



Indian Institute of
Corporate Affairs
Partners in Knowledge. Governance. Transformation.



2 JUNE 2019

Implementing the Manifesto of Andhra Pradesh

Sameer Sharma, PhD, DLitt



Generally, manifestos of political parties differ in what they contain. More important to achievement of development goals is the political will of the political executive to *implement* the manifesto (or policy), rather than the policy itself¹. The defining characteristic of successful “developmental states” is the existence of determined and powerful local “developmental” political executive. Diverse interests share a broad consensus on political goals and economic strategies. Politically driven developmental strategies, crafted by these coalitions of state and non-state actors leads to variations in economic development, rather than just the formal institutional structures and rules. Let us see how to transmute the Manifesto of Shri. YS Jagan Mohan Reddy, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh into action.

Institutional reforms

Gandhiji’s dream of Gram Swaraj means **democratic administration**. In democratic administration superintendence over government services is based on the principle that people benefiting from the service, or bearing its cost, should not only pay for it, but also control and monitor its provision. People now understand that their preferences and demands count and they develop a stake in the efficiency of program operations and keeping them corruption-free. The key functionary will be the village volunteer, who will also be a part of the village secretariat.

In each village a village secretariat will be set up. The secretariat will consist of upto 10 youth as volunteers and they will be paid an honorarium of Rs 5,000 each. A list of all young people willing to become village volunteers will be prepared. From this list upto 10 village volunteers will be selected, following a random process. The tenure of a village volunteer will be two years maximum and for continuation beyond the first year into the second year she will have to get the support of more than 50 percent of villagers in a telephonic poll. After two years new village volunteers will be selected again following a random method. Each village volunteer will be given a ward(s) in the village. The village secretariat will be the nodal point for delivery of all welfare schemes to the doorstep of the average citizen in the way conceived by Gandhi ji.

In order to actualize democratic administration, first, an assessment of all existing government services is done in order to identify the interest of the people and the way control is being exercised. Next, service delivery arrangements will be redesigned based on meeting the demands of people. For example, people can monitor works programs using the idea of deliberative polling in which technical details, including *m-*

¹ See Leftwich, Adrian. 2010. Beyond Institutions: Rethinking the Role of Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in the Institutional Formation of Developmental States and Strategies. *Forum for Development Studies* 37 (1): 93–111.

book records, are informed to the people followed by a confidential poll, say through mobile phones. If a certain percentage of people, say 50%, is satisfied; then, the bill is passed for payment. Moreover, a provision that resolutions will fail if more than, say 20% oppose is likely to address power asymmetries and give *voice* to the

In the beginning the village volunteers will implement the following -

- Converge with the Housing For All (rural) scheme of the Government of India and -
 - In five years build 25 lakh homes for the poor. Permanent houses to the homeless poor will be built over a period of 5 years and registered in name of the woman of the household under *Pedhalandariki Illu*. Village volunteers will also oversee the government initiative of providing an additional loan facility through banks at 0.25 paisa interest.
 - Implement new rental scheme for BPL families -vouchers for 30% rent for 3 years.
- Look after Skill development centers to be set up in all districts.
- Prepare a list of all youths willing to become entrepreneurs for taking government contracts. Train them in project management and other features of getting contracts and implementing contracts. From this list the young entrepreneurs will be selected serially and given contracts Government contracts to be given to unemployed youth and an act to be brought in to this effect. 50% reservation in these contracts to be provided to BC/SC/ST and minority youth.
- Reservation would be provided to the extent of 75% to locals in all industries by law. This will be dovetailed with skill development programmes and a portion of the wages of the locals will be given to the industries for a maximum period of three years.

Education

- Encourage families to send their children to school (*Amma Vodu* scheme) by giving Rs. 15,000 to each family provided the children are able to attain prescribed levels of reading, writing and doing arithmetic as well as participate in sports/NCC/Scouts, Guides, etc. Beyond Class 7 this can be used as an incentive to redirect children in vocational training or skill development.
- Comprehensive fee reimbursement scheme, in line with late Chief Minister Dr. YS Rajasekhara Reddy's vision. This was implemented when I was Finance Secretary in 2008-09. Now, this has to reoriented to encourage students to get practical training (internship). Give a part only as fee reimbursement and the rest as stipend to students for internship in organizations is expected to address the lack of practical skills among Indian under-graduate students. For this internship (or coop) should be made compulsory for all technical students.

