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DEMONETISATION



Special Supplement On Biggest Issue Bothering the Nation



THE DISCUSSANT

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DESPICABLE DEMONETISATION DEBATE

Demonetisation debate in media has not even touched gains and losses of the scheme

Ever since Prime Minister Narendra Modi's address on the night of November 8, 2016 one was left to following demonetisation news for nearly a fortnight as nothing else was getting reported. Convalescing on the bed, I started to ponder on what was making the debate deteriorate to a fathomless sinkhole. If I were to best summarise my feelings, it was encapsulated in a WhatsApp group message, which said, "If you are watching Zee News on status of exchanging cash, there is no problem; if you are watching Aaj Tak, there could be some problem, and if NDTV, the chances of catastrophe are very high." Then the message went on to pun, "Thus, try and stand in the Zee News queue."

Then there was this clip, which went viral, of NDTV's Ravish Kumar being questioned by a young man in Haryana, a 'Jat Bhai', for trying to do a negative report on demonetisation. Worse, to overcome his frustration at being outwitted, Kumar, who is celebrated by many, went on air saying that 'Jat Bhai' was phoning his friends to come and do whatever to him. Now is this dramatisation of news of any consequence as millions battled crisis to run their daily chores.

The other viral clip was that of the BBC correspondent getting even with Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal. The interview which was supposed to focus on demonetisation was finally promoted as showing Kejriwal as a bully who would shout down the interviewer. Right from Kejriwal's halcyon days of Anna agitation, I have been no admirer of the Delhi Chief Minister. However, the way the interview evolved, I could see the 'celebrated' broadcasting house of the once 'celebrated' British Empire trying to monetise from the Indian market on the issue of demonetisation.

Why I say so, people may ask. Those who follow Delhi Chief Minister's media plan would notice that Kejriwal seldom believes in giving exclusives. Thanks to the administrative logjam in the national Capital, his government has nothing much to offer as exclusive. What makes Kejriwal remain in news is his politics. And he doesn't break news on political front exclusively but through social media, lately through video clips and more frequently through tweets.

Therefore, what was the news that the BBC team of reporters went seeking from Delhi Chief Minister. It would not be an overstatement, they sought sensationalism and he gave it to them in plenty. Though the Chief Minister should realise that BBC managed huge viewership by keeping its image intact and painting him in not too likeable a hue.

The question is who is benefitting from such a media scenario? The answer is not far to seek, of course, the establishment. In the midst of the hue and cry, in the rat race to pump up or dump down the policy, nobody has tried to examine what made the government do it. In 1991, then Prime Minister Chandrashekhar allowed precious gold to be shipped out to save the nation from the economic crisis. Narasimha Rao government which followed Chandrashekhar's restored stability with a slew of measures leading to the opening up of the economy.

Was such a crisis glaring at the nation, when the Narendra Modi government decided to go for demonetisation? I really do not know, I have tried to find out for myself but am yet to come across any article which doesn't begin with the indication where it would conclude. Incidentally, I am yet to come across any scholar who has deviated from their known stand vis-à-vis Narendra Modi the politician in their analysis of the demonetisation policy. Unfortunately, scholarship in our nation is increasing getting taken over by ideology.

For me, worries are not of my country's economy. This nation is resilient enough to overcome bigger challenges than those posed by the current situation, I am not even confident to call it a crisis or a humongous opportunity. Rather I have had my share of sadistic pleasure of seeing my real estate developer and iron scrap dealer neighbours with sweaty eyebrows.

We are also enjoying preaching domestic helps and society guards of having money parked safely in bank accounts. I have also shared the pearls of wisdom passed on by my father, like many of my generation, of making investments through post-office. I am also confident that in due course the matter would go out of headlines, overtaken by something else.

My greater worry is one screaming headline getting replaced by another. In deciding the font shape and point size, focussing too much on design, we are losing out on the content of news. Where are the incisive reports which can put a government in the dock? Where are the opposition leaders who can hold the government by scruff by the depth of their argument and commitment to the cause which would go beyond seeking a political harvest?

And where is the government which has the erudition to share the details of the scheme, through its machinery of publicity and not schemes of propaganda. And where are the media helmsmen, who can rise above their act of playing ideological oarsmen.

This could probably be the darkest hour of public dialogue. There is pandemonium in the Parliament, there is cacophony in media. In such times, is there a forum where knowledge can be sought without the fear of it being clouded. I am reminded of Tagore's prayer, "Where knowledge is free; ... Where words come out from the depth of truth; ... Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way...."



31 December 2016

Sidharth Mishra

secretary's desk

In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies, I reiterate, it's no mean achievement for a think tank like the Centre for Reforms, Development & Justice, which is still trying to get a toehold, to have managed to publish the journal regularly. With this edition we complete fourth year of unbroken publication of *The Discussant* as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier.

I am happy to share with you that our online edition too is crossing new frontiers and getting accessed from new territories, which gives our writers a global exposure unthinkable for any journal of our vintage.

The Discussant has come to be recognized as journal of honest endeavour. It gives me great pride to present before you the October-December 2016 issue, which is a special edition on the demonetisation debate. This is the third special edition during the year. The first supplement was the April-June edition of the journal, which commemorated 125th anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. The July-September' 2016 issue commemorated the centenary year of Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay.

As I we have repeatedly mentioned in reports at the beginning of the various past editions, the members of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice including Centre president, self and other members have taken up academic activities in the right earnest participating in seminars and deliberations of national importance. In the last quarter we associated with Shyamlal College of Delhi University to associate in a national seminar of Gender issues.

In the past two quarters, yours' truly had the opportunity of being associated with Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs' project 13th National Youth Parliament competition as group coordinator. Our president and editor of the journal has continued with his lecture tours including chairing sessions are national conferences. His columns in the newspapers and talks on the radio and television have come to be greatly appreciated.

The highpoint of last quarter was the release of *Gorkha - Society and Politics*, authored by Brigadier CS Thapa and published by the CRDJ. The book was launched by Mr Deep Kumar Upadhyay, Nepal's ambassador to India at a well-attended function in Dehradun on October 27, 2016 which included city's crème de la crème especially from the Gorkha community, a delegation of very bright cadets from the prestigious Rashtriya Indian Military College and large number of mediapersons. The launch was chaired by Mr Ramesh Batta, Chairman, Kasiga School, Dehradun and Mr Rakesh Tyagi, Senior Advisor, Manipal Group was the guest of honour.

With Warm Regards,



31 December 2016

Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

UNDERSTANDING ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF DEMONETISATION

RISHI RAJ*

The government's surprise move to demonetise high value currency comprising Rs 500 and Rs 1,000 notes with effect midnight of November 8, 2016 has thrown up a huge debate whether it is a step in the right direction or a risky one which comes at a wrong time. Like everything else related to prime minister Narendra Modi, the division is sharp and polarised. However, with more than a month passing since the step was taken several events have taken place which helps in analysing what it is and what it is not.

Let the first point be clear: the move is not only an economic one with the avowed aim of cleansing the economy of black money. It is also a political one and going on from here will play a central role in Modi's re-election campaign in 2019. In between a series of steps are sure to be taken which further strengthens the narrative of the government that it is working towards a cleaner economic life where digital transactions play a key role. Let's take the criticisms the move has attracted one by one. The major objection is the huge inconvenience it has brought to the people by sucking out liquidity from the system as 86% of the currency has been made illegal tender. The result is huge queues outside banks and ATMs. Media is replete with stories about hardship of common people. There can be no two views that sights of huge queues outside banks and ATMs lead to a feeling of a catastrophe having taken place. Naturally, the opposition parties have come down hard on the government and the winter session of the Parliament was a complete washout. But let's leave aside the opposition parties as it is their role to criticise the government. If one sees, the majority of economists have also voiced their opposition towards the move. To be fair, there are a very few economists who have sided with the government. There's another line of criticism that the dignity and independence of office of the Reserve Bank of India Governor has been lowered and compromised in the entire affair.

The government has been defending the move and since Modi in his address to the nation on November 8 had already talked about an initial phase of hardship, the line has been maintained with talks of moving towards digital transaction and in

*Executive Editor, The Financial Express

the longer run of cleansing the public life with the scourge of black money gone. On the issue of countering black money through the move, the major criticism has been that large amounts are seldom kept in cash but is converted into gold or real estate, which the move will not be able to counter. The suggestion thus proffered is that the government to remove black money should first reform election funding, which is the chief cause of corruption and black money. The point is valid, however realistically speaking any reform of poll funding is a much bigger and complex task than demonetisation.

On the criticism by majority of economists, it is very clear that these are emanating from gut feel rather than being rooted in any past statistics. There have been no precedent so far of such a large scale demonetisation and therefore economists are quite in the dark to throw light on how the path will be hereon. Writing in The Financial Express, economist Surjit Bhalla, has gone to the extent of stating that economists are not trained to look at events for which there's no historical precedent available but political leaders cannot be hamstrung by such incapacities which the discipline of economics throws.

To be fair, the government has acted with alacrity on the issue of demonetisation. Decisions once taken were modified and with great speed if events proved that they were at variance with the idea behind the measures. Communication was great and never was the government seen to be lacking from the point of view of reaching out to convey its message. Even the critics of the move and that of the government have conceded that the move though has brought miseries and difficulties to people, there have been no popular revolt as people are more or less willing to bear hardships for a greater cause.

Strange it may sound but the other positive of the move has been the dirt which has come out with the move. The way and extent to which people use the system, including banks to subvert rules to legalise their ill-gotten wealth has been in abundant display. The reputation of well reputed banks in the private sector has taken a beating. It won't be surprising if tomorrow the government uses this narrative also to prove its point that the move has cleansed the dirt in the system or else all this would have remained hidden.

From the criticism point of view, one major strand has been that the move was a good one but badly implemented. Here the point articulated is that the government should have printed enough notes in advance and then demonetised the currency. Just for perspective, around Rs 15 lakh crore of currency was sucked out and so far close to Rs 5 lakh crore has been reprinted. This also explains why there's still shortage of currency in the system leading to queues outside banks and ATMs. It is clear from this gap that the problem is not going to be solved very soon but may take a few more months. The problem with this criticism is that the entire exercise was kept confidential and any move to print adequate currency would have blown off the cover, which would have defeated the purpose behind the move.

In the initial days of demonetisation reports about sectors witnessing the blues were in abundance. These were mostly in sectors which are driven by consumption. While it is not possible here to survey each and every sector, highlighting some would be noteworthy.

Mobile operators, for instance, in the initial days saw around 10-12% decline in pre-paid recharges. A big operator normally sees a cash collection of around Rs 250-300 crore everyday by way of recharges. Around 95% of the market is in the pre-paid segment and here roughly 80% recharge through cash with the balance 20% using cashless means. On their part, operators came forward with goodwill gestures to lessen the inconvenience of subscribers facing cash crunch. Operators like Bharti and Vodafone extended bill payment for post-paid customers by three days. Further, for pre-paid they offered talk-time loan, which means if one could not recharge their phone on the due date, it would not stop functioning. The talk-time amount after the due date would be adjusted whenever the consumer recharges next.

Later the government allowed recharge through old notes of Rs 500, which basically took care of the situation.

The impact on retailers is another area which deserves mention as footfalls in malls, high streets and shopping hubs was affected. In the online (e-commerce) segment, bulk of consumers who had placed orders on cash on delivery mode got stuck as their deliveries got delayed in the absence of them not having the right denomination of notes or alternative mode of payment like credit/debit.

Sales in some mom and pop stores also declined by as much as 80%. Some of the best performing malls said transactions declined to the tune of 15% to 20%. Most though expect business to normalise slowly.

The impact has been far deeper in the unorganized sector, with some mom and pop store owners witnessing their single day business decline by more than 80%.

There are numerous reports that realty prices will take a hit, particularly in the secondary market as there's a good amount of cash transactions here and that too in black. Interestingly, this has been seen as positive also because housing prices are quite high and any correction is seen as giving a booster to the sector. Realtors not being seen upright people has also led to people in general rejoicing at their woes and waiting for some cooling down of prices before they are able to buy their dream houses. A more sane suggestion has been that high stamp duty is the major reason for underhand dealings in the real estate sector and once state governments lower stamp duty charges, much of the cash transaction in black in the sector would be over. In short, demonetisation can be a beginning towards reform but certainly not the end.

Another major area of criticism is that the move has shrunk the economy at a time when it was on a growth mode and in the next quarter or two GDP growth will decline. As mentioned earlier, this has been stated so far purely anecdotally since there's no past data to show what kind of impact demonetisation has on growth. However, in the immediate term consumption led sectors have witnessed a slowdown as consumers postpone purchases. The counter argument is that there has been no demand destruction but merely demand postponement so there's no cause for worry.

Larger companies in the infrastructure sectors, not particularly related to immediate direct consumption, would not be hit much because their supply chain does not depend on cash transactions. Further, they have stocks for several months for any raw materials where the farthest chain down the stream may depend on cash.

To summarise, it is the sentiment which has got hit and the faster it returns the better for the economy. If there's delay, there can be demand destruction as well.

Thus, the picture is not quite black and white as far as the economy goes. The glee in tax payers is because around only 4 crore people file income tax returns while the actual number of people who pay taxes is only around 2 crore. Naturally, this small section feels that while it pays taxes, the more affluent get away so if demonetisation has hit them hard, they deserve it. Similar is the case with the poorer sections who feel that the rich have got hit and rightly so. As a columnist rightly pointed out that while everybody is criticising demonetisation for having hit the poor hard, the fact is that poor do not have large denominations of Rs 500 and 1,000. Further, analysing the earnings, the columnist concluded that at the most such people visit a bank twice a month.

If demonetisation hasn't thrown a clear cut trend either ways is because it is a complex measure having several plots within it. The view of some columnist as viewing it as statist rather than reformist is also misplaced because it is coupled with several other measures. The high decibel promotion of digitalisation is only one such which promotes a completely new age enterprise of e-commerce firms. Digital wallet firm Paytm has overnight become a generic term and a way of life in several urban centres.

How the move pans out politically is hard to predict at this point of time. A few by-elections and local polls which took place after the move have not given any verdict either ways with the parties in fray maintaining their sway over their strongholds. However, one thing is clear that the seeds of the next general elections in 2019 have been sowed and with the forthcoming Union Budget on February 1 there will be a series of measures which will be directed to woo the middle class, promote digital transactions, come down hard on tax evaders, and bring about some reforms in key sectors.

In May 2017, the government will complete three years in office. By then the unsettling effects of demonetisation would hopefully be over. It is to be seen how the story moves on from there over the next two years. In between a short trailer will of course be the Uttar Pradesh assembly elections. So wait on...

(The article has been written on the special invitation of the Editorial Advisory Board. Views expressed by author are personal.)

DEMONETISATION - BIGGEST EVER ECONOMIC REFORM

SAURABH SHARMA*

Almost eight decades ago on April 5 in 1933, United States President Franklin D Roosevelt passed an executive order nationalizing all the gold owned by the US citizen and gave ten days to deliver all gold coin, gold bullion, and gold certificates to the Federal Reserve.

But, why would someone take such decision? Because, this was no ordinary period and will never be in the history of Western industrialized world.

The United States' economy was reeling under the great depression and to come out of it they needed to increase money supply but could not do so as it did not have 40 per cent gold reserves which was required to print more money as per US' then monetary system- gold standard.

So, President decided to increase the gold reserve by an executive order-with few exemptions- for a new beginning.

As Kotak Mahindra Asset Management's CEO and MD Nilesh Shah during a round table talk put it: "Either because the penalty was high or because Americans were the patriotic but people responded, and gave gold to Federal Reserve so that they can print dollar. Apart from many other things, printing dollar on that gold made America great again."

He also said that: "We have a great opportunity to make India great, if we can follow like Americans."

So when some eminent economists with roots in India call demonetisation a despotic act they should be reminded of the economic history of the world. And, this (US executive order-6102)particular case should answer all those who say people were being forced to queue up at banks and ATMs for their own money after demonetization here in India.

In a moment of national crisis, it is national interest that should be placed ahead of personal or individual interest and after all such decisions are taken to save the country, its economy and ultimately serve the people at large.

Apart from many other arguments against the demonetisation, as eminent economist Jagdish Bhagwati puts it, some economists advanced a criticism that this initiative was an abrogation of contract and trust in the currency.

*SENIOR WRITER, BUSINESS TODAY

Noble laureate Amartya Sen recently said the demonetisation has struck at the root of economy based on trust. "In the last 20 years, the country has been growing very fast. But it is all based on acceptance of each other's word. By taking despotic action and saying we had promised but won't fulfil our promise, you hit at the root of this," Sen said.

He also said that it undermines notes, it undermines bank accounts, it undermines entire economy of trust. It's a disaster on economy of trust.

"This is incorrect, as the policy allows for the exchange of old notes for new notes. Although the process is inconvenient, and subjects many households to hardships, it forces the cash from the black economy to be deposited into the banking system, potentially increasing transparency and expanding the tax base and revenues to the government from taxes and surcharges," Bhagwati explained.

Demonetisation is considered to be the single biggest economic reform that touched or impacted every single person's life in the country. While various survey reports suggest that people, largely, stood behind Prime Minister's daring move, it was economists who were completely divided as it was never done in the history of any democratic country.

Senior India Analyst at New York-based macro policy advisory group, Surjit S Bhalla in his weekly column in The Indian Express said that he had not met a single economist (including self) who would have ex-ante approved the demonetisation.

