

ESTABLISHED IN 1881

## Time for a reset

Finally a clean sweep of CBI top leadership

HE transfer of senior CBI officers Rakesh Asthana, AK Sharma, MK Sinha and Jayant J Naiknavare gives the government a clean slate to start with. Indeed, it is surprising that this step was not taken till now. The publicly acrimonious behaviour of the top brass at the country's premier investigative agency left everybody singed by its fallout. The government threw out the rule book while dismissing Alok Verma as Director, a move made far worse by not moving others. This created the impression of partisanship. The country had to see the sorry spectacle of India's top cops fighting with each other, dragging in the courts and the government in their slugfest.

Now that the top brass is being replaced, there is a chance of a reset. Norms of appointment need to be followed to a T and the members of the selection committee to appoint the new CBI Director, led by the PM, must ensure the best officer is selected to head the CBI. Others in his team should also be selected with care. Ideally, sensitive appointments need to be bipartisan, and the choice should inspire confidence in the system, which has been severely damaged by the shadow of adhocism and open display of discord.

The government must eschew the temptation of imposing its will, as should the Opposition. The CBI deserves much better than to be seen as the political executive's handmaiden. The bureau's independence is a prerequisite to its proper functioning, as is the integrity and the discretion of its officers. The very idea of them being booked under various Sections of the Prevention of Corruption Act, as happened recently, is unthinkable. Even as the jury is out about such activities by the officers who have been removed, their gross indiscipline is reason enough for them to go. As for the government that let the original situation deteriorate to such an alarming extent, it is hoped that it would monitor the conduct of the new incumbents with due diligence, even as it provides them with the support they need to restore the morale and prestige of the CBI.

# Making of accidental leaders

From 'hate figures', Kanhaiya and Umar have become household cult names



**APOORVANAND** 

PROFESSOR, DELHI UNIVERSITY

ANHAIYA Kumar and Umar Khalid are back in the news. The Delhi Police have finally managed to file a chargesheet against them, along with Anirban, after 'toiling' for three years to make it credible, travelling to many states to gather evidence and analysing numerous emails, videos and phone messages to claim that they were involved in a seditious act on February 9, 2016, at JNU. The whole case has been built on an alleged act of raising anti-national slogans, purportedly calling for the dismemberment of the country and condemning the hanging of Maqbool Bhat and Afzal Guru.

Kanhaiya and Umar are no longer names confined to the JNU campus. They have become household cult figures, many hate them and there is a sizeable population which admires them. No other JNUSU president, nor any other student leader from JNU, has received such national attention. These two and others would also have passed out anonymously had the BJP not decided to make them an instrument to test its campaign against antinationalists hiding on the campuses and conspiring against the nation. The ploy succeeded with the enthusiastic support from a complicit media. I was stunned by the cynicism of the move when a leader of the ruling party gleefully exclaimed that the nationalism and anti-nationalism theme has caught the imagination of the masses! So, the idea was to persist with it. He was also dismayed that their attempt to use the Mahishasur martyrdom celebrations at JNU had backfired. People forget that spearheaded by Smriti Irani, the government had tried to leverage it to rouse and



IN CONTROL: These young dissenters have shown remarkable courage under fire.

Is there a direct relation between the attack on these student leaders and the regressive slide in our national life?

mobilise Hindu sentiments, clubbing it with their anti-nationalism discourse. But it met with a backlash from Dalits and Adivasis and the BJP never raised it again.

Wild theories of Kanhaiya and Umar being linked with terrorists across the border were floated, backed by none other than the Union Home Minister himself. His claim proved to be based on a fake Twitter handle, but the Home Ministry insisted that Rajnath Singh's statement was based on inputs from different agencies. It has, in fact, put the lives of these two in danger as many people trusting his assertion believe that they needed to be punished. Kanhaiya has been physically attacked many times and Umar narrowly missed a murder attempt. It is remarkable that these young people have not only maintained sanity, but also have demonstrated great equanimity in dealing with the craziness of the situation. The tremendous stress of the continuous media assault on them has not made them bitter. The nation saw in Kanhaiya how you deploy humour to combat hatred.

