



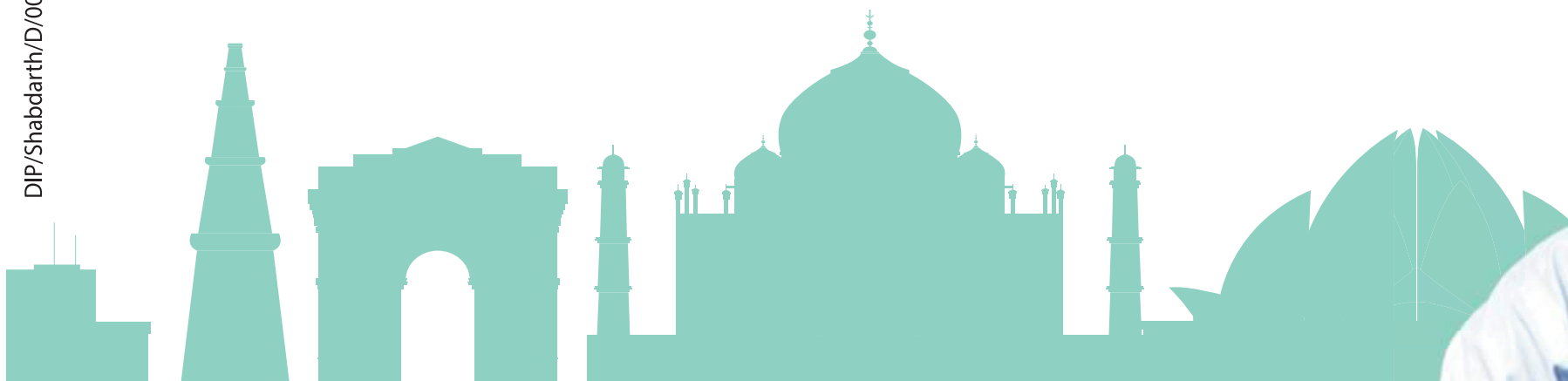
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75th YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE
THE HINDU
As India celebrates the 75th Independence Day, *The Hindu* brings this Special Edition to its readers with curated content that assesses the country's achievements and challenges since August 15, 1947. The authors include prominent personalities drawn from India's political leadership, historians, and public intellectuals.

NEARBY
Delhi borders sealed ahead of 75th I-Day
NEW DELHI All Delhi borders have been sealed and nearly 30,000 police personnel have been deployed ahead of the 75th Independence Day. Security has been beefed up at strategic locations and a multilayered security cover has been put in place at Red Fort from where Prime Minister Narendra Modi will address the nation on Sunday.
CITY PAGE 2
MAGAZINE PAGE 8
CLASSIFIEDS PAGE 8

PM: Aug. 14 will be day to recall Partition trauma

'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day' will honour sacrifices

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI
Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Saturday declared that August 14 will be observed as 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day' to acknowledge the pain undergone by Indians due to the Partition of India in 1947.
Taking to micro-blogging site Twitter, he tweeted, "Partition's pains can never be forgotten. Millions of our sisters and brothers were displaced and many lost their lives due to mindless hate and violence. In memory of the struggles and sacrifices of our people, 14th August will be observed as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day."
'Social divisions' He added that the day would remind Indians of the need to "remove the poison of social divisions".
CONTINUED ON PAGE 10
HISTORICAL ECHO PAGE 10

Partition's pains can never be forgotten. Millions of our sisters and brothers were displaced and many lost their lives due to mindless hate and violence. In memory of the struggles and sacrifices of our people, 14th August will be observed as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day.

Since the government has done nothing creditworthy, it is now preparing for a partition again.

Back then we had rejected the Hindu Rashtra and rebuilt the nation anew. The PM wants us to relive the horrors to stoke communal passions.

NARENDRA MODI, PRIME MINISTER
RANDEEP SURJEWALA, CONGRESS LEADER
SITARAM VECHURY, CPI(M) GENERAL SECRETARY

Oppn. slams 'divisive' move
Prime Minister Narendra Modi has started the campaign for the Uttar Pradesh poll, the Opposition said in reaction to the announcement of August 14 as 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day'.
CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

People will reject it: Pak.
The people of India will reject the 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day' announced by PM Modi because it aims to divide Indians, said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan on Saturday.

India working for return of Karmapa

PM Modi gave 'positive reply', says Sikkim CM

NISTULA HEBBAR
KALLOL BHATTACHERJEE
NEW DELHI
South Block is positively considering an outreach to the 17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje, the Chief Minister of Sikkim said on Saturday.
At a press conference in Gangtok, CM Prem Singh Tamang said the Karmapa, who left India in 2017 without any warning, may return "very soon" and the State is planning to send a delegation to the monk in this regard.



Growing importance: The 17th Karmapa, Ugyen Trinley Dorje, left India in 2017 quite abruptly. ■ FILE PHOTO

The Karmapa is the leader of the Karma Kagyu branch of Buddhism. "We have got a positive reply to our demand that 17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje be allowed to visit Sikkim at the earliest. We believe it will happen very soon," said Mr. Tamang.

The 17th Karmapa has a strong following in Sikkim, where he remains popular despite having stayed away from India for the past four years. Lama Dorje used to reside in his impressive monastery located near the Dhauladhar range in Dharamsala. But Sikkim has always maintained that he should be based in the State as he is the ceremonial head of the Rumtek monastery. The importance of the 17th Karmapa is expected to grow and he is likely to play a role in the efforts to find a successor to the Dalai Lama.
CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

Kejriwal approves roll-out of Deshbhakti Curriculum

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI
On the eve of the 75th Independence Day, Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal gave his nod for the roll-out of the 'Deshbhakti Curriculum', which he said would instil patriotism in young minds.
The focus of the curriculum is to impart values, competencies and behaviours to students so they are equipped to "participate effectively in a culture of de-

mocracy", the government stated. The framework has three primary goals: instilling a feeling of pride for the country, building awareness of responsibilities towards the country; and commitment to make a sacrifice for the country.
"We kept on teaching physics, chemistry and maths for 70 years, no one thought of teaching children Deshbhakti. I am delighted that the Deshbhakti Curriculum will be launched in schools of Delhi to instil patriotism in young minds," Mr. Kejriwal said.
The Deshbhakti Curriculum Committee submitted the framework after detailed deliberations and extensive consultation over the last two years. It was approved by the governing council of the State Council of Educational Research and Training on August 6. The curriculum also "aims to develop a deep

sense of respect towards constitutional values and seeks to bridge the gap between values and action".
The implementation methodology will be child-centric via a five-stage process: discussion in class initiated by the teacher; classroom discussion among students facilitated by teacher; classroom activities usually as group work; homework to engage with the family; and community and self-reflection.

Gujarat to set up residential schools in PPP mode

It aims at helping meritorious children, will lay emphasis on bilingual medium

MAHESH LANGA
AHMEDABAD
To provide the best learning infrastructure to the students of grade VI to XII, the Gujarat government has announced a policy to set up residential schools of excellence on public private partnership (PPP) mode envisaging large campuses of 2,000 to 10,000 students.
The initiative is in the primary to higher secondary education sector.
The residential schools will admit students from the government and grant-in-aid schools selected through a State-level common entrance exam at the end of grade V.
This is part of the World Bank-funded Mission Schools of Excellence project the Gujarat government has undertaken to transform the education sector.
"This policy aims at recog-



Back to school: Students arriving at an Ahmedabad school in July. ■ VIJAY SONEJI

nising, nurturing and hand-holding the most meritorious children studying in government and grant-in-aid schools across Grade IV and providing them best quality of residential schooling from Grade VI-XII, free of cost," stated the Education Department's policy document.
"The State government would pay to the project

partners an all-inclusive ₹60,000 per student per year, with 7% annual increment, for meeting recurring expenses. The policy intends to create 1,00,000 students capacity in the next 2-3 years," said Vinod Rao, Education Secretary.
The project partners to be selected through bidding will be making all necessary in-

vestments for procuring land to set up campus and create digital infrastructure while the State will give money only after the students are admitted and the campus becomes functional.
Exclusive curriculum The residential schools will have their exclusive curriculum and pedagogy which will be prepared in consultation with national and international boards.
The Education Department is in talks with the international Cambridge Board to create a special academic curriculum.
Aligned with the Centre's education policy, the new residential schools will lay emphasis on bilingual medium from Grade VI-VIII to prepare the students for English medium from Grade IX onwards.

Hospitals refund money unduly charged from insured patients

Several of the cases pertain to treatment of black fungus

MOHAMMED IQBAL
JAIPUR
Private hospitals in Rajasthan have refunded money to the tune of ₹36 lakh unduly charged from patients insured under the State government's flagship health scheme, the Chief Minister's Chiranjeevi Swasthya Bima Yojana, following an intervention by the Medical and Health Department. The universal health insurance scheme was launched here on May 1, 2021.
The hospitals empanelled under the scheme have refunded the claim amount in 267 cases. Several of them pertained to the treatment of mucormycosis or black fungus, which had emerged as a major threat in the middle of the second wave and was subsequently added to the

list of permitted procedures. Health Assurance Agency chief executive officer Aruna Rajoria said on Saturday that over 1.6 lakh people had availed themselves of cashless treatment under the scheme. The complaints pertaining to the patients being unduly charged by the hospitals are being examined and refunds initiated, she said.
Lack of awareness Over 1.3 crore families, comprising nearly 80% of the State's population, have been registered as beneficiaries of the scheme. However, several hospitals and even the beneficiaries were unaware of its provisions as it was introduced as the universal health insurance for the first time in the State.
Ms. Rajoria said the confu-

sion had resulted in several insured patients being unduly charged by some hospitals, despite the scheme giving an annual cashless insurance cover of ₹5 lakh to every family.
The flagship scheme has arrived as a major step towards ensuring social security for vulnerable sections by offering treatment of all diseases, including COVID-19.
The Medical and Health Department has initiated several measures to avoid confusion in future and appointed consultants in the empanelled hospitals to assist beneficiaries and guide them to choose the most appropriate treatment options. A round-the-clock call centre has also been established to address any issue regarding the scheme.