This should not come as a surprise to anybody since economists are trained to never, ever, think out-of-the-box. This training, and this practice, is the determinant of an economist's success, he said.

The first thing that a good economist does, Bhalla writes, is that she begins to look at the data; where has this been done before, what happened, what were the determinants of success or failure, and then she makes a policy brief to the "decision-maker". If she cannot defend herself with evidence, she shouldn't make the recommendation for an action for which there is no precedence.

He goes on to say that soon after November 8, many wannabe economists pointed out that demonetisation had indeed been "practiced" before, and then with the help of Google, pointed out that Russia had done it, and so had Ghana, and so had North Korea. Voila, there was plenty of evidence that demonetisation had not worked (how they got to that conclusion is the mark of a BWE - bad wannabe economist), and therefore it was doomed to failure in India.

"What the BWE failed to note was that there was no example of large scale demonetisation in a 'normal' country like India," he said.

Bhalla also made it clear that the fact that no good economist would approve of demonetisation ex-ante, does not necessarily mean that the same economists would not approve of it ex-post, like self. Thinking out of the box is not demanded of economists, he said.

Former Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh feared that the GDP (growth) could come down by about 2 per cent. Rating agency Fitch said that the growth will slow by 0.5 per cent. None of these numbers have actually been based on any reliable and empirical data. As chief statistician TCA Anant said: "The impact of demonetisation on the country's GDP is very difficult to be assessed in absence of any concrete data."

Talking to Business Today, Anant pointed out the limitations of the models economists and analysts are using to come out different estimates on the impact of GDP after note ban.

"Most economic models talk in terms of money supply. Money supply comprises cash with public, deposits and other sources of liquidity. Money supply has become very complex with all the digital money sources. Cash is only one component of money supply and depending upon how broad the definition of money supply you take, the proportion of cash would change accordingly," Anant told Business Today.

He also said that the different components of money are substitute of each other... they are not the perfect substitute of each other, but they are substitute of each other. "What is the degree of substitutability, I don't know. I have no data, I will wait for data which will available after some time when we can make an assessment," he said.

HDFC Managing Director Aditya Puri also echoed the same view and said, "All the economists are talking nonsense." While, it is well known that the economy will take a hit in short-run what was ignored all this while from some section of media and political activists was its long term gain on economy.

NITI Aayog CEO Amitabh Kant in an interview to NDTV said that when the government takes economic decisions it doesn't think of 3 or say 6 months impact on economy. No explanation could have been better than this to 'GDP-hit' argument.

Jagdish Bhagwati in his column wrote that a shadow economy reliant on cash transactions and evading taxes, especially on high value transactions such as real estate purchases, gold, and intrinsically illegal activity, has taken deep and highly persistent root.

"While the pernicious effects of a large black economy and tax avoidance have been well recognised, no tangible policy action has been taken until now," he said.

He also said that the economically and politically powerful constituencies with considerable stake in the shadow economy have been upended.

Senior economist Ritika Mankar Mukherjee and Ambit Capital CEO Saurabh Mukherjee explained how demonetisation can turn a cash-based informal economy into a formal economy.

The report said that the informal sector accounts for more than 40 per cent of India's GDP and provides employment to close to 80 per cent of the labour force.

"While it is difficult to capture details regarding the profit margins of businesses in the informal sector, it is safe to assume that from the third quarter FY17 to fourth quarter FY19, the share of the informal economy in India could shrink from 40 percent to 20 per cent. As the informal sector shrinks, the formal organised sector is likely to gain market share as a 'formalisation effect' comes into play from the next year onwards," the economists believe.

It also highlights the importance of sustained crackdown on black money that will prevent people from parking their savings in physical assets such as gold and real estate.

According to them, this should boost the flow of savings into the financial system to a significant extent. This in turn should spell a higher influx of flows for financial services providers such as banks, non-banking financial companies (NBFCs) and stockbrokers.

Ever since the Prime Minister demonetised the specific bank notes here in India, economists in and outside of the country began to dissect the data available with the different government agencies and came to conclusion that it was an exercise just to score some political brownie points.

Whether it is black money or counterfeiting none of these convinced data-loving economists as they say that black money will happen, counterfeiting will happen. So why was this massive disruption and whose cost? And, they are probably right.

Demonetisation by no means is going to stop future accumulation of black wealth. It is not going to stop counterfeiting of Indian currency either. So, what we gain here?

Prime Minister in his November 8 address to the nation said that counterfeiting of the currency had increased in last few years. The Reserve Bank of India's annual reports suggests that the circulation of fake Indian currency notes (FICN) has been on the rise in India.

The Central bank data shows the year 2014-2015 saw a steep rise, with 594,446 FICN detected, up from 488,273 in the year 2013-14.

The Diplomat reported that The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) report of 2013 found that the Indian rupee was the ninth most counterfeited currency in terms of its value and stood third in terms of the number of FICN detected around the world.

It also says that this was a grave concern to India and if not dealt with would have had serious implications as counterfeit currency can reduce the value of the currency and increase inflation. It's a simple economics.

According to the Diplomat report, counterfeiting money has been prevalent throughout history and is sometimes called the

world's "second oldest profession."

It also says that traditional counterfeiters in most cases are individuals or a group who counterfeit money for their own profit. But during modern history, a new phenomenon appeared: states involved in counterfeiting the currency of enemy states to destabilize their economy.

"For example, during World War II, Hitler initiated "Operation Bernhard" and counterfeited British pounds. As a result Britain had to withdraw most of its currency notes, the diplomat reported.

Earlier in 2013, FATF reported that around 80 per cent counterfeit Indian currency notes are printed by state-run printing presses in Pakistan. And, then it is pumped in directly into India to fuel terrorism and other subversive activities.

And, it is no secret that Pakistan's Inter-state Intelligence used fake currency to unleash terror in India. During the interrogation of 26/11 convict David Headley it was revealed that how ISI actively used the counterfeiting currency to fund the terror operation in India.

Headley had admitted that ISI handler Major Iqbal gave him fake currency for circulation in India. He was not the only one to say this. In 2014, Syed Abdul Karim Tunda received several consignments of fake currency arranged by an ISI brigadier. He also named several key officials from ISI who were involved in the circulation of fake currency through Indo-Nepal border.

It was one among the reasons that prompted the Indian government to go for such massive economic disruption. Now, it's been over a month since the note ban happened. So, are we anywhere close to ending this menace?

A week after demonetisation, The New Indian Express reported that Prime Minister's demonetise drive halted all terror operations, especially in parts of the Kashmir Valley where nearly Rs 3,000 crore of hawala money in circulation is of 'no use'.

The report said that besides terror, the four-month-long unrest in the valley, erupted after the killing of self-styled HuM commander Burhan Wani by security forces in July, is also expected to be wiped out in the absence of cash inflow.

"According to Intelligence estimates, Pakistan pumps in Rs 800-1,000 crore annually for the separatist groups alone in Jammu and Kashmir. This is apart from Rs 300-500 crore that is funded to mainstream politicians and local terror groups such as Hizbul Mujahideen," the report said.

Demonetisation has also hit the activities of Maoists and other insurgent groups in the north-eastern states. If some reports are to be believed then these groups create a corpus of at least Rs 2,000-3000 crore annually from extortion. And, they use this fund to buy weapons and explosives to wage war against the states.

Demonetisation may have hit the hawala operators, but it is quite possible that such networks may revive their operations once the economy is remonetised. The intelligence agencies and the government have tough job at hand to plug all the roots through which fake currency is pumped in.

Well-known commentator on economic affairs S Gurumurthy said that the Indian economy had reached a stage where demonetisation was no longer an option, it was an inevitable step.

The economy from 2004 onwards has been showing a fake growth in terms of asset appreciation - land, gold and stocks - without growth in jobs. This was largely driven by cash economy outside the system and not by official cash expansion, he said.

He also explained why it was necessary for the government to exercise this step to save the economy from collapsing. Gurumurthy said the high denomination notes constituted 34 per cent of the total economy in 2004, it went up to 79 per cent in the next six years and touched 86 per cent in 2014. This is what inflated the asset prices.

"The point I am trying to make is that what we have seen thus far is not real growth. One can argue that we could have continued with this - essentially do a holding operation. What has grown from Rs 1.4 lakh crore (HDNs) in 2000 to Rs 14.6 lakh crore now would have increased to Rs 30 lakh crore in the next five years, by which time no government could have intervened unless it is willing to pull down the economy. Even otherwise, the economy would have collapsed on its own eventually. So demonetisation is a hedge against a crisis which might collapse the economy eventually," Gurumurthy offers his explanation.

He, however, cautions the government and laid down three challenges before it if the country has to get the intended benefit from the demonetization.

Gurumurthy said the first challenge is to ensure that the non-formal sector gets requisite financial support from the banking system through non-banking and micro-financing agencies.

The second is to plug the areas which generate black money. He said that there is a need to provide scope for non-ornament gold to be deposited in banks at zero or nominal interest for a long term period with complete tax immunity.

“It is the only way to handle the existing stock of black gold. This could result in gold deposits to the tune of 2,000 to 3,000 tonnes, which could be sold by the banks to the RBI, thereby creating liquidity to fund infrastructure development,” he explained.

According to him, the third step is to put a check on benami transactions, which has pushed up property values even in villages. “Unless these three challenges are met effectively, sooner than later, cash economy is going to come back to haunt us again in a few years,” he was quoted as saying.

Many of the critics of the government or its demonetization move talked about sufferings of the poor and questioned whether the pain- during the transition period - is worth the gain.

Jury is still out on this one. However, senior journalist Manu Joseph said despite the suffering demonetisation has unleashed, it would enjoy an exalted place in public consciousness as the policy that pushed most Indians towards formal banking, increased tax collection, and debilitated illicit money and low-grade terrorism.

He said that in the past few days we have seen an enormous amount of middle-class love for the poor. “Almost all elite arguments have been couched in concern for the cashless poor. Some Beautiful People are even worried that Modi is coercing India’s poor into the formal banking system,” Joseph wrote.

But, he also had message for all those who actually raised the concerns for poor and their inability in doing formal banking. He said ideally, those who truly care about the poor should have done the job a long time back instead of leaving it to a practical professional politician who has begun work on securing another term.

“Well-meaning activists did try but it appears that only a government can accomplish the job, and the only way millions of Indians can be inspired to enter the banking system is by delivering a mild shock. That is what has happened,” Joseph wrote.

In fact, it would be wise for Modi’s foes, which include politicians and conscientious humanities professors, to quickly abandon their public campaigns against the policy because the longer they keep at it the deeper the branding of Modi as an economic reformer,” Joseph said.

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DEMONETISATION - IS THE RIGHT THE NEW LEFT

SARVESH KUMAR TIWARY*

Forget the term 'long run', for in the long run we are all dead. Forget the fact that the demonetization drive, a colossal policy failure that it has been in the short run, has left the nation's economy battered. Forget everything and chug along the oft quoted nationalistic ideals, ideals which have been conveniently recalibrated according to the political whims and fancies of a regime which seems to have taken a pledge to do the most 'schizophrenic brand of politics' in the political history of the nation. It seems as if forgetting is the new art which the current regime wants us to learn. Let alone our history and the hazy contours of a future often promised and never delivered in politics, it seems that we are even expected to forget the immediate present - a present which for now, seems to be marred by the serpentine queues stretching for miles and a blitzkrieg of changing rules. Nothing seems certain. At no point in time, in our political history, has there been a phase of such unannounced yet widely evident financial emergency. This is where the subversion of electoral majority appears so well evident. That the charismatic persona of one leader who has helmed our political echelons after 2014 has so well been used to deny us of our own money, all in the name of realizing some well meaning yet 'vague', yet ambitious ideals of rooting out corruption, sounds nothing but fantastic. Governance was never so close to fiction.

No matter how shrewdly one goes around shifting the goalposts, churning out lies after lies, excuses after excuses - the reality is there, sprayed in front of all of us who are divided across parties and ideologies. It is not so soothing, neither it is comforting. All this intellectual fodder cannot give back life to those who have dies because of this move; the crippled state of affairs can't be corrected by a serious of hyperboles and a series of misplaced logical fallacies which debaters use to win a harmless debate in schools.

Speaking of logical fallacies, one section of the current regime, which has long aspired to become the 'intellectual vanguard' of right wing politics led by an army of shrill university professors, has now taken upon itself the burden to

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rationalize the irrational. They are here to tell us all about this being an 'economic satyagrah'; they are here to make us realize that the exercise in effect is basically a war against the nepotism ushered in by rampant neoliberal policies, they are here to take us back in time and establish the socialist and even leftist leanings that was ingrained in their parent political organization. All this historical mumbo-jumbo from people who not a long ago abhorred the idea of historical analysis is intriguing. Fresh out from their intellectual hibernation, they will tell you that the current right wing regime is here to cure the ills that the neoliberal policies of the earlier governments have brought about. Playing with the standard logical fallacies which include Red herring and appeal to emotion, where the argument is peppered with misplaced priorities, they are trying to make us realize that the current regime is up against the crony capitalist empire of the trans-nationals; that their ideology has always been rooted in an essentially 'socialist' conception of capital. All of that is a good recipe for a dinner table discourse; the time-travel of this supposedly 'centrist' ideological legacy of Jansangh is interesting but hollow. After a nerve wracking session within their think tank, they are here to topple history upside down and capture the centrist political space, well mostly because nobody else is there to articulate it. Because the voice from the opposition has been muted and none seems to be competent enough to articulate the idea of a 'nationalist brand of capitalism', these neo-intellectuals, tutored and trained under the tutelage of the Sangh Parivar, are ready to use the age old argumentative tools of 'socialism' to defend an essentially capitalist political bulwark of which they are a part of.

One can only laugh at this misplaced adventure. Scratch their arguments bit by bit and the sheer hypocrisy of it will be there for all to see on the surface. A regime which enjoys the unbridled political support of a primarily upper and middle class, a regime whose current leader has championed the cause of aspiration politics among the great Indian middle class - both of them, necessary by products of an India which was ushering in the same age of neoliberal politics, has suddenly decided to become socialist, championing the cause of the 'common man'. On paper, this seems fantastic, even pleasant to the ears. One wishes that it could be true. But nothing could have been farther from truth than this rash argument of the centrist underpinnings in the right wing brand of politics. If at all, the political landscape of the nation has skewed in favor of the right wing forces, these self proclaimed intellectuals should thank Manmohan Singh and Co for opening the doors of Indian market. It was precisely that section of the society, riding on the MNC bred job offers and the thrust of opportunity brought about by the very same neoliberal interests, which has now become the most important puppet in the game of televised politics. It is here that one needs to bring in renowned sociologist Partha Chatterjee's brilliant assessment of the nature of the successive governments under the leadership of BJP and Congress. One just needs to look beyond their manifesto based macro discourse to find that both of them have been steadily pushing forth the neoliberal interest in order to chalk out the 'development story' of the nation. The march of Trans-national companies and capital has never been questioned; the distancing of populist politics from the so called 'rational economical brand of polity' is there for all to see. Talk about neo liberal regimes and BJP is nothing but Team B of Congress. That is not to say that the state has been absent from the growth story of the nation or the economic evolution of the nation has always been subservient to the neoliberal agenda imagined at Bretton Woods institutions. The state has been always there, carefully balancing between the goals and aspirations of a welfare state, and promoting the idea of laissez faire.

This brouhaha coming from the right wing think tank, against the neoliberal scheme of things and the politics of laissez faire is dramatic example of barking around the wrong pole. It's a classic case of deflecting the issue towards another vague ideological proposition, something which they have always been against. Not a long time back, the academic and intellectual interpretation of things as 'rational' as economics was considered a useless exercise by the same clan. In an age when the talk of neoliberal march sounds archaic, when on the one hand you are clamoring to make us go cashless using mobile wallets funded by Chinese corporate houses, this demonizing of neoliberalism as something which is alien borders idiocy. It is as misplaced as the Swadeshi movement in which the Bengali revolutionaries were thinking of taking on the entire British economic framework by boycotting foreign goods. No matter how enchanting the tune of Swadeshi

might sound to the ears, hardcore economics is an unforgiving game, even more when you bring in your shallow political motivations into it. You kick on the belly of a common man and he will drag you out of your intellectual slumber in the next election. There have been instances of it, many so in our won nation where people have mastered the art of surprising themselves too when it comes to politics. While this newfound hatred against neoliberalism and the crusade for a Swadeshi socialism might be the new intellectual invention from the stables of Sangh, put it through a test of time, person, place and history, it is bound to crumble down under the heat of hunger and poverty. All one needs to do in order to lay bare the inherent fallacies in their arguments is to carefully underline the exact meanings of the ills they are clamoring to take on. In a carefully crafted onslaught against the so called 'western' idea of neo-liberal economic practices, they create this imagery of Indian economy becoming subservient of the 'neoliberal (read the age old Swadeshi vs. Videshi debate) interests. This grand (de?) construction of 'us versus them' school of thought regarding things economical is absurd at many fronts. What lies beneath this theory is mute allegiance to a utilitarian economical thought imported from the same 'west', realized in the same western realm of reason and rationality using those same -mathematical -economic models constructed far away in the lads of Massachusetts and Cambridge. The choice of the villain - sometimes within the west, sometimes within our boundaries is too convenient. That said, it is a well established fact that the neoliberal onslaught in India has not yet taken over the welfare motive of governance. Ours is a country which through all these years has found itself at the unique crossroad where it is tough to denounce either the need of the capital for the creation of infrastructure or the requirement of welfare policies to uplift the downtrodden. Before one ventures into prescribing a monolithic, unilateral paradigm of economic structure in this country, it is important to keep in mind the diversities - both economic and socio-cultural.

