



JAGA MISSION



For empowering slum dwellers  
and transforming slums

ODISHA wins  
prestigious

# world habitat



# awards 2019

“...This project has not only established land rights for residents & improved living conditions, but they are doing it at an astonishing scale...”

David Ireland  
Chief Executive, World Habitat

“...This is a fantastic initiative, acting as a superb example for the rest of the country of what can be done. The extreme speed of their progress, backed up by legislation is very impressive...”

World Habitat Awards  
Judging Panel

## Global Recognition for JAGA Mission

## Dedicated to the People of Odisha

( NAVEEN PATNAIK )

Our Journey Continues ...





## CITIZENSHIP (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2019

# CAB in RS today: Govt sure of numbers despite Sena U-turn, dissent in JD(U)

Won't back if no answers, says Uddhav; JD(U) leader asks Nitish to reconsider

Undermines basic democratic tenet, says influential bipartisan US panel

**ABANTIKA GHOSH, VISHWAS WAGHMODE & SANTOSH SINGH**  
NEW DELHI, MUMBAI, PATNA, DECEMBER 10

DESPITE A U-turn by its former ally Shiv Sena, and murmurs of dissent within its alliance partner JD(U), the government is all set to get the numbers required to pass the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019, in the Rajya Sabha Wednesday.

The Bill, which was cleared by the Lok Sabha with a 311-80 margin at 12.02 am Tuesday, seeks to provide Indian citizenship to non-Muslims who entered the country from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan until December 31, 2014.

Setting the stage for the next round, Sena chief and Maharashtra Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray said his party would not back the Bill in the Rajya Sabha if its queries are not addressed by the government.

The Sena has three MPs in the Upper House, which has a

**EXPLAINED**  
**E.**  
**Numbers favour govt in RS**

THE SHIV Sena's U-turn reflects the new political alignment in Maharashtra and the JD(U) is trying to strike a balance with Bihar going to polls next year. But the government is eyeing at least 128 votes in the 240-member RS to push the CAB through.

current strength of 240. Meanwhile, senior JD(U) leader Pavan K Varma echoed reservations expressed by his

**MORE REPORTS**  
**PAGE 11**

**SHUBHAJIT ROY**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

HOURS AFTER the Lok Sabha passed the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which is an influential bipartisan body of the US Congress, said Tuesday that "religious pluralism" is central to the foundations of India and the US, and that a "relig-

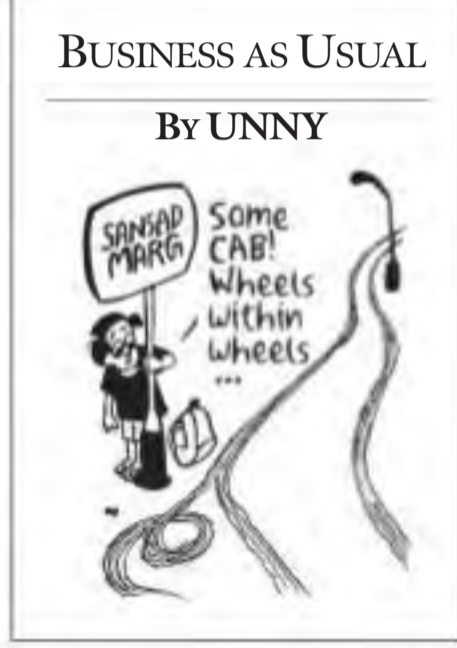
**EXPLAINED**  
**FACT CHECK**  
**USCIRF: WHAT ARE ITS FUNCTIONS?**  
**PAGE 14**

gious test" for citizenship "undermines" this democratic tenet. The European Union's new envoy to India, meanwhile,

expressed confidence that the outcome of discussions in Parliament on the Bill will be "in line with the high standards" laid down in the Indian Constitution, which guarantees equality.

Pakistan's Foreign Ministry, however, condemned the proposed law and described it as a "glaring attempt... to interfere in neighbouring countries with malafide intent".

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**



## Why West Bengal is in crosshairs of CAB, NRC

**ABANTIKA GHOSH**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

ASSAM AND the rest of north-east India is on the boil over the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019, but it is in West Bengal that the proposed legislation will play a critical part if the BJP-led central government goes ahead

with a nation-wide National Register of Citizens (NRC) to identify illegal immigrants.

With West Bengal going to polls in 2021, the BJP fielded as many as five MPs from the state to speak on the Bill in the Lok Sabha Monday — state chief Dilip Ghosh, Mahila Morcha chief Locket Chatterjee,

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**



## Hounded out, Sanskrit professor changes BHU post, students celebrate

**ASAD REHMAN**  
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 10

OVER A month after protests broke out in Banaras Hindu University (BHU) over his appointment, Firoze Khan on Monday resigned from the Faculty of Sanskrit following his appointment to the university's Arts Faculty. The students, who had been agitating against the appointment of a Muslim to BHU's Faculty of Sanskrit Vidya



**Firoze Khan** has joined Faculty of Arts: BHU

Dharma Vigyan (SVDV), celebrated the resignation by distributing sweets among the students and the staff.

In a letter dated December 10, Professor Kaushalendra Pandey,

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

## CRPF constable on poll duty kills 2 officers in Jharkhand

**ABHISHEK ANGAD**  
RANCHI, DECEMBER 10

IN THE second incident of fratricide in the state in less than 24 hours, a CRPF constable allegedly shot dead two of his officers in Bokaro on Monday night.

According to reports, Constable Deependra Yadav of the 226th battalion of the Central Reserve Police Force — which has been deployed for the Jharkhand Assembly elections — shot dead Assistant Commandant Sahul Harshan and Assistant Sub-Inspector Poorna Nand Bhuiya around 9.30 pm on Monday. Yadav and another constable sustained injuries.

Police sources said Yadav was

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

**CITY**

**DELHI GOVERNANCE SURVEY**  
**PAGE 8**



**The Indian EXPRESS AQDA**

Associate Partners: InCred Capital, CHAIFORT

Partner: Hospitality Associates: Bellissimo, TAJ

**TALKING POINT**

N Chandrasekaran, Chairman of Tata Sons, with Anant Goenka, Executive Director, The Indian Express Group, and Sunil Jain, Managing Editor, Financial Express, at the Express Adda in Mumbai on Tuesday.

*Amit Chakravarty*

## Unnao rape accused claims he was in hospital, doctor says his records fake

**AVANEESH MISHRA**  
UNNAO, DECEMBER 10

ONE OF the two accused in the gangrape of the 23-year-old Unnao woman — who died last week, a day after she was set on fire by five men, including the accused — had, around a month ago, filed a document in court, claiming that he was admitted to the local Primary Health Centre (PHC) on the date of the alleged rape.

Officials at the Sumerpur PHC, however, confirmed to The Indian Express that the purported "medical registration slip" in the



**The Primary Health Centre in Sumerpur.** Avaneesh Mishra

name of Shubham Trivedi is "fake" and that no patient by that name was admitted to the hospital on those dates.

The "registration slip" shows that Shubham was admitted to

the PHC on December 10 last year and discharged five days later. The woman has told police that she was gangraped, allegedly by Shubham and his friend Shivam, on December 12 last year. The FIR was registered on March 5 this year.

Shubham's father Hari Shankar, who is among the five under arrest for setting the woman on fire, had presented the "registration slip" to the High Court, along with a writ petition seeking the removal of Shubham's name from the FIR on the gangrape.

The "medical slip" mentions

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

## Govt agencies get wide powers to call for personal data in privacy Bill

**KARISHMA MEHROTRA**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE PERSONAL Data Protection Bill listed to be introduced in Lok Sabha on Wednesday has allowed transfer of certain types of personal data overseas, but has given broad powers to government agencies to collect personal and sensitive data of citizens.

An earlier draft Bill prepared by the Justice BN Srikrishna committee had provided exemptions to the government for collecting

**Ravi Shankar Prasad, IT Minister**

such data for security, criminal investigations and crime prevention. It had, however, stipulated that these exceptions be authorised by a separate law and data collected only if it was "necessary for, and proportionate to" the

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

## 73% of Class X students in Delhi govt schools opt for basic maths

**PAGE 1 ANCHOR**

**SUKRITA BARUAH**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

ALMOST 73% of Delhi government school students have decided to make their lives easier during the 2020 Class X board examinations by opting for the basic mathematics paper, a new option introduced by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) which will be a simpler test than the standard mathematics paper.

In contrast, just about 33% of the approximately 18 lakh students who have registered for the examination across India and abroad have chosen basic mathematics.

**41,386 students pick standard maths; 1,11,001 basic maths.** File

However, these numbers cannot be seen in isolation. While all the 1,030 schools run by the Delhi government are affiliated to the central board, most state government schools in other states are affiliated to their respective state boards. In these states, most schools affiliated to

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**

**SHUBHRA RANJAN**  
Always Ahead

**PRELIMS QUALITY ENRICHMENT PROGRAM 2020.**

**All India Open Mock Test Prelims 2020**  
on 15<sup>th</sup> December, 09:00 a.m. onwards followed by Test Discussion and Open Workshop

**Faculty & Subjects**

- Rushikesh Dudhat**  
Geography and Environment with Current Updates
- Jayesh Khaddar**  
History and Culture
- Shubhra Ranjan**  
Indian Polity
- Vivek Singh**  
Indian Economy with Current Updates
- Santosh Kumar**  
S&T and Current Affairs

**Batch starting 13<sup>th</sup> January 2020**

**36 DAYS CRASH COURSE FOR PRELIMS**  
6 HOURS OF CLASSES PER DAY  
6 DAYS PER WEEK  
FEE : 15,000 + GST

**ENROLL NOW**

Register at <https://shubhrranjan.com>

\*Course available in Offline (Classroom) mode only\*

32 B, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110005, 011-45612719

SCAN QR CODE FOR REGISTRATION

**VISIONIAS**  
INSPIRING INNOVATION

**LIVE/ONLINE Classes Available**  
[www.visionias.in](http://www.visionias.in)

**ARE YOU "PRE" CAUTIOUS?**  
**FAST TRACK COURSE 2020 GENERAL STUDIES PRELIMS**

This Course is designed to help aspirants prepare for and increase their score in General Studies Paper I. It will not only include discussion of the entire GS Paper I Prelims syllabus but also that of previous years' UPSC papers along with practice & discussion of Vision IAS classroom tests and the Prelims All India Test Series.

Starts: **18 Dec | 1 PM**

**PERSONALITY TEST PROGRAMME**

- DAF Analysis Session with senior faculty members of Vision IAS
- Mock Interviews Sessions with Ex-Bureaucrats/Educationists
- Interactive Sessions with previous year toppers and bureaucrats

**Open Session**

**GS PRELIMS: 10 YEARS' PAPERS' Insights & Strategy**

- 10<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> Dec Geography
- 12<sup>th</sup> & 13<sup>th</sup> Dec Environment
- 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> Dec Economics
- 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> Dec Polity
- 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> Dec History, Art & Culture

**10<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Dec | 5 PM**

VisionIAS Classroom, 19, Pusa Road, 3rd Floor, Near Karol Bagh Metro Station Pillar No-96, Delhi

**ALL INDIA GS PRELIMS OPEN MOCK TEST-1**

**22<sup>nd</sup> Dec | 10 Cities**

Test available in OFFLINE mode ONLY @  
Ahmedabad | Bengaluru | Chandigarh | Delhi | Guwahati  
Hyderabad | Jaipur | Jodhpur | Lucknow | Pune

Available in English / हिन्दी

Register @ [www.visionias.in/opentest](http://www.visionias.in/opentest) or Scan the QR code

Scan the QR CODE to download VISION IAS app

**2nd Floor, Apsara Arcade, Near Metro Gate 6, 1/8 B, Pusa Road, Karol Bagh**  
**DELHI**  
635, Opp. Signature View Apartments, Banda Bahadur Marg, Mukherjee Nagar  
Contact : 8468022022, 9019066066

**JAIPUR** 9001949244 | **PUNE** 8007500096 | **HYDERABAD** 9000104133 | **AHMEDABAD** 9909447040 | **LUCKNOW** 7042413943 | **CHANDIGARH** 8468022022

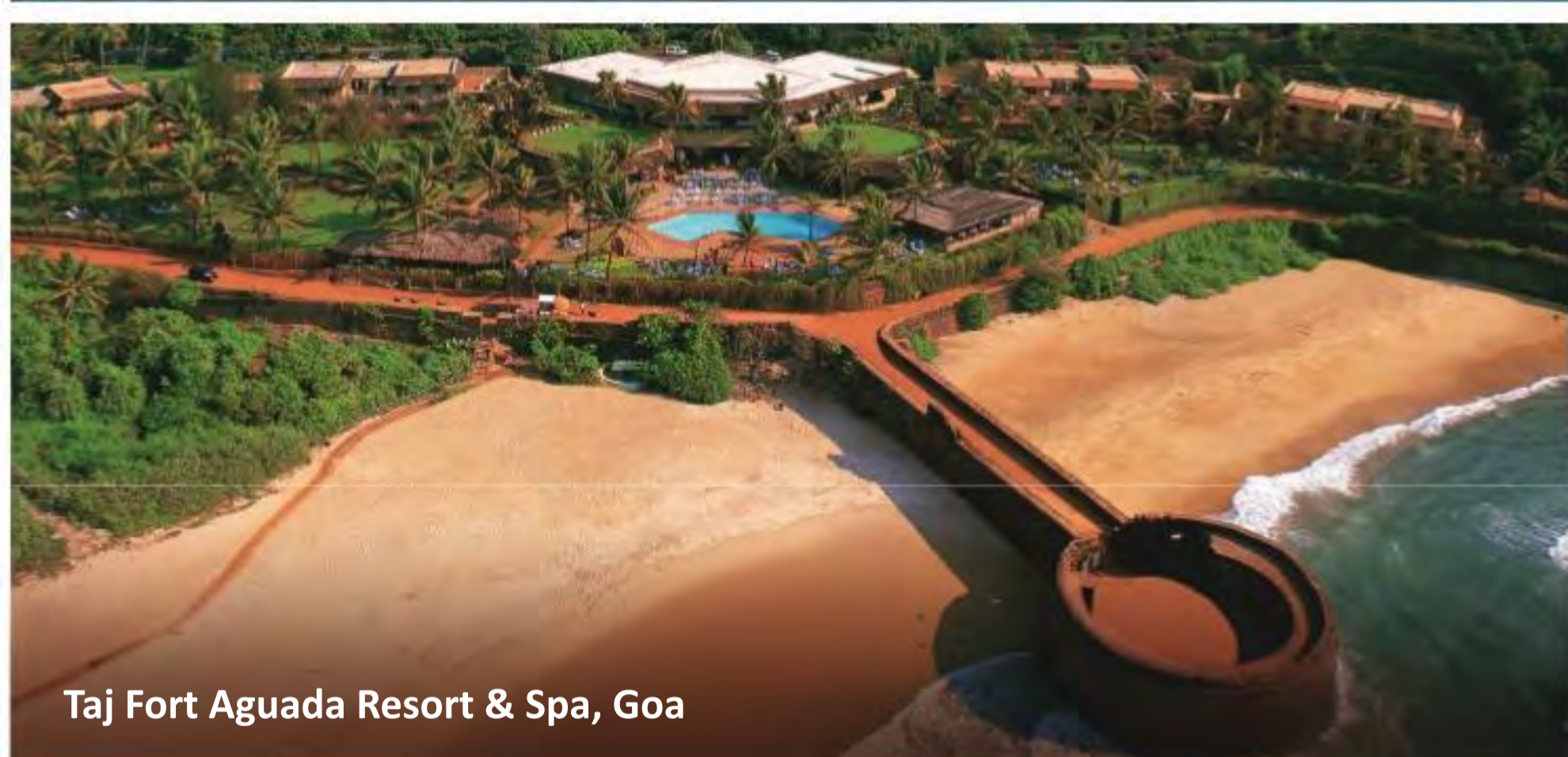


IHCL

# LEISURE RE-IMAGINED GOA REDEFINED



Taj Exotica Resort & Spa, Goa



Taj Fort Aguada Resort & Spa, Goa



Taj Holiday Village Resort & Spa, Goa



Cidade de Goa-IHCL SeleQtions



Vivanta Goa, Panaji

## Live extraordinary moments at our exceptional hotels.

From ocean views atop a 16th-century sea side fort to a pristine green 9-hole Golf Course; from Portuguese architecture to luxury heritage villas. Our diverse offering of stunning hotels welcomes you to experience the warmth and spirit of Goa in myriad ways.

**Enjoy 20% savings with our special Welcome 2020 offer\*.**

For more details visit: [www.tajhotels.com/goa](http://www.tajhotels.com/goa) | [reservations@ihcltata.com](mailto:reservations@ihcltata.com) | 1800 111 825 | \*Terms and Conditions Apply.

TAJ SELEQCTIONS VIVANTA

[TajHotels](#) [TajHotels](#) [TajHotels](#) [TajHotels](#)








"As ASSOCHAM celebrates the 100<sup>th</sup> year of its existence, it must take pride in its achievements, but not remain contented and draw inspiration from the occasion to chart out a futuristic, visionary roadmap to enhance its contribution in the nation's economic growth."

**Inaugural Address by**  
Hon'ble Prime Minister, Narendra Modi

**100**  
**YEARS OF**   
**ASSOCHAM**  
**THE KNOWLEDGE CHAMBER**

**Annual Conference**

**New India: Aspiring \$5 Trillion Economy**

20 December 2019, Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi

**Distinguished Speakers**



**Nirmala Sitharaman**  
Union Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs



**Piyush Goyal**  
Union Minister of Railways and Commerce & Industry



**Nitin Gadkari**  
Union Minister for Road Transport & Highways and MSME



**Ravi Shankar Prasad**  
Union Minister for Law & Justice, Comm., Electronics & IT



**Smriti Irani**  
Union Minister for Textiles and Women & Child Development

... and many more distinguished speakers from Industry

"While we celebrate the centenary year of ASSOCHAM, we as the knowledge chamber also look forward to the future, being a proactive partner to government's vision for \$5 trillion economy."

**Balkrishan Goenka**  
President ASSOCHAM

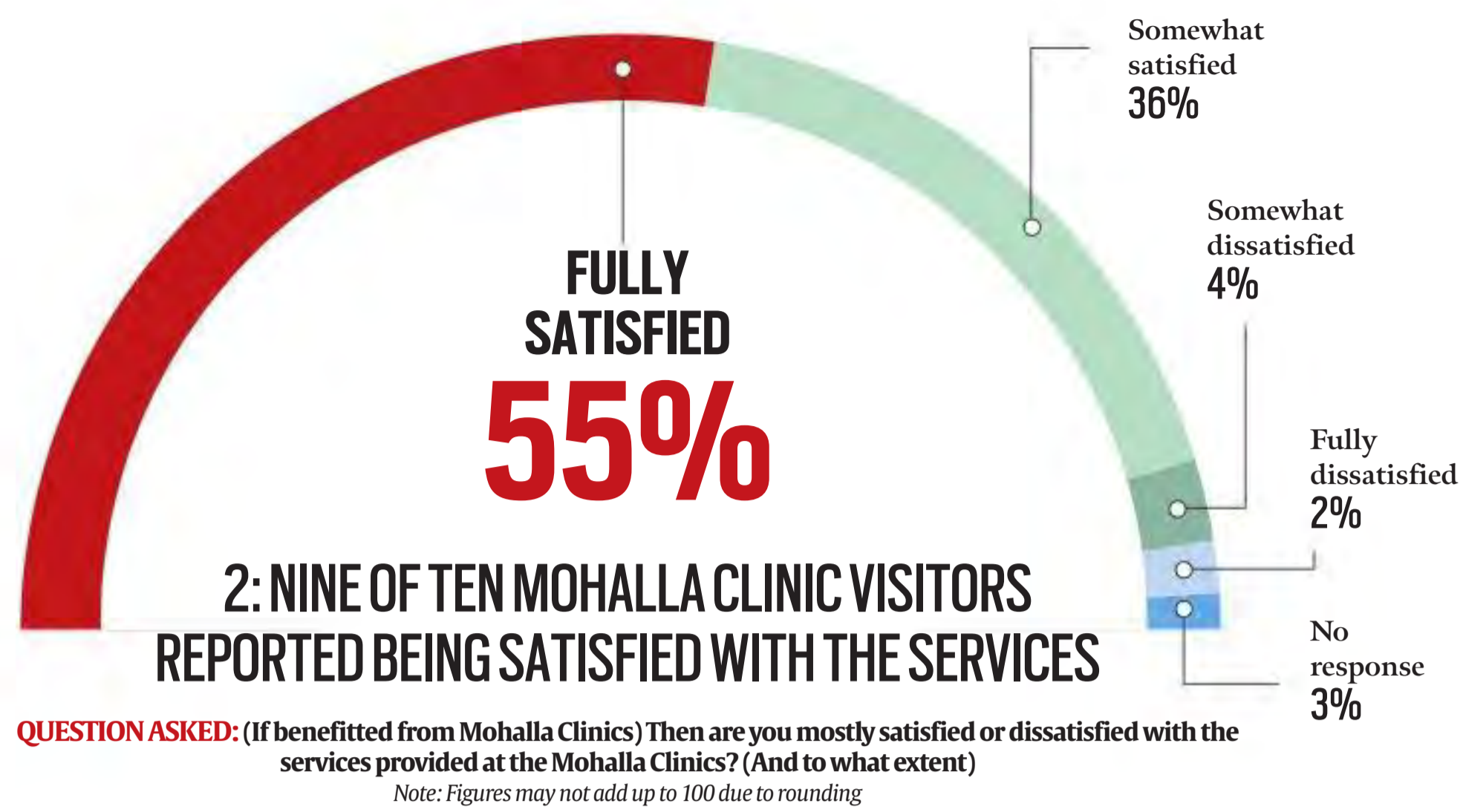
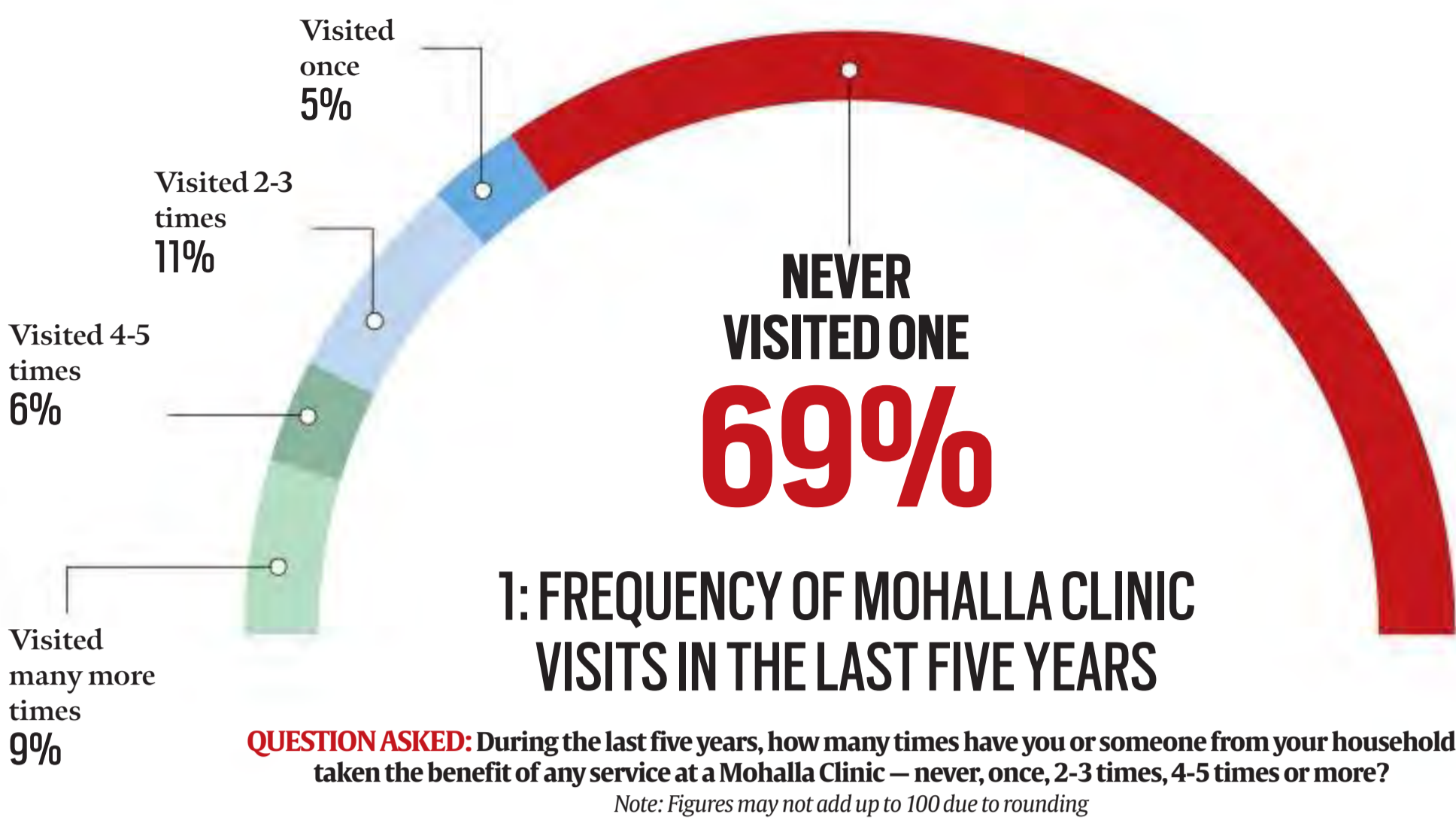
**Niranjan Hiranandani**  
Sr. Vice President ASSOCHAM

**Vineet Agarwal**  
Vice President ASSOCHAM

**Deepak Sood**  
Secretary General ASSOCHAM



# 8 THE CITY DELHI GOVERNANCE SURVEY

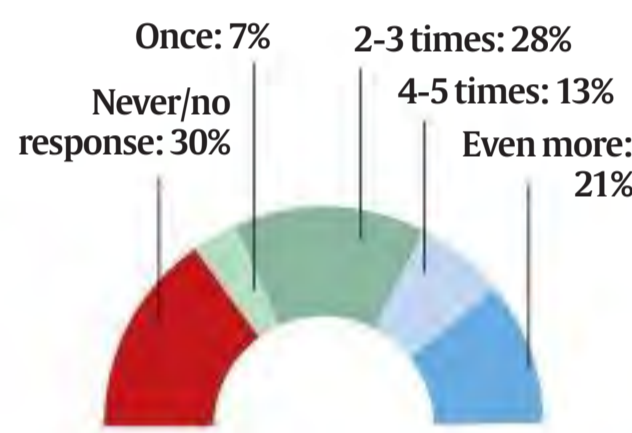


## Testing the twin pillars

From mohalla clinics to parent-teacher meetings in government schools — over the last five years, the AAP government has often emphasised on its focus on two key areas, health and education. To what extent has it succeeded? A survey of 2,298 Delhi voters by Lokniti-CSDS attempts to find out

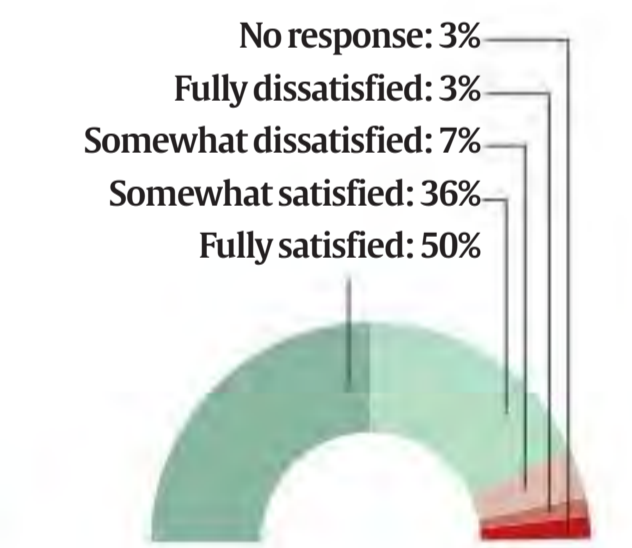
### 3: SEVEN OF TEN DELHIITES REPORTED VISITING A GOVT HOSPITAL IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

**QUESTION ASKED:** In the last five years, how many times have you or someone from your family visited a government hospital in Delhi for treatment — never, once, 2-3 times, 4-5 times or more times?



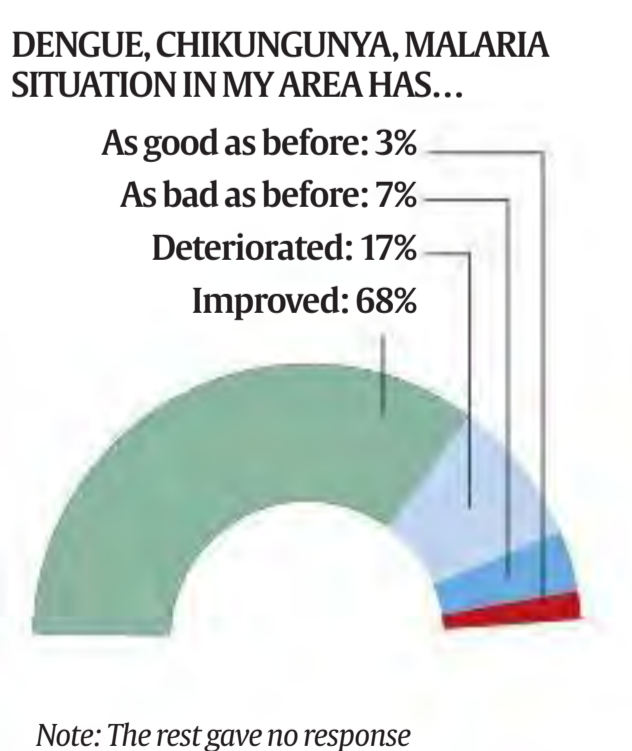
### 4: 86% OF THOSE WHO VISITED A GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL IN LAST FIVE YEARS WERE SATISFIED WITH THE TREATMENT

**QUESTION ASKED:** (If visited a government hospital) Are you mostly satisfied or dissatisfied with the treatment you got in Delhi's government hospitals in the last five years? (And to what extent)



### 5: OVER TWO-THIRDS SAID THE PROBLEM OF MOSQUITO-BORNE DISEASES HAD REDUCED IN THEIR AREA IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

**QUESTION ASKED:** In the last five years has the dengue/malaria/chikungunya problem improved or deteriorated in your area?



SHREYAS SARDESAI & BISWAJIT MOHANTY

EARLY THIS year, the Aam Aadmi Party-led Delhi government presented a Rs 60,000 crore budget for 2019-20, earmarking nearly two-fifths of the allocation to education and health. In doing so, it sought to make a statement about the significance it attaches to the two sectors. In fact, it is banking on initiatives such as mohalla clinics, free medical tests, parent-teacher meetings, happiness curriculum and improvement of school infrastructure to get another term in power.

During a comprehensive opinion survey among Delhi's voters, conducted between November 22 and December 3, 2019 by the Lokniti programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), an attempt was made to find out how successful people believe these initiatives have been. Several questions related to health and education were asked to understand the experience people have had at government clinics, hospitals and schools, and what they think about the Delhi government's performance.

#### Health

On the subject of health, respondents were asked how frequently they had visited a mohalla clinic in the last five years. The government claims to have opened 300 such health centres that offer free medicines and basic medical care. More than one in every four (26%) said they had visited a mohalla clinic more than once and another 5% said that they had visited a mohalla clinic once (table 1). This proportion was found to be one and a half times higher among slum dwellers, 49% of whom reported having been to a mohalla clinic in the last five years. Significantly, even a fairly large proportion (25%) of those from high income households reported having visited one in the last five years.

Respondents who said they had visited a mohalla clinic were asked whether they were satisfied with the services. Nine of every ten (91%) expressed satisfaction, 55% fully so (table 2). Satisfaction among voters with the treatment received at Delhi's government hospitals was also found to be extremely high. Seven out of ten respondents said they had visited a government hospital in the city at least once during the last five years (table 3), and among them only 10% expressed dissatisfaction with the medical treatment they had received (table 4). Two in every three respondents were of the opinion that the treatment at Delhi's government hospitals had become cheaper during the last five years.

In the context of the AAP government's claims of success in controlling cases of dengue in the city, the survey asked respondents whether mosquito-borne diseases had increased or decreased in their locality. Two in every three claimed that cases of such diseases had reduced in their area in the last five years, with respondents residing in both posh areas and slum areas reporting an improvement in equal measure (table 5).

When respondents were asked to rate the AAP government's performance on the health front on a scale of 10, it got an average of 7.06 from the respondents (table 10). Those having visited a mohalla clinic were found to be most happy with the AAP's performance on the health front (table 6).

#### Education

The survey also tried to measure voter perception regarding the AAP government's attempts at transforming the school educa-

### 6: THOSE HAVING VISITED A GOVT HOSPITAL OR MOHALLA CLINIC MORE LIKELY TO RATE AAP GOVERNMENT MORE POSITIVELY ON HEALTH FRONT

	Excellent (9, 10)	Good (7, 8)	Average (4, 5, 6)	Poor (2, 3)	Abysmal (0, 1)	No response
Overall	24%	35%	29%	3%	2%	6%
Not visited a govt hospital in last 5 yrs	17%	34%	33%	4%	3%	9%
Visited a govt hospital in last 5 yrs	27%	35%	27%	3%	2%	5%
Not visited a Mohalla Clinic in last 5 yrs	18%	34%	34%	4%	3%	6%
Visited a Mohalla Clinic in last 5 yrs	37%	36%	19%	2%	1%	5%

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

### 7: MEMBERS OF TWO-THIRDS OF HOUSEHOLDS ATTENDED A PTM AT A DELHI GOVT SCHOOL MORE THAN ONCE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

**QUESTION ASKED:** How many times have you or somebody in your family attended a parent-teacher meeting in the last five years at a school?

