

# The Tribune

ESTABLISHED IN 1881

## Minimum income for poor

In search of slogans, Rahul attempts to seize the initiative

CONGRESS president Rahul Gandhi's promise of a guaranteed minimum income for every poor person in the country, if voted to power, may have stolen PM Modi's thunder kept in store for the vote-on-account. It is an idea that was first talked about in the 18th-century war-torn England and it basically means an unconditional, periodic grant paid on an individual basis. The Congress tweak to the concept assures a minimum amount (speculated at Rs 1,000 per month) to an estimated 27 crore people living below the poverty line. While the economics will follow, it is the politics shadowing the announcement that is at the moment more pertinent.

More than the 10 per cent reservation for the economically weaker sections among upper classes, this blanket reachout to the poor appears more tantalising. And the reflex criticism from the BSP indicates that Rahul's promise could rearrange the caste matrix. The Congress would hope a similar undercurrent will help it return to conversations in regions long polarised on caste lines. The Modi government too was not immune to the lure of a minimum income guarantee, but in this instance, Rahul may have run away with the political ball. The BJP may have balked because being in the government, it would have been obliged to explain the economics that would make it sustainable in the long run.

And feasibility is the concept's Achilles' heel. The estimated annual public expenditure of Rs 3.25 lakh crore was in the Modi government's grasp if demonetisation had played out differently and GST had brought in the anticipated additional income. Its advocates are confident the gap can be bridged by scrapping the leakage-prone PDS and MNREGA to bring in the required money. The problem is both PDS and MNREGA now have entrenched interest groups and stakeholders who will resist any structural change. For an idea whose time has come, it requires both political will and a deep pocket to realise the concept. Trying to leverage minimum income to set the narrative may be the easier part.

## A practical step

CBSE plan to practically enrich arts students laudable

THE proposal of the CBSE to also include practical or project work in all subjects from the humanities stream in its Class XII examination structure from the 2020 academic session is pregnant with reformative possibilities. Foremost, it will equip the students, as they step out of school, to apply the knowledge gained in real-world situations. Our present theoretical system of evaluation largely produces half-baked literates. A school passout, if unable to converse intelligently, though having proficiency in the written form, cannot be quite deemed to be qualified in the subject. An abhorrent byproduct of this deficiency is the breeding of money-guzzling 'English-speaking teaching' shops that many a student is forced to join to plug this loophole.

In tandem with the objective-type questions planned in the new test pattern, the move will also, to some extent, address the problem of rote learning and regurgitation on answersheets of chapters mugged up without application of mind. As class teachers, along with external examiners, are likely to have a say in the practical test, a student's year-long progress will get due recognition. A study of history, literature and art makes one appreciative of past perspectives and fortifies one with an insight to better examine the current culture. Indeed, that is the need of the hour. It is time that certain absurdities propounded in the name of our 'glorious' past are filtered through a more informed logic so that we evolve into a progressive society.

With this forward-looking idea, the hitherto neglected section of the arts stream as compared to the science and commerce ones in schools gets a leg-up. It has the potential to enhance the employability of humanities students as they get to have a tangible experience of their syllabi. But there is a huge challenge ahead. The practical component calls for more interactive teacher-pupil sessions. Preparing the educators for the impending changes with self-analytical methodologies is a huge task. Unlike the pure sciences that work on solid evidences and figures, social sciences call for interpretative and analytical modes to quantify human experience. It will entail creative thinking and imagination.

## THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

Attack wins you games, defence wins you titles.

— Alex Ferguson

## ON THIS DAY...100 YEARS AGO

# The Tribune.

LAHORE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1919

## The Primary Education Bill.

WHEN the Compulsory Education Bill was introduced in the Local Legislative Council, the public, welcoming its introduction, made certain criticisms with a view to improving it. Among the most important were that the Bill did not provide for education being imparted free, that the compulsion itself was merely permissive, that the period prescribed for compulsion was inadequate, and that there was no statutory obligation on the part of the Local Government to contribute a substantial part of the expenditure on compulsory primary education. The select committee have recommended that it should be left to the local authority to "determine to charge no fees in any recognised school for primary education maintained by itself," provided "in so determining in respect of all schools maintained by itself it shall also pay from its own funds the whole or part of any fees up to the maximum scale of fees provided by the Punjab Education Code in respect of any boy or boys attending any school within its local area not maintained wholly out of provincial or local funds."

