

ANANTNAG FIREFIGHT LEAVES 2 MILITANTS, SOLDIER DEAD

Jaish militant whose van was used in Pulwama CRPF convoy attack killed in Valley gunbattle

Sajad Maqbool Bhat's killing is a big achievement, say J&K security officers

ADIL AKHZER
SRINAGAR, JUNE 18

SECURITY FORCES in the Valley notched a big success Tuesday when Jaish-e-Mohammad militant Sajad Maqbool Bhat, who owned the Maruti Eco van that was used in the February 14 Pulwama attack which left 40 CRPF personnel dead, was killed along with another militant in an Anantnag village in South Kashmir.

life in the gunbattle which took place less than 24 hours after a Major and a militant were killed in a firefight in Anantnag district Monday.

Colonel Rajesh Kalia, Defence spokesman based in Srinagar, said: "Two terrorists eliminated today. One soldier martyred in the operation."

In an official release, J&K Police said a cordon and search operation (CASO) was launched by security forces at Marhama village in Bijbehara area of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Era Sharma bids farewell in Meerut, Tuesday, to her husband Major Ketan Sharma, who succumbed to injuries sustained in a gunbattle in J&K's Anantnag. Praveen Khanna

On WhatsApp, Major told family: 'Maybe my last photo'

SOMYA LAKHANI
MEERUT, JUNE 18

"MAYBE THIS is my last photo," wrote Major Ketan Sharma around 7 am Monday while posting a photograph of himself on a family WhatsApp group. Hours later, he succumbed to injuries sustained in a gunbattle in South Kashmir's Anantnag.

On Tuesday, his hometown Meerut was enveloped in grief as his body was brought home.



Major Ketan Sharma of 19 Rashtriya Rifles

"Mera sher putt goliyon toh nahi darda si (My brave son wasn't afraid of bullets). Where has my son gone? Just tell me what time Ranu (his nickname) will be back, I request you to return him

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



SHAMBHU SINGH NOW IN CUSTODY

Minister V K Singh calls ex-aide a fraud, had fulsome praise last year

Also told Delhi CP to act against cops who booked ex-aide for cheating

SHYAMLAL YADAV & MAHENDER SINGH
MANRAL
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

LAST WEEK, Ghaziabad Police arrested Shambhu Prasad Singh, former political aide of Union Minister Gen (retired) V K Singh, for alleged fraud, cheating and forgery.

Four FIRs were filed against him, the first based on a complaint by the Minister's Private Secretary (PS) Surjeet Singh accusing Shambhu Prasad of "tampering the name and image of Hon'ble (Minister) by duping people... misusing his position... impersonating and cheating as staff of Hon'ble Minister" and "for taking illegal and unauthorised possession of files, documents... which are properties of the office of the Hon'ble Minister".

The complaint to Upendra Agarwal, SSP, Ghaziabad, on April 26, 2019, also said that after having worked for "six months"



VK Singh and Shambhu Prasad Singh (left). File

Shambhu Prasad was appointed in June 2014 — complaints were received by the Minister that he was trying to "make illegal money." He was warned but after a "brief halt", he was back to "extorting money", the complaint said. And that he continued with his "nefarious activities" even after being removed.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

GIVE HONG KONG MORE SPACE

BY THOMAS ABRAHAM
PAGE 12

BUSINESS AS USUAL

By UNNY



Om Birla is NDA's Speaker nominee: Grassroots politician who rose through the BJP youth ranks

PRADEEP KAUSHAL & HAMZA KHAN
NEW DELHI, JAIPUR, JUNE 18

TWO-TERM BJP MP from Rajasthan Om Birla was Tuesday named the NDA nominee for the Speaker's post in Lok Sabha. Birla, 57, represents the Kota-Bundi constituency and was earlier elected to the Rajasthan assembly twice before he contested the LS polls.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is learnt to have proposed Birla's name for the post. His election to the high office is cer-



Om Birla with 16th Lok Sabha Speaker Sumitra Mahajan in New Delhi, Tuesday. Tashi Tobgyal

tain given the commanding position of the ruling NDA in the House and the absence of any

other candidate. Birla has the backing of not only NDA partners, including the AIADMK, but

the YSR Congress Party and the Biju Janata Dal as well.

President Ram Nath Kovind has scheduled the election for the post on Wednesday.

It has been a long wait for Birla, who cut his teeth as a politician in the Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha, the BJP's youth wing. He first had to wait for a chance to get a party ticket in an assembly election at a time when senior leaders like Lalit Kishore Chaturvedi

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Anand Grover, NGO booked by CBI, they say attempt to silence them

DEEPTIMAN TIWARY
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

ACTING ON a complaint from the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), the CBI has registered an FIR against the Lawyers Collective, a rights issue NGO run by senior lawyers Indira Jaising and Anand Grover, for alleged violation of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act (FCRA) and criminal offences under sections of the Indian Penal Code and Prevention of Corruption Act.

The FIR, registered in Mumbai on June 13, also names Grover, unknown office bearers of Lawyers Collective and unknown private persons and public servants. Suspected offences listed include criminal conspiracy, criminal breach of trust, false statement made in declaration and criminal misconduct.

In 2016, the MHA had cancelled the FCRA licence of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Govt rethink: Visas for sportspersons from all countries (also Pakistan)

MIHIR VASAVDA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

CLEARING THE way for sportspersons from Pakistan to compete in international events held in India, the government assured the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Tuesday that visas will be granted to participants from all countries "without prejudice".

This allows the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) to go ahead with its bids to host mega events, including the 2032 Olympics. In February, India was on the verge of isolation after a three-member Pakistani team was refused visas for the shooting World Cup in Delhi.

In a letter to IOC chief Thomas Bach and IOA president Narinder Batra, Sports Secretary Radhey Shyam Julaniya said the government will "permit all qualified athletes belonging to any National Olympic Committee..." to take part in events held in India.

"Such participation of

EXPLAINED

Clears the way for global event bids

BY REFUSING visas to sportspersons from Pakistan in February, India faced the risk of not being allowed to host big-ticket events such as Olympics and Asian Games. The assurance ensures India stays within global norms against discrimination in sports, including for political reasons.

athletes shall be without prejudice to our principled positions and policies on other political matters, including issues such as international recognition or otherwise of country of origin of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

UP readies law for pvt universities with rider — pledge no anti-national activity

MAULSHREE SETH
LUCKNOW, JUNE 18

THE DRAFT of a new Ordinance cleared by the Uttar Pradesh Cabinet Tuesday includes a provision which mandates an undertaking by new and existing universities that they will not

be involved in or allow "anti-national activities" on campus.

The draft "Uttar Pradesh Private Universities Ordinance, 2019", which aims to bring 27 private universities in the state under an umbrella law, also gives existing universities a period of one year to adopt all provisions of the proposed law. And univer-

IN PARLIAMENT

PAGE 6

6 years after picking up bow, daily wager's son hits world silver

PAGE 1
ANCHOR

MIHIR VASAVDA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

PRAVIN JADHAV has spent half his life in a shanty near a drain, in a household where two full meals are a luxury. There's no electricity and water is scarce. And the only reason he picked up a bow — about six years ago, against his family's wish — was to escape poverty.

Now, Jadhav is Olympics-bound. Well, almost.

On Sunday, the 22-year-old from Satara teamed up with veterans Tarundeep Rai and Atanu Das to win a World Championship silver medal in the Dutch city of



Pravin Jadhav is also the national champion

's-Hertogenbosch and book a quota for next year's Tokyo Olympics.

Jadhav, who till a few years ago hadn't stepped out of Sarde village, was part of a team that conquered rivals from Norway, Canada, Chinese Taipei and the Netherlands before losing to China in the gold-medal match.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

www.iasscore.in

GS MAINS TEST SERIES 2019

Classroom Online Flexi Format

- 9 Sectional + 2 Contemporary Issues + 4 Mock Tests
- Test Discussion & Model Hints with Supplementary Notes
- One to One discussion with faculty after Copy Evaluation

ETHICS TEST SERIES

STARTS 22 JUNE

by: MANOJ K. JHA

ESSAY TEST SERIES

STARTS 29 JUNE

by: MANOJ K. JHA

GEOGRAPHY Test Series

by: Rohit Lodha

22 JUNE

POL SC. Test Series

by: Dr. Piyush Chaubey

23 JUNE

PUB ADM. Test Series

by: Ashutosh Pandey

22 JUNE

HISTORY Test Series

by: Piyush Kumar

23 JUNE

IAS 2020 MAINS TEST SERIES

GS MAINS Q&A

"COMPLETE GS & ESSAY through TEST SERIES"

1500+ Topics of GS Paper 1, 2, 3, 4 and Essay covered

Concept Classes after Every Test (4-5 Hrs.)

10

AUGUST

GS MAINS Advance

GS Paper 1, 2, 3, 4 + Essay + Mains Test Series

A SOLUTION FOR 1250 MARKS

- 4 Months Course to cover Key concepts of GS Mains Paper 1, 2, 3 & 4
- Mains Test Series including 25 Tests (10 Sectional + 3 Contemporary Issues + 8 Full Mock + 4 Essay Mock)
- Complete coverage of Contemporary Issues of last 2 yrs.
- Detailed Answer Writing session on each Subject
- Essay Classes + Essay Practice Workbook
- Study Material of Contemporary Issues

Weekend Batch

28 July

Regular Batch

22 August

Off. No. 6, 1st Floor, Apsara Arcade, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-110005 (Karol Bagh Metro Gate No. 5)

8448496262

VISIONIAS

INSPIRING INNOVATION

LIVE/ONLINE Classes Available
www.visionias.in

9 IN TOP 10 SELECTIONS IN CSE 2018

from various programs of VISION IAS

1 AIR

2 AIR

3 AIR

4 AIR

5 AIR

KANISHAK KATARIA

AKSHAT JAIN

JUNAID AHMAD

SHREYANS KUMAR

SRUSHTI JAYANT DESHMUKH

"You are as strong as your Foundation"

Foundation Course

GENERAL STUDIES

PRELIMS CUM MAINS 2020

DELHI

Regular Batch

Weekend Batch

15 May
9 AM

11 June
1 PM

25 June
9 AM

6 July
9 AM

हिन्दी माध्यम: 13 June | 23 July

THE REAL RACE BEGINS. ARE YOU READY?

ADVANCED COURSE

GENERAL STUDIES MAINS

Targeted towards those students who are aware of the basics but want to improve their understanding of complex topics, inter-linkages among them, & analytical ability to tackle the problems posed by the Mains examination.

18th June | 1 PM

LIVE/ONLINE Classes Available

ETHICS

Case Studies Classes

To discuss on Various techniques on writing scoring answers along with emphasis on conceptual clarity and its interlinking with daily life

Starts: 25th June | 5 PM

LIVE/ONLINE Classes Available

Scan the QR CODE to download VISION IAS app

2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Metro Gate 6, 1/8 B, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh
DELHI • 635, Opp. Signature View Apartments, Banda Bahadur Marg, Mukherjee Nagar
Contact : 8468022022, 9019066066, 9650617807

JAIPUR

9001949244

PUNE

8007500096

HYDERABAD

9000104133

AHMEDABAD

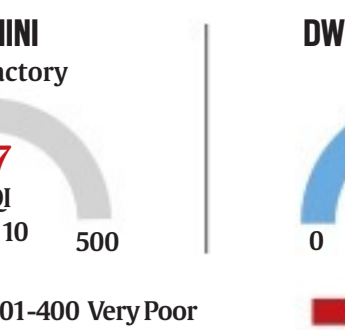
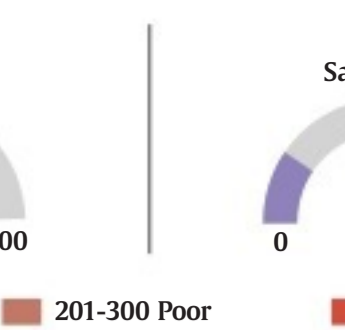
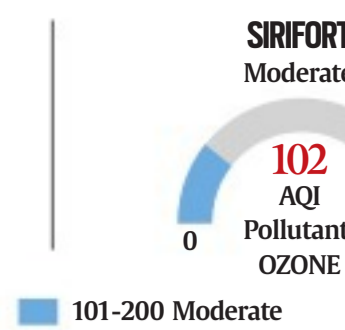
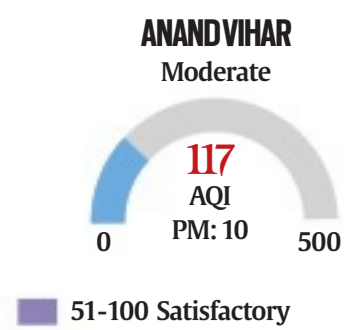
9909447040

LUCKNOW

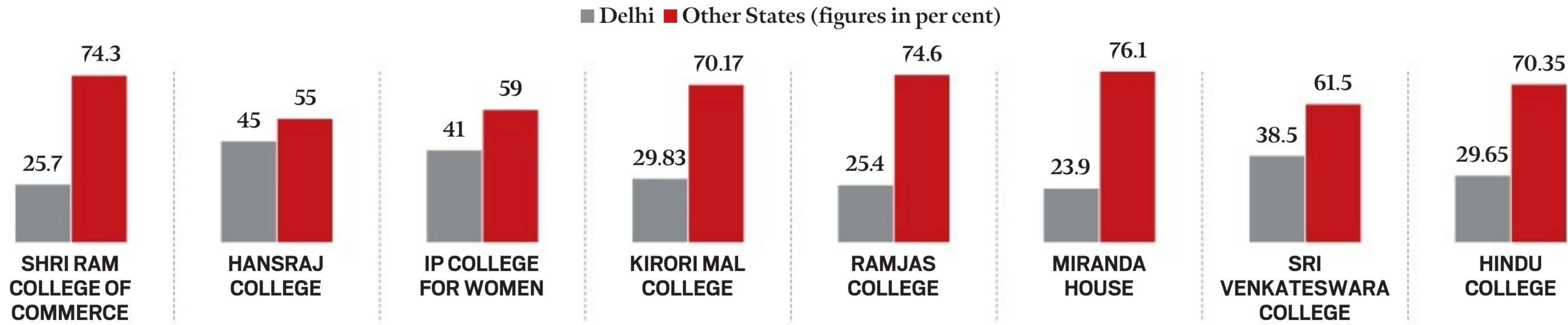
8468022022



0-50 Good



IN TOP COLLEGES, MAJORITY OF STUDENTS FROM OUTSIDE CAPITAL



Data gathered from individual colleges and National Institute Ranking Framework reports

More to DU than D

South Indian states find more representation than ever; Uttar Pradesh, Haryana students still have lion's share

SUKRITA BARUAH
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

IN THE BA (Honours) Economics batch admitted to Hansraj College last year, one can find students from almost every state. Four students each from Andhra Pradesh and Jharkhand, three each from Telangana and Assam, two each from Odisha, West Bengal, Kerala and Maharashtra. Sikkim, Mizoram, Jammu and Kashmir, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu have one each. Between the 155 students in the batch, 21 Indian states find representation.

This is what today's classroom looks like in a popular course at a prominent Delhi University college. And the diversity in classrooms is common to most top colleges at the university, where the admission process is underway and cut-offs are expected soon. While principals of these colleges speak of a consistent increase in the number of students from outside the national capital, a noticeable pattern over the last five years, they say, is an increase in the number of students from South Indian states.

Dr P Hemalatha Reddy, principal, Sri Venkateswara College, said that apart from neighbouring states, the most significant representation in the college is from South Indian states — something she attributes to the popularity of combination courses, seen as ideal for those preparing for competitive examinations. Of the college's approximately 3,700-student strength in the 2018-2019 session, close to 60 were from Andhra Pradesh, over 40 from Telangana, and



Delhi University began the admission process for the 2019-20 session last month. Archive

close to 30 from Kerala.

"The colleges at DU are degree colleges, while earlier in the South, interest in heading out to study has been overwhelmingly in medicine and engineering. But we are witnessing an opening up to a variety of fields, particularly with the subject combinations made available through the Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) and the BA programme, seen as a gateway to competitive exams. This college has particularly been publicised in the region as our management also hails from there. But in cases of other colleges as well, Delhi is seen as an ideal place to come to because of coaching institutes present here, and because other roads to the civil services, like admission in JNU, are smoother here," she said.

However, a majority of students from outside Delhi continue to be from Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. For instance, in Ramjas College, of the 5,237 students in 2018-2019, 1,220 were from Uttar Pradesh and 1,091 from Haryana — together making up 44% of the college's student strength. Similarly, at Miranda House, of 1,244 students admitted last year, 358 and 211 were from Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, respectively, making

CHANGING CAMPUS

AN EXPRESS SERIES PART I

up 45.7% of the total. At Sri Venkateswara College, these two states contribute to 35% of the student strength.

