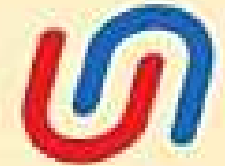




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BUSINESS AS USUAL
By UNNY



THE GOVERNANCE PAGE



DELHI ISSUES HEALTH ADVISORY; ODD-EVEN STARTS TODAY

Capital air crosses severe level, PMO steps in, Centre to monitor

Delhi, Punjab and Haryana asked to send enforcement teams: Top official

ESHA ROY
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

WITH AIR pollution levels increasing to 'severe levels' in the National Capital region and Air Quality Index measuring an alarming 494 Sunday, with at least 37 flights diverted between 9 am and 1 pm because of poor visibility, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) Sunday called a review meeting on air pollution in Delhi and its surrounding areas.

A statement released by the PMO said that the Cabinet Secretary will be monitoring the situation with these three states on a daily basis. Chief Secretaries of the states have also been asked to monitor the situation in various districts round the clock. The Delhi government, meanwhile, issued a health advisory



Headlights in daylight in Dhaula Kuan on Sunday. Renuka Puri

urging residents to reschedule outdoor activities and use certified N95 masks. On Monday, the state is rolling out the third edition of its odd-even road rationing measure for a 12-day period.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, Environment Secretary CK Mishra said: "The three state governments have been asked to take special steps to counter the air pollution from tonight.

Punjab and Haryana have been asked to send enforcement teams across districts to ensure that stubble burning is stopped immediately. They are also to talk to farmers and create awareness. Delhi has been instructed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

MORE REPORTS
PAGES 4, 6

Ground Zero Sangrur: Farmers battle gaps in govt's subsidy cover

SHIVAM PATEL
SANGRUR, NOVEMBER 3

TO KNOW why the National Capital is choking, visit Sangrur in Punjab — the district that recorded the highest number of farm fires in a single day this year.

One of Punjab's largest paddy producing districts, Sangrur witnessed 2,157 farm fires from September 23 to October 30, the third highest district-wise figure in the state. Compared to the same period last year, the fire counts in this district increased by 943. In a single day, October 30, it recorded 550 such fires.

And yet, the mood on the ground is a mix of denial and helplessness.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EXPLAINED

Shadow of stubble burning

STUBBLE BURNING in Punjab and Haryana is a key contributor to pollution in the National Capital. Data shows that particulate matter (PM 2.5) released from crop residue burning in the two states had a 44% share — the highest till date — in Delhi's air pollution on October 31.

Cong claims Priyanka phone among hacked, WhatsApp texted her

Have contacted users we have reason to believe were targeted: WhatsApp

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

ADDING FRESH fuel to the controversy triggered by WhatsApp's admission that journalists and human rights activists in India who are its users had been targets of surveillance by operators using Israeli spyware Pegasus, the Congress claimed on Sunday that AICC general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra's phone too had been hacked.

"WhatsApp supposedly sent messages to different people whose phones were hacked. One such message was also received from WhatsApp on the telephone of Priyanka Gandhi Vadra," Congress communications department head Randeep Surjewala said. He said Priyanka received the message during the same duration as the others.

"When WhatsApp was sending messages to others, she received a similar message. WhatsApp did not say that the phone was hacked in this fashion by illegal Pegasus software. The nature of the message is already available in public domain and she received a similar message," he said.

Sources familiar with the developments, however, said there were no politicians in the list of 121 Indian individuals affected by the hacking which was shared by WhatsApp with the Indian government.

While neither confirming nor denying Congress claims, a WhatsApp spokesperson said, "WhatsApp cares deeply about the privacy and security of our users. We have already contacted the users directly we have reason to believe were targeted. Users can contact us within the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

CJI says NRC cures a wrong, 'critics are playing with fire'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

CHIEF JUSTICE of India (CJI) Ranjan Gogoi Sunday strongly defended the National Register of Citizens (NRC) exercise in Assam, calling it "a base document for the future", which is not yet final.

Criticising "armchair commentators" who had raised objections to the drive, the CJI said they were far from ground realities and had presented a highly distorted picture, due to which Assam and its development agenda had taken a hit. "They launch baseless and motivated tirades against democratic functioning and democratic institutions," Justice Gogoi said, at the inauguration of the book *Post Colonial Assam (1947-2019)*, written by veteran journalist Mrinal Talukdar.



Assam victim of motivated tirades: CJI. Abhinav Saha

The CJI, who belongs to Assam, heads the apex court bench that is monitoring the process of the NRC in the state. After he retires on November 17, the NRC case will be heard by a bench headed by the next CJI, S A Bobde.

"The NRC is not without contestations. Let me take this occasion to clarify," Justice Gogoi said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

RCEP delay likely as last-minute talks on



EXPRESS IN BANGKOK

SHUBHAJIT ROY
NOVEMBER 3

WITH THE Indian delegation engaged in last-minute negotiations with 10 ASEAN and five other countries, including China, to seal the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), a Thai official said Sunday that an agreement is likely to be delayed till February 2020.

Led by Commerce Minister

Piyush Goyal, the Indian team is among those from 16 countries who are trying to break the deadlock ahead of the 3rd RCEP summit Monday.

However, speaking to reporters, Thai government spokeswoman Narumon Pinyosinwat said: "We don't have a conclusion yet. Once there is one, it would be announced. Commerce ministers are still discussing outstanding issues. The signing is expected around February next year."

On Saturday, Philippine Trade Secretary Ramon Lopez had said that "one country" was getting "some consultations and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

MORE REPORTS
PAGE 7



GURDWARA DARBAR SAHIB

A photo of the Kartarpur shrine tweeted by Pakistan PM Imran Khan Sunday, six days ahead of the inauguration of the corridor to it from India, saying the gurdwara was ready to receive pilgrims, a task achieved in "record time". Via Twitter

Fadnavis heads to Delhi, Shiv Sena says tying with NCP, Cong 'in state interest'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
MUMBAI, PUNE, NOVEMBER 3

WITH TALKS with ally BJP stuck over chief ministership, the Shiv Sena Sunday said joining hands with the NCP, Congress and others to form a government was "in the interest of Maharashtra".

Shiv Sena MP Sanjay Raut said he would meet the Maharashtra Governor on Monday. "I will ask him to invite the single largest party and then

give a chance to other parties," Raut told *The Indian Express*, adding that there would be a Sena CM and the oath-taking ceremony would take place at Shivaji Park in Mumbai.

The action is also set to move to Delhi, with incumbent Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis travelling to the Capital on Monday to meet BJP chief and Home Minister Amit Shah. This will be his first visit to Delhi since the election results, which gave the BJP fewer

seats than it expected.

Monday will see a meeting between NCP chief Sharad Pawar and Congress president Sonia Gandhi in Delhi as well.

Asked by mediapersons in Aurangabad if the Sena would form the government alone or join other parties, Sena chief Uddhav Thackeray Sunday said, "You will get to know in the coming days."

In his column *Rok Thok*, published in Sena mouthpiece

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

India Inc opposes Sebi directive on separating owner from management

Industry body writes to FM: 'Role of family important'

P VAIDYANATHAN IYER
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

BREAKING THEIR silence on a Sebi-stipulated deadline of March 31, 2020, for the top 500



Against it: Rahul Bajaj; can't import blindly from West: Venu Srinivasan



listed companies to separate the post of Chairman and Managing Director/ Chief Executive Officer,

and ensure the two are not related, top industrialists Rahul Bajaj and Venu Srinivasan have said that India's joint family system distinguished it from European businesses — and Western concepts should not be imported blindly.

"I am completely against it for Indian conditions where other than foreign companies and PSUs, even the top 200 companies in the private sector have over 90 per cent identified

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

PAGE 1
ANCHOR

MANISH SAHU
LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 3

ACQUITTED AFTER spending 11 years behind bars for the 2008 attack on a CRPF camp in Rampur, Mohammad Kausar and Gulab Khan say they are not sure if the court order would prove enough to rid them of "terrorist" tag.

Before they were arrested, Kausar (48) ran an electronics shop near his house in Kunda area of Pratapgarh while Khan

(41) owned a welding shop at Baheri locality in Bareilly. With their families having sold their shops as well as spent their savings fighting their case, the two said it wouldn't be easy for them to pick up the pieces.

On Saturday, a Rampur local court awarded death sentence to four accused, including two Pakistani nationals, for the 2008 attack, in which seven CRPF jawans and a rickshaw-puller were killed. A fifth accused was sentenced to life. Khan and Kausar, who were accused of

hiding weapons used in the crime at their residences before the attack, were acquitted for want of evidence.

Kausar was arrested on February 9, more than a month after the attack, from his shop in Pratapgarh, 486 km from Rampur. "A senior police officer asked me two-three questions and then put me in a room. Two days later, I was produced before a court, which sent me to jail. In the two-minute interaction with a senior police officer, I maintained I was innocent," Kausar



Khan, Kausar were held for 2008 CRPF camp attack

told *The Indian Express* over the phone.

Kausar, who studied upto

Class 9, said he worked for 10 years at an electronics shop in Saudi Arabia before returning to India in 2005. After his arrest, he said, there was no one in the family to run the shop he opened in Kunda and it was shut down. "Because of financial crisis, my three children had to drop out of school. My wife Salma Bano started stitching clothes for a living. Relatives stopped coming to my house. To raise money to fight the case, the family later sold the shop."

Released from Bareilly

Central Jail on Sunday, Kausar said he feared that his ordeal was not over. "People don't easily believe a person who has spent over a decade in jail. The court has acquitted me but people will not accept me as innocent. I have to fight once again to get their trust."

Khan's wife Naajara told *The Indian Express* from their home in Bareilly, that she thanks god for his return. "We did not lose hope that he would return home one day because we knew he had been implicated falsely. Our hard work has finally paid off."

Khan was arrested from his shop in Bareilly, around 70 km from Rampur, on February 10. A day later, police produced him in court and he was sent to judicial custody.

Khan said his family was forced to shut the shop as none of them knew iron welding work. "Naajara started stitching clothes but that was only enough to arrange food for the family. Even power connection to my house was snapped because of non-payment of bills," said Khan,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

THE CHALLENGE FOR INDIAN BUSINESS
BY VIKRAM MEHTA
PAGE 10

WORLD



JUDGE BLOCKS TRUMP'S HEALTH INSURANCE RULE FOR IMMIGRANTS PAGE 13



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WEB EXCLUSIVE



EXPLAINED: WHY IS INDIA'S LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY FALLING

An analysis by India Ratings and Research of Annual Survey of Industries data on India's labour productivity growth in the organised manufacturing sector shows a disappointing trend. The labour productivity between 2016 and 2018 grew by just 3.7% — a far cry from the annual growth of 14% between 2004 and 2008

VIDEO OF THE DAY



IDEA EXCHANGE: KIREN RIJJU ON OLYMPICS

Rijju talks about the 'silent preparation' for 2024 Olympics

FULL COVERAGE



DELHI, NCR POLLUTION LIVE UPDATES

37 flights diverted from Delhi airport. Schools shut

EXPRESS AUDIO

How Pegasus managed to snoop into phones

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

In today's episode of the 3 Things podcast, we look at how the spyware Pegasus managed to snoop into people's phones and examine Whatsapp's and the government's claims about the breach

FROM PAGE ONE

Fadnavis

Saamana Sunday, Raut put forward several scenarios of government formation, in none of which a BJP-led one endured. "After the BJP fails to prove its majority in the House, the Shiv Sena can stake claim to form the government. With the help of the NCP, Congress and others, the figure will go up to 170. The Shiv Sena can have its own Chief Minister," he wrote. The BJP and Sena together won 161 seats in the recent elections. The half-way mark in the 288-seat House is 145.

Saamana also carried a front page story Sunday, headlined 'At any cost, there should be no BJP government', which said the Congress and NCP had taken a decision to keep the BJP out of power.

At a press conference Sunday morning at his residence in Mumbai, Raut, who is considered Thackeray's right-hand man, wondered why BJP president Shah, who had resolved the issue of government formation in Haryana, seemed to be keeping away from Maharashtra.

Fadnavis told reporters he was going to Delhi to seek relief for farmers hit by unseasonal rains from the National Disaster Response Fund, which falls under Shah's ministry. However, sources said, the CM would discuss with the BJP chief strategies to bring the Sena on board, with delay in government formation stretching embarrassingly.

In backchannel talks, Fadnavis has indicated to the Sena his willingness to consider Thackeray's demand for equal division of ministerial portfolios. Thackeray has additionally demanded two ministerial berths at the Centre, as well as governorships in two states.

BJP sources in Delhi said the party is confident a BJP-Sena government would be in place by this week, under Fadnavis.

Admitting that the Sena, NCP

and Congress were parties with different ideologies, Raut wrote in his column, "The way Atal Bihari Vajpayee ran his government, we will have to take it forward... This is in the interest of Maharashtra."

Among Raut's options for government formation in the state, the first is the BJP coming to power keeping the Sena out. "The BJP has 105 MLAs. It requires 40 more... Getting 40 more is looking impossible..." he wrote.

The second option, the MP said, was the NCP supporting the BJP. "In this scenario, Supriya Sule will become a minister at the Centre and Ajit Pawar in the state. (But) Pawar has received success in the elections for the NCP's anti-BJP stance..."

In another option, Raut said, the BJP and Sena might form a government. "For this to happen, both will have to take four steps back. They will have to consider the Shiv Sena's demands, will have to divide the chief minister's tenure. This is the best alternative. But because of 'ego', it will not come into effect."

The fourth scenario, as per Raut, was the BJP using the ED, police and money to trigger defections. "It will have to give ministership to an ED representative. However... voters have shown such people their place. In all this, Modi's image will be in tatters," Raut wrote.

At his press conference, the Sena leader said "Operation Lotus" (implying bid to engineer defections) would not work in Maharashtra. "Even gangsters don't resort to such tactics."

Sharad Pawar's meeting with Sonia comes amidst increasing clamour within the NCP that it and the Congress align with the Sena to keep the BJP out. However, NCP and Congress seniors are wary that the Sena's outreach could be a ploy to drive a harder bargain with the BJP.

A senior NCP functionary said,

"Pawar has set his new target as regaining the organisation's lost grounds in zilla parishad polls next year. Any attempt to join hands with the Sena will prove detrimental." The Congress and NCP are also wary of hobnobbing with the Sena as the Mahadhy verdict nears, a point raised by Congress leader Sanjay Nirupam on Sunday.

WITH INPUTS FROM DELHI

RCEP delay

confirmation on certain matters back home". Nikkei Asian Review quoted a South Korean government source as claiming that India is making its 15 would-be partners wait.

Responding to a question on RCEP, Ministry of External Affairs' secretary (east) Vijay Thakur Singh said: "Let's wait till tomorrow." If India comes onboard, the pact is expected to be announced Monday.

Priyanka phone

app and we will respond directly."

Talking to The Indian Express, Surjewala did not rule out the possibility of other Congress leaders having received a similar message. "Priyankaji told me that she received a message. Other leaders have not told me," he said. Sources in the Congress said the party will raise the issue in a big way in Parliament when it reopens for Winter Session later this month.

The BJP hit back immediately, questioning the credibility of the Congress claim. "Haven't we seen the Congress imagining things that don't exist? Remember them claiming that Rahul Gandhi's life was in danger when a green light, off a video camera, flashed on his face during a media briefing. Well, that is the level of their leaders' credibility in public life," BJP IT cell head Amit Malviya said.

The Congress claim came a day after West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee said her phone was tapped and asked Prime Minister Narendra Modi to investigate the matter. There were reports earlier that senior NCP leader Praful Patel too had received a message from WhatsApp informing him about the breach.

The Congress held a press conference on Sunday after *The Sunday Express* reported that WhatsApp, besides notifying the government in May about a vulnerability in its service, sent a letter in early September informing it that 121 Indians were compromised by Pegasus. Surjewala said Pegasus was used "to hack cell-phones in the run-up to the 2019 general elections" and "the BJP government was fully aware" of it and yet "kept mum".

Congress leader Anand Sharma, who chairs the parliamentary standing committee on home affairs, said the issue will be taken up at the panel's next meeting on November 15.

Capital air crosses severe level

to take strict action against dust. This means that heavy penalties will be imposed at construction sites, which are emitting dust."

The enforcement teams will patrol the seven major industrial clusters in the NCR as well as key traffic corridors. "Both Punjab and Haryana have agreed to the measures," Mishra said.

Mishra pointed out that Delhi has also been instructed to increase water sprinkling and send special enforcement teams to monitor the burning of industrial waste. "In Delhi, burning of municipal waste is to be stopped immediately," he said, adding that 300 teams will be deployed across Delhi.

The review meeting was chaired by Principal Secretary to the PM, P K Mishra, and attended by Cabinet Secretary Rajiv Gauba, Environment Secretary C K Mishra, Agriculture Secretary Sanjay Aggarwal, and senior officials from the Central Pollution Control Board, India Meteorological Department and the governments of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi who joined through video-conferencing.

According to the Central Control Room for Air Quality Management, the level of particulates measuring less than 2.5 microns in diameter (PM 2.5) reached an unprecedented high of 560 micrograms per cubic metre Sunday, while PM10 touched a high of 665.9.

The 24-hour average safe standards of PM2.5 and PM10, which can enter the bloodstream of humans through respiration and cause health complications on prolonged exposure, are 60 and 100, while the emergency levels are 300 and 500, respectively.

The Air Quality Index, released by the CPCB Sunday afternoon based on data from 32 monitoring stations, put Delhi in the severe zone. With the other areas in the National Capital Region, including Noida, Gurgaon, Faridabad and Ghaziabad, also in this zone, schools there were ordered shut till November 5 by local

administrations in line with a Delhi directive.

Stating that "our health is at stake", Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal in a video message said it was no time to indulge in a blame-game. "We are saying that all the people should come together and find a solution. There should be no politics. It is a matter of grave concern for all of us," he said.

Noting that even short exposure to the prevailing air may cause "serious illnesses" in vulnerable population, the Delhi government's advisory asked people to avoid outdoor physical activities, especially during morning and late evening hours.

(WITH ENDS/DELHI)

Farmers battle holes in govt subsidy cover

The state government maintains that farm fires in Punjab contribute barely over 15 per cent to Delhi's pollution. But officials in Sangrur admit there are problems, including the slow switch to "expensive" mechanical alternatives to stubble burning.

"Farmers who buy machines such as Happy Seeder and Super Seeder will also have to buy a tractor of over 55 HP, which costs around Rs 4 lakh. Small and medium scale farmers would not be able to spend that much money," a district agriculture officer said.

Nothing illustrates this dilemma better than the thick smog that hovered over Sangrur town and nearby villages Saturday.

In Bhadalwad village, Gurtej Singh was setting fire to his field covered with chopped paddy straws. A small-scale farmer, 55-year-old Singh has taken a 10-acre farm on lease on which he cultivates paddy. "There are times when I don't break even after selling the crop because I have to make a lot of investment in growing paddy; the cost of fertilisers and pesticides has increased a lot over the years. If I am not able to make enough money out of this, then how will I buy the machines?" Singh said.

One solution could be an incentive, Singh said, given by the state government to farmers who do not burn stubble. "If I get this incentive, then I can hire a machine on rent such as a Super Seeder to clear the field and sow the crop," he said.

Officials estimate that Punjab produces around 20 million metric tonnes of paddy straw annually — last year, Sangrur produced over 20 lakh metric tonnes. Of Sangrur's 3.16 lakh hectares of farm land, paddy cultivation is done in around 2.8 lakh hectares.

According to Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh, his government has initiated action against 2,923 farmers in 20,729 cases of stubble burning till November 1 in the state.

In Sangrur, the administration issued 353 challans totalling over Rs 8.80 lakh till November 1. The administration is also levying a fine of Rs 2 lakh per owner of Combine Harvester machines that do not have the Super-SMS (Straw Management System), which cuts and spreads the paddy straw in the field, making it easier to plant seeds through Happy Seeder and Super Seeder.

A Happy Seeder machine costs around Rs 1.7 lakh on which farmers get 50 per cent subsidy and farmers' groups 80 per cent. Over 1,200 Happy Seeder machines are on the ground in Sangrur but farmers have not responded enthusiastically. They say it plants seeds among standing stubble, which "draws in pests... and does not give the field a clean look".

The Super Seeder, introduced in the market this year, has seen more interest because it cuts and mixes the paddy straws in the field while also planting seeds simultaneously. It costs around Rs 2.10 lakh, on which farmers and groups get 50 per cent subsidy.

However, the Sangrur administration was caught in a bind Saturday when they found that only 71 subsidies had been sanctioned against 277 applications from farmers and groups that had already bought the Super Seeder this season.

The solution: A lucky draw at the district agriculture office. "We only have funds for 71 machines so far. Those who have not got the subsidy will have to wait," an official said.

Farmers who did not get the subsidy say they feel cheated. But even some of those who received the subsidy said they



A farmer sets his field on fire at Bhadalwad village in Punjab's Sangrur district. Harneet Sodhi

have to burn their fields partially for the machine to function properly. "Around 15 per cent of the field has to be burned, otherwise the machine won't run smoothly," said Dalveer Singh, 30, a farmer.

Officials also say many farmers have been engaging in partial stubble burning as it reduces the moisture in paddy straw, making it easier to cut through. "The moisture in the straw sometimes gets stuck in the machines... This can be overcome if people learn how to operate the machines properly... what should be the moisture content in the field before their use, the speed at which the tractor should be run," a district agriculture officer said.

One of the reasons for the slow intake of machines are their high cost, farmers say, because the subsidies are provided for only a few government-prescribed manufacturers.

"If the market is opened up to more companies and farmers are given freedom to buy machines from any firm they want, that would create more competition and result in lowering of prices," said Harwinder Singh, 51, another farmer from Bhadalwad.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, Punjab Agriculture Secretary K S Pannu said the problem could be solved if the Centre gives an incentive to farmers, of Rs 100 per quintal of paddy, for not burning the crop residue. "At least 60 per cent of farmers have already adopted the new technologies and every year it is improving. In the next 3-4 years, all farmers will shift to the new technology," he said.

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CJI backs NRC

"The NRC is not a new nor a novel idea. It finds expression as early as in the year 1951 and in particular context of Assam, in year 1985, when the Assam Accord was signed. In fact, the current NRC is an attempt to update the 1951 NRC."

Prior to the exercise, he said, there was "an enormous amount of guesswork" on the number of illegal immigrants in the state, which had fuelled "panic, fear and a vicious cycle of lawlessness and violence". "There was an urgent need to ascertain, some degree of ascertaining, on the number of illegal immigrants, which the current exercise envisages. Nothing more and nothing less. The entire exercise is nothing but manifestation of one of the most peaceful means by which stakeholders seek to remedy the wrong and omissions of that turbulence whose effects changed the course of life of not only individuals but of communities and cultures across the region."

Accusing "careless" and "irresponsible reporting by a few media outlets" of "worsening the situation", the CJI praised the citizens of Assam for displaying "magnanimity" and "largeheartedness" in accepting various NRC cut-off dates. The updated final NRC in Assam was released on August 31 this year, excluding names of over 19 lakh applicants. A total of 3.30 crore people had applied to be included in the NRC.

CJI Gogoi said, "It needs to be told and brought on record that people who raised objections... are playing with fire. At the crossroads we need to keep in mind that our national discourse has witnessed the emergence of armchair commentators who are not only far removed from ground realities but also seek to present a highly distorted picture."

He said the emergence of social media and its tools had fuelled the intent of such commentators, "who thrive through their double speak". "They launch baseless and motivated tirades against democratic functioning and democratic

institutions. Seeking to hurt them and bring down their due process. These commentators and their vile intentions do survive well in situations where facts are far removed from the citizenry and rumour mills flourish. Assam and its development agenda have been a victim of such armchair commentators," he said.

Justice Gogoi added that people must resist the urge to find "wrongs and shortcomings everywhere" and "the constant desire to play to the gallery, by demeaning institutions".

Regarding the NRC exercise, he said, "It is an occasion to put things in a proper perspective. The NRC is not a document for the moment. Nineteen lakh or 40 lakh does not matter. It is a base document for the future. It is a document to which one can refer to determine future claims. This in my comprehension is the intrinsic value of the NRC."

Bajaj, Chairman, Bajaj Auto Ltd, told *The Indian Express*. Rahul Bajaj's son Rajiv Bajaj is Managing Director of the company.

Venu Srinivasan, Chairman and Managing Director, TVS Motors Ltd, said, "In the US, power gets too concentrated when the same person, with insignificant holding, becomes the Chairman and CEO of a company. But in India and Asia, in general, families own significant holding in companies. They are committed to create wealth. You cannot import Western rules in an unrelated system." The family has 40-70 per cent shareholding across group companies.

On May 9, 2018, Sebi amended the 'Listing Obligations and Disclosure Requirement' regulations stating that the Chairperson of the board shall be a non-executive director and not related to the MD/CEO. This, however, does not apply to listed entities, which do not have any identifiable promoters as per their shareholding pattern.

The regulator's amendments

followed the October 2017 recommendations of the Committee on Corporate Governance chaired by Uday Kotak, which observed the time was right to introduce the separation of roles of Chairperson and MD/CEO of listed entities. In framing the regulations, Sebi went a step ahead and said the two persons should not be related either.

Leading industry associations Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Ficci) view this move as a needless reform at the wrong time. With less than five months left for the deadline, Ficci has written to Finance and Corporate Affairs Minister Nirmala Sitharaman and sought a review.

In its letter, Ficci said 90 per cent of business in India is controlled by families. "Mere restriction on having related persons as Chairperson and MD/CEO is inadequate to ensure effective Board leadership and this decision should be left to the shareholders to decide," Ficci President

Sandip Somany, who is also the Chairman and Managing Director of HSIL Ltd, one of the listed companies affected by the Sebi norm, wrote in a letter dated October 9.

The CII, too, has written to the government. A senior CII functionary said that a company board was best placed to take a call based on the nature of the business and competition profile of the sector in which it operated. "The CII has pointed out that the Companies Act, 2013, itself has left it to the shareholders to decide," he said.

So far, the action taken by the top 500 listed companies has been mixed. According to information collated for The Indian Express by Prime Database, a research firm that tracks capital markets, the Chairperson and the MD/CEO are the same in 159 of the top 500 listed companies by market capitalisation. Further, 215 of these companies have an Executive Chairperson, whereas Sebi requires the Chairperson to be a non-executive director.

"If an owner holds significant percentage of equity in a company and is not allowed to pass on the reins to his family member, who will he hand over the reins to? I can only hope that the government will at least defer the implementation of this regulation, if not withdraw it," Bajaj said.

The Ficci letter said: "India's large-sized corporate business houses like Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas, Godrejs, Wadias, Munjals, Mahindras, Mittals, Shapoorji Pallonji, Jindals, Adanis, Anil Agarwal of Vedanta, Bajajs, Bennett Coleman, and many more are managed by family members. The role of family and the family patriarch is quite important in the Indian ethos... most Indian family businesses have been generating stronger top-line growth than their non-family peers."

Globally, regulators in developed countries do not encourage this practice, and shareholders do not take to it kindly either. Germany does not allow it. The separation of Chairperson and CEO is not mandatory in the UK, but markets disapprove of it. In the US, shareholders are increasingly exerting pressure on companies to split the Chairman and CEO posts. Since 2001, the number of companies in S&P 500 with the same person being the Chairman and the CEO has more than halved to about 45 per cent.

New fight

ruing that his appeals that he was innocent fell on deaf ears.

Khan's elder brother Kamal Khan said his three children dropped out of school as they couldn't pay the fees. His brother-in-law Mohammad Shaheen said every step in these 11 years had been a struggle.

While he completed his graduation inside jail, Khan is afraid it might mean little. "I have to see how society reacts to me now. I have lost precious days of my life," Kamal said it is not easy to start life afresh in the 40s.

The CRPF camp in Rampur was struck in the early hours of January 1, 2008. The Uttar Pradesh Special Task Force arrested Mohammad Shareef, Jung Bahadur (both from UP), Sabauddin (belonging to Bihar), and two alleged Pakistanis and Lashkar-e-Toiba operatives Imran Shahzad and Mohammad Farooq for the attack, apart from Kausar and Khan. Police said Bahadur and Sabauddin had taken the two Pakistanis to the CRPF camp, and stood outside as guard while they carried out the attack.

On Saturday, Shahzad, Farooq, Shareef and Sabauddin were sentenced to death, while Jung Bahadur was given life. Sabauddin is also facing trial in connection with the December 2005 attack at IISC Bengaluru.