Kabul: govt. reviews plan to evacuate embassy

SUHASINI HAIDAR
NEW DELHI
Amidst moves by other countries to secure their diplomats based in Afghanistan, the Indian government began a series of consultations on whether to scale down operations at its Embassy in Kabul.
The meetings on Saturday in New Delhi came amidst reports that the Taliban has taken territory around 50 km from Kabul, while Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani said he was discussing how to "remobilise" the Afghanistan National Defence and Security Forces (ANDSF) to protect the capital and other cities.

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Last date: 30th September, 2021

Delhi borders sealed, security beefed up in city ahead of I-Day

COVID-19 norms to be maintained at Red Fort, say police

STAFF REPORTER
NEW DELHI

All Delhi borders have been sealed and nearly 30,000 police personnel have been deployed ahead of the 75th Independence Day.

Security has been beefed up at strategic locations and a multilayered security cover has been put in place at Red Fort from where Prime Minister Narendra Modi will

address the nation on Sunday.

The police said COVID-19 protocol will be maintained, including social distancing and over 5,000 security personnel will be deployed at Red Fort alone.

Anti-drone systems have also been installed at the Red Fort in view of the recent terror attack at IAF station in Jammu airport. In ad-

dition to that, over 350 cameras have been installed and their footage is being monitored round-the-clock through two police control rooms situated in and around the fort.

Police personnel have been asked to keep an eye to ensure that no stray kites are seen in the areas around the Red Fort during the Independence Day celebrations.

Man tied up, thrashed for vehicle 'theft'

STAFF REPORTER
NEW DELHI

A man was allegedly beaten up after being tied to a pole on suspicion of vehicle theft in north Delhi's Burari on August 10. While the victim is yet to be identified, legal action has been taken against three identified accused, the police said.

The incident took place at 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday in Sant Nagar at Burari. "No PCR call was received in connection with the incident, however, a video of the incident was circulated. Based on that, we initiated an enquiry into the matter the same day," a senior police officer said.

In the video, a man is seen tied to a pole and being assaulted by a few people. He was later let off after a warning.

Three men who were seen assaulting the man in the video were identified and notices have been issued to them to join investigation whenever called, the police said. The accused allegedly told the police that the victim was caught while he was trying to escape after stealing one of their rickshaws.

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- LAJPAT NAGAR, 49, Main Ring Road, Adj. Haldi Ram, Near Moolchand Crossing

75 Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH

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AZADI KA SANDESH SABSE PEHLE DESH

INDEPENDENCE DAY GREETINGS

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Salute to the brave martyrs who laid down their lives for freedom of this country.

- Yogi Adityanath
Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh

Information & Public Relations Department, Uttar Pradesh

OBITUARY & REMEMBRANCE

DEATH

SAD DEMISE



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Delhi Weather

	max	min
Delhi City	37	27
Safdarjung	37	27
Palam	37	28

Delhi Palam Today
36°C A comfortable morning and day will be very warm with mainly sunny sky and light to moderate winds.

Delhi Palam Tomorrow
37°C Dry and warm weather would continue with occasional partly cloudy sky and light winds likely.

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THE HINDU
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IN BRIEF

Criminal arrested after exchange of fire

NEW DELHI
A 26-year-old man was arrested following an exchange of fire in south-west Delhi's Dwarka, officials said on Saturday. Rahul alias Kuldeep Kasana was allegedly the sharpshooter of Jitender and Ashok Pardhan gang and was wanted in a case of attempt to murder, they said. He had also jumped parole in a kidnapping case.

Capital to soon boast of roads rivalling European standards

Pilot stretch developed on existing road between Chirag Delhi and Sheikh Sarai

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI

The Capital will soon boast of roads along European standards that will showcase the exquisite beauty and culture of the city, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal announced on Saturday.

Mr. Kejriwal made the announcement after inspecting beautification work carried out on the BRT Road (Chirag Delhi to Sheikh Sarai) which, along with modernity in design also offers a glimpse of patriotism and heritage.

As part of the project to redesign 540 km of the city's streets along international standards, a pilot stretch was developed at Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg by redesigning and beautifying the road between Chirag Delhi and Sheikh Sarai.

"In the first phase of this project, 540 km of roads in the city will be beautified and redesigned as per European standards. The 800-metre-long stretch here is part of the pilot stage of the project. We have thoroughly inspected the entire pilot stretch and will discuss its shortcomings and strengths," Mr. Kejriwal stated.

"We will work on the next projects accordingly and begin with the phase one of redesigning 540 km of roads. The Delhi government, through the Public Works Department, has 1,280 km of roads under its purview and phase one of this project is being undertaken on roads of 100-foot width and high-



PAVING THE WAY

- Stipulated deadline of redevelopment of 540 roads: 2023
- Redevelopment of about 5.5 km of the road from Ring Road to Ashram has been completed
- Redevelopment of about 6 km of the road from the Wazirpur Depot Crossing to Rithala metro station is under progress
- Work on a road of about 5.2 km from Britannia Chowk to Outer Ring Road in Pritampura's West Enclave area is under way



Arvind Kejriwal on Saturday during inspection of beautification work on BRT Road. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

er," the Chief Minister also stated.

According to the government, Mr. Kejriwal had visited another sample stretch at Nehru Nagar on April 6 and expressed his desire to develop the roads of Delhi according to the European standard roads.

Following this suggestion, the government stated, a

part of the BRT Road from Chirag Delhi to Sheikh Sarai was selected for development as a pilot model.

Room for planters

"This part already had sidewalks and open granite floor spaces around the FOB. Sufficient room for planters has been provided here as well. The Public Works Depart-

The 800-m-long stretch here is part of the pilot stage of the project. We have thoroughly inspected the entire pilot stretch and will discuss its shortcomings and strengths

ARVIND KEJRIWAL
Chief Minister

ment has developed this stretch of road on the lines of the design pattern of the T-3 approach road," the government stated.

"This 800-metre stretch from Chirag Delhi to Sheikh Sarai on the BRT Road has been completely modernised on the lines of European cities. Two statues of freedom fighters, Bhagat Singh and Rani Laxmi Bai, have been installed on the roadside to instil patriotism among the people," it also stated.

In addition, the government said, two fountains, artwork on the fob, 10 sandstone benches, a marble Buddha statue, a state-of-the-art information board, 10 steel elements, and sandstone art work have been done here.

A cycle track and footpath have also been built on one side of the road. A large number of saplings have been planted to curb pollution, the FOB has been developed as a selfie point along with the development of cycle tracks, and seating arrangements have been made available at regular intervals.

City records 36.8° Celsius

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA NEW DELHI

The maximum temperature in the national capital on Saturday settled at 36.8 degrees Celsius, three notches above the season's normal, according to the Meteorological Department.

The minimum temperature settled at 26.8 degrees Celsius while the relative humidity recorded at 5.30 p.m. was 49%, MeT department officials said.

The weather office has predicted partly cloudy sky for Sunday with the maximum temperature likely to settle around 37 degrees Celsius and the minimum temperature is expected to be around 26 degrees Celsius.

On Friday, the national capital recorded a high of 36.2 degrees Celsius.

'Break monsoon' phase likely to continue till August 18

NEW DELHI

The "break monsoon" phase in Delhi and adjoining areas in northwest India is likely to continue till August 18 and "good rainfall" in the last 10 days of the month is expected to cover the precipitation deficit in the Capital, weather forecasters said on Saturday. The Safdarjung Observatory, which provides representative figures for the capital, has recorded a meagre 63.2mm rainfall in August so far against the normal of 123.1 mm, a shortfall of 49%, according to the IMD.



Amul
75TH YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE!

Pink Line metro trains to have new timings due to signal work

Normal services to be restored from September 11

STAFF REPORTER NEW DELHI

In a bid to integrate the recently inaugurated Mayur Vihar Pocket I-Trilokpuri Sanjay Lake stretch, with the existing signalling system, the first and last trains on the Pink Line will be regulated, the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) said on Saturday.

While the first train from both ends of the Pink Line will begin at 6.30 a.m., half an hour after than the usual, the last train will start at 10 p.m. instead of the usual 11

p.m. The revised timings will begin from August 16 and normal services will be restored from September 11.

In a statement issued, the DMRC said, "First train service from both ends - Majlis Park and Shiv Vihar - will commence at 6.30 a.m. instead of the present 6 a.m. Similarly, the last train service from both ends will start at 10 p.m. instead of the 11 p.m. at present."

Sunday exception

The DMRC added that on Sundays, services from both

ends will continue to commence from 8 a.m., as per the usual practice. However, the last train services from the two terminating stations will be at 10 p.m. instead of 11 p.m. Union Minister Hardeep Singh and Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal had, on August 6, flagged off this "missing link" on the 59 km-long Majlis Park-Shiv Vihar Pink Line.

While the Pink Line became operational in 2019, construction work on the stretch could not be completed due to a land-related dispute in the area.

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Drunk SHO suspended for abusing sub-inspector

STAFF REPORTER NEW DELHI

Station House Officer of Vijay Vihar police station has been placed under suspension for allegedly ill-treating a sub-inspector-rank officer, the police said on Saturday.

