



Kamal Sandesh
Fortnightly Magazine

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**Annual Rs. 100/-
For 3 years Rs. 250/-**

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Publisher and Printer : Printed by Dr. Nandkishore Garg for Dr. Mookerjee Smruti Nyas, at Excelprints, C-36, F.F. Complex, Jhandewalan, New Delhi-55 and Published by Dr. Mookerjee Smruti Nyas, PP-66, Subramanya Bharati Marg, New Delhi-03. Editor : Prabhat Jha.

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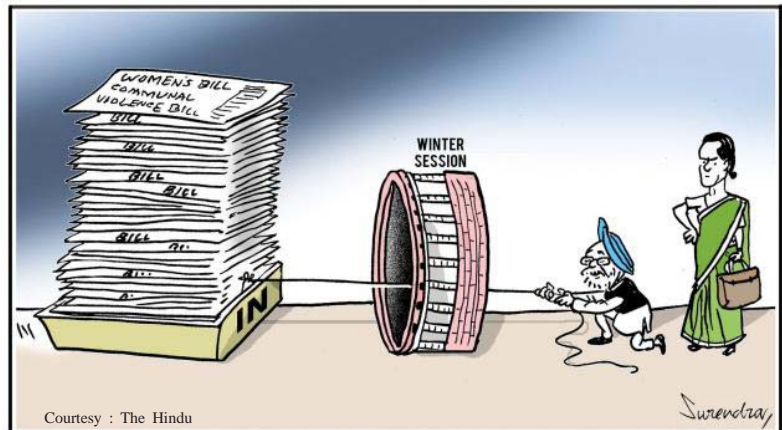
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Courtesy : The Hindu



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In this yoga O Arjuna, spiritual intelligence is firmly resolved and exclusive; but the intellect of those full of material desires indeed has unlimited diverse branches.

– (Bhagavadgita : Ch.-II, 41)

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“BJP benefited from the popularity of Narendra Modi, the party's Prime Ministerial candidate.”

-Rajnath Singh

“BJP won 408 out of 589 seats, which is near 70% of the total seats. Congress shrunk - only 21% of seats. This is a wonderful beginning towards success in our Mission272+ & for fulfilling the dream of a Congress Mukt Bharat.”

-Narendra Modi

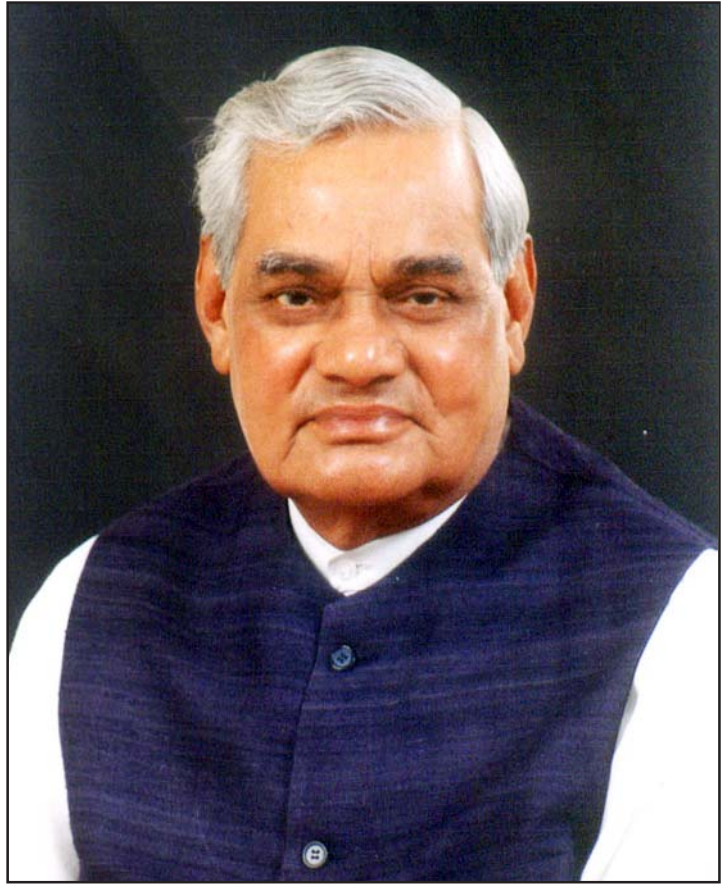
“Chhattisgarh was carved out of that portion of Madhya Pradesh where the BJP was never traditionally strong. The Party has retained its strength and is in a position to form the Government for a third time in succession.”

-Arun Jaitley

“Jeevem Shardah Shatam”

Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Birthday : December 25

All the BJP leaders and Karyakartas led by National President Shri Rajnath Singh, BJP Parliamentary Party Chairman Shri L.K Advani, BJP Prime Ministerial Candidate Shri Narendra Modi, Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha Shri Arun Jaitley, former BJP National Presidents Dr. Murali Monohar Joshi, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu and Shri Nitin Gadkari , National General Secretary (Organization) Shri Ram Lal and Editor, Kamal Sandesh and National Vice-President Shri Prabhat Jha and Kamal Sandesh Parivar join the nation in wishing their Margdarshak and former Prime Minister *Adarniya* Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee a very happy birthday and pray for his long life to continue to guide the Party and the nation for long. “





Massive support in assembly elections paves way for BJP for 2014 Lok Sabha polls

The road to coming Lok Sabha elections is passing through recently held elections to five assembly elections. Till yesterday no one was ready to believe but today everyone is saying that the next government in the Centre will be formed by BJP led NDA. Results were on expected lines. In Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan governments were sure to be formed and Chhattisgarh was also not far behind. Yes, in Delhi there was close contest. Earlier only in Gujarat BJP government was formed for three times and now two more states are included in the list – Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. BJP has created history. It has proved that it not only runs the government, goes into elections while being in government and even wins the elections. Now those days are gone when people used to say that BJP could not win elections, if it wins it fails to run government and if government runs its chief minister are not able to complete terms but a full stop has been put on all these things by these assembly election results. In contrary it has been now established that we come in the government, run it and remain as chief minister for years. It was not easy to form governments in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh for the third time. By being in government for 10 years it is not easy to make way for coming five years but the welfare programmes for people in both the states did the magic. Capable leadership, faith in leadership, faith of leadership in organisation, coordination between government and organisation are considered remarkable factors in victory. Congress left no stone unturned, it fought a war in Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan. Falsity has no takers that's why Congress could not stand its ground.

First of all let's talk about Madhya Pradesh. Shivraj Singh Chouhan has become darling of people, People have established a connect with him. To establish social relation with people in today's consumerist age is not a child's play. Shivraj Singh Chouhan became 'mama' for someone, 'bhaiya' for some others and 'son' for many people – these relations were not false. These relations played their roles in turbulence of politics. People had faith as they said, 'Shivraj hamara hai' and they were proved right as Shivraj was for everyone.

Impact of many welfare works done by Madhya Pradesh government was seen in the electoral field. Development rules everywhere. Whether it was road, water, electricity, implementation of plans, Annapuran Yojana, one rupee wheat, two rupee rice, one rupee per kilogram salt, Ladli Laxmi Yojana, Kanyadan Yojana, Janani Suraksha Yojana or Mukhyamantri Tirtha Darshan Yojana, all these programmes showed their impact. Massive success of 'Janashirvad Yatra', continuous tour of Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan, organisational strength, the manner in which all the karyakartas and leaders worked together with effective organisation for which Madhya Pradesh is known is not only to be appreciated but followed in the future. The untiring effort of the organisation, leadership of Shivraj ji and most successful public meeting of BJP Prime Ministerial candidate Shri Narendra Modi played important roles in defeating the aspirations of the Congress.

If we try to look closely at Rajasthan then one will have to congratulate the tireless works of Vasundhara Raje Scindia herself, BJP organisation and people involved in management. The 'Swaraj Sankalp Yatra' taken out by Vasundhara Raje cleared way for victory in the Rajasthan assembly elections. She worked tirelessly. Even karyakartas never stopped, they were never tired, they kept marching on. Every karyakarta was filled with spirit of victory. Karyakartas were filled with the spirit from top to bottom to avenge the defeat of last time.

BJP took on the Gehlot government and exposed the weaknesses of Congress. Situation turned out in such a way that the anger which was in the people against Ashok Gehlot government, BJP was able to bring it out to the fore on the streets.

If we talk about Chhatisgarh then the manner in which the Maoists attacked Congress leaders and the way Congress tried to reap political harvest out of it cannot be praised by anyone. 'Chaur wale baba' Dr. Raman Singh was able to take his programmes from village to village through his 'Vikas Yatra'. Dr. Raman Singh also toured tirelessly the 90 assembly constituencies of the state. The wheel of his electoral chariot did not stop for even a single second. Congress tried its best but it could not block his victory path. There is no doubt that there was close call between Congress and BJP. But finally the one who served the people with good intention won. Whatever Congress may say but it is true that had Maoist attack not taken place and Congress not tried to take political mileage out of it, its numbers would have been much less in the state assembly. It is not easy to come out with favourable results in difficult circumstances. Dr. Raman Singh and Chhattisgarh karyakartas deserve to be congratulated as they were able to form government even in the face of adverse circumstances.

Now if we talk about Delhi, people were fed up with Congress for last 15 years. It was clear that Congress was not going to make a comeback and if Congress cannot then BJP was supposed to form the government. Amidst all this Aam Aadmi Party started to create political confusion. AAP started to mislead the people. That's why no one could get clear majority in Delhi. In spite of that BJP coming to number one position signifies that BJP is in the heart of the common people of Delhi. What will happen next in Delhi only time will determine but it is clear that BJP is number one party in Delhi and has the right to form government in the state.

