired by the Village Education Committee. Money was handed over to them and they undertook the repairs. Owner-driven reconstruction undertaken in Gujarat after earthquake is another example of Government-Citizen partnerships.

For the first time in the country the earthquake-affected people were provided financial, technical and material help to enable them to undertake reconstruction by themselves. They were allowed to choose the site, the design, material and were also allowed to construct according to their needs.



doubt that we must first understand good governance before we can think of meeting challenges of tomorrow successfully. If we are really concerned with our children's welfare than tomorrow is what today is for our children. For their sake let

governance. The school enrolment program or the *Kanya Kelvani* drives etc. aim at empowering people, particularly women. I mention them as these are unique initiatives of the Government of Gujarat.

Some of the steps which

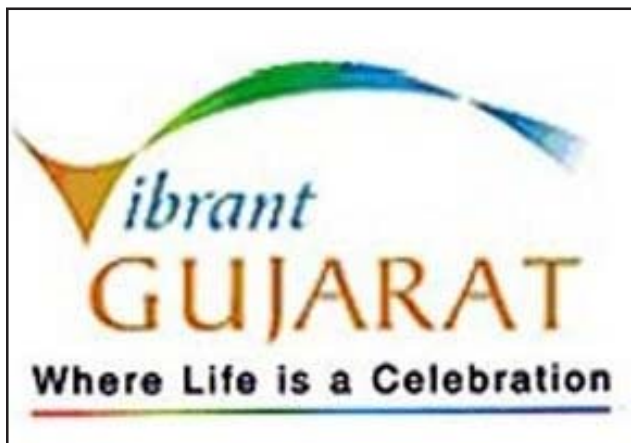
have been taken towards equity are convergence of the programs like *Garib Kalyan*. Here again I have taken pains to eliminate middlemen to hand over the benefits to the poor throughout the length and breadth of Gujarat. "*Garib Kalyan Mel*" which aims at convergent scheme for

The entire scheme was implemented in a totally transparent manner with names of beneficiaries displayed in villages. People were empowered to complain if poor quality assets were given to them.

Good Governance is about building partnerships. We aim for three types of partnerships.

1. Government-Citizen partnerships
2. Public - Private Partnerships
3. Public-Public partnerships

In Gujarat I have ensured people's participation in all developmental schemes. It is not just participation by giving consent or participation through consultation but I have actually made them partners in implementation process. For example, after the earthquake of 2001 in Gujarat, all the primary schools were repaired by the Village Education Committee. Money was handed over to them and they undertook the repairs. Owner-driven reconstruction undertaken in Gujarat after earthquake is another example of Government-Citizen partnerships. For the first time in the country the earthquake-affected people were provided financial, technical and material help to enable them to undertake reconstruction by themselves. They were allowed to choose the site, the design, material and were also allowed to construct according to their needs. No wonder that Gujarat earthquake



In a democratic setup, the government is accountable to the people. But there are various faces to it. One is the accountability of the politically elected executives and legislature. The system of election takes care of it. Political leaders have to face people once in five years. In many places where coalition governments face elections much before their five year term gets completed. Thus there is accountability inbuilt in the very democratic process.

us bring about a change through Good Governance.

Improving human resources, education, security, and standard of life are some of the things which can help good governance. My own philosophy of *Panchamurt* is the basis of good governance. We focus on *Gyan Shakti*, *Raksha Shakti*, and *Janshakti* which can help good

eradication of poverty is a pro-active pro-people initiative. Government went to the door steps of the beneficiaries. The experiment turned out to be a great success with over 45 lakh poor beneficiaries received over ₹ 4000 crore worth of benefits through various schemes ranging from housing plot to livelihood kits.



reconstruction became one of the shining examples of participatory reconstruction process. Participatory irrigation management, joint forest management, etc. are examples of public-citizens partnership in governance.

*Chiranjeevi Scheme* which won many awards including the Asian Innovation Award in Singapore in 2006 is an example of Public-private partnership. Private hospitals and doctors participating in enabling institutional delivery is the highlight of the scheme.

In Gujarat, in order to improve human resources, V-governance training program was launched to train all government employees in a phased manner. This program, which aimed to transform *Karmacharis* into *Karmayogis*, so far has been able to train lakhs of employees to become the largest capacity-building exercise undertaken by any State Government in the country. Another important aspect of improving our human resources is the annual *Chintan Shibir* held for IAS officers. These *Chintan Shibir*s which began in 2003 have become brainstorming sessions for self-analysis and in evolving many administrative reforms and innovations.

One main reason why we fail to have good governance at the central level is because of "politics of instability." The alarming growth of insurgency and terrorism within the country and instability in neighbouring countries demand clear-



**Transparent systems would automatically reduce corruption to a large extent. Right to Information Act is one of the important initiatives undertaken in this regard. However, the Act is more often used by middlemen and vested interests to harass administration rather than by the genuine and needy. The challenge is how to provide empowerment without making the system weak? RTI Act provides information on the decisions taken, schemes implemented. But my emphasis is more on the procedures which can even make RTI Act redundant.**

thinking on the part of political class. Unless we have a mechanism of good governance in place, achieving this is almost next to impossible. A weak government, constantly looking over its shoulder, would not be up to the task. Yet this weakness is like

gilding the lily as mere political sustenance and maneuverings of a government to stay put in power becomes the crucial guiding factor. Sadly, what we rejoice today is over political stability when a party or coalition is lucky enough to complete its term. Political stability is important in a party-based democracy, but in the shifting sands of coalition landscape good governance gets discounted and takes a back seat. The very fact that a coalition government is under the threat of instability has been used as a cover-up for bad governance. Why is it that we allow non-performers to get away and bring them back again into political mainstream when we approach the ballot box?

Accountability as we all agree is one of the key components of good governance. In a democratic setup, the government is accountable to the people. But there are various faces to it. One is the accountability of the politically elected executives and legislature. The system of election takes care of it. Political leaders have to face people once in five years. In

many places where coalition governments face elections much before their five year term gets completed. Thus there is accountability inbuilt in the very democratic process. Amartya Sen argues that democratic countries with elections and free press manage drought much better than authoritarian regimes. But to make it more robust depends on the political parties.

Second is the accountability of bureaucracy. Systems and procedures are in place to ensure this but many may feel that it is insufficient and ineffective. Making bureaucracy accountable depends on the political will to a large extent. Third is the accountability of NGOs, and voluntary agencies and activists. This is a grey area. They are said to be watchdogs. But who will watch the watchdogs? As far as I know there is no system in place. They are looked as holy cows beyond audit, and accountability. A system should be put in place to ensure the transparency and accountability of the NGOs. Once again the accountability of the private institutions in

the larger context of environmental protection and welfare of the communities are also real challenges.



Another issue regarding accountability is ensuring accountability for omissions. Our system is designed to make commission of mistakes accountable and if someone does wrong willfully then he is held accountable. But if someone is guilty of omission or fails to do something what he is supposed to do it is difficult to fix responsibility on him/her. Thus the system encourages people to be indecisive and avoid responsibility rather than those who take bold decisions in the interest of governance. Hence, there is need to change the way we look at accountability. Currently the accountability we have is procedural accountability, not performance accountability. The audit we have in place is procedural audit not performance audit. If you do

the procedures right and if the performance is poor you get away with it. But in reality performance should be considered more important than procedures and paper work. The challenge is how do you ensure such a system is put in place?

Media plays an important role in ensuring good governance. While media is willing to expose the failures, it should also highlight the successful initiatives for others to learn lessons and also to encourage those who innovate and perform well amid several constraints.

Frequent transfer of civil servants and officers is considered as one of the impediments of good governance. During my period as Chief Minister, I have consciously adopted a policy of minimum transfers so that officers and civil servants can understand their task, innovate and also implement the solutions they think about.

Friends, these are difficult times and yet difficult questions are not necessarily the ones that are difficult to answer. We know where the malady lies despite a plethora

of problems each state faces. Unless we root out casteism and communalism, the twin evils that dog Indian political discourse, it is the bad governance that prevails and we expect it without a murmur; worse we could be in danger of legitimizing it! Here I should emphasize that needless pampering for votebank politics keeps the

I would consider that corruption cannot be tackled as a separate issue but only as a side effect or symptom of certain other issues. If standard of life improves, social security and human development index increases, then corruption decreases as seen in Scandinavian countries.

public at large so that the need for seeking information through RTI itself becomes minimal? However, there is a danger of litigations, court stay orders and vested interests delaying the decisions and thwarting the process of governance. This is again a challenge, to evolve a system which takes care of transparency without diluting the efficiency of the government. Herein, comes the concept of openness in governance.

**Good governance goes beyond the mundane to look at life. Real problems are not in government files and hence real solutions should be sought in life which simply means that good governance cannot reside in ivory towers and air-conditioned meeting rooms. It happens in rural areas, where solutions co-exist with the problems but escapes the eyes of those in ivory towers. Hence, I insist on collective thinking, openness in administration and people's participation as the basis of good governance.**

Though transparency and openness appear to be the same, in the context of governance they are very different concepts. Transparency is about letting people know what government is doing. It is about providing

communal divide alive. The real way to end all communalism is to aim at inclusive growth, the development of the needy, not looking at short term gains.

Some of the lessons we learnt from our past experiences such as corruption being the enemy of good governance have been sadly unlearned. What is the solution for this menace? We have really failed even in recognizing that unless honesty and merit are given its due prominence no semblance of good governance can result. If the state is to create an enabling environment for sustainable human development, it must have an administrative system that is honest, efficient and responsive to the people.

Transparent systems would automatically reduce corruption to a large extent. Right to Information Act is one of the important initiatives undertaken in this regard. However, the act is more often used by middlemen and vested interests to harass administration rather than by the genuine and needy. The challenge is how to provide empowerment without making the system weak? RTI act provides information on the decisions taken, schemes implemented. But my emphasis is more on the procedures which can even make RTI Act redundant. Can you be transparent in procedures, open in the way of functioning, involve the stakeholders in the decision-making process, consult the

information what government has done, is doing and intends to do. In short, transparency is letting people know the decisions made and decision-making process. But openness is involving the people, the stakeholders in the decision-making process. They have a role in the decision-making process. Thus openness can lead to people's participation. This openness is the very foundation of democratic governance. Transparency is right to information but openness is right to participation. Good governance and collective thinking are synonymous. Thus, openness leads to participation and participation leads to collective thinking. Collective



thinking helps in fine-tuning the state administrative machinery towards the socio-political changes that reflects the way leaders exercise their power in the pursuit of people's welfare.

Good governance goes beyond the mundane to look at life. Real problems are not in government files and hence real solutions should be sought in life which simply means that good governance cannot reside in ivory towers and air-conditioned meeting rooms. It happens in rural areas, where solutions co-exist with the problems but escapes the eyes of those in ivory towers. Hence, I insist on collective thinking, openness in administration and people's participation as the basis of good governance.

I have tried an experiment in Gujarat. Technology can be used as a tool for transparency and Information technology can be effectively used to inform and empower people so that good governance is ensured. Government of Gujarat has taken many initiatives in this aspect. *Swagat* Online grievance redress system, e-gram, computerization of land records, are some of the initiatives which can be cited. As Hellstorm's research indicates, even mobile phones can be effectively used for good governance. In fact mobile phones, particularly SMS, was effectively used in Gujarat during floods in 2006

to evacuate tens and thousands of people, thus saving precious lives. The greatest thinker of the current century **Alvin Toffler** has said, "that technology will penetrate every field of activity. Those who adopt shall prosper; those who do not shall disappear like



**Gujarat has one of the largest civilian e-network in the world fanning 18000 plus villages. This network is being used as a tool for good governance. It is an information highway on one hand connecting the primary school children, health workers, panchayat functionaries and farmers. On the other hand, it has also created several facilities and conveniences.**

Dinosaurs." Gujarat has one of the largest civilian e-network in the world fanning 18000 plus villages. This network is being used as a tool for good governance. It is an information highway on one hand connecting the primary

school children, health workers, panchayat functionaries and farmers. On the other hand, it has also created several facilities and conveniences. For example, earlier a farmer had to spend a lot of time paying his electricity bill at a particular centre. First the post office network was brought in as collection centers and now the e-network in the village can help them settling the bills at their door steps. Soon telemedicine would similarly become available.

In particular I wish to dwell upon the *SWAGAT* online grievance redress system that helps common people to meet me and seek redressal of their grievances once a week. In this innovative program all the concerned state level officers remain present. The district level officers assemble in the respective districts and they are linked through the video conferencing system. The applicant's grievance is discussed and relevant solutions are found or orders are given for finding solution and the same are followed up in subsequent programs. Thus, such an access to the highest authority can reduce corruption and improve efficiency to a large extent. Many other states have studied this program and some of them have already implemented this program. *SWAGAT* has won the United Nations Public Service Award in the category of 'Improving

Transparency, Accountability and Responsibility in Public Service' for the year 2010.

Without good governance the government machinery is bound to decay and decay it will. It will fail to ensure inclusive growth and gender equality and would be a dampener for women's participation in decision-making at all levels even as

events in advance and take appropriate action. For instance, one needs to understand the fallout of global warming and what it can do to the state, say 50 or 100 years hence. Climate change may result in global warming, change in rainfall patterns and may also result in hydro meteorological disasters. Temperature rise

April and May. If monsoon rains may result in flooding of low-lying areas, cleaning of water ways, and drainages, conducting of mock drills for evacuation, testing of disaster plans, checking of communication equipments etc. should be undertaken in April and May. This is what I call as pro-active good governance. All the risks of flooding must be anticipated so that counter measures are taken in the nick of time reducing the damage.

Osborne and Gaebler in their book *"Reinventing Government"* talk about the following changes that have to be made in order to deliver good governance

1. Catalytic Government: Steering rather than rowing
2. Community owned government: Empowering rather than serving
3. Competitive Government: Injecting competition into service delivery
4. Result Oriented Government: Funding the outcomes not inputs
5. Customer driven government: Meeting the needs of the customer and not bureaucracy
6. Anticipatory Government: Prevention better than cure
7. Decentralized government : From hierarchy o participation and team work
8. Market oriented government: Leveraging



*"Krishi Mahostav"* is an annual event which embraces the philosophy of development as a mass movement. The entire government machinery, agricultural scientists and agriculture

Universities reach out to the farmers educating them about the use of technology and innovative methods of farming and agriculture to usher in technology based development. Technology if properly used can enable good governance.

women in India are now coming to the forefront. To alleviate poverty civil society organizations needs to work closely with governments and the private sector to help the poor in accessing the fruits of development. Good governance is therefore the glue that holds the political masters, government machinery and the civil society together.

Mere Good governance is not enough as it needs to be strongly pro-people. What we need is pro-active good governance " P<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>" and the ability to anticipate things and

may result in change in disease patterns also. Such an understanding will help us to take mitigation measures to prevent catastrophes in the future.

Pro-active good governance should lead to advance planning and preventive action. For example, if monsoon sets in June, pro-active planning for agriculture and disaster prevention should be undertaken. Farmers should be educated, seeds should be made available, and planning for making fertilizers available etc should be undertaken in

the change through Market

"*Krishi Mahostav*" is an annual event which embraces the philosophy of

towards different sections of people were initiated such as "Sagar Khedu" which aimed at farmers in the coastal areas and "Vanbandhu Kalyan



development as a mass movement. The entire government machinery, agricultural scientists and agriculture Universities reach out to the farmers educating them about the use of technology and innovative methods of farming and agriculture to usher in technology based development. Technology if properly used can enable good governance. Computerized RTO check posts installed in Gujarat have shown 200% increase in tax collection when compared with its neighbor Maharashtra, where the RTO check posts are manually operated. With convergence instead of isolated schemes the poor will gain more. An integrated approach is essential. In Gujarat, a Committee was appointed to identify the backward *Talukas* where special schemes aiming

Yojana" at tribals living in the forest. Such convergence has become the focus area of all the departments. If convergence is achieved, it can help further planning. For example, if a village is provided with power supply then household water supply pipeline can be initiated. Thus, one leads to another, improving the standard of life.

We have discussed the theory and some of the good practices of good governance. But I feel that we should discuss action points that can be useful. Governance is related to leadership. Gujarat is a progressive and well-developed state and what could be the factors that contributed to this rapid progress? For one, it is the people themselves who are committed to progress and prosperity. It is common to see in many other states the poor

Over a decade or so ago, Gujarat too was sauntering along like other states in growth parameters. But today, Gujarat is one of the best governed and progressive states and undoubtedly it is the pro-active good governance that helped it channelise the power of the people and I would give the credit to the people. They have always shown a determination to chart their own course and never allowed the government of the day to be anything other than a facilitator. Why not give people the space they need and see them progress?

looking at their government even for their day-to-day needs. Friends, I lay the blame for this *mai-baap* syndrome induced over the decades squarely on the political class and that is a major cause for many of our ills that plague us today.

Over a decade or so ago, Gujarat too was sauntering along like other states in growth parameters. But today, Gujarat is one of the best governed and progressive states and undoubtedly it is the pro-active good governance that helped it channelise the power of the



people and I would give the credit to the people. They have always shown a determination to chart their own course and never allowed the government of the day to be anything other than a facilitator. Why not give people the space they need and see them progress?

Good governance is related to policy. For example some states have a free electricity policy. They have a policy to provide electricity free to a certain section of people such as farmers. But in Gujarat, we have a policy of charging for supply of power. But in many states which give free electricity, there is acute shortage of power and they don't have power even to supply to those who are willing to pay. But in Gujarat we are a power surplus state and power is provided round the clock even to villages. In Gujarat people want power and are willing to pay for it. Good governance is providing quality service to people.

When you provide quality service people are willing to pay for the same. Let us take the Municipal taxes. You will find that in many municipalities tax collection is difficult. People are not paying their taxes. Why? Are they really against paying the taxes? No. They are not paying the taxes because the quality of service is poor. The condition of the roads, the water supply, cleanliness, and

**"Jyotirgam Yojana" implemented in Gujarat. We had power problem in Gujarat. But through "Jyotirgam Yojana" we could ensure round the clock power supply to all the 18,000 villages in Gujarat. This transformed the villages and made life comfortable and what is more important ensured rapid development of small and cottage industries, agro processing industries. Good Governance goes beyond symptomatic relief to a complete cure.**



drainage system are bad and hence people resist. If the services improve then people will willingly pay. Good governance is providing quality services. It is not the policy of throwing promises during elections to provide free services, but it is the policy of providing quality service even if they have to be charged.

Even poor are not

expecting free services. Good governance is not just about providing services, but quality services. So, in the name of poor we cannot be satisfied with poor quality service. Even the poor want quality service even if they have to pay for it. Thus good governance means good quality.

Good governance needs continuity. I am not referring to the continuity of the same party or same government, but I am referring to the continuity in policy. Policies should not be changed at the whims and fancies of the government, just because a new party is in power, or just because a new Chief Minister has taken over. Good governance should accept the existing frame work, policy and organizations and improve upon the same. The existing system should be made more effective. You cannot totally dismantle the system, change all the policy, and close

all the organizations. It will lead to chaos. The existing structure should be modified, policies changed when really necessary to make them alive, to make them effective, and to make them vibrant. But these changes should be need based and objective.

The question is not about changing the system but makes the existing system work and delivers effectively.

In order to make the system alive and responsive one needs confidence in oneself and the system. Our policies should be clear. The direction in which we want to go forward should also be clear. Without clarity, we cannot make the system work. If you confuse the system then how will it deliver? We should provide clear direction and then ask for accountability. Good governance is not only about accountability but also about responsibility. It is making the administrators responsible and also making the people responsible.

Delivery of good governance cannot be achieved merely because we have good intentions. We should know how to approach; we should have clear understanding of our strengths and weaknesses. We should also understand the failures and the reasons. In short a SWOT analysis to tell us about the strength, weakness, opportunities and threats should be undertaken. If we start with such an understanding then we can think of solutions.

Most of the time, government does crisis management. Ad hoc solutions are found. Instead of fire-fighting we must find the root cause of the problem and treat the same. This needs analysis and understanding. If a doctor merely treats the symptoms, the disease will occur again and again. An

expert medical practitioner can go beyond providing symptomatic relief to diagnose the root cause of the problem. Similarly, good governance also goes beyond symptomatic treatment to provide pragmatic solutions. In this context I can mention “Jyotirgam Yojana” implemented in Gujarat. We had power problem in Gujarat. But through “Jyotirgam Yojana” we could

*Apno Taluko, Vibrant Taluko (ATVT) campaign is to make the Talukas the main administrative units instead of Districts.*

ensure round the clock power supply to all the 18,000 villages in Gujarat. This transformed the villages and made life comfortable and what is more important ensured rapid development of small and cottage industries, agro processing industries. Good Governance goes beyond symptomatic relief to a complete cure.

Good governance is the result of team work. We should be able form a successful team. That is the first step.

The team should be formed within the existing administrative machinery, from within the establishment. Then only sustainable good governance can be achieved.