A PCR call was received at 1 a.m. on Saturday at Vijay Vihar police station, wherein an SI alleged that he was on emergency duty and the SHO was abusing him in an inebriated condition. The SI, further, said that he would take his own life if appropriate action was not taken.

Acting on the call, Assistant Commissioner of Police Prashant Vihar reached the spot and verified the details. It was revealed that the SHO had left the police station without making a general diary entry though permission

for night rest was obtained by him over telephone around midnight.

Further, public witnesses at the police station informed that the SHO was in an inebriated condition and had abused the SI. Subsequently, when the ACP called the SHO and asked him to return, he refused amounting to "gross insubordination".

During further search, 10 bottles of liquor were found in an almirah in the SHO's room. The police said that the officer had been warned for his conduct earlier as well.

The matter was brought to the notice of senior officers in the morning and the SHO was placed under suspension and sent to district lines.

Delhi Assembly to be illuminated for I-Day

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA NEW DELHI

The Delhi Assembly will be illuminated on the occasion of the 75th Independence Day, the Assembly Secreta-

riat announced on Saturday. According to an official statement, the Assembly will be thrown open from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. for visitors on Sunday.

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Over 30,000 girls have not received ₹1 sanitary pads for 16 months

Delhi govt. restructured its Udaan scheme to give 10 pads a month, but the initiative is stuck as no tender for procurement has been floated as per revised BIS norms

NIKHIL M BABU
NEW DELHI

Irfana Begum, 45, said she was surprised when an ASHA worker came to her house with a pack of sanitary pads for ₹6 in early 2020 for her 18-year-old daughter.

"If we are buying a packet from outside it costs around 40 rupees. It was a good scheme and was helpful to us, but we have not been getting it for a long time now," Ms. Begum said at her house in an unauthorised colony in Sarai Kale Khan.

Her daughter, Iqra, who is now 19 years old, is mentally

unwell and has studied only till class five, and her husband has been out of work for the last two years.

Under the government's Udaan scheme, like Iqra, 30,000 out-of-school girls used to get a pack of six sanitary pads for ₹6 a month.

But the scheme has stopped for the past 16 months as the government has not floated a tender for new suppliers, according to ASHA workers and officials.

Most of the beneficiaries of the scheme are from economically backward backgrounds. The scheme has not been



Irfana Begum and Iqra. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

functional from April 2020, around the time when the pandemic hit the city. "It has been restructured to give 10

sanitary pads free of cost to about 70,000 out of school girls a month, including some students in municipal

schools. A new tender for procuring the sanitary pads as per the revised BIS standards is yet to be floated," a Delhi government official said.

When contacted, a Delhi government spokesperson did not offer a comment on why the scheme is not operational.

In December 2019, the Delhi High Court had asked the Delhi government and civic bodies to keep providing sanitary pads for free to school-going girls and those who dropped out and continue with their awareness programmes and schemes to pro-

mote menstrual hygiene.

Surbhi Singh, a gynaecologist and founder of Sacchi Saheli, an NGO working for women's health and education, said that they have been distributing sanitary pads and have found that there is a need for pads in poor households.

"Many times, men in the family, who are breadwinners, think of sanitary pads as a luxury and something that is avoidable. Women are dependent in many cases and have to suffer because of this. Sanitary pads are needed for better hygiene," Dr. Singh said.

"If there are funds for the scheme, then it is not acceptable that the government is not distributing the pads. In Scotland, sanitary pads are given for free to every woman. But in India, it is not given for free to even poor people," she added.

Hygiene scheme

It is part of the Central government's Menstrual Hygiene Scheme (MHS), wherein funds are given to State governments to purchase the sanitary pads. The scheme was implemented under the name of Udaan by the Delhi

government from April 2019. Though the target was to reach 50,000 adolescent girls a month, the government was able to distribute it to about 30,000 girls on an average.

The scheme was also aimed at creating awareness about safe and hygienic menstrual health practices.

After the scheme was started in 2019, the Delhi government decided to increase the number of pads to 10 from six and also give the pads for free. The contract, which was signed in 2019 with a private company, expired in March 2020.

Happy Independence Day to the People of Himachal Pradesh

'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav' marks 75 years of Independent India. It is the time to celebrate the spirit of freedom and the freedom fighters who inspire generations. 'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav' is the celebration of new ideas, new resolutions, developments, global peace, and the zeal to fulfil the dreams of the State. As a tribute to our freedom fighters, let us take a pledge for the progress of the country and the State. Together, we will realise the dream of a self-reliant India.

Jai Hind !

Jai Ram Thakur
Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh

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Issued by Information & Public Relations Department, Himachal Pradesh



Women coming out of a government school in Nand Nagri after receiving their COVID-19 vaccine shots in Delhi on Saturday. •R.V. MOORTHY

50 new COVID-19 infections, one death reported in city

STAFF REPORTER
NEW DELHI

The city reported only 50 new COVID-19 cases in the past 24 hours, taking the total cases to 14,37,038, as per a bulletin released by the Delhi government on Saturday. There was only one death reported and the total

number of deaths stood at 25,069. A total of 70,512 tests were done in a day and the test positivity rate was 0.07%. Of the total cases, 14,11,491 people have recovered and there are only 478 active cases in the city.

As per another bulletin, the COVID-19 vaccine stock

in the city will last for six days and there are 3,96,110 doses of Covishield and 2,91,040 doses of Covaxin.

A total of 1,20,541 doses were administered on Friday and till now, 1,13,58,263 doses of vaccines have been administered in the Capital, the bulletin added.

Minor accuses uncle of sexual assault; case filed

Her aunt also beat her, say police

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

A six-year-old girl was allegedly sexually assaulted by her uncle in Dwarka's Bindapur, following which the police have registered a case under the POCSO Act, officials said on Saturday.

The girl's parents live in Uttar Pradesh's Bulandshahr but she has been staying in Delhi with her uncle and aunt for some time.

On August 13, the police received a call that a minor girl has been injured. When a team visited the spot, they found some members of an NGO there. In their presence, the police conducted an enquiry during which it was revealed that since the girl was not studying despite being told to do so, her aunt beat her with a "hot tong".

"The injury was minor in nature and her guardian assured us they would look after the child. As they amicably

sorted the issue, no legal action was taken. But later on the same day, we got to know the child has been taken to the DDU hospital," a senior police officer said.

The officer said the girl was beaten up by her aunt but when she was later taken to hospital, she told the police in her statement that she was sexually assaulted by her uncle.

"When a medical examination was done, no physical injury marks were found on her private parts. However, an investigation is underway to ascertain her allegation," said Deputy Commissioner of Police (Dwarka) Santosh Kumar Meena. "After medical examination and due enquiry, a case was registered under sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act at Bindapur police station."

Officials told to report to work on time or face action

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

The Delhi government's Women and Child Development (WCD) Department has warned its officials of strict action after some of them said they were reporting late to work due to COVID-19 restrictions on public transport systems.

Last month, the department had issued show-cause notices to 49 officials for coming late to work.

In a memorandum, the Women and Child Development Department said it did not find the justification given by the officials satisfactory since everyone is aware of the restrictions imposed by the government on public transport systems. "The officials should have started early for office to ensure their attendance as per official timings," it said.

Unclaimed Amrapali flats maybe resold, SC orders final notice be given to buyers

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court has initiated a process to cancel bookings of over 9,500 Amrapali project flats, which are unclaimed or booked in the name of fictitious people or are benami property, to fund stalled projects.

A Bench of justices U.U. Lalit and Ajay Rastogi gave the direction after Court Receiver senior advocate R. Venkataramani and advocate M.L. Lahoty, appearing for the homebuyers, said

they have submitted a note that the unsold inventory and flats booked on fictitious names, need to be resold to generate funds for pending projects.

"At this stage, we allow the receiver to go ahead and grant final opportunity to 9,538 homebuyers. Time of two weeks be granted to them to come forward and register themselves, failing which the concerned apartments/villas booked by those homebuyers in the first category shall be treated as un-

sold inventory and can then be proceeded with for the purposes of effecting appropriate sales," the Bench said.

Two categories

It said the Court Receiver has pointed out two categories of homebuyers: the 9,538 homebuyers who have neither registered in the Customer Data nor have made any payments after July 2019; and 6,210 homebuyers, who have registered in the Customer Data but have also not made any payment since July 2019.



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04 Group Housing Plots (Small Size Dwelling Units) (Freehold)	76 Institutional Plots (Leasehold)	30 Industrial Plots (Freehold)
56 Kiosks/Restaurant Units (Licence fee basis)	25 Mobile Towers (Licence fee basis)	36 Residential Plots (Freehold)

Important Dates & Events

- 23.08.2021** (Monday) Opening of Help Desk and commencement of e-Registration
- 24.09.2021** (Friday) (06.00 PM) Closing Time of e-Registration and online EMD submission
- 27.09.2021** (Monday) Online Bidding for Residential (36) and Institutional (76)
- 28.09.2021** (Tuesday) Online Bidding for Industrial (30), Group Housing Plots (07) and Built up Shops/Units (150)
- 29.09.2021** (Wednesday) Online Bidding for Expandable Housing Scheme Plots (24), Commercial (41), CNG/Green Fuel Sites (07) and Kiosks/Restaurant (56)
- 30.09.2021** (Thursday) Online Bidding for Mobile Towers (25), Function Sites (25) and Group Housing Plots (Small Size Dwelling Units) (04)

