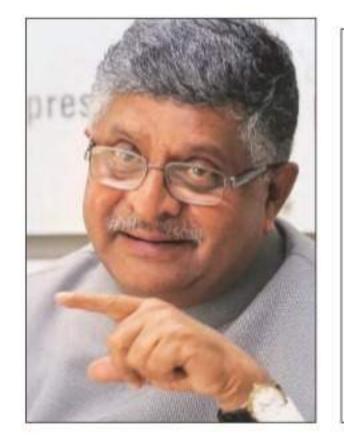
THE SUNDAY EXPRESS, APRIL 7, 2019

8 IDEA EXCHANGE NEWSMAKERS IN THE NEWSROOM

Why is the yardstick of secularism only used for us? What is Mamataji doing? Religious processions are being physically stopped... In Kerala, RSS workers are being killed cruelly. There has to be a holistic view"



WHY RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD

Contesting his first Lok Sabha election, from Patna Saheb constituency, Union minister Ravi Shankar Prasad argues that while the BJP has also been talking about its development work, the Opposition's suggestion that the attacks may have been engineered has made security an issue in these polls. Currently a Rajya Sabha

member, Prasad holds the important portfolios of Law and IT in the NDA government and is its face when it comes to tackling contentious issues. The 64year-old who began his career as a student leader and was also jailed during the Emergency, is confident that the BJP will win the Lok Sabha polls "convincingly"



"We are not saying you can't raise questions. You can. But the narrative (that the Opposition is trying to create) is that the (Balakot) strikes were engineered by the government for political gains. It is regrettable

RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD: The India of 2019 is not the India of the '90s. It's an aspirational India now. As the Minister for Information Technology, I see a new kind of aspiration in the youth. The way India has picked up on innovation... India has become the second biggest centre for mobile manufacturing. India is the second biggest

start-up country in the world. Also, the security of the country will figure prominently in the (election) discourse. The alarming regularity with which Congress leaders and their gurus have been challenging the whole narrative (of the Balakot aerial strikes) will also be a part of the public discourse.

We are quite hopeful of winning the elections conclusively and convincingly. People of India want Narendra Modi to be the Prime Minister once again. You can't remove someone when there is no alternative — no alternative programmes or no alternative leader. The people of India are very mature. They know how to distinguish between a Vidhan Sabha election and a Lok Sabha election. The people of India will ensure that the BJP-led NDA will come back to power in a very conclusive manner.

LIZ MATHEW: How different is the 2019 general election from 2014?

Before the 2014 election there was policy paralysis, stinking corruption and a sense of hopelessness. The 2019 election is backed by performance, expectation, India emerging as a global power, which was clear in the way countries supported India at the UN Security Council in our bid to get Masood Azhar listed (as a global terrorist). We have ensured the complete isolation of Pakistan. People see this as a continuation of 2014, with the addition of better performance and hope which the government and the Prime Minister have created.

LIZ MATHEW: What will be the main agenda in this election?

The issues in these elections will be development, economic growth, India being recognised by global industries. It will be about inclusive development which we have brought about. Nine crore people have benefited from the Ujjwala Yojana. We need to remember another statistic. From 1947 till we came to power, about 6.25 crore toilets were constructed in rural parts of India. In the last five years alone 10 crore (toilets) have been built.

Also, after the Pulwama terror attack, the manner in which opposition parties have raised questions, on the sacrifice of our jawans and the armed forces, which was designed to weaken their morale, has become an issue.

LIZ MATHEW: So will the issue of national security dominate the discourse in the run-up to polls?

I won't say that national security will be the only issue. It is an important issue. Nationalism will be an important issue. If an argument is made that the entire Pulwama tragedy was engineered for political consideration, it becomes an issue. But we have also been talking about development. We have talked about the job opportunities we have created in the country and what we have done for the farmers.

KRISHN KAUSHIK: Speaking of jobs, data from the National Sample Survey Office's Periodic Labour Force Survey 2017-18 has revealed that for the first time since 1993-94, the actual size of India's male workforce has shrunk.

I seriously question the methodology of this report. It is a draft report. What questions were asked? If you ask, do you have a job, and if you ask do you have a livelihood, the answers are bound to be different. I also read in your newspaper that job opportunities for urban women have grown.

