

**Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee  
Research Foundation**



# **The Nationalist**

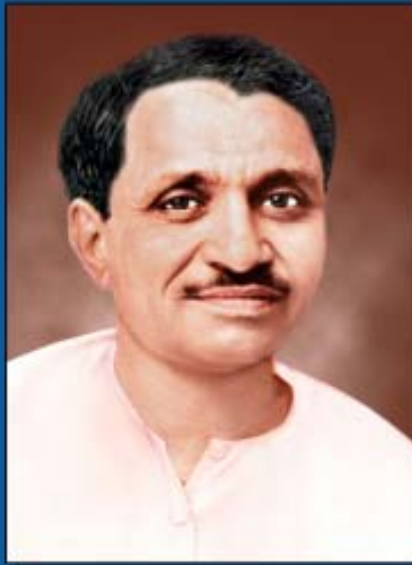
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## *Special Article*

- **Modi's Kabul visit – Cementing of a Partnership in India-Afghan Relations**
- **Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar's U.S. Visit – Building Blocks for a India-U.S. Defence Partnership**

## Party, Philosophy & Discipline



Which is a good party? Evidently the one that is not simply a collection of individuals but is a body corporate with a distinctive purposeful existence, different from its desire to capture power. Political power should be a means rather than an end to the members of such a party. There should be devotion to a cause in the rank and file of the party. Devotion leads to dedication and discipline. Discipline does not mean simply outward conformity to certain do's and don'ts. The more you impose discipline from above the less is the internal strength of the party. Discipline is to a party what Dharma is to a society.

Let the different political parties try to evolve a philosophy for themselves. Let them not be mere conglomerations of persons joined together for some selfish ends. It should be something different from a commercial undertaking or a joint stock company. It is also necessary that the philosophy of the party is not kept confined to the pages of the party manifesto. Members should understand it and devote themselves to translating it into action.

The question of discipline in the rank of a party is important not only to keep the party in perfect health but also because of its bearing on the conduct of the people in general. A government is primarily an instrument of conservation and protection and not of destruction, or change. To inculcate reverence for law in the people demands that the parties who aspire to be guardians of law should themselves set an example in this direction. The essence of democracy is a spirit of, and capacity for, self-governance. If the parties cannot govern themselves how can they hope to create in the community a desire for self-governance? While on the one hand it is essential for the community to guarantee and protect individual freedom it is desirable, on the other hand, for the individual to willingly submit to the general will. The greater this submission the less will be the coercive power of the State. In a party whose affairs are regulated not by any state law but by the decisions voluntarily accepted by the party units, one can set an example of how best individual freedom and social responsibility can be balanced. It is, therefore necessary for the parties to prescribe a code of conduct for their members and to strictly follow it.

*-Deendayal Upadhyaya*

# The Nationalist

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- ▶ किसानों को सुरक्षा कवच : अमित शाह

## **Politics of Vulturism cannot last against Politics of Aspiration**



The violence in Kaliachak in Malda in the first week of 2016 is the latest expressions of the shrinking democratic and political space in the state of West Bengal. The Mamata Banerjee led TMC government has in fact singularly failed to ensure the safety and security of the Hindus of the state and is gradually ceding space to violent groups – a number of these coming from its own ranks and file. A Chief Minister, who refuses to condemn violence that mocks and belittles the democratic and constitutional framework of India and who passes such violent acts as small incidents and distorts its truth, has actually failed to carry out the mandate given by the people.

The Kaliachak episode has revealed the dismal state of West Bengal and has also exposed those who made a lot of din in the name of intolerance. A large number of those who cried and indulged in falsities by trying to paint an intolerant India were silent or looked the other way when the Kaliachak rampage took place. Their silence spoke on their behalf and exposed them for what they truly are merchants of falsehood and division surviving on a divisive narrative.

The CPIM and the other constituents of the Left Front in general have kept silent too. Like have the majority of Left and so called ‘liberal’ intellectuals and other political parties. The homily for social harmony is applied or given only to some parties and is reserved only for one leader. The silence of the communists, Congress can be explained because it was during their rule that infiltration in West Bengal increased or rather was encouraged and a general atmosphere of lawlessness prevailed. Both the Communists and the TMC have only resorted to vote-bank politics in the state without really caring for its welfare – industrial, economic, educational.

Real change has not come to West Bengal; it is only an illusory change which has not positively altered the dynamics of the state. The industrial situation has not improved; educational institutions bear the brunt of factional political feud between groups of the Trinamool Congress, the condition of the tea garden workers have not improved, starvation deaths, farmers suicide, lawlessness – the mowing down of an IAF jawan is the latest expression of how the atmosphere has deteriorated in the state and of how arresting the culprits was being inordinately delayed just because he was politically well-connected. Even the lives of our jawans thus are not sacred for Mamata Banerjee's government.

Meanwhile efforts for addressing fundamental challenges and issues have been initiated under Prime Minister Modi. The insurance cover for farmers, the Startup & Standup India campaign, the rapid pace of rural electrification and road construction clearly demonstrate how the Narendra Modi led BJP government is indeed conscious of the plight of farmers of this country and has pledged itself to alleviate their condition and strengthen it, is pledged to ameliorate and connect rural India with energy and power. Such an approach is in stark contrast to some political parties who have just paid lip service to the cause of farmers and used them as political pawns and ultimately even fired upon them.

This issue also examines the crucial visit that Prime Minister Modi made to Afghanistan and also discusses the importance of the visit of the Indian defence minister to the U.S. in December 2015. Both events were major milestones in India's neighbourhood and defence policy and both these have not seen adequate discussion.

Politics of vulturism cannot in the long run stand against the politics of aspiration and fulfilment. Those indulging in the former are in fact doing a major disservice to India.

– Dr. Anirban Ganguly,  
Director, SPMRF

## Salient points of PM Modi's speech at the launch of Start-Up India, Stand-Up India programme



► जब Start-up की चर्चा होती है तो ज्यादातर IT के आस-पास ही सोचा जाता है और अब हर कुछ कितने कदम दूर है, बस App के पास पहुंच गए, हो गया। जो App बनाता है या जो Start-up की दुनिया में enter होता है या कोई नई चीजों को innovate करता है उसके मूल में कुछ नया करने का इरादा होता है, adventurous nature होता है। हर

चीज की गहराई में जाने का स्व भाव होता है लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात होती है उसके अंदर एक संवेदना होती है। बहुत कम लोग इस बात को अनुभव कर पाएंगे, उसके अंदर एक संवेदना होती है और जब वो कोई बुरे हाल देखता है, कोई समस्या देखता है, वो उसे सोने नहीं देती। समस्याओं उसकी नहीं है, किसी और की है लेकिन वो उसे सोने नहीं

देती। उसका मन करता है मैं कोई रास्ता खोजूँ मैं कुछ करूँ इसके लिए।

- ▶ हम जब 'मेक इन इंडिया' कहते हैं तो 'मेक फॉर इंडिया' भी हैं क्यों कि सवा सौ करोड़ का देश है, इतना बड़ा

मार्केट है। लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि वो full proof कैसे बने, आसान कैसे हो और सामान्या मानविकी के लिए वो easily accessible कैसे हो। ये अगर व्यवस्थाएं देने में हम सफल हो और मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश का नौजवान हमारी अपनी समस्याओं को। यहां किसी ने कहा कि मैं अगर उस देश को उसकी समस्याओं को समझूंगा, शायद तिवारी ने कहा। मैं अपनी समस्याओं को समझूंगा तब जाकर के मुझे रास्तें खोजने का सूझेगा और ये जितना हमारा बढ़ेगा देश के विकास के लिए बहुत संभावनाएं हैं।

- ▶ Start-up का मतलब ये तो नहीं है कि हर किसी के पास बिलियन डॉलर का काम हो रहा है और दो हजार लोग काम करे, जरूरी नहीं है। पांच लोगों को भी अगर मैं रोजगार देता हूँ तो मेरा Start-up मेरे देश को आगे बढ़ा रहा है। एक चेलबीवसवहपबंस बींदहम लाना है कि लवनजी के दिमाग में job seeker की मानसिकता से उसको बाहर लाना है। वो job creator बने। और एक बार उसके दिमाग में आ गया कि मुझे, मुझे दो लोगों की जिन्दागी को संभालना है, वो कर लेगा।
- ▶ हमारे देश में education- infrastructure पर बल दिया जाता है, teacher की appointment पर बल दिया जाता है, वो काम हो भी रहा है। लेकिन समय की मांग है



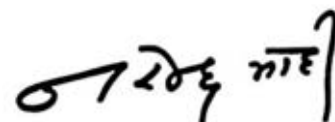
quality education की। गरीब से गरीब दूर-सुदूर जंगलों में रहना वाला व्यक्ति हो, पहाड़ों में रहने वाला व्यक्ति हो। मैं ऐसे कैसे चीजों को खोज के निकालूँ कि उसी quality का education जो कि अमीर घरानों के बच्चों को मिलता है, उस technology के द्वारा गरीब से गरीब तक मैं कैसे पहुंचाऊँ? और देश तब बदलेगा कि हम समाज के आखिरी इंसान को इन सुविधाओं से लाभान्वित करके उसकी जिन्दगी बदलने का अवसर दे। हमें उसको मिमक करने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। अगर उसको quality education मिलता है तो वहां भी ऐसे चंता वाले बच्चे होंगे जो उठकर के खड़े हो जाएंगे और दुनिया को बदल देंगे।

- ▶ ये भी सही है भारत के पास millions of millions problem है, कोई इंकार नहीं कर सकता है। लेकिन at the same time मुझे इस बात का भरोसा भी है कि billions of billions mind भी है। अगर million problem है तो billion mind भी तो हमारे देश में है। हर Start-up के पीछे कोई न कोई समस्या के समाधान का इरादा रहना चाहिए और जब किसी Start-up के पास समस्या के समाधान का इरादा होगा तो उसके संतोष का समअमस भी कहीं कुछ और होगा। जब किसी की जिन्दगी में बदलाव लाता है तो उसको एक

satisfaction मिलता है और इसलिए मैं वो कुछ करके दिखाऊं जिसमें मैं job creator बनूँ, मैं वो कुछ करके दिखाऊं जिसके कारण किसी की जिन्दगी में मैं काम आऊं, मैं वो कुछ करके दिखाऊं कि मेरे देश को एक कदम आगे ले जाने में मेरा भी कोई योगदान हो। इतना भी अगर सपना लेकर के हम चलते, हम बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं।

- ▶ एक और problem रहता है Start-Up के लोगों के लिए... patent का Intellectual property right सबके लिए ये एक बात रहती है आखिरकर वो ही तो पूंजी है Start-Up वालों की, अगर उसको protection नहीं मिला लेकिन कभी-कभी हमारे यहां patent के लिए महीनों लग जाते हैं process में, ये चिंताजनक व्यवस्था को बदलना है और patent registration का शीघ्र पता लगाना एवं कानूनी सहायता। हम नए प्रयोगों को चतवजमबज, कानूनी सहायता देने का आवश्यकता समझते हैं। हम Start-Up के IPR Services की Scheme ला रहे हैं। जिसमें Start-Up के आवेदन की File शीघ्र करने की सहायता मिलेगी और ये भी सही है कि Intellectual property की दुनिया में, विश्व में जितने registration हुए हैं, उसमें काफी पीछे हैं हम लोग। IP में नहीं है लेकिन YP में है। हमारे पास Youth Property है YP और वो मुझे YP और IP को मिलाना है ताकि हमें कुछ ज्यादा परिणाम मिलें। हम ये भी एक सोच रहे हैं कि भारत के प्रमुख शहरों में एक इस काम के लिए facilitation की व्यवस्था हो, स्थानीय Chamber of Commerce हो और लोगों के साथ मिलकर के, इस विषय के वकीलों का एक समूह हो। इन सबको जोड़कर के कैसे निशुल्क व्यवस्था हो ताकि इस field में काम करने वाले वकीलों की संख्या बहुत कम

है और Fee भी बहुत ज्यादा है और उसको लगता है कि भई इस काम के लिए मैं इतने रूपए दूँ और करता रहूँ, करता रहूँ और उतनी, उसकी property चोरी हो जाती है, बेचारा कहीं का रहता नहीं है तो इसलिए बिना पैसे उसको ये व्यवस्था मिले। उसी प्रकार से Fees में भी, आज जो Fees है patent के लिए उसमें हम 80 percent reduction करेंगे क्योंकि देखिए भारत का भविष्य भी Innovation और creativity में है और Innovation और creativity को जितना हम बल देंगे, उतना ही हमें परिणाम मिलेगा। हम Start-Up के लिए सार्वजनिक खरीद की शर्तों में भी छूट देने का निर्णय कर रहे हैं। सरकारी खरीद में Start-Up को बढ़ावा देने के लिए हम Experience Turn over के आधार पर भी छूट देंगे। हमारे देश में क्या problem है, कोई भी काम है तो पूछते हैं कितना Turn over है, वो कहता है मौका दोगे तभी तो Turn over शुरू होगा या कोई काम देते हैं तो पूछते हैं कि भई कितना experience है तो वो कहता है कि भई experience की शुरुआत तो करो कहीं से और इसलिए नए के लिए दरवाजे बंद करने की व्यवस्था है, हम उसमें छूट देने की व्यवस्था में आगे बढ़ने चाहते हैं ताकि quality को, हां उसमें compromise नहीं होना चाहिए लेकिन नया है इसलिए उसको मौका न मिले ये स्थिति तो बदलनी है तभी नौजवानों को अवसर मिलेगा लेकिन मेरा आग्रह है Zero defect and Zero effect तो इस पर हम जरूर बल देंगे।



NARENDRA MODI



## **Salient points of PM Modi's address at the National Youth festival**



- » अगर जीवन में संकल्प का सामर्थ्य हो, संकल्प के लिए समर्पित भाव हो और जीवन आहूत करने की अदम्य इच्छा हो, तो व्यक्ति के लिए उम्र कोई मायना नहीं रखती।
- » यह देश प्रगति तब करता है जब सवा सौ करोड़ देशवासी किसी न किसी संकल्प से बंधे हो। उस संकल्प की पूर्ति के लिए कुछ कदम चलने के लिए प्रयासरत हो। मंजिल को पाने के लिए अविरत कोशिश करते हो, तो देश अपने आप उस मंजिलों को पार कर जाता है।
- » आज पूरे विश्व का परिवेश देखे पूरा विश्व आज भारत की तरफ एक बड़ी आशा भरी नजर से देख रहा है। क्यों ? इसलिए कि हिंदुस्तान एक संभावनाओं का देश है।

आपार अवसर जहां इंतजार कर रहे हैं। दुनिया इसलिए हिंदुस्तान की तरफ देख रही है, क्योंकि आज हिंदुस्तान विश्व का सबसे युवा देश है। 65 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या 35 से कम आयु की हो, वो देश कितना सौभाग्यशाली है कि जिसके पास कोटि-कोटि युवा लोग हैं। और जहां युवा होता है, वहां संकल्पों की कोई मर्यादाएँ नहीं होतीं, सीमाएँ नहीं होतीं।

- » मैं कभी-कभी सोचता हूँ कि युवा यह परिस्थिति का नाम नहीं है। युवा यह मनस्थिति का नाम है। मनःस्थिति है, जो युवा की परिचायक होती है। जब कोई व्यक्ति अपने बीते हुए पल को बार-बार याद करता है, दोहराता रहता है तो मैं यह सीधा-सीधा अर्थ निकालता हूँ कि वो अपनी युववाणी खो चुका है। वो बुढ़ापे की आरे चल चुका है। लेकिन जो बीते हुए कल को बार-बार दोहराने की बजाय आने वाले कल के सपने संजोता रहता है, वो उसके लिए मेरा मन हमेशा कहता है वो सच्चे अर्थ में युवा है। अगर आप अपने आप को युवा मानते हो तो युवा वो है जो बीते हुए कल की बातों को दोहरा करके अपने समय को बर्बाद नहीं करता है, लेकिन जो आने वाले सपनों को संजोने के लिए पल-पल प्रयास करता है और हर सपने को साकार करने के लिए अपने आप को खपा देता है।
- » भारत के पास सब कुछ हो, धन हो, दौलत हो, बेशुमार पैसे हों, हर नौजवान को नौकरी हो, हर परिवार में सुख और सम्पन्नता हो, लेकिन, लेकिन अगर देश में

