

# A conflict of interest

Trimming Sebi's financial independence is potentially regressive



D PRIYADARSHINI

The spotlight is back on regulatory independence with the Finance Bill, 2019, proposals to amend the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Sebi) Act. If brought into force, Sebi must transfer 75 per cent of its annual surplus to the government, retaining 25 per cent in a newly constituted “reserve fund” (which cannot exceed a total of previous two years’ annual expenditure). Sebi must also obtain the central government’s approval for its capital expenditure. All remaining amounts, after expenditures and

transfers, must be credited to the Consolidated Fund of India. Sebi is financed by market participants and does not depend on government funds. It is statutorily required to credit only penalties to the Consolidated Fund, and maintains funds in a separate general fund. The proposals therefore impinge on Sebi’s financial freedom. The concentration of state power in unelected bodies (like regulators) requires accountability, including, for finances. Both the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Financial Sector Legislative Reforms Commission (FSLRC) which was constituted to review the Indian financial sector recognise this. Accountability may be the intent behind the new proposals. The matter however predates them. Two principal arguments have been offered by the government and the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG). As “state” and a “delegatee” of

sovereign functions, Sebi must maintain funds and surpluses in government accounts, and transfer monies it collects back to the sovereign. This is a prevalent practice in “similarly placed” organisations in India (like the judiciary, CAG and Central Electricity Regulatory Commission or CERC) and abroad, and does not impact regulatory independence. So far, Sebi has resisted, citing compromise to its financial freedom. As both OECD and FSLRC note, independent regulators can deliver better outcomes by attracting requisite talent unhindered by government’s traditional constraints of budget or process. They strengthen regulatory neutrality and certainty, inspiring trust in markets and are not meant to be mere extensions of government. Financial independence — from stakeholders, including the government — enables this by preventing regulatory capture. The proposals therefore raise

concerns. One, dependence on the executive for the regulator’s capex blurs the separation between the two. The proposals introduce dependence on the executive and Parliament for funds. Two, no rationale is provided for these specific caps, which may be restrictive. For instance, reference to prior period expenditures could inhibit the organisational growth/modernisation required to meet the challenges of regulating rapidly evolving markets. Sebi is already understaffed, with one employee for every seven companies. The ratio is 1:1 for the US securities regulator, SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission). The need for Parliamentary approval to amend the caps compounds the issue. The prevailing practice too requires examination. The power ministry has de jure control over utilisation and maintenance of the CERC’s funds under the public account. Such accountability to individual ministry needs to be

evaluated carefully. Both the judiciary and CAG may not be apt comparisons as they are constitutional authorities whose compensation is charged to the Consolidated Fund, not voted upon. Also, the proposed amendments seem inspired by SEC (which can transfer up to \$ 50 million a year to a reserve fund capped at \$100 million). This may be inappropriate since unlike Sebi, the SEC is funded by budgetary appropriations. The reserve fund was introduced following the financial crisis to provide greater autonomy to the SEC. Sebi already enjoys more financial freedom today so we may be regressing. A suitable reference may be the UK’s Financial Conduct Authority which, like Sebi, is funded by fees and charges from market participants, turns in penalties to the exchequer and transfers the benefit of surplus funds to market participants through reduced fees. The last more closely aligns with the objective of developing efficient and competitive markets. Treating surpluses as budgetary revenues may not. At the heart of the matter is

the balance required between regulatory independence and accountability. Both are needed for good regulatory governance and outcomes. Pertinently, the FSLRC did not recommend changes to funding provisions of Sebi (only principles for levying fees). It however proposed, in the Indian Financial Code accompanying its report, stronger mechanisms for regulatory reporting and evaluation, which enhance parliamentary/ executive trust. For example, efficiency and performance reports along with annual reports and delinking regulators’ performance from that of regulated entities (a current practice). These recommendations are useful given the FSLRC’s comprehensive review of Indian financial sector. Also, the presence of state-owned entities within insurance and pension regulators’ jurisdiction raise potential conflicts of interest. Since these regulators may have to follow suit, introducing similar measures needs to be deliberated.

The author is a fellow at the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy. Views are personal

## CHINESE WHISPERS

### Vacation can wait



The Narendra Modi government’s plan to extend the Parliament session by at least a week threatens to derail the plans of some Members of Parliament. MPs, including those of the Bharatiya Janata Party and its allies, had planned either to go back to their constituencies or on vacation, and, in some cases, official tours abroad. Meetings had been fixed, and flights and hotels booked. All must be cancelled or postponed. Some Opposition MPs on Monday were heard trying to convince their respective party leaders that they be allowed to skip attending Parliament if the session was extended.

### Life & times of a former PM

Prime Minister Narendra Modi will release the biography of former Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar on Wednesday. The book, *Chandra Shekhar: The Last Icon of Ideological Politics*, has been written by former journalist and Rajya Sabha Deputy Chairman Harivansh and research scholar Ravi Dutt Bajpai. Last week, Neeraj Shekhar, the son of the former prime minister, quit his Rajya Sabha seat to join the Bharatiya Janata Party. The book has several interesting anecdotes. As his health deteriorated in 2006, then PM Manmohan Singh asked Chandra Shekhar’s political advisor H N Sharma to write a letter so that he could be flown to the US for treatment. Chandra Shekhar tore up the letter. “It took a lot of persuasion by Manmohan Singh, Sonia Gandhi and (then vice-president) Bhairon Singh Shekhawat for him to make a trip to the US for his treatment around March–April 2006,” the book

### Trinamool walkout

Trinamool Congress MPs Sukhendu Sekhar Roy and Derek O’Brien on Monday led party MPs to stage a walkout, alleging “subversion of rules” when some Opposition MPs could not table their suggestions for the Human Rights (amendment) Bill. The MPs blamed the pandemonium in the House for their inability to move the amendments. While TMC MPs walked out, the Congress and some others continued to sit in the House and participated in the discussion on the Bill. The TMC has now urged all Opposition MPs to put on record their dissatisfaction with the presiding officers of the two Houses. The Congress and other parties, however, are still considering whether they should support the Trinamool, which has upped the ante against the government with an eye on the West Bengal Assembly polls in 2021.

# Red flags on green targets

Why India should not enhance its climate targets at the upcoming UNSG Climate Action Summit beyond the already agreed limit

NITIN SETHI

The UN Secretary General (UNSG) António Guterres has invited world leaders to a Climate Action Summit on September 23 at New York. He has requested countries to come prepared to announce enhanced emission reduction targets for the first phase of the Paris Agreement, which starts in 2020 — higher than what they have already agreed to.

India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi is expected to attend. Before he does, he and his cabinet would have to take a decision to announce such a higher greenhouse gas emission reduction target at the summit or not.

The UNSG’s team has been lobbying for almost a year for countries to do so — to bring higher targets to the table as a political announcement at the summit, which can then be put up officially at the formal UN climate change negotiations in Chile at the end of the year.

On the face of it, India is well on trajectory to achieve its existing emission reduction target. It committed to reduce the emission intensity of its GDP by 33-35 per cent below 2005 levels by 2030. It had already achieved a reduction of 21 per cent below 2005 lev-

els by 2014. It also committed to ensuring that 40 per cent of its power capacity by 2030 comes from non-fossil fuel sources. By December 2018, the installed non-fossil fuel capacity had already touched 36.15 per cent and is projected to reach 64.9 per cent by 2030 (including hydropower, nuclear and renewables). India lags far behind, however, on its third target of saving an additional 2-3 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent emissions through afforestation.



Overall, the country is well on its route to doing much better than its existing international commitment under the Paris Agreement. Still, India could easily commit to more at the UNSG summit and cement its position as a global leader against the fight against climate change.

But, there are other issues to consider. The US is unlikely to take on more than its existing meagre target under Paris Agreement with its President Donald Trump continuing to hold the threat of withdrawing from the agreement by 2020. European Union may or may not enhance its existing business-as-usual target but it would still fall short of its fair share.

Both these developed economies continue to work to dilute their commitments to provide finance and tec-



UN Secretary General António Guterres (above) has invited world leaders to a Climate Action Summit on September 23 in New York

nology to developing countries and completely do away with such commitments towards large developing countries such as India.

In effect, if India were to unilaterally (or along with select partner developing countries) decide to announce higher targets at the summit, it would aid Europe and the US to break away from arguments of equity and fair sharing of the burden. There are up-front costs of transitioning to cleaner economies that India would have to consequently bear disproportionate to its responsibility for causing climate change.

Besides, the clean energy transition in transport, housing and certain industrial sectors is likely to be more difficult

and expensive than in the power sector. With the low-hanging fruit of energy efficiency and up-scaling non-fossil fuel being plucked early, the other steps — such as greening India’s transport fleet or retrofitting buildings for efficiency — would require large-scale re-engineering of India’s urban growth plans.

Committing a higher target at the UNSG summit without any real commitment from developed countries on finance and technology would undermine the relatively more democratic parleys at the formal UN climate negotiations where experienced negotiators are better able to protect Indian interests against the competitive economic edge that developed countries try to

gain in the garb of climate change.

Agreeing to a higher target for the first phase of the Paris Agreement (between 2020-2030) is also going to have a base effect. The agreement requires countries to enhance their numbers for each next phase. When the process for doing so begins in 2023-24, India would be locked to higher ambition levels (in terms of emission reductions) for mid- to long-term trajectories without having assessed the feasibility of how that would impact the economy post-2030. Such long-term projections are always more difficult for emerging economies compared to advanced ones and India has a history of missing its energy mix targets.

A country such as India could have more ambitious domestic targets but commit more conservatively under international agreements — as other countries have done — to maintain strategic parity and also avoid any embarrassment at a later stage of falling short of its commitment. Even now, the government’s decision to set up 175 GW of renewable power by 2022 remains a purely domestic target. Internationally, it has committed to numbers for non-fossil fuel power capacity (which includes hydropower and nuclear). This gives it flexibility.

Yet, another factor in the decision-making for the Indian government would be how the political leadership wants to shape its global role. For this, it would look at what China intends to do. So far, China and India have been seen on a par in leading on the climate front. Notably, in its invitation, the UNSG’s office had earlier suggested that only leaders who come with plans for enhanced action would get the opportunity to speak at the summit.

## ON THE JOB

# Letting the demographic dividend slip



MAHESH VYAS

India’s total fertility rate declined in 2017 to 2.2 after remaining unchanged at 2.3 for four years. This means that Indian women, who on an average bore 2.3 children during their reproductive years, now have 2.2 children. This is one of the findings of the Sample Registration System, a large demographic survey conducted by the Registrar General of India.

One of the major reasons why women are unable to join the labour force in sufficient numbers is that they fulfil a very time-consuming responsibility of bearing and bringing up children. If women bear many children then they are inhibited more from joining the labour force. Conversely, if they start bearing lesser children mostly in response to falling infant and child mortality, they get freer to join the labour force.

News of the fall in total fertility rate is therefore very welcome. All other things being the same, it should help improve the female labour participation rate. The total fertility rate was constant for four consecutive years from 2013 through 2016. The change has come after a long gap.

CMIE’s Consumer Pyramids Household Survey showed an increase in female labour force participation rate between January–April 2016 when it was 15.7 per cent and May–August 2016 when

it rose to 16.4 per cent. Then came the shock of demonetisation and the labour force participation rate fell sharply. “All other things” were not the same anymore.

More recently, we noticed an increase in the female labour participation rate at the younger age groups. We documented this change in this column on June 18, 2019. Early signs of a turnaround in the female labour force participation were seen in 2018. In the January–April 2019 survey, an increase in the female labour force participation rate was clearly evident.

While there is a steady improvement in the female labour force participation rate between early 2017 and early 2019, the ratio has still not repaired to its early 2016 level. Female labour force participation rate among young women, between 15 and 29 years of age during January–April 2016 was 14.3 per cent. It fell sharply to 8.6 per cent by January–April 2017. Then, it fell further to 8.1 per cent in 2018. By January–April 2019 it recovered to 8.8 per cent.

While this is heartening, it is dismaying to see how little this really means. It is pointless to rejoice the small increase in labour force participation of women, if this does not mean an increase in their employment. It is more important to see the employment rate (which is the proportion of working age women actually working, also called the worker participation rate) of women improve. This ratio is not improving. On the contrary it is deteriorating. In January–April 2016, 7 per cent of the young women of 15-29 years of age were employed. This ratio dropped to 5.6 per cent in January–April 2017. Then it dropped to 4.6 per cent in January–April 2018. And in January–April 2019 it was down to just 4.3 per cent. It is somewhat disheartening to see only 4-7 per cent of young women working. In comparison, 40-48 per cent of men of this age group are working. It is true

that this is also the most child-bearing age group. Yet, the sharp disparity between men and women is as disconcerting.

If female labour force participation rises, but the employment rate does not, the few additional women who join the labour force will face increasing disappointment in not finding jobs. If this continues for some time, it may discourage women from joining the labour force any further. India will then lose an opportunity to increase labour participation to drive growth based on the prosperity of households.

Partly, this poor condition of the women workforce is a reflection of the depressed labour markets.

The overall employment rate during January–April 2019 was 39.9 per cent. This compares poorly with the 41 per cent rate a year ago; 42.3 per cent rate two years ago and 42.9 per cent rate three years ago. Evidently, the employment rate has been falling steadily since 2016. The fall is seen across men and women. And, it is seen across young men and young women. Between 2016 and 2017, while the employment rate for women dropped from 7 per cent to 5.6 per cent that for men dropped from 48 per cent to 45 per cent. Steadily, we see a decline in the proportion of men and women, young and old populations actually employed. While demographic transitions are providing favourable conditions by producing a larger working age population and a falling total fertility rate is delivering women in greater numbers into the labour force, the economy seems to fail them by not being able to provide them jobs in proportion.

The mere supply of labour does not guarantee growth. The supply of labour needs to be harnessed for productive purposes to ensure that India can benefit from its demographic dividend.

The author is the MD and CEO of CMIE

## LETTERS

### Encourage repayment culture



This refers to your front page report “RBI blames banks for Mudra NPAs” (July 22). It is important to note that a majority of those who took Mudra loans were first-time borrowers. It could also be their first tryst with a small business venture. In most cases, it was their first port of call. Keeping these things in mind, it is vital to educate them about the benefits of repayments of loans. A get-together at the district, taluka or village level in the bank premises to make them aware of the importance of CIBIL and the duties of a responsible borrower will yield positive results. A WhatsApp group of all borrowers could be made in each taluka and a request to approach the bank in cases of irregularity of loan repayment will go a long way in developing a positive culture among first-time borrowers.

Young bankers who have joined service recently are brimming with energy and they could be trained to approach Mudra borrowers and understand their problems. Honouring good Mudra borrowers in the branch once a month by inviting the sarpanch and other prominent villagers will infuse a lot of confidence and encourage a repayment culture among Mudra borrowers. Regular CIBIL melas and education camps in colleges, communities halls and social gatherings will surely bring down the number of wilful defaulters.

N K Bakshi Vadodara

### ‘Transformer’ of Delhi

Apropos “Sheila Dikshit cremated with state honours” (July 22). Senior

Congress leader and three-term Chief Minister of Delhi, Sheila Dikshit can be called a “transformer” of Delhi. It used to be a full fledged Union Territory till 1991, and even today has multiple power centres, but she was able to manage Delhi much better than many others who held power before she took over the reins in 1998. Gujarat used to be touted as the best governed state under Narendra Modi, but unlike Delhi, the state did not face the problem of people migrating in large numbers.

Unlike other homogenous states, Delhi has become the residence of people from all across India and she did struggle to handle the law and order as the Delhi Police continued to be under the central government. Later, many unsubstantiated allegations of corruption against her over the 2010 Commonwealth Games spoiled her clean image. She was lucky as during her term she had the support of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and then Manmohan Singh, unlike the present CM Arvind Kejriwal who continues to face hostilities from the powers that be.

N Nagarajan Secunderabad

### Bring culprits to book

Rattled by the foiled attempts to prevent Congress leader Priyanka Gandhi from meeting the family members of victims of Sonbhadra massacre over an alleged land dispute, Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister has accused the

Congress party of being the main culprit, tracing the genesis of the incident to an alleged illegal registration of the disputed land in the name of a trust as far back as 1955.

This is preposterous, to say the least. He has blamed both the Congress and the SP of hatching a conspiracy. Fishing in troubled waters, Bahujan Samaj Party chief Mayawati has been quick to hold both the Congress and the BJP responsible for the oppression of tribals.

The poor tribals have been at the receiving end of being forcefully deprived of ownership and enjoyment of their land by the powerful, resulting in a class war with such groups taking up arms to seek justice. This must be prevented.

What is required therefore is to build a credible administrative and legal shield against any future attempt targeting such vulnerable sections in our society. The immediate task for the investigating agencies should be to build foolproof prosecutable cases against those responsible for such a carnage and to swiftly bring them to justice in a demonstrable manner.

S K Choudhury Bengaluru

Letters can be mailed, faxed or e-mailed to: The Editor, Business Standard, Nehru House, 4 Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi 110 002. Fax: (011) 23720201. E-mail: letters@bsmail.in. All letters must have a postal address and telephone number

## HAMBONE





## Expanding powers

Recent decisions have extended govt's reach

Many notable successes of the first term of the Narendra Modi-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government were reforms that reduced the powers of the Union government or its bureaucrats, or which created independent institutions and processes. The goods and services tax (GST), for example, vests the powers to set indirect tax rates with a GST Council that includes the states. The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code created a process that, hopefully, insulates bankruptcy from political pressures. The monetary policy framework agreed with the Reserve Bank of India enhances the independence of India's monetary authority and makes it less subservient to political directions. It was generally hoped that the NDA's emphatic re-election would allow this benign process to continue.

However, judging by some of the actions in its initial months towards seizing greater control of processes and decision-making, it seems the concept of "maximum government" is back once again. For example, the government has introduced amendments to the Right to Information Act, reducing the independence of the Information Commissioners. Earlier their salaries and tenure were fixed by law; now they will be decided by bureaucrats case by case. Replacing a fixed statutory term that offers security of tenure with one where Information Commissioners serve at the pleasure of the government and on terms set by it impinges on institutional autonomy. Another independent institution that has seen its wings clipped is the Airports Economic Regulatory Authority, which has had the number of airports it oversees cut by half — essentially ceding control of tariffs and other regulatory measures to the government for some of India's most trafficked airports, including those which are most likely to be controversial because of substantial private sector participation.

There have also been enhancements to the government's coercive authority. New Home Minister Amit Shah steered the passage of a National Investigation Agency Act, which gives the agency extra-territorial powers and allows it to create special courts. Mr Shah specifically defended draconian and illiberal past counter-terror laws during the relevant parliamentary debate. On taxation, there are similar problems. The income-tax department has made certain offences related to the possession of black money "non-compoundable", which means that paying a fine is no longer an option. Customs officials have also been given vastly extended powers in the Union Budget, including the right to attach bank accounts for six months. Trading false duty scrips has been made a cognizable and non-bailable offence. Customs officers have also been armed with the powers to demand an Aadhaar number and investigate not just violations of Customs law but "any other law for the time being in force" as long as it is "in the interests of protecting revenue" — clearly far too lax a constraint. Added together, this is a clear trend, which the government would do well to recognise and correct.

Ministers have warned industry against violating "the spirit of the law". This is wise advice, and should be heeded. But the government must also remember that if the letter of the law becomes too harsh, its spirit is invariably weakened. A return to the principles of minimum government and minimal interference is warranted.

## Rental boost

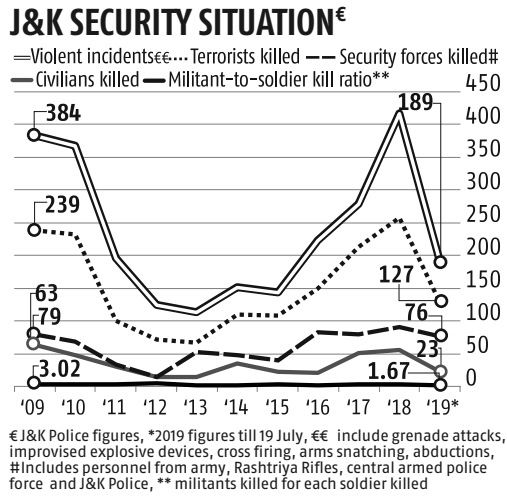
The model law can help fix a struggling housing market

Urban India has a dysfunctional housing market. Too few houses are available for rent; those that are on sale are priced out of the market. As a consequence, there is both unfulfilled demand and a large inventory of vacant apartments. The Economic Survey 2018 estimated there were almost 500,000 vacant houses in Mumbai alone, and Delhi and Bengaluru possibly had about 300,000 apartments standing empty. Perhaps 12 per cent of the housing stock in urban areas of India is not occupied for living, in spite of millions of households who wish to buy or rent not finding satisfactory houses. The Survey blamed "unclear property rights, weak contract enforcement and low rental yields" for this structural problem. Home owners are unwilling to rent out their houses because the legal framework is loaded in favour of tenants. For similar reasons, there is a premium on ownership of a house, so that rental incomes are much smaller than the equivalent mortgage costs. This further depresses the incentive to rent out a house. In other words, the absence of proper and reliable contracting has led to a breakdown in the market.

The government is to be commended for taking this long-standing problem on board and for seeking to address it. In the Budget for 2019-20, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman promised that a new model tenancy Bill would be drafted by the Centre and sent to the states. The Bill has a lot that would help untangle the knots in residential real estate in India. The most important task is to reduce the probability of high-cost and traumatic events to both renters and landlords. Thus, for example, there are rules governing the supply of essential utilities, since some tenants are forced out by homeowners through the simple expedient of cutting off electricity and water supply. Nor can landlords revise the rent sharply upwards in the middle of a tenant's lease, either, under the draft legislation. Tenants must be given three months' notice. Landlords, on the other hand, are promised recourse against the possibility of a tenant overstaying. Rent will double for the first two months and scale up to four times the base rent thereafter.

One particularly important question is whether any such law can be policed properly, and whether disputes will be settled in a timely fashion through the legal system. The problem with contract enforcement in India is not necessarily the terms of the contract, but that the judicial system can be so clogged that disputes over control of an asset can outlive the useful lifespan of that asset. The draft Bill suggests a new court exclusively to judge rent-related disputes. However, it should be noted that the experience with dedicated courts of this nature has been mixed in India — as is seen most recently with the delayed timeframes of resolutions under the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code. The idea of creating independent regulators and authorities in each state is a better one. The problem is one of dispute-settlement capacity, and that is what the government should now address on priority. If it succeeds, one of India's most intractable problems will have a long-awaited solution.

ILLUSTRATION: AJAY MOHANTY



## Engaging Kashmir's alienated youth

Political engagement is essential in Kashmir, but not just to capture power

Last week, I spent four days in Kashmir reading the mood amongst youngsters there. Engaging the Kashmiri youth is critical. With the decline of the Joint Resistance Leadership — largely the outmoded separatists of the Hurriyat Conference — a fragmented and highly localised youth leadership now guides confrontation with the security forces.

Speaking to youths, especially in the roiling districts of South Kashmir, it becomes evident that the long-standing Kashmiri tradition of anger at mainstream India has turned into bubbling, visceral hatred. Almost every Kashmiri will argue that the flagrant anti-Muslim bias of the Narendra Modi government has validated the two-nation theory, leaving Muslims with no place in today's India. Person after person recounted mistreatment and abuse by security forces, especially at random checkpoints that treat every Kashmiri as a terrorist until proven innocent. There was the grinding misery of random inconvenience: Traffic being halted for hours to clear the road for security force convoys, youngsters being detained at military camps or police stations, purely for the mistake of being a young, fighting-age male. So deep-flowing is the vein of Kashmiri bitterness that even the rising epidemic of drug addiction is blamed on an "Indian plot" to plant a cancer that destroys the flower of Kashmiri youth. Youngster after youngster swore to me that Kashmiris would fight to the finish in their struggle for *azaadi*.

However, long-time watchers of the Valley understand, and factor into their judgement, the Kashmiris' deep-felt need to vent anger. The first half of any conversation is different from the second half, which is far more coloured with pragmatism, even wisdom. It

became quickly evident that the Kashmiris realise they are at a fork in the road — one path paved with continued violence, uncertainty and security force operations; the other characterised by dialogue and calm. Everyone realises the start of dialogue does not mean a full end to violence. But the emphasis will shift from confrontation to reconciliation. The Kashmiris are amenable to a dialogue outreach from New Delhi; but the government is keeping its cards close to its chest.

It is hard to miss the fatigue amongst Kashmiris, notwithstanding brave words about "a new generation having lost its fear of death". Since Kashmir went up in flames in mid-2016 with the killing of Burhan Wani — a novice militant whose charisma made him a social media icon amongst Kashmiri youngsters — New Delhi has engaged Kashmir exclusively through the medium of security force operations. New Delhi's strategy — often referred to as the Doval Doctrine, after National Security Advisor Ajit Doval — rests on the belief that Kashmiris have been pampered for decades (including by Atal Behari Vajpayee's BJP government) and that they needed a robust reminder that New Delhi had hard options as well.

Towards this, the Union government has squeezed the separatists on the simultaneous fronts of counter-militancy operations, economic targeting of separatist finances and incarceration of the separatist leadership. Syed Ali Shah Geelani and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq are mostly under house arrest, while Yasir Malik and Shabir Shah have been consigned to jail. Mainstream politics too has ground to a standstill, with Mehbooba Mufti's government dismissed and governor's rule imposed for the foreseeable future. Omar Abdullah's National



BROADSWORD

AJAI SHUKLA

## The agony and the urgency of water

In May 2014, Cape Town's major dams and reservoirs were at 72 per cent capacity. By May 2017, after three years of drought, levels were down to 21 per cent. By October only five months of water was left in storage. The city declared an impending "Day Zero" when water taps would be turned off and residents would have to go to public water distribution points. The declaration triggered panic — but also action. A series of water efficiency measures ensured that Cape Town's total water demand fell from 600 million litres per day (mld) in mid-2017 to 507 mld by April 2018 (short of the 450 mld target but significant nonetheless). In June 2018, authorities postponed Day Zero indefinitely.

Chennai's experience is not dissimilar to Cape Town's. In 2015, it was hit by a once-in-a-century flood. Thanks to three subsequent years of below-average monsoons, water levels in its four reservoirs kept dropping, down to 1 per cent by May 2018. But authorities reacted late with no concerted effort to reduce water demand. Last year, Shimla had to turn away tourists because water levels were dangerously low, once again a consequence of less rain and falling water levels, leakages in pipelines, and unchecked urban growth.

As one of the fastest urbanising countries in the world, Indian cities would continue to lurch from one water crisis to another if we only woke up during emergencies. Responses that merely deal with the symptoms of acute water crises cannot fix chronic water mismanagement.

**Constant campaign:** India's cities need a constant campaign to explain — and change — the use, misuse and reuse of the critical resource. The right to water is a right to a minimum amount of water for basic human needs. It is not a right to profligate or inefficient use of water.

We face two kinds of communication challenges. One, how not to create a sense of overconfidence that

solutions will emerge automatically. Reliance on water tankers, water trains or water desalination plants is myopic and inadequate unless consumption behaviour changes. The other challenge is how to not create a sense of despair when talking about too much or too little water.

Both communication problems persist because we have failed to empower individuals and communities. This is what Cape Town did. The "Zero Day" announcement jolted people out of their apathy and nudged a series of household-level actions: Using buckets in showers to reuse the extra water, recycling washing machine water, or flushing toilets once a day. Poorer residents in shantytowns had been used to such practices for years. It was the sight of rich residents queuing up for water that conveyed that something was seriously wrong — and had to change.

**Measure, recharge, then build:** Each urban area and its associated watershed have a carrying capacity. Metropolitan Chennai with 8.6 million people has a daily demand of 1,200 mld in normal times. Cape Town, at half the population, managed far lower total demand after its water crisis. It is imperative that we measure water availability and water consumption. Only then would water recharge measures (harvesting rainwater, rehabilitating lakes or desilting canals) prove effective.

More importantly, measurement should happen at a micro level (homes, offices, industries and farms). Building permits in cities should not be issued unless developers have demonstrated that they have installed systems to recharge more water than what is expected to be withdrawn. The same applies for flood management plans before new developments are sanctioned, as was done in California's Central Valley.

**Bureau of Water Efficiency (BWE):** For existing users, 20 per cent increase in water use efficiency must be mandated for all sectors. Water conservation will



INFLEXION POINTS

ARUNABHA GHOSH

tous in independent India's history.

Mr Sinha had to steer the economy out of its direst moments to date. He says Rajiv Gandhi, on whom the Chandra Shekhar government was dependent, prevented him from presenting a regular Budget.

Annoyed and disappointed he resigned but Chandra Shekhar tore up the resignation letter. A few weeks later, India mortgaged its gold to the Bank of England and Bank of Japan for a small loan. It was humiliating moment, he says.

**Sleeping with saffron**

In 1993, a few months after the Babri Masjid was demolished with the approval of the BJP, Mr Sinha joined it. Earlier he had been approached by then Prime Minister P V Narsimha Rao to join the Congress.

The other alternative was to stay on with Chandra Shekhar whose party was thinking of merging Janata Party. But that meant kowtowing to a fellow Bihari, Lalu Prasad Yadav.

So the BJP it was and it turned out to be

Conference is unlikely to be spared either. The administration is in the hands of J&K Governor Satya Pal Malik, who has a well-deserved reputation for breath-taking faux pas. On Sunday, Malik urged militants to kill "the corrupt people who have looted Kashmir", instead of killing innocents such as police officers. Facing accusations of endangering mainstream politicians and bureaucrats, Malik has clarified that he spoke in his individual capacity, not as governor.

If there is fatigue amongst the Kashmir public, the security forces must also be feeling like they are running up a down-coming escalator. J&K Police violence statistics for the last decade starkly illustrate the lost opportunity for initiating political dialogue in 2013-15, when the violent street uprisings of 2008-10 had cooled, tourism was booming and there were just 150 active militants in Kashmir. Instead, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led government's majoritarian agenda drove Kashmir back into alienation. After Burhan Wani's death in mid-2016, the flames have only leapt higher. The security forces kill a growing number of terrorists each year at a growing cost to themselves. Worse, from 2009-12, more than three terrorists were killed for each dead soldier. Since 2016, the cost in blood has almost doubled. If these troubling violence figures are to be mitigated, a fresh political engagement of Kashmir is essential.

While little is yet conclusive, it appears there might be one in the offing. Home Minister Amit Shah visited Kashmir last month and addressed the panchayat (local government) heads elected in December. On Saturday, Defence Minister Rajnath Singh declared that Kashmir would be resolved soon and "no power on earth can stop it". Quickly tamping down on any optimism, he added: "If not through talks, then we know another way too." Meanwhile, sources in Srinagar say the prime minister's office has intensified the monitoring of the economic schemes it initiated — also pointing to elections.

Kashmiri political leaders believe the BJP is kick-starting politics towards a clear end: Forming a BJP-led government in Kashmir, which can lead the way to abrogating Articles 35A and 370 of the Constitution. Kashmiri politicians and security managers are wary about such a plan, warning that any political erosion of Kashmiri identity markers would constitute a red line that should preferably not be challenged. Mufti has already stated that, if Article 35A is challenged, "there will be no one left to hold [the national flag in Kashmir]."

However, the BJP apparently believes that a political majority and an enhanced security presence to control the reactions would allow it to ram through the changes. Obtaining a political majority involves sweeping the 37 seats in Jammu and two of the four in Ladakh through a polarising electoral agenda; and winning a handful of seats in Kashmir to achieve a majority in the 87-seat J&K Assembly. The Kashmiri seats can only be achieved by fragmenting Abdullah's National Conference and Mufti's People's Democratic Party, while simultaneously tying up with smaller Kashmiri players like Engineer Sheikh Abdul Rashid, Sajjad Lone and former Indian Administrative Service officer, Shah Faesal.

Without a dialogue aimed at engaging and co-opting the separatist hard core, such political machinations are likely to only discredit New Delhi further. Alongside a reconciliation dialogue, the government must also actively facilitate Kashmiri youth to move out of the state into mainstream India, providing visible alternatives even for those who stay back. The north-eastern states, once riven with insurgencies, are being steadily assimilated as large numbers of their youngsters find jobs in service industries in mainstream India. It would be useful to facilitate such a path for Kashmir's youngsters as well.

not work only by force of moral suasion or regulatory diktat. A Bureau of Water Efficiency should be tasked with designing and implementing mechanisms for year-on-year improvements in water efficiency by creating positive incentives.

Incentives linked to price are easier but not always politically palatable. Other mechanisms are possible: Water efficiency labels for appliances; bulk purchase of water-saving devices to lower costs; or a water credit trading system among industries. Agriculture (which consumes more than 80 per cent water in India) cannot be exempted. Water savings could be linked to farm output and farmers' incomes. The proposed BWE could adopt standards and labelling of drip irrigation systems and support end-user financing to promote efficient farm equipment.

**Circular economy of water:** More than 20 years ago, Singapore began R&D on reclaiming treated sewage water to potable standards. NEWater, the brand name given to reclaimed water, can now supply up to 40 per cent of Singapore's water demand, compared to 25 per cent from desalination plants.

Eventually, an economic case for water conservation is needed. Most of the urban sewage in India goes untreated. If all sewage were treated, water could be reused to cool down power plants (the biggest guzzlers after farms) and minerals recovered could be used as fertiliser. A circular economy of water allows for each drop to be used many times over and reduces the tariffs necessary to make sewage treatment plants economically viable. What initially was just a cost can become a resource to generate revenue.

Risk and vulnerability are not the same. Insufficient rains, climate-related stresses, bad urban planning have increased water risks for our bustling cities. But episodic water crises will only trigger action when citizens (poor and rich) find their vulnerabilities exposed. From Cape Town to Chennai, the lesson is clear: When we endure the agony personally, we are also likely to register the urgency. Then, we might just wake up.

The writer is CEO, Council on Energy, Environment and Water (<http://ceew.in>). Follow @GhoshArunabha@CEEWIndia

## BJP's obstinate critic



### BOOK REVIEW

T C A SRINIVASA RAGHAVAN

The somewhat mystifying title of this autobiography is taken from its last word: Relentless. That is how, says Mr Sinha, he is going to continue his pursuit of the national interest.

Obstinate and stubborn might have done just as well because that's how the author's persona emerges from this long — but never tedious — book. I read it in a single sitting of five hours last Friday.

