

11 SUNDAY STORY



Maharashtra CM Devendra Fadnavis at an election rally in Dhule district. He has covered 4,092 km and 140 Assembly constituencies in six weeks as part of his 'Mahajanadesh Yatra'. Prashant Nadkar

ON HIS 'Mahajanadesh Yatra' to seek people's blessings ahead of the state Assembly elections on October 21, Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis hopped off a helicopter dozens of times, criss-crossing 4,092 km and 140 Assembly constituencies over six weeks. It was a far cry from the images of November 2014, carefully selected and released to the media, of a smiling Fadnavis with wife Amruta in economy class seats on board a commercial airline. To Fadnavis's credit, that image management that appeared to be a central accoutrement of his first several months as chief minister is simply no longer needed.

In fact, it would no longer be useful, as Fadnavis cultivates a fresh image for himself, after delivering for the Centre 23 of the 25 Lok Sabha seats the party contested this summer, the best strike rate for the party in the state. Restricting the Congress to one solitary MP, Fadnavis was also central to region-wise strategies to oust several Opposition big guns, including former CM Ashok Chavan.

The Assembly elections are widely seen as elementary stuff for the BJP. Under Fadnavis's leadership, the party has won a string of polls to municipal corporations, councils, zilla parishads and panchayats, damaging the Congress-NCP's grassroots base in many parts.

Nobody is more keenly aware of this new image than the man himself. At his rally last week in Ner, requiring the microphone height adjusted, Fadnavis quipped, "People have put me on a higher pedestal. You can't keep microphones so low."

But for all his amiability at public appearances, in the past one year, the 49-year-old lawyer from Nagpur has demonstrated that he's not shy of realpolitik. Four ministers in his government have been axed ahead of the elections, and will thus be neither in the next Cabinet nor in the fray when it is time to appoint a successor. The wooing of Maratha warrior king Shivaji's descendant and sitting MP Udayanraje Bhosale into the BJP, reducing the NCP's Lok Sabha tally to three MPs, was a coup. Meanwhile, a recruitment drive of leaders of all manner of ideology and antecedents into the BJP is a clinical approach to poll mathematics.

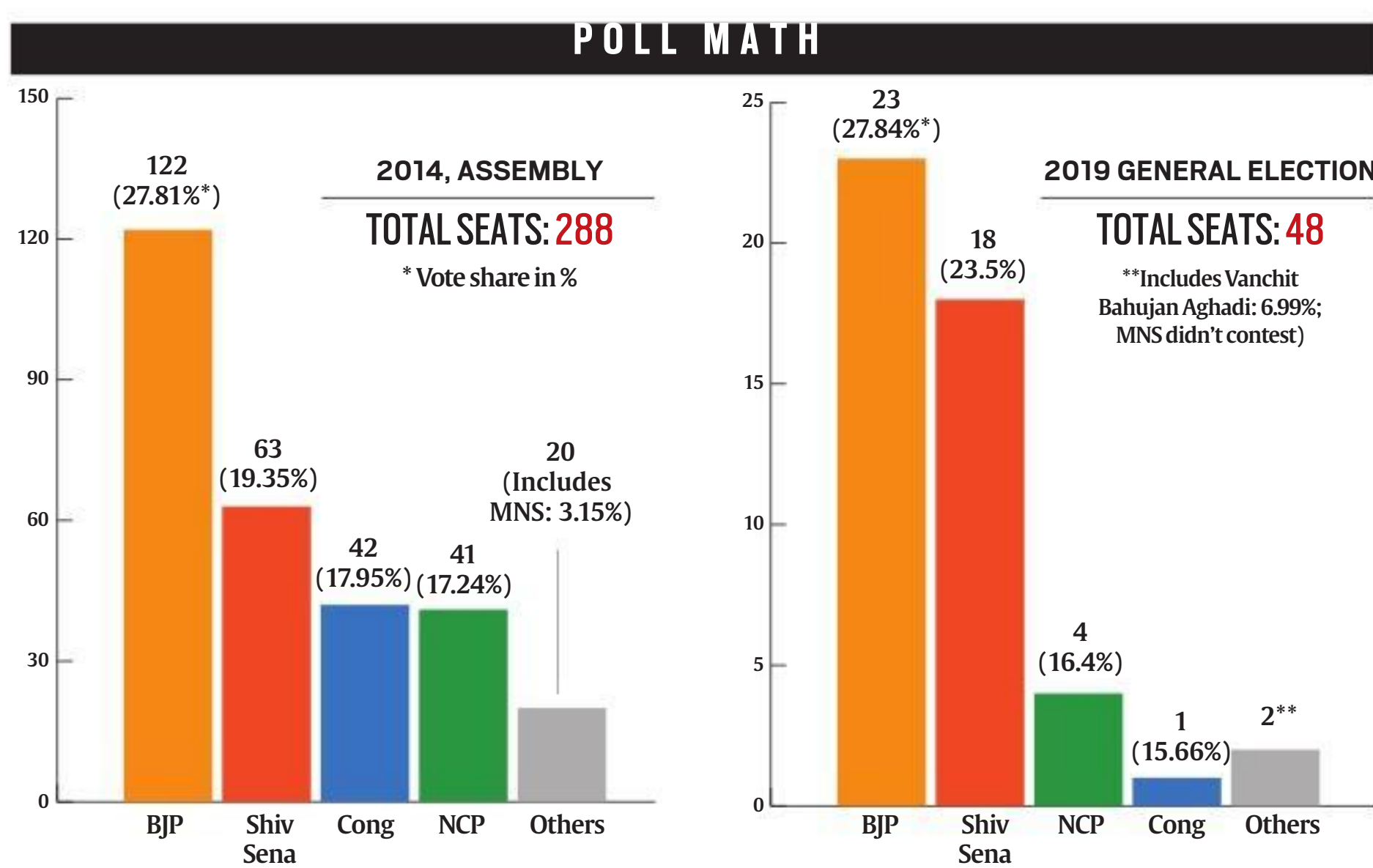
The roping in of some regional satraps with unsavoury back-stories — from Nitesh Rane to Ganesh Naik — is just grist for the mill for the BJP's formidable march. When Fadnavis drew the line at inducting a Muslim Congress MLA from Mumbai, it was reportedly because some right-wing organisations had taken issue with the latter in the past.

Even as a top Opposition leader in the Maharashtra Assembly, with the meatiest attacks on the Congress-NCP government, Fadnavis was always high on substance and low on rhetoric. A loyal foot soldier of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, evidence of the fine balance he holds is in the fact that the Fadnavis government has been unwilling to push for a ban on the Sanatan Sanstha despite a member being arrested for rationalist Govind Pansare's murder. And though the state witnessed a spate of beef vigilantism cases, the Chief Minister stopped shy of asking the Hindutva brigade to pipe down. In his early months as CM, Fadnavis also had to hastily summon back a circular regarding invoking sedition charges against critics of the political establishment. Both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and BJP president Amit Shah have already declared that Fadnavis will continue to be chief minister after the election.

Though he walked straight into the Maratha vortex and promised reservation to the politically significant and socially powerful community when the state witnessed mass Maratha mobilisation, a decision first stayed by the Bombay High Court, the CM proved himself to be nimble-footed. The Brahmin Fadnavis finally won over the middle-class and the poor among the Marathas by extending the reservation, for the second time, in a manner that would

Fadnavis 2.0

In 2014, as a Brahmin CM in a Maratha-dominated political landscape, Fadnavis had a tall order — the Maratha quota agitation was threatening to blow up, and ally Sena and Opposition NCP-Cong were snapping at his heels. Five years and some deft politicking later, as Maharashtra heads to polls, the 47-year-old looms large, writes KAVITHA IYER & SHUBHANGI KHAPRE



In once stronghold, Cong a muted presence

KAVITHA IYER

ITS roads layered thick with slush after the departing Southwest monsoon's final flourishes, with a lone half-constructed flyover and cattle milling about in the din of traffic outside the railway station, Bhokar is one of drought-prone Marathwada's dozens of poorly equipped towns that have neither adequate roads and municipal infrastructure nor jobs. In the villages, residents say they have been waiting for some bare essentials for years — a cremation ground for the backward castes, roads between villages, desilting of a portion of irrigation canals alongside their farmland, itself a gift from late Shankarrao Chavan, two-term Maharashtra CM who pushed for waters of the Upper Penganga dam project for these villages.

The Bhokar Assembly constituency in Maharashtra is one of the few that has been loyal to the Congress since the 1960s, barring two occasions when it elected an Independent and once an NCP legislator. As former chief minister Ashok Chavan returns to the seat he represented in 2009 and which his wife Ameeta won in 2014, the electorate has a new outspokenness.

"Please let us give you a written list of our requests," says one speaker at an election *sabha* in Khambala village in Mudkhed taluka. At Dhanaj village, one of the speakers is more candid, simply reading out all the demands they have of their prospective legislator. "In the Lok Sabha election, Dhanaj expressed its anger (against you), but let us put that behind us," says another speaker.

Earlier this year, Chavan lost the Nanded Lok Sabha seat to Sena MLA-turned BJP Lok Sabha aspirant, Pratap Patil Chikhalikar.

With nine days of campaigning to go, the



Ashok Chavan addresses a *sabha* at a Nanded village. Amit Chakravarty

sabhas are still low key as the Congress in Nanded attempts to stay strictly within poll expenditure guidelines. Chavan's team has sent advance requests to villages not to offer him the traditional welcome with multiple garlands and shawls — every shawl, every tarpaulin carpet for the wet ground, every microphone and every garland will be calculated as part of the candidate's expense.

At Dhanaj, the *sabha* is held on a concrete porch with no pandal, banner or party flags in sight. As the emcee for the event begins, one of Chavan's assistants brings out a microphone and portable speaker from their car. Three frail boys wave a Congress flag, two others sport paper visors with the party's symbol — the worker is tight for village- and booth-level workers to make the Congress visible again in an old stronghold.

Chavan is fresh from his Lok Sabha defeat, one he maintains was effected by the Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi candidate who polled over 1.6 lakh votes — he lost by 42,000. He is confident of retaining Bhokar, his constituency as CM too, but is carefully planning and strategising every detail.

For, the last few months have seen a flurry of departures of Congressmen at all levels — some former MIM leaders who had

joined the Congress ahead of its impressive win in the Nanded Waghala Municipal Corporation polls in 2017 have returned, but there is still unease among the Dalits and Muslims, once committed Congress voters. The party's sweep of Nanded Waghala in 2017 was seen as a bend in the road — the Congress won 73 of the 81 seats.

The crisis in the Congress has only deepened since the Lok Sabha results. Chavan resigned as MPCC chief, and new chief Balasaheb Thorat has had barely a couple of months to set the house in order ahead of elections. Meanwhile, top leaders such as Sushil Kumar Shinde have floated the idea of a Congress-NCP merger, confusing the cadre even though the official leadership of both parties has rubbished the proposal.

With Thorat, Chavan, former CM Prithviraj Chavan and other top leaders all contesting the polls, and thus concentrating on winning their seats, the party's campaign lacks cohesion. In addition, the party will go to polls under the cloud of rebellions by those who didn't get tickets, senior leaders leaving the party and former Mumbai Congress chief Sanjay Nirupam sulking over a ticket being denied to his nominee.

The BJP, on the other hand, has gained fresh ground since the poor showing in the 2017 Nanded Waghala municipal polls. Villagers in Bhokar are quick to admit that CM Fadnavis himself appeared to have made defeating Chavan a prestige issue.

Barely five months later, the Congress warhorse is campaigning almost alone; his cavalcade as he leaves Nanded comprising only a pilot vehicle and his Innova, two media vehicles bringing up the rear. At the party office in Bhokar, about 20 men are gathered but do not know what the day's plan is. A call to their boss yields information that Bhokar will see no Congress campaign today.

withstand the test of Constitutionality. It also marked the beginning of established Maratha leaders clamouring to associate with the BJP, including then Congress Opposition leader Radhakrishna Vikhe-Patil. In one stroke, Fadnavis had effectively silenced the big daddies of Western Maharashtra's Maratha politics. The Marathas have been appeased, but the government's promise of reservation to the Dhangars remains uncertain, which the CM has tried to countervail by offering them welfare sops that will cost the state about Rs 1,000 crore.

Those watching Fadnavis will see how, and if, in the years ahead, he galvanises the BJP cadre to begin a silent, devious campaign for a Shiv Sena-*mukt* Maharashtra. For five years now, the Sena has played in-house Opposition, taking up cudgels with the BJP on everything from farmer suicides to demonetisation, forcing an embarrassing cancellation of a concert by Chulam Ali in Mumbai, spraying ink on the face of columnist Sudheendra Kulkarni. Now, the Sena tiger has accepted a lower than ever seat share in the pre-poll alliance — 124 seats to the BJP's 164. For the BJP, it was a bloodless coup by Fadnavis who has maintained a cordial public relationship with the Thackerays.

The other Thackeray, Raj, though fresh from the popularity of his 'arre laava re toh video' speeches lampooning the Union government, has anyway been pushed to the fringes — his party won just one seat in the 2014 Assembly elections.

As Chief Minister, Fadnavis has taken tough decisions others in his seat balked at, including the go-ahead to simultaneously rip open scores of kilometres of roads across the financial capital to build a metro rail network that was on the drafting board since the 1980s. It was an audacious move, and while Mumbaiites grumble in traffic pile-ups every day, not many are shy of admitting the megapolis needed the hard love. In contrast to previous governments that treaded over-cautiously, saddled by coalition concerns and long litigation on major infrastructure projects, Fadnavis has brushed off doubts, egging on a young team of outsourced OSDs and interns in a 'war room' for these projects.

Even seasoned bureaucrats were taken aback when Fadnavis chose to reappoint Radheshyam Mopalwar, a 1995-batch IAS officer who faced serious corruption charges for years, upon his superannuation. Mopalwar, who was given a clean chit before his reappointment, now oversees Fadnavis's pet project, the Rs 55,000-crore Samruddhi Corridor or the 'communication super expressway' connecting Nagpur and Mumbai.

Now, as his government defends its decision to axe over 2,000 trees overnight in Mumbai's Aarey, apparently in a ruse to present a fait accompli when the opposite camp inevitably went to court, it is ally Shiv Sena that is left smarting — Aadiya Thackeray opposed the chopping of trees, but the party tied itself in knots with the Sena-controlled Tree Authority having first given the nod.

Those close to him say he is briefed by top intelligence and police officials regularly, sometimes every day. He is known to be a hands-on, no-nonsense and pro-development leader, far ahead of the others in the pack, including his handpicked confidants such as, notably, Girish Mahajan who emerged as a major trouble-shooter.

From being the youngest mayor at 27 in any Indian city through four terms as MLA from Nagpur South West, the CM's political journey is dotted with many milestones, but insiders say it is the Mahajanadesh rallies that have turned him into a real leader of the masses. "Whether it was drought-hit or flood-ravaged areas, people came to hear him and reposed their hope in his leadership," says BJP general secretary and chief co-ordinator Sujit Singh Thakur.

BJP parliamentarian Poonam Mahajan, who has known Fadnavis since the very start of her career, says, "He is by far one of the sharpest people in Indian politics to-

day. Devendraji pays attention to detail and has mastered the art of getting the most out of both, the administration and the BJP as an organisation."

At his poll rallies, he reels off a list of works done or initiated — Rs 50,000 crore credited directly into farmers' bank accounts under various schemes in five years (the Opposition provided Rs 20,000 crore in 15 years, he claims); a record loan waiver worth Rs 23,000 crore to 50 lakh farmers; 30,000 km of rural roads under the Mukhya Mantri Gramin Sadak Yojna (no state government has ever completed 10,000 km roads in five years, he further claims); work in progress on 20,000 km of national highways and 10,000 km of state highways; drinking water schemes for 18,000 villages in five years; seven lakh homes ready and 10 lakh under construction under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna; and various irrigation and river-linking schemes.

The Congress's Ashok Chavan says more should have been delivered with such a wide political mandate. "Nothing has been delivered, there are only tall promises. Elections have become a marketing strategy for the BJP," Chavan told *The Sunday Express*, adding that in village after village, farmers say they have not received the farm loan waiver, or that the fine print led them to have to make large payments. Also, for all the hand-shaking at Davos and the red carpet treatment for investors, industrial development has remained sub par and job losses are now rising alarmingly in Maharashtra. Farmer suicides continue to grow despite this loan waiver, Chavan says. "A developed state like Maharashtra that always generated jobs is now witnessing layoffs in very large numbers. The CM is not talking about unemployment," he adds.

In August 2015, contract manufacturing and chip making giant Foxconn signed an MoU with the state, promising to invest \$5 billion in the state in units that would generate employment for 50,000 people by 2020. It was just one of several non-starters in industrial development.

The many missteps notwithstanding, Fadnavis looms large over the coming Maharashtra elections on October 21. Earlier this week, at the New English School ground in the tribal-dominated Sakri in Dhule, Fadnavis asked where the 'pehelwans' of the Congress-NCP were. "Have they already accepted defeat?" he mocked.

Shirt-sleeves rolled up, he is determined to reach the ambitious target he has set for himself — 145 seats out of 288 for the BJP alone. Together, the grand alliance or 'Mahayuti' of the BJP, Shiv Sena, Republican Party of India (A), Rashtriya Samaj Paksha, Ryat Kranti and Shiv Sangram hopes to cross 220. "I am not claiming we have resolved all problems. I am aware of plenty of problems that have to be pursued still. But I can state with absolute certainty that work in all core sectors done in five years of my regime is at least double than that done in 15 years of the Congress-NCP's tenure," he tells an enthusiastic crowd.

Coming barely six months after the landslide NDA win at the Centre and with the Congress and NCP scrambling for a lost foothold, the poll result may be foregone. The interest now lies in the numbers as the BJP aims for the halfway mark alone, including how close to the wall the party pushes the Shiv Sena.

Not everyone is bedazzled, and BJP candidates admit citizens are tiring of empty promises on the economy. The Sena called the Fadnavis government's overnight felling of trees in Aarey a symptom of its authoritarianism. But none of that matters. The pollsters are busy at work. Wife Amruta, having been muted in her appearances over the past few months after murmurs of her floating protocol at a function, will now re-emerge by his side as he gets into the down and dirty of the election campaign. Having done full justice to the 2014 slogan "Delhi mein Narendra, Maharashtra mein Devendra", the Maharashtra CM is getting to work on the idea of a "shat pratishat BJP".

12 BIG PICTURE 13



I have waited for too long, 27 years... Everyone forgot about us. When the verdict comes, at least, my sons should be given government jobs



The new generation wants to study, get jobs. But we are waiting for the judgment. No one has heard our pleas so far. *Ab ummeed hai insaf ki* (Hope we get justice now)



I want to become a 'Ram Kathavachak' (story-teller)... We have heard there might be a curfew when the verdict comes. In that case, we will have to stock up on our food supplies



Whatever the verdict is, we will accept it. *Bas dhokha nahin hona chahiyee* (Only, we should not be cheated). We saw how the Babri Masjid was felled...



The Supreme Court should order that a college be made at the Ramjanmabhoomi site, which will have both Hindu and Muslim students



The youth in Ayodhya are like youth in any part of the country, glued to their phones and in search of better opportunities... The town must look beyond *mandir-masjid*

GAYATRI PANDEY, 50,
HUSBAND DIED IN POLICE FIRING ON KARSEVAKS STORMING BABRI MASJID IN 1990

MOHD NAEEM, 51
HIS 16-YR-OLD NEPHEW SADIQ WAS KILLED IN POST-BABRI DEMOLITION VIOLENCE

GYANENDRA MISHRA, 15
ONE OF THE 35 STUDENTS ENROLLED AT A VHP SCHOOL (above)

MOHD HASEEB, 50
TEACHER AT MUSLIM YATEEM KHAANA MADRASA, WITH 50 STUDENTS (above)

KANTI YADAV, 17 (centre)
FIRST-YEAR PHARMACY STUDENT AT GOVERNMENT K S SAKET P G COLLEGE

HARSH SRIVASTAV, 24 (left); SARFARAZ ALI, 21
WORK AT THE XIAOMI STORE IN HANUMAN GARHI IN AYODHYA

HERE ARE many similarities between Harsh Srivastav and Sarfaraz Ali. They both graduated from Uttar Pradesh's Awadh University, they have both been working in the telecom sector for four years, and they are both colleagues at the newly opened Xiaomi store in Ayodhya's Hanuman Garhi area, barely a kilometre from the disputed Ram Janmabhoomi site. They know it better as 'RJB'.

As countdown begins in the case that will finally decide the fate of the disputed site, and days ahead of arguments drawing to a close in the Supreme Court on October 17, many roads are making their way to Ayodhya. But here in the temple town, in the midst of the festive season, more buzz is around a newly opened store and a mall.

Srivastav, 24, and Ali, 21, part of Ayodhya's post-Babri Masjid demolition generation, explain why. Thankful for the air-conditioner in their store — whose neon orange board and glitzy walls stand out among the old 'Shri Ram' shops selling conch shells, *kalash*, incense stick holders, coconuts, and jerry cans to hold river Sarayu's water — Srivastav says, "The youth in Ayodhya are like youth in any part of the country, glued to phones and in search of better opportunities."

Hearing Ayodhya

27 years after the Babri demolition, hearing in the final case to decide the fate of the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi site concludes this week. ANKITA DWIVEDI JOHRI finds a town longing for closure, a community that is tired, and a generation, born after 1992, in wait — for jobs

PHOTOGRAPHS: VISHAL SRIVASTAV

Like others in Ayodhya, both believe that for this, they need to make their way out of the town.

Nearby preparations are on for a grand Diwali, with the Yogi Adityanath government promising a bigger event than the previous two times. Last year, South Korea's First Lady Kim Jung-Sook was the chief guest, and the Chief Minister had renamed Faizabad district, under which the holy town falls, as Ayodhya district.

Those who suffered in the aftermath of the Babri demolition on both sides in Ayodhya are preparing too, for the verdict to give them "justice", hoping it will help them put behind the violence of those days.

The hope shared by all is for the town to "move on". Saying that religion is important, but "in our daily life, none of this matters", Srivastav says that while he would be very happy if the verdict was in favour of a temple, "whatever it is, the issue should end with the Supreme Court judgment. We will all accept it. Ayodhya must look beyond Hindu-Muslim, *mandir-masjid*. That's all we have heard since we were born."

Adds Ali, scrolling through songs on his phone, "As a Muslim, I want a mosque at the RJB site. But if a temple is made, there will be more tourism in Ayodhya, and in turn more jobs. So, I am fine with a temple too."

With Ayodhya central to the BJP's political agenda, the Adityanath government has unveiled a series of projects for the town with a population of close to 60,000. These include plans to make Ayodhya a 'Smart City', Rs 174 crore for a medical college (to add to Ayodhya's three government colleges), Rs 400 crore for an airport, a 221-metre Lord Ram Statue, to be highest in the world and taller than the Statue of Unity in Gujarat (its budget has not yet been revealed), and a Rs 31-core revamp of the area along Sarayu. The medical college is almost complete.

