

2030-31 तक तीसरी सबसे बड़ी आर्थिकी बन जाएगा भारत

मुंबई, प्रेट्र: रेटिंग एजेंसी एसएंडपी ग्लोबल ने गुरुवार को एक रिपोर्ट में कहा कि अगर चालू वित्त वर्ष में 6.7 प्रतिशत की अनुमानित वार्षिक वृद्धि दर को आधार मानें तो भारत 2030-31 तक तीसरी सबसे बड़ी आर्थिकी बन जाएगा। रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि पिछले वित्त वर्ष में 8.2 प्रतिशत की विकास दर के साथ लाजिस्टिक में सुधार, निजी क्षेत्र के निवेश को बढ़ावा देने और सार्वजनिक पूंजी पर निर्भरता कम करने के लिए निरंतर सुधार करने होंगे।

रेटिंग एजेंसी का कहना है कि मजबूत विकास संभावनाओं और बेहतर विनियमन के कारण इक्विटी बाजारों के गतिशील और प्रतिस्पर्धी बने रहने की उम्मीद है। इतना ही नहीं भारत के प्रमुख उभरते बाजार सूचकांकों में शामिल होने के बाद से भारत के सरकारी बांड में विदेशी प्रवाह बढ़ गया है, जिससे भविष्य में और वृद्धि होने की उम्मीद है। 'इंडिया फारवर्ड: इमर्जिंग पर्सपेक्टिव्स' रिपोर्ट



- एसएंडपी ग्लोबल ने कहा-निजी क्षेत्र के निवेश को बढ़ावा देने के लिए निरंतर करने होंगे सुधार
- उभरते बाजार सूचकांकों में शामिल होने के बाद से भारत के सरकारी बांड में विदेशी प्रवाह बढ़ा

के पहले संस्करण में कहा गया है कि भारत का लगभग 90 प्रतिशत व्यापार समुद्र के जरिये होता है। ऐसे में बढ़ते निर्यात और थोक वस्तु आयात को प्रबंधित करने के लिए मजबूत बंदरगाह बुनियादी ढांचे की आवश्यकता है। भारत में ऊर्जा की मांग बढ़ रही है और वह अक्षय ऊर्जा व कम उत्सर्जन वाले ईंधन सहित टिकाऊ प्रौद्योगिकियों पर काम कर सकता है।

सर्वे • खतरों से निपटने को फ्यूचरिस्टिक-इनोवेटिव उपाय अपनाना जरूरी देश के 50% पब्लिक इन्फ्रा आपदा के हिसाब से तैयार नहीं; क्लाइमेट चेंज से बढ़ रहा खतरा

एजेंसी | नई दिल्ली

रियल एस्टेट और बैंकिंग सेक्टर से जुड़ी संस्था सीबीआई ने हालिया सर्वे में चौंकाने वाला खुलासा किया है। सर्वे के अनुसार भारत का 50% पब्लिक इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर आपदा प्रबंधन के लिए तैयार नहीं है, जिससे देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक संरचना पर गंभीर खतरा मंडरा रहा है।

सर्वे के अनुसार, हाल के दिनों में देश में प्राकृतिक और मानव निर्मित आपदाएं बढ़ रही हैं। क्लाइमेट चेंज, अनियोजित शहरीकरण और जियोलॉजिकल जोखिमों के कारण देश में बाढ़, अत्यधिक तापमान

आपदा से बचने को एआई व सेंसर का इस्तेमाल जरूरी



सीबीआई के मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर, राजेश पंडित के अनुसार, आपदा प्रबंधन देश के पब्लिक इन्फ्रा के लिए जरूरी हो गए हैं। पंडित के अनुसार, भविष्य के खतरों से निपटने के लिए हमें फ्यूचरिस्टिक-इनोवेटिव उपाय अपनाना जरूरी है। इसके लिए आईओटी सेंसर और एआई का इस्तेमाल करके इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर की कमजोरियों की पहचान की जा सकती है और समय पर प्रबंधन भी किया जा सकता है।

