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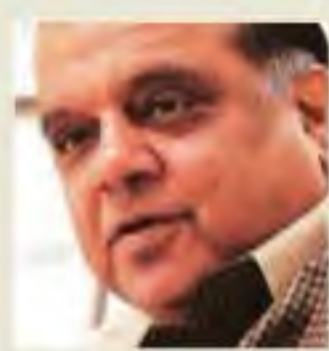
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Theme for
a Dream

How do readers travel the world? Do they go looking to retrace the adventures of their favourite literary characters? Pick this issue to look at how literary journeys fuel our wanderlust



IDEA EXCHANGE PAGE 10

'OUR SYSTEM IS CONTROLLED BY PM OR CMs. IF CM HAS INTEREST, THINGS WILL BE DONE'

NARINDER BATRA, IOA president

BIG PICTURE PAGES 12-13

Rape and after

On seventh anniversary of the December 16, 2012, Delhi gangrape case, a look at what has changed, what hasn't



Ex-CM Farooq Abdullah's detention is extended by three months

NAVEED IQBAL
SRINAGAR, DECEMBER 14

THE J&K administration extended by three months the detention of National Conference leader and three-time chief minister Farooq Abdullah. This is the second extension for Abdullah, who was detained in his home on Gupkar Road, Srinagar — now declared a subsidiary jail — ahead of the August 5 revocation of Article 370 that accorded special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Abdullah is being held under the Public Safety Act, 1978, "with a view to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order", the order extending his detention stated. After the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Climate talks headed for breakdown as countries reject draft



AMITABH SINHA
DECEMBER 14

NEWER AND deeper divides appeared in the positions of countries in the final hours of the Madrid climate talks, which were left facing an extremely uncertain outcome on Saturday evening.

Country after country rejected the draft agreement text that was put together on Saturday morning after a whole night of effort to find a compromise language on contentious issues. With very little time at hand now — the conference, which was scheduled to end on Friday evening, is already in extra time — the Madrid talks were facing

the prospect of a breakdown or an extremely weak agreement that would avoid any decision on the controversial issues. Non-government organisations and civil society groups, which are important stakeholders in climate negotiations, also

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

EXPLAINED
E How carbon market works

CARBON MARKETS — the major agenda point of the Madrid discussions — allow the trading of emissions between countries and projects, with the overall objective of incentivising additional reductions in emissions.

the prospect of a breakdown or an extremely weak agreement that would avoid any decision on the controversial issues.

Non-government organisations and civil society groups, which are important stakeholders in climate negotiations, also

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

CITIZENSHIP ACT CRITICISM GROWS

First BJP ally dissents: JD-U says it doesn't support NRC

NRC with CAB is dangerous, discriminatory, says Prashant Kishor after meeting with Nitish Kumar

SANTOSH SINGH
PATNA, DECEMBER 14

JD(U) VICE PRESIDENT Prashant Kishor said on Saturday that party chief Nitish Kumar is against the nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC) exercise planned by the central government.

JD(U) national spokesperson K C Tyagi confirmed that the party — a BJP ally that backed the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB) in Parliament — had "officially" decided to "say no to NRC". The JD(U) is the first BJP ally to come out openly against the NRC.

West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee has repeatedly said she would not allow the NRC to be implemented in her state. After the CAB was passed, Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan said the "anti-Constitutional law will have no place" in Kerala, and Punjab Chief Minister Capt Amarinder Singh said his government "will not allow the Bill to be implemented in Punjab".

In Kerala, bitter political rivals CPM and Congress — and the multi-party coalitions they lead

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4



A protest against the citizenship law at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi on Saturday. Praveen Khanna



At Bharat Bachao rally in Delhi Saturday. Praveen Khanna

Modi, Shah dividing India, says Cong at rally in Delhi

MANOJ CG &
ASTHA SAXENA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

RAHUL GANDHI and Sonia Gandhi on Saturday led a Congress attack on Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Home Minister Amit Shah, accusing them of dividing the country in the name of religion, and destroying the India growth story. Rahul said "patriot Modi" had done what the nation's enemies had always wished for.

Modi and "his assistant" Amit Shah should apologise to the country for wrecking the economy, Rahul told a rally at Delhi's Ramliya Maidan. The world, he said, admired India's 9% GDP growth, but Modi had "single-handedly" destroyed it through demonetisation and a faulty GST, pushing unemployment to a 45-year high, and pulling down growth to 4.5%.

In fact, GDP growth, if measured using the old method, would be just 2.5%, Rahul said. "India's enemies... always wanted our economy, which is our strength, to crumble. That has now been done, not by our enemies but by our Prime Minister. And he calls himself a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Dump for unclaimed bodies gets a new life, is now amusement park

ASAD REHMAN
HARDOI, DECEMBER 14

IT IS 5.15 pm and three middle-aged women are taking a brisk walk around a lake in the Railwayganj area of Hardoi, a district headquarters town in Uttar Pradesh some 500 km from New Delhi. "All day we are busy with our families. But every evening, the three of us meet on this walk," says Alka Sharma, 38, walking with Neena Singh, 40, and Nisha Gupta, 43.

TRACKING CHANGE

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The two-hectare lake now has boating. Asad Rehman

neighbourhood — what was once an infamous dump for everything including unclaimed bodies is today an amusement

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Bengal erupts as buses, railway stations set on fire; Assam calmer

ABHISHEK SAHA &
RAVIK BHATTACHARYA
GUWAHATI, KOLKATA, DEC 14

SATURDAY WITNESSED another round of protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, with the day marked by bandhs, demonstrations and rallies across the country, incidents of violence in West Bengal, and a total internet ban in Assam.

The worst instances of violence were reported from West Bengal, with protesters blocking



A protest in Dibrugarh on Saturday. PTI

highways and setting vehicles and railway stations on fire, and the police resorting to lathicharges. Train services were

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SUNDAY
STORY

PAGE II



People vs
citizenship

CONG STOKING
VIOLENCE, SAYS
AMIT SHAH
PAGE 7

MORE REPORTS
PAGES 5, 7

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AHOY, MUZIRIS: REVISITING KERALA PORT'S ILLUSTRIOUS PAST

Historical accounts have indicated that Muziris was a thriving trading centre. Now, centuries later, an ambitious tourism-conservation project under Kerala government is attempting to revisit Muziris' illustrious past and the cultural and religious amity it was once home to.

VIDEO OF THE DAY



BHARAT BACHAO RALLY:
Congress slams Modi gov't over economy, unemployment, CAB

FULL COVERAGE



CAB PROTESTS:
Internet services suspended across Assam till Monday

EXPRESS AUDIO

Trucking through India — A Hitchhiking Adventure with Rajat Ubhaykar

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

In this episode of The Sandip Roy Show, a hitchhiker tells us what he learned from riding across India in trucks and the insight it gave him about how corruption works.

FROM PAGE ONE

Congress rally

demus, the European Union warns us, the UN Human Rights Commission warns us... what you have done is completely opposite of the democratic tenets of the world. Today, India is suspect in the eyes of the world. India's economy is broken, India's polity is broken, and India's leadership has completely failed us," Chidambaram said.

Manmohan Singh said Modi had promised people that he would take the country's GDP to 5 trillion dollars. "He had assured farmers that their income will be doubled in five years. He had promised the youth that he will create 2 crore jobs for them every year. All these promises have turned out to be false... they were made to mislead the people," he said.

Entry to Ramliha Maidan was barred around 12.15 pm, and many supporters were forced to stand outside. NSUI workers in T-shirts that said "Modi hai to mandi hai" ("If there is Modi, there is slowdown") waved the Tricolour and shouted slogans. "Berozgaaron ki chai le lo, koi to le lo... (Someone please buy tea from the unemployed)," 30-year-old Monty Shukla was calling out. Shukla, who had come with his friends, said he had an LLB from Bundelkhand University, but no income.

Congress president Sonia Gandhi exhorted people to come out of their homes and start an agitation. "In the life of an individual, society and country, once in a while a time comes when you have to take a decision on whether you are on this side or that... that time has come now; if the country is to be saved, we will have to wage an arduous struggle," she said.

"Aaj to andher nagri chaupat raja jaisa mahaul hai... the entire country is asking where is sabka saath, sabka vikas; where are the jobs, why is the economy in the doldrums?" Sonia said.

"They are tearing apart the Constitution. The CAB (new citizenship Act) will rip India's soul to shreds... like what is happening in Assam and other Northeastern states. But Modi and Shah don't care; their government does not care about Parliament or constitutional institutions... Modi-Shah have only aim: their politics and their only narrow agenda is to pit people against each other and obfuscate the real issues," she said.

The rally was also addressed by Priyanka Vadra, former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, former Union Minister P Chidambaram, and Chief Ministers Ashok Gehlot of Rajasthan, Kamal Nath of Madhya Pradesh, and Bhupesh Baghel of Chhattisgarh. Punjab Chief Minister Capt Amarinder Singh was not present.

The three members of the Nehru-Gandhi family spoke for nearly 45 minutes of the 110-minute event, and got the loudest cheers from the crowd. A dozen other speakers spoke for the other 65 minutes.

Chidambaram said the government had reduced India to "one of the struggling economies of the world", and alleged that its Ministers were "completely clueless". "Yesterday the Finance Minister said everything is all right and we are on top of the world. The only thing she didn't say was achche din aane wale hain," Chidambaram said.

Even after coercing the RBI to part with Rs 1.75 lakh crore from its reserves, the government has no money, Chidambaram said. "They will raise taxes. Mark my words, they will raise the GST. They will raise other taxes, which fall on the poor and the economy will sink even further."

The world, he said, would not stay impasse to political and economic instability, and anti-people policies. "The world will not keep quiet... Today, the US, the European Union, Japan, and even Bangladesh is telling us, 'what are you doing?' The US Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee con-

JD-U says it doesn't support NRC

— have planned to unite in a protest against the new citizenship law in Thiruvananthapuram on Monday.

After a two-hour meeting with the Bihar chief minister, Kishor, who has been posting tweets critical of both the NRC and CAB over the last few days, said: "Nitish Kumar is with the party's (JD-U's) earlier stand of saying no to NRC. NRC with CAB is dangerous. If there is no NRC, CAB per se is okay. The CM said CAB is a Bill to give citizenship, but if it is linked with NRC, it becomes discriminatory."

Kishor said his personal stand on the CAB remained unchanged from what he had posted on Twitter. On December 13, Kishor had tweeted: "The majority prevailed in Parliament. Now beyond judiciary, the task of saving the soul of India is on 16 Non-BJP CMs as it is the states

who have to operationalise these acts."

A day previously, he had posted: "We are told that #CAB is bill to grant citizenship and not to take it from anyone. But the truth is together with #NRC, it could turn into a lethal combo in the hands of Government to systematically discriminate and even prosecute people based on religion. #NotGivingUp"

Kishor had also said he was "disappointed" that the JD-U, whose "constitution... carries the word secular thrice on the very first page and (whose) leadership... is supposedly guided by Gandhian ideals", was supporting CAB.

On Saturday, Kishor, who had reportedly offered to resign after being targeted by senior JD-U leader and Rajya Sabha MP RCP Singh, was advised by Nitish to work for the party. Following the CM's intervention, Kishor also played

down his differences with RCP Singh.

K C Tyagi told *The Sunday Express*: "The entire party is solidly behind party chief Nitish Kumar for saying no to NRC. We had earlier said as much, but our support to CAB would have created confusion." Tyagi said the party's official stand of saying no to NRC had crystallised after the CM's meeting with Prashant Kishor.

Supporting the CAB in both Houses, the JD(U) had said the Bill was not discriminatory, because it was not going to hurt Indian Muslims. Rajiv Ranjan Singh spoke in Lok Sabha and RCP Singh in Rajya Sabha, but no party spokesperson had spoken on the matter.

Following Saturday's developments, Bihar BJP president Dr Sanjay Jaiswal said the BJP's stand was "well known". "Though I have not seen the statement of Prashant Kishor,

our stand is well known. Our stand is what our national president and Union Home Minister Amit Shah has already said," Jaiswal said. "Let us bask in the glory of CAB," he added.

Jaiswal parried questions on possible differences with its alliance partner JD-U over its stand on the NRC.

In Kerala, leaders of the Left Democratic Front (LDF), including Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan and his Ministers, and those of the Opposition United Democratic Front (UDF) will attend a satyagraha outside the martyrs' column in the state capital to send out a message that both coalitions are united in the fight against the citizenship legislation. The decision was taken after Leader of Opposition Ramesh Chennithala spoke to the CM over the phone.

(WITH VISHNU VARMA IN KOCHI)

A dump for unclaimed bodies changes

park complex that has helped reduced crime in the area and generated livelihoods for local people.

"Earlier, no one came here because this was a dumping ground. It was also a burial site where unclaimed bodies were dumped. The stench was unbearable," Alka said.

The Belatali amusement park — essentially the lake with two colourful boats for visitors to take joyrides — was inaugurated on October 2 this year by Hardoi District Magistrate Pulkit Khare, 34, who took the initiative to develop the area along with the Behta Chand gram panchayat.

Shailendra Srivastava, station house officer of the Kotwali police station, said: "Before this (Belatali) was built, we used to regularly get calls from women complaining of harassment and molestation. Anti-social elements drank alcohol and gambled here. Now, families and women feel safe visiting the place. We also ensure that at least two police officers are posted there."

Prakash Chandra, the husband of Behta Chand gram panchayat sarpanch Gudiya, said work began in December 2018, and the gram panchayat worked with guidance from the district administration.

"MGNREGA and Finance Commission funds given to the panchayat were used. When we began construction, we found several skeletons... Now, as you can see, around 1,000 trees have been planted around the lake, and children take rides in boats," Chandra, 47, said.

According to Chandra, at least 3,000 of the around



15,000 people in the gram panchayat found employment during the construction of Belatali. "Because they were involved in the construction, they have a sense of ownership of the place. People also do their bit for its upkeep," he said.

The park currently employs nine people at monthly salaries of Rs 3,000-6,000, Chandra said. "Because of Belatali, several small businesses have opened in the area. People from the gram panchayat have opened stalls selling noodles, fast food, toys, and ice cream."

At one such stall, 19-year-old Aman, who belongs to Behta Chand village, is tossing noodles in a pan. "I used to set up my stall on the highway near Shahabad tehsil, some 35 km from here. Since Belatali was inaugurated, I have been here... it saves me time and I make more money," Aman said.

Opposite the Belatali gate stands Hotel Shekhar, offering 26 rooms at a nightly tariff of Rs 500. At the hotel, Suraj Rathore, 31, says the construction of Belatali has led to the tariff going up from the earlier Rs 300.

"Earlier, the hotel had a staff of three; now, at least 12 peo-

ple work here. Most of them are from Behta Chand village," said Rathore, who is from the same village himself, and gets a monthly salary of Rs 5,500. "Now, a Hotel Lake View is coming up next door," he said.

Behta Chand resident Harishanker Gupta, 62, said Belatali seems to have brought visible prosperity to the area. "I see more people buying motorcycles and mobile phones these days," Gupta said. "I don't know if it is because of the talaab (lake), but I think several youths have got employment near the lake after its construction."

Ram Babu, 35, who sits at the park's ticket counter, said around 100 tickets are sold on weekdays, about 150 on weekends. "An entry ticket costs Rs 2, and a ticket for a round of boating on the lake, Rs 50. There is a Rs-50 monthly pass for those who come to walk in the park every day," Ram Babu said, while handing pink tickets to a father and his three small daughters who have come from Sandila town 50 km away.

"We came because of the boats. My children are very excited; they've never been in a boat before," the father, Anuj Shukla, 38, said, helping his

girls wear orange life jackets.