After the results of the assembly elections were out, it has become a common talk among the people that now Narendra Modi has to be made Prime Minister of India. BJP will have to continue its victory march upto next Lok Sabha elections and keep itself away from anything which might block its path. I believe that BJP will take steps to carry out its responsibilities towards the bigger goal. ■

BJP Karyakarta stabbed to death by Communist Party of India (Marxist) workers at Payyannur in Kerala

Shri Vinod Kumar, 35, a Bharatiya Janata Party Karyakarta, was stabbed to death by Communist Party of India (Marxist) workers at Payyannur in Kannur on 01 December, 2013. Shri Narayanan, 48, and Shri Lakshmanan, 50, both BJP Karyakartas, were admitted respectively to the Pariyaram Medical College Hospital and a hospital in Mangalore with injuries. The deceased was identified as BJP worker Shri Vinod Kumar, a photographer from Payyannur. The condition of one of the injured BJP workers, who was admitted to the Medical College Hospital at Pariyaram, Kannur, was said to be critical.

As per police CPI(M) workers reportedly threw stones at a vehicle taking BJP workers to a rally to mark the anniversary of the murder of Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha leader Shri K.T. Jayakrishnan



who was hacked to death by a Marxist killer gang on December 1, 1999, in the afternoon. BJP workers, in retaliation staged a sit-in on the road at Perumba, Payyannur. Shri Vinod Kumar, who was among the protestors, was stabbed by Communist Party of India (Marxist) workers at 4 p.m., the police said. CPI(M) workers also overturned another van carrying BJP workers to the rally, at Perumba, the police said. Road traffic along the National Highway was disrupted following the

incidents.

BJP Bandh in Kannur

In protest against the gruesome incident the BJP called for a dawn-to-dusk shutdown in Kannur district, Kerala on 01 December. Kerala BJP alleged that the CPI(M) was trying to take Kannur back into the days of murderous violence. ■

People vote overwhelmingly for BJP, Congress routed



BJP handed over a crushing defeat to Congress in Rajasthan, gets hat-trick in Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh and emerges as single largest party in Delhi

For the four States for which results were declared on December 08 the BJP has swept Rajasthan and retained Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh with a hat-trick victory and in Delhi it emerged as the single largest party, marking the end of 15 years of uninterrupted Congress rule in the national capital. As a stunned Congress faced a 0-4 rout in this round of Assembly elections, party president Sonia Gandhi accepted the defeat. BJP National President Shri Rajnath Singh said the result was an emphatic rejection of the Congress.

So far as the resounding BJP victory is concerned after a nine-month long campaign, Smt. Vasundhara Raje led BJP to a landslide victory in Rajasthan, ousting the Ashok Gehlot led Congress government from power. The BJP won 162 of the 199 seats in the Assembly. In Madhya Pradesh,

BJP led by Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan outdid its performance of 2008, winning 165 of the 230 seats. In Chhattisgarh, the BJP won 49 seats in a 90 member house ensuring a third consecutive triumph for Chief Minister Dr. Raman Singh.

BJP romps a hat-trick in Madhya Pradesh Assembly

BJP romped a hat-trick by winning 165 seats in the 230-seat Madhya Pradesh Assembly. In fact Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan has improved the BJP tally of victory. In the outgoing Assembly, the BJP had 143 seats. Both BJP and Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan created a history in Madhya Pradesh by forming Government for consecutive third term. Shri Chouhan's pro-people policies, the schemes for



Gwalior-Chambal regional which is considered to have Scindia family's influence, the Congress lost miserably. Similarly, Digvijay Singh could not help Congress to win seats in his own home district. BJP's Hazarilal Dangi wrested the Khilchipur seat from Singh's nephew and former Youth Congress president Priyavrat Singh. Former PCC chief Suresh Pachouri faced humiliating defeat from the Bhojpur constituency by BJP's Shri Surendra Patwa and all his supported Congress candidates lost the elections.

The Congress also lost Malwa, Jhabua and Ratlam districts that are considered the bastion of State Congress president Shri Kantilal Bhuria.

230 CONSTITUENCIES		
PARTY	WON	IN 2008
Bharatiya Janata Party	165	143
Indian National Congress	58	71
Bahujan Samaj Party	4	7
Independent	3	3

women and children and the aggressive campaigning of the party's Prime Ministerial candidate Shri Narendra Modi, helped are being considered to have played pivotal role in making the hat-trick.

Political observers feel that ticket distribution played an important role in the victory of the BJP. The present Assembly election proved a setback to the Opposition Congress as it came down to 63 from 71 of the previous tally it had.

It was a clean sweep of the BJP, but the political observers feel that the Opposition party might have been wiped out clearly as per the wishes of the BJP leaders, as they say 'Congress Mukh Madhya Pradesh', if tickets were distributed more judiciously.

Shri Shivraj Singh remained powerful in the bastion of all senior leaders of the Congress, including Digvijay Singh, Kamal Nath, Suresh Pachouri, Kantilal Bhuria and Ajay Singh. Jyotiraditya Scindia of the Congress who was confidants to bag all seats in his hometown Gwalior, failed comprehensively. Congress heavyweight Govind Singh Rajput, who roped in party vice-president Rahul Gandhi to campaign for him in his constituency, lost to BJP's Parul Sahu. In both the Guna Parliamentary constituency, represented by Scindia, and the

Lotus blooms in Rajasthan

In the state of Rajasthan, the lotus bloomed like never before as the BJP handed over a crushing defeat to the Congress by winning 162 out of 199



seats. The ruling party recorded its worst-ever performance in the history of State politics by bagging only 21 seats. In 1977, Congress had won 41 seats.

199/200 CONSTITUENCIES		
PARTY	WON	IN 2008
Bharatiya Janata Party	162	78
Indian National Congress	21	96
Bahujan Samaj Party	3	6
National People's Party	4	-
National Unionist	2	-
Independent	7	14

The pro-BJP wave, bolstered by the aggressive campaigning of the party's Prime Ministerial candidate Shri Narendra Modi, helped the party win landslide victory under the leadership of Smt. Vasundhara Raje. BJP managed to secure over 45

per cent vote, 12 per cent more than the Congress.

Barring Chief Minister Shri Ashok Gehlot and Tribal Affairs Minister Mahendrajit Singh Malviya, none of the Cabinet Minister was able to win their own seat. The Congress was washed out in 15 out of 33 districts in the State. In Jaipur, BJP won 16 seats while Congress could secure only 1 seat.

In the Muslim-dominated Ajmer district, BJP won all the 8 seats with comfortable margin. Ironically, Mr. Gehlot won Sardarpura seat in Jodhpur by a margin of 18,478 votes. Nine other seats in his home district were won by BJP despite electioneering by Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi. BJP won 21 seats in Mewar-Wangad region.

BJP's chief ministerial candidate Smt. Vasundhara Raje won her Jhalrapatan seat by over 60,000 votes. BJP stalwart Shri Gulab Chand Kataria played a crucial role in Udaipur and neighboring districts helping the party to win majority of seats in Chitorgarh, Dunderpur, Banswar and Pratapgarh tribal belt. BJP had focused all its energy in the tribal area to oust Congress and succeeded.

PCC Chief Chandrabhan could not win from Mandawa seat in Jhunjhunu district. Chandrabhan has submitted his resignation to party president Sonia Gandhi. The self-styled 'kingmakers' like Kirori Lal Meena of the National People's Party and Gujjar leader Kirori Singh Bainsla also could not stop the BJP juggernaut. Meena, who had launched National Peoples party with an aim to spoil BJP, managed to win only 4 seats. He had fielded 155 candidates in the polls.

Smt. Raje, who started her day by offering prayers in Banswara, credited the BJP's landslide victory to party's leadership and ground workers. "The Party dedicated the victory to the people of Rajasthan and its workers. She also credited BJP president Shri Rajnath Singh and PM candidate Shri Narendra Modi.

"Shri Modi is a very big factor. People have seen what he has done in Gujarat," she said, adding the results in the State are a "semi-final" to what is going to happen in next Lok Sabha elections.

Dr. Raman Singh back for Third Stint in Chhattisgarh

Overcoming the sympathy factor for Congress in the wake of Maoist attack Dr. Raman Singh proved his mettle and pulled off a hat-trick by winning 49 seats in the 90-member Assembly. The vote



percentage difference between the victor and the vanquished was less than one per cent as the

90 CONSTITUENCIES		
PARTY	WON	IN 2008
BJP	49	50
INC	39	38
BSP	1	2
Independent	1	0

BJP polled 41.36 per cent votes while the Congress managed 40.66 per cent. After the victory the Dr. Raman Singh said, "Winning for the third time in a row is a historic feat and I dedicate it to the 2.5-crore people of the State.

I will take the development of the State forward with the blessings of the people." Shri Singh's magic resulted in decimation of senior Congress leader and Leader of Opposition Ravindra Choubey from the Saja seat, which he had been winning since 1990.

However, political pundits believe that it was only Dr. Singh's clean image, his acceptability and popularity with the masses and the campaign of BJP's PM Candidate Shri Narendra Modi that helped BJP register its third successive victory.

They believe Dr. Singh commands tremendous love and respect among the people in all 27 districts.

