

CHATTERBOX

The onion saga

India's onion shortage is affecting its bilateral relations — and not just with neighbours but even distant friends such as the United Arab Emirates (UAE). New Delhi banned all export of onions from September 29. This has gradually led to an acute shortage of the vegetable all across south Asia and the middle east. Everyone buys — and likes — Indian onions. In Nepal, where Indian onions dominate the market, the export ban has signalled a geostrategic shift: Nepal is now buying onions from China, something the Communist Party of Nepal leader and Prime Minister KP Oli is only too happy to endorse. Trucks laden with Chinese onions are trundling across the border through Tatopani and Rasuwa, the two trade gateways, travelling nearly 3,500 km through arduous conditions and extremely cold weather to meet Nepalese demand. Nepalese bhattis (as their *dhabas* are called) now have a specially curated 'Modi menu' that has (mostly) onion-free vegetables.

Last week, in Bangladesh, the opposition called for a day-long strike against the government for not managing the onion shortage competently. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's deputy press secretary Hasan Jahid Tusher told news agency AFP that onions were being imported by air freight, and that "Prime Minister (Sheikh Hasina) said she has stopped using onion in dishes". A kilo of onions used to cost 30 taka. The cost is now 260 taka — if you can get Indian onions at all. The state-run Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB) is selling onions at a discounted 45 taka per kilo from trucks in Dhaka. And of course, Twitter continues it non-stop commentary. "Went to buy onion, the shopkeeper asked for last 3 months pay slip" said one wit. "Our government's solution: if you can't afford onion, we'll use gas to make you cry," said another a day after the teargassing of Jamia students. And so it goes...

DID THEY REALLY SAY THAT?



"Not just minorities but those who care for the country's unity and progress are opposing the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the National Register of Citizens. The new citizenship law will disturb and hurt religious and social unity and harmony of the country"

NCP chief Sharad Pawar, amid massive protests against the amended citizenship law across the country, December 21

CHECKLIST
DISSENT IN THE BJP IN UP?

- On 17 December, BJP MLA from Loni in western UP, Nand Kishore Gurjar, sat on a dharna to flag an injustice done to him. It took no time for other BJP MLAs to join him.
- Leader of Opposition and Samajwadi Party member Ram Govind Chaudhary, too sat in. The MLAs also raised slogans calling for unity among the legislators and said that the "insult of one MLA is equal to insulting all the MLAs". The opposition members also said that if the MLAs of the ruling party were not allowed to speak in the assembly, how could the opposition expect to be heard. Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath was not in the house, having gone to Jharkhand for the election campaign.
- Deputy Chief Minister Dinesh Sharma reached the protesting MLAs to placate them and ask what the problem was. It appears Gurjar felt he had been insulted by some police officials and the DM

who had got together to 'conspire' against him. Gurjar wanted the police officials to be brought to the House and punished publicly. Nearly 150 MLAs backed this demand. Gurjar tried to raise this on 17 December but the speaker did not permit him.

■Gujjar has been in the news for the wrong reasons. His minor son was caught for causing an accident while driving at high speed. Gujjar was involved in an altercation with elections official and recently, his representative was arrested for violating traffic rules and misbehaving with the cops. He was also issued a show-cause notice by state BJP president Swatantra Dev Singh when he slapped a food security officer last month.

■However, the fact that he and other MLAs from the ruling party came out and raised slogans against their own chief minister suggests all is not well with the UP unit of BJP.



OPINION

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Trump injured national security by abusing power

Article I: Abuse of power: Using the powers of his high office, President Trump solicited the interference of a foreign government, Ukraine, in the 2020 United States Presidential election. He did so through a scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the election prospects of a political opponent, and influence the 2020 United States Presidential election to his advantage.

President Trump engaged in this scheme or course of conduct through the following means:

(1) President Trump—acting both directly and through his agents within and outside the United States Government—corruptly solicited the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations into—

(A) a political opponent, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden, Jr.; and

(B) a discredited theory promoted by Russia alleging that Ukraine—rather than Russia—interfered in the 2016 United States Presidential election.

(2) With the same corrupt motives, President Trump—acting both directly and through his agents within and outside the United States Government—conditioned two official acts on the public announcements that he had requested—

(A) the release of \$391 million of United States taxpayer funds that Congress had appropriated on a bipartisan basis for the purpose of providing vital military and security assistance to Ukraine to oppose Russian aggression and which President Trump had ordered suspended; and

(B) a head of state meeting at the White House, which the President of Ukraine sought to demonstrate continued United States support for the Government of Ukraine in the face of Russian aggression.

(3) Faced with the public revelation of his actions, President Trump ultimately released the military and security assistance to the Government of Ukraine, but has persisted in openly and corruptly urging and soliciting Ukraine to undertake investigations for his personal political benefit.

These actions were consistent with President Trump's previous invitations of foreign interference in United States elections.

In all this, President Trump abused the powers of the Presidency by ignoring and injuring national security and other vital national interests to obtain an improper personal political benefit. He has also betrayed the Nation by abusing his high office to enlist a foreign power in corrupting democratic elections.

Wherefore President Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. President Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

Article II: Obstruction of Congress

Donald J. Trump has directed the unprecedented, categorical, and indiscriminate defiance of subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives pursuant to its sole Power of Impeachment. President Trump has abused the powers of the Presidency in a manner offensive to, and subversive of, the Constitution, in that:

President Trump abused the powers of his high office through the following means:

(1) Directing the White House to defy a lawful subpoena by withholding the production of documents sought therein by the Committees.

(2) Directing other Executive Branch agencies and offices to defy lawful subpoenas and withhold the production of documents and records from the Committees—in response to which the Department of State, Office of Management and Budget, Department of Energy, and Department of Defense refused to produce a single document or record.

(3) Directing current and former Executive Branch officials not to cooperate with the Committees—in response to which nine Administration officials defied subpoenas for testimony, namely John Michael "Mick" Mulvaney, Robert B. Blair, John A. Eisenberg, Michael Ellis, Preston Wells Griffith, Russell T. Vought, Michael Duffey, Brian McCormack, and T. Ulrich Brechbuhl. These actions were consistent with President Trump's previous efforts to undermine United States Government investigations into foreign interference in United States elections.

Through these actions, President Trump sought to arrogate to himself the right to determine the propriety, scope, and nature of an impeachment inquiry into his own conduct, as well as the unilateral prerogative to deny any and all information to the House of Representatives in the exercise of its "sole Power of Impeachment". In the history of the Republic, no President has ever ordered the complete defiance of an impeachment inquiry or sought to obstruct and impede so comprehensively the ability of the House of Representatives to investigate "high Crimes and Misdemeanors". This abuse of office served to cover up the President's own repeated misconduct and to seize and control the power of impeachment and thus to nullify a vital constitutional safeguard vested solely in the House of Representatives. In all of this, President Trump has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law.

Edited excerpts from the text of the articles of impeachment against US President Donald Trump by Democrats in the US House of Representatives, December 10 in Washington



ILLUSTRATION BY BINAY SINHA

Former minister in the Jharkhand government, **Saryu Roy** is believed to be the man whose efforts put two former chief ministers (Lalu Prasad and Madhu Koda) in jail for corruption. Today, he is locked in a contest with his own chief minister, Raghubar Das, as an independent. Roy tells **Shikha Shalini** why he is fighting his own party. Edited excerpts:

'Win or lose, I won't be back in party'

You have been a popular and senior leader of the party. Why were you denied a ticket?

I have been associated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) since 1962 when I was in Class 8. I joined the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) later. I never asked the party for anything, but the party gave me a lot. I am grateful for that. When I was a minister in the Jharkhand government, I was critical of the government's work. I spoke to everyone in the Cabinet regarding these irregularities and I also spoke to the top leadership like Narendra Modi and Amit Shah. But people didn't like what I said. That's why I'm out of the party.

I even told the party that if I am not being given a nomination, please let me know so that I can publicly announce that I will not contest the election. I was told: there is no question of not contesting. After the fourth list was released and my name was absent from all, I

said: now I feel insulted. I said that whoever is responsible for this, I will contest against him. So, I contested the election as an independent from Jamshedpur East against Raghuvar Das.

What kind of irregularities were you seeing in the government?

Out of the 30 government departments in the state, 16 departments were held by the Chief Minister (CM). The CM kept all the creamy and important departments. You can imagine the motive behind this. It was in the knowledge of our Prime Minister and the national president Amit Shah. Despite this they backed the CM.

No one called me to intercede. I went to talk to Modi and Shah myself. If they thought I was doing something that I shouldn't have done, they should have called me and talked to me at least.

What do you think there was implied

consent of the top leadership to what the CM was doing?

It wouldn't be right to impute in any motives to the top leadership. The people will have to think this over. However, let me make one point: That the Prime Minister did not take Das' name in public meetings. In many places, he was not able to share the dais with the Prime Minister.

How was your talk with Prime Minister Modi and Shah?

I met the Prime Minister on August 4, 2017. He and even Shah gave identical assurances that my objections about the functioning of the government would be addressed. Shah also came to Ranchi and things remained fine for six months but after that it went back to the same thing.

Had Shah said something to the chief minister?

I don't know what happened. Mangal Pandey, a Bihar minister who was also in charge of Jharkhand in the Lok Sabha election said that I should not say anything till the Lok Sabha elections and they would rectify the situation. I don't know what was happening at that time but nobody called me and talked to me. I am not here to keep people happy. That's why I say what I think is right. I even told the chief minister that the path you have chosen is the same path that led to Madhu Koda's fate. I said it many times. Only about 10 per cent of the matter came out in the media. They are also upset that I talked to the media.

What is the problem in the party in the state? Because there are many groups...

People remain dissatisfied. The party is expelling those who appear to be standing with me. But the fact is that there is an attachment to the party and no one would want to leave the party under normal circumstances. I had told most of them that I would contest against the CM and that they should take a decision according to their conscience. I don't believe anyone is with me. I'm alone in this fight.

What will be the political future of Jharkhand in your opinion?

It is clear that the BJP is not going to get a majority in Jharkhand.

You mentioned allocation of mining leases to some companies and appointments scam during the campaign. Why did you not speak aggressively while you were a Cabinet Minister?

There are limitations and decorum of being in the Cabinet. I have objected to these things

in writing also. There is a record of things I have said, though these have not been made public. Now I am free and I am publicly saying what I said internally. It's not that I'm saying anything new. My words should be judged on merit.

Your efforts have put two former chief ministers in jail for corruption. Who will be your next target?

I'll follow up on all the issues that I've raised earlier. Certainly, the objectionable points against the CM will also be raised. It is difficult to find evidence of something directly.

I don't say anything unless I'm sure about it. I don't even speak against the opposition people without proof. Many things may come out in the public. We cannot say today, what might happen in the future.

Will you consider returning to the party?

I won't come back to the party whether I win or lose the election. I told my party leaders: Whatever the party tells me I will do. I am even ready to clean the floor. But if you humiliate and insult me, it will not be tolerated.

If there is a hung assembly, what will you do?

If I become an MLA, I will decide on merit. Even if I win, my role would be that of an independent MLA.

You had a few meetings with Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) leader Lalu Prasad. Did he say something?

I met him in 2013 when I went to Ranchi jail. After that I met him when he was ill. I was the one to lodge the case against him but I went for a courtesy meeting. He has supported me in this current election.

Nitish Kumar's party is also supporting you? Do you think your proximity with the JD(U) chief created some problem?

Yes, Nitish ji's party has also supported me and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) have also given me moral support. My friendship with Nitish goes back to the time we were classmates in school and at Patna Science College. We were in the same hostel. When I lost the election in 2009, he called me to join his government. Our political stand makes no difference in our personal relationship. Shah had said at a meeting of the parliamentary board that Nitish released my book though he doesn't listen to anyone. However, he was the chief minister with the BJP's support. My book release by Nitish was not liked by many party members but supporting his candidature for CM post was fair enough.

The Bengaluru fairy-'tail'

A Bengaluru man has made a sanctuary out of the animals he has rescued. It doubles up as a habitat classroom for children, writes **Swarnami Mondal**

For all the animal lovers among us, imagine this — you come across a stray kitten on the road, you rescue it, bring it back home and bring a small change to this world. There are plenty out there who want to take care of animals and make a difference in their lives, but how many of us can turn that into reality?

Sanjeev Pednekar from Bengaluru is doing the same but at a far larger scale through his venture Prani. Founded in 2017 by Pednekar and his ecologist friend Karthik Prabhu, the Prani sanctuary is spread across four acres of land situated at Bengaluru's Kanakpura Road. It provides a safe space for children to interact with animals, develop an interest in wildlife and sustainability, in a setting away from the bustle of city life. Prani has recorded a footfall of 1,000 visitors since it opened.

With young volunteers at work at Prani, this place also works as a learning platform aiming to spread the message of peaceful cohabitation of animals amid urban people. Pednekar imparts a lesson or two about conservation among the visitors while piquing their curiosity about wildlife. In a conversation with *Business Standard*, he says, "It began with rescuing a pony, Esha, and now we are a 400-member strong family of rescued animals. Visitors can interact with rabbits, ponies, ducks, geese, hamsters, roosters, turtles, snakes, goats, among others. By interacting with these animals, adults and kids can get to learn compassion, patience and much more during the entire process."

Pednekar is a herpetologist by profession



(Clockwise from top) Sanjeev Pednekar standing inside the enclosure made for turtles at the Prani sanctuary; A little boy playing with a hamster; A baby goat; Prani volunteers interacting with school students who visit the sanctuary

and has worked with many conservationists, wildlife rescuers including the Bengaluru civic body, BBMP. From catching tadpoles at 10 to rescuing various animals across Karnataka, Pednekar found his calling in conservation and grew up to believe in the idea that human beings should forge bonds of love with animals.

When asked how Prani functions, he said, "People can spend two hours in the sanctuary, take a guided tour and then we take them around explaining tips which they can use in their daily lives to imbibe bits of sustainability and co-existence." Pednekar says, "Through this venture we are trying to build nature bit by bit which we humankind has destroyed sys-

tematically through the years. Going back to nature and bonding with animals is the only way forward." Visitors can also participate in a hands-on gardening session, watch biogas being made from waste, learn animal husbandry, snakebite mitigation, and naturalist training. The sanctuary also has option of overnight stay.

Prani also collaborates with schools. Children come visiting the sanctuary, the syllabus is explained to the children using non-conventional methods. For example, students are taken to the butterfly garden and with practical examples they can understand the life cycle of a butterfly than by rote learning from books.