और चक्रवात जैसी आपदाएं सामान्य हो गई हैं। शहरीकरण और उच्च जोखिम वाले क्षेत्रों में विकास के कारण भी यह समस्या बढ़ी है। यह स्थिति सिर्फ प्राकृतिक आपदाओं तक ही सीमित नहीं है,

बल्कि औद्योगिक हादसों, साइबर हमले, और सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य से जुड़े खतरे भी बढ़ रहे हैं। सर्वे के अनुसार, इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर प्रोजेक्ट्स के जोखिम प्रबंधन में खामियां देश की तरक्की में रुकावट बन सकती हैं।

भारत को अलकायदा व कट्टर इस्लामिक ताकतों से खतरा : एफएटीएफ

जागरण ब्यूरो, नई दिल्ली

मनी लाँड्रिंग और आतंकी फंडिंग पर नजर रखने वाली वैश्विक एजेंसी फाइनेंशियल एक्शन टास्क फोर्स (एफएटीएफ) ने माना है कि भारत को अलकायदा और अन्य कट्टर इस्लामिक ताकतों से खतरा है। ये ताकतें मुख्य रूप से जम्मू-कश्मीर में सक्रिय हैं और इनके तार परोक्ष रूप से देश के अन्य भागों से भी जुड़े हुए हैं। पूर्वोत्तर में सक्रिय उपद्रवी संगठन एवं वामपंथी अतिवादी संगठनों को भी एफएटीएफ ने भारत के लिए खतरा बताया है। यह भी माना है कि भारत वर्षों से आतंकवाद का शिकार रहा है।

एफएटीएफ ने मनी लाँड्रिंग (एमएल) व आतंकी फंडिंग (टीएफ) को रोकने के लिए भारत के प्रयासों को सराहा। वित्त मंत्रालय के अधिकारी ने कहा, अभी एमएल के 864 व टीएफ के 1,400 से अधिक मामलों में ट्रायल चल रहा है। एफएटीएफ ने सोमवार को जारी

मनी लाँड्रिंग व आतंकी फंडिंग पर रोक लगाने के भारतीय प्रयास को सराहा



वैश्विक एजेंसी ने भारत को 'रेगुलर फालोअप' श्रेणी में रखा, माना कि भारत वर्षों से आतंकवाद का शिकार

रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि भारत उसके अधिकतर मानकों पर खरा उतरा है। रिपोर्ट में 2018-23 के बीच भारत के प्रयासों का मूल्यांकन है। एफएटीएफ 40 देशों का समूह है और इसकी सिफारिशों पर अमल नहीं करने वाले देशों पर वैश्विक स्तर पर वित्तीय प्रतिबंध लगाया जा सकता है। 368 पेजी रिपोर्ट के कवर पर तिरंगे की रोशनी में लिपटी भारत की नई संसद की तस्वीर छपी है। इसमें भारत को 'रेगुलर फालोअप' श्रेणी में रखा गया है और इस श्रेणी में जी-20 के सिर्फ चार अन्य देश शामिल हैं।

भारत को जनधन, आधार और डिजिटल इकोनमी से मनी लाँड्रिंग को रोकने में मिली सफलता

एफएटीएफ ने रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि भारत में बीते दस वर्षों में जनधन खाते, आधार आधारित बैंकिंग प्रणाली, बायोमीट्रिक सिस्टम के साथ डिजिटल इकोनमी को प्रोत्साहित करने से नकदी के लेनदेन में कमी आई है, जिससे पारदर्शिता बढ़ी है और मनी लाँड्रिंग कम करने में मदद मिल रही है। दो लाख से अधिक के नकदी लेनदेन पर रोक और सभी प्रकार की संपत्ति की खरीद-फरोख्त पर केवाईसी जैसे नियम लागू करने से रियल एस्टेट में कालेधन के इस्तेमाल में कमी आई है। परंतु अब भी रियल एस्टेट में कालेधन का प्रयोग जारी है। हालांकि भारत के जेम्स और ज्वेलरी और फिन्टेक सेक्टर में और पारदर्शिता