Decentralization is one of the important parameters of good governance. There is no point in centralizing power. *Panchayati Raj* was initiated as part of this empowering process. After *Panchayati Raj* nothing much has been done towards decentralization. In Gujarat, we have launched a new initiative of *Taluka Governance*. The idea is not only to empower the Talukas for execution of programs

planned at the top, but to empower them to envisage, plan and implement the schemes for the growth and development. *Apno Taluko, Vibrant Taluko (ATVT)* campaign is to make the *Talukas* the main administrative

units instead of Districts. This is not merely to empower the *Talukas*, though this is the main objective, but also to bring about equitable growth and healthy competition among them. Thus, “Collective Efforts and Inclusive Growth” is the mantra of development in Gujarat.

Let us create a culture of good governance. It should not remain an academic or development discourse. It should be transformed into a reality. As I said earlier, it is not enough if the governance is good, but it should also be pro-active, pro-people good governance. ■

*(The writer is the Chief Minister of Gujarat)*

## Madhya Pradesh

# Nationalism is the basis of development

To take birth in Madhya Pradesh, the land of saints and seers and one of the oldest civilizations of the world is a matter of great pride. India is a great nation rich with its cultural plurality, intellectual traditions, spiritual and *dharmic* worldview, high moral values and ideals. India has always been a land of wonders for the other nations of the world.

Today the world has started acknowledging the Indian intellect and mind. This is because of our rich spiritual heritage and intellectual tradition of compassion, service and high moral values. The huge treasure of intellect is not only for Indians but for the entire world. It is always available



 **Shivraj Singh Chouhan**

to guide and inspire the entire world.

The basis of the concept of nation is always cultural which is now called cultural nationalism. The nation remains only a lifeless mass of land without the emotional

integration of the people inhabiting it. Nationalism is a dynamic term.

### Nation and Development

As I have mentioned above, the nation is based on the emotional unity of the people living in it. Therefore the progress and development of the nation also takes place in two ways - the development of the physical resources and the manner in which emotional bondage is nurtured. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century many nations wanted to impose their hegemony over the world community. It is not possible to expand geographically while abiding by the international limitations, international laws and agreements. Therefore all efforts are now in the



direction of increasing economic hegemony.

### Dialogue with people and Development

As soon as we came in power in Madhya Pradesh we started discussing the ways and means of development in the State. Long discussions took place on different models

have been organized and the process is supposed to continue.

Many new and novel schemes are the result of the deliberations in *panchayats*. A new model of development emerged from the series of such deliberations which proved to be the spirit of the

this feeling.

### Hurdles in the path of development

The welfare oriented governments elected under democratic system never takes illogical and anti-people decisions. All governments work in the interest of the people. The real problem is that the impact of welfare programmes is not visible in the life of the people. I discussed the issue with social scientists, experts and development strategists and thinkers very seriously. Finally, it was felt that there were serious lacunae in service delivery system. These lacunae are institutional as well as due to insincere approach of the officials. The other serious hurdle is corruption. The one

The nation is based on the emotional unity of the people living in it. Therefore the progress and development of the nation also takes place in two ways - the development of the physical resources and the manner in which emotional bondage is nurtured. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century many nations wanted to impose their hegemony over the world community. It is not possible to expand geographically while abiding by the international limitations, international laws and agreements. Therefore all efforts are now in the direction of increasing economic hegemony.



of development. A new tradition was initiated keeping in view the cultural diversity and economic inequality in the State adopting new methods and techniques. There is no need to waste time without taking into cognizance the wisdom and experience of the people who elected us. Every section of the society has its own novel idea about development. It was therefore thought fit to associate them with the process of development. The *panchayats* became a vehicle of such process which linked dialogue to the process of development. Till date 16 *panchayats* of different sections of the society

fundamental principle of development. There is a limitation to the resources which the State commands for inclusive growth and to improve the quality of life. Therefore both the government and people will have to march together. Every citizen of the State and every individual of the society has responsibility towards the motherland. We will have to awaken this sense of responsibility. Madhya Pradesh is our land and we have to build it. We will work with the government and perform our duty as citizens. The movement "Aao banaye Madhya Pradesh" represents

indulging in corrupt practices and those tolerating it are both not committed to the motherland. Both types of persons have not received the *samskaras* of worshipping the nation. It is not only a problem of Madhya Pradesh or India but the entire south Asian countries are affected by it.

As a welfare oriented government we implemented Public Service Guarantee Act 2010 within the provisions of the constitutions. It is a law which makes people aware of their rights and empowers them. As a consequence today a number of States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Goa, Punjab,

New Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Rajasthan have also enacted this law in their respective States. Here the mutual relation between nationalism and development finds expression. Many States among these are not ruled by BJP, yet this law was enacted. It is clear that every government wants to fight corruption but fails to find effective mechanism or there is lack of political will. We have presented a model and also shown the political will to fight corruption. Taking this forward, the Madhya Pradesh government has also passed the bill to seize the property earned through corrupt practices. As soon as the presidential assent is received, this bill will become a law.

### New Hope

Today when many State governments suffer from either excess governance or misgovernance, this people friendly law has given rise to new hope in the State. The administrative machinery has also been told that the welfare of the people is the their foremost responsibility. The administrative machinery is to serve the people and it should be accountable to the people. On the other hand this legislation has made people aware of their rights and duties. Complex problems require resolution through coordination and participation in the process of development. Therefore every citizen should be vigilant about his rights and duties.

### The Impact of Development Dialogue

The attempt to solve the problems of *vanavasi* community by associating them with the process of development was started. In the course of these efforts, many a new ideas of making effective programmes through reforms and new initiatives came to our notice. Many steps like constructing *Amar*

of this *yatra*. Special attention was paid on coordination between government, corporate and community and to outline their mutual responsibilities. New horizons are now being explored to find avenues for community participation in developmental programmes.

'*Aao banaye Madhya Pradesh*' is a new initiative, far removed from politics.

As a welfare oriented government we implemented Public Service Guarantee Act 2010 within the provisions of the constitutions. It is a law which makes people aware of their rights and empowers them. As a consequence today a number of States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Goa, Punjab, New Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Rajasthan have also enacted this law in their respective States.

*shaheed* memorial of the *adivasi* martyrs, spending 30% of the revenue earned through minerals in the local areas for development are producing desired results. In addition to these, buying forest produce like lac, *mahua* and *chiraunji* on maximum support price, recruitment of 80,000 teachers, technology development programmes for *adivasi* youths, reduction of Mandi tax etc. are some of the decisions that have been welcomed.

Decision to organize mobile banking facility for payments in MNREGA is also related to *Vanavasi Samman Yatra*. Similarly, the decision to review the rejection of appeals for granting land deeds to the *adivasi* applicants has also been taken in course

Madhya Pradesh does not belong to any single individual, community or party. It belongs to all. It is an innovative experiment to awaken the sense of responsibility for the State. It aims at creating attachment for culture, tradition and heritage of Madhya Pradesh. It aims at taking resolve to do something for the development of Madhya Pradesh through self-motivation - to do something positive for the State. Community and government, both have their own limitations. Both need to help each other and coordinate with one another. We have the support of the society, a committed bureaucracy, enthusiasm, effective strategies and every other thing that is required to create

a new history.

### Positive Energy of People's Power

I have unflinching faith in people's power. It is a formless entity but gets manifested from time to time. Sometime towns are closed and sometime movement of traffic

Madhya Pradesh. The government machinery, policy makers and strategists have their own limitations. The result of good policies is also zero if the community participation support of the people is not there.

There are four main points



is halted. On the other side on this huge geographical spread, few people have taken resolve to bring to life a dead river. They brought greenery to the barren lands. Both positive and negative approaches are seen. It very important to use power of people for developmental activities. It is necessary to keep unwavering faith on the wisdom, intellect and capability of the people.

Today society and government have come closer to each other and marching together on the path of development. We have shown as how power of the people can be used to make people prosperous. How to make developmental projects people oriented and how to deliver services to the people can be made possible can be seen in

**Decision to organize mobile banking facility for payments in MNREGA is also related to *Vanavasi Samman Yatra*. Similarly, the decision to review the rejection of appeals for granting land deeds to the *adivasi* applicants has also been taken in course of this *yatra*. Special attention was paid on coordination between government, corporate and community and to outline their mutual responsibilities. New horizons are now being explored to find avenues for community participation in developmental programmes.**

of the welfare programmes of the government: commitment for prosperity of the poor, to develop the power of the youth, to have faith in the present and confidence in future. It is aimed to bring social change by making the birth of girl child an occasion to celebrate. The society has also given full cooperation in this kind of programme. Everywhere the schemes to give bicycle, school dress, scholarships to girl students and to give reservation to women in government services have been appreciated.

Madhya Pradesh is a State with diverse cultures and traditions. The youth power of this State has the capability to march ahead. It is a State of great artists and intellectuals. It is a community which believes in remarkable achievements even with limited resources. If everyone can come together the process of reconstruction will get expedited in Madhya Pradesh. The State does not belong to any single individual, community, caste or religion, it belongs to everyone. The spirit of togetherness needs to be created and nurtured. We are getting remarkable achievements through programmes like water conservation, forestation, school *chalo abhiyan* and family planning. Now the movement to save girl child is going to start. The aim is to see that our daughters, mothers and sisters get educated and empowered so that the new



generation gets the required *samskars* and become responsible citizens of the nation.

### The Philosophy of Antyodaya

A series of developmental programmes have been started for giving concrete shape to Pandit Deendayalji's philosophy of *Antyodaya*. Each and every strata of society is now getting new

*Mukhyamantri Kanyadan Yojna* Madhya Pradesh govt. has taken responsibility of marriages of the daughters of the poor and needy people. So far more than 1.5 lakh girls have been married under the "Mukhyamantri Kanyadan Yojana" in Madhya Pradesh. The *Antyodaya Mela* is organised at block and district level for providing benefits of various schemes collectively of

Deendayal *Antyodaya Upchar Yojana* 25 lakh families have been given health security. Serious efforts are being made to fight against child malnutrition, and children suffering from heart ailments. Sparsh Abhyan has been started to empower physically challenged people so that they can lead their life with dignity. Attempts are being made to identify such people and provide them with required treatment and facilities so as to inspire and empower them. Those who are severely physically challenged an arrangement of Rs. 500 per month pension has been made.

Working for the people is our strength. The aim is *Antyodaya*. The noble words of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay are our inspiration. He had said that only slogans are not enough. Until and unless the people who live in remote areas, whose feet having developed cracks as

he has no shoes to put on, those who cannot buy medicines, those who are illiterate and helpless, are able to see a healthy and beautiful society, the goal will remain unfinished. The time has stagnated here; we need to set it in motion. Till then every intelligent and sensitive individuals should keep on striving to build such a society. ■

(English translation based on the article in Hindi by Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan)



opportunities for development. The initiatives taken by the State for raising the living standard of downtrodden have earned nationwide acclaim. *Ladli Lakshmi Yojana* has created positive environment for girl child. For securing the future of girl child, many States government have adopted this innovative scheme which was started successfully in Madhya Pradesh. Seven lakhs girls have so far benefited from this scheme in the state since 2007. Under

various development programmes and schemes. This is a new initiative in the country. Until now 20 lakh people have got 2,800 crore rupees from the scheme. New horizons of opportunity have been created by the State government for every class of society. Special programmes have been launched for every section of people. Facilities like scholarship for students, maternity help for pregnant women, insurance schemes etc. is being provided to the people of the society. Under

## Chhattisgarh

# Towards a new era of Nationalism, Good Governance and Development



 **Dr. Raman Singh**

Prof. Deendayal Upadhyay had shown the path of *Antyodaya* i.e. emancipation and development of the downtrodden. Our elders tried to enlighten this path and entrusted the next generation to keep marching towards the goal of *Antyodaya*. This term is deeply meaningful, pious and inspiring, especially for those working in socio economic sphere. Reaching to the most marginalized person of the society is a noble goal indeed. In order to solve the problems of such persons and to raise a dimension of the marginalized and of course for the uplift of marginalized groups there is no better

option to follow the path of *Antyodaya*. It genuinely is the right course.

In the State of Chhattisgarh we concentrated our efforts in the direction of



achieving the objective of *Antyodaya* right from beginning of BJP rule. I may not be able to quote golden sentences from

scholarly works on good governance and also from volumes of books on management. In my humble opinion self conscience alone shows the best way. If one is moved by the sufferings of others and if he or she is prepared to help the needy that would help the sufferer. I felt that the opportunity to practice the preachings of our elders can only due to one's sheer luck. We must help people at any cost.

From the beginning only we linked the work on good governance with our conscience and ground realities. In those days, when we started various welfare

schemes for the downtrodden, we faced criticism. The critics said the government must refrain from indulging in such petty matters. On the contrary it was our firm belief that people must get rid off such long felt discrepancies.

Their intention was that this could not be achieved; people may start disobeying the existing system. But we went ahead with the noble concept of *Antyodaya*. It was found that our small initiatives were of great significance. We started with Chhattisgarh *Amrit* Salt scheme. People living in remote forest areas were deprived of the common and cheap commodity like salt. It was quite strange that even after half a decade of independence a sizable population of Chhattisgarh had to barter the salt, in equal proportion with their valuable forest produces like chirauji. Through distribution of salt under *Amarita* salt scheme we stopped the age-old malpractice of exploitation. Today we are supplying 2 kg iodized salt free of cost to more than 3.2 million poor families. Through such innovative interventions we continued our effort towards achieving goal of *Antyodaya*. These schemes brought new hope and faith in the lives of deprived people.

We realized agony of 1.3 million bare foot People who used to collect forest produce like thorns of shrubs. We were

pained to find that these people did not have shoes to protect from thorns and sharp stones. We started giving shoes to these 1.3 million poor people. We raised the status of persons collecting forest



We realized agony of 1.3 million bare foot people who used to collect forest produce like thorns of shrubs. We were pained to find that these people did not have shoes to protect themselves from thorns and sharp stones. We started giving shoes to these 1.3 million poor people. We raised the status of persons collecting forest produce to the level of a business partner. It resulted in constant increase in their wages. We have almost doubled the rates for tendu leaf collection during last seven years. During last 3 Years persons collecting tendu leaves were paid whopping amount of ₹286 cr. as wages and ₹276 cr as bonus.

produce to the level of a business partner.

It resulted in constant

increase of their wages. We have almost doubled the rates for tendu leaf collection during last seven years. During last 3 Years persons collecting tendu leaves were paid whopping amount of ₹286 cr. as wages and ₹276 cr as bonus. Nobody expected that 3.3 million people engaged in collection of forest produce could ever get a life cover under *Janashri* insurance scheme and scholarships for their school going children. We have given impetus to such practical measures which may help to raise their living standards alone with conserving the forests. Wages for collecting tendu leaves have been raised from ₹ 700 to ₹ 800 per standard bag. Due to this increase the collectors have paid ₹ 10.8 million as total wages. An amount of ₹ 13.8 million was also distributed as bonus accrued of last year's tendu business. Various attractive schemes have been launched to support intelligent children living in the areas of forest collection committees.

Under CAMPA Program, various ox-zones shall be developed alongside rivers and streams. Under this programme botanical garden in 153 hectares, and Jungle safari in 12 hectares shall also be developed. Riverside plantation, urban afforestation and roadside plantation measuring about



more than thousand kilometers shall be developed. In the State of Chhattisgarh, 9360 works costing ₹ 110 Cr. for the integrated development of 425 forest village have already been taken up. Village *punchayat* have been entrusted with the task of transporting bamboos, in order to encourage them for

land ownership documents so far to more than 2,14,000 families living in forest areas.

We started various schemes for the betterment of children belonging to various scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and poor families so that they could get good educational opportunity. Within last 5 years more than



**We started various schemes for the betterment of children belonging to various scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and poor families so that they could get good opportunity for education. Within last 5 years more than 12 hundred new hostels and residential schools have been started. Now 2945 hostels and residential schools are imparting free residential education to the children of these groups.**

bamboo plantation in barren lands. It strange to know that a large segment of scheduled tribes people were deprived of their legitimate ownership rights over the land which they occupied for generations. On the first available opportunities we speedily processed the cases of land ownership right and in this regard also Chhattisgarh stood first. We distributed

12 hundred new hostels and residential school have been started.

Now 2945 hostels and residential school are imparting free residential education to the children of these groups. One thousand students securing higher marks in high school and Intermediate examinations are getting special scholarships. The amount of scholarships for other students have also been raised considerably. More than 5 million students up to 8th standards are getting free textbooks. Every girl student seeking admission in high school gets a free bicycle. More than 4,249 new schools right from primary to higher secondary have been

established. This year 934 schools have been sanctioned and 2 thousand new school buildings shall be constructed. Each student belonging to SC/ST and BPL family shall get two sets of uniforms free of cost. Computer based education scheme has been extended from 3 hundred to 19 hundred schools. 15 model schools and 56 girl's hostels were establish in backward blocks last year and 72 model schools and 74 girl's hostels are to be started this year. In current fiscal year 7 new government collages have been started, aggregating 398 in entire state. 17 new college buildings are under construction. 7 new ITI (Industrial training institute) are being started and 29 new institute building and 26 hostel building are being constructed.

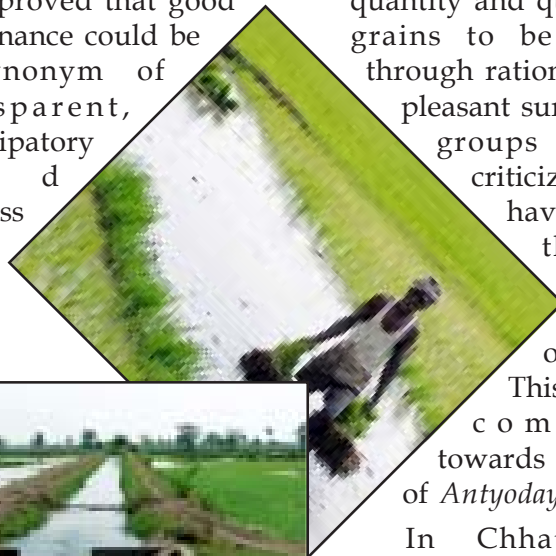
The plight and agony of the people, deprived of food cannot be ascertained by any statue book. In my opinion when we strive for good governance with soul and mind, only then voice of these hungry people could be audible to us. It is very strange that great economists and prudent persons leading this country could not asses the need of bread, rice etc. to such deprived people. It is their right. I told the administration of my state that it was intolerable if any person remains without food. For this purpose I may go to any extent, and adequate funds shall be arranged by any means. I also cautioned them against any irregularity

regarding public distribution system. Nobody shall be spared in this matter. With these feelings, we initiated Chief Minister Food grain help scheme. We overlooked caste and creed parameters and even the rigid rules and regulations and started to help 3.6 million poor families to get their due. The definition of BPL as indicated by GOI had covered 10-15 lac people only but we went beyond. We are providing 35 kg. rice to 7 lac BPL families at ₹ 1 per kg. 29 lac other poor families are also getting it at the rate of Rs 2 per Kg. It has resulted in creating a hunger free society in Chhattisgarh.

Now our goal is to ensure better nutrition. In this direction we have started distribution of free salt to all poor families and distribution of gram (chana) at the rate of ₹ 5 per Kg. in Baster region.

In the Indian context public distribution system has become a notorious term. It had been the cause of hunger deaths. In Chhattisgarh the subsidized food distribution has proved a boon to the poor. It has been a great step for ensuring *Antyodaya*. The time has come when our public distribution system is serving as model for most of the other States. May I go to the extent that our public distribution system has also become a model for those striving for *Antyodaya*. Elite people often do not go to ration shops. But for poor this place is a center of hope. These days our efforts

for good governance are seen in the light of the PDS. We have proved that good governance could be a synonym of transparent, participatory and flawless



PDS. Here consumers have a right to know about the status, quantity and quality of food grains to be distributed through ration shops. It's a pleasant surprise that the groups of persons criticizing us earlier have turned into the admirers on account of efficiency of our PDS. This amply shows commitment towards the principles of *Antyodaya*.

**In Chhattisgarh 80 percent of the population is dependent on agriculture. At the time of its creation only 72,000 electric pump connections were working. Irrigation had been the most neglected part of agriculture in this State. It was found that if the existing potentials could be utilized properly the entire scenario shall soon be different. We resolved to enhance the irrigation area by giving new electric pump connections to the tune of 2,87,000. Every farmer was provided with free electricity up to 6000 units for energizing his 5hp pump connection.**

In Chhattisgarh 80 percent of the population is dependent on agriculture. At the time of its creation only 72,000 electric pump connections were working. Irrigation had been the most neglected part of agriculture in this State. It was found that if the existing potentials could be utilized properly the entire scenario shall soon be different. We resolved to enhance the irrigation area by giving new electric pump connections to the tune of 2,87,000. Every farmer was provided with free electricity up to 6000 units for energizing his 5hp pump connection. In order to provide cash liquidity for seeds, fertilizers, Equipment etc. we lowered interest rates for farmers from 14% to sheer 3%. This resulted in a sizable increase in loan taking capacity of farmers. This is evident from the fact that nowadays ₹ 1500 cr. are being distributed as loan every year, which is almost ten times of the amount distributed a

decade ago. Various other facilities like high germinating seeds, quality fertilizer, drip irrigation system, soil treatment, right kind of pesticides-insecticides; mechanical equipments etc. are also made available.