What sort of animals does this sanctuary house and how do they find which animal needs to be rescued? Pednekar says, "One pregnant pony was left at a gutter to die, we rescued her and now she lives with her foal at Prani." The youngest member at Prani is Kavana, an eight-year-old who is being homeschooled at the sanctuary and has recently rescued and rehabilitated a blind dog.

Fending over 350 animals under one roof is an uphill task. On asking what helps fund the upkeep of a sanctuary Pednekar said, "We charge a fee of ₹400 from visitors. Providing quality time and care is our motto, the funds raised thus helps us in fending for the animals we house."

Sports and politics

Sportspeople should be free to exercise their views

Conventional wisdom in sporting circles dictates that sports and politics are distinct activities and the twain should never meet. In reality, this separation is an artificial one. Like people in any other profession, sportspeople, too, can hold political views and should have the right to express them. Two incidents within a week of each other involving Muslim sportspeople in different continents brought the issue into the limelight once again. The first was a statement by Arsenal mid-fielder and German national footballer of Turkish origin Mesut Ozil. He criticised China’s treat-

ment of the Uighur minority and wondered why the rest of the Islamic world had not raised its voice in solidarity. The move provoked a sharp response from the Chinese authorities. The Arsenal-Manchester City Premier League fixture was blacked out and Ozil was removed from a popular e-football computer game by the publisher of the game. China is the world’s fastest-growing market for European football teams, so in a sense the fallout cost advertisers, sponsors, and the club (and perhaps Ozil himself) a lot of money. No surprise, he found no support from the club, which immediately put out a

statement distancing itself from Ozil’s views, though his former manager Arsene Wenger said he had the right to voice his opinion. Ozil, who exited the German national team a few years ago complaining of being targeted for his religion and ethnicity, would have found himself in good company in the Indian cricketer Irfan Pathan, the medium pacer and key member of the 2007 World T20 winning squad. Pathan, who currently coaches the Jammu & Kashmir cricket team and is a popular TV broadcaster, was trolled by the saffron elements on social media for tweeting his support for Jamia Millia Islamia students, who had suffered at the hands of the police for their protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act. Pathan’s response was a dignified interview in *The Indian Express* that set out his credentials as an Indian first and a Muslim second, and pointed out that he did

not need permission in his own country to air his views. As a reminder of the democratic and secular nature of India, the message could not have been more pointed. Pathan, however, has been out of the national cricketing establishment, so his comments did not erupt into a major controversy. Ozil, whose footballing star is waning, still commands a large fan following in the growing markets of Asia. So, as Arsenal’s response showed, a good part of the reason for the nervousness on the part of sports administrations is the impact political statements can have on sponsors and advertisers, especially in team events such cricket or football. That is partly why most sports bodies prohibit the airing of political slogans at matches and tournaments. This is less of a problem with individual sports. Thus, Mohammad Ali was able to champion open-

ly black rights through his membership of the controversial Black Nation of Islam, an association that ended up enhancing his considerable if eccentric star power. In 1989, the Chinese-American tennis player Michael Chang could end his victory speech after winning the French Open with an oblique criticism of China’s authoritarian crackdown against protestors at Tiananmen Square. “And god bless China,” he mumbled. This was widely remarked on at the time, but drew no censure from the ATP (or China, where tennis was virtually non-existent). The acute competitiveness of international sports demands that sportspeople cannot allow themselves the luxury of distraction. When they do choose to exercise their political views, however, they do not deserve to be censured any more than the next person.

The importance of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a key littoral on our eastern seaboard. Given Delhi’s Indo-Pacific aspirations, friendly relations with Dhaka are critical to India’s interests



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. Worryingly, China has developed security linkages with Bangladesh

PREMVir DAS

India and Bangladesh have come a long way since 1971. From the heyday of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, to the low points during the regimes of Zia-ur-Rehman and his wife Begum Zia, to the current blossoming relationship with Mujib’s daughter, Sheikh Hasina, the relationship has travelled some distance, with many ups and downs. With an upswing now in motion, every effort must be made to ensure that the surge is maintained. India’s Indo-Pacific aspirations have been emphasised more than once by External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar in recent months; Bangladesh, located where it is, must surely figure very high in that calculus. It is in this context that we should view recent developments resulting in, and flowing from, the cancellation of two visits by its senior ministers to our country. While the history of our land border issues over several decades is well-known and now happily resolved, that of the maritime demarcation is unknown to most Indians. For several years, both countries argued over a small piece of territory called New Moore Island, which submerged at high tide but was quite visible when the waters subsided. Bangladesh claimed the island as its own and drew its maritime boundary and exclusive economic zone from it, while India maintained that it lay in its jurisdiction. Behind both claims was an assessment that reserves of oil and gas lay submerged in the seabed around New Moore. At one time, India even positioned its naval personnel and a ship around the island. There was considerable acrimony and a near state of hostility between the two countries, and it was only in 2014 that the issue was resolved through international arbitration, which resulted in India giving up its claim to New Moore and about 80 per cent of the waters it had claimed. Thus, a major impediment to good-neighbourly relations was removed. So, now both land and maritime boundaries between the two countries stand resolved.

Why is Bangladesh important to our interests in the Indo-Pacific? Lying some 600 miles north of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, with the major port of Chittagong and another, Cox’s Bazaar, almost bordering its neighbour Myanmar, the country is an important littoral on our eastern seaboard. Along with Myanmar, it has had security linkages with China in the form of port infrastructure development; to this must be added the supply of military and naval hardware, in which two submarines figure prominently. Chinese warships have frequently visited Chittagong. If the relationship strengthens further, it can only be to India’s detriment. Bangladesh is also a supporter of the China’s Belt and Road Initiative, and that country’s aspiration to link its Yunnan province to the Indian Ocean, bypassing the long and arduous Malacca Straits, requires access to Chittagong through Bangladesh. If this materialises, we will see a sizeable increase in the Chinese naval and maritime presence in the Bay of Bengal and consequently, in proximity to the Andaman Islands. During the current positive engagement between India and Bangladesh, the potential negatives have been pushed to the back burner, but nothing should be done that may reverse the situation. Earlier this month, the naval chief disclosed that a Chinese research vessel had intruded into our exclusive economic zone and had to be asked to leave. This is not the first time that such an intrusion has occurred. These ships test seabed possibilities and sonar conditions that facilitate optimum operations of submarines, and are clearly unacceptable. Further, deployments by foreign warships in the maritime territories of others — except on “innocent passage” — require prior approval. The Chinese have ignored this requirement repeatedly. They have flouted international norms and rules in the South China Sea, where smaller countries such as the Philippines and Vietnam have been wary of opposing them forcefully. They cannot be allowed to replicate their in our areas of interest. The Bay of Bengal is a key

component of the Indo-Pacific, and rates high in our strategic and security priorities. Leaving aside such unauthorised incursions, the Chinese maritime presence in the waters of the Indian Ocean has increased substantially post-2008, following the outbreak of Somali piracy. They maintain bases in Pakistan (Gwadar) and in Djibouti in the Horn of Africa, and can deploy forces from both. They also maintain a regular presence of four or five ships, including an oiler, in the Indian Ocean region, which provides endurance and staying power at sea. Additionally, they are seeking a presence in island territories such as the Seychelles, and have contributed towards port development in Sri Lanka (Hambantota and Colombo) and in Myanmar. So, friendly relations with Bangladesh are critical to India’s interests. Fortunately, from every economic and social parameter, the country is doing well and in many of them, out-performing India. The areas of discord are few. It is in this context that we must view recent developments. Identifying Bangladesh, even indirectly, for persecution of Hindu minorities alongside Pakistan has not been well-received by them, and it is not surprising that it has taken the position that it has. Fortunately, Sheikh Hasina herself has not made any comments, and this speaks volumes for her own assessment of the relationship, even as the desired “messages” were sent through cancellation of the high-profile ministerial visits. Hopefully, these have been assimilated and will help tone down the rhetoric because, of the dozens of countries that are Indo-Pacific littorals and of importance to India, Bangladesh must rank among those at the top. In the immediate neighbourhood, it is clearly one that merits a “friendly” tag. It will not help our interests if that categorisation is even diluted, much less revised. The writer is a former Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Naval Command. He has also served as member of the National Security Advisory Board

BS-VI: Challenges and opportunities

RAJAT DHAWAN, AMIT V GUPTA & BIKRAMJIT CHAUDHURY

The onset of BS-VI emission norms in April 2020 will witness a major transition by the Indian automotive industry. This will result in a reduction of almost 70 per cent in nitrous oxides and hydrocarbons, and a 50 per cent reduction in particulate matter emissions, compared to BS-IV norms. Additionally, on-board diagnostic and enhanced safety and durability norms will kick in, bringing a new set of requirements to be complied with. After this, there will be three more stages of these norms (steps B and C are expected in 2022 for commercial vehicles and step D is expected by 2023), before it can be said that India’s auto emissions norms are at par with Euro 6. Although this transition will ensure a much-needed reduction in vehicular emissions, it comes with a set of challenges for the industry. We explore here both key challenges as well as areas of opportunity that auto original equipment manufacturers (OEMs) can benefit from if they take the right steps, going forward. To do so, OEMs must focus on how their peers in developed geographies responded when faced with similar challenges and opportunities. Changes in engine and after-treatment systems are expected to account for a total one-time investment of around ₹40,000-50,000 crore and an operating cost impact of ₹30,000-40,000 crore for automotive OEMs. This increase in investment and operating costs will, in turn, result in increases in vehicle prices. Given that India has leapfrogged BS-V, the overall cost of vehicles is expected to increase by 10 per cent for two-wheelers, 5-6 per cent for petrol cars and 8-12 per cent for diesel cars, and around 15 per cent for commercial vehicles. OEMs may not find it feasible to pass on the full increase in costs to customers in one go. In Europe, the transition from Euro 5 to Euro 6 saw an increase of 20 per cent in terms of cost and 7 per cent in terms of price for large trucks. Additionally, with the expected decline in demand post-transition, OEMs need to proactively ensure a strict focus on direct material cost reduction and on optimising fixed costs to protect Ebitda (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortisation) margins. This will also be critical when it comes to planning the next set of investments required for Step D, CAFE (corporate average fuel efficiency) norms and electrical vehicles. OEMs will also need to make changes to manufacturing lines owing to the new BS-VI parts that would need to be installed. This is a potential opportunity to implement Industry 4.0 measures. OEMs should think of building flexible manufacturing lines, increasing productivity and quality through IoT (Internet of Things) enablement and increasing

automation during this transition to prepare for the future. Lastly, the transition to BS-VI is also an opportunity for OEMs to focus on building more strategic technological and manufacturing partnerships with suppliers of key emission-related components, especially with the increasing number of electronic components. Post BS-VI, it is also likely that there will be an increase in competition from global OEMs, given that it will become a more level playing field. By 2025, 85 per cent of global automotive demand by volume would have moved to the Euro 6 equivalent, and the larger global OEMs will be able to leverage their economies of scale to bring ready powertrains and platforms into the growing India market. Equally, this levelling of the playing field presents the Indian OEMs with an opportunity to sell more globally. With unifying powertrain norms, markets such as China, Russia, LatAm, and even Western Europe can be targeted by leveraging the frugal engineering of Indian OEMs to play in the mid-price segments. Building a loyal customer base with a focus on after-sales servicing will be critical to differentiate in the market. With the combination of new BS-VI technologies such as SCR and DPF coming in, service revenue for OEMs is likely to increase, at least in the short term. The unorganised sector will need to build up its capability for servicing BS-VI vehicles. This can help OEMs build a stronger loyalty loop, with the next set of customers buying BS-VI and improving on service revenues both for the OEM and its dealers. Developing end-to-end value propositions such as connected solutions, telematics, leasing, load-sharing and fleet management will be key in countering the entry of other global OEMs in an already competitive market. A few passenger car OEMs have already announced they will discontinue diesel cars after BS-VI, primarily due to the higher investment required and higher costs of diesel powertrains. However, the advent of CAFE norms in 2021 and 2022 will be more favourable to larger diesel cars, given that they are thermodynamically more efficient. OEMs will need to think strategically about both BS-VI and CAFE norms, and how they could utilise them to be effective. In sum, the transition to BS-VI is a critical milestone for the auto industry. The focus must be on partnerships with suppliers, preparing for intensifying global competition, pushing for international growth, and cost reduction. OEMs that act on this by mitigating near-term disruptions through operational efficiencies and planning for the longer term will emerge stronger from this transition. Dhawan is senior partner and leader, advanced industries, Asia-Pacific region, McKinsey & Company. Gupta is partner, and Chaudhury is associate partner

▶ OTHER VIEWS

NCLAT ruling on Tatas flags corporate governance issues

It could be a dampener for those looking to bet on projects in India

Three years after being abruptly unseated, Cyrus Mistry appears on course to being reinstated as executive chairman of Tata Sons, the holding company of one of India’s largest business conglomerates, with the National Company Law Appellate Tribunal (NCLAT) ruling on Wednesday that his sacking in October 2016 and the subsequent appointment of N Chandrasekaran was illegal. The tribunal’s verdict will become operational only after four weeks with a window being provided for the Tatas to appeal to the Supreme Court. But irrespective of the final verdict in this case, there are some larger issues which need to be addressed by corporate India. These questions concern corporate democracy or democratic behaviour in listed corporate firms, be they promoter-driven companies or professionally managed companies, and appropriate governance structures, including independent boards. It is important in a public corporation to make a clear distinction between decisiveness and arbitrariness. At a fraught time when many Indian companies are struggling to manage their balance sheets, one of the grave risks that the latest ruling poses is that of further deepening the distrust of corporates by many investors hurt already by events in many



firms over the past few years. That could be a dampener for long-term investment in India and for companies and entrepreneurs looking to bet on projects here. Much will depend on how swiftly the Supreme Court ensures an early closure to this corporate feud, and the behavioural change in India’s boardrooms over the next few years.

The Indian Express, December 20

Maintaining order important

But so are the rights of citizens

On Thursday, those opposed to the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act planned protests across the country. The government’s response should have been simple. Ensure police presence to maintain order, while enabling citizens to exercise their rights. Instead, in many parts of the country, the governments concerned decided to impose Section 144, which prohibits gatherings of more than four people, and places other restrictions on personal liberty. This was done across Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka, both governed by the Bharatiya Janata Party, and parts of Delhi. It isn’t clear whether there was specific intelligence that prompted the imposition of

Section 144 in Delhi and Bengaluru. In both, protestors, armed only with posters and pamphlets, many of whom were detained and later released, said the executive has directly impinged and violated their fundamental right to free speech and to free association and assembly. History shows that dissent can’t be sustainably contained by simply deploying greater force. The onus lies squarely on the government to break out of this cycle, find a political solution to the controversy, but most critically, respect the right of the Indian citizen to speak, protest, move and assemble freely — as long as there is no threat to peace.

