



THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY IS NOT A MECHANICAL THING TO BE ADJUSTED BY ABOLITION OF FORMS. IT REQUIRES CHANGE OF HEART. — M K GANDHI

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

The people's policy



PARAMESWARAN IYER

In last five years, Swachh Bharat mission has captured people's imagination, they have owned the change

STATES AT CENTRE

With their revenues stressed and strained, states need to focus on mobilising their own resources

IN RECENT TIMES, economic discussion in India has focused largely on the stress on central government finances. But state government finances are also facing headwinds. And as states increasingly account for a larger share in general government (Centre and state) spending, this has grave implications for the economy. As an RBI report on state finances notes, over the past two years, the overall size of state budgets has reduced which may have "inadvertently deepened" the economic slowdown. The situation is unlikely to change this year. States have pegged their revenues to grow at a slower pace largely due to lower tax devolution and grants. And as revenue expenditure tends to be sticky in nature — it is also rising due to higher interest and pension payments — states have offset slower revenue growth by curtailing capital spending, which will lower overall public sector capex.

The strains on state finances stem from several sources. First, states are increasingly undertaking capital expenditure through state public sector enterprises. And though states extend support to these enterprises through guarantees on their borrowings, "weak cost recovery mechanisms", as in the case of the power and transport sectors, pose a fiscal risk. Second, under UDAY agreements, states have to take over incremental losses of power discoms. This exerts pressure on already stretched finances. Third, sharp cuts in corporate taxes and sluggish GST collections will also impact tax devolution to states. And then there are concerns over the fiscal costs of Ayushman Bharat. The RBI report also notes that state debt to GDP has surged to 25 per cent of GDP in 2019-20. Bringing it down to 20 per cent, in line with the recommendations of the FRBM (fiscal responsibility and budget management) review committee, will be challenging given the current trajectory of state finances.

On its part, the Centre has been increasingly relying on collections through cesses and surcharges to fund its expenditure. And as revenue through these sources does not form part of the divisible tax pool, it is not shared with states. In 2019-20, the Centre hopes to mop up Rs 3.69 lakh crore through cesses and surcharges (or 15 per cent of its gross tax revenue), implying that states' share in gross tax revenue works out to just 32.9 per cent. To put this in perspective, this amount is more than the Centre's capital expenditure or its allocation to centrally sponsored schemes. Further, the Centre has also asked the 15th Finance Commission to look into the possibility of providing funds for defence and internal security. These are likely to come at the expense of states. In this scenario, states must focus on resource mobilisation. But with little scope to raise own-tax revenue, they must focus on raising non-tax revenue, through hiking user charges on services like power and irrigation.

MISSING CLOSURE

The low turnout elections in Afghanistan may raise more questions than they are likely to settle

THE LOW VOTER turnout in the presidential elections held in Afghanistan last Saturday is no surprise. The Taliban had openly denounced the elections. In the weeks preceding voting day, the country was witness to brutal bombings in which scores of people were killed. Voting took place only in under 5,000 polling stations out of over 7,000 due to security reasons. There was not much of an election campaign as there was uncertainty about whether an election would be held at all — the talks between the Taliban and the US, until they were abruptly cancelled, were pointing in the direction of a nominated elected government. The final voter turnout is expected to be not more than 2.5 million, out of 9.6 million registered voters. While this may well be the cleanest and least fraudulent vote in Afghanistan since 2004, the low number of voters is certain to raise questions about the legitimacy of the election, and of the winning candidates, complicating an already complex and fragile situation.

When the US called off the talks with the Taliban at the beginning of September, Afghans who believe in the democratic system were relieved that this gave the presidential elections a chance, and that the newly elected leadership could negotiate on its own with the Taliban. In fact, President Ashraf Ghani, who had been excluded from the US-Taliban talks, specifically asked voters for a strengthened mandate to open peace talks with the insurgents. But if the Taliban were contemptuous of Ghani and his government as "American puppets", saying it was better to deal with the puppet masters directly, they would find even less reason to talk to the new government. In their eyes, the new dispensation would be as much American as the last one, with the added drawback of being voted in by far fewer people.

But before all that, the result itself may be contentious, if the last election is anything to go by. The three leading candidates — President Ghani, Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah and former warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar — have already declared themselves the winner, though the counting is still ongoing and results are to be declared later this month. Last time, the transition to the new dispensation could not take place until the US stepped in to broker an agreement between Ghani and Abdullah, the two candidates with the highest number of votes. If the results are deadlocked again, there may be no mediator. It would give the Taliban exactly the opening it is waiting for.

GET OUT OF HER WAY

Because when mummies race, they illustrate that it is possible to be faster, higher, stronger

FOR TOO MANY women, there comes a time, usually after professional promise shades away to euphoric motherhood and complete exhaustion, when they realise it is impossible to win the mommy race. Being on the mommy track usually involves running at full blast, without moving an inch, with maternal guilt and professional inadequacy for company. And in your ear, a diabolical question, like the crack of a gunshot as you take off: "Can you really have it all?" Well, yes, world — sometimes you can.

Even if it often remains a heroic ask, in the words of Shelly-Ann Fraser-Pryce, "the females keep showing up" and winning. As she did on Sunday, when the 32-year-old Jamaican athlete raced to a fourth 100m gold at the World Championships at Doha, Qatar. With her, on the victory lap, was her two-year-old son, whose birth in 2017 had forced her to skip the championship. She was not the only new mom to wrest triumph, and prove a point. Chinese athlete Liu Hong, who too had taken a year off after having a child, won the 20km race walk. And to add to the "mother's day" celebrations, American athlete Allyson Felix won her 12th World Championship gold medal in the 4x400m mixed relay. For those who asked, that is one more than Usain Bolt's tally of 11.

For Felix, this is sweet revenge. She was returning to the tracks 13 months after a difficult pregnancy, and a high-profile battle with Nike, in which she and other athletes forced the company to change their maternity policies. Taken together, this trio of powerful performers, as well as athletes as varied in strength and guile as Serena Williams and Mary Kom, land a knockout punch to the perception of women as physically constrained, especially by biological destiny. They illustrate that it is possible to be faster, higher, stronger, even if motherhood makes arduous demands of the body and the mind. When mummies race, they play to win. Now, the world better get out of the way.

MAHATMA GANDHI DREAMT of an India where no one had to suffer the indignity of open defecation. There cannot be a better tribute to him than the transformation of the country, in the last five years, from being the highest contributor to global open defecation to torch-bearer for global sanitation.

What the prime minister has managed to do, through his inspirational leadership for a cause his predecessors stayed silent about, is a testament to his connect with and understanding of the needs of our people at the grassroots. In the last five years, India has triggered a sanitation revolution. The world recognises this, and the Global Goalkeepers Award that the PM was presented with during his recent visit to the US, more than vindicates his decision to put sanitation at the front and centre of India's developmental agenda.

As the states prepare to dedicate an open defecation free (ODF) country to Gandhi@150, it is timely for us to analyse how this campaign became the global benchmark for participatory and transformative development. Team Swachh Bharat Mission Grameen (SBM-G) has identified four key pillars of India's sanitation revolution, which can, more or less, be applied to any large-scale transformation in the world.

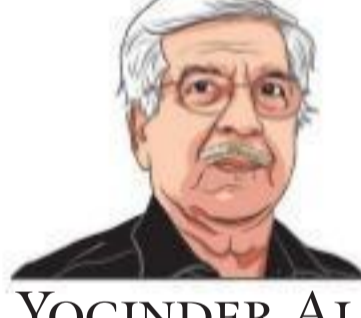
First, political leadership. Arguably the biggest game-changer for the SBM, was the prime minister investing his personal political capital in the mission. Inspired by his leadership and commitment, various chief ministers took up the cause, creating a domino-like effect, cascading leadership to the chief secretary and in turn to collectors, all the way down to sarpanchs at the grassroots level. Leaders at all levels are prime catalysts for large-scale transformations.

Second, public financing. Typically, no large-scale transformation can be an unfunded mandate. Over Rs 1 lakh crore was committed to ensuring universal access to sanitation, thereby backing the political will with budgetary support. About 90 per cent of the 10 crore households which received toilets were from socially and economically weaker sections of society and they received

financial incentives to build and use toilets. Third, partnerships. The SBM (G) partnered with implementors and influencers alike — national and international development agencies, media houses, civil society, celebrities, as well as all departments/ministries of the government of India, who pledged an additional \$6 billion for sanitation in their respective sectors. This "all hands on deck" approach, making sanitation everyone's business, helped to mainstream it into the national consciousness. And fourth, peoples' participation. The SBM-G trained over half a million swachhagrahis, grassroots motivators, who triggered behaviour change in every village of India. Ordinary people undertook extraordinary roles and inspired others to build and use toilets. Stories of sanitation champions emerged from every nook and corner of the country. A large-scale transformation can be truly successful if it captures the imagination of the people, and becomes a people's movement or a jan andolan.