Due to foregoing efforts paddy production has

problem of farmers on the spot programmes like farmers fair, farmer's conferences, *kisan rath yatra* etc. are being organized regularly. Due to constant endeavors in the field of agriculture good result have been obtained. On 16th July 2011 the state of Chhattisgarh was awarded

are getting loans to set up various production units @ 6.5% interest. These groups are allowed to function as legal service providers also. In order to increase their mobility distribution of free cycle scheme is being strengthened. Earlier we were providing free bicycles to girls students of



For almost each segment of women, there is a specific scheme e.g. for pregnant women *Matrava Sahayog Yojana* for school leaving girls-*Sabala yojana* for widowed, separated, divorced and unmarried females - *Saksham Yojana*. Financial assistance is being given for marriage of girls belonging to poor families to the tune of ₹ 10,000 each under *CM's kanyadan yojana*.

high school belonging to SC and ST category. Later on this facility was extended to all girls coming from BPL families. Now girls of urban areas could also avail benefits like their rural counterparts. Anganwadi workers are also registered

increased considerably i.e. from 50000 metric ton to 91000 metric ton. We ensured to purchase the entire paddy production from farmers through a systematic purchase network. This is again an innovative measure of its kind in the nation. Here the paddy is procured directly from the farmer by payment through bank cheques. No middle man, no hassles. We also abolished vat on agricultural equipments. For the farmers having agriculture puttah (lease) in forest area we have recently extended green revolution extension scheme where they are provided with free seeds and fertilizer. In order to solve

with *krishi karman* reward by the govt. of India on account of enhanced paddy production. It is a great honor to our farmers. Along with paddy, production of oilseeds, grain and horticulture produce has also increased considerably.

We believe in true empowering of female population. We tried to organize the *Matra Shakti* for achieving essence of *Antyodaya*. So far 74,000 self help ladies groups comprising if 9,00,000 members have been constituted. We launched many schemes enabling this section of the society especially in the economic field. These SHGs

female workers engaged in production activities. Students of Industrial Training Institutes living in tribal development authority areas shall also get such free bicycles soon.

For almost each segment of women, there is a specific scheme e.g. for pregnant women *Matrava Sahayog Yojana* for school leaving girls-*Sabala yojana* for widowed, separated, divorced and unmarried females - *Saksham Yojana*. Financial assistance is being given for marriage of girls belonging to poor families to the tune of ₹ 10,000 each under *CM's kanyadan yojana*.

Ailments and diseases



play negative role as far as the economic well being of a poor family is concerned. On account of illness, members of such families remain without wages for days together. Hence special efforts are made to provide better medical facilities free or on nominal charges.

In the field of public health, institutional efforts have shown positive results. Facilities of District hospitals, PHCs, CHCs have now acquired national norms. Due to their well functioning IMR has declined from 79 per thousand to 58 and MMR from 47 per thousand to 32 per thousand. Similarly institutional deliveries rate has increased from 18% to 53%. Chief Minister Bal Hraday and *Bal Shravan yojana* have saved many lives where nearly 2000 children were benefited. In order to get quick medical help in cases of emergencies one can dial 108 to call **Sanjivani Express** i.e. an ambulance this new facility is active in two districts- Dhamtari and Jashpur. It is expected to make the same facility available in the entire state by the end of this year. Under MM **BAL shravan** scheme ₹ 4 to 6 lakhs are being spent on each operation and after care. Approximately 22 families have so far been identified under the national health Mission. Chhattisgarh has stood first in the implementation of this scheme by issuing smart to more than 10 lakhs families.

I lakh families of

unorganized labor have so far been identified for their registration. Such families shall also be entitled to get free medical facilities worth ₹ 30,000 each. The families registered as such have been from BPL category. They may get medical insurance facility worth ₹ 1 lakhs, scholarship, free bicycle, tool kit, sewing machine and training facility

reservoirs we have successfully created two permanent structures.

For drinking water there is a national norm of setting one hand pump for every 250 persons. Against this parameter Chhattisgarh has achieved a target of one hand pump against every 82 persons. This year we have started 12 new urban area

Development of infrastructure is still going on. This year we have completed construction of 2000 kms of road, 54 major bridges have been completed while 177 are under construction. 984 kms road has already been constructed and another 265 kms are under construction. Many over bridges and bypass road are under construction. A massive road measuring 18906 kms having 21355 culverts etc has already been constructed under the PM Gram Sadak Yojna.

also. Due to constant efforts on our part the created irrigation capacity has increased from 23 to 32%. This year there is a target of creating another 7,500 hectare additional capacity. Kelo project, an ambitious ₹ 600 Cr. multi utility scheme is to be completed soon, enabling local farmers to get their fields irrigated in 22,810 hectare area. Excess water of Ravishankar Reservoir shall be drawn to Tandula reservoir which situated in Durg Distt. We are trying to harvest irrigation potential of Indravati River in Bastar division. Likewise survey work of Arpa -Bhevrajhar Major Irrigation Project in the district of Bilaspur is nearing completion. In both of the

drinking water schemes as well 19 schemes for newly created Nagar Panchayats. In addition to the above, 331 spots water supply schemes have also been taken up.

In the State of Chhattisgarh in energy sector almost a revolution is there. In the Next financial year Korba west (1500 MW capacity) and Madama in Tendubhata may be completed. For excellent performance our Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji thermal plant has been awarded on account of achieving 90% PLF. We have also succeeded to limit the line losses under 4%. 1500 villages in remote areas have been given solar lamps. Here in Chhattisgarh we are setting up a transmission system with the

capacity of 400 KV. In the distt of Jagdalpur a sub-station of 400 KV capacity has already been installed which shall ensure un-interrupted electricity supply in the Bastar division.

Chief Minister Urban Electrification scheme is targeted to provide line extensions, power supply to BPL families. To make the electricity distribution more effective various consumers friendly measures are being taken. Provision for spot billing device and sending SMS alert regarding amount and due date are there.

We are trying earnestly to start functioning in new Secretariat building situated at New Raipur. Necessary Civil and furnishing works are nearing completion. In New Raipur Project we are making every effort to develop urban facilities in nearby villages, as was envisaged by Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam, Ex. President of India. In existing Raipur City a modern township viz. Kamal Vihar shall also take shape Chhattisgarh is a witness of evolution of an urban conglomerate which shall be biggest in Asia. we have already identified urbanization potential of the Chhattisgarh New rapid transport system, round the clock water and electricity supply, vibrant shopping complexes, parks, food zones, efficient traffic system, Modern sewage disposal and



**We are trying earnestly to start functioning in new Secretariat building situated at New Raipur. Necessary Civil and furnishing works are nearing completion. In New Raipur Project we are making every effort to develop urban facilities in nearby villages, as was envisaged by Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam, Ex. President of India. In existing Raipur City a modern township viz. Kamal Vihar shall also take shape Chhattisgarh is a witness of evolution of an urban conglomerate which shall be biggest in Asia. we have already identified urbanization potential of the Chhattisgarh**

water recycling methods are some of our targets on which we are working relentlessly. We expect to check illegal possession in urban areas with firm determination.

Old encroachments have been removed and many more civic amenities are created in smaller towns also.

In order to create systematic and convenient housing a new scheme viz. *Atal Vihar* is to be launched soon at district Block places, as well in industrial townships. Under this scheme nearly 1, 00,000 houses shall be constructed. This is going to help the marginalized section of the society. This will also support employees from remote areas. The cities having week infrastructure shall be equipped with modern civic facilities. These cities shall be provided with playgrounds, bus stops, Gaurav Path, entrance and exit gates, good roads, drainage, public toilets, lush gardens, aesthetic ponds etc. For congested dwellings, Bhagirathi drinking water scheme has also been launched. In bigger cities a special provision has been introduced according to which on residential plots measuring less than 2000 sq. feet architect shall have authority to finalize construction layout map. This step is going to benefit citizens having construction plan over smaller plots. A mass contact program called *Gram Swaraj* is to be replicated in urban areas in the banner of *Nagar Swaraj*. During such campaign, development schemes shall be scrutinized on the spot, need assessment and disposal of public grievances shall be possible. We are making every

effort to develop a sense of responsibility and accountability into state employees serving citizens.

Development of infrastructure is still going on. This year we have completed construction of 2000kms of road, 54 major bridges have been completed while 177 are under construction. 984kms road has already been constructed and another

incentives are giving to the members of scheduled caste and tribe communities to raise their living standards. Scholarship for residential students belonging to these communities is now rupees 650 per month instead of ₹ 450.00. Intelligent students are given chance to complete their studies in reputed residential schools. More than 1000 students have been

parents because of Naxal violence.

So far implementation of central flagship program MANREGA is concerned, elaborate arrangements have been made. Due to effective implementation of this scheme, the Prime minister has awarded village panchayats viz-Mechandur and Kharvahi of Chhattisgarh. 58 lacs accounts in various banks and post offices have been opened to facilitate smooth and transparent payments. 31 blocks of 18 districts have started with the NGEM enabling thousands of under employed persons to raise their occupation. A large scale occupational training program has been launched under the auspices of state skill development mission. During last financial year nearly a purchase worth ₹ 90 Cr. was made benefiting 30 thousand weavers. Nearly a dozen schemes regarding social security, health, education etc have been started recently.

Everybody knows about the activities of anti national elements in the Bastar region. We are fighting them out with the active help of local travels. Many of them have lost their kith and kins in such violent incidents. In this contest strong will power is needed to protect new generation. We have created a new Chhattisgarh auxiliary force to ensure their security as well as employment. We further gave various relaxations to the



In order to create systematic and convenient housing a new scheme viz. *Atal Vihar* is to be launched soon at district Block places, as well in industrial townships. Under this scheme nearly 1, 00,000 houses shall be constructed. This is going to help the marginalized section of the society. This will also support employees from remote areas.

265kms are under construction. Many over bridges and bypass road are under construction. A massive road measuring 18906 kms having 21355 culverts etc has already been constructed under the PM Gram Sadak Yojna. The areas which can not be covered under this scheme shall be benefited under CM Gram Sadak Yojna, targeting the construction of 4000kms road costing nearly rupees two thousand Crore.

Renowned religious center Girodhpury shall have splendid Jaithkhamb construction which is nearing completion. Various

benefited in scheme where ₹ 10,000 cash award is giving to the student securing in State and CBSE exams. Last year those students securing more than 80 percent in class 12th examination were invited to join institute of national repute on govt. expenses. It's a matter of pride that out of 34 such students getting special coaching, 14 have been selected for NITs. Under Utkarsh scheme, 2 students have been admitted in IITs, 14 to NITs and 54 to various engineering colleges. Similar schemes viz. *Aastha* in Dantewada, *Nistha* in Rajnandgaon and *Prayas* in Raipur district are available to the students who lost their



tribal youth so as to enable them to join police force. In the areas covering 5th schedule recruitment of local talent is encouraged. Their participation shall be vital to implement various welfare schemes in a desired manner.

We have always tried to be positive. I firmly believe that peace and development go together. An inspired consensus and sustained development always help democratic traditions. It is our constant endeavor to bring administration to the people. We honor suggestions from civil society and political parties in opposition. In the same context we decided to create 9 new districts viz. Sukma, Kondagaon, Gariyaband, Balodabazar, Balod, Bemetara, Mungeli, Surajpur and Balrampur in our state.

"Independence can only flourish till it provides nourishment to National Culture." - said late Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay great philosopher and thinker. He is our source of inspiration as it was he who propounded the thesis of *Antyodaya* and *Ekatma Manav Vad*. Principles laid down by him make us to understand present day crisis as well to decide our stand. I firmly believe that public aspiration inspires us to evaluate our achievements vis-à-vis capabilities. A constant and vigilant analysis

of them makes us capable to meet present day challenges. In this context only in Chhattisgarh we are tackling the problem of Naxalism. We have launched a full and final fight against anti-national maoist movement. Violent and anarchical elements in the name of Naxalism are posing gravest threat to unity and integrity of this great Nation. Due to our sincere

**Chhattisgarh has emerged as a leading State in the service of *Bharat Mata* in many ways. For strict but pro poor financial managements our State has made a mark.**

commitment to fight out such force these days we have been able to seek co-operation from GOI as well neighboring States also. We are confident to win this battle also.

Chhattisgarh has emerged as a leading State in the service of *Bharat Mata* in many ways. For tight but pro poor financial managements our State has made a mark. We generate revenue from our own sources to the tune of ₹ 14,141 Cr. which is indeed larger than the central assistance of ₹ 11,660 Cr. We are quite ahead in formulating of pro-poor and people oriented schemes.

In public life sometimes we come across some sort of red taps and also with persons having negative approach. But finally I came to

conclusion that goodness, humility and devotion has got no parallel. While drawing schemes for the betterment of poor people, for the cause of *Antyodaya*, some of such persons cautioned me that was detrimental for the state exchequer.

To sum up I humbly submit that our sole objective is to make Chhattisgarh a top rank State of the country.

Amelioration of the downtrodden is top priority of our government. All-round development of the deprived classes is the heart and soul of our planning. Our sincere consistent efforts in this direction have yielded considerable results. Successful implementation of schemes has been widely acclaimed. The age old gulf between the haves and the have-nots is being mitigated speedily.

Hunger and starvation have become words of the past. Our initiation to ensure enough food to the poor by pooling maximum State resources has become a role model for other States and even for the entire. The history has given us an opportunity to serve and strengthen 225 Million people of our peace loving bountiful State. I pray the God to give us moral standing and strength. ■

*(The Writer is Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh)*

## Himachal Pradesh

# **Sushasan gives priority to COMMON MAN'S INTERESTS**



 **Prem Kumar Dhumal**

**I**t is often said that democracy is for the people, by people and of people. The State Government had directed its endeavours to realize this very objective in letter and spirit. The present BJP Government assumed

office on 30<sup>th</sup> December, 2007 and a new era of economic self-reliance and self sufficiency dawned on this Himalayan State. The pace of development picked up and every section of the society was benefitted from the people oriented welfare policies of the Government. Innovative thinking coupled with pragmatic strategy has borne results, which have been acclaimed at the National level.

State Government's determination to root out corruption is evident from the fact that during the monsoon session of HP Legislative Assembly, Himachal Pradesh

The present BJP Government assumed office on 30<sup>th</sup> December, 2007 and a new era of economic self-reliance and self sufficiency dawned on this Himalayan State. The pace of development picked up and every section of the society was benefitted from the people oriented welfare policies of the Government.

passed a strong legislation that allows the state government to seize the assets of corrupt administrators and

use it as a public property. The Himachal Pradesh special courts (Attachment and Confiscation of Property) Bill, 2011, passed in the state assembly demands for the setting up of special courts to emplace the trial and eventually allow the government to seize the corrupt property. The property of the administrator, charged with corruption would be attached in the initial stage but its disposal/ auction will be done only after the case is finally disposed off. Yet another legislation called 'The Himachal Pradesh Public Services Guarantee Bill, 2011' aimed at bringing about transparency, accountability and responsiveness in the administration was cleared. This Bill will provide guarantee of the delivery of basic public services to the citizen within a stipulated time frame and sets in place an accountability mechanism for non-delivery of notified services. A citizen's charter would be issued by the State government selecting a number of services for their time bound delivery to the people. Under Section 8(1) of this bill, there is a provision for imposing penalty if concerned authority fails to deliver service within time.

Conferment of 45 Awards on the basis of good performance of the State by prestigious agencies including Government of India during last three and a half years speak volumes about the spectacular progress

Himachal Pradesh has made. The State has been ranked number one in the implementation of Twenty Point Programme consecutively for the last two years. It has been conferred Prime Minister's Award for excellence in Public Administration for its outstanding initiative in 'Sustainable Plastic Management: From concept to Policy'. In prestigious India Today Magazine State of States Survey, the State had been adjudged the best performing State and conferred the Award of Best Big State in the year 2010. Outlook Magazine and IBN-7 TV Channel in its survey had found Himachal Pradesh the best State in Women Empowerment, Environment Conservation, Employment generation and conferred on it 'Diamond State Award'.

Another prestigious magazine 'Agriculture Today' on the basis of the best performance of the State in the field of Agriculture had conferred on it State Agriculture Leadership Award 2010. Recently State had been given Best Performance Award for socio-economic upliftment of the Backward Classes. Education, Health Women Empowerment, Employment Generation, e-governance Investment, Tourism development and Good governance are some of the fields in which State's performance had been lauded at the National level.



'The Himachal Pradesh Public Services Guarantee Bill, 2011' aimed at bringing about transparency, accountability and responsiveness in the administration was cleared. This Bill will provide guarantee of the delivery of basic public services to the citizen within a stipulated time frame and sets in place an accountability mechanism for non-delivery of notified services. A citizen's charter would be issued by the State government selecting a number of services for their time bound delivery to the people. Under Section 8(1) of this bill, there is a provision for imposing penalty if concerned authority fails to deliver service within time.



The Government is working with twin objectives of making Himachal self sufficient and ensuring that common man derives benefits of the development.

Government, joint and private sectors. We are working on a plan to generate 15716 MW power by the end of next financial year. Himachal Pradesh Power



**Industrial development had been given big boost. 4297 projects having investment of ₹ 16163 crore had been approved in last three and half years and 1.47 lakh persons are likely to get employment in these. As many as 3469 industrial units having investment of ₹ 7726 crores had been set up in the State from 1st January 2008 to 30<sup>th</sup> June, 2011 in which 47553 persons had got employment.**

For achieving this objective, we have given priority for speedy harnessing of the natural resources available within the State such as hydel, tourism and industrial potential.

The State has immense hydel potential estimated at about 23000 MW which comes to about one fourth of the entire country. We are working on speedy exploitation of the remaining potential by involving

Corporation had been assigned the big role in speedy exploitation of the hydel potential. Mini and micro hydel potential available in the State had been identified at 2000 MW. Out of this, 172 MW has been harnessed and 472 projects of 1176 MW had been allotted.

Tourism development has been given big boost with special emphasis on rural tourism. Home Stay, *Har Ghar Kuch Kehna Hai* and *Har Gaon*

*Ki Kahani* are some of the innovative schemes started in the State during last two years. A record number of 1.32 lakh tourists visited the State during last year. Emphasis is being given on creating infrastructure to facilitate the tourists and visitors to the State. An agreement has been reached upon with Asian Development Bank for strengthening tourism infrastructure for tourism promotion in the State under which ₹428 crore would be spent. Headway had already been made in this direction by setting a Heritage Museum in US Club Shimla to acquaint the visitors with the glorious past of the town. Apart from this, foundation stone of Geo Museum and Ros Common tourist complex has been laid at Kasauli, District Solan.

Industrial development had been given big boost. 4297 projects having investment of ₹16163 crore had been approved in last three and half years and 1.47 lakh persons are likely to get employment in these. As many as 3469 industrial units having investment of ₹7726 crores had been set up in the State from 1st January 2008 to 30<sup>th</sup> June, 2011 in which 47553 persons had got employment. Inland container Depot with the assistance of Container Cooperation of India is being set up in Baddi-Brotiwala-Nalagarh Industrial corridor at a cost of ₹58 crores.

The State Government is ensuring that 70 percent

employment in the industrial units being set up in the State is provided to Himachalis. To facilitate the entrepreneurs, the State Level Single Window Clearance and Monitoring Authority had been set up where they get all clearances required for setting up of industrial units under one roof. Besides Himachal Pradesh offer abundant supply of electricity at cheaper rates, peaceful industrial environment and above all transparent, responsive and investor friendly administration. To facilitate the entrepreneurs, State Government had set up a Land Bank which had a land of 7700 *bighas* at present to offer for setting up industrial units in the State.

The existing guidelines issued under the State Hydro Policy, 2006, needed change to address some gaps and difficulties being faced by the local areas, power producers and district administration. The most important feature of the new guidelines is a provision for the manner in which 1 percent free power to be made available by the power producer in addition to the 12 percent free power to the State Government, shall be allocated. It will result in life long benefit to all the families in project affected areas. It is expected that this will give boost to hydel project development by creating a direct interest amongst local stake holders in the project completion. It is for the first time that such a step has been taken by any State in the

country and it is in keeping with the best practices of benefit sharing internationally.

**Himachal Pradesh has**



90 percent population of the State live in rural areas. Keeping this in view, 12 percent of the total budget of the State is being spent on it, which is the highest in the Country. Novel schemes like '*Pandit Deen Dayal Kisan Bagwan Samridhi Yojna*' with an investment of ` 353 crores for creating self-employment opportunities, diversification of farming which in turn will strengthen the economic status of farmers is being implemented. '*Bhed Palak Samridhi Yojna*' has also been started, under which loan upto one lakh is being made available for purchase of two rams and 40 sheep

**made pioneering efforts in environment protection** by adopting path-breaking strategies for protecting the fragile Himalayan ecology. State Government had accorded highest priority to environment protection to move ahead on the path of sustainable development. Himachal Pradesh is the first

of the state at a cost of ₹64 crores resulting in saving 270 million units power.