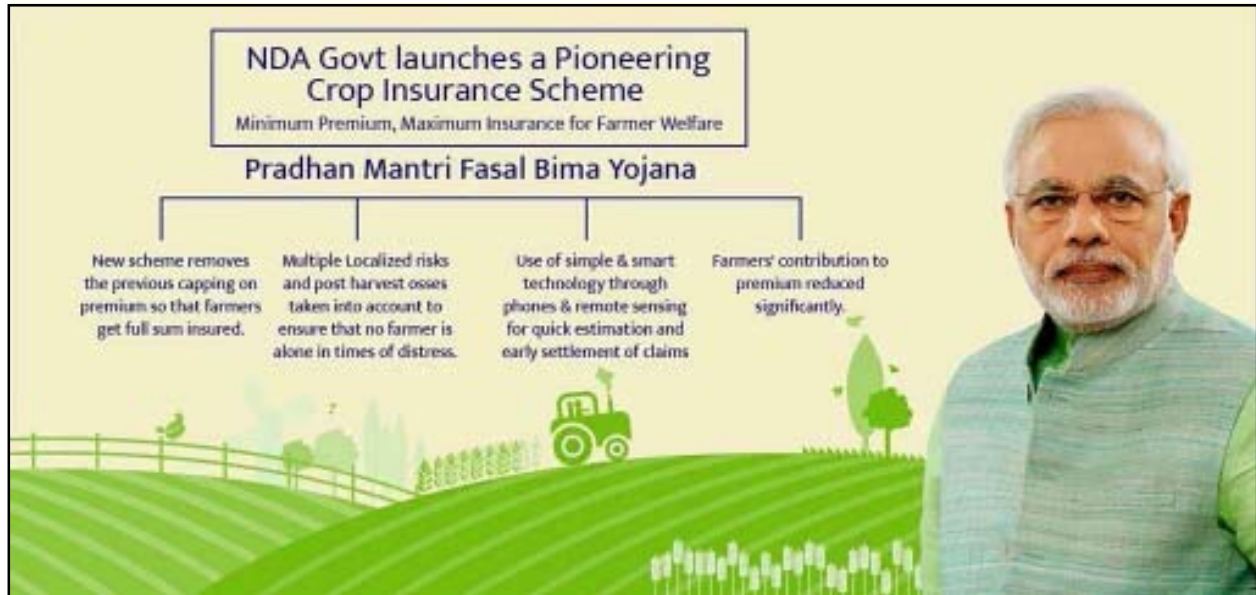
शांति, एकता और सद्भावना नहीं होगी, तो वो सारी सम्पत्ति किसी के काम नहीं आएगी। न वो देश का गौरव बढ़ाएगी, न आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए भविष्य का कोई रास्ता बनाएगी। और इसलिए हम विकास कितना ही करें, कितनी ही ऊंचाइयों को पार करें, लेकिन शांति, एकता और सद्भावना, ये भारत की पहली आवश्यकता रहती है। और भारत ने दुनिया को दिखाया है कि जिस देश के पास सैंकड़ों बोलियाँ हो, अनेक भाषाएँ हों, अनेक परम्पराएँ हों, अनगिनत विविधताएँ हों, उसके बाद भी साथ जीने-मरने का स्वभाव हो, ये हमारी बहुत बड़ी विरासत हैं जो हमारे पूर्वजों ने हमें दी हैं, स्वामी विवेकानंद जैसे महापुरुषों ने दी हैं और इसे हमने संजो के रखना है। वेद से विवेकानंद तक और उपनिषद से उपग्रह तक हम इसी परम्परा में पले-बढ़े हैं। उस परम्पराओं को बार, बार, बार, बार स्मरण करते हुए, संजोते हुए भारत को एकता के सूत्र में बांधने के लिए सद्भावना को सेतु उसको हम जितना बल दें, देते रहना होगा।

- » मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग कुछ कर गुजरना चाहते हैं, वे नौकरी की तलाश क्यों करें, अपने पैरों पर खड़े क्यों न हों। मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ मेरे देश का नौजवान job seeker बने, मैं चाहता हूँ मेरे देश का नौजवान job creator बने।

  
**NARENDRA MODI**

# Pradhan Mantri Fasal Beema Yojna: A path breaking scheme for farmers' welfare

✍ Siddharth Singh



With back-to-back droughts, and unseasonal rain and hail in certain pockets, it became clear that the risks in farming are on the rise, and the existing system of crop insurance was nowhere near meeting the needs of the peasantry. The sums insured were low (based on the cost of inputs rather than prospective income), the premiums high (generally ranging between 8-12 per cent in the case of the modified scheme), the assessment of crop damage lacked transparency and didn't use the latest technologies and, finally, compensation took unduly long, even going beyond a year in many cases, and was reported to be ridden with corrupt practices. Given this backdrop, the new scheme is a

step in the right direction and very timely.

The NDA government's flagship crop insurance scheme - the *Pradhan Mantri Fasal Beema Yojna* - is a major policy outreach towards farmers apart from its other big schemes for the farming sector. The most crucial element of the scheme is that it will bring down the rate of premium to be paid by farmers to a maximum of 2% of the sum insured. The rest will be paid by the state and the central government. Currently, farmers have to pay a premium ranging from 4 to 15 per cent to insure crops.

The Rs 17,600-crore crop insurance scheme, launched by the Modi government, aims to cover crop losses

due to natural calamities like drought by promising very low premium payout by farmers. The scheme will be rolled out from the kharif season beginning June. It has the lowest premium, it entails easy usage of technology like mobile phone, quick assessment of damage and disbursement within a timeframe. The definition of disaster has been expanded to include aspects like flooding of crop and damage after harvest.

After coming to power, the Modi government had announced that it would bring a new crop insurance scheme by replacing the existing ones to ensure higher coverage of crop area at low premium and better claim settlement facilities. In the past also there have been crop insurance schemes in the country for long. In 1999, the then NDA government had launched National Agricultural Insurance Scheme (NAIS) which was widely hailed across the farming community and later on that scheme was modified by the successive government. PM Modi's scheme assumes significance in the backdrop of last year's hailstorm which had ruined a lot of crop in the fields.

Going by government data, as many as 207 districts in nine states have been hit by drought. As much as 90 lakh hectare of land had been affected due to drought and the affected states had sought relief of over Rs 25,000 crore from the central government. Also 302 districts in the country had received 20 percent less rain, which, though not

categorised as drought, will affect the farmers in these areas. Announcing the scheme, PM Modi described the scheme wherein the centre will provide Rs 8,800 crore annually to make up for almost all of the premium for the crop insured, as a move "that will transform the lives of the farmers in a big way".

Under the scheme *Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana* (PMFBY), the state will also provide a matching contribution while farmers will pay only 2% of the premium fixed by the insurance company for kharif foodgrains/ oilseeds crops and 1.5% for rabi foodgrains/ oilseeds crops. The premium will be 5% for horticultural and commercial crops for both seasons. This new crop insurance scheme will have lowest premium for farmers in the history of Independent India. There will be no provision of capping the premium rate so as to ensure farmers get a higher claim against the full sum insured. At least 25 per cent of the likely claim will be settled directly on farmers' bank account.

The new scheme will cover yield loss of standing crops, prevented sowing/ planting risk, post harvest losses and localised risks, including inundation. At present, loanee farmers are mandated to take crop insurance cover. The new scheme is open to all farmers irrespective of whether they are loanees or not. There will be one insurance company for the entire state, farm-level assessment of loss for localised risks and post-harvest loss. And private insurance companies,

along with the Agriculture Insurance Company of India Ltd, will implement the scheme.

Here is a direct comparison between the crop insurance schemes announced by the Manmohan Singh-government and the one announced by the Narendra Modi government:

No	Feature	MNAIS [2010]	PM Crop Insurance Scheme
1	Premium rate	High	Lower than even NAIS (Govt to contribute 5 times that of farmer)
2	One Season – One Premium	No	Yes
3	Insurance Amount cover	Capped	Full
4	On Account Payment	Yes	Yes
5	Localized Risk coverage	Hail storm Landslide	Hail storm Landslide Inundation
6	Post Harvest Losses coverage	Coastal areas - for cyclonic rain	All India - for cyclonic + unseasonal rain
7	Prevented Sowing coverage	Yes	Yes
8	Use of Technology (for quicker settlement of claims)	Intended	Mandatory
9	Awareness	No	Yes (target to double coverage to 50%)

The scheme is certainly the best for the farmers till date as it provides for localized events and removes the cap. Apart from this, another major aspect of the scheme is the better use of technology. The government will use remote sensing, Smartphone and other modern technologies for accurate and quicker information on crop yields and losses.

The highlights of this scheme are as under:

- 1) There will be a uniform premium of only 2% to be paid by farmers for all Kharif crops and 1.5% for all Rabi crops. In case of annual commercial and horticultural crops, the premium to be paid by

farmers will be only 5%. The premium rates to be paid by farmers are very low and balance premium will be paid by the Government to provide full insured amount to the farmers against crop loss on account of natural calamities.

- 2) There is no upper limit on Government subsidy. Even if balance premium is 90%, it will be borne by the Government.
- 3) Earlier, there was a provision of capping the premium rate which resulted in low claims being paid to farmers. This capping was done to limit Government outgo on the premium subsidy. This capping has now been removed and farmers will get claim against full sum insured without any reduction.
- 4) The use of technology will be encouraged to a great extent. Smart phones will be used to capture and upload data of crop cutting to reduce the delays in claim payment to farmers. Remote sensing will be used to reduce the number of crop cutting experiments.

The new Crop Insurance Scheme is in line with One Nation – One Scheme theme. It incorporates the best features of all previous schemes and at the same time, all previous shortcomings and weaknesses have been removed.

*(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate with SPMRF)*

## **20 Key Highlights of the Path breaking “StartUp Action Plan”**

**1.) Defining the phrase ‘StartUp’**

While it is not exactly part of action plan, this probably is the biggest positive change that has been brought about by the Modi Government - Defining the phrase ‘Startup’. Now, Startups will be ‘Startups’ and not a ‘Business’. Till date a Startup

was not separated in various policies of the Government. All were businesses. Now, we have definition for a startup and a clear direction for them from Government. The most encouraging aspect is that Government is now looking at startups as a serious growth engine for India and wants to

**Start Up India for a Prosperous India**

**New Incentives for Start Ups**

- ✓ Self-Certification Regime
- ✓ Hassle free Registration through Mobile App
- ✓ No Labour Inspections for initial 3 years
- ✓ Funding Support worth Rs 10,000 crore through Fund of Funds
- ✓ Credit Guarantee Fund for Start Ups
- ✓ 80% Rebate on patent applications
- ✓ Income Tax Relief for first 3 years
- ✓ Exemption from Capital Gains Tax
- ✓ Easy Exit with help of the proposed Bankruptcy Code
- ✓ Incubation centres to support Start Ups across the country
- ✓ Relaxed norms of public procurement for startups

The infographic features a portrait of Narendra Modi on the left, a large Indian tricolor flag in the background, and a stylized industrial landscape at the bottom. The text is presented in a clean, sans-serif font with checkmarks for each item.



help them achieve success.

## 2.) **Compliance Regime based on Self-certification**

Government wants to reduce the regulatory burden on Startups thereby allowing them to focus on their core business and keep compliance cost low. Startups shall be allowed to self-certify compliance (through the Startup mobile app) with 9 labour and environment laws (refer below). In case of the labour laws, no inspections will be conducted for a period of 3 years.

## 3.) **Startup India Hub**

With Startup India Hub, Govt wants to create a single point of contact for the entire Startup ecosystem and enable knowledge exchange and access to funding. They will work in a hub and spoke model and collaborate with

Central & State governments, Indian and foreign VCs, angel networks, banks, incubators, legal partners, consultants, universities and R&D institutions.

Govt will also help startups through their lifecycle with specific focus on important aspects like obtaining financing, feasibility testing, business structuring advisory, enhancement of marketing skills, technology commercialization and management evaluation.

## 4.) **Rolling-out of Mobile App and Portal**

Govt plans to roll out a Mobile app that will help startups quickly get off the ground. The app features will include registering Startups with relevant agencies of the Government through a single form. The app will also have

features like tracking the status of Registration, downloading registration certificate, filing compliances, obtaining clearances and approvals among other things.

### 5.) **Legal Support and Fast-tracking Patent Examination**

To promote awareness and adoption of IPRs by Startups, Government is taking various steps that includes fast-track examination of patent applications and rebate in fees. They will also help startups by providing panel of facilitators to assist in filing of IP applications and the cost will be borne by the Government.

### 6.) **Relaxed Norms of Public Procurement for Startups**

Going forward, norms for Startups will be relaxed when they are applying for Tenders floated by PSU. Earlier, this was not possible as all tenders require either “prior experience” or “prior turnover”. Now, this will not be a roadblock anymore.

### 7.) **Faster Exit for Startups**

Government plans to make it easier for startups to close and exit their businesses in case they are winding up operations.

### 8.) **Providing Funding Support through a Fund of Funds**

While Government will not directly invest or fund startups, they will be doing it through Fund of Funds with a corpus of Rs.

10,000 Crore. The Fund of Funds shall be managed by a Board with private professionals drawn from industry bodies, academia, and successful Startups.

### 9.) **Credit Guarantee Fund for Startups**

In order to overcome traditional Indian stigma associated with failure of Startup enterprises in general and to encourage experimentation among Startup entrepreneurs, Government plans to provide credit guarantee comfort with flow of Venture Debt from the formal Banking System.

### 10.) **Tax Exemption on Capital Gains**

Government plans to provide Tax exemptions to persons who have capital gains during the year, if they have invested such capital gains in the Fund of Funds recognized by the Government.

### 11.) **Tax Exemption to Startups for 3 years**

In what could be termed as one of the most positive moves, exemption for Income tax shall be given on profits generated by startups for a period of first 3 years.

### 12.) **Tax Exemption on Investments above Fair Market Value**

Currently, only the investments by venture capital funds in Startups are exempted from operations of provision under section 56(2). Now, the same shall be extended to investment made by incubators and angel investors in the Startups.



### 13.) Organizing Startup Festivals

Govt plans to organize one national and one international startup festival annually for Showcasing Innovation and Providing a Collaboration Platform

### 14.) Launch of Atal Innovation Mission

Govt will provide a platform for promotion of world-class Innovation Hubs, Grand Challenges, Startup businesses and other self-employment activities, particularly in technology driven areas. This will be done through Atal Innovation Mission (AIM)

### 15.) Harnessing Private Sector Expertise for Incubator Setup

Government intends to create a policy and framework for setting-up of incubators across the country in public private partnership. 35 new incubators in existing institutions will be setup along with funding support of 40% shall be provided by Central Government.

Government will also provide grant of 50 percent for 35 new incubators established by private sector.

### 16.) Building Innovation Centres at National Institutes

### 17.) Setting up Research Parks

The Government shall set up 7 new Research Parks at IIT Guwahati, IIT Hyderabad, IIT Kanpur, IIT Kharagpur, IISc

Bangalore, IIT Gandhinagar, and IIT Delhi with an initial investment of INR 100 crore each. The research Parks shall be modeled based on the Research Park setup at IIT Madras

### 18.) Promoting Startups in the Biotechnology Sector

To foster and facilitate bio-entrepreneurship, 5 new Bio-clusters, 50 new Bio-Incubators, 150 technology transfer offices and 20 Bio-Connect offices will be set up in research institutes and universities across India.

