



Chinese check

China's famed model of growth is under pressure due to fall in exports and investment

The Chinese economy is seeing the first signs of trouble after long years of sustained growth that rode on cheap labour and high volumes of exports. Data released by the National Bureau of Statistics on Monday revealed that the economy grew by 6.2% in the second quarter, its slowest pace in 27 years. This is in contrast to the growth rates of 6.4% and 6.6% reported for the first quarter and the full year of 2018, respectively. The faltering growth rate was due to a slump in exports in June amidst China's ongoing trade war with the United States and the downturn witnessed by sectors such as housing construction, where investor sentiments play a major role. Many economists believe that the worst may not yet be over for China and that economic growth could further worsen in the coming quarters. But just as growth seems to be faltering, the latest growth figures also showed that the retail sales and industrial output components of the growth numbers witnessed steady growth, suggesting that domestic demand may be compensating for the dropping appetite for Chinese exports weighed down by high tariffs. But with China still heavily reliant on exports and its trade war with the U.S. showing no signs of coming to an end, the pressure on growth is likely to remain for some more time. So the Chinese government, which has tried to boost the economy through measures such as tax cuts, increased public spending and a relaxation in bank reserve requirements to encourage banks to increase lending, will hope that domestic demand for its goods will hold up the economy.

China's quarterly GDP numbers, while useful in many ways, don't reveal very much about the underlying challenges facing the country. One is the need to improve the credibility of data released by the Chinese government. An even larger challenge is the urgent need to restructure the Chinese economy from one that is driven heavily by state-led investment and exports to one that is driven primarily by market forces. The high-growth years of the Chinese economy were made possible by the huge amount of liquidity provided by the Chinese state and the large and affordable workforce that helped build China into an export powerhouse. But now, with China's tried and tested growth model facing the threat of getting derailed as the export and investment boom comes to an end, the Chinese will have to build a more sustainable model, or forfeit hopes of double-digit economic growth in the future. As of now, there are no signs to suggest that the Chinese authorities are looking at implementing deep-seated structural reforms reminiscent of its early decades of liberalisation that can help fundamentally restructure the economy. There might not be a need for radical macroeconomic changes, but China's economic troubles will not go away unless the government boosts domestic consumption and reduces the reliance on exports.

One for the ages

Alongside Federer and Nadal, Djokovic is ensuring tennis is at its competitive best

No player in the last decade has so thrillingly disrupted the Roger Federer-Rafael Nadal binary quite like World No.1 Novak Djokovic. Back in 2008, when Federer and Nadal met at Wimbledon in that iconic final, the contest had a definitive feel to it – to crown that era's best. The two met again this year, eleven summers since, just to earn the right to challenge Djokovic. Such has been the Serb's excellence that in the time between the two Federer-Nadal meetings, he increased his Grand Slam count from one to 15. Sunday's pulsating five-set victory over Federer brought him his fifth Wimbledon to put him just two shy of Nadal (18) and four behind Federer (20) in the all-time list. At times, his on-court demeanour and his grinding style of tennis have detracted from the perception of his success. To not celebrate his greatness, however, would be a severe disservice. Nadal and Federer are still ranked two and three in the world and are playing at near-peak levels. But even at their best, Djokovic has left them short of breath. In fact, starting from the 2011 Australian Open – his second Major – Djokovic has triumphed at nearly every second slam he has entered (15 of 34). Federer in the same period has accumulated four and Nadal nine, of which seven have come at the French Open. Remarkably, Djokovic has vanquished either Federer or Nadal in 12 of the 16 slams he has won. Eight of those victories have come in finals.

That Federer, just three weeks shy of turning 38, came within one stroke of upstaging Djokovic is credit to the Swiss's genius. Even in a career as storied as his, it would have been more than just a normal data point if he had clinched his ninth Wimbledon by beating Nadal and Djokovic – two of his greatest rivals – back-to-back. It is a testament to Djokovic's supreme mental strength that he did not flinch, even under extreme pressure, and despite not being the better player on the day. When he started out, Djokovic was among the most emotionally fragile. Questions abounded as recently as last July when he slipped outside the top-20. But by securing four of the past five Majors, he has truly rediscovered the mind of a champion. Among women, it was the turn of Simona Halep to display similar powers, by adding Wimbledon to her 2018 French Open win. There was a feeling that following her breakthrough in Paris she had suffered a meltdown, as she had not progressed beyond the quarter-finals at any Major since then. However, the way she mowed down one formidable opponent after another at SW19, including the legendary Serena Williams in the final for the loss of just four games, was enough proof of her strong mental make-up.