	Never/no response	Once	2-3 times	4-5 times	More than 5 times
Household has child/children in a Delhi government school only	25%	9%	34%	8%	24%
Household has child/children in a private school only	22%	7%	23%	8%	40%
Household has child/children in a central school/municipal school	25%	12%	26%	12%	25%

Note: Figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

### 8: HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILD/CHILDREN IN A DELHI GOVERNMENT SCHOOL WERE MORE LIKELY TO GIVE A POSITIVE RATING TO THE DELHI GOVERNMENT FOR ITS WORK ON THE EDUCATION FRONT

	Excellent (9, 10)	Good (7, 8)	Average (4, 5, 6)	Poor (2, 3)	Abysmal (0, 1)	No response
All respondents	32%	38%	20%	2%	1%	7%
Child/children from household are in a Delhi government school	40%	39%	14%	2%	<1%	4%

tion system. The questions pertained to the quality of education being imparted, the condition of classrooms, the presence of sports facilities, the quality of mid-day meals, and the morale of students and teachers.

On each and every one of these parameters, the respondents, particularly those belonging to households having a child/children in a Delhi government school (the survey came across around 25% such households, mostly belonging to lower income groups), were found to have a positive perception. Nine of every ten reported an improvement in the quality of education at Delhi government schools; eight of every ten thought the condition of classrooms in such schools had become better; a little over three fourths reported an improvement in sports facilities; and eight of every ten felt that the confidence of students had increased (table 9).

One of the major initiatives since 2016 has been parent-teacher meetings or PTMs in government schools. The survey asked voters whether they or someone from their household had attended any such meeting in the last five years. Sixty-six per cent from households having a child in a Delhi government school reported that someone from the household had indeed attended a PTM in the

last five years (table 7). What is also significant is that PTM attendance among guardians/parents of children going to a Delhi government school was nearly as high (albeit not as frequent) as attendance among guardians/parents of children going to a private school.

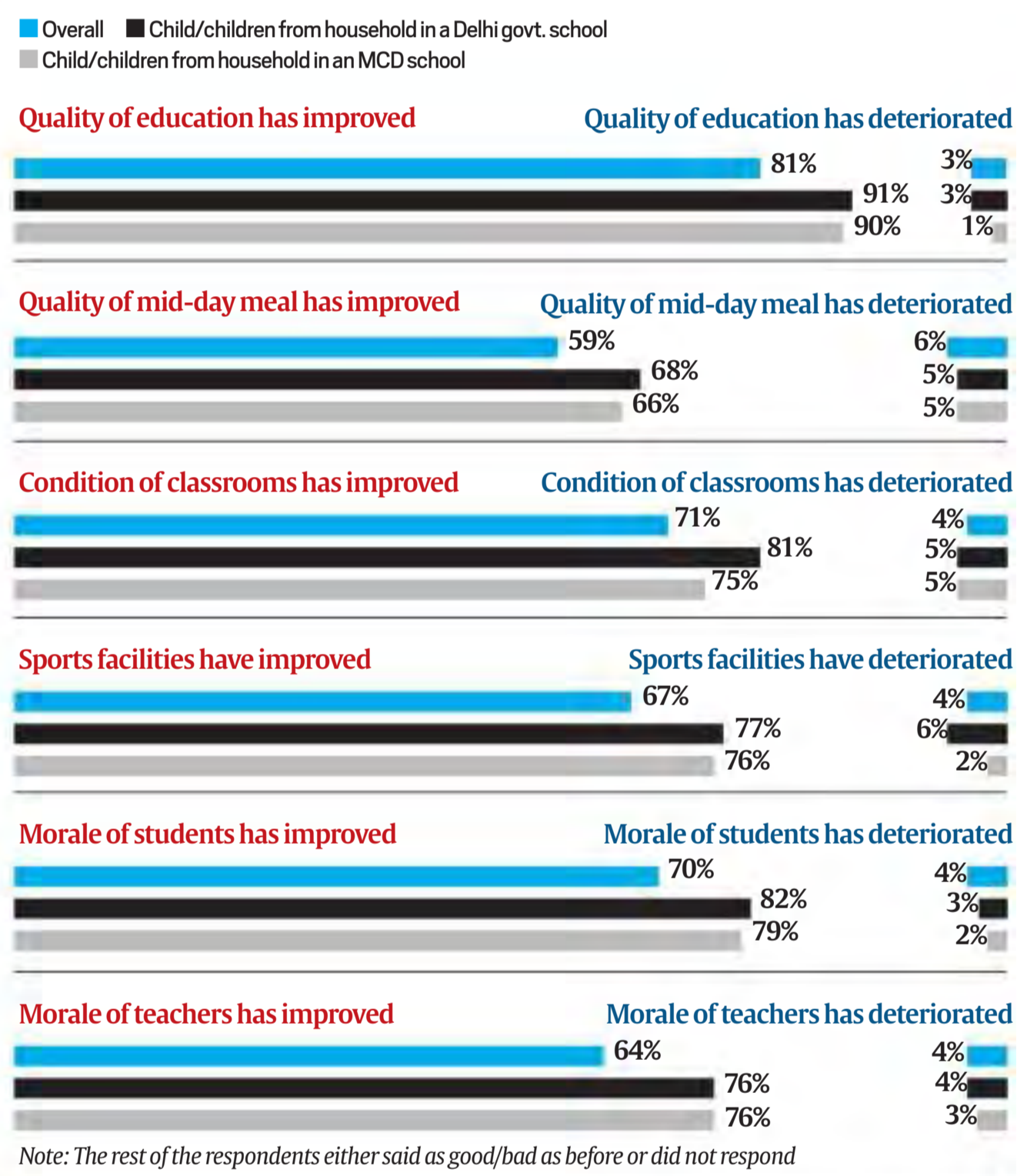
Asked to rate the AAP government's performance on the education front on a scale of 10, the average score was 7.7, even higher than the ratings on the health front (table 11). Respondents from households having a child studying in a government school were found to be far more likely to rate the government's performance more positively than the rest of the respondents (table 8).

The survey indicates that come assembly polls, the AAP stands to benefit from this positive assessment of its work in the two sectors. In fact, many respondents who voted for BJP and Congress in the Lok Sabha elections were generous when it came to giving marks to the AAP government for its performance on health and education related matters.

(Shreyas Sardesai is Research Associate at Lokniti-CSDS. Biswajit Mohanty is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Deshbandhu College, University of Delhi. He is also the State Coordinator of Lokniti (CSDS) in Delhi.)

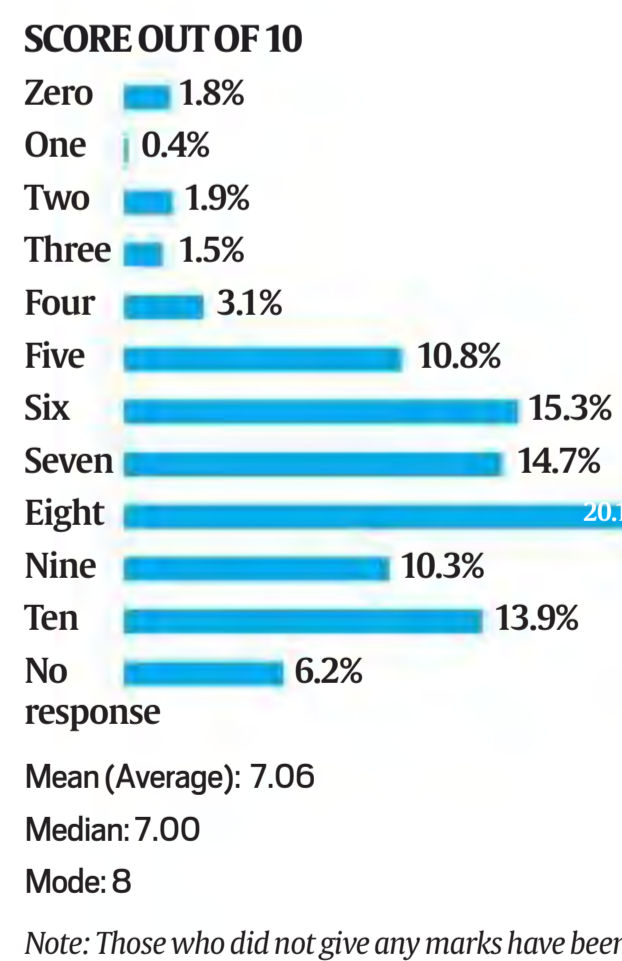
### 9: OVERALL PERCEPTION OF DELHI GOVT SCHOOLS VERY POSITIVE, EVEN MORE SO AMONG HOUSEHOLDS HAVING A CHILD IN A DELHI GOVT SCHOOL

**QUESTION ASKED:** In your opinion, have the following improved or deteriorated in government schools of Delhi in the last five years?



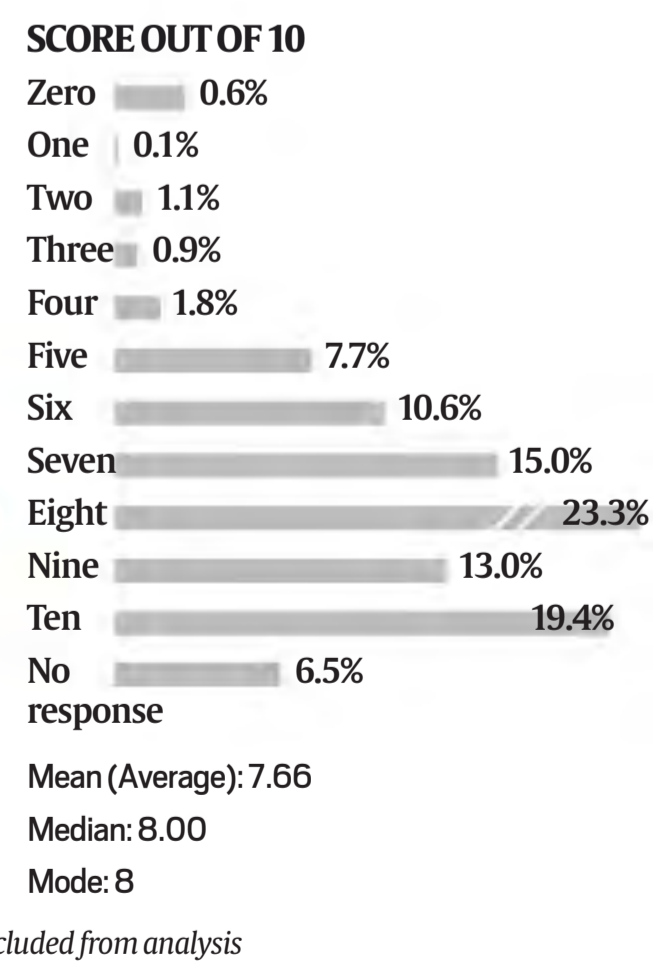
### 10: ON THE HEALTH FRONT, AAP GOVT GOT AN AVERAGE OF 7.06 OUT OF 10 FROM RESPONDENTS

**QUESTION ASKED:** How many marks out of 10 will you give to the steps taken by the Delhi's AAP government in the field of health?



### 11: DELHI GOVERNMENT SCORED HIGHLY BY RESPONDENTS ON THE EDUCATION FRONT

**QUESTION ASKED:** How many marks out of 10 will you give to the steps taken by the Delhi's AAP government in the field of education?



### TOMORROW: ELECTRICITY AND WATER

### HOW THE SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

THE FINDINGS presented here are from a survey conducted in Delhi by the Lokniti programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). The survey was conducted from November 22 through December 3, 2019 among 2,298 voters in 115 locations (polling stations) spread across 23 Assembly Constituencies of the capital. The sampling design adopted was multi-stage random sampling. The Assembly Constituencies were randomly selected using the probability proportional to size method.

Thereafter, five polling stations within each of the sampled constituencies were selected using the systematic random sampling method. Nearly 50 trained field investigators conducted face-to-face interviews of the respondents in Hindi asking them a set of standardised questions on mostly governance-related matters. The interviews were conducted at every fifth house of a polling station in order to ensure randomness. The interview duration was about 30 minutes on average. In order to ensure

representativeness and correct for underrepresentation of key demographics, the achieved raw sample has been weighted by Gender, Religion, and Caste group based on Census 2011 data. All analysis here has been presented on the weighted data set. The survey was designed, supervised and analysed by a team of researchers associated with Lokniti. They include Shreyas Sardesai, Biswajit Mohanty, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Manjesh Rana, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Vibha Attri, Jyoti Mishra,

Sakshi Khemani, Aditya Pandey, Neel Madhav, Farku Zaman, Deepti Mary Minj, Muzamil Yaqoob and Jagannath Kashyap. Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri guided the research team in analysing the data and with the write-ups. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar of CSDS. Lokniti would like to acknowledge the support of Durba Chattaraj of Ashoka University who partially supported this survey with the Franklin Research Grant of the American Philosophical Society.

### SAMPLE PROFILE: RAW AND WEIGHTED

	PROPORTION IN RAW SAMPLE	PROPORTION IN WEIGHTED SAMPLE*
Scheduled Castes	16.40%	16.80%
Muslims	14.10%	12.90%
Sikhs	3.00%	3.40%
Women	37.90%	46.50%

Note: Weighted by Census 2011 data



# 9 IN PARLIAMENT WINTER SESSION

## FROM THE GALLERY

### FROM THE CHAIR

RAJYA SABHA

“Is shouting slogans going to help anybody? Are we in Parliament or in a bazaar? This has to be understood by all. I am pained because the image of not only of an individual Member but of Parliament also is going down....Secondly, after I have called the next Question, the Member, whether he is satisfied with the reply or not, should sit down... Please see to it that we maintain decency and decorum.”

M VENKAI AH NAIDU, Chairman

LOK SABHA

“Fine. The House is in consensus? But remember, the ministers too will from now on have to speak from their allotted seats only.”

OM BIRLA, Speaker, after Parliamentary Affairs Minister Pralhad Joshi pointed out that many members were speaking from seats other than theirs.

### QUOTE OF THE DAY

“If you want to answer your question yourself, why are you asking me?”

AMIT SHAH, Home Minister to Congress leader in Lok Sabha Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury after the latter made repeated disruptions when the minister was speaking on Kashmir.

### 5 QUESTIONS



CONGRESS RAJYA SABHA MEMBER RAJEEV GOWDA DISCUSSES WITH MANOJ CG THE ISSUE OF FINANCIAL FRAUD IN THE SECURITIES MARKET.

You raised the issue of financial frauds that are taking place in the securities market. What was your point?

I raised the issue of customers and investors being defrauded by investment managers, that is brokers that handle investments and also by banks like BMC bank. My concern was that on one hand, these frauds and going on, and on the other hand, the regulators are not ahead of the game in terms of preventing and stopping them. The regulators are going ahead and coming up with measures to try and address the problem but they themselves are legally questionable and could land everything in litigation...

### What was your demand?

This problem arises before there is certain amount of trust in the system. An investor gives a power of attorney to a broker to make trades and act on their behalf. That fiduciary trust is betrayed when they play games with their money...

### What do you want the government to do?

I want the government to work with the regulators to ensure that these sorts of frauds don't take place.

### What are these mechanisms that you want the government to put in?

If I knew that, I would have suggested them...

### How will it affect the economy?

It will worsen things... In the overall scheme of things, the more trust you have in financial sector actors - brokers, mutual fund players and all - the more investment will go into India's industries rather than being put in gold or land. This is important because this will allow more companies to raise money, more jobs to be created...for the economy to grow...

# LS passes Bill to extend reservation for SCs, STs

Prasad slams Oppn for reducing debate to Anglo-Indians, Oppn says states not consulted

LIZ MATHEW

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

AMIDST CRITICISM from the Opposition that the BJP-led government's legislative initiatives hurt minorities in the country, the Constitutional amendment Bill to extend the reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha for 10 years and to discontinue the provision for nominated seats for the Anglo-Indian community in legislative bodies was passed by Lok Sabha on Tuesday.

The reservation for SCs, STs and Anglo-Indians given for the past 70 years in Lok Sabha and state Assemblies was due to end on January 25, 2020.

The Bill was passed with 352 members voting in favour and none against it. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who was absent from the House on Monday during the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, was present in the House during the voting on this Bill.

Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad slammed the Opposition for reducing the debate to Anglo-Indians and “ignoring the 20 crore SCs and STs”. “I am accused of misleading the House. How can you say that when the Census Registrar says that the number is 2967?” he asked. However, the Opposition has given notice for a privilege motion against the Law Minister on the same.

With the opposition attacking the government for not consulting with the states before doing away with the Anglo-Indian nom-



Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad in Lok Sabha ISTV/PPT

ination in the state Assemblies - 13 states have one nominated member each from the community in their assemblies - Prasad said the Bill being a Constitutional amendment, will naturally have to get passed by more than half of the total number of states.

Initiating the debate on the Bill, Congress's Hibi Eden argued that the data quoted by Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad was wrong and there are 3,47,000 Anglo-Indians in the country. Citing a report submitted by a fact-finding team, set up by the Central government which gave its report in 2013, Eden said Anglo-Indians, who he said have contributed to the country's growth in different fields, is an ethnic community facing cultural erosion and education disability.

Making an emotional pitch for Dalit women and Anglo-Indians, DMK's M Kanimozhi targeted the treasury benches for not consulting the states before removing the provision for the state Assemblies. Pointing out that 13 states have the provision and five of them are in the south, she said: “This government is again and again interfering in the states' rights and it is taking away their rights in every single Bill.”

Criticising the government for its legisla-

tive initiatives that hurt the minorities, the DMK MP said: “Just because you have a majority does not mean that you have to hurt the minority. Yesterday, you brought a Bill which would hurt the Muslims. Today, you are bringing a Bill which is going to hurt the Christians. So, I think majority is not the only factor on which we should run this country.”

Pitching for Dalit women, Kanimozhi urged the members to see their status in the country. “You may see how many Dalit girls are insulted and raped. Do we raise our voices against these atrocities? Do we talk about that? Do we discuss that? In some ways, we come to accept it.” She also demanded that the government consider reservation for women “as they are also Dalits”.

Supriya Sule (NCP) demanded that the government support minorities within the country also by extending reservation for Anglo-Indian communities.

BSP's Girish Chandra sought that the reservation for SC/ST should be extended to private sector while Nama Nageswar Rao (TRS) said the Central government should expeditiously clear the proposal of states to extend reservation for OBC and other communities. NDA ally Apna Dal member Anupriya Patel also sought continued representation of Anglo-Indian community in legislatures.

BJP's Heena Gavit, who listed the initiatives by the Narendra Modi government for the weaker communities, urged the government to ensure that only genuine candidates belonging to SCs and STs get the privileges meant for the communities.

# Shah: J&K admn to decide on political leaders' release

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

HOME MINISTER Amit Shah on Tuesday said the Centre had no desire to keep politicians from Kashmir behind bars unless there was a requirement. He said the decision on their release would be taken by the local administration as his government does not interfere in the affairs of states and Union Territories.

Shah's statement came after Congress leader in Lok Sabha Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury asked the government when political leaders, including sitting member and former chief minister Farooq Abdullah, would be released.

“There is no need to keep anyone (leaders) in jail even for a day more than that is required. As and when the local administration feels the time is appropriate, they will be released. You are asking about Farooq Abdullah. You (Congress) kept his father Sheikh Abdullah in jail for 11 years,” Shah said.

He reiterated that everything was normal in the Valley as school exams were registering over 99 per cent attendance, lakhs of people were being treated in hospitals, traffic was moving smoothly and not a single person had died of police bullets since August 5.

“As far as the people of Jammu and Kashmir are concerned, the situation is totally normal. But I cannot normalise the situation of the Congress. Because they had said here that there would be bloodbath in Kashmir after Article 370 is abolished. But nothing happened,” he said.

When Chowdhury pointed out that there was no political activity in the state and all politicians were behind bars, Shah said that panchayat and BDC elections were proof that political activity was happening in Kashmir. “You are not worried about the people of the Valley but its political activity,” Shah said.

## SMS service messages resume in Kashmir

Srinagar: SMS messages, including 'one time passwords' (OTPs), resumed on Tuesday for 40 lakh subscribers in Kashmir following several requests from the public, particularly the business community, officials here said.

The Jammu and Kashmir administration allowed service providers to resume machine-based messages, but subscribers will not be allowed to send any messages from their mobiles, officials said. Resumption of service messages will help the public, especially businesspersons, receive service messages from banks, they said. PTI

## EU expresses concern over Valley restrictions

New Delhi: The European Union on Tuesday said it was concerned over restrictions on “fundamental freedom” of people in Kashmir and called for steps like restoration of communication network and essential services to bring back normalcy in the Valley.

European Union's Ambassador to India Ugo Astuto also said that Pakistan must take action against terror groups operating from its soil, including by choking their financial support and ensuring compliance of steps recommended by anti-terror watchdog Financial Action Task Force (FATF).

Astuto, at a media briefing, said the European Union understands India's security concerns, but insisted that steps should be taken to restore normalcy in the Valley, adding that the bloc's views on the matter remained unchanged since August. ENS

# Arms Bill gets Rajya Sabha nod

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE RAJYA Sabha Tuesday passed The Arms (Amendment) Bill, 2019 by a voice vote with members across party lines lauding the government's decision to increase punishment for celebratory firing.

Members raised questions about heirloom weapons as the legislation proposes to allow only two licensed weapons against three permitted earlier.

The Bill was approved by Lok Sabha on Monday.

Minister of State for Home Affairs G Kishen Reddy said that heirloom weapons can be deactivated and kept. He pointed out that most of the deaths in celebratory firings were by unlicensed weapons; only two of 959 deaths in Bihar, 14 of 792 in Jharkhand and 181 of 1,483 in Uttar Pradesh were by licensed weapons.

The minister said the government is putting in place a system in which every ammunition will have a serial number.

The Bill increases the renewal window for a firearm licence from three years to five years, besides changing the penal regime and making

it more stringent for manufacturers of illegal weapons.

The legislation does not make any changes to the licensing regime for sportspersons.

A motion moved by Congress MP Digvijaya Singh to send the Bill to a Select Committee was defeated by a voice vote.

MPs asked about safeguards in the Bill for those in remote areas for whom guns are a means of self-defence. Congress MP Pratap Singh Bajwa said that holders of gun licences are not criminals but “respectable people” and they should be treated as such. BJD's Prasanna Acharya said that guns are not a status symbol.

The Bill provides a maximum punishment of life imprisonment for manufacturing and carrying illegal arms. It also provides that a person can have a maximum of two firearms as against three allowed at present.

The Bill also ensures that those using firearm in a rash or negligent manner in celebratory gunfire, endangering human life or personal safety of others shall be punishable with an imprisonment to two years, or with fine which may extend to Rs 1 lakh, or with both.



## TRINAMOOL PROTESTS CAB

■ A day before the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill is tabled in the Rajya Sabha, the Trinamool Congress on Tuesday said it was a matter of “majority versus morality and we will make the government bleed” in its efforts towards the passage of the legislation. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on Monday.

■ “This Bill is not about numbers. It is about majority versus morality and we will make the government bleed to pass this legislation,” TMC leader in Rajya Sabha Derek O'Brien said. He also said that his party would move 20 amendments to the Bill to change its basic nature.

■ On an ongoing tussle between West Bengal CM Mamata Banerjee and Governor Jagdeep Dhankhar, O'Brien alleged the governor had not signed important legislation. Later in the day, the state Assembly was adjourned sine die due to lack of business in the House. The winter session was to run till December 13. Anil Sharma

# 1.29 lakh people declared foreigners by tribunals in Assam: MoS Home

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

OVER 1.29 lakh people have been declared foreigners by various foreigners' tribunals in Assam till October this year, the government informed Parliament on Tuesday. It said 1.14 lakh people who had challenged their status as foreigners had also been declared Indian citizens.

MoS Home Nityanand Rai gave this information during Zero Hour in Lok Sabha. The minister also said that among the foreigners deported this year, four were Bangladeshi nationals and two were Afghans.

“As per the information made available by the Assam government, 1,14,225 people

were declared Indian citizens by the foreigners' tribunals in Assam as of October 2019,” he said in a written reply to a question.

As per information made available by the state government, 1,29,009 people were declared foreigners by the tribunals in Assam, he said, adding that no child was declared foreigner.

A total of 4,68,905 matters were referred to the foreigners' tribunals in Assam as of October 2019, he said. All Foreigners Tribunals in Assam were constituted as per the provisions of The Foreigners Act, 1946 and The Foreigners (Tribunals) Order, 1964.

The government also told the House that as many as 289 declared foreigners were detained in Assam in 2019 and 227 others were deported to their country of origin.

# Over Rs 15 crore raised by auctioning PM's gifts, says govt

DIVYAA

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

AN AUCTION of mementos received by Prime Minister Narendra Modi during his official trips within the country has raised more than Rs 15 crore, Culture Minister Pralhad Patel stated on Tuesday.

Responding to a query in Rajya Sabha by BJP MP Rakesh Sinha on whether the mementos, gifts, etc presented to the PM from home and abroad have been auctioned, Patel said, “A total of Rs 15.13 crore has been received from the auctions of mementos, gifts, etc presented to PM from home.”

Since Modi became PM in 2014, three

such auctions have been conducted by the Ministry of Culture, Patel added - in February 2015, January 27-April 1, 2019, and September 14 to October 24, 2019.

During the most recent round of e-auction, as many as 2,772 mementos were on the block, including daggers, pagris, paintings, shawls, and almost one thousand portraits of the Prime Minister done by various artists in different media.

Several portraits of the Prime Minister received the highest-value bids during the October auction. For instance, an acrylic painting of Modi and Mahatma Gandhi with a tri-colour background, with a base price of Rs 2.5 lakh, received a bid above Rs 25 lakh; while a photo of the PM with his mother received a bid above Rs 20 lakh.

**G. B. PANT NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HIMALAYAN ENVIRONMENT & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**  
(Formerly Known as G. B. Pant Institute of Himalayan Environment & Development)  
Kosi-Katarmal, Almora - 263643, Uttarakhand, India

Walk-in-Interview for purely project based temporary position of System Manager (01 No.) under NMHS-PMU will be conducted on 24.12.2019 (10:00 A.M. onwards) at Kosi-Katarmal, Almora Campus of the Institute.  
For details (age, emoluments, qualification, etc.) please see Institute website (www.gbpihed.gov.in) Administrative Officer

**ODISHA SKILL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (OSDA)**  
Niyojan Bhavan, Kharvela Nagar, Sriya Square Bhubaneswar- 751001.  
(E-mail-ID: career.osda@gmail.com)  
REQUIRES QUALIFIED PROFESSIONALS IN FOLLOWING POSITIONS (S)

S. No.	Post	Positions (s)	Last Date
1.	Chief Knowledge Officer	01	24 Dec 2019
2.	Chief Marketing Officer	01	24 Dec 2019
3.	General Manager (Training Operations & Industry Partnerships)	01	17 Dec 2019
4.	General Manager (Learning & Quality Assurance)	01	17 Dec 2019
5.	Procurement Specialist	01	17 Dec 2019

Odisha Skill Development Authority invites application for above mentioned positions on contractual basis. For details regarding eligibility criteria, qualification, experience, terms and conditions and other information relating to these positions including proforma for resume can be downloaded from <http://skiliodisha.gov.in>. Salary no bar for deserving candidates. The date for submission of application for positions mentioned at serial 3, 4 and 5 (notified on 20 Nov 2019) has been extended till 17 Dec 2019. To apply, email your resume with photograph and current CTC alongwith two references at career.osda@gmail.com.

Director of Employment -cum-Chief Executive Officer, OSDA  
14027/11/0011/1920

## PUBLIC NOTICE HIGHER EDUCATION DEPARTMENT HARYANA

In Compliance of the Orders Passed by Hon'ble Court in the following matters, the Provisional Gradation/ Seniority Lists of Lecturers now Designated as Assistant/ Associate Professor, as stood on 01.09.1997 has been uploaded on the web portal ([www.highereduhry.com](http://www.highereduhry.com)) of the Department on 08.12.2019 for inviting objections/ suggestions from the concerned.

Sr. No.	Case No.	Title	Date of Decision	Order Passed By
1.	CWP No. 8604 of 2007	Dr. Surindra Kumar Mishra and others Vs. State of Haryana and others	09.09.2010	Hon'ble High Court
2.	CWP No. 7828 of 2007	Dr. Saubhagya Wati and others Vs. State of Haryana and others	09.09.2010	Hon'ble High Court
3.	CWP No. 10429 of 2006	Dr. Swarnjit Singh Sidhu and others Vs. State of Haryana and others	09.09.2010	Hon'ble High Court
4.	CWP No. 1034 of 2009	Ms. Renuka Gambhir and others Vs. State of Haryana and others	09.09.2010	Hon'ble High Court
5.	CWP No. 1961 of 2006	Ram Kumar Chauhan and others Vs. State of Haryana and others	09.09.2010	Hon'ble High Court
6.	CWP No. 1580 of 2008	Madan Lal Vs. State of Haryana and others	23.01.2012	Hon'ble High Court
7.	Civil Suit 161 of 2004	V.K. Aggarwal Vs. State of Haryana	09.09.2010	Additional Civil Judge (Senior Division), Narnaul

The Seniority List has also been circulated in All Government Colleges in Haryana, U.T. Administration, Chandigarh, State Universities SCERT, Haryana, Gurugram, Head Quarter and Utkarsh Society, Panchkula.

Objections/ Suggestions if any, are hereby invited from the Assistant/ Associate Professors working in the Colleges of Haryana Government. After receiving the Objections/ Suggestions, if any the said Seniority will be finalized.

Dated: \_\_\_\_\_  
Place: Panchkula  
A. Sreenivas  
Special Secretary to Govt. Haryana  
Higher Education Department  
79553/HRY.

PIMPRI CHINCHWAD MUNICIPAL CORPORATION, PIMPRI, PUNE-411018 CIVIL ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT TENDER NOTICE No : CIVIL/HO/60/01/2019-2020

Office of the Executive Engineer Construction Division, U.P. Jal Nigam, Agra Ref. No.-3151/NVIDA/148 Dated: 06.12.2019 E-Tender Notice

HRD approves new IIM for Telangana New Delhi: The HRD Ministry has approved a new Indian Institute of Management (IIM) for Telangana...

BRIBERY CASE AGAINST ASTHANA, OTHERS Probe over, report being analysed: CBI seeks more time from HC

PRITAM PAL SINGH NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10 The CBI Tuesday told the Delhi High Court that it has completed the probe in an alleged bribery and extortion case against the agency's former special director Rakesh Asthana and others...

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA DAIRY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT Administrative Building, Abdul Gaffarkhan Road, Worli Sea Face, Worli, Mumbai-400018. E-TENDER NOTICE

भारतीय विमानचक्रन प्राधिकरण AIRPORTS AUTHORITY OF INDIA NOTICE INVITING TENDER E-Tender ID:- 2019\_AAI\_37435\_1

MANNING, MAINTENANCE AND HOUSEKEEPING WORKS E-Tender Notice No. CON/2019/NOVEMBER/01 Dated: 09-12-2019

Office of the Executive Engineer Construction Division, U.P. Jal Nigam, Agra Ref. No.-3150/NVIDA/147 Dated: 06.12.2019 Short Term E-Tender Notice

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER (SW)II DELHI JAL BOARD : GOVT. OF NCT OF DELHI NEAR DWARKA, WTP, DWARKA, NEW DELHI-110043

उ.प्र. पावर ट्रांसमिशन कार्पोरेशन लि. निविदा विस्तारकरण सूचना पर्याप्त निविदाकर्ताओं द्वारा

पूवांचल विद्युत वितरण निगम लि. विद्युत नगर, पोस्ट- डी.एल.डब्ल्यू. वाराणसी-221004 ई-निविदा सूचना

Lawyer shot dead outside Ranchi home Ranchi: A Ranchi-based lawyer, Ram Praveesh Singh, was shot dead on Monday night outside his residence...

Cong seeks intervention on Mhadei dispute Panaji: The Congress marched to Raj Bhavan to protest against the Goa government's economic policies...

RAJASTHAN STATE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENT CORPORATION LTD. E-AUCTION NOTICE RIICO invites Online Bids for allotment of various category of plots in RIICO's Various Industrial Areas

Table with columns: S. No., Name of work, Amount put to tender, EMD & TENDER FEE, Completion Period, Date of release of tender in e-procurement solution, Last Date/Time receipt of tender through e-procurement solution

UJVN Limited Tender Notice Office of the Executive Engineer (M&G) Kulhal Power Station, Kulhal

# GOVT & POLITICS

11



DELHI CONFIDENTIAL



## SPECIAL MESSAGE

AT A high-level internal deliberation seminar on transformation of Railways called 'Parivartan Sangosthi', which took place over the weekend and was helmed by Piyush Goyal, a "live chat" screen was a thing of wonder. Senior officers across the country were chatting live on it and sending suggestions, and it kept displaying live on the backdrop of the stage. One chat message that officers took note of said this was a "fruitful" exercise only if in the end the fruit is plucked and eaten. One of the takeaways was said to be the merger of all nine service cadres and also trimming the Railway Board on functional lines.