At no point do you get the feeling that

he is prevaricating. It is what the blurb writers call an "honest" account. And if Mr Sinha can be accused of something at all, it is of sacrificing depth for width and, possibly, some omissions.

There is, for example, no reference to his elder son Jayant's all-too-brief political career. Jayant Sinha was a minister in the first Modi government and incurred his father's wrath over what was, at best, poor judgement on his part.

His resignation from the BJP also gets short shrift and he mentions Narendra Modi just once — when he came to canvass for Jayant in 2014.

His publishers, too, have been guilty of an omission. There is no index, which, in a book of this size and nature, is an unnecessary irritation. Mr Sinha should have insisted on one.

Mr Sinha is the ninth amongst 11 sib-

lings. He doesn't know exactly when he was born but November 1937 is the official date. He says he might be a little older. He also says but for his brother who chose the surname Sinha, he might have been Yashwant Saran. He went to school, and then to Patna college where he fell in love with a Bengali girl. When he asked her to marry him, she said no. "I am Bengali, you are Bihari."

**Narrow escape**

In 1958, he almost joined the army but was dissuaded by his mother who thought a career in the "paltan" to be too dangerous. Had he joined — and if been lucky — he would almost certainly have seen action in 1962, 1965 and 1971.

The Indian Administrative Service, which he joined in 1960, has always been a much safer option with nothing more lethal

than corrupt politicians as the enemy. From then until 1984, when he quit the service, life went on as it does for bureaucrats — one posting after another.

But from 1984 onwards the book moves from being merely interesting to fairly riveting. One day he had a Nike-type "just do it" moment. He says he sought voluntary retirement from the IAS on an impulse. Even Mrs Sinha didn't know. She was incensed. It took him several months to extricate himself from the maws of the government. When he finally did, he met Chandra Shekhar, who was then heading the Janata Party.

Unlike his college love, Chandra Shekhar didn't spurn him. And it turned out to be a marriage made in heaven. They brought each other luck.

In 1991 when either a sling or an arrow of "outrageous fortune" propelled Chandra Shekhar into the prime minister's seat, Mr Sinha became finance minister for all of six months. As is common knowledge now, those six months were the most momen-

### RELENTLESS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Yashwant Sinha  
Bloomsbury, ₹800, 530 pages



## Changes in RTI law will affect information flows

Having fixed, and unchanging tenure, is a vital part of institutional independence; this is now under threat

**GIVEN HOW THE** Right to Information Act, 2005 has, over the years, become a powerful tool in ensuring transparency—it is used by both activists and journalists—and a more accountable government due to more information being available, it is surprising the government was so eager to amend the Act. It might well be true, as Jitendra Singh, the minister of state for personnel, public grievances and pensions said in the discussion in the Lok Sabha on Monday, that the Act had some shortcomings that needed to be fixed. However, the proposed amendments—to sections 13 and 16—are not minor tweaks, but significant changes and will tilt the balance of power towards the Centre. Singh was right to point out, in his reply, that no changes have been made to Section 12(3) of the Act that deals with selection of the commissioners, or to 12(4) which allows the Chief Information Commissioner (CIC) to act autonomously, “without being subjected to directions by any other authority under this Act”. However, the autonomy of the officers will be compromised, with the government now deciding on the tenures of information commissioners, their terms of service, and their compensation.

Singh sought to explain this away by saying the tenure of information commissioners will be known to them at the time of their appointment, and that no change would be made once the person was appointed. In other words, Singh argued that, since the tenure of the commissioner wasn’t being cut short after the appointment, where was the question of trying to influence them? However, if the average tenure of information commissioners is, say, five years in most ministries, but two or three in some sensitive one, that sends out its own message; it would be a brave man who acts according to his conscience when he knows he has a short tenure of two or three years. Singh’s argument, then, that the government was not diluting either Section 12(3) or 12(4) doesn’t really hold water. Indeed, a firm principle for all regulators—and that holds for all institutions—relates to precisely this security of tenure. In principle, regulators have a fixed tenure, and are never given an extension either—or reappointed for that matter—as being able to control their tenures is a form of influence; the NDA, though, broke this rule by appointing a former TRAI chairman as the principal secretary and, later, by reappointing the TRAI chairman to the same job. The short point is that when an officer is given a relatively short tenure, which is now possible, it is in many ways a signal to him or her to be restrained. So far, all information commissioners enjoyed a five-year tenure, or were in office until the age of 65 whichever was earlier; nor is it clear why different information commissioners should have different tenure. The new rules will undermine their authority.

Again, the government is splitting hairs when it says the CIC is not a constitutional body like the central election commission (CEC) and that the two institutions carry out different functions. The CIC may not be a constitutional body, but it is difficult to argue that its role is any less important. These are flimsy grounds on which to seek changes and for the Centre to assume more powers. The RTI Act, even if it was used frivolously at times, has made lawmakers and the executive more accountable—this is vital in a democracy; to the extent the changes made restrict the ability of citizens to access information that is unfortunate.

## Not quite Governors speak

J&K Governor does well to retract his ‘kill’ statement

**MOST PEOPLE WOULD** be appalled at, among so many other innocents, the senseless killing of personal security officers (PSOs) of various Kashmir politicians over the years. They would be equally horrified at the brazen loot of public money; as compared to several other parts of the country, an even smaller fraction of the money sent by the central government finds its way on to projects on the ground in Jammu & Kashmir. And if you were in charge of trying to fix things in a state, as the BJP is trying, this is very frustrating. Militancy does get some kind of justification, even if incorrectly, in the eyes of the populace if the government is not delivering even basic services; and this is certainly the case in large parts of Jammu & Kashmir. There was, however, absolutely no justification for someone holding the highest constitutional office in the state, like Governor Satya Pal Malik, saying as he did, over the weekend, that militants would do better by killing those who had looted Kashmir instead of innocents like PSOs. Given the implications of this statement, it is just as well that Governor Malik has now retracted his statement and said that whatever he said was in a fit of anger and frustration—“due to the rampant corruption here”—but that, despite this, he should not have made the statement.

Governor Malik has done the right thing, finally, in making a distinction between his personal view and the official view since, had he not done so, the implications would have been quite serious. The original statement could be construed to suggest—that is why Malik retracted it—for instance, that were militants to start killing Kashmir politicians, the Governor would find it acceptable and, perhaps, even grant a pardon! Apart from the question of how courts would deal with a fairly obvious incitement to violence, would militants killing politicians make their demands any less unacceptable? Indeed, were others holding constitutional positions to articulate such views, this will open the doors, even if inadvertently, to vigilantism of the worst sort. Today, it is some of Kashmir’s politicians, but this could be extended to politicians across the country; several of them have, like some of their Kashmiri counterparts, looted the country’s exchequer. And why stop at politicians? The same logic can be extended to several bureaucrats who can just as easily be accused of stealing money as they can of not delivering satisfactory services to the very public that is paying their salaries; is bumping them off a lesser crime for this reason? Those holding high offices need to be very cautious given the consequences and implications of what they say; the Governor Malik saga should be a lesson for everyone.

## BlindEYE

BJP doesn’t seem to be perturbed enough by the Akash Vijayavargiya incident, notwithstanding what the PM says

**THE CHIEF OF** the Madhya Pradesh BJP’s disciplinary committee, Babusingh Raghuvanshi, as per a report in *The Indian Express*, has said that no action is being contemplated yet against party MLA, Akash Vijayavargiya, son of influential national general secretary Kailash Vijayavargiya, for assaulting a civic-body official in Indore. Not just that, Raghuvanshi proffered what seems like a justification of the junior Vijayavargiya’s act, and also refused to associate prime minister Narendra Modi saying that arrogance and misbehaviour won’t be tolerated, no matter whose son he (the perpetrator) is with Akash’s condemnable behaviour. However, the party hasn’t conducted itself very differently from Raghuvanshi—while there is no clarity on whether it has served a notice to the lawmaker, no action has been taken against other party-workers who participated in the assault or cheered his release with gunshots either. Nor has so much as a public admonition come the way of Vijayavargiya senior for questioning a media person in a crude manner, upon being asked to react on the assault by his son. The state unit, it would seem, is happy to look the other way—chief Rakesh Singh has brushed aside the matter saying that “requisite information would be made available to media at an appropriate time.”

It would seem that local interests of the party and the heft that certain leaders carry are above not just the prime minister but also decent conduct and party mores too. The “party with a difference” must remember that people haven’t voted for its leaders for criminal and thuggish conduct in public life, let alone blatant disregard for the law of the land. Not only is this a blight on the notions of justice, equality and accountability, it sets a terrible precedent on lawmakers employing extra-judicial methods with impunity—BJP MP from Telangana, Soyam Babu, exhorted tribals to protect their interests at any cost, even if that meant beating up forest officials, promising them indemnity for any violence incurred.

## ● UNFORTUNATE REALITY

CENTRAL BANKS FACE A LOSE-LOSE PROPOSITION: A POLICY CHOICE THAT ERODES THEIR POLITICAL AUTONOMY OR LEAVES THEM SHOULDERING A BURDEN THAT EXCEEDS THE REMIT OF THEIR TOOLS

# Are central banks losing their big bet?

**I**N RECENT YEARS, central banks have made a large policy wager. They bet that the protracted use of unconventional and experimental measures would provide an effective bridge to more comprehensive measures that would generate high inclusive growth and minimise the risk of financial instability. But, central banks have repeatedly had to double down, in the process becoming increasingly aware of the growing risks to their credibility, effectiveness, and political autonomy. Ironically, central bankers may now get a response from other policymaking entities, which, instead of helping normalise their operations, would make their task a lot tougher.

Let’s start with the US Federal Reserve, the world’s most powerful central bank, whose actions strongly influence other central banks. Having succeeded, after 2008, in stabilising a dysfunctional financial system that had threatened to tip the world into a multi-year depression, the Fed was hoping to begin normalising its policy stance as early as the summer of 2010. But, an increasingly polarised Congress, exemplified by the rise of the Tea Party, precluded the necessary hand-off to fiscal policy and structural reforms.

Instead, the Fed pivoted to using experimental measures to buy time for the US economy until the political environment became more constructive for pro-growth policies. Interest rates were floored at zero, and the Fed expanded its non-commercial involvement in financial markets, buying a record amount of bonds through its quantitative-easing (QE) programs.

This policy pivot was, in the eyes of most central bankers, born of necessity, not choice. And it was far from perfect.

The Fed knew it had no power to promote genuine economic recovery directly via fiscal policy, ease structural impediments to inclusive growth, or directly enhance productivity. This was

### MOHAMED A EL-ERIAN

Chief economic adviser, Allianz  
Views are personal



the preserve of other policy actors, which, lacking the Fed’s political autonomy, were sidelined by the inability of a deeply divided Congress to approve such expansionary measures. (These disagreements subsequently led to three US government shutdowns.)

Faced with this unfortunate reality, the Fed tried to support growth in indirect, experimental ways. By injecting liquidity using multiple means, it raised financial asset prices well above what the economy’s fundamentals warranted. The Fed hoped that this would make certain segments of the population (asset holders) feel richer, enticing them to spend more and encouraging companies to invest more.

But such “wealth effects” and “animal spirits” proved quite feeble. So, the Fed felt compelled to do more of the same, which led to a host of unintended consequences and risks of collateral damage that I discussed in some detail in my book *The Only Game in Town*.

The European Central Bank (ECB)—second only in systemic importance to the Fed—has followed a similar path, though with even more unconventional monetary policies, including negative interest rates (that is, charging savers rather than borrowers). Again, the impact on growth has been rather subdued, and the costs and risks of such measures are mounting.

Both central banks—and especially the ECB under outgoing President Mario Draghi—have stressed the importance of a timely policy hand-off to more comprehensive pro-

growth measures. Yet their pleas have fallen on deaf ears. Today, neither the Fed nor the ECB is anticipating that other policymakers will take over any time soon. Instead, both are busy designing another round of stimulus that will involve even more political and policy risks.

Other risks are already giving central bankers headaches. The protracted Brexit process is hampering the Bank of England’s longer-term policy strategy, while the short-term impact on global growth of governments’ weaponisation of trade tariffs is complicating the task of both the Fed and the ECB.

Meanwhile, some pro-growth policies currently being mooted could, if not well designed, increase the risk of disruptive financial instability and thus further complicate central bankers’ task. The notion of a “people’s QE”—that is, a more direct channelling of central-bank funding to the population—is getting more attention from both sides of the political spectrum. So is the related Modern Monetary Theory, which would explicitly subjugate central banks to finance ministries at a time when the concept of a universal basic income is also attracting growing interest and there is a need to reassess the wage determination process.

Furthermore, some on the political left are exploring the extent to which returning to greater state ownership of productive assets and control of economic activity could improve prospects for faster and more inclusive growth. And populists in European countries with more fragile debt dynamics, including in the Italian government, seem willing to retest the markets’ vigilance by running larger budget deficits without a concurrent focus on balancing pro-growth initiatives.

Such policy proposals are the tip of a political iceberg that has been enlarged by fears about the impact of technology on the workplace, climate change, and demographic trends, as well as concerns

about excessive inequality, marginalisation, and alienation. These developments highlight how newly salient political issues are impinging on policymaking, rendering economic prospects even more uncertain. And, with central-bank activism intensifying, the gap between asset prices and underlying economic, and corporate, fundamentals is likely to widen further.

Central banks bet that greater activism on the part of other policymakers would be their salvation.

But, these days, they are facing an increasing probability of a lose-lose proposition: either a policy response materialises but turns out to be one that risks eroding central banks’ credibility, effectiveness, and political autonomy; or nothing materialises, leaving central banks shouldering a policy burden that is already too heavy and exceeds the remit of their tools. Like seasoned gamblers, central bankers may soon discover that not all bets pay off over the longer term.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### On Chandrayaan-2 mission

It is a glorious moment and a sense of achievement for all of us, when at Satish Dhawan Space Centre, Sriharikota in Andhra Pradesh, the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) launched a billion dreams into space on Monday at 2.43 pm with the lift-off of India’s second Lunar mission, the Chandrayaan-2 lunar probe. Speaking about the mission, the ISRO chairman Sivan said it had bounced back “with flying colours” after a technical glitch which led to the mission being called off at the eleventh hour in its first attempt on July 15. It is also a very joyous moment for us, that the Chandrayaan-2, in which home grown technology is deployed, scientists aim to expand India’s footprint in space, shed light on unexplored section of the Moon—the South Pole region, enhance knowledge about space, stimulate advancement of technology and promote global alliances. If Chandrayaan 1 (which had created history by creating as many as 3,400 orbits around Moon), India’s first moon mission was launched on October 22, 2008, from Sriharikota, using the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV), India did not only become the fourth country (after Russia, USA and China) to plant its flag on the lunar surface, but the mission conclusively detected traces of water along with magnesium, aluminium and silicon on the moon. Now, close to a decade later, India will launch its second lunar mission, the ₹978-crore Chandrayaan-2, on July 22, 2019, using the Geosynchronous Satellite Launch Vehicle (GSLV) Mark III rocket. ISRO is aiming to put the Lander (Vikram) and Rover (Pragyan) on the lunar surface on September 7. Kudos to our space scientists for their successful mission and to continue it without a break.

— Bidyut K Chatterjee, Faridabad

● Write to us at feletters@expressindia.com

## The new sharia

To regenerate growth with equity, the driving principle should be to make labour-earned income tax-free; only money earned from money should be taxable

### JAMAL MECKLAI

CEO, Mecklai Financial  
Views are personal



**THE YIELD ON** German government bonds first turned negative (in this current round) in early 2016; today, 3+ years down, 85% of the German sovereign bond market is underwater. Many other sovereign bonds, including some issued by governments in Eastern Europe, are also in this boat. Totally, about \$1.3 trillion (equivalent) of government bonds are providing negative yields—about 25% of the global bond market!

Further, global central banks, notably including the ECB, appear to be gearing up for some more (?) easing, and, while markets are licking their mindless chops at the prospects of still easier money, my sense is that this poses a much more frightening reality—that (a) many investors are terrified, and (b) capital is so abundant that it is becoming progressively more difficult to manage.

On reflection, this should not be surprising given the generosity with which global fiscal policy has treated capital over the past several decades, as a result of which there has been more and more and more capital being accumulated—ask any private equity investor.

Another impact of this favouring of capital has been the huge level of inequality that burdens every economy, which has rendered monetary policy useless. Each progressive lowering of interest rates simply serves to increase the capital holdings of a minority of the population, which doesn’t even dribble into broader demand. This may explain why inflation has all but disappeared.

Clearly, things cannot continue in this vein without triggering either a major credit collapse (as more and more investors seek riskier and riskier investments) or a revolution (as savers begin to demand a reasonable return).

To my mind, there are two steps needed to regenerate growth with equity. The first is to eliminate all taxes on income earned from work (labour); thus, there should be zero tax on salaries, consulting fees, corporate profits, etc., as

also no indirect taxes. Global average tax revenues are 25% of GDP, the vast bulk (assume 90%) of which is based on labour, as described above. With global GDP approximately \$50 trillion a year, abolishing all taxes will provide citizens and companies additional income of at least \$10 trillion a year.

Some part of this huge flow will go to increase savings, but the main impact would be an increase in demand, on the one hand, and in investment, on the other, both of which would lead to higher growth. Inflation would come back to life, bond yields would return to positive territory and monetary policy will become “normal” again.

The second step, which would be necessary to make governments solvent—addressing the loss of tax revenues, their deficits (about \$2-3 trillion) and a little something for debt amortisation (say, 10% of the total debt of \$20-25 trillion)—is to levy taxes on capital and capital-based income.

McKinsey had conducted a study that estimated that the total capital in global financial markets would be \$200 trillion by 2010 and growing; given the collapse of 2008-09, the \$200 trillion number is probably more accurate as of today. But, even this is peanuts when compared to the real elephant in the room—real estate. New York City alone has a built-up area of nearly 1 million hectares, which is 100 billion square meters; if we assume (very conservatively) that 90% of this property is primary residences—i.e., owner-occupied—that leaves 10 billion square meters of property that should be taxable as capital or capital-based income (rent or imputed rent). The median price of real estate in New York is \$205 per

square foot, which translates the taxable capital value to \$20 trillion. (These are obviously very loose numbers and are more to give a sense of scale.) Multiplying this out through the world would provide a very conservative taxable capital value in the range of \$1000 trillion—is that a gazillion?

Remember, that all we need to eliminate all income taxes is a measly \$15 trillion a year.

This could readily be collected by taxing non-primary home real estate holdings (either based on the capital value or the imputed capital-based income) at an appropriate rate; levying penal taxes on salaries that are egregious—say, more than, say, 100 times the lowest salary at the organisation (this would drive up minimum salaries which would also be good for demand); ramping up tax rates on capital gains (including carried interest); and so on.

The driving principle should be that any income earned from labour is free of tax; only money earned from money is taxable—

the new sharia!

Of course, there are many grey areas to figure out—for example, how should intellectual property be taxed? What about art and other collectibles? Should inheritance be taxed at all, since much of the capital in the estate would be taxed both before and after the bequest? Multiple nuances and lawyers (and accountants) would, as usual, have a field day.

The arithmetic is straightforward, and, while asset—and, in particular, real estate—prices will certainly fall, there would be sufficient savings from the income gains (from zero income tax) that will readily top up the depleting capital reserve of the world to turn this into a virtuous cycle.

All we need to eliminate all income taxes is a measly \$15 trillion a year. This could readily be collected by taxing non-primary home real estate holdings



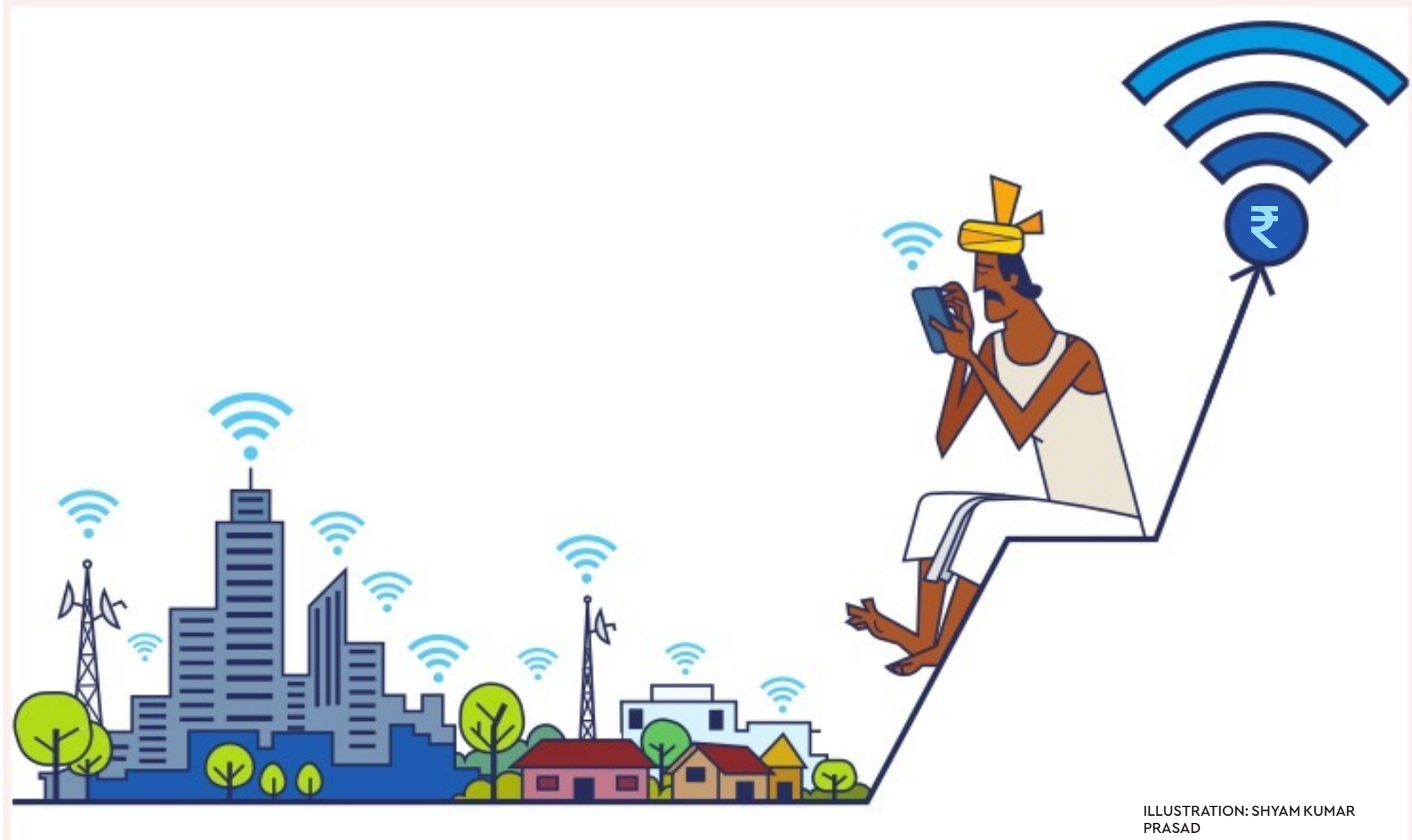


ILLUSTRATION: SHYAM KUMAR PRASAD

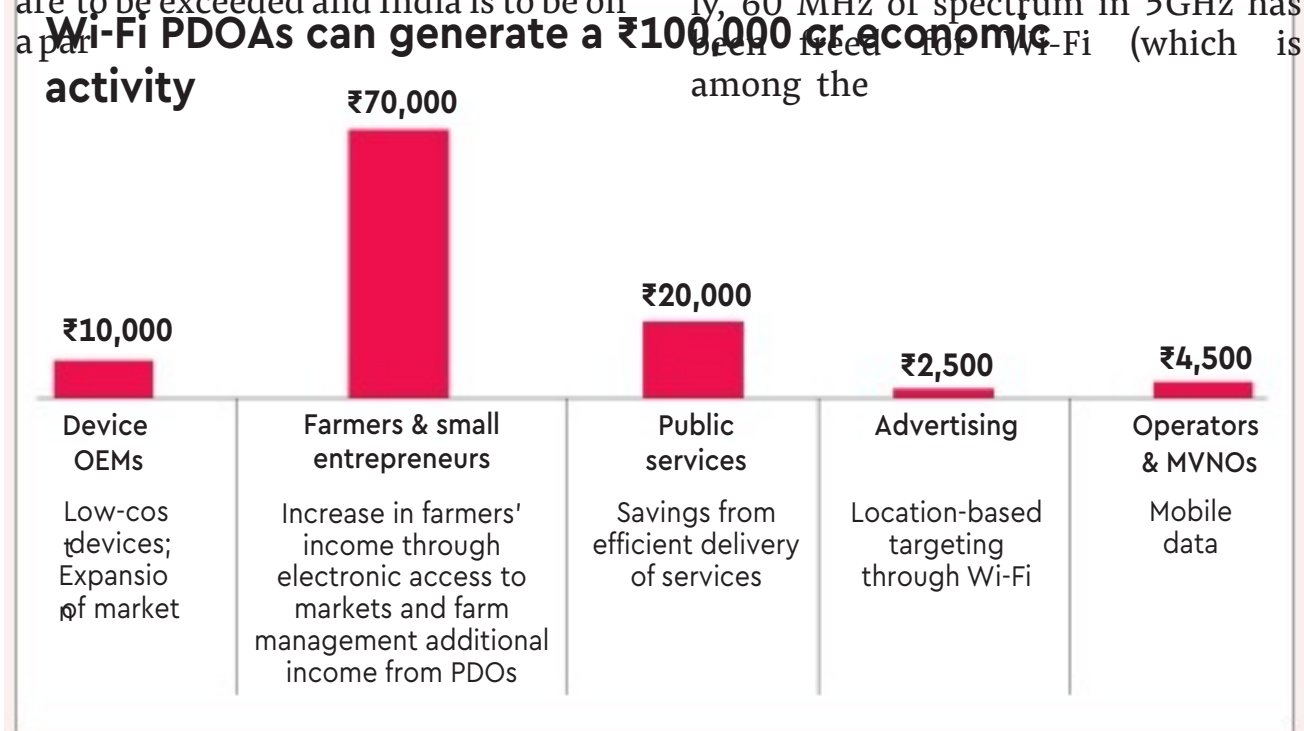
## TV RAMACHANDRAN, CHANDRA RAMAMOORTHY & KARTIK RAJA

Ramachandran is president of Broadband India Forum, Ramamoorthy and Raja are from Phimetrics Ltd. Views are personal.

# Telecom's UPI moment?

Liberalised Wi-Fi could trigger over ₹100,000 crore of national economic activity

**B**ROADBAND CONNECTIVITY everywhere and for everybody is the bulwark of our country's Digital India vision. The policy sets stiff targets of 5 million hotspots by 2020 and 10 million by 2022. Even these targets are being exceeded. The policy sets stiff targets of 5 million hotspots by 2020 and 10 million by 2022. Even these targets are being exceeded. The policy sets stiff targets of 5 million hotspots by 2020 and 10 million by 2022. Even these targets are being exceeded.



**S**ETTING UP A NATIONAL Research Foundation (NRF) was a praiseworthy initiative by the Minister Nirmala Sitharaman during her speech. It is a bold and actionable resolve, not just an intent, of this government to boost the growth through scientific research and technology development. Will the NRF enable a linear incremental growth or a quantum leap for India? That will be determined by the vision set for this organisation. The bolder the vision, the higher the returns. This moment, that of NRF's inception, is also the moment of truth to set the aim high—for India to emerge as a world leader in innovation in select disciplines of science, and not just play catch-up with high-income countries.

In the hope the NRF is mandated to select the best in cutting-edge innovation by 2030, its portfolio of missions should necessarily include a couple of mega-science projects that are envisioned in India, and led by India. The tag 'mega' classifies a project to be ultra-futuristic that forays into the unknown to solve a seemingly audacious problem—with the potential to bring an epochal change in the knowledge and the way of living for humanity on the whole, not just a nation or a region. Therefore, mega-science projects are run by

with other countries. To enable this change, TRAI introduced the concept of Wi-Fi Public Data Offices and Aggregators (PDOs and PDOAs) last year. TRAI's architecture—Wireless Access Network Interface (WANI)—is open and easy to set up, with the potential to democratise Wi-Fi access across the country. More significantly, this architecture enables seamless roaming across different access points as authentication needs to be done only once rather than repeatedly. Additionally, 60 MHz of spectrum in 5GHz has a potential to generate a ₹100,000 crore economic activity (which is among the

# Stopping the spread of superbugs

Towards a united front for global health research, led by India

**SHEETAL RANGANATHAN**

Vice-president of life sciences operations of a global research & consulting firm. Views are personal

geopolitical and cultural, bringing together best minds, skills and resources.

Most mega-science projects have been in space science or particle physics, except the legendary Human Genome Project. Recent examples include the Event Horizon Telescope (EHT) project that gave us the first image of a black hole, and the 2017 Physics Nobel prize-winning LIGO project that detected gravitational waves for the first time. Both are conceived, led and primarily financed by the US National Science Foundation. Project operations are run by a network of labs globally. Participation from other countries is in the form of

largest in the world). The WANI architecture and the Aggregator business model needs to be implemented on priority. Let us then bust the myths leading to delays in implementation of Wi-Fi PDOAs.

*Myth 1: Data usage growth in the last two years shows Wi-Fi-based PDOAs are not needed.*

Over the last five years, India has seen mobile broadband connections increase from 84 million to over 500 million. While this is a great achievement, it, by no means, is enough. As per the leading network monitor 4GMark, India is ranked at a poor 51 in the percentage of tests done on 4G. As far as network quality is concerned, we are even worse. As the number of connections and data consumption increase, cellular networks alone cannot provide access and quality required for India to feature in the top quartile of digitally-ready countries. Wi-Fi, with its large capacity-handling capabilities, would need to carry a major portion of our exponentially increasing data traffic (especially video), and would have to be ubiquitous for India's digital vision to fructify.

*Myth 2: Only large telecom operators can set up Wi-Fi PDOAs.* While such a massive number of telecom operators cannot cope with exploding data volumes at access service levels, cellular/5G networks, as other public hotspots, are not the only solution. Hence, call offices (PCOs) were set up as local connectivity hubs in rural areas, and a small entrepreneur, if globally experienced, can pioneer the responsibility of

time that business becomes easily available. In the short time that WANI was tried, we have already seen similar rollout with kirana shops and rural entrepreneurs replicating the PCO story. We now need to formalise this proven approach to spread the access to broadband data to our streets and villages.

*Myth 3: With the lowest data tariffs in the world, Wi-Fi does not have a business case.* Many believe that the primary rationale for setting up Wi-Fi PDOAs is for mobile data offloading (MDO)—which refers to seamlessly moving data access from cellular networks to Wi-Fi in order to reduce congestion and improve quality. The telecom industry today spends about ₹90,000 crore in capex. Even if we assume the spread of Wi-Fi can save a conservative 5% of this capex because of mobile data offload, that leads to savings of ₹4,500 crore per year. However, to say that this is the only business case for Wi-Fi is incorrect.

Each and every stakeholder in our digital ecosystem stands to benefit from the time that business becomes easily available. In the short time that WANI was tried, we have already seen similar rollout with kirana shops and rural entrepreneurs replicating the PCO story. We now need to formalise this proven approach to spread the access to broadband data to our streets and villages.

*Myth 3: With the lowest data tariffs in the world, Wi-Fi does not have a business case.*

Many believe that the primary rationale for setting up Wi-Fi PDOAs is for mobile data offloading (MDO)—which refers to seamlessly moving data access from cellular networks to Wi-Fi in order to reduce congestion and improve quality. The telecom industry today spends about ₹90,000 crore in capex. Even if we assume the spread of Wi-Fi can save a conservative 5% of this capex because of mobile data offload, that leads to savings of ₹4,500 crore per year. However, to say that this is the only business case for Wi-Fi is incorrect.

Each and every stakeholder in our digital ecosystem stands to benefit from the time that business becomes easily available. In the short time that WANI was tried, we have already seen similar rollout with kirana shops and rural entrepreneurs replicating the PCO story. We now need to formalise this proven approach to spread the access to broadband data to our streets and villages.

spread of Wi-Fi. ■ The cheapest smartphone today costs about ₹4,000, which is still expensive for millions of Indians. Imagine a smartphone that is only Wi-Fi-enabled. This can lead to a cost reduction of ₹1,500-2,000. Phones at similar prices such as JioPhone have sold in excess of 75 million devices. Even if we assume a conservative figure of 50 million Wi-Fi-only devices being sold, it leads to additional revenue of ₹10,000 crore for the device industry. ■ Broadband connectivity will play a central role in realising Prime Minister Narendra Modi's vision of doubling rural incomes. Access to Wi-Fi would enable instant access to educational materials and information that can drive farmers to plant the right crops using the right technologies and at the right time. Even a 3% increase in farmers' incomes through spread of deep rural broadband access would result in ₹60,000 crore of additional income for farmers. ■ Democratising Wi-Fi access provisioning would lead to additional income for millions of small entrepreneurs. In fact, 10 million hotspots at a conservative ₹1,000 monthly income translates to ₹10,000 crore per year. As digital access expands, more people would opt for DBT across schemes and we conservatively estimate additional savings of ₹20,000 crore. ■ Google/Facebook have made billions through advertising. Location-based advertising using Wi-Fi can be unleashed a number of advertising opportunities for smaller companies, with data staying localised at the aggregator level. At the current digital advertising market size of ₹24,000 crore (30% CAGR), an additional 10% growth due to increased rural broadband access results in ₹2,500 crore of revenue. Based on our conservative estimates above, Wi-Fi PDOAs can unleash over ₹100,000 crore of yearly economic activity (see graphic).

**India's telecom UPI moment: The time is now** Standards-based devices, such as Wi-Fi 6, tend to belong to specific countries and offers greater bandwidth than the current Wi-Fi. Both Wi-Fi 6 and 5G have been certain to play significant roles in long-range IoT and mid-range devices will be important for us to align with open standards through Wi-Fi 6. Hence, it is essential to ensure the reach of Wi-Fi in rural areas where IoT will have a huge role to play in improving easy payments across digital payments across the nation seamlessly, sans technical bottlenecks. It is, thus, important that we demolish the myths around Wi-Fi PDOAs and see it as an enabler of rural broadband, IoT connectivity and as a catalyst for rural economic activity.