Our neoliberal experience has been unique. While nobody is denying the untrammelled march of capital, often uprooting the existing bulwark of economy, it would be highly ignorant to assume that the state has become absent. What is being carpeted down so smartly under this argument of an onslaught against the imposition of a 'foreign' economical model upon ours is our ability as a nation to take sovereign economic decisions. That as a nation-state, we have been competent enough to take rational economic decisions rooted in our inherent experiences, is a point well established. There have been failures in the way, but it is here we need to remember John Kenneth Galbraith who in his book 'The Affluent Society' has quipped - 'the experience of nations with well-being is exceedingly brief. Nearly all, throughout history, have been very poor.' Ours is a nation-state whose experience on the gigantic geological time-clock has been miniscule. The entire basic premise of economics rests on finding the appropriate balance between the resources and the needs. While the tools used by the regimes might be different, the end is always pious. It is when one bumps into masterly art of politics - the key to power. And it is where economics becomes political. The argument of neoliberal nepotism and the justification of a draconic executive superseding the institutes established under the law are crass. Coming from a regime which, on the one hand, believes in pushing forth of the agenda of minimal governance and aims to the maximize the role of 'private' in the public-private partnership - this narrative of the vilification of Neoliberal framework lacks concrete evidences. From the bauxite mines of Jharkhand to the oil-gas fields of Caumbay Basin - the march of capital interests is too well evident to find. Good or bad - it is for the intellectuals to debate and analyze, but the immediate reality emerges when one finds the creation of infrastructure, the growth of job prospects at one hand and the marginalization of the tribes, the creation of a police-corporate-political nexus on the other.

The rude quest for 'rational' solution within the economical models often ignores the subtle but poignant questions posed from the sociologists. Seen from a neoliberal point of view, sociologists have often been considered as soft powers, rarely succeeding in hammer through their impact in the actualization of policy decisions. But in case of India, the whole history of our political planning under the Planning commission has seen the eminent role of people from all walks of life. It is this regime which has decided to say goodbye to a trial and tested policy institution which enjoyed autonomy in the policy

formulation process. The reasons for scrapping the Planning commission and creating the Niti Aayog are too many and too well documented to discuss here. But the moot point behind this whole reasoning is the quest for more 'rational' and 'logical' distribution of the resources. It is for the saner lot of our economists to debate and decide whether this quest for economical reason is an offspring of the neoliberal economic agenda or not. But the countering questions regarding the flaws in the economic governance of a regime by taking shelter under a flawed critique of a grander economic model is an intellectual chutzpah of the highest order. It's like justifying a murderer by saying that the world has been unfair to him.

One demolishes this myth of a 'right wing war against neoliberalism' and finds the neo-intellectuals ready with their ode to 'Swaraj' - a politico-economical idea ushered in by a man which the nation, of late, has chosen to forget - M.K. Gandhi, the wily old maverick from the same land of Gujarat from where Modi comes. This newfound love for Gandhi's concept of Swaraj in the Sangh Parivar intellectual bastion is pleasantly flabbergasting. Pleasant because after all these years of bashing Gandhi and ideals as redundant and creating an air of anger against his magnanimity by pushing forth the most a-historic interpretation of our freedom struggle; flabbergasting because it is tough to ignore their deep seated bias against anything remotely associated with the Gandhian political philosophy.

It is here we need to take a closer look into this newly constructed Ode to Gandhian political philosophy. To begin it, while it is safer to say the genesis of Swaraj as an economic model derives its salient motivation from ancient Indian socio-economic experiences, no one can deny the role of Gandhi as somebody who articulated the idea of 'Swaraj' and condensed it within a concrete ideological framework. Swaraj stands as the hallmark of a Gandhian economic model which completely denied the onslaught of capital. The emphasis on smaller agrarian economic units, the need to empower cottage industries, the blockade of imperial, industrial interests so that they do not meddle with the inherent interest of the common man of the nation - these are those poignant aspects which the political ideology of Swaraj tried to bring about. Go back to the pages of history and try to underline the similarities between the Marxian communism of Lenin and the Gandhian philosophy of Swaraj and one would be surprised to see the intellectual similarities between them. The idea of Swaraj goes against the liberal, utilitarian imagination of Capital and its ability of creative deconstruction. That there would be ever be a conglomerate of definite economic interest, disguised as Multinational corporate houses where the entire capital of the nation would be centered was something which Gandhi had never imagined. Swaraj as an economic model is a synthesis of the communist idea of resource redistribution and an ingenious Indian experience, so much so that it goes to the extent of challenging the authority of the state as the custodian of nation's resources. It is the most bold critique of the political idea of 'resource redistribution and had always questioned the centripetal, qasi-federal tendencies of the center to act as supreme policy planner. When one talks about the economical intentions of Swaraj as an ideology, it is also important to keep in mind that it is coupled with a necessary proposition of political decentralization. The Gandhian idea of political decentralization is radical to the extent that it goes beyond the idea of modern 'nation-state' and imagines some sort of commune like structure where the nationalist imagination happens without it being subservient to the state.

What happened with the Gandhian philosophy of Swaraj is for all to see. Nehru shunned it, pivoting the economic planning of the nation towards a state led socialist bulwark. The very idea of planning which the Indian nation-state chose for it had partly emerged from our immediate socio-economical experiences and partly from a Russia led Communist hangover which Nehru loved. The Nehru-Mahlanbois led second five year plan emulated all those 'rational', 'realistic' and 'economical' aspects of planning - but was it in sync with the immediate indigenous economical aspirations of the nation? While there may not be a definitive answer to it, the point here to be made is that the idea of Swaraj, with which the intellectual vanguards of the current regime have so dearly fallen in love, could not even be digested by a supposedly centrist, socialist regime that took hold of the nation after 1947. It is mind boggling and even audacious on their part to even imagine of associating their brand of politics with something like Swaraj. Wordplay is a funny ballgame; so is intellectual exercises but there are facts which must be seen in the black and white. Blurring the political spectrum by

selectively picking, choosing and quoting anecdotes like the Jansangh dissociating from the Swaraj Party because the former suddenly found out the feudal pro-capital interests of the latter; all of it is not history but political mumbo-jumbo in order to distract the public attention from the core issue. A political outfit which was earlier associated as a party of traders, which later on remodeled its entire political logic on the neo-liberal fault lines which had emerged in the nations, a party which has furthered the corporate interests in every sphere of economy, a regime which plays around the same idea of pushing forth a brand of development which sounds 'videshi' to a lot of people, underprivileged and unimagined - that it dares to claim being the harbinger of an economic Swaraj in this nation is in itself a laughable idea. Unless it goes back in time and acknowledges these sins, the right can never even claim the center, let alone the grand ideals of Gandhian socialism. No matter who is at the center - the right or the left, the appropriation of a centrist idea of political economy is going to be a tricky ballgame.

That said, these shrewd intellectual practices of settling ideological flaws when the need of the hour is to deal with the after effects of this policy failure, is startling. While it is true that political parties evolve during the course of the time, the essence of their political thinking is something which is built around years. While it may sound fascinating to their political masters, the hurried branding of them being the champion of socialism, it has almost zero value to add to the economic or psychological health of the nation. Till the time the herd of these neo-intellectuals realize this, let's wish for them some good sense and happy television hours till then. In times when the governance and policies are being treated as fiction, television is nothing but circus.

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INTERROGATING THE NATIONALIST POLITICAL CONFIGURATION IN INDIA : COMPETING IMAGININGS AND DISCORDANT VOICES

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The British conquest of India gave Indians a political sense of unity and that sense of unity shaped a political process in the form of a liberation movement symbolised by the Indian National Congress which became the custodian of the destiny of Indians. The nationalist movement in India has been described by Bipan Chandra as one of the biggest mass movements (sic) modern society has ever seen.¹ In such accounts the tale of nationalism has been woven around the narration of certain well-known historical events marginalising the phenomena of competing imaginings and discordant voices, which questioned not only the official nationalism of the Congress but also the alternative nationalism as well. The masses in their millions participated in Congress led movements for national liberation, but the forms of these movements varied so widely from region to region, that apart from their simultaneity, it is sometimes difficult to recognise them as one movement.²

In this backdrop, a few pertinent questions confront us : What, in the perception of the moderates, was the nature of the gulf separating them and their class from the masses? What, more generally, was the attitude of the politically active elite class towards the peasants, the Dalits, the Muslims, the working class, and what place, if any, did they occupy in the discourse of the mainstream version of Indian nationalism? Is it correct to say that the 1930s saw the ascendancy of the Congress challenged in numerous ways?

This article will make an attempt to state and explicate the competing imaginings and discordant voices in the nationalist political configuration in India. In order to achieve this purpose, it is imperative on my part to take up the myriad voices of different social groups and classes one by one.

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CONTESTED CANVAS OF NATION-SPACE

In a country where people spoke in so many languages, where the majority of the population were illiterate peasants, how would you homogenize the 'elites' conception of nation? Actually, the Indian masses were never a homogeneous entity and nationalism had different meanings for different groups of people. These competing perceptions and aspirations were actually reflected in a nationalist movement, which we usually conceptualize as 'one' movement acting as a ground for breeding homogeneity. The central theme of this nationalist movement was a contingent political unity against colonial rule, yet persistent resistance to any elision of the distinctiveness of its various constitutive elements and differences in their sense of history. In other words, Indian nationalism represented the myriad voices of different social groups, classes and regions, which responded differently but conjointly to foreign rule from their variegated understanding of nationhood.

Most accounts of Indian nationalism include, or begin with the last two decades of thenineteenth century with a growing sense of selfhood, with an accompanying demand not to get rid of British rule, but to have a greater share in the governance of their own country. In view of this professed 'loyalism' - both as a strategy and as a matter of faith - whether or not this politics should at all be labelled as 'nationalist' is a legitimate question. However, this was only one trend visible among an emergent middle class that has been organizing political protests against certain specific aspects of colonial rule and were seeking to construct a modern nation on the European model. Side by side, there have always been parallel trends of peasant movements which rejected the colonial state, its new legal apparatus, and its new posse of oppressive agents. Although these two strands were never two hermetically sealed autonomous domains of politics, the major challenge of the Indian nationalist leaders was to reconcile the contradictions arising from this apparent hiatus.³ Because, for them, for a nation to be legitimate in a European sense, the elite's ideas needed to be extended to the masses.

Here an important question crops up- were these educated middle classes just imitating a western model or could they also imagine their own autonomous domain of sovereignty? The process of the nation's imagining its own cultural domain of autonomy started long before its political movement began in 1885. Partha Chatterjee strongly refutes the idea of 'modular influences' of the West in conceptualizing the nation and has suggested the existence of an inner spiritual domain where the nation was already sovereign, despite its surrender to colonial rule and its modernizing influences in the public domain.⁴ Whether or not we can compartmentalize the life of a nation into two autonomous domains precluding possibilities of interaction and interfaces is open to question. But there is a greater consensus now among historians across the political spectrum that the early nationalist were trying to imagine a modern nation, but that modernity was to be rooted firmly in a reinvented tradition that would mark out their difference from the domineering presence of a colonial rule. They could not visualize complete separation from the empire, even some of them believed in the providential nature of colonial rule as the harbinger of modernity; yet, their most important contribution was the formulation of an economic critique of colonialism.⁵

Yes! it is true that in recent years the historical veracity of moderate nationalists' 'drain theory' and the concept of 'deindustrialization' have come under close scrutiny but have not been discarded yet as totally fictive. However, more important is the historical context of this economic critique, which raised questions about colonial rule being unmixed blessing for the Indians and this questioning of the notion of improvement, however limited that might be, weakened the very ideological foundations of the Raj.⁶

It may relevantly be noted that these early Congress leaders or 'Moderates', however, also suffered from ideological dilemmas which prevented them from transforming this economic critique into a full-scale attack on the colonial rule. In this context, it is worth noting that modesty of goals and moderation of aims, as well as their loyalism and faith in the western model of development as the prescribed path for India's escape from poverty, were some of the characteristic features of moderate politics. But what made this politics 'moderate', argues Sanjay Seth, was their conscious acceptance of the hiatus between the elites and the masses, or in their imagining a nation which included people-the masses-who were not yet considered to be ready, in terms of education, for the enjoyment of self-government, and were therefore to be represented by their elite countrymen.⁷

VARIEGATED UNDERSTANDING OF COLONIAL RULE

However, the most important problematic of Indian nationalism was that the nation here did not evidently inhabit the 'homogeneous empty time', but rather the 'heterogenous time of modernity', to use Partha Chatterjee's expression.⁸ Here the non-elites - the peasants and the tribals-had their own understanding of colonial rule, arising from their grievances against its land revenue policies, legal system, new property relations, forest and game laws that resulted in either their loss of occupancy rights in land or exclusion from their natural habitats and natural rights in the resources of the forests and the consequent sense of loss of their familiar world. This often resulted in violent fracas with the colonial regimes or against its more localized hierarchies of power, represented by the new agents of oppression, for example, the planters, zamindars (landlords) and sahkars (moneylenders). In the second half of the nineteenth century the educated metropolitan elites often sympathized with the peasants and often tried to connect their localised movements to the broader arenas of organized politics, as it happened during the indigo rebellion (1859-60) and the Pabna riots (1873) in Bengal or the Deccan riots in Maharashtra (1875). But these educated middle classes, wedded as they were to the western idea of capitalist development, did not want to see their familiar world turned upside down through violent peasant upsurges. The moderate leaders' influence therefore was often of a moderating nature and did not result in anything more than limited reforms. Their political demand for greater Indian representation in the governance of their country was also largely ignored by the colonial government.

And it was this failure which led to the emergence of an 'Extremist' critique of Moderate politics in the late nineteenth century. This Extremist politics became powerful in three regions, Bengal, Maharashtra, and Punjab, but they too did not ultimately succeed in bridging the political gap with the masses, despite their reliance on Hindu revivalist trends and the overt and extensive use of Hindu symbols like mother goddess in Bengal, cow in north India,⁹ or Lord Ganapati in Maharashtra¹⁰ - as means to communicate with their uneducated masses. An ideal example of how they tried to overcome their ideological dilemmas is the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. As Sumit Sarkar points out, it started in response to the arrogant administration of Lord Curzon, but more particularly to his decision to partition Bengal in 1905. It was initiated by the Moderates, who gave a call for the boycott of British goods; this was indeed their first attempt to reach out to people outside the ranks of the educated classes.

However, it was soon taken over by the Extremists, but extremism here had two distinct trends : one was the non-political trend of constructive work for the development of *atmasakti* through *samitis* or local associations and the other was political Extremism that focussed primarily on passive resistance and boycott of British goods and institutions and developing their *swadeshi* or indigenous alternatives.¹¹ But in the end, despite their heavy reliance on Hindu symbols, the movement failed to appeal to either the Muslim and Dalit peasants of eastern Bengal or the urban working classes, and by 1908 lapsed into terrorist violence, which did not need a mass following, but only a few dedicated volunteers. The hiatus between the nationalism of the educated elites and the politics of the uneducated masses thus remained there as an uncomfortable reminder of the lack of homogeneity in India's nationalist movement. The Home Rule Leagues, started in 1916 by Annie Besant in Madras and by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra, made further attempts to mobilize the masses, but with no appreciable success.¹²

GANDHI'S TRANSMUTATION OF THE NATIONALIST POLITICAL PROCESS

It was at this juncture that the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa in 1915 acted as a catalyst for a long desired transformation of the political nation through an expansion of its mass base. But how did the common people interpret his message and why did they-particularly, the peasants and the tribals-respond to his appeal are some of the contentious issues of the historiography of Indian nationalism. Judith Brown on the one hand has emphasized Gandhi's effective role as a 'mediator' between competing groups of leaders and masses, and the contribution made by the local leaders-Gandhi's 'subcontractors'¹³ in mobilizing the people from the top. Shahid Amin on the other hand argues about the numerous ways the masses interpreted their Gandhi-his spiritual appeal, his occult powers, and his symbolism as a beacon of hope for the

empowerment of the powerless.¹⁴ The local leaders had limited control over this mass imagination of their Gandhi maharaj and on how they would respond to him or why often they would cross the limits of Gandhian politics at different stages.

It is important to acknowledge that from the Rowaltt Satyagraha of 1919 through the Non-cooperation-Khilafat movements of 1921-22 to the Civil Disobedience movement of 1929-34, Gandhi organised several rounds of mass movements, where the Dalits, the Muslims, the peasants and tribals participated from a variety of motivations, ranging from scarcity and high prices of daily necessities, local grievances about municipal politics or temple management, the fate of the Ottoman emperor, forced labour, restrictive forest laws, or high land revenue demands. Along with people's motivations, the intensity of the movements varied widely from region to region.

MAPPING DISCORDANT VOICES

Let us try to understand some of these competing perceptions and aspirations of different social groups which were actually reflected in the nationalist political process. The Muslims of India were the first to contest the mainstream version of nationalism and almost from the beginning many of them did not consider the Indian National Congress to be their representative. Why were they alienated from the mainstream nationalism of the Congress, and why their community-centric anxieties got stigmatized and 'othered' as 'communalism' are issues that need elaboration. It is generally believed that the prospect of the introduction of representative government created the political threat of a majority domination, which led to the formation of the All India Muslim League in 1906. This was the beginning of a search for distinctive political identity-not a quest for separate homeland-with a demand for the protection of their political rights as a minority community through the creation of separate electorate. The granting of this privilege of separate electorate by the colonial state in the Morley-Minto reform of 1909 elevated them to the status of an 'all-India political category', but one effectively consigned to being a 'perpetual minority' in the Indian body politic.