Nearly 14 crore Indians have received Rs 7.8 lakh crore (as loans) under the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana, of which four crore-plus are first-time entrepreneurs. Is it not employment and livelihood creation? So many roads have been constructed in rural parts, more than 100 kilometres of national highways... Around 73.50 lakh new subscribers were added to social security schemes of the Employees' Provident Fund Organisation last year.

Nearly 127 mobile phone manufacturing units have become operational in 2018 as compared to only two in 2014. In Noida and Greater Noida (where these units have come up), nearly five-six lakh people have got employment. So many airports and Metros have been added. All villages have been electrified. The economy is the fastestgrowing economy in the world. Does it mean that no employment opportunity has been created? I regret to say that the NSSO data does not capture this.

KRISHN KAUSHIK: You said the Opposition is questioning the armed

'There is no alternative leader... Indians know how to distinguish between state, LS polls. BJP will win'

Union Minister for Law and Information Technology Ravi Shankar Prasad questions methodology of NSSO survey, clarifies the govt stand on judicial appointments, says Women's Reservation Bill needs debate and calls for Ram temple hearing to be expedited



Union Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad with Associate Editor Liz Mathew in The Indian Express newsroom. Renuka Puri

forces. What is wrong with that?

They are not questioning the armed forces but the very authenticity of the Balakot strikes; it's different. The Foreign Secretary has made the Government of India's official statement. The Air Chief has held a press conference confirming the strikes. Not a single country in the world has questioned the strike. When you say that give me evidence of the strikes then you are seeking to question the entire narrative. That has clear implications on morale. We need to trust our forces. That's all we are saying. We are not saying you cannot raise questions. You can question. It's an accountable government. The narrative (that the Opposition is trying to create) is that the attack was engineered by the government or the ruling party for political purposes and that Balakot was an extension of that. It is regrettable. Also, just to remind you, when Osama bin Laden was killed, did anyone ask the US where they buried him? They just released elementary sketches.

RISHI RAJ: There have been a series of dialogues with social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter on checking the spread of fake news and leak of users' data. However, there is no clarity on what the government has achieved so far.

We respect freedom of the press. I appreciate social media because it is a new empowerment tool for ordinary Indians. But the constitutional norms under Article 19 should also be kept in mind. So when a social media platform is used to promote radicalisation, terrorism, massacre, mayhem, we will be tough on them. They have realised it. We have also told them that if you abuse the data of Indians for collateral purposes, that will not be acceptable. The Election Commission is now on the job.

I had issued a warning to Mark Zuckerberg, a good friend of mine. The very next day he apologised. Cambridge Analytica was issued a notice. They replied to one and eloped thereafter. The matter is now with the CBI.

I had an interaction with WhatsApp. In the wake of lynchings, I asked them how was it that on the same day, on the same issue, at the same time, and in the same area, lakhs of the same message are being circulated. It's not rocket science to identify them. They have now limited forwarded messages to five. I also told them

to set up a grievance cell and office in India. They have agreed.

PRANAV MUKUL: There was a lot being done on the draft Personal Data Protection Bill, 2018. But it yet to see

the light of the day. The Bill required more concentration. I said that since the whole world was awaiting our data protection law, so we must concentrate. Don't forget that the Justice B N Srikrishna Committee submitted that report (draft Bill), we had two-three rounds of consultations... We needed some more consultation. I said if they want some more time, go ahead. I think we are coming back to power and then we will take care of it.

KAUNAIN SHERIFF M: The revised Memorandum of Procedure (MoP) on appointment of judges has not been finalised yet. We know that in at least seven appointments, especially names recommended for elevation by the collegiums of the high courts of Kerala and Allahabad, you have raised objections citing the proximity of some candidates to sitting judges and judicial officers, and asked for a wider pool of names. Will we see some of these criteria in the finalised MoP?

I think a judge should not be disqualified merely because of a relationship. That should not be the only criteria. If you are independently competent, then why not? That's our approach and I am very happy

that the judiciary also has the same. My approach to the MoP is very clear. There has to be a screening process based on suitability and merit. There must be a corpus of competent people to choose from. There must be an institutional mechanism of screening — at the collegium, high court and Supreme Court. That job is still going on. We will discuss it again. I have never said that the appointments are bad, I wish to make that very clear.