रेरा है, तो भरोसा है।

उत्तर प्रदेश भू-संपदा विनियामक प्राधिकरण (उ०प्र० रेरा) द्वारा
भारत सरकार एवं उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार के सहयोग से
प्रथम राष्ट्रीय रेरा कॉन्क्लेव का
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गरिमामयी उपस्थिति

हरदीप सिंह पुरी

राज्य मंत्री, आवास एवं शहरी कार्य तथा
नागर विमानन मंत्रालय (स्वतंत्र प्रभार)
वाणिज्य एवं उद्योग मंत्रालय (MOS), भारत सरकार

दिनांक : 04 नवम्बर, 2019 | समय : प्रातः 9:00 बजे | स्थान : इंदिरा गाँधी प्रतिष्ठान, लखनऊ

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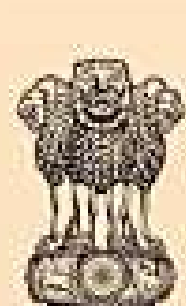


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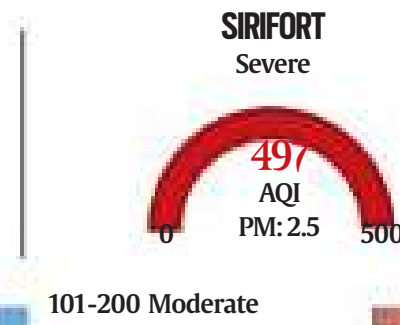
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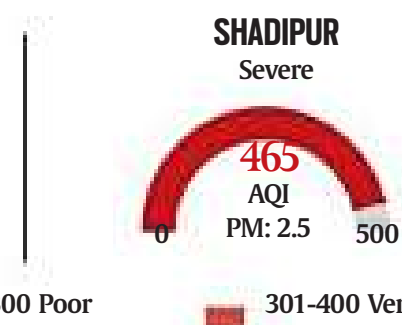
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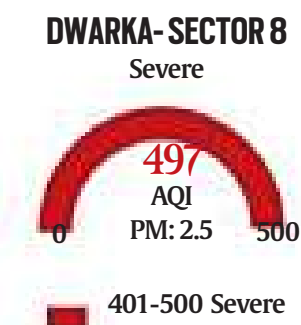
51-100 Satisfactory



101-200 Moderate



201-300 Poor



301-400 Very poor

401-500 Severe

BRIEFLY

Woman pushed to death from 18th floor

Noida: An unidentified woman was allegedly pushed to death from the 18th floor of a Greater Noida residential building Sunday afternoon. Police said they have launched a search for the alleged accused, Mumtaz Khan (35), who lives in the 18th floor apartment. Police said the death was initially suspected to be a suicide, but blood in one of the rooms in Khan's house pointed to the victim being beaten up before being thrown off the balcony. The victim is being identified, police said, adding that prima-facie, it appears she knew Khan.

Elderly woman killed by daughter

New Delhi: A 47-year-old woman was arrested after she allegedly killed her mother inside their house in West Delhi's Hari Nagar Saturday. Police said the accused, who works at a power discom, was angry with her 81-year-old mother as the latter often taunted her since her divorce 13 years ago.

Man shoots at shopkeepers

New Delhi: A 30-year-old man allegedly shot at two shopkeepers after an argument over exchange of a newly purchased toy in Seelampur Sunday. Police have arrested the accused and seized his pistol. The shopkeepers are stable, police said. **ENS**

AIR QUALITY PLUNGES FURTHER IN CAPITAL, NOW AT 494

Centre postponed 3 air quality meetings: AAP

Claims meetings were to be held in September and October; Central govt denies, says Principal Secy had reviewed situation

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

THE CENTRE "postponed" three meetings on air quality between September and October, AAP alleged Sunday, releasing documents to back its claim, and questioned Union Environment Minister Prakash Javadekar's commitment on tackling air pollution. Hours later, P K Misra, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, held a meeting with chief secretaries of Delhi, Haryana and Punjab through video conferencing to review the situation.

According to papers released by AAP, a scheduled meeting of NCR ministers on September 12 was "postponed" via telephonic message to the states concerned and the ones scheduled for October 17 and October 19 were also "postponed" via email. The Union government, however, said the Principal Secretary had reviewed the situation on October 24 and several meetings had taken place for necessary preparation, including one by the Cabinet Secretary on October 4.

On Sunday, Delhi's AQI was 494 (severe). The Energy & Resources Institute (TERI) released a study, as per which the average PM 2.5 levels in the last 15 days show a steady increase that can be "directly attributed to growing number of fires detected in a region upwind of Delhi".

It was expected that light drizzle witnessed in some parts of the city Saturday would improve air quality. But a fog formed Sunday morning, holding more pollutants in the air, weather officials said. "Good rain improves air quality but last night's... condition acted as catalyst towards increasing air-holding capacity," SAFAR, which comes under the Centre, said.

Calm wind speed also caused low dispersion of pollutants. A slight improvement is expected

if sun rays start to break through the haze conditions, SAFAR said.

AQI is expected to remain in 'severe' category until Monday evening. By Thursday, AQI could improve if it rains and wind speed increases, IMD officials said.

On September 26, Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal had written to Javadekar, urging the Centre to take immediate steps to curb stubble burning by coordinating with Punjab and Haryana.

The Union Environment Ministry refused to comment on the allegations levelled by AAP.

Earlier last week, Javadekar had lashed out at Kejriwal for politicising the issue: "Instead of blaming Punjab and Haryana, leaders from all five states in the region should sit together. Instead of doing that, if one chooses to indulge in a blame game, a lot of secrets will tumble out."

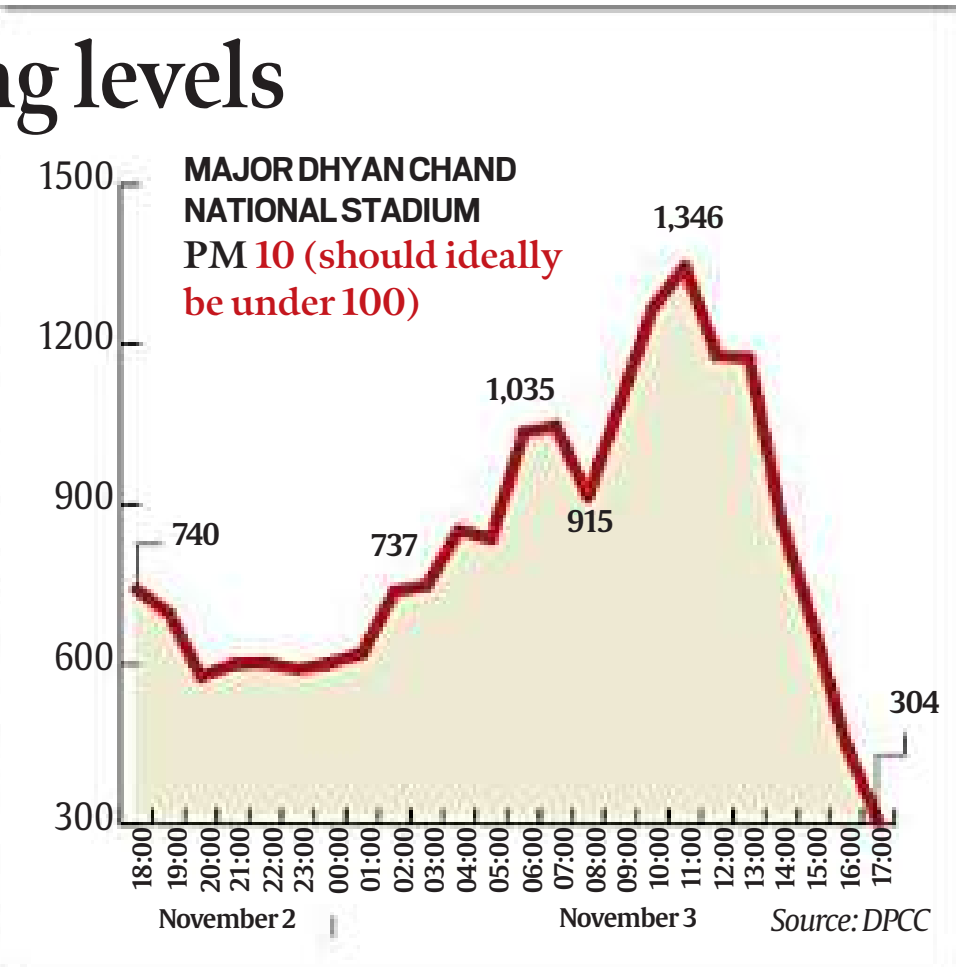
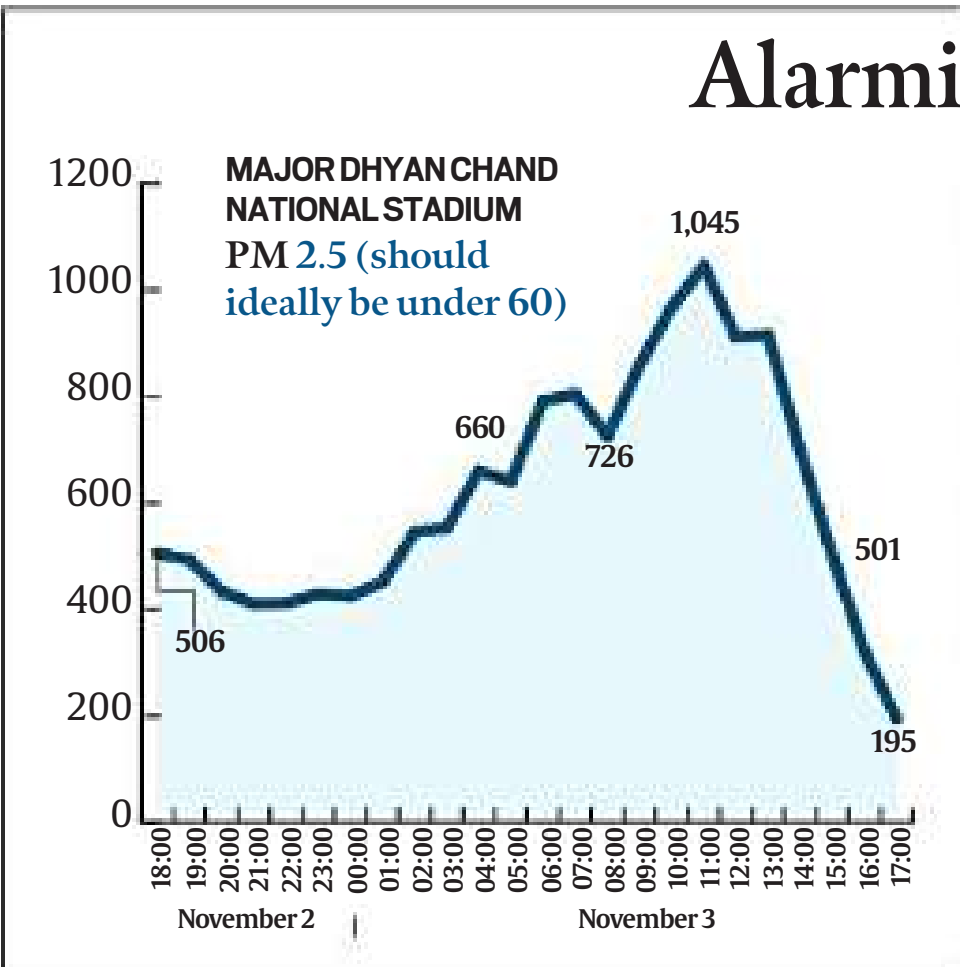
Addressing a press conference, senior AAP leaders Atishi and Raghav Chadha Sunday raised five questions for Javadekar, going on to liken him with "Dhritarashtra", the blind king in Mahabharata.

"As per the affidavit filed by the Centre in the Supreme Court, it is noted that they have distributed only 63,000 machines as an alternative to stubble burning, whereas the number of farmers is around 22 lakh. Why did the Centre, in the last five months, not call any multi-state meeting? Now that the situation has reached emergency levels, why has a meeting not been called in the last five days?" said Atishi.

Chadha said: "It is unfortunate that in this severe air emergency, the Prime Minister is in Thailand, Health Minister is in Chennai and Environment Minister today morning, through his tweet, suggested that people listen to music." Javadekar had shared the thematic composition "Swagatam", by Veena exponent Emami Sankara Sastry, and asked people to start their day with music.



Chhath Puja celebrations at the Okhla barrage along the Yamuna, Sunday. Concentration of particulate matter in Delhi-NCR has gone beyond emergency levels. *Gajendra Yadav*



Gurgaon, Noida schools shut

Gurgaon/Noida: Schools in Gurgaon, Faridabad, Noida and Ghaziabad have been directed to remain closed Monday and Tuesday due to "intense smog". The order comes two days after the Delhi government directed all schools remain closed until November 5 due to high pollution levels in the city.

Protests at CP, Jantar Mantar

New Delhi: On the worst air day so far this season, two separate groups of young people took to the streets Sunday to demand action from the central and state governments to work towards a more sustainable air situation. Through the thick smog of the morning, around a 100 people affiliated with DYFI, SFI and Jan Swasthya Abhiyan marched from Mandi House to Jantar Mantar — with almost all the participants wearing masks for protection. In the afternoon, members of AISA gathered at Connaught Place in a demonstration.



At the CP protest, Sunday. *Prem Nath Pandey*

Centre should step in to solve crop burning crisis: Amarinder

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
CHANDIGARH, NOVEMBER 3

DAYS AFTER writing to Prime Minister Narendra Modi on pollution, Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh Sunday urged the Centre to step in and find a consensus to resolve the crisis caused by stubble burning.

Pointing to action against 2,923 farmers in 20,729 cases of stubble burning reported till November 1 in Punjab, Singh said his government expects a 10-20% decline in the number of cases this year due to an intensified drive. As against around 49,000



Punjab CM Amarinder Singh

cases of stubble burning last year, the state has so far recorded 20,729 cases this year, with over 70% paddy already harvested.

Enforcement teams imposed fines amounting to Rs 41.62 lakh, while the Punjab PCB imposed fines of Rs 62 lakh on 31 combine harvesters operating without super-straw management systems.

However, Singh said these steps were not sufficient to check the problem, as most farmers in

Punjab owned less than 5 acres, making it unviable for them to opt for hi-tech ways of managing stubble. He sought compensation from the Centre and added that his state was reeling under massive debt in the aftermath of GST.

Underlining the need to wean farmers away from paddy, he reiterated his demand for MSP for other crops to help promote diversification. While admitting that Punjab was contributing to Delhi's smog, Singh said to put the blame only on his state was "absolutely incorrect". He added that Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal was playing politics and not taking steps to resolve the problem.

Odd-even starts today

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

PRIVATE CARS with licence plates ending with 0,2,4,6,8 will be allowed to ply on the capital's roads Monday, when the odd-even scheme will be implemented in the city for the third time since 2016.

Earlier, even electric and hybrid vehicles were kept under the ambit of the rule. On Sunday, the transport department exempted e-vehicles. The scheme will be applicable to vehicles from other states.

Under the scheme, vehicles bearing number plates ending with odd numbers can be taken out on odd-numbered days and

vice-versa. The emergency measure, mandated under the Graded Response Action Plan, will be enforced till November 15.

CM Arvind Kejriwal appealed to people to follow the rules: "We are implementing it from tomorrow from 8 am-8 pm. I request you all to follow the rules... I, and Delhi Cabinet ministers, will also follow them." However, BJP Rajya Sabha MP Vijay Goel said he will take out his car tomorrow to protest the "odd-even drama".

Transport Minister Kailash Gahlot briefed civil defence volunteers, who will be deployed across the city for the scheme.

"Delhi Police has identified 200 traffic points... Challans will be issued on the spot," a police statement said.

NITI Aayog suggests air purifiers at public places, DMRC-like SPV

HARIKISHAN SHARMA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

AN ORGANISATION like Delhi Metro Rail Corporation, elimination of DG sets and installation of air purifiers at public places are among NITI Aayog's recommendations to curb air pollution in Delhi-NCR.

As per sources, the report, 'Strategy To Curb Air Pollution in Delhi NCR', prepared by NITI Aayog with help of international experts, was shared with the departments concerned of the Centre and states. It states: "Pollution level in the city is 20

times higher than WHO recommended levels. Consequences of air pollution are now beginning to affect city's inhabitants in a very serious way."

Recommending a Special Purpose Vehicle along the lines of the DMRC to curb pollution, it said, "The Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change can create an SPV to implement the present strategy to curb air pollution in Delhi under Section 8 of Companies Act, 2013..."

The report also said urban local bodies must procure "best quality air purifiers and install them at bus and railways stations, airports, major markets

and other public spaces".

Suggesting elimination of DG sets, the report said users should be encouraged to adopt cleaner alternatives such as gas-powered generators — which use natural gas as a fuel source. On the need for a sustainable inflow of sufficient funds, it suggested a dedicated endowment fund.

The report recommended focus on four areas: dust from roads, soil and construction; biomass; transportation; municipal solid waste. It has advocated an action plan, with realistic targets and timelines, to deal with the problem. To control dust, it suggested using water and fog cannons.

Bus marshal 'beaten up by cop' in Burari

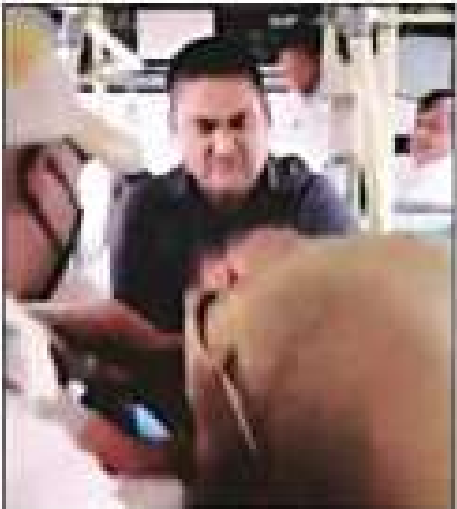
EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

A DTC bus marshal was allegedly beaten up by a policeman in a bus, after an argument broke out between the two in North Delhi's Burari Saturday. A case was registered at Burari police station.

The incident took place around 2 pm, when the marshal moved the rearview mirror of the officer's car, police said. The bus in question was travelling from Narela towards Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium.

Police said the officer, who works in Delhi Police's security unit, was in his Scorpio car, when the marshal, Parvez, moved the car's mirror.

"There was congestion on the road, and the bus stopped near the car. The mirror was close to the bus. To prevent it from getting hit by the bus, I went and moved the mirror inwards. The man stepped out of the car and hurled abuses at me. I tried to explain to him that the bus was going to move and the mirror was in the way. He got angry and pushed me. I got inside the bus, but he followed me and beat me again," said Parvez, who suffered minor injuries to



Video grab of the incident

his limbs and face.

In a video of the incident, the officer is seen hurling abuses and thrashing Parvez inside the bus. A woman marshal and some passengers try to stop the fight. The policeman stops hitting the marshal but continues arguing with him.

A senior police officer at Burari police station said, "We have registered a case against the officer under IPC sections 323 (voluntarily causing hurt) and 506 (criminal intimidation). During preliminary enquiry, we found that both the men beat each other up. We are investigating further to verify the claims."

Tis Hazari violence: HC suspends 2 ASIs, transfers 2 cops, orders probe

ANAND MOHAN J
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

IN THE aftermath of the violence at Tis Hazari court Saturday, with lawyers alleging their colleague was shot at and police claiming three senior officers were beaten up, the Delhi High Court has ordered a judicial enquiry, suspended two ASIs and transferred two senior police officers.

The bench comprising Chief Justice D N Patel and Justice C Hari Shankar, in a special sitting Sunday, appointed former Delhi HC judge S P Garg to head the probe and asked the CBI director, IB and vigilance department to assist him. It said the report must be submitted in six weeks.

It also directed the Delhi government to provide medical treatment to the injured advocates, and ex-gratia amount of Rs 50,000 to Advocate Vijay Verma, who sustained gunshot injuries, and Rs 15,000 and Rs 10,000 to two other injured advocates.

According to police, around 2 pm Saturday, an argument took place between advocates and a sentry of the 3rd battalion, posted outside the lock-up for inmates at Tis Hazari court. It soon snowballed into violence after a large



Delhi Police Commissioner Amulya Patnaik leaves the High Court Sunday after meeting the judges. *Prem Nath Pandey*

gathering of advocates allegedly entered the lock-up and assaulted police officers. Eight advocates sustained injuries and at least 20 police officers were beaten up.

The court directed the suspension of ASI Pawan Kumar, who allegedly shot the lawyer, and ASI Kanta Prasad, who allegedly dragged a lawyer into the lock up. Additional DCP Harinder Singh and Special CP Sanjay Singh were ordered to be transferred till the probe is completed. It also said there will be no coercive action against the lawyers by police.

The HC had taken suo motu cognizance of media reports and issued notices to the central government, Delhi government,

Delhi High Court Bar Association, Delhi Police Commissioner, Bar Council of India, and bar associations of all district courts in Delhi.

Delhi government Standing Counsel Rahul Mehra, appearing for Delhi Police, said four FIRs were registered and one will be registered today. He further said that a Special CP Vigilance is conducting an independent internal enquiry into the incident.

The HC ordered the police chief to record statements of injured advocates, and ordered that an FIR be registered immediately and copies supplied to it.

Senior advocate Mohit Mathur, president of the Delhi HC Bar Association, told the

court: "By saying one person fired gunshot, they (police) are putting forward a scapegoat..."

Mathur said police are not allowed to carry fully-loaded weapons to the court complex, and claimed many protocols were flouted: "Many women lawyers were attacked. One advocate was dragged by 14 police officers to the lock-up... we have been attacked at our workplace."

The Bar Council of India submitted that police were dragging its feet on the investigation.

K C Mittal, Bar Council of Delhi chairman, told the court that "the departmental enquiry... is a complete farce", while the SC Bar Association said the accused policemen should pay for the damage to the lawyers' chamber.

"We want some other police at court premises... not Delhi Police," said a representative of the Delhi HC Bar Association.

Meanwhile, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal visited the injured lawyers at St Stephen's Hospital. "Yesterday's incident was unfortunate... the way lawyers were fired at, I condemn it. I met the two persons who were injured in firing, they are stable now. All of their medical expenses will be covered by Delhi government," he tweeted.

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

A DAY after the clash between police and lawyers at Tis Hazari Court complex, six cases have been registered at Sabzi Mandi police station. Four of these were registered on Saturday. These include two cases filed by advocates, including a woman, one by a district judge and one by a constable. On Sunday, two advocates registered cases against the police team on charges of assault and attempt to murder. All six have been transferred to the Crime Branch SIT, which will further probe the matter.

"Two cases have been registered against police under IPC sections 354 (assault to woman with intent to outrage her modesty), 307 (attempt to murder), 323 (voluntarily causing hurt), 379 (theft), 506 (criminal intimidation) and 342 (wrongful confinement)," said Additional PRO Anil Mittal.

Another case was filed against police after a district judge at Tis Hazari court alleged assault and rioting by the force. The fourth was registered on the complaint of a constable who was allegedly beaten up by lawyers.

After a preliminary enquiry,

ASI Kant Prasad, who allegedly dragged a lawyer inside the lock-up and beat him up, has been suspended. A Delhi Police spokesperson said, "We have initiated a departmental enquiry against ASI Pawan Kumar, who allegedly fired at the lawyers."

The enquiry team is headed by Special Commissioner of Police (Intelligence) Praveer Ranjan, and comprises Additional CP (Vigilance) Dheeraj Kumar and DCP (Special Branch) Suman Nalwa. "We will comply with the court's orders once we get it and take prompt action," said a senior police officer.

Meanwhile, two clips of CCTV footage show the extent of violence at the court lock up. In the first video, more than 20 lawyers open the gate at 3.12 pm. They vandalise the place and attack officers. While some personnel are seen rushing out, the lawyers catch one of them and beat him up. One of the lawyers uses a belt to trash him.

Two minutes after this, the second clip shows officers entering the gates. They pick up the injured policeman and take him inside. After the lawyers protest, one of them is caught by the policemen and beaten up. The man is dragged inside the complex and beaten with lathis.

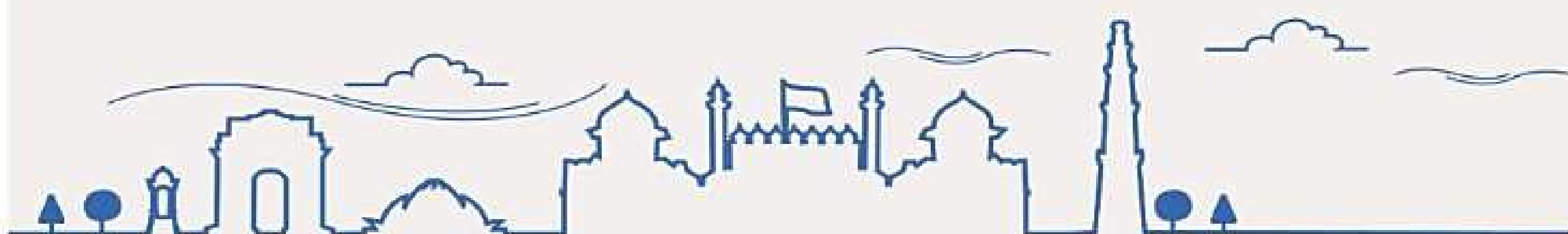
ODD EVEN STARTS TODAY LET'S MAKE IT SUCCESSFUL!



DELHI'S POLLUTION IS DOWN BY 25%
BUT SMOKE FROM STUBBLE BURNING IS COMING TO DELHI
SO, ODD EVEN IS BEING INTRODUCED ONCE AGAIN



1. On odd dates - 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 November - only vehicles with number plates ending with an odd number - 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 - can ply on the roads
2. On even dates - 4, 6, 8, 12, 14 November - only vehicles with number plates ending with an even number - 0, 2, 4, 6, 8 - can ply on the roads.
3. This rule is applicable from Monday to Saturday, from 8am to 8pm
4. Odd Even rules are not applicable on two-wheelers
5. Cars with only women commuters or cars carrying children wearing school uniform will be exempt
6. Violation of Odd Even will attract a fine of Rs 4,000



BURDEN OF BREATHING

Schools shut, hospital admissions spike — as air quality in the national capital touches emergency levels, children are facing the worst of it, with doctors warning that health effects could be felt for years to come. ASTHA SAXENA & SUKRITA BARUAH report

OVER THE past week, at least three infants a day have been brought to the emergency ward of Sir Ganga Ram Hospital (SGRH) with persistent cough and breathlessness. Roughly 10% require admission; almost all of them are sent home with a nebuliser. At the moment, the hospital's paediatric ICU has four kids on inhalation therapy.

The youngest is a 10-month-old boy. "Infants and children suffer more than adults. There has been a consistent rise in the use of inhalation therapies like nebulisers, metered dose inhalation and dry powder inhalation in the last five years. More and more children are prescribed inhalation therapy due to recurrent cough and respiratory symptoms," said Dr Anil Sachdev, director of the paediatric intensive care at SGRH.

As Delhi's air quality has plummeted since Diwali — with a mix of firecrackers, stubble burning, wind and weather factors taking it to the 'severe' level — the city's children have been worst hit. On Friday, as a public health emergency was declared and schools were shut until November 5, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal spent his morning distributing pollution masks to children.

Across the capital, doctors and public health specialists told *The Indian Express*, children are dealing with illnesses that could have long-term effects. An alarming number of them are on nebulisers, used to administer medication in the form of a mist inhaled into the lungs. The most common symptoms of respiratory trouble, doctors said, are inflammation of the nose and lungs, red and sore eyes, sleeplessness and prolonged nasal discharge. "People are now aware that doctors will advise them to buy nebulisers, so many keep the device at home as a preventive measure. The sale of such devices has more than doubled this season," said Dr Arvind Kumar, founder of the Lung Care Foundation and chairperson, Centre for Chest Surgery, SGRH.

According to doctors, exposure to high levels of pollution can also impact a child's neuro-development and cognitive ability. Children also become prone to cancer as well as cardiovascular diseases later in life if exposed to pollution for a longer period of time, doctors said.

"Pollution can have an acute and, sometimes, long-term effect on youngsters... Exposure starts from when a baby is in the womb... whatever gets into the mother, some amount of it enters the blood and placenta. If exposure to pollutants is there for a period of time, it is going to affect the growth and function of the lungs," said Prof Rakesh Lodha, department of paediatrics, AIIMS.

Those with a history of asthma are especially vulnerable. "For such children, nebulisers and inhalers are part of maintenance therapy. This controls inflammation for some time so that the child doesn't get flares of acute attacks... Increase in pollution also increases risk of pneumonia. A fair proportion of children are diagnosed with pneumonia these days, and air pollution increases the risk of contracting the disease," added Prof Lodha. Experts said the finer PM 2.5 — atmospheric particulate matter with a diameter of less than 2.5 micrometres — can go much deeper and reach lower airways, causing more damage. Moreover, pollutants such as sulphur oxide and nitrate can further exacerbate the condition.

"PM 2.5 goes into the lungs and has a long-term effect. Many children who are exposed to this have a greater chance of getting asthma and bronchitis. The damage has a lasting effect. More cases of asthma are coming up year after year," said Dr Rohit Sarin, director, National Institute of Tuberculosis and Respiratory Diseases (NITRD).

The institute, in collaboration with IIT-Delhi, also conducted a six-year follow-up study, in which they found that the proportion of patients visiting the emergency department and OPD increased manifold during peak pollution season.

"The study also found that air quality in Delhi has deteriorated over the years," added Dr Sarin.

Given the gravity of the situation, a multi-centre study in collaboration with UK researchers has been kicked off in the city. The study, called DAPHNE (Delhi air pollution: Health & Effects), has been divided into two parts — one is to assess the effect of pollution on children, and the second to see its impact on pregnant women.

Both studies kicked off last year. While AIIMS is responsible for the first part of the study, the Delhi government-run GTB Hospital is taking care of the second part.



A child is administered a nebuliser at Sir Ganga Ram Hospital. Abhinav Saha

INTERVIEW PROF RAKESH LODHA, DEPARTMENT OF PAEDIATRICS, AIIMS

‘Need to tackle pollution round the year’

Pollution season has started and the worst affected are children. Is there a surge in the number of children at the hospital?

Right now, there is visible smog and everyone is talking about it. But even on other days, the air is 6-10 times worse than normal levels. We need to understand that we are breathing bad air all year long. While the spike is going to cause trouble in acute symptomatology, we need to accept that year-round exposure is dangerous — particularly for children. This needs to be addressed.

Any preventive measures?

Some of these effects may be reversible. If pollutant levels come down significantly, one can witness some improvement in lung function. Regular preventive measures obviously include medications and avoiding going out.

How helpful are medications and inhalation therapies?

