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# A DARK DECADE IN GOVERNANCE









# A DARK DECADE IN GOVERNANCE BJP's Charge sheet on Congress led UPA INTRODUCTION

A buoyant India which enjoys both demographic and democratic dividend was at the cusp of emerging as a powerful economy when the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) went out of power in 2004. The state of the economy then was effectively captured in the Economic Survey 2004-'05 presented by Shri P Chidambaram, when it stated in the general review, "Buoyed by a rebound in the agriculture and allied sector, and strongly helped by improved performance in industry and services, the economy had registered a growth rate of 8.5 percent in 2003-'04, the highest ever except in 1975-76 and 1988-89." It is important to frame this achievement under Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the now well-known global context that prevailed then: the economic sanctions post Pokhran II, Kargil War, the East Asian crises, devastating earthquake in Gujarat, cyclone in Orissa, and the droughts of 2001 and 2002.

The Congress led UPA has been in government from then. Looking back today, the decade of 2004 - '14 shall be recorded as the decade of wasted opportunities. This decade also saw directionless and listless leadership. The blistering heat of a series of big ticket corruption steadily evaporated the will and commitment required to govern.

Every Indian's honour was hurt with the government's failure in guarding the boundaries when our sovereign territory was repeatedly violated. The government remained unmoved by the indignity shown to our dead/captured soldiers even as their mutilated bodies were handed over to their grieving families.

Decision-making, at the Ministerial level, has suffered. Former Chief Economic Advisor (1993-2001) in the rank of Secretary to the Government of India, Professor Shankar Acharya observes, "Fundamentally, the decade of the UPA government failed to undertake economic, social and administrative reforms to strengthen India's long-term development potential, despite the golden opportunity offered by the years of high growth and investment. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the overall economic legacy is bad, if not ugly." http://www.business standard.com/article /opinion/shankar-acharya-upa-s-economic-legacy-good-bad-or-ugly-114022501240\_1.html

Particularly under UPA-II, Cabinet hasn't functioned and has been taken over by GOMS, EGOMS and extra-Constitutional interference from NAC. Calling it as "Panel Overload" the Business World on 16 December 2013, reported: "A total of 30 Groups of Ministers and Empowered groups of Ministers were formed under UPA II to boost collective decision making and governance. As regards efficacy of these, the less said the better. Some ministers were members in several such groups ranging from 27 down to 6 GoMs.

Under UPA, the investment/GDP ratio has declined by 4%. There is capital flight from the country, by those who can afford to do so. Imports of what India is capable of producing and exporting have increased. This is not just about the corporate sector. It is also about the MSME sector. Without the growth, the employment won't happen and this shows up in the data. The investments aren't happening because of labour, land, forest/environment and high interest rates.



At the commencement of the II term of the UPA, a pious declaration was made to contain prices within 100 days. Further, despite repeated sense of the house resolutions in the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha, no tangible steps were taken to control sky rocketing prices of essential goods, particularly food stuff. In the second half of the decade, food inflation has remained closer to10%, thus adversely affecting every household's nutrition intake. For the first time in free India's history, the Supreme Court ordered Government of India to 'freely' distribute grains which were seen rotting in the FCI godowns.

For the first time again, the Supreme Court ordered the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) to file a written affidavit, unconvinced by the presentation of its law officers while hearing the 2G Spectrum allocation case.

It was the Supreme Court which instructed the government's top law officers to investigate and prosecute those accused in the Coal allocation scandal directly under its instruction rather than seeking government's guidance. Ministers and senior officials were caught red handed violating this instruction of the apex court resulting in a shameful resignation.

Untiringly as it talked about the GDP growth, the UPA government shut its eyes to the depleting jobs, rendering the youth of this country hopelessly on the streets. The incumbent government has long lost the trust of the people. It has not only repeatedly let them down but also miserably failed them.

The Global Attitudes project of the Pew Research Group (Feb 26, 2014) based on surveys held in Dec2013-Jan2014 revealed that "seven-in-ten Indians are dissatisfied with the way things are going in India today." http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/02/26/indians-want-political-change/

With this background, the BJP charges the Congress led UPA with specific omissions and commissions in governance.

The charges due to the **failure** to implement promises made in the manifesto or due to **failure** in efficient and timely functioning of the ministries have drained the economy of the advantages inherited from the buoyant period of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) rule.

Even as the elections 2014 were announced, the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh had said, "I have spoken less; let my work speak for me."

The Congress led UPA shall be bequeathing a legacy which nobody shall want- a legacy of corruption and undermining institutions. India is a vibrant and a proud democracy. Its ancient culture and its innate sense of accommodation build and strengthen institutions.

For perpetrating its dynastic politics, the Congress party unleashes fascist techniques to eliminate checks and balances in-built in our political set up. As a result several institutions such as the Comptroller & Auditor General of India (CAG), Public Accounts Committee (PAC), the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC), the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) are seriously affected.



Sources for framing the charges are:

- The Congress Manifesto 2009
- "Ten Years of Progress and Growth 2004-2014" released early 2014
- Comptroller & Auditor General's Reports
- Media reports
- Inputs from the general public 'Crowd Sourced' using short messaging services (SMS) emails, social media such as Facebook, Twitter etc.
- Views gathered through personal interactions in Guwahati wherein representatives from the 8 states of the north east submitted their memorandum. A similar exercise was also held in Mumbai.
- Domain experts with exposure to policy making in specialized areas



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### 1.0 COMPROMISING THE DIGNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER

- The office of the Prime Minister of India is the most important institution of the country. The Prime Minister is not only the head of the Government but is also the leader of the country. He must be the final authority and the buck must stop with him. To run an effective Government three essentials are important. The first is a kind of leadership which must be one to provide direction, must be capable of taking decisions and implement it. The second is the credibility of the Government. The third and very important is the aura of the authority of the Government.
- The kind of political structure which the Congress established was inherently flawed. With Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Prime Minister it was an arrangement where he functioned more like a CEO taking direction from the board headed by Smt. Sonia Gandhi with Rahul Gandhi as the deputy. Naturally he could never become the natural leader nor was the last word on policy. In the past also some leaders became Prime Minister who were not truly national leaders but they grew in office and enhanced its dignity. With Manmohan Singh it was only steep decline. Ministers did not work as a team, in many instances the ministers openly defied the Prime Minister and lack of authority seriously compromised functioning of the Government as well.
- This led to a situation where ministers became autonomous in the functioning their department. The Prime Minister has no control over them and there was culpable negligence and shocking indifference in a series of scam which became the defining feature of the Government. In not even a single case one comes across any decisive interventions by Dr. Manmohan Singh to contain graft and loot of public money. In many cases of scam his own role requires serious examinations for his wrong doings.
- It was a bizarre situation where Dr. Manmohan Singh was willing to compromise everything just to remain in office. Once Rahul Gandhi publically called an ordinance approved by his own Government as a nonsense which must be torn away. Yet Dr. Manmohan Singh shamefully swallowed this insult and chose not to resign. He could not even learn some lesson from the former foreign secretary Sh. Venketeshwaran who resigned immediately after being publically humiliated by the then Prime Minister Sh. Rajiv Gandhi in 1987.
- The entire creditability, integrity and dignity of the office of Prime Minister under Dr. Manmohan Singh stood seriously compromised and eroded. He presided over a Government which is rightly described as the most corrupt since independence. However, the way he mismanaged India's economy raises serious doubt of his abilities as a distinguished economist. Under his leadership India's image was seriously dented.
- In compromising the dignity of the office of Prime Minister Smt. Sonia Gandhi and Shri Rahul Gandhi have equally to share the blame. They wanted to enjoy the authority without any accountability. In many instances wrong doings and irregularity had their sanction and approval. They never exercised their vast yet unaccountable authority over the Government to control corruption and prevent loot of public money.







### 2.0 DESTRUCTION OF INDIAN ECONOMY:

Gross mismanagement of India's economy by the 10 years misrule of the Congress led UPA.

### 2.1 DESTROYING ALL ENGINES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

- The NDA Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee came to power in the year 1998 when India's growth rate was merely 4.3 %. With good leadership, sound policy initiative, good governance and inspiring performance, when the NDA demitted office in May 2004, it had left an extraordinary growth rate of 8.5% creating a very sound foundation of Indian economy where inflation was under control, there was growth with equity and good employment opportunity.
- NDA performance achieved under adverse circumstances: It was indeed exemplary because it was achieved under very difficult circumstances and unfavourable global atmosphere. There were international sanctions against India because of Pokhran-II nuclear explosion, Kargil War, the East-Asian crises, massive earth-quake in Gujarat, drought in 2001 & 2002 and cyclone in Orissa. Infact the UPA government in the economic survey 2004-05 published by the Ministry of Finance acknowledged it at page 1 itself as follows:

"Buoyed by a rebound in the agriculture and allied sector, and strongly helped by improved performance in industry and services, the economy has registered a growth rate of 8.5% in 2003-04, the highest ever except in 1975-76 and 1988-89."

It is indeed a tragedy that the Congress led UPA government has completely squandered the gains and brought the growth rate down to a deplorable less than 5% i.e. about 4.8%.

• UPA inherited an Economy in excellent health... and the UPA destroyed it: The Congress led UPA inherited the nation's economy in a very sound and pristine condition and the Congress led UPA completely squandered it away by systematically destroying all the engines required for good economic growth.

### The engines of growth are:

- 1. Low fiscal deficit as percentage of GDP
- 2. Low Current Account Deficit(CAD) as percentage of GDP
- 3. Low inflation
- 4. High savings rate
- 5. Low external borrowings as compared to foreign exchange reserves
- 6. Infrastructure

As the table shows below, the NDA improved each and every engine of the economy since the time it took over and handed over an economy in prime condition to the UPA. And what did the UPA do? It systematically destroyed each and every component of the economy !!! Whichever Government comes to power would have to grapple with this legacy which the UPA has given to the nation.



S.No.	Indictor	1997-98	2003-04	2012-13	2013-14
1	Growth rate of GDP	4.3%	8.5%	4.96%	4.6% (till Dec. 2013)
2	Industrial growth rate	4.01%	7.32%	2.1%	-2% (Manufacturing)
3	Gross Fiscal deficit as % of GDP	5.66%	4.34%	5.2% (5.7 % in 2011-12)	
4	Savings rate as % of GDP	24.1%	32.41% in 2004-05	30.2 %	
5	Current account deficit as % of GDP	-2%	+2.7% (surplus)	-4.8% (deficit)	
6	External debt (billion dollars)		\$ 112.7 billion	\$ 390 billion	
7	Short term external debt as % of GDP		3.9%	24.8%	

Fiscal deficit of 5.2 % of GDP in 2012-13 could be achieved only by cutting Rs. 90000 crores of Plan expenditure. In 2013-14 too Plan expenditure was slashed by Rs. 79790 crore in order to achieve a fiscal deficit of 4.6% of GDP. Plan expenditure contributes to growth of economy as it is spent on new projects and infrastructure. By slashing Plan expenditure by such huge amounts the UPA Government has compromised future growth.

### Source of S. No. 1,2,3,4 and 5 above:

- 1. Planning Commission Data book for Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission dated 18th Dec. 2013
- 2. Economic Survey 2004-05
- 3. Budget speech of Finance Minister for Financial year 2013-14 budget
- 4. CSO estimates of GDP for third quarter (Q3) of 2013-14

#### Source of S. No. 6 and 7 above:

1. RBI's Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy for 2012-13)

The UPA should actually say sorry to the nation for destroying these growth engines!



### 2.2 DECIMATING THE VALUE OF RUPEE:

A direct consequence of Current Account Deficit turning from surplus to deficit has been the falling value of Rupee. A falling Rupee resulted in making imports more expensive including all petroleum products which are almost entirely imported in our country. This in turn has fuelled inflation.

### Value of Rupee vis a vis Dollar over years

	1998-99	2003-04	29th August, 2013	March, 2014
Value of 1 \$ in Rupees	42	45.9	67.7	61

(Source: RBI Handbook of Statistics)

### 2.3 Utter failure to control inflation:

Inflation hurts the poorest the most by reducing their purchasing power year after year. By failing to control the Fiscal Deficit and Current Account Deficit (CAD), which led to share depreciation of the Rupee making imports more expensive, UPA lost all control over inflation of which the poor and middle classes bore the brunt.

