

The golden rules of doubles

How the IndiGo founders deviated from the flight path



KAVIL RAMACHANDRAN

The story of IndiGo soaring to great heights as a first-generation business set up by two individuals with diverse backgrounds has been amazing. The game the duo played with Rahul Bhatia as the captain and Rakesh Gangwal in a supportive role all these years has given the company a 50 per

cent market share of the Indian aviation sector. IndiGo hit an air pocket when Gangwal raised multiple governance issues. While the operations are intact, thanks to high level of professionalisation, the current imbroglio could lead to a larger crisis that could (and should) have been avoided with some strategic thinking on managing a doubles game.

Basic rules of playing with a partner successfully: Playing a doubles game successfully is difficult. Players need to complement each other on competence and capabilities; they have to not only bring value to the table as subject champions but also have a compassionate mind to support each other. The partners must be able to read each other's minds clearly and

empathise. Mutual trust is fundamental to achieving the same and making the doubles team a winner always.

Any doubles game that is played on a long-term basis is under the influence of both internal and external forces. The players and their priorities undergo changes, often without them realising they have, even as the external environment changes rapidly. That is when the game becomes tricky. While the players are busy with the game and their own other priorities in life, the tarmac itself may change when the environment drives the business into unanticipated success and glory. The scenario may go out of strategic control before the captain realises what is happening. Once trust is lost between the partners, the

fall is fast. This is what happened in Indigo.

Where did the Indigo founders go wrong?

The Bhatia-Gangwal shareholders' agreement provided for the board constitution and its composition, giving Bhatia the lead role in operations. The fundamental assumption in that was the partners would consciously identify and address all possible concerns that have not been articulated. This includes implications for the company's strategic response to emerging growth opportunities with the market suddenly opening up and the existing players losing competitiveness. The IndiGo founders do not seem to have had identical views on a number of areas covering how, when and where of a new growth strategy. They also do not seem to have thought through a resolution route to addressing such unan-

ticipated situations. While growth is fine, how much one wants to grow and how fast are equally important, raising questions about a number of questions about strategy implementation and resources building.

The challenge seems to have been compounded when the personal priorities of the two individuals concerned also underwent changes. One of the points of governance concern raised by Gangwal is about related party transactions and conflict of interest of Bhatia whose family has a significant presence in the hospitality sector. When they started the journey in 2004, such a scenario did not exist. While it is not explicitly reported, there is every possibility of one partner feeling left out of a lot of discussions covering the grey area where strategy and operations overlap. This normally happens when the dominant player gains greater confidence and starts asserting himself while the other player does not object

initially or clearly!

Tricks to avoid grounding a flight: Doubles players (teams too) must recognise that the destiny of their creation/product depends on two pillars and any of their actions, including inadvertent and involuntary, may lead to the collapse of the empire that took several years and huge effort and sacrifice to create. They have both moral and economic responsibilities to preserve their creation. They need to constantly revisit the background to their coming together to play, changes in their own priorities, aspirations and capabilities and what they want to make the organisation to be in an environment that is undergoing changes rapidly. Regular and structured formal reviews must accompany informal heart to heart dialogues for long-term togetherness.

The author is professor and executive director, Thomas Schmidheiny Centre for Family Enterprise at the ISB

CHINESE WHISPERS

How happy are you?



The Kamal Nath-led Congress government in Madhya Pradesh is going to evaluate its performance through a "happiness" index survey. The state government has asked the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT)-Kharagpur to prepare a questionnaire which, apart from happiness-related questions, will seek people's opinion about governance- and administration-related issues. The whole process will be conducted by the happiness department (established by the previous Shivraj Singh Chouhan government) from September 2019 to March 2020. The government will decide its future strategies and programmes based on the findings of the survey.

Will Neeraj switch sides?

Samajwadi Party Rajya Sabha member Neeraj Shekhar resigned from the membership of the House on Monday. Shekhar met Rajya Sabha Chairman M Venkaiah Naidu to explain his decision and handed him the letter, which was accepted. Shekhar, 50, is the son of former prime minister Chandra Shekhar. A two-time Lok Sabha MP from the Ballia Lok Sabha constituency that was once represented by his father, Shekhar was elected to the Rajya Sabha in November 2014, with his six-year term ending on November 25, 2020. While Shekhar did not answer his phone, sources said he quit a year before his term was to end as he was likely to join the Bharatiya Janata Party and hoped to get re-elected to the House from that party. Shekhar had been denied a Lok Sabha ticket from Ballia in the just concluded elections.

Where is Opposition unity?

In politics, equations can change quickly. Last week, as many as 16 opposition parties submitted a notice to Rajya Sabha Chariman M Venkaiah Naidu demanding a short duration discussion on media freedom. Nationalist Congress Party chief Sharad Pawar and Bharatiya Janata Party MP Subramanian Swamy were among the signatories. On Monday, senior television journalist Barkha Dutt accused Congress MP Kapil Sibal and his wife on Twitter of threatening to sack 200 employees of a television channel they promote. Opposition sources said they were preparing for a fiery debate with several from the treasury benches likely to attack the MP on the issue. Members of other opposition parties said they were happy that they would get a ringside view of the battle. No Opposition unity here!

A cargo of cash puts logistics in high gear

After a dull couple of years, the industry is witnessing a flurry of interest from start-ups and PEs

T E NARASIMHAN

For logistics companies in India, though still freighted with inefficiencies, many things have started to go right. Investment flow into the sector in the first half of the year has surpassed last year's full-year investment, kicking the industry into high gear.

According to Venture Intelligence data, nearly \$896 million was invested by PEs during the first half of 2019 across 16 deals, as against \$682 million across 18 deals a year ago.

A slew of factors from the implementation of the Goods and Services Tax, emergence of a set of technology-backed start-ups improving efficiency of logistics companies and existing players expanding operation buoyed by the government's massive spending plan for infrastructure has brought the sector into the limelight, making it more attractive than ever to private equity investors.

Underpinning this interest from PEs is the government backing for the sector, starting from the grant of infrastructure status to the logistics and warehousing industry in 2017 and the drafting of an independent national policy framework for the states to ensure uniformity in rules across the country.

The final policy is expected to be notified soon and the National Act will serve as a policy guideline in terms of laying down a common national outlook for states when they draft their respective policies.

Some of the big-ticket fund raising, according to Venture Intelligence Data, are by Delhivery (\$429 million) — which also achieved unicorn status this year — Kribhco Infrastructure (\$195 mil-

lion), Blackbuck (\$160 million), and Locus (\$26 million).

The choice of companies is a testimony to how investors are bullish on start-ups that help bring efficiency, thereby improving asset utilisation, and, in turn, putting more money into the truckers pocket while reducing logistics cost.

The industry is ripe for such a surge in interest, with its size projected to increase to \$215 billion in the next three years from around \$160 billion currently. To a large extent, the need for efficiency is being driven by competition among e-commerce companies to deliver goods ever more quickly.

Tied to this is the focus on bringing down logistics costs for manufacturers.

Currently, logistics costs account for 13-17 per cent of the GDP in India, which is nearly double (6-9 per cent) the logistics costs in developed countries such as France and the US, according to a Knight Frank report. Much of the higher cost could be attributed to the absence of efficient inter-modal and multi-modal transport systems.

But things are changing. One thing that has been completely streamlined for the industry with the implementation of GST is taxation. "Today, with organised players expanding and new technologies coming in, logistics industry is becoming more efficient and GST was an enabler to it," says Rajesh Jaggi, managing partner — real estate, The Everstone Group, a PE and real estate investment firm.

A logical next step the industry is working on is to bring in operational efficiencies. Several companies have started to expand last-mile delivery, for instance. Everstone Group's IndoSpace,



MONEY FLOW

Logistics investments by segments (2019 YTD)

Segment	No. of Deals	Amount (\$mn)
E-commerce & last-mile delivery	3	429
Third-party logistics	2	195
Trucking platforms	5	160
Digital freight shipping	2	27
Warehousing	1	9
Fleet management & asset tracking	2	4
Others	1	72

Source: Venture Intelligence

an industrial real estate developer, has recently raised \$580 million, of which around \$250 million will be deployed in India in expanding operations. Over the next five years, IndoSpace plans to increase its warehousing capacity to 80-100 million sq. ft. from 30-31 million sq. ft. as demand for warehousing is increasing, Jaggi added.

Traditionally, the port sector received the most attention from investors but now e-commerce, last-mile delivery, third-party logistics, trucking platforms, digital freight shipping, fleet management and asset tracking, besides warehousing are gaining favour. (see table)

The focus on last-mile delivery is more than just a cost-saving or profit enhancing strategy for companies. For e-commerce, for instance, this is a matter of life and death as customers are quick to form their opinion about a company based on their delivery experience.

Several start-ups have come up focusing on bringing the offline business of truckers online. "We believe technology is transforming logistics in India and across the world. We are excited to partner with BlackBuck, which is India's largest technology enabled logistics system. It's full-stack model is able to add value for both shippers and carriers, said Kabir Narang, general partner and co-head of Asia at B Capital, which serves as a launchpad for entrepreneurs by funding their business.

The fund is backing BlackBuck, a B2B inter-city full truckload marketplace, which raised nearly \$203 million from investors, including B Capital Group, Wellington Management, Accel USA, IFC, Goldman Sachs and others. Ramasubramaniam B, co-founder and chief operating officer-strategic initiatives, BlackBuck, said increasing the utilisation of trucks is the main goal of the company.

ON THE JOB

Why it doesn't feel like 7%



MAHESH VYAS

Growth in employment by companies slowed down a tad in 2017-18 to 2.2 per cent compared to the modest 2.6 per cent growth recorded in 2016-17. Nevertheless, the growth in these two years is better than it was in the preceding two years — 2014-15 and 2015-16 when employment by companies had initially contracted by 2.7 per cent and then crawled up by a meagre 0.5 per cent.

While employment growth decelerated from 2.6 per cent in 2016-17 to 2.2 per cent in 2017-18, growth in wages inched up a bit from 9.4 per cent in 2016-17 to 9.5 per cent in 2017-18. As a result, growth in wages per employee accelerated from 6.6 per cent in 2016-17 to 7.1 per cent in 2017-18.

Real growth in wages (adjusted for consumer prices) accelerated from 5.1 per cent to 6.2 per cent and, real wages per employee shot up from 2.4 per cent to 3.9 per cent.

So, while employment growth slowed down in 2017-18, wages and also real wages per capita did improve in the year compared to 2016-17.

Underlying the 2.2 per cent growth in employment in 2017-18 lies much turmoil. Less than half — only 46 per cent of the companies actually registered an increase in employment. 41 per cent of the companies registered a fall in

employment and another 13 per cent did not record any change.

This is not unusual. In the past ten years, on an average only 48 per cent of the companies saw an increase in employment; 43 per cent saw a decline and the remaining recorded no change.

The golden period of employment growth and real wage growth per capita in the corporate sector was the six-year period 2003-04 through 2008-09. During this period, employment grew on an average, at 3.5 per cent per annum and real wages grew at 10.7 per cent per annum. Per capita real wages grew at 7 per cent per annum. Employment grew at a pace that was well above the rate of growth of population. India Inc was absorbing labour in good measure. The rate of absorption was higher than the rate of accretion to the labour force. This led to an increase in real wages. As a result, the 7 per cent real GDP growth was really experienced by a large number of people involved in the growth.

In comparison, the 7 per cent GDP growth estimates presented now by the official agencies do not resonate similarly because employment is growing by only around 2 per cent per annum. And, real wages are growing by less than 4.5 per cent per annum in the relatively larger companies. No wonder, it does not feel like an economy growing at 7 per cent per annum in real terms.

The corporate sector employment series provides an interesting insight into the period 2009-10 through 2013-14 as well. It shows that during this period employment growth continued to remain robust at about 3.6 per cent per annum but, wage growth was eaten by high inflation. Nominal wages grew at 14.7 per cent per annum during this period. But, real wages grew by only 4 per cent per annum and real per capita wages grew by a meagre 0.5 per cent per annum.

The high employment growth during

this period could have contributed to the continued growth in expectations. And, the growing angst of the period could have been fueled by the high inflation which almost entirely ate away the growth in wages of the period.

The employment and wages growth estimates presented above are derived from CMIE's Prowess database that puts together the information from the Annual Reports of companies. The Annual Reports are sourced from the same MCA database that the official agencies use in their GDP calculations. The difference is that the Prowess database is a smaller set of companies than the overall MCA database but arguably, it includes the more relevant set of companies from the MCA database.

All companies do not provide employment data. Only listed companies are mandated to provide this information. Public sector companies do provide such data. Only 3,301 companies provided such data for the year 2017-18.

But, using this data is a tricky business. Companies may sometimes provide employment data corresponding to consolidated business and sometimes corresponding only to the standalone accounts. Sometimes these include contractual labour and sometimes they don't.

We found 3,075 companies that provided comparable employment data for two consecutive years. Only these were used for our analysis above because growth can only be computed by using comparable sets of data for the period over which the growth is computed.

Of these 3,075 companies, 2,814 are listed companies and the remaining 261 companies are either public sector enterprises or are unlisted subsidiaries of listed companies. These companies employed 8.5 million people in 2017-18. And, they tell us a story of India's real GDP growth.

The author is the MD & CEO of CMIE

LETTERS

Make banks efficient



This refers to "Celebrating 50 yrs of bank nationalisation" (July 15). The nationalisation of banks during 1969 and 1980 pushed the economy forward by creating jobs and alleviating poverty to a large extent but these banks failed to succeed as commercial enterprises. The work culture and efficiency of these banks gradually declined as they generated bad loans and received low or negative returns.

Many reforms have been executed to prevent the public sector banks (PSBs) from decay. However, these banks are still in stress and are incapable to deliver results like their counterparts in the private sector. As a consequence, many investors lost faith in the banks resulting in the need for capital infusion by the government intermittently. The PSBs must serve the purpose for which those had been nationalised but not without compromising the commercial nature of banking. The ongoing and future reforms must aim to rejuvenate the PSBs to enable them to play the roles of a social as well as a commercial banker.

These banks must get autonomy and their boards need to be made accountable for inefficiencies. PSBs are not without talent but many a time, the performers are not rewarded. The government failed to make

the nationalised banks performing ones. Instead of privatising the nationalised banks, the government must execute more reforms in the financial sector to enable these banks to be more competitive in the market.

VSK Pillai Kottayam

Waiting for a new dawn

Kudos to Tamal Bandyopadhyay for "Celebrating 50 yrs of bank nationalisation" (July 15). It would not be appropriate to pass judgement on the efficacy of bank nationalisation based on the wisdom of hindsight. We need to look at the ground realities that existed in the late sixties and the vision with which the nationalisation of banks was unfurled. In the pre-nationalisation era, existing banks were more interested in "class banking" with the majority of the population outside the framework of banking. Only after the nationalisation did this "class banking" become "mass banking". More branches were forced to be opened in the interiors of the country which enabled more people to have access to banking facilities.

Government sponsored schemes were routed through these banks' branches. The granting of credit through these government sponsored schemes to generate self-employment and income for the family was a laudable initiative. This also to a great extent freed the rural masses from being strangled by local money

lenders who lent at high rates of interest. That these directed lendings later on became large-scale non-performing assets (NPAs) for the banking sector is a different story.

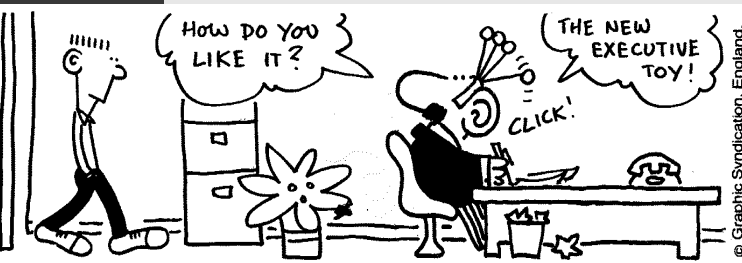
Nationalisation also opened up avenues for large-scale employment. An army of educated people found career opportunities. If these early employees in banks were drilled with a sense of responsibility and customer service, the story could have been far different. Job security was assured. Emoluments were the same for performers and laggards. With new generation banks coming in, customers had a choice and many moved their loyalties to these new entities. The steady loss of business to these newbies did not act as a wake-up call to the nationalised bank as job security and steady emoluments helped continue the lackadaisical approach.

With the new generation banks moving into the hinterland and judicious use of technology, the importance of nationalised banks will diminish. The government also seems to be serious in stemming the rot. One merger has happened. More are in the pipeline.

K V Premraj Mumbai

Letters can be mailed, faxed or e-mailed to: The Editor, Business Standard Nehru House, 4 Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg New Delhi 110 002 Fax: (011) 23720201 • E-mail: letters@bsmail.in All letters must have a postal address and telephone number

HAMBONE



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Crisis for IBC

Secured creditors' rights must not be diluted

Two recent judgments relating to the rights of creditors are shaking the financial markets in India. They have the potential to not just stall the working of the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC), but also to dry up the pool of potential investors in stressed assets in India —and, indeed, to clog up the working of the credit markets altogether if they go down as a precedent to be followed. These decisions are by the National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT) in relation to the dues to creditors of the troubled Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services (IL&FS); and by the National Company Law Appellate Tribunal (NCLAT) with respect to the sale of Essar Steel.

The NCLAT has approved ArcelorMittal's bid to buy Essar Steel for ₹42,000 crore — but has overruled the Committee of Creditors (CoC), which had set aside only 10 per cent of that amount for Essar's operational creditors. The NCLAT has instead said that just under 40 per cent should go to the operational creditors. Banks with exposure to Essar Steel have, at one stroke, seen their payout diminish. In effect, the loans given by the banks — secured creditors — have been put on par with operational creditors. Meanwhile, the NCLT directed that provident funds (PFs) that had lent money to IL&FS, even if not secured, should be treated on par with secured creditors, because the beneficiaries of PFs deserve special treatment. Here, secured and unsecured creditors are being treated equally.

This strikes at the very root of modern finance — which is structured so that multiple risk-return profiles are made available to investors. Secured loans receive a lower interest rate, in return for being first in the line for payouts if something goes wrong. The NCLT and NCLAT have refused to abide by this principle. The Essar Steel creditors have appealed to the Supreme Court (SC), and it is to be hoped that the SC will keep this principle, which underlies the letter and spirit of the IBC, in mind. While it is unfortunate that PFs might make a loss on their exposure to IL&FS, for example, it is up to the guarantors of the PFs in question to ensure that the beneficiaries do not suffer.

If the legal system seeks to protect groups of individuals at the cost of undermining the credit architecture more broadly, it would be counterproductive. Already, in relation to various real estate matters, apartment buyers are being treated on par with financial creditors — which has had a predictable negative effect on credit to real estate in India. If such thinking is extended, as it has been under these two decisions, then not only will foreign funds refuse to invest in stressed assets, but the entire IBC system, predicated on the rights of the CoC to make decisions about the future of the company, will break down. Effective interest rates will also skyrocket, which will hurt all future investments. Besides, financial creditors would rather enforce security at the first sign of financial distress in a firm or choose to vote for liquidation, since in both cases they would stand to make higher recoveries as opposed to a resolution plan under the NCLT. This is like incentivising liquidation. Both in terms of natural justice and consequentialist ethics, there is good reason to re-examine these decisions.

Shooting for the moon

It's time ISRO was given more resources

The postponement of the Chandrayaan II launch less than an hour before the scheduled lift-off means yet another delay in the moon exploration plans of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO). This is the seventh time this mission has been postponed, putting it six years behind the original schedule. The underlying reason for that delay, and for previous delays in the development of key technologies, such as the cryogenic engines of the GSLV series is, essentially, lack of resources. That, in turn, points to the misplaced priorities of policymakers.

It is often proudly claimed that ISRO is the most frugal of space agencies, functioning on budgets dwarfed by its competitors. It is seen by policymakers as a cost centre that buttresses India's soft power, and it is budgeted for accordingly. The agency will receive ₹11,538 crore in 2019-20. The Chandrayaan II mission will cost a little less than ₹1,000 crore — that is roughly one-seventh the cost of the failed Israeli Beresheet mission, with comparable objectives.