## Big and Small Nations.

WHILE we know nothing of terms of the resolution, we do know that the decision arrived at, especially as regards the constitution of the Committee to whom the question of the formation of a League was referred, has caused dissatisfaction among representatives of smaller nations. When M. Clemenceau announced that the Great Powers had decided they would have two delegates each, while the remaining countries would have five delegates, there was a chorus of dissent. The Belgian delegate was the first to protest, and was followed by representatives of Brasil, Canada, Serbia, Greece, Portugal, Roumania and China.

# A watchtower on the high seas

The A&amp;N garrison needs a credible defence ecosystem before inducting naval assets



PRAVIN SAWHNEY

STRATEGIC AFFAIRS EXPERT

THE 800-km Andaman and Nicobar (A&N) archipelago, comprising 572 islands of which 37 are inhabited, was recently in news. With visits by the PM, Defence Minister and the Navy Chief; Rs 5,650 crore promised over 10 years for military plans; and the commissioning of the Naval Air Station, Shibpur in north Andaman as INS Kohassa, with promise to extend the 3,000-ft airstrip to 10,000 ft for dual-use: combat and heavy-airlift, and commercial aircraft, the Indian media declared that the maritime outpost (which overlooks the Malacca Strait) would act as India's pivot (military fulcrum) to counter China's strategic moves in the Indian Ocean Region.

China was not impressed. The only time the Chinese media had closely watched and commented was on the November 2017 five-day 'Defence of Andaman and Nicobar Islands Exercise' (DANX), conceptualised, planned and executed by the 2001-raised and Port Blair-headquartered tri-service Andaman and Nicobar Command (ANC). DANX saw fighter operations, amphibious landings, and Special Forces operations. However, three notable issues of the impressive joint operations were: most assets were pooled in from different commands; it was a rehearsed performance with no operational surprises; and importantly, it was defensive, meant to protect the island chain.

Moreover, the ANC lacks capability to defend A&N. It is tasked to defend the A&N chain, and to watch the Indian Ocean North, 10 and six degree channels. With growing People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) capabilities and maritime footprints, the A&N



PRIORITIES: The focus of the A&amp;N Command has to shift from defence to deterrence to safeguard India's strategic interests in Southeast Asia.

## The total power supply within Andaman & Nicobar is by diesel generators, with no transmission cables coming from the mainland.

— in the absence of desired infrastructure, assets and command profile — is India's maritime Achilles' heel.

With naval reinforcements on the mainland being 1,200 km away, there is enough scope for PLAN to do the 1999 Kargil-type operation or worse; especially when China is in talks with Thailand to build the Kra canal as part of its One Road (maritime silk route), which would open into the Andaman sea, 600 km from Port Blair.

Given this, four serious limitations would place A&N into perspective. One, A&N lacks connectivity and effective communications, made worse by the fact that a naval flotilla at 12-knot speed takes four days to cover a distance from Deglipur/Shibpur in north Andaman to Port Blair. In March 2011, BSNL, which was awarded to lay 2,164-km submarine cables (optical fibre cable connecting mainland with nine A&N islands), bid further and a Chinese company, as the lowest bidder, won the contract. The whole project has since been frozen. While offshore patrol vessels (the biggest ships held by ANC) can plug their master radar into

the dedicated naval satellite Rukmini for voice, data and video communications, they remain vulnerable to China's cyber challenge to outer space. Since all space-based assets depend on Electro Magnetic Spectrum (EMS) as the sole medium of transport, and as satellite EMS frequency cannot be changed after launch, satellite remains susceptible to cyber attacks.