## SESSION AFTER SESSION

DURING PARLIAMENT sessions, MPs of all parties have special classes on the new Bills. Usually such classes, where senior officials from the respective ministries come to brief them, are attended by 30-40 MPs. On Tuesday, the session was on Anti-Maritime Piracy Bill, which was introduced in the Lok Sabha on Monday. Only one MP — Jagdambika Pal of BJP — attended it. After sitting till midnight to pass the Citizenship Amendment Bill, MPs did not seem to be in the mood to attend a class on another Bill. The Ministry of External Affairs official who came to brief the MPs apparently thanked the BJP MP.

## REQUEST TO RECONSIDER

THE ALL India Anglo Indian Association has written to PM Narendra Modi against the 126th Constitutional amendment doing away with the provision for nominated MPs and MLAs from the community. Recalling the community's contribution, the president-in-chief of the association requested the government to reconsider the decision. They said there are still several lakhs of Anglo-Indian citizens living in varying numbers across 22 of the 28 states and 9 Union Territories. In a separate letter to Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad, the association disputed his statement that by the 2011 census there were only 296 Anglo Indians in the country.

## DAY AFTER CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT BILL PASSED IN LS



A protest against the citizenship Bill in Guwahati. *Dasarath Deka*

## Protests in Tripura, Assam; shutdown in parts of N-E

**ABHISHEK SAHA, DEBRAJ DEB & TORA AGARWALA**  
GUWAHATI, AGARTALA, DECEMBER 10

SEVERAL PARTS of the North-East — especially in Tripura and Assam — witnessed protests marked by confrontations with security personnel as the region observed a complete shutdown upon the call of the North East Students' Organisation on Tuesday against the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, which was passed in the Lok Sabha on Monday.

The Tripura government suspended SMS and mobile Internet services for 48 hours beginning 2pm on Tuesday after clashes between security personnel and protesters. A senior police officer said that more than 1,700 protesters were detained. Police did not give an exact figure for those injured in the protests in which security personnel resorted to lobbing tear gas shells and blank fire to control angry crowds. Speaking to reporters after a public event in Agartala, Chief Minister Biplab Deb said, "There

### Film withdrawn in protest

**Guwahati:** National Award-winning filmmaker Jahnu Barua has registered his opposition to the CAB by deciding not to participate in the Assam State Film Awards and Film Festival, which is scheduled on December 26-27 here. Barua is withdrawing his film 'Bhoga Khirikee' (Broken Window) from being screened at the festival. The film was produced by Priyanka Chopra. **ENS**

is no response to strike today. Tripura is going ahead on the path of development... No part of N-E India or rest of the country will be affected by this Bill... So what is the point of this bandh?"

In Assam, there were protests against the BJP, CAB and the state's political leadership across the state with sporadic agitations in Jorhat, Pathsala, Dibrugarh, Morigaon and Lakhimpur. Tyres were burnt,

roads and traffic blocked and black flags waved in some places as protesters raised slogans and clashed with security personnel in several areas. Demonstrators also agitated outside the homes of a few BJP legislators and there were reports of vandalism with vehicles being damaged at some locations.

In Guwahati, police resorted to lathicharge and tear gas to control crowds in Hatigaon, Dispur and Ganeshguri areas even as reports emerged about cavalades of officials and political leaders being confronted by the crowd. However, a senior police officer denied that VIP movement was blocked in any part of the city.

In Meghalaya, there were reports about a police vehicle being torched by protesters and a few other vehicles vandalised.

Manipur saw a complete shutdown but there were no protests.

The AASU Tuesday said that it will move the Supreme Court against the Bill. "The Bill will take away our rights and we have to agitate against it," AASU chief advisor Samujjal Bhattacharya said. **— WITH INPUTS FROM JIMMY LEVION IN IMPHAL**

## Nagaland extends ILP to Dimapur

**Guwahati:** The Nagaland government Tuesday extended the Inner Line Permit regime to Dimapur, the state's only district left out of the system, in effect extending the exemption from the provisions of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill to the entire state.

Nagaland Chief Secretary Temjen Toy confirmed the development. In an order issued on November 9, the state government said, "Every non-indigenous person henceforth entering the area of district of Dimapur... shall be required to obtain an ILP in the same mode and manner as presently required for entering the Inner Line Permit area of Nagaland..." **ENS**

## Amid protests, BJP cites data to allay concerns

**ABHISHEK SAHA**  
GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 10

THE BJP-LED government in Assam and the state party unit have resorted to presenting data to claim that the number of non-Muslim migrants eligible for citizenship through provisions of Citizenship (Amendment) Bill will be less and the move will not create any problem for the indigenous population.

Speaking at a meeting of the BJP's mandal and zila unit presidents on Monday, Chief Minister Sarbananda Sonowal said, "As of today, according to the data in our hand, it won't be more than

5 lakh, it will be less than 5 lakh. In no way will our community, land, hearth, heritage, culture, existence be in danger."

Sonowal urged grassroots leaders of the party to speak out against "misinformation" spread by leaders of various organisations against the Bill.

State party president Ranjeet Dass told reporters that in the district of Majuli not more than 300 people would be eligible for application for citizenship, while in Nalbari and Charaideo he placed it at 1000-odd persons each. In Barpeta, Dass said around 24,000 people would be eligible for application while in Baksa it would be 28,000-odd.

## Govt proposes 50% cut in IPS central deputation quota

**DEEPTIMAN TIWARY**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

IN WHAT could face opposition from police ranks in the country, the Union government has written to all states, proposing to decrease the quota of central deputation of IPS officers by 50 per cent. It has argued that most state governments do not spare their IPS officers for central deputation and more than 60 per cent posts remain vacant.

The move, if implemented, could have far-reaching consequences for the IPS, leading to serious stagnation in the ranks. It could, however, benefit officers from other uniformed services as such posts would go to them. In a letter to chief secretaries of all states on November 26, the police division of Home Ministry has said, "Since large number of Central Deputation Reserve posts remain unutilised, the Central government is undertaking an exercise to reduce the existing CDR quota from 40% of Senior Duty Posts i.e. 1075 posts to about 500 posts." It has sought comments from all state governments and Union

Territories on the proposal by December 15.

Pointing out how these reserve posts remain vacant, the MHA letter has said, "It has been noted that most of the state governments are not sparing their IPS officers to serve on Central Deputation. On going through the data of officers on central deputation throughout the country, it is observed that at present only 428 IPS officers are working on Central Deputation against the authorised strength of 1075 officers i.e. 39.81% of central deputation reserve posts. Resultantly, a large number of the...posts remain unutilised."

The latest move is being opposed by IPS officers who argue they are being punished for no fault of theirs. Sources in IPS ranks called the government decision "immature".

"Vacancies at DIG level at the Centre are high because states are not releasing officers for central deputation. What can an IPS officer do? Until the state government agrees to send the name of a willing officer for central deputation offer list, the officer can't do anything," a senior IPS officer said.

# Sena flip-flop over Bill after Congress frowns

**SANDEEP ASHAR**  
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 10

BARELY 12 hours after voting in support of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill in the Lok Sabha, the Shiv Sena did a flip-flop on the issue, with party president and Maharashtra Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray making it clear that his party's support in the Rajya Sabha should not be taken for granted.

Sources said Thackeray had to articulate the party's change of stand after the Congress, a partner in the Thackeray-led government in Maharashtra, expressed strong displeasure over Shiv Sena's support to the Bill during the Lok Sabha debate on Monday.

With Rahul Gandhi himself raising the red flag, the Congress on Tuesday pressed Thackeray for reviewing his party's stance before the crucial vote on the Bill in the Rajya Sabha on Wednesday. Calling the Bill as a move that would "destroy" the foundation of India, Gandhi, in an early morning tweet, wrote, "The #CAB is an attack on the Indian Constitution. Anyone who supports it is attacking and attempting to destroy the



CM Uddhav Thackeray at Vidhan Bhavan. *PTI*

foundation of our nation." Taking cue from the post, Maharashtra's former Minorities Development Minister Arif (Naseem) Khan, who is also a vice president in the Maharashtra Congress, issued a release, claiming that Shiv Sena's vote for the Bill in the Lok Sabha had amounted to the flouting of the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) drawn up between the Sena, Congress and NCP in the state.

"In Maharashtra, the Congress supported the Shiv Sena and the NCP to form a government on the basis of the CMP for the sake of the state's development. But the manner in which the Shiv Sena voted

for the CAB without taking their coalition partners into confidence is unethical. It shows that the Shiv Sena has not followed the CMP and has indirectly backed the BJP. It should clarify its stance."

Congress's Rajya Sabha MP Hussain Dalwai, while pointing out that an editorial in *Saamana* on Monday had spoken out against the Bill, opined that the Sena should have walked out of the House or abstained from voting in the Lok Sabha.

With both the parties not on the same page, Sena leader Sanjay Raut had to do some troubleshooting. Raut, also a Rajya Sabha MP, was the first to articulate the party's altered stand on the issue. "It's an evolving situation." Later Thackeray clarified the party's stand over the vote in Rajya Sabha. But before doing that, sources confirmed that he had a word with NCP president Sharad Pawar over the matter.

Referring to the debate in Lok Sabha over the Bill, Mumbai Congress leader Sanjay Nirupam tweeted, "It is an eye-opener for those who are having illusions that the Shiv Sena after joining hands with Congress has become secular," he tweeted.

## Oppn, BJP continue war of words on Bill

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE WAR of words between the Opposition and BJP over the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill intensified on the eve of the legislation seeking to clear the Rajya Sabha on Wednesday.

"Anyone who supports it is attempting to destroy the foundation of the country," Congress MP Rahul Gandhi tweeted. "It is an attack on the Indian Constitution".

BJP leaders voiced their support for the Bill through the day. Union minister Piyush Goyal said at an event, "But the Congress for one person's personal interest, because he was not willing to sacrifice the position of PM, partitioned the country on the basis of religion. In 1947, it was the Congress that divided the country into two parts. It partitioned India on the basis of religion."

Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra said "India's trust with bigotry and narrow-minded exclusion" was confirmed with the Bill being passed in the Lok Sabha at midnight.

Randeep Surjewala, Congress' chief spokesperson, described the CAB as anathema to India's constitutional democracy. "It's an attack on soul of India. 72 years earlier, India was partitioned by the British, Savarkar's and jinnah's



Rahul Gandhi Sitaram Yechury

sinister thought and approach. Descendants of the philosophy seek to partition our foundational values once again," he tweeted.

Goyal said the government was justified in bringing the Bill as minorities had been persecuted in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. "We have brought the Bill to make their life better. We are not saying we will not give citizenship to others," he said.

The CPI(M) also slammed the Centre over the CAB. "By doing this, they want to sharpen communal polarisation. They want to divide the people of India and convert our secular democratic republic into a Hindutva Rashtra," CPI(M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury said.

Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan said in a statement, "India belongs to Indians of all kinds. Efforts to undermine this fact will only take our country backward..." **WITH ENDS THIRUVANANTHAPURAM**

## 'Don't betray Constitution, withdraw divisive CAB'

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

FROM LEADING writers to artists, historians to former judges, 625 persons brought together by the Indian Cultural Forum have described the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2019, as "divisive, discriminatory and unconstitutional", and demanded that the government withdraw it.

A statement issued by the Forum stated that the Bill will, "along with a nationwide NRC, bring untold suffering to people across the country".

"It will damage, fundamentally and irreparably, the nature of the Indian republic. This is why we demand that the government withdraw the Bill. This is why we demand that the government not betray the Constitution," it said.

The signatories of the statement include writers Arundhati Roy, Amitav Ghosh, Githa Hariharan and Amit Chaudhuri; artists T M Krishna and Vivan Sundaram; filmpersons Aparna Sen and Anand Patwardhan; scholars Romila Thapar and Ramachandra Guha; and others from a cross-section of society including Justice (retd) A P Shah and Wajahat Habibullah.

## RJD endorses Tejashwi as CM nominee

**SANTOSH SINGH**  
PATNA, DECEMBER 10

THE RJD on Tuesday endorsed the candidature of Tejashwi Prasad Yadav, currently Leader of Opposition, as the party's CM nominee for 2020 Assembly polls.

The two-day national convention of the RJD — which concluded on Tuesday — also hailed the election of senior leader Jagdanand Singh as state party president and re-election of Lalu Prasad as RJD national president.

Former health minister and Tejashwi's elder brother Tej Pratap Yadav said he was committed to see his 'Arjuna' take the Bihar crown.

Tejashwi targeted Bihar CM Nitish Kumar over the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB). "I will no longer call him uncle. He is Chief Minister and I will address him by his designation... We are surprised at how he has changed his stance on the CAB," he said.

He cautioned party leaders against Nitish's possible attempts to "divide RJD". "I have heard about JD(U) contacting some of our leaders. You should be cautious," said Tejashwi. He said that Nitish, unlike his father Lalu, had been "unforgiving".

## JOB QUOTA FOR LOCALS, PENSION HIKE MAY FACE HURDLES

# On JJP's poll promises, Khattar govt looks at 'middle path'

**VARINDER BHATIA**  
CHANDIGARH, DECEMBER 10

THE TWO top poll promises of the Jannayak Janta Party (JJP), a BJP ally led by Haryana's Deputy CM Dushyant Chautala, may not be easy for the state government to implement. Top sources in the government told *The Indian Express* that both proposals — 75 per cent reservation for Haryanvis in private establishments and Rs 5,100 monthly old age pension — prima facie appear neither legally tenable nor financially viable.

While the government is looking into the legal and financial implications of both the poll promises, made exclusively by the JJP, it seems keen on finding a "middle way" by way of which a "preference" may be given to Haryanvis in industrial establishments that are receiving grant/subsidy or any other concessions.

Haryana's Home Minister Anil Vij is chairman of the panel entrusted with the responsibility to form the Common Minimum Programme (CMP) document, which has to be drafted pulling out "common promises" from the manifestos of both the JJP and the BJP. Once

## EXPLAINED Walking a tightrope

MORE THAN the feasibility, it is the willingness to implement a poll promise. Considering the way the BJP had been bending over backwards to accept JJP's demands, the party is now exploring options so that they modify these demands a bit in a manner that it suits both. Financial experts say that the feasibility can be created. But it can only be done, if the government is willing to cut down on other financial aspects, including development expenditure, to meet their socialist promises.

approved, the CMP document will act as a vision document for the BJP-JJP alliance government in Haryana for the remaining duration of their tenure.

"I have written to the Advocate General and Finance Department to examine these

two things (old age pension and 75 per cent reservation) and asked both the offices to give their opinion. On face of it, neither of the two proposals appear feasible, in the form these are being demanded. Yet, we will wait for the final reports from both the departments and then act accordingly," Anil Vij said.

Haryana's Advocate General, B R Mahajan said, "The government has sent the file to me. I am examining it."

About the 75 per cent reservation for Haryanvis in private establishments, a senior officer said that "granting a blanket reservation in jobs is not legally tenable". "At best, a preference can be given to the state's own population, but refusing a job to anybody just because he is an outsider will be a violation of the fundamental rights... Yet it needs to be legally examined."

The BJP government, in its first tenure, could barely increase the monthly old age pension from Rs 1,000 in 2014 to Rs 2,000 in 2019. "The monthly pension at Rs 5,100 per month... will cost the state exchequer annually a whopping Rs 9,256.10 crore," a senior officer said. **FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com**



## The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

# Instant injustice

Encounters, like the one in Telangana, call attention to a criminal justice system in need of urgent reform



MADAN B LOKUR

THE CHIEF JUSTICE of India (CJI) said in his speech on Law Day, November 26, 1985 that, "I am pained to observe that the judicial system in the country is almost on the verge of collapse. These are strong words I am using but it is with considerable anguish that I say so. Our judicial system is creaking under the weight of arrears" (Chief Justice PN Bhagwati).

Can we be brutally frank today and admit that the criminal justice system (not the entire judicial system) has collapsed, or is it still on the precipice?

"Fair is foul and foul is fair: Hover through the fog and filthy air," said one of the witches in Macbeth. In the celebrations and furore following the recent encounter in Telangana, the Uttar Pradesh police announced that in the last two years they have killed 103 criminals (extra-judicially perhaps) and injured 1,859 in 5,178 engagements. Over this period, instead of remaining on bail, as many as 17,745 criminals have voluntarily had their bail cancelled or have surrendered, apparently fearing death in an engagement, echoing the words of a former CJI suggesting to an accused that he would be safer in jail.

What do encounters achieve other than the death of fellow humans masquerading as instant justice? The report of Justice V K Agarwal on the Sarkeguda massacre of June 2012 in Chhattisgarh is a shocking example of innocents being slaughtered on an extra-judicial assessment of guilt for a crime not even committed. The trigger-happy personnel of the security forces may be prosecuted but will they ever be punished? It's unlikely because of the time lag. How about the death of 103 criminals in Uttar Pradesh? Will we ever know the truth about these extra-judicial killings? Again, it's unlikely, though for different reasons.

While these examples seem to raise

questions of instant justice, they actually raise questions of instant injustice. We need to recognise this dividing line and must also not forget that our society is governed by the rule of law and a progressive Constitution where everyone is presumed innocent (not is innocent) until proven guilty through a fair trial. This was the basis of Ajmal Kasab's trial, who could also have been despatched in an encounter without any furore and amidst celebrations, but our Constitution did not allow that to happen.

What has changed since then and how can we resuscitate or resurrect our criminal justice system? First, let us appreciate the problem. As per the National Judicial Data Grid, more than 20 lakh criminal cases are pending for more than 10 years in the district courts and high courts. The report of the National Crime Records Bureau (2017) informs us that 1.27 lakh cases of rape are pending in the courts at various stages, with 1,840 of them pending for more than 10 years. The NCRB says that more than 30,000 cases of rape were registered in that year. In other words, a rape was committed every 15 minutes in 2017, almost unnoticed. Assuming no dramatic improvement, when will the more than 90 women statistically and tragically likely to be raped today see justice? Justice delayed is not only justice denied but injustice perpetuated.

They say that prevention is better than cure. If so, what have the state governments done to prevent (to the extent possible) crimes against women? Over the last five years, utilisation of amounts released by the Ministry of Home Affairs for the Nirbhaya fund projects is only to the extent of 9 per cent and in Maharashtra, it is 0 per cent. Similarly, funds released by the Ministry of Women and Child Development have been utilised only to the extent of 20 per cent and

in Madhya Pradesh, it is 0 per cent. Thereby hangs a tale for women's safety.

If the law is an ass, the legislature must change it to make it more effective — widening definitions and making punishments more stringent are not the answer — procedural changes are required. Infrastructure for the courts? In 2012, the then CJI was deeply concerned about the non-availability of infrastructure for the courts and had expressed his unhappiness at the slow progress. He eventually gave up and his concerns have been tragically forgotten. Filling up of vacancies of judges in the courts? Who will address it — the judges or the executive — and when?

The problems are many, but so are the solutions. All stakeholders must keep their eyes wide open, identify all the problems and demonstrate a will to resolve the issues, both for women and children and the courts. Reliance on anecdotal or experiential evidence for ad hoc solutions is passé. What is essential (for cases of rape, for example) is a study of each pending case as also a study of the requirements of each court before any realistic solution is proffered. While this task will require an enormous effort, it needs to be carried out as a mission mode project in public interest.

Is the judiciary up to such a scrutiny? The National Judicial Academy demonstrated in a regional conference in Delhi that delays are endemic and go to such an extent that in a criminal case, the trial court granted a staggering 94 adjournments! We need to set the alarm clock to wake us up now and cancel the snooze button, otherwise we will continue to witness the sufferings of women followed by examples of instant injustice.

The writer retired as a justice of the Supreme Court of India

## A DIMMING CONFIDENCE

Plummeting inflows into equity mutual funds signal investor uncertainty over growth prospects

THE SHARP FALL in inflows into equity mutual funds signals a shift of mood within the investor community in India. These inflows plummeted to Rs 1,312 crore in November — the lowest levels since June 2016 — according to latest data from the Association of Mutual Funds in India (AMFI). That this fall has taken place despite the Sensex hitting a record high, and foreign investors pumping around Rs 20,000 crore into the stock market during this period, seems to reinforce the view that sentiment in India has been badly hit. It suggests that investors are voting with their feet, and is in line with the findings of the Reserve Bank of India's (RBI) consumer confidence survey which reveals that sentiment on the general economic situation and the employment scenario in the country weakened further in November.

For some time now, there has seemingly been a growing disconnect between the stock indices and the broader economy. While economic growth has fallen precipitously, the Sensex has scaled new heights. But a closer look at the market suggests that the rally was largely driven by a few stocks, reflecting the fact that investors were shifting to high quality stocks at any price. In fact, while returns in the large cap category have been around 12 per cent over the past year, they were much lower for the small and mid-caps, reflecting the pain in the larger economy. The fall in inflows in November could be indicative of a reassessment by market participants of the growth trajectory. India's economic growth has fallen from 8 per cent in the first quarter of 2018-19 to 4.5 per cent in the second quarter of 2019-20. The fall in nominal growth to 6.1 per cent is particularly disconcerting, as it would mean lower sales and profit growth for companies. With growth prospects likely to remain uncertain for the foreseeable future, cuts in earnings per share are likely to continue, further depressing sentiment.

The only silver lining in the data seems to be that inflows, channeled through systematic investment plans (SIPs), remained stable, rising marginally to Rs 8,272 crore, up by Rs 27 crore last month, with the total number of SIP accounts increasing to 2.94 crore. Yet, if concerns over the country's growth prospects deepen further, these inflows are unlikely to hold up. Markets are forward looking. And with the Monetary Policy committee (MPC) deciding against cutting rates further, they will now be eying the upcoming Union Budget in February for measures to shore up the economy. The finance minister cannot afford to ignore the great expectations. A comprehensive reform package is needed to revive both business and consumer confidence.

## HELSINKI'S DIFFERENT

Finland's new government will not be led by a wilful man in a hurry to wield absolute power absolutely

THE DREARINESS OF the global political landscape, dominated by ageing, distinguished gentlemen who are not distinguishably gentle in their ways, is alleviated by the election of Social Democrat Sanna Marin as prime minister of Finland. She will head a five-party coalition government in which 12 out of 18 cabinet berths are expected to go to women, leaving little elbow room for men with long heads and deep purposes. A coalition with a distributed power structure is also a refreshing reminder to electorates which have become recklessly appreciative of strong men who command the allegiance of overwhelming majorities that all the people are not comfortable with absolute power all the time.

Marin is the world's youngest prime minister at 34, which is five years younger than New Zealand's Jacinda Ardern, who earned global admiration for her handling of hate crime. In a depressing contrast, about 1,000 miles from Helsinki, in London, another prime minister will be elected this week. He will be a man of either 70 or 55 winters, depending on whether Labour or the Conservatives prevail. Also, Marin is the first person in her family with a university education. She represents the demographic dividend which is endlessly talked up, but generally does not get sufficient opportunity, or the education to do justice to it. She is also the child of same-sex parents in what she has described as a rainbow family. In the world's biggest democracies, such a candidate would have sunk without a trace, leaving not a political ripple behind. She would have ticked all the wrong boxes and raised a tsunami of prejudice.

Coalitions in which a single party does not wield near-absolute power are often derided for being unable to just get the job done, since they have to accommodate the priorities of their constituent partners. It is not fully appreciated that a coalition, by diluting power, also offers built-in checks and balances — one of the fundamental mechanisms of democracy, which prevents a single party from amplifying majoritarian prejudices. Also, while it cannot be assumed that power wielded by women is intrinsically less dangerous than power in the hands of men, a government in which women are numerically superior does harbour the possibilities of new priorities and will perhaps innovate processes. In a political landscape dominated by wilful men in a hurry, it offers a glimmer of a promising alternative.

## NOW YOU SEE RUSSIA

... and now you don't. But is the WADA ban the denouement, or a token rap on mittened knuckles?

SPORTS' EQUIVALENTS OF 007s, the righteous athletes from the UK and US, must've celebrated, oh so briefly, the banning of their favourite whipping boys, the Russians. Such has been the frenzied outrage at the dope taint on the sporting superpower of the erstwhile eastern bloc, that World Anti Doping Agency's ruling to purge the 2020 FIFA World Cup and Olympics of Russian presence started a small hurrah across Twitter. Only for the fine print to collapse the Mexican wave of cheer before it crossed the Atlantic and it became apparent that the Russians could fetch up anyway if they could prove they were clean to their federations. Which ought to have been exactly what happened at all previous Olympic editions, but WADA can't quite be sure. That, in a nutshell, means that the Olympics, World Cup and other events might not have Russia but they certainly will have Russians.

WADA, with the ever generous and hospitable Americans, managed to whisk away a whistleblower and get the lid off the Russian doping programme five years ago. But the Russians brazenly tampered readings in computer files, muddying waters. For the sake of fairness, WADA has allowed the "clean" Russian athletes to compete. So, expect the glorious Olgas, Marias, Alexeys, Antons, Tatanas, Yulias and Aleksanders to match the 56 medals that athletes from the Country That Must Not Be Named (CTMNB) won last time. And don't be surprised if Vova Putin keeps count of those CTMNB medals and chuckles away, cackling about the unfairness of the west with a wink.

Like Babushka dolls, Russia is stuck with the reputation of compulsive doping ever since the days of Cold War intrigue, and the 2020 ban is considered the denouement, though it feels like a token rap on mittened knuckles. For the Russians who'll be there in Tokyo, but not quite, it's slipping into yet another script, this time Roald Dahl channelling Ian Fleming in "You Only Live Twice."

## GLOW IN THE GATHERING GLOOM

JNU protests uphold public morality at a time when it's being undermined



JANAKI NAIR

THERE IS AN awe-inspiring incandescence to the JNU students' struggle which has lit up many institutions in India and elsewhere, and shows no sign of abating immediately. At a time of rapidly waning visionary futures, what does this fierce glow promise us? How is the steadfastness of this student body — consisting of many in their first semester — to be understood, especially their commitment to something larger and greater than themselves, of which they themselves may have only a tenuous grasp?

The Indian public university has been a politicised space from its very founding. It both produced and challenged the obvious inequities of colonial rule. In the early 20th century, it began to be recognised as a space for the redressal of caste inequalities — as in measures that were pioneered, for example, by the Mysore State in 1918. From the 1920s at least, it became an important site of nationalist and revolutionary agitation. Bengal in the late 1960s and the Sampoorna Kranti movements of Bihar in the 1970s took anti-government, anti-state student mobilisation to a new height. Despite the raging anti-reservation stirs of 1990 and 2006, the university, today, is the site of hard won state-mandated equality.

The student movements of the pre-independence period were largely subordinated to the agendas of larger nationalist or communist parties, and were not necessarily engaged in intergenerational conflicts. Since Independence, there has been far greater engagement with university-related issues — hostels, fellowships, deprivation points, reservations, grading systems, fee hikes, and sometimes, though perhaps too rarely, course content.

Of late, there have been anti fee-hike agitations in institutions ranging from IIT Mumbai in 2017 to the Uttarakhand Ayurvedic University in October 2019. That they have not attained the high visibility of the JNU agitation is not so much because they were any less heroic, but because JNU enjoys hyper-visibility for simultaneously being the site of excellence — at least for the last 45 years — and exemplary inclusion.

The historic strike at the FTII in 2015 inaugurated a new phase of student movements — the students rose in defence of an idea of the institution and its unique place in Indian film history. FTII's reputation was brazenly undermined by the appointment of Gajendra Singh Chauhan as chairman and four others to the institution's council. Many of its illustrious alumni also then believed that such appointments only undid the professional heights that this institution had reached. By January 2016, Hyderabad Central University exploded in anger over the tragic suicide of Rohith Vemula, and protests broke out throughout the country in support of another view of the public university, its achievements and also its injustices. The JNU events of 2016 saw yet another shift of gear: While students were upholding their right to question the state, and its actions, much like the Sampoorna Kranti agitations of the 1970s, the institution was quickly daubed a different colour and dissent was declared unpatriotic. Since then, we have witnessed something like a war, between the idea of the university as a precious "gift of an interval", to cite Michael Oakeshott's memorable words, and the university as a cathedral, where unquestioning, militarised worship of the ethnised nation has taken root.

At the same time, the JNU events beginning in February 2016 provided a fortuitous escape for a ruling party on the edge of a precipice: It temporarily masked the workings of an unruly market economy logic that had seized hold of higher education. That logic had already intervened and reconstructed institutions of higher learning to produce academic credentialing on an unmatched scale — the capitation fee phenomenon, for example. That was the more benign form; the per-

nicious form reached its epitome in the industrial-scale cheating that was pioneered in Madhya Pradesh, where the BJP held office, and goes by the name of the Vyapam scam.

Of late, there have been anti fee-hike agitations in institutions ranging from IIT Mumbai in 2017 to the Uttarakhand Ayurvedic University in October 2019. That they have not attained the high visibility of the JNU agitation is not so much because they were any less heroic, but because JNU enjoys hyper-visibility for simultaneously being the site of excellence — at least for the last 45 years — and exemplary inclusion. The frontal attack on both of these cherished values will make way not just for a market logic to triumph in what may be a last bastion, but to reassert privileges — of caste, ethnicity and gender — that had been painstakingly dismantled. The EWS quota has already paved the way.

Is the determined student struggle at JNU looking back with nostalgia at a public university that was, or heralding the public university's new future? When the prospects of steady, well paid, or dignified work are so bleak, and when even those with academic credentials no longer harvest the same "returns" that might have been true even a decade ago, what can motivate the students to take such an unwearied stand? To make any hackneyed point about the dreams and revolutionary ardour of youth would be to dishonour the movement. What the JNU students have upheld is a reminder of the importance of public morality, at a time when it has been degraded beyond recognition in our republic's life. That is the precious glow we perceive in this gathering gloom.

The writer teaches history at JNU



## DECEMBER 11, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

ASSAM POLLS DELAYED THE ELECTION TO the Lok Sabha from 10 of the 14 constituencies in Assam stands postponed indefinitely, according to official sources. Reports received by the chief election commissioner from Assam's chief electoral officer indicate that no nomination papers could be filed for any of the 10 constituencies in the Brahmaputra valley. The state has been in the grip of tension following agitation by students and other organisations demanding postponement of the Lok Sabha poll till the names of illegal immigrants from across the border are eliminated from the electoral rolls. The agitators have successfully prevented filing of nomination papers in 10 constituencies.

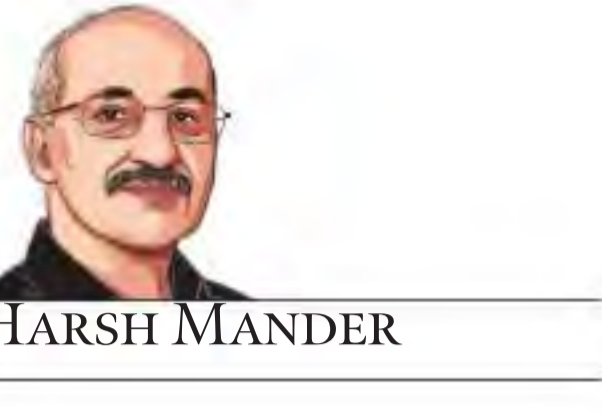
IAEA CONFERENCE THE WEEK-LONG 23rd general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) concluded in Delhi without resolving some of the important issues raised by the third-world countries. The issues which have been shelved till the next general conference include the resolution of the "Group of 77" third-world countries submitted to the IAEA's board of governors regarding the imbalances in the agency's technical assistance programme vis-a-vis the safeguard implementation and their demand for proportionate representation on the board of governors. The Group of 77 countries had also suggested in their resolution that, instead of being largely dependent on doles from rich coun-

tries, the technical assistance financing should be all from the IAEA's regular budget like the provision made for safeguards implementation and which the agency will be spending about \$19 million in 1980.

NOBEL FOR MOTHER MOTHER TERESA OF Calcutta's Catholic Missionaries of Charity order received her \$1,92,000 Nobel Peace Prize for 1979. She said she considered herself an unworthy winner, but accepted the prize cheque, the Nobel gold medal and diploma on behalf of the world's poorest of the poor. The 69-year-old nun is the first Indian citizen and first Yugoslavia-born peace prize laureate, accepted the prize from the committee Chairman.

# This land is mine

But can India refuse to own me? If Parliament passes the Citizenship Amendment Bill, India's constitutional structure, as we know it, will lose its soul



HARSH MANDER

DESPITE BEING UNDER constant siege, the edifice of India's Constitution has endured so far. The onslaught has intensified since the expanded mandate to the Narendra Modi government in May.

However, if Parliament passes the Citizenship Amendment Bill, India's constitutional structure will cave in. Make no mistake. The Constitution will not need to be rewritten. But, its soul will be annihilated. A new nation will emerge from its rubble — wrathful, muscular, majoritarian, and inhospitable to its minorities.

This Bill weighs upon tangled contestations of belonging and rights. Who belongs to India, and on what terms? And indeed, who does India belong to? A young Bengali-origin Assamese poet Kazi Neel lamented, "This land is mine. But I am not of this land". He loves India, but India refuses to own him.

Citizenship ultimately is the right to have rights. Who in this country should have rights, and from whom should these be withheld?