लाने की जरूरत पर एफएटीएफ ने बल दिया है। रिपोर्ट में भारत में गत पांच वर्षों में लाखों मुखौटा कंपनियों पर की गई कार्रवाई के साथ विजय माल्या फर्जीवाड़े मामले में वितीय रिकवरी तथा पीड़ित पक्ष (बैंक) को रकम लौटाने की कवायद को भी सराहा गया है। जानकारी के मुताबिक, माल्या से जुड़े फर्जीवाड़े मामले में 14,000 करोड़ रुपये बैंक को वापस किए गए। एमएल तथा टीएफ मामलों के ट्रायल में तेजी लाने के लिए विशेष कोर्ट की स्थापना के साथ कर्मियों की संख्या भी बढ़ाई जा रही है। जेम्स व ज्वेलरी सेक्टर में नकदी के लेनदेन पर सख्ती की तैयारी की जा रही है।

राज्य में 2000 तो पटना में डेंगू मरीज 900 के पार, कंकड़बाग, बांकीपुर, अजीमाबाद, पाटलिपुत्र बने हॉट स्पॉट

डेंगू का डंक : गुरुवार को इस सीजन के सबसे अधिक 71 मरीज मिले

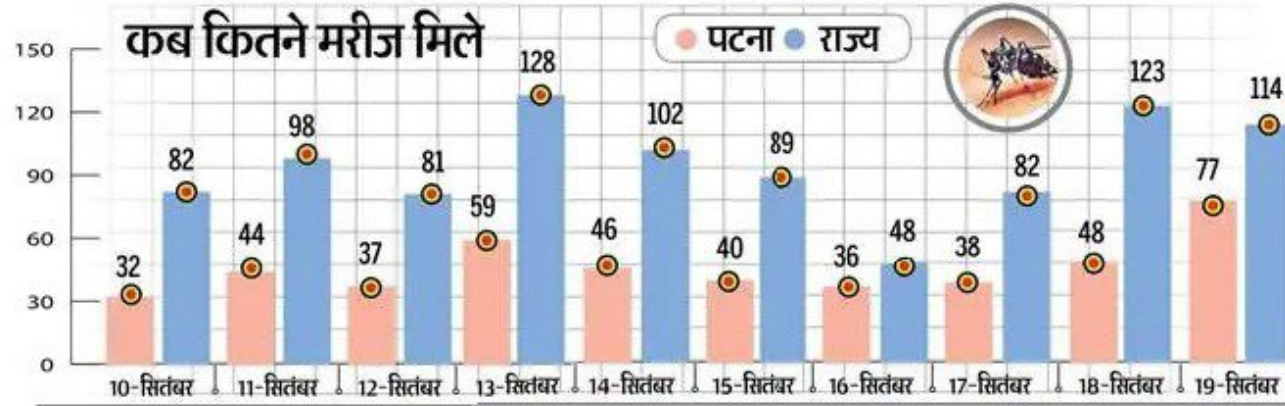
हेल्थ रिपोर्ट | पटना

पटना समेत राज्य के विभिन्न जिलों में डेंगू का प्रकोप बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। अभी भी सबसे अधिक डेंगू के मरीज पटना में ही मिल रहे हैं। गुरुवार को पटना में इस सीजन के सबसे अधिक डेंगू के 71 मरीज मिले हैं। पटना के बाद अबतक तक सबसे अधिक गया में 142, समस्तीपुर में 77, औरंगाबाद में 69, नालंदा में 65, पश्चिम चंपारण में 59 और वैशाली में 57 लोग पीड़ित हो चुके हैं। गुरुवार को राज्य में डेंगू के 114 नए मरीज मिले हैं। राज्य में अबतक 2093 और पटना में 893 लोग पीड़ित हो चुके हैं। अभी भी कंकड़बाग, बांकीपुर, अजीमाबाद, पाटलिपुत्र का इलाका डेंगू के हॉट स्पॉट बना हुआ है।

जिन इलाकों में ज्यादा मरीज मिले



गुरुवार को पटना के जिन इलाकों में डेंगू के 77 मरीज मिले हैं। उसमें कंकड़बाग में 23, बांकीपुर में 16, नूतन राजधानी में छह, अजीमाबाद में पांच, पाटलिपुत्र में नौ, पटना सिटी में दो, बख्तियारपुर में एक, पालीगंज में दो, संपतचक में एक, पंडारक में एक, पटना सदर में एक, दानापुर में एक, दो मरीजों के पता की जानकारी नहीं मिली है।