RAVISH TIWARI: The Modi government seems to have a very tense relationship with the judiciary. Why are you so angry with them?

It's not about anger. We had mentioned in our manifesto that the present system of appointments should change. This has been said in three Law Commission reports as well. Also, the highest number of judicial appointments have happened in the last five years. The average appointment of high court judges since 1989 has been between 83-84. In 2016, there were 126 judges appointed to high courts — the highest in 30 years. There have been 110-115 (appointments) every year.

About the collegium architecture, the Supreme Court itself has said that the government has the right to seek reconsideration. And, whenever we have sought a reconsideration, it has been objective, fair and reasonable.

RAVISH TIWARI: But the government doesn't seem to respond to the judiciary's concerns. Last January, when four senior judges held a press conference and spoke out against the then chief justice, the government was silent. There was no attempt to address their concerns.

The government should not interfere

"When social media is used to promote radicalisation, terrorism, massacre, we will be tough. We have told (the platforms) that if you abuse data of Indians it won't be acceptable. The EC is now on the job

in the workings of the judiciary. The government must not at all interfere in the constitutional workings of the Supreme Court. I don't want to get into the circumstances under which (the press conference) was held. The concerns of the judiciary family

should be settled in the family itself. I did intervene in a definitive case. It was about the appointment of a judge to the Karnataka High Court against whom there were serious allegations of misbehaviour with a lady. There was a complaint against him. I said you will not be appointed till a fair enquiry is conducted.

KIRAN RATHEE: You mentioned the increase in mobile phone factories in India. But these are mostly assembling units. Real manufacturing isn't taking place here. Mostly Chinese companies are coming here to set up a base and many Indian companies are being pushed out of the market.

I differ with you on the point that these are only assembling units. Assembly is the initial process for manufacturing. Also, I don't agree that Indian companies are being pushed out. Overcoming hiccups is a part of the process and we will overcome them. If you have Chinese companies coming here then there are a lot of Indian companies in China too.

LIZ MATHEW: What do you make of all the hatred and negativity directed at minority communities and Muslims on social media?

We don't support it all. When the lynchings were happening, the Prime Minister said, 'Unko mat maro, himmat hai toh mujhe maaro (Don't kill them. If you have the courage, kill me)'. It was a tough message and tough action has been taken.

But yes, why is the yardstick of secularism only used against us. What is Mamataji (Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee) doing in Bengal? The number of religious processions that have been physically stopped there... In Kerala RSS workers are being killed cruelly. Even Congress people are being killed. There has to be a holistic view. If you look at our record objectively... I have raised the issue of triple talaq. I thought women leaders such as Soniaji (Gandhi) and Priyanka Gandhi will do more, but nothing. These are important issues.

LIZ MATHEW: But triple talaq affects less than 2 per cent of the Muslim

population. It's an important issue, but what about issues such as lack of social development and education that affect the community? Shouldn't the government focus on that?

You can't say why did you do this and not that. It's a gender equality and gender justice issue. Yes, we have to take care of other things as well. So many women have been covered under the Ujjwala Yojana, it also includes Muslim women. If two crore people in India have got the benefits of Ayushman Bharat, it also includes Muslims. Of the 14 crore Mudra Yojana beneficiaries, almost one-third are women, minorities and SC/STs. It is not from the perspective of getting votes. It is the duty of the government to take care of everyone.

ABANTIKA GHOSH: Speaking of gender quality, why has the women's reservation Bill not been passed yet?

It has been discussed. At the panchayat level, many of our states have given 50 per cent reservation to women. In municipalities too. In a first, the Prime Minister has given women pilots a chance to fly fighter planes. We have had BSF women on bullet motorcycles showing their riding prowess on Rajpath. There are other things as well, such as the Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Yojana. Yes, there is a genuine divide (on the Bill). We need to build a consensus. Some believe that only OBC women should be given reservation. They believe that if there is blanket reservation, then only elite, educated women will occupy the positions. Some want reservation for OBC, SC/ST and other extremely backward castes also. We need to find answers to these questions. These issues need to be debated.

RAVISH TIWARI: For a long time now we have been hearing about Ram Lalla, 'mandir wahin banayenge (We will make the temple there)'....