Hindustan Times, December 20

Fine dining, enhanced

Rating hygiene in restaurants welcome

With the introduction of the display of hygiene ratings on the doors of restaurants as mandated by the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI), Haryana is all set to enhance the dining experience. Under the Eat Right India campaign of the Central government, the food regulator has readied trained manpower of food supervisors who will periodically check the safety of food served. The hygiene rating serves to benefit all stakeholders. As health-conscious customers report instances of malpractice and naturally veer towards eateries boasting of good quality fare, food business operators that fail to meet the standards of food material, preparation, handling, storage and cleanliness

will be forced to either pull up their socks or pull out. The temptation of it going the “inspector raj” way while doling out ratings must be firmly resisted. While Haryana is taking baby steps by making the scheme voluntary for restaurants initially, Punjab has gone a step ahead towards offering a healthier platter. With the trend of ordering food online shooting northwards, Punjab has ordered all aggregators, including Swiggy and Zomato, to display the hygiene ratings of eateries registered with them, so as to allow consumers to make an informed choice and bridge the physical divide with the eateries they are promoting.

The Tribune, December 19

Opinion

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 22, 2019

BUDGET DAY IS more important to a finance minister than her/his birthday. ***Making*** a budget for the country is a memorable and monumental task. In course of time, some proposals in the budget will be modified; on occasion, one or two proposals may be withdrawn in response to criticism. Some outlandish proposals will be allowed to perish without action, mercifully.

Making, unmaking

However, Budget 2019-20 is unique. I know of no budget in recent memory where, after ***making*** the Budget, the Finance Minister consciously ***unmade*** the Budget. I made a list of proposals — highlighted in the Budget speech and whose virtues were proclaimed in the post-Budget interactions. Each one of them was reversed. Between February 1 and September 23, the Budget for 2019-20 was reduced to a pedestrian statement of dubious accounts.

Proposals in the July 2019 Budget, that were later reversed:

1. **SURCHARGE** on long- and short-term capital gains for foreign portfolio investors as well as domestic portfolio investors.

Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Nirmala Sitharaman said at a press conference, “In order to encourage investment in the capital market, it has been decided to withdraw the enhanced surcharge levied by Finance (no. 2) Act, 2019 on long- and short-term capital gains arising from transfer of equity shares/units referred in Section 111A and 112A respectively.”

2. **ISSUE** of overseas sovereign bonds. Para 103 in the Budget speech said, “The government would start raising a part of its gross borrowing programme in external markets in external currencies. This will also have a beneficial impact on demand situation for government securities in the domestic market.”

Status: Undecided, but most likely abandoned. Secretary, economic affairs, Atanu Chakraborty said on September 23: “(We) need very careful calibrations and deliberations... Work is presently going on to work out a proper structure, looking at various pros and cons. It is a process which is long and will continue. For this year, all the borrowings presently are in rupee-denominated bonds.”

3. **CORPORATE** tax cut. Para 110 in the Budget speech said, “So far as corporate tax is concerned, we continue with phased reduction in rates. Currently, the lower rate of 25% is only applicable to companies having annual turnover up to ₹250 crore. I propose to widen this to include all companies having annual turnover up to ₹400 crore. This will cover 99.3% of the companies. Now only 0.7% of companies will remain outside this rate.”

Status: Changed via ordinance on September 23, saying, “All domestic companies to be allowed to pay corporation tax at the rate of 22% (effective rate 25.17% including cess and surcharge). This would be subject to the condition that these companies do not avail of any tax incentives or exemptions. Moreover, no Minimum Alternative Tax (MAT) would be imposed on these companies. Any new domestic manufacturing company, incorporated on or after October 1, 2019, will be allowed to pay corporation tax at the



The unmaking of a budget



Union finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman chairs a pre-budget meeting with industrialists in New Delhi

PTI

rate of 15% (effective rate 17.01%).”

4. **ANGEL TAX**.

Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Said Sitharaman at the press conference, “Section 56(2)(viib) of the Income Tax Act shall not apply to startups registered with the Commerce Ministry.”

5. **CRIMINALISATION** of CSR violations by companies (by amendment to Companies Act, 2013, July 31).

Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Said Sitharaman at the press conference, “Every doubt that was prevailing outside, I would like to dispel it today. There is no intention of the government to (take) the prosecution route. Corporate social responsibility will only be treated as a civil matter and not at all as a criminal matter.”

6. **INCREASE** in registration charges for new internal combustion engine (ICE) cars to ₹5,000 from ₹600 at present. Renewal of registration of ICE cars

is proposed at ₹15,000 (proposed on July 26).

Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Sitharaman said at the press conference that the fee for registering new vehicles was deferred to 2020.

The cup of woes

Unfortunately, the woes of the Finance Minister were not over with the reversal of her prized announcements in the Budget. The mostly structural — and some cyclical — problems that plague the economy wrought havoc, the economy tanked, the numbers went horribly awry, brave words didn’t bring in more revenue or contain the expenditure, and the results showed up in the monthly accounts released by the Controller General of Accounts.

The last available accounts for October 2019 show that the net revenue receipts are a mere 41.4% of bud-

get estimate; total receipts are 44.9%; fiscal deficit is 102.4%; and revenue deficit is 112.5%. The Finance Minister has no scope to spend more or borrow more.

Infusion or confusion

Yet, since July 5, the finance minister has announced huge sums that will be infused in sectors such as public sector banks (₹70,000 crore); real estate (₹25,000 crore); NBFCs and HFCs (₹20,000 crore); IDBI Bank (₹4,557 crore); and Punjab National Bank (₹16,000 crore).

Even as Dr Arvind Subramanian and Mr Josh Felman observed that “the economy seems headed for the intensive care unit”, the Finance Minister is looking at an abyss and seeing a green valley!



Website: [@Pchidambaram_IN](https://pchidambaram.in)



INSIDE TRACK

COOMI KAPOOR

Uneasy switch

The ideological differences between the Shiv Sena and its alliance partner in Maharashtra are already showing. Rahul Gandhi, infuriated with the Sena’s position on the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill in Parliament, deliberately raked up VD Savarkar’s apology to the British government. (He was responding to the BJP’s demand that he apologise for his alleged rape-in-India remark.)

Saamana editor Sanjay Raut had to caution the Congress not to take potshots at Sena heroes.

The wordy skirmish arose after the Sena initially assured the Congress it would vote against CAB and then backtracked. After Amit Shah mocked the Sena in his Lok Sabha speech for voting on the same side as the Muslim Majlis, the hitherto Hindutva torchbearers were uncomfortable. Just before voting in the Lok Sabha, Sena MPs walked distractedly in and out of the House conferring frantically with Mumbai for instructions. Eventually, to the shock of the Congress, the Sena voted in support of the Bill. Rahul, who was against the Maharashtra alliance in the first place, threatened the Sena that the Congress would pull out of it in Maharashtra if the Sena did not change its position in the Rajya Sabha. Till the eleventh hour there was no unanimity in the party, however, and Raut delivered a roundabout speech in the Rajya Sabha which left everyone still guessing as to which way his party would vote. Finally, the Sena MPs simply abstained.

The BJP is now seeking to embarrass the Sena further. It is planning to demand that Bombay University be named after Savarkar. The Sena will find it embarrassing not to support the suggestion.

Junior’s canny cuts

The IPL will not have its opening ceremony extravaganza this year. BCCI secretary Jay Amit Shah, who proposed this, pointed out that ₹25 to ₹30 crore could be saved by dispensing with the glitz and glamour. The junior Shah has come up with several costcutting measures. He showed a way in which the BCCI could save the ₹40 lakh annually spent on executives’ hotel suite bills. He suggested that hotels should be told to rent the suites at regular room rates. Given the substantial revenue and goodwill the BCCI generates when the team stays at a hotel, the hotels will fall in line, he pointed out. The post of BCCI secretary is actually the most powerful in the national cricket body, since he handles its day-to-day running, while the president is the public face who oversees occasionally. Jay Shah is taking his

job seriously, and visits Mumbai regularly for scrutinising files.

Menon’s dark side

Jairam Ramesh’s biography of VK Krishna Menon sheds new light on the complicated personality of one of Jawaharlal Nehru’s closest friends, described as the former prime minister’s ‘soul mate’ by the author. The engrossing biography, based on fresh archival material, reveals that Nehru entrusted Menon with responsibilities such as the post of high commissioner to the UK and defence minister, although Nehru had himself diagnosed Menon as suffering from depression and dark mood swings, as early as 1938. When asked to leave as high commissioner, Menon in a letter acknowledged to Nehru that he took sedatives and hypnotics, but insisted that the barbiturates were not habit-forming. The mercurial Menon, who had strong likes and dislikes, usually created divisions wherever he worked. As defence minister Menon played havoc. He encouraged army chief General P N Thapar to humiliate and chargesheet two of the most outstanding officers in the Indian Army, General K S Thimayya and General S P P Thorat, who were later exonerated. He instigated his favourite, General B M Kaul, to hold a court of inquiry against Lt General Sam Manekshaw, who was to be later appointed India’s first field marshal.

Image makeover

Delhi chief minister Arvind Kejriwal was working on an image makeover even before Prashant Kishor was formally inducted to help in his Assembly election campaign. Kejriwal is now focused on also wooing middle-class voters and not just the poor. He no longer projects himself as a rebel fighting the establishment. Despite Delhi’s terrible pollution, he has lost his cough, his trademark muffler and appears more mellow, measured and mature.

Disappearing act

Narayan Lal Panchariya is officially the BJP’s whip in the Rajya Sabha, but backroom boys Bhupender Yadav and C R Ramesh were actually responsible for the impeccable floor coordination during the vote on CAB. Before the vote, Yadav predicted that at least 124 MPs would support the Bill. (Eventually 125 did.) Ramesh, who switched from the TDP to BJP, is friendly with MPs across party lines. Thanks to his persuasive powers, a dozen MPs from the Opposition disappeared before the vote, including from the Congress, NCP, BSP, Samajwadi Party, TRS and JD(S).

A triumphant team

Indian cricket unfolded gloriously to establish a contemporary cricketing superpower



A YEAR THAT began triumphantly—with India claiming a Test series in Australia for the first time—unfolded gloriously, and would end with India helming the Test ranking, topping the Test Championship charts by an unblemished margin and establishing themselves as a contemporary cricketing superpower. Barring the World Cup stutter in London, India hardly put a wrong foot, dismissing every challenger with the crushing authority of world-beaters, seldom as they ever had in the past.

Several protagonists stood out, not least Jasprit Bumrah, the wonderment of his unique skills still unabated and Mayank Agarwal, his unreal consistency in domestic cricket seamlessly transitioning into the Test level. Spectacular as their achievements were, and the promise they exude as India firmly eye world domination, the year undoubtedly belonged to Rohit Sharma and Virat

Kohli. A year Kohli immaculately sustained his gold-standards while Sharma came close to matching him, even dimming him in the 50-over version of the game. If it was the year, Sharma intruded into the pedestal of cricketing immortality, Kohli ensured that he remained in his happy space, in the company of the man whose six-hitting abilities he envies the most.

That Sharma is a limited-over beast has been daylight clear for several years. But this year, he vaulted to a level beyond his elevated level. The heap of records he piled up this year captures the story of his consistency. To start with, only Sanath Jayasuriya, among openers, has amassed more runs than Sharma in a calendar year; he needs nine more runs (2379 and 2387) in the season-ending ODI against West Indies to surpass the legendary Sri Lankan. The catalogue of his feats reads on—its the seventh successive season since 2013 that the highest individual score by an Indian in a calendar year is held by Sharma, his seven centuries this year is second to Sachin Tendulkar’s tally of nine in a calendar year, and that no other cricketer has crossed 150-plus runs so often (8 times) in the ODIs. The



Jasprit Bumrah at a training session ahead of a match

AP

most glittering (and thrilling) number perhaps is 77, the number of sixes he had struck this year.

At his hands, six-hitting has become

a scientific art or artful science, for there’s as much as science in his six-hitting as there is art. Science in his judgement, in his reflexes, in placement, in

the exact moment when his velvety bat meets the ball, and in the height and distance he wants the ball to travel. Art in the minimalism of his movements, in the unhurried swing of his bat, in the fluidity of the flourish and in the unflexed muscles of his forearms. He has become something of a programmable six-hitting machine. The confidence automatically saw his revival in the longest format too, where his performances have been frighteningly erratic. But afforded the last shot at redemption, which was to open the innings, a task several legends of the game have shirked away from, he took the challenge heads on and illustrated his aptitude with a brace of hundreds against South Africa, the kind of tone-setting, match-defining ones. It’s presumptuous to state that India has unearthed a Sehwag-like opener, but like the Delhi batsman, he can influence matches like few of his peers.

Compared to Sharma, and contrasted to his past year, Kohli had a rather average season. But still, Kohli’s mediocre season might be a great season for most other players, for he still averaged 68 from eight Tests, still racked up a double hundred and 612 runs despite not being at his fluent best, still found means to score 1292 ODI runs. It’s the sign of great batsmen that even when’s he struggling, he manages to dig in and come out of the phase. The double hundred (254 not out) against

South Africa in Pune was a classic instance. Rickety to start with and redemptive when it ended.

Strangely, but unsurprisingly, he was most destructive in T20Is, which is a dangerous portent for bowlers in the lead-up to the T20 World Cup next year. From 10 games, he ransacked 466 runs, at a staggering average of 77 and strike rate of 148. Not the most instinctive of six-hitters, he struck 23 this year, which’s one-third of his overall tally (71), spread out over a decade.

It was the year Kohli the captain shaded out Kohli the batsman, a coming of age season as a leader when the petulance and penitence of early years gave away to a more worldly-wise and pragmatic leader when he chose himself to be less adventurous and more judicious in decision making when every play was calculated than whimsical. A bit of the old theatrical Kohli resurfaced in the limited-overs series against West Indies. But then, what’s Kohli without theatrics. After all, he needs some unwinding after 11 intense months of literally non-stop cricket and eleven months of exhilarating highs, which saw usurping MS Dhoni to become the most successful Indian skipper in Tests and more remarkably, becoming the first captain to inflict four successive innings defeats.

So in a year, Indian cricket brushed unprecedented peaks, the twin towers—Kohli and Sharma towered over the rest.

Across THE AISLE



PCHIDAMBARAM

THE UNMAKING OF A BUDGET

BUDGET DAY is more important to a finance minister than her/his birthday. **Making** a budget for the country is a memorable and monumental task. In course of time, some proposals in the budget will be modified; on occasion, one or two proposals may be withdrawn in response to criticism. Some outlandish proposals will be allowed to perish without action, mercifully.