Finally, the capital required to set up such a massive number of Wi-Fi hotspots need not come only from telecom operators. Private Wi-Fi aggregators like Boingo in the US are great examples of start-ups that have generated billions of dollars in enterprise value. With the right regulation and India's large potential, access to private capital is not a constraint. The recent telecom infrastructure investment by I Squared Capital's Lightstorm Telecom Ventures is a case in point.

The next wave of Indian telecom's revolution will not be driven by a few players, but by millions of small entrepreneurs—at street and village levels. Such a wave would be enabled by adopting WANI to deliver for connectivity where UPI has done for digital payments.



ing in time. Without effective antibiotics, commonplace surgeries such as caesarean childbirth will become life-threatening, as was a hundred years ago. Antibiotic-resistant infections are estimated to cause 10 million deaths annually by 2050, and push 24 million into extreme poverty by 2030. Its global economic impact would be as massive as that of the 2008-09 financial crisis. Despite these gory predictions, just a handful of research collaborations are taking a stab at it. The pharmaceutical industry is less interested simply because developing new-generation antibiotics is commercially not a viable as developing

in a solution-oriented non-profit foundation as malaria and tuberculosis have. That is why the world's next mega-science project should be in biomedical science, and here is why India should lead the quest for next-generation antibiotics.

First, India is in the eye of the storm. It needs defence against this impending health crisis urgently, and in much larger magnitude than any other country. With Indians forming the largest consumer segment of antibiotics in the world, and Indian livestock being the fourth-biggest, genesis of newer species of antibiotic-resistant superbugs is highly likely in India. Further, India is

## The WTO paradox

**RV ANURADHA**

The author is partner, Clarus Law Associates, Delhi



Make domestic laws 'trade-smart' to begin with, and not as an afterthought

**T**HE WTO is facing challenges even as its dispute settlement system—which comprises of a permanent panel of three persons selected by its parties who adjudicate on a dispute, an appellate process under which appeals can be preferred to a standing body of seven persons who hears appeals from reports issued by panels in the dispute—settles persons are selected from within the AB to adjudicate on appeals in each dispute. The AB can uphold, modify or reverse legal findings of a panel. Its rulings are binding on the parties to the dispute, and can be rejected only when there is negative consensus among WTO parties—something that hasn't happened in the 24 years of WTO's existence. The contribution of the dispute settlement system to effective enforcement of rules of international trade has been hailed as the 'jewel in the crown' of the WTO.

The current AB crisis has arisen because the US has been blocking appointments of AB members, expressing concern that the AB has been exceeding the scope of appeal and not adhering to timelines as set forth under WTO's Dispute Settlement Understanding. India and many other WTO members have been working on proposals to break the deadlock, with little success. The AB now has only three adjudicators, two of whose terms will end in December 2019. With only one AB member, it will not be able to decide appeals. Parties to a WTO dispute, however, have the right to appeal any panel decision (a panel decision under appeal cannot be enforced). A WTO party losing a dispute, therefore, can simply raise an appeal, even when there is no AB to adjudicate, as a result of which there will be no rulings for enforcement.

It's raining disputes

One would imagine that the logical consequence of uncertainty of the future of WTO's dispute settlement would mean fewer disputes at the WTO. Surprisingly, this is not so. Between January and December 2018, as many as 38 disputes were raised (the highest number of disputes raised in a year was 50 in 1997). Another statistic is with regard to India: Of the 30 disputes raised against India by other members since 1995, five have been filed in the last six months. This includes two disputes by the EU and Japan, respectively, against tariff treatment of IT and communication products, and three disputes on India's subsidies for sugar and sugar cane raised by Australia, Brazil and Guatemala. While these five disputes are at the stage of consultation (pre-panel stage), a sixth dispute raised by the US against India's export subsidies in 2017 is currently at the panel stage. Another one initiated by Japan with respect to India's safeguard duties on steel in 2016 has been appealed by India to the AB.

WTO-proofing our laws

The recent spate of disputes against India raises the question: What makes India's laws vulnerable to a challenge? To address this, developing a dispute prevention and management strategy is key. A compatibility analysis of our laws and regulations, with our international trade obligations, needs to be done at the stage of lawmaking. One must remember that the WTO agreements allow for adequate space for achieving various public policy objectives, including design of WTO-compatible subsidies and support for the domestic industry. Building-in assessment of such spaces prior to enacting laws, thereby making them resilient to challenges, is crucial.

Equally important is to develop adequate risk analysis of disputes that have been initiated, to carefully consider appropriate strategies for resolution. WTO's dispute settlement mechanism allows for mutually-agreed resolution at any stage of the dispute. The best chance to achieve this is at the stage of 'consultations', i.e. prior to establishment of a panel of adjudicators. This stage is important because it offers a platform for countries to find amicable solutions and prevent disputes from proceeding to the adversarial stage before the panel.

The way forward

Trade rules play a crucial role in whatever shape or form they evolve—the world today is increasingly interdependent. The AB crisis will find a solution, and newer trade agreements are being entered into. India is negotiating the trade with the ASEAN, Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. It is party to five other comprehensive trade agreements (with Singapore, Japan, Korea, Malaysia and the ASEAN) and several other free trade agreements. The world is moving towards a more open and liberalised investment regime. Therefore, India, or that, to ensure that our domestic laws and regulations are made 'trade-smart' to begin with, and not as an afterthought.

Second, India has a real chance of finding a solution. It has inherent strengths that will act as deterministic success factors for this mission: rich ecological diversity, access to a huge, pre-existing knowledge source of natural products-based cures in traditional medicine systems, and the intellectual prowess of Indian biologists and biochemists.

Third, this mission ties in beautifully with another heartening resolve that was announced by the FM—access to treated water to all Indian households. Projects aiming at ensuring water safety and sanitation hygiene for Indian citizens will go in vain unless other avenues of infection control and prevention are also plugged. The world may slip into dark ages—minor infections may become untreatable again. India has the wherewithal to reverse





@ieExplained  
#ExpressExplained

If there are questions of current or contemporary relevance that you would like explained, please write to [explained@indianexpress.com](mailto:explained@indianexpress.com)

## TELLING NUMBERS

## In the processing of solid waste, Chhattisgarh, Telangana lead

CHHATTISGARH AND Telangana processed the largest percentage of solid waste they generated in 2018 (until November), according to data provided to Parliament last week. Chhattisgarh generated a total 601,885 MTPA (metric tonne per annum) of waste, and was able to process 84% of it. The corresponding numbers for Telangana were 2,690,415 MTPA and 73%.

The information was provided in Lok Sabha by the Ministry of Environment, Forest And Climate Change in response to an question from Kirit Solanki, the BJP MP from Ahmedabad (West).

Among the larger states, West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir were those that had processed the smallest percentage of the total waste they generated — 5% and 8% respectively.

Maharashtra generated the largest quantum of solid waste — 8,22,38,050 MTPA — and processed 44% of it. Delhi, Gujarat, and Karnataka generated 38,32,500, 37,02,925, and 36,50,000 MTPA, and processed 55%, 57%, and 32% respectively.

The Ministry's reply said that according to an annual report prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs for 2016-17, "it is estimated that the total generation of solid waste is approximately 1,50,000 T/day", of which 90% (1,35,000 metric tonnes/day) was collected. Out of the waste collected, 20% (27,000 MT/day) was processed while the remaining 80% (10,8000MT/day) went to dump sites.

The House was informed that 7.17 million tonnes of hazardous waste was produced during 2016-17, of which 3.68 million tonnes (49.46%) was recycled. It was not possible to es-



Indian cities are struggling to cope with their solid waste. *File*

### TOTAL SOLID WASTE PROCESSED (%) UP TO NOVEMBER, 2018

#### BEST

Chhattisgarh	84
Telangana	73
Madhya Pradesh	65
Kerala	60
UP, Gujarat	57

#### WORST

West Bengal	5
Jammu & Kashmir	8
Odisha	12
Haryana	17
Andhra Pradesh	29
<i>(Major states only)</i>	

imate the quantity of hazardous waste that ends up in landfills, the Ministry said.

## THIS WORD MEANS

## BHABHA KAVACH

India's lightest bullet-proof jacket

BHABHA KAVACH, billed as "India's lightest bullet-proof jacket", was launched at the International Police Expo 2019 in New Delhi last week (*right*). The bullet-proof jacket, developed jointly by the Ordnance Factories Board and the public sector metals and metal alloys manufacturer MIDHANI, can withstand bullets from an AK-47 assault rifle (7.62 mm hard steel core bullets), and the 5.56 mm INSAS rifle, according to a press release issued by the Expo.

The Kavach weighs 9.2 kg, a half kilogram less than the weight for a bullet-proof jacket prescribed by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), the release said. It quoted a senior Ordnance Factories Board official as saying the jacket "is powered with nano technology from Bhabha Atomic Research Centre",



and has a five-year warranty. "A large number of queries are coming from state police departments including Punjab, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka and Gujarat," the official was quoted as saying.

## SIMPLY PUT

# In Cong crisis, recalling Kamaraj

Kamaraj Plan required top Congress leaders to quit govt and work for the organisation. Nearly six decades on, as the party seeks to manage another crisis and leadership transition, it has a blueprint to consider

AMRITH LAL

NEW DELHI, JULY 22

HISTORY WEIGHS heavy on India's Grand Old Party. Each time the Congress faces a crisis, it searches for solutions in the past. One such solution is the Kamaraj Plan, which was proposed in this month 56 years ago by the then Chief Minister of Madras, Kumara-swami Kamaraj, to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as a blueprint to re-energise the Congress and the government.

According to Kamaraj's proposal, leaders in government would quit their ministerial offices and take up organisational work, while those in the organisation would join the government. With the Congress decimated in the 2019 general election and rudderless since the resignation of Rahul Gandhi as party chief, the Kamaraj Plan is back in conversation.

### 'Who after Nehru?'

In 1963, defeats in three successive by-elections were the immediate provocation for the Congress to worry about its situation. But the unease had set in earlier: The war with China the previous year had wrecked the morale of the leadership. Nehru's standing as a statesman had taken a beating. The Opposition was advancing everywhere: the bypolls had brought three stalwarts, Acharya Kripalani, Rammanohar Lohia and Minoo Masani, to Lok Sabha. After a decade in power, fatigue had set in among Congress functionaries and the cadre. The question, "Who after Nehru?", was beginning to sound ominous. That's when Kamaraj, then 60, proposed to Nehru that he be allowed to quit office to take up organisational work. Under Kamaraj, the Congress had consolidated its position in Madras, but the leader who had his ear to the ground knew that the DMK was advancing and the Congress organisation might not be able to withstand the mobilisational and ideological challenge posed by the Dravidian Movement.

The proposal came up for discussion in the Congress Working Committee, where a large number of members, among them Chief Ministers and Nehru's Cabinet colleagues, supported it. All Union Ministers and Chief Ministers put in their papers to Nehru, who then accepted the resignations of six Union Ministers — Morarji Desai, S K Patil, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jagjivan Ram, K L Shrivimali and B Gopala Reddy — and the CMs of Madras, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Kashmir. These leaders were to take up organisational posts and rejuvenate the Congress. Since then, the Kamaraj Plan is pro-



Under Indira Gandhi, the Congress moved away from Kamaraj's vision of collective leadership. *Express Archive*

posed as a remedy whenever the Congress party threatens to slip into a coma.

### Kamaraj, his Plan, and after

Kamaraj was a self-made leader and a person of great integrity. He had built the party organisation in the Tamil-speaking regions of the Madras Presidency during the freedom struggle and, later, run the state government for nine years. A school dropout from a poor Nadar (a backward caste) family, he had risen from the grassroots as a Congress volunteer to head the party unit, and later, the government. Under Kamaraj, Madras became one of the most industrialised states in India. Nehru had immense respect for him.

The AICC resolution endorsed the Kamaraj Plan on August 10, 1963. Political scientist Rajini Kothari wrote in his classic work, *Politics in India*, that "the Plan, on the one hand, gave to Prime Minister Nehru an unprecedented opportunity to carry out a massive reshuffle of officeholders, but on the other hand asserted the principle of equal status of the party organisation with the government".

Later that year, Kamaraj, who had quit as Chief Minister of Madras, was elected Congress president. In his presidential address delivered in Tamil to the Bhubaneswar Congress session in January 1964, Kamaraj emphasised the achievement of the Congress goal of socialism without authoritarianism and class conflict. Nehru, by now ailing, could not attend the AICC session. On

May 27, 1964, Nehru passed away.

An astute Kamaraj knew that Nehru was irreplaceable, and the party needed a new leadership model to manage both power and its ambitious leaders. His first task was to ensure a smooth transition in the Prime Minister's Office, which he skillfully managed by rallying the party behind his choice for PM, the non-controversial Lal Bahadur Shastri. His next step was to infuse vigour in the party organisation, and thereby, the government. He sought to steer the party towards a federal system of leadership and won the confidence of powerful state satraps such as Atulya Ghosh, Sanjiva Reddy, Nijalingappa and S K Patil.

### Idea of collective leadership

Kamaraj also preferred a collective leadership for the party, and saw himself as a consensus-builder. His biographer and a former editor of *The Indian Express*, V K Narasimhan, wrote in *Kamaraj: A Study*, "As a strict respecter of parliamentary conventions, Kamaraj did not seek interference by the Congress president or the Congress Working Committee in the day-to-day decisions of the Government. What he wanted was full coordination between the Cabinet and the Party organisation with regard to major policies. He felt that policy matters should be thoroughly discussed in the Working Committee before decisions were taken by the Government."

Kamaraj's emphasis on collective leader-

ship helped the Congress navigate a difficult time when it lost Nehru and Shastri in quick succession. Two wars and drought had left the economy in a bad shape. Kamaraj was instrumental in the Congress opting for Indira Gandhi as Shastri's successor instead of a more experienced Morarji Desai.

### Abandoning the Plan

Under Indira Gandhi, the Congress moved away from Kamaraj's vision of collective leadership and consensus-building, and moved towards a leader-centric high command. It led to friction between Indira's supporters and the Old Guard or Syndicate, leading to the split in the party in 1969. Kamaraj's influence on the organisation had waned by then — the DMK had defeated the Congress in Madras state in the 1967 Assembly elections, and the Perunthalaivar (great leader) himself lost. It's another debate if the Congress would have lost Madras had Kamaraj stayed on as Chief Minister — but without the guiding hand of Kamaraj, the Congress government in Madras failed to handle the anti-Hindi agitation that rocked the state in 1965 and the food shortages of 1965-66.

The Indira years undid the gains of the Kamaraj Plan and the Congress transformed into a party that revolved around the Nehru-Gandhi family. Rahul Gandhi's suggestion of a non-Nehru-Gandhi leader follows in the spirit of the Kamaraj Plan. But does the Congress have a Kamaraj to steer the transformation?

# Forest Rights Act case: What is at stake?

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

MUMBAI, JULY 22

DISTRICTS with sizeable tribal populations saw several protests and demonstrations on Monday. The protests were organised by the Bhumii Adhikar Andolan. There were two issues that the demonstrators were decrying.

One, the proposed amendments to the Indian Forest Act (IFA), 1927; the concerned amendments to the IFA have been sent to states for consultation. Two, a move to oust forest-dwellers from forest land; a case to this effect concerning the Forest Rights Act (FRA) comes up for its next hearing before the Supreme Court on Wednesday.

### What is the FRA case before the Supreme Court?

On February 13 this year, the Supreme

Court ordered the eviction of lakhs of tribals and other traditional forest dwellers whose claims under The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act (or FRA), 2006, had been rejected following a three-tier process. Later, the SC temporarily put on hold the eviction by an order on February 28, giving state governments time to file affidavits on whether due process was followed before claims were rejected.

On July 24, the Centre and states are expected to file affidavits regarding the implementation of the FRA.

### Who are the petitioners, and what is their contention?

The petitioners are Wildlife First, Nature Conservation Society, and Tiger Research and Conservation Trust. They contend that the protection of forests has been severely af-

fected due to bogus claims under the FRA, and that the bogus claimants continue to occupy large areas of forest lands, including inside national parks and sanctuaries, despite their applications being rejected under the appeals process of the FRA.

### What are the proposed amendments to the IFA?

The FRA, enacted in 2006, envisions the forest rights committee of a village as the central unit in managing forest resources. The proposed IFA amendments will revert to giving overriding powers to Forest Department officials. The greater policing powers to the Forest Department include the use of firearms, and veto power to override the FRA. Further, if rights under FRA are seen as hampering forest conservation efforts, the state may commute such rights through compensation to the tribals. The changes also

propose to open up forest land specifically for commercial exploitation of timber or non-timber forest produce.

Across India, tribal rights activists are of the view that the proposed IFA amendments will divest tribals and other forest-dwelling communities of their rights over forest land and resources.

### What are the demands of those holding agitations ahead of the SC hearing?

When the apex court passed its order on February 13, the central government had not represented itself in court. These agitations are primarily targeted at exhorting the Centre and state governments to present a defence of the FRA in court.

Other demands include shelving the proposed IFA amendments, which activists have called more draconian than the original colonial-era law.

# National Medical Commission Bill: What changes in medical education

ABANTIKA GHOSH

NEW DELHI, JULY 22

ON MONDAY, Union Health Minister Harsh Vardhan introduced the National Medical Commission (NMC) Bill in Lok Sabha. An earlier version of this Bill was introduced in the 16th Lok Sabha, and had passed the scrutiny of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Health and Family Welfare. However, that Bill lapsed at the end of the term of the last Lok Sabha. Once the NMC Bill is enacted, the Indian Medical Council Act, 1956, will stand repealed. The existing Act provides for the Medical Council of India (MCI), the medical education regulator in India.

### Why is the MCI being replaced?

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Health and Family Welfare examined the functioning of the MCI in its 92nd report (in 2016) and was scathing in its criticism: "The Medical Council of India, when tested on the above touchstone (of producing competent doctors, ensure adherence to qual-

ity standards etc) has repeatedly been found short of fulfilling its mandated responsibilities. Quality of medical education is at its lowest ebb; the current model of medical education is not producing the right type of health professionals that meet the basic health needs of the country because medical education and curricula are not integrated with the needs of our health system; many of the products coming out of medical colleges are ill-prepared to serve in poor resource settings like Primary Health Centre and even at the district level; medical graduates lack competence in performing basic health care tasks like conducting normal deliveries; instances of unethical practice continue to grow due to which respect for the profession has dwindled."

The Committee also said it was "shocked to find that compromised individuals have been able to make it to the MCI, but the Ministry is not empowered to remove or sanction a Member of the Council even if he has been proved corrupt. In a day and age when the need for sturdy systems and enhanced transparency based regimes are being increasingly emphasized, such state of

affairs indicate that the MCI has not evolved with the times. Such state of affairs are also symptomatic of the rot within and point to a deep systemic malice".

### How will the proposed NMC function?

The NMC Bill provides for the constitution of a 25-member NMC selected by a search committee, headed by the Cabinet Secretary, to replace the MCI. The Bill provides for just one medical entrance test across the country, single exit exam (the final MBBS exam, which will work as a licentiate examination), a screening test for foreign medical graduates, and an entrance test for admission in postgraduate programmes.

The Bill proposes to regulate the fees and other charges of 50 per cent of the total seats in private medical colleges and deemed universities. A medical advisory council — which will include one member representing each state and Union Territory (vice-chancellors in both cases), chairman of the University Grants Commission, and the director of the National Accreditation and Assessment Council — will advise and make recommendations to the NMC.



Health Minister Harsh Vardhan in Parliament last week. *PTI*

Four boards — dealing with undergraduate and postgraduate medical education, medical assessment and rating board, and the ethics and medical registration board — will regulate the sector. The structure is in accordance with the recommendations of the Group of Experts headed by Ranjit Roy Chaudhury, set up by the Union Health Ministry to study the norms for the estab-

lishment of medical colleges.

The Bill marks a radical change in regulatory philosophy; under the NMC regime, medical colleges will need permission only once — for establishment and recognition. There will be no need for annual renewal, and colleges would be free to increase the number of seats on their own, subject to the present cap of 250. They would also be able to start postgraduate courses on their own. Fines for violations, however, are steep — 1.5 times to 10 times the total annual fee charged.

### What are the changes in the 2019 Bill?

There are two crucial changes, following the recommendations of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Health and Family Welfare (109th report in 2018). One, it has dropped a separate exit examination. Two, it has dropped the provision that allowed practitioners of homoeopathy and Indian systems of medicine to prescribe allopathy medicines after a bridge course.

### What is the so-called "bridge" course?

This was one of the most contentious provisions of the Bill with even ruling party







FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

# ANOTHER GIANT LEAP

With successful launch of Chandrayaan 2, India has taken a significant step towards recognition as a space power

AFTER ABORTING A countdown because of a technical fault on July 15, the Indian Space Research Organisation has put its second lunar mission in earth orbit, using a challenging launch window. That's 11 years after the first moon-shot in 2008, which had sent back data answering one of the oldest questions about our satellite: Does it have water? This mission was originally planned for 2014, but was delayed because the Russian space agency, Roscosmos, a partner in the project, failed to deliver a rover. The setback has actually worked to the advantage of Indian space science. Just as it had developed indigenous cryogenic engines when it was starved of dual-use technologies, the industry has innovated an indigenous rover, Pragyan. On September 6, India expects to become the fourth nation, after the US, Russia and China, to make a soft landing on the lunar surface. Chandrayaan 1 had only crash-landed a probe on the moon, and a soft landing using retro-rockets would be a crucial demonstration of capabilities. A lander must arrive at its destination with its payload (the rover, in this case) and instrumentation intact in order to remain in service for extended periods. The next stage would be a demonstration of the ability to take off again from the lunar surface, necessary for a manned lunar mission.

Equipped with a rover, Chandrayaan 2 revisits many of the mapping projects of its predecessor, and retains an interest in water ice, an important resource in the long term. But the effects of a successful lunar mission will be felt immediately on Earth, as India gains prestige as a space power. India has a cost advantage in the space race, more so than China, the other Asian nation which has developed an ambitious programme taking advantage of the falling costs of reaching space. Chandrayaan 2, which will demonstrate the ability to navigate the lunar surface, is part of a series of achievements. The most publicised is ISRO's ability to send multiple payloads into orbit at the most competitive rates. But the most recent demonstration of power is equally remarkable: In March, an anti-satellite missile was tested live. Again, India was only the fourth nation to demonstrate the capability to deploy arms in space.

But as the Indian space industry booms, it may need to exercise fiscal prudence. Several projects are being talked about, including a manned mission to Earth orbit and the moon, and even a space station. Besides, Mangalyaan has already shown a commitment to planetary science. At some point, initiatives of immediate practical value, like the launch vehicle industry, must vie for funds with prestige projects like a manned lunar mission, and strategic considerations would have to be carefully calibrated.

# GETTING AWAY

After 40 acquittals in 41 Muzaffarnagar riots cases, due process needs to be rescued, revived

IT COULD BE the story of any major case of communal violence in which the minority community bears the brunt. And in which the justice system fails the victims and their families in the aftermath. Though it broke a period of relative calm after Gujarat 2002, the violence that swept Muzaffarnagar in 2013, killing at least 65 persons, may not be unusual in a country inured to outbreaks of barbarity. What happened later, between 2017 and 2019, when Muzaffarnagar courts delivered verdicts in 41 cases linked to the communal violence and a conviction in just one case of murder — all 40 acquittals coming in cases involving attacks on Muslims — may not be unprecedented either. Nor is the fact that the registration of the cases and their collapse spanned two regimes, one “secular” and the other led by the BJP, a surprise, given that parties of all political hues have presided over violence between communities and the absence of justice that followed it. And yet, as an Indian Express investigation — which scrutinised court records and testimonies of complainants and witnesses and conducted interviews of officials in cases of murder, gangrape and rioting in Muzaffarnagar 2013 — showed, every time justice is miscarried, it is miscarried in its own chilling way.

The Express investigation has uncovered cases upon cases where witnesses executed u-turns or turned hostile, crucial evidence such as the murder weapon went missing and court records showed glaring holes in the prosecution, including the failure to ask the obvious questions, or to cross-examine. In the end, no one killed all members of the family that was burnt alive, or the three friends dragged into a field and killed, or the father hacked to death with a sword. Fifty-three men accused of murder in 10 cases walked free. The four cases of gangrape and 26 cases of rioting met a similar lack of closure. In Gujarat 2002, it took the Supreme Court to break the grim pattern of crime and impunity. It intervened in the cases that followed the killings, shone the spotlight on them and monitored them, even airlifted some of them to courts outside Gujarat so that they could be insulated from extraneous attempts to intimidate witnesses and influence verdicts.

In Muzaffarnagar, too, it is clear that justice and due process need to be urgently rescued and revived. Surely, the politically expedient refusal of the Uttar Pradesh government to appeal the acquittals in 40 of the 41 cases cannot be allowed to be the last word. At stake is the people's faith in the New India that their political leaders like to invoke.

# A CLASS APART

A K Roy was a Marxist trade unionist who recognised the liberating potential of social justice politics

ARUN KUMAR ROY was a Marxist whose understanding of Indian social conditions was so radically different that he had to work outside of the mainstream communist parties. Roy, who passed away in Dhanbad on Sunday aged 90, was a leader of the CTU who broke away from the CPM and founded the Marxist Coordination Committee (MCC) to further the interests of coal workers. He was thrice elected to the Bihar legislative assembly and thrice to the Lok Sabha. In the House, he was an uncompromising spokesperson for the working class while opposing the moves of legislators to extract more perks and privileges from the exchequer. He made headlines in his last term in the Lok Sabha (1989-91), when he opposed a proposal in Parliament to increase the salary and pension for MPs. For most of his life, Roy stayed at the party office and spent his last days in a party worker's home.

Roy did not see class politics as an end in itself. He engaged with identity-centric mobilisations in undivided Bihar and spotted the liberating potential in them. He held that social justice politics could mobilise productive forces and transform social relations. In 1973, he joined hands with Shibu Soren and Binod Bihari Mahato to form the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and launch a movement for a separate state comprising the Adivasi regions of Bihar. The JMM was pitched as an alliance of peasants and workers with the slogan, Jharkhand-Lalkhand, but ambitious leaders and internal contradictions forced its founders to part ways after some years.

Incidentally, Roy was a Bengali migrant from East Bengal who had arrived in Bihar to work after completing his post graduation in Chemistry from Calcutta University. He turned to trade union work full time after he was dismissed from Projects and Development India Limited (PDIL), Sindri, for participation in a workers' strike. The state lost a chemical engineer and the workers got a leader.



AJEY LELE

INDIA'S SECOND MISSION to the moon was planned for July 15, but got delayed owing to technical problems just one hour before the actual launch. However, ISRO scientists identified the anomaly quickly and now, within a week, the Chandrayaan 2 mission has begun its journey towards the moon. The launch of the mission on July 22, is a successful first step towards realising a larger aim of the mission, which is to ensure that India's lander successfully makes a soft landing on the surface of the moon. Subsequently, from the belly of the lander, the rover would be released for making an assessment of the elemental composition of the moon's surface.

Chandrayaan 2 has been one of the most awaited missions of ISRO. After the success of Chandrayaan 1 in 2008, it was expected that the second mission would get moon-bound shortly. In fact, ISRO did plan the second mission for 2014. However, this was supposed to be a joint mission along with Russia. As per the plans, Russia was to provide the lander and rover system, but they failed to do so owing to the crisis within their space programme.

This resulted in a delay in the programme and now, after a gap of more than a decade, India's second moon mission has begun its journey towards the moon. There is both a negative and a positive angle to this delay. The negative angle is obvious — India's moon agenda has lagged behind significantly. Actually, by this time, India should have progressed towards undertaking its third mission to the moon. The good part is that Russia's non-participation made ISRO design and develop the entire lander-rover system indigenously. In the long run, this would make ISRO more self-sufficient.

After the successful launch of Chandrayaan 2, now the wait is for the soft

Humanity has neglected the moon for the last five decades. Now, Chandrayaan 2 takes on the challenge



Illustration: Chandrayaan 2 mission

The technology edge of the Apollo 11 era has disappeared. Americans are reinventing the wheel to get back to the moon. As the Chinese case indicates, today it is difficult to travel even a few meters on the moon successfully. During the last five decades, the world has witnessed an around 50 per cent success rate for such missions. Very recently, Israel's attempt for soft landing on the moon had resulted in failure.



C UDAY BHASKAR

JULY 1999 WAS a month of both exhilaration and relief for India and the Vajpayee-led government for the manner in which the brief, but potentially destabilising, Kargil war ended. Pakistan's perfidy, led by the wily and audacious army chief at the time, General Pervez Musharraf, of occupying craggy mountain peaks in the high Himalayas and posing a challenge to India's territorial integrity was foiled by the resolve and raw courage of the Indian military.

But a heavy price was paid. Almost 550 troops made the ultimate sacrifice and as many as 1,400 were injured. This human cost reflects poorly on the higher defence establishment of the day. India lacked critical military inventory but this was compensated by the leadership of the middle and junior ranks.

The roll call of honour — symbolised by the image of the do-or-die young Indian soldier atop a re-captured peak with the tricolour and the jingle “yeh dil mange more” — includes Vikram Batra, Manoj Pandey, Hanif-ud-din and Yogendra Yadav among many others. The extraordinary air effort and the many tactical innovations in the latter phase of the operations contributed in no small measure to the final outcome.

The 20th anniversary of the Kargil war will be remembered across the country in a celebratory manner over three days (July 25-27) and the theme is, “Remember, Rejoice and Renew”. While remembering the fallen soldier is commendable, it may be desirable to also “remember” and “reflect” on the larger national omission that plagues India's institutional approach to national security.

The central element of Kargil that merits remembering is that it had caught the Indian higher security establishment by surprise. This is similar to what happened in October 1962, and later in November 2008. In each of these cases, the country paid a heavy price in terms

# DOES INDIA REMEMBER KARGIL?

Critical lessons not learnt from the conflict make the country more vulnerable



Illustration: Kargil War



Illustration: Kargil War

The current paradox is that while the Modi team has triumphed electorally on the plank of national security, it appears that the emotive appeal of the fallen soldier and the manner in which it can be exploited for catalysing nationalist sentiment is a higher priority.

landing on the moon on September 6. For the next one-and-a-half months, ISRO scientists would be required to ensure that the mission remains in good health. It would be a phase by phase journey, ISRO would be undertaking five to six orbit raising manoeuvres, known as earth orbit burns, to take the craft close to the moon. Subsequently, they would be performing lunar orbit burns and would effectively establish the craft (orbiter) 100 km above the moon surface. This would be followed by the soft landing of the lander. This landing is going to be the most critical part of this mission, which ISRO is calling “15 minutes of terror”, since they would need to drastically reduce the velocity of the lander, finally reaching zero.

Chandrayaan 2 would be travelling a distance of approximately 4 lakh km. Finally, after reaching there, they would view and study the moon from a distance of 100 km for one year, at the minimum. But, the lander-rover system on the moon would function only for one moon day (equivalent to 14 Earth days) and during this period the rover could travel a maximum distance of 500 metres on the moon's surface. All this would cost around Rs 1,000 crore. The obvious question would be: Is the effort worth the investments?

Now, compare India's mission with two similar missions in China: Chang'e-3 (2013) and Chang'e-4 (soft landing on January 3 this year). The rover of Chang'e-4 called Yutu-2 is still functional after six months. For its designed life of three months, Yutu-2 has managed to travel for 163 metres. The first Yutu rover of Chang'e-3 mission, managed to rove about 114 metres before the technical malfunction that left it unable to move. This rover continued to function while stationary until mid-2016. The lander for Chang'e-3 remained operational for more than 2,000 days

and could even be operational today.

Officially, the costs towards the Chinese mission are not known, but based on available estimates, they are much more than the ISRO's. In respect of Chandrayaan 2, there is a possibility that the mission could even last for more than the designed life period. Please remember, India's Mars Orbiter Mission (MOM) has completed four years in its orbit on September 24, 2018, though the designed mission life was only six months.

Interestingly, during the 1970s, the Soviets had positioned the Lunokhod 1 rover to the lunar surface by the Luna 17 spacecraft. This was the first successful rover to operate beyond earth. It operated for 322 days and is known to have travelled around 10 km and sent thousands of images back. But this was the period when even humans went to the moon.

The 21st century challenges are different. Humanity is paying the price for neglecting the moon for the last five decades. The technology edge of the Apollo 11 era has disappeared. Americans are reinventing the wheel to get back to the moon. As the Chinese case indicates, today it is difficult to travel even a few meters on the moon successfully. During the last five decades, the world has witnessed an around 50 per cent success rate for such missions. Very recently, Israel's attempt for soft landing on the moon had resulted in failure.

In the backdrop of all this, ISRO has planned its mission. It has taken on the challenge upfront. Let us all wish India's lander (Vikram) and rover (Pragyan) happy-landings on September 6, and godspeed.

*The writer is senior fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi*

of the lives lost. But it is not evident that the political and military leadership has engaged in rigorous introspection.

Yes, the 1962 debate was followed by the emphatic military victory of 1971 and the birth of Bangladesh, though it is a different matter that the long-term political and strategic gains that could have been obtained in relation to Pakistan were squandered. At Simla, in 1972, India was oblivious to the imperatives of geography and uncomfortable with the leverage of macro military power. Alas, few national security-related lessons were institutionally internalised.

Kargil was a different story. While the war ended in a positive manner for India, the Vajpayee government constituted an expert committee on July 29, 1999, “To review the events leading up to the Pakistani aggression in the Kargil District of Ladakh in Jammu & Kashmir; and to recommend such measures as are considered necessary to safeguard national security against such armed intrusions.”

Led by the late K Subrahmanyam, a doyen of the Indian strategic fraternity, the Kargil committee submitted its report (KCR) in record time — a rare achievement since extensions for such committees is routine. In an even more remarkable development, a sanitised version of the report was placed in the public domain in the form of a book. The KCR is comprehensive and due credit must be given to its members — Lt Gen K K Hazari, B G Verghese and the tireless member secretary, Satish Chandra — for the report. This was very different from the fate of the much discussed but yet to be made public Henderson-Brooks Report of the 1962 war with China and it may be useful to remember what the KRC said in its conclusion.