### 19.) Innovation Focused Programs for Students

In order to promote research and innovation among young students, the Government shall implement various innovation programs including Innovation Core, NIDHI and Uchhattar Avishkar Yojana

### 20.) Annual Incubator Grand Challenge

To build World Class incubators in India, Govt plans to launch an annual Incubator Grand Challenge to identify leading Incubators in India.

Kudos to the Government for coming up with a Startup action plan that really touches on every facet of India's Startup Ecosystem. With such big help from the Government, there is no doubt, India's Startup ecosystem has the potential to be the best in the world.

*(SPMRF Desk)*

## Modi's Kabul visit – Cementing of a Partnership in India-Afghan Relations

✍ Shakti Sinha

Prime Minister Narendra Modi was in Kabul on December 25<sup>th</sup> to jointly inaugurate the parliament building built by the Indian government with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani. His visit was a big hit in the Afghan media, especially on social media. The government of Afghanistan decided to name one of the blocks of the building after former Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who had offered to build this powerful symbol of democracy as a sign of Afghanistan-India friendship and partnership. It was in Vajpayee's time that India re-engaged with Afghanistan in the aftermath of the US intervention that dislodged the Taliban in late 2001. The pace of engagement accelerated almost immediately, and despite fatal attacks on Indian targets including diplomats, development staff and projects, has maintained its momentum.

That India has emerged as a major development partner, arguably the fifth-largest bilateral donor over the 14 year period, to Afghanistan should not have come as a surprise to analysts who have worked on Afghanistan on the ground. India's development partnership with Afghanistan goes back to the 1950s, and till transit trade through Pakistan was not an issue, India was Afghanistan's largest

export market for dry fruits. The civil war (1992-96) and subsequent Taliban rule caused a break, however, India did extend humanitarian assistance through UN agencies.



India's total commitment for the reconstruction of Afghanistan is US \$2 billion, with more than half disbursed. It has funded/co-funded three very important infrastructure projects: the construction of the 218 km road from Delaram to Zaranj which gives Afghanistan access to an alternate port, Chahbahar in Iran; it has reconstructed and expanded the Salma Dam which would produce 42 MW of power and irrigate 75,000 hectares of land when fully commissioned by mid-2016. India has co-funded and built transmission towers over the Hindu Kush as part of the Northern Electric Power System (NEPS) that has brought electricity to Kabul and other areas. Some of the key Indian projects are the following: -

- ▶▶ Food assistance to primary school children and construction and rehabilitation of Schools (\$321 million disbursed),



- ▶▶ Supply of 250,000 tonnes of wheat,
- ▶▶ Construction of a power line from Pul - i - Khumri to Kabul (\$120 million),
- ▶▶ Annual scholarships to study in India - higher education (initially 500 per year, increased to 675 and then to 1000),
- ▶▶ Construction of Delaram-Zaranj road (\$150 million),
- ▶▶ Construction of the Salma Dam Power Project (US \$200 million),
- ▶▶ Construction of the parliament building (\$27 million disbursed; budget \$178 million), and
- ▶▶ Small Development Projects, initially in the South East, and then extended all over the country (final

budget would be over US \$130 million)

This is just a sample of India's development partnership with the Afghan people and government. Yet, when the Afghan peace process has resumed at Islamabad, besides Afghanistan, the other three nations involved are Pakistan, the US and China. Predictably, many Indian observers are upset that this Quad has been created instead of a Pentagon to include India. Others may even fantasise a Quad with India but minus Pakistan. The question that arises is — has India lost the plot in Afghanistan? Has the commitment of US \$2 billion in development assistance and actual expenditure of a little less than US \$1.5

billion been a waste? Has the Modi government been totally outmanoeuvred by Pakistan insofar as Afghanistan is concerned?

The answer is an unequivocal 'no' and there is no need for Indians to get disheartened by the developments on the Afghan front. Both India and Afghanistan are victims of Pakistan's state-sponsored terrorism, which while manageable in India's case, is an existential threat to Pakistan. An unintended fall-out of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was to allow Pakistan to become the key arbiter in Afghan affairs. The US actively supported by Saudi Arabia and China armed different Afghan jihadi groups to take on the Russians; they also accepted Pakistan's condition that all arms and support would flow to its Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) who would decide on what to give to the different groups. Post-Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan was unable to install its favourite, the Hizbul-Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as Afghanistan's pre-eminent leader. It then shifted its substantial support to the rising jihadi group from Kandahar, the Taliban. The ouster of the Taliban in 2001 was huge setback to Pakistan's plans in the region, but it was able to convince the Americans about its utility in the war on Terrorism and in the bargain, in the bargain it recreated the Taliban on its soil and went about destabilising Afghanistan.

There are three more factors, which must be factored in to better

understand the objective circumstances of India's Afghan policy. Pashtuns are Afghanistan's biggest ethnic group, around 40% of the population, but there are more Pashtuns in Pakistan than in Afghanistan, with strong cross-border social and economic links joining them. Two, millions of Afghans, predominantly Pashtuns, took refuge in Pakistan during the Soviet invasion and the civil war, and while most have returned, millions have stayed back. This further blurs national boundaries and sovereignty. Three, Afghanistan is a land-locked country and the two countries not only share a long border. These historical, social, cultural, economic and geographical factors limit India's ability to work with the Afghan State as it seeks to stabilise and develop Afghanistan.

Ashraf Ghani, when he became President, made it his policy to engage Pakistan as he understood that the road to peace in Afghanistan went through Rawalpindi, the headquarters of the Pakistan army. They had to be on board, either way. He, therefore, approached China, which is the only country to have leverage over the Pakistan army, and then went directly to Rawalpindi. He also kept on hold his predecessor's request for security assistance from India. The resultant Pakistan-led peace process came to nought once it was clear that the Taliban negotiators had no locus standi with Mullah Omar who has been dead for two years. Pakistan's perfidy stood exposed, and

became worse with the stepped up violence in Afghanistan that costs many civilian lives.

At this juncture Ghani approached India for security assistance. Modi to his credit responded positively though many analysts had raised doubts about Ghani's motivations. Was he approaching India out of conviction or in desperation? India rightly ignored this question since it was immaterial. In any case unknown to the public since the media does not report positive developments, the Modi government had reviewed in detail the pace of progress of India's development projects in Afghanistan. The parliament building and the reconstruction/expansion of the Salma dam came up short. Bureaucratic snafus were sorted out, updated project reports were prepared and adequate financial sources were provided for. But for these steps, both the projects would have continued to drag on to the utter embarrassment of those Afghans who see India as a reliable friend.

Detailed inter-government talks were held in November-December 2015 with the visits of the Afghan National Security Advisor (Hanif Atmar) and the Deputy Foreign Minister (Hekmat Karzai), and India's positive response led to the Afghan invitation to the Prime Minister Modi to inaugurate their Parliament building. The significance of this was not lost on the Afghans and their neighbours – for a democratic country, its Parliament is not just a

building but is an institution that embodies the spirit of the nations as it is here that its elected representatives decide the course of the nation. To invite a foreigner to jointly inaugurate it with their president is the highest honour that a country can bestow.

On the occasion of the visit, India also handed over to Afghanistan four Mi 25 helicopter gunships, known as 'flying tank' that would give the Afghan National Security Forces

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much needed firepower to confront the Taliban.

India also demonstrated that it was a reliable friend of Afghanistan when it deputed External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj to attend the Heart of Asia Summit in Islamabad, the Afghanistan-centred Istanbul Process where India has the lead on capacity

development and building synergies between national chambers of commerce. This had the 'bonus' advantage of allowing leaders of India and Pakistan to meet on the sidelines of this multilateral summit. This was nimble-footed diplomacy that was as much substantial as it was optics—both essential components of international affairs.

One must also understand the current peace initiative, or Quad.

**India's positive response led to the Afghan invitation to the Prime Minister Modi to inaugurate their Parliament building. The significance of this was not lost on the Afghans and their neighbours— for a democratic country, its Parliament is not just a building but is an institution that embodies the spirit of the nations as it is here that its elected representatives decide the course of the nation. To invite a foreigner to jointly inaugurate it with their president is the highest honour that a country can bestow.**

Afghanistan is heavily dependent on the US for its security and financial requirements, and cannot afford to go against express American advice. Unfortunately, for Afghanistan the US's default option is to outsource its Afghan policy to Pakistan, which represents to them a systemically far more important country. The US's priorities are clear—roll-back ISIS and manage China's rise. The developing

Saudi-Iran spat could spiral out of control, leaving US policy in the region in tatters. Afghanistan is a distraction it can do without. Hence, they leaned on Ghani, not directly but through David Cameron. For Ghani, it was an offer he could not refuse.

For the region, China is the dark horse whose attitude and actions could be decisive, in addition to that of the US. It remains committed to Pakistan, despite occasional doubts that its fears the latter's jihadi infection could drag down Xinjiang. This hope that China would rein in Pakistan is over-emphasised. China's response to the Pathankot attack is instructive; it condemned the attack and hoped that it would not derail the India-Pakistan dialogue. It, pointedly, did not ask Pakistan to take action against the groups behind the attack or to act on India's handing over evidence.

Looking forward, one must understand that India has very substantial goodwill in Afghanistan. Public pressure in Afghanistan led to the government renaming it as the India-Afghanistan Friendship Dam. This project is seen as hugely liberating western Afghanistan from dependence on foreign supply, will ensure reliable and consistent electric supply and has the potential to economically transform the region. Similarly, the naming of one of the blocks of the new parliament building as Atal block in honour of former Indian prime minister is symbolic in a country where symbols are very

important. A photo tweet showing the parliament building as India's gift and another photo showing the destroyed Dar-ul -Aman palace in Kabul as Pakistan's gift went viral in the Afghan social media. Over 10,000 Afghan youths have come to India's on scholarship for higher education, and around the same number, using their own money. More than 7,000 have gone back to their country after studying in India. It must be remembered that India is the largest regional development partner; by contrast China's support till date has been only US \$125 million. The present writer can speak from personal experience that quite often India is seen as a role model in Afghanistan, both for firmly establishing democracy and for its economic achievements.

Soft power is important but it has its limitations. It cannot substitute for hard power, and is most effective in conjunction with the latter, not in lieu of it. However, it must be remembered that fundamentally, Afghan goals and that of Pakistan are irreconcilable. The Pakistani army, which calls the shots insofar as that country's policies on India, Afghanistan and nuclear weapons are concerned, cannot settle for anything less than client state in Afghanistan. Its professed fear of an India-Afghanistan axis is a smokescreen for that. Worse, a plural, democratic Afghanistan at peace with itself is an existential threat for the garrison state that Pakistan has become. With two plural, peace-

loving democracies on its eastern and western borders would question the whole rationale for the Pakistani army's hegemony over domestic policies and recourses. Pakistan's willingness, and ability, to rein in its

**Similarly, the naming of one of the blocks of the new parliament building as Atal block in honour of former Indian prime minister is symbolic in a country where symbols are very important.**

jihadis who carry out terrorists attacks in India and destabilise Afghanistan is highly suspect.

Throughout this period, especially when Ghani seemed to have relied excessively on the Pakistani army to deliver, even given up almost all his cards, India acted with model restraint, as it did not want to be made a scapegoat in case things went wrong, which it had to. And in case, Pakistan could deliver peace in Afghanistan, this was to be welcomed. Going ahead, India must continue to display such mature reactions, not get carried away by unnecessary fears of being marginalised, and continue to support the legitimate Afghan government's efforts to bring peace, stability and development to its people.

*(The author is former Jt. Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office, Power & Finance Secretary Govt. Of Delhi, Advisor to the Government of Afghanistan)*

## Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar's U.S. Visit – Building Blocks for a India-U.S. Defence Partnership

✍ Nitin Gokhale

“India has done enough to simplify it's defence procurement and other norms. It is time for US Govt and Industry to reciprocate. It is easy to blame Indian bureaucracy but in some cases, US bureaucracy is much worse” - Manohar Parrikar.

This was possibly one of the first when a visiting dignitary (December 2015) did plain talking in the US. When the Indian Defence Minister said this, he touched a topic, which has remained unspoken in India's dealings with the US on defence cooperation. He was quick to add that US can add a lot of value to Indian industry and laid down the path ahead, especially towards indigenous manufacturing.

Parrikar went on to add that enough was done to facilitate ease of doing business in India. He urged US industry to come forward in collaborating with Indian companies. He stressed upon the fact that Indian industry today is capable of maintaining highest standards and could easily become an important part of the Global Supply Chain of American Defence companies.

During the trip, Minister Parrikar also stressed on the major reforms that have been brought in India in the Defence sector and urged the Government of United States and the

industry to reciprocate. He stressed that greater cooperation in Defence sector is a win-win situation for both countries.



Discussions with Minister and Government officials were around issues and concerns of the industry from both sides. However, industry from both sides have expressed satisfaction over the outcome of their meetings. Indian industry is upbeat about Make in India and keenly looking forward to more inflow of US investment and technology into India. More technology and manufacturing tie-ups are likely to come up in the near future as well.

Indian industry members were also of the opinion that India should now also deliberate on what Indian Defence companies can offer to US companies rather than just seeking investment and technology from their side. Joint Ventures like Tata-Lockheed or Mahindra Telephonics are a testimony to the fact that Indian manufacturing companies





have come of age too and are ready to become an integral part of Global Supply Chain of top US defence companies.

This is a good development since the India-US defence partnership has been more about symbolism than substance for years. While the two countries conduct a spate of joint exercises across the three services, the previous United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government and especially its risk-averse defence minister AK Antony had prevented achieving full potential of their possible joint ventures.

However, Parrikar and his US counterpart Ashton Carter have already met thrice in the past one year. Parrikar's recent US visit

(December 2015) saw many firsts in Indo-US defence engagement. Parrikar began his visit from Hawaii, headquarter of the US Pacific Command, thus becoming the first Indian defence minister to do so. The Pacific Command, largest of the US commands is the fulcrum of America's involvement in the Indo-Asia-Pacific, a new term being increasingly used to describe the vast stretch of area from Hawaii to India, covering most of Asia. He was also hosted on a US aircraft carrier, again a first for any Indian defence minister.

According to those who were privy to the discussions at the highest levels in Washington, the US defence establishment is now willing

to take a re-look at its laws that will help India get the best defence technology. The US is now in fact pushing co-production ventures with India too. In Ashton Carter, India perhaps has the friendliest US Secretary of Defence. As Deputy Secretary of Defence from October 2011 to December 2013, Carter personally pushed defence ties between the two countries. Indeed, the 2012 Defence Trade and Technology Initiative (DTTI) was his brainchild. DTTI is now up and running again after lying dormant for the past couple of years.

During the DTTI Group's fourth meeting at the Pentagon recently, the two sides committed to executing the project plans for two government-to-government pathfinder projects: the Mobile Electric Hybrid Power Sources (MEHPS) and the Next Generation Protective Ensemble (NGPE). Two other projects are nearing finalisation: terms of reference for the Jet Engine Technology Joint Working Group are ready, and the second meeting of the Joint Working Group on Aircraft Carrier Technology Cooperation (JWGACTC) will be held in February 2016.

The US side is arguing for India to sign the three foundational agreements – Communications Inter-Operability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA), LSA (Logistics Support Agreement), and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-Spatial Cooperation (BECA) –

considered essential by Washington to allow transfer of high-end technology to India. The US argument is that these agreements ease the conduct of joint military exercises besides expanding their scope and ambition.