MAKING, UNMAKING

However, Budget 2019-20 is unique. I know of no budget in recent memory where, after **making** the Budget, the Finance Minister consciously **unmade** the Budget. I made a list of proposals — highlighted in the Budget speech and whose virtues were proclaimed in the post-Budget interactions. Each one of them was reversed. Between February 1 and September 23, the Budget for 2019-20 was reduced to a pedestrian statement of dubious accounts.

Proposals in the July 2019 Budget, that were later reversed:

- 1. SURCHARGE** on long- and short-term capital gains for foreign portfolio investors as well as domestic portfolio investors.
Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Nirmala Sitharaman said at a press conference, “In order to encourage investment in the capital market, it has been decided to withdraw the enhanced surcharge levied by Finance (no. 2) Act, 2019 on long- and short-term capital gains arising from transfer of equity
- 2. ISSUE** of overseas sovereign bonds. Para 103 in the Budget speech said, “The government would start raising a part of its gross borrowing programme in external markets in external currencies. This will also have a beneficial impact on demand situation for government securities in the domestic market.”
Status: Undecided, but most likely abandoned. Secretary, Economic Affairs, Atanu Chakraborty said on September 23: “(We) need very careful calibrations and deliberations... Work is presently going on to work out a proper structure, looking at various pros and cons. It is a process which is long and will continue. For this year, all the borrowings presently are in rupee-denominated bonds.”
- 3. CORPORATE** tax cut. Para 110 in the Budget speech said, “So far as corporate tax is concerned, we continue with phased reduction in rates. Currently, the lower rate of 25% is only applicable to companies having annual turnover up to Rs 250 crore. I propose to widen this to include all companies having annual turnover up to Rs 400 crore. This will cover 99.3% of the companies. Now only 0.7% of companies will remain outside this rate.”
Status: Changed via ordinance on September 23, saying, “All domestic companies to be allowed to pay corporation tax at the rate of 22% (effective rate 25.17% including cess and surcharge). This would
- be subject to the condition that these companies do not avail of any tax incentives or exemptions. Moreover, no Minimum Alternative Tax (MAT) would be imposed on these companies. Any new domestic manufacturing company, incorporated on or after October 1, 2019, will be allowed to pay corporation tax at the rate of 15% (effective rate 17.01%).”
- 4. ANGEL TAX.**
Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Said Sitharaman at the press conference, “Section 56(2)(viib) of the Income Tax Act shall not apply to startups registered with the Commerce Ministry.”
- 5. CRIMINALISATION** of CSR violations by companies (by amendment to Companies Act, 2013, July 31).
Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Said Sitharaman at the press conference, “Every doubt that was prevailing outside, I would like to dispel it today. There is no intention of the government to (take) the prosecution route. Corporate social responsibility will only be treated as a civil matter and not at all as a criminal matter.”
- 6. INCREASE** in registration charges for new internal combustion engine (ICE) cars to Rs 5,000 from Rs 600 at present. Renewal of registration of ICE cars is proposed at Rs 15,000 (proposed on July 26).
Status: Withdrawn on August 23. Sitharaman said at the press conference that the fee for registering new vehicles was deferred to 2020.

Fifth COLUMN

TAVLEEN SINGH

Twitter @tavleen_singh



Gandhiji would have been at the barricades

ON THE day that protesters against the new citizenship law poured into the streets of cities across India, Home Minister Amit Shah posted a tweet that made me unsure whether to laugh or cry. The tweet had pictures that showed the Home Minister at a high table beside the President, the Prime Minister and the Vice-President at a meeting of the National Committee for Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Amit Shah clearly missed the irony of his tweet. The Mahatma must be a very new hero in his political journey or he would have known that if Gandhiji were alive, he would have been outside at the barricades and not in this splendid hall with its gilded ceiling and bright lights. As a man who was killed for trying to make Hindus and Muslims live in peace he would have certainly not approved of a law that specifically excludes Muslims.

Even I who believe that radical Islam is the Nazi ideology of our time find it impossible to support a law that singles out Muslims. As someone who has openly supported Modi I was appalled to hear him make that comment about how he could tell clearly from the clothes of the protesters who they were. He seems to be locked in an echo chamber in which the only voices he hears are those that tell him that the people opposing his ugly amendment to the citizenship law are Lutyens liberals, pseudo-secularists, urban Naxals, anti-nationals and hated ‘intellectuals’. If he steps out of this echo chamber he will see that they are mostly young people. It was students who began the protests, and if political leaders, leftists and sundry activists have jumped into the fray, it is because the images of policemen throwing teargas canisters into the library of Jamia Millia and frog-marching students out of the university were very disturbing.

By last week students in Muslim universities across India had joined the protests. And, huge numbers of ordinary Muslims joined the protesters once the protests spilled out of campuses into the streets of major cities. This is no accident. In speeches that the Prime Minister and Home Minister have made, Muslims have been repeatedly targeted. Muslims who dared protest on social media have had the dreaded label ‘Pakistani’ pinned on them. A process of demonisation and ‘othering’ of our Muslim citizens has begun that is dangerous and truly anti-national. It is also against everything India has always stood for.

Ordinary Indian Muslims have got the message. They know that they are being singled out for special treatment with the purpose of showing them their place as India’s lesser citizens. As someone who has been quite close to many people in the RSS since the days when I was a junior reporter in Delhi, I have been privy to several conversations in which somehow every discussion has ended in the articulation of the fear that Muslims ‘breed so fast’ that they will one day reduce Hindus to a minority. When I first heard conversations of this kind it was from Punjabi refugees in the Seventies, when memories of Partition were fresh and painful. What is worrying is that these conversations continue to this day in RSS circles, and Muslims continue to be seen as not fully Indian.

The alma mater of Narendra Modi and Amit Shah is the RSS. So they would have spent their lives believing this. After entering politics at a provincial level in Gujarat it may have been acceptable to continue hating Muslims. It is not acceptable when you become the two most important leaders in India. It is not just unacceptable within India but in the world as well, so Modi’s international image as the man who would finally take India into the 21st century has been shattered. The cracks began to show in his first term when Muslims were lynched and he seemed not to care enough to condemn the mobs who did the lynching. But, since his second term began, he and his Home Minister have pushed more aggressively than before an agenda that seeks to show them as Hindu (not Indian) leaders. Last week, the Prime Minister made an election speech that made the front page of this newspaper in which he implied that the Congress party would like to give every Pakistani Indian citizenship. He then taunted this damaged, diminished political party by asking if it would dare reverse the changed status of Kashmir or the law that bans triple talaq.

If he had stopped for a minute before making this speech and thought about the man whose 150th birth anniversary his government seeks to celebrate with pomp and pageantry, he may not have made the speech. Gandhiji would have disapproved totally. As he would have of both the new citizenship law and the proposed register of citizens.

inside TRACK

COOMI KAPOOR



UNEASY SWITCH

THE IDEOLOGICAL differences between the Shiv Sena and its alliance partner in Maharashtra are already showing. Rahul Gandhi, infuriated with the Sena’s position on the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill in Parliament, deliberately raked up V D Savarkar’s apology to the British government. (He was responding to the BJP’s demand that he apologise for his alleged rape-in-India remark.) *Saamana* editor Sanjay Raut had to caution the Congress not to take potshots at Sena heroes.

The wordy skirmish arose after the Sena initially assured the Congress it would vote against CAB and then backtracked. After Amit Shah mocked the Sena in his Lok Sabha speech for voting on the same side as the Muslim Majlis, the hitherto Hindutva torchbearers were uncomfortable. Just before voting in the Lok Sabha, Sena MPs walked distractedly in and out of the House conferring frantically with Mumbai for instructions. Eventually, to the shock of the Congress, the Sena voted in support of the Bill. Rahul, who was against the Maharashtra alliance in the first place, threatened the Sena that the Congress would pull out of it in Maharashtra if the Sena did not change its position in the Rajya Sabha. Till the eleventh hour there was no unanimity in the party, however, and Raut delivered a roundabout speech in the Rajya Sabha which left everyone still guessing as to which way his party would vote. Finally, the Sena MPs simply abstained.

The BJP is now seeking to embarrass the Sena further. It is planning to demand that Bombay University be named after Savarkar. The Sena will find it embarrassing not to support the suggestion.

She SAID

SHALINI LANGER

shalini.langer@expressindia.com



Somewhere up above temples touching sky

WHEN YOUNG, I always fancied a mouthful of sky. One reason was that a TV series by that name was the first such Indian series in English, back in the times of staid Doordarshan; the second was that it featured Milind Soman. However, a large part of it had to do with the image those four words conjured — of a whole wide world that could be just mine, yours, anyone’s.

Then, one grew up, to see the sky recede — and not just due to the haze.

What was its colour that day in September when a girl in Rajasthan ran down nearly a kilometre terrified and naked, having been separated from her friends and reportedly gang raped by three? Was the sun harsh or were there clouds over it? If she ran barefeet, did the road burn her soles? In that terror, how many did she pass by? In cars, on foot, till someone came to her help? And yet, she ran, not daring to stop. Was that road lined with scraggly bushes or, after the monsoon that still lingered, new life? Did the fragrance of rare desert flowers fill the air? Will she ever forget, any of it? Will she get onto a scooter again for an impromptu trip with friends? Was it the first ever such outing she had had? How many stretches like those will she avoid? What time of day? All hours of night?

Because, let me tell you, we don’t forget. The day we made the mistake of not wearing the right bra, the day we forgot to cross our arms over our chest as a group of boys passed by, the day we stood too close to a road as a car lurked near, the day we let our guard drop just for that second in a crowded bus, the day we took a lift and a presentable young man who was suspiciously sweaty dropped one off with that haunting warning to “not try this next time”.

But the Rajasthan girl is forgotten already, just a mere statistic in our rape record, with only those now lingering in our memory whose details are more horrific than the others. As told by the courts, she is cloaked in silence — stripped off all details of life, but for that act

another one across the border, that its concern runs to those fleeing “persecution” in three different countries (if they tick the right boxes), and that while she remains unacknowledged, ‘justice’ was served in the form of four killings in cold blood in her name.

She would also learn that the govern-

Out of MY MIND

MEGHNAD DESAI



BORIS JOHNSON won the British general election with a huge majority. The central issue, which led to the demand for Brexit, was the European Union rule that citizens of the EU were free to live and work in any country in the EU. The British public turned against immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria. This may have been a reaction to the shock of 2008 but there was no doubt that the British wanted the freedom to make their own laws on immigration.

This is not necessarily a sign of British racism as, at the same time, the highest number of ethnic minority candidates have

Govt must clarify, or face chaos

been elected to Parliament. There are three ministers with Indian-origin parents and one of Pakistani-origin parents, more Muslims than ever before.

Brexit was caused not so much by racism as by xenophobia. The British want to choose their immigrants.

In the Citizenship Amendment Act debate, two different issues are confused together. The Act discriminates among refugees from neighbouring Muslim-majority countries by the criterion that these refugees are a minority there by virtue of their religion — Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist. This is where it gets tricky. Indian Muslims are a minority in India. Would the government conflate their religion with their being on a

par with Muslim refugees from Bangladesh? Are they likely to be cast as infiltrators because they are Muslims? How would you distinguish between a Bangladeshi Muslim refugee and a Bengali-speaking Indian Muslim? There are of course Muslims facing persecution in Pakistan — Shia, Ahmadiyya. India will not welcome them.

The government says Indian Muslims should not worry. But there is a complication here. The Assamese have been unhappy about ‘outsiders’ immigrating to their state for years. By outsiders, they mean Bengalis and Biharis, be they Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist. In signing the Assam Accord, Rajiv Gandhi implicitly agreed to

the idea of a cultural Assamese nation. This was tested in the NRC and 19 lakh residents of Assam failed to make the grade, many of them Hindus. There is promise of a review but the insecurity concerning the CAA is due to the NRC. Hindus would go through either because they are Indians or thanks to CAA, if they are persecuted minority from Bangladesh or Pakistan. But will the rejected Muslims?

Assam is not an exception in this. West Bengal itself is the classic cultural nation. After all, it was the 1905 Partition of Bengal that changed the character of the Indian nationalist movement. In 1971 again, it was the importance of Bengali as the mark of a separate identity which led to the

movement to secede from Pakistan, the Muslim nation Jinnah had fought for. This is why Mamata Banerjee is playing the cultural nationalism card in refusing to implement the NRC or CAA. In her case, there is a state election round the corner which she would hate to lose.

For a certain generation of politicians, the Partition is still unfinished business. The young are bewildered. The two-nation theory means nothing to them. They want clarity not about the status of refugees but their own future. Is CAA just the first step to ‘othering’ all Indian Muslims? If that is not the government’s intention, it should clarify immediately and effectively. Or there will be chaos.

epaper.indianexpress.com



ईमानदारी उत्थान का मार्ग है

संपर्क-संवाद में देरी

नागरिकता संशोधन कानून को लेकर आम जनता तक अपनी बात पहुंचाने के लिए भाजपा ने एक अभियान शुरू करने का जो फैसला किया वह देर से उठाया गया कदम ही दिखाता है। इस अभियान के तहत अगले दस दिनों में तीन करोड़ परिवारों से मिलकर नागरिकता संशोधन कानून के बारे में बताया जाएगा और साथ ही जगह-जगह प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस भी की जाएंगी। कायदे से यह काम तो अब तक हो जाना चाहिए था। पार्टी के साथ मोदी सरकार को भी आम जनता से संपर्क-संवाद की जरूरत तभी समझ लेनी चाहिए थी जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कहा था कि नागरिकता कानून पर व्यापक प्रचार-प्रसार की दरकार है। समझना कठिन है कि नागरिकता कानून पर विपक्ष के तीखे विरोध के बाद भी सत्तापक्ष यह क्यों नहीं भांप सका कि उसे आम जनता के बीच भी वैसी ही सक्रियता दिखाने की जरूरत है जैसी उसने नागरिकता संशोधन विधेयक को आगे बढ़ाते वक्त संसद में दिखाई? लगता है कि उसने इस विधेयक पर संसद की मुहर लगाते ही यह मान लिया कि अब इस मसले पर कुछ कहने-बताने और खासकर विरोध कर रहे लोगों से बात करने की जरूरत नहीं।

यह मानने के अच्छे-भले कारण हैं कि सत्तापक्ष यह भी नहीं समझ सका कि नागरिकता संशोधन कानून के साथ प्रस्तावित एनआरसी को लेकर जनता के बीच किस तरह भ्रम फैलाकर उसे गुरग्राह करने के साथ उकसाया भी जा रहा है? यह काम विपक्षी नेताओं की ओर से तो किया ही जा रहा, वामपंथी रुझान वाले बुद्धिजीवियों और फिल्म जगत के लोगों की ओर से भी किया जा रहा। इस काम में मीडिया के एक हिस्से की भी भूमिका है। इसी कारण विरोध के नाम पर अराजकता का खुला प्रदर्शन भी किया जा रहा है और उसे बेशर्मी के साथ सही भी ठहरया जा रहा है। उम्माद भरे उपद्रव का सिलसिला भी इसीलिए कायम है। यह ढोंग की पराकाष्ठा ही है कि पागलपन भरी हिंसा में रेलवे की करीब 90 करोड़ की संपत्ति स्वाहा हो जाने, विभिन्न राज्यों में तीन सौ से अधिक पुलिस वालों के लहलुहान होने और सैकड़ों वाहन फूँके जाने के बाद भी यह राग अलापा जा रहा है कि हम तो शांति के साथ अपना विरोध कर रहे हैं। अभी तक करीब 20 लोगों की जान जा चुकी है और फिर भी गांधी, आंबेडकर, संविधान, लोकतंत्र की दुहाई दी जा रही है। यह छल-छद्म के अलावा और कुछ नहीं। हैगनी है कि जब सरकार इस सबके बारे में जान रही थी कि लोगों को धर्मित और भयभीत किया जा रहा है तब फिर उसकी ओर से आम लोगों तक पहुंचने का काम समय रहते क्यों नहीं किया गया?