Two, the total power supply within A&N is by diesel generators, with no transmission cables coming from the mainland. In Port Blair (most populated city), these generators are in clusters and hence a lucrative target. Pakistan's Shaheen 3 missile has a 2,750-km range, meant to cover A&N. What if a PLAN cruise missile or Shaheen 3 were to target the diesel cluster to plunge Port Blair into darkness? Nothing less than a unit of the Russian S-400 air defence system would plug this vulnerability.

Three, Port Blair lacks a civilian and defence equipment maintenance ecosystem. All civilian building material comes by ships. It is not unusual for cargo ships to wait up to two days

outside the harbour before they find space to squeeze in. Similarly, without a credible defence ecosystem, permanent placement of specialised naval assets like submarines and destroyers with large drafts needed for offensive action is not doable.

And, importantly, the ANC profile is skewed and unassertive. It is under the dysfunctional Chiefs of Staff Committee (comprising three chiefs), and reports to the chief of the Integrated Defence Headquarters for its management and budgetary needs. In 2016, when the Modi government elevated the ANC to a strategic-level command, it had indicated that the Commander-in-Chief, A&N (CICAN), post would be held permanently by the Navy (at present, it is by rotation within the three services). This never came in writing.

Either way it does not matter. Until the ANC is not owned and led by the Navy and placed under the National Security Adviser, the services would remain unwilling to part with their assets and resources.

The Navy had in 2000 proposed the formation of the Far Eastern Naval Command (FENC) at A&N. This would have changed the mission, mindset and concomitant capability and capacity building. From the defence mission of the FORTRAN (Fortress Andaman and Nicobar was formed in the sixties), it would have changed to deterrence (with in-built offensive capabilities) for FENC to safeguard India's strategic interests in Southeast Asia. Ironically, when the ANC was created in 2001, the first CIN-CAN, Vice-Admiral Arun Prakash, had formulated an offensive vision statement which remained on paper.

The then government had refused to see the naval HQ vision. The reason given was that FENC would scare friendly littoral neighbours. Given the heavy commercial traffic through the Malacca Strait, FENC would be viewed as an alliance between India and the US. Now, with China knocking at the ANC door, the government did not consider it wise to do much beyond announcing the ANC as a strategic command.

# Unisex apron with strings attached!

JS RAGHAVAN

SOONER or later, even an alpha male, treating the kitchen as an unexplored terrain in his residence, may have to venture into it, with no more protection than an apron. For an executive who had handled such befuddling topics like GST that feature gobbledygook like reverse charge mechanism and zero-rated supply, a chore in the kitchen would appear to be a cakewalk. But wait a minute....

Being a crossword buff, my wife rattled off colloquial words, 'If you can, without creating chaos, confusion and commotion, brew a cup of hot, authentic, aromatic, frothing, filter coffee, that would not taste like dishwasher, instead would make me sit up like a jack-in-the box, I will clap, praise,

acclaim, applaud, laud, eulogise, extol, high-five with you and post it on Facebook with your mugshot, with a minimum guarantee of 300 likes, 40 comments and 10 shares.'

I gingerly stepped into the kitchen in the morning, all groggy and my eyelids glued together. The wife was still enjoying her pre-dawn pet snooze in the arctic air-conditioned comfort. When I switched on the light, a cockroach, twitching its antennae, hurriedly slithered into a crevice; an anaemic lizard on the tubelight vanished into thin air; perhaps bamboozled by the sight of a sturdy human specimen, instead of the wispy, sleepy, dishevelled usual. The gas oven, cylinder, grinder, toaster, coffee paraphernalia, fat rolling pins and such would have registered their wonderment and

reacted if they were not inanimate.

Nothing will be more foolhardy than undermining even the simplest of simple tasks. Being a planner from childhood, I thought of lining up the ingredients, instead of hunting for them after the process was set in motion. To my bewilderment, I found the tin marked 'coffee powder' contained chili powder; the one marked 'tea leaves' had mustard, the sealed stainless jar marked 'sugar' (may be to hoodwink ants) contained salt.

However, thanks to my fervent prayers to the Remover of Obstacles, I managed to prepare the boiling water in a kettle, never mind the blister collected on the right palm. I spooned four measures of freshly ground coffee powder into the brass filter and poured hot water into the chamber. I boiled

the milk without any accident.