जिला प्रशासन ने डेंगू को लेकर जारी किया अलर्ट

जिला प्रशासन ने डेंगू को लेकर अलर्ट जारी किया है। गुरुवार को बैठक कर डीएम डॉ. चंद्रशेखर सिंह ने संबंधित अधिकारियों को बड़े अपार्टमेंट्स सहित सभी सोसायटीज में जागरूकता अभियान चलाने, स्कूल और कॉलेजों में हेल्थ एडवायजरी का अनुपालन कराने का निर्देश दिया है। उन्होंने कहा कि लोगों को पैनिक होने की जरूरत नहीं है। बरसात के मौसम में डेंगू एवं चिकनगुनिया का प्रकोप बढ़ने की संभावना रहती है।

The new grammar of India-US relations

The Modi-Biden book is tilted more towards substance than thrills. Leaders, diplomats, and security establishments in both nations have worked towards building resilience in the ties

“Will Biden continue to double down on India?” was the refrain amongst experts and officials as Joseph Biden began his tenure as the 46th President of the United States (US). Four years later, it is safe to say that India-US ties have undergone a second transformation. The first was roughly between 2001 — when George W Bush came to power — and the end of the Donald J Trump presidency. That period deserves a book in its own right. Indeed, many have been written.

On Saturday, when Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi meets President Biden for the Quad Leaders Summit in Delaware, they will be concluding a new book that underscores the ideational and material conversions that have taken place in the past four years. This will be the last in-person and official meeting between the two leaders. So, what defines the Modi-

Biden era?

A well-defined cognitive shift to unhesitatingly strengthen different kinds of ties shaped the way both sides dealt with each other's imperatives. Some of this had to do with China's differentiated challenge to both countries. A lot of this was driven by re-discovering lost opportunities of the past and realising the new and emerging potential of the present. India's increasing import of oil and deep military dependencies on Russia may have, at best, led to a quiver between the two bureaucratic States. It left the strategic design for deeper partnerships largely untouched.

The manifestations of this ideational shift were real and can be counted in investments and new industry-led arrangements alike. In January 2023, National Security Advisors (NSA) on both sides inaugurated the India-US initiative on Critical and Emerging Technology (iCET). This was a new way of deepening cooperation. It requires as much from industry and academia as from different parts of both governments.

An American semiconductor company was the first of at least six projects till date that tapped into India's incentive scheme. Bricks and mortar are being laid to build a new Outsourced Assembly and Testing Plant (OSAT) in Gujarat. Two legacy defence agreements on the co-innovation of jet engines and the pur-

chase of armed drones were re-invigorated. Reportedly, they are close to conclusion. A chip-making facility for national security to be built in India is being negotiated.

Export controllers in the US loosened their grip. The key was to create a communication bridge between firms besieged by the enormity and complexity of controls and controllers struggling to understand the problem at hand. Of course, this process will need to be sustained. A Strategic Trade Dialogue (STD) was created to institutionalise this channel.

The third INDUS-X summit concluded in early September 2023 in Palo Alto. This new ecosystem connects those creating and investing in cutting-edge technologies in both countries; iCET deliverables have a long way to go, but much has been achieved in a relatively short period of time.

There was every likelihood that this would not have been the case. The two sides confront several global and local challenges. These include the respective stakes at play regarding the war in Ukraine, differing views on the meaning of rights, and the effects of an alleged Indian intelligence-led operation on American soil.

But, the two countries have managed to move ahead despite these. Further, defence ties are deeper than they have ever been. This is as much a function of legacy arrangements,



Rudra Chaudhuri



When Prime Minister Modi meets President Biden in Delaware, they will be concluding a new book that underscores the ideational and material conversions that have taken place in the past four years

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established processes, and the current state of geopolitics as it is for a fresh fervour in India to diversify away, at least as far as possible, from age-old but necessary dependencies. Five 2+2 meetings (with respective defence and foreign ministers) have taken place. A key supply agreement was signed last month. C-130Js, C-17s, P8Is, Apaches, Chinooks, and MH60R helicopters are changing capabilities for the Indian military. The US army has reached out to Indian defence firms to produce everything from nuts and bolts to cartridges and artillery. There are five sets of ever-more complex bilateral military exercises that include all three Indian services. In sum, the commitment to military and security ties is clear.