नशे का मकड़जाल

कई अन्य राज्यों की तरह उत्तराखंड में भी नशे की विषबेल खूब पनप रही है। नशे के सौदागरों की सक्रियता परेशान कर रही हैं। जो तस्वीर सामने आ रही है, उसमें यह स्वाभाविक है। खासकर, युवा पीढ़ी का नशे की गिरफ्त में आना खतरनाक संकेत है। देहरादून, हरिद्वार, रुड़की, ऊधम सिंह नगर और हल्द्वानी के साथ ही पर्वतीय जिलों के कस्बों तक में नशे के सौदागरों का नेटवर्क सामने आया है। आए दिन यहां नशीले पदार्थों की खेप पकड़ी जा रही है। पुलिस यह कहकर बचाव की मुद्रा में दिखती है कि वह नशे के विरुद्ध अभियान चलाकर कार्रवाई कर रही है। तस्करों की गिरफ्तारी भी हो रही है, लेकिन अहम सवाल अपनी जगह कायम है कि बावजूद इसके तस्करों का नेटवर्क कैसे फैलता जा रहा है। आलम यह कि स्कूल, कॉलेज, हॉस्टल और आवासीय कॉलोनिजों तक तस्करों की पहुंच बन गई है। यह भी कह सकते हैं ये सब इलाके तस्करों के लिए सॉफ्ट टारगेट बन गए हैं। पैडलरों के जरिये तस्कर स्कूली बच्चों को नशे का आदी बना रहे हैं। पूरे परिदृश्य पर नजर दौड़ाएं तो यह बात साफ हो रही कि पुलिस शहरों में नशीले पदार्थ बेचने वालों को तो पकड़ रही है, लेकिन असल तस्करों तक पहुंच ही नहीं रही है। पैडलरों तक नशीले पदार्थ कौन पहुंचा रहा है और किस माध्यम से पहुंच रहा है, इसकी पड़ताल के दावे होते जरूर हैं, पर ठोस परिणाम सामने नहीं आते। शायद यही वजह है कि पैडलरों के गिरफ्त में आने के बाद तस्कर आसानी से नया नेटवर्क खड़ा कर लेते हैं। इन्हीं के जरिये

नशे के खिलाफ सामाजिक जागरूकता की पहल को और प्रभावी बनाने की जरूरत है। शिक्षण संस्थाओं को ये जिम्मेदारी लेनी चाहिए

तस्कर बेधड़क नशीले पदार्थों की खेप उत्तराखंड के विभिन्न शहरों को पहुंचा रहे हैं। स्थिति कितनी विकट होती जा रही है, इसका अंदाजा इससे भी लगाया जा सकता है कि उत्तराखंड उन सात राज्यों में शुमार है, जो नशे को लेकर न केवल चिंतित हैं, बल्कि इससे निपटने के लिए साझा रणनीति बना रहे हैं। हाल में ही हिमाचल प्रदेश के शिमला में इसी मसले पर सातों राज्यों के पुलिस प्रमुखों ने मंथन किया। उत्तराखंड के साथ ही पंजाब, हरियाणा, उत्तर प्रदेश, जम्मू-कश्मीर, चंडीगढ़ और हिमाचल प्रदेश इसमें शामिल हुए थे। अच्छी बात यह कि इन सभी राज्यों की चुनौतियां कमोबेश एक सी हैं, ऐसे में तस्करों पर नकेल डालने के लिए अब जो रणनीति बनी है, उससे सकारात्मक परिणाम आने के उम्मीद की जानी चाहिए। यहां इस बात का उल्लेख जरूरी है कि साझा बैठक में जो कुछ तय हुआ, उस पर अमल के लिए ईमानदार प्रयासों की जरूरत है।

कोशिकाओं को लेकर बड़ी कामयाबी

मुकुल व्यास

वैज्ञानिकों ने ऐसी स्नायु कोशिकाएं विकसित की हैं जो वास्तविक कोशिकाओं जैसा व्यवहार करती हैं। यह अपने तरह की पहली उपलब्धि है। इससे हृदयाघात, अल्जाइमर और स्नायु तंत्र की बीमारियों में उपचार के लिए चिकित्सा उपकरण बनाए जा सकते हैं। सिलिकॉन चिप पर निर्मित ये कृत्रिम स्नायु कोशिकाएं जैविक स्नायु कोशिकाओं की तरह काम करते हुए बहुत कम ऊर्जा का उपयोग करती हैं। उन्हें एक माइक्रोप्रोसेसर के मजज एक अरबवें हिस्से के बराबर ऊर्जा चाहिए। इससे ये मेडिकल इंफ्लैंट और दूसरे जैविक-इलेक्ट्रॉनिक उपकरणों में उपयोग के लिए बहुत उपयुक्त हैं। इन स्नायु कोशिकाओं का विकास यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ बैथ के नेतृत्व में ब्रिस्टल, प्यूरिख और ऑकलैंड विश्वविद्यालयों के शोधार्थियों ने किया है।

उन्होंने स्नायु कोशिकाओं का ब्योरा 'नेचर' पत्रिका में दिया है। स्नायु तंत्र के विद्युतीय संकेतों का पालन करने वाली कुदरती स्नायु कोशिकाओं की तरह काम करने वाली कृत्रिम स्नायु कोशिकाओं का विकास चिकित्सा विज्ञान का महत्वाकांक्षी लक्ष्य रहा है जिसमें वैज्ञानिक

यह खोज अल्जाइमर, स्नायु तंत्र और हृदयाघात के इलाज में प्रभावी उपकरण बनाने में खासी मददगार साबित हो सकती है

लंबे समय से जुटे हैं। नई सफलता के बाद ऐसी बीमारियों के इलाज की उम्मीदें जगी हैं जब स्नायु कोशिकाएं उपयुक्त ढंग से काम नहीं करती या स्याइनल कॉर्ड में चोट की वजह से उनकी प्रक्रिया अवरुद्ध हो गई है अथवा वे मृत हो चुकी हैं। कृत्रिम स्नायु कोशिकाएं कुदरती कोशिकाओं के कार्य को दोहराकर रग्न जैविक सर्किट की मरम्मत कर सकती हैं। हृदयाघात के मामले में मस्तिष्क के तल स्थित स्नायु कोशिकाएं स्नायु तंत्र के फीडबैक का उपयुक्त जवाब नहीं देती जिसकी वजह से वे दिल की सही संकेत नहीं भेज पाती हैं। ऐसे सही संकेतों के अभाव में दिल अपेक्षित तेजी से पंपिंग नहीं कर पाता और हृदयाघात हो जाता है।

बहरहाल जीव विज्ञान की जटिल चुनौतियों और अनिश्चित स्नायु प्रतिक्रियाओं के कारण स्नायु कोशिकाओं का विकास एक बड़ी चुनौती

थी। शोधकर्ताओं ने सिलिकॉन चिप विकसित करने के बाद यह सिद्ध किया कि उनकी कृत्रिम स्नायु कोशिकाएं विद्युत संकेतों का जवाब देने के मामले में वास्तविक स्नायु कोशिकाओं की हूबहू नकल करती हैं। यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ बैथ में भौतिकी विभाग के प्रोफेसर एलेन नॉर्गेट ने इस प्रोजेक्ट का नेतृत्व किया। उन्होंने कहा कि अभी तक स्नायु कोशिकाएं ब्लैक बॉक्स जैसी थीं, अब हम इस ब्लैक बॉक्स को जल्द कर सकेंगे उसके भीतर झांकने में सफल रहे हैं। हमारा शोध इस मायने में महत्वपूर्ण है कि इसने वास्तविक स्नायु कोशिकाओं के विद्युतीय गुणों को उनकी बारीकियों के साथ दोहराने की उपयुक्त विधि बताई है। कृत्रिम कोशिकाओं को सिर्फ 140 नैनोवाट्स की दरकार होती है।

इस कारण ये असाध्य रोगों के इलाज में प्रयुक्त होने वाले बायो-इलेक्ट्रॉनिक इंफ्लैंट्स के लिए मुहोद है। प्रो. नॉर्गेट का कहना है कि वे ऐसे स्मार्ट पेसमेकर विकसित कर रहे हैं जो न केवल हृदय को सतत रूप से सटीक तरीके से पंपिंग के लिए प्रेरित करेंगे, बल्कि हृदय की जरूरतों पर कार्रवाई के लिए इन कृत्रिम स्नायु कोशिकाओं का इस्तेमाल भी करेंगे।

(लेखक विज्ञान के जानकार हैं)

संजय गुप्त

नागरिकता संशोधन कानून और प्रस्तावित एनआरसी को लेकर लोगों को बरगलाने-भड़काने वाली राजनीति देश को शर्मिदा करने वाली है



राजधानी दिल्ली समेत देश के अन्य कई शहरों में नागरिकता संशोधन कानून को लेकर जिस तरीके से धरने-प्रदर्शन के साथ बड़े पैमाने पर आगजनी, तोड़फोड़ और पुलिस पर हमले की घटनाएं हो रही हैं वे गंभीर चिंता का विषय हैं। इसलिए और भी, क्योंकि अराजक घटनाएं थमने का नाम नहीं ले रही हैं। यह अंदेशा बढ़ रहा है कि इस तरह की घटनाएं जारी रहें तो समाज में टकराव की स्थिति बन सकती है। नागरिकता कानून के विरोध का धरना-प्रदर्शन के साथ हिंसक घटनाओं के बढ़ते जाने के बाद भी नेताओं, कलाकारों और मीडिया के एक हिस्से के लोग नागरिकता कानून के हिंसक विरोध की या तो अनदेखी कर रहे या फिर उसे जायज ठहरा रहे हैं। एक लोकतांत्रिक देश में किसी भी मसले का विरोध हो सकता है। हर मसले पर लोगों को अपनी बात कहने-रखने का अधिकार है, लेकिन इस अधिकार के नाम पर हिंसा को स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता और उस हिंसा को तो बिल्कुल भी नहीं जिसमें सरकारी-गैर सरकारी संपत्ति जलाई जा रही हो और पुलिस को निशाना बनाया जा रहा हो।

यह हर दिन साफ हो रहा है कि नागरिकता कानून का विरोध करने उठते तमाम लोगों को यही नहीं पता कि यह कानून किसके लिए है और उसका देश के किसी भी नागरिक से कोई मतलब नहीं, भले ही वह चाहे जिस पंथ का हो। इस अज्ञानता से तमाम सेलेब्रिटी करे जाने वाल लोग भी ग्रस्त हैं। इतना ही नहीं, उनके

पास हर सवाल के जवाब में एक कुतर्क है। इन्हीं कुतर्कों से लैस लोग धरना-प्रदर्शन में पहुंच रहे हैं। इनमें तमाम तो बहकाकर या फिर भाड़े पर लाए जा रहे हैं। उन्हीं के बीच अराजक तत्व हिंसा फैलाने का कोई मौका नहीं छोड़ रहे हैं। दिल्ली, गुपी, बिहार की घटनाएं खास तौर पर यही बता रही हैं। ऐसे तत्वों के खिलाफ कड़ी कार्रवाई होनी ही चाहिए, लेकिन धरना-प्रदर्शन करने वाले उनका बचाव कर रहे हैं। अराजक विरोध से पल्ला झाड़ कर वे खुद को शांतिपूर्ण प्रदर्शनकारी करार दे रहे हैं और हिंसा के लिए पुलिस और सरकार को जिम्मेदार ठहरा दे रहे हैं। यह अंध विरोध की अति है।

हालांकि सरकार बार-बार कह रही है कि नागरिकता संशोधन कानून से किसी भी भारतीय मुसलमान का अहित नहीं होने जा रहा है, फिर भी यह अफवाह सुनियोजित तरीके से फैलाई जा रही है कि यह कानून देश के मुसलमानों के खिलाफ है। इसी के साथ शरयतपूर्ण तरीके से यह भी जोड़ा जा रहा कि नागरिकों का राष्ट्रीय रजिस्टर यानी एनआरसी के जरिये धर्म के आधार पर पहचान की जाएगी और ऐसा करते समय मुस्लिम नागरिकों को घुसपैठिया बता दिया जाएगा। ऐसा शरयत भरा दुष्प्रचार तब किया जा रहा जब एनआरसी की प्रक्रिया और उसके नियम तय किए जाने शेष हैं। हालांकि यह भी स्पष्ट है कि प्रस्तावित एनआरसी असम में लागू एनआरसी से अलग होगा, लेकिन उसे असम जैसा ही बताने की होड़ मची है। आम जनमानस को भयभीत करने के लिए यहां तक