It's our firm commitment that a Ram Lalla temple should be erected. The matter is in the Supreme Court. Both the President and the Prime Minister have said that you have to achieve it through constitutional means. And yes, we would like the hearing to be expedited. In the case of Sabarimala, Section 377, urban Maoists, the hearing was expedited. This suit is 70 years old, and as a lawyer for Ram Lalla, I know that there is overpowering evidence available on which the argument to expedite the hearing can be made. I hope the court does that.

The BJP has not released its manifesto yet. The first phase of polling is on April 11, barely four days from Sunday. I suspect that the BJP is revising its draft manifesto hurriedly to counter the Congress's. That is good. Let the BJP engage in a battle of ideas. So far, the

BJP has relied on hyper-nationalism and abuse. I would welcome it if the BJP shifts its campaign to ideas and arguments

Congress manifesto takes battle to BJP

A 54-PAGE document has set the cat among the pigeons. That the BJP is a flock of pigeons — ignore the boast about a 56inch chest — was proved by the apoplectic fit that seized the BIP after the release of the Congress party's Election Manifesto (CEM) for the 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

Manifestos have, usually, a short shelf life. The CEM hit the headlines within minutes of its release on April 2, but acquired a new dimension with every passing hour. By the end of the day, and certainly by the end of April 5, the key manifesto promises had reached every city and town and also the villages that were close to urban areas. I am certain that television and the campaigners will carry the key promises to others within a few days. The message is so powerful that the messengers are obliged to carry it.

What is different about CEM 2019 that has made it the talk of the town (and the village) within a few hours? The answer is that the CEM is the voice of the people. I can say with utmost confidence that every idea or promise in the CEM was suggested by a citizen of India either in writing or at one of the 174 consultations across the country. The draftspersons simply wrote the sentences capturing the ideas in precise language.

BJP is riled

Normally, it is the ruling party's manifesto that is criticised by the opposition parties. I cannot remember an occasion in recent times when an opposition

party's manifesto was attacked so vehemently by the ruling party. It raises the question, why? What has got the goat of the BJP?

I can think of a few things that must have riled the BJP. First, the promise of jobs. Unemployment is at a 45-year high of 6.1 per cent. There were obvious and immediate solutions but, ignoring the obvious, Mr Modi promised to create 2 crore jobs a year. That promise has returned to haunt the BJP. Instead of creating jobs, the BJP government destroyed jobs through demonetisation and a flawed GST. The official report of the NSSO puts the number of jobs lost at 4 crore, 70 lakhs. The CEM has identified many obvious ways to employ the large number of unemployed youth. A simple step like filling all the vacancies in government etc will employ nearly 24 lakh young people.

Next, the CEM's bold approach to the agriculture sector. Even as the BJP was deriding the idea of a farm loan waiver, the CEM announced that outstanding agricultural loans will be waived. Pointing out that the BJP had waived the loans of insolvent companies (the 'haircut' so far is Rs 84,585 crore), the Congress justified a farm loan waiver. Two other promises in the CEM have caught the interest of farmers: a separate Kisan budget and no more criminal cases against farmers to enforce an essentially civil liability of recovering an overdue loan. The CEM also promised to bring back the famous Agricultural

Extension Services, repeal the Agricultural Produce Markets Act, replace the Essential Commodities Act, and set up a College of Agriculture and a College of Veterinary Sciences in every district of the country.

NOT SHYING AWAY

The CEM did not shy away from addressing issues that are sensitive. For women, it promised the passage of the women's reservation Bill and reservation of one-third of all posts in the government. For SCs, STs and OBCs, it promised an Equal Opportunities Commission, more affirmative action and reservation in private higher education institutions. The CEM also contained promises to senior citizens, linguistic and religious minorities, persons with disabilities and the LGBTQIA+ community. After reading the CEM, every section felt included.

The CEM dealt with issues of national security, internal security and foreign policy and challenged the BJP on its failed policies and actions. When Mr Arun Jaitley raised questions, the Congress hit back with facts and counter questions. Why have the number of infiltration attempts, the number of infiltrators and the number of casualties increased in Jammu & Kashmir? Why was AFSPA withdrawn totally from Tripura in 2015, from Meghalaya in 2018 and from three districts of Arunachal Pradesh on April 1, 2019? Is

the BJP supporting enforced disappearance, sexual violence and torture? Why is Section 124A (sedition), a colonial-era provision, necessary when Parliament has made the Defence of India Act and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act? It is apparent that the Congress has rediscovered its combative skills and was willing to take the fight to the BJP. I welcome the debate but I am disappointed that the Prime Minister's speeches are becoming shriller and shriller by the day.