Making sense of Karnataka's politics

Castes and communities are the key players, where gain to one's community becomes an overriding consideration



VALERIAN RODRIGUES

A distinct genre of political theatrics in which elected representatives play 'hide and seek' in plish resorts to escape poaching by their very own and rival party leaders is currently playing out in Karnataka. While the dramatics personae, the layout of the plot, the resources deployed, and the message conveyed are distinct this round, this mode of doing politics is not new to the State.

In fact, following the State elections last year, leaders of the ruling coalition enacted a similar play almost 14 months ago by shepherding the elected representatives of their respective parties to safe havens; this was done ostensibly to stop them from being poached by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which laid claim to power as the largest party in the House and needed a few more legislators to secure a majority.

The bare sketch

Such mimetic displays have not been rare in the past either. They make room for extended invention of sub-plots and even erasure of a few, often delving deep into the rich folklore Karnataka is known for. Analogical practices are there in other States too, although Karnataka can claim a certain expertise in this regard by now. While such theatrics may have tactical political purpose at times, the question to be asked is the purpose for which such a political tactic is employed; the bearing it has on electoral representation, and the affront such political means offer to nurture a democratic culture.

In Karnataka, there is a coal-

ition government of the Indian National Congress and the Janata Dal (Secular), or JD(S). The Chief Minister, H.D. Kumaraswamy, is from the JD(S) that has 37 members, while its majority partner, the Congress, has 78 members in the 224-member House. While there are two independents, the BJP, which is in the opposition, has 105 members. From the beginning, the relationship between the coalition partners has been very uneasy, with the media constantly abuzz with rumours of a breakdown. On its part, the BJP has made umpteen attempts to wean away a few members from the coalition, widely termed 'Operation Kamala (lotus)'. After the Lok Sabha election, and the BJP's resounding victory where it got 25 Lok Sabha seats out of 28, the rumblings within the coalition have become louder; moving to the greener side, i.e. the BJP, has become more tempting for the fence-sitters.

A few days ago, there was drama when 16 members of the Assembly, three from the JD(S) and 13 of the Congress, most of them sheltered in a luxury hotel in Mumbai, announced that they had resigned from the Assembly. Two independents, who were made ministers earlier in order to retain them within the coalition fold, resigned from the cabinet and extended support to the BJP. The Speaker of the House, however, faulted the procedure adopted by 10 legislators to tender their resignations, dragging in the Supreme Court to decide its rectitude. While receiving these resignations afresh, following the court's directive, the Speaker stood his ground on ascertaining their constitutional and legal validity.

In Parliament, the Opposition accused the ruling BJP of employing unfair means to bring down an elected government. With the Karnataka government having decided to convene the Budget session, the coalition partners issued a whip to its members to attend,



K. MURALI KUMAR

holding out the threat of disqualification for non-compliance. The Supreme Court was made to step in in order to decide the relative status of resignation and disqualification of elected members and their precedence, given their widely different political implications. On the floor of the Assembly, the Chief Minister announced that he would move a trust motion on his government, which has made the issue of status and precedence crucial to the ambitions and designs of the rebels, and also placing them in a quandary. The unfolding of these events has been laced with several subplots: lavish living, private jet-hops, invocation of divine help, political "attempts" to cajole the rebels to return to the party fold, and a roughing up of party colleagues, and each party moving its Assembly members to well-secured and lavish resorts.

Disaffection within coalition

While the coalition government and the parties supporting them have targeted the BJP for attempting to pull down the government, the first group is primarily responsible for allowing disaffection within its fold to spread for three reasons.

First, for reasons known to itself, the Congress did not include the most important leaders from Northern Karnataka in the ministry for months; a small coterie of Vokkaliga leaders in the coalition from the erstwhile Mysore region have attempted to direct the course of political developments. The Lingayat-dominated northern region, already smarting under

years of neglect and drought, has consolidated itself as a bloc to resist the encroaching dominance of its traditional rival, and has gravitated wholesale towards the BJP which has been nursing it for years. Second, the JD(S) with the Chief Minister at the helm and with the support of a section of the State Congress leadership, has systematically attempted to undercut the lucrative wheeler-dealer network that the Siddaramaiah government of the Congress (2013-18) had built – it involves mining, land, construction and transport – and which directed those resources to its henchmen. It led to interference in departments and transfers of employees which the ministers concerned regarded as their fiefdoms. It made Mr. Siddaramaiah, the pre-eminent leader of the Congress in the State, to blow hot and cold occasionally against the coalition.

Third, the Congress and JD(S) are traditional political rivals in the southern region of the State and over the years, a significant section of the Vokkaligas, the pronounced social base of the JD(S), have been attracted to the Hindutva agenda. The inability of the coalition to forge an overlapping voting base is what has led to its overwhelming defeat in the very region of its strength.