Apparently, Parrikar has conveyed to US that India has an open mind to discuss the contours of these agreements, signaling a shift in the MoD's thinking. The traditional reluctance so far was that any such pact goes against India's posture of military neutrality. In fact, on UPA Defence Minister AK Antony's watch, the MoD was even reluctant to allow a third country to participate in the India-US Exercise Malabar. Under the NDA regime however, Japan has been allowed to join the exercise and the arrangement is now formalised for a trilateral exercise to be held annually even at the cost of earning Beijing's wrath. Modi and Parrikar, it appears have decided not be constrained by the traditional thinking in South Block and have given a go ahead for Indian negotiators to discuss the foundational agreements.

Despite the incremental progress, critics would want to see more substantive progress between India and the US. The building blocks have been assembled; both sides can now speedily build the superstructure in coming months before the change of administration in Washington DC in the next one year.

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Initiatives for girls for secondary education, special scholarship scheme for Jammu & Kashmir, scheme of interest subsidy on educational loans and regulations on prevention of discrimination and establishment of ombudsman.

The first initiative of the government, after it came to power in May, 2014, was 'Padhe Bharath, Badhe Bharath'. With the objective of improving learning outcomes, the program was structured along the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, that of 3Rs - 'Reading, Writing and Arithmetic'. The focus is on language development in order to make reading and writing efficient to facilitate good comprehension of the concepts and on teaching Mathematics in a way that promotes understanding and liking. The Midday Meal Scheme has been very instrumental in increasing the enrollment rate and pupil attendance. Efforts have been directed to increase the effectiveness of the program by incorporating some of the best practices of other states. In this pursuit, MHRD has decided to introduce greater public participation as well as involvement of religious and charitable institutions in its Mid-day Meal Scheme through the concept of "Tithi Bhojan" to ensure more effective community monitoring. This model, a success in Gujarat, has a protocol for standards in food safety to ensure quality and nutrition value of the meal. The community will be playing

an important role in checking quality of ingredients and preventing contamination of any kind.

One of the major thrust areas of the government is that of pedagogy and teachers. The government has launched the 'Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya National Mission on Teachers and Teaching' with a corpus 900 Crores. The primary focus of the mission is to address and resolve all issues related to teaching, teachers, teacher training, designing curriculum, developing assessment methodologies and effective pedagogy. The mission will also focus on creating a strong workforce of teachers of high quality by setting performance standards and providing state of the art institutional facilities.

On 2nd October in 2014, the Prime Minister launched the Swacch Bharath Mission which is to be fulfilled by 2019 to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of the father of the nation. The government has aptly chosen to disseminate the core values of the program through schools and educational institutions to effect such a behavioural change. The 'Swacch Bharath, Swacch Vidyalay' (Clean India, Clean Schools) campaign launched alongside primarily focusses on making accessible to every student a school having a set of functioning and well maintained water, sanitation and hygiene facilities. In this aspect, the school or the educational institution must be technically

enabled with the entire required infrastructure, while at the same, have teachers incorporating the concepts of hygiene, health, nutrition and sanitation in classrooms and in day to day practice. The rationale behind this program is that a clean and a healthy school will result in improved health and less diseases which will in turn translate into improved attendance rates and lower drop-out rates. This will help the children fare better in their academics and push them to promote the same culture of health and hygiene in their respective communities. The Swacch Vidyalay campaign is also supported by the national flagship program Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan and Nirmal Gram Puraskar. Over the years, it has been observed that girls tend to drop-out of school when there are no proper toilets and washing facilities are not private, not safe or simply not available. A lot of emphasis is laid on sanitation and building of appropriate gender-separated toilets in every school in order to curb drop-out rates of girls.

It is a good sign that the government is working towards education of girls. It is also actively using technology to identify the gaps that exist in the system. MHRD in collaboration with UNICEF has come up with a tool called Digital Gender Atlas for Advancing Girls' education. The atlas will be particularly helpful in identifying the geographic pockets for girls which aren't performing well, particularly from marginalized

groups such as scheduled castes, schedule tribes and Muslim minorities, on specific gender related education indicators. It has been developed as a hands-on management tool with gender ranking systems, trend analysis of general performance metrics, comparative analysis of individual gender related indicators over years and this enables a visual assessment of the change. It is useful to know that the Gender Atlas can also use available data on education, health and census to provide quantitative analysis. This tool is available on the website and can be used by any interest groups to plan and execute educational interventions.

The government has announced a new scheme called 'Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao'. Under this, an amount of Rs.100 Crores for 2015-16 has been earmarked to strengthen girls' education in 100 districts selected on the basis of Child Sex Ratio. Apart from instituting district level awards to deserving students in these districts, self defence and life skills are also being taught to girls. Under SSA, the number of out of school children has come down to 5.9% from 8.2% among SCs and from 9.5% to 5.2% in the case of STs. In order to sustain these results, efforts are being channelised towards maintaining the existing infrastructure and building new ones apart from providing incentives in the form of uniform, books, cycles etc. The government has taken up the task of modernising the madrasas through

the 'Scheme to Provide Quality Education in Madrasa' (SPQEM). Under SPQEM, the central government provides assistance to madrasas and maktabas (elementary schools) to make subjects like Science, Maths, Social Science, English, Hindi part of the curriculum. It has also been promoting programs like 'Seekho aur Sikhao' and 'Padho Pardes' in order to augment the socio-economic development in minority populated areas.

With changing times, India has to adapt and reinvent its pedagogy model and schooling systems. At the same time, the needs of the underprivileged, tribal children, economically weaker sections of the society have to be kept in mind. The advent of technology in education is proving to be a great boon but the major challenge is to take this technology to all sections of society so that in this fast-paced digital age, no one is left behind. While a majority of urban students (91.33%) have used computers, only 32.33% of the rural populace has been exposed to any kind of computer. The government needs to bridge this inequality in short time for the disparity between the two is fast growing.

Despite innovations in curriculum and developments in infrastructure, education will suffer so long as the main instruments of Education- the teachers- do not improve and adapt. Developing teacher training programs requires immense planning and management. If India has to be able

to export quality teachers in the manner our Hon. Prime Minister envisions, we need to build capabilities of the teacher in a way that is rigorous and holistic. The challenge is to evolve a homogenous teacher training programs across the length and breadth of the country for focussed and consistent improvements in pedagogy.

Another major issue that we face as a nation is the way differently-abled children are not able to make maximum use of our education system. Notwithstanding the design paradigms that we have incorporated in educational institutions, hospitals and public places keeping the differently-abled in mind, we are still not able to maximise their capabilities. Our education curriculum is not yet suited to the needs of special children, children suffering from autism and those who are mentally challenged. Instead, there is immense stigma about these things in the schooling circles. If we are to make education inclusive, then we need to keep the needs of these children in mind. The focus should also be on sensitizing children about these disabilities and spreading awareness on how each one of us can make them feel included. It is extremely crucial that our education system must accentuate these behavioural changes that need to be brought about in schools. In his very first "Mann ki Baat", Prime Minister Modi had discussed the challenges faced by differently-abled

people, especially children.

A recent report on gender parity by McKinsey, a global consultancy firm, points out that Indian women contribution to GDP is a dismal 17% of Indian GDP. It is a far cry from the global average of 37%. The report has computed a score on gender parity for 95 countries and finds that for India the scores on the Index are extremely low (<0.50 on a scale of 0-1, where 1 indicates gender parity) making her very 'gender unequal' at present. The major challenge of the next decade is how India is going to frame educational policies that will result in greater female participation in formal roles. For countries like India which has huge gender inequality, increasing gender parity could add as high as 60 percent to India's GDP.

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# Modi Govt's Mega push to Start-up India Movement

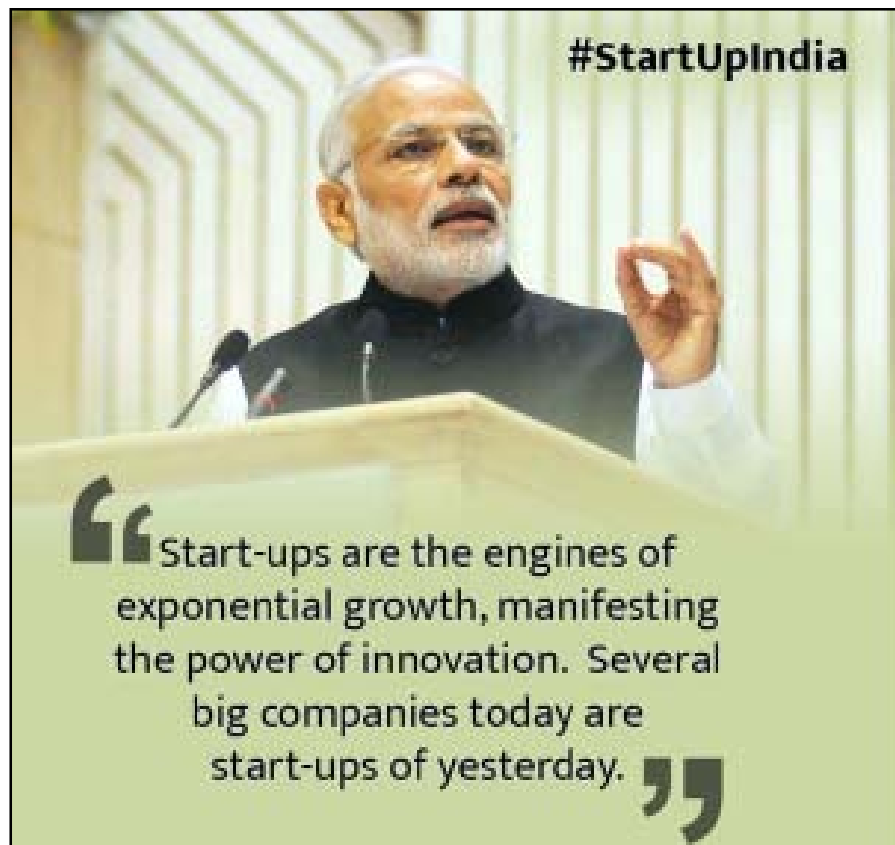
✍ Siddharth Singh

India is faced with an exciting challenge – it needs to create over 1 million new jobs every month for the next 20 years to give employment to the 200 million youth who will join the work force. These jobs will have to come from new companies, and therein lies the paramount significance of creating a fundamental shift in the eco system of doing business in India.

In order to provide an impetus to the Indian entrepreneurial landscape, the Government launched the Startup India, Standup India campaign on 16th January, 2016. The initiative aims to set up a network of start-ups and provide a new dimension to entrepreneurship in the country. Prime Minister Narendra Modi himself launched the government's Start-up India programme to encourage entrepreneurship in the country. While there has

been commendable growth in the start-up ecosystem – India ranks third among global start-ups with 4,400 new-age companies – it is still concentrated in the technology domain and is located largely in Bangalore, Mumbai and the National Capital Region. The Prime Minister's plan has now focused on extending it to other sectors and spread across the country.

One of the major bottlenecks in enabling start-ups is funding. In a NITI Aayog survey of economically backward youth, 97% respondents





stated that access to capital was a barrier to entrepreneurship. The Startup India of the Government has also tried to address regulatory issues like entry and exit norms, give tax incentives and help develop skill sets which will lead to innovations. As per the Action plan of Startup India, Industry too, will now collaborate with educational institutions to fund research and development and develop products that can help change society and lifestyle.

As Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched “Startup India, Stand Up India”, the focus of the Government is on rousing the entrepreneurial spirit among the country’s youth. The hope is that start-ups will, over time, manufacture state-of-the-art products, create jobs for the youth and generate wealth to investors. Over the past few years, the start-up momentum picked pace as funding into the sector grew 125%, from \$2.2 billion in 2014 to \$4.9 billion in 2015, as per a Nasscom report. That is much higher than the cumulative funding of \$3.2 billion over 2010-14. The total number of active investors has also grown from 220 in 2014 to 490 in 2015. In the process, India has also emerged as the third largest hub globally after the US and the UK with 4,200 technology start-ups. That number is expected to exceed 12,000 by 2020.

The ease of opening businesses consistently marks as one of the most

important variables across all. Connecting talent with the required infrastructure helps improve the overall knowledge economy and creates new jobs. As internet connectivity and penetration improves, it plays a major role in boosting job generation and enabling newcomers to start successful business ventures.

With its new start-up policy, government is trying to sort out issues that ensure start-ups does not face any problems and get a conducive eco system to flourish. Young entrepreneurs seek, among other things, clarity in tax policies, increase in FDI limit in key sectors, single-window clearance, removal of tax on ESOPs and a quick GST roll-out. In its policy, Government has tried its best to move extra mile on all these issues. To feed into the start-up ecosystem, the government is also investing in educational institutions with a focus on skill development and also increasing its spending on infrastructure. The Central government push to Startup in India will provide the right policy direction to ensure that start-ups stay invested in India. The proposed Startup India, Standup India scheme can play a big role in extending the startup culture across the country by promoting the required blend of suitable policies, access to finance, incubation and inclusive ecosystem.

*(Siddharth Singh is Research Associate with SPMRF)*

# Industrial Legacy of West Bengal – a perspective

✍ Shwetabh Ranjan

West Bengal has had a very intriguing history when it comes to industries and industrialisation. From the period before independence, Kolkata (then Calcutta) and other places of West Bengal (then Bengal) have been the hub of many industries such as jute, textiles, tea, and fishery. Haldia, a small port town in the south of Kolkata was and is still considered to be the hub of exports from India. During the 1940s the industries in West Bengal were at such a peak that Bengal accounted for the highest number of industrial labours in the country. As per the statistical data of the 1960s, West Bengal was the second most industrialized state in the country. But soon after that the industrial sector of West Bengal came to a halt, with slow growth of industries eventually leading to a decline. This is supported by the fact that the total industrial output in West Bengal in the year 1980-81 was 9.8% and it declined to 5% in 1997-98.

The industrial sector of West Bengal is scattered over certain regions dominated by a particular kind of sector. The leather tanneries are located in Kolkata itself along with the fishery industry which accounts for the highest number of shrimp trade in the country.

The steel and alloy industry is situated at Durgapur, the tea industry of Darjeeling and the jute mills in regions around the Hugli River, 64 kilometres away from Kolkata. Apart from these, West Bengal is also the hub of Sugar, chemical fertilizer and dried flowers industry.

Now the question which arises is that, in spite of having so many industrial hubs from the past, why has West Bengal failed to keep up its industrial output and growth. The average growth rate of the industrial sector in West Bengal slumped from 5.8% in early 2000s to 4.7% in 2009 bringing West Bengal from 10<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> rank in terms of average industrial growth rate. If we take a broader view of the reasons as to why this happened, we can attribute it to use of outdated technology, manual labour in industries like jute being taken over by factories and neglect by the government. Since the 1980s when the agricultural production of West Bengal was given the utmost priority, the industrial sector faced a decline. The government failed to balance the growth of both these industries equally. Taking a more recent example of the industrial failures, in 2006, when the Buddhadeb Bhattacharya led Left front

government came to power it could not deliver many of its promises in the industrial sector. The failed TATA Nano plant project at Singur was a major influencing factor. The reason for the abandonment of the project was that the land was taken away from the farmers and adequate remuneration was not given. Also, that these farmers didn't have any alternate occupation. But had the factory come up, these were the people who would have been working as labourers which they failed to understand. Even the Mamata Banerjee led Trinamool Congress government which came to power on the promise of getting the land back to the farmers failed to do so. So it was a lose-lose situation for everyone.

In January 2014, the TMC government however proposed an initiative to establish many industrial regions. 12 new industrial estates were proposed in the north of Bengal and a sum of Rupees 100 crores was marked for that. Even if 6 of them were properly operational, they could have given employment to around 50 thousand people which would have been a quantum jump in the direction of industrialization in west Bengal. But the implementation of these estates didn't take place as expected. It didn't find any positive light from any direction. A mini secretariat was opened at Siliguri to provide support for industrial development. On the question of quickening the development of the north Bengal a probable solution to this was proposed

by the chairman of the CII of the North Bengal chapter who argued that the region should be included in the North East Council as it also hosts almost similar socio-geo- economical structure as North eastern states. Or at least West Bengal may offer similar benefits to investors as given by states in its northern border such as Sikkim. But no action was taken in this direction too and the Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee maintained her silence on it when she was expected to speak about it while inaugurating the secretariat at Siliguri.