"Reduce, Re-use and Recycle" is the mantra of the State Government for environment management.

An innovative anti-polythene drive by the State won accolades at the National

level too. The State won the Prime Minister's Award for its sustainable plastic waste management for the year 2010. The state had imposed a ban on the production, storage, use, sale and distribution of all types of polythene bags made of non-biodegradable materials and launched a campaign

(CDM) Bio-Carbon Sub-Project of Himachal Pradesh under Mid Himalayan Watershed Development Project. Himachal Pradesh has also pioneered the project in the country as 4004 hectares of land would be brought under the project, which was highest in the world.



**Himachal Pradesh is heading towards becoming 'Education Hub' of the Country. Youth no longer need to move**

**outside the State for their educational pursuits. Himachal Pradesh is amongst few first States in the Country to implement the Right to Children and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 effectively. To ensure the quality education in the private Universities and other educational institutions, Regulatory Commission had been set up.**

'Polythene Hatao, Paryavaran Bachao' (Remove polythene, save environment) across the state in three phases. Children are the 'environment soldiers' and could play an important role in generating awareness about environment protection in the society. Keeping this in view, "environment pledge" is being administered in schools to generate awareness amongst them to preserve the environment. Himachal Pradesh became the first State in the world to sign an agreement on Emission Reduction Purchase with World Bank, a Clean Development Mechanism

The Government is of the view that the development of the State depends on prosperity of the rural areas as more than 90 percent population of the State live in rural areas. Keeping this in view, 12 percent of the total budget of the State is being spent on it, which is the highest in the Country. Novel schemes like 'Pandit Deen Dayal Kisan Bagwan Samridhi Yojna' with an investment of ₹353 crores for creating self-employment opportunities, diversification of farming which in turn will strengthen the economic status of farmers is being implemented.

'Bhed Palak Samridhi Yojna' has also been started, under which loan upto one lakh is being made available for purchase of two rams and 40 sheep. Out of this, ₹33000 is being given as subsidy by the Government.

Another ₹321 crore ambitious 'Himachal Pradesh Crop Diversification Project' is being implemented with Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA) assistance. Under this scheme, activities like promotion of organic farming, vegetable production and transfer of technology will be undertaken. 4 lakh vermi compost units had been set up in the State in last three years and 25000 farmers had been registered for organic farming. 'Krishak Mitr' are being appointed to coordinate between Agriculture Department and the farmers about activities of extension and training programme and also for dissemination of information about scheme being implemented for the benefit of farmers.

To save the farmers from exploitation at the hands of middle men, effective steps have been taken to strengthen the marketing network in the State. Work on ₹100 crore most modern market yard has been started at Parala near Theog in Shimla district. Besides, in principle decision has been taken to set up a similar yard in lower areas of the State.

To strengthen the economy of the fruit growers



effective steps are afoot. The endeavours are directed at making Himachal Pradesh the Fruit Bowl of the Country. ₹85 crore 'Apple Re-plantation Scheme' had been started from last year in the State to replace the old and low yielding varieties.

Health is another top most priority. In last three and half years the State Government has endeavoured to ensure better health care facilities at the door steps of the people. 'Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna' is being implemented in the State for BPL families under which Smart Cards have been issued to them. 2.40 lakh smart cards have been issued to BPL families in the State and Himachal Pradesh had been given National Award for registration of maximum families under the scheme. Another scheme 'Atal Swasthya Sewa' has been started in the State under which 108 Ambulances well equipped with medicine and first-aid have been put in service free of cost all over the State. Under "Matri Sewa Yojana" Free institutional delivery is being done in Government hospitals besides providing free medicine upto 48 hours. In cases where a patient is referred to another health institutions, free transport facilities are being provided. Besides, they are also given free transport facility on discharge for going home. Financial assistance of ₹600 in urban areas and ₹700 in rural areas is being given to the women on discharge from the hospital.

Due to the impetus provided to Education by the Government since it took over, Himachal Pradesh is heading towards becoming 'Education

**The State has been ranked number one in the implementation of Twenty Point Programme consecutively for the last two years. It has been conferred Prime Minister's Award for excellence in Public Administration for its outstanding initiative in 'Sustainable Plastic Management: From concept to Policy'. In prestigious India Today Magazine State of States Survey, the State had been adjudged the best performing State and conferred the Award of Best Big State in the year 2010. Outlook Magazine and IBN-7 TV Channel in its survey had found Himachal Pradesh the best State in Women Empowerment, Environment Conservation, Employment generation and conferred on it 'Diamond State Award'.**

Hub' of the Country. Youth no longer need to move outside the State for their educational pursuits. Himachal Pradesh is amongst

few first States in the Country to implement the Right to Children and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 effectively. To ensure the quality education in the private Universities and other educational institutions, Regulatory Commission had been set up.

Top priority has been given by the State Government for the betterment of women folk in the State. For this various innovative schemes are being implemented especially for the betterment of vulnerable section. Women play a significant role in the developmental process. To provide more opportunities to women in national reconstruction and planning at all levels, women have been provided 50 percent reservation in Panchayati Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies. The State Government had also declared holidays on *Raksha bandhan* and *Bhaiya dooj* for women employees besides free traveling facilities in Himachal Pradesh Road Transport buses on these days.

With a view to relieve the poor women belonging to below poverty line scheduled caste families from the drudgery of collecting fuel wood, the State Government has launched "Mata Shabri Mahila Shashaktikaran Yojana" from the current financial year. Under this scheme, subsidy of 50% is being given to women for purchase of a new LPG gas connection and

stove. The scheme would also help in checking forest felling, thereby supplement the endeavour of the State Government in increasing green cover. As many as 5000 families would be assisted under this scheme during the current financial year in the State. To emphasize importance of girl child and ensure socio-

e c o n o m i c development of womenfolk, the S t a t e Government has launched a scheme called 'Beti Hai Anmol' in the State. The Scheme aims at bringing attitudinal change of the society towards female child. Under the scheme a provision of

depositing ₹5100 in the name of BPL girl child in the post offices have been made, which the child can withdraw on attaining the age of 18. This incentive is being given up to two girl children.

The Government has done a lot to ensure welfare of all sections and development of all areas of the State and our achievements are remarkable. We have tried to benefit common man in the State with special emphasis to improve the socio-economic lot of the weaker sections of the society, poor

and downtrodden.

The endeavour of the Government is to ensure a transparent, responsive and efficient administration to the people and to deliver benefits of the policies and programmes of the Government in a befitting manner. For this '*Prashashan Janta Ke Dwar*' are being

The endeavour of the Government is to ensure a transparent, responsive and efficient administration to the people and to deliver benefits of the policies and programmes of the Government in a befitting manner. For this '*Prashashan Janta Ke Dwar*' are being organized at various levels in which Chief Minister, Ministers participate along with senior officers to solve the problems of the people.

organized at various levels in which Chief Minister, Ministers participate along with senior officers to solve the problems of the people. As much as 80% of the grievances are addressed on the spot by the Chief Minister himself by passing necessary directions to the concerned authorities. Grievances of the people received from email are also being given personal attention by the CM himself.

Directives have been given by the Chief Minister Prof. Prem Kumar Dhumal to ensure responsive,

transparent and efficient administration to deliver the goods to public have started yielding good results to deliver the goods to the people in an effective manner. To bring efficiency in the functioning of offices, all the senior officers of the Departments have been directed to carry out inspections of subordinate offices from time to time by making an annual schedule b e s i d e s undertaking surprise checks from time to time.

Directives have been issued to all Departments, Corporations, and Boards to make all payments of ₹10,000 or a b o v e pertaining to contracts or purchase/procurement of goods/services by Core Banking to the contractors, suppliers and individuals. Orders have been issued that all departments would ensure that bank accounts and other banking details of such payees are obtained in advance in order to make electronic payments directly in their bank accounts. All departments and organizations concerned would ensure that in future no payment was made in cash to the employees. ■

(The writer is the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh)

## Jharkhand

# *Transparent Good Governance for Inclusive National Development*

Today when we look back in history and introspect, we come to know that the model of inclusive development could not result in the balanced development. Instead of declining, inequalities increased manifold. We are now facing the consequences. Islands of prosperity are surrounded by the ocean of misery, exploitation and extreme poverty. There are several lacunas in the criteria of developments which we fixed for ourselves. If not so, today there was no need to redefine the philosophy of good governance.

India is a capable nation. Whatever problems came before the social life of this nation, it found the solution easily with the spirit of nationalism. History is witness to the fact that the national esteem was never compromised in the challenging situations. The Indian Nation was confronted with so many complicated questions, but its intellectual fraternity resolved all of them in the context of prevailing time. Here individuality was immersed in the collective well being. In return nothing was

asked for. There was no looking back. Philosophy of the nation lies in collective thinking. The feeling of 'bahujan hitay -bahujan sukhay' comes out of this. 'Nothing belongs to me, everything belongs to nation', this is the basic tenet of our national thinking.

After independence, nation had to find the answer of its fundamental questions in the light of social participation. We had to synergise our talent, inner strength and energy generated by independence struggle to speed up the developmental activities. There was a need to evolve a well accepted model of national development and work intensively for the defined goal. During that period, India required the leadership and direction of a



 **Arjun Munda**



statesman. An effort was made to evolve an integrated thinking in view of the constitutional provisions. Five-year-plan shows the desire of time bound development. Sincere efforts were made to address all the dimensions of education, health, judiciary and inclusive development. Things really started moving in a positive direction.

Today when we look back in history and introspects, we come to know that the model of inclusive development could not result in the balanced development. Instead of declining, inequalities increased manifold. We are now facing the consequences. Islands of prosperity are surrounded with the ocean of misery, exploitation and extreme poverty. There are several lacunas in the criteria of developments which we fixed for ourselves. If not so, today there was no need to redefine the philosophy of good governance.

First five year plan had the budget of 20,000 Crore. Sixty percent of this was intended to be spent on irrigation, energy, agriculture and transportation. During this period several ambitious projects were undertaken. They proved beneficial to some extent. However, a majority of the people remained out of their ambit. Damodar valley project is a clear example of this fact. This project failed to make better the scenario of irrigation and

electricity for the nearby farmers.

During second 5 year plan our focus was Industrial Development. Big industries based on natural resources were established in the country. In Jharkhand region



During second 5 year plan our focus was Industrial Development. Big industries based on natural resources were established in the country. In Jharkhand region the project of Bokaro Steel Plant and HEC came up. However, in the vicinity of these big industries, no viable network of ancillary units could be developed, nor there was any improvement in the human resource of surrounding villages. It is agonizing to see a large number of displaced people. Their sorrow and grief, often haunt us.

the project of Bokaro Steel Plant and HEC came up. However, in the vicinity of these big industries, no viable network of ancillary units could be developed, nor there was any improvement in the human resource of surrounding villages. It is

agonizing to see a large number of displaced people. Their sorrow and grief, often haunt us.

Provision of freight equalization was done for the iron manufactured here. However, regarding food grains no such arrangement was made for the Jharkhand region. Broadly speaking rail lines were laid for the transportation of coal and other minerals, but beside those rail lines no effort was made to establish industrial units of railway. Railway failed to give noticeable employment opportunities in the region. In subsequent Five Year Plans, though, fertilizer, cement and thermal plants were set up, but overall

situation remained unchanged. Prolonged irrigation projects were inherited as money guzzlers.

In Jharkhand, the idea of committed good governance could not be properly defined owing to the unstable political administration. In view of the fractured mandate, today in Jharkhand, four political parties have come together to form a people oriented government. Credibility towards the establishment and the commitment of the establishment is the most important question of today. In this regard, with its continuous effort, Government has succeeded in creating an atmosphere of faith.

Jharkhand has taken the initiative to use the modern technology in providing the unhindered services to the people. Following this line, recently Government has passed the Service Guarantee Bill. An initiative has been taken to frame a law for the betterment of city vendors. It is pertinent to mention here that the Jharkhand is the first state in the Country to pass Electronic Service Provision Bill aiming for the easy and



**Jharkhand has a unique position. First we have to look into the constitutional provisions for its tribal population, related schedules, Acts and socio-economic protection enshrined in the TSP along with the problems and opportunities of the development. What is the level of Development percolation in the tribal region which is known to survive in limited resources? What is the actual percentage of benefit, meant for them, ultimately reaches the target? What happened to the concept of balanced regional development?**

convenient services for the villagers and deprived sections of the society. E-networking has a crucial role in ensuring transparent good governance. In Jharkhand effort is being made to link all Panchayats with E-procurement.

The establishment of human rights commission, anti corruption mechanism of 2006 and the provision of making Lokayukta more powerful, all this can be viewed as the measures taken for the good governance.

Anti corruption attitude of the government is visible with the fact that it has taken strong action against nearly 300 corrupt officials and employees. Vigilance is activated, the moment any smell of corruption is reported. Government is thinking to pass a strong anti corruption legislation very soon. Effort is on to fill all the vacancies in our departments in a very transparent manner.

We are of the view that the priorities of 12th Five Year Plans should be fixed with the objective of ensuring equitable participatory development. Keeping this in mind, government organized a four day long direct dialogue with the experts of different disciplines. Even in Assembly a debate was organized on this issue to incorporate the



good views of all. Government is committed to empower the village panchayats with the delegation of power and economic resources so that a model of participatory rural development can be evolved. Government has formed a committee of economic experts to study all the facets of socio economic scenario of the state. We want to determine the standards of development considering every citizen as a unit. We are also committed to form a

visible in the initiative of media fellowship, Press Club, Journalist training and felicitation.

Government is taking initiative to seek the special central assistance for the inclusive development of tribal population. Extremism is a critical issue before the people of Jharkhand. To curb this menace, Government is trying to expand the reach of development in all sections of the society. At the same time we are taking strong

which is known to survive in limited resources? What is the actual percentage of benefit, meant for them, ultimately reaches the target? What happened to the concept of balanced regional development? If we start



tribal advisory council and a Sports University so that the youth energy generated by the National games can be developed as a human resource of international standards.

It is pertinent to point out here that in addition of Urdu, Jharkhand Assembly has accepted Santhali, Bangla, Mundari, Kharia, Kuduk (Uraon), Kurmali, Khorata, Nagpuri, Panchparganiya and Odiya as second official language of the state so that a bridge can be developed between the socio-cultural diversity of the state. Our concern for vibrant media is

preventive measures to discourage the anti social elements. Government is pursuing a time bound agenda in all sectors of service, keeping in view its priorities and resources.

In the national context, Jharkhand has a unique position. First we have to look into the constitutional provisions for its tribal population, related schedules, Acts and socio-economic protection enshrined in the TSP along with the problems and opportunities of the development. What is the level of Development percolation in the tribal region

Thus Jharkhand is moving fast on the roadmap of inclusive development. Government is constantly active for the capacity building, skill development for employment, decentralized good governance, network of technical services, framing of next Five Year Plan, rapid development in improving the facilities of road, electricity and water, miscellaneous measures for sustainable rural economic growth, necessary civil amenities to the urban population, value based education, better health and balanced environment.

analyzing the situation on socio-economic parameters, we will feel pity. We know the ultimate consequences of this. In the case of regional imbalances, the concept of collective being of the nation gets distorted. Nature provides a balanced environment to the Jharkhand, but its mining industry is notorious for the maximum pollution.



Jharkhand Government is committed to execute a development plan based on the balanced coordination between all the socio-economic groups. In the planned expenditure of 2011-12, there is an expansion of 60 percent as compared to the past. Work on infrastructure development, education, health, skill development for employment generation, improvement of agriculture and related services was manifested in the campaign of food grain security, self employment, betterment of indigenous techniques, promotion of traditional enterprise, work on all health parameters (substantial decline in the child-mother death ratio), participatory effort to create educational hub and quantum jump in the electricity production. Government is giving top priority to the social security and women-children welfare. Jharkhand was the first state to start the scheme of giving bicycles to girl students and cash support to the girl welfare. Today we are providing bicycles to all the girl students of all classes registered in class 8th. Earlier MOUs signed by me are now giving encouraging results in the fields of energy, steel and water management. Very soon, we will not only be independent in the matter of energy, but we will also become hub of energy production.

Thus Jharkhand is moving fast on the roadmap of

inclusive development. Government is constantly active for the capacity building, skill development for employment, decentralized good governance, network of technical services, framing of next Five Year Plan, rapid development in improving the facilities of road, electricity and water, miscellaneous measures for sustainable rural economic growth, necessary civil amenities to the urban population, value based education, better health and balanced environment. State has witnessed a growth rate of 10.6 percent in the 11th Five Year Plan. It is expected to be 11.43 percent (Notional) in the year 2010-11.

Policies of the Central Government, sensible collaboration and collective working, all prove crucial role in the development of the state. States like Jharkhand need full support, cooperation and assistance in all areas of development. It is unfortunate that the exploitation of our natural resources continued unabated, however, due importance was not given to the inclusive participatory development in terms of national parameters. Today, in the changed scenario, assessment based thinking is required. The benefit of national development must reach to the backward states. The economic formula of per capita income/ investment must be based on the GDP. In other words income based approach is required so that the benefit of development

could reach upto villages and poor. While making policies for the economic development, the geographical location of the 8.50 percent tribal population of the country needs to be kept in mind. Similarly, the share of states in the Central taxes, economic contribution of states in the Central plans/ projects should also be evaluated and determined in the light of the State resources.

In the context of integrated national development, it is very much required that the framing of policies, economic management, distribution of resources, infrastructure development, social security and human resource development, all should be based keeping in view the interests of ordinary citizens. Indifference towards the problems cannot give way to the solutions. If there is poverty, starvation, persecution and non availability of necessary amenities anywhere in the country, it will be construed as a question mark on our national development. If we want to make India powerful, respectable and prosperous, we have to relate ourselves with the conscience of villages and deprived sections of the society. To find out the solutions of our problems and to establish high national standards, the concept of nationalism is the only way. ■

*(The writer is Chief Minister of Jharkhand)*

# Karnataka



 **D.V. Sadananda  
Gowda**

**T**hese words of the Father of the Nation will guide us to the real meaning of serving this nation for the good of all.

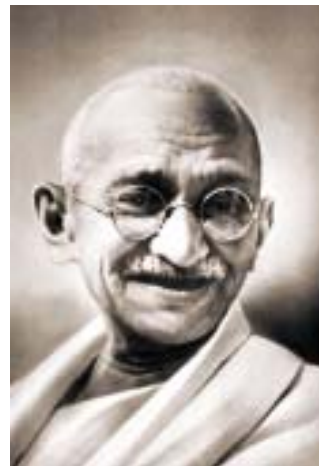
Former UN Secretary General Koffi Annan said, "Good governance is perhaps

the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promote development". Good Governance brings people into the centre of development. People growth leads to national development.

The sense of Nationalism and sacrifice for the cause of our nation is the need of the hour. We should rise above the parochial and selfish individuality to a broader sense of National Identity. Nation and its self-respect, growth and good of all should become prominent than individual self. The spirit of selfless sacrifice

during the days of our freedom struggle should become our guiding force. The essence of our ancient scriptures "Sarve jano Sukino Bhavantu", (Let all be happy) should be our motto.

Good governance is possible only if there is corrupt free environment. Corruption is a demon which eats up the fruits of development. Strong



*"Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him"*

- Mahatma  
Gandhi

political will is the need of the hour to eliminate corruption in all its manifestations. Transparency in functioning whether in government, corporate or NGOs' is necessary. Protection of human rights and impartial enforcement of law is a prerequisite for creating secure atmosphere wherein the people can live peacefully. Inclusive growth is a must to bring every stake holder to the main stream of development.

Happy people leads to Happy Nation. Keeping people healthy and active will act as a catalyst to improve economic growth. Competent management of country's resources in an open, transparent and equitable manner responding to the people's need will take us a long way in the path of development.

Mahatma Gandhi's talisman is relevant even today. Primacy should be given to the last man and his plight without sacrificing economic development. If that happens, good governance could be better ensured. Such governance under a strong and a patriotic leadership could build this country further.

B.J.P. is a national political party which attaches utmost importance to Nationalism, Good governance and Development. Good governance is related to policy. Instead of looking for ad-hoc solutions, we believe in identifying the root cause of the problem first and go for

solutions thereafter. Providing quality service to the deserving, within the stipulated time frame is our

can bring in a transparent, efficient and corruption free Government. In this endeavour, Government is



Happy people lead to Happy Nation. Keeping people healthy and active will act as a catalyst to improve economic growth. Competent management of country's resources in an open, transparent and equitable manner responding to the people's need will take us a long way in the path of development.

motto. Our party believes that effective delivery system, transparency and accountability form the corner stone of good governance.