With the natural inquisitiveness of her ilk, my wife appeared at the threshold, arms akimbo, a body-language of invigilation. 'What goes on, Shriman Nala, where is my Sunday morning hot, invigorating cup of filter coffee?'

I blinked. 'Something had gone wrong. It is over an hour. The upper chamber is still full and the bottom one yet to collect a single brown blob.'

She checked the filter and clapped. 'Superb! The one with the perforation should be on the top and the brew collector at the bottom. Only then there will be percolation. You had reversed their positions. The situation is absurd, farcical, ludicrous, risible, preposterous, silly and stupid.'

I half-expected a barb like a 'filtered oaf' to spill out. Mercifully it didn't.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Might is right for US

Reference to the article 'America is at it again' (Jan 29); the moot question is would the US have acted the same way if Venezuela did not possess the biggest known oil reserves and gold deposits? America reduced Iraq to rubble because of its oil wealth. Libya was destroyed because it refused to trade oil in dollars! Iran is facing US wrath for the same reason. Syria, too, has become a pawn in the proxy war between two superpowers. The US believes might is right. India has no option but to toe the US line. In Nehruvian era, India was truly a non-aligned country and could take a spirited stand against such hegemonic designs of the US, but the present regime has made Nehru a flogging horse for all the ills facing the country!

ARUN HASTIR, GURDASPUR

### Why such treatment?

Reference to 'Luxury hotels, choppers for finance panel members' (Jan 29); it is shocking to read that the Punjab Government will put up members of the finance commission in luxury hotels, and has put two choppers at their disposal, apart from the

posse of cops and security vehicles. Ironically, all this is being done by the same government whose employees are clamouring for long-pending instalments of dearness allowance. The salaries of contract teachers have been reduced under the garb of poor fiscal health of the state. One fails to understand the logic behind accommodating the team in luxurious hotels when earlier the members used to stay in state guesthouses. Punjab is not that big a state that the team requires choppers to move. The team does not appear to be under any threat perception that a large posse of cops is required. All this is going to put a heavy burden on the state exchequer. The taxpayer's money should not be spent lavishly to please the visiting committee or to draw any undue favours from it.

NK GOSAIN, BATHINDA

### Nothing short of bribery

It is a shame on both the Punjab Government and finance panel members to indulge in this sort of money laundering ('Luxury hotels, choppers for finance panel members'; Jan 29). It can be termed as bribery by the government to the Finance Commission

to get a favourable report. To avoid such expenses, there should be a cap on providing accommodation and meals to members of such panels.

BAJU NATH GUPTA, PATIALA

### Income scheme promising

Reference to the news report 'Rahul vows minimum income for poor' (Jan 29); it is such a lovely promise that it will make the mouth of every poor water. It is the biggest promise made by any political party so far. At present, it looks as if it were a nightmare, but if it is implemented, it will prove a great step towards eradicating poverty, giving a boost to Indira Gandhi's 'Garibi hatao, garib bachao' programme. But the previous experience shows that such promises remain promises and never take a practical shape.

FAQIR SINGH, DASUYA

### Set in the old ways

The article 'Patronising communication in the era of gender equity' (Jan 29) reminded me of a neighbour's typical Haryanvi wedding. During the rituals, the bride was constantly given the blessing of 'give birth to a son' by

women. The customs glorified the groom, and the bride just seemed to be a means of begetting a boy. When eunuchs came for their *badhai*, women asked them to first bless the couple to have a baby boy soon. I cannot blame these women as they have been brought up in a patriarchal society and these prejudices are entrenched in their mind. But if people occupying eminent positions start justifying the exclusion of women on various grounds, how can we expect the common people to change their mindset about gender equality? How long will we exclude women in the name of care, culture or protection?

CHETNA JATHOL, JHAJJAR

### Well done India!

Once again, after a brilliant performance in Australia, the Indian team deserves kudos for winning another ODI series against New Zealand. A formidable India dominated an out-of-sorts New Zealand, continuing to send a resounding message of its near invincibility to every World Cup opponent. That is the kind of confidence the team is carrying right now. Keep going India!