This parsimonious attitude needs review. ISRO has made very significant contributions to India's communication and navigation systems, and weather forecasting. It could not only contribute more in multiple areas, such as renewable energy, road design and water conservation but also generate large revenue by competing more aggressively in the global satellite market.

ISRO should, therefore, be seen as a potential profit centre, which can more than pay for itself. To that end, it should not only be allocated larger budgetary resources but also be allowed to raise funds from the market like other public sector undertakings. Earlier attempts to monetise ISRO's research & development (R&D) skills through the commercial arm, Antrix, were not very successful and were mired in controversy after the Devas deal. Creating New Space India Limited (NSIL), a PSU to commercially exploit R&D, market satellite launches, and so on, is a welcome development. The NSIL will look at the transfer of small satellite technology to the industry, manufacturing of Small Satellite Launch Vehicles (SSLV) in joint ventures and production of Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV). Ideally, the NSIL will be able to identify other sectors where ISRO can contribute to profitably.

The agenda for Chandrayaan includes a soft landing on the moon's South Pole, followed by exploration by a robotic rover, which will conduct various experiments. If all had gone well with the launch on July 14, the landing would have occurred on September 6-7. However, the ISRO quite wisely now says that it will not announce a new launch date until it has fixed the technical problem that caused the abort.

Delays caused by technical hitches in such complex missions are not unusual. There was also a long delay to the development of cryogenic rocket engines for the GSLV after sanctions kicked in post-Pokhran II. ISRO's intention of undertaking manned missions in future will involve solving even more complex problems to ensure that it keeps human beings healthy in airless, high-radiation environments with variable gravity. These technical challenges will require many man-hours to solve. The payoffs could also help to improve health-care, food/water preservation, and recycling technologies.

Given that India possesses a large pool of scientists with the requisite skill sets, R&D in aerospace can definitely be speeded up by giving ISRO the resources to deploy more skilled manpower to tackle these problems. Faster development of technology would also allow it to become self-sustaining.

ILLUSTRATION: AJAY MOHANTY



India's upcoming G20 presidency

New Delhi must guard against the world's premier multilateral economic forum being hijacked by bilateralism

The G20 is by consensus the premier multilateral forum for global economic cooperation. The 17th G20 Summit will be held in India in 2022, easily the most high-powered summit ever hosted here. Leaders of all systemically important countries — including the full complement of G7 and BRICS — are expected to be present. It would be the Indian prime minister's place in the sun, chairing a meet flanked, inter alia, by the US President, the British Prime Minister, the German Chancellor, the President of the European Union, the Chinese President, the Japanese Prime Minister, the President of Russia, with the chiefs of major multilateral bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the UN in attendance. The leaders are expected to sign up to a document likely to go down in history as the New Delhi Declaration, including a "New Delhi Action Plan".

What does hosting a G20 Summit successfully entail? There is first the logistical and security nightmare of hosting all influential global leaders in one location at the same time. It is understood that the summit would be held in a new convention centre under construction in Delhi. It is, however, not essential that the summit be held in Delhi. After the first few summits, these have been mostly held in convenient resorts, such as Cannes (France), Los Cabos (Mexico), and the last in Osaka. Apart from an appropriate convention complex, security, air and road traffic control, you need adequate numbers of five-star rooms to accommodate so many high-powered delegations.



ALOK SHEEL

The G20 took a conscious decision not to set up its own secretariat, for fear of the institution becoming captive to an international bureaucracy, such as in the IMF and World Bank. It wanted leaders to retain control of the summit process. The annually rotating Chair is expected to inject fresh energy and pilot the summit. Institutional continuity is provided through the troika comprising the current, previous and upcoming Chairs. India will be in the troika between 2021 and 2023.

It is the Chair's prerogative to choose two to three special invitees to the summit. Although not a part of the G20 by convention, Spain has attended all G20 Summits. There is also a special invitee from Africa. That still leaves India the discretion of inviting a SAARC country of its choice as part of its outreach.

The G20 was set up in the wake of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1999 at the level of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (FMCBG). This was overlaid with a 'Sherpa' channel when it was elevated to Summit level in 2008. The Sherpa is the Leader's point person responsible for agreement on the summit declaration.

The first three summits — at Washington DC, London and Pittsburgh — were all about firefighting the rampant global financial crisis. After declaring victory in Pittsburgh — "It worked" — the G20 turned its attention to structural, non-crisis related issues, such as reform of financial regulation, global imbalances, and growth. India co-chairs, along with Canada, the G20's flagship working group, the Framework for Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Equitable Growth,

Trump is slowing US economic growth

For some time, the four horsemen of US macroeconomic policymaking have been taxation, regulation, trade, and infrastructure. Having studied the first in detail, I have found tax cuts to be a positive contributor to economic growth. Though I have considered the second area in less detail, the evidence suggests that regulation is, at best, only a minor contributor to growth. The third area is very important, which is why today's trade tensions are so worrying. The fourth area exists only in rhetoric: an infrastructure programme is currently not a part of the macroeconomic policy repertoire.

In the first area, I estimate that the 2017 tax legislation added 1.1 per cent per year to the United States' GDP growth rate for 2018-19. Of that, 0.9 percentage points reflected the reduced tax rate on individuals, whereas 0.2 percentage points derived from the rate cuts and improved expensing provisions for businesses. While the growth-enhancing effect of the tax cuts for individuals is not expected to continue beyond 2019, the impact of the corporate-tax reform will likely persist for some time to come.

As for the second horseman, there is some indication that the expansion of federal regulations has begun to taper off, after undergoing a long period of growth. As of 2017, RegData, which tracks the number of words relating to constraints on economic activity in the Federal Register, shows that new regulations have plateaued. The regulatory burden on business and economic activity is no longer rising, but it is not diminishing, either.

Likewise, the World Bank's Doing Business profile for the US, which offers a broader measure of government regulation based on an average of 10 indicators, show no recent progress. The US rose from eighth place in 2016 to sixth place in 2017 in the global ranking, only to fall back to eighth in 2018. And, putting aside relative performance, a cardinal representation of the underlying indicators shows

virtually no change in the 2016-2018 period.

As many other economists have noted, US President Donald Trump's trade policies are a major concern. The administration's trade agenda is driven by the discredited mercantilist idea that selling stuff (exports) is good and buying stuff (imports) is bad. The irony is that Trump and some of his top trade advisers share this misguided view with the Chinese.

Indeed, the Trump administration is correct that the Chinese have long restricted imports and foreign investment (while engaging in technology theft, either directly or by compelling transfers). But the tit-for-tat exchange of import tariffs between the US and China over the past year is bad for both countries. Many assume that the trade conflict will hurt China more than the US, given that China exports far more to America than America exports to China.

But the loss of Chinese imports will impose a major burden on the US economy.

Trump's views on tariffs remind me of a speech that Ronald Reagan gave at Stanford's Hoover Institution before he became president. Reagan argued that tariffs on steel and other goods were justified on national-security grounds. His reasoning, criticised by audience members, was almost the same as Trump's today. Yet, to justify his tariffs, Trump has gone even further,

equating national security with economic security. The best way to invalidate that argument on legal grounds, then, is simply to have an economist show in court why tariffs are bad for economic security.

The broader problem is that Trump seems to have a personal affection for tariffs, partly because he thinks they raise revenue, and partly because he thinks they raise GDP (by curbing imports, which are then magically replaced by domestic production). This challenge does not admit of an easy remedy. Some have called on Congress to reassert its authority over tariffs — at least by limiting the national-security argument. But this could have



ROBERT J BARRO

since its inception at the Pittsburgh Summit. Several ministerials were also added, such as those of development ministers, environment ministers, trade ministers, agriculture ministers etc. All these work streams feed into the G20 Summit Declaration. There are also a growing number of non-governmental processes, such as the T (Think Tank) 20, W (Women) 20, Y (Youth) 20, and so on.

The Chair is expected to pilot the multiple work streams that currently drive the G20 through its own secretariat. This includes, inter alia, drawing up the annual work programme and hosting the meetings, culminating with the summit. A summit where all the major world leaders sign up to a consensus document has a long lead time, normally more than a year. Saudi Arabia, the summit host in 2020, set up a secretariat way back in 2018. With a new government now in place, it is time India initiated this process.

It is customary for the Chair to set three or four priorities for the year and inject new work streams to leave its own imprint on the G20 process. India would need to ponder what priorities it needs to set, and what ministerials it wishes to host, under its watch. While these should reflect India's own domestic interests, a successful summit also needs buy-in from at least the biggest players, namely the US, Germany (on behalf of the European Union) and China.

The Indian Sherpa shepherding this process needs the stature that commands respect of the global peer group, apart from the confidence of, and easy access to, the Prime Minister. For such a high-profile summit, the Sherpa should ideally be part of the Prime Minister's Office but could also be in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). A serving or retired bureaucrat with the necessary experience is desirable but not essential. Be that as it may, strong dedicated teams are required in the MEA (Sherpa process) and Department of Economic Affairs (FMCBG process). The MEA would need to liaison effectively with the embassies of G20 countries for better communication, and especially for selecting participants for NGO processes.

The danger is that if there is no strong buy-in from major G20 players, extraneous extant exigencies not on the official agenda could hijack a G20 Summit, especially when hosted by a non-G7 country. The crisis in Syria effectively hijacked the St Petersburg Summit. Brexit, the Khashoggi affair, and bilateral trade issues overshadowed the Buenos Aires Summit. The prospects of a Trump-Xi trade deal dominated the recently concluded Osaka Summit.

With the world's top leaders aggregated in one place, bilaterals and 'pull-ins' have always been a feature of G20 Summits. But the world's premier multilateral economic forum never faced the existential threat from bilateralism as it does today. The litmus test of India's G20 Summit might well be whether it is remembered for the New Delhi Declaration/Action Plan, or for some high-profile bilateral deal/pull-in between superpowers.

The writer is retired IAS officer and currently RBI Chair, ICRIER. He anchored India's G20 delegations during the first seven G20 Summits.

Short shots



KITABKHANA

T C A SRINIVASA-RAGHAVAN

Last month I wrote that book-wish at least, the last six months have been very lucky for me because I have constantly discovered new authors and some very nice books. I am happy to report that my luck hasn't run out, as

I found out earlier this month.

I came across, totally by accident, a book of short stories by none other than the youthful principal economic adviser to the finance ministry, Sanjeev Sanyal. I knew he had written some books on rivers and seas. But I had no idea he has written a book of short stories.

It was while browsing on Amazon that I saw his book on the usual menu of offers. When I saw the price, I decided to take a flutter. It was a good bet, ₹250 well spent because as a connoisseur and writer of short stories, I can say this: Mr Sanyal does a damned good job of it. I hope he continues to write them.

The book is called *Life Over Two Beers*, which is also the title of one of the stories. It could have been called anything else and some very nice books. I am happy to report that my luck hasn't run out, as

Mr Sanyal writes with a smoothness that suggests polishing and re-polishing. There are absolutely no superfluous words. Thus, the sentences are short, which is an absolute *sine qua non* for a short story.

The stories move along until (I think) Mr Sanyal gets bored and decides to stop them. It then comes to a gentle halt. This is as difficult as bringing a Bombay suburban to stop just so.

I would strongly recommend this book to everyone not just for the quality of writing but also for its insights and observations on daily life, especially of the upper middle class in Delhi.

I saw the phrase Khan Market Consensus in one of the stories, and since the book was published last year, I wondered briefly if the prime minister had also read the story. No? Well, never

mind. He is a busy man.

An elite group

Mr Sanyal belongs to an elite group. Economists who write stories are rare. Of the 200,000 or so economists that infest this planet, to the best of my knowledge, only five have written them.

The granddaddy of them all was John Kenneth Galbraith who wrote two I think. I have read one of them. I now plan to get the other.

In the 1970s, two professors, one of them from Harvard, decided to write murder mysteries. They wrote three such novels over the next 20 years under the name Marshall Jevons.

I bought them at considerable expense but my son, who is an economist, has made off with them. As Oscar Wilde said about economists, he

knew their price but I am sure not the value. I will have something to say if he loses them.

Kaushik Basu has also ventured forth in the literary direction. But he has written a play not a novel. But I am sure he will one of these days.

Then there is Bibek Debroy. Apart from all that heavy lifting translating Indian epics, he has also written a novel and a book of limericks. I have not read either. I am now waiting for Surjit Bhalla to write one. He is bound to take up the challenge and come up with a bestseller.

Perfect entertainment

Coming back to short stories, as even Mr Sanyal discovered, the market for them seems to have disappeared, in English at least. There is simply no one who will agree to publish

them unless you are a Bollywood celebrity or, dare I say it, a principal economic adviser.

Mr Sanyal says he wants to revive the art of writing short stories. He can start by recommending mine to a publisher.

Even this newspaper — which happily publishes my other drivel — has refused to publish them. Mr Sanyal is absolutely right and not just for literary reasons. The short story is a brief entertainment that is over in three to thirty minutes. In this age of Twitter, Facebook, news notifications and other distractions, it is perfect for online textual entertainment that should be offered by newspapers and magazines.

You don't think so? Just look at how well English translations of short stories in Indian languages sell.

R.N.I. Reg. No. 6188/61 Printed for the proprietors, The Indian Express (P) Ltd by Valdehi Chintaman Thakrar at The Indian Express (P) Ltd Press, Plot No. EL-208, TTC Industrial Area, Mahape, Navi Mumbai-400 710 and published from Express Towers, Nariman Point, Mumbai-400 021. Editorial & Administrative Offices: Express Towers, Nariman Point, Mumbai-400 021. Phone: 22022627/67440000. Fax: 022-22856323
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ILLUSTRATION: ROHNNIT PHORE

VIVIAN FERNANDES

The author blogs at www.smartindianagriculture.com



● CHLOROPHILE

Back to basics with ZBNF

A zero-budget natural farming campaign shouldn't be debt-driven or a leap of faith, like Andhra Pradesh's

MEGA BUCKS WERE chasing Andhra Pradesh's drive to convert all its 60 lakh farmers to a form of regenerative agriculture that strikes at the root of the country's agricultural research, education and extension system. N Chandrababu Naidu—who, in his earlier stint as chief minister, was a champion of information technology—wanted to take the rice bowl's farmers back to the pre-synthetic urea age. The state was prepared to contract debt supposedly to make its farmers debt-free with Zero-Budget Natural Farming (ZBNF). Will the current chief minister YS Jaganmohan Reddy complete what Naidu began?

Andhra's initiative was perhaps in finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman's mind when she announced a "back to basics" move to "Zero-Budget Farming." We need to "replicate this innovative model through which in a few states farmers are being trained in the practice," she had said during her recent Union Budget speech. But why did she not back it with money? The programmes that ZBNF can draw from—Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY) and Paramparagat Krishi Vikas Yojana (PKVK)—have had a modest ₹200 crore incentive in outlay to ₹4,050 crore.

According to the Rythu Sadhikara

Samstha (RySS), Andhra's official agency that is driving ZBNF, it will cost ₹16,452 crore for the state's 60 lakh farmers to make the switch by 2023-24. The cost of covering each farming household is ₹25,550, of which ₹1,000 is for one-time subsidy on inputs. The rest is for skill development, institution building, marketing support and management oversight. Apart from drawing on RKVY and PKVK allocations, Andhra was preparing to borrow from private and multilateral agencies. This was to be facilitated by the Sustainable India Finance Facility (SIFF) put together by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), World Agroforestry Centre and BNP Paribas, the French bank.

There was much celebratory talk in the presence of Naidu at an event in Vijayawada in June last year. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) representative said upscaling would need "visionary leadership" and "funding agencies." The FAO would be in the middle, providing knowledge. France, he said, had passed a law for "much more" natural farming. An offer of French experts and expertise was also made. BNP Paribas's global management committee member said that Andhra would be the first state of its size to have "purely natural agriculture." The bank was invested in achieving sustainable development goals (SDG); it

had projects worth \$175 billion. With the "incredible products" and "all those evidences" that ZBNF works in Andhra, "we have the argument to convince" investors like pension funds, he said.

But do India and Andhra Pradesh need to go back to basics and transit beyond France's "much more" natural farming to "purely natural" farming? Is the Green Revolution broken? Foodgrain production has been rising year after year, except when weather is very unfavourable. The net availability of foodgrains per person has increased from 395 gm per day in 1951 to 494 gm per day, despite the population increasing by 3.5 times during this period. This has been made possible by the extension of irrigation and the use of high-yielding varieties that are responsive to the application of fertilisers.

Andhra Pradesh's progressive farmers have been quick to adopt new technologies and improved practices. Although foodgrain production has declined from an average of 18.6 million tonnes to 15 million tonnes over the past 10 years, its farmers are moving in sync with changing Indian diets towards value-added fisheries, horticulture and livestock rearing. These have a greater share in its agri-GDP than field crops.

Padma Shri awardee Subhash Palekar's ZBNF is based on the stimulation of microbial activity in the soil. This is supposedly achieved by applying a bacterial culture made by fermenting cow dung and urine with additives like *besan* and jaggery. Mulching—spreading straw or crop residues on the soil surface—is meant to conserve moisture and suppress the growth of weeds. Aeration of the root zone area is insisted upon.

These are good agricultural practices. Even Green Revolution farmers are advised to add farmyard manure or vermicompost to enhance soil texture and microbial activity. Under Conservation Agriculture, ploughing is barred. Sowing is to be done with seed drills in fields where the previous crop's stubble is left to decompose naturally. ZBNF is called "zero-budget" because the income from subsidiary crops planted with the main crop compensates for cash inputs. This is not unique to ZBNF; it is advised for garden crops like coconut. Even aeration or *waaphasa* happens when drip irrigation is practised.

Palekar draws glances from the agricultural research establishment when he says that "the output of the Green Revolution is only destruction: of the soil, water, environment and human health." He blames it for cancer, diabetes, and even AIDS. For him, it is a conspiracy to

create dependency among farmers for fertilisers, pesticides and hybrid seeds.

Palekar's science is questionable. According to him, only the dung of Indian cows is effective as a soil inoculant. That of the black-coloured Kapila cow is the best. For fermentation, the dung should be fresh and cow urine as old as possible. Palekar says the dung of one Indian cow can fertilise 30 acres. (Palekar estimates it at 11 kg per day, but how can it be uniform?) Peter Carberry, the director general of ICRIASAT, the Hyderabad-based international agricultural research institute, said this was "clearly inadequate." He made the observation in his lecture to the National Academy of Agricultural Sciences in New Delhi. Carberry said the recommendation of a practice must be based on prior evidence gathered as per scientific protocols.

Carberry was dismayed by NITI Aayog vice-chairman Rajiv Kumar's effusive endorsement of ZBNF in a two-part article in a financial daily in April. He said it was an innovation that could be readily exported (how, if the dung of indigenous cows is required?) without awaiting certification from 'respected foreign institutions.' (His quotes.)

This writer visited Palekar's village, Bellur, in Amravati district and found none of the farmers practising ZBNF. The caretaker of his farm did not know the recipe of *jiwamrita*, the soil inoculant, or *beejamrita*, the anti-fungal coating for seeds. He said he had applied the dung of six cows and six bulls (10 tractor-trolley loads) to the 11-acre farm, when according to Palekar one cow is enough to fertilise 30 acres.

Palekar said there was no need to apply *jiwamrita* after three years by when the field's microbial level would have reached saturation point. Does anyone fertilise a forest, he asked. The objective was to make the farm as regenerative as the forest. When Vijay Kumar Thallam, the co-vice-chairman of the RySS, was told about Carberry's remarks, he said every acre of land had 78,000 tonnes of nitrogen. He was referring to nitrogen in the air, which soil microbes would make available to plants through ZBNF. Were we not feeding ourselves before urea (that is, the process for manufacturing it was invented in 1908), he asked. (Diseases and food inadequacy kept populations in check, actually.)