At Shri Ram College of Commerce, which arguably sees the stiffest competition in the admission process among DU colleges, the management said that of the 792 students in the college in the 2018-2019 session, 80 were from Tamil Nadu, 25 from Telangana, 20 from Kerala, nine from Andhra Pradesh and seven from Karnataka.

The college administration in part attributes a large number of students from Tamil Nadu to favourable conditions in the state board.

"The state board is generous with its marking and also offers a subject called Business Mathematics, which is less rigorous than CBSE Mathematics. In 2016, the college suddenly saw a large number of students who had the course, after which the university had decided on maintaining a 1% cut-off differ-

ential between students with mathematics and those with business mathematics," said the college's principal Dr Simrit Kaur.

Miranda House principal Dr Bijayalaxmi Nanda said the increase in the number of students from Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Kerala was the most significant change in the college in the last five years, and attributes it to a number of factors — including credibility associated with soaring cut-offs, increasing conversation and awareness about the colleges through social media, and national ranking of colleges through NIRF getting the university more attention.

At Miranda House, of the 1,244 students admitted in 2018-2019, 291 were from Delhi, while 125 were from the South Indian states — the highest from Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

"Another thing that could be enabling more students from other states and education boards to get admission is the movement towards homogenisation — be it the streamlining of the timing of result declaration in time for the university's cut-off lists, or of the marking systems with higher percentages," said Dr Nanda.

Scholarships will aid diversity, colleges need to boost infra

SUKRITA BARUAH
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

THE DIVERSITY in the Delhi University of today goes beyond the numbers coming in from different parts of the country — women and persons from marginalised socio-economic backgrounds are increasingly making the journey to the university, college heads told *The Indian Express*.

"It's quite a phenomenon actually. Universities have an important role to play in the process of social transformation. The increasing diversity on multiple levels we are experiencing accompanies an emphasis on increasing the gross enrollment ratio, and expansion through reservations. Even from Delhi, we have a large number of first-generation learners, but the expansion is creating more space for students of different backgrounds from elsewhere," said principal of Kirori Mal College, Dr Vibha Singh Chauhan.

Miranda House principal Dr Bijayalaxmi Nanda emphasised the importance of scholarships in furthering diversity in composition of colleges. Of the 3,326 undergraduate students in the college in 2018-2019, 451 were recorded as "economically backward" and 1,480 as "socially challenged" or belonging to the SC, ST and OBC categories. Of these, 410 received full fee reimbursement from either state or central governments, the institution or from private bodies.

"Our students from Telangana are being supported monetarily by their state government and that is perhaps the most important factor in the rising number of students from the state here. Our college offers a limited number of scholarships, some states like Telangana are

offering some. Support, especially for those coming from outside, is important and more of it will further this change," she said.

On more students making the journey from other states to her college over the last 10 years, Sri Venkateswara College principal Dr P Hemalatha Reddy said "greater accessibility, mobility and exposure" are key reasons. However, principals also recognised shortcomings in what colleges offer at the moment. "Unfortunately, we are losing out on many high-achieving women students from outside Delhi because we do not have a women's hostel — we only have a 200-seater men's facility. The women who score high in the qualifying examinations are then looking at colleges which do offer them hostel seats," said Hansraj College principal Dr Rama.

Across Delhi University colleges, shortage of hostel seats continues to be a challenge to the influx of women and economically and socially challenged students from outside Delhi. At the same time, mushrooming of paying guest facilities — both in North and South campuses — bears testimony to the ever-growing demand for accommodation facilities from "outstation students" against a limited supply from the university and colleges.

EMERGENCY SERVICES HIT

Rape victim's relatives wreak havoc at hospital



The casualty department was damaged; police at the hospital

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

ATTENDANTS OF a minor girl, who was allegedly raped and brought to a Delhi government hospital for treatment, abused and manhandled doctors and security staff Tuesday evening and vandalised hospital property, police said. This has led to emergency services at the hospital being called off till Wednesday morning, said sources.

The incident takes place a week after two junior doctors in Kolkata were attacked, allegedly by relatives of a patient who died at NRS Medical College and Hospital.

According to administration sources, the casualty department of the Delhi hospital has been badly damaged. Police said that around 200 people from a nearby village came to the hospital and vandalised the property after relatives of the girl were asked to take her to another hospital.

"The doctors at the casualty department offered basic treatment to the girl and requested the family to take her to another hospital for further examination. The girl needed to be examined under general anaesthesia (GA) as per the law, but we don't have a functional emergency operation theatre (OT). The casualty is completely broken," said the medical superintendent of the hospital. Located in North West Delhi,



the hospital is functioning without a paediatric ICU and a blood bank, as stated by the state government in its outcome budget report. "We have asked the hospital for a detailed report. The hospital will register an institutional FIR," Sanjeev Khirwar, Secretary (Health), Delhi government, said.

"Lack of infrastructure in the hospital has led to this situation. Doctors and patients are suffering due to shortage of basic facilities," said Dr Sumedh Sandanshiv, president of the Federation of Resident Doctors' Association (FORDA). A senior police officer, meanwhile, said, "We have arrested the accused in connection with a rape case. The girl was taken to a hospital where doctors referred her to another hospital, and her relatives got agitated about this. They created a ruckus inside the hospital premises, but as of now, no complaint has been made by the hospital administration."

Angry at slow service, waiter stabs colleague

JIGNASA SINHA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

A WAITER was stabbed to death, allegedly by his colleague, following a quarrel outside Feast House cafe in Karol Bagh Monday.

Police claimed the accused, Kamal Singh (37), was angry with the victim, Rahul Koli, for not attending to guests in time and delaying service. The men got into a heated argument outside the cafe, following which Singh pulled out a knife from his pocket and allegedly stabbed Koli in his chest and abdomen. He also stabbed a 17-year-old who tried to stop him.

The victims were rushed to Jeevan Hospital, where Koli was declared dead on arrival. A case has been registered against the accused under IPC sections 302 (punishment for murder) and 307 (attempt to murder).

By the time police reached the spot, Singh had fled. "Technical surveillance revealed that he was at the railway station. We rushed there and caught him...he was trying to flee to Nepal," said a police officer. The teen who was stabbed is recovering at Sir Ganga Ram Hospital, said police.

Stop menace of mosques coming up on public land: BJP MP to L-G

ABHINAV RAJPUT
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

BJP MP from West Delhi Parvesh Sahib Singh has written a letter to L-G Anil Bajjal claiming that there has been "mushrooming of mosques" on government land in the capital, and a committee should be formed to stop this "menace".

"I would like to apprise you regarding a peculiar type of trend seen in certain areas of my constituency in particular, but prevailing in whole Delhi, of mushrooming of mosques on government land, roads and secluded places," he wrote, adding that these hamper traffic and are "a great cause of inconvenience to the public in general".

"The menace of construction of mosques on above places, if not attended on priority, will take an ugly shape which will be difficult to manage at later stage," he said.

Singh requested the L-G to constitute a committee comprising officers from MCDs, PWD, Police, Irrigation and Flood Control, and Horticulture departments, headed by district magistrates, to conduct a survey of areas where mosques have come up on government land, roads and secluded places. When contacted, Singh



Parvesh Sahib Singh sought a panel to look into the issue

claimed he had noticed this in parks and government land in Uttam Nagar, Raghuvir Nagar, Vikasuri and Najafgarh.

When asked why his letter focused only on mosques and no other religious structures, he said, "I have written about mosques because I have seen only mosques doing encroachment and increasing their boundaries at regular intervals. They even get political support. If a committee is formed, it can investigate religious structures of other communities as well."

A senior official of the South Corporation, however, said the problem wasn't religion-specific. "People mainly do it to encroach government land — they first put a small structure and gradually increase it. During our drives, we have seen it with various religious structures," said the official.

Reacting to the letter, Congress's Mahabul Mishra, who lost to Singh in Lok Sabha polls, said he was singling out a religion.

Four years after its last giraffe died, Delhi Zoo hopes to bring five more from Thailand

SHIVAMPATEL
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

VISITORS to the National Zoological Park — commonly known as the Delhi zoo — could soon get to see giraffes, with its director writing to three zoos in Thailand on Tuesday to acquire five giraffes — three females and two males — for the capital.

Renu Singh, the director, said she had also written to zoos in Mysore, Patna and Alipur. "We want to bring giraffes here, as this

is a national zoo. Our visitors, especially children, would be happy to see them. We've tried for some time to acquire them from Indian zoos, but we believe we could be more successful with the zoos in Thailand," Singh said.

The Delhi zoo's last surviving giraffe, Ankit, had died in June 2015, after suffering a heart attack and kidney failure. It was an offspring of a giraffe pair brought from Kolkata in the late 90s, as per reports.

Singh said they already have an enclosure ready for receiving



The zoo director has written to three Thailand zoos

and keeping the giraffes. She added that the zoo acquired three new leopards — a female named Bunty from Jammu and Kashmir, and a pair from Chhattisgarh — around September last year. The zoo is also planning to acquire more snakes from Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh, after having recently renovated its enclosure for the reptile.

Authorities had recently concluded a census of animals in the zoo, and found the population of deer had increased. "We also

counted nocturnal animals through CCTV and found babies of foxes and jackals," Singh said. The census report will be submitted to the Delhi High Court, which had ordered authorities to carry out a count while hearing petitions on data irregularities in the zoo.

Authorities are also planning to increase vigilance in the zoo, with a project worth Rs 5 crore involving installation of around 256 cameras in its premises in a year's time, officials said.

Helmets & rap: Meet Delhi Police's very own Gully Boy

ASHNA BUTANI
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

'HELMET MAN' Sandeep Shahi, a 37-year-old head constable from the Road Safety Cell, has come up with a unique way of making people aware of road safety rules. Instead of fining offenders, he raps about road safety and distributes helmets to those not wearing them.

"I have been doing this for the last four years. Ever since my wife got into an accident six years ago, I decided that I would dedicate my life to spreading awareness about traffic rules.

She is alright now, but so many people die because of head injuries sustained in accidents."

Referring to his rap song — inspired by *Apna Time Aayega* from *Gully Boy* — that went viral online, he said: "I am no singer or poet but I enjoy music. Rap resonates with the youth, so I have been composing rap songs."

Around four years ago on Raksha Bandhan, Shahi held a 'suraksha bandhan' awareness camp at Madhuban Chowk and gave out helmets to all women heading to visit their brothers on bikes without helmets on. "We policemen see bodies every day,



Sandeep Shahi

take them to the hospital. As per National Crime Records Bureau data, 413 people die in accidents

across the country every day. I want to reduce this." He said he also conducts drives at his hometown in Bihar's Deopura, where people refrain from wearing helmets, thinking they are unnecessary.

Every month, he sets aside a minimum of Rs 2,000 for safety gear. "On special occasions such as a festival, I invest Rs 10,000-15,000 on helmets," said Shahi, who worked as a district officer for 16 years before being shifted to the Road Safety Cell, Delhi Police traffic headquarters.

He lives with his wife and twin children in Pitampura. His children, aged 10, conduct

awareness campaigns at their school every year on their birthday.

People have praised his efforts, with some apologising and pledging to wear a helmet.

"People salute and thank me. Sometimes, they have very specific demands. On Women's Day, a woman asked me to give her a red helmet instead of a blue one," he said.

He added that his sole purpose is to save lives, not just distribute helmets. Shahi has pledged to donate his organs when he dies: "Even as I leave this earth, I want to give others a new lease of life."

If there are questions of current or contemporary relevance that you would like explained, please write to explained@indianexpress.com

TELLING NUMBERS

Indian population in US up 38% in 7 years, Nepali growth 206%

CHANGES IN SOUTH ASIAN AMERICAN POPULATION, 2010 TO 2017

Table with columns: Single Ethnicity Reported (2010, 2017, % Change), Multiple Ethnicities Reported (2010, 2017, % Change). Rows include Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Nepali, Pakistani.

THE POPULATION of Indian-origin people in the United States grew by 38% in seven years between 2010 and 2017... Indians comprise the largest segment of the South Asian community, making up over 80% of the total population...

SIMPLY PUT

How India & world are ageing

From UN population report, takeaways: twice as many over-65 persons as under-5s by 2050, rising populations in some countries and falling in others, life expectancy gap between rich & poor countries

2027 PROJECTION: INDIA 1.47 BILLION, CHINA 1.46 BILLION



Morning traffic in New Delhi in 2018. India is projected to top world population in 8 years.

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

IN THE United Nations report that projects India will overtake China as the most populous country by around 2027... Other trends and projections include an ageing population and an improving sex ratio...

The big picture: While the report projects the world population to some 9.7 billion by 2050, it says the overall growth rate will continue to fall. The next 30 years will see the population add 2 billion people...

More in 65+ bracket: In 2018, for the first time, persons aged 65 years or over worldwide outnumbered children under age five.

Life expectancy: Although overall life expectancy will increase (from 64.2 years in 1990 to 77.1 years in 2050), life expectancy in poorer countries is projected to continue to lag behind.

Dwindling populations: The populations of 55 countries are projected to decrease by 1% or more between 2019 and 2050 because of sustained low levels of fertility...

Sex ratio: Males are projected to continue to outnumber females until the end of the century, but the gap will close.