The following table of CPI (Consumer Price Index) inflation over the years tells a story of its own:

Year	NDA	UPA
1999-2000	3.4	
2000-2001	3.7	
2001-2002	4.3	
2002-2003	4.1	
2003-2004	3.8	
2004-2005		3.9
2005-2006		4.2
2007-2008		6.8
2008-2009		9.1
2009-2010		13.0
2010-2011		9.5
2011-2012		9.0
2012-2013		8.0
Average	3.86	7.93



Average CPI inflation during NDA regime was 3.86 percent against an average of 7.93 in UPA regime

(Source : Planning Commission Data book for Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission dated 18th Dec. 2013)

Note:- In the year 2009 Dr. Manmohan Singh and Smt. Sonia Gandhi had publically promised to control inflation in 100 days, yet people sufferd continuously for five years.

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#### 2.4 FAILURE TO GENERATE EMPLOYMENT

With a total neglect of infrastructure and industry, it is no surprise that the UPA's record at job creation has been extremely poor. As per NSSO report, the number of jobs created between 1999-2000 and 2004-05 was 60.7 million as compared to only 15.44 million between 2004-05 and 2011-12.

The following table shows the stark difference in performance between NDA and UPA regimes.

	1999-2000 to 2004-05	2004-05 to 2011-12
Number of jobs created (in million)	60.7 (6.07 Cr)	15.44 (1.54 Cr)
Average number of jobs created per year (in million)	12.1 (1.21 Cr)	2.2 (22 Lakh)

**Note:** Therefore while during NDA regime the employment generation was more than 1.21 cr every year during UPA the same came down to 22 lakhs per year. NDA Prime Minister Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee had promised more than 1 cr jobs every year which was fulfilled. The Congress had promised more jobs in 100 days in 2009 but they failed miserably.

The failure of UPA is even more stark if we compare the performance in job creation in manufacturing and service sectors which are two of the most productive sectors of any economy. There has actually been loss of 72.3 lakh jobs in manufacturing sector between 2004-05 and 2009-10 confirming the fact how UPA destroyed the manufacturing sector of the economy.

	Absolute increase in employment (in lakh)  1999-2000 to 2004-05		
Manufacturing	117.2	-72.3	
Service	187.7 -04.8		

(Source: NSSO 61st, 66th and 68th Round Survey)



**Note:** Therefore in spite of massive employment increase during the NDA regime, the Congress led UPA because of its gross mismanagement killed employment opportunities and seriously destroyed the future of young population of India. Loss of job in the manufacturing and service sector is indeed shocking. From great growth during NDA it went into negative under the UPA.

### 2.5 MAKING A MESS OF INFRASTRUCTURE

Good infrastructure is the backbone of any economy. Main pillars of infrastructure of any economy are the roads, power, iron and steel industry, mining industry with coal as one of the main components and ports through which a country conducts its foreign trade. Years of neglect of infrastructure by UPA, policy paralysis, corruption in grant of approvals, scams impacting investment climate and delayed approvals and rent seeking in the Ministry of Environment has crippled crucial sectors of our infrastructure.

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### (a) Roads

The statistics below taken from Ministry of Surface transport tell a sad story of their own.

Year	National Highway Length KM	Addition KM	Duration Years	Annual Addition per year
1951	22193			
1997	34298	12105	46 years	263
2004	65569	31271	7 years	4,467
2012	76818	11249	8 years	1,406

In 46 years Congress added 12105 Km of National Highways while in seven years from 1997 to 2004 NDA added 31271 km of NH. NDA added 4467 Km of National Highways per year from 1997 to 2004 as compared to 1406 Km per year done by UPA from 2004 to 2012.

(Source: Basic Road Statistics from Ministry of Road Transport and Highways website http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp? lid=839 and http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp?lid=417)

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### (b) Power

The country has had to suffer from the Coal scam in a number of ways. Apart from loss of more than One lakh crore to public exchequer it has also meant erratic supply of coal to power plants leading to their poor performance. A comparison of Plant Load Factor (PLF), which is an estimation of capacity utilization of power plants clearly shows how the NDA regime compares with UPA.



### **Plant Load Factor of Power plants**

	1998-99	2004-05	2012-13
Plant load factor	64.6%	74.8%	69.9%

(Source : Central Electricity Authority's yearly reports at website www.cea.nic.in/reports/yearly\_report.html)

- KPMG report of November 2013 highlights the following dismal picture:
  - (i) At the end of 2011-12, there were power units of capacity around 33000 MW stranded due to lack of coal and natural gas supply making an investment of more than Rs. 100,000 crore unviable
  - (ii) At end of 2011-12, 78 power projects with planned capacity of 103000 MW were pending for environmental clearances!

(Source: KPMG Report "Recharging the Power sector" released in Nov. 2013)

- UPA II has done nothing to move India to self-sufficiency in power. India continues to have a peak power deficit of 13% at the end of the 11th Five Year Plan. This number was 12% at the end of 10th Five year Plan (2009). This means in relative terms of demand vs supply India has only hardly improved much in the last 10 years of UPA. Unimaginative policies have left the country only trying to catch up against a rising demand rather than using the abundant national resources in out stripping demand and make the country a power surplus nation.
- With poor governance and accountability standards repeated missing of generation targets has become the acceptable norm in UPA II. 54,000 MW capacities was added in the 11th Plan as of March 2012, against a revised capacity addition target of 62,000 MW which had been downgraded from the earlier target of 78,500 MW. This implies a performance standard of 70% even when there is national consensus on the urgency of this sole requirement to the national GDP. The Government speaks only of installed capacities which suffer due to lack of coal. Nearly 68% of India's energy needs are met by thermal power and this government due to its greed and corruption facilitated fly-by-night operators to make money at the cost of the exchequer and the people's energy needs.

Despite an ambitious program, transmission & distribution losseshave only been reduced by 3.3% over the 4-year period ending FY-2012. In relative terms this implies that T&D losses still account for 19% at the end of 2012 as against 22% in 2009. In absolute terms however the loss has actually increased from 184,000 GW to 195,000 GW.



### (c) Mining in complete mess due to scams and a draconian environment ministry:

Coal, Bauxite(used to produce Aluminium) and Steel are three resources which form the backbone of every economy. Statistics show clearly how UPA completely messed up this most important area of infrastructure.

#### (i) Coa

India's Coal reserves are 286 billion tonnes and are fourth largest in the world. They are sufficient to last 200 years. India's production was 557 million tonnes in 2012-13 and it imported 140 million tonnes of Coal! Can't we even mine our own requirements? The gap in production and requirement was only 23.57 million tonnes in 2003-04.

(Source: 1. Economic Survey 2012-13

1. Coal Ministry's website: www.coal.nic.in/cpdoc.htm

2. Source: Coal Ministry's Annual Report for 2004-05)

### (ii) Bauxite(Used to produce Aluminium)

India has fifth largest bauxite reserves in the world at 3.5 billion tonnes. Our production has actually fallen from 22.6 million tonnes in 2006-07 to 12.8 million tonnes in 2011-12!

(Source: Indian Bureau of Mines)

### (iii) Steel

Steel production is the backbone for any economy. India produces 73.4 million tonnes of steel against China's 716 million in 2012. India's Iron ore deposits are seventh largest in the world at 28.5 billion tonnes. Instead of using our reserves to produce steel, we are importing steel in even bigger quantities.

- India exported 18.37 million tonnes of Iron ore in 2012-13.
- Once a surplus producer of steel, we have become net importer of steel! And exporter of iron ore! We have thus gone back to colonial days when we exported raw materials and imported finished products!!

### Table: Trade Surplus / Deficit of Steel in India in the period 2003-03 and 201-12 (Million Tonnes)

	2003-04	2011-12
Import	1.75	6.83
Export	5.21	4.04
Surplus/Deficit	+3.45	-2.79



### (Source: Annual Report of Steel Ministry for 2004-05 and 2012-13)

The sad part does not stop here. At the same time we are stopping people who want to produce steel from doing so. No wonder major investors have recently announced calling off their plans to set up mega steel plants in various parts of the country.

### (d) Ports

90 % of India's exports are transported through ships. An important parameter of Port productivity is Average turnaround time for ships which is basically an indicator of how long a ship takes to load or unload cargo and become free to sail. It is an important parameter as it reduces cost of imports and exports and increases our competitiveness.

### Average turnaround time at our ports in days

Year	Turnaround time in days
1996-97	7.8
2004-05	3.41
2011-12	5.05

(Source: Economic Survey for 1997-98, 2005-06 and 2012-13)

The UPA could not even sustain the gains in efficiency achieved by NDA!

Failure to leverage our Shipping capabilities due to clogged Ports

- Despite one of the largest coast lines and at the cross centre of major shipping routes India has failed to convert itself into a logistical base for sea based trade. Not a single port in India is globally competitive. The busiest port in India i.e. JNPT in 2011 handled container traffic of merely 13% of what Shanghai did was only ranked the 30th busiest port in the world.
- Cargo traffic handled by major ports was 560 MT[14] in the year 201112 against a
  projected target of 708 MT. This implies a performance standard of 80% even by
  the modest and globally uncompetitive targets of the Govt of India. One Chinese
  port Ningo-Zhoushan handled traffic of 690MT which was greater than the entire
  traffic handled by India as a whole.
- Inadequate berths and rail road connectivity still plague Indian ports. The average vessel turnaround time for Indian ports in 2012 is 4 days as compared to 15 to 35 hours in major international ports (Hong Kong: 10 hours). In 2006 Indian turnaround was on an average 5-6 days thereby again showing very little relative performance improvement in the last 6 years.



Against a capacity creation target of 1,000 MTduring the 11th Five Year Plan only 690 MT was added by India. China, on the other hand, has developed 26 ports each with a capacity greater than 100 MT. This demonstrates not only the Govt's lack of a vision but also lackadaisical implementation in total oblivion of the requirements of national strategic importance.

**Note:** The Congress led UPA therefore destroyed every engines of economy in the last ten years which was given to them under very robust condition by the NDA. All these happened because of policy paralysis, ineffective leadership, rank corruption and remote control of the entire Government by the Congress President and Vice President.

**Note:** A concise summary of the above has been put in a form of presentation in the Annexure.







# 3.0 AN ENDLESS SAGA OF SCAM AND CORRUPTION CONGRESS LED UPA THE MOST CORRUPT GOVERNMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE MAJOR SCAMS OF UPA GOVERNMENT

2G Spectrum Scam	1,76,000 Crores
Coal Scam	1,86,000 Crores
CWG Scam	70,000 Crores
IGI Airport land grant Scam	50,000 Crores
Air India Scam	25,000 - 30, 000 Crores
Rotten Food Scam	58,000 Crores
Hasan Ali Money Laundering Scam	54,000 Crores
ISRO-Devas Scam	2,00,000 Crores
Defense Land Scam	10,000 Crores
LIC Housing Loan Scam	10,000 Crores

Source: Different media and CAG reports. Figures approximate

People will be surprised to know the number of scams and the amount of money swindled as part of published scams. Beyond the large number of scams, the congress still likes to call itself as a party which is pro poor and development oriented. Here are the list of scams occurred during the UPA Government tenure starts from 2004 till date.

#### Cash-for-vote scam

Cash-for-votes scandal is a scandal in which the UPA, allegedly bribed BJP MPs in order to survive a confidence vote on 22 July 2008. The vote in the Lok Sabha arose after the Left Front withdrew support from the government, who wanted to create pursue on nuclear deal.

The cash-for-vote incident showed the anxious lowest point to which congress bent to ensure victory on the floor of the House, and these exposures represent both a gross moral collapse and ridiculous political opportunism of the government and had ruined and shamed our untouchable traditions of parliamentary democracy. Even the Court was constrained to observe that those MPs who were infact whistle blowers were prosecuted and the real culprits were left out.

#### 2G spectrum scam

2G spectrum scam was a scam involving politicians and government officials in India dishonestly less charging to mobile companies for frequency allocation licenses, which they would use to create 2G spectrum subscriptions for mobile phones. The deficit between the money collected and the money to be collected is

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estimated to be Rs.1766.45 billion as valued by the CAG of India based on 3G and BWA spectrum auction prices in 2010. However, the exact loss is disputed. KapilSibal, the Minister of Communications & IT, claimed in 2011, during a press conference, that "zero loss" was caused by distributing 2G licenses.

All the speculations of profit, loss and no-loss were put to rest on 2 February 2012 when the Supreme Court of India delivered judgment on a public interest litigation (PIL) which was directly related to the 2G spectrum scam. The Supreme Court declared allotment of spectrum as "unconstitutional and arbitrary" and quashed all the 122 licenses issued in 2008 during tenure of A. Raja and accused in the 2G scam case. The court further said that A. Raja "wanted to favour some companies at the cost of the public exchequer" and "virtually gifted away important national asset. The "zero loss theory" was further demolished on 3 August 2012 when as per the directions of the Supreme Court, Government of India revised the base price for 5 MHz 2G spectrum auction to 140 billion, which roughly gives the value of spectrum to be around28 billion per MHz that is close to the CAG's estimate of 33.5 billion per MHz.