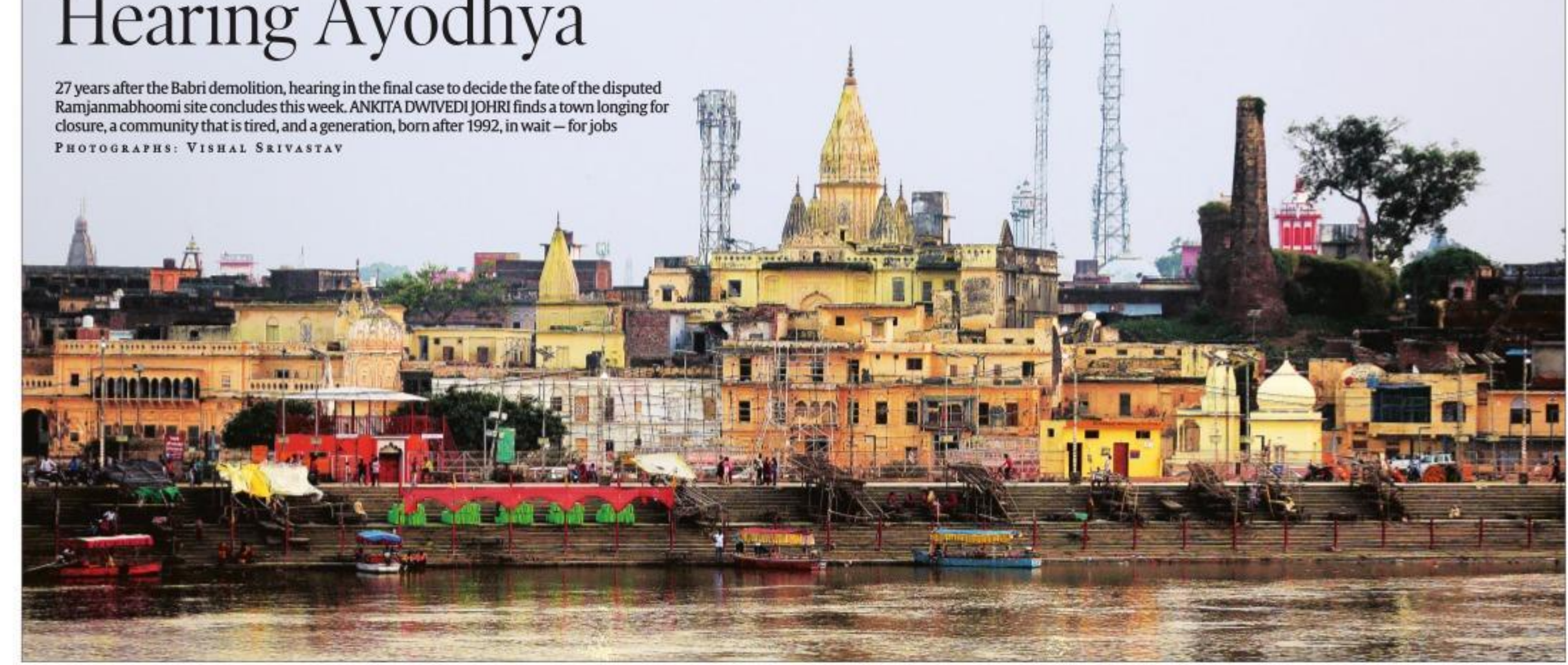
Says Ayodhya District Magistrate Anuj Kumar Jha, "We are still deciding on a place for the Ram statue. As for the airport, two villages have agreed to give up their land. We are negotiating with two others as well."

Adds Jitendra Kane, the Chief Engineer at the Ayodhya Nagar Nigam, "When work begins on the Smart City project, there will be smart cards for buses, wi-fi, e-Challan system for traffic etc."

It doesn't take much to shatter their illusions, laughs Shivam Yadav, 18, a B.Sc first-year student at the government K S Saket P G College. With college on autumn break, a few students have come to collect scholarship forms and deposit submissions. "FB *dekh kar hamain hamara ikaat pata chal jaati hai* (Facebook shows us our place in the country)," says the eldest of three children of a teacher. "My friend who is pursuing B.Tech in Greater Noida says it is so much better... We have nothing, no malls, hotels, non-vegetarian food... *Sif vivaad* (only conflict)... Politicians have sown seeds of distrust."

Paint is chipping off the walls of the college building while its basketball court is filled with water from the previous day's rain. Pointing to the infrastructure, Rajat Srivastav, 17, a first-year student, says he hopes to earn the NEET medical entrance, "move out from here", Hindu or Muslim, the new generation wants education," he asserts.

At the Bazaar, the problems of Ayodhya



— the open drains, crumbling homes, broken pathways.

He admits that all students and teachers at the centre, born after 1992, want a Ram Mandir, but adds that there is little enthusiasm about it. "How will it help us? All the students here are working hard to land jobs outside."

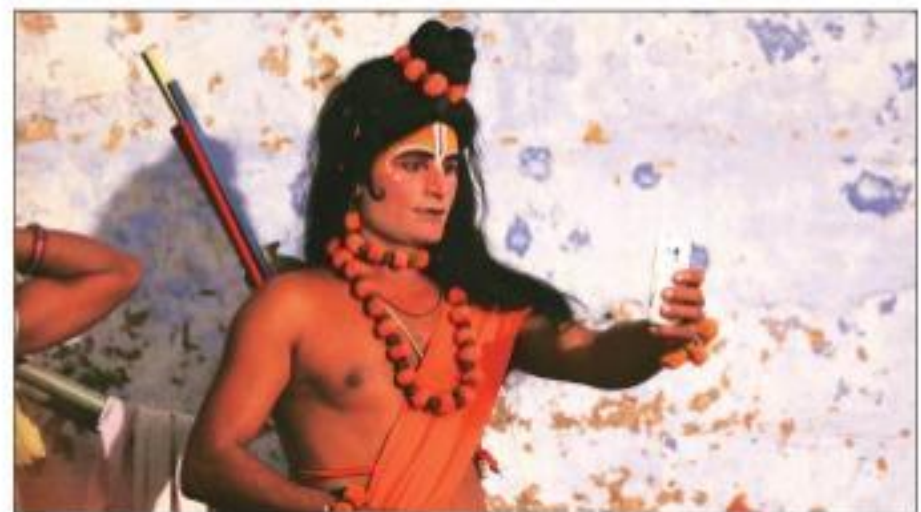
Shivam Yadav, the student at the K S Saket College, has a more immediate concern. "We have heard a large number of troops will be coming in before the judgment and will stay at our college. So that's another two months lost."

Says DM Jha, "We have to be ready for all outcomes. We will ensure there is no breakdown of law and order."

Her friend Kanti Yadav, 17, adds that most women she knows are not even allowed phones. As others laugh, she suggests, "The court should order that a college be made at the RJB site, which will have both Hindu and Muslim students."

Three kilometres away, around 4 pm, to the sound of the evening *aurri* from Hanuman Garhi, a crowd builds up around coaching centres near the market, offering classes for a range of competitive exams, from entry to the IAS and Army to teacher training. Photographs of those who topped the exams last year dot the town.

Ajay Chaudhary, 25, teaches 'General Studies' at Sarankaly Acadamy, which has over 100 students taking classes in turns in a cramped room. "If you just walk into *gallis* of the main road, like this one, you will see that *dham* (religion) doesn't really matter. You will also see the problems of Ayodhya



will be remembered. At least my sons should be given government jobs." Her older son works at the VHP's Ram Mandir Karyashala.

Sandeep Kumar Gupta (30) and sister Seema Gupta (35), whose father died in the 1990 firing too, barely make ends meet running a small clothes shop. Insisting a temple should be built, Sandeep says, "Ram is our identity. What Mecca is to Muslims, Ramjanmabhoomi is for us."

In another part of town, Mohd Naem is hoping his 16-year-old nephew Sadiq's death in the violence following the Babri demolition, among the 15 Muslims reportedly killed, doesn't turn out to be in vain. "Our homes were burnt. Sadiq was pulled out and beaten to death," says the 51-year-old driver and father of six.

Brushing aside his 18-year-old son's attempts to hush him, Naem says, "Kyon nahin bolein (Why shouldn't we speak)? The new generation is unaware of those times, they just want to study and get jobs. But we are waiting for the judgment. *Abhi tak hamari koi survaah nahin hui hai, ab ummeed hai ki hamain insaf milega* (No one has heard our pleas so far. I hope we get justice now)."

Taranum, 30, who lost her father Shaakatullah in the post-Babri violence, is reluctant to talk. Speaking from behind a door, she says, "Bas *masha'ullah* jaye (The matter should just be resolved). It has been going on for too long."



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EXPLAINED The final countdown

A TEMPLE at the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi site has figured in the BJP's election manifestoes since 1996. Twenty-seven years after the Babri demolition, the Supreme Court is set to wrap up arguments in the case which changed the country's politics, and deliver a verdict before CJ Gogoi retires on November 17. If not, the case will have to be heard afresh.

25, has come to offer his services at the Karsevakpurnam this time of the year, taking a break from his regular job, at a mobile repair shop. Distributing food at a 'Dussehra *bhandara*', he says, "*Mandir aur vikas saath aayenge* (Temple and development will come together). Already, roads are being widened, loose hanging wires are under-gound... Ayodhya has no problems now."

A few metres away, at a school run by the VHP, 35 students between the ages of

12 and 17, from Ayodhya and nearby areas, recite verses from the Yajur Veda. Asked by their teacher Narad Bhattarai, 30, if they want a temple, they respond with a loud "haan (yes)".

The students have a packed schedule, starting 4 am, studying the Vedas and English, Maths, Social Science. The school, from Class 5 onwards, accepts them after an entrance test, and they go on to clear Class 10 and 12 through open board. Bhattarai, one of five teachers at the school, says most don't go to pursue higher studies at institutions such as Banaras Hindu University.

Gyanendra Mishra, 15, a Class 10 student, says he wants to become a "Ram Kathavachak" (story-teller). "As other children tease him, he hits back, "No, not a *sadhu* (priest)!" *Kathavachak*."

Ten kilometres away, on the Ayodhya-Faizabad border, is located Muslim Yateem Khaana Madrasa. One of the biggest madrasas in the region, it has around 50 students, with as packed a schedule. Asked about the coming judgment, most are wary of speaking.

Teacher Mohd Haseeb, who points out that his students study the Quran as well as Maths, English and Urdu, asserts, "Religion has nothing to do with education at this madrasa." He adds, "Whatever the verdict is, we will accept it. *Bas dhokha nahin hona chahiyee* (Only, we should not be cheated). We saw how the Babri Masjid was felled..."

Most Muslims, Haseeb adds, are driven by a sense of fatigue and resignation. With little political representation and dwindling space to express their views, the community has learnt to keep to itself, he says. "A verdict

in our favour will bring some closure."

Around 20 students gathered around him nod. Refusing to be named, one of them says, "It is important to put the issue to rest. We want a mosque."

Mohd Shehzad, a local meat-seller, who is visiting the madrasa, says while he too agrees that "the (RJB) land is ours", he is scared about what will follow the judgment, "because of the way the media has been portraying our community." "I saw what happened in 1992. I don't want it to happen again," says the father of three.

Around this time of the year, the echo of any tension, anywhere outside is the loudest in Ayodhya. Shehzad has opened his shop today after nine days of Navratri. "Now we hear even meat shops on the outskirts of the town will be shut down. It's my only source of income," he worries.

So, like the others, the 50-year-old has decided what's best for his children. "I didn't let them join my shop. They are all studying and will hopefully get jobs outside."

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Most Muslims, Haseeb adds, are driven by a sense of fatigue and resignation. With little political representation and dwindling space to express their views, the community has learnt to keep to itself, he says. "A verdict

27 YRS & COUNTING

Dec 6, 1992: Babri Masjid demolished at the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi site

April 2002: Allahabad HC begins hearing on determining who owns the disputed site

Sept 30, 2010: HC, in a 2:1 majority, rules three-way division of disputed area between Sunni Waqf Board, the Nirmohi Akhara and Ram Lalla.

May 9, 2011: SC stays HC verdict

Feb 26, 2016: Plea filed in SC seeking construction of Ram Temple at the disputed site

Mar 21, 2017: Then CJ J S Khehar suggests out-of-court settlement among parties

Dec 1, 2017: 32 civil rights activists file pleas challenging 2010 Allahabad HC verdict

Feb 8, 2018: SC starts hearing the civil appeals

Jan 25, 2019: SC reconstitutes 5-member Constitution Bench to hear the case. The new Bench comprises CJ Ranjan Gogoi and Justices S A Bobde, D Y Chandrachud, Ashok Bhushan and S A Nazeer

July 2019: SC orders 8 weeks of mediation by a three-member panel

Aug 2019: CJ Gogoi says mediation efforts in the land dispute have failed; daily hearing of case begins in SC from Aug 6

Oct 17, 2019: Hearings to conclude, judgment expected before CJ retires on Nov 17

give me stability... I wouldn't think twice before leaving town," says Srivastav, the eldest of three siblings of a farming family.

His colleague Ali, whose father runs a hair salon nearby, wants to set up his own business after gaining enough "experience". "I started working at 17, searched job sites, but there were no Ayodhya-based posts. I was too young to leave. But now, if something comes up, I will leave," he says, adding he earns Rs 15,000 every month.

Shivangi Kanojia, 18, started working at the Big Bazaar outlet, located on the outskirts of Ayodhya, last month. The daughter of a daily wageer, she says, "I have three brothers, but they are no good. Since I passed out of Class 12, all I have been worried about is getting a job."

The only thing she knew about the Big Bazaar job was that "it would be an air-conditioned office with a good salary". She grabbed it, seeing it as a step up from her hospital job helping nursing staff. Now she cycles 6 km from home, for a shift of 9 am to 5 pm with one day off, working in the security department of the three-storey store.

A day after Dussehra, the store that opened a month ago is buzzing, including with customers wearing the saffron garb of *sadhus*. The bestsellers, the staff of over 70 say, are face wash, almonds and women's *kurttas*.

Dressed in a boot-green uniform, Kanojia says she earns Rs 8,000 a month. "I check bills, bags, and guard the offices. This job has been very helpful for my family." She has no time to worry about the Ram Mandir agitation, she adds. "But if it brings better jobs, I am for it."

The Reliance Trends Mall in Faizabad came up in February. Ayodhya Yadav, 26, its assistant store manager, says the sales have been "awesome". "People outside Ayodhya have a certain perception, that this town is all about Ram Mandir... But in Ayodhya we are moving forward," says the local resident, who earlier had a job with Vodafone.

Guiding customers around the Indian wear section, he says the store gets around 500 customers daily, going up to 1,300 at times. "We are already in the process of opening a new store... Most of our customers are families, and many are from the Army's Dogra Regiment stationed nearby. Not many youngsters..."

Store manager Shyam Singh says the Ayodhya posting has been an "eye-opener". "Last year when I was doing market research before the outlet's opening, I found that most homes had grilles around their windows. I presumed it was precautionary, for a clash or curfew... Later, I found it was to keep monkeys away," he laughs. "We have heard there will be Ola service here soon."

Change has also reached another religion frontier: the RamLilas. On Dussehra day, towards the evening, most streets are deserted, with only a few men heading to the Ayodhya RamLila Mahotsav/Samiti's RamLila at Rajendra Niwas — one of the three in town, and the oldest. The groups of young men who have been grating to racy Bhojpur tunes through the day, accompanying Durga Puja idols headed for *visarjan*, have dissipated.

The crowds are not what they used to be, laments the Rajendra Niwas RamLila owner, Awadh Kishore Pathak. The few he gathered around the small make-shift stage today, mostly women and children, are complaining about the insects drawn to the lights. In one corner, stands a large bamboo *Ravan*, surrounded by a few boys taking selfies.

Pathak believes phones are to blame for the lack of audience. "The youth watch everything on their phone, even Ramayan. Why would they come for the show?"

Ratnesh Shukla, the 26-year-old father of two who plays Ram, Lakman as well as Sit at the RamLila, getting Rs 20,000 for 10 days of performance, insists things will change. "*Jaldi sab clear ho jayega* (Soon, everything will be clear). You should come for the RamLila next year. The place will be full. Now we are all just waiting."

But who says the Ayodhya show has to end?

In Asaf Baag on Ayodhya's outskirts, Raju Prajapati is at work at his potter's wheel, to churn out "10,000 diyas" by Diwali, for "Rs 100 per 70 diyas" — an order from the state government. "Like Ram and Sita lived in Hanuman's heart, Ayodhya lives in the heart of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Yogi," he says. "I am a graduate, who joined the family profession after trying his hand at "everything", beams. "We will do our best for all kids. This time, Yogi ji se direct *baat hui hamari* (I spoke directly to the CM)."

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF JOGENDRA SHARMA, 51, A SUMP OPERATOR IN PATNA



One of the four operators on the 6 am to 2 pm shift, Sharma has to ensure that the pump sets discharge water into a drainage tank, from where it is pumped out to the Rampur canal. Alok Jain

SANTOSH SINGH

THE FOUR motors at the Saidpur sump house haven't stopped since October 1, when they first roared to life after remaining submerged for five days following one of the worst cases of water-logging in Patna. Jogendra Sharma, 51, can't switch off either.

"Any senior government official can drop in for a random inspection... we have to be prepared," says Sharma, one of the four operators on the 6 am to 2 pm shift at the sump house. Besides the operators, there are two sweepers and six electricians on each of the three shifts.

With the city under water and the blame over the civic mess washing right up to Chief Minister Nitish Kumar's door, the Urban Development Ministry, the Patna Municipal Corporation (PMC) and the Bihar Urban Infrastructure Development Corporation (BUIDCO), an urban planning body that maintains all 39 sump houses in Patna, have been on alert.

For three crucial days from September 28 to 30, as Rajendra Nagar, a low-lying colony in the state capital that is home to VIPs and bureaucrats, remained under water, the Saidpur sump house had remained non-functional. As the water levels rose, many people, including Deputy CM Sushil Modi who lives in the colony, were evacuated. Amidst the uproar over the stalled sumps, the state government could do little but to wait for the water to recede. Thankfully, says Sharma, the water didn't

Treading water in a city gone under

With Nitish government under fire, the motors at Saidpur sump house, hoping to clear Patna's waterlogged localities, haven't stopped running since Oct 1 — amidst inspections by senior officials and the occasional blown fuse

damage the pumps.

The sump house, or the Saidpur Drainage Pumping Plant, drains out storm water from the colony and nearby areas through a network of chambers and trunks.

While most of the water has been drained out, some areas in Rajendra Nagar, especially around the Moinilul Haque Stadium, still remain water-logged. With patience running thin, the motors at the sump house have been running all day.

This Wednesday morning, Sharma has to ensure that the entire system works to flow-chart precision — right from the pump sets that discharge water into a drainage tank at the site, from where water is pumped out to the Rampur canal that flows into the Punpun river on the southern outskirts of the capital.

Amidst the roar of the motors and the water gushing into the tank — an 80-foot-long, 20-foot-wide and 20-foot-deep pit into which the storm water from Rajendra Nagar flows in — Sharma's colleague Vijay Kumar recalls how the flood waters rendered the sump house non-functional for five days. "The hall where all the motors are kept was under 4-to-6 feet of water. There was no way we could have started the motors. Even after the water receded and we started the pumps, we stood on wooden structures since there are cables that run along the ground near the electric panel area and we were worried about electrocution," he says.

The six pump sets in the hall — two of which are back-up diesel pump sets — are connected with huge suction pipes to the drainage tank.

As he prepares to take another round of the sump house area, Sharma, who earns Rs 9,693 from his job as a contract worker with the BUIDCO, wonders why his life should interest anyone. "We are insignificant, so are our lives and jobs," he shrugs. Sharma says he has always done the morning shift since he began work at the sump house in 2010, setting off from his rented home in Naubatpur at 5.30 am every day.

It is 11 am. Suddenly, the roar of the pumps is broken by the sound of an explosion from inside the hall housing the motors. The electrician on duty rushes to the room, followed by Sharma and the others. "It's from the electric panel. The fuse of one of the motors has blown," says the electrician.

Sharma and the others decide to get one

of the two back-up diesel pumps started. As the other two workers assist Sharma, the two sweepers measure the depth of water inside the drainage tank.

It is 12.30 pm. PMC Commissioner Amit Kumar Pandey and Additional Municipal Commissioner Sheela Irani have arrived on a random inspection at the sump house. Pandey asks an operator about the trucks used to move garbage out of the water-logged areas. "In the field, sir," responds the worker. Agitated, the PMC commissioner says, "Do I look like a fool to you? I have been sweating it out in the field and I didn't see a single truck. Do you want to explain to commissioner saab (Urban Development Commissioner Chaitanya Prasad, who is part of the inspection team and is some metres away from the others)? Be prepared to be suspended." The workers stand, heads bowed.

The PMC Commissioner is also upset that the dozen-odd additional workers that the PMC has pressed into service aren't present at the sump house. "On salary day, every one turns up. Once they get their salaries, you don't get to see them," he says angrily. All this while, Sharma keeps himself busy, filling small jars with diesel for the stand-by pump, at a safe distance from the senior officers. The officers soon leave and Sharma heaves a sigh of relief.

It is now 2 pm and Sharma's shift has come to an end. As he packs up, he says, "I have spent close to a decade watching this murky water. Hamari to kat gayi. Naye bachchon ke liye sarkar ko kuchh karna chahiye (My time is over. Hope the government does something for the younger workers)."

TAKE 5

FACES ON THE FRINGES OF NEWS

SATNAM SINGH,
SARPANCH, MOUJAM
VILLAGE, PUNJAB

'We just look up at sky when free or lying in open'

On Oct 3, Singh was one of the sarpanchs of the state's border Fazilka district "sensitised" by the BSF on "how to identify a drone". The BSF has sounded an alert over Pakistan sending drones carrying weapons



"Thought drones just took pictures, videos." Gurmeet Singh

1 What was the BSF briefing about?
It was a quarterly meeting of the BSF with farmers in which issues related to paddy harvesting had to be discussed. But we were first given a presentation on how to spot drones in the sky. A projector was used to show pictures.

2 Was the briefing useful?
I have seen drones at weddings and political rallies and thought these were used only for taking high-quality pictures or to make videos. We were told these were being used by Pakistan to drop ammunition and even drugs. In Amritsar area, over 80 kg of weapons were dropped by Pakistani drones. Hence we need to stay alert.

3 Has the village been alerted too?
After the BSF meeting, I got an announcement made at the gurdwara. We told people that at night a drone would appear like a sharp light and make a buzzing sound like a honey bee.

4 Are you taking any special precautions?
Not really. We just look up at the sky regularly whenever we are free or lying in the open. I heard that drones were spotted in the Hussainiwalla sector in Ferozepur as well and the Ferozepur Deputy Commissioner banned their use at any function. A few days back, a light was seen in a border village of Fazilka too. The BSF was informed but nothing was recovered... We were told that someone from our side may also be a part of the drone plan, so we keep a check on strangers... If we all participate, Pakistan will fail.

5 How many Moujam villagers have farms across border fence?
Harvesting is about to start, so men from 70-80 houses go across the fence daily. Because of security checks, we can bring back only one trolley of yield at a time and hence it takes a long time.