MORE ELDERLY, FEWER KIDS

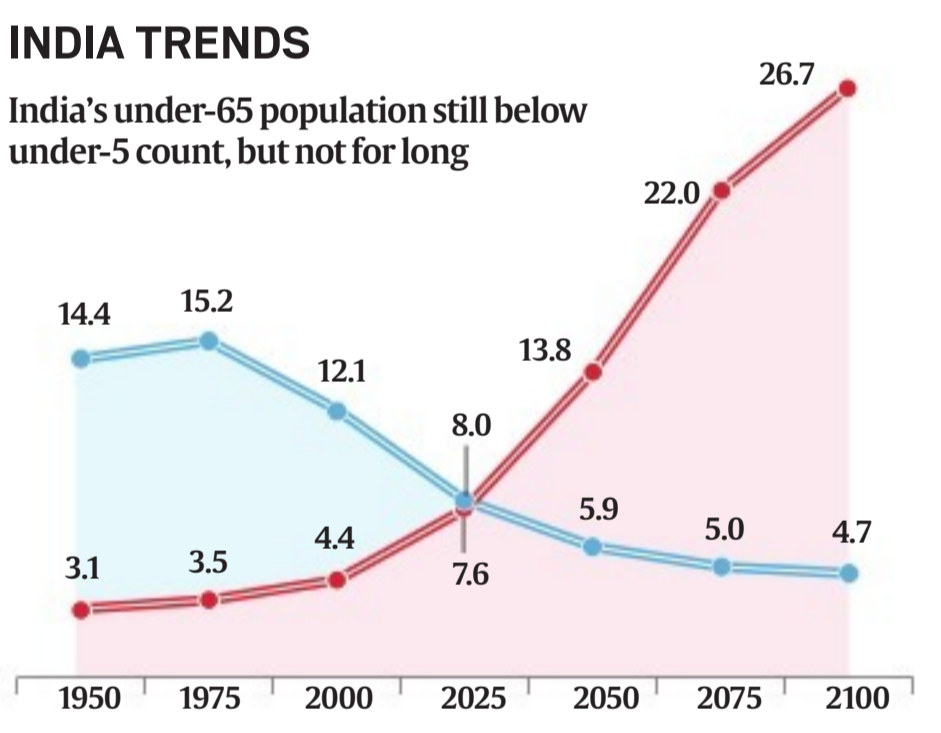
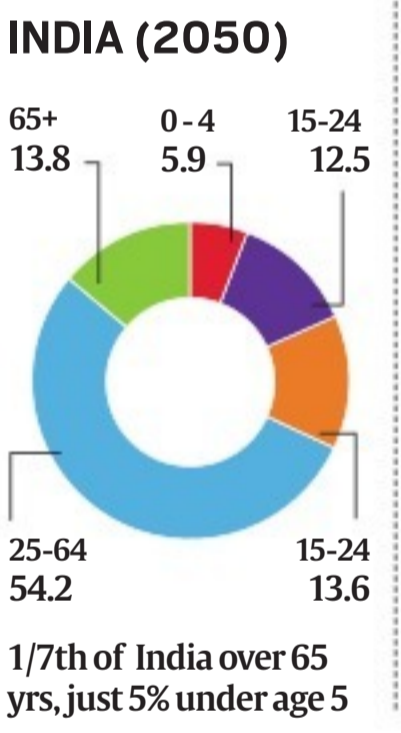
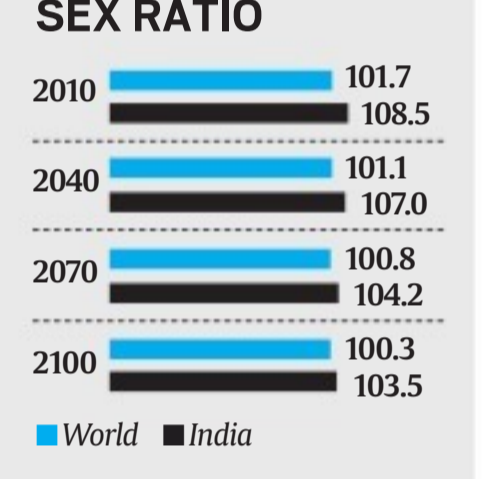
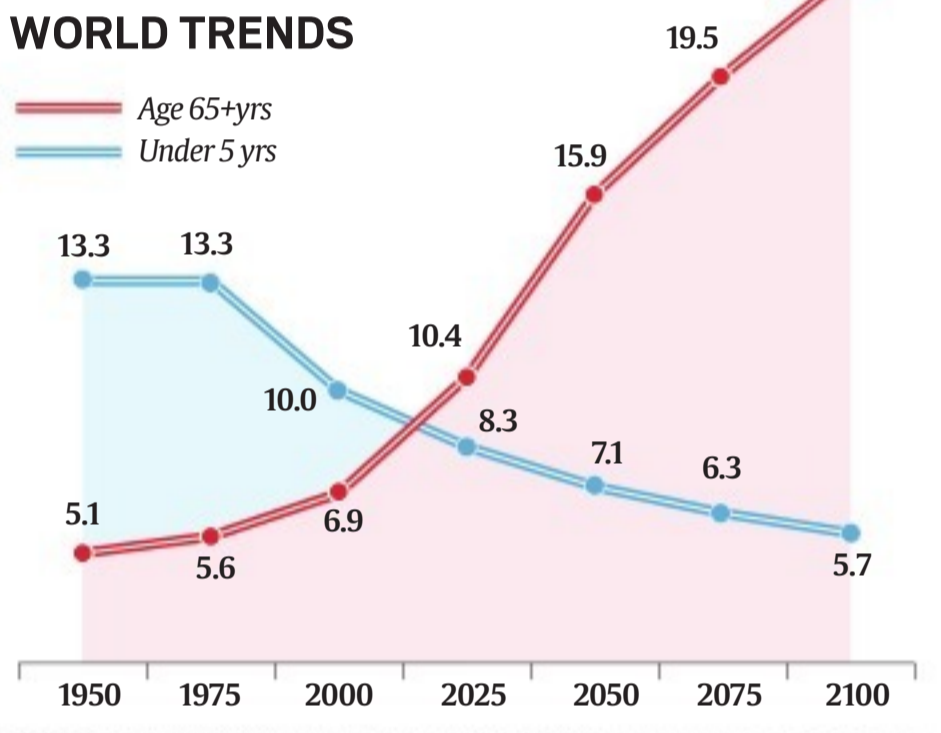
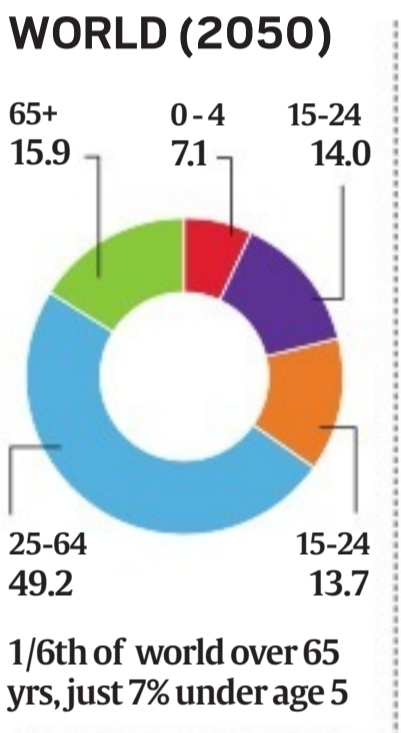
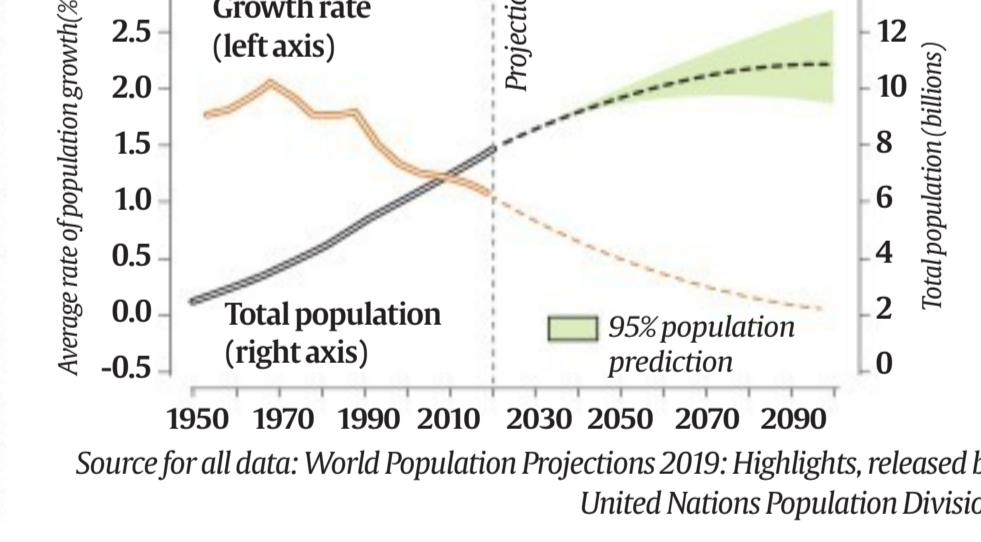


Table: WHEN INDIA OVERTAKES CHINA (Populations in million). Columns: Year, India, China. Rows: 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028.

THE CHANGING ORDER (POPULATIONS IN mn)

Table showing population rankings in 2019, 2050, and 2100 for various countries like China, India, US, Nigeria, etc.

RISING NUMBERS, FALLING GROWTH RATES



TIP FOR READING LIST

MOON LANDING, AS A GRAPHIC NOVEL

JULY WILL witness two landmarks in lunar exploration: the 50th anniversary of the first human landing on the Moon, and India's Chandrayaan-2 mission... Moonbound: Apollo 11 and the Dream of Spaceflight...

Vajiram & Ravi Institute for I.A.S. Examination. GENERAL STUDIES, CSAT & OPTIONAL SUBJECTS. CLASSROOM COURSE, TEST SERIES, POSTAL COURSE.

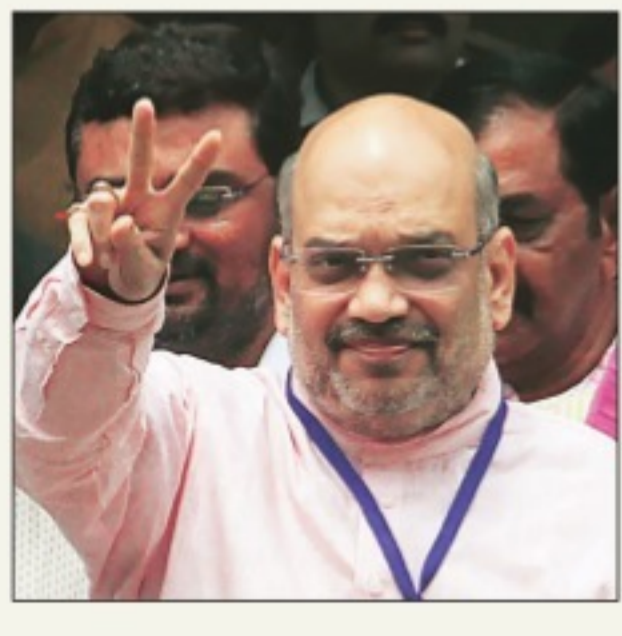
Gujarat RS seats: why Cong has gone to SC, how these polls are 'separate'

AVINASH NAIR AHMEDABAD, JUNE 18 ON WEDNESDAY, the Supreme Court will hear a petition by the Gujarat state Congress challenging the Election Commission decision to conduct separate elections to Rajya Sabha seats in the state... Which seats, where On July 5, six Rajya Sabha seats will go to polls in Odisha (3), Gujarat (2) and Bihar (1)...

for [byelections] to all Houses, including the Rajya Sabha, are considered as separate vacancies and separate notifications are issued... How it is different In Gujarat, for example, separate ballot papers will be used for the seats being vacated by Shah and Irani... Sex ratio: It means that BJP candidates will win

seats, one of these would have seen a contest. Under such a format, a victory would require the votes of 59 MLAs in Gujarat... Why this format A single election for a number of seats in a state is held when these MPs have completed their Rajya Sabha terms... What Delhi HC ruled on The cases cited by the EC were AK Walia vs Union of India & Others, and Satya Pal Malik vs EC.

Under Sections 147 to 151 of the RP Act, all 'casual vacancies' are filled by separate byelections. 'This is not the first time; it has been happening for about the last 40 years. The first time the question arose was in 1984-85, when the Election Commission gave a detailed order saying that byelections have to be held separately...



Amit Shah and Smriti Irani celebrate their Rajya Sabha victories in 2017; their seats head for bypolls after they were elected to Lok Sabha.



Amit Shah and Smriti Irani celebrate their Rajya Sabha victories in 2017; their seats head for bypolls after they were elected to Lok Sabha.



YESTERDAY I WAS A DOG. TODAY I'M A DOG. TOMORROW I'LL PROBABLY STILL BE A DOG. SIGH! THERE'S SO LITTLE HOPE FOR ADVANCEMENT. — CHARLES M. SCHULZ

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

The Hong Kong question



THOMAS ABRAHAM

Can China's communist party go against its own grain, give Hong Kong greater space to run its own affairs?

NOT JUST NUMBERS

PM is right, Opposition should stand up and be counted — but it's the government's job to help it do that

ON THE FIRST day of the first session of the 17th Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Narendra Modi spoke of the elephant in the House: The severely diminished space of the Opposition in Parliament. And the prime ministerial words were reassuring. Parties of the Opposition, he said, should not worry about their paltry numbers as every word of theirs was "valuable" for his government. An "active Opposition, an effective Opposition", he said, "is a pre-requisite for parliamentary democracy" and expressed confidence that the spirit of bi-partisanship would trump and transcend the faultlines of "paksh" and "vipaksh", government and Opposition. After a Lok Sabha election which saw the ruling NDA return to power with an overwhelming majority — the BJP alone has 303 seats in the 543-member House, and the NDA has 353, while the Congress falls three seats short of the number required to stake claim to the status of Leader of Opposition — the PM and his party will be held to his assurance of accommodation and the democratic spirit. It will, of course, be the Opposition's challenge to make itself heard in the BJP-dominated House. But the larger responsibility for the conduct of debate in a way that includes and respects all and not just the majority's views, lies with the government. The PM has done well to acknowledge that at the very outset of his second term.

The PM's assurance will be tested in a session in which controversial issues and contentious legislation may come up — be it the proposed switch to one-nation-one-election or the bill criminalising triple talaq that failed to become law in the preceding Modi regime. But it is also shadowed by the way Parliament functioned, or failed to, in the last five years. As the Congress has been quick to point out, the 16th Lok Sabha saw the government take the ordinance route all too often, evidently to bypass questions and debate, instead of treating it as an emergency measure. Key bills were pushed through without according them the necessary and desirable legislative scrutiny through committees. The way in which the government with a decisive mandate relegated the Opposition inside Parliament, while remaining in what seemed to be permanent electoral campaign mode outside it, has led to a disbelief in its commitment to listen to the political opponent, not just have its own way. It will be the government's task, most of all, to reach out, and address that disbelief. It must ensure that the norms of constitutional democracy, not the brute dead-ends of majoritarianism, prevail.

For the Opposition, an uphill journey begins now. It cannot just depend on the government's generosity or scruple. It will be watched for how it pools its strengths, how well or poorly it marshals its resources and uses its opportunities to influence legislation and hold the government to account.

A FAILING STATE

The death of children in Muzaffarpur due to AES, a preventable disease, shows that malnutrition needs to be addressed urgently

MORE THAN 100 children in Bihar's Muzaffarpur district have died of acute encephalitis syndrome (AES), with the state's medical authorities initially blaming the deaths on the heat wave, hypoglycemia (sudden drop in blood sugar levels) and lack of awareness. Now, belatedly, they have acknowledged the two most critical reasons for the deaths — malnutrition and the inadequacy of primary health centres (PHCs).

The state government's lack of preparedness is indefensible. AES has struck Muzaffarpur with regularity in the summers since 1995. The disease claimed nearly 1,000 children between 2010 and 2014. It seemed to have become less virulent after 2014. At the same time, however, a growing body of literature on AES underlined that the medical authorities had no room for complacency. For example, a 2014 study by researchers from the Christian Medical College, Vellore, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta in the US showed how a combination of factors, unique to Muzaffarpur, sharpened the vulnerability of its children to the disease. The district is a major litchi-growing region and the study found that toxins present in the fruit were a source of AES. But the fruit was a triggering factor only in the case of children who had not received proper nutrition, the study reported. It said that the toxins in the fruit assume lethal proportions when a poorly-nourished child eats litchis during the day and then goes to sleep without a proper meal. The links between the fruit and AES have been debated but most researchers agree that the disease affects only under-nourished children. However, the state government has not taken the cue from medical research. It does not have a special nutrition programme for AES-prone areas.

Medical literature has also shown that AES can be contained if the child is administered dextrose within four hours of the onset of symptoms. But every AES outbreak in the past 10 years has shown that Muzaffarpur's PHCs — the first point of healthcare for most AES patients — are ill-equipped to deal with the disease. Most of them do not have glycometers to monitor blood sugar levels. The Sri Krishna Medical College and Hospital, the designated hospital in Muzaffarpur to deal with the disease, does not have a virology lab or adequate number of paediatric beds. Union Health Minister Harsh Vardhan has assured that these shortcomings will be remedied urgently. The state government has also issued similar assurances. Both the Centre and the state will be watched in how they deal with an eminently-preventable disease.

PUPPY EYES

It turns out that dogs have evolved to manipulate human emotions. Dog-owners know it doesn't matter

IT'S ALL IN THE EYES. They look up at you, imploring you to part with the tiniest morsel from your plate, a scrap really. Or they can apologise — express guilt and contrition — with just a twitch of the brow, a muzzle pointed downwards. Move over Mata Hari, the greatest manipulator of human beings has been our best friend.

Only the truly heartless — or the pathologically psychopathic — can maintain their resolve against "the look" that a canine throws at you at the dinner table, or after having chewed through an over-priced pair of patent leather shoes. But there is now consolation for those who have been defeated by the cuteness of their puppies. Research at the Centre for Comparative and Evolutionary Psychology at the University of Portsmouth has proven that millennia of evolution have ensured that the very biology of dogs makes us vulnerable to their expressions. As wolves began to be domesticated by early humans, dogs developed a new forehead muscle — the levator anguli oculi medialis (LAOM). In a process that relies on "survival of the fittest", the LAOM allowed dogs to generate facial expressions that human beings are particularly susceptible to, and which generate feelings of protectiveness and affection. In doing so, our canine companions have ensured that they are fed and showered with affection.

The question is whether the LAOM is just a physical advantage, or whether, as dog-owners claim, their furry friends are genuinely capable of emotional attachment. Anyone who has returned home from work to the excitable affection of their best friend knows the answer. And as manipulations go, things can be far worse. After all, it's not like we are talking about cats.

HONG KONG IS like a pressure cooker on a stove, hissing steam when the temperature from China rises, and subsiding when the powers that be lower the flame. Last week, over a million protestors, many young, took to the streets to protest a new law that would allow people from Hong Kong to be extradited to China, a move that would threaten critics of the Chinese regime who have till recently found relatively safe haven in Hong Kong. After clashes between the police and protestors, the head of the Hong Kong government, Carrie Lam, was forced to temporarily shelve the extradition law.

The current wave of protests will perhaps gradually die down, but there is little doubt that new explosions are going to occur in the future, just as they have, periodically, over the last decade.

At the heart of the discontent in Hong Kong lies the peculiar arrangement worked out in the 1980s between the then British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and China's strongman, Deng Xiaoping, for the return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty after 150 years of British colonial rule. In order to calm British as well as Hong Kong anxieties about the city's future, Deng propounded the so-called "one country two systems" formula, under which Hong Kong, though part of China, would enjoy a high degree of autonomy and retain the economic and administrative structures that the British had bequeathed, including western liberal freedoms of thought, expression, an independent judiciary, and a liberal capitalist market system. This autonomy is to last till 2047, for 50 years after the British departure in 1997.

