



**THE TIMES OF INDIA**

*Date: 06-12-17*

## **25 blighted years**

***Constitution offers a better India than anything in our past. Make it an article of faith***

### **TOI Editorials**

Today is a day that can make one pause and wonder about an India that might have been. It is usually marked as the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Few also remember it as the death anniversary of BR Ambedkar, principal draftsman of the Constitution whose vision undergirds the Indian Republic. On August 15, 1947, and again on January 26, 1950, India “solemnly resolved” to leave the past behind and build a new republic, guaranteeing equality and protection to all, irrespective of religion, caste and other identity markers. By failing to stop karsevaks from entering the Masjid premises, the central and UP governments dishonoured that promise.

Therefore, it’s well worth reiterating on this occasion that if the declaration of the Indian Republic marks a break in time, this also means that after 1950, a citizen of India who happens to be a descendant of Aurangzeb or Rana Pratap has absolutely equal rights with any other citizen of India. The 1576 battle of Haldighati is definitively over. And in any case, the habit of looking at pre-colonial history as a perennial war between Hindus and Muslims is a British colonial construct (which unfortunately has duped many Indians). Indians now need to focus their energies on social, political and economic reforms that abolish poverty and pave the way for development, not on religious wars. The Supreme Court has begun final arguments on the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid title suit, which Allahabad high court had clumsily resolved by effecting a three-way division of the disputed land, a relief none of the claimants had sought. Embracing a fractious past makes the dispute seem intractable. But amidst all the politics of grievance surrounding it, one yearns for an India where the simple and reasonable would also seem an obvious way of ending the dispute.

Why can’t, for instance, a grand Ram temple be built at a nearby location on the Sarayu’s banks, since all of Ayodhya is holy for Hindus? Demolition of the mosque was a criminal act, therefore it would be unreasonable to reward such an act by handing over the site to the very people who demolished it. As for what to do with the site itself, surely some creative solution can be thought of that fosters reconciliation and harmony – such as a museum commemorating religious syncretism in India.

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*Date: 06-12-17*

## Focus on working capital for exporters

### ET Editorials



In its mid-term review of the foreign trade policy, the government has offered incremental sops to exporters in specific sectors such as leather, textiles and agriculture and eased procedure. Course corrections — an additional 2% incentive for labour-intensive sectors under the Merchandise Exports from India Scheme and the Services Exports from India Scheme (in the form of freely transferable duty scrips that can be used by exporters to pay customs duties), extending the validity of duty scrips to 24 months from 18 months, and self-certification of documents wherever required — to perk up exports are

fine. A new trade analytics division for data-based policy action is also welcome. But what about exporters' working capital shortage?

The incentives are estimated at around Rs 8,450 crore. More than sops, exports need lower transaction costs, less red tape in clearances, efficient and functional infrastructure and rational labour laws. Also, the country's performance in crossborder trade as per the World Bank Ease of Doing Business report is poor, calling for vast improvements in trade facilitation. Exports fell for the first time in 14 months in October, owing to delays in refunds that resulted in a working capital crunch for exporters following the adoption of the goods and services tax. With the goods and services tax network up and running, exporters must be given refunds swiftly, within a month at the most. Exporters should also encourage their vendors to file goods and services tax returns to be able to claim their refunds. Sustained growth in exports also depends on the pace of global recovery, and the US, EU and Japan are growing. Worries of a stronger rupee hurting exports might not have a long life, as the advanced countries withdraw from a policy of extra-easy money, and some footloose capital flows out of India.

*Date: 06-12-17*

## Andhra Pradesh offers glimpse of the future of power

### ET Editorials

Andhra Pradesh plans to set up a renewable power plant comprising 120 MW of solar generation and 40 MW of wind generation. What is new is that this will come with 40 MW of battery backup. As of now, what the cost of the battery storage would be is not clear. In South Australia, where Tesla has set up a 100 MW, 129 MWh battery, to back up the grid, the cost of storage has been \$50 million. Right now, the cost of such storage of renewable power might not be compelling. But the Andhra Pradesh initiative deserves

attention because it offers a glimpse of the future of power generation and distribution. It has been clear for some time that what really holds back a paradigm shift in energy from fossil fuels to renewables is storage technology. Right now, the higher the installed capacity of renewable power, the higher the total cost of power, as the capacity charge of conventional power has to be added to the cost of renewable power even if the entire power juicing up the grid comes from renewables — you cannot junk conventional generation because you need it when the wind slows and the sun goes down, and you must pay for its availability.