RAAKHI JAGGA

'My day would start at the gate of the police station, we left around 10 pm... It was heartbreak every time'

Families of two 16-year-olds detained under the draconian PSA in Kashmir recount the 'traumatic' fight to track them and to bring them back home

ADILAKHZER

THE DAY after his release from detention under the draconian Public Safety Act (PSA), the 16-year-old from a village in North Kashmir's Baramulla district took the family's sheep and goats out for grazing.

"Both his parents, and that of another boy in South Kashmir's Anantnag district, who was similarly booked under the PSA, was proved to be a minor and is now out, say it is the uncertainty of the days they ran about trying to find where their children were that haunts them.

So far, the PSA has been revoked against three minors in Kashmir after their families approached the high court. In a fourth case, the court has ordered an inquiry. Only those 18 and above can be detained under the PSA.

While the PSA stands revoked against the three, they are still booked under FIRs on the basis of which the Act had been imposed.

Standing in his apple orchard in Anantnag, the father of the second boy talks about making rounds of the police station and the deputy superintendent of police's office in Anantnag.

In early August, he says, police called the 16-year-old — one of his four children — to the local station and took away his mobile phone, after questioning him about a classmate who is believed to have joined militant ranks. On August 3, the teenager was summoned again. When the calls kept coming, including to his family members, the father says, he went and handed over his son. "The officer there promised that in two days my son would be back."

When the teenager did not return, says an uncle, they went to meet the police officer. "He told us, they meet the Station House Officer." The father says the SHO told them to meet the DySP. "For three days, it was the same story. I kept shuttling between the offices of the DySP and SHO. My day would start in the morning at the gate of the police station and we used to leave around 10 pm. We went thrice a day."

On August 8, the uncle adds, they were informed that the 16-year-old had been shifted to the Joint Interrogation Centre (JIC), Anantnag. The JIC is run by security forces for the questioning of detained militants. "When I came home and broke the news, everyone



Amidst continuing lockdown, PSA has had to be revoked against 3 minors

started crying as they knew what a prison life that meant for a young boy," says the uncle.

Next morning, fearing the worst, the family went to the JIC. "We were told he had been shifted to Central Jail, Srinagar. Without wasting time, we headed there. There we were told he had been shifted outside the state."

Later, they came to know that the same day as they were told that the teenager had been moved to the JIC, the District Magistrate,

Anantnag, cleared his detention under the PSA. The next day, August 9, he was airlifted to District Jail, Bareilly, in Uttar Pradesh, over 1,000 km away.

The dossier prepared by Anantnag SSP Altaf Khan, and submitted to the District Magistrate, seeking detention under the PSA, said, "(the) subject was born and brought up in his native village and is 22 years old. The subject has developed extremist ideology... and supports unlawful activities of the said militant outfit [JeM]." It also showed two FIRs against him, in 2016 and 2018.

The boy's uncle claims it was the first time they were hearing of any case against him.

The father says after coming to know the teenager was in Bareilly, they began a fresh round of visits, knocking on every door. "But they avoided me, giving false promises. It was heartbreak every time," he says.

He considered contacting an IAS officer based in Jharkhand, to whom he used to sell shawls a long time ago. "I decided to go and meet my son at Bareilly and then travel to Jharkhand. But people whose relatives were in jails outside the state told me even family members are not allowed to meet them."

Finally the family approached the High Court, producing certificates of the teenager's date of birth showing him to be a minor.

A senior police officer says they held the teenager as he was "a known miscreant and

overground worker".

The father of the Baramulla-based teenager, who is in his 40s and uneducated like the rest of his family, knows little about courts. It was left to an uncle, a labourer, to fight the case.

Held on August 22 night, the 16-year-old was booked by the Baramulla District Magistrate under the PSA on August 28 and was lodged in a local police station for several days before being taken to Srinagar Central Jail.

The dossier prepared by the Sopore police mentioned the boy's age as 21, and said, "You are (a) highly motivated stone peltor of Sopore area. You are motivating gullible youth of the area Sopore and other adjoining areas for creating law and order problems." Police also cited one FIR related to law and order against him.

Denying police claim that the boy was part of a group that had set a vehicle on fire in the area in August, the uncle says, "The whole village can vouch for his innocence. When that vehicle was burnt, the 16-year-old was at a nearby village."

After the boy was held, the uncle says, "Every day we would leave for Srinagar in the morning. In the absence of public transport (following the abrogation of Article 370), it was an ordeal. We spent up to Rs 1,000 just reaching Srinagar," he says.

The village elders also pleaded with the local police officer on the teenager's behalf, telling him a jail term "would ruin the boy's life". "The officer promised to set him free but instead he was shifted to Central Jail," says the uncle.

On September 20, the family filed a habeas corpus petition in the high court, and produced a certificate issued by the village's Government Primary School, where the teenager studied earlier, showing his date of birth as February 2, 2003.

On September 30, the authorities told the court they had revoked the PSA.

Sopore SSP Javed Iqbal says the teenager was a known stone-peltor and that an Aadhaar card seized from him showed his age as above 20.

His eyes welling up, the father of the Anantnag teenager says they are hoping that the Class 12 student, whose life "revolved around studies", can put the incident behind him. Set for huge losses, as he couldn't look after his orchards as he was making court rounds during the harvest season, he adds, "This was a boy who would change his clothes three times a day. In jail he had to wash and use the same set of clothes he was wearing when we handed over him to police for seven weeks... He has lost weight and has nightmares. I just want him to forget his detention as a bad phase."



inside
TRACK
COOMI KAPOOR

DISCIPLINE PANEL?

SPEAKING OUT of turn in the Congress has become the norm and party discipline appears ready to implode. Among those candidly airing their views or acting against the party's interests are seasoned hands such as Salman Khurshid, Shashi Tharoor, Jairam Ramesh, Ashok Tanwar, Sanjay Nirupam, Bhupinder Hooda, Milind Deora, Navjot Singh Sidhu, Digvijaya Singh, Jyotiraditya Scindia and Umang Singhar. In most cases, those defying party discipline get away unscathed. The question is what exactly is the role of the Congress Disciplinary Committee. The average age of the committee, chaired by A K Antony is 82. The three-member panel consists of Antony, 78, Motilal Vora, 90, and Sushil Kumar Shinde, 78. According to party insiders, the commit-

tee sometimes meets, but normally Antony defers any controversial issue for discussion to another session. The last time the Disciplinary Committee took any meaningful action was the revocation of the suspension against Mani Shankar Aiyar over a year ago.

RENEWING OLD LINKS

The picturesque ancient port and temple town of Mahabalipuram turned out to be an ideal setting for the informal summit between Chinese President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, even though it was not the original venue proposed for the meeting. Discussions on the place where the two heads of government could hold the summit have been on for over six months. The initial suggestion was Varanasi, Modi's constituency. Varanasi fitted the bill since like Wuhan in China, the venue of last year's summit between the two leaders, it offered both history and a secluded environment. The Chinese vetoed Varanasi on the ground that the plane carrying Xi and his entourage would be too large for the small Varanasi airport. The fact that Japanese PM Shinzo Abe had already visited

Varanasi might have been an additional negative factor. Goa was ruled out because Xi had seen the coastal resort at the BRICS Summit in 2016. Finally the consensus was on Mahabalipuram with its rich archeological heritage and ancient trade links with China and association with Chinese Buddhist monk Hiuen Tsang, even though Tamil Nadu is not a BJP-ruled state.

SWAMY VS DHAVAN

The Chief Justices' court is so overcrowded during the Ram Janmabhoomi hearings that some 30 lawyers have per force to stand. Senior counsel Rajeev Dhavan, who represents the Sunni Waqf Board, usually has the last word during arguments. (When opposition lawyers pointed out that there was no reference to the Babri Masjid in travellers' account before Aurangzeb's time, he retorted that Marco Polo had forgotten to mention the Great Wall while writing about China.) But Dhavan has met his match in Subramanian Swamy. Annoyed at discovering Swamy sitting composedly in the front row of the court, Dhavan demanded the judges make the MP get up since he did not represent

any of the original appellants and was not even a lawyer. Dhavan protested indignantly that when he went to Parliament, he was sent to the visitors' gallery. (Swamy succeeded in getting his writ petition admitted and clubbed with the original cases, unlike other latecomers, since he put a petition before a separate Bench claiming that his argument was based on the different plea of fundamental rights.) Chief Justice Ranjan Gogoi's advice to Dhavan was that he should stand for Parliament if he wanted to sit in the Rajya Sabha.

OUT, BUT IN

The news that Shakti Sinha was stepping down as Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library came from the former IAS officer himself, who tweeted that his term was over. The NMML is presently being handled by a joint secretary in the Culture Ministry. Many speculated on why Sinha had fallen out of favour. In fact, Sinha is likely to return as director since the selection authority, the NMML Executive Council headed by Lokesh Chandra, has forwarded his name. The delay is simply because the Cabinet Committee on Appointments

has yet to ratify the choice. A normal bureaucratic delay.

POLITICAL WISDOM

A political observer points out that family-controlled political parties which have not followed the law of primogeniture as laid down in Hindu epics have come to grief. He cites two examples. Recently, there was mayhem in Lalu Prasad's family. Daughter-in-law Aishwarya Rai stormed out of her in-law's house in tears, claiming she was ill-treated, not allowed to cook in the kitchen and that her smartphone had been snatched from her. Aishwarya blamed her sister-in-law Misa Bharti and mother-in-law Rabri Devi and exonerated her estranged husband Tej Pratap and her brother-in-law Tejashwi. Misa, who is the eldest of Lalu's children, grew up advising her father on political issues. She was furious when Lalu appointed Tejashwi as his political heir. She reportedly encouraged Tej Pratap the elder brother to revolt.

In the INLD, Om Prakash Chautala picked his younger son Abhay as his political heir, rather than his elder offspring Ajay. The result: Ajay's two sons Dushyant and Digvijay split the INLD.



Fifth
COLUMN
TAVLEEN SINGH

Twitter @tavleen_singh

What lynching means

ONCE UPON a time, not so very long ago, when the RSS chief addressed his troops on the auspicious occasion of Vijayadashmi, people like me paid no attention. This is no longer possible. The RSS is now seen as a vital player in the decisions made by the Government of India. So I have learned to pay attention to what the RSS chief says. When Mohan Bhagwat held a huge press conference in Vigyan Bhawan last year, I made it a point to be there and listened carefully as he articulated his worldview. It cheered me up enormously when he announced that the thoughts of Guru Golwalkar were no longer considered sacrosanct and that the RSS did not believe any more in a Hitlerian final solution to our 'Muslim problem'.

So it came as a disappointment to hear his views on lynchings last week. He said the word did not exist in any Indian language and that it was being used to malign India's fair image by people with a vested interest in making India look bad. The word probably does not exist, which is why when Hindi newspapers write about the newest victim of mob violence, they use the word in English. But, can we at least begin by admitting that ever since a former member of the RSS became prime minister, a certain kind of mob violence in the name of saving cows has become a routine feature of Indian life?

The RSS chief is not alone in believing that these 'so-called lynchings' are actually just routine breakdowns in law and order. After listening to his speech, I tweeted, 'Call it lynching, call it murder, these incidents shame India. There is no 'conspiracy' by the West to defame India Mr Bhagwat. It is savagery by violent mobs against helpless victims that defames India'. As usual, I was inundated with angry responses. The efficient, wrathful and vigilant army of BJP trolls went nuclear. They attacked me for not being a good enough Indian and for only noticing incidents when the victims were Muslims. They said they had noticed that I was unconcerned about Hindus being killed in similar fashion. And, some posted pictures of the bloodied bodies of an RSS family that had just been murdered by a Muslim mob. In my view that is just murder.

The truth is, I have not so far come across a video of a Hindu being forced to yell 'Allah o Akbar' while being beaten to death. I have seen many, many horrific videos of Muslims killing Hindus, and they are very upsetting. But, a lynching has a specific context. It does not mean a riot, it does not mean any old act of public violence, it means a public hanging or stoning to death by a mob. It means punishing someone in such a manner that others will see it as a warning and a lesson. When two Dalit children were beaten to death for defecating in the open last month, it was plain and simple murder, not a lynching. And, yet many reporters used the word 'lynching' to describe what happened. This is probably why the RSS chief is confused.

All acts of public violence indicate a breakdown in law and order, but not all acts of public violence mean a breakdown in the rule of law. That happens only when punishment is delivered for some imagined crime by a mob made up of people who believe they have the right to judge and punish someone because they are so certain of his guilt. In Behror, when I went to the place where Pehlu Khan was beaten to death, I asked people what they thought about what they had done. They said he deserved what he got and it was only when this kind of public killing came as punishment would Muslims stop smuggling cattle. When I asked about due process, they said that they did not believe in it. They were telling the truth. Pehlu Khan's family has been attacked and shot at when they have tried coming to the Behror courthouse for a hearing. It is such things Mr Bhagwat that have truly defamed our dear Bharat Mata.

If after Mohammad Akhlaq was dragged out of his house and beaten to death in the village of Bishada in Dadri district, there had been firm words of disapproval expressed by the leader of the RSS, there might have been no more. Since these words of disapproval never came, the vigilantes who have made it their cause to kill Muslims who they think might be smuggling cows or eating beef have not hesitated to admit proudly why they are doing the things they do. In some excellent investigative journalism by India Today reporters, vigilantes were filmed admitting on (hidden?) camera that the reason why they beat their victims so badly was not to kill them but to disable them for life. Victims who survive a lynching suffer from all sorts of injuries even when they live to tell the tale.

So Mr Bhagwat, your belief that this talk of lynchings is just an attempt to defame India is wrong. It is true that India's image in the world has suffered in recent years, but it is not because of some sinister plot but because too many people have seen too many times on uploaded videos the terrified eyes of men who know they are about to be beaten to death. Speak up against this kind of violence Mr Bhagwat, and not just the image of India but the image of the RSS will improve. And, next time you want to understand what a lynching is, remember that it is always something that happens in public to create terror and to revive the most primitive kind of imagined justice.

The new functionally non-literates

my life
& WORK
ALAKA BASU

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I DO NOT know if the widely publicised photograph of Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan reading a book by William Dalrymple on the plane back from the United Nations General Assembly is real or staged. But it got me thinking of our changing occupations in the air.

For various reasons, I have been taking many domestic flights lately. On each flight, I find myself conducting a secret poll. I walk up and down the aisle a couple of times, ostensibly to stretch my limbs, but actually to see what my co-passengers are up to. Somewhat disappointingly, no one is up to any hanky panky; indeed no one is up to anything at all, suspicious or innocent.

Largely male, largely in their thirties and forties, apparently comfortably off enough to be flying India's coolest airline, almost none of my co-passengers seems to want to use their literacy and education to read something during these two or three wonderfully free hours. The rare book I spot is in the hands of a woman of a certain age. In the business class section, which I also dare to walk in while doing my research, a few men frown at numbers in the business papers. I suppose reading to increase one's stock returns is making very good use of one's literacy and education. A few of my compatriots in Economy flip through the pages of the airline magazine in the manner of toddlers flipping through picture books.

As for the rest, a few are asleep, a few are staring into space, and the rest have their smartphones on. The only visible text on these phones seems to consist of 140-character sentences. Otherwise, it is invariably some movie that is straining these passengers' eyes.

One could call these non-readers functionally illiterate even if it is true that they do not fit that part of UNESCO's definition of functional illiteracy which refers to the inability to conduct the business of everyday life — balancing bank accounts, paying bills, deciphering medical instructions. It is clear that these passengers are not in the least bit handicapped on such transactional matters. However, functional literacy also includes the ability to use reading and writing capability to acquire political, social, ethical and cultural skills and understanding, to learn the value of scepticism, of self-criticism, and to know and appreciate other ways of living and doing things, instead of fearing or despising the 'other', whether across one's country or caste or gender.

If not from reading, where are any non-profitable attributes of functional literacy coming from in this new successful middle class? Judging from the overheard conversations, the fashion statements (blue jeans paired with red thread around the wrists), the American syntax, the un-

alloyed pride in one's national past and present, one is tempted to conclude that reading as a source of knowledge, opinions and values has been taken over by movies and television shows, religious and political leadership (often one can hardly tell the two apart), and WhatsApp forwards.

If this is true, then one must beg the mass media to take more seriously their mission to engage the modern, well-off, non-reader; to try harder to provoke self-reflection, grapple with what differentiates common decency from cruelty, and develop an anthropological empathy for other people and other places, even those we believe to be our sworn enemies. The media do not have to become heavy-handed and dull, and thus bankrupt, to do this — all one asks for is regular spoonfuls of something other than self-regarding and boundary-creating news and entertainment. If they can also slide in a few fun-filled minutes of book discussions, or discussions on thorny philosophical problems, or art appreciation, maybe there will even be a rise in the sales of books and in the use of lending libraries, so that our frequent flier travels with something more than an iPhone in hand.

Book publishers and sellers are trying to do their bit to entice readers. The best-seller shelves at airports are chockablock with sexy covers and titles in the fiction section, cheerful covers and titles in the self-help section, and pious covers and titles in the culture and religion section. And yet the traveller-in-a-hurry largely ignores these attractions, zeroing in instead on the kettle-cooked chips and the throat savers.

It could be of course that my airline passengers are a biased sample, that train travellers still pass some of their time with heads dug in a book. And, maybe, in air travel that does not begin or end in the nation's capital, there still exists a gentler and yet more critical view of life that is influenced by the written word. But these travellers on our premium airline are today's movers and shakers; if they don't let books move them, what will they shake our world into?

But then, each time, as soon as my plane touches ground, cellphones are whipped out, drivers summoned, meetings arranged, stock prices checked, hair patted, nationalist vigour displayed and smiles exchanged. And each time, I am again plagued by self-doubt, worried if in fact the non-readers have a much better grip than me on what constitutes the life worth living. This is what books do to you — destroy your sense of well-being. My belief that all is well, that our broken world can be mended, is in any case currently very fraught, thanks to the last two books that I read on a flight — *A Meal in Winter* by Hubert Mingarelli and Davide Enia's *Notes on a Shipwreck*. Both come upon by chance, both full of sentences to be reread, both slim easy reads, and both with a foreboding of sadness that is difficult to shake off.

The writer is Professor, Department of Development Sociology, Cornell University

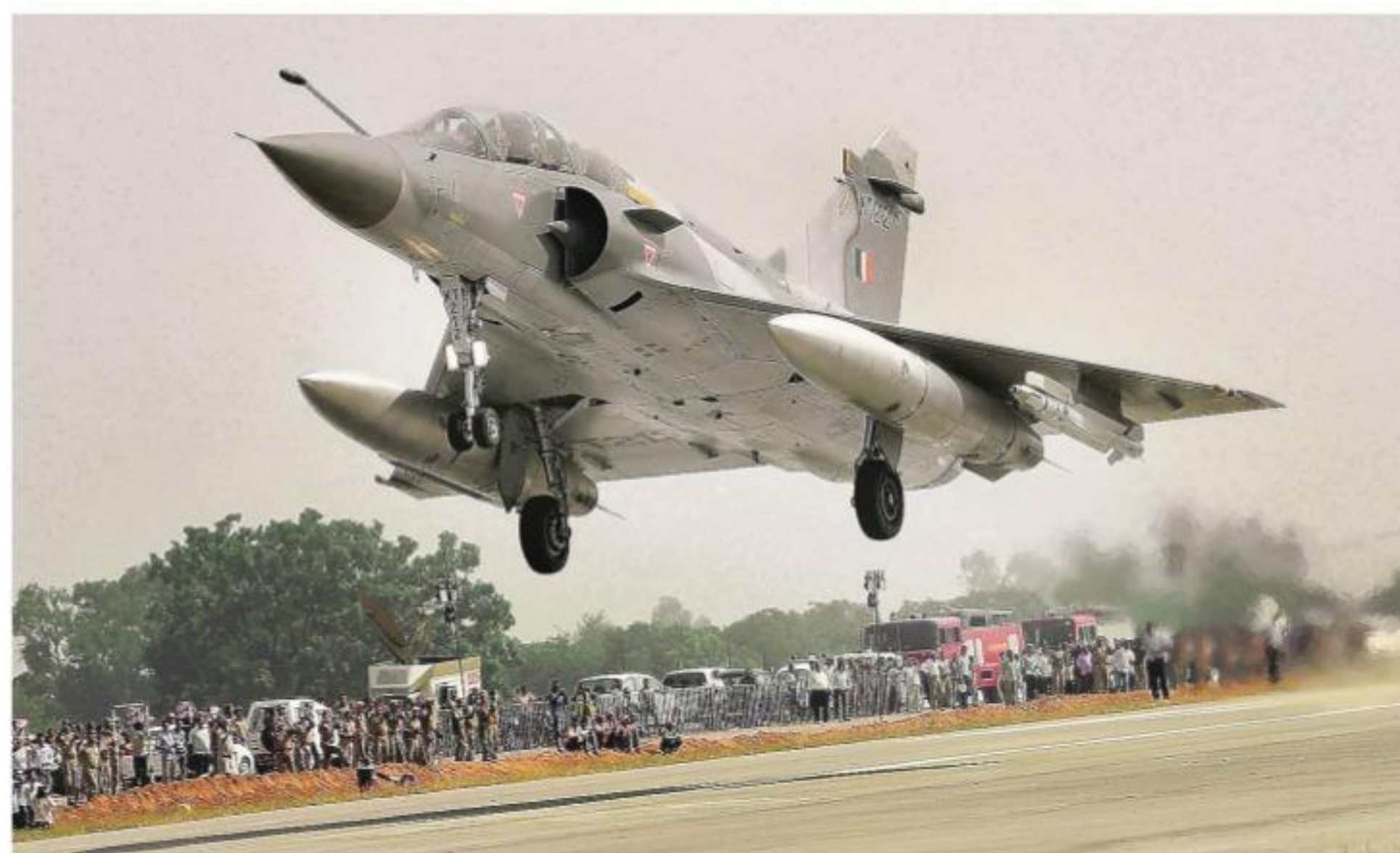
history
HEADLINE

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Mirage-2000 to Rafale, the story in between



The first Mirage-2000 squadron was flown to Gwalior from France in June 1985. Express

IN NOVEMBER 1980, a few of us were assembled under the leadership of then Air Commodore Prithi Singh, an experienced test pilot, and given some papers to study. These were about the Mirage-2000. We were to evaluate the aircraft in France as a possible counter to Pakistan's F-16. At the time, we did not have any aircraft that

The MIG-29 is superb in its air superiority role but it does not have the same quality and versatility as that of the Mirage-2000. At the end of the day, the IAF bears the responsibility and the bureaucracy exercises the power to say yes or no...

We were pulled out from various places. I was then commanding a squadron and was chosen to be the team's second test pilot. There were five engineers led by Group Captain I G Krishna. It was the first fly-by-wire combat aircraft, still in prototype stage, that the Indian Air Force would be exposed to. On December 8, 1980, Air Commodore Singh took the first flight and I flew the fifth Mirage-2000 prototype the next day. We flew a few more sorties, thereafter, covering supersonic speeds to very low-level flight over the sea. It was a remarkable aircraft as was the experience. The aircraft employed technology and concepts outclassing any other that we had experienced and brought a totally new dimension to prosecuting air war.

Last week, as Defence Minister Rajnath Singh took a sortie in a Rafale fighter aircraft after an official handover ceremony of the first jet acquired by the Indian Air Force, my mind went back to

another aircraft from the Dassault stable, the Mirage-2000.