The answer to these fraught questions were settled within the humanist and inclusive framework of the Indian Constitution. Its iridescent central premise was that religious faith has no bearing on eligibility for Indian citizenship. India belongs equally to its Muslim, Christian and Parsi residents, as much as to its Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains.

Questions of belonging — and religion as politics — have torn India apart. The Muslim League regarded religion as the key to citizenship; therefore, India was not one but two nations — Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. V D Savarkar concurred. India's Constituent Assembly steadfastly rejected this idea that India belonged only to its Hindu majority. Jawaharlal Nehru declared, "We accept as Indian anyone who calls himself a citizen of India".

By introducing the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), the BJP-led government has deliberately reopened old wounds, reviving old fears, anxieties and hatred of Partition. This Bill, in effect, endorses the two-nation theory by creating a hierarchy of citizenship based on religious faith, excluding Muslims from this hierarchy.

The moral fig leaf offered is that it intends to provide refuge to people suffering religious persecution in neighbouring countries, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. If religious persecution was truly to become the yardstick for eligibility for Indian citizenship, then few neighbours are more tormented than the Ahmadiyas in Pakistan who face even death for worshipping in a mosque, the Rohingyas battling genocide in Myanmar, and the Uighurs held in internment camps in China.

Until 1987, to be eligible for Indian citizenship, it was sufficient for a person to be born in India. Then, spurred by the populist movements alleging massive illegal migrations from Bangladesh, citizenship laws were first amended to additionally require that at least one parent should be Indian. In 2004, the law was further amended to prescribe that not just one parent be Indian; but the



CR Sasikumar

other should not be an illegal immigrant.

The unease of the BJP-led governments of India and Assam with the NRC is that a much larger number of Bengali-origin Hindus have been excluded from it than Muslims. If they are judged as illegal immigrants, not just they, but their offsprings would become illegal because of the 2004 amendment. The CAB alone can rescue the BJP from this political conundrum. It will treat Bengali Hindus as refugees, and only the Bengali-origin Muslims and all their later generations would become illegal, even if they were born in India and know no other country as their home.

Treating Bengali-origin Hindus, excluded from the Assam NRC, as persecuted refugees from Bangladesh, however, will require multiple extraordinary leaps of official faith. Not one of these persons would have claimed in any official forum — the NRC offices, Foreigners' Tribunals or police stations — that they are illegal Bangladeshi immigrants. They would have strenuously tried to establish exactly the opposite. But after the CAB, to secure Indian citizenship, they would have to claim to be foreigners to become eligible for Indian citizenship. There will also be questions of evidence. How will they prove that they were citizens of neighbouring countries and that they were persecuted? The truth is that most had not crossed any border, but were unable to produce documents which satisfied officials that they were Indian citizens.

The CAB is the harbinger of a national NRC. By passing the CAB, effectively, the government is clearly messaging that if people of any identity except Muslims are unable to produce the required documents, they will be accepted as refugees and given citizenship. This means that the real burden to prove that they are Indian citizens of the national NRC after CAB is only thrust on Muslims, because only they will risk statelessness. Most Indians would find it impossible to muster the required documents to

prove their citizenship, but only documentless Muslims will face the prospect of detention centres, or being stripped of all citizenship rights.

And then, since this imagination of citizenship is all vested in documents, which documents will prove my religion? At present, it is only one's own declaration during the decadal census which is the official evidence of one's religious persuasion. I can be born into a religion, and can reject it when I am an adult. I can be born to parents who claim no religion. But if religion becomes the principal fulcrum of whether or not one is a citizen, then which document will the state rely upon to decide if I am a refugee or should be thrown into a detention centre?

For a republic built on guarantees of equality and non-discrimination on the basis of religion, creating a class of potentially stateless persons exclusively because of their religious identity would mark decisively the demise of India as a secular republic. The responsibility for this catastrophic collapse of the edifice of our constitution would be shared by a political opposition emptied out of its moral and political convictions.

The CAB-NRC poses the gravest threat to India's secular democratic constitution since India became a republic, and must be fought with a nation-wide civil disobedience movement. The contours of this struggle need to be worked out by We the People.

But, I have decided on my form of civil disobedience. If the CAB is passed, I will, in solidarity with those whose citizenship alone will be contested, first declare myself to be Muslim. When the national NRC is organised, I will boycott it, and refuse to produce any documents. I will then demand that I be given the same punishment to which my undocumented Muslim sisters and brothers will be subjected, be it detention or the extinguishing of my citizenship rights.

other should not be an illegal immigrant.

The CAB is the harbinger of a national NRC. By passing the CAB, effectively, the government is clearly messaging that if people of any identity except Muslims are unable to produce the required documents, they will be accepted as refugees and given citizenship. This means that the real burden to prove that they are Indian citizens of the national NRC after CAB is only thrust on Muslims, because only they will risk statelessness.

mediately after Partition and again during the Indira-Mujib Pact in 1972 when India had agreed to absorb over 1.2 million refugees. It is a historical fact that on both the occasions, it was only the Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians who had come over to our side. Far from being anti-secular, Indian citizenship was a commitment given by our leaders to the minorities. That is precisely what the Narendra Modi government is fulfilling now.

India has several other refugees that include Tamils from Sri Lanka and Hindu Rohingyas from Myanmar. They are not covered under this Act. Similarly, the Nepalese and others from neighbouring countries are guided either by bilateral agreements or the citizenship laws of our country.

Concerns of some sections in the Northeast have also been adequately addressed by excluding Schedule VI areas and the Inner Line Permit-restricted areas from the purview of the Bill. The CAB is a law applicable to the entire country. The government will make sure that no state shall face any adverse impact on its demography, culture, language and customs.

In its two millennia-long history, India has always welcomed persecuted minorities, like the Parsis, Jews and others, from wherever they came. The CAB is a continuation of that national tradition.

Mander is a human rights worker and writer

## WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"America might be in a hurry to get out of Afghanistan, but a final settlement needs to be hammered out between the Taliban, the Kabul government as well as other Afghan political players, and should not be imposed by external powers." — DAWN

# Betrayal of the republic

Religious basis of citizenship would be a negation of secularism, liberalism, equality and justice



FAIZAN MUSTAFA

THE YEAR WAS 2013. I was travelling in China, when a taxi driver there posed a question to me: Why are there so few Buddhists in India? The fact is we did persecute Buddhists in India. Religious persecution has always been there and all religions are guilty of it. The Narendra Modi government is, therefore, right in recognising religious persecution. But the solution it presents to the problem is not only unconstitutional but dangerous. It will surely damage India's standing in the comity of nations.

The Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB) is more in tune with the Israeli law of return that treats Israel as the natural home of all Jews. Ideally, we should say anyone persecuted anywhere in the world, on the ground of religion or political opinion, would be welcome in India.

Shared identity is at the core of citizenship. The framers of our Constitution and those who enacted the Citizenship Act in 1955 believed in citizenship as a unifying idea. Today, citizenship is being used to divide people and treat people of certain religious persuasion as inferior. The majoritarian politics is divisive as it distinguishes Indic faiths from those that originated outside India and says the latter cannot have any sacred places of worship in India. Now, through the CAB, we are creating divisions between Abrahamic religions by including Christians in the Bill but excluding Jews and Muslims. The Bill also ignores atheists.

Articles 5 to 11 of the Constitution give details of various categories of persons who are entitled to citizenship. Article 11 empowers Parliament to regulate citizenship and the Citizenship Act was passed in 1955. This does not mean that Parliament, through an ordinary law, can destroy the fundamental values or the basic structure of the Constitution. The religious basis of citizenship would be a negation not only of secularism but also of liberalism, equality and justice. Interestingly, neither the Constitution nor the Citizenship Act define the term "citizen".

The citizenship law was amended in 1986 due to the Assam Accord and in 2003, because of the BJP's opposition to illegal migrants. Unlike the original Citizenship Act that gave citizenship on the principle of *ius soli* (everyone born in India), the 1986 amendment was less inclusive as it added the condition that in addition to one's own birth in India, one can get citizenship only if either of the applicant's parents happened to be an Indian citizen at the time of birth. The 2003 amendment by the Vajpayee government made the law even more stringent. Now, the law requires that in addition to the fact of birth, either both the parents should be Indian citizens or one parent has to be an Indian citizen and the other not an illegal migrant.

The Assam NRC has busted the narrative of several million Bangladeshis illegally staying in India. Rs 1,600 crore was spent on the

NRC, which brought Assam to a standstill for five years. BJP leader Himanta Biswa Sarma has rejected the final NRC and wants it to be undertaken again with the national NRC. It seems most of the 1.9 million excluded from the NRC are non-Muslims. Clearly, the CAB is nothing but a face-saver for the BJP. But like the flawed NRC, it too is not going to give the desired results, either in terms of deportation or denial of citizenship to one particular community. Moreover, the CAB will put even non-Muslim citizens under severe hardship as those who were till now asserting that they are Indian citizens will now have to prove that they, in fact, came from these three countries.

The CAB is against five of the BJP's primary positions. First, the BJP manifesto for the 2016 Assam assembly election had promised honouring the Assam Accord in letter and spirit. Second, it had been advocating that the cut-off date should be July 19, 1948 not March 25, 1971. The new Bill has brought forward the cut-off date to December 31, 2014. Third, though the BJP has been using all kinds of adjectives against illegal migrants, the CAB deems such illegal migrants as citizens and abates all proceedings against them under the Foreigners' Act, 1946. Fourth, the argument that refugees or illegal migrants are a burden on national resources does not stand any longer. Fifth, the Statement of Objects & Reasons to the Bill takes strong exception of a "particular religion" being declared as state religion in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Does that mean the Hindu right no longer wants to make India a Hindu rashttra?

The CAB is in the teeth of Article 14, which not only demands reasonable classification and a rational and just object to be achieved for any classification to be valid, but additionally requires every such classification to be non-arbitrary. The Bill is an instance of class legislation, as classification on the ground of religion is not permissible. Neither is religious persecution the monopoly of three countries nor is such persecution confined to non-Muslims. Religious persecution is rampant in China and Myanmar. Several Muslim groups such as Hazaras in Afghanistan and Shias in Pakistan too face persecution. The Supreme Court in *EP Royappa* (1973) observed that "equality is a dynamic concept with many aspects and dimensions and it cannot be 'cribbed, cabined and confined' within the traditional and doctrinaire limits. From the positivistic point of view, equality is antithetic to arbitrariness. In fact, equality and arbitrariness are sworn enemies. Where an act is arbitrary, it is implicit that it is unequal both according to political logic and constitutional law and is therefore violative of Article 14".

Finally, if those who support the CAB think the Bill would be able to take away the citizenship of billions of Muslims, they are wrong: The CAB would apply to only Muslims who have migrated from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. Moreover, citizenship once conferred cannot be retrospectively revoked.

The Bill is unnecessary. If we care for refugees, India should sign the Refugee Convention and make illegal migrants eligible for citizenship.

The writer is vice chancellor, NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad. Views are personal



RAM MADHAV

# A law that includes

Citizenship Bill continues long tradition of welcoming persecuted minorities

FIRST THINGS FIRST. The Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB) is not about excluding anybody; it is about including some. It is an effort to grant citizenship to those minorities from erstwhile Pakistan — that now includes Pakistan and Bangladesh — and Afghanistan, who have come to India seeking refuge from religious persecution or the fear of it. The first time such refugees were included was immediately after Partition in the first census, which was also regarded as the National Register of Citizens.

Let's remember that every time such refugees come to India and claim citizenship, the government has been issuing citizenship to them after the due process. There are a number of instances of religious minorities from these three countries coming over to India on religious visas and deciding to stay back because of the dangerous situations that existed back home. They include Sikhs from Afghanistan, Sindhis and SCs from Pakistan and Bengalis and tribals from Bangladesh. What the government intends to do through the proposed CAB is simplify the process of granting of citizenship to these minorities. Earlier, there was a 12-year wait under the regular citizenship laws. The new Bill reduces that period to five years. A minority citizen from these three countries, who turns to India seeking citizenship, will become eligible for the same provided he or she has entered India before December 31, 2014 and has lived here for at least five years.

Unfortunately, the debate on the Bill has been distorted by the Opposition, citing erroneous arguments like the violation of Article 14 and the principle of secularism. Granting citizenship to sections of the population is a regular process. During the liberation war of Bangladesh, lakhs of Hindus and other minorities had poured into India. This migration was no smaller than at the time of Partition. A majority of them had come to states like Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Camps were created for such migrants and special efforts were made to provide citizenship to them by the government at the time. There are a good number of such Bangladeshi immigrants in these three states who had secured citizenship documents at that time. Nobody called it a violation of Article 14. Similar facilities were extended to persecuted Indians from Uganda during Idi Amin's rule and then, too, nobody had demanded that in order to be secular we should extend citizenship to Ugandans.

Home Minister Amit Shah's invoking of Partition has an important historical bearing on the issue. We can't shut our eyes to the fact that India was partitioned on religious lines and large-scale communal violence erupted as a result. Between 1947 and 1950, millions crossed over to either side. They all became citizens of the respective countries.

But then, it came to the knowledge of the authorities that even after 1950, the migration was continuing into the Northeast for reasons that were not necessarily Partition-re-

lated. It was then that the Jawaharlal Nehru government promulgated The Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950. The Act stated that the government would deport those immigrants who had entered Assam illegally and whose presence was considered detrimental to the interests of Assam and India. When the question of minorities was brought to Nehru's attention, he exempted all of them from the 1950 Act. The relevant portion of the 1950 Act states: "Provided that nothing in this section shall apply to any person who on account of civil disturbances or the fear of such disturbances in any area now forming part of Pakistan has been displaced from or has left his place of residence in such area and who has been subsequently residing in Assam." Nehru was categorical that the Act wouldn't apply to minority immigrants like Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Sikhs.

The proposed Bill is a continuation of that unfinished agenda. It has become necessary that the issue of the illegal immigrants be addressed in one go, as their numbers have swelled to millions in the last several decades. This Bill will come as a big boon to all those hapless people who have been the victims of Partition and the subsequent conversion of the three countries into theocratic Islamic republics.

Arguing that the Bill is anti-secular is spurious. After Independence, not once but twice, we conceded that the minorities in our neighbourhood were our responsibility. First, im-

mediately after Partition and again during the Indira-Mujib Pact in 1972 when India had agreed to absorb over 1.2 million refugees. It is a historical fact that on both the occasions, it was only the Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians who had come over to our side. Far from being anti-secular, Indian citizenship was a commitment given by our leaders to the minorities. That is precisely what the Narendra Modi government is fulfilling now.

India has several other refugees that include Tamils from Sri Lanka and Hindu Rohingyas from Myanmar. They are not covered under this Act. Similarly, the Nepalese and others from neighbouring countries are guided either by bilateral agreements or the citizenship laws of our country.

Concerns of some sections in the Northeast have also been adequately addressed by excluding Schedule VI areas and the Inner Line Permit-restricted areas from the purview of the Bill. The CAB is a law applicable to the entire country. The government will make sure that no state shall face any adverse impact on its demography, culture, language and customs.

In its two millennia-long history, India has always welcomed persecuted minorities, like the Parsis, Jews and others, from wherever they came. The CAB is a continuation of that national tradition.

The writer is national general secretary, BJP and director, India Foundation

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### APATHETIC BODIES

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Put out the fire' (IE, December 10). It was sad to see the ill-fated building turning into a gas chamber and hapless workers choked to death. The key cause of such unregulated and unregistered units flourishing under the nose of the authorities are their economic viability. Setting up a unit in commercial areas means high rents and the onerous task of securing NoCs from venal agencies. In a country where 22 per cent of people are below the poverty line and many face hunger daily, people perishing in such devastating fires does not move the apathetic authorities and the indigent worker's fate is fixed.

Deepak Singhal, Chennai

### THANKS AMBEDKAR

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Ambedkar and I' (IE, December 10). Like the writer's, my parents changed my surname to hide my Dalit identity. They were trying to shield me from the discrimination they suffered. For many years, I struggled with my identity but Babasaheb helped me understand my roots. His life and books educated me about his legacy and filled me with positive attitude about my caste.

Anshul Choudhary, Agra

### SUU KYI'S SURPRISE

THIS REFERS TO the editorial 'Moment of reckoning' (IE, December 10). When

### 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](mailto:editpage@expressindia.com) or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301.

Aung San Suu Kyi announced that she would personally defend Myanmar against accusations of genocide at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague this week, it came as an enormous shock. Myanmar has steadfastly ignored UN reports alleging that since 2017, its army has raped, murdered and tortured the Rohingyas, driving more than 7,40,000 to flee to neighbouring Bangladesh. Technically, Suu Kyi, the de facto leader of Myanmar, is going in her capacity as foreign minister. But the world will recall her as the heroine who won the Nobel peace prize in 1991 in recognition of her dogged resistance to a military junta.

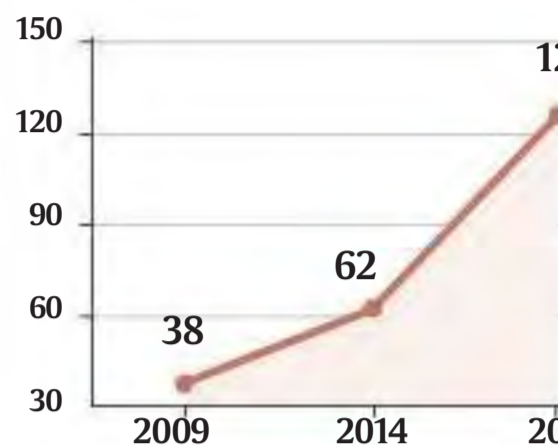
Sanjay Chopra, Mohali

## TELLING NUMBERS

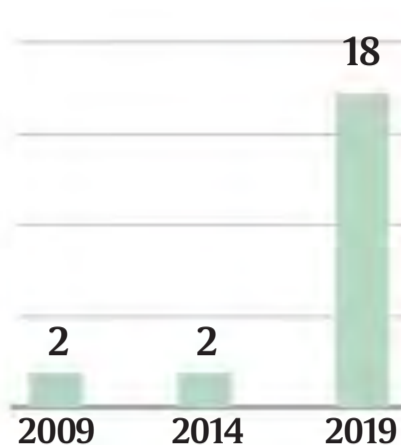
### Rising trend in number of MPs, MLAs and candidates who face cases of crime against women

#### DECLARED CASES OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN

##### LOKSABHA CANDIDATES



##### LOKSABHA MPs



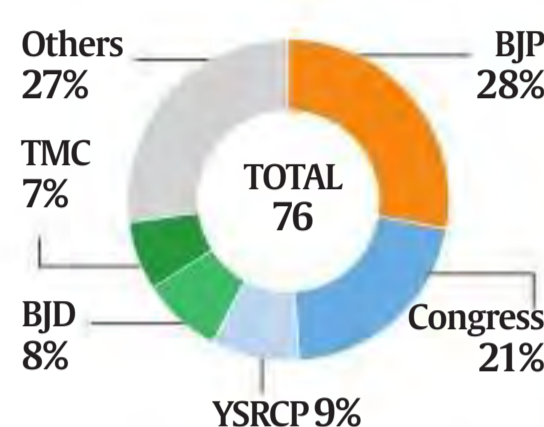
BETWEEN 2009 and 2019, there has been an increase of 231% in the number of candidates with declared cases of crime against women contesting Lok Sabha elections. The number elected as MPs has increased 9 times, according to an analysis by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) and the National Election Watch.

For current MPs and MLAs, the ADR analysed 4,822 election affidavits (759 MPs and 4,063 MLAs) out of a total of 4,896 (776 MPs and 4,120 MLAs). It found that 76 MPs/MLAs had declared cases of crime against women. Of these, 18 are MPs and 58 are MLAs. Among candidates in MLA, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections in the last five years, 572 were found to have declared such cases; none of them has been convicted. Among them, 410 were given tickets by recognised political parties while the remaining 162 were independent candidates.

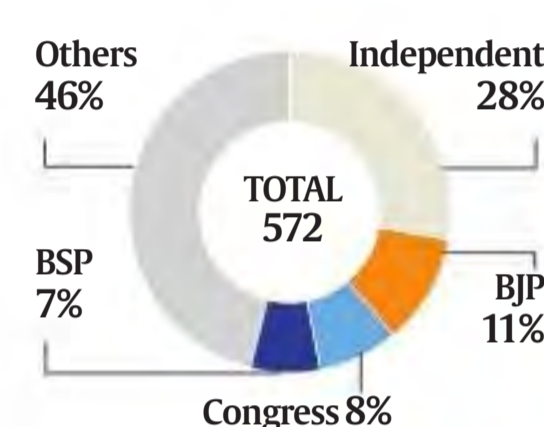
The BJP has 21 MPs/MLAs with cases relating to crimes against women, at 21, the ADR said. The BJP is followed by the Congress at 16, YSRCP at 7, BJD at 6 and Trinamool Congress at 5. In terms of candidates who declared such cases, the BJP fielded 66, followed by the Congress at 46, BSP at 40, CPI(M) at 15, and Shiv Sena and Samajwadi Party at 13 each.

The highest number of MPs/MLAs with declared cases of crime against women are in West Bengal (16), followed by Odisha and Maharashtra (12 each), Andhra Pradesh (8), Telangana (5) and Madhya Pradesh (3). Among candidates in the last five years, 84 facing such cases were fielded from Maharashtra, followed by Bihar (75), West Bengal (69), Uttar Pradesh (61), Odisha (52), Andhra Pradesh (33) and Karnataka (26).

#### MPs, MLAs FACING CASES OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN



#### MP, MLA CANDIDATES FACING CASES OF SUCH OFFENCES



In accounting for crime against women, the ADR counted cases of acid attack (IPC Sections 326A & 326B; rape (Sections 375, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D & 376E); outraging the modesty of a woman (Section 354A); sexual harassment (Section 354A); assault on women with intent to disrobe a woman (Section 354B); voyeurism (Section 354C); and stalking (Section 354D).

In the last five years, recognised political parties have given tickets to 41 candidates with declared cases of rape against them. Out of these, nine were elected, three of them as MPs and the other six as MLAs. In addition, 14 independent candidates had declared cases of rape against them.

Source for all data: ADR

## EXPERTS EXPLAIN

# The rising threat to Mumbai

A new study projects that in the absence of quick and significant action, Mumbai in 2050 will look much like what it did in 1700 — with the sea having reclaimed much of the landfill that the city has been built on

### MUMBAI'S PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE? MAPS OF THE CITY AND THE SEA IN 1700, 2019 AND 2050 (PROJECTED)



Map data: Mathur, Anuradha, and Dilip da Cunha, 2009: Soak: *Mumbai in an estuary*; 'Climate Central | Land Projected to be below Annual Flood Level in 2050': <https://coastal.climatecentral.org/>; Google Earth 2018, accessed on 18.11.2019. Maps: Sara Anand



NIKHIL ANAND & CAROLINE TERENS

ON OCTOBER 29, 2019, the journal *Nature* published an important paper identifying the dangers climate change poses specifically to Mumbai and other coastal cities.

The research, carried by many newspapers including *The Indian Express*, indicates that anthropogenic climate change will inundate significant sections of Mumbai by 2050. Unless the city takes significant action in the next three decades, the sea will reclaim much of the landfill that the city has been built on. As per this study, Mumbai in 2050 will look a lot like Mumbai in 1700, unless the city makes serious efforts to adapt to climate change.

Together with Guangzhou, Jakarta, Miami, and Manila, Mumbai now regularly appears on a list of cities endangered by climate change. As the cyclones battering coastlines near Mumbai and unseasonal, heavy rains indicate, climate change is not some event in the distant future. It is present. It is here.

Recent studies, published by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and in *Nature* by Lu and Flavelle in October 2019 indicate that its effects are more intensive than earlier models predicted.

For example, sea levels are rising significantly faster than were previously estimated. The *Special Report on the Ocean and*

*Cryosphere in a Changing Climate*, published last month by the IPCC, indicates that sea levels are significantly higher than were originally anticipated, and as such will have significant impacts on cities like Mumbai.

As city residents are very aware every monsoon, much of Mumbai is tenuous land made dry, just a few metres above sea level. The IPCC report warns Mumbai's planners and administrators and states that "in the absence of adaptation, more intense and frequent extreme sea level events, together with trends in coastal development will increase expected annual flood damages by 2-3 orders of magnitude by 2100."

The report points out, however, that "well-designed coastal protection" could both "reduce expected damages" and "be cost efficient for urban and densely populated... areas".

Despite the urgent need for adaptation and action in a vulnerable city like Mumbai, the city is ignoring climate adaptation programs and infrastructures in its development planning processes. Worse, Mumbai's ongoing infrastructure projects don't address climate change, and as such, may significantly worsen climate risks that its 19 million residents face.

Take, for example, the ways in which climate change is treated in Mumbai's new Coastal Road project, now stalled by the Bombay High Court. The project proposes the construction of a 29.2 km road on the western coast of Mumbai, that aims to mitigate "extreme traffic congestion" and "transport related pollution" in hopes of increasing productivity and quality of life for citizens. (Environmental Impact Assessment Report)

Much of the project is to be built on reclaimed land, even as project documents acknowledge that reclamation makes the city vulnerable to flooding. Further, our reading of the Coastal Road Detailed Project Report and

the Environmental Impact Assessment show that these studies significantly underestimate sea level rise, a key consideration for designing a road being built on reclaimed land.

For example, in its assessment of risks from sea level rise, the project uses data from the 20th century (the period between 1878 and 1993), which indicates an average sea level rise of 1.27 mm/year. (See Coastal Road Detailed Project Report p 47, EIA p 98.)

But the rate of sea level rise has more than doubled in India in just over a decade in line with global rates. Research conducted by Dr A S Unnikrishnan and his team at the National Institute of Oceanography in Goa has shown that sea level rise has increased to 3.2 mm/year in the period 1993-2012 (Unnikrishnan *et al* 2015).

The IPCC projects sea level rise to accelerate still further and faster in the coming years. If infrastructure is being designed for the future (and not for the past), then it remains unclear why planners do not use current and future projections that will more correctly estimate future climate risk in the design of urban infrastructure.

As we note flooding in Mumbai, elsewhere in Maharashtra, Kerala, and beyond, we ask, who would be held responsible for the catastrophes that may unfold in Mumbai when important climate data are ignored in the design of new infrastructure projects? And who will be held responsible for urban catastrophes that might ensue, when climate infrastructure and adaptation plans are never implemented in the city despite all evidence pointing to the need for urgent interventions?

Mumbai is in the midst of a climate emergency. While it is slow and difficult to perceive in the everyday, this emergency requires city administrators to rethink how Mumbai may be remade in and with rising

waters. These unprecedented times demand new imaginaries, designs, plans, and infrastructures, not the materialisation of failed ideas of the 20th century.

For instance, award winning landscape architects and planners Dilip da Cunha and Anuradha Mathur have shown that sea walls, river embankments, and reclamation do not always prevent inundation from intensified rains and rising seas. They instead magnify the risks of inundation. Water seeks its own level. While a wall might prevent inundation in one part of the city, it would exacerbate inundation in other parts. Managed wetlands provide water with a place to go, but are difficult to create. What might the Municipal Corporation do to make the city livable amidst a climate crisis?

Climate change is not just an environmental issue. It is a human issue and an urban issue that will dramatically affect every resident of Mumbai, particularly its urban poor. Mumbai's current priorities are misplaced. It is currently spending a large part of the city's "rainy day" corpus to construct a coastal road that few will use. Wouldn't it be wiser for the city to instead spend this money on mitigating the effects of actual rainier days, floods, and rising seas that already are a new normal in the city's climate changed future?

(Anand is Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. His research focuses on infrastructure, urbanism and environment. He is the author of *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai (2017) and The Promise of Infrastructure (2018)*. He is currently researching climate change, the sea, and the city. Terens is a Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology, specializing in Urban Studies)

## FACT CHECK, GROUND REALITY

# USCIRF, the Commission concerned over CAB: what are its functions?

SHUBHAJIT ROY  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

ON MONDAY, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) said it was "deeply troubled" by the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill in Lok Sabha, "given the religion criterion in the Bill", and recommended that "if the CAB passes in both Houses of Parliament, the US government should consider sanctions against the Home Minister and other principal leadership".

#### Who are the USCIRF?

The USCIRF is an advisory or a consultative body, which advises the US Congress and the administration on issues pertaining to international religious freedom. On its website, the USCIRF describes itself as an independent, bipartisan US federal government commission that was created by The International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA). "The broad-based coalition that advocated strongly for IRFA's enactment sought to elevate the fundamental human right of religious freedom as a central component of US foreign policy," the website says.

In practice, the USCIRF has little teeth in implementation, but acts as a conscience-keeper for the two branches in the US government — the legislature and the executive. It often takes maximalist or extreme positions, and has been used by civil society groups to put pressure on US Congress members and administration officials.

#### And what is the IRFA?

The International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 was passed by the 105th US Congress (1997-99) and signed into law by then President Bill Clinton on October 27, 1998. It is a statement of the US's concern over violations of religious freedoms overseas.

The full title of the Act reads: "An act to express United States foreign policy with respect to, and to strengthen United States advocacy on behalf of, individuals persecuted in foreign countries on account of religion; to authorize United States actions in response to violations of religious freedom in foreign countries; to establish an Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom within the Department of State, a Commission on International Religious Freedom, and a Special Adviser on International Religious Freedom within the National Security Council; and for other purposes."

#### What does the USCIRF do?

The USCIRF is mandated by US statute to "monitor the universal right to freedom of religion or belief abroad — not in the United States — using international standards to do so and makes policy recommendations to the President, Secretary of State, and Congress". "USCIRF Commissioners are appointed by the President and Congressional leaders of both political parties. While USCIRF is separate from the State Department, the Department's Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is a non-voting *ex officio* Commissioner. A professional, non-partisan staff supports USCIRF's work," according to



Protest against CAB by Assamese film personalities in Guwahati. *Dasarath Deka*

the commission's website.

The USCIRF's main responsibilities are:

- To issue an annual report by May 1 of each year, assessing the US government's implementation of IRFA. It recommends countries that the Secretary of State should designate as "Countries of Particular Concern" for engaging in or tolerating "systematic, ongoing, egregious violations of religious freedom"; documents conditions in about 30 countries; reports on significant trends; and makes recommendations for US policy.
- To engage Congress by working with

Congressional offices, advising on legislation, testifying at hearings, and holding briefings on religious freedom issues.

- To meet regularly with Executive Branch officials, including the Departments of State and Homeland Security, to share information, highlight situations of concern, and discuss USCIRF's recommendations for US policy.

**How does USCIRF define "freedom of religion or belief abroad"?**

On its website, the Commission says:

"Religious freedom is an important human right recognized in international law and treaties... The freedom of religion or belief is an expansive right that includes the freedoms of thought and conscience, and is intertwined with the freedoms of expression, association, and assembly. The promotion of this freedom is a necessary component of US foreign policy."

In its statement issued to "raise serious concerns and eye sanctions recommendations" in the aftermath of the passage of the CAB in Lok Sabha, the USCIRF said the Bill "enshrines a pathway to citizenship for immigrants that specifically excludes Muslims, setting a legal criterion for citizenship based on religion". The CAB, it said, "is a dangerous turn in the wrong direction; it runs counter to India's rich history of secular pluralism and the Indian Constitution, which guarantees equality before the law regardless of faith. In conjunction with the ongoing National Register of Citizens (NRC) process in Assam and nationwide NRC that the Home Minister seeks to propose, USCIRF fears that the Indian government is creating a religious test for Indian citizenship that would strip citizenship from millions of Muslims".

#### Has USCIRF raised issues relating to India in the past?

In August this year, USCIRF had issued a statement against the NRC in Assam and said that it creates a "negative and potentially dangerous climate for the Muslim community" in northeastern India. It had said that the updated NRC could be used to

disenfranchise Muslims in the region and is part of the government's ongoing efforts to introduce a "religious test" specifically aimed at clearing out Muslims.

In June this year, in response to mob lynching of Tabrez Ansari in Jharkhand in India, USCIRF Chair Tony Perkins had condemned the incident. "We condemn in the strongest terms this brutal murder, in which the perpetrators reportedly forced Ansari to say Hindu chants as they beat him for hours. Ansari later died from the injuries he suffered due to this horrific attack. We call on the Indian government to take concrete actions that will prevent this kind of violence and intimidation by a thorough investigation of Ansari's murder as well as the local police's handling of the case. Lack of accountability will only encourage those who believe they can target religious minorities with impunity," the USCIRF chair had said.

In July 2008, it had urged the US State Department to deny a tourist visa to then Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi, who had been invited to attend a conference in New Jersey. It had said that "Modi was previously denied entrance to the United States due to his role in riots that overtook the Indian state of Gujarat from February to May 2002 in which reportedly as many as 2,000 Muslims were killed, thousands raped, and over 200,000 displaced. Numerous reports, including reports of official bodies of the Government of India, have documented the role of Modi's state government in the planning and execution of the violence, and the failure to hold perpetrators accountable".