If whatever I have said above is true, it is quite obvious from it that the structural contradiction between communally compartmentalised electorates and the localization and provincialisation of political horizon was to have larger consequences for India's regionally differentiated, economically disparate, and ideologically divided Muslims and, by extension, for the congress' agendas of an inclusionary and secular nationalism.¹⁵

It is indeed true that a brief period of compromise with the Congress followed the signing of the Lucknow Pact in 1916, which recognized the Muslim demand for separate electorate. But soon all such arrangements became irrelevant, as the whole structure of Indian politics was changed by the coming of Gandhi and the advent of the masses into the previously enclosed arena of nationalist politics. Gandhi by supporting the Khilafat movement, which used a pan-Islamic symbol to forge a pan-Indian Muslim unity, went a long way in producing unprecedented Hindu-Muslim rapport. But the movement died down by 1924 due to internal divisions. But what is important, the Khilafat movement itself contributed further to the strengthening of Muslim identity in Punjab and Bengal. Frequent use of religious symbols by the overzealous ulama, who were pressed into service, highlighted the Islamic self of the Indian Muslims.¹⁶

What we witness in India after the demise of the Khilafat movement is the emergence of a religiously informed cultural identity politics among the Muslims on the one hand and a more aggressive variety of religious nationalism among the Hindus, as espoused by the formation of the All India Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam SevakSangh. Congress's inability to maintain a distance from the Hindu cultural nationalism and its obduracy against sharing power with the Muslims after the election of 1937 led to Muslim anxiety about being dominated by a majoritarian rule. The journey of the Muslims from their modest demand for 'a Muslim India within India' in 1930 to the declaration of separate nationhood in 1940 and the achievement of a sovereign state in 1947 was long and complicated. And as Achin Vanaik has argued, 'the Congress-led National Movement cannot escape most of the responsibility for this alienation of the Muslims of India.'¹⁷

The lukewarm response of the Dalit to mainstream nationalist movement was also to a large extent the result of

Congress approach to the question of caste and untouchability. However, the Congress took it up only when dalit leaders had organised themselves and were about to steal the initiative from the Congress.¹⁸ Brahman domination and social conservatism of the early Congress were much to blame for this inaction. With the rise of Gandhi to congress power in 1919, social reform became a legitimate cause for Congress concern. Gandhi's leadership introduced a major change in the approach towards untouchability, and the 1920 Non-cooperation resolution mentioned the removal of untouchability as a necessary pre-condition for attaining swaraj. But his subsequent campaign for the welfare of the Harijans after the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement, could neither arouse much caste Hindu interest in the reformist agenda nor could satisfy the dalits. He condemned untouchability as a distortion, but until the 1940s upheld varnashram dharma or caste system as an ideal non-competitive economic system of social division of labour as opposed to the class system of the West.¹⁹ This theory could not satisfy the socially ambitious groups among the untouchables as it denied them the chances of achieving social mobility. For the eradication of untouchability too, Gandhi took essentially a religious approach: temple entry movement, initiated by caste Hindus as an act of penance, and the idealisation of 'Bhangi', the self sacrificing domestic sweeper, were his answers to the problem. This campaign significantly undermined the moral and religious basis of untouchability, but, as Bhikhu Parekh has argued, failed to deal with its 'economic and political roots'. It dignified the untouchables, but failed to empower them.²⁰

The Gandhian approach, in other words, failed to satisfy dalit leaders like Ambedkar who preferred a political solution through guaranteed access to education, employment and political representation. Ambedkar later charged Gandhi and Congress for obfuscating the real issue and the demand for a separate political identity for the dalits became a sticky point in the relationship between the dalit political groups and the Congress.

But unlike Muslim politics, dalit self-assertion did not go very far, and their politics was soon appropriated by the Congress in the late 1940s. This happened due to various reasons. First of all, not all dalits believed in this politics, particularly at a period when Gandhian mass nationalism had acquired an unprecedented public legitimacy. The Scheduled Caste Federation neither had the opportunity nor time or resources to build up a mass organisation that could match that of the Congress at a time when the Gandhian reformist agenda, and later the revolutionary programme of the communists, were constantly corroding its support base. Finally, the imperatives of the transfer of power process left very little elbow room for the dalit leadership to manoeuvre, compelling them to join hands with the Congress.

It is significant to note that between 1885 and 1918 the Indian National Congress passed only four resolutions concerning the peasantry and none regarding workers, even though they constituted ninety percent of the country's population.²¹ When Gandhi came to be the leader of the Congress in 1920, things seemed to change but they did not. The masses were sometimes involved in activities organised by the Congress. They took part in the agitations and rallies but they were never allowed to become an independent political force. Their participation in decision-making never became a question for the Congress. Even when they took part in the political activity, their activity was 'rigidly controlled from the top'.²²

A word or two about the working class voice may not be out of place here since it also captures the strands of discordant voices. It should be noted that the Congress' claim of being an 'all class' party is also discredited by its attitude towards the working class struggle. First, it did not allow or help the development of an independent working class movement. The Congress was keen on channelizing the workers' struggle along the path of 'arbitration' in its bid to neutralize the ideology of 'class war'. In the process the Congress became as harsh and merciless (if not more) as the imperialist government. The Trade Union Act of 1947 thus incorporated all the repressive provisions of the colonial labour laws, the Defence of India Act, and the notorious Bombay Trade Dispute Act of 1937.²³

Secondly, the Congress tried to protect all the 'native and national' industries (sometimes the foreign owned also) against the workers' struggle, in spite of the fact that these 'national industries' firmly believing in crushing the workers' movement, bothered not a bit about the Gandhian principles of 'class harmony'. This was the essence of the professed

Congress policy of promoting the interest of 'all classes' of the Indian society. It is not without significance that Gandhi found the Tatas very 'generous' capitalists when they gave him a red carpet treatment and a 'silver' casket with money. In 1934, he advised the workers of Ahmedabad to cheerfully accept the 'wage cut' imposed by the employers. That was his way of effecting industrial peace.

It would be good to bear in mind that different ideological trends may have emerged within the Congress. But so far as the workers' struggle was concerned in effect and in practice the party seems to have shown astonishing consistency in following the path of so-called 'class harmony' and in curbing the growth of an independent and militant working class movement. In fact, what the congress did in the name of class harmony was to further strengthen the position of the capitalists by subordinating the working class voice to the logic of a nationalism that was little more than the rationalization of dominant vested interests.²⁴

Before concluding this article it is perhaps well to dwell briefly on the Quit India Movement of 1942. What we speak of today as the Quit India Movement is represented in nationalist historiography as the 'third great wave' of struggle against the British. Pankaj Kumar Roy asserts that the movement had also a constructive aspect which emphasised on the establishment of people's rule through a structure of popular government built up from the bottom. Successful experiments were in this respect made at some centres in Bihar, especially in the Saharsha and Bhagalpur areas.²⁵ Be as it may, one thing is clear. Quit India upsurge occurred in the name of Gandhi but went substantially beyond any confines that Gandhi may have envisaged for the movement. In this respect it revealed tension that prevailed widely even in the earlier nationalist campaigns. But 1942 showed them up in starker relief.

As Gyanendra Pandey argues, in this movement everything happened in Gandhi's name, yet he had so little control over what actually happened. In other words, what appears in nationalist teleology as one homogenous movement leading to the birth of a nation-state in 1947 had actually within it several distinct strands. They all fought for the liberation of 'India', but what it meant to be an Indian as well as the meaning of liberation differed widely among various groups of her future subject-citizens.²⁶

This pluralism of the Indian nationalist movement becomes even more glaring when we focus on the mass movements of the late 1940s - many of them taking place outside the organizational structures of the Congress - creating a political context that forced the Raj to expedite the transfer of power. In the wake of the Quit India movement, when the conservative leaders once again took control over the Congress and were looking forward to the real possibilities of a peaceful transfer of power, the INA (Indian National Army) trials in Delhi and the outbursts of popular protest all over India, the RIN (Royal Indian Navy) mutiny, the strikes in the RAF (Royal Air Force), the communist-led violent peasant movements in Bengal (Tebhaga) and Telengana turned India into a boiling cauldron of popular unrest.

CONCLUSION

What all this suggests is that if there was a widespread acceptance of the primacy of the Congress at one level, there were at the same time autonomous forces at work on another level that repeatedly challenged the notion of a necessary Congress 'leadership'. These forces had their roots in the far-from-complete integration of the Indian economy, in the significant cultural divide between the elites and the masses, and not least in long-standing traditions of militant resistance to class and state oppression in one region and another. It is indeed this recognition of 'competing imaginings' that can take us away from the known trajectories of European history trying to discover homogeneous nations within the constrictive perimeters of nation-states. This article may be ended here by endorsing the view of Ania Loomba that instead of searching for a homogeneous nation, we should celebrate its diversity; we should consider nation as a 'ground of dispute and debate, a site for competing imaginings of different ideological and political interests.'²⁷

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DELHI METRO RAIL CORPORATION: SUSTAINABILITY ON WHEELS

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DR SUMATI VARMA**

ABSTRACT

Climate change is a global reality. A major feature of climate change is the phenomenon of Greenhouse Gas Emissions (GHG), for which the developed world claims major credit. Today India has the dubious distinction of being the fourth largest global GHG emitter following China, USA and European Union respectively.

The growth and development needs of countries like India require it to balance high carbon emissions to meet the energy needs of its population in a sustainable manner. As economic growth leads to an increase in the demand for mobility, the transport sector is a major contributor of Greenhouse gas emissions. The carbon-intensive, transport sector can play an important role in limiting and mitigating GHG emissions through the development of smart and sustainable green transport and policies within the transport sector to encourage energy efficiency and sustainability.

The Avoid-Shift-Improve (ASI) framework is an internationally accepted set of guidelines for the reduction of carbon emissions at the lowest cost.

The Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) is a mass rapid transport system which started operations in 2002 and has emerged as the transport backbone of Delhi. This paper is a pioneering attempt to analyse DMRC sustainability efforts fit into the ASI framework. Using the case study methodology, it specifically examines and categorizes DMRC sustainability strategies as envisaged in the ASI framework to get valuable insights about the contribution of DMRC towards development of low carbon transport.

Keywords- Sustainable transport, DMRC, ASI framework, Clean Development Mechanism

JEL Classification- Q 54, Q55, Q56

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DELHI METRO RAIL CORPORATION: SUSTAINABILITY ON WHEELS

1.0 Introduction

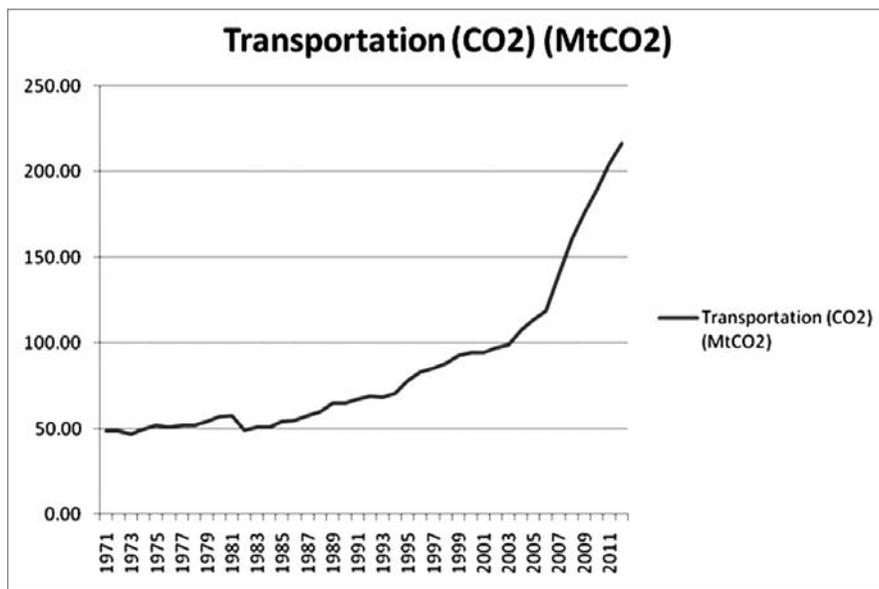
Combustion of fossil fuels specifically oil causes emission of GHG emissions, largely responsible for global warming. The increase in the consumption of fossil fuels for facilitation of transportation has led to increased pollution, resource depletion and congestion. The transport sector accounts for the release of substantial percentage of global CO₂ emissions into the atmosphere and more than 80 percent of predicted growth in emissions by the transport sector is estimated to come from developing countries. Urban transport is responsible for the increase in GHG emissions that contribute to climate change (UNCRD, 2009).

The importance of transport cannot be undermined since it creates linkages between people and the world. Therefore the development of transport sector should be made sustainable. The carbon-intensive, transport sector can play an important role in limiting and mitigating GHG emissions through the development of smart and sustainable green transport and policies within the transport sector to encourage energy efficiency and sustainability.

The transport sector plays an important role in developing countries like India which have witnessed a positive co - relation between growth and an increased demand for mobility and subsequently lead to more carbon emissions (Achairi et al 2013). In the Indian Context, Transport sector consumes substantial energy as observed from **Figure-1** which shows drastic increase in the CO₂ emissions from the transport sector in India. The transport sector in India is projected to witness a growth of car ownership over six times from 5.7 to 36.3 million cars, a 3.8 times increase in motorcycle ownership from 40 to 151 million unit over the time period 2007 to 2020, thereby causing high vehicle fuel consumption and CO₂emissions.¹

Therefore, a shift in passenger traffic from private to public transport will reduce congestion and CO₂ emissions. Sustainable transport is one of the key strategies for low carbon development.

Figure1: Carbon Emissions from Transportation



Source: World Resources Institute

The World Bank paper on Sustainable Development identifies three criteria for a transport policy to be sustainable to cater to the transportation needs of the city. The first is to develop socio economically sustainable transport, second there should be an energy-efficient and well-integrated mass-transit transport system and lastly the infrastructure and transport designs should be safe and convenient to all users. The Delhi Metro Rail Corporation qualifies to be a sustainable transport system within this criterion.

The Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) is a mass rapid transport system which started operations in 2002 and has emerged as the transport backbone of Delhi. The key to a long term urban transport solution lies in development of a sustainable transport and DMRC has demonstrated its leadership in development of such a mass rapid transit system. DMRC is affordable, has uniform pricing, has cut journey times across the city and at low costs. It has also been credited with reducing the level of carbon dioxide emissions from the atmosphere due to their sustainability strategies. DMRC has contributed towards creation of a sustainable city by reducing GHG gases through technological advancements, reducing private vehicle use. It has been certified by the United Nations as the first metro rail and rail-based system in the world for reducing GHG emissions and pollution levels in the capital city of India. DMRC is a perfect example of providing mobility while contributing to many sustainability co-benefits and also been acclaimed with numerous international and national awards for its contribution towards sustainability.² The sustainability efforts of DMRC were recently applauded at the COP-21 (Conference of Parties) by United Nations for its contribution towards providing sustainable transport.³

2.0 Literature Review

Interest on Sustainable transport could be traced back to the early 1990s.⁴ The focus of early research on Sustainable transport was on the economic and environmental impact of the transport sector ignoring the social dimension. Since transport sector was increasingly becoming the major reason for increased GHG emissions into the atmosphere, a series of policy regulations came for sustainable transport.

The European Union Ministers of Transport and Communications in 2001 summarized the elements of a sustainable transport system as one that allows the essential development needs of individuals, companies, and societies to be met safely and in a way that is consistent with human and ecosystem health, and encourages equity within and between successive generations. It should be affordable, efficient, offers choice of transport mode, and supports a competitive economy, as well as balanced regional development and limits emissions and waste within the planet's capacity to absorb them, uses renewable resources at or below their rates of generation, and uses non-renewable resources at or below the rates of development of renewable substitutes while minimizing the impact on the use of land and the generation of noise.

One significant case for sustainable transport was the Bogotá Declaration on Sustainable Transport Objectives (BDSTO). Sustainable transport is defined in the Bogota's Declaration (2011) (page 1) as:

"The provision of services and infrastructure for the mobility of people and goods needed for economic and social development and improved quality of life and competitiveness. These services and transport infrastructure provide secure, reliable, economical, efficient, equitable and affordable access to all, while mitigating the negative impacts on health and the environment locally and globally, in the short, medium and long term without compromising the development of future generations."

Ten Latin American countries signed the Bogotá Declaration on Sustainable Transport Objectives (BDSTO) in 2011 which highlights the countries strategies towards development of a sustainable transport system. The strategies were outlined to achieve efficient and environmentally sustainable transport structure. The main strategies included promotion of cycle and pedestrian infrastructure, increased investment in public transport infrastructure and encouragement of interurban transport system as alternatives to cars and flights. The case study recommended developing countries to adopt energy efficient and affordable low carbon transport structure to significantly reduce GHG reductions and mitigate the

harmful consequences of climate change. It is a quintessential example of how public transport can be developed by countries with moderate costs.