The first Mirage-2000 squadron was flown to Gwalior from France in June 1985 — of the 40 Mirage-2000s acquired by the IAF, 26 with the M53-5 engine were flown down. These engines were subsequently replaced by the more powerful P2. The RDM Radar that the aircraft had needed to undergo many improvements and software changes. The two squadrons flew a lot and became operational in record time. The aircraft proved highly reliable and the support from the French manufacturer was excellent.

Since induction, the capability of the fleet was continually improved. We managed to integrate excellent sensors, weapons and upgrade the avionics.

Two years later, in 1987, I was at the Air Headquarters as the head of Air Staff Requirement where one of my missions was to follow up on the Mirage-2000 fleet, and to focus on the development of LCA (Light Combat Aircraft) which was evolving with support from the designers of the Mirage-2000. Very soon, all hell broke loose. Many criticisms started appearing in news media. *The Sunday Mail* came out with an article on October 18, 1987, with the headline, 'How the French Duped India'. It was nasty and incorrect.

The two Mirage squadrons were working continually towards improving their mission capability. They got operational on mid-air refuelling during day

and night. They proved their worth in dramatic ways during the Kargil conflict and recently at the Balakot strike. With a very limited fleet of some 50 aircraft, they kept their lead, evolving tactics and strategy to combat enemy in the air as well to strike strategic targets.

Mirage-2000 systems and avionics became the examples to evolve those of LCA and for upgrading other fleets. TACDE (Tactics and Air Combat Development Establishment), the premier institution for evolving aerial warfare tactics, started working closely with the Mirage-2000 squadrons. The contribution of the Mirage-2000 to the IAF is enormous and it proved those who branded the aircraft as mere air show pieces as liars and venomous.

When we acquired the Mirage-2000 in 1982, there was an option to build 150 of these under license. The option was never exercised. It is a pity that in 2019, we target the LCA Mk-2 to have at least the same capability as that of the Mirage-2000. We could well have produced these at HAL under license.

In the '90s, we acquired second hand MIG-21 Trainers to overcome shortage and we now plan to buy second hand MIG-29s. The MIG-29 is superb in its air superiority role but it does not have the same quality and versatility as that of the Mirage-2000. At the end of the day, the Air Force bears the responsibility and the bureaucracy exercises the power to say yes or no, while the government takes a distant stand.

It is time we get over our hang-ups and get more professional in what we do. The noise of politicising over every military acquisition is now deafening.

The writer is former Chief of Air Staff

Out of
MY MIND
MEGHNA DESAI

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Hail Macaulay for our outdated laws

A GROUP of eminent Indians had written an open letter to the Prime Minister pointing out the problem of vigilante attacks. Such attacks have been occurring for a while now and the main victims are Muslims. The attacks occur mainly in the Hindi belt.

The authors were not revealing a dark secret or a vital aspect of India's defences. Even so, a citizen filed an FIR with the police, and a local magistrate in Bihar then filed a case for sedition under the Indian Penal Code. The case has now been closed. The astonishing thing is that the per-

son filing the FIR was not a military or a civil servant. The evidence advanced for the sedition charged was that the letter is likely to bring India into disrepute. What evidence could there possibly be for this belief? Why should a section or two of the IPC frustrate the Freedom of Expression guaranteed as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution?

To understand this, you have to go back into the past when the British ruled India. They introduced the law, lawyers and law courts which Indians love so much that 33 crore cases are outstanding, waiting to be decided. As British rule spread across India, the British needed some laws. Warren Hastings had hoped

to rule using existing Hindu and Muslim legal texts but soon that friendly approach was abandoned. English laws were to be used to keep Indians in order. The British rulers never understood their subjects — the mob as they called it. They needed someone to fashion tools for keeping Indians in order.

The one person who met the challenge was Thomas Babington Macaulay. In the five years he had on the Governor General's Council, he changed the face of India forever. Forget his Minute on Education. That only trained generations of Indians in English and the treasures of Western science and history. But he gave us a jewel which every government in

India values as the best gift of two centuries of English rule. This is the IPC (Indian Penal Code). He boasted that he was going to prepare the best short summary of the English penal system. He succeeded beyond his wildest dreams.

The Independence movement knew the IPC well. They suffered day in and day out from it. It was repressive. But when they came to power, they did nothing to remove the IPC or even amend its worst features. When they had the chance, they retained not just the IPC but the entire collection of laws of repression installed by the British. The rulers may have changed colour but their suspicion of the mob had not gone.

The British have reformed their laws and their penal system. But India loves Macaulay (and British Rule) so much that it cannot abandon or reform a rusty 19th-century law. The mob has to be ruled with an iron rod. Now even a group of writers and creative artists have been denounced as a mob would be. The irony is that filing of the FIR has already done the damage to India's reputation.

After a long agitation Section 377 was removed. More needs removing.

It is fashionable lately to denounce Macaulay's putras. If sincere, remove the most pernicious legacy of Macaulay. Have the courage to remove or at least reform the IPC.

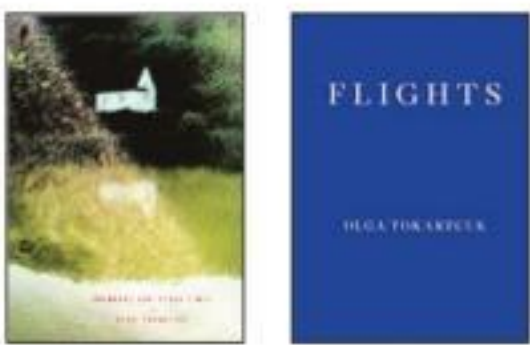
EXPRESS EDITORS
RECOMMEND

Photos: Wikimedia Commons



Tokarczuk (left); Handke

IN AN op-ed piece that appeared in *The New York Times* in January this year, Olga Tokarczuk, the 57-year-old Polish recipient of the 2018 Nobel Prize for Literature, declared on October 10, wrote, "The news in Poland today feels like a new kind of monster, a Frankenstein's monster that has gotten out of control online and mutated into hate speech that can then be found everywhere else. Open your email, and you'll see: 'You're a piece of trash, and you will die.' 'We know where you live.' 'We're going to cut off that stupid head.' The internet hums with violence. The body reacts to verbal aggression with reflexes. It curls up into a little ball and starts to sweat, adrenaline pumping. If this happens to many people at once, then we are in a mental war, where instead of bullets, words are fired. I believe absolutely that words must be treated as material weapons, every invective or threat as violence and aggression." Tokarczuk's fiction stands up to this aggressive posturing by weaving Poland's multi-ethnic history into her narratives.



A good example of this is her sixth novel, *Flights*, that won Tokarczuk the Man Booker Prize last year. In her own words, *Flights* is a "constellation novel", at whose core is the idea of constant flux. Tokarczuk experiments with form here more extensively than ever before, mixing history with memoir, essays with vignettes, to a fine end. Her breakaway work, however, is her third novel, *Primeval and Other Times* (1996), in which she chronicles the lives of the inhabitants of an imaginary village in Poland for over eight decades — from World War I to the 1980s. It established the writer as one of the most important and representative literary voices of her generation.



Earlier this month, Anders Olsson, the chair of the Swedish Academy's Literature Committee had said that diversity would be of great importance in their selection of winners. At the other end of the spectrum from Tokarczuk is 2019's winner, Peter Handke. The 76-year-old Austrian novelist, playwright and translator has often been criticised for his defence of the far-right Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević, who was indicted for war crimes during the Kosovo war (1998-99). At Milošević's funeral in 2006 — he had died before a ruling was announced — Handke had thrown his weight firmly behind the Serb. "I don't know the truth. But I look. I listen. I feel. I remember. This is why I am here today, close to Yugoslavia, close to Serbia, close to Slobodan Milošević," he had said, announcing that anyone in the leader's position "would have acted in the same way". A statement by PEN America after the announcement of the Nobel Prize for Literature decried Handke's win: "We are dumbfounded by the selection of a writer who has used his public voice to undercut historical truth and offer public succour to perpetrators of genocide". While Handke called his win a "surprise", the Swedish Academy said in a statement that his Nobel win was a recognition of "an influential work that with linguistic ingenuity has explored the periphery and the specificity of human experience". One of Handke's most innovative works is his 1972 novel, *Short Letter, Long Farewell*, about a nameless German protagonist who arrives in America to get over the dissolution of his marriage. Mixing travelogue with domestic drama, comedy with suspense, the novel ends with a *filmi* twist. But his most popular work remains *The Left-Handed Woman* (1976), the story of how a woman reshapes her life after parting with her husband. A year later, he had also directed a film by the same title.

Star-Crossed Alliance

An authoritative and insightful book on Pakistan and its place in an ever-changing world

RANABANERJI

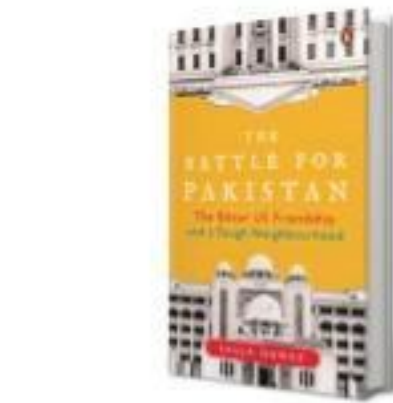
FOLLOWING UP on his magnum opus, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army and the Wars Within*, Shuja Nawaz attempts to "salvage" the "mis-alliance" of the troubled US-Pakistan relationship. Starting from "the sorry end" of General Musharraf's military rule, he finds Pakistan's internal battles, between civilians and the military, and against militancy and terror, overshadowed by failing ties with the US. Despite well-meaning attempts to create a new partnership, deep distrust of each other's hidden aims and lack of clarity on long-term goals bedevilled ties. The US chose to deal with the powerful Pakistani military as its preferred interlocutor, despite the emergence of a fledgling democracy in Pakistan.

"A most horrible year", 2011 witnessed the cataclysmic Raymond Davis affair, drone wars, the outing of two CIA chiefs of station by Pakistani intelligence and the attack eliminating Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad. Interviewed by the author in February 2016, former army chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani denied there was any 'walk-in' to the US embassy. Yet, Nawaz notes that Lt Colonel Eqbal Saeed Khan of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), earlier of Military Intelligence, suddenly left Pakistan around this time, days before his child's high school exams, with his second wife recovering from a medical procedure. He now lives in San Diego, California.

Chapter 5, on 'Internal battles' touches on the mysterious murder of intrepid journalist Saleem Shahzad and the controversial build up to the Memogate scandal, with the military giving an ultimatum to President Asif K Zardari to sack Hussain Haqqani as US ambassador. The Salala incident of November 2011, which left 24 Pakistani soldiers dead and another 13 injured in "attacks by American forces", represented "the failure of the partnership in a most glaring manner". It "provoked anger on the Pakistani side" and "seemingly reluctant attempts to express regret but not apologise", from the Americans.

Persisting civil-military disconnects are discussed in Chapter 7. Dealing with the *Dawn* leaks of October 2016, Nawaz confirms a spat between the Punjab CM and the director general, ISI, on lack of uniform action against militant groups. Nawaz admits, rather tongue in cheek, that civil servants remain loath to oppose the military even after retirement, fearing retribution. He praises Imran Khan's efforts to work with the military on strategic issues but admits that this may delay civilian supremacy in a democratic Pakistan!

Candid light is thrown on changes in the military leadership. General Kayani did not want Raheel Sharif to succeed him and kept him out of important war games. PM Nawaz Sharif chose Raheel deliberately, as he had the "name recognition" of his "martyr" elder brother, Shabbir, who was awarded the Nishan-e-Haider in 1971. When Raheel's term was ending, Sharif again went against the military consensus, choosing Qamar Javed Bajwa in preference to "the better-qualified and battle-tested" Lt General Ishfaq Nadeem Ahmed, who had served both as DGMO and chief of

Former Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif (far right), COAS Gen Raheel Sharif & Comd Strike Corps Lt Gen Ishfaq Nadeem at a military event *Express Archive*

THE BATTLE FOR PAKISTAN: THE BITTER US FRIENDSHIP AND A TOUGH NEIGHBOURHOOD
SHUJA NAWAZ
Vintage (Penguin)
374 pages ₹ 799

general staff. "To his credit", though, the PM ignored rumours about Bajwa's Ahmadi link. Significantly, Nawaz cites a former chief acknowledging that the screening of top promotions in the army was not sufficient insurance against growing radicalisation within its ranks.

Chapter 8, intriguingly sub-titled 'Leverage or Trap?', examines US military aid to Pakistan, the differences between the Pentagon and State Department, as also "the willing suspension of disbelief" after placing Pakistan under sanctions for nuclear fuel processing, despite Congressional criticism of Pakistan's duplicity. Shuja also dwells on the "Do More" paradigm of US "pressure tactics", which riled the top Pakistani Army leadership.

Chapter 10, 'Standing in the Right Corner', describes the core dilemma of the Pakistan military's evolving relationship with America. General Kayani presented several written papers to the Obama administration at the start of the US-Pak Strategic Dialogue in 2010 (Kayani 1.0 to Kayani 3.0) highlighting angst at Americans' lack of trust, and downplaying the ground reality of continuing help to the Taliban. To the Americans, Kayani did not admit wanting to completely expunge India's influence in

Afghanistan. He accused them of wanting to de-nuclearise Pakistan and maintain it in a state of controlled chaos. The Americans handed over a reply during secretary of state Hillary Clinton's visit to Pakistan in February 2011. According to Nawaz, it was not totally effective in meeting Pakistan's concerns.

Coping with militancy in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) produced massive changes in the Pakistani military. Younger officers received battle inoculation in counter-insurgency operations. Their perspective changed — in-bred terrorists were the "arch enemy", not India. The Azm-e-Nau exercises responded to India's Cold Start with accelerated forward deployments at battalion levels. Nawaz is on a firmer wicket examining these changes (Chapters 11 & 12), as he "continued to enjoy rare access in Pakistan, as someone belonging to an old military family and warrior clan of Janjua Rajputs." He attended internal meetings of commanders of the Frontier Corps in FATA like Maj General Tariq Khan (later I Corps Commander, Mangla) and in training commands like the School of Infantry and Tactics, Quetta.

In his concluding chapter, Nawaz outlines 'Choices' and a to-do list for the US to im-

prove ties with Pakistan. He suggests more direct US influence to help Pakistan manage aid, including military assistance. Providing more helicopters with troop lifting capacity to enhance Pakistan's defences could be tried, though Shuja admits that this may not "reduce Pakistan's paranoia about India's growing military might." He advises USA to "eschew the short-term fix and over-reliance on the military channel to solve problems."

The challenge for Pakistan, still "a fragile and dysfunctional polity, not recovered from lingering effects of extended military rule", would be to "balance carefully its quest for security against its need to develop economically and to ask itself if its investment in defence has effectively purchased its security." Nawaz cautions: "Pakistan's military doctrine, such as it is, is caught between the rock of India and the hard place of its internal threats and economic difficulties." It is not clear if there is a coherent and consensual view on how to proceed next. *The Battle For Pakistan* is an authoritative, well-researched and insightful book on Pakistan and its place in an ever-changing world.

Rana Banerji retired as Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat

One Hell of a Story

A collection of tales that dissects the inner life of Malayali society

AMRITH LAL

IN ONE of his recent stories, *Earthworm*, Unni R writes that someone once heard a wayfarer say, if you distill the tears of memory and write them down, a different Kerala of the past 60-70 years can be found. Unni could be called an archivist of the present and the past, constantly listening to and archiving even the tiniest murmurs of his neighbourhood to tell stories that disturb readers to no end.

Unni, who began writing in the 1990s, is not a prolific writer, but his stories, written in the spoken Malayalam of the Kottayam region, with a keen eye for local detail (most of the stories are set in his village, Kudamaloor) and great empathy for his characters, are chronicles that dissect the inner life of Malayali society. Caste, gender, religion, political ideology — the many fault lines that shape contemporary Kerala like any other part of India — are woven into the fabric of the stories with great care and subtlety. Like most writers of his generation, who came after the modernists, politics is the invisible weave and is mostly suggested through the use of irony and sarcasm. If there is one thread that runs through most of his stories,

it is the acute awareness about the violence that lurks in ordinary individuals who seem to be leading ordinary lives, which often spills out in the form of caste abuse, misogyny, sexual assault, police atrocities and so on. And, as his translator, J Devika, points out, the person most often on the docks is the Malayali macho masculine.

Take the much-acclaimed story, *Leela*. Kuttyappan, who has dedicated himself to a life of debauchery, wants to have sex with a girl while she is standing on the trunk of an elephant, holding on to its tusks. The story is a chronicle of Kuttyappan's hunt for the experience and told in a chillingly racy and exuberant tone. It unravels a world of masochism, perversity and violence that seems normal to the male gaze that pervades the narration. As Kuttyappan prepares to consummate his "mad whim", Unni introduces a twist in the story and the "unfathomable darkness" in what his friends see as Kuttyappan's *leela* (playfulness) is unveiled for what it is.

One Hell of a Lover, the lead story in the collection with the same title, too, is a sharp rebuke of the Malayali macho masculine's dangerous notions of the feminine and sexuality. It is a worldview wherein the most



Unni R has a keen eye for local detail and great empathy for his characters

Caste, gender, religion, political ideology — the many fault lines that shape contemporary Kerala like any other part of India — are woven into the fabric of his stories with great care and subtlety

sacred of images and concepts are over-tuned to feed an over-sexed, psychotic male world.

Calling to Prayer is the story of a bunch of young college-going girls, one of whom wishes to call the *azaan*. Raziya gets to fulfil her wish and with it a whole new world is born. Radha in *The Grievance* is a working-class woman, who refuses to play by the laws of men and seeks revenge on a

man who once harassed her. She tracks down the man, but ends up carrying him to hospital after a gang attacks him. She hopes to whack him once he recovers. When she learns that the man is dead, her companion, Sumathy, asks her if she felt sad. Radha is unable to say anything. It is an unforgiving, violent world that most of Unni's characters inhabit, but all of them rise to forgive their opponents. Like the characters in Vaikom Muhammad Basheer's fiction, Unni's characters, too, seem to be endowed with a great deal of *karuna*, which, perhaps, makes his stories distinct and the concerns he flags universal. This *karuna*, however, doesn't in any way inhibit Unni's characters, especially the women, from exercising their agency.

Stories such as *Badusha the Walker* and *Satanic Verses* are searing testimonies to the tragi-ridiculous times we live in. *Badusha* is an eccentric old man who is picked up by

cops when he goes for a walk on a moonlit night. Police torture him and when he has nothing to offer them, they suspect that he is someone "with a special training". The ordeal of the man continues, and we know why. *Kunhikkannu (Satanic Verses)* is taken into custody when he goes to the police to complain about a missing rooster (Bukharin). They ask how an unlettered Kunhikkannu is trading in books and jails him after finding a "prohibited book" in his collection. It is not anger that the *Badushas* in Unni's fiction feel for their oppressors, but a deep sadness at having to live in a world that has lost its humaneness and is besieged by the fear of an imagined Other. *Beyond the Canal, Beyond the Yard* is a tribute to SK Pottekkad, novelist and travel writer, and to the travelogue genre, in which a blind grandmother and her granddaughter live in travel stories.

One Hell of a Lover has 19 stories which are representative of Unni's short fiction. A great deal of its brilliance in the Malayalam original comes from the clever use of the provincial register, references to popular culture, play of language etc, and, of course, Unni's ability to situate the stories in contemporary social and political contexts. However, these qualities could become an impediment in translation. J Devika, the translator, has ensured that very little of Unni's originality is lost. And they all are great reads also because Unni is a storyteller par excellence: Like his illustrious predecessor from his neighbourhood, Karur Nilakantha Pillai, one of the peaks in Malayalam fiction, Unni has mastered the craft of telling a story well. A story that ought to have been in this collection is *Kalinatakam*, Unni's remarkable upturning of the narrative that mediates the Malayali's interaction with the world of Sree Narayana Guru. Without being disrespectful to Guru, Unni had tried to explore the gaps in Guru's life and his tortuous engagement with the feminine.

17 THE WORLD

TOP OF THE WORLD



During a protest in Hong Kong on Saturday. Reuters

HONG KONG

Protests draw thousands, down from earlier rallies

Hong Kong: Protesters are marching again in Hong Kong but in numbers that so far seem significantly reduced from rallies that drew many thousands as recently as last weekend. A march in Kowloon on Saturday afternoon drew a couple of thousand people who marched peacefully, chanting slogans and braving a ferocious downpour. Outside the police headquarters on Hong Kong Island, about 200 people, many of them retirees, also gathered peacefully, although some shouted abuse at officers who did not intervene.

USA

Senator: Pak must end support to terror groups

Washington: Pakistan must end support to terrorist groups, a top US Senator has said, a day after meeting Prime Minister Imran Khan and the army chief, discussing with them what more can be done to preempt terror attacks and prevent the spread of radicalism. Senator Maggie Hassan also called for finding ways to de-escalate the tension between India and Pakistan that spiked after New Delhi revoked the special status of Jammu and Kashmir in August. Hassan had met Pakistan PM Imran Khan, Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa and officials from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir on Thursday.

ECUADOR

Indigenous group rejects talks to end protests

Quito: The indigenous group leading mass protests in Ecuador on Friday rejected an offer of direct talks from President Lenin Moreno to end days of deadly protests against fuel price hikes. "The dialogue that he's seeking lacks credibility," the indigenous umbrella group CONAIE said in a statement, adding that it would negotiate with the government only when a decree to remove fuel subsidies has been "revealed." Moreno earlier Friday proposed the direct talks as the protests stretched into a 10th day.



TYPHOON HAGIBIS: TOKYO SHUTS DOWN

Strong wind caused extensive damage in Ichihara, Chiba, near Tokyo, on Saturday. A heavy downpour and strong winds pounded Tokyo and surrounding areas as Typhoon Hagibis, forecast to be Japan's worst in six decades, made landfall and passed over the capital, where streets, nearby beaches and train stations were long deserted. AP

Trump orders troops, arms to Saudi Arabia in message to Iran

ERIC SCHMITT & DAVID E SANGER
WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 12

THE UNITED STATES is sending about 3,000 additional troops to Saudi Arabia in the latest military response by the Trump administration after it accused Iran of attacks last month on Saudi oil facilities, the Pentagon said Friday.

The move came only five days after US President Donald Trump said that his desire to terminate America's "endless wars" led to his decision to pull back from the border area between Syria and Turkey about 50 troops who were working to create a "safe zone" between Turkish and Kurdish troops.

"The troops that we are sending into Saudi and the enhanced assets are defensive," said Brian Hook, the State Department's special representative for Iran. "They are there to defend our interests and to help Saudi defend itself."

At the Pentagon, Defence Secretary Mark Esper said he was dispatching two Air Force fighter squadrons, or about four dozen warplanes, as well as Patriot antimissile batteries and



Trump has been a close ally of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman. Reuters

other air and missile defences to the Persian Gulf kingdom.

"Saudi Arabia is a long-standing security partner in the Middle East and has asked for additional support to supplement their own defences," Esper told reporters at the Pentagon, noting that he had called Saudi officials Friday to notify them.