The data is telling. In the Assembly elections of April 2018, the BJP, the Congress and the JD(S) secured 36.34%, 38.14% and 18.3% of the voteshare respectively, while in the Lok Sabha elections, it was 51.4%, 31.88% and 9.67%, respectively. The disaffection has led a large number of Congressmen to question the utility of the coalition on grounds of sectarian loyalties, personal interests, and future electoral prospects; some of them with large interests at stake have decided to jump ship. The hand of the BJP has always been there with the bait and offering promises.

The disaffection mentioned above has little to do with repre-

sentational logic, i.e., upholding the interests of one's constituency, striving to further the interests of the political community of the State, or even the objectives of one's own party. Due to a number of historical reasons, castes and communities are key players on the political scene in Karnataka. Hindutva has been attempting to fill this vacuum in recent years but has a very tentative hold still.

Personal gain, sectarianism

Even today, the elected representatives primarily consider themselves as members of castes and communities, and in the distribution of public resources, the gain to one's community becomes an overriding consideration. Therefore, elected representatives form a clique with a powerful leader with access to public resources, and strive to tilt the scales in their favour. Being elected as a member of the Legislature is often perceived as an entry point to seek other goodies such as a ministerial berth through which the member can channelise public resources for personal gain and to extend patronage. In the context of the weakening party leadership of coalition partners, since a representative may have to largely fend for himself or herself, the temptation to accumulate as much as possible during one's stint is seen as a mark of political common sense.

It is time Karnataka politics discovers not merely its egalitarian and pluralistic traditions and sets out to reconstruct its political architecture to reflect them. A public culture imbued by such a perspective may not eliminate all differences but there would be some yardsticks to hold elected representatives to accountability. But for the time being, it seems a mirage.

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The wheels to a low-carbon transport system

It rests on accessing public service, choosing rapid transit over car driving and supporting electric vehicle transition



SOHAIL AHMAD & FELIX CREUTZIG

Congested streets and polluted air are common experiences in India's metropolises, although the average Indian contributes only minuscule amounts of transport-related carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions to global climate change. Patterns of road transport, however, diverge wildly between cities and districts. Delhi tops the charts and emissions are more than twice as high as other Indian megacities, such as Mumbai, Bengaluru or Ahmedabad.

Studies show that India's road transport emissions are small in global comparison but increasing exponentially. In fact, the Global Carbon Project reports that India's carbon emissions are rising more than two times as fast as the global rise in 2018. Globally, the transport sector accounts for a quarter of total emissions, out of which three quarters are from road transport. Reducing CO₂ emissions of road transport leverages multiple co-benefits, for example, improving air quality and increasing physical activity, which are critical for well-being, particularly in urban areas.

Climate action also requires an understanding of how emissions vary with spatial context. In India, we find in our new study (published in *Environmental Research Letters*), that income and urbanisation are the key determinants of travel distance and travel mode choice and, therefore, commuting emissions. The way cities are built and the design of public transit are critical for low-carbon mobility systems. The study is based on the most recent results of the Indian Census in 2011.

Average commuting emissions in high-emitting districts (Delhi) are 16 times higher than low-emitting districts (most districts in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh). Average per capita commuting emissions are highest for the most affluent districts, which are predominantly urban, and that heavily use four-wheelers for commuting. This is a surprising result, as in other parts of the world such as the United States, commuting emissions are low in urban areas but high in suburban or ex-urban settings. In contrast, average per capita commuting emissions are lowest for Indian districts that are poor, and commuting distances are short and rarely use three-wheelers.

Focus on well-being

Two policy implications follow. First, mayors and town planners should organise cities around public transport and cycling, thereby improving mobility for many, while limiting car use. Uptake of



non-motorised transport emerges as a sweet spot of sustainable development, resulting in both lower emissions and better public health in cities. According to the recent National Family Health Survey (2015-16), nearly 30% of all men are overweight or obese in South-west Delhi, but only 25% in Thiruvananthapuram and 13% in Allahabad. These data correlate with high reliance of car use in Delhi and low demand for walking.

Another of our studies that investigates data from the India Human Development Survey shows that a 10% increase in cycling could lower chronic diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular diseases for 0.3 million people, while also abating emissions. Car use, in contrast, correlates with higher rates of diabetes. Therefore, fuel price increases, congestion charges or parking management could be a strategy that improves the well-being of individuals living in urban areas. In contrast, fuel price increases would be detrimental in poorer rural areas, impairing mo-

bility where there is a lack of alternatives.