These two, especially Kanhaiya, were accidental leaders. If the nation now wants to listen to them and also deliberate on their stand, it is only the BJP which has to be blamed for it. I had met Kanhaiya a year prior to his new-found stature. His aspiration was modest: to become a university teacher. It was his dramatic arrest, physical attack on him by 'nationalist' lawyers in public view on the court premises, and constant badgering by the media to prove his nationalism that turned him into a figure the nation must pay attention to.

a technician in a Gulf country, accidentally reached JNU. His story is also the story of JNU, which hosts a vernacular boy, uninitiated in the ways of the English-speaking metropolitan educational culture, giving him its leadership. This is what democracies should be.

Kanhaiya's arrest was a result of the evil hiding in our society, but it also brought out the best in the nation waiting for expression. JNU teachers stood rock-solid behind their students. It would have been much easier for them to shun these 'anti-nationals', but they proved to be real teachers. They are still paying for it, but seldom regret their decision. The streets of Delhi also witnessed one of the strongest solidarities which brought youth from different universities together to speak for these wronged young men. Kanhaiya electrified the imagination of the young and the old alike.

Three years since the arrest and release of Kanhaiya and Umar have been a learning period for all of us. We have seen universities being attacked, intellectuals vilified and scholarship trashed by the government. This period has also seen hatred against Muslims and Christians becoming the national norm. Dalits have become targets of repeated attacks from affiliates of the ruling party and there is a resurgence of regressive social and cultural tendencies in society — the assault on women Sabarimala pilgrims being an example. We need to reflect on whether there is a direct relation between the attack on Kanhaiya and Umar and the regressive slide in our national life. We can also learn from these youth how to meet this challenge. They seem to be enjoying the battle, even in the face of a real mortal threat. This is how battles should be fought. You must not allow yourself to be infected with hatred while fighting hatred. A smile must not leave your face even when you are subjected to filth from contorted faces. This is what these young leaders teach us.

## The regularisation gambit

Punjab legislation will have to pass legal scrutiny

HE Congress government in Punjab has predictably gone into overdrive to appease various categories of voters in the run-up to the General Election. Plans are afoot to regularise the services of 37,000 ad hoc, daily-wage, temporary, work-charged and outsourced employees, who have been in the protest mode over the past two years. The government, which recently decided to implement recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission, has set up a ministerial panel to frame a law that will replace the Punjab Ad hoc, Contractual, Daily-Wage, Temporary, Work-Charged and Outsourced Employees' Welfare Act, 2016. The Act had been notified by the then SAD-BJP dispensation days before the 2017 Assembly elections were announced. The law was challenged in the Punjab & Haryana High Court on the grounds that it infringed upon the constitutional provision for a level playing field in public employment.

Surely, it won't be a walk in the park for the Capt Amarinder Singh government to make the new law legally tenable. Punjab cannot afford to ignore the example of Haryana, which has already burnt its fingers on the issue. Last year, the High Court had quashed a policy, framed by then Chief Minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda's Congress government, to regularise contractual and ad hoc employees ahead of the 2014 Assembly elections. The court had asserted that the 'regularisation business was not a side window opened to validate illegal appointments'. Haryana had then moved the Supreme Court, which ordered status quo, providing a breather to about 50,000 employees.

More often than not, contractual and ad hoc workers are appointed without following a fair and transparent procedure. 'Recommendations' invariably come into play, even as there is little or no verification of the candidates' antecedents. Regularising their services in one stroke, across the board, will demoralise the regular staffers who have been selected on merit. If the government is bent on this unwise course, it should at least separate the wheat from the chaff. Why not put eligible employees to the test? Only the best of the lot should make the cut.

THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

Freedom is hammered out on the anvil of discussion, dissent, and debate. — Hubert H Humphrey

#### **ON THIS DAY...100 YEARS AGO**



People discovered a great and entertaining orator in Kanhaiya.