In the wake of the drone and missile strikes, which temporarily crippled about half of Saudi's oil production, Trump initially weighed taking direct military action against Iran. The attacks, which Secretary of State Mike Pompeo recently called "an act of

war," rattled global energy markets. For the past two weeks, however, there has been no discussion of taking direct US military action against Iran for the strikes, apart from some consideration of proportionate cyberattacks.

Last month, Trump opted for a modest deployment of a couple of hundred troops, along with Patriot air and missile defence systems. Friday's announcement builds on those forces, although the fighter jets essentially will replace warplanes now flying off the carrier *Abraham Lincoln*, which will leave the Gulf of Oman. NYT

4 killed, 3 injured in shooting at illegal gambling site in New York

ASSOCIATED PRESS
NEW YORK, OCTOBER 12

FOUR PEOPLE were killed and three others were wounded in an early Saturday shooting at an illegal gambling club in New York City, police said.

The six men and one woman were shot just before 7 am inside a building in the Crown Heights neighbourhood of Brooklyn.

Chief of Detectives Dermot Shea said four men were dead at the scene and the others were taken to hospitals with injuries that were not life-threatening.

The victims, who have not been identified, ranged in age from 32 to 49, Shea said at a briefing near the shooting.

Two may have lived out of state and the rest were from neighbourhoods throughout Brooklyn, Shea added. One additional person was injured fleeing. No arrests have been made, and police do not know the motive for the shootings, Shea said.

He said two guns were found at the scene.

Mayor Bill de Blasio said on Twitter that the city "awoke to senseless gun violence".

MEANWHILE

CALIFORNIA POWER OUTAGES EASE

The lights were back on Friday for many of the nearly 2 million Northern California residents who lost electricity when the state's largest utility switched it off this week in an effort to prevent wildfires, as the first death linked to the outages was reported — a man who relied on oxygen.

Turkish forces seize key Syria border town

Pentagon says US troops came under fire, Turkey denies

AGENCIES
CEYLANPINAR, ISTANBUL, OCTOBER 12

TURKEY'S MILITARY said it captured a key Syrian border town under heavy bombardment Saturday in its most significant gain, as its offensive against Kurdish fighters pressed into its fourth day with little sign of relenting despite mounting international criticism.

Turkish troops entered central Ras al-Ayn, according to Turkey's Defence Ministry and a war monitor group. The ministry tweeted: "Ras al-Ayn's residential centre has been taken under control through the successful operations in the east of Euphrates" river. It marked the biggest gain made by Turkey since the invasion began Wednesday.

The continued push by Turkey into Syria comes days after US President Donald Trump cleared the way for Turkey's air and ground offensive, pulling back US forces from the area and saying he wanted to stop getting involved with "endless wars". Trump's decision drew swift bipartisan criticism that he was endangering regional stability and risking the lives of Syrian Kurdish allies who brought down the Islamic State group in Syria. The Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces was the main US ally in the fight against IS and lost 11,000 fighters in the nearly five-year battle against the extremists.

Meanwhile, Turkey denied on Saturday targeting a US base in northern Syria after the Pentagon said its troops had come under artillery fire.

"There was no shot fired whatsoever on the US observation post," Defence Minister Hulusi Akar said in a statement to state news agency Anadolu. He said Turkey had returned fire on



Syrian rebels prepare ammunition near Tal Abyad, Syria. Reuters



TURKEY'S SYRIA OFFENSIVE

Friday after Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) shelled a Turkish border police station from hills located one kilometre away from the US observation post in Syria.

The Pentagon said an explosion occurred "within a few hundred meters" of a US position near the Syrian town of Kobani, and warned that the US was prepared to meet aggression with "immediate defensive action".

Akar said: "All necessary precautions were taken so as not to damage the US post." He said the Turkish forces had stopped firing "as a precaution" after the Americans contacted them.

"Anyway, the necessary co-ordinations are being conducted between our command centres and the Americans," Akar added.

GERMANY BANS EXPORTS OF ARMS TO TURKEY

Frankfurt: Germany banned arms exports to Turkey over its assault on Kurdish militias in Syria, a foreign ministry spokeswoman said on Saturday. The US and EU have already warned Turkey of possible sanctions over the offensive. "Against the backdrop of the Turkish military offensive... the Federal Government will not issue any new permits for all military equipment that could be used by Turkey in Syria," Foreign Minister Heiko Maas said.

PAK BACKS TURKEY

Islamabad: Pakistan has offered rare backing to Turkey in its offensive against Kurdish forces in Syria, with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan expected to visit Islamabad later this month. Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan called Erdogan on Friday to "convey Pakistan's support and solidarity," his office said.

Islamic State rears head, adding to chaos in Syria

CARLOTTA GALL & PATRICK KINGSLEY
CEYLANPINAR, OCTOBER 12

THE TURKISH invasion of Kurdish-held territory in northern Syria raised new fears of a resurgence of the Islamic State on Friday, as five militants escaped from a Kurdish-run prison and the extremist group claimed responsibility for a bomb that exploded in the regional capital.

As Turkish troops launched a third night of airstrikes and ground incursions, Kurdish fighters said they had thwarted a second attempt to break out of a detention camp for families of Islamic State members.

The moves compounded a mounting sense of turmoil in northeast Syria.

Turkey's campaign began after President Donald Trump suddenly ordered US troops to withdraw from the area, giving implicit approval to Turkey's long-anticipated attack on the Kurdish-led militia, which fought alongside US troops in the recent war against the Islamic State. Trump's decision was widely criticised, including by his Republican allies in the US, who said it was a betrayal of an ally — the Kurds — that could

EXPLAINED How Kurds' assault on IS eventually led to Turkish invasion

HAVING JOINED with US forces, the Kurdish militias led a successful campaign against the Islamic State. They were able to capture vast areas of north Syria that were previously held by the IS. This allowed the Syrian Kurds, who were subjugated under the Assad regime in Syria before the civil war, to create an autonomous region that was effectively independent of Syria. However, this led to fear from Turkey, which shares Syria's northern border; that militias it considers as terrorist groups were too close to its frontiers. This has led to the Turkish invasion of northern Syria.

cause a re-emergence of the IS.

Since pulling out, US officials have expressed growing concern at the direction the Turkish incursion has taken, with officials warning Friday that the US would respond forcefully if Islamic State fighters were allowed to escape from prisons in the area. Although US and Kurdish forces have defeated Islamic State militants in northeastern Syria, the group has sleeper cells in the region that could use the turmoil to retake the land they controlled in the early years of the Syrian civil war.

And the Kurdish militia has diverted soldiers to fight the in-

vasion and abandoned joint operations with US troops as it prioritises the defence of its land.

On Friday, a car bomb exploded on a residential street in Qamishi, the de facto capital of the Kurdish-held region — a rare act of IS terrorism in a city that was relatively free of trouble before the Turkish assault began. The Turkish bombardment also endangered the security of several Kurdish-run prisons for Islamic State militants, with at least three in the vicinity of continuing Turkish airstrikes. It is widely feared that in the chaos, Islamic State fighters will escape captivity, as the five did Friday. NYT

Xi's India visit dominates China's news cycles

SOWMIYA AASHOK
BEIJING, OCTOBER 12

INDIA DOMINATED headlines of the Chinese Communist Party's official newspaper, a video released by a Chinese state tabloid featured Indian people saying "I love China", and 360-degree panoramic views of Chennai's landmark sites were captured by a Chinese news agency.

Elsewhere, Buddhism, Bollywood and Aamir Khan featured in varying degrees, alongside pieces on Chennai-Fujian ties that date back to the Tang Dynasty. The Tamil film industry too got a mention.

As the second informal summit between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese President Xi Jinping took place on Friday and Saturday, the Chinese state media plastered front pages and online resources



Xi met Modi for the second informal summit between the two on Friday and Saturday. PTI

with content capturing Xi's time in Tamil Nadu.

"Xi given warm welcome in India," read *China Daily's* front-page headline, which noted that such a summit is "expected to enhance political trust between the world's two most populous countries." *People's Daily*, the CCP's official mouthpiece carried two photos on its front page of Modi

and Xi shaking hands, and of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister E K Palaniswami handing over a bouquet of pink flowers. "The president received a warm welcome on his arrival, with local people holding up photos of the two leaders and waving the countries' national flags along the roads," said a piece in *China Daily*.

Chinese state broadcasters offered the same level of detail as Indian news channels on describing Xi's route to Mahabalipuram from the airport. The choice of venue was also discussed in a state media report, which said: "Though the Indian authorities did not highlight why the meeting venue was selected, analysts have said that New Delhi wants to revive the stories of centuries-old trade and cultural links between China and India to boost bilateral ties amid some thorny issues in their relations as well as the changing

regional and global situation."

In a statement in the Xinhua news agency on Saturday morning, Xi was quoted as saying the "two countries' ancestors have overcome various obstacles to carry out extensive exchanges and promote the development of literature, art, philosophy and religion, which have greatly benefited both sides". Xi was also quoted as urging both countries to take the 70th anniversary of China-India diplomatic relations next year as an opportunity to conduct broader and deeper cultural and people-to-people exchanges.

Meanwhile, Modi was quoted as saying that the wisdom from the two countries' ancient and profound civilizations could provide inspiration for solving various challenges facing the world today.

FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com

REACTION TO OLGA TOKARCZUK'S WIN WAS AS DIVIDED AS THE COUNTRY ITSELF

For Poland, Nobel Prize is cause for conflict as much as congratulation

MARC SANTORA & JOANNA BERENDT
WARSAW, OCTOBER 12

WINNING A Nobel Prize in literature is usually a cause for celebration in the writer's home country, a point of pride and a justification for a bit of patriotic pomp. But in Poland, where the nation is engaged in a bitter and consequential battle over the question of what it means to be Polish, the prize has led to controversy, instead.

When Olga Tokarczuk of Poland won it on Thursday, the reaction was as divided as is the country itself. To some, she is an eloquent writer who captures Poland's tragic and inspiring 20th-century history. To others, she is a traitor.

Tokarczuk has documented Poland's long history of pluralism and ethnic mixing at the same time as her government has cast migrants as a mortal danger to the nation. She has denounced attacks on gays and globalists, even as leaders in

Poland's governing Law and Justice Party have sought to convince voters that a "rainbow plague" backed by decadent Western leaders presented an existential threat to both families and the nation itself.

So with national elections scheduled to take place in Poland on Sunday, perhaps it was not surprising that Poland's competing factions sought to use the prize announcement to bolster their own sides.

Rafal Ziemkiewicz, a right-wing journalist, took to Twitter



Olga Tokarczuk was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature to excoriate Tokarczuk and other artists, including Oscar-winning director Pawel Pawlikowski.

"With all due respect, they owe their awards to the fact that Western left-wing salons want

to support Polish agents in the fight against the "nationalist regime," Ziemkiewicz wrote. "And great, take it, just don't spit on Poland."

Those who oppose Poland's government and its attempts to shape the cultural landscape with nationalist dogma hoped to use the moment to show the world that Poland would not be defined by the government.

Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council and a critic of Poland's current government, made a point of noting on

Twitter that he read her books "from start to finish". "What a joy and pride!" he wrote. "I will boast about it in Brussels as a Pole and a faithful reader." He signed it with a grinning emoji.

Tokarczuk said that she would like to dedicate her award to Poles. "We are just a few days before the elections, very important elections. They can change the future of this country," she told journalists at a news conference in Bielefeld, Germany. "I would like to say to my friends in

Poland: Let's make good choices, vote for democracy."

Tokarczuk became Poland's sixth winner of the Nobel Prize in literature and only the 15th woman to receive the distinction since 1901.

She is best known for works such as *Primeval and Other Times*, *The Book of Jacob*, *Drive Your Plow Over the Bones of the Dead* and *Flights*, an experimental novel for which she received in 2018 the Man Booker International Prize for translated fiction. NYT

18 ECONOMY

\$784 MN REMITTED FOR TRAVEL, \$531 MN FOR EDUCATION IN AUGUST

Aug LRS figures hit new high; Apr-Jul remittance surpasses FPI inflows

SANDEEP SINGH
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

EVEN AS domestic consumption as well as private investment continue to witness a deep slowdown, the outward remittance by resident Indians has been clocking a new high every passing month. If July saw a record outflow of \$1.69 billion by resident Indians under the liberalised remittance scheme (LRS), August numbers are even higher, with the remittance hitting a new high of \$1.875 billion.

The August figure takes the total outward remittance under LRS since April 2014 to \$47 billion. It has been rising exponentially over the last five years. While it amounted to \$1.3 billion in financial year (FY) 2014-15, it jumped to \$4.6 billion in FY2015-16. For the year ended March 31, 2019, resident Indians sent \$13.78 billion under the scheme.

In the first five months of the current fiscal year, the outward

Year	Amount (\$bn)
2014-15	1.32
2015-16	4.64
2016-17	8.17
2017-18	11.33
2018-19	13.78
2019-20*	7.74

*Data for April to August
Source: RBI

remittance amounted to \$7.7 billion and it has outpaced the aggregate inflows by foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) this financial year. Between April and October (till date), FPIs invested a net of Rs 32,094 crore (around \$4.6 billion) in both debt and equity markets.

A look into the LRS data for August shows that while \$784 million were remitted for travel

EXPLAINED Capital outflows a concern, but tax cuts a silver lining

AT A time when domestic investment and consumption are witnessing a slowdown, a sharp rise in remittance raises concern of capital outflows from the country, which, in turn, will not only hurt future investment and job creation, but will also put pressure on the currency.

There are some, however, who feel the recent corporate tax cut may push business sentiment and arrest this outflow.

Experts in the remittance business say that the recent jump in remittance under LRS is a result of various factors.

While the United States is set to raise the fee for EB5 Visa Green Card applications for US (for US residency and citizenship) from the current \$500,000 to \$900,000 beginning mid-November, the outflows also grew on account of domestic factors like weak investment and business climate in India and a sharp rise in effective tax rates for individuals earning over Rs 2 crore and Rs 5 crore.

One immigration advisor, however, said that there has been some positivity among businessmen in India after the government announced a cut in the corporate tax rate from 30 per cent (exclusive of surcharge and cess) to 22 per cent. "There is a sense that doing business in India may improve their return on investment as the tax rate has now been cut to 15 per cent for new business set-up," said the advisor.

The residents can also transfer money for capital account transactions under LRS, including opening of foreign currency account overseas with a bank, purchase of property and making investments in units of mutual funds, and venture capital funds.

ing overseas on employment, studies overseas, emigration, maintenance of close relatives, and medical treatment.

The residents can also transfer money for capital account transactions under LRS, including opening of foreign currency account overseas with a bank, purchase of property and making investments in units of mutual funds, and venture capital funds.

BRIEFLY

'FAA must ramp up staffing for certification'

Washington: The US Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) had insufficient personnel to oversee the certification of new Boeing airplanes and should make significant reforms in how it approves new aircraft, an aviation panel said Friday. The committee faulted assumptions made by the American airplane manufacturer in designing the 737 MAX and for not disclosing more information. Reuters reported on a draft copy of the Joint Authorities Technical Review findings and recommendations earlier on Friday that called for sweeping changes in how the FAA evaluates and certifies new airplanes. Representative REUTERS

Boeing board strips CEO of chairman title

Bengaluru: Boeing's board has stripped CEO Dennis Muilenburg of his chairmanship, in an unexpected strategy shift announced by it on Friday. Separating the roles, which will enable Muilenburg to have "maximum focus" on steering daily operations, was the latest step the board has taken in recent weeks. REUTERS

'Telecom infra revenue potential may touch ₹ 31,000 crore by 2023'

Indian telecom infrastructure's revenue potential is expected to reach Rs 21,500-Rs 31,000 crore by 2023, as latest information technology developments are driving demand for new business models, an EY study said

₹66,000-93,000 CRORE
Range of investment required by the sector to catch up with revenue potential

₹215-310 BILLION
Revenue potential that tower cos today are well placed to tap in by 2023

₹660-930 BILLION
Investment required in the 2018-2023 time frame to tap on these emerging business models at full potential

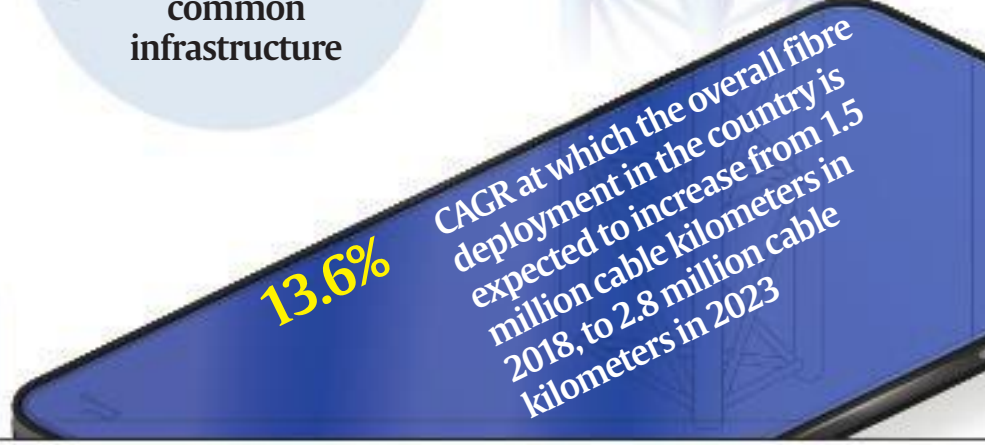
NEW AVENUES FOR INFRA PROVIDERS TO TAP INTO
Fibre | Small cells | Wi-Fi | Smart cities

4 The number of operator format to which the telecom market has shrunk; three private and BSNL-MTNL combined

5X Expected increase in demand for data between 2018 and 2023

35-40% Overall addressable market of the new revenue segments which infrastructure companies have the potential to tap

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO FIBRE DEMAND:
Wireless connectivity
fibre to the home
common infrastructure



ED attaches Bhushan Steel's assets worth over ₹4,000 crore in PMLA case

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

THE ENFORCEMENT Directorate Saturday said it has attached assets worth over Rs 4,025 crore of Bhushan Power and Steel Limited (BPSL) in connection with its money laundering probe linked to an alleged bank loan fraud.

The central probe agency said it has attached land, build-

ing, plant and machinery of the firm located in Odisha under the provision of the Prevention of Money Laundering Act (PMLA).

The total value, under the provisional order for attachment, is Rs 4,025.23 crore. This is the first attachment in the case and more is expected.

The ED, in a statement, alleged that BPSL used various modus operandi to siphon funds obtained as loans from

various banks.

"An amount of Rs 695.14 crore was introduced as capital by Sanjay Singal (the then CMD of the company) and his family members in BPSL out of artificially generated long term capital gains (LTCC) by diversion of bank loans fund of BPSL," the agency said.

LTCC was exempted from income tax during the relevant time, it added.

The ED's case of money

"An amount of ₹695.14 crore was introduced as capital by Sanjay Singal (the then CMD of the company) and his family members in BPSL out of artificially generated long term capital gains (LTCC) by diversion of bank loans fund of BPSL"

ENFORCEMENT DIRECTORATE

laundering was filed after studying the Central Bureau of Investigation FIR registered against the company, Singal and others on charges of cor-

ruption.

The ED charged that BPSL had also made RTGS payments to various entities against "fictitious purchases" of capital

goods.

Against RTGS payments, these entities had transferred cash to Bhushan Steel which was ultimately traced to have been used for generation of artificial LTCC by jacking up the prices of penny stocks by way of synchronised trading, the ED said.

Another amount of Rs 3,330 crore invested as equity (share capital and premium) by promoter companies was also

found to have been routed out of the funds obtained as various loans and diverted from accounts of BPSL in the shape of advances shown to various shell companies operated by the different entry operators, said the agency.

The proceeds of crime in this case, the agency said, were laundered by way of introduction into the books of accounts as equity for window dressing the debt equity ratio.

FM: Spoke to RBI Governor, concerns of PMC Bank's customers will be addressed

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

EXTENDING AN assurance to the account holders of the Punjab and Maharashtra Co-operative (PMC) Bank, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman on Saturday said that she has spoken to Reserve Bank of India Governor Shaktikanta Das, who assured her that the bank's customers' concerns will be taken on top priority.

The cooperative bank was put under "directions" by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) last month due to weak financial health, with the central bank having capped the deposit withdrawals at Rs 25,000.

In a post on her official Twitter handle, Sitharaman wrote on Saturday, "Spoken to governor @RBI on the #PMCBank matter. He assured me that clients & their concerns will be kept on top priority."

"I wish to reiterate that @FinMinIndia will ensure that customers concerns are com-

Secretaries from the departments of financial services and economic affairs will be meeting a deputy governor of the RBI soon to look into the "shortcomings" of the functioning of multi-state cooperative banks, the FM said last week

prehensively addressed. We understand the justified worries of the customers," her tweet added.

PMC Bank is in trouble allegedly due to its exposure to near-bankrupt real estate development company HDIL, to which the lender has loaned over 70 per cent of its Rs 9,000 crore in advances.

Earlier this week, during an interaction with mediapersons, the FM had said, "The Finance Ministry may have nothing to do with it (PMC Bank matter) directly because RBI is the regulator. But from my side, I've asked the secretaries of my ministry to work with Rural Development Ministry and the Urban Development Ministry to

study in detail as to what is happening".

Secretaries from the departments of financial services and economic affairs will be meeting a deputy governor of the Reserve Bank soon to look into the "shortcomings" of the functioning of multi-state cooperative banks and see if any amendments can be made to the laws, she had said.

"They will discuss legislative steps needed to prevent such incidents from happening and empower the regulator better," the Finance Minister had said.

She further said that the government will bring in a legislation to this effect during the upcoming winter session of Parliament. WITHPTI

GSTN to release new version of return filing interface this month

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

THE GST Network (GSTN) will release an improved version of the GST return filing interface on October 22, with an aim to further simplify the process.

"Many of the suggestions were incorporated in version 2 which is in place right now. Version 3 is going to come on October 22 of this month," GST Network CEO Prakash Kumar said at a seminar organised by IIT Delhi Alumni Association here.

The GSTN provides IT infrastructure and services to central and state governments, taxpayers and other stakeholders for implementation of the GST.

The GST has reduced complexity in indirect taxation as its implementation has lowered the

number of forms to be filed by businesses to just 12, from 495 under as many as 17 central and state laws in the pre-GST era, Kumar said. The indirect tax administration now shares data with the income tax department, a move that has helped in unearthing instances of tax evasion, he added.

Kumar said that income-tax department confirms the range of turnover, not the exact data of taxpayer, which has helped in detecting mismatches. At present, there are 12.3 million registered GST taxpayers.

Speaking at the occasion, GST Council Special Secretary Rajeev Ranjan said that GST has also aided in cutting the logistics cost for businesses, while successive rounds of rate cuts in the new tax indirect tax regime reduced prices and helped keeping inflation under check.

Board of Pune-based co-op bank dismissed

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
PUNE, OCTOBER 12

CLOSE ON the heels of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) putting Punjab and Maharashtra Co-operative Bank on restrictions, the Cooperation Commissioner of Maharashtra has dismissed the board of directors of Pune-headquartered Shivajirao Bhosale Cooperative Bank.