This writer has met or spoken to four farmers who say ZBNF works for them. Two of them were growing garden crops like coconut, areca, banana and betel leaves. C Sanjeeva Reddy, 66, of Ashok Nagar, Anantapur, said his Sona Masuri rice yields from 33 acres of own and leased fields were slightly less than chemically-grown rice, but he got three times the price. He has his own brand: Prakriti Vyasaayam.

But MVS Nagi Reddy of Vijayawada, who also practised ZBNF for 10 years, had a different story. His rice yields under ZBNF were 20% below the average and he was not able to convince farmers in his village or the block. An MSC in genetics and plant breeding from the University of Allahabad, Reddy has now restricted ZBNF to half an acre of paddy for own consumption. "I need profits for my family," says the farmer who was an advertisement for ZBNF. Now he rears fish on 80% of his family's 100-acre farm. On the rest, he grows rice and pulses the conventional way.

"The success of the Green Revolution has enabled us to criticise the Green Revolution," says agricultural economist and NITI Aayog member Ramesh Chand. The problem with chemical agriculture is injudicious use. He says India will not be able to afford chemical-free agriculture. But it can use less chemicals.

The back-to-basics leap must await the results of ZBNF trials being conducted at four locations under the aegis of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and an investigation by a committee appointed by the NITI Aayog.

The back-to-basics leap must await the results of ZBNF trials being conducted under the aegis of ICAR and an investigation by a committee appointed by the NITI Aayog

Ending water crisis in India

PP SANGAL

The author is a former ISS and UN consultant



Unlike oil, water has no substitute

IN HIS MANN KI BAAT 2.0, PM Narendra Modi—the first after his re-election—pitched for water conservation to be made into a mass movement in India, amid reports of depleting water resources due to several reasons. In India, agriculture consumes nearly 80% (65% in China) of fresh water and the rest 20% is used for drinking and other household activities. Thus, and rightly so, the government launched the Jal Shakti Abhiyan (JSA) on July 1.

The objective of JSA is to take measures for rainwater harvesting, water conservation and replenishing water bodies for meeting acute shortage of water. Today, India conserves only 8% of the rainfall it receives, which is among the lowest in the world, and we need to change this. Further, only 4% of world's water resources are available to us, and we have to provide for 16% of world's population. Thus, our huge water shortage is sure to land us in a critical situation, if urgent steps are not taken. We are already seeing water shortage in Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Telangana and Haryana. NITI Aayog's report of 2018 asserts that that groundwater in 21 cities of India is set to plunge to bare minimum levels by 2020. Is it not alarming?

Although water crisis is now a worldwide phenomenon (two-thirds of the global population is living under water-stressed conditions and, by 2025, about 1.8 billion people are expected to face absolute water scarcity), but it is much worse in India due to mismanagement of water usage in agricultural operations. The latest available World Bank statistics show that while India produced \$0.5 of agricultural GDP (in 2010) for a litre of fresh water, this figure is \$1.6 for China (in 2012) and \$3.9 for Israel (in 2004)—a success story in efficient use of water for agriculture. In fact, there has been no increase in agricultural output per unit of water usage in our country during the last three decades. In view of this grim scenario, the following measures are suggested:

► Recycle sewage and other household waste water by setting up water-treatment plants, using innovative technologies, and reuse the extracted water for irrigation. Singapore, Windhoek (capital of Namibia) and Israel are great examples of treating such water for reuse and even for drinking.

► Increase awareness among the masses about scarcity of water and the dire need of conserving it by organising programmes/public meetings on efficient use of water.

► Impose suitable penalties for wasting and polluting water, and also limit per capita use of water and impose fines for exceeding the limit. Perhaps there would be no need for doing so once people are made aware of the problem.

► Traditional water conservation/harvesting methods like constructing farm ponds, check dams, gully plugging, dug wells, borewells and artificial glaciers in Ladakh; Tamaswada Pattern *nallahs* treatment in Maharashtra; soak pits in Punjab; and watershed development and management in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh—which have become defunct in some parts—must be revived.

► Agricultural universities should take a lead in advising farmers on suitable cropping patterns, taking into account soil and other climatic conditions of a region, to save water.

► Promote use of drip irrigation and sprinklers.

► In urban areas, there is water theft and also loss of clean water due to slackness on the part of water management bodies. This is due to inferior water service infrastructure and its poor maintenance. This needs to be corrected by adopting strict procedures for compliance and monitoring.

► Though it may be an unpopular measure in the existing political environment, the practice of providing free or subsidised water and power to farmers must be stopped. This would not matter much for big farmers as they are not liable to pay income tax as others do. Of course, small and marginal farmers may need to be compensated for this loss by increasing the MSP for their produce. Here it must be mentioned that free power to farmers not only leads to excessive withdrawal of groundwater, but also increases soil salinity, which jeopardises farm sustainability.

► It is learnt that, while launching JSA, the government announced reorientation of MGNREGA towards water conservation and harvesting by reserving 75% (instead of 67% in 2018-19) of 2.58 billion person-days expected to be generated during 2019-20. To walk the talk, it would be necessary to provide adequate funds to complete all pending water storage projects in states.

To sum up, although water crisis in urban areas normally attracts governments' attention, it is the inefficient agricultural sector that is largely contributing to this situation in India. We hope the Centre and states will pay heed to these steps, else JSA would not be able to achieve its objective.

Remember, unlike oil, water has no substitute.

EDUCATION LOANS

JOBS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN at the helm of political and economic debates, and the recent controversy around the government trying to pull down the NSSO report on jobs earlier this year had brought this topic to the limelight again. The recently published Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS), released after the new government was sworn in, not only talks about unemployment levels, but also emphasises on education levels in its sample design.

Theoretically, for a large number of youth, education should have a significant bearing on one's employment prospects. According to the All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) 2017-18, 36.6 million students enrolled for higher education, up from 34.2 million three years ago. More than 75% of institutions of higher education in India are private. As a result, the cost of education has been ever increasing without much of a check. Inflation in the education category has averaged about 7% since 2012, with school and college fees continuing to take a substantial share of households' income. Exorbitant fees and donations in medical and engineering colleges are not unheard of. Even premier public institutes like the IIMs and IITs have seen a manifold increase in their fees over the last decade.

With this rising fee burden, most candidates have to depend on education loans

Financing to yield the dividend

If education ensures good jobs to students, banks will be more willing to lend money to them

ANUJ AGARWAL & RAUNAK SALUJA

Agarwal is an economist and Saluja is a consultant. Views are personal

to education loans. Outstanding education loans disbursed by scheduled commercial banks stood at ₹675.5 billion at the end of fiscal 2019. These loans are designed to offer students a flexible repayment plan once they start earning (with a moratorium period), a discounted interest rate over other personal loan items, and a tax benefit on interest repayment. It may be argued that these loans allow a sense of opportunity for students to get good education. With a huge chunk of young population, increased awareness, rising aspirations of the youth and new job opportunities, one would expect the disbursement of education loans to increase.

However, according to CRIF High Mark, a credit bureau, education loan disbursements have reduced by 25% in the last four years. High NPA levels and high default rates in education loans are leading to this decline. Banks are reluctant to lend to students who are economically-disadvantaged and whose families are unable to put up a collateral, or those who, in their opinion, might not end up getting a job. Also, the ticket size of loans is increasing. This rise in ticket size can be attributed to higher education becoming costlier. With increasing fees at premier Indian institutions and increased number of students opting for higher studies outside India, the



volumes in the ₹20-lakh-plus segment have grown by six times over the last five years. Banks are willing to fund big-ticket loans and avoid loans up to ₹4 lakh, which fall under priority lending and need no collateral. As reported by many bankers, these small ticket and priority sector loans record the highest number of defaults and NPAs. Public sector banks have excessive bureaucracy, documentation and formalities before they give lower-ticket loans without collateral. Most private banks have tie-ups with educational institutions and lend only to their students.

From a bank's perspective, this makes complete business sense. But it doesn't

really bode well for the society and economy at large. With rising costs of education, the inability to access finance deprives students the opportunity to undertake higher studies. This adversely impacts the ability of the candidate to secure quality education, and, in turn, perhaps a steady stream of adequate income flow in the future. While banks are willing to fund higher-ticket loans for students going to premier institutes or students abroad, this leaves a major chunk of students at a disadvantage—leading to increase in inequality in terms of opportunity to get good education, as well as to earn good living in the future. Many NBFCs have come forth to hand out education loans, but usually they need to be backed by a collateral, which makes availing them a bit difficult for students. This might even put families of students in a tight spot who would have to pledge their family assets as a collateral to secure loans.

While willingness to pay back the loan is a necessary condition, one of the prime reasons for defaults on education loans is the inability of students to payback loans. This could be due to the inability to secure a job, or even if one secures a job, the inability to secure an adequately-paying job. Salaries for students graduating haven't kept pace with increased cost of education. The employability of Indian students has been questioned in multiple reports and

commentaries. According to AISHE 2017-18, 36.4% of undergraduate students enrol for arts, humanities, social sciences, which, anyway, have not been able to command the necessary traction in our social as well as professional circles. Around 31% enrol for science, and engineering & technology. According to Aspiring Minds, the talent evaluation company, over 80% of the engineering graduates are unemployable for any job in the knowledge economy. Many industry veterans, too, have voiced their concerns over the skill and employability of Indian engineering graduates.

This leads us to a vicious circle—high cost of education, poor access to finance to fund higher education, poor employability, inadequately paying jobs, defaults on education loans, reluctance by banks to advance education loans. All this can be effectively dealt with by improving standards and quality of Indian education. The draft National Education Policy 2019 does well in identifying the major problems and challenges with higher education in India. If the education undertaken can ensure a well-paying job to students, banks would be more than willing to lend money to them without the fear of default. This will result in reduction in NPAs, and banks will be more willing to lend to a wide spectrum of students. Easy access to finance education will go a long way in making the most of our asset—the demographic dividend.



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TELLING NUMBERS

Growth of GST collection, from one fiscal to the next

THE AVERAGE gross GST collection in 2018-19 was Rs 98,114 crore per month, which was higher than the previous year's average of Rs 89,885 crore, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said in a written reply in Lok Sabha on Monday. The monthly data she presented show a total collection of Rs 11,77,369 in 2018-19, as compared to Rs 7,40,650 from July 2017 (following the introduction of GST) to March 2018. In 2019-20, the total collection in the first three months has been Rs 3,14,093 crore, a monthly average of Rs 1,04,698 crore.



The reply said that until 2018-19, the Centre has released Rs 1,29,355 as GST compensation to the states (including the UTs of Delhi and Puducherry) — Rs 48,178 crore in 2017-18 (July to March) and Rs 8,11,77 in 2018-19. The total GST collection of the states/UTs was Rs 5,18,447 crore in 2018-19, as compared to Rs 2,911,00 crore in 2017-18 (August to March). The government said GST collection of the states/UTs has been showing steady improvement over time. In addition, they are also assured a growth of 14% for a period of five years through payment of compensation.

MONTH-WISE GROSS COLLECTION OF GST

MONTH	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
April	-	1,03,459	1,13,865
May	-	94,016	1,00,289
June	-	95,610	99,939
July	21,572	96,483	-
August	95,633	93,960	-
September	94,064	94,442	-
October	93,333	1,00,710	-
November	83,780	97,637	-
December	84,314	94,726	-
January	89,825	1,02,503	-
February	85,962	97,247	-
March	92,167	1,06,577	-
Total	7,40,650	11,77,369	3,14,093
Average	89,885	98,114	1,04,698

Fugues in Rs crore
Source: Ministry of Finance, Lok Sabha reply

TIP FOR READING LIST

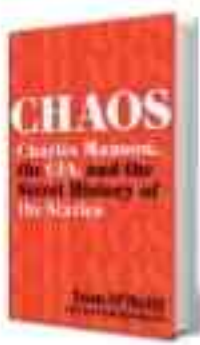
FRESH QUESTIONS ON MANSON MURDERS

ON THE night of August 8, 1969, members of a cult that called itself the “Manson Family” entered a luxury home in Los Angeles and murdered five people including actress Sharon Tate, wife of Roman Polanski and eight months pregnant at the time. The following night, apparently because cult leader Charles Manson was displeased with the sloppy manner in which the murders were committed, the group murdered a couple in another house. In the trial that followed, Charles Manson, Susan Atkins, Patricia Krenwinkel, Leslie van Houten and Tex Watson were sentenced to death — later commuted to life (Manson and Atkins died in jail) — while Linda Kasabian was given immunity for testifying against the others. For motive, much of what is known — or believed — came from the prosecutor, Vincent Bugliosi (now deceased) and his book, *Helter Skelter*. According to this narrative, Manson wanted suspicion of the murder to be pinned on blacks and a racial backlash incited, and he also wanted to terrorise a former resident of the luxury home,

music record producer Terry Melcher (Doris Day's son). Now, a new book raises questions about this account and describes an alleged cover-up including police carelessness and legal misconduct.

Chaos: Charles Manson, the CIA and the Secret History of the Sixties is written by journalist Tom O'Neill, with David Piepenbring. Twenty years ago, O'Neill

was reporting a magazine piece about the murders, and the book is a result of what he found then and in the years that followed. Based on new interviews and documents from the Los Angeles police, the FBI, and the CIA, the book raises a number of new questions. Why did the CIA take months to nab Manson when he had already been connected to an earlier murder? O'Neill alleges Bugliosi struck out references to accounts of Melcher being with Manson after the Sharon Tate murders, and suggests that his objective may have been to protect Hollywood celebrities. “This is a book that overturns our understanding of a pivotal time in American history,” the publisher's note says.



SIMPLY PUT QUESTION & ANSWER

GSLV story: A rocket's science

In aborting Chandrayaan-2 launch, ISRO has cited a snag in launch vehicle GSLV Mk-III. How is this rocket different from the tried & tested PSLV, and what challenges has ISRO faced in developing it indigenously?

Fleet of launchers

Launchers or Launch Vehicles carry spacecraft into space. PSLV and GSLV are India's two operational launchers. SLV-3 was launched thrice in the early 1980s; four ASLV launches followed between 1987 and 1994. The winged Reusable Launch Vehicle Technology Demonstrator (RLV-TD), which combines the complexity of launch vehicles and aircraft, and the Scramjet Engine-TD are under development.



GSLV Mk-III on the Sriharikota launch pad

PSLV was developed for Low Earth Orbit satellites into Polar and Sun Synchronous Orbits, and GSLV for heavier INSAT class of Geosynchronous satellites into orbit.

	SLV-3	ASLV	PSLV-XL	GSLV MK-II	GSLV MK-III
Height	22.7 m	23.5 m	44 m	49 m	43.43 m
Liftoff weight	17 t	39 t	320 t	414 t	640 t
Propulsion	All solid	All solid	Solid and liquid	Solid, liquid, and cryogenic	Solid, liquid, and cryogenic
Payload mass	40 kg	150 kg	1860 kg	2200 kg	4000 kg
Orbit	Low Earth Orbit	Low Earth Orbit	475 km Sun Synchronous Polar Orbit*	Geosynchronous Transfer Orbit	Geosynchronous Transfer Orbit

*1300 kg in Geosynchronous Transfer Orbit
All information and images: ISRO

When and how did India advance in such technology?

The development of the GSLV Mk-III is the story of three decades of hard work on cryogenic technology. The technology was denied to India by the United States in the early 1990s, forcing it to go for indigenisation.

ISRO had planned the development of a cryogenic engine back in the mid-1980s, when just a handful of countries — the US, erstwhile USSR, France and Japan — had this technology. To fast-track the development of next-generation launch vehicles — the GSLV programme had already been envisioned — ISRO decided to import a few of these engines. It held discussions with Japan, the US, and France before settling for Russian engines. In 1991, ISRO and the Russian space agency, Glavkosmos, signed an agreement for the supply of two of these engines along with transfer of technology, so that Indian scientists could build these in the future.

However, the US, which had lost out on the engine contract, objected to the Russian sale, citing provisions of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), of which neither India nor Russia was a member. MTCR seeks to control the proliferation of missile technology. Russia, still recovering from the collapse of the USSR, succumbed to US pressure and cancelled the deal in 1993. In an alternative arrangement, Russia was al-

lowed to sell seven, instead of the original two, cryogenic engines, but it could not transfer the technology to India. These Russian engines were used in the initial flights of the first and second generation GSLVs (Mk-I and Mk-II). The last of these was used in the launch of INSAT-4CR in September 2007.

After the original Russia deal was cancelled, ISRO got down to developing its own cryogenic technology at the Liquid Propulsion Systems Centre in Thiruvananthapuram. It took more than a decade to build the engines. In 2010, two launches of second generation GSLV rockets, one with a Russian engine and the other developed indigenously, ended in failures.

The big success came in December 2014, with the experimental flight of third generation (Mk-III) GSLV, containing an indigenous cryogenic engine. This mission also carried an experimental re-entry payload that ejected after reaching a height of 126 km, and landed safely in the Bay of Bengal.

Two more successful launches of GSLV Mk-III followed. Chandrayaan-2 was its biggest and most keenly-awaited launch.

So, what went wrong?

ISRO has not yet provided the nature or details of the technical glitch in the rocket. The glitch was observed after every major operation had been completed. One of the

last tasks before the launch is the loading of the cryogenic fuel, hydrogen and oxygen. This was completed about a half hour before the countdown was stopped Monday morning. An assessment of the seriousness of the problem could take several days.

How big a setback is this?

The immediate impact is on the schedule of Chandrayaan-2. ISRO had said that the current window of opportunity to launch Chandrayaan-2 was available only between July 9 and 16. That opportunity now appears to have been lost. This could potentially delay the mission by several months. ISRO has not said when the next window of opportunity will open.

Until ISRO makes public its assessment of the problem, it is not possible to predict the impact on future missions, notably Gaganyaan, which has a tight deadline.

However, space launch failures are not unusual. Lunar missions, particularly, have had high failure rate. As many as 52 per cent of all lunar missions have been unsuccessful, the most recent being the case of the Israeli Beresheet Lander, which developed problems after entering the lunar orbit and crash landed on the Moon's surface.

Technically, Chandrayaan-2 has not failed. The mission was aborted before being launched after a problem was detected.

5G rollout: how far has India progressed, and where does it stand on Huawei?

PRANAV MUKUL
NEW DELHI, JULY 15

WHILE TAKING charge as the telecom minister last month, Ravi Shankar Prasad had said that India would conduct field trials for 5G telephony in the first 100 days of the new government. One question that has been asked is whether Chinese equipment manufacturer Huawei will be able to participate in the trials. Huawei was black-listed by the US government for American companies to do business with after it was alleged that the company shared data with the Chinese government through the backdoor.

Why did US blacklist Huawei?

According to *The Wall Street Journal*, “Huawei is the world's largest maker of telecommunications equipment and the No. 2 vendor of smartphones, ahead of Apple Inc. and behind only Samsung Electronics Co”. However, notwithstanding

its dominance, the US has effectively banned Huawei from selling its products after a 2012 congressional report stated that Huawei could be a security risk. According to the US, Huawei's owners have close links with the Chinese military and, as such, the company cannot be trusted with data. The treatment of Huawei has become a massive reason for further straining the already fraught diplomatic relations between the US and China.

Where does India stand on the Huawei controversy?

Following Huawei's blacklisting by the US administration, several countries were asked to take a stand on whether or not to allow the company to operate. Certain countries such as the UK did not follow the US and cited benefits to operators from Huawei's cost-efficient technology as the reason behind not banning the firm.

While India is yet to take a stand on whether or not to allow Huawei in 5G trials, officials at the telecom department

have indicated that a decision will be taken in consultation with the ministries of home affairs and external affairs. Huawei, however, has said that it is ready to sign a “no-backdoor” agreement with the Indian government and telecom companies to ensure that no snooping is allowed on its network.

Where does India stand on the rollout of 5G vis-a-vis other countries?