The problem of industrialization of West Bengal is the inability to come up with a comprehensive industrial plan and vision and at the same time strike a fine balance between agriculture – this is important in a state where the entire political narrative based itself and evolved on farmer and land issues in the last four decades – and industrialisation. The affinity of farmers who account for the major vote bank in West Bengal towards their lands is so strong that it led to the fall of the 34 year old Communist party led government. The case of Nandigram where the government was trying to acquire land forcibly from the farmers, trying to convert it into a special economic zone was also a major influencing factor in the 2011 elections. What we can infer from these cases is that if the industrial sector of West Bengal has to be developed it cannot be done only by adopting a pro industry policy and ignoring the agricultural sector all

together. The elections of 2011 is the best example of this. Any government which wants to look after farmers welfare as well as industrialize the state has to hit the exact balance between the two. Some steps towards these can be high remunerations in reciprocity to land acquisitions and promises of employment which have to be fulfilled. Because the people of the state are now aware of the hoax promises that the governments make and they show their resentment in the elections. The promises under "Singur Land Rehabilitation and Development Act" were not fulfilled either, the consequences of which may show in the upcoming elections of 2016.

It is this balance that seems to have always eluded West Bengal.

Year	West Bengal
1994-95	6.8
1995-96	7.4
1996-97	6.9
1997-98	8.2
1998-99	6.3
1999-00	6.8
2000-01	3.8
2001-02	7.3
2002-03	3.7
2003-04	6.2
2004-05	6.8
2005-06	6.2
2006-07	7.7
2007-08	7.7

2008-09	4.9
2009-10	9.8
2010-11	7.0
2011-12	7.0
<b>Average Growth Rate over 1994-95 to 2000-01</b>	6.7
<b>Average Growth Rate over 2004-05 to 2011-12</b>	7.2
<b>Improvement in Growth rate (%)</b>	0.5

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## Bihar: *Kya Socha Kya Paya*

✍ Pradip bhandari

Post the election result in Bihar, I was waiting eagerly for “Mahagathbandhan” to take office. I was irrationally hoping that the alliance will work out an agreement to deliver good governance to the people of Bihar. Though, I had serious doubts, and my earlier writings tried to make a case for giving the BJP led NDA a chance to govern the state towards prosperity, I restored my faith in the legitimate elected representatives. Even my conversations with few friends in Bihar reflected an uneasy calm with memories of a dark past re-emerging. This was an irony for me, especially when the state had given a resounding mandate to JDU (Janata Dal United) and RJD (Rashtriya Janata Dal) to govern for a five year period. Unfortunately, my irrational optimism took a backseat as I started flipping newspapers of the past 2 months. To my surprise, newspaper headlines were filled with reports of incidents of abduction, kidnapping and murder. This is when I recall President Barack Obama’s recent state of the union address, “In a democracy we have to move towards a system where voters select the elected representatives, not the politicians choosing their voters”. This is akin to the vote bank phenomenon that we encounter in Indian political establishment. Unfortunately in Bihar,

the conflicting self interest of the alliance partners is taking the state back to days of lawlessness.

### Facts

The new government took charge on November 20, 2015. Since November there have been more than 23 cases of kidnapping, with higher number in December compared to November. The New Year rather than being a beacon of hope turned out to be a continuity of gloom for Bihar. Bihar welcomed the new year with the news of the couple being killed in Kanakpur village, arrests being made in Chhapra, and theft committed in Gaya. This was a continuum to the existing situation last year. The last year ended with the news of the kidnapped engineering student, who was traced after four days. The student had lodged a kidnapping case after his father received a ransom text. These incidents should not be seen in isolation, but in the context of change in government, where divided loyalties of the ruling establishment is a contributing catalyst towards deteriorating law and order problem in the state.

### What did Bihar vote for?

The electorate had entrusted the current chief minister of Bihar to take the state forward on the development path. Any development can only be achieved once a state of security is a

norm in the society. The chief minister might have the intention to take the state ahead, but is it possible for him to reign in the “non – fringe” elements whose survival is contingent on keeping law and order in a relatively volatile position. Today, Bihar is seeking investment eagerly in power,

Rajesh Chakrabarti in his book *“Bihar Breakthrough: the turnaround of a beleaguered state”* points on the achievements of the current chief minister, when he was in a coalition with BJP led NDA. It is time the Chief Minister puts his foot down. The question is can he, when he is presiding over a partnership born out of differing ideologies and goals coming together for survival.

roads, and manufacturing. Capital investment – public and private is critical for making Bihar the melting pot of economic activity especially agriculture, manufacturing and tourism. However, even if the state spends from its limited kitty to increase gross state capital/GDP ratio, crowding in of private investment can only happen after the law and order situation is improved. Private investment is needed to improve the power distribution company balance sheet in the state. A report of National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) titled *“Energy Sources for Indian Households for Cooking and Lighting”* showed that about seven out of 10 rural households in the country had electricity. However, in

Bihar, only about two houses and a half out of ten rural households have electricity. Moreover, it has the highest number of urban households without electricity connection. The World Bank, in its recent report (February 2015), claimed that two out of three people in Bihar do not have access to electricity. This sorry state of affairs has made an impact on the availability of education, health and employment opportunities in the state. Moreover, with the announcement of latest UDAY scheme by Ministry of Power and Renewable Energy, an initial revival corpus would be provided by the ministry but ultimately the burden to revamp the unacceptable state of power distribution and availability will fall on the state exchequer.

Rajesh Chakrabarti in his book *“Bihar Breakthrough: the turnaround of a beleaguered state”* points on the achievements of the current chief minister, when he was in a coalition with BJP led NDA. It is time the Chief Minister puts his foot down. The question is can he, when he is presiding over a partnership born out of differing ideologies and goals coming together for survival.

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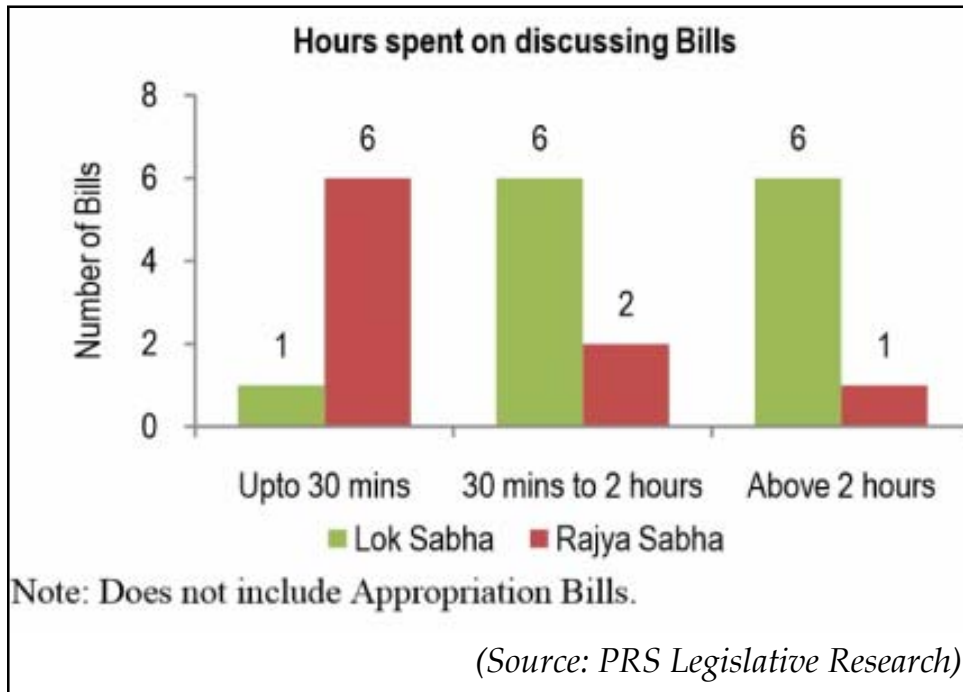
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**Disruptions in Rajya Sabha:**

**How the country lost precious time and resources**

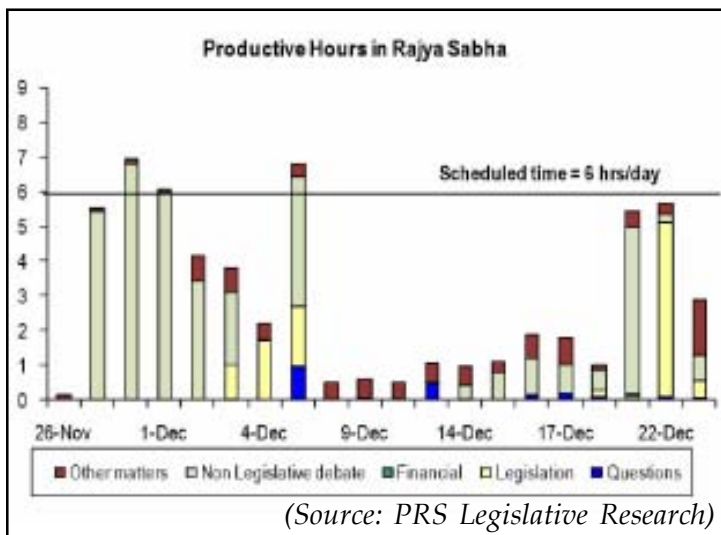
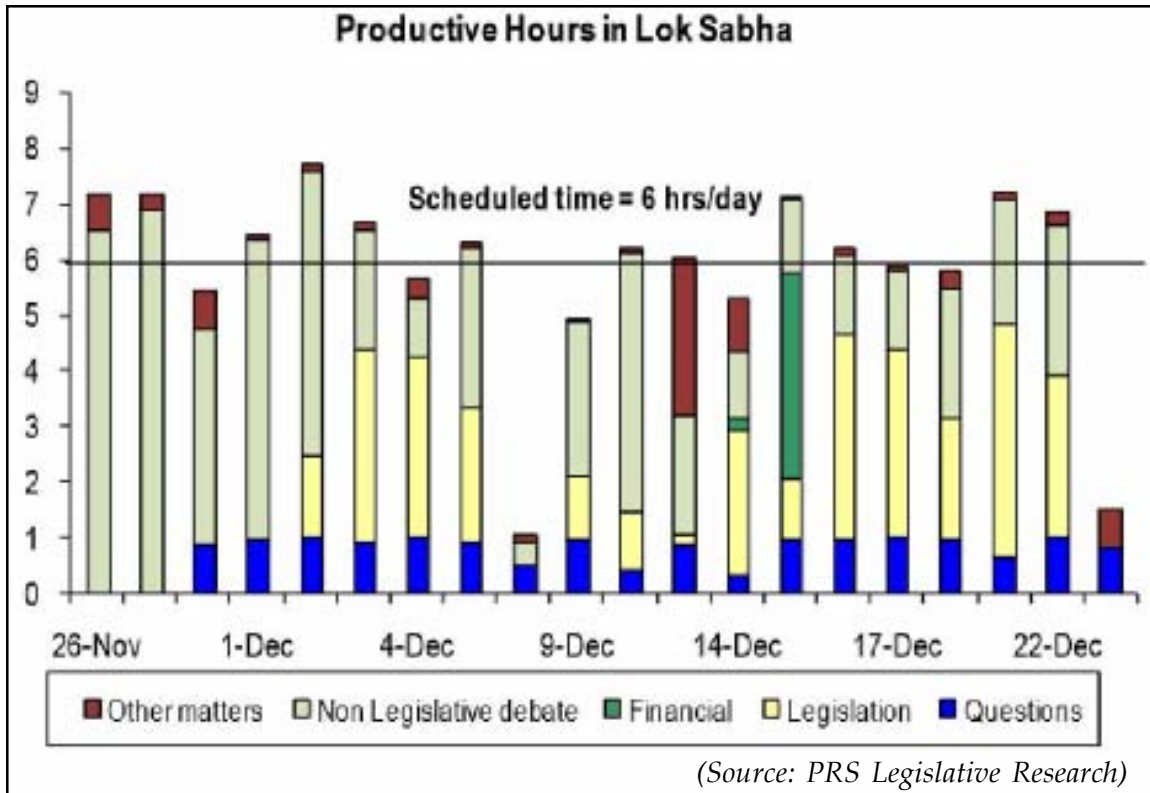
The Winter Session of Parliament which began on November 26<sup>th</sup> and ended on December 23<sup>rd</sup> saw Lok Sabha working for 98% of its scheduled time while Rajya Sabha, where the BJP led NDA is in minority, worked for only 51% of its scheduled time. The Rajya Sabha which was scheduled to work for 112 hours during the Winter Session lost 55 hours to disruption by the opposition led by the Congress Party. Important legislations like the Goods and Service Tax (GST) Bill could not be passed in this session, jeopardizing the reform which needs to be rolled out by the financial year starting April, 2016.

According to PRS Legislative Research, both houses of the Parliament were scheduled to function for a total of 226 hours in this session and consider 19 bills. During the session, the Lok Sabha passed 14 bills and registered 104% productivity by working overtime. But the Rajya Sabha was consistently adjourned due to protests by the opposition parties and functioned for only 51% of its scheduled time. While Rajya Sabha passed 7 Bills, 6 of these were passed without any discussion. Lok Sabha spent more time debating Bills as compared to Rajya Sabha in this session. Lok Sabha discussed 13 Bills for 28 hours, whereas Rajya Sabha discussed 9 Bills for 8



hours. The productivity percentage of Rajya Sabha during question hour was only 14% while Lok Sabha recorded a productivity of 87% during question hour. In the

last four sessions the average productivity of Lok Sabha has been 97% while that of Rajya Sabha has been 62%.



The Winter Session of Parliament adjourned sine die on December 23, 2015. Rajya Sabha Chairman Hamid Ansari, in his concluding remarks said that the session till last week had seemed singularly unproductive in terms of legislative work.

The Lok Sabha, where the BJP has a comfortable majority, worked for 115 hours - an hour extra

compared to the scheduled 114 hours. The Lok Sabha was able to pass bills and function despite the disruptions because the Congress is in a minority there. It is indeed cruel on the part of Congress which doesn't let Rajya Sabha function where it has greater numbers.

**Compiled by:**

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## Energy Diplomacy Coup for the Modi Government, Qatar halves gas price, waives India's Rs 12,000cr liability

In a major energy diplomacy coup for the Modi government, Qatar has nearly halved the price of gas it sells under a 25-year contract and waived a payment liability of Rs 12,000 crore arising from India's refusal to import the committed number of shipments in 2015 under the 'take-or-pay' clause. Petronet LNG, India's largest importer of gas in ships, and Qatar's RasGas have now agreed to a new pricing formula that would see gas price dropping to \$6-7 per unit from the original \$12-13. India is the second liquid gas buyer after China to have successfully renegotiated a long-term contract in tune with the changed reality of slump in prices and supply glut in the global energy market. The new deal which has been renegotiated by Oil ministry under Dharmendra Pradhan is a "win-win" outcome of "statesmanship" shown by the top leaders of the two countries. A consensus on need to reopen the deal in the backdrop of low global oil and gas prices emerged during Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani's visit in March 2015.