Its epilogue “brings out many lessons that the armed forces, intelligence agencies, Parliament, government, media and the na-

tion as a whole have to learn. These should stimulate introspection and reflection, leading to purposeful action. The committee trusts that its recommendations will be widely discussed and acted upon expeditiously so that the sacrifices made will not have been in vain. The best tribute to the dedication of those killed and wounded will be to ensure that 'Kargils' of any description are never repeated.”

To its credit, the Vajpayee government set up a Group of Ministers (GoM) to make specific policy recommendations across four domains and individual task forces were constituted that brought together the best Indian talent and experience. It seemed as if Vajpayee would lead India's security reforms in much the same manner that Narasimha Rao had for economic reforms.

Alas, this was not to be and both 9/11 in New York and the terror attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001 pushed the Kargil recommendations to the back-burner. On the 20th anniversary of Kargil, remembrance must be tinged with shame that Parliament has not found it important enough to engage in serious, non-partisan and informed deliberations over how to arrive at “purposeful action”.

Critical lessons not learnt from Kargil made the country vulnerable, that was one of the reasons for what happened in Mumbai in November 2008.

The current paradox is that while the Modi team has triumphed electorally on the plank of national security, it appears that the emotive appeal of the fallen soldier and the manner in which it can be exploited for catalysing nationalist sentiment is a higher priority. To “remember” national security experiences in a selective manner is a dangerous Barmecide endeavour.

*Bhaskar is director, Society for Policy Studies*



## JULY 23, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

**RAM BACKS OUT**  
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER Jagjivan Ram has made it clear that he would “not come in the way” of Morarji Desai forming a new government. “Morarji Desai is the leader of the Janata Party and there is nothing to prevent him from forming a Janata government,” he told reporters. A relaxed Jagjivan Ram met newsmen at his house after having day-long discussions with MPs and party leaders and attending a brief meeting of the Janata Parliamentary Party executive at Desai's official residence. Earlier, Jagjivan Ram and Desai had telephonic talks. It emerged from Jagjivan Ram's observations that he is reconciled to Desai trying to form the government

and his taking the number two position. A section of the party, notably some Jana Sangh and Scheduled Caste members of the Lok Sabha, had challenged Desai's right to continue as leader.

**MORARJI'S CLAIM**  
THE CARETAKER PRIME minister, Morarji Desai, remains leader of the Janata Party in Parliament. This became clear today after Jagjivan Ram gave up his pursuit of the leadership. Having warded off the challenge from within his party, Desai is now to convince the President that he — and not Charan Singh, leader of the Janata (S) — can form a stable government. Desai staked his claim to form

another government soon after he resigned from the prime ministership last Sunday. Charan Singh has also written to the President that he has the requisite support and the Congress-Janata (S) alliance can face the Lok Sabha.

**CALL CHARAN FIRST**  
S N MISHRA, Janata (S) leader, said President N Sanjeeva Reddy, “has a duty to call upon Charan Singh to explore the possibility of forming a government at the Centre”. Addressing journalists in Delhi, he maintained that “by no stretch of imagination or logic” could Charan Singh be “sidetracked or put behind anyone else” in this matter.





# What is to be done about growth

Arvind Subramanian's paper, other micro data, suggest an impending economic slowdown.  
Policymakers must take notice and act



ECONOMIC GRAFFITI  
BY KAUSHIK BASU

ARVIND SUBRAMANIAN'S PAPER, 'India's GDP Mis-estimation', published in June this year, caused a lot of controversy. I was initially sceptical of his argument. But now, having heard him at the India Policy Forum at NCAER, on July 10, where he presented more data on India's slowdown, I am convinced about the significance of his research. The lessons I take away from his papers and new work are not exactly the ones he would emphasise, but the general message is important for India and the nation's policymakers.

What he showed was, if you take 17 major items, like electricity consumption and airline traffic, that correlate well with India's growth and track them, you will see that their growth slows down after 2011-12 and drops substantially below levels consistent with the official GDP growth. This leads him to conclude that India's recent GDP growth is slower, by as much as 2.5 percentage points, from what the official data suggest.

I do not think that India's GDP computation has obvious flaws. What the divergence demonstrated by Subramanian reveals instead is underlying disturbances in the economy. India's economy has many fundamental strengths and is capable of taking on this challenge but it requires skillful policy maneuvers. Before I go into this, let me point to some evidence beyond that in Subramanian's paper, which are signals of an impending slowdown.

To start with a little history, the first time India's GDP growth rate crossed the 9 per cent mark was in 1975, the year of India's Emergency. It is possible that the shock of the Emergency caused this growth spike. Before anyone jumps to the conclusion that authoritarianism is good for growth, let me point out that the following year growth slumped to 1.2 per cent, and by 1979-80 it had dropped to *negative* 5.2 per cent, which is the lowest recorded growth in India since 1947. While it is true that there are some examples of authoritarian regimes leading to high growth (China being the most prominent), there is overwhelming evidence from history of dictatorial control leading to disaster.

India's true transformation occurred after 1993, when growth became stably high and foreign exchange reserves rose exponentially. The economy's most remarkable period was 2003 to 2011, when annual GDP growth was approximately 8.5 per cent. Within this, the most significant stretch was from 2005 to 2008, when India grew by over 9 per cent each year.

The slowdown began in 2012, reversed in 2015, but over the last two years it has slowed again. The last official quarterly growth data, pertaining to the first quarter of 2019, shows GDP growth to be at 5.8 per cent. The examination of micro data suggests a genuine risk of a further slowdown in the short run. It is time for policymakers to sit up.

Subramanian already pointed to the fact that from 2011-12 to 2017-18, India's export growth was zero per cent. Six consecutive years of average zero per cent growth in ex-



Suvajit Dey

ports does not augur well. For emerging economies raring to grow, exports are important. During the same period, Vietnam's exports grew over 300 per cent.

Of as much concern, since this is one of the big drivers of growth for developing countries, is the performance of investment rates, the percentage of GDP that consists of expenditure on items like infrastructure, machines and technology. All the Asian super-performers had investment rates over 35 per cent. India crossed the 30 per cent line in 2004. This had never happened before and was quite a landmark for the nation. By 2007-8 India's investment rate had reached 38.1 per cent, putting India in the Asian super-performer league. Unfortunately, it has fallen steadily, and is now back to just above the 30 per cent line.

Turning to other micro data, India's automobile sector is stalling, and the balance sheets of Indian corporations have worsened. Companies' combined borrowings were up 13.2 per cent in FY19 but their net worth did not rise comparably. Another figure is the relationship between home prices and buyer incomes. According to the RBI, house price to income ratio has risen from 56.1 in March 2015 to 61.5 in March this year. This in itself is not a problem, but if home prices make a downward correction, this can cause general demand to stall.

What should the government do to ward off short-run risk and strengthen long-run, sustainable development? For the former, it is time for some Keynesian demand boost. We should be prepared to make a measured increase in fiscal deficit for a year or two. This will boost demand for goods and be a much-

What should the government do to ward off short-run risk and strengthen long-run, sustainable development? For the former, it is time for some Keynesian demand boost. We should be prepared to make a measured increase in fiscal deficit for a year or two. This will boost demand for goods and be a much-needed shot-in-the-arm for India's firms and farms. If the extra expenditure is directed at the poor and the agriculture sector, that will help those who need it most. Another item on which the government can step up expenditure is on building infrastructure. This can simultaneously boost demand and raise investment.

needed shot-in-the-arm for India's firms and farms. If the extra expenditure is directed at the poor and the agriculture sector, that will help those who need it most. Another item on which the government can step up expenditure is on building infrastructure. This can simultaneously boost demand and raise investment.

Turning to more long-run matters, we must continue to cut bureaucratic costs. It is true that important steps have been taken in the last three years, such as the new Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2016. There are also improvements in the ease of doing business. However, the latter was done mainly to appease the World Bank by taking steps exactly on indicators that the World Bank tracks. What is needed is to cut the *culture* of permissionism. There is a reason governments allow this to persist. If citizens and businesses do not have to repeatedly turn to the government for permission, this clips the government's power, and most governments have a tendency to resist this.

Finally, the long run belongs to nations that promote higher education, creativity and scientific temper. Among developing nations, India was an outstanding performer on these scores. This advantage has been eroding in recent years. I hope we will have the sagacity to reverse the trend.

[All GDP data cited in this article are from Government of India's Economic Survey 2018-19.]

*The writer is C. Marks Professor at Cornell University and former Chief Economist and Senior Vice President, World Bank*

## WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

“The US-India relationship must not come at the cost of isolating this country [Pakistan].”  
—DAWN

# The moon and the law

There is valuable real estate for space-faring nations on the lunar surface. But international law is still unclear on ownership in space



RAJA MANDALA  
BY C RAJA MOHAN

WHEN CHANDRAYAAN 2 arrives at the moon in a few weeks from now, it will seek to soft-land the lunar module, Vikram with its rover, Pragyan, on a site between two large craters in the south polar region. India is not the only one interested in the moon's south pole. Other countries as well as private corporations are aiming at the same area; for a good reason — the lunar south pole has places where the sun never sets.

These places are called “Peaks of Eternal Light” — points on any celestial body that receive sunlight through the year. There are barely any peaks that have “eternal” or permanent illumination. But there are some which have light for a large part of the year. The moon has these peaks on its polar regions. The peaks in the south polar region are considered more attractive than those in the north.

Near permanent sunlight facilitates the establishment of lunar stations with assured supply of solar energy. Some of these peaks are fortunately located next to areas that are in permanent darkness and hold significant reserves of lunar ice. Many recent surveys, including those by Chandrayaan 1, have identified the presence of water in the polar regions. Having easy access to water is obviously critical to a sustainable human presence on the moon.

Water can also be broken down into hydrogen and oxygen, which in turn can be turned into rocket fuel. With moon's low gravity, space vehicles need a lot less fuel than on earth for take-off. That could make the moon a convenient way-station from which human explorers could travel to other celestial bodies. Mars is already in the sights of many space-faring nations.

Right now, the moon rush on the earth is aimed at the lunar south pole. In January this year, China's Chang'e 4 soft-landed in the Von Karman crater on the dark side of the south polar region. China hopes to build a lunar robotic station near the south pole in little more than a decade.

The US lunar programme, revived by the Trump Administration, now aims to put man back on the moon in the next decade. NASA's focus is on the south pole and if it succeeds, it will be the first manned crew to arrive at the south pole.

NASA, however, has some competition at home from Amazon's Jeff Bezos. In May this year, Bezos unveiled the Blue Moon project that seeks to land men and women on the moon in the next few years. “It's time to go back to the moon and this time stay,” Bezos said. Bezos wants to land two tons of

cargo on each mission and start building a lunar base at the Shackleton Crater, very close to the lunar south pole. It is named after Ernest Shackleton who explored the earth's south pole in the Antarctic.

As a lunar race unfolds, the world will run, sooner than later, into difficult problems about such mundane issues as property rights. The international law of outer space is now defined by the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. The OST is quite explicit in affirming that outer space and celestial bodies like the moon can't be “appropriated” by any nation through claims of sovereignty, occupation or any other means. It calls the exploration and use of outer space “shall be the province of all mankind”.

Like so much in law, one principle often contradicts another. The OST also wants states to show “due regard to the corresponding interests of all other States Parties to the Treaty”. The interpretation of these principles is becoming contentious as the world's space-faring nations come to terms three important facts.

The “peaks of eternal light” constitute the most valuable real estate on the moon; they come in small patches and are in short supply. If the principle of respecting “corresponding interests” means “non-interference” in the pre-existing lunar activity of another state, some international lawyers worry, we could end up with up de-facto ownership for those who show up first on the peaks of eternal light.

Quite clearly, this is a recipe for competition and conflict on the moon. To make matters worse, the Outer Space Treaty has no provision for effective dispute resolution. The OST certainly exhorts states to cooperate and extend mutual assistance to each other in outer space. It also calls for consultations when conflicts arise. That inevitably takes us out of the legal and into the political domain.

There is also contention on another question — who owns the resources of the moon? In a law approved in 2015, the US has authorised its citizens to own, transport and sell resources exploited on the moon. Washington argues that this provision does not violate OST's principle of “non-appropriation” of the moon's territory. Tiny Luxembourg has passed a similar law to attract companies interested in space mining. The UAE is expected to follow suit soon.

As India celebrates the successful launch of Chandrayaan 2, Delhi needs to match the extraordinary success of its scientists with sustained diplomatic effort at the highest level. Amidst the growing scale and scope of humanity's lunar adventure, the Foreign Office needs to take up international space cooperation as a strategic priority. It also needs to develop a stronger political voice for India in shaping new rules for the moon and outer space.

*The writer is director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and contributing editor on international affairs for The Indian Express*

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### WATCH THE TALKS

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘When Trump meets Imran’ (IE, July 22). The meeting between Donald Trump and Imran Khan in Washington DC, the first visit by a Pakistani PM to the US after Trump's victory in 2016, is a momentous event. Due to Trump's strong attitude towards Pakistan, the latter has been forced to take action against terrorists in the country. However, that Pakistan is the feeder of the Taliban requires the US to tread cautiously. India must observe the talks and use it to its advantage.

Sauro Dasgupta, Kolkata

### DELHI'S BOON

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, ‘Delhi's leader’ (IE, July 22). For 15 years while she was the Chief Minister of Delhi, Sheila Dikshit transformed the city. She was the moving force behind what is now the landscape of the national capital, from following the Supreme Court order to switch from polluting diesel buses to greener CNG buses to facilitating the construction of the Delhi Metro, which has become the backbone of the city and privatising Delhi's power distribution. She was a great administrator, who any state would have been lucky to have at the helm of government. The Nehru-Gandhis and Congress's dependence on her was evident from the fact that she was asked to fight the last general elections despite not being a part of mainstream politics for some time. The Delhi Congress has a huge vacuum to fill. Sheila Dikshit will be missed deeply by all of us. May she rest in peace.

Bal Govind, Noida

# Living well together

‘Live and let live’ is a minimal requirement. Beyond it, there is neighbourliness



PRIYA KUMAR

IRENA AKBAR'S article (‘Secularism is no spectacle’, IE, July 11) responds to the widely divergent — and often hypocritical — media and political responses to the choices made by two young Muslim women, Nusrat Jahan and Zaira Wasim. My response does not seek to comment on the “choices” — saratorial or otherwise — exercised by these two women, rather, it addresses the larger issues raised by the article: The question of religious co-existence — what does it mean to “live well together” — and its entanglement with the concept of secularism in India.

It has become something of a truism to say that secularism in India has been expanded from its traditional concern with emancipation from religion, or the privatisation of religion. Secularism has been called upon to serve different and often contradictory functions in the Indian nation-state, both as an ethical ideal and as a political doctrine guiding the state. Closely aligned with the term nationalism in the years after Partition, the term secularism has since come to connote an ethics of “tolerance” and multi-religious coexistence, as well as the vision of India as a plural nation made up of diverse religions. As a political doctrine underpinning the state, secularism in India has been asked to ensure that individuals are not discriminated against irrespective of their religious allegiances; at the same time, it has also been used to provide state protection and recognition to minority religious communi-

ties. Thus, it has been asked to navigate between uniform rights and liberal citizenship on the one hand, and special rights for minority religious groups on the other. As a result, the contemporary secularism discourse is often marked by confusion and by a conceptual slippage between the range of meanings encompassed by the terms secular and secularism.

The notion of secularism as an ethics of multi-religious coexistence underpins Akbar's article. The term is often used interchangeably with the idea of a genuinely “inclusive” India — for example, when she writes, “Does my non-participation in Hindu rituals reflect my disbelief in ‘inclusive India’, unlike Jahan's belief in ‘inclusive India’, expressed in her adoption of Hindu symbols/rituals? Do I disrespect Hinduisim while Jahan respects it? No. A resounding, unapologetic, and most importantly, secular ‘no.’”

I want to suggest that secularism as a concept is not capacious enough to take on the burden of multi-religious coexistence that it has been asked to achieve in India (despite the way it has travelled), given its fraught and slippery meanings, which leave it open to misappropriation and misreading. To my mind, the substantive issue raised by Akbar's piece is how might Hindus and Muslims (and by extension other religious communities) “live well together” (whether we call this secularism or by any other name). This, as both philosophy and praxis, deserves attention.

Akbar makes the very important point that as a Muslim, she doesn't expect or demand a Hindu to fast during Ramzan or offer namaz, nor has any Hindu demanded that she participate in Hindu religious practices. This, to her, is a concrete instance of coexistence. “An undrawn threshold exists,” she says, “which is respected by both sides, or all sides in a multi-faith society like India”. This idea of the threshold is crucial because it asks that we respect the distinctiveness of religious and cultural others, and not seek to subsume them within ourselves. Such restraint is especially called for if we happen to be part of the numerical majority in a liberal democracy. By providing everyday examples of religious coexistence that rest upon a genuine respect for each other's practices — without necessarily participating in them — Akbar seeks to reanimate what a living well together should entail. She underlines that an inclusive India should be “free of the need to adopt each other's religious customs”. Hence her impatience with Jahan's performative politics, which she sees as infuriating.

Akbar ends by saying “you follow your faith, I mine. Let each be.” While this injunction to live and let live is undoubtedly important as a minimal requirement, this should not mean that we are not open to the merging of religio-cultural traditions that is inevitable through centuries of actual communal co-existence — neighbourliness (as opposed to liv-

ing in ghettos), for example. This kind of amalgamation of different religio-cultural traditions has often been celebrated in the work of writers such as Qurratulain Hyder, Intizar Husain and Amitav Ghosh.

In his later work, the philosopher Jacques Derrida provided a compelling reflection on the idea of “living well together”. To “live together” well, he says, we must be able to interrogate the cohesiveness of any organism or any social body (family, ethnic group, nation) that has been given to us by blood, birth or belonging. Indeed, Derrida avers, one only lives together well with and as a stranger at home — in all the implications of “home”, including the self, the family, the religious or ethnic community and the nation-state. A truly inclusive and accommodative “home” — or nation — would be one where every one lives as a stranger among strangers, where no one claims ownership or asserts prior claim over the nation. This peace or “ethics of living together” is radically different from the profession of “tolerance”, which, as political theorist Wendy Brown has pointed out can often designate condescension or the over-coming of an attitude of disdain, contempt or enmity towards religious, ethnic, racial or sexual minorities.

*Kumar is associate professor, Department of English at Delhi University and author of Limiting Secularism: The Ethics of Coexistence in Indian Literature and Film*







Soaring to the moon

Chandrayaan-2 will help India test the technologies for deep-space missions

A decade after the first successful mission to the moon with Chandrayaan-1, the Indian Space Research Organisation successfully launched its sequel, Chandrayaan-2, to further explore the earth's natural satellite. Earlier this year, China landed a robotic spacecraft on the far side of the moon, in a first-ever attempt. Now India is attempting a similar feat – to land its rover Pragyan in the moon's South Polar region, attempted so far by none. The equatorial region has been the only one where rovers have landed and explored. The launch by itself is a huge achievement considering that it is the first operational flight of the indigenously developed Geosynchronous Satellite Launch Vehicle Mark-III (GSLV Mark-III) to send up satellites weighing up to four tonnes. The orbiter, the lander (Vikram) and the rover (Pragyan) together weigh 3.87 tonnes. Having reached the earth parking orbit, the orbit of the Chandrayaan-2 spacecraft will be raised in five steps or manoeuvres in the coming 23 days before it reaches the final orbit of 150 x 1,41,000 km. It is in this orbit that Chandrayaan-2 will attain the velocity to escape from the earth's gravitational pull and start the long journey towards the moon. A week later, on August 20, the spacecraft will come under the influence of the moon's gravitational pull, and in a series of steps the altitude of the orbit will be reduced in 13 days to reach the final circular orbit at a height of 100 km. The next crucial step will be the decoupling of the lander (Vikram) and the rover (Pragyan) from the orbiter, followed by the soft-landing of the lander-rover in the early hours of September 7. Despite the postponement of the launch from July 16 owing to a technical snag, the tweaked flight plan has ensured that the Pragyan robotic vehicle will have 14 earth days, or one moon day, to explore.

Unlike the crash-landing of the Moon Impact Probe on the Chandrayaan-1 mission in November 2008, this will be the first time that ISRO is attempting to soft-land a lander on the earth's natural satellite. A series of braking mechanisms will be needed to drastically reduce the velocity of the Vikram lander from nearly 6,000 km an hour, to ensure that the touchdown is soft. The presence of water on the moon was first indicated by the Moon Impact Probe and NASA's Moon Mineralogy Mapper on Chandrayaan-1 a decade ago. The imaging infrared spectrometer instrument on board the orbiter will enable ISRO to look for signatures indicating the presence of water. Though the Terrain Mapping Camera on board Chandrayaan-1 had mapped the moon three-dimensionally at 5-km resolution, Chandrayaan-2 too has such a camera to produce a 3-D map. But it will be for the first time that the vertical temperature gradient and thermal conductivity of the lunar surface, and lunar seismicity, will be studied. While ISRO gained much with the success of Chandrayaan-1 and Mangalyaan, the success of Chandrayaan-2 will go a long way in testing the technologies for deep-space missions.

What's NEXT?

National Exit Test should overcome legal and political opposition and avoid the NEET way

In its second iteration, the National Medical Commission (NMC) Bill seems to have gained from its time in the bottle, like ageing wine. The new version has some sharp divergences from the original. Presented in Parliament in 2017, it proposed to replace the Medical Council Act, 1956, but it lapsed with the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. The NMC will have authority over medical education – approvals for colleges, admissions, tests and fee-fixation. The provisions of interest are in the core area of medical education. The Bill proposes to unify testing for exit from the MBBS course, and entry into postgraduate medical courses. A single National Exit Test (NEXT) will be conducted across the country replacing the final year MBBS exam, and the scores used to allot PG seats as well. It will allow medical graduates to start medical practice, seek admission to PG courses, and screen foreign medical graduates who want to practise in India. *Per se*, it offers a definite benefit for students who invest much time and energy in five years of training in classrooms, labs and the bedside, by reducing the number of tests they would have to take in case they aim to study further. There are detractors, many of them from Tamil Nadu – which is still politically opposing the National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test (NEET) – who believe that NEXT will undermine the federal system, and ask whether a test at the MBBS level would suffice as an entry criterion for PG courses.

The Bill has also removed the exemption hitherto given to Central institutions, the AIIMS and JIPMER, from NEET for admission to MBBS and allied courses. In doing so, the government has moved in the right direction, as there was resentment and a charge of elitism at the exclusion of some institutions from an exam that aimed at standardising testing for entry into MBBS. The government also decided to scrap a proposal in the original Bill to conduct an additional licentiate exam that all medical graduates would have to take in order to practise, in the face of virulent opposition. It also removed, rightly, a proposal in the older Bill for a bridge course for AYUSH practitioners to make a lateral entry into allopathy. It is crucial now for the Centre to work amicably with States, and the Indian Medical Association, which is opposed to the Bill, taking them along to ease the process of implementation. At any cost, it must avoid the creation of inflexible roadblocks as happened with NEET in some States. The clearance of these hurdles, then, as recalled from experience, become fraught with legal and political battles, leaving behind much bitterness. NEXT will have to be a lot neater.

The judicial presumption of non-citizenship

In further strengthening the Foreigners Tribunal, the judiciary has failed to fulfil its duty as the last protector of rights



GAUTAM BHATIA

On May 17, in a very short hearing, a three-judge Bench of the Supreme Court (the Chief Justice of India Ranjan Gogoi and Justices Deepak Gupta and Sanjiv Khanna) decided a batch of 15 petitions under the title *Abdul Kuddus v Union of India*. Innocuously framed as resolving a “perceived conflict” between two paragraphs of the Schedule to the Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and Issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003, the judgment – little reported in the media – nonetheless had significant consequences for the ongoing events in Assam surrounding the preparation of the National Register of Citizens (“the NRC”).

Two parallel processes

What was the issue in *Abdul Kuddus*? In short, it involved the status of an “opinion” rendered by a Foreigners Tribunal, as to the citizenship (or the lack thereof) of any individual. The issue arose because, in the State of Assam, there are two ongoing processes concerning the question of citizenship. The first includes proceedings before the Foreigners Tribunals, which have been established under an executive order of the Central government. The second is the NRC, a process overseen and driven by the Supreme Court. While nominally independent, both processes nonetheless bleed into each other, and have thus caused significant chaos and confusion for individuals who have found themselves on the wrong side of one or both.

The petitioners in *Abdul Kuddus* argued that an opinion rendered by the Foreigners Tribunal had no greater sanctity than an executive order. Under the existing set of rules, this meant that an adverse finding against an individual would not automatically result in their name being struck off the NRC. Furthermore, the Tribunal's opinion could be subsequently reviewed, if fresh materials came to light. This was particularly important because, as had been observed repeatedly, citizenship proceedings were riddled with administrative (and other kinds of) errors, which often came to light much later, and often by chance. And finally, the petitioners argued that if the opinion of the Foreigners Tribunal was used to justify keeping an individual out of the NRC, then that decision could be challenged and would have to be decided independently of the decision arrived at by the Tribunal. In short, the petitioners' case was that the two processes – that of the Foreigners Tribunal and of the NRC – should be kept entirely independent of each other, and without according primacy to one over the other.

Flawed tribunals

The Supreme Court rejected the petitioners' arguments, and held that the “opinion” of the Foreigners Tribunal was to be treated as a “quasi-judicial order”, and was therefore final and binding on all parties including upon the preparation of the NRC. There are, however, serious problems with this holding, which will severely impact the rights of millions of individuals.

To start with, neither in their



DAVID TALUKDAR/NUPHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES

form nor in their functioning do Foreigners' Tribunals even remotely resemble what we normally understand as “courts”. First, Foreigners Tribunals were established by a simple executive order. Second, qualifications to serve on the Tribunals have been progressively loosened and the vague requirement of “judicial experience” has now been expanded to include bureaucrats. And perhaps, most importantly, under the Order in question (as it was amended in 2012), Tribunals are given sweeping powers to refuse examination of witnesses if in their opinion it is for “vexatious” purposes, bound to accept evidence produced by the police, and, most glaringly, not required to provide reasons for their findings, “... as it is not a judgment; a concise statement of the facts and the conclusion will suffice” (although the Court, as an offhand remark, also added “reasons” to “facts” and “conclusions”). Subject to provisions of this manner, Tribunals are left free to “regulate [their] own procedure for disposal of cases.”

Unsurprisingly, over the last few months, glaring flaws in the working of the Foreigners Tribunals have come to light. Questions in Parliament showed that as many as 64,000 people have been de-

clared non-citizens in ex-parte proceedings, i.e., without being heard.

Testimonies reveal these people are often not even served notices telling them that they have been summoned to appear. Alarming, an investigative media report featured testimony by a former Tribunal member who stated that his compatriots competed to be what was jokingly referred to as “the highest wicket-taker”, i.e. the one who could declare the highest number of individuals “foreigners”.

When adjudicating upon a person's citizenship – a determination that can have the drastic and severe result of rendering a human being stateless – only the highest standards of adjudication can ever be morally or ethically justifiable. But in further strengthening an institution – the Foreigners Tribunal – that by design and by practice manifestly exhibits the exact opposite of this principle, the Supreme Court failed to fulfil its duty as the last protector of human rights under the Constitution.

Unwelcome departure

The Court attempted to justify this by observing that “fixing time limits and recording of an order rather than a judgment is to ensure that these cases are disposed of expeditiously and in a time bound manner”. This, however, is the reasoning of a company CEO, not that of the highest Court of the land, adjudicating upon a matter that involves the rights of millions of people. When the stakes are so high, when the consequences entail rendering people stateless, then to allow such departures from the most basic principles of the rule of law is morally grotes-

que.

The Court's observations in the *Kuddus* case, and indeed, the manner in which it has conducted the NRC process over the last few months, can be traced back to two judgments delivered in the mid-2000s, known as *Sarbananda Sonowal I* and *II*. In those judgments, relying upon unvetted and unreviewed literature, without any detailed consideration of factual evidence, and in rhetoric more reminiscent of populist demagogues than constitutional courts, the Court declared immigration to be tantamount to “external aggression” upon the country; more specifically, it made the astonishing finding that constitutionally, the burden of proving citizenship would always lie upon the person who was accused of being a non-citizen. A parliamentary legislation that sought to place the burden upon the state was struck down as being unconstitutional.

What the rhetoric and the holdings of the *Sonowal* judgments have created is a climate in which the dominant principle is the presumption of non-citizenship. Apart from the absurdity of imposing such a rule in a country that already has a vast number of marginalised and disenfranchised people, it is this fundamental dehumanisation and devaluation of individuals that has enabled the manner in which the Foreigners Tribunals operate, the many tragedies that come to light every week in the context of the NRC, and judgments such as *Abdul Kuddus*. It is clear that if Article 21 of the Constitution, the right to life, is to mean anything at all, this entire jurisprudence must be reconsidered, root and branch.

Gautam Bhatia is a Delhi-based lawyer

A misleading presentation of a labour programme

The Economic Survey presents an unbalanced view of the technical interventions in MGNREGA



RAKSHITA SWAMY & RAJENDRAN NARAYANAN

A chapter in the recent Economic Survey on the “transformational” impact of Aadhaar on the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) merits scrutiny. It presents a skewed and unbalanced view of the programme's technical interventions instead of taking a comprehensive view of the implementation. The Survey draws heavily from the Indian School of Business's working paper titled “A Friend Indeed: Does The Use of Digital Identity Make Welfare Programs Truly Counter-Cyclical?”

A rebuttal of this working paper, published in November 2018, highlighted glaring flaws on three counts – factual, methodological and conceptual. Yet the paper has been uncritically accepted and widely cited in the Survey. This raises questions about the credibility of the Chief Economic Adviser's (an affiliate of the ISB) office. Here are six reasons why the Economic Survey's presentation of the MGNREGA is misleading.

Aadhaar has to be understood as merely being a pipeline for funds transfer in the MGNREGA. A lack of adequate financial allocation, pending liabilities and low wages have dogged the programme over the past eight years. About 20% of the Budget allocation in each of the last five years is of pending wage liabilities from

previous years. It was worst in 2016-17, when pending liabilities were 35% (₹13,220 crore) out of a total allocation of ₹38,500 crore. MGNREGA wages in many States are about 40% lower than the Ministry of Labour's national minimum wage. Instead of sufficiently funding MGNREGA, a legal right, in times of severe drought, there is disproportionate attention by the government towards creating a complex architecture based on technical solutions.

Technological inputs

Second, the Economic Survey misrepresents the continuous technological interventions in the MGNREGA since its inception. Electronic funds transfer started as far back as in 2011 through the Electronic Fund Management System (eFMS), and became symbolic of the Direct Benefit Transfers (DBT). This served as the basis for the National Electronic Fund Management System (NeFMS), introduced, in 2016. The Survey uses the term “ALP” for Aadhaar-linked payments and conflates it with the DBT by repeatedly referring to the time before 2015 as “pre-DBT” to make its claims. The conflation of terms prevents one from making an honest assessment on the effect that different interventions have had.

Third, the Survey makes strong assertions that timely payment of wages have positively impacted worker participation. To support this, the Survey makes dubious causal claims on reduction in payment delays due to the introduction of Aadhaar. However, their understanding of payment delays is faulty.

Wage payments to MGNREGA workers happen in two stages. The



B. LALAKANNI/BAI

first is the time taken by the blocks to generate the electronic Funds Transfer Orders (FTO) and send it digitally to the Central government. The second is the time taken by the Central government to process these FTOs and transfer wages to workers' accounts. While it is true that delays in the first stage have reduced, those in the second stage continue to be unacceptably high. Only about 30% of the payments are credited on time; the Central government takes more than 50 days (which is the second stage) to transfer wages to workers.

The Survey only considers the delays in the first stage. Aadhaar has no role in reducing the delays in the first stage but comes into play only in the second stage. Therefore the claim in the Survey that the “ALP has positively impacted the flow of payments under the scheme” is a manipulation of facts.

Fourth, the Survey attributes an increase in demand for and supply of work in drought-affected areas to Aadhaar ignoring other crucial factors. For instance, it ignores the Supreme Court's orders on drought (*Swaraj Abhiyan vs. Union of India* (2015), which coincided with the duration of the working

paper's analysis. Taking cognisance of the Court's orders and continuing monitoring, the Ministry of Rural Development issued strict directives (between 2014 and 2017) to ensure allocation of works and on-time payment of wages.

These judicial-administrative directives, which came into effect after Aadhaar was introduced, played an important role in the increase in the MGNREGA work uptake in drought areas. Not accounting for the Court's orders as a contributing factor in their “causal” analysis makes their findings unreliable. In fact, in Rajasthan, under the new State government, the “work demand” campaign initiated in December 2018 has resulted in a 67% increase in employment generated and a record number of households having completed 100 days of work under the MGNREGA. There is a three-fold increase in employment generation in Karnataka in 2019 compared to 2018. This demonstrates how political and administrative priorities can have a strong positive impact on the programme.

Fifth, while the Survey rightfully acknowledges the nature of positive targeting of the MGNREGA – with women, Dalits and Adivasis benefiting the most – it wrongfully attributes it wholly to the introduction of Aadhaar. The argument denies the unambiguous impact of the universal access of the MGNREGA without having to meet any eligibility criteria. It is disappointing that in independent India, an official document on the state of the economy compares a constitutionally backed legal guarantee to the largesse of feudal kings. This should have been expected as the Survey misses the

point that the programme was introduced as a legal right and not as an act of charity. Indeed, to this end, the Minister for Rural Development recently made an odd comment: “I am not in favour of continuing with MNREGA because it is for the poor and the government wants to eradicate poverty.”

Sixth, the Survey's claims about the ALP identifying “ghost beneficiaries” is exaggerated as an RTI query showed that they accounted for only about 1.4% of total households in 2016-17.

Violation of rights

The technology historian, Melvin Kranzberg, wrote, “Technology is neither good nor bad; nor is it neutral.” It is telling that the Survey completely ignores numerous instances where technology has resulted in violation of workers' rights under the MGNREGA – some examples are not registering work demand, not paying unemployment allowance and compensation for payment delays among others.

In fact, another ISB study, not cited in the Economic Survey shows that 38% of the Aadhaar-based transactions in Jharkhand were diverted to a different account. Overlooking these fundamental issues, cherry-picking studies and using flawed analyses to justify technocracy is an example of ethical paralysis. While the Economic Survey harps about an ill-designed technological pipeline, the fact is that a landmark labour programme is being put on a ventilator.