Dr. Manmohan Singh cannot escape his own accountability and culpability because he chose to remain silent and looked the other way in spite of knowing about massive irregularities as it evident from series of correspondence between him and then Tele Communication minister. Mr. A. Raja on the other hand has publically claimed that he did everything with the approval of the Prime Minister. It is indeed surprising that the CBI did not examining the role of the Prime Minister or any officer of the PMO.

#### Swiss Black Money Scam

According to reports 22.5 lakhs crores rupees of India are lying in Switzerland banks. This is the highest amount lying outside any country, from amongst 180 countries of the world. India is the champion of Black Money. USA, Germany, France several countries entered agreements with Swiss Govt. to recover money / information from Swiss Bank. Congress-UPA Government avoiding / delaying such action. America & other countries started recovering money from Swiss Banks of their citizens. The Supreme Court has observed that the government should not presume that the money hidden in Switzerland was from the evasion of tax.

The Congress led UPA government never showed any serious intent to bring black money stashed in foreign country because it may suffer embarrassment. Hasan Ali Khan, a businessman charged with money laundering, has reportedly \$8 billion of unaccounted money stashed in Swiss bank accounts. The opposition accused PM of being part of a 'conspiracy of silence' in the matter.

### **BLACK MONEY**

Holding a press conference exclusively to address the issue of black money, the then finance minister had said that he shall form committees to study the issue and



evolve strategies to get them back from different tax havens including formulation of a five-pronged strategy to combat the menace of illicit funds generated both as a result of tax evasion and corruption." However the Congress led Government did not do anything worthwhile. Even during campaign for elections to the Lok Sabha in 2009, Shri L K Advani had raised the issue and a BJP Task Force had assessed the extent of black money abroad to "between \$ 500 billion and \$1,400 billion, a recent study by Global Financial Integrity put the current value of illicit money outflow to be \$ 462 billion." This was in January 2011. Till date the government has not taken any decisive initiative further except writing token letters. Even smaller countries such as Vietnam and South Korea have taken firm steps and recovered their wealth. India's inaction is notwithstanding the Supreme Court's direction to the government on a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) by eminent citizens.

### Hydro Power Project Scam

In the beginning of 21st Century, North East Arunachal was identified as "Future Power House of India". The concept was evolved under the leadership of Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee to use the natural resources, i.e. rivers of North East for the benefit of North East and the country.

- Central Electricity Authority conducted preliminary study in 2001
- In the Brahmaputra basin, identified 168 projects with installed capacity of 63,328 MW
- $^{\circ}$  Project was introduced at the "North East Business Summit" in Mumbai in July 2002
- Govt. at that time with the help of experts and authorities conceived an idea to use natural resources in balanced and healthy manner so that benefits of development are made available both to the people of North East Arunachal and the country as a whole. The then Prime Minister, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee visualized the potential of the North East and presented it to the country.

In 2004, Congress came into power. Congress Govt. corrupted an healthy concept. 137 MOU/MOA's signed in 2 years. Projects awarded to dubious companies. Newly formed companies with NIL experience/finance were given projects costing multiple hundreds of crores. Thousands of crores looted thru system manipulation.

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### Adarsh Housing Society

The Adarsh Housing Society is a cooperative society in Mumbai. The origins of the scam go back to February 2002 when a request was made to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to allot land in the heart of Mumbai for the construction of a housing complex for "the welfare of serving and retired personnel of the Defence Services". Over a period of time, top politicians, bureaucrats and military



officers proceeded to bend several rules and commit various acts of omission and commission in order to have the building constructed and then get themselves allotted flats in this premier property at synthetically lowered prices. In 2011, a report of the (CAG) said, "The episode of Adarsh Cooperative Housing Society reveals how a group of select officials, placed in key posts, could subvert rules and regulations in order to grab prime government land - a public property for personal benefit. In 2013, the report of a Judicial commission appointed by the Government of Maharashtra indicted 4 former chief ministers: Ashok Chavan, VilasraoDeshmukh, SushilkumarShinde and ShivajiraoNilangekarPatil, 2 former urban development ministers: Rajesh Tope and Sunil Tatkare and 12 top bureaucrats for various illegal acts. The Scam led to the resignation of Ashok Chavan as Maharashtra chief minister.

### • ISRO's commercial arm Antrix Corp and Devas Multimedia

The alleged scam is related to a deal between ISRO's commercial arm Antrix Corp and Devas Multimedia. ISRO is accused of allocating to Devas 70 Megahertz of scarce S-band spectrum for a 20-year period. The CAG was alerted because unlike in earlier contracts, ISRO placed no restrictions on Devas Multimedia for onward leasing of spectrum, which means the company could make huge amounts of money by sub-leasing its privileges.

CAG suspects a scandal in the allocation of S-band spectrum and is reportedly investigating losses worth Rs 2 lakh crore in the scam.

The loss due to this deal between ISRO and Devas Multimedia has been estimated to be about Rs 2 lakh crore. Deal includes custom made two-communication satellites (GSat-6 and GSat-6A) and 10 transponders will be used for commercial purposes. Department of Space comes directly under the Prime Minister. This is just not loss of revenue to the Government of India exchequer; this is a rare spectrum, that's a national asset.

Even Rs 1.76 lakh crore 2G spectrum scam and Rs 1.85 lakh crore scam looks small compared to S-band scam. Because of massive protest in the country, the government was forced to cancel the deal.

#### Commonwealth Games scam

The Commonwealth Games was severely criticized by several prominent Indian politicians and social activists because billions of dollars have been spent on the sporting event despite the fact that India has one of the world's largest concentrations of poor people. Additionally, several other problems related to the 2010 Commonwealth Games have been highlighted by Indian investigative agencies and media outlets; these include serious corruption by officials of the Games' Organizing Committee, delays in the construction of main Games' venues, infrastructural compromise, possibility of a terrorist attack, and exceptionally poor ticket sales before the event.



### Helicopter Bribery Scandal

Several Indian politicians and military officials have been accused of accepting bribes from Agusta Westland in order to win the Indian contract for the supply of 12 Agusta Westland AW101 helicopters; these helicopters are intended to perform VVIP duties and other important state officials. During investigation in Italy in this scam strong evidence has come before the Court there about alleged involvement of the top leadership of Congress party in this scam.

On 25 March 2013, India's Defence Minister A.K. Antony confirmed corruption allegations by stating: "Yes, corruption has taken place in the helicopter deal and bribes have been taken. The CBI is pursuing the case very vigorously"

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#### Railway Bribery Scam

Indian Railway Minister Pawan Kumar Bansal's nephew, Vijay Singla, was arrested in Chandigarh on 3 May 2013 by sleuths of India's Central Bureau of Investigation for allegedly accepting a bribe of 90 lakh rupees from Narayana Rao Manjunath and Sandeep Goyal on behalf of Mahesh Kumar, a member of the Indian Railway Board, in exchange for getting a higher ranking position on the Railway Board. It was reported that Kumar had superseded two seniors to be promoted to the Indian Railway Board, although this was denied by the railway ministry, but wanted to be another member who dealt with more contracts.

The minister allegedly involved in the scam was made to resign from his post on 10 May 2013. It is curious that the CBI did not choose to make the then Railway minister, Pawan Bansal as an accused inspite of his very close relation and personal staff being directly involved.

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#### Coal allocation scam or Coalgate

Coalgate is a political scandal concerning the Indian government's allocation of the nation's coal deposits to public sector entities (PSEs) and private companies by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The CAG Final Report tabled in Parliament put the figure at 185591 crore On 27 August 2012 and the essence of the CAG's argument is that the Government had the authority to allocate coal blocks by a process of competitive bidding, but chose not to.As a result both public sector enterprises (PSEs) and private firms paid less than they might have otherwise.

While the initial CAG report suggested that coal blocks could have been allocated more efficiently, resulting in more revenue to the government. The question of corruption has come to dominate the discussion. In response to a complaint by the BJP, the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) directed the CBI to investigate the matter.



The CBI has named a dozen Indian firms in a First Information Report (FIR), the first step in a criminal investigation. These FIRs accuse them of overstating their net worth, failing to disclose prior coal allocations, and hoarding rather than developing coal allocations. The CBI officials investigating the case have suspected that bribery may be involved. Large number of ineligible firms were granted coal blocks in violation of norms.

Note: This scam happened when for most of the period Dr. Manmohan Singh held the charge of the Coal Ministry, yet his role is yet to be examined.

On April 26, 2013 the CBI director Ranjit Sinha submitted an affidavit in the Supreme Court stating that the coal scam status report prepared by the investigating agency was shared with the law minister Ashwani Kumar "as desired by him", joint secretary-level officers from the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the coal ministry before presenting it to the court on March 8, 2013 It contradicts the claim made by CBI counsel in SC that the coal scam report was not shared with any member of the government. On April 29, 2013 CBI stated to SC that 20% if its original report was changed by Government.

Then Additional Solicitor-General Haren Raval resigned for having misled the Supreme Court.

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#### LIC Housing Loan Scam

Officers of top management and middle management of various public sector banks and financial institutions were receiving bribes from private financial services company who were acting as mediators and facilitators for corporate loans and other facilities from financial institutions. Thousands crores loans were disbursed in scandalous manners.

CBI alleged that the officers of various public sector banks and financial institutions received kickback from the private financial services company, which acted as a mediator for business loans. The bank executives sanctioned large-scale corporate loans to realty developers, overriding obligatory conditions for such approvals along with other irregularity.

### Air India Scam

Both Air India and Indian Airlines were profitable in 2003-04. Thanks to criminal mismanagement by the UPA Government which included saddling the national carrier with purchase of Rs. 50,000 crore of planes which it did not need, stopping of operations on profitable routes or giving them away to private carriers, removing officers who objected to such acts by Government taken against the interest of the airline, today in financial year 2012-13 Air India has made losses of Rs. 3159 crores. The Congress led UPA Government is squarely



to blame for these losses running into thousands of crores which would eventually be borne by the taxpayer. The arbitrary purchase of planes in such huge number inspite of objection has caused an uncalled for financial stress to the public revenue. This whole scam is approximately 25000-30000 Crore.

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### Rotten Food Grain Scam

Rs. 58,000 Crores Food Grain rot and go waste every year. Govt. cites lack of adequate space as reason but does not construct any. Supreme Court ordered distributing food free to poor people. The Rotten food grain was sold @62 paise/kg. to liquor mafias.

In a country where millions go hungry every day and where food prices are breaking the back of the common man, a bumper harvest is rotting in godowns.

### Rising Prices Inflation/Mehengai Scam

Food prices have erupted all over the country, for more than 24 months. It has been double-digit inflation, for three successive years. This price rise and inflation is attributed to the wrong policies, decisions and the corrupt administration of the UPA Government. The poor man does not get his food while farmers commit suicide.

#### KG Basin oil scam

Comptroller and Auditor General has found serious irregularity in the revision of gas pricing in K G Basin and other private oil fields. The role of some oil minister of the Congress Government has come for serious scrutiny. The Standing Committee of Finance headed by Sh. Yashwant Sinha of the BJP has recommended for the review of the entire decision keeping consumer interest in mind.

### Rice Export Scam

The UPA Government has admitted to grave lapses in the Export of Non-Basmati Rice and that public sector units (PSUs) did not follow a transparent procedure for non- basmati rice exports. Good quality Basmati Rice was exported in the name of normal rice. Rice exported to backward African nations and in turn backward African nations diverted to Europe and sold at higher prices. Hundreds of Crores worth scam unearthed. Govt. admitted to lapses and asked CVC/CAG to investigate dubious firms involved was black listed.

#### Robert Vadra Land Scam

The Land scam of Robert Vadra is a textbook case of crony capitalism where because of his very high connection big chunk of land in Haryana and Rajasthan where



purchased at a throw away price under dubious circumstances and thereafter with great speed land use was changed and in some cases lands were resold at a very high premium to builders where Mr. Vadra made wind fall gains in a very short time. In his undue enrichment in a very short time, the state government of Haryana and Rajasthan gave all official support. In this process some honest officials were also victimized who sought to take a strong case against these irregular transactions.