Back after the 20-minute ride, the two older girls, Anuradha, 11, and Ridhima, 13, look scared and excited in equal measure. "I had fun. The water was very cold," Anuradha said. Ridhima interrupted her: "Did you see the fish? I saw two!"

Pintu, the man in charge of the boats, said the lake has some local varieties of fish, that are fed every morning and evening.

District Magistrate Khare said he first visited the area soon after being posted to Hardoi in December 2017. "The place was stinking. There was garbage everywhere, the pond was covered with water hyacinth, and sewage would be dumped in it." He said he felt a transformation was needed "because our towns and cities need spaces where people can spend time with their families and relax."

It was initially a challenge to convince the Pradhan and other stakeholders that this was possible, Khare said. "They felt that even if the area was cleaned up, it would be impossible to maintain. But they ultimately came on board," he said.

Sitting on one of at least 50 benches around the lake, Smriti Kashyap, 23, has a few suggestions to further improve Belatali. "There should be a toilet here. And also, perhaps a few places where couples can have some privacy. Small places like Hardoi have no restaurants or coffeeshops; these public places are the only ones where couples can meet," Smriti, who lives nearby and had come to the lake with her cousin Arti, 17, said.

Meghalaya capital of Shillong. The Meghalaya government has decided to convene a special one-day session of the Assembly to bring in a resolution to implement the Inner Line Permit regime in the state.

In Nagaland, schools and colleges were closed, markets were shut and vehicles plied in fewer numbers during the six-hour shutdown since 6 am by Naga Students' Federation against the amended Citizenship Act, officials said.

(WITH INPUTS FROM ENNS, KOLKATA, NEW DELHI)

Farooq Abdullah

initial 12-day custody at home, the state administration had extended his detention for a period

of three months until December 15. The current extension allows for Abdullah to be held until March 15. The maximum period for which such detention can be extended is two years.

The 21-page dossier prepared by the state ahead of his detention notes that "the subject has tremendous potential for creating an environment of public disorder within the district and other parts of Kashmir Valley. The conduct of the subject is seen as fanning the emotions of general masses against the Union of India, instigating public with statements against the unity and integrity of India".

The document has recorded 27 charges against Abdullah, 16 police reports and 13 statements made by him in favour of Article 35A and 3 FIRs, some from as far back as 2016.

"On the 11th birth anniversary of his father at Naseembagh Hazratbal, in December 2016, (he) triggered controversy by making explicit overtures towards separatist conglomerate, namely Hurriyat Conference, by stating that they should unite with his party for the cause of Kashmir."

Despite demands by the Opposition that Abdullah be released and allowed to attend Parliament's Winter Session, Union Home Minister Amit Shah said political leaders detained in J&K would be released by the state administration "without interference" from the Centre.

Former chief ministers Mehbooba Mufti and Omar Abdullah continue to remain in detention since August 5.

Climate talks

rejected the draft texts.

Negotiators were asked to go back to the meeting rooms to revise the drafts again, to be considered later Saturday night and possibly Sunday morning.

There was only one major agenda for Madrid talks to negotiate and decide — the rules for a new carbon market to be set up under the Paris Agreement. That would have completed the Paris Agreement rulebook that was finalised in Katowice in 2018 without the provisions related to carbon markets on which countries had major disagreements.

Two other issues came to dominate the discussions at Madrid — one relating to the demand to enhance climate actions being currently taken, and the other about the need to make developed countries accountable to their climate obligations in the pre-2020 period.

A number of countries — mainly the ones most threatened by climate change, such as small island states, but also some developed countries and civil society organisations — had been demanding that countries commit themselves to taking more climate actions in view of recent scientific assessments that the world was not doing enough to prevent the worst impacts of climate change. These countries and organisations had been pushing for provisions in the Madrid agreement that would call upon all the countries to update their climate action plans, called Nationally Determined Contributions or NDCs, with greater commitments by next year.

Countries such as India, China, and many others have been strongly resisting this. They have been arguing that it was more important to start delivering on the commitments already made in the past than make fresh commitments. It was in this context that these countries repeatedly raised the issue of unfulfilled promises of developed countries in the pre-2020 period. Under the Kyoto Protocol, the predecessor to the Paris Agreement, developed countries were mandated to make targeted cuts in their emissions, and also provide money and technology to the developing countries to help them fight climate change. But the developed

countries have been way short of meeting these obligations.

As a result, developing countries led by India, China and Brazil had been pushing for provisions that would hold the developed countries accountable to their past promises.

When the first draft of the agreement came on Friday morning, all these options had been included. But that draft was heavily bracketed, each bracket representing a difference of opinion and different option on the table. The final agreement cannot have brackets. So when the revised draft was put before the negotiators on Saturday morning, many of the earlier options had been removed, triggering angry reactions from whoever was backing those.

The European Union, Spain, Bangladesh, Belize, Colombia, Grenada and many others pointed out that the draft text did not strongly ask the countries to raise the "ambition" of their climate actions by next year, and this would unacceptable to them.

"This was supposed to be a COP (Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the formal name of the climate meetings) of ambition. We do not see this ambition reflected anywhere," said the negotiator from Belize, while speaking on behalf of the group of small island countries.

The EU representative said it would be "impossible for EU to leave this COP without a satisfactory language on ambition". Mexico said it was disappointed to see that there was no mention of NDCs being by next year. "We would have failed the COP if we do not have provisions to enhance ambition," the Mexican negotiator said.

Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Tuvalu also made similar remarks on absence of stronger provisions on raising of ambition of climate actions.

Countries such as India and China, on the other hand, lamented the fact that a provision on creating a work programme to assess the performance of developed countries on their pre-2020 promises had been dropped. "The problems we are facing today are not because of lack of intent but because of lack of implementation which is very glaringly visible in the unmet pre-2020 targets. The work programme was meant to address these gaps," India said.

China said it had already made it clear that strong provisions on assessment of pre-2020 actions was "very important for all developing countries", and needed to be strongly reflected in the final agreement.

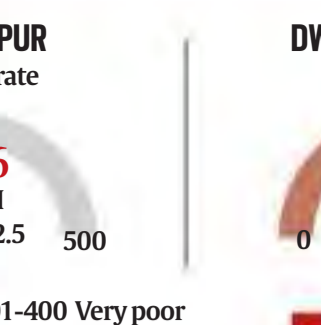
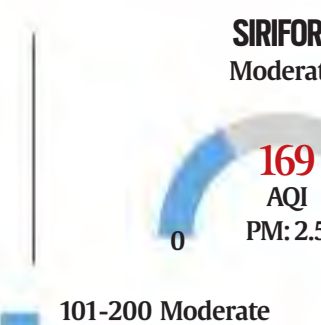
The United States strongly objected to even a mention of assessment of pre-2020 actions and demanded that it be removed.

Many countries had other problems as well. Saudi Arabia and Russia, for example, said they would not accept an agreement that acknowledged the Oceans report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change but ignored the Land Report by the same organisation. The IPCC's Oceans report was about the impact of climate change on oceans, while the other report was about how land systems and land-use affects and in turn is affected by climate change. The land report touches upon the sensitive subject of emissions from agricultural practices.

While all this was being discussed, the draft text on carbon markets had not even been finalised. The provisions related to carbon markets have been deeply contested with India, Brazil, China and some other developing countries aligned on one side, and the developed countries, many small island countries, and civil society groups on the other side. When the draft text on carbon markets did make its appearance a little later on Saturday morning, it was promptly rejected by Belize and some other countries.



0-50 Good



201-300 Poor

301-400 Very poor

401-500 Severe

DAY AFTER STUDENT-POLICE CLASH

Jamia postpones exams amid protest

ARANYA SHANKAR & ANANYA TIWARI
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

IN THE wake of protests against the new citizenship law on campus, Jamia Millia Islamia Saturday postponed all its examinations and declared holidays till January 5.

"The winter vacation is declared from December 16 to January 5. The university will reopen on January 6. All examinations are hereby postponed. The rescheduled examination will be notified by Controller of Examinations on the website of the university in due course," said Registrar A P Siddiqui in a notice.

"All Deans/HoDs/Directors of Centres are directed to ensure that teachers should give award lists of all examinations held till date, and also hold meetings in their respective departments to reschedule the examinations to before university reopens," he added. As per the earlier academic calendar, winter vacations were to be held from December 24 to January 15.

At the protest held on Jamia campus Friday, students and police personnel had clashed, leading to stone pelting by a section of protesters and lathi charge by police personnel, who also used teargas.

On Saturday, too, protests continued, albeit at a smaller scale. Jamia Millia Islamia Metro station was closed for entry and exit for an hour in the evening.

The protest also saw activists such as Shabnam Hashmi in attendance. "People of our generation used to feel what will happen to activism after we die. But the way students in universities are standing up, we can... know that the *mashaal* has been passed on to thousands," she said.

Ayesha Akhtar, a BA student at the protest, said, "The new law is against the Constitution. They are attacking our Constitution



Protests on the Jamia campus continued Saturday. Tashi Tobgyal

and I think every person should oppose this; not just the minority groups. We exist because of the Constitution, and they are attacking it..."

Anger against the police was also palpable on the campus. Shahid Mohammad, a PhD student of Jamia who had come to the protest, said, "Democracy works through dissent and by encouraging dissent. Had they allowed the protesters yesterday to travel to Parliament house, we would have submitted our memorandum and come back. That was all that students and teachers had planned to do."

In the evening, students put up their own barricades and stopped traffic.

Prompted by criticism of a protest going awry in the absence of a students' union, the students held a meeting on campus late in the evening of all major student organisations — NSUI, CYSS, AISA, SIO, etc — to decide the future course of action.

"We have formed a committee which will comprise two-three members of each organisation. A meeting of that committee will be held soon to decide the future course of action," said Ajaz Ahmad from AISA.



At a protest near Jantar Mantar against the new citizenship law and proposed NRC, Saturday. Praveen Khanna

Many voices, 1 concern at Jantar Mantar

SHIVAM PATEL & SHAARDHOOL SHREENATH
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

FOR OVER a decade, Mohammad Faizal (20), a student at a madrasa in Old Delhi, has been living in the capital with his family after they shifted from UP's Bulandshahr. For some members of his family, the passage of the new citizenship law recently prompted a trip to their ancestral home.

"My relatives couldn't find their land registries here and had to go to Bulandshahr. Will the poor be able to do that?" he said.

On Saturday, Faizal and his friend Abdul Rahim were among more than 1,000 protesters who gathered at Jantar Mantar against

the new citizenship law and a proposed country-wide National Register of Citizens (NRC). Copies of the Act were torn at the protest, as around 100 police and paramilitary personnel deployed at the venue looked on.

Harsh Mander, a human rights activist, told the gathering: "The ruling administration has sparked a war... against three sections: Indian Muslims, opposition voices, and the Constitution."

Supreme Court advocate Prashant Bhushan, one of the speakers at the event, said, "This is the BJP's next step in achieving a Hindu Rashtra."

Several people expressed apprehensions about a country-wide NRC, and what could happen if they can't find requisite documents.

Tasleem Ansari (47) from Old Mustafabad in East Delhi claimed thousands from his village in UP's Bijnor district would not have the required documents as they have been destroyed by floods many times in the past.

"There will be people of all religions who would not have the documents," he said.

Deepak Agnihotri (28), a city-based architect, said, "This (Act) is also anti-poor; many people are unaware of its implications."

Shahabuddin Saifi (42), a resident of Uttam Nagar in West Delhi, said, "Many people in my village have started lining up in offices to get their land records and birth certificates made. But they are being charged a lot of money."

Another concern protesters voiced was of misspelled names

in documents. Imam Uddin, a lecturer in a government school and resident of Seelampur in East Delhi, got his name renewed in his voter ID card recently, which still does not carry the correct spelling.

"Some people in offices where document forms are filled do not understand the spelling of our names, and that will create problems in case NRC comes," he said.

The protest continued until early evening, with people breaking into groups and raising slogans against the Act. Some women and men were seen offering evening prayers, while others waved the tricolour and held up placards condemning the new law.

(Shaardhoool Shreenath is an intern with The Sunday Express)

PM rally invites to illegal colony RWA members

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

PRIME MINISTER Narendra Modi's rally at Ramlila Maidan on December 22 will have Resident Welfare Association (RWA) members from 1,731 unauthorised colonies in attendance, Delhi BJP president Manoj Tiwari said Saturday.

Tiwari said that the rally has been planned to thank the PM over the passage of The National Capital Territory of Delhi (Recognition of Property Rights of Residents in Unauthorised Colonies) Bill, which will give ownership rights to 40-50 lakh people living in 1,731 illegal colonies.

Giving legal status to unau-

thorised colonies in the capital is one of the major poll planks of the BJP in the upcoming assembly polls, which are scheduled early next year.

Tiwari added that the party would form teams, and leaders would be instructed to visit these colonies and collect signatures to be handed over to the PM as a thanksgiving gesture.

The leaders have also been instructed to tell people about the benefits of their colonies getting a legal status.

Party leaders added that the PM would also announce 'Jaha jhuggi wahi makaan' scheme, wherein the Central government will give flats to over 20 lakh people living in jhuggis in the capital.

At JNU, gates of six buildings removed

ARANYA SHANKAR
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

GATES OF four Schools and two Special Centres at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) were Saturday removed by the administration in an alleged attempt to stop the boycott of end-semester examinations that are underway at the university.

The Sunday Express confirmed Saturday that in four schools — SAA, School of Physical Sciences (SPS); School of Computer & Systems Sciences (SCSS); School of Computational & Integrative Sciences; and two Special Centres — the main doors had been removed.

A security guard at SPS, said, "The doors were removed in the afternoon by JNU security office. We were not told why this was being done."

The university V-C, Registrar



Gates of four Schools and two Centres were removed

and Chief Security Officer did not respond to calls and texts by The Sunday Express.

The V-C, M Jagadesh Kumar, however alleged that some students attacked him Saturday when he went to SAA. Police said no complaint or FIR has been filed in this regard.

The JNU Students' Union (JNUSU), however, claimed "his car tried to run over a student, whilst injuring other students near his car".

Lalit Kala Akademi
National Academy of Art
Rabindra Bhavan New Delhi - 110 001
61st National Exhibition of Art

The 61st National Exhibition of Art will be held in February 2020 at New Delhi. The minimum age of participation is 25 years. The Entry Forms can be obtained from Lalit Kala Akademi Head Quarters at New Delhi and Regional Centres at Bhubaneswar (Phone: 0674-2391884), Kolkata (Phone: 033-24641719), Chennai (Phone: 044-28291692), Lucknow (Phone: 0522 2324067), Garhi, New Delhi (Phone: 011-26431849). Forms can also be collected from Akademi's Sub Centres at Shimla (Phone: 09459279179), Patna, Ahmedabad, Agartala and from State Lalit Kala Academies, Zonal Cultural Centres and Art Organisations. Entry Forms can be downloaded from Akademi's website: <http://lalitkala.gov.in>

The last date for submission of the Entry Form is 10th January, 2020. The duly filled form may be addressed to Secretary I/C, Lalit Kala Akademi, Rabindra Bhavan, 35 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-110001. For any further information please contact on phone numbers: 011-23009281/23009200. Email: art.lalitkala@gmail.com

2nd National Tribal Art Exhibition

Coinciding the National Exhibition of Art a National Tribal Art Exhibition will be organised. Interested Tribal Artists may contact or write to the Akademi. The last date for submission of the Entry Form is 10th January, 2020.

Kala Mela 2020

Kala Mela 2020 will also be organised during the National Exhibition of Art. Interested Artists may contact or write to the Akademi. The last date to apply is 31st January, 2020.