# 15 EXPRESS NETWORK



## NORTH Teacher blackens faces of students, parades them

**Chandigarh:** A teacher at a private school in Haryana's Hisar allegedly blackened the faces of six Class IV students and paraded them in classrooms, reportedly for scoring poorly in an English test. The incident that took place on Friday came to light after one of the students, who is a Dalit, informed her parents. Her parents told reporters that the family members went to the school to lodge a complaint, but the authorities failed to take action against the staff responsible. A complaint was then lodged with the police. A case under the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act and the SC/ST Act was registered against four persons. **ENS**



College students display the mobile app 'Kavalan SOS' (Police SOS) installed on their phones during its launch by Chennai Police on Tuesday. **PTI**

## EAST RTI activist shot dead in Odisha, probe on

**Bhubaneswar:** An RTI activist based in Odisha's Kandhamal district was shot dead Tuesday by two men on a bike, police said. Abhimanyu Panda was known for filing queries on activities of the Forest Department and road construction projects in the district. According to local residents, Panda was shot at around 7 am. He was rushed to the local Community Health Centre, where he was declared brought dead. Baliguda Inspector in-charge Prasanth Behera said the police did not have leads on the case, nor any information about the shooters. He said Panda received death threats about a year ago, but no formal complaints had been registered with police. **ENS**

## WEST Narcotics case: Sanjiv Bhatt moves HC seeking regular bail

**Ahmedabad:** Former IPS officer Sanjiv Bhatt moved the Gujarat High Court, seeking regular bail in a 1996 case where he is accused of framing a lawyer in a narcotics case. Bhatt was arrested in September 2018 after the HC directed the CID to probe the case, in which Sumer Singh Rajpurohit was booked for allegedly keeping 1.5 kg opium in 1996. Rajpurohit had filed a case against Bhatt, the then Banaskantha SP. Bhatt continues to be in judicial custody, lodged at a Palanpur jail in relation with his conviction of a 1990 case of custodial torture, and is serving his sentence of life imprisonment. The HC in October, had rejected his plea seeking the suspension of his sentence. **ENS**

## SOUTH Plea in HC seeks ramps across Tamil Nadu beaches

**Chennai:** The Madras High Court has issued a notice to authorities on a plea seeking improvement of ramp facilities at Chennai's Marina Beach besides a provision of such facilities across beaches in Tamil Nadu. The court issued notice to the Greater Chennai Corporation commissioner, Social Welfare Department secretary and PWD secretary, seeking their response within a week. The petitioner said he came to know that the ramp laid at Marina Beach on December 3, observed as International Day of Disabled Persons, was to be dismantled by the second week of December. He said he filed the plea as his representation to authorities evoked no response. **PTI**

## UP constable booked for 'sodomising' teen on police campus

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 10**  
A POLICE head constable was booked for allegedly sodomising a 14-year-old boy in his room on the premises of the police station he was posted at in Uttar Pradesh's Kasganj on December 6. The boy's father was detained at the police station on a complaint alleging illegal construction and the boy had gone to meet his father. The suspect is absconding. The case was lodged Monday after the boy's family approached the Kasganj SP Ghule Sushil Chandrabhan. The SP also suspended the head constable the same day. "Medical examination of the boy was done and the report said no injury was found on the body. His statement was recorded before the magistrate," said Additional Superintendent of Police, Kasganj, Pavitra Mohan Tripathi. As per the father's complaint, he visited the police station on December 6 to give him lunch. The head constable, who was at the police station, asked the boy to go to his room on the police station campus on the pretext of bringing something. "The complainant alleged that soon after the boy left, the head constable followed. He then overpowered the boy and sodomised him," said an officer. The boy went home and informed his family. "The boy's father was let off later in the day," the officer said.

## PLEA CHALLENGING ART 370 ABROGATION J&K voices not heard, petitioners tell SC

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10**

FORMER IAS officer Shah Faesal and activist Shehla Rashid on Monday told the Supreme Court that the "people of Jammu and Kashmir either through their legislature or through their voices in public were not heard" before the Centre abrogated Article 370 of the Constitution, granting special status to the state.

Senior advocate Raju Ramchandran, representing the petitioners, told a five-judge Constitution Bench headed by Justice N V Ramana that the language of Article 370 was clear — that any alteration could only have been at the instance of the people of the state. He took the Bench, also comprising Justices S K Kaul, R Subhash Reddy, B R Gavai and Surya Kant, through the Instrument of Accession signed by Maharaja Hari Singh, by which J&K ceded to the Indian Union on October 26, 1947.

For matters outside the Instrument, concurrence given by government has to be placed before the constituent Assembly of J&K, which means people of the state will have to approve of the arrangement, the counsel said. There is no arrangement for the Parliament to alter the arrangement, he pointed out.

The question, the counsel said, was whether the temporary cover of President's Rule, which is restorative and ameliorative in character, can be used to bring about irreversible change in a federal relationship between a state of the Union and the Union government, which includes altering the identity of a state altogether and splitting it into a Union Territory.

The move by the Centre was "unconstitutional and involved impermissible use of constitutional powers" and it was "exercised by disregarding the wishes of people of J&K", Ramchandran claimed.

The counsel said the preamble of the J&K Constitution says that the state is an integral part of the Indian Union.

"Legislature of J&K does not possess the constituent power to

alter the relationship between state and Union, which is vested only in the constituent Assembly," he said. "The sequitur of that is if the state legislature did not possess constituent power, then Parliament exercising the powers of the state legislature during the currency of Presidential Rule cannot have more powers than what the state legislature had."

The counsel said that members of the Parliament "did not have time to see Bill" for amending Article 370. Though it may not be something which court can go into, it is "a bearing on the nature and haste of legislative process, whether a presumption of constitutionality can lie in such a situation", he said.

Attorney General K K Venugopal, appearing for the Centre, opposed the contention in the written submission submitted by the petitioners — that MPs were "not shown" the Bill was "incorrect" as they had stated to the contrary in their own petition.

The court said it will hear more on this when it resumes hearing Wednesday.



A man rides his bicycle on a foggy morning in Srinagar on Tuesday. The Srinagar international airport has not been functioning for the last five days due to heavy fog in the region. Over 26 flights operating from the airport have been cancelled every day since Saturday. This is the second time flights have been cancelled here this winter. **Shuaib Masoodi**

## Jammu sarpanches protest over non-payment of MGNREGA dues

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE JAMMU, DECEMBER 10**

PROTESTING OVER the delay in release of payments for the works done under MGNREGA for over a year, nearly 50 elected sarpanches from the Jammu region on Tuesday courted arrest in an attempt to block the busy Tawi bridge here.

Police detained several sarpanches and took them to District Police Lines. They were released on filing surety bonds.

The demands of the protesting sarpanches included clearance of liabilities worth Rs 1,000 crore for the works got done by PDP-BJP government of the erstwhile state of J&K under MGNREGA, adequate security cover to elected panchayat members and

enhancement of their monthly honorarium.

All J&K Panchayat Conference president Anil Sharma demanded immediate fulfillment of their demands, warning that failure to do so would result in sarpanches and panches holding protests in every block across the Union Territory from December 20-30 as part of their second phase of agitation.

## Kerala man, girlfriend held for wife's murder

**SHAJU PHILIP THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, DECEMBER 10**

WHEN THE Kerala Police on Tuesday arrested a hotel manager and his school-time girlfriend on charges of killing his wife, what unspooled was a murder mystery with the crime and diversion of probe drawing upon ideas and themes from two movies, according to police.

K Premkumar (40), a manager of a leading hotel in Kochi, and Sunitha Baby (39), nursing superintendent at a private hospital in Thiruvananthapuram, were arrested on charges of strangulating Vidhya (48) to death on September 21. They abandoned the body in Tamil Nadu's Tirunelveli district. The Tamil Nadu Police had found the body and buried it as unidentified.

Kochi (City) ACP R Vishwanath said that Premkumar rushed to Kochi to file a complaint that his wife was missing, a day after disposing the body. However, before the complaint, Premkumar and Sunitha had left Vidhya's mobile phone switched on inside a dustbin in Netravati Express, which runs between Thiruvananthapuram and Mumbai.

The ACP said Premkumar confessed he abandoned the phone to distract the police, an idea he got from the Malayalam film *Drishyam*. After Premkumar moved the missing complaint, po-

lice located Vidhya's phone somewhere near Mangaluru en route the train's journey, but it had gone dead since.

The ACP said Vidhya and Premkumar had a troubled marriage and she had the habit of leaving home for short periods. "Premkumar tried to take advantage of that history. We began to doubt Premkumar because he moved an anticipatory bail two weeks after the missing case was registered. Police had searched his house but he was reluctant to appear before police to give a statement. Besides, he started complaining to police higher-ups, alleging that the investigating team was harassing him. This also strengthened our suspicion," he said.

The breakthrough happened a few days ago when the police got a voice message indicating Premkumar's role. Police did not reveal details of the message. The ACP said Premkumar and Sunitha studied together in school 25 years ago and their batch held an alumni meet earlier this year. "They were meeting at the reunion for the first time after 25 years and renewed the relationship," the ACP said. "Premkumar told us that his affair after 25 years was influenced by the Tamil movie *96* which speaks about an affair rekindled during a reunion of school students after 22 years," the ACP said.

**FULL REPORT ON [www.indianexpress.com](http://www.indianexpress.com)**

## HRD defers decision on hiking MTEch tuition fee at IITs

**RITIKA CHOPRA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10**

THE HRD Ministry has held off the decision to increase the tuition fee for MTEch programmes at Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs). The development comes in the backdrop of the protests at JNU against a substantial hike in hostel fee.

The government finalised minutes of the IIT Council meeting, held on September 27, on Tuesday. The minutes state that the agenda item on reform of MTEch programmes will be "further discussed in the next meeting of the IIT Council". A press release from HRD Ministry on September 27 stated that the council had approved the recommendation for the IITs to charge MTEch students the same fee as the BTEch programme. In other words, IITs, over the next three years, would increase tuition fee for new MTEch students from the current average of Rs 30,000 a year to Rs 2 lakh per annum.

"The JNU fee hike issue and the protests seem to have forced a rethink," said an IIT director.

The ministry also deferred the decision on adopting the tenure track system. On September 27, the 23 IITs had agreed to grant tenure to assistant professors five years after their recruitment. This decision marked a significant shift from the current practice across most centrally funded institutions, where fresh faculty recruits are given permanent appointments as assistant professors after a year. They cannot be fired after that.

Under the tenure track system, an assistant professor is hired on a five-year contract. Her perform-

## EXPLAINED Ministry cites dropouts

ALTHOUGH THE student community had opposed the decision at that time, the HRD Ministry had justified fee hike on the ground that it would discourage "non-serious students" who join an IIT only to leave the programme midway after finding a job. "This dropout in the middle of the programme leads to wastage of coveted seats on the one hand and denies the opportunity to other serious and meritorious students..." the government statement read.

ance is first reviewed internally three years from the date of joining and then an external committee after five-and-a-half years. Depending on the evaluation, the assistant professor will either be granted tenure (and associate professorship) or asked to leave.

According to ministry sources, this decision was deferred because of apprehensions expressed by the IIT faculty. "There are many challenges in our system that make it difficult for new teachers to perform to the best of their abilities. For starters, we expect them to get research grants from the Department of Science and Technology and other agencies which take time to release funds," said the above quoted IIT director.

## News and views should never be combined, says Venkaiah

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10**

DECRYING THE idea of politicians starting their own media houses "to defend themselves and offend others", Vice-President M Venkaiah Naidu on Tuesday called for keeping journalism separate.

He was addressing a gathering after conferring Lokmat parliamentary awards on eight people. "News and views should never be combined," he said, insisting that only news should go on front pages of newspapers and the views could occupy the editorial page. He described "paid news" and "fake news" as a "reality in India" and felt that information "without confirmation" was dangerous.

Naidu said the institution of parliamentary awards was a "noble idea". This made his job "easier" because awards inspired MPs to perform better. He lauded NCP president Sharad Pawar for hav-



Vice-President M Venkaiah Naidu and NCP chief Sharad Pawar at the event. **Praveen Khanna**

ing never come to the Well of a House. He said C Rajgopalachari had said, "If you are not well on facts, go to the Well of the House."

Naidu took note of the fact that the awardees had been selected on the basis of participation in debates, questions, attendance, piloting private members' Bills and overall image. He said MPs should bring private Bills because they

help mobilise public opinion on a subject.

The awardees included SP leader Mulayam Singh Yadav, TMC MP Saugata Roy, NCP MP Supriya Sule, BJP MP Bharati Praveen Pawar, DMK MP Tiruchi Siva, Congress MP Viplov Thakur and JD (U) MP Kahkashan Perween. They were selected by a jury headed by NCP chief Sharad Pawar.

## Journalist tells court Akbar sexually harassed her: Was numbed with fear

**ANAND MOHAN J NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10**

JOURNALIST GHAZALA Wahab told a Delhi court on Tuesday that she was sexually harassed by former Union Minister M J Akbar in 1997 and it left her "numbed with fear and shock".

Wahab was the third defence witness who appeared before Additional Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Vishal Pahuja in support of journalist Priya Ramani in a criminal defamation complaint filed by Akbar.

Her examination-in-chief was completed on Tuesday and her cross-examination will be conducted by Akbar's counsel Geeta Luthra on Wednesday.

Akbar had to resign after Ramani levelled allegations of sexual misconduct on Twitter, following which he filed a defamation lawsuit against her.

Wahab told the court, "My desk was right outside Akbar's office in a manner that if his door was slightly open he could watch me. Many a times I saw him watching me... Later he started sending me private messages on Asian Age's intranet messaging service about my clothes and appearances."

"Sometime in August-September 1997, in the afternoon,

Mr Akbar called me to his room. When I went inside he asked me to shut the door. Then he asked me to look up a word in the dictionary which was placed on a low three-legged stool across his desk... As I squatted to look into the dictionary Mr Akbar came up behind me quietly and held me by waist. I was shocked and stumbled almost losing my balance. Mr Akbar helped me to my feet and ran his hands from my breast to my hips. I tried to push his hands away but they were firmly planted on my waist. I was numbed with fear and shock, not only was the door shut his back was blocking it... Finally he released me and I ran out his office into the toilet to cry," Wahab told the court.

She told the court that the next day, Akbar asked her to come into his room and when she entered, he shut the door trapping her between the door and his body. "I immediately flinched. He held me by my shoulders and bent to kiss me. I clamped my mouth and turned my face to one side. I was speechless with fear but I continued to push against him. Finally, he released me. I ran out of the office crying."

She said she narrated the incident to Seema Mustafa, who was the bureau chief then. She told the court that Seema was not sur-

prised at Akbar's behaviour but there was little she could do about it and told Wahab that it was entirely her call on what she decided to do. "I was 26, I was alone, confused, helpless and most importantly petrified. Asian Age had no mechanism to listen to complaints of sexual harassment. There were no internal redressal mechanisms, no sexual harassment policy or committee that would hear complaints from women journalists. I was on my own," Wahab told the court.

"Not only was Akbar Editor-in-Chief of Asian Age, he had also been an MP and a former spokesperson of the Indian National Congress. I believed that going public about my complaint or even thinking about the police was not an option given Akbar's power and clout," Wahab told the court.

"Sometime in the second week of December 1997, Mr Akbar told me he wanted me to shift to the about-to-be-launched edition of the Asian Age from Ahmedabad as Features Editor. He told me that I would be given an apartment there and everything would be taken care of by the company. He added that whenever he would come to Ahmedabad he would stay with me. That was the tipping point," Wahab told the court.

## Tabrez Ansari lynching: HC grants bail to 7 of 13 accused

**ABHISHEK ANGAD RANCHI, DECEMBER 10**

THE JHARKHAND High Court on Tuesday granted bail to seven of the 13 accused in the Tabrez Ansari lynching case. The 22-year-old was tied to a pole, thrashed and forced to chant "Jai Shri Ram and Jai Hanuman" in Saraikela Kharsawan district on June 18 after he was allegedly caught stealing in Dhatkidih village. He died four days later in the hospital of a jail.

The lawyer representing Ansari's wife A Allam said, "The High Court granted bail to six accused on Tuesday and one on Monday." He added that the case was heard in the court of Justice Rongon Mukhopadhyay.

Accused Kamal Mahato, 48, who is also a complainant in the case of theft against Ansari, was granted bail on Monday. It was his house where Ansari and others allegedly attempted to steal. Six others accused who got bail are Bhimsen Mandal, 45, who sold pakodas; Satyanarayan Nayak, 55, a daily wage labourer who worked as a painter; Mahesh Mahli, 28, who worked in Ranchi; Madan Nayak, 30, who is Satyanarayan's nephew and a daily wage labourer; Chamu Nayak, 40, who is a farmer; and one Bikram Mandal.

In September, a controversy erupted after it was reported that the Saraikela Police had dropped murder charges from the case. Police had said that the killing was not "premeditated".

However, the police later filed a supplementary chargesheet in which it added murder charges against the 13 accused.

# 16 THE WORLD

## TOP OF THE WORLD



Pete Frates was a former college baseball player. AP

### USA

#### Pete Frates, who popularised Ice Bucket Challenge, dead at 34

PETE FRATES, a former college baseball player who popularised the social media phenomenon known as the Ice Bucket Challenge, and helped raise \$100 million toward fighting amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, commonly known as ALS or Lou Gehrig's disease, died at his home in Beverly, Massachusetts on Monday. He was 34. His death was announced by Boston College, his alma mater. Frates learned he had the disease in 2012. It attacks the body's nerve cells and leads to full paralysis. Patients are typically expected to live for two to five years from the time of diagnosis.

### USA

#### Sikh taxi driver assaulted

Houston: An Indian-origin Sikh taxi driver has been assaulted and racially abused in the US state of Washington in a suspected hate crime here, according to media reports. Griffin Levi Sayers, 22, verbally and physically abused his Sikh Uber driver on December 5 in Bellingham city, The Bellingham Herald quoted the police as saying. While strangling the Sikh man, Sayers made "racially biased comments about the victim's dark skin, the fact he was from India and the turban he was wearing," a police officer said. After a struggle, the driver, who was not identified, managed to escape from his car, left the rider inside and called 911 for help, Komo News said.

### MADAGASCAR

#### 2 die, 3 missing in cyclone

Antananarivo: Cyclone Belna has hit northern Madagascar, with two people dead and three missing from the first tropical storm of the season, according to local officials. Belna blew into the western town of Soalala, where more than 1,400 residents were made homeless because their houses were destroyed, damaged or flooded, Col. Elack Olivier Andriakaja of the national catastrophe management office, said Tuesday. Those displaced have found temporary shelter in primary schools, mosques and district offices but they need food, said Andriakaja.

## TWO ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT UNVEILED

# Democrats officially charge Trump with abuse of power, obstruction

House to debate charges today, vote likely on Thursday

NICHOLAS FANDOS  
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 10

HOUSE DEMOCRATS announced Tuesday that they would move ahead this week with two articles of impeachment charging US President Donald Trump with abuse of power and obstruction of Congress, as they accused him of violating the Constitution by pressuring Ukraine for help in the 2020 election.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi and leaders of six key committees said that Trump's actions toward Ukraine, and his efforts to block Congress' attempt to investigate, had left them no choice but to pursue one of the Constitution's gravest remedies. The move will bring a sitting president to the brink of impeachment for only the fourth time in American history.

"Today, in service to our duty to the Constitution, and to our country, the House Committee on Judiciary is introducing two articles of impeachment charging the President of the United States, Donald J Trump, with committing high crimes and misdemeanors," said Representative Jerrold Nadler, the panel's chairman.

"Our President holds the ultimate public trust," Nadler said. "When he betrays that trust and puts himself before country, he endangers the Constitution, he endangers our democracy, and he endangers our national security."

The announcement comes a day after Democrats summed up



House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jerrold Nadler (centre) and other top House Democrats unveil the articles of impeachment against Trump on Capitol Hill Tuesday. AP



**“ To impeach a President who has proven through results... to have one of the most successful presidencies ever, and most importantly, who has done NOTHING wrong, is sheer political madness!”**

— DONALD TRUMP  
US PRESIDENT

the central allegations in their impeachment case against Trump: that he pressured Ukraine to announce investigations into his political rivals while withholding as leverage a coveted White House meeting for its president and \$391 million in security assistance. His actions, they argued in a hearing at the Judiciary Committee, had placed the President's personal political interests above those of the country.

The Judiciary Committee plans to promptly begin debating the articles as soon as Wednesday, and could vote by Thursday to recommend them to the full House of Representatives for final approval. If the House follows through as expected next week, Trump could stand trial in the Senate early in the new year. NYT

## Federal watchdog says FBI was justified in probing Trump-Russia

ERIC TUCKER & MICHAEL BALSAMO  
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 10

THE FBI was justified in opening its investigation into ties between the Trump presidential campaign and Russia and did not act with political bias, the Justice Department's internal watchdog declared, undercutting President Donald Trump's repeated claims that he has been the target of a "witch hunt".

The report, issued Monday, rejected theories and criticism spread by Trump and his supporters, though it also found "serious performance failures" up the bureau's chain of command.

The affirmation of the investigation's legitimacy, balanced by criticism of the way it was conducted, ensured that partisan battles would persist over one of the most politically sensitive investigations in FBI history. Another review of the origins of the probe continues, and the prosecutor picked by Attorney General William Barr to lead that effort hinted Monday he'll take a harder view of the FBI's actions.

Monday's review by Inspector General Michael Horowitz knocked down multiple lines of

**E.**  
**Report gives ammunition to both sides**

THE REPORT debunks some of the main allegations that Trump and his allies have made against the FBI over its probe into suspected links between the Trump campaign and Russia. It rejects the Trump team's claim that the FBI opened the investigation because of political bias against the President. It also stated that the FBI did not spy on the Trump campaign.

While those who backed the probe will see this as vindication, the Trump camp is likely to highlight the flaws the report attributed to some parts of the FBI's investigation.

attack against the Russia investigation, finding that it was properly opened and that law enforcement leaders were not motivated by political bias. AP



Police officers outside the University Hospital, which was the site of the shooting, in Ostrava, Czech Republic. Reuters

## Gunman kills six in Czech hospital, then shoots himself

RADOVAN STOKLASA  
OSTRAVA, DECEMBER 10

A 42-YEAR-OLD gunman killed six people on Tuesday at a hospital waiting room in the eastern Czech city of Ostrava before fleeing and fatally shooting himself in the head, police said.

It was the worst shooting in the Czech Republic, where gun crime is relatively rare, since a man shot eight people dead and then killed himself at a restaurant in Uhersky Brod in 2015.

It was unclear what motivated the shooting, which happened in the early morning at the outpatient clinic of the University Hospital in Ostrava, 350 km east of the capital Prague and near the border with Poland.

Prime Minister Andrej Babis told reporters it was an "individual act".

The shooter fled the hospital after the attack, prompting a manhunt involving hundreds of officers. He later shot himself in the head at his car with a police

helicopter flying overhead.

He died about a half an hour later after police failed to resuscitate him, Interior Minister Jan Hamacek said outside the hospital. "The perpetrator of this horrendous act is dead."

Czech Radio, citing the director of the firm where he worked, identified the suspect as a local construction technician and said he had been on medical leave.

Reuters could not immediately confirm that.

Police said they received calls at 7.19 am (0619 GMT) and officers were on the scene five minutes later. Hospital director Jiri Havranek told reporters five people died in the attack and one died in surgery. Another two were seriously injured but no medics were hurt, he said.

The victims were all adults: four men and two women.

The head of the regional police department, Tomas Kuzel, said the attacker was silent as he carried out the shooting and there was no indication of accomplices. REUTERS

## Chile military plane disappears with 38 on board: Air Force

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
SANTIAGO, DECEMBER 10

A CHILEAN military plane with 38 people aboard has gone missing after it took off from the country's south for a base in Antarctica and is presumed to have crashed, authorities have said.

Seventeen of those on board the C-130 aircraft were crew and the others were passengers, Chile's air force said Monday.

The plane is believed to have crashed and "all national and international air and maritime means available in the area are continuing the search (for survivors) in the sector where communications were lost with the aircraft," it added in a statement.

The four-engine aircraft took off Monday at 4.55 pm (19.55 GMT) from an airbase in the southern city of Punta Arenas and contact was lost at 6.13 pm.

The Air Force said conditions for flying were good and that it was in contact with the families of those on board, many of whom were travelling to carry out logistical support tasks at the country's largest Antarctic base Eduardo Frei.

Personnel were also being transferred to inspect the base's floating fuel supply pipeline and undertake anticorrosive treatment of the facility.



The plane had an emergency positioning system, but it was not working, said Eduardo Mosqueira, Commander of the Fourth Air Brigade. AP



Myanmar's leader Aung San Suu Kyi attends a hearing at the International Court of Justice in The Hague on Tuesday. Reuters

## As Suu Kyi looks on, Gambia asks ICJ to 'stop genocide' in Myanmar

SHOON NAING & TOBY STERLING  
THE HAGUE, DECEMBER 10

MYANMAR'S LEADER Aung San Suu Kyi arrived at the UN's International Court of Justice on Tuesday to defend her country over charges of genocide against its Rohingya Muslim minority, as back home thousands of people rallied in her support.

Gambia launched the proceedings against Buddhist-majority Myanmar in November, accusing it of violating its obligations under the 1948 Genocide Convention.

"All that The Gambia asks is

that you tell Myanmar to stop these senseless killings," Gambia's Justice Minister Abubacarr Tambadou told the court.

"To stop these acts of barbarity and brutality that have shocked and continue to shock our collective conscience. To stop this genocide of its own people."

During three days of court proceedings Suu Kyi, a Nobel Peace laureate, is expected to repeat denials of genocide and argue that military operations in question were a legitimate counterterrorism response to militant attacks.

Suu Kyi arrived in a motorcade at the ornate Peace Palace in The Hague and ignored questions shouted out to her by wait-

ing reporters. She sat expressionless in the courtroom as the Gambian team detailed alleged atrocities in Myanmar.

Outside the court, dozens of Rohingya demonstrated to demand justice for victims, while in Yangon, the commercial capital of Myanmar, thousands of people rallied in support of Suu Kyi, waving national flags as they chanted: "To protect the country's dignity, stand with Mother Suu."

This week's proceedings will not deal with the core allegation of genocide, but Gambia has requested a court order for Myanmar to halt any activity that may aggravate the dispute. REUTERS

## Spitting volcano keeps search parties off NZ island, death toll rises to six

REUTERS  
WHAKATANE, DECEMBER 10

FEARING A volcano could erupt again, search parties were unable to set foot on New Zealand's White Island for eight people still missing on Tuesday, as police raised the death toll to six from the eruption a day earlier.

Police doubted whether any more survivors would be found. They said the latest victim died in hospital, having been among more than 30 people injured in the eruption on the uninhabited island, a popular sightseeing excursion for tourists.

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern said reconnaissance flights showed no signs of life on the ash covered island, as eyewitnesses detailed the horrific burns suffered by those caught up in Monday's eruption.

"The scale of this tragedy is devastating," Ardern said in parliament. "To those who have lost or are missing family and friends, we share in your grief and sorrow and we are devastated." Police said 47 people were on White Island at the time of the eruption.

Twenty-four came from Australia, nine from the US, five from New Zealand, four from Germany, two each from China and the UK and one from Malaysia.

## HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF MADRID TALKS BEGINS

# Climate negotiators fail to resolve carbon markets issue; onus on ministers



EXPRESS IN MADRID  
AMITABH SINHA  
DECEMBER 10

NEGOTIATORS AT the Madrid climate talks finally threw their hands up on the contentious issue of setting up a new carbon market under the Paris Agreement, and requested their political lead-

erships, the ministers, to take charge and try to resolve the differences at their level.

With practically no progress on any of the big disagreements on the subject, it is unlikely that even the ministers will be able to resolve the many complicated details over the next two days. That would most likely result in the issue being pushed yet again to the next conference. Carbon markets was supposed to be finalised, along with other sections of the Paris Agreement rule book, at the Katowice meeting last year. But while the rest of the rulebook was agreed upon, the carbon markets issue was left to be de-

ecided at this year's conference.

Negotiators were huddled till late at night on Monday, and in to the early hours of Tuesday, in the discussions of one of the technical groups that was supposed to finalise an agreement on the carbon markets. But when it finally wound up its work, the technical group could only deliver a heavily bracketed text, each bracket representing the different options on the table, and reflecting the disagreements on each one of them.

The text has been handed over to the ministers of South Africa and Australia to try and narrow down the differences in informal consultations in the coming days.



Carolina Schmidt, Chile's environment minister and president of the 2019 UN Climate Change Conference, with other officials at a high-level segment of COP25 in Madrid. Reuters

Carbon markets allow the buying and selling of emission reductions in the form of carbon credits, and enable countries struggling to meet their climate targets to buy these credits from countries that are in a position to reduce their emissions beyond their own tar-

gets. Such a carbon market existed under the 1997 Kyoto Protocol as well but that regime is coming to an end next year. The current negotiations are about creating a similar market under the successor Paris Agreement regime.

The big disagreement is over the transition of unsold carbon credits from the Kyoto regime to the new market. Countries like India, China and Brazil want their unsold carbon credits to be valid in the new market while developed countries are opposing it on the grounds that many of the credits were bogus and did not represent actual emission reductions.

Meanwhile, the high-level

segment of the Madrid talks began on Tuesday with ministers making their country statements. A number of countries, especially the most threatened ones like small island states, urged the big emitters to increase their climate actions in light of scientific assessments that show that the present level of climate actions was not enough to prevent the extreme impacts of climate change.

India's Environment Minister Prakash Javadekar once again argued that it was important to focus on the implementation and delivery of the current targets rather than just make promises about the future. "Let us concen-

trate on implementation of Paris Agreement and not digress," he said in his address.

He highlighted all that India was doing to fight climate change and urged the other countries to also fulfil their past and current targets.

"Only six countries are on track to meet their NDCs (nationally determined contributions) announced in Paris. We are leading the pack," he said, referring to the climate targets that countries had set for themselves during the run-up to the Paris climate change conference in 2015.

FULL REPORT ON  
[www.indianexpress.com](http://www.indianexpress.com)



17 ECONOMY

Market indicators: GOLD ₹38,460, RUPEE ₹70.92, OIL \$64.84, SILVER ₹44,607

SENSEX: 40,239.88 ▼ 247.55 NIFTY: 11,856.80 ▼ 80.70 NIKKEI: 23,410.19 ▼ 20.51 HANG SENG: 26,436.62 ▼ 58.11 FTSE: 7,156.85 ▼ 77.05 DAX: 12,918.01 ▼ 187.60

SBI under-reported NPAs by ₹11,932 cr; FY19 loss would be ₹6,968 crore: RBI

FM says RBI had no objection to electoral bonds issuance by SBI; documents point otherwise

STATE BANK OF India (SBI), India's largest lender, has under-reported its bad loans, or non-performing assets (NPAs), by Rs 11,932 crore for the fiscal ended March 31, 2019 as per an assessment done by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). After taking into account the divergence and additional provisioning, the bank would have made a loss of Rs 6,968 crore in the year, the RBI said.

should have been Rs 1,18,892 crore. The additional provision to be made by SBI works out to Rs 12,036 crore. After making this additional provisioning of Rs 12,036 crore in the balance sheet, the bank would have made a loss of Rs 6,968 crore for the year. SBI had posted a profit of Rs 862 crore for 2018-19 in May this year.

EXPLAINED: New RBI, Sebi norms to act as deterrent. BANKS, WHICH are saddled with huge bad loans, have been hiding such loans to show higher profits using various methods like evergreening of loans.

bank's provisioning for NPAs or asset classification exceeds the prescribed threshold for public disclosure, the bank should not pay the unvested portion of the variable compensation for the assessment year under 'malus' clause. Several private banks had reported governance issues and suppressed non-performing assets to artificially show better performance even as their CEOs got higher pay packages year after year.

decided that "listed banks shall make disclosures of divergences and provisioning beyond specified threshold, as mentioned in aforesaid RBI notifications, as soon as reasonably possible and not later than 24 hours upon receipt of the Reserve Bank's Final Risk Assessment Report (RAR), rather than waiting to publish them as part of annual financial statements". The Sebi had stepped in for more disclosures after investors suffered losses when NPA under-reporting by banks led to erosion in market valuations.

ON TUESDAY, replying to a question in Rajya Sabha raised by DMK's Tiruchi Siva about what the Reserve Bank's "indirect" approval to the issuance of electoral bonds meant, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said: "RBI, being a stakeholder, was involved in the consultation process and during the consultation process, they had certain questions to ask about the particular platform of issuance as to who is going to issue it and also the proforma with which it is going to be issued. These consultations were recorded, but, at the end of it, as long as the bonds were going to be issued by the State Bank of India, they did not have an objection. So, when said 'indirectly', it meant, subject to that".

It is unclear why the government initially assured the RBI that RBI "alone" will issue electoral bonds as it could not do so under Section 31(3) of RBI Act. government had for the longest time assured the RBI that the central bank "alone" would issue the bonds. However, the RBI could not issue electoral bonds. This was because of the amendment to the RBI Act, which added a new Section 31(3), in February 2017, which allowed the government to authorise only "scheduled banks" to issue electoral bonds.

that for RBI to issue electoral bonds "might be legally difficult". Yet, in repeated letters (on September 21 and 29 later that year) Garg assured Patel writing "I, with approval of the Finance Minister, convey ... (that) RBI's suggestion on issuance of Electoral Bonds by RBI alone... had been accepted by Government earlier". These letters downplayed the "inclusion of any Scheduled Bank in the draft scheme", claiming that such inclusion "is intended only as an enabling provision".

SECTOR WATCH PHARMACEUTICAL Day after key diabetes drug goes off patent, 20 generics send prices down by up to 70%

PRABHARAGHAVAN NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10 AS POPULAR diabetes drug 'vildagliptin', marketed by Novartis here as 'Galvus', has gone off-patent in India, its price is expected to have dropped as much as 70 per cent with the introduction of cheaper copies. While experts expect the development to improve patient access, some add the impact may not be as substantial as portrayed.