Deliberations are still on whether to give spectrum for 5G in the 25 GHz and 28 GHz bands. This is one of the factors causing a delay in the auction of airwaves necessary for 5G deployment. Industry players have deemed availability of spectrum as the prerequisite for the commercial rollout of 5G. In February last year, Airtel and Huawei conducted a lab trial for 5G during which a user throughput of 3 Gbps was achieved. However, not much has moved since then.

A committee of the telecom ministry recently cleared the proposal to allow Bharti



Airtel, Vodafone Idea and Reliance Jio to conduct 5G spectrum trial from next month onwards for a period of three months. For these trials, equipment vendors — Samsung, Nokia and Ericsson — have been selected. Despite assertions from the government that India “cannot afford to miss” the 5G bus — indicating that the country will see rollout of the latest generation of

mobile telephony along with the world — none of the Indian telecom companies figures in the list (put out by mobile and broadband network intelligence firm Ookla) of 303 5G deployments by 20 operators in 294 locations across the globe. Additionally, the debt-ridden telecom industry of the country has indicated apprehension towards even bidding for 5G airwaves given their weak financial situation.

What happens after field trials are conducted?

Field trials allow operators and equipment makers to prove that the network they have built in a laboratory also works outside in a field. Even after conducting the field trials, operators will have a long way to go before commercial rollout primarily because of the lack of availability of the necessary spectrum. Some telecom companies, however, have questioned the need for rolling out 5G in India given that focus is still on the propagation of 4G services, especially in the hinterlands of the country.





The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Government must step up plans for asset recycling and monetisation for much-needed boost to investment

AN INTER-MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE of the central government is set to recommend a second list of public sector assets that could be monetised to raise resources which could then be ploughed back into fresh investments. Reportedly, the proposal entails leasing out public sector assets such as gas pipelines of GAIL, mobile towers of public telecom operators like BSNL and MTNL, and ATMs of state-owned banks to private sector players. Ownership of these assets, though, would continue to vest with the PSUs/government. Earlier, the first list of assets approved by the inter-ministerial committee included 12 sports stadiums, NTPC's Badarpur plant, ITDC's Ashoka hotel, among others. Coming at a time when private sector investments remain subdued, the move to monetise and recycle public sector assets is welcome. Fresh public investments could gradually help crowd-in private investments.

Over the past few years, despite several initiatives of the government, private sector investments have remained sluggish. As a result, the burden of driving investments has fallen on the public sector. But with limited fiscal space, the ability of the general government (Centre and states) to boost investments is severely limited. In such circumstances, asset recycling and monetisation is an innovative way for the public sector to raise resources. At its core, the idea essentially involves giving funds back to the company by leasing an asset, brown-field projects where the process will be easier, to private players for a long term. The transactions could be structured in various ways - large upfront payments, with small or no annual payments, or a small upfront payment, and regular annual payments. This, it is hoped, would be lapped up by pension and sovereign funds who are looking for a fixed income stream with limited execution risk. The National Highway Authority of India (NHAI) has been particularly successful in raising resources through this approach. It has recently raised Rs 9,400 crore by transferring operation of assets to private entities for a specified time period. Such a mechanism allows PSUs to raise money for fresh investment without being dependent on budgetary support or borrowings. Revenue raised through this route, which should be ring-fenced lest it is squandered away, can be then ploughed back into roads, ports, airports, etc. At the current juncture, this would compensate for the inability of the private sector to fund infrastructure.

In her maiden budget, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman had reiterated the government's intention to invest Rs 100 lakh crore in infrastructure over the next five years. Central to achieving this is revival of the private investment cycle. But an over-leveraged private sector, at the current juncture, is unlikely to ramp up investments in the short term, leaving the burden on the public sector. An increase in public sector investments could over time help revive the moribund investment cycle. This list of assets must be followed up by a more ambitious, structured programme that seeks to monetise land and other assets of the public sector.

NOT SO FINE

Penalty against Facebook is only a crowd-pleaser, leaving directors who pushed dodgy data deals untouched

FOLLOWING AN INVESTIGATION that was sparked off by the Cambridge Analytica scandal, Facebook has been fined \$5 billion by the US Federal Trade Commission (FTC) for playing fast and loose with its users and their data. The figure is unprecedented in the US and is just under the \$5.1 billion fine that Google was slapped with in Europe — the world's least forgiving jurisdiction on privacy — for illegally leveraging its dominance with Android. The social media giant was found to have breached the conditions of a 2011 settlement and an adverse outcome was seen to be inevitable months ago. It only remained to discuss the quantum of punishment, and with an eye-popping figure, the US government is showing its commitment to reining in Big Digital. But the question remains: Is a fine a suitable deterrent for a behemoth that earned \$56 billion last year, or is it just eye candy for the public, which makes a point but does not cramp its style? It is particularly thought-provoking in the case of Facebook, which has attracted charges of a far more serious nature than its peers in Silicon Valley.

Facebook drew the censorious attention of the FTC with the illegal release of data to Cambridge Analytica, which used it for political profiling of users, and may have influenced the US election which brought Donald Trump to the White House. What is the cost of a stolen election in the world's most powerful democracy? What, for instance, is the global cost of the ongoing Iran crisis, which may not have developed in the hands of another government? That's just one of the entries in an extensive bill, whose total would be mind-boggling. Could a fine be proportional, at all? And would it deter the perpetrators?

The short answer is: No. Corporate malfeasance is executed by foot-soldiers, but originates in policy that is suggested or mandated by the top leadership, whose salary, bonuses or severance packages may not be affected. In fact, if a fine is regarded as a part of the cost of revenue, it is easily ignored, and adjusted against any routine head, like the wages of the said foot-soldiers. In law, the corporation is a person, but its actions are actuated by directors. To be effective, deterrence must fix blame where it belongs, in the upper echelons of the corporate superstructure. The strategy of fining digital giants will remain inadequate until personal liability is considered.

NO THIRD WHEEL

As he ground out a victory over Wimbledon's darling, Djokovic asserted his rightful place in the tennis trinity

ON THE OTHER side of London, two men took a match into tennis' own "super over". For the first time, a five-set singles Wimbledon match would be decided by a tie-breaker, and after four hours and 57 minutes, Novak Djokovic prevailed over the crowd favourite, Roger Federer, in what was the tournament's longest ever final. This was Djokovic's fifth Wimbledon title and a whopping 16th overall. When the two men, nay, champions, finally left Centre Court on Sunday, they shared a total of 36 Grand Slam titles between them. Throw in what Rafael Nadal has won, 18, and you have 54 majors shared between three players. It just goes to show the greatness of the three in this era of swelling records.

Way back in 1967, a veteran Australian, Roy Emerson, had set an all-time record of most Grand Slam titles, 12. Pete Sampras broke that mark 33 years later at Wimbledon 2000, and then Federer surpassed the American's tally by winning his 15th at Wimbledon nine years later. The Swiss has now set the bar at 20, but at just a few weeks short of turning 38, the unspoken fear for any Federer fan is how many more can he manage. In the greater scheme of things, there are two front-runners who might cross Federer's mark, but Djokovic, 32, is the one in the best position to eventually hold the record.

A defensive genius, the Serbian has an all-court game and has been winning titles consistently on hard and grass courts. His closest competitor, Nadal, meanwhile is untouchable on clay, but that constitutes just one major in a year — Nadal is also a year older, and crucially, injury-prone. Yet Djokovic remains the third wheel in the Federer-Nadal fandom split. Boris Becker, the Serb's former coach, asserted during commentary that Djokovic used to feel "unloved". On Sunday, he ground out a victory over Wimbledon's darling. And won over a few fans of his own.



SANDEEP DWIVEDI

BOOKS WILL BE commissioned, movies made, web series scripted and even Broadway might show interest. The story of cricket's most nerve-wracking game ever, the 2019 World Cup final, is destined to live forever. Beyond the Super Over drama, the Ben Stokes "Hand of God" moment; Lord's on Sunday had a field full of men with back stories hand-crafted for a *Reader's Digest* collector's edition.

They reminded the world how sport enhances life, redefines set parameters and re-confirms the power of self-belief. The men on the turf with medals around their necks showcased the human capacity to move on from deeply disturbing trauma and rationalise setbacks as stepping stones on the way to dizzy heights.

Back in 2014, during India's tour of England, I witnessed the early chapters of one of the many feel-good tales. It was on the first day of the Nottingham Test that I had met this pleasant elderly couple from Yorkshire. They were the Plunketts, who were in the stands to watch their son Liam, England's trusted all-rounder.

A day before, I had seen the three together after the Test-eve training session. They had looked every bit a caring, close-knit family. The father, tall but frail, lovingly brushed off the dirt from Liam's shirt. The mother, a silver-haired lady, pulled out cream from her handbag and spread on her son's sun-baked lips. The square-jawed 6 ft 3 inches broad-shoulder hunk, like most men with those physical attributes, wasn't embarrassed by the parental attention. He merely smiled. Liam knew what the moment meant to his parents.

During the lunch break, the father shared the story of how Liam had almost given up on his international career for him. Plunkett Sr had a genetic renal disorder and had to frequently undergo dialysis. One visit home, and the cricketer son couldn't see the father's suffering anymore. He got his tests done and the reports found him to be a perfect match, giving the good son the green signal to be his father's kidney donor.

The greatest game

2019 cricket World Cup final shows how sport enhances life, reconfirms the power of self-belief

This was 2007, he was just 22, and training hard to make an international comeback. However, the father's insistence and subsequent health improvement resulted in Liam pursuing his cricket dream. Had there been a minor twist to this tale, England wouldn't have had that unflustered big-stage bowler, who came with a scrambled-seam cutter to dismiss the New Zealand captain and Player of the Tournament Kane Williamson in the final.

When the English captain, Eoin Morgan, ended his country's long-wait to lift the Cup; watching the unadulterated and over-the-top revelry of the punch drunk English fans at Lord's, made you wonder if anyone ever could be happier. But then you thought of the elderly Yorkshire couple you met at Nottingham five years back.

Not as emotional as the Plunketts, New Zealand too has a young man with an exemplary and inspiring life story. In a downward spiral because of a soul-crushing injury and loss of form, New Zealand all-rounder Jimmy Neesham too had decided to quit the sport. Such was his disgust towards the sport he once deeply loved that he would wake on match days, peep out of the window hoping it had rained and the match would get called off. He even thought of settling as a salesman for a company that sold electric collars for cows. He didn't, he stuck around. Had he not, who would have come up with those "nailing yorkers" and "sailing sixes" in the final moments at Lord's. If not for him, the game wouldn't have been tied twice. It would have been just another close final, not the greatest cricket game ever played.

The biggest challenge for those taking this "greatest game" to the screen or stage will be the narrative's lack of intrigue, melodrama or histrionics. For starters, the two teams were led by men with angelic faces, the kind that make mothers, watching cricket at home, recoil when they see their favourite get hurt on field. Morgan and Williamson don't wear their aggression on their sleeve but it still is felt by the two batsmen on the pitch and also nine inside the dressing room.

They are strong and silent, and they stay the same regardless of the match situation. They don't put on a mask, or a game face, when entering the field. Williamson and Morgan aren't all smiles at 5/3 and get scowly at 320/4. Their qualities and concepts are elusive; they remain invisible to the untrained eye. Their actions and decisions drop a hint but the two are way too understated for anyone to read their minds.

For the in-your-face Indian squad that has now lost two semis and two finals at ICC events — 50-overs World Cup and T20 Championship — there are lessons to be learnt. Virat Kohli can learn the art of restrained aggression from Williamson and Morgan. Maybe, he can even give a thought about being more selective when it comes to the words he mouths in both delight and despair. The impressionable young cricketers might take years to perfect the Kohli cover drive, but reading the lips of the hero and repeating it on the cricket field wouldn't take time.

The England vs New Zealand final where no one choked or had a brain freeze — there were slip ups on both sides but no case of nerves — should act as a tutorial for the Indian cricketers. England and India chased virtually a similar total against the same bowling attack but the hosts came out shining.

A couple of batting failures here and there are part of cricket but a top-order collapse, a middle-order surrender and a faulty finish in the same game and that too a World Cup knock-out clash hints at a chronic nervous disorder. Champion sides know how to flirt with fine margins. They know how to walk the tight rope.

But when expectations of fans are unreasonable, tasteless television teasers compare lifting the silverware to drinking tea from cheap china and some ill-dressed movie star walks on the field to monetise the dream of billions that 2019 will be a sequel to 1983; you know that fear of failure came in the way of succeeding.

sandeep.dwivedi@expressindia.com



HARISH WANKHEDE

AN UPPER CASTE GAZE

Its nuanced depiction notwithstanding, 'Article 15' shows Dalits as victims

MAINSTREAM CINEMA BRINGS to us a world of enchanting narratives in which heroes perform tasks that are often beyond the realm of the imaginable. However, films also reflect our social and cultural values. Hindi cinema's dominant language overtly endorses the moral outlook of the social elites while social groups, like Dalits and Adivasis, are often depicted in a stereotypical manner.

It has been argued that the Dalit representation in Hindi cinema reflects philanthropic upper caste sensitivities. Dalit characters are often shown as powerless (*Sujata* and *Sadgati*), wretched (*Paar* and *Bandit Queen*) and dependent upon the morality of the social elites (*Aarakshan* and *Lagaan*). However, in recent times, films like *Rajneeti*, *Guddu Rangela*, *Manjhi*, *Masaan*, *Newton* and *Sonchiriya* attempted to break such stereotypes. Dalits were now no longer just victims of caste atrocities, but complex characters. The recently released *Article 15* is a welcome addition to films that portray Dalit subjectivity in a nuanced manner.

In the film, the Dalit community lives under conditions of abject poverty, performs filthy jobs and faces daily violence and social ostracisation. The non-Dalit characters assert their social identities and work to preserve the feudal-Brahmanical order. *Article 15* does not shy away from depicting the realities of caste society. For example, the brutal gang rape and murder of two Dalit girls does not shock the civil society. The victims' parents are helpless against the insensitive local police. Expecting justice for the victim appears farfetched under

such conditions.

Ayan Ranjan, a newly appointed IPS officer, enters the scene to bring justice to the victims. He delivers justice not through an act of revenge but by performing his job sincerely. A privileged Brahmin male, educated in the Western world and unaware of rural India's brutal caste realities, Ranjan is disturbed by the way the feudal order dominates the social and modern state institutions.

For the first time in Hindi cinema, the narrative revolves around the Dalit caste question. The film also has four set of Dalit characters alongside the Brahmin hero. Varied social and political objectives are behind different fragments of these Dalit lives. However, in end, they remain subjects of the brutal feudal order. While the Brahmin hero emerges as ideal and messianic, his Dalit counterparts are depicted as broken, corrupt or pathological people.

The first set of the Dalit characters represent the Dalit masses. The two teenaged Dalit girls are raped, murdered and hanged by a tree because they refuse to obey the dictates of the feudal elites. Their parents are helpless victims, tortured by the police authorities. These horrifying pictures haunt the narrative.

The second set of characters is of social activists, Gaura and Nishad resembling the activist, Chandrashekhar Ravan). They remind us of the idealist leaders of the Dalit Panthers movement which shocked the political establishment with their militant activism in the mid-1970s. Their commitment to radical Ambedkarite ideas and distrust of social and political authorities is showcased impressively.

Two other important characters are Jatavji, the police inspector and Malti Ram, the apprentice female doctor at the government hospital. They are part of state institutions, with salaried jobs, but their social status is not changed much. Both function under upper-caste bosses and lack independent agency. They represent the neo-Dalit middle class that has achieved economic mobility due to the state's affirmative action policies. However, they have failed to engage with the daily struggles of their poor Dalit counterparts.

Article 15 also comments on Dalit political leadership. The Dalit leader allies with a right-wing Hindu party that advocates Brahmin-Dalit unity to win elections. This draws from politics in Uttar Pradesh, where, in 1995, the BSP entered into a political alliance with the BJP. In current times, Dalit leaders like Ram Vilas Paswan and Ramdas Athawale have become part of the BJP-led NDA alliance.

Portraying Dalit subjectivities in a nuanced manner is welcome. However, the reformism of the upper caste elites seems to dictate the actions of *Article 15*'s Dalit characters. They are burdened with sufferings, become part of radical militant outfits or get associated with corrupt political regimes. The Dalit character as an independent hero, who can battle criminal elements without fear, is yet to find a respectable space in mainstream Bollywood films. Dalits are monitored as subaltern subjects who need the upper caste saviour.

The writer is assistant professor, Centre for Political Studies, JNU

JULY 16, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

DESAI RESIGNS

MORARJI DESAI'S 28-month-old government went out of office as the revolt mounted against him in the Janata Party. Desai handed over his resignation to the President at 6.30 pm. Sanjiva Reddy accepted the resignation and asked him to continue as a caretaker PM until a new government is formed. Significantly, Desai has not resigned from the leadership of the Janata Party in Parliament. He has staked his claim to form another government on the ground that, even if depleted in strength, the Janata Party continues to be the single-largest party in the Lok Sabha. As such, he must be invited to form another government.

RAJ NARAIN'S CLAIM

RAJ NARAIN, WHO has brought about the fall of the Morarji Desai government, has staked his claim to forming an alternative ministry. As leader of the newly-formed Janata Party (Secular), Raj Narain sent to President Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy a communication spelling out his claim. Meanwhile, leaders who had resigned from the Janata Party during the last week held detailed discussions among themselves on how to mobilise enough support to substantiate its claim. Contact has already been established with certain other Opposition group including Indira Congress and Congress to explore the possibility of either forming a coalition or

seeking their support from outside.

COALITION INEVITABLE

A COALITION GOVERNMENT at the Centre has become inevitable. But a ticklish situation has arisen because Morarji Desai has resigned from prime ministership but not from the leadership of the Janata Parliamentary Party. This has not only dismayed most of the Janata MPs but has put the party in a quandary. Desai has staked his claim to form a new government. Constitutional experts — Fali S Nariman, former Solicitor-General is one of them — say that the President cannot invite Desai to form the government because he has resigned from the prime ministership.



THE IDEAS PAGE

Same old rent-seeking

Politicians yearn to lay hands on Karnataka's public goods and natural assets, control its bureaucracy. The present political crisis is a reflection of this impulse



JANAKI NAIR

FOR THE FIRST time in many years, Karnataka may break with its long-established norm of having a state government that is not formed by the same party that holds office at the Centre. Many exemplary traditions forged in this state usually went unnoticed — until the “discovery of Karnataka” during the 2018 election. How far we have travelled from the exceptional leadership of a Devaraj Urs, arguably the most important non-communist Indian leader committed to land reforms and social welfare, or an Abdul Nazir (“Neer”/water) saab, who pioneered an exemplary water policy in the 1980s! Karnataka should also have been better known for its decentralisation of panchayati raj institutions and its reservations for women long before the nation picked up those leads. And it was none other than the current Speaker, K R Ramesh Kumar, who as health minister in 2017, attempted to tame the rapacious private health establishment in Karnataka.