Technology transition

Second, India should double down in its strategy to transition to electric two and three-wheelers. India is the third-largest market for automobiles; about 25 million internal combustion engines were sold in 2017, including about 20 million two-wheelers. A recent study reports that India has 1.5 million battery-powered three-wheeler rickshaw (over 300,000 e-rickshaws sold in 2018). In the coming years, experts judge that the electric three-wheeler market is expected to grow by at least 10% per year. In 2019, nearly 10,000 electric two-wheelers were also sold, and the annual growth rate may be above 40% per year.

The current statistics even suggest that electric three-wheelers and electric two-wheelers, rather than electric cars, will drive the electric vehicle market in India. Electric car sales are minuscule and even falling (dropping from 2,000 in 2017 to 1,200 in 2018). Consumers realise the practical advantages of lighter in weight two- and three-wheelers that require much smaller and less powerful batteries and are easily plugged in at home.

India is one of the world's largest producers and consumers in two- and three-wheelers and Indian companies can take a leading role in switching to electric vehicles. This will also help in trans-

forming India's vision of 'Make in India'.

Compact cities improve accessibility and reduce emissions from transport and even the building sector. Most Indian cities are already very dense, with few benefits expected by further high-rise. City managers should ensure that existing urban areas provide short routes and fast access to schools, hospitals and jobs, otherwise, residents would be required to travel long distances. To achieve this aim, mayors and decision-makers need to rethink how to deliver basic services such as education and health. Building schools and hospitals matters especially for informal settlements and are critical in achieving low carbon development as well as improving the quality of life.

Providing access to public service, choosing rapid transit over car driving in cities and supporting the rise of electric two and three-wheelers will help drive India to a modern and low-carbon transport system fit for the 21st century.

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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.

103rd amendment

In *M.R. Balaji* (AIR 1963 SC 649), the Supreme Court made a significant observation by saying, "social backwardness is, in the ultimate analysis, the result of poverty". For the writer (Editorial page, "A test of law and justice", July 16) "to say that there cannot be reservation for the economically weaker sections of society unless they are socially backward" may not be wholly right. To say that reservation for the economically weaker sections goes against the basic structure of the Constitution is to ignore/dilute the significance of Article 14. The very purpose of reservation is to achieve

equality as envisaged under Article 14. However, if the process of reservation gets over-heated so as to deprive the economically weaker sections a more proportionate share in the administration and access to opportunities, then it would be a violation of their fundamental rights. One has to see how reservation has worked to the detriment of economically weaker sections so that they don't become socially backward also.

N.G.R. PRASAD,
K.K. RAM SIDDHARTHA,
Chennai

In court

The resolution moved by the Rajasthan High Court

advising advocates to refrain from addressing its judges as "My Lord" and "Your Lordship" must be encouraged across the judiciary. There were directions over a decade ago, to settle for "Your Honour", "Honourable Court" and "Sir", but it does not seem to have caught on. In fact, a little more is required to be done to maintain gender equality especially when female judges hold court as a single bench. Besides this, it would also be more appropriate if the use of archaic and colonial terms in law suits is also amended. For instance any petition filed in courts or judicial tribunals often

resorts to the use of phrases such as "the petitioner/applicant most humbly sheweth that..."

S.K. KHOSLA,
Chandigarh

Final outcome

New Zealand's Kane Williamson was all grace while fielding questions from the media. As the underdogs, the Kiwis deserve accolades and empathy for the way they handled the post-match situation, despite losing the final match to England and the unconvincing runs. It is heart-breaking to lose due to some extraneous reasons. The composure shown by Ben Stokes after reaching his 50 was in quiet

contrast to the sword celebration by Ravindra Jadeja in the semi-finals. Players should realise that wild gestures sometimes take away the focus from the main target of winning a game. Finally, one hopes that with its victory, England is able to rejuvenate the game.

V. SUBRAMANIAN,
Chennai

True fans of cricket will never accept the result of the ICC World Cup. Apart from

CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS:

A Sports page report headlined "DPR Korea downs Tajikistan" (some editions, July 16, 2019) erroneously said both Tajikistan and DPR Korea had six points from two wins and a draw. Actually it should be two wins and a loss for each team.

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The many hurdles in proving citizenship

The brunt of the systemic problems of the National Register of Citizens is being borne by the poorest



KALPANA SHARMA

Apart from the floods in Assam, an annual event affecting thousands of families, another humanitarian crisis awaits the State this year. The date is already set for it. It is July 31.

On that day, the final list of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) will be released, the culmination of a fraught process conducted since 2015 at the urging of the Supreme Court, and monitored by it.

While reports of the many anomalies that dog the process of determining citizenship, including the constantly changing list of documents that are (or are not) accepted, are known, the sheer enormity of the crisis facing the State is yet to register in the rest of India.