For details about Plots/Properties and procedure, kindly visit our e-auction website www.ddaauction.co.in Or Click the e-auction link available at our site www.dda.org.in and download the same through "E-AUCTION OF PROPERTIES" link available at home page of e-auction portal. Intending bidders may register themselves/their firms online at the above site through "REGISTER WITH US" link. Kindly note that digital signature of all the intending bidders are mandatory to participate in e-auction of DDA. A Help Desk has been opened at the Nagrik Suvidha Kendra, Ground Floor, 'D' Block, Vikas Sadan, INA, New Delhi which will start from **23.08.2021** to assist the intending bidders in the ongoing process of e-auction. For obtaining digital signatures and registration/training of prospective bidders and for any other clarification on e-auction process, please contact our Help Desk no. **011-49424365/8800991846/8800378610** from **11.00 am to 5.00 pm** (all working days) or at: ddauction@etenderwizard.com **Neeraj Bharati, Commissioner(LD-II)**

For further details contact:
Commissioner (LD-II), Room No. A/105, Vikas Sadan, INA, New Delhi-110023. Ph.: 011-24622670

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कार्यपालक अभियन्ता का कार्यालय
पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर
Email ID – eedwsd.jamshedpur@gmail.com

ई. अल्पकालीन निविदा सूचना संख्या:- RWSS - 20 / JSR / 2021-22 (Retender) दिनांक:- 14.08.2021

The undersigned, on behalf of the Government of Jharkhand, invites bids for the work mentioned in table below through e-Procurement from eligible and approved Contractors, registered in with Drinking Water & Sanitation Department, Government of Jharkhand, Central Government / State Govt. or any PSU or any agency of International or National repute may participate in the bid but registration with Drinking Water & Sanitation Department, Government of Jharkhand will be essential within a period of two months from date of award after issue of Letter of Acceptance. The bid shall be submitted online in the Website <https://jharkhandtenders.gov.in>. The bidder(s) should have necessary portal enrolment with their own Digital Signature Certificate:

क्रमांक	विवरण	विस्तृत विवरण
1	कार्य का नाम	Detailed survey, designing and drawing, Construction of R.C.C. Intake Well cum Pump House, R.C.C. Gangway 40 M long and 3.00 M wide, 1.00 MLD capacity Unconventional Water Treatment Plant, R.C.C. Elevated Service Reservoir- (I) 2.30 Lakh Litre capacity with 18 M Staging, Staff Quarter, Compound wall, Approach road, Supplying and laying Raw and Clear Water rising main and Distribution Network, House Connection, Supplying and Installation of VT and Centrifugal pump motor, Five years operation & maintenance with allied works etc. all complete job for Nutangarh & Adjoining village Rural pipe Water Supply Scheme under D.W. & S. Division Jamshedpur on turnkey basis.
2	प्राकृतिक राशि	67121000.00 (छ: करोड़ इकहत्तर लाख इककीस हजार) रुपये
3	अंतिम जमानत की राशि	672000.00 (छ: लाख बहत्तर हजार)
4	परिमाण विपत्र का मूल्य	10000.00 (दस हजार)
5	कार्य पूर्ण करने का समय	24 Month+3 Month (Trial and Run)
6	वेबसाइट पर अपलोड करने की तिथि	17.08.2021 को 9.00 पूर्वहन
7	प्री बीड मीटिंग की तिथि एवं समय	20.08.2021 को 1.00 अपराहन, अभियन्ता प्रमुख, पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता विभाग, राँची के कार्यालय कक्ष में।
8	निविदा प्राप्त करने की अंतिम तिथि	31.08.2021 को 4.00 अपराहन तक
9	परिमाण विपत्र एवं अंतिम जमानत की राशि जमा करने की अंतिम तिथि (मूल रूप में) एवं स्थान	01.09.2021 को 2.00 बजे अपराहन तक कार्यपालक अभियन्ता, पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर / अधीक्षण अभियन्ता, पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता अंचल, जमशेदपुर / क्षेत्रीय मुख्य अभियन्ता, राँची प्रखंड, राँची, पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता विभाग, आरखंड, राँची।
10	निविदा खोलने की तिथि	02.09.2021 को 2.00 बजे
11	निविदा करने वाले कार्यालय का नाम एवं पता	पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर PHED कॉलोनी, आदित्यपुर प्रांगण, आदित्यपुर।
12	निविदा खोले जाने वाले पदाधिकारी एवं कार्यालय का नाम	कार्यपालक अभियन्ता, पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर
13	निविदा करने वाले कार्यालय का संपर्क संख्या	0657 - 2371051
14	ई. प्रोक्युरमेंट सेल का हेल्प लाईन नं०	0651 - 2480345

नोट-1. केवल ई-निविदा ही स्वीकार किया जायेगा।
2. विस्तृत विवरण वेबसाइट- <https://jharkhandtenders.gov.in> पर देखा जा सकता है।
3. प्राकृतिक राशि एवं अग्रघन की राशि घट-बढ़, सकती है।

कार्यपालक अभियन्ता
पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर
PR 251366 Drinking Water and Sanitation (21-22)_D

कार्यपालक अभियन्ता का कार्यालय
पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल, जमशेदपुर
निविदा रद्द हेतु सूचना
एतद् द्वारा सूचित किया जाता है कि इस कार्यालय द्वारा आमंत्रित ई0 निविदा सूचना संख्या-RWSS-20/JSR/2021-22 दिनांक 27.07.2021, जिसका PR No. 250337 (Drinking Water & Sanitation) 21-22 (D) को अपरिहार्य कारणवश रद्द किया जाता है।
कार्यपालक अभियन्ता
पेयजल एवं स्वच्छता प्रमंडल
PR 251320(Drinking Water and Sanitation)21-22*D जमशेदपुर

OFFICE THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER REW DIVISION REASI
NOTICE INVITING TENDER
Fresh e-NIT No.71 REW REASI of 2021 Dated:- 06-08-2021

For and on behalf of the Lt. Governor of UT Jammu and Kashmir e-tenders are invited on item rate basis from approved and eligible contractors registered with Union Territory of J&K for the below mentioned works under Capex (P.R.I.) & General Education scheme in respect of Block Bhomang/Arnas for the year 2021-22-

S. No	Name of Work	Adv. Cost (in lacs)	Cost of document (in ₹)	Time Allowed for completion	Time and date of opening of tender	Class of Contractor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Const. of Troad from Nai Basti to Kathroo in Pyl.Sujandhar. Block Bhomang and District Reasi Under Capex (1st Call)	9.50	600/-	02 month	21-08-2021	A,B,C & D
2	Const of Additional class Room with verandah at M.S chubbi in Pyl. Salalkote Block Arnas and District Reasi under General Education (1st Call)	6.70	600/-	02 month	21-08-2021	A,B,C & D

Note:- After opening of the tender, if the rates quoted by the lowest bidder is found to the high and value of work is more than the Adv. Amount he /she is advised to negotiate his/her quoted rates with the department / offer his /her consent within 05 days after opening of the tenders, failing which the work shall be put to fresh tender as no allotment shall be made beyond the Adv. Amount.

Position of funds = Available
Position of AAA = Accorded
The Bidding documents consisting of qualifying information, eligibility criteria, specifications, Drawings, bill of quantities (B.O.Q), Set of terms and conditions of contract and other details can be seen/downloaded from the departmental website

1	Date of Issue of Tender Notice	06-08-2021
2	Period of downloading of bidding documents	10-08-2021 to 21-08-2021 upto 1500 Hrs.
3	Bid submission Start Date	10-08-2021
4	Bid Submission End Date	21-08-2021 upto 1500 Hrs.
5	Date & time of opening of Technical Bids (Online) in case of holiday on said date, the bid shall be opened on next day.	21-08-2021 on or after 1500 Hrs.
6	Date & time of opening of Financial Bids (Online) (Of only successful technical bidders)	To be notified after technical bid evaluation is completed

1. Bids must be accompanied with cost of Tender document in shape of name of work duly crediting to J&K Bank Account Number 0029010200002045 (J&K Bank Main Branch Bus Stand Reasi) favouring Executive Engineer REW, Division, Reasi uploading a copy of e challan/receipt. Bid securing declaration form as per format enclosed. The Bank Guarantee should be valid for 45 days beyond bid validity. The original instruments in respect of cost of documents, EMD and relevant documents of L1 be submitted to the Executive Engineer REW, Reasi at the time of allotment.

2. Bidders can resubmit/withdraw the bids as specified.

3. The bids for the works shall remain valid for a period of 45 days from the date of opening of Technical bids.

4. The earnest money shall be forfeited, if-

a) Any bidder/tenderer withdraws his bid/tender during the period of bid validity or makes any modifications in the terms and conditions of the bid.

b) In case contractor fails to execute the agreement within 07 days after fixation of contract.