BOPAL IN TIMES OF NITI AAYOG

Why 2005 declaration on synergy between government and NGOs is still relevant



YOGINDER ALAGH

IN THE 90s of the last century, an outrageous idea started to emerge. It held that apart from the government agencies, corporates, the co-operative sector, and other citizens could get together for common developmental causes. In some ways this was the creative and "developmental" aspect of what is today loosely called the Fifth Estate. It began in a small way. A former IIM, Ahmedabad director, Ravi Mathai, chucked it all up one day and decided that he would spend his life in seeing if he could develop what a student of his later called 'the bottom of the pyramid'. Ravi set up a "university" for artisans — the rural university.

In Gujarat, former IAS officer Anil Shah got involved in a similar initiative. He set up the Development Support Centre at Bopal, near Ahmedabad (now a part of the metropolis). By then, the Fifth Estate was old hat. In fact, the first round of problems had begun to emerge. There were conflicts with government and corporate entities — all those who had "sanctioned budgets". There was corruption and no one to lead the well meaning when problems arose. The apocryphal story was the so-called message from Bihar that said my son is doing well and has registered an NGO. So a Magna Carta was needed.

Development required technology, capital and other resources but above all, motivation and capability of the concerned people to utilise their resources in efficient, equitable, and sustainable manner. Such participation was the core of sustainable development. The decade of 90s saw sweeping, almost revolu-

tionary changes, in the way rural development — particularly matters relating to the natural resources, crucial for the well being of people living in rural areas — was conceptualised. Rural communities were required to prepare and implement micro plans appropriate to local conditions and needs. Joint Forest Management (1990), watershed development (1995), participatory irrigation management (1997) and Swajaldhara (2003) are good examples. Those working for participatory management of natural resources were hoping to strengthen and carry forward the participatory approach in 2000-2001 at the time of the formulation of the Tenth Plan. However, the trends in the 10th Five Year Plan were alarming. They point to distortions and reversals of the healthy trends of the 90s. This was forcefully brought out by Anil Shah, by now at the Development Support Centre. When his paper reached M S Swaminathan and me, we encouraged Shah to organise a national deliberation to draft the principles that should guide the formulation and modification of schemes pertaining to natural resources management by the Centre, states or donors. This led to a national-level meeting on January 16, 2005 at Bopal. It was attended by about 30 leaders from NGO community, academics and policy makers from various parts of India. The deliberations were guided by me and the late B N Yugandhar. That meeting prepared eight declarations based on eight principles proposed by eminent leaders in their respective field.

The first proposed by MYRADA was the centrality of community-based organisations (CBOs). The second proposed by SEWA Mandir at Udaipur was about equity. The third, mooted by the irrigation department in Andhra, was decentralisation. The fourth, proposed, by the N M Sadguru Water Development Foundation, was about the need of a facilitating agency. The fifth by BAIF at Pune pertained to monitoring and evaluation. The sixth, mooted by V B Eswaran, an IAS officer, was about training and software. Anil Shah proposed the seventh as sustained momentum of development — so that the success story is not just a flash in the pan. And the eighth was proposed by my college friend at Wharton, Pradip Khandwala — organisational restructuring. Around each declaration is a brief text adopted at Bopal on January 16, 2005. Each principle was elaborated with examples from centrally sponsored schemes and other projects. We lobbied for the execution of these principles in Delhi, with opinion makers, including the press. They had an impact. Also failures. If we decide to plan again with the large number of new schemes that were declared after planning was abolished, we must reinvent these principles. I have just returned from my morning walk and saw some slum dwellers doing their thing in a defecation free city. Let's do Bopal again.

The writer, an economist, is a former Union minister



OCTOBER 2, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

NO POLL DELAY PRIME MINISTER CHARAN Singh has denied that the government was considering putting off the elections due to drought conditions prevailing in many parts of the country. The working president of the Lok Dal was quoted as saying in Varanasi that since many workers of his party were in favour of the elections being postponed, he would discuss the matter with the Prime Minister. Raj Narain told newsmen in Delhi that personally he did not favour a postponement. The PM said in a statement that, "I would like to make it categorically clear that neither I nor my government is in favour of postponing Lok Sabha polls on this account."

GANDHI SMRITI RULES AS THE GANDHI Samadhi Samiti has prohibited any person from carrying "Ganga jal" into the samadhi grounds, Raj Narain has modified his original programme and now plans to take a self-purifying bath tomorrow morning along with his followers on the lawns opposite the samadhi. Despite the slight alteration in the venue, trouble is expected tomorrow morning as the president of the Yuva Janata, Vikram Singh, has announced that Yuva Janata volunteers will not allow Narain to indulge in "puerile exhibitionism" which would show disrespect to Gandhiji on his birthday.

IMPEACHMENT NO ISSUE THE JANATA PARTY will not make the impeachment of the president an election issue. Although, the party's manifesto will contain criticism of his action in denying the Janata Party an opportunity to form a government and for dissolving the Lok Sabha — This was stated during an official briefing on the second day's discussions on the draft manifesto and party's election strategy by the national executive. Not one of the nearly 50 members of the national executive made the demand for making the impeachment of president Sanjiva Reddy an election plank. Most of the speakers, however, criticised the president, according to the official spokesman.

17 THE WORLD

TOP OF THE WORLD



Amber Guyger, Reuters

U.S. Ex-officer found guilty of killing neighbour

Dallas: A former Dallas police officer who shot her unarmed black neighbour in his own apartment was found guilty of murder on Tuesday, in a high-profile case that dealt with issues of race, policing and mistaken identity. Amber R Guyger, who is white, was charged in the death of her 26-year-old neighbour, Botham Shem Jean, after she said she accidentally went to the wrong floor of their apartment complex and fatally shot him last year. Guyger claimed she thought she was entering her own apartment and was acting in self-defense against an intruder.

AFGHANISTAN Eleven police personnel killed in Taliban attack

Balkh: At least 11 policemen were killed and over a dozen more taken prisoner Tuesday when Taliban fighters stormed their headquarters in northern Afghanistan, officials said. A column of more than 400 Taliban fighters on motorbikes attacked Shortepa district police headquarters in Balkh province in the early hours, triggering a lengthy gunfight, provincial spokesman Munir Farhad told AFP. "Eleven policemen were killed in the attack. The Taliban also suffered heavy losses," he said. The Taliban claimed responsibility, saying their fighters had overrun the district.

PAKISTAN Court issues notice based on Maryam petition

Lahore: A Pakistani court on Tuesday issued a notice to anti-graft body on a petition filed by former prime minister Nawaz Sharif's daughter Maryam Nawaz challenging her arrest in money laundering case. A two-member Lahore High Court bench comprising Justice Ali Baqar Najafi and Justice Sardar Ahmad Naeem directed a special prosecutor of the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) to submit a reply to the petition on October 14.

SYRIA Bomb kills 3 employees at key oil field

Beirut: A bomb blast Tuesday near a key oil field in eastern Syria targeted US-backed fighters but killed three workers instead, a war monitor said Tuesday. The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said the explosion occurred on the road outside the Al-Omar oilfield, the country's largest in the eastern province of Deir Ezzor. Al-Omar is under the control of the US-backed Syrian Democratic Forces who have been fighting the Islamic State group. Part of the oil field is used as an SDF base, while workers have resumed production in another.

Parade, protests on China's 70th anniversary



An anti-government protester runs through a cloud of tear gas in Sham Shui Po area of Hong Kong; (right) doves released over people holding Chinese flags at the end of the parade in China on Tuesday Reuters



18-yr-old shot by Hong Kong police as violence escalates

JESSIE PANG & DONNY KWOK HONG KONG, OCTOBER 1

HONG KONG police shot a teenage protester on Tuesday, the first to be hit by live ammunition in almost four months of unrest in the Chinese-ruled city, amid violent clashes on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. Cat-and-mouse clashes spread from the shopping district of Causeway Bay to the Admiralty area of government offices on Hong Kong island, and then on to the New Territories bordering mainland China, with police firing tear gas and water cannon at petrol bomb throwing activists. Police said an officer shot an 18-year-old man in the shoulder in the Tsuen Wan area of the New Territories with a live round. Protesters have previ-



A screen grab of an officer shooting the teen. Reuters

ously been hit with bean bags rounds and rubber bullets and officers have fired live rounds in the air. Police chief Stephen Lo said the firing of live rounds - which were discharged in three places - was lawful and fair. "Police lives were under serious threat, that's why they fired live rounds," he told reporters, adding that the wounded man was conscious when taken to hospital. Dramatic video footage of the Tsuen Wan shooting shows a chaotic melee with riot police battling protesters wielding metal bars, before an officer fires a shot at close range. As the wounded man steps back and falls, someone tries to help, but another policeman tackles him to the ground. Tuesday's violence was the most widespread since the unrest erupted in early June, plunging the former British colony into its biggest political crisis in decades and posing the most serious popular challenge to President Xi Jinping since he came to power. Protesters had vowed to seize the opportunity on China's National Day to propel their calls for greater democracy onto the global stage, hijacking an occasion Beijing sees as an opportunity to showcase China's economic and military progress. REUTERS