Numbers alone do not indicate this. What is known today is that of the 32.9 million who have applied to be listed as "genuine" Indian citizens in the NRC, roughly 29 million have been accepted. The future of the four million excluded so far, a number that might reduce when the final list is published on July 31, provides the foundation for the impending human crisis awaiting Assam. Even if half of this number is excluded, we are looking at the future of two million stateless people.

What will happen to me and my family after July 31? That is the question that haunts hundreds of men and women as they wait hours in inclement weather, clutching plastic bags full of documents, to meet anyone willing to answer this question. This was the scene that confronted us as we travelled to three districts in Assam at the end of June.

The majority left out of the NRC so far are abjectly poor; many are unlettered. They cannot understand the legal complications of the process, nor do they have the money to hire legal help. As a result, thousands stand in danger of being declared "foreigners" even though they could be "genuine" Indian citizens.

Three categories

The people affected by this process of verification of citizenship fall into



"The citizenship issue in Assam is layered and complex." Officials check documents at an NRC office in Dhubri, Assam in May. •AFP

three different categories. Those labelled as 'D voters', or doubtful voters, were categorised as such when the electoral rolls were revised in 1997 and thereafter. Their names are excluded from the NRC unless they can establish their credentials before a Foreigner's Tribunal. There are currently just under 100 such tribunals in Assam. The opacity that surrounds the way decisions are made in these quasi-judicial courtrooms is a part of this larger crisis.

In the second category are people who have been picked up by the police on suspicion of being illegal immigrants. The border police, present in every police station, picks up people, often poor workers in cities, fingerprints them, and then informs them in writing that they must appear before a Foreigner's Tribunal.

In the third category are those who have registered with the NRC, but have been excluded because there was a discrepancy in the documents they submitted. Two lists have been published so far: one with 4 million names last year and another with just over 0.1 million on June 26 this year. Their fate will be known on July 31.

In addition, there are people who have already been declared "foreigners" by the tribunals. In February 2019, the government informed the Supreme Court that of the 938 people in six detention centres, 823 had been declared foreigners. How long will they be held? Can they be deported? To which country? These questions remain unanswered. In

this haze of numbers and judicial processes, the real and tragic stories of individuals often go unheard.

Left out

Take Anjali Das, 50, in Bijni, Chirang district. Dressed in a rust saree, Anjali cannot hide her anxiety. Her maternal home is in Jalpaiguri, West Bengal, where her father and brother still live. Anjali came to Assam in 1982 when she married. She has no birth certificate, like many in India. She has a school certificate that confirms she was a student up to Class 5 and gives her date of birth as June 1, 1969. She also has a certificate from the Panchayat and her father's Aadhaar card as proof that she is Indian. But this will not suffice. Anjali's name has been excluded from the NRC, the only one in her marital home.

Anjali is only one of thousands of married women who have been left out of the NRC for similar reasons. Although disaggregated data is not yet available, it is estimated that more than half of those excluded from the NRC are women like her.

Then there are women who are struggling to understand why only some members of their families have been excluded. In Hanchara village in Morigaon district, Jamina Khatun pulls out a photocopy of the June 26 list of names excluded from the NRC. It has the names of her husband, her two sons, and her 11-year-old granddaughter. But not hers, or that of her daughter-in-law. Jamina's son, Nur Jamal Ali, was referred to the Foreigner's Tribunal based on a complaint

by his landlord in Jorhat, where he worked as a construction labourer. As a result, Nur Jamal was fingerprinted by the border police, sent a notice to appear before a Foreigner's Tribunal, and then declared a foreigner. His only daughter has also been excluded from the NRC.

After July 31, the focus will shift to the Foreigner's Tribunals. The State government plans to set up 200 by the end of this month and eventually 1,000, as all those excluded from the NRC will have to present themselves before these tribunals.

Expensive and time-consuming

Only the litigants and their lawyers know what happens within the four walls of these tribunals as neither the public nor the media are permitted there. I tried to get a peek into one in Guwahati. Foreigner's Tribunal Court Room 3, Kamrup Metro district, Guwahati, is located in a residential colony on the ground floor of a building. The small room is arranged like a courtroom. A white railing separates the podium on which the tribunal member sits from the litigants. The railing becomes a small witness stand at one end. The tribunal member has the help of an assistant who sits on the side. According to him, cases are heard simultaneously, stretching out to five days. But a lawyer tells a different story. The case he has come for began in March. It is still being heard in July.

This then is the other problem. Poor people travel long distances to appear before these tribunals. Their cases stretch out over months. They have to spend on travel and lawyers' fees, unaffordable for most. If they give up, or cannot afford to make the journey, their cases will be judged "ex parte". In a statement in the Lok Sabha on July 2, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, G. Kishan Reddy, said that from 1985 to February 2019, 63,959 people had been declared foreigners in ex parte rulings.