Someone with asthma would need medicines to control inflammation in the airways. If pollutants worsen symptoms, use of such therapies will definitely increase. Several people perceive use of nebulisers and inhalation medications as strong medicines; on the contrary, it is a much lesser dose.

annual calendar so that sports days and other functions, usually conducted in October-November, are done with earlier," said Shashi Banerjee, principal of Shiv Nadar School, Noida.

Schools in the capital were shaken into making sure their medical rooms are stocked with resources to deal with respiratory illnesses after a tragic incident 10 years ago in which a class XII student of Modern School, Vasant Vihar, died after an asthma attack in school.

"If we find that a child is wheezing, the first step is to stabilise them through these means. But the immediate next step is to contact their parents so they can decide what medical measures they want to take. We have medical records of all students, so teachers know which children to look out for. When pollution levels rise, we communicate to parents of children with asthma and bronchial disorders that they may choose to keep them at home for a few days," said Nikita Tomar Mann, principal, Tagore International School, Vasant Vihar.

However, most principals also felt that shutting schools is not only a limited, but also a counter-productive step. "We are talking about a diverse milieu of students here. There are those who live in slum clusters, students of government schools... For parents who do not have help, who will ensure the children do not go outside? Many parents are more comfortable with children being in school where they will be engaged indoors. In any case, there are so many children out on the street," said Ameeta Wattal, principal of Springdales School, Pusa Road, arguing that an alarming situation should not be created, and a more holistic government approach is required.

"The effects on children are going to show in the long term. For now, those who require immediate attention are those who needed it anyway because they already had asthma, bronchitis. But for the rest, the air quality has to be addressed by the government; these conversations on nebulisers and purifiers are limited," she said.

Health experts, however, warned that given the high levels of pollution, the air indoors isn't significantly better. Leading pulmonologist and director of AIIMS, Dr Randeep Guleria, also said most people are still unaware about using an N-95 mask: "Those with severe asthma can opt for a three-layered surgical or an N-95 mask. But it has to be worn tightly around the nose and mouth. If it is worn loosely, it will be of no use. At best, masks and air purifiers give you a false sense of security."

GLOBAL REPORT WARNS

1.2 million

Indians died prematurely due to exposure to unsafe air in 2017

6,73,100

deaths due to exposure to outdoor PM 2.5 in 2017

4,81,700

deaths due to exposure to household air pollution in 2017

■ According to the State of Global Air 2019 estimates, air pollution is now the third-highest cause of death among all health risks, ranking just above smoking, in India. This is a combined effect of outdoor PM 2.5, ozone and household air pollution

■ As a result, South Asians, including Indians, are dying early — their life

expectancy has reduced by over 2.6 years. This is much higher than the global tally of reduced life expectancy by an average of 20 months.

■ Globally, a child born today will die 20 months sooner on an average than would be expected without air pollution. In India, they would die 2.6 years earlier

■ As per the report, while exposure to outdoor PM 2.5 accounted for a loss of nearly one year and six months in life expectancy, exposure to household air pollution accounted for a loss of nearly one year and two months. Also, household air pollution contributes about a quarter of the outdoor air pollution in India

DEATHS CAUSED BY AIR POLLUTION-RELATED DISEASES

49%

due to chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), responsible for close to half of deaths

33%

due to lung cancer

15%

due to stroke

22%

diabetes and ischaemic heart disease

ADVISORY

AQI: GOOD
POSSIBLE HEALTH IMPACTS (PHI):
Minimal impact

AQI: SATISFACTORY
PHI: Minor breathing discomfort to sensitive people

AQI: MODERATE
PHI: Breathing discomfort to people with lung & heart diseases, in addition to children and older adults

AQI: POOR
PHI: Breathing discomfort to people on prolonged exposure and

discomfort to people with heart disease on short exposure

AQI: VERY POOR
PHI: Prolonged exposure may lead to respiratory illness. Effect may be more pronounced in people with lung and heart diseases

AQI: SEVERE
PHI: Respiratory effects even on healthy people; serious health impacts on people with lung/heart diseases

(Source: AIIMS)

"The actual assessment will begin this year. We had given children a wearable belt to monitor their exposure to pollution; this has now been replaced with a small sensor. This is the first season we are going to observe the children and analyse data. The study will also help us identify how a child's health is worsening with changing levels of pollution," said Dr Karan Madaan, associate professor, department of pulmonology, AIIMS.

For pregnant women, the hospital is tracking foetus growth. IIT-Delhi is monitoring mothers' exposure to air pollution and GTB is tracking foetus growth by performing ultrasounds, collecting samples. Personal sensors have been given to pregnant women and doctors visit their houses once in three months to assess levels of air pollution.

"We are using extra parameters like foetal biometry to get an idea of foetal growth," said Dr

Kiran Guleria, principal investigator of the study from GTB Hospital.

As per an analysis in the Global Burden of Disease 2017, reported last month, every three minutes, a child dies in India because of inhaling toxic pollutants. As per the report, 1,95,546 children lost their lives due to air pollution-related diseases.

"Children are the biggest risk group and more prone to having reactive airway disease. The younger the child, the less developed the airways. The diameter of the airway is not adequate and a little mucus and swelling in the airway reduces it further," explained Dr Sachdev.

Lower respiratory tract infection caused by exposure to air pollutants was recorded as the second biggest reason for child mortality, after neonatal disorder, data from 1990-2017 suggests.

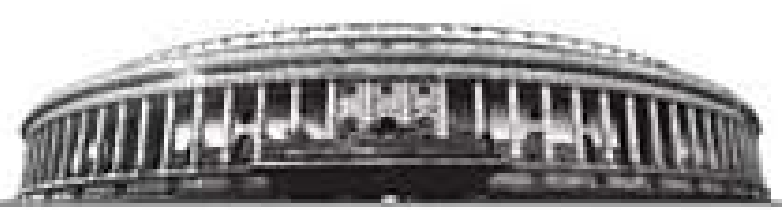
Data stated that LRI claimed the lives of 1,85,422 children aged between 0 and 5, and 10,124 children aged between 5 and 10.

Protective measures

Meanwhile, as custodians of children for a significant portion of the day, schools in Delhi-NCR have, over the last few years, started working in the post-Diwali season to adapt to the environmental changes as well as the increasing alarm over deteriorating air quality.

"Three years ago, when we saw that the situation was poor, we started taking a number of steps. At that time, we didn't have air purifiers — it wasn't a very known thing. We got those as well as more plants. We use sprinklers on the approach-way and along corridors, which go a long way in making it better. We have re-aligned our

7 GOVT & POLITICS

DELHI **CONFIDENTIAL**

No PHONES, PLEASE

TOP CONGRESS leaders were in for a surprise the other day when they reached AICC headquarters to attend a meeting chaired by party chief Sonia Gandhi. All of them were asked to keep their phones outside the meeting hall. And the rule was equal for one and all. So, what prompted Gandhi to ask the leaders to keep their phones out. The last two CWC meetings of the Congress, including the one in August which appointed Gandhi as Congress president again, saw deliberations getting leaked real time.

POLL MODE

ALERT AFTER the party's less-than-expected performance in Maharashtra and Haryana, BJP poll managers are taking no chance in Jharkhand. Om Mathur, the BJP national vice-president, who has been made election in-charge of Jharkhand, has decided to camp in the state full-time for the elections. For this purpose, the state unit is learnt to have taken a five-room flat on rent in Ranchi for Mathur's stay.

SEARCH FOR TOP POST

EVEN AS 25 members of the 33-member National Medical Commission wait in the wings to consign Medical Council of India to history, the hunt is on for the chairman of the apex medical education regulator. The health ministry has received 53 applications for the post all of which have been sent to the search committee. The committee is also free to recommend a name that is not among the applicants.

Kerala govt will examine UAPA charges against two CPM workers: CM

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM,
NOVEMBER 3

AMIDST PROTESTS from the CPI (M), Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan on Sunday said the government would examine into invoking of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) charges against the two party workers, who were arrested for their alleged Maoist links.

Vijayan told media that the government does not agree with UAPA. "Two youths have been arrested and they are facing charges under UAPA. Police had stated certain things. I have promised the parents of one of the arrested, who met me, that the government would examine the matter and adopt a stand," he said.

Former judge P S Gopinathan, chairman of the review authority of UAPA cases, said mere recovery of pro-Maoist material is not enough to induce UAPA sections. "Mere recovery of Maoist-related documents would not be enough. Since the new authority came into effect (in January, 2018), around a dozen cases have come up before it seeking recommendation for prosecution. But we have given sanction only for less half of them. The main drawback in the UAPA cases is lack of evidence. The authority would recommend prosecution only if it is convinced about the evidences," he said.

The review authority was constituted by the state government to analyse whether a case requires persecution under UAPA.

DGP Loknath Behera said steps have been taken for an impartial probe into the incident and the ADGP (law and order) has been directed to take necessary action. Only a preliminary investigation has been done into the incident so far, he added. Police would examine all aspects of the case and collect evidences to see whether the charges under UAPA are tenable. A report would be submitted in the court accordingly, he said.

On Saturday, two CPI (M) workers, both students of professional courses, were arrested



Pinarayi Vijayan

on charges of possessing Maoist material and notices protesting against the recent Maoist killings in Kerala forests. Police had claimed that the duo had been associated with Maoist activities but was operating under the garb of CPI (M).

Invoking the anti-terror law against the CPI (M) workers triggered widespread protest from the party as well as the Opposition.

CPI (M) state secretariat, in a statement, condemned the police action disregarding the fact that the home department is under Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan. The statement said CPI (M) is against slapping UAPA charges against the youths and police action was meant to divert public outrage against the government.

CPI (M) central committee member and Left Democratic Front convener A Vijayaraghavan said the arrest of the youths under UAPA sections, was illegal and against the policy of the government. The use of UAPA has infringed upon the civil rights and there should be intervention on the part of the government to avoid the application of the UAPA against the youths, he said.

While CPI (M) and its allies in the LDF took strong exception to police action against the Maoists under the regime of CM Vijayan, BJP supported the move.

BJP state secretary K Surendran said police should not weaken the case against the youths. "Police should not torpedo the cases related to Left extremism under the pressure from CPI (M). Instead of trying to exert pressure on police, CPI (M) should examine why its cadres have moved to extremism. The case should be handed over to the NIA," he said.

ASEAN key to Act East plan, says Modi, as China looms



EXPRESS IN BANGKOK

SHUBHAJIT ROY
BANGKOK, NOVEMBER 3

WITH SOUTH-EAST Asian countries cooperating with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Prime Minister Narendra Modi Sunday reached out to the region, saying that ASEAN "is and always will be the heart" of India's Act East Policy.

The comments by Modi were at the heart of an exchange with Thailand's Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha at the India-ASEAN summit in Bangkok. The Thai PM appreciated India for its support to the ASEAN vision for the Indo-Pacific under a "3 Ms" principle: "mutual respect, mutual trust and mutual benefit".

At the meeting between Modi and leaders from 10 ASEAN countries, the PM also spoke about how the menace of terrorism is a "threat to international security". ASEAN leaders responded by agreeing to work together to "defeat terrorism".

The leaders also discussed the South China Sea, where China has been increasing its footprint aggressively, and the need to follow a "rules-based order" and "adhere" to the United Nations Convention for the Law

Prime Minister Narendra Modi addresses the 16th ASEAN-India Summit in Bangkok, Sunday. *PTI*

of the Sea (UNCLOS).

Addressing the summit attended by 10 ASEAN leaders in Bangkok, Modi said, "I welcome the mutual coordination of the Indo-Pacific Outlook between India and ASEAN. India's Act East Policy is an important part of our Indo-Pacific vision. ASEAN is and always will be the heart of our Act East Policy. Integrated, organized and economically developing ASEAN is in India's basic interest."

"We are committed to further strengthen our partnership through stronger surface, maritime and air-connectivity and digital-link. A US\$ 1 billion line of credit will be useful for physical and digital connectivity. Our intention is to greatly increase traffic of people for study, research, trade and tourism," Modi said.

This is important since India has taken a strong position against

China's Belt and Road Initiative.

At least nine of the 36 heads of state or government, who attended the 2019 Belt and Road Forum in April, came from Southeast Asia. Besides, Indonesia, Southeast Asia's largest economy, was represented by its Vice President Jusuf Kalla.

On Sunday, Modi announced an endowment fund of Rs 50 million for exchange of faculty and students, and 50 scholarships, in India's agriculture universities. A decision was also taken to hold a start-up festival at the India-ASEAN hackathon early next year.

Officials said ASEAN leaders see India as a "long-term friend" and a "dynamic partner", which supports the region's "centrality in the peace and stability" of the Indo-Pacific. The leaders appreciated India's leading role in capacity building, especially, in agricul-

ture, and sought cooperation on "maritime and cyber domains".

According to a statement by the Thai government, the Thai PM said that ASEAN has welcomed India's policy on more engagement with its eastern neighbours. He appreciated the cooperation and strategic partnership in "countering terrorism, extremism, transnational crimes" and cyber security cooperation, it said.

Thanking India for strengthening partnership in all areas through its Act East Policy, he said: "In this ASEAN-India Summit, we are looking forward to translating our commitment to enhancing our strategic partnership into tangible outcomes, [such as] through the implementation of the plan of action for peace or the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, for which we appreciated India's support."

Malik in as Goa Governor, says have come from problematic place

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
PANAJI, NOVEMBER 3

SATYA PAL Malik was sworn-in as Governor of Goa by Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court Pradeep Nandrajog, in a formal ceremony at Raj Bhavan in Panaji on Sunday.

At the ceremony, the former governor of Jammu and Kashmir spoke on having completed his last stint in a "very problematic place".

"I have come from Kashmir, which is known to be a very problematic place. I have successfully handled all the issues there. Now it has become peaceful and is progressing. The leadership there is non-controversial and they are doing good work," Malik said.

Malik was the Governor when Article 370 was abrogated from Jammu and Kashmir, stripping its special status. He was appointed Goa Governor by President Ram Nath Kovind on October 25. He replaced Mridula Sinha whose tenure ended on August 31.

Malik who was seated next to the Chief Minister of Goa Pramod Sawant at the high tea ceremony that followed said he was looking forward to a "much peaceful and relaxed" time.

A statement issued by Goa government reads, "Malik joined politics in 1965 — four years after Goa got independence from colonial rule."

ABHISHEK ANGAD
RANCHI, NOVEMBER 3

AHEAD OF Jharkhand elections due later this month, state Congress president Rameshwar Oraon has said the party is still troubled by "groupism". A 1972-batch IPS officer who resigned in 2004 and joined the Congress, Oraon said that to boost the party's poll prospects, the central leadership needs to send campaigners who can move around in villages instead of someone who "comes in a helicopter".

The Jharkhand Congress unit was hit by internal bickering after it won only two seats in the state in the Lok Sabha polls, with many leaders openly criticising former state party chief Ajoy Kumar.

Kumar subsequently quit and stated in a scathing resignation letter that senior state leaders, including Oraon, only sought to "grab political posts for personal benefits". He also wrote that party workers were "loyal to their respective leaders" than the party.

Oraon told *The Indian Express*, "There is groupism in the party, but I am trying to change it. I want no loyalty from anyone. If there is anything they should show allegiance to, it is the Congress party."

He added that before Lok Sabha polls, a structure was set in place for efficient coordination. "I can't vouch for its robustness, but if it becomes strong, it will be good. It needs supervision," he said.



Rameshwar Oraon



JHARKHAND

After his appointment as state party chief, several senior state leaders had expressed displeasure. Oraon, however, said his aim is to take everyone together.

The results in Maharashtra and Haryana polls have brought hope in the Congress, but senior leaders like Rajasthan CM Ashok Gehlot have said local leaders did not put their best foot forward. Asked about this, Oraon said, "We are trying our best in Jharkhand and we have asked the central leadership to send important leaders for the campaign who will move around in cars and camp in Jharkhand. We have asked them not to send leaders who come in helicopters..."

Oraon said people in Jharkhand are dissatisfied with the government. "We are getting feedback, people are asking us to fight the election in an alliance and not alone. People understand the troubles they are facing and will remove the BJP this time."

CM REITERATES NEED FOR SEPARATE TIME ZONE FOR ARUNACHAL

We have 26 tribes, 100 sub-tribes, each one is different: Khandu

LIZ MATHEW
TAWANG (ARUNACHAL PRADESH), NOVEMBER 3

AS ARUNACHAL Pradesh pursues a series of infrastructure projects to boost connectivity, the state government is also showcasing its culture and diverse traditions through events such as the Tawang Festival.

"We have 26 tribes and more than 100 sub-tribes and each one is different from the other in their language, cuisine and architecture of the house. Being an Arunachali, when I travel to other parts of the state, it is new for me as well," said Chief Minister Pema Khandu.

The just concluded Tawang Festival in Arunachal, which is fast becoming a major tourist attrac-

tion, saw a footfall of 40,000. The annual festival, which celebrates Arunachal's rich cultural heritage, includes Buddhist religious functions, traditional dances, indigenous sports, films and documentaries, food festivals and more.

Khandu said no other state in the region has so many festivals like Arunachal, which also hosts Orange Festival, Ziro musical festival, Bascon organic festival to celebrate tribal arts and Mechuka Adventure festival, among others.

Khandu also said the state would benefit from a separate time zone and a cadre for effective administration.

"While travelling to Arunachal Pradesh, you will have to cross Bhutan, which is half-an-hour ahead of us. We are the northernmost and easternmost state of

Tawang Festival this time saw a footfall of 40,000. *Express*

India and we are ahead of Bhutan in the northeastern region," he said and pointed out that a separate time zone would increase daylight savings and efficiency.

Thirty four years after it got statehood, Arunachal Pradesh, the

largest state of the Northeast, is still struggling in terms of development. Khandu said a "challenging topography" is one of the factors behind this.

Acknowledging the hard work of the UT cadre officials,

PM says graft, red tapism history, invites investors

SHUBHAJIT ROY
BANGKOK, NOVEMBER 3

INVITING GLOBAL business to invest in India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi Sunday said the "corrupt are running for cover" in the country and that middlemen in the corridors of power are "history".

Addressing an event to mark the golden jubilee of the Aditya Birla Group's presence in Thailand, Modi said: "Red-tapism is falling. Cronyism is falling. Corruption is falling. The corrupt are running for cover. Middlemen in the corridors of power are history."

The Prime Minister also said that India has stopped working in a "routine, bureaucratic manner", and pointed out the "leakages" in service delivery. "India has seen many success stories in the last five years in various sectors. The reason for this is not only the Governments. India has stopped working in a routine, bureaucratic manner," he said.

Modi's comments come a day after German Chancellor Angela Merkel told the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce in New Delhi that "many medium-sized business owners" from Germany face "hurdles" in finding their way through the "bureaucratic labyrinth" in India, and that she had discussed the issue with the Prime Minister.

Referring to "some positive changes", Modi said: "In today's India, many things are rising and many are falling. 'Ease of Doing Business' is rising and so is 'Ease of Living'. FDI is rising. Our Forest Cover is rising. The number of patents and trademarks are rising. Productivity and efficiency

are rising. Pace of infrastructure creation is rising. Number of people getting top quality healthcare is rising. At the same time, Number of taxes are falling. Tax rates are falling. Red-tapism is falling. Cronyism is falling. Corruption is falling. The corrupt are running for cover. Middlemen in the corridors of power are history."

The Prime Minister also provided the examples of Jan Dhan Yojana and Swachh Bharat Mission to highlight India's "success stories". "Transformative changes are arising due to ambitious missions undertaken. When these ambitious missions are energised by the partnership of people, they become vibrant mass movements. And, these mass movements achieve miracles. Things that were supposed to be previously impossible have now become possible," he said.

Referring to service-delivery leakage as a "big problem" that India faced, Modi said: "The poor suffered most due to this. You would be shocked to know that for years, money was spent on the poor which did not really reach the poor. Our Government ended this culture thanks to DBT."

The Prime Minister also pointed to the decision to cut corporate tax rates, the "economic integration" achieved with GST and pitched India as an attractive destination for investment. Modi said India received USD 286 billion FDI in the last five years which, he said, is almost half of the total FDI in India in the last 20 years.

"All of what I have said just now makes India one of the world's most attractive economies for investment," he said.

Pact for cooperation between Indian, Thai ports finalised

SHUBHAJIT ROY
BANGKOK, NOVEMBER 3

IN AN important move, India moved closer to accessing a strategic gateway to South East Asia as it finalised a pact for cooperation between the Ranong port in Thailand and Indian ports in Kolkata, Chennai and Visakhapatnam.

This was one of the key take-aways of the bilateral meeting between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Thailand's PM General (ret'd) Prayut Chan-o-cha.

According to officials, the Port of Authority of Thailand (PAT) is pressing ahead with the development of Ranong Port as a logistics gateway between Thailand and India as both countries have agreed to promote a new maritime route. With this, sea travel time between India and Thailand will be reduced from 10 to 15 days to seven. Currently, cargo ships from Krishnapatnam Port travel to Laem Chabang Port in Chon Buri and Bangkok Port in Bangkok via Malaysia.

Sources said that by developing this maritime route, Ranong

port has the potential to become the main access point for Indian goods.

Addressing the business leaders in Bangkok, Modi said, "In the spirit of our Act East Policy, we are paying special attention to enhance connectivity with this region. Direct connectivity between ports on Thailand's west coast and ports on India's east coast, such as Chennai, Visakhapatnam and Kolkata, will enhance our economic partnership. We must take advantage of all these favourable factors. We must take advantage of our geographical proximity like our forefathers did."

The two leaders also welcomed the growing air connectivity between the two countries and start of a direct flight between Bangkok and Guwahati. They also discussed ways to enhance digital connectivity.

"In the contemporary context, India's 'Act East' policy is complimented by Thailand's 'Look West' policy which has made the relationship deep, robust and multifaceted," an official statement from the Ministry of External Affairs said.

chief minister was evasive. Jitendra Narayan, Principal Resident Commissioner of the state, who accompanied the Chief Minister, maintained that the controversial issue was not among the state government's areas of concern. "We have to get roads and other developments," Narayan said.

Listing infrastructure projects that have been expedited, Khandu said the 1700-km Trans Arunachal Highway, initiated by his father and former chief minister late Dorji Khandu is almost complete. A railway project to connect the state with Assam is also in its primary stage, he said.

The ministry of civil aviation and the IAF has identified location for an airport in Tawang, Khandu added.

WhatsApp’s case vs spyware firm, and how attack happened

NANDAGOPAL RAJAN
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

WHATSAPP, which prides itself on its encrypted messaging capabilities, has filed a complaint in a California court accusing spyware company NSO Group and its parent company Q Cyber Technologies of targeting at least 1,400 users across the world.

What WhatsApp has claimed

WhatsApp claims it detected the attack in May 2019 and found that NSO exploited a “buffer overflow vulnerability in WhatsApp VOIP stack” to send its Pegasus malware to the target devices, even without the users answering the calls they received.

In an article in *The Washington Post*, WhatsApp head Will Cathcart claimed they can link the attack to NSO because the “attackers used servers and Internet-hosting services that were previously associated with NSO” and they “tied certain WhatsApp accounts used during the attacks back to NSO”. “While their attack was highly sophisticated, their attempts to cover their tracks were not entirely successful,” he wrote in the October 30 opinion piece.


WhatsApp has roped in cyber security experts at the Citizen Lab, an academic research group based at the University of Toronto’s Munk School, to learn more about the attack. “As part of our investigation into the incident, Citizen Lab has identified over 100 cases of abusive targeting of human rights defenders and journalists in at least 20 countries across the globe, ranging from Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and North America that took place after Novalpina Capital acquired NSO Group and began an ongoing public relations campaign to promote the narrative that the new ownership would curb abuses,” a post on their site said.

What’s in the lawsuit

The WhatsApp lawsuit gives insight on how NSO allegedly seeded the Pegasus spyware in the target devices.

The lawsuit claims the “Defendants (NSO) set up various computer infrastructure, including WhatsApp accounts and remote servers” and then “used WhatsApp accounts to initiate calls through Plaintiffs’ servers that were designed to secretly inject malicious code onto Target Devices”. It then “caused the malicious code to execute on some of the Target Devices, creating a con-

AS IT UNFOLDED



MAY 13, 2019: Facebook publicly announces a WhatsApp vulnerability, blocks NSO spyware attacks

MAY 17: Vulnerability is listed on Cert-In (CIVN-2019-0080)

SEPTEMBER: WhatsApp writes to Indian government about 121 Indian targets

OCTOBER 29: WhatsApp Files a complaint in California court against NSO

nection between those Target Devices and computers controlled by Defendants (the ‘remote servers’)”.

The lawsuit claims that between January 2018 and May 2019, NSO created WhatsApp accounts “using telephone numbers registered in different counties, including Cyprus, Israel, Brazil, Indonesia, Sweden, and the Netherlands”. They also “leased servers and internet hosting services in different countries, including the United States, in order to connect the Target Devices to a network of remote servers intended to distribute malware and relay commands to the Target Devices”.

WhatsApp claimed these servers were owned by Choopa, Quadranet and Amazon Web Services, among others. “The IP address of one of the malicious servers was previously associated with subdomains used by Defendants.”

It claimed NSO routed and caused to be “routed malicious code through the Plaintiffs’ servers - including Signaling Servers and Relay Servers - concealed within part of the normal network protocol”. WhatsApp’s Signaling Servers facilitate initiation of calls between different devices while the Relay Servers help with “certain data transmis-

sions” over the service. This, WhatsApp claims, was unauthorised and illegal as the servers were deemed “protected computers” under US laws.

As per WhatsApp, NSO also “reverse-engineered the WhatsApp app and developed a program to enable them to emulate legitimate WhatsApp network traffic in order to transmit malicious code — undetected — to Target Devices over WhatsApp servers”. “To avoid the technical restrictions built into WhatsApp Signaling Servers,” the lawsuit claimed, “Defendants formatted call initiation messages containing malicious code to appear like a legitimate call and concealed the code within call settings. Once Defendants’ calls were delivered to the Target Device, they injected the malicious code into the memory of the Target Device — even when the Target User did not answer the call.”

Arguing that NSO violated the US Computer Fraud and Abuse Act, California Comprehensive Computer Data Access and Fraud Act, breached their contracts with WhatsApp, wrongfully trespassed, WhatsApp has sought relief including a permanent injunction from accessing “WhatsApp’s and Facebook’s service, platform, and computer systems”, creating or maintaining any

WhatsApp or Facebook account and engaging in any activity that disrupts, diminishes the quality of, interferes with the systems. The messaging platform has also sought damages.

How the spyware worked

The Citizen Lab says “NSO Group / Q Cyber Technologies’ flagship spyware” has many names and Pegasus is just one of the commonly used one. It is also called Q Suite and can infiltrate both iOS and Android devices. To spy on a target, operators use multiple vectors to penetrate security features in operating systems and silently install Pegasus without the user’s knowledge or permission. While in this case the vector was a missed WhatsApp Call, Citizen Lab claims its has identified other cases, which include “tricking targets into clicking on a link using social engineering”. Once installed, Pegasus can start contacting the operator’s command and control (C&C) servers to receive and execute commands as well as send back critical information including passwords and text messages. It can also help the operator turn on the camera or microphone of the device and even track location in real time. It has been designed to avoid leaving footprints and also use minimum bandwidth.

THIS WORD MEANS

GLYPHOSATE

Herbicide at the centre of lawsuit against pharma giant. What are the concerns around it?

GERMAN PHARMA company Bayer is facing thousands of lawsuits over one of its products. A Reuters report said 42,700 plaintiffs in the US are blaming Bayer’s herbicides for their cancer, up from 18,400 plaintiffs in July this year. In August, a jury in California said that Monsanto (the company which Bayer acquired in 2018), should have warned of the alleged cancer risks. Reuters quoted Bayer as claiming, however, that it has strong support from US farmers who want the company to keep the product.



Monsanto’s Roundup weedkiller spray, which contains glyphosate, being used in a garden in Bordeaux, France, in June this year. Reuters

What are these herbicides

The products are based on a broad-spectrum herbicide called glyphosate. First developed in 1970, glyphosate is scientifically N-(phosphonomethyl) glycine under the IUPAC system of nomenclature. It is applied to the leaves of plants to kill weeds. It is widely used in India, too. According to a 2016 bulletin published by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), the weedkiller in India goes by various brand names, including Roundup, Glycel, and Brake. Describing the herbicide’s reach in the country, it says, “Glyphosate was highly accepted by the tea planters in the past two decades. It has a very good market size in the tea sector of West Bengal and Assam. Presently, the consumption of glyphosate is highest in Maharastra as it is becoming a key herbicide in sugarcane, maize and many fruit crops including mango, banana, grapes, pomegranate and citrus.”

Why it’s a worry

In 2015, the World Health Organization’s International Agency for Research on Cancer published a study that found glyphosate is “probably carcinogenic to humans”. Activists have been campaigning against glyphosate-based products. In August this year, *The Financial*

Express quoted an official source as saying, “Although it will be a political decision whether to ban it or not, the official position is that the herbicide is needed for agriculture and is used in many countries, including the US, China, Brazil and Canada. The harmful effects of Glyphosate on human health is yet to be established as the World Health Organization has not issued any advisory.”

France, Italy, and Vietnam banned the herbicide’s use after the IARC finding.

The case in the US

In August 2018, a jury in California said that Monsanto (the company which Bayer acquired in 2018), should have warned of the alleged cancer risks. Since then, litigation against the company gathered pace. Reuters reported that analysts were predicting a future settlement in the \$8-12 billion range (approximately between Rs 57,000 and Rs 85,000 crore).