Metrobus, a Bus Rapid Transit System (2005) successfully incorporated Avoid-Shift-Improve strategies framework for sustainable transport to accommodate growing transportation growth in Mexico. Metrobus was able to shift 250,000 daily passengers onto public transit. Metrobus replaced their polluting buses with state-of-the art exhaust systems running on ultra low sulphur diesel fuel leading to drastically reduce 35,000 tonnes of CO₂ annually.⁵

Shanghai, China's largest city and a global financial hub also took sustainable steps when their transport sector surpassed industry as the city's main source of air pollution. Shanghai invested heavily in transit infrastructure and explored electric vehicles and cleaner buses for providing sustainable transport.⁶

Figueroa et al (2013) provided a path for achieving sustainable low carbon passenger transport in developing countries. The paper suggested developing countries to increase finances towards non-motorized modes and public transit systems; lowering levels of car ownership and encouraging self-organized transport systems.

Zbedia et al (2014) in their research work gave various countries general policy recommendations for achieving sustainable transport through the Avoid-Shift-Improve framework. For a developing country like India, they recommended to build on existing tendencies to avoid road transport through smart growth, continue to pursue railways as the main transport system, and search for alternate fuels that can be easily incorporated into Indian transport structures.

Abdulla (2014) gave low carbon strategies for the Maldives Transport Sector. These low carbon strategies include GHG mitigation strategies as well as adaptation strategies. These strategies were further classified as per the implementation time period i.e. short, medium and long term. As Maldives is highly vulnerable to negative impacts of climate change and so does India. These low carbon strategies can be integrated in the Indian transport system for achieving sustainable transport.

3.0 Conceptual Framework

Use of Transport causes an increase in the emission of CO₂ that contributes to Climate change. A transition from congested urban transport to a sustainable urban transport can be achieved through the ASI Approach. Avoid-Shift-Improve is a successful formula for achieving sustainable transport. ASI framework was first propagated by the German government think-tank GIZ for sustainable transport planning.

The ASI approach will help countries in emission reduction along with providing various co-benefits also.⁷ Developing nations like India can significantly lower their carbon emissions through the development of affordable and efficient low carbon transport. Widespread adoption of ASI strategies framework will reduce spending on vehicles, fuels and infrastructure (International Energy Agency).

The ASI strategy framework provides direction to the transport sector to avoid and reduce the need for transport, shift to lower emission transport modes and improve transport technologies and infrastructure. The ASI strategies framework has great potential for emission reductions.⁸ But to achieve a cost-efficient and low carbon-emission transport development, countries must assess opportunities under all the three aspects of the ASI strategy framework.

In other words, avoid unnecessary and irrelevant travel by motor vehicles.

Shift the trend of use of private vehicles to a safe, efficient and environmentally friendly transport mode.

Improve the infrastructure and management of transport services by adopting cleaner, efficient and safer technologies and practices.

AVOID-SHIFT-IMPROVE Framework

Avoid	Shift	Improve
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unnecessary Travel • Reduce need for travel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-motorized transport • Less carbon intensive modes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public transport • Fuel and Vehicle Technology • Transport Infrastructure

Strategy 1: Avoid

The first strategy of the ASI strategy is to avoid travel and reduce the need for travel. This strategy will facilitate in reduction of use of private vehicles and result in preservation of space for public and non-motorized transport. Reduction of motorised trips will decrease the amount of non-renewable energy used (Pucher and Buehler 2010).

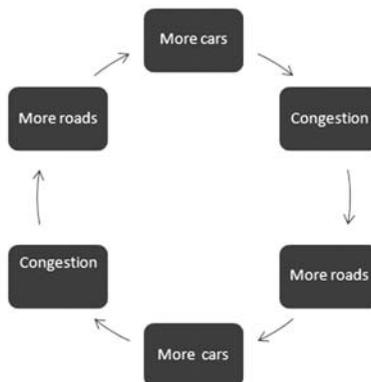
Avoid strategy will sustainably reduce the number of trips taken and the consequent GHG emissions. Specific Avoid strategies include Adequate Land use, Transport planning and management, Telecommuting, Cyber meetings and smart logistics. For example- Belgrade in their city transport project, the Smart plan changed their land-use policy to discourage urban sprawl and called for denser development, thereby avoiding the need for long trips by car in future.⁹

Strategy 2- Shift

The second strategy of the ASI strategy is to shift to non-motorized modes/lower-emission transport modes. Non-Motorised Transport is a sustainable mode of transport (Massink et al., 2011) since whether non-motorized mode is used for the entire journey or only a part, it helps in the reduction of motorised trips and distance. The vicious cycle of using private transport can be explained with the following **Figure 2**.

Environmentally friendly transport modes are bicycles, bus, trains and mass rapid transit systems. This shift of private transport mode towards lower-emission transport reduces the overall fuel use and GHG emissions per capita. Example-Paris adopted Urban Mobility Plan in 1998 that focused on the shift strategies. Apart from including mass transit, they introduced a bike-sharing programme Velib and an electric car sharing programme, Autolib.

Figure 2: Vicious cycle of using private transport



Strategy 3- Improve

The third strategy of the ASI strategy is to improve transport technology. Improve strategies seeks to build on the benefits of modal shifts by introducing more-energy efficient fuel and vehicle policies. Improvements made to technologies under ASI framework include the vehicle level, system level and institutional level.

Examples of Low-emission improvements include cleaner or more efficient conventional petroleum-based systems, such as hybrid-electric and dual-fuel vehicles. Improvements at System Level include improvement in transport infrastructure and urban planning. Finally improvements at Institutional level includes policies say fuel taxation, congestion pricing, parking tariffs, low-emission vehicle tax incentives, alternative fuel production subsidies and public awareness marketing campaigns and tools and software.

4.0 Methodology- Case Analysis of DMRC

4.1 An overview of DMRC Sustainability profile

Companies are heavily dependent on natural resources for conducting their business activities and in turn are accountable for emitting substantial amount of GHG emissions into the atmosphere. Delhi Metro Rail Corporation is a classic example of green mass rapid transit systems in India. DMRC's approach towards sustainability is well integrated in its core values and mission and has taken various steps for protecting the environment since its inception. DMRC is the most energy efficient mode of transport since the energy consumed for metro is only one unit. Comparative figures of unit energy consumed for different modes of transport are shown in Table 1.

Table1- Energy Consumed by other means of transport

Mode of Transport	Unit Energy Consumed
Metro	1
Bus	3
Two wheeler	5
AC Bus	6
Petrol Car	21
Diesel Car	22

Source: <http://www.delhimetrorail.com/otherdocuments/cop21.pdf>

The efforts of DMRC towards providing a sustainable transport have led to a reduction of 57,000 t CO₂ GHG emissions per day.¹⁰ DMRC has been a sustainable leader and has earned carbon credits for reducing CO₂ emissions annually through its projects on Regenerative braking, Modal Shift and Energy Efficiency.

4.1.1 Modal Shift Project

DMRC modal shift project has contributed to economic welfare by reducing the number of vehicles on road. It has helped in removing more than 91 thousand vehicles from the Delhi roads daily. In the absence of Delhi Metro project, the passengers must have travelled from one place to another by buses, taxis, by cars, by motorized rickshaws etc. With the construction and operation of DMRC, It replaced the passenger trips by conventional transport mode with Delhi Metro and thus reducing GHG emissions. If a commuter chooses metro over other modes of transport (car/bus), he/she contributes in the reduction of 100gm of carbon-dioxide for every trip of 10 km.¹¹

DMRC has witnessed large increase in the passenger ridership over the span of many years as shown in **Table 2** indicating the fact that general public choose to prefer Delhi Metro over other modes of transport. **Table 3** enumerates the co-benefits of Delhi Metro such as reduction in vehicular congestion, fuel consumption, pollutants and time savings.

Table2: Total Passengers carried by DMRC

Year	Total passengers
2002-03	3,868,093
2003-04	19,642,583
2004-05	45,436,825
2005-06	98,030,614
2006-07	169,322,536
2007-08	218,706,636
2008-09	263,733,520
2009-10	307,427,745
2010-11	459,624,142
2011-12	607,663,144
2012-13	702,948,991
2013-14	799,624,449

Source: DMRC Annual reports

Table3: Co-benefits of Delhi Metro based on the ridership of that year.

Descriptors	2011	2014	2015
No. of vehicles off the road daily	1,17,249	3,90,971	4,19,937
Annual reduction in fuel consumption (t)	1,06,493	2,76,000	2,99,000
Annual reduction in pollutants (t)	1,79,613	5,77,148	6,19,907
Savings in time per trip (minutes)	28	31.76	31.9

Source: <http://www.delhimetrorail.com/otherdocuments/APNAward.pdf>

4.1.2 Regenerative Braking System

DMRC is the first railway project across the globe to be registered by the UNFCCC under the Clean Development Mechanism for its sustainability project based on regenerative braking system in its rolling stock (trains) to earn carbon credits. This environmental technology feeds energy back into the network that can be used by other trains in the same service, therefore created significant energy savings. It has resulted in energy savings to the extent of 30% which enabled DMRC to earn carbon credits, each credit equivalent to one tonne of CO₂ being saved from emitting into the air. DMRC generated an income to the tune of 20 million Indian rupees by selling these carbon credits.¹²

4.1.3 Public Bicycle Sharing Facility

DMRC introduced a Public Bicycle Sharing (PBS) facility at selected metro stations for providing last mile connectivity to commuters. The PBS facility, an eco-friendly travel alternative will reduce the dependence on public/private transport thus saving carbon emissions.

4.1.4 Installation of solar panels

DMRC added one more feather in its cap by tapping solar energy to reduce dependence on non-renewable sources of energy. Currently, DMRC consumes 150 MW of energy, out of it only a small percentage (11MW) comes from tapping solar

energy. The installation of Roof top solar power plants by DMRC on Metro Stations, Depot, Officer’s colony, Sub-stations and parking area will enable DMRC to generate 50 MW by 2021.¹³

4.1.5 Green Buildings

DMRC has introduced Green Mass Rapid Transport Systems for metro stations. In India, Indian Green Building Council (IGBC) provides certification to Green Buildings in India, but as there was no norm available for qualification of MRTS to Green Standards. DMRC and IGBC collaborated to develop a green rating system for MRTS. Green buildings helps in the conservation of the environment as the built in structures in these buildings have better provisions for energy savings, less CO₂ emission and waste management arrangements. DMRC stations were designed according to green building norms approved by the Indian Green Business Council. These eco-friendly structures facilitate utilisation of natural resources such as sunlight more effectively.

4.1.6 Green Concrete (Clean Fuel)

DMRC reduced the consumption of cement required for making concrete for construction activities by substituting it with Fly ash. DMRC is using fly ash in concrete production and bricks which causes a decrease in the consumption of cement and thus reduction in carbon emissions. The increase in the fly ash consumption by DMRC for various years can be seen from **Table 4**.

Table 4: Fly Ash Consumption

Year	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Quantity (MT)	2,207	1,02,293	72,305	3,89,983

Source: <http://www.delhimetrorail.com/otherdocuments/APNAward.pdf>

4.2 Classification of DRMC sustainability strategies under ASI framework Strategies



5.0 Discussion & Conclusion

DMRC has provided the residents of Delhi not only a comfortable, reliable and safe public transport option but has also contributed substantially towards the reduction in GHG emissions. After studying the data on the ridership trend, it can be stated that DMRC has taken a large number of vehicles off the road thereby controlling pollution as vehicular congestion on roads. Avoid strategies include substituting travel with telecommunication and avoiding motorised travel through high-density urban planning. Since no DMRC sustainable strategies could be found under the Avoid strategies, DMRC should create awareness among the masses about cyber-meetings and telecommunications.

Shift strategies focus on encouraging a shift from private motorised travel to more-energy efficient transport mode such as public transit, walking and cycling. The widespread expansion of DMRC in Delhi-NCR will contribute in a direct shift from private transport to MRTS. Apart from this, DMRC should greatly promote non-motorized transport due to their great benefits for reducing transport emissions and improved human health.

Improve strategies include improving transport technology and infrastructure. DMRC has incorporated sustainability into its entire operation from construction to maintenance. DMRC uses green concrete for construction, taps solar energy for meeting energy needs, and uses advanced technologies like Regenerative Braking system to conserve energy. The efficiency and performance of DMRC can be improved through usage of clean and efficient fuels and advanced transport technologies. Policies at the institutional level are required to persuade private car users to shift to Delhi Metro. The number of private cars could be restricted on roads by bringing back again the odd-even scheme and increasing parking tariffs.

However, ASI strategies should be implemented in unison, as studies have shown that they are not effective when implemented alone. Together, these three steps AVOID-SHIFT-IMPROVE can become the mantra of green mobility programmes. Indian Government with the support of DMRC should follow the push and pull approach (Muller et al 1992) to persuade transport users to use more and more of public transport and non-motorized transport and discourage them to use private transport as Sustainable transport can make a meaningful contribution to the sustainable development of India.

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INDIA AND THE PERIL OF INACTION: THE TWIN ATTACKS OF PATHANKOT & URI

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 2015, around Christmas, on the way back from Afghanistan, Prime Minister Narendra Modi made a surprise halt at Islamabad to wish the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on his -birthday. This was hailed as a diplomatic masterstroke. While the media was abuzz with reports of this newly-found equation between the two Heads of the State, the Indian Prime Minister's lofty plans and hopes to 'turn the course of history' was soon to meet an abrupt end. His ambitious project got betrayed by the sudden and uncalled for heinous terrorist attack in Pathankot in the beginning of the year.

The terrorist attack in Pathankot, however, was no surprise. This kind of dastardly act has almost become a pattern in the Indo-Pak relationship where each past effort at peace has provoked similar strikes. India faced the Kargil attack after the Lahore Bus Yatra by PM Vajpayee in 1999, and the Parliament attack after the failed Agra Summit in 2001.

It is well known in Pakistan, the shots are called less by the civilian government and more by the Army and the Islamic militants. This is further corroborated by the fact that the most-wanted and dreaded terrorists like Hafeez Saeed (the chief of Lashkar-e-Taiba) and Syed Salahuddin (the chief of Hizbul Mujahideen) and Massoud Azhar can be seen holding massive rallies in Pakistan's most prominent cities. This sort of active and open support seems to be the new norm in Pakistan.

The more complex truth is that while Pakistan's all-powerful army seeks to avert a military crisis that would drain its energies at a time of grave internal turmoil, it does not seek normalization. This can be construed from the Pakistani Army Chief Raheel Sharif's statements asserting that he will not accept the status quo in Kashmir.

The Pathankot Airbase strike carried out by the Inter-Services Intelligence's old client, the Jaish-e-Muhammad and the terrorist attack on the Indian consulate in Mazar-e-Sharif (Afghanistan) almost at the same time prove the point that Indo-Pak

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peace process and India's engagement in Afghanistan would not be tolerated. OPERATION DHANGU in Pathankot was over but Pathankot was still afresh in public memory when terror struck again.

A SEPTEMBER TO REMEMBER

Come September, Pathankot is repeated again; only the date and venue change. On 18 September 2016, four heavily armed terrorists attacked the security forces near the town of Uri, near the Line of Control (LoC) in the Indian Administered state of Jammu & Kashmir. This was the deadliest attack on the security forces in the last two decades and claimed the lives of 18 valiant soldiers of the Indian Army.

The Uri attack was staged as a pre-dawn ambush, four fidayees stealthily sneaked in the Indian Army Brigade Headquarters. They hurled 17 grenades in three minutes. Resultantly, the tents of the camp caught fire and 13-14 army personnel were killed. As the Indian security forces took stock of the situation, what ensued was a fierce gunbattle lasting six hours, during which all the four terrorists were killed. Thereafter, combing operations continued to flush out additional terrorists thought to be alive .

Most of the soldiers killed were from the 10 DOGRA and 6 BIHAR regiments. The high number of casualties was primarily due to the grenades hurled at the diesel storage near the change-over tents which broke out into massive fire. The timing too was well-thought out. It was carried out at the time of a troop shift whereby the 6 Bihar regiment was replacing the 10 Dogra regiment as is normally the custom in sensitive areas around the LoC, like Uri.

As the tri-color wrapped coffins of the Indian soldiers journeyed through the districts, towns and provinces to reach their families and loved ones for the last rites, one could hardly miss out the number of people thronging the streets, wanting to be a part of the funeral procession, registering their solidarity and conveying a message that they stand by and share the pain and sorrow of the bereaved families. The nation is in mourning. The media coverage of the funeral of the dead soldiers is sparking smouldering rage within the country . The Indians are hurt- the twin attacks in Pathankot and Uri have made us feel vulnerable and angry and this sense of injury has to be bandaged by words and action .

Prime Minister Modi and his cabinet condemned the attack, with Modi reassuring that the sacrifices of the valiant Indian soldiers shall not go unavenged. On 19 September, Home Minister Rajnath Singh held an emergency meeting with the Minister of Defence Manohar Parrikar, Indian Army Chief Dalbir Singh Suhaag, National Security Advisor Ajit Doval and the high-ranking officials of Home and Defence Secretaries to review the security situation on Kashmir and come up with an adequate response to the attack.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Pakistan has issued statements in which it outrightly rejected India's accusations that Pakistan had masterminded the attacks. Pakistan has stated that whenever there is a terrorist attack, India alleges Pakistan of masterminding it. But there was no truth behind it. India does not raise allegations without valid evidence. A post-attack investigation of the site revealed a map from the slain terrorists which had markings in the Pashtun language and indicated a detailed plan of action. Four AK-47 rifles and four underbarrel grenade launchers along with ammunition were also recovered. The Director General of Military Operations, Lieutenant General Ranbir Singh further disclosed that there was ample evidence to prove that the fidayees belonged to Jaish-e-Mohammad, a radical Islamist militant organization, which finds itself a safe haven in Pakistan .