The combination of the ideational clarity to deepen ties and the mate-

rial benefits of the same has built a grammar for resilience that may not be irreversible but can't be taken for granted either. Leaders, diplomats, and national security officials on both sides work hard — between the two countries and within their own systems — to keep the resilience going. This is also why the Modi-Biden book is tilted more toward substance than thrills. Challenges exist. There is much to be done. But, for a moment, as the two principals meet, it is well worth thinking about both the drivers and effects of this new book in India-US ties, and how that might be sustained as the 47th American president is elected later this year.

Rudra Chaudhuri is director, Carnegie India.

The views expressed are personal

Final hearing of PMLA review petitions in Oct, says top court

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NEW DELHI: The Supreme Court on Wednesday scheduled the final hearing of review petitions challenging its 2022 judgment in the Vijay Madanlal Choudhary case, which upheld several controversial provisions of the Prevention of Money Laundering Act (PMLA), including those related to arrest, search, seizure, bail and other related procedures for October 16 and 17.

A bench, led by justice Surya Kant, assigned the dates for the final hearing in the case listed on Wednesday but could not be taken up due to the absence of one of the judges on the bench, justice CT Ravikumar. The third member of this special bench is justice Ujjal Bhuyan.

Congress MP Karti Chidambaram filed the lead review petition in this matter. The top court issued a notice on Chidambaram's plea on August 25, 2022, but since then, the matter has not progressed to an effective hearing. The 2022 judgment sparked an intense legal and political debate due to its far-reaching impact on the powers granted to ED under the PMLA.

The 2022 ruling in Vijay Madanlal Choudhary affirmed the wide-ranging powers of ED, which include summoning individuals, conducting arrests, raiding prop-

THE '22 JUDGMENT SPARKED LEGAL AND POLITICAL DEBATE DUE TO ITS IMPACT ON THE POWERS GRANTED TO ED UNDER PMLA

erties and attaching assets of those suspected of money laundering. These powers, the top court had reasoned, were crucial for combating money laundering and protecting India's financial stability. The judgment junked over 200 pleas that had challenged the provisions of the PMLA, with the petitioners arguing that the law bestowed unchecked and arbitrary authority on ED. Despite these concerns, the top court upheld the tough steps, stressing that money laundering offenders form a distinct class and require specialised legal provisions. One of the most controversial aspects of the ruling was its decision that the Enforcement Case Information Report (ECIR), an internal document of ED, did not need to be shared with the accused. Another contentious element was the court's endorsement of the reverse burden of proof in PMLA cases, which requires the accused to prove their innocence, even during bail proceedings. On August 25, 2022, the Supreme



Supreme Court

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Court issued notice to the Union government in response to Chidambaram's review petition against the July 27, 2022 judgment.

The court had at the time indicated that only the two issues related to the supply of ECIR and the reverse onus of guilt would be reconsidered. The 2022 PMLA judgment has faced widespread flak for eroding constitutional safeguards. Critics argue that the ruling has allowed ED to function with excessive autonomy. During the last hearing, there was a noticeable divergence between the petitioners and the ED regarding the scope of the review. While the petitioners, represented by senior counsel Kapil Sibal, Abhishek Manu Singhvi and Vikram Choudhary, argued for a comprehensive review of the 2022 judgment, ED, represented by solicitor general Tushar Mehta and additional solicitor general SV Raju, contended that the review was confined to just the two issues identified earlier.

US-India bilateral trade could hit \$500 bn: Puri

The hydrocarbon trade between the two countries rose to \$13.6 bn in 2023-24

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HOUSTON: The United States is India's sixth largest energy trade partner and the growing bilateral trade has the potential to cross the \$500 billion-mark from \$200 billion at present, Petroleum Minister Hardeep Singh Puri has said.

The hydrocarbon trade between the two countries has reached \$13.6 billion in 2023-24 -- nearly double the figure from 2018-19, Puri said at a roundtable with energy companies.