Vildagliptin, which belongs to a class of drugs called DPP-4, was first launched in the country in 2008 for the treatment of type-2 diabetes. Today, vildagliptin, in combination with metformin, is the second-largest gliptin by market size after the sitagliptin-metformin combination. The drug is usually prescribed to be taken twice a day.

'NBFCs to look for growth opportunities in offshore markets' INDIA'S WEAKER macroeconomic backdrop is likely to add to the existing funding, growth and asset-quality strains weighing on NBFCs. FUNDING CONDITIONS within the domestic market will remain relatively tight for NBFCs overall, notwithstanding some improvement since the failure of IL&FS in late 2018.

Gloom in passenger vehicle sales returns after festivities fizzle out THE REVIVAL in domestic sales of passenger vehicle in the festive month of October, turned out to be a blip as the sales of passenger vehicles in November declined again, thereby continuing with the broader trajectory seen over the last 12 months. Sales of passenger vehicles — considered a proxy for urban demand — fell 0.84 per cent in November over the corresponding period last year.

No PROTECTION FROM TRIAL IF THEY PUBLISHED DEFAMATORY CONTENT In pre-2009 cases, intermediaries like Google India can't claim protection: SC

AASHISH ARYAN NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10 THE SUPREME COURT Tuesday ruled that internet intermediaries like Google India could not avail protection from trial if they published defamatory content prior to the 2009 amendment to Section 79 of the Information Technology (IT) Act.

pleaded Google India as a party, alleging that it had failed to take down the posts despite repeated reminders. The company had in its pleadings also said that though there were other makers of asbestos, the individuals who were posting the articles had "singled out (the company) and were "trying to bring down the image of the plaintiffs company by running hate campaign against them".

the Google LLC conditions and found that the appellant is not the intermediary. We hold that this is a matter for trial," the two-judge apex court bench said. Google India had also said that it could not take down any content uploaded across its websites simply because a company or a party was aggrieved by it, as the same was covered by freedom of speech and expression.

IndiGo, GoAir's A320neo aircraft return to origin airports after snags

TWO AIRBUS A320neo aircraft of IndiGo and GoAir, operating on domestic and international routes, returned safely to their origin airports on Monday, following snags including high vibration and oil smell in cockpit, respectively. The aircraft have been grounded at Delhi and Singapore airports. "On 09-12-2019, IndiGo A320 (Neo) Aircraft VT-ITK operating flight 6E-552 (Delhi-Hyderabad) was involved in Air Turn Back to Delhi due to High Vibration on No.2 engine. Aircraft landed safely at Delhi and has been grounded at Delhi," a senior Aviation Ministry official said.

(Singapore-Bangalore) was involved in air turn back due to oil smell in cockpit and cabin. Aircraft safely landed at Singapore," the official said. "During ground inspection the reported defect was not confirmed. Matter has been referred to Pratt & Whitney (P&W), while aircraft is grounded at Singapore," the official said.

Asymmetry in FTAs on govt radar: Goyal in RS COMMERCE AND Industry Minister Piyush Goyal on Tuesday said India pulled out of the RCEP trade deal as its concerns over a host of critical issues. He also promised to "correct the asymmetry" in existing free trade agreements (FTAs) with Asean, Japan and South Korea.

GST rationalisation, compliance feature at Centre, state officers' meet

GOODS AND Services Tax (GST) rate rationalisation, including a proposal to have a dual rate structure, a relook at items which were taxed at a higher rate in pre-GST VAT era such as milk powder, butter, correction of rate structure for items facing inverted duty and compliance related issues were some of the proposals discussed at the meeting of committee of officers on revenue augmentation on Tuesday.

52,720 IGST refund claims pending for more than one year: Thakur New Delhi: As many as 52,720 Integrated GST (IGST) refund claims are pending for more than one year, Minister of State for Finance Anurag Singh Thakur informed Parliament on Tuesday.

All proposals for rate rationalisation and revenue augmentation will now be taken up in the GST Council meeting, which is scheduled for December 18. Any significant rate changes are likely to take effect only from next financial year, one of the officials said.

government to monitor compliance and prevent misuse of provisions. "The Committee would also urge the Department of Revenue to remain vigilant so as to prevent misuse of provisions such as input tax credit and enhance monitoring of overall compliance. Systematic reports as well as feedback surveys should also be collected from tax payers to evaluate whether GST is operating smoothly," the report said.

# LIC policy growth jumps 137.8% in November

## ENSECONOMICBUREAU MUMBAI, DECEMBER 10

LIFE INSURANCE Corporation (LIC), India's largest insurer, has recorded growth of 137.87 per cent in policies in November, with record sales of 34.08 lakh policies. By outperforming the industry growth rate in number of policies as well as new business premium income, LIC has registered a significant increase in market share in the current fiscal, it said.

In the current financial year, as of November 2019, the life insurance industry recorded a new business premium income of Rs 1.69 lakh crore, out of which LIC garnered around Rs 1.20 lakh crore. LIC has registered a growth of 44.53 per cent in new business premium income while the private sector life insurers have posted a growth of 22.09 per cent during the same period. LIC Managing Director T C Suseel Kumar said, "We see it as our responsibility to spread the cover of life insurance and take it to every citizen who needs it. The growth opportunity is vast for every player in the life insurance industry."

# Non-personal data regulation bypasses ministerial panel

## KARISHMA MEHROTRA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE PERSONAL Data Protection Bill, which allows the Central government to direct any entity to provide it non-personal data or data that is anonymised "to enable better targeting of delivery of services or formulation of evidence-based policies", has the technology industry concerned. The provision also bypasses an ongoing ministerial committee formed to examine the topic of non-personal data. Various stakeholders have questioned the inclusion of non-personal data regulation in a law called the "Personal Data Protection" Bill.

To study this topic, the IT Ministry formed a Committee of Experts under the chairmanship of Infosys co-founder S Gopalakrishnan. It included representatives from NASSCOM, National Informatics Centre, IIT Hyderabad, and IT Ministry.

Those who have been following the non-personal data committee are arguing there has been no public consultation on the topic. Stakeholders have said it vi-

olates right to privacy and intellectual property rules.

A senior executive at a multinational technology company said, "It's almost as if the government is saying, individual privacy is important, except in so far as it relates to us. When there is a Committee of Experts deliberating not only a framework for non-personal data, but also its very definition, there is no rationale for it to be included in a privacy legislation. This provision instead of improving privacy of Indian citizens, will only expose it to more threats, hurt innovation, stem foreign investment and can be seen as being tantamount to stealing the Intellectual Property of legal entities."

Multiple stakeholders were specifically concerned that the provision requires data processors to provide data to government.

IT for Change director Parminder Jeet Singh, who is on the non-personal data panel, said: "For the first time in any law worldwide, there has been some kind of an explicit legal community ownership claim to data ... though the language related to purposes for which data can be obtained can be improved."

# PERSONAL DATA PROTECTION BILL, 2019

## Sharing non-personal data, lack of clarity on timeline worries industry

## AASHISH ARYAN NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE LACK of a clear implementation timeline, a newly introduced requirement to share non-personal data with government agencies, and uncertainty over how sensitive or critical personal data is defined, are among the concerns flagged by industry on the new Personal Data Protection Bill, 2019.

The dilution of norms on mandatory local data storage, Information Technology (IT) Ministry officials said, were prompted by concerns that the US, the UK and the European Union (EU) nations would flag them as being "protectionist" in nature and in anticipation of possible reciprocal action by companies in these countries.

Possible reciprocal action by companies in these countries could have impacted India's business process outsourcing sector, the officials said.

Industry bodies, in their first reaction, have also expressed their concerns on the vague in-

### The dilution of norms on mandatory local data storage, Information Technology (IT) Ministry officials said, were prompted by concerns that the US, the UK and the European Union (EU) nations would flag them as being "protectionist" in nature

terpretation of non-personal data, and the lack of clarity on whether they will have to store the data for what period of time.

"Our insistence that the companies mandatorily keep their data in India could have been viewed as protectionist by these countries. That would have been counterproductive," said a government official.

This, in turn, could have led to job losses in the Indian BPO (Business Process Outsourcing), KPO (Knowledge Process Outsourcing), and other India-bound IT, Information Technology Enabled Service (ITES), they said.

An official involved in the exercise said the regulations on data and privacy in the US and the EU are much stricter and that companies in these geographies

can take recourse to these rules when dealing with service providers from India.

"In the event that they would have insisted that their companies do not send any data outside, our BPO, KPO sector would be faced with a big problem and there would be job losses," the official said, justifying the easing of the mandatory local data storage and processing norms in the version of the bill cleared by Cabinet last week.

The idea of allowing free flow of data among various stakeholders across borders was also a reason why the government did not dig its heels on local data storage, IT Secretary Ajay Prakash Sawhney had said in an address last week.

"It was pointed out by many of the entities that responded to

our consultation processes, that the value of data goes up tremendously when it flows. If it remains isolated in one place, you are able to derive less out of the data. It is data flows that have been very important for the growth of our IT industry," Sawhney had said.

India has been a long-time hub of BPO and KPOs which process data obtained from foreign countries and provide back-end support to many large global conglomerates. Global research and advisory firm Gartner had in a report last year said that the end-user spending on BPO in India was "on course to reach \$1.7 billion in 2019, and is forecast to reach \$1.9 billion in 2020".

The issue of local data storage had started gaining traction in India when the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) had in April last year insisted that global companies such as Google, Facebook, Mastercard, Visa and WhatsApp, among other payment firms mandatorily store their data in India. The RBI had then set a strict six month deadline for compliance with the norms.

# BRIEFLY

## GoM on IGST settlement reconstituted

New Delhi: A Group of Ministers on IGST settlement issues was reconstituted Tuesday and will be headed by Bihar's Deputy CM Sushil Modi. Sources said the GoM has been modified as the GST Council, last week, formed the GoM under FM Nirmala Sitharaman "inadvertently", who could not have headed it since she also chairs GST Council, to which the report is to be submitted. **ENS**

## BoB, Union Bank, UCO lower MCLR

New Delhi: Bank of Baroda (BoB), Union Bank and UCO Bank have lowered the marginal cost of funds-based lending rates by up to 20bps.

## VS Sundaesan takes charge as Sebi ED

New Delhi: Capital markets regulator Sebi on Tuesday said V S Sundaesan has taken charge as its executive director. Prior to the promotion, Sundaesan was working as chief general manager in enquiries and adjudication department of the Securities and Exchange Board of India.

## RIL, ADNOC agreement on chemical facility

New Delhi: RIL and Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC) Tuesday signed a deal to explore setting up a facility in UAE to produce ethylene dichloride.

## Trai issues notice on revised MNP process

New Delhi: Trai on Tuesday issued a public notice on the revised mobile number portability process, which is slated to make the porting process fast and simple from December 16. **PTI**

## WTO ban on tariffs for digital trade extended

Geneva: WTO members agreed Tuesday to renew a 20-year moratorium on placing tariffs on digital trade to June 2020. **REUTERS**

## 'DGCA nod for Boeing facility in Singapore'

New Delhi: The DGCA has given clearance for a Boeing training facility in Singapore as per the Indian watchdog's certification process, according to a senior official.

## Crisil's take on banks' high retail loan book

New Delhi: Banks' retail credit growth is up due to higher reliance on securitisation by liquidity starved non-banking lenders, and does not represent a higher credit pick-up by small borrowers, says a Crisil report. **PTI**

# Ex-Infy CEO Vishal Sikka joins Oracle's board of directors

## PRESS TRUST OF INDIA MUMBAI, DECEMBER 10

VISHAL SIKKA, the ex-Infosys CEO and a global expert in artificial intelligence, has been nominated to the board of directors of global technology major Oracle.

Sikka, 52, is among the world's leading experts in Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning and would be helping Oracle in the business value and adapt to change, the company based in California, said in a statement. "Vishal is one of the world's leading experts in Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning," said Oracle chairman and CEO Larry Ellison, announcing Sikka's addition to the Board of Directors.

Sikka recently launched his AI startup Vianai Systems.

Before starting Vianai, Sikka was a top executive at SAP and

## Vishal Sikka, who has also worked with SAP, recently launched his AI startup Vianai Systems

the CEO of Infosys. Ellison said that Sikka's expertise and experience makes him ideally suited to provide strategic vision and expert advice to Oracle and its customers.

"The digital transformation of an enterprise is enabled by the rapid adoption of modern cloud applications and technologies," said Oracle CEO Safra Catz.

"Vishal clearly understands how Oracle's Gen2 Cloud Infrastructure, Autonomous Database and Applications come together in the Oracle Cloud to help our customers drive business value and adapt to change," he said.

# Thriveni awards Zyfra India's first 'Intelligent Mine' contract

## ENSECONOMICBUREAU NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

TAMIL NADU-BASED Thriveni Earthmovers Private Ltd, which operates NTPC Ltd's Pakri Barwadih coal mining project through its joint venture TSMPL, has awarded Finnish-Russian digital solutions provider Zyfra a contract to implement its 'Intelligent Mine' solution at the mining project.

Zyfra provides AI-based solutions for the industrial sector and the company's mining division offers automation solutions to mining companies in Africa and Asia, the company said in a release. "Today we see a request from the market to improve the entire production chain efficiency, not its separate elements. We are ready to offer to our customers single digital platform by the principle 'Mine to Mill', which will allow integrating different data into one digital layer and result into optimisation of the processes with the help of Artificial Intelligence," said Pavel Rastopshin, MD of Zyfra.

# Ahead of PMs' meet, India & Japan discuss review of CEPA

## PRESSTRUST OF INDIA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

TRADE MINISTERS of India and Japan on Tuesday raised the issue of trade deficit between the two countries and took up the review of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, ahead of the meeting of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Japanese counterpart Shinzo Abe next week.

In the hour-long meeting, Commerce and Industry Minister

Piyush Goyal conveyed to Japanese Trade and Industry Minister Hiroshi Kajiyama that "market access for India's goods and services with partner countries is very important but despite commitments in CEPA from Japan, market access for India's goods and services remains elusive".

According to an official statement, Goyal also raised the issue of trade deficit between India and Japan and review of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) between the two countries.

# WTO chief details bid to save appeals panel

## AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE GENEVA, DECEMBER 10

THE HEAD of the World Trade Organization said Tuesday that he intends to put new issues "on the table" in negotiations to save the body's appeals court, which shuts down at midnight.

The appellate branch of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body, sometimes called the supreme court of world trade, will stop functioning on Wednesday after years of relentless US opposition.

Washington, which accuses the court of serious overreach, has blocked the appointment of new judges.

WTO Director General Roberto Azevedo reaffirmed Wednesday that the process had failed. "Throughout this process I tried not to interfere," he said.

"I decided that (members) should do their thing. Unfortunately, it was not successful." The goal is to see whether "there are some things that are not on the table that need to be on the table," Azevedo said.

# 'Constant changes in GST have made compliance difficult for small bizmen'

## ENSECONOMICBUREAU NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE CONSTANT changes in goods and services tax (GST) have made compliance difficult for small businessmen while unpredictability of the tax law creates uncertainty, Fifteenth Finance Commission Chairman NK Singh said. The GST rate has been revised 38 times since its launch, leading to a clutter of taxes, Singh said at the launch of a book, "In Service of the Republic", written by Former Finance Secretary Vijay Kelkar and economist Ajay Shah.

The book has argued that a single GST rate of 10 per cent applied to 70 per cent of India's economy would have resulted in 7 per cent of GDP as tax revenue for the Centre and the states. "The right way to design the GST is a single rate, a low rate, a comprehensive

Given the present situation of our economy, growth is far more important than anything else in meeting various objectives'

## VIJAY KELKAR FORMER FINANCE SECRETARY

base, with an elegantly simple administrative system," the authors wrote in the book.

Others key themes highlighted in the book are the need to ensure higher growth for meeting various objectives and on the government's doing market-linked fewer things while operating efficiently in critical areas to address market failure. "Given the present situation of our economy, growth is far more important than anything else in meeting various objectives," Kelkar said at the panel discussion

during the launch.

India's GDP growth rate, at 4.5 per cent in Q22019-20, has hit a 26-quarter low, dragged down by a contraction in manufacturing, weak investment, and lower consumption demand. This is the lowest quarterly growth rate in the five-and-a-half years of the NDA government. Shah added the country should focus on sustained growth for a period of 30 years.

"India has come into middle income with a \$3 trillion economy. We had great surge of growth from 1991 to 2001... the period after 2011 has seen a retreat from the optimism of 1991-2011. This is a cause for great concern. We have a finite window of opportunity with a young workforce. We must get rich before we get old," the authors wrote.

"The pathway forward lies in doing less" but effectively, Shah said.

# 'China plans to launch its own digital currency'

## PRESSTRUST OF INDIA BEIJING, DECEMBER 10

CHINA PLANS to launch its own digital currency to stay ahead of the global competition with its central bank approving proposals to conduct trials in some cities, official media reported Tuesday.

China's central bank — the People's Bank of China (PBC) — has stepped up efforts to roll out its Digital Currency Electronic Payment (DCEP) as it seeks to stay ahead of the competition among central banks around the world and help preserve financial sovereignty, state-run Global Times reported.

# Appellate tribunal stays NCLT move to make MCA party to all insolvency cases

## PRESSTRUST OF INDIA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

THE NATIONAL Company Law Appellate Tribunal (NCLAT) on Tuesday stayed an order passed by NCLT to make the Ministry of Corporate Affairs a party to all applications filed under the insolvency and Bankruptcy Code as well as the Companies Act.

An NCLAT bench headed by Chairperson Justice S J Mukhopadhyaya stayed the order passed by the Principal bench of the National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT) and fixed January

2, 2020, as the next date of hearing. The appellate tribunal's direction came over a petition filed by the government through the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA) challenging the NCLT order. In its petition, the government said the order passed by NCLT was beyond the power and jurisdiction conferred to it.

Passing an order on November 22 in the Oriental Bank of Commerce versus Sikka Papers case, the NCLAT bench headed by its President Justice M M Kumar had directed that MCA should be a party to all insolvency and company cases filed before it.

**KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION**  
Government of India  
Kumarappa National Handmade Paper Institute  
RAMSINGHPURA SIKAPURA ROAD, SANGANEER, JAIPUR-320209 (INDIA)  
Phone: 0141-2731975, Email: kncpi@aiipn@gmail.com, knhpil@dataone.in www.kncpi.org.in

**TENDER NOTICE**  
Sealed Tenders are invited for procurement of Pug Mill and Bead Mill Machine for paint making and Online ozone analyzer for laboratory from reputed Manufacturers/Suppliers. Director, KNHPI reserves the right to cancel the tender at any time without assigning any reason. For complete details, please visit site: www.kncpi.org.in. The last date for submission of tender is 01.01.2020 Director

**KONKAN RAILWAY CORPORATION LTD.**  
(A Government of India Undertaking)

**E-TENDER**  
No.: KR-KW-EL-AMC-T-12-19 Dated: 11/12/2019

Sr. Regional Electrical Engineer, Konkan Railway Corporation Ltd., Karwar, invites Sealed Bids from experienced Contractors for Comprehensive Maintenance Contract of Power Cars and Escorting / en-route operation and trouble shooting of Diesel Generator set (Generators / Cummins make) fitted in Power Car of EOG type LHB coach trains of Madgaon Depot of Konkan Railway of Karwar region. Last Date & Time of Submission of Bid: 27/12/2019 up to 15.00 Hrs. For further details please visit: www.ireps.gov.in

**POSTGRADUATE INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL EDUCATION & RESEARCH, CHANDIGARH CORRIGENDUM**

Ref: Open Tender Notice No. PI (EP)/19-20/08  
1. The Tender Item at Sr. No. 40, (Transport Incubator) due on 12.12.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.  
2. The Tender Item at Sr. No. 36, (CCTV Camera) due on 11.12.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.  
3. The Tender Item at Sr. No. 41, (CCTV Camera) due on 12.12.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.  
Ref: Open Tender Notice No. PI (EP)/19-20/09  
1. The Tender Item at Sr. No. 39, (C-Arm Image Intensifier for Skill Lab) due on 30.12.2019 has been withdrawn due to technical reasons.  
All other details of the tender shall remain the same. Professor In-Charge (EP) 816/PGI

**HIMACHAL PRADESH INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT BOARD & DEPARTMENT OF TOURISM & CIVIL AVIATION**  
(Govt. of Himachal Pradesh)

Invites **REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL**

for Development, Operation & Maintenance of Ropeway in Himachal Pradesh

Government of Himachal Pradesh is committed to make endeavors for the improvement of physical infrastructure in the State by creating and enhancing more transport facilities for the general public & tourists. After successful bidding of many projects, Himachal Pradesh Infrastructure Development Board (HPIDB) along with Department of Tourism & Civil Aviation (DoT&CA), Govt. of Himachal Pradesh proposes to develop another Ropeway in the State on PPP mode under DBFO format on long term concession period of 40 years plus Construction Period with Annual Concession Fee (deferred for first 7 Years) or Grant as bidding parameter. Developer may opt for any alignment to construct a passenger Ropeway.

**Project**  
"Design, Engineering, Development, Finance, Construction, Testing, Commissioning, and Operation & Maintenance of a commercially viable Ropeway System for Mata Shikari Devi temple, District Mandi in Himachal Pradesh under Public Private Partnership (PPP) Mode"

For further details i.e. detailed scope of work, minimum eligibility criteria, bidding procedure and other terms and conditions, please refer to the detailed RFP documents hosted on our website <http://himachalservices.nic.in/hpidb> or contact at the address given below. The interested bidders are invited to attend the **pre bid meeting** which shall be held on **15<sup>th</sup> January, 2020 at 11:00 hrs at HPIDB office, Shimla. For further updates, please visit HPIDB website periodically.**

For further information please contact

<b>Chief General Manager</b> HPIDB, New Himrur Building, Circular Road Shimla-171001 (HP) Phone: +91-177-2626696, 2627312, Fax: +91-177-2627696, Email: hpidb-hp@nic.in	<b>Director</b> Deptt. of Tourism & Civil Aviation, Govt. of HP, SDA Complex, Shimla 171 009 H.P Phone: +91-177-2625864 Email: tourismmin-hp@nic.in
---	---

**LAST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF PROPOSAL IS ON / BEFORE 29<sup>th</sup> February, 2020 (upto 1600 Hrs.)**

**TATA INSTITUTE OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH**  
Survey No. 38/P, Gopnangly Junction, Serilingampally, Post: University of Hyderabad (UOH), Hyderabad-500 045  
Tel: +91(0)-40-20203000/20203010 Email: rajasekhara@tifrr.res.in

**Global Tender Invitation for Expression of Interest Cum Pre-qualification to Develop Master Plan of TIFR, Hyderabad**  
EOI Notice No: TIFR/PD/GT/TS/CF-21/19021 - Dt: 05-12-2019

Director, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Mumbai, invites Expression of Interest cum Pre-qualification (EOI cum PQ) from National / International qualified, experienced, competent and financially sound Architectural consultants / Consultancy Firms / Consortia with Indian Associates (in case of foreign consultants) for the work "Providing Comprehensive Consultancy Services for setting up a State of the art Academic cum Residential Campus for TIFR at Hyderabad, Telangana, India".

Total scope of comprehensive consultancy services:

- (i) Preparation of comprehensive master plan for the entire campus in a land measuring about 18.00 Ha (total 194.20 acres) spread over the 3 plots. [Plot A: 54.00 Ha (134.85 acres); Plot B: 22.00 Ha (56.0 acres) & Plot C: 1.36 Ha (3.35 acres)]. Projected maximum built-up area would be about 7.36,000 sq. m (including full FSI = 1). However plot C is already developed.
- (ii) Detailed engineering and preparation of detailed working drawing including all the services for the Phase-I development comprising a built-up area of 45,82,542 sq. m

EOI cum PQ documents shall be available for download from 11.12.2019 to 07.02.2020 or can also be obtained from the Head-Technical Services, TIFR, Survey No. 38/P, Gopnangly Junction, Post: University of Hyderabad(UOH), Serilingampally, Hyderabad-500 045 between 11:00 hrs. to 18:00 hrs. on all working days during aforesaid period.

Last date of receipt of completed EOI cum PQ documents in person or by courier (very post) is up to 15:00 hrs. on 10.02.2020 at the office of Head-Technical Services at the address given above and shall be opened at 15:30 hrs. on the same day. However, TIFR reserves its right to reject any or all applications without assigning any reasons.

For further information/downloading visit Website : [www.tifrr.res.in](http://www.tifrr.res.in).  
For any clarification may Contact: 040-20203040 / 20203010  
Date: 11.12.2019 Director, TIFR, Mumbai

**भारतीय विमानचलन प्राधिकरण AIRPORTS AUTHORITY OF INDIA**

**TENDER NOTICE**

Item rate tenders are invited through e-tendering CPP Portal by AGM (E-C), AAI, Imphal International Airport on behalf of Chairman, AAI from eligible contractors for the work of "Construction of New DVOR at Imphal International Airport (Civil & Electrical works)" ID No. 2019\_AAI\_36441\_1 at an estimated cost of ₹ 1,84,15, 370.00 (Inclusive of all taxes but excluding GST). Time allowed 10(Ten) Months. Bid Document Download/Sale Start Date 11.12.2019 from 09.30 hrs. and Bid Submission End Date 26.12.2019 upto 1800 hrs. respectively. For further details refer <https://etendering.in/eprocure/app/of/www.aai.aero>. Further clarification/corrigendum in this regard, if any, shall be uploaded in AAI website/CPP portal only.

## REFUGEE POLICY

## Denying opportunities costs

What America could lose by curtailing refugee resettlement

AMERICA DID NOT settle a single refugee in October. In November it admitted under 1,500, the lowest total for that month since the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. A new federal cap imposes a limit of 18,000 to be resettled next year, down from 85,000 in 2016. Canada now welcomes more refugees than its more populous neighbour.

The decades-long period in which America resettled more refugees than the rest of the rich world combined has come to an end. The country long abided by an international convention that individuals who feared persecution because of their political opinions or their membership of particular social groups should get asylum. During the cold war, refugees were overwhelmingly perceived as democrats fleeing communist repression.

Definitions have since expanded. That is partly due to changes in attitudes and domestic laws. In 1994 the first asylum-seeker won sanctuary on the basis of fearing persecution over sexual orientation. The Board of Immigration Appeals ruled in 2014 that Guatemalan women with repressive male companions could count as a group deserving refugee status. In 2016 it added a similar ruling to cover Salvadorean women who are abused. But the Trump administration is trying to curtail the broadening of who can count as a "persecuted group". The recent dip in resettlement numbers mostly reflects the shrinking federal cap on them (see chart). A narrower definition of who may claim asylum would also keep numbers low.

Stricter resettlement policies come with a cost. They run the risk of shutting out people like Wilmot Collins. As a young man ensnared in Liberia's civil war in 1990, Mr Collins cheated death. Trapped in gun battles in Monrovia, the capital, he was twice almost killed by government soldiers. Seized by a rebel while he foraged for food, he narrowly avoided execution. Elsewhere, rebels beheaded his brother. Half-starved and sick with malaria, he fled with his wife aboard a cargo ship.

Four years later—and only after lengthy vetting by un and American officials while in Ghana—he reached Helena, Montana's sleepy capital. He and his wife left, he recalls, with "nothing but the clothes on our backs", arriving in an alien, snow-flecked place. They stand out. Barely 0.6% of Montanans are African-American. Explore Helena's dainty streets, cafés or offices and almost only white faces appear.

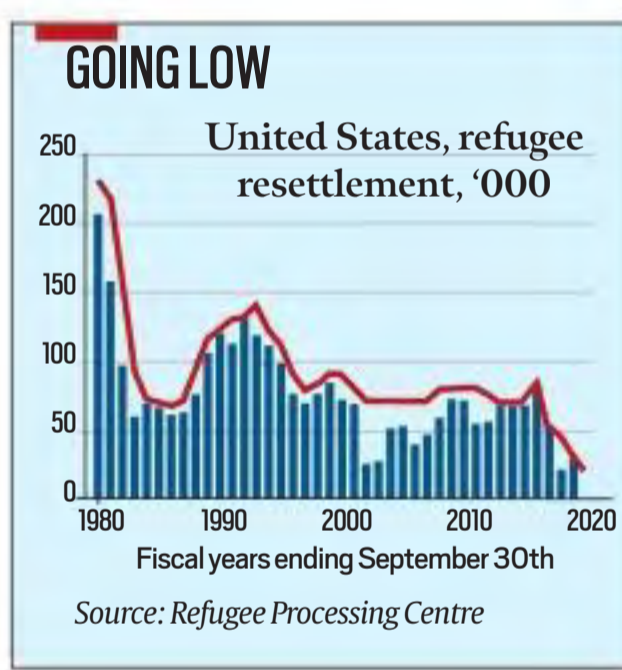
Montanans mostly offered the Collinses a generous welcome, but not all. Someone daubed "KKK" on a wall by their house; Mr Collins's car was vandalised; a fake plane ticket came in the post, with a message saying "Go back to Africa". He shrugged that off as the ranting of "crazy people". Now when he hears politicians, including the president, saying similar things he says he feels "rotten". He wants to show that people who are granted sanctuary in fact help to make America stronger.



Wilmot Collins at a parade at the Montana State University. The former Liberian refugee running for the Senate shows the promise of asylum. *Twitter@CollinsWilmot*

Public attitudes to refugees are sharply divided. Three-quarters of Democrats see a duty to take them in, according to a Pew poll last year; only one-quarter of Republicans agree (a drop from the previous year). Some Republicans worry about security, though rigorous vetting helps to ensure refugees are overwhelmingly law-abiding. In May the Cato Institute, a libertarian think-tank, estimated that an American has but a one in 3.86bn chance per year of being murdered by a refugee in a terrorist attack. The chance of being murdered by a native-born terrorist is about 1 in 28m.

Others claim refugees are an economic drain. Yet where workers are scarce, they are likely to be a boon. Most refugees are employed within 180 days of arrival, points out David Miliband of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), which he says has resettled 350,000 in America. Mr Miliband



is a former British foreign secretary. A few years back, after the mayor of Missoula, a city in western Montana, asked for more refugees, the irc opened a resettle-

ment office. Many refugees now work in supermarkets, hotels and other businesses in the city. Theo Smith, who owns Masala, a restaurant, says his workers from Congo, Iraq and Syria are loyal and capable. The (Republican) governor of nearby Utah, Gary Herbert, appears to agree. He wrote to Mr Trump in October asking for more refugees, whom he called valuable "contributors" to his state.

Within days of Mr Collins's arrival, a chance meeting with Montana's governor led to his first job, at a children's home. He has since been a caretaker and teacher. Six months after getting to Helena he also enrolled in the National Guard. Long spells in the navy and army reserves followed.

Two years ago he turned to politics. In his speeches he has confronted misconceptions that refugees pay no tax, take others' jobs or even get free cars. He jokes indig-

nantly that somehow he missed out on such mythical goodies. (In fact, those given sanctuary must accept any job offered by a resettlement agency, such as the irc, and repay some of the cost of getting to America, such as their plane tickets.)

In 2017 Mr Collins made history when Helena's voters picked him to run their city. He became the first black mayor ever elected in Montana. After moderate early success as mayor—a funding boost for local services, a plan for affordable homes—he is running for the Senate with a promise to make Washington more civil. Montanans, even rural folk in remote areas, have been nothing but supportive, he says.

His chances of becoming the junior senator from Big Sky Country are slender. Three others are vying in the Democratic primary, which takes place in June. All would be overshadowed if Steve Bullock, Montana's

Democratic governor, were to run for the Senate. Whoever ends up taking on the Republican incumbent, Steve Daines, could struggle. Mr Daines raised a mountainous \$1.2m in the latest quarter; Mr Collins lacks big donors. In the same period he gathered only \$84,000.

That, though, is not really the point. In few countries would Mr Collins's story be possible. The candidate himself, a congenial optimist, expects America's readiness to take in refugees to return. "On the whole, Americans have an open door," he says, describing how he was met at the airport in Helena, in 1994, by a crowd of strangers who held a banner that read "Welcome home Wilmot". But the America of 2019 is less welcoming than before. The refugee squeeze is just one sign of that.

©The Economist Newspaper Limited 2019

## IDENTITY DOCUMENTS IN AFRICA

## Papers, please

African countries are struggling to build robust identity systems

THE FIRST THING that visitors to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg see is a wall of identity cards—the pieces of paper that determined where people could live and work and whom they could love. From the outset, the apartheid regime's ability to discriminate against "nie-blankes" (non-whites) depended on having a robust system of identifying people.

The opposite problem confronts most other countries in Africa today. Governments have little idea who their citizens are. Around the world, about one billion people lack official proof of their identities, reckons the World Bank. Such citizens cannot, in many cases, get services such as health care, welfare and education. They also struggle to exercise their rights to vote or live in their home countries. States need this information, too. Without it, governments have no idea whom to tax, conscript and protect, or where to allocate resources.

This is not just a poor-world problem. Britain was recently rocked by the "Windrush" debacle, in which dozens of citizens were wrongly deported. But it is a particularly acute problem in sub-Saharan Africa, where one in two people cannot prove his or her identity. It is not for want of effort. Every country in the region has either established or plans to create a universal identity programme.

Some countries, such as South Africa and Botswana, have relatively good programmes that register most births and issue papers to almost all of their people. At the other end of the spectrum are countries like Congo and Liberia, which are only just getting started in registering

births, never mind issuing identity documents (see map). In the middle are countries that are upgrading from old, paper-based systems to digital ones.