Things would change, if the power generated by the sun and the wind could be stored and drawn at will, the way one can store data these days. Advances in battery technology offer precisely that possibility. If large capacity storage of power becomes possible and affordable, renewable sources can totally displace fossil fuels: battery-supported, modular micro-grids that can be islanded off in case of emergencies will make the grid more reliable, the Internet of Things and digital circuitbreakers could allow individual metering of different power applications, leading to differential pricing and better energy management. Most of the research in radical power storage is taking place in the west and in China. India probably needs a technology mission on energy storage, to have a piece of the action that would transform power generation, the grid, automobiles and electronics. Can India afford to be shut out from the future of energy?

## बिज़नेस स्टैंडर्ड

Date: 06-12-17

### महिला-पुरुष अंतर को पाटने के लिए तय करना होगा लंबा सफर

श्यामल मजूमदार



हैदराबाद में पिछले सप्ताह गुरुवार को समाप्त वैश्विक उद्यमिता सम्मेलन अपने मुख्य विषय- 'महिलाएं सबसे पहले, सभी के लिए समृद्धि' पर खरा उतरा है। इस सम्मेलन में आमंत्रित 1,500 उद्यमियों में महिलाओं की तादाद पुरुषों से अधिक थी। हर किसी ने बहुत से वादे किए और सफलता की बहुत सी कहानियां साझा की गईं। ऐसा होना बहुत उत्साहवर्धक है क्योंकि ऐसे सम्मेलन उद्यमियों के सामने आने वाली दिक्कतों के बारे में जागरूकता पैदा करने में मदद करते हैं। लेकिन सम्मेलन का असली माहौल इवांका ट्रंप ने बनाया, जिन्होंने महिलाओं की ताकत की प्रशंसा करते हुए उनकी वास्तविक तस्वीर पेश की। उन्होंने कहा कि भारत जैसे देशों में स्त्री-

पुरुष समानता के लिए कार्यबल में महिलाओं की भागीदारी को सुधारने की जरूरत है, लेकिन खुद अमेरिका भी इस समस्या से जूझ रहा है। अमेरिका में केवल 13 फीसदी इंजीनियर और 24 फीसदी कंप्यूटर विज्ञान पेशेवर महिलाएं हैं। निस्संदेह भारत के आंकड़े और निराशाजनक हैं। नैशनल सैंपल सर्वे ऑर्गनाइजेशन (एनएसएसओ) के मुताबिक भारत में केवल 14 फीसदी व्यवसायों को महिला उद्यमी चला रही हैं। हालांकि इनमें से ज्यादातर छोटे कारोबार हैं, लेकिन 80 फीसदी उनके खुद के पैसे से चल रहे हैं। वर्ष 2015 में वैश्विक उद्यमिता एवं विकास संस्थान ने एक रिपोर्ट जारी की थी, जिसमें उसका महिला उद्यमिता सूचकांक पेश किया गया था। इस

सूचकांक में देशों को उन स्थितियों के आधार पर क्रम (रैंकिंग) दिया गया था, जो महिला उद्यमिता के विकास की संभावनाएं बढ़ाएंगी। इस सूचकांक में भारत पैंदे के आसपास था, जिसे 77 देशों की सूची में 70वां स्थान मिला था। वर्ष 2017 में मास्टरकार्ड ने महिला उद्यमिता का अपना सूचकांक जारी किया, जिसमें 54 देशों की सूची में भारत 49वें पायदान पर था।