Ramakrishna Vedala Secretary I/C
Uttam Pacharne Chairman
davp 69105/11/0002/1920

THE ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES UNIVERSITY
(A Central University established by an Act of Parliament)
HYDERABAD - 500007, Telangana State

ADMISSION NOTIFICATION

Online applications are invited for admission to the following courses/programmes for the academic year 2020-2021 at Hyderabad, Shillong and Lucknow:

Undergraduate Courses: B.A. (Hons.) English; Arabic; French; German; Japanese; Russian; Spanish; B.A. Journalism and Mass Communication

Postgraduate Courses: M.A. English; Journalism and Mass Communication; Computational Linguistics; English Literature; Linguistics; Literatures in English; Comparative Literature; English Language Teaching; Hindi; Arabic Language and Literature; French Language and Literature; German Language and Literature; Russian Language and Literature; Hispánico Language and Literature

Teacher Training Courses: Postgraduate Diploma in the Teaching of English (PGDTE); B.Ed. English; Postgraduate Diploma in Translation (PGDT)

Ph.D. Programmes: Ph.D. Linguistics and Phonetics; English Language Education; Media and Communication; English Literature; Translation Studies; Hindi; Comparative Literature; Indian and World Literatures; Aesthetics and Philosophy; Film Studies and Visual Culture; Cultural Studies; Arabic Language and Literature; French Language and Literature; German Language and Literature; Russian Language and Literature; Spanish Language and Literature.

The links to the application form and the Prospectus are available on the University website: www.efluuniversity.ac.in from midnight of 16 December 2019.

For further details call 040-27689647 (Helpline) or 040-27689447 between 10.00 am and 5.00 pm from Monday to Friday.

The last date for the receipt of applications is 19 January 2020. Sd/- REGISTRAR

National Highways & Infrastructure Development Corporation Limited
(A Govt. of India Undertaking) BHARATMALA ROAD TO PROSPERITY

Corporate Office : 3rd Floor, PTI Building, 4-Parliament Street, New Delhi-110001

EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (EOI) FOR (i) Empanelment of Advertising Agencies for issuance of advertisements in print media at DAVP or lesser rates (ii) Hiring of vehicles and drivers for the office use in NHIDCL, HQ, PTI Building, New Delhi on monthly rental basis as well as for "as and when requirement".

The Deputy General Manager (Admn), National Highways & Infrastructure Development Corporation Limited (NHIDCL) has invited online tenders through CPP Portal for the following services:

(i) **Empanelment of Advertising Agencies for issuance of advertisements in print media at DAVP or lesser rates**

(ii) **Hiring of vehicles and drivers for the office use in NHIDCL, HQ, PTI Building, New Delhi on monthly rental basis as well as for "as and when requirement".**

For detailed terms and conditions, visit our website www.nhidcl.com. The interested agencies/firms fulfilling the required criteria and willing to provide the requisite services should send their proposals with all the supporting documents (duly attested) as detailed in the tender documents.

For further details please visit www.nhidcl.com

Note: Any change or amendment to this notice will be posted on the above website only.

BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE, BUILDING THE NATION

Maratha Vidya Prasarak Samaj's
Central Office, Shivajinagar, Gangapur road,
Nashik-422002. Phone: (0253) 2574511, 2573422
Fax: 0253-2579863.

WANTED

Applications are invited for the Post of Principal to be filled in the Karmveer Adv.Baburao Ganpatrao Thakare College of Engineering, Nashik (Non-Grant) run by the Maratha Vidya Prasarak Samaj, Nashik.

Name of the Post	No. of Post	Reservation
PRINCIPAL	01 (OPEN)	(OPEN TO ALL)

Qualifications and other conditions:-

- Qualification & Experience & Pay scale as prescribed by the Savitribai Phule Pune University, All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), New Delhi and Directorate of Technical Education, Maharashtra State, Mumbai.
- Prescribed printed application forms are available in the Central Office of M.V.P. Samaj at the above address on payment of Rs. 500/- (Rs. Five hundred only) in cash during 11.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. on all working days.
- Incomplete applications and the applications received after the stipulated period will not be taken into consideration.
- Completed application form with attested Xerox copies of all relevant documents should reach to the above address within 15 days from the date of publication of this advertisement.

(Smt. Nileema Vasant Rao Pawar)
Sarchitnis
Maratha Vidya Prasarak Samaj, Nashik

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SHANTI SEWA NYAYA

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For Easy Access, Use 112 India Mobile App.

E-mail to CP, Delhi at : cp.amulyapatnaik@delhipolice.gov.in Write to CP, Delhi at PO Box No. 171 GPO, New Delhi

EXPRESS Careers

Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya
Varanasi

Advt-1/2019

Applications are invited for appointment at various teaching posts. Details are available at University's website www.ssvv.ac.in.

Registrar

Vendor beaten up by 3 men: Police

Noida: A 43-year-old vendor was beaten up, allegedly by three men, for "running a stall in their area" in Greater Noida Saturday, said police. An FIR was lodged after a purported video of the incident went viral, added police.

In the video, a man whose face is hidden can be seen slapping and punching a biryani vendor and hurling casteist slurs at him. He can be heard asking the man how he was "selling biryani in their area".

"We were alerted to a video

of a man being assaulted and casteist words being used against him. We have registered an FIR (under the Prevention of Atrocities Against SC/ST Act) against three men. The incident is reportedly from Saturday evening. Initial questioning has revealed that the men knew each other, and that the altercation took place over the price of biryani and placement of the pushcart in Rabupura in Greater Noida. Investigation is underway," said Vaibhav Krishna, SSP

Gautam Budh Nagar.

The man in his complaint has alleged that the three men abused him on Saturday afternoon. "When he objected, they started slapping him and used casteist slurs. They managed to escape after threatening him of dire consequences if he reported the matter," a senior police officer said.

"We have identified the accused. Our teams are conducting raids to nab them," an officer said. ENS

'TO MANAGE PARTY'S POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, FUNDING'

Ahead of polls, AAP ties up with Prashant Kishor's I-PAC

MALLICA JOSHI & SOURAV ROY BARMAN
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

THE AAM Aadmi Party joined hands with Prashant Kishor's Indian Political Action Committee (I-PAC) Saturday, ahead of assembly polls in Delhi next year.

"Over the next few days, a couple of campaigns will be launched to galvanise the cadre and get boots on the ground. Elections cannot be fought based on goodwill alone. A small team of I-PAC has already arrived in Delhi," an AAP functionary said.

According to an AAP source, I-PAC will be involved in managing the political campaign and funding.

Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal announced the collaboration on Twitter. "Happy to share that Indian PAC is coming on-board with us. Welcome aboard!" he tweeted.

Responding to his tweet, the I-PAC twitter handle wrote: "After Punjab results, we acknowledged you as the toughest opponent that we have ever faced. Happy to join forces now with Arvind Kejriwal and Aam Aadmi Party."

I-PAC is a political advocacy group that has managed and run election campaigns of several different political parties, including BJP (2014 Lok Sabha elections) and Congress (2017 Punjab assembly elections).



Party chief Kejriwal announced the tie-up on Twitter Saturday

Kishor, who founded the body, is the Janata Dal (United) vice-president, but has spoken out against his party leadership for supporting the BJP on the new citizenship law.

There has been speculation about AAP and I-PAC tying up for almost three months. AAP had reached out to Kishor after the Lok Sabha polls, but things could not move forward, another source said. However, over the past two weeks, there have been regular meetings between Kejriwal and Kishor, which were initiated by the latter, the source added.

AAP sources said Kishor is expected to join the party.

Over the last six months, there have been several changes in the second line of AAP leadership, especially in the team that is handling public perception.

An I-PAC insider said while it is natural that the strategies devised by the organisation vary from state to state, there are a few common threads that run

through them.

However, the actual involvement of I-PAC depends on the level of space that the parties are willing to offer to its executives -- either in terms of handling volunteers or the media.

"Simply put, we offer a wide range of services, which include almost everything when it comes to an election campaign. Ultimately, it's about how much the party in question is interested in availing. The more they want, they more space they will have to cede, which in many cases doesn't go down well with the established leadership," the source said.

The AAP had recently launched its fundraising programme and I-PAC is going to be instrumental in that. That is one of the reasons that the party has tied up with them, the source said.

After leading the YSRCP to a landslide win in the Andhra Pradesh polls held earlier this year, the I-PAC is currently working with the Trinamool Congress. "In TMC's case, the I-PAC is controlling a lot, right from the campaign that involved a dedicated helpline for people to register grievances, to chalking out the party's positions on various topics and keeping the spokespersons on a tight leash," a source said.

Denying any commercial agreement between the two sides, the AAP Saturday claimed that the I-PAC was working for it voluntarily.

3 women dead in fire at Shalimar Bagh building

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

THREE WOMEN died after a fire broke out in a four-storey building in North West Delhi's Shalimar Bagh Saturday evening. In the incident, which took place around 6 pm, four people, including two teenagers, were injured.

Delhi Fire Service (DFS) director Atul Garg said, "The fire started from the ground floor kitchen, which is above the stilt parking. The house on the ground floor was locked and there was no one inside. The house is gutted, and the exact cause of the fire is yet to be ascertained."

While a DFS official said it is likely that someone left the cooking gas on in the ground floor kitchen, DCP (Outer North) Gaurav Sharma said "it could be a short circuit, but it's yet to be confirmed."

DFS received a call at 6.05 pm about the fire, following which eight fire tenders and 50 firefighters were deployed to douse the fire. The victims have been identified as Kanta (75), Kiran Sharma (65) and Somvati (42). The injured are Lajwanti (68), Inna (28), Akshit (16) and Vanshika (14).

Police said the three women died after inhaling the smoke. A Fortis hospital spokesperson said, "The four injured people are in the ICU and are in a critical state. Efforts are on to stabilise them."

Sharma said, "Around 6.10 pm, information about the fire was received and police officers rushed to the spot. Personnel from other police stations, too, reached the spot and SHO Shalimar Bagh, along with other



The fire started from the ground floor of the four-storey building

personnel, accessed the building by jumping onto the terrace from an adjacent building."

A senior police officer said that fire tenders reached the spot within minutes, and that at least seven people were removed from the building. "The 75-year-old victim lived alone on the first floor. The third-floor occupants—Lajwanti and two children—hid in the bathroom and kept splashing water on themselves and survived the fire. Two women from the top floor who were pulled out didn't survive. All victims died because of the smoke."

Police said an FIR under IPC sections 285 (negligent conduct with respect to fire) and 304A (causing death by negligence) will be registered against unknown persons at Shalimar Bagh police station. Two police personnel were also injured during the rescue operation, which took around two hours.

HIMACHAL PRADESH IPH DEPARTMENT NOTICE INVITING E-PROCUREMENT BID					
Executive Engineer IPH Division, Jawali Himachal Pradesh India on behalf of Governor of Himachal Pradesh, invites the online Lump Sum Contract bidson turnkey basis from the eligible bidders of Indian Entity through online bidding system on or before 7th January 2020 at 17.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) on the site https://hptenders.gov.in .					
Sr. No.	Description	Estimated Cost	Bid Security	Time	Cost of Form
1.	Augmentation of various water supply scheme under Jawali Constituency, in Tehsil Jawali, Distt. Kangra (HP) SH- C/o Intake chamber, R.C.C. channel, Water Treatment Plant, Storage tanks, Providing laying and jointing of Gravity main, Distribution system and House hold connection etc. including trial run period of 90 days on full designed water requirement with defect liability period of six months.	Rs. 3014.05 Lakh	Rs 30.14 Lakh	36 Months including all season	Rs. 2,500/- only

BRIEF SCOPE OF WORK

Carrying out required topographical survey for various components, Hydraulic design & structural design, approval of designs and drawings from competent authority. For Augmentation of various water supply scheme under Jawali Constituency, in Tehsil Jawali, Distt. Kangra (HP) SH- C/o Intake chamber, R.C.C. channel, Water Treatment Plant, Storage tanks, Providing laying and jointing of Gravity main, Distribution system, and House hold connection etc. including trial run period of 90 days on full designed water requirement with defect liability period of six months.

Lump Sum bid shall be inclusive of all items of work as per approved project.

Note.

1. DPR can be seen in the office the Executive Engineer I&PH Division Jawali in the working hours .

Before submitting the Bidder / Firm shall visit the site physically.

- Bid documents and other instructions can be downloaded or viewed online from the portal <http://hptenders.gov.in>, by the Bidders registered on the website which is free of cost. Augmentation of various water supply scheme under Jawali Constituency in Tehsil Jawali, Distt. Kangra (HP) SH- C/o Intake chamber, R.C.C. channel, Water Treatment Plant, Storage tanks, Providing laying and jointing of Gravity main, Distribution system and House hold connection etc. including trial run period of 90 days on full designed water requirement with defect liability period of six months as covered under this bid, shall be sustainable and responsive to standard norms as stipulated.
- Accordingly, the bidder/firm must make all necessary provision for required qualified resource personnel, their time and other costs, and appropriate engineering / technical considerations in resurvey, design, construction, erection, execution, commissioning process for the project; including necessary documentation and inspections.
- Competitive Bidding for bidders/Firms shall be conducted in accordance with "Single Stage Two Envelope" Bidding Procedure. Eligibility information, Technical Bid and Financial bid should be uploaded online as per procurement method. The bids shall be submitted online electronically only.
- Bid evaluation criteria- Eligible Technically Qualified lowest evaluated bidder (L1) shall be considered as a successful bidder. However, the acceptance of the proposal shall rest with the EMPLOYER who does not bind itself to accept the lowest proposal, and reserves the right to accept or reject any or all the proposals received without assigning any reason.
- As the bids are to be submitted online are required to be encrypted and digitally signed, the bidders are advised to obtain Digital Signature Certificate (DSC) from suitable vendors or from any authorized agency at the earliest.
- KEY DATES SHALL BE AS UNDER:-

a	Date of Online publication	16 December, 2019
b	Downloading of e-bid Documents	From 17 December 2019 at 10.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) to 7th January 2020 at 11.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.).
c	Date of submission of e-bid	From 17 December 2019 at 10.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) to 7th January 2020 at 11.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.).
d	Date of opening of bids:	On 7th January 2020 at 17.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.)
	1) Cover-1 Eligibility Criteria & Technical bid	On 7th January 2020 at 17.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.)
	2) Cover-2 Financial Bid	Shall be intimated separately
e	Site Visit	Between 11.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) dated 26 December 2019 to 16.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) dated 28 December 2019 along with the Assistant Engineer/concerned Junior Engineer I&PH Sub Division, Kotla
f	Pre-Bid Meeting	On 30th December 2019 at 11.00 Hrs. IST (GMT + 5.30 Hrs.) in the Office of Engineer-in-Chief, IPH Department Jal Shakti Bhawan Shimla-5.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS:-