The bank, which has around 16,000 account holders, was put under financial restrictions by the RBI in May. The latest move comes after the RBI directed Satish Soni, Maharashtra government's Commissioner for Cooperation, and Registrar, Cooperative Societies, to take this decision. The bank has unpaid dues of Rs 249 crore and had savings of Rs 320 crore.

FB's Libra currency abandoned by major financial companies

PETE SCHROEDER, SHANTISNAIR & KATIE PAUL
BENGALURU/SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 12

FACEBOOK INC's ambitious efforts to establish a global digital currency called Libra suffered severe setbacks on Friday, as major payment companies including Mastercard and Visa Inc quit the group behind the project.

The two companies announced they would leave the association Friday afternoon, as did eBay Inc, Stripe Inc and Mercado Pago

members, including Lyft and Vodafone, consist mainly of venture capital, telecommunications, blockchain and technology companies, as well as nonprofit groups.

"Visa has decided not to join the Libra Association at this time," the company said in a statement. "We will continue to evaluate our ultimate decision will be determined by a number of factors, including the Association's ability to fully satisfy all requisite regulatory expectations."

Facebook's head of the project, former PayPal executive David Marcus, cautioned on Twitter against "reading the fate of Libra into this update," although he acknowledged "it's not great news in the short term. REUTERS

US PRESIDENT TRUMP LAUDS CHINA FOR AGREEING TO BUY AROUND \$50 Bn IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

US frames 'Phase 1' trade deal with China; no tariff hikes in Oct

JEFF MASON & DAVID LAWDER
WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 12

US President Donald Trump on Friday outlined the first phase of a deal to end a trade war with China and suspended a threatened tariff hike, but officials on both sides said much more work needed to be done before an accord could be agreed.

The emerging deal, covering agriculture, currency and some aspects of intellectual property protections, would represent the biggest step by the two countries in 15 months to end a tariff tit-for-tat that has whipsawed financial markets and slowed global growth.

But Friday's announcement did not include many details and Trump said it could take up to five weeks to get a pact written.

He acknowledged the agreement could fall apart during that period, though he expressed confidence that it would not.

"I think we have a fundamental understanding on the key issues. We've gone through a significant amount of paper, but there is more work to do," US Treasury

Secretary Steven Mnuchin said as the two sides gathered with Trump at the White House. "We will not sign an agreement unless we get and can tell the president that this is on paper."

With Chinese Vice Premier Liu He sitting across a desk from him in the Oval Office after two days of talks between negotiators, the president told reporters that the two sides were very close to ending their trade dispute.

"There was a lot of friction between the United States and China, and now it's a lovefest. That's a good thing," he said.

Liu took a different tone in his remarks, however.

"We have made substantial progress in many fields. We are happy about it. We'll continue to make efforts," Liu said.

China's official state-owned news organization Xinhua said that both sides "agreed to make the efforts towards a final agreement."



China's Vice Premier Liu He looks on during a meeting with US President Donald Trump in the Oval Office in Washington, US, on Friday. Reuters

"it is impossible to resolve the problem by putting arbitrary pressure on the Chinese side."

Trump, who is eager to show farmers in political swing states that he has their backs, lauded China for agreeing to buy as much as \$50 billion in agricultural products. But he left tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of Chinese products in place.

His announcement, while seen as progress, drew some scepticism. "I'm unsure that calling what was announced by

President Trump an agreement is justified," said Scott Kennedy, a China trade expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

"If they couldn't agree on a text, that must mean they're not done. Wishing an agreement does not make. This isn't a skinny deal. It's an invisible one."

Mnuchin said the president had agreed not to proceed with a hike in tariffs to 30 per cent from 25 per cent on about \$250 billion in Chinese goods that was sup-

Companies welcome trade truce; economists say disputes remain

Beijing: Companies have welcomed a US-Chinese trade truce as a possible step toward breaking a deadlock in the tariff war, while economists caution there was little progress toward settling core disputes including technology that threaten global growth.

President Donald Trump said US will suspend a tariff hike planned for Tuesday on \$250 billion of Chinese goods. In exchange, Trump said

China agreed to buy as much as \$50 billion of American farm goods. Details of other agreements weren't released.

The bruising battle over China's trade surplus and technology ambitions has disrupted global trade. Economists warn a final settlement might take years to negotiate. Despite that, financial markets rise ahead of each round of talks and fall back when no progress is reported. AP

posed to have gone into effect on Tuesday.

But US Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer said Trump had not made a decision about tariffs that were subject to go into effect in December.

"I think that we're going to have a deal that's a great deal that's beyond tariffs," Trump said.

The world's two largest economies have made progress in their trade dispute before without sealing a deal. In May US officials accused China of walking away

from a sweeping agreement that was nearly finished over a refusal to make changes to Chinese laws that would have ensured its enforceability.

Trump had said previously he would not be satisfied with a partial deal to resolve his effort to change China's trade, intellectual property and industrial policy practices, which he argues cost millions of US jobs.

On Friday he said he had decided that a phased approach was appropriate. REUTERS

BRIDGE

There are times when you have to make non-standard leads from certain card combinations. These leads most always take place later in the hand and are hard to classify. It helps to be familiar with card combinations

Dir: West
Vul: N-S

NORTH (Dummy) EAST

♠ A J 7 4 ♣ 9 8
♥ 6 5 ♥ A J 7 3
♦ Q 9 3 ♦ J 7 5
♣ K Q J 10 ♣ A 8 7 3

WEST NORTH EAST SOUTH

Pass 1♣ Pass 1♣
Dbl 2♣ 3♥ 3♣
Pass Pass Pass

OPENING LEAD: HK
West continues with the H2 and you are on lead at trick three? What now?
THE WEST HAND: ♠ 5 2 ♥ K Q 10 ♦ A 10 6 2 ♣ 5 4 2
SOUTH HAND: ♠ K Q 10 6 3 ♥ 10 8 4 ♦ K 8 4 ♣ 9 6

Switch to the DJ. You can see that the clubs are soon to be set up and declarer will discard diamonds on clubs, so clearly it must be right to switch to a diamond, but why the jack?

If declarer has the ace and partner the king, it doesn't matter which diamond you lead. If partner has the DA and declarer the K10, it also doesn't matter which diamond you lead. In both cases you are only going to get one trick. The critical holding in declarer's hand is the K8x. In that case it is necessary to switch to the jack and hope declarer thinks you have the J10. If he does, he will play low and dummy's queen will win. When you get in with the CA and play a second diamond, Partner now has the A10 hovering over declarer's king and you will get two diamonds to beat this contract one trick.

Dir: South
Vul: Both

NORTH (dummy) EAST

♠ A K Q ♣ J 10 9 2
♥ 8 4 3 ♥ A 10
♦ 8 5 ♦ Q 4
♣ A 9 7 6 4 ♣ Q J 10 8 2

SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST

1♦ Pass 2♣ Pass
2♦ Pass 2♣ Pass
2NT Pass 3NT Pass
Pass Pass

OPENING LEAD: H5
You play the HA and return the H10. Declarer plays the 7 and then the queen. Partner wins the queen and returns the H9. What do you discard?

SUNDAY CROSSWORD 2238

QUICK CLUES ACROSS

- Is it really a prickly pear? (5-5)
- Enclose in paper (4)
- Where sugar is made (10)
- Concerning (2,2)
- An entry in a register (12)
- Hunting cry (5-2)
- Trials or travails (7)
- V-shaped cuts (7)
- "Keep The Faith" group (3,4)
- Russian pianist and composer (12)
- Tide type (4)
- Amity (10)
- Makes use of words (4)
- House of worship (10)

DOWN

- Duty (4)
- Gymnast Korbut (4)
- Poem for young children (7,5)
- Stipulation (7)
- Once Basuto land (7)
- Apparatus to assist breathing (10)
- Omen (10)
- Paradise (6,2,4)
- Travellers (10)
- Rule of the wealthy (10)
- Spiced Spanish wine (7)
- Aromatic solvent with ring-like structure (7)
- Stylish, smart (4)
- Foretell, predict (4)

CRYPTIC CLUES ACROSS

- Good year for new ecology and the treatment of women (10)
- Leading performer you can't see any day (4)
- A film character who will not come clean? (5,5)
- Cunning, in the main (4)
- He deals openly with his clients (6,6)
- Takes a walk - in the rose-garden? (7)
- They are used by back-seat drivers (7)
- Drew sat away from the official (7)
- Enigmatic appeal by poor jerk (7)
- See goat gash lolly (12)
- Society is better off without it (4)

DOWN:

- They must be crazy to be a movie title? (4)
- Never coming from North Ayr resort (4)
- She needs to keep her eye on the ball in future (7,5)
- Enslave tyrannically: that causes rising (7)
- Ty's gear change spirals... (7)
- Kojak, at party, to speak deceptively about model angle-measuring device (10)
- Officially register a complaint (6,4)
- Proverbially woeful Georgette Heyer novel (7,5)
- Some musicians have metal strips (5,5)
- Topless figure to repeat so-called Italian writer (7,3)

Solutions to 2237

QUICK CLUES Across: 1 Drawing board, 10 Granted, 11 Twosome, 12 Iste, 13 Eyesight, 15 Unreserved, 16 Style, 18 Tabs, 20 Heartthrob, 22 Ringside, 24 Rumba, 26 Staunch, 27 Ovalate, 28 Incapacitate.

Down: 2 Reactor, 3 With ease, 4 Node, 5 Bathymetry, 6 Atoms, 7 Drought, 8 Agriculturist, 9 Weather-beaten, 14 Friendship, 17 Stardust, 19 Bengali, 21 Rampart, 23 Sonic, 25 Bosc. **CRYPTIC CLUES Across:** 1 Opening scene, 10 Ran riot, 11 Also ran, 12 Class, 13 Ragstone, 15 Philosophy, 16 Zero, 18 Tips, 20 Prima facie, 22 Tenement, 24 Demon, 26 Otahiti, 27 Ominous, 28 To all intents.

Down: 2 Punjabi, 3 Nainsook, 4 NAITO, 5 Stay-at-home, 6 East, 7 Ear-lobe, 8 Precipitation, 9 Under one's nose, 14 Torment, 17 Off drive, 19 Pendant, 21 Compost, 23 Maida, 25 Bom.

If it's your Birthday

Sunday October 13
'Look to the future' is the message. If you try to hang on to the past, you may miss fabulous opportunities. But, if you push forward with courage, then you'll be opening up amazing prospects.

Monday October 14
Over the next month a number of changes take place. You will be cutting down on commitments and changing the nature of your engagements.

Tuesday October 15
If you are prepared for anything to happen, this might be a good time to let people know exactly what you think of their behaviour - especially if you approve.

Wednesday October 16
Life is good. It's time to make a come-back and scotch all those nasty rumours that you are lazy and self-indulgent. Restore your standing at home, and face the truth about wishes hovering in the background.

Thursday October 17
You can stand up and be counted as someone who is emotional, sensitive, imaginative and utterly unworldly. Your dreams are one of your most wonderful assets, so don't let anyone take them away.

Friday October 18
Your planetary movements are inspired and confident on the one hand, down-to-earth and practical on the other. Socially and romantically you'll continue to call the shots.

Saturday October 19
It's a friendly time to practise your social skills. Others may push you into taking responsibility for a gathering. You may be happier if you accept whatever comes your way.

YOUR WEEK AHEAD

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)
Monday's lunar alignments will make it virtually impossible for you to get your own way. That can be a good thing. Much as you might object, it may be best to sit back for a while and let partners take the limelight. You can wait a little and see what happens.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)
By ancient tradition this is an auspicious time, but one when you may rest and take stock, at least until Wednesday or Thursday. Only once in a while are your financial stars so significant, so tread carefully. You can make subtle decisions that set you up for future prosperity.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)
It takes a lot for a Taurus to over-work, but this is what you'll be doing now. However, please don't push yourself so hard that you end up flat on your back. Socially, life looks very much more hopeful at the end of the week, perhaps because other people are changing their minds.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)
Right now you have the option as to whether to enjoy yourself in an endless round of parties or achieve something that is truly individual and inspired. As far as professional contacts are concerned, you might do best to be as diplomatic as you can.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)
Some Cancerians are even gearing up for a move of home or, at least, they're dreaming of life elsewhere. But the time for drastic action may well be over, at least for now. Before long someone is going to remind you of a debt of honour.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)
All your past efforts are about to be rewarded. You should take a fresh look at a romantic contact, and emotional first-aid might be necessary if you're in danger of falling-out. Right now take refuge in work if you like: it may be fun to engage with wider ambitions.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)
The ancients regarded Venus and Jupiter as the most benevolent of all the planets, and Saturn as the strictest. You can get the best out of all these planets by working hard, taking care of every single, tiny detail, yet always keeping an eye on the main chance. You may even soon be set up for a bout of good fortune, if not exactly fame.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)
The current crop of planetary aspects is pushing you in two directions. One is making you more sociable, the other is turning you into a hermit. Which will win? Whichever pressure triumphs, there will be a romantic twist, and a surprise visitor. Unexpected developments will be welcome, so keep an open space in your diary.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22)
Professional Sagittarians are basking under superb stars, so now is the time to act if you wish to change jobs: your first step is to get the information sorted out. At long last, you might say.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)
You are still very much in command of the situation, though you are showing a tendency to abdicate responsibility and allow fate to step in. A new emotional bond will soon be strengthened, with happy consequences all round. You might even bring the smile back to someone's lips.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)
Whatever else is happening in your chart, whatever the ups and downs in your life, nothing matters except the profound strength that you are about to gather. If you have any doubts about a financial venture, check the legal situation. You might discover something to your advantage.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)
You may spend your money while you can. Yet, it's not quantity that counts, but quality, and there are purchases you can make which will radically improve the whole tone and tenor of your beautiful existence. Surprisingly, you may soon discover that a professional rival, or someone who has stood in your way at home, is in fact on your side.

JUMBLED WORDS

Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below. Select the letters in the shaded squares and jumble them to get the answer for the given quip.

Culture is the ___elevated to a set of ___ - Thomas Wolfe (4...7)

SVAEE **COYLST**

WRITS EERTBF

SOLUTION: EAVES, WRIST, COSTLY, BERET
Answer: Culture is the arts elevated to a set of beliefs - Thomas Wolfe

SUDOKU 3998

Difficulty Level 2s
Instructions
To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns, in each of the nine horizontal rows and in each of the nine boxes.

Difficulty Level
1s = Very easy; 2s = Easy; 3s = Medium; 4s = Hard; 5s = Very Hard; 6s = Genius

SOLUTION SUDOKU 3997

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

PSPCL Punjab State Power Corporation Limited

Regd. Office: PSEB Head Office, The Mall, Patiala - 147001
CIN: U40109PB2010SGC033813, Website: www.pspcl.in
(O/o CE/TS, B-1, Shakti Vihar, Patiala)

OPEN e-TENDER NOTICE

Online Tenders are invited for the supply of the following material as per Tender Specification No 196/2019 of PSPCL:-

Item No.	Description	Qty. Kg.	Enquiry No./Year	Last date & time for downloading of tenders	Last date & time for bid submission	Date & time of opening of bids
1.	SFG GAS	850 Kg. (10 kg each in 65 no's cylinders)	196/2019	10.11.19 11.00 A.M.	11.11.19 11.00 A.M.	11.11.19 11.30 A.M.

EMD Rs. 16000/-
Min EMD Rs. 10,000/-

Detailed NIT and Specifications may be downloaded from PSPCL e-Tendering website: <https://pspcil.abcpocure.com>.

Contact detail of E-tendering agency in case of difficulty Mr. Mohit Sharma, +91 9904406200

It is informed that in case tender process is not completed due to any reason, NO CORRIGENDUM will be published in newspapers. Details regarding corrigendum may be seen on PSPCL website www.pspcl.in and www.pspcl.abcpocure.com

Sd/-
Dy. CE/Sub-Station Design
PSPCL, Patiala.

GOVERNMENT OF JHARKHAND ROAD CONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER ROAD DIVISION, DUMKA, JHARKHAND

Very-Very Short term e-Procurement Notice
2nd Call

For National Competitive Bidding
Re-e Tender Reference No. RCD/DUMKA/1568 Date- 12.10.2019
Reference PR No : 216994

Sl. No.	Name of the work	Approximate value of Work (Rs. In Lacs)
1.	Reconstruction of Baraplati (at SH-17) to Tharimora (at MDR-191) Road including Bridge over Bhurbhuri river (Total length-17.125 km for the year 2019-20.	Rs 3727.12968 Lacs (Rupees Thirty seven crore twenty seven lac twelve thousand nine hundred sixty eight only.)
2(a)	Approximate value of Work (Rs. In Lacs)	Rs 37.28 Lacs
(b)	Bid Security (Rs In Lacs)	Rs 37.28 Lacs
3.	Time of Completion	Eighteen Months
4.	Last date/Time for receipt of bids	21.10.2019 up to 12.00 Noon.
5.	Date of Publication of Tender on website	15.10.2019
6.	Name & address of office inviting tender	Executive Engineer Road Division, Dumka
7.	Contact no. of Procurement officer	9431178289
8.	Helpline number of e-Procurement cell	0651-2401010

Further details can be seen on website <http://jharkhandtenders.gov.in>

Executive Engineer
Road Construction Department
Road Division, Dumka, Pin-814101
P.R.219468 Road(19-20):D

POSTGRADUATE INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL EDUCATION & RESEARCH, CHANDIGARH CORRIGENDUM

Ref: Open Tender Notice No. PI (EP)/19-20/06

- The tender item is at Sr.No.56 (Mini PACS-RIS main department, advance trauma centre and emergency section), with extra image data storage space and connectivity in OPD, APC and AGC) due on 24.10.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.
- The tender item is at Sr. No. 36 (Respiratory Pressure Manometer/ Trainer) due on 15.10.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.

Ref: Open Tender Notice No. PI (EP)/19-20/07

- In continuation to the Tender Notice No. PI(EP)19-20/07 of the office regarding Sr. No. 30 Neonatal Fiberoptic Bronchoscope with Teaching Aid, it is to inform that a pre-bid conference for this item will also be held along with other prebid cases on 21.10.2019 at 2.30 P.M. in the office of Professor In-Charge (Equipment Purchase).
- The tender item is at Sr. No. 16 (Surgical Micromotor and Hand Piece 05 Nos.), due on 06.11.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.

All other details of the tender shall remain the same.

Professor In-Charge (EP)

Established under Order of Punjab Act of 2010

ADESH UNIVERSITY

Expression of Interest

Adesh University is in the process of strengthening its research infrastructure. For this, several high-end instruments need to be procured. Applications are therefore, invited for registration of reputed vendors for supply of instruments. Registration forms and details of instruments are available on the university website www.adeshuniversity.ac.in. Vendors interested to supply instruments may register before **October 29, 2019. REGISTRAR**

NH-7, Barnala Road, Bathinda 151101 (Punjab) | mail@adeshuniversity.ac.in

DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH SERVICES INDIRA GANDHI KRISHI VISHWAVIDYALAYA KRISHAK NAGAR, RAIPUR 492012 (C.G.)

Phone & Fax:-0771-2443035
No. DRS/Store/2019/2345 Raipur, Dated:-11/10/2019

TENDER NOTICE

Sealed tenders are invited from the manufactures company or authorized dealers for "Lab Equipments and Glassware, Chemicals (Indian & Imported). Plastic ware, Liquid Handling Devices, Filter papers distilled water unit and their spare parts/accessories". The tender document along with their details and conditions can be downloaded from the website www.igau.nic.in. The last date of submission of sealed tenders is upto **11th November, 2019** at **2.00 P.M.**

s/-
23048 Director of Research

JAIPUR DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
Indira Circle, J.N. Marg, Jaipur-302004, Tel: +91-141-2570678, 2569696 (7021, 7226, 1128)
No. F.) JDA/OSD(RM)/2019-20/D-1354 Date: 10/10/2019

Opportunity for Purchase of Plots through e-Auction

Jaipur Development Authority, Jaipur is auctioning 3 Nos. Plots of Tilak Nagar Enclave Scheme, Jaipur through e-Auction from 11.10.2019 to 01.11.2019. Details of Plots, scheme map, Size, BSP, EMD, Starting & Last date of deposit of EMD and Start & Last date of Bidding etc. & other comprehensive detail may be accessed on JDA Website - www.jda.urban.rajabasthan.gov.in

Samwad/C/3153/2019-2020 OSD (RM)

कार्यालय उज्जैन नगर पालिक निगम, उज्जैन

छत्रपति शिवाजी भवन, आगर रोड, उज्जैन (म.प्र.)

उज्जैन, दिनांक : 11/10/2019

(Online) निविदा आमंत्रण सूचना

निम्नांकित कार्य के लिए प्रपत्र "अ" एवं "ब" (फार्म ए एवं बी) में प्रतिशत कम या अधिक एवं आईटम दर के आधार पर प्रमुख अभियंता लोक निर्माण विभाग म.प्र. शासन भोपाल के कार्यालय में पंजीकृत ठेकेदारों से उक्त विभाग में पंजीयन प्रमाण पत्र की प्रमाणाति प्रति प्रस्तुत करने पर ऑनलाईन (Online) निविदा आमंत्रित की जाती है।

सिरियल क्र. 01 की ऑनलाईन क्रय करने की अंतिम दिनांक 01.11.2019 समय 17:30 ऑनलाईन ई.एम.डी. राशि एवं समस्त दस्तावेज Online Submission करने की अंतिम दिनांक 01.11.2019 समय 17:30 रहेगी। एवं

सिरियल क्र. 02 की ऑनलाईन क्रय करने की अंतिम दिनांक 02.11.2019 समय 17:30 ऑनलाईन ई.एम.डी. राशि एवं समस्त दस्तावेज Online Submission करने की अंतिम दिनांक 02.11.2019 समय 17:30 रहेगी तथा **सिरियल क्र. 03 से 04** की ऑनलाईन क्रय करने की अंतिम दिनांक 21.10.2019 समय 17:30 ऑनलाईन ई.एम.डी. राशि एवं समस्त दस्तावेज Online Submission करने की अंतिम दिनांक 21.10.2019 समय 17:30 रहेगी।

विस्तृत निविदा आमंत्रण सूचना एवं अन्य जानकारी वेबसाइट www.mptenders.gov.in पर देखी जा सकती है। यदि उपरोक्त निविदा में किसी प्रकार का संशोधन होता है तो इसकी सूचना ऑन लाईन दी जायेगी। पृथक से समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित नहीं की जायेगी।

क्रं.	टेंडर फार्म का मूल्य	कार्य का नाम	अनुमानित लागत	नगरीय प्रशासन एवं विकास विभाग म.प्र. भोपाल	अर्नेस्टमनी रु.	समय अवधि
1	15000/-	वार्ड क्र. 05 अन्तर्गत गंधर्व तालाब का विकास एवं सौन्दर्यकरण कार्य।	2,19,95,437/-	10.05.2012 UADD ISSR SOR	2,19,954/-	180 दिन
2	15000/-	वार्ड क्र. 05 अन्तर्गत पुरुषोत्तम सागर का विकास एवं सौन्दर्यकरण कार्य।	4,18,48,555/-	10.05.2012 UADD ISSR SOR	4,18,485/-	240 दिन
3	2000/-	झोन क्रं.01 अन्तर्गत वार्ड क्र. 1, 9 व 10 में सी.टी. व पी.टी. का रिपेयरिंग एवं संधारण कार्य।	8,99,430/-	10.05.2012 UADD ISSR SOR	18,000/-	60 दिन
4	2000/-	झोन क्रं.01 अन्तर्गत वार्ड क्रं. 2, 5, 12 व 15 में सी.टी. व पी.टी. का रिपेयरिंग एवं संधारण कार्य।	8,99,430/-	10.05.2012 UADD ISSR SOR	18,000/-	60 दिन
5	2000/-	झोन क्रं.01 अन्तर्गत वार्ड क्रं. 8, 11 व 13 में सी.टी. व पी.टी. का रिपेयरिंग एवं संधारण कार्य।	8,99,430/-	10.05.2012 UADD ISSR SOR	18,000/-	60 दिन

झोन अधिकारी
नगर पालिक निगम, उज्जैन

PSPCL Punjab State Power Corporation Limited

Regd. Off.: PSEB H.O., The Mall, Patiala-147001
CIN: U40109PB2010SGC033813, Website: www.pspcl.in

GURU HARGOBIND THERMAL PLANT, LEHRA MOHABBAT, DIST. BATHINDA (PUNJAB) - 151111

e-Tendering website: <https://pspcil.abcpocure.com>

NOTICE INVITING TENDER (Through E-tendering)

Tender Enquiry No. 59/CHP/Op.-299/GHTP/2019-20 Dated: 15.10.2019

Short Description: Manual picking of stones coming along with coal from running conveyors and their further disposal in scrap yard at 2x210 MW+2x250 MW, CHP, GHTP, Lehra Mohabat, Distt. Bathinda.