At the time he propounded it, "one country two systems" was hailed as another master stroke of Deng Xiaoping's fabled pragmatism: It ensured Hong Kong's return to the motherland after more than a century of British occupation, while at the same time showing to the world a new, flexible China, shorn of the rigidities of the Maoist era.

But there are contradictions within this arrangement, that both Hong Kong and the

Chinese government have found hard to resolve.

Take the incident that sparked the latest troubles: An extradition law that would allow Hong Kong to send wanted people back to China. The fact that Hong Kong, a Chinese city, needs to have an extradition arrangement with the rest of China, is an indication of Hong Kong's autonomy. But it is also bound to cause friction. From the Chinese point of view, if Hong Kong is part of China, then it is necessary to have a mechanism whereby people fleeing from the Chinese authorities should not be able to find safe haven in Hong Kong. Otherwise, what is the point of saying that Hong Kong is part of China?

But those in Hong Kong feel differently. In the 22 years since the hand-over, suspicion of China has increased, and if there is one thing that unites the city, it is the desire to preserve its British era institutions and Hong Kong's unique way of life, and not become "just another Chinese city."

Hong Kong has always seen itself as a westernised global city, open to the rest of the world, a place where people can go about their daily lives protected by the rule of law. In the eyes of most Hong Kongers, the biggest threat to the city's future comes from its slow, creeping, absorption into the larger fabric of Communist China.

It is particularly telling that the generation that was born and grew up in Hong Kong after the British left, a generation that has known only Chinese rule under one-country-two-systems, is at the forefront of the protests against Hong Kong's further integration with China. China's leaders probably felt in 1997 that with the passing of time, a new generation would be born in Hong Kong that would be increasingly comfortable with being part of China. Instead, the opposite seems to have happened. Hong Kong's young look outward to the rest of the world, rather than inward to China, and see liberal democracy, rather than communist rule, as a political ideal to aspire to.

China had earlier tried to get the Hong

Kong government to reform the school education system to instil greater "patriotism" and Chinese "national spirit" among the young. But this only served to spark the first big popular protest in Hong Kong in recent times, forcing the government to shelve plans for patriotic education.

The rising discontent in Hong Kong will be cause for unease in China. Hong Kong's autonomy under the 1997 agreement formally ends in 2047, and by default, the city will become like any other Chinese city. But as new generations of Hong Kongers drift further away from the Chinese motherland, both culturally and politically, the worry in Beijing must be that it will have to contend with an increasingly ungovernable city on its southern coast.

The Chinese Communist Party has traditionally dealt with unrest with a heavy hand, as the violent crackdown on pro-democracy protestors in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 showed. If Hong Kong was any other Chinese city, the response from Beijing would have been harsh. The leaders of the agitation would be thrown into jail for long periods of time, and the protestors would be brutally dispersed.

But this is not an option that China can use in Hong Kong, an international city where events occur under the full glare of the media. Heavy handed repression will set back China's aim of becoming a global leader by several decades.

Repression is not an option, and persuasion to become "more patriotic" has not worked either. The sensible option is to give Hong Kong greater space to run its own affairs, rather than trying to integrate it more closely. But this goes against the grain of all that the Chinese Communist Party has stood for. So there is a real danger that the Hong Kong pressure cooker will reach a point where an explosion becomes inevitable.

The writer, a former editor of The South China Morning Post in Hong Kong, is now based in Bengaluru

VOICE OF INCLUSION

Speakers must rise above party loyalties, with Constitution as their guiding light



CHAKSHU ROY

A WATCHFUL PARLIAMENT forms the foundation of a well-functioning democracy. The presiding officers of Parliament are the key to securing the effectiveness of this institution. The MPs look to them to facilitate debate, protect their rights and uphold the dignity of Parliament. On Wednesday, Lok Sabha MPs are set to elect one amongst themselves, to play the pivotal role of the presiding officer for the 17th Lok Sabha.

The primary challenge before the new Speaker will be to conduct the proceedings of the Lok Sabha free from disruptions. To do so, the Speaker will have to earn the trust of the Members of Parliament: One way to earn the trust of MPs will be by being neutral, both in practice and perception while running the House.

Securing the neutrality of the Speaker is a question that experts in India have been grappling with for 60-plus years. In Britain, the promise of continuity in office for many terms is used to ensure the Speaker's impartiality. By convention, political parties (usually) do not field a candidate against the Speaker at the time of general elections. And the Speaker can continue in office, until deciding otherwise. By convention, the Speaker also gives up the membership of his/her political party.

The first Speaker of the Lok Sabha, G V Mavalankar, was aware that the British convention for securing the neutrality of the Speaker might not be an easy sell in the nascent years of our democracy. In his 1952 ac-

ceptance speech as Speaker of the first Lok Sabha, he said: "We have yet to evolve political parties and healthy conventions about Speakership, the principle of which is that, once a Speaker he is not opposed by any party in the matter of his election, whether in the constituency or in the House, so long as he wishes to continue as Speaker." He went on to say, "to expect the Speaker to be out of politics altogether without the corresponding convention is perhaps entertaining contradictory expectations."

In 1951 and 1953, the Conference of Presiding Officers of legislatures in India passed a resolution for the adoption of the British Convention. Mavalankar tried to create a consensus among political parties on adopting this British convention but was unable to make much headway. The 1954 decision of the Working Committee of Congress in response to Mavalankar's attempts sealed the fate of the issue. It stated, "The Working Committee considered Shri G V Mavalankar's letter for establishing a convention for the uncontested election of Speakers and felt that this was not a feasible proposition for the present in view of other political parties being involved in the question."

With no security in the continuity of office, the Speaker is dependent on his or her political party for reelection. This makes the Speaker susceptible to pulls and pressures from her/his political party in the conduct of the proceedings of the Lok Sabha.

Other than the election of Mavalankar, every other Lok Sabha Speaker has been elected unanimously. After the election, the Speaker is escorted to her/his chair by the leaders of both the ruling and opposition party. These conventions are meant to reflect that after her/his election, the Speaker belongs to the entire House. For the next five years, all her/his actions will be weighed on the scale of neutrality.

Jawaharlal Nehru alluded to this aspect of the Speaker's responsibility in 1948. At the unveiling of the portrait of Vithalbhai Patel, he said: "We would like the distinguished occupant of this chair now and always to guard the freedom and liberty of those from every possible danger, even from the danger of an executive incursion. There is always that danger even from a National Government — that it may choose to ride roughshod over the opinions of a minority, and it is here that the Speaker comes in to protect each single member, or each single group from any such unjust activity by a dominant group or a dominant government."

Other than the election of Mavalankar, every other Lok Sabha Speaker has been elected unanimously. After the election, the Speaker is escorted to her/his chair by the leaders of both the ruling and opposition party. These conventions are meant to reflect that after her/his election, the Speaker belongs to the entire House. For the next five years, all her/his actions will be weighed on the scale of neutrality. She/he will have to be vigilant to defend the sanctity of the institution and also have the vision to strengthen it. In this challenging journey, her/his guiding light will be the Constitution and the rules of procedure of Lok Sabha.

The writer is head of outreach, PRS Legislative Research

JUNE 19, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO



SINO-SOVIET EQUATION CHINESE LEADER HUA Guofeng (Hua Kuofeng) said that prospects for negotiations with the Soviet Union on improving relations depend on whether the Soviet government makes a substantive change in its position. Hua told the National People's Congress that the Soviet government had agreed to hold negotiations, but asked: "Did this change the essence of the matter". China has accused the Soviet Union repeatedly of wanting to subjugate China and using Vietnam to set up a Soviet outpost in South-East Asia.

SALT II TREATY SITTING AT A gilded palace table, the US pres-

ident, Jimmy Carter, and the Soviet president, Leonid Brezhnev, signed the SALT II treaty. Carter termed it a victory for peace but warned that "the threat of a nuclear holocaust still hangs over us." Brezhnev declared: "We are helping to defend the most sacred right of every man — the right to live." Earlier, the two presidents signed the treaty texts in Russian and English, and then got up and kissed each other on both cheeks. The crowd applauded with enthusiasm.

WHAT TO IMPORT THE MINISTER FOR Commerce and Civil Supplies, Mohan Dharia, said that the government would import the essential com-

modities included for the public distribution scheme, wherever necessary, to ensure its smooth functioning. Under the scheme, to be launched from July 1, 13 items have been selected for distribution including wheat, wheat products, rice, coarse grains, processed oils, kerosene, controlled cloth, common varieties of cheap cloth, matches, toilet soaps and washing soaps, exercise books, tea and coffee. Dharia said that the real emphasis of the scheme should be viewed from the fact that it would be a production-cum-distribution scheme. Production of all the items to be distributed would be ensured before their distribution is undertaken by public distribution outlets.

13 THE IDEAS PAGE

Once upon a time, a nation

The ground for the 2019 election outcome was prepared in advance. Story-telling took precedence over reality and what ails the nation faded into the background



NAYANTARA SAHGAL

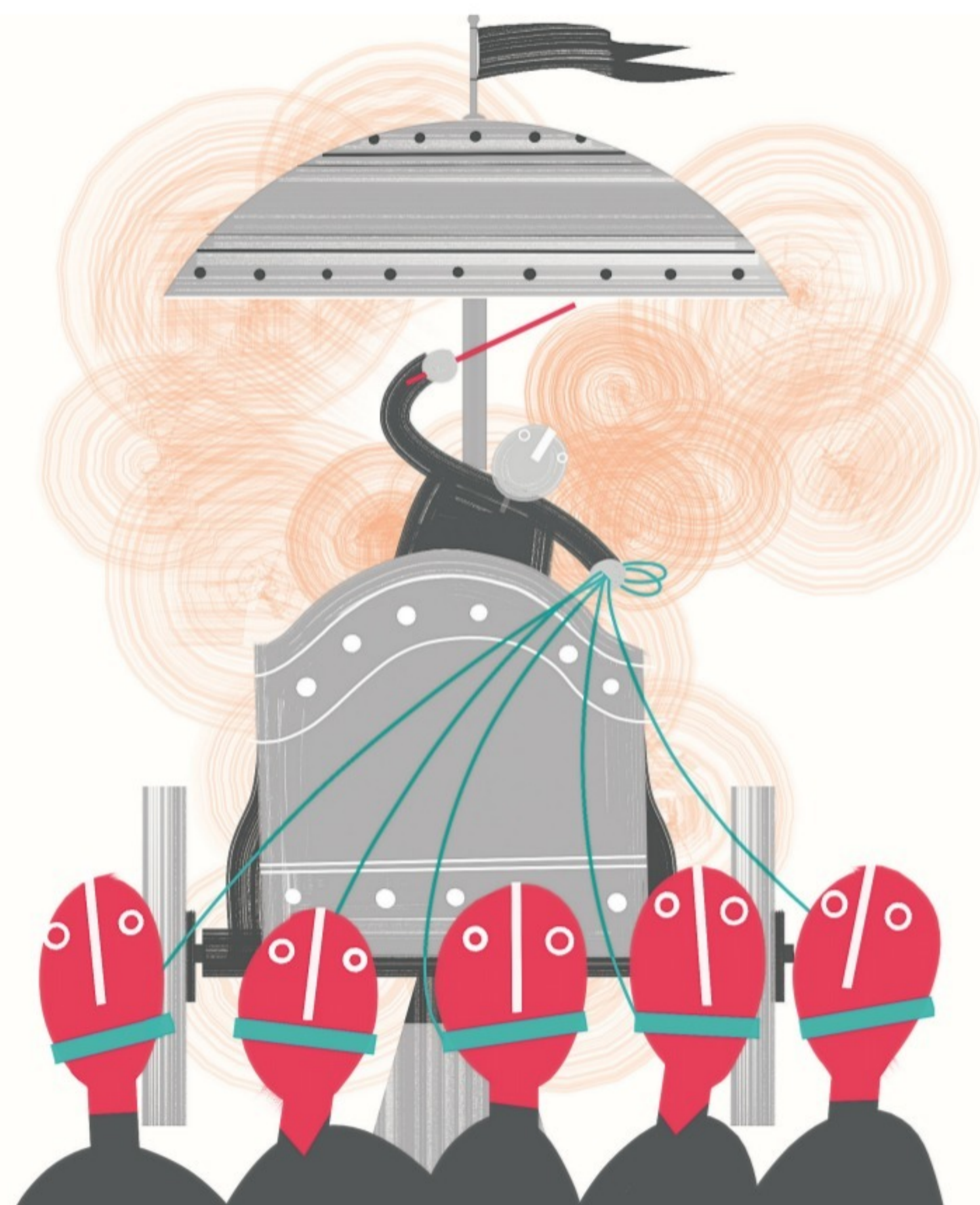
NOW THAT THE dust has settled on India's most hard-fought national election, and it has been hailed as a spectacular democratic victory, it is possible to take a quiet look at the election result. It was no surprise to me for I had not only expected it but realised it could have gone no other way. I had the help of literature in seeing it as a story with only one possible ending. My favourite novel by Gabriel Garcia Marquez is titled *The Chronicle of a Death Foretold*. With the ending already known, the novel goes backward to unravel the path that makes it inevitable. The 2019 election has been the same kind of fascinating exercise whose outcome could not have been otherwise, given the precise path that was taken to achieve it.

The other help I had in foreseeing the result came from a philosophy professor. As Marquez's novel spells out the sequence of events that lead inevitably to the "death foretold" in his story, a philosophy professor at Yale University, Jason Stanley, has made a study of the swing to right-wing extremism and the resulting breakdown of democracy in countries across the world. He has found that there is a standard formula by which democracy is broken down and a climate of intolerance built up in its place in which hatred, violence and criminal behaviour become acceptable to people. On this prepared ground, an ideology such as fascism, or any other similar doctrine, takes over unopposed. The professor has found this formula common to all breakdowns of democracy wherever they have occurred or are now occurring, and he spells it out in two books: *How Propaganda Works* and *How Fascism Works*.

To begin with, the majority community is made to feel threatened and victimised by minority groups. Once this seed is planted, it breeds resentment, anger, and a mood of vengeance mounting to hysteria against those named as offenders. They are classed as outsiders (to the religion and culture of the majority) and usurpers who are preying upon the rights and privileges of the dominant community. The definition of outsider covers socialists, communists and atheists, and all differences of opinion from the ruling view. These citizens, branded anti-national, are therefore to be feared as enemies of the state. Fear is spread by cutting out all rational argument and appealing to the emotions for an emotional arousal. The next step is then taken.

Step two warns that the nation is in danger from the designs of its internal and external enemies. Conspiracy theories are manufactured to prove the point. Citizens labelled anti-national are accused of conspiring against the state. The focus is on defending the nation from its enemies. In this atmosphere, the need of the hour is a "strong" militant leader who alone can protect the country and the people. The nation's leader is glorified. The military takes centre stage and pride of place alongside him and shares his glory.

In this wholesale absence of facts, the disappearance of truth is complete. Democracy fights for survival and loses. Long held values — freedom of expression, equality, fraternity, human rights — are discarded as being of no use. In fact, they are seen as a hindrance in dealing with the dangers the nation faces. Authority and hierarchy take their place. The hierarchy can be ethnic, or religious, or gender-based. One



C R Sasikumar

ethnic group gets placed over others, one religion over others, men over women. And the yawning vacuum, where truth used to be, is filled by myth. Fantasy now substitutes as reality. In Stanley's words, the myth that replaces reality is one "of a glorious bygone era, where the nation was supposedly ethnically or religiously pure, and rural patriarchal values reigned supreme". To this description, I am adding "racially pure" since racial purity has loomed large in right-wing extremism. In a chilling conclusion Stanley adds, "History shows that such propaganda licenses extreme brutality".

The standard formula he describes has an uncanny resemblance to the path India has followed since 2014, including the "extreme brutality" the path licenses. Writers, artists, students, teachers and journalists have been punished for their independent views. Four famous writers have been assassinated. On television, we have seen the torture and murder of workers by "gau rakhaks" and other armed vigilante mobs, with the police and public standing by. We have heard these crimes being justified on the grounds that they were committed by patriots against the nation's enemies. In some cases, alleged acts of terror have been rewarded, as recently with a seat in Parliament. Such behaviour towards fellow citizens, and brutality against them, doesn't just happen. It is taught. It is the end result of the indoctrination that has taken place.

From what we have seen here, it is clear that the formula works and that story-telling takes precedence over reality. Unemployment, rural and urban distress, well-documented corruption and whatever ails the nation fade into the background. They are no match for the story-teller's fine art of invention; no match for the mood of involvement, expectation and enthrallment a story builds up in its readers/listeners as it unfolds; and no match for the ageless allure of "once upon a time". Those who master the art of story-telling create the mood of their choice — as music and all forms of art also do in their different artistic mediums.

