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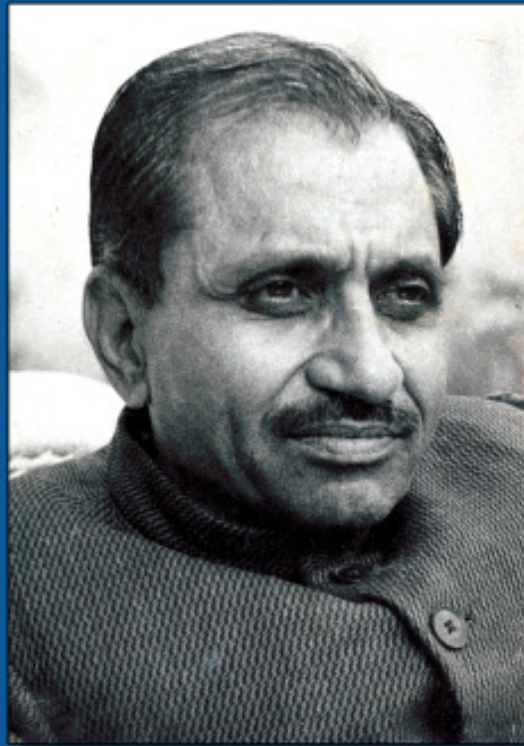
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Special Article

- Requirements for the NAM initiative to Help Transform Indian Agriculture
- Indian National Intellectual Property Rights Policy, 2016: Some Highlights
- संघ बनाम गांधी की बहस पर अदालती सबक





But every and any ideology will not make a party a fit vehicle for ushering in a democratic era. The ideology must not go counter to the spirit and ideals of democracy itself. In fact in many a country democracy has suffered much at the hands of those who have used democracy only to subvert it. The communist have an ideology and claim to follow democratic means – only to ultimately put an end to democracy. “Democracy”, to quote Dr. Radhakrishnan again, “has for its basic principle the dignity and freedom of the individual. The free spirit of man is responsible for all progress in human history. Any system which tends to destroy the individual is undemocratic. The techniques of democratic way of life are discussion, persuasion, compromise, give and take.” Therefore, any ideology which is rigid and does not believe in human dignity and freedom will not suit a democratic set-up. Such parties should either adapt their ideologies to democratic conditions, or stop paying lip service to democracy.

- Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya,
(*Democracy & Political Parties*,
February 27th, 1961,
Political Diary)

The Nationalist

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Elements who glorify terrorists & terrorism need to be rejected



Displaying his party's true faith in the barrel of the gun and its respect for terrorists, a senior CPIM functionary from the state of Jammu & Kashmir desisted from calling Hizbul terrorist Burhan Wani a "terrorist". CPIM MLA from Kulgam and state secretary of the party in J&K Mohammed Yusuf Tarigami in a statement referred to Wani the terrorist as "Burhan Wani and his associates." Tarigami did not dare condemn the acts of terrorism indulged in by Wani and his co-terrorist but rather issued a long homily on what action must be taken against security forces in the Valley.

In tune with Tarigami, CPIML leader Kavitha Krishnan, forever in a state of war with India, especially if that India happens to be ruled by a dispensation she hates - in this case the BJP - termed the gunning down of terrorist Wani as "extra judicial killing." These are the types - Tarigami and Krishnan et al- who encourage their cadres to dance and revel at the death of our Jawans and soldiers. When in 2010 Jawans were mowed down by naxals in Chattisgarh, a group of students in JNU, inspired by these ideologies and leaders had organised a celebratory dance. One never hears them condemning terrorism, terrorists and their death dance. Violence fits well into the political ideology that they peddle.

These types are also joined by a long line of "illustrious" pseudo-intellectuals who keep arguing that Wani was not so much a terrorist but much more a son of a "headmaster" who was done to death by the Indian security agencies. They never discuss the atrocities and killings that Wani engineered, these are expressions of dissatisfaction, they lamely argue. A

certain newspaper, founded in the past by the legendary Ram Nath Goenka, that doyen of nationalist journalism, went so far as to mourn Wani's death by metamorphosing its facebook page, much like it did in the case of Yakub Abdul Razak Memon's hanging in July 2015, when it carried the banner headline, "And they Hanged him." Clearly its founding goals have long been decimated and the paper itself seems to have lost its way and is often seen standing by those whose single-point and unequivocal aim is to see India dissipated and dissolved.

One cannot even protest such reductionism lest one be labelled as a "hyper-nationalist." The sole "rational" course, in order to be counted as an intellectual, a liberal and sane by these types, is to sit back and applaud those who spit and spite at the very idea of India and work to destabilise and crack her. Some, for example, would even like you to believe how great a philosopher and thinker is Zakir Naik, how deep and genuine his thoughts are and how sacrilegious it is to even doubt his intentions which are based on propagating "peace." For these types, it does not matter that Naik's channels have always shown an India minus Kashmir or that his sermons from hell are radicalising and misguiding youth across countries.

Our elite and pampered intellectuals and their arm chair supporters in politics mainly of the communist and naxal variety have in fact always revelled at romanticising terror and terrorists. Ensconced in the sanitised confines of the national capital or in Ivy League universities abroad, these unaccountable intellectuals, plush with resources and media attention, have always pushed through a world view which is tolerant of terrorism, of ideas that seek to break India, of groups and conglomerates that push the unfulfilled agenda of "Gazwa-e-Hind", the ultimate destruction of India. Yet their positions against those who condemn terrorism and separatism have been of the most intolerant variety.

Yet so alert are these counterfeit intellectuals that they always make sure to avoid terming a terrorist as a terrorist, they avoid taking these elements head on and when exposed, always hide behind the fig-leaf of human rights and freedom of expression. Among them are those leaders - emerging as the soft faces of separatism - who have started warning that talking to separatists is the only way. In their days at the helm of affairs these very leaders proved most ineffective in addressing the situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

It is the support that these so-called leaders, political parties and intellectuals, have given to secessionism in Indian educational institutions that has lead a handful of terrorists in the Valley to challenge the unity and integrity of India. It is their support for calls to break India that has led to fountainheads of terror like Hafiz Saeed and Salahuddin to issue dictates in support of

terrorism in Kashmir. Their support to break-India elements within the country have actually encouraged separatists and terrorists within the country and beyond.

The communists and the naxals and their urban sympathisers have always come out in support of disruptionists. They have always utilised a crisis within the country to push forward their divisive agendas of conflict and hate and have hardly ever come forward with an agenda that seeks to positively address the situation. Through their support of terrorists and terrorism they are clearly working against the interests of a large majority of Kashmiris who aspire to move on and to join the march of prosperity, of possibilities and of opportunities. Parties that are trapped in their outdated claptraps can scarcely understand this new aspiration. Prime Minister Modi, in his two years has often visited Kashmir, has directly addressed the people, has launched schemes and initiatives and has always spoken of the need for the people to move ahead in a spirit of aspiration and development. He has always demonstrated in actual action - when he spent Diwali in the Kashmir to be by the side of the flood affected sisters and brothers.

Who are those who are to benefit most from such an affirmative agenda, it is the people of Kashmir. And who are those who are to lose most from such a futuristic agenda full of a humanistic approach, it is the separatists, terrorists and their sympathisers within the country and their masters and sponsors across the border.

The situation in Kashmir, the killing of the Hizbul terrorist, Burhan Wani, and Pakistan's perfidious agenda in that state is also exposing a number of political and intellectual elements within the country who have never had India's interest at heart; these have never been Indian in mind and spirit. The sooner their agendas are exposed and rejected the better shall it be for the future health of our democracy and our collective aspirations.

— Dr. Anirban Ganguly,
Director, SPMRF

Salient points of PM Modi's address in eleventh Inter-State Council Meeting at New Delhi



► भारत जैसे बड़े और विविधता से भरे हुए लोकतंत्र में **Debate** यानि वाद-विवाद, **Deliberation** यानि विवेचना और **Discussion** यानि विचार-विमर्श से ही ऐसी नीतियां बन सकती हैं जो जमीनी सच्चाई का ध्यान रखती हों। ये तीनों बातें, नीतियों को प्रभावी तरीके से अमल में लाने में भी मदद करती हैं। इंटर स्टेट काउंसिल एक ऐसा मंच है जिसका इस्तेमाल नीतियों को बनाने और उन्हें लागू करने में किया जा सकता है। इसलिए लोकतंत्र, समाज और हमारी राज्य व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने के लिए, इस मंच का प्रभावी उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

► देश का विकास तभी संभव है जब केंद्र और राज्य सरकारें कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर चलें। किसी भी सरकार के लिए मुश्किल होगा कि वो सिर्फ अपने दम पर कोई योजना को कामयाब कर सके। इसलिए जिम्मेदारियों के साथ ही वित्तीय

संसाधनों की भी अपनी अहमियत है। 14वें वित्त आयोग की अनुशंसाओं की स्वीकृति के साथ केंद्रीय करों में राज्यों की हिस्सेदारी 32 प्रतिशत से बढ़ाकर 42 प्रतिशत कर दी गई है। यानि अब राज्यों के पास ज्यादा राशि आ रही है जिसका उपयोग वो अपनी जरूरत के हिसाब से कर रहे हैं। मुझे आपको ये बताते हुए खुशी है कि पिछले वर्ष 2015-16 में राज्यों को केंद्र से जो रकम मिली है, वो वर्ष 2014-15 की तुलना में 21 प्रतिशत अधिक है। इसी तरह पंचायतों और स्थानीय निकायों को 14वें वित्त आयोग की अवधि में 2 लाख 87 हजार करोड़ रुपए की रकम मिलेगी जो पिछली बार से काफी अधिक है।

► प्राकृतिक संसाधनों से होने वाली कमाई में भी राज्यों के अधिकारों का ध्यान रखा जा रहा है। कोयला खदानों की नीलामी से राज्यों को आने वाले सालों में 3 लाख 35 हजार करोड़ रुपए की

रकम मिलेगी। कोयले के अलावा भी दूसरे खनन से राज्यों को 18 हजार करोड़ रुपए की रकम मिलेगी। इसी तरह **CAMPA** कानून में बदलाव के जरिए बैंक में रखे हुए करीब 40 हजार करोड़ रुपए को भी राज्यों को देने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

► इंटर स्टेट काउंसिल **Centre&State Relations** के साथ ही उन विषयों पर भी चर्चा का मंच है जो देश की बड़ी आबादी से जुड़े हुए हैं। कैसे नीति-निर्धारण के स्तर पर इन मुद्दों को सुलझाने के लिए एक राय बनाई जा सकती है, कैसे एक दूसरे से परस्पर जुड़े विषयों को सुलझाया जा सकता है।

► आज की तारीख में साधारण सा आधार कार्ड, लोगों के सशक्तिकरण का प्रतीक बन गया है। सरकारी मदद या सब्सिडी पर जिस व्यक्ति का अधिकार है, अब उसे ही इसका फायदा मिल रहा है, पैसा सीधे उसी के खाते में जा रहा है। इससे पारदर्शिता तो आई ही है, हजारों करोड़ रुपए की बचत हो रही है जिसे विकास के काम पर खर्च किया जा रहा है।

► मित्रों, बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने लिखा था कि— "भारत जैसे देश में सामाजिक सुधार का मार्ग उतना ही मुश्किल है, उतनी ही अड़चनों से भरा हुआ है जितना स्वर्ग जाने का मार्ग। जब आप सामाजिक सुधार की सोचते हैं तो आपको दोस्त कम, आलोचक ज्यादा मिलते हैं"। आज भी उनकी लिखी बातें, उतनी ही प्रासंगिक है। इसलिए आलोचनाओं से बचते हुए, हमें एक दूसरे के साथ सहयोग करते हुए, सामाजिक सुधार की योजनाओं को आगे बढ़ाने पर जोर देना होगा। इनमें से बहुत सी योजनाओं की रूप-रेखा, नीति आयोग में मुख्यमंत्रियों के ही सब-ग्रुप ने तैयार की है।

► इंटर स्टेट काउंसिल में जिस एक और अहम विषय पर चर्चा होनी है, वह है शिक्षा। भारत की सबसे बड़ी ताकत हमारे नौजवान ही हैं। 30 करोड़ से ज्यादा बच्चे अभी स्कूल जाने वाली उम्र

में हैं। इसलिए हमारे देश में आने वाले कई सालों तक दुनिया को **Skilled Manpower** देने की क्षमता है। केंद्र और राज्यों को मिलकर बच्चों को शिक्षा का ऐसा माहौल देना होगा जिसमें वे आज की जरूरत के हिसाब से खुद को तैयार कर सकें, अपने हुनर का विकास कर सकें।

► पंडित दीन दयाल उपाध्याय जी के शब्दों में कहें तो— शिक्षा एक निवेश है। हम पेड़-पौधों को लगाते समय उनसे कोई फीस नहीं लेते। हमें पता होता है कि यही पेड़-पौधे आगे जाकर हमें ऑक्सीजन देंगे, पर्यावरण की मदद करेंगे। उसी तरह शिक्षा भी एक निवेश है जिसका लाभ समाज को होता है।

► 21वीं सदी की अर्थव्यवस्था में, जिस तरह की कुशलता और योग्यता की आवश्यकता है, उसमें हम सभी का दायित्व है कि नौजवानों के पास कोई न कोई **Skill** जरूर हो। हमें नौजवानों को ऐसा बनाना होगा कि वे **Logic** के साथ सोचें, **Out of the box** सोचें और अपने काम में बतमंजपअम दिखें।

► देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा को तब तक मजबूत नहीं किया जा सकता, जब तक **Intelligence Sharing** पर फोकस ना हो, एजेंसियों में अधिक तालमेल ना हो, हमारी पुलिस आधुनिक सोच और तकनीक से लैस ना हो। हमने इस मोर्चे पर काफी लंबा रास्ता तय किया है लेकिन हमें लगातार अपनी कार्य-कुशलता और क्षमता को बढ़ाते चलना है। हमें हर समय **Alert** और **Updated** रहना है।

► जितना ही हम अहम विषयों पर एक राय बनाने में कामयाब होंगे, उतना ही मुश्किलों को पार करना आसान होगा। इस प्रक्रिया में हम न सिर्फ **Cooperative Federalism** की spirit और केंद्र-राज्य रिश्तों को मजबूत करेंगे बल्कि देश के नागरिकों के बेहतर भविष्य को भी सुनिश्चित करेंगे।

Salient points of PM Modi's address at the Community event in Johannesburg, South Africa



» We may live on distant shores; in different time zones; and on different hemispheres; our ancestors may have been separated in history; our nationalities may be different; and our support may be for different cricket teams but, our common cultural, religious and spiritual heritage ensured that we remain close and connected. Both, in our hearts and our minds,

» Centuries ago, our ancestors travelled to the unknown shores of South Africa. They faced hardship and extreme poverty. Yet, they endured

and kept going. Under decades of Apartheid isolation, they not only preserved their culture, traditions and language.

» In staying true to the Indian ethos, of वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्, the notion that the world is a family, you have cared for others. And, in so doing you have also echoed the South African ethos of Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu (You are what you are because of other people)

» In many ways, what Indian diaspora stands for all over the world today is because of what your

forefathers were able to achieve despite all adversities.

» It was here that Mahatma Gandhi conceptualised his politics. This is the birthplace of Satyagraha. South Africa transformed Mohandas into a Mahatma.

» South Africa is a sacred land. It is the land of Madiba, and the कर्मभूमि of Mahatma Gandhi. The path these two great men have shown us, and the freedom that they have won for us, is an inspiration for all of mankind. Their tireless spirit, courage and moral force will remain a guiding beacon for the generations to come. The Mahatma led India's march to freedom from the British, which gave birth to modern India. The forgiveness of Nelson Mandela and his Long March to Freedom gave rise to A Rainbow Nation.

» We live in a world that is inter-dependent and hyper-connected. Many of you are now closely engaged with developments in India. Your desire to connect with the lands of your forefathers may be an emotional urge. But, you need not limit yourself to that alone.

» India, today, is also a land of opportunity for those who want to: Connect and collaborate; Innovate and create; Trade and Invest; and Produce and Engineer.

» India is today one of the brightest spots in the global economy. In a world marked by reducing growth rates and economic slowdown, India has registered a

healthy growth rate of 7.6% this year. We are working to grow over 8% and more in the years ahead. India's dynamism is not of mere words. It is driven by concrete action. And, is defined by our commitment to change the face of the Indian economy. Not, just through sustained rapid economic growth. But, through multiple transformations.

» Transformations that aim to uplift: India's 1.25 billion people; its 500 cities; and its six hundred thousand villages.

» Backed by the strength of the best information technology specialists in the world, we are also shaping a digital revolution. A revolution that would change the way: a government engages with its citizens; a business interacts with its clients; and a society relates to its old and new structures.

» There is a wave of new momentum in our villages. The cities are full of enterprise and energy. There is confidence in our youth. And, the citizens of India are full of optimism.


» India's rise is a story of: Rare resilience; Renewed resurgence; superb speed; and spectacular scale.

» Today, India's success story can be define in just four letters. They are letters of HOPE, where: H is for: Harmony; O for: Optimism; P for: Potential; and E for: Energy. And the credit for this does not go to Modi. It goes to 1.25 billion people of India. And, to the fact that they placed their faith in my government and gave it a mandate to govern. ●

Requirements for the NAM initiative to Help Transform Indian Agriculture

 Professor Mukul Asher

 Stuti Rawat

 The Prime Minister Narendra Modi-led government has announced the ambitious goal of doubling income of farmers by 2022. Progressing towards such a goal requires integrated economic, institutional, technological and governance reform initiatives not just in agriculture sector, but also in power, roads, and other infrastructure particularly in rural areas, with a view to crowd-in private investment through well conceived and executed public sector investments.