Openness is the hallmark of good governance. While transparency will reduce corruption, openness will involve the stake holders in the decision making process. Insensitivity and Callousness has no place in the good governance. Technology plays a pivotal role in envisaging good governance.

The BJP Government in Karnataka has adopted technology as the tool which

encouraging various e-Governance initiatives. The fact that it is the only State which has established a separate e-Governance Secretariat amply demonstrates the direction in which the State Government is traversing in achieving the goals of good governance through improved delivery system.

The goals of e-Governance which again translate into good governance and development are as follows :

- a) Single window for all services,
- b) Any where and any time



- and any Devise services
- c) Total transparency and
- d) Faster decision making.

### Transparent and Efficient Government

E-procurement system introduced by the Government is a perfect example of ushering in transparent and efficient Government. The traditional method of manually managing the procurement process in Government departments / agencies resulted in heaps of files, records and documents, often

to end e-procurement solution has successfully ensured transparency, accountability, reliability and responsiveness in all Government

Government. It is to the credit of the system that not even a single complaint is received so far in this regard.



stored in isolation within sections / wings / departments. The officials had to spend substantial amount of time and effort to have an access to the relevant file / record / document. It was also paving way for formation of bidder cartels, depriving suppliers / contractors exercise their right for participation in tenders. The country's first unified end

procurement activities. e-procurement is an end to end solution.

Presently 115 Government departments / agencies are conducting their procurement activities through this platform which has led to the increased participation of the bidders, reducing the bid value by an average 10% resulting in a savings of Rs.7,000 crore during the last 3 years of our

The BJP Government in Karnataka has adopted technology as the tool which can bring in a transparent, efficient and corruption free Government. In this endeavour, Government is encouraging various e-Governance initiatives. The fact that it is the only State which has established a separate e-Governance Secretariat amply demonstrates the direction in which the State Government is traversing in achieving the goals of good governance through improved delivery system.

## People Friendly Administration

The hallmark of our Government is people friendly administration, effective and timely delivery of various services and benefits besides quicker redressal of the grievances of the public.

**Bangalore-One** and **Karnataka-One** citizen

centers, **Nemmadi**

**Kendras** at taluk level etc. are the great examples of what technology can deliver to citizen. The citizen can pay all their bills including their property tax in these centers where corporate ambience is provided for the comfort of the people. We are in the process of introducing a system where in all property khatha certificates, marriage certificates etc., are also issued through these centers thereby making the trips of

citizen to Government offices a minimal.

The Government of Karnataka has also introduced RTI services through telephone, internet portal and citizen service centers. SWAGAT Citizen Grievance Redressal Mechanism will be set up soon in the Chief Minister's Office through which the citizen can get their grievances redressed through telephone, portals and citizen

service centers. They can also observe the progress of the files through the system. "Janaspandana", a grievance redressal system has been put in place at the Hobli level where the concerned officials receive complaints from the general public and provide solutions on the spot. This system is functioning during

**The hallmark of our Government is people friendly administration, effective and timely delivery of various services and benefits besides quicker redressal of the grievances of the public. Bangalore-One and Karnataka-One citizen centers, Nemmadi Kendras at taluk level etc. are the great examples of what technology can deliver to citizen. The citizen can pay all their bills including their property tax in these centers where corporate ambience is provided for the comfort of the people. We are in the process of introducing a system where in all property khatha certificates, marriage certificates etc., are also issued through these centers thereby making the trips of citizen to Government offices a minimal.**

all the Saturdays in a month except the second Saturday. The fact that more than 98% of the complaints have been redressed at the Hobli level (below taluk) amply demonstrates the functionality and productivity of the system.

## Simplification of Administration

Effort is made to identify three key services by each department to make it "over

the counter service". Databases of the caste certificate and income certificates which are in great demand are prepared well in advance, so that they can be delivered on demand with the digital signature of the Database.

## Karnataka Resident Data Hub

One of the very key initiatives along with the implementation of the UID Project in the State is the creation of Karnataka Resident Data Hub. With this all departments will link their service delivery to UID Database which will enable in :i) Reduction in pilferage ii) Reaching the Un-reached - Better targeted delivery.

I strongly believe that the bane of corruption is the most impediment factor for the growth of the nation. People, that too the weaker and poorer sections of the society are always depending upon government departments for delivery of prompt services. Therefore, if technology is properly inculcated in the governance, India as a Nation can prosper to greater heights.■

*(The Writer is Chief Minister of Karnataka)*

## Uttarakhand

# Towards a model State



**N**ationalism, good governance and development are must for making a country strong and prosperous. Uttarakhand is doing well in this regard. The state has scored several milestones in a short span of eleven years. We established a distinct identity not only on national level but globally too. The state was an early mover in serving the nation. We always ignored our personal interests to serve the nation whether it was serving the country on border or environment conservation.

The cultural and spiritual heritage of state established the country on the revered position of *Jagatguru* (master of universe). This is the land where Vedas were written, Mythology was composed



 **Ramesh Pokhariyal  
Nishank**

and *Ayurveda* was born. This very state is the birthplace of cultures of country and the world. Today, we are working hard to establish the same glory. We started moving in this direction by giving second official language status to

Sanskrit. The work of conserving historical, mythological and cultural heritage is fastening. We are in the process of developing the religious, spiritual and tourist places of the state. We are giving utter stress on good governance and all around development of state.

Today, our state has become fastest emerging state in country. I was the man who introduced the first budget of the state in 2001-02 and at that time the state had growth rate of 2.9 percent. Today, the state is growing with the pace of 11.30 percent and we are considered in the league of top developing states. The per capita income of state is increase to Rs. 56,794 from about Rs. 15,000. Our earning through revenue



was just Rs. 2,733 crores at the time of formation but today it is more than Rs. 14,635 crores. We successfully organized the largest *Kumbha* ever in the world in 2010 attracting around 8.5 crore people from around 100 countries. We also successfully organised South Asian Winter Games and it helped us to make a different identity on national and international level.

We are committed to make Uttarakhand a model state and for that we are bringing development to villages and initiating *Gram*

*Suraj*. By the help of this, we are trying to bring the benefit of development to the last person of the society and the system. Our government has initiated Atal Aadarsh Gram Yojana for providing them basic amenities.

In the process we are developing 670 tea panchayats as model centers. This will work as main resource for these panchayats. To keep a common man away from the hassles of government offices, we have established Atal Mini Secretariat at panchayat level. We also initiated Antyodaya Vikash Yatra and Chaupals for the betterment of the common man.

We started Atal Food Scheme to ensure that no one

sleep hungry in the state. We are providing cheap rations to them under this scheme. We are in the process of doing proper arrangements for storage of food grains to ensure its availability in far-flung areas.

We have started special

The cultural and spiritual heritage of state established the country on the revered position of *Jagatguru* (master of universe). This is the land where Vedas were written, Mythology was composed and *Ayurveda* was born. This very state is the birthplace of cultures of country and the world. Today, we are working hard to establish the same glory. We started moving in this direction by giving second official language status to Sanskrit. The work of conserving historical, mythological and cultural heritage is fastening.

schemes in hilly areas to promote industries and the scheme resulted in formation of 1,700 industrial units and attracted investment of around Rs. 1,200 crores. The state is set to be hub of pharmacy.

In automobile sector we are making fast progress in turning to a great hub not only on national level but on global level. By the help of corporate social responsibility fund of big companies, we have attached poor talented children of far-flung areas to *Aashirvad* scheme and sending them for quality higher education.

The state has made education free up to graduation level. We are just taking Rs. 15,000 for MBBS.

The state has taken the responsibility of providing free higher education to poor meritorious students. We are connecting all colleges of state of 'Edusat' facility. We are giving proper attention to technical and vocational education. Our government is trying hard to curb unemployment and migration. Our government provided 50 percent reservation to women at panchayat level. Uttarakhand is the only state which is running a number of welfare schemes for army and ex-army personnel. We have started Nanda Devi Scheme and Gaura Deve Kalyan Dhan Yojana for girl child.

The quality of work and transparency are the most important thing for the state government. We know about the limited availability of resources and keeping this thing in mind we are trying to attract more and more investment.

We are working on development projects with clear goals under vision 2020. We are committed to make Uttarakhand a prosperous, educated, healthy, well cultured and green state by 2020. ■

(This article was written by Sh. Ramesh Pokheriyal 'Nishank' when he was Chief Minister of Uttarakhand)



## The Demand for Good Governance : Total Systemic Change is the Need of the Hour

The events of the last few months have unveiled a new India before the astounded media and commentators who it seemed, could hardly recognise the people of a country they had labelled as lethargic, who it seemed were intrinsically corrupt, who could never be galvanised to come out on the streets for the sake of good governance as the same people who turned the movement against corruption into a virtual tsunami by the sheer force of numbers. It seemed the bewildered Congress spokespersons (poor souls) were for once, at a loss

for words in the face of something they had never anticipated and could not understand.

The mass movement by various organisations like India Against Corruption, Youth Against Corruption, and especially the 12-day fast by Anna Hazare at Ramila virtually unleashed a new youth force on the nation, a force intolerant of not only corruption but also bad governance, a force intolerant of the usual 'chalta hai' attitude we had come to expect from the government. It was a slap in the face of those who used to say that

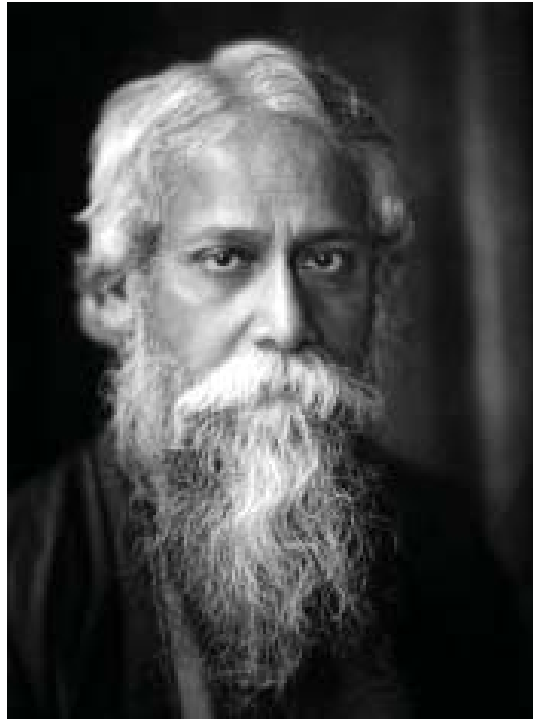


 **Rabi Ranjan Sen**

corruption can never be combated in India because as a people we are intrinsically corrupt, that the Indian middle class today is so

engulfed in corruption that they are not in a position any longer to protest against corruption and so on. It was also a slap for those who used to say that the youth of the country are apathetic, that they just do not care, that they do not think of anything apart from their careers and their latest phones, leave aside the country. Because the response to the movement by Anna and all the others showed that we as a people and as a nation care: we care about what the government is doing to our country, we care about being looted and cheated each day, we care about the government not fulfilling its minimum promises, we care about skyrocketing inflation which creates misery for crores of our countrymen, we care enough to kick out a government whose report card has all the entries in red except for the one showcasing their skill in the fine art of siphoning off money from the public expenditure.

However, what all of us including those leading the various civil society and other movements need to recognise is that the visible public anger is not only against the single feature of corruption, it is against the entire 'system' as it has come to be known in India, which harasses the law-abiding citizen at each and every step, which is seen as one not tilted in favour of the much-abused term 'aam



**Rabindranath Tagore in his 'Swadeshi Samaj' characterised society as the defining feature of Bharat and not the state. He considered British rule as the political symptom of a social disease and advocated self-help based comprehensive reorganisation of rural Bharat. He put forward and also implemented a practical programme of rural reconstruction in Sriniketan, next to his ashram in Santiniketan where he implemented his programme of educational reconstruction.**

aadmi' but rather to remove them as far as possible from the vision of those in a position of power over them at every level, in order to further the

interests of the latter at the cost of the former.

### **History - Need and Necessity of Change in the 'System'**

Before Independence Gandhiji in his 'Hind Swaraj' underlined a hundred years ago that the system of administration that the British had imposed on us, may serve their needs extremely well, may be well suited to the 'sahibs' and the brown 'babus' running the administrative mechanism but was not in tune with the vast majority, the ordinary people of the country. He envisaged Independence as not only a political 'transfer of power' but also a total indigenisation of the politics, the economy, the society and education of this country.

Rabindranath Tagore in his 'Swadeshi Samaj' characterised society as the defining feature of Bharat and not the state. He considered British rule as the political symptom of a social disease and advocated self-help based comprehensive reorganisation of rural Bharat. He put forward and also implemented a practical programme of rural reconstruction in Sriniketan, next to his ashram in Santiniketan where he implemented his programme of educational reconstruction.

However, Tagorean as well as Gandhian ideas (though of course there were



plenty of differences between the two) in the fields of both economics and education were rejected by independent India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Congress which claims Gandhi as their very own and is second to none in paying lip service to him, did not have any second thoughts about rejecting his economic model or his educational model which laid a lot of emphasis on work education, practical and vocational education, as they thought it was not suited to the times.

The reason for this rejection in practice is that unlike both these thinkers, Nehru was immersed in Western ideologies. Rabindranath and Gandhi may have had many differences among themselves, but both of them were immersed in the Bharatiya ethos, while Nehru did not have any sympathetic understanding of the spirit of this country, its traditions, its culture or its religion.

Thus, after Rabindranath passed away in 1941 and Gandhi in 1948, the next few years saw the demise of Sardar Patel and Shyamaprasad Mookerji, leaving the field open to create a Nehruvian monopoly in the fields of both thought and action in the country.

As a result, the entire framework of administration today is basically the colonial framework with some external changes as a result of 65 years of tinkering.



**All services should be time-bound, thus eliminating the need for 'speed money'. It is in order to speed up services which should normally be available to the citizen in a reasonable amount of time but which can be delayed indefinitely at will that the maximum amount of illegal gratification changes hands. In this context, the Citizens' Charter, which has not been implemented as yet, has an important role to play. If implemented and made justiceable, this Charter has the potential to mitigate the illegal economy to a great extent. The rot has to be stemmed from the top because as is well known, all money given at the lower levels to touts in various departments, police stations, etc. find their way to the very top.**

#### **Administrative Reforms**

Hundreds of suggestions and recommendations by plenty of Commissions since

Independence have only succeeded in attracting moths and insects to their reports while all along we have kept the so-called 'steel frame' intact, introducing minor changes here and there. Firstly, the 'permanent administration' in the form of the bureaucracy have to be depoliticised. The police system has to be depoliticised and investigative agencies have to be given autonomy, not just 'autonomy' to harass the opposition and all those who happen to not be in the good books of the ruling cabal but genuine autonomy which will restore their credibility as a professional force and not a political instrument.

Laws with more teeth are needed to tackle corruption, not only in the government sphere but also in the private and NGO sector. 'Discretion' should be abolished in every sphere as far as possible, especially in the event of awarding contracts, outsourcing, public-private-partnerships etc. The scope for patronage in all spheres should be reduced. Independent India should move away from the concept of 'mai-baap sarkar' encouraged by the British who enjoyed their self-declared status as the 'grown-up guardians' of a 'child-like' people. Recently, the Parliamentary Standing Committee headed by a Congress MP, Rao Inderjit Singh has found huge inaccuracies in data and corruption in MNREGA and feels in its report submitted to

Parliament that the corruption cases reported are just the tip of the iceberg (*The Statesman*, 30 August 2011). Many reports have indicted MPLADS also as being subject to huge misuse. Maybe, it is

**Recent suggestions have also come from various quarters about the twin demands of Right to Recall and Right to Reject. Anna Hazare enunciated these two demands the very next day after breaking his Ramlila Maidan fast. While the Congress immediately rejected the Right to Recall demand as 'impractical', the BJP said it should be given serious consideration. The Congress spokesperson Abhishek Manu Singhvi said that these things are "serious and complicated matters and not casual things to be thrown in the open in a light-hearted manner" (*The Statesman*, 30 August 2011), thus rejecting even the necessity of a public debate over the issue!**

time to consider the abolition of schemes like MPLADS and similar schemes for MLAs following the lead of Bihar which has abolished its Area Development Scheme for

MLAs as a part of its fight against corruption.

All services should be time-bound, thus eliminating the need for 'speed money'. It is in order to speed up services which should normally be available to the citizen in a reasonable amount of time but which can be delayed indefinitely at will that the maximum amount of illegal gratification changes hands. In this context, the Citizens' Charter, which has not been implemented as yet, has an important role to play. If implemented and made justiceable, this Charter has the potential to mitigate the illegal economy to a great extent. The rot has to be stemmed from the top because as is well known, all money given at the lower levels to touts in various departments, police stations, etc. find their way to the very top.

At the same time, apart from freeing the police from political interference, all-encompassing police reforms including revision of salary, provision of proper infrastructure like housing facilities, education for children, etc. is urgently needed in order to eliminate the urge for corruption.

Complexity in administrative procedure is an aid to corruption because complexity breeds a class of touts who may be employees or non-employees who are middlemen between the public and any government department. The remedy is to

simplify all administrative procedure and provide adequate information in the mother tongue, encourage use of national languages instead of English in applications, forms, etc. so that people are not petrified of entering any government office and doing their own work themselves instead of engaging touts.

On the positive side, it must be mentioned that the Right to Information Act has come as a much needed relief. At least plenty of cases of corruption are being exposed due to the Act – but there are several loopholes and drawbacks which have to be plugged. In many states it is seen that various departments do not have designated information officers which are mandatory under the Act, again many public authorities do not provide the necessary information in time. However, I think the effectiveness of the Act is underlined by the fact that several RTI activists have been murdered across the country, in various states. This shows that it must be having an impact on corruption.

The recent movement against the government had as its focus the Jan Lokpal Bill which has been supported not only by the civil society groups but also by the BJP and most of the other opposition parties. Needless to say, an effective Jan Lokpal with the Prime Minister and the bureaucracy under its jurisdiction is the need of the hour. It is self-evident from the

scale of the mass movement that all of India is overwhelmingly in favour of the Bill. The Congress government should take steps for its adoption as fast as possible in order to salvage its credibility and reverse the loss of face suffered by the party to some extent.

'The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity', a classic study on American anti-corruption measures, says that a sense of professional identity is much more effective than rules as a check to corruption. Providing the public servants with a professional identity, attitude and motivating them to perform often does the trick.

#### Electoral Reforms

The Anna Hazare movement has lately also focused some attention on the longstanding demand for electoral reforms. It is rightly perceived that use of money-power in elections is the fountainhead of corruption in the country and this 'source of all evil' has to be tackled head-on. The social organisations spearheading the fight against corruption, including Youth Against Corruption have raised the issue of public funding of election campaigns as one of the solutions. If implemented, the modalities would have to be worked out very carefully and in a fool-proof manner so as not to leave any loopholes.

Recent suggestions have also come from various quarters about the twin demands of Right to Recall and Right to Reject. Anna

Hazare enunciated these two demands the very next day after breaking his Ramlila Maidan fast. While the Congress immediately rejected the Right to Recall demand as 'impractical', the BJP said it should be given serious consideration. The Congress spokesperson Abhishek Manu Singhvi said that these things are "serious and complicated matters and not casual things to be thrown in the open in a light-hearted manner" (*The Statesman*, 30 August 2011), thus rejecting even the necessity of a public debate over the issue!

Regarding the demand of Right to Reject which has been voiced from various quarters for the last few years, Congress spokesperson Rashid Alvi immediately responded by saying that it is not feasible. Maybe we can venture to say, that it should be clubbed with some form of mandatory voting. If there is an option to reject any of the candidates then the state may well ensure that I turn up at the voting booth as a citizen and cast my vote because then I will no longer have the excuse of saying that I did not vote because I do not want to vote for any of the candidates. In any case, there should be a thorough public debate over each of these demands.

#### Judicial Reforms

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Law and Justice and Personnel has finalised its recommendations on the Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill, 2010. The

Bill proposes a National Judicial Oversight Committee authorised to probe corruption charges against judges. The 5 member



Formation of a Judicial Commission is a longstanding proposal which has been gathering dust for years. Also, court procedures should be simple, transparent and involve use of Indian languages instead of carrying the "white man's burden" 65 years after Independence. Computerisation and use of technology also mitigates corruption to some extent.