SANJAY CHOPRA, MOHALI



OBITUARY

GEORGE FERNANDES (JUNE 3, 1930 – JAN 29, 2019)

# Lifelong rebel and coalition builder



**SHAMBHU SHRIVASTAVA**  
FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY, SAMATA PARTY

George Fernandes exhorted the youth to shun complacency and confront the establishment. 'Gussa karo' was his mantra. If you are not angry with the system, you won't be able to change it, he argued. A true Gandhian, he lived a very simple life. His house was an open place where anybody could walk in or out. He spoke many languages fluently and this helped him connect with people across India.

**T**HE best tribute to George Fernandes would be to acknowledge the fact that nobody, just nobody ever treated him as a Christian. He was always regarded as a front-ranking leader of post-Independence India. This fact assumes great meaning in these times where a person's religious and caste identity has become a badge of honour.

George was a lifelong rebel. His family sent him to a Christian seminary for training as a priest, but he rebelled and was expelled from the institution. In no time, he became a socialist and moved to Bombay. Not many people know that in his early years in Bombay, he slept on the pavement. But he persisted and became a great trade union and socialist leader and a Member of Parliament from, of all places, South Mumbai.

I worked closely with George for about 10 years as general secretary and spokesperson of the Samata Party. I had the good fortune to learn a lot from him, both as a person and as a political leader. "Politics is about people," he often said. I travelled with him to the remotest parts of India. It was obvious during the travels that he was the most connected person in every part of the country. He did not bother about luxuries. Once during a tour of Mizoram, we survived for several days on rice, boiled beans and bananas. When we stayed in guest houses or at some party worker's place, people from all parties and all walks of life came to meet him.

He exhorted the youth to shun complacency and confront the establishment that was denying them their due. "Gussa karo," was his mantra. If you are not angry with the system, you



**FIGHTER:** Former Defence Minister George Fernandes was a fiery orator and a dedicated votary of human rights.

won't be able to change it, he argued.

A true Gandhian, George lived a very simple life. He used to wash his own clothes till his early seventies, before ill-health enfeebled him. In any case, he had a meagre wardrobe. He held on to his Fiat car for well over two decades, even when he served as the Defence Minister. His house was an open place where anybody could walk in or out. He spoke many languages fluently and this helped him connect

with people across India.

A bitter opponent of the Emergency, he was arrested in the Baroda dynamite case in 1976 and lodged in Delhi's Tihar jail. In 1977, he was handpicked by Jayaprakash Narayan to contest from Muzaffarpur (Bihar), which had sent socialists such as Ashok Mehta to Parliament. George fought the electoral battle from behind bars and won by a huge margin.

George was not only a fiery orator, but also a dedicated votary of human rights and democracy across the globe. His support to the cause of Tibetan independence worried China, especially during his tenure as the Defence Minister. When the US declared war on Iraq in 2003, India came under intense pressure to join the conflict. The Cabinet Committee on Security was divided on whether India should send

troops to Iraq. George told me that he could not openly condemn the war as he was part of the government, but he gave me a free hand to articulate his concerns.

Today, when George is no more, we must recall a particular quality which I saw from very close quarters, that of a coalition builder. If the Vajpayee government lasted smoothly for six years as a successful coalition, it was largely due to his tireless efforts and Atalji's flexibility and generosity.

The first crisis hit the Vajpayee government in August 1998, reaching a point where AIADMK looked set to withdraw support to the government before August 15. I recall George travelling to Chennai to meet Jayalalitha and returning on the night of August 14, having warded off the crisis. Hence, Atalji hoisted the national flag atop the Red Fort as a full-fledged Prime Minister and not as a caretaker one.

George had a great personal equation with many leaders, including M Karunanidhi, Parkash Singh Badal, NT Rama Rao, Mulayam Singh Yadav and hold your breath, several Congress leaders. Left leaders will be surprised to know that he was a regular reader of New Age and People's Democracy.