WANTED: BATTLE OF IDEAS

The BIP has not released its manifesto yet. The first phase of polling is on April 11, barely four days from Sunday. I suspect that the BJP is revising its draft manifesto hurriedly to counter the CEM. That is good. Let the BJP engage in a battle of ideas. So far, the BJP has relied on hyper-nationalism and abuse. I would welcome it if the BJP shifts its campaign to ideas and arguments.

I do not like the idea of multi-phase polling but, given the charged atmosphere, it is perhaps unavoidable. Between phases, the media must play a neutral role of reporting the news and the Election Commission must enforce the rules without discrimination. Over to the people of India.

Website: pchidambaram.in

@Pchidambaram_IN

INSIDE TRACK



HEAVY DUTY ARMOUR

There is a new trend in politics in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Haryana. Netas contesting elections are hiring strapping bodybuilders as security guards. Most are dressed in black so that they resemble the SPG personnel who protect the Prime Minister. The bouncers and hunks, who earn a reported Rs 5,000 daily, do not just add to the candidates' status, they are also known to intimidate and even threaten voters. After the Election Commission expressed concern, the Delhi Police Commissioner issued a circular to all gyms and bodybuilder associations in the capital that no member should resort to strong-armed tactics during public rallies or during door-todoor campaigns. The Commissioner also held a meeting with some 580 gym owners cautioning them that their staff should not disturb public peace in the campaign season.

MISSING PRADHAN

There has been a silent power shift in Odisha's BJP, which few in Delhi seem to have noticed. Petroleum Minister Dharmendra Pradhan is not standing for the Lok Sabha elections. Till recently BJP posters in Odisha displayed only two photographs, Narendra Modi and Pradhan, projected as a prospective chief minister. Now the BJP posters in Bhubaneswar have Modi on one side and Aparajita Sarangi on the other, while Pradhan's mug shot has been relegated to the bottom. So who is Sarangi? She is a former middle-level IAS officer who was a popular municipal commissioner of Bhubaneswar. Sarangi who was last posted in Delhi as a joint secretary took voluntary retirement four months back and joined the BJP. She is contesting the Lok Sabha elections from Bhubaneswar. One explanation for underplaying Pradhan is that the BIP's internal surveys suggest that he is not the right choice to be projected against Naveen Patnaik, since his harsh criticism of the CM has not gone down well with potential voters. The other reason could be that the BJP is looking towards Patnaik as a prospective ally, if the NDA does not secure a majority. In which case underplaying Pradhan makes sense since projecting him as the party face would not endear the BJP to Patnaik.

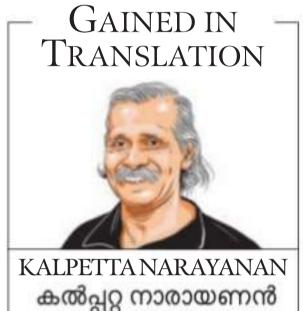
OUT OF BACKROOM

When Amit Shah filed his nomination from Gandhinagar, it was described by some as his official coming out from the shadows of being a backroom operator. In fact, ever since Shah took over as party president in July 2014, he has exerted his authority and made clear that he is number two in the BJP's pecking order. Soon after taking over, Shah started making speeches. In fact, during the Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh polls last year, he attracted impressive turnouts. Rather than address a single rally in a large city, Shah travelled in the interiors in an open van. His pre-recorded speeches were played as his motorcade drove along. Shah's team takes great pains to study the region he visits so that he can introduce localised references to temples, customs and legends. He has his personal electronic digital team, apart from the team for the entire party, which relays all his road shows on social media, including on Facebook Live and Twitter. Some wonder whether Rajnath Singh committed a faux pas when he referred to Shah as Advani's successor in Gandhinagar. After all, Advani was always the bridesmaid, never the bride. But Shah's men seemed pleased enough by the comparison.