Kanhaiya and Umar belong to two different shades of the Left. For the first time in decades, the Left parties learnt that there could be a language that can be used for universal appeal, free of the tired Left jargon. Kanhaiya's ability to build a persuasive narrative has left the BJP ruing the moment it decided to make him a 'hate figure' for Hindus.

Meanwhile, the nation also got interested in the story of a boy from the rural backyards of Bihar, the son of a labourer, who from training to be

away, shredding my ego and tram-

pling upon my professional pride.

## The many 'Saarus' amid us

#### **HEMANT CHOPRA**

EFORE you conclude 'Saaru' to be some kind of a psychoneurotic fixation, let me tell you that Saaru, alias Sansar Chand, was a balding, middle-aged cattle trader, lame in one leg and having an eye for a good animal. Widely respected in the villages around for his astute judgement, the animals that he brought from the cattle market were invariably class representatives of their breeds.

I ran into him in my second posting and by virtue of belonging to the same gotra, was bestowed by the family with the title of 'gotra brother'. Fresh from college as a strapping young man, full of idealistic spark and who had yet to 'unlearn' much, Saaru and family saw in me a good prospective groom! They

were not averse to the idea of me exchanging garlands with the only daughter of a local wealthy family.

How could one be so courteous and yet But I was more interested in the aniso unfeeling, I wondered. Each visit mals that he bought from cattle fairs. used to send me into a downward spi-Freshly calved Holsteins and Murral of anger, resentment and rejection. rahs that glistened after a bath and an I wallowed in them, imagining the day oil massage — animals that he sold at when all his animals will suddenly fall a handsome profit. He took good care sick and he will have to call me. But it of them, for the time they remained never happened. I tried to shut him unsold: feeding them the best of conbehind an imaginary window in my centrate and fodder. 'Buying a pregmind, closing it again and again with a nant animal is like betting upon a padlock, but each time he managed to closed fist,' he would say. Some of wriggle back and occupy centre stage. those lovely animals, who came from I tried avoiding the family, but it was distant places, became travel-sick. easier said than done in that small But during my stint in the area, he place with large, beaming faces. did not once call me to tend to a sick Years passed and this habit of expectanimal. That honour was bestowed by ing someone to treat you in a manner Saaruji upon my illustrious predecesyou wanted never went away. It rages off and on, the battle against disapsor, who drove to his farmhouse, 80 km

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

#### **Quota won't help**

Refer to 'Mired in politics, reservation pointless sans jobs' (Jan 18); the recently introduced 10 per cent reservation for EWS among the upper classes will only be supernumerary in nature, as over 95 per cent households in the country fall within the economic eligibility criteria set for this reservation. As a result, the most deserving poor from the upper castes would not be benefited. Also, an increase of 25 per cent seats by the HRD Ministry in colleges and universities, in the absence of a matching infrastructure, will be a mockery of higher education. To end this vicious circle, it will be more prudent to end castebased reservation and introduce a quota system on an economic basis. LN DAHIYA, ROHTAK

cians and quota politics. Politicians only play with the sentiments of society for their own interests. **SANDEEP NAIN, KARNAL** 

Licence raj in education

Apropos the editorial 'Upper class quota in education' (Jan 18), the young generation of Indians does not need reservation. They want affordable, well-managed colleges and universities, supported by modern infrastructure. Indian students are forced to seek admission to foreign universities because admission conditions in most good colleges are near-impossible to meet. Hundreds of new private universities and colleges may have been built if higher education was not controlled by licence raj. Education does not seem to be a priority for the Modi government, or it would have used its majority in the Lok Sabha to give India an excellent education policy. With an increase in reservation, the availability of jobs also needs to be enhanced.

women was inducted into the services, the perception was that women could not work in defence forces. Presumption without any experience cannot be an accurate parameter to judge women's capacity to work in a combat role. If women can be at the International Border in the BSF, along with male counterparts, where is the doubt that they cannot perform on the frontline in the Army? Women were a part of LTTE cadres in Sri Lanka and also Maoist cadres. Even though 26 years have passed, the strength of women ranges from 3.3 per cent, 6.5 per cent, and 12.8 per cent in the Army, Navy and IAF, respectively. Three women fighter pilots have already worn the wings. Let us give a chance to women in combat roles also to prove their mettle.

pointment, of being ignored, of not getting your due. Now, it is not one, but many Saarus, as the spectrum of life widens. As I look around, I see them lurking in cyberspace; in 'likes' and 'comments'; in that feverish desire to be 'recognised' and 'applauded'.