It is also essential to keep overall economic growth which is broad-based at a fairly high level. According to World Bank's Global Economic Prospects, India's real GDP growth for 2015 and 2016 is estimated at 7.6%, in contrast, for advanced countries, the growth rates are 1.8 and 1.7 percent respectively. India needs to sustain this level of growth inspite of the difficult global economic environment if it is to narrow the gap with higher per capita income countries.

A stronger agriculture sector could also help expand the trade surplus accruing from it. In 2014, agriculture products constituted 13.5 percent of India's exports but only 5.9 percent of its imports (merchandise trade for 2014), generating a modest trade surplus of USD 16.1 billion, while the rest of the merchandise trade

exhibited a deficit of USD 141.4 billion. India's agricultural surplus was larger than its surplus in services of USD 8.7 billion. Ability to generate significant trade surplus in agriculture could also benefit pursuance of India's soft diplomacy.

India is among the major global producers of agricultural commodities, and of fruits and vegetables. It ranks second globally in rice and wheat, is among the largest producer of pulses (but also large importer of pulses), and the second largest producer of fruits and vegetables, a significant proportion of the production is however wasted due to relative underdevelopment of the food processing industry. It also has varied climatic conditions which could facilitate diversification in both agriculture and horticulture crops. However, India's cultivable land to population ratio has been declining due to competing demands on land from other uses and accelerated, in some cases, by declining profitability of traditional agricultural crops. This has been accentuated by land fragmentation, particularly in states such as West Bengal. Consequently while the share of agriculture in GDP was 17.4 percent in 2014-15, about half the population derives main livelihood from this sector.

The agriculture sector therefore is

deservedly receiving renewed policy focus from the current NDA government. The sector needs investments, more outcome-oriented use of relevant technology, and marketing, and supply chain reforms. In addition to the National Agriculture Market (NAM), the government has also launched the National Energy Efficient Agriculture Pumps Programme (NEAPP), and the Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY) to help minimize water and energy inputs per unit of output; and to improve agricultural marketing efficiency, which in turn could broaden agricultural supply chains and lead them to higher value creation. The government is attempting to develop nation-wide e-platform for plantation crops such as tea. FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) norms for plantation sector have also been substantially liberalized. In June 2016, the government has permitted 100 percent FDI under government approval route for food sector manufacturing, and trading, marketing through e-commerce.

This column focuses on NAM, explaining its need, operational features, economic rationale, and requirements for achieving desired outcomes.

Need to Address Inefficient, Distorted and Opaque Agricultural Markets

Agricultural markets or '*mandis*' as they are commonly known, are usually where sale and purchase of agricultural products takes place. In India these are administered through Agricultural Produce Market Committees (APMCs) through

various states APMC Acts. Under this, the geographical area of the state is divided into different market areas with each falling under the jurisdiction of a market committee. The first sale of agricultural commodities such as cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits and even products like chicken, fish can be conducted only through commission agents, who have been licensed by the APMCs. The Act permits different taxes and charges to be levied on the trade conducted in Mandis, whose ultimate burden is on the consumers. To the extent these are not proportionate to real economic activity, they unnecessarily reduce real household income and welfare.

Despite amendments to make the act less restrictive, notably in 2003 under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), such as allowing non-state actors to set up market areas (as opposed to it being the prerogative of state governments alone, as was the case earlier), amended provisions have been implemented to different degrees by states, under whose jurisdiction the agriculture sector falls under India's constitution. Consequently APMCs wield considerable monopoly power and under various categories end up charging multiple fees of substantial magnitude. These vary widely between states, inducing distortions in the market due to a cascading effect on the final price of the commodity. Even within a state, the fragmentation of markets hinders free flow of agricultural commodities from one market area to another, resulting in higher prices for the consumer

without any commensurate benefit to the farmer. Further, revenue earned by APMCs does not go to the state treasury and hence is exempt from legislative and auditing oversight.

The APMC operations exhibit non-transparency, and lack of accountability, and have created substantial local (and sometimes regional) monopoly power, which often translates into political power. The resulting distributional coalitions whose interests lie in rent-seeking rather than in the well-being of farmers, have led resistance to substantive reforms of the current inefficient agricultural marketing practices.

The Maharashtra government has given in-principle approval to farmers to sell fruits and vegetables directly to buyers as well as through APMCs of the state. The APMCs charge commission of 12 percent, which the farmers need not incur in selling directly. Farmers however will still incur the costs of marketing function undertaken by them. Implementation to take into account transition issues, including overcoming resistance of entrenched APMC interests in restricting farmers' economic freedoms will be necessary. The above initiative will facilitate implementation of NAM.

Operational Aspects of NAM:

On April 14 2016, the National Agriculture Market was officially launched with the inauguration of the pilot of the electronic trading platform for agricultural produce or e-NAM. e-NAM makes use of ICT to network existing APMC Mandis into an online trading platform at the national and

state level. This promotes transparent sale transactions and real time price discovery that is based on actual demand and supply. At present M/s. Nagarjuna Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd. has been designated as the Strategic Partner (SP) responsible for development, operation and maintenance of the platform.

In addition to e-NAM, the other components of NAM include a more liberal licensing regime for traders, buyers, commission agents, that do not require physical presence or shop premises in the yard. This promotes greater competition and limits the monopoly power of existing agents. Other features of NAM include validity of a single license for a trader across markets in the state, a single point of levy of the market fees and harmonisation of agricultural produce standards, and quantities, essential for larger scale trading. This is expected to lead to uniformity and streamlined procedures across integrated markets.

In the current set-up, due to the perishable nature of goods, small quantities and the need for liquidity, farmers often sell at low prices, with most of the gains accruing to intermediaries and retailers. For farmers, the establishment of NAM and e-NAM would mean more options for selling their products and receiving prices commensurate with quality. The aggregation challenge (aggregating small quantity by each farmer into larger volumes) however will need to be addressed. Initially focusing on larger mandis to provide leadership could be useful, but for

broader impact the aggregation challenge must be met. Consumers too benefit from better quality produce, available at more reasonable prices. Traders and bulk buyers gain from access to a larger national market for secondary trading. Finally, for Mandis a freely accessible ICT platform reduces manpower, book-keeping and reporting requirements, while at the same time reducing the inefficiencies in tendering and auctioning.

Economic Rationale: The economic rationale behind the NAM thus, is to reduce asymmetries of information that farmers and traders face in marketing their produce and to lower transactions' cost that accrue from high levels of market charges and movement controls. Moreover, by moving trade to an open access electronic platform, the monopoly power exercised within APMCs and by them is curbed. Transparency in operations is also promoted. Over the long term and with the nation-wide implementation of the NAM, it is expected that there will be a transfer of knowledge and inputs across states. Another crucial area where the NAM may be useful will be in controlling food losses. Post-harvest losses in a developing country such as India result from a combination of poor infrastructure, technical and managerial practices. In 2013, almost 7 million tonnes were discarded as vegetable waste, which constituted about 5.8% of total vegetable production. While better infrastructure and storage facilities are essential, as recommended by the High Level Committee on

restructuring of the Food Corporation of India (FCI), setting up such systems will take time. Thus simultaneously, faster movement of produce through lower movement control and immediate price realisation as enabled by NAM, will help contain some of these food losses.

NAM: Requirements for Success

States seeking assistance under the NAM scheme need to undertake three reforms -the validity of a single license across the State, a single point levy of market fee, and fulfilling the provision for electronic auction as a mode for price discovery. Thus, states need to ensure that NAM-connected Mandis have requisite online connectivity, hardware and assaying equipment. Agriculture is primarily a State responsibility under the Constitution. So it is up to each state to not only fulfil these conditions, but to link them effectively with other initiatives of the Union government.

Currently, small and marginal farmers in many states, do not take their produce to the Mandi, selling instead to local level private traders and retailers in their neighbourhood (this ratio being well above 50% for some crops). Thus a substantive challenge would be to find ways to allow the benefits of NAM to reach them.

As of April 2016, 21 Mandis from eight states (Gujarat, Telangana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Jharkhand, and Himachal Pradesh) have been linked to the NAM, with common tradable parameters being developed for 25 commodities. In-principal approval

has been granted to four other states - Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, U.T. of Chandigarh and Andhra Pradesh.

The final target is to link 585 markets to the NAM by 2018. But given that there exist over 7,000 regulated markets (principal markets and sub-markets), there is still substantial effort needed until a truly unified national agricultural market is fully realised. But a promising start has been made. There will need to be policy coherence and organizational co-ordination among agriculture, food processing, food and civil supplies, road transportation, highways, and finance ministry if NAM, as part of an integrated program is to achieve its objectives.


An instrument which may be useful is a feedback loop mechanism to refine NAM as it progresses by developing an appropriate dashboard to monitor its quantitative and qualitative significance in

agricultural markets, value addition and farmers' incomes. Such measures will be consistent with making agricultural sector activities, and its inter-linkages with other sectors more professionally managed, informed by technological and other knowledge inputs. A key criteria for measuring the success of NAM would be how far NAM, in conjunction with other initiatives, assists in improving India's agricultural surplus in merchandise trade, and strengthens the linkages between the agriculture, industry and services sector. ●

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Indian National Intellectual Property Rights Policy, 2016: Some Highlights

 **Anasua Mukherjee Das**

 On 12 May 2016, the Indian government approved its first ever National Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Policy¹. This National Policy was drafted by an independent IPR Think Tank that consisted of six members, chaired by Justice (retired) Prabha Sridevan. A draft Policy was prepared after consultation with the IP experts, IP lawyers, academics, scientists, activists, and user groups, which was released on 19th December 2014 for public comments. After gathering inputs at the national and state-level against the circulated draft, the IPR Think Tank finalized the policy. The Union Cabinet finally approved the National Policy in May 2016. The main focus of this policy is given to the slogan of “Creative India, Innovative India”, which subsequently is aligned to different government initiatives and missions in recent times that include ‘Atal Innovation Mission’, ‘Make in India’, ‘Start-Up India’, and ‘Stand-Up India’ promoting creativity, innovation and youth-led entrepreneurship in the country.

The guiding principles of the Policy are explicitly elaborated in its Vision and Mission statements. The stated Vision of this Policy is: “An India where creativity and innovation are stimulated by Intellectual Property for

the benefit of all; an India where intellectual property promotes advancement in science and technology, arts and culture, traditional knowledge and biodiversity resources; an India where knowledge is the main driver of development, and knowledge owned is transformed into knowledge shared”. While, the stated Mission of the Policy is to: “Stimulate a dynamic, vibrant and balanced intellectual property rights system in India and to: (a) foster creativity and innovation and thereby, promote entrepreneurship and enhance socio-economic and cultural development, and (b) focus on enhancing access to healthcare, food security and environmental protection, among other sectors of vital social, economic and technological importance”².

The scope of the Policy encompasses all legislations related to intellectual property protection for the inventors, creators, designers, and entrepreneurs in the country, namely, the Patents Act, 1970; Trade Marks Act, 1999; Designs Act, 2000; Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act, 1999; Copyright Act, 1957; Semiconductor Integrated Circuits Layout-Design (SICLD) Act, 2000; Protection of Plant Varieties and

Farmers' Rights Act, 2001; and Biological Diversity Act, 2002. The Policy provides the guided principles of administration of eight aforesaid National Acts. The Policy also proposes administration of related IPR Acts from a single line ministry, i.e. Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP) under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Thus, IP resources under the Copyright Act and the SICLD Act are brought to DIPP respectively from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) and the Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY). Henceforth, DIPP will administer, admit applications, and maintain the respective registry for patents, trademarks, industrial designs, copyrights, SICLD, and geographical indications of goods. The ministries, namely, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, and the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change continue to administer the IP resources under the Biological Diversity Act and Protection of Plant Varieties and Farmers' Rights Act.

The Policy then emphasizes on safeguarding traditional knowledge (TK), genetic resources (GR) traditional cultural expressions (TCE) and folklores, which are essential for maintaining cultural diversity and unique identity of the country and the regions. Here, the Policy suggests widening the scope of the existing Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL.res.in) by including

different IP resources beyond the Indian systems of medicine.

The IPR Policy also recognizes the interests of marginalized patients in developing countries as identified from its texts: "the contribution of the Indian pharmaceutical sector in enabling access to affordable medicines globally and its transformation to being the pharmacy of the world...". India is also a signatory to the recently adopted United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One of the targets of SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-Being) emphasizes on easy and equitable access to medicines and vaccines. The Target states, "3.B Support the research and development of vaccines and medicines for the communicable and non-communicable diseases that primarily affect developing countries, provide access to affordable essential medicines and vaccines, in accordance with the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health, which affirms the right of developing countries to use to the full the provisions in the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights regarding flexibilities to protect public health, and, in particular, provide access to medicines for all." The majority of critics of this IPR Policy are apprehensive on weak provisions of affordable medicines and agro seeds in the IPR Policy document³. However, DIPP broadens its resources for safeguarding the interests of

marginalized or poor patients. The IP administrators in the country also recognize the provisions in SDGs and commitments of Government of India.

The Policy also emphasizes on operational strategies in strengthening IP incubation and facilitation centres in different creative and innovative organizations for improving their institutional IP portfolios at par with the global standards. The Atal Innovation Mission also has similar operational objectives. Thus, the IP awareness and capacity development in the industries, MSMEs (micro, small and medium enterprises), startups, R&D institutions, science & technology institutions, universities, and colleges are given priority for the early foundation of a holistic and conducive innovation ecosystem in the country. While building strong IP-led cultures in the country, India's economic growth and technological progress would make a significant impact in other areas of human development such as poverty alleviation and zero hunger. ●

Table 1: Intellectual Property Administrators in India

Type of Intellectual Property	Nodal Agency for IP Registration and Maintaining of Respective Registry
Patents	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP), Ministry of Commerce and Industry
Trade Marks	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, DIPP
Industrial Designs	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, DIPP
Geographical Indications of Goods	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, DIPP
Copyright	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, DIPP
Semiconductor Integrated Circuits Layout-Design	Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks, DIPP
Plant Varieties and Farmers' Rights	Protection of Plant Varieties and Farmers' Rights Authority, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare
Biological Diversity	National Biodiversity Authority (NBA), Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change

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संघ बनाम गांधी की बहस पर अदालती सबक

✍ शिवानन्द द्विवेदी



आजादी के बाद से ही राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के खिलाफ वैचारिक स्तर पर हमले होते रहे हैं। संघ के खिलाफ नियोजित ढंग से तथ्य गढ़ने और उन्हें कुतर्कों से साबित कराने के लिए अलग-अलग दौर में कांग्रेस की सरकारों द्वारा भी बुद्धिजीवियों की एक बड़ी लॉबी तैयार की गयी। वामपंथी विचार वाले प्रोफेसर्स, इतिहासकार, साहित्यकार सहित तमाम लोगों द्वारा संघ के खिलाफ एक आम एका तैयार करके दशकों से संघ को बदनाम करने की कोशिश की जाती रही है। वैसे तो वामपंथी विचारधारा के लेखकों द्वारा संघ पर तमाम आरोप लगाये जाते रहे हैं लेकिन उन सभी आरोपों में सर्वाधिक बार यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि शंका की हत्या संघ द्वारा की गयी थी। दरअसल इस वाक्य को गोयबल्स के सिद्धांतों से दो कदम आगे बढ़कर बोला जाता रहा है। इतनी बार इस झूठ को बोला गया है कि अब कई मासूम समझ वाले लोगों को यह सच लगने लगा था। हालांकि यह भी एक तथ्य है कि संघ के खिलाफ प्रमाणिक रूप से अभी तक ऐसा कुछ भी इन संघ-विरोधी विचारधारा के लेखकों को नहीं मिल सका है जिसके आधार पर संविधानसम्मत अदालती प्रक्रिया में संघ को चुनौती दे सकें। संघ के खिलाफ इस बयान का उपयोग कांग्रेस के प्रथम परिवार द्वारा भी खूब किया जाता रहा है। हालिया मामला राहुल गांधी से जुड़ा है। अपने बयान में राहुल गांधी एकबार कह चुके हैं कि गांधी की हत्या संघ ने की थी। राहुल गांधी के इस बयान पर आपत्ति जताते हुए संघ की तरफ से किसी ने मुकदमा दर्ज करा दिया था। गत १६ जुलाई को सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने मानहानि के उसी मुकदमे की सुनवाई करते हुए राहुल गांधी को यह आदेश जारी किया कि या तो वे संघ से माफी मांगें अथवा अदालती ट्रायल के लिए तैयार रहें।

कानूनी तौर पर संघ बनाम राहुल गांधी का यह मामला और इसपर अदालत का रुख महज एक कानूनी मुकदमे तक सीमिति नहीं है, बल्कि इसके व्यापक मायने हैं। अदालत के इस आदेश को संदर्भ में रखकर अगर इस मामले का विश्लेषण किया जाय तो यह एक ऐतिहासिक निर्णय कहा जा सकता है। चूंकि संघ को बदनाम करने के लिए इस देश के तथाकथित इतिहासकारों, लेखकों एवं साहित्यकारों द्वारा तथ्यों से इतर मनगढ़ंत ढंग से ऐसी तमाम लफाजियां की गयी हैं जिनका न तो प्रमाणिकता से कोई लेना-देना है और न ही कोई कानूनी आधार है।

यह बात भी ढंग से सब लोगों को बताने की इमानदार कोशिश देश के इतिहासकारों ने कभी नहीं की कि गांधी की हत्या किसने की थी? आमतौर पर लोग गोडसे का नाम लेते हैं लेकिन यह बात बहुत कम लोगों को पता है कि गांधी की हत्या के अपराध में नाथूराम गोडसे और नारायण आष्टे को फांसी की सजा हुई थी। जबकि गांधी हत्या में संलिप्तता के अपराध में मदनलाल पाहवा, विष्णु करकरे सहित कुछ लोगों को उम्र कैद हुई थी। यह सारी प्रक्रिया कानूनी तौर पर अदालती संज्ञान में हुई और दोषियों को सजा भी मिली। उस दौरान भी पंडित नेहरु ने संघ को इस मामले में घसीटने की भरसक कोशिश की और गांधी हत्या के लिए संघ पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया गया। लेकिन नेहरु को लिखे अपने पत्र तत्कालीन गृहमंत्री सरदार पटेल ने खुद स्वीकार किया कि तमाम जांच-पड़ताल के बाद वे कह सकते हैं कि गांधी की हत्या में संघ की कोई भूमिका नहीं है। इसके बाद संघ से प्रतिबन्ध हटा लिया गया और गांधी हत्या के लिए संघ को जिम्मेदार बनाने की तत्कालीन कोशिश नाकाम हो गयी। एक ही कालखंड में न्यायिक प्रक्रिया से गांधी हत्या के लिए जिम्मेदार