POST-MORTEM

The twin attacks at URI and Pathankot have raised serious questions about India's military preparedness. First, the most pertinent question as to how four heavily armed men sneaked in the camp breaching heavy security in Uri. This is very similar to the way in which six heavily armed men succeeded in entering an airbase protected by high concrete walls, topped with barbed wire in Pathankot. Second, there was specific intelligence output from the Intelligence Bureau (IB) two days prior to the

Uri attack that terrorists were planning to strike army base(s) close to the Line of Control . This bears an uncanny resemblance to the Pathankot attack in which there was no reaction to the genuine intelligence alerts available both from Intelligence Bureau and even the U.S. agencies. Furthermore, a worrisome question is why neither the police nor the Defence Security Corps (DSC), tasked with base security, received specialist counter-fidayeen training? If they had, why did they not deploy them to counter such threats. These facts clearly point fingers towards grave security lapses.

Till date National Investigation Agency (NIA) and the Border Security Force (BSF) have not been able to conclusively conclude the exact number and the exact way in which the ultras entered the Pathankot base. As the National Investigation Agency (NIA) filed a first information report (FIR) regarding the Uri attack and took over the investigation on 20 September, all we can do is expect an in-depth and fair investigation and wait for the conclusive reports.

All these terror strikes (Pathankot, Uri and one might also recall the July 27 attack last year in the Gurdaspur district of Punjab) pose some disturbing questions. When will India learn from its mistakes? Are the lives of our Indian soldiers really so cheap? How many more martyrs do we need to sacrifice to ring a bell with the Indian establishment? If important defence establishments such as an airbase and headquarters are attacked, what possible protection do the ordinary civilians have? How should India possibly strengthen herself to avert terrorist strikes in future and stop being a 'soft' state? A genuine introspection to these hard-hitting questions is the need of the hour.

RESPONSE

India's response to the present imbroglio can be three-fold:

1. DIPLOMATIC - India and Pakistan are neighbours, two independent nations born in 1947. This remains an inevitable geo-strategic reality which cannot be altered. Therefore, the best way to deal with Pakistan is to follow the diplomatic channel. As of now, New Delhi should consider calling off the SAARC Summit scheduled for November this year in Pakistan; particularly when Afghanistan and Bangladesh too are of the same opinion. Derailing the dialogue process would mean clipping the wings of terrorists operating in Pakistan. Realizing this, there is an urgent need to re-strategize the Indian foreign policy. History stands testimony to the fact that such diplomatic overtures have never been respected by Islamabad. Soon after the Pathankot attacks, there was a glimmer of hope when the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif ordered a Joint Investigation Team (JIT) to look into the leads provided by India on the attack. While India extended co-operation and threw open her gates to the Pakistani investigating team, the same was not reciprocated by Pakistan. Pakistan did not even grant an entry to the Indian investigating team, let alone investigation! Each dialogue has invariably failed with Pakistan constantly harping on the issue of denial of existence of human rights and human right violations in Kashmir. (While Pakistan maintains a dignified silence about the human right violations happening in Balochistan as well as within its borders). With such a stubborn stance, all the attempts are likely to fail. Therefore, the only available option for India is to create international pressure, isolate Pakistan and declare Pakistan as a terrorist/pariah state thereby closing down all diplomatic institutions, embassies and consulate offices in Islamabad. Only when Pakistan is ready and willing to take appropriate actions against the terrorist outfits operating in the very heart of Pakistan, should the diplomatic engagements resume.

2. ECONOMIC - The Modi government has blown hot and cold in equal measure in Pakistan suggesting a lack of coherence in India's foreign policy. What has hurt India the most is its constant vacillation in dealing with Pakistan. India's foreign policy has swung from being hawkish to dovish, seemingly at whim. New Delhi's stated policy has been to suspend all dialogue with Pakistan until Islamabad cracks down heavily on the terror camps on its soil. Following the Uri attacks, the Indian Home Minister Rajnath Singh called for Pakistan to be isolated, labelling it a terrorist state, such a language is uncommon in Indian diplomacy. Therefore, the best form of isolation New Delhi can manage to impose is economic sanctions on Islamabad . So how will Pakistan deal with an economic blockade? If North Korea, Iran and Cuba

spent years ostracized by the international community, it seems rather inconsistent that Pakistan is treated as a major regional power. But Pakistan isn't North Korea (and India isn't South Korea). Pakistan's strategic value in Asian geopolitics had rendered isolation largely unrealistic. Pakistan remains one of the few countries in the world with strategic ties to almost all major powers, from US to Russia and China. Despite recent cut in aids owing to fallouts over counter-terrorism, the US still sends an exorbitant sum of \$320 million in security aid alone to Islamabad. Any attempt to isolate Pakistan globally will make China to be more hawkish and ever more protective in Pakistan's defence. Beijing has already invested heavily in infrastructural projects connecting its western provinces to Pakistan's southern coastline, and most pointedly, a significant part of it passes through Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. One might also recall last year when China had voted against India's appeals to UN to censure Pakistan. China truly is an all-time alliance for Pakistan.

3. SURGICAL ATTACK/WAR/CONFRONTATION - This remains the last and the least favourable option for the Indian establishment. We have had a series of wars with Pakistan already- 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999. One more is likely to lengthen the shadow of war looming over the Indian nation and unlikely to resolve the issue. Although the option of a surgical strike cannot be ruled out in entirety, this should essentially be seen as the last resort, when all other options fail. While the war-mongers and jingoists might be romanticising the idea of war, it has a flip-side too. Here's how: ever since the Modi government assumed power, there has been a mammoth shift in the foreign policy formulations. The basic foreign policy framework remains unchanged. But variations through re-prioritisation, emphasis and nuance, sharper communication, strategic boldness, vigour and activism can hardly be ignored. Monitoring Prime Minister Modi's foreign travels is like journeying around the globe while glued to television at home. We saw him at Fortaleza (Brazil) attending the BRICS Summit, in Fiji where no Indian Prime Minister had gone in 33 years, in Sydney, in Seychelles, in Mongolia and Mauritius, in Riyadh and in Tehran. Closer home, one cannot help but notice the way Modi invited all the Heads of the State for his swearing-in ceremony or the way he initiated his tours by prioritising the South Asian sub-continent. Though critics have questioned Modi's well-choreographed journeys repeatedly, one cannot help but notice the way India's image has been bolstered at the international level. In such circumstances, all the foreign investors willing to invest in India will withdraw their ventures. This will have an adverse effect on the stock markets too and the economy will be in doldrums. As is in common knowledge, wars are not fought in air. It entails massive expenditure, the brunt of which will have to be borne by the ordinary citizens. Thus, India will have to avoid crisis-inducing steps, like the use of military force, which would hurt its own economic objectives.

Even as the nations internationally acknowledge Pakistan as the haven of terrorist outfits, there has hardly been any action against them. And in the event of war, India along with Pakistan might be tagged as a belligerent state and consequently slapped with a sleuth of sanctions and embargoes. How will India deal with such sanctions and whom does she have for support if such conditions arise? Worst still, what is more frightening is the fact that the both India and Pakistan are Nuclear-Weapon States (NWS) and the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons cannot be ruled out. This will, in all likelihood, trigger a Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and bring humanity on the brink of extinction.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, India desperately needs a program of counter-terrorism capacity-building, based on the honest admission of weaknesses and a clear road-map for change. The bungled response to these terrorist attacks underscores the need for a three-pronged revamp: parliamentary oversight, a well-defined national security doctrine and an independent federal commission of accountability. Even though the individual states are responsible for the maintenance of law and order, such insurgencies are well-beyond the professional capacity of the state forces. It is high time that the Centre-State blame game is stopped and efforts to set up NCTC and Nat Grid as an overarching edifice of the country's internal security be institutionalized.

As Lord Palmerstone has rightly said A nation has neither eternal allies nor perpetual enemies. It has only eternal and

perpetual interests. Taking a cue from this, it must be realized that Terrorism has now become a global concern. It is indiscriminate and knows no borders or boundaries. Therefore, terrorism can be defeated not by angry talk but by calm action. There should be a calculated and consensual (Centre-State) response to terrorist attacks keeping in mind the old adage of 'we will let our actions speak for themselves'. A recalcitrant neighbour promoting faith-based militancy against us has to be countered on the borders through a comprehensive strategy that in sync with India's strategic culture. Paying condolences, consoling the bereaving families, granting a hefty compensation for the lives lost - are not enough. This is one of those few occasions when rising above the issue is the only option available. Be the issue . Stand side by side with it, not above or beneath it!

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THE 2017 UP ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS: PREGNANT WITH POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses the stakes that the Bharatiya Janata Party, the party ruling at the Centre and with maximum number of Lok Sabha seats in the state, has in the forthcoming Uttar Pradesh state assembly elections. Given the size, diversity and Hindutva connections, this bellwether state has huge political significance for the party. Politically, wresting power in UP would not only mean breaking the strangle hold of the two entrenched regional parties but it would also have positive implications for the party in 2019 general elections. It also seeks to find the reasons why the party, which has been on winning spree, has an edge over its opponents in the coming elections. The emergence of BJP as a force to reckon with must have unnerved the minorities of the state. They are unable to figure out which party would be able to stop the BJP. The failure of the SP government to provide adequate security to the Muslims in the 2013 Muzaffarnagar riots and the track record of Mayawati of forming coalition government with the BJP would prevent the Muslims from supporting either of them in full force. With the Congress also gaining some traction among the Muslims, the votes of the Muslims would be divided primarily among the SP, the BSP and the Congress and the BJP would be the gainer of this. The BJP has also been gaining traction among the non-Yadav OBCs, the Brahmins and other upper castes and even non Jatav SCs. All this cannot but lift the prospects of the BJP in the state.

INTRODUCTION: UP ALLURING FOR ANY POLITICAL PARTY

It goes without saying that the impending elections for the Uttar Pradesh (UP) Assembly, scheduled for early 2017, will be the most important election for the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) held so far post the 2014 general election. This is

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not to underplay the importance of the state election for other political parties in the fray. Indeed, this giant among states with 403 seats in the assembly can be alluring for any political party, let alone the BJP.

For the incumbent Samajwadi Party (SP), the coming election has far-reaching ramifications because if it is able to beat the anti-incumbency, which is not easy given the trend of the past few elections characterized by power changing hands between the SP and the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), it would establish the leadership of the young Akhilesh Yadav in the party and marginalise the role of the old guards led by his father Mulayam Singh Yadav and uncle Shiv Pal Yadav. Going by the past trends, the Mayawati-led BSP, which has been waiting its turn, should come to power. This has become all the more urgent for the party in the backdrop of its wash-out in the Lok Sabha elections of 2014. If the BJP were to surge ahead of the BSP, it would be, apart from a violation of the past trends, a big blow for the BSP and its social engineering formula built on a solid phalanx of Dalit votes, chunks of Non- Yadav OBCs, Brahmin and Muslim votes. For the Congress Party, which has been on a downward slide since the 2014 general election, the results of the UP elections hold the key of its future: whether a revival is on the cards or the worst is yet to come for the grand old party. Any performance worse than the results of the last Assembly will for sure lead to churning within the party, causing a severe depletion of goodwill of the leadership and its capacity to lead any alliance in the 2019 general election against the BJP-led National democratic alliance(NDA).

STAKES FOR THE BJP GREATER

Indeed, among all the political stake holders in the electoral fray, the stakes for the BJP appear to be greater. For one thing, the state has eluded it for almost two decades now even though the party owes to the state its ideological antecedents and the initial bout of popularity. In the early 1980s when the party, in its nascent stage, was struggling to make its mark, this bellwether state with the present Uttarakhnad state included provided the launch pad in the form of Ram Janam Bhoomi Movement for the fulfillment of its political ambitions. Of course, the Congress, wittingly or unwittingly, played a part in it by opening the doors of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya to the Hindu worship of the Ram Lala Idol in it on 1 February 1986. This Hindu card was ostensibly resorted to by the Congress to offset the charge of Muslim appeasement post the enactment of rabidly communal Muslim women's divorce bill by the Rajiv Gandhi government to annul the progressive ruling of the Supreme Court in the Shah Bano case.

The opening of the doors of the Babri Masjid for the Hindus in fact ushered in, sooner rather than later, the Ram Janam Bhoomi movement for the construction of a grand Ram temple at the disputed site. Spearheaded by the BJP and other Sangh affiliates, the movement, in conjunction with other factors like corruption in high places and a pre-poll alliance with the Janata Dal, catapulted the rightwing party to almost the centre stage in Indian politics. From a paltry 2 seats and just 7.4 percent votes in the 1984 election the party zoomed to 86 seats and 11.5 percent votes in the 1989 Lok Sabha election, coupled with some commendable performance in the most of the north Indian states; more importantly, in the 1991 general election, when the movement was seemingly at its peak, the BJP, notwithstanding the split with the Janata Dal, bagged 120 seats and about 20 percent of the votes polled, followed by a majority in the UP assembly and "substantial gains in the southern as well as eastern zones of India." (Singh, 2004) In that sense, the coming election is important for the BJP because the state carries an ideological and emotional connection for the party even though the construction of a Ram temple is a dead issue for the people; of course, there are leaders within the party, not to mention other Sangh affiliates, who want construction of Ram temple to be an issue in the UP polls.

Secondly, the UP election is pregnant with huge political possibilities and ramifications for the BJP. A loss in UP would surely be construed as a bigjolt for the BJP juggernaut which has been on a roll since the massive victory in the 2014 Lok Sabha election. It could negatively influence sentiments of the voters where elections would be held after the UP elections- most importantly in the state of Gujarat which has been the bastion of the BJP. A loss could also, though not

necessarily, have a negative bearing for the BJP in the next Lok Sabha elections-to be held more than two years hence. By the same token, a victory for the party in the assembly election would not only be a big feather in its cap given the size and diversity of the state but would also make its last Lok Sabha triumph of awhopping 71 out of 80 seats in the state appear, not a flash in the pan, but real and convincing.

Indeed, it would indicate that the process of churning, a reordering of the influence of caste on the voting behavior, which had begun with the Lok Sabha elections, has acquired a momentum of its own. Whether that adds up to an inference of disenchantment of the voters with the two entrenched parties is a moot question. But surely, one can easily surmise that if the BJP is able to outsmart these two entrenched provincial parties in a contest dominated by local issues, it would surely out beat them and the effete Congress party in the 2019 general election in which national issues would be the leitmotif. (Mishra, 2016) Moreover, the importance of the UP election for the BJP is also because of the fact that a victory here can fetch the party additional seats in the Rajya Sabha when the state legislative assembly elects its representatives for the upper house of the parliament. This would strengthen its legislative position in the parliament and indeed its overall standing in national politics.

CAN THE BJP STAGE A COMEBACK IN UP?

With stakes being so high, Can the BJP stage a comeback in UP? The party is very sanguine. Indeed, the importance being attached by the BJP to the coming election in UP is also because of the fact it presents the best opportunity in nearly two decades for the party to regain its foothold. One, with the Modi-Shah duo, the party has hit a purple patch and has been in on an unprecedented winning spree: after becoming the first party to win majority in the Lok Sabha in more than 30 years, it has gained power in the states of Haryana, Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Jammu and Kashmir. After a somewhat ignominious defeat, first in Delhi and then in Bihar, the party has been apparently buoyed and rejuvenated by its debut tryst with power in Assam and some marginal gains in the elections to the states of West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Two, the party may be also counting on the fact that, after being out of favour in the preceding few parliamentary elections, the party became a favourite for the voters in the state in the 2014 general election, winning along with its allies 73 of the 80 seats. Of course, that begs the question: does a superlative performance in the parliamentary poll translate into a good, if not equally superlative, performance in the assembly election? Not necessarily. For we have seen time and again in recent times, if not earlier, politically savvy voters voting differently for parliamentary and state elections. Indeed, the same voters of Delhi, who had handed all the 7 seats to the BJP in the parliamentary poll, gave a thumping majority- 67 seats in a 70-member Assembly- to the Aam Aadmi part (AAP) in less than a year from the parliamentary poll. Similarly, in Bihar the BJP swept the parliamentary poll, winning along with its allies 31 out of the 40 seats. But in about a year's time, the grand alliance (Mahagathbandhan), comprising an unbeatable alliance of arch-rivals Nitish, Laloo and the comatose Congress, turned the table on the NDA, winning 178 seats- a two-thirds majority- in a house of 243 seats, pushing the NDA in the lurch with just about 58 seats.

However, the BJP may argue and take heart from the fact that the conditions in UP are vastly different from those of Delhi and Bihar. In Delhi, the predominantly young, upwardly mobile and to a large extent cosmopolitan voters were carried away by the novelty of Kejriwal's relatively ethical politics as against the banal politics rampant all around. They rooted for him and his party perhaps because they wanted to give him a good chance to demonstrate his moral mettle in politics. In Bihar, an alliance between two political arch-rivals, who could not see eyeball to eyeball of each other in the preceding 18 years, gave a definitive edge to the grand alliance vis -a-vis the NDA as far as social arithmetic was concerned. If a Bihar template- of alliance between the two political arch-rivals SP and BSP- had materialized, it would have surely spelled electoral doom for the NDA in the forthcoming election from the word go. That an alliance between the SP and BSP would

be a non starter, notwithstanding some speculation in the media, was a foregone conclusion given the state of rivalry between them and the solid caste-based support that they have.