The formula has been faithfully followed in other respects. In a democracy the military stays out of politics and out of the public eye, and war is not celebrated. The nation's leader is not held in awe. He is held accountable. He is required to face the press and answer questions. The leader of a democracy who does not uphold and nurture this democratic tradition, shows himself to be above it, as has been evident here.

From what we have seen here, it is clear that the formula works and that story-telling takes precedence over reality. Unemployment, rural and urban distress, well-documented corruption and whatever ails the nation fade into the background. They are no match for the story-teller's fine art of invention; no match for the mood of involvement, expectation and enthrallment a story builds up in its readers/listeners as it unfolds; and no match for the ageless allure of "once upon a time". Those who master the art of story-telling create the mood of their choice — as music and all forms of art also do in their different artistic mediums.

Could this be why art and literature are deemed dangerous and why they must be controlled to ensure that they create the mood a regime desires and no other?

Sahgal is a novelist and a commentator. Her latest work of fiction is *The Fate of Butterflies*

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

Previously apolitical sections of Hong Kong society have been radicalised and are making sure they are heard.

— THE GUARDIAN

The general's job

With Pakistan's economy in dire straits and rising political tensions, the 'internal security' expertise of the new ISI chief could come into play



TILAK DEVASHER

LT GENERAL FAIZ Hameed is the third ISI chief appointed by Pakistan Army chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa. Soon after becoming chief on November 26, 2016, Bajwa had appointed Lt General Naveed Mukhtar (Armoured Corps) as the ISI Chief on December 11, 2016, in place of Lt General Rizwan Akhtar (Frontier Force), who was shifted out prematurely.

Following Mukhtar's retirement in October 2018, Lt Gen Asim Munir (Frontier Force) was appointed DG ISI. Barely eight months into his tenure, Munir has been shifted out as Corps Commander Gujranwala. Hameed has been appointed as DG ISI in his stead. Both Hameed and General Bajwa are from the Baloch regiment. Like Munir, who had headed military intelligence, Hameed too has intelligence experience, having headed the internal security wing of the ISI.

Bajwa had hand-picked Munir as DG ISI. He had served as Force Commander Northern Areas (FCNA) when Bajwa was Corps Commander X Corps. To understand the reasons for the sudden curtailment of his tenure, several dots, both external and internal, need to be connected.

The Pulwama terror strike in February 2019 took place when Munir was DG ISI. There is a realisation in Pakistan and in the international community that the incident could have precipitated a major clash between India and Pakistan. Following the Balakot air strike, there is recognition of the fact that India, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, will not turn the other cheek but take the battle into Pakistan. The doctrine of pre-emption articulated by the Indian foreign secretary also makes it more likely that India will hit back in the future too. This view has been bolstered with PM Modi's massive victory in the recently-concluded elections. With a renewed and larger mandate, PM Modi will be in a stronger position to retaliate against any adventurism indulged in by Pakistan.

Against this backdrop, according to a report in this newspaper, Pakistan is said to have shared information on a possible terrorist attack in Pulwama district, probably near Awantipora using a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED). The attack is supposedly to avenge the killing of Zakir Musa in the Tral area by Indian security forces last month. Musa had broken away from the Hizbul Mujahideen in May 2017 and launched and headed an al Qaeda affiliate called Ansar Ghazwat-ul-Hind.

Pakistan sharing such information with India is intriguing. It could either be a case of ensuring that it is not blamed in case of an attack; or since it is an al Qaeda linked group, Pakistan is not really concerned if

the attack was foiled. The latter is difficult to believe since any violence in Kashmir seen positively in Pakistan.

At this stage, another major terrorist attack in India does not suit Pakistan. Given how Pulwama could have led to disaster and the fact that the US, Saudi Arabia and China had prevailed upon Pakistan to de-escalate the crisis by releasing the captured Indian pilot, it is clear that even Pakistan's remaining friends will not look kindly at a similar kind of attack. Hence, the information would have been reluctantly shared with India.

It is quite likely, therefore, that Munir is being held responsible for not keeping the jihadi flock in control and potentially putting Pakistan in grave danger. Despite all its bluster and bravado, Pakistan is not looking for a clash with India at this stage. Its plate is already full with a fragile economy desperately in need of bailouts, pressures from the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), internal unrest in the Pashtun areas, among other issues. The last thing it would want at this juncture is giving India a pretext to retaliate again with deep strikes inside its territory.

There are also important internal developments that Lt General Hameed may be able to handle better. He played an important role in defusing the 2017 Faizabad dharna of the Barelvi outfit, Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP). He was also instrumental in ensuring Imran Khan's "victory" in the July 2018 elections. With the economy in dire straits and opposition parties gearing up to destabilise the government, the internal "security" expertise of the new DG ISI could come in very handy to ensure the health of the Imran Khan government.

Another critical issue is the clumsy manner in which the Pashtun protests have been dealt with. The Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) has been growing in strength and its call to end violence and harassment in the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) has been getting traction among the Pashtuns in Pakistan. The army sees its latest slogan, *lar-o-bar yaw Afghan* — the spectre of the merging of Pakistani Pashtun (lar) with their Afghan brethren (bar) within a so-called Greater Afghanistan — as indicative of secessionist tendencies. Given that about 20 per cent of the Pakistan army consists of Pashtuns, the PTM could pose a clear and present danger.

Lt General Hameed's task is cut out. He has to ensure that things do not get out of control internally in Pakistan. However, as far as India is concerned, the lull — if one can call it that — would only be temporary till the situation cools down. Once international pressure eases, the Pakistan economy is under an IMF programme and the threat of being blacklisted by the FATF recedes, it will be back to business as usual for the new DG ISI.

Devasher is the author of *Pakistan: Courting the Abyss* and *Pakistan: The Helm*. He is a former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India and is currently member, National Security Advisory Board and consultant, Vivekananda International Foundation

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

FOCUS ON QUALITY

THIS REFERS to the editorial, 'Search for cure' (IE, June 18). Expecting more empathy from over-stressed is asking for too much. The root cause of the troubled doctor-patient relationship is the skewed doctor-patient ratio. This is exacerbated by crumbling infrastructure in our hospitals. It appears that the aim of hospitals is to attend to the ever growing number of patients without focusing on the quality of treatment. State run hospitals require radical reform.

Deepak Singhal, Noida

A CASH-LITE ECONOMY

THIS REFERS to the report, 'Digital transactions set to rise four times by 2021' (IE, June 17). Digital payment channels like mobile banking, UPI and IMPS are comparatively safe and convenient. The use of UPI is gaining momentum because it leads immediate settlement of funds round the clock. More PoS terminals will be the game changer in a building "cash-lite economy".

Amiyavrat Kumar, Navi Mumbai

CLEAN THE ROT

THIS REFERS to the article, 'Case for compassion' (IE, June 17). Violence upon doctors cannot be seen simplistically. It is a result of factors such as inadequate healthcare facilities in public hospitals, lack of compassion from doctors, over-treatment and under treatment of poor patients. These issues require attention in order to improve the doctor-patient relationship.

Dilip Kumar Duta, Midnapore

LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

To encourage quality reader intervention, The Indian Express offers the Letter of the Week award. The letter adjudged the best for the week is published every Saturday. Letters may be e-mailed to editpage@expressindia.com or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301. Letter writers should mention their postal address and phone number.

THE WINNER RECEIVES SELECT EXPRESS PUBLICATIONS

SPACE MATTERS

THIS REFERS to the editorial, 'A home in space' (IE June 15). ISRO's has announced its ambitions plans to build a space station. This comes at a time when the NASA's ISS is set to retire by 2028. While some may consider the project as too expensive, we must remember that Vikram Sarabhai, the father of India's space programme, had said that while the world may ridicule the space ambitions of a third world country, we must focus on building and developing a robust space programme.

Sauro Dasgupta, Kolkata

Compiled by Lalmani Verma



VIEW FROM THE RIGHT

COMMUNAL MINORITIES

IN RESPONSE to the call by Prime Minister Narendra Modi to ensure his government has "Sabka Vishwas" some Muslim leaders have written an open letter appreciating the PM's initiative with a rider— undertake more "Confidence Building Measures" (CBMs). The editorial in *Organiser* says that though there is an absence of consensus about this initiative within the Muslim community, as many pessimists have raised red flags, CBMs must be considered at the community level, rather than just as a matter for the government. It claims that it is not that the Modi government did not try to reach out to all sections in the first term. The problem lies somewhere else, and addressing it goes beyond mere economic or educational benefits.

The editorial theorises that the entire division of majority and minority is based on flawed considerations and is a creation of the colonial rulers. "Barring Muslims and to some extent Christians, no religious commu-

nity feels insecure or threatened in Bharat. The so-called majority has many sects, and still, they share a common worldview of acceptance and respect for all. The mindset of being erstwhile rulers and the fundamental belief that our 'Truth' revealed by certain Prophet or Book is the only and ultimate truth, and everyone has to follow the same are at the root of insecurities (sic)," says the editorial.

It adds that recently, many incidents of heinous crimes like child rapes are getting communalised. "Do we need to bring in religion either of a perpetrator or a victim in the case of a heinous crime? There are many people from the so-called majority who raise the voice against such criminal mindsets, how many of the so-called minorities, especially Muslims have raised voice against the brutal rapes during the pious month of Ramzan? How many columns could we see against the attack on the resident doctors in West Bengal?" it asks.

YOGA IS MAGIC

AS INTERNATIONAL Yoga Day approaches, *Organiser* and *Panchjanya* have a series of articles about Yoga and its benefits. An article in *Organiser* says that "Hindutva is the best choice for humanity, it's a gift from India, to India and the world, and yoga marries so well

with Hindutva". The article says that yoga truly is magic for the mind, body and soul and it aligns all these together so your body and thought are in harmony. The article claims that yoga is growing rapidly in the US and adds that the yoga industry in 2012 was \$6.9 billion and by 2020 it will reach \$11.56 billion. "Sadly, there are a lot of certified teachers in the USA who just get their certificate because it is a money making generator. They are missing out of the core fundamentals of the spirituality and magic of yoga," asserts the article.

Another article says that in "vedic and yogic thought, consciousness is the supreme reality, not matter, energy or mind... Consciousness is all-pervasive like space, self-effulgent like light, uniting everything in the universe in the highest awareness and bliss as the Self of all." It also says that the yogic science of consciousness is India's greatest contribution to human knowledge and probably the most important science we have as a species because "it alone grants true knowledge of the Infinite and Eternal". Dharmic education, it claims, requires a yogic approach.

IMRAN'S NIGHTMARE

AN OPINION article in *Organiser* claims that the "biggest nightmare" for Pakistan's prime

minister, Imran Khan, is the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) — a Paris-based inter-governmental body that sets standards and promotes effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terror financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system. It says that on the basis of its assessments, the institution puts rogue nations on the "Grey List" and very serious cases on the "Black List". Pakistan was placed on the Grey List in 2018.

The article claims that Pakistan is continuing with attempts to place itself on a high moral pedestal in the global arena, not realising that the international community is worried about the impact of the breeding of violence in Pakistan. The best option for Pakistan, according to the article, is to make an honest effort to tackle terrorism and get on the right side of the global order, which includes India. The article adds that there is only one factor that is hindering Pakistan from taking this path — the need to feed terrorism in Kashmir. "It is reluctant to touch many many terrorist organisations operating on its soil that deal with Kashmir. It now remains to be seen if Pakistan can read the writing on the wall and mend its ways before it is too late," the article asserts.

14 THE WORLD

TOP OF THE WORLD



PM Oli maintained that the Bill wasn't anti-culture. Reuters

NEPAL

Govt withdraws 'Guthi Bill' after protests

Kathmandu: After days of protests, the Nepal government has announced that it would withdraw a controversial Bill that sought to do away with the traditional Guthi, which are social organisations for managing Hindu and Buddhist religious shrines, festivals and community rituals. Prime Minister K P Oli asked his Land Reforms Minister to withdraw the Bill, but he was stopped by the Opposition from speaking on the issue in Parliament Tuesday morning. In a press conference later, he asserted that he was not anti-culture, religion or tradition. The Guthi have been in existence for over 500 years.

YUBARAJ GHIMIRE

NEW ZEALAND

Man jailed for sharing mosque shooting video

Wellington: A New Zealand man was jailed for 21 months Tuesday for distributing a gruesome livestream video of the Christchurch mosque attacks that killed 51 Muslim worshippers, local media reported. Philip Arps, 44, was arrested in Christchurch four days after alleged gunman Brenton Tarrant's March 15 rampage at two mosques in the South Island city resulted in the worst massacre in modern New Zealand history. Arps pleaded guilty to two charges of distributing objectionable material for sharing footage that was livestreamed to social media during the attack.

INDONESIA

17 dead in boat accident

Jakarta: An overloaded boat carrying people home to celebrate the end of Ramadan with their families capsized off Indonesia's main island of Java, killing at least 17 and leaving four others missing, police said Tuesday. The Arim Jaya was traveling from Ra'as village on Madura island to nearby Kalianget when it capsized Monday after being hit by a one-metre wave, East Java police spokesman Frans Barung Mangera said.



EGYPT'S MORSI LAID TO REST

At a symbolic funeral for former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi at the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. Morsi was buried in a small family ceremony in Cairo Tuesday, a day after his collapse and death inside a courtroom. The UN human rights office called for an independent inquiry into Morsi's death. "Concerns have been raised regarding the conditions of Mr Morsi's detention, including access to adequate medical care, as well as sufficient access to his lawyers and family, during his nearly six years in custody," said Rupert Colville, spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Reuters

HONG KONG PROTESTS

Chief Executive signals end of extradition Bill

Says heard protesters loud and clear, apologises for turmoil, but refuses to quit

REUTERS

HONG KONG, JUNE 18

HONG KONG leader Carrie Lam on Tuesday signalled the end of a controversial extradition Bill that she promoted and then postponed after some of the most violent protests since the former British colony returned to Chinese rule in 1997.

In a closely watched press conference, Lam apologised for the turmoil but refused to say the Bill would be "withdrawn", only that it wouldn't be re-intro-



"...I will not, this is an undertaking, I will not proceed again with this legislative exercise if (the) fears and anxieties (of the protesters) cannot be adequately addressed."

— **CARRIE LAM**
HONG KONG CHIEF EXECUTIVE

duced during her time in office if public fears persist.

This was the strongest indicator yet that the government was effectively shelving legislation that

would allow people to be extradited to mainland China to face trial, even if it fell short of protester demands for the government to scrap the Bill altogether.

"Because this Bill over the past few months has caused so much anxiety, and worries and differences in opinion, I will not proceed again with this legislative exercise if these fears and anxieties cannot be adequately addressed," Lam told reporters.

Lam, appearing both contrite and defiant, used much of the same language as a previous press conference on Saturday when she announced a postponement of the Bill. A day later, two million people spilled on to the streets, many demanding she step down.

US sending 1,000 more troops to West Asia amid Iran tensions

Not seeking conflict, reiterate Washington and Tehran

MATTHEW LEE

WASHINGTON, JUNE 18

THE US is sending 1,000 more troops to West Asia as tensions in the Persian Gulf mounted Tuesday over Iran's announcement that it would not comply with the international agreement that keeps it from making nuclear weapons. At the same time, Iran insisted it was not seeking war.

Iran's announcement Monday that it could soon start enriching uranium to just a step away from weapons-grade levels challenged US President Donald Trump's assurances to allies that the US withdrawal from the deal last year made the world a safer place.

The Pentagon responded by ordering 1,000 more troops to West Asia, including security forces for additional surveillance and intelligence-gathering. The escalation of American military might was aimed at deterring Iran and calming allies worried about the safety of strategic shipping lanes.

Iran's President, Hassan

EXPLAINED

US forced to invoke deal it rejected after Iran's ultimatum

IRAN SAID Monday it would start violating the 2015 nuclear deal — which was signed by the US, UK, France, China, Russia and Germany — by increasing its uranium stockpile in the next 10 days if other signatories did not help it overcome sanctions. The Trump administration last year withdrew the US from the deal, which restricts Iran's nuclear programme, and reimposed sanctions, triggering the latest round of tensions. After Iran's latest threat, Washington has told Tehran that it must comply with the uranium stockpile limits set by the 2015 deal. This is an awkward situation for the Trump administration, since the President has already pulled the US out from the deal and called it the worst deal in history as the limits set by it do not, according to him, go far enough to stop Iran's nuclear programme.

Rouhani, insisted Tuesday that while "we do not wage war with any nation," Iranians will withstand mounting US pressure and emerge victorious.