EXPLAINED Military flexing

MILITARY MIGHT took centre stage during China's celebrations, as part of which it displayed the DF-41 intercontinental ballistic missiles. The missiles are said to have a range of 12,000-15,000 km, reportedly the longest in the world. The DF-41 missile is said to be capable of carrying nuclear warheads and has multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles. This, in addition to its range, which theoretically allows it to reach the US, has led experts to voice concerns about how the DF-41 could affect regional stability. There was still 30 minutes for President Xi Jinping to assume the rostrum above the Gate of Heavenly Peace and declare open the 70th anniversary celebrations for the founding of the People's Republic of China. The audience was being prepped for the big day. "Yi, er, san," shouted volunteers. "Oooohhh," came the reply, followed by claps and flag-

No force can stop Chinese people, nation from forging ahead, says Xi

SOWMIYA ASHOK BEIJING, OCTOBER 1

9.35 AM: The synchronised claps from a military band folding up small chairs rang out at Tiananmen Square. Men in dark blue uniforms stacked the chairs to one end, picked up their instruments and readied for the moment they had been rehearsing for weeks. They would remain in position for at least the next three hours, enthralled by the audience with tunes including 'March of the Chinese People's Liberation Army'. There was still 30 minutes for President Xi Jinping to assume the rostrum above the Gate of Heavenly Peace and declare open the 70th anniversary celebrations for the founding of the People's Republic of China. The audience was being prepped for the big day. "Yi, er, san," shouted volunteers. "Oooohhh," came the reply, followed by claps and flag-

Today, a socialist China is standing in the east of the world, and there is no force that can shake the foundation of this great nation. No force can stop the Chinese people and the Chinese nation forging ahead"

— XI JINPING CHINA'S PRESIDENT, IN HIS SPEECH

waving. People posed for photographs with Mao's portrait in the background. Minutes before 10 am, the band began playing what a man in the audience described as a "song we play on an occasion like this". Xi arrived soon after and with him were Premier Li Keqiang, former Presidents Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao as well as senior Communist Party members. Li gave the word to start the canon salute, a group of soldiers walked over to the flagpost across in the square and the national flag of China slowly climbed high in the Beijing smog. In his speech from the rostrum, Xi said: "Forging ahead, we will remain committed to the leadership of the Communist Party of China and put people first." He also said China must uphold principles of 'Peaceful Reunification' and 'One Country, Two Systems' and maintain prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao. He was driven out in an open-roof Red Flag limousine, to review and greet the People's Liberation Army's formations. "Tóngzhimen hao tóngzhimen xingku le ('Comrades, salute to you!' and 'Comrades, thanks for your hard work!') he greeted every unit through a microphone. "Hail to you, Chairman!" and "We work hard to serve the people!" the soldiers replied. FULL REPORT ON WWW.INDIANEXPRESS.COM

UK PM to propose grand bargain for Brexit, EU sceptical

ELIZABETH PIPER & KYLLIE MACLELLAN MANCHESTER, OCTOBER 1

BRITISH PRIME Minister Boris Johnson pitched new proposals on Tuesday for an amended Brexit agreement that would remove the contested insurance policy for the Irish border, but EU officials sounded sceptical about the chances of a breakthrough. After more than three years of political crisis since the 2016 EU referendum, the United Kingdom is heading towards an October 31 Brexit date without a clear understanding of whether it will leave with a deal, without a deal or even leave at all. But amid fatigue over Brexit in EU capitals, even among Britain's traditional allies, one EU diplomat cast Johnson's approach as a "kamikaze" Brexit strategy. Another bluntly said that a new deal would be difficult to do swiftly if London demanded substantive changes. "We do think there's a good way forward," said Johnson, who has promised to deliver Brexit - with or without a deal - on October 31. The proposals are expected to be submitted to the EU on Wednesday or Thursday. "We are working flat out to get a deal," Johnson said. He denied speculation that he did not really want one, saying: "This is completely untrue - I really must stress it is the absolute inverse of reality." "We are sitting here every day ready to negotiate, the kamikaze way in which it is being treated by the UK government is not something we have chosen," one EU diplomat said. REUTERS



Prime Minister Boris Johnson in Manchester on Tuesday. AP

IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY OVER UKRAINE ISSUE ONGOING

Trump 'pressed' Australian PM to help probe Mueller inquiry's origins

NEW YORK TIMES WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 1

PRESIDENT DONALD Trump pushed the Australian prime minister during a recent telephone call to help Attorney General William P Barr gather information for a Justice Department inquiry that Trump hopes will discredit the Mueller investigation, according to two American officials with knowledge of the call. The White House curbed access to a transcript of the call - which the president made at Barr's request - to a small group of aides, one official said. Trump initiated the discussion with Morrison in recent weeks explicitly for the purpose of requesting Australia's help in the review, according to the two people with knowledge of the discussion. In making the request - one of many at Barr's behest - Trump was in effect asking the Australian government to investigate itself. FBI investigators began examining Trump ties to Russia's



US President Donald Trump with Attorney General William P Barr at the White House earlier this month. NYT

2016 election interference after Australian officials reported that Russian intermediaries had made overtures to Trump advisers about releasing information that would damage Hillary Clinton's campaign. Giuliani get subpoena for Ukraine records Meanwhile, House Democrats Monday subpoenaed President Trump's private lawyer, Rudolph W Giuliani, a key figure in their impeachment inquiry, even as the president

vowed to learn the identity of the anonymous whistle-blower whose accusations of presidential impropriety toward Ukraine lie at the center of the scandal. "Our inquiry includes an investigation of credible allegations that you acted as an agent of the president in a scheme to advance his personal political interests by abusing the power of the office of the president," three Democratic House chairmen wrote in a letter to Giuliani, who has served as Trump's personal representative in Ukraine.

NEPAL Accused of rape, Speaker steps down

YUBARAJ GHIMIRE KATHMANDU, OCTOBER 1

K B Mahara, Speaker of Nepal's Parliament, Tuesday resigned after he was accused of rape by an employee of the Secretariat. In a letter to the deputy speaker, printed by newspaper My Republica, Mahara said he was stepping down "on moral grounds to facilitate a fair probe into the allegations raising serious questions about my character". The woman has accused Mahara of assaulting her while drunk at her apartment in Kathmandu on Sunday, the capital's Police Chief Uttam Subedi said on Tuesday. The police have begun an investigation into the woman's accusations, he added. The Nepal Communist Party held an emergency meeting of the 9-member Central Secretariat and decided that Mahara should also quit as a member of parliament. Mahara is yet to do so. Mahara's aide denied the allegations, saying it was "an attempt to assassinate the character of the speaker". WITH AGENCIES

SOME VILLAGES IN THE REGION ARE CONSIDERED NO-GO ZONES AND HAVE NO HEALTHCARE ACCESS

Forsaken in terror war, Kenyan islands await doctors by boat

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA KIANGWE, OCTOBER 1

LADEN WITH medicines, the speedboat sets off before dawn, its path lit only by the full moon as it cuts between miles of thick mangroves towards Kenya's border with Somalia, where few dare to go. Two hours later at sunrise, the boat arrives at Kiangwe village, one of several remote coastal communities whose only healthcare comes from these monthly visits by the Safari



Kiangwe and other villages have been hit by the Kenyan government's war with Somali extremist group Al-Shabaab Reuters/FILE

Doctors mobile medical team. Volunteer doctors and nurses roll up their trousers and heave containers full of medical supplies onto their shoulders before wading ashore and hiking up a hill to a building that will serve as their clinic for a few hours. Kiangwe and surrounding villages have been hard-hit by the Kenyan government's war with Somali extremist group Al-Shabaab, whose militants operate from within the nearby Boni Forest which straddles the border. Between stick-and-mud houses topped with palm fronds,

stands a shuttered clinic that was built but never occupied. "We have several buildings laying dormant because we have personnel (professional nurses and doctors) that don't want to get posted" to the region, said Umra Omar, the 36-year-old who founded Safari Doctors four years ago. So, every month, over a few days, her voluntary team made up of both Kenyan and foreign medics visits up to 12 villages, some of which require a last-minute phonecall to check on security. However four other villages in the region are considered no-

go zones and have no healthcare access at all, said Omar. Inside the makeshift clinic, the team sets up a triage area where patients are weighed and have their blood pressure taken, before being directed to one of several desks manned by medical personnel. At one desk, a group of nurses crowd around a woman with a hard lump in her neck, believed to be a bullet lodged there from an Al-Shabaab ambush on a car she was travelling in several years ago. "I was the only one left, others had died on the spot," Bilai Abdi

said of the attack, which also left her with bullet wounds in her foot. The nurses advise her to go to Lamu to get the bullet removed. Asked how she will do so, she just shakes her head. The clinic is not only the sole option for villagers, but also for the soldiers fighting Al-Shabaab, whose operation has been plagued by poor co-operation, lack of equipment and demoralisation, observers say. A dozen soldiers were seen, some in uniform, some in shorts and flip-flops holding their rifles between their knees as they consulted nurses.