- The e-bid documents shall be uploaded online in 2 (two) covers:-
 - Cover -1 shall contain Scanned copies of eligibility information and Technical Bid.
 - Cover-2 shall contain "Financial bid" on the prescribed form
 - Cover-1 shall contain scanned legible copies of following "Eligibility Information & Technical bid of WTP (Scanned legible copies to be uploaded in pdf file).
 - The Bid security duly pledged in favor of Executive Engineer, I&PH Division, Jawali, shall be submitted online in as per online payment gateway in favor of "Executive Engineer" I&PH Division, Jawali. Exemption of Bid security shall not be allowed.
 - The cost of bid form as shown above submitted online as per online payment gateway in favor of "Executive Engineer" I&PH Division, Jawali. Exemption of cost of bid form shall not be allowed.
 - Copy of Certificate of registration with I&PH Department or any other state /Govt. of India department or Govt./ semi Govt. Undertakings in appropriate class. The successful bidder should get himself registered in appropriate class with HP & I&PH Department before award of work.
 - Copy of Certificate of EPF registration. If not registered then the successful bidder should get registered within one month after acceptance of the bid by the employer.
 - Annual Turnover of five years.
 - Bid Form as per Chapter IV of Form - 12 duly accepted.
 - Technical bid of WTP.
 - Pre-qualification criteria proof: (a) A bidder/firm shall be considered pre-qualified for the work if he has:-
 - Financial Qualification: Bidder must have achieved minimum average annual financial turnover (at current price level) from contract receipt of works (in all classes of civil engineering construction works only) of 30 % of estimated cost in last five(5) financial years i.e. from year 2014-15 to year 2018-2019.
 - Similar Nature of Work: Bidder must have Experience of having completed similar work during last Seven years ending last day of month previous to the one in which applications are invited. Three similar completed works costing not less than 40% of the estimated cost.

or

 Two similar completed works each costing not less than 50% of the estimated cost.

or

 One similar completed works costing not less than amount equal to 80% of estimated cost.
 - Note:- Similar work means Execution / Construction of the work of Drinking water supply scheme involving execution of Piping network and Water Treatment Plant.
 - Joint venture is not allowed.
 - PAN (Permanent Account No.), GST registration and EPF registration (if EPF not registered then before award of work).
 - Work done, Experience Certificates as per Pre-qualification criteria.
 - The authorization letter regarding digital signature certificate (DSC) of the person authorized by the registered bidder to upload the bid, be uploaded along with the other documents online.
 - A scanned copy of undertaking (as per Chapter IV of Form - 12) in that I have carefully studied all the terms and conditions stipulated in the contract document before quoting the rates.
- Note: No physical submission of documents will be allowed. Any document / information found false / fabricated during scrutiny or later anytime, the bid is liable to be cancelled immediately. In such case 'Bid Security' shall be forfeited.
- Cover-1 shall contain "eligibility information & Technical bid" of WTP. Cover-2 shall contain "Financial Bid" which shall be opened at a later date to be notified separately & shall be opened only of those bidders /Firms whose documents as per eligibility information & technical bid "Cover-1" will be found in order. The Financial Bids shall contain only Financial Bid /Offer on departmental schedule of quantity/BOQ where bidder /firms shall quote his /their offer for each item. The Non BOQ items shall be paid as per Clause 59 of the PWD Form 12 and GCC & SCC
 - Rates quoted must be in INR (Indian Rupee) and shall be inclusive of all taxes applicable at the time of opening of bids.
 - The bidder shall not be permitted to bid for the work in the HPIPH Circle (responsible for award and execution of the contract) in which his near relative is posted as Divisional Accountant or as an officer in any capacity between the grades of Superintending Engineer & Assistant Engineer (both Inclusive). He shall also intimate the name of the persons who are working with him in any capacity or are subsequently employed by him who are near relative to any gazetted officer in the I&PH department. Any breach of this condition by the bidder would render him liable to be removed from the approved list of bidders of this department.
 - Bid security of L1, L2 and L3 shall be retained till the finalization of the offer of the lowest bidder or 180 days whichever is earlier .
 - In case, opening day is a holiday, the bids shall be opened on next working day at the same time.
 - The validity of the bid shall be kept open for 180 days or till the finalization of the offer of the lowest bidder.
 - Ambiguous/telegraphic/ Conditional bids or bids by Fax/E-mail shall not be entertained/ considered in any case.
 - Conditional bids are liable to be rejected without assigning any reasons.
 - The Executive Engineer, reserves the right to reject/cancel any or all the /bids without assigning any reason(s).
 - Any enquiry regarding bids can be obtained on e-mail of the divisional officer under e-mail address i.e. xeniph@yahoo.co.in
 - Rates should be quoted in figure in Indian Rupee (INR).
- Sd/- Executive Engineer,
I&PH Division, Jawali.
- No.EE/IPH/Div./JWL/EA-I/Tender/2019-11569-11618
3533/H.P. Dated: 13.12.2019

Man jumps in front of Metro: Cops suspect financial distress

ANANYA TIWARI
NOIDA, DECEMBER 14

A DAY after a 33-year-old man jumped in front of a train at the Jawaharlal Nehru Metro station and the bodies of his wife and daughter were found at their Greater Noida home, police said they suspect the man committed suicide due to financial stress.

On Friday, Bharat J, a general manager at a company in Govindpuri, allegedly committed suicide. Police said his wife Shivaranjani J (31) allegedly hanged herself and their five-year-old daughter at their home in the evening.

Bharat, who was the sole breadwinner in a household of four including his younger brother Karthik J (30), used to work in Kathmandu (Nepal) at the Big Mart shopping mall before shifting with his family to Greater Noida in September. They were living in a rented flat at Jaypee Pavilion Court society complex in Sector 128.

He was a general manager at Golden Tips Chai Company in Okhla. Shivaranjani was a housewife and their daughter was in kindergarten at a neighbourhood school. His brother Karthik was studying at a



The man's wife, daughter were found dead at their flat hours later

coaching centre in Lado Sarai to become a pilot. The families of both spouses hail from Chennai.

According to police, they are probing if Bharat was under financial stress and who he was speaking to before jumping. Karthik told *The Sunday Express* his brother was acting normally when he dropped him at Lado Sarai and had not spoken to him about any problems. "He was completely normal that day," he said.

Police have also confirmed that Bharat was being paid regularly by his employer.

Police said that Bharat dropped Kartik at Lado Sarai for coaching, as per his routine. "He then went to the Metro station, where he was talking on the phone, before he jumped around 11 am," said SSP Noida, Vaibhav Krishna.

Carry out review of crisis teams, police chief tells DCPs

MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

INA bid to improve the performance of the Crisis Response Team (CRT), Delhi Police Commissioner Amulya Patnaik directed all deputy commissioners of police (DCPs) to conduct a thorough review of their district CRT and organise a course for district reserve police forces to educate them on handling crisis situations.

The police chief discussed the CRT's role with DCPs for the first time during the clash between policemen and a tempo driver in North West Delhi's Mukherjee Nagar five months ago. The tempo driver had allegedly brandished a sword, injuring an assistant sub-inspector. The violence, caught on camera, broke out after the tempo bumped into a police van.

"After the incident, Patnaik had called a meeting wherein he asked all DCPs about the use of CRT during the incident. Following the Tis Hazari district court incident on November 2 wherein lawyers and policemen clashed, Patnaik again expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the CRT," a senior police officer said.

BETWEEN NATIONAL RAIL MUSEUM AND IRCTC OVER PROCUREMENT OF TENDERS

Locked in tussle, rly station shop runs dry of stock

DIVYA GOYAL
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

THE BRITISH-ERA architecture style 'Souvenir Shoppe' of the Northern Railways, with its slanting roof, red brick walls and vintage railway lamps, would often attract heritage lovers on platform number one of the New Delhi Railway Station.

Of late, however, the shop wears an empty look as most products have run out of stock due to an ongoing tussle between the National Rail Museum (NRM) and the Indian Railway Catering and Tourism Corporation (IRCTC) over procurement of souvenirs.

Opened in 2013, the shop was handed over to IRCTC in September 2018. Earlier, the NRM would look after the shop's operations.



The Souvenir Shoppe at platform 1 was handed over to the IRCTC by the National Rail Museum in September 2018

Officials from IRCTC and NRM said that as per the deal, IRCTC was supposed to procure artefacts after a year of the handover, and NRM had to 'assist' them for that period. However, after the stock got over, NRM tenders failed due to alleged

changes in procedure, and IRCTC, too, failed to procure stock on its own, claimed officials.

NRM director Ashish Gundal said, "In the first phase of the handover, we had to assist IRCTC. It has been more than a year but they have not been able to sta-

bilise things. There has been shortage of souvenirs at our end too as the procedure was changed..."

M P Mall, IRCTC chairman and managing director, however, said NRM holds expertise in the handover and that it should assist IRCTC: "We cannot procure products without their help. I have been told that NRM tenders also failed..."

An IRCTC employee at the shop told *The Sunday Express*, "There has been no stock for nearly four months... all train models have been sold out. Customers often enquire about the stock, but we don't know when we will get it." He adds that products like models of vintage trains such as the Fairy Queen Express, Kalka-Simla toy train, postcards, heritage diaries, etc are always in demand. The souvenir shop was fetching at

least Rs 70,000-Rs 1.5 lakh a month before it was handed over to the IRCTC.

At the railway souvenir shop in Shimla, which is still under NRM, an employee feared they too could face the same problem: "We, too, are running low on stock. Many products have not been restocked."

Sources in the Railways said the Delhi and Shimla shops are the only souvenir outlets run at railway stations in the Northern region. The Delhi shop was handed over to IRCTC to "upscale operations as it was fetching good revenue".

"Being a PSU, we thought IRCTC would be able to procure better products. The aim was to upscale this shop's operations but the opposite has happened. They have failed to manage on their own," said a senior railway official.

BRIEFLY

SDMC sets up first e-vehicle charging station

New Delhi: The South civic body Saturday inaugurated its first public electric vehicle charging station at the N-Block market area in Greater Kailash-I. Officials said 75 more stations will be set up across South Delhi by March.

Delhi BJP women's wing holds meet

New Delhi: In a meeting held at the MCD Civic Centre Saturday, Delhi BJP's women's wing chief Poonam Parashar Jha told the party's women workers to make women voters aware of the Centre's schemes for them, ahead of the Assembly polls.

Fire at plywood factory

New Delhi: A fire broke out in a plywood factory in West Delhi's Mundka early Saturday. Officers said that no casualty was reported. ENS

7 CITIZENSHIP LAW



Train services were disrupted in West Bengal amid protests over the citizenship law. Central Railway cancelled some express trains to and from Howrah (in picture). Express

Bengal rocked by protests, CM warns against vandalism

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 14

PROTESTS AGAINST National Register of Citizens (NRC) and the new citizenship law continued in West Bengal, with sporadic incidents of vandalism at railway stations. Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee issued a statement, saying action will be taken against those who destroy government properties.

However, the CM herself will lead several rallies against NRC and the new citizenship law in Kolkata from Monday.

"Please protest in a democratic way. Do not take law into your own hands. Do not block roads and rail lines. Those who are making trouble and taking law into their own hands will not be spared. We will take action against those who are setting fire to buses or pelting stones at trains," Banerjee said in a statement on Saturday.

State Urban Development Minister Firhad Hakim told to mediapersons, "I appeal to all my friends that please do not strengthen BJP's hand by spreading anarchy in the state. People in the state are suffering after roads are being blocked and buses set on fire. We will have to fight against the new

citizenship law and NRC. Some people are instigating all this... Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee has called for a rally against NRC and citizenship law. If you want to protest, join Mamata Banerjee."

Meanwhile, West Bengal Governor Jagdeep Dhankhar on Saturday urged Banerjee to demonstrate her true faith and allegiance to the Constitution in the present situation. He tweeted, "@MamataOfficial. Distressed and pained at events unfolding in the State. Chief Minister as per oath has to 'bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India.' and I as Governor will 'to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law.'"

Protests and sporadic vandalism continued for the second day in several parts of the state. Agitators blocked Kona Expressway and National Highway 6 in Howrah at different places. At Salap in the Howrah district, protesters blocked road, burnt tyres and hurled stones at policemen who had to resort to lathicharge and lob tear gas shells to disperse the mob. At Kona Expressway, agitators set fire to 15 vehicles, including government buses and police jeeps.

In Howrah's Sankrail station, protesters set the ticket counter on fire and damaged

the signalling system.

In Murshidabad district, empty trains that were standing at Krishnapur station were set on fire by protesters on Saturday evening. According to sources, five trains were set on fire. However, the railway authorities are yet to officially confirm the numbers. Protesters also pelted stones at Shamshegunj police station and tried to ransack it, following which additional police personnel were deployed in the area. Protesters continued to ransack parts of the station and set the railway machinery on fire at Beldanga railway station.

Later in the day, the CM made a fresh appeal saying, "Once again I appeal to all not to resort to violence and disturb public order, tranquillity and peace. It must be kept in mind that police stations, railway stations, airports, post offices, government offices, public transport and like are public property. Vandalising public as well as private property in any form will not be tolerated and will strictly be dealt according to law..."

Till 7 pm on Saturday, a total of 28 Mail and Express trains were cancelled. Railway authorities stated that they will run a special train from Howrah at 12.30 am for stranded passengers and head for Yeshwantpur, via Asansol, Aadra and Bhadrak.

MEANWHILE

Editors Guild expresses concern over I&B advisory

New Delhi: The Editors Guild of India expressed concern over the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting's advisory to private TV channels asking them to not show any content that incites violence.

In a statement issued on Saturday evening, the Guild said it "believes that the media's overall commitment to responsible coverage of developments in the country should not be questioned through such an advisory". Further, it said, "It is the media's responsibility to report freely and truthfully and fairly." Decrying "such a regressive advisory" the Guild said that it "interferes in the functioning of a free media, and urges the government to withdraw it".

It also said that it "deplored the indefensible acts of violence perpetrated on employees of Prag News, a 24x7 Assamese news channel, by police forces". It said that the Guild's attention "has been drawn to a social media video that shows uniformed policemen running amok outside the Prag News offices, targeting cameramen belonging to the television channel with their batons" and demanded an inquiry "to identify those who indulged in such violence against journalists, and punish the guilty". ENS

US issues advisory for its citizens travelling to NE

New Delhi: The US has issued a travel advisory for its citizens asking them to "exercise caution" while travelling to North-East India, which has witnessed violent protests against the new citizenship law.

The advisory also said the US government has temporarily suspended official travels to Assam, the epicentre of the protests.

"US citizens in the northeastern states of India should exercise caution in light of media reports of protests and violence in response to the approval of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill. Government curfews are in place in some areas. Internet and mobile communications may be disrupted. Transport may be affected in various parts," the advisory read.

The US Embassy has also listed out precautions for its citizens staying in the northeastern states, asking them to avoid areas with "demonstrations and civil disturbances", being aware of their surroundings, and keep a "low profile", among others. PTI

Sedition case in Lucknow over 'anti-national slogans'

ASAD REHMAN
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 14

LUCKNOW POLICE have booked many people on sedition charges and promoting enmity on grounds of religion for allegedly raising anti-national and objectionable slogans during a rally on Friday to protest the new citizenship law and the NRC.

The case of sedition and other serious offences has been lodged at Thakurganj police station. Another case related to the same protest was registered at Chowk police station on charges of rioting and violation of CrPC Section 144.

Both cases, registered on Friday night, were lodged on complaints from police officials.

The AIMIM, which had called for the protest march from Ghanta Ghar to Teele Waali Masjid in Lucknow's old city area, condemned the police action for violating the "Constitutional right to protest" and said the party will move the court against the decision.

Additional Superintendent of Police (West) Vikas Chandra Tripathi said: "The law and order situation was disturbed, (as) protesters did not stop even after they were asked to stop by policemen. The complaints have been lodged by police officials."

He said separate FIRs have been lodged because there were law and order disturbance in two areas. "They had told us about a protest at Ghanta Ghar (but) they went to Teele Waali Masjid, which

Assam activist booked for inciting violence

New Delhi: The NIA has booked Akhil Gogoi, RTI and farmers rights activist from Assam, for allegedly inciting violence in the wake of the new citizenship law. Sources said Gogoi, adviser to Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti, has been booked by the NIA under charges of sedition and Sections of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act.