EMD: @2% of tender value (minimum Rs. 5000/-)

Last Date & Time for Bid Submission: 11.11.2019 upto 11.30 hrs.

Date & Time of Opening of Fee Stage Bid: 11.11.2019 upto 12.00 hrs.

Detailed NIT and tender specification can be downloaded from PSPCL website <https://pspcil.abcpocure.com> from Date 15.10.2019 onward.

NOTE:

- The prospective bidders can obtain clarification regarding tender specifications from this office. For registration of digital signatures and uploading of tender, information may be sought from M/s E-procure Technologies Ltd., Contact No. +91-(79)-40016866/40/38/18/21.
- It is informed that in case the tender process is not completed due to any reason no corrigendum will be published in newspapers. Detail regarding corrigendum may be seen on PSPCL official website i.e. <https://pspcil.in>.

Sd/-
Dy. Chief Engineer,
Mechanical MTC. Circle-II, O&M,
GHTP, PSPCL, Lehra Mohabat,
Distt. Bathinda (Pb)-151111

GHTP-57/19
C-7443/Pb

NORTHERN RAILWAY E-TENDER NOTICE

No. 31-Med-Amb.-Hiring-GZB-2019-22 Dated: 09.10.2019

No.	Name of the work with location	Hiring of one EECO/ Maruti Omni Ambulance round the clock with first aid kit, two folding stretchers, oxygen cylinder with all attachments, driver and attendant to be stationed round the clock at Health Unit Ghaziabad.
1.		
2.	Approximate estimate cost	Rs. 52,920/- P.M. or Rs. 19,05,05120/- for three years
3.	Cost of tender form	Rs. 2360/- on line payment (non-refundable)
4.	Address of the office website where the tender form can be purchased	www.ireps.gov.in
5.	EMD to be deposited	Rs. 38,100/- (Rs. Thirty Eight Thousand one hundred only).
6.	Completion period of the work	03 (three) years from the date of award
7.	Date & Time for submission of tender & opening of tender	04.11.2019 up to 15:00 hrs. and opening 15:30 hrs. same day
8.	Website particulars where complete details of tender can be seen etc.	www.ireps.gov.in

3276/19

SERVING CUSTOMERS WITH A SMILE

GOVERNMENT OF ODISHA e-mail: sephcbhpt3@gmail.com

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER, PUBLIC HEALTH CIRCLE, BHAWANIPATNA
Parmanandpur, Railway Station Road, Bhawanipatna, Dist: Kalahandi, PIN -766001

NATIONAL COMPETITIVE BIDDING THROUGH e-Procurement Identification No. SEPHC-BHPT- 4 of 2019-20/ Dt. 04.10.2019 e-Procurement Notice

Name of the work: Supply, Installation & Testing of House Service Connection to the Consumers of Different ULBs under PH Circle, Bhawanipatna
Total No. Of works: 08 (Eight)
Estimated Cost: Approx. Rs 152.51 lakhs to 11.76 lakhs
Class of contractor: A, B, C & D Class
Period of Completion: 3 Calendar Months

Procurement Officer	Bid Identification No.	No. of works	Availability of Tender online for Bidding	Date & time of opening of Bid
			From To	
1	2	3	4	5
Superintending Engineer, P.H. Circle, Bhawanipatna	SEPHC- BHPT-04 of 2019-20	08 (Eight)	15.10.2019	31.10.2019

For details can be seen from the Government website www.tendersorissa.gov.in

13055/11/0005/1920

Sd/-
Superintending Engineer,
P.H. Circle, Bhawanipatna

SRINIVASAN | THAKUR | SHAH | DALMIYA

Back to Controlling Cricket in India

Oligarchy in Indian cricket looks set to continue as influential names that ruled the BCCI before Supreme Court's intervention sweep back into power through their family members, proxies after state unit elections. **Devendra Pandey & Shamik Chakrabarty** trace the connections.



1. TAMIL NADU CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: RUPA GURUNATH

THE FIRST female president of a state association, **Rupa Gurunath** was elected unopposed at TNCA elections. She is the daughter of former BCCI & ICC chief N. Srinivasan. Her husband, Gurunath Meiyappan, was banned for his alleged involvement in 2013 IPL spot-fixing scandal. Rupa is whole-time director, India Cements.



2. HIMACHAL PRADESH CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: ARUN DHUMAL

ARUN DHUMAL IS the younger brother of former BCCI president and current MoS, Finance, Anurag Thakur. After over a decade and a half, HPCA has a new president, although it remained in the family. He has represented HPCA in BCCI meetings.



3. DELHI AND DISTRICT CRICKET ASSOCIATION

JOINT SECRETARY: RAJAN MANCHANDA
VICE-PRESIDENT: RAKESH BANSAL

WHEN NOMINATIONS were filed for DDCA elections last year, there were 10 in the fray across panels who were related to former office-bearers. Not all of them won. Other than Manchanda and Bansal, the others who had family connections and are in the Apex Council are Renu Khanna, Alok Mittal, Apurv Jain and Nitin Gupta.



4. RAJASTHAN CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: VAIBHAV GEHLOT

RAJASTHAN CHIEF minister Ashok Gehlot's son **Vaibhav Gehlot** became the RCA president on Friday. Amin Pathan, a local BJP leader, took the vice-president's post.



5. ASSAM CRICKET ASSOCIATION

SECRETARY: DEVAJIT SAIKIA

FORMER ADDITIONAL advocate-general of Assam, **Devajit Saikia** appeared before the CBI in Kolkata in 2014 on behalf of News Live, a city-based satellite channel owned by the wife of former Assam minister Himanta Biswa Sarma, in connection with the Saradha scam.



6. MANIPUR CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: RAJKUMAR IMO SINGH

HE IS a Member of Legislative Assembly in his second term. He is a Congress MLA and MPCC general secretary (administration). As per the Lodha Committee recommendations, no individual holding public office is eligible to hold any post, however, interestingly, it's not clear how the Supreme Court-appointed COA approved the MCA constitution. MCA has nominated Rajkumar as the state association's representative at the BCCI AGM.



7. HYDERABAD CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: MOHAMMAD AZHARUDDIN

THE BCCI banned **Mid Azharuddin** for life for his alleged involvement in the 2000 match-fixing scandal. But AP HC lifted the ban in 2012, calling it illegal. A lower court had upheld the ban that was overturned. The BCCI is yet to challenge the HC order. Azhar had written to the Supreme Court-appointed CoA, requesting them to clear his old dues—his monthly pension and one-time benefit given to former cricketers, pointing out that the HC had held the BCCI ban "illegal".



8. NAGALAND CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: KECHANGULIE RIO

KECHANGULIE, SON of state chief minister Neiphiu Rio, is the new Nagaland Cricket Association president, replacing his father at the cricket body.



9. VIDARBHA CRICKET ASSOCIATION

VICE-PRESIDENT: ADWAIT MANOHAR

THE VCA was very prompt in adopting the Lodha reforms in toto. Adwait, son of ICC chairman and former BCCI president Shashank Manohar, is currently holding the vice-president's post. It will be his second term as an office-bearer.



10. CHHATTISGARH CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: PRABHTEJ SINGH BHATIA

SON OF the outgoing Chhattisgarh Cricket Sangh president Baldeo Singh Bhatia, Prabhtej now runs the state association. The liquor baron will continue his father's legacy in the state body.



11. UTTAR PRADESH CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: YADHUPATI SINGHANIA

YADHUPATI, SON of late industrialist Gaur Hari Singhania, continues as UPCA president. His father had helmed the association for close to two decades and following his death in 2015, the UPCA general body nominated Yadhupati as the state association chief.



12. GUJARAT CRICKET ASSOCIATION

GCA'S REPRESENTATIVE AT BCCI AGM

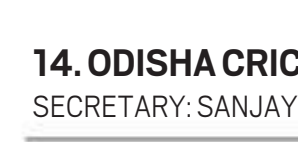
IN THE wake of the Lodha reforms, Home Minister Amit Shah stepped down as GCA president. His son **Jay**, too, didn't seek re-election as joint secretary. Interestingly, the post of GCA president was left vacant. Later, Jay was nominated as the GCA representative at BCCI AGM and is likely to be an important office-bearer in the new body.



13. SAURASHTRA CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: JAYDEV SHAH

SON OF veteran administrator Niranjan Shah, who ruled the SCA for more than four decades, **Jaydev**, a former Saurashtra captain, was elected unopposed. The SCA remained a family affair. Niranjan's nephew Himanshu was elected secretary.



14. ODISHA CRICKET ASSOCIATION

SECRETARY: SANJAY BEHERA

SON OF former OCA secretary Ashirbad Behera, Sanjay was elected as the new secretary of the state association. Ashirbad is currently behind bars after CBI arrested him for his alleged involvement in the state's multi-crore chit fund scam. He voted at OCA elections from jail.



15. BARODA CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: PRANAV AMIN

SON OF former IPL chairman and veteran Baroda Cricket Association (BCA) administrator Chirayu Amin, **Pranav** won the election from a panel which was backed by his father. Pranav is not new to BCA administration. He was part of the managing committee for the past 10 years.



16. KARNATAKA STATE CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: ROGER BINNY

FORMER INDIA medium pacer Roger Binny has been elected as the president of the KSCA. The 1983 World Cup hero won by a huge margin in a lopsided contest. Former state cricketer J Abhiram was elected vice-president whereas former India women's captain Shantha Rangaswamy became the first woman to be elected to the Apex Council. Shantha had resigned from the ad-hoc Cricket Advisory Committee which re-appointed Ravi Shastri as the Indian team head coach.



17. CRICKET ASSOCIATION OF BENGAL

SECRETARY: AVISHEK DALMIYA

THE STATE association saw former BCCI and ICC president, the late Jagmohan Dalmiya's son, **Avishek**, assume office as the joint secretary following his father's death in 2015. At the September 28 AGM, he was elected unopposed as the CAB secretary.



18. MUMBAI CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: VIJAY PATIL

SON OF veteran politician and former Bihar Governor DY Patil, **Vijay Patil** was elected MCA president. Local Congress leader Shah Alam was elected joint secretary. The Apex Council saw two new members related to former office-bearers. Ajinkya Naik, son-in-law of outgoing vice-president Pankaj Thakur and Gaurav Payyade, nephew of former MCA secretary Dr PV Shetty. Shiv Sena MLA Pratap Sarnaik's son Vihang Sarnaik also won an Apex Council seat.



19. GOA CRICKET ASSOCIATION

SECRETARY: VIPUL PHADKE

SON OF former GCA secretary Vinod, Vipul now offers the family connection at the GCA. In 2016, the BCCI had issued notice to then GCA secretary Vinod, along with president Chetan Desai, and they were subsequently arrested for alleged financial fraud.

20. MADHYA PRADESH CRICKET ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT: ABHILASH KHANDEKAR

AN INDORE-BASED journalist, Khandekar was elected unopposed as the MPCCA president. A former sports hack with Free Press Journal, Khandekar was backed by former Union Minister in the Congress government, Jyotiraditya Scindia.

21. CRICKET ASSOCIATION OF UTTARAKHAND

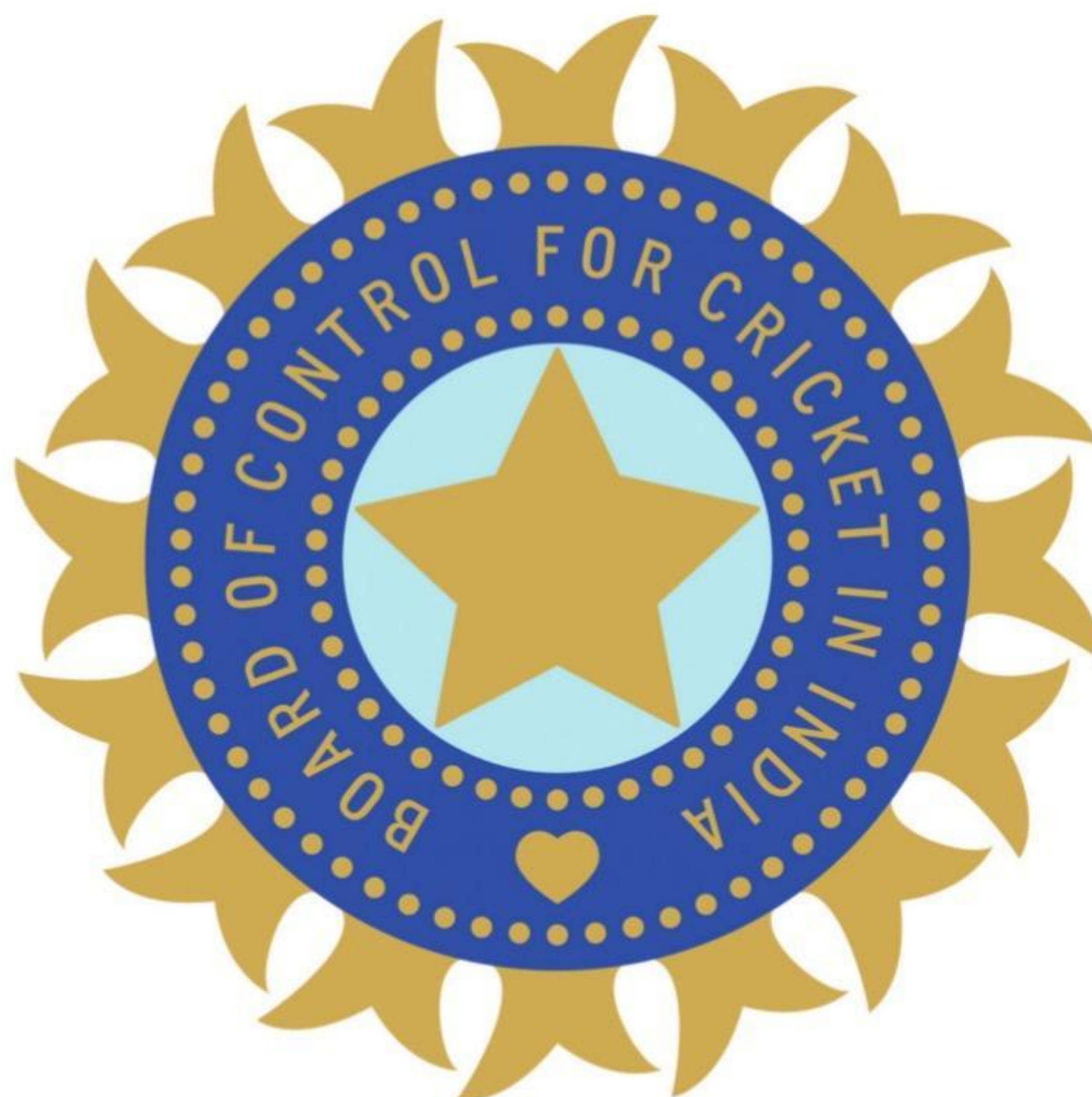
PRESIDENT: JOT SINGH GUNSOLA

HE WAS a member of Uttarakhand Legislative Assembly from Mussoorie and is a member of the Congress party. He lost the MLA election in 2016. He was twice president of the Mussoorie Municipal Council.

22. PUNJAB CRICKET ASSOCIATION

VICE-PRESIDENT: RAKESH RATHOUR

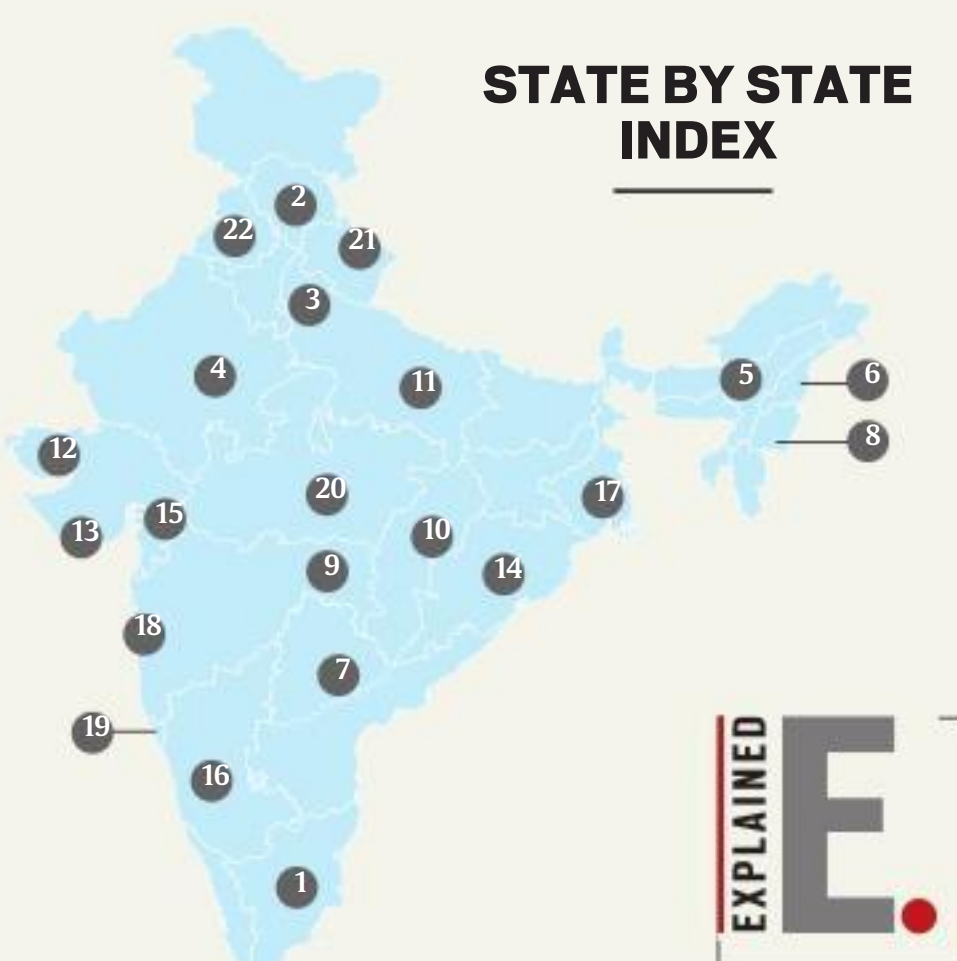
HE WILL be representing the association at BCCI AGM. Rakesh is a brother of former India opener and current Indian team batting coach Vikram Rathour. Rakesh is also a cousin of former BCCI president and currently Minister of State in BJP government Anurag Thakur.



70

Age limit, which disqualifies former BCCI presidents N Srinivasan and Sharad Pawar and ex-Board secretary Niranjan Shah to continue in cricket administration. Srinivasan is 74, Pawar 78 and Shah 75. All three have also overshot the tenure cap.

Offsprings of former office-bearers Niranjan Shah and N Srinivasan have taken over.



Can Lodha reforms curb power of old hands?

Why did BCCI's long-serving officials step down from positions?

The Supreme Court, in its July 18, 2016 order, accepted the Justice RM Lodha Committee's recommendations about BCCI's structural changes. Accordingly, the Indian board got a new constitution that had strict clauses about member qualification. Among other guidelines, the new rulebook debars those who have crossed 70 years; are ministers or government servants, have affiliation to other sports federations or have been office-bearers for a cumulative period of nine years.

Which officials have had to step down because of Lodha reforms?

Among the prominent faces, the restrictions made BCCI old guards like former president N Srinivasan and ex-secretary Niranjan Shah ineligible. Both are over 70 years of age and have completed nine years in office. Sharad Pawar, another former BCCI president, lost his right to continue in cricket administration because he is 78. Anurag Thakur, whom the apex court removed from the post of BCCI president in 2017 for non-compliance, can't return to cricket administration because he currently serves as the Union Minister of State for Finance and Corporate Affairs. Also, Thakur needs to serve a cooling-off period.

Current BCCI office-bearers like acting secretary Amitabh Choudhary

and treasurer Anirudh Chaudhry, too, need to serve a cooling-off period before returning to Board administration.

Does the new constitution allow sons and daughters of BCCI officials to replace them?

There's absolutely no bar as long as their respective state associations are nominating them as their representatives at the BCCI. They are free to contest state or BCCI elections provided they meet the constitutional criteria. This has resulted in the election of N Srinivasan's daughter Rupa in Tamil Nadu and Shah's son Jayesh in Saurashtra.

Can the old hands still control BCCI?

While the long-serving members can still rule cricket bodies by proxy because of their sons, daughters or loyal coterie, the Lodha recommendations have put in place a few checks and balances to ensure that Indian cricket is run democratically. In the new constitution, the apex body will hold all the powers. It will have a couple of players' representatives and those of the Comptroller and Auditor General, along with the other office-bearers. The presence of independent ombudsmen, ethics officers and electoral officials is also seen as measures that ensure that cricket units wouldn't end up becoming fiefdoms of a powerful few.

6 & 9

BCCI acting secretary Amitabh Choudhary and treasurer Anirudh Chaudhry are ruled out after completing 6 years on the spin. They have to undergo a 3-year cooling-off period to return to BCCI. In their states, both have completed 9 years as office-bearers—the tenure cap.

Chirayu Amin's son at Baroda and Anurag Thakur's brother in Himachal have been elected.



Controversy after Mary, Lovlina lose, AIBA rejects India's review appeals

GAURAV BHATT
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

FOR WHAT it's worth, Saturday's semifinal losses for Mary Kom and Lovlina Borgohain at the World Championships were too close to be deemed robberies. But more on that later. The story of the day was AIBA adding perceived insult to India's defeats. Twice the yellow card of protest was waved, and twice it was shunned.

Rules tweaked on the fly and insufficient explanations are par for course for AIBA, boxing's governing body which has been stripped of its right to host the Olympic boxing tournament in Tokyo next year. Interestingly, the disputed calls came in the Olympic categories of 51 kg and 69 kg. In the other results, Manju Rani advanced to the 48 kg final and Jamuna Boro lost to top seed Hsiao-Wen Huang.