NIRUPAMA SUBRAMANIAN
MUMBAI, NOVEMBER 3

IN PAKISTAN’S hybrid military-civilian politics, the ‘long march’, in which an opposition party attempts a non-electoral power grab through street protests, is now a permanent feature. The government manages to continue in office, but is shaken and weakened. In every such episode so far, the Pakistan Army has had some role to play.

This year’s long march, or Azadi March, comes courtesy Maulana Fazlur Rehman, leader of a faction of the Jamiat-e-Ulema Islami, an Islamist political party, whose main base is in the Pashtun-dominated Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. His target is PM Imran Khan, who himself had tried to topple the Nawaz Sharif government the same way.

Fazlur, a veteran politician who has played on both the military and civilian sides and done deals with both religious and “secular” parties, does not accept Imran Khan’s election, has named him as the cause of the country’s economic woes, and has demanded that he resign by Monday.

Fazlur himself was defeated in 2018 for the first time since 1988, though he contested from two seats. However, his party, along with other religious parties in a coalition, won 14 seats in the National Assembly, all from KP and Balochistan, where too Pashtuns live in large numbers. Since the rise of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, the JUI has been marginalised in its home base of KP.

The march began on October 27 in Karachi, and passed through Sindh and Punjab. The massive gathering is now camping for the third night just outside Islamabad. Fazlur has been threatening to lead it into the heart of the Federal capital’s high security zone, to a place called D Chowk, directly opposite the National Assembly and the Presidential Palace. He has been denied permission for this. Amid apprehensions that he may defy authorities, containers are in position to lock the place down if necessary.

Imran Khan, then & now

Khan has insinuated that those who want him out actually want a deal giving them immunity from corruption cases. He has alleged the march is a conspiracy by “RAW and India”. However, Khan, who was quite the king of long march politics as an opposition politician, may



Supporters of Fazlur Rehman’s party at the Azadi March in Islamabad. Reuters

know there is no room for complacency.

In 2014, a year after Nawaz Sharif was voted in with a majority, Khan had rattled his government with a long march-cum-dharna, with the shadow of the military looming large behind the Tehreek-i-Insaf leader. Then, Khan, who made strident speeches from atop a container at D chowk, had openly appealed to the military to unseat Sharif. He was joined by a Canada-based cleric Tahir ul Qadri, and his followers, who had some years before, demanded the resignation of the PPP government by laying siege to Islamabad in similar fashion. Khan’s four month dharna ended in violence as the protesters tried to storm the Prime Minister’s official residence and other government and media offices nearby.

In 2016, faced with Khan’s threats to lay siege to the capital once again unless his allegations of corruption against Sharif were not investigated, the Supreme Court stepped in and set up a panel, which eventually led to the judicial ouster of Sharif less than a year later.

Even after Sharif’s mid-2017 conviction, the PML(N) government was shaken by another siege, this time by Barelvi extremists called Tehreek-e-Labbalk Pakistan, in protest against changes to the Constitution that would purportedly water down Pakistan’s blasphemy laws. When the government asked the Army to help it disperse the dharna, Army chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa refused, and instead counselled PM Shahid Khaqan Abbasi that “both sides” must avoid

violence “as it is not in national interest”, urging the government to handle the matter “peacefully”. Imran Khan came out on the side of the protesters, who dispersed only after the Army brokered a surrender by the government to all their demands. The present ISI chief, Lt Gen Faiz Hameed, who was then a major general, was the main negotiator.

Within 14 months of his own election, Khan is now getting a dose of his own medicine. There are some key differences between Fazlur Rehman’s march and the one Khan led. For one, the composition: this march is entirely comprised of male students and clerics mobilised from madrasas; women have been disallowed. While PTT’s middle-class supporters, both men and women, came in SUVs, sporting chic clothes and accessories, the only kind of vehicle in this march is the humble Suzuki Mehran. But perhaps the most important difference is this: while tensions between Sharif and the Army backgrounded the Imran Khan march and other marches when PML(N) was in office, this time, the Army and Khan, as the PM has often declared, are on the “same page”.

Why Fazlur can matter

Nonetheless, Islamabad is rife with questions about Fazlur Rehman’s march. The Maulana belongs to a political-religious family from Dera Islamil Khan, in KP. In his long political career, inherited from his father, he has been a supporter and facilitator of the

Afghan Taliban, led large protests against the US bombing of Afghanistan after 9/11, and against Pakistan’s support to the US in the war. He also tried to broker peace deals between the Army and the Pakistani Tehreek-e-Taliban groups in northwest Pakistan. He headed the National Assembly’s Kashmir committee at least three times, most recently between 2013 and 2018. In his youth, he was in the anti-Zia Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, but by 2004, he was helping General Pervez Musharraf legalise his coup by backing changes to the Constitution.

In his latest avatar, Fazlur has been openly critical, even more than the PPP and PML(N), of the Pakistan Army and ISI for “selecting” Khan in the last election, and on Friday, challenged it to declare its neutrality. The Army, which in previous such episodes seemed to be on the side of the protesters, has this time been swift to warn that “attempts to destabilise the country will not be tolerated”.

It could be that Fazlur is signalling to the Army that he still remains relevant to the politics of the country and its north west regions. It is telling that while he invited the PPP and PML(N) to join his protest — an offer not accepted by the two parties, although the PPP’s Bilawal Bhutto and the PML(N)’s Shehbaz Sharif made speeches at the gathering — he did extend such an invitation to the openly anti-establishment Pashtun Tahaffuz movement, a huge opposition movement in KP.

The other question about the march is its timing. It is taking place when speculation is rife about General Bajwa’s extension. The Army chief is due to retire at the end of November, and although Imran Khan announced a three year extension, the matter has not yet been sealed and signed officially. There are murmurs that the march could be a pressure tactic by Gen Bajwa, or the manifestation of an internal war in the military establishment between those who back Imran Khan, and those who do not, including those who are against an extension to Bajwa.

The Azadi march has also shown how the nature of the Pakistani opposition has changed dramatically. Earlier, it was the PPP or PML(N) who would have the street power to organise a show like this. Now a religious party has taken the opposition stage, which is welcome from the Pakistan Army’s point of view. Irrespective of how this ends, Pakistan’s political landscape seems poised for another turn of the screw.

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How long is a day on each planet? Venus and Saturn still tease scientists

KABIR FIRAQUE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

CENTURIES AGO, the ancients divided the day into 24 equal parts, or hours. Today, we look at this from the other point of view: the Earth takes approximately 24 hours to rotate once. Among other planets, Mars spins once in a little under 25 Earth-hours, while Jupiter spins so fast that its day is less than 10 hours long.

It is a measure so central to our understanding of the planets that it might appear scientists would have got the rotation periods of the Solar System planets figured out by now. The fact is, they have not. Astronomers are still looking for an accurate assessment of the length of a day on Venus, while Saturn continues to deceive us. Two new studies underline how much there is still left to learn.

Venus: hide & seek

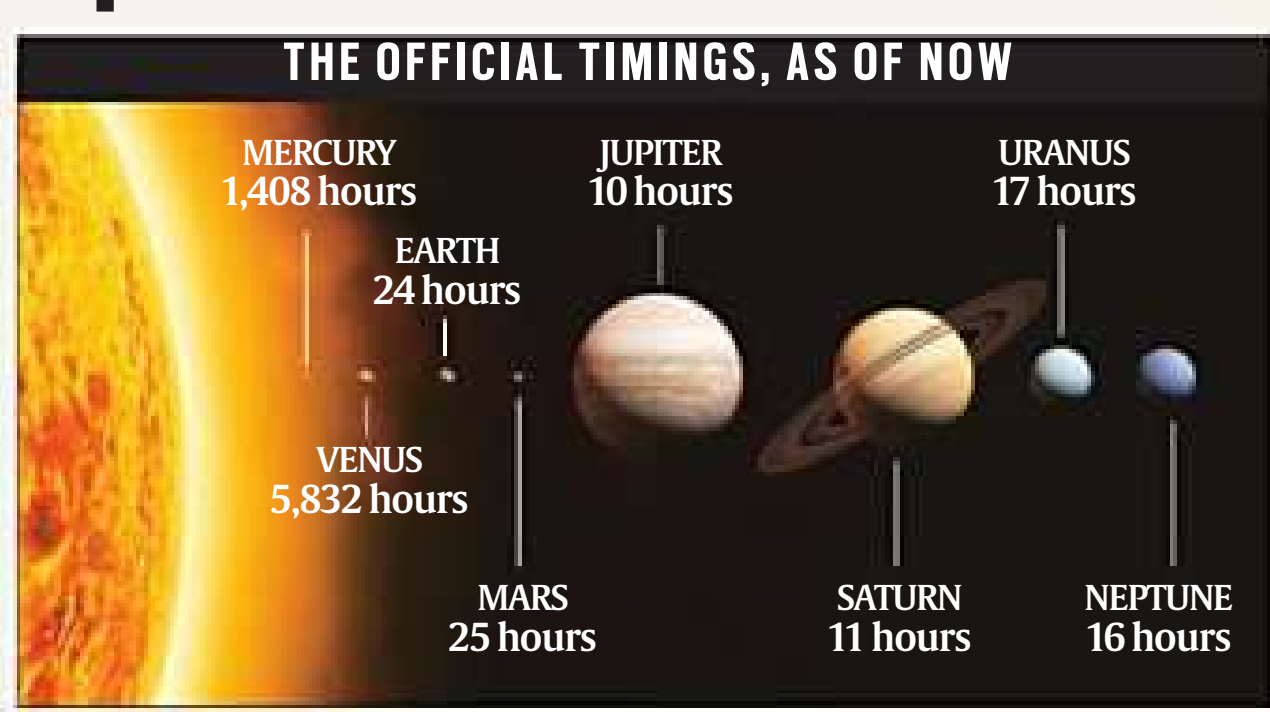
Venus is something of an oddball. Obscured by clouds, it does not present a read-

ily visible surface feature, such as a crater, which could have been a reference point for measuring its rotation period. In 1963, when radar observations broke through the cloud cover, Venus revealed that it rotates in a direction opposite to that for most planets.

These observations showed the length of a Venusian day is 243 days, or 5,832 hours. Subsequent measurements have, however, given inconsistent values, differing by about six minutes. In 1991, studies based on the Magellan spacecraft’s observations concluded that the correct rotation period is 243.0185 days, with an uncertainty of about 9 seconds.

Present uncertainties, researchers note in a study in the journal *Icarus*, correspond to a distance of about 13 miles on the surface. For lander missions, including one planned in the next decade, that distance is more than enough to miss a targeted landing site.

From Earth-based radar observations between 1988 and 2017, the researchers, led by John Chandler of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, measured the loca-



tion of features on the Venusian surface at specific times. “Those feature locations allow us to solve for the longitude of the point on Venus that is closest to the Earth during each observation. Once you know the longitude change over time, that provides the rotation

rate,” co-author Bruce Campbell, chair of the Smithsonian Institution’s Center for Earth and Planetary Studies, said by email.

The authors conclude the mean Venusian day is 243.0212 days, with the smallest uncertainty yet — just 00006 days. They expect

further improvements over the next decade.

Saturn: seasonal tricks

A gas giant, by definition, has no solid surface features for scientists to track. For Jupiter, scientists figured out the rotation period by observing patterns in radio signals from there.

Saturn has defied such attempts. It emits only low-frequency radio patterns that are blocked by Earth’s atmosphere. Only after Voyagers 1 and 2 sent home data, in 1980 and 1981, could scientists analyse patterns that suggested a day on Saturn is about 10:40 hours long. But just 23 years later, the Cassini spacecraft sent data that showed the period had changed by 6 minutes, about 1% — which should take hundreds of millions of years.

To find answers for Saturn, a new study led by Duane Pontius of Birmingham-Southern College, US, looked at Jupiter. A key difference is that unlike Jupiter, Saturn has a tilted axis and, therefore, seasons like Earth. Depending on the season, the northern and southern hemispheres receive different

amounts of ultraviolet radiation from the Sun. This affects the plasma at the edge of Saturn’s atmosphere. In turn, this creates more or less drag at different altitudes, according to the model suggested in the study, published in the American Geophysical Union’s *Journal of Geophysical Research: Space Physics*.

“Left to itself, the upper atmosphere would move at the same speed as the lower atmosphere, but the drag makes the upper atmosphere take longer than the lower atmosphere to make a full rotation around the planet,” Pontius explained by email.

This suggests that the observed periods are not the rotation period of Saturn’s core. That remains unmeasured. “One of the conclusions of our work is that the rotation period cannot be determined from the radio signals...” Pontius said, in reply to a question. “As for when how and when the core period can be measured, I really don’t know! However, the physics of Saturn’s magnetosphere is now known to be governed by the rotation rate that governs of its upper atmosphere.”



A MAN IS NOT LEARNED BECAUSE HE TALKS MUCH; HE WHO IS PATIENT, FREE FROM HATRED AND FEAR, HE IS CALLED LEARNED. —MAX MULLER

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

ENGAGING GERMANY

As Europe looks towards India in a changing world, Delhi must address concerns about economic reform, regional stability

CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL'S visit last week highlights expanding European interest in partnering Delhi as well as emerging concerns about India's economic and political trajectory. Germany, as the natural leader of Europe, is struggling to cope with deepening uncertainties - economic, political and security - in its own neighbourhood and the world. Berlin is under pressure to take larger responsibilities for regional stability and contribute more to the maintenance of the global order. Amidst the current unpredictability of the US security policies, President Donald Trump's attack on the world trading system, the rapid economic expansion of China into Europe, the increasing assertiveness of the Sino-Russian political axis, Berlin is looking to diversify its global partnerships beyond the Euro-Atlantic space. Delhi is inevitably at the top of its list of potential strategic partners.

Reflecting the new interest, the German Parliament passed a resolution on boosting ties with India days before Merkel arrived in Delhi. Addressing the Bundestag, the German foreign minister, Heiko Maas, said Germany must end its neglect of India. He warned that amidst the unfolding great power rivalry between the US, China and Russia, it would be unwise for Europe to put all its eggs in the China basket. Maas also called India a pillar of Asian stability and a country that shares European political values. As Germany seeks to bring India into its larger geopolitical calculus, Delhi too is ending its prolonged indifference to Europe as a strategic actor. The recent elevation of India's engagement with France is now being followed by a fresh look at strengthening ties with Germany. Engaging Germany is not just about bilateral relations with Berlin. It is about collaboration with the Germany-led European Union as a whole. The expansive range of agreements signed during Merkel's visit include trade and investment, mitigating climate change, the digital revolution, urban development, agriculture and human resource development. Unlike in the past, defence and security have acquired a prominent place in Indo-German discussions.

As Germany and Europe look to India, there are real concerns in Berlin and Brussels about India's economic slowdown and its discomfort with trade liberalisation. Both are rooted in Delhi's inability to undertake comprehensive economic reform. Europe, like the US and Japan, wants India to move purposefully on the economic front when its commercial ties with the US and China are under stress. Meanwhile, India's mounting tensions with Pakistan test the proposition that India is a source of regional stability. Delhi's lockdown of Kashmir and the concerns about the rights of minorities in India have begun to cast a shadow over the "shared political values" with India. Merkel's cautious public comment on the unsustainability of the current situation in Kashmir is a timely reminder that India's friends will find it hard to keep quiet if matters don't improve soon. Delhi's failure to calm things at home and in the region and show some decisive forward movement on the economic front could have serious consequences for India's near term prospects.

REASSESS AND RESET

India can appeal the WTO ruling against it. But it should also look at addressing issues of competitiveness

THE WORLD TRADE Organisation (WTO) has ruled against India in a critical trade dispute, ordering it to stop all export promotion schemes as, under the WTO rules, these are reserved only for the poorest countries — those with a per capita income of less than \$1,000. The ruling covers, among others, the Export Promotion Capital Goods (EPCG) scheme, the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) scheme, as well as the withdrawal of benefits extended under the Merchandise Exports from India Scheme (MEIS).

Anticipating this development, perhaps, the Indian government had earlier announced another scheme, compliant with WTO rules, the Remission of Duties or Taxes on Export Product (RoDTEP) to replace the MEIS. While the MEIS was meant to incentivise merchandise exports by compensating them for various kinds of cost inefficiencies faced by them such as high transportation costs, high electricity rates, delays at customs, the new scheme is based on the notion that whatever taxes are levied on products that are exported or on inputs that go into products that are exported, should not be passed on. Reportedly, the costs of this scheme are similar to those under the MEIS which suggests little impact on exporters, apart from transitional issues. But, there is a reasonable argument to be made that as indirect taxes should not be "exported" in any case, exporters should be separately compensated for the loss of benefits extended under MEIS.

On its part, India could prevent the adoption and implementation of the WTO panel's decision by going to its appellate body by the end of this month. With two of the current three members of the body retiring by December 11, the body would be rendered dysfunctional as the WTO rules require the presence of at least three members to hear an appeal on a dispute panel's ruling. This could keep the WTO from enforcing its ruling against India's export promotion schemes. It is difficult to predict the fallout of this move. Though it would be a tactical decision, aimed at ensuring a short-term reprieve, the situation calls for a comprehensive analysis of India's export strategy. While schemes for the promotion of exports have been in place for years, India's export performance has been languishing. In fact, the country's merchandise exports have barely grown in the past five years. This calls for urgently addressing the underlying issues that afflict the competitiveness of India's exports, especially when the country is in the final stages of negotiating its entry into the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) trade agreement.

FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



VIKRAM MEHTA

INDIAN BUSINESS IS in trouble. Its markets have shrunk, credit flows have choked, competition has squeezed margins and technology has disrupted conventional business processes. *Jugaad* has limited upside potential.

What should business do? There is no catch-all answer. Every company will have to craft its own specific road map. But to progress down these pathways, all companies will have to pass common milestones. For, despite the changes that have been wrought in the business landscape over the past 150 years or so, these milestones are the markers confirming that the company is headed in the right direction. The answer lies, therefore, in keeping sight of these milestones even as the company twists and turns to meet specific challenges.

What are these markers that have remained constant even as the business context has changed? Let me answer this question by engaging in a historical flight of fancy.

Imagine a gathering of business titans of the western world in the Alpine village of Davos in January 1914. A gathering that includes people like John D Rockefeller, the richest man in the world who built the Standard Oil conglomerate by leveraging railroads and Morse code to integrate discrete economic activities into a seamless and cost-efficient supply chain and to secure economies of scale; Andrew Carnegie who built a steel empire by innovating to produce the best quality steel at the lowest cost; Henry Ford who positioned workers along the assembly line for mass production and quality control; the CEOs of the German companies, Bayer and BASF, who between them controlled almost 80 per cent of global trade in chemical and pharmaceutical products. Imagine these successful men leading panel discussions to discuss the reasons for their success. They would all emphasise the fundamentals of quality, cost control, economies of scale, innovation, leadership and principled governance.

The gathering is, of course, a flight of fancy. But the messages are not. These were the factors that allowed businessmen to master the paradigmatic changes of the first

It needs to change. It is regarded as a contributor to the unjust social order

The challenge for Indian business is therefore to create a business model that responds to not only the emergent challenges of "digital, biological and physical" breakthroughs, but also the challenge of societal anger. It is to create a model that narrows, if not bridges, the social trust deficit. This is a difficult challenge, but one step toward meeting it would be to redesign the CSR strategy.

(steam power and telegraph) and second (electricity, mass production and mobility) industrial revolutions. And that too, notwithstanding the drumbeats of conflict that resounded across Europe.

There is a French saying which translated into English reads, "the more things change, the more they remain the same". The saying can be variously interpreted but for business it means that whilst the contours of the business landscape may change, the fundamentals for corporate success will remain constant. The business models will, however, have to be adapted to reflect this altered reality.

A look back on the response of Indian business to the Third Industrial Revolution (computers and IT) suggests that many Indian businessmen lost sight of this fundamental verity. They did not appreciate the full extent of the impact of the forces of globalisation, liberalisation and IT on the business landscape and they did not alter, therefore, their "licence raj" business models of relationship governance and *jugaad*. They were unable, in consequence, to counter the intensified competitive pressures and lost their market ranking. A list of the top 20 Indian companies by market capitalisation in 1990 compared to a similar list in 2019 is revealing. There are few companies on both lists. The first list is dominated by family-promoted companies; the second by IT, finance and MNCs. Many on the first list no longer even exist. This mistake should not be repeated.

The current market environment of the "Fourth Industrial revolution" (so termed by Klaus Schwab, the founder of the WEF) is very different from that of the first three industrial revolutions. It prefaces a world of "ubiquitous mobility, internet of things, artificial intelligence, gene sequencing and nano technology". It also prefaces a world of deepening distrust towards the established systems and processes of governance in politics and business. This sentiment is evident from the spate of protest movements across the world.

Thus, the NGO Extinction Rebellion issued a call to the public to compel governments to act more forcefully to contain carbon emissions. Six million people, mostly

young, and from across the world responded and blockaded roads and airports. Thus, the protests in Hong Kong against the extradition orders issued by the Chinese government continue despite the strong arm tactics of the Chinese police.

Thus, the unprecedentedly large demonstrations in Santiago, Chile against the policy to hike the prices of metro tickets; the violent protests in Lebanon against the tax on WhatsApp messaging and last year, the yellow vest movement in France protesting the rise in fuel prices and the cost of living.

These are just a few of the examples of social convulsion. One could cite many more. But the point is that there is a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction and public outbursts of anger are being triggered by the slightest spark. This dissatisfaction is directed not just against the government. It is also targeted against business. They, too, are regarded as contributors to the existing unjust social order.

The challenge for Indian business is, therefore, to create a business model that responds to not only the emergent challenges of "digital, biological and physical" breakthroughs, but also the challenge of societal anger. It is to create a model that narrows, if not bridges, the social trust deficit. This is a difficult challenge, but one step toward meeting it would be to redesign the CSR strategy. Currently, the bulk of CSR funds are directed towards time-bound, measurable projects like schools, health clinics and toilets. These are important and impactful initiatives. They do not, however, address the root causes of social disaffection (social injustice, illiberalism, corruption, pollution). To do so, businesses may have to allocate a higher proportion of their CSR budget towards longer term, hard to measure, livelihood and sustainability "programmes". This will push businesses beyond their remit and competence, but that is the point. Companies can only succeed if they keep their eye on the fundamentals, but also adapt, unhesitatingly, their business models to the changing business landscape.

The writer is the chairman of Brookings India and senior fellow, Brookings Institution

BECAUSE THE NAME IS SHAKIB

Fans' reaction to ICC ban on Bangladesh's cricket icon speaks of both game and nation



DAKSH PANWAR

SOON AFTER Bangladesh's Test and T20I captain Shakib Al Hasan was banned for two years by the International Cricket Committee for failing to report multiple approaches by a bookie, Mashrafe Mortaza, their ODI skipper, took to social media to throw his weight behind his beleaguered team-mate. "Definitely I will spend some sleepless nights in the light of the recent incidents surrounding my comrade of 13 years," Mortaza, who is also a Member of Parliament, posted on Twitter. "But I can also sleep in peace soon knowing fully well that he will lead us to the 2023 World Cup because the name is Shakib Al Hasan."

"Karon naamta Shakib Al Hasan" — "because the name is Shakib Al Hasan" — is a common refrain in Bangladesh, employed in a variety of contexts. Non-locals may find it difficult to wrap their heads around it, but Bangladeshis consider it self-explanatory, often using it as the clinching argument.

This refrain helps explain what Shakib means to Bangladesh. A few years ago, while covering the Indian team's tour of the country, I witnessed the kind of raw emotion the Bangladeshi cricket team inspired in its fans. I asked a local journalist why it was so, and he replied: "Look, there aren't too many things that you can be happy about in this country. It's only cricket that makes it easy."

To be sure, it isn't all doom and gloom in Bangladesh. Its economy is doing very well. In fact, with a GDP growth hovering above 8 per cent, it's outperforming India by a considerable margin. Still, rapid growth brings

it own pangs. There's overpopulation and pollution in the cities, while millions still live in abject poverty in the countryside. For the well-off and the poor alike, everyday is a struggle: A five-minute journey from Dhanmondi to Farmgate in Dhaka takes half-an-hour. There aren't too many distractions to lift the mood of the masses. The entertainment industry isn't thriving. Cricket is their only opium. It gives this young, 47-year-old nation what it desperately seeks: Validation.

And in cricket, Shakib has been their first truly world-class player. Since his debut in 2007, he has consistently been rated as the best all-rounder in the world, often carrying the team on his shoulders. It's not unlike India in the 1990s, when Sachin Tendulkar used to wage heroic, lonely battles. Only Shakib, arguably, has a far greater impact on Bangladeshis than Tendulkar had on Indians. In terms of popularity, he is their Sachin Tendulkar, Virat Kohli, Shah Rukh Khan and Rajinikanth rolled into one. He is their lodestar, commanding their undivided attention — the first perhaps to do so after the great liberator Sheikh Mujib Ur Rahman. And hence, the phrase "Because the name is...", that seems straight out of a Rajini blockbuster.

But one suspects Bangladeshis had to invent this response not to explain Shakib to others but to themselves. They don't understand him much. He's the most inscrutable cricketer in the team, always keeping to himself, rarely indulging fans, or the media — of

ten not even his teammates. It, therefore, came as a welcome surprise to the country when Shakib led the players' protest against the Bangladesh Cricket Board for better wages and reforms days before the ICC punished him.

So far, in the aftermath of the ban, Bangladesh has been overwhelmingly sympathetic to its fallen superstar. It's strange, but perhaps not entirely unexpected. While the Pakistani fans are disillusioned, often trolling their own players; the Bangladeshi are the most committed supporters in world cricket, often to the point of being delusional. And so, hundreds have taken to the streets to protest not Shakib's indiscretion, but the ban itself. They suspect it's a conspiracy of the Bangladesh board who have, in collusion with the ICC and the BCCI, framed Shakib because he led the players' rebellion. The fact that Shakib himself admitted to not reporting the bookie's approach has been conveniently ignored.

In today's game where cricketers from a young age are sensitised by their boards and the ICC about suspicious approaches, to not report three such overtures is a grave offence just short of match-fixing. That it was Shakib who did it and let down a passionate and unsuspecting country makes the whole affair all the more tragic.

In this one case, "because the name is Shakib Al Hasan..." is not the answer, but the vexing question.

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NOVEMBER 4, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

HARIJANS LOSE LAND WHILE THE PRESS and certain groups have been focussing attention on Khanjawala village in Nagloi block, where there is a long-standing dispute between Harijans and some landlords over cultivation of grazing land, an equally explosive situation in Mandi village in Mehrauli has been ignored. The 80 Harijan families of Mandi were allotted 80 acres of land by the village gram sabha in 1974, but till today they have not been able to take physical possession of the land. In July, matters came to a head when a crowd of Gujar landlords drove their cattle into the acres tilled by Harijans and ploughed up the bajra standing in the field. A reported investment of around Rs 20,000 made by the Harijans



was thus destroyed. The CRP and Delhi police descended on the village "to contain the situation" and a police post was set up.

PRESIDENT'S RULE ARUNACHAL PRADESH WAS placed under President's rule for three months and the territorial assembly dissolved to pave the way for a fresh poll. A Presidential order to this effect came three days after the resignation of the Tomo Riba ministry owing to defections. The Union Cabinet met and accepted the Lt Governor, R N Haldipur's recommendation that the union territory be brought under President's rule. Arunachal Pradesh is the third union territory now under President's rule, after Pondicherry and Goa.

AFGHAN OFFENSIVE AFGHANISTAN'S MARXIST REGIME has launched what observers think is a "winter offensive" against the Muslim rebels who have been fighting the Soviet-backed rulers for over a year now. Reports reaching in Islamabad from the embattled country say that in recent coordinated operations, the Afghanistan army and air force regained large areas which were being held by insurgent tribesmen known widely as "Mujahideen" — Muslims fighting holy war. Afghan air force bombings in areas bordering Pakistan killed nearly 200 tribesmen, according to the local paper *Jang*, causing a new influx of refugees into Pakistan's North West Frontier Province.



Let's clear the air

Amending and updating the 1981 Air Act will help in the battle against pollution



AS DELHI'S Air Quality Index crosses 500, the national capital has officially entered the public health emergency category. Schools have been shut, children are complaining of breathing problems, but the state and Central governments are simply indulging in blame-games. When something as fundamental as the health of our children is at risk, we should devise a more robust, permanent solution to the problem of pollution. This forms the basis of the need for amending the 1981 Air Act and making it more compatible with contemporary India.