### • Land Scam in the implementation of Public Private partnership of the Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi

The CAG in its Report No. - 5 of 2012-13 - Performance Audit of Implementation of Public Private Partnership Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi (Ministry of Civil Aviation), has pointed out huge irregularities in granting of this Concession for development of IGI Airport, New Delhi under PPP. The CAG has pointed out how a private developer, with an equity contribution of only 1813 crore, got a brownfield airport for sixty years and in addition, commercial rights of land valued at Rs. 24000 crore with a potential earning capacity, according to it's own estimates, of Rs.163557 crore specially when the Project cost was only Rs. 12,857 crores. The whole transaction involves a scam of approximately 50,000 crores on a conservative estimate.

### Defence Land Scam

Large area of Defence lands in different parts of the country have been transferred to builders and released for commercial purposes in a completely non-transparent way and with massive irregularities. The matter has been in public domain and serious questions were raised in the Parliament too. Under pressure the Government ordered inquiry in some cases however, the entire scam is deep rooted and the government showed gross indifference. This land scam involves is worth Rs. 10,000 Crores approximately even on a conservative estimate.

#### Irregularity in the Loan waiver Scheme:

The CAG in his report has found large scale irregularity in the much touted loan waiver scheme which was intended to benefit poor farmers. It was found that thousand of ineligible persons were given the benefit of waiver in violation of norms resulting in loss of huge amount of public money.

The above lists of scam are only illustrative. In fact even now reports of irregularity keep on appearing with alarming regularity. The Congress led UPA Government has been rightly describe as most corrupt Government since independence.







### 4.0 SERIOUS CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL SECURITY

- 4.1 External threat: The government has failed to adopt an effective policy or enhance capacities of the Armed Forces to adequately meet the threat arising from China's belligerent posture along the Indo-Tibet border.
- Ever since its occupation of Tibet in 1950, the People's Republic of China has developed massive military infrastructure along the Indo-Tibet border. Since 2005, there has been a substantial ramping up of Chinese military infrastructure in Tibet and paved roads have been extended right up to the Line of Actual Control (LAC) with India. China's military modernization and infrastructure development in Tibet which received a major boost in 2008 with the operationalization of the Gormu-Lhasa railway line compounds the military threat to India from across the Northern borders in case Chinese intentions become less benign. Enjoying a relative edge in infrastructure and military hardware, Chinese troops have become more aggressive and have carried out repeated incursions into Indian Territory. In the past two years alone, more than 500 incidents of border violations by Chinese troops have been reported. The UPA government failed to correctly assess the military implications of these developments and take steps to shore up India's defences which are reflected in the following:-
- It failed to expedite infrastructure development work on our side of the Indo-Tibet border. Of the 503 stretches of border roads planned to be completed by the year 2022, only 17 have been completed so far and work is currently underway on just 50 stretches. On June 29, 2006, the CCS had directed the Border Roads Organisation to complete construction of 73 border roads along the Indo-Tibet border by 2012. Of the total length of 3,505 km only 527 km or 15 % of the sanctioned roads were constructed up to March 31, 2013. The government has failed to prioritize and supervise the development of military and civilian infrastructure in states which share a land boundary with Tibet and fast-tracking procedures related to land acquisition, speedy grant of environmental clearances etc which has led to monumental delays in infrastructure development projects.

The government was found wanting in correctly assessing the gravity of the threat and dithered over according sanction for setting up a Mountain Strike Corps for the Northern Borders. The government's nonchalant attitude and lack of strategic vision was further reflected in the Finance Ministry's red-flagging of the proposal in 2011 questioning whether India and China will ever go to war. It took the UPA government eight years to wake up to the Chinese threat and sanction letter for the strike corps was issued only in November 2013.

 Constantly seeking to underplay repeated border violations by Chinese troops and misleading the nation by projecting them as occurring only due to differing



- perceptions of the LAC. The government has also not disclosed what progress it has made on boundary negotiations with China or on delineating the LAC.
- Dual control of an unresolved border by both the Ministries of Defence and Home Affairs is leading to ambiguities in border management and effective control over the LAC. Additionally, prohibiting freedom of action by Indian Army and some provisions of the Border Defence Cooperation Agreement (BDCA) signed by the Prime Ministers of India and China at Beijing on October 23, 2013 impose unnecessary restrictions on Indian troops to squarely tackle Chinese intrusions.
- The government has seriously endangered India's water security by failing to take timely action on Chinese intentions of damming the Brahmaputra River in Tibet for the purpose of storage and possibly at a later stage, diversion of waters. Being a lower riparian state, India should have expressed its concerns more vigorously at the bi-lateral level with China or at multilateral forums.
- In recent years, there has been heightened collusion between China and Pakistan in the nuclear, military and economic fields. This collusion strengthens Pakistan's capacities to carry out anti-India activities. The government has failed to strongly take up with Pakistan or China the issue of presence of Chinese troops in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) an area of J&K which is under illegal occupation of Pakistan. Development of transport corridor and other infrastructure in this region would facilitate China's connectivity to the warm waters of the Arabian Sea through Gwadar sea port. The absence of a robust response by India to Chinese interference in an area which is disputed between India and Pakistan has undermined India's security concerns and strengthened China's ability to encircle India. China has also been coming to Pakistan's rescue in international forums such as the UN General Assembly by bailing it out on resolutions related to terrorism. India's diplomacy has failed in countering diplomatic manoeuvres by China and Pakistan and bringing about effective international pressure on Pakistan on the issue of state sponsorship of terrorism or on issues of nuclear proliferation. In January 2004, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee made Pakistan sign a historical accord whereby it agreed not to allow its territory to be misused for perpetrating terror against India.
- A meek response by the government has encouraged China to expand the number of disputed pockets along the LAC and step up violations in areas which are not mutually recognized as disputed by both sides. In 2008, it even claimed a portion of territory in Sikkim to be disputed even though in 2003 it had agreed to officially recognize Sikkim as part of India. China's growing mischief and bellicosity on the border issue is reflected by advancing its earlier claim over Tawang to the entire state of Arunachal Pradesh, consequently projecting the boundary dispute as a territorial one, not recognizing the LAC in Ladakh region of J&K and issuance of stapled visas to citizens of Arunachal Pradesh and J&K.



It is indeed ironical that despite growing economic relations (which is however still lop-sided in China's favour) on one hand and several visits by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to China in the last 10 years, India has failed to seek favourable recognition by China on these issues in consistence with India's positions. The numerous CBMs and Border Defence Agreements of 2005, 2012 and 2013 have failed to bring down the number of border violations by Chinese troops. The government continues to remain in a denial mode and is compromising India's territorial integrity. Slow progress in infrastructure development is also inhibiting efforts at National integration by sowing doubts in the minds of people residing in the border areas over India's ability to protect them against Chinese intrusions and provide for their economic well-being.

### 4.2 Internal Security:

The internal security environment is deteriorating. The rising graph of crime in cities and violence against women has caused tremendous insecurity among people from going about their day to day activities.

- There has also been a perceptible increase in incidents of communal violence across the country. In 2012, 93 people lost their lives and 2,067 were injured in over 640 such incidents. In 2013, 107 were killed and 1,647 injured in 479 incidents till August
- Slow progress made in the implementation of police reforms has aggravated difficulties of policing in India. In spite of a Supreme Court order and its own promises, the government has failed to separate police administration from police control. Political manipulation of police and civil service officers have prevented them from taking effective action against rioters, criminals and organized mafias who enjoy political patronage. Political interferences in the Durga Shakti Nagpal case or directing police officers to refrain from taking action against persons accused of heinous crimes in Uttar Pradesh, which ultimately led to the communal conflagration in the state in August 2013 are only a few recent instances of this trend.
- Inability to expedite the pace of police modernization and training is yet another failure on part of the government. 12,000 police stations in the country are still functioning under archaic operating systems and with inadequate facilities. Efforts to fill deficiencies at the rank of constables and improving the quality of policing have also have been dismal.
- Over 72 lakh criminal cases are pending in courts across the country. People's faith on the effectiveness of the criminal justice system acts as a deterrent against criminals. The government should have more actively engaged with the Judiciary to apprise them of the need to expedite the process of justice delivery especially in acts of heinous crimes, and provide them with the necessary infrastructure to set up more fast-track courts to dispense justice.



- Narrow considerations of vote bank politics, appeasement of minorities and instilling a feeling of victimhood on them, condoning acts of violence and heinous crimes by few individuals in order to appease a particular community, doling out freebies and job quotas on communal lines are factors which are dividing the society and vitiating communal harmony in the country. The government's decision to permit certain rallies where anti-India rhetoric or hate speeches directed against a particular community were made led to mobilization of people on communal lines, leading to violence. Some examples are the hate speech by a Member of Parliament in Maharashtra in November 2012, led to vandalism at Azad Maidan, Mumbai in August 2012 and a huge rally in Kolkata in March 2013 in support of a cleric-war-accused of committing war crimes in Bangladesh.
- The government has failed miserably to check the flow of illegal immigrants to India. This, despite the Supreme Court declaring it as a war against India. Due to considerations of vote bank politics, the government has been ignorant in preventing illegal migrants from possessing voter ID cards and taking up residences across the country. Estimates made by the Intelligence Bureau in 2003 show that there are nearly 1.6 crore illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India. It is believed that in the past decade this figure has almost doubled with Assam and West Bengal having the largest concentration of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. In Assam, illegal immigrants have become the majority population in 11 out of the state's 27 districts. The government has been reluctant to deport illegal immigrants even after the Supreme Court struck the Illegal Migrants Determination Act (IMDT) in 2005. Illegal immigration from Bangladesh is a major internal security concern and terrorist groups also find a ready base for furthering their activities.
- Political patronage to mafia and criminal organizations, interference in day to day policing and long drawn processes of the criminal justice system have emboldened criminals and encouraged more crime. The general atmosphere of lawlessness prevailing in the country has vitiated the atmosphere of peace in the country. It is the duty of the government to provide a secure environment for the people to carry out activities that not only sustain their livelihood but also furthers economic progress of the nation.
- Despite drastic decline in levels of violence in both North East and in J&K largely due to the efforts of security forces, the government failed to build upon their success and transfer peace dividends to the people.
  - In the North-Eastern states, the government has been tardy in its efforts to disrupt extortion activities of insurgents and expanding economic opportunities for the people. Despite early signs of trouble, it failed to take necessary steps to prevent clashes between two ethnic communities in lower Assam districts in July 2012 which led to the killing of nearly 100 people and rendered thousand others homeless. The cycle of violence had a chain reaction in parts of southern India



leading to intimidation of people from the North East working in those states. The government also failed to detect the foreign angle in inciting violence as a large number of hate messages and propaganda videos that led to exodus of people were being circulated from the Gulf countries.

- In J&K, the cycle of violence and stone-pelting incidents from 2008-10 left more than 150 persons dead and thousand others injured. Close to 3,000 police and CRPF personnel suffered injuries in these incidents. The constant protests and shutdowns led to widespread destruction of public property, loss of working days and economic activities leading to financial losses for the people. These incidents have also widened the divide between different regions of J&K. The Centre failed to press the state government in J&K despite being in alliance with them for devolving genuine powers to Panchayati Raj institutions in the state. Inability to create sustainable opportunities of employment for the people is a major failure on part of both the state and central governments and is deepening the feeling of alienation among the state's population towards India. The Central government's skill development and employment generation schemes have failed to bring down the number of unemployed youth in J&K which has peaked to over 6 lakhs. The Centre also failed to prevent anti-India forces from spreading disinformation campaigns and malign the image of security forces. Permitting separatist leaders to travel to Pakistan and allowing them to engage with visiting Pakistani officials in New Delhi has provided an impetus to anti-India forces from across the border to carry forward their destabilizing activities in the state.
- In October 2004, the Prime Minister had described left Wing Extremism (LWE) as the single biggest security threat to the country. But the government's response has not been commensurate with the gravity and magnitude of the threat. LWE has claimed more lives of civilians and security forces in the past decade than the total fatalities in J&K and North East. Since 2005, more than 6,000 civilians and security force personnel have been killed in LWE attacks. Nearly 170 districts in India's heartland are affected to some degree by LWE. In the 33 worst affected districts there are some pockets where the extremists have carved out 'liberated zones' and established a system of parallel governance where they deliver justice and adjudicate over civil disputes of the people by holding 'Jan Adalats'. The government has failed to stem the rising tide of Maoist violence/LWE by its inability to: -
  - Ensure protection of rights of the tribal population and their empowerment by implementing the Forest Rights Act of 1976 and PESA (1996) in full spirit.
  - Extend infrastructure development to every nook and corner of LWE affected areas. The strategy of providing development before adequately addressing security in these areas did not have the desired results as development



money were siphoned off by the extremists resulting in huge losses to the state exchequer. No development is possible without providing a semblance of security to the people.