Oversight Committee will be headed by a former Chief Justice and have as its members one Supreme Court judge, a Chief Justice of a High Court, an eminent



person nominated by the President and the Attorney-General as an ex-officio member. The Bill also proposes Scrutiny Committees to be set up to study complaints against judges and forward them to the Oversight Committee. Scrutiny Committees consisting of two sitting judges and a retired judge

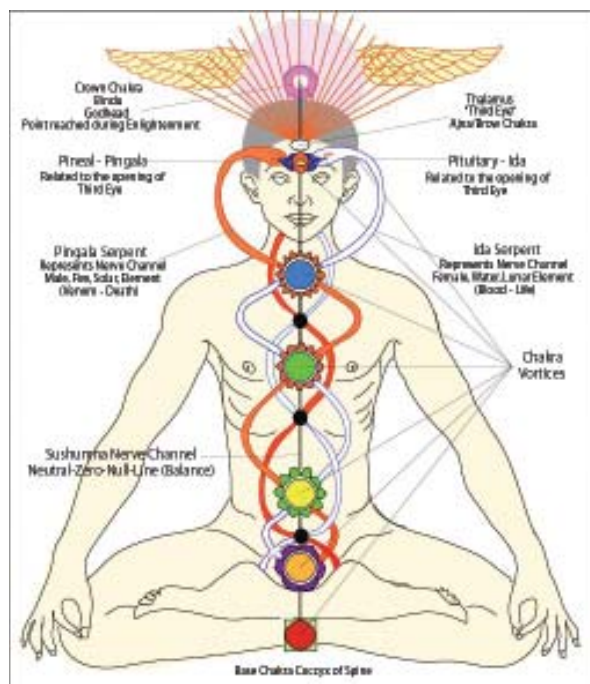
complaints is open to question as is the moot point of whether the Scrutiny Committees consisting of retired and serving judges would recommend investigations for the charges against their peers easily.

Apart from such measures, other judicial reforms which are necessary are increasing the number of

technology also mitigates corruption to some extent.

### Educational Reforms

This is part of the systemic changes being proposed in order to unshackle the country from the burden of past inertia because it is education which shapes mentalities. Many attempts were made in pre-Independence India to question the colonial



The Bharatiya concept of knowledge incorporates both *Para Vidya* and *Apara Vidya*. *Para Vidya* is essential not only as religious learning but more importantly to know oneself, for example who am I, what is my relation with the universe, are some of the questions addressed by this branch of knowledge. It is this knowledge that inculcates values, consciousness of social duties, ethics etc. In the name of secularism we have dispensed with *Para Vidya* and value education.

would be set up for the Supreme Court and each of the 21 High Courts and would have to submit reports within three months. The government says that this Bill would make the judiciary more accountable and therefore there is no need of bringing judges under the Lokpal. The proposed Bill requires judges to declare assets, lays down a code of conduct for them and also a disciplinary mechanism. However, the complicated system of processing the

judges, courtrooms, infrastructure, etc. As in all other sarkari procedures, slowness creates 'speed money'.

Formation of a Judicial Commission is a longstanding proposal which has been gathering dust for years. Also, court procedures should be simple, transparent and involve use of Indian languages instead of carrying the "white man's burden" 65 years after Independence. Computerisation and use of

'Macaulayan' model of education. Apart from Rabindranath and Gandhi discussed previously, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vivekanda, Satish Chandra Mukherjee, Aurobindo Ghosh are among those who envisaged a new national education in place of colonial education. Many educational commissions after Independence have also underlined the necessity of changes in the structure and framework of education only to add to the voluminous files

gathering dust in the shelves of our government offices.

The educational framework consists of basically two aspects – i) the syllabus i.e. the content of education and ii) the methodology of pedagogy. Regarding methodology, Rabindranath's 'Totakahini' (The Parrot's Story) points out the dangers of cramming as a methodology of teaching and learning. In this story, the parrot is force-fed pages torn from books and it ultimately dies. Cramming or learning by rote does not actually add to knowledge in any form. Internalisation of knowledge is the way out of the trap of rote learning in which our education system has fallen.

The Bharatiya concept of knowledge incorporates both *Para Vidya* and *Apara Vidya*. *Para Vidya* is essential not only as religious learning but more importantly to know oneself, for example who am I, what is my relation with the universe, are some of the questions addressed by this branch of knowledge.

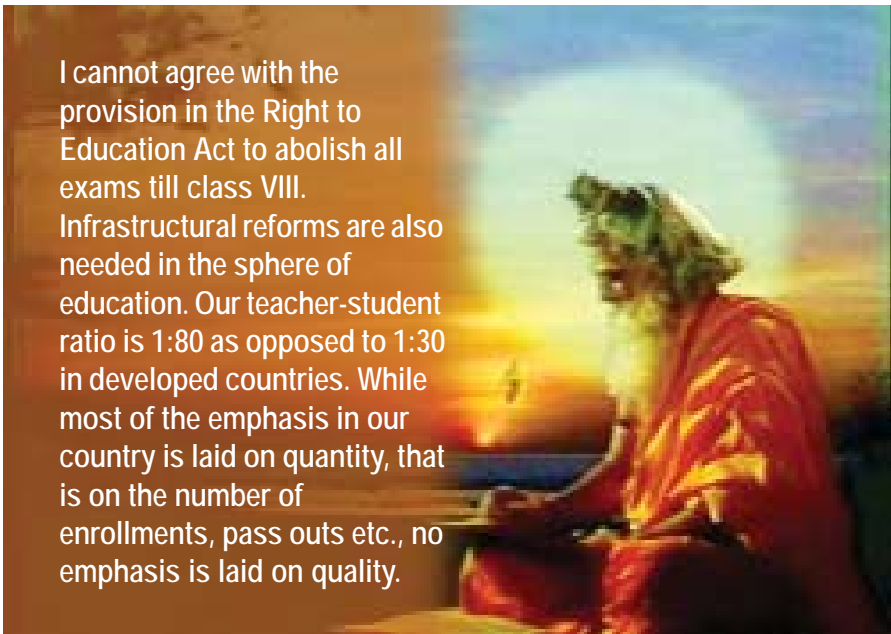
It is this knowledge that inculcates values, consciousness of social duties, ethics etc. In the name of secularism we have dispensed with *Para Vidya* and value education.

Incorporating this in our system of education is all the more important today in the context of 'Broken Britain'. Ironically, Macaulay's home

country, whose system of education we have uncritically adopted is today being referred to as 'Broken Britain' by none less than the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron in the course of the recent deadly riots by youngsters in the streets of Britain. They are today clueless about how to control their youngsters, how to inculcate values and social responsibility in them, while

also needed in the sphere of education. Our teacher-student ratio is 1:80 as opposed to 1:30 in developed countries. While most of the emphasis in our country is laid on quantity, that is on the number of enrollments, pass outs etc., no emphasis is laid on quality.

Lastly, we can conclude by saying that the present crisis is exemplified by a paralysed government and raging



I cannot agree with the provision in the Right to Education Act to abolish all exams till class VIII. Infrastructural reforms are also needed in the sphere of education. Our teacher-student ratio is 1:80 as opposed to 1:30 in developed countries. While most of the emphasis in our country is laid on quantity, that is on the number of enrollments, pass outs etc., no emphasis is laid on quality.

we are still merrily following them in their path to ruin.

With regard to the debate regarding examinations, while the system of evaluation should be reformed to eliminate cramming, examinations should be there in order to provide feedback to the system about what is being learnt by the child. I cannot agree with the provision in the Right to Education Act to abolish all exams till class VIII. Infrastructural reforms are

agitations on the streets against corruption provides us an opportunity for much-needed change.

It is precisely in the midst of such crises that societies and systems change their moorings and reinvigorate themselves. The nation is ready for such a reinvigoration. Are the present administrators and 'rulers' of India ready? ■

(The Writer is Lecturer Katwa College, West Bengal and National Vice President of ABVP)





## Ideological Perspectives of Good Governance: Gandhi, Deendayal & Jayprakash



**Dr. Shiv Shakti Bakshi**

While independence ushered in an era of self-rule and democracy in India, it also posed myriad challenges of governance and development. The dream of a *swadhin, swatantra* Bharat and *swaraj* was realised with the departure of the Britishers but the path before the nation was still hazy so far the system of governance and model of development to be adopted in the country were concerned. The constitution of India made it possible that in the true

democratic spirit people of India gave unto themselves a democratic republic having its foundations in the lofty ideals of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. But the debate which raged between the leaders of the national movement could not find a final settlement as it involved the questions related to policies and the framework in which India was to envision its future in terms of development and governance. While there were examples of the economic achievements of





The constitution of India made it possible that in the true democratic spirit people of India gave unto themselves a democratic republic having its foundations in the lofty ideals of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. But the debate which raged between the leaders of the national movement could not find a final settlement as it involved the questions related to policies and the framework in which India was to envision its future in terms of development and governance.

the western countries, their technological advances and industrial revolution, India as an inheritor of colonial bureaucracy and system of governance was also having a rich legacy of its glorious past which continues to inspire it even today.

To put it simply, it may be said that the process through which a government seeks to act and perform can be termed as 'governance'. It entails both the process of decision making and also its implementation. But some scholars feel that the term governance should be seen in wider sense than the government itself. It is sought to be understood as an entire process in which the life of a society is sought to be coordinated and regulated. Some scholars go to the extent of saying that governance is even possible without government. In a broader sense, it may be seen in an overlap of state/society structures wherein the line dividing state and society stands blurred as a consequence of changes such as the development of new forms of public management, the growth of public-private partnerships, the increasing importance of policy networks and the greater impact of both supranational and subnational organizations. While some associate governance with a shift away from command and control mechanisms to a reliance on consultation and bargaining, others argue that it implies a preference for 'less government' and the free market.

'Good governance' broadly relates to the efficiency and capability of the decision making mechanism and implementing agencies in achieving the desired goals.

The United Nations outlines eight major characteristics of Good governance - it is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. As per the 1996 declaration of the International Monetary Fund it refers to the efforts "promoting good governance in all its aspects, including by ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption, as essential elements of a framework within which economies can prosper." According to IMF corruption within economies is caused by the ineffective governance emanating from either too much regulation or too little regulation.

As a democratic polity India needs to get its governance in tune with the eight major characteristics which may see the concept of good governance getting fulfilled in decision making process as well as in the implementation of the decisions fulfilled.

Participation of citizens is one of the main such characteristics for good

governance. A participatory model may well see democratic system getting strengthened and consolidated. Informed and organised participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It may also herald an era of freedom of association and expression as laid down in our constitution on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

The other pillar of good governance is 'rule of law' which requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially through an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force. Transparency, as another key element of good governance means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media. Responsiveness is another necessary attribute of good governance which requires the system to be responsive so that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe. Building consensus is another approach which is hailed as a

fundamental element of good governance. Consensus oriented approach requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broader consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-

good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment. Finally accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil

---

**'Good governance' broadly relates to the efficiency and capability of the decision making mechanism and implementing agencies in achieving the desired goals. The United Nations outlines eight major characteristics of Good governance - it is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.**

---

term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

Another attribute of the good governance may be identified as equity and inclusiveness for ensuring that all its constituents of the society feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream. Effectiveness and efficiency essentially means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of

society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

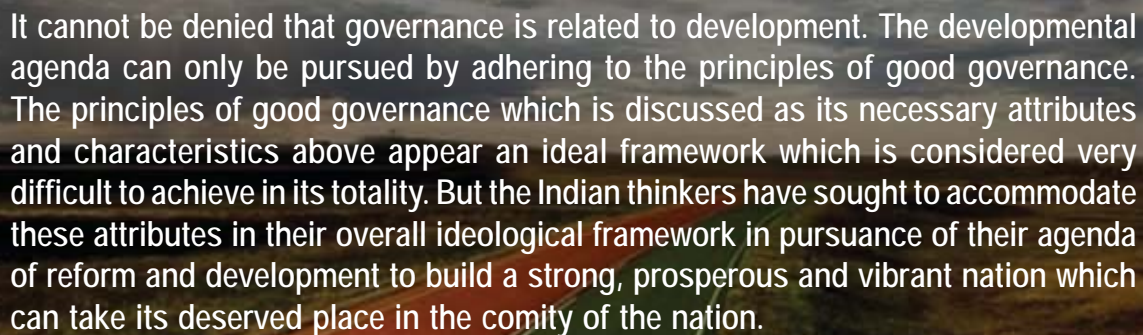
It cannot be denied that governance is related to development. The developmental agenda can only be pursued by adhering to the principles of good governance. The principles of good governance which is

discussed as its necessary attributes and characteristics above appear an ideal framework which is considered very difficult to achieve in its totality. But the Indian thinkers have sought to accommodate these attributes in their overall ideological framework in

### Mahatma Gandhi

As one of the greatest proponents of inculcating moral and ethical values in politics Gandhi wanted to spiritualize Indian politics so as to serve it better and make it a tool of emancipation, justice, freedom and peace. He was one of the most vocal

and development. The Gandhian concepts of *Sarvodaya*, *Swaraj*, *Ramrajya* and *Gram swaraj* carry a vision of true democracy and well being of all. While emphasizing that democracy and violence cannot be reconciled he wanted progressive approximation to



It cannot be denied that governance is related to development. The developmental agenda can only be pursued by adhering to the principles of good governance. The principles of good governance which is discussed as its necessary attributes and characteristics above appear an ideal framework which is considered very difficult to achieve in its totality. But the Indian thinkers have sought to accommodate these attributes in their overall ideological framework in pursuance of their agenda of reform and development to build a strong, prosperous and vibrant nation which can take its deserved place in the comity of the nation.

pursuance of their agenda of reform and development to build a strong, prosperous and vibrant nation which can take its deserved place in the comity of the nation. In this article, attempt has been made to comprehend the idea of good governance and development within the ideological framework and programmes of actions as enunciated by towering figures like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay and Jay Prakash Narayan. All of them are considered to be political thinkers, activists and mass leaders as well as ideologues of their own political formations. An assessment is sought to be made to understand how they conceptualized their own ideas which may well be the guiding principles of good governance and development.

critic of western political system and posed a civilizational challenge to the western world. He strongly opposed the western democratic politics which according to him had the propensity towards limitless expansion under the capitalist system resulting in exploitation of weaker peoples. Brutalities perpetrated on the people by coercive power of the state made Gandhi to regard the entire state structure with hostility. But unlike some other thinkers he did not desired the complete destruction of state machine but believed that by practicing non-violence the coercive nature of state can be brought to an end.

The ideals of Gandhi may be adopted as guiding principles of good governance

true democracy without violence. For him decentralization of power was key to realization of true democracy. By *Sarvodaya*, Gandhi presented his vision of new human society embracing the betterment of the entire humankind and the world at large. His concept of *Sarvodaya* was rooted in the Vedantic idea of the spiritual unity of existence and the concept of *sarvabhutahita* as laid down in Gita. Jayprakash Naryan has sought to explain the meaning of *Sarvodaya* as envisioned by Gandhi:

“Gandhi had his vision of the future India....That vision was of a new social order – different from a capitalist, socialist, communist order of the society. A non-violent society, a society based on love and human values, a decentralized, self governing,



non exploitive, co-operative society, Gandhi gave that society the name of *Sarvodaya* – literally, the rise of all, i.e., a society in which good of all is achieved.” {Jayprakash Narayan, “Introduction”, Vinoba Bhave, Talk on the Gita (Varanasi, Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, 1982), v}

Through *sarvodaya* Gandhi sought to establish a new socio-political-economic order that aims at the integrated development of the whole people and every person. He also sought to explain *sarvodaya* in terms of *Ramrajya* which meant kingdom of God. In the words of Gandhi *Ramrajya* as a concept can be described as follows:

“Now for *Ramrajya*, it can religiously translated as Kingdom of God. Politically translated it is a perfect democracy in which, inequalities based on possession and non possession, colour, race, creed, or sex vanish. In it land and state belong to the people, justice is prompt, perfect and cheap and therefore, there is freedom to worship, speech and the press – all this because of the reign of the self imposed law of moral restraint. Such a state should be based on truth and non-violence and must consist prosperous, happy and self-contained village and village communities.” {The Hindu (Daily) Madras, June 12, 1945; Collected Works, LXXX: 300}

To Gandhi, *Ramrajya* was to establish sovereignty of

people based on pure moral authority. It is seen as an ideal society where the coercive machinery of modern state structure will not be there. While writing in Young India on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1922 he elaborates on the distinction between an ideal society and *Swaraj*. According to him in ideal society there will be no railways, no hospitals, no machinery, no army and navy and no laws and law courts.

**The ideals of Gandhi may be adopted as guiding principles of good governance and development. The Gandhian concepts of *Sarvodaya*, *Swaraj*, *Ramrajya* and *Gram swaraj* carry a vision of true democracy and well being of all. While emphasizing that democracy and violence cannot be reconciled he wanted progressive approximation to true democracy without violence.**

But he emphatically states that under *Swaraj* these five categories will function. Under *Swaraj* laws and law courts will, however, be the custodian of people’s liberty and not the bureaucratic instrument of oppression.

*Swaraj* is also a related concept which stood for ‘self rule’. It represented a vision for political independence,

economic self-sufficiency, social uplift and moral elevation. It means self reliance and welfare of all. According to Gandhi, a true democracy may be achieved only when ‘*swaraj* of masses’ is established. It is a State in which every citizen renders himself responsible for every act of his government and weakest has the same opportunity as the strongest. It is only when the citizens acquire the ability to control the government and to resist the abuse of authority by the ruler, that they can be said to enjoy *Swaraj*. So the political content of national *Swaraj* also means fitness by nation to rule over itself. Gandhi further elaborates:

“Let there be no mistake about my conception of *swaraj*, it is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence, so at one end you have political independence and at the other the economic. It has two other ends....moral and social...Let us call this the square of *swaraj*, which will be out of shape if any one of its angle is untruth.” (Collected Works, LIV: 191)

The concept of *Swaraj* was based on three cardinal principles of self-respect, self-reliance and self-actualisation. It paves the way for the state to embrace society which is guided by morals and embodiment of social, political and economic equality. His concept of *Swaraj* may be seen finding realization in his

vision of *Grama swaraj* modeled on ancient village republic having full power exercised by the people, and for the people aiming at the all round welfare of the people. It is the name Gandhi gives to the basic political unit of *Sarvodaya* society which is to be formed from the grass roots level where the individual is the centre of concern. The political structure is to be organized from the bottom, village, district, province and the nation so that it will be the rule of all directed towards the welfare of all. It is conceptualised as a mechanism wherein an individual is an institution of self government getting empowered in the process of heralding the well being of the village with mutual responsibility and accountability. He advocated a decentralized participative democratic and human society based on gram swaraj. Decentralization of power, involvement of people in development programmes, need based planning, local solutions to problems achieving the welfare of all were the main elements of the concept of *Grama swaraj*. Gandhi through *Sarvodaya* visualizes to establish *Ramrajya* seeking to herald an era of maximum integral welfare of every individual in the society through a life of harmony with God and nature.

It aims at promoting national integration, religious co-existence and universal brotherhood.

### Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya is widely acclaimed as propounder of the philosophy of Integral Humanism. He never sought to follow a piecemeal approach to seek solutions for the problems afflicting the nation, rather he aspired to devise a philosophy which may herald an era of integral approach. He advocated the simultaneous and integrated

Main ideas of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay may be seen in his conceptualization of *Bharatiyata*, *Dharma*, *Dharmarajya* and *Antodaya*. By *Bharatiyata* he meant *Bharatiya* culture which unlike western thoughts sees life as an integrated whole. *Bharatiyata*, according to him, can manifest itself not through politics but through culture. If India has anything to offer to the world then it is the feeling of cultural tolerance

***Swaraj* is also a related concept which stood for 'self rule'. It represented a vision for political independence, economic self-sufficiency, social uplift and moral elevation. It means self reliance and welfare of all. According to Gandhi, a true democracy may be achieved only when 'swaraj of masses' is established.**

program of the body, mind and intellect and soul of each human being. While seeking to spiritualise the politics like Gandhi, he laid emphasis on coining the idioms of national discourse in civilizational and cultural ethos of India. He was not in favour of adopting borrowed ideas from the west for goals of national reconstruction. He never considered either capitalism or communism as solution to problems of the human society. According to him, "A capitalist economy first acquires power in the economic field and then enters the political field, while socialism concentrates power over all means of production in the hands of state. Both these systems are against democratic rights of individuals."

and a life dedicated to duty. He further says, "From the national standpoint we shall have to consider our culture because that is our very nature. Independence is intimately related to one's own culture. If culture does not form the basis of independence then the political movement for independence would degenerate into a scramble by selfish and power-seeking persons. Independence can be meaningful only if it becomes an instrument for the expression of our culture. Such expression will not only contribute to our progress but the effort required will also give us the experience of joy".

He was completely opposed to the attempts to equate *Dharma* with religion. Religion while mainly

meaning a mode of worship has a very limited meaning but *Dharma* stands for a wide term including many religions. According to him, religion means a creed, or a sect, it does not mean *Dharma*. *Dharma* is a very broad concept. It is concerned with all aspects of life. It sustains

philosophical basis is the meaning of *Dharma*.