अवधेश राजगुप्त

कहा जा रहा है कि लोगों और खासकर भारत के मुसलमानों को खुद को भारतीय नागरिक साबित करने के लिए बहुत पापड़ बेलने पड़ेंगे। सरकार ने लगातार यह स्पष्ट किया है कि किसी भी भारतीय नागरिक को एनआरसी को लेकर अशंकित होने की जरूरत नहीं है, लेकिन नेताओं का एक वर्ग एनआरसी पर सरकार को घेरने के लिए लगातार समाज में भ्रम फैला रहा है। एनआरसी को एक हौवे का रूप तब दिया जा रहा है जबकि दुनिया का हर देश अपने नागरिकों का रजिस्टर तैयार करता है। सरकार अपनी इसी जिम्मेदारी का निवाह करने की प्रतिबद्धता जता रही है, लेकिन उसे इस रूप में पेश किया जा रहा जैसे सरकार कोई नया और गैर जरूरी काम कर रही हो। ध्यान रहे आजादी के बाद 1951 में जनगणना के बाद पहला एनआरसी तैयार किया गया था।

हर देश अपने नागरिकों के लिए कुछ अलग नियम बनाता है और शरणार्थियों के लिए अलग। वे शरणार्थियों को नागरिकता भी प्रदान करते हैं, लेकिन कुछ नियमों और शर्तों

अच्छे से खा-पी लें, क्योंकि प्रदर्शन के दौरान कई बार काफी भागना दौड़ना पड़ता है, जिसमें काफी कैलौरी नष्ट होती है। कुछ मौकों पर पुलिस की धरपकड़ के बाद प्रदर्शनकारी को थाने में घंटों बैठना भी पड़ता है।

छटा सबक यही कि हंगामेबाजी के दौरान पुलिस पकड़ ले तो घबराएं नहीं। पहले हथ जोड़कर माफी मांगें और खुद को बेकसूर बताएं। पुलिसवाले नहीं मानें तो पहला डंडा पड़ने ही जमीन पर गिर जाएं और पैरों को पेट की तरफ मोड़कर गुड़मुड़ी हो जाएं। अब सातवां सबक समझ लें कि अगर आप ट्रेनी प्रदर्शनकारी हैं या बिना कुछ जाने-समझे प्रदर्शन करने आ गए हैं तो यह जान लें कि तोड़फोड़ आगजनी करने पर भी आप संविधान, लोकतंत्र की दुहाई देंगे तो अपनी फजीहत ही कराएंगे। थाना-कचहरी के चक्कर अलग से लगाएं।

आठवां सबक यही रहेगा कि यदि आप छात्र हैं तो भी प्रदर्शन सीखें। पढ़ाई वगैरह तो होती रहेगी और एक बार क्लास में फेल भी हो गए तो कोई नहीं। प्रदर्शन में एक्सपर्टीज आपको राजनीति में भी दूर तक ले जा सकती है। आपको शायद मालूम न हो, लेकिन हर नेता पर प्रदर्शन के पांच-दस केस तो दर्ज हैं ही, जिन्हें वह झूठ बताता है। नौवें सबक के तहत प्रदर्शन से पहले एक्टिंग की छोटी वर्कशॉप कर सकें तो और भी बेहतर इससे आपके प्रदर्शन में भावप्रवणता बढ़ेगी। और अंत में दसवां एवं अंतिम सबक यह कि प्रदर्शन आपका अधिकार है, लेकिन प्रदर्शन को दंगा न बनाएं, क्योंकि दंगाई को गोली लगने पर किसी को अफसोस नहीं होता।

response@jagran.com

धरने-प्रदर्शन का प्रशिक्षण

हास्य-व्यंग्य



अब मुझे पता चला कि हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था में एक बड़ा झोल है और वह यह कि मार्केट में जिस टाइप का रोजगार सबसे ज्यादा होता है, उसका कायदे का कोर्स किसी यूनिवर्सिटी में होता ही नहीं है। जैसे इन दिनों फिर विरोध-प्रदर्शन की बहार आई हुई है, लेकिन उसके गुर सिखाने वाला कोई पाठ्यक्रम ही नहीं। जिस तरह बारात में आया हर बाराती नानुन नृत्य नहीं कर सकता उसी तरह हर प्रदर्शनोत्सुक व्यक्ति प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकता। प्रदर्शन एक कला है। आगजनी, गाड़ियां रोकना, आंसू गैस के गोले फेंके जाने पर सांस रोककर खड़े रहना और भयंकर सर्दी में भी वाटर कैनन के आगे सीना तानकर खड़े होने में एक्सपर्टीज की भी दरकार होती है। पहली बार प्रदर्शन कर रहा व्यक्ति इतना योग्य नहीं होता कि पुलिस से सीधे पंगा ले सके। चूंकि ऐसा कोई कोर्स किसी यूनिवर्सिटी में संचालित नहीं हो रहा, इसलिए प्रदर्शन के पूर्व अनुभवों के आधार पर कुछ बिंदुओं पर प्रदर्शनोत्सुकों का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता है। इसे प्रदर्शनकारी बनने का क्रैश कोर्स भी कहा जा सकता है।

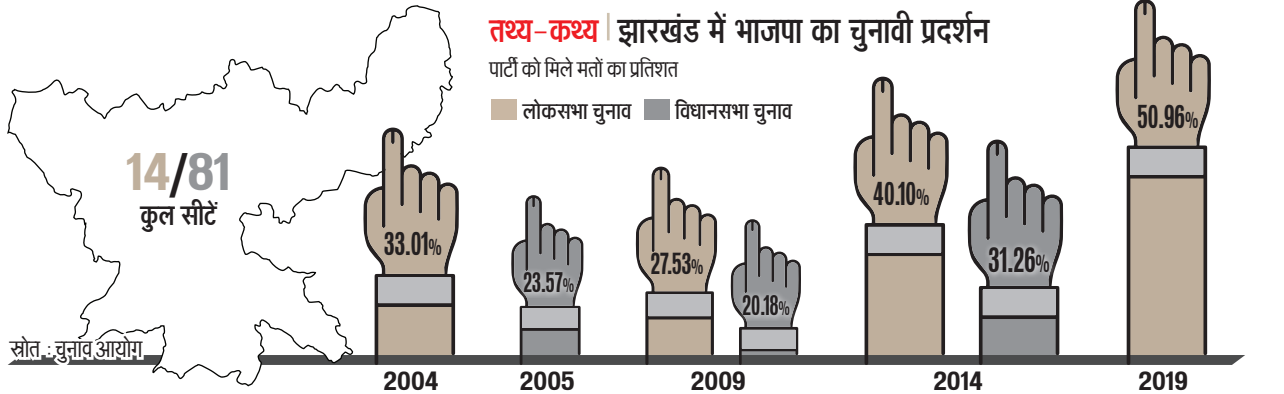
इसका पहला सबक यही है कि यदि आप नए-नए प्रदर्शनकारी हैं तो कृपया बुलेटप्रूफ जैकेट और हेलमेट पहनकर प्रदर्शन करें, क्योंकि असली उपद्रवी और दंगाई अक्सर तोड़फोड़-हंगामा और आगजनी के बाद मौका-ए-वादात से रफूचक्कर हो जाते हैं और पुलिस के हथ्ये आप जैसे नए रंगरूट लग जाते हैं। पुलिस नए-पुराने चावलों की कुटाई में कोई अंतर नहीं करती। दूसरे सबक



पीपूष पांडे

यदि आप नए, पुराने या फिर आदतन प्रदर्शनकारी हैं तो यह जरूर समझें कि किस मुद्दे पर और क्यों प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं?

में समझ लें कि आप प्रदर्शन क्यों कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि प्रदर्शन सिर्फ टीवी कैमरों के सामने तुरंत खां बनने के लिए होता है। इसमें तमाम प्रदर्शनकारियों को पता ही नहीं होता कि वे जिस मुद्दे को लेकर प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, वह वास्तव में है क्या? अगर नागरिकता कानून के विरोधी प्रदर्शनकारियों से इस पर सवाल करेंगे तो 90 फीसद नहीं बता पाएंगे कि यह क्या है? वे सिर्फ इसलिए प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि उनके साथी कर रहे हैं या फिर उन्हें खुद को सोशल मीडिया पर क्रांतिकारी दिखाने वाली तस्वीर लगानी है। तीसरे सबक में गांध बांध लें कि आपकी पथरबाजी आपके साथियों का भी मुंह तोड़ सकती है। चौथा सबक यही होगा कि टेलीविजन चैनल के कैमरों के सामने आते ही किस मुद्रा में कितने डेसिबल में नारे लगाने हैं, ये सिर्फ एक्सपर्ट प्रदर्शनकारी ही जानता है। इसलिए प्रदर्शन के दौरान हमेशा चिल्लाते रहकर गले पर बोझ नहीं डालना चाहिए। केवल कैमरा सामने आते ही भीड़ से आगे निकलकर चिल्लाने की कोशिश करें। पांचवा सबक यही कि प्रदर्शन की योजना से पहले



बैरंग वापसी...

राजनीति में अक्सर दूसरों की वजह से नुकसान उठाना पड़ जाता है। ऐसा ही कुछ उत्तर प्रदेश में एक विधायक के साथ हुआ। विधानसभा में नहीं बोलने देने के विरोध में कई विधायकों का समर्थन और उनके साथ धरने पर बैठना उनकी राजनीति को नुकसान पहुंचा गया। आर्यू कि इस घटना के बाद एक दिन मुख्यमंत्री ने कई विधायकों को मिलने के लिए बुलाया। वहां ये विधायक जी भी पहुंचे, लेकिन मुलाकात के इंतजार में बैठे-बैठे जब काफी समय बीत गया तो उन्होंने दरख़ास्त की। इन्हें बताया गया कि आपको तो बुलाया ही नहीं गया था। नतीजागत उठा उन्हें वहां से बैरंग लौटने की नौबत आ गई। हालांकि पता चला कि कुछ समय बाद मुख्यमंत्री ने उन्हें मुलाकात के लिए समय दे दी दिया।

वाइट के लिए कुछ भी...

पश्चिम बंगाल के वित्त मंत्री अमित मित्रा राजनीति में आने से पहले कई वर्षों तक उद्योग चैंबर फिक्की के महासचिव रहे हैं। अपने तब के कार्यकाल में उन्हें इस बात के लिए जाना जाता था कि अर्थ से जुड़ा कोई भी मामला हो तो वह मीडिया में आने का रास्ता निकाल ही लेते थे। वित्त मंत्री बनने के

राजंरग

बाद भी उनकी यह आदत बनी हुई है। पिछले दिनों राजधानी दिल्ली में जीएसटी काउंसिल की बैठक के बाद जब वह बाहर निकले तो तुरंत प्रतीक्षारत मीडिया के पास पहुंचे और कई आर्थिक मुद्दों पर केंद्र सरकार को जमकर कोसा। ऐसा लगा कि बंद कमरे में हो रही बैठक में उन्होंने केंद्रीय वित्त मंत्री और उनके अधिकारियों को जमकर सुनाया होगा, लेकिन भीतर से आए अधिकारियों और दूसरे वित्त मंत्री मीडिया के सामने उनके रुख को देखकर अचंभित थे, क्योंकि उनके मुताबिक बैठक में तो वह बहुत ही शांत बैठे थे। किसी भी मुद्दे पर आक्रामक नहीं थे, लेकिन बाहर आते ही उनके तेवर एकदम बदल गए।

जारी है धींगामुश्ती

कृषि भवन स्थित एक मंत्रालय में अफसरों की धींगामुश्ती के चलते वहां कामकाज प्रभावित होने लगा है। नियम कानून के पचड़े में कामकाज रुक गया है। इसमें बड़े साहब की सुस्ती भी इसे और हवा दे रही है। लिहाजा कई अहम मसलों पर काम आगे नहीं बढ़ पा रहा है। इस बावत चिट्ठियों के आदान-प्रदान के चक्कर में फाइलों का बोझ लगातार भारी होता जा रहा है। एक ही मंत्रालय के दो विभागों के आला अफसरों के बीच ठनी हुई है। दोनों साहब एक दूसरे के कामकाज में टांग अड़ाने से गुरेज नहीं करते। नियमों का हवाला देकर एक साहब ने तो बड़े साहब तक अपनी फरियाद लगा दी है, लेकिन अभी तक वहां भी सुनवाई नहीं हो पाई है। लिहाजा कई बड़े फैसले अटक हुए हैं। मंत्रालय में चौरफाआवाज उठ रही है कि भला है कोई ऐसा महत्वादी जो इन अफसरों में संचर्पविषम करा सके।

कुर्सी-कुर्सी का फेर

कुर्सी के मोह से अफसरों के जकड़े होने के किस्से तो आपने बहुत सुने होंगे, लेकिन ऐसे मामले कम ही देखने को मिलते हैं जब ट्रांसफर आदेश जारी होने की खबर मिलते हैं। अफसर ने कुर्सी छोड़ दी है। पिछले दिनों शास्त्री भवन में कुछ ऐसा ही वाक्या देखने को मिला जब पढाई-लिखाई से जुड़े मंत्रालय के बड़े साहब ने ट्रांसफर आदेश जारी होने के बाद एक पल की भी देरी किए बिना तुरंत अपने सहयोगी को बुलाकर चार्ज दे दिया और नई जगह पर आमद दर्ज करा दी। बड़े साहब ने यह सब इतनी जल्दबाजी में तब किया, जब वह लंबे समय से महकमे के सर्वसर्वा थे। इसके लिए वह और कुछ समय ले सकते थे, लेकिन उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया। ऐसे में आनन-फसाने उन्होंने जिस तरह से कुर्सी छोड़ी, उसे लेकर शास्त्री भवन के गलियारों में चर्चा शुरू हो जाना स्वाभाविक ही था। बताया तो यह भी जा रहा है कि साहब को जिस ऑफिस में भेजा गया है, वह काफी भाग्यशाली है। उसी ऑफिस में और उसी कुर्सी पर बैठने वाली अफसर को हाल ही में एक राज्य का मुख्य सचिव बनाया गया है। तभी से यह सीट खाली थी।



मानव धर्म

वर्तमान भौतिक युग में यदि मनुष्य ने मनुष्य के साथ सद्व्यवहार नहीं सीखा तो भविष्य में इसकी भारी क्षति उठानी होगी। आज मूल्यों से रहित शिक्षा मनुष्य को मानवता के बजाय दानवता की ओर धिए जा रही है। मानवता का मनुष्य का धर्म है। मानव धर्म सभी मनुष्यों के साथ स्नेह भाव का भूत मर्म समझता है। जाति, संप्रदाय, वर्ण, धर्म और देश आदि के विभिन्न भेदभावों के लिए यहां कोई स्थान नहीं। मानव धर्म का आदर्श एवं इसकी मनोभूमि अत्यंत ऊंची है तथा इसके पालन में मानव जीवन की वास्तविकता निहित है। मानव धर्म सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति की रीढ़ सदृश है। इसके बिना सभ्यता-संस्कृति का विकास असंभव है। मानव धर्म की वास्तविकता एवं उपादेयता इसी में है कि मनुष्यत्व के विकास के साथ ही विश्व भर के लोग सुख, शांति और प्रेम भाव से रहें। प्राणिमात्र में रहने वाली आत्मा उसी परम्परा परमेश्वर का अंश है। प्रत्येक में एक ही जगतनिर्वंता प्रभु का प्रतिबिंब झलकता है, यह समझकर प्रत्येक मनुष्य की ओर आदरभाव बनाए रखें। ऐसा करके ही सभी तरह के आदर्श मूल्यों का विकास संभव है।