Mary lost her semifinal to Turkey's Buse Naz Cakiroglu 4-1 and immediately asked for

the protest to be lodged, but a review was denied since only a 3-2 or 3-1 scoreline could be disputed. The AIBA rulebook states no such requirement for an appeal to be upheld, and the teams were only informed about the technicality at the morning meeting on Saturday.

But then Lovlina Borgohain lost 3-2 to top seeded Chinese Liu Yang in the 69 kg semifinal, and "the technical observer turned down the protest citing consistency of scores with the judges."

The official reasoning makes little sense and India's high-performance director Raffaele Bergamasco was struggling to wrap his head around it, hours after the day's sessions had ended. "I have no belief in AIBA at this moment. I am glad that they are not in charge of the Olympics next year," a miffed Bergamasco told *The Indian Express*. "It shouldn't be possible for them to change rules at the last minute. After Mary's bout, the AIBA people told me the protest is possible only if the result finishes 3-2. Later, af-



Mary Kom lost 1-4 to second seed Buse Naz Cakiroglu of Turkey.

ter Lovlina's bout finished 3-2, they told me it's not possible because she lost."

Bergamasco added: "For me, first round Mary was the clear winner. Second and third were very close. The Turkish girl was very good. But you should respect the champion. When the rounds are almost equal, the best

girl should be adjudged as the winner."

But Bergamasco's explanation also underlines how close the bout actually was.

Was Mary the better boxer on the day? Tough to say. Her opponent definitely was more cerebral. On Friday, this paper wrote how "Cakiroglu is a very cagey boxer, who likes to hang back and catch her opponents on counter... the 23-year-old southpaw has all the ingredients required to out-Mary Mary."

That's pretty much how it transpired, as the two boxers remained extremely cautious. Cakiroglu's shots were crisper, and she also knew how to play to the judges. She'd hook on for a clinch, but would flash an exasperated smile as if to blame Mary for the inaction. Cakiroglu was also quicker, moved well and frustrated Mary to the point that the veteran threw strikes once after the bell, and another time after the referee had forced a break. Mary also had to be reminded throughout the fight by the corner to keep her guard up, as the Turk kept scoring with quick combos.

With no real difference in size, Mary punched harder. She landed some clear shots and the first two rounds could have gone either way. But Mary's sghast reaction after the decision was announced was not fitting for a fight mostly dictated by Cakiroglu.

Twice not nice

In the 69 kg semifinal, Lovlina traded exchanges with Liu Yang, but the Chinese boxer has a flashier, flat-footed, awkward style, and she also defeated the top seed in the previous round and all such factors tend to affect the scoring. India raised the yellow card for the first round of Lovlina's bout to be reviewed, as three of five judges awarded the round to her opponent. An overturn would have seen Lovlina make the final.

"First of all, Lovlina was the clear winner. Secondly, you should look at the video and after that just yes or no," says Bergamasco. "But they say yes, 'It's not possible. We won't look at the video, she lost.' That makes

me very angry."

"I played really well. I believe I won the bout but the judges scored it for the Chinese boxer. The supervisor didn't agree to our protest of the first round," Lovlina said after the bout. "The target now is to improve and prepare for the Olympic qualifiers."

It wasn't just the Indians who were left feeling wronged on the day, as a protest was lodged against Russian Liudmila Vorontsova's 3-2 win over top seed Lin Yuting of Chinese Taipei, and Karris Artingstall of England also had a protest rejected, having lost 4-1 to Nesthy Petecio of the Philippines.

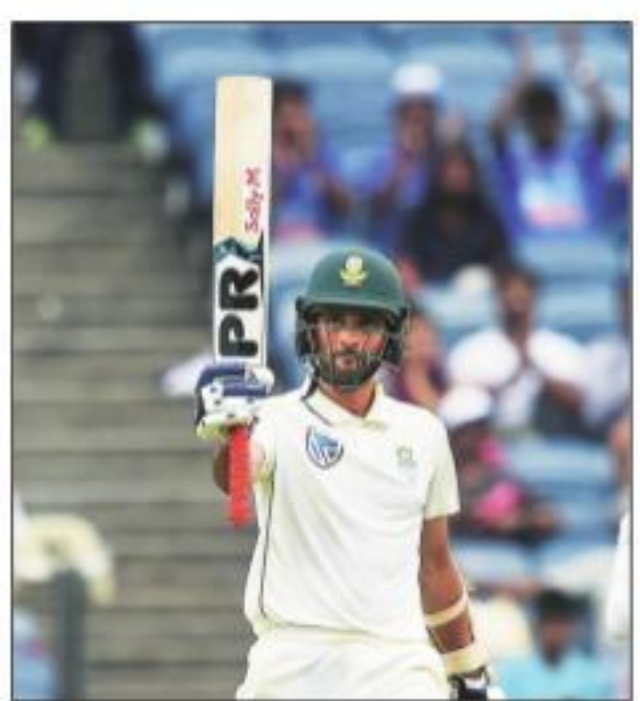
Soon after the loss, Mary tweeted: "How and why. Let the world know how much right and wrong the decision is," tagging sports minister Kiren Rijiju and Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

For now, it's back to the drawing board for Mary and Lovlina who will look to repeat their performances at the Olympic qualifiers next year, which won't be organised by AIBA.

SCORECARD >> India vs South Africa

2nd Test | Pune | Toss: India

INDIA	601/5D IN 156.3 OVS
SA	275 ALL OUT IN 105.4 OVS
D Elgar b Yadav	6 (13b, 1x4)
A Markram lbw b Yadav	0 (2b)
T de Bruyn c Saha b Yadav	30 (58b, 6x4)
T Bavuma c Saha b Shami	8 (15b, 1x4)
A Nortje c Kohli b Shami	3 (28b)
F du Plessis c Rahane b Ashwin	64 (117b, 9x4, 1x6)
Q de Kock b Ashwin	31 (48b, 7x4)
S Muthusamy lbw b Jadeja	7 (20b)
V Philander not out	44 (192b, 6x4)
K Maharaj c R Sharma b Ashwin	72 (132b, 12x4)
K Rabada lbw b Ashwin	2 (9b)
Extras: (lb 8)	8
Fall of wickets: 1-2 (Aiden Markram, 1.2 ov), 2-13 (Dean Elgar, 3.5 ov), 3-33 (Temba Bavuma, 9.1 ov), 4-41 (Anrich Nortje, 17.2 ov), 5-53 (Theunis de Bruyn, 20.6 ov), 6-128 (Quinton de Kock, 37.6 ov), 7-139 (Senuran Muthusamy, 44.2 ov), 8-162 (Faf du Plessis, 58.3 ov), 9-271 (Keshav Maharaj, 101.4 ov), 10-275 (Kagiso Rabada, 105.4 ov)	
Bowling	
I Sharma	10-1-36-0
U Yadav	13-2-37-3
R Jadeja	36-15-81-1
M Shami	17-3-44-2
R Ashwin	28.4-9-69-4
R Sharma	1-1-0-0



Maharaj scored his maiden Test fifty.

Farce that mattered, and didn't

Kohli's bizarre tactics allowed Vernon Philander and Keshav Maharaj stitch a century stand; while it is unlikely to have an impact on the result of the match, India's inability to dismiss the tail is worrying

SANDIP G
PUNE, OCTOBER 12

UMESH YADAV was walking in briskly from fine-leg, shadow-bowling to his bowling mark, before Virat Kohli screamed at him to retreat. The pacer shook his head as he went back reluctantly. He couldn't comprehend the ploy, as he had looked the likeliest bowler to breach the resistance of Keshav Maharaj and Vernon Philander in his three-over spell.

Yadav was making the odd old ball reverse at pace, had the batsmen fending indecisively and playing away from the body while occasionally rapping them on the pads. The sniff of a wicket was blowing in the mild breeze that wafted across the stadium. But it was not to be.

Yadav was the only bowler whose natural line is at the stumps, and when bowling at the lower order, the length matter less than the line. Many tail-enders like nothing more than bowling that creates no threat to body or gloves, and to the stumps if they miss it. Allied with his pace, Yadav was India's best bet to wipe off the tail. It's where India lost the plot, the only phase of the game they seemed to be without direction or plan.

In reality, it wasn't a doomsday scenario — a dogged lower-order rearguard is commonplace in the subcontinent when the ball gets worn out and the strip turns lifeless. However, Kohli got restless.

He didn't attempt anything radical, the fields weren't extremely defensive either. A few close-in fielders were moved closer to the ring, personnel were swapped around, Kohli barked out instructions more frequently and more frantically. It made one wonder whether South Africa were 250-odd for eight to 550 for eight.

Soon, he removed Ashwin from the attack after a two-over spell, wherein he spun the ball twice past Maharaj's outside edge and seemed to get drift. Like Yadav, Ashwin too walked back to his fielding position with a startled look.

Change backfires

Thus, at a time when he was most frustrated, Kohli shunned the services of his two most penetrative bowlers in this match. The changes only backfired. Maharaj and Philander, experienced as they're, could sense India's nerves snap. They grew in confidence, struck a few more boundaries and piled on the agony. India, for once in the series, looked less invulnerable.

Maharaj possesses two first-class hundreds and Philander has eight Test-match half-centuries. Both demonstrated the stickability their main batsmen couldn't.

Their resistance, it seemed, would only



R Ashwin reacts after taking the wicket of Keshav Maharaj on Day 3 of the second Test against South Africa on Saturday. PTI

last till the second new ball, when Shami and Yadav in collusion, or Yadav and Ashwin in tandem, would mop up the tail. Shami couldn't and Yadav, the sharpest new-ball operator of the match, was introduced as late as the 96th over, as the fourth-change bowler.

It prompted the question — why wasn't he given a longer spell in the 70s?

In the end, Ashwin ended the torment in the space of four overs, and the joy was back on Kohli's face. Other than prolonging the inevitable and eating up a bit of the lead — India still managed a massive 326-run advantage — the partnership amounted to nothing. But the recurrent inability to demolish the lower order would rankle Kohli.

In this match alone, the last two wickets added 113 runs and ate up nearly 46 overs. While it might not turn out to be decisive, the trend is worrying. In Vizag, the last three had added 61 in the first innings, in the second the last two combined 121. Even the

Maharaj possesses two first-class hundreds and Philander has eight Test-match half-centuries. Both demonstrated the stickability their main batsmen couldn't.

lightweight West Indies lower order was allowed the licence to go berserk. In Antigua, in the second innings, the last pair added 50. Though none of these instanced turned match-defining, India have been stung by the lower order in the past.

Like against South Africa in Cape Town last year, when the last four wickets added 84 in the first innings and India ended up losing by 72 runs. Six months later, in Birmingham, Sam Curran plotted a lower-

order fightback, adding 93 runs with the last three in the second innings, as India ended up losing the match by 31 runs. Even in Adelaide, Nathan Lyon almost stole a heist, as the last three attached 105 runs. For a team aspiring to be number one not only in ranking but also in the aura it wields, the inability to blow away the tail is an irritant.

Through all of it, struck the captain's naivety. True that Philander and Maharaj batted crabbily and blunted the best-laid plans. Tail-enders may have improved — the slogging tail-end jacks are dwindling. Even so, India are inept in this phase of the game. But it wasn't like India had exhausted all tricks in their arsenal. What about a bouncer-barage, a yorker-rain, or the yorker-bouncer double-bluff? A bit of needling or a sprinkling of intimidation. Maybe, it's where they missed the explosiveness of Jasprit Bumrah. But there was a bemused Yadav, the top-order wrecker.

Kenya's Kipchoge breaks two-hour marathon barrier

Vienna: Kenya's Eliud Kipchoge on Saturday made history, busting the mythical two-hour barrier for the marathon on a specially prepared course in a huge Vienna park. With an unofficial time of 1hr 59min 40.2sec, the Olympic champion became the first ever to run a marathon in under two hours in the Prater park with the course readied to make it as even as possible.

The 34-year-old already holds the men's world record for the distance with a time of 2hr 01min 39sec, which he set in the flat Berlin marathon on September 16, 2018. But accompanied by a posse of 41 pacemakers and a car in front of them setting the pace, Kipchoge bested that mark, making good on a failed attempt two years ago in Monza, Italy.

"I am the first man -- I want to inspire many people, that no human is limited," said the history-making Kipchoge. "We can make this world a beautiful world and a peaceful world. My wife and three children, I am happy for them to come and witness history." Maintaining a very regular pace at around 2:50 minutes per kilometre, he passed the finish line gesturing and smiling.

He had been 11 seconds in advance at mid-race as fans lining the course, many waving Kenyan flags, loudly cheered him on. Kipchoge told reporters earlier this week that his attempt in the Austrian capital was about "making history in this world, like the first man to go to the moon".

Because of the way the run was set up and paced the International Association of Athletics Federations will not validate the time as a world record.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

HISTORY WITH A LITTLE HELP

Using a sanitised course and assistance in various forms, which marathon runners usually wouldn't have access to, Kipchoge broke the two-hour barrier. An advanced version of a legal shoe also gave him the edge.

COURSE
A 4.3-kilometre well-laid stretch had been chosen within the Prater Hauptallee, a public park in Vienna, for Kipchoge's record-breaking attempt. The course, which he would go back and forth over, had two circular loops at either end to enable him to maintain speed without any sudden changes in direction. Moreover, 90 per cent of the course was in a straight line. The gradient over the course was minimal, which ensured there was minimal variation in incline. Marathons around the world run on city roads where athletes have to deal with many variations in track conditions.

WEATHER
The marathon began at 8:15 am Vienna time as conditions were considered most suitable during the two-hour window. The temperature hovered around 10 to 12 degrees and there was hardly any wind. Major marathons also start in the morning but conditions are not always ideal because the date and start time is fixed well in advance. Runners often encounter unfavourable conditions. Kipchoge's team had the

TEAM OF PACEMAKERS
Kipchoge had the services of 41 pacemakers. Some of them were Olympic medallists and formed rotating teams. At any given point, five of them ran in a reverse arrow-head formation in front of him to provide a slipstream and protect him from crosswinds. Two of them followed just behind Kipchoge.

Pacemakers in front and back gave him an aerodynamic edge.

option of choosing the start time of the marathon after closely studying weather patterns in the area.

ADDITIONAL AIDS
On the track, the pacemakers and Kipchoge knew which zone to stay within in order to post the fastest timing. This was done by lasers beamed onto the track just in front of the runners from a device mounted on a car. Drinks were handed to Kipchoge by a support staff member who cycled alongside the runners. In a marathon, runners have to slightly veer off their course and break stride at times to pick up fluids from a water station.

Vijay Hazare: Samson goes big, hits double ton against Goa

SHAMIK CHAKRABARTY
KOLKATA, OCTOBER 12

ON SATURDAY, after scoring his career-best 212 not out in List A cricket, the highest individual score in the history of the Vijay Hazare Trophy, Sanju Samson credited the pitch at Alur, which set the platform for an even contest between bat and ball.

"I'm happy to be playing this tournament in Bangalore (Alur). Playing on wickets in Kerala, where five-day matches get over in one-and-a-half days... I have been playing on those types of wickets for a very long time. It was a great opportunity for me to come here, where the wickets are even. In Kerala, we don't get much opportunity to play on true wickets," Samson told *The Sunday Express*.

Today, at Alur, he scored 212 not out off 129 balls, hitting 21 fours and 10 sixes in Kerala's 104-run victory over Goa in an Elite Group A, Vijay Hazare Trophy match. It was his maiden List A century, which became the eighth instance of an Indian player scoring a double hundred in this format. Samson also added 338 runs with Sachin Baby for the third wicket. The latter made 127 off 135 deliveries.

"I just tried to play to my strengths, which is to dominate the bowlers. It wasn't a single-tenpo innings. At times I had to find my singles and doubles. I had to wait for the slog overs (to up the ante). Overall, it was a nice in-

nings I would say," the 24-year-old 'keeper-batsman gave a low-down. "After I crossed my hundred, I thought I could reach the double hundred," he added.

Samson made his international debut four years ago, at a T20 international against Zimbabwe at Harare. Till now that has remained his sole international outing. "For me, yes, people have been talking about my selection in the Indian team for the last three-four years. But I always wanted to do something special. Playing for my country right now would be like playing in the world's best XI. To get into that team you have to be special. I'm happy that this knock is really special and I was waiting for something like this to happen," he said.

By his own admission, Samson is now in a better mental space. "Earlier, I used to think a lot. Now I have simplified things. I just go out there and try to enjoy my cricket, and have fun. That's how I have changed."

With MS Dhoni in the twilight of his career, there's a window, although Rishabh Pant remains the first-choice in limited-overs internationals. Sanju doesn't begrudge Pant. He rather calls him a "special cricketer". With regards to his own international future, he turns philosophical. "I'm a very big believer that everything turns up at the right time."

BRIEF SCORES: Kerala 377 for 3 in 50 ovs (Sanju Samson 212 (129b, 21x4, 10x6), Sachin Baby 127; Lakshay Garg 1/73) vs Goa 273 for 8 in 50 ovs (AD Kaushik 58, TT Sawkar 56; S Sandeep Warrier 2/44)

Manju a step away from 48-kilo gold



Manju Rani.

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 12

AWAY FROM all the scoring drama, India's Manju Rani continued her merry, giant-killing way with a 4-1 win over Thailand's Chuthamat Raksat to enter the 48 kg World Championship final. Manju, who toppled the top seed North Korean Kim Hyang-Mi on Thursday, will take on second-seeded Russian Ekaterina Paltceva on Sunday.

"I knew how to box her since I have faced her before," said Manju, who lost the previous meeting against Raksat at the Thailand Open earlier this year. "The first round was good, I had some good uppercuts. But she is tough, and she recovered in the second round but coaches helped me through the final round."

"Manju was spectacular today," said high-performance director Raffaele Bergamasco. "She listened to us every round. When I say, 'you go right, uppercut, close the distance', she follows. She is a very good listener, and a natural talent."

Manju broke into the camp earlier this year with a gold medal at her first senior nationals appearance. The 19-year-old's fundamentals are strong, and the nothing-to-lose approach has now fuelled a finals run in her maiden Worlds appearance as well.

"Today wasn't even her best appearance," says coach Sube Singh Beniwal, who convinced then 11-year-old Manju's parents to let their child take up boxing. "Whenever she tried to move inside, the Thai girl countered her with speed. But Manju made an impression with her combos. She was aggressive and her punches were clean. This is just the World championship, but I have big hopes from Manju at the Olympics as well."

Manju has earlier talked about her ambitions to move up to the Olympic weight of 51 kg, currently spearheaded by Mary Kom. Bergamasco hinted that she could be the top prospect for Paris 2024. "Manju has been a big surprise here. She can be huge for the Olympic Games in 2024," said Bergamasco. "Tomorrow, I dream of a gold. But a final against a Russian in Russia will be very difficult."

48 KG FINAL BOUT: LIVE ON AIBA'S CHANNEL ON YOUTUBE @ 1:30 PM

Toor rewrites his national mark

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA RANCHI, OCTOBER 12

SHOT PUTTER Tajinder Pal Singh Toor broke his own national record to lit up a rainy day in the 59th National Open Athletics Championships here on Saturday.

Representing AFI, Toor came up with a best effort of 20.92m to improve upon his own earlier national record of 20.75m which he had set while winning the Asian Games gold medal in Jakarta last year. His farthest throw came in his third attempt.

After a half-hour delay caused by heavy rain, the 25-year-old Toor warmed up with a put of 20.41m, just 2cm short of his season's best that he managed during the World Championships in Doha on October 3.

He followed that up with a 20.29m effort before uncorking the biggest throw yet by an Indian and raising his arms in triumph as soon as he knew he had got a new national mark. On his subsequent attempts, he egged himself on to try and get 21.10m -- the Olympic Games qualifying standard -- but without any success.

"I was in good rhythm today. I was aiming 21.30 to 21.40 and I think it crossed that in the last throw but unfortunately it was a foul. I will try again to qualify for Olympics at the World Military Games in Wuhan, China later this month. It will be a good competition at Wuhan," Toor said.

Noah Nirmal Tom and VK Vismaya claimed the 400m titles for men and women respectively as evidence of their rising stature among India's consistent quartermilers. The 25-year-old Tom clocked 45.88 seconds, only his second sub 46 second run.

P'nandhaa, 12, wins U-18 Worlds gold

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA OCTOBER 12

RPRAGGNANANDHAA emerged as unconquered king in the World Youth Chess Championship here, claiming the gold in the Under-18 Open category on Saturday.

The 14-year-old Grand Master from Chennai settled for a cautious draw in the 11th and final round against Valentin Buckels (Germany) to top the

charts with nine points. He, however, will also have to thank compatriot,

International Master Arjun Kalyan for achieving a crucial draw against top seeded Shant Sargsyan (Armenia).

Praggnanandhaa would have been under pressure if Grand Master Shant had won. But Shant could not unravel a determined Arjun, allowing Praggnanandhaa to annex the title.

The Championship ended on a high note for India, with six

other medals, including three silver, coming their way.

Only the Under-16 Girls category proved tough for India, although B M Akshaya gave a good account of herself.

Akshaya lost the medal to Anousha Mahdian, suffering an unexpected defeat to her in the final round.

But Indian girls in the Under-14 segment compensated for it, with Divya Deshmukh and Rakshitta Ravi winning two medals.

The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
cordially invites you to a Talk

on

**"Land Rights in Meghalaya:
a Gendered Discourse from the East Khasi Hills"**

by

Dr. Kavita N. Soreide
Fellow, NMML

Chair:
Prof. Tiplut Nongbri
Jamia Millia Islamia

on

Monday, 14 October 2019 at 3.00pm
Venue: Seminar Room, Library Building
Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Teen Murti House, New Delhi-110011

For More info, please visit: Website: <http://nehru memorial.nic.in> or
Contact us on: ccs2nmml@gmail.com
For live webcast, please visit: www.facebook.com/NehruMemorialLibrary/;
www.youtube.com/user/nehru memorial library

All are Welcome

On the occasion of World Stroke Day
All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi
presents

PUBLIC LECTURE & PANEL DISCUSSION
(in Hindi & English)

on

STROKE
(Paralysis / Lakwa / Pakshaghat)

Welcome & Introduction
Dr. (Prof.) Randeep Guleria, Director, AIIMS

Panelists
Dr. (Prof.) M.V. Padma Srivastava
Dr. (Prof.) Rohit Bhatia, Dr. Deepti Vibha, Dr. Vishnu V.Y., Dr. A.K. Pandit

- What is Stroke ? How to recognize it ?
- What to do when stroke happens ?
- Who is at risk of getting stroke ?
- Stroke is treatable
- How can one decrease the risk ?
- Stroke is preventable

Date : 14.10.2019 (Monday)
Time : 4:00 PM to 5:00 PM
Venue : Jawaharlal Auditorium, AIIMS

All are cordially invited
ENTRY FREE (Please take your seat by 3:45 PM)

Please join us for tea after the lecture
Parking available at Multi Level Underground Parking
(Near AIIMS, Masjid Moth Campus)

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COLD

COUGH

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VASA
Vasa is very effective in managing respiratory system.

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TULSI
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