छरू—आठ लोगों को फांसी एवं उम्रकैद की सजा होती है और उसी कालखंड में संघ को क्लीन चीट देकर प्रतिबन्ध हटा लिया जाता है। नैतिकता और प्रमाण दोनों यही कहते हैं कि गांधी की हत्या और संघ की यह बहस उसी दिन बंद हो जानी चाहिए थी जिस दिन संघ को प्रतिबन्ध से मुक्त किया गया। लेकिन चूँकि प्रमाणों और नैतिकता दोनों ही धरातलों पर हार चुकी नेहरूवियन साजिशों के पास सिवाय अफवाह के भरोसे इस बहस को जिन्दा रखने के, कोई और चारा न था। उन्होंने वही किया भी, और अपने लेखकों, साहित्यकारों के बूते इस बात को जबरन साबित कराने की कोशिश में लग गये कि शगांधी की हत्या संघ ने की है। हालांकि भारतीय राजनीति में यह कोई पहला मुद्दा होगा जिसको एक खानदान की चौथी पुश्त भी उतनी शिद्धत से ढो रही है, जितनी शिद्धत से इसे तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू ने शुरू किया था। कानून और प्रमाणिकता के धरातल पर नेहरू को भी संघ से मुह की खानी पड़ी थी और आज उसी मामले के सन्दर्भ में राहुल गांधी को भी न्यायिक स्तर पर मुह की खानी पड़ी है।

राहुल गांधी के बयान मसले पर जब कोर्ट का आदेश आया तो एक टीवी बहस वामपंथी इतिहासकार इरफान हबीब से यह पूछा गया कि शसंघ ने गांधी की हत्या कीश इसकी प्रमाणिकता क्या है ? इसका जवाब देते हुए वामपंथी लेखक ने कहा कि इसकी कोई प्रमाणिकता नहीं है बल्कि वे पब्लिक परसेप्शन के आधार पर ऐसा कहते रहे हैं! एक इतिहासकार, जिसके लिखे को इतिहास माना जाता हैश की बुनियादी समझ कितनी सतही और अप्रमाणिक है, इसका अंदाजा इस एकमात्र बयान से लगाया जा सकता है। आखिर एक इतिहासकार इतनी अप्रमाणिक समझ कैसे रख सकता है ? खैर, बड़ा सवाल तो यही भी कि जिस पब्लिक परसेप्शन की वो बात करते हैं, वो श्पब्लिकश है कौन ? क्योंकि वामपंथी दलों के पास तो इस देश के पांच फीसद का जनादेश भी नहीं है! ऐसे में इरफान हबीब जैसे लेखक जो इतिहास भी पब्लिक परसेप्शन के आधार

पर लिखते हैं, भला किस पब्लिक के बीच जाकर अपना परसेप्शन बनाते हैं। पिछले दिनों इतिहासकार रामचंद गुहा ने भी एक पत्रकार की लिखी किताब के आधार पर अपना परसेप्शन बनाते हुए भाजपा के अध्यक्ष अमित शाह की तुलना संजय गांधी से करते हुए उनपर कई आरोप लगाये थे। ऐसे में तो बड़ा सवाल यह भी उठता है कि आजादी से अबतक हमारे देश का इतिहास उन लोगों के भरोसे है जो प्रमाणिकता और तथ्यों से दूरी बनाकर पब्लिक परसेप्शन (यह भी अनीश्चित ही है कि कौन पब्लिक) के आधार पर इतिहास लिखते हैं ? ऐसे लोगों से इतिहास लेखन का काम वापस लिया जाना जाना चाहिए और इनकी पूर्व में की गलतियों की जांच पड़ताल होनी चाहिए।

राहुल गांधी के बयान के बहाने मानहानि के इस मुकदमे को महज एक मुकदमे तक देखने से बात नहीं बनती है। इसका व्यापक पक्ष यह है कि अब सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने इतिहास को दोहराते हुए संवैधानिक प्रक्रिया के तहत यह कह दिया है कि गांधी की हत्या के लिए संघ पर आरोप मढ़ना सरासर गलत है। इस निर्णय को राहुल गांधी को कोर्ट का दिया संदेश मात्र नहीं समझा जा सकता बल्कि यह सन्देश है हर उस लेखक अथवा साहित्यकार, इतिहासकार के लिए जिन्होंने इस अफवाह को सत्ता की खाद—पानी से हवा देने का काम किया है। अब यह बहस बंद हो जानी चाहिए कि गांधी की हत्या के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है। हालांकि संघ के लगातार हुए विस्तार एवं संघ विरोधी धारा की विचारधारा का सिमटना इसबात की तस्दीक करता है कि संघ की प्रमाणिकता जनता के बीच लगातार बढ़ती गयी है। वे जितना इसे बदनाम करने की कोशिश किये हैं, यह उतना ही फैला है। अतरु संघ को अपनी प्रमाणिकता नहीं देनी है। संघ सभी परीक्षाओं एवं प्रतिकूलताओं से होकर आज अखिल भारत में अपना कार्य कर रहा है। संघ का यह विस्तार स्वयं में उसे जनहितैषी होन का प्रमाण है। ●

(लेखक डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी रिसर्च फाउंडेशन में रिसर्च फेलो हैं)

Transforming Indian railways: Analysing the work of Railway Ministry in last two years of Modi Govt

• Siddharth Singh

The two years that have gone by would be recognized as significant in the history of Indian Railways. These shall be seen as the years when the Railway Ministry broke away from tradition and convention and

KEY INITIATIVES FOR INFRASTRUCTURE CREATION & SUPPORT FOR MAKE IN INDIA



Signed agreement with
GE Diesel Locomotive & ALSTOM
for setting up Diesel Locomotive Factory (DLF)
at Marhowra, Saran, Bihar & Electric
Locomotive Factory at Madhepura, Bihar

One of the highest FDI in India
amounting to order book of almost

₹40,000crore

***MoU signed between India &
Japan for Mumbai-Ahmedabad
High Speed Rail Project using
Shinkansen Technology
covering a total of 508 kms.***

Project to be
implemented under
National High Speed
Rail Corporation
Limited

FURTHER HIGH SPEED STUDIES ARE BEING CONDUCTED BY
MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS ON DIAMOND QUADRILATERAL
HIGH SPEED RAIL NETWORK

Feasibility studies
of Delhi-Mumbai,
Mumbai-Chennai
& Delhi-Kolkata
are underway

Delhi-Nagpur & Mumbai -Nagpur
corridors' feasibility study being
undertaken through G2G cooperation
with Chinese & Spanish governments
respectively

abandoned the business as usual approach. The Modi Govt has done its best in diagnosing most of the problems which were ailing the Indian Railways since long, one crucial one being the problem of under-investment in Railways.

Last year, a five-year investment plan of Rs. 8.56 lakh crore was unveiled by the Railway Ministry in the Union Budget. The capital expenditure plan for 2015-16 was increased to Rs. 1 lakh crore as against an average of about Rs. 48,000 crore spent during 2009-2014. The Railway Ministry has spent over Rs. 93,000 crore against the aforesaid target, a feat never achieved earlier by Indian Railways. For the first time, the Government decided to go in for sustained borrowing from the market to meet the enhanced capital expenditure requirements. A financing facility has been extended by LIC to provide Rs. 1.5 lakh crore over a period of five years. For 2016-17, the target of the railway ministry is to spend Rs. 1.21 lakh crore as capital expenditure which is 34% higher than 2015-16.

The Dedicated Freight Corridor has also picked up momentum and the SPV for High Speed Rail has also been registered. The setting up of loco factories at Madhepura and Marhowra is on schedule.

For the last two years, the Government has made untiring efforts to take care of the needs of our passengers. The Indian Railway is trying to resolve the problems of

passengers on a real time basis by using social media. Measures have also been taken to make journeys safer and satisfying for women, divyang and senior citizens. Government has introduced many new services and has upgraded existing ones. India's first semi high speed service, Gatimaan was introduced recently. Indian Railway is also providing long distance services: Humsafar – three tier air-conditioned, Antyodaya – completely unreserved and Tejas – a premium travel experience on Indian Railways.

To increase the modal share and to make the freight operations competitive, Government has appointed key Customer Managers for freight customers and has also started a pilot project of time-tabled freight trains this year.

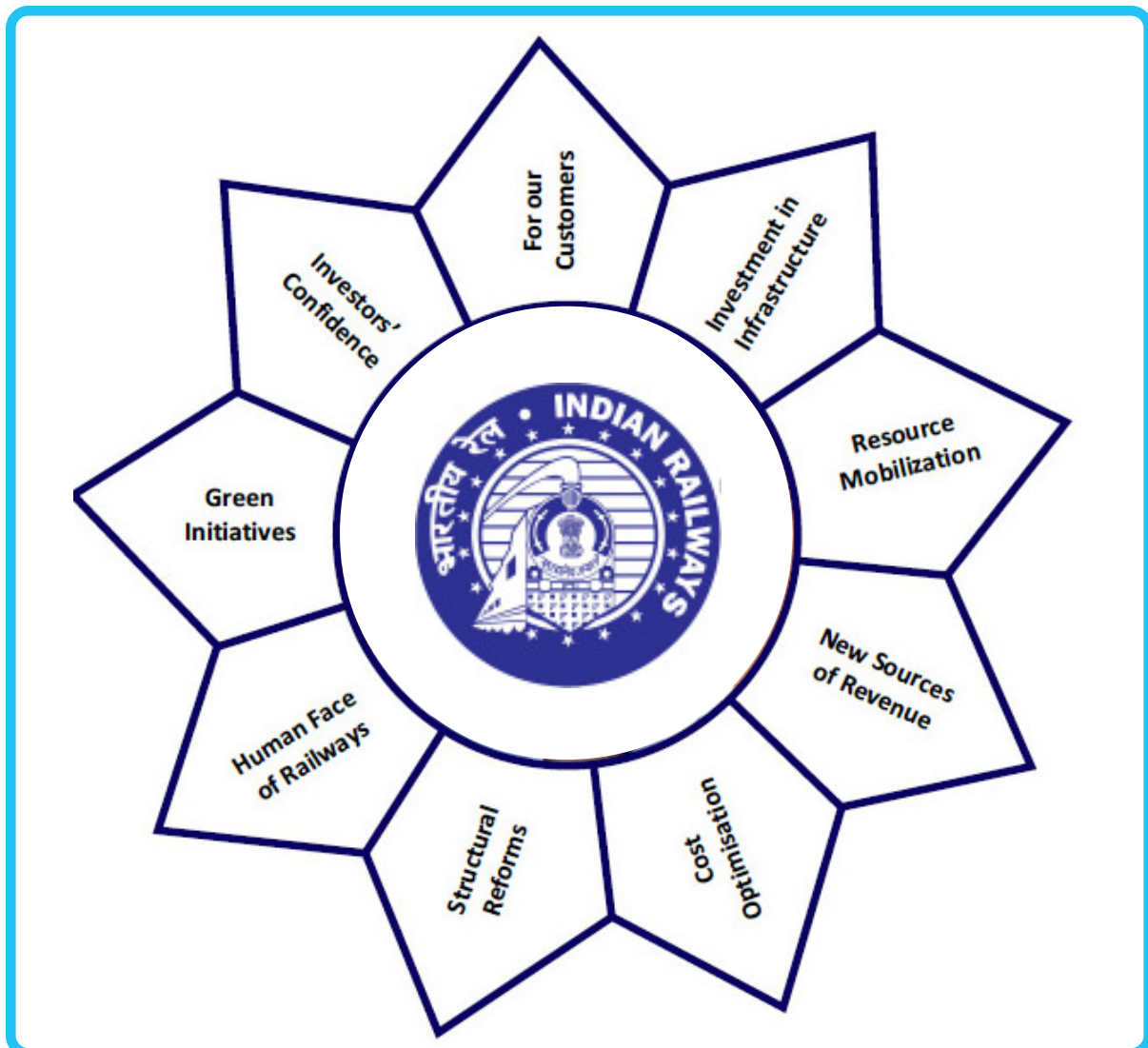
Indian Railway has set for itself new targets and for that it is evolving the organisational structure to suit the changing times. Indian railway is also creating new organizations and changing the process of delivery to bring in more transparency. Some of the proposed new organizations are - Railway Planning and Investment Organization, Special Unit for Transportation Research and Analytics (SUTRA) for data analytics and Special Railway Establishment for Strategic Technology & Holistic Advancement (SRESTHA) for R&D. The Railway Ministry has announced 7 Missions –

- ▶ Mission Raftaar to increase the average speed of the trains,

- ▶ Mission Zero Accident,
- ▶ Mission Hundred to commission 100 railway sidings in the next two years,
- ▶ Mission Procurement and Consumption Efficiency (PACE),
- ▶ Mission Capacity Utilisation,
- ▶ Mission 25 Ton to make our infrastructure suitable for carrying 25-ton axle load, and
- ▶ Mission Beyond Book-keeping for accounting reforms.

Government is also making efforts for commercial exploitation of its

railway assets. Apart from advertising and station redevelopment, Government plans to monetise the land along Railway tracks, monetise Railway data and also encourage the Railways production units to manufacture which will further give a fillip to the Make in India program. The Railway has effectuated huge savings in fuel expenditure through power purchase agreements. Through various measures of cost optimisation the Indian Railway has saved about Rs. 12,000 crore in 2015-16 as compared



to Budget Estimates.

Central Government is setting up joint ventures through its Railway Ministry with State Governments for enabling State Governments to identify projects for development in the States. In this regard, the Government is also seeking co-operation from Japan, China, South Korea, France, Spain and Germany in areas such as high speed, station redevelopment, heavy haul, logistic terminals, etc.

Some of the important achievements of Railway Ministry are:

- ▶ Commissioned record 2828 kms of broad gauge lines which is 85% higher than 2009-14 average annual commissioning. 7.7 kms lines commissioned per day against 2009-14 average of 4.3 kms
- ▶ Capital expenditure in 2015-16 was about Rs. 94,000 Cr which is almost double the average annual capital expenditure over the previous five-year period of 2009-14
- ▶ Electrification of 1730 kms done in the last year is a huge jump over 2009-14 annual average of 1184 kms
- ▶ A responsive 24x7 complaint resolution mechanism employed through the use of social media
- ▶ Cleanliness: Swachh Rail, Swachh Bharat campaign, Clean my Coach Service launched, third party cleanliness audits conducted for stations
- ▶ E-catering, E-wheelchair, E-bedroll

facilities launched to ensure seamless availability and access to these facilities.

- ▶ **Ticketing:** IRCTC capacity increased, Automatic ticket vending machines installed, cancellation of PRS tickets through cell phone launched, Vikalp scheme launched
 - ▶ **Speed:** India's first semi high speed train Gatimaan Express launched, trial run of Talgo coaches underway.
 - ▶ **N-E Connectivity:** Barak Valley of Assam, Agartala, Mizoram and Manipur connected to broad gauge
 - ▶ High speed **Wi-Fi** launched at various stations with a target of 400 stations by 2018
 - ▶ **Environment:** A provision of 1% of total project cost made in all future projects to spend on environment protection measures, major thrust on solar and wind energy provided, traditional lights replaced by environment friendly LED lights
 - ▶ 100% E-tendering implemented resulting in transparent and accountable procurement process
- The Modi Government has set a target before itself to give to the people of India by 2020, a rail system that they can be truly proud of and thus railway ministry is putting in all our efforts to deliver to our country all that it has promised. ●

(Siddharth Singh is a Researcher at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)

Allocation of Rs 12,000 crore by Modi Govt to skill 1 crore people

The Modi Government has approved Rs 12,000-crore outlay for Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY) to impart skills to 1 crore people over the next four years

(2016-20). PMKVY will impart fresh training to 60 lakh youth and certify 40 lakh people who have acquired skills non-formally under the Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL).



MODI GOVERNMENT APPROVES Rs.12,000 CRORE FOR SKILLING 1 CRORE YOUTH OVER NEXT 4 YEARS



Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana

PMKVY will impart fresh training to **60 lakh** youths and certify skills of **40 lakh** persons acquired non-formally under the Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL).



Financial Support

Training and assessment cost to be directly reimbursed to training providers and assessment bodies on a grant based model. Financial support to trainees as travel allowance, boarding and lodging costs.



Placement

Mobilisation, monitoring & post training placement of trainees to be done through Rozgar Melas (placement camps) and Kaushal Shivirs (mobilization camps).



Direct Benefit Transfer

Post placement support would be given directly to the beneficiaries through Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT).

Financial support to trainees will be given in the form of travel allowance and by taking care of boarding and lodging costs. Post-placement support will be given directly to the beneficiaries through Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT). Disbursement of training cost to partners will be linked to Aadhaar and biometrics for better transparency and targeting. Mobilisation, monitoring and post-training placement of trainees will be done through Rozgar Melas (placement camps) and Kaushal Shivirs (mobilisation camps). Skill training will be done based on industry-led standards aligned to the National Skill Qualification Framework (NSQF). Apart from catering to domestic skill needs, PMKVY will focus on skill training aligned with international standards for overseas employment, including in Gulf countries and Europe. There will be scholarships for students undergoing training in high-end job roles under the programme. The target allocation between fresh trainings and RPL will be flexible and interchangeable, depending on

functional and operational requirements. The scheme, completely aligned to the common norms as notified earlier, would move to a grant-based model where the training and assessment cost would be directly reimbursed to training providers and assessment bodies in accordance with the common norms.