The new formula is linked to Brent crude and would entail a saving of Rs 4,700 crore annually for

the fertiliser industry alone, the biggest consumer of liquid gas. A lower fuel cost would automatically reduce the government's fertiliser subsidy. Its impact on power tariffs would be felt because there also consumers who will be benefited by reduction in prices because in India, Gas-fired stations account for 7-8% of total capacity. Most of the gas-fired stations are running under special government subsidy scheme and most importantly the gas utility GAIL would stand to benefit since the lower price would prompt gas demand, raising utilisation of the utility's pipelines which will further give a fillip to the overall economy. The main driver of the successful deal between both the countries was the realisation on both sides of India's muscle as a buyer and Qatar's imperative to maintain market share. In return for the renegotiation, the companies of both the countries has also signed a separate contract for one million tonne of additional gas for the remaining tenure of the deal, which has given a benefit of \$15 billion by way of lower prices when they were going up in the 11 years since supplies began in 2003.

■

# India and Egypt: Towards a Greener Economy

✍ Bhavya Sree Ravi,  
Neha Batra,  
Shwetabh Ranjan

“Green Economy Initiative”, launched in late 2008 by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), aims to *improve the human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities*. India and Egypt were among the 65 countries that embarked on this mission to create sustainable economies through development of green policies, technologies, and infrastructure.

Both countries have common areas of concern in their endeavour to develop greener economies. One major problem being the ever increasing population and urbanization accompanied with the colossal increase in the number of vehicles on road. For instance, as per the Delhi government website, there are 84.75 lakh private vehicles and 3.56 lakh commercial vehicles registered in Delhi up to 31 March'15. The direct results of this rise in vehicle population in the form of pollution, poor waste management, poor air quality, etc are major concerns for the government and the citizens in general. In this paper, I present three selected cases from Egypt wherein the Egyptian government has, in collaboration with international

organizations, successfully implemented programs in the last 7-8 years to combat the environmental issues discussed above and their applicability in the Indian context.

“Egypt Vehicle Scrapping and Recycling Program” is a national program launched in 2009 to reduce greenhouse emissions and air pollution associated with the aging taxi vehicles in Greater Cairo. Under the program, the taxis operational for over 20 years qualify for voluntary replacements with newer models that meet Egyptian environment Law standards. The earlier government regulation, Traffic law #121 which states that the owners of mass transport vehicles older than 20 years will not be eligible for operating licenses supported the implementation of this program. The whole process takes place in two parts. In the first phase, the interested vehicle owners head to the scrapping and recycling storage site for inspection following which they are entitled to the financial incentives in exchange of the old vehicle. These incentives include tax and custom waiver for purchase of new vehicles. In the second phase, the old vehicles are recycled in a private sector facility

selected through a tender issued by the government. Government also provides support and resources for the storage site and the compliance and monitoring of the program. While the program is set to last 28 years from the launch date, the project will most likely be mainstreamed as a continuous service.

The program runs on the public private partnership (PPP) model. Private sector partners include vehicle dealers, participating commercial banks and an insurance company. The dealers provide lower than market prices for the vehicles while the commercial banks provide lower than market interest rates on loans for buying new vehicles. In the period from 2009 to 2015, 43,000 taxis in the outer Cairo regions have been replaced through the program and an estimated 350,000- 470,000 Certified Emission Reductions (CERs) will be registered over the period 2013-2018. Other benefits include CH<sub>4</sub> and N<sub>2</sub>O reductions and increase in the average fuel efficiency. However, the program faces substantial systematic risk due to instability in the political and macroeconomic categories.

As discussed above, three factors common to the Egyptian Capital and Indian metropolitan cities are high population density, use of automotive vehicles as primary means of transport and transport sector being a major pollutant. Given the lack of necessary policy to deal with the aging vehicles in India, the Egyptian program provides a great model for the

scrapping and recycling initiative in India. The recent government initiatives to mitigate the problem such as ban on diesel vehicles over 10 years old in Delhi issued by the National Green Tribunal seem lacklustre without the necessary incentives provided as in the Egyptian model.

The program also provides a good case for the "Cash for Clunkers" Scheme that is being developed and proposed by the Ministry of Road, Transport and Highways (MoRTH). The scheme plans to provide cash incentives upto Rs 1.5 lakh for new purchase of vehicles, with amount of benefit depending upon the use of the vehicle replaced. The plan involves setting up of 8-10 industrial units near ports like Kandla which will give certificates for accepting old vehicles and recycle vehicles from India and abroad, thus giving a boost to employment and economy.

The second Egyptian case for the development of sustainable Green Economy is the "*Egypt Pollution Abatement Project*". EPAP is the largest industrial pollution abatement program in the Middle East and Africa implemented by The Egyptian Environment Affairs Agency (EEAA), presently in its third phase. It is co-financed by a consortium of International financial and development organizations including the World Bank, the European Investment Bank and the French Development Agency. The project has pioneered a sustainable mechanism

for pollution abatement by a combination of financial, technical and institutional measures. It promotes pollution abatement in industrial complexes in Alexandria and Greater Cairo areas by financing a wide range of projects that address several environmental problems through emission reduction, environmental improvement, waste water treatment, adoption of cleaner technologies and so on. These activities also benefit the firms by increasing their economic competitiveness in respect of the production efficiency, job creation, exports, marketing and corporate governance. The Financial incentives in the form of 20% grant (of the loan amount) and its linking to the company's performance have played a great role in encouraging companies to participate in this project.

The second phase of the project, EPAP II established performance benchmarking system to strengthen the implementation and monitoring of the program. Apart from the financial assistance, institutional support improves the enforcement of environmental regulations. The third phase of EPAP expands the project with preferential treatment to the Small and medium Enterprises (SMEs) and use of alternate fuels in industries. While India also has environmental regulations in this regard, the Egyptian case provides a good example for its better implementation.

Last but not the least, "*The Egypt national Cleaner Production Centre*

*(ENCPC)*" is a prime example of cooperation between the private and the public sector to follow a cleaner production approach thereby saving natural resources, reducing waste disposal and abating industrial pollution. It was established in 2005 by the Egyptian government in cooperation with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). The centre offers technical assistance to the Egyptian industry to achieve zero waste, integrated chemicals management, energy efficiency, etc. At the same time, it helps the companies to gain financial access by assisting them in meeting credit requirements of International Financial institutions like the World Bank, German Development Bank, etc. While the project faced a number of limitations and setbacks because of lack of concrete policies and managerial expertise, it successfully created a positive impact on the productivity and the competitiveness of the Egyptian Industries with the support of its international collaborations.

Apart from these PPP programs, a number of private initiatives in the Egyptian context have created a significant impact in combating environmental pollution and moving towards a cleaner production. "*El Masreya for lead smelting, refining and fabrication*" is one such organization that has created significant environmental and social benefits by re-allocating the smelters and designing efficient new facilities.

While these Egyptian success stories provide great insights for implementation of similar policies and programs in India, Environment Investment is a trend that has not been sufficiently explored in Egypt and provides an attractive future business opportunity for Indian investors. "Green development" is the need of the hour for both the nations and their collaboration in this regard holds great potential and benefits for both the parties.

*(The authors are Young India Fellows 2015-16 interning with SPMRF under the ELM programme)*

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## Sub-Saharan Africa: Indian Investment in the Power Sector

✍ Bhavya Sree Ravi, Neha Batra, Shwetabh Ranjan

Sub-Saharan Africa comprises of the region below the Sahara desert in the African continent comprising of 49 countries and an approximate population of 800 million. India's relations with the region dates back to the 19th century when Mahatma Gandhi started his civil disobedience movement for the first time in Natal against the lawful practice of racial discrimination. However, post-independence India's relations with the region didn't make much progress. The relations were stagnant in the post-cold war era but strengthened because the problems being faced by both India and Sub Saharan region were similar like poor economy and trade, population, health and education. This led to strong economic (natural resource and market opportunities) and political ties (strategic partnership, India's global ambitions) between the two regions.

As per a recent report by Deloitte, Sub-Saharan Africa is forecast to be the fastest growing region in the world over the next five years as measured by the projected GDP growth rates. The trade between India and Sub-Saharan Africa stood at \$60 billion in 2012. However, it was still far below that of the EU (\$567.2 billion), the U.S. (\$446.7 billion), and China (\$220 billion). Nevertheless, India has shown great interest in its engagement with

this region through a wide range of activities, including investment programs and development aid. While there is a wide scope of investment in a number of sectors in this region including manufacturing, power, education, and so on but our area of immediate concern is the power sector in this region and its potential for Indian investments.

One of the major challenges that face the region of Sub Saharan Africa today is that of power generation. According to a survey done by McKinsey in February 2015, South Africa has 13% of the world's population and 48% of the global population without electricity. The only other region facing similar imbalance is South Asia with 23% of world's population and 34% of the people without access to electricity. Thus, almost 600 million people in Africa are without electricity. The only seven countries in the Sub Saharan region with electricity access rate exceeding 50% is Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire, Gabon, Ghana, Namibia, Senegal and South Africa. Even the consumption rate is 150 Kilowatt-hours per capita, much lower than India and Brazil, the other two countries in the IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa) forum. Such conditions of lack of electricity cause major damage to the economy and

leads to the stagnated development.

The major reason behind the power shortage in Africa lies in the lack of infrastructure. The region's plans to develop its industries are purely based on the amount of power it will generate in the future. According to the same McKinsey report, the power consumption in Sub-Saharan region with the proposed plan of development of industries will be around 1600 terawatt hours by 2040 which is 4 times of that in 2010. These figures are based on a fivefold increase in GDP, doubling of population, electricity access levels reaching 70% and increased urbanisation. Also, with these estimated consumption levels, the estimated increase in power generation is only 70-80% under the current plans of increasing power generation. Thus there is a huge gap between the projected demand and supply of power in this region that creates immense potential for foreign investment in this sector.

The potential of the estimated power generation vary across different types of power.

Source	Power generating capacity
Solar	10 terawatts
Gas	400 gigawatts
Hydro	350 gigawatts
Coal	300 gigawatts
Wind	109 gigawatts
Geothermal	15 gigawatts

Gas would account for more than 40 percent of the electricity generated from 2020 onward, with hydro remaining a very important technology. Solar would take off significantly after 2030, representing 8 percent of the generation mix by 2040 and more than 30 percent of capacity additions between 2030 and 2040. Even in the absence of active incentives, more than 25 percent of total energy in 2040 would come from clean sources – geothermal, hydro, solar, and wind – compared with 21 percent today, almost all of which is from hydroelectric sources. The average levelized cost of energy generated would be about \$70 per megawatt-hour. If the countries in this region are to build the required set up for generation of power it would cost around \$490 billion and another \$345 billion for transmission and distribution.

This is where India can collaborate with Africa. Prime Minister Narendra Modi recently said that solar energy is vital for the energy security of India. During his visit to the US, he also said that India is working towards the use of clean sources of energy. With the upcoming India-Africa summit towards the end of October this could be a potential aspect of collaboration within the two nations. Indian power generation companies can invest and start operating in Sub Saharan region. There are already a lot of Indian

Companies in South Africa and the Sub Saharan region which are into Electrical and Electronic manufacturing with a \$ 2.5 billion export. With Indian companies entering the African power generating sector, it can be mutually beneficial. TATA is already in negotiations for entering the power generation market of Africa. Vulnerable Energy Solutions Director Mayank Garg recently said that the Indian power sector is facing a serious threat with the coal depleting. So, by entering into that market a proposal for mutual consent can be the import of coal on a low tariff trade barrier and in return Indian companies can use their technology to set up power generation plants.

In conclusion, we argue that the Indo-Africa forum should seriously discuss the potential investments by Indian power manufacturing companies. The technology possessed by Indian power sector companies can be very helpful in successfully tapping the natural resources available in the Sub Saharan region to generate power and lead to the growth of industries. The returns to these companies will be enormous in terms of revenues as demand for power will grow manifolds in the next 25 years as we've discussed earlier. By investing now, the companies will have an edge as the rates at which power will be supplied will be lower because of the lower cost of operations right now. These costs will eventually increase making the supply more expensive. Thus tapping into the sub Saharan Africa's power sector will be the best move towards a mutual beneficial relation and stronger ties.

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*(The authors are Young India Fellows 2015-16, at Ashoka University and are interning with SPMRF under the ELM programme)*



## Book Review: PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALVIYA AND THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

✍️ **Abhishek Pratap Singh**

At times history has not been fair enough while judging individual personalities, social movements and assessment of political situations. Most often, the level of ‘intellectual honesty’ has failed while analyzing the contributions made by national leaders during the freedom struggle and often some have been ‘outcast’ in an attempt to justify a certain definite set of theoretical prepositions. The reference to his belief that “‘history has not been kind to Sardar Patel” by Prime Minister Modi while addressing the gathering on ‘run for unity’ day in New Delhi on 31 October 2014 was a pointer to this habit. In addition, this too has been a case with Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya.

The decision of the Union Government to confer ‘Bharat Ratna’ on Malviya generated a renewed interest in scholarship about his contribution in freedom struggle and as a social reformer. It has brought forth a serious desire to understand his contribution and its significance for the Indian national movement.

While so called ‘left liberal historians’ put no less effort to portray Malviya as a Hindu nationalist led by A.G. Noorani’s account in *Frontline Magazine* in his cover story ‘Portrait of a Propagandist’. (Vol: 3, Issue: 01, 23-01-2015) At this time the well

written and timely produced volume on *Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and the Formative Years of Indian Nationalism* by Dr. Vishwanath Pandey looks into the interesting fact of key role played by Padit Malviya in India’s freedom movement and dwells on the sound facts to build intellectual arguments for a national leader. Adding to the author’s credibility, the foreword by noted historian Dr. Mushirul Hasan, makes a suggestion for compulsory reading of the book.

In its very fundamental argument the author argues against the tendency of dividing national leaders as ‘nationalist’ and ‘Hindu nationalists’. He refers to the significant writings of T. N. Madan, Ashis Nandy and Bipin Chandra to argue that the very basis on which these divisions have been made is false. He interestingly points that this oversimplification has not taken in account the inherent diversity of opinion and political orientations of India’s nationalists. For example, while Raja Ram Mohan Roy has all praised for ‘positives’ of colonial rule, Lokmanya Tilak was candid in his observation of Congress practicing ‘political mendicancy’.

In his opening remarks in the chapter *Introduction and Life Sketch*, author refers to different historians of Malviya’s

key role in freedom struggle. He covers the evolution of his personality as a national leader from graduation days to practicing law, journalism and becoming member of provincial legislative council in 1903.

The next chapters include his key speeches delivered from Congress and Hindu Mahasabha platforms, and also in his capacity as a legislator. Pointing to the fact of its greatest contribution for social reform, the author refers to his remarkable speech on ‘abolition of indentured labour’ at the meeting of the Imperial Council held on March 20, 1916. It may be argued that this makes Pandit Malviya a forerunner of ‘labour rights movements’ in India and the related issue of child labour.

Pandit Malviya forcefully opposed the Press Bill in April, 1910 and stood out against Seditious Meeting Act. He argued for holding civil service exams in India and supported Gokhale’s motion on education. The readings refers to his key speeches on proper rural sanitation and empowerment through education. In this chapter the focus is on Malaviya’s philosophy of education that was directed towards the total development of the persons mind and body.

Author points out in his book that Pandit Malaviya did not oppose India’s Muslims. In one of his key speeches in the Hindu Mahasabha, he reminded of religious harmony and said that “*no single community can run over the rest.*” At Punjab Hindu Sammelan in 1923, Malaviya said that only a religiously oriented society would unite

the Indians as a nation and allow them to make progress. However, affirming his nationalist belief he stood hard against communal electorates as it harmed national unity by creating social divisiveness.

His convocation address in 1929 of BHU gives an excellent reading of his mind on education and its objectives. Author quotes from one of its speeches, “India was a country where the importance accorded to education was not new, what was new was the need for compulsory education”. The last chapter includes his last message delivered on 1, November 1946 to reflect his mind of being misunderstood by some people.

In sum, the book is a sincere attempt to summarize the personality and thought of Pandit Malviya, relying on primary sources in order to bring a rational and academic account of things at large. It clears the dust on some issues related to his ideological orientation and brings a fair account of what is written in the foreword by Dr. Hasan, that “he held Gandhiji in high esteem; the Mahatma, too, thought of him as a patriot”.