BJP emerges as single largest party in Delhi

In the 70-member Delhi Assembly election BJP emerged as the single largest party and got 32 seats and Congress suffered a rout with three-time Chief Minister Smt. Sheila Dikshit even losing her



own seat to Mr. Arvind Kejriwal of AAP. It is a hung House with BJP winning 32 falling short of the majority mark of 36 and the AAP winning 28

70 CONSTITUENCIES		
PARTY	WON	IN 2008
Bharatiya Janata Party	31	23
Aam Aadmi Party	28	-
Indian National Congress	8	43
Janata Dal (United)	1	0
Shiromani Akali Dal	1	-
Independent	1	1

seats. Reduced to number three position, Congress bagged a paltry eight seats as many senior ministers and heavyweights failed to retain their constituencies in the election that saw massive anti-incumbency wave. One seat each was secured by Janata Dal (U) and Independent.

After the horrible defeat a visibly shaken CM, who ruled Delhi for 15 years, sent her resignation to Lt Governor Najeeb Jung around noon as trends indicated a debacle from Congress in the hustings and accepted the defeat. A number of Congress heavy-weights including cabinet ministers lost in the election as AAP, born following the movement for Lokpal Bill led by Anna Hazare, made a strong dent into Congress' support base.

BJP's Chief Ministerial candidate Dr. Harsh Vardhan thanked people of Delhi for giving the party the maximum number of seats. "I am

confident that we will be able to serve the people of Delhi," he said, declining to take questions about the formation of next government. Dr. Vardhan also extended his wishes to Mr. Arvind Kejriwal of AAP and the outgoing Chief Minister.

"I will congratulate Kejriwal on the good show of his party against expectations. I will also offer my thanks to Dikshit for serving Delhi for 15 years," he said.

Dr. Vardhan won from the Krishna Nagar constituency with a whopping margin of over 43,150 votes. The AAP National Convener congratulated BJP's Chief Ministerial candidate Dr. Harsh Vardhan and the party for winning most number of seats.

Noteworthy, in the last assembly polls, Congress had 43 seats, BJP 23 seats and BSP had two seats. The Lok Jana Shakti Party and Independent had one each.

The hung verdict in Delhi Assembly polls has raised intriguing questions about government formation in the national capital. Delhi BJP President Shri Vijay Goel said the party will not resort to any unfair means to reach the magic figure of 36 and prefer to sit in the Opposition. "We will not resort to any unfair means to get support of the required number of MLAs. The people of Delhi have given the verdict and we respect it. We will prefer to sit in opposition rather than forming a government through horse trading," Shri Goel told.

Former BJP National President and In charge of Delhi Shri Nitin Gadkari said, "We will form government if we get support in natural process. Otherwise we would like to sit in Opposition."

If there is no way out of the impasse, there may be a spell of the Lt Governor's rule for a maximum of six months in one go which could be extended up to one year.

BJP National President appointed observers in Four States

An upbeat Bharatiya Janata Party began the groundwork for government formation, with party National President Shri Rajnath Singh appointing observers to be sent to the four states where the party has emerged victorious. After a meeting of its Parliamentary Board, Shri Singh said, "Let me make it clear that we will form governments in all the four states and we will have our chief ministers



there.”

The top leaders, including Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi, decided to send observers to Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh to complete the formalities of staking claim. “Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy and Shri Ananth Kumar will go as observers to Madhya Pradesh, Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu, Shri J P Nadda and Shri Dharmendra Pradhan to Chhattisgarh, Shri Arun Jaitley, Shri Amit Shah and Shri Kaptan Singh Solanki to Rajasthan and Shri Nitin Gadkari and Shri Thawar Chand Gehlot to Delhi,” Shri Singh said.

Addressing the media persons Shri Singh said BJP benefitted from the popularity of Narendra Modi, the party’s prime ministerial candidate. Praising Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan and Chhattisgarh CM Dr. Raman Singh, Shri Rajnath said, “Our performance in these states, the good governance by the governments in these states has been accepted by the people.”

He said there was no anti-incumbency in MP and Chhattisgarh and BJP benefitted from pro-incumbency. The results of assembly polls clearly indicate that the people have rejected the Congress’ model for governance. The BJP’s impressive performance in Madhya Pradesh and Ch’garh gives clear thumbs up to our commitment towards good

Phenomenal performance by BJP, says Shiv Sena

BJP ally Shiv Sena attributed BJP’s performance in the Assembly elections in four States to “resentment of the people against Congress”. “It is a phenomenal performance by the BJP. The Congress has been trounced in all the four States.

They could not even save their Government in Delhi,” Sena spokesperson Shri Sanjay Raut said. Calling it a failure of the Gandhi family, he said that Congress had been wiped out in Rajasthan.

Shri Raut also said that Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan’s style of functioning helped him retain the power. He also credited BJP’s prime ministerial candidate Narendra Modi for campaigning hard for the party.

Bihar BJP hails BJP’s victory

Former deputy Chief Minister Shri Sushil Kumar Modi and other senior BJP leaders hailed BJP’s victory in assembly polls in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and an improved performance in Delhi while party workers burst firecrackers and distributed sweets among themselves.

“The electorate of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh have rightly rewarded the BJP governments for their good work and rightly rejected the Congress,” Shri Modi said in his reaction after the results of assembly polls in four states.

The results were also indicative of the things to come in the general elections, he said and lavished praise on the Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi for playing a “big” role in the BJP’s impressive electoral victory in the four states. He said who had split from the BJP to protest Shri Narendra Modi’s elevation early this year and hobnobbing with the Congress too will be wiped out in the elections, going by the public antipathy towards the UPA.

governance. BJP has won 68 per cent seats in four states," Shri Singh said.

BJP may be sending observers to complete the formalities in the four states, but the choice for the chief minister's post is already clear. Shri Singh even announced that Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan will once again head the BJP government in Madhya Pradesh.

He credited BJP's projected Chief Ministerial candidates in the four states for the good performance of the party in the polls. Expressing his happiness over the poll results in Rajasthan, Shri Singh said Congress used to cite its rule in the state as a development model but has lost badly. "This shows people see BJP as the party which can deliver on good governance," he added. ■

"Let me make it clear that we will form Governments in all the four States and we will have our Chief Ministers there."

-Rajnath Singh



"This is a wonderful beginning towards success in our Mission 272+ and for fulfilling the dream of a Congress Mukht Bharat... People have spoken loud and clear! The verdict has shown yet again that people want development, not corruption & vote bank politics."

-Narendra Modi



"The BJP-Akali Dal Alliance has won 32 constituencies of Delhi. This is about six to eight seats short of our expectations. We have narrowly lost in some assembly segments. Even though we have managed to retain a large part of our traditional votes."

-Arun Jaitley



"There is a pro-BJP mood across the country. BJP is the only challenger to the Congress. That has been proved beyond doubt."

-M. Venkaiah Naidu



Markets cheer BJP victory in Assembly polls; Sensex, Nifty hit record high

The BSE Sensex and the broader Nifty hit record highs on 9 December after the Bharatiya Janata Party, perceived by many investors as being more business-friendly, pulled off a near four-zero victory in state polls.

The Sensex surged as much as 487 points to a life-time high of 21,483.74, while the Nifty edged past the 6,400 levels for the first time in history. The Nifty hit an all-time high of 6,415, bettering its January 2008 record high of 6,357. The rupee hit a four-month high. Traders attributed the sharp gains to the emphatic victory for BJP, now seen as a clear frontrunner in the general elections due in 2014. Some domestic brokerages even predicted the BJP to get a simple majority of its own in the general elections due by May next year.

After stock markets, Rupee too appreciated by 51 paise to trade at nearly four-month high of 60.90 against the dollar in early trade on Monday on sales of the US currency by banks and exporters and sustained foreign capital inflows. Besides, a higher opening in the domestic equity market, where the Sensex soared to an all-time high of 21,483.74 points after BJP's victory in State Assembly elections and strengthening of other currencies against the dollar overseas, also supported the local currency, forex dealers said. The rupee had gained 34 paise to close at five-week high of 61.41 against the dollar on 9 December. ■



Time to move beyond mentality of beggar state to create a better state : Narendra Modi

BJP Prime Ministerial Candidate Shri Narendra Modi addressed the Lalkaar Rally in the city of Jammu on the afternoon of 1st December 2013. In a comprehensive address filled with hope, aspiration and the message of peace and development, Shri Narendra Modi presented his vision for the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

In a clear message to those who have played petty politics with the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for 60 years, Shri Modi declared, "For 60 years they have been talking about separate state but the people got nothing. And there is even no accountability. In the name of creating a separate state they encouraged separatism. Wouldn't it have been better if

Shri Modi affirmed that the time has come for a debate of Article 370 and went on to say that Article 370 has become like a *Kavach* for leaders of J&K. He shared that none other than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken about Article 370's reducing importance over time and asked why the Prime Minister, who otherwise is at the forefront of asking the BJP to follow ideals of great leaders, not doing what Pandit Nehru felt.

During his speech, Shri Modi questioned why is it that people of Jammu and Kashmir are not getting the benefits of the Acts the Congress is otherwise taking credit for? He asked why must the people of Kashmir not get the same rights as what the marginalized communities all over India get? He questioned why J&K must not get a comprehensive anti-corruption law when the entire nation is fed up with corruption. Likewise, he asked why must men & women not get equal rights in J&K and called for stopping discrimination against women in the state. "Here I am not talking about men or women but I am talking about the development of Jammu and Kashmir. Development comes with integration...if you look back in history there are some 50 families who have gained. Rest of Kashmir has been ignored" avowed Shri Modi.

The NDA's PM candidate asked why were no steps taken

...Continued on page 29



He said that the time has come to move beyond the mentality of Jammu Kashmir being a better state and make the state a better state through good governance and fulfilling the aspirations of the people. "Jammu Kashmir Bhikhari Nahi Hain...yeh desh ke liye jeene marne wale log hain," (people of J&K are not beggars, they want to dedicate themselves to our nation) he affirmed. He also said that the Centre is in deep slumber and no amount of people's anger would awaken them.

they had worked towards creating a super state? It was Atal ji who showed the way in turning J&K into a super state!"