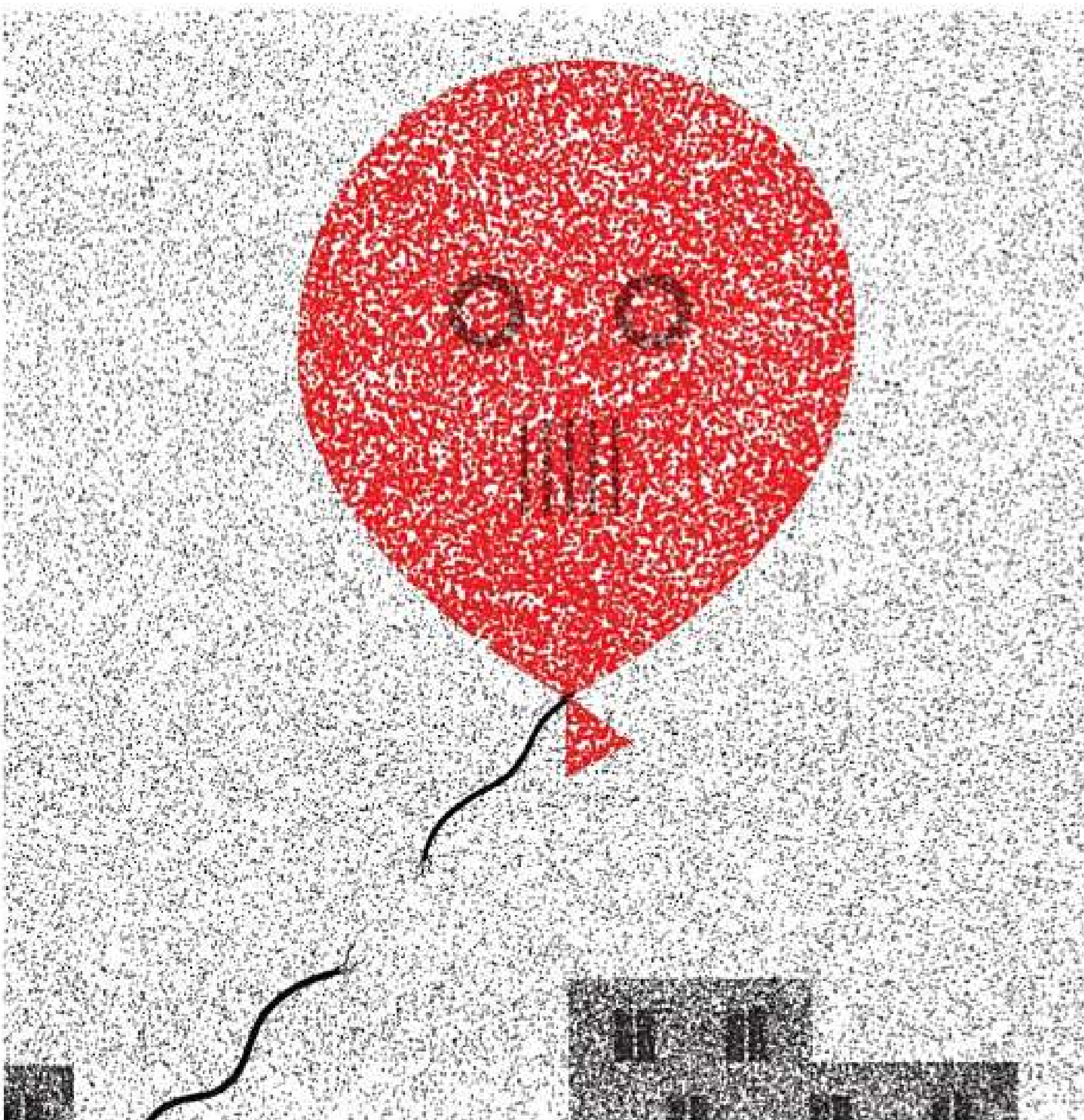
Air pollution in India is not simply an environmental problem, but a major public health concern. It impacts all those breathing in the polluted air — children, the elderly, women and men alike. As its concentration worsens in India and statistics grow more grim, so do our policymakers' reactions. As a father of a three-year-old, my concern for my child's health is shared by numerous other families. Recently, the Centre for Science and Environment reported that air pollution kills an average 8.5 out of every 10,000 children in India before they turn five. Similarly, the WHO in 2016 reported that pollution has led to the deaths of over 1 lakh children in India. Overall, several internationally acclaimed studies have affirmed that life expectancy in India has declined anywhere between two to three years.

Statistics show that India is in a worse situation compared to its global counterparts. According to Greenpeace, 22 of the world's 30 most polluted cities are in India and Delhi has yet again bagged the position of the world's most polluted capital. These are grim figures, especially when compared to India's neighbours: Five in China, two in Pakistan and one in Bangladesh. In 2018, India was placed in the bottom five countries on the Environmental Performance Index, ranking 177th out of 180 countries, along with Bangladesh, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Nepal.

Because of the toxic air and the lax liability system, young children's health and quality of life are being significantly affected. Currently, breathing in Delhi's air is similar to smoking 22 cigarettes in a day. One can only imagine the impact on the lungs of our children. And yet, there is a deafening silence at the helm of policymaking because it has not become an electoral priority for political leaders. Besides a few underfunded programmes, the government shows no willingness to bring a bill or law compelling central and state governments to ensure that its citizens are breathing clean air.

The Indian government needs to identify the tangible benefits that concrete legislation on air pollution has brought across the world. In the United States, the Clean Air Act has proven that public health and economic progress can go together. For instance, the aggregate national emissions of the six common pollutants in the USA dropped an average of 73 per cent from 1970 to 2017. Through one piece of legislation, the US has challenged multiple sources of pollution, airborne or motor vehicle-led. Similarly, after declaring a war on pollution, Chinese cities reduced particulate concentration by 32 per cent in 2018. In a country with a human power and technical know-how like India, achieving a better feat is not impossible.

However, in India, we are ignoring the change that progressive legislation can bring. In recent times, the government has worked on a much hyped "mission-mode" — drafting policies and programmes to alleviate pollution. But with little to no legal mandate or a budgetary allocation of as little as Rs 300 crore under programmes such as the National Clean Air Programme, no true enforcement of targets and goals is guaranteed. In such dire circumstances with high stakes,



CR Sasikumar

higher targets need to be set, penalties need to be stricter, and the mandate needs to be stronger.

It is therefore essential to retrace our steps back to the Air Act of 1981 that governs our pollution control system. There is unanimous consensus amongst many court rulings, Parliament Committee reports, media investigations, and several environmentalists that under the 1981 Air Act, the Pollution Control Boards are presently unable to fulfil their mandate as watchdogs against polluting industries. A new bill will plug many loopholes in the 1981 Act and would align the functions and priorities of the Pollution Boards towards reducing the adverse impact of pollution on human health in India.

India's pollution liability regime has never prioritised the adverse impact of pollution on health. In its present form, India's Air Act does not mention or prioritise the importance of reducing the health impact of rising pollution. This is the first change that a new law on air pollution should bring, protecting health needs to become the central mission that the boards work towards. For instance, at any point that the State Boards find evidence of excess air pollution, they should take all measures possible to actively disseminate this information to the masses. When the air quality goes from normal to toxic and hazardous, the boards must be empowered to declare public health emergencies, with the power to temporarily shut down all polluting activities. While these changes might introduce an additional burden on industries to proactively check their emissions, the additional burden is worth the lives that will be saved as a result.

Accountability and deterrence are essential in making sure industries comply with emission standards. While the boards cannot levy penalties, in the new law they should be empowered to encash environmental compensations from polluting industries to make up for the cost of mitigating the damage the violating industry has caused. This possibility of paying compensation

Accountability and deterrence are essential in making sure industries comply with emission standards. While the boards cannot levy penalties, in the new law they should be empowered to encash environmental compensations from polluting industries to make up for the cost of mitigating the damage the violating industry has caused. This possibility of paying compensation would be a strong reinforcement for industries to adopt cleaner technologies and comply with standards.

would be a strong reinforcement for industries to adopt cleaner technologies and comply with standards. Finally, in a federal set-up, the Centre and states must work in synergy to ensure that targets set for the country and states are fulfilled. Therefore, the new law must push Central and state boards to convene joint sittings with a multi-sectoral participation from ministries such as housing, urban development, agriculture and road transport. Air pollution is not, and has never been, a problem with a single solution. It is caused by emissions from vehicles, industries and agriculture, construction dust, and other factors related to household consumption and municipal planning.

Because multiple ministries and government departments are involved, without appropriate political leadership, public commitment will remain on paper only. Therefore, the new law on air pollution must give an additional mandate to either a senior minister, such as the minister of environment, forest and climate or the prime minister's office needs to be involved directly. Greater public transparency is essential to the success of winning the war on air pollution. There is no better watchdog than active citizens, which is why the pollution targets must be made public every year for their perusal and to be evaluated at the end of the year. To incentivise the industries to better themselves through environmental compensations, the industries and their respective state boards must be ranked in order of their efficiency and programme delivery.

Breathing clean air is the fundamental right of every Indian citizen. Human health must become a priority when it comes to legislating on air pollution. As 2019 nears its end, and the season of smog begins, there is an urgent need for India to be a pollution free nation. Pollution control boards must be empowered sufficiently to ensure that pollution does not take more lives or hinders the overall progress of India.

The writer is a Congress MP in Lok Sabha

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"Democrats will need to make a clear, convincing case — not that Donald Trump is a bad person, but that he has failed the country." — THE NEW YORK TIMES

Philosopher of the far right

Rediscovery of Heidegger must be read in context of new global nationalist movements



IN GOOD FAITH
ADAM KNOWLES

WHENEVER THE INFAMOUS German philosopher Martin Heidegger appears in the headlines, it is worth pausing to ask what current events have put him there. Although a devoted Nazi and anti-Semite who worked energetically to reform the German university according to Nazi principles, Heidegger remains one of the most influential philosophers of the 20th century. In the wake of World War II, academics globally devoted an immense amount of energy to rehabilitating Heidegger even though he was declared a "fellow traveller" by the Denazification Commission — a hasty entity of post-war justice notorious for overlooking forms of complicity both large and small. In the meantime, scholars have produced many different cleansed versions of Heidegger to serve particular political needs. There is Heidegger the mystic, the naïve professor incapable of navigating Nazi party politics, the pseudo-Buddhist thinker of tranquillity and letting-be, the man of the soil and province, etc. As Ramin Jahanbegloo has brought Heidegger back ('Philosopher of the future', IE, September 23), it is worth asking which Heidegger might be mobilised to serve the political needs of today's India. A brief glance at an event last week can help answer this question.

Last week witnessed a curious, yet ominous blip in the German news cycle. An unofficial delegation consisting of 27 members of the European Parliament toured Kashmir and posed for a photo-op in Delhi with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Among the parliamentarians were two members of Germany's radical right party Alternative for Germany (AfD), a self-declared "party of the people" founded upon a violent anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant platform. Bernhard Zimmermann, one of the AfD representatives invited to India, tweeted proudly that "[t]he shift in the political landscape in Germany is being followed with interest." Days before, the AfD captured its strongest electoral victory yet, gaining 23.4 per cent of the votes in the state elections in Thuringia. Whether or not the AfD deserves to be labelled a neo-Nazi party may be a matter of debate and may even distract from what makes the AfD a useful ally for the BJP. The AfD is a völkisch party - a party that seeks to restore a positive meaning to a term (Volk) that was until very recently a taboo in Germany.

Any resurgence of Heidegger's thinking in India must be read in the context of the global alliance of ethno-nationalist movements. For far too long, the dominant readings of Heidegger have misunderstood his political commitments by measuring them only in relation to National Socialism and not

in relation to the longer continuities in ethno-nationalist, conservative, and anti-Semitic movements in German intellectual history. Many of these strains of thinking predated Nazism and lived beyond the fall of Nazism. Heidegger's ongoing rehabilitation must be read as part of a continuous history of ethno-nationalist thinking which did not disappear with the end of Nazism.

While I document the ethno-nationalist strains of Heidegger's thinking in my book Heidegger's Fascist Affinities: A Politics of Silence, the most effective way to introduce Heidegger's ethno-nationalist fidelities is found in the German Federal Archives in Berlin, in the files of an organisation bearing the cumbersome title The Cultural-Political Working Community of German University Professors. In March 1933, Heidegger served as a founding member of the group, which consisted primarily of professors from the prestigious universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg. The organisation's aim was to begin the process of "nazifying" the faculty and curriculum. The organisation limited its membership to "ethnically German university professors," while its platform called for "German universities to wear a German face," "for the renewal of an ethnic consciousness," and for the German university to become a "site of national-political education". The platform disavowed affiliation with any particular political party, relying instead on a diffuse rhetoric of the "people" and the "ethnic limits of all genuine culture." The fact that the organisation distinguished itself from Nazism is significant, for it is precisely this distinction which survived the process of denazification. Heidegger became an important symbol for a conservatism that could distance itself from Nazism, while still perpetuating many of the forms of ethno-nationalism that fed into Nazism and still undergirds the AfD.

The rise of the AfD is causing a very serious public debate in Germany as to whether denazification has failed. In his valorisation of the destiny of the Germans as a unique historical people, the German language, and the German landscape, Heidegger has long provided an intellectually palatable version of ethno-nationalism. If denazification failed within the discipline of philosophy, then that is because the larger body of ethno-nationalist thinking was not addressed, while the breadth of what counted as "Nazism" was limited to a very narrow range of thinking.

As the Indian consulate sponsors public events in Germany called "Let's do it like Gandhi", promoting Gandhi as a prophet of peace and self-determination, we should also be wary of attempts to rehabilitate Heidegger as a purportedly apolitical and timeless figure. As universities like JNU face the onslaught of ethno-nationalist pressures, we should remember Heidegger's own ethno-nationalist ambitions for the German university system as a site for political radicalisation. If Heidegger is a thinker of the moment, it is because he is symptomatic of some of the worst elements of this moment.

Knowles teaches philosophy at Drexel University, Germany and is the author of Heidegger's Fascist Affinities: A Politics of Silence

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CAMPUS VIOLENCE

THIS REFERS TO the report, 'Visva-Bharati VC wants CISF: Campus Security loyal to Trinamool' (IE, October 30). While the posting of paramilitary forces on university campuses is perceived to be a means to crush campus dissent, it becomes necessary when the law and order situation within the campus goes out of control. The HRD ministry should look into the request of the universities for central police protection and provide them with the same as soon as possible.

Sauro Dasgupta, via e-mail

FIRM ON CHINA

THIS REFERS TO the report 'China says J&K split unlawful, India responds' (IE, November 1). China has described the bifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir into two union territories as unlawful and void. It seems that China has no misgivings about the area of India that it already occupies and, instead of a sense of remorse, China seems inclined to meddle in India's internal affairs. India should display a firmer resolve than it has displayed in the past to deal effectively with China on this issue.

Devendra Khurana, Bhopal

VALLEY SECURITY

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Warning in the Valley' (IE, November 1). The article correctly analyses the security situation in Jammu & Kashmir, but sadly restricts its scope to neutralising terrorists, dismantling their financial networks and

LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

To encourage quality reader intervention, The Indian Express offers the Letter of the Week award. The letter adjudged the best for the week is published every Saturday. Letters may be e-mailed to editpage@expressindia.com or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301.

over-ground worker's network. It gives no hint towards finding a political solution to the problem. However, it correctly observes that the security situation has not improved since abrogation of Article 370. It fails to observe that with no concrete plan of action for much touted "development" of Jammu & Kashmir, abrogation of Article 370 has only accentuated the sense of alienation of Kashmiris. The Central Government will do well to restore full statehood (minus article 370) to J&K and pave the way for the installation of a democratically elected government. It will be best if such an elected government fights the terrorists with the support of the central government, rather than the central government trying to do that job directly.

Anoop Kumar Srivastava, Greater Noida

VIEW FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



A weekly look at the public conversations shaping ideas beyond borders — in the Subcontinent. Curated by Aakash Joshi

A FACE-OFF, A TEST

MAULANA FAZLUR REHMAN is in Islamabad and how his protest unfolds will likely define the contours of Pakistan's politics in the short term. Rehman is the head of the Jaimiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur), a Deobandi sect. He is firmly against the PTI-led government in Pakistan, and on Saturday, gave Imran Khan a two-day ultimatum to resign. Both the prime opposition parties in Pakistan — the PPP and PML-N are reportedly to share a dharna stage with Rehman, supporting his "azadi" march.

Dawn's editorial on October 31 notes that "These next few days will, however, feel like eternity for the government. It is vital that decision-makers hold their nerve even if faced with grave provocations."

The editorial welcomes the government's decision to give permission to the march to enter the capital. It also hints that for the opposition parties that are supporting the religious leader, this could either be a precursor to

genuine unity — both the PML-N and PPP have been beleaguered by the arrest of their leaders, Nawaz Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari respectively.

In an article on November 2, Fahid Hussain, Dawn's resident editor in Islamabad writes that the politics of dharna, of delegitimising the government, was given credence by Imran Khan himself. Rehman's march is reminiscent of when Imran Khan descended on Islamabad in 2014 against the then government and prime minister.

Now, the Maulana and government have both taken extreme positions, making a compromise difficult. Hussain writes: "The days for PTI's inflexible posturing appear to be shrinking fast. If this situation needs to be defused, the good maulana will need something which he can claim as victory and walk away."

THE MARTYR COMPLEX

THE NEWS IN Bangladesh is being dominated

by one man — Shakib Al Hasan. Shakib is a national hero. And he has fallen. He faces a two-year ban from the ICC for not reporting being approached by a bookie multiple times.

Tanvir Haider Chaudhury, writing in the Dhaka Tribune on October 31, attempts to put the ban into perspective: "If Shakib Al Hasan follows the required protocols, he will have to serve one year. There will doubtlessly be an appeal made by BCB on behalf of their star player -- who are not his biggest fans right now but are not such fools that they want their golden egg-laying goose to be sacrificed just yet. This may bring the ban down to a six-month period."

He then talks of the tendency among Bangladeshis to be "a nation of binary thinkers, victims of our own martyr complex. Dark forces are always conspiring against us, whether they be homegrown or international. Nothing is ever our own fault." He adds: "Our heroes are impeccable, with nothing to besmirch them. Everyone else is envious of their

success, hatching plots to drag them down from the lofty heights they've scaled. There is black and there is white, with no grey area to separate them."

He asks his countrymen to stand by "their fallen hero", hoping he rises from the ashes like a phoenix.

PM'S HEALTH WOES

THE KATHMANDU POST has taken umbrage at the lack of clarity and communication regarding Prime Minister KP Oli's health issues. Oli is reportedly hospitalised and going through a complete series of dialysis. The November 1 editorial also recounts that the PM had a kidney transplant 11 years ago.

It justifies the demand for the PM's health problems being made public: "While every person should be accorded some level of privacy, repeated health-related incidents bring forth questions about whether someone is fit enough to continue in a role."

12 THE GOVERNANCE PAGE

ENABLING CHANGE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

How Karnataka became the most innovative state in the country

The culture of sharing knowledge is the reason why Karnataka provides 40% of India's IT exports

JOHNSON TA
BENGALURU, NOVEMBER 3

LAST MONTH, Karnataka topped the first-ever India Innovation Index brought out by Niti Aayog. At one level, this honour for the southern state and especially for its capital city — Bengaluru — was hardly surprising. For a while now, there's been enough and more anecdotal evidence about how Karnataka laid the foundations of such distinction by investing in centres of academic and professional excellence such as the Indian Institute of Science as well as a slew of public sector engineering firms since independence.

Encouraged by the signs of a growing knowledge economy, Texas Instruments, the United States' information technology company, set up a facility in the city in the late 1980s. Later on, this development spawned India's own IT companies and, even more significantly, an entrepreneurial culture where starts-ups could come up and thrive.

The recognition in the India Innovation Index 2019 last month has underscored how information technology and start-up economy lie at the core of Karnataka's emergence as the leader for innovation among all major states in the country.

The India Innovation Index 2019 measured innovation in the states through the prism of an enabling environment split under five broad categories — human capital, investment, knowledge workers, business environment, safety and legal environment, and two broad performance categories — knowledge output and knowledge diffusion.

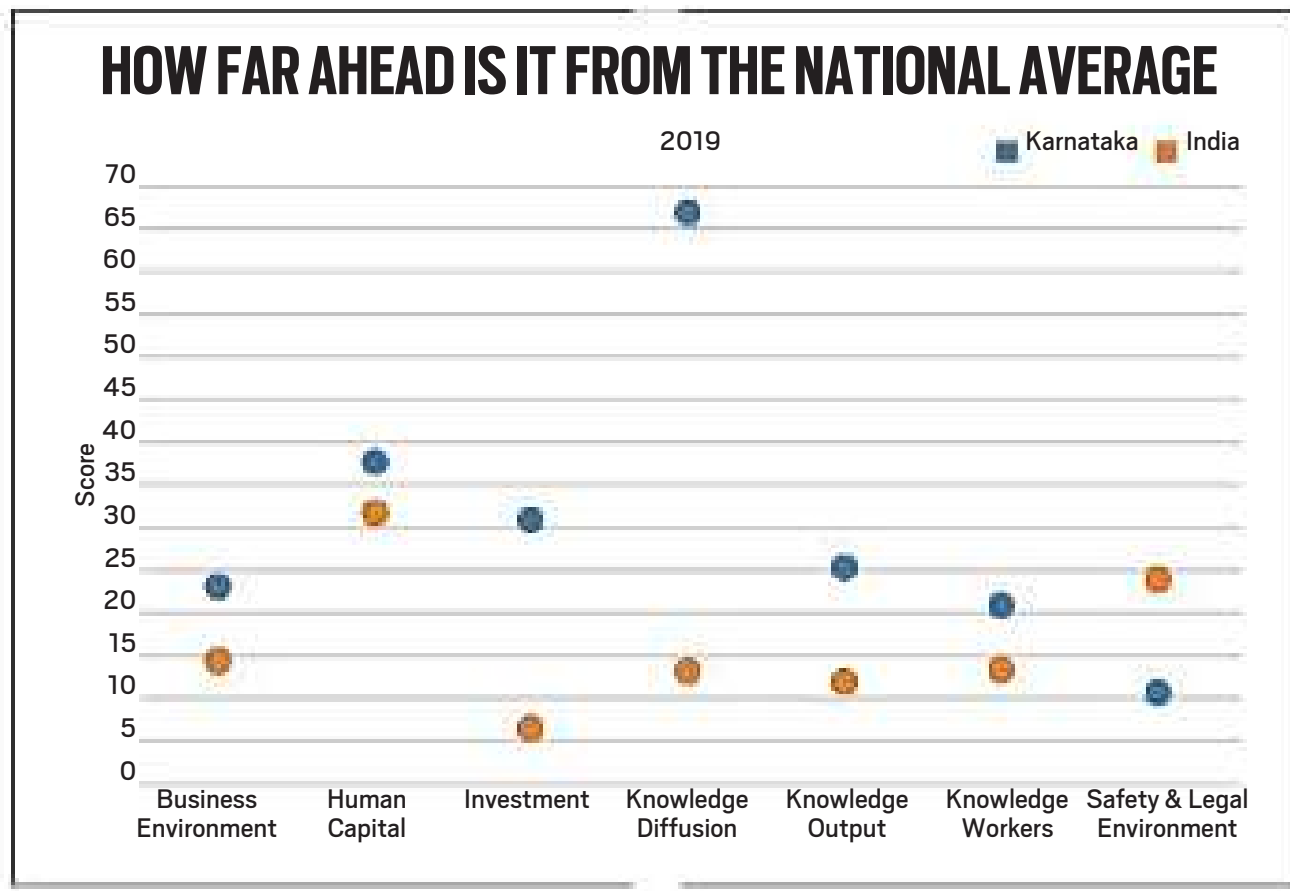
The index attempted to go beyond regular measures of assessing innovation through parameters such as the number of patents per million people, publication in scientific journals, Gross Domestic Product spending on Research & Development, high-tech manufacturing, and research personnel per one million population.

"The aim is to give states a robust measure of their innovative capacities and encourage them to strengthen the innovation ecosystem. This would also boost innovation-led entrepreneurship in India as a healthy innovation culture across states will help them attract hi-tech companies and start-ups," says the scientist V K Saraswat, a member of the National Institute for Transforming India (or NITI) Aayog.

India's overall score as a nation on the innovation index is 15.6. A large disparity exists between the human capital that is available in the country and the number of knowledge workers and this gap "suggests that the country has been unable to provide adequate re-



Students at Indian Institute of Management (IIM) Campus in Bannerghatta Road, Bengaluru *Express*



search opportunities to its graduates and also indicates the quality of graduates," said the Niti Aayog report.

Out of the 33 indicators, Karnataka scored 100 out of 100 on two parameters — venture capital deals and ICT exports — and this propelled the state to top the ranks. According to the innovation index, Karnataka has topped the ranks "due to the prevalence of numerous higher education institutions, research labs and a cluster of businesses that help drive businesses forward". Although Karnataka is first among the major states with an innova-

tion index of 35.65 points, if one also includes smaller states and UTs then Delhi comes up trumps with a score of 42.98.

In terms of the enabling environment for innovation — human capital, investment, knowledge workers, business environment and safety and legal environment — Karnataka is ranked third (with a score of 24.96), behind Maharashtra and Haryana.

Karnataka is best in terms of investments for innovation — scoring 100 for venture capital deals — but it ranks a lowly 15 in terms of creating safety and legal environment for in-

EXPLAINED

What Karnataka does to excel

THE CENTRAL idea of the index was to understand which state provides the best enabling environment for innovation. Karnataka stands out because it has had a long history of investing in educational institutes that focus on achieving excellence. On two counts — venture capital deals, and Information and Communications Technology exports — it has scored 100 out of 100.

novation. The low ranking for safety and legal environment in states like Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Telangana, despite these states ranking high for innovation, could be due to better reporting of crimes in these states, says the Niti Aayog report. One of the other innovation enabling parameters where Karnataka has done well is in the pupil-teacher ratio in higher education where the state has a recorded a score of 90 in the index.

In terms of innovation performance — knowledge output and knowledge diffusion — Karnataka tops the list of major states with a score of 46.35 compared to Tamil Nadu's 42.40 and Maharashtra's 34.22. Karnataka is also number one among all states in knowledge diffusion with a score of 67.06. The high knowledge diffusion score for Karnataka is a big reason behind the state contributing 40 per cent of the country's information technology exports. The higher innovation in Karnataka also leads to a higher competitiveness ranking for the state and innovation is also linked to higher per capita GDP, the Niti Aayog's innovation index points out.

Among the areas for improvement outlined for Karnataka by the 2019 Innovation Index are increasing government expenditure on higher and technical education as well as science and technology; increasing number of NGOs in knowledge-intensive areas; increasing numbers of cyber cells and social media monitoring cells; improving grassroots innovations; increasing online transactions; strengthening information technology and patent laws and more ICT labs for schools.

‘Govt is trying its best to protect but WhatsApp should’ve stopped the breach’

KARISHMA MEHROTRA
DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

GULSHAN RAI was the National Cybersecurity Coordinator in the Prime Minister's Office during the first term of Narendra Modi's government. Karishma Mehrotra catches up with him to understand how he views the unravelling security breach on WhatsApp.

What is your reaction to the unfolding news about a breach of the WhatsApp platform affecting 121 Indian citizens?

This news is not a surprise to me. If you look at the nature of the technology, when one downloads an app, the app takes away all your data, whether or not they are taking the content. This is the basic philosophy of any application. Every app asks your permission to do this, and if you deny them, then you cannot install the app.

Similarly, when one installs WhatsApp, the application also asks the same permissions. In this case under discussion, the only difference is that someone has installed a software on the phone and bypassed permission from the owner or the user of the phone. He or she doesn't have the knowledge or the choice to install the app. Someone else chose the target where to install. I mean NSO or the agencies worldwide that they sold to. In that way, it is malicious. I'm not surprised when these things happen. Malware has become very sophisticated.

Have you ever seen anything like?

These are the normal way that agencies worldwide work in today's cyber world.

When did you start to see this type of spyware starting to be used?

I was not involved in intelligence gathering, only the defensive part of cybersecurity. I had no knowledge of such things. We used to see only security breaches, we did our best efforts to plug it. Cybersecurity and intelligence gathering are two separate issues. The case of WhatsApp fits more into intelligence gathering, though in all such cases security is breached.

Does that imply that this was used by the Indian government for intelligence gathering?

All these are allegations. People are alleging the Government of India (is involved) but there is no evidence. As far as I know of the Government of India, it never did anything like this. Rules about surveillance are very



THE POLICY INTERVIEW

GULSHAN RAI
Former Cybersecurity Coordinator in the PMO

strict. There are checks and balances there.

When foreign technology companies are operating in India, how much responsibility does the Indian government have?

The government tries its best to enforce that foreign companies should follow the law of India. I am sure the government will also address further concerns in the pending Data Protection Act and the IT Ministry's intermediary rules. The government is taking serious note of all this happening. There is no lethargy or latency, but the area is so complicated and complex that 100 per cent security is not possible. The government tries its best.