A DIVISION OF THE VOTES OF THE MUSLIMS WOULD WORK TO BJP'S ADVANTAGE

But what seemed feasible and possibly could have impeded the BJP's prospects in the state was an alliance between the SP and the Congress. With the impasse in the parleys between the Congress election strategist Prashant Kishore and the SP patriarch Mulayam Singh Yadav, the window of opportunity of a win-win situation for both the partners appears to be closed for now. SP would have benefitted from the consolidation of Muslim votes and the Congress would have benefitted from the SP's cadres and its grassroots workers. Muslims account for 20% of UP's population and could be kingmakers in about 143 of the 403 seats; as much as 54% of voters of both the SP and the Congress belong to Muslims and other backward castes (OBCs) who could have transferred their votes to either party candidate. A division of votes of the Muslims among the SP, the BSP and the Congress would, without an iota of doubt, work to BJP's advantage.

The BSP supremo Mayawati had this in mind when she unabashedly appealed to the "Muslims not to vote for either the SP or Congress, saying that with every Assembly seat having 22-23 percent Dalit votes the BSP alone can sail through with the help of Muslim votes, or else the 2014 result will be repeated, the BJP will win again." The SP has, similarly, been wooing the Muslims reminding them, though not as openly as Mayawati, of the trusted electoral formula of "MY", comprising Muslims and the Yadavs, the latter accounting for 8-10 % of the electorate of UP. Even the Congress could be an option for a section of the Muslims not only because the party has promised them 4.5% reservation but also because the party, being a pan India national party, needs to be supported in its revival in the state so that it can take on the rising BJP. According to one opinion poll, 19-26% of the Muslims will support the Congress party.

But with the BJP emerging as a serious contender for power, Muslims have once again been, after the Lok Sabha elections, plunged into a state of quandary, not being able to figure out who-SP, BSP or even the Congress-would be the best bet to stop the BJP. Even though the SP has had no tie-up, pre-poll or post-poll, with the BJP in the past in the state, the party no longer inspires full confidence among the Muslims as far as providing security to them is concerned. The 2013 communal riots of Muzaffarnagar in western UP are still fresh in their minds. They continue to blame the SP government for not providing security to them which led to their heavy casualties and exodus from their homes and hearth. The infighting within the Yadav family, coupled with a not very impressive law and order record, must have sent negative vibes of the party among the Muslims. On the other hand, Muslims of the state vividly remember, and they are indeed reminded by the SP day in and day out that the BSP has had no qualms in forming coalition governments with the BJP in the past. And in the event of a fractured mandate they could again cohabit with the party which the Muslims consider "communal". Even the Congress does not have an unblemished "secular" record and in any case cannot be a viable option to stop the BJP in the state which is the task at hand. In such a situation of confusion and dilemma, the division of votes of the minorities among the SP, the BSP and to a lesser extent, the Congress would be inevitable. Needless to say, the BJP would be the gainer of the division of the votes.

Three, the party must be banking on the polarization of votes in the western UP post the communal riots of Muzaffarnagar in 2013, which helped the party sweep western UP in the parliamentary poll. The party sometime back tried to reinforce that polarization by raising the bogey of exodus of Hindus from Kairana abutting Muzaffarnagar because of, as alleged by the sitting MP of that region, persecution by Muslims. However, the allegation later turned out to be bogus as exposed by the media, with the sitting MP Hukum Singh himself retracting from his charge. The BJP is nevertheless hopeful that sections of the Jats, the dominant caste of the region, will, like in the 2014 parliamentary poll, support it and, in any case they are most unlikely to go with the Muslims and support the SP, the BSP or the Congress. True, Ajit Singh's Rashtriya Loktantrik Dal (RLD) is strong in western UP but his alliance with Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United) and BS-4

-both insignificant players- can hardly be big force multiplier for him. Even if the Jats of the region lend their support to Ajit Singh's RLD rather than to the BJP after the manner in which the Jat agitation for reservation was dealt with in Haryana, the BJP is optimistic that Ajit Singh will finally end up in the BJP camp if the latter emerges as the biggest party in the new assembly. RLD, given the past record, cannot remain aloof from power for a very long time.

FAMILY FEUD IN THE YADAV FAMILY AND NON-YADAV OBCS SUPPORT FOR BJP

Another factor which could possibly shore up BJP's prospects is the recent family feud within the ruling Yadav family. True, a truce appears to have been arrived at after an intense exchange of barbs among the father, son and the uncle. However, the diarchy within the family will not allow this rapprochement to last long and ticket distribution could possibly become the bone of contention between the state party President Shiv Pal Yadav and the Chief Minister Akhilesh Yadav. True, young Akhilesh Yadav has come across as a dynamic, affable, pro-development and anti -criminal leader. But A faction-ridden SP, battling anti-incumbency and a perception of deteriorating law and order, will not only engender misgivings among its loyal voters, particularly Muslims and non- Yadav OBCs, but also affect the morale of the party cadres and the Yadav voters.

The most important factor which is driving the resurgence of the BJP in the state is the support of the non-Yadav OBCs, the upper castes and to some extent the non-Jatav votes in the state. The non-Yadav OBCs in the state form a formidable group and comprises castes like Kushwa has (Maurya, Shakya, Koeris, Kaccchi, Saini), 8%, Kurmi, 3% and other OBCs including Muslims 18%. According to an opinion poll , 44 % of the non-Yadav OBCs would vote for the Lotus symbol. In the period that the BJP was a marginal player in the state, these castes had supported the SP and the BSP, mostly the latter. Given the dominance of the Yadavs in the SP and the dominance of the Jatavs in the BSP, they had been looking for an alternative which the rising BJP appears to have provided. In fact, at the root of the exodus of the non-Yadav OBC leaders and a priori shift of the loyalty of their followers from the BSP to the BJP could be the apprehensions of a higher share of Brahmin and Muslim candidates eating into the share of OBCs. The BJP has also been making right moves in this direction. When Swamy Prasad Maurya, a prominent leader of the OBCs, exited BSP to join the BJP he was given prominence in party within no time given his political clout among the OBCs. After including Apna Dal MP Anupriya Patel in the union cabinet with an eye on Kurmi Votes, the BJP has entered into an alliance with Suhuldev Bhartiya Samaj Party (SBSP) having sizeable influence on Backwards and Dalit Voters in eastern UP.

BRAHMINS SHIFTING THEIR LOYALTIES TO BJP, BOOTH COMMITTEES AND SANGH PRACHARAKS

Another formidable segment which is likely to turn to the BJP in a big way is the Brahmins. With about 10 % of the population, Brahmins have been the lynchpin of the social engineering formula of Mayawati which helped BSP capture power in Lucknow in 2007. With the Modi wave of 2014 and the consequent rupture of the social engineering formula of the BSP, Brahmins have been, by and large, shifting their loyalties to the BJP in droves as is apparent from the desertions of Brahmin leaders from the BSP to the BJP. Even the Congress, which had some support base among the Brahmins, has goofed up by bringing Sheila Dikshit as Chief ministerial candidate; she is 78 years old and had almost hung up her boots after severe drubbings in Delhi at the hands of the Aam Aadmi party (AAP). While her capacity to enthuse party workers and influence Brahmin voters remains suspect, she has already caused the exodus of Rita Bahuguna Joshi, a Brahmin face with far greater credentials than hers, from the Congress to the BJP. Indeed, not just Brahmins but other upper castes including the dominant Thakurs with about 8% population in the state are likely to follow suit because BJP has traditionally been looked upon as an upper caste party.

One less credited factor in the success of BJP in the recent elections has been the micro management electioneering skills of the BJP President Amit Shah and the canvassing at the ground level by the Sangh Pracharaks. The booth

committees formed at the each and every booth will ensure that maximum votes are cast by the BJP supporters. Will the non-declaration of the Chief ministerial candidate by the BJP hamper its prospects? Not necessarily. In the states of Haryana, Jharkhand, and Maharashtra the party won even though it did not declare chief ministerial candidates in advance. In Delhi, the party lost to Arvind Kejriwal even after declaring Kiran Bedi as the chief ministerial candidate in the run up to the elections. In Assam, on the contrary, the declaration of the chief-ministerial candidate in advance did not negatively affect the prospects of the party.

The million-dollar question is: How will the demonetization of high currency notes impact the electoral prospects of the party in UP? While its opponents in the fray, particularly the BSP and the Congress and the SP, appear to be very much rattled, the party, taking cue from positive results of some of the bye elections and local elections held after the announcement of demonetisation on 8 the November, is optimistic. However, the party needs to address the problem of cash crunch in Banks on an urgent basis if it wants the gambit to pay electoral dividends to it. Its impact is yet to pan out fully.

Leaving aside the demonetization, whose impact is still unfolding, the BJP appears to be in a vantage position in UP. Different opinion polls have given different seats to BJP. The opinion poll by India Today, which did field surveys from September 5 to October 5, has come out with 170-183 seats for the BJP even though the party is hopeful of getting 265 seats. That the BJP has an edge over its opponents looks apparent. Whether it will get past the 202 seats needed for government formation is not clear at this point in time.

NOTES

1. According to a survey by Axis-My-India, construction of Ram Temple at Ayodhya is a dead issue for the people of UP in the coming polls. See, eg, Rahul Kanwal, "Opinion poll: BJP ahead in Uttar Pradesh on back of OBC support" (India Today, 12 October 2016) m.indiatoday.in (accessed on 25 November 2016). See also, Subramanian Swamy, "Ram temple should be an issue in UP polls", (The times of India, New Delhi, 26 November 2016).
2. See, e.g. Amitabh Tiwari & Subhash Chandra "Will SP Congress Mahagathbandhan in UP prove fatal for BJP?" (Quint.2 September, 2016) thequint.com (accessed on 3 November 2016).
3. Ibid.
4. See e.g., editorial, "Only Identity Politics: Mayawati woos Muslim voters ahead of Modi's Dussehra visit to Lucknow" (The Times of India, 11 October 2016).
5. See, e.g. Rahul Kanwal, *op.cit.*
6. See, e.g. Rabish Tiwari, "Non-Yadav OBCs in BSP fear loss of space in UP elections 2017" (The economic Times, 24 June 2016) m.economictimes.com (accessed on 8 December 2016)

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN RELATION TO ADJUSTMENT AND PERSONALITY TYPES AMONG GIRL AND BOY STUDENTS

RITESH SOLANKI*

The ultimate goal of any scientific research is to arrive at a final solution of the problem or an answer to the research question. Such a solution is in the nature of summary and conclusion. From conclusion, implications are drawn and some recommendations are made to the future researches in the area concerned. The present article provides conclusions drawn from analysis and interpretation of data, the implications based on obtained findings, and suggestions for future researches.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Every year many students elect to take Industrial Technology courses. Some of these students accomplish little in class. According to Monte and Lifrieri (1973), these students may have the desire to achieve, and the ability to accomplish the task, but feel the accomplishment has little or no value and feel doing it is not worth the effort or time. Others may fear that they are not capable of completing the required task, so they do not even begin. They feel it is better to receive a lower overall grade than to prove they do not have the ability to correctly complete the task. Atkinson and Feather (1966) describe this rational as Achievement Motivation. It is typically a non-conscious process in which a decision how to act or not to act is made. Spence (1983) and Wlodkowski (1985) state that achievement can often bring benefits, and failure can often bring shame. Atkinson (1974) and Aschuler (1973) add that it is only a small number of students who fall into these categories of little accomplishment. Mythili, Bharathi and Nagarathna (2004) call it Adjustment problems of adolescent students. They investigated the adjustment problems of intermediate students. A sample of 150 boy and girl students were selected randomly from government and private management colleges in Vijayawada. A Telugu version of the 'Mooney problem checklist' was administered. The data was subjected to 't' test. Results revealed that students of private colleges had more problems than

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those of government colleges. Mythili et al. revealed that the students whose parents were educated were found to be facing more adjustment problems.

Bharadwaj, and Helode (2006) studied on school adjustment as a function of neuroticism and a survey on gender of the adolescents was conducted. They constituted group of 160 adolescents of IX & X grades with equal gender distribution from English and Hindi medium schools of Durg, Bilai and Raipur cities of Chhattisgarh state. Junior Eynsenck Personality Inventory (1965) and school adjustment inventory by Metal (1974) were used for data collection. They reported no significant gender influence on school adjustment. The results also revealed that emotionally stable adolescents were better in school adjustment.

Dutta, Baratha, and Goswami (1997) Health adjustment of adolescents focused on the health adjustment of 200 adolescents drawn randomly from Assam Agricultural University and Kendriya Vidyalaya, Jorhat, Assam. The tool adjustment inventory for college students developed by Sinha and Singh (1980) was administered. The results of the study revealed that adolescents of older age group (19 - 21 years) had good skills of health adjustment than the younger age group (16 - 18 years) of adolescents. They also reported that boys adjusted better than girls.

Dutta, Baratha, and Goswami (1997) studied Home Adjustment of adolescents focused on 200 adolescents again drawn randomly from Assam Agricultural University and Kendriya Vidyalaya, Jorhat, Assam. The results suggested no difference between the groups of 16-18 years and 19-21 years in home adjustment.

Dutta, Baratha, and Goswami, (1998) studied Social adjustment of adolescents. They conducted a study on social adjustment of adolescents on 200 adolescents drawn equally from Assam agricultural university and Kendriya vidyalaya, district of Jorhat, Assam. Sample of 50 boys and 50 girls covering the age group of 16 to 18 years and 19 to 21 years with equal gender representation was selected.

Jain, Prabha and Jandu, Krishna, (1998) studied comparative study of school adjustment of adolescent girls and boys of employed and non-employed mothers in age group. They found that girls were better adjusted than boys after conducting a study on adjustment on a sample of 240 students (14 - 18 years).

Krishna (1981) conducted a study on risk-taking and adjustment of adolescents on a sample of 200 (100 boys and 100 girls) XI grade students of range 13 - 18 years. Choice dilemmas questionnaire (Kogan and Wallach, 1964) and Hindi Adaptation of Bell's adjustment inventory by Moshin and Hussain (1970) were administered. The findings revealed that sex contributed significantly to risk-taking in case of home adjustment only. Riskiness showed significant negative relationship with social adjustment for boys and significant positive relationship with home and emotional adjustment for girls. Wang (1996), conducted study of the adjustment process of High School Students in Taiwan. They looked at uncertainty orientation in Chinese children: Relations with school and psychological adjustment and found that girls had higher scores on academic achievement, distinguished studentship and self-perceptions and lower scores on teacher rated learning problems than boys. Research on gender differences in school adjustment has portrayed that girls are better adjusted as compared to boys

Sinha and Singh (1971) conducted study Adjustment Inventory for school students, Agra, India. Sinha and Singh was administered on the sample. The scale consisted of items in three different areas namely emotional, social and educational with 20 items each. The answer is forced choice and higher score indicating poor adjustment.

Isakson, K. (1999). The adjustment of adolescents during the transition into high school: A short-term longitudinal study. Isakson have also found that adolescents experienced significant changes during the initial transition into high school that were related to sense of school membership etc. was also related to adolescents' adjustment to the transition. Hence adjustment among public school students was found to be poor probably because they suffer from high level of academic stress. Thus hypothesis of significant difference between the two groups of students with regard to their level of adjustment was also found to be proved. Mansuri (1986) conducted A study the 5, 6,7th grade student's mental, social statuses on Achievement Motivation. Finding The success shows the Achievement Motivation of the students, The effect of different grades shown in

Achievement Motivation of the students higher grade show high Achievement Motivation., The level of anxiety Shaw the level, those students whose general aptitude is good research.

Prajapati Pankti (2005) -- A study Achievement Motivation of 11th grade in relation with gender role, different streams, educational achievement, and mother education. Finding - There is a significant difference between Achievement Motivation of boys and girls, there is a significant difference between Achievement Motivation of different stream students, there is a significant difference between Achievement Motivation and the educational achievement of the students, there is no significant difference between Achievement Motivation and the mother education of the students

Vidhyadhar (2008) -- A study Achievement Motivation on mental energy level. Find The Achievements Motivation of non tribal's boys more than Achievement Motivation of tribal's boys. By reviewing the past related literature it becomes clearly visible that all research were done on Achievement Motivation.

Ellekkakumar, and Elankathirselvan (2001) Achievement Motivation of Higher Secondary Students and their Achievement in Physics Findings: achievement related motivation was higher for girls than boys. There was no significant difference between the students studying in Tamil medium and the students studying in English medium. There was no significant difference in achievement mean scores in Physics between (a) Boys and Girls, (b) A group and B group, (c) Tamil medium and English medium. The positive correlations were found between the achievement related motivation and achievement marks in Physics in respect of (a) girls, (b) student studying in Tamil medium.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

- 1 To study the relation between achievement motivation and adjustment
- 2 To study the relation between achievement motivation and personality.
- 3 To study the relation between achievement motivation, personality and adjustment.
- 4 To study the gender difference in achievement motivation, personality and adjustment

HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

1. There should significance relationship between achievement motivation and adjustment.
- 1 There should significance relationship between achievement motivation and personality
- 2 There should significance relationship between achievement motivation, personality and adjustment.
- 3 There shall be significant gender difference in achievement motivation, adjustment and personality.