Shri Modi recalled the vision of former Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee for Jammu and Kashmir. He affirmed, "For 14 years no PM had gone to Jammu and Kashmir. Atal ji changed that and went to Jammu and Kashmir. He gave three *Mantas- Insaniyat, Jamhuriyat and Kashmiriyat* (Humanity, democracy and J&K). We aspire to walk on that path."

Article 370 has nothing to do with Secularism. It's an instrument of oppression against citizens of India

By Arun Jaitley

Narendra Modi's speech at Jammu invited Omar Abdullah's response. After a long time, Article 370 is being seriously debated in this country. An ill-informed debate had earlier linked the issue of Article 370 to a secular v/s non-secular debate. Article 370 has nothing to do with Secularism. My own study on the subject has revealed a very interesting dimension as to how Article 370 can turn into an instrument of oppression and discrimination against Indian citizens.

Article 370 is a special provision created only in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir. It is a temporary provision. It relates to the distribution of power between the Centre and the State. The Central List in relation to Jammu & Kashmir was a small one. Most powers vested in the State Legislature. If any power had to be transferred from the Centre to the State, it required the concurrence of the State. Article 370 states as under:-

370. Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu & Kashmir

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,

(a) The provisions of Article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(b) The power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to

(i) those matters in the Union

List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters

and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;
(d) Such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify:

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters

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with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

Explanation :- For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognized by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharajas Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948 ;

(c) The provisions of Article 1

specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State: Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

Pursuant to the provisions of Article 370 (1) (d) the President of India by an order (not legislation) notified the provisions of Article 35A of the Constitution. The provisions of Article 35A read as under:-

35-A. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution, no existing law in

force in the State of Jammu & Kashmir, and no law hereafter enacted by the Legislature of the State,

- (a) defining the classes. of persons who are or shall be, permanent residents of the State of Jammu & Kashmir; or
- (b) conferring on such permanent residences any special rights and privileges or imposing upon other persons any restrictions as respects:-

Those who settled in other parts of India have all the constitutional guarantees available to them. They are entitled to all fundamental rights available under the Constitution of India to the citizens. The unfortunate ones who migrated to the State of Jammu & Kashmir have been conferred citizenship of India. They can vote in national elections. They can hold property anywhere in India. However, they have not been conferred the status of being

fundamental rights would be valid qua these persons. These citizens of India are not entitled to the protection of Article 14 (equality), Article 15 (prohibition of discrimination on basis of religion, caste, race or place of birth), Article 16 (Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment and reservations), the fundamental rights under Article 19 including the right to free speech and the right to life and liberty under Article 21. They are not entitled to the freedom of practice and propagation of religion under Article 25. They are also not entitled to protection of interests available to minorities under Article 29 and 30. The non-State subjects, who are citizens of India, who live in Jammu & Kashmir by virtue of Article 35A, are denied these protections. The pre 2002 position in relation to daughters who marry outside the State that they would lose their right of inheritance is based on the authority to discriminate against citizens of India, between citizens of India and State subjects which Article 35A confers.

Should a provision like Article 35A which exists only because of Article 370 have place in any civilized society? It is oppressive against citizens of India.

It is discriminatory and violative of fundamental rights. Article 35A was inserted in 1954. On a bare reading, it violates the basic structure of the Constitution. I wonder if its constitutional validity will be challenged at some point of time.■

(The writer is Leader of Opposition in Rajya Sabha)

There are thus citizens of India who have not been conferred the status of State subjects. The phrase 'State subjects' and 'permanent residents' are used interchangeably. Millions of people migrated to India in 1947. Those who settled in other parts of India have all the constitutional guarantees available to them. They are entitled to all fundamental rights available under the Constitution of India to the citizens.

- (i) employment under the State Government;
- (ii) acquisition of immovable property in the State;
- (iii) settlement in the State; or
- (iv) right to scholarships and such other forms of aid as the State Government may provide, shall be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any rights conferred on the other citizens of India by any provisions of this part."

There are thus citizens of India who have not been conferred the status of State subjects. The phrase 'State subjects' and 'permanent residents' are used interchangeably. Millions of people migrated to India in 1947.

State subjects under Article 6 of the Jammu & Kashmir Constitution. Being citizens of India, they are discriminated against. They cannot vote or contest elections of the Assembly, Municipality or Panchayats in the State. They cannot get a job in the State. They cannot acquire property in the state. Their children are not entitled to admission to colleges as State subjects. The bright ones amongst them cannot even get scholarship or any other type of aid from the State. Article 35A of the Constitution of India executively inserted pursuant to Article 370(1) (d) excludes the provision of 'this part' of the Constitution. 'This part' of the Constitution refers to 'Part III.'

The effect of this would be that laws inconsistent with

Those were the days in politics...!

By Prabhat Jha

Earlier, 'politics' never used to be everything, it used to have its own meaning. Goodwill, simplicity, moderation in debate, concern for each other, tendency to feel pain and happiness of others as one's own used to be the order of the day. It was not difficult to gather in one another's place in a day, week or in a fortnight to

discuss day to day things. One used to gather at one another's place and take food together and talk pleasantly forgetting as to which party he belonged to. Here, party used to take form of a family. Making fun of each other was not intended to undermine one another but for enjoyment. In every town there used to be two or three such places where open discussions used to take place.

days it used to take place at bhaiji's place. What it means is that there was no formality involved. The oneness that emanates from informality binds everyone together. Grand gathering of same age group. It used to become a place to feel rejuvenated from the sadness and to break the silence of the loneliness.

confidence. People used to learn from each other. Many unwritten chapters of the history of politics used to be imbibed by practical knowledge. One could see the expansion of knowledge and intellect on the social plane.

Today paucity of such places are seen in almost every districts and subdivisions. Gradually informal meetings like this had become part of culture and tradition. Time flew very fast. Why this kind of meetings used to take place? One thing could be easily understood that political leaders participating in it were selfless. Today situation has changed. No one knows how this kind of atmosphere started waning away slowly overtime. The politics was confined to select few and became closed door activity. The meetings taking place in air tight rooms changed the very meaning of politics. The place of 'bhaiji' and 'bhaiyajji' was taken by 'sir'. Everything changed. People not even see eye to eye what to speak about sitting together. People even forgot to smile. When people don't sit together then how will they smile?

The sense of togetherness among the leaders working in the social-political arena slowly faded away. The distance was created in such a manner that individualism started to capture space of public life. Those living in public life now consider it dangerous to give up their individualism in favour of their

discuss day to day things. One used to gather at one another's place and take food together and talk pleasantly forgetting as to which party he belonged to. Here, party used to take form of a family. Making fun of each other was not intended to undermine one another but for enjoyment. In every town there used to be two or three such places where open discussions used to take place. It had become a trend. Today evening if it was at bhaiyajji's place then after few

Whether it was a village or a town, the discussions of such gatherings used to be talk of the place. No one used to be unfamiliar about it but only they used to participate who had the social acceptability. It was a place where nectar rained and 'poison' of bitterness was kept away. People were so close to each other that one's pain was immediately felt by others. People enjoyed this environment for years. These get togethers were the confluence of mutual

societal responsibilities. Individualism gets drowned in public good. There should not be an attempt to see individualism separately, development should take place but culture and tradition should not be shattered. But today it is not happening. Those days are gone when people used to sit together in an open environment by breaking the shackles of a partisan politics and used to discuss in disciplined manner.

Today situation has changed. Earlier the elder generation leaders used to groom their younger generation leaders. They used to teach practical lessons through their conduct rather than by book. There was a tendency to commit oneself fully to groom and train if a person of better and broader understanding was found. Now it is seen where the loyalty of a person lies – in a person or in

used to sit together. They used to walk together. Today they never sit together rather a class room type environment persists. Questions are being asked. The

tendency of taking lives of one another.

Situation will have to be changed. Simplicity, morality, ethics, liberalism, credibility and

Situation will have to be changed. Simplicity, morality, ethics, liberalism, credibility and probity will have to be given importance. The spirit of collective meetings of that era will have to be rekindled. The lamp of selfless spirit will have to be re-ignited. The form of meeting should be definitely changed in accordance with time, space and situation but the fundamental spirit and tradition of the meetings should be continued as before. The spirit of togetherness which emerges will become the basis for our victory and good work. If we abandon our culture then we will be nowhere even if we travel to any era.

crisis of confidence is always seen there. There is competition to push others down, what to speak about bringing one to the fore.

Can't be said if that era of politics will come back or not?

probity will have to be given importance. The spirit of collective meetings of that era will have to be rekindled. The lamp of selfless spirit will have to be re-ignited. The form of meeting should be definitely changed in accordance with time, space and situation but the fundamental spirit and tradition of the meetings should be continued as before. The spirit of togetherness which emerges will become the basis for our victory and good work. If we abandon our culture then we will be nowhere even if we travel to any era.