RACE

Black and white

Poverty in America continues to affect people of colour most



Across America, black people remain disproportionately poor. More than 20 per cent live in poverty, twice the rate of whites. Reuters

THE RAW sewage from Pamela Rush's toilet travels through a straight plastic pipe directly into the backyard of her dilapidated mobile home. It smells badly in hot weather. Mosquitoes swarm and the children are forbidden from playing there. But when it rains, the stuff pools and it is unavoidable. Because the soil in Lowndes County, Alabama, where Ms Rush lives, sits atop a relatively impermeable base of limestone, a proper public sanitation system for the sparsely populated place would be expensive. Sanitation is left to private systems, which poor residents like Ms Rush cannot afford. Foul-smelling flooded lawns are a common sight. They are also the reason that hookworm—a parasitic disease transmitted largely by walking barefoot on open sewage—has been detected among the residents there. It is a disease most often encountered in developing countries. Yet decades after it was thought to be eradicated, it can be found in America, again.

Lowndes County is part of the Black Belt—the swathe of land named for its fertile topsoil which produced vast amounts of cotton on the back of slave labour and, later, sharecropping, and where emancipated

black workers farmed rented land. Despite all the wealth that was extracted from the fields, those who remain there today have little; the median household income is a mere \$29,785 and the official poverty rate is 30%. Three-quarters of residents are black, and they are nearly eight times as likely to be poor as whites in the county. Across America, black people remain disproportionately poor. More than 20% live in poverty, twice the rate of whites. After a moderate amount of progress was erased by the Great Recession, median black household wealth nationwide is one-tenth that of white households, just as it was 50 years ago.

The mobile house in which Ms Rush lives today has mouldy cupboards, an unusable bathtub and holes plugged with many ingenious patches. Her income is meagre—\$770 a month in disability benefit, \$129 for each of her two children in child support. Her ten-year-old daughter has health problems that require a visit to a specialist in Birmingham 100 miles away every three months—a difficult journey without a car.

While on a tour of the region, Philip Alston, the UN special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, remarked that he

had never seen such conditions in the rich world. But it is seldom a concern of candidates for political office. Since the days of Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy, poverty alleviation has hardly been at the centre of either party's political campaigns. Part of that is because of the brutal maths of vote-getting. As income declines, so does the propensity to turn out at the ballot box.

The problem is more than black and white, however. About 22% of Hispanics live in poverty. Yet, though many of them are poor when they immigrate to America, successive generations are likely to be less so. A study of tax-returns data showed that poor Hispanics, especially men, have much higher mobility than poor blacks. Asians, too, have a better record of moving up. Though pock-

ets of poverty remain—among those born in Bangladesh and Cambodia, for example—rates are the lowest of any race, at 11.9%. Native Americans fare the worst. On some reservations, the estimated poverty rate is 52%, and 60% among children. In one county in South Dakota, life expectancy is lower than in Sudan.

Working out what issues are caused by history and what are a result of current policies also contributes to the analytical paralysis of policymakers. The yawning gap in poverty levels of blacks and whites partly results from the centuries of discrimination faced by black Americans before the civil-rights era. Macroeconomic shifts unrelated to race, like deindustrialisation, have also damaged black families and livelihoods.

The yawning gap in poverty levels of blacks and whites partly results from the centuries of discrimination faced by black Americans before the civil-rights era. Macroeconomic shifts unrelated to race, like deindustrialisation, have also damaged black families and livelihoods

Different prisms

Some modern conservatives are putting forward solutions to poverty that go beyond public-funding cuts and private charity. These still tend to be studiously race-neutral. Oren Cass of the Manhattan Institute has pitched more substantial wage subsidies as the heart of a new conservative anti-poverty agenda. After reforms in 1996, the safety net has already become more centred on "workfare" (such as the earned-income tax credit) than welfare. But many Republicans continue to see welfare as a poverty trap wrought from overreliance on the safety net, however patchy.

Looking at the same issues, progressives within the Democratic Party arrive at a very different set of answers. The failure is not personal, but of public policy, because of slavery, mass incarceration or redlining that denied mortgages to residents of minority neighbourhoods. This has led to the more left-wing members of the party to call for reparations to black people.

Yet reparations are also a political third rail. Even today's crop of Democratic presidential candidates, who have been drifting

left in almost every other respect, have shied away from endorsing the idea, though some have pledged to appoint a committee to study the issue. The clearest explanation for this comes from Martin Gilens of Princeton University, author of "Why Americans Hate Welfare". It found that overly racialised attitudes—the idea that white money was going to non-white people—prevented widespread support of means-tested programmes. "In large measure, Americans hate welfare because they view it as a programme that rewards the undeserving poor," Mr Gilens writes.

Implicit benefits for minorities are difficult enough to create and maintain. An explicitly race-based programme such as reparations would attract even more condemnation—and one sure to fail without a Democratic president and supermajorities in Congress. In all likelihood, the reduction of racial disparities in poverty will have to be done through race-neutral means. As policymakers grapple with how to do that, enterprise and philanthropy are trying to fill the gap.

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THOMAS COOK'S COLLAPSE

Checking out

Thomas Cook, the world's oldest travel firm, collapses

THOMAS COOK began life in July 1841, offering day-trips between Leicester and Loughborough to teetotalers. It counted Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling and Winston Churchill among its customers, before evolving into a leading modern package-holiday firm. But its story ended ignominiously this week, with some holidaymakers locked in hotels by security guards demanding that they pay again for their rooms. Some 600,000 tourists, a quarter British, were left stranded when the world's oldest holiday firm collapsed into liquidation on September 23rd after a decade of financial trouble. It leaves behind big questions over who should pay to rescue stranded holidaymakers in future.

Until recently Thomas Cook seemed likely to escape bankruptcy. Fosun, a Chinese conglomerate keen to deploy the Cook brand in Asia, and the firm's lenders had agreed to rescue the company with a cash injection of £900m (\$1.1bn). But on September 20th its main banks threatened to withdraw their support if the group was not able to find an additional £200m, which they calculated it would need to survive the lean winter months. None of its backers was prepared to cough up. A last-minute appeal to Britain's government for a bail-out fell on deaf ears. Grant Shapps, the transport secretary, later said the company was in such a bad state that bailing it out would involve "throwing good money after bad".

What went wrong? Thomas Cook has earned most of its money since the 1990s selling package holidays, which include some combination of flights, accommodation and food. Since then the industry has often been

It is mainly Thomas Cook's business decisions that are to blame for its demise. The company took on a mountain of debt when it merged with MyTravel Group in 2007. An ill-judged series of takeovers added to it. The hole in its balance-sheet was £3.1bn by its collapse

presented as in decline, in part because of Thomas Cook's woes. Monarch Airlines, which specialised in package deals, collapsed two years ago.

Yet package holidays are not in decline; if anything, the industry is enjoying a resurgence. In the past decade their market share against trips booked as separate components has grown. The number of Britons going on "inclusive tours" rose from 14.3m to 18.2m in 2010-18. Half of Britons' trips abroad are package holidays, reckons the Association of British Travel Agents. They are often cheaper, as firms like Thomas Cook can use their scale to negotiate lower prices on rooms and flights. The popularity of "Love Island", a reality-TV show featuring buff bodies and plenty of snogging in a holiday villa in Mallorca, has also boosted their street cred among youngsters.

Thus it is mainly Thomas Cook's business decisions that are to blame for its demise. The



Britain is now repatriating over 150,000 of its nationals — its biggest evacuation since World War Two — at a cost of around £100m. Reuters

company took on a mountain of debt when it merged with MyTravel Group, a rival, in 2007. An ill-judged series of takeovers added to it. It could never shake off this debt; the hole in its balance-sheet was £3.1bn by its collapse. Its 550 branches in Britain also swelled its overheads.

New online-only travel agents, such as On the Beach and We Love Holidays, now Britain's fourth- and fifth-biggest package-holiday operators, easily undercut Thomas Cook on price.

Cook's big bets on Tunisia and Turkey just before they were hit by a series of terrorist attacks in 2015 did not pay off. Good weather at home last year and uncertainty around Brexit this year also depressed its bookings. The £1.5bn in losses it made in the six months to March fatally wounded its balance-sheet.

Britain is now repatriating over 150,000 of its nationals—its biggest evacuation since the second world war—at a cost of around £100m.