- Evolve a holistic and joint strategy to tackle LWE. The problem cannot be tackled merely by dispatching Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) to the affected states. Given the geographical spread of the problem, the Centre failed in evolving a Unified operational strategy to effectively interdict the mobility of the extremists. The fight against Maoist suffered because even if the Home Minister proposed firm action, the National Advisory Council (NAC) headed by Smt Sonia Gandhi became a parking slot for the over-ground faces of the underground Maoists. Smt Sonia Gandhi also wrote in the Congress mouth piece, Sandesh about how this issue had to be seen in such perspective speaking in the language of the pseudo intellectuals. LWE has inter-state ramifications and individual states lack the capacities and expertise to tackle the problem on their own.
- Formulate an effective operational strategy which could disrupt the momentum of the extremists. By adopting a defensive approach not much attrition has been caused on the extremists allowing them to hold sway over large swathes of India's heartland. The government had a long period of 10 years to re-orient the training, equipment, and tactical profile of the CAPFs and specialised police forces engaged in combating LWE. But it continues to adopt a reactive approach aimed more at managing the situation rather than finding lasting solutions. Resultantly, extremists have been able to calibrate their strategy by choosing to attack when they so desire and inflict heavy casualties on security forces. Declining number of LWE related incidents is a deceptive indicator of measuring success as the extremists do not need to cause attrition among civilians in areas where their writ is running successfully and would not like to attract more security forces in those pockets by provoking violence.
- By slowly creeping into urban areas, the left extremists ultimately endeavour to overthrow the democratic system of India betraying their anti-national traits and sinister agenda. The government should have adopted a comprehensive approach to tackle the problem which encompasses a sizeable chunk of India's hinterland and has the potential to weaken the fabric of India's democracy in the long run.
- Failing to counter Jihadi terrorism: Since 2005 more than 1,000 people have died and over 3,000 injured in at least 25 major terror attacks outside J&K and the North East. These attacks were either directly perpetuated by the LeT and the Indian Mujahideen (IM) or were jointly executed by these two terror outfits. Despite neutralization of some cadres and important leaders, several independent cells of IM (whose leadership is based in Pakistan) and LeT exist in the country and Pakistan retains the capability to launch more cells and execute attacks on India. This is due to the fact that the terror infrastructure remains intact in Pakistan and Jihadists continue to enjoy some amount of local support and patronage in few pockets across India.



- Vote bank politics has seriously compromised the fight against terror. Its most pernicious form was evident when the Government of Bihar did not take any meaningful preventive steps against the Jihadi sponsored terrorist attack in the "Hunkar Rally" at Patna addressed by Sh. Narendra Modi in October, 2013. We salute the people of Bihar who maintained calm in spite of loss of so many lives. When Congress leaders speak in favour of terrorist in the Batla House incident where a brave Delhi police was killed then the fight against terror gets compromised.
- The government has been unable to evolve political consensus in the country for the establishment of a Centralized body such as the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) to collectively combat terror. State governments lack the desired intelligence capacities and resources to detect and derail terror plots as Jihadist terrorism is multi-layered and has global linkages which is beyond the capabilities of individual state governments to monitor. Though the government did set up a National Investigation Agency and came up with the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, these are merely reactive measures which have very little value in preventing terror attacks. The NATGRID project to streamline sharing of intelligence inputs and maintaining a centralized database on terror groups has also not made much progress. Although there is no second opinion in matters relating to handling of terror, the UPA government failed to adequately consult the states.
- The purpose of the Multi-purpose National Identity Card (MNIC) project initiated by the NDA government was to develop a national database which would have made it easier to identify non-Indian citizens and help fight terror effectively. But the UPA government diluted the main thrust and essence of the project by launching two parallel projects for a National Identity Card run by the Home Ministry and Unique Identification (UID) or Aadhaar scheme whose purpose was modified to mainly enhance delivery of the government's social welfare schemes. Two projects which in the beginning had almost similar objectives led to conflict of interests and tussle over financial resources resulting in time-delays and cost overruns. Its main purpose of providing identity to each citizen of the country has also been eroded and despite a capital expenditure exceeding Rs 7,000 crores, the Aadhaar project has not been able to enroll even half of India's population till November 2013. Its deadline has now been extended to 2017. The Supreme Court in its order dated September 23, 2013 declared that possessing aAadhaar card is not mandatory casting more doubts on the future and utility of the project. The Apex court also directed the government to ensure that Aadhaar cards are not issued to illegal migrants which is a major security lacuna as the project does not rely on a dual verification process for issuing cards.
- Political rivalry has compromised the fight against terrorism. The Central government first abolished Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) which was a strong uniform legislation to fight terrorism. It has refused to give assent to Gujarat's anti-terror ordinance (GUJCOCA) whereas a neighbouring state Maharashtra has MCOCA which has similar provisions as that of GUJCOCA. The UPA repeatedly gave signals to the patrons of terror, that effective action against them will adversely affect their vote bank.



- The government has not made any serious effort towards addressing deficiencies of manpower in the intelligence agencies and upgrading their technical capacities. It has also weakened state institutions by demoralizing their personnel and pitting one agency against another. A case in point would be misusing the CBI to probe officers of the IB in alleged fake encounter cases. The government must realize that by putting agencies which are the last bastions in combating terrorism under the scanner would only imperil the nation's security.
- The Congress Party has been trying to communalize the discourse on terrorism by constantly attempting to project Muslims as victims of high-handed police action in the name of fighting terrorism. While wrongful arrests of individuals cannot be justified, portraying police actions as deliberately targeted against Muslims has communal overtones. On the other hand, there are several Congress leaders including Union Ministers who refuse to identify the IM as a terrorist organization. They should realize that by not recognizing the threat only weakens the resolve of the state to tackle the problem upfront. Recognizing the IM as a terrorist organization (which has been proscribed by the Centre) is not branding an entire community as terrorists. The narrow communal mindset of the Congress Party leadership was once again reflected in Rahul Gandhi's political speech where he claimed that Pakistan's ISI was in contact with Muslim youth from riot affected Muzaffarnagar district in UP to recruit them for terror activities.

The government has failed to detect and curtail the flow of money to terrorists via religious charities and money transfers from abroad. Its inability to verify the credentials and motives of a large number of Wahabi madrasas which are funded by donors from Gulf countries has benefited enemies of the nation to spread their tentacles. Many of these madrasas particularly those in the states of J&K, UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala are suspected of being involved in facilitating terror attacks. The government has been reluctant to probe their activities or investigate their sources of funding due to considerations of vote bank politics even though by and large Muslims in India are themselves opposed to the Wahabi faith which is alien to the country.

• The constant threat of terror attacks has caused a sense of paranoia among the citizens of the nation. Perceived inaction by the government and adoption of a soft approach towards Pakistan, which is the epicenter of terrorism directed against India, has aggravated the lack of confidence among the people on the government's resolve to protect them. Frequent incidents of terrorism have the potential to negatively alter the security environment of the nation, discourage foreign investments and hinder economic growth.

All the while above, the charges laid were on unfulfilled manifesto based promises and failures due to omissions in office.







### 5.0 FAILURE OF FOREIGN POLICY

India's geo-political clout in the neighbourhood is waning. The Congress had vowed to put forth an "intelligent and wise foreign policy rooted on traditions, giving us strength through unity and common purpose which radiates confidence". But its foreign policy initiatives in the past five years have neither radiated confidence nor prevented our immediate neighbours from increasingly moving into China's lap with little regard for India's security concerns. Following developments in the under mentioned countries are indicative of India's declining geo-political clout and absence of foreign policy levers to safeguard its national interests:

Pakistan: UPA's Pakistan policy is a failure. Delinking terror and dialogue has given Pakistan a handle to use terrorism to tilt the dialogue equation in its favour. Our leverage was lost, which was claimed earlier by January 2004 agreement between then Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and then President Musharuff where by Pakistan for the first time acknowledged and agreed not to permit Pakistani territory to be used for terrorist activity against India. On terrorism the UPA moved from a position from demanding the dismantling of the terrorist infrastructure and trial of those responsible for the Mumbai massacre to simply demanding progress in the trail, which too has not materialized. We have released pressure on Pakistan on this vital demand. By generating and furthering a nonexistent idea of "saffron terrorism" Pakistan has been given an alibi to equate some isolated incidents of domestic terrorism with state sponsored large scale global terrorism. Failure to forcefully challenge Pakistan's water related propaganda against us even as India abided by the IWT's provisions for external arbitration. Pakistan has continued to give political space to Jihadi groups and Hafeez Saeed to carry propaganda against us.

What has emerged as the greatest betrayal of the nation's struggle against terrorism was enacted in the Sharm el Sheikh Summit in July 2009, when Dr. Manmohan Singh astonishingly chose to delink terrorism sponsored from Pakistan's soil from the composite Dialogue process, by jointly asserting with his Pakistani counterpart that: "Action on terrorism should not be linked to the Composite Dialogue Process and these should not be bracketed". The Prime Minister further weakened India's position by equating India and Pakistan on the issue of terrorism by agreeing that: "Both leaders agreed that terrorism is the main threat to both countries". This, despite the fact that while terrorism against India is planned and executed from "Territory under Pakistan's control" the terrorism Pakistan today confronts is from groups armed, trained and motivated earlier by its State apparatus. The Sharm el Sheik Declaration was betrayal of not only all those who lost their near and dear ones in the terrorist strike on Mumbai, but of the country as a whole.



What has predictably followed the blunder in Sharm el Sheikh has been a Pakistani establishment becoming emboldened to delay any action agains the perpetratorst of the Mumbai attack. Apart from the fact that the Lashkar e Taiba and its parent body the Jamat ud Dawa continue to enjoy the support of the Pakistan army, they also now enjoy the financial support of the Provincial Government in Punjab, headed by Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif who is the brother of Pakistan's present Prime Minister.

We have swallowed Pakistani-incited attacks against out Embassy and other assets in Kabul and our Consulate in Jalabad.

- Afghanistan: The government has not been responsive to the demands of the Afghan government for military equipment and weapons from India which would enable it to adequately combat Taliban forces once foreign troops start leaving in 2014. The government could have done much more in training personnel of Afghan National Security Forces. A Taliban takeover of Afghanistan backed by Pakistan will seriously in danger the nation's security.
- Nepal: China has been making steady inroads into Nepal and has several infrastructure and economic corridors projects lined up in the coming years. India's bonhomie with Nepal was put to test when Nepal declared its intentions to renegotiate the more than half a century old Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty and river water sharing arrangements with India. The Chinese have also been providing weapons to the Nepalese Army and Police forces, who have traditionally remained dependent on India for their defence hardware requirements. Indo-Nepal relationship is civilizational and also historical. There is warm people to people relationship. However, off late it has come under serious stress.
- **Bhutan:** China is also attempting to establish diplomatic relations and expand its military presence in Bhutan, a country which has always remained in India's orbit for its security needs.
- Myanmar: The government has not made much forward movement in bi-lateral ties with Myanmar to under-cut China's influence in that country. China has built roads and airfields connecting China with Myanmar. China is building a deep sea-port at Sittwe and oil and gas pipelines will connect the port with Kunming in China. India was in the running to acquire contracts for the Sittwe port but was subsequently out-maneuvered by China. The Indian government also failed to formalize a trans-border economic and transportation corridor to East Asia through Myanmar which would have reduced Myanmar's economic dependence on China. North East insurgent groups continue to operate camps in Myanmar impacting the security situation in our North-Eastern states.