We will loose our way. We will have to keep intact the place where positive discussions on serving others, particularly social service used to take place. If we are able to do this then a positive initiative in the direction of taking Maa Bharati towards supreme glory will start. Today it is very much required. ■

(The writer is BJP Vice President and Rajya Sabha member)

Today situation has changed. Earlier the elder generation leaders used to groom their younger generation leaders. They used to teach practical lessons through their conduct rather than by book. There was a tendency to commit oneself fully to groom and train if a person of better and broader understanding was found. Now it is seen where the loyalty of a person lies – in a person or in organisation. Now the scale is tilted in favour of individuals rather than in favour of organisation.

organisation. Now the scale is tilted in favour of individuals rather than in favour of organisation. If leadership quality is seen attempts are made to curtail it which should not happen. The need is to flower that quality upto one's capacity and even beyond that. Earlier all

But it is true. Stories of that era inspire even today. All the source of inspiration has today dried and the source of competition and contest is increasing. Violence has taken space of love and confidence. The tradition to sacrifice life for each other is now being replaced by the

'Peace clause' in WTO talks : a step to risk our economic sovereignty

By Muralidhar Rao

The WTO since its very inception has had an inherent bias against the interests of poor nations vis-a-vis the rich. The least developed and developing countries like India are home to millions of poor, whose interests are set aside in each and every WTO ministerial meeting, by front loading the agenda of the US and EU.

That narrative is set to repeat itself at the Bali ministerial conference where the entire focus is on pushing the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) which helps exporting countries at the cost of domestic industries. As a trade off, countries like India are offered a 'peace clause', which has a shelf life of just 4 years.

The peace clause offers protection against domestic support measures like Minimum Support Price (MSP) for agricultural produce being challenged before the dispute settlement body of WTO. Thus, it provides space for developing nations to procure produce for public stock holding and distribution to the poor, even though the total subsidy involved exceeds the 10 per cent cap set by WTO (subsidy should not exceed 10 per cent of the value of the total produce). In the Indian context, this helps us in implementing the National Food Security Act (NFSA).

The peace clause has

primarily two loopholes. First, para 3 of the draft says that any developing nation with a public stockholding programme shall ensure that stocks procured under such a programme do not distort trade. Secondly, an agreement on Subsidies and Counter veiling Measures (SCM) says that the income or price supports provided by WTO member governments should not cause adverse effects (article 1.2 & article 5). The adverse effects include "serious prejudices to

marginal farmers, b) the food subsidy programme run by the Government of India.

Regarding the 10 per cent subsidy cap, the calculation is on the basis of the highly outdated reference price of 1986-88. Further, the calculation is done on the entire output rather than the actual area which is receiving the subsidy. Experts say that this subsidy cap was breached long ago, at least in terms of paddy, for which it currently stands at 26 per cent.

The peace clause has primarily two loopholes. First, para 3 of the draft says that any developing nation with a public stockholding programme shall ensure that stocks procured under such a programme do not distort trade. Secondly, an agreement on Subsidies and Counter veiling Measures (SCM) says that the income or price supports provided by WTO member governments should not cause adverse effects (article 1.2 & article 5). The adverse effects include "serious prejudices to the interests of other members (article 5c)".

the interests of other members (article 5c)".

In a nutshell, the current draft of the peace clause is conditional and thus, offers no peace. When a member country is challenged, the burden of proof is on the challenged country. With the application of the peace clause, the areas which will be affected significantly include: a) MSP offered to small and

Annexure 2 of the Agreement on Agriculture refers to Green Box subsidies which are regarded as non-trade distorting and therefore permissible under WTO rules. The domestic food security and farmer support measures of the developing countries are not included in the Green Box, despite the fact that they are not trade distorting. Meanwhile, the US and EU have

classified 90 and 80 per cent of their domestic agriculture support measures, involving direct payments to farmers, as Green Box subsidies. These provisions directly benefit large corporations. India and G33 are naturally negotiating to do away with the mountains of subsidies paid out by developed nations under the Green Box escape clause. An UNCTAD study shows that Green Box subsidies are in fact trade distorting. Any cut in these subsidies will affect both production and export potential.

At the Bali ministerial, India must lead the alliance of developing nations to challenge the entire focus of the meeting and bring about a balanced approach to the negotiating process. We have a sterling example of a hard negotiator in the late Murasoli Maran, then Minister for Commerce and Industry in NDA government. The effort should be a conclusion of the Doha development agreement.

Murasoli Maran, then Minister for Commerce and Industry in NDA government. The effort should be a conclusion of the Doha development agreement.

Any hint of submission to a piecemeal solution will have adverse implications for our economic sovereignty, the livelihood of millions of our poor and small and marginal farmers. ■

(Muralidhar Rao is BJP National General Secretary.)

of subsidies paid out by developed nations under the Green Box escape clause. An UNCTAD study shows that Green Box subsidies are in fact trade distorting. Any cut in these subsidies will affect both production and export potential.

G33 is further negotiating to eliminate imbalances in the WTO Agreement on Agriculture. The demands include updating the 1986 reference price and inclusion of Green Box subsidies. Not surprisingly, these proposals are opposed by developed countries. In a show of magnanimity, they have offered the caveat-ridden peace clause. The TFA will increase our public expenditure to create infrastructure for the comfort of importers. This will adversely affect domestic industry.

At the Bali ministerial, India must lead the alliance of developing nations to challenge the entire focus of the meeting and bring about a balanced approach to the negotiating process. We have a sterling example of a hard negotiator in the late

BJP condoles demise of Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela, who pioneered anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and delivered South Africa from the dark days of apartheid, has died at 95 on December 6 in the morning. BJP National President Shri Rajnath Singh condoled



t h e statesman demise. He said "I am deeply saddened to hear t h e news of Nelson Mandela's demise t h i s morning. He was

an inspiring hero who fought against discrimination and injustice to people all his life. Nelson Mandela believed in Gandhi an methods and philosophy and became an iconic figure who gave up his own freedom to ensure freedom for his people.

He was one of the greatest leaders of the modern history who inspired people around the world by his struggle for dignity and honour to human beings. He paid his heartfelt tributes to Dr. Mandela.

BJP Prime Ministerial candidate and Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Narendra Modi also extended heartfelt condolences to Former South African President, Nelson Mandela's family. He added many of us are not fortunate to see Gandhi ji alive. We are blessed to see the life of Nelson Mandela, who embodied his values & ideals. ■

It will increase communal violence and fragment Indian society further-Modi

BJP Prime Ministerial Candidate Shri Narendra Modi writes to the PM on Revised Prevention of Communal Violence Bill, 2013

05 December 2013

**Dear Prime Minister
Dr Manmohan Singhji,**

My government has received a letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs alongwith a copy of the revised Prevention of Communal Violence (Access to Justice and Reparations) Bill, 2013 asking for comments to be sent "immediately". It appears that the Government of India is contemplating a hurried introduction of the Bill in the upcoming Winter Session of Parliament.



2. Coming just a couple of months before the expected announcement of the next General Elections, it makes the move look very suspicious. It is almost a giveaway that the move to introduce the Bill is based on political considerations dictated by votebank politics rather than genuine concern for preventing communal violence.
3. My government is sensitive to the issue of communal violence and I am happy to inform you that there have been no communal riots or major incidents of communal violence in Gujarat for the last ten years now. I fully agree that we need to be vigilant about communal violence. However, I have serious objections to the contents of the proposed Bill as also its timing. I am asking the concerned department to send its detailed comments to the Ministry of Home Affairs but considering the importance of the issue at hand, I would like to convey some preliminary observations to you.
4. A plain reading of the bill suggests that it is not confined to Communal Violence on religious lines and includes other considerations like linguistic identities. This expansion of scope may lead to serious issues of operationalizing the provisions.
5. Timing and your political compulsions apart, I also have serious concerns about the constitutional validity, legality, and efficacy of the proposed Bill in addressing the problem of communal violence in the country. To begin with, your government's attempt to legislate on an issue of "law and order" and "public order" both of which are items in the List II (State List) of the Seventh Schedule betrays its contempt for the federal structure and the separation of powers.
6. The Union List (List I) has 97 entries in it and you will agree that there are a whole range of issues in that list which are waiting for legislation. However, rather than addressing issues which are in its domain, the Government of India seems to be under some compulsion to

encroach upon the issues in the State List. Is it because the implementation has to be done by the State Governments? Thus if a poorly conceived and badly drafted legislation does not give the intended results and ends up compounding the problem, the Centre can blame the State Governments for “improper implementation”.

7. I strongly believe that if an issue is in the State list and a proposed legislation will have to be implemented by the State Governments then it should be legislated upon by the State Government. You will agree that after all state governments are also elected by the people and are as much concerned if not more about law and order in general and communal violence in particular.
8. Nonetheless, if you feel that there are certain competencies available with certain people in the Government of India which elude the State Governments and your government cannot but contribute to this issue it should consider preparing a “Model Bill” and circulate to State Governments for consideration if necessary. However, the circulated Bill can be called anything but a “Model Law”. It is a case study on poor conceptualization and even poorer drafting. In short, it is a recipe for disaster.
9. However, knowing its genesis, I am not surprised by the poor drafting of this bill. You will kindly recall that in the Chief Ministers’ Conference on Internal Security in Delhi in May earlier this year, I had brought to your notice how certain individuals with questionable credentials and condemnable links with anti-national elements have penetrated into our policy making think tanks like the Planning Commission and the National Advisory Council, NAC. It is the same NAC, an extra-constitutional authority and the same set of individuals who seem to have now usurped the law-making powers because of the void created at the political level that are behind this draft.
10. The provisions of the proposed Bill will have a consequence of further polarizing Indian society on religious and linguistic lines; the religious and linguistic identities will become more reinforced and even ordinary incidents of violence will be given communal colour to benefit from the provisions of the proposed law. In short, this law will end up achieving just the opposite of its intended objective: it will increase communal violence and fragment Indian society further.
11. Coming to the specific provisions of the Bill, Section 3(f) which defines “hostile environment” and includes “(iii) deprive or threaten to deprive such person of his or her fundamental rights” and “(v) any other act, whether or not it amounts to an offence under this Act, that has the purpose or effect of creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive environment” is so wide ranging and vague that it can certainly be misused.
12. Similarly, section 3(d) read with Section 4, attempts to bring in the concept of “knowledge and intent” into the definition of communal violence. This makes one wonder whether the Orwellian concept of “thought crime” is being introduced in Indian criminal jurisprudence. The said provision has certainly not been examined from the point of view of Evidence Act as also investigation and prosecution.
13. The proposed bill seeks to undermine the basic constitutional tenet of equality before law by attempting to create different classes of citizens based on religion. Under Section 9A, certain offences under IPC have been classified as offences of communal violence. This is a clear breach of Article 14 and 15(1) of the Indian Constitution. If A murders or rapes B, law has to apply similarly regardless of the religious and linguistic identities of A and B; and the equal application of law includes both substantive law and procedural law.
14. The proposed bill tarnishes the police and security forces and paints them as communal at large. Sections 9B and 10A are totally ill conceived in the context of communal violence. The other assumption is that all incidents of communal violence can be prevented by the law and order agencies. Both these assumptions are fallacious and too simplistic. I must say that overall the members of our police forces and security agencies have done a commendable job in dealing with various law and order problems arising out of caste and communal conflicts as also various

political agitations.