The roundtable, held on the sidelines of the global energy conference Gastech 2024, here was attended by Mukesh Aghi, President and CEO of USISPF, and Consul General of India in Houston, D C Manjunath, among others.

Puri said that the US is now India's sixth-largest energy trade partner, with hydrocarbon trade valued at \$2.43 billion in the first two months of FY



The US is now India's sixth-largest energy trade partner, said Petroleum Minister Hardeep Singh Puri.

REUTERS

2024-25.

This momentum indicates the potential for total bilateral trade to soar from around \$200 billion to over \$500 billion, he said.

During his visit the minister also engaged with stakeholders from the US-India Business Council (USIBC), the US-India Strategic Partnership Forum (USISPF), and industry leaders to underscore the significance of the US-India energy partnership.

The conference was organised by USISPF, an advocacy group dedicated to strengthening the strategic partnership

between the US and India.

Puri highlighted India's leadership during its G20 Presidency, where it launched the Global Biofuels Alliance in collaboration with the US and other like-minded countries.

This initiative aims to develop and deploy low-carbon solutions, further reinforcing the commitment to sustainable energy practices.

In a meeting with Brad Crabtree, assistant secretary of the Office of Fossil Energy and Carbon Management at the US Department of Energy, Puri discussed the unique challenges India faces as the third-largest

hydrocarbon consumer while aiming for net zero emissions by 2070.

The discussion covered issues such as carbon capture, utilization, and storage (CCUS) as a vital solution for enhancing energy security and emissions reduction, alongside advancements in CO2 removal and innovative biofuels.

Puri also hailed the signing of four crucial agreements between IGL Social and American counterparts at the India Pavilion, saying these pacts pave the way for new clean energy initiatives and contributing to India's resilience and self-sufficiency in energy under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership.

Engaging with leaders from Vitol, Baker Hughes, and Woodside Energy, Puri explored opportunities for investment and collaboration to meet India's increasing energy demands sustainably.

The discussions focused on leveraging advanced technologies in hydrogen, geothermal energy, and carbon capture, with Baker Hughes providing cutting-edge solutions for deep-water exploration and emissions reduction.

India's place in Russia-Ukraine peace-making

Two years after the Government of India held that "Europe's problems are not the world's problems" to distance New Delhi from the theatre of the

Russia-Ukraine war, speculation about its determination to help resolve the war has gained traction. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visits to Moscow and Kyiv, a possible meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the United Nations next week and with Russian President Vladimir Putin at the BRICS Summit next month, as well as the travels of National Security Adviser Ajit Doval and External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar all point in this direction.

The fact that Mr. Modi "briefed" United States President Joseph Biden in a phone call after the Ukraine visit, and Mr. Doval told Mr. Putin that he had been tasked to "brief" him about the visit as well when he met him in St. Petersburg last week indicate that India is engaging with all parties and developing its role as an interlocutor.

The question then is how far does Mr. Modi's plan to play peacemaker stretch? And where can India's role be most effective?

India's role, the full picture

India's advantages and reasons for playing such a role are many – it is one of the few countries that is engaging both sides of the geopolitical schism over Ukraine, i.e., the West as well as the Eurasian leadership. India's long-held beliefs on non-alignment and strategic autonomy, which the Modi government has largely carried forward during the war with its abstention votes at the UN and refusal to accept western sanctions, help its image as an "honest broker" or mediator.

India is an important voice for the Global South and it succeeded in ensuring its G-20 presidency focused on war outcomes such as energy and food security that matter to the developing world rather than the war itself. As a result, the increase in India's intake of Russian oil, leading to a six-fold increase in bilateral trade, has been projected as an assertion of its principles rather than profiteering.

In his third term, Mr. Modi would no doubt like to build a global legacy, much like India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was able to do by mediating between the USSR and Austria for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in exchange for a policy of neutrality, or by India leading international efforts and UN commissions on wars in Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia.