But like an upset stomach after eating chana-bhatura, I have learnt to expect him and to wear him out by running the gauntlet in the shortest possible time; to watch him with caution as he prances about; to conclude that life is a game of averages, involving a fair dose of hard work, talent and chance. Every day is a distilled drop of this average, meant to be enjoyed fully; to enjoy to the hilt the company of Saaruji.

Thank you, Saaruji, for being such a good teacher over the years.

help reduce controversies.

**MOHIT HOODA, ROHTAK** Free hand justified?

'The real butchers of Punjab' (Jan 16) was an interesting piece on KPS Gill's legacy. The numbers aside, it



LAHORE, SUNDAY, JANUARY 19, 1919

#### What Indian Women Want.

IT is in the fitness of things that the resolution on women's rights at the last session of the Congress should have been moved by a prominent representative of educated Indian women, Mrs. Sarala Devi Choudhaurani. She took her stand on the principle of self-determination, and claimed that Indian women, who constitute fully one half of India's population of 300 millions, must have a real share in the right of self-determination which India claims. She made it clear that Indian women asked for no favours. "We want equality of status and demand that women possessing the same qualifications as men should not be disqualified on account of sex. For instance, if franchise is given to all male non-student matriculates, male income taxpayers or those paying Rs. 20 per year or those having some title or decoration from Government, there is no reason why women fulfilling these conditions should be debarred."

#### Where does demoralisation come in?

IT is absurd to say that the mere acceptance of high offices demoralises men and makes them desire a longer lease of life for the bureaucracy to whom they owe those offices. It is absurd to say this, not only because Sir S.P. Sinha owes his office not to any bureaucracy but to a couple of men, and he has shown that office has not demoralised him. Long after his appointment as member of the Viceroy's Council, and a representative of the Government of India at the Imperial War Conference, he declared at a luncheon by Indian residents in England:-"The object of the proposed reforms is to enable India to attain a form of government which the modern civilised world has shown to be the only form of political existence compatible with the highest self-evolution of peoples."

#### **Increase jobs too**

The article 'Mired in politics, reservation pointless sans jobs' (Jan 18) rightly points that reservation is meaningless in this era of jobless growth. Unfortunately, unlike Western countries, self-employment is considered a compulsion and professionals and highly educated persons primarily opt for jobs. The lure of jobs seems to be the only reason that prompts people to fall a prey to politi-

**MONA SINGH, AMRITSAR** 

#### Women have the mettle

Reference to 'Women unsuitable for frontline combat role' (Jan 18); in 1992, when the first batch of

#### WG CDR JASBIR S MINHAS (RETD), MOHALI

### **Selection of judges**

The process of selection of judges is not proper ('Courting a judicial crisis'; Jan 18). Every year the UPSC conducts an exam to select administrators, but no such exam is held for judges. Transparency is most essential, with full consultation with the apex court. Constitutional amendment and a law is needed which will make framework changes. This will

should alarm anyone interested in peaceful existence of all (a fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution) that such an approach to conflict resolution can be espoused by an organisation purporting to be dedicated to it! And what is this approach? Based on the article, it is to give the police and paramilitary forces impunity to unleash mayhem upon the public. Indeed, this is one way to resolve any conflict. But is this the right way? Punjab still recalls its bloody history that brings to mind tyrants like Abdali and Durrani, even Dyer. As for Gill's legacy, it is quite revealing that even his best cheerleader can only claim that he did not kill as many humans as his detractors claim and that the ones he killed were 'terrorists'. Which begs the question: Who determined that any given person summarily executed by the Punjab Police was a terrorist worthy of killing? Not the courts. According to the writer, let the police do it, and the conflict will be resolved! **RS SHERGILL, CALIFORNIA** 