He was against the politics of untouchability. He freely interacted with RSS leaders, but also asked me once to draft a strong statement advising the RSS to confine itself to cultural and social activities. He believed in dialogue and full freedom of expression. He took up many causes which were otherwise considered lost.

Memories are flooding me. It is impossible to write more today. Good-bye, George. Heaven is no more safe from rebellion!

# Poll strategies in UP can have impact beyond 2019



**PRITAM SINGH**  
OXFORD SCHOOL OF GLOBAL AND AREA STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

The SP-BSP tie-up is bound to lead to close coordination of their cadre during campaigning. This might have implications beyond UP and the General Election in building ties of solidarity between lower castes. It will also have an impact on other states of the 'cow belt'. The alliance has the potential of questioning and undermining social and political hegemony of the upper castes.

**P**RIYANKA GANDHI VADRA'S entry into the electoral battle in Uttar Pradesh and the SP-BSP pact have been generally viewed for their possible significance for the 2019 General Election. Both developments certainly have that immediate significance. However, their long-term importance for UP and possibly Indian politics deserves to be explored.

It would seem counter-intuitive to propose that the Congress' decision to contest all 80 parliamentary seats in UP would not harm the SP-BSP alliance at all, and that, in fact, it is helpful for the alliance in its strategy to win seats. The general view seems to be that the SP-BSP alliance, in keeping the Congress out, and, in retaliation, the latter contesting all seats would lead to division of the anti-BJP vote. Similarly, it would seem counter-intuitive to suggest that Priyanka's appointment to an important position in the UP Congress is not aimed at the party winning seats in the state.

The explanation of the Congress contesting all 80 seats being helpful instead of being harmful to the SP-BSP alliance lies in the phenomenon of asymmetry of transfer of votes between the Congress and the alliance. The roots of this asymmetry lie in the caste dynamics of UP. The Congress' multi-caste electoral base in UP has gradually shrunk and is now confined to the upper castes, mainly Brahmins.



**BENEFIT:** The Congress' strategy to contest all 80 seats in Uttar Pradesh is in the interests of the Samajwadi Party-Bahujan Samaj Party alliance.

India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, being a Brahmin, was a source of great pride for the community all over India, especially in UP. In India's long history under different regimes, the Brahmin caste occupied a privileged social and religious status, but did not occupy a position of political power. Whether there were Rajput, Maratha or Sikh kings, they showed religious respect to the Brahmins, but kept them subordinate in matters of political power. India's Independence, from the viewpoint of the Brahmin caste, opened a new era in which a Brahmin (Nehru) was elevated to the

highest political office. The Nehruvian era remains in the collective memory of the community as a golden age of this caste group. In UP's caste-based hierarchical society, this led to the building up of strong emotional ties between the Brahmins and Nehru and his party that had facilitated his rise. That emotional attachment has been carried over into the post-Nehru Congress phase. With the decline of the Congress in UP, the BJP has tried, with limited success, to make inroads into the Congress' Brahmin vote bank.

Within the context of this caste electoral matrix, if on any parliamentary seat there

is no Congress candidate, its upper caste, especially Brahmin, voters are more likely to vote for the BJP which is the other party, especially in UP, with an upper-caste support base. Those upper-caste voters will not vote for a backward caste Yadav-led SP and Dalit-led BSP. They may not vote at all as a lesser option.

A retired civil servant with a long experience of service in North India has advanced an interpretation of NOTA, subject to further study and verification, that it represents the phenomenon of upper-caste voters spoiling their vote in SC-reserved constituencies because they cannot bear the thought of voting for an 'untouchable' Dalit. This caste prejudice is at the root of the asymmetry of vote transfer between the Congress and the SP-BSP. An SP-BSP voter would vote for the Congress' upper-caste candidate if there is no alliance nominee on a seat, but a Congress voter would not vote for a lower-caste candidate of the alliance if there is no party candidate on a seat. Therefore, if there is an electoral pact between the SP-BSP and the Congress, it is clearly helpful for the latter but not for the former. Brahmins constitute roughly 8 per cent of UP's population and electorate, though this caste group, being educationally the most advanced in the state, is much more influential due to its pivotal place in the administration and academia. The Congress putting up candidates on all 80 seats would eat into the upper-caste voter segment of the BJP