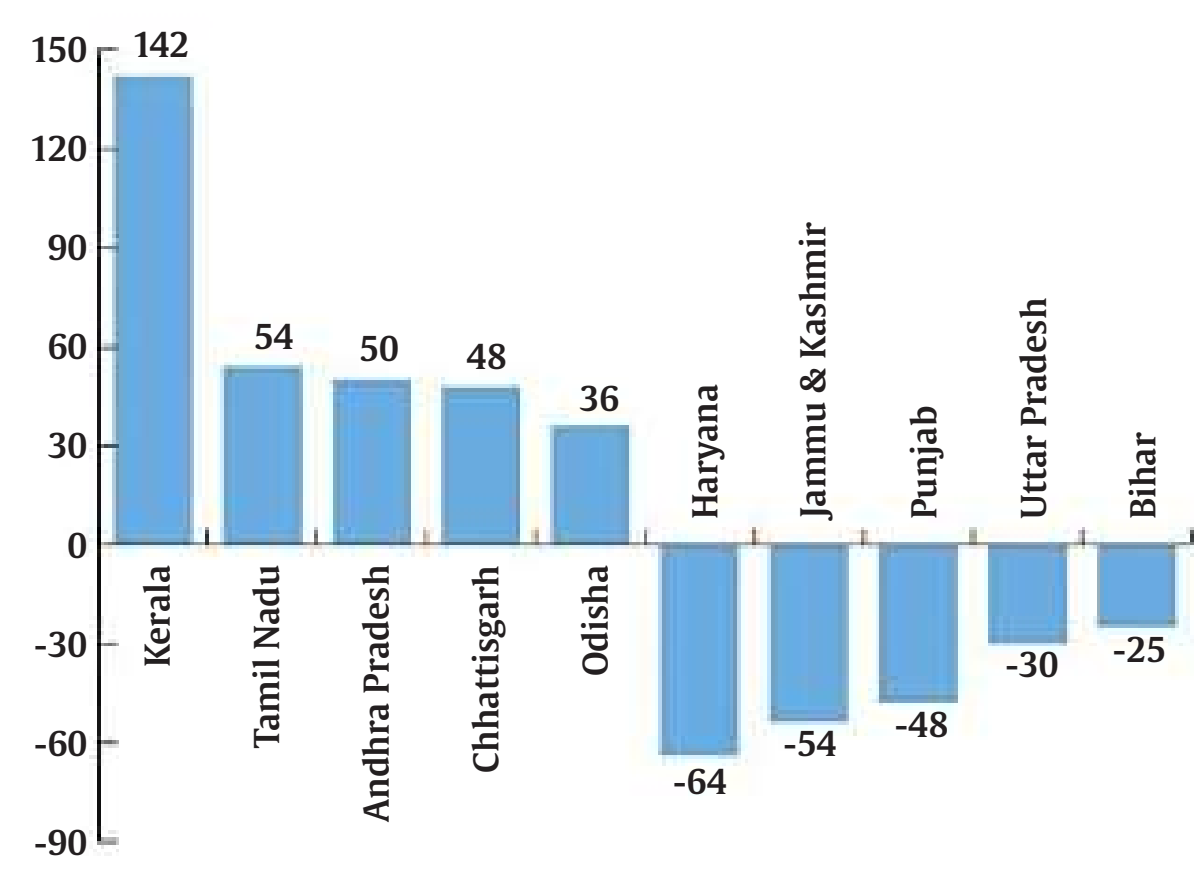
How can the government improve?

It's a very complicated matter because foreign companies have their offices and data storage outside the country. Today, data is a strategic asset and a weapon also. Here, the government is one of the major stakeholders but other stakeholders in the private sector have a responsibility to make this space safe.

WhatsApp is the one that should have stopped this immediately. If they failed to detect it or stop it, and their USP is end-to-end encryption, they should be held accountable for a privacy breach. They should give the Government of India permission to audit the entire incident. And every citizen has a right to take them to the court now that privacy is a fundamental right. WhatsApp should come out and say who has been breached. They are making a vague statement that we have informed everyone.

IN NUMBERS

BEST AND WORST STATES IN TERMS OF VARIATIONS FROM NATIONAL SEX RATIO OF 943



Source: National Health Profile, 2019

FROM STATES REFORMS TRACKER

UTTAR PRADESH

Support for the girl child's education

State Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath has launched a new flagship scheme — titled the Mukhya Mantri Kanya Sumangala Yojana — to provide help for families where a girl child is born. The structure of the scheme is such that parents need to ensure the proper care of the girl child in order to receive the benefits, which are essentially in the form of money. The funds will be released in installments and will correspond to a girl child reaching a key milestone.

RAJASTHAN

Monetary help for silicosis patients

The state government has launched a scheme that provides monetary relief to people suffering from silicosis, which is a lung disease. According to this new scheme those suffering from silicosis in the state will be treated at par with differently-abled people and as such receive a monthly pension of Rs 1,250. The mining and mineral processing industry is one of the major employment generation sectors in the state. But workers often get affected by silicosis after breathing dust containing silica.

KERALA

Racing ahead on start-up culture

According to a report by digital media platform Inc 42, Kerala has emerged as the top destination for start-ups in the country. In 2018, the number of start-ups in the state grew by a whopping 35 per cent. But the success is not limited to just one or two years. Since 2012, said the report, Kerala has seen compound annual growth of 17 per cent — resulting in 2,200 start-ups.

Bihar govt uses traditional paintings and murals to beautify Patna, raise awareness

SANTOSH SINGH
PATNA, NOVEMBER 3

THE BIHAR government has been using art in public places to spread its social messages. Last year, the Patna Municipal Corporation asked artists to paint the walls in the capital city with Madhubani paintings not just to beautify the city and make it aware of its cultural beauty but also dissuade people from spitting and dirtying public spaces. In the same light, the government has now engaged artists of international repute to depict its success in providing electricity to every household through murals, that convey the journey from "darkness to light". Another set of murals, commissioned under the state government's greenery campaign titled "Jal, Jeevan aur Hariyal" (water, life and greenery), urges people to reconnect with the environment.



A 70 ft high painting on the walls of Vidhut Bhawan *Nagendra Kumar Singh*

The inspiration for these came from a series of murals painted in Lodhi Estate in the national capital. Pratyaya Amrit, Chairman and Managing Director of Bihar State Power Holding Company (BSPHCL), told *The Indian*

Express "While crossing through Lodhi Estate artwork, I wondered if anything on the lines of an energy-specific theme can be done in Bihar. We took three months to concretise the idea and finalised on our theme".

Another mural shows a young boy and a young girl holding a goraiya (house sparrow) — Bihar's state bird — in their palms. The mural titled "we are light" tells how everything in this universe is connected — from human beings to plants. The mural depicts endangered species like the Bengal Tiger and the Asiatic Elephant set against the two kids, who will be the protectors of these animals in the future.

Most of the compositions have been done by Emanuel Alaniz, an Argentinian street artist based in Berlin, and Federica Maria, also an Argentinian, and Abhijith Acharya from Kerala. "Public response has been overwhelming. These paintings have become a selfie point", said project manager Ritesh Sharma.

CHHATTISGARH/REDUCING HUNGER

In Dantewada — combating malnutrition, one hot meal a day

DIPANKAR GHOSE
SAMELI (DANTEWADA), NOVEMBER 3

It is 1:30 pm and the women, mostly in groups of four to five, with their young babies either in their arms or holding on to their fingers start arriving at the Sameli Gram Panchayat (GP) office. The faces of both women and children tell stories of hardship. Of a hard day, of a hard life. They leave their slippers at the door of the building and sit quietly in rows, waiting. In front of them, a group of ten women buzz around, setting up plates of food, each identical to the other. Soon the plates are distributed and they all eat a meal that the state government hopes will change food habits and bring down malnutrition and anaemia rate in the state.

Since the Congress government took oath in December 2018, the state cabinet and Chief Minister Bhupesh Baghel, in particular, have repeatedly said that one of their government's



Hot cooked food to be served to tribal women and children under the Mukhyamantri Suposhan Yojana in Sameli, Dantewada. *Praveen Khanna*

targets is to bring down the 37 per cent malnutrition rate in the state. One of the initiatives towards this goal is the Mukhyamantri Suposhan Abhiyan, which began as a pilot project in left-wing extremism hit Dantewada district, but has since been announced in every district of the state on October 2.

Under the scheme, children under the age of 5, girls, and young mothers are given one cooked meal a day at the GP headquarters. While so far six districts have begun this process, more will follow suit soon, government officials said.

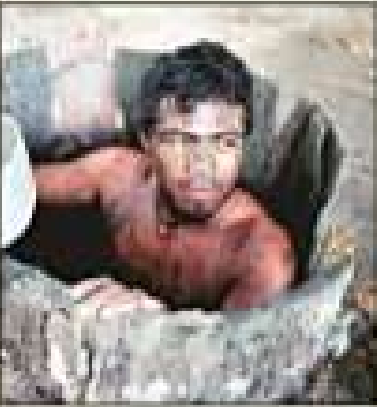
Topeshwar Verma, District Magistrate, Dantewada told *The Indian Express*, "In tribal areas, food habits are a problem. It is usually rice, and forest produce. So whatever schemes we have under ICDS (Integrated Child Development Services), those are not enough. So we prepared a menu in order to change food habits, and through that, we are giving them nutrition. We are confident that this will lead to an increase in nutrition and

haemoglobin etc. If you bring about a habitual change, people will include other ingredients to their food other than just rice — like vegetables and dal."

In each GP, the responsibility of running the scheme and making food every day has been given to self-help groups — mostly a group of 10 people. The menu comprises rice, roti, dal, green vegetables, a laddoo made of chana, pickle and one boiled egg. "We give them three and a half rupees per person that is fed. So that is a source of income. Utensils are coming from the panchayats and we are using government buildings in the villages."

Verma informs that in every GP there is a nodal officer and once a month, they go to the panchayats and check all the government schemes. The district administration said that they have taken benchmark measurements in terms of weight, haemoglobin levels and other indicators, and tests will be carried out every six months to see if there is an improvement in standards.

TOPOF THE WORLD



Paulo Paulino Guajajara

BRAZIL 'Guardian of the forest' killed in Amazon ambush

Sao Paulo: A Brazilian land defender was killed and a second injured in an ambush by loggers in the Amazon rainforest, regional authorities reported. Indigenous leader Paulo Paulino Guajajara and his partner Laercio were members of "guardians of the forest", a group who attempt to protect their land from illegal logging. The two men had left their village on Friday night to look for water when the attack occurred, the Human Rights Secretariat of the Maranhao governorate said on Twitter. Paulo Paulino was shot in the neck and died in the jungle, according to the International Survival organisation, who said his partner was injured but managed to escape. A logger has also been reported missing.

MALI IS claims attack that killed 49

Bamako: The Islamic State on Saturday claimed responsibility for a devastating raid that killed 49 Malian troops as well as a blast that led to the death of a French soldier who became the latest casualty in the conflict-torn region. The strikes underscored the fragility of an area straddling several West African countries battling increasing jihadist violence that has claimed hundreds of lives. Friday's assault on a Malian military outpost at Indelimane in the eastern Menaka region near Niger killed 49 soldiers, wounded three and left 20 survivors, the Malian Armed Forces (FAMA) said on Saturday.

NEPAL 15 killed in bus accident

Kathmandu: At least 15 people died in a bus accident in Nepal's border district of Sindhupalchowk on Sunday. The accident occurred when the bus, which was going to Kathmandu from Maga Deurali area of Dolakha, skidded off the Araniko Highway and plunged 100 metres down into Sunkoshi River at Sukute area near the Nepal-Tibet border, police said. Some three dozen people, who sustained injuries in the incident, are undergoing treatment at Dhulikhel Hospital.



Police scuffle with protesters at New Town Plaza in Sha Tin, Hong Kong, on Sunday. Reuters

Hong Kong mall clashes end in bloodshed

Several injured in knife attack; politician's ear bitten off

JESSIE PANG & CLARE JIM HONG KONG, NOVEMBER 3

HONG KONG anti-government protesters crowded a shopping mall in running clashes with police on Sunday during which a man with a knife slashed several people and apparently bit off part of a local politician's ear. A human chain in Cityplaza, in the eastern suburb of Taikoo Shing, turned into a face-to-face conflict with police, running up and down escalators where families with young children had been window shopping just minutes before and watching skating on the ice rink. Police said protesters had

Police fired pepper spray at reporters when they got too close. One journalist was arrested

vandalised a restaurant in the mall after a peaceful chanting of slogans in the 22nd straight weekend of protests by Hong Kong people furious at perceived Chinese meddling. Several people were wounded, with one man in a white tee-shirt, believed to be the knifeman, being beaten with sticks by protesters. Another man lay in a pool of blood outside the mall.

Democratic district councillor Andrew Chiu was among the wounded, blood dripping from his ear. Democratic Party lawmaker James To told reporters the knifeman had bitten off part of Chiu's ear and slashed other people. Police made several arrests as protesters shouted "black police!", a reference to their perceived brutality. The standoff lasted into the night, with residents jeering police from the roadside and balconies of nearby apartments, chanting "leave now" and more colourful Cantonese expletives. Police fired pepper spray at reporters when they got too close. One journalist was arrested. REUTERS

EXPLAINED Protesters target big business

IN RECENT weeks, protesters have targeted multinational brands that they believe have close ties with China. Apart from a minority of protesters vandalising outlets, there is also a boycott movement against such businesses. With protests now moving into malls, businesses already facing a recession are under even more pressure.

BANGLADESH PLANS TO RELOCATE REFUGEES FROM CROWDED CAMPS

Rohingya island move uncertain after UN doubts

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA DHAKA, NOVEMBER 3

BANGLADESH SAID Sunday plans to relocate thousands of Rohingya living in overcrowded refugee camps to a remote island were "uncertain" after authorities failed to gain support from UN agencies. Dhaka had wanted to begin its long-held plan this month to move 100,000 people to the mud-silt island of Bhashan Char, amid growing frustration with the presence of the squalid tent settlements in its southeastern



Rohingya at a camp in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. Reuters file

border towns. Bangladesh has said thou-

sands of Rohingya families have volunteered to relocate, with some

Nobel winner Yunus gets bail in labour court

ASSOCIATED PRESS DHAKA, NOVEMBER 3

A COURT in Dhaka has granted bail to micro-credit pioneer and Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus over the firing of three employees by Grameen Communications, where he is chairman. The third Labour Court in Dhaka granted the bail on Sunday when Yunus appeared before the court. Last month, Bangladesh's High Court had set a Nov 7 deadline for him to appear in person. The labour court had earlier issued an arrest warrant for Yunus after he failed to appear because he was abroad. The three employees filed the cases in July, saying they were terminated illegally after seeking to form a trade union.

ASSOCIATED PRESS ORINDA, NOVEMBER 3

AIRBNB'S CEO said the company was taking actions against unauthorised parties in the wake of a deadly shooting at a Halloween party held at an Airbnb rental home in California. In a series of tweets, Brian Chesky said Saturday the San Francisco-based company is expanding manual screening of "high risk" reservations and will remove guests who fail to comply with policies banning parties at Airbnb rental homes. Five people died after a Thursday night shooting that sent some 100 terrified partygoers running for their lives in the San Francisco suburb of Orinda. The home had been rented

The home had been rented on Airbnb by a woman who told the owner her dozen family members had asthma and needed to escape smoke from a wildfire. They then held a Halloween party

on Airbnb by a woman who told the owner her dozen family members had asthma and needed to escape smoke from a wildfire, a source said. The owner, Michael Wang, said his wife reached out to the renter Thursday night after neighbours contacted them about the party. The renter said there were only a dozen people at the home but Wang said he could see more people on video from his doorbell camera. "We called the police. They were on the way to go there to

stop them, but before we got there the neighbour already sent us a message saying there was a shooting," he told the Chronicle. No arrests had been made and there was no immediate word on a motive for the attack. Two guns were found at the property, authorities said. Three people, all from the Bay Area, died at the scene and a fourth died at the hospital, authorities initially said. The party at the four-bedroom house apparently was advertised on social media as an "Airbnb mansion party".

Pak court acquits policemen in custodial death case after Hafiz Saeed mediation

MZULQERNAIN LAHORE, NOVEMBER 3

A PAKISTANI court has acquitted all three police officials accused of killing an alleged ATM thief in police custody, a case that drew attention after UN designated terrorist Hafiz Saeed played the role of an arbitrator in it. Additional District and Session (Rahim Yar Khan) Judge Justice Zahid Hussain Bakhtiar acquitted police officials Mahmoodul Hassan, Shafaat Ali and Matloob Hussain this week in the murder of Salahuddin Ayubi. The court acquitted them after the family of Ayubi pardoned the suspects on the "wish" of Mumbai attack mastermind Saeed. Ayubi, who was mentally challenged, died in police custody in August due to alleged torture after his arrest on charges of stealing money from an ATM. Ayubi's death sparked outrage across the country. Saeed played the role of an arbitrator in the case between the police and the family of Ayubi. Saeed, who has been in Kot Lakhpat jail here since his arrest on July 17 on charges of terror financing, met the deceased man's family and convinced them to pardon the policemen. "Both the accused policemen, their officers and the victim's family members had a couple of meetings with Saeed in jail, after which the latter brokered the deal between them," an official source said. PTI

LAUDABLE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE OR PRISON-WORTHY CRIME?

Climate activists nab Macron portraits in case that divides French judges

NICOLAS VAUX-MONTAGNY LYON, NOVEMBER 3

IS STEALING a presidential portrait a prison-worthy crime? Or a laudable act of civil disobedience? Courts around France are grappling with this question in response to an unusual new environmental movement that's aiming to push French President Emmanuel Macron to do more to fight climate change. One by one, environmental activists around France have removed Macron's official portraits

from more than 130 town halls this year, from the foothills of the Alps to the Left Bank of Paris. Their point: Even as Macron portrays himself on the global stage as Mr Climate, the centrist, business-friendly President isn't acting boldly enough to change his own country's planet-damaging ways. They're notably angry France has lagged on its international commitments to increase use of renewable energy and reduce emissions. France remains well behind its European neighbours in its use of renewable energy. The portrait-removers have

been facing trials around the country, with some fined, others acquitted. An appeals trial of the first court case was held last week in Lyon with the ruling still pending, and a new trial is scheduled later this month. The protesters don't fit a single mold — one's a math teacher, another works for the SNCF national rail company, another's an organic vegetable farmer. At last week's trial, defendant Helene Lacroix-Baudrion argued that the portrait removal was "an act aimed at taking care of life and our environment". "We just want Macron, who



Protesters have taken Macron's portraits from more than 130 town halls this year. AP

holds himself up as a climate defender, to respect France's commitments under the COP21 (the 2015 UN climate agreement signed in Paris)," she told The Associated Press. An expert working for the UN climate change agency testified as a defence witness at the trial, and climate activists gathered for a boisterous protest outside the courthouse. The trials themselves have turned into public debates on civil disobedience, France's rich tradition of protest — and of course, the environment. France is divided over how,

and how fast, to cut emissions blamed for worsening climate change. Macron argues that he's doing more than most, and has stood up to US President Donald Trump on the need for countries and corporations to cooperate to cut emissions. However, Macron backed down on a fuel tax last year meant to help wean France off fossil fuels, because the tax triggered the yellow vest protest movement against economic injustice, which saw months of violent protests that devastated some major shopping streets in Paris. So activists started targeting

Macron's portraits, symbolically dethroning him to demand action. Several brought stolen portraits to a march at the Group of Seven summit Macron hosted in Biarritz in August, to try to embarrass him at the global event. They brandished the pictures upside down, arguing that his climate policy is the opposite of what the planet needs. French law says the acts can be considered "group theft," which can be punishable by several years in prison. No court seems willing to go as far as locking up the portrait-removers, but the verdicts have been mixed. AP

14

ECONOMY

FROM ABOUT 6% IN 2015 TO 24% BY END OF 2018, AS PER RBI DATA

Rising NPAs: Banks' exposure to unrated loans increased threefold in three years

SUNNY VERMA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

BANKS' NON-PERFORMING as-sets (NPAs) for unrated exposure jumped to as much as 24 per cent by the end of 2018 from about 6 per cent in 2015, data from the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) shows.

This indicates the growing risks from loans that are not rated by credit rating agencies.

While the proportion of un-rated loans to total loans has stayed constant at around 40 per cent in last four years, NPAs in un-rated exposures have surged steadily each year.

This data is based on assess-ment of banks' funded and non-funded exposure to large borrow-ers.

The central bank requires banks to report individual expo-sure of more than Rs 5 crore with the Central Repository of Information on Large Credits (CRILC), to capture data on large borrowers.

BRIEFLY

TCS, Wipro in fray to manage IRDAI's BAP

New Delhi: Four IT compa-nies, including Tata Consultancy Services and Wipro, are in the fray to manage and operate the Business Analytics Project (BAP) of insurance sector regulator IRDAI. IRDAI said TCS, Larsen and Toubro InfoTech, Wipro and EIT Service India Private Ltd have been shortlisted for the next round of bidding. The four companies had sub-mitted their initial bids in re-sponse to an "expression of interest" floated by the Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority of India (IRDAI) in August. L&T InfoTech has been providing BAP services on a Build, Operate and Transfer (BOT) model to Irdai since 2011.

'Thomas Cook India not being sold to Fosun'

New Delhi: Travel services provider Thomas Cook India on Sunday said the sale of the company to China's Fosun does not include re-gions of India, Sri Lanka and Mauritius. "With regard to recent media reports per-taining to the sale of the Thomas Cook Global brand to Fosun of China, it is imper-ative to clarify that the re-ported sale of the Global Thomas Cook brand to Fosun of China does not in-clude the regions of India, Sri Lanka and Mauritius," Thomas Cook India chair-man and managing director Madhavan Menon said. **PTI**

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 2019

EXPLAINED

Banks wary of whom to lend amid financial squeeze

FINANCIAL RESULTS declared by many banks for the July-September quarter show that their unrated loans, BB and below rated book has been turning into non-performing assets at a much faster pace.

As many NBFCs and housing finance companies are still reeling under the financial squeeze, the high proportion of unrated exposure of banks poses risks to the financial system, even though many lenders have started shifting to rated loans in recent years.

Unrated borrowers account for about 60 per cent of the total number and 40 per cent of the to-tal exposure of large borrowers, as captured by CRILC, according to an RBI research study.

While most large loans are credit rated by rating agencies, in many cases, banks rely on their in-ternal assessment of credit wor-

thiness of borrowers before ex-tending loans.

The RBI data shows that NPAs in case of unrated exposures have been steadily rising since June quarter 2014, as captured by CRILC database which came into opera-tion in financial year 2014-15.

High levels of NPAs in unrated accounts indicate that these are

inherently more risky for the banks.

In order to nudge banks to get credit ratings done for loan expo-sure, the Reserve Bank in 2016 raised risk weights on unrated ex-posures.

The banking regulator had raised the risk weights to 150 per cent for banks lending to corpo-rates, asset finance companies and non-banking financial companies (NBFCs) having aggregate expo-sure from the banking system of over Rs 200 crore

This brought the risk weights on par to those for rated compa-nies having a rating of BB or be-low. Higher weights on unrated exposures reduce capacity of banks to lend to such borrowers, encouraging them to switch to-wards ratings.

Share of large borrowers in banks' total loan portfolios and their share in gross NPAs was at 53.0 per cent and 82.2 per cent, re-spectively, in March 2019; this was lower compared to 54.7 per cent and 83.9 per cent in September

2018, according to the RBI's recent Financial Stability Report.

While the proportion of NPAs has risen in unrated exposures, banks have to take a hit even on their rated exposures in the last one year as many companies went into bankruptcy and de-faulted on bank loans.

Some of the private sector banks experienced significant stress in their exposures to BB and below rated loan accounts.

Earlier this year, many compa-nies also defaulted on some of the rated debt papers which were subscribed by mutual funds in their fixed maturity plans, result-ing in delayed or partial payment for the investors.

At the macro level, however, the RBI's Financial Stability Report projected the gross NPA ratio of all banks to come down from 9.3 per cent in March 2019 to 9.0 per cent by March 2020, as recoveries pick up pace due to resolution of some cases under the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code and banks write off their bad loans.

COAL WATCH

COAL IMPORTS UP 9% IN APR-SEPT

New Delhi: India's coal imports increased by 9.3 per cent to 126.91 million tonnes (MT) in the first six months of FY20, industry data showed. The country had imported 116.04 MT of coal in April-September period of FY 2018-19, as per data from mjunction. **PTI**

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT, OPPI

'Insurance or a financing mechanism the only way to get latest drugs in India'



"We've got to find the (right finance) model. Expecting an individual to pay out of the pocket Rs 2 lakh per dose, it's impossible"

A VAIDEESH

How are multinational drug makers with high-priced, often patented drugs, evolving to cater to the Indian population?

The way in which multina-tional companies participate is ... if it is a significant public health is-sue, we end up actually giving (the medicine) more or less free. For HIV, GSK has (a) deal with a third party and the government gives it at a very low price ... every com-pany does. Now, what happens is, (with) some of those oncology drugs ... there is a reference pric-ing that happens all over the world, so you can't give any spe-cial prices. So, what the compa-nies do is something called Patient Assistance Program.

One of the (other) ways that we are trying to overcome (issues with affordability and access is), there are various financing mod-els that are being looked into, (like) micro-insurance ... some compa-nies are looking at how to come up with insurance products on this. I think this whole concept of insurance has to develop, where the insurance companies are also interested in working (directly) with the pharmaceutical compa-nies ... It hasn't fully evolved. It's still in the early stages. Insurance or a financing mechanism is the only way to get the latest drugs in this country. Not price control.

Where price control is concerned, the government has been exploring a shift from ceiling price caps to trade

margin rationalisation. It even piloted this on over 40 cancer medicines earlier this year. What is your stance on such a move?

We support (trade margin ra-tionalisation) ... (But), oncology (as a therapy) is a hospital-based product. So, the oncology model will not work, because other ther-apies are all retail-based products ... The margins are generally fixed in retail, which is the standard norm of 10 (per cent) and (20 per cent) anyway. Whereas, in a hos-pital ... the difference between the MRP (maximum retail price) billed and the hospital billing price (the price billed to hospitals by the pharmaceutical company or dis-tributor) is significant. So, you can't apply the same principles (of trade margin rationalisation) to retail-based products. Around 90 per cent (of the drugs in the coun-try) would be retail-based.

Unlike in oncology, where the value of the prices are also very high, in many of our products, they are not (priced at) Rs 50,000 or a lakh (rupees). They are all Rs 30 and Rs 40 ... so you (govern-ment) may only want to look at a high value product (for trade mar-gin rationalisation) — cardiology, oncology, neurology. For small value drugs, I don't see how ma-terially it (trade margin rationali-sation) is going to have an impact.

(On pricing of innovative or patented products), this (the price of the drugs) cannot be paid out of pocket. Nowhere in the world, barring a few markets, does the in-dividual pay out of pocket. It is all managed through a financing mechanism. We've got to find the (right finance) model. Expecting an individual to pay out of the pocket Rs 2 lakh per dose, it's im-possible. And expecting compa-nies also to ... sell it (the drug) at Rs 2,000 is also not a workable proposition ... How many times are you going to say (go for) com-pulsory licencing? You may (do it), say, once or twice. It is not a sus-tainable (model) for every drug which is expensive. Future drugs are all going to be expensive — bi-ologics. The sooner we find a fi-nancing model instead of a pric-ing model, (it will be better).

With affordable, life-saving medicines an important component towards achieving India's goal of universal healthcare through programmes like Ayushman Bharat, what scope do you see to participate?

In Ayushman Bharat 1.0, I don't think we will be able to participate because of the L1 tender and all that ... I think where we will have a chance is when they start mov-ing towards Ayushman Bharat 2.0, where they will open it up for a middle class population ... I don't think the government is opening it up (yet), but that is very much in the cards.

That is the time where the middle class population will be asked to pay a small premium (and) that is the time where we will start having a conversation with the insurance companies, saying I am willing to give (the medicine) to you at this price.

Because, the size of the popu-lation — around 200 million — will be governed under that. Then the volume goes up and the company can also say, "If I am getting x amount of cases, I'm willing to give it ... at so much of a price." So the insurance companies will start dealing with the (pharmaceu-tical) companies directly. That is what we are expecting to happen.

Gencos' dues on discoms for Sept up 37% y-o-y

Power producers' total outstanding dues owed by discoms rose around 37 per cent to Rs 69,558 crore in September 2019 over the year-ago month, reflecting stress in the sector, as per government portal PRAAPTI

₹50,583 cr

The total amount which power distribution companies (discoms) owed to power generation companies (gencos) as of September last year

₹52,408 cr

The total overdue amount, which was not cleared even after 60 days of grace period offered by generators in September this year, as against Rs 34,658 crore in the same month last year

₹80,087 cr

Amount of total outstanding on power discoms in August



2019; meanwhile, total overdue amount was Rs 60,935 crore

₹ 9,921.78

Overdue amount of NTPC, the largest among all central public sector power generators

60 days

Time given by power producers to discoms for paying bills for the supply of electricity

908

The number of days Delhi

takes to make payments to power generating firms

STATES WHERE DISCOMS ACCOUNT FOR THE MAJOR PORTION OF DUES TO GENCOS:

- Rajasthan
- Jammu and Kashmir
- Telangana
- Andhra Pradesh
- Karnataka
- Tamil Nadu

STATES IN ORDER OF THEIR RANKING IN TERMS OF DUES

- Rajasthan (881 days to make payments)
- Haryana (879 days)
- Tamil Nadu (877 days)
- Madhya Pradesh (866 days)
- Telangana (859 days)

'Digital payments revenue likely to grow at 11% over next six years'

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
MUMBAI, NOVEMBER 3

AS MUCH as 14 per cent of Indian banks' payments revenue, or \$9 billion, is likely to be displaced by the growth of digital payments and competition from non-banks, as payments become more in-stant, invisible and free, says an Accenture report.

Payments revenue in the country will likely grow at an an-nual rate of 10.7 per cent, from \$38 billion in 2019 to more than \$70 billion by 2025. "Only banks that change their business models to adopt the latest technologies and focus on providing value-added services to customers will capture a share of the \$32 billion in incre-

mental revenue growth," the con-sultancy said in a report, based on a survey of 240 payments execu-tives at banks across 22 countries.

"Global payments revenue in all markets surveyed will likely grow to more than \$2 trillion by 2025, creating a \$500 billion op-portunity for banks in those coun-tries," it said. Over next six years, banks will face further pressure on income from card transactions and fees, with free payments put-ting 8.4 per cent of payments rev-enue at risk in India, it added.

Competition from non-banks in invisible payments — where payments are completed in a "vir-tual wallet" on a mobile app or de-vice — will put 3.6 per cent of bank revenues at risk. "More than two-thirds (71 per cent) of the banking

executives surveyed in all markets agree that payments are becom-ing free; nearly three-quarters (73 per cent) believe that most pay-ments are already invisible or will become so over the next 12 months; and even more (78 per cent) said that payments are ei-ther already instant or will be-come instant over the next 12 months," the report said.

Nearly 18 per cent of respon-dents said the main priority for banks is to build security into retail payments transactions and 22 per cent cited artificial intelligence, ro-botics, machine learning and in-novative payments hubs as the key platform technology capabil-ities they need to adapt their core systems to high-speed and con-tinuous payment flows, it added.