The citizenship issue in Assam is layered and complex. It is not easy for people outside the State to understand the multiple threads. What is clear though is that the brunt of the systemic problems of establishing citizenship in this manner, and in such haste, is being borne disproportionately by the poorest.

Kalpana Sharma is an independent journalist

Rethinking KUSUM

If designed better and implemented effectively, the scheme could radically transform the irrigation economy



TAUSEEF SHAHIDI & ABHISHEK JAIN

Earlier this year, the Cabinet approved the Kisan Urja Suraksha evam Utthaan Mahabhayan (KUSUM). With a Budget allocation of ₹34,000 crore, and a similar contribution expected from the States, KUSUM aims to provide energy sufficiency and sustainable irrigation access to farmers. At present, despite burgeoning farm power subsidies, nearly 30 million farmers, especially marginal landholders, use expensive diesel for their irrigation needs as they have no access to electricity. More than half of India's net sown area remains unirrigated. KUSUM could radically transform the irrigation economy if the government chooses an approach of equity by design and prudence over populism.

Equity by design

First, KUSUM should aim to reduce the existing disparity among States with regard to solar pumps deployment and irrigation access. Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan together account for about half of the two lakh solar pumps currently deployed in the country. This is surprising given the low irrigation demand in the former and poor groundwater situation in the latter. On the other hand, States such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, where penetration of diesel pumps is among the highest, have not managed to deploy any significant number of solar pumps. This disparity highlights poor State budget allocation towards solar pumps and the lack of initiative by State nodal agencies. To encourage more equitable deployment of 17.5 lakh off-grid pumps by 2022, the Centre should incentivise States through targeted financial assistance, and create avenues for peer learning.

Second, KUSUM must also address inequity within a State. For instance, 90% of Bihar's farmers are small and marginal. Yet, they have received only 50% of government subsidies on solar pumps. On the other hand, in Chhattisgarh, about 95% of beneficiaries are from socially disadvantaged groups due to the mandate of the State. Learning from these contrasting examples, a share of central financial assistance under KUSUM should be appropriated for farmers with small landholdings and belonging to socially disadvantaged groups.

Third, instead of a one-size-fits-all approach, KUSUM should provide greater financial assistance to smaller farmers. KU-

SUM proposes a 60% subsidy for the pumps, borne equally by the Centre and the States, and the remaining 40% will be the farmer's contribution - 10% as down payment and 30% through loans. This unilateral financing approach will exacerbate the inter-farmer disparity given the inequity in access to credit and repayment capacity between small and large farmers. A higher capital subsidy support to small and marginal farmers and long-term loans with interest subsidies for large and medium farmers would be a more economical and equitable alternative.

Prudence over populism

Fourth, solarising existing grid-connected pumps, as proposed under the scheme, needs a complete rethink. Existing grid-connected farmers, who have enjoyed power subsidies for decades, would receive the same financial support as that received by an off-grid farmer. In addition, they would earn regular income from the DISCOM on feeding surplus electricity, furthering the inequitable distribution of taxpayers' resources. Instead, the scheme should only provide Central government subsidy of up to 30% for solarisation, and use the proposed State support to incentivise DISCOMs to procure energy from the farmers.

Also, solarising grid-connected pumps must include replacement of the pump. Poor efficiency levels of the existing pumps would mean unnecessary oversizing of the solar panels and lesser available energy to feed into the grid. Moreover, instead of feeding surplus energy to the grid, solar pump capacity could be used to power post-harvesting processes, which complement the seasonal irrigation load and can enhance farm incomes through local value addition. Further, the injection of solar power by farmers would require the entire agriculture electricity line (feeder) to be energised throughout the daytime, including for those not having solarised pumps. This would aggravate DISCOMs' losses on such feeders. Instead, an effective alternative is to solarise the entire feeder through a reverse-bidding approach, and provide water-conservation-linked incentives to farmers as direct benefit transfer.

KUSUM should not woo a certain section of farmers with short-sighted objectives. If designed better and implemented effectively, it holds the potential to catapult the Indian irrigation economy from an era mired in perpetual subsidy, unreliable supply, and inequitable distribution of resources to a regime of affordable, reliable, and equitable access to energy and water.

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Tapping the potential of communities to end AIDS

Success is achieved where policies and programmes focus on people, not diseases

GUNILLA CARLSSON

The UN Sustainable Development Goals include ensuring good health and well-being for all by 2030. This includes the commitment to end the AIDS epidemic. In many countries, continued access to HIV treatment and prevention options are reducing AIDS-related deaths and new HIV infections. But there are still too many countries where AIDS-related deaths and new infections are not decreasing fast. In fact, they are rising in some cases, though we know how to stop the virus. Why are some countries doing much better than others?