Letters to the Editor, typed in double space, should not exceed the 200-word limit. These should be cogently written and can be sent by e-mail to: Letters@tribunemail.com







### The Tribune CHANDIGARH | SATURDAY | 19 JANUARY 2019

## **OPED**

# Persecuted minorities of Pak, Bangladesh



**SMRUTI S PATTANAIK RESEARCH FELLOW, INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE** STUDIES AND ANALYSES

NE of the BJP's electoral promises was to provide citizenship to the minority Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Parsi and Christian communities from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. After coming to power, it introduced the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016, in the Lok Sabha; it was finally passed on January 8 this year. Many perceive this as an electoral stunt. However, within the BJP, this issue has been discussed several times. This Bill has opened up a larger debate on who should be a citizen and what should be the basis of granting citizenship. Assam, which in the past witnessed agitation against foreigners, and a political settlement was reached only in 1985 by the signing of the Assam Accord, is on the boil over the issue. The state is already witnessing problems in registering citizens under the National Register of Citizens. Many were excluded from the list when the first draft was completed on December 31, 2017, as they failed to provide valid documents. The citizenship Bill is only adding to the growing tension.

Assam sees this as a ploy to settle ʻillegal immigrants' from Bangladesh. Tension between Assamese and Bengali settlers is not new. Many Assamese perceive that they have become minorities in their own homeland and this is an attempt

to undermine their culture and make their identity subservient. Assam also has historically witnessed colonialism of a different kind when the British encouraged people from neighbouring areas to settle and work in the tea plantations. The Asom Gana Parishad, which was a coalition partner of the ruling BJP in the state and had spearheaded the Assam agitation, has withdrawn its support to the government. Except for Meghalaya, there is not much reaction from other states, perhaps due to the fact that many of these may not be affected by the resettlement of refugees. The All Assam Students Union and Assamese intellectuals as well as activists have registered their protest against the Bill. Other political parties have opposed the idea of giving citizenship on the basis of religion. This Bill raises complex questions on policy implications. Recently, the government repatriated Rohingya refugees staying in India to Myanmar despite the fact that they face persecution in that country and even though India is providing aid to the community in Bangladesh.

Minorities are indeed persecuted and many of them migrated to India and sought refuge here. Though India and other South Asian countries are not signatories to the refugee convention, India has sheltered Tibetan, Tamil, Afghan, Burmese and Rohingya refugees who faced persecution in their own country. India also provided shelter to 10 million refugees from East Pakistan in 1971. Except for the refugees from East Pakistan, most of them have stayed back in India. However, due to religious persecution and discrimination, many of the religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh have sought refuge in



FURORE: The Bill has triggered a debate on who should be a citizen and what should be the basis of granting citizenship.

Minorities constitute 3 per cent of Pakistan's population, whereas in Bangladesh they account for 8.5 per cent. This is in sharp contrast to 23 per cent minorities that Pakistan had boasted of during Partition. Due to religious persecution and discrimination, many of them have sought refuge in India.

India. If one looks at the minority Hindu population in the neighbouring countries, their numbers have reduced significantly in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Minorities constitute 3 per cent of Pakistan's population, whereas in Bangladesh they account for 8.5 per cent. This is in sharp contrast to 23 per cent minorities that Pakistan had boasted of during Partition. For long, anti-foreigner agitation has rocked Northeastern states. Some of these states also have an inner line permit that all Indian citizens must have to enter these states. The complexity of the 'outsider' and 'son of the soil' debate has been a constant part of the political discourse. In the past, Arunachal Pradesh witnessed agitation against the Supreme Court's decision of 2015 to settle Chakma and Hajong refugees in the state who had been