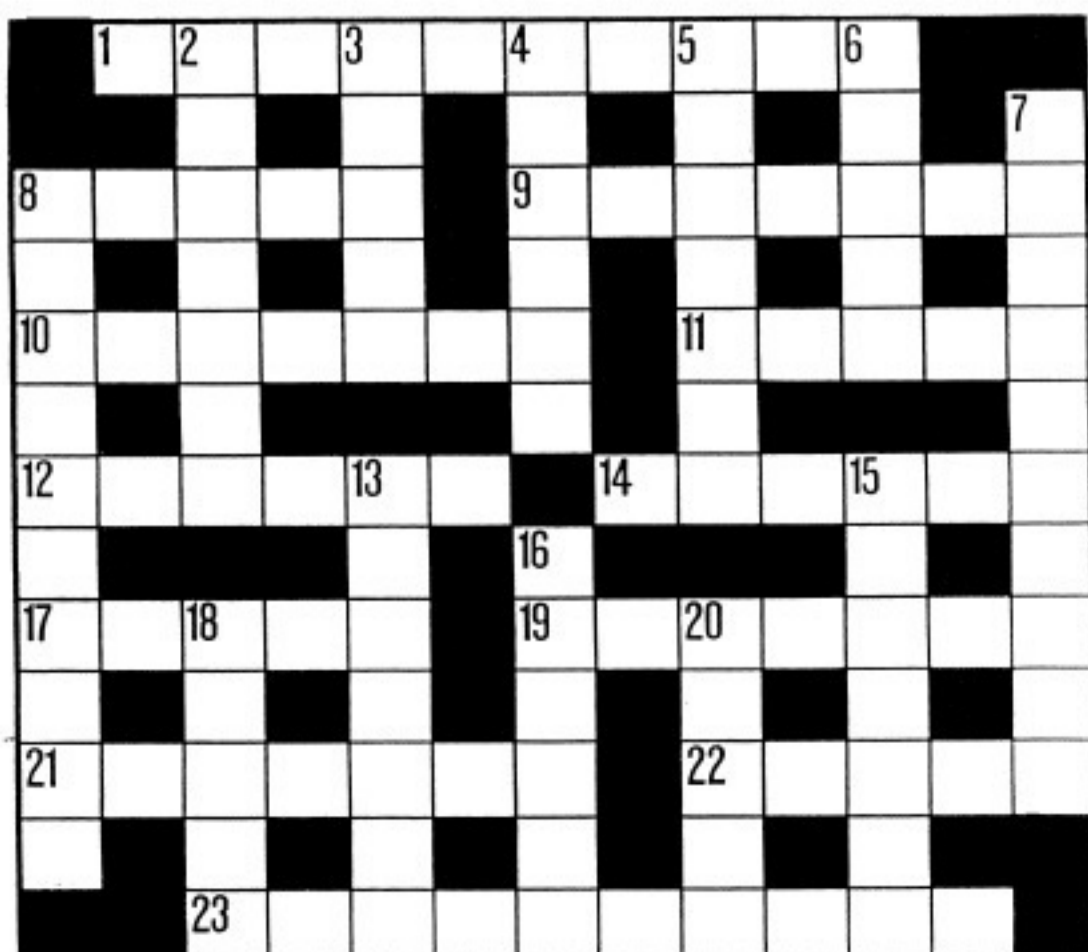
and indirectly help the alliance defeat the saffron party.

On Priyanka's entry into the political arena, this is motivated, in a more immediate sense, by the Congress sensing a mood of demoralisation among party activists due to the public impression that the party has been snubbed by the SP-BSP. Her entry, if it leads to more votes for the Congress candidates, is unlikely to secure victory except in Amethi and Rae Bareilly, but it will cut more deeply into the BJP's upper-caste voter segment and thus being even more helpful for the SP-BSP alliance.

Her presence is more likely to be beneficial for the Congress in southern states and is of long-term significance in terms of its implications for organisational restructuring of the party.