मैकिंजी की रिपोर्ट में पाया गया है कि पूरे विश्व की कामकाजी आबादी में 50 फीसदी हिस्सेदारी होने के बावजूद महिलाओं का वैश्विक सकल घरेलू उत्पाद (जीडीपी) में योगदान 37 फीसदी ही है। लेकिन यह वैश्विक औसत भौगोलिक क्षेत्रों में भारी अंतर को ढक देता है। उदाहरण के लिए भारत के जीडीपी में महिलाओं का हिस्सा महज 17 फीसदी है। इस लैंगिक खाई की वजह कई हैं। कार्यस्थल पर महिला-पुरुष भेदभाव और महिलाओं को कौशल मुहैया कराने के लिए कमजोर बुनियादी ढांचे के अलावा खुद महिलाओं में भी अपनी क्षमताओं को लेकर जागरूकता की कमी है। इसमें सामाजिक बेडियां भी कम जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं। बहुत सी महिलाओं को अपना कारोबार शुरू करने से पहले अपने नजदीकी लोगों के विरोध का सामना करना पड़ता है। अन्य लोगों का कहना है कि भारत में बहुत सी महिलाएं कुछ अवसरों को भुनाने की क्षमता नहीं रखती हैं क्योंकि उनके पास व्यावहारिक कुशलता नहीं होती है। उदाहरण के लिए वे अपना कारोबारी मॉडल निवेशकों के सामने नहीं रख पाती हैं। हालांकि ऐसा होना संभव है क्योंकि अगर वे किसी एक ऐसे परिवार से नहीं आई हैं, जिसका अपना कारोबार है या उन्होंने किसी उद्यम में काम नहीं किया है तो महिला उद्यमियों का कोई रोल मॉडल नहीं होगा और उनके पास कारोबार को शुरू करने, चलाने और बड़ा बनाने का कोई ज्ञान नहीं होगा।

इस कमी को परामर्श कार्यक्रम पूरा कर सकता है। इसके अलावा बहुत से अध्ययनों में यह पाया गया है कि उभरते बाजारों में महिलाओं को ऋण लेने में पुरुषों से ज्यादा दिक्कत झेलनी पड़ती है और उन्हें अपने धन पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है। विकासशील देशों में महिलाओं के स्वामित्व वाले लघु एवं मझोले कारोबारों में से 70 फीसदी को पूंजी नहीं मिल पाती है। इसी वजह से आईएफसी जैसे संगठन आगे आए हैं। भारत में सभी सूक्ष्म ऋणों में से करीब आधे आईएफसी से जुड़े सूक्ष्म वित्त संस्थानों द्वारा मुहैया कराए जाते हैं और कर्ज लेने वाले उनके 4 करोड़ ग्राहकों में से ज्यादातर महिलाएं हैं। इसके अलावा आठ लघु वित्त बैंक आईएफसी के साझेदार हैं और उससे निवेश हासिल करते हैं। उनमें से सभी सूक्ष्म वित्त मॉडल की तरह कर्ज लेने वाली महिला ग्राहकों पर ध्यान केंद्रित करेंगे। भारत में आईएफसी ने वितरकों के रूप में महिलाओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए सौर उत्पादों का बाजार तैयार किया है। देश में 40 करोड़ लोगों को बिजली की उपलब्धता नहीं है। आईएफसी ने स्वच्छ ऊर्जा उत्पाद कंपनी फ्रंटियर मार्केट्स के साथ करार किया है ताकि स्व-सहायता समूहों से नियुक्त की गई स्व-रोजगार महिलाओं का एक नेटवर्क विकसित किया जा सके। ये महिलाओं द्वारा चलाए जा रहे समूह पैसा और तकनीक मुहैया कराते हैं ताकि गांवों की महिलाएं अपने जीवन स्तर में सुधार ला सकें और खुद का काम-धंधा शुरू कर सकें।

वर्ष 2016 में नेटवर्क में महज 250 महिलाएं शामिल थीं, जबकि 2020 तक महिला वितरकों की संख्या बढ़कर 20,000 होने की संभावना है। अगर भारत महिलाओं की कम वेतन और कम कौशल वाले रोजगार पर निर्भरता खत्म करना चाहता है तो उसे ऐसे कई कदम उठाने होंगे। दरअसल भारत में कनिष्ठ से मध्यम स्तर के पदों पर महिलाओं की संख्या में तेजी से गिरावट आ रही है। यह रुझान अन्य एशियाई देशों से अलग है, जहां मध्यम से वरिष्ठ स्तर के पदों पर महिलाओं की संख्या तेजी से घट रही है। आंकड़े यह भी दर्शाते हैं कि करीब एक-तिहाई महिला कर्मचारी बच्चे की परवरिश के लिए घर से मदद न मिलने के कारण फिर से नौकरी शुरू नहीं कर पाईं। करीब 80 फीसदी योग्य महिला स्नातक संगठित कार्यबल में शामिल नहीं होने या अपना कारोबार शुरू करने का फैसला ही नहीं लेती हैं।