15. To belittle their sacrifices and contributions and to put them at grave risk of partisan and politically motivated victimization leading to criminal action for dereliction of duty is most unreasonable. Such provisions have crept in only because most people involved in the drafting of this law have never had the occasion to deal with angry mobs on the ground putting their lives at risk. It would do us no harm if we were to seek the inputs of the heads of various police and security forces as to whether such provisions will help or harm the law enforcement agencies in dealing with communal riots.
16. Section 10B is absurd in that it criminally penalizes a public servant for failure of his subordinates! Incompetence cannot be handled by putting people in jail. It needs capacity building, training, sensitization, motivation, imparting leadership skills etc- certainly issues requiring more inputs and efforts, than mere legislation. I do not know whether such provisions have been weighed at various levels in Government of India.
17. The proviso to Section 10B will only ensure that in times of serious violence, senior officers will rather leave the lower functionaries on the field to fend for themselves than to intervene and expose themselves to criminal liability!
18. There are several other ill-conceived provisions in the proposed Bill which are either non implementable or counter-productive. The only provisions which pass muster are the redundant ones like those in Chapter IV-A and IV-B. These are nothing but a reiteration of existing provisions in the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973.
19. Chapter V and Chapter VI simply reiterate the analogous provisions of the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993. Here I have a serious opposition to bringing NHRC and SHRC into the process of exercising powers that are vested in the executive wing of an elected government. I think these bodies are already empowered under the existing statute to deal with serious violations of human rights during incidents of communal violence.
20. However, to burden these statutory bodies with redressal of all issues, handling of appeals and monitoring of individual incidents is neither practical nor desirable. Ultimately, in a democratic polity it is the elected government which should be the focal point of all responsibility and accountability. That is the only way elected governments will be held accountable for maintaining law and order. To tinker with this basic structure is ill-advised and ill-conceived. To that extent, the roles of NHRC and SHRC should be confined to their present roles as envisaged under the existing laws.
21. Regarding the relief and rehabilitation, the establishment of the Communal Violence Reparation Fund is a welcome step but the use of the word compensation is arguable as the same should be in the domain of a civil court under the "Law of Torts" or a criminal court after the completion of trial. The role of government should be to provide immediate succour and relief to the victims as an ex-gratia relief/ assistance. However, introducing compensation for "moral injury" as provided under the Bill is strange and does not take into account implementability.
22. In view of all of the above observations, I would like to express my government's strong opposition to this ill-conceived and poorly drafted Bill. I would also like to convey my government's strong reservation against this attempt to encroach upon the authority of the state governments. I sincerely request you to direct the Home Ministry to have a wider consultation with the State Governments, political parties and the police and security agencies before proceeding further.

With warm regards.

Yours Sincerely,
(Narendra Modi)

Nawaz Sharif seems to have learnt no lessons

By G Parthasarathy

By not appointing as Army chief an officer with a proven track record of fighting the Taliban, the Pakistani Prime Minister has demonstrated that he is unwilling to bite the bullet.

Superseding six serving officers, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who never tired of boasting how he had got the better of Indira Gandhi in Simla, had appointed the obsequious General Zia-ul Haq as Pakistan's Army chief. Describing this appointment as her husband's

"saviour of Pakistan" hanged, after a farcical trial.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a product of Gen Zia's military rule, enjoying a meteoric rise under the patronage of his military Governor of Punjab, General Ghulam Jilani Khan. It was a

fundamentalist member of the Tablighi Jamaat, General Javed Nasir staged the 1993 Mumbai bomb blasts, with assistance from Dawood Ibrahim. Mr Sharif was sacked shortly thereafter by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, but restored to office by the Supreme Court. When the Army chief, General Asif Nawaz, with whom he had serious differences, died in mysterious circumstances, Mr Sharif superseded three senior officials to appoint the soft spoken General Waheed Kakkar as the new Army chief. Gen Kakkar sent Mr Sharif packing from office soon thereafter.

Mr Sharif learnt nothing from this experience. He unceremoniously forced the resignation of his Army chief General Jehangir Karamat after he was re-elected in 1997, only to appoint a Mohajir, General Pervez Musharraf as his Army chief, believing the latter could be kept in check. Mr Sharif superseded a highly rated Pashtun, Lieutenant General Ali Kuli Khan. Believing that the nuclear tests of 1998 had given him unparalleled popularity and power, and disregarding the fact that he was ruling a bankrupt country, Mr Sharif encouraged and participated in Gen Musharraf's Kargil misadventure. When the

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a product of Gen Zia's military rule, enjoying a meteoric rise under the patronage of his military Governor of Punjab, General Ghulam Jilani Khan. It was a period when Gen Zia was bent on destabilising India's Punjab province. Mr Sharif's fondness for contacts with 'Khalistanis', like the Washington, DC-based Ganga Singh Dhillon continued even through his second term. When Benazir Bhutto was voted to power in 1988, Mr Sharif made common cause with the Zia-appointed President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Army chief General Aslam Beg and ISI chief Asad Durrani.

greatest mistake, Begum Nusrat Bhutto told me in 1982 that he had been carried away by Gen Zia's professions of eternal loyalty. There was even an occasion when, the Quran in hand, Gen Zia swore before Zulfiqar Bhutto: "You are the saviour of Pakistan and we owe it to you to be totally loyal to you". Barely a year later, on July 5, 1977, Gen Zia ousted Zulfiqar Bhutto in a military coup staged by the Army's infamous Rawalpindi-based 111 Brigade. On April 4, 1979, Gen Zia had the person he described as the

period when Gen Zia was bent on destabilising India's Punjab province. Mr Sharif's fondness for contacts with 'Khalistanis', like the Washington, DC-based Ganga Singh Dhillon continued even through his second term. When Benazir Bhutto was voted to power in 1988, Mr Sharif made common cause with the Zia-appointed President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Army chief General Aslam Beg and ISI chief Asad Durrani. Benazir Bhutto was ousted and Mr Sharif's Muslim League was swept to power in 1991. His ISI chief, a

misadventure became a fiasco, and he was forced to rush to the Clinton White House for a bail out, Mr Sharif threw the entire blame on Gen Musharraf for the international disgrace and disrepute his country faced, following the Kargil misadventure. Growing mutual distrust and animosity between Mr Sharif and Gen Musharraf led to the coup of October 12, 1999, with the Prime Minister being incarcerated and later bailed out by the Saudis.

Mr Sharif and the Army establishment share much in common. Both have a proven track record of proximity to Mullah Omar and the Afghan Taliban. Both have close links with Hafiz Saeed and the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba. Mr Sharif also has close links with extremist anti-Shia groups like the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. But, Mr Sharif is averse to ceding almost total powers to the Army, and playing second fiddle on national security and foreign policy issues, like President Asif Ali Zardari was compelled to do, by an assertive General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani. These are the considerations that motivated Mr Sharif in appointing Lieutenant General Raheel Sharif as Gen Kayani's successor. Mr Sharif bypassed Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam, who was regarded by commentators within Pakistan as an "average officer" and kicked Gen Kayani's protégé Lieutenant General Rashid Mahmud upstairs, as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee. Gen Raheel Sharif has a reasonable career profile, but is not regarded as likely to set the Indus on fire, by

innovation and drive.

What clinched Gen Raheel Sharif's appointment was evidently his close relationship with Lieutenant General (retired) Abdul Qader Baloch, who is Minister for Tribal Affairs and a confidant of Prime Minister Sharif. If Mr Sharif was really interested in having an Army chief who would deal effectively with the threat posed by religious extremism, spearheaded by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, he should have appointed, as most observers agree, Lieutenant General Tariq Khan who was the next in line for promotion. Gen Khan is a Pashtun armoured corps officer, credited with restoring the shattered morale of the Frontier Constabulary after it was mauled by the TTP. It seems that Mr Sharif still believes that he can buy peace with the TTP, which well-informed observers consider unrealistic and dangerous. Mr Sharif appears to fight shy of appointing Pashtun officers, with distinguished family connections, to the post of Army chief.

As Director General of Military Training, Gen Sharif is known to have stressed the importance of shifting attention, for the present, from an exclusively India-centric approach to focusing on internal challenges. He, however, lacks both the stature and the resolve necessary for ending support either for the Afghan Taliban or anti-India jihadi outfits like the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba. He also has a political boss who has an affinity for jihadi groups, for use both in India and Afghanistan.