living 'stateless' for 50 years. It is important to refer to the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan agreement of 1950 on the protection of minorities. The agreement reads, "The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality." In spite of this assurance, the minority Hindus in Pakistan were subjected to forced conversion, while female members were abducted and married off to Muslims. Christians were often victims of the draconian blasphemy law, killed on the basis of allegations. Minority Hindus were singled out for

discrimination and their property was grabbed by members of the majority community in collusion with the authorities. This was one of the major causes of Hindu migration from East Pakistan (and later Bangladesh). It is true that many of the Hindu refugees from Pakistan face major problems in their day-today life in India as they are not citizens despite spending several years in the country. Some fear repatriation as they need to frequently extend their 'long visa'. Without citizenship, they find it difficult to send their children for higher education and find employment. The same is also the case with the vast number of Tamil refugees staying in India.

While it is important that the government has to take a decision on the future of these large number of refugees, especially wherever repatriation is not possible, it is equally important to ensure that its decision to provide citizenship on humanitarian grounds has to include all persecuted minority communities irrespective of the religious identity. Moreover, the decision to provide citizenship needs to be debated further. Northeastern states have a complex demography which has led to violent ethnic clashes. It is a sensitive region with undercurrents of ethnic tension. The government needs to think through the settlement policy. Without taking a decision on how and where to settle these refugees and calculating the economic cost and its impact on society, conferring citizenship would not be an adequate policy measure for accommodating persecuted minorities. It cannot be an election-time sop; it has to be part of a long-term policy on how to tackle the larger humanitarian crisis.

## Much ado about Nooyi's World Bank chances



**SANDEEP DIKSHIT DEPUTY EDITOR** 

Be it Australian spymaster Peter Varghese, fielded as Indian High Commissioner, or attorney Preet Bharara in the Devyani Khobragade episode, there was no free pass for India or naturalised Indians because of the similarity in ancestry. The same story is likely to be repeated with World Bank's top post despite efforts by developing nations to ease stranglehold of developed world over global governance and financial institutions.

N overly appreciative tweet from Ivanka Trump about former Pepsico chief Indra Nooyi has got the Washington gossip mills speculating about her possible nomination as the World Bank chief after the Korean-American incumbent (Jim Yong Kim) set his eyes on greener pastures. In India, the possibility of Nooyi helming the World Bank set off the familiar waves of warm acknowledgement of India's progress on the global stage.

This feeling of taking ownership of an individual who left Indian shores for lack of opportunities decades back and serves a set of interests of a developed nation or an MNC different from those of India is widespread. The same excited oohs that followed Sundar Pichai's \$200-million salary from Google are now serenading Nooyi while overlooking the institutions helmed by them. An Indian at the top did not stop Google's predation of data from developing countries on the back of rudimentary data protection laws, resulting in what then Australian Communications Minister Stephen Conroy described as "the single greatest breach in the history of privacy".

Nooyi, like the admittedly supremely talented Pichai, belong to a tribe of global citizens who live in a self-contained bubble, many of them flitting from one country to another while retaining similar surroundings and value systems. Other countries have also understood this Indian soft spot. Over the past decades, Indian-origin envoys have occupied the chanceries of the US, Aus-



REAL PICTURE: Indra Nooyi may be supremely gifted, but top World Bank posts are based not on merit but on a US-Europe pact to share the spoils in global financial institutions.

tralia and Canada. This tactic, though, is the preserve of Western nations because of their easy admittance laws. Chinese and the Russians must have mulled this option to get close to Indian heartstrings, but were hampered because of their aversion to giving citizenship to non-Hans and non-Slavs, respectively. But make no mistake. Whether it was Peter Varghese, the Australian spymaster who was fielded as the Indian High Commissioner, or former US attorney Preet Bharara (in the Devyani Khobragade episode), there is no free pass for India or naturalised Indians because of the similarity in ancestry.