In announcing the new deployment, acting US Defence Secretary Patrick Shanahan also stressed that the forces were "for defensive purposes to address

BRITAIN: FOUR CANDIDATES REMAIN AFTER TWO ROUNDS OF VOTING

Boris tops Conservatives' vote again for next PM

ELIZABETH PIPER & WILLIAM JAMES

LONDON, JUNE 18

BREXIT CAMPAIGNER Boris Johnson advanced on the prize of Britain's top political job on Tuesday, winning 126 votes in the second round of a contest to replace Prime Minister Theresa May.

Brexit campaigner Boris Johnson advanced on the prize of Britain's top political job on Tuesday, winning 126 votes in the second round of a contest to re-



place Prime Minister Theresa May. Johnson, the face of the official Brexit campaign in the 2016

referendum, goes through to a third ballot with four other candidates: Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt, Environment Secretary Michael Gove, International Development Minister Rory Stewart, and Home Secretary Sajid Javid.

Dominic Raab, former Brexit minister, was eliminated from the contest with 30 votes. Hunt won 46 votes, Gove 41, Stewart 37 and Javid 33.

In the first round on Thursday, Johnson won 114 out of 313. The candidates who sur-

vived the second round of voting are due to participate in a televised debate at 1900 GMT.

Once the list is whittled down to two candidates, a postal ballot of the wider Conservative Party membership will be held to pick a leader. A new PM should be chosen by the end of July.

Johnson, a former London mayor and foreign minister, says he will take Britain out of the EU by Oct. 31 whether or not there is a deal with Brussels to smooth the transition, potentially setting up a fight with Parliament. **REUTERS**

US-Indian family found dead with gun wounds: Cops say techie shot himself

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, JUNE 18

AN INDIAN-AMERICAN IT professional committed suicide by shooting himself while his wife and two minor sons were shot dead inside their home in Iowa, police said Monday after the authorities conducted autopsies to unravel the mysterious death of all four members of the family.

The bodies of Chandrasekhar Sunkara, 44, Lavanya Sunkara, 41, their 14-year-old son Prabhass Sunkara and 11-year-old son Suhas Sunkara were found in their home on Saturday morning with gunshot wounds. The family was originally from Andhra Pradesh.

West Des Moines police said Chandrasekhar killed himself. His wife and their sons were fatally shot, authorities said. However, police declined to identify their

Tsunami alert after quake in Japan; 12 killed in China tremors

AGENCIES

TOKYO, BEIJING, JUNE 18

JAPAN ISSUED a tsunami advisory Tuesday after a strong 6.8-magnitude earthquake hit the northwest of the country.

A wave of one metre is expected to hit the coast of the Sea of Japan, north of Tokyo, the nation's meteorological agency said.

Officials immediately stopped bullet train services in the region as a precautionary measure, according to public broadcaster NHK, which also said around 200 households were without power.

The meteorological agency said some waves were expected to have already reached some coastlines of Yamagata and Niigata, in the northwest of the country.

Meanwhile, at least 12 people were killed and 125 others injured after two strong earthquakes hit China's southwest Sichuan province on Monday, authorities said Tuesday.

The first 6.0-magnitude earthquake shook Changning county of Yibin city at 10.55 pm on Monday and according to the China Earthquake Centre (CENC), the second tremor of 5.3-magnitude hit the area on Tuesday.

"As so far, 12 people died and another 125 were injured," the Ministry of Emergency Management said. The epicentre of Monday's quake was recorded at a depth of 16 km, the CENC said.

THE TALIBAN DESTROYED BAMIYAN'S BUDDHAS IN 2001

2 Buddhas survived 1,500 yrs; now, fragments and a hologram remain

ROD NORDLAND

BAMIYAN, JUNE 18

HERE IS a reminder to someone with the initials A.B., who on March 8 climbed inside the cliff out of which Bamiyan's two giant Buddhas were carved 1,500 years ago.

In a domed chamber — reached after a trek through a passageway that worms its way up the inside of the cliff face — A.B. inscribed initials and the date, as hundreds of others had in many scripts, then added a little heart.

It is just one of the latest contributions to the destruction of the World Heritage Site of Bamiyan's famous Buddhas.

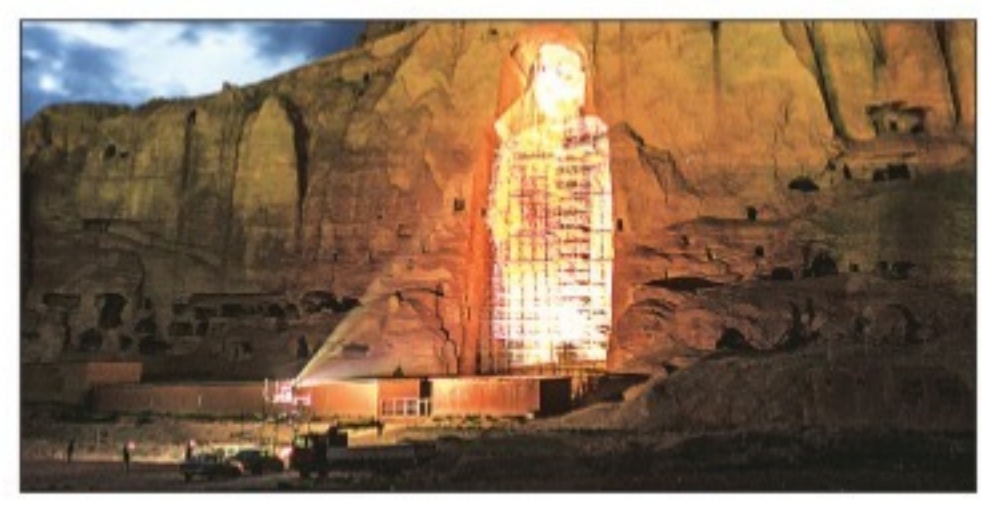
The worst was the Taliban's effort in March 2001, when the

group blasted away at the two giant statues, one 181 feet tall and the other 125 feet tall, which at the time were the two biggest standing Buddhas on the planet.

It took the Taliban weeks, using artillery and explosive charges, to reduce the Buddhas to thousands of fragments piled in heaps at the foot of the cliffs, outraging the world.

Since then, the degradation has continued, as Afghanistan and the international community have spent 18 years debating what to do to protect or restore the site, with still no final decision and often only one guard on duty.

One recent idea came from a wealthy Chinese couple, Janson Hu and Lijian Yu. They financed the creation of a Statue of Liberty-size



A 3-D projection of how a destroyed Buddha, known as Solsol to locals, might have looked in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. NYT

3D light projection of an artist's view of what the larger Buddha, known as Solsol to locals, might have looked like in his prime.

The image was beamed into the niche one night in 2015; later the couple donated their \$120,000 projector to the culture ministry.

The local authorities bring it out on special occasions, but rarely, as Bamiyan has no city power supply, other than fields of low-capac-

ity solar panels. The 3D-image projector is power-hungry and needs its own diesel generator.

Most of the time, the remains of the monument are so poorly guarded that anyone can buy a ticket (\$4 for foreigners, 60 cents for Afghans), walk in and do pretty much whatever he wants. And many do. Souvenir-hunters pluck pieces of painted stucco decorations from the network of chambers or take away chunks of fallen sandstone. Graffiti signatures, slogans, even solicitations for sex abound.

When the Taliban demolished the Buddhas, in an important sense they botched the job.

The Buddhas, built over perhaps a century from AD 550 or so, were just the most prominent parts of a complex of hundreds of

caves, monasteries and shrines, many of them colorfully decorated by the thousands of monks who meditated and prayed in them.

Even without the Buddhas themselves, their niches remain, impressive in their own right; the Statue of Liberty would fit comfortably in the western one.

UNESCO has declared the whole valley, including the more than half-mile-long cliff and its monasteries, a World Heritage Site.

"If the Taliban come back again to destroy it, this time they would have to do the whole cliff," Aslam Alawi, the local head of the Afghan culture ministry, said.

UNESCO has also declared the Bamiyan Buddhas complex a "World Heritage Site in Danger", one of 54 worldwide.

Most archaeologists oppose

restoration, arguing that the damage was too great and that the cost would be prohibitive. Estimates range from \$30 million for one Buddha to \$1.2 billion for the whole complex.

Others argue that the destruction itself has become a historical monument, and that the ruins should be preserved as is, a visible reminder of Taliban iconoclasm.

A scientific conference in Tokyo in 2017 met to study the matter, and to discuss Afghanistan's request for money to rebuild the eastern Buddha. A diplomatically worded final statement called for more study and an indefinite pause in restoration work. Or, as the UNESCO field officer Ghulam Reza Mohammadi in Bamiyan put it, "The Buddhas will never be rebuilt." **NYT**

MEANWHILE

EUROPE'S OLDEST PERSON DIES AT 116

A 116-year-old Italian woman who authorities say was the oldest person in Europe and the second oldest in the world has died. The Italian news agency ANSA said Giuseppina Robucci died Tuesday in the southern Italian town of Poggio Imperiale, where she was born on March 20, 1903. She lived 116 years and 90 days.

Under scrutiny, Pak to shift JuD students to govt-run schools

M ZULQERNAIN

LAHORE, JUNE 18

PAKISTAN PLANS to shift the students of schools run by Mumbai attack mastermind Hafiz Saeed's Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) and Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation (FIF) to government-run institutions after an international terror financing watchdog raised objection over allocation of Rs 180 crore for these schools.

"The government could not satisfy the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) about running a good number of seminaries and schools of JuD and FIF after taking over their control in March. Therefore, the Imran Khan administration is seriously considering shifting the students of these seminaries and schools to the government-run institutions," a senior government official told *PTI* Tuesday.

The official said the FATF was apprehensive of the Pakistani government's move to allocate such a huge sum of money for the JuD and the FIF institutions.

"It (FATF) suspected that the government might not be able to dissociate the JuD and the FIF activists associated with these institutions," he said.

A source in the Punjab government told *PTI* that the JuD and the FIF activists were associated with their educational institutions that the government had taken over.

He said these activists were waiting for the "appropriate

Fawad slapped me, alleges Pak journalist; he called me an Indian spy, says minister

Islamabad: A prominent Pakistani TV journalist has filed a complaint against Science and Technology Minister Fawad Chaudhry, who allegedly slapped him at a wedding function for calling him an "Indian spy".



Pakistan Science and Technology Minister Fawad Chaudhry

Sami Ibrahim, an anchor and executive with the private Bol News TV channel, filed the complaint on Monday against Chaudhry alleging that the minister slapped him, used abusive language, and threatened him with dire consequences at a wedding function last week in Faisalabad.

Chaudhry, a former information minister in Prime Minister Imran Khan's Cabinet, however, said that Ibrahim had misbehaved by previously

calling him an "Indian spy".

Prime Minister Khan spoke to the journalist and assured him that the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party did not support any act by its members that injured an individual's self-respect, the Prime Minister's Office said in a statement on Tuesday. **PTI**

time" to take back their positions. The government has also taken over the JuD headquarters in Lahore and Muridke and stopped Saeed from entering there.

In the first week of March, apparently on international pressure after the deadly Pulwama attack in Jammu and Kashmir, the Pakistani government sealed or took over admin-

istrative control of several establishments run by the proscribed Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), the JuD and the FIF.

Pakistan, despite making some progress in overcoming shortcomings in its counter-terrorism financing and anti-money laundering regimes, continues to remain under the scanner of the global illicit financing watchdog. **PTI**

CRISIS IN KHARTOUM

Stop the war before it starts

A fragile state may disintegrate unless its factions are made to talk



Theoretically Muhammad Hamdan Dagalo (above) is junior to the junta's chairman, General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, but he has become the most powerful man in Sudan. Reuters

THE BURST of optimism in Sudan did not last long. In April, after months of mass protests, a tyrant was deposed. President Omar al-Bashir, who had ruled for 30 years, was ousted in a bloodless coup. No one was sorry to see him go. Mr Bashir had unleashed genocide in the western region of Darfur, his violent oppression drove the southern third of his vast country to secede, and he presided over a regime of exceptional cruelty and avarice. Alas, the joyful crowds who gathered in Khartoum to serenade his departure and paint their faces the colours of the Sudanese flag have been tragically let down.

The Transitional Military Council, a junta that took over, has no intention of holding free or fair elections, as the crowds demand. To underline this point, on June 3rd a paramilitary group called the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) started slaughtering peaceful protesters. They shot and killed at least 100, proba-

bly far more. Some were thrown howling from bridges. Since then the RSF, which grew out of the Janjaweed, a militia notorious for village-burning in Darfur, has terrorised the capital. Militiamen barge into shops and steal goods. Both men and women are raped. The clear aim is to intimidate civilians into giving up hope of a say in who rules them.

The junta, however, is far from united. The RSF reports to Muhammad Hamdan Dagalo, its deputy head, a warlord who goes by the nickname Hemedti. Although theoretically junior to the junta's chairman, General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, Mr Dagalo has become the most powerful man in Sudan. By letting his hired killers rampage through Khartoum, he appears to be signalling that he wants to be president, and will deal firmly with anyone who gets in his way. Other members of the junta are unhappy with this. Officers of the regular army are hostile to Mr Dagalo's ambi-

tions and furious that an ill-disciplined militia is looting the capital. This divide risks descending into civil war.

Sudan is a mosaic of feuds. One ended when the mostly non-Muslim and black African south split from the Muslim and Arab-dominated north in 2011. But South Sudan took most of the oil, leaving less cash for Khartoum to buy off the many northern factions. Mr Bashir stayed on top for three decades by setting these factions against each other. Hoping to coup-proof his regime, he

divided power between the army, the RSF and the intelligence service. All now dislike and distrust one another. In April, when Mr Bashir ordered the intelligence services to fire on protesters and clear the streets, soldiers of the regular army protected the crowds. To prevent a civil war, the generals teamed up with Mr Dagalo to depose Mr Bashir. Now they are falling out.

Outsiders complicate the picture still further. Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) support the junta and have

promised it \$3bn in cash. But within the junta they back different forces. Egypt supports the army, perhaps because Egypt's president is also an army man. Egypt wants stability and hates the idea of a bloodthirsty militia with Islamist ties ruling its neighbour. Saudi Arabia and the UAE, by contrast, back Mr Dagalo with guns and money, because his militia has provided thousands of footsoldiers for their pointless war in Yemen.

Pro-democracy demonstrations keep breaking out in Sudan, despite the regime's repression. Discipline in the armed forces is said to be breaking down: soldiers are demanding weapons to protect Khartoum from the RSF. Some predict open war, or even a Syrian-style implosion that sucks in outside powers.

To avert such a disaster, Sudan needs a power-sharing agreement, led by civilians but with representatives of the armed forces — an arrangement that worked reasonably well

after a revolution in Burkina Faso in 2014. Outsiders should press for it. The African Union has made a good start by suspending Sudan and threatening sanctions on Sudanese military chiefs unless they hand over to civilians. The United States needs to persuade its Gulf allies and Egypt that they share a common interest in keeping Sudan stable (not least to keep out their regional rivals, Iran, Qatar and Turkey). The Trump administration should urge them to set aside their differences and work together to defuse the time-bomb in Khartoum. Donors should be poised to help any plausible effort to move towards election and civilian rule.

Sudan is wobbling on a cliff-edge above an inferno. A concerted international effort might just pull it back from the brink. It would be unforgivable not to try.

©The Economist Newspaper Limited 2019

Pro-democracy demonstrations keep breaking out in Sudan, despite the regime's repression. Discipline in the armed forces is said to be breaking down: soldiers are demanding weapons to protect Khartoum from the Rapid Support Forces

CHARITY AT SCALE

More is less

Why an anti-poverty programme in Bangladesh failed

A YEAR and a half ago *The Economist* wrote about a promising approach to cutting poverty in Bangladesh ("On their bikes", January 27th 2018). RDRS, a charity, was offering small loans to more than 100,000 poor farmers on the condition that they migrated temporarily to a city for work. Everything seemed to be set fair. Smaller randomised controlled trials had shown that many men could be persuaded to move while the rice crop is growing, when there is not much work to be done at home. Although the migrants found only low-paid jobs, as rickshaw drivers, building labourers and the like, their fortunes had greatly improved. It looked like a true poverty cure.

Sadly, things soon began to go wrong. Evidence Action, the charity overseeing the scheme, heard rumours that somebody involved with the project may have sought to bribe a government official, though it could not substantiate them. More damningly, as the data came in, it became clear that in 2017 few men had been persuaded to migrate. On June 6th Evidence Action announced it was shutting down the scheme. What looked like a miracle cure for poverty now seems like a warning about the pitfalls of development projects.