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# डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी और कश्मीर समस्या: पुस्तक समीक्षा

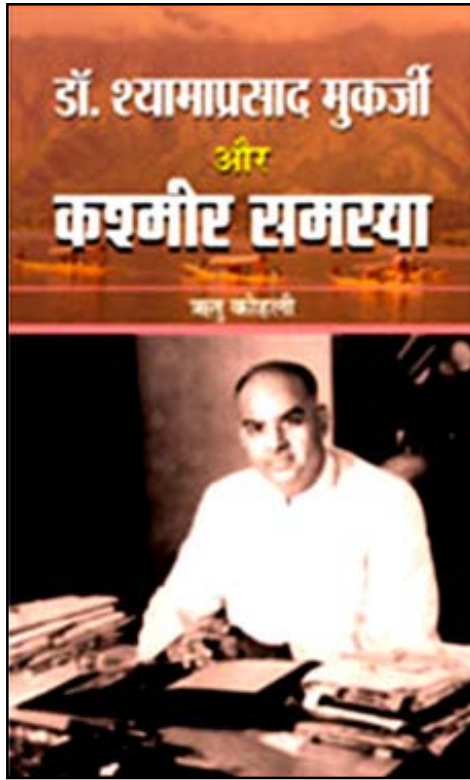
✍ शैलेन्द्र कुमार शुक्ला

दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में राजनीति विज्ञान की प्रचार्या डॉ रितु कोहली की रचनाशीलता भारतीय संस्कृति की मूल्य बोध मानवीय सरोकार और राष्ट्रवाद की भावना का मिला-जुला स्वरूप है। उनकी रचना में मजबूत भारतीय परंपरा के सारे रंग देखने को मिलता है। वे हमेशा समाज के सामने और अपने पाठकों को कुछ अलग प्रदान करने की कोशिश करती हैं। बस यही विशेषता उनको एक विशिष्ट लेखक का दर्जा प्रदान करता है। हाल ही में उनकी एक पुस्तक प्रकाशित हुई जिसका शीर्षक "डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी और कश्मीर समस्या" है। यह पुस्तक 316 पृष्ठों की है। यह पुस्तक कश्मीर समस्याओं की मूल में जाकर उसका मूल्यांकन करती है, उन कारणों को अपने पाठकों तक पहुंचाने की कोशिश करती है जिसके वजह से कश्मीर समस्या भारत के लिए ही नहीं बल्कि पूरे दक्षिण एशिया के लिए अशांति का कारण बना हुआ है। लेखक द्वारा उन सारी राजनीतिक और कुटनीतिक विफलताओं और उसके कारणों का भरपूर विश्लेषण किया गया है, जिसके वजह से कश्मीर समस्या उत्पन्न हुई। यह पुस्तक एक ऐसा दस्तावेज है जो उन हर पहलुओं को उजागर करता है जो कश्मीर समस्या

की मूल जड़ है। पुस्तक में डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी के संघर्षों की गाथा है। उनके प्रयासों का बहुत ही जीवंत और सुंदर तरीके से वर्णन किया गया है।

डॉ मुखर्जी के मन में खंडित भारत को लेकर एक पीड़ा थी जो उनको हमेशा विचलित करती थी। जब देश आजाद हुआ तब पाकिस्तान का छल प्रपंच और तत्कालीन सरकार की उदासीनता भारत को कश्मीर से अलग कर रही थी। जिसको देखकर डॉ मुखर्जी हमेशा व्यथित रहते थे। इस पुस्तक में स्पष्ट किया गया है कि भारत को आजादी से पहले ही जम्मू-कश्मीर विलय का प्रस्ताव मिला था। जब कश्मीर को पाकिस्तान में मिलाने की अंग्रेजों की चाल असफल हो गई, तो उन्होंने इसे स्वतंत्र देश बनाने का षडयंत्र रचना प्रारम्भ किया वास्तव में 1951 में जो

ब्रिटिश अमेरिकन षडयंत्र चले, उनमें शेख अब्दुल्ला उनका मोहरा बना। आर्टिकल 370 का मकसद जम्मू-कश्मीर को कोई विशेष दर्जा देना नहीं था। यह शेख की चालबाजी थी जिसके कारण अनुच्छेद 370 का संविधानिक दुरुपयोग करके जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत से अलग-थलग करने का प्रयास प्रारम्भ हुआ।



उस समय डॉक्टर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने इसका कड़ा विरोध किया। जम्मू-कश्मीर को लेकर डॉक्टर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी बहुत स्पष्ट थे। डॉ. मुखर्जी का मानना था कि यूएन में जाना एक गलती है, दुनिया की शक्तियां हमको कुछ देने वाली नहीं हैं, दुनिया से हमको कोई न्याय मिलने वाला नहीं है। हमको इस चक्कर में पड़ने की जरूरत नहीं है। दूसरी बात वो कहा करते थे कि आप अगर कुछ विशेष अधिकार देने की चाहते हैं तो संविधान संशोधन करिए। आप दो लोग बैठकर दिल्ली बैठक करके, समझौता करके लागू करना चाहते हैं, यह मत करिए। संसद में आइए, डिबेट रखिए, आप चर्चा कीजिए। देश के बाकी लोग कश्मीर में जाकर बस नहीं सकते हमारा संविधान क्या इसकी आज्ञा देता है। लेकिन वास्तव में नेहरू जी वे डिबेट नहीं करना चाहते थे। पुस्तक के अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि डॉ. मुखर्जी ने कश्मीर समस्या पर सीधे आंदोलन नहीं किया उन्होंने एक जिम्मेदार विपक्ष की भूमिका निभाते हुए पहले पत्र व्यवहार किया, बार-बार बातचीत का प्रयास किया। आल पार्टी मीटिंग, शेख अब्दुल्ला को बुलाने, प्रजा परिषद् के लोगों को बुलाने के आठ महीने तक उनके प्रयास चलते गए। लेकिन कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला तो आखिर में डॉ. मुखर्जी को आंदोलन का रुख अख्तियार करना पड़ा। और यह आंदोलन डॉ. मुखर्जी के जीवन का अंतिम आंदोलन साबित हुआ।

पुस्तक में बताया गया है कि देश को 1947 में आजादी मिली थी, ट्रांसफर ऑफ पापुलेशन स्वीकार नहीं किया था। हमने दो देश बनाए थे। जनसंख्या का बंटवारा नहीं स्वीकार किया था। नेहरू जी ने 1947 में देश की आजादी के प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करते हुए आश्वासन दिया था कि वहां के अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दुओं के हितों की हम चिंता करेंगे। हमें अपनी इस जिम्मेदारी से बचना नहीं चाहिये, जिस आजादी की लड़ाई हम लड़ रहे थे, उसमें

उनका योगदान हमसे कम नहीं है। अगर हम उन हिन्दुओं की ओर से आंख मूंद लेंगे तो यह तघ्नता होगी। वास्तव में डॉ. मुखर्जी की बहुत स्पष्ट नीतियां थीं, अगर इन नीतियों के अनुसार देश चला होता तो पाकिस्तान, बांग्लादेश के अंदर अल्पसंख्यकों का कोई बाल भी बांका नहीं कर सकता था। उन्होंने ध्यान दिलाया कि जम्मू-कश्मीर का प्रश्न केवल पाक अधि.त कश्मीर का प्रश्न है। डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी का बलिदान न हुआ होता तो 1954 के आर्डर के खिलाफ भी देश के अंदर एक प्रबल आंदोलन हुआ होता। उनके बाद विपक्ष में उस तरह का नेतृत्व नहीं रहा। इसलिए 54 के आर्डर जैसी धोखाधड़ी हो गई। 370 के नाम पर आज जो सारी व्यवस्थाएं हमको दिखाई देती हैं यह वास्तव में अनुच्छेद 370 का संविधानिक दुरुपयोग है जो 14 मई 1954 के आर्डर से हुआ।

इन सबके अलावा भी बहुत सारे अनछुए तथ्य हैं इस पुस्तक में जो हमें कश्मीर समस्या के मूल में ले जाता है, हमें उन गलतियों से रूबरू करता है जो तत्कालीन सरकार ने की थी। एक तरह से यह पुस्तक कश्मीर पर पूर्ण रूप से शोध पत्र है जिसके अध्ययन के बिना हम कश्मीर को न जान सकते हैं और ना ही उसकी समस्याओं को समझ सकते हैं।

## डॉ श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी और

### कश्मीर समस्या

लेखिका:-	डॉ रीतू कोहली
पुस्तक की भाषा:-	हिंदी
प्रकाशन:-	प्रभात प्रकाशन 4/9 आसफ अली रोड नई दिल्ली-2
प्रकाशन वर्ष:-	2015
पृष्ठ संख्या:-	316
मूल्य:-	400

# भारतीय मुसलमान नहीं बनेगा...

## विश्व के कट्टरपंथी मुसलमानों की कठपुतली

एक मनोवैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण

✍ अरुण कुमार जैन (इंजीनियर)

**व**र्तमान समय में भारत में असहिष्णुता को लेकर काफी चर्चा हो रही है। असहिष्णुता के मामले में सच्चाई क्या है, यह एक बहस का विषय है। इस संबंध में तमाम लोग अपने-अपने नजरिये से चर्चा करने में लगे हैं किंतु जहां तक भारतीय मुसलमानों की बात है तो वे अच्छी तरह जानते एवं समझते हैं कि सच्चाई क्या है? भारत का पूरा मुस्लिम समाज यह कहता है कि मुसलमानों के लिए भारत से सुरक्षित स्थान पूरी दुनिया में कहीं भी नहीं है। हो सकता है कि चंद गिने-चुने लोगों को भारत सुरक्षित नहीं लगता हो किंतु बहुसंख्य मुस्लिम समाज भारत को अपने लिए दुनिया में सबसे अधिक शुक्ल वाला देश मानता है, विशेषकर उन प्रदेशों में मुस्लिम समाज के लिए स्थितियां और अनुकूल हैं जहां भाजपा एवं उसकी समर्थित सरकारें हैं क्योंकि वे यह बखूबी जानते-समझते हैं कि भाजपा उन्हें खुश करने एवं अपनी तरफ आकर्षित करने के लिए कुछ भी करेगी। वैसे भी देखा जाये तो यह सर्वविदित है कि किसी भी घटना को आधार बनाकर भाजपा को हमेशा सांप्रदायिक घोषित करने का प्रयास निरंतर होता रहता है जबकि बहुसंख्य मुस्लिम

समाज चाहता है कि बार-बार भाजपा को बेवजह सांप्रदायिकता के लपेटे में न लिया जाये। भारतीय जनता पार्टी भी इस बात को लेकर हमेशा डरती रहती है कि मुस्लिम समाज कहीं उससे नाराज न हो जाये।

यही कारण है कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार एवं उसके नेताओं के बयानों, नीतियों एवं योजनाओं में अल्पसंख्यक समाज को खुश करने

के प्रयास देखने को मिलते रहते हैं। इस कारण कभी-कभी देखने को मिलता है कि बहुसंख्यक समाज की उपेक्षा भी हो जाती है। बहुसंख्यक समाज के हितों की कीमत पर भाजपा एवं उसकी सरकारें अल्पसंख्यक समाज को संतुष्ट करने की नीति पर चलती रहती हैं। इन्हीं सब कारणों से भारतीय जनता पार्टी एवं उसके द्वारा संचालित सरकारों का दोहन एवं शोषण भी होता रहता है। अल्पसंख्यक समाज को खुश करने के लिए भाजपा नेता एवं सरकारें शोषित भी हो रही हैं। इन सब कार्यों के बावजूद जब कभी राष्ट्रीय एवं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर कोई घटना होती है तो देश के प्रगतिशील एवं कट्टरपंथी लोग इस भाव का

**कट्टरपंथियों को लगता है कि सांप्रदायिकता के नाम पर भारतीय मुसलमानों को उत्तेजित एवं आक्रोशित किया जा सकता है। उनको बहला-फुसलाकर उनका इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। निरंतर इस प्रकार का प्रयास होते रहने के कारण समाज में चंद लोग गेहूं में धुन की तरह काम करते रहते हैं। हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों की दाल-रोटी इसी राह पर चलते हुए ही संभव है, किंतु यह सब कब तक चलेगा? इस पर बेहद गंभीरता से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है।**



प्रकटीकरण कर ही देते हैं कि वे भारत में निहायत ही असुरक्षित हैं जबकि वे यह अच्छी तरह जानते-समझते हैं कि पूरी दुनिया में भारत से सुरक्षित स्थान उनके लिए कहीं भी नहीं है। उसमें भी सबसे प्रमुख बात यह है कि जब भाजपा का शासन होता है तो अल्पसंख्यक समाज के लिए स्वर्णिम काल जैसा होता है। संभवतः यही कारण है कि भारत में पाकिस्तान एवं आईएस का झंडा लहराने वालों के खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की जाती है। इससे अधिक सुरक्षा की गारंटी और क्या हो सकती है?

यह भी संभव है कि कुछ लोग सेकुलर ताकतों के सुर में सुर मिलाने के लिए, अपनी नेतागिरी चमकाने के लिए या फिर अपने आप को हाईलाईट करने के लिए कहते हों कि भारत उनके लिए कितना असुरक्षित है और यहां असहिष्णुता चरम पर है किंतु सच्चाई से वे पूरी तरह वाकिफ हैं। आज नहीं तो कल सच्चाई पूरी दुनिया के समक्ष

आकर रहेगी। असुरक्षित होने का बयान देने की जो होड़-सी लगी है, उसका भी पटाक्षेप होकर ही रहेगा।

आने वाले समय में भारतीय जनता पार्टी को राष्ट्रवादी मुसलमानों के साथ मिलकर इस संबंध में गहन चिंतन करना होगा और अल्पसंख्यक समाज के बीच जो भी ताकतें असंतोष पैदा करने में लगी हैं, उन्हें बेनकाब करना होगा, अन्यथा अराजकता का वातावरण निर्मित करने में तथाकथित सेकुलर ताकतें कोई कोर-कसर नहीं छोड़ेंगी। इसके लिए भारतीय जनता पार्टी एवं मुस्लिम समाज दोनों को सतर्क रहना होगा। दादरी कांड पर आजम खान संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ को पत्र लिखते हैं तो आमिर खान को देश में डर लगता है जबकि मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि देश का अधिकांश मुस्लिम समाज ऐसे लोगों के विचारों से इत्तफाक नहीं रखता। जम्मू-कश्मीर में पाकिस्तान के झंडे लहराये जाते हैं, आईएस की गतिविधियां दस्तक दे रही हैं,

हिन्दुस्तानी युवकों को आईएस में खींचने की कोशिशें जारी हैं किंतु सब कुछ जानते हुए भी भाजपा एवं उसकी सरकारें ऐसे अराजक तत्वों के खिलाफ कोई भी कार्रवाई करने से इसलिए कतराती हैं कि असहिष्णुता एवं सांप्रदायिकता पर बहस तेज हो जायेगी।

देश के तथाकथित धर्मनिरपेक्ष दलों, नेताओं एवं बुद्धिजीवियों को अच्छी तरह पता है कि भारतीय मुसलमान ऐसा नहीं चाहता है और इस प्रकार की स्थितियों को रोकने में हमेशा प्रयासरत भी रहता है। देश के चंद कट्टरपंथी एवं विश्व के चरमपंथी हमेशा इस प्रयास में लगे रहते हैं कि भाजपा का भय दिखाकर किसी भी सूरत में भारत के मुसलमानों को उत्तेजित किया जाये। अब वक्त आ गया है कि सांप्रदायिकता बनाम धर्मनिरपेक्षता पर गंभीरता से विचार किया जाये।