Rakshita is affiliated with the Social Accountability Resource Unit. Rajendran Narayanan teaches at Azim Premji University, Bangalore

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters emailed to letters@thehindu.co.in must carry the full postal address and the full name or the name with initials.

Off to the moon

The quick resolution of the fault that affected the lift-off of the Chandrayaan-2 lunar mission leading to a successful launch yesterday is cause for celebration. The country looks forward to India becoming part of the “space elite”. Our scientists at ISRO are the epitome of hard work, perseverance and team spirit. One hopes that the success stories of ISRO inspire Indian youth.

B. SURESH KUMAR, Coimbatore

India has begun a new space journey and the scientists at ISRO deserve praise for their focus, hard work and perseverance.

Launching satellites at affordable rates in comparison to other global space agencies is another masterstroke. ISRO has not only failed to amaze and has also broken the stereotype of public sector undertakings being inefficient. Perhaps other public sector undertakings can emulate the work culture of ISRO. MEJARI MALLIKARJUNA, Nadigadda, Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh

RTI amendments

The RTI Act is one of those rare pieces of legislation which empower citizens to look into the often ambiguous workings of the government and our elected representatives. Citizens have a right to know how the

administration is not only using our funds but also delivering on its promises. Amending this to protect either the bureaucracy or the political system is against the spirit of not only the RTI Act but also our democratic credentials (Editorial page, “The tremor of unwelcome amendments”, July 22). The right to information is as important as the right to vote and altering this equation and making the RTI chief subservient to the government of the day is both anti-democratic and setting a wrong precedent. If any amendments are contemplated, the government should only further strengthen the laws and make them more ‘user-

friendly’. At a time when India's rank in the global transparency index is low, we cannot enact laws that cover up scrutiny. H.N. RAMAKRISHNA, Bengaluru

To say that the RTI Act has empowered citizens and brought transparency in government departments is not factual for the simple reason that replies to RTI queries are generally vague. Seldom does an applicant receive a pointed reply. The government should ensure that the Act should serve its true objective and is not shortchanged by government officials under the guise of technicalities. Another fact is that most of the information

in the public domain is through whistle-blowers who need to be protected. DEEPAK SINGHAL, Noida

What matters

The heart-warming story of a cancer survivor should inspire those with the disease (Open Page, “The tale of a gritty survivor's battles”, July 21). Even members of the medical

CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS:

In a front-page report headlined “Govt. to roll out big push for infrastructure” (July 22, 2019), the projected spending in the infrastructure segment for the next five years was erroneously given as ₹100 crore. It should have been ₹1.5 lakh crore.

It is the policy of The Hindu to correct significant errors as soon as possible. Please specify the edition (place of publication), date and page. The Readers' Editor's office can be contacted by Telephone: +91-44-28418297/28576300 (11 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday to Friday); Fax: +91-44-28552963; E-mail: readerseditor@thehindu.co.in; Mail: Readers' Editor, The Hindu, Kasturji Buildings, 855 & 860 Anna Salai, Chennai 600 002, India. All communication must carry the full postal address and telephone number. No personal visits. The Terms of Reference for the Readers' Editor are on www.thehindu.com



# What does it mean to oppose Brahmanism?

Anyone who adheres to the principles of the Indian Constitution is automatically anti-Brahmanical



RAJEEV BHARGAVA

A few months ago, a chilling report appeared in *Deccan Herald* stating that in 2017, 210 cases of atrocities against Dalits occurred in the urban districts of Bengaluru and 106 in its rural districts. Likewise, Kerala reported 883 cases of such crimes between June 2016 and April 2017. Other reports said that there has been a 66% growth in crimes against Dalits in the 10-year period of 2007-2017.

The horror of these statistics is made vivid when one examines concrete events. On April 12 this year, 200 people attacked a small group of Dalits for swimming in the Bhadra river in Karnataka. As they thrashed these people, the perpetrators screamed that the river belongs exclusively to the upper castes. Evidently, Article 15 of our Constitution is not worth the paper it is printed on. It remains toothless, impotent, ineffective.

What kind of thinking underlies these brutal attacks of social violence in which innocent folk are targeted merely because they belong to a particular caste? Since most atrocities revolve around the basic issues of land, wages and entitlements, poverty and powerlessness are viewed as the cause of such violence.

But such explanations do not go deep enough because they leave out the prime mover behind such atrocities – Brahmanism. This precisely was B.R. Ambedkar’s contention, who argued that without a robust movement against Brahmanism, Dalit emancipation is impossible. But then, we must ask what exactly is being opposed? What are the core features of Brahmanism?

### Not ‘anti-Brahmin’

For a start, opposing ‘Brahmanism’ does not entail being ‘anti-Brahmin’. To do so would imply that all Brahmins are responsible for these atrocities. This is as preposterous as ascribing blame to all Muslims for any wrong committed in, say, the reign of Alauddin Khilji, or all British people for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre or, for that matter, all Hindus



NAGARA GOPAL

for the lynching of an innocent Muslim. We should not fall prey to this crude notion of collective responsibility. In a society which is riven by caste, a person may belong to the caste of Brahmins but not adhere to the core ethic of Brahmanism. He may even have morally disassociated himself from it. The resolution to burn the *Manusmriti* and thereby oppose Brahmanism was taken by Ambedkar jointly with G.S. Sahasrabudhe, a *chitpavan* Brahmin.

Indeed, Ambedkar went even further. In a speech at the G.I.P. Railways Depressed Caste Workers’ Conference in 1938, he claimed that “when I say that Brahmanism is an enemy that must be dealt with, I do not mean the power, privilege or interests of Brahmins as a community”. On the face of it, this seems odd. For, what else could Brahmanism be except a defence of the power, privilege and interests of Brahmins as a community? In fact, this statement is not that perplexing.

Take an instance from our own history. The Rig Vedic society of 1500 BCE had a community of ritual specialists that transmitted its ritual related know-how from one generation to another. Others, the political rulers or ordinary householders, did not possess it. This group of Brahmins was granted some privilege on account of the knowledge it possessed. For satisfying the ‘religious’ needs of members of other communities, the group was even accorded respect not owed to others.

This produced an inequality but the resulting hierarchy was fluid, contingent and reversible. This contingently generated superiority of Brahmins was not systemic or integral to the structure of society, and therefore not necessarily demeaning to others. This sacrifice-centred Ved-

ic Brahmanism is not to be conflated with the Brahmanism Ambedkar despised and wished to destroy. One should refuse to conflate the privilege of such ritual-performing Brahmins with Brahmanism.

### A deeply conservative ideology

What then is Brahmanism? It is a sociopolitical ideology that encodes a memory of an ideal past and a vision of society in the future, one in which Brahmins occupy the highest place not only as exclusive guardians of a higher, spiritual realm but also as sole providers of wisdom on virtually every practical issue of this world. They possess superior knowledge of what a well-ordered society is and how a good state must be run. More importantly, their superior position in society and their superior knowledge stems from birth. This makes them naturally, intrinsically superior to all other humans, so superior that they form a separate species (*jati*) altogether. Nothing can challenge or alter this fact. No one becomes a Brahmin, but is born so.

A person’s acts may determine the position he occupies in the next life, but not in this one. Of course, this is true not only of Brahmins but of every other *jati*. The position of each *jati* is unalterably fixed at birth. The *ati-shudra*, the ‘untouchable’, is born into and therefore must occupy the lowest, most inferior rank; no action of his can alter this fact. This sociopolitical ideology makes hierarchy necessary, rigid and irreversible.

The hierarchical social order, it follows, corresponds to the natural order of things. No one can exchange his position with that of another, or move up or down. Any attempt to do so is morally wrong. Dalits, according to this view, must remain in ‘their place’ and if they try to move up,

they must be put down.

Brahmanism then is the most perfect form of conservatism, a status quoist ideology par excellence, entirely suitable to elites who wish to perpetuate their social status, power and privilege. Paradoxically, this is the also the reason why it spread everywhere in India and beyond and why it endures: regardless of your religio-philosophical world view, if you are a privileged elite, you would find this ideology irresistible.

So, there can be Brahmanical Buddhists or Jains. And those who convert to, say, Islam or Christianity may still continue to embrace this sociopolitical ideology. Many Muslims and Christians, for all practical purposes, are Brahmins or Thakurs who continue to inferiorise Muslim or Christian Dalits.

Brahmanism naturalises existing power, privilege and higher status. The kings love it, the wealthy merchants and landlords are happy with it. Indeed, because it gives them power over *ati-shudras*, even the high-placed *shudras* in this system of graded inequality are willing to acquiesce to it. In short, everyone at the top finds it appealing because everyone below is required to carry out the task as dictated by his current social position and to not ask for more. Anyone who consents to, endorses or justifies this hierarchical order, regardless of his caste, creed or gender, is then a ‘Brahmanist’.

Because this ideology is fundamentally against any kind of social mobility, it restricts individual freedom; because it is totally enamoured of hierarchy, it is ineluctably inegalitarian; and because it separates one group of human beings from another, it is deeply incompatible with any idea of fraternity. No wonder Ambedkar defined Brahmanism as the negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity. This makes Brahmanism and the Indian Constitution fundamentally opposed to one another. Anyone who sincerely adheres to the core principles of the Indian Constitution is automatically anti-Brahmanical. And one committed to Brahmanism disabled from embracing the values enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

Rajeev Bhargava is a political theorist with the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi

# Smoking e-cigarettes is more injurious to health

The government’s ban proposal needs to be welcomed



AMIT YADAV

The Narendra Modi government’s proposal to ban e-cigarettes and other electronic nicotine delivery systems (ENDS) needs to be welcomed as such a move will ensure that Indians, especially, children, are kept away from these pernicious products. Such a ban has also been recommended by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), which called for a “complete prohibition on ENDS and e-cigarettes in India in the greater interest of protecting public health, in accordance with the precautionary principle preventing public harm from a noxious agent.”

The Health Ministry last year issued an advisory asking the States to ensure that products like e-cigarettes and e-nicotine-flavoured hookahs are not manufactured, distributed advertised or sold. Following this, 15 States, including Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir and Mizoram, banned them. Several of the bans were under the Drugs and Cosmetics Act or the Poisons Act, under which nicotine was included as a ‘poison’. Further, the Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs (Anti-Smuggling Unit) and the Drug Controller General of India directed all their officials to ensure compliance with the advisory.

### Popularity among youth

Introduced about 10 years ago in India, e-cigarettes rapidly gained popularity, especially among the youth. A misconception among students, parents and teachers that these cigarettes are free of nicotine also contributed to their appeal. The reality is that the tobacco industry, hit by the success of the state’s efforts to reduce tobacco use otherwise, had developed such products to hold on to customers who would have otherwise quit. Research suggests that many youngsters, who would otherwise have never started using nicotine, took up conventional smoking after being introduced to e-cigarettes.

While the tobacco companies promote e-cigarettes as a ‘less risky’ smoking option, some industry documents show that their real goal is to introduce ENDS products as an alternative to quitting. One company started selling its e-cigarette brand in 2014, promising that it will give the consumers the ‘pleasure of smoking any time anywhere’ (suggesting that they could use the product even

at public places, where smoking is banned).

Further, even though warnings on many ENDS products clearly indicate that they are not a ‘smoking cessation product’, e-cigarettes are often promoted that way. Dozens of studies show that smokers who use e-cigarettes are less, not more, likely to quit smoking. In fact, most of them become ‘dual users’, continuing to smoke cigarettes while also taking to e-cigarettes. This makes them vulnerable to added health risks.

The tobacco industry plans to expand by achieving these twin objectives – attracting more youngsters and reducing quitting by adults. After all, the industry’s end goal is profit and not improvement in health indicators. The fact that the industry continues to produce and sell conventional cigarettes, its flagship product that brings it the greatest amount of profit, despite marketing e-cigarettes as an alternative is evidence enough of its sinister design.

### Myths and reality

A recent white paper by the ICMR and several other research studies have contradicted several claims of the industry. First, the industry says that ENDS products provide a safer alternative to conventional cigarettes. However, the reality is that ENDS users are almost at the same risk of contracting lung diseases and cancer as conventional cigarette users. In fact, ‘dual users’ are at greater risk of heart attacks.

Further, the industry claims that the sale of ENDS products does not violate any regulations despite the fact that the companies are in clear violation of WHO’s Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, which prohibits the sale of any product that appeals to minors. The marketing of ENDS products, targeted at youth, also impacts minors and schoolchildren. The industry’s assertion that e-cigarettes are safe is contradicted by the many fires and explosions caused by devices, resulting in injuries, loss of lives and property. Further, their accidental ingestion by children has also caused some deaths.

All these points make it clear that the Central government has shown great foresight in bringing out the ban proposal, a move that is likely to avoid causing another epidemic of nicotine addiction in the country. The ban needs to apply to all forms of ENDS products, including all ‘heat-not-burn’ devices that profess to be an alternative to the existing tobacco products.

Amit Yadav is a postdoctoral scholar at the Center for Tobacco Control Research and Education, University of California, San Francisco

# Subverting the RTI regime

The recent Amendment will dilute the powers and functioning of Information Commissions

ANMOLAM FARHEEN AHMAD

The recent passage of the Right to Information (Amendment) Bill by the Lok Sabha has reignited the debate on the future of important institutions in India. The Bill is being seen by many as an attempt to subvert the RTI Act and its machinery.

Two of the most controversial provisions of the Bill are: a) the stipulation that the terms of office of the Central and State Information Commissioners (CIC/SIC) will be determined by the Central government as against the existing provision which guarantees a fixed term of five years or up to an age of 65 years; and b) the proposal that their salaries, allowances, and other terms and conditions of service will be determined by the Central government. This is contrary to the currently prescribed salaries and allowances, which are equivalent to that of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)/Election Commissioners (ECs) for the CIC/SIC; and the Chief Secretary to the State government for the other ICs.

### Equivalence with EC

The object clause attached to the Bill differentiates between the status and functions of the Election Commission and the Information Commission. It thereby reasons that the conditions of service must also be correspondingly rationalised. While introducing the Bill, Minister of State for the Prime Minister’s Office Jitendra Singh said that it was a gross anomaly to designate the CIC and ICs as equivalent to the CEC and the ECs respectively. He said this potentially equated CICs to Judges of the Supreme Court even though the order passed by CIC is liable to be challenged in a High Court.

Both these reasons are *prima facie* problematic and self-contradictory. Since information as a right is a prerequisite for an effective exercise of the right to free speech and expression, the Information Commission’s autonomy as an institution should not be viewed through the parochial lens of positioning in a statute book,

but should be seen in terms of the nature of power and functions it exercises. The Supreme Court has termed the CIC and SICs as guardians of the Act and directed that CIC and ICs shall be appointed on the same terms and conditions as applicable to the Chief Election Commissioner/Election Commissioners. Interestingly, on the question of orders passed by the CIC, the fact is that even an election petition against an order of EC can be filed in the High Court and, quite evidently, this does not have any bearing on the poll body’s constitutional stature.

### Freedom from interference

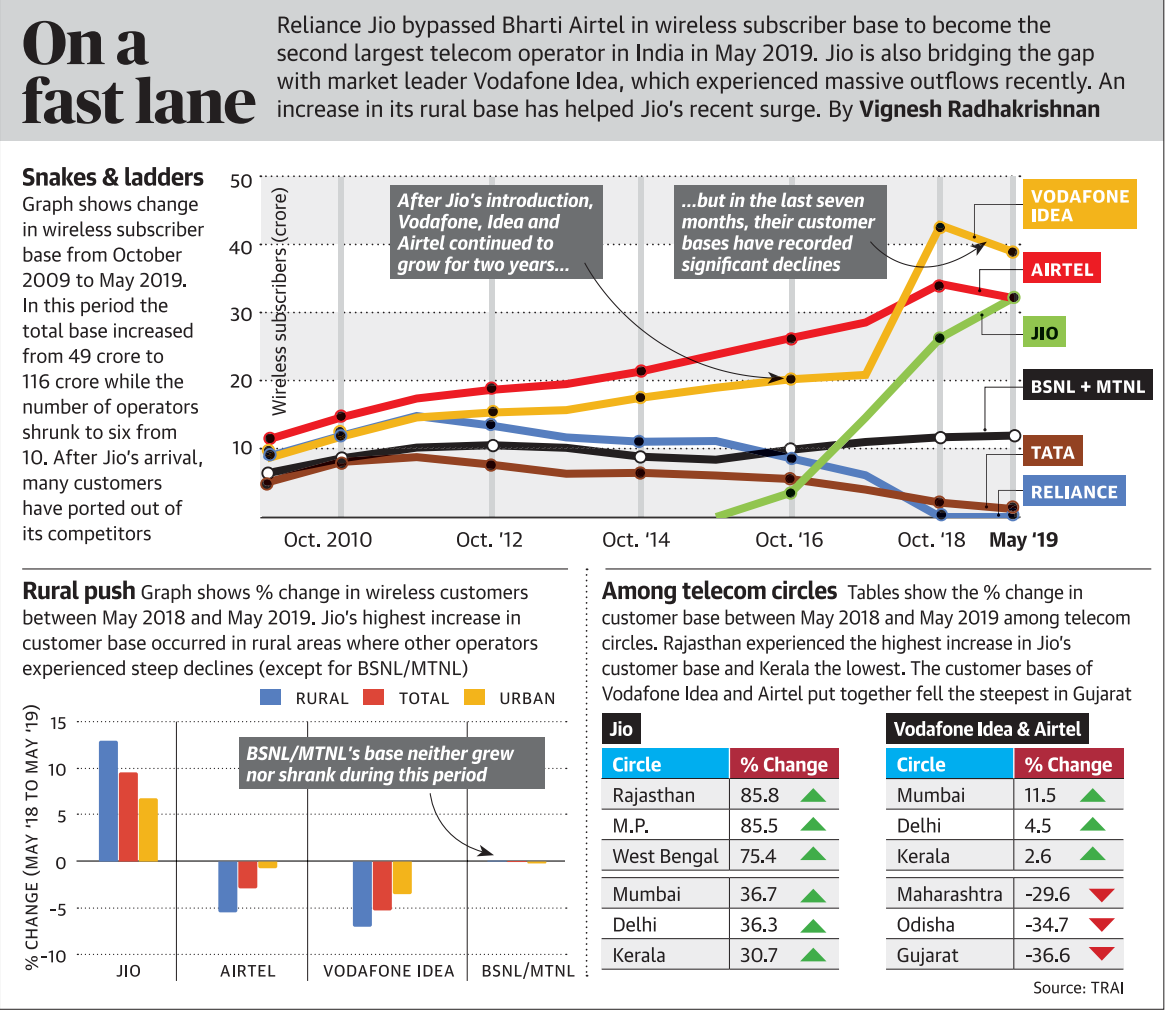
Power has an inherent tendency to tempt governments to cajole or control institutions. Freedom from interference and pressures provide the necessary atmosphere where one can work with an absolute commitment to the cause of transparency. Discipline in life, habits and outlook facilitate a constitutional functionary to be fair. Its existence depends however, not only on idealistic and metaphysical aspects but also upon numerous mundane things – security in

tenure, freedom from ordinary monetary worries, freedom from influences and pressures. In the words of the Supreme Court, “The right to get information... is [a] natural right flowing from the concept of democracy. That right has reached new dimensions and urgency. That right puts greater responsibility upon those who take upon the responsibility to inform...” Instead of playing one institutional body against the other and diluting their powers, what is expected of the government is to focus on the real challenges faced by these institutions, such as pendency of applications; vacancies; and qualitative decline in adjudication standards.

Annolam is a lawyer, running BDLAAW, a non-profit organisation; Farheen Ahmad is a research scholar at the South Asian University, New Delhi



## DATA POINT



## The Hindu.

### FROM THE ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JULY 23, 1969

### EMS called to Delhi for remarks

The Home Minister, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, has asked the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr. E.M.S. Nambudiripad, to come to Delhi to discuss the reported statement issued by the latter jointly with Mr. A.K. Gopalan, Marxist Communist leader, declaring their intention to “break the Constitution from within.” This was disclosed by Mr. V.C. Shukla, Minister of State for Home, while replying to a call-attention motion tabled by a Congress member, Mr. A.G. Kulkarni, in the Rajya Sabha today [July 22]. Mr. Shukla turned down a suggestion for banning the Communist Party, saying that the Government had no power to do so. The discussion on the motion was marked by sharp exchanges between the Marxist Communist members on the one side and Swatantra and Congress members on the other. The Marxist Communist members made a futile bid to have the discussion put off. At one stage, the interruption and wordy duel, reached such a pitch that the Deputy Chairman, Mrs. Violet Alva, said that she would put off the discussion. But the Swatantra leader, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, was quick to tell the Chair that was exactly what the Communists wanted and pleaded that the Chair should not oblige them.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JULY 23, 1919.

### Trade with East Africa.

The committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau [in Bombay] have addressed the Government of India on the question of trade between India and East Africa. They point out that trade could be developed to a very large extent if the present disabilities are removed. The committee state that they are given to understand for sometime past that colour prejudice, which is responsible for a great deal of mischief, has begun to make itself felt even in East Africa. If the allegations are true the committee for Indian trade in East Africa will be subjected to the same sort of harassment as in South Africa. With the removal of all grievances and inequalities there will be a natural development in the trade between India and East Africa without any interference from the Government on the lines suggested by Major Mackerrow in his scheme for a trading company. While the committee are opposed to the proposal of floating a concern with the assistance of the Government they strongly approve the idea of the appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner to watch and develop the interest of trade between India and East Africa.



## बिज़नेस स्टैंडर्ड

वर्ष 12 अंक 134

## किराये की अड़चन

**शहरी** भारत में आवासीय बाजार की हालत खराब है। बहुत कम घर ही किराये के लिए उपलब्ध हैं और बिक्री के लिए उपलब्ध घरों की कीमतें बाजार से ऊपर हैं। नतीजतन भारतीय आवासीय बाजार में मांग पूरी न होने और खाली पड़े घरों की स्थिति साथ-साथ मौजूद है। आर्थिक समीक्षा 2018 में यह अनुमान जताया गया था कि अकेले मुंबई में ही करीब पांच

लाख घर खाली पड़े हुए हैं जबकि दिल्ली और बेंगलूरु में करीब तीन लाख घरों के खाली रहने का अनुमान था। शहरी भारत के कुल घरों में से करीब 12 फीसदी घरों में कोई नहीं रह रहा है जबकि घर खरीदने या किराये पर लेने की चाहत रखने वाले करोड़ों परिवारों को मनमाफिक घर नहीं मिल रहे हैं। आर्थिक समीक्षा में इस संरचनात्मक समस्या के लिए

‘अस्पष्ट संपत्ति अधिकारों, अशक्त अनुबंध प्रवर्तन और निम्न किराया प्रतिफल’ को दोषी ठहराया गया था। मालिक अपने घरों को किराये पर देने को तैयार नहीं हैं क्योंकि कानूनी ढांचा किरायेदार के पक्ष में झुका हुआ है और किरायेदार के मकान खाली करने से इनकार करने पर पूंजी की विनाशकारी क्षति होने की भी आशंका होती है। इसी वजह से घर का मालिकाना हक रखना महंगा पड़ता है क्योंकि मकान के किराये से होने वाली आय उसे गिरवी रखने पर मिलने वाली कीमत से काफी कम होती है। यह स्थिति एक घर को किराये पर चढ़ाने से हतोत्साहित करती है। दूसरे शब्दों में, समुचित एवं भरोसेमंद अनुबंध व्यवस्था नहीं होने से आवासीय बाजार में गिरावट की स्थिति पैदा हुई है।

इस दीर्घकालिक समस्या के समाधान की दिशा में कदम उठाने के लिए सरकार की तारीफ की जानी चाहिए। वित्त वर्ष 2019–20 के बजट में वित्त मंत्री निर्मला सीतारमण ने वादा किया है कि केंद्र सरकार किरायेदारी कानून का मॉडल विधेयक लेकर आएगी और उसे राज्यों को भेजेगी। इस विधेयक में काफी कुछ ऐसा है जो भारत के आवासीय बाजार की उलझी गुथियों को सुलझा सकता है। सबसे अहम काम किरायेदार एवं मकान मालिक दोनों के लिए पेशानी पैदा करने वाली संभावनाएं कम करना हैं। मसलन, इस मॉडल विधेयक में ऐसे प्रावधान हैं जो प्रतिकूल हालात में भी किरायेदार की बिजली–पानी जैसी निर्यादी सुविधाएं न रोकने की बात करता है। अमूमन यह देखा जाता रहा है कि मकान मालिक घर खाली

कराने के लिए बिजली–पानी की आपूर्ति काटने का तरीका अपनाते हैं। मकान मालिक लीज अवधि के बीच में किराया नहीं बढ़ा सकेगा और उसे मकान खाली कराने के तीन महीने पहले नोटिस भी देना होगा। इसी तरह मकान मालिक को भी राहत देने का जिद्ध है। अगर किरायेदार तय अवधि से अधिक समय तक रहता है तो उसे मकान मालिक को अधिक भुगतान करना होगा। लीज के बाद के पहले दो महीनों के लिए किराया दोगुना हो जाएगा और उसके बाद वह चार गुना तक हो जाएगा।

अहम सवाल है कि क्या ऐसे किसी कानून को समुचित ढंग से लागू किया जा सकता है और क्या किराये संबंधी विवादों की न्याय प्रणाली के जरिये समयबद्ध तरीके से निपटया जा सकता है ? भारत में अनुबंध प्रवर्तन से जुड़ी

समस्या असल में अनुबंध की शर्तों की न होकर न्याय व्यवस्था में मुकदमों की भारी भीड़ है। इस वजह से किसी मकान पर कब्जे का विवाद उस संपत्ति को उपयोग अवधि से भी लंबा खिंच जाता है। मसौदा विधेयक किराये संबंधी विवादों के निपटारे के लिए नई अदालत बनाने की बात करता है। हालांकि ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए कि ऐसी समर्पित अदालतों का पिछला अनुभव मिला–जुला ही रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में रियल एस्टेट क्षेत्र के लिए स्वतंत्र नियामक एवं प्राधिकरण बनाने का विचार कहीं बेहतर है। समस्या विवाद–निपटान की क्षमता का है और सरकार को प्राथमिकता देते हुए उसका हल निकालना चाहिए। अगर इसमें सफलता मिलती है तो सबसे अड़ियल समस्याओं में से एक के समाधान की राह खुल जाएगी।



विनय सिन्हा

# खुशहाली का बढ़ना हो बजट का पैमाना

जीवन स्तर संबंधी तमाम सूचकांकों में भारत की स्थिति काफी खराब है।

भारत बजट निर्माण में खुशहाली स्तर बढ़ाने को मानदंड बनाकर स्थिति

सुधार सकता है। बता रहे हैं पार्थसारथि शोम

पिछले दिनों पेश आम बजट परंपरागत ढांचे वाला है। हाल ही में न्यूजीलैंड में पेश वार्षिक बजट एक खुशहाली मसौदे के अनुरूप तैयार किया गया था। यह एक नई राह दिखाने वाली कोशिश है। न्यूजीलैंड ने इस बजट के संकल्पनात्मक आधार एवं वैश्विक दृष्टि के तौर पर ‘सर्वसमावेशी दार्शनिक नजरिया’ अपनाया है। इसने खुशहाली आंकने के लिए जीवन–स्तर प्रारूप (एलएसएफ) में समाहित संकेतकों का इस्तेमाल किया है। उसने खुशहाली के मानक माने जाने वाले संकेतकों के लिए तकनीकी परिभाषाओं एवं श्रमसाध्य आंकड़ों के लिए ध्यान से जुटाई जानकारी भी इस्तेमाल की है। न्यूजीलैंड ट्रेजरी के टोनी ब्रैटन ने सरकारी को जीवन–स्तर पर जारी रिपोर्ट ‘ऑवर पीपल, ऑवर कंट्री एंड ऑवर फ्यूचर’ के संदर्भ में हाल ही में लंदन स्कूल ऑफ़ इकॉनॉमिक्स में ये बातें कहीं।

व्यक्तिगत खुशहाली की तेजी से उभरी संकल्पना बड़ी तेजी से फैली है। इसमें समग्र जीवन संतुष्टि के साथ जीवन की सार्थकता का अहसास भी शामिल है। यह आराम एवं मौजमस्ती में व्यतीत किए जाने वाले समय और उसकी गुणवत्ता के रूप में प्रदर्शित होता है। लोग अपना खाली समय किस तरह व्यतीत करते हैं ? भारत की निम्न खुशहाली रैंकिंग को देखते हुए क्या भारत को भी अपने भविष्य के अपने बजट में खुशहाली परिप्रेक्ष्य अपनाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए ? ऐसा होने पर बजट निर्माण प्रक्रिया के दौरान भारत की मौजूदा चुनौतियां नजर आने लगेंगी। वैसे भी अब भारतीय बजट में गोपनीयता की उपयोगी भूमिका नहीं रह गई है।

ऐसा मकसद हासिल करने के लिए हमें

एलएसएफ और उसके साधनों के प्रति न्यूजीलैंड के नजरिये का परीक्षण करने की जरूरत है। एलएसएफ का सामाजिक आधार नागरिकों की सलिप्तता और शासन का आश्वासन है। बेहतर शासन का पता इससे चलता है कि आबादी का कितना अनुपात भेदभाव की शिकायत करता है और कोई समूह अपनी सांस्कृतिक पहचान बनाए रखने में कितना सफल रहता है ? भारत में भी खुशहाली मानक वाले बजट को अपनाने के लिए यह एक समुचित मानक होगा।

न्यूजीलैंड ने 2019 के अपने बजट में जो पांच प्राथमिकताएं तय की हैं उनमें एक टिकाऊ एवं निम्न उत्सर्जन वाली अर्थव्यवस्था, डिजिटल भागीदारी, माओरी एवं प्रशांत क्षेत्र की आय एवं कौशल बढ़ाना, बाल गरीबी एवं पारिवारिक हिंसा में कटौती और बच्चों की खुशहाली बढ़ाने के साथ ही मानसिक सेहत सर्वद्वर्न शामिल हैं। इन सभी प्राथमिकताओं को मापन–योग्य मानदंडों में बांटा भी गया था।

जीवन–स्तर मसौदे में चुनिंदा सूक्ष्म अर्थशास्त्रीय मानदंडों के संदर्भ में, पर्यावरण की गुणवत्ता एक केंद्रीय चिंता है। इसमें वैज्ञानिक रूप से दर्ज वायु गुणवत्ता, संतोषजनक जल गुणवत्ता और बस्ती के एक किलोमीटर के दायरे में प्राकृतिक परिवेश आता है। जन्म के समय शिशु की जीवन प्रत्याशा, स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति, रोजमर्रा की ज़िंदगी में आने वाली मुश्किलें और खराब मानसिक सेहत से गुजर रही आबादी का अनुपात भी इन मानदंडों में शामिल हैं। आवास भी एक मानक है जिसमें प्रति व्यक्ति कमरों की उपलब्धता, घर की लागत का बोझ और आवास की गुणवत्ता जैसे बिंदु हैं। वयस्कों की शिक्षा और 15 साल की उम्र

तक संज्ञानात्मक कौशल का स्तर भी मानदंड बनाया गया है।

आय एवं उपभोग जैसे वृहद आर्थिक मानदंडों को भी नजरअंदाज नहीं किया गया था। लोगों की सभी स्रोतों से प्राप्त खर्च–योग्य आय, खर्च की मात्रा और उनके पास उपलब्ध भौतिक वस्तुओं को भी जगह दी गई। रोजगार एवं आय मानदंड के तहत बेरोजगारी दर, रोजगार दर, माध्य प्रति घंटा आय, काम के दौरान हादसों की दर और नौकरी पर तनाव जैसे बिंदु समाहित हैं।

इस बजट प्रक्रिया में सामाजिक हालात को भी मानदंड बनाया गया। प्रति एक लाख आबादी पर हत्या की अंतरराष्ट्रीय दर, पीड़ित बताए जाने की घटनाएं और सुरक्षा को लेकर लोगों की भावना को भी मानक बनाया गया। सामाजिक संपर्क में सामाजिक नेटवर्क का सहयोग, अकेलापन और सकारात्मक सामाजिक गतिविधियों में व्यतीत समय शामिल हैं। बच्चों एवं बिना बच्चों वाले दंपतियों से संबंधित आंकड़ों को भी इसमें जगह दी गई।

हालांकि जीवन–स्तर मसौदा कोई स्थिर प्रारूप नहीं है। यह इस बात को मानता है कि ‘चार तरह की पूंजी’ की वृद्धि, वितरण एवं स्थायित्व का अंतरराष्ट्रीय खुशहाली पर प्रभाव होता है। ये चार पूंजी हैं– प्राकृतिक पूंजी, सामाजिक पूंजी, मानव पूंजी एवं वित्तीय एवं भौतिक पूंजी। प्राकृतिक पूंजी में जमीन, मिट्टी, पानी, पेड़–पौधे और जानवर जैसे प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण वाले पहलू आते हैं। सामाजिक पूंजी के तहत विश्वास, कानून का शासन, सांस्कृतिक पहचान, लोगों एवं समुदाय के बीच संपर्क और समाज को सहारा देने वाले मानदंड एवं मूल्य आते हैं। न्यूजीलैंड के मूल निवासियों माओरी की

सांस्कृति का संरक्षण भी इसमें अंतर्निहित है। मानवीय पूंजी में लोगों की दक्षता, ज्ञान, शारीरिक एवं मानसिक स्वास्थ्य जैसे पहलू समाहित हैं जो लोगों को पढ़ाई, काम और मौजमस्ती के लायक बनाते हैं। वित्तीय एवं भौतिक पूंजी के अंतर्गत मकान, सड़क, इमारतें, अस्पताल, कारखाने, साजोसामान और गाड़ियां आती हैं और आय बढ़ाने एवं भौतिक जीवन स्थिति बेहतर करने में उनकी भूमिका होती है। ये सारी पूंजी अंतर्निर्भर हैं और एक साथ मिलकर खुशहाल जीवन का निर्माण करती हैं।