The SP-BSP tie-up is bound to lead to close coordination of their cadre during campaigning and this might have implications beyond UP and 2019 in building ties of solidarity between the lower castes. It will also have an impact on other northern states of the 'cow belt'. If this alliance becomes stronger, it will inflict huge electoral damage on the BJP in this belt which provided 70 per cent of the total seats the BJP won in the 2014 elections. Even more important from a long-term point of view of egalitarian social and political restructuring of India is that this alliance has the potential of questioning and undermining the social and political hegemony of the upper castes.

QUICK CROSSWORD



**YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION**  
Across: 1 Bigwig, 4 Hammer, 9 Equator, 10 Oasis, 11 Clean, 12 Seeming, 13 Case in point, 18 Caustic, 20 Salvo, 22 Audit, 23 Nervous, 24 Lordly, 25 As well.  
Down: 1 Breach, 2 Gauge, 3 Intense, 5 Abode, 6 Mission, 7 Resign, 8 Pros and cons, 14 Asunder, 15 Of sorts, 16 Scrawl, 17 Morsel, 19 Total, 21 Loose.

ACROSS

- 1 Silly behaviour (10)
- 8 Defraud (5)
- 9 A sweet sauce (7)
- 10 Arrange in order (7)
- 11 More than usually (5)
- 12 False rumour (6)
- 14 Innumerable (6)
- 17 Impervious (5)
- 19 Acknowledge grudgingly (7)
- 21 Scott Joplin's music (7)
- 22 Group of singers (5)
- 23 Strictly businesslike (2-8)

DOWN

- 2 Infest (7)
- 3 Be sold for (5)
- 4 Supernatural (6)
- 5 Oriental (7)
- 6 A fermenting substance (5)
- 7 Book of Nonsense author (6,4)
- 8 Absurdly chaotic (5-5)
- 13 Bully (7)
- 15 Oppressive (7)
- 16 To shelter (6)
- 18 Keyboard instrument (5)
- 20 Fitting position (5)

SU DO KU

	9			1	2		
4			9				
5	1		7			4	
			8		7		
9			4		6		3
	7			5			
1			3			6	2
			2				8
	8	4				3	

V. HARD

CALENDAR

**JANUARY 30, 2019 WEDNESDAY**

- Vikrami Samvat 2075
- Shaka Samvat 1940
- Magh Shaka 10
- Magh Parvishite 17
- Hijari 1440
- Krishan Paksh Tithi 10, up to 3.34 pm
- Dhruv Yoga up to 5.34 am
- Anuradha Nakshatra 4.40 pm
- Moon in Scorpio sign
- Gandmool Start 4.40 pm.

YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION

5	4	1	7	8	9	3	6	2
2	9	7	4	6	3	1	5	8
6	3	8	1	2	5	4	9	7
9	2	4	5	3	1	7	8	6
7	6	5	2	4	8	9	1	3
8	1	3	9	7	6	5	2	4
3	5	2	8	9	7	6	4	1
1	8	6	3	5	4	2	7	9
4	7	9	6	1	2	8	3	5

FORECAST

SUNSET: WEDNESDAY 17:56 HRS  
SUNRISE: THURSDAY 07:15 HRS

Sunny	Partly Cloudy	Cloudy	Rainy	Foggy
<b>CITY</b>	<b>MAX</b>	<b>MIN</b>		
Chandigarh	19	11		
New Delhi	20	06		
<b>PUNJAB</b>				
Amritsar	17	07		
Bathinda	18	07		
Jalandhar	17	07		
Ludhiana	19	10		
<b>HARYANA</b>				
Bhiwani	19	09		
Hisar	19	06		
Sirsa	18	09		
<b>HIMACHAL PRADESH</b>				
Dharamsala	12	04		
Manali	08	-07		
Shimla	08	01		
<b>JAMMU &amp; KASHMIR</b>				
Jammu	16	08		
Leh	-01	-12		
Srinagar	04	-02		
<b>UTTARAKHAND</b>				
Dehradun	21	05		
Mussoorie	12	0		

TEMPERATURE IN °C