The same story is likely to be repeated with the World Bank's top post. Developing nations have been attempting to ease the stranglehold of the developed

world over global governance and financial institutions for years with little success. As a result, the Asian Development Bank chief is mostly from Japan. a European heads the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and an American the World Bank. If at all Nooyi will make the cut, it is because she will first and foremost uphold Washington's interests. The movement among developing countries to loosen the grip of the North over the Bretton Woods institutions will continue to remain divided and unfocused while the person at the helm will never try to lend a helping hand.

The success that developing countries registered at the election of the World Trade Organisation Director General is instructive. A naturalised Brazilian, Roberto Azevêdo, was up

against the trans-Atlantic alliance's proxy candidates from the Asia Pacific — a Kiwi and a Korean. The initial support from BRICS nations provided the momentum that became unstoppable. Today, Azevêdo is serving his second term, but only because all countries, big or small, have one vote each.

The two Bretton Woods institutions the World Bank and the IMF — are ripe for a reworking of power equations after the global balance of economic power decisively shifted towards developing countries. In tune with the West's penchant for hiding its intentions behind altruistic motives, the control of the World Bank is predicated on a public formula: GDP (50 per cent), openness (30 per cent), economic variability (15 per cent) and international reserves (5 per cent). Each country gets a quota based on the weight from this formula. Technically, quotas are reviewed every five years. Yet the process of redistribution of quotas decided in 2010 began after nearly six years because of political stalling by the US. The US Congress did not approve a shift of 6.2 per cent of quota shares towards emerging and developing countries until December 2015. Even that is unfair and too less as developing and transition countries account for almost half the global GDP. It is doubtful if Nooyi as an Indian-origin corporate honcho can be instrumental in speeding up the enhancement of voting share of developing countries.

Ever since the Bank was set up on the rubble of World War II, the five largest shareholders — US, Japan, Germany,

France and China — have the right to nominate their own executive directors. India, as the sixth largest economy, is yet to savour this privilege and has to throw its hat in the electoral ring to send a representative to the World Bank high table, thus perpetuating the dominance of West Europeans and Americans on the Executive Board.

Nooyi may be supremely gifted, but the leadership of the World Bank and the IMF is not merit-based. She has the potential to make the cut not because American-Indian brotherhood has taken wings. Rather, the nomination is a 'gentlemen's agreement' between the US and the overrepresented Europe. That enabled Christine Lagarde's re-election as the IMF MD without a competitor. The others knew it was futile to contest because of the tilted electoral arena despite the fact that their timely repayments keep both institutions humming. At a recent event in Chandigarh, a new-

ly-elected provincial assembly member from Canada was fielded by doting relatives and fond friends as an example of the Left's success. The vivacious and cheerful legislator-elect held forth on the universality of the Left's appeal. But none asked her why she couldn't make a mark in Left politics in India. The answer would most probably lie in the difference in objective conditions in both countries. So it is with members of the Indian-origin community who strike it big in public affairs. The common cultural connect does evoke empathy, but there is no harmony of interests.

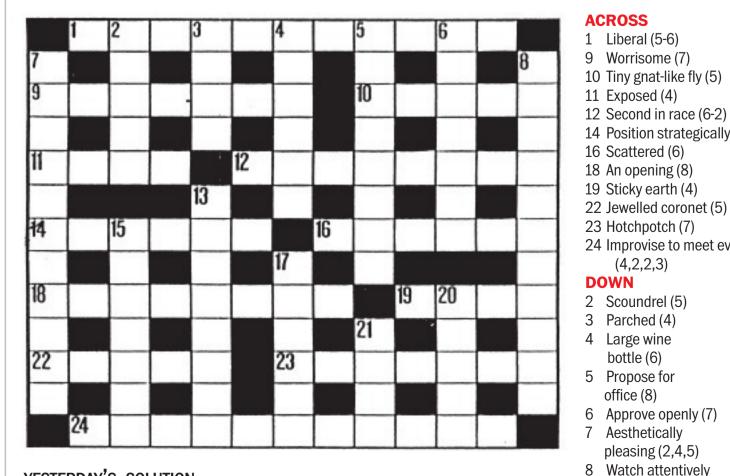
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#### **OUICK CROSSWORD**

#### SU DO KU

#### CALENDAR

#### FORECAST



#### YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION

Across: 1 Cajole, 4 As one man, 9 Myopia, 10 Emporium, 12 Lear, 13 Bully, 14 Flee, 17 Indian summer, 20 Announcement, 23 Role, 24 Alley, 25 Gobi, 28 Doggerel, 29 Desist, 30 Ruthless, 31 Frisky.