मानव धर्म का आध्यत्मिकता तथा नैतिकता से महत्वपूर्ण संबंध है। यदि कोई मानस सदाचारी नहीं है। चारित्रिक एवं नैतिक आदर्शों में उसकी आस्था नहीं। ईश्वरीय सत्ता में भी उसका लेखाग्र विश्वास नहीं और इनके अतिरिक्त सौजन्य, सहृदयता, सात्विकता, सरलता, परेपकारिता आदि सदगुण उसमें नहीं हैं तब यह स्वीकार करना होगा कि अभी उसने मानव धर्म का स्वर-व्यंजन भी नहीं सीखा है। वास्तव में मानव धर्म के विनाश हेतु मानव ने चहुंओर स्वाध्वंश एक संकीर्ण घेरा बना रखा है जिसके बाहर वह निकल नहीं पाता। वहीं उसे तोड़े बिना, उससे बाहर निकले बिना कोई भी मानव मानवतावादी नहीं बन सकता। अतः अपने हृदय को परमोदार तथा सरल बनाने की नितांत आवश्यकता है। इसके लिए प्रेम पयोधि में स्नान परमापेक्षित है जो अत्यंत आनंद की अनुभूति भी कराएगा।

डॉ. विजय प्रकाश त्रिपाठी



पी चिदंबरम

किसी भी वित्तमंत्री के लिए बजट का दिन उसके जन्मदिन से कहीं ज्यादा बड़ा और अहमियत वाला होता है। देश के लिए बजट बनाना एक यादगार और मील का पत्थर जैसा काम होता है। समय के साथ बजट के कुछ प्रस्तावों में संशोधन भी होंगे, आलोचना होने पर एक दो प्रस्ताव वापस भी लिए जा सकते हैं। कुछ अव्यावहारिक, अतार्किक प्रस्तावों को बिना किसी कार्रवाई के खत्म होने के लिए छोड़ दिया जाएगा।

बनाना और मिटाना

हालांकि 2019-20 का बजट अपने में अद्वितीय है। मुझे हाल में कोई ऐसा बजट याद नहीं आता, जब किसी वित्तमंत्री ने बजट तैयार करने के बाद पूरे होशो-हवास में उसे पलट दिया हो। बजट भाषण के दौरान प्रमुखता से रखे गए प्रस्तावों की मैंने एक सूची बनाई है। बजट बाद चर्चा में इन प्रस्तावों की खूबियाँ का एलान किया गया था। इनमें से हर एक को पलट दिया गया या वापस ले लिया गया। 1 फरवरी, 2019 से 23 सितंबर, 2019 के बीच 2019-20 का बजट संदिग्ध खातों के व्यर्थ विवरण की तरह सिमत कर रह गया।

उन बजट प्रस्तावों की सूची जिन्हें बाद में वापस ले लिया गया

क्रम सं.	जुलाई, 2019 के बजट में प्रस्ताव	स्थिति
1	एफपीआइ और घरेलू निवेशकों पर यह प्रस्ताव 23 अगस्त को लंबी और कम अवधि वाले कैपिटल वापस ले लिया गया। गेन पर सरचार्ज।	यह प्रस्ताव 23 अगस्त को वापस ले लिया गया। <p>‘पूंजी बाजार में निवेश को बढ़ावा देने के लिए इक्विटी शेयर्स / युनिटों, जो धारा 111 ए और 112 ए में निर्दिष्ट हैं, के हस्तांतरण से होने वाले लंबी और छोटी अवधि के पूंजीगत लाभ पर वित्त (क्रमांक 2) विधेयक, 2019 के जरिए लगाए गए अधिभार की वृद्धि को वापस लेने का फैसला किया गया है।' - निर्मला सीतारमण, 23 अगस्त, 2019 को संवाददाता सम्मेलन में।</p>

2	ओवरसीज सॉक्सेन बांड जारी करना। <p>‘सरकार विदेशी बाजारों से विदेशी मुद्रा में उधारी जुटाने के कार्यक्रम के तहत उधारी का एक हिस्सा जुटाना शुरू करेगी। इससे घरेलू बाजार में सरकारी प्रतिभूतियों के लिए मांग बनेगी और अच्छे असर पड़ेगा।' - पैरा 103, बजट भाषण, 5 जुलाई, 2019</p>	कोई फैसला नहीं, लेकिन इसे लगभग छोड़ ही दिया है <p>‘किसी भी बाजार में जाने से पहले उन्हें बहुत ही सावधानी पूर्वक सुधार करने और विचार-विमर्श करने की जरूरत है। इसके लिए उचित तरीका निकालने के लिए अभी काम चल रहा है और इसकी खूबियाँ-खामियाँ की जांच की जा रही है। यह एक लंबी चलने वाली प्रक्रिया है और यह जारी रहेगी। इस साल के लिए मौजूदा सारी उधारियां रुपए के गुणक में बांड में हैं।' - सचिव, आर्थिक मामलों, अतनु चक्रवर्ती, 23 सितंबर 2019</p>
	कारपोरेट कर में कटौती	23 सितंबर, 2019 को अध्यादेश के जरिए इसे बदल दिया गया
3	‘जहां तक कारपोरेट कर का सवाल है, हम इसकी दरों में चरणों में इसमें कमी जारी रखेंगे। इस वक्त पच्चीस फीसद की निम्न दर उन कंपनियों पर लागू होगी, जिनका कारोबार ढाई सौ करोड़ रुपए सालाना तक है। मैं इस दामरे को बढ़ा कर उन कंपनियों को भी इसमें शामिल करती हूं, जिनका सालाना कारोबार चार सौ करोड़ रुपए है। इसमें 99.3 फीसद कंपनियां आ पाएंगी। इस कर दर से अब सिर्फ 0.7 फीसद कंपनियां ही बाहर रह जाएंगी।' - पैरा 110 , बजट भाषण, 5 जुलाई, 2019	सारी घरेलू कंपनियों को 22 फीसद की दर से कारपोरेट कर देना होगा (सेस और सरचार्ज मिला कर यह प्रभावी दर 25.17 फीसद बैठती है।) इसके लिए इन कंपनियों के साथ शर्त यह है कि उन्हें अब और कोई कर रियायत नहीं दी जाएगी। इसके अलावा इन कंपनियों पर न्यूनतम वैकल्पिक कर (मैट) भी नहीं लगेगा। कोई भी नई घरेलू कंपनी जो एक अक्टूबर, 2019 के बाद बनाई गई है, उसे पंद्रह फीसद की दर से कारपोरेट कर देना पड़ेगा, जो प्रभावी रूप से 17.01 फीसद बैठेगा। - 23 सितंबर , 2019
4	एजेंट टैक्स	23 अगस्त, 2019 को वापस ले लिया गया <p>‘इसमें वाणिज्य मंत्रालय के तहत पंजीकृत स्टार्टैप पर आयकर कानून की धारा 56 (2)(सात बी) लागू नहीं होगी।' - निर्मला सीतारमण, 23 अगस्त 2019 को संवाददाता सम्मेलन में।</p>

जय और पराजय

जय में भी पराजय हो सकती है।

इस बात पर चर्चा करना व्यर्थ है कि हम अल्पकालिक जय की या फिर दीर्घकालिक जय की बात कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि इस पल में ही अगला पल छिपा होता है। दूसरे शब्दों में, इस पल की जय के द्वारा ही दूसरे पल की जय तक पहुंचा जा सकता है। यह बात पराजय पर भी लागू होती है। जब कोई व्यक्ति किसी स्थिति में हार का मुंह देखता है, तो उसमें साहस का ह्रास हो जाता है और वह अपने आप को उस तरह नहीं संभाल पाता है कि तुरंत वह अपनी

पराजय को जय में बदल सके। हां, कुछ बिरले होते हैं जो ऐसा कर सकते हैं, पर अमूमन ऐसा साधारण रूप में नहीं होता है। हारे हुए व्यक्ति को अपने को तब्दील करने में बहुत वक्त लगता है। अक्सर एक पूरी उम्र ही लग जाती है।

पर ऐसा भी नहीं है कि कोई व्यक्ति हमेशा जीतता ही रहे। उसको भी परिस्थितियां होती हैं। पर दोनों के लिए अति-आत्मविश्वास कभी न कभी हार के द्वार पर ला खड़ा करता है, पर चुंकि उसके पीछे जीत की एक छोटी-होती है, तो उसके लिए अपने को विजय पथ पर पुनः लौटने में ज्यादा दिक्कत नहीं होती है। संघर्ष तो करना पड़ता है, पर उसका संघर्ष हारे हुए आदमी की जद्दोजहद से बहुत कम होता है। आधा मसला तो उसके आत्मविश्वास से ही हल हो जाता है और बाकी रणनीति पर पुनः विचार कर के।

वैसे दोनों ही प्रकार के व्यक्तियों के लिए अलग-अलग प्रकार की चुनौतियां होती हैं। पर दोनों के लिए एक ही चीज पर सारा दारोमदार है। आत्मविश्वास का होना या न होना लक्षित करता है कि व्यक्ति किस श्रेणी में आता है। अक्सर बेहद काबिल लोग भी अंधेरे बंद कोनों में दुबके रह जाते हैं, क्योंकि वे प्रकाश में आने का साहस नहीं जुटा पाते हैं। दूसरी तरफ बेहद अहमक किस्म के लोग दुस्साहस की वजह से अपने को लाइम लाइट में लाने में कामयाब हो जाते हैं। वे दुस्साहस को अपनी योग्यता मान लेते हैं, क्योंकि वे नेतृत्व की वास्तविक सारगर्भी योग्यता से अनभिज्ञ होते हैं। वे योग्यता के बारे में जानना भी नहीं चाहते हैं, क्योंकि दुस्साहस के जरिए जय हासिल करना उनको प्राकृतिक रूप से आकर्षित करता है। उनके लिए दुस्साहस समझ से ज्यादा अहमियत रखता है। इस प्रवृत्ति के चलते वे समझना नहीं चाहते,

विश्लेषण नहीं करना चाहते। वे बस करना चाहते हैं- और वही करना चाहते हैं जो मौजूदा पल में उन्हें जय का अहसास दिला सके। उनकी आत्म संतुष्टि जीत की क्षणिक अनुभूति में है।

निजी जीवन में जय और पराजय का प्रभाव व्यक्ति या उसके बेहद करीबी माहौल तक ही सीमित रहता है। इस घेरे में भी ऐसा हो सकता है कि एक अयोग्य ससुर्य अपने दुस्साहस में कुछ ऐसा कर जाए, जिसका प्रभाव सारे कुटुंब पर लंबे अरसे तक पड़े। इतिहास में बहुत सारे ऐसे राजपरिवार हैं, जिनके किसी एक पूर्वज ने ऐसा कुछ

दुस्साहस किया, जिससे सदियों तक सत्ता और उसकी ताकत का प्रभाव उसके वंशजों को विरासत में मिला था। इसी इतिहास में ऐसे भी राजपरिवार हैं, जिनकी बनी-बनाई प्रतिष्ठा एक क्षण में मिट्टी में मिल गई और अगली पीढ़ियां वक्त के अंधेरो में

गुम हो गई हैं।

साहस और दुस्साहस में राई भर का फर्क है। विजेता साहसी बताया जाता है और पराजित को दुस्साहसी कहा जाता है। पर जब पांसा फेंकने का क्षण होता है, तो वह किस पाले में पड़ेगा इसकी संभावना बराबर ही होती है। महाराणा प्रताप ने कई पराजय देखी थी, पर उनको हमेशा साहसी कहा जाता है। दूसरी तरफ, डकैत अपने अंचल के कारण आदमी जाएगा। एक तरह से जोखिम दोनों ही कामों में है- युद्ध में भी और डकैती में भी। दोनों के परिणाम कर्ता के लिए गंभीर हो सकते हैं। पर फर्क केवल इतना है कि वीर राणा प्रताप संप्रभुता के लिए युद्ध में उतरे थे, जबकि डकैत ने जोखिम अपनी धन लोलुता के कारण उठाया था। उसका काम हमेशा दुस्साहस की श्रेणी में आएगा और समाज से उसको कभी स्वीकृति नहीं मिलेगी। डकैत अपने अंचल में लोकप्रिय भी हो सकता है, शक्तिशाली भी, अपराजित भी, पर प्रसिद्ध कभी नहीं होगा। उसको मशहूर के बजाय कुख्यात ही कहा जाएगा।

समझदार और योग्य लोग इस फर्क को कायम रखने में सक्षम होते हैं। औरों के लिए क्षण की जीत या हार ही सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण है। वे सिर्फ अपनी नाक तक ही देख पाते हैं। उसके आगे उनके लिए सब धुंधला है और इसलिए बेमानी भी है। पीछे भी जो कुछ बीत चुका है उनके लिए प्रासंगिक नहीं है, क्योंकि उनकी आगे और पीछे दोनों की दृष्टि बाधित है। वे जो करेंगे दुस्साहस में करेंगे, जिसका प्रतिउत्तर किसी और के दुस्साहस में निहित होगा।

बहुत बार कह चुके हैं गुहमंत्री कि भारत के मुसलमानों की नागरिकता छीनने का प्रावधान नहीं है नए नागरिकता कानून में। बहुत बार कह चुके हैं कि जब देश भर में भारत के नागरिकों की नागरिकता दर्ज की जाएगी एनआरसी में, तो किसी असली भारतीय को कोई खतरा नहीं होगा। लेकिन शायद अपने ही पुराने भाषण भूल कर कह रहे हैं ये बातें अब, जब देश के शहरों और विश्वविद्यालयों में उनके नए नागरिकता कानून का इतना विरोध दिखने लगा है। भूल गए हैं कि मुसलमान ‘घुसपैठियों’ को उन्होंने दीमक कहा है बार-बार। भूल गए हैं कि उन्होंने बहुत बार कहा है कि उनको ‘चून-चून’ कर बारर फेंकेंगे।”

किस मकसद से उन्होंने ये तकरिरें दीं, सिर्फ गुहमंत्री खुद जानते हैं, लेकिन आम मुसलमान तक संदेश यही पहुंचा है नागरिकता कानून में संशोधन के बाद कि उनके खिलाफ साजिश है यह कानून। क्यों नहीं यह संदेश जाएगा, जब गुहमंत्री इतनी बार कह चुके हैं कि सिख, हिंदू, बौद्ध, जैन श्रणार्थियों को नागरिकता देने के लिए यह संशोधन किया गया है। बाकी रहते हैं सिर्फ मुसलमान, बावजूद इसके कि पाकिस्तान में उत्पीड़ित शिया और अहमदीया भी हैं। सो, अगर खौफ का माहौल बन गया है भारत के मुसलमानों में, तो क्यों न बने? अशांति और अराजकता देश के बड़े शहरों में फैलने के बाद भी प्रधानमंत्री मोदी ने अपने एक चुनावी भाषण में पिछले हफ्ते कांग्रेस पार्टी को चुनौती दी यह कहते हुए कि क्या कांग्रेस हर पाकिस्तानी को भारत की नागरिकता देना चाहती है, क्या तीन तलाक को वापस लाना चाहती है, क्या अनुच्छेद 370 को वापस लाना चाहती है?