Complete health care

The overall spending by households has risen significantly, largely due to rise in hospitalization costs. Therefore, the *Arogyasri* scheme will be applicable to all medical treatments of above Rs. 1,000. Regardless of the location of the hospital, all medical expenses would be borne by the government and this would apply to all whose income is under Rs. 5 lakh per year. This will be a top-up on the Government of India's *Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana* (PMJAY). The top-up component will be used to bring about desirable changes in behaviour, such as abstinence from alcohol. This will be part of the health card being maintained by health workers.

Past experience with health insurance schemes shows that despite health insurance schemes, public continue to spend high levels of Out-of-Pocket-Expenses (OOPE) and increases the probability of hospitalization in both public and private hospitals. What is required is that health insurance should be accompanied by -

- PHCs and sub-centres are the first line of contact with patients. Sub-centres should be strengthened to work as single-point health & wellness centres. They will constitute the 4th tier of healthcare. The Government of India has allocated Rs. 1200 crore allocated for 1.5 lakh health and wellness centres. Under this 1.5 lakh centres will be setup to provide comprehensive health care, including for non-communicable diseases and maternal and child health services, apart from free essential drugs and diagnostic services. We should be the first to access these funds and upgrade all our sub-centres.
- Increasing the effectiveness of primary care through sub-centre will also require creating teams of health-care providers, including mid-level professionals supported by physicians and specialists at the PHC/CHC levels. The sub-centres should be headed by a middle-level service provider assisted by a team of ANMs, MPWs, ASHA and Anganwadi workers. These healthcare providers will work together to address all the health issues in a rural habitation/village and provide both preventive and curative healthcare. As there is a shortage of doctors, some other mid-level service provider will have to be positioned at the sub-centre. There are 7.4 lakh AYUSH doctors in India who can potentially man the sub-centers. Ayurveda doctors are eligible to work as mid-level service provider after passing a six-month bridge course. A B.Sc (Community Health) (Community Health) graduates is also eligible to work as mid-level service providers. We should use this resource to provide human resources to sub-centres.
- Detecting non-communicable diseases early will prevent deaths and reduce the overall OOPE on healthcare. For this, universal health check-up is required at periodic intervals. Health screening of both mothers and children should be done, especially for lifestyle diseases which are an emerging concern for public health. For adults Cancer, Cardio-vascular Diseases, Diabetes and Respiratory

Diseases, account for most deaths in India (before the age of 70). The goal should be to conduct universal health checkup of the entire population and to issue a family health card (on the lines of a soil card) to all. This health card should be in an electronic form. To do this this our human resources have to be given incentives. Anganwadi and Asha workers will be given an additional Rs 1000 (more than what is currently being paid by the Telangana Government) subject to, (1) universal checkup of all and reduction in diseases of all households in the village and (2) paying particular attention to the health cards of those suffering from chronic diseases such as kidney ailments and Thalasemia who will be given a separate pension of Rs 10,000 per month.

- Government hospitals would be revamped on par with corporate entities in two years by making doctors accountable to patients, not to a vertical hierarchy, and linking their salary to number of patients they treat under Arogyasri scheme who would have otherwise gone to corporate hospitals. Simultaneously, as part of the money they make will be given to the hospitals for upgradation and maintenance provided they buy from the government e-marketing platform (e.g. GeM).
- Leverage on the Government of India Scheme of Jan Aushadhi stores to provide reasonably priced medicines to people. Importantly, direct Government doctors to prescribe only generic medicines and penalize non-compliance.

The future is in digital health care. Sensors and detectors will provide information on vital indicators of patients to doctors directly. There are several digital platforms available in India. The sub-centres, PHCs, CHCs and district hospitals should be linked to a digital network within one year.

The sale of alcohol across the State will be banned in three stages.

- In the first stage, IMFL will be banned, and only beer/wine allowed.
- In the second stage alcohol sale from retail outlets will be banned and alcohol sale allowed only in bars.
- In the third stage consumption of Alcohol will only be restricted to 5-star hotels.