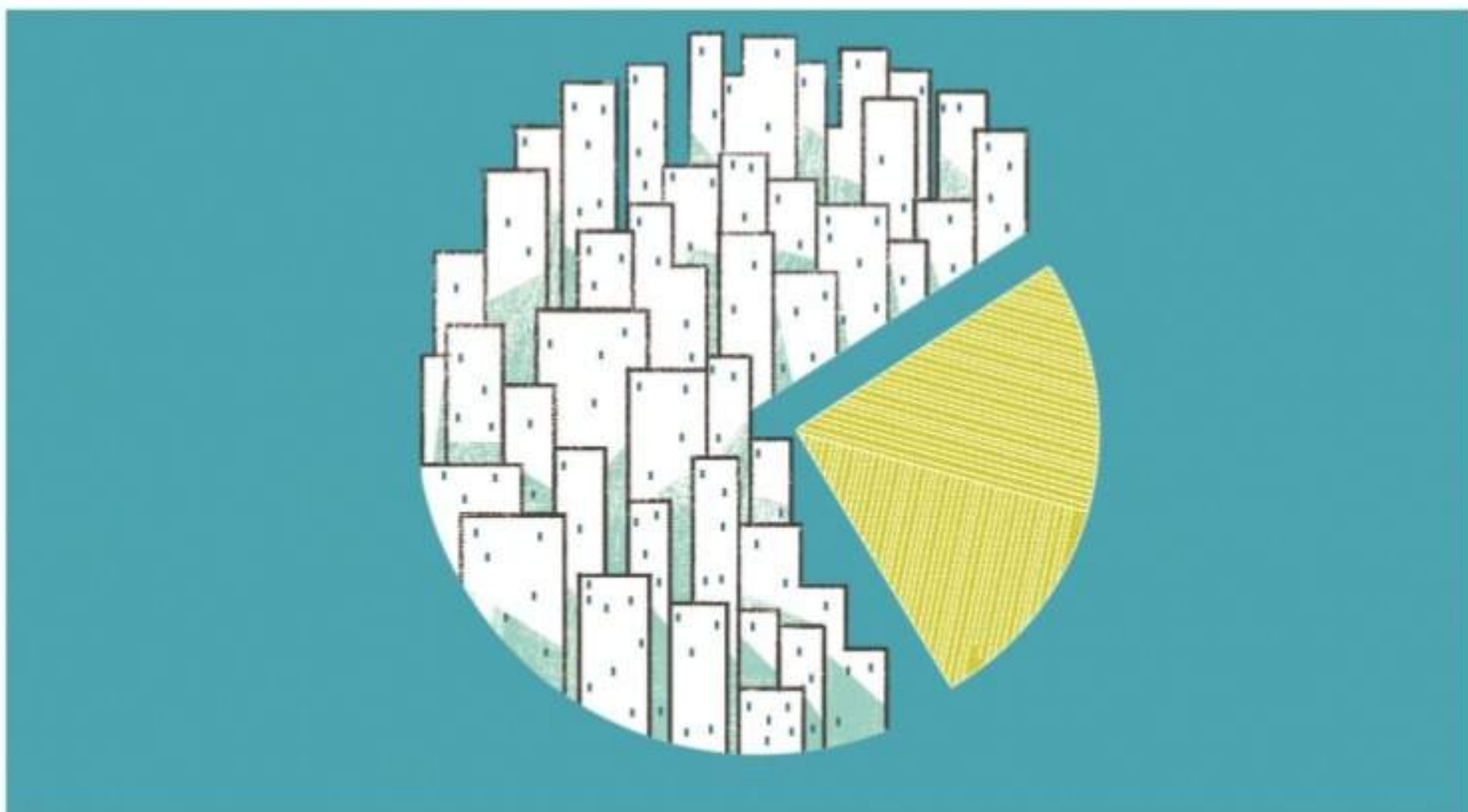
All these legacies have now been overshadowed by the spectacle of renegade JD(S) and Congress MLAs. As we watched them sprint down the corridors of Vidhana Soudha, exemplarily secured from public anger, desperate JD(S)/Congress “poachers”, the media, and assorted “threats” to their precious life and limbs, they looked nothing like the “rebels” they believe they are. So, what new political norms are being fashioned in Karnataka?

We are yet to establish whether the “green corridor” the renegades were ensured through the city of Bengaluru on the way from the HAL airport to the Vidhana Soudha — infuriating evening commuters — is a national first. Or is it A H Vishwanath, who has redefined hypocrisy, since he had once said, in his book *Mallige Maatu* published in 2014, that all justifications for “deserting the natal home and sheltering with the enemy” are like smokecreens of renegades looking for “fresh pastures to graze on”?

Of late, Karnataka politics, which has had a colourful “chicken-eating Brahmin” CM, has become better known for the chief minister who was jailed on corruption charges. Even the CM’s RSS background did not steel him from the fatal attractions of land and mining contracts. And the restless ambitions of the party he had forsaken in 2012 once more restored him to the place of chief manoeuvrer.

But he is not alone in his preoccupations. Even a cursory glance at the backgrounds and assets of the deserters provided in *The Indian Express* is revealing: Apart from Shivaram Hebbar, whose declared assets have mysteriously declined between 2013 and 2018, and A H Vishwanath, whose crores remained stable in the same period, most other legislators, such as B Ramalinga Reddy, Roshan Baig, Ramesh Jharkiholi, Anand Singh, S T Somasekhhar, Byrathi Basavaraj, N Munirathna, K Gopalaiah have massively upped their incomes. M T B Nagaraj has declared himself the richest real-estate-businessman-turned-politician with assets of a dizzying Rs 1,015 crore.

Forget agriculture, neither the IT/BT or the garment industries, for which Bengaluru may



Suvajit Dey

be better known, nor even the once lucrative education sectors are sending their representatives to the legislative bodies. The wealth of those legislators on the “run” is drawn from two important areas — strip mining and real estate. Neither of these are guaranteed to swell government coffers, offer jobs or bring well-being to the people of Karnataka. The catastrophic devastation of Bellary or Chitradurga, with possibly irreversible consequences for soil and water, is no longer discussed, though the 2011 Lokayukta report detailed the colossal loss to the exchequer, damage to the environment, and severely declining village welfare from illegal iron mining and forest encroachment in the Bellary area.

Bengaluru has been the honey pot for real estate interests since at least the 1980s, when the kith and kin of successive chief ministers quite unpatriotically declared “oore nam-madu” (this state/land is ours). Anthropologists such as Michael Goldmann have coined the term “speculative urbanism” to describe the “unnatural” market processes by which urban growth, particularly on the peripheries of the city, follows speculation, determining not only acquisitions and sales but also urban form.

This has not stopped the renegades from claiming they want to serve the people. Dismayed by the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte in 1851, Karl Marx had insightfully suggested that we get beyond the deceptive “self-perceptions” of quarrelling political factions. Memorably, he noted: “Thus the Tories in England long imagined that they were enthusiastic about monarchy, the church, and the beauties of the old English Constitution, until the day of danger wrung from them the confession that they are enthusiastic only about *ground rent*.”

These individual biographies establish that politicians yearn to lay hands on the state’s public goods and natural assets, as well as control of its once independent bureaucracy. The result is often the disaster that the current resort/hotel politics completely eclipsed. It was the collapse of a building under construction in one of Bengaluru’s cosmopolitan areas, Pulakeshinagar (formerly Cox Town), which killed five people. It was a textbook case of the violations that are tolerated by civic inspectors, bureaucrats, and politicians — three floors built in the place of two, which led to the collapse of an adjoining

Forget agriculture, neither the IT/BT or the garment industries, for which Bengaluru may be better known, nor even the once lucrative education sectors are sending their representatives up to the legislative bodies. The wealth of those legislators on the ‘run’ is drawn from two important areas — strip mining and real estate. Neither of these are guaranteed to swell government coffers, offer jobs or bring well-being to the people of Karnataka. The catastrophic devastation of Bellary or Chitradurga, with possibly irreversible consequences for soil and water, is no longer discussed.

basement, and a domino effect which threatened a third building as well.

Bengaluru’s passage from a small town to a big metropolis was enabled by such illegalities, involving variously the state, builders, the middle-class and even the urban poor. In this building collapse, several destinies intersected: Poor construction labourers (including two from Bengal) in their search of a livelihood paid with their lives; some middle-class investors, though fully complicit in the illegalities, lost their homes; we are yet to see what will happen to the bureaucrats, civic officials and builders linked to the chain of illegalities.

But our legislator profile strongly suggests that as a class, builders and their partners in government will survive unscathed, with or without “divine intervention”. Inscribed on the auspiciously east facing entrance of the Vidhana Soudha are the words, “Government Work is God’s Work”. Karnataka’s legislators have breathed new life into those words. Worship is work: H D Revanna while at Chamundi claimed that the current government was divinely ordained. In non-theological terms, such pre-ordination refers to the desire for sovereign power.

During the Karnataka elections of 2018, then Karnataka chief minister, Siddaramaiah, refused the path that many, including his own party chief, had taken by their craven tours of temples and mathas. He had stressed instead the humanism of Basava’s message, a uniquely Karnataka heritage, that had spurned caste at its founding. Now he too is twinned with more earthly ambition.

It is too early to tell whether the hypernationalist “alternative” raised by the new kid on the block, Tejasvi Surya, will refocus Karnataka’s “unity” around the project of identifying second-class citizens. At this time, it is urgent to recall what Karnataka’s recent history has taught us: That perhaps only consensually agreed on *constraints* on certain economic “freedoms” (for example, unrestrained mining) and political practices (for instance, the penchant for unleashing a reign of terror rather than abiding by a rule of law) will enable a morally defensible social life, and ensure true freedom, equality, the flourishing of the human condition and what we owe to others, not least those generations to come.

The writer is professor, Centre for Historical Studies, JNU

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

“China’s governance in Xinjiang is of great value to anti-terrorism and extremism, and it has been proven effective. This should be praised instead of being criticised.” — GLOBAL TIMES, CHINA

Maritime challenges and opportunities

The churn in the Persian Gulf provides India an opening to step up its strategic engagements beyond investments in the Chabahar port



RAJA MANDALA

BY C RAJA MOHAN

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca help reveal India’s emerging challenges and opportunities on the maritime front. To the west of the country, international shipping is on high alert amidst the escalating tensions in the region between Iran and its neighbours on the one hand and between Tehran and Washington on the other. According to some estimates, at least 17 countries have been affected, either directly or indirectly, by the recent attacks on oil tankers in the Gulf region.

To the east, China has put its commercial shipping passing through the Straits of Malacca on a high alert. While the tensions in the Gulf centred around Iran are visible, the littoral states of the Malacca Straits are mystified at the Chinese decision to put its ships on alert. The three littoral states of the Malacca Straits — Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore — say they see no evidence of a real or potential threat.

Some believe that the Chinese decision might be based on intelligence about a local terror attack on its shipping. Others suspect this could be a prelude a larger move by China to establish a significant naval presence at the Malacca Straits that is seen as Beijing’s economic “life line”.

Every year, nearly \$500 billion worth of trade passes through the Straits of Hormuz. The value of commerce flowing through the Malacca Straits annually is estimated at more than \$3 trillion. Threats to the shipping in the straits of Hormuz and Malacca, however, are not new. What is new, though, is the US insistence that Asia pay for its energy security in the Gulf. In a tweet last month, President Donald Trump said Asian countries “should be protecting their own ships.”

The US has long been guarantor of maritime security in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Trump is now questioning the costs and benefits of this historic American role. This is very similar to the US pressure on its European allies to contribute a greater share of the costs for the maintenance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. That allies “free ride” on American shoulders has been at the heart of Trump’s world view. And he has been determined to ramp up the pressure against its partners in Europe and Asia to change the relative security burdens.

That the US is no longer dependent on oil imports from the Middle East and has be-

come a major hydrocarbon exporter, have created the new economic context for Trump’s questioning of traditional American commitments to the Gulf. On his part, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has reportedly told Trump at their meeting in Osaka last month that he has ordered the Indian Navy into the Gulf to escort the Indian oil tankers.

Since the Osaka talks, the story has moved on. Senior US officials, including General Joseph Dunford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo have unveiled plans to build an international coalition to secure the Gulf. Japan and South Korea are reportedly considering participation in such a coalition.

While Tokyo and Seoul are ambivalent about incurring additional costs to secure their oil imports, Beijing might be better prepared — in terms of capabilities as well as ambitions — to take larger responsibility for security in the Gulf. A decade ago, when piracy threatened international shipping in the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea, China initiated naval deployments that have turned into a permanent military presence in the region.

Since then, China has set up its first foreign military base in Djibouti. Beijing has intensified its military engagement in the Gulf and the Arabian Sea littoral. The US’s demand that Asians do more for securing the flows of energy, provides China with an unprecedented opportunity to carve out a larger role for itself in the Gulf.

The opportunity should be equally attractive to India. After all, Delhi is closer to the Gulf than Beijing and is in a better position to raise its maritime profile in the littoral. It has big stakes in the Gulf as well as a longer tradition of providing security to the region. Meanwhile, the countries in the Gulf region are looking to diversify their security partnerships as an insurance against potential downsizing of American security commitments. But the public debate in Delhi is focused rather narrowly on the implications of the Gulf crisis for its planned investments in Iran’s Chabahar port and on finding ways to appear neutral.

One hopes that the Modi government is thinking a little more boldly about India’s strategic possibilities in the Gulf amidst a historic churn shaking up this oil-rich region and its relationship to the world. More broadly, as Asia rises and the US rethinks its role in providing public goods in the Indo-Pacific, Delhi must aim to do more for maritime security on its own as well as through coalitions of like-minded countries. After all, Modi has often suggested that India must aspire to become a “leading power” and take greater responsibility for regional security in India’s neighbourhood.

The writer is director, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore and contributing editor of international affairs for The Indian Express

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TAGORE’S WORDS

THIS REFERS TO E P Unny’s ‘Freeze Frame’ cartoon (IE, July 15). Rabindranath Tagore is shown as handcuffed. The way political atmosphere is currently changing in our country, this cartoon may become a reality before long. In *Bharat Teertha*, Tagore wrote: “O Aryans, non-Aryans, come here. O Hindus and Mussalmans, come here. You Englishmen, and Christians, come here. Come here, O Brahmans with a clean heart, and join hands with everyone. Come here all downtrodden, letting go of your past humiliations. Only by the combined touch of all of you, will this pot of water, meant for the ceremonial washing of the Motherland, become sacred.” In another instance, Tagore writes, “Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads. Whom are you worshipping in this lonely dark corner of a temple, keeping all its doors shut? Open your eyes and see that your God is not present before you!” With the way we are now going, it is likely that Tagore will soon be censored.

Ranjan Das, Mumbai

ROTE ROUTE

THIS REFERS TO THE article, ‘The burden of perfect 10’ (IE, July 15). The writers have meticulously highlighted the all that ails our education system. From Macaulay’s thesis to the current trend, our education system seems to be static. The only variable is in the marks scored by the students. Diving into the numbers, one can easily locate many of the problems of our education system to this contradiction. Parents as well as the government need to emphasise conceptual learning rather than motivate students to

Dev is a practising advocate at Delhi High Court. He has been an Ambassador for Harvard University’s Oral History Project on Partition of British India. Views expressed are personal



DIVYANSH DEV

Healing old wounds

NRC process addresses a century-long demographic crisis in Assam

AS THE JULY 31 deadline for the Supreme Court-monitored NRC (National Register of Citizens) in Assam approaches, the faultlines in the discourse around it have widened. Some of the descriptions of the exercise ignore how its history dates back a century, and how that history continues to mould the present. The basic issue of weeding out infiltrators and preserving racial and ethnic identity is being drowned by confused concerns over the rights of refugees and a religious exodus. These accusations are false: The NRC refuses to touch refugees and only filters the infiltrators that have secured access to the state’s resources purely as a vote-bank. Given the exercise is Supreme Court monitored — the Court is ultimate guarantor of fundamental rights — any misgivings about a Rohingya-like situation in Assam must be ignored.

The British devised the “Line System” in 1916 and implemented it in 1920 in Assam wherein the specified areas were demarcated for Muslim immigrants and indigenous people. The immigrants were not allowed to settle in areas belonging to indigenous people of Assam.

C S Mullan, Superintendent of the 1931 Census highlighted the impact of immigrants on indigenous people of Assam. He pointed out that such an influx is akin to eliminating the Assamese race and culture at a greater pace than Burmese invasion century years ago. According to him, immigrants had already conquered Nowgong district, Darrang

district and the Barpeta subdivisions were to be invaded. The immigration issue later formed the bedrock of the Pakistan movement in Assam. By 1937, Muslim League leaders propagated a theory that political power depended on population. This became even more prominent after the League’s 1940 Lahore resolution calling for the creation of Pakistan. Soon after, leaflets titled “Muslims of Assam, Unite” became rampant.

Lord Wavell, British Viceroy of India, during his 1943 visit to Assam said, “the chief political problem in Assam was the desire of the Muslim Ministers to increase the immigrant population into the uncultivated Government lands under the slogan of Grow More Food, but what they were really after was Grow More Muslims.” Further, a tripartite agreement between Government of Assam and the Muslim League in 1945 gave the former the rights to evict illegal immigrants who had migrated to the Assam province after 1938.

Assam bore the brunt of pre-Partition violence as well — Maulana Bashani (Muslim-League MLA from Dhubri South) called for immigrants to undertake jihad against the Congress-led Bordoloi government. A telegram from Bordoloi, the Premier of Assam, to Sardar Patel on March 19, 1947, read: “Assam situation serious, causing govt Great anxiety. Assam Muslim League and Bengali Muslim Leaders planning invasion of Assam by organised volunteers from

Bengal. Many immigrants Muslim entered in Assam... Clash inevitable as tension continues.” When the results of the referendum in Muslim-majority Sylhet District were in favour of joining East Pakistan, Assam found itself in a comfortable situation. Bordoloi told Patel on February 18, 1948, that giving the Bengali district of Sylhet and a portion of Cachar from Assam to East Pakistan is “a consummation to which the Assamese people are looking forward for the last 70 years”.

The Asom Jatiya Mahasabha, which led the Assamese cause, published a statement the following statement in *The Shillong Times* on August 27, 1947: “With Sylhet joining Pakistan, Assam has grown smaller in area but attained greater homogeneity which has prompted Assam to be free and sovereign.”

Soon after Independence, the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1951 protected the rights of minorities of both India and Pakistan. The immigrant Muslims who had left Assam for East Pakistan returned due to the pact. However, they were not part of the 1951 census and the Assam NRC that was prepared that year.

In the next decade, the pogrom in East Pakistan against the Bengalis led to an increase in migration. This peaked at the time of the liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971. Then, as per the Indira Gandhi-Mujibur Rahman Pact of 1972, all refugees who entered India before March 25, 1971, were allowed to stay in India.

By 1979, the monumental increase in the

number of voters, 45,000 of whom were foreigners in a by-election in Assam, lead to birth of the Assam Movement. The movement demanded the deportation of foreigners and the deletion of their names from the electoral roll. The Assam Accord signed between the Rajiv Gandhi government and student leaders of Assam movement in 1985, says: “Foreigners who came to Assam on or after March 25, 1971, shall continue to be detected, deleted and practical steps shall be taken to expel such foreigners”.

The 2009 PIL in the Supreme Court filed by an Assamese NGO sought directions from the Court to delete the names of 41 lakh foreigners from the voters list on the pretext of Assam Accord and update the 1951 NRC accordingly. Since 2015, the process is court-monitored.

These 100 years, if anything, illustrate that Assam’s struggle isn’t new, and this exercise is not unfamiliar. The reasons behind NRC are same, as are the aspirations of the people whose will mandates it. Beyond the politics, polarisation and promises, for the first time, India is dissuading the nourishment of vote-banks at the expense of the state’s resources.





Waiting for daybreak

Chandrayaan-2 missed this rendezvous with the moon, but the next date is not too far

India's second moon mission, Chandrayaan-2, was pulled back from launch just 56 minutes before its scheduled liftoff on July 15. This was owing to a technical glitch in the GSLV Mark-III rocket launcher. No rescheduled date has been announced for launch. This has no doubt served as a damper on those who eagerly looked forward to India being only the fourth country to launch a mission that would land on the moon, and the very first to land on and explore its south pole region. Yet, it was best that the glitch was discovered before the launch. Rocket launches always have a nail-biting finish. Even the GSLV-DI, the slighter predecessor to the GSLV Mark-III, suffered such a setback when it was about to be launched for its first developmental test flight in 2001. It was called off exactly one second before launch, as it was discovered that one of the four liquid propellant strap-on stages had not developed the required thrust. This test flight was conducted just 21 days later, paving the way for several successful launches of the GSLV rocket subsequently.