Down: 1 Complain, 2 Jeopardy, 3 Lair, 5 Simple-minded, 6 Neon, 7 Mainly, 8 Number, 11 Rub shoulders, 15 Taunt, 16 Jewel, 18 Aerobics, 19 Strictly, 21 Trader, 22 Plight, 26 Deal, 27 Bear.

ACROSS 1 Liberal (5-6) 9 Worrisome (7) 10 Tiny gnat-like fly (5) 11 Exposed (4) 12 Second in race (6-2) 14 Position strategically (6) 16 Scattered (6) 18 An opening (8) 19 Sticky earth (4)	6	3	9	5 1	9	2 8	8	7	9
<ul> <li>22 Jewelled coronet (5)</li> <li>23 Hotchpotch (7)</li> <li>24 Improvise to meet events (4,2,2,3)</li> <li>DOWN</li> <li>2 Scoundrel (5)</li> </ul>		4		3		6		2	
<ul> <li>3 Parched (4)</li> <li>4 Large wine bottle (6)</li> <li>5 Propose for office (8)</li> </ul>		5		4		1		9	
<ul> <li>6 Approve openly (7)</li> <li>7 Aesthetically pleasing (2,4,5)</li> <li>8 Watch attentively (4,2,3,2)</li> </ul>	3	1		7	4	9		3	6
<ul> <li>13 Opposite (8)</li> <li>15 Win through (7)</li> <li>17 Gain (6)</li> <li>20 South American pack animal (5)</li> </ul>			2	8		3	5		

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Sha	ani Pa	ardos	h var	t.					
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2	YE 5	este 4	RDA	Y'S 7	SOL 9	UTIC	DN 1	3	
2 1	_		-			_	DN 1 6		
	5	4	6	7	9	8	1	3 9 7	
1	5 8	4 7	6 2	7 4	9 3	8 5	1 6	9	
1 9	5 8 3	4 7 6	6 2 1	7 4 8	9 3 5	8 5 2	1 6 4	9 7	
1 9 5	5 8 3 4	4 7 6 8	6 2 1 9	7 4 8 2	9 3 5 1	8 5 2 7	1 6 4 3	9 7 6	
1 9 5 7	5 8 3 4 9	4 7 6 8 3	6 2 1 9 8	7 4 8 2 6	9 3 5 1 4	8 5 2 7 1	1 6 4 3 2	9 7 6 5	
1 9 5 7 6	5 8 3 4 9 2	4 7 6 8 3 1	6 2 1 9 8 3	7 4 8 2 6 5	9 3 5 1 4 7	8 5 2 7 1 9	1 6 4 3 2 8	9 7 6 5 4	

SUNSET: SATU SUNRISE: SUN	JRDAY Day	17:46 HRS 07:20 HRS	
\$ B	B	3	=
Sunny Partly Cloud	y Cloudy	Rainy	Fog
CITY	MAX	MIN	
Chandigarh	21	07	e
New Delhi	22	05	4
PUNJAB			
Amritsar	21	02	8
Bathinda	20	05	8
Jalandhar	21	05	2
Ludhiana	20	07	e
HARYANA			
Bhiwani	21	07	e
Hisar	22	05	e
Sirsa	20	06	8
HIMACHAL PRA	DESH	dan.	
Dharamsala	15	05	e
Manali	12	0	e
Shimla	15	04	e
JAMMU & KASH			
Jammu	18	07	8
Leh	01	-12	e
Srinagar	02	0	4
UTTARAKHAND			
Dehradun	24	06	July .
Mussoorie	15	05	APR.