ATOL, a government-backed scheme that insures package holidays against bankruptcy, will pay for the 60% of passengers travelling on such deals, while the government will bail out the rest. That is a sore point for package-holiday firms, who feel that they are paying £2.50 per passenger into ATOL for a service that non-package holidaymakers get for free. The government, meanwhile, worries that the scheme incentivises travel firms to take financial risks,

knowing that they will not pick up the tab if they fail.

In May a government review, set up after Monarch's collapse, recommended adding a 50p levy to every air fare to help pay for future repatriations. That would shift the burden away from the state, but do little to help prevent another collapse of Thomas Cook's size.

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Arvind Kejriwal
Chief Minister, Delhi



PLASTIC CUTLERY CAUSES ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

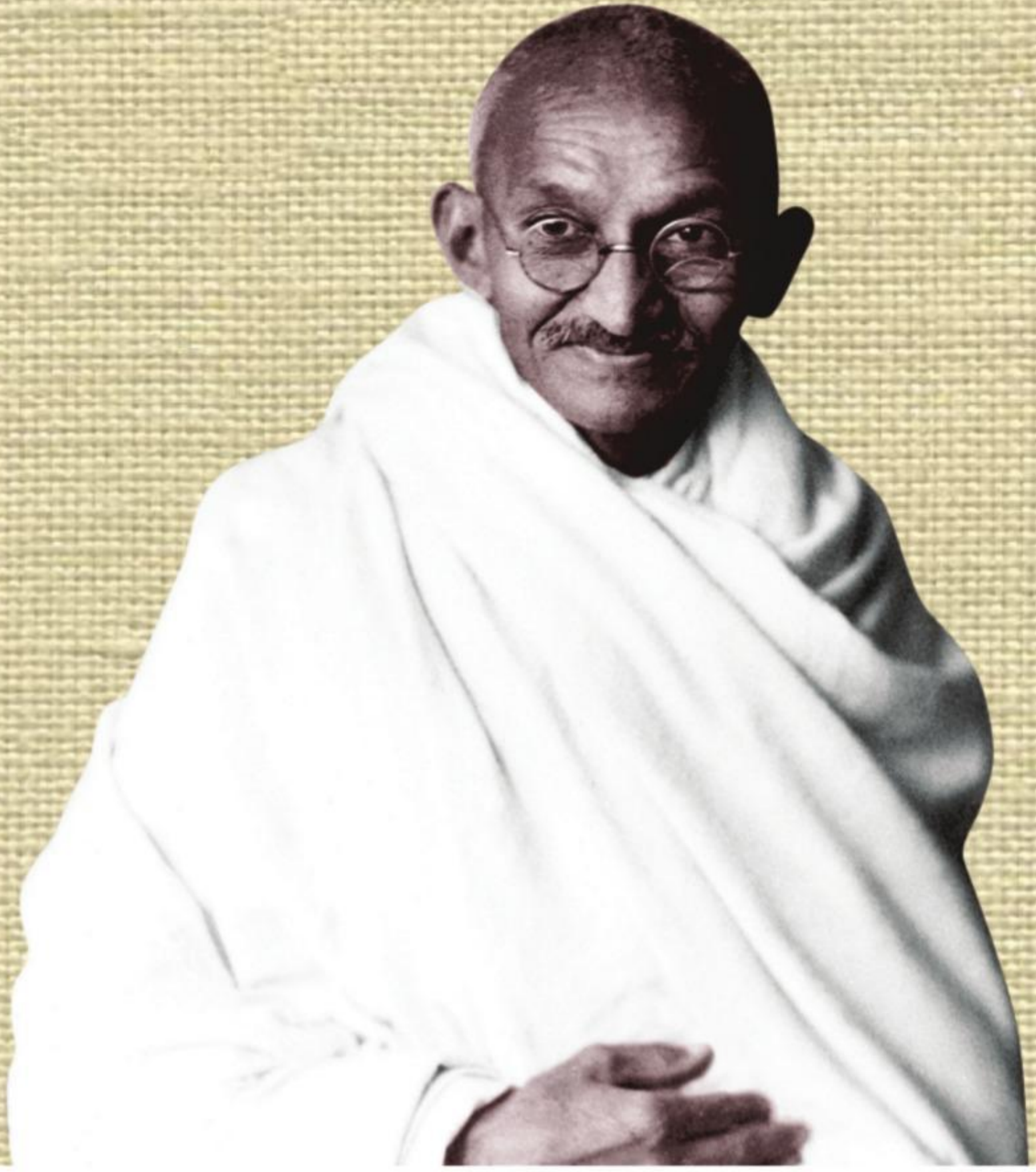
LET'S MAKE DELHI CLEAN, AVOID PLASTIC AND MAKE IT GREEN SWITCH TO ECO-FRIENDLY CUTLERY.

#PLASTICIS POLLUTION



**URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF NCT OF DELHI**

“
सत्य-अहिंसा के
पुजारी
”



मैं ऐसे भारत के लिए कोशिश करूंगा जिसमें गरीब से गरीब लोग भी यह महसूस करेंगे कि भारत उनका देश है, जिसके निर्माण में उनकी आवाज़ का महत्व है। मैं ऐसे भारत के लिये कोशिश करूंगा कि जिसमें ऊँचे और नीचे वर्गों का भेद नहीं होगा और जिसमें विविध सम्प्रदायों में पूरा मेलजोल होगा।
- महात्मा गांधी

राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की 150वीं जयंती पर आयोजित

गांधी सप्ताह: 2-9 अक्टूबर, 2019 | जयपुर

2 अक्टूबर, 2019

प्रातःकालीन प्रार्थना सभा
प्रातः 7:30-8:15
गांधी स्टेच्यू, सचिवालय, जयपुर

गांधी मूर्ति स्थल पर कार्यक्रम
प्रातः 8:30-9:00
गांधी सर्किल, जे.एल.एन. मार्ग, जयपुर

गांधी प्रदर्शनी एवं खादी मेले का उद्घाटन
प्रातः 11:00 से अपराह्न 11:45
जवाहर कला केन्द्र, जयपुर, 2-9 अक्टूबर, 2019

गांधी उत्सव ('सहर' संस्था द्वारा) का शुभारम्भ
दोपहर 12:00-12:30
सेन्ट्रल पार्क, जयपुर, 2-9 अक्टूबर, 2019

भजन संध्या एवं सरोद वादन :
सुनन्दा शर्मा, उस्ताद अमज़द अली खान
सायं 6:30-8:00, सेन्ट्रल पार्क, जयपुर

3 अक्टूबर, 2019

उद्घाटन समारोह
प्रातः 10:00 से 11:30
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

सामाजिक कल्याण सत्र
प्रातः 11:30 से अपराह्न 1:30
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

गांधी एक्सपो
प्रातः 11:00 से सायं 6:00
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

स्वच्छता सम्मेलन
दोपहर 3:30 से सायं 5:30
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

खादी हेरिटेज शो (प्रसाद बिड़प्पा द्वारा) की प्रस्तुति
सायं 7:00 से रात्रि 8:30
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

4 अक्टूबर, 2019

महिला स्वयं-सहायता समूहों की कार्यशाला
प्रातः 10:30 से अपराह्न 1:00
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

गांधी एक्सपो
प्रातः 11:00 से सायं 6:00
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

खादी संगोष्ठी
अपराह्न 3:00 से सायं 5:00,
बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

'भारत भाग्य विधाता' नाटक
(श्रीमद् राजचंद्र मिशन द्वारा) का मंचन
सायं 7:00 से रात्रि 8:30, बिड़ला सभागार, जयपुर

आप सादर आमंत्रित हैं

राष्ट्रपिता बापू के सिद्धांतों पर अमल करते हुए उनके सपनों को साकार करना ही उन्हें हमारी सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि है।

अशोक गहलोत



अशोक गहलोत
मुख्यमंत्री, राजस्थान

सूचना एवं जनसम्पर्क विभाग, राजस्थान सरकार



Courtesy: National Gallery of Modern Art



Courtesy: The Raza Foundation



(Top) MS Subbulakshmi sings Vaishnava Jana Toh at Sabarmati Ashram; prayer meeting at the Ashram on Gandhi's 60th death anniversary Javed Raja

Portrait of Gandhi

Artists across generations find ways to connect with and question Gandhi through their work

SH Raza

In several of his interviews, the late modernist SH Raza recalled how it was his reverence for Gandhi that led him to stay back in India when the rest of his family migrated to Pakistan during the Partition. As an eight-year-old, he had accompanied his father to listen to Gandhi address a public meeting in Mandla during the freedom struggle. The personal encounter left a lasting impression. "I thought I would be betraying the Mahatma if I left the nation," stated Raza in an interview to *The Indian Express*. After spending six decades in Paris, two years after the artist came back to India he began working on a series dedicated to Gandhi in 2013. In subdued hues, the first canvas carried the last words of the Mahatma — "Hey Ram". Another canvas, divided into white and brown, *Peed Parat*, is painted with the bhajan *Vaishnav Jan To Tene Kahiye*, and there are words from a speech by Gandhi in *Thoughts of Gandhiji*. "Everyone should follow his dharma and painting is my dharma," said the artist, who passed away in 2016.