The road to success

Success is being achieved where policies and programmes focus on people, not diseases, and where communities are fully engaged from the outset in designing, shaping and implementing health policies. This is how real and lasting change is achieved and this is what will reduce the devastating impact of AIDS. Adopting the latest scientific research and medical



knowledge, strong political leadership, and proactively fighting and reducing stigma and discrimination are all crucial. But without sustained investment in community responses led by people living with HIV and those most affected, countries will not gain the traction necessary to reach the most vulnerable. And only by doing that can we end the AIDS epidemic. Community services play varying roles depending on the context. They often support fragile public health systems by filling critical gaps. They come from - and connect effectively with - key populations such as gay men, sex workers, people who use drugs, and transgender. They provide services that bolster clinic-based care and they extend the reach of health services to the community at large. They also hold deci-

sion-makers to account.

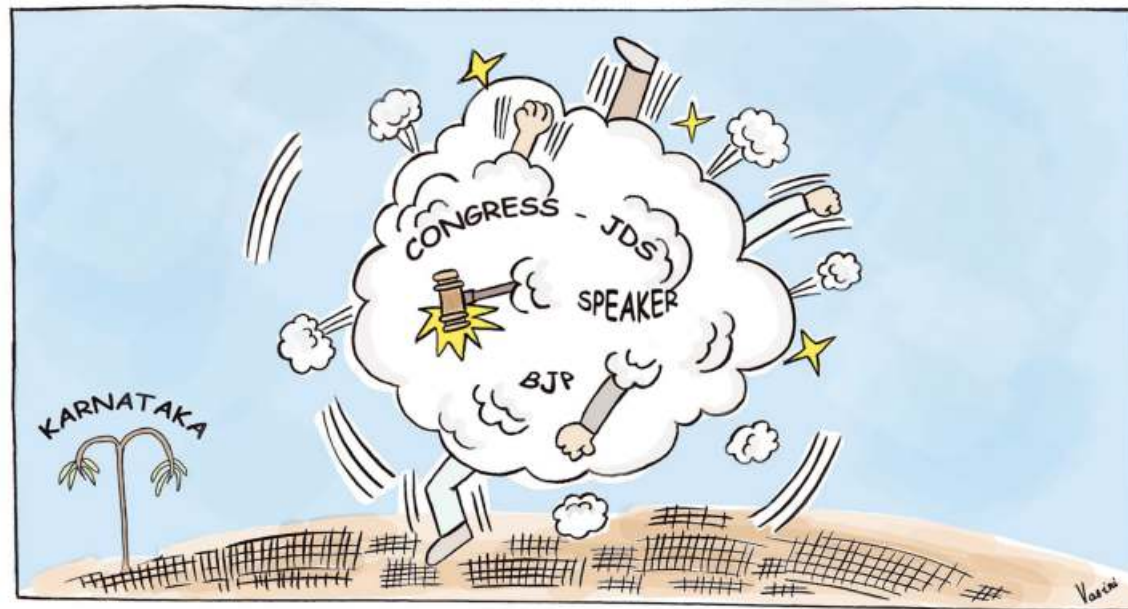
By signing the 2016 UN Political Declaration on Ending AIDS, countries affirmed the critical role that communities play in advocacy, coordination of AIDS responses and service delivery. Moreover, they recognised that community responses to HIV must be scaled up. They committed to at least 30% of services being community-led by 2030. However, most countries are nowhere near reaching that commitment. And where investment in communities is most lacking, there is often weaker progress being made against HIV and other health threats.

Reliable partners

All over the world, communities are demonstrating time and again that they can, and do, deliver results. Since the beginning of the epidemic in India until now, communities have been the most trusted and reliable partners for the National AIDS Control Organization and the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS. They are fully engaged in many aspects of the National AIDS Response, including prevention, care, support and treatment programmes. There are over 1,500 community-based organisations reaching out to key populations. In India, there are around 300 district-level networks of people living with HIV which are supporting treatment programmes through psychosocial support, treatment literacy and adherence counselling.

Our communities present us with a lot of untapped potential. Unleashing this is the key to gaining the momentum we need to make faster progress towards reaching UNAIDS Fast-Track targets. The more we invest in communities, the closer we get to ending the AIDS epidemic.