Sd/-
(Er. Pankaj Sharma)
Executive Engineer
REW Reasi
DIP/J-5279

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झारखण्ड मंत्रालय, कल्याण कॉम्प्लेक्स, मोयबाटी, राँची
आवश्यक सूचना

झारखण्ड राज्य के बाहर मान्यता प्राप्त बी0एड0 महाविद्यालयों के शैक्षणिक सत्र-2020-22 के लिए वर्ष-2021 में नामांकन लेने वाले छात्र-छात्राओं हेतु शैक्षणिक सत्र-2020-21 के लिए एवं शैक्षणिक सत्र-2021-22 हेतु नए शैक्षणिक संस्थानों द्वारा ई-कल्याण पोर्टल पर पंजीकरण एवं पंजीकृत संस्थानों द्वारा नवीनीकरण झारखण्ड अनुसूचित जाति/अनुसूचित जनजाति/पिछड़ी जाति प्रवेशिकोत्तर छात्रवृत्ति योजना नियमावली, 2018 के अन्तर्गत प्रक्रियात्मक कार्रवाई हेतु ई-कल्याण पोर्टल को निम्नानुसार खोला जाता है :-

क्र०	प्रक्रियात्मक कार्रवाई	ई-कल्याण पोर्टल बन्द होने की तिथि
1	झारखण्ड राज्य एवं राज्य के बाहर मान्यता प्राप्त बी0एड0 महाविद्यालयों के शैक्षणिक सत्र-2020-22 के लिए वर्ष-2021 में नामांकन लेने वाले छात्र-छात्राओं हेतु शैक्षणिक सत्र-2020-21 के लिए आवेदन प्रक्रिया की अंतिम तिथि।	30.09.2021
2	संबंधित शैक्षणिक संस्थान द्वारा छात्र-छात्राओं के आवेदन के सत्यापन की अंतिम तिथि।	20.10.2021
3	नए शैक्षणिक संस्थानों द्वारा ई-कल्याण पोर्टल पर पंजीकरण एवं पंजीकृत संस्थानों द्वारा नवीनीकरण हेतु आवेदन की अंतिम तिथि	31.08.2021

आवेदन की प्रक्रिया तथा अन्य दिशा निर्देश <https://ekalyan.cgg.gov.in> पर देखी जा सकती है।
आदिवासी कल्याण आयुक्त।
PR.NO.251314 Schedule Tribe, Schedule Caste, Minority and Backward Class Welfare Department(21-22):D

Kashmir markets run short of national flags

L-G directs hoisting of Tricolour at govt. buildings

PEERZADA ASHIQ SRINAGAR

The Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) J&K headquarters located at Srinagar's Jawahar Nagar witnessed a rare beeline of people placing orders for the tricolour ahead of Independence Day as markets ran short of the flags in the Kashmir Valley this year.



Ghanta Ghar at Lal Chowk in Srinagar illuminated with the Tricolour on Saturday. ■NISSAR AHMAD

Ceiling lifted

In a first, the Lieutenant-Governor's administration has directed officials to hoist flags on all government buildings, including educational institutes, hospitals, departmental offices, courts and municipalities. Deputy Commissioners have been directed to ensure that all rehearsals, Independence Day functions, and the hoisting of flags, are filmed for official records.

The administration has also decided to lift the pandemic-related ceiling on the assembly of more than 25 people for staff members and students to organise 1-Day functions in schools and colleges on August 15.

There are 11,633 educational institutes in the Kashmir division.

The move has led to a dearth of flags and the BJP's office has been busy arranging cloth and stitching flags. The BJP has also decided to double the ceremonies by its party leaders in 46 Assembly constituencies and 10 District Headquarters of the Kashmir Valley. "We held around 50 ceremonies last year. This year, we will organise 100 ceremonies of flag hoisting," BJP spokesperson Altaf Thakur told *The Hindu*.

TMC courts Left in Tripura

Bratya Basu appeals to CPI(M) supporters to switch camps

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA AGARTALA

Criticising the Opposition CPI(M) in Tripura for allegedly not coming out on the streets to protest against the "State-sponsored terror tactics" of the BJP and protect its supporters, senior Trinamool Congress leader Bratya Basu on Saturday appealed to the Left supporters to join the Mamata Banerjee-led party.

The CPI(M), which ruled the State for 25 years before being ousted by a BJP-led coalition in 2018, however, denied the charge and said its workers and leaders were the first to face the attack of the BJP.

"When the BJP has let loose a reign of terror in Tripura, the leaders of the main Opposition party CPI (M) are not coming out on the

streets to protest. If the leaders do not stand by the supporters, they should join our party," Mr. Basu, also a Minister in West Bengal, said.

The CPI(M) should not help the BJP party by opposing the TMC, Mr. Basu told a press conference.

The TMC dethroned the CPI(M)-led Left Front in West Bengal in 2011. The Mamata Banerjee-led party returned to power in the State for its third consecutive term earlier this year facing stiff opposition from the BJP.

Mr. Basu alleged that people in the State are looking for shelter in the face of terror unleashed by the BJP in both the States - Tripura and West Bengal.

At least 14 leaders and workers of the TMC, including those injured in an alleged attack by BJP workers, were arrested in Tripura on August 8 for 'violating Covid norms'. "We were not afraid. It is a state-sponsored terror tactic," Mr. Basu said.

Aazadi ka Amrit Mahotsav

15 August, 2021

Heartiest Greetings on the auspicious occasion of Independence Day

Wishing everyone a very Happy 75th Independence Day. This day is dedicated to India's potential and limitless talent which is being appreciated on every stage of the world today. The country is energized by the power of collectiveness of 130 crore Indians and moving forward with the ideology of 'Nation First, Always First'. Jai Hind!

-Narendra Modi
Prime Minister

India is the land of freedom fighters whose sacrifices towards upholding the unity and integrity of the Nation are unforgettable. Let us celebrate 'Aazadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav' and salute all the heroes on this auspicious occasion of Independence Day.

-Manohar Lal, Chief Minister, Haryana

Information, Public Relations & Languages Department, Haryana | www.prharyana.gov.in | [Facebook](https://www.facebook.com/DiprHaryana) | [Instagram](https://www.instagram.com/DiprHaryana) | [YouTube](https://www.youtube.com/DiprHaryana) | [WhatsApp](https://www.whatsapp.com/DiprHaryana) | [Telegram](https://www.telegram.com/DiprHaryana) | @DiprHaryana



15th **AUGUST**
HAPPY INDEPENDENCE DAY

Celebrating India's 75th Independence Day

“With the promise to continue fighting for independence from pandemic, hunger, hatred, disharmony, divisiveness, and the anti-farmer laws which threaten to once again put the country at the mercy of others to feed its people. Let us all join hands in the battle to free ourselves from these menaces, just as millions of Indians fought to free our nation from the cudgels of British slavery.”

Capt. Amarinder Singh
Chief Minister, Punjab



Department of Information & Public Relations, Punjab



उत्तराखण्ड शासन

समस्त देशवासियों को

75^{वें}

स्वतन्त्रता दिवस
की
हार्दिक
शुभकामनाएं

“ मैं देश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अपने आप को आहूत करने वाले तथा देश को नेतृत्व देने वाली सभी महान विभूतियों को नमन करता हूँ। सभी वीर जवानों को नमन करता हूँ, जिन्होंने आजादी के बाद भी राष्ट्र रक्षा में अपने प्राणों का बलिदान दिया। सीमा पर खड़े वीर सैनिकों को प्रणाम करता हूँ, जो विपरीत परिस्थितियों में भी देश की एकता एवं अखण्डता की रक्षा हेतु तत्पर हैं। मैं इस पावन अवसर पर उत्तराखण्ड राज्य निर्माण के सभी अमर शहीदों और आंदोलनकारियों को भी श्रद्धापूर्वक नमन करता हूँ।

आइए एक नये संकल्प के साथ प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी के आह्वान “आजादी का अमृत महोत्सव” में शरीक होकर देश की एकता एवं अखण्डता की रक्षा हेतु कृत संकल्पित हों। ”

जय हिन्द, जय उत्तराखण्ड

पुष्कर सिंह धामी
मुख्यमंत्री, उत्तराखण्ड

“ 130 करोड़ देशवासियों की सामूहिकता, अमृत महोत्सव की मूल भावना है। हमें देश के लिए जीने का, कुछ करने का अवसर मिला है। जैसे देश की आजादी के मतवाले, स्वतंत्रता के लिए एकजुट हो गए थे, वैसे ही हमें देश को विकास की नयी ऊंचाइयों पर ले जाने के लिए एकजुट होकर आगे बढ़ना है।

नरेन्द्र मोदी
प्रधानमंत्री

आजादी का
अमृत महोत्सव

उत्तराखण्ड सरकार जन-जन की सरकार

- समूह 'ग' के रिक्त पदों पर भर्ती में अधिकतम आयु सीमा में एक वर्ष की छूट।
- कोविड उपचार में अस्पतालों एवं लैब में तैनात ग्रुप 'सी' और ग्रुप 'डी' के कर्मियों को ₹3-3 हजार की प्रोत्साहन राशि।
- उत्तराखण्ड से द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध की वीरंगना एवं पूर्व सैनिक की पेंशन ₹8 हजार से बढ़ाकर ₹10 हजार प्रतिमाह की गई।
- उत्तराखण्ड में MBBS इन्टर्न को मिला सम्मानजनक स्टार्टपेंड ₹7500 से बढ़ाकर ₹17000 प्रतिमाह किया गया।
- ₹200 करोड़ का राहत पैकेज कोविड से प्रभावित पर्यटन, सांस्कृतिक व परिवहन से संबन्धित क्षेत्रों के लिए।
- कोविड उपचार में तैनात डॉक्टरों को ₹10-10 हजार की प्रोत्साहन राशि।
- मुख्यमंत्री महालक्ष्मी योजना में माताओं एवं नवजात बालिकाओं को आवश्यक वस्तुओं की “किट”
- अतिथि शिक्षकों का मानदेय ₹15 हजार से बढ़ाकर ₹25 हजार।
- कोरोना काल में बेसहारा बच्चों को “मुख्यमंत्री वात्सल्य योजना” का सहारा।
- केन्द्र के सहयोग से उत्तराखण्ड में ₹1 लाख करोड़ से अधिक की परियोजनाएं प्रगति पर।
- किसानों को 3 लाख और महिला स्वयं सहायता समूहों को 5 लाख तक का ऋण बिना ब्याज के।
- प्रधानमंत्री किसान सम्मान निधि योजना से अब तक प्रदेश के 8.93 लाख किसान हुए लाभान्वित।
- अटल आयुष्मान योजना में राज्य के सभी परिवारों को ₹5 लाख वार्षिक की निःशुल्क चिकित्सा सुविधा देने वाला उत्तराखण्ड, देश का पहला राज्य, 44 लाख लोगों के गोल्डन कार्ड बनाये गये।
- वृद्धावस्था, विधवा और दिव्यांगजन पेंशन की राशि को ₹1000 से बढ़ाकर ₹1200 तथा ग्राम प्रहरियों का मानदेय बढ़ाकर किया ₹2000 प्रतिमाह।
- सबको मुफ्त कोविड वैक्सीनेशन अभियान में उत्तराखण्ड देश के अग्रणी राज्यों में शामिल। अगले 4 माह में प्रदेश में शत-प्रतिशत वैक्सीनेशन का लक्ष्य।
- ऊर्जा और कानून व्यवस्था इंडेक्स में उत्तराखण्ड देश में प्रथम स्थान पर।
- ए.एन.एम./स्वास्थ्य सेवा प्रदाता को एक-एक मोबाईल टैबलेट।
- संघ लोक सेवा आयोग, पी.सी.एस., एन.डी.ए., सी.डी.एस. जैसी परीक्षा में साक्षात्कार की तैयारी हेतु ₹50 हजार की सहायता।
- प्रधानमंत्री गरीब कल्याण अन्न योजना में उत्तराखण्ड के 62.94 लाख व्यक्तियों को प्रति व्यक्ति प्रतिमाह 5 किलो राशन निःशुल्क।
- युवाओं और प्रदेश में लौटे प्रवासियों को मुख्यमंत्री स्वरोजगार योजना से मिला रोजगार।