Debanjan Roy

In his exhibition at Aicon Contemporary in New York, artist Debanjan Roy presents Gandhi as a "veritable toy", who is reduced to being "a plaything by those with a vested interest". "Gandhi as a image is overused since his lifetime," says the Kolkata-based artist. Titled "Inappropriate: The Toy Gandhi" in the show we see Gandhi in numerous forms — from him as a silicon figure standing with a broom to a soft toy that shows a more familiar depiction of him spinning the charkha. He smiles at people as the American Munny Doll. Roy documents the different stages of his life on painted Russian dolls. "People recognise Gandhi as the maker of a great idea — non-violence. While we use his image all the time, we are not willing to adapt his way of life," says Roy. Those following his work would recall his previous portrayals of Gandhi hooked to his laptop and iPad. "In this day and age everyone falls for corporate tyranny... we need someone like Gandhi says Roy.

(Clockwise from top left) Nandalal Bose's *Haripura Posters*; SH Raza had worked on a series dedicated to the leader; Jitish Kallat's *Covering Letter* is inspired by Gandhi's letter to Adolf Hitler; Debanjan Roy's *The Toy Gandhi*; Nalini Malani's interpretation of Gandhi



Jitish Kallat

Known for his engagement with history and the relevance of our past, Jitish Kallat's works prod viewers to look beyond the apparent. Forming the basis of his installation and video *Covering Letter* (2012), is a letter written by Gandhi to Adolf Hitler weeks before the German invasion of Poland, which marked the beginning of World War II. Gandhi begins the letter with the salutation, "Dear Friend..." urging Hitler to resist "reducing humanity to a savage state." "He is making a radical appeal for peace, anticipating the brutal bloodshed that the impending war would unleash," says Kallat. The Mumbai-based artist first saw the letter in 2009 at the Gandhi museum in

Mumbai. "There was a sense of perplexity in the way that Gandhi words his address; he greets Hitler, one of the most violent individuals of that era, as a friend," says Kallat. While appropriating it in his work, Kallat decided to allow the viewers to be part of this conversation. They can walk through the traversable curtain of cascading fog on which the letter is projected against the descending mist, "simultaneously inhabiting and dissipating the moving text". Currently showing at the Venice Biennale, Kallat notes: "It can also be read as an open letter from the past destined to carry its message into our turbulent present, well beyond its delivery date and intended recipient," he says.

Nalini Malani

"Unfortunately, in India today, we don't think enough about Gandhi. We should think of Gandhi every day because he had so much to say about quotidian life," says Nalini Malani. The artist has turned to Gandhi on numerous occasions. If *Hamletmachine* (2000) made a reference to Gandhi's Salt March of 1930 while reviewing Hindu nationalism, *Mother India: transactions in the construction of pain* (2005) addressed violence and how Gandhi addressed the plight of widows. More recently, Gandhi is seen as a protagonist in Malani's animation videos, where she turns to his philosophy. Making

a comment on the current consumerist society, that Malani points out is driven by anger and competition, the screen is lit with Gandhi's words: "The world has enough for everyone's needs, but not everyone's greed." Another video recalls how Gandhi had stated, "The day the power of love overrules the love of power, the world will know peace." Malani notes, "One might be critical of some of his ideas — for instance the focus on religion vis-a-vis spirituality — but we must also reckon that he spoke about tolerance and understanding, sustainability and climate change, which are all pertinent to us today."

The Company of the Mahatma

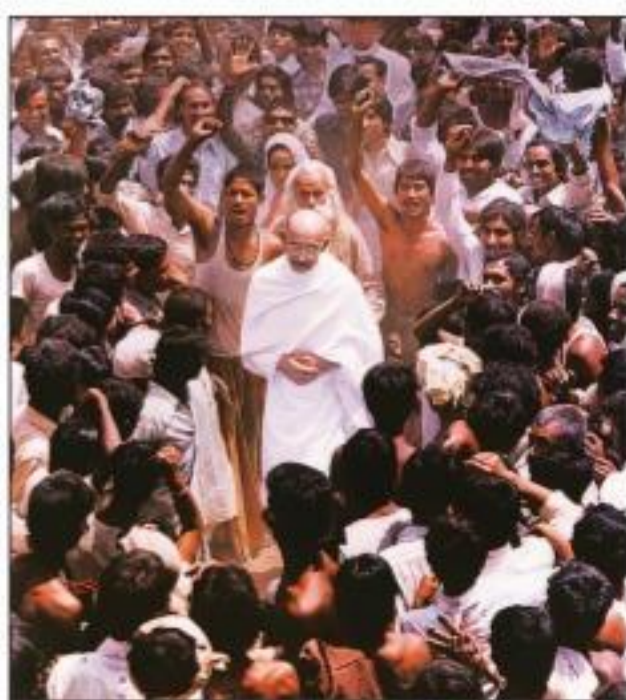
In these uncertain times, the ideas that Gandhi stood for need a resurrection in our films

SHUBHRA GUPTA

ONE OF the earliest, fuzziest memories I have of Mahatma Gandhi in the movies is not a frame but a song. "De di humein azaadi bina khadaag bina dhaal, Sabarmati ke sant tune kar diya kamaal". The film, *Jagruti* (1963) was way before my time, and I don't quite recall where and when I saw it. But I remember shedding copious tears because the singer was a sad little schoolboy. Gandhi's statue, garlanded around the bust, was right up front, and it was clear to my sobbing young self that he was the central power in the room: the boy and his fellow students, were singing both about him and to him.

Partition generation, the Mahatma was a saint, and Sabarmati, his birthplace, was a shrine. If it hadn't been for his Bharat Chhodo Andolan, the British would have lingered on for much longer: this acknowledgment had seeped into the national consciousness, transmitted through the freedom fighters who crossed over into a new, free nation, born on the stroke of the midnight hour on August 14, 1947.

Slightly, Gandhi began to be visible in the Films Division documentaries which used to be shown just ahead of features. The familiar grainy black-and-white speeded-up vignettes kept reminding us of the many chapters of our lived history — the Quit India movement, Gandhi's historic visit to London, the Dandi March, the fateful day when he was shot, the



Stills from Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (left); Rajkumar Hirani's *Lage Raho Munnabhai*



mourning, the dirges, the surging crowds. So many jerky newsreels, thousands of re-runs, and one man in the middle — frail, dhoti-clad, sitting at the charkha and spinning khadi, peering through those distinctive spectacles which came to be known as Gandhi glasses. The first full-scale movie made on his momentous life and death was Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982), a biopic with

so much sweep and sway that you almost forgot that Gandhi, that most iconic of Indians, was being played by an Englishman, Ben Kingsley. We were all meant to be mollified by the fact that Kingsley had Gujarati blood, but it was small consolation. I remember thinking then, if we had Naseeruddin Shah — who played Gandhi with great conviction much later in Kamal Haasan's revisionist *Hey Ram*

(2000) — why bother looking elsewhere?

But it must be said that despite his sing-song delivery, Kingsley made a very believable Mahatma. He was already brown, sort of, so his browner face wasn't as offensive as someone fully white-skinned would have been. And he invested his Gandhi with a kindly, kindling eye and a great deal of compassion: his performance was a full-bodied embodiment of the spirit of the Mahatma, and totally worthy of the Best Actor award he received in 1983. (The film also won the Best Picture, and Best Director for Attenborough.)

There were several subsequent desi cinematic iterations of the Mahatma. Ketan Mehta's biopic on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, called, simply, *Sardar* (1993), had Annu Kapoor play the Mahatma to Paresh Rawal's Patel. Rajit Kapur made a solid Gandhi in Shyam Benegal's *The Making of The Mahatma* (1996), an account of his early life in South Africa when he first confronted racism, and began fighting against it.

In 2007, Feroz Abbas Khan's *Gandhi, My Father* portrayed Gandhi as a failed father to his own son Harilal, and while the film's wasn't perfect, it showed us that it was entirely possible to re-create a great man's life, minus deification, plus warts: Darshan Jariwala played Gandhi with verve, and Akshaye Khanna, the disaffected son.

Just the year before, the Mahatma had received a huge populist fillip in *Lage Raho Munnabhai*. Rajkumar Hirani's sequel to his 2003 *Munnabhai MBBS*, in which the medical profession was skewered good and proper. Munnabhai the lovable goon finds an unlikely ally in the Mahatma as he goes after the greedy sharks who prey upon innocents. Just the way a *jadoo kija happy* became the panacea for all ills in *MBBS*, a jolly, twinkly-eyed Mahatma, played by Dilip Prabhavalkar, became someone to be befriended. By then, Gandhi had gone into a popular culture slump; *Lage Raho* dusted Bapu off, off a currency note, and, "Bole toh Gandhigiri zindabad", went viral.