बजट निर्माण की यह प्रक्रिया जटिल थी। जैसे, मंत्रालयों के फैसले सरकारी प्राथमिकता निर्धारण एवं मूल्यपरक निर्णयों पर आधारित थे। आंकड़ों, विश्लेषण एवं परामर्श के जरिये सरकारी प्राथमिकताओं के बारे में सूचित किया गया और फिर पर्यावरण, सामाजिक विकास, बाल खुशहाली इकाई और वित्त जैसे कई मंत्रालयों को भी उससे जोड़ा गया। फिर उन्हें कैबिनेट समितियों एवं कैबिनेट की पूर्ण बैठक में भेजा गया जहां पर समग्र बजट रणनीति के हिसाब से अनुरूपता का परीक्षण किया गया। आखिर में कैबिनेट ने बजट प्रस्ताव को अपनी मंजूरी दे दी।

हालांकि इसमें कुछ जोखिम होने की बात को भी न्यूजीलैंड ने माना है। सरकारी क्रियाकलापों के व्यापक दायरे के बारे में जानकारी के सीमित होने का जोखिम भी शामिल है। सेवा देने वाली सरकारी एजेंसियों से खुशहाली बढ़ाने में योगदान देने की अपेक्षा है लेकिन उनके मौजूदा कार्यों से अलग काम भी उन्हें करने पड़ सकते हैं।

निस्संदेह अंतरराष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व को खुशहाली लाने वाले बजट की अहमियत पर गौर करने की जरूरत है जो व्यय आवंटन को न्यायसंगत बना सकेंगे। यह सरकारी व्यय को लेकर पीढ़ीगत स्थायित्व की दिशा का भी संकेत देंगे। देश एकपक्षीय ढंग से कदम उठा सकते हैं। भारत पर्यावरणीय स्थायित्व से जुड़ी गंभीर समस्याओं का सामना कर रहा है और यहां बेहद गरीबी में जी रहे लोगों की संख्या में गिरावट भी अपेक्षित नहीं रही है। इसके अलावा भारत के सामाजिक–आर्थिक संकेतक भी संतोषजनक नहीं हैं। पिछले महीनों में आए तमाम संकेतक इस ओर इशारा करते हैं। ऐसे में सरकार को खुली एवं सहभागी प्रारमर्श के जरिये अपनी प्राथमिकता तय करने में अधिक पारदर्शिता लाने की जरूरत है।

भारत में जीवन–स्तर प्रारूप अपनाने के लिए व्यापक कोशिश की जरूरत होगी लेकिन ऐसा किया जा सकता है। भारत में पहले से ही काफी सांख्यिकीय आंकड़े मौजूद हैं। अब नए उपकरणों वाले नजरिये एवं विवरण पर बारीक नजर रखने की जरूरत होगी। क्या भारत अगले तीन वर्षों में खुशहाली आधारित बजट पेश करने वाली पहली उदीयमान अर्थव्यवस्था बन सकता है या कम–से–कम इसकी घोषणा ही कर सकता है ? ऐसा होने पर ही भारत के लोगों की खुशहाली बढ़ाने पर होने वाले सार्वजनिक व्यय की पारदर्शी ढंग से निगरानी हो सकेगी और जरूरी होने पर उसे सही किया जा सकेगा। अभी खुशहाली एवं समुदाय के बीच संपर्क और समाज को सहारा देने वाले मानदंड एवं मूल्य आते हैं। न्यूजीलैंड के मूल निवासियों माओरी की स्थिति में सुधार कर पाएगा।

# सुविधा और निजता हनन को लेकर बड़ी उलझन

बेल्जियम की एक घटना ने

आवाज–संचालित रोबोटिक असिस्टेंट को लेकर बढ़ती निजता की चिंता उजागर की है। एक ठेकेदार ने गूगल असिस्टेंट पर दर्ज 1,000 से अधिक ऑडियो रिकॉर्डिंग सार्वजनिक प्रसारक वीआरटी को भेज दीं। इन रिकॉर्डिंग में लोगों की स्वास्थ्य संबंधी जानकारी के साथ ही उनकी पहचान सुनिश्चित करने वाले कुछ निजी आंकड़े भी थे। इनमें से 153 बातचीत तो रिकॉर्ड ही नहीं होनी चाहिए थीं क्योंकि उनके लिए उपभोक्ताओं ने ‘ओके गूगल’ की मंजूरी नहीं दी थी। गूगल ने इस मामले में अपने आधिकारिक ब्लॉग पर कहा है कि ये रिकॉर्डिंग अनाम रूप में कूचबद्ध की गई थीं ताकि विशेषज्ञ विश्लेषण कर वर्चुअल असिस्टेंट को अधिक स्मार्ट बना सकें।

यह समस्या इतनी जल्दी नहीं खत्म होगी। गूगल असिस्टेंट, ऐपल के सिरि और एमेजॉन के एलेक्सा का इस्तेमाल दुनिया भर में एक अरब से भी अधिक लोग करते हैं। ये वॉयस असिस्टेंट कई मामलों में हमारी ज़िंदगी आसान बनाते हैं। उनका वजूद अपने आप में मशीन लर्निंग की जीत दिखाता है। लेकिन उन्हें भारी भरकम डेटा के जरिये ‘प्रशिक्षित’ किए जाने की जरूरत है। इसीलिए बातचीत रिकॉर्ड की जाती है। असिस्टेंट का प्रदर्शन सुधारने के लिए उन बातचीत को लोगों की टीम सुनती हैं और असिस्टेंट को ये संवाद अशुद्धियां होते हुए भी समझने में मदद करती हैं।

भले ही वॉयस असिस्टेंट पर होने वाली बातचीत गुमनाम होती हैं लेकिन यह अपने–आप में निजता में दखल देने वाली बात है। एक बातचीत में कई संवेदनशील निजी जानकारियां होती हैं और उनसे उस शख्स की पहचान एवं भौगोलिक स्थिति भी पता चल जाती है। इस प्रकरण में यह बात भी सामने आई कि ये असिस्टेंट अचानक ऑन होकर बातचीत रिकॉर्ड कर सकते हैं।

एमेजॉन के असिस्टेंट एलेक्सा के साथ भी यही होता है। उपयोगकर्ता एलेक्सा पर हुई बातचीत के ब्योरे दोबारा प्ले कर सकते हैं और कुछ फ्रीक्वेंसी पर रिकॉर्डिंग को यह गलती घटित होती है। जब कोई व्यक्ति ‘वेकअप’ शब्द बोलता है तो उसकी प्रोसेसिंग गलत हो जाती



तकनीकी तंत्र

देवांगशु दत्ता

है। कभी–कभार सामान्य बातचीत

या पुष्टभूमि से आने वाली आवाज को भी मशीन वेकअप शब्द के तौर पर सुन लेती है। दरअसल किसी डिजिटल असिस्टेंट में एक माइक्रोफोन भी शामिल होता है जो हमेशा ऑन रहता है और बातें सुनता रहता है। इस प्रोग्राम में रिकॉर्डिंग केवल तभी शुरू करने का प्रावधान है जब वेकअप बोला जाए। लेकिन माइक्रोफोन हमेशा चालू रहता है। अगर फोन में इसे शुरू करने के लिए एक पुश स्विच होता तो भी उपयोगकर्ता इस माइक को हमेशा ऑन ही रखते क्योंकि यह उसके काम करने के लिए बुनियादी चीज है।

इस तरह यह प्रोग्राम गलती से भी शुरू हो सकता है और यह उपयोगकर्ता के नियंत्रण में नहीं होता है। उन रिकॉर्डिंग को विश्लेषण के लिए मदर सर्वर के पास भेज दिया जाता है। इससे असिस्टेंट का प्रदर्शन सुधारने में मदद मिलती है और ऐसी तकनीक के विकास के लिए यह अहम भी है। लेकिन यह प्रक्रिया असुरक्षित है। इन रिकॉर्डिंग की प्रतिलिपि तैयार करने एवं विश्लेषण के लिए चुने गए ठेकेदार गोपनीयता खंडित कर सकते हैं। अगर सर्वर हैक कर लिया गया तो यह पूरा डेटा गलत हाथों में पड़ सकता है।

रिकॉर्डिंग को गुमनाम ढंग से दर्ज करने से डिजिटल असिस्टेंट का प्रदर्शन खराब हो सकता है। यही वजह है कि गूगल असिस्टेंट और एलेक्सा की तुलना में ऐपल के सिरि असिस्टेंट के पिछड़ जाने की शिकायत का ताल्लुक इस गुमनामी से ही है। सिरि काफी हद तक रिकॉर्डिंग को गुमनाम रखता है। इन आंकड़ों का मानव विश्लेषण भी केवल तभी होता है जब किसी खास संवाद की पहचान के लिए बेतरतीब टैग लगा हो। लेकिन इसके चलते

### आधुनिक दिल्ली की निर्माता का जाना

पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री शीला दीक्षित को आधुनिक दिल्ली का निर्माता कहा जाता है। शीला दीक्षित के कार्यकाल में शुरू हुई योजनाएं आज पूरी हो रही हैं और उन योजनाओं का उद्घाटन किया जा रहा है। दिल्ली में मेट्रो का परिचालन हो या फ्लाईओवर का निर्माण ऐसी अधिकतर योजनाएं शीला दीक्षित के कार्यकाल में शुरू की गई थी। भारत में कॉमन वेल्थ गेम का आयोजन भी शीला के कार्यकाल में ही हुआ। इस खेल में हुए कथित घोटाले ने शीला की लोकप्रियता कम की तथा कांग्रेस की सरकार गिरने में इसका अहम योगदान भी रहा। आम आदमी पार्टी ने कॉमन वेल्थ गेम में कथित घोटाले तथा निर्भया कांड के बाद असुरक्षित दिल्ली का ऐसा माहौल

बनाया जिससे 15 साल की कांग्रेस सरकार फिर से सत्ता में वापसी नहीं कर सकी। अभी हाल में सिनेचर ब्रिज का उद्घाटन हुआ है और इस परियोजना की शुरुआत शीला दीक्षित ने की थी। ऐसी कई परियोजनाएं हैं जो शीला दीक्षित के कार्यकाल में शुरू हुई थीं लेकिन उसका श्रेय आज दूसरा दल ले रहा है। दिल्ली की बढ़ती बोझ के कारण सड़कों पर अक्सर जाम लग जाता था। शीला सरकार ने फ्लाईओवर बनाकर दिल्ली को जाम से निजात दिलाई। करीब 15 साल के कार्यकाल में शीला दीक्षित ने दिल्ली को आधुनिक बनाने में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी। शीला दीक्षित का शनिवार को दिल का दौरा पड़ने से निधन हो गया। रविवार को शीला दीक्षित का अंतिम संस्कार किया गया। अंतिम दर्शन में कांग्रेस के वरिष्ठ नेता सहित, भाजपा तथा आम आदमी पार्टी के नेता भी शामिल हुए। दिल्ली के विकास में शीला दीक्षित के अहम योगदान को दिल्लीवासी याद रखेंगे।

### कानाफूसी

### सीता माता के लिए लड़ाई

मध्य प्रदेश सरकार द्वारा श्रीलंका में एक मंदिर निर्माण के वादे को लेकर सत्तारूढ़ कांग्रेस और विपक्षी दल भारतीय जनता पार्टी के बीच तकरार हो रही है। पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री शिवराज सिंह चौहान ने मंदिर बनाने का वादा किया था लेकिन यह योजना बनाने के स्तर से आगे नहीं बढ़ सका। धार्मिक न्यायों के प्रभारी मंत्री पी सी शर्मा ने हाल ही में कहा कि सरकार मंदिर का निर्माण कराएगी और परियोजना की शुरुआत करने से पहले एक सर्वे भी कराएगी। इस पर चौहान ने ट्वीट किया, ‘कमलनाथ सरकार के अफसर श्रीलंका जाके सर्वे करके सत्यापित करेंगे कि सीता माता का अपहरण हुआ था या नहीं। मित्रों इससे ज्यादा हास्यास्पद और क्या हो सकता है।’ उन्होंने राज्य सरकार पर एक ‘अटल सत्य’ की ‘जांच’ की घोषणा करके हिंदुओं की भावनाओं को ठेस पहुंचाने का आरोप लगाया।



### बेमजा छुट्टियां

प्रधानमंत्री कार्यालय द्वारा शुक्रवार को सभी विभागों को भेजे गए एक आदेश में नई सरकार के पहले 50 दिन में किए गए कार्यों का ब्योरा देने के लिए कहा गया। इसके चलते अधिकारियों को सप्ताहांत में भी काम करना पड़ा। सरकार ने 100 दिन का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया है और 50 दिन के काम के बारे में जानकारी मांगने से अधिकारी चकित रह गए। वे सभी उपलब्धियों के कॉलम में जानकारीयां लिखने के लिए फाइलें छान रहे थे।

### आपका पक्ष

### सौर ऊर्जा को बढ़ावा देने की योजना

देश में ऊर्जा की खपत बढ़ रही है और बढ़ती आबादी के कारण सरकार के समक्ष मांग के अनुसार पेट्रोल, डीजल तथा बिजली की आपूर्ति की चुनौती है। भारत को अपनी ऊर्जा की जरूरत पूरा करने के लिए दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है। इस कारण भारत को बड़े पैमाने पर विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करनी पड़ती है। इसलिए केंद्र सरकार सौर ऊर्जा पर अपना ध्यान केंद्रित कर रही है। भारत कर्क रेखा में स्थित है। इससे सूर्य की किरण प्रचुर मात्रा में मिलती है। इस भौगोलिक स्थिति का फायदा लेने के लिए कुल 121 देशों ने वर्ष 2015 में इंटरनेशनल सोलर अलायंस की स्थापना की। भारत में इसका मुख्यालय गुरुग्राम में निर्माण हो रहा है। केंद्र सरकार ने इन देशों का नाम सूर्यपुत्र रखा है। इस अलायंस का मुख्य उद्देश्य सौर ऊर्जा का



अधिकतम दोहन कर जीवाश्म ईंधन पर निर्भरता कम करना है। भारत में ज्यादा मात्रा का सबसे बड़ा स्रोत कोयला रहा है। इससे विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करने के साथ वायु प्रदूषण की समस्या बढ़ रही है। भारत सौर ऊर्जा पर विचार जोर दे रहा है और पिछले साल दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा सौर पार्क का लोकार्पण कर्नाटक में किया गया। अगर देश में सौर ऊर्जा

कार्यक्रम सफल हो जाता है तो काफी हद तक देश को ऊर्जा संकट एवं वायु प्रदूषण से राहत मिल सकती है।

*निशांत महेश त्रिपाठी, नागपुर*

पाठक अपनी राय हमें इस पते पर भेज सकते हैं : संपादक, बिजनेस स्टैंडर्ड लिमिटेड, 4, बहादुर शाह जफर मार्ग, नई दिल्ली - 110002. आप हमें ईमेल भी कर सकते हैं : lettershindi@bsmail.in
उस जगह का उल्लेख अवश्य करें, जहां से आप ईमेल कर रहे हैं।



## दैनिक जागरण

हर बड़े सफर की शुरुआत एक छोटे कदम से होती है

# इसरो ने फिर कर दिखाया

चंद्रयान-2 का सफल प्रक्षेपण भारतीय अंतरिक्ष अनुसंधान संगठन यानी इसरो की श्रेष्ठता पर मुहर लगाने के साथ ही यह भी रेखांकित कर रहा है कि उसके लिए अंतरिक्ष की चुनौतियों से पार पाना अब कहीं अधिक आसान हो गया है। यह इसरो की काबिलियत का ही प्रमाण है कि उसके वैज्ञानिकों ने उन तकनीकी खामियों को बहुत जल्द दूर कर लिया जिनके चलते इस अंतरिक्ष अभियान को कुछ दिनों के लिए टाल दिया गया था। चूंकि इसरो चंद्रयान-1 अभियान को सफलतापूर्वक अंजाम दे चुका था इसलिए यह भरोसा बढ़ गया था कि चंद्रयान-2 भी कामयाब रहेगा। आखिरकार ऐसा ही हुआ। अब इंतजार है उस दिन का है जब सितंबर के पहले सप्ताह में हमारा यान चंद्रमा की उस सतह पर पहुंचेगा जहां आज तक कोई नहीं पहुंचा। चंद्रमा का दक्षिणी ध्रुव न केवल दुनिया से अपरिचित है, बल्कि कभी जटिल भी है। माना जाता है कि चंद्रमा के इस हिस्से में पानी के साथ खनिज भंडार भी हो सकते हैं। इसी कारण भारत के इस अंतरिक्ष अभियान पर दुनिया की निगाहें हैं। निगाहें इस उत्सुकता की वजह से भी हैं कि आखिर इसरो के वैज्ञानिक कहीं कम कीमत में अपने अंतरिक्ष अभियान को सफलतापूर्वक कैसे पूरा कर लेते हैं? अब इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि भारत अंतरिक्ष की एक बड़ी शक्ति के रूप में उभर आया है। इसका प्रमाण मंगलयान को सफलता ने भी दिया था और फिर अभी हाल में एंटी सैटेलाइट तकनीक के सफल परीक्षण ने भी। अब इसके प्रति सुनिश्चित हुआ जा सकता है कि इसरो के वैज्ञानिक वह सब कुछ हासिल करने में सक्षम होंगे जिसे अंतरिक्ष की चुनौतियों के रूप में देखा जाता है।

इसरो की ओर से अर्जित सफलताएं हर भारतीय को गौरवान्वित करने वाली हैं। देशवासियों को रह-रहकर गौरव भरे क्षण उपलब्ध कराने वाले इसरो के वैज्ञानिक बधाई के पात्र हैं। यह स्वाभाविक है कि उन्हें चारों ओर से बधाई और प्रोत्साहन मिल रहा है, लेकिन यह सही समय है जब इस पर विचार किया जाए कि आखिर सफलता की जैसी गाथा इसरो लिखने में सक्षम है वैसी ही अन्य वैज्ञानिक, तकनीकी संस्थान क्यों नहीं लिख पा रहे हैं? इस पर विचार इसलिए किया जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि रक्षा सामग्री के निर्माण के मामले में हम आत्मनिर्भर नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। यह अच्छी स्थिति नहीं कि भारत दुनिया के सबसे बड़े हथियार आयातक देश के रूप में जाना जाए? समस्या केवल यही नहीं कि हम उन्नत किस्म के लड़ाकू विमान, पनडुब्बियां आदि नहीं बना पा रहे हैं, बल्कि यह भी है कि सेना की जरूरत पूरी कर सकने लायक छोटे हथियार भी नहीं बना पा रहे हैं। केवल इतना ही नहीं, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में काम आने वाली तमाम मशीनों के लिए भी हम दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर हैं। हमारे नीति-निर्वाताओं को यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में आत्मनिर्भर बनकर ही भारत को विकसित देश बनया जा सकता है। बेहतर होगा कि इसरो का गुणगान करते हुए हमारे नीति-निर्वाता उन कारणों पर भी ध्यान दें जिनके चलते अन्य तकनीकी संस्थान अपेक्षाओं पर खरे नहीं उतर पा रहे हैं या फिर धीमी गति से बढ़ रहे हैं।

## सपनों पर ग्रहण

उत्तराखंड के पांच सौ से ज्यादा गांवों को सड़क से जोड़ने के सपने पर ग्रहण लगता दिख रहा है। वजह यह कि तय समय यानों के भीतर इन गांवों के सड़क नहीं पहुंच पाई। वक्त गुजरने के बाद राज्य सरकार की आंखें खुली। अब कहा जा रहा है इसके लिए केंद्र सरकार में दस्तक दी जाएगी। अभी तक सोए क्यों रहे, इसका किसी के पास के कोई ठोस जवाब नहीं है। प्रधानमंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना के तहत प्रदेश के 2658 गांवों को सड़क से जोड़ा जाना था। इनमें से 2142 गांवों को जोड़ भी चुका गया, लेकिन 516 गांवों के लिए सड़क अभी भी सपना बना हुआ है। दरअसल वर्ष 2000 में तत्कालीन केंद्र सरकार ने ढाई सौ से ज्यादा आबादी वाले सभी गांवों तक सड़क पहुंचाने की घोषणा की थी। यह लक्ष्य मार्च 2019 तक पूरा किया जाना था, लेकिन दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति यह कि राज्य सरकारें इस डेडलाइन से अनजान बनी रही। सरकारी दस्तावेज खुद इसकी गुंथली कर रहे हैं। राज्य सरकार ने शेष वन भूमि के पेच की वजह से फंसी आठ सड़कों को छोड़कर बाकी के 508 गांवों को मार्च 2020 तक सड़क से जोड़ने का लक्ष्य रखा है, इनमें से 63 गांवों के लिए प्रक्रिया भी शुरू कर दी गई है, लेकिन सरकार की आंखें पिछले दिनों तब खुली की खुली रह गईं, जब नई दिल्ली में केंद्र सरकार की परफार्मेंस रिव्यू कमेटी और रीजनल रिव्यू कमेटी की साझा बैठक हुई। इसमें बताया गया कि केंद्र सरकार की योजना के दायरे में आने वाले सभी गांवों को मार्च 2019 तक सड़क से जोड़ा जाना था। इसके बाद जो भी कार्य मंजूर किए गए, उनके लिए केंद्र सरकार बाजट आवंटित नहीं करेगी। चूंकि राज्य में इसके बाद 508 गांवों को सड़क से जोड़ने के आदेश तो जारी हुए हैं, लेकिन लोक निर्माण विभाग ने इन पर काम शुरू नहीं किया है। ऐसे में इनके लिए बजट की उपलब्धता की गुंजाइश कम ही नजर आ रही है। यद्यपि सरकार तर्क दे रही है कि इनके लिए केंद्र सरकार में दस्तक दी जाएगी, पर अहम सवाल यह कि तंत्र अभी तक क्यों हरकत में नहीं आया। क्या विभाग को डेडलाइन वाकई में मालूम नहीं था या फिर आदतन सुस्त चाल से काम करता रहा। यह स्थिति केवल सड़कों के मामले में नहीं, दूसरी योजनाओं में सामने आती रही है।

# दूसरों को बदलने की चाहत

जिंदगी में आप कितना बदल जाते हैं, कभी गौर करके देखना। बचपन से लेकर जवानी तक और जवानी से लेकर बुढ़ापे तक हमारी सूरत ही नहीं बदलती, अपितु हमारी सोच भी बदल जाती है। कई बार हम अधिक सहिष्णु बन जाते हैं और कई बार अधीर। बुढ़ापे के एप से तो हमने अपनी फोटो मिलान करा ली, लेकिन हमारी सोच में कितना बदलाव आया है, इसकी भी कभी आप गणना करना। मेरा बचपन में खिलंदड़ा स्वभाव था। अंदर कितना ही रोना छिपा हो, लेकिन बाहर से हमेशा हंसते रहना ही आदत थी। कठोर अनुशासन में बचपन बीता, लेकिन अपना स्वभाव नहीं बदला। जब जिंदगी के दूसरे पड़ाव में आई तब स्वभाव बदलने लगा। हम महिलाओं के साथ स्वाभाविकता खोने के दो कारण होते हैं, एक नौकरी और दूसरा पराया घर। नौकरी तो आप छोड़ सकते हैं, पर पराया घर को अपनाने की जिद होती है तो अपनाते रहते हैं। इस अपनाने में हम अपना स्वभाव बदल देते हैं। पराया घर तो होता ही है, हमें बदलने के लिए। तभी तो कहा जाता है कि इस घर में ऐसा नहीं चलेगा।

इस संसार में हर व्यक्ति एक काम जरूर करता है और वह है कि दूसरे पर खुद को थोपना। जैसे ही हमें अंश मात्र अधिकार मिलता है, हम



डॉ. भरत अुनअुनवाला

पांच ट्रिलियन डॉलर अर्थव्यवस्था का लक्ष्य सही है, लेकिन बेहतर होगा कि निवेश आधारित विकास के स्थान पर मांग आधारित विकास को अपनाएं तो सफलता मिलने की संभावना अधिक होगी

प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने देश के सामने वर्ष 2024 तक पांच ट्रिलियन डॉलर की अर्थव्यवस्था बनने का लक्ष्य रखा है। पांच ट्रिलियन डॉलर यानी पांच हजार अरब डॉलर। इसमें कोई संशय नहीं कि प्रधानमंत्री ने सरकारी कार्यकुशलता में बेजोड़ सुधार हासिल किया है। शीर्ष अधिकारी आज चाहते हैं कि वे प्रधानमंत्री की बताई दिशा के अनुसार लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करें। सरकार ने बैंकों से धन लेकर गबन करने वाले निजी बड़े उद्यमियों पर नकेल कसी है, फिर भी पांच ट्रिलियन डॉलर की अर्थव्यवस्था बनने के लिए कुछ नीतिगत परिवर्तन करने की भी जरूरत हो सकती है। आम बजट की पूर्वसंध्या पर मुख्य आर्थिक सलाहकार कृष्णमूर्ति आधाारित' आर्थिक विकास की राह पर चलना होगा। सरकार का मानना है कि ब्याज दर न्यून होने से उद्यमियों द्वारा भारी मात्रा में ऋण लेकर निवेश किया जाएगा। वे फैक्ट्रियां लगाएंगे, रोजगार के अवसर सृजित होंगे और उस आय से लोग उन्हीं फैक्ट्रियों में बने माल को खरीदेंगे। यहाँ प्रश्न है कि पहले मांग आएगी अथवा पहले निवेश? मांग उत्पन्न होने से निवेश आएगा अथवा निवेश करने से मांग उत्पन्न होगी? इसे एक उदाहरण से समझा जा सकता है। जैसे किसी निवेश? मांग उत्पन्न होने से निवेश आएगा अथवा निवेश करने से मांग उत्पन्न होगी? इसे एक उदाहरण से समझा जा सकता है। जैसे किसी उद्यमी ने कपड़ा बनाने की फैक्ट्री स्थापित की। उसमें कुछ कर्मियों को रोजगार दिया। उस एजेंट में मिले वेतन से कर्मियों ने कपड़े खरीदे, लेकिन वे फैक्ट्री में बने सभी कपड़ों की खपत नहीं कर सकते। कहीं से बाहरी मांग आएगी तभी फैक्ट्री

सफल होगी।

उद्यमी पहले व्यापक मांग देखता है और फिर निवेश करता है। अपने देश में पहले ब्याज दरें 10 से 15 प्रतिशत के बीच रहती थीं फिर भी उद्यमी निवेश करते थे, क्योंकि बाजार में मांग थी। आज ब्याज दर कम है, परंतु वे निवेश नहीं कर रहे हैं। निवेश आधारित आर्थिक विकास पर पुनर्विचार करने की जरूरत है। आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार पूर्वी एशिया और चीन ने निवेश आधारित आर्थिक विकास हासिल किया। सच यह है कि इन देशों के विकास के पीछे विकसित देशों की मांग थी। उस मांग की पूर्ति के लिए इन देशों ने निवेश किया था। यानी पहले निर्यात की मांग आई और उसके बाद निवेश आया, लेकिन अब चीन द्वारा अपनाई गई निर्यात-एवं निवेश आधारित नीति को आज हम नहीं अपना पाएंगे। कारण यह है कि 1980-90 के दशक में विकसित देशों में तकनीकी आविष्कार हो रहे थे जैसे इंटरनेट और पर्सनल कंप्यूटर। इन आविष्कारों के चलते इन देशों की आय और खपत बढ़ रही थी। इस खपत की पूर्ति के लिए उन्होंने चीन में निवेश किया। आज विकसित देशों में इस प्रकार के तकनीकी सुधार कम हो रहे हैं। उनकी अर्थव्यवस्थाएं नरम पड़ी हुई हैं। इसलिए निर्यात के आधार पर भी हम आज निवेश को आकर्षित नहीं कर पाएंगे। दूसरा कारण यह है कि रोबोट के कारण निर्माण का विकसित देशों को वापस जाना शुरू हो गया है। चीन और भारत में उपलब्ध सस्ते श्रम का लालच अब समाप्त हो गया है। इन कारणों से चीन द्वारा अपनाई गई

# अंतरिक्ष में एक और बड़ी छलांग

इसरो ने चंद्रमा पर दूसरा मिशन रवाना करके अंतरिक्ष विज्ञान के इतिहास में एक नया अध्याय जोड़ दिया है। चंद्रयान-2 इसरो का अत्यंत महत्वाकांक्षी मिशन है। चंद्रमा पर तकनीकी रूप से कठिन मिशन भेजना का साहस दिखाकर भारत ने एक बार फिर पूरी दुनिया को अपनी तकनीकी क्षमता दिखाई है। भारत अब एक बड़ी अंतरिक्ष शक्ति बन चुका है जिसका लोहा अब दूसरे देश भी मानने लगे हैं। इसी साल 27 मार्च को भारत ने अंतरिक्ष में शत्रु के उपग्रह को मार गिराने की क्षमता प्रदर्शित की थी। अब चार महीने के अंदर भारत ने चंद्रयान-2 के जरिये अंतरिक्ष में एक और बड़ी छलांग लगाई है। इस नए मिशन की सफलता के बाद इसरो के वैज्ञानिक 2022 में अंतरिक्ष में मानव मिशन भेजने की तैयारियों में जुट जाएंगे। नि:संदेह वह एक गौरवशाली पल था जब शांतिशाली उपग्रह प्रक्षेपण वाहन जीएसएलवी-मार्क 3 जिसे बाहुबली का नाम दिया जा रहा है, ने श्रीहरिकोटा से उड़ान भरकर चंद्रयान-2 को सफलतापूर्वक अंतरिक्ष में पहुंचाया। यह मिशन पहले 15 जुलाई को रवाना होना था, लेकिन प्रक्षेपण से एक घंटे पहले जीएसएलवी रॉकेट के क्रॉयोजेनिक स्ट्रेज में लीक दिखने के बाद रवानगी कुछ दिनों के लिए स्थगित कर दी गई। इसरो के इंजीनियरों ने बहुत जल्द इस खराबी को दूर कर दिया। चंद्रयान-2 को सबसे पहले 2010 या 2011 में छोड़े जाने की योजना थी। तब यह रूस के साथ संयुक्त मिशन था। रूस इस मिशन के लिए लैंडर और रोवर देने वाला था। रूसी लैंडर और रोवर के डिजाइन में खामियां नजर आने के बाद यह मिशन आगे नहीं बढ़ पाया। रूस भी पीछे हट गया। इसरो को स्वदेशी साधनों से ही लैंडर और रोवर का विकास करना पड़ा। इसमें पिछले साल मिशन। चंद्रमिशन 2017 तक तैयार हो गया था। वक्त सल इस मिशन को रवाना करने की योजना बनी. लेकिन चंद्रमा पर लैंडिंग के उपयुक्त अवसर के अभाव में इसे दो बार स्थगित करना पड़ा।

चंद्रमा के इस मिशन से पहले भारत ने अक्टूबर 2008 में चंद्रयान-1 को चंद्रमा से 100 किमी की ऊंचाई पर वृत्ताकार कक्षा में स्थापित किया था। चंद्रमा पर पानी की उपस्थिति की खोज चंद्रयान-1 की सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि थी। चंद्रयान-2 की विशेषता यह है कि इसके साथ एक लैंडर विक्रम और एक रोवर प्रज्ञान भी है। रोवर छह पहियों वाली एक गाड़ी है। चंद्रयान-2 अत्यंत चुनौतीपूर्ण और जटिल मिशन है, क्योंकि इसमें इसरो ने सिर्फ मुख्य परिक्रमा-यान (ऑर्बिटर) को चंद्रमा की परिक्रमण करेगा, बल्कि लैंडर को बहुत धीरे-धीरे चंद्रमा की सतह पर उतारेगा। रोवर से युक्त लैंडर ऑर्बिटर से अलग होने के बाद सात सितंबर को धीरे-धीरे चंद्रमा के दक्षिणी ध्रुव पर उतरेगा। इस तरह चंद्रयान-2 को



सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहलू यह है कि चंद्रमा के दक्षिणी ध्रुव पर सॉफ्ट लैंडिंग कराने वाला भारत दुनिया का पहला देश होगा

पृथ्वी से चंद्रमा की सतह तक 3.84 लाख किमी की दूरी तय करने में 48 दिन लगेंगे। चंद्रयान-2 मिशन का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहलू यह है कि चंद्रमा के दक्षिणी ध्रुव पर सॉफ्ट लैंडिंग कराने वाला भारत दुनिया का पहला देश होगा। अभी तक अमेरिका, रूस और चीन ने भी वहां यान उतारने की कोशिश नहीं की है। ऑर्बिटर से अलग होने के बाद लैंडर को चंद्रमा की सतह को छूने में 15 मिनट लगेंगे। लैंडर में लगे हुए सेंसर यान को चट्टानों और क्रेटरों से बचाते हुए सही जगह पर उतरने में मदद करेंगे। सतह पर उतरने के करीब साढ़े चार घंटे बाद लैंडर से रोवर बाहर निकल कर चंद्रमा की सतह पर चहलकदमी करते हुए प्रयोग शुरू कर देगा। ऑर्बिटर 100 किमी ऊंची कक्षा में स्थापित होकर चंद्रमा की सतह के नक्शे तैयार करेगा। उसका कार्यकाल एक वर्ष का है। लैंडर और रोवर के मिशन का कार्यकाल एक-एक चंद्र दिवस का है। एक चंद्र दिवस पृथ्वी के 14-15 दिन के बराबर होता है।

चंद्रयान-2 मिशन के ऑर्बिटर, लैंडर और रोवर में कुल 14 उपकरण हैं जो चंद्रमा की रस्वीरें खींचेंगे और खोजें, हीलियम सेंस और भूमिगत बर्फ की तलाश करेंगे। लैंडर और रोवर को बैंगलुरु स्थित लुनर टेर्रेन टेस्ट फेसिलिटी में जांचा-परखा गया है। इसके लिए तमिलनाडु के सेलेम से खास तरह की मिट्टी मंगाई गई। पहले अमेरिका से चंद्रमा जैसी मिट्टी मंगाने पर भी विचार किया गया था, जिसका मूल्य

150 डॉलर प्रति किलो था। चूंकि इसमें 60-70 टन मिट्टी खर्च होनी थी तो देसी वैज्ञानिकों ने चरेलू समाधान तलाश कर इसे किफायती बना दिया।