What seems to have touched the popular imagination is that the current launch window ends on July 16 and if this window is missed there could be an indefinite delay in rescheduling the launch. Coupled with news reports that checking and correcting the error could take up to 10 days, this has led to dire pronouncements of an indefinite postponement of the mission. The 'launch window' is determined by several factors. One of the most important considerations is that any spot on the moon receives sunlight for approximately 14 (earth) days before being plunged in night for another fourteen. The landing has to be timed so that it maximises the overlap with the sunlit days on that spot. This is because the lander and the rover need solar energy to power them and to keep the instruments warm. Therefore, given a landing spot that can be seen from the earth, the landing date has to coincide with the sixth phase of the moon (first quarter) as seen from the earth, on that spot. Secondly, once placed on the moon orbit, Chandrayaan-2 must have full visibility to the ground station, which will determine the time of operation of the landing. From the date of launch to the date of landing, the planned interval is about 54 days. Much of this time is needed for the Chandrayaan-2 mission to make various orbital manoeuvres and operations, but there is a leeway of a day or two to take some decisions. A window that takes all this into account, is available for about 10 minutes on each day now for about a week. Such a window can be found every month. Other tighter windows are available but are high-risk options. So even if Chandrayaan-2 misses its rendezvous with the moon this month, it will find a date, perhaps even next month, that will be suitable.

Closer than close

England did well to win the World Cup, but New Zealand did not deserve to lose

Summit clashes of global sporting tournaments can often be underwhelming. One team revels in the occasion, the other wilts, and a lopsided climax occurs. But Sunday's ICC World Cup final involving England and New Zealand at Lords wasn't cut from the same cloth. Never has a cricket match invested with such magnitude concluded in a tie. The same finish line was again replicated after the super over was taken to break the stalemate. The rivals scored 241 apiece in their respective innings and drew level at 15 in the super over. Ideally both units should have shared the trophy but the quest for a singular winner and a tournament law that mentioned cumulative boundaries as the ultimate deal-breaker, helped England pip New Zealand. The host had 26 strikes past the ropes, well ahead of the visitor's 17. For a contest of gladiatorial proportions, it was perhaps an unfair judgment. In the current popular imagination both squads are champions, but after many years when only cold statistics linger, England will have the halo and New Zealand will remain the bridesmaid. The tussle that kept London agog had many stars, but one player shone the brightest. Ben Stokes, who had spoken about how England cannot be denied, rose to the occasion, and his splendid unbeaten 84 helped Eoin Morgan's men keep pace with Kane Williamson's unsung heroes.

England, the willow game's birthplace, needed this triumph to resuscitate the sport which is waning across the country. The game's followers belong to an older demographic space and Asian immigrants, while the youth root for football. A win of this scale should increase footfalls at various training academies and grounds, and the talent base will widen. For New Zealand, the second consecutive loss at the last hurdle will hurt, but unlike in the 2015 edition where it succumbed meekly to co-host Australia, here it fought with all its might, be it crucial runs or decisive wickets. The Black Caps dished out outstanding fielding, and in a face-off of slender margins every run saved has deep ramifications. Williamson, who excelled with the bat and amassed 578 runs, was a brilliant captain and he never lost his sense of grace. Judged the 'Player of the Tournament', the Kiwi skipper and his men can return home with their heads held high. For a championship that featured skewed games and four rained-out fixtures in its first part, the second stage proved engrossing and the final was the piece-de-resistance. The World Cup also held a mirror to cricket's overall health. Except for England, New Zealand, Australia, India and to some extent Pakistan, the other squads have become weak and the respective boards have to address structural flaws. The sport needs robust competition, not jaded outfits.

A test of law and justice

The challenges made to the 103rd constitutional amendment present a more difficult judicial examination than usual



SUHRITH PARTHASARATHY

Constitutional challenges are often described as hard cases. This is, however, seldom true. Invariably, disputes possess a simple solution. We can debate over what theories of interpretation to apply and over whether the text of a clause needs to be read literally or in light of its historical background, but in most cases, the Supreme Court's own precedent and commonly accepted legal theories provide an easy enough guide to finding a principled answer. The challenges made to the 103rd constitutional amendment, though, which a two-judge bench of the Supreme Court is slated to hear this month, present a rather more difficult test.

Here, the issues involved concern questions both over whether the amendment infringes the extant idea of equality, and over whether that idea is so intrinsic to the Constitution, that departing from it will somehow breach the document's basic structure. The court's answers to these questions will operate not merely within the realm of the law but will also likely have a deep political bearing – for at stake here is the very nature of justice that India's democracy embodies.

The law, which was introduced in January this year, amends Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution, and grants to government the power to provide for reservation in appointments to posts under the state and in admissions to educational institutions to "economically weaker sections of citizens [EWS]". At first blush, this reservation, which can extend up to 10%

of the total seats available, may not appear to impinge on the existing constitutional arrangement. But what it does mandate is a quota that will apply only to citizens other than the classes that are already eligible for reservation. Consequently, persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and persons who are not part of the creamy layer of the Other Backward Classes will not be eligible to the seats available under the quota.

According to the petitioners in the Supreme Court, the central hypothesis of the amendment, where reservation is predicated on individual economic status, violates the Constitution's basic structure. In their belief, the law, by providing for affirmative action unmindful of the structural inequalities inherent in India's society, overthrows the prevailing rationale for reservations. In doing so, they argue, the amendment destroys the Constitution's idea of equal opportunity. The Union of India argues that while the Constitution demands equality, it does not confine Parliament to any singular vision. According to it, the power to amend the Constitution must necessarily include a power to decide how to guarantee equal status to all persons.

Meaning and purpose

In some senses, as sociologist Gail Omvedt wrote in these pages ("The purpose of reservation - I", March 24, 2000), "the whole history of the struggle for reservation has also been a debate about its very meaning and purpose". When reservations were first introduced by some of the princely states the policy was seen largely as an alleviative measure. For instance, in the princely State of Mysore, where privileged castes had cornered virtually every post available under the government, a system of reservations was



introduced denominating communities as "Backward Classes", and providing for them a larger share in the administration. By the time the Constitution was being drafted as a reading of the Constituent Assembly's debates shows us, the rationale for reservations had broadened. The Constitution's framers saw the measure as a promise against prejudice, as a tool to assimilate deprived groups into public life, and as a means of reparation, to compensate persons belonging to those groups for the reprehensible acts of discrimination wrought on them through history. Marc Galanter has called this a compensatory discrimination principle.

Yet, despite the expanded justification, the basic foundational logic for reservations was still predicated on a demand for a fairer and more representative share in political administration. This is demonstrated by R.M. Nalavade's comment in the Constituent Assembly. "Our experience in the provinces, though there are provisions for reservation in the services, is bitter," he said. "Even though the depressed classes are educated and qualified, they are not given chances of employment under the Provincial Governments. Now that we have provided for this in the Constitution itself, there is no fear for the Scheduled castes. According to this clause we can be adequately represented in the provincial as well as in the Central

A hand-to-mouth Budget

It is inescapable from the arithmetic that revenue expenditures and tax revenues are in need of serious corrections



PUJA MEHRA

Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman began a new practice in the Union Budget, presented on July 5, when she relegated the numbers, or the budgeting, to the fine print, in a break with tradition; they are usually presented as a part of the speech on the floor of the House in Parliament.

What are the compulsions that could have made her shy away from stating the numbers as her predecessors have done earlier, no matter how uncomfortable the fiscal position?

Falling tax revenues

The Central government's tax revenues for the financial year ending March-end 2019 – as reported by the Controller General of Accounts (CGA) – fell short of the Interim Budget's estimates (that the Modi government presented in its first tenure) in February by a whopping 0.9% of GDP.

The CGA's figures show that direct tax collections for 2018-19 fell short by ₹74,774 crore while those of indirect tax collections were by ₹3,198 crore.

The Budget Speech saved the Modi government the embarrass-

ment of owning up to this shortfall on the floor of the House, although this is not the first time that a government has overestimated tax collections.

Ms. Sitharaman has now budgeted for lower tax revenue in the ongoing financial year, 2019-20, than her predecessor, Piyush Goyal had in the Interim Budget.

The new Budget estimate for gross tax revenue is ₹90,936 crore lower than what was projected in the Interim Budget. This is despite the higher surcharge Ms. Sitharaman has imposed on income-tax for those earning more than ₹ 2 crore and a range of hikes she has levied on customs duties.

The new Budget estimates show that the government does not expect to improve its performance on tax collections in the current year: Gross tax revenue-GDP ratio is budgeted to slip from 11.9% in 2018-19 to 11.7% in 2019-20. While the direct tax-to-GDP ratio is expected to go from 6.4 to 6.3, the indirect tax-to-GDP ratio will reduce from 5.5 to 5.3.

To fill the gaping hole on the tax revenue side, significantly higher non-tax revenues have been budgeted than the estimates of the Interim Budget. Dividends and profits from public sector enterprises are budgeted at ₹1,63,528 crore compared to ₹1,36,072 crore in February. This includes an extraordinarily large increase in dividends from the Reserve Bank of India from the ₹68,000 crore it paid last



year to ₹90,000 crore.

The Budget now estimates ₹1,05,000 crore to be raised through disinvestment, higher than the ₹90,000 crore that Mr. Goyal had projected in the Interim Budget and the ₹80,000 crore raised in 2018-19.

Tapping public enterprises

On the revenue side, therefore, the government proposes to make up for its below-expectations performance by extracting more from profitable public sector enterprises (PSEs); the economy would have been better off had these enterprises taken the lead in rolling out fresh investments, thereby generating growth impulses for the rest of the economy.

As a percentage of GDP, non-tax revenue is budgeted to grow from 1.3% in 2018-19 to 1.5% in 2019-20.

The expenditure estimates show that the money the government is raising from assets, through disinvestment and extracting from the PSEs through di-

services."

By providing for a more proportionate distribution of the share in administration, the programme of reservations, it was believed, would end at least some of caste-based domination of jobs, particularly of employment in the public sector – a domination that was built over thousands of years, where Dalits and Adivasis were denied access to equal status. As Ms. Omvedt has pointed out, the strategy behind reservations could, therefore, never have involved an attack on pure economic backwardness. The idea was always to disavow caste-monopoly in the public sector.

Theory of justice

Even when the Constitution's first amendment was introduced in 1951, to allow the state to make special provisions beyond reservations in public employment for "the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes", the rationale, as the lawyer Malavika Prasad has argued, remained constant. Attempts made at the time to categorise individuals on the basis of economic status were expressly rejected. Behind this thinking was a distinctive theory of justice: that by according a greater share in public life to historically disadvantaged groups the relative position of those groups would stand enhanced. No doubt such a policy would not, in and of itself, help eliminate the various inequalities produced by the caste system, but it was believed it would represent a resolute effort to eliminate at least some of the caste-based domination prevailing in society.

Indeed, the policy and the idea of justice that undergirds it have been seen as so indispensable to the Constitution's aims and purposes that the Supreme Court in

State of Kerala v. N.M. Thomas (1975) held that reservations based on social and educational backwardness, far from being an exception ought to be seen as an intrinsic facet of the idea of equality.

Unseating equality

It is in departing from this logic that the 103rd amendment unseats the Constitution's code of equality. Pure financial ability is a transient criterion; it doesn't place people into a definite group requiring special privileges. If anything, allowing for reservation on such a principle only further fortifies the ability of powerful castes to retain their positions of authority, by creating an even greater monopolisation of their share in administration. If such an end is indeed the vision, it's difficult to see how the elementary conception of equality guaranteed by the Constitution can continue to survive.

Now, no doubt the Supreme Court may, on the face of things, consider Parliament as possessing the power to altogether dismantle the Constitution's existing idea of equality without simultaneously demolishing the document's basic structure. But, if nothing else, when the court hears the challenges made to the 103rd amendment, it must see the petitioners' arguments as representing a credibly defensible view. The least the court ought to do, therefore, is to refer the case to a constitution bench, given that Article 145(3) mandates such an enquiry on any issue involving a substantial question of law concerning the Constitution's interpretation, and, in the meantime, stay the operation of the amendment until such a bench hears the case fully. Should the court fail to do so the government will surely one day present to it a cruel fait accompli.

Suhrit Parthasarathy is an advocate practising at the Madras High Court

vidends, is not going towards significantly expanding public investments. This is because much of it is getting spent on providing for salaries, pensions, subsidies and interest payments on past borrowings.

This is why the Budget presented by Ms. Sitharaman is a hand-to-mouth Budget. She did well in resisting demands for a fiscal stimulus to pump prime the economy. That is also what has made it a fiscally prudent budget.

The revenue expenditure is budgeted to grow to ₹24,47,780 crore in 2019-20, an increase of 14.3% over the revised estimate for the previous year.

The fiscal gap between expenditures and revenues will be financed by borrowing ₹7.10 lakh crore. In 2019-20, the outgo towards interest payments is budgeted at ₹6,60,471 crore, or more than a third of the total revenue receipts.

The government's interest payments for past borrowings, the largest component of the revenue expenditure, are budgeted to grow in nominal terms, from 11.1% in 2018-19 to 12.4% in 2019-20, or faster than even the estimated GDP growth.

Capital expenditure of the government is budgeted at ₹3,38,569 crore for 2019-20 which reflects a growth of 6.9% over the revised estimate of 2018-19. In other words, capital expenditure is projected to grow at a rate slower than the pro-

jected rate of GDP growth.

This comes when the Budget speech made much about the need to revive investments to accelerate GDP growth. Ms. Sitharaman emphasised in her speech that investments of ₹100 lakh crore would be needed cumulatively over the next five years to boost infrastructure; this works out to be around ₹20 lakh crore a year.

She did not say where this money would come from. Current savings and investment rates in the economy cannot provide for such large sums. Perhaps the hope is that foreign investors will deploy in India cheap funds they will be able to raise in advanced economies where the costs of borrowings are expected to reduce as the global economy enters a phase of weak economic growth and trade.

Be that as it may, what is not clear is how the government expects the Budget to be called 'pro-investments'.

It is inescapable from the Budget arithmetic, though, that revenue expenditures and the tax revenues are in need of serious corrections. If they were in better shape, significant expansions in public investments would have been possible.

Puja Mehra is a Delhi-based journalist. She is the author of the book, 'The Lost Decade (2008-18): How India's Growth Story Devolved Into Growth Without a Story'

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters emailed to letters@thehindu.co.in must carry the full postal address and the full name or the name with initials.

Chandrayaan-2 delay

Indians need not lose heart after the launch of the Chandrayaan-2 mission was stopped due to a technical glitch. The Indian Space Research Organisation is one of the finest institutions of the country and has carried out several world-class missions successfully over the past few decades, despite the absence of a lavish budget. The institution is the pride of India and should be an inspiration to many developing countries.

MEENA YADEM,
Hyderabad

The Karnataka crisis

Whatever be the rights or legality of the actions of the MLAs in Karnataka, are they performing their duties as elected

representatives of their constituencies (Editorial, "Karnataka conundrum," July 15)? Are they looking after the interests of the people? Are they being true to the oath taken at the time of their induction as legislators? They seem to be just blatantly advancing their own interests to claim power and position, which is their sole objective of getting into politics. Political parties nurture them for their own survival. Why doesn't the public see through this game and protest against such grand betrayals?

M.K. ANANTHA SWAMY,
Bengaluru

Honours tied

The semi-final clash between Australia and South Africa in 1999 was for

long considered the greatest World Cup match ever played ('Sport' page, "Ecstasy for England, agony for New Zealand in a humdinger," July 15). This Sunday's contest, also hosted by England, can now lay its claims over the epithet. Following the humdinger, neither England nor New Zealand deserved to lose. It is a shame for cricket's governing body that such a great match had to be decided on the basis of such a farcical metric. It is high time the International Cricket Council revisits its rule book to provide some predictability when it comes to giving closure to such fiercely fought encounters. However, for a cricket fan, it is heartening to see a new World Cup

champion emerge for the first time since 1996.

L.S. HAREESH,
Chennai

■ A 'Super Over' at the end of a Cricket match is meant to decide the winner of a knock-out contest. But what happens if the tie-breaker itself ends up in a stalemate? England was handed over the World Cup by virtue of having scored more boundaries, a rule that needs to be revisited. Why couldn't both teams have been declared winners and made to share the World Cup? Why should the result have caused ecstasy for one team and agony for the other when the performance, and the scores, were on such an even keel?

VICTOR FRANK A.,
Chennai

■ The scores were: 241 for 8 for New Zealand and 241 all out for England. The Super-Over also resulted in a tie. Hence, to decide the result on the basis of a lone statistic of boundaries scored looked like a travesty. Both the teams could have been declared joint winners.

S.V.S. MANI,
Chennai

It was a feast for sport lovers as two high-profile events reached their climax in the same city, in the same style, within minutes of each other. The Cricket World Cup match provided unmatched thrills, a contest of equals where the dominance passed repeatedly from one team to the other in a seesaw battle that ended in an incredible tie. And then the Super Over also produced a tie, proving

that there was little to choose between England and New Zealand. Then came the anticlimax. In the final of such a major event, there should have been a more sensible way to break the deadlock. An additional Super Over would not have been out of place. Even declaring the teams as joint winners was acceptable. Around the same time at Wimbledon, Roger Federer and Novak Djokovic, produced a classic final (Sports page, "Djokovic leaves Federer heart-broken after epic finale", July 15). Again, it was a match neither player deserved to lose. And again, a new rule to break the tie was the culprit.

P.P. MENON,
Kochi

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Creating a fair digital payments market

Local firms will be at a disadvantage if big tech companies are given plum roles



PADMASHREE GEHL SAMPATH

Since early last year, WhatsApp has busily piloted its payment system in India. WhatsApp Pay relies on the Indian government's Unified Payments Interface (UPI) system to facilitate inter-bank transactions. Regulatory approval that would allow its nationwide introduction is stuck on one point: the Indian government has asked WhatsApp to localise all data processing related to payment transactions in India and not on Facebook's servers in the U.S. This is well in line with the government's existing technology vision for the digital economy, which hinges on data localisation as the magic bullet to solve multiple problems ranging from prevention of personal data misuse to promotion of local enterprises. Unfortunately, it misses a number of other issues and hidden costs of this current deal and raises broader issues on big tech's foray into financial services, especially payments.

The case of WhatsApp Pay
In the case of WhatsApp Pay, its parent company, Facebook, has come under scrutiny for harmful content, lack of privacy, and data misuse in recent years. The large amounts of social media data that Facebook sits on, its habit of using private user data to promote business, and its reluctance to adhere to policy have led to radical suggestions of breaking up big tech. Facebook, in response, has rolled out a new plan to reinvent its business, which is to build a new privacy-focused platform that integrates WhatsApp, Instagram and Messenger. This will provide end-to-end encryption for consumers and business services along with direct payment options. As *The Economist* recently noted, if this succeeds, it would make it more difficult to argue for big tech to be sliced up.

The only hitch in this new business plan is that Facebook is relatively new to the digital payments market and cannot gain a foothold in the U.S., where PayPal has the largest consumer base. This is where it becomes important to make WhatsApp



NYT

Pay successful in India. India is WhatsApp's largest market in the world with over 250 million monthly users. Once WhatsApp Pay catches on in India, Facebook intends to introduce it in other developing countries. Thus, the decision to allow WhatsApp Pay in India can catapult Facebook into the big league in the global digital payments market where companies like Alibaba's Alipay and Tencent's WeChat are making waves.

India's digital vision talks about data sovereignty and giving domestic firms an advantage. The digital payments market, with 800 million mobile users in the country of which more than 430 million have Internet access, is estimated to grow to over \$1 trillion by 2025. If India is serious about giving local firms an advantage, it should leverage this immense opportunity. With the right policy incentives, local firms could capture large shares of the digital payments market to become e-commerce players on a global scale, as China's experience shows. In China, domestic enterprises were strategically enabled to use the local market to emerge as global champions. Today, WeChat combines the functional features of several online platforms including Facebook, WhatsApp, PayPal and Uber Eats. Over 300 million users worldwide use WeChat payments for everything, right from ordering food to paying hospital bills, a model that all firms want to emulate.