This is more complicated than it sounds. Take Nigeria, which has 13 federal and three state id schemes. The country's National Identity Management Commission (NIMC), a body set up in 2007 with the purpose of issuing identity numbers and cards to Nigeria's 180m people, has so far reached less than a fifth of the population.

African countries struggle for several reasons. One is racial discrimination. Uganda, Liberia and Sierra Leone explicitly withhold

nationality from children of certain races and ethnicities. Other countries do so informally by refusing to issue papers. Another reason is a failure by governments to explain to their citizens how they might benefit. Consider birth registration, the most basic form of official identity. South Asia more than doubled its rate of birth registration to 71% between 2000 and 2014. In sub-Saharan Africa the rate dropped by one point, to 41%, over the same period. For poor villagers, going to a government office to register a birth is time-consuming and expensive, especially when officials demand bribes. Some countries charge a fee, which is a disincentive. Others penalise late registrations.

One way to encourage people is to link birth registration to benefits such as child-support grants—something South Africa did with great success. But that approach may also have the perverse consequence of denying payments to the very poorest.

Money is another reason many African countries have fallen behind their peers. Extending the state's reach to remote areas can be expensive. So, too, is paying for skilled labour of the sort required to fill in forms accurately and to operate biometric machines. The technology itself is costly, especially for small countries that do not have much buying power.

Many governments have unwisely bought proprietary systems, meaning that they are forced to go back to the seller for maintenance, upgrades and new components. That can be expensive. When Nigeria's NIMC wanted to use its own card-printing machines, the firm that had sold it software tried to insist that Nigeria buy its machines as well, says Tunji Durodola, an adviser to the commission. (They eventually



People apply for birth certificates in Ivory Coast. African countries struggle for several reasons. One is racial discrimination. *Reuters*

got help from Pakistan, which had software that worked on any machine.)

But there are signs of change coming from within the industry itself, spurred by developments in an entirely different part of the world: India. Like Africa, it is vast, poor and home to more than a billion people. Yet as a single country India has tremendous negotiating power.

When India developed its "Aadhaar" identity programme it invited leading firms to bid—but with the caveat that they provide open-source software, or code that can be examined and changed by others. This allowed engineers to knit together different bits of a system such as databases, enrolment software, fingerprint scanners and so on. The suppliers agreed because they did not want to miss out on the biggest identity bonanza the world had ever seen. Moreover, India's spending led to a big increase in production, which caused prices to

fall across the industry.

The ripples of India's big splash are now lapping on Africa's shores. Companies including Idemia, Gemalto and De La Rue have agreed to establish "open standards". This is one step short of open-source standards, but it is enough to allow different bits of a system to talk to each other. That would allow countries to buy the parts they need from competing companies, giving them greater flexibility at lower costs.

Eleven countries, including Uganda, Congo, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Mali and Madagascar, have signed up to an industry advisory committee to develop these open standards. "The industry has been almost like a craft industry and now it's moving towards a commodity industry and standardisation," says Alan Gelb of the Centre for Global Development, a think-tank.

Even as governments think about the technical problems of recording identity,

they also need to grapple with the far more consequential ones around rights, governance and privacy. The starkest warning of the misuse of identity was in the Rwandan genocide, where ID papers listed ethnicity, making it easy to target Tutsis. Since data on religion and ethnicity are not needed to provide services, governments should not be hoovering it up, yet many still do.

States should also be wary of denying people their rights by creating a class of citizens without papers. In Kenya, for example, the government wants everyone to register for ID cards, but it discriminates against members of the Nubian minority by forcing them to appear before a security panel to prove their nationality. Modern identity systems promise to bring many benefits to Africa. But as they proliferate, so too will the temptation for politicians to misuse them.

©The Economist Newspaper Limited 2019

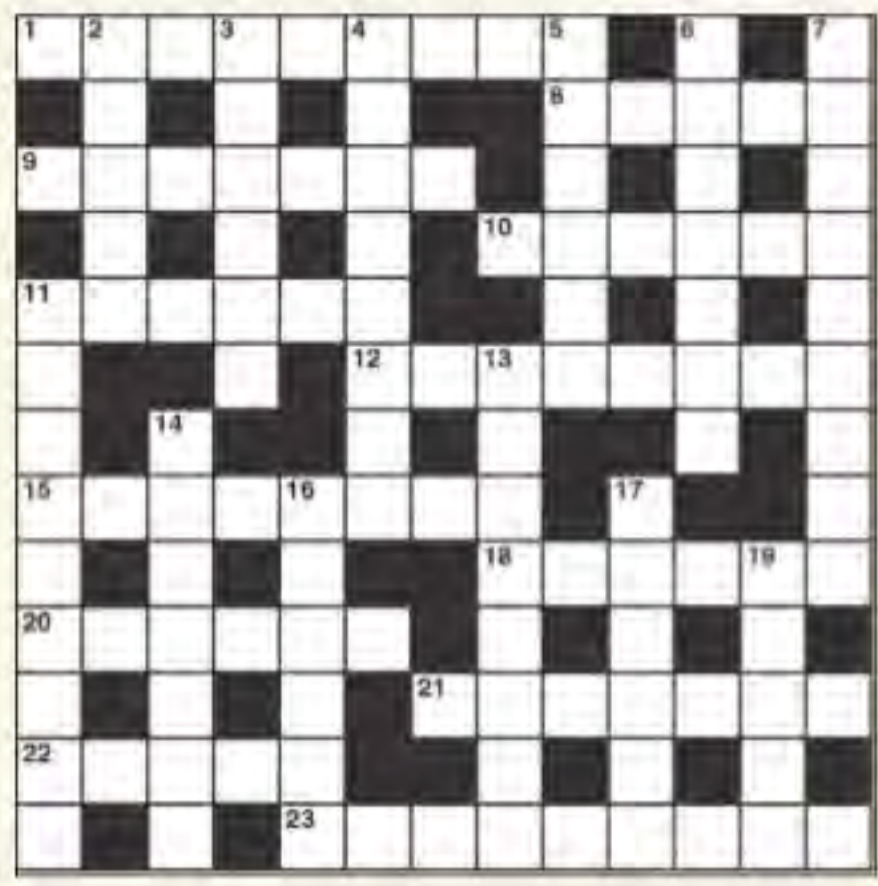
## UNDERCOUNT

Sub-Saharan Africa, birth registration %, 2016 or latest available

0 20 40 60 80 100



CROSSWORD 3985



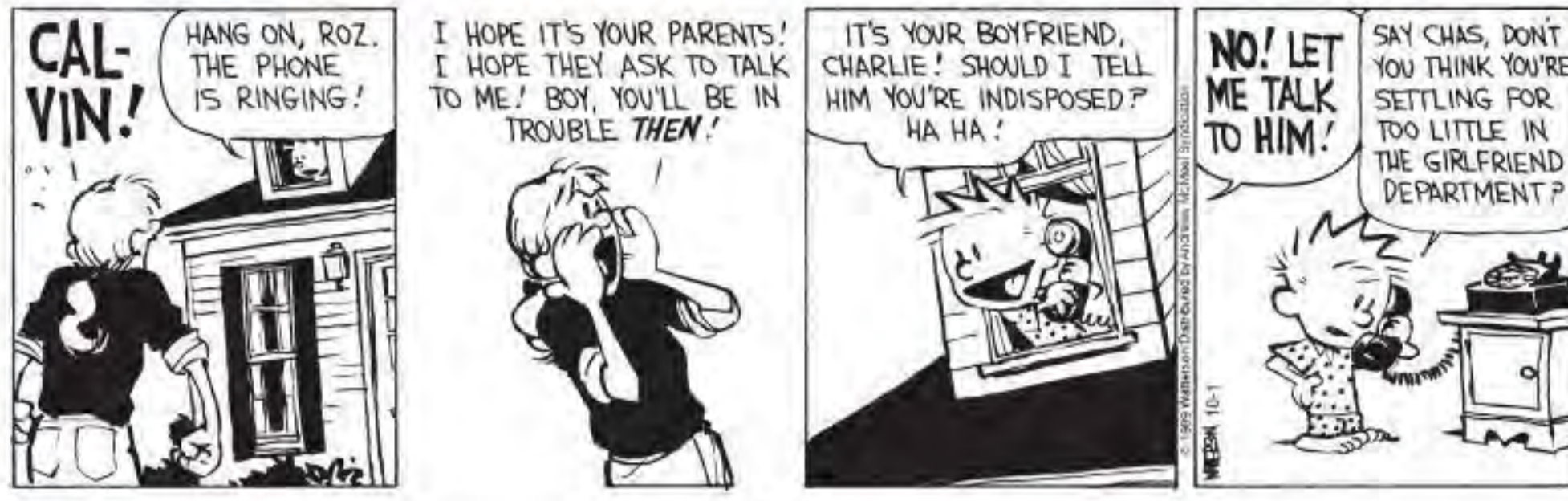
- ACROSS: 1 Like this rogue, when converted (9) 2 Country which might provide aid in some way (5) 3 Persistently appears in a kind of sunhat (6) 4 Two short of a complete score (8) 5 Material seen around at the draper's? (6) 6 A literary contraction (7) 7 Score, but taken from the field (9) 8 It may be set for lunch (5) 9 Present day court official gives award (7) 10 Girl, out of breath (6) 11 A good man in the mine, though too old for the job (4,2) 12 In distribution of income the company is thrifty (8) 13 It's presented at court (8) 14 Danced and swam (6) 15 Medicines that vary in cost (6) 16 They're associated with heads and tails (3,4) 17 Single amp provides some light (5) 18 No parasites, but they live off others (9) DOWN: 1 A tear in the printed sheet indicates extraction (9) 2 An explorer needs one in support (7) 3 Lodge in temporary accommodation (6) 4 The rod may become very heated (3-3) 5 Appear on stage to record (5)

Solutions Crossword 3984: Across: 1 Larking, 4 Piper, 7 Wave, 8 Muleteer, 10 Runner bean, 12 Stupor, 13 Alters, 15 Camping out, 18 Ungainly, 19 Pile, 20 Again, 21 Shingle. Down: 1 Lower, 2 Ravenous, 3 Grubby, 4 Prevailing, 5 Peer, 6 Reredos, 9 Decoration, 11 Becoming, 12 Satsuma, 14 Spells, 16 Theme, 17 Agra.

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBS by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



JUMBLED WORDS

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

Jumbled words: MXAIO, BENNTU, AYSSS, CEIUMP. Shaded squares for letter selection.

Answer: Assumptions are the terms of relationships - Henry Winkler (11)

SUDOKU 4056

Difficulty Level 3s Instructions To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns, in each of the nine horizontal rows and in each of the nine boxes.



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

SOLUTION SUDOKU 4055



SALUTE THE SOLDIER

ASSISTANT COMMANDANT R K WADHWA MAHAVEER CHAKRA (10.11.1940 -11.12.1971) Bordermen Salute and proudly remember today their brave comrade who led form the front with unflinching resolve in the service of motherland.

U/Lnk Bir Bahadur Gurung of 1/11 Gorkha Rifles (BATALIK) made the supreme sacrifice during 'OP CACTUS LILY' in Erstwhile East Pakistan on 11 Dec 1971 in a true act of valour.

CO AND ALL RANKS, 1/11 GORKHA RIFLES (BRAVEST OF THE BRAVE)(BATALIK)

Advertisement for Eastern Coalfields Limited (A Subsidiary of Coal India Limited) regarding tender notice for design, supply, erection, commissioning, construction and testing of Coal Handling Plant (3MTY) at HURA C OCP.

Advertisement for Dakshinanchal Vidyut Vitran Nigam Limited (UNDERTAKING OF U.P. GOVERNMENT) regarding tender extension notice for various electrical works.

Advertisement for M. P. Paschim Kshetra Vidyut Vitran Co. Ltd., GPH Compound, Pologround, Indore regarding tender notice for outsourcing of manpower.

Advertisement for Society for Applied Microwave Electronics Engineering & Research (SAMEER) regarding tender notice for IIT Campus, Powai, Mumbai 400 076.

Advertisement for Himachal Pradesh State Electricity Board Limited regarding tender notice for construction of 2 Nos. 132 KV Double Circuit Transmission Line Bays for Power Evacuation of 25 MW.

DAY TODAY BY PETER VIDAL

Horoscope section for various zodiac signs: ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20), LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23), TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21), SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23), GEMINI (May 22 - June 21), SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22), CANCER (June 22 - July 23), CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20), LEO (July 24 - Aug 23), AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19), VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23), PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20).

# 21 TALK ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD



## NOSES ARE RED

Street artist Banksy's new mural, which shows two reindeer pulling a homeless man on a bench, appears to have been vandalised days after it appeared at Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter. The vandal has added red noses to the reindeer.

## SNAP SHOTS



### In Protest

NATIONAL AWARD-WINNING filmmaker Jannu Barua has withdrawn his film *Bhoga Khirikee* (pictured), produced by actor Priyanka Chopra, from the upcoming Assam State Film Awards and Film Festival, in protest against the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill. The Padma Bhushan awardee said that the leaders are "disrobing the motherland" only because of power politics. "I am very unhappy at the ongoing situation regarding the bill. This bill should not have happened. We believed the leadership, but they are not trying to understand us. In such a situation, I do not want to participate in such a programme," said Barua. The festival is scheduled to take place on December 26 and 27 in Guwahati. "The Assamese community is language centric. There are people from all religions and we want to remain like this. Language is everything for us. If we lose that, then what will happen? As an artiste, I can clearly see what is going to happen," he added.



### Breaking Down

ACTOR DEEPIKA Padukone broke down at the trailer launch of her upcoming film *Chhapaak* on Tuesday, saying she was at a loss for words about the movie where she plays an acid attack survivor. The actor called the film, directed by Meghna Gulzar, her career's most special project. It is based on the real-life story of acid attack survivor Laxmi Agarwal. "I had only thought that the trailer would be shown and we will come on the stage but I didn't think I would have to speak about it too... Whenever I watch the trailer, I... Can we talk about this later? I am really sorry," said Padukone. "Usually, you have to sit through the entire process and have to decide whether you want to do a film or not, and it's not often where you know instantly in first minutes of meeting a director that this is what you want to commit your life to and *Chhapaak* is that for me," she said. Written by Atika Chohan, *Chhapaak* is scheduled to release on January 10.



Writer Vishwas Patil in Delhi Tashi Tobgyal; (below) cover of *Panipat*

# 'A writer's path to wage war against big directors is difficult'

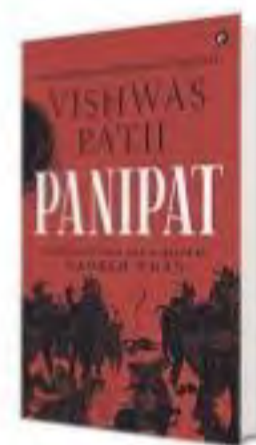
Marathi writer Vishwas Patil, winner of this year's Indra Goswami National Literature Award, on the English translation of his novel *Panipat* and why he sued filmmaker Ashutosh Gowariker

### PAROMITA CHAKRABARTI

IF HE were to write about the recent political seesaw in Maharashtra following the assembly elections in the state, Marathi writer Vishwas Patil, winner of the 2019 biennial Dr Indira Goswami (Mamoni Raisom Goswami) National Literature Award, would have done what he did with his recent novel *Nagkeshar*: he would have introduced a daughter-in-law or two in the plot instead of a nephew. "This is the story of two ambitious daughters-in-law of a sugar baron — their passion for power, gimmicks for winning general elections by hook or crook and the undercurrents of Maharashtra politics," says Patil, 60.

In contemporary Marathi literature, the Mumbai-based writer is a stalwart, most of whose books have been bestsellers running into multiple reprints. They have won accolades for their intuitive portrayal of agrarian life as well as his attempts at historical fiction. From his Sahitya Akademi Award-winning (1992) novel *Zadazadati* to *Sambhaji*, his work has touched upon a range of topics, from rural distress to historical events and personages.

One of Patil's dearest memories is a phone call he received from writer and activist Mahasweta Devi about a decade ago. Devi had just finished reading a manuscript of *Zadazadati* — a novel about a rural community being displaced because of the construction of a dam — in translation, at the recommendation of writer Amitav Ghosh and had called to congratulate him. "At the insistence of (award-winning Konkani writer) Damodar Mauzo, Amitavji had gone through the manuscript... I got to know about it when I received a phone call of appreciation from Mahaswetaji," he says. Ghosh would refer to Patil's works again in his 2016 work of non-fiction on climate change, *The Great Derangement*. "I was shocked to see my name in *The Great Derangement*... that a writer of his fame remembered my work and my name even though we were never in contact," says the writer.



I strongly feel that the balance of destiny will go in my favour one day or the other

VISHWAS PATIL WRITER

These are memories that he holds dear but Patil, who was in the Capital to attend a literature festival, wears his success lightly, insisting that it has taken him years to be noticed by mainstream publishers. This year, though, with the English translation of *Mahanayak* being published by Eka in July and that of *Panipat* by Nadeem Khan last month, the former civil servant, whose last posting was as vice president, Maharashtra Airport Development Corporation, has been in the thick of things.

The historical novel based on the third battle of Panipat, fought in 1761 between the Marathas and Afghan ruler Ahmad

Shah Abdali, had changed the course of Patil's life. He was 22 when he had first started working on the book. Six years later, when the book was published in November 1988, it had made him an overnight literary sensation. "I was 28 years old then. Within 15 days, I sensed that the book had made me a hero. Not only common readers but also historians, experts and literary critics appreciated my work. Lots of awards were showered on me. Former Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao, who was then the chairman of the Bharatiya Jnanpith, read it in Marathi and immediately brought out its Hindi version. I got appreciation from the masses as well as the classes," says Patil.

It's one of the reasons why *Panipat* is particularly close to his heart and why he felt compelled to sue filmmaker Ashutosh Gowariker after he saw the trailer of his just-released film by the same name. "We insisted on getting the script or watching the movie privately, in the presence of advocates, but our plea got rejected in court (there was a hearing on December 2). But I knew from the first day that a writer's path to wage war against big directors, producers and distributors will be difficult. They are worried about their investment in hundreds of crores in the project, but who will bother about a regional writer's investment of eight long years of his life (six years for writing it and then this drama)? It is a fact that prior to 1988, the third battle of Panipat was considered a stigma for the Marathas. But the balance of convenience is bound to go in favour of big companies. I strongly feel that the balance of destiny will go in my favour one day or the other," he says.



Leonard (left) and Slava Grigoryan Simon Shiff

stuck — I never wanted to play anything else.

Who have been your classical guitar heroes?

Those we had growing up were varied, from John Williams and Julian Bream to the Assad Brothers. But we always listened to,

played and were inspired by different styles of guitar-playing — from Pat Metheny to Paco de Lucia, Jimi Hendrix to Ralph Towner.

What is your first memory of music?

Probably of mum and dad practising their instruments. They were always re-

hearing, thinking about or listening to music. It was a language that filled our house. Our father was a professional drummer (also a classically-trained violinist) for many years and loved jazz. This was definitely a genre that wasn't easily accessible back in the Soviet times.

Tell us about your family and the move to Australia.

Our family name is Armenian. Our father was born in Belarus and our mother was born in what is now Ukraine. They moved to Kazakhstan with their respective families at the age of five. I was born in Almaty in 1976 and Leonard, in Melbourne, in 1985, after the family immigrated to Australia to start a new life; our mother had a few cousins living there. Being a country made up of immigrants, we never felt unwelcome. Music was a great platform for us to connect. The guitar as an instrument had much more cultural value in Australia than in the Soviet Union back then, which made our development possible.

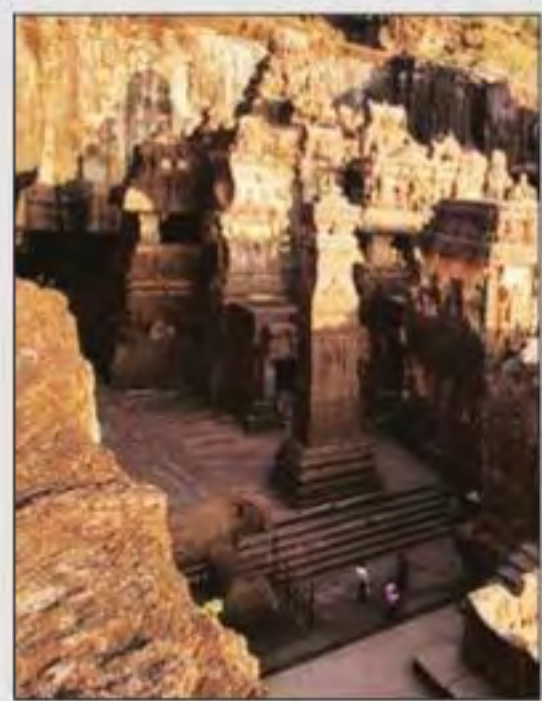
As migrant artistes, do you think migration adds to the art and culture of a place rather than taking away from it?

We grew up playing more music from

Spain and South America than anywhere else. In recent years, we've arranged and recorded a lot of classical repertoire not associated with the guitar. For instance, the compositions of Tchaikovsky, Debussy and Bach. We improvise a lot at recordings and concerts, and other 'tonalities' (classical European, Soviet, Central Asian and so on) can appear when we do this. This is probably where our Australian influence really comes through. Growing up in Australia, we believed anything was possible, rules didn't have to be followed like they are in other countries with great musical traditions.

How would you define your music?

That is tough to answer since we vary things around so often. Our sound and technique can best be described as classical, however, musically, we veer into other worlds very often. Jazz, Latin and folk influences always have a way of coming through. We've released 12 albums as a duo, are working on a handful of new projects/recordings: an album of Handel keyboard suites, our first Spanish album as a duo, a theatre work due for premiere in July 2020 and composing for a commission for the National Museum of Australia.



Angling Hours by Haren Das; (top) Ellora Caves

## Click on Culture

The government launches a portal to showcase Indian culture

### DIVYAA

CULTURE MINISTER Prahlad Singh Patel on Tuesday unveiled a portal on Indian culture which, he said, brings together all the cultural resources of the country on one platform. Created by the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, in collaboration with IIGNOU, over a course of three years, [www.indianculture.gov.in](http://www.indianculture.gov.in) is a digital resource of documents, artefacts, paintings and other items available in the archive.

"We are not able to display even one-tenth of our cultural treasures to the public, owing to lack of space. Our history and culture should be out in the public domain so that more people in the country and abroad can see and experience it," said Patel.

The portal currently has details on 90 lakh items, including manuscripts, archives, research papers, audio books and folk tales. It also has information on UNESCO sites, reports and proceedings of various events organised by the Ministry of Culture as well as details of museum collections. This pertains to all the organisations that come under the aegis of the Ministry, such as the National Archives of India, Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Smriti, Archaeological Survey of India and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.

The timeline of the content dates back to 4,000 years, and includes sculptures and paintings from the repository of the National Museum and several rare manuscripts. Uttam Pachame, Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi, said that the institution has contributed some portfolios to the collection and gradually, as many as 8,000 works from its repository will go live on the portal. Till now, all the content on the portal pertains to the Ministry and its branches, and the state museums and archaeology departments haven't been involved. However, Patel said this gap may gradually be filled. He admitted that some of the information on the portal may be incomplete or have discrepancies, but it's a work-in-progress, and over the next year, the shortcomings will be rectified.

# Plucked Notes

Australian classical guitarist duo Slava and Leonard Grigoryan on their multicultural repertoire

### TANUSHREE GHOSH

THAT A good piece of music transports to lands unknown is a hackneyed saying. However, Grigoryan Brothers, touted as one of the finest among their generation, evoke through their music — calm, dulcet, invigorating, taking you back in time — the imagery of sitting by and witnessing sea waves, desert whirlwinds, or walking down ancient Rome. It could well be a score for an espionage film or of a story of unrequited love and separation.

Adelaide-based Slava, 43, and Sydney-based Leonard, 34 (who has also played the trumpet for years), are of Armenian descent, who grew up in Kazakhstan and moved to Melbourne, Australia in the 1980s. Their album *Bach Concertos*, "arranged for us by our father," says Slava, "recorded with the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra", picked up awards af-

ter its release in 2019, including the AIR Award for Best Independent Classical Album. Playing together makes the solo-artist brothers "complete and richer in terms of musical and sonic possibilities". One part of the duo, Slava, speaks about playing the plucked instrument, their early days and influences, as they perform in Delhi today at the India International Centre, in between Mumbai and Kolkata gigs. The duo finds Indian audiences "incredibly communicative and easy to connect with artistically". Excerpts:

Why the classical guitar and not violin, since you first learnt music from your violinist parents, or the Central Asian fiddle or lute since you grew up in Kazakhstan?

Both our parents loved the sound and stylistic flexibility of the guitar. This was the first instrument I received as a six-year-old and it

ON TUBE TODAY

IND VS WI: 3RD T20I

Live from Mumbai on Star Sports 1 and 3  
— 7 pm onwards

## Mumbai's Mulani takes fiver after making 89

DEVENDRA PANDEY  
VADODARA, DECEMBER 10

SHAMS MULANI, the spinner who accounted for half the Baroda line-up as Mumbai closed in on a big first-innings lead, had never wanted to become a bowler. His father Zakir, a mechanical engineer who loved the game, wanted his son to become a batsman and he too had internalised that dream.

When he was nine, Shams was sent to Matunga Gymkhana for coaching as Zakir had started all the planning about his future. Not only where he would get batting coaching but the hours of the day were chalked out: coaching, school, tuition and cricket talk.

It started off as planned when Shams was picked as a batsman in Shivaji Park Gymkhana's selection trials before a problem emerged.

The Gymkhana had too many batsmen but there was a lack of enough bowlers at the nets. Who would bowl to all those batsmen? And when would his chance with the bat come?

So one day, just for fun, Shams decided to roll his arm over. He didn't know it then but his 'fun' stints impressed legendary Mumbai spinner Padmakar Shivalkar. "He told me to take bowling seriously," Shams says. "My other coaches also felt that I should not give up spin bowling; that it would help my career in future."

The coaches were indeed right; it was his spin bowling that got him into Mumbai age-group tournaments and later, into the Mumbai senior team.

Shams, whose name means Sun, sparkled for Mumbai against Baroda, scoring 89 runs and then picking up a five-for. First, it was Shams the batsman who came to Mumbai's rescue. He had a hundred-run partnership for the eighth wicket with Shardul Thakur on the first day to help Mumbai recover from a middle-order collapse. Then, he added 77 for the last two wickets as Mumbai reached 431.

### First blow

Thakur struck the first blow with the ball as Ajinkya Rahane pounced a stunning catch, inches off the ground, to remove Aditya Waghmode. But Baroda fought back through the other opener Kedar Devdhar and Vishnu Solanki before Shams got into the act, with a little bit of help from wicket-keeper Aditya Tare. Solanki had attempted the sweep, missed, and Tare waited for a few seconds after gathering the ball and as soon as Solanki's feet lifted in an effort to balance himself, the balls were whipped off.

Shams didn't look back after that. He prised out Deepak Hooda with one that turned in sharply from the rough. Hooda thrust his pad as a defence but the ball spun behind him to hit the stumps. Then Krunal Pandya fell, his defensive prod leading to a catch at short leg.

Yusuf Pathan, who likes to sweep spinners, tried it but was too early into the shot and the ball lobbed off the bottom edge to short midwicket. And soon, Shams had his fifth wicket with Viraj Bhosale stumped.

Not that Shams's spinning skills has ensured a smooth ride for him in Mumbai cricket. A few years ago, he was told that the spin cupboard was already full with three left-arm spinners in the squad. He got a few stray chances but would get only a few overs.

"I had told myself that the next time I get a chance I will do well. It didn't happen that year but in the following years I became the main spinner and gradually progressed in Mumbai cricket," Shams says.

It wasn't all one-way traffic though. Devdhar fashioned a valuable unbeaten 154 to take Baroda through to 301 for 9. He was at his best against Thakur, reeling out five spanking square cuts to the boundary. Such was his timing and touch that he slammed four boundaries in one over from Thakur. However, with wickets falling at regular intervals, Devdhar had to be cautious. Now, Baroda need a minor miracle from the last wicket if they are to stretch Mumbai.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Mumbai first innings 401 all out (Shams Mulani 89, Shardul Thakur 64, Yusuf Pathan 3-26) lead Baroda 301 for nine in 69 overs (Kedar 154 not out, Vishnu Solanki 48, Shams Mulani 5-99) by 130 runs at the end of Day 2.



Chandigarh's Mohd Arslan plays a shot during his unbeaten 233 knock against Arunachal on Day 2 of their Ranji Trophy match in Chandigarh. Kamleshwar Singh

## Almas high-rise keeps UP on track

Opener makes 92 not out in hosts' 175 in first innings, Mavi 3-9 burst ensures Railways don't pull away

VISHAL MENON  
MEERUT, DECEMBER 10

HAJI SHAUKAT Ali has been in the construction business for more than a decade now, and undertaken numerous housing projects and built high-rises that dot Kanpur's posh Civil Lines area. However, his youngest son Almas never showed an inclination to follow in his footsteps.

Whenever the youngster has shown a penchant for skyscrapers, it has been on the cricket field. Back in 2015, Almas racked up 760 runs at the U-23 level, which earned him the prestigious MA Chidambaram Award for being the most prolific batsman at the junior level. He made his first-class debut the following year, and began with 128 on debut against Madhya Pradesh at Moradabad. People who watched Almas bat back then still rave about the scintillating stroke-play.

Four years later, the builder's son would catch the eye again as he carried his bat for an unbeaten 92 that gave Uttar Pradesh a realistic chance of enforcing a result in their Ranji Trophy season-opener against Railways. At stumps on Day 2, Railways were reeling at 58/5 in the second innings after Uttar Pradesh folded for 175. The visitors are still 136 runs ahead by virtue of their 78-run first-innings lead, leaving the game tantalizingly poised with two days to go.

Almas may have missed out on his second first-class ton, but under the circumstances in which he got those runs, it was worth much more than a three-figure score.

Batsmen have generally had a tough time at Meerut's Victoria Park over the first two days' play, as pacers from both teams accounted for 23 out of the 25 wickets to fall.



Almas Shaukat (left) with Yash Dayal.

In such trying conditions, two batsmen stood out. On Monday, debutant wicketkeeper-batsman Dinesh Mor's splendid 91 not out propelled Railways. And on the second day, it was Almas's splendid rearguard that fuelled the home team's hopes.

Day 2 mirrored the opening day's play. If anything, there was more dew, which played into the hands of the Railways pacers. Their three-pronged attack — comprising Amit Mishra, Pradeep Poojar and debutant

Himanshu Sangwan — feasted in the morning session, running through Uttar Pradesh like a hot knife through butter. They never got over-excited with the conditions on offer and married sustained pace, swing and seam with pin-point accuracy. Barring Almas, the rest of the Uttar Pradesh batsmen looked clueless. By lunch, they had lost half the side for under 50, and barely an hour into the afternoon session, they would lose another four wickets and were tottering at 101/9. All this while, the opener watched the carnage from the non-striker's end.

### Throwing caution to the wind

With No.11 Yash Dayal for company, Almas decided to counterattack. The left-hander unleashed a series of fierce cut and pull shots that threw the pacers off line. The hour preceding the tea break was the most profitable period of play for Uttar Pradesh as their last-wicket alliance swelled on the back of such audacious stroke-play. Almas biffed five sixes and looked poised to reach the three-figure mark when Karn Sharma cleaned up Dayal for 19.

Despite conceding a significant lead, the Uttar Pradesh bowlers came out firing in the second innings. Dayal dismissed the Railways openers cheaply, before Shivam Mavi's triple strike gave them more reason to be hopeful.

Making a comeback to the team, Almas provided a masterclass on how to bat on a sporting pitch. He borrowed Mor's template — blending patience with positivity — and reaped rewards. This knock also illustrates the strides he has taken as a batsman since his opening season in 2016, which he finished with 462 runs. Even back then, his talent was never in question. It's just the consistency that was missing.

Almas's childhood coach Shashikant Khandekar, who has followed his progression ever since he walked into his Kamala Park academy with an oversized kit bag a dozen years ago, says: "He made his way into the Uttar Pradesh Ranji Trophy squad on the back of a mountain of runs at the U-19 and U-23 levels. But he was still too young and inexperienced. So, after his debut century, there were a string of matches where he couldn't maintain the consistency he had shown on the junior circuit."

The coach attributes the inconsistency to a lack of match awareness. "It's a fad to score runs quickly in all formats, so that selectors and IPL scouts take notice of them. Almas was only 20 back then, and I think he fell into that trap."

When he got dropped the following season, Almas did not sit in a corner and sulk. He went back to the nets, spoke with his coach and friends to find ways to re-calibrate his game and become a better player. Luckily for him, help also came from home — his elder brother Ashraf Ali was a former first-class cricketer, who represented India at the U-15 Asia Cup and World Cup back in 2000.

"The fact that his elder brother was also a former cricketer helped. Ashraf was also an opener, who played most of his first-class cricket under Mohammad Kaif," says BCCI scorer AP Singh. Going forward, his Uttar Pradesh team-mates would hope that Almas's latest knock is just the beginning of a major boom in the 24-year-old's career.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Railways 253 and 58/5 (Nitin Bhille 18, Shivam Mavi 3-9, Yash Dayal 2-19) versus Uttar Pradesh 175 (Almas Shaukat 92 not out, Saurabh Kumar 21; Amit Verma 4-52, Himanshu Sangwan 4-71).