In view of the recommendations of the sub-group of chief ministers on skill development, state governments will be involved through a project-based approach under PMKVY 2016-20, with 25 per cent of the total training targets, both financial and physical, being allocated under this stream of the scheme. The financial amount/budget for achieving 25 per cent of the total training target of the next phase of PMKVY will be directly allocated to the states. There will be special focus on placement of trainees with incentives or disincentives linked to placement as envisaged in the common norms. A project-based approach for non-formal training for traditional jobs has also been proposed under new guidelines of PMKVY. ●

SPMRF Desk

Revival of defunct Fertilizer Units in Gorakhpur, Sindri and Barauni by Modi Govt

Modi Govt has approved the revival of defunct Fertilizer Units in Gorakhpur, Sindri and Barauni. These include two closed urea units of Fertilizer Corporation India Limited (FCIL) at Sindri (Jharkhand) and Gorakhpur (Uttar Pradesh) and Barauni (Bihar) unit of Hindustan Fertilizers Corporation Limited (HFCL). These three fertilizers units would be revived by means of Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) of Public Sector

Units (PSUs) namely, National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC), Coal India Limited (CIL), Indian Oil Corporation Limited (IOCL) and FCIL/HFCL, through 'nomination route'.

The setting up of new units at Sindri, Gorakhpur and Barauni will meet the growing demand of urea of Bihar, West Bengal and Jharkhand. It will also ease the pressure on railway and road infrastructure due to long



distance transportation of urea from Western and Central Regions and thereby save in Govt. subsidy on freight. It will also accelerate the economic development of the region. Apart from growth of regional economy, this unit will create opportunities for 1200 direct and 4500 indirect employments.

GAIL (India) Limited has planned to lay a gas pipeline from Jagdishpur to Haldia. These units will serve as anchor customer for this pipeline and ensure its viability. Commissioning Jagdishpur-Haldia gas pipeline (JHPL) is important for development of critical infrastructure in Eastern India and will have multiplier effect

on economic growth of the region. The Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs has also approved gas pooling for urea sector which will enable these units to get gas at pooled price on its revival which will make the urea units globally competitive.

These units were lying defunct since their closure. Therefore, the units and other associated facilities were lying unutilized. It is important to mention here that there is no functional urea unit in the Eastern part of the country except two small units at Namrup (Assam) so this decision of Govt will go a long way in developing the eastern part of India.●

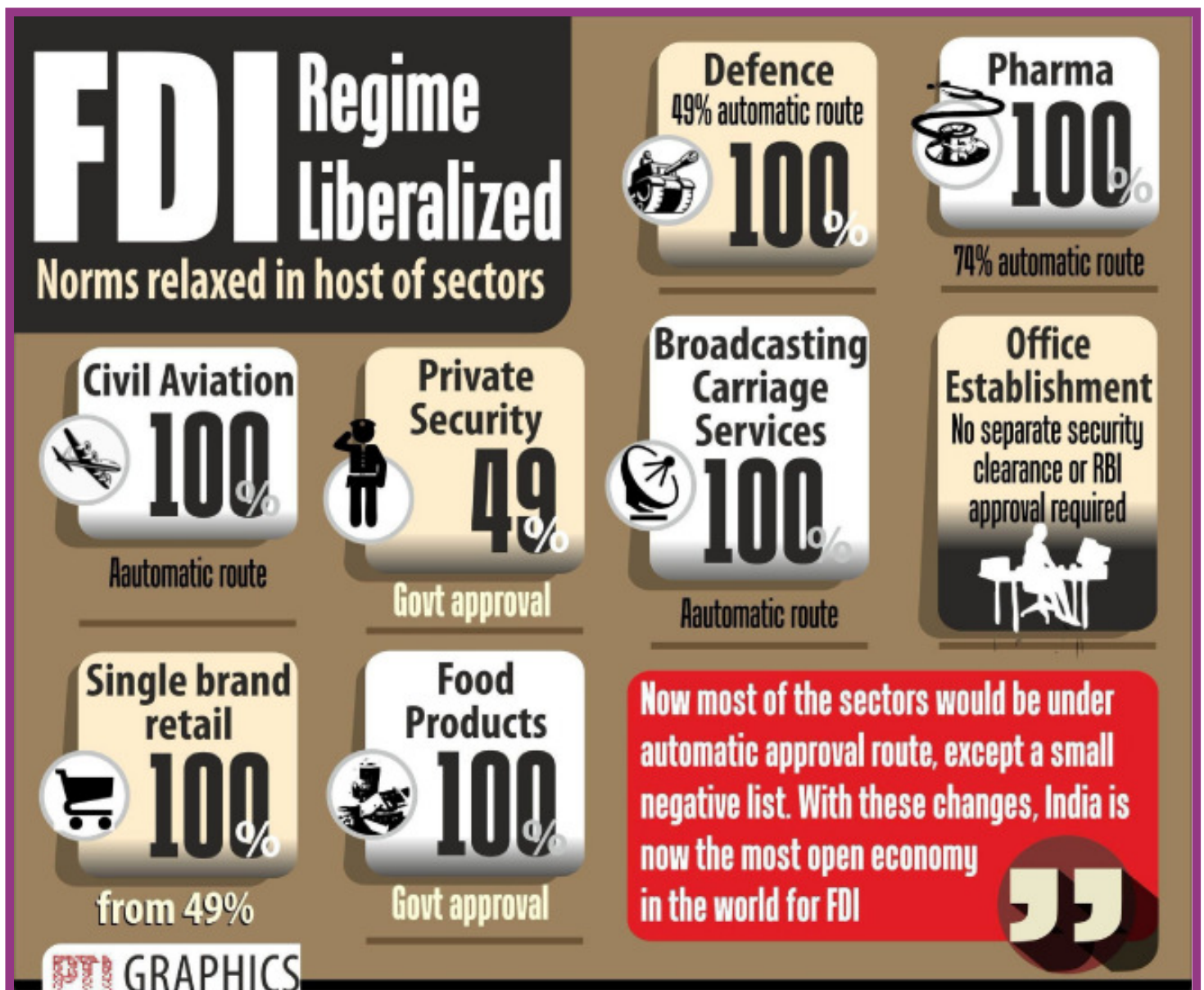
SPMRF Desk

FDI norms relaxed: Boost for the Indian Economy

• Vaibhav Chadha

Recently Modi government relaxed norms for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in various sectors in India with the object of giving a boost to the Indian economy. New sectors have now been opened up where FDI

can be brought in either via automatic route or through the approval of the government. The government will also bring a small negative list which will specify conditions related to FDI's. With this, the message given by



PM Modi to the foreign investors is clear- ensuring ease of doing business for investors in India remains a top priority for the present regime. The Liberalized reforms will not only help in attracting additional foreign capital for major initiative such as 'Make in India', but shall also remove unnecessary hindrances by making it easy for foreign investors to invest in the Indian markets.

As per the Government note, FDI inflows rose to US\$ 55.46 billion in financial year 2015-16 against US\$ 36.04 billion in financial year 2013-14.

Some of the relaxations brought in by the Government in some major sectors and their likely benefits are:-

Defence

Old Policy

- ▶ Present FDI norms permit 49% FDI under automatic route.
- ▶ FDI above 49% permitted through Government approval wherever it was likely to result in access to 'state-of-art' technology in the country.

New Policy

- ▶ Foreign investment beyond 49% will now be permitted through the government approval route.
- ▶ New norms have done away with the condition of access to the 'state-of-art' technology in the country.
- ▶ FDI relaxation for defence sector has now also been extended to manufacturing of Small Arms and Ammunitions.

Benefit

- ▶ Higher ownership will now encourage foreign defence firms to

setup manufacturing facilities in India.

- ▶ Doing away with the clause "state of the art" technology for investments above 49% will give the government more power to decide on proposals by foreign firms.
- ▶ With terms like 'modern technology' and 'other reasons' more defence firms are likely to come and invest in India.
- ▶ There will be a major boost to the small arms manufacturing sector as more foreign players will be attracted towards this sector.

Pharmaceuticals

Old Policy

- ▶ Existing policy on pharmaceutical sector provides for 100% FDI under automatic route in greenfield pharma
- ▶ FDI up to 100% is allowed under government approval in brownfield pharma.

New Policy

- ▶ Now, it has been decided to permit up to 74% FDI under automatic route in brownfield pharmaceuticals and for FDI beyond 74% government approval route will continue.

Benefit

- ▶ A joint report by Assocham and TechSci Research released in Dec, 2015 said "*Indian pharmaceutical industry is expected to touch USD 55 billion by 2020 as against the current size of USD 18 billion.*" By allowing 74% FDI via acquisitions under the automatic route, a foreign

company will now be able to buy a majority stake without waiting for the approval of the government and this will ensure availability of more funds for present projects.

Aviation

Old Policy

- ▶ 49% FDI is allowed under the automatic route in domestic airlines for foreign entities.
- ▶ FDI policy on Airports allows 100% FDI under automatic route in Greenfield Projects and in Brownfield Projects, FDI upto 74% is via automatic route and beyond 74% via government route.

New Policy

- ▶ The limit for local airlines has been raised to 100%, with FDI up to 49% permitted under automatic route and beyond 49% through government approval route. However, Investment by foreign airlines in domestic airlines will be limited to 49% of paid-up capital only.
- ▶ 100% FDI allowed via automatic route in Brownfield Airport projects.
- ▶ Under the automatic route 100% FDI in India will continue to be allowed for NRI's.

Benefit

- ▶ 100% FDI will make local airlines attractive to foreign capital markets and shall help in bringing useful capital to revitalize this sector.
- ▶ In a report, 'India's airport capacity crisis' released in Jan 2016, Centre for Asia Pacific

Aviation (CAPA) estimated that India is about to face a severe crisis as planned investments in upcoming and existing airports is only a fraction of the required \$40 billion investment. The new norms on FDI by the Government on Airports will be beneficial to entities that run airports, as it will support them to raise investment in their existing assets and shall also address the alarm raised by CAPA in its report.

Private Security Agencies

Old Policy

- ▶ FDI allowed under government approval route in private security agencies was 49%.

New Policy

- ▶ Now 49% FDI has been allowed in private security agencies under the automatic route but Government approval would be needed for FDI's beyond 49% and up to 74%.

Benefit

- ▶ A FICCI-Grant Thornton report released in Dec 2015 said that India's private security industry valued at Rs 40,000 crore in 2014 is likely to double by 2020 due to increasing concerns regarding security. The report also estimated that private security industry in India provides employment to more than 70 lakh people and is expected to further generate 50 lakh jobs by 2020. The private security industry has a huge employment generation potential and with more investments coming in, the sector will fulfill the

employment needs of the country.

Broadcast (Cable Networks, Direct to home (DTH) & Headend in the sky (HITS))

Old Policy

- ▶ 100% FDI allowed, only 49% through automatic route and for FDI beyond 49% approval from Government was required.

New Policy

- ▶ Now, the government has allowed 100% FDI through automatic route.
- ▶ Foreign investments, beyond 49% in a company not seeking license/permission from sectoral Ministry, which result a change in the ownership pattern or transfer of stake by existing investor to new foreign investor will require approval from Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB).

Benefit

- ▶ Now DTH operators, Headend-in-the sky (HITS) operators, cable network companies and mobile television operators can raise 100% FDI without seeking consent from the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB).

Retail

Old Policy

- ▶ The current FDI policy in retail allows multi-brand retailers to invest only 51% while opening retail stores in the country.
- ▶ Single brand stores can have 100% ownership, but a restriction is imposed which requires the single brand retailer to source 30 percent of its goods from India.

New Policy

- ▶ The Government has now decided to relax local sourcing norms for three years and a relaxed sourcing regime for another five years for entities which undertake Single Brand Retail Trading of products having 'state-of-art' and 'cutting edge' technology.

Benefit

- ▶ The earlier norm, for foreign single brand retail stores to source 30 percent of the value of the goods sold from the local companies in India, was seen as an obstacle by foreign investors. But now, after the exemption period of 3 years, foreign firms will be given five years to comply with 30 percent local sourcing norms.
- ▶ The changes in retail rules is likely to help Swedish based furniture giant IKEA, which is opening its first store in Hyderabad next year, to expand its operations in India.
- ▶ New policy will also open the doors of Indian market for US tech giant Apple. If after exemption period, it is able to generate huge profits from the Indian market, then it may consider setting up its manufacturing units in India which will create more jobs.

Animal Husbandry

Old Policy

- ▶ At present, 100 per cent FDI is allowed under the automatic route under 'controlled conditions' in animal husbandry, apiculture, pisci-culture and aquaculture.

New Policy

- ▶ Now the government has decided

to eliminate the requirement of 'controlled conditions' for FDI in this sector.

Benefit

- ▶ Removing of the clause 'controlled conditions' will benefit the animal husbandry sector as now we will see FDI's by major bio-genetics companies who shall bring their new technology to India and facilitate improvement breeds of livestock, with this milk production will increase and help the farmers in dairy industry.

Food Processing

Old Policy

- ▶ Earlier 51 per cent was allowed in multi-brand retailing.

New Policy

- ▶ In respect of food products which are manufactured or produced in India, 100% FDI has been permitted under the government approval route for trading (including through e-commerce) in this sector.

Benefit

▶ The policy to allow 100% FDI in food processing without any conditionality and caps will attract investments from MNC's like Walmart, Marks & Spencer...etc in back end infrastructure which is a need of the hour of this sector as it is estimated that approximately 30-40% production is wasted due to lack of infrastructure.

As per a report by FDI Intelligence, a division of *The Financial Times Ltd*, India replaced China as top destination for foreign direct

investment by attracting \$63 billion worth FDI projects in 2015. According to the report *"India was the highest ranked country by capital investment in 2015, with \$63 billion-worth of FDI projects announced."* The recent liberalization of FDI norms will again help in making India the desired destination of foreign investors and shall also help in meeting the long pending infrastructural requirements of various sectors in the country with the infusion of more capital in different sectors in the domestic market. The new norms will promote PM Narendra Modi's agenda to bring in more foreign manufacturers to India and create millions of jobs in the country. The reforms also reflect upon the commitment of the Government in sustaining the pace of growth and development attained within last 2 years. It will also give boost to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which was recorded at rate of 7.6% for the financial year 2015-16, for the next financial year as well. The relaxations come as a second major push by the Government, last year also in November 2015 reforms were introduced to bring in more FDI's in the country.

These norms come as push for the economy at the time when the exports have just stabilized after falling for 17 months in a row and have now contracted 0.79% in the month of May, leaving a trade deficit of \$6.27 Billion. With greater amount of FDI inflows in the country, India will be able to gain access to the global platform in


the world economy as products of superior quality shall now be manufactured by various investors in India for domestic market as well as for exports. FDI policy is assessed on an ongoing basis and then measures for its further liberalization are taken by the Government. "I am confident that India will emerge as a major global centre for defence industry. We will build an industry that will have room for everyone - public sector, private sector and foreign firms. A strong Indian defence industry will not only make India more secure. It will also make India more prosperous," Prime Minister Narendra Modi had said, while inaugurating the Aero India 2015 at

the Air Force Station Yelahanka, Bangalore. PM Modi accepts the role played by FDI's in economic development of India as it not only boosts the domestic capital but also acts as an important source of world class technology, expertise and also serve as a major factor in upgrading the existing infrastructure in the country. The government with such a liberal and transparent FDI policy has facilitated foreign investors and has sent them a positive message which says that when it comes to FDI's -India must remain their first choice. ●

(The author is a Research Associate at Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation, New Delhi)

Not Amit Shah but some Congressmen certainly need Lessons in Indian History: a Response to Jaipal Reddy

 **Dr. Anirban Ganguly**

 The last historian worth his salt that the Congress had was Patabhi Sitaramayya – and Patabhi would lament that none in the Congress had any interest for the meticulous and selfless work of documentation and record keeping that he did. Later the Congress gradually outsourced history writing to Marist historians whose only academic aim was to deconstruct India, tarnish nationalist leaders – except those from the Nehruvian stable – Patel included and either justify or whitewash the collaborationist past of their comrades – especially during 1942.

Indira Gandhi's recruit Nurul Hassan was hired to complete the outsourcing job. Naturally after this outsourcing the Congress has lost all historical perspectives and has to now again outsource the work of defending their patriarch and belittling the contributions of other nationalist stalwarts to a former socialist turned Congressman.

It is amusing to see Jaipal Reddy a committed ex-socialist turned committed Congressman, with no known writings on history, come up and speak of Syama Prasad Mookerjee about whom he would have little or no knowledge. Instead of asking BJP

chief Amit Shah to read history, Reddy would do well to himself read history of that period and to brush aside the cobwebs in his own reading of India's post-independence history.

On referring Kashmir to the UN – Reddy must know that Nehru had unilaterally decided the matter – has he was handling Kashmir affairs and did not let Sardar look in it and would brook no interference from any quarter. Even Sardar felt it was a wrong decision. Reddy may read N.G.Ranga's [leader from his own state] memoirs and articles on Sardar and will know what Sardar felt on Kashmir. A similar feeling was Dr. Mookerjee's and others, but could the mighty Nehru be overruled? Jaipal Reddy's knowledge of this period of India's history is poor, at best rudimentary. It is common knowledge that the decision to refer Kashmir to the UN was not discussed in the cabinet and was taken unilaterally by Nehru without consulting his cabinet colleagues.

Reddy must also read Dr. Mookerjee's intervention during the "Motion regarding Kashmir State" in the Lok Sabha on 7th August 1952 and will find Dr. Mookerjee himself answering all the points that Reddy raises. In fact, the perfect parliamentarian that he was and

conscious of his binding to the oath of secrecy in his previous role has a Union Minister, Dr. Mookerjee during this discussion does not reveal to Parliament that the decision was solely Prime Minister Nehru's and not a collective one. Unlike Congressmen of his era and of the present, Dr. Mookerjee had grace and rectitude in his public and parliamentary dealings. Unfortunately having come to the Congress, like all Congressmen, Reddy seems to have lost the habit of reading, reflecting and of research.