Unofficial Ally

One of Amit Shah's bigger assets in Uttar Pradesh is not an official ally. Shivpal Yadav, Mulayam Singh's brother who formed a separate party, the Pragatisheel Samajwadi Party [Lohiya; PSP(L)] after splitting with the Samajwadi Party, is helping the BJP in more ways than one. Shivpal may not win seats but the damage potential in vote-cutting could be crucial in the Yadav citadels in central UP. Shivpal is fielding candidates against all family members who are contesting, except in Mainpuri from where his elder brother Mulayam Singh Yadav is standing. Shivpal visited Mulayam at home on the day he filed his nomination to propagate the impression that Mulayam is neutral in the fight between his son and brother. Last month, Sanjay Nishad of the NISHAD Party quit the SP-BSP alliance ostensibly on the grounds that he was denied a ticket from Maharajganj constituency, since the BSP-SP demurred at granting two seats to Nishad candidates. (Sanjay's son Praveen was the winning candidate in the upset Gorakhpur bypoll last year and was expected to be fielded from there again). SP insiders suspect Shivpal's hand in persuading Sanjay Nishad to shift to the BJP. A day later, Praveen crossed over to the BJP and is the party's Gorakhpur candidate. Meanwhile, the Peace Party, consisting largely of backward Muslims from the Pasmanda community in eastern UP, has also joined forces with the PSP(L).

place called Wayanad



IF ELECTION is a big festival, in all its acoustical and visual glory it is taking place in Wayanad. Ending its centuriesold existence in the underground, Wayanad is putting up a booming parade. The world is scrambling up the ghat to Wayanad, which, until now, had to travel down to be a part of the mainstream, to partake in festivities.

Wayanad is now in limelight not just because of its natural beauty, but also because of its political significance. The arrival of leaders of different political parties, made necessary because of the presence of Rahul Gandhi in the electoral fray, has turned Wayanad into the nodal point of Kerala politics this season. Wayanad, until now the tail end of Kerala, has now become its political capital. I can sense my birthplace trembling with excitement.

Wayanad has been the safe house of Kerala. Of Pazhassi Raja, Varghese (the popular Naxalite leader killed in an encounter in 1970), refugees seeking a better life, wealth-seekers, forests, cold, beauty. When the forests are in flame or tragedy strikes Adivasi settlements or the presence of Naxalites is reported, Wayanad appears on the news map like a terrible beauty.

This region has the reputation of being a major source of Kerala's economic wealth and a place where estates peacefully sleep like a happy breast-fed baby. You shall fail to tempt a person who has grown up in Wayanad with natural beauty; never can solitude tease a person who has spent his childhood in Wayanad.

Its climate has changed and it's no more the old place, people may criticise. But for the first-time visitor, Wayanad offers a pageant of amazements. The diversity, richness of its green... how green are the leaves in Wayanad! How radiant its flowers! How deep is sleep here! How sweeping the solitude! I once wrote, even the glass pieces could sprout here, so fertile is the soil here!

The light shower that falls in the months of February and March turns Wayanad into the most beautiful and ex-

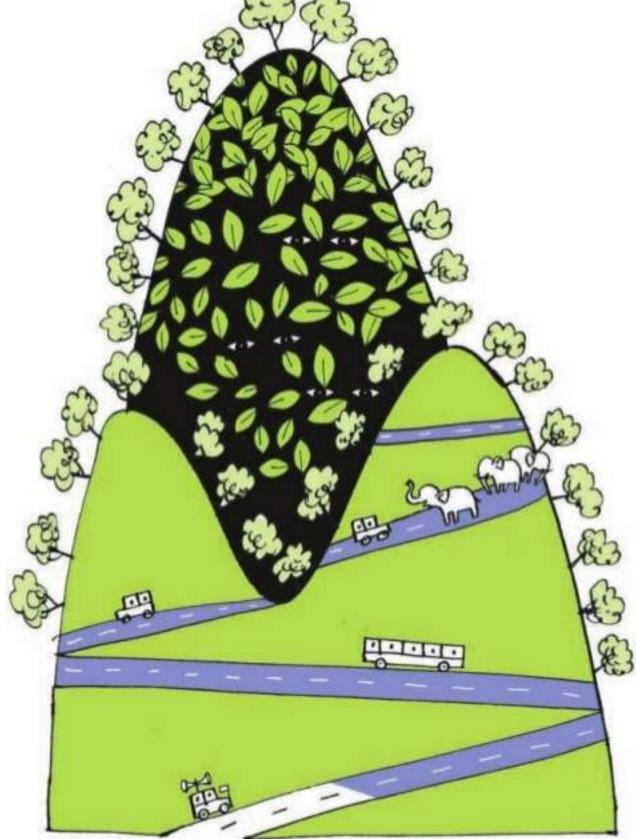


Illustration: CR Sasikumar

pansive of gardens on this Earth. Wayanad gets enveloped in the fragrance of coffee blooms.