- Bangladesh: The Government of India tried to unilaterally settle the Teesta water and land boundary issues without addressing concerns about rampant infiltration. Increasing radicalization and anti-India sentiments would negatively impact our national security as Bangladesh would become another launch pad for Jihadists if radical elements aligned with the Jammat-e-Islami return to power. China is developing the Chittagong Port and has plans to construct a deep sea port at Sonadia along with an airport in Cox's Bazar, in the backwaters of the Bay of Bengal.
- **Sri Lanka:** Compulsions of regional politics and quest to remain in power forced the government of India from actively supporting Sri Lanka in its final stages of war against the LTTE in 2009. It also failed to ensure the safety of innocent Tamil civilians who were caught between the LTTE and Sri Lankan armed forces during the closing stages of the war in 2009. Sri Lanka had little regard for India's concerns as it was receiving material and diplomatic support from China and even Pakistan. In post war reconciliation efforts too, India has failed to ensure genuine devolution of powers to Sri Lankan Tamils and lacks leverages to curtail China's influence in Sri Lanka.
- Taking advantage of the flux in Indo-Sri Lanka relations, China gained a foothold in the Island nation by supplying military hardware and ammunition to its Armed forces. China constructed the strategic sea port at Hambantota, even though the offer to construct the port was first made to India. China is building another container port in Colombo. These facilities which are located in very close proximity to Tamil Nadu can be used by Chinese military vessels to project power in the Indian Ocean Region and threaten India's rear. Dr Manmohan Singh, by buckling under pressure from Tamil parties to not attend the CHOGM Summit in Colombo in November 2013, has further widened the gulf between Sri Lanka and India and lost a key opportunity to exert influence on it to take action against perpetrators of war crimes on Tamil civilians during the closing stages of war in 2009.
- Indo-Sri Lanka defence ties which have historically been very cordial have taken a back seat in recent years with the Chinese and Pakistani militaries accelerating their engagements with the Sri Lankan Armed Forces (SLAF).
- Maldives: The ouster of moderate President Mohammed Nasheed and capture of power by a radical government led by Mohammed Wahed Hassan is yet another instance of India's declining geo-political clout in its neighbourhood. It is indeed baffling that a country which is dependent on India for its security needs could terminate an infrastructure project undertaken by a private sector company based in India. Increasing instability and assertions by radical Wahabi groups have created conditions for Jihadist groups like the LeT to gain a foothold in Maldives for targeting India.



**Note:** The above description demonstrates that because of indifference, inefficiency and mismanagement by the UPA Government the relationship with several of the neighbouring countries have deteriorated in spite of having long historical and cultural linkage with these countries. We have lost the goodwill with nearly all of our neighbours.

• **South Asia:** India's traditional influence and goodwill in the South Asian region has been waning as China carries forward its efforts to encircle India in its own backyard. Failure of India's diplomacy to safeguard its security interests with neighbouring countries also dents India's National prestige and credibility. Instead of adopting a pro-active approach to stall China's forays in the region, the government was often on the back foot, reacting when it was too late to reverse the tide.

Rest of the World: Dr Man Mohan Singh began his term by praising the then President of the USA, Mr. George Bush. He completes his term at a time when there are series of incidents wherein the USA has humiliated India. The government has been lacking in efforts to carry forward the momentum of India's deepening relations with the US while at the same time stagnating ties with its traditional ally, Russia. Despite formalizing civilian nuclear agreements with the US, Russia, France, Japan, Australia and Kazakhstan, the government has failed to operationalise reactors for production of electricity through nuclear energy. This has not only dampened relations with these countries but has accentuated the already fragile energy crisis in the country. Flux in India's foreign policy is further evident in its inability to enter into mutually beneficial relationships with East Asian countries especially Japan and Vietnam to counter China's growing clout in the region. India even backed off from oil explorations in the South China Seas following intimidation by China. No major world power was vocal enough in expressing their concerns in the face of belligerent actions by China and Pakistan along India's borders indicating a lowering profile of India in geo-politics.







### 6.0 NEGLECT OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH EAST

- Despite the fact that the Prime Minister represents Assam in the Rajya Sabha, the North East has suffered neglect. Only tokenism prevails. On 5 May 2005 Dr ManMohan Singh conducted a meeting to review the Assam Accord. Till date the Congress is only misleading the nation on the topic!
- In July 2012 the brutal riots in Kokrajaharleft more than 2.5 lakh people homeless. It saw repercussions such as stone pelting in J&K, women police manhandled and shahid memorial broken in Azad Maidan in Mumbai, NE youth targeted and attacked in Bangalore and elsewhere. Till date the prime accused is not nabbed!
- In Assam no single major industry has been set up in the last 10 years.
- The people of Nagaland feel let down that in ten years as prime minister of this country, Dr Manmohan Singh never once visited Nagaland!
- Meghalaya's Assembly does not have a building of its own!
- The Radcliff Line issue affects Meghalaya's Khasi, Gharo regions. This remains unresolved till today. The problem persists since the 1971 War which gave birth to Bangladesh.
- Allegations are heard all over the north east that PDS rice, cattle, kerosene are being diverted to Bangladesh. Being a matter related to an international border, it is incumbent on the union government to take initiative to probe and to halt this illegal movement. Not a whisper is heard from Delhi!
- Indifferent throwing in of money and no careful execution of projects is reflected in the classic case of Rs 15000 crores which was received from the Government of India but only a 5% increase in irrigated land was recorded!
- The foundation stone for the 3000 MW Dibang Hydro project- the largest in the nation was laid by the PM in February 2008. Till November 2013, this project was awaiting clearance. This news report also claimed that "Of the 25 projects totalling over 11,000 MW allotted ...in Arunachal Pradesh most of them over the last decade, construction work has not begun on even a single project."
- In Dibang Valley, Dambeng sector, the Advanced Landing Site is like a jungle. It is so important for security and for outpost services. With Arunachal Pradesh standing up to China one would have prioritised this from national security point of view. No the UPA has no time for this!
- In 2007, a package for Rs 24000 crores was announced for the construction of the Trans Arunachal Highway. Known as the PM package for rail, road and airlanding its progress is at stand-still!
- There is a widespread fear and apprehension that the work of the National Registry of citizens is not differentiating between the Maiminsingh is vis-a-vis



the Assamese Muslims. This concern is critical as it relates to citizenship and related rights.

- The one-horned Rhino is a unique symbol of Assam. In just one year, over 258 rhinos were poached and killed. It plays a crucial role in the eco-system of the state. The state and the environment ministry at the centre have failed in protecting this gentle creature which is so critical for the protection of the natural habitat in the Brahmaputra Valley.
- Ten years ago, the Prime Minister declared Boghibhil near Dibrugarh as a rail National Project. This has not progressed at all. The East-West project, started by the NDA is languishing perhaps as a result of political indifference.
- Similarly the Majuli Project, which was promised by the Prime Minister himself is nowhere to be seen.
- The vast Brahmaputra has only 3 bridges across it. This may be compared with the Ganga which has 12 to 13 across it.

The Public Distribution System (PDS) has completely collapsed in Assam. The Congress ruled state government is not held accountable by the Congress led UPA at the centre.





### 7.0 EDUCATION AND HEALTHCARE

- More than 40% teaching positions in IITs, 30% in Central universities and 25% in IIMs are lying vacant.
- Deemed universities mushroomed from 27 to 150, most in violation of rules and standards.
- Posts of Director Generals of National Archives and National Museums have been vacant for unduly long time.

Chief of Medical Council was caught red handed taking bribes for affiliation of medical colleges.

### **HEALTHCARE**

- Healthcare has received the least attention from the UPA II government. It has indeed suffered. The Times of India, 17 February, 2014 reported: "In fact, the allocation for the three main subsidies fuel, food and fertiliser went up almost five times during the last 10 years, when the Centre's spending more than trebled from a little over Rs 5 lakh crore in 2004-05 to the Rs 16.6 lakh crore budgeted for the current year."
- In this year Budget the Finance Minister has chosen to cut down the grant to the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare by 20.6%.







### 8.0 UNDERMINING INSTITUTIONS

The Congress led UPA Government has systematically tried to weaken and compromise the sanctity and integrity of important institutions. The watchdog bodies has been the special target of this government. Whenever, they sought monitoring and accountability in the decision making of the UPA government, it made every attempt to influence the bodies and if failed attempted to install favourable and pliant officers.

- The CAG was subjected to a systematic and shameful attack by Congress minister including oblique criticism by the Prime Minister because in a series of report the CAG had exposed the wrong doing and corruption of the Congress led Government which it was constitutionally duty bound to do.
- A civil servant with questionable credential Mr. P J Thomas was sought to be forced as a CVC (an important watchdog body) by arbitrarily ignoring the objection of the LoP, Smt. Sushma Swaraj. Ultimately the appointment was quashed by the Supreme Court which included a serious indictment of the decision by the Government.
- In the use and abuse of the CBI the premier investigative body the Congress led Government had surpassed all norms. It always tried to pressurize the CBI from going slow against its own misdeeds and corruption and gave open encouragement to target its adversaries.
- The sanctity of JPC an important Parliamentary institution was abused and compromised in the recent 2G inquiry matter where the Chairman worked more like a Congress spokesperson than as a Chairman. He sought to destroy all norms by giving a collusive clean chit to the Prime Minister and the Government in the most shameful corruption case of independent India in spite of voluminous evidence.
- The Government tried every trick to restrain the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) other important Parliamentary body from inquiring into corruption cases against the Government.
- Many seniors minister have sought to publically criticize the Election Commission for their own political agenda.
- Rank discriminatory treatment with State Government ruled by opposition parties
  - Respect for States Governments is the most important federal principle. The Congress led UPA government have violated this impunity particularly if the state in question is ruled by an opposition party.





## 9.0 CHARGES BASED ON FAILURES TO FULFIL MANIFESTO 2009 PROMISES (LISTED IN THE ORDER AS SHOWN IN CONGRESS MANIFESTO)

The Congress party made "solemn promises to the people of our country" in its manifesto under "The Work Programme: 2009-2014". There were 29 promises many of which remain unfulfilled.

9.1 The first reads, "We will guarantee the maximum possible security to each and every citizen. Our policy is zero tolerance towards terrorism from whatever source it originates...More specialist battalions will be raised and positioned in key locations across the country..."

Further, the Congress Party had committed to the nation that dialogue and engagement with Pakistan will remain suspended till it takes "credible action against those responsible for the carnage in Mumbai".

It also states that "terrorism does not require a muscular foreign policy"

- The UPA government has been willing to give the benefit of doubt to the Pakistani establishment and continues to engage it in dialogue including at the Summit level without extracting any deliverables or guarantees from them on countering terrorism or taking action against perpetrators of terror based on its soil. On the contrary, the government went ahead to hold a series of Secretary level meetings between the two sides on issues such as Sir Creek, Siachen, water sharing. It did not pre-condition these talks to Pakistan first taking action against perpetrators of 26/11.
- The Congress counts the Kargil War, Kandahar hijacking and Operation Parakram as failures of such a 'muscular' policy. By terming Kargil and Operation Parakram as failures, it is insulting the supreme sacrifice made by Indian soldiers in these operations. It should also explain to the people of the country whether its weak kneed and almost submissive foreign policy towards Pakistan has succeeded in extracting any deliverables from Pakistan on cross-border terrorism. Dr Manmohan Singh's eagerness to engage with Pakistan beginning with the diplomatic disaster at Shram-el-Sheikh in 2009 (Dr Manmohan Singh met the Pakistani President/Prime Minister on eight occasions since 26/11) has not been met by a reciprocal response from Pakistan, where 26/11 accused like Hafiz Saeed continue to roam free and spew venom on India, and other jailed LeT terrorists like Zaki ur RehmanLakhvi and YousufMuzzamil are accorded lavish treatment in prison from where they continue to direct anti-India activities. Despite direct evidence of presence of terror camps on Pakistani soil and public reports of funding of proscribed groups like Jamaat-ud-Dawa and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) by the Punjab government of Pakistan, the Government of India failed to adequately take up these issues with Pakistan or garner international opinion to condemn these actions.



- There has been no letup in activities of terror groups in POK and Pakistan continues to plot acts of cross-border infiltration and attacks against India. Since 2012, there has been a marked increase in incidents of ceasefire violations and infiltration from across the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu & Kashmir. Even after the beheading and killing of Indian soldiers by Pakistan Army regulars in January and August 2013, Dr Manmohan Singh went ahead and met Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in New York. More so, even when the PM was in New York, Pakistani terrorists carried out brazen attacks on a police station and an army camp at Hiranagar and Samba in J&K. Discounting the indignant public mood following the attacks and killing of Indian soldiers at the LOC, the PM went ahead with the meeting without extracting any commitment from Pakistan on taking action against the perpetrators of these attacks or assurances on stopping cease-fire violations by the Pakistan Army.
- Failing to put adequate diplomatic and military pressure on Pakistan to act against the 26/11 accused has been the biggest foreign policy failure of the UPA government. It has been willing to travel the extra mile with Pakistan and de-link terrorism from the dialogue process by recognizing it as a victim of terrorism. On the contrary, Pakistan has not refrained from raising the Kashmir issue at the international level including renewed calls for third party mediation and has even accused India of sponsoring terrorism in Balochistan. It is yet to even reciprocate India's recognition of Pakistan as a Most Favoured Nation for trade purposes. The government has not only failed to deliver on its election promise of suspending dialogue till Pakistan delivers on taking action against the 26/11 accused, its pusillanimous approach has emboldened Pakistan to step up terror activities and aggressively push for resolution of bi-lateral disputes on its terms. Despite suffering heavy costs in the 26/11 attacks, instead of being aggressive and ensuring justice for the victims of the attack, the Government of India has constantly been on the defensive. The government failed to capitalize on the World Bank's decision on sharing of Indus waters in India's favour. More than 60 % of Jhelum waters are not harnessed by India. The favourable World Bank decision could have been used as a strong lever to extract concessions on state sponsorship of terrorism from Pakistan.
- From 2009- December 2013, there have been over 21 low and high intensity terror attacks in the country. Over one hundred people lost their lives and several hundred severely injured. Terror attacks have not come down by any measure.
- Despite the overwhelming evidences emerging from the confessions of Headley and Rana, and the MHA presenting dossier after dossier presented, the Indian government is unable to get the handlers/perpetrators of the Mumbai attack to face the law.