सीएम हेल्पलाइन नं. 1905

सूचना एवं लोक सम्पर्क विभाग, उत्तराखण्ड द्वारा जनहित में जारी | www.uttarainformation.gov.in | [DIPR_UK](https://twitter.com/DIPR_UK) | [UttarakhandDIPR](https://facebook.com/UttarakhandDIPR) | [UttarakhandDIPR](https://youtube.com/UttarakhandDIPR)

INDEPENDENCE DAY

DELHI | THE HINDU | SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 2021

THE HINDU

An evolving journey defined by hope and optimism

The fears and apprehensions of doomsday prophets at the time of Partition have by and large been dispelled, but the political system needs cleansing



M. VENKAIAH NAIDU

India, poised to enter the landmark 75th year of its Independence, stands on the cusp of a transformative era. It is a historic point in time for all of us to celebrate our achievements, look back at the years gone by with some measure of satisfaction, and chart out a realistic road map to build a more inclusive, powerful and prosperous India. With its increasing clout on the world stage, India is set to emerge as a leading global power in the years to come.

We are indeed fortunate to have inherited a Constitution imbued with the visionary foresight and robust pragmatism of our national icons and freedom fighters. The phrase, "We the people", in the Preamble encapsulates the essential foundation of our developmental architecture. People are at the centre of all thoughts and actions required for national development. They are the creators of their destiny.

In the course of this eventful journey of 75 years, we have, without doubt, dispelled the fears and apprehensions of doomsday prophets at the time of Partition that it is impossible to keep India united because of its enormous diversity. In contrast, we have grown from strength to strength as a vibrant and thriving parliamentary democracy.

The framers of our Constitution had unflinching faith in the democratic principles, where people's voices are heard and acted upon, where debate and deliberation lead to a well-considered public policy, and where people are empowered to lead the process of transforming our nation.

Barring the dark episode of the Emergency, when fundamental rights of the people were trampled upon, we can be justifiably proud of our democratic accomplishments and credentials. It is imperative, however, to cleanse our political system of various ills that are vitiating the electoral process and impeding the development of the country.

As the largest democracy in the world, India should be a shining example to others on many issues, including the effective functioning of our Parliament. But what we have witnessed in the monsoon session is a sad reflection

on the current state of affairs. Parliamentary gridlocks can only be resolved through dialogue.

It is a matter of great pride for us that the image and stature of our nation are on the rise in a range of sectors – from economic, academic, geopolitics, defence, sports, science, to IT and space technology, among others.

Agriculture, often referred to as the soul of India, is another area of focus where we have made considerable progress. There is a pressing need for improved agricultural practices and modernisation of technology to boost productivity and efficiency. It is equally critical to identify and address systemic problems which are holding Indian farmers back from realising their full potential. Strengthening infrastructure including creating storage networks and cold chains, access to formal and timely agricultural credit to farmers, value addition through food processing and driving other much-needed reforms will transform the farming sector.

India, which has emerged as a hub for the launch of Indian and foreign satellites, is a leader in the fields of space technology, as also strategic and defence technology with exemplary capabilities.

Powered by reforms and the "Make in India" drive, the economy is on the rise and India is being transformed into a major hub of hi-tech manufacturing with the presence of world leaders in this area. At the same time, it is pertinent to point out that India registered its highest ever foreign direct investment inflow of \$81.72 billion during the financial year 2020-21, which alone is a reflection of the priority the Government is according to manufacturing, design and innovation with an emphasis on 'Vocal for Local'.

It is a matter of gratification for us that India is the fifth largest manufacturer in the world. In this context, the Government of India's multi-pronged initiatives such as Make in India, Start Up India and Micro Units Development and Refinance Agency Ltd (MUDRA) deserve special mention. The Government of India's nimble economic policies have, in great measure, cushioned the adverse impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

New challenges

The pandemic has put even advanced health-care systems of the wealthiest nations to severe test. It has disrupted lives and livelihoods, businesses and economies all over the world. India was no exception, but displaying rare grit, our frontline workers, including doc-



ENRICHED: 'We are fortunate to have inherited a Constitution imbued with the visionary foresight of our national icons and freedom fighters' • THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

tors, nurses, para-medical staff, Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) workers, police and media personnel have been waging a difficult war on the pandemic tenaciously.

Similarly, in the true spirit of Atmanirbhar Bharat, industry rose to the occasion to make life-saving vaccines, personal protective equipment (PPE) kits, face-masks, sanitisers and ventilators along with a whole range of essential products, in a frenzied race against time. Resilience, resolve, research and reinvention aptly define Team India's response to the unprecedented health crisis. However, there can be little doubt that the pandemic has sharply highlighted the need for strengthening India's health-care system. Ensuring universal health coverage and bridging the urban-rural divide in health infrastructure need to be a sustained effort to be taken up without any further delay.

While the path-breaking Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana had provided the much-needed connectivity in rural areas, the need of the hour is to incentivise employment-generation

initiatives for accelerating the growth of rural economy.

Women's empowerment and gender equality as well as the welfare of children need to be prioritised. I am happy that there has been a renewed focus on maternal and child welfare including nutritional needs and overall well being.

I am glad that the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 has been designed to meet the needs of a resurgent and aspirational India. Ours is one of the youngest nations in the world with over 62% of its population in the working age segment of 15-59. In this context, NEP provides a blueprint for quality school education which, when rolled out to its full scope and extent, has the potential to transform the academic landscape of the country. It is essential for planners of educational policy to build a knowledge ecosystem which would drive India's growth. The link between research and industry is another thrust area which needs to be actively fostered.

I always emphasise the importance of using the mother tongue at all levels of

This moment of celebration should be a moment of re-dedication, a moment of introspection, of review, reforms and ceaseless, collaborative, competent action.

education, including vocational and technical education. In this context, I welcome the initiative of 14 engineering colleges across eight States to offer courses in native languages. Similarly, local languages should be widely used in administration and the judiciary, including court verdicts.

Though we have come a long way in the area of governance, achieving digital governance to a considerable extent, universal Internet access and cybersecurity remain challenges which need to be addressed.

The shift to online education in schools and colleges during the novel coronavirus pandemic has brought to the fore the wide gaps between rural and urban India, when it comes to Internet access and the availability of electronic gadgets. This digital divide

should be narrowed as quickly as possible. Clearly, our country has so many achievements that each one of us can legitimately be proud of, including the recent spectacular performance of our sportswomen and sportsmen in the Tokyo Olympics, with the best ever Olympic Games medals tally our country ever achieved.

This moment of celebration should be a moment of re-dedication, a moment of introspection, of review, reforms and ceaseless, collaborative, competent action.

We can co-create a new India by building on our strengths assiduously acquired over the past decades and centuries, by celebrating our rich diversity, by transforming our governance and institutional structures to serve the people in the best possible manner, by leaving no one behind, by resolving differences through cordial dialogue, by striding into the complex, uncertain future with greater optimism, confidence and determination.

M. Venkaiah Naidu is the Vice-President of India

A struggle between two ideas of India

A narrow conception of Indianness, intolerant, suspicious and revengeful, competes with the other Indianness, broader, capacious, and inclusive



SHASHI THAROOR

At midnight on August 15, 1947, Independent India was born as its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, proclaimed 'a tryst with destiny...a moment...which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance.' With those words he launched India on a remarkable journey – creating a national identity out of a country that many said could not be a nation at all.

'India,' Winston Churchill once snarled, 'is merely a geographical expression. It is no more a single country than the Equator.' Although Churchill was usually wrong about India, it is true that no other country in the world embraces the extraordinary mixture of ethnic groups, profusion of mutually incomprehensible languages, varieties of topography and climate, diversity of religions and cultural practices, and range of levels of economic development that India does.

And yet India, as I have repeatedly argued, is more than the sum of its contradictions. Those contradictions were repeatedly stressed by British rulers in self-justification for their rule. Thus Benjamin Disraeli argued that India was not a nation: it lacked a common language, a common religion, a shared tradition, a historical experience, a cohesive majority, and a defined territory, all of which he regarded as the essential ingredients of a nation. But Indian nationalists had an effective riposte. India is a

country held together, in the words of Nehru, 'by strong but invisible threads...a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision, and yet very real and present and pervasive.'