For some reason, Wayanad has never received the attention it deserves. Pilgrims in pursuit of beauty are still uncommon here.

No one can understand Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath more than a resident of old Wayanad. This is a soil where marginal farmers have toiled endlessly. You will not see anyone who sits idle in this landscape. He is forever digging in or digging out. Tapioca, kandi kizhangu (a variety of tuber), pumpkin taste better here than anywhere else. Gandhakashala rice isn't as fragrant elsewhere as it is here. Wayanad is not just beauty, it is also fragrance and taste.

Wayanad has no culture or language of its own. It is the only place where the residents enquire about where they came from when they meet. That's perhaps why the migrants showed little mercy to it. It became a paradise for fertiliser firms. It's

unlikely that there's another place where so many trees have been cut down. Nowhere else would so much money have been spent in the name of tribals.

The diverse tribes of Wayanad, who almost make up the majority here, do not live a life of dignity and self-respect, unlike their counterparts in the Northeast. These forsaken people still do not have the wherewithal to understand all the noise. 'Who is this Rahul Gandhi?' They are unlikely to know. Elections speak to them only through the feel of money the different political parties slip into their palms.

Yet, when light breaks over Wayanad, let us hope a bit of it will bounce on them as well. Let it!

The writer, a poet, critic and novelist, grew up in Wayanad. His novel, Ithramatram (Just This Much), and memoir, Konthala, have vivid descriptions of life in this district, high up in the Western Ghats. Translated by Sindhu V Nair

Rahul has claimed his legacy



MEGHNAD DESAI

OUT OF MY MIND

AT LAST we have the Congress manifesto launched. The occasion was preceded by the announcement of the anti-poverty policy of giving Rs 72,000 to every house-

hold below poverty line. So far no surprise. Another Congress policy in tandem with previous ones. But the novelty was not in the policy but in its name. All these 72 years since Independence, whenever the Congress had a new policy,

its name was invariably in English which then was shortened to some jaw-breaking acronym, such as the MGNREGA. People turned that into 'Narega', but even then it makes no sense in any language. NYAY is different. It is Hindi or Sanskrit.

You can see that someone must have gone through tortuous variations to arrive at such a striking title. After all, 'nyuntam' is not an everyday word. But NYAY is the first policy name which ordinary citizens can understand, as against Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal etc. In this, it is clear that Rahul has learnt from Narendra Modi, who is brilliant at finding interesting acronyms which stand alone. We can expect the Congress to come up with more labels in Hindi or Sanskrit.

Yet the more surprising, indeed radical, policy move was what Rahul said during the manifesto launch. He said "We are all Hindu". It is difficult to recall that just five years ago, no Congress person or indeed any one in politics wedded to the Nehruvian Idea of India would let the word Hindu pass his lips. Hindutva was a hate word and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was unmentionable except in a negative way. In the years since, the Congress has begun to wear its love of Hindus on its sleeve. Rahul has asserted his Brahmanical status and even flaunted his gotra. Shashi Tharoor has written a book extolling his Hinduness. Now, Rahul has endorsed the RSS view

on who is Hindu. Savarkar wanted to dis-

tinguish between Hindus and the non-

Hindus, Muslims especially. To say that Hindu is anyone living in the land associated with the Indus was not enough for him. So he distinguished among the inhabitants of the Indus-land by the location of their holy place (punya bhumi), thus including Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, but excluding Muslims and Christians. The RSS makes no such distinction. We

are all Hindus', some ascribing to the Sanatan Dharma and others to other religions. As long as they are respectful of the land of their birth, they are welcome. The Congress has now converged to this view.