You could quibble, as some did, at the Bollywoodisation of the father of the nation. But there was no doubt that Munnabhai Bapu had swept the popular sweepstakes. Overnight, the Mahatma was cool again, as was Mahatma-speak: to counter *goondagiri*, you needed to turn the other cheek, listen to no evil, and do the right thing.

Twelve years on, India is a different country. Gandhi is dangerously on the verge of becoming a cipher again. The other day, a friend noticed a sticker on the back of a car which said, "Main Bhi Godse". Is this the beginning of a fresh, and this time final obliteration, of a man who stood for universal peace? Time for another, meaningful revival.



"Obviously last time we came here as a batting unit and personally myself found it difficult in tough conditions. The fact is that I needed to get better from a defensive and technical point of view to adapt to play in tough conditions."

FAF DU PLESSIS, SOUTH AFRICA CAPTAIN

INDIA VS SOUTH AFRICA: 1ST TEST PREVIEW

Team to beat vs team in transition

India's battles with South Africa have been overshadowed by those with Australia and England but the cricket has been riveting

SRIRAM VEERA
VISAKHAPATNAM, OCTOBER 1

FOR ALL the anticipation among fans about India's cricket rivalry with Australia, it's against the South Africans that real cricketing sparks fly on the field. Not just adolescent sledging (there is a fair share of it, of course) or 'brain fade' antics that catch people's attention, but in terms of pure cricket. It's what made India serve up a series of brutes, devilish spin tracks rarely seen before or since, last time at home, to not just defeat South Africa but rub their noses on in the dirt. South Africa retaliated when India went there, rolling out grassy knolls and bouncy beasts. It's what pushed R Ashwin to sledge South Africa's gusty opener Dean Elgar in India - "That's a bad shot, not a bad pitch. This is not Jo'burg, can't slog sweep here". It's what made Elgar get his own back in South Africa, goading his seamer to bounce at Ashwin three times in a row.



Captain Virat Kohli poses with a fan after a pre-match press conference in Visakhapatnam. PTI

There is respect in the relationship between the two teams, a fierce competitive spirit that bubbles on the field - all wrapped up in a genial fuzzy bubble that makes the fan aloof and almost unaware of the stakes involved between the two. Australia first, and England next is the rank in fans' minds and, for some reason, South Africa is neglected.

India are in pursuit of their record 11th consecutive series win at home from 2012 but won't get too cocky. There is a bit of unknown still. Would Rohit Sharma succeed as an opener? Would they handle Maharaj's quickish left-arm spin better as in the past they have had problems with overseas spinners who pushed the ball quicker through the air in India? Would Ishant Sharma and Mohammed Shami be able to soak up the pressure left by the absence of their lodestar Jasprit Bumrah? Does Mayank Agarwal have the game to handle Philander's new-ball wizardry? Having said that, India do have a balanced team, especially when one considers they have lost Bumrah. The bowling is as good as it can get in his absence as Ashwin and Ravindra Jadeja average 17.5 and 13.9 against South Africa.

The middle order looks pretty solid as two come-back-from-dead men Cheteshwar Pujara (what would have happened had he failed in Australia?) and Ajinkya Rahane (climbed out of a batting grave in West Indies) have made the brittleness disappear. Wriddhiman Saha too is a solid addition in that department, not just with his better wicketkeeping but also as a batsman who has the game to soak up pressure and adapt. He has reached a stage in his career where he can attack or defend competently as the situation demands.

It's the openers that one isn't sure of yet. Forget Rohit who is just starting out in that role, even Agarwal has to own that spot yet. Despite his performance in Australia on a batting beauty, there was no expectations on him then. Now, he has seen KL Rahul dropped, M Vijay failing to hold his spot, and is the next man in the hot seat. If anyone can test him out, Philander can and will. Agarwal would have to show he knows the GPS of his off-stump and has control over his hands. Any involuntary twitch outside off and Philander will swallow him.

It should be a good series for the youngster to cement his place. Hopefully, we shall have a cracker of a series between a dominant India and a team on the rebuild but with men of talent and character to pull it off under a captain who realises that he can be known as the captain who rebuilt South Africa after the retirement of a few legends.

Live on Star Sports 1 & 3: 9:30 am onwards



India No.3 Cheteshwar Pujara is all ears as coach Ravi Shastri speaks to him during a net session in Visakhapatnam. PTI

A spinning all-rounder, an Amla-Prince blend and a tearaway

A raft of South African legends having retired, they are bereft of big names for their trip to the subcontinent. But it could be the coming-of-age series for a number of Proteas personnel, relatively unknown but wizened domestic performers, writes SANDIP G

SENURAN MUTHUSAMY (ALL-ROUNDER)
A calm easy-on-the-eye left-handed batsman, with a penchant for the off-side, he might not boast a prolific batting average, prompting an assumption that he's symbolic of South Africa's deficient batting resources on the domestic circuit. But Muthusamy, a second-generation Indian brought up in the Durban suburb of Westville, has been making steady strides over the last couple of years, scoring tough runs.



Much of his batting is self-taught, poring over reels of his idol Kumar Sangakkara. Like the Sri Lankan legend, he initially kept wickets too before it started putting a strain on his back. Much of what he has taught himself, he passes over to kids in his neighbourhood at the BEST Academy, where he spends his non-cricket-playing time coaching.

In between, when his domestic career seemed plateauing, he completed his bachelor's degree in media studies. An opener by trade, he could bat anywhere in the order, though his tendency to play one stroke too many early in his innings has hampered his

progress. Batting alone, perhaps, wouldn't have earned him a spot for this tour, but his left-arm spin has been equally resourceful. He began as a part-time offie, but has developed into a reliable option.

In fact, he has been Natal's lead spinner in the last three seasons - 111 wickets at 25. Initially more of a limited-overs tweaker, he has added variations to his craft and if the strips in this series assist spin, the 25-year-old could turn out to be useful.

ZUBAYR HAMZA (TOP-ORDER BATSMAN)

The right-handed top-order batsman of Pakistan parentage from Cape Town grew up idolising the stylish Hashim Amla, a totem for several Asian-origin cricketers in South Africa. But it was the doughty former middle-order batsman Ashwell Prince who shaped his career.



Hamza's career was middling before Prince took over the Cape Cobras and the pair worked on tightening his technique, especially outside the off-stump, and the mental aspect. He thus morphed from a trigger-happy batsman to

someone who can grit it out in the middle.

Before his Test debut against Pakistan early this year, Hamza described his batting thus: "At times free-flowing, but also willing to graft. Never looking the prettiest, but I take pride out of the innings where there's a bit of struggle in them."

The results were prolific, as he rattled out 1,828 first-class runs in 38 innings at an average of 55. He furnished a fine account of himself in South Africa's A tour to India last year, when he scored a fine second-innings 63 in Bangalore and a breezy 93 in Alur in the next match, against a quality attack that comprised Kuldeep Yadav and Yuzvendra Chahal. Like Prince and Amla, Hamza's considered a composed player of spin bowling. He showed that again on his Test debut against Pakistan, with a strokeful 41 off 68 balls. As impressive as he's with the bat, he's a terrific fielder too, especially in the slips.

ANRICH NORTJE (FAST BOWLER)

After his first four seasons of domestic cricket, he seemed like an automatic choice to join Dale Steyn and Co. But a combination of injuries, inconsistency and the rise of Kagiso Rabada saw him chucked into the periphery before he made a terrific comeback in 2017-

18 season. He regained his explosive pace and sharpness, and added more variations.

He returned deadlier next season, snaring 24 wickets at 21.04. A bowler with a mean streak - he was likened to a right-handed Brett Schultz - and is seldom shy of unleashing a bouncer barrage at batsmen, even on sluggish surfaces.



He has Schultz's intimidating presence also, with a strapping physique and pounding action. Like him, he has the propensity to pick injuries too - he once jokingly said that he'd spent more time rehabilitating than with his family in his whole life.

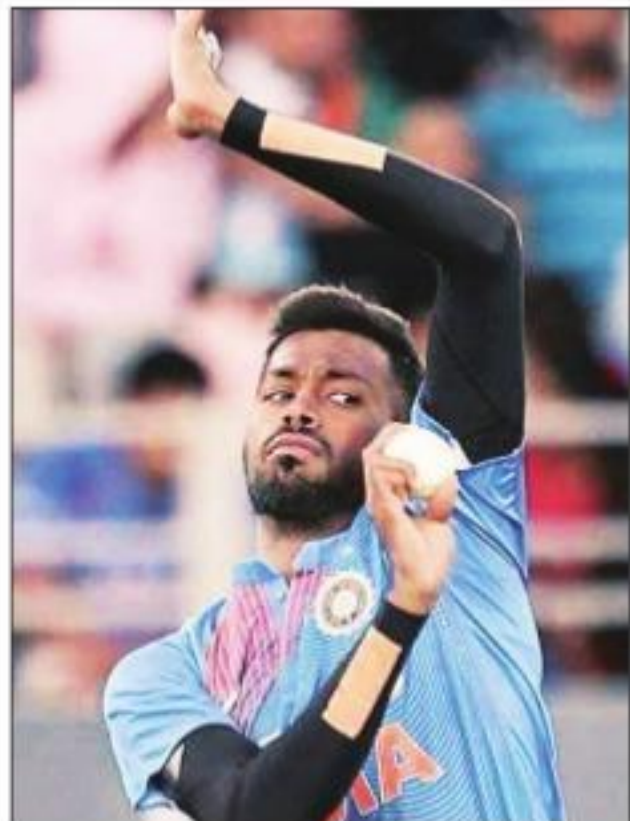
And injuries have had a weird sense of timing as well - Kolkata Knight Riders had picked him last year but Nortje had to miss the event because of an ankle injury. He was fit in time for the World Cup, but fractured his arm.