On August 7th 1952 Dr. Mookerjee pleaded for withdrawing the issue from the UN – “somehow we should withdraw ourselves from the UNO. We can tell them respectfully that we have had enough of the UNO and let us now consider and try to settle the matter through our own efforts...” And then he asked the Prime Minister on the floor of the House, “I would like to know from the Prime Minister” Is there any possibility of our getting back this territory? We shall not get it through the effort of the United Nations; we shall not get it through peaceful methods by negotiations with Pakistan. That means we lost it, unless we use force and the Prime Minister is unwilling to do so. Let us face facts – are we prepared to lose it? Dr. Mookerjee prescience on the Kashmir matter is evident here.

Dr. Mookerjee's line on Kashmir was that of Patel's but Nehru was never ready to admit that he had bungled and bring about a course correction. It is a well accepted reality

today that rushing the Kashmir issue to the UN bogged us down into the marshes of international politics from which we have still not managed to extricate ourselves.

On Article 370 – I suggest Reddy read the Nehru-Mookerjee-Abdullah correspondences available in print in NMML archives, to better educate himself on the issue. Reams of papers and volumes have already been written on this. He can spend his period of political hibernation in reading these up.

Reddy's other howler is that Dr. Mookerjee resigned from the cabinet because of Sheikh Abdullah – and that is where I say that Reddy, instead of trying to dabble in Jana Sangh history must rather focus on the history of the socialist movement in India – that is, as they say, pure fiction. It would just require a near average knowledge of history to know that Dr. Mookerjee resigned, along with K.C. Neogy in protest against the Nehru-Liaquat pact. Reddy would do well to read Dr. Mookerjee's statement in the House on Wednesday, 19th April 1950. Dr. Mookerjee strongly felt that the Nehru-Liaquat would be incapable of providing security to the minorities in East Pakistan.

Amit Shah may be new to national politics, but he knows well the propensity of a section of the Lytens elite of which Reddy was, till the other day, an exalted member, of indulging in false propaganda and baking history out of fiction. Our advice to Reddy is that:

- a) He should rather write a memoir on why the socialist movement in India failed and on why leaders like him had to desert the ship, dump it and jump onto the Congress band wagon in order to perpetuate a career in politics. He should, at least now, stop acting as a spokesperson of party whose stand and objectives he has actually always opposed.
- b) That Reddy himself draw up a syllabus of the history of the

Congress party and initiate classes, right from its president and vice-president downward so that Congress members really know how far they have deviated from their core ideology and ideals if any.

Unless he does all of these in right earnest Reddy will be identified with those Congressmen who, as he once described them, are always “deficit in commonsense and with an information overload.” ●

शाह फैजल के किन्तु-परन्तु में भारत और कश्मीर कहां है?

 **हर्षवर्धन त्रिपाठी**

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009 के आईएस टॉपर शाह फैजल के दर्द भरे लेख को पढ़ लेने वाले देश के अधिकांश लोगों के मन में ये अहसास गहरा सकता है कि दरअसल भारत सरकार ने कश्मीर के साथ संवाद का गलत तरीका अपनाया है। शाह फैजल ने अपने लेख में लगातार बताया है कि गलत तरीके से हो रहे संवाद से कश्मीर लगातार भारत से दूर होता जा रहा है। शाह का लेख दरअसल एक कश्मीरी की भावनाओं को सामने लाता है। लेकिन, ये भावनाओं से ज्यादा उस डर को ज्यादा सामने लाता है, जिसमें कश्मीर के आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद के खिलाफ बोलने से हर कश्मीरी की जिंदगी जाने का खतरा है। शाह फैजल अपने एक साल के बेटे के साथ अपनी कहानी जोड़कर भी बताते हैं कि कैसे कश्मीर घाटी में रहने वाला हर नौजवान परेशान है। हर कोई भारत के साथ खड़ा होने से डर रहा है। ये स्वीकारोक्ति कितनी खतरनाक है। इसका अंदाजा लगाइए कि ये बात

शाह फैजल कह रहा है जो, भारत सरकार की सबसे बड़ी सेवा आईएस का टॉपर है। और अभी जम्मू कश्मीर की सरकार में शिक्षा निदेशक के पद पर काम कर रहा है। इसका मतलब समझना बहुत जरूरी है। हालांकि, सारा मतलब सलीके से शाह फैजल का लिखा ही समझा देता है। शाह फैजल का सारा गुस्सा पता नहीं टेलीविजन पर घाटी में फैल रहे अलगाववाद, आतंकवाद की बदसूरत सच्चाई सामने आने से ज्यादा है या फिर इस बात से कि टीवी पर आतंकवादी बुरहान वानी के साथ तुलना करने से उनकी जान पर खतरे से है। शाह फैजल कह रहे हैं कि भारत सरकार को टीवी

चैनलों को राष्ट्रहित परिभाषित करने की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए। यहां तक कि शाह फैजल इसे लेकर मीडिया को संविधान में दिए गए अभिव्यक्ति के अधिकार पर भी सवाल खड़ा कर देते हैं। शाह फैजल कई टीवी चैनलों का नाम लेकर लिखते हैं कि इन चैनलों पर जो दिखाया जा रहा है, इससे भारत संवाद वाली सभ्यता से एक गूंगी, कुतर्की सभ्यता में बदल सकती है। शाह जब इस तरह से लिखते हैं, तो कई बार राष्ट्रहित, राष्ट्रवाद, देश

भावनाओं से ज्यादा उस डर को ज्यादा सामने लाता है, जिसमें कश्मीर के आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद के खिलाफ बोलने से हर कश्मीरी की जिंदगी जाने का खतरा है। शाह फैजल अपने एक साल के बेटे के साथ अपनी कहानी जोड़कर भी बताते हैं कि कैसे कश्मीर घाटी में रहने वाला हर नौजवान परेशान है। हर कोई भारत के साथ खड़ा होने से डर रहा है। ये स्वीकारोक्ति कितनी खतरनाक है। इसका अंदाजा लगाइए कि ये बात शाह फैजल कह रहा है जो, भारत सरकार की सबसे बड़ी सेवा आईएस का टहपर है।

कश्मीरियत की चिंता में धुंधला सा होता दिखता है। कश्मीरियत सबसे पहले होनी चाहिए लेकिन, भारत की सबसे बड़ी सेवा के अधिकारी होने का नाते कश्मीर और देश की चिंता भी दिखती, तो ज्यादा बेहतर होता।

शाह फैजल के मुताबिक, सारे टीवी चैनल का प्राइम टाइम सिर्फ कश्मीर घाटी को और ज्यादा उत्तेजित करने वाला, कश्मीरियों को भारत के खिलाफ खड़ा करने वाला है। शाह कहते हैं कि इससे राज्य सरकार की मुश्किल और बढ़ने वाली है। शाह कह रहे हैं कि टीवी चैनल सिर्फ झूठी, लोगों को बांटने वाली, घृणा पैदा करने वाली और

लोकतंत्र, धर्मनिरपेक्षता को खत्म करने वाली खबरें दिखा रहे हैं। शाह लिखते हैं कि मुझे एक अनजान फोन कॉल से पता चला कि एक न्यूजचैनल कैसे उनकी और बुरहान वानी की तुलना कर रहा है। यहां तक लगता है कि शाह फैजल दरअसल मुश्किल का समाधान खोजने की बात कर रहे हैं। लेकिन, इसके बाद की लिखी पंक्तियां मुझे डरा रही हैं कि अपनी जान जाने के डर से एक अमनपसंद कश्मीरी ऐसे व्यवहार करने लगा तो राष्ट्रहित सरकार क्या किसी हाथ में भी सुरक्षित नहीं रहेगा। शाह कह रहे हैं कि बुरहान वानी से उनकी तुलना उनकी जान को खतरा तो है ही। साथ ही वो लिखते हैं कि 50 हजार रुपये महीने की नौकरी और 50 लाख रुपये के घर कर्ज के साथ कैसे वो सफल कश्मीरी नौजवान बताए जा सकते हैं। शाह यहीं नहीं रुकते। वो लिखते हैं कि जब महानता का पैमाना किसी के अंतिम संस्कार में उमड़ने वाली भीड़ हो तो, क्या कोई 50 हजार रुपये महीने के लिए ऐसे ही मर जाना चाहेगा। इसमें कश्मीर की चिंता कहां दिखती है। हां, यहां एक अमनपसंद कश्मीरी, उस पर भी एक आईएस का डर टीवी स्टूडियो की बहस से ज्यादा भावनाएं भड़काने वाला हो जाता है। शाह के लेख के दर्द, भावनाओं के उफान में शायद ही इन पंक्तियों पर ज्यादा चर्चा हो लेकिन, क्या ये देश की सबसे बड़ी सेवा को सिर्फ 50 हजार की नौकरी कहकर अपमानित करने जैसा नहीं है। देश को चलाने का भरोसा जिन अधिकारियों पर होता है उनका नैतिक बल कमजोर करने जैसा नहीं है। शाह को तो फक्र होना चाहिए था कि देश के चैनल ये बता रहे हैं कि देखिए सारी विसंगतियों के बाद एक कश्मीरी कैसे देश की सबसे बड़ी सेवा में सर्वोच्च है। एक कश्मीरी भारत की सबसे बड़ी सेवा में सर्वोच्च होने को गलत तरीके से कैसे देखा जा सकता है। इतने बेहतर उदाहरण के जरिए आतंकवाद की तरफ

आकर्षित होने वाले नौजवानों को रोकने से बढ़िया तरीका क्या हो सकता है। लेकिन, शाह फैजल ने तो उल्टा कर दिया। अंतिम यात्रा में भीड़ उमड़ने की बात कहकर तो एक तरह से घोषित आतंकवादी बुरहान वानी की तरफ ही कश्मीरी नौजवानों को धकेल दिया। शाह फैजल का लिखा ये ज्यादा खतरनाक इसलिए भी हो जाता है कि क्योंकि, शाह अभी भी जम्मू कश्मीर के शिक्षा विभाग में निदेशक हैं।

शाह फैजल लिखते हैं कि भारतीय परंपरा में राज्य अपने लोगों से अनुकूलन के जरिए संवाद बनाता है उग्र भाषण के जरिए नहीं। लोगों की

शाह कह रहे हैं कि बुरहान वानी से उनकी तुलना उनकी जान को खतरा तो है ही। साथ ही वो लिखते हैं कि 50 हजार रुपये महीने की नौकरी और 50 लाख रुपये के घर कर्ज के साथ कैसे वो सफल कश्मीरी नौजवान बताए जा सकते हैं। शाह यहीं नहीं रुकते। वो लिखते हैं कि जब महानता का पैमाना किसी के अंतिम संस्कार में उमड़ने वाली भीड़ हो तो, क्या कोई 50 हजार रुपये महीने के लिए ऐसे ही मर जाना चाहेगा।

भलाई के काम के जरिए संवाद बनाता है, हिंसा से नहीं। अब शाह फैजल ने यहां क्यों नहीं बताया कि भारत सरकार ने कितनी बार मध्यस्थों के जरिए सबसे बात करने की कोशिश की और इस कोशिश को किन लोगों ने नाकाम किया। लोगों की भलाई का, कश्मीर में आई बाढ़ के दौरान केंद्र और राज्य सरकार के काम से बड़ा उदाहरण क्या सकता है। सेना हर हालत में हर कश्मीरी को बचा रही थी। कहां से हिंसा आ गई। आतंकवादी के जनाजे के बाद हिंसा हो और पुलिस, सेना को मारने की कोशिश हो, तो संवाद कैसे होगा। ये भी शाह फैजल को बताना चाहिए। शाह मुस्लिम परंपरा का हवाला देते हुए भी लिखते हैं कि संवाद सच, धैर्य और आग्रह के आधार पर होता रहा है। यहां भी शाह ये बताने से बच गए कि संयोग से केंद्र की सरकार और राज्य की सरकार एक दूसरे

अनुकूलन का ही काम कर रहे हैं। तो फिर सच, धैर्य और आग्रह की संवाद की मुस्लिम परंपरा कौन खत्म कर रहा है। शाह ये भी चिंता जता रहे हैं कि भारतीय राज्य कश्मीर के मुद्दे को तथाकथित बौद्धिकों, राजनीतिक अवसरवादियों, मौकापरस्तों, सुरक्षा एजेंसियों और सबसे ज्यादा राष्ट्रहित के स्वघोषित रक्षकों के हाथ में छोड़ने का जोखिम नहीं ले सकता। शाह फैजल की इस बात से एकदम सहमत हूं। लेकिन, सिर्फ चार टीवी चैनलों को छोड़कर लगे हाथ तथाकथित बौद्धिकों, राजनीतिक अवसरवादियों, मौकापरस्तों के बारे में भी खुलकर आ लिखते, तो बेहतर होता। शाह फैजल लिख रहे हैं कि आप किसी भी किशोर से पूछिए तो वो बताएगा कि भारत सरकार बरसों से कैसे फर्जी चुनाव, चुनी हुई सरकारों को गिराने, एनकाउंटर और भ्रष्टाचार के जरिए कश्मीरियों से संवाद कर रही है। शाह का ये लिखा भावनाओं को भड़काने के लिए टीवी चैनलों की प्राइमटाइम बहस से भी ज्यादा खतरनाक है। फर्जी चुनाव और चुनी हुई सरकार को गिराना दोनों एक सांस में सही कैसे कहा जा सकता है। फिर शाह ने ये क्यों नहीं बताया कि अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी के समय में हुए 2002 के चुनावों के बाद जम्मू कश्मीर में ज्यादातर निष्पक्ष चुनाव हुए हैं। भ्रष्टाचार भारत के हर राज्य में है। इसका मतलब क्या ये समझा जाए कि हर जगह आतंकवाद हो जाना चाहिए। एनकाउंटर कई बार निर्दोषों के भी हुए हैं। और ये भारतीय सरकार, सेना को कठघरे में खड़ा करता है। लेकिन, क्या कश्मीरियों को ये नहीं समझना होगा कि भारत सरकार, सेना कश्मीर की पीढ़ियों को आतंकवाद से बचाने के लिए ही लगी है।

लेकिन, आतंकवादियों को अगर कश्मीरी थोड़ा भी समर्थन देगा तो, भेद करना मुश्किल होता है। और फिर एक दूसरे पर भरोसा न करने की बुनियाद मजबूत होती जाती है। शाह फैजल लिखते हैं कि कश्मीरी बेहद संवेदनशील लोग हैं। लेकिन, वो शक्की भी बहुत हैं। मैं मानता हूं कि कश्मीरी बेहद संवेदनशील, लंबे समय के बुरे अनुभव की वजह से हर किसी पर संदेह करने वाले हैं लेकिन, वो बेहद उम्दा लोग हैं। बशर्ते वो कश्मीरी ही रहें। अगर वो पाकिस्तान के झंडे हाथ में थामते हैं, तो कश्मीरी नहीं हो सकते। कश्मीरी कभी पाकिस्तानी नहीं हो सकता। कभी जनमत संग्रह की नौबत आई, तो जम्मू कश्मीर के लोग ये बताएं कि वो क्या चाहते हैं। वैसे चुनाव भी जनमत संग्रह होता है। और इस बार के नतीजे ने तो साफ किया है कि हिंदू-मुसलमान की खाई को जम्मू-कश्मीर के लोग पाटना चाहते हैं। बीजेपी-पीडीपी का गठजोड़ जनमत के दबाव की मजबूरी में हुआ है। ये इतनी छोटी सी बात राजनीतिक विद्वान लोग क्यों नहीं समझना चाह रहे हैं। जैसे घर में किसी वजह से पिछड़े बच्चे को घर का हर मजबूत सहारा देता है। वैसे ही भारत ढेर सारी विसंगतियों की वजह से पिछड़ गए कश्मीर को भारत की मुख्यधारा में लाना चाहता है। भारत ये एहसान नहीं कर रहा। लेकिन, ये बात कश्मीर को भी समझना होगा। और आखिर में मैं शाह फैजल वाली बात में एक पंक्ति जोड़कर दोहरा रहा हूं कि प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी को ये महत्वपूर्ण काम सीधे तौर पर अपने जिम्मे ही लेना होगा कि भारत की कश्मीर में और भारतीय कश्मीर की दुनिया छवि बेहतर हो। ●

(लेखक वरिष्ठ पत्रकार हैं)

यूपी चुनाव से पहले सत्तासीन दल की खिसकती जमीन

 उमेश चतुर्वेदी



मुलायम सिंह यादव इन दिनों अपने कार्यकर्ताओं को लगातार चेता रहे हैं। उनके इस चेतावनी का मकसद कार्यकर्ता से ज्यादा उन नेताओं को हड़काना नजर आता है, जो सत्ता की मलाई खा रहे हैं, जो मंत्री हैं, विधायक हैं, निगमों के पदाधिकारी हैं या जिला पंचायतों-परिषदों के अध्यक्ष, सदस्य आदि हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश की राजनीति में मुलायम सिंह यादव बार-बार अपने नेताओं को यह बता रहे हैं कि कौन भ्रष्टाचार कर रहा है, कौन सत्ता की ताकत से जमीनें पर कब्जा कर रहा है, सब पर उनकी निगाह है। लगे हाथों वे बार-बार यह भी ताकीद कर रहे हैं कि अगर कार्यकर्ता-नेता नहीं संभलें तो जनता उन्हें नकार देगी और उन्हें सत्ता से बाहर कर देगी। मुलायम की यह चेतावनी उत्तर प्रदेश में विधानसभा चुनावों के ठीक पहले एक बार नहीं, बार-बार आ रही है। इससे क्या यह मान लिया जाय कि नेताजी जनसंख्या के लिहाज से सबसे बड़े सूबे की सत्ताधारी पार्टी के जरिए हो रहे भ्रष्टाचार से परेशान हैं? सवाल यह भी उठ रहा है कि क्या मुलायम सिंह यादव सचमुच उत्तर प्रदेश की सत्ताधारी पार्टी को पाक-साफ बनाना चाहते हैं ?