- The counter terrorism framework so promised by the then home minister lies in shambles rather than provide a security cover for the country. So much for the stated 'zero tolerance'!
- 9.2 "RAISING MORE SPECIALIST BATTALIONS IN KEY LOCATIONS," CLAIMED THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO. On equipping our police and specialist security forces with the latest weapons, the less said the better.
- The government was found wanting in correctly assessing the gravity of the threat and dithered over according sanction for setting up a Mountain Strike Corps for the Northern Borders. The government's nonchalant attitude and lack of strategic vision was further reflected in the Finance Ministry's red-flagging of the proposal in 2011 questioning whether India and China will ever go to war. It took the UPA government eight years to wake up to the Chinese threat. A sanction letter for the strike corps was issued only in November 2013.
- 9.3 The Congress manifesto's first promise also included The Unique Identity Card or the UIDAI: With the huge IT expertise available in our country, it is possible to *provide every Indian with a unique identity card* after *the publication of the national population register in the year 2011.*"
- This promise rings hollow, as the government claimed, that the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) is working under an executive order issued by the Government in January 2009, establishing UIDAI as an Attached Office of the Planning Commission. No act of the parliament supports this expensive and sensitive exercise.
- "Against a total cost of Rs 12,398 crore sanctioned by the government for the UID project, an expenditure of Rs 3,062 crore has been incurred as on July 31, 2013," Minister of State for Planning said in a written reply in the Rajya Sabha.
  - http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-08-29/news/41582259\_1\_uid-project-uid-number-enrolment
- Very serious issues of how without adequate security check people are receiving the card are periodically flagged by various political parties, the media and at times even by the judiciary. Questions are raised if it impinges on citizenship rights of bonafide nationals. The matter is in the courts and a final verdict is expected.
- Media reported about bundles of cards lying in waste dumps and about another set of those which were issued with a blank space where actually a picture should be seen.
- The biometric data which should be in the custody of the government of India is allegedly in the hands of private agency raising serious issues of citizens' privacy and security. This one scheme, due to the callous and opaque way in



which the government has insisted it handle the matter has raised more issues than has solved.

The Registrar general of India (RGI) is working on National Population Register (NPR) -a digital biometric database of residents of the country. The UIDAI has issued 56 crore Aadhaar cards to residents against the mandated 60 crores so far whereas underNPR,theRGI has enrolledaround14crore. The Economic Times reported, "as per an arrangement worked out in January 2012, UIDAI was asked to enrol 60 crore residents, while RGI was to enrol the remaining 61 crore under NPR to collect biometric data. The promise to publish the NPR in 2011 is not fulfilled.

http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/29551493.cms? utm\_source=contentofinterest&utm\_medium=text&utm\_campaign=cppst

.....

9.4 'The Congress' manifesto had another solemn promise: "We will ensure the *highest level of defence preparedness* and also take further steps for the welfare of the defence forces and their families...In the last five years, modernisation of our defence forces has resumed substantially. This will continue at a rapid pace. The Indian National Congress also pledges to make India's defence forces technology-enabled and equipped with modern weapons, aircraft, ships and delivery systems to repel any threat from land, sea or air.

Recognizing their special concerns, a new and separate department of ex-servicemen's welfare was established in 2004 by the Congress-led UPA Government. Ex-servicemen constitute a large cadre of dedicated and trained persons. *We will utilize them extensively in crucial nation-building tasks.*"

Fully respecting the sensitive nature of the subject discussed below the BJP wishes to raise only those matters here which are already in the public domain.

The UPA government has seriously undermined India's defence preparedness by marring defence acquisitions in perennial delays, bureaucratic red-tapism and large scale corruption. The scams related to the procurement of helicopters from Agusta Westland and Tatra trucks are some recent instances of high level corruption. The problem has been accentuated due to the black-listing of large number of firms involved in defence sales creating a situation where no firm is available for buying critical defence equipment. Banning these companies has not reduced corruption and indecision has resulted in huge cost overruns and time delays in defence procurement procedures. The three services are facing critical shortages of the following equipment which adversely impact their war-waging potential.



- Artillery guns: The last major acquisition of guns in India was 400 pieces of Bofors from Sweden in 1984. Proposals to acquire Self-propelled guns and towed light howitzers for the mountains and 155 mm guns have been languishing despite several tenders being floated in the past decade. Shortage of artillery gun pieces is a critical deficiency in India's defence preparedness along the Northern borders.
- **Armour:** The Army Chief's letter to the Prime Minister dated March 12, 2012 observed that the Army's entire tank fleet is "devoid of critical ammunition to defeat enemy tanks". He further added that there were "large scale voids in critical surveillance and night fighting capabilities. This is particularly critical in the mechanised forces." Night blindness, deficiency of ammunition and spare parts has virtually made India's formidable striking arm a sitting duck in the event of a conflict.
- Army Air Defence: India still fields obsolete anti-aircraft guns systems such as L-70 (40 millimetre AD Gun System) and Schilka (ZSU-23-4 Schilka SP) as also Surface to Air Missiles like SAM-6 and OSA AK. Referring to the inadequacies in Air Defence, the Army Chief in his letter to the PM had stated that "90% is obsolete and it does not give the deemed confidence to protect ....from the air."
- **Infantry:** Given the nature of security threats including low-intensity conflict faced by India, Infantry is the decisive battle winning arm of the Indian Army. Though the Future Infantry Soldier as a System (F-INSAS) project had been conceived several years back, the Infantry still lacks modern communication and surveillance equipment, protective vests and robust automatic rifles. It is grappling with a serious problem of defective hand-grenades and mortar shells leading to accidents and has even floated a tender for procuring modern rifles of 7.62/9 mm calibre which is the standard infantry weapon.
- **Army Aviation:** Over the past few years, Army Aviation has come up in a big way owing to their enlarging role of transporting men and material especially in mountainous terrain where roads have not fetched up. Though it has floated tenders to augment its transport capabilities by inducting more medium to heavy utility helicopters like Advanced Light Helicopters (Dhruv) and Chinook, the acquisition processes have been hampered by procedural delays.
- Navy: A series of accidents on board submarines and in naval dockyards have shocked the nation. The resignation of the naval chief Admiral Joshi was in keeping with the honoured tradition of the Navy, but the civilian government and its minister have taken no responsibility at all. The pathetic state of the navy did not move the minister at all.
- The aircraft carrier, INS Vikramaditya will finally arrive in January 2014 after several delays and cost-overruns. India has an ageing submarine fleet and presently has only seven operational submarines. Developing a blue water navy for force projection in the Indian Ocean region should form the cornerstone of India's geo-strategic policy in the coming decades. The government has failed to pay adequate heed to naval modernization plans (indigenous production of new



destroyers, corvettes, frigates, and landing craft vessels) which require a long time to mature.

- Air Force: The Indian air force is fast losing its qualitative and quantitative edge over the Chinese and Pakistani air forces. The MMRCA project witnessed huge delays and it will take another five years to acquire the aircrafts. Indecision and faulty procurement procedures and long winding negotiations over price and prospective sellers led to a situation where no jet trainers were available to train rookie pilots. This happened at a time when the Air Force is in the process of inducting new fighter jets, transport aircrafts and helicopters for which it needs to train a large number of pilots. The Air Force had to finally go in for emergency purchases of trainer aircrafts to overcome the serious deficiency.
- In addition, C412SR systems for all the three services need major up -gradation in view of growing network centricity of the 21st century battlefield. Presence of components manufactured by Chinese firms in defence hardware and communication systems is a major security concern which the government did not take into account.
- Indigenous defence production: The government has failed to provide impetus to the development of indigenous defence technology or encourage Indian private sector and R&D organisations to enter into defence production. The government has not shown alacrity to rejuvenate projects such as Light Combat Aircraft (Tejas) for the Air Force, Main Battle Tank (Arjun) which has been on the drawing board for several decades now. India still acquires 70 % of its defence equipment from foreign countries leading to huge cost escalations and vulnerabilities in times of conflict as supplies of equipment and spare parts could be curtailed at will by the foreign developers. The government should have invested rigorously to lay strong foundations for defence manufacturing of hardware used in asymmetric warfare and force multipliers such as drones, radars, surveillance and communication equipment, software for weapon systems and development of nano products for defence use.
- There are serious deficiencies in our system of procurement and procedures followed. Time overruns and bureaucratic apathy that has led to serious voids in our defence preparedness. What is utterly confounding is the excruciatingly slow pace of our arms acquisition process. The entire Soviet era stock of capital equipment is now due for replacement. Yet major arms acquisitions have been delayed for years. In the 10th five year plan (2002-07), only 95 of the planned 250 items could be procured. It is baffling to note that the Ministry of Defence has been returning huge sums of capital defence expenditure without spending them on procurement running counter to the advocacy of the Congress Party in 2009 that "defence modernisation will continue at a rapid pace." The government has not taken a serious measure of the widening military gap between India and China and has failed to increase GDP spending on defence to over 2 % which is essential to even marginally catch up with China.



Defence preparedness has been further undermined by the Government's actions which are lowering moral of Armed forces personnel. There is a wide ranging perception among serving soldiers that the government has provided a raw deal to ex-servicemen with respect to implementing one rank one pension, anomalies in rank pay and failure to address post-retirement employment requirements of soldiers who retire at a fairly young age. Members of the fraternity question as to how long should they should be patient for the government to act! Litigations filed by the Ministry of Defence against clearing disability pension of soldiers despite a Supreme Court judgement in the matter has put the government in a bad light as it is seen to be fighting its own Armed Forces personnel in courts. IIItreatment of ex-servicemen directly impacts morale of serving soldiers as the soldier community maintains very close ties with ex- servicemen and more than 50,000 soldiers retire every year. The government has also not come out with innovative measures and public campaigns to attract talent and bridge the deficiency of around 13,000 officers in the Armed Forces. Shortage of officers is especially acute at the cutting edge levels directly engaged in combat operations.

The country watched how the discourse in the public domain saw several experts voice their concern on defence preparedness. To be less prepared is a worry in itself, but to discuss it in open had implications for national security. There is a complete lack of trust and faith between the civilian government and the armed forces, like never before. This can adversely affect the morale of the forces, which is the first dent on defence preparedness.

# 9.5 "We will ensure energy security," said the Congress in its 2009 Manifesto, and while doing so, "...will implement a scheme to supply energy to poor families at affordable prices".

- The Congress has cheated the poor by breaking their promise. They failed to provide energy to the poor at affordable prices- in May 2004 when the NDA quit office LPG cylinders were abundantly available at Rs 244/- Today, under the UPA with over 300% increase a cylinder is available at Rs 845/- In fact, the UPA government restricted access by limiting annually the number of LPG cylinders available for a family.
- A report in the Hindustan Times dated 5 December 2013 based on the CAG observations noted that 55 power plants, with a total installed capacity of 18632 MW were lying idle due to non-availability of natural gas.
- Surely, the Congress showed that it did not care about energy security of the nation by allocating coal blocks to gutka manufacturers and real estate brokers, all fly-by-night operators who did not bring out from the blocks any coal at all. It is only after that electricity is to be generated. Who can forget the ignominious 3 day black out in Delhi and vast swathes of the country in 2012. Even worse than an unfulfilled promise!