But giving WhatsApp Pay a plum role in the digital payments market achieves the opposite because if the deal goes ahead, it will automatically give WhatsApp Pay a large advantage

over all other Indian firms that are currently operating without the advantage of relying on a large social media and messaging base as WhatsApp does. This creates a 'winner-takes-most' dynamic that competition authorities worldwide are becoming wary of: simply because WhatsApp already has the economies of scale and network externalities, it will manage to integrate it into an entirely new sector, with undue advantages that it should normally not benefit from. To top it all, Facebook will also receive a cut in all WhatsApp Pay transactions conducted in India. Similar concerns with market power can exist with allowing other large firms like Google Pay and Amazon Pay, but these will need to be assessed individually while making decisions for the national digital payments market. What matters most is that without a level playing field, even the most well-meaning policy incentives will not safeguard the expansion of local firms in the digital payments arena, thus severely limiting the capacity of local firms to benefit from the potential of India's own digital payments market.

Fallouts for privacy
The largest fallouts of granting market approval to a global player will be in the area of privacy. In the particular instance of WhatsApp Pay, the deal will give Facebook access to data on how people across countries are spending their money. Even if WhatsApp agrees to set up data localisation in India, the localisation requirement of the government is limited to payments data only. As a result, Facebook will still have access to meta-

data on all payment transactions, which can be matched with the data that the company already has access to on Instagram, Messenger and WhatsApp for the same users. With all of that, Facebook will be able to match user profiles on its social media websites with the user profiles that are authenticated by the UPI system in India. This would not only make Facebook the second biggest identification issuer in India after the Indian government, it would also make Facebook the best repository of data covering all areas of life – social and financial – on all Indian users. This kind of data pooling would never be allowed in the U.S. where financial privacy laws protect against such an outcome, so why should this be allowed in India? Similar risks exist in the case of Google Pay or Amazon Pay, where payments data can be matched with other existing repositories with outcomes that are not desirable and may/may not be as drastic as in the case of WhatsApp Pay.

These examples of big tech and finance help illustrate some of the complexities of digital markets. To address safe digital transformation, we need a policy that focuses on the nitty-gritty of implementation and coordination. We need to be clear on how digital technologies will transform different sectors, especially finance and payments, with a view to promoting competition, enabling local firms, protecting consumer welfare and promoting data sovereignty. In the specific case of the digital payments market, we need the elaboration of clear guidelines that enable the development of a digital payments market, going beyond requirements for storing and processing payments. Data localisation is costly, and consumers not only need protection that these compliance costs will not be passed on to them by businesses, but they also need clarity on how their data will be stored, for how long, and what uses will be prohibited. Local firms will need much more space and support in the digital payments market to be able to create new jobs, new prospects and digital dividends. These are crucial to guarantee the rights of all Indians as we move from a cash-based to a cashless economy.

Padmashree Gehl Sampath is a Fellow at Harvard University

A WASH for healthcare

Without adequate water, sanitation and hygiene amenities, infection control is severely compromised



POONAM KHETRAPAL SINGH

Healthcare facilities are many and varied. Some are primary, others are tertiary. Many are public, some are private. Some meet specific needs, whether dentistry or occupational therapy, and some are temporary, providing acute care when disaster strikes.

Whatever their differences, and wherever they're located, adequate water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) amenities, including waste management and environmental cleaning services, are critical to their safe functioning. When a healthcare facility lacks adequate WASH services, infection prevention and control are severely compromised. This has the potential to make patients and health workers sick from avoidable infections. As a result (and in addition), efforts to improve maternal, neonatal and child health are undermined. Lack of WASH facilities also results in unnecessary use of antibiotics, thereby spreading antimicrobial resistance.

As a joint report published earlier this year by the World Health Organization and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) outlines, WASH services in many facilities across the world are missing or substandard. According to data from 2016, an estimated 896 million people globally had no water service at their healthcare facility. More than 1.5 billion had no sanitation service. One in every six healthcare facilities was estimated to have no hygiene service (meaning it lacked hand hygiene facilities at points of care, as well as soap and water at toilets), while data on waste management and environmental cleaning was inadequate across the board.

Enhancing primary health-care
In WHO's South-East Asia region, efforts to tackle the problem and achieve related Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) targets are being vigorously pursued. As outlined at a WHO-supported meeting in New Delhi in March, improving WASH services in healthcare facilities is crucial to accelerating progress towards each of the region's 'flagship priorities', especially the achievement of universal health coverage. Notably, improving WASH services was deemed essential to enhancing the quality of primary healthcare services, increasing equity and bridging the rural-urban divide.



A World Health Assembly Resolution passed in May is hoping to catalyse domestic and external investments to help reach the global targets. These include ensuring at least 60% of all healthcare facilities have basic WASH services by 2022; at least 80% have the same by 2025; and 100% of all facilities provide basic WASH services by 2030.

For this, member states should implement each of the WHO- and UNICEF-recommended practical steps. First, health authorities should conduct in-depth assessments and establish national standards and accountability mechanisms. Across the region, and the world, a lack of quality baseline data limits authorities' understanding of the problem. As this is done, and national road-maps to improve WASH services are developed, health authorities should create clear and measurable benchmarks that can be used to improve and maintain infrastructure and ensure that facilities are 'fit to serve'.

Educating the health workers
Second, health authorities should increase engagement and work to instil a culture of cleanliness and safety in all health-care facilities. Alongside information campaigns that target facility administrators, all workers in the health system – from doctors and nurses to midwives and cleaners – should be made aware of, and made to practise, current WASH and infection prevention and control procedures (IPC). To help do this, modules on WASH services and IPC should be included in pre-service training and as part of ongoing professional development. In addition, authorities should work more closely with communities, especially in rural areas, to promote demand for WASH services.

And third, authorities should ensure that collection of data on key WASH indicators becomes routine. Doing so will help accelerate progress by promoting continued action and accountability. It will also help spur innovation by documenting the links between policies and outcomes. To make that happen, WHO is working with member states as well as key partners to develop a data dashboard that brings together and tracks indicators on health facilities, including WASH services, with a focus on the primary care level.

As member states strive to achieve the 'flagship priorities' and work towards the SDG targets, that outcome is crucial. Indeed, whatever the healthcare facility, whoever the provider, and wherever it is located, securing safe health services is an objective member states must boldly pursue.

Poonam Khetrapal Singh is regional director, WHO, South-East Asia

It no longer runs in the family

Political power in the Indian subcontinent seems to be drifting away from dynasties

SYED MUNIR KHASRU

Ever since the British left the Indian subcontinent, most South Asian nations have seen dynastic leadership. India's Congress Party, led by the Nehru-Gandhi family, has been in power for a better part of the country's post-Independence modern history. Similarly, the Bhuttos/Zardaris and the Sharifs led Pakistan for years. Sri Lanka was governed by the Bandaranaiques for years and the Rajapaksas later. In Bangladesh, two political families – those of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Zia ur-Rahman – have dominated the political landscape.

That said, leaders belonging to political dynasties have not always had a glorious reign. We only need to consider the tragic fate that befell the Bhuttos – Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his daughter Benazir Bhutto – both of whom died untimely deaths. In India, Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi were both assassinated.

At times, the end of one family's dominance brings the ascendance of another. We need to consider Sri Lanka's situation here, where rule by one family, the Bandaranaiques, was followed soon by the rise of another, the Rajapaksas. As President, Mahinda Rajapaksa appointed his brothers to key positions.

Examples of Imran, Modi
However, today, political power in the subcontinent seems to be drifting away from dynasties. In Pakistan, Imran Khan, a cricketer-turned-politician, and in India, Narendra Modi, a swayamsevak, have become Prime Ministers.

Here, the resignation of Rahul Gandhi as Congress president can be considered a significant development for India. Mr. Gandhi, who decided to relinquish the post after his party's defeat in the general elections, formally entered electoral politics as a 34-year-old MP in 2004 and was expected to have a major sway over India's youth. However, successive defeats of Congress in 2014 and 2019 have demonstrated that he

could not bring young voters into the party's fold. However, refreshingly, Mr. Gandhi desisted from playing the blame game.

Inspiring hope
Further, while Mr. Gandhi may have failed to have his finger on the pulse of the electorate, he did inspire some hope for the future of his party by owning up to its lapses and seeking to forge a more democratic future for the organisation. Thus, his resignation has opened a pathway for educated, charismatic and able leaders to assume charge, not just those from his own family.

Mr. Gandhi sought to distinguish himself from his political adversaries by saying: "Where they see differences, I see similarity. Where they see hatred, I see love. What they fear, I embrace." He certainly made an indelible impression when he concluded his resignation letter with these powerful words: "It is a habit in India that the powerful cling to power, no one sacrifices power. But we will not defeat our opponents without sacrificing the desire for power and fighting a deeper ideological battle."

Looking at other countries, as South Asia sheds dynastic politics, space is being created for leaders like Nepal's K.P. Sharma Oli, Bhutan's doctor-turned-Prime Minister Lotay Tshering and The Maldives's Ibrahim Mohamed Solih.

However, voters need not reject a candidate solely because he/she is from a political family. There can be meritocracy even when a dynast works his way up the political ladder by virtue of his skills. The challenge here is to ensure that those from humble origins have the same access to the corridors of power as the most privileged. As one of the world's most vibrant democracies, India can inspire merit-based democratic societies. On that note, Mr. Gandhi has led by example.

Syed Munir Khasru heads the Institute for Policy, Advocacy and Governance



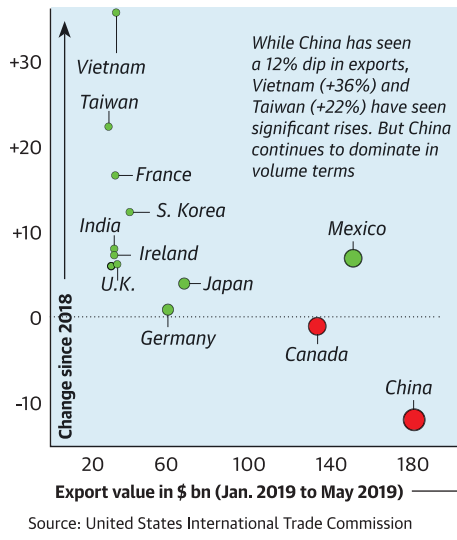
DATA POINT

Shifting origins

The U.S. has seen a drop in imports from China due to the tariff war between the two countries. Vietnam and Taiwan have benefited from the tariff escalation with their exports to the U.S. surging. However, India is yet to cash in. By Vignesh Radhakrishnan & Niharika Pandya

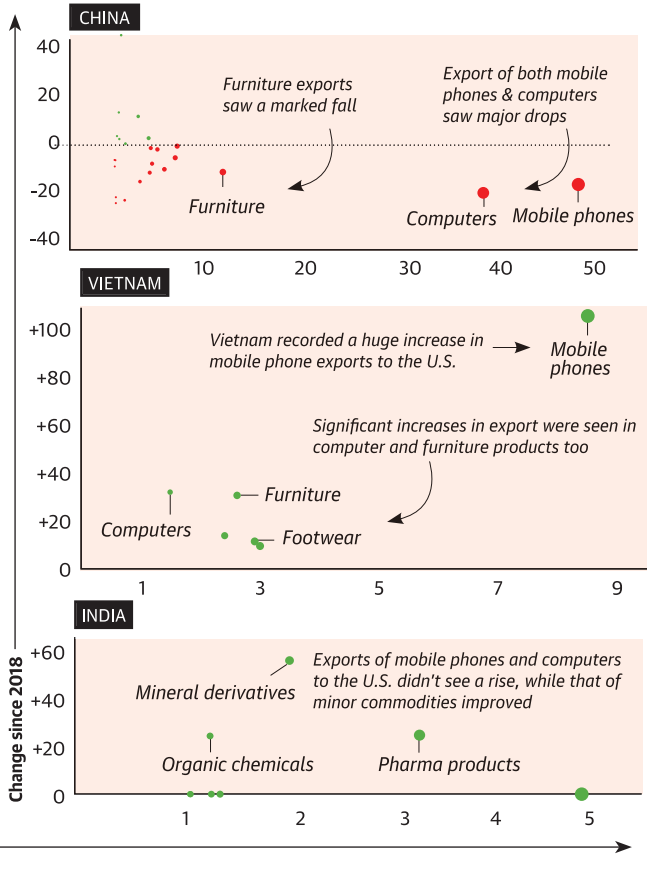
Ebbs and flows

Graph 1 plots the volume of goods sent to the U.S. by select countries between Jan. and May 2019 against the change in volume from the same period in 2018. The size of the circle corresponds to export volume in 2019. The colour indicates whether export has fallen or improved since 2018



Gains and losses

The graphs plot the same indicators as those in graph 1 for select nations: China, Vietnam and India for specific commodities. Each circle is a commodity. The graphs consider commodities which exceeded \$1 bn in export value



FROM The Hindu. ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JULY 16, 1969

Hurdles to reconciliation

The chances of reconciliation between the Prime Minister and the "Syndicate" over the Presidential nomination are being hampered by an almost conspiratorial atmosphere of crisis being built up by the busybodies on both sides on the eve of the Congress Parliamentary Party meetings this week-end. It was thought by some well-meaning intermediaries that they would be able to calm tempers after the dust had settled - and the debris of the explosion in the Parliamentary Board had been cleared - but unfortunately the hot-heads in both the camps are running around with oil cans instead of water and stoking fires in the name of stamping them out in good time. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has not yet come face to face either with the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, or the Home Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, after the showdown in Bangalore. And no Cabinet or committee meetings have been fixed for the next day or two to avoid them personal embarrassment before they are ready to sit together again to transact Government business and settle some pending policy matters before Parliament meets on Monday [July 21]. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi to-day called on the acting President, Mr. V. V. Giri, who told her that there was no question of his withdrawing from the Presidential contest.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JULY 16, 1919.

Coal Prices. Strong Labour Criticism.

A White Paper is issued [in London] showing the basis on which the box shilling increase in the cost of coal per ton is calculated. The deficiency in working the coal industry for twelve months beginning July 16th is estimated at over forty six millions sterling. The output is estimated at 217 million tons. Deducting the quantity on which increased price will not be effective namely 56 million tons comprising 18 millions for consumption at collieries, six million for miners' use and 32 million sold at open market prices above the minimum for export and bunkers, there remains 161 million tons over which the estimated deficiency is spread necessitating an increase in price of 5-9½ Gs. The increase in the price of coal is absorbing the public. Manufacturers are drawing the gloomiest picture of the effects on home export trades. The estimated cost of Lancashire cotton industry is five millions extra and all industries are proportionately affected. The miners are furious at the Government announcement.



अंतर्द्विनि

फिफ्टी तौसवी

‘गरीब’ रियासत से सियासत तक सबसे बिकाऊ जुमला रहा है

आप सब जानते हैं कि आग क्यों ईजाद हुई ईसान इतना बुद्ध न था कि आग ईजाद करता और खाना न पकाता, पानी गरम न करता, बदन न सँकता, कपड़े न सुखाता, लेकिन बाद में न जाने ईसान को क्या हुआ कि अचानक बुद्ध बन गया और उससे पड़ोसी के घर को आग लगाने लगा। दुश्मन की फसल जलाकर राख कर दी, मिट्टी का तेल बदन पर डालकर अपने को आग लगा ली और इस मकसद के लिए एक बी जमालो भी पैदा कर दी, जिसका काम फूस में चिंगारी डालकर तमाशा देkhना था। एक तरफ हम आग की पूजा करने लगे, तो दूसरी तरफ इसी आग से पूजा सिखाने वाली किताबों की लाइब्रेरियाँ फूँक डालीं। जहाँ बहार आती है,

वहाँ हम आग लगाने पहुँच जाते हैं और उस आग में हजारों-लाखों ईसानों को उड़ाकर फेंक देते हैं। रोटियाँ जिनके लिए सलामी जैंगें लड़ी गईं, हिरोशिमा पर बम फेंका गया, वही रोटियाँ आज पुझे चांदनी चौक में दिखाई दीं और कौए काँव-काँव करते हुए रोटियों को इस तारीखी लाश पर लालच भरी नजर डाल रहे थे। इन लालचियों को पहचानने में मुझे एक सेंकंड भी नहीं लगा। ये सब मैले-कुचैले लोग थे, कौए नहीं ईसान। इनमें कई मजदूर थे, कई भिखारी, कई बीमार बूढ़े थे, मगर ज्यादा तादाद नौजवानों की थी। यही सोलह बरस से तीस बरस की वह उमर, जब ईसान पर बहार आती है, फूल खिलते हैं। वही ईसान एक-एक रोटि के लिए जोर-जोर से चिल्ला रहे थे। ‘गरीब’ रियासत से लेकर सियासत के दौर में सबसे ज्यादा बिकने वाला जुमला रहा है, जिसे बार-बार दुहराकर न जाने कितने कानून-चोर खुद को गरीब नवाज के तमगों से सजा चुके हैं। लेकिन मेरे लिए किसी गरीब का दुख-दर्द किसी कारोबार या फर्जी नारे लगाने का सामान नहीं। गरीब और उसका शोषण मेरे सीने से बाहर-बार चौख बकाबर उभरता है।

-उर्दू के मशहूर कवि, नाटककार, पत्रकार।

हरियाली और रास्ता

राधा, दादी और कल्पना

राधा की कहानी, जो कल्पना से मुलाकात के बाद अपने जीवन के लक्ष्य के प्रति और भी समर्पित हो गई।



राधा स्कूल से लौटी, तो बदली-बदली नजर आ रही थी। मां ने पूछा, आज इतनी खुश क्यों हो? राधा बोली, मां, आज मैं एक लड़की से मिली। उसका नाम कल्पना है। वह स्पेस रिसर्चर है। मां बोली, पर तू कब से स्पेस रिसर्चर बन गई? राधा बोली, मैं भी बन जाऊँगी। मां बोली, सपने देखना बंद कर और जाकर अपना कमरा साफ कर। राधा कमरे में चली गई। दादी मां उनकी बातें सुन रही थीं। उन्होंने राधा से पूछा, तुम किस स्पेस रिसर्चर के बारे में बता रही थी? राधा बोली, दादी, वह बिल्कुल मेरी जैसी है। वह भी अपने घर में सबकी लाडली है। उसे जब किसी प्रतियोगिता के बारे में पता चलता था, तो वह भी मेरी तरह उसी के बारे में सोचती रहती थी। वह विज्ञान को जो कुछ भी क्लास में पढ़ा करती थी, घर आकर उसका नमूना बनाकर समझने की कोशिश किया करती थी। और जिंदगी तो वह इतनी है कि एक बार जो मन में ठान लिया, उसे करके ही मानती है। दादी ने कहा, पर बेटी, यह तो आजकल की हर लड़की करती है। फिर तुम्हें कैसे पता कि वह एकदम तुम्हारी तरह है? राधा बोली, दादी, याद है, एक बार क्लास में टीचर ने पूछा था कि पता नहीं, आजकल के रिसर्चर इतनी रिसर्च क्यों करते चले जा रहे हैं। दादी बोली, अच्छी तरह याद है। तुमने उसका जवाब भी तो दिया था, और फिर तुम्हें तीन दिन तक क्लास से बाहर निकाल दिया गया था। राधा बोली, आज मैंने वही सवाल कल्पना से किया। उसने ठीक वही जवाब दिया, जो मैंने उस दिन दिया था। कल्पना ने कहा, क्योंकि हम कर सकते हैं। एक यही तो चीज है, जो हमारे हाथ में है। जो कोशिश करते हैं, वही जिंदगी में कुछ नया हासिल कर पाते हैं। दादी बोली, राधा, मुझे तुम पर पूरा विश्वास है।

जरूरी नहीं कि कोई तारीफ करे, तभी आप सफल है। खुद पर विश्वास होना चाहिए।

करतारपुर गलियारे की अधिकांश बाधाएं दूर कर पाकिस्तान ने सकारात्मक रुख दिखाया है, इसके बावजूद भारत को सतर्क रहना होगा, ताकि इसका इस्तेमाल आतंकी गतिविधियों को अंजाम देने के लिए न किया जा सके।