"The FIR had been registered by Assam Police on Friday. It has been transferred to us today. We have merely re-registered the case," an NIA official said. ENS

was not permitted by the administration. They raised slogans and blocked the road," Tripathi said. Thakurganj SHO Pramod Kumar Mishra said the sedition charge was invoked because the protesters "raised anti-national slogans and slogans against the Bill, which has been passed by Parliament and has been approved by the President".

AIMIM organisation secretary for Uttar Pradesh, Mohammad Iqbal, said, "Holding a peaceful protest is our democratic right, and yesterday's protest was completely peaceful. There was no issue with the police. This FIR is against our Constitutional right to protest."

More petitions challenging citizenship law filed in SC

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

LOK SABHA MP and AIMIM president Asaduddin Owaisi on Saturday moved the Supreme Court challenging the new citizenship law and earlier government notifications amending the Passport Act and Foreigners Order, stating that these were "ultra vires Article 14, Article 21, Article 25 and the basic structure of the Constitution of India, and offend the principle of constitutional morality".

Owaisi in his plea recalled that B R Ambedkar had said that "there is one other thing which is very necessary in the working of Democracy, and it is this, that in the name of democracy there must be no tyranny of the majority over the minority".

The plea added that it is this idea of "constitutional morality, now firmly entrenched into our constitutional jurisprudence... that is sought to be offended by the Impugned Notifications and the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019, which welcome immigrants into the territory of

India selectively on the basis of their religion, and pointedly exclude Muslims".

He said that "in these times of absolute majorities in Parliament, this Court, as the sentinel of our Constitution, has a burden higher than ever before to satisfy its conscience that the impugned actions of the government and of Parliament are in keeping with this 'guiding spirit' and 'soul' of our Constitution embodied by the principle of constitutional morality".

Tripura royal scion and chairperson of Joint Movement Against Citizenship Amendment Bill has also filed a petition challenging the citizenship law. PTI adds: Senior Congress leaders of Assam filed a petition in the Supreme Court challenging the amended citizenship law on Saturday, a party spokesperson said in Guwahati. In their petition, Leader of Opposition in Assam Assembly Debabrata Saikia, Barpeta MP Abdul Khaleque and Mariani MLA Rupjyoti Kurmi highlighted the "blatant attempt to nullify the sanctity of Assam Accord, alleged contradictions in the Act with the provisions of Article 14 and 21 of the Constitution of India".

On Monday, Kerala rivals CPM, Cong to stage joint protest against new law

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOCHI, DECEMBER 14

BITTER POLITICAL rivals in Kerala, the CPI(M) and the Congress, and the multi-party coalitions they lead, will shed their differences to unite in a protest against the new citizenship law in Thiruvananthapuram on Monday.

As part of the protest, leaders of the CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front, including Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan and state ministers, and those of the Congress-led opposition United Democratic Front will attend a 'satyagraha' (protest meeting) outside the martyr's column in the state capital.

The decision, it is learnt, was arrived at following a telephone conversation between Vijayan and Leader of Opposition Ramesh Chennithala.

According to sources, Vijayan, Chennithala, state ministers and senior leaders of the CPI(M), Congress and other parties such as the CPI, Kerala Congress, IUML, RSP and the JD(S) are expected to take part in the day-long protest starting 10 am. Personalities from the fields of art, culture and literature are expected to be part of the protest, which will unilaterally demand withdrawal of the Act and call for protection of the Constitution.

Vijayan, along with his counterparts from West Bengal and Punjab - Mamata Banerjee and Capt Amarinder Singh, respectively - was among the first chief ministers to declare that his government will not enforce the new law.

"The Supreme Court had made it clear on several occasions that the basic structure of



Pinarayi Vijayan, Ramesh Chennithala



the Constitution cannot be undermined. So it is clear that this law will not stand legal scrutiny. When that is evident, there are heinous political aims behind passing anti-Constitutional laws using the arrogance of power.. Kerala will not implement it. Discrimination based on religion will not be allowed," Vijayan had said on Thursday.

"What is being staged was a conspiracy to destroy democracy and equality, and establish autocracy and divide the country on the basis of religion. The Union government is trying to realise the dream of (V D) Savarkar and (M S) Golwalkar with the amendment. It is the offspring of a concerted attempt to sabotage equality and secularism - the basis tenets of the Constitution," he said.

Vijayan said the Left government in Kerala will "question the legality of this black law at all possible venues". He said, "The Supreme Court had made it clear that secularism is the foundation of the Constitution. With the amended Citizenship Act, the Union government is creating a division based on religion alone."

Shah says Cong bent on burning North-East

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
DHANBAD, DECEMBER 14

UNION HOME Minister and BJP president Amit Shah on Saturday accused the Opposition, and particularly the Congress, of stoking violence in the Northeast over the citizenship law. Speaking at rallies in Giridih and Baghmara in poll-bound Jharkhand, he said the passage of the new law had caused them "stomach ache".

"The Congress says we are anti-Muslim, we are not. You are habituated, we conducted surgical strikes and you call us Muslim virodhi. We gave Muslim women rights over triple talaq and you call us Muslim virodhi. We removed Article 370 and you called us Muslim Virodhi. Now we brought the new citizenship law and you are bent on burning the North-East," Shah said.

"I assure the people of Assam and other Northeastern states that your culture, social identity, language and political rights will not be touched and the Narendra Modi government will protect them," he said.

He added that Congress always did vote bank politics. "Pakistan attacked in Uri, Pulwama, but this time Mauni Baba is not the PM, it is 56-inch Narendra Modi... We went inside Pakistan's home and attacked the terrorists," he said.

Shah appealed to people not to vote for the candidate or the CM, but for the development of Jharkhand.



Amit Shah in Deoghar. PTI

नगर विकास एवं आवास विभाग

विज्ञप्ति संख्या- 6584/2019

नगर विकास एवं आवास विभाग के अधीन मुख्य नगर निवेशक के स्वीकृत रिक्त पद के विरुद्ध सेवारत (Working) मुख्य नगर निवेशक का प्रतिनियुक्ति के आधार पर/सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) मुख्य नगर निवेशक का संविदा पर नियोजन की सूचना

नगर विकास एवं आवास विभाग के अधीन मुख्य नगर निवेशक के 01 रिक्त पद के विरुद्ध निम्न विवरणी के अनुसार सेवारत (Working) मुख्य नगर निवेशक का प्रतिनियुक्ति के आधार पर/सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) मुख्य नगर निवेशक का संविदा पर नियोजन हेतु Empanelment के लिए विहित प्रपत्र में Online आवेदन आमंत्रित किया जाता है:-

क्र. सं.	पद का नाम	कोटिबा रिक्रिया	अर्हता एवं अनुभव	मासिक वेतन/मानदेय
1	मुख्य नगर निवेशक	अनारक्षित 01	<p>(i) सेवारत (Working) पदाधिकारियों के लिए</p> <p>अर्हता :-केंद्र/राज्य सरकार अथवा केंद्र/विहार सरकार के उपक्रमों में मौलिक रूप से -</p> <p>(क) समकक्षा पद पर कार्यरत नगर निवेशक या</p> <p>(ख) एक स्तर के नीचे के पद के वेतनमान में कम से कम 5 वर्ष के कार्यानुभव के साथ कार्यरत नगर निवेशक (Town Planner), अथवा</p> <p>(ii) सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) पदाधिकारियों के लिए</p> <p>अर्हता :-मुख्य नगर निवेशक के पद से सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) पदाधिकारी।</p>	<p>सेवारत (Working) पदाधिकारियों को पदपूर्तक विभाग से प्राप्त होने वाला वेतन देय होगा।</p> <p>सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) पदाधिकारियों को मानदेय के रूप में उनका अंतिम प्राप्त वेतन में से पेशन की राशि घटा कर शेष राशि देय होगा।</p>

नियोजन हेतु शर्तें निम्नवत् होंगी :-

- सेवारत (Working) पदाधिकारियों के लिए (प्रतिनियुक्ति के आधार पर)
 - प्रतिनियुक्ति का निर्णय होने पर दो माह के अंदर अपने पदपूर्तक विभाग से अनापत्ति प्रमाण पत्र प्राप्त कर विभाग में समर्पित करना अनिवार्य होगा। विशेष परिस्थिति में यह अवधि बढ़ाई जा सकती है।
 - सेवारत (Working) पदाधिकारियों की प्रतिनियुक्ति के मामले में आरक्षण रोस्टर लागू नहीं होगा।
 - उपयुक्त पद पर सेवारत (Working) पदाधिकारियों की तीन वर्ष की अवधि या नियमित नियुक्ति होने तक (दोनों में जो पहले हो) प्रतिनियुक्ति की जायेगी।
 - कार्य सतोषजनक पाये जाने तथा आवश्यकता होने पर प्रतिनियुक्ति की अवधि को सामान्य प्रशासन विभाग के प्रतिनियुक्ति संबंधी निर्गत परिपत्र के आलोक में बढ़ाया जा सकता है।
- सेवानिवृत्त (Retired) पदाधिकारियों के लिए (संविदा के आधार पर)
 - संविदा के आधार पर नियोजन प्रथमतः 2 (दो) वर्ष अथवा 65 वर्ष की आयु पूरी होने (दोनों में जो पहले हो) तक के लिए किया जायेगा। संतोषप्रद सेवा की स्थिति में अधिकतम 65 वर्ष की उम्र तक के लिए एक-एक वर्ष की सेवा अवधि का विस्तार किया जा सकता है। विशेष परिस्थिति में 67 वर्ष तक सेवा अवधि बढ़ाने पर विचार किया जा सकता है।
 - आरक्षण कोटि के विरुद्ध आवेदन करने वाले को सक्षम प्राधिकार द्वारा निर्गत जाति प्रमाण पत्र संलग्न करना अनिवार्य होगा।
 - सेवानिवृत्ति और संविदा नियोजन के बीच वेतन/पेशन पुनरीक्षण हो जाने की स्थिति में भी निर्धारित मानदेय अपरिवर्तित रहेगा।
 - अनिवार्यतः पीपीओ/पीओ की प्रति सलमन करनी होगी।
 - नियोजन हेतु चयन किए जाने के पश्चात् आवेदकों को असैनिक शल्य चिकित्सक-सह-मुख्य चिकित्सा प्रदायिका द्वारा निर्गत स्वास्थ्य प्रमाण-पत्र देना होगा।
- विज्ञापन एवं शर्तों से संबंधित सभी अधिकार विभाग के अधीन है। विभाग Empanelment की प्रक्रिया को किसी भी समय बिना कारण बताये पद करने का सर्वाधिकार धारित करता है।
- विस्तृत जानकारी हेतु विभागीय वेबसाइट www.urban.bih.nic.in देखा जा सकता है।
- विभागीय पोर्टल पर दिनांक-19.12.2019 से 08.01.2020 के अपराहन 04:00 बजे तक Online आवेदन पत्र (अनुलग्नक सहित) Upload किया जा सकता है।
- Online आवेदन करने की प्रक्रिया निम्नरूपेण होगी:-
 - Online आवेदन करने हेतु लिंक www.urban.bih.nic.in पर उपलब्ध है। उपलब्ध कराये गए लिंक पर क्लिक करने के पश्चात् Online recruitment पोर्टल open हो जायेगा। तत्पश्चात् अम्यथी "Click here to Apply Online" लिंक पर क्लिक करेंगे।
 - Online आवेदन करने हेतु सर्वप्रथम पोर्टल पर अम्यथी का registration किया जाना अनिवार्य है, इस हेतु अम्यथी पोर्टल के login page पर उपलब्ध "NewRegistration" लिंक पर क्लिक करेंगे।
 - रजिस्ट्रेशन की प्रक्रिया पूर्ण होने के पश्चात् अम्यथी के मोबाइल एवं ई-मेल पर रजिस्ट्रेशन आईडी एवं पासवर्ड प्राप्त होगा। इस आईडी एवं पासवर्ड का इस्तेमाल कर अम्यथी पोर्टल पर लॉगिन (login) करेंगे।
 - पोर्टल पर लॉगिन (login) करने के पश्चात् अम्यथी द्वारा यथा वार्षिक पोर्टल में उपलब्ध सूचना के अनुसार एवं Document Upload की कार्यवाही की जा सकती है।
 - पोर्टल पर अपलोड करने हेतु Photo का साइज 50KB से कम होना चाहिए, इसके लिए अम्यथी रंगीन Photo को JPG फॉर्मेट में 200x230 pixels में Save कर लेंगे।
 - पोर्टल पर अपलोड करने हेतु Signature का साइज 20KB से कम होना चाहिए, इसके लिए अम्यथी Signature को JPG फॉर्मेट में 140x60 pixels में Save कर लेंगे।
 - प्रत्येक Scanned documents का Size 400KB से कम होना चाहिए है, इसके लिए अम्यथी documents को black & white mode में अधिकतम 300dpi पर pdf फॉर्मेट में Scan कर Save कर लेंगे।
 - Application Form को भरने के दौरान form को Draft के रूप में Save करने के लिए Save button का इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है।
 - Online आवेदन को Final Submit करने से पहले अम्यथी आवश्यक हो तब तक कि उनके द्वारा ऑनलाइन आवेदन में सभी अपेक्षित सूचनाओं को दर्ज कर दिया गया है एवं सभी आवश्यक दस्तावेजों को अपलोड कर दिया गया है। एक बार Application Form को Final submit करने के पश्चात् किसी भी परिस्थिति में Application Form में सुधार/ Edit का अवसर प्रदान नहीं किया जाएगा।
 - Online आवेदन करने के दौरान यदि कोई तकनीकी समस्या उत्पन्न होती है, तो अम्यथी login page पर उपलब्ध लिंक के माध्यम से Online request कर सकता है।
 - आवेदन के Final Submission के पश्चात् Application ID generate होगा जो आवेदन के उपर अंकित होगा। केवल Finally Submitted आवेदन ही स्वीकार किये जाएंगे।
 - अम्यथी आवेदन के Final Submission के पश्चात् उसकी एक प्रति प्रिंटरक भविष्य के लिए रख लेंगे।
 - आवेदन के लिए कोई शुल्क देय नहीं होगा।

सरकार के विशेष सचिव

PR No. 012280(Urban Devt.)2019-20 **माता आएँ, बहनें आएँ, भैया आएँ, भाभी आएँ। बच्चे आएँ, बूढ़े आएँ, सब मिलकर भ्रूखला बनाएँ।**

Fadnavis used contentious rule to pay irrigation contractors

Maharashtra govt stays move; ex-CM says did it as 'special case' to expedite works

SANDEEP ASHAR
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 14

JUST BEFORE the Assembly polls in Maharashtra, the previous BJP-led regime invoked a contentious provision to regularise payments for additional works, amounting to hundreds of crores of rupees, to irrigation contractors across the state. But the new Shiv Sena-NCP-Congress government under Uddhav Thackeray has stayed the move for now.

The Sunday Express has learnt that the Devendra Fadnavis Cabinet had in a meeting held on September 9 this year invoked Clause 38 of the Schedule of Rates for irrigation works, permitting the state's Water Resources Department to incur liabilities towards additional works undertaken in 39 existing dam contracts. Besides this, it had also permitted the department to sanction extra items that were not part of the original contract.

In August 2014, months before the Fadnavis government took over, the department, through an official communication, had suspended the implementation of both the provisions after investigations into the multi-crore irrigation fraud during the Congress-NCP regime had alleged that there was rampant misuse of these provisions.



Devendra Fadnavis

Without inviting fresh tenders, inquiries had then revealed that in several cases, extra works, which were beyond the scope of the original contract, to the tune of several hundred crores were awarded in the garb of sanctioning additional items. In the garb of sanctioning additional items, changes were introduced to the scope of the work, design for the project, height of the dam, the command area projections, among others, all of which would have required invitation of a fresh tender.