यह पहला मौका नहीं है कि मुलायम सिंह यादव ने अपने कार्यकर्ताओं-नेताओं की भ्रष्टाचारी मानसिकता पर सवाल उठाए हैं। इससे पहले वे मुख्यमंत्री और अपने बेटे अखिलेश यादव की मौजूदगी के दौरान भी मंत्रियों और विधायकों के भ्रष्टाचार पर सवाल उठाए थे। उनकी चेतावनी को उस समय भी गंभीरता से लिया गया था। लेकिन इस सवाल का जवाब अब भी अनुत्तरित ही है कि क्या इससे सूबे में भ्रष्टाचार रुक गया और क्या

इससे उत्तर प्रदेश की परेशान जनता पर प्रशासन और सरकार ने ध्यान देना शुरू कर दिया। क्योंकि मुलायम सिंह की उस पहली चेतावनी के बाद ही आगरा के जवाहर बाग में रामवृक्ष कांड हुआ, जिसे शह देने का खुलेआम आरोप शिवपाल यादव पर लगा। इस कार्रवाई में सूबे के पुलिस बल को अपने एक एसपी और एक इंस्पेक्टर की जान देकर अपनी कीमत चुकानी पड़ी। पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के कैराना को लेकर लगातार राजनीति जारी है। राज्य के पूर्वी इलाके के जिलों में लोग भरी गरमी में भी चार से पांच घंटे की बिजली सप्लाई के सहारे अपनी जिंदगी गुजारने के लिए मजबूर हैं। जाहिर है कि नेताजी की चेतावनियों का उनके ही कार्यकर्ताओं पर कोई असर नहीं हुआ। उत्तर प्रदेश के हालात सिर्फ कुछ अखबारों के विज्ञापनी पन्ने पर ही बेहतर नजर आ रहे हैं, जमीनी हकीकत कुछ अलग ही नजर आ रहे हैं।

उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार की राजनीति अब भी जाति-धर्म के जरिए ही संचालित होने के लिए अभिशप्त है। हालांकि संचार क्रांति और सोशल मीडिया के उभार के दौर में युवाओं का एक वर्ग ऐसा भी विकसित हो गया है, जो जाति-धर्म की बजाय यह जानना चाहता है कि गंगा-यमुना और घाघरा के इलाके की उपजाऊ जमीनों से समृद्ध उत्तर प्रदेश की ज्यादातर जनता बदहाल क्यों हैं। आर्थिक उदारीकरण और उपभोक्तावाद के दौर में बिजली की चमक उत्तर प्रदेश, आजमगढ़ और इटावा में ही क्यों नजर आती है। सूबे के दूसरे इलाकों में बिजली क्यों नहीं हैं। सोशल मीडिया के जरिए युवाओं का एक वर्ग बुंदेलखंड की बदहाली और उसे बदलने के लिए उठाए गए कदमों की कामयाबी का सवाल पूछ रहा है। जब इन सवालों के ठोस और माकूल जवाब नहीं

मिलते तो सोशल मीडिया के जरिए दुनिया से रूबरू हो रहा युवा मान लेता है कि इसके पीछे कहीं न कहीं भ्रष्टाचार एक बड़ी वजह है। दरअसल मुलायम सिंह यादव को इन्हीं युवाओं के गुस्से का डर है। 2012 में ऐसे ही युवाओं के एक वर्ग ने अखिलेश यादव की साइकिल यात्राओं पर भरोसा किया था और उसे उम्मीद थी कि बदलती दुनिया के साथ अखिलेश की अगुआई में उत्तर प्रदेश भी बेहतर बिजली और पानी सप्लाई, बढ़िया सड़कों और स्वच्छ प्रशासन के साथ कदमताल करेगा। अखिलेश सरकार लाख दावे करे, लेकिन हकीकत यही है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के युवाओं की इन उम्मीदों को उसने पूरा नहीं किया है।

मुलायम सिंह चूंकि अनुभवी राजनेता हैं, लिहाजा उन्हें इस युवा आक्रोश की भनक लग गई है। बेशक वे जातीय संतुलन साधने में भी जुटे हैं। परिवार के अंदर की खींचतान पर भी काबू पाने की कोशिश में हैं। लेकिन आम लोगों को इसी गुस्से को दरअसल आवाज दे रहे हैं। इसके पीछे उनका प्रमुख मकसद उत्तर प्रदेश के मतदाताओं को यह संकेत देना है कि दरअसल समाजवादी परिवार का मुखिया खुद भ्रष्टाचार विरोधी है, वह सबकुछ ठीक कर देगा। अगर मुलायम सिंह यादव ने एक बार यह संकेत मतदाताओं तक सही तरीके से पहुंचा दिया तो चुनावी मैदान में उनकी लड़ाई थोड़ी आसान हो जाएगी।


उत्तर प्रदेश की सत्ता से खुद को अलग करके मुलायम सिंह ने अपनी छवि उस पारिवारिक मुखिया की तरह बनाने की कोशिश की है, जो नीर-क्षीर विवेकी होता है और अपने भी परिवार के लोगों की गलतियों को उजागर करता है। भारत में मतभेद रखने वाले दूसरे परिवार के उम्मीदराज मुखिया को भी विवादों से रहित मानने की गंवई परंपरा रही है। ऐसे मुखिया की बातों को विरोधी परिवार के लोग भी नजरंदाज नहीं करते और उसका सम्मान करते हैं। सम्मान तो मुलायम सिंह यादव का भी है। लेकिन यह भी सच है कि वे गंवई परंपरा के विवादरहित मुखिया की तरह नहीं हैं। अगर वे

चाहें तो समाजवादी सत्ता तंत्र में अगर उनके ही मुताबिक भ्रष्टाचार है तो उसे दूर किया जा सकता है। लेकिन हकीकत में ऐसा कर पाने का उनमें साहस नहीं है। अगर ऐसा होता तो बलिया के विधायक नारद राय फिर से कैबिनेट मंत्री नहीं बनाए जाते। उनके बेटे पर बलिया जिला मुख्यालय पर सरेआम गोलीबारी करने का आरोप है। उनके एक पूर्व मंत्री पर थाने और गांव के तालाब की सार्वजनिक जमीन कब्जा करने का आरोप है। उससे वे अभी मुक्त नहीं हुए हैं और वे पूर्व मंत्री मुलायम की रणनीतिक टीम के ताकतवर चेहरे हैं। पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के नेता खुलेआम बदजुबानी कर रहे हैं। मुलायम सिंह यादव को उन पर भी निगाह नहीं है। मुलायम अगर हकीकत में चाहें तो निश्चित है कि उत्तर प्रदेश का समाजवादी सत्तातंत्र रास्ते पर आ जाए। लेकिन सही मायने में वे ऐसा करना ही नहीं चाहते। भूलिए मत 1993 में बनी उनकी सत्ता को। उन्हीं दिनों उत्तर प्रदेश में लठैती बढ़ी। तब सूबे के दो बड़े अखबारों के खिलाफ उन्होंने हल्लाबोल किया था। तब माना गया था कि भ्रष्टाचार के खिलाफ मीडिया की आवाज दबाने के लिए ऐसा किया जा रहा है। उसी दौर में समाजवादी तंत्र में ऐसे लोग और ऐसी परंपरा घुस आई, जिसका एक मात्र मकसद लोहिया की दी लाल टोपी पहनकर सत्ता तंत्र पर काबिज होना और अपनी जेब भरना रहा। लोहिया की बात करने वाले लोहिया की तरह सादा जिंदगी बिताने को अपना मकसद मानना भूल गए। लोहिया ने तीन आने बनाम पच्चीस हजार की बहस के जरिए मजलूम और गरीब जनता के दर्द को राष्ट्रीय विमर्श बना दिया था। लेकिन मुलायम सिंह की अगुआई वाले समाजवादियों के बड़े धड़े की आज पहचान इससे इतर है। ऐसा नहीं कि मुलायम की इस चेतावनी को हकीकत जनता समझ नहीं रही है। इसका कितना असर होगा, यह तो चुनावी मैदान में ही नजर आएगा।

(लेखक वरिष्ठ पत्रकार हैं एवं नेशनलिस्ट ऑनलाइन में बोर्ड सदस्य हैं।)

#NiceAttack in France & Threat of Growing Islamic Terror

● Siddharth Singh

 In Nice (France), once the Bastille Day fireworks had faded in the summer night and 30000 people were strolling on the promenades des Anglais, violence struck again and killed as many as 84. This time children have been hit too. Families have become targets of Islamic terror. What kind of rationale will be presented now by the so called Liberals who are still in a denial mode in accepting the existing hard faced reality of Islamic terror?

French president Hollande accepted that “there is a strong and undeniable link between Islam and terrorism”. This could be the first step towards accepting the hard-core reality that terrorism, which has come to represent the gravest threat to modern existence, cannot be fought with just military might and thus it needs to be countered at the level of ideas also.

The sophisticated propaganda over social media adopted by the ISIS to influence Muslim youth is a big concern throughout the world. The misdirected counter-radicalisation strategy adopted, specially in Europe, which has focused on sponsoring ‘liberal’ Islamic education and funding Imams as well as ignoring activities in Madarsas has not worked

well has largely failed to tackle the problem of radicalisation. There is a wide perception in the western world community that poverty and bad economic conditions are the prime reason for the radicalisation of Muslim youth but contrary to popular belief, poverty and economic conditions have nothing to do with radicalisation.

The concept of Dar-ul-Islam is at the centre of indoctrination by Islamist propaganda and it also explains why so many Muslims in the western world as well as some in India join ISIS. Unlike Al-Qaeda, which was only interested in waging war against the West, now a sizeable number of Muslims all over the Western world are responding to the ISIS’s call so as to help build a Caliphate which means ‘House of Islam’.

It is also very interesting to note that the ISIS’s call has received more response from the Muslim communities in Western societies rather than in Islamic countries. So this actually goes to confirm that it is the identity crisis faced by the Muslim youth in Western countries which has been triggered by their teachings at home and now it is finding a resonance with the message from ISIS.

All the Muslim youth who are

joining ISIS are from the urban middle class, are net savvy, and are educated young men belying the notion that only the illiterate and poor are vulnerable. And all are being radicalized and indoctrinated through the internet which has now become one an attractive as well as effective platform for jihadi groups to spread their noxious message. The Islamic State is particularly good at it. Western intelligence agencies have also been surprised by the scale and sophistication of web operation of ISIS. It is ironical to see how a regressive ideology propagated by ISIS, which hates everything which is modern and made in the West, is using the most modern means of communications to promote itself.

If we look at the nature of radicalisation among a section of the Indian Muslim then it stands dramatically transformed. The problem of radicalisation in India also has a global dimension to it with foreign jihadi groups looking upon India as a fertile new ground for their recruitment which is reflective in Al-Qaida's decision to set up a separate Indian branch.

Dreaded terrorist group ISIS does not consider South Asian Muslims, including Indians, good enough to


fight in the conflict zones of Iraq and Syria and treat them as inferior to Arab fighters and often trick and push them into undertaking suicide attacks. Some Muslim youths in India, who have shown an inclination towards the regressive ideology of ISIS through social media are also under close surveillance of intelligence agencies in India

So the question is: how did we arrive at this stage in the first place? In the aftermath of 9/11, as Muslims around the world fell under the spell of Al-Qaida but still Indian Muslims justly and rightfully took pride in the fact that they remained untouched at that time of growing radicalisation. But that now sounds like such a long time ago. While addressing to Indian community in a foreign country, PM Modi had once said in the context of growing radicalisation and terror that, "We also have to work within our societies and with our youth. We need the support of parents, communities and religious scholars. And, we have to make sure that internet does not become a recruiting ground."

(Siddharth Singh is a Research Scholar in School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Big Data and Smart Politics

 Praful Shankar

 Two years after Barack Obama's historic election to the White House, the Democrats suffered one of their worst defeats in recent history during the 2010 mid-term elections. The Republicans took over control of the House and came extremely close to flipping the Senate, puncturing the halo around President Obama and delivering a huge setback to his legislative agenda. The 'shellacking' (as Obama had put it himself) also washed away the perceived inevitability of his reelection in 2012. Suddenly, it seemed as though the 'Hope and Change' President would find himself suffering the ignominy of being the first US President since Jimmy Carter to be restricted to a single term.

Consequently, Obama went into the 2012 Presidential race in a very different political environment than the one in which he swept to power 4 years earlier. The 2012 Obama campaign team appreciated early on that while the buzz around candidate Obama and the widespread anger against the Bush administration pretty much ensured a wave at the polling booths in 2008, the 2012 campaign would need to work much harder (and smarter) in order to ensure that they were able to sell President Obama's achievements and motivate constituents to show up at the polling booth, especially in the crucial swing states.

The man managing the Obama reelection bid, Jim Messina, realized that the one distinct edge that the Obama campaign had over their rival's was in the digital space. The 2008 campaign – one of the first and most successful ones to use the internet and social media for voter engagement – had already done a lot to bring digital technologies into the political mainstream. But this time around a rapidly evolving technology landscape (with the emergence of areas like Big Data, NoSQL and analytics) had presented Messina with the opportunity to place data and digital technologies at the center of the 2012 campaign. According to news releases, the 2012 Obama campaign employed around 100 full time data analysts who ran an average of 66,000 computer simulations every day. The goal, as Messina put it, was to 'measure everything'.

The end result of this initiative was the domination of Obama in the swing states, particularly in key precincts. Even when most pollsters began to give Romney the edge in popular vote and certain key states, the Obama campaign appeared unruffled with key adviser David Axelrod even betting to shave off his moustache on live TV if Obama lost any of Minnesota, Michigan or Pennsylvania states. Needless to say, the advanced digital targeting and synchronized

ground game of the Obama campaign ensure that Axelrod's moustache stayed where it was.

Data driven politics has arrived

Over the past few years, more and more political players have sought to go the digital route. Both the Tories and Labour employed Obama campaign veterans during the elections of last year as advisors. In the current US Presidential race, Hillary Clinton's campaign team has looked to build on the groundwork laid by the Obama campaign and leverage the same towards her election bid. In India, we have seen the Narendra Modi campaign make the use of social media outlets like Facebook and Twitter along with its own Mission 272+ platform to engage with voters and prospective volunteers.

As advantageous as leveraging social networks for political campaigning are, the next level of digital engagement in politics – built around fast maturing Big Data analytics technologies - will be even more pervasive and valuable.

With the advent of software and database platforms like Hadoop, NoSQL etc along with the emergence of hardware systems, like HP Vertica (which was used by the Obama campaign), which have the capability to store and process large amounts of data, a new range of opportunities have opened up for political entities, turning things which seemed impossible just a few years go into rapidly evolving realities.

While the potential applications of such technologies covers a rather varied landscape, the major areas of applicability are three.

1. Voter Registration

This is an area which is expected to be crucial in Indian elections in the coming future. A UN study conducted two years ago said that India has the largest population of young people (10-24 years) in the world. A separate study estimated that a whopping 49.91 % of the country's population is under the age of 24.

These voters – likely first or second timers – tend to fall within the swing voter demographics. With rapidly changing economic and social structures across the country, the traditional lines of caste/religion to party mapping are constantly being diluted. If political parties are looking to form a voter coalition which is disruptive of existing social walls, targeting the youth vote has been shown to be one of the more fruitful methods. This is because young voters respond to being spoken to directly and once convinced, tend to be more resistant to social pressures which may attempt to change their political viewpoints.

In the 2014 General Elections, the domination of the youth vote by the BJP swung numerous constituencies towards the party and also added a verve and energy to the campaign which set it apart from those of the Congress and others. Even as we speak, US Democrat Bernie Sanders is

running a campaign centered on the youth vote – one which the powerful Democratic establishment is struggling to put out in favor of Hillary Clinton.

Also, Data analytics is not just about identifying unregistered voters and getting them to register. Analytics enabled analysis will be able to observe and judge the motivating factors and digital footprint profiles of unregistered voters and identify patterns pointing to which demographics among young voters lean towards which party, on what issues and how they can be engaged. It also helps identify motivational factors (more on this later) for specific groups to go out and register, and can even help in easing the voter registration process by providing constituents with timely updates, directions and contacts.

Obviously, the use of data analytics need not be restricted to just youth voters. Analytics algorithms allow users to slice and dice aggregate information, look at it from different angles and obtain insights which might not have been visible at first look. With inter-state migrations becoming more and more common across the country, analytics driven analysis of voter profiles and registration rates can even help parties create supporter bases in constituencies where none have existed even in the recent past.

2. Voter Persuasion

Among all the advantages that

data analytics presents to political entities, voter persuasion is arguably the biggest.

Analytics allows parties to study voter behavior against a multitude of influencing factors – from the more traditional ones like caste, religious beliefs and economic status to completely new ones like internet behavior, emotive issues, celebrity preferences, work profile, reading patterns, social circle etc. Further data aggregation and regression analysis will allow parties to spot specific characteristics of their existing supporter bases and also understand patterns using which they can spot independents who have a high probability of being converted into party supporters. The advantages here are that:

- This provides the ground level party volunteers with valuable information during activities like door to door campaigns, voter mobilization on polling day and volunteer recruitments

- It also allows party campaigns to understand voter habits and preferences, better, enabling parties to better manage their contact points with prospective voters –directing reach-outs through mediums that the voter is more comfortable with and during periods of time when he/she is more receptive to being engaged

- Most importantly, it allows parties to profile voters based on the likelihood of support. Parties will be able to understand the levels of

support different sets of voters have towards their candidates and issues, the likelihood that the individuals will show up on voting day and most critically what influencing factors would be most effective in nudging a fence-sitter over the line

For instance, during the Obama campaign, analysts helped the campaign staff identify that a large number of young voters were more likely to turn up at the booth for Obama if someone from their social circle prodded them to do so. Using information collected from social networks, the campaign was able to identify committed Obama supporters within the circles of such independents and get them to push their friends to the voting booth.