While describing *Dharmarajya* he considers state to be one of the constituent within the nation and not above it. In theorizing thus he never intends to undermine the importance of state in the society or

democracy but attempts to emphasise the pluralistic character of the society and the nation. He gives a very interesting explanation as to why a *Jana Rajya* (Democratic state) should also be a *Dharmarajya*. He says, "Let us understand very clearly that *Dharma* is not necessarily with the majority or with the people. *Dharma* is

eternal. Therefore, in the definition of democracy, to say that it is a government of the people is not enough; it has to be for the good of the people. *Dharma* alone can decide. Therefore, a democratic government '*Jana Rajya*', must also be rooted in *Dharma* i.e. a '*Dharma Rajya*'. In the definition of

'Democracy' viz. "government of the people, by the people and for the people", 'of' stands for independence, 'by' stands for democracy, and 'for' indicates *Dharma*. Therefore the true democracy is one where there is freedom as well as *Dharma*." His concept of *Dharmarajya* can be understood more elaborately from the following attributes which forms fundamental principles on which a rulers should act:

- (1) The ruler is the upholder of *Dharma*, not its creator. Nor can he decide as to what *Dharma* is. He is responsible only for its proper enforcement. *Dharma* means those eternal and universal laws which are conducive to the sustenance of my life and the universe – those laws which, our Rishis have discovered through their prescience. On a small scale, they reflect in the most distinctive and fundamental characteristics of the way of life of nation on the maintenance of which depends the very persistence of a particular nation. In short, *Dharma* is the life process of a nation, and marks it out from other nations. It is the sacred duty of the ruler to protect this life process, i.e. *Dharma*.
- (2) *Dharma rajya* is also inclusive of Gandhiji's

*Antyodaya*, although a word belonging to Gandhian lexicon, it is inbuilt in the ideas of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. His vision of 'education for all' and 'har hath ko kam, har khet ko pani' was seen culminating in his idea of Economic Democracy. Explaining his idea of Economic Democracy, he says, "If a vote for everyone is the touch-stone of political democracy, work for everyone is a measure of economic democracy. This right to work does not mean slave labour as in communist countries. Work should not only give a means of livelihood to a person but it should be of the choice of that person. If for doing that work the worker does not get a proper share in the national income, he would, be considered unemployed. From this point of view a minimum wage, a just system of distribution and some sort of social security are necessary."

society. It sustains the whole world. That which sustains is "*Dharma*". The fundamental principles of *Dharma* are eternal and universal. Yet their implementation may differ according to time, place and circumstance. The complete treatise on the rules in general and their



*Ram Rajya* when he defines a ruler as *Raja iti Ranjati*. That is a ruler cannot claim to be a ruler in the true sense of the term unless he works for the welfare of all. (Gandhi, Lohia & Deendayal, ed. P. Parmeswaran, DRI, New Delhi, 1978, p. 40).

*Antyodaya*, although a word belonging to Gandhian lexicon, it is inbuilt in the ideas of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. His vision of 'education for all' and 'har hath ko kam, har khet ko pani' was seen culminating in his idea of Economic Democracy. Explaining his idea of Economic Democracy, he says, "If a vote for everyone is the touch-stone of political democracy, work for everyone is a measure of economic democracy. This right to work does not mean slave labour as in communist countries. Work should not only give a means of livelihood to a person but it should be of the choice of that person. If for doing that work the worker does not get a proper share in the national income, he would, be considered unemployed. From this point of view a minimum wage, a just system of distribution and some sort of social security are necessary." Opposing the ideas of large scale industries based development, centralization and monopoly, he advocated swadeshi and

decentralization. He further said that any system which reduces the opportunity for employment is undemocratic.

which a system was required wherein maximum production can be done by employing maximum hands.



The ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan show various phases of transformation mainly as a result of the influence of *Karmayoga* of Gita, Marxism and Gandhi. On getting disenchanted with Marxism he became a socialist and advocated the radical programmes of the Congress Socialist Party. From the programmes of Congress Socialist Party to Total revolution, his ideas show his experiences gained in the course of his association with Gandhian *Sarvodaya* movement.

He advocated a system free from social inequality where the capital and power get decentralized. As a staunch opponent of both capitalism and communism he felt that the path for India was through encouraging the sectors of self employment for

He was an ardent supporter of an integral village which can be self sufficient and self reliant. He had a vision of increased production, restraint consumption and equitable distribution. He was also opposed to unrestrained exploitation of nature and felt that the nature should be used as per our need and not for people's greed. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay message to the world are:

1. Building a strong and prosperous Indian nation on the foundation of Indian culture.
2. *Dharmarajya* (which guarantees freedom, equality and justice to all)
3. *Sarvodaya* and *Antyodaya* (maximum good to all),
4. *Samanvaya* (synthesis, not

conflict, as the basis of life).

Jayprakash Narayan



India represents an ancient civilization having enriched by democratic ethos, traditions and institutions since times immemorial. From the time of the Vedas, when *Sabha* and *Samiti* represented democratic functioning of the society, and the concept of Dharma which made the ruler subordinate to the sacred laws of the *shastras*, to the days of *gana-samghas*, and the manner in which every village functioned through its institution of *grama panchayats*, democracy, participatory process of governance, self rule or *swaraj*, and notion of responsibility and accountability existed in India.

The ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan show various phases of transformation mainly as a result of the influence of *Karmayoga* of Gita, Marxism and Gandhi. On getting disenchanted with Marxism he became a socialist

and advocated the radical programmes of the Congress Socialist Party. From the programmes of Congress Socialist Party to Total revolution, his ideas show his experiences gained in the course of his association with Gandhian *Sarvodaya* movement. Jayaprakash Narayan represents an evolution from a radical revolutionary to the exponent of a non-violent mass action. Here his programme of socio-economic reconstruction of the nation through Total Revolution is worth discussion as it contains his ideas outlining the principles that may form the basis of good governance and development in the country:

#### Economic Revolution

1. The key concept in development is man. Man is a complex spiritual material being. Without being concerned with transcendental metaphysics, cosmogony and epistemology, it may be noted that living a life

of modest material satisfaction oriented to the free pursuit of creativity is in itself a spiritual endeavour.

2. The reduction of grossly disproportionate inequalities in the socio economic system is categorical imperative.
3. Guarantee of full employment and provision for need based wages coupled with effective curbs on price rise are categorical issues demanding early solution.
4. The promotion of self government in industry is desirable.
5. Planning from below is essential. The formation of planning cells at Regional, Block and Village levels is to be implemented.
6. The balancing of prices of agricultural and industrial good is to be aimed at.
7. Fostering rural based industries is essential. A massive and integrated programme of rural industrialization is to be promoted. This should be based on the maintenance of the balance between employment and efficiency. As far as possible, rural resources should be mobilized for activities and functions oriented to growth and development.
8. Saving the villages from

urban exploiter is an urgent task. Villagers have to develop a countervailing power for their protection from the exactions of landowners, merchants and moneylenders. The Communist creed of collectivization of land should be replaced by transfer of land ownership to the village. *Gramdan* of village ownership of land may be regarded as an ethical technique for solving the raging problem of inequality centering around land ownership.

9. The manufacture of consumer goods for domestic use should be the task of small rural industries.
10. The development and modernisation of agriculture is imperative. JP does, no longer, subscribe to the Communist technique of collectivization of land.
11. Promoting savings for capital development is essential.
12. The concept of social ownership may be applied to the large industrial establishments. Eventually, the workers employed therein may act as trustees for safeguarding their interests and the broad interests of the consumers and the community.
13. Large enterprises may be

capitalist in pattern within certain restraint, but public corporation pattern should be more prevalent.

#### Political and Administrative Revolution

1. Candidates for elections should not be imposed by central or state parliamentary boards. The people's committee should set up candidates. There should be prolonged popular

government, universities and private sector should declare their assets periodically.

5. The legislators who have thoroughly ceased to command the confidence of a majority of voters who had elected them and have betrayed the trust reposed on them are to be recalled.
6. The government process should be based on

While great thinkers and philosophers like Swami Vivekanand, Maharshi Aurobindo, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokahle, Mahatma Gandhi motivated, inspired, guided and led the nation in the colonial era, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayprakash Narayan theorized new programmes for the national reconstruction and organized the masses in the post independence phase.

consultation in setting up candidates.

2. A combination of German list system and majority system may be experimented with. There should be a comprehensive Act against defection. It has been a consistent plague of the Indian political parties and legislators has slender scruples against unprincipled change of party allegiance.
3. Not more than two terms for any political office holders to be allowed.
4. All incumbents of high post in legislature, government,

discussions of the deliberations upon issues, demands and policies. The general orientation is to be towards the evolution of the consensus. Mere majoritarianism as the mathematical formula is not palatable to JP.

7. The army and police need not obey those orders of the government which are patently and manifestly illegal and calculated to kill innocent people and to subvert democratic culture.

#### Educational Moral and Spiritual Revolution

1. Educational planning should be dovetailed



with economic planning. Emphasis should be laid on universal primary and adult education and on vocalization of education.

2. "The Universities as a whole are suffering from the worst form of nepotism and corruption and are more and more ceasing to perform the functions assigned to them. There is no dearth of talent in them but talent is being increasingly cramped and circumscribed by the general atmosphere, full of fear and favour, enveloping these institutions." The universities hence should become pure centres of teaching, training and research and

act as catalytic agents for promoting growth and development. Only the academically oriented youth should work for higher degrees.

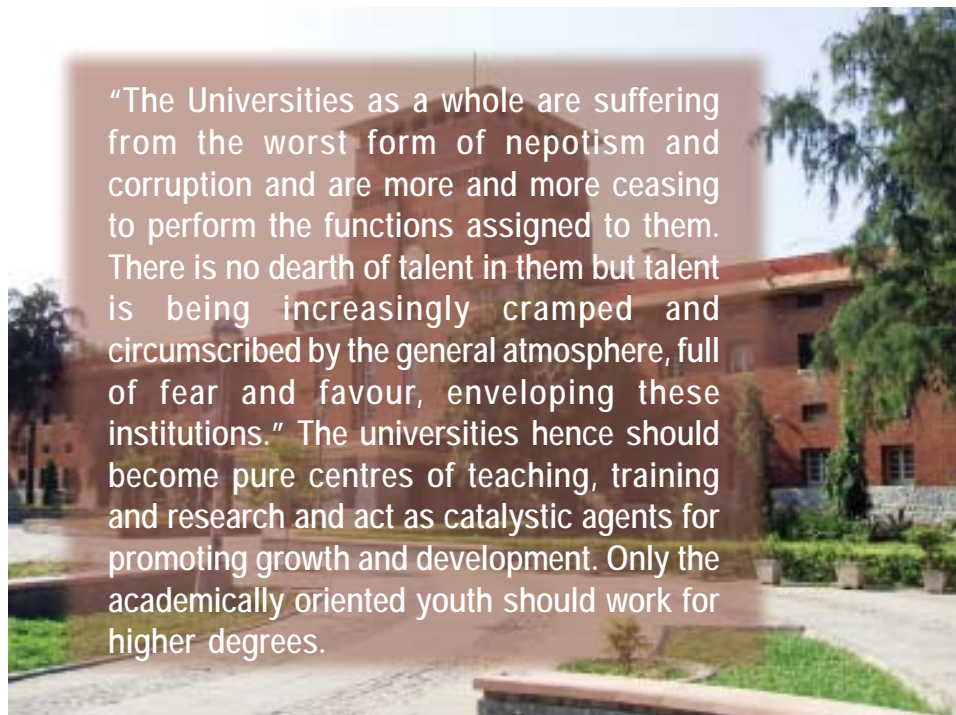
3. Concern for primordial, conceptual, existential and valuational truth is to be fostered in place of antinomian dialectics, wranglings and semantic victories.
4. Aversion to violence is to be developed.
5. Humanisation of science

is to be aimed at.

6. Integral community consciousness with the motivation to promote affection, goodwill, mutuality, regard and consideration for others, magnanimity and conquest of irascibility is to be promoted. \love of liberty as self

human nature is to be restrained. Through sustained and dedicated efforts, noble *Samskaras* (impressions and conformations) can be made to flower even in the mind and hearts of persons prone to deviant behaviour.

10. Cooperation is to be



"The Universities as a whole are suffering from the worst form of nepotism and corruption and are more and more ceasing to perform the functions assigned to them. There is no dearth of talent in them but talent is being increasingly cramped and circumscribed by the general atmosphere, full of fear and favour, enveloping these institutions." The universities hence should become pure centres of teaching, training and research and act as catalytic agents for promoting growth and development. Only the academically oriented youth should work for higher degrees.

determination and positive power to foster actions oriented to common good and the courage to resist oppression and tyranny is to be developed.

7. Readiness to take responsibility is to be cultivated.
8. Tolerance of contrary and even antagonistic opinions and expressions is to be enhanced.
9. Faith in the plasticity and educability of

encouraged.

11. The aesthetic and ethical values of culture should be imbibed also by the people. But a conspiratorial cultural revolution to dispossess the power holders is not feasible.
12. Some prescriptive moral ideals and standards may be deemed to be almost absolute and universally applicable to promote good life in the world.

13. Total revolution aims to reinforce such motivational determinants as well result in the growth of synergy, morality (*sila*), gnosis (*prajna*), discrimination, abstraction and contemplation. Even robbers and criminals may be made to share in the ethic of brotherly love and compassion.

### Conclusion

India represents an ancient civilization having enriched by democratic ethos, traditions and institutions since times immemorial. From the time of the Vedas, when *Sabha* and *Samiti* represented democratic functioning of the society, and the concept of Dharma which made the ruler subordinate to the sacred laws of the *shastras*, to the days of *gana - sanghas*, and the manner in which every village functioned through its institution of *grama panchayats*, democracy, participatory process of governance, self rule or *swaraj*, and notion of responsibility and accountability existed in India. It was only under the colonial rule that indigenous institutions suffered irreparably and could not survive in the face of deliberate attempts to destroy and demonise them. Yet the democratic spirit survived and the notion of *swaraj*, *swatantrata* and *swadhinata* continued to inspire the

revolutionaries who incessantly waged struggle against the colonialism and its draconian designs.

The approach of the great thinkers and leaders of Indian national movement was guided by the plight of the general population under the

the country was needed. The leaders were not oblivious of the fact that not only material but social and spiritual upliftment of the people was required to make a strong and vibrant nation. While great thinkers and philosophers like Swami Vivekanand,



The approach of the great thinkers and leaders of Indian national movement was guided by the plight of the general population under the British rule. The destruction wrought by the colonial rule not only saw economic decline but also posed a civilizational and cultural challenge. The oppressive colonial machinery sought to dispossess and impoverish the masses and cripple Indian industries, handicrafts and agriculture.

British rule. The destruction wrought by the colonial rule not only saw economic decline but also posed a civilizational and cultural challenge. The oppressive colonial machinery sought to dispossess and impoverish the masses and cripple Indian industries, handicrafts and agriculture. It was deeply felt that the nation required to regenerate itself and all round development of

Maharshi Aurobindo, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi motivated, inspired, guided and led the nation in the colonial era, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayprakash Narayan theorized new programmes for the national reconstruction and organized

the masses in the post independence phase. The colonial system which was borrowed and continued after the independence of the country in addition to the widely known 'Nehruvian Model' could not take the country forward on fast track. The guiding principles of governance and development under 'Nehruvian Model' finally resulted in failure and had to be relinquished in the face of worsening economic condition of the country. It was the result of repeated refusal of the Congress leadership to accept the reality and adopt a model which was in tune with the cultural ethos of the nation.

The idea of good governance and development needs to be conceptualized in the context of Indian reality. The ideological framework of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay and Jayprakash Narayan has at least one thing in common and that is their advocacy for spiritualization of Indian politics. All of them are found to be stressing on decentralization and revitalization of village economy and society through the establishment of *grama swaraj*. They show immense concern for the poorest of the poor and commit themselves to the goals of *Sarvodaya* and *Antyodaya*. Their vision is modeled on participatory democracy wherein in transparency, responsibility and accountability are the fundamental elements with efficiency and effectiveness as

its key words. One can easily find the characteristics of good governance like its participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient,

*The idea of good governance and development needs to be conceptualized in the context of Indian reality. The ideological framework of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay and Jayprakash Narayan has at least one thing in common and that is their advocacy for spiritualization of Indian politics.*

equitable and inclusive nature that follows the rule of law in their ideas. In fact all these elements are essential component of Indian civilizational and cultural ethos and traditions and validated by the orientation of general population who have imbibed them as cardinal principles of culture, society

and state.

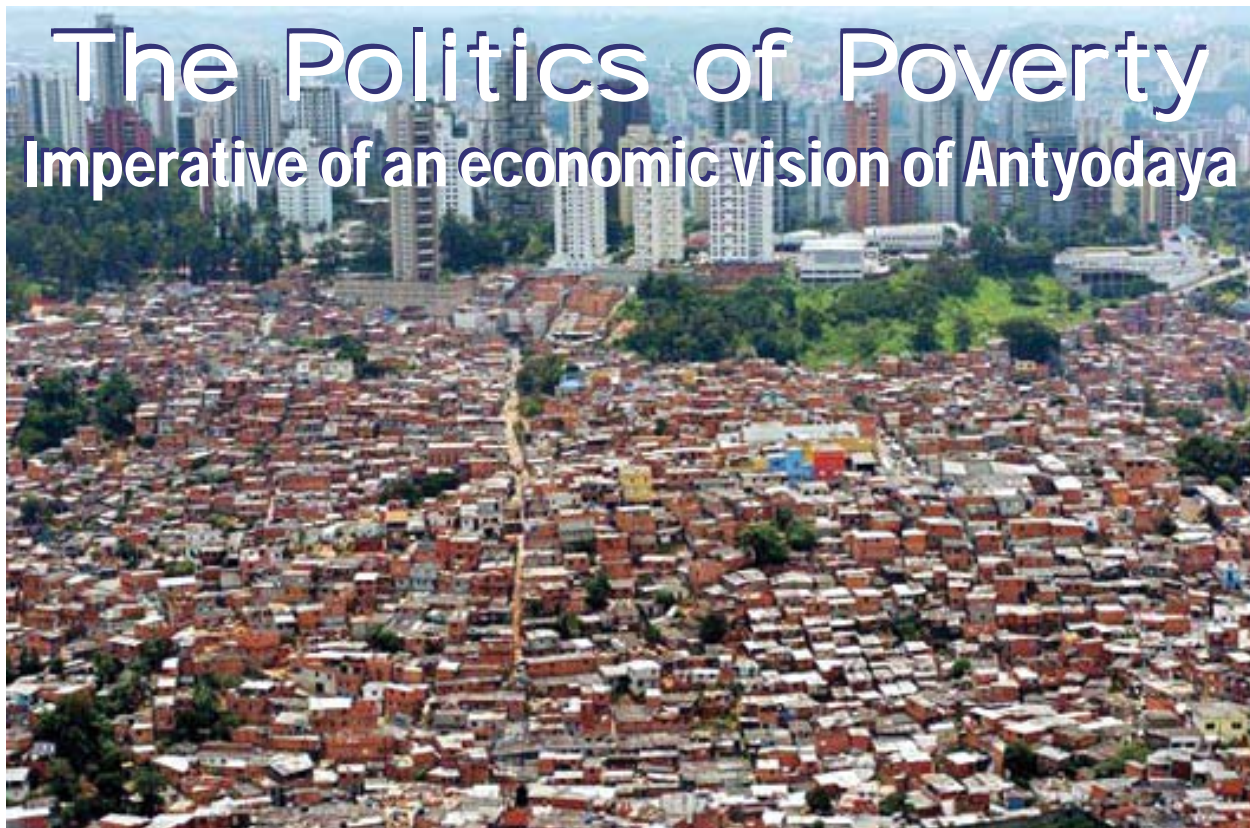
In the current scenario while we see a number of scams being unearthed everyday with no one in government bothering to take responsibility the idea of good governance is a far fetched dream. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent that when innocent people are killed in terror attacks, the ministers openly take it as some normal affair not caring to take action. While on the one side there is politics of appeasement and corruption, there is another example of politics of good governance and development. The people too have started responding to the call for *sushaashan* and *vikaas*. The credit for starting the politics based on Good governance and development goes to Bharatiya Janata Party which for the first time under NDA rule launched a number of national level schemes for rapid development of the country. The example was carried forward by BJP ruled States where people are now coming out to strongly support the government in its efforts to give good governance to the people and usher in an era of development. The agenda of good governance needs to be located in Indian circumstances and conditions so that the integrated development of the country takes place and India finds its deserved place in the comity of the nations.■

*(The Writer is Executive Editor of Kamal Sandesh)*



# The Politics of Poverty

## Imperative of an economic vision of Antyodaya



Is poverty all about statistics? Those who follow the public policy discourse in India today would have certainly observed the ambiguity surrounding the poverty debate. In fact, the confusion is not only among the public, even the government of the day which is beset with a deluge of corruption and a drift in governance is engaged in fighting out the issue of poverty statistically. When we don't know who is a poor in India by definition and how many Indians are actually poor, it can be easily understood as to the configuration and direction of policies aimed at dealing with this challenge. Two decades ago when India embarked on



 **Ram Prasad Tripathy**

the path of an ambitious economic reforms programme and met with initial success, many hoped that the impact of economic growth will be felt at the bottom and growth will trickle down to the poorest of the poor. But, they were

mistaken. The challenge of poverty has remained as stubborn and unresolved as it was decades ago. Slogans have changed, policies have changed and our maneuvering abilities have changed but poverty is still continues all pervasive. Elections have been won and lost on this issue, but today the issue has lost and rhetoric has taken over. Challenges of poverty and food security in India can't be surmounted through a debate over statistics and methodology but through an all inclusive economic vision like the 'Antyodaya' which talked about the wellbeing of the last man standing in the queue and aimed at reaching out to the most marginalized sections

of the society.