While the Pakistani Army may remain prepared to take on the TTP, it will not do so under Prime Minister Sharif's leadership, unless the internal security situation deteriorates significantly and destabilises the Punjab Province. Moreover, as the security situation deteriorates along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, there will be increasing allegations holding Afghanistan and India responsible for the activities of groups like the TTP.

The onset of winter is likely to make infiltration across the mountains of Kashmir difficult. But New Delhi should plan on the assumption that when the snow melts in June 2014, there will be a resumption of infiltration and violence. The intervening months give us time to think out a strategy to effectively deal with Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and bring to justice the perpetrators of 26/11. We will hopefully avoid shedding tears for Pakistan being a 'victim of terrorism' as we did at Havana, and not de-link dialogue from action on terrorism, as we did at Sharm el Sheikh. India's South Block mandarins are, however, not alone in being obsessed with 'uninterrupted and uninterrupted' dialogue with Pakistan. The senior-most American military official, Admiral Mike Mullen, had 26 meetings with Gen Kayani in the mistaken belief that he could charm the latter into ending support for terrorism. He retired a disillusioned man, bitter with Pakistani duplicity, calling the Haqqani network a "veritable arm" of the ISI. ■

(Courtesy: The Pioneer)

Pay cane dues and increase cane price : BJP

BJP leaders met UP Governor

Demanding a better price for the cane growers and payment of cane dues at the earliest a delegation of BJP Legislature Party met U.P Governor Shri B L Joshi on 04 December and demanded that he should ask the state government to fix the cane price at Rs 325 per quintal. The delegation led by Leader of BJP Legislature Party in State Assembly Shri Hukum Singh told the Governor that in last one year cost of production of sugarcane has increased by 25 to 30 per cent following increase in prices of fertilizers, seeds and diesel.

“The State Advisory Price (SAP) of sugarcane announced by the state government does not supplement the overall hike. Besides, the central and the state governments have given incentives to the sugar mills in last few years resulting which this sector has booked a profit of Rs 17,000 crore. The industries have not even shared one per cent of this profit with cane farmers,” the BJP leaders said in their memorandum.

The BJP leaders further said that the neighboring state of Haryana and Punjab have announced the cane price of Rs 300 per quintal forcing the UP farmers to sell their produce in the neighboring states.

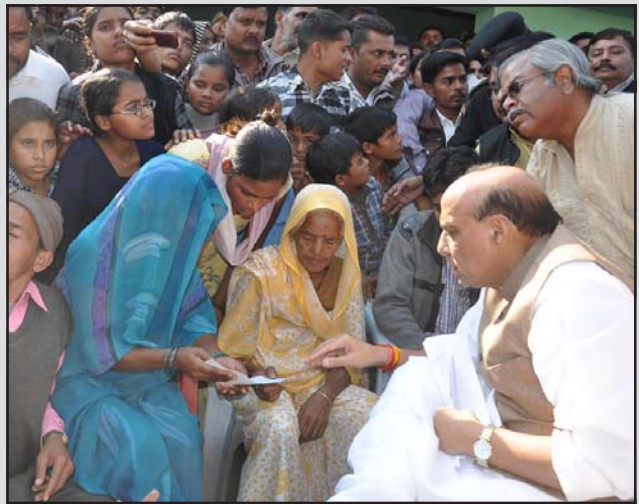
“It is a well planned strategy of Samajwadi Party to help private millers therefore its delayed the SAP declaration process by almost a month. This in turn delayed harvesting of sugar cane which in turn delayed sowing of Rabi Crop. The whole cropping cycle has gone haywire by one wrong decision of the state government,” the BJP leaders said. The BJP requested the Governor to intervene and ask the state government to declare a cane price of Rs 325 per quintal.

The delegation also included BJP MLAs Sangeet Som and Suresh Rana who were booked under NSA for giving inflammatory speeches during Muzaffarnagar riots.

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BJP National President visited bereaved family of a sugarcane farmer in UP

Bharatiya Janata Party National President Shri Rajnath Singh along with UP BJP President Shri Lakshmikant Bajpayee, UP BJP Prabhari Shri Amit Saha and other senior leaders visited the bereaved family of a sugarcane farmer in Lakhimpur Kheri area of Uttar Pradesh on 03 December who committed suicide due to heavy debts.



Shri Rajnath Singh also met other family members of sugar cane farmers in the Bastauli-Guleriya village to of Lakhimpur who were forced to commit suicide due to heavy burden of debt.

A Cheque of Rs 5 lakhs was donated by him to the deceased farmer Satya Pal Singh's family to provide relief and financial assistance. On the occasion he questioned the delay in announcing the state advisory price (SAP) for sugarcane, which hit the cane growers in a big way, and sought answers from the Samajwadi Party government on the fate of the Rs.2,318 crore in dues which the farmers are yet to get since last year. Accusing the SP government in the state of “failing to meet the aspirations of farmers and mortgaging their interests to private sugar mill owners”, he said even after the farmer's suicide, the state government did not spell out clearly how the pending payments and arrears of the cane farmers will be made. ■

The 'Thousand Cuts' plan remains intact

By Balbir Punj

Only US largesse has kept Pakistan going all these decades. But recent successive regimes in Washington are increasingly unwilling to yield to Pakistan's demand to intervene in Kashmir

When Minister for External Affairs Salman Khurshid recently decried the Pakistani Prime Minister's adviser Sartaj Aziz meeting with Kashmiri separatists, he should have also criticised his own party and the Government it leads for keeping the separatists well and kicking for 60 years even as the former have sought to convince everyone that Jammu & Kashmir is an integral part of India.

Mr Khurshid does not seem to realise the incongruity of Article 370 nor does he seem to consider the irrelevance of discussing any part of India with a foreign power, like Pakistan.

Keeping in mind the incumbent regime's insistence that Jammu & Kashmir is a part of India, the Congress must have the courage to drop Article 370 from the Constitution and put that State on par with others of the Indian Union.

Many States in the country get special consideration in terms of Central funds and application of taxes. For instance, income tax is not levied on residents of Sikkim and Nagaland. If Jammu & Kashmir needs such concessions for its development, they can be granted without having a separate Article 370 that effectively confers a veto power to the State Assembly with regard to

application of any Central law.

The incongruity of Article 370, conferring veto power to Jammu & Kashmir while the rest of the Indian Union comes under the Constitution and Central laws without exception, is the prime reason why Kashmiri separatists keep flogging the dead horse of self-determination in that State and look to Pakistan for supporting their illegitimate demands.

If, for instance, the DMK or the AIADMK, that have a shared history of Tamil separatism, were to demand such separation today, the Centre would be justified, nay required, to declare these parties anti-national, ban them and dismiss their Governments right away. In 1967, the united DMK could contest the election only after it formally gave up its demand for a virtually separate Tamil nation.

The Congress and the Governments it has led at the Centre had rightly highlighted the Simla Pact between India and Pakistan to insist that any issue concerning Jammu & Kashmir would be bilateral and not internationally discussed. As a party to that pact, why do successive Governments in Islamabad continue to raise the Kashmir issue at various

international meets?

Had there been a strong Union Government in New Delhi, it would have ticked off Islamabad every time the latter sought to approach an international forum on the Kashmir issue. A strong Union Government would have also

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told Pakistan that it must either to stick by the obligations under the Simla pact or face Indian non-cooperation on any bilateral matter between the two countries. That would have sent a strong message to Islamabad that it cannot afford to ride two horses — bilateral resolution and international talks — on the Kashmir issue, or any other India-Pakistan problem for that matter.

Taking such a strong stand is not impractical, as some of our peaceniks seem to suggest. After several decades of trying out the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's programme of seeking to cower India with a policy of "bleeding it with a thousand cuts" with no substantial result, Islamabad must now be made aware of the price it has to pay for the promotion of terrorism in India. Incidents like the attack on Parliament or the 2008 carnage

So, is Article 370 being kept alive because Jammu & Kashmir is a Muslim-majority State within a Hindu-majority India? If that is so, then the Congress is betraying the country and supporting the wretched two-nation theory first put forward by the Muslim League of undivided India. Also the party is betraying its own pre-partition stand, taken under Mahatma Gandhi, of opposing partition based on religion.

in Mumbai that killed 260 people hog the limelight but the fact is that Pakistan has already lost the trust of the international community, is condemned by virtually every Western nation and suspected by even its close ally China, for fostering terrorism globally.

Today, it is American largesse that keeps Pakistan going. But successive Governments in Washington, DC, are increasingly unwilling to yield to Pakistani demand to intervene in Kashmir. Similarly, Europe, once Pakistan's best bet

to internationalise Kashmir, is even more reluctant to be Islamabad's cat's paw in this regard, as the German Ambassador to India's role in organising the Zubin Mehta concert in Srinagar reveals.

So, is Article 370 being kept alive because Jammu & Kashmir is a Muslim-majority State within a Hindu-majority India? If that is so, then the Congress is betraying the country and supporting the wretched two-nation theory first put forward by the Muslim League of undivided India. Also the party is betraying its own pre-partition stand, taken under Mahatma Gandhi, of opposing partition based on religion.

Besides, the idea that religious majorities or minorities need separate states or treatment is the seed that leads to the vivisection of nations, as history underlines. Kashmir is part of India and its religious composition has nothing to do with that, as India, unlike Pakistan, is by its Constitution a secular country where all religions or other denominations have equal access to every fundamental right.

What is to be discussed with Pakistan is its withdrawal from part of the original State of J&K which it holds illegally and of the part it has ceded to China. Instead of clarifying this issue, New Delhi keeps on justifying its kid-glove attitude to successive Pakistani Governments, pleading that Islamabad needs to be helped out against its own military and religious militancy.