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## **A lifeline, interrupted**

*Government is prioritising savings over MGNREGA and rights of the poor.*

*Written by Nikhil Dey, Aruna Roy (The writers work with the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS) in Rajasthan)*

Rambeti from Sitapur, Uttar Pradesh, graphically described the predicament of MGNREGA workers like her in a recent press conference in Delhi. “The government repeatedly states that it will not let us die of starvation. But the truth is, it does not allow us to live either.” That is a terrible evaluation of MGNREGA — a landmark legislation enacted to protect the right to life, dignity of labour and build permanent assets for the rural poor. There are prominent ways in which it is evident that the government is prioritising saving at the cost of its poorest people — a breach of the law and the Constitution. In 2017, more than 80 per cent of the budgetary allocation was spent in the first four months. The ministry of rural development’s (MoRD) request for an additional Rs 17,000 crore has so far been ignored. Currently, with only about 5 per cent of the allocation remaining, there is a sharp rationing of expenditure and work. Liabilities for work already completed mount on a daily basis. There are states where the central government has failed to clear wages for over two months.

In 1983, in *Sanjit Roy v. the State of Rajasthan* the Supreme Court stated, “where a person provides labour or service to another for remuneration which is less than the minimum wage, the labour or service provided by him clearly falls within the meaning of the words ‘forced labour’. if anything less than the minimum wage is paid to him, he can complain of violation of his fundamental right under Article 23 and ask the Court to direct payment of the minimum wage to him...” There are now at least 14 states where the state MGNREGA wage is less than the minimum wage. The Mahendra Dev Committee set up by UPA 2 unequivocally stated that “The baseline for MGNREGA wage indexation from 2014 may be the current minimum wage rate for unskilled agricultural labourers fixed by the States under the Minimum Wages Act or the current MGNREGA wage rate, whichever is higher”. The Modi government set up another committee, this time headed by the additional secretary, MoRD, which concludes: “In (the) Committee’s opinion, there is no compelling argument for convergence of minimum wages for agricultural labour and wages notified for NREGA workers in view of the differences in activities performed by these two set of workers”. Clearly, the law, the SC, and workers’ fundamental rights are not compelling concerns.

As a part of a judgment in an ongoing case in the SC, Justice Lokur and Ramana built upon the Sanjit Roy judgment and stated: “It is quite clear, therefore, that when the rights of tens of thousands of people are affected by delayed payment of their legitimate dues, there is a clear constitutional breach committed by the State — be it the Government of India or a State Government.” Commenting on the deliberate circumvention of the payment of compensation for delay, the SC stated, “We are quite pained to note that the Government of India has made no provision for this compensation while releasing the wages for 2015-16. This is extremely unfortunate and certainly does not behove a welfare state in any situation,

more so in a drought situation. Social justice has been thrown out of the window by the government.” A recent independent study by three social scientists in two phases, traces the central government’s conscious delay in wage payments and the deliberate denial of responsibility to pay compensation. Analysing over 90 lakh transactions in the MGNREGA Management Information System (MIS) for 3,446 gram panchayats for FY 2016-17 and 45 lakh transactions in 3,603 gram panchayats in FY 2017-18, it shows that only 32 per cent of payments are being made in time, against the government claim of 85 per cent. In the sample, compensation due is a wilfully under-calculated by 86 per cent. Only about 6.5 per cent of what should be paid as compensation has been paid so far.

The first phase of the study was reviewed internally by the Ministry of Finance, which accepted that “In cases of delays in making large number of payments, it has been found that funds have not been available either of Centre and State shares... It was found that the delay in payment to states was mainly due to infrastructural bottlenecks, availability of funds and lack of administrative compliance.” The SC’s judgment holding such delays and denial to be forced labour continues to be wilfully circumvented. Little can be said about the dignity of labour in a government where the prime minister mocked the law on the floor of the Lok Sabha. India’s high levels of rural distress in the last few years can be partially addressed by the MGNREGA — a potential lifeline for rural workers. However, if Rambeti’s voice of anguish is to be attended to, we have to collectively make sure that the dignity of workers is protected. For MGNREGA workers to state that they are going through “a living death” is the most disturbing judgement that can be delivered.