लैंडिंग के लिए चंद्रमा के दक्षिणी ध्रुव का चुनाव उसकी सुविधाजनक स्थिति और बेहतर संचार के हिसाब से किया गया है। रोवर को अपनी बैटरी चार्ज करने के लिए सौर ऊर्जा चाहिए। दक्षिणी ध्रुव में पर्याप्त मात्रा में सूरज की रोशनी उपलब्ध है। लैंडिंग की जगह पर 12 डिग्री से ज्यादा ढलान नहीं होना चाहिए, अन्यथा लैंडर लुढ़क जाएगा। इस हार्डि्ट से भी यह स्थल उपयुक्त पाया गया। यहाँ उत्तरी ध्रुव की तुलना में जल-बर्फ की मौजूदगी की संभावना अधिक है। अतः भारतीय मिशन से नई वैज्ञानिक जानकारियों की उम्मीद का जा सकती है। चंद्रयान-2 शत प्रतिशत स्वदेशी मिशन है, क्योंकि प्रक्षेपण वाहन, ऑर्बिटर, लैंडर और रोवर का निर्माण इसरो की निर्माणशालाओं में हुआ है। चंद्रयान-2 को अंतरिक्ष में पहुंचाने वाले प्रक्षेपण वाहन, बाहुबली रॉकेट का डिजाइन और निर्माण तिरुवनंतपुरम स्थित विक्रम साराभाई स्पेस सेंटर ने किया है। तीन चरणों वाले रॉकेट का वजन 640 टन है। देश के तमाम शोध संस्थानों ने भी इसमें योगदान दिया है। समूचा देश इस मिशन से लाभान्वित होगा। संपूर्ण मिशन की लागत करीब 1000 करोड़ है। इसमें 603 करोड़ रुपये चंद्रयान-2 के कंपोजिट मॉड्यूल के निर्माण और इसरो को ट्रैकिंग और नॉसंचालन सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराने वाली विदेशी एजेंसियों को भुगतान में खर्च किए गए हैं। जीएसएलवी-मार्क 3 के निर्माण में करीब 375 करोड़ रुपये खर्च हुए। इस रॉकेट के निर्माण में देश भर के करीब 500 उद्योगों ने योगदान किया है। कंपोजिट मॉड्यूल के लिए हार्डवेयर और सॉफ्टवेयर जुटाने में 120 उद्योगों का योगदान है।

चंद्रयान-2 के लैंडर का वजन 1.4 टन है। इसमें चार पेलोड हैं जिनमें एक नासा का है। तीन भारतीय उपकरण चंद्रमा के भूकंपों पर प्रयोग करेंगे और लैंडिंग की जगह के ताप-भौतिक गुणों का अध्ययन करेंगे। नासा के पेलोड, लेजर रेडारिफ्लेक्टर अरे को अंतिम समय में शामिल किया गया है। यह पृथ्वी-चंद्रमा सिस्टम की बारोमिक्रियों को समझने की कोशिश करेगा और चंद्रमा पर लैंडर और पृथ्वी के बीच की दूरी को नापेगा। रोवर का वजन करीब 27 किलो है। इसमें अल्फा पार्टिकल एक्स-रे स्पेक्ट्रोमीटर सहित दो पेलोड हैं। ये उपकरण चंद्रमा की सतह की रासायनिक संरचना का अध्ययन करेंगे।

( स्तंभकार विज्ञान मामलों के लेखक हैं )

response@jagran.com



अवधेश राजपूत

निर्यात-निवेश आधारित नीति को आज हम लागू नहीं कर सकेंगे। सरकार को चाहिए कि घरेलू मांग आधारित विकास की नीति को अपनाए।

आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण में कहा गया है कि देश औपचारिक अर्थव्यवस्था की तरफ बढ़ रहा है। अनौपचारिक यानी नकद के धंधे कम हो रहे हैं। इसमें कोई संशय नहीं कि नोटबंदी और जीएसटी से नकद के धंधे पर कुछ अंकुश लगा रहे है, लेकिन जीएसटी का संग्रह सपाट है। हालांकि रिटर्न दाखिल करने वालों की संख्या में भारी वृद्धि हुई है। इसका एक कारण यह हो सकता है कि उद्यमी जीएसटी में दिखावटी रजिस्ट्रेशन करारक नकदी में कार्य कर रहे हैं। औपचारिकता का अर्थव्यवस्था को लाभ मिलता नहीं दिखा, लेकिन औपचारिकता के कारण मांग का संकुचन हो रहा लगता है। जीएसटी और नोटबंदी से छोटे उद्यमों का संकट बढ़ा। कुछ महीने पहले दिल्ली के एक ओला ड्राइवर ने बड़ी मार्मिक कहानी बताई। वह तीस साल से साड़ी में एंब्राइडरी का काम करा रहे थे। उनके तीन-चार कर्मी थे।

नोटबंदी के कारण उनके पेमेंट रुक गए। उनका धंधा बंद हो गया। उन्हें अपने कर्मचारी हटाने पड़े और खुद ड्राइवर बनने को मजबूर हुए। उनके कर्मियों और उनकी स्वयं की मांग कम हो गई। इस प्रकार औपचारिकता के कारण बाजार में मांग कम हुई है। मॉग कम होने से निवेश कम हुआ है। अतः औपचारिक अर्थव्यवस्था को अपनाना अच्छा है, परंतु यह आर्थिक विकास का मंत्र नहीं हो सकता है।

आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण में कहा गया है कि छोटे उद्योगों को एक निश्चित समय तक ही एक छोटे उद्योग का संरक्षण उपलब्ध होना चाहिए। आशय यह है कि बच्चे को आजीवन बच्चा बने रहने के लिए हमें प्रलोभन नहीं देना चाहिए। यह बात छोटे उद्योगों पर लागू नहीं होती है। यह उदाहरण सही नहीं है। सही उदाहरण है कि दौड़ लगाने वाले अलग-अलग रफ्तार के होते हैं। धीरे दौड़ लगाने वाले ज्यादा तेज नहीं दौड़ पाते। उनके लिए जरूरी है कि वे धीमी दौड़ से चलने वाले उद्योग ही चलाएं और आजीवन चलाएं। साड़ी

में एंब्राइडरी का काम तीस साल से करने वाले उद्यमी को यदि दस साल बाद छोटे उद्योगों का संरक्षण समाप्त कर दिया जाता तो उनका धंधा बंद हो जाता, क्योंकि उनकी क्षमता ही नहीं थी कि वे इससे बड़े उद्योग को संभाल सकें। अतः छोटे उद्योगों को आजीवन संरक्षण देना चाहिए जिससे देश में रोजगार बने और मांग स्थापित हो। बाजार में मांग होगी तो निवेश स्वतः आएगा।

आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार हमें विदेशी बचत के ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिए। पुर सही है कि निवेश के लिए यदि हम विदेशी ऋण लें तो इसमें कोई हानि नहीं है। जैसे यदि बुलेट ट्रेन बनानी है तो इसके लिए जापान से ऋण लेना ठीक है, लेकिन हम अपनी बचत की बर्बादी कर रहे हैं और विदेशी बचत के पीछे भाग रहे हैं। जैसे वर्तमान बजट में 70,000 करोड़ रुपये की विशाल राशि को सरकारी बैंकों में पूंजी निवेश के लिए आवंटित किया गया है। इसके स्थान पर यदि सरकारी बैंकों का निजीकरण कर दिया जाता तो हम इससे सौ गुना ज्यादा रकम हासिल कर सकते थे और उसका उपयोग निवेश के लिए कर सकते थे। बजट में कहा गया कि एयर इंडिया के निजीकरण के लिए पुनः प्रयास किए जाएंगे। यह सही है, लेकिन केवल घाटे में चल रही सरकारी इकाइयों का निजीकरण करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। लाभ में चल रही इकाइयों का भी निजीकरण करने की जरूरत है। इस राशि का उपयोग अंतरिक्ष में शोध, आर्टिफिशियल इंटेलिजेंस एवं डाटा एनालिसिस इत्यादि में किया जाए तो अर्थव्यवस्था में मांग उत्पन्न होगी और निवेश स्वयं आएगा। प्रधानमंत्री मोदी को पांच ट्रिलियन डॉलर अर्थव्यवस्था का लक्ष्य रखने के लिए साधुवाद, लेकिन बेहतर होगा कि निवेश आधारित विकास के स्थान पर मांग आधारित विकास को अपनाएं तो सफलता मिलने की संभावना अधिक होगी।

( लेखक वरिष्ठ अर्थशास्त्री एवं आइआएएन बैंगलूर के पूर्व प्रोफेसर हैं )

response@jagran.com



मनुष्य के जीवन में दृष्टिकोण एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वहन करता है। यह संसार विभिन्न विचारों वाले मनुष्यों की उपस्थिति से घिरा हुआ है। प्रत्येक मनुष्य के विचारों में भिन्नता होती है। विचार ही जो दृष्टिकोण का निर्माण करने का कार्य करते हैं। यदि विचारों में श्रेष्ठता एवं पवित्रता के भाव हैं तो उनका प्रतिबिंब मनुष्य के दृष्टिकोण में स्पष्ट रूप में प्रतीत होता है, किंतु यदि विचारों में वैचारिक दुर्बलता के भावों का समावेश हो तो ऐसे विचार वाले मनुष्य के दृष्टिकोण में संकुचित भाव जन्म ले लेते हैं। निम्नस्तरीय विचारों से स्तरीय दृष्टिकोण विकसित नहीं हो पाता। विचार ही व्यवहार के निर्धारक तत्व की भूमिका में अपना योग देते हैं। इसलिए मनुष्य के व्यवहार में विचार तब समििलित होता है। मनुष्य अपने व्यवहार में उन लक्षणों का ही प्रदर्शन करता है जो मस्तिक में विचार रूप में होते हैं। हम प्रायः किसी व्यक्ति विशेष या किसी वस्तु के संदर्भ में जब एक दृष्टिकोण को निर्धारित करते हैं तो हम मस्तिक्ष में चल रहे विचारों का ही सहारा लेते हैं। कभी-कभी क्षणिकता में किसी व्यक्ति के प्रति उत्पन्न अच्छे या बुरे होने का दृष्टिकोण बना लिया जाता है। ठीक इसी प्रकार का दृष्टिकोण किसी वस्तु के संदर्भ में भी तय कर लिया जाता है। असल में हमारे मन में जो भाव विचरण करते हैं उन्हीं आधार हम वह तय करने का कार्य करते हैं, किंतु जब तब किया गया दृष्टिकोण गलत साबित हो जाता है तो ऐसी स्थिति में मन में दुख के भावों का परिलक्षण होता है। स्थिति तो विपरीत भी निर्मित होती है, जहां दृष्टिकोण नकारात्मक है, किंतु हकीकत सकारात्मक रूप में भी सामने आ सकती है।

दृष्टि दृष्टिकोण को निर्मित करती है। सुख और दुख ये दोनों स्थितियां इसी बात पर निर्भर करती हैं कि हम किसी व्यक्ति या वस्तु का अवलोकन किस रूप में कर रहे हैं। अवलोकन का आधार ही दृष्टिकोण के निर्माण तब का सफर तय करता है और दृष्टिकोण का निर्धारण ही वह कला है जिसके आधार पर सुख और दुख जैसी स्थिति तय होती है। आवश्यक है कि मनुष्य अपने विवेक के आधार पर सकारात्मक रूप में स्थितियों का अवलोकन करे, अनुभव करे तत्पश्चात ही किसी दृष्टिकोण का निर्माण करे। क्षणिक रूप में कुछ भी तय करने से बचना चाहिए। सौरभ जैन

अलग विवि से एक समय पर भिन्न डिग्री ले सकते हैं। यूजीसी ने इस प्रकार की पहल 2012 में भी करने की कोशिश की थी। अब विद्यार्थी एक नियमित कॉलेज में डिग्री लेते हुए दूसरे मुक्त विवि या दूरस्थ विवि से दूसरी डिग्री ले सकते हैं। इसमें विद्यार्थियों को काफी मदद मिलेगी। उनके पास दो डिग्री होने से रोजगार के नए अवसर बढेंगे। यूजीसी को जितना जल्दी हो इस व्यवस्था को व्यावहारिक कर देना चाहिए। विजय किशोर तिवारी, नई दिल्ली

##### हत्याएं चिंता का विषय

भीड़ तंत्र द्वारा की जाने वाली हत्याओं का दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ना देश के लिए निता का विषय है। इस पर जल्द लयाग लगाने की जरूरत है अन्यथा कानून का डर खत्म हो जाएगा। राज्य सरकारों व केंद्र को मिलकर इस समस्या का त्वरित समाधान निकालना होगा। इसके साथ ही लोगों को जागरूक करना चाहिए कि सजा देना कानून का काम है। इसे रोकने के लिए सख्त कानून व्यवस्था की र्थितियों का अवलोकन करे, अनुभव करे तत्पश्चात ही किसी दृष्टिकोण का निर्माण करे। क्षणिक रूप में कुछ भी तय करने से बचना चाहिए।

cddeetha@gmail.com

इस स्तंभ में किसी भी विषय पर राय व्यक्त करने अथवा दैनिक जागरण के राष्ट्रीय संस्करण पर प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त करने के लिए पाठकगण सादर आमंत्रित हैं। आप हमें पत्र भेजने के साथ ई-मेल भी कर सकते हैं।

अपने पत्र इस पते पर भेजें :
दैनिक जागरण, राष्ट्रीय संस्करण,
डी-210-211, सेक्टर-63, नोएडा
ई-मेल: mailbox@jagran.com



## कामयाबी की उड़ान

भारत ने सोमवार को चंद्रयान-२ के सफल प्रक्षेपण को अंजाम देकर अंतरिक्ष के क्षेत्र में एक और बड़ी छलांग लगा दी। यह भारतीय अंतरिक्ष अनुसंधान संगठन (इसरो) और देश के दूसरे विज्ञान एवं प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थानों के वैज्ञानिकों के अथक परिश्रम का ही परिणाम है कि चंद्रयान-२ मिशन की सफलता ने भारत को दुनिया के उन देशों की कतार में खड़ा कर दिया है जिनके यान चंद्रमा की सतह पर उतरे हैं। सितंबर के पहले हफ्ते में चंद्रयान-२ का लैंडर चांद की सतह पर उतरने के साथ अमेरिका, रूस और चीन के बाद भारत ऐसी उपलब्धि हासिल करने वाला दुनिया का चौथा देश बन जाएगा। पिछले हफ्ते अचानक आई तकनीकी गड़बड़ी की वजह से जब चंद्रयान-२ अपने निर्धारित कार्यक्रम के अनुसार रवाना नहीं हो पाया था तो इस घटना को भारत के लिए एक बड़ा झटका माना गया था। लेकिन यह ऐसी कोई गड़बड़ी नहीं थी जिसे भारत के चंद्रयान-२ मिशन की असफलता के रूप में देखा जाता। चंद्रयान को ले जाने वाले रॉकेट ‘बाहुबलि’ में ईंधन भरते समय रिसाव का पता चल गया था, जिस वजह से इसका प्रक्षेपण टालना पड़ा था। अब चंद्रयान-२ पृथ्वी की कक्षा में चक्कर काट रहा है और सत्रह दिन बाद यह चंद्रमा की कक्षा के पथ पर बढ़ेगा। अंतरिक्ष विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में भारतीय वैज्ञानिकों ने हमेशा से अपनी प्रतिभा और क्षमताओं का लोहा मनवाया है। चंद्रमा शुरू से ही वैज्ञानिकों के लिए गहरी दिलचस्पी और शोध का विषय रहा है। माना जाता है कि धरती की उत्पत्ति से जुड़े रहस्य चांद में छिपे हैं। दुनिया में अब तक जितने भी अंतरिक्ष मिशन दूसरे ग्रहों की ओर भेजे गए हैं, उनका मकसद ब्रह्मांड के बारे में आंकड़े और तस्वीरें जुटाना रहा है, ताकि सृष्टि के रहस्यों पर से परदा उठ सके। अंतरिक्ष विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में भारत ने पिछले तीन-चार दशकों में जिस तेजी से तत्कमी है, चंद्रयान और मंगल मिशन जैसे सफल अभियान उसी का परिणाम हैं। चंद्रयान मिशन भारत का पुराना मिशन रहा है और २००८ में भारत ने जो चंद्रयान-१ चांद की कक्षा में भेजा था, उसी से पहली बार धरती के इस उपग्रह पर पानी की मौजूदगी के संकेत मिले थे।

भारत का चंद्रयान-२ मिशन सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण और जटिल इसलिए भी है कि इस यान को चांद के दक्षिणी ध्रुव पर एटकेन बेसिन नामक जिस स्थान पर उतरना है वहां आज तक कोई अंतरिक्ष यान नहीं पहुंचा है। मौसम के लिहाज से भी यह स्थान काफी चुनौती भरा है। इसके अलावा चंद्रमा पर धूल के गुबार भी बड़ी समस्या हैं। ऐसे में चंद्रयान-२ के लैंडर और रोवर में जो उपकरण लगे हैं, वे सही से काम करते रहें, वैज्ञानिकों के लिए यह बड़ी चुनौती है। चंद्रयान-२ मिशन की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता तो यह है कि इसके निर्माण में ज्यादातर योगदान भारतीय संस्थानों और कंपनियों का ही रहा है। इसके लिए भारत को दूसरे देशों का मुंह नहीं ताकना पड़ा। रोवर आइआइटी-कानपुर में विकसित किया गया है जिसे पानी और खनिजों के बारे में जानकारी जुटानी है। भारत में अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम की नींव छठे दशक की शुरुआत में पड़ी थी जब १९६३ में पहली बार थुंबा से रॉकेट छोड़ा गया था और उस रॉकेट को प्रक्षेपण स्थल तक हमारे वैज्ञानिक साइकिल पर लाद कर ले गए थे। वह कोई सुविधाएं नहीं थीं। इसरो का गठन १९६९ में हुआ। सच्चाई तो यह है कि हमारे वैज्ञानिकों और विज्ञान व प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थानों को पैसे की भारी कमी का सामना करना पड़ता है। ऐसे में अगर चंद्रयान-२ जैसे मिशन कामयाब हो रहे हैं तो इस श्रेय का हक्दार सिर्फ हमारे देश का वैज्ञानिक समुदाय है।

## समांतर डिग्री

उच्च शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में लंबे समय से यह बहस जारी है कि अगर कोई विद्यार्थी एक सत्र में दो पाठ्यक्रमों की पढ़ाई करना चाहता है तो उसे इसकी इजाजत क्यों नहीं मिलनी चाहिए! लेकिन अब तक इसे एक व्यावहारिक हल नहीं माना गया है और फिलहाल नियमों के मुताबिक एक विद्यार्थी एक शैक्षिक सत्र में किसी एक ही पाठ्यक्रम में पढ़ाई कर सकता है और उसी की डिग्री वैध मानी जाएगी। उसे पूरा करने के बाद ही वह किसी अन्य पाठ्यक्रम में दाखिला लेकर उसकी डिग्री ले सकता है। मगर विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग (यूजीसी) अब एक बार फिर इस विचार की व्यावहारिकता का अध्ययन कर रहा है कि विद्यार्थी एक ही या विभिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों से एक साथ अलग-अलग डिग्रियां हासिल कर सकते हैं या नहीं! इस संबंध में यूजीसी ने विश्वविद्यालय या अलग-अलग विश्वविद्यालयों से पत्राचार, ऑनलाइन या अंशकालिक तरीके से एक साथ दो डिग्रियों की पढ़ाई करने के मुद्दे का परीक्षण करने के लिए एक समिति बनाई है। अब देखना है कि इस समिति के निष्कर्ष क्या सामने आते हैं।

गौतमलब है कि करीब सात साल पहले यानी २०१२ में यूजीसी ने एक समिति बनाई थी, जिसमें इस मसले पर विचार-विमर्श हुआ था। लेकिन कई स्तरों पर इस विचार को अव्यावहारिक पाया गया था और तब इसे खारिज कर दिया गया था। करीब डेढ़ साल पहले यूजीसी ने साफतौर पर कहा था कि इस बारे में विशेषज्ञों की जो राय आई है, वह विद्यार्थियों को एक साथ दो डिग्री की पढ़ाई करने देने की इजाजत के विचार का समर्थन नहीं करती है। बल्कि अक्सर ऐसी खबरें आती रही हैं कि किसी विद्यार्थी ने या तो जानकारी के अभाव में या फिर चोरी-छिपे एक साथ दो नियमित पाठ्यक्रमों में दाखिला ले लिया, लेकिन बाद में किसी तरह की अड़चन खड़ी होने और जांच होने पर दोनों डिग्रियों की वैधता कटघरे में खड़ी हो गई। इससे इतर २०१२ में ही हैदराबाद के तत्कालीन कुलपति फुरकान कमर की अगुआई वाली समिति ने सिफारिश की थी कि नियमित तरीके के तहत भी डिग्री कार्यक्रम में दाखिला पाने वाले विद्यार्थी को उसी या अन्य विश्वविद्यालय से मुक्त या दूरस्थ शिक्षा के जरिए अधिकतम एक अतिरिक्त डिग्री की पढ़ाई की इजाजत दी सकती है। यानी इस मसले पर पिछले कई सालों से दो समांतर पक्ष रहे हैं। जहां इसे संभव बताने वाले विद्यार्थियों की सुविधा और क्षमता के मद्देनजर उन्हें यह सुविधा मुहैया कराने की वकालत करते रहे हैं, वहीं इसकी व्यावहारिकता को मुश्किल मानने वालों का पक्ष यह है कि एक साथ दो पाठ्यक्रमों की पढ़ाई के दौरान शैक्षिक संस्थान में आने-जाने के अलावा प्रशासनिक और आकादमिक समस्याएं खड़ी हो सकती हैं। सच यह है कि बढ़ती बेरोजगारी के दौर में समांतर दो डिग्रियां हासिल करने को वक्त की जरूरत के तौर पर देखा जाने लगा है। यानी एक विद्यार्थी अगर अपनी जरूरतों के मद्देनजर या सक्षम होने के नाते एक साथ सुविधा से दो पाठ्यक्रमों की डिग्रियां हासिल करने की कोशिश करना चाहता है तो उसे यह सुविधा मिलनी चाहिए। कई बार ऐसा होता है कि किसी विद्यार्थी ने कोई पेशेवर पाठ्यक्रम की डिग्री तो हासिल कर ली लेकिन उसके पास स्नातक का प्रमाण-पत्र नहीं होता। नतीजतन, हुनर होने के बावजूद उसका नुकसान हो जाता है और स्नातक के लिए उसे अलग से पढ़ाई करनी पड़ती है। दूसरी ओर, कोई विद्यार्थी स्नातक के साथ कोई पेशेवर पाठ्यक्रम भी पूरा करता है तो उसका काफी कीमती वक्त बच सकता है। इसी हकीकत के मद्देनजर शिक्षाविदों और नीति-निर्माताओं ने दोहरी डिग्री शिक्षा व्यवस्था की वकालत की है। लेकिन अब यह देखने का बात होगी कि यूजीसी की ओर से गठित समिति किस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचती है।

## कल्पमेधा

**सच्चा प्रेम नाप-तोल नहीं करता, वह सिर्फ दिया जाता है।**

**—मदर टेरेसा**



# जन्सत्ता

# किसान और भूमि कानून

से खेती करने के लिए जनसंख्या का निश्चित अनुपात हो और बाकी अन्य धंधों से जीवनयापन कर सकें। यही समस्या है जो आए दिन किसानों को आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर कर रही है।

यह समस्या पूरे भारत की है। किसान आत्मनिर्भर नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। जिन संसाधनों की खेती करने में जरूरत पड़ती है, उन्हीं को जुटाते हुए अच्छी उपज की आस लिए किसान कर्ज पर कर्ज लेता है, यह सोच कर कि फसल अच्छी होगी तो कर्ज निपटा देगा। लेकिन मौसम की मार या अन्य कारणों से उपज इतनी नहीं हो पाती जिससे बैंकों का कर्ज चुका सके। साथ ही, बाजार किसान के हाथ में नहीं होता, बिचौलिए ही अपनी जेबें भरते रहते हैं। किसान को उसका समर्थन मूल्य तक नहीं मिल पाता। यह परेशानी पूरे देश के किसानों की है। दूसरी तरफ पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों के किसानों की भूमि कहीं समतल तो कहीं सीढ़ीदार होने के कारण टुकड़ों-टुकड़ों में बंटने से उन्हें कोई आमद नहीं हो पा रही है। एक जगह पर समुचित भूमि के अभाव में पैदावार नहीं हो पाती है। तराई के क्षेत्रों को छोड़ कर, क्योंकि उन स्थानों पर खेत इतनी तेजी से नहीं विभाजित हुए हैं जितनी तेजी से पहाड़ी इलाकों में हुए हैं। कुछ उद्यानों को छोड़ कर जैसे चंबा मसूरी का फ्रूट बेल्ट लोगों को बाद में आर्बटि्ट हुआ था, इसी तर्ज पर और फल-फट्टियां हैं जो एक ही किसान के पास होने से उसकी आजीविका का साधन है। लेकिन उनकी देखरेख भी सही नहीं है।

इसी संदर्भ में पिछले दिनों उत्तराखंड में एक नया भूमि कानून पास हुआ जो वहां के भूमि प्रयोग को प्रभावित करेगा। इस कानून के तहत उत्तर प्रदेश जमींदारी विनाश और भूमि व्यवस्था अधिनियम १९५० में बदलाव किया गया है। इस बदलाव से उत्तराखंड का किसान अपने को सुरक्षित नहीं महसूस कर रहा है। कारण यह है कि उद्योगों या किसी परियोजना के लिए उसकी जमीन का अधिग्रहण औने-पौने दामों में हो सकता है।

इस कानून के अंतर्गत धारा-१४३, जो कृषि भूमि को गैर कृषि के लिए अधिकृत की जा सकती है, को इसमें सम्मिलित किया गया है। इस संशोधन से किसानों पर यह प्रभाव पड़ेगा कि जिस खेत का इस्तेमाल वे खेती के लिए कर रहे थे, उसको अन्य कार्यों के लिए अधिकृत किया जा सकता है, यानी उपज देने वाली जमीन अन्य उद्योग-धंधों को खोलने के लिए इस्तेमाल की जा

सकती है। इसी तरह धारा-१५४ पहले साढ़े बारह एकड़ से अधिक भूमि को प्रदेश में खरीदने से रोकती है। अब इसमें संशोधन करके उप धारा-२ जोड़ने से पर्वतीय क्षेत्र में भूमि की खरीद के लिए कोई सीमा नहीं होगी। यानी किसान अपने खेतों से उद्योगों के नाम पर बेदखल हो सकता है।

उत्तराखंड जब बना था, तब बाहरी लोगों द्वारा भूमि खरीदने की आशंका को देखते हुए तत्कालीन सरकार साल २००२ में हिमाचल के भूमि कानून के अनुसार अध्यादेश लाई थी। बाद में सरकार ने बहुगुणा समिति का गठन किया था। इस कमेटी ने तत्कालीन अध्यादेश में सम्मिलित प्रावधानों की समीक्षा कर उसमें जुड़े कठोर नियमों को सरल कर दिया था। इसके कारण उत्तराखंड के शहरी क्षेत्रों में बेरोकटोक भूमि व्यापार का धंधा चल निकला। इसके बावजूद सरकार ने एक व्यवस्था



कर दी थी कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में जो व्यक्ति मूल अधिनियम धारा-१२९ के तहत जमीन का खतेदार न हो, वह बिना अनुमति के पांच सौ वर्गमीटर से अधिक जमीन नहीं खरीद सकता है। बाद में इसकी सीमा घटा कर ढाई सौ वर्गमीटर तय कर दी गई। अब नए संशोधनों के बाद बाहरी व्यक्ति के लिए भूमि खरीदने के लिए कोई रुकावट नहीं है।

पहाड़ में कम जोत वाला व्यक्ति आर्थिक दबाव में आनन-फानन में भूमिहीन हो सकता है। अब भूमि की खरीद-फरोख्त में कोई सीमा न होने से गरीब किसान मजबूरन भू-माफियाओं के चंगुल में फंस सकता है। यह काम इस कानून के आने से पहले भी चोरी-छिपे होता आ रहा है। स्थानीय किसान या उत्तराखंड के निवासी को भागीदार बना कर कई परियोजनाएं उत्तराखंड में चल रही हैं।

# बर्तन पर नाम

की संभावना ज्यादा रहती थी। दरअसल, कई बार आसपास के अनेक घरों में बाजार से खरीदे गए बर्तन एक ही तरह के होते थे। ऐसी स्थिति में बर्तनों की एक ही शकल होने से उन पर गुदे हुए नाम ही उनकी पहचान होते थे। समारोह आदि में भी घर के बर्तन एक-दूसरे की जरूरत में काम आते थे। भारतीय परिवार चूँकि ज्यादातर पुरुष प्रधान होते हैं, इसलिए बर्तन पर किसी घर के मुखिया का नाम लिखवाने की परंपरा रही है।

मेरे एक मित्र बताते हैं कि उनके यहां घर के बड़े बर्तन और चौकी-खटिया आदि पर लाल या हरे रंग के विशिष्ट निशान लगा दिए जाते थे, ताकि शादी या अन्य बड़े समारोह में जब ये सामान दूसरे घरों में जाते थे तो सामान मंगाने वाले को यह पहचानने में आसानी होती थी कि फलां चीज किसके घर से आई है। एक अन्य मित्र कहते हैं कि हमारे मोहल्ले में आज भी लोग किसी आयोजन पर मेरे घर से बर्तन ले जाते हैं। इसलिए हमारे घर के बर्तन को भी एक पहचान मिली हुई है रंगों के निशान से और पिताजी के नाम से।

मगर नई पीढ़ी बर्तन को पहचान देने की

परंपरा पर थोड़ा आश्चर्य करती है। उसे यह बड़ा अटपटा लगता है जब कोई बर्तन पर नाम गुदाता है। अब गांव में भी शादी या अन्य किसी समारोह के लिए जरूरत के बर्तन भाड़े पर मिल जाते हैं। लोग भाड़े के बर्तन लेने में ज्यादा सहज महसूस करते हैं। इसलिए भाड़े पर बर्तन देने की दुकान भी हर जगह दिखाई पड़ जाती है। आपस में खाने-पीने की चीजों का आदान-प्रदान भी

लगभग खत्म हो गया है। अगर कभी जरूरत पड़ी भी तो लोग ‘डिस्पोजल’ यानी एक ही बार प्रयोग में आने वाले बर्तन से काम चलाते हैं। यों ये ‘डिस्पोजल’ बर्तन पर्यावरण के लिए ठीक नहीं हैं, लेकिन बाजार ने इन्हें हमारी सुविधा का हवाला देते हुए आवश्यक बना दिया है। इसके बीच वर्तमान में समाज के ‘विकास’ की जो दिशा है, उसमें आपसी मेलजोल का भाव कम नजर आता है।

समाज में बर्तन पर नाम लिखवाने की एक और वजह मिलती है। जब घर के किसी बड़े-बुजुर्ग की मृत्यु हो जाती है तो उस समय लोगों को स्मृति चिह्न के रूप में या दान स्वरूप बर्तन दिए जाते हैं। उस बर्तन पर भी मरने वाले का

११५० मिलीमीटर वार्षिक वर्षा होती है, जो संसार में किसी भी समान आकार के देश के मुकाबले में सबसे अधिक है। पर इस बड़ी मात्रा को वर्षा का वितरण असमान है। उदाहरण के लिए, एक वर्ष में औसतन वर्षा के दिनों की संख्या केवल ४० है इसलिए वर्ष का शेष लंबा भाग सूखा रहता है। इसके अलावा, जहां उत्तर-पूर्व के कुछ क्षेत्रों में वर्षा तेरह मीटर तक होती है, वहीं राजस्थान के कुछ क्षेत्रों में २० सेंटीमीटर से अधिक वर्षा नहीं होती।

इससे स्पष्ट है कि वर्षा के इस असमान वितरण के कारण देश के कई भागों में पानी का भीषण अभाव रहता है। इसके मद्देनजर जहां तक हो सकेहमारे

**किसी भी मुद्दे या लेख पर अपनी राय हमें भेजें। हमारा पता है : ए-८, सेक्टर-७, नोएडा २०१३०१, जिला : गौतमबुद्धनगर, उत्तर प्रदेश**

आप चाहे तो अपनी बात ईमेल के जरिए भी हम तक पहुंचा सकते हैं। आइडी है :

**chaupal.jansatta@expressindia.com**

लिए जल का व्यापक संरक्षण बहुत जरूरी है।
● ***रितेश कुमार उपाध्याय, संत कबीर नगर***
**हिमा की उपलब्धि**
डिंग एक्सप्रेस के नाम से मशहूर ‘गोल्डन गर्ल’ हिमा दास ने अपना सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रदर्शन करते हुए भारत के लिए स्वर्ण पदकों की बौछार कर दी। उन्होंने पिछले पंद्रह दिनों के भीतर अलग-अलग अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्पर्धाओं में पांच स्वर्ण पदक जीत कर भारत का नाम इतिहास के पन्नों में स्वर्णाक्षरों में अंकित कर दिया। उन्नीस वर्षीय हिमा इतने कम समय में इतनी सारी उपलब्धियों को हासिल कर देश को गौरवान्वित किया है। यदि उन्हें ‘हवा परी’ की संज्ञा दी जाए तो कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। उन्होंने देश के प्रति अपनी संवेदनाओं और भावना का इजहार करते हुए अपना

उत्तराखंड को बने हुए अठारह साल बीत चुके हैं। इसके बावजूद इसके विकास के लिए कोई ठोस योजना न बनी और न उसकी तैयारी है। इस कारण उत्तराखंड विकास की उस तस्वीर को पेश नहीं कर पाया, जिसकी वहां के लोगों को जरूरत है।

इसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि कल तक जो खेत अन्न उपजाते थे, वे जंगल बनते जा रहे हैं। इसलिए रोजी-रोटी की तलाश में लोग गांव छोड़ कर शहरों का रुख कर रहे हैं। इस पलायन से पहाड़ खाली हो रहे हैं। जो अभी पहाड़ों में रुके हैं वे जंगली जानवरों की आबादी में इजाफे से परेशान हैं। जंगली जानवर खेतों को नुकसान पहुंचा रहे हैं। इन्हीं मुद्दों को देखते हुए पहाड़ों के खेतों की चकबंदी की बहुत जरूरत है। यदि एक परिवार के खेत एक जगह पर मिल जाएं तो वे उन खेतों में पैदा होने वाली फसलों की सुरक्षा करने में सक्षम हो सकते हैं। उन्हें मीलों दूर दूसरे खेत में नहीं जाना पड़ेगा। अभी होता यह है कि जो परिवार गांव में रह रहा है और खेती कर रहा है, उसे अपने एक दूसरे खेत में जाने में ही पूरा दिन खोना पड़ता है, वह अच्छी तरह से खेतों में पैदा होने वाली फसल की देखभाल आसानी से नहीं कर पाता।