## Baby steps up, Kerala stride towards first-innings lead

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
THUMBA (KERALA), DECEMBER 10

SKIPPER SACHIN Baby punished a listless Delhi attack to hit 155 as Kerala gained complete control for their Group A tie, first by posting a mammoth 525 for 9 and then removing the two opposition openers. Left-handed Baby, carried on the good work done on the opening day by centurion Robin Uthappa and Ponnamm Rahul (97). His 274-ball knock had 13 hits to the fence.

His innings was the primary reason that Kerala went past the 500-run mark as a tired Delhi side lost both its openers — Anuj Rawat

cleaned by off-spinner Jalaj Saxena and Kunal Chandel (1) edging one to Mohammed Azharuddeen behind stumps off pacer Sandeep Warrier.

Skipper Dhruv Shorey and his deputy Nitish Rana were at the crease and the only other specialist batsman in the side is left-handed Jonty Sidhu.

Delhi will first look at a score of 376 to avoid follow-on and take it from thereon. However it looks an uphill task at the moment in the manner the match has panned out so far. After looking pedestrian on opening day, Delhi bowling seemed to have found its mojo back for a brief period when Vishnu Vinod (5) and Azhar (15) were dismissed in

quick succession reducing Kerala to 310 for 5.

Just when it seemed Delhi would do well to restrict the hosts under 375, Baby and Salman Nizar (77 off 144 balls) added 156 runs at a decent pace to gain the momentum. Delhi's specialist — debutant leg-break bowler Tejas Baroka (3/128 in 30 overs), offie Shivam Sharma (2/112 in 34 overs) and orthodox slow left-arm Vikas Mishra (1/107 in 34 overs) had the ignominy of conceding 100 runs each.

Baby had 13 hits to the fence while Nizar hit nine fours and two sixes. Once Nizar was out, Baby shielded the tail as another 31 invaluable runs were added with Karaparambil Monish (9) which took the

score closer to 500.

Baby, who scored his sixth first-class hundred, was the eighth batsman out, bowled by all-rounder Lalit Yadav (2/47 in 21 overs) trying to up the ante. Once the ninth wicket fell, Baby decided to declare, rightfully denying Delhi's shoddy bowling attack a chance of getting the opposition all-out.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Kerala 1st Innings 525/9 decl (Sachin Baby 155 off 274 balls, Robin Uthappa 102 off 221 balls, Ponnamm Rahul 97 off 174, Salman Nizar 77 off 144 balls, Tejas Baroka 3/128, Shivam Sharma 2/112, Vikas Mishra 1/107 in 34 overs). Delhi 1st Innings 23/2.

## Arslan hits Chandigarh's first Ranji double ton

NITIN SHARMA  
CHANDIGARH, DECEMBER 10

MOHAMMED ARSLAN Khan became the eighth Indian to score a double century on first-class debut on Tuesday with an unbeaten knock of 233 against Arunachal Pradesh at the Sector 16 Stadium.

Khan thus joined a select group — which includes Gundappa Vishwanath, Amol Muzumdar, Anshuman Pandey, Manpreet Juneja, Jiwanjot Singh, Abhishek Gupta and Ajay Rohera.

With Chandigarh declaring their first innings at 503 for two before removing six Arunachal Pradesh batsmen for 164 runs by the end of the second day's play, the hosts still led by 192 runs. Khan could have broken Rohera's record for the highest score on Ranji debut (267\*) but the 20-year-old said such moments can wait.

"I could have scored a few more runs but what I got are also enough. My target was to play patiently till I reached 200 as the odd ball was turning and keeping low. Thoughts of going for 300 had come to my mind but with the rain in the forecast, the team needed time and such moments can wait," shared Khan.

The fact that the double ton came at a venue where he had watched an India-Australia ODI as a child in 2007, without a ticket, made it even more special. When Arslan told his elder brother Shahnawaz, captain of the Panjab University cricket team, about his interest in cricket, he was enrolled at a local academy, but it was a visit by Yuvraj Singh's childhood coach Sukhwinder Bawa prompted the youngster to take the game more seriously.

### Penant for big scores

Bawa took Khan to Gurgaon and the coach also decided to get him into Himachal Pradesh junior teams with Chandigarh still having no affiliation with BCCI. Khan, who represented Chamba district till this year, had scored 211 against Bilaspur in the Himachal Pradesh Inter-District Trophy before joining Chandigarh. He played for the union territory's U-23 team and amassed 699 runs, including five centuries and two half-centuries, in the BCCI U-23 one-day tournament in Bhubaneswar last month.

Resuming at 119 runs on Tuesday, Khan hit five boundaries and one six in the first hour to reach 150. Post drinks, he scored 82 runs off 54 balls hitting nine boundaries and three sixes.

"I started cricket watching my elder brother Shahnawaz play at the Panjab University grounds. When Bawa sir decided to take me to Gurgaon, my parents and brother were a bit worried but it was not. Sometimes, I would catch the bus straight to Himachal Pradesh to play U-16 and U-19 matches and would not even stop at Chandigarh. I was not part of the Chandigarh team for the Vijay Hazare and Syed Mushtaq Ali tournaments, and I knew I had to earn my spot and the five centuries and two half-centuries in U-23 competition gave me the belief that I can make it to the Ranji team," the 5'4" opener, whose father Zabih Ullah Khan runs a tailoring showroom in nearby Sector 17, said.

Khan was 34 runs short of Rohera's record when Chandigarh declared their first innings after 76 overs. Khan and skipper Manan Vohra had added 172 runs for the second wicket with the captain hitting 124 off 82 balls.

"We had the declaration in mind as we thought rain can come on Wednesday morning too. Records are okay but the team always come first and Khan will have his opportunities to score 300 in the future too. I had to wait for a long time for my turn to bat as Khan and Shivam Bhabri batted superbly. I was able to gain momentum quickly and batting is easy on this Sector 16 Stadium wicket once you are set. It's good to get runs in Chandigarh colours," said Vohra.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Arunachal Pradesh 147 and 164/6 in 45 overs (Rahul Dalal 75 batting, Gurinder Singh 3/42) vs Chandigarh 503/2 declared (Mohammed Arslan Khan 233 not out, Manan Vohra 124, Shivam Bhabri 124).

## RANJI ROUND-UP

### POOR START FOR SHANKAR

FROM BEING the batting all-rounder and a possible solution for India's No. 4 slot at the World Cup to a toe injury that had ruled him out of the tournament followed by losing his place to Shivam Dube — the year has been topsy-turvy for Vijay Shankar. He is a domestic cricket thoroughbred and Shankar made it to the Indian team by dint of his performance in the Ranji Trophy. He is leading Tamil Nadu this season, but things didn't go quite according to plan in his first innings as captain. Shankar (12) was out leg-before to K Gowtham, who took three wickets for Karnataka, on top of his 39-ball half-century, to put Tamil Nadu under pressure. Chasing

Karnataka's first innings total of 336 all out — Ravi Ashwin returned with 4/79 — Tamil Nadu finished the day on 165/4, with Dinesh Karthik batting on 23. The veteran now holds the key to Tamil Nadu's run chase.

**BRIEF SCORES (AT DINDIDUL):** K'taka 336 (K Gowtham 51; R Ashwin 4/79) vs Tamil Nadu 165/4 (K Gowtham 3/61)

### SAURASHTRA HOLD BACK PUJARA

Saurashtra have held back Cheteshwar Pujara in a tricky fourth innings chase. With the bowlers ruling the roost in a low-scoring game, Saurashtra's chances now depend on their most accomplished batsman,

with a result looking imminent on the third day. Chasing 162 for victory, Saurashtra finished Day Two on 96/3. Pujara fell cheaply in the first innings but given that he is yet to bat at the second dig, Himachal Pradesh would be under pressure going into the third day. Earlier, Himachal Pradesh medium pacer Vaibhav Arora's six-for kept his team firmly in the game. But Jaydev Unadkat returned the favour with a six-wicket haul during Himachal Pradesh's second innings to tilt the scales to Saurashtra's advantage.

**SCORES (AT DHARAMSHALA):** Himachal Pradesh 120 and 182 (Ankush Bains 74, Rishi Dhawan 53; Jaydev Unadkat 6/51) vs

Saurashtra 141 (Vaibhav Arora 6/48) and 96/3.

### RARE FAILURE FOR GILL

Shubman Gill had a rare failure at this level, but skipper Mandeep Singh scored a century that secured a first innings lead for Punjab. Gill versus Khaleel Ahmed could have been the showstopper in this game — the country's best young batting talent against a promising young fast bowler. As it turned out, Gill was caught behind off Tanveer Ul-Haq for 12, while Ahmed went wicketless in his 18 overs. Mandeep, though, played a fabulous knock, scoring 122, hitting 17 fours and a six.

**BRIEF SCORES (AT JAIPUR):** Rajasthan

257 vs Punjab 290/6 (Mandeep Singh 122, Gurkeerat Singh 68).

### J&K EYE VICTORY

Jammu and Kashmir are set to start their Ranji campaign with a win, thanks to their pace duo of Mohammed Mudhasir and Ram Dayal, who shared nine wickets between them to bundle out Uttarakhand for 84 in their first innings. Mudhasir bagged a five-for, Dayal accounted for four wickets. Chasing 403 for victory, Uttarakhand were reeling on 18/3 at stumps on Day Two.

**BRIEF SCORES (AT DEHRADUN):** Jammu and Kashmir 182 and 304 (Fazil Rashid 73

not out, Abdul Samad 60; Rahil Shah 5/74) vs Uttarakhand 84 (Mohammed Mudhasir 5/13, Ram Dayal 4/28) and 18/3.

### GOLDEN DUCK FOR JAFFER

On his 150th appearance in the Ranji Trophy, Wasim Jaffer got a golden duck. CV Stephen, Andhra's most successful bowler with three wickets, castled him. But Ganesh Satish's unbeaten century and his 184-run fourth wicket partnership with Mohit Kale ensured that Vidarbha comfortably took a first innings lead.

**BRIEF SCORES (AT VIJAYAWADA):** Andhra 211 vs Vidarbha 268/4 (Ganesh Satish 113 not out, Mohit Kale 82).

# Lanka 2009, Lanka '19: Test cricket finally returns to Pakistan

**PTI/AP**  
RAWALPINDI, DECEMBER 10

THE RETURN of Test cricket to Pakistani soil is an emotional occasion, captain Azhar Ali said on Tuesday but that will not come in the way of his team's efforts to make amends for a disastrous tour of Australia.

Pakistani players will play Test cricket at home after a gap of 10 years when they take on Sri Lanka in a two-Test series starting here on Wednesday. A 2009 terrorist attack on the Sri Lankan team had led to a freeze on cricket in Pakistan, which has been playing its home matches on neutral venues.

"All the players are very emotional about this Test series. It is great to be back to our home grounds and I just hope that Test cricket returns regularly to Pakistan now," Azhar told a media conference.

Azhar also conceded that the series is a make-or-break situation for his team it has not been playing well in Test cricket for some time now. Pakistan lost 0-2 to Australia.

"It is unacceptable the way we lost in Australia. The last two series in South Africa and Australia have been tough for us. We need to turn to reverse our results and get back on the winning track as there is a lot of pride in Pakistan cricket and we need to win back the confidence of the fans," he said.

Asked if the presence of former Pakistan coach Mickey Arthur in the Sri Lankan camp would make a big difference to the series as he had worked with the Pakistan team for three years, Azhar said the South African's experience would be good for the visiting side.

"Obviously he knows a lot about us as he had worked with us for three years. But in modern-day cricket I think nowadays everyone is updated about other teams. We had a plan for David Warner in Australia. It didn't work. So we are ready to take up any of the challenges he (Arthur) will throw at us," he said.

The under-pressure Pakistan skipper also made it clear that Sri Lanka would be a tough side to beat even in home conditions.

"Sri Lanka has always been a tough team because they play disciplined cricket. We also have to play disciplined cricket in every department. Test cricket demands disciplined cricket. You can't win a Test in one session but you can lose a Test in one session. So one has to be disciplined to beat Sri Lanka at home or away," he said.

"We have to rely on our bowling attack. Yasir Shah didn't do well in Australia but he has won us many matches and I think he will return to his old self in this series. We have confidence in our attack and we are backing them," he added.

About his own poor form, Azhar conceded that every captain has a playing role in the team and if he performs well, it sends out the right message to other players.

"I am aware of the situation and I am trying to get back into form. In terms of playing, I am happy it is just that I have been unable to transfer my innings into big scores and I am working on that," he said.

"If, after 10 years of top cricket I can't handle the pressure then I shouldn't be playing for Pakistan. I just focus now on how I can

best play a role and help the team win. I want to contribute to our team winning matches," he added.

There is a forecast of rain here on the second and third days of the match.

Azhar said one can't say for certain how much time is required to rebuild the team.

"We have never kept patience and we don't give the rebuilding process time. I think these players have a lot of potential and they will soon come out of their comfort zone once they play under different conditions. We have to keep patience instead of calling for changes," he asserted.

## No more neutral venues: Mani

PAKISTAN WILL no longer look for neutral venues to stage home international cricket matches. "The onus will be on the other teams to tell us why they can't play in Pakistan," Pakistan Cricket Board chairman Ehsan Mani said on Tuesday. "Our default position will remain that Pakistan is safe. We play cricket in Pakistan (and if) you want to play against Pakistan you have to come to Pakistan."

The PCB organized almost all of its home matches in the United Arab Emirates. In the last four years, the PCB staged short limited-overs tours against the likes of Zimbabwe, the West Indies, Sri Lanka and a World XI to show the cricket world it could host tours safely.

Sri Lanka agreed to play two Test matches in Pakistan only after it visited Karachi and Lahore three months ago and played an incident-free series of one-day internationals and Twenty20s.

"It's only logical that cricket comes home," Mani said. "People have a perception of Pakistan which is very, very different to the reality of what is happening on the ground in Pakistan today. The concerns that people had about Pakistan, certainly for the last year or two, were not what the ground reality is."

Top cricketing officials from Australia, England, Ireland, and the international players' association have visited Pakistan in the last six months. "When they see the ground reality, it's a different attitude," Mani said. "In fact, it was very nicely put by the chief executive of Cricket Ireland. He said, 'I have to think of a reason why we shouldn't be coming to Pakistan.'"

Mani said he's had discussions with officials from Cricket Australia and England and Wales Cricket Board and he hoped that both countries will tour Pakistan in the next three years. "I am absolutely confident that in 2021 we'll have England and in 2022 we'll have Australia," he said. "We're not due to play New Zealand now till about 2023-24, but our default position is that Pakistan will play all its home matches in Pakistan."

Despite the impending return of Test cricket, Mani conceded there might not be a capacity crowd for the Test, in stark contrast to the packed stadiums in Lahore in October when Sri Lanka whitewashed Pakistan 3-0 in the T20 series. "Look, Test cricket had been losing (crowd) support in the subcontinent, in fact around the world apart from England and Australia," he said. "People prefer to go and watch the white-ball cricket (T20s and ODIs) but it doesn't mean that people don't follow test cricket."



## SYDNEY SMOG

Day Three of the Sheffield Shield match between New South Wales and Queensland underway even as smoke-haze from bushfires engulfs the SCG. Reuters

■ Queensland skipper Usman Khawaja complained of breathlessness. "When we arrived here this morning, it reminded me of playing in India. I was surprised the bowlers were bowling for that long."

■ Spinner Steve O'Keefe suggested that kids in Sydney should be kept indoors. "For someone like me who smokes 40 a day, it's now smoking 80 cigarettes a day," he said.

■ Local reports spoke of commuters battling smoke and ferry services getting cancelled. At SCG officials and medics kept assessing the Air Quality Index (AQI) but the haze didn't hamper play.

■ While close to 3,000 firefighters struggled to fight bushfires across New South Wales, the AQI reached 11 times higher than the "hazardous" level at the SCG.

# Time to knock cover off the ball

India's top batsmen have not embraced power-hitting and this could hurt them when setting a target

**SRIRAM VEERA**  
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 10

IN THE T20 World Cup season, the fretting has already begun: That India don't set targets as well as they chase down. Not that their successful chase in the first T20 game against West Indies was clinical. It took a high-risk approach from Virat Kohli, who likes to bide his time for a while before he starts rolling.

It was a sensational knock from him that got India over the line but his batting approach does tend to jack up the required rate and he has to then play out of the skin to pull off a win. Never mind that game as the asking rate was pretty high from the start and it might seem churlish to pick on an awesome knock but we have seen a curious sense of caution from him often over the years, be it in IPL or in international T20s.

More importantly, it's just not him, the Indian T20 batting as a whole has a sense of lethargy about it. Barring KL Rahul, who likes to fire away from the start, the rest tend to almost bat within themselves. And no wonder, it comes to the fore when they bat first without the guiding hand of the target to force them.

Rohit Sharma likes to take a few balls and no harm in it as he is the opener and more often than not tends to make up by the end of Powerplay itself. But when saddled as he was with Shikhar Dhawan, whose T20 batting was a bit of concern as he would seem content to roll along run-a-ball or less, the situation would get a bit tight. Now with Rahul, Sharma has more breathing space to continue with his preferred innings-building approach.

Indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely



All-rounder Shivam Dube at No.3 provided India with firepower at the top in the second T20 International at Thiruvananthapuram. PTI

Indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely indulge themselves; but like to play along a few overs and see what happens.

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indians tend to bat without overtly worrying about the strike rate. As if they are hell-bent on making the T20 format play out like 50-over game, if you get the idea. They rarely

indulge themselves; but like to play along a few overs and see what happens. Does a bowler crack under pressure in the last half of the game?

In franchise cricket, maybe they do, but not always in an international attack. Then the pressure keeps building up, and suddenly they are left staring at a situation of 25-30 runs short. So, it was good in that respect to see Shivam Dube walk out at No.3 in the second game. Not that it worked but it seemed to suggest that the team is thinking to do something about intent.

It's clear that they have to do something. Rishabh Pant is vital and even more so is Hardik Pandya, when he returns. The final assault can be left to those two but the middle order needs to do lot more.

Kohli's case is most interesting. He has the run tally in T20s but he can still give the impression that he hasn't yet cracked the format. Perhaps, it's this format that throws up the biggest challenge for him still. A batsman with conventional array of shots – apart from those dazzling swat-flicks of course – and who targets traditional areas is almost forced to extend himself in this format.

But he can come across a bit reluctant. He is one of the best in Tests and has the 50-over game worked out insanely well. In those formats, he can afford to play almost within himself but the T20 puts the sternest test on him.

In IPL, you could still understand it a bit; perhaps it's the presence of AB de Villiers and other hitters around him that sort of pushes



A police commando outside the Pindi Stadium where Pakistan will host Sri Lanka in the first of two Test matches from Wednesday. AP

# Shooter Ravi Kumar fails dope test

**MIHIR VASAVDA**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

DAYS AFTER leading cager Satnam Singh was suspended for failing a dope test, it has emerged that Asian and Commonwealth Games bronze medallist shooter Ravi Kumar is staring at a lengthy ban for testing positive for a prohibited substance earlier this year. The 29-year-old rifle shooter flunked a dope test after returning from the Munich World Cup. He tested positive for a beta-blocker, according to a National Anti-Doping Agency (NADA) official. NADA's disciplinary panel conducted a hearing in Kumar's case last week and a decision is imminent.

Kumar, like Satnam, has tested positive for a drug that falls under the 'specified substance' category of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), which means he could escape with a lenient sanction and not the four-year ban imposed otherwise. WADA defines prohibited substances as 'specified' and 'non-specified' to 'recognise that it is possible for a substance to enter an athlete's body inadvertently.'

It is learnt that the anti-doping sleuths collected Kumar's urine sample during the se-

lection trials at Delhi's Karni Singh Shooting Range in June. After the NADA intimidated its decision, Kumar opted for voluntary suspension. Although Kumar, a national team regular, has not been a part of the squad after the Munich World Cup, a National Rifle Association of India (NRAI) official said he continued taking part in selection trials after he received a 'no-objection' from NADA.

"Since it was a specified substance, he was given the exemption to compete domestically but with a rider that even if he finishes in the top three at the trials, he will not be picked for the Indian team," the official said.

During his hearing, Kumar is believed to have defended himself by saying that the drug 'inadvertently' entered his body after he took a medicine for migraine. Blocking agents generally reduce blood pressure, which comes in handy for precision sports like shooting where a steady hand is crucial for an accurate shot.

Kumar has won medals for India at World Cups and Asian Championships, apart from multi-discipline games. He, however, could not book a quota for next year's Tokyo Olympics. Divyansh Panwar and Deepak Kumar have earned two quotas – the maximum a country can earn – for the Games.

## Dope scandals very disturbing: Sports Minister

After NADA revealed that more than 150 athletes have failed dope tests in India this year, sports minister Kiren Rijiju said on Tuesday that the scandals are 'very disturbing'. "I am not saying all dope offenders took prohibited substances unintentionally, some take intentionally but there are others who take them without knowing the contents of drugs," Rijiju, who was speaking at a function where actor Suniel Shetty was named NADA's brand ambassador, said. "That's why there is the need to spread awareness about clean sports, about being careful in what you take in as supplements, etc. Besides conducting an aggressive campaign against intentional doping, there is also a need to impart awareness to those who don't have intentions to cheat but were found doping because of lack of knowledge."

Rijiju's remarks assume significance as doping offences this year have doubled compared to 2018. As per NADA, 156 athletes in 19 sports – including Olympic disciplines like athletics, shooting, boxing and weightlifting – have failed dope tests. NADA director general Navin Agarwal said the country's Tokyo-bound athletes will be under constant scrutiny and will be tested multiple times before the Games.

# Jwala launches academy, promises to produce players with personalities

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 10

BADMINTON STAR Jwala Gutta, on Tuesday, launched her centre of excellence. But the centre, she insists, won't merely churn out players. "Personalities," she says. "I want to develop an individual in a way that it reflects who they actually are."

Arguably, it is this trait of hers that led her to being sidelined from the national team. Gutta's remarks against national coach Pullela Gopichand and the constant bickering for close to a decade has led to an unpleasant equation between the two.

Gutta has expressed her unhappiness that the national badminton camps are held at Gopichand's academy in Hyderabad. That Gopichand was also a selector led her to raise the conflict of interest issue.

Now, Gutta has launched her own academy in Hyderabad at a time when she herself is in the selection committee.

"I didn't have a choice," she says.



Jwala Gutta along with Olympic medallists, boxer Vijender Singh and wrestler Sushil Kumar. PTI

"Having an academy would probably also give me some strength. It's like my muscle. I can speak more. I go to selection committee meetings and 90 percent of them are from one place. I am left defending the other 10 percent. I think we needed a second option in our country. It was high

time." The 'second option', as she calls her centre, is spread over 55 acres and comprises 14 courts.

The space, she says, has been bought on lease using her father's retirement benefits and selling one of their houses. The support promised by the state government seven years ago, of giving her land, was never kept, she claims.

Her long-term plan is to convert this into a Sports Authority of India centre. Whether it is realistically possible remains a question as SAI already supports a centre run by Gopichand in Gachibowli. Gutta says she won't coach the trainees herself, but will don the role of a mentor.

"I have already approached (SM) Arif Sir. He will look over the academy overall. We will appoint two foreign coaches. I will need at least 10 coaches for 14 courts, so I am looking for Indian coaches. But I'll be mentoring. I know who's capable of coaching and who is the real coach (laughs). Coaching is very pious and frankly, it's a lot of hard work," she says.

# Goal drought in the making

**AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE**  
MADRID, DECEMBER 10

**PLAYING TONIGHT**

Shakhtar vs Atalanta  
Zagreb vs Man City  
Brugge vs R Madrid  
A Madrid vs Moscow  
Bayer vs Juventus  
PSG vs Galatasaray  
Olympiakos vs Zvezda  
Bayern vs Spurs

Live on Sony Network

DIEGO SIMEONE has called it a transition season for Atletico Madrid but while he was the best man before, results have raised doubts about whether he is right for what comes next. A 1-0 defeat at home to Barcelona this month crushed Atletico's chances of rejoining La Liga's title race before a draw away at Villarreal on Friday might have made it impossible for another year.

Yet less than an hour after Lionel Messi darted inside and fired a winner into Jan Oblak's bottom corner, Simeone was framing Atletico's season in a way he had never done previously. "You have to understand the enormous amount of change that has taken place in the team and we need time to improve," he said. "We must understand we are in a year of transition." When Antoine Griezmann, Lucas Hernandez, Diego Godin, Rodri, Juanfran and Filipe Luis all departed last summer, the fear was not that Atleti would need time but that they might not recover at all.

Then as the replacements came in, expectations rose. Joao Felix, Hector Herrera, Kieran Trippier, Marcos Llorente, Renan Lodi, Mario Hermoso and Ivan Saponjic all signed, with Felix the headline arrival. The 126 million euros Atletico paid Benfica for the Portuguese gem increased hope a new era would usher in a new style too. But Felix was 19, now 20, and in the starting line-up against Barcelona, there was not a single player over the age of 29. More than just experience, Atletico have lost leadership and a sense of identity.

Godin, Juanfran and Filipe Luis were respected figures in the dressing room and three out of the four-man defence Atletico had come to be defined by.

"My Spanish is bad and my words can be confused," said Simeone, referring to the idea of a transition on Friday. "I speak of players like Lodi, who is 21 years old, and has replaced someone like Filipe, who is 34. But I have eight years here as a coach and three as a player and anyone that believes the word transition means just sunbathing and waiting for the flowers to come out, they don't know me."

Few would doubt Simeone's sense of urgency but the fate of someone like Arsene Wenger at Arsenal, where Simeone has been linked with a move, shows stagnation even under a cherished coach can only last so long.

Simeone's problem has not just been high expectations. His claims of inexperience would be more persuasive if Atletico were suffering from naivety. Instead, their weakness, an all too familiar one, has not been in throwing away leads but rather failing to take them.

When they won the title in 2014, Atletico had scored 43 goals at this stage of the season. In the last three, they had 29, 25 and 24 by now and this term they have managed only 16. Tactically, Simeone's tendency is to prioritise solidity at the back but he appears to have been too cautious in the transfer market too. Alvaro Morata's form has been encouraging but with four league goals, he is already some way behind chief scorers at Real Madrid and Barcelona.

**TOYOTA**  
Quality Revolution

NEW YEAR PLANS CAN WAIT.  
**THIS OFFER CAN'T**

UNLIMITED DEALS.  
LIMITED TIME.

**HURRY!**  
LIMITED STOCK ONLY.  
OFFERS OPEN  
TILL STOCKS LAST.

**THE NEW TOYOTA GLANZA**  
GO AHEAD!

Low Rate of Interest @ **7.99%\***  
+ Attractive Exchange & Corporate Benefits

**TOYOTA YARIS** Benefits upto **₹45,000\***

LED Projector Headlamps with DRL | Dual Front SRS Airbags | Engine Push Start/Stop and Smart Entry | Spacious Interior with Dual-tone Fabric Seats

DELIGHTFUL OWNERSHIP EXPERIENCE  
**EDGE**

- Power of choice
- Savings
- Peace of mind

Android Auto & Apple CarPlay Audio<sup>A</sup> | Enhanced Rear Seat Comfort | Front Bumper Spoiler<sup>B</sup> | Rear Bumper Spoiler<sup>B</sup>

Dual Front SRS Airbags, ABS with EBD & Pretensioner Force Limiter (PTFL) standard across all Toyota cars

**3 Years or 1,00,000 km Unmatched Vehicle Warranty\*\***

EAST DELHI	SOUTH DELHI	WEST DELHI	NORTH DELHI	FARIDABAD	UTTAM	ESPIRIT	ESPIRIT	MGF	GURUGRAM	UTTAM	GHAZIABAD			
<b>UTTAM</b> 94-95 Patparganj, Industrial Area 9810916666, 9810907071	<b>GALAXY</b> G-1 Station Box, Chhatrapur Metro Station 9870191014, 66763666	<b>GALAXY</b> Ring Road, Opp. Moolchand Hospital, Lajpat Nagar-IV 9599788513, 465 77 777	<b>ESPIRIT</b> Mathura Road, N. Delhi 7290095001, 9654999635, 1800 103 5686	<b>GALAXY</b> Dwarka, Nr. Sec-8 Metro Station 7838193193, 434 77 777	<b>GALAXY</b> Moti Nagar Crossing 8448293658, 418 77 777	<b>GALAXY</b> Shalimar Place, Outer Ring Road, Nr. Rajiv 9599788514, 400 11 111	<b>THIRTY SIX</b> 147, Main Mathura Road, Faridabad 880033636, 880079052, 0129-4293636	<b>UTTAM</b> H3, Sec-63, Noida 9810916666, 9871637000	<b>ESPIRIT</b> D-11, Sec-8, Noida 7290095001, 9654999635, 1800 103 5686	<b>ESPIRIT</b> D-37 & 38, Surajpur, Site-4, Kasna, Gr. Noida 7290095001, 9654999635, 1800 103 5686	<b>MGF</b> Sector-50, Gurugram 9899266992, 8527565522, 0124-4415566	<b>GURUGRAM</b> MGF Mega City Mall, M.G. Road, Gurugram 9919067020, 981889964, 852723355	<b>UTTAM</b> 39 Milestone, Delhi-Jaipur Highway, NH-8 9810907071, 9810916666	<b>GHAZIABAD</b> A-11, Meerut Road, Ind. Area, Ghaziabad 9871637000, 9810907071

\*Terms & conditions apply on all schemes and offers. Offer valid till 31<sup>st</sup> December 2019. \*Rate of Interest: 1) Scheme valid on 3 Years Finance cases through Toyota Financial Services under Toyota EDGE Program. 2) Under Toyota EDGE program terms and conditions applied. Scheme inclusive of Exchange and Corporate Government benefits. Scheme applicable on select stocks and variants. Exchange Benefits applicable at U Trust locations only. \*\*Conditions Apply: Extended Warranty based on vehicle usage. Accessories shown may not be part of the standard equipment. Features are grade specific. -On select variants only. <sup>A</sup>Recommended audio. <sup>B</sup>Not standard fitment.

SUNDAY OFFER

**Govt. of Haryana**

**Moving Towards A Corruption Free Haryana**

**Manohar Lal, Chief Minister, Haryana**

**International Anti-Corruption Day (9 December)**  
**First Ever Observance In Haryana**

**Announcements Made By Chief Minister On This Occasion**

- Provision to set up Haryana Anti-Corruption Cell in the Chief Minister Office that will immediately investigate every complaint of corruption substantiated by an audio or video recording.
- The identity of the complainant will be kept completely confidential.
- The complainant will be rewarded and honoured if complaint is found true either at a public function or at his home as per his choice.
- Online Transfer Policy will be implemented in all departments for every cadre of over 500 posts by March 31, 2020.
- Body Cameras made mandatory for every member of raiding team of Police, Excise & Taxation, Mining, Transport or of any other Department.
- From the year 2020 nomination to IAS from other services, only on the basis of written examination.

**FOR REPORTING INCIDENTS OF CORRUPTION**

**Helpline 1064**  
**Toll Free No. 1800 180 2022**

**9417891064**

**@cmohry**  
(Direct Message Only)

**svb@hry.nic.in**

**SAY NO TO CORRUPTION**

Information, Public Relations & Languages Department, Haryana  
www.prharyana.gov.in

**India's Largest AGRI SHOW**

VISIT

Pre-register on **KISAN.net** mobile app and avail Concession.

**KISAN**

**11-15 DEC. 2019 / PUNE**

Venue  
Pune International Exhibition & Convention Center, Moshi.  
Entry Fees ₹ 100/- Per Person

Supported by: Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India; Dept. of Agriculture, Maharashtra State; All India Kisan

kisan.in | 020-30242000 | team@kisan.in

**DISTRICT POLICE HEADQUARTERS JAMMU**  
Phone No. 0191-2561578, Fax No. 0191-2547807  
E-Mail: sspjammu@jkpolice.gov.in

**Hue and Cry Notice**  
**Rule No. 712/191**

SDPO Akhnoor vide his office communication No. 18699-1900/SDA dated 28.11.2019 has intimated that accused Harjeet Singh @ Kala S/O Late Tara Singh R/O Seri, Chak Bhalwal is evading his arrest in case FIR No. 268/2019 U/S 341/323/147/148/382 IPC of P/S Akhnoor, since the commission of crime.

It is therefore requested that Hue and Cry Notice of above mentioned accused is being published for the information of Police establishments/ Public in general having any clue related to the whereabouts/present location of above named accused, kindly communicate the same on the below mentioned contact/ Telephone numbers.

**Description Roll:**

Name: Harjeet Singh @ Kala  
Son of: Late Tara Singh  
Permanent Address: Seri, Chak Bhalwa  
Age: 44 years  
Build: Normal  
Height: 5 feet 8 Inch  
Complexion: Wheatish

**Contacts/Telephone Numbers:**

1. DPO, Jammu- 0191-2547807, 0191-2561578  
2. SSP Jammu Mail I.D:- sspjammu@jkpolice.gov.in  
3. PCR Jammu:- 0191-2542000  
4. SP Rural:- 0191-2605949  
5. SDPO Akhnoor :- 01924-252244  
6. P/S Akhnoor :- 01924-252225

No. 85314-17 DP4  
Date- 06.12.2019  
DIPJ-10392

**Sr. Superintendent of Police, Jammu**