 **जनसत्ता**

Date: 05-12-17

## चाबहार का द्वार

संपादकीय

अपने परंपरागत विरोधी पाकिस्तान को अलग-थलग कर भारत, ईरान के रास्ते अफगानिस्तान तक पहुंचने वाले वैकल्पिक मार्ग यानी चाबहार बंदरगाह को चालू कराने में कामयाब हो गया है। इसके परिचालन का पहला चरण रविवार को पूरा हो गया। भारत के लिए रणनीतिक और कारोबारी लिहाज से बेहद अहम इस बंदरगाह का उद्घाटन ईरान के राष्ट्रपति हसन रोहानी ने किया। इस मौके पर भारत के जहाजरानी राज्यमंत्री पी. राधाकृष्णन समेत दूसरे कई देशों के मंत्री और राजदूत वगैरह भी मौजूद थे। इससे एक दिन पहले यानी शनिवार को शंघाई सहयोग संगठन की रूस में संपन्न बैठक से वापस लौटते हुए विदेशमंत्री सुषमा स्वराज तेहरान रुकी थीं। वहां उन्होंने अपने ईरानी समकक्ष जावेद शरीफ से मुलाकात की और दूसरे मुद्दों के साथ-साथ चाबहार पर भी चर्चा की। रोहानी ने कहा कि यह बंदरगाह कई इलाकों को जोड़ेगा; यह एक ऐतिहासिक दिन है।

इस परियोजना के पहले चरण को ‘शाहिद बेहशती पोर्ट’ के नाम से जाना जाएगा। अब भारत अपने उत्पादों को अफगानिस्तान तक बिना किसी रोक-टोक के भेज सकेगा। गौरतलब है कि पाकिस्तान ने अपने क्षेत्र से भारतीय उत्पादों को अफगानिस्तान ले जाने की इजाजत देने से मना कर दिया था। तब भारत ने चाबहार को वैकल्पिक मार्ग के तौर पर विकसित करने की योजना बनाई, जो आखिरकार अब पूरी हुई। मगर गौरतलब है कि यह बंदरगाह महज एक रास्ता नहीं है। यह भारत की कारोबारी और कूटनीतिक, दोनों

नजरिए से एक बड़ी कामयाबी है। चीन पाकिस्तान के बलूचिस्तान प्रांत में ग्वादर बंदरगाह को विकसित कर रहा है। वह अपने साजोसामान वहां बेरोकटोक लाना चाहता है। ऐसे में ईरान की जमीन पर भारत द्वारा चाबहार को विकसित करना कारोबार के अलावा सामरिक दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि वहां से ग्वादर की दूरी महज अस्सी किलोमीटर है। असल में चीन जिस आक्रामक तरीके से हिंद महासागर में भारत को घेरने के लिए विभिन्न देशों में बंदरगाहों को विकसित कर रहा है, उसके मद्देनजर चाबहार उसे एक तगड़ा जवाब है। 'स्ट्रिंग आफ पल्स' नामक परियोजना के तहत चीन, पाकिस्तान के ग्वादर से लेकर श्रीलंका के हम्बन्टोटा तक बंदरगाह विकसित रहा है। अब चाबहार के चालू होने से पहला झटका पाकिस्तान को लगा है, क्योंकि भारत-अफगानिस्तान के बीच बढ़े व्यापार को रोकने की उसकी कोशिश नाकाम हो गई है। इसके अलावा, यह बंदरगाह मध्य एशिया तक भारत की पहुंच बढ़ाने में सहायक होगा। पाकिस्तान के रास्ते चीन की सुरक्षित लाइन बनाने की कोशिश को किसी संकट की स्थिति में भारत अब बाधित कर सकता है। भारत ने इस बंदरगाह को विकसित करने के लिए पचास करोड़ डॉलर का करार किया था। इस करार की नींव 2002 में भारत के तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी और तब के ईरानी राष्ट्रपति सैयद मोहम्मद खातमी ने डाली थी। अब भारत इस रास्ते भारी मात्रा में अपना माल भेज सकता है। यों भी 'चाबहार' का वहां की स्थानीय भाषा में मतलब होता है- ऐसी जगह जहां बारहों मास बहार छाई रहती हो। उम्मीद की जानी चाहिए कि ईरान और अफगानिस्तान से भारत के संबंधों में छाई यह बहार यों ही कायम रहे।