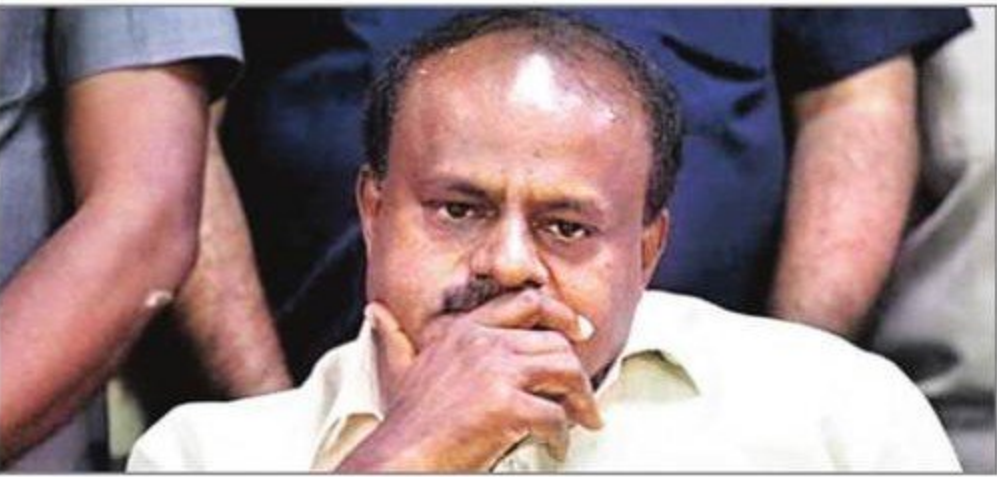
अमन का गलियारा

स्थित डेरा बाबा नानक से गुरुद्वारा दरबार साहिब करतारपुर तक प्रस्तावित गलियारे को लेकर दूसरे दौर की बातचीत में भारत की तकरीबन सभी प्रमुख माँगें मानकर पाकिस्तान ने सकारात्मक रुख दिखाया है। दरअसल इसी वर्ष नवंबर में गुरुनानक देव का 550 वां प्रकाश पर्व है और भारत चाहता है कि उससे पहले यह गलियारा तैयार हो जाए, ताकि गुरुद्वारा साहिब करतारपुर में मत्था टेकने की लाखों श्रद्धालुओं को मुराद पूरी हो सके। सरहद के एकदम नजदीक होने के बावजूद श्रद्धालुओं को वहां जाने के लिए न केवल वीजा और पासपोर्ट की औपचारिकताएं पूरी करनी पड़ती हैं, बल्कि लंबा सफर भी तय

करना पड़ता है। चूंकि इस गलियारे को अंतरराष्ट्रीय सीमा से होकर गुजरना है, लिहाजा इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाना जरूरी है कि इसकी वजह से देश की सुरक्षा को किसी तरह का खतरा न हो। भारत ने इससे पहले दोनों देशों के प्रतिनिधियों की अप्रैल में प्रस्तावित बैठक सिर्फ इसलिए रद्द की थी, क्योंकि पाकिस्तानी प्रतिनिधिमेंडल में बम्बर खालसा जैसे खालिस्तान समर्थक गुट का गोपाल सिंह चावला भी शामिल था। जबकि रविवार को वाघा सीमा पर हुई बैठक में पाकिस्तान ने भरोसा दिलाया है कि वह यह सुनिश्चित करेगा कि करतारपुर गलियारे का इस्तेमाल भारत विरोधी गतिविधियों को अंजाम देने के लिए न हो। वह पहले रोजाना पांच सौ से सात सौ श्रद्धालुओं को ही यात्रा को मंजूरी देने पर अड़ा था, लेकिन उसने अब भारत से रोजाना पांच हजार और विशेष

अवसरों पर दस हजार श्रद्धालुओं को प्रवेश देने की सहमति दे दी है। यही नहीं, भारतीय पासपोर्ट धारकों के साथ ही ओवरसीज सिटीजन ऑफ इंडिया (ओसीआई) बिना वीजा के करतारपुर जा सकेंगे। इसके साथ ही वह इस गलियारे के समानांतर बहने वाली रावी नदी पर पुल बनाने को भी तैयार हो गया। भारत ने पहले ही इस पर काम शुरू कर दिया है और उसके हिस्से का अधिकांश काम पूरा भी हो चुका है। इसी वर्ष फरवरी में पुलवामा में सीआरपीएफ के काफिले पर हुए आतंकी हमले के बाद से दोनों देशों के रिश्ते न्यूनतम स्तर पर आ गए थे, ऐसे में करतारपुर गलियारे के बहाने ही सही, तल्छी दूर करने में मदद मिलेगी। फिर भी भारत को सतर्क रहना होगा ताकि इसका इस्तेमाल आतंकी गतिविधियों के लिए न हो और यह अमन का गलियारा बना रहे।

कर्नाटक में सबके लिए सबक



कर्नाटक का घटनाक्रम कांग्रेस के लिए अगर आत्मनिरीक्षण का अवसर है, तो भाजपा को भी इस रास्ते पर चलने से उपजी प्रतिक्रियाओं को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए।

रशीद किदवई, वरिष्ठ पत्रकार



कि डी के शिवकुमार और रमेश कुमार जैसे शक्तिशाली क्षेत्रीय नेताओं का उदय हुआ, जिन्होंने राजनीतिक कुशाग्रता के साथ तेजी से काम किया तथा कुमारस्वामी सरकार को बचाने की कोशिश की। स्पीकर रमेश कुमार ने इसमें बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई, चाहे राज्य के राज्यापाल हों या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के साथ संपर्क हो, वह चट्टान की तरह अडिग खड़े रहे। बेशक रमेश कुमार मणिपुर के बोरोंबाबू सिंह की सीमा

तक नहीं गए, जिन्होंने सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का निर्देश न मानते हुए अपने लिए अदालती अवमानना की कार्यवाही आमंत्रित कर ली थी, लेकिन उन्होंने कांग्रेस और जेडीएस के उन विद्रोही विधायकों के सामने मुखिलतें जरूर खड़ी कर दी, जो कहाँ तो इस्तीफा देना चाह रहे थे, और कहाँ उन पर अयोग्य ठहराए जाने का खतरा मंडरा रहा था। 69 वर्षीय के आर रमेश कुमार फैसले की घड़ी में संविधान का

सूचना के अधिकार कानून का हाल

यह राजनीतिक इच्छाशक्ति के अभाव का ही नतीजा है कि इस कानून के अस्तित्व में आने के चौदह साल बाद भी सरकारी कार्यालयों में आसानी से सूचना देने की प्रवृत्ति विकसित नहीं हो पाई है।



मुहम्मद खालिद जीलानी

खड़ा है, जिसमें नागरिक कानून की सारी समझ गोपनीयता कानून से छनकर आती थी। चूंकि यह कानून नागरिक साझेदारी को मजबूती देता है, इसलिए इसे सरकारी कामकाज का विरोधी साबित किया जाता है। बेशक सिविल सोसाइटी और जन दबाव के तहत इस कानून को वजूद में लाया गया, पर जब इसका अमर सरकारों की जवाबदेही तय करने लगा, तो इसे नियंत्रित करने के तरीके खोजे जाने लगे। इस कानून ने जनता को एक ऐसा औजार थमा दिया, जिसके जरिये वह सत्ता तंत्र में पसरे भ्रष्टाचार को उजागर कर सकती है और भ्रष्ट राजनेताओं को बेनकाब कर सकती है। भ्रष्टाचार का दायरा केवल सरकारों तक सीमित नहीं है,

भ्रष्टाचार पर देशव्यापी वार के बीच केंद्रीय बजट में आरटीआई के मद में बड़ोतरी के बजाय साढ़े तीन करोड़ रुपये की कटौती की गई। सरकार का यह कदम पारदर्शिता से मुंह चुराने और इस कानून को कमजोर करने जैसा है। पांच वर्षों में कभी कानून में संशोधन करने, तो कभी सूचना प्राप्त करने के शब्दों को सीमित करने की कोशिश कर आरटीआई की धार कुंद करने के प्रयास हुए हैं। यह स्थिति तब है, जब प्रधानमंत्री आरटीआई को सरकार की नीति तक बदलने का हथियार बता चुके हैं।

आरटीआई यानी सूचना का अधिकार कानून देश में अब तक के सबसे लोकप्रिय, कारगर और प्रभावी कानूनों में से एक है। सरकारी कामकाज में पारदर्शिता लाने वाले जनता के इस हथियार के इस्तेमाल से कई बार सरकारी कार्य प्रणाली की कलई खुल चुकी है। तमाम छोटे-बड़े घोटालों को आम करने में इस कानून की अहम भूमिका रही है। स्वच्छ एवं पारदर्शी लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली के लिए सूचना का अधिकार एक ऐसी व्यवस्था है, जो देश में अभी पूरी तरह विकसित नहीं हो पाई है। सत्ता में बैठे लोगों द्वारा इस कानून को कुंद करने की कोशिश बताती है कि यह उन्हें रास नहीं आ रहा है।

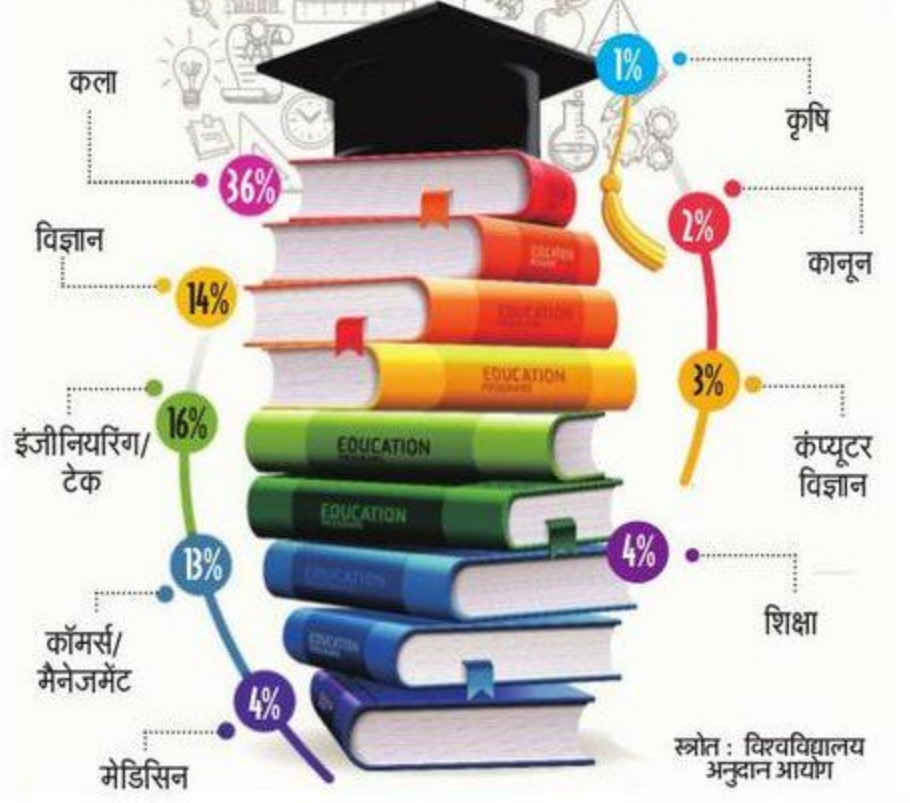
ऐसे में, आम लोगों का हथियार बन चुके इस कानून के मूल स्वरूप को बचाए रखना और लोगों में इस कानून के इस्तेमाल की बेहतर समझ बनाना एक बड़ी चुनौती है। दरअसल हमारा मौजूदा शासन और प्रशासनिक ढांचा औपनिवेशिक कानून की नींव पर



खुली खिड़की

विदेशी छात्रों के पसंदीदा विषय

बड़ी संख्या में विदेशी छात्र शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के लिए देश में आते हैं। यह विभिन्न संस्थानों में प्रवेश लेकर अपनी शिक्षा पूरी करते हैं। वर्ष 2016-17 के आंकड़ों के मुताबिक देश में पढ़ने वाले विदेशी छात्र ज्यादातर आर्ट विषय में प्रवेश लेते हैं।



पहले सुपात्र बनो

एक सेठ भगवान बुद्ध के पास पहुंचकर हाथ जोड़कर कहने लगा, महाराज, मैं आत्मज्ञान प्राप्त करने के लिए साधना का प्रयास करता हूं, पर मेरा मन ध्यान में एकाग्र नहीं हो पाता। बुद्ध ने कहा, मैं कल तुम्हारे घर आ रहा हूं। वहाँ जाना प्रार्थना साधन बताऊंगा। सेठ यह सुन गद्गद हो उठा। घर पहुंचते ही उसने पत्नी को कहा, स्वादिष्ट खीर बनाओ। यह हमारा परम सौभाग्य है कि तथागत हमारे घर पर आ रहे हैं। अगले दिन भगवान बुद्ध हाथ में कर्मडल लिए सेठ के यहाँ जा पहुंचे। पूरे परिवार ने उनका स्वागत किया। कुछ देर बाद सेठ की पत्नी सोने की थाली में खीर उतार के आई। सेठ ने हाथ जोड़कर तथागत से खीर ग्रहण करने की प्रार्थना की। तथागत ने सेठ के सामने कर्मडल देकर कहा, खीर इसमें डाल दो। सेठ ने देखा कि कर्मडल गोबर से भरा हुआ है।

यह देख वह सकपका गया तथा बोला, भगवन, गोबर भरे कर्मडल में खीर डालने से तो खीर खराब हो जाएगी। तथागत बोले, वत्स, तुम ठीक कहते हो। सबसे पहले पात्रता विकसित करो, तभी तो आत्मज्ञान के योग्य बन पाओगे। यदि मन-मस्तिष्क में विकार तथा कुसंस्कार भरे हैं, तो वे आत्मज्ञान को आत्मसात कैसे कर पाएंगे? सेठ ने उसी समय संकल्प ले लिया कि वह शुद्ध आचरण तथा परपेकार के द्वारा अपने को ऐसा सुपात्र बनाने का प्रयास करेगा कि उसे आत्मज्ञान सहजता से प्राप्त हो सके।

-संकलित

कनाटक विधानसभा में होने वाले फ्लोर टेस्ट में एच डी कुमारस्वामी की सरकार बच भी सकती है और नहीं भी बच सकती है। स्पीकर ने मुख्यमंत्री को बहुमत साबित करने का मौका दिया है। वह आगामी 18 जुलाई को सदन में बहुमत साबित करेंगे। सोमवार को सत्ता पक्ष और विपक्ष के नेताओं ने स्पीकर के साथ मुलाकात की थी, जिसके बाद स्पीकर ने यह फैसला लिया। लेकिन इस पूरे घटनाक्रम में कांग्रेस-जनता दल सेक्यूलर (जेडीएस), कांग्रेस के आलाकमान और भारतीय जनता पार्टी (भाजपा) के लिए कई सबक हैं।

गठबंधन धर्म के नियमों को सीखने में कभी देर नहीं होती, इन्हें कभी भी सीखा जा सकता है। लेकिन कांग्रेस और जेडीएस नेतृत्व ने हरसंभव तरीके से 2018 के विधानसभा चुनाव का मजाक बना दिया। कर्नाटक में कांग्रेस और उसकी सहयोगी पार्टी केरल से कुछ सीख क्यों नहीं ले सकी, जहां देश की सबसे पुरानी पार्टी कांग्रेस पिछले पांच दशकों से गठबंधन सरकार का हिस्सा रही है? 23 मई, 2019 को आए लोकसभा चुनाव के नतीजे में कांग्रेस के बदतर प्रदर्शन के बाद भी कुमारस्वामी, सिद्धारमेया और कांग्रेस का केंद्रीय नेतृत्व दीवार पर लिखी इबारत पढ़ पाने और सुधारवाचक कदम उठाने में विफल रहे। अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष राहुल गांधी अपने इस्तीफे पर अडिग रहे और कांग्रेस के प्रबंधकों ने पार्टी में बिखराव को रोकने के लिए बंगलुरु या पणजी के राजनीतिक हालात पर बहुत कम दिया या बिल्कुल भी ध्यान नहीं दिया।

कांग्रेस के लिए एकमात्र अच्छी बात यह रही



मंजिलें और भी हैं

>> संदीप कौर

हथियार उठाने वालों के बच्चे जा रहे हैं कॉलेज

उस समय मैं दसवीं में पढ़ रही थी। मेरी उम्र यही कोई 16-17 वर्ष रही होगी। मैंने अपनी मां को बताया कि मैं भी खाइकु (बख्तर खालसा की आतंकवादी) बनना चाहती हूं। यह बोली कि, पुलिस पकड़कर मारती है, जख्मों में नमक-मिर्च भर देती है। मां की इस बात से डरने के बजाय मैंने रसाई से चाकू लेकर अपने दोनों हाथों की कलाइयों में तंबे और गहरे जखम कर दिए। जख्मों के अंदर नमक-मिर्च भरकर बोली, लो देखो, मुझे तो इन घावों में न जलन हो रही है, कबूँड़ी दई। मां को तभी अंदाजा हो गया था कि मैं एक दिन महिला खाइकु बनूँगी। एक दिन दोपहर को मैं उनके अड़ड़े पर जा पहुंची। मुझे वहां देखकर वे हैरान हो गए, उन्हें शक था कि कहीं मैं पुलिस की मुखबिर तो नहीं हूं। उनका हंड बोला कि, खाइकु किसी अविवाहित लड़की को अपने साथ नहीं रख सकते हैं। इससे पंथ (धर्म) की नजरों में खाइकुओं की छवि खराब हो जाती थी। इसके कुछ दिन बाद ही मैंने खाइकु धर्मसिंह से शादी कर



जेल में रहने के दौरान ही मैंने सोच लिया था कि, चरमपंथियों के बच्चों को उनके अतीत में डूबने नहीं दूंगी।

साल में ज्ञानी और उसके बाद ग्रेजुएशन का एक साल जेल में ही पूरा किया। जेल में रहने के दौरान ही मुझे पता चला कि मेरे पति मुठभेड़ में मारे गए हैं। मैं वहां चार साल से ज्यादा समय बंद रही, फिर बरी होकर बाहर आई।

जेल से बाहर आने के बाद मेरी सोच की जमीन बदल गई। आतंकवाद की चपेट में आकर पंजाब में अनेक घर उजड़ चुके थे। सैकड़ों बच्चों के सिर से मां-बाप का साया उठ चुका था। बीती जिंदगी में क्या खोया-क्या पाया का गुणा-भाग करके गणित लगाया, तो रिजल्ट 'जीरो' आया। जेल में रहने के दौरान ही मैंने सोच लिया था कि, चरमपंथियों के बच्चों को उनके अतीत में डूबने नहीं दूंगी। उन बच्चों का भविष्य सुधारने के लिए मैंने एक चैरिटेबल ट्रस्ट खोला। चरमपंथियों के बच्चों को लाकर ट्रस्ट के माध्यम से विभिन्न शिक्षण संस्थानों में दाखिला दिलवाया, और उनको पढ़ाई के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया। धीरे-धीरे यहां लगभग 250 लड़कियां भी आ गईं। ये बच्चियां उग्रवाद के दौर में अपने परिवार से बिछड़ गई थीं। ज्यादातर लड़कियों को सीबीएसई मान्यता प्राप्त स्कूलों में शिक्षा दिलवाई जा रही है। मुझे यह देखकर संतोष मिलता है कि, कभी इन बच्चों के पिता हथियार उठाए हुए थे, तब ये मायूम यतीम कहलाते थे। अब ये बच्चे डॉक्टर, इंजीनियरिंग, कानून व अकाउंटेंसी की पढ़ाई कर रहे हैं। उम्मीद की एक किरण लिए हुए ये अपने भविष्य को बुनने में लगे हैं।

-विभिन्न साक्षात्कारों पर आधारित।