If it does essay such a role, the government would need a thorough assessment of the situation, beginning with a study of the state of war in Ukraine. Russian troops remain entrenched in about a sixth of territory of the country for more than two years now, while



Suhasini Haidar

Ukrainian forces are successfully holding the line outside of these areas. This indicates that any change in the status quo could come only from a massive escalation in the war. Mr. Zelenskyy's move to occupy Russian territory in Kursk was a novel tactic, but was perhaps only meant to be used as a bargaining chip or "leverage" as the Ukrainian President put it, in future negotiations. As he heads to New York next week, Mr. Zelenskyy will be seeking a further escalation: western permissions for the long-range Storm Shadow missiles, and Army Tactical Missile Systems (ATACM) for airstrikes deep inside Russia, which he believes is receiving lethal weaponry from Iran and North Korea. Mr. Putin has said in no uncertain terms that if the West clears the request, it would be a declaration of direct war between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Russia. An alternative outcome could also arise from the U.S. elections on November 5 – a win for former U.S. President Donald Trump may mean the U.S. curtails its expenditure in support of Ukraine, seen positively by Mr. Putin, and more sobering for Ukraine and Europe, while a win for U.S. Vice-President Kamala Harris will indicate continuity in the U.S.'s support.

An offering that would have to stand out

Second, New Delhi would need to offer its own proposal for conflict resolution or de-escalation taking into account that there are already a number of proposals in the arena, all of which have been rejected by one side or the other. Mr. Putin and Mr. Zelenskyy have rejected each other's proposals, that involve giving up territory on the ground. Mr. Putin rejected the Bürgenstock Communiqué, that India also disassociated from, which dwelt on the issues of nuclear safety, humanitarian access and the exchange of prisoners.

Mr. Zelenskyy recently rejected the six-point Brazil-China joint proposal that proposed the same measures towards a path of "de-escalation". China has, in the past year successfully brokered agreements between Iran and Saudi Arabia and Hamas and Fatah. Hungary too, a country with access to both sides, made a ceasefire proposal which has been rejected by Ukraine.

Summing up India's position in Berlin last week, Mr. Jaishankar listed a four-point principle: This is not the era of war; there are no solutions on the battlefield; Russia must be at the table for talks; and India is concerned and engaged to find a resolution to the conflict. While these principles are incontrovertible, they are by no means a concrete proposal, and India will need to work on a more comprehensive vision of its path to peace.

The next step would be to study what India's

role would be. During their conversation, Mr. Zelenskyy told Mr. Modi that India is simply too large and important a country to seek a role as "messenger" between Moscow and Kyiv. In any case, recent rounds of prisoner exchanges between the two countries make it amply clear that there are enough channels to relay information between them.

A larger role would imply India serving as a mediator or even the host for a summit between the two sides, although given India's recusal from the Swiss Peace Summit outcome, may be a task left to one of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries that have been a part of the process thus far. Whatever the decision, this is an exercise that will require India to use its left, diplomatic goodwill and other resources apart from intensified travel by officials, Ministers and the Prime Minister focused on discussing solutions to the Russia-Ukraine war.

Consistency would be the key word

At a time when the government is dealing with internal conflicts including Manipur, revving up the economy through international engagement, regional turbulence and a host of other important issues, it could justifiably question the need to spend its resources on this conflict. Externally, when civilian casualties from Israel's bombardment of Gaza or from the civil war in Sudan are far more than those estimated to be non-military casualties in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the question over which conflict India chooses to intervene in poses a challenge. In addition, India will be judged on the consistency of its message- if "dialogue and diplomacy" are indeed the "only way forward", then it is difficult to account for the Modi government's refusal to consider an opening with Pakistan, for example.

Eventually, the balance of the pull and push factors will decide how far New Delhi will go as a peace-maker in the war that has consumed Europe and the U.S. for more than 30 months. As a country of considerable consequence in the world, one that straddles the West and the east, the Global North and South, and as the only country that is member of both the Quad (Australia, India, Japan, United States) and BRICS, India is uniquely positioned. The critical element is the timing of its foray into a field that has, thus far, only seen failure. As the late Israeli interlocutor Abba Eban once said in words that are as true for the conflict he attempted to resolve as they are for the Russia-Ukraine war: "History teaches us that men and nations only behave wisely once they have exhausted all other alternatives."

There are indications that New Delhi is engaging with all parties and developing its role as an interlocutor but there are the 'ifs, ands, or buts'