The concept of Antyodaya has been extolled by both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. Although a concept belonging to Gandhian lexicon, this model was inbuilt in the ideas of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. In fact, Pandit Deendayal went a step by advocating Economic Democracy alongside political democracy for the harmonious development of the country. The democratic state has an inescapable duty to orient economic development towards desirable social ends. Achieving accelerated growth is necessary but not sufficient for ensuring maximum social welfare unless accompanied by the objective of poverty eradication, employment generation and equitable development of all sections of our society. The model of Antyodaya essentially advocated this worldview, the absence of which has made our high economic growth ineffective in addressing the challenges of Indian society.

Today Indian economy is a study in contrasts. It has the highest number of millionaires in Asia and also the highest number of poor. India is the fourth largest economy in the world and yet it has the highest number of children facing malnutrition and hunger. Its rate of economic growth is among the highest in the world and yet has the ignominy of having the highest rate of infant

mortality. So, what has gone wrong? The answer lies in the fact that India probably forgot the last man standing in the queue and the shortsighted economic policies only bred

farmer distress and declining levels of food and nutritional security. On top of all this the recent scams and scandals of astronomical proportions under the Congress led UPA



The challenge of poverty has remained as stubborn and unresolved as it was decades ago. Slogans have changed, policies have changed and our maneuvering abilities have changed but poverty is still continues all pervasive. Elections have been won and lost on this issue, but today the issue has lost and rhetoric has taken over. Challenges of poverty and food security in India can't be surmounted through a debate over statistics and methodology but through an all inclusive economic vision like the 'Antyodaya' which talked about the wellbeing of the last man standing in the queue and aimed at reaching out to the most marginalized sections of the society.

corruption and spread poverty. The twin issues of addressing poverty and food security should have become the centerpiece of our economic policy, but the policies that have been unleashed have only led to growing disparity, hunger, high inflationary spiral,

have only exposed the hollow slogans and indifferent approach of the powers that be towards dealing with the challenges of poverty and food security.

Notwithstanding the tall claims of the UPA government of being genuinely concerned about



the poor in India and for having achieved high and inclusive economic growth in the last seven years, the latest international benchmarks suggest that between 456 and 622 million people in India are

Wadhwa Committee, the Tendulkar Committee, the Arjun Sengupta Committee and the NC Saxena Committee have each come up with their own poverty estimates which range from

Committees only reflect poor achievements on inclusive growth front despite attaining a growth momentum of as high as 8-9% by the country over the last few years. In other words, these additional 'poor', needless to say, are not eligible for the various benefits available under different government schemes for the poor, but it adds a totally new dimension to the poverty debate in the country. Clearly, India has not experienced the spectacular declines in poverty, expected in an emerging economy with high growth, like the spectacular declines in poverty that were the hallmark of economic progress in most of east Asian countries during the 1980s and much of the 1990s.



Today Indian economy is a study in contrasts. It has the highest number of millionaires in Asia and also the highest number of poor. India is the fourth largest economy in the world and yet it has the highest number of children facing malnutrition and hunger. Its rate of economic growth is among the highest in the world and yet has the ignominy of having the highest rate of infant mortality. So, what has gone wrong? The answer lies in the fact that India probably forgot the last man standing in the queue and the shortsighted economic policies only bred corruption and spread poverty.

In India poverty is defined not by how many people suffer from it, but by how much the government is willing to pay for and hence the endless search for a lower BPL figure. The clash within the government on the issue of number of people to be brought within the ambit of the proposed legislation has already delayed the food security bill. Further, limiting the definition of food security to the specific issue of food grains (wheat or rice) and delinking it from the larger issue of nutritional security and several other determinants of food security, like health, nutrition, drinking water, etc. has made the proposed legislation a half-hearted attempt at addressing the issue of poverty and hunger.

living below the poverty line (BPL). Even in the traditional sense in which poverty has been defined, the Planning Commission estimates have proved to be vast underestimates. There are widely varying estimates of the number of poor people and as far as number of BPL families are concerned, the

37 percent to 78 percent of the population, much higher than the estimates of the Planning Commission of India. Evidently, these estimates are significantly above the official estimates indicated by the Planning Commission.

A deeper probe into the poverty statistics measured by various agencies and



Though the Congress led UPA government has completed seven years in office, the Food Security Bill continues to elude consensus. Every now and then there is a new announcement that a comprehensive Bill is round the corner. In the



mean time food grains rot and hunger remains unabated. Uncertainty surrounds even the existing unsatisfactory arrangements. As far as the scope of the proposed Food Security Bill is concerned there is an ongoing debate on whether this Bill should cover those who are below poverty line or should also cover the APL families? After all the Right to food is the Universal Right of every citizen. It is true that those who are below poverty line, who are on the edge of hunger, must be our overriding priority. But, how can we call something a 'right' if everyone does not have it? Further, there is also a growing debate over the methodology which should be used to define below poverty line. Should this be only based on minimum calorific intake without regard to nutritional efficiencies? It is well recognized that unless the entitlement covers clean drinking water, sanitation, hygiene and primary health care etc, the absorptive

**A deeper probe into the poverty statistics measured by various agencies and Committees only reflect poor achievements on inclusive growth front despite attaining a growth momentum of as high as 8-9% by the country over the last few years. In other words, these additional 'poor', needless to say, are not eligible for the various benefits available under different government schemes for the poor, but it adds a totally new dimension to the poverty debate in the country. Clearly, India has not experienced the spectacular declines in poverty, expected in an emerging economy with high growth, like the spectacular declines in poverty that were the hallmark of economic progress in most of east Asian countries during the 1980s and much of the 1990s.**

capacity for food would be seriously compromised. So the question is what do we want to achieve from the Food Security Bill? After all it must enable every child, woman and man to have an opportunity for a healthy and productive life beyond mere

access to calories required for existence. Therefore, the Food security legislation should aim at overcoming the challenges of food security without losing sight of the broad definition and components of food security that has come to be accepted across the world. The interrelation between food and social security can't be ignored and any effort of guaranteeing one without the rest will render food security ineffective.

Another major unresolved issue is the distribution modality since the proposed Bill will entail a massive increase in the quantum of food grains. Reliance on the Public Distribution System (PDS) system alone may prove inadequate. Everyone is familiar with the inherent leakages in the existing PDS system in terms of quality of food grains, bogus ration cards, hoarding, profiteering and multiple ways of denying food to the poor and disadvantaged. If the current PDS system is to be continued, it

will also entail enormous problems of food procurement, storage, transportation and all the other attendant evils we are fully familiar. So should we not think of more innovative ways of administering food subsidy?

Two types of schemes are being increasingly mentioned. First a coupon system in which the intended beneficiary receive a food coupon which carry money value and gives him the option to buy food grains from any shop which gives him satisfaction. This creates competition between different outlets and will certainly improve the quality and enlarge consumer choice, minimise misuse and improve productivity. There is the second approach that is the direct cash transfer by opening a Bank Account in the name of the intended beneficiary and

transfer the money directly in his bank account. Countries like Brazil which have experimented with conditional cash transfer have achieved success in administering such schemes more efficiently.

Food production and livelihood concerns of food producers constitute the core element of food security. But, these issues are missing in the

**Over the period of 2001-10 food grains production has grown at an average of 1.96% while the area under production of food grains has just increased by 0.3%. With continuing high growth in population and inadequate agricultural field under food grain production, right to food can only be ensured with a sustained growth in productivity levels, increased food procurement and by containing colossal wastage of food in warehouses.**



present debate on poverty and food security. You cannot provide food to people if you do not first ensure that food is produced in adequate quantities. And to ensure food production, the livelihood of food producers must be ensured. Over the period of 2001-10 food grains production has grown at an average of 1.96% while the area under production of food grains has just increased by

0.3%. With continuing high growth in population and inadequate agricultural field under food grain production, right to food can only be ensured with a sustained growth in productivity levels, increased food procurement and by containing colossal wastage of food in warehouses.

Under the Congress led UPA government at the Centre, the issue of poverty has only been reduced to become a statistical jargon and a political tool for accumulating votes. Once in power the *Aam Aadmi* on whose name votes were

sought are conveniently forgotten and are instead unleashed with greater hardship making a mockery of the inclusive growth strategy. During 2009 general electioneering the UPA promised for taking concrete steps towards enacting a comprehensive

food security legislation within 100 days of assuming power but it has not only forgotten it but has burdened the *Aam Aadmi* with higher food prices and lower subsidies in fertilizer and fuel. Infact the insensitivity of the Union government has forced the Supreme Court to intervene and direct the Central government to distribute the foodgrain if it can't store them for the benefit

of the poor.

While visiting the homes of the poor have become a fashion statement for the so-called young leaders of the ruling party at the Centre, their state governments (Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh) are accused of unleashing terror on the farmers forcing them to commit suicide. Land grabbing in the name of development has become rampant under the UPA. If the Congress Party was genuinely interested in eliminating the scourge of poverty from India then it had plenty of time for doing so. But, it always used poverty and backwardness of the population as an easy route to power and to extend its rule than eliminating it through pro-poor governance. Even under an economist Prime Minister the UPA's insensitivity towards the poor has only grown with price rise

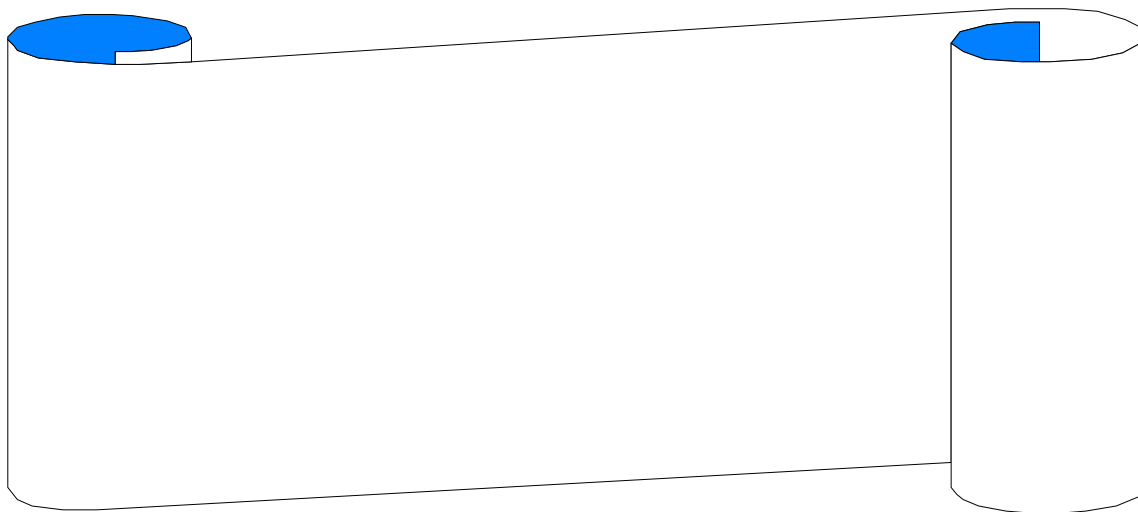
and corruption becoming the order of the day.

India can't base its survival and development on luck and prayers alone while its leadership fritters away every available opportunity for success and concrete achievement. In the past seven years of the Congress led UPA rule the economic growth achieved by the country has been more skewed than in the past owing to an inflationary spiral in the food and essential commodities which hurts the poorest of poor. Declining public investment in agriculture, agrarian distress and rising unemployment levels have only made matters worse.

The fact that the India still languishes at the bottom as far as its rank in Human Development Index is concerned goes to suggest that the policies pursued by the UPA have only resulted in

lopsided development with poverty and food security challenges remaining unattended. If one were to consider inflation as "poor man's tax" then the present regime has only taxed the poor instead of giving them succor. Having disappointed the nation thoroughly, the UPA would do well to address the challenge of poverty and food security as a priority instead looking at the issue from the prism of politics and populism. While high economic growth and use of technology is desirable it does not in any way absolve the state from its duty of delivering pro poor growth. *Antyodaya* should become the core of our economic strategy which provides a potentially more equitable way of development by shifting the focus and priority of development on to the poor. ■

*(The Writer is a member of  
Kamal Sandesh Editorial Board and  
Research Scholar, Delhi University)*







## *Electoral reforms essential for Good Governance*

In a democratic country Election Commission has a very vital role to play. It should be a gateway to good governance. Free, fair and regular elections are the prerequisites for good governance. These need to be held in time and it is duty of the election commission to do so. Since its constitution on January 25, 1950, Election Commission has witnessed many ups and down in terms of its composition and independence. During the last 61 years, the Commission has many distinctions to its credit.



 **Vikash Anand**

It has kept pace with the times and ushered in use of new technology like Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) which replaced the ballot

boxes and the ballot paper. Yet, at times voices continue to be raised about its impartiality here and there by the aggrieved persons and parties. This is part of the game. But the Election Commission has acquitted itself remarkably well, so much so that many newly independent countries and democracies have sought the technical expertise and know-how to implement in their countries. .

Elections are the foundation of any democracy. It is through the process of

election that people express their free will and vote for a government of their choice. Healthy elections are a must for a healthy democracy. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) has set about the essentials in a Democracy, saying "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures." UDHR Article 21 says, the consent (the will of the people) of the governed is the most fundamental concept of democracy and its most essential feature is that it enables citizens to choose their representatives in free, fair, and regular elections. It means elections alone are insufficient to sustain it. The election should be free, fair and regular with freedom of choice to choose their representatives.

Election Commission is entrusted to conduct free, fair and regular elections. Keeping in view of its importance, architects of our constitution have given provision of Election Commission in the constitution. It makes it an autonomous and quasi-judicial.

Article 324 of the

constitution provides that the power of superintendence, direction and control of elections of Parliament, State Legislatures, the office of President of India and the

the Model Code of Conduct that lays down the norms of behavior and actions which parties and contesting candidates shall adhere to, at the time of elections. The

As per definition of UDHR's Article 21, consent (the will of the people) of the governed is most fundamental concept of democracy and its (democracy) most essential feature is it enables citizens to choose their



representatives in free, fair, and regular elections. It means elections alone are insufficient to sustain it. The election should be free, fair and regular with freedom of choice to choose their representatives. Election Commission is entrusted to conduct free, fair and regular elections. Keeping in view of its importance, architects of our constitution have given provision of Election Commission in the constitution. It makes it an autonomous and quasi-judicial.

office of Vice-President of India shall be vested in the Election Commission. The Election Commission is an all-India body in the sense that it is common to both the Central and the State Governments.

The conduct of free, fair and impartial elections depend much upon the performance of the three stakeholders – independent and impartial electoral machinery; political parties and candidates; and the electorate. All of them must act responsibly. The Indian electoral process has

Commission has, as it should, been making every effort to create a level playing field for all the parties and the candidates and has earned the reputation of being strict and impartial in monitoring activities of candidates in constituencies through its Election Observers. The Commission has always been willing to use technology for modernization and for the better conduct of elections. In this context, over the years, several measures have been taken, such as computerization of electoral

rolls and Photo Identity Cards for voters. T.N Seshan's role as Chief Election Commissioner ushered in major reforms towards achieving free and fair election in India. With his strong will and zeal, he revolutionized India's electoral process and in the process eliminated many of the ills and malpractices. He has made a name for himself in the electoral history of the country.

With the size of our electorate increasing from 176 million in the first General Elections in the country in 1951-52 to 716 million in the 15th General Elections held in 2009, the task of the Election Commission has increased manifold. Today, our electorate is almost equal to the combined population of the European Union and of the United States. Organising elections for such a large voting population and in such a vast and difficult geographical area, it requires an exceptional management skill and co-ordination. The election process, in a country of more than one billion people, is watched with keen interest and admiration all over the world. The Election Commission has thus helped strengthen democracy not only at home, but has also helped enhance the prestige of India's institutional mechanisms.

Since its inception in 1950 October 15, 1989, the Election Commission functioned as a



The credibility of the ECI(Election Commission of India ) has been tarnished by some unfortunate incidents from time to time. For example in 2009, then Chief Election Commissioner N Gopalaswami allegation against his colleague Navin Chawla damaged reliability of the institution. Shri Gopalaswami recommended, giving several instances of wrongdoing on the part of Chawla in his 90-page recommendation, to the President sought the sacking of Chawla. It had included regular leaking of election dates and showing partiality to the Congress. Even Chawala's appointment as Election Commissioner had been challenged before the Supreme Court. What mechanism was working there that Supreme Court 's decision did not come after so long time.

Single Member Body consisting of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC). On October 16, 1989 just a week before the commencement the 9th General Election, Congress Government appointed two more Election Commissioners. Thereafter, the Election Commission functioned as a multi-member Body consisting of three Election Commissioners.

The senior-most among the Commissioners is designated as the Chief Election Commissioner. The appointment of two more Election Commissioners was, in some quarters, perceived as an attempt to compromise the independence of the Commission. On assuming power the National Front government in January 1990 abolished the two posts of Election Commissioners and restored the Election Commission as a single member institution as earlier. Again in October 1993, the President appointed two more Election Commissioners. Since then, the Election Commission has been functioning as a multi-member body consisting of three Election Commissioners, including the CEC.

The credibility of the ECI (Election Commission of India) became a matter of controversy at times. In 2009, the then Chief Election Commissioner N Gopalaswami recommended the removal of one of his Election Commissioners



Navin Chawla citing several instances of wrongdoing on the part of Chawla in his 90-page recommendation to the President of India. He charged Mr. Chawla with regularly leaking of election dates and showing partiality to the Congress. The President did not accept the recommendation of Mr. Gopalaswamy. His proximity to the Congress Party which was leading the UPA government stood in good stead to Mr. Chawla. Even Chawla's appointment as Election Commissioner had been challenged before the Supreme Court. The court has still not handed out its verdict although later Mr. Chawla was elevated to the post of CEC and has since retired.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission, headed by Mr. Veerappa Moily had highlighted the need for rectifying various flaws in the function of the Election Commission.

The Report had suggested that the CEC and his colleagues should be selected by a broad based collegium as is the case with the selection of the Chief Vigilance Commissioner. The collegium would comprise five members (Speaker of Lok Sabha, the Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha, the Law Minister and the Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha as its members). At present, CEC is appointed by the President of India on the advice of the Council of Ministers leaving

the scope for the appointment of a person of ruling party's choice. This is a major drawback in system of appointment for the Election Commissioners.

**There is need to insulate the Election Commission from all sorts of favoritism and allurements for possible future appointments in return for favours and partiality shown to the ruling party.. Towards this direction it is essential to make a constitutional provision to debar Election Commissioners to hold any office of profit after retirement.**

**An unhealthy precedent was set with the nomination of former Chief Election Commissioner M.S Gill as a Rajya Sabha Member by the ruling Congress and later his further elevation as Minister of State. This situation compromises with the conduct of the CEC being fair, free and impartial. It will certainly mar the image of the Election Commission. Election commission is the soul of democracy. Its fairness and impartiality is essential for a healthy democracy.**

One of the main problems facing the country is the low percentage of voting in elections. No ruling party has ever scored more than 50 percent of the votes cast. Even when in 1985 Lok Sabha elections Congress under Shri Rajiv Gandhi won more than 400 seats, even then it failed to cross the 50 percent of votes cast. Internet Voting can be considered as means to

facilitate online voting and swell the voting percentage.

US Congress has recommended its Election Commission to consider introducing voting on the Internet. India too should explore this possibility. If internet voting is introduced in America, India could try to benefit from the experiment in that country. This step will strengthen participatory democracy and making voting. In Gujarat municipal elections Narendra Modi government introduced compulsory voting.

This is a praiseworthy initiative. But simultaneously voting should be facilitated with the help of simplifying seemingly complicated voting procedures via maximizing the utilization of the advancement in Information and Communication Technology.

It is a fallacy to assume that even if the percentage of polling was higher, the results would have been the same. It has been observed in various elections that when the polling percentage has crossed 70 percent or more, the results have been startling and beyond expectations.

To make a government truly representative of the will of the people and make democracy strong, the need of the hour is to make more and more people to exercise their right to franchise. ■

*(The Writer is on the Editorial board of Kamal Sandesh)*

## Source of our inspiration



*“A nation that fails to take pride in its past achievements or to take inspiration therefrom, can never build up the present or plan for the future. A weak nation can never attain greatness.”*

*-Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*



*“The States exists for the Nation. The Nation is not born for politics. The political governments must do everything to enhance the national spirit.”*

*-Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay*