एक और उपाय है पहाड़ों को हरा-भरा रखने का, जिस पर भी गंभीरता से विचार कर लागू करने की जरूरत है। पूरे पर्वतीय प्रदेश में सिंचाई सुविधा सुलभ करने की जरूरत है। जब इजराइल अपनी बंजर भूमि को हरा-भरा कर सकता है, तब हम क्यों नहीं कर सकते! लगातार पहाड़ी दरियाओं, प्राकृतिक स्रोतों और झरनों से पानी बहता जाता है, उसका उपयोग हम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इसलिए देश को एक

और हरित क्रांति की जरूरत है। खेती की सिंचाई के लिए नई-नई तकनीक की जरूरत है। देश के खद्यान भंडारण के लिए जरूरी है कि कृषि को प्राथमिकता दी जाए। किसानों की आत्महत्या रोकने के लिए गंभीर उपायों की जरूरत है। इसके लिए जरूरी है कि कृषि भूमि पर कोई उद्योग खड़ा न किया जाए, ताकि कृषि की उपज प्रभावित न हो।

देश को एक नई भूमि व्यवस्था की जरूरत है, ताकि बढ़ती आबादी की खद्यान जरूरतें पूरी की जा सकें और खद्यान में हम हमेशा आत्मनिर्भर बने रहें। इसके लिए देश में भूमि व्यवस्था का समान कानून हो तो किसानों की समस्याएं कम की जा सकती हैं। यह किसी पहाड़ी या मैदानी प्रांत का विषय नहीं होना चाहिए, बल्कि इसे पूरे देश के संदर्भ में देखे जाने की जरूरत है।

**● राजेश कुमार चौहान, जालंधर**

नाम गुदा रहता है, ताकि उसे लंबे समय तक याद रखा जा सके। यह परंपरा आज भी भारत के कुछ मध्यवर्गीय परिवारों में जारी है, लेकिन अब यह सामूहिकता का बोध नहीं करती है।

राजस्थान के मारवाड़ क्षेत्र से ताल्लुक रखने वाले समुदायों के बीच बर्तन पर नाम लिखवाने का चलन ज्यादा है क्योंकि वे मारवाड़ क्षेत्र से जिस भी नई जगह पर बसने गए, वहां संगठित होकर रहने लगे। उनमें आपस में मेलजोल ज्यादा होने लगा। फलस्वरूप खाने-पीने की चीजों का आदान-प्रदान भी होने लगा। बर्तन के एक-दूसरे के यहां मिल जाने या खो जाने के डर से लोग अपने-अपने बर्तन पर घर के मुखिया का नाम लिखवाने लगे, ताकि बर्तन पहचानने में आसानी रहे। अब इस समुदाय के लोग भी समाज के ‘विकास’ की दिशा के साथ चल रहे हैं, जिसके चलते अब इन्हें भी नए खरीदे बर्तन पर नाम लिखवाने के जरूरत महसूस नहीं होती है।

भारतीय समाज में कुछ परंपराएं ऐसी रही हैं, जिनके गुण-दोष पर चर्चा हो सकती है, पर साथ ही उनमें से कई हमारे संजीदा होने का प्रमाण भी देती हैं और एक सुखद अहसास कराती हैं। बर्तन पर नाम लिखवाने का चलन भी उनमें से एक है।

करने होंगे, यह न हो पाकिस्तान जाधव के फैसले की बौखलाहट में आकर उन्हें परेशान करने की कोशिश करे। वैसे इमरान खान को चाहिए कि खुद ही समझदारी बरतते हुए जाधव मामले में विश्व में अपनी किरकिरी होने से बचाने के लिए उन्हें बिना किसी देरी और शर्त के रिहा करके भारत को सौंप दें। पर यह नामुमकिन लगता है क्योंकि इमरान खान भी तो वहां के कट्टरपंथियों और सेना के ही हाथों की कटपुतली हैं। ऐसे में यह भी संभव है कि पाकिस्तान नया पैँरा अपना कर जाधव को फांसी का फैसला वापस ले ले। अंत में यह कहना उचित होगा कि जब तक पाकिस्तान के कट्टरपंथी भारत के प्रति अपनी घटिया मानसिकता नहीं बदलते, तब तक भारत-पाकिस्तान के रिश्ते मधुर नहीं हो सकते।

● ***राजेश कुमार चौहान, जालंधर***

### समेकित विकास

दुनिया के कुल १३० करोड़ गरीबों में से आधे १८ साल से कम उम्र के हैं और उनमें भी दस साल से कम उम्र वाले बच्चों की तादाद लगभग एक तिहाई है। क्या इन नए आंकड़ों के मद्देनजर केंद्र सरकार अपनी आर्थिक विकास पर आधारित नीतियों की जगह समेकित विकास की नीति लाने की कोशिश करेगी? ऐसा करने का मतलब होगा किसी गांव या शहर की गरीब बस्ती में आय बढ़ाने के साथ ही बिजली, पानी, शिक्षा, रसोई गैस, अस्पताल आदि की सुविधा मुहैया कराना। हैरानी की बात है कि नई परिभाषा के तहत गरीबी केवल निर्धन, निम्न या निम्न-मध्य आय वाले देशों में ही नहीं, मध्यम आय वाले देशों में भी बड़ी संख्या में है। यानी १३० करोड़ में ८८.६ करोड़ गरीब हैं। यह सरकारों के लिए संदेश है कि आय तो बढ़ाएं, लेकिन इससे बहुआयामी अभाव को भी कम करने के उपक्रम करें।

● ***हेमंत कुमार, गोरगड्डीह, भागलपुर, बिहार***



## सुदृढ़ हों बैंक

सक्षम बैंकिंग प्रणाली आर्थिक स्थिरता और बढ़ोतरी का मुख्य आधार होती है. आज हमारा देश दुनिया की पांचवीं सबसे बड़ी अर्थव्यवस्था है, किंतु परिसंपत्तियों के हिसाब से सौ सबसे बड़े बैंकों में सिर्फ एक भारतीय बैंक- स्टेट बैंक- शामिल है. इसका सीधा मतलब है कि आर्थिक विकास और बैंकों के स्वास्थ्य में समुचित संतुलन नहीं है. इसके लिए विशेषज्ञों का एक समूह पचास साल पहले हुए बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण को दोष देता है. जुलाई, 1969 में 14 बैंकों को और अप्रैल, 1980 में छह बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकृत किया गया था. कुछ जानकारों का मानना है कि सामाजिक बेहतरी और गरीबी निवारण में इस कदम ने बेहद अहम भूमिका निभायी है क्योंकि इससे सभी तबकों और आर्थिक गतिविधियों के लिए धन मुहैया होना आसान हो गया. आज जन-धन योजना, लाभुकों के खाते में हस्तांतरण, छोटे, मझोले उद्यमों व स्टार्ट-अप के लिए धन उपलब्ध कराने, शिक्षा के लिए ऋण देने जैसी पहलों की अगुवाई सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के बैंक ही कर रहे हैं. नब्बे के दशक के शुरू से बैंकिंग प्रणाली में सुधार के लिए सरकारों विभिन्न समितियों का गठन करती रही तथा उनकी सिफारिशों को लागू करने की कवायद हुई. पिछले कुछ सालों से बढ़ती गैर-निष्ठादित परिसंपत्तियों की समस्या का समाधान करने तथा परिवारों एवं परिवोजनाओं के लिए धन मुहैया कराने के लिए सरकार व रिजर्व बैंक ने प्रबंधन के स्तर पर सुधार के अनेक उपाय किये हैं. ऐसे में राष्ट्रीयकरण को कोसने से बेहतर है कि कमियों और उन्हें दूर करने के लिए जरूरी कदमों पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए.

### बैंकों के प्रबंधन पर नकेल तथा विभिन्न बैंकों के विलय से बड़े व मजबूत बैंक बनाने की कोशिशों से बैंकिंग क्षेत्र में आत्मविश्वास का संचार हुआ है .

बरसों से जारी बड़े कारोबारियों में आमदनी छुपाने की प्रवृत्ति तथा बैंक प्रबंधन और सत्ता की राजनीति से उनके नातीका गठजोड़ ने बैंकों के बही-खाते पर नकारात्मक असर डाला. इसका सीधा फंसे हुए कर्जों के रूप में हमारे सामने है. बीते पांच सालों में दिवालिया कानून, कर्ज चुकाने में सक्षम होने के बाद भी आनाकानी करनेवाले लोगों पर कार्रवाई, बैंकों के प्रबंधन पर नकेल तथा विभिन्न बैंकों के विलय से बड़े व मजबूत बैंक बनाने की कोशिशों से बैंकिंग क्षेत्र में आत्मविश्वास का संचार हुआ है. इस वर्ष के बजट में सरकार ने 70 हजार करोड़ रुपये ( 10 अरब डॉलर ) की पूंजी उपलब्ध कराने का निर्णय लिया है. चार सालों में सरकार बैंकों को तीन ट्रिलियन रुपये ( 43.81 अरब डॉलर ) दे चुकी है. रिजर्व बैंक ने भी उन बैंकों को अतिरिक्त पूंजी मुहैया कराने की घोषणा की है, जो परिसंपत्तियों की खरीद करेगे या गैर-बैंकिंग वित्तीय कंपनियों को कर्ज देंगे. बैंकों से पैसे नहीं ले पानेवाले लाखों परिवारों को कर्ज देनेवाली करीब 10 हजार पंजीकृत वित्तीय कंपनियों की भी सरकार ने भी कुछ छूट देने की घोषणा की है. आंतरिक और विदेशी कारकों की वजह से अर्थव्यवस्था की बहुत को तेज करना बड़ी चुनौती है. उम्मीद है कि सुधार की प्रक्रिया जारी रहने से आगामी दिनों में बैंक इस चुनौती का सामना मजबूती से कर सकेंगे.



## साधना और सेवा

साधना साध् शब्द से बना है, जिसका अर्थ है- जब मनुष्य कोई भी कर्म में सफलता पाने के लिए लगातार प्रयास करता है, जिसके बाद उसे उस कर्म में सफलता मिलती है, उसे साधना कहते हैं. तब सेवा क्या है ? जब कोई दूसरों की सेवा निःस्वार्थ भाव से करते हैं और इस तरह की सेवा में बदले में पाने की कुछ भी इच्छा नहीं होता, यही सच्ची सेवा है. दूसरे की भलाई के उद्देश्य से जब कोई कुछ छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हो जाता है,उसे त्याग कहते है. एक कहानी है- एक बार एक राजकुमारी स्नान करके लौट रही थी. रास्ते में एक कुष्ठ रोगी से भेंट हो गयी. रोगी ने कहा, राजकुमारी, मेरी प्रार्थना है कि तुम मेरी पद सेवा कर कुछ क्षणों के लिए सुख दो. पहले तो राजकुमारी चौंकी. किंतु अपनी उदारता का परिचय देती हुई बोली- मेरी शादी एक राजकुमार से तय हुई है. पहले मैं उनसे आला लूंगी. रोगी राजी हो गया. राजकुमारी की शादी जिस राजकुमार से तय थी, उससे एक दिन राजकुमारी ने उस कुष्ठरोगी की बात कही. राजकुमार बोला- ठीक है, तुम जा सकती हो, क्योंकि वचन निभाना कर्तव्य है. राजकुमारी चल पड़ी. अंधेरे रात में उजले-उजले जुगनू धरती पर प्रकाश फैलाने का असफल प्रयास कर रहे थे. कुछ दूर चलने पर रास्ते में एक चोर मिला. राजकुमारी को आभूषणों से लदा देखते ही वह चिल्लाकर बोला- राजकुमारी, रुक जाओ. मुझे गहने उतारकर दे दो. वह बोली- मुझे एक अत्यंत आवश्यक कार्य है. थोड़ी देर के बाद मैं आकर गहने दे दूंगी. चोर मान गया. वह आगे बढ़ी. कुछ दूर चलने के बाद एक बाघ मिला. राजकुमारी को देखकर उसकी सुधा जाग्रत हो गयी. उसने कहा- राजकुमारी, क्या तुम्हें खाकर अपनी भूख को मिटाऊं ? राजकुमारी ने कहा- मुझे अभी जरूरी कार्य है, मैं लौट कर आऊंगी, तब मुझे खा जाना. राजकुमारी कुष्ठरोगी के पास पहुंची. बोली- पद सेवा के लिए मैं आ गयी हूं, यह होती है सेवा. मनुष्य के जीवन में त्याग, सेवा और साधना बहुत बड़ी चीज है, जो मनुष्य को महान बनाती हैं. **श्रीश्री आनंदमूर्ति**

## कुछ अलग

# हम सबकी निजता में सेंधमारी

**सोशल** मीडिया पर 'निजता' अब कोई 'मसला' न रही. हां, 'मसाला' जरूर बन गई है. यहां तो आये दिन किसी न किसी की निजता में सेंधमारी हो ही जाती है. जिसकी निजता भंग होती है, वही चिल्लाने बैठ जाता है. कभी सोशल मीडिया तो कभी सरकार को गरियाता है. इससे कोई फायदा है !

निजता की इतनी ही फिक्र थी तो यहां आये ही क्यों ? किसी पंडित ने थोड़े न बोला था कि यहां आना ही आना है. मैंने देखा है, कुछ लोग तो सोशल मीडिया पर सिर्फ इसलिए आ गये हैं ताकि सोसाइटी में उनकी 'नाक' बनी रहे. उन्हें इस बात की चिंता नहीं रहती कि ताक के नीचे उनकी हो क्या रहा है ! जब तक पता चलता है, नबक तक चुकी होती है.

दोष सोशल मीडिया को क्यों देना ? नाक आपकी. कैसे रखनी है. कैसे नहीं रखनी है, यह फैसला भी आपका. फिर इतना हंगामा क्यों भाई !

अभी खबर पढ़ी कि गूगल हमारे 'बेडरूम' में घुसकर हमारी निजता को ध्वस्त कर रहा है. ध्वस्त कैसे नहीं करेगा ? जब आपका मोबाइल फोन चौबीस घंटे आपकी छाती से चिपका रहेगा. जब पल-पल का निजी अपडेट आप फेसबुक या ट्विटर पर चढ़ाते रहेंगे. जब अपनी हर निजी या सार्वजनिक गतिविधि को सोशल मीडिया का हिस्सा बनाते रहेंगे. ऐसे में वो आपके बेडरूम में ही नहीं, वाशरूम में भी घुसने में गुरेज नहीं करेगा. क्या समझे जनाब !



# संपादकीय प्रभात

# हमारी सकारात्मक अंतरिक्ष पहल

पचास वर्ष पूर्व 24 जुलाई, 1969 को अमेरिका का अपोलो-11 यान चंद्रमा की यात्रा से लौट आया. उसके तीन अंतरिक्षयात्री, पायलट माइकल कोलंस, एडविन एल्ट्डिन तथा कमांडर नील आर्मस्ट्रांग को फ्लोरिडा से उड़कर चंद्रमा तक की अपनी यात्रा पूरी कर वापस लौट आने में कुल आठ दिन लगे. 22 जुलाई, 2019 को भारत ने चांद पर अपना दूसरा अंतरिक्षयान भेजा. इसे पृथ्वी के उपग्रह (चांद) पर उतरने में लगभग सात सप्ताह का समय लगेगा और इसके साथ ही अमेरिका, रूस तथा चीन के बाद भारत चांद तक पहुंचने की क्षमतावाला चौथा देश बन जायेगा.

जर्मनी, फ्रांस एवं जापान कुछ अन्य वैसे देशों में शामिल हैं, जिनके पास भी इसकी प्रौद्योगिक क्षमता है, पर उनकी सरकारें यह यकीन नहीं करतीं कि उनके करदाताओं के पैसे ऐसी चीजों पर खर्च किये जाने चाहिए. चंद्रमा के अध्ययन की वजह यह है कि यह हमारे समूची सौर प्रणाली के विकास को समझने में हमारी मदद करेगा. चंद्रमा 3.5 अरब वर्ष पुराना है और इसकी ज्वालामुखियों के मुंह एक लंबे अरसे से निर्मित हुए, जो फिर अपरिवर्तित ही रहे, क्योंकि न तो चांद का कोई वातावरण है, न ही यहां ऐसी कोई अन्य आंतरिक हलचल है, जो इनके स्वरूप बदल सके. चंद्रमा ने उन सभी प्रक्रियाओं के असर दर्ज कर रखे हैं, जो पूरी सौर प्रणाली में घटित हुई तथा जो बहुत सारी ऐसी चीजें बता सकती हैं, जिन्हें धरती पर नहीं समझा जा सकता. अपोलो मिशन के बाद ही यह समझा जाना भी संभव हो सका कि संभवतः जब एक बड़ी चीज पृथ्वी से टकरायी, तभी चंद्रमा का निर्माण हुआ.

वर्ष 1969 के उक्त महान पल के बाद अमेरिका ने स्वयं भी अपने अंतरिक्ष मिशन को बहुत अधिक आगे नहीं बढ़ाया. आर्मस्ट्रांग एवं एल्ट्डिन के बाद 10 अन्य अमेरिकी अंतरिक्षयात्रियों ने चंद्रमा पर अपने कदम रखे, मगर अंतिम मिशन वर्ष 1972 में संपन्न हो गया.

वर्ष 1980 के दशक में अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति रोनल्ड रीगन के शासन काल में अमेरिका ने स्पेस शटल कार्यक्रम विकसित किया, जो वर्ष 2011 में समाप्त हुआ. वर्ष 2003 में भारतीय मूल की अंतरिक्षयात्री कल्पना चावला का उस दुर्घटना में देहांत हुआ, जब अंतरिक्ष से अपनी वापसी यात्रा में पृथ्वी के वातावरण में प्रवेश करते वक्त स्पेस शटल कोलंबिया नष्ट हो गया. वर्ष 1980 में स्पेस शटल की प्रथम दुर्घटना के बाद यह उसकी दूसरी दुर्घटना थी. इन दोनों के बीच अन्य दुर्घटनाओं ने 14 मानव जिंदगियां ली लीं.

30 वर्ष पूर्व शीत युद्ध की समाप्ति तथा सोवियत संघ के पतन का परिणाम यह हुआ कि लंबी दूरियों की मिसाइलों के विकास में लगे संसाधन अब दूसरी ओर स्थानांतरित हो गये. यहां यह ध्यातव्य है कि इन मिसाइलों तथा अन्तरिक्ष राकेटों के विकास में बहुत कुछ समानताएं होती हैं. अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रंप ने हाल ही यह कहा है कि वे नासा को पुनः आगे बढ़ाएंगे तथा वर्ष 2024 तक एक बार पुनः अमेरिकी अंतरिक्षयात्री चंद्रमा पर उतर सकेंगे.

भारत वर्तमान में अंतरिक्ष के क्षेत्र में सर्वाधिक अग्रिम पंक्ति की पहल अरबपति अमेरिकी इंजीनियर एलोन मस्क द्वारा नीत एक निजी कंपनी 'स्पेसएक्स' द्वारा की जा रही है. स्पेसएक्स ने राकेट के विभिन्न चरणों को



**आकार पटेल**  
कार्यकारी निदेशक,  
एमलेस्टी इंटरनेशनल इंडिया  
delhi@prabhatkhabar.in

भारत के ‘मिशन चंद्रमा’ की स्वीकृति वर्ष 2008 में तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह ने दी थी . उसका अगले चरण के तहत चंद्रयान-2 नामक जिस उपग्रह को चंद्रमा तक भेजा गया है, वह एक वर्ष तक काम करता रहेगा .

# जब एके राय ने जेपी का साथ दिया

बहुत ही अनूठा व्यक्तित्व था कॉमरेड एके राय ( अरुण कुमार राय ) साहब का. उससे मेरी पहली मुलाकात साल 1974 में बांकीपुर ( पटना ) जेल में हुई थी. तब वह जमाना जेपी आंदोलन का था. राय साहब भी मीसा कानून के अंतर्गत नजरबंद थे. भागलपुर जेल से पटना हाइकोर्ट के तीन जजों के एडवाइजरी बोर्ड के सामने पेश होने के लिए भागलपुर जेल से बांकीपुर जेल में भेजे गए थे. लगभग महीना डेढ़ महीना उनके साथ बांकीपुर जेल में रहने का मौका मिला. इसी बीच उनके साथ मेरा संबंध गहराया. जेल में आजीवन कारावास की सजा काट रहे बंदियों को सजा में मिलनेवाली छुट्टी की गिनती में गड़बड़ियों की जांच का मामला जेल प्रशासन के समक्ष उन्होंने उठाया था. इसी बीच भागलपुर जेल लौटने का उनके लिए आदेश आ गया. भागलपुर जेल जाने के पहले सजायापता बंदियों का मामला उन्होंने मुझे सौंप दिया.

धनबाद के ही एक दूसरे नेता विनोद बिहारी महतो जी भी भागलपुर जेल से पटना हाइकोर्ट के एडवाइजरी बोर्ड के सामने प्रस्तुत होने के लिए बांकीपुर जेल आनेवाले थे. राय साहब ने मुझसे कहा कि विनोद बाबू तुनकनिजाज आदमी हैं. किसी और के साथ उनका यहां पट नहीं पायेगा. अतः उनका अनुरोध था कि विनोद बाबू को वहां मैं अपने साथ रखूं. मैंने राय साहब का दोनों अनुरोध कबूल कर लिया.

गौरतलब है कि बिहार आंदोलन में विधानसभा को भंग कर नया चुनाव कराये जाने की मांग प्रमुख बन गयी थी. इंदिरा गांधी इसके लिए तैयार नहीं थीं. मांग के समर्थन में दबाव बनाने के लिए यह तय हुआ कि आंदोलन का समर्थन करनेवाली पार्टियों के विधायक विधानसभा की अपनी सदस्यता त्यागें. त्यागपत्र देने का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ. हालांकि, उन दिनों सीपीआइ हमारे आंदोलन को फासिट आंदोलन करार दे रही थी और इंदिराजी के पक्ष में खड़ी थी. जेपी की दिली इच्छा थी कि कोई मार्क्सवादी विधायक आंदोलन के समर्थन में विधानसभा की अपनी सदस्यता त्यागे.

एक दिन जेपी ने मुझसे पूछा कि किसी मार्क्सवादी विधायक से मेरा संबंध है या नहीं. मैंने उनको बताया एके राय जी से मेरा अच्छा परिचय है. उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि मैं जाकर उनसे बात करूं. राय साहब के

नाम उन्होंने एक पत्र दिया और आग्रह किया कि बिहार आंदोलन का वे समर्थन करें. उस पत्र के साथ सिंदरी में मैं राय साहब से मिला. जेपी की चिट्ठी उनके हवाले की और फिर बिहार आंदोलन के बारे में उनके साथ लंबी चर्चा हुई. उसके बाद राय साहब ने कहा कि कुछ तय करने से पहले वह जेपीजी से मिलकर ही बात करना चाहेंगे. वहीं से मैंने जेपी के निजी सचिव सच्चिदा जी को तार भेजा और फिर राय साहब को लेकर पटना पहुंचा.

अगले दिन ही उनको अपनी मोटरसाइकिल पर बिठाकर जेपी से मिलने के लिए महिला चरखा समिति लेकर गया. चरखा समिति में ऊपरी तल्ले पर जो का आवास था. सीढ़ियों से ऊपर पहुंचते ही बायें हाथ की ओर एक छोटा कमरा था. उसी कमरे से जेपी लिए आदेश आ गया. भागलपुर जेल जाने के पहले सजायापता बंदियों का मामला उन्होंने मुझे सौंप दिया.

धनबाद के ही एक दूसरे नेता विनोद बिहारी महतो जी भी भागलपुर जेल से पटना हाइकोर्ट के एडवाइजरी बोर्ड के सामने प्रस्तुत होने के लिए बांकीपुर जेल आनेवाले थे. राय साहब ने मुझसे कहा कि विनोद बाबू तुनकनिजाज आदमी हैं. किसी और के साथ उनका यहां पट नहीं पायेगा. अतः उनका अनुरोध था कि विनोद बाबू को वहां मैं अपने साथ रखूं. मैंने राय साहब का दोनों अनुरोध कबूल कर लिया.

गौरतलब है कि बिहार आंदोलन में विधानसभा को भंग कर नया चुनाव कराये जाने की मांग प्रमुख बन गयी थी. इंदिरा गांधी इसके लिए तैयार नहीं थीं. मांग के समर्थन में दबाव बनाने के लिए यह तय हुआ कि आंदोलन का समर्थन करनेवाली पार्टियों के विधायक विधानसभा की अपनी सदस्यता त्यागें. त्यागपत्र देने का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ. हालांकि, उन दिनों सीपीआइ हमारे आंदोलन को फासिट आंदोलन करार दे रही थी और इंदिराजी के पक्ष में खड़ी थी. जेपी की दिली इच्छा थी कि कोई मार्क्सवादी विधायक आंदोलन के समर्थन में विधानसभा की अपनी सदस्यता त्यागे.

एक दिन जेपी ने मुझसे पूछा कि किसी मार्क्सवादी विधायक से मेरा संबंध है या नहीं. मैंने उनको बताया एके राय जी से मेरा अच्छा परिचय है. उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि मैं जाकर उनसे बात करूं. राय साहब के

## देश दुनिया से

### तुर्की पहुंचा रूसी मिसाइल सिस्टम

**रूस** का एस-400 सतह से हवा में मार करनेवाला एयर डिफेंस मिसाइल सिस्टम बीते हफ्ते तुर्की पहुंचा. तुर्की द्वारा एस-400 रक्षा प्रणाली खरीद को रूस के साथ बढ़ते रणनीतिक समन्वय और पश्चिम और अमेरिका से खुद को दूर करते के संकेत के रूप में देखा जाता है. अतीत में, अंकारा और वाशिंगटन सहयोगी थे. वर्ष 1987 के बाद से ही अंकारा यूरोपीय संघ की सदस्यता के लिए आवेदन कर रहा है, लेकिन उसे इसमें बहुत सफलता नहीं मिली है.

है. इससे तुर्की निराश हुआ है. इसलिए अब तुर्की पूर्व की ओर अपना ध्यान केंद्रित कर रहा है.

आज अंकारा और मास्को सीरिया और अन्य मध्य पूर्व के मुद्दों पर सहयोग कर रहे हैं. रूसी एस-400 मिसाइल सिस्टम समझौता नाटो रक्षा बलों के लिए एक झटका है. तुर्की नाटो का एक महत्वपूर्ण सदस्य है. हालांकि, एस-400 सिस्टम खरीद का नाटो पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता है. यह सीदा इस्लामिक राष्ट्र को नाटो से बाहर निकालने या वाशिंगटन से थक करने का कारण नहीं है. रूस तुर्की को जो दे सकता है, वह सीमित है. अनुभव बताता है कि तुर्की की नीतियां हमेशा एक सी नहीं रही हैं. वाशिंगटन के साथ बातचीत करते समय यह माँकों कार्ड खेलता है और जब रूस के साथ बातचीत करता है, तो यह यूएस कार्ड खेलता है.

**टीआन वेनलिन**

# प्रभात खबर 10

# अंतरिक्ष पहल

राष्ट्र के वैज्ञानिक मिजाज को विकसित करने में सहायक होते हैं. खासकर, इस विश्व के एक ऐसे हिस्से में जहां सरकारें अपने नागरिकों को यह भी बताती हैं कि उन्हें क्या खाना अथवा न खाना चाहिए, वैज्ञानिक प्रकृति और उसके नतीजतन खुली प्रकृति की मानसिकता विकसित करना लाभदायक ही होगा.

संभवतः यही वजह है कि भारत के अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम को इसके हर राजनीतिक पक्ष का समर्थन मिलता रहा है. भारत के जिस ‘मिशन चंद्रमा’ के अगले चरण की शुरुआत सोमवार को हुई है, उसकी स्वीकृति वर्ष 2008 में तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह ने दी थी. चंद्रयान-2 नामक जिस उपग्रह को चंद्रमा तक भेजा गया है, वह एक वर्ष तक काम करता रहेगा. इस यान को जिस राकेट से अंतरिक्ष में पहुंचाया जा रहा है, उसका नाम जीएसएलवी-तीन है और उसकी प्रक्षेपण शक्ति सैटर्न-5 नामक उस राकेट की चौथाई ही है, जिसने आर्मस्ट्रांग को चंद्रमा तक पहुंचाया था. इस उपग्रह का वजन 3.8 टन है, जिसे चंद्रमा की सतह से सौ किलोमीटर ऊपर की एक वृत्ताकार कक्षा में स्थापित किया जायेगा. इस कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत चंद्रमा का चक्कर लगानेवाले इस यान से अलग होकर चंद्रमा की सतह पर उतरनेवाला हिस्सा, जिसका नाम भारतीय अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम के जनक सुप्रसिद्ध वैज्ञानिक विक्रम साराभाई के नाम पर ‘विक्रम’ रखा गया है, चांद के दक्षिणी ध्रुव के निकट उतरेगा. उसके बाद उसका ‘प्रज्ञान’ नामक रोबोटिय हिस्सा सही सतह पर चौदह दिनों तक चलता हुआ विभिन्न खनिजों तथा रसायनों के नमूने इकट्ठे करेगा, ताकि उनके विश्लेषण से चंद्रमा की सतह की बनावट को समझा जा सके. निस्संदेह, इस कार्यक्रम की सफलता भारत को विश्वव्यापी मीडिया में एक सकारात्मक वजह के लिए सुखियों की हकदार बना देगी.

(अनुवाद : विजय नंदन)



### आपके पत्र

### सब्जेक्ट टू मार्केट रिस्क' !

लोगों को अमीर बनाने की तरकीबें इन दिनों बाजार में धूम मचा रही हैं. विज्ञापनों और मैसेजों के माध्यम से म्यूचूअल फंड से अच्छी कमाई का भरोसा दिया जा रहा है. धनाढ्य बनने की चाहत ने म्यूच्यूअल फंड बाजार को काफी आकर्षक बना दिया है. छोटी बचत करने वाले लोग भी इसमें पैसे लगाना सही मानते हैं, 'सब्जेक्ट टू मार्केट रिस्क' या 'टी एंड सी अप्लाई' जैसे संदेशों को न जाने ग्राहक कितना तबज्जो देते हैं. एक छोटी-सी हामी वाली टिक हमारे वृहद ज्ञान का सबूत बन जाती है. आम तौर पर 'टर्म्स एंड कंडीशंस' या 'माकेट रिस्क' जैसे व्यावसायिक मुहावरों को हम हिंदुस्तानी नजरअंदाज ही करते हैं. वजह साफ है कि चेतावनी की शर्तों की भारी-भरकम शब्दावली और जटिल आंकड़े कान्गामी पर देशभर में खुशी की लहर है. स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने इस दिन को 130 करोड़ देशवासियों के लिए गर्व का दिन बताया है. इस माह की 15 तरीख को रॉकेट के इंधन टैंक में आयी तकनीकी समस्या के कारण भले इस यान का प्रक्षेपण टाल दिया गया था, मगर रिकॉर्ड अल्य समय में दुरुस्त कर इसे सफलता पूर्वक सुदूर चंदा मामा के समुद्र पर भेज दिया गया है. हम सभी को अपने वैज्ञानिकों पर गर्व है.

**एफके मिश्रा**, मा आनंदमयीनागर, रातू, रांची

### हमें अपने वैज्ञानिकों पर गर्व है

भारत के लिए वह पल वाकई खास रहा, जब श्रीहरिकोटा के सतीश धवन अंतरिक्ष केंद्र से भारत का 'बाहुबली' रॉकेट जीएसएलवी एमके-3 बहुउत्तीक्षित चंद्रयान-2 उपग्रह को लेकर मिशन मून के लिए रवाना हो गया. इसरो की इस शानदार कामयाबी पर देशभर में खुशी की लहर है. स्वयं प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने इस दिन को 130 करोड़ देशवासियों के लिए गर्व का दिन बताया है. इस माह की 15 तरीख को रॉकेट के इंधन टैंक में आयी तकनीकी समस्या के कारण भले इस यान का प्रक्षेपण टाल दिया गया था, मगर रिकॉर्ड अल्य समय में दुरुस्त कर इसे सफलता पूर्वक सुदूर चंदा मामा के समुद्र पर भेज दिया गया है. हम सभी को अपने वैज्ञानिकों पर गर्व है.

**चंदन कुमार**, देवघर .

### इमरान खान का अमेरिका दौरा

जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री इमरान खान का अमेरिका दौरा हो रहा है, उससे लगता ही नहीं है कि वह वहां बतौर मेहमान गये हैं. ऐसा लग रहा है कि वह निजी यात्रा पर हैं. तभी तो दूतावास में ठहरना, मेट्रो से यात्रा करना, अमेरिकी सरकार के कनिष्ठ अधिकारी तक का उनके स्वागत के लिए नहीं आना अपने आप बहुत कुछ कहता है. अंग्रेजी में एक कहावत है, भिखारियों के पास चयन करने का अधिकार नहीं होता. शायद इमरान के साथ अमेरिका में यही हो रहा है. पर्यवेक्षकों मानते हैं कि यह यात्रा सिफारिशों के बलबूते हो रही है. यात्रा से ठीक पहले हाफिज सईद को गिरफ्तार करना एक दौंग है. ट्रंप इस बात को अच्छी तरह जानते हैं, मगर ट्रम्प भी अफगानिस्तान के हाथों पतनबूर हैं. उन्हें हर हाल में मार्च 2020 तक अपनी सेना वहां से निकालनी है. ऐसे में पाकिस्तान की उसे सख्त जरूरत है. यानी इमरान को जहां अमेरिकी सहायता की जरूरत है, वहीं ट्रंप को भी इस्लामाबाद की जरूरत है.

**जंग बहादुर सिंह**, गोलहाडी, जमशेदपुर

**पोस्ट करें** : प्रभात खबर, 15 पी. इंडस्ट्रियल एरिया, कोकर, रांची 834001, **फैक्स करें** : 0651-2544006, **मेल करें** : eletter@prabhatkhabar.in पर ई-मेल संक्षिप्त व हिंदी में हो. लिपि रोमन भी हो सकती है