Whichever way one thinks about it, the challenge of defining India is immense. It is a land of snow peaks and tropical jungles, with 22 major languages listed in the Constitution and over 20,000 distinct 'dialects' (including some spoken by more people than speak Swedish, Maori, or Estonian), inhabited at the start of the third decade of the 21st century by 1.38 billion individuals of almost every ethnic extraction known to humanity. It has given birth to four major religions and offers a home to many more; it preaches doctrines of spirituality and wisdom, anchored in universalism and inclusivity, while still being afflicted by a caste system that visits grave disabilities upon millions of its people. It has two major classical musical traditions (Carnatic and Hindustani) to go with innumerable folk disciplines; multiple classical dance forms (Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Bharatanatyam, Kathak, Manipuri, Odissi and so on) that create a rich jambalaya of diverse cultures transmitted through gurus directly mentoring select students; graduates more engineers than any other countries and produces by far the largest number of films in the world. In the phrase of the American poet Walt Whitman, it is vast; it contains multitudes. Is there even, one might well ask, a single unchallengeable idea of the Indian nation?

Yes, there is. I have written in my book *An Era of Darkness* about how the notion of Bharatvarsha in the Rig Veda, of a land stretching from the Himalayas to the seas, contained the original territorial notion of India; for the bounds imposed by the mountains and the oceans created common bonds as well, making the conception of India as one civilisa-



'To me, Indian nationalism derives its political legitimacy from the consent and active participation of our citizens, as free members of a democratic polity.' • PRASHANT NAKWE

Uniformity comes at the price of unity; the insistence on conformity destroys the imperative of consensus.

tion inhabiting a coherent territorial space and a shared history truly timeless. There are deep continuities, therefore, in the imagining of Indian nationhood, that transcend centuries of internal division. In that sense, the idea of India is as old as antiquity.

However, the idea of India as a modern nation based on a certain conception of human rights and citizenship, vigorously backed by due process of law, and equality before law, is a relatively recent and strikingly modern idea. Earlier conceptions of India drew their inspiration from mythology and theology. The modern idea of India, despite the mystical influence of Tagore, and the spiritual and moral influences of Gand-

hiji, is a robustly secular and legal construct based upon the vision and intellect of our founding fathers, notably (in alphabetical order!) Ambedkar, Nehru, and Patel. The Preamble of the Constitution itself is the most eloquent enumeration of this vision. In its description of the defining traits of the Indian republic, and its conception of justice, of liberty, of equality and fraternity, it firmly proclaims that the law will be the bedrock of the national project.

In my recent book *The Battle of Belonging* I have argued that India's is a civic nationalism, anchored in the Constitution and its liberal democratic institutions, a nationalism of belonging rather than of blood. Speaking for myself, when I refer to my own nationalism, and proudly wear a tricolour lapel-pin every day, I am really subscribing to a patriotism that rests on this conception of In-

dia – a love of my country because it is mine, anchored in the institutional and constitutional pillars of civic nationalism. To me, Indian nationalism derives its political legitimacy not from ethnicity, religion, language, culture, or any of the immutable trappings that people acquire from birth, but from the consent and active participation of our citizens, as free members of a democratic polity.

For our nationalism to rise above the "Hindi-Hindu[tva]-Hindustan" idea of India proclaimed by the present ruling dispensation, we must preserve the idea of India embedded in the Republic our founding leaders created – sustained by liberal democratic institutions, constitutionalism that guarantees freedom of speech and association, and representative democracy that empowered the individual citizen irrespective of caste or creed, region or religion, language or literacy. When our present rul-

ers tell us that to disagree with them is anti-national, or that to be a true Indian one must be a Hindi-speaking Hindu, we can answer by pointing to the Constitution, whose idea of India they so shamelessly disregard. The true Indian patriot will tell you that in our democracy you don't really need to agree all the time – except on the ground rules of how you will disagree.

Dividing our people into majority and minority, Hindu and Muslim, Hindi-speaker and Tamil, nationalist and anti-national, is fundamentally un-Indian and fails to reflect the real nature of our society. The suggestion that only a Hindu, and only a certain kind of Hindu, can be an authentic Indian is an affront to the very premise of Indian nationalism. Uniformity comes at the price of unity; the insistence on conformity destroys the imperative of consensus. An India that denies itself to some of us could end up being denied to all of us.

As we enter the 75th year of our Independence, there is a struggle taking place between these two ideas of India. One rests on a narrow conception of Indianness; it is intolerant of difference and suspicious of diversity, and seeks revenge upon history by perpetrating new wrongs today. The other is broader, capacious, and inclusive, accepting of difference and embracing diversity, secure that these are best accommodated in democratic institutions and processes sustained by our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms. Which idea prevails will determine the character of the India that will celebrate its centenary a quarter of a century from now.

Shashi Tharoor is the Sahitya Akademi award-winning author of 22 books, including most recently 'The Battle of Belonging'. He is the third-term Lok Sabha MP for Thiruvananthapuram

Why have faith in the great Indian experiment

India's pluralism, part of our living cultural memory, successfully inhibits religious adversaries from turning into permanent enemies



RAJEEV BHARGAVA

India's independence from colonial rule launched an unprecedented experiment of introducing democratic equality in a deeply diverse society. Scholars and political observers the world over predicted its failure. Successful nation-states and democracy require one language, one culture and perhaps one religion – how could democracy thrive in a poor, illiterate society with mind-boggling religious, cultural and linguistic diversity? Today, when brazen attempts are afoot to suppress such differences, it appears that the sceptics and pessimists were correct. But I remain unmoved. Even in these hopeless times, I have faith in the success of the experiment.

There are many reasons why I remain hopeful, but I focus here on two: one general, and the other India-specific. The general reason is that humankind benefits more from diversity than brute uniformity. No one person or group can develop the entire range of thoughts, practices and goods necessary for survival and flourishing. To fulfil constantly evolving human needs, different skills honed by sustained collective, inter-generational effort are required. When a group spends time on one set of skills, it necessarily neglects others. This means that any cultural group's capacity to fulfil multifarious human needs is limited. Fulfilling all needs demands a pooling together of different skills and a high degree of mutual dependence and learning. The realisation of a better, richer life makes diversity necessary. Those who understand and endorse this are pluralists. Anti-pluralists, who deny and fight diversity, are doomed to lead a fractured, truncated life and may not even survive in the long run. Just as bio-diversity is necessary for the larger ecosystem, so is cultural diversity for the much smaller human world.

My second reason is to do with the character of India's historically evolved collective unconscious, our deepest habits and temperament of respect and mutual acceptance. A particular variant of high-strung, deeply insecure modernists, masquerading as preservers of Indian tradition but imitating the worst European mode of nation-making pose a challenge to this. But my guess is that India's age-old moral habits will prevail over this seemingly unifying but utterly claustrophobic and corrosive force.

Critics will immediately dismiss my statement as crazily utopian. Am I not making this claim by turning a few happy episodes into a character trait of a whole people? I do not think so. The extent and depth of religio-philosophical diversity in India or an enviable degree of peaceful religious coexistence in its past has been noted globally. Yet, contemporary scholars adopt two contrasting perspectives on this religio-philosophical coexistence. Some explain it by the unique quality of tolerance in Hindu culture that a surfeit of invaders took advantage of until some Indians said enough is enough. Others argue that Indian culture is no different from others, that it always contained a propensity to religious conflict, violence, persecution and, therefore, coexistence of different groups occurred because of an accidental balance of power, because no group was ever strong enough to rid society of others. The clear implication is that the moment any group acquires disproportionate power, it will eliminate other groups or reduce them to slavery. It is also argued that this balance of power in society was made possible by political expediency; rulers abhor social and political instability. So, peaceful coexistence in India was a result of balance of power between communities underpinned by political necessity.

I disagree with both views. That India's past was also not always harmonious and rocked by religious conflict, violence and persecution cannot be denied. Hindus and Jains, Hindus and Buddhists, Shaivites and Vaishnavites and even Hindu ascetic orders fought and even smashed each others' temples. Occasionally, political rulers such



Relief kits being provided to riot victims as part of a langar service, in New Delhi. •SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

as the Senas in 11-12th century Bengal were extremely partial to their own Hindu sect. Those who came to India in search of wealth and territory, the Greeks, Sakas, Kushans and Huns, indulged in violence too. So did Muslims. But an average Hindu selectively remembers only the violence of Muslims. Worse, he forgets that not one but many Muslims came to India, from cultural regions as far apart as Arabia and Mongolia, at different times and with differing motives. Only some came with religious zeal against idol worshippers. Some of these plundered and returned, others like Mohammad Ghori and Mahmud of Ghazni fanatically destroyed temples but stayed back to rule. If Persian sources are right, they forcibly converted too.

What an average Hindu also fails to remember is that most Muslim political adventurers fought other Muslim not Hindu rulers. After all, the much-maligned Babar defeated the Lodhis, not some Hindu king! Indeed, many new settlers, attracted to India's pluralist imagination, adapted their beliefs and

practices to be in tune with it. For many Hindus and Muslims, Allah became one of the many gods; others thought of Prophet Mohammad as an avatar sent down from heaven to restore righteousness, and for still others like the Ismailis, Ali, a cousin of Mohammad, was the long-awaited 10th incarnation of Vishnu. Depicting Rama and Krishna as prophets, many made them an integral part of the Islamic world. Rulers in this pluralist world frequently acted impartially towards everyone. In quarrels between Hindu and Muslims, Hindu rulers such as the one in 15th century Mangalore were quick to punish fellow Hindus when found guilty. In 1713, the highest Muslim Government official in Ahmedabad had to bear the wrath of some of his own co-religionists when justice prompted him to rule in favour of Hindus.