Additionally, identifying prospective voters at a micro and macro level along with gaining insights about their preferences will help parties spend campaign funds in a more focused and judicious manner. For example, rather than wasting money buying TV ad time in a channel which is rarely watched by key demographics, campaigns can redirect those funds towards another channel or program whose viewers are more likely to vote favorably or even design a micro-targeted message that is relayed – without intermediaries – directly to the voter's cell phone.

3. Increasing Turnout

Ratlam in Madhya Pradesh is a constituency which has a history of being a Congress bastion which the

BJP had never been able to win. In the 2014 election, Congress candidate for Ratlam Kantilal Buria polled almost 1 lakh votes more than what he got in 2009 when he won. He was still defeated by over another lakh votes by the BJP's (late) Dileepsingh Bhuria, who managed to mobilize close to 5.5 lakh supporters on voting day – such is the effect that increased voter turnouts can deliver to political parties.

Technology has the capability to be one of the great enablers of this process. Analytics can help in creating an insight-led ecosystem of engagement with the voter, from the initial stages of the electoral process to the last and most critical action of actually voting. Using this process, parties will be able to identify and understand their voter bases and engage with them on a sustained and periodic basis, and create momentum towards the polling day.

This plays an even more vital role in constituencies which are generally close or facing multipolar contest where even a swing of under 1% from one candidate to another can make the difference between victory and defeat. What is more, the possible levels of data penetration and segmentation can even allow parties to track voter mobilization at booth levels, even linking voters to booth-level party workers in order to ensure that the turnout rates remain favorable.

Another advantage is that it also allows parties to dispel rumors and

innuendo which inevitably pops up at a local level as the election eve approaches - especially in India where the dissipation of false news on reservations, post-poll alignments and even news regarding candidate's health have been known to have swayed voters at the last minute in the past.

Beyond Elections

The prospects that data analytics present are not just restricted to the electoral process. It can also bridge the gap between governments and its constituents. Analytics can open the doors to instant feedback of government schemes, tracking of public sentiments on key issues and can even help parties come out with manifestoes specifically catered to key demographics.

Even more importantly, data and digital technologies can make both politics and governance personal. If political entities can create an ecosystem of constant engagement of voters by effectively merging the

dynamism and agility of digital technologies with the larger party and governance apparatus, it will allow leaders to be in a state of constant dialogue with the masses.

Such a system of engagement would break the so-called 'power bubble' and inform leaders of what the public really thinks and feels. Conversely, it will also allow leaders to cut through the noise of political spin and convey effective messages on their achievements, schemes and larger governance agendas.

In an era where various power structures linked to politics, like the media, bureaucracy and power brokers, at times work to create a wall between the elected and the people, data sciences and digital outreach has the potential to be the 'great leap forward', which can redefine the terms of direct political engagement like never before. ●

(The author is a Chennai based IT Strategy Consultant & a Columnist analyzing national politics)

What we can learn from Great Indian Knowledge Heritage

 Abhishek Pratap Singh

India's place in the age of knowledge century can be objectified with an inspiration and continuity to its tradition of wisdom from the past.

After watching one of the most learnedly and inspiring movies of parallel Indian cinema, to which we sometime refer as a 'art cinema', *The Man Who Knew Infinity*, a biopic based on the life of Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1930), one thing that struck my mind was the absence of desire and coherence among Indian intelligentsia to cherish and recognize the great Indian knowledge treasures and contributions from the past. Perhaps the movie does so but with a small audience and lack of recognition among Indian young minds.

Certainly, we have not been able to free ourselves from the 'colonial narrative' of thought and action, which has been practiced mostly in a 'denouncing spirit' towards vernacular texts and writings produced in Indian history. Interestingly, the west has always tried to underplay the emergence of any 'intellectual idea' from the colonies and has justified their 'despotic rule' in the name of irrational theoretical assumptions based on the likes of *Rudyard Kipling's* 'white men's burden'. It surely appears, that 'colonization of minds' subject to 'foreign conquests' and 'non-native rule' for long in India, has deprived us of our status of being the torchbearer of 'intellect and

wisdom' for the world to, leading us to becoming oblivious of our past.

It is interesting to note that while the west witnessed the dawn of 'enlightenment and renaissance', which formed the evolutionary idea behind western modernity and rationalism, during 14-15 century led by the intellectual thoughts of *Niccolo Machiavelli, Voltaire, JJ Rousseau, John Locke and Montesquieu*. Indian civilization has gone through this process much early in 5th century BC led by the teachings of Lord Buddha on self enlightenment, power of knowledge and end to sufferings. Mahayana Buddhist text *Avatasaka Sûtra* describes cosmos of 'infinite realms upon realms', as where one can see in each pearl the reflections of all the others, leading to the analysis for 'reflections within the reflections and so on' that was worked upon by mathematicians in the US. It also had its influence on *Huayan School* of thought in China which believed in the 'crowning glory of profound understanding' during Tang Dynasty.

Even much before this evidence Indus valley civilization makes serious argument towards the use of wisdom and knowledge in the field of civil engineering, town planning and geometry in ancient India. The

people of the Indus Civilization achieved great accuracy in measuring length, mass, and time.

As the movie portrays, it's a struggle of a humble Indian, with no formal training in mathematics, described well by his mentor GH Hardy, "A poor and solitary Hindu pitting his brains against the accumulated wisdom of Europe". Drawing on science based on his inspiration from religion, Ramanujan's works on 'highly composite numbers, number theory and infinite series' found appreciation as a, 'greatest mathematical findings for future' in Jayant Narlikar's *Scientific Edge* (2003).

Moreover, the heritage of Indian knowledge and science is much more diverse in character and scope. The first comprehensive analysis on the importance of 'place value system and zero' in arithmetic was found in the famous works of Aryabhata (476-550 CE) namely, *Aryabhatiya* and *Arya-Siddhanta*. The first work was written when he was merely 23 years of age. The text *Aryabhatiya* consists of the 108 verses and 13 introductory verses, and is divided into four *pâdas* or chapters namely, *Gitikapada* (large units of time), *Ganitapada* (covering mensuration rules), *Kalakriyapada* (time and positions) and *Golapada* (trigonometry). In the fifth century, nearly one millennium before Copernicus, the Indian astronomer and mathematician Aryabhata theorized that the earth spins on its axis.

In addition, *Varahmihira's* (505-587 CE) thoughts on astrology and planetary movements are well formulated in his works *Pancha-Siddhantika*. Lesser

known works of Brahmagupta (598-665 AD), which is called *Brahmasphutasiddhantais* is regarded as one of the earliest known text to treat zero as a number. The historian of science George Saton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, called him "one of the greatest scientists of his race and the greatest of his time". Even the Jain text, *Sûryaprajñapti*, had arrived to a close estimate of the value of π in the fourth century BC itself. Another significant contribution from Indian philosophical school to science and its source of validity comes from the theory of six *pramanas* (proofs) identified as *Pratyaksha* (perception), *Anumana* (inference), *Upamana* (comparison), *Arthapatti* (postulation), *Anupalabdi* (non-perception) and *Sabda* (word testimony). They are no less than modern tool of learning and reason. The Pythagoras theorem also finds place in Baudhayana's *Ūlbasûtras*, which dates back to about 800 BC—more than 200 years before Pythagoras was born in Greece.

In the last Indian Science Congress, 2016 Dr. Manjul Bhargava, a mathematician from Princeton University, emphasized the importance of Sanskrit to understand different perspectives to learn mathematics.

Not always in the ancient past and history, modern India too has a significant share of contribution to the knowledge of science and reason. Acharya Jagdish Chandra Basu (1858-1937), invented 'mercury coherer', a radio wave receiver much before Marconi. His work was so original that American physicist and Nobel laureate, WH Brattain (1902-1987),

credited Basu with the ‘first use of semi conducting crystals’ to detect radio waves. He also invented world’s first ‘horn antenna’, which is now commonly used in microwave related appliances. It was due to the path breaking research of Sir CV Raman (1888-1970), and his theory of ‘Raman effect’, which proved that there is a change in the wavelength of light when light beam is deflected by molecules. His discovery found fundamental basis for development in ‘quantum physics’.

Moreover, Prof. Meghnad Saha’s (1893-1956), popular “Inonisation formula” was remarkable contribution to the field of Astro-physics. His research identified role of temperature and pressure and explained the presence of spectral lines of stars. Dr. Yellapragada SubbaRow (1895-1948), a noted biochemist, is credited for synthesis of the chemical compounds folic acid and methotrexate for the treatment of cancer. Similarly, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray (1861-1944), was able to find convergence between ‘Ayurvedic treatise and chemistry’. He undertook chemical examination and analysis of works like Charaka, Sushruta and Ayurveda. Sangamagrama Madhava (1340-1425), who belong to the Kerala School of Mathematics, set out ‘infinite series’ as the basis of calculus much before the emergence of Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

It is not only limited to the science that we possess rich heritage of knowledge and wisdom. Even the work of Kautilya’s *Arthshastra* stands prior to the principles of statecraft given by western philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli. Both Kautilya and Machiavelli were concerned with “acquisition, retention and perpetuation of political power” but Kautilya set forth these principle much before than anyone. The idea of ‘global village’ to which forces of globalization subscribe is only reflection of our ancient belief in “*Vasudhava Kutumbkam*”.

The argument is not to over-glorify the Indian past, and its contribution to the development of science, rather a fair assessment of things which have lost the charm in our public discourse. Indian contribution to global Net Knowledge Produce (NKP) is witnessing a decline and there are concerns over poor levels of research and education in India. It is the right time to restore the glory of our ‘rich and diverse knowledge heritage’ in order to cultivate new minds with a ‘sense of belongingness’ to these scientific values, ideas and theories. And if we can do so, only then the objective of making India, *Vishwaguru*, in a true sense can be realized based on ‘intellectual quests’ inspired from and in recognition of the ancient Indian wisdom and knowledge. ●

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पुस्तक समीक्षा : अखंड भारत संस्कृति ने जोड़ा राजनीति ने तोड़ा



देवेन्द्र स्वरूप की पुस्तक 'अखंड भारत संस्कृति ने जोड़ा राजनीति ने तोड़ा' देवेन्द्र स्वरूप जी द्वारा विभिन्न पत्र पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित आलेखों का संकलन है जिसमें सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक, साहित्य, आध्यात्म आदि पर लिखे लेख शामिल हैं। यह संग्रह भारतीय पत्रकारिता को दिशा देने में अति महत्वपूर्ण है। पुस्तक भारतीय चिंतन और आध्यात्म की जमीन से उपजे विचारों की बात करती है। इस पुस्तक की प्रासंगिकता आधुनिक संदर्भों में भी यथेष्ट है। पुस्तक समय से साक्षात्कार करती हुई अपने समय की महत्वपूर्ण घटनाओं और प्रसंगों पर प्रकाश डालती है। भाषा और विचारों को जिस कलम से लेखक ने छुआ है वह हमें भारतीयता की मजबूत जड़ों की ओर अग्रसर करता है। देवेन्द्र स्वरूप जी द्वारा विगत कई साल पहले लिखे लेखों की प्रासंगिकता आज के समाज और राजनीति पर गहरी टिप्पणी है और उससे राजनीति और भारतीय संस्कृति को समझने में सहायता मिलती है। इस पुस्तक में भारतीय चिंतन, संस्कृति और इतिहास को लेकर कोई नई स्थापना नहीं दी गयी है, और ना ही यह आलोचना जगत में खलबली मचाने वाली पुस्तक है। असल में यह रचना सुरुचि पूर्ण रचनात्मक अंदाज में भारतीय संस्कृति और सभ्यता को स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया गया है। इस पुस्तक का लक्षित पाठक वर्ग किसी भाषायी सीमा में कैद नहीं हैं बल्कि यह पुस्तक उन सभी पाठकों के लिए रुचिकर है जो सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रवाद को आत्मसात करने में गर्व महसूस करता है। इस पुस्तक की बनावट और बुनावट ऐसी है कि इसको समझने के लिए किसी साहित्यिक अथवा ऐतिहासिक समझ की जरूरत नहीं है। इस पुस्तक को साधारण पाठक वर्ग भी आसानी से समझ सकता है। भारतीयता के प्रति देश में हो रही साजिश के

खिलाफ मुखर आवाज है। यह पुस्तक भारतीय चिंतन से व्यवहारिक धरातल पर वृहत्तर भारतीय संस्कृति से आमजनमानस को जोड़ने का उपक्रम है। भारतीय जनमानस के दैनंदिनी में यह सशक्त हस्तक्षेप भी है।

इस पुस्तक में भारतीय मूल्यों को स्थापित करने की भरपूर कोशिश की गयी है। भारतीयता को परिभाषित करते हुए लेखक कहता है कि "अखंड भारत महज सपना नहीं, श्रद्धा है, निष्ठा है, जिन आँखों ने भारत को भूमि से अधिक माता के रूप में देखा हो जो स्वयं को इसका पुत्र मानता हो, जो प्रातः उठकर समुद्रवसने देवी पर्वतस्तनमंडले, विष्णुपत्निमस्तुभ्यम पादस्पर्श क्षमस्व में कहकर उस रज को माथे से लगाता हो, वंदेमातरम जिनका राष्ट्र घोष हो ऐसे असंख्य अंतःकरण मातृभूमि के विभाजन की वेदना को कैसे भूल सकते हैं।"

लेखक भारत में छद्म धर्मनिरपेक्षता से भी आहत है, उनका लेख "रामसेतु पर रावण की छाया" और "श्रीलंका में भी जीवित है राम कथा" उनके अंतर्मन की पीड़ा को सहज भाव से रेखांकित करता है।

इस पुस्तक में संग्रहित लेख कहीं ना कहीं भारतीय जन मानस को झकझोरने वाला है, अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति आगाह करने वाला है। इस पुस्तक में नवभारत टाइम्स, पत्रिका और पांचजन्य सहित अनेको पत्रिकाओं में लिखे 29 लेखों को लिया गया है। जिसमें चिंतन है, दर्शन है, संस्कृति है और भारतीय मूल्यों से जुड़े तथ्यों का मूल्यांकन है। ●

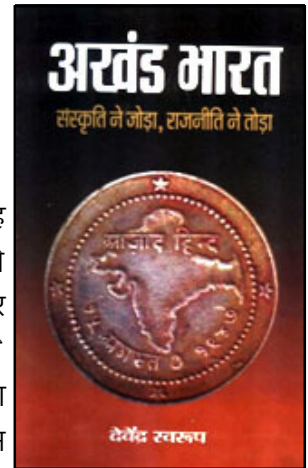
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An Exhibition on “Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: A Selfless Patriot”



The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) under Ministry of Culture and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation, New Delhi organized an inaugural function of the Exhibition titled ‘Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: A Selfless Patriot’ in the Auditorium of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi here today.

Dr. Mahesh Sharma, Minister of State for Culture and Tourism (I/C) and Civil Aviation presided over the function. Shri Amit Shah, National President, Bharatiya Janata Party inaugurated the exhibition which covered multifaceted aspects of the life and legacy of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. Speaking on the occasion Shri Amit Shah stressed on various contributions made by Dr. Syama

Prasad Mookerjee. He said that the contemporary historians neglected the contributions of Dr. Mukherjee especially his role in the Bengal Partition Scheme and Kashmir issues.