Gunilla Carlsson is Executive Director, a.i. of UNAIDS



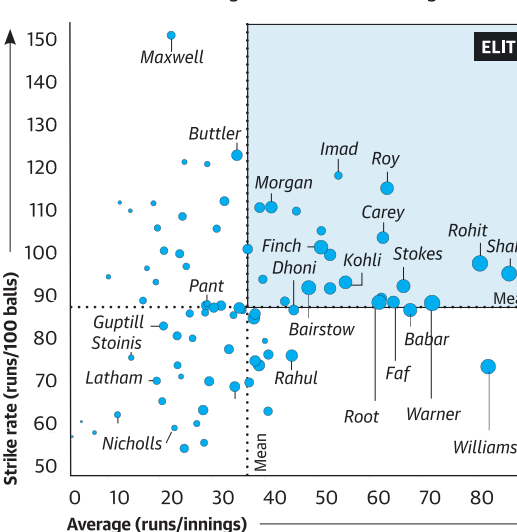
DATA POINT

The elite club

England's mighty batting was instrumental in their winning campaign while pace bowlers commanded New Zealand to the ICC Cricket World Cup 2019 final. For India, Rohit Sharma, Jasprit Bumrah and Virat Kohli were the star performers. Sumant Sen analyses individual player performances in the World Cup

English juggernaut

The chart plots a batsman's (●) average against his strike rate. The players in the elite section had the best average-strike rate. The size of the circle corresponds to the player's tournament runs. Five Englishmen feature among the elite



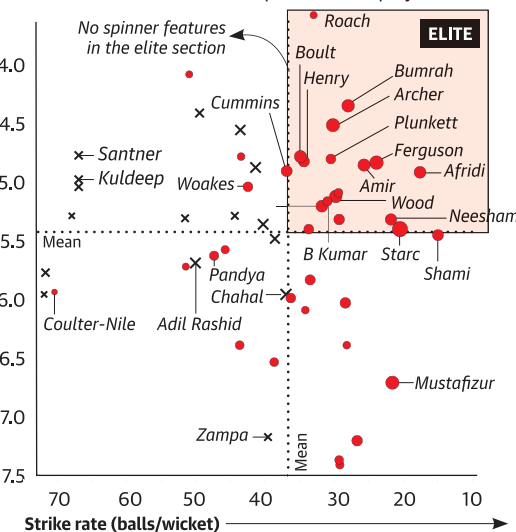
Through the roof

The tables show player's rankings as of Tuesday and the top five gains (▲) since May 28, 2019. Among batsmen, Australian Alex Carey and among bowlers, West Indies' Sheldon Cottrell moved the farthest ahead in the rankings

Batsmen	Rankings as of July 16, 2019
32	Alex Carey ▲
31	Van Dussen ▲
54	Hardik Pandya ▲
36	Haris Sohail ▲
74	Grandhomme ▲

Pacer paradise

The chart plots a bowler's strike rate against his economy rate (Econ.). The players in the elite section had the best strike rate-Econ. x denotes spinners, (●) denotes pacers. The size of the circle/x corresponds to the player's wickets



Bowlers	Rankings as of July 16, 2019
40	Cottrell ▲
23	Shaheen Afridi ▲
13	Mohd. Amir ▲
64	Ben Stokes ▲
47	Kemar Roach ▲

FROM THE ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JULY 17, 1969

Morarji Desai resigns

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, resigned in protest from the Central Cabinet to-day (July 16, New Delhi), when the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, relieved him of the Finance portfolio and herself took it over in a surprise political move to hit back at the party bosses and reassert her supremacy in the wake of her latest set-back in the Congress Parliamentary Board over presidential candidature. This precipitate action by the Prime Minister has confronted the country with the most serious political crisis since Independence - with the Congress leadership at the Centre now so irrevocably divided and the ruling party clearly heading towards an internal trial of strength before Parliament meets on Monday (July 21). Though Mrs. Gandhi has requested him to continue as Deputy Prime Minister with any portfolio other than Finance, Mr. Desai felt that his self-respect demanded that he should resign immediately to vindicate his position - and presumably fight it out in the Congress Parliamentary Party. But she was not accepting his resignation in haste.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JULY 17, 1919.

Indian States and Reform.

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a Council Hall at Jamnagar by the Maharaja of Alwar, a ceremonious durbar was held at which sardars, officers and local gentry were present. In requesting the Maharaja of Alwar to lay the foundation stone of the Hall, Jamsaheb Ranjit Singhji said that he had according to the time-honoured culture of his Aryan ancestors instituted an advisory council composed of his subjects, whose advice and opinion he proposed to invite regularly on matters connected with social, industrial and economic progress of his subjects. In indicating the constitution of the advisory council His Highness said that they (Indian Princes) did not belong to a school that idolized democracy for democracy's sake and left but a thin line between anarchy and all-men-rule. They were advocates of popular rule in the sense that weighty, stable and reasoned public opinion should be at the back of strong, beneficent paternal Government. It was not difficult to work out a constitution that aims at securing the representation and advice of such interests as were stable, sound and trustworthy intellectually, commercially and otherwise.