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## The one-election idea is a farce

*The case for holding simultaneous elections in the diverse, federal Indian polity is weak*

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In his address on National Law Day 2017, Prime Minister Narendra Modi once again sounded the bugle for simultaneous elections to Parliament and all State Assemblies, under the banner of "one nation one election". Mr. Modi also cited four reasons: massive expenditure; diversion of security and civil staff from primary duties; impact on governance due to the model code of conduct, and disruption to normal public life. The case is weak and the reasons are a mere alibi.

### *The cost factor*

The Election Commission incurs a total cost of roughly ₹8,000 crore to conduct all State and federal elections in a span of five years, or roughly ₹1,500 crore every year. Nearly 600 million Indians vote in India's elections, which means, it costs ₹27 per voter per year to keep India an electoral democracy. Is this a "massive" expense? To put this in context, all the States and the Centre combined incurred an expenditure of nearly ₹30 lakh crore in FY2014. Surely, 0.05% of India's total annual expenditure is not a

large price to pay for the pride of being the world's largest and most vibrant electoral democracy. The notion that elections are prohibitively expensive is false and misleading.

### *Code of conduct and polls*

The model code of conduct for elections was agreed to by political parties in 1979, and prohibits the ruling party from incurring capital expenditure for certain projects after elections are announced. If India is indeed embarking on a path of "cooperative federalism" as the Prime Minister also claims, then more such projects will be undertaken by each State and not by the Centre. So, why should elections in one State hinder governance in the rest of the States? And if all political parties still feel the need to reform the code, they are free to do so. The solution is to reform the code and not the electoral cycle.

Governance paralysis due to State elections is a mere alibi. The real reason is that the two national parties are excessively dependent on their national leaders' campaigns in State elections, as seen in Gujarat. This is certainly a drain on the Prime Minister's time and a distraction from governance. Depending on their national leaders is the problem and the prerogative of the national parties. It is not the fault of the electoral system. In the elections in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, in 2016, and where the two national parties and their leaders had a minimal role, nothing stopped the Union government from continuing its governance for the rest of India. Thus it is wrong to conflate the interests of the national parties with those of the "flaws" of the electoral system. Diversion of civil staff and disruption of public life were the two other reasons cited, but these sound more like reasons against holding elections in general. Surely, a disruption to public life twice in five years is not a binding constraint in the larger interests of interim accountability. The right of a voter to exercise her choice twice in a span of five years and hold governments accountable is much more important than just casting her vote once and having no option to express her opinion for the next five years. These two reasons are very weak when measured against the costs of limiting electoral opportunities for citizens.

### *Voter behaviour*

My research on all simultaneous elections to State Assemblies and Parliament between 1999 and 2014 shows that simultaneous elections do have an impact on voter behaviour. These elections comprised 513 million voter choices. In 77% of these constituencies, voters chose the same political party for both State and Centre. When elections were held even six months apart, only 61% chose the same political party. When elections became disparate, there was no evidence of the voter choosing the same party. This analysis is not based on mere headline victory in a State but on vote shares and the winners in each constituency. There is clear empirical evidence that most Indian voters tend to choose the same party when elections are held simultaneously to both Centre and State, with the relationship diminishing as elections are held farther away.

### *Political autonomy*

Further, simultaneous elections impinge on the political autonomy of States. Today, any elected State government can choose to dissolve its Assembly and call for fresh elections. If elections are to be held simultaneously, States will have to give up this power and wait for a national election schedule. There can be legitimate reasons for State governments to dissolve their Assemblies and call for fresh elections, as should be the case in Tamil Nadu. Under a simultaneous elections regime, the State will be beholden to the Union government for elections to its State, which goes against the very grain of political autonomy

under our federal structure. There is still much that is wrong with our nation in its governance and elections. But disparate elections to States and Parliament are not one of them. There is much to improve in terms of efficiency of our governance. But “oneness” is not the desired path to efficiency in a diverse polity such as India.

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