One could say that since the Gujarat elections of December 2017, there is little distance between the BIP and Congress on the issue of Hindu nationalism. In that re-

spect, the BJP has won the culture war. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was careful to keep his commitment to the RSS suitably hidden. Modi has not been shy, though nor has he used the word Hindutva in any public speech. The severe defeat in 2014 taught the Congress that they were losing out by being thought not as secular so much as pro-Muslim and, worse, anti-Hindu. Hence the turnaround.

In a way, Rajiv Gandhi would have arrived at this stage himself had he lived to win a second term. He had allowed the Shilanyas at the disputed Ayodhya site to begin and launched his 1989 election campaign from Ayodhya.

Rahul has claimed his legacy. Better late than never.

FIFTH COLUMN



TAVLEEN SINGH

Just feudal arrogance

THE THING I find most repugnant about socialist feudalism in our political parties is the sense of smug entitlement that it breeds in heirs. Nearly all the heirs who inherit political parties and careers (and there are too many) have this unfortunate quality, but none more so than Rahul Gandhi. And, why should he not? He is after all heir to the Dynasty that has ruled India for most of our years as an independent country. And, is today seen by many political pundits as the main challenger to Narendra Modi in the elections that begin this week.

Rahul wears this heavy mantle with arrogance rather than humility. At no time was this more evident than when he released the Congress party's election manifesto last week. As he listed the many, many plans he has to rescue India from the ruin he claims that Modi has wrought in the past five years, I wondered if he knew how arrogant he sounds. Does he know that he sounds more like an entitled prince than the man who wants to lead the world's largest democracy?

Does he know, for instance, that the Rs 72,000 he has promised to put into the bank accounts of the poorest 20 per cent of India's population is not his money in the first place? It is taxpayers' money, but nobody seems to have told him this, so whenever he mentions the NYAY scheme he makes it sound as if the money that it will take to fund it will come out of his own pocket. His arrogance and sense of entitlement are contagious, so whenever the 'experts' who helped him devise this scheme are asked about where the money will come from, they behave as if those who ask these questions are fools.

When Sam Pitroda was asked by a TV reporter if the money for NYAY would come from raised taxes on middle-class Indians, who already struggle to make ends meet, he replied disdainfully that they must think about those who were poorer than them. 'How dare they be so selfish as to not see how desperately people more unfortunate than them needed this basic minimum income?'

What is that old saying about great arrogance coming before a great fall? Whatever it is, somebody needs to whisper it in the ear of the man who hopes to be prime minister next month. It might remind him that when he calls Modi a thief and a liar, as he does now in every speech, he should keep in mind that he is also attacking the office of the Prime Minister of India. It might remind him that in public life words like liar and thief, even when used with evidence, usually harm the person who uses them more than anyone else.

Another example of extraordinary

arrogance came when the leader of our oldest political party went to file his nomination papers to contest from the constituency of Wayanad. Reporters accosted him as soon as he emerged from officially declaring his candidacy and asked why he had chosen to come so far away from Amethi. To this Rahul Gandhi responded grandly that he wanted to send the message that he would like to unite the southern and northern states. The southern states, he said, have been feeling neglected because of the policies of the RSS and Modi. This left me momentarily gobsmacked, and then I started to wonder if he should not immediately sack whoever is now his political tutor.

No prime minister has made more effort to repeat ad nauseum that he represents '125 crore Indians' than Modi has. I am no fan of the RSS but have to concede that they virtually invented the idea of 'Akhand Bharat'. They would like to take back all of India if this ever becomes possible. In Modi's first tenure he has not done anything to reassure Muslims that he meant what he said when he promised 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas'. And, certainly the RSS has done a great deal to make Muslims believe that they are not welcome if Hindutva rules. But, where did the Congress president learn that the RSS idea of India excludes the southern states?

Other than the absurdity of what he said, what struck me was the arrogance with which he said what he did. It reminded me that from day one of Modi's tenure, Rahul Gandhi has behaved as if a usurper had stolen his birthright. There has not been a thing Modi has done that has been praised by the man who would be king. His disdain for this usurper is such that after the air strikes on Balakot, he offered his good wishes to the Air Force but not to the Prime Minister. Does he believe that the Air Force can attack deep inside Pakistan on its own? Arrogance or what?

Follow Tavleen Singh on Twitter

