





**WORDLY WISE**  
WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE, BUT NOT WHAT WE MAY BE.  
— WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

## The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY  
RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

# Bits and economic pieces

A forum that facilitates cohesive thinking on economy, also has ears of political leadership, is urgently needed



VIKRAM SINGH MEHTA

## NATION'S ORPHANS

NRC fails to bring closure in Assam. Flaw may lie in the idea, not just the process

THE FINAL NATIONAL Register of Citizens (NRC) for Assam was released on Saturday, but a closure to the citizenship issue in the state remains distant. In fact, the initial response of political parties and civil society groups in Guwahati indicates that the NRC may have opened up new fault-lines. The government has done well to promise legal help to the over 19 lakh people who have been excluded. They have a window of 120 days to appeal before the Foreigners Tribunals, which have been provided additional staff and facilities. The government has also indicated that deportation of the people rendered "stateless" is not on the cards — Minister of Foreign Affairs S Jaishankar recently said in Dhaka that the NRC was India's internal matter. However, political parties, including and especially the BJP, have alleged that the NRC is flawed and threatened to challenge it in court. For the large number of people who have been living on the edge since the process began in 2015, there is no end in sight to the uncertainty, it seems.

Citizenship and identity have been fraught issues in Assam for decades. The NRC was introduced in 1951 in response to a political demand that arose from the fear of migration, in the backdrop of Partition, causing demographic and cultural upheaval. The subnationalist politics that privileged Assamese identity over other categories, including class, caste and religion, has since shaped the social imaginary in the region, with devastating consequences. It has produced a narrative that plays on the fear of the "outsider" and a politics that borders on xenophobia. It is telling, however, that no party seems to be happy with the outcome of the current exercise. For the All Assam Students Union and the BJP, the exclusions are fewer than expected — the projected number of illegal immigrants in Assam, which has formed the basis of contrived political spectres, has varied from one million to two crore. The BJP also suspects that a substantial number of the affected are Bengali-speaking Hindus, whom it wants recognised as refugees and accorded citizenship. With its proposal to amend the Citizenship Act pending, the party has demanded re-verification of the list in districts bordering Bangladesh, suggesting a communal reading of the NRC.

Instead of blaming the process, political parties need to recognise, perhaps, the flaw that lies in the imagination that produced the NRC. Modern societies are shaped by migration and it may be futile to engage in costly exercises to identify "outsiders". Despite the fiasco in Assam, BJP leaders are demanding NRCs elsewhere too — for instance, Manoj Tiwari wants one in Delhi. During the 2019 election campaign, BJP President Amit Shah spoke about "ghuspaithiye" and compared illegal migrants to termites. The time has come to steer the conversation away from excluding people, and towards accepting the reality of migration and exploring ways to make it work better for the economy. The idea of citizenship can't be imprisoned within the framework of blood and soil or religion; it needs a broader, more inclusive definition rooted in the liberal spirit of the Constitution. For now, however, at the end of an elaborate NRC process monitored by the Supreme Court, which has shown unusual alacrity in doing so, the onus is on the court to ensure that human rights are not undermined by short-term political interests.

## PEOPLE VS BORIS JOHNSON

British Prime Minister, by trying to circumvent parliament on Brexit, shows disdain for democratic institutions

LAST WEEK, BRITISH Prime Minister Boris Johnson sought to justify the pro-gouging of the UK Parliament for over a month by claiming it is "normal procedure". It is not. The most that Johnson — a prime minister who was selected by a section of the Conservative Party and who hasn't faced a general election — can claim is that he has not technically broken the law. In fact, by asking the Queen to suspend the House of Commons till just 10-12 days before the October 31 Brexit deadline, Johnson has shown complete disdain for the British people, the forum in which their representatives make their voice heard, and for Westminster-style democracy itself. Ironically, among the issues that Johnson and other "leavers" had cited as reasons for Britain leaving the European Union three years ago was that the EU curtailed the powers of the country's parliament and the will of the British people.

Since June 2016, when the people of Britain voted by a slender majority to leave the EU, the country's political class has been unable to form a consensus on the modalities of the exit. Johnson's predecessor, Theresa May, resigned after she was unable to convince parliament of her Brexit plan. By all accounts, a no-deal Brexit will be an economic disaster for the UK. Johnson claims he will negotiate a new deal at the EU council in September and secure a parliamentary majority for a withdrawal bill before October 31. Either PM Johnson can magically forge agreement in eight weeks on an issue that vexed his predecessor for two years or, as is far more likely, he is doing his best to circumvent a much-needed debate and the messy compromises it would entail.

Britain does not have a formal, written constitution. But its laws and parliamentary customs have served it well because they are respected across political and ideological divides. In the Westminster model, parliament is not just a procedural necessity. It frames the will of the people, the source of political legitimacy. If Johnson wishes to suggest that the mandate for his version of Brexit is greater than the voice of all the MPs that oppose it, he must call a general election. The Opposition must ask for a vote of confidence in the government. Meanwhile, across the globe, as strongmen claiming a direct understanding of the will of the people undermine institutions that act as a check on executive power, how the first parliamentary system holds its own against this assault will be closely watched.

## FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



OVER THE PAST few weeks, there has been much commentary on the economic slowdown. Whether the cause is structural or cyclical; whether the government should inject liquidity or allow the private corporate sector to stew in its woes. This division of views is unsurprising. After all, it is a commonplace barb that three economists in a room will eventually present four different views. What is worrisome is that this division appears to cut across the political and administrative apparatus of the government. The vice chairman of the Niti Aayog has stated that the economy faces an unprecedented liquidity situation: "Not in the past 70 years has the financial sector been in such a churn (where) nobody trusts anybody else." The Chief Economic Adviser appears somewhat more sanguine: "Some sectors are doing well — the government does not need a fiscal stimulus". The Minister of Transport and Highways, Nitin Gadkari, has criticised the Niti Aayog for announcing a ban on petrol and diesel vehicles. He said that the Aayog was but a think tank with no executive authority, and that such decisions were for him to take.

This apparent lack of cohesion in economic thinking is worrisome because it makes one wonder whether there is any economic body in the government that has the mandate to look at the big picture — that is, evaluate the consequences of the macro impact of seemingly unrelated sectoral economic decisions — and also has the ear of the political leadership. It is also worrisome because the consequences of lack of cohesion can, in our connected economy, lead to avoidable systemic damage. Let me illustrate this point by drawing on the plight of the auto industry.

Demand for transport vehicles (passenger cars, heavy commercial vehicles, three-wheelers and two-wheelers) has dropped by 12.3 per cent in the first quarter of FY 19/20 over the comparable quarter of the previous year. This is the sharpest decline since 2001. No one can make the claim that this is entirely the result of government policy. There are deeper reasons particular to the structure and dynamics of the industry and every auto company will need to intro-

spect hard on the specifics of the internal changes it must implement to tide over its current market problems. But, equally, no one can argue that the industry has not been impacted by government policy. The decision last year to increase the maximum load carrying capacity of trucks knocked the bottom out of the market for Heavy Commercial Vehicles. Demand for this category has, since that decision, fallen by around 20 per cent. The generalised constriction on retail financing by banks has squeezed dealers out of their working capital and dampened consumer demand. Consumers could, at one time, borrow upto 90 per cent of the cost of a vehicle. Now, they are fortunate to get even 65 per cent. Auto loans, incidentally, account for barely 2.5 per cent of banks' NPAs. The tightening of safety norms or the fast-forwarding of the BSVI emission norms have raised the cost structure and, consequently, prices.

All of these decisions might make sense on a standalone basis. But when considered through the prism of their collective impact, they acquire some rough edges. This is because the auto industry sits at the nub of the manufacturing sector. It accounts for 49 per cent of manufacturing GDP and, according to the Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers (SIAM), it supports, directly and indirectly, 37 million jobs. The decline in demand for its products has sent ripples, therefore, across the macro economy. SIAM has estimated that 5-7 per cent of those employed along the Auto Value Chain (original equipment manufacturers, suppliers, vendors) have lost their jobs and that all contract hiring has stopped. It has also estimated that GST collections from the auto sector during the first six months of 2019 are Rs 6,000 crore less than what was received by the finance ministry during the first half of 2018.

I cite these figures not to make a case for relief for the automobile industry — I am a director of Mahindra and Mahindra and doing so might attract the criticism of conflict of interest — but to substantiate the consequences of lack of cohesion in economic management. It is also to make the point that sectoral initiatives must be viewed through the prism of the broader economy.

Our administrative apparatus is vertically structured within siloed compartments. Bureaucrats have a narrow remit and few, if any, have the mandate to take a broad view in order to evaluate the consequences of their decisions on the system as a whole. There is no forum to enable and facilitate interdisciplinary, interdepartmental and collaborative economic decision-making. We do, of course, have the Niti Aayog and the PM's Economic Advisory Council (although I must admit, I am not clear on the latter's mandate or role). But the recent exchanges suggest they do not have the executive authority to contextualise sectoral initiatives within the broader sweep of the macro economy.



EKTA MALIK

## DEVDA'S ISN'T A WOMAN

A man's heartbreak is celebrated on celluloid, a woman's loss is hardly depicted

"BAAT BIGDI HAI iss qadar/ Dil hai toota, toote hain hum/ Tere bin ab na lenge ek bhi dum/ Tujhe kitna chaahain aur hum," hums Arijit Singh in *Kabir Singh* (2019), as the eponymous character played by Shahid Kapoor comes to terms with his heartbreak — and the end of his "happily-ever-after" dreams with his college girlfriend, Preeti (Kiara Advani).