Do-gooding schemes that work brilliantly in trials often fail when they are scaled up, says Justin Sandefur of the Centre for Global Development, a think-tank. Trials are often overseen by determined PHD students. When large charities or government officials take over, as they must if a project is

Do-gooding schemes that work brilliantly in trials often fail when they are scaled up, says Justin Sandefur of the Centre for Global Development, a think-tank. Trials are often overseen by determined PHD students. When large charities or government officials take over, as they must if a project is to be done at scale, much changes

to be done at scale, much changes. Rules and regulations multiply; bad behaviour becomes more likely. Big schemes can attract hefty opposition.

One charity in Kenya had shown that hiring teachers on fixed-term contracts improved pupils' test scores. So the government rolled out the contracts across the country. But a political backlash meant that the contracted teachers were promised trade-union representation, just like ordinary teachers. Not surprisingly, an evaluation by Mr Sandefur and others found that the government's reform had no effect.

In Bangladesh the problem may have



A chicken seller walks along the railway tracks in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Reuters

been targets. Many of the "migration organisers" who fanned out to villages, offering to subsidise journeys to cities, seem to have been expected to sign up 450 migrants each. They may have done what anybody would do in that situation: approach men who had

migrated before or were especially eager to travel. Because most of those men would have made the journey anyway, the project had little effect.

Mushfiq Mobarak of Yale University, who helped develop the Bangladesh mi-

gration project, says that the episode shows how important it is to keep collecting and analysing data as schemes grow. But, as he points out, it is possible that exactly the opposite lesson will be learned. Rigorous, ongoing analysis of development projects is

slow, expensive, hard — and, as researchers keep discovering, liable to turn up uncomfortable facts. It is much easier just to assume that your project is doing good.

©The Economist Newspaper Limited 2019

SECTOR SCAN
AVIATION

May domestic air passenger traffic grows by 2.96% after slump in April

This was the first full month after Jet Airways suspended operations

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

FOLLOWING A dip in April, domestic air passenger traffic saw a rebound in May increasing 2.96 per cent year-on-year, according to data released by the Directorate General of Civil Aviation (DGCA). This was the first full month after Jet Airways suspended operations. In April, domestic air passenger traffic had dropped by 4.5 per cent over the same month last year.

Suspension of operations by Jet Airways on April 17 due to lack of funds was considered to be one of the primary reasons why domestic air traffic saw a fall in that month. IndiGo, which had a market share of 49.9 per cent in April, maintained its lead position with 49 per cent share of the domestic passenger market in May. Experts believe that the airline will become subject to greater regulatory scrutiny from the Competition Commission of India (CCI) once its market share crosses 50 per cent.

SpiceJet's market share increased from 13.1 per cent in April to 14.8 per cent in May, giving it the number two spot, as per the data. The market share of Air India, GoAir, AirAsia and Vistara were 13.5 per cent, 11.1 per cent, 6.3 per cent and 4.7 per cent, respectively, in May this year.

The passenger load factor (PLF) — which is measured by dividing the number of passengers to the number of available seats in a flight — for SpiceJet was 93.9 per cent in May, as per the data. "For the 50th month in a row SpiceJet has flown with the highest loads in India. In May, our PLF stood at 93.9 per cent. This is a feat unparalleled in global aviation industry and a huge milestone for SpiceJet. This record firmly establishes

'EXPECT HIGHER GROWTH SOON'

■ Experts had pegged increase in fares due to restrained capacity on account of suspension of Jet operations could be hurdle for traffic growth

■ Expect higher growth in the coming months as more seat capacity comes in, an analyst said

SpiceJet's standing as country's most preferred airline," said Shilpa Bhatia, chief sales and revenue officer of SpiceJet.

For GoAir, IndiGo, Air Asia and Vistara, the passenger load factor stood at 93.3 per cent, 90.9 per cent, 87.8 per cent and 85.6 per cent, respectively, in May. Air India's passenger load factor was at 85 per cent in May, the DGCA data showed.

Sharat Dhall, chief operating officer (B2C) of Yatra.com, said: "Considering the slow growth in the last two months due to turbulence in the aviation industry, it is encouraging to see a month-on-month growth of 2.96 per cent." "Induction of new aircraft and discounts offered by the airlines has marginally lifted the passenger traffic. We expect higher growth in the coming months as more seat capacity comes in and airlines are also likely to announce further sales as we move into the off-peak period," he added.

Sectoral experts had earlier pegged that increase in fares due to restrained capacity on account of suspension of Jet operations could be a hurdle for India's air traffic growth. India's domestic air traffic witnessed double digit growth for 24 straight months.

WITHIN THE NEXT 10 DAYS

Draft e-commerce policy: Goyal asks firms to submit concerns

Meeting was held in order to understand the concerns of the tech industry

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

COMMERCE AND Industry minister Piyush Goyal has requested e-commerce firms to send their concerns about India's draft e-commerce policy to the Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT) within the next 10 days.

The meeting, coming months after DPIIT circulated the 42-page draft policy that caused alarm especially among foreign e-commerce players, was held in order for the minister to understand the concerns of the tech industry and Indian and foreign e-commerce companies.

Goyal sought their suggestions towards building "a robust data protection framework that will achieve the dual purpose of privacy and innovation and strengthen India's position as a global tech leader with focus on trust and innovation," stated the Commerce Ministry in a release following the meeting.

The e-commerce industry representatives present at the meeting felt the draft was "not adequately consultative", ac-

NOT ADEQUATELY CONSULTATIVE, FIRMS SAID

■ Representatives from the e-commerce industry present at the meeting felt the draft policy was "not adequately consultative", according to the ministry, adding that Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal assured them that "each and every concern of the industry will be addressed"

■ The firms also put forward concerns related to Reserve Bank of India's data storage requirements and processing related guidelines. "Deputy Governor, B.P. Kanungo, assured the industry representatives that the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) will look into this," the Ministry statement said

According to the ministry, adding that the minister assured them that "each and every concern of the industry will be addressed"

The companies represented in this meeting also put forward concerns related to Reserve Bank of India's data storage requirements and processing related guidelines. "Deputy Governor of RBI, B.P. Kanungo, assured the industry representatives that the Reserve Bank of India will look into this," stated the release.

Principles of data protection and privacy were discussed "at length" during the meeting, with industry representatives requesting the minister to ensure that the Ministry of

Electronics and Information Technology's (MeitY) Data Protection Bill have "more clarity around classification of data and the manner of cross border flow of data".

The minister also said that MeitY and the National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM) may deal with the concerns of companies who build products in India and store their data in the country and that the Bill "must reflect this."

MeitY secretary Ajay Prakash Sawhney assured e-commerce companies that the bill would reflect "all" the consultations that had taken place with the industry during its formulation, it added.

It further proposed setting up a framework to restrict cross-border flow of data.

'FY20 wind capacity addition likely to rise 3.5-4.0 GW'

Wind energy generation capacity addition is likely to improve to 3.5-4.0 GW this fiscal, while land acquisition and transmission connectivity challenges will remain crucial, rating agency Icria said

MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVT TOWARDS RESOLVING ISSUES FACED BY DEVELOPERS

- Facilitation charge to state governments providing support for land acquisition
- Investments towards augmenting inter-state transmission infrastructure

FACTORS LEADING TO RISE IN AVERAGE BID TARIFF

- Higher implementation risks in projects awarded so far
- Lower competition with bids being under-subscribed
- Financing challenges



>12 GW

Overall wind power capacity awarded by central nodal agencies and state distribution utilities since February 2017

1.6 GW

Wind power capacity added in FY2019, owing to delays in execution caused by land acquisition issues and securing transmission connectivity

<₹3/unit
Tariff discovered in recent wind power auctions₹2.64/unit
Average bid tariff in calendar year 2018, as against Rs 3.01 per unit in calendar year 2017₹2.85/unit
Average bid tariff in five months of calendar year 2019

IAG inks letter of intent for 200 Boeing 737MAX

REUTERS
LE BOURGET, FRANCE, JUNE 18

BOEING WON a major vote of confidence at the Paris Airshow on Tuesday as British Airways owner IAG signed a letter of intent (LoI) to buy 200 of its 737 MAX aircraft that have been grounded since March after two deadly crashes.

News of the deal, worth more than \$24 billion at list prices, sent shockwaves round the world's largest air show which had struggled to find its rhythm amid the 737 MAX crisis and concerns about an economic slowdown.

Airbus, the current supplier of IAG's British Airways (BA) and Vueling brands, was stunned by

the announcement which came months after it lost a major BA wide-body aircraft order to its US rival. Industry sources said it seemed unlikely the European company had been offered a chance to bid.

"We have every confidence in Boeing and expect that the aircraft will make a successful return to service in the coming months," IAG Chief Executive Willie Walsh said of the 737 MAX, announcing the first deal for the plane since its grounding.

IAG said it planned for the mix of 737-8 and 737-10 aircraft to be delivered between 2023 and 2027. Meanwhile, Airbus and Boeing bagged more than \$17 billion in plane deals.

Connectivity is foundation for Internet of Things revolution, says IT Secretary

KARISHMA MEHROTRA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

COMMENTING ON the 7 per cent growth of internet domain names in India as compared to the global 3 per cent growth, IT Secretary Ajay Sawhney said the numbers are still not adequate enough.

"Compared with the global 3 per cent, 7 per cent might seem like a lot, but we don't get very impressed with 7 per cent growth. We are underwhelmed by this. Anything less than double digits here is actually sort of unacceptable," he said to foreign visitors from the global organisation Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN).

7 per cent might seem like a lot, but we don't get very impressed with 7 per cent growth. We are underwhelmed by this. Anything less than double digits here is actually sort of unacceptable, he said

ICANN, a non-profit that maintains the world's internet domain names, announced its partnership with India's NASSCOM for a new research partnership 'Internet Identifier Innovation Center'. The initial project will focus on the technological concept called 'Internet of Things (IoT)', which are Internet-connected sensors in physical devices that can send and receive data about those devices.

Globally, IoT most often refers

to household appliances (such as security systems or lights and speakers), but Sawhney urged the stakeholders to innovate for India's problems and gave the examples of soil conditions, irrigation, pollution, and transportation. ICANN is currently working in Ghana and Argentina to place IoT devices on free range cattle to stop them from stomping on farmland.

However, the foundation for India's IoT revolution is further in-

ternet expansion, Sawhney said. "Covering 500 million users, we still have room to grow to more than double this. One could still say it is early times," he said.

Last year's National Digital Communications Policy includes calls for broadband for all, four million more digital communication jobs, and ensuring digital sovereignty by 2022. "I sometimes wonder myself how will we accomplish all these extremely ambitious goals for ourselves," Sawhney said of the policy.

He also announced plans to scale up the 'National Knowledge Network' (NKM) that connects 500 districts and 1680 research institutions to a common Internet and data centers.

SBI moves NCLT against Jet Airways; shares plunge 41%

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
MUMBAI, JUNE 18

STATE BANK OF India (SBI) on Tuesday moved the Mumbai bench of National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT) for resolution of Jet Airways under the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC). Jet Airways shares plunged nearly 41 per cent on the stock exchanges following the decision of lenders to take the airline to NCLT.

NCLT is likely to take up the petition on Wednesday. Other banks in the consortium which lent funds to the crippled airline are also expected to join the petition. "We are hopeful of a resolution under the IBC rather than liquidation. Bidders are likely to be attracted by exemptions under IBC. Exemption from Sebi open offer may be possible through IBC," said a banking source.

Jet Airways owes over Rs 8,500 crore to lenders.

Ethihad Airways, which holds around 24 per cent stake in Jet Airways, was the only shortlisted bidder to put in a bid. The Hinduja group later made its interest in Jet Airways public, and the two groups were in talks for a possible deal. Lenders said that they had received just one conditional bid, and that the investor had asked for Sebi exemption.

Meanwhile, Jet Airways scrip plummeted 40.78 per cent to close at Rs 40.45 on the BSE. During the day, it tanked 52.78 per cent to hit an all-time low of Rs 32.25. Over 60.5 lakh shares of the company were traded on the BSE and over four crore shares on the NSE during the day. This the 12th consecutive trading day's fall for Jet and the scrip has plunged over 73 per cent during this time, wiping out Rs 1,253.5 crore from its market valuation on the BSE.

EXPLAINED

Banks to take a hit if Jet goes for liquidation

AS PER the IBC procedure, once NCLT takes up the case, an Insolvency professional (IP) will be appointed who in turn will assess the company's financial position and work out potential resolution plans, including liquidation or identifying a suitable investor.

If the airline goes for liquidation, banks are unlikely to get much as there are not much tangible assets for loan recovery.

The scrip has also been on a backfoot following announcement that stock exchanges will impose restrictions on trading in Jet Airways' shares from June 28 as part of preventive surveillance measures to curb excessive volatility, according to a circular issued last week. After a meeting of the 26 lenders on Monday, SBI in a statement said that "after due deliberations, the lenders have decided to seek resolution for Jet Airways under the bankruptcy code since only a conditional bid was received". The fate of the airline, which shut down operations on April 17, 2019 after it ran out of cash, will be decided as per the June 7 circular of the RBI.

Govt retires 15 customs, excise officers facing corruption charges

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, JUNE 18

A WEEK after sacking "errant" income tax officers, the government Tuesday compulsorily retired from service 15 senior customs and central excise officials, including one of the rank of Principal Additional Director General (ADG), following alleged charges of corruption and bribery. Invoking rule 56(j) of the Fundamental Rules, the government has sacked these Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs (CBIC) officers ranging from the ranks of Principal Commissioner to Assistant Commissioner, some of whom were already under suspension, according to a Finance Ministry statement.

These officers either had corruption cases registered against them by the CBI or were involved in bribery, extortion and disproportionate assets cases, Finance Ministry sources said. Among those compulsorily retired include Principal Commissioner Anup Kumar Srivastava, who was serving as Principal ADG (Audit) in the CBIC in Delhi, and Joint Commissioner Nalin Kumar who is presently under suspension, the order said.

Sources said that the CBI had in 1996 registered a criminal conspiracy case against Srivastava and alleged that he had shown favours to a house building society which was trying to obtain NOC for land purchases in violation of law. The CBI had booked another case against him in 2012 for allegedly demanding and accepting bribe from an importer to cover up a duty evasion case. He also had complaints of selective arrests, harassment and extortion against him, and the Estate Office had imposed a penalty of Rs 20 lakh against Principal ADG for non vacation of government flat. Joint Commissioner Nalin Kumar, who was under suspension, had CBI cases against him relating to allowing fraudulent drawback and disproportionate assets, too was compulsorily retired from service on Tuesday.

The other officers compulsorily retired include: Atul Dikshit, Commissioner, (IRS 1988 Batch), Sansar Chand, Commissioner, (IRS

Sacked officers range from ranks of Principal Commissioner to Assistant Commissioner, some of whom were under suspension

1986 Batch), Gaddala Sree Harsha, Commissioner, (IRS 1990 Batch), Vinay Brij Singh, Commissioner, (IRS 1995 Batch), Ashok Ratilal Mahida, Additional Commissioner, (IRS 1990 Batch), Virendra Kuma Agarwal, Additional Commissioner, (IRS 1990 Batch), Amresh Jain, Deputy Commissioner (IRS 1992 Batch), Surendra Singh Pabana, Assistant Commissioner, (IRS 2014 Batch), Surendra Singh Bisht, (IRS 2014 Batch), Vinod Kumar Sanga, Assistant Commissioner, (IRS 2014 Batch), Raju Sekar, Additional Commissioner, (IRS 1992 Batch), Ashok Kumar Aswal, Deputy Commissioner, (IRS 2003 Batch), Mohd Altaf, (IRS 2009 Batch).

"In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (j) of Rule 56 of the Fundamental Rules, the President of India has retired 15 officers of Indian Revenue Service (IRS)(C&CE) in public interest with immediate effect on completing 50 years of age," the finance ministry said. "All these 15 Officers will be paid a sum equivalent to the pay and allowances for a period of three months calculated at the same rate at reach they are supposed to be withdrawing then (Pay & Allowances) immediately before their retirement," it said.

Rule 56(j) of the Fundamental Rules allows the appropriate authority to retire any government servant, in public interest, by giving notice of three months. Commissioner in Kolkata Sansar Chand, who was allegedly involved in bribery, while Chennai-based Commissioner G Shree Harsha, who had a disproportionate asset case to the extent of Rs 2.24 crore, too were compulsorily retired. In case of these two officers, CBI had laid a trap and nabbed them.

Last week, the government had compulsorily retired 12 senior IRS (income tax) officers, following charges of corruption, extortion and professional misconduct against them.

DAYS AFTER INDIA HIKE CUSTOMS DUTIES ON 28 US PRODUCTS

Worsening trade with India hurts California almond growers: US Senator

LALIT K JHA
WASHINGTON, JUNE 18

A TOP US Senator has slammed President Donald Trump for "damaging" trade ties with India, saying his actions are hurting California almond growers who export more than \$650 million worth of nuts to the country every year.