Incidentally, Fadnavis, then in Opposition, had led a vocal campaign against the then regime for misuse of the provisions.

September 9 was also the last time the Fadnavis Cabinet had met before the model code of conduct for the elections kicked in. On December 4, when Thackeray's Cabinet took up the confirmation of the minutes of

the September 9 meeting, this decision had come under scrutiny after two ministers objected to the bulk approval on the ground that it had been passed without a formal Cabinet note.

Sources confirmed that on December 9, the department moved a note for the withdrawal of the proposal from the Cabinet. When contacted, Principal Secretary (Water Resources) Iqbal Singh Chahal confirmed the withdrawing of the proposal. While the department had already issued a government resolution (GR) notifying the Cabinet decision on September 11, Chahal confirmed that "it has now been put on hold."

While justifying the need to invoke the provisions for expediting dam works and avoiding cost escalation, Chahal said his department would now "move an independent file to the Chief Minister's Office for reconfirmation of the decision. The GR will be operationalised only after he ratifies it."

He further argued that since the proposal dealt with the "operationalisation of existing provisions", a Cabinet nod was not mandatory. Sources said that even on September 9, the department had reportedly moved the file for the then Chief Minister's (Fadnavis's) approval. It was brought before the Cabinet on the latter's insistence.

While Clause 38 is meant to provide the government an instrument to sanction payments for exigencies at the time of execution, it has been routinely used in the past to award new works to existing contractors. For sanctioning payments for extra items that were not a part of the original contract, rules prescribed by the state's Public Works Department are used, but even this provision has been prone to misuse.

Fadnavis, when contacted, said his Cabinet had taken the decision as a "special case" to expedite ongoing projects. "It was a sort of fait accompli. None of these contracts were awarded during my term. These were all awarded during the Congress-NCP regime. We had to invoke the provisions to regularise the additional liabilities already incurred on the projects to put them back on track and avoid further cost escalations," he argued.

The former CM added that "we were in the process of availing fresh loans to fund 52 additional ongoing projects. Without regularising the additional works, we couldn't have gone ahead with it." But a senior official said that the September 9 decision had allowed additional works to be awarded for future expenditure on these projects as well.

PM CHAIRS NATIONAL GANGA COUNCIL MEET



Prime Minister Narendra Modi on a boat ride on the Ganga in Kanpur on Saturday. PTI

Govt set to develop organic farming corridor along Ganga to arrest pollution

HARIKISHAN SHARMA
KANPUR, DECEMBER 14

TO CHECK non-point source of pollution from agriculture, the government may launch a special programme to develop an organic farming corridor along the Ganga, and a proposal of this effect was discussed in the National Ganga Council meeting chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Saturday, it is learnt.

According to sources, the idea of organic farming corridor was mooted by the National Mission for Clean Ganga, and received a positive response from the Council — the Prime Minister is learnt to have underlined the importance of sustainable agriculture in the Ganga basin.

A source said, "Agricultural runoff is a major non-point source of pollution in the Ganga. Although organic farming has been taken up by Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare in a few clusters, there is a need to consider special programme of organic farming on 5 km stretch along both sides of the river...riverbed agriculture should be only organic."

According to an official state-

ment issued after the meeting, Modi urged for a holistic thinking process where 'Namami Gange' evolves to 'Arth Ganga', or a sustainable development model with focus on economic activities related to the river. "As part of this process, farmers should be encouraged to engage in sustainable agriculture practices, including zero budget farming, planting of fruit trees and building plant nurseries on the banks of Ganga," according to the statement.

It stated, "Priority could be given to women's self-help groups and ex-servicemen organisations for these programmes. Such practices, along with creation of infrastructure for water sports and development of camp sites, cycling and walking tracks etc, would help to tap the 'hybrid' tourism potential of the river basin area."

Income generated from encouraging eco-tourism and Ganga wildlife conservation and cruise tourism, etc, will help generate sustainable income streams for cleaning of Ganga, it stated.

Chairing the first meeting of the Council, attended by nine Union ministers, chief ministers of Uttar Pradesh and

Uttarakhand, deputy CM of Bihar, and vice-chairman of NITI Aayog, Modi said that rejuvenation of the Ganga has been a long-pending challenge for the country. The statement said, "He (Modi) noted that a lot had been accomplished since the Government took up 'Namami Gange' in 2014...notable achievements being zero waste creation by paper mills and reduction in pollution from tanneries; but much more needs to be done."

Like aspirational districts, all districts bordering the Ganga should be made a focus area for monitoring efforts under Namami Gange, the Prime Minister said.

Sources said the Council also discussed the idea to start a special programme to enhance dolphin population in the river. It is learnt that continuation of the Namami Gange programme beyond 2020 was also given green signal at the meeting.

West Bengal and Jharkhand did not participate in the meeting.

After the meeting, Modi took a boat ride in the Ganga to inspect work of cleaning at Sisamau Nala, which was the one of major sources of pollution of the river in Kanpur.

Four years into Namami Gange, high volume of sewage still flows into river

HARIKISHAN SHARMA
KANPUR, DECEMBER 14

FOUR-AND-A-HALF YEARS after the NDA government launched the 'Namami Gange' programme, a very high volume of sewage continues to flow untreated into the Ganga.

A document presented at the National Ganga Council meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Saturday, shows that as on September 30, the existing sewage capacity is 1,957 MLD (million litres per day), much lower than the treatment capacity required to treat the 2,953 MLD sewage that was generated by 97 towns along the Ganga in 2016 - the last year of assessment.

Sewage generation is expected to reach at 3,603 MLD in 2035, shows the document.

Meanwhile, a project status report prepared by the National Mission for Clean Ganga (NMCG) shows that till the end of the October 2019, under Namami Gange, 150 sewage infrastructure projects have been taken up on Ganga and its tributaries, of which 51 sewage projects were approved before the May 13, 2015 - the day Namami Gange was approved by the Union Cabinet.

SHIVAJI MEMORIAL

Change in scope of work vitiated tendering procedure: CAG report

VISHWAS WAGHMODE
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 14

THE DEVENDRA Fadnavis-led Maharashtra government's decision to reduce the cost of the proposed Shivaji Memorial in the Arabian Sea by negotiating with the lowest bidder and changing the scope of work has "vitiating the tendering procedure and defeated the objective of transparency in tendering process", the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) has said in a report.

The CAG carried out an audit of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Memorial Project between April and May 2019. The report, accessed by *The Indian Express* under the Right to Information (RTI) Act, was sent to state public works department (PWD) in October.

The CAG scrutinised the records pertaining to the state government's move of reducing the cost of the project by negotiating with lowest bidder, M/s Larsen and Toubro (L&T), which quoted Rs 3,826 crore as project



Work on project stayed in January on SC orders. Archive

YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW
AN EXPRESS RTI APPLICATION

cost, much higher than PWD's estimated project cost of Rs 2692.50 crore. So, instead of re-tendering, the government decided to go for cost optimisation measures in February last year to reduce the project cost. Eventually, the cost was reduced to Rs 2,500 crore plus GST.

The report noted that while reducing the cost, the scope of the work was also substantially

reduced in every component of the project. "Change in scope of work after opening of bids has vitiated the tendering procedure and defeated the objective of transparency in tendering process," it said.

It added that introducing change in the scope of work, while negotiating with the lowest bidder, is "tantamount to compromise on transparency, equity and fair treatment to all the participated bidders".

The PWD, in its response to CAG, stated that the cost optimisation was approved by the High Power Steering Committee (HPSC), headed by the chief minister, after taking legal opinion. "Further, process of retender would have delayed the award of contract and delay in execution of the project," it added.

However, the CAG report said that some changes in the scope of work after negotiating with lowest bidder may lead to "additional financial burden" on the state government "at later stage". It added that the clause of training, operation and maintenance was included in the tenders and it is an "integral part of the functioning of the project".

"The deletion of the said clause may give an undue advantage to the contractor for better negotiation for operation and maintenance of the project, which may also cause for additional financial burden in later stage," the CAG said.

The report also remarked that modifications and deletion of the clauses while issuing revised work order in September last year to L&T may result in "undue benefit to contractor".

The findings of the report assumes significance as the previous BJP-led government had denied all irregularities in the project. *The Indian Express* had published a report on October 6 last year, highlighting the changes introduced in the work order and objections raised by the project's divisional accountant on cost reduction through negotiation, terming it as violation of norms.

An official from CAG said that it has sought detailed response from PWD. However, Manoj Saunik, Additional Chief Secretary (PWD), said: "We haven't studied it yet. I can't comment on it."

FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com

Akhilesh meets Unnao victim kin

Lucknow: SP chief Akhilesh Yadav on Saturday visited the family of the Unnao gangrape victim who died after she was allegedly set on fire by five men accused.

Later talking to the media, Akhilesh claimed, "The government knew about her health condition... Knowing all this, the government still sent her to Delhi to avoid political activity and protests..." He added, "Our responsibility is to ensure that she gets justice..." ENS

In India, children often inherit crime, says Justice Chandrachud

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

THERE IS A "correlation between deprivation of economic resources and juvenile delinquency" and a "holistic approach focused on aspects such as deprivation and poverty is necessary" to address this, Supreme Court judge D Y Chandrachud said on Saturday.

Delivering the keynote address at the fifth National Juvenile Justice Consultation, organised by the Supreme Court Committee on Juvenile Justice and UNICEF here, Justice Chandrachud said that in India, children often "inherit crime" — they are born into unfortunate circumstances which push them into substance abuse and violence.

Citing National Crime Records Bureau data, he said that in 2015, 42.39 per cent children in conflict with the law belonged to families with an income up to Rs 25,000; 28.26 per cent of such children belonged to families with an income between Rs 25,000 and Rs 50,000. Only 2.30 per cent of such



Justice D.Y. Chandrachud

children belonged to families within the higher income bracket of between Rs 2 lakh and Rs 3 lakh, he said.

Justice Deepak Gupta, who is also chairman of the top court's JJ Committee, in his welcome address said that juvenile homes and other similar institutions for children lack the emotional quotient necessary for their healthy growth. He stressed the need to explore possibilities of alternative systems of care.

Justice Gupta said, "...The institutions should be small, homely places where the children and caretakers live like a family."

Another problem faced by children in such institutions, he said, is that they are shown the door the day they turn 18. He said, "We need to hold hands of these children leaving care to ensure that they develop as young adults and mature into fine human beings".

No attempt to introduce AI in decision-making process, says CJI Bobde

VIVEK DESHPANDE
NAGPUR, DECEMBER 14

CHIEF JUSTICE of India (CJI) S A Bobde on Saturday said the use of artificial intelligence (AI) in administration of justice wouldn't interfere with the decision-making process.

The CJI made the point at an event organised by the High Court Bar Association (HCBA) of Nagpur. Justice Bobde was a member of the Nagpur Bar several years ago.

Referring to the cautionary words in the speech by former CJI R M Lodha, who presided over the function, on use of AI, Justice Bobde said, "I wish to point out that it is not an attempt to introduce AI in the decision-making process itself. The system we are looking at has the ability to read 10 lakh words per second, which means you can make it read anything and ask it any question and it will give you the answer. The Ayodhya case had thousands of pages of documents and it becomes very easy when you have AI. There is no thought of substituting decision-making by human minds with computers..."

Earlier, Justice Lodha had said, "Justice Bobde has expressed his view to focus on use of AI in the judicial decision-making process. The idea... may help significantly in discharge of cases, but such use of technological innovations may have potential negative implications. The helpful use may become harmful. It may spread mass surveillance and assist spread of disinformation..."

Justice Bobde also called for steps to ensure good mental health for lawyers. "The Bar should have a committee for lawyers' well-being and launch appropriate health-promoting initiatives," said Justice Bobde.

The CJI also stressed on increasing access to justice. "One question journalists frequently ask me is about the fees the lawyers charge. I tell them frankly I have nothing to do with what they charge. Nobody can have grievances in anybody making a lot of money. But it blocks access to justice..."



CJI S.A. Bobde

PUNJAB REMOTE SENSING CENTRE, PAU CAMPUS, LUDHIANA
Advertisement No. 6/2019

A) Applications complete in all respects are invited for filling up the one post of Accounts Officer in the Pay Band of Rs. 15600-39100+Rs. 7600/- Grade Pay on regular/deputation/contractual basis.

Prescribed application form can be downloaded from PRSC website www.prsc.gov.in. Candidates are advised to visit PRSC website for more details and any updates/information or change of interview in special circumstances and administrative reasons as may be arising. Interview call/test letter shall be issued to short-listed candidates. The candidates must fulfill the requisite qualifications/experience by the last date of receipt of applications i.e. 16.01.2020. Otherwise the application will be rejected.

Note: The pay and allowances of the above posts shall be decided on the basis of the Punjab Govt. Notification No. 7/204/2012-4 F.P.1/66 dated 15.01.2015 and 01.06.2016-4PP.1/834680/1 dated 07.09.2016.

B) Applications are invited for the posts of Jr. Research Fellow and Project Fellow on contractual basis for a period of six months likely to be extended based on candidate's performance review and Project Scheme/Centre's requirements. For further details visit website www.prsc.gov.in.

Sd/- Director

D-7881/Pb

GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU & KASHMIR
SHER-I-KASHMIR INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES, SOURAE DEEMED UNIVERSITY
Sub: Corrigendum
Please read "B.Sc. Anesthesia, Critical Care & Operation Theatre Technology Course" instead of "B.Sc. Operation Theatre Technology Course" (03 Years Course) depicted at S.No. 04 of Advertisement Notice No. SIMS/ACAD 20 of 2019 Dated 09.12.2019
Sd/- Dean Medical Faculty.
No. SIMS/ACAD/305 05/BS/c/19-8769-75
Dated: 12.12.2019-3998-3400
SIMS-3997

S. E. RAILWAY TENDER
e-Tender Notice No.: (1) CKP-EAST-19-20-53, (2) CKP-EAST-19-20-55, (3) CKP-Central-19-20-35, (4) CKP-Central-19-20-36. e-Tenders against Open Tender are invited by the DRM/ENGG/CKP acting for and on behalf of The President of India for the following works: Sl. No., Name of Work, Tender Value & EMD :

(1) Execution of Track maintenance work between station TATA-OND, OND-GUMI & OND-BMPP under SSE (P-Way)/BDO for the period ending up to 30.09.2021, ₹ 1,42,27,854.19 & ₹ 2,21,100/- (2) Execution of Track maintenance work under SSE (P-Way)/ADTP for the period ending up to 30.09.2021 (2nd Call), ₹ 4,82,806.03 & ₹ 2,41,700/- (3) Supply, installation and commissioning of 06 nos. track based Rail Lubricator (Hydraulic Type) including operation for two years after free operation of one year under the jurisdiction of ADEN/BNDM. ₹ 30,16,965.12 & ₹ 80,300/- (4) Supply, installation and commissioning of 06 nos. track based Rail Lubricator (Hydraulic Type) including operation for two years after free operation of one year under the jurisdiction of ADEN/West/CKP. ₹ 30,16,965.12 & ₹ 80,300/- Cost of Tender Form: ₹ 5,000/- for Sl. Nos.1 & 2 and ₹ 3,000/- for Sl. Nos. 3 & 4. Date of Opening : 06.01.2020 for each. The Tender can be viewed at website <http://www.ireps.gov.in> The tender/bidders must have Class-III Digital Signature Certificate & must be registered on IREPS Portal. Only registered tenderer/bidder can participate on e-Tendering. All relevant paper must be uploaded at the time of participating in e-Tendering. (PR-1128)