This is a basically false

stand. Even a cursory reading of recent books on Pakistan written by its former diplomats like Husain Haqqani (Pakistan between the Military and the Mullah, and the latest Magnificent Delusions) or journalists like Irfan Husain (Fatal Faultlines, for instance) lay out bare the deep ties that Pakistan as a state has with the terrorism based on Islamic orthodoxy and delusions about revival of the Umma/Caliphate and the justification that the Military derives from that mass delusion.

If the civil society and its elected Government in Pakistan today face destabilisation attempts from the military and the mullah-sponsored terrorism, that is the price it pays for its initial support when Islamabad had planned the 'thousand cuts' policy against India. In fact, the possibility of Pakistan's destruction at the hands of fundamentalists has its origins in the divisive ideology responsible for the theocratic state's birth.

Mr Khurshid should have known that if New Delhi wanted it, it could have prevented Geelani and company from meeting Mr Nawaz Sharif's aide in New Delhi. He has to explain why it was not done, instead of merely decrying the meeting itself several days later. The separatists want meetings that give them a certain legitimacy among a section of Kashmiris. In such a situation, Geelani and the Congress's penchant for Article 370, can only bring them on the same page to keep the pot boiling. ■

(Writer is the National Vice-President of BJP)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Jayanti

*A life of unmatched determination, an unbreakable commitment towards social justice:
Remembering Dr. Ambedkar on his Punya Tithi*

On his Punya Tithi, I bow to the proud son of India, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Narendra Modi

When we look back at the life and times of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, we will see that his is a story of unmatched determination, an unbreakable commitment towards social justice and the courage to overcome every obstacle in pursuit of fulfilling the goal. Coming from the lowest strata of society meant that he was subjected to various forms of insults and difficulties but none of that deterred him from his larger pursuits, which was education and later on to work for the people. He gained a reputation as a bright lawyer, scholar, writer and an intellectual who was never shy to speak his mind.

We remember Dr. Ambedkar for his monumental contribution in drafting our constitution as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Later on, he served as Independent India's first Law Minister.

Today is a day to remember the ideals, values and commitment towards social justice that Dr. Ambedkar stood for and to reaffirm our commitment to live up to them and ensure that we can create the nation of Dr. Ambedkar's dreams, a nation where a human being is viewed not through the prism of what section of society

he or she belongs to but through his or her service to society at large.

If there was one thing that was very dear to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, it was equality. Today, so many years after Independence have we been able

stand on their feet and back it up with a spirit of enterprise, that would give them the confidence to pursue their dreams and aspirations in whatever field they like.

Dr. Ambedkar and the other luminaries of the Constituent



to guarantee social, political and economic justice to the marginalized sections of society? A lot more has to be done in this regard. It is up to us to ensure that no single person is left behind in our journey towards progress. No act or reform would be complete till it has touched the poorest of the poor. We should focus on enhancing education opportunities, that would give the marginalized sections of society the power to

Assembly gave us one of the most comprehensive constitutions in the world. Today, let us reiterate our dedication to preserve the spirit and ethos of the Constitution Dr. Ambedkar gave us.

Here, I would like to focus on two areas that have suffered over the last decade.

The first is India's Federal Structure. Dr. Ambedkar envisioned a federation where the rights of the states are

sacrosanct and where the Centre and the States work together for the development of the nation. He viewed the separation of powers as the guiding light of our federal structure.

Sadly, we have seen repeated attempts to trample over the nation's federal structure by the Central government. Just a few days ago, I wrote to the Prime Minister against the Communal Violence Bill and how it violates the Federal Structure. This was not the first time I wrote a letter to the PM on the issue of violations in the federal structure. The proposed NCTC and the amendments to the Railway Protection Force Act were also serious attacks on the nation's federal structure.

The second issue is that of freedom of speech and expression. Under the inspiration of Dr. Ambedkar, our Constitution guarantees every citizen of India the freedom of speech and expression. Yet, those in power are not only insensitive to public opinion but have also brazenly attempted to silence negative opinions, while doing precious little to encourage diversity in opinion. Ironically, it was two years ago, on this same day that an enlightened UPA Minister had 'warned' social media sites. Any shade of opinion, any voice that speaks against the rulers of Delhi is methodically silenced. From opinion polls to adverse media reports, nothing is spared. One sincerely hopes that this mindset among those ruling in Delhi changes.

Let us remember Dr. Ambedkar, join hands and strive to create the India he dreamt of! ■

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to create IITs and IIMs in J&K for the youth? He asked why no steps were taken to set up an institute for films considering so many movies were shot in J&K. Shri Modi pointed that the Himalayas are a rich source of herbs with medicinal value but wanted to know why Ayurveda is not being given importance? He made it clear that by fighting with each other, by an attitude of discrimination nothing can happen.

Shri Modi paid rich tributes to Maharaja Hari Singh, Dr. SP Mookerjee, Shri Prem Nath Dogra and several other proud sons of the region.

BJP President Shri Rajnath Singh spoke on the occasion. He recalled Dr. SP Mookerjee and described Jammu and Kashmir as the crown of India. He credited normalcy in the region to the policies and vision of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. BJP National General Secretary Shri JP Nadda, Senior BJP Leader Shri Avinash Rai Khanna and others were present on the occasion. ■



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In the mean time the State Bharatiya Janata Party said that western UP was simmering because of the cane price impasse and demanded that the Assembly session be convened immediately to discuss the problems of the sugar industry. Therefore, "The state Government should convene a special session of the state legislature to discuss these issues", BJP Legislature Party leader Shri Hukum Singh said at a press conference. He said the issues should be discussed on the floor of the House as the suggestions coming from the Opposition members would help the Government in solving this issue. Shri Singh said farmers were facing problems because of the stand taken by private sugar mill owners against starting crushing operation.

"The Government says it will lodge FIRs against the mill owners. Will it solve the problems of farmers? No! The farmers want sugar mills to start crushing at the earliest. The Government should have started talks with the private sugar mill owners much earlier. Had it done so, the problem would have been solved by now," Shri Singh said.

"The BJP is ready to launch an agitation for the farmers and will go to any level for getting their problems solved," he said and demanded that the cane price be fixed at Rs 300 per quintal instead of Rs 280 per quintal. He said that six districts of western UP were simmering. "At least 16 farmers have been killed in the past one-and-half month but no arrest has yet been made. The Government has adopted the divide and rule policy and is creating a chasm among people and khaps." ■

Guru

By Sri Swami Sivananda

The Guru is God Himself manifesting in a personal form to guide the aspirant. Grace of God takes the form of the Guru. To see the Guru is to see God. The Guru is united with God. He inspires devotion in others. His presence purifies all.

The Guru is verily a link between the individual and the immortal. He is a being who has raised himself from this into That, and thus has free and unhampered access into both the realms. He stands, as it were, upon the threshold of immortality; and, bending down he raises the struggling individuals with his one hand, and with the other lifts them up into the empyrean of everlasting joy and infinite Truth-Consciousness.

THE SADGURU

Mere study of books cannot make one a Guru. One who has studied the Vedas, and who has direct knowledge of the Atman (Self) through Anubhava (experience), can alone be enrolled as a Guru. A Jivanmukta or liberated sage is the real Guru or spiritual preceptor. He is the Sadguru. He is identical with Brahman or the Supreme Self. He is a Knower of Brahman. A Sadguru is endowed with countless Siddhis (psychic powers). He possesses all divine Aisvarya (powers), all the wealth of the Lord.

Possession of Siddhis, however, is not the test to declare the greatness of a sage or to

prove that he has attained Self-realisation. Sadgurus generally do not exhibit any miracle or Siddhi. Sometimes, however, they may do so in order to convince the aspirants of the existence of superphysical things, give them encouragement, and instill faith in their hearts.

The Sadguru is Brahman Himself. He is an ocean of bliss, knowledge, and mercy. He is the captain of your soul. He is the fountain of joy. He removes all your troubles, sorrows, and obstacles. He shows you the right divine path.

He tears your veil of ignorance. He makes you immortal and divine. He transmutes your lower, diabolical nature. He gives you the rope of knowledge, and takes you up when you are drowning in this ocean of Samsara (cycle of birth and death).

Do not consider him to be only a man. If you take him as a man, you are a beast. Worship your Guru and bow to him with reverence.

Guru is God. A word from him is a word from God. He need not-teach anything. Even his presence or company is elevating, inspiring, and stirring. His very company is self-illumination. Living in his company is spiritual education. Read the Granth-saheb (the holy scripture of the Sikh religion). You will come to know the greatness of the Guru.



Man can learn only from man, and hence God teaches through a human body. In your Guru, you have your human ideal of perfection. He is the pattern into which you wish to mould yourself. Your mind will readily be convinced that such a great soul, is fit to be worshipped and revered.

Guru is the Moksha-dvara (door to liberation). He is the gateway to the transcendental Truth-Consciousness. But, it is the aspirant who has to enter through it. The, Guru is a help, but the actual task of practical Sadhana (spiritual practice) falls on the aspirant himself.

HOW TO CHOOSE YOUR GURU

If you find peace in the presence of a Mahatma (great soul), if you are inspired by his speeches, if he is able to clear your doubts, if he is free, from greed, anger, and lust, if he is selfless, loving, and I-less, you can take him as your Guru. He who is able to clear your doubts, he who is sympathetic in your Sadhana, he who does not disturb your beliefs but helps you on from where you are, he in whose very presence you feel spiritually elevated-he is your Guru.

Once you choose Your Guru, implicitly follow him. God will guide you through the Guru.■

(Source: *The Divine Life Society*)