'Led by India, South Asia could become centre of global growth'

Washington: Led by India, South Asia is moving towards becoming centre of global growth and could contribute about one-third of the world's growth by 2040, as per a research by International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Under a liberalisation scenario, supported by efforts to improve infrastructure and successfully harness South Asia's young and large workforce, the region could contribute about one-third of global growth by 2040, the paper 'Is South Asia Ready for take Off? A Sustainable and Inclusive Growth Agenda' by IMF states. **PTI**

BANKERS TELL SAUDI GOVERNMENT INVESTORS WILL LIKELY VALUE COMPANY AT AROUND \$1.5 TRILLION

Saudi Aramco kick-starts IPO, offers scant details

RANIA EL GAMAL, MARWA RASHAD, SAEEAD ZHAR & DAVIDE BARBUSCIA
DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA/DUBAI, NOVEMBER 3

SAUDI ARABIA'S giant state oil company finally kicked-started its initial public offering (IPO) on Sunday, announcing its intention to float on the domestic bourse in what could be the world's biggest listing as the kingdom seeks to di-versify its economy away from oil.

But in its long-awaited an-nouncement, Aramco, the world's most profitable company, offered few specifics on the number of shares to be sold, pricing or the date for a launch.

Bankers have told the Saudi government that investors will likely value the company at around \$1.5 trillion, below the \$2 trillion valuation touted by Crown

Prince Mohammed bin Salman when he first floated the idea of an IPO nearly four years ago.

Aramco also did not mention what measures it has taken to beef up security following unprece-dented attacks on its oil plants in September. Sources have told *Reuters* the oil company could of-fer 1 per cent-2 per cent of its shares on the local bourse, raising as much as \$20 billion-\$40 billion. A deal over \$25 billion would top the record-breaking one of Alibaba in 2014.

"Today is the right opportunity for new investors to reap the ben-efits of Aramco's ability to achieve value, and boost it on the long-term," Aramco Chairman Yasir al-Rumayyan told a news conference at the company's headquarters in the eastern city of Dhahran.

The company will spend the next 10 days talking to investors and sounding out their interest



Amin H. Nasser, president and CEO of Saudi Aramco, and Yasser al-Rumayyan, Saudi Aramco's chairman, at a news conference at the Plaza Conference Center in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on Sunday. *Reuters*

and the price range will follow, he said. The IPO is designed to tur-bocharge Prince Mohammed's ambitious economic reform agenda by raising billions to build

non-energy industries and diver-sify revenue streams.

Rumayyan said a decision on an international listing for Aramco shares will be made in the future,

without giving a time frame or venue for the overseas listing. "Selling a small piece of Aramco in a captive market gives the KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) more control to prop the value of Aram-co up over its fair value," said Gary Ross, CEO at Black Gold Investors.

Confirmation of the sale of shares in the oil giant, whose for-mal name is Saudi Arabian Oil Co, comes about seven weeks after the crippling attacks on its oil fac-ilities, underlining Saudi Arabia's determination to push on with the listing regardless. Aramco said it does not expect the September 14 attack, which targeted plants at the heart of Saudi Arabia's oil in-dustry and initially halved its pro-duction, would have a material impact on its business, operations and financial condition.

Aramco accounted for about one in every eight barrels of crude oil produced globally from 2016

to 2018, it said on Sunday.

Its net income for the third quarter of 2019 amounted to \$21.1 billion, according to *Reuters* cal-culations, dwarfing the income for the same period of oil giants like Exxon Mobil Corp, which was just over \$3 billion. Rumayyan said the valuation should be determined after the investor roadshow. CEO Amin Nasser told the same news conference that Aramco plans to release the prospectus on Novem-ber 9. To help get the deal done, Saudi Arabia is relying on easy credit for retail investors and hefty contributions from rich locals.

"Whatever this local round achieves, with domestic players being strong armed into invest-ing, international investors are still going to value this well below the ex-pectations of (Crown Prince) Mohammed bin Salman," said Rory Fyfe, managing director at Mena Advisors. **REUTERS**

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

REITERATING ITS demand that no relief should be given to incum-bent operators with respect to the Supreme Court's verdict on ad-justed gross revenue (AGR), Jio said any move to provide relief would be considered as loss to the public exchequer. It will also set a bad precedent for other sectors.

In a letter to Communications Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad, Jio said any reduction in the finan-cial liability of operators would in ef-fect be rewarding them for their conduct in initiating frivolous and vexatious proceedings to delay payment of their just dues. It also said the Cellular Operators Association of India (COAI) is con-tinuing to overlook its points of view, which indicate a deliberate and motivated agenda to only

Jio said any move to provide relief would be considered as loss to the public exchequer and will set a bad precedent

safeguard interests of two mem-bers: Airtel and Vodafone Idea.

Jio said "... in order to help its two select members get a finan-cial windfall from the govern-ment, the COAI is in fact canvass-ing for going against the decision of the Supreme Court judgment."

The telco said the SC, in its October 24 order, clearly set-tled the base on which statutory levies such as telecom licence fee and spectrum usage charge have to be paid, and waiving of interest and penalty on due amounts of the past 14 years will be violative of the judgment. **FE**

BRITISH POLITICS

Here comes the Brexit election

But Britain's unpredictable vote will be about a lot more than that



An anti-Brexit protester waves an EU flag outside the Houses of Parliament in London on October 25. Reuters

A FORTNIGHT before Christmas, winter fêtes and school nativity plays will be put on hold as village halls are once again converted into polling stations. Britain faces its third general election in little more than four years, a result of the fact that today's MPs cannot agree on how to leave the European Union—or even whether to leave at all. Boris Johnson, the Conservative prime minister, promises that with a majority he will “get Brexit done”. Jeremy Corbyn, his Labour rival, proposes a second referendum, with the option to call the whole thing off.

That alone would represent a momentous choice. Yet in what is being billed as the Brexit election, more is at stake than Britain's relationship with Europe. The far-left Mr Corbyn promises to put the state at the heart of the economy, whereas Mr Johnson's Tories seem to be moving towards a more free-wheeling form of capitalism. At the same time, both potential prime ministers would pick at the ties between the nations of the United Kingdom. Britain's Christmas contest is its most important in living memory. And with volatile polls, upstart parties and new

ideological axes that define voters, it is the least predictable, too.

We have long argued that a second referendum would be a better way to break the Brexit logjam. The Commons is split over Mr Johnson's deal—possibly fatally—just as it was over the rather better one negotiated by his predecessor, Theresa May. The clearest and fairest solution would be to ask voters whether they would take his terms over the arrangement they already have, as EU citizens. But Parliament has proved as incapable of organising a second referendum as it has of agreeing on anything else. And rather than see his plan amended, Mr Johnson has chosen an election. For now, a referendum is off the table.

Voters face a confusing and deeply unsatisfying choice. Parties have set out Brexit proposals to cater to every taste: an instant no-deal exit, courtesy of the Brexit Party; a bare-bones, “Canada-minus” deal with the Tories; a second referendum from Labour; and cancelling Brexit altogether, via the Liberal Democrats. However, voters must balance these policies against the rest of the

parties' programmes, which in some cases are extreme. Labour, in particular, proposes a new economic model in which the state would gain enormous clout. Some Remainers have taken to saying that Mr Corbyn, who is likely to enter Downing Street only with the support of other parties, would lack the votes to push through the more dangerous parts of his manifesto. That is wishful thinking. Even a minority Labour government could do profound damage. Whether the next prime minister is hard-Brexit Mr Johnson or socialist Mr Corbyn, the economy will take a beating.

Both men would also tug at the fraying union. Mr Johnson's Brexit plan would push Northern Ireland ever closer to the Republic of Ireland. Mr Corbyn would probably rely on the backing of the Scottish National Party to get to Downing Street. The price of its support would be a prompt second referendum on Scottish independence. Polls suggest the nationalists might well win.

Voters who want the United Kingdom to stay together, or who dislike both socialism and Brexit—potentially, rather a lot of them—

will thus be left holding their nose as they mark their ballot paper. And a great many more will feel despair at the result. The next prime minister will enter Downing Street having won well under half the vote. If the outcome of the Brexit referendum left 48% feeling hard done by, this election will leave a large majority feeling that they have lost.

Who will be on that losing side? The race is wildly unpredictable. Polls put the Tories roughly 12 points ahead of Labour. But the polls are volatile. Only a few months ago the Tories were briefly in third place. Mrs May started her campaign in 2017 with a 20-point lead and five weeks later lost her majority. Since then things have become more complex still, with the birth of the hardline Brexit Party (which will take votes from the Tories) and the rise of the pro-Remain Lib Dems (who will pinch more supporters from Labour). Under the first-past-the-post system, better adapted to two dominant parties, the make-up of Parliament may bear little relation to the national breakdown of the poll, adding to the disillusion of voters.

Last time Britain held an election—only

two years ago—we lamented the “missing middle” in its politics. Since then the improvement in the fortunes of the Lib Dems, to whom we gave our conditional backing, has broadened the menu somewhat. But the two main parties have become even less interested in the centre ground. Elections used to be contests to capture the median voter. But almost no one holds a middling position on Brexit, so both Labour and the Tories are pitching to the extremes. Even the Lib Dems, regrettably, have adopted a strategy of pursuing only hardcore Remainers. This promises to be the most divisive election in many years.

What is more, the divide is along a new axis. The old left-right split, along economic lines, has gradually been giving way to a new fissure, defined in terms of culture. Brexit has accelerated this, redrawing the political battleground. The Tories are going for working-class seats with a promise of hard Brexit and social conservatism. Labour, meanwhile, is going for well-off, urban areas, preaching Remain and social liberalism. The tactics may not work—Mrs May tried something

similar in 2017, and found that working-class northerners were still allergic to the Tories. But the more the parties head in this new direction, the more polarised politics will become. Questions of economics can often be settled by a compromise. Disagreements about identity and culture are much harder to resolve.

Another divisive contest may be worth it if it at last provides an answer to the great Brexit question. But there is a possibility that even this latest democratic exercise fails to produce a decisive outcome. The rise of small parties has made it hard for anyone to win a big majority. If Mr Johnson is returned with only a small one, he will be at the mercy of the hardline Brexiteers in his party, just as Mrs May was. And if Mr Corbyn enters Downing Street with the support of other parties, he too may find it hard to solve the great riddle. The coming election will have profound consequences for Britain. But don't be surprised if a year from now the country is still arguing about how to “get Brexit done”.

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POLITICS IN BANGLADESH

Learning the hard way

Bangladesh's ruling party runs university campuses with an iron fist

EARLY IN October Abrar Fahad, a student at Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET) was beaten to death in his dormitory. Police have detained 21 people in connection with the murder, many of them members of the Chhatra League, the student wing of the ruling Awami League party. He appears to have offended them by making critical comments on Facebook about a water-sharing deal the government recently struck with India.

The death of Mr Fahad, who was 21, has prompted protests at the university and a public outcry across the country. Yet such killings are quite common in Bangladesh, where violent party politics is mirrored—and often amplified—on university campuses. “This is part of the university culture,” says Mubashar Hasan of the University of Oslo. “Dormitory rooms are turned into torture rooms to quell opposition.”

The Chhatra League “basically controls universities on behalf of the government”, explains a 21-year-old student from Dhaka, the capital. That is important to the authorities, since universities have long been hotbeds of political dissent. No male student can get a room in the halls of residence without co-operating with the League or having a political connection, says a fellow student. “They show their tyranny very publicly in these universities.”

Instead of allocating the individual rooms, the Chhatra League puts all the first-year students—sometimes up to 100—in one enormous dormitory, the “public room”. Here, first-years are subjected to “ragging”, meaning bullying by older students, who report back to the League's leadership. The whole process is designed to scare students into toeing the line.

“Abrar didn't do that,” notes the student from Dhaka. League members accused Mr Fahad of being involved with Chhatra Shibir, the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami, an Islamist opposition party. “Anyone who opposes the government can be called Shibir nowadays,” the Dhaka-ite continues. “It's an easy excuse for [the League] to beat someone up and no one will say anything.”

The Chhatra League's clout extends far beyond dormitories. Earlier this year, when the government gave funds to Jahangirnagar University for a development project, the local branch of the League demanded a share. The vice-chancellor paid up, and later gave yet more money to the League's central committee. Companies are often forced to pay off the local branch of the League in order to start a project or operate in their area. A crack-down on opposition parties before last year's election, which saw the Awami League re-elected in a landslide, has made it even harder to stand up to the Chhatra League.

Bureaucrats, MPs and the police connive in this system, says Mr Hasan. But none of this is new, he points out. Before Chhatra League, he says, there was Chhatra Dal—the student wing of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, in government from 2001 to 2006. Chhatra Dal, like the Chhatra League, operated with impunity. So did the student front that backed Hussain Muhammad Ershad, the military dictator from 1983 to 1990. The *Daily Star*, a newspaper, looked at all campus killings since independence in 1971 and found 151 murders for which no charges had been brought.

Mr Fahad's murder was perhaps a step too far, however. His Facebook post echoed widespread anti-Indian sentiment. Obaidul Quader, the general secretary of the Awami League, said the government would take action against the perpetrators “regardless of

[their] affiliation”, although he did remind people of the Chhatra League's “good accomplishments”. Sheikh Hasina Wajed, the prime minister, had already seemed inclined to rein in the Chhatra League. Before Mr Fahad's death she had dismissed its president and general secretary and reshuffled its central committee.

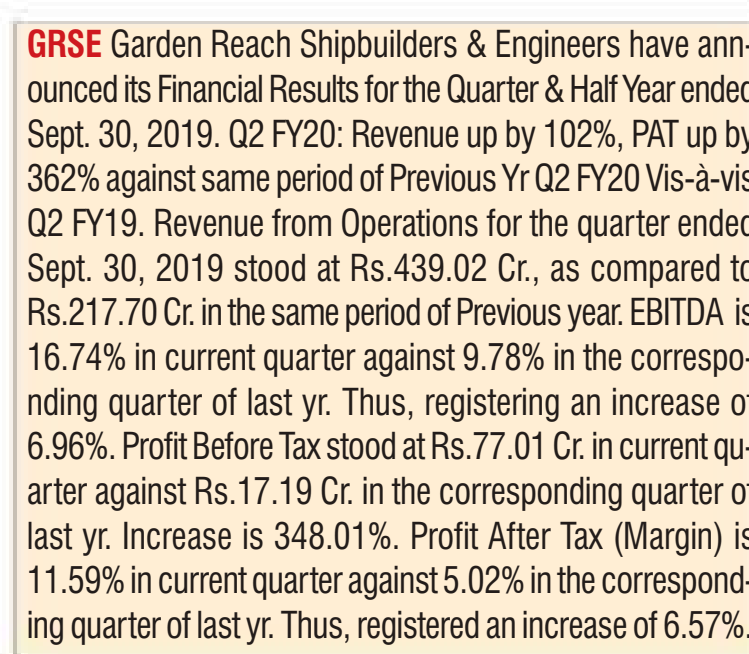
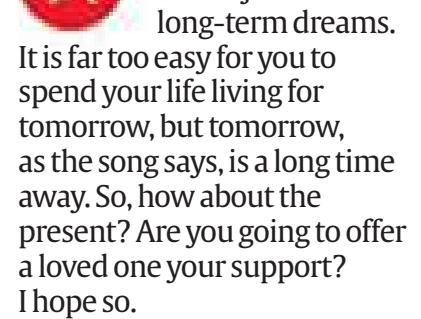
BUET's vice-chancellor, meanwhile, has promised not only to ban ragging, but also to bar political organisations from campus. Students doubt they have seen the last of their tormentors. “Maybe Chhatra League will stop what they're doing,” says the student from Dhaka, “or at least take a break. That would be nice.”

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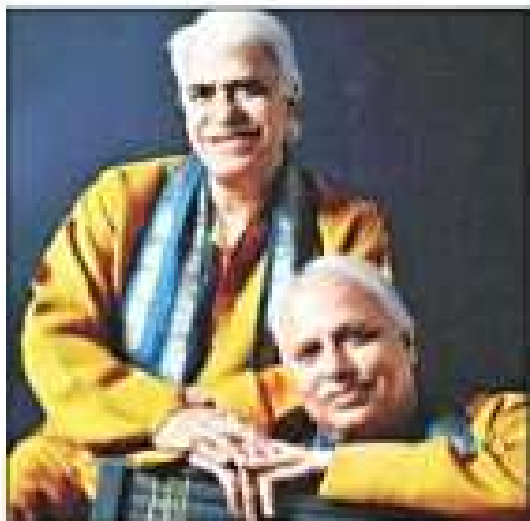


Teachers make a human chain to protest against the murder of Abrar Fahad, a student of Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology in Dhaka, on October 9. Reuters

BY PETER VIDAL

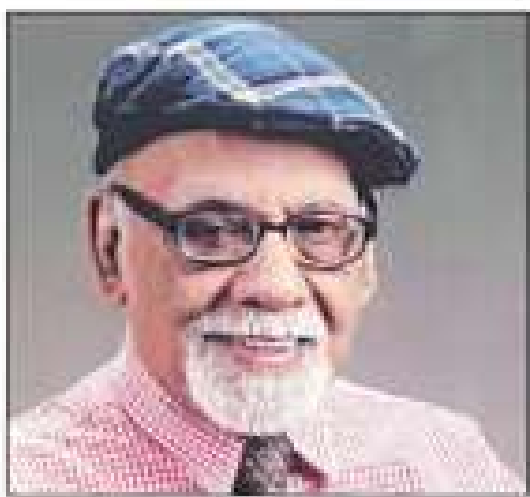


WEEK AHEAD



Tune In

ATTEND A two-day music and dance festival titled "Sangeet Samaroh — A Festival of Indian Classical Music & Dance", organised by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Delhi Kendra. The festival will include presentations by Aruna Sairam, Narthaki Natraj, A. Kanyakumari, Sujata Mohapatra, Pandit Purbayan Chatterjee, and Pandit Rajan and Sajan Mishra (pictured). At Kamani auditorium, Mandi House, November 6 to 8, 6 pm onwards. For invites, email: sunitgulari@yahoo.com and july10_lalita@yahoo.com.



Framing the Past

GET A dose of nostalgia with "Growing up with New Delhi, Looking through the Lens of Dhruva N. Chaudhuri", an evening dedicated to the late photojournalist (pictured), who passed away earlier this year. The event will include readings from his books, audio clips and images. Professor Narayani Gupta will introduce the session, which has presentations by Satarupa Chaudhuri, Sumanta Bhowmick and Snehanshu Muherjee. At India International Centre, November 5, 6.30 pm.



Classic Moves

ENCOURAGE THE young practitioners of the classical arts at "Aarambh - XVIII", a series dedicated to dancers and singers, presented in collaboration with the Raza Foundation. Soumitra Thakur will present a sitar recital, while Varsha Dasgupta will give a kathak performance (pictured). At Alliance Francaise, November 6, 5.30 pm.



Time Table

REVISIT THE classic play *Baaki Itihaas*, written by Badal Sircar (pictured). The play, provokes deep questions on the evolution of mankind, through the lead couple, Sharad and Vaasanti. The two are troubled when an acquaintance commits suicide. At Akshara Theatre, November 6, 7 pm. Tickets available on Bookmyshow.

Write Away

WONDER WHAT happened to the pamphlet culture of our educational institutions? Attend "Memories of Change — A Historical Exhibition on the Pamphleteer Campus and Indian Politics", to know more. It is a group exhibition of archival, oral, video and print works presented by the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH), Fonds d'Alembert. At the Open Palm Court, India Habitat Centre, till November 13.



Not in His Name

Artist Debanjan Roy critiques the extensive use of Gandhi in our everyday life through his latest exhibition



(Clockwise from above) Chowkidar Gandhi; Gandhi and Kasturba as Matryoshka dolls; Munni Gandhi; Super Gandhi; Debanjan Roy

VANDANA KALRA

WHEN HE started reading about politics and political thought, artist Debanjan Roy recalls being fascinated with the image of Mahatma Gandhi. Gradually, he developed an inclination to study his persona and projection. "Over the years, the image of Gandhi has been used by so many people for personal agenda or to reach out to the people at large. I was always intrigued by this, and also how there is hardly anyone following his ideology and ideals," says Roy. In his own work, he chose not to idolise Gandhi but humanise him instead. "On his birthday in 1939, he had stated that rather than having his statues erected everywhere, he wished people would promote the social and humanitarian work he did," says Roy, 46. After receiving critical acclaim at Aicon Gallery in New York, his exhibition "Toying with Gandhi" is showing at Akar Prakar in Delhi. "Gandhi is perhaps the most overused political person. He has become a veritable toy, used to fulfill vested interest," says the Kolkata-based artist.

Roy's references are traditional and familiar toy figurines from across the world. If as an American Munny Doll, Gandhi holds his trademark stick, in Super Gandhi he wears the colours and cape of the Mattel superhero, ready to fight the world. "He is a hero with super thoughts. He handles tricky and difficult situations by talking to people," says the art postgraduate from Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata.

While his work was first noticed by the art fraternity in his 2002 solo "The Voyeur" at Birla Academy of Art & Culture in Kolkata that featured woodcuts, acclaim came a couple of years later, with works where Roy appropriated Gandhi and transported him to the present. In the *India Shining* series (2006 onward), viewers saw Gandhi dressed in pants and trainers, his life-size figure seen talking on his cellphone. On other occasions, he was on

his laptop and with his headphones. Visitors to the 2018 edition of the India Art Fair would recall his poignant sculpture "Gandhi Taking Selfie with the Cow" that subtly referenced the political arguments in India and had Gandhi engaging with new-age gadgets.

This exhibition also makes a comment on the current socio-political discussions. Standing with a broom, Bobble Head Gandhi emphasises on the need for a Swachh Bharat, and Chowkidar Gandhi is a spin on Chowkidar Narendra Modi and the Congress slogan 'Chowkidar Chor Hai'. "I am not a social reformer but as an artist I want to showcase and discuss what is happening in our country. When I worked on the *India Shining* series, the aim was to question the campaign that projected India as a global superpower. While the ground reality is that we have millions who do not get a daily meal or basic utilities, how can we claim to be a superpower," says Roy. In another much-talked-about acrylic on paper work, Roy merges the faces of Gandhi and his assassin Nathuram Godse. "I feel every human being has a god, human and demon," says the artist.



On his birthday in 1939, Gandhi had stated that rather than having his statues erected everywhere, he wished people would promote the work he did

DEBANJAN ROY

There is recognition for the contributions of Kasturba, wife of Mohandas Gandhi. In a set of Russian Matryoshka dolls, one is dedicated to her. "Even Gandhi acknowledged how he learnt satyagraha from Kasturba. I feel Kasturba was an important force behind Gandhi, and him becoming Mahatma," says Roy.

Is there defiance in the sheer act of Gandhi embracing technology that he was so wary of? Roy does not think so. "He was not really against the use of gadgets. Moreover, he was not rigid and open to changing his own stance," says Roy.

The exhibition is at Akar Prakar, 43, Defence Colony, Delhi, till November 8, 11 am to 7 pm



LICENSE TO KILL

Lady Gaga (pictured) will portray Patrizia Reggiani in her next cinematic outing. It's a Ridley Scott retelling of the assassination of fashion businessman, Maurizio Gucci. Reggiani was convicted for the murder.



Makarand Deshpande in his latest play, *Ram*; Deshpande (below)

Script Called Life

Actor-director Makarand Deshpande on his play *Ram*, how society has changed and why he dislikes the syllabus in drama schools

PARTH KHATAU

MOST people we meet today are more god-fearing than god-loving," says writer-director Makrand Deshpande, whose new play *Ram* opened during the Prithvi Festival over the weekend. The play centres around a vagabond, who is thrown out of a Ram temple. He triggers an outrage because he claims that Ram himself came out of the temple to visit him. What unfurls next is a series of events as the vagabond is questioned by people from various walks of life about his claims. "I was brought up on the tales of Ram and Laxman. What fascinated me most about the story was that Ram is more human than superhuman as a character. That's something I wanted to bring out in the play. The simplicity of the character, and the fact that he was a son, a husband and a brother first and God after, is fascinating. This is my version of Ram," he says, "One will be able to relate to various scenes in the play since it questions how we as a society have changed." The play features Nagesh Bhosle, Ajay Kamble, Ninad Limaye and Madhuri Gawli.

Deshpande, 53, felt the need to write the play, mainly due to "misinterpretation" of Ram. "There have been instances where people who aren't followers of Ram have been forced to chant 'Jai Shri Ram' but I didn't want to make the play a case study," he says. He did not want to take up specific incidents as he believes they would restrict his storytelling. "That apart, there are too many people with opinions on everything.

This makes things controversial," he says.

Known for his work in movies such as *Swadesh* (2004) and *Makdee* (2002) among others, Deshpande will be seen on the big screen next with Mahesh Bhatt's *Sadak 2*, which he describes is a 'powerful film'. "There is not much I can reveal as of now but it will release sometime in 2020," he says. When it comes to film direction, however, the veteran feels the jury is still out on him. Having directed five films to date, Marathi film *Saturday Sunday* (2014) being his last, it has been a while since

Deshpande last found himself in the director's chair. "I have always wanted to direct more films and it was a great experience. However, I have spoilt myself by doing so much of theatre. I don't have to convince anybody of what I am capable of delivering, whereas films are a different ballgame altogether. Theatre is always going to be my forte and I have a lot of freedom to express myself here," says the multi-talented artist, who directed his 50th play last year.

The director-actor believes that drama schools in India should encourage their students to respond to their immediate environment. "I'm appalled by the curriculum of some drama schools as they have no idea what is going on in today's world. They are taught Shakespeare when they must be asked to write and direct plays on their own life experiences. They should be encouraged to explore their own vision and share their own stories," says Deshpande. Though some people are doing theatre on socio-political issues, more artistes should tackle such narratives, believes the actor.



SNAPSHOT



Go, Going, Gone

INTERNATIONAL AUCTION house Sotheby's, who debuted in India last year, is having its second sale "Boundless: India". It will be headlined by a 1940 Amrita Sher-Gil painting and two MF Husain works. The auction will be held in Mumbai, and will feature modern and contemporary South Asian art, photography, prints and design. The Amrita Sher-Gil artwork is an *Untitled (Windsor Lad; pictured)*, oil on canvas, and is estimated to fetch Rs 4.5-6.5 crore. It is a national art treasure under the Indian law and cannot be exported outside of India.

ON THE LOOSE

Never One Story

Single perspective narratives are confusing for students



LEHER KALA

THE MYSORE ruler of the 18th century, Tipu Sultan, is the latest in a long line of kings, who might face the ignominy of being removed from history textbooks. Karnataka Chief Minister BS Yediyurappa who had cancelled state celebrations of the

leader's birth anniversary — started by the Congress government in 2014 and scheduled to be held in November this year — said they were considering dropping the information on the Sultan, entirely. The provocation appears to be a letter from Virajpet BJP MLA KG Bopaiah to the Kannada and Culture department, where he stated the festivities created communal disharmony (Tipu Jayanti celebrations in 2015 were marred by clashes on communal lines).

It is a cliché to say history is written by the victorious but like all clichés, it originates from some place of truth. What we know of what happened 200 years ago is unlikely to have been hardcore fact but interpretation, influenced largely by the po-

litical leaders in control at the time. Basically, those in power have an interest in keeping it — the best way to hang on to it is to shape the narrative of the past in a way to suit the present atmosphere. There can be no doubt, playing up that aspect of Tipu, of a bloodthirsty tyrant who boasted about converting infidels to Islam, suits the current establishment's political objectives. To be fair, all governments in India over the last 70 years have used their position of power to achieve their selfish ends, or to perpetuate their own myth. It explains how more than 450 different government schemes, hundreds of public institutions, tens of roads and airports are named after members of the Nehru-Gandhi family. It took an RTI in 2013 for the Election Commission to advise the government to put an end to this practice.

It's unclear whether it's a problem peculiar to modern India, this tendency to portray erstwhile leaders and the founding fathers of the nation as faultless, perfect individuals in textbooks. (Or ignore them entirely.) As though they couldn't

have been multilayered politicians who had both, some hits and misses. Contrarily, ancient Indian texts seem to abhor the idea of a single truth. For example, nearly every main character in the Mahabharata is hopelessly flawed. Yudhisthira recklessly loses his wife in a game of dice while Arjuna was unabashedly proud of his skills as an archer. This is implied by his collapsing right at the edge of heaven in the last paragraph—pride comes before a fall. The two epics of ancient India combine history and metaphor to portray how people are impossibly complex and unpredictable and so, one would imagine this would be a nation psychologically at ease with relative truths. However, growing up the only version of the legend of Tipu Sultan we heard was that he was a courageous soldier, unfazed by the might of the East India Company.

I'm not sure what the better option for a student is, having to absorb this romanticised fairytale of bravery and courage, or be suddenly faced only with examples of his ruthless cruelty. The worst option of all

though, is to erase Tipu Sultan, depriving students of the most essential learning from history, that there is a connection between everything. Every seemingly insignificant (turbulent) event, however long ago, contributed to reaching the inevitable juncture we are at now. Going through my son's 10th standard NCERT history text book earlier this year was a depressing revelation on how pre Independence mass movements are taught. Chapter after chapter of cheesy, unconvincing tripe about great freedom fighters rising like Batman against the evil British, while there was barely a reference to violent caste oppression, the shameful scourge of India. Young Indians need to know how their ancestors lived, to make sense of newspaper headlines like the heartbreaking murder of two Dalit children in Shivpuri recently. All aspects of Tipu Sultan's reign, bloody and not, deserve to be told, if only to make the point that the past can never be conveniently synthesized into one, single story.