CORRIGENDUM
Tender No. CETPSPER2019016, Dtd. 20.11.2019 published earlier by Pr. Chief Engineer, South Eastern Railway, Garden Reach, Kolkata-700043 has been issued which are available on website: <http://www.ireps.gov.in>. All prospective Tenderers are advised to see the website for Corrigendum No. 2 & 3 respectively. All other conditions & contents will remain unchanged. (PR-1128/C)

हथकरघा एवं वस्त्रोद्योग निदेशालय, उ.प्र.
(उ.प्र. बुनकर बहवृदी फण्ड)
सर्वोदय नगर, जी.टी. रोड, कानपुर-208005
पुनः ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा सूचना

संख्या-1925/ बु.फ. / एक्सपो / 2019-20, दिनांक: 10 दिसम्बर, 2019

दि 17 फरवरी 2020 से 08 मार्च 2020 तक बूनेन्द स्वरूप पार्क, कानपुर में प्रस्तावित नेशनल हेल्थरूम एक्सपो-2019-20 के अस्थायी पेंसिलिंग/स्टाल्स, विद्युतीकरण, सेन्टरी कार्या, गेट, बाउण्ड्री वाल का निर्माण एवं रख-रखाव हेतु देश के अनुभवी / प्रतिष्ठित ठेकेदारों से ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा सूचना संख्या-1944 / बु.फ.फण्ड / 2019-20 दि. 05.11.2019 द्वारा आमंत्रित कर तकनीकी विद्द दि. 05.12.2019 को ऑनलाइन खोली गयी परन्तु कोई भी वैध निविदा प्राप्त ना होने के कारण आमंत्रित ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा प्रक्रिया को निरस्त करते हुये उक्त एक्सपो के उपरोक्त कार्य हेतु पुनः ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा/निष्कातित विवरण के अनुसार आमंत्रित की जाती है। पुनः ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा की विस्तृत सूचना, निविदा प्रश्न, कार्य का विवरण, नियम एवं शर्तें आदि, एनआरसी. की वेबसाइट <http://tenderup.nic.in> से डाउनलोड किया जा सकता है और निर्धारित तिथि एवं समय के अन्दर जमा किया जा सकता है। जिसका विवरण निम्नवत है:-

क्र. सं.	कूल अवस्थापना कार्य की अनुमानित लागत (लाख रु. में)	एफ.डी.आर. के रूप में जमा की जाने वाली धरोहर धनराशि (रु. में)	बैंक ड्राफ्ट के रूप में निविदा मूल्य- 18% जी.एस.टी. सहित (रु. में)	4
1	2	3	4	
1.	60.00	60,500.00	10,620.00	

एक्सपो का स्थान, तिथि एवं अवधि पूर्ववत; अन्तिम है एवं किसी भी समय इसमें अपरिहार्य कारणों से परिवर्तन/निरस्त किया जा सकता है। निविदा अभिलेख एन.आर.सी. की वेबसाइट <http://tenderup.nic.in> पर दि. 18.12.2019 से 30.12.2019 अपराह्न 6.00 बजे तक उपलब्ध रहेगा जिसे दि. 18.12.2019 से 30.12.2019 को अपराह्न 6.00 बजे तक अपलोड किया जा सकता है। अपलोडेड निविदा अभिलेख कार्यालय में दि. 31.12.2019 को अपराह्न 3:00 बजे तक जमा किये जा सकते हैं। निविदा की तकनीकी विद्द दि. 01.01.2020 को पूर्वान 11:00 बजे डाउनलोड किया जाएगा और दि. 02.01.2020 को अपराह्न 12:30 बजे निविदादाताओं की उपस्थिति में निविदा समिति द्वारा हथकरघा एवं वस्त्रोद्योग निदेशालय, उ.प्र. सर्वोदय नगर, कानपुर नगर में तकनीकी विद्दस के परीक्षणोपरान्त पुनः ई-अल्यकालीन निविदा का वित्तीय विद्दस खोल जायेगा। मात्र उन्ही निविदाओं का वित्तीय विद्दस खोल जायेगा जे तकनीकी विद्दस में अर्ह पायी जायेगी।

हस्ता./- (गौरव दयाल) आवृत्त एवं निदेशक, हथकरघा एवं वस्त्रोद्योग, उ.प्र./ सचिव, उ.प्र. बुनकर बहवृदी फण्ड, कानपुर

www.upgov.nic.in in date 12/12/19
UPID No 146504

Executive Engineer, PD, P.W.D, Bulandshahr

Letter No. 5922/A
E - Procurement Short Tender Notice
Dated. 10/12/2019

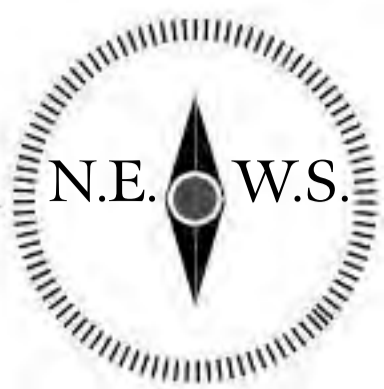
On behalf of Governor of Uttar Pradesh, E.E. PD, U.P.P.W.D., Bulandshahr invites following percentage rate bids online through <http://tenderup.nic.in> from the eligible and approved class A, B, C & D Contractors registered with UP PWD, in Building Work from Dt. 03.01.2020 to 10.01.2020 upto 12:00 Noon. The technical bids will be opened online on the same working day that is, on dated 10.01.2020 at 3:00 P.M. in the office of Executive Engineer, PD, U.P.P.W.D., Bulandshahr if the office happens to be closed on the date of opening of the bids as specified, the bids will be opened online on the next working day respectively, at the same time and validity of bid will be considered from the original date. The date and time of opening of the financial bid shall be notified on the website.

Sl. No.	Name of Work	Estimated cost (Rs. in Lac)	Bid Security (Rs. in Lacs)	Time of Completion including rainy season	Tender document fee including GST	Address of Executive Engineer	Address of Superintending Engineer	Address of Chief Engineer
1.	Special Repair of Residential D.M. Colony 11 No. Awash Type 'B' in District Bulandshahr	32.00	3.20	03 Month	300+500+144 GST	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-

1. The Bid Security & Tender Document Fee must be deposited through Internet Banking/ NEFT/ RTGS only.
2. All registered contractors have to upload turnover certified by C.A. of last 5 year and details of maximum cost work satisfactorily completed in last 5 years on Chankayka Software before submission of tender.
Details of e-tender uploaded on <https://tenderup.nic.in> shall also be uploaded on upwd Chankayka software, before last date & time of submission of bid.
3. Terms & Other Conditions related to bid are available on <https://tenderup.nic.in>

Sd/- Assistant Engineer P.D. P.W.D BULANDSHAH
UPID No-146511 DATE. 12/12/19
WWW.UPGOV.IN

Sd/- Executive Engineer, P.D. P.W.D BULANDSHAH



TMC's Moitra calls for counter to 'hyper-nationalism', RSS thinker calls it western concept

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
CHANDIGARH, DECEMBER 14

INDIAN ETHOS is all about moderation, not given to excesses, and will endure the present onslaught by communal forces, Lok Sabha MP Mahua Moitra of the Trinamool Congress (TMC) said on Saturday while rejecting the "idea of hyper-nationalism being thrust upon by the Centre".

In a discussion with RSS ideologue Desh Ratan Nigam during the session on 'Jingoism and Hyper-Nationalism — An Indian Perspective' on the second day of the ongoing Military Literature Festival, Moitra, accepting that the Opposition was caught unawares by the "unleashing of hate and communal agenda by BJP", called for a comprehensive counter-narrative to "negate the nefarious designs of these inimical forces".

Nigam said that the Indian Constitution was originally not supposed to be secular and it was only with the 42nd Amendment in 1976 that the word 'secular' was inserted during the Emergency. He also said that the Indian concept of nationalism has spirituality in it, and that under this concept, no one has been excluded.

"I do not think there is anything like jingoism, nationalism or hyper-nationalism. These are



(From left) TMC MP Mahua Moitra, senior journalist Mark Tully (moderator) and RSS ideologue Desh Ratan Nigam at the Military Literature Festival in Chandigarh. Jaipal Singh

western concepts. A soldier can work on an empty stomach but not without nationalism," he said.

Invoking Rabindranath Tagore, Moitra said, "Any nationalism which teaches me to treat my nation above God is not acceptable to me." She said aggressive dependence on religion demonstrates abject failure of the BJP on all major fronts.

Stating that there is a difference between patriotism and nationalism, Moitra said while patriotism is an innate love for the country, which is intuitive, hyper-nationalism is an effort to try and create an artificial energy to cut out critical engagement and say

that you are either with us or against us. "Hyper-nationalism creates dark forces in which everyone is supposed to hate. Nationalism, as defined by complete lack of reasonable engagement, is not needed," she said.

Responding to a question later, Nigam accepted that the concept of nationalism is being misused by some vested interests for political gains. "I don't subscribe to this term — nationalism," he said

Earlier, initiating the discussion, journalist Mark Tully said, "We are seeing a rising tide of nationalism around the world. It can be misused for political purpose, as has been seen in 20th century."

Told to end affair, UP girl sets self on fire: official

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 14

AN 18-YEAR-OLD woman suffered 70 per cent burns Saturday after she reportedly set herself on fire minutes after a panchayat was held over her alleged relationship with a 25-year-old man in Fatehpur district. Sources said the panchayat directed the two to end their relationship and also that the man, who is a relative of the woman, should stay away from the village until she gets married.

However, the woman's brother got an FIR registered alleging that the relative raped his sister on Friday and set her on fire the next day.

Fatehpur District Magistrate Sanjeev Singh, who along with the SP, ADG and DIG of Allahabad zone and range, respectively, visited the village, said the girl immolated herself even as the panchayat, at which the relative, his and her parents and other villagers were present, gave its decision.

The woman was admitted to a hospital in Kanpur where her

condition was serious, sources said. The relative is absconding. He was booked under IPC sections 376 (rape) and 307 (attempt to murder).

"Primary investigation has found that the woman and the accused were in a relationship for two years, over which a panchayat was held Saturday. The two were directed to stay away from each other. Upset over this, the girl set herself on fire. Police are looking into all aspects," said DM Singh.

"At the panchayat, it was decided that the relative should leave the village until the woman gets married. Around 10 am, the girl went to her residence. Those at the panchayat spotted smoke billowing out of the girl's house. They rushed there to find the girl in flames. She was taken to the community health centre," added DM.

Additional Director General (ADG), Prayagraj zone, Sujeev Pandey, said, "When people saw smoke coming out from her house, her mother and some women rushed to find her in flames. The fire was doused. We

have been told that when the fire started, the accused and his parents were in the panchayat. We will look into it."

According to a statement by police, the girl's brother earlier gave a complaint that the relative raped her and his sister set herself on fire. But, after investigation started, he gave another complaint alleging that the relative had raped her and then set her on fire.

"The accused was ready to marry the girl but both the families denied as the two were relatives. Both were made to swear that they would not meet again," read the police statement.

DIG, Prayagraj range, Kavindra Paratap Singh, said that as primary probe has suggested the youth was innocent, even if he is found, he would be arrested only after proper investigation.

Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra tweeted, "Prime Minister was in Uttar Pradesh today. We hope that he will break his vow of silence on women safety and heinous crimes against women in Uttar Pradesh."

NORTH Girl abducted, gangraped in Muzaffarnagar

Muzaffarnagar: A 16-year-old girl was allegedly abducted and raped by two men here, police said Saturday. A police officer said the girl was rescued on Friday and the two accused were arrested. The girl had left her home for a shop on Thursday and had been missing since then, police said. Her father had lodged a mis-

sing report and the police investigation led to the rescue of the girl, the officer said. According to the complaint, the accused brought the girl to a nearby place where they allegedly raped her. The accused, aged around 20, have been booked under sections of the IPC and provisions of the POCSO Act. PTI



A snow-covered road in Shimla. Between 5.30 pm on Friday and 8.30 am on Saturday, the Himachal Pradesh capital received 13 cm of snow. Pradeep Kumar

EAST Accused of being ghosts, 4 women's hands scalded

Ranchi: The hands of four women were scalded in Ranchi district's Angara panchayat after they were accused of being 'ghosts'. The incident occurred on December 12, in which the women were forced to put their hands in hot water mixed with cow dung. "Two families had been fighting, and stones were thrown at

the roofs of both houses. Both alleged the other family had thrown the stone after calling some 'ghost'. A village Panchayat met on December 10 and decided that one of the families had done it and the punishment was given," said a local resident. SP (Rural) Rishav Kumar Jha said, "Three people have been arrested in this incident." ENS

WEST Girl sexually assaulted inside school toilet

Mumbai: A seven-year-old girl was allegedly sexually assaulted by an unidentified man inside the toilet of her school, police said on Saturday. "As per the complaint lodged by the victim's mother, her daughter was sexually assaulted inside the toilet of her school on Friday," an official said. "On returning home, the victim told her mother about

the incident. She then took her daughter to a doctor, who suspected a crayon or a pencil could have been used for the assault," he said. Police registered a case under IPC Section 376 (rape) and Sections 4 and 8 of the POCSO Act, he said. Police are going through CCTV footage, but as of now nothing suspicious has been found, the official said. PTI

SOUTH Kerala man sells Rs 50 lakh shares to fund public park

Kochi: A prominent businessman in Kerala sold his shares worth over Rs 50 lakh in his firm in the open market in order to raise funds for a public park project in Kochi as part of his philanthropic activities. Kochooseph Chittilappilly, chairman-promoter of electrical appliances manufacturer V-Guard, sold shares worth 51.20 lakh, con-

stituting 1.2% of the total paid up capital of the firm in the open market, to finance a project that includes setting up a public park with facilities such as walking-jogging tracks, health club and an amphitheatre near Kakkanad, Kochi's IT hub. The same was intimated to the Bombay Stock Exchange in a filing dated Wednesday. ENS

International drugs cartel busted, 9 held: Narcotics bureau

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

THE NARCOTICS Control Bureau (NCB) on Saturday said it has busted an international drug cartel with the arrest of nine people, including four foreign nationals.

The agency said it has seized 20 kg of high-quality cocaine worth Rs 100 crore belonging to an international drug cartel, taking the value of the contraband seized in recent months to Rs 1,300 crore.

Deputy Director General of Northern Range (NCB) S K JHA said the arrested persons were identified as Akshinder Singh Sodhi and Yogesh Kumar Dhuna of Jalandhar (Punjab), R Singh of Ghaziabad, Sammy of Rudrapur, V Chhabra of Haldwani (Uttarakhand), Richard W Fournier of the US, Ojobe Kingslay and Obiora Tony Okike of Nigeria and M Rainheart from Indonesia.

"Sodhi stayed in Australia for 10 years and married an Australian national. He was coordinating shipments of drugs from Canada and India to Australia. Kingslay was an important link of the cartel in Delhi and involved in hawala transactions. He had also developed a network in Malaysia, South Africa, Brazil and Australia. Fournier worked as a courier for the drug network and was arrested with 4.2 kg of cocaine from a hotel in Mahipalpur," he said.

In pan-India-level operations, consignments of psychotropic drugs in India were found to be sourced from Canada, Australia and USA, officials said, and a

EXPLAINED Probe after drug seizure in Australia

THE NCB started working on the case after Australian authorities seized 200 kg methamphetamine in April. It was hidden in a plasma cutting machine and shipped from India. The NCB set up a special investigation team and began working on the case after drug seizures in Australia led to suspected Indian links. The SIT operation, involving multiple searches in places like Punjab, Uttarakhand and Delhi, led to the arrest of nine persons, the Zonal Director (Delhi) said.

number of "Indian-origin people in Canada" are under the scanner.