Farmers and others

Follow the example of Netherlands and focus on yields. For example, the yield of onion in Netherlands is 75.4 tonnes/ha while it is 17.2 in India. Similarly, the yield of wheat in Netherlands is 9.1 tonnes/ha while it is 3.2 in India. This will be done based on the principle “**doing more with less**” and consist of the following –

- Reduce use of water by 90% while use of chemical pesticides will be reduced.
- Reduce use of antibiotic use in poultry by 60%.
- Use high-yielding seeds based on molecular breeding, which introduces no foreign genes (unlike GMO).

- The practices will be directly in line with farmers 10,000 years ago in the fertile crescent in the Middle East.
- Reduce antibiotic use in poultry and livestock by 60%.

Based on the above principles, the following benefits will be given -

- Financial assistance of Rs. 50,000 to farmers. From the second year, each farmer's family would be given Rs. 12,500 per year.
- 9 hours of free electricity during the day, cold storage units and food processing centers in every constituency.
- Free bore wells and crop insurance for which the government would bear the cost of the premium.
- Interest-free crop loans.
- Aqua farmers would get electricity at Rs. 1.50 per unit.
- Guarantee minimum support price to crops
- Assistance to Dairy farmers by providing Rs. 4 as bonus per liter.

Once the farmers in a village get access to e-marketplace in place of market yards they will be assured of support from a Price stabilization fund of Rs. 3,000 Crore.

Entrepreneurship development

The motto will be to **incentivize companies and businesses to grow**. Companies will have to show an annual growth in employment of 20% or more in the next three consecutive years based on a schedule given by them. For this a favorable environment would be created for the setting up of industries by providing the necessary concessions including land, taxes, power etc, particularly -

- Implement insolvency and bankruptcy to weed out the living dead companies.
- Tackle delayed payments using the MSME Development Act 2006.
- Remove all restrictions and de-novo create only required restrictions.

For the informal sector, the motto will be that the **entrepreneur knows best** and several schemes would be converged and the following minimum benefits will be assured -

- The assistance given to fishermen would be hiked from Rs. 4,000 to Rs 10,000 along with other benefits.
- Nayer Brahmins, tailors and Rajakas (washermen) who run small business establishments would be given annual assistance of Rs. 10,000.
- Families of handloom workers with looms would get Rs. 24,000 per year as assistance.

- Those in traditional occupations as also small businessmen such as street vendors would get Rs. 10,000 as a loan at zero interest.
- Under YSR Asara, all loans pertaining to the women's co-operative societies would be waived. In addition, zero-interest loans would be issued. Payment of interest amount on loans up to Rs. 50,000 would be borne by the government.
- Through YSR Cheyutha, the YSRCP intends to support all women from SC, ST, BC and minority communities, who are aged over 45. This would amount to Rs. 75,000 per woman from these communities over a period of 4 years.

Junior lawyers would get a stipend of Rs. 5,000 for three years before they settle into their practice. This will be linked to making some minimum number of appearances/filing in court every month and writing minimum number of articles (3-5) every year.

Social safety net

Economic shocks are the single biggest reason for the **poor to become even more poor** or for households to fall below the poverty line. Therefore, the following social welfare benefits will be given -

- In case of death of a fisherman his family would receive Rs 10 lakh ex-gratia.
- In case of the death of an individual belonging to a BC Community, Rs 5 lakh would be given to the family under YSR Insurance.
- BC women would be given Rs 50,000 as assistance for weddings under YSR Pelli Kanuka.
- If a farmer commits suicide or dies in an accident, members of his family would get Rs 7 lakh under YSR Insurance Scheme and an act brought in so that the money does not go into the hands of creditors.

Governance

- Every parliamentary constituency to be turned into a district to take governance to the people in the following steps –
 - Step 1: Every Sub-division into a District. A structure based on flat organization and level jumping will be introduced. Redundant structures will be integrated into one. Democratic administration will be fully activated in these new Districts.
 - Step 2: Every parliamentary constituency will be converted into a District. In pure urban constituencies, the Municipal Commissioner and the Collector will be combined.

- As short service track will be established as in the Army and 2,30,000 job vacancies will be filled up.
- Scrapping of road tax and toll tax for agricultural tractors.
- A calamity relief fund of Rs 4,000 Crore to tackle adverse effects of Climate Change.

(Views are personal and not of the Government or the IICA)