The same spirit of impartiality made Muslim royalty mediate in sectarian disputes to bring together warring sects of Jains, Sikhs or Hindus. Royal patronage was extended to non-Muslims, mo-

The extent and depth of religio-philosophical diversity in India or an enviable degree of peaceful religious coexistence in its past has been noted globally.

delled on a pattern set by previous Hindu, Jain and Buddhist rulers. For example, the Gorakhnath math in Jakhbar (in Jammu) received grants from virtually every Mughal ruler. So did the math in Gorakhpur.

I hope these few examples suffice to demonstrate that India's pluralism successfully inhibited religious adversaries from turning into permanent enemies and encouraged peaceful cohabitation. It restrained the recurrence of religious violence. Hatred and demonisation of others is found in medieval Hindu and Muslim literature but in practice it disappeared as quickly as it materialised. Pluralism may not have always been formulated as a religious or philosophical doctrine but had become an integral component of our social imagination,

present as tacit common understanding, as a default setting in our background. It is this moral imaginary, not timeless philosophical doctrines, time-bound balance of social power or political convenience that explains peaceful religious coexistence in India.

This unstated confidence in the value of cultural diversity and peaceful religious co-existence shaped the thinking of Gandhi, of several other leaders in our anti-colonial movement and the makers of India's Constitution. Our social imaginary made religious violence, persecution and partiality of political rulers an aberration rather than the norm in India. This unspoken common mentality is too deep-rooted to vanish overnight. Sooner or later the Indian people will act upon it. This is why I continue to repose faith in the great Indian experiment that was launched on August 15, 1947.

Rajeev Bhargava is a political theorist and Director, Parekh Institute of Indian Thought, CSDS, Delhi



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This pictorial representation of the map of India does not purport to be the political map of India. Map not to scale.

A time for strategic autonomy, building up national strength

Rather than seeking an outside role abroad, India should do what is most important: make possible a safe, prosperous, and dignified life for every citizen



SHIVSHANKAR MENON

Spare a thought for Jawaharlal Nehru and the leaders of Independent India. Between September 1946, when Nehru took over the interim government of India, and 1950, when the country became a republic, many tasks awaited: to build a country by combining British India with 564 or so sovereign or semi-sovereign princely states; deal with the horrendous consequences of Partition, including the greatest mass migration in history until Bangladesh was created in 1971; begin changing the abject condition of the people of India; fight a war with Pakistan in Kashmir; and build new instruments of state such as the Indian Foreign Service and repurpose old ones like the Indian Army, the Intelligence Bureau, and the police. Even Indian Standard Time was only introduced on September 1, 1947. Before this, different provinces and princely states had their own times, and reading an Indian railway timetable was a complex skill.

Frontiers and boundaries needed to be established and administration extended to every corner of the new state of India. Those involved in the transition had to draft a Constitution for the new republic; suppress an armed communist revolution in Telangana; and deal with China's occupation of Tibet – for the first time in history, China had become India's neighbour.

Nehru faced all this simultaneously and without the experience of ever having run even a municipal government. That so much of what was done in those initial days has stood the test of time and has been carried on by the leaders' successors, not all of whom shared their ideas and preferences, says a great deal about those men and women, their ideas, and their understanding of India. They managed to accomplish much despite disagreements among themselves, largely because of the leadership that Nehru provided.

Nehru had a grander, more expansive and more ambitious view of India's role in Asia than other Indians who thought of these issues. Nehru sought nothing less than a radical and complete reworking or remaking of Asian and global geopolitics. Three overarching causes impelled him to do so. The first was the need to transform India. The second was the threat of nuclear annihilation after the atom bomb gave nations the power to destroy human civilisation. And the third was the need to free Asia and Africa from the colonial yoke. Nehru saw these as interlinked. Almost all his international initiatives through the early 1950s were intended to further these goals.

Grand goals

Was Nehru reasonable to seek such grand goals? For Nehru, that was a secondary question. He saw that power, military and economic, was not enough without legitimacy. He was also realist enough not to underestimate the difficulty of what he was trying to achieve. To those who thought he should concentrate on India's internal development and not the world, he would answer that world peace was essential for India's development. Besides, he believed strongly that India, with her civilisational legacy, was the natural thought leader of global processes despite her limitations of hard power. One must admire the boldness of Nehru's world view. But Nehru's ideas, prioritising legitimacy over power, ultimately led him to ignore real threats and ultimately to failures, as in his dealings with China.

However, three of Nehru's goals were actually achieved in large measure, although not by the means he envisaged or entirely by Indian agency. First, India's and Asia's economies today have been transformed beyond expectations, but not following Nehru's chosen economic path.

Second, a nuclear holocaust has been averted, thus far. Third, Asia and Africa have been decolonised. In little more than 15 years following India's independence, the regional international system was transformed from one dominated by empires to one populated by sovereign states. Decolonisation in the Indian Ocean region was a far more fundamental shift than even the end of the Cold War.



Larger picture: Jawaharlal Nehru had a grander, more expansive and more ambitious view of India's role in Asia than other Indians who thought of these issues. Picture is of Pandit Nehru, President Nasser and Marshal Tito, founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. • THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

Rather than just a shift in alliances or a change in power distribution, or the entrance and departure of new states, it changed beliefs about the legitimacy of empire and replaced empire with sovereign states. For the first time in centuries, the constituents of the regional Asian order were essentially identical in the Indian Ocean, maritime Asia, Europe, and the rest of the world.

Any prognosis based on the present geopolitics of Asia can only be tentative. That is because we are between eras, when the old order no longer works and does not reflect the balance of power, but the new one is not yet fully formed. We live in a paradoxical world. There is little comfort here for those who wish the world to return to the trajectory it was on before. Nor is there much comfort for those who wish for a clear unipolar Asian order, one with a clear hegemon and the certainties that come with that, whether they are partisans of China or the United States. I believe that neither China nor Asia is ready yet for a China-centred order. China may have the will and desire but lacks the objective power, and the United States seems incapable of exercising the will, though it may have the power.

Between eras

Nor is a bipolar order the likely result in Asia. Instead, the facts of geography and history – the basis of geopolitics – will probably result in separate arrangements and fragmented orders in the subregions of Asia, in East Asia, South-east Asia, South Asia, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia, the Levant, and West Asia. Each of these areas has local or regional powers that will determine political and military outcomes, rather than relying on great-power rivalry and cooperation.

For India, if there ever was a time for strategic autonomy, for building up national strength and hard power, and keeping a cool head, this is it. In confused times like this, it is essential to keep one's enemies close and friends closer – keep the periphery pacified, stay out of blocs, and work with coalitions of powers wherever India's interests coincide. This is not a time for drama, showy events, and the pursuit of status. India's power and capabilities have yet to peak, and no other power shares its interests. Influence, like power, is a means to an end. For the conceivable future, the purpose of India's external policies is to assist its transformation, creating an enabling environment for that task. That requires doing what successful powers did at similar stages of development – China in the 1980s and 1990s, the United States from 1880 until the end of the Second World War, Tudor and Stuart England –

namely, not to overextend ourselves abroad and to build ourselves at home. India faces no existential external threat today. If there is a threat, it is internal. Letting others carry a costly or heavy burden is also a strategy. Rather than seeking a grand and outside role abroad, India should do what is most important, that is, to make it possible for every Indian to live a safe, prosperous, and dignified life with the opportunity to realise his or her potential. That is the only goal worthy of a great country such as India.

National confidence

India's future resides in the hands and heads of all its citizens. How we as citizens perceive our situation and choose to build our narrative deeply affect our future. Free India inherited national confidence from the freedom movement, untouched by false pride, hubris or ego. We sought no apology or reparations from Great Britain for what that empire had done to us. Instead, we set out to build our own future in our own way. When Nehru chose non-alignment, it was with confidence that India was entering a new era and would grow into a modern, secular, prosperous, and safe country for all Indians. That confidence was bound in a national narrative that accepted history for what it was, without ridiculous claims, manufactured enemies, or exaggerated boasts. We need some of that confidence and objectivity now, combined with logic, reason and clarity, if we are to deal successfully with the world as it is, building a better India that is true to itself and its people.

Today, more than ever we need to strengthen our autonomy while working with all the major powers and cooperating harmoniously with our neighbours. Instead, some Indians are so worried by the uncertain world that they suggest India go cap in hand seeking security in alliance with others, chasing status, glory, and approbation instead of the welfare and security of the people. As a result, relations with our neighbours have seldom been as difficult as they are now. China and Pakistan have no compunction in acting together against Indian interests and sovereignty, and India is being reduced to a bit player on the international stage. We have lost five years. Our national confidence has been replaced by bravado and extravagant statements.

We need to get back to our roots, to the clear well springs of our will and our confidence. India is the country of Kautilya, Chandragupta Maurya, Charvaka, Kalidasa, Panini, Ashoka, Kanishka, Harsha, Akbar, Gandhiji, and Nehru. All of them threw open the windows of our home to the world. We should accept no less, no simulacrum of leadership, no prejudices masquerading as ideas. Some of us have lost the ambition to think big of ourselves, of India's role in the world. Dread and hate replace reasoned thought, leading to destructive social conflict in and around India. We are offered two pictures of our national destiny. One vision is born of fear and polarisation and the other of national self-confidence and ambition. The former excludes many Indians and is based on a narrow, intolerant, and false sense of nationalism. The latter is a proudly patriotic, tolerant, modern, progressive, and secular vision of a confident nation that respects all its citizens. The former is inward-looking and diminishes India in the world. The latter is a confident India that stands for something with universal appeal. It is time we rejected the former and rededicated ourselves unambiguously to making the latter real.

Shivshankar Menon is a former National Security Adviser. This essay is derived from his latest book, 'India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present'



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