Among his admirers is Amla, whom he made to feel his age in a thorough working over a few seasons ago in the Mzansi Super League T20 tournament. Since then, whenever Amla was in Durban, he would call him over to have a hit in the nets.

Pandya back on sidelines because of back injury

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, OCTOBER 1

INDIA'S FIRST-CHOICE all-rounder Hardik Pandya is set to miss the upcoming T20 International series against Bangladesh since his acute lower-back injury has resurfaced and may force him out of action for a long period. According to BCCI sources, Hardik will soon fly to the United Kingdom for an assessment of the injury, which was first sustained during the Asia Cup in Dubai last September. The Baroda all-rounder is the second key member in the Indian team after premier speedster Jasprit Bumrah, who has been ruled out of the South Africa Test series due to stress fractures in his lower back.



After fast bowler Jasprit Bumrah, all-rounder Hardik Pandya is the latest to join the injury list. File

Pandya will be an integral part of the Indian team during the next year's World T20 in Australia. In fact, outgoing chairman of selectors MSK Prasad had said that going into the World T20, they are looking to use Hardik more in the white ball format games.

Kingdom," a senior BCCI source told PTI on conditions of anonymity.

Germany could be another option for Hardik but BCCI prefers that he consults doctors in the UK. It is being speculated that Hardik may have to go for a back surgery, which will keep him out for about five months. "Hardik was left out of Test squad as he didn't fit in the combinations. But then he is not in Baroda's Vijay Hazare team led

by Krunal (Pandya). Everyone is keeping their fingers crossed and hoping that he doesn't need to go under the knife. Then he won't be back before the 2020 IPL," the source added.

Pandya will be an integral part of the Indian team during the next year's World T20 in Australia. In fact, outgoing chairman of selectors MSK Prasad had said that going into the World T20, they are looking to use Hardik more in the white ball format games. The 25-year-old has scored 532 runs and taken 17 wickets in 11 Tests.

In 54 ODIs, he has scored 937 runs and taken 54 wickets. In 40 T20 matches, he has 310 runs and 38 wickets.

Bumrah will be off to the United Kingdom to seek opinion on his lower back stress fracture from multiple specialists. Bumrah has been ruled out for a minimum period of two months starting from the South Africa Test series till the end of Bangladesh series.

Bumrah's absence will be a blow for India in the Test Championship matches where they would be gunning for full points against both South Africa and Bangladesh.

Kapil resigns from CAC after conflict charges

DEVENDRA PANDEY
MUMBAI, OCTOBER 1

FORMER INDIA captain Kapil Dev became second member to resign from the ad-hoc Cricket Advisory Committee (CAC). Kapil's decision came after Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) Ethics officer DK Jain issued notices to the panel members - Anshuman Gaekwad and Shantha Rangaswamy are the other two - on conflict-of-interest charges pressed by Madhya Pradesh Cricket Association life member Sanjeev Gupta. Rangaswamy resigned the day after the notice was served to her to explain her stand on holding multiple positions in the board in violation of the BCCI constitution.

"It was a pleasure to be part of the Ad-Hoc CAC to specifically select the Head Coach for the Men's Cricket Team. I hereby tender my resignation from the same with immediate effect," Dev wrote in an email to the Supreme Court-appointed Committee of Administrators

head Vinod Rai and BCCI CEO Rahul Johri.

The three former players were part of the ad-hoc Cricket Advisory Committee (CAC) tasked with appointing the head coach of the men's cricket team. After sending their resignations to BCCI, Kapil and Rangaswamy will no longer have to reply to Jain on Gupta's allegation. However, Gaekwad will have to reply to the charges as he has not stepped down yet.

Kapil and Rangaswamy are directors at the newly-formed Indian Cricketers' Association (ICA), a body of ex-players funded by the BCCI. Gaekwad is part of the BCCI's member affiliation committee. Also, Kapil's company Dev Musco supplies floodlights to some Indian venues used for international cricket. The ad-hoc CAC gave a 'no conflict' declaration that was okayed by the CoA. Rai had clarified that the matter didn't go to the BCCI's ombudsman-cum-ethics officer as the CoA saw no conflict in three former players taking up posts in the ad-hoc committee.

Form vs class

With 6-game winning streak in league, Conte's Inter Milan face stuttering Barcelona

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
MILAN, OCTOBER 1

ANTONIO CONTE has returned to Italian football in style with Inter Milan flying high under his back-to-basics guidance, ahead of a Champions League trip to Barcelona that will test the Serie A leaders' continental credentials. Conte's side stretched their perfect league start to six wins from six for the first time in 53 years at the weekend with a 3-1 win at Sampdoria that came despite having to play most of the second half a man down.

They are two points ahead of fierce rivals Juventus as they await a top-of-the-table clash at the San Siro on Sunday.

Meanwhile Inter head for Catalonia on Wednesday off the back of a shaky start in Group F, a 1-1 draw against Slavia Prague salvaged late after a below-par performance that contrasted sharply with their domestic form. Conte - reportedly the highest-paid coach in Italy with a salary of €10 million a year - believes his side are flourishing because he simplifies the game.

"I am a coach who always gives a precise idea of football to his team. I seem to set the trend in tactics," said the former Chelsea and Juventus coach. "My football has always been organised, we have an idea and work hard on a range of scenarios. All our performances this season have shown quality and organisation, but mentality makes the difference in getting out of tricky situations."

Helenio Herrera was the last man to lead Inter to win six straight matches from the start of a league season back in 1966-1967, the three-time Serie A winner having also established them as a continental force with European Cup wins in 1964 and 1965.

Conte is bidding to claim the club's first league title since 2010, the year they won a historic treble under Jose Mourinho.

"We must now press the reset button, focus on Barcelona at Camp Nou," insisted Conte, whose last trip to Barcelona with Chelsea ended in a 3-0 defeat in March 2018. "We're getting into the right frame of mind, but we still have to grow a lot. We're newborns in this project." Conte has remodelled the club he took over after a rollercoaster two years under predecessor Luciano Spalletti - who brought Inter back to the Champions League on the final day of each of the last two seasons - bringing in 11 newcomers in the summer.

Former captain Mauro Icardi moved on loan to Paris Saint-Germain amid a protracted contract wrangle which overshadowed last season. Belgian forward Romelu Lukaku



Antonio Conte is bidding to claim the club's first league title since 2010, the year they won a historic treble under Jose Mourinho. Reuters

ON THE TUBE:

10:25PM: Genk vs Napoli, Sony ESPN

10:25PM: Slavia vs Dortmund, Sony Ten 2

00:30: Liverpool vs Salzburg, Sony Ten 1

00:30: Barcelona vs Inter, Sony Ten 2

00:30: Zenit vs Benfica, Sony Ten 3

00:30: LOSC vs Chelsea, Sony Six

00:30: Valencia vs Ajax, Sony ESPN

joined from Manchester United along with midfielder Alexis Sanchez, with young midfielders Stefano Sensi and Nicolo Barella also arriving at the San Siro.

The busy transfer window seems to have paid off with Lukaku and Sensi both bagging three league goals and Barella grabbing the late equaliser against Slavia Prague. Sanchez

then scored on his debut against Sampdoria at the weekend, before being sent off for diving. "At the age of 26, I want a coach like this, who helps me every day and gives me motivation," said Lukaku of Conte. But it is still early days for Conte's bid to topple his former club Juve, where he spent the bulk of his footballing career. The former Italy midfielder won 13 trophies in as many years in Turin, including five Serie A titles and their last Champions League in 1996.

Griezmann still finding his feet

Barcelona: Antoine Griezmann said he knew it would be tough settling in at Barcelona but it may have proven harder than he thought. Barca play at home to Inter Milan on Wednesday looking for lift-off in the Champions League after a goalless draw against Borussia Dortmund made for an underwhelming start to their latest bid for success in Europe.

Griezmann also has something to prove after two steady but unspectacular months, elevated by moments rather than the consistency Ernesto Valverde would have hoped for when the Frenchman's €120 million release clause was activated last summer.

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Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change and
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on 2nd October 2019 at 6pm

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