SAMPLE

The study was conducted on 400 students of were selected randomly studying from Hisar district of Haryana state.

TOOLS USED

Research is based on the collected data. The data is collected by applying certain tools. A researcher goes for a particular type of tool after judging its criteria like validity, reliability, practicability. Keeping in mind these criteria the researcher decided to go in for the following three standardized psychological tools to measure achievement motivation, adjustment and mental health of senior secondary school students.

- a) Achievement Motivation Test developed by Dr. V.P. Bhargave.
- b) Personality inventory developed by dr. Tom buchanan (2001)
- c) Index of Family Relations (IFR) developed by Hudson(1982).

RESEARCH DESIGN

Correlational research design and t-test was used to analyze the research

CONCLUSIONS

The results indicate that there is a significant relationship between achievement motivation and adjustment and a significant relationship between achievement motivation and personality. The result shows that there is a significant relationship between achievement motivation, personality and adjustment. The results as shown that there was a significant relation in achievement motivation and personality (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientious, openness, emotional stability) type in boys and girl students.: Research on gender differences in school adjustment has portrayed that girls are better adjusted as compared to boys

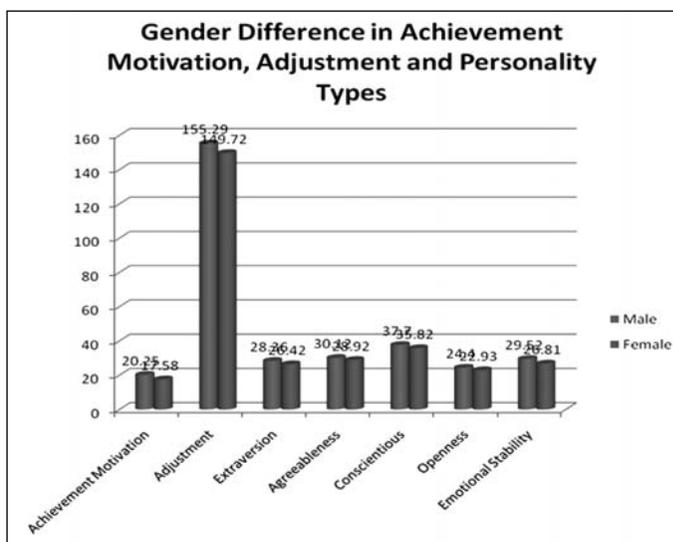
Table-1

Gender difference in achievement motivation, adjustment and personality types

Variables	Male (N=200)		Female (N=200)		T
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Achievement Motivation	20.25	7.47	17.58	6.52	2.64**
Adjustment	155.29	22.74	149.72	19.43	2.62**
Extraversion	28.36	4.32	26.42	5.37	4.04**
Agreeableness	30.12	4.58	28.92	4.12	2.79**
Conscientious	37.70	6.34	35.82	5.67	3.13**
Openness	24.40	4.85	22.93	3.89	7.73**
Emotional Stability	29.52	5.46	26.81	4.72	5.31**

Table-2

Chart Gender difference in achievement motivation, adjustment and personality types



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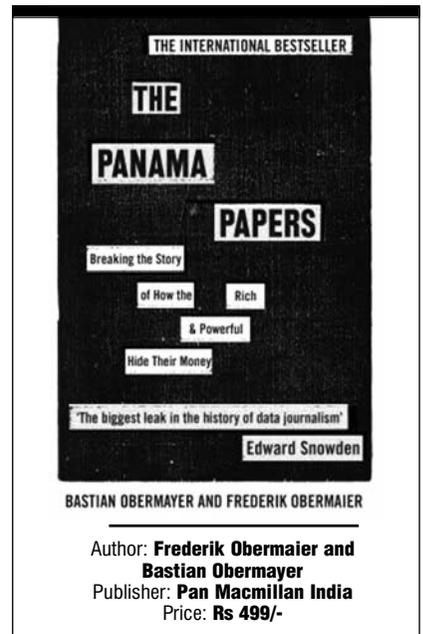
Book Review

Arun Srivastava

FOLLOWING THE MONEY TRAIL

The Panama Papers is a remarkable work of investigative journalism at the centre of which lies a huge data of internal communications between Panama-based law firm Mossack Fonseca which specialises in the incorporation of business firms in tax havens and its over two lakh clients over a period of 40 years. It was a sheer amount of work, and a risky one at that, for the two ordinary correspondents, who finally go on to author the book under review, to read the entire data and cull stories, which involved both the high and mighty and also the dreaded from around the world. But the most difficult task that they had on hand was to make sure that their ultimate work from the data mountain and the maze of firms and their directors is not only easy to read but also breaks as a major news in the international press. In other words, they had to ensure their work does not fall with a thud and draws a yawn from their readers. The book is a brilliant example how journalistic copies are still the best way to put across complex subjects and complicated information. Spread over 30 chapters, this 350-page book has each chapter of almost the same word-length as in a standard big write-up in a newspaper. The sentences are short and simple but information-rich and devoid of build-up. The story progresses with all self-doubts answered at their first appearance and the remarkable thing about the book and the investigation into the data mountain is that individual stories are easy to read and understand and at the same time they break as major revelations in nearly 40 countries, where heads of state among others had to face difficult times hiding their links with entities in tax havens amid resignation demands.

The inequality of wealth among the citizens of a country is stark at the first glance anywhere in the world, and some have it in absurd proportions. Political heads of states and ministers, dictators, top company executives, mafia dons earn millions of dollars amazingly fast and mostly in inexplicable ways. But how such money and the ways in which it has been earned do not catch the attention of investigators and bank officials is a matter of great surprise. Undoubtedly, they are hand in glove when frauds and tax evasion of enormous proportions are taking place. As per different estimates, Russian president Vladimir



Putin's fortune is estimated to be between \$40 billion and \$200 billion. How he made so much of money and how he managed to conceal it from the probing eyes of public and media is a mystery. The Panama Papers has a chapter on this and gives some insights. The book has similar chapters on other leading figures who have taken the Panama route to conceal their riches.

An unidentified source passes on crucial data of business dealings of over 40 years of Panama-based law firm Mossack Fonseca to Bastian Obermayer and Frederik Obermaier who are investigative journalists based in Munich, Germany, and work with the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* newspaper. The data are email communications between Mossack Fonseca and its clients of high net worth individuals. But the data is simply too huge to make sense - something like more than a million emails and even more than that of other papers related to the incorporation of different shell companies. Mossack Fonseca is a law firm helps them open shell companies and bank accounts in tax havens such as British Virgin Islands, Bahamas, British Virgin Islands, Panama, Seychelles and Samoa helps them transfer millions of dollars to the bank accounts while keeping the identity of its real clients completely under wraps. Mossack Fonseca itself has over 200 associate companies and is present in 30 countries including China where it has nine branches and USA. Obermaier brothers as the two authors of this book are famously known because of their joint investigative stories in the past unravel in their book *The Panama Papers* the different layers of secrecy that the law firm, Mossack Fonseca, employs to facilitate legal immunity to big-time tax evaders, dictators and greedy politicians who rob billions from their country and arms dealers and mafia dons, who are responsible for some of the worst crimes against humanity and make money through illegal enterprises.

The book is based on the research of over 2.6 terabytes of data and includes information about over 210,000 companies in 21 offshore jurisdictions.

As the data involves the rich and powerful from every part of the world and is impossibly huge to analyse and dig out journalistic stories, *Suddeutsche Zeitung* and the Obermaier brothers decide to take on board Washington-based International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) in its task to investigate the data in a country-specific manner. The data is shared with ICIJ and more than 370 journalists worked on the Panama Papers, a 12 month investigation that covered almost 80 countries and involved more than 100 media organisations. The leak contains more than 11.5 million internal files of the company. The data shows that Mossack Fonseca worked with more than 14,000 banks, law firms, company incorporators and other middlemen to set up companies, foundations and trusts for customers. The book concludes with an Epilogue where the authors give an account of what happens immediately before and after the publication of their investigation.

(The writer is Assistant Editor, Millennium Post)

OBITUARY

ANUPAM MISHRA



Mishra who died of cancer on 19 December 2016, aged 68, was - in the words of Gopalkrishna Gandhi - an intellectual without a trace of snobbery, an activist who was never judgemental about what others did or did not do. (Illustration by Subrata Dhar)

THE QUIET FIGHTER

Anupam Mishra wrote with insight and creativity about peasants, pastoralists and the sustainable use of water, writes **Ramchandra Guha**

Rana Dasgupta ends *Capital*, his fine, sometimes searing portrait of 21st century Delhi, with a walk he took with an environmental scholar through the city's northern reaches. The environmentalist explained to the writer how Delhi's water system had once worked, based on the retention of rainwater through an intricate network of tanks and canals. Before the British came, said the scholar, the life of Delhi was centred around the Yamuna, with festivals and water games. However, the capital of the Raj and of independent India treated the river merely as a sink for its wastes. And it had built over the tanks that the more far-seeing citizens of the earlier generations had constructed.

The Yamuna that now flows past Delhi is biologically (as well as culturally) dead. The scholar who took Dasgupta for a walk told him that “everyone has turned their backs on the river in obedience to the modern city, and so it is filthy and forgotten”. He also remarked, “If our prime minister had to immerse himself in the Yamuna every year, it would be a lot cleaner than it is now”.

The environmentalist who thus educated Dasgupta was named Anupam Mishra. Mishra who died of cancer on Monday morning, aged 68, was - in the words of Gopalkrishna Gandhi - an intellectual without a trace of snobbery, an activist who was never judgemental about what others did or did not do. He was an altogether remarkable man, who embodied both the best of what Indian scholarship can offer, as well as a Gandhism that is utterly relevant to the 21st century.

That Mishra was not as well known as he might have been - across India or abroad - was a consequence of his choosing to stay away from the language of power and fame. He knew English quite well, but decided to be resolutely monolingual in his own work. There may have been three reasons for this. First, he was the son of a celebrated Hindi poet, Bhawani Prasad Mishra, and did not want to repudiate that legacy. Second, once he had chosen to write in Hindi, he had to wholly immerse himself in that linguistic world to be able to communicate effectively. Third, and perhaps the most important, since he wrote about the lifestyles and living practices of peasants and pastoralists in northern India who themselves spoke some variety of Hindi, it seemed more appropriate to write his own books and essays in that language. (Apart from a TED talk which has had close to 8,00,000 viewers, Mishra’s work was done almost entirely in Hindi. Some of his recent writings are available at <http://www.mansampark.in>)

The first book of Mishra I read (it may have been the first he wrote) was a short but extremely insightful study of the Chipko Andolan, written in collaboration with Satyendra Tripathi. It was published in the late 1970s, based on fieldwork in the villages of the upper Alaknanda Valley where Chipko was born. The book paid due attention to the efforts and vision of Chipko’s leader, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, while also documenting the contributions of peasants, both men and women, who were the backbone of what was to become the most celebrated (as well as the most misunderstood) environmental movement in the non-Western world.

In the 1980s, Mishra turned his attention to water conservation and management. He realised that water, not oil, was the key to a sustainable future for India and the world. (As he put it in his TED talk, water is the centre of life.) He saw the callous treatment of water all around him, the pollution of rivers by careless city dwellers and the reckless depletion of groundwater aquifers by farmers with electric-powered tubewells. So, he began documenting the indigenous systems of water harvesting that were rooted in community control and based on a careful understanding of the local landscape.

He focused on Rajasthan, a desert environment with negligible natural rainfall, yet with a rich and still often extant network of wells and tanks. Based on research conducted over many years, he published a series of books and pamphlets in Hindi, whose titles - Rajasthan kirajatboondein and Aajbikhkharehaintalaab - suggested that the modern man had much to learn from his predecessors, those he tended to condemn as stupid or backward.

I knew Mishra mostly through his work. I met him rarely, yet every encounter was either uplifting or transformative, sometimes both. In the 1980s, I went to consult him for my own doctoral research on the Chipko Andolan.

In the 1990s, when I was a fellow of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), I invited Mishra to give a talk around his book Aaj Bhi khare Hain Talaab. The NMML, then led by the visionary Ravinder Kumar, was at the height of its glory, the very centre of Indian intellectual life, patronised by famous foreign scholars too. Here, through his understated words in Hindi and his arresting slides, Mishra delivered what was one of the most compelling talks ever heard at the NMML, its echoes resounding in conversations in the corridors for weeks afterwards.

A decade later, I heard Mishra speak at a meeting celebrating the work of Chandi Prasad Bhatt where, in a mere five or six minutes, he brilliantly summed up the essence of Bhatt’s contributions to Gandhian thought and activism.

Our last meeting was a few months ago, when I went to call on him on hearing he had cancer. He was suffering visibly, yet spoke as softly and with as much depth as ever. With us was his young collaborator Sopan Joshi, who has, in recent years,

done much to make Mishra's work reach a new generation.

Asked to identify five individuals who have contributed the most to the environmental movement in modern India, I would name the activists Chandi Prasad Bhatt and Medha Patkar, the scientist Madhav Gadgil, the journalist Anil Agarwal, and Anupam Mishra. Of these five, Mishra is by far the least-known, even among the environmental community. This is a consequence of the choices he made, personal as well as linguistic, by stressing reconstruction rather than protest, and by writing in Hindi rather than English.

We should remember Anupam Mishra for his substance, for writing with such insight and sensitivity about the resource most critical to our lives, yet one we so wantonly abuse - water. And we should remember him for his style - no boasting, no bombast, merely steady, solid work based on research and understanding, rather than ideology or prejudice.

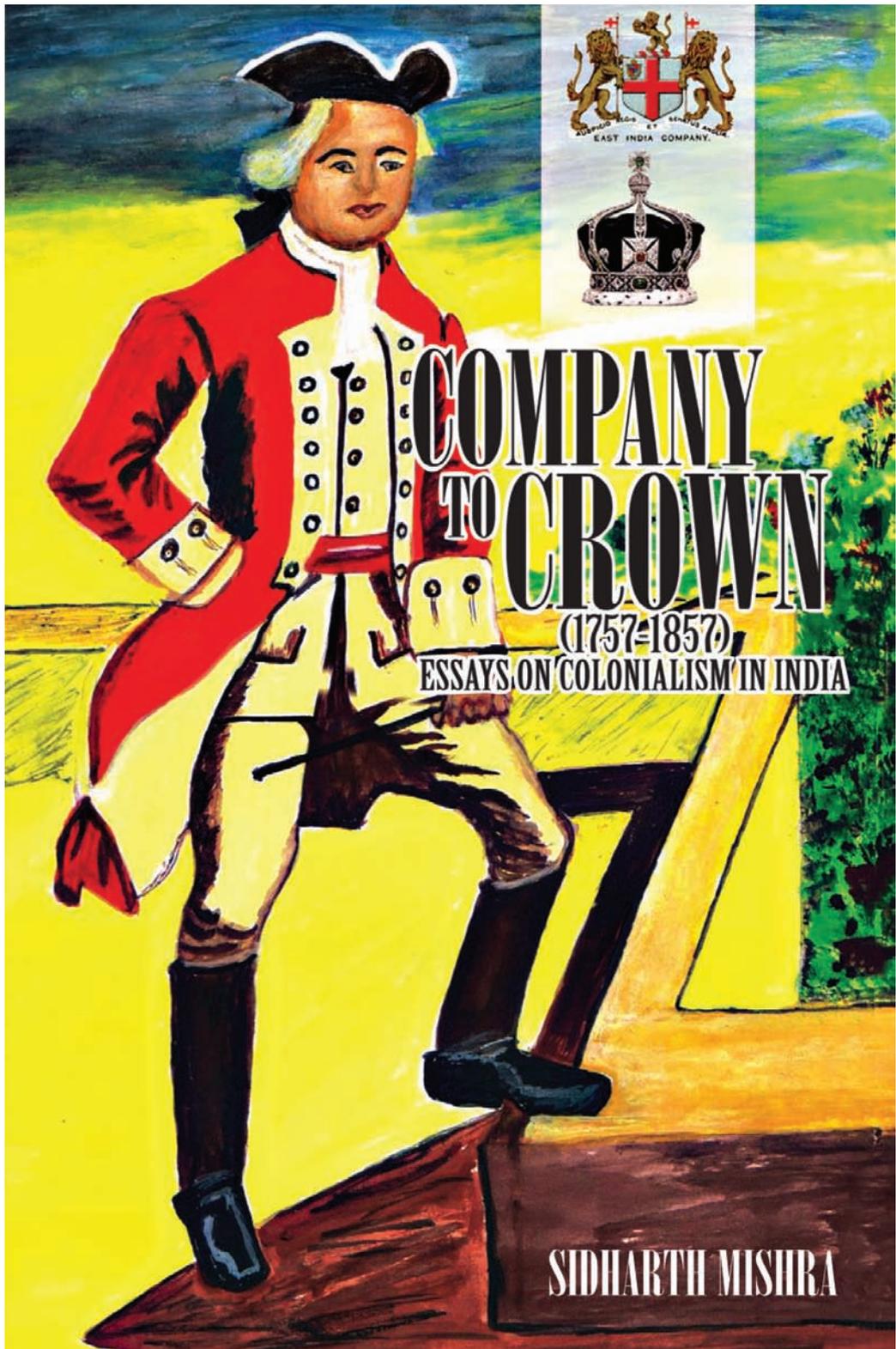
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