चुनौती देते हुए मोदी ने शायद ध्यान नहीं दिया कि ये तमाम कदम मुसलमानों से वास्ता रखते हैं। थोड़ा सोचने के बाद दिया होता यह भाषण तो जरूर दिखता उन्हें कि अशांति के माहौल में ऐसा भाषण आग सुलगाने का काम करेगा, बुझाने का नहीं। सो, सुलगती रही है आग और लखनऊ में जहां हिंसक भीड़ ने पुलिस चौकी तक जला डाली और मीडिया के ओबी वाहन भी

जलाए गए, मालूम पड़ा है बाद में कि नकाबपोश बदमाश घुस गए थे विरोध करते लोगों के बीच और हिंसा करने के बाद गायब हो गए। ऐसा अक्सर होता है, लेकिन विरोध की बुनियाद असली है, सो सबको ‘अवंत नक्सल’ और राष्ट्रद्रोही कहने से आग और भड़कने वाली है।

अमन-शांति लाना चाहते हैं प्रधानमंत्री, तो जरूरी है कि



तवलीन सिंह

अमन-शांति लाना चाहते हैं प्रधानमंत्री, तो जरूरी है कि अपनी ऊंचाइयों से उतर कर उन छात्रों से बातचीत शुरू करने का प्रयास करें, जिन्होंने नागरिकता कानून के खिलाफ इस आंदोलन का नेतृत्व किया है।

अपनी ऊंचाइयों से उतर कर उन छात्रों से बातचीत शुरू करने का प्रयास करें, जिन्होंने नागरिकता कानून के खिलाफ इस आंदोलन का नेतृत्व किया है। जरूरी है इस बात पर भी ध्यान देना कि दुनिया में उनकी छवि कितनी बदल गई है उनके दूसरे दौर के पहले महीनों में। अपने पहले दौर में जब उन्होंने विकास और परिवर्तन के नारे पर पूर्ण बहुमत हासिल किया, तो दुनिया उनको भारत की नई आशा का प्रतीक मानती थी। जब उन्होंने कहा था कि उनको सरकार ऐसा माहौल बनाना चाहती है भारत में, जो निवेशकों के लिए लाल कालीन बिछाएगा लाल फीताशाही हटा कर, तो विदेशी निवेशकों की कतारें लग गई थीं। अफसोस कि अपने दूसरे दौर में उन्होंने विकास और परिवर्तन को ताक पर रख कर उन मुद्दों पर ध्यान दिया है, जो आरएसएस को प्रिय हैं। कोई छिपी बात नहीं है कि आम संघी

एक गुस्सा बिखरता हुआ

स्थिति’ कहते हैं। निहत्ये छात्रों पर लाठी चलाते हैं। इलाहाबाद, हैदराबाद, वाराणसी, नदवा, लखनऊ से विरोध प्रदर्शनों की लाइव खबरें आने लगती हैं। सभी जामिया में छात्रों पर हुए पुलिस अत्याचार के विरोध में निकल पड़ते हैं। वाराणसी से लेकर मद्रास आइआइटी के छात्र जामिया में पुलिस की ज्यादतियों के खिलाफ निकल पड़ते हैं। बंगलुरु में रामचंद्र गुहा गिरफ्तार किए जाते हैं और शाम तक चैनलों पर ‘आपबीती’ सुनाने आ बैठते हैं। एक चैनल खबर देता है कि जामिया की हिंसा के पीछे बाहरी



बहुत से भ्रम, डर, शक, आशंकाएं और वहम एक साथ जग गए हैं और कोई नहीं है, जो उनको प्यार से समझाए। इनको उनसे डर है, तो उनको इनसे डर है।

तत्व रहे। फिर लाइन आती है कि राजनीतिक दल रहे! कोलकाता में ममता एनआरसी-सीएए विरोधी रैली का नेतृत्व करती हैं। विपक्षी नेता कहते हैं कि हम दमन को कंटेम करते हैं, यह कानून संविधान विरोधी है। प्रियंका गांधी इंडिया गेट पर धरने पर बैठ जाती हैं, फिर जल्दी ही उठ जाती हैं।

एक चैनल पर एक पैनलिस्ट कई बार कहता है कि सीएए-एनआरसी को लेकर उठती आशंकाओं को दूर करना चाहिए, क्योंकि कई मुद्दों पर कन्स्यूजन है। लेकिन प्रवक्ता कहते रहते हैं कि यह सब न्यस्त स्वार्थों की कारस्तानी है। गुहमंत्री दो चैनलों पर बातचीत करते बार-बार साफ करते हैं कि किसी भी भारतीय नागरिक को इससे कोई खतरा नहीं है। यह तीन पड़ोसी इस्लामिक देशों में प्रताड़ित अल्पसंख्यकों को नागरिकता देने के लिए है, किसी की नागरिकता लेने के लिए नहीं है।...

लेकिन इतने भर से लोगों को भरोसा नहीं होता। पूछने पर कई

कंपनियों द्वारा किए गए सीएसआर के उल्लंघन का अपराधिकरण (31 जुलाई, 2019 को कंपनी कानून 2013 में संशोधन द्वारा)	23 अगस्त, 2019 को वापस ले लिया गया <p>‘हर हर संदेह, जो बाहर बना हुआ था, उसे मैं आज दूर कर देना चाहूंगी। मुकदमे के रास्ते पर चलने का सरकार का कोई इरादा नहीं है। कारपोरेट की सामाजिक जिम्मेदारी को नागरिक मामलों की तरह ही लिया जाएगा, न कि आपराधिक मामलों की तरह।' - निर्मला सीतारमण, 23 अगस्त 2019 को संवाददाता सम्मेलन में।</p>
नई इंटरनल कंबंशन इंजन (आइसीई) वाली कारों के लिए पंजीकरण शुल्क छह सौ रुपए से बढ़ा कर पांच हजार रुपए किया जाता है। आइसीई कारों के पंजीकरण के नवीनीकरण का शुल्क पंद्रह हजार रुपए प्रस्तावित किया जाता है (26 जुलाई, 2019 को प्रस्तावित)	23 अगस्त 2019 को वापस ले लिया गया <p>नाए वाहनों के लिए पंजीकरण शुल्क 2020 तक टाल दिया गया है- निर्मला सीतारमण, 23 अगस्त 2019 को संवाददाता सम्मेलन में।</p>

परेशानियों का पुलिंदा

दुर्भाग्य से, वित्तमंत्री ने बजट में जो लुभावनी घोषणाएं की थीं, उन्हें वापस लेने भर से उनकी मुश्किलें कम नहीं हुई हैं। ज्यादातर ढांचागत और कुछ चक्रीय समस्याएं भी अर्थव्यवस्था की तबाही का कारण बनी हैं, अर्थव्यवस्था डूब गई, आंकड़े बुरी तरह गड़बड़ा गए, बड़ी-बड़ी डींगें भी ज्यादा राजस्व नहीं जुटा पाईं या खर्च को काबू में रख पाईं, और इनका नतीजा महालेखाकार नियंत्रक के यहां से हर महीने जारी होने आंकड़ों में स्पष्ट नजर आया है। आखिरी बार अक्टूबर 2019 में ये आंकड़े आए थे, जो बता रहे है कि शुद्ध राजस्व प्राप्ति बजट अनुमान के मुकामले मुश्किल से 41.4 फीसद भी नहीं रही, कुल प्राप्तियां 44.9 फीसद रही, वित्तीय घाटा 102.4 फीसद रहा और राजस्व घाटा 112.5 फीसद। वित्त मंत्री के पास अब और खर्चा करने या उधार लेने का कोई रास्ता नहीं बचा है।

धन डालने का भ्रम

फिर भी 5 जुलाई, 2019 से, वित्तमंत्री ने भारी-भरकम रकम देने का एलान किया है, जो कई क्षेत्रों में डाली जाएगी, जैसे सरकारी क्षेत्र के बैंकों (सत्तर हजार करोड़), रियल एस्टेट (पच्चीस हजार करोड़), एनबीएफसी और एनएफसी (बीस हजार करोड़), आइडीबीआई बैंक (चार हजार पांच सौ सत्तावन करोड़ रुपए) और पंजाब नेशनल बैंक (सोलह हजार करोड़ रुपए) ।

जैसा कि डा. अरविंद सुब्रमण्यन और जोश फेलमेन का आकलन है कि अर्थव्यवस्था आइसीयू की ओर जाती दिख रही है, वित्तमंत्री को सिर्फ हरा ही हरा नजर आ रहा है।

इस भ्रम के माहौल में

मुसलमानों की तरफ शक की नजरों से देखता है, उनके राष्ट्र प्रेम और उनके मजहब पर शक करता है। सो, जब कोई सरकार ऐसे कदम उठाती है जो मुसलमानों के खिलाफ दिखने वाले होते हैं, तो आरएसएस के बड़े नेता हमेशा अपनी खुशी जाहिर करने में देर नहीं करते हैं। मोदी के दूसरे दौर में सिर्फ ऐसे कदम ही उठे हैं। कश्मीर जो भारत का अकेला मुसलिम बहुल राज्य था, तीन टुकड़ों में तोड़ दिया गया है। और अब आया है ऐसा नागरिकता कानून, जिसने आम मुसलमानों में एनआरसी की संभावना से ही डरा दिया है।

मोदी अपने आप को गांधीजी का भक्त मानते हैं, सो विनम्रता से अर्ज करना चाहती हूं कि वे अपने आप से पुछें कि गांधी आज हमारे बीच होते, तो क्या सरकार के इस नागरिकता कानून के समर्थन में खड़े होते या इस कानून के जो लोग विरोध कर रहे हैं उनके बीच दिखते? इस सवाल का जवाब उनको फौरन मिल जाना चाहिए, इसलिए कि हिंदुओं और मुसलमानों में भाईचारा लाने के प्रयास में ही उन्होंने अपनी जान गंवाई। इस भाईचारे को कायम करना मोदी सरकार का प्रथम लक्ष्य होना चाहिए अब। इसलिए कि इस नए नागरिकता कानून ने अगर मुसलमानों को एक संदेश दिया है, तो हिंदुओं को एक अलग और उतना ही खतरनाक संदेश दिया है कि भारत अब एक हिंदू राष्ट्र बनने जा रहा है।

सोशल मीडिया पर जो लोग अपने आप को मोदी के कट्टर भक्त मानते हैं, अभी से कहने लगे हैं कि समय आ गया है, मुसलमानों को भारत से भगा देने का। ताने देते हुए ट्वीट करते हैं कि मुसलमानों के लिए कई इस्लामी मुल्क हैं जाने को और पाकिस्तान तो है ही पड़ोस में। ऐसी बातें करते हुए शायद जानते नहीं हैं कि पाकिस्तान के सैनिक शासकों का शुरू से सपना रहा है कि भारत एक बार फिर टूट जाएगा और बंटवारा होगा फिर से इस्लाम के नाम पर। इस बुरे सपने को पूरा करने का काम कर रहा है यह नया नागरिकता कानून, क्योंकि आम मुसलमानों ने इसको जोड़ लिया है एनआरसी के साथ, जिसमें वे जानते हैं कि लाखों, करोड़ों गरीब मुसलमान साबित नहीं कर पाएंगे कि वे हमेशा से रहे हैं भारत के नागरिक। जिनके सिर पर छत ही नहीं है, कहां से लाएंगे सबूत के दस्तावेज? कैसे साबित कर पाएंगे अपनी नागरिकता?

प्रदर्शनकारी कहते हैं, कहने से क्या? वे लिख कर दें, छाप कर दें।... सीलमपुर का एक लड़का कहता है : एक बेटे को यतीम कर दिया और एक को गोद ले लिया, ये कौन-सा इंसाफ है? बहुत से भ्रम, डर, शक, आशंकाएं और वहम एक साथ जग गए हैं और कोई नहीं है, जो उनको प्यार से समझाए। इनको उनसे डर है, तो उनको इनसे डर है। एक चैनल खबर देता है कि जामिया की हिंसा के पीछे बाहरी

बहुत से भ्रम, डर, शक, आशंकाएं और वहम एक साथ जग गए हैं और कोई नहीं है, जो उनको प्यार से समझाए। इनको उनसे डर है, तो उनको इनसे डर है। एक चैनल खबर देता है कि जामिया की हिंसा के पीछे बाहरी

जाने-अनजाने तीखी प्रतिक्रिया पैदा करते हैं। ध्यान रहे, आम जनता आपकी खबरों से अपना नजरिया बनाती है और प्रतिक्रिया भी करती है। एक विश्लेषक अवश्य कहता है कि यह बहुत बड़ों से कारणों से बना संचित गुस्सा है, जो बिखर कर निकल रहा है। वृहस्पतिवार की रात को ही शुक्रवार के प्रदर्शनों के संकेत मिलने लगते हैं। कैमरे सुबह से ही दिल्ली जामा मस्जिद पर जम जाते हैं। नमाज के बाद अचानक जामा मस्जिद की सीढ़ियों पर भीमसेना के चंद्रशेखर आजाद नजर आते हैं और फिर पुलिस की पकड़ से गायब हो जाते हैं। शाम को जामा मस्जिद से निकल कर लोग दिल्ली गेट पर नारे लगाते लगते हैं। दिल्ली गेट पर पुलिस का भारी बंदोबस्त है। पीने छह बजे आंदोलन खत्म होता है।

सात दिन बाद गुहमंत्रालय की मार्फत एक आश्वासन दिखता है कि अभी सीएए के नियम नहीं बने। लोग चाहें तो अपने सुझाव दे सकते हैं!