Prof. Tathagata Roy, Governor of Tripura, while delivering the Special Lecture on Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee highlighted Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee’s remarkable achievements in his short life. Prof. Lokesh Chandra, President Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Chairman, Executive Council, NMML attended the event. Dr. Anirban Ganguly, Director, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation welcomed the audience and Shri Sanjiv Mittal, Director, NMML gave the vote of thanks. ●

Academic Discussion on “Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee’s Vision of India” at Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi



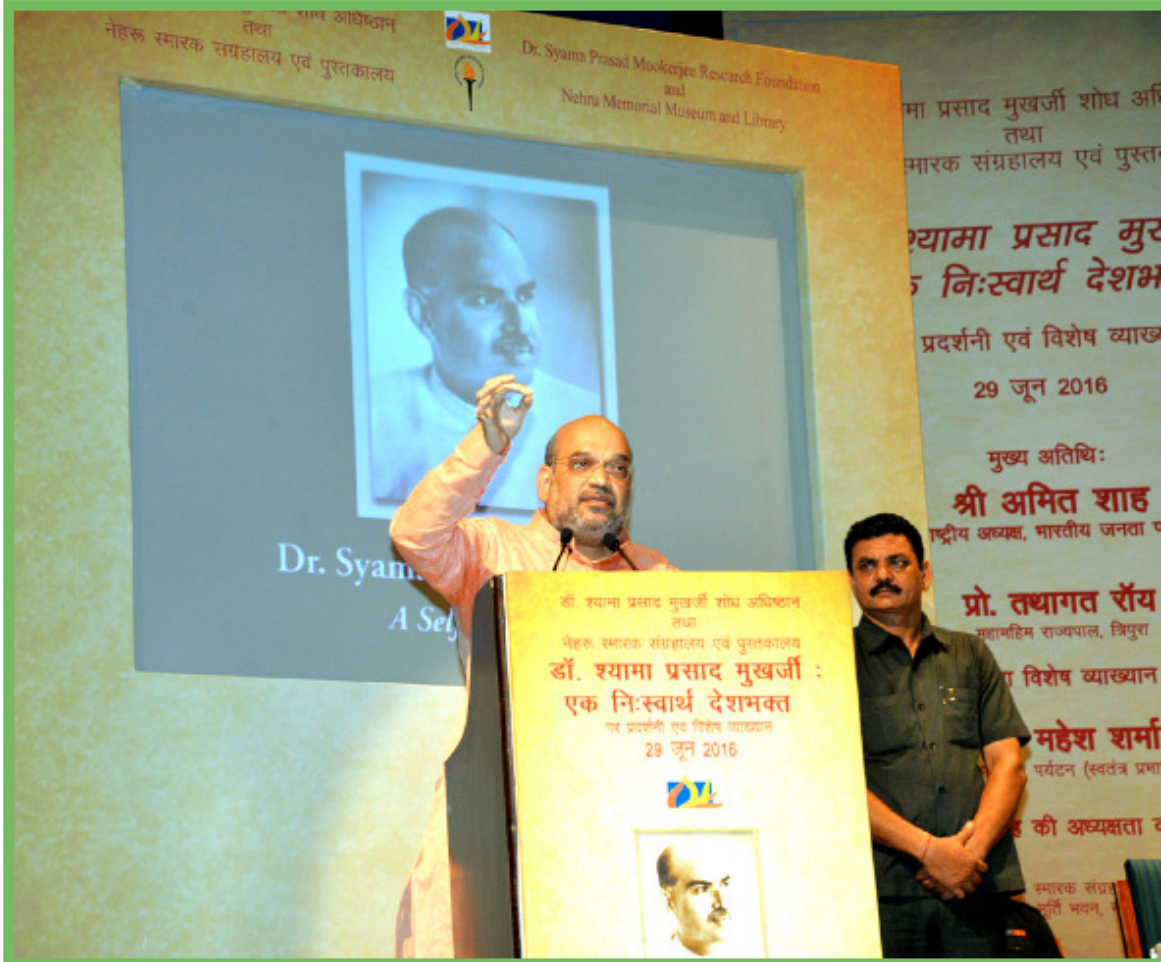
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जुलाई 2016 को डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी और नेहरू मेमोरियल पुस्तकालय एवं संग्रहालय के संयुक्त तत्वाधान में ‘डा. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी: मेरे सपनों का भारत’ विषय पर व्याख्यान का आयोजन किया गया। कार्यक्रम में मुख्य वक्ता के तौर पर एकात्म मानव दर्शन अनुसंधान एवं विकास अधिष्ठान के अध्यक्ष डा. महेश चंद्र शर्मा, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव एवं राज्य सभा सदस्य भुपेन्द्र यादव रहे एवं अध्यक्षता प्रख्यात इतिहासकार प्रो. लोकेश चंद्रा ने किया। कार्यक्रम को संबोधित करते हुए भारतीय जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव एवं राज्य सभा सदस्य भुपेन्द्र यादव ने डॉ. मुखर्जी और उनके बलिदान पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कहा कि वर्तमान दौर में डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के आदर्श और भारतीयता के प्रति उनकी सोच पहले से ज्यादा प्रासंगिक है। उन्होंने कहा कि जिस प्रकार भारतीय राजनीति जाति के भंवर जाल में फंसी जा रही है, ऐसे मर्ज का इलाज केवल डॉ. मुखर्जी के विचार और उनका दर्शन है।

कार्यक्रम में बतौर मुख्य वक्ता एकात्म मानव दर्शन अनुसंधान एवं विकास अधिष्ठान के अध्यक्ष डॉ. महेश चंद्र शर्मा ने भारतीय जनसंघ की स्थापना पर विस्तार से चर्चा की। उन्होंने भारतीय राजनीति में संघ की भूमिका पर भी प्रकाश डाला तथा पटेल के उस दौरान के विचारों को साझा किया जब सरदार पटेल चाहते थे कि संघ का विलय कांग्रेस में हो जाए। इसके अलावे डॉ. शर्मा ने जनसंघ से जुड़े अन्य महत्वपूर्ण और अनछुए पहलुओं पर चर्चा की। श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान के निदेशक डॉ. अनिर्बान गांगुली ने डॉ. मुखर्जी के शैक्षणिक और राजनीतिक योगदान पर विस्तार से चर्चा की। कार्यक्रम के अंत में सभा की अध्यक्षता कर रहे प्रख्यात इतिहासकार प्रोफेसर लोकेश चंद्र ने डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी से जुड़े अपने व्यक्तिगत अनुभव साझा किए।

कार्यक्रम में डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी शोध अधिष्ठान के संस्थापक सदस्य टी.एन चतुर्वेदी, पूर्व आइएएस अधिकारी प्रमोद प्रकाश श्रीवास्तव सहित विभिन्न संस्थानों से जुड़े लोग उपस्थित थे।●

Salient points of Shri Amit Shah's Speech at Inauguration of an Exhibition on "Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: A Selfless Patriot"



» जब श्यामा प्रसाद जी ने अपना बलिदान दिया तब वे भारतीय जनसंघ के अध्यक्ष थे। आज वही भारतीय जनसंघ भारतीय जनता पार्टी परिवर्तित होकर काम कर रही है। इतिहास ने जिसके साथ बहुत बड़ा अन्याय किया है, इस प्रकार के एक प्रखर देशभक्त, देश के प्रख्यात शिक्षाविदों में जिनकी गिनती होती है ऐसे प्रमुख शिक्षाविद, पलक झपकते ही एक मुद्दे पर सत्ता छोड़ने में जिसके मन में कोई झिझक ना हो ऐसे एक निर्मोही राजनेता सिद्धांतों के प्रति अडिग प्रतिद्धता, मनवचन कर्म से पूरे जीवन जिन्होंने व्यतीत की इस प्रकार सच्चा व्यक्तित्व और समय आने पर अपने जीवन का

बलिदान भी देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिए दिया, ऐसे देशभक्त के बारे में मैं बात करने के लिए आया हूं।

» श्यामा प्रसाद जी बहुमुखी प्रतिभा के धनी थे। कम आयु में बैरिस्टर बनना, कुलपति बनना, भारतीय भाषाओं का आग्रह रखकर बांग्ला को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाना और दिक्षांत समारोह भी कविवर टैगोर की अध्यक्षता में कराना। एक मंत्री होने के नाते अपने जीवन में बहुत सारी चीजें उन्होंने की है। मगर मैं तीन ही बिंदुओं पर बात करना चाहता हूँ जिन तीन बिंदुओं के कारण से श्यामा प्रसाद जी सदियों तक जाने जाएंगे। अगर

किसी को भी इस देश का इतिहास निरपेक्षता से लिखना है, तटस्थ रूप से लिखना है बिना किसी विवाद के लिखना है, तो तीनों बिंदुओं को एलोब्रेट करके भारतीय इतिहास में स्थान देना ही होगा। कोई व्यक्ति जब काम करता है तब उसको मालूम नहीं होता है कि इतिहास उसका मुल्यांकन क्या करेगा। और विशेषकर जब ऐसा व्यक्ति सेल्फलेस हो, जो अपनी प्रसिद्धि के लिए अपने महत्व के लिए और अपनी महत्वाकांक्ष के लिए काम ना करता हो केवल और केवलसिद्धांत और देश के लिए काम करता हो तब इतिहास इसके बारे में क्या लिखेगा वो कभी नहीं सोचता वो निर्भिक होकर अपने सिद्धांतों के आधार पर देश की तत्कालीन समस्याओं का समाधान करता है, और इसके आधार पर वो फैसले करता है। जिम्मेदारी है इतिहास लिखने वालों की कि इतिहास लिखते वक्त वो व्यक्ति कौन सी विचारधारा का है, किस विचार परिवार के हैं क्या वह विचार उस व्यक्ति के थे, उससे जरा भी प्रभावित हुए बगैर उस व्यक्ति ने क्या काम किया उसके आधार पर इतिहास में स्थान देना चाहिए। मगर दुभाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति है कि पहले अंग्रेजों ने देश के इतिहास को तोड़ा मरोड़ा और फिर बाद में वामपंथियों ने तोड़ा मरोड़ा और जो उचित स्थान देश के इतिहास में श्यामा प्रसाद जी को मिलना चाहिए था वो नहीं मिला। मैं बिना किसी संशय के इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि इतिहास को देश के अपनी विचारधारा को थोपकर अपनी विचारधार के चश्मे लगाकर देखा गया है और लिखा गया है, मैं मानता हूँ कि यह एक अक्षम्य अपराध है।

► श्यामा प्रसाद जी के जीवन के तीन ऐसे बिंदु हैं जिस पर मैं एक बार बात करना चाहता हूँ जिसमें पहले बंगाल का विभाजन, दूसरा भारतीय जनसंघ की स्थापना और तीसरा कश्मीर समस्या के समाधान के लिए आंदोलन का योगदान। ये तीन ऐसे बिंदु हैं जो देश के इतिहास को परिवर्तित कर दिया।

► मित्रों बंगभंग के विरोध में एक बहुत बड़ा आंदोलन हुआ था। यह बहुत कम लोगों को पता

होगा कि बंगाल को विभाजन करने के लिए भी एक आंदोलन हुआ था। अगर वह आंदोलन नहीं हुआ होता हो कलकत्ता आज शायद भारत का हिस्सा नहीं हुआ होता। जब 1946 में इंग्लैण्ड के अंदर लेबर पार्टी की सरकार बनी और तय हुआ कि भारत को आजादी मिलनी चाहिए, प्रारंभ में विभाजन की कोई बात नहीं थी मुस्लिम लीग और कांग्रेस ने अखंड भारत की स्वतंत्रता को स्वीकार किया था। मगर बाद में कुछ ऐसी परिस्थितियां बनी कि भारत को विभाजन करने की नौबत आ गयी और उस समय अगर कांग्रेस का नेतृत्व जल्दबाजी नहीं करता तो भारत का विभाजन नहीं हुआ होता। जब भारत के विभाजन का निर्णय हुआ तब एक बड़ा सिद्धांत लिया गया था कि जिस प्रांत में जिसकी बहुलता होगी उसको उस हिसाब से भारत या पाकिस्तान में जोड़ा जाएगा और स्वभाविक रूप से किसी देश का विभाजन किसी धर्म के आधार पर नहीं होना चाहिए, मगर धर्म के मत के अनुयायियों के आधार पर देश के विभाजन को स्वीकार किया गया।

► श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी जी ने एक बहुत बड़ा बंगाली हिंदु बुद्धजीवियों का सम्मेलन बुलाया और उसके अंदर सबसे पहले उन्होंने यह विचार रखा कि बंगाल का विभाजन कर दिया जाए और बंगाल का विभाजन, पूर्वी और पश्चिमी बंगाल के आधार पर कर दिया जाए। पूरा बंगाल पाकिस्तान के अंदर नहीं जा सकता इसके लिए उन्होंने एक आंदोलन की शुरुआत की एक तीन दिन की चर्चा का सत्र बुलाया और उस सत्र से जो विचार निकला वो देश के युवाओं के पास पहुंचा। अमृत बाजार पत्रिका ने उस वक्त एक सर्वेक्षण कराया और उसका नतीजा ये था कि 98.99 प्रतिशत लोग बंगाल के विभाजन के पक्ष में थे, जिसको स्वीकार कर लिया गया और बंगाल का विभाजन हो गया। वे माउंटनवेटन से भी मिले, गांधी जी से भी मिले, कांग्रेस के नेताओं से भी मिले और पूरे आग्रह के साथ उन्होंने वहां के हिंदुओं को पक्ष रखने का काम किया। परिणामस्वरूप कलकत्ता आज भारत

का हिस्सा है जिसका संपूर्ण श्रेय किसी एक व्यक्ति को देना चाहिए तो वो श्रेय डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी को देना चाहिए पूरा जो पश्चिम बंगाल जो भारत के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है वो श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के प्रयासों का परिणाम है।

» श्यामा प्रसाद जी यह मानते थे की इस देश की नितियां इस देश की मिट्टी की सुगंध से निकलनी चाहिए, संस्कृति से निकलनी चाहिए जिसमें भारतीयता का पूर्णतः समाहित हो। इस देश की विदेश नीति में हमारा दर्शन निहित है, इस देश की अर्थ नीति दुनिया में अग्रणी थी, इस देश की कृषि नीति पूरे विश्व के लिए मिशाल थी। इस देश की नीतियों को इस देश की मिट्टी की खुशबू से निकलनी चाहिए, ना कि विदेशों से आयात किए गए ज्ञान से।

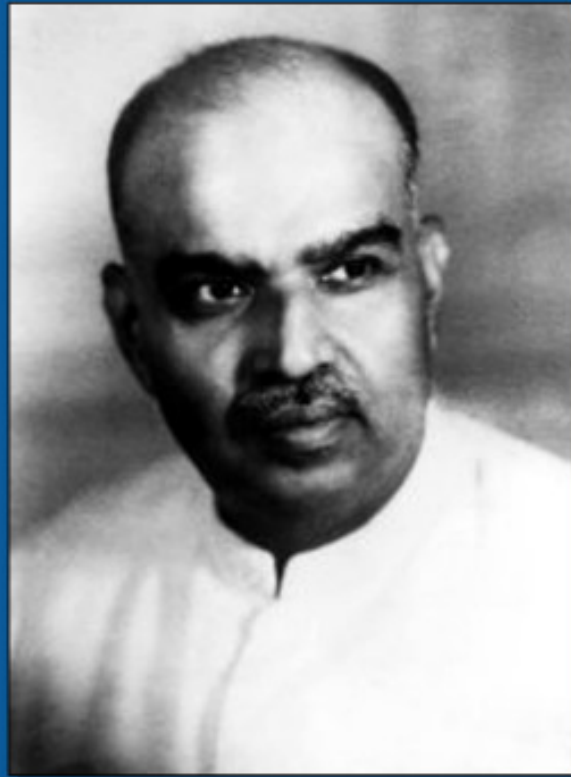
» जनसंघ की स्थापना के समय के भाषण में भी इस बात का उल्लेख है, उनसे पूछा गया था कि क्या अंतर है आपके और नेहरू के सोच में उन्होंने बहुत ही मार्मिक तरीके से उन्होंने एक ही वाक्य में इस अंतर को बताया था कि नेहरू देश का नवनिर्माण करना चाहते हैं और हम मानते हैं कि इस देश का पुनर्निर्माण करना चाहिए। उन्होंने एक ही वाक्य में कांग्रेस और जनसंघ की सोच में अंतर बता दिया। कांग्रेस मानती थी कि इस देश को अब फिर से नया बनाना है जो पुरानी चीजें हैं वो किसी महत्व की नहीं हैं, वो किसी काम नहीं आएगा उसको समाप्त कर दीजिए और एक नया देश का निर्माण किजिए।

» श्यामा प्रसाद जी और उनके दोस्त मानते थे कि हमारा जो पुराना था उसी ने भारत को श्रेष्ठ बनाया था। एक राजनीतिक संयोग बन गया एक राजनीतिक स्थिति ऐसी आ गयी कि हम गुलाम हो गए इसका मतलब ये नहीं कि पुराना सब बेकार है पुराने के नींव के आधार पर ही इस देश का नवनिर्माण नहीं पुनर्निर्माण होना चाहिए इस सोच के आधार पर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने नेहरू की कैबिनेट को छोड़ दिया। छोड़ने के बाद क्या करते वो देश भर का भ्रमण किया बहुत सारे लोगों का जिनका श्यामा प्रसाद जी के विचारों से मेल खाता

था उन लोगों से चर्चा किया विचार किया और ये तय किया कि एक नयी राजनीतिक पार्टी बनायी जाएगी और उसका नाम रखा भारतीय जनसंघ।

» तीसरा उनका काम था मित्रों कश्मीर समस्या को एक अलग नजरिया देना। जब आजादी के बाद महाराज हरि सिंह यह टालमटोल करने लगे कि कश्मीर भारत के साथ जाएगा या पाकिस्तान के साथ जाएगा। उस वक्त कबिलाइयों के माध्यम से पाकिस्तानी सेना ने आक्रमण कर दिया और हरि सिंह जी ने बाद में कश्मीर का भारत के साथ विलय किया। अचानक ही अकारण आज तक किसी को मालूम नहीं कि क्यों युद्ध विराम कर दिया इतनी बड़ी ऐतिहासिक गलती देश का कोई नेता कभी नहीं किया होगा। अगर जवाहर लाल जी ने उस वक्त युद्ध विराम नहीं किया होता तो आज पूरा कश्मीर हमारा होता। मगर अचानक अपनी व्यक्तिगत प्रतिभा को निखारने के लिए अपने वैश्विक नेतृत्व को स्वीकृति दिलाने के लिए युद्ध विराम किया गया जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप आज भी कश्मीर का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में रह गया। उसके बाद भी उसके अंदर अनेक प्रकार के नियम होने लगे। मैं धारा-370 के अंदर जाना नहीं चाहता मगर एक निर्णय हुआ कि जो कोई भी कश्मीर में जाना चाहता है उसको भारत सरकार की रक्षा मंत्रायल से परमिट लेना पड़ता था। मित्रों उसी वक्त श्यामा प्रसाद जी ने यह तय किया कि अब यह नहीं चलेगा। भारत के हर नागरिक का यह अधिकार है कि वो पूरी स्वतंत्रता के साथ कश्मीर में जा सकता है उसको कोई रोक नहीं सकता देश का कोई भी नागरिक वहां बे रोक टोक जा सकते हैं। और उन्होंने एक आंदोलन अपने हाथ में लिया। 'एक देश में दो प्रधान, दो विधान, दो प्रधान नहीं चलेगा'। आज अगर कश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग बनकर दुनिया के सामने है और हम सबके मन में कश्मीर के लिए प्यार है और कश्मीर भारत के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है तो उसके नींव में श्यामा प्रसाद जी बलिदान है। इसी के कारण आज हमारे साथ कश्मीर जुड़ा है।





"The gigantic task of reconstruction, cultural, social, economic and political can be rendered possible through coordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians. Armed with the knowledge of India's past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of India civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world."

- Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
*Convocation Address delivered at Gurukul Kangri
Viswavidyalaya, Haridwar, 1943*