हमारे देश के कट्टरपंथियों को लगता है कि सांप्रदायिकता के नाम पर भारतीय मुसलमानों को उत्तेजित एवं आक्रोशित किया जा सकता है। उनको बहला-फुसलाकर उनका इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। निरंतर इस प्रकार का प्रयास होते रहने के कारण समाज में चंद लोग गेहूं में धुन

की तरह काम करते रहते हैं। हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों की दाल-रोटी इसी राह पर चलते हुए ही संभव है, किंतु यह सब कब तक चलेगा? इस पर बेहद गंभीरता से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है।

जो भी लोग सांप्रदायिकता का भय दिखाकर उसका बेजा फायदा उठाने की फिराक में हैं, सच्चाई सामने आने पर उन्हें बेनकाब होना पड़ेगा। अमेरिका में हवाई अड्डों पर दुनिया भर के तमाम हस्तियों के कपड़ें उतरवाकर तलाशी ली जाती है तो वहां असहिष्णुता नजर नहीं आती है। कोई भी घटना होने पर अल्पसंख्यक समाज के साथ अमेरिका एवं यूरोपीय देशों में जो व्यवहार किया जाता है उसके खिलाफ कोई प्रतिक्रिया नहीं होती। पेरिस में आतंकी हमले के बाद अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति बराक ओबामा ने कहा कि मुस्लिम समाज के धार्मिक नेता आतंकवाद एवं आतंकी घटनाओं के खिलाफ प्रतिक्रिया देने एवं उसकी निंदा करने में कोताही बरतते हैं किंतु ओबामा के बयान पर प्रतिक्रियाएं नहीं आ रही हैं। कांग्रेस नेता डॉ. शकील अहमद का बयान आता है कि अंडर वर्ल्ड डॉन छोटा राजन एवं उल्फा प्रमुख अनूप चेतिया यदि मुसलमान



होते तो उनके साथ न जाने कैसा व्यवहार किया जाता? डॉ. शकील अहमद को यह गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए कि क्या अमेरिका एवं यूरोपीय देशों में कोई आईएस के झंडे लहराकर खुलेआम धूम सकता है। आखिर अब कितनी आजादी चाहिए? पेरिस की घटना पर आजम खान कहते हैं कि यदि यह ऐक्शन का रिएक्शन है तो इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए।

देश के जो तथाकथित धर्मनिरपेक्ष दल हैं, क्या वे यह बताने की कोशिश करेंगे कि भाजपा के शासन के पहले भारत में दंगे नहीं होते थे। यदि होते थे तो दंगाइयों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई नहीं होती थी। यदि कहीं कोई दंगा होता है तो क्या उसमें एक ही विशेष समुदाय के लोगों की जान जाती है। कश्मीर में बाढ़ आई तो प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने जिस तीव्रता एवं तनमयता से काम किया, उससे उनकी पूरी दुनिया में तारीफ हुई। राज्य सरकार जो कुछ भी चाहती थी, उसे केन्द्र सरकार ने पूरा करने का प्रयास किया। जम्मू-कश्मीर में जिस दल को तथाकथित सेकुलरवादी अलगाववादियों का समर्थक मानते हैं, राज्य के विकास के लिए भाजपा ने उस दल के साथ मिलकर सरकार बनाई। आखिर इससे अधिक भाजपा और कौन-सी अग्नि परीक्षा दे सकती है?

यदि यह मान लिया जाये कि भाजपा वास्तविक रूप से सही को सही और गलत को गलत बोलने की स्थिति में नहीं है तो और दल एवं देश के बुद्धिजीवी क्या कर रहे हैं? संगीतकार ए.आर. रहमान के खिलाफ फतवा जारी किया गया तो तब क्यों नहीं कहा गया कि लोकतंत्र में सबको अपनी बात कहने का हक है। फतवा जारी करने वालों को ए.आर. रहमान से बात करनी चाहिए। आखिर उस समय सत्य वचन बोलने वाले कहां चले गये थे?

भारतीय राजनीति एवं समाज में इस प्रकार के जो दोहरे मापदंड अपनाये जा रहे हैं, यह देश के

लिए ठीक नहीं है। निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि यदि इस प्रकार के रवैये पर तत्काल रोक नहीं लगी तो अराजकता का वातावरण निर्मित होने से कोई रोक नहीं सकता। भारतीय जनता पार्टी की बात की जाये तो यदि वह इस विषय पर बोलेगी तो उसे सांप्रदायिक घोषित कर दिया जायेगा। मुंबई में ताज होटल पर हमले के समय जिन लोगों को कोई भय नहीं महसूस हुआ था, अचानक उनके मन में खौफ कैसे पैदा हो गया? अब वे अचानक अपने आप को क्यों इतना असुरक्षित महसूस करने लगे? क्या भाजपा आतंकी संगठनों से अधिक खतरनाक है? सांप्रदायिकता के अभिशाप से मुक्त होने के लिए भाजपा एवं उसकी सरकारें सच्चाई से कब तक मुंह मोड़ती रहेंगी? देश के मुस्लिम समाज को चाहिए कि वे चंद स्वार्थी तत्वों के मंसूबों को नाकाम करने के लिए उनकी असली औकात बतायें। पेरिस हमले के बाद जिस प्रकार देश के तमाम मुस्लिम संगठनों, बुद्धिजीवियों, धार्मिक गुरुओं ने आतंकवाद एवं आतंकी संगठनों की निंदा की एवं उनके खिलाफ प्रदर्शन किया। इससे कट्टरपंथी तत्वों को यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि वे अपने मंसूबों में किसी भी कीमत पर कामयाब नहीं हो सकते।

कट्टरपंथी तत्व चाहे जितना भी प्रयास कर लें, किंतु इतना निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि भारत का मुसलमान विश्व के कट्टरपंथी मुसलमानों के हाथों की कठपुतली नहीं बनेगा। इसके लिए देश के प्रत्येक नागरिक की जिम्मेदारी बनती है कि राष्ट्र की एकता एवं अखंडता के लिए काम करे क्योंकि अराजकता का माहौल उत्पन्न होने पर सबसे अधिक कष्ट आम आदमी को ही उठाना पड़ता है। यह भी अपने आप में सर्वविदित है कि देश सुरक्षित रहेगा तो हम सभी सुरक्षित रहेंगे तो आइये हम सभी मिलकर राष्ट्र को और अधिक सुरक्षित और मजबूत बनाने के लिए काम करें।

*(लेखक राम-जन्मभूमि न्यास के पूर्व ट्रस्टी हैं)*



## किसानों को सुरक्षा कवच : अमित शाह

**भा**रत में आजादी के बाद यह पहला मौका है जब किसी सरकार ने किसानों के हितों को लेकर इतना बड़ा और महत्वपूर्ण फैसला लिया है। पहली बार किसानों की किसी बीमा योजना को खेत में फसलों की बुवाई से लेकर खलिहान तक विस्तृत किया गया है। इसी महीने जारी की गई प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना के दायरे को इतना व्यापक रखा गया है कि किसानों को प्राकृतिक आपदा से फसल नष्ट होने पर भी नुकसान उठाना नहीं पड़ेगा। प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के नेतृत्व में लिया गया सरकार

का यह फैसला सामाजिक और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से इतना महत्वपूर्ण है कि मौसम की मार से आत्महत्या तक के लिए विवश होने वाले किसानों के लिए यह योजना सुरक्षा कवच का काम करेगी। यह इसलिए भी महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि इसके माध्यम से पुरानी योजनाओं की जटिलता के जाल से निकालकर किसानों को न्यूनतम कीमत पर अधिकतम बीमा की राहत देने की पहल की गई है। बीमा के दावों के शीघ्र भुगतान की प्रक्रिया को अत्यधिक तकनीक के द्वारा बहुत ही सरल कर दिया गया है। प्रधानमंत्री ने किसान भाइयों और उनके परिवारों को लोहड़ी, पोंगल और बीहू जैसे पर्व के अवसर पर फसल बीमा योजना का तोहफा दिया है, जो किसानों की जिंदगी बदल देगा। इस

योजना की खास बात यह है कि इसमें फसल बीमा को मौजूदा 23 फीसद से बढ़ाकर 50 फीसद किसानों तक पहुंचाने का लक्ष्य तय किया गया है। हालांकि केंद्र की भाजपा सरकार को इसके लिए हजारों करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने होंगे, लेकिन भारतीय



◆ प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना को आजादी के बाद किसानों के हित के लिए सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहल मान रहे हैं भाजपा अध्यक्ष अमित शाह।

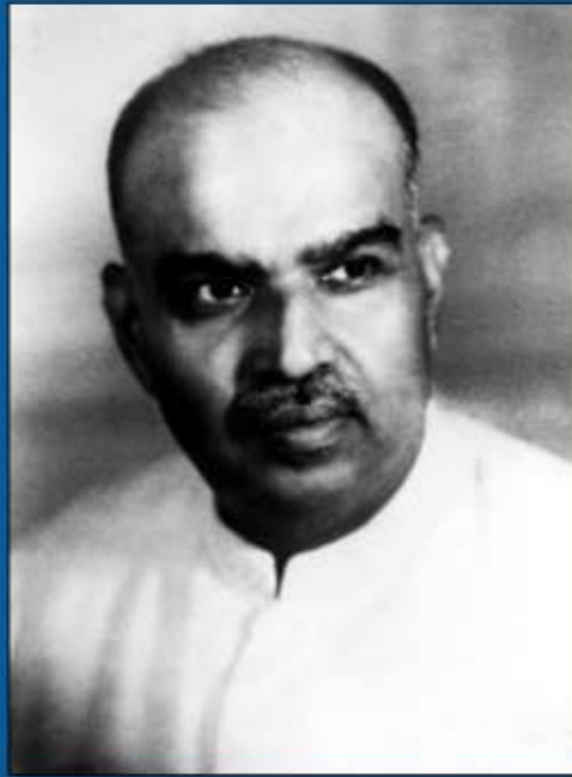
जनता पार्टी और उसकी सरकार किसानों के हितों के लिए वचनबद्ध है और इसके लिए धन की कमी नहीं होने दी जाएगी। वैसे राज्य सरकारों को अपने-अपने राज्यों में किसानों की मदद के लिए इतनी ही राशि का योगदान करना होगा। मोदी सरकार की इस नई योजना का फायदा देश के करोड़ों किसानों को होगा। इस लिहाज से इसे एक ऐतिहासिक फैसला माना जा सकता है। इस देश के किसानों के समग्र विकास के बारे में न तो अब तक कुछ किया गया और न ही इस बारे में व्यापकता से कुछ विचार किया गया। यह पहला मौका है जब मोदी सरकार किसानों की समृद्धि को लेकर काम कर रही है। किसानों का भविष्य और उनकी समृद्धता सीधे उनकी फसल की सुरक्षा से

जुड़ी है। इसलिए किसान की फसल सुरक्षित रहेगी तो किसान समृद्ध बनेगा। यही वजह है कि किसानों को कम बीमा प्रीमियम पर अधिक लाभ देने वाली योजना सरकार की तरफ से लाई गई है। 1पूर्व की योजना में सिर्फ बैंक से ऋण लेने वाले किसानों को बीमा का लाभ मिलता था, परंतु नई योजना में फसल बीमा को बैंक के ऋण से पूर्णतया डी लिंक कर दिया गया है, जिससे अब इस योजना का लाभ बैंक से ऋण न लेने वाले किसानों को भी मिलेगा और अब छोटे, मध्यम और बड़े हर वर्ग के किसान के लिए फसल बीमा योजना उपलब्ध होगी। इस संरचनात्मक परिवर्तन की वजह से अब प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना वास्तव में सबके लिए हो गई है। 1पहले जहां किसानों को अपनी फसल के बीमा के लिए बीमा राशि का 15 प्रतिशत तक प्रीमियम चुकाना होता था, लेकिन इस योजना के तहत इसे बेहद कम कर दिया गया है। रबी फसलों के लिए प्रीमियम की राशि डेढ़ फीसद और खरीफ फसलों के लिए दो फीसद देनी होगी। इसके अलावा इस योजना में से सरकार ने कैपिंग का प्रावधान भी पूरी तरह हटा लिया है। पूर्व में कैपिंग की वजह कई बार किसानों को 50 प्रतिशत तक का प्रीमियम देना पड़ जाता था। अब इस बदलाव का पूरा लाभ किसानों को मिलेगा। कम प्रीमियम में ज्यादा जोखिम कवर होगा और किसानों को ज्यादा सहायता मिलेगी। 1पिछली सरकारों की फसल बीमा योजना के मुकाबले नई प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना कई मामलों में बेहतर है। सबसे पहले तो इसे नियमों की जटिलता से बाहर निकाला गया है। अब न तो इसे समझने में किसानों को ज्यादा मगजमारी करनी होगी और न ही क्लेम लेते वक्त नियमों की जटिलता से जूझने की आवश्यकता होगी। पूर्व की फसल बीमा योजना के मुकाबले नई योजना में सबसे बड़ा लाभ कम प्रीमियम में अधिक क्लेम राशि किसानों के हाथ आएगी। संग्रह सरकार के वक्त लागू हुई बीमा योजना में 2300 रुपये के प्रीमियम के भुगतान पर सौ फीसद फसल खराब होने का दावा करने पर 19000 रुपये का क्लेम

मिलता था, लेकिन इस नई योजना में किसानों को 30000 रुपये तक का क्लेम मिलेगा। और इसके लिए केवल 1500 रुपये का ही प्रीमियम किसानों को देना होगा। जैसा कि मैंने ऊपर कहा है कि यह योजना इसलिए महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि इसके दायरे में खेत से लेकर खलिहान तक को समेटा गया है। फसल की बुवाई के बाद में होने वाले नुकसान को भी इसमें शामिल कर लिया गया है। सरकार ने इस बात का भी इंतजाम किया है कि बीमा के क्लेम के लिए किसानों को लंबे समय तक इंतजार न करना पड़े। प्राकृतिक आपदा के तुरंत बाद 25 प्रतिशत क्लेम संबंधित किसानों के बैंक खाते में सीधे पहुंच जाएगा। प्राकृतिक आपदाओं से होने वाले नुकसान के साथ इस योजना के दायरे को और व्यापक बनाते हुए इसमें स्थानीय आपदाओं को भी जोड़ लिया गया है। ओलावृष्टि, बेमौसम की बारिश, आंधी तूफान और जल भराव से स्थानीय स्तर पर होने वाले नुकसान पर भी बीमा का भुगतान होगा। इस योजना का सबसे ज्यादा लाभ पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश, बुंदेलखंड, विदर्भ, मराठवाड़ा, तटीय आंध्र प्रदेश और तटीय ओडिशा के किसानों को मिलेगा। इस तरह वे किसान पूरी तरह सुरक्षित हो जाएंगे जिनकी खेती किसानी ज्यादा जोखिम में रहती है। मेरा विश्वास है कि सरकार किसानों और जनता के हितों को ध्यान में रखकर आगे भी इस तरह के कदम उठाती रहेगी। एक महत्वाकांक्षी फसल बीमा योजना शुरू करने के लिए मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से प्रधानमंत्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। पहले आम जनता के लिए सामाजिक सुरक्षा की स्कीमों और अब किसानों के लिए फसल बीमा योजना देश की संपूर्ण जनता को सुरक्षित और सम्मानित जीवन व्यतीत करने का अवसर प्रदान करेंगी। प्रधानमंत्री मोदी के नेतृत्व में चल रही केंद्र की भाजपा सरकार का मुख्य ध्येय जनता के हितों की रक्षा करना है, जिसके लिए पार्टी और सरकार, दोनों वचनबद्ध हैं।

<http://www.jagran.com/editorial/apnibaat-security-cover-to-farmers-13479724.html>





"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*