NCB sleuths seized the high-quality cocaine meant for year-end rave parties from multiple locations in the national capital region, including a godown in Ghaziabad and a hotel in Mahipalpur near Dwarka, said K P S Malhotra, Zonal Director (Delhi).

Rainheart was nabbed near Vasant Kunj early this month following a nine-month anti-narcotic operation. "We have dismantled the international cartel with nine arrests," Malhotra said.

Malhotra said the kingpin of the cartel is a man who holds a Canadian and an Indian passport and is wanted in a number of drug smuggling cases.

Protesting J&K HC lawyers set to resume work from Wednesday

ARUN SHARMA
JAMMU, DECEMBER 14

LAWYERS OF Jammu and Kashmir High Court, who were protesting with a demand to restore to judicial officers the power to register documents, have decided to abandon their more than 40-day strike and resume work from Wednesday.

This comes three days after the J&K High Court issued notices to protesting lawyers and declared their strike illegal.

Addressing a meeting of the general house of J&K High Court Bar Association, the association's president, Abhinav Sharma, said, "I know your ego is hurt and ending the agitation right now will send a wrong message. Let us pick a middle path and not call it off on Monday or Tuesday, but on Wednesday." The members agreed to this suggestion.

At the meeting, Sharma said the government has proposed to make revenue officials designated as sub-registrars in a building adjoining the court premises. They have identified seven rooms, and to get four more rooms has requested the legal services department to relocate to another place, he said.

Sharma also said the government has assured that it will consider the bar association's request of inserting a para "drawn and drafted by advocate" in the new registration rules.

On Wednesday, the HC had reminded the bar association of the SC decision declaring lawyers' strike as illegal and issued notice to four lawyers.

Govt extends FASTag deadline by a month

AVISHEK G DASTIDAR
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

MOTORISTS USING national highways got a 30-day extension to equip themselves with FASTags after the government on Saturday decided to not enforce the new rule of mandatory FASTags for another month owing to shortage of tags in the market.

The new system was to start from December 15, and will now be enforced from January 15.

The Road Transport and Highways ministry issued a circular permitting the National Highways Authority of India (NHAI) to extend the deadline with a partial rollout. It said that at least 75 per cent of all lanes at a toll plaza will have to accept toll through FASTags, and that no

more than 25 per cent lanes could be turned "hybrid", meaning motorists can pay toll in cash as well. The NHAI had told the ministry that it would try to be ready for a full rollout within 45 days from December 15.

In a letter to the ministry, the NHAI had requested deferment of full rollout of the new system citing a "supply deficit" of FASTags in the market.

The RFID chips, or FASTag, are imported and it takes about six weeks for the import process to complete. Based on that, all companies manufacturing FASTags can together churn out around 30,000 to 50,000 tags each day. As of last week, the inventory of FASTags stood at 18 lakh, which the NHAI considered less than adequate to cover all toll-using vehicle users in India.

5 pose as CBI officers to 'kidnap' two men, held

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 14

TWO MEN from Manipur were allegedly abducted by five people impersonating as CBI officers from New Town area in Kolkata on Friday. All the accused were arrested late in the night.

Police said that one Ngangom Pusparani Devi, a resident of Action Area 1 under New Town police station, lodged a complaint that her husband and his associate were abducted by five persons from their house.

"As per complaint, five persons, including two Manipuri men and a Punjabi man, went to their apartment and introduced themselves as CBI officers. After entering the flat, they took their mobile phones and took the two men away in a car," said

Bidhannagar Deputy Commissioner of Police J Mercy. The abducted men have been identified as Tongbrun Lukhoi Singh (43) of Imphal East and Moirangthem Shanta Singh (42) of Imphal West. Singh runs an NGO in Manipur.

"The kidnappers later called Tongbrun's wife and demanded Rs 15 lakh. A case has been initiated," said a police officer.

During the investigation, the police arrested Vinod Rao (32), Md. Riaz Ali (32), Idris Ali (33), Nicky Khumallambam Singh (32) and Khairul Rahaman (49). They were nabbed from Beniapur and Park Street Police Station area. Police also recovered several items, including cash, the car — in which the two men were taken away — and three fake arms from their possession.

10-year-old 'kills' classmate after arguing over pen

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
JAIPUR, DECEMBER 14

A 10-YEAR-OLD girl has been detained for allegedly murdering her classmate in Jaipur. The police arrested her parents for causing the disappearance of evidence. Both the victim and the accused study in Class 8, said officials.

According to the police, the accused murdered the victim, aged 12, because of an argument they had in school over a pen.

The body was found on Thursday in a forest near her village with injury marks which suggested that she might have been murdered, said police.

"During investigation, we saw traces of water on the victim's body, which suggested that she might have been murdered elsewhere. We questioned people and came to know that on the day she went missing, she had an argument with another girl in her class," said Avanih Kumar Sharma, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Police, South.

A search was conducted at the accused girl's house and the victim's earring and bloodstains were found.

The girl and her family were questioned after showing the earrings, following which they confessed to the crime, police said.

PUBLIC CAUTION NOTICE
We caution the general public that, some companies which are not associated with Associated Cargo Movers & Packers Pvt Ltd. are fraudulently issuing bills identical to our bills with our unique code IBA code GST Number and the registered Trademark.
Our Company: CIN No. U63090PN2000PTC015011.
Registered Office: Office No. 701 & 702, Clover Hills Plaza, NIBM Undri Road, Kondhwa, Pune-411048.
We will have no commercial liability for misuse by any Packers & Movers our company name GST No. & IBA No.
Date: 14/12/2019 Sd/-
Place: Pune Ved Prakash Sharma

HONEY TRAP CASE Factory owned by editor's brother demolished

MILIND GHATAI
BHOPAL, DECEMBER 14

CONTINUING THE crackdown on businessman and evening editor Jeetu Soni, the Indore Municipal Corporation and district administration on Saturday demolished a factory owned by his brother Mahendra Soni.

The district administration said the factory located in Polo Ground industrial area was illegally constructed. Teams raided the premises of the factory on Thursday amid speculation that the police thought the businessman was hiding there. District Collector Lokesh Jataw said that no building permission had been obtained by the factory owner.

With Saturday's demolition, a total of seven properties have been pulled down by the administration after complaints were filed against Soni, who wrote stories on the honey trap case. Soni's advocate Vishal Baheti said no notice was given before demolishing the property.

CBI files case against Leela Samson on corruption charges

ARUN JANARDHANAN
CHENNAI, DECEMBER 14

THE CBI has filed an FIR against dancer and Padma Shri awardee Leela Samson on charges of corruption and criminal breach of trust. Samson will be probed over alleged irregularities in the renovation of a Koothambalam — a traditional performance theatre — in the Kalakshetra Foundation campus in Chennai.

According to documents, the FIR was based on a 2017 complaint received from the secretary-cum-Chief Vigilance Officer of the Culture Ministry in New Delhi over the "unfruitful expenditure of Rs 7.02 crores on renovation of Koothambalam auditorium". It also pointed out that the renovation works were undertaken without formal sanction of the GB and the financial committee. After the GB ordered that the pending works be stopped and ordered an internal inquiry in April 2012, Samson resigned from the post of director.



Padma Shri awardee Samson

the foundation, was authorised by the Governing Board (GB) to spend the amount intended for the renovation works.

The FIR says a 2011 report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) found "various lapses in executing the renovation work in the Koothambalam auditorium". It also pointed out that the renovation works were undertaken without formal sanction of the GB and the financial committee. After the GB ordered that the pending works be stopped and ordered an internal inquiry in April 2012, Samson resigned from the post of director.

Samson, who has often faced the wrath of Hindu groups in the recent past for her long-standing relationship with Gandhi family, resigned as the chief of Central Board of Film Certification (CBFC) a year after the Narendra Modi government took charge in Delhi. In 2014, she had stepped down from the post of director at Sangeet Natak Akademi.

In April 2016, the Chief Vigilance Officer of the Culture Ministry probed alleged lapses in the renovation of the auditorium in the Kalakshetra campus and found certain irregularities, including "works allotted without tender, estimates not prepared, poor quality of work, interest fee advances given to the firm and standard work".

The report, which also indicted four more persons for their active role in the renovation works, said the foundation had spent Rs 62.20 lakh more than the estimated amount and that the contracts were awarded at a higher rate.

पंजाब नैशनल बैंक
punjab national bank
Branch Office: New Market, Patna

POSSESSION NOTICE
Common Possession Notice for Immovable Properties of more than one borrower by the same Authorised Officer (For Immovable property)

Whereas Punjab National Bank/ the Authorized Officer/s of the Punjab National Bank under the Securitization and Reconstruction of Financial Assets & Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002, and in exercise of powers conferred under section 13 read with the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002, issued demand notice/s on the dates mentioned against each account calling upon the respective borrower/s to repay the amount as mentioned against each account within 60 days from the date of notice(s)/ date of receipt of said notice(s).

The borrower having failed to repay the amount, notice is hereby given to the borrower and the public in general that the undersigned has taken possession of the property described herein below in exercise of the powers conferred to him under sub-section (4) of Section 13 of the Act read with Rule 8 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002 on the date mentioned against each account.

The borrower/s/ guarantor/s/ mortgagee's attention is invited to provisions of sub-section (8) of Section 13 of the Act, in respect of time available, to redeem the secured assets.

The borrower/s in particular and the public in general is hereby cautioned not to deal with the property/ies and any dealing with the property/ies will be subject to the charge of Punjab National Bank for the amounts and interest thereon.

Sr. No.	Name of the Branch	Name of the Account	Name of the borrower (Owner of the property)	Description of the property mortgaged	Date of Demand Notice	Date of Possession Notice Affixed	Amount outstanding as on date of demand notice	Name of the Authorised Officer/s
1.	New Market, Patna	Ivy Seymour & Anjali Sinha	Smt. Ivy Seymour W/o Lt Gauri Shankar Prasad	Property situated at Mauza-Duzra Pragana Survey PS-Phulwari, Thana No.4, Sadar Registry Dist-Patna, Tauzi No.14845, Khata No.103, Khesra No.386, Ward No.33, Circle No.246, Sale Deed No.3748, Area-1 Katha 5 Dhur. Pertaining to Smt. Ivy Seymour W/o-Lt Gouri Shankar Prasad. Boundary: North-10 ft Wide Road, South-Ayodhya Bhagat, East-Road PMC, West-Shail Kumara W/o Prashant Singh.	10.05.2017	12.12.2019	₹ 956734/- (Rs. Nine lakh fifty six thousand seven hundred thirty four only) + Intt. and other costs	Smt. Anjana Singh
2.	New Market, Patna	Sri Laxmi Kant Patel & Smt. Laxmi Sinha	Sri Laxmi Kant Patel & Smt. Laxmi Sinha	Property situated at Mauza-Rajapur, Mohalla-North Sri Krishnapuri, Flat No.104 on the first floor of Block-C of Amar Kunj Apartment, Tauzi No.5202, Thana No.03, Khata No.192, C.S Plot No.617 and 618, Ward No.05(Old), New Ward No.22, Circle No.247, Holding No.2769, Distt.-Patna, Area-1600 sq ft. Boundary: North-Side Set Back of the Building, South-Stair lobby, Lift thereafter Flat No.03 C of the Building, East-Flat No.101 of the Building, West-Rear Set Back of the Building.	01.05.2016	12.12.2019	₹ 2249180/- (Rs. Twenty two lakh forty nine thousand one hundred eighty only) + Intt. and other costs	Smt. Anjana Singh

Date : 12.12.2019
Place : Patna

(Authorised Officer)
Punjab National Bank

10 IDEA EXCHANGE

NEWSMAKERS IN THE NEWSROOM

It is more difficult to interact with federations than with governments. I have had no problem in communicating with governments... It's difficult to convince the federations to change their habits and ways"



WHY NARINDER BATRA

After a disappointing performance at the Rio Olympics in 2016, where India won just two medals, the country's athletes will enter the Olympic year with the hope of finishing on the medals table in double digits for the first time ever. As the president of Indian Olympic Association and International Hockey Federation, as well as

being India's representative in the International Olympic Committee, Narinder Batra will oversee the country's preparations for the 2020 Tokyo Games and lead the bids for the multi-discipline events in the next decade. Batra will also play a crucial role in the formation of policy decisions, including the National Sports Code



"To host international games, you need a clean stadium... Delhi has an entertainment tax, 20% on the sponsorship amount... If you have problems with cricket, don't kill Olympic sports"

MIHIR VASAVDA: What is the Indian Olympic Association's medal projection for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics?

As of now, about 61 athletes have qualified. A lot of competitions are yet to take place — badminton, tennis, boxing, wrestling, weightlifting. Even if we don't qualify, there is a quota of two (athletes in every event)... The number (of qualifications) should be between 100 and 125. Then there are support staff and officials. The number of support staff is 25 per cent of the total number of athletes who have qualified. So, the contingent size should be about 150-160 people.

(As far as medals are concerned), we want to hit double digits. It's a tough ask but I am trying to focus on events from where the results can come from.

MIHIR VASAVDA: Do you see an improvement in terms of where we stand at the competitive level across various sports?

In a few sports, we have reached competitive level. In shooting we can give anyone a run for their money. We are making our presence felt in wrestling. With regard to boxing and weightlifting, we are knocking on the door. These are sports in which we are hopeful... Participation is not the only important thing. It's also how you plan and build up. When do you peak, when are you not supposed to peak... it's high time we left these decisions to high-performance directors and coaches. We, the sports administrators, should take a back seat...

In hockey, before the London Olympics (2012), the team was sent to Spain to play for three weeks. I think they peaked there and could not peak in London. The same happened to some extent in Rio (2016 Olympic Games)... You go to the same climate, altitude... but what is the right time to go? This is important when planning for Olympic medals and that's how other countries plan. So we are working along those lines and it is not an easy task.

MIHIR VASAVDA: There is a lot of hype surrounding the hockey team but it fails to perform in important tournaments.

To a major extent, Indian men's team has crossed that hurdle. Yes, I am looking for a medal from them... The women's team should not have finished in the twelfth position (in Rio) — they should have been in the top six or eight because they have reached that level of fitness and confidence. The top four (women's) teams — Argentina, Holland, Australia and England — are a little bit above. It will not be easy to cover that gap in the next six months. But again, on a good day, they have held top teams. And if that spirit is maintained, the women's team may be in the top four.

MIHIR VASAVDA: We have not focused much on the women's team in terms of the number of matches at home. They have lesser facilities and funding compared to the men's team.

There is absolutely no difference between men and women. The only regret is that I could not start a league for women. Other than that, there are no facilities that women lack in terms of camps, tournaments etc. New facilities are first introduced for women and then for men.

SANDEEP DWIVEDI: How difficult is it to interact with governments for funds?

It is more difficult to interact with federations than with governments as the latter are more supportive. I have had no problem with governments in the last two years. It's difficult to convince the federations to change their habits and ways. If you have a blueprint (of the roadmap), there is nothing called 'No fund' from the government. Most of the top federations have everything in place. But the others need to now get into the system... The maximum medals in Olympics come from aquatic sports. No Indian athlete has ever qualified for these sports. We have always gone under the two free quotas... Then comes athletics which has 40 medals. Then there is judo with 12 medals and fencing with 10 medals. The only presence (in individual sports) we have is in wrestling, boxing, weightlifting and shooting. In team sports, it is hockey, badminton, tennis...

SANDEEP DWIVEDI: India's seven gold medals in hockey won't world recognition. But now, even hockey is slipping. In other sports, we are nowhere. So what is India's