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ALVAREZ NOW 4 DIV CHAMP

Mexican great Canelo Alvarez, who moved up two divisions, won his fourth title in as many weights when he stopped Sergey Kovalev in the 11th round to win the WBO light heavyweight belt on Saturday night.

Adrenaline Mush

No Shakib, no problem for Bangladesh as Mushfiqur Rahim’s 60* guides Bangladesh to a seven-wicket win over India

VISHAL MENON
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

MUSHFIQUR RAHIM will never forget Bangladesh’s 2016 World T20 group encounter against India in Bengaluru. It was a match that was under his control. However, in an utterly tragicomic moment, he began to celebrate wildly even before he had hit the winning run. When he was dismissed on the final delivery of the chase, Bangladesh would go down by 1 run to India. More than three years later, Rahim is still reminded of that incident by journalists in press conferences and brutally trolled on social media for his brain-fade moment. On Sunday evening at the Feroz Shah Kotla, in the absence of their talismanic all-rounder, Rahim once again stepped up to reaffirm his status as one of Bangladesh’s finest middle-order batsmen.

A chase of 149 did not look that ominous for the visitors. But on a tacky Kotla track, India’s spinners led by Yuzvendra Chahal were quietly applying the choke. But Rahim, who walked in at No. 4, was involved in two crucial partnerships — a 60-run stand with Soumya Sarkar, followed by an unbeaten 40-run stand with captain Mahmudullah that sealed Bangladesh’s chase with three deliveries to spare. Rahim did not have any brain-fade moment tonight. He was an epitome of composure and class. In the end, his unbeaten 43-ball 60 handed Bangladesh an emphatic 7-wicket win and take a 1-0 lead in this three-match T20 series.

Unlike India, Bangladesh got the early momentum, courtesy Sarkar and Mohammad Naim’s onslaught. But a few tight overs from Chahal and Krunal Pandya stemmed their flow. After the 10th over, Bangladesh had taken their tally to 62/2. One got a sense that an all-too-familiar implosion was on the cards. Thankfully, in Sarkar and Rahim, they had two experienced batsmen at the crease. The duo had played through similar instances in the past and were determined not to fritter away this opportunity. They ran hard between the wickets and took all the scoring opportunities available. The asking rate however kept ticking over and Bangladesh required 35 runs from the final three overs. India were still the overwhelming favourites at this stage. But Rahim, in particular, never lost his cool. He slapped Chahal for a crucial boundary in the 18th over and then launched into young Khaleed Ahmed in the subsequent over — crunching four consecutive boundaries that helped his team cross the finish line.

Rahim’s exploits notwithstanding, it was a collective all-round display by Bangladesh — firstly by their bowlers to restrict India to a below-par 148/6 — secondly, vital contributions from four of their top five batsmen. “We were playing in front of a huge crowd, so that feels special. Me and Soumya had a chat, we thought maybe we could drag the game deep. Luckily we had a big over but I think Soumya played his role really well. Naim too and as did the bowlers. I am doing my level best to improve as a cricketer, and hopefully do well for Bangladesh in each and every game,” was how Rahim summed up after walking away with the Player of the Match award.

Dhawan flatters to deceive

Shikhar Dhawan loves batting in ODIs. It is a format that has not only enhanced his reputation as a stroke-maker of rare quality, but also turned him into a trusted match winner. He has the numbers to back it up — 5,518 runs at an average of 44.50 and a strike rate of 94 runs per 100 balls with 17 centuries



Bangladesh’s Mushfiqur Rahim hits a six off Khaleel Ahmed during the first T20I at Feroz Shah Kotla on Sunday. Praveen Khanna

Shikhar Dhawan has been consistent in T20 cricket. But the issue plaguing him as an opener in this format is his inability to propel his scoring, especially during Powerplay, which reflects in his below-par strike rate of 129.8.

— is a testimony to how much India rely on him at the top of the order. For a man with such an enviable record in the 50-over format, Dhawan has found it difficult to get his act together in the frenetic, high-octane T20Is. With 1,413 runs at an average of 27.70 and a strike rate of 129.87 with nine fifties, he has been fairly consistent over a prolonged period of time in this format. The issue plaguing him as an opener is his inability to propel his scoring, especially during Powerplay, which reflects in his below-par strike rate. Of late, he has found it difficult to get the timing and placement from the outset. Consequently, such sedate starts have often put pressure on batsmen at the other end. This has been the case even in ODIs. Quite often, he has been able to boost his strike-rate by spending time in the middle. T20Is and

even the Indian Premier League, rarely give him that luxury.

This was the case in point at the Kotla tonight. Once Rohit Sharma departed in the opening over, the onus was on Dhawan to step up the scoring. Instead, he found the going tough against a very disciplined Bangladesh bowling attack that rarely erred either in line or length. A sustained combination of spin and seam stifled Dhawan. To be fair, the Kotla track was not quite the better that Dhawan had expected. It was a tad slow and Bangladesh’s spinners led by leg-spinner Aminul Islam Biplob and off-spinner Afif Hossain, got the ball to turn and grip. At the end of the first six overs, India had meandered along to just 35/1, with the innings rarely finding the requisite momentum. Resultantly, Dhawan’s labour put pressure on the likes of KL Rahul and Shreyas Iyer. They tried their best, but by the time they had perished at the half-way stage, Dhawan was left with the arduous task of playing the sheet anchor’s role. Unfortunately, that would not be the case though. The 33-year-old perished in the 15th over for a 42-ball-41, with India stuttering at 95/4. Had it not been for those lusty hits from all-rounders Krunal Pandya and Washington Sundar — they stacked up 30 runs in the final two overs — India were staring at the prospect of finishing at less than 130. A score of 148/6 ultimately was insufficient.

Health emergency? 25,000 flock to watch T20I at Kotla

VISHAL MENON
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

DELHI WAS shrouded under a thick blanket of smog on Sunday morning as the Air Quality Index in several parts of the national capital breached the ‘extremely hazardous’ level of 900. There were showers in the morning, but it did little to improve the overall air quality. If anything, it only increased the humidity levels further. Despite assurances from the BCCI, there was apprehensions over whether India-Bangladesh T20 match would take place at the Feroz Shah Kotla. A public health emergency was declared and on the match-eve, the South Delhi Municipal Corporation and the Delhi District Cricket Association even made arrangements to combat pollution by employing water sprinklers outside Kotla’s premises.

Their best efforts hardly brought any relief. Former cricketers Bishan Singh Bedi and Gautam Gambhir questioned

By evening, however, visibility improved. At 6pm, an hour before the match, AQI levels dropped to touch 280 mark.

The rationale behind staging a sporting event in a city that was reeling under the grip of such an acute pollution crisis.

By evening, however, visibility improved slightly. At 6pm, an hour before the match, AQI levels dropped considerably to touch 280 mark, which was unhealthy no doubt, but still better than what it the city had been experiencing in the morning. Over 25,000 fans, cutting across age-groups, assembled to get a glimpse of their cricketers in action.

By the time, Shafiu Islam was ready to bowl the opening over to India’s captain Rohit Sharma, stands were filled to the brim. Delhi’s Air Emergency now looked like a conspiracy theory.

SCORECARD »

Ind vs Ban

1st T20I | Delhi | Toss: India

INDIA	146/8 IN 20 OVS
R Sharma lbw b S Islam	9 (5b, 2x4)
S Dhawan run out	41 (42b, 3x4, 1x6)
KL Rahul c Mahmudullah b A Islam	15 (17b, 2x4)
S Iyer c Naim b A Islam	22 (13b, 1x4, 2x6)
R Pant c Naim b S Islam	27 (26b, 3x4)
S Dube c & b A Hossain	1 (4b)
K Pandya not out	15 (8b, 1x4, 1x6)
W Sundar not out	14 (5b, 2x6)
Extras: (lb 3, w 1)	4
Fall of wickets: 1-10 (Rohit Sharma, 0.6 ov), 2-36 (KL Rahul, 6.3 ov), 3-70 (Shreyas Iyer, 10.2 ov), 4-95 (Shikhar Dhawan, 14.5 ov), 5-102 (Shivam Dube, 15.6 ov), 6-120 (Rishabh Pant, 18.2 ov)	
Bowling:	
Shafiu Islam	4-0-36-2
Al-Amin Hossain	4-0-27-0
Mustafizur Rahman	2-0-15-0
Aminul Islam	3-0-22-2
Soumya Sarkar	2-0-16-0
Afif Hossain	3-0-11-1
Mosaddek Hossain	1-0-8-0
Mahmudullah	1-0-10-0



Rohit Sharma fell cheaply, trapped in front by Shafiu Islam.

B'DESH 154/3 IN 19.3 OVS

Liton Das c Rahul b Chahar	7 (4b, 1x4)
Mohd Naim c Dhawan b Chahal	26 (28b, 2x4, 1x6)
Soumya Sarkar b Ahmed 39	35 (35b, 1x4, 2x6)
Mushfiqur Rahim not out	60 (43b, 8x4, 1x6)
Mahmudullah not out	15 (7b, 1x4, 1x6)
Extras: (lb 3, w 4)	7
Fall of wickets: 1-8 (Liton Das, 0.5 ov), 2-54 (Mohammad Naim, 7.5 ov), 3-114 (Soumya Sarkar, 16.6 ov)	
Bowling:	
D Chahar	3-0-24-1
W Sundar	4-0-25-0
K Ahmed	4-0-37-1
Y Chahal	4-0-24-1
K Pandya	4-0-32-0
S Dube	0.3-0-9-0

Rohit says lack of experience led to mistakes

New Delhi: Poor fielding and lack of judgment while going for the reviews cost India the first T20I, stand-in skipper Rohit Sharma said.

“It was a defendable score, and we made mistakes on the field. The guys are a bit inexperienced, and they can learn from that, perhaps not make them the next time. The reviews were a mistake from our side,” Rohit admitted during post-match presentation ceremony. “Not to take credit away from Bangladesh. They put us under pressure right from the start when we were batting.”

Rohit then explained the DRS calls -- those that he took and didn’t. In the latter category fell one off Yuzvendra Chahal’s bowling which he didn’t review on Pant’s insistence. The TV replays later showed that Mushfiqur would have been out. The second one, which they took, was a caught-behind appeal off Soumya Sarkar when there was no edge and India lost a review.

“The first ball he (Mushfiqur) played on the back-foot, we thought it was going down leg, and the next one on the front-foot. But we forgot how short he is. We weren’t up to the mark on the field, but batting-wise I think we put up a competitive score,” the skipper assessed.

Yuzvendra Chahal (1/24 in 4 overs) is back in T20s and skipper feels that the Haryana leg-spinner is an asset in this format.

“Chahal showed how important he is in the middle overs, when the batsmen are set. He completely understands what he needs to execute, and that makes it easier for the captain as well,” Rohit added.

PTI

Finch goes hammer and tongs before rain

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
SYDNEY, NOVEMBER 3

PAKISTAN WERE saved by the rain Sunday as persistent showers halted a rampant Aaron Finch as Australia headed for victory in their opening Twenty20 international. The visitors managed 107 for five in a reduced 15 overs due to the weather at the Sydney Cricket Ground, with Australia set a target of 119 under the Duckworth-Lewis-Stern (DLS) method.

With dark clouds looming, Finch plundered 37 off the first 3.1 overs, leaving David Warner, who scored 217 without losing his wicket in his previous three innings, a mere spectator at the other end. He finished Sunday not out on two.

But the heavens opened again, with Australia, fresh from a 3-0 whitewash of Sri Lanka, stranded on 41 without loss when the match was abandoned, with no result declared.

“It’s frustrating,” said the Australian skipper. “But you can’t do too much about the weather. We played really well. To restrict them to 107 off 15 overs was a great effort and then to be on track to get them was nice.”

A valid result would have been declared if 11 more balls had been bowled under DLS, but a 20-minute break between innings, when it wasn’t raining, prevented this from happening.

“If you’re cutting overs off the game and you still have a 20 minute break it doesn’t make much sense to me,” said Finch. “But it’s part of the rules and you can’t do much about it.”

Pakistan came into the series as the world’s leading team in the short format, but



Azam made 59* of 38 balls, but Pakistan could manage only 107 from 15 overs.

were also reeling from an embarrassing 3-0 home series loss to Sri Lanka last month. They removed skipper Sarfaraz Ahmed and dumped several other players in a bid for a fresh start, with opener Babar Azam handed the captain’s armband.

The world’s top-ranked Twenty20 batsman led from the front, stroking a classy unbeaten 59 after they were sent into bat, with the 25-year-old smacking five fours and two sixes in his 38-ball knock. It was a decent recovery by the visitors after opener Fakhar Zaman was out first ball, hitting a swinging Mitchell Starc delivery straight to Steve Smith at backward point.

That brought Haris Sohail to the crease, but he made a poor decision in going after Kane Richardson too early, top-edging to Smith to leave the visitors struggling at 10 for

two. But Azam and Mohammad Rizwan steadied the ship and began building a solid partnership, pushing the scoreboard along with clever running and quality shots.

They reached the 10-over mark at 64 for two but Rizwan soon fell for an entertaining 31 after trying to clear the boundary rope off spinner Ashton Agar, only for Pat Cummins take an easy catch. When they resumed at 88 for three in the 13th over after a rain break, Asif Ali fell to Richardson for 11 and Imad Wasim to Starc for a duck, leaving Azam to bring up his 11th T20 half-century.

The series moves to Canberra on Tuesday and a final game in Perth.

BRIEF SCORES: Pakistan 107/5 in 15/15 ov (Azam 59*, Rizwan 31; Richardson 2/16, Starc 2/22) vs Australia 41/0 (3.1/15 ov, target 119) Match abandoned.

England caught Grandhomme, bowled Santner in 2nd T20I

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
WELLINGTON, NOVEMBER 3

THE SAFE hands of Colin de Grandhomme proved crucial as New Zealand drew level with England 1-1 in their Twenty20 international series in Wellington on Sunday. While de Grandhomme was pouching all four skied balls that went his way, England were left to rue an uncomfortable day in the field with six spilled chances including three by James Vince.

New Zealand, who suffered a seven-wicket loss in the first match on Friday, were sent in to bat first and made their most of the errant fielding to post 176 for eight. Martin Gupthill at the top of the innings clouted 41 off 28 deliveries, while Jimmy Neesham belted 42 off 22, including four sixes, before he was removed on the final ball of the innings.

De Grandhomme also pushed the pace, facing only 12 balls for a whirlwind 28.

England in reply looked comfortable at 91 for four in the 11th over before New Zealand removed the remaining six wickets to end the innings with a ball to spare. Mitchell Santner claimed three for 25 while Tim Southee, Lockie Ferguson and Ish Sodhi took two wickets apiece. England captain Eoin Morgan said it was easy to analyse the reasons for the loss, and the issues were repairable.

“We dropped catches and we continued to lose wickets,” he said. “We need to keep the attacking positive mindset. I think it’s important to make mistakes, but I think the



Santner took three wickets.

most important part is to learn from them.” After England lost Johnny Bairstow first ball, and Vince in the second over, Morgan (32) and David Malan (39) set about rebuilding the innings. But when Morgan gave de Grandhomme his first catch, the wickets fell regularly with only Chris Jordan (36 off 19) providing any solid resistance at the lower part of the batting order.

Malan fell to an exceptional diving catch by Gupthill who also accounted for the wicket of Jordan in a polished New Zealand fielding performance. Game three in the series is in Nelson on Tuesday.

BRIEF SCORES: New Zealand 176 for 8 (Jimmy Neesham 42, Martin Gupthill 41, Chris Jordan 3-23) beat England 155 (DJ Malan 39, Mitchell Santner 3-25) by 21 runs

When Rani & Co inspired their inspirer

From being shy of building physiques, to emulating world beaters like Vinesh and Mary, women’s hockey team scoring fitness goals

MIHIR VASAVDA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 3

IT WASN’T quite a sprint to Tokyo, as the first leg suggested it would be. But as the Indian women limped to the finish line, exhausting every ounce of strength to edge out the USA 6-5 on aggregate and qualify for the Olympics, they ended up inspiring the inspirer.

On Friday, minutes after India won the first match of the qualifiers 5-1, wrestler Vinesh Phogat tweeted: “If there is anyone I want to see doing really well at #Tokyo2020, it’s the Hockey India ladies. These super-women are really amazing!”

For a team that has gone about its business silently for the last two years, there couldn’t have been a better compliment. After all, in their quest to rise from the lower echelons of world hockey, Vinesh has been one of the athletes they have all looked up to.

Playing rare games at home, India entertained a half-full Kalinga Stadium with their quick, hypnotising passes and speedy attacks; at least in the second half of both matches. It came as a revelation for most, as these traits have never been associated with women’s hockey. In their decades of struggle, India had forged a dubious reputation of being one of the most unfit teams in the world. Even at full throttle, they gave an impression of playing in slow motion.

Two matches in one weekend, however, seems to have changed that perception. Think of the blistering counterattack from Lalremsiami and Salima Tete deep into the third quarter of the first match; or Neha Goyal’s probing run on the right in the 51st minute of the second... the kind of stuff seldom seen from the team at these stages of the match in the past.

“Right now, our team is so fit that we can turn things around even in the last second,” captain Rani Rampal, who has been at the centre of the turnaround, says. “Two years ago, when Wayne (Lombard, the team physio) joined us, his first reaction was ‘oh my god, where have I landed!’ But he took it as a challenge and made it his mission to make us fitter.”

Lombard, who has worked with Indian athletes like Vinesh and javelin thrower Neeraj Chopra, was appointed as the women fitness trainer in 2017. The team he inherited was an eclectic mix: more than half of the players came from tribal areas in Odisha and Jharkhand, and rural Punjab and Haryana. Some hailed from Manipur and a few, like striker Lalremsiami, were from Mizoram (in fact, Siami, as she is known in the team, could not speak Hindi and carries a Mizo-to-Hindi dictionary even today).

This was a close-knit group, Lombard observed. But fitness as a concept was alien. And they were timid, which gave their opponents a mental and physical advantage in most matches. “Before I joined the team, I had asked around and one of the answers I got was physically they were really poor,” Lombard says. “Maybe, it was a cultural thing... they weren’t in the limelight that much and I think they also thought they did not have the authority to be in the limelight.”

Cultural differences

The players, according to him, were shy to develop a physique. To draw them out of their shell, Lombard gave the players examples of other Indian women athletes who became world-beaters by developing a strong physique.

Vinesh, whose Rio Olympics ended in tears after getting injured, is currently among the fittest and strongest athletes in the country; the mix of bravado and strength earning her the nickname of ‘fighter plane’ among her friends. Lombard, who worked closely with Vinesh in the rehab phase after the 2016 Games, also cited the example Mary Kom, who recently won her eighth World Championship medal last month at the age of 36.

“Listening to their stories, we realised if they could be so strong and have such a



Sharmila Devi (L) runs past a USA player in first of the two-match Olympic qualifiers in Bhubaneswar. Indian players’ speed and strength came as a revelation. Hockey India

Mental game: Profiling personalities

New Delhi: When the failed clearance by a USA defender landed at Rani Rampal’s stick, coach **Sjoerd Marijne** had a hunch of what could happen next. “I know some of our girls, they like the tension,” Marijne says, without naming Rani.



Marijne isn’t guessing. He knows for sure. His knowledge on the players’ behaviour is based on a personality profile conducted on every player earlier this year. Physical fitness has just been one part of Marijne’s project with the women’s team, with whom he has been associated since early 2017. The Dutchman, also a motivational speaker, has laid equal emphasis on the mental aspect.

With language being the main barrier, Marijne said he had to develop an alternate way to extract basic information about his players: Why do they take a particular decision? What is their person-

ality like? How do they react under stress? What do they like?

“I used a personality profiling tool called VIP 24, which helps you understand better why the players are making certain choices inside the pitch. That, in turn, helps my coaching,” Marijne says.

The results of the 30-minute online assessment were fascinating. “When some players are under stress, they are looking down. Consequently, they don’t see the passes. So I take them off, try to bring the pressure off by talking to them and bring energy back,” he says, adding that there were several occasions during the two-match Olympic qualifier against USA where the information came in handy.

“Every girl reacts in different ways to stress – the way they perform, the way they interact...” he says. “I hope to continue using this tool in the future as well. All this information helps me to build the team.”

MIHIR VASAVDA

Two years ago, when Wayne joined us, his first reaction was ‘oh my god, where have I landed!’”

RANI RAMPAL
CAPTAIN, INDIA

Maybe, it was a cultural thing... they weren’t in the limelight that much and I think they also thought they did not have the authority to be in the limelight.”

WAYNE LOMBARD
PHYSICAL TRAINER, WOMEN’S HOCKEY TEAM

above 18 and then a few players have to be about 20, 21 or 22. So yeah, so the improvement from that perspective has been pretty phenomenal,” Lombard adds.

Rani says: “Wayne works on minutest of details. He works late into the night studying our GPS data... which player is playing with what intensity, what distance they’ve run in a match, who should take more load, who should slow down a bit... Every morning we get the data on how much percent the body is recovering and then according to that our training schedule is charted out. All these things have brought massive changes.”

The impact of this has been visible on the pitch. The players have never looked stronger on the ball or so quick with, or without, it. There is a fair bit of distance to cover before India can match the European teams or Australia. But the win over the US gives them a solid base. “We have to do this for the entire match,” coach Sjoerd Marijne says. “And the preparation starts tomorrow morning.”

Need to work on finishing and deep defence: Men’s coach

PTI adds: Endeavouring to accomplish an “unfinished” task at the Tokyo Olympics, Indian men’s hockey team coach Graham Reid wants strikers with incredible finishing skills and a strongly fortified defence. “Obviously, I have an unfinished business. You always dream of an Olympics podium finish. I was lucky to win one as a player and those memories are things you hold on to,” said Reid after India confirmed their place at the Tokyo Games on Saturday.

Eight-time champions India qualified after thrashing Russia 7-1 in the second game to win the double-leg FIH Olympic Qualifiers 11-3 on aggregate at the Kalinga Stadium here. “That’s what we need to bring to this team and give it a big shot (in Tokyo),” the 55-year-old coach said. “I told the players just now that we have nine months (before Olympics). Just get better and better, that’s our plan. Focus on the process, result will take care of itself.”

Reid said his players will look to polish their game in the coming months. “I think for me what we need to get better in is finishing. We are creating a lot of opportunities, which is great. But we need to get more returns. Also in deep defence, we have to get tighter. We are still giving away too many opportunities (to opponents),” he said.

After opting out of the inaugural edition last year, India will make their debut in the FIH Pro League against the Netherlands in January next year. After Netherlands, India will host Belgium and Australia in February before embarking on overseas tours.

Reid believed playing against top teams will be handy for his side in its preparation for the Games. “That’s one of the things that Pro League does, that it sets up competition schedule between now and Olympics,” he said.

Swimming row: Students, officials involved in fudged results punished

NITIN SHARMA/SHAHID JUDGE
CHANDIGARH/MUMBAI, NOVEMBER 3

AT FOUR in the evening on Sunday, Dr Raj Kumar Sharma, director sports, Lovely Professional University (LPU) in Jalandhar requested to meet all swimmers present at the venue of the All-India Inter-University swimming meet.

“He apologised to everyone for the way the event had been handled,” explained Kushagra Rawat, a student of the Delhi University and the 400m freestyle national record holder. “After that he sat behind all the judges for the races to make sure there would be no fudging of results.”

On Saturday, the second day of the four-day meet, swimmers from outside colleges decided to boycott the event after race results were blatantly being changed to benefit the host team — false starts by the host team swimmers were being considered legal and timings, which were being recorded manually instead of the usual use of the automatic touchpads, were changed to declare LPU swimmers as winners.

The seven-member team from the Jain University in Bangalore, which includes multiple Khelo India gold-medallist Likith SP and Srihari Natraj, who holds five different national records, eventually decided to return to back to their college.

The discrepancies were eventually brought to the notice of the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sports Kiren Rijiju, who tweeted that he is looking into the matter and the “Director General of Sports Authority of India is in touch with AIU (Association of Indian Universities) officials.”

Rijiju looking into the issue

In another post, Rijiju stated: “I would like to make it very clear; All organisations must ensure integrity of Sports. Transparency, fairness and equity in the sport world is a basic condition necessary to enhance opportunities for everyone to participate. There should be no scope for manipulation.”

Following the protests and Rijiju’s intervention, the AIU issued a letter to the host university asking for the officials responsible for the changed results be relieved from duty and “immediately suspend the students from all the events who were involved in deception.”

The letter further stated that it was attached with proof of the “manipulations in performance of swimmers.”

Subsequently, the LPU made the desired changes. “The original timings were declared from the races that happened on the first two days and the rightful winners were announced,” said Rawat, who had won the 400m freestyle, but was declared second based on the changed timings. “All races from today onwards would have results declared immediately and fairly, which is something that had not been happening at all.”

The LPU also went further to suspend their swimmer Sahil Chopra, who had been benefiting from the doctored results.

“Two officials were responsible for getting the results from the pool and depositing with the results desk. These two officials are not of our university and were hired for the meet, but they have been suspended along with the two swimmers Sahil and Abhay from the meet,” Kumar told *The Indian Express*.

“Unlike athletics, a false start in swimming is not stopped and the decision is taken after the race. Initially, Sahil was declared the winner and later as we got to know the discrepancy, we rectified the results and posted the correct results. We have started the pending events today evening and the remaining finals of the day will also be held today evening.”

[SPORTS BAR]

Patel satisfied with football roadmap

All India Football Federation (AIFF) president Praful Patel on Saturday expressed happiness that a “broadly acceptable consensus” has been reached on Indian football’s roadmap. “I am happy that a sustainable, comprehensive and broadly acceptable consensus roadmap has now been established which will do Indian football a lot of good in the future. Broadly a good solution has been found for club football in India,” Patel said after the official Emblem of the FIFA Women’s U-17 World Cup was launched in the presence of Sports Minister Kiren Rijiju.

Indian women lose 0-3 to Vietnam

The Indian women’s team suffered a 0-3 defeat against hosts Vietnam in the first of the two FIFA international friendly matches in Hanoi, Vietnam on Sunday. Thi Nhung (8th minute), Thi Van (82nd) and Thi Thuy Hang (89th) scored a goal apiece for the hosts to secure the comfortable win. Aditi Chauhan pulled off a terrific save in the 12th minute to deny Vietnam from doubling the lead. At the stroke of the half-hour mark, Bala Devi unleashed a superb shot from centre only to see it missing the target by a whisker. Coach Maymol Rocky opted to make an early substitution in the form of Daya, who replaced Sumitra in the 32nd minute.



Lakshya Sen is set to break into top 50 of the world rankings on Tuesday. File

Lakshya claims SaarLorlux Open title

India’s Lakshya Sen bagged his second successive BWF World Tour Super 100 title with a thrilling win over China’s Weng Hong Yang in an exciting final at the SaarLorLux Open in Saarbrücken on Sunday. Lakshya, seeded eighth, needed 59 minutes to overcome Weng 17-21 21-18 21-16 in the summit clash for his third successive singles title of the season. He had clinched the Belgian International challenge and Dutch Open Super Tour 100 in his last two outings. He had also reached the Polish Open final this year. World number 51 Sen, who has won the Asian Junior championship, a silver at the Youth Olympics and a bronze at World Junior Championship last year, continues to impress on the senior circuit. The 18-year-old from Uttarakhand had come into the final with a 1-2 head-to-head record against the Chinese but it didn’t matter as he rallied his way after squandering the first game to complete a thrilling win. After this win, Lakshya is set to break into the top 50 when the BWF rankings are released on Tuesday.

Bhanwal misses bronze, Ravi enters repechage

Three-time medallist Sajjan Bhanwal (77kg) missed out on a bronze in Greco-Roman category but Ravi (97kg) reached the repechage round at the U-23 Wrestling World Championships in Budapest on Sunday. Turkey’s Serkan Akkoyun proved too strong for Bhanwal and won 10-1 by superiority in the bronze medal contest. Ravi was blanked 8-0 by Georgian grappler Giorgi Melia in the pre-quarter-finals, but, with the latter making it to the final, the Indian was presented with another chance to fight for a medal. Ravi now needs to win just one bout in repechage to enter the bronze medal play-off on the final day of the competition.

Atwal placed 34th, Lahiri pulls out

A side-strain sustained during the second round forced Anirban Lahiri to withdraw before the start of the third round of the inaugural Bermuda Championship. Lahiri, who had made the cut despite the strain, decided to withdraw ahead of the third round. “I will be back for Mayakoba Classic,” said Lahiri, who shot rounds of 66 and 73 in the first two rounds to be tied 50th. Meanwhile, Arjun Atwal, the only Indian to have ever won on the PGA Tour, shot a third straight two-under 69 to get to six-under 210 and was lying tied 34th after three rounds.



EPL: Leicester City beat Palace 3-0, stay in top 3

Leicester City underlined their EPL top-four credentials as goals by Caglar Soyuncu and Jamie Vardy sealed a clinical 2-0 victory at Crystal Palace on Sunday. Soyuncu (**in pic, R**) broke the deadlock when he headed in James Maddison’s 57th-minute corner for his first Leicester goal. Leicester never looked like relinquishing their lead and Vardy added some late gloss with his 10th goal of the season. As impressive as last week’s 9-0 win at 10-man Southampton was, Sunday’s display was perhaps more meaningful in terms of Leicester’s ambitions this season. Palace could have gone fifth with a win but Leicester were in control throughout and thoroughly deserved a third successive league victory to put them back above Chelsea into third place on goal difference with 23 points from 11 games.