### 9.6 "We will maintain the path of high growth with fiscal prudence and low inflation," promised the Congress.

- Analysts and economists have repeatedly held the government responsible for its failures. The growth rate this fiscal is downgraded to 4.8 per cent "the slowest pace in a decade."
- Rating agencies such as Standard & Poor and Fitch, referring to higher spending and rising subsidies, indicated that it could push the fiscal deficit to six per cent of the GDP. In the Vote-on-Account, 2014, the Finance Minister, in a clever play with numbers, has managed to keep it a notch below that level.
- The Prime Minister was reported to have said, "...our growth has decelerated, our exports have fallen and our fiscal deficits are expanding. Of particular concern is the fiscal deficit, which is too high and acts as a deterrent for domestic and foreign investment."

### 9.7 "We will expand schemes for improving the wellbeing of farmers and their families," promised the Congress.

- Unfortunately, suicides of farmers continue, particularly in Congress-ruled Maharashtra. The issue of the plight of the farmers in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh who had forced on themselves a crop holiday due to the indifference of the government was raised by the BJP in Parliament.
- The several doable suggestions in the Swaminathan Committee report are all but forgotten.

# 9.8 The Congress also promised that "all controls on the free movement of farm commodities and processing of agricultural products and all regulations that depress incomes of farmers will be systematically eliminated."

• The flip-flops in export policy adversely affected cotton farmers. The timing of the ban on cotton exports raised suspicions if this government was thinking at all; for us to expect that the Congress remembered its manifesto promise would be futile.

### 9.9 "We will make elected panchayat institutions financially strong," promised the Congress Party."

In Jammu &Kashmir where the National Conference and the Congress are in alliance and are governing the state, the physical safety of the sarpanches itself



is threatened by terrorists. And on that there is only silence from the ruling alliance. The chief minister spoke on how it may be impossible to provide security to all sarpanches. The Congress and its pledge can wait for another day, maybe?

### 9.10 "We will introduce the goods and services tax from April 1, 2010," promised the Congress.

• The party repeatedly, albeit without substance, blamed the BJP for its failure to show progress on the GST. The issue of the un-cleared Central Sales Tax (CST) arrears due to the states was consistently raised by the BJP and the finance minister is talking about it in a reconciliatory tone at the end of 2012. The time required, if any, for a constitutional amendment are still issues to be sorted out and we are quite close to April 2014.







### 10 CONCLUSION:

The Congress led UPA Government has indeed been a disaster for this country. It has only left a legacy of suffering, agony, disappointment and hopelessness for the people of India. Its misdeeds in various fields as explained in detail above has shaken the very foundation of the country. This charge sheet epitomises the essence of that disappointment. We do hope that the time for redemption has come.







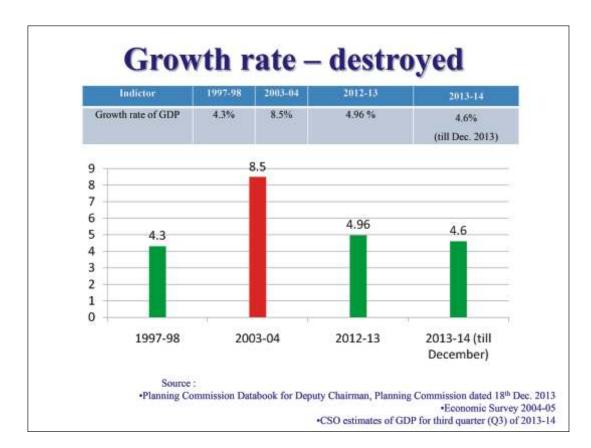


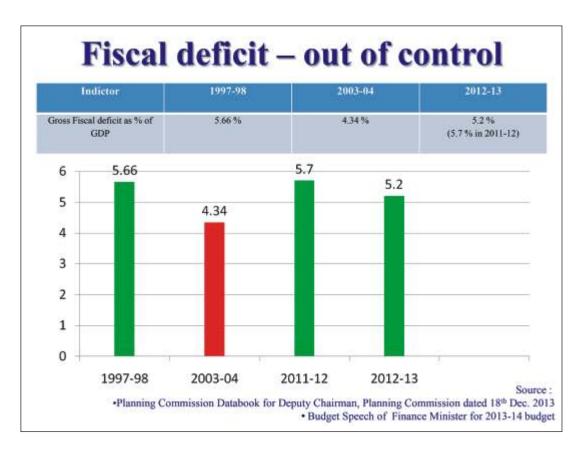
### How UPA destroyed Indian economy

### How the Economy was destroyed

UPA inherited an Economy in pristine condition with ALL the following Macroeconomic indicators in robust shape:

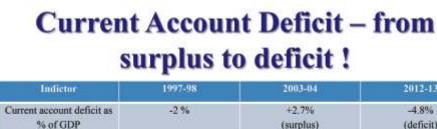
- High growth rate
- Low fiscal deficit as percentage of GDP
- Low Current Account Deficit(CAD) as percentage of GDP
- Low inflation
- High savings rate
- Low external borrowings as compared to foreign exchange reserves





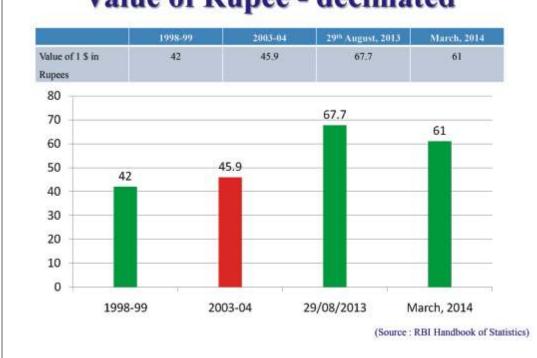




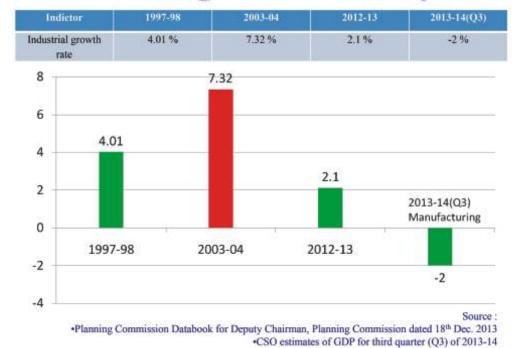




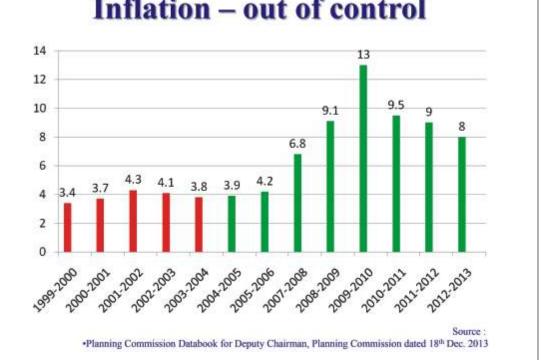




### Industrial growth - destroyed!

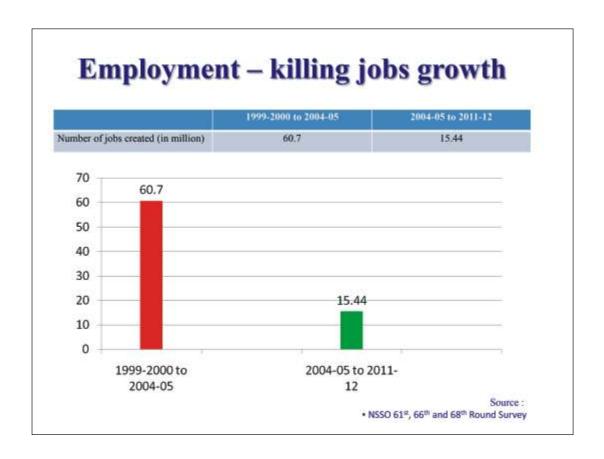






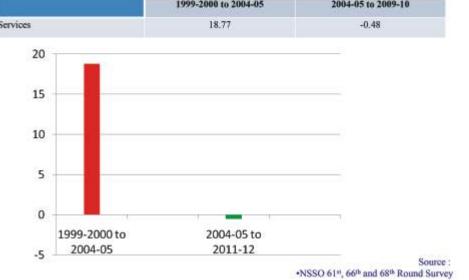








### 



### **Destruction of Infrastructure**

Main components of infrastructure are as follows without which no country can grow:

- Roads
- Power
- · Steel
- Mining
- Ports

We shall see how UPA's mismanagement has virtually destroyed each of the components or put all growth in reverse gear.





### Roads

Year:	National Highway	Addition	Duration	Annual
	Length KM	KM	Years	Addition per year
1951	22193			
1997	34298	12105	46 years	263
2004	65569	31271	7 years	4,467
2012	76818	11249	8 years	1,406

In 46 years Congress added 12105 Km of National Highways while in seven years from 1997 to 2004 NDA added 31271 km of NH. NDA added 4467 Km of National Highways per year from 1997 to 2004 as compared to 1406 Km per year done by UPA from 2004 to 2012.

(Source: Basic Road Statistics from Ministry of Road Transport and Highways website <a href="http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp?lid=839">http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp?lid=839</a> and <a href="http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp?lid=417">http://www.morth.nic.in/showfile.asp?lid=417</a>)

### Power

UPA could neither run <u>existing</u> power plants nor produce power from <u>new</u> installed capacity. It was only successful in creating NPAs for banks which financed these projects.

### Plant load factor of power plants

	1998-99	2004-05	2012-13
Plant load factor	64.6%	74.8%	69.9%

- KPMG report of November 2013 highlights the following dismal picture:
  - At the end of 2011-12, there were power units of capacity around <u>33000 MW</u> stranded due to lack of coal and natural gas supply making an investment of more than Rs. 100,000 crore unviable
  - At end of 2011-12, 78 power projects with planned capacity of <u>103000 MW</u> were pending for <u>environmental clearances</u>!

Source: 1. Central Electricity Authority's yearly reports at website <u>www.cea.nic.in/reports/yearly\_report.html</u>) 2. KPMG Report "Recharging the Power sector" released in Nov. 2013

### **UPA** destroyed mining completely!

### Coal

- India's Coal reserves are 286 billion tonnes and are fourth largest in the world.
- India's production was 557 million tonnes in 2012 – 13 and <u>it imported 140 million tonnes</u> <u>of Coal</u>! Imported coal is more expensive making power more expensive.
- The gap in production and requirement was only 23.57 million tonnes in 2003-04.

(Source: 1. Economic Survey 2012-13

\*Coal Ministry's website: <a href="www.coal.nic.in/cpdoc.htm">www.coal.nic.in/cpdoc.htm</a>

\*Source: Coal Ministry's Annual Report for 2004-05)

### Iron and steel

- Iron ore exports: India exported 18.37 million tonnes of Iron ore in 2012-13.
- Once a surplus producer of steel, we have become net importer of steel! And exporter of iron ore! Back to colonial days when we exported raw materials and imported finished products!!

Steel import/export (figures in million tonnes)

	2003-04	2011-12
Import	1.75	6.83
Export	5.21	4.04
Surplus/Deficit	+3.45	-2.79

Source: Annual Report of Steel Ministry for 2004-05 and 2012-13



### **Ports**

- India's foreign trade in 2012-13 was worth \$ 800 billion. Exports: \$ 300 billion and Imports: \$ 500 billion. A lion's share of this trade is handled by Ports.
  - · Average turnaround time at Indian ports in days

	1996-97	2004-05	2011-12
Turnaround time	7.8	3.41	5.05
10			= 1
8 7.8			
6		5.05	Singapore has an
4	3.41		Average Turnaround Time of 6 hours!
2			Time of virous 3.
0			
1996-97	2004-05	2011-12	

Under the aegis of the BJP Central Election Campaign Committee a sub-Committee was formed for preparing the Charge-sheet against Congress led United Progressive Alliance (UPA)

### The members of the Committee are:

### Shri Gopinath Munde

The Deputy Leader of the Opposition Lok Sabha, BJP

### Smt Arti Mehra

National Secretary, BJP

### **Shri Kirit Somaiyya**

National Executive Member, BJP

### Shri Ravi Shankar Prasad

The Deputy Leader of the Opposition Rajya Sabha, BJP

### **Smt Nirmala Sitharaman**

National Spokesperson, BJP

### Smt Minakshi Lekhi

National Spokesperson, BJP



A team of volunteers helped in eliciting public opinion using internet and mobile technology. This 'crowd sourcing' volunteers are:

Shri Madhav Garg Shri Vikas Pandey

Shri Neeraj Sharma Shri Vinayak Dalmia

Shri Rajneil Kamat Shri Navrang (BJP IT Cell)