California Senator Dianne Feinstein's criticism of the US President came days after India announced a hike in customs duties on as many as 28 US

products, including almond, pulses and walnut, in response to higher tariffs imposed by Washington on Indian products like steel and aluminium.

"India just placed a 75 per cent tariff on almonds in response to President Trump's trade war. His actions are hurting California almonds."

"California almond exports to India are worth more than \$650 million a year. The president must stop damaging trade relations with our allies," Senator Feinstein said.

Almond growers in the US

"California almond exports to India are worth more than \$650 million a year. The president must stop damaging trade relations with our allies,"

DIANNE FEINSTEIN
CALIFORNIA SENATOR

are a worried lot as authorities last month predicted a record California almond crop for the upcoming production year.

According to the Almond alliance of California, its almond export is being badly hit by retaliatory tariffs from both China and India.

California almond orchards

are expected to produce 2.50 billion pounds of nuts this year, up 8.69 per cent from last year's 2.30 billion-pound crop, it said.

The Indian move is also seen in retaliation to Trump's decision terminating India's designation as a beneficiary developing nation under the key GSP trade programme after deter-

mining that it has not assured the US that it will provide "equitable and reasonable access to its markets". The suspension became effective June 5. India's retaliatory tariffs came into effect Sunday.

Apple and almond are some of the other American agricultural products to be impacted by India's retaliatory tariffs.

The move will hurt American exporters of these 28 items as they will have to pay higher duties, making those items costlier in the Indian market.

Earlier, the list included 29 goods but India has removed artemisia, a kind of shrimp, from the list. The country would get about \$217 million additional revenue from such imports.

America had in March last year imposed 25 per cent tariff on steel and a 10 per cent import duty on aluminium products. Earlier, there was no duty on these goods.

India's exports to the US in 2017-18 stood at \$47.9 billion, while imports were at \$26.7 billion. The trade balance is in favour of India. PTI

19 TALK

ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD

SNAP SHOTS



Start Them Young

BOOKAROO, THE Children's Literature festival, which is organised by the Delhi-based Bookaroo trust is all set to make its debut in Gangtok, Sikkim, and will be held on June 28 and 29. There will be 18 speakers which includes storytellers, authors, illustrators and poets.

Bookaroo Gangtok will feature Reshma Thapa Gurung, author of *The Very Wiggly Tooth*, who lives in the city. She will team up with the illustrator of the book, Canato Jimo for the session. Chewang Dorjee Bhutia also from Sikkim, and a teacher at National Institute of Design, Amaravati, will tell the story of the *Cloud Eater of Sikkim*. There will be stories from neighbouring countries, Nepal and Bhutan, presented by Bandana Tulachan and Chador Wangmo respectively.

Then there is Kapil Pandey, singer-cum-marathoner-cum-storyteller-cum-signage creator, and Bhagirathi, a first-time storyteller in Bookaroo from Chennai, who will present her stories through shadow puppetry. Author Shruthee Rao, based in the US, will be at the festival to hold a session on 20 Indians who changed the world. For details, visit: www.bookaroo.in.



Double Trouble

OLIVIA WILDE (above) and Jon Hamm have joined the star-studded cast of *Richard Jewell*, which is being helmed by veteran filmmaker Clint Eastwood. The film revolves around Jewell's life, a security guard working at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. Hailed as a hero who saved many lives by locating a suspicious backpack, Jewell's life turns on its head when a reporter reports that Jewell could be a possible suspect for the pipe-bombing.

Billy Ray has written the screenplay which is based on an article that was published in *Vanity Fair*. Reportedly, Wilde will play the real-life reporter Kathy Scruggs, who covered the event and Hamm will play an FBI agent who's investigating the bombing. Paul Hauser shall essay the titular role in the film that is being produced by Warner Bros.

'We see whales dying and turtles struggling, yet march on'

Aruna Ganesh Ram on her new work, *Under Pressure*, the effects of consumerism and its environmental consequence

DIPANITA NATH

FOR 15 YEARS, Aruna Ganesh Ram has been creating works of art that audiences can touch, taste, smell, see, and hear, from *Re:play* (2013-2014) in which audiences play traditional Indian games as part of the performance, to *Stand on the Street* (2018), about the compelling stories of street food vendors who rustle up mouthwatering delicacies while battling socio-economic challenges. At the Serendipity Arts Festival in Goa, she had premiered *Memory Recipe* (2016) in which olfactory impulses led audiences on a journey of food and memory. A work on gender, *Coloured and Choosing*, was featured in the Gender Bender Festival 2016.

Based in Bengaluru, Ram is now travelling to other cities with a piece, titled *Under Pressure*, which revolves around the present danger of climate change and the inevitable apocalypse. The intimate storytelling arches over an 8,000-year-old tree, extinct birds, a larger-than-life puppet, political speeches, embodied movement, heartfelt storytelling and shocking facts. It presents multiple perspectives — from policymakers to ragpickers.

Ram had started theatre as a hobby at school and began to enjoy it so much that she decided to do it all the time. A graduate in Communication and Design, specialising in photography and film, she honed her skills during her post-graduation in Advanced Theatre Practice from The Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, London, before starting her performance art company, Visual Respiration. Excerpts:

Art celebrates nature but rarely deals with the subject of climate change. What was your trigger?

The initial trigger was a podcast in which Amitav Ghosh asks, "What occupies the front and last pages of our newspapers? That is indicative of our priorities as a species." In that podcast, he urged artists, writers and journalists to do more work around the environment. This made me look at my own work and the environment was not part of it. We're all consumerists and have pushed that welcome too far. In cities, people are living their lives by clicking on apps. Stuff



We've been so intelligently sold a way of life — one that we believe will make us happier. This rampant and pointless materialism got me thinking about *Under Pressure*

ARUNA GANESH RAM

keeps pouring into and out of their homes. I am part of this problem too. But, what makes me want to keep buying and keep throwing? We've been so intelligently sold a way of life — one that we believe will make us happier and believe that we are living fulfilled lives. This rampant and, somewhat pointless, materialism around me got me thinking about *Under Pressure*.

How do you translate your concern into a performance?

With the message around the environment, I wanted it to be in your face because we're seeing whales dying and turtles struggling yet we just march on, living our lives "to the fullest". How do we build empathy for the earth? How do we learn to tread lightly? Can we co-exist within nature? These are some of the questions that helped our exploration. During research, we read that by 2050, there will be more plastic in the ocean than fish. This was an alarming fact and got us to imagine what life would be like in 2050. The team and I went looking at how people behaved in public spaces — in malls, theatres, coffee shops, amusement parks. The vision I had was to capture our material lives into 24 actions to represent 24 hours of the day. Each action was then built into a scene — in a

#2minutelife kind of fashion; so it moves quickly, just like our attention span these days.

What is the performance style and structure of *Under Pressure*?

Our performance is divided in three sections. The first section is 'Earth'. Here, we try and slow time down for the audience, as we embody nature in many ways. For this, we have chosen the form of movement, poetry and personal narratives. The second section is 'Human, The Consumerist'. Here we have chosen behavioural gesture and physical theatre as forms. The third section of the performance is about 'Polymer' and for this, we use puppets and props. Every audience member relates to these forms differently. While some of them enjoy conversation, the others enjoy movement. From a creation point of view, I have worked with layering each of these moments, one form after another to create what I'd like to call a sensory montage.

Whose poetry have you used?

We are using the poem *Aam* by Gulzar. This poem is a way to trigger nostalgia and the poet's relationship with a tree. Another poet is of Jane Hirschfeld, whose *Optimism* and *On the Fifth Day* capture the overarching narrative of our work. I have also written some poetry in the piece around resilience.

***Under Pressure* comes after a well-received work, *Stand on the Street*. Do you see a trajectory of your development as an artist between these two pieces?**

While *Stand on the Street* talks about human stories, *Under Pressure* asks questions about our choices. *Stand on the Street* focuses on human struggle while *Under Pressure* focuses on the planet's struggle because of the human. Both these plays are very different from each other in their form, construct and aesthetics. I'm glad that every piece of mine is very different from the previous one and that constant exploration is also what keeps me doing what I do.

At TIFA Working Studios in Pune on June 21, and at Cuckoo Club, Mumbai, on June 30



(Top) Aruna Ganesh Ram; The play captures our material lives into 24 actions to represent 24 hours of the day



FROM THE VERY BEGINNING

The prequel of the best-selling franchise, *Hunger Games*, is in the works and is set for a May 2020 release. The untitled book is set in the world of Panem, 64 years before the events of the dystopian franchise, and 10 years after the "Dark Days," a failed rebellion.

MY FIRST

ARTISTS ON THEIR FIRST ART PURCHASE

JITISH KALLAT



WHAT: Anish Kapoor's *Mother of Light*, 1991, Spit bite aquatint, 135 x 110 cm (pictured)

WHEN: In 2000 from Willem Baars in Amsterdam

ABOUT THE WORK: I am not much of an art collector but I felt an intuitive connection with this work. It was displayed in the office of my gallerist-friend Willem Baars in Amsterdam, and it was an instinctual decision to acquire it. I have known Anish's sculptural work since I was a student, but at the time I was less familiar with his etchings and drawings. The whirling washes of burnt sienna and amber forming an agitation in the periphery with the glowing,



calm luminosity in the centre, is perhaps the inverse of what usually occurs in Anish's sculptures where the centre often gives an impression of immense darkness.

ALSO IN MY COLLECTION: I have a work by Korean artist Dongwook Lee, a photo piece by Raqs Media, a large painting by Prajakta Palav, drawings by Nalini Malani and laser-cut acrylic works by Pakistani artist Huma Mulji.

VANDANA KALRA

Known Strangers

For World Refugee Day, an exhibition highlights stories of asylum seekers in India

EARLY THIS year, Migration and Asylum Project (MAP), a Delhi-based refugee law centre that works for forced migrants and refugees, organised an exhibition in Delhi, called "Passage to Asylum", that presented an immersive experience of what a refugee faces in a new country. It not only left one unsettled, but drove home the idea of loss, confusion and uncertainty. With the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), MAP is back to raise awareness on World Refugee Day that falls on June 20.

"An exhibition of Refugee Art and Photographs" will be showcased at the Alliance Francaise de Delhi. "The photographs, taken by students and amateurs, present the daily life of refugees in India. You'll see children and mothers, people working, studying, walking the streets. The idea is to humanise them because often they are perceived as strangers. We want to show that they are people like you and me," says Ipshta Sengupta of UNHCR.

The photographs of refugees from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Syria, Iraq and Africa tell of their untold journeys, of sexual and gender violence, of being separated from parents and children, of death and extreme trauma. "We have seen single mothers travel with their children, often unable to support themselves in new environments. Then there are also instances when qualified professionals such as doctors, activists, engineers come to the country and can't find jobs that are at par with their expertise. They have to work as daily wage earners or waiters and that results in a loss of dignity for them," says Sengupta.

On June 15, UNHCR had organised an awareness programme at Lodhi Garden, Delhi, as part of the their "2 Billion Kilometers to Safety" campaign to show solidarity with families torn apart by war and violence and to honour the experiences and resilience of refugees. The campaign urged people to walk, run or cycle to achieve a cumulative total of two billion kilometres, the distance that refugees are forced to flee every year from their homes to reach the first point of safety, according to UNHCR's estimates.

"The choice of Lodhi Garden as a place of historicity has served our purpose well considering the number of people who saw our campaign. Such initiatives help address misconceptions about refugees and propagate the idea of aid in any form, through donation or empathy," says Sengupta.

The refugee crisis is one of the most pertinent situations, with nearly 68.5 million people displaced from their homes.



The photos depict the quotidian lives of refugees in the Capital

Over half of them women and children, according to the Global Trends report published by UNHCR in June 2018. The lack of refugee laws in the country and a clear system in place denies asylum seekers the access to basic amenities such as health and education. Besides that, they carry the burden of trauma without any psycho-social assistance.

This exhibition over two days will also feature crafts by Afghani women, and food from Palestine, Afghanistan, Congo and Somalia. "There is hope. Some of the asylum seekers have never experienced freedom in their own countries. Coming to India has given them an opportunity to explore their skills and use it to support themselves and contribute to the economy," says Sengupta.

The show at Alliance Francaise de Delhi is on June 19 and 20, from 11 am to 7 pm

SMRTI KRISHNANUNNI

Wearing Them Like Second Skin

Remembering Gloria Vanderbilt who glamed up denims like no one else

EKTAA MALIK

JEANS TILL the mid-seventies in the US were usually worn by blue-collared workers and cowboys working on ranches in the wild, wild west. The one person who helped them evolve into the hip-hugging, boot-cut avatar, and a wardrobe essential of today was American actor and fashion designer Gloria Vanderbilt. The designer passed away on June 17, at the age of 95 at her residence in Manhattan, New York.

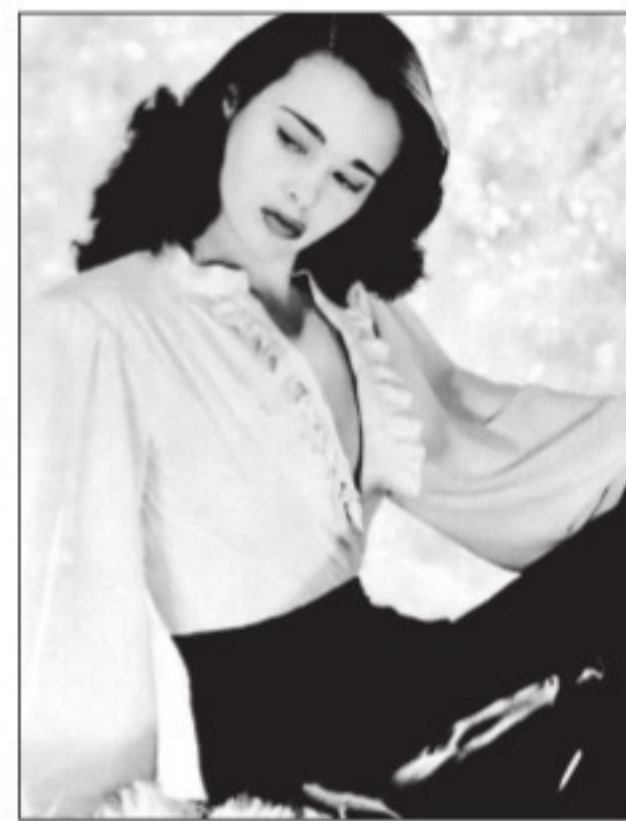
The multi-hued personality single-handedly reinvented jeans by making them sleeker and more clingy on the waist and by adding an embroidered patch on the back pocket making them designer wear. "She was a true pioneer with her iconic denims. In the 1970s, when jeans were only consid-

Gloria was a phenomena of designer branding. She was at the forefront of the celebrity movement that was just beginning then

DAVID ABRAHAM

ered a garment suited to men and a work-wear staple, Vanderbilt made her jeans distinctively form fitting, giving her wearers an instant flattering shape, with a reason to truly own and celebrate their body forms," says Mumbai-based designer Diksha Khanna, who primarily works in denim and has even denim saris to her credit.

Vanderbilt, an heiress to the Vanderbilt



(Above) Gloria Vanderbilt; she made her jeans distinctively form fitting

fortune — Cornelius Vanderbilt, the railway magnate was a direct ancestor — was often dubbed the 'poor little rich girl'. In a life that was as dramatic as the clothes she sported and the company she kept, there were reports of her flings with Frank Sinatra and Marlon Brando, she survived three divorces

and the loss of one of her grown children in tragic circumstances. She also dabbled in acting. It's in the seventies that she soared as a fashion pioneer by her trademark Amanda jeans, which sold six million pairs in 1979. She competed with other high-end labels like Calvin Klein, Guess and Jordache and did not feature super models in the advertisements, rather she modelled the jeans herself in many campaigns. "The idea of 'fit' and 'luxury' in denim was something that she conceptualised and will be remembered for," says designer Rajesh Pratap Singh.

Vanderbilt, who often made news, was remembered by her son Anderson Cooper as someone who "lived her entire life in the public eye". "She was quite a society figure, and was always making news. Her signature hair bob too was iconic and she was extraordinary looking. Her's was the first label that took jeans from the masses to a more upmarket, fashionable brand. She glamoured the humble blue jeans like no one else and gave it a high-society vibe. She was a phenomena of designer branding. She had this single, very good idea and took it places. She was at the forefront of the celebrity movement that was just beginning then," says David Abraham, of the label Abraham and Thakore. You know who to thank the next time you pull on a boot-cut jeans that hugs your waist like second skin.