The film, a huge commercial success, was panned by critics and a section of filmgoers alike for its blatant misogyny. In the 172-minute-long film, heartbreak is used as an excuse for self-sabotaging behaviour, including a suicide attempt. But Hindi film and heartbreak have had a long, symbiotic relationship: Bollywood wields heartbreak as a tool to justify toxic masculinity and generates yet another poster child — whoever is the reigning A-list male star. But where are the women and their heartbreak stories? Aren't they the other half who suffer when a loving relationship comes apart at the seams? So why don't we see women crying their hearts out on screen with abandon, or beating up people or drinking themselves silly? Or having a streak of lovers, as their male counterparts in films do?

Women, more often than not, are the perpetrators in a heartbreak. The song in *Kabir Singh* uses the phrase "toote hain hum" — broken — and also evokes the fatality of the that emotion, with "Tere bin ab na lenge



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ek bhi dum/ Tujhe kitna chaahain aur hum". In the 1975 film *Amanush*, Kishore Kumar sings "Dil aisa kissi ne mera toda/ barbadi ki taraf aisa mora". The next line blends the heartbreak, and in turn the heartbreaker, for turning a man into beast: "Ek bhale manush ko amaansh banaa ke chora." In *Munna Bhai M.B.B.S* (2003), there is a scene which shows a young adult male explain his second suicide attempt: "Kyunki ladki chhod ke gayi". It results in a song and dance routine with Sanjay Dutt flexing his biceps.

Devdas — novelist Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's iconic character, and the films that it has spawned — is a pop-culture phenomenon. He is the patron saint of Bollywood's heartbroken. Actors K L Saigal, Dilip Kumar, Shah Rukh Khan and Abhay Deol have all seen considerable success in their rendition of the alcoholic-heartbroken lover. We never experience the agony of Paro, separated from her childhood sweetheart: We only see her later as the dutiful daughter-in-law of the household that she married into.

There are some exceptions. Kajol cries in the rain to "Tujhe yaad na meri aayi" in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1998). Karisma Kapoor dances in an envy-fueled rage when she sees Madhuri Dixit dancing on "her" stage with "her" man (Shah Rukh Khan) in *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997). A salwar-kurta wearing

Kareena Kapoor, sans makeup, eats a bread-and-jam sandwich in *Jab We Met*, as she navigates a boyfriend-less life in Shimla. The other template features the scorned and spurned women, who are then relegated to the scheming vamp trope — the woman who will do anything to get "her man" back. For example, films like *Aaina* (1993), *Khal-Naika* (1993) and *Pukar* (2000).

But all these instances are reduced to one song and one film, at best. We never hear the gut-wrenching sob that are a definitive byproduct of heartbreak for women, as much as they are for men. So I wonder why we haven't had a female version of *Devdas*? Because crying women look "unattractive" on screen? Or the thought of women, unkempt, polishing off tubs of ice-cream and vodka seems unpalatable to the male population at large?

Heartbreak can be debilitating. Personally, I have had my share, and it took an intense phase of what is popularly known as TLC to get me back on my feet — in addition to an extreme hair-cut and a foreign trip. I know many women with similar stories.

So, let's just enjoy the idea that one day, an A-list female actor can get drunk senseless and rage against the world at large and men in particular, for the entire length of a movie. Now that's a film I would watch.

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## SEPTEMBER 2, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO



**JAMSHEDPUR RIOTS**  
THE JANATA PARTY blamed "vested interests," including some political organisations, for the recurrence of communal trouble in parts of the country. The national executive of the party passed a resolution deploring the outbreak of communal violence in Jamshedpur and elsewhere. The executive felt that "in these disturbances there is the hand of vested interests, including some political organisations, which would like to create a fear psychosis among the minorities with a view to securing their political support". The party apprehended that as the general elections approach "such forces may become increasingly active."

**PAYMENT AGREEMENT**  
LEADERS OF VARIOUS workers' organisations were reported to have agreed to the postponement of the interest payable on compulsory deposits in cash for another year. A finance ministry announcement said that the meeting convened by the finance minister, H N Bahuguna, with representatives of nine trade union organisations "to contain inflation by restricting money supply in the market". Leaders of central workers' organisations were stated to have agreed voluntarily to advise the workers to opt for retention, for one more year, of the amount of interest payable to them in cash as a part of the instalment of compulsory deposits.

**NO FREE PASS**  
THE GOLDEN PASS controversy involving the railway minister, T A Pai, and the chief election commissioner, has come at an unfortunate time for the Janata (S) chairman, Raj Narain. Narain will now not get the free travel pass he is reported to have sought from Pai. It is learnt that Narain wrote to the railway minister eeking countrywide free travel facilities for himself. Having already granted Narain's request for a pass for the Janata (S) leader's tantrik astrologer, there was little likelihood of Pai refusing Narain a pass. But in view of the considerable embarrassment caused to the involved parties, Pai is unlikely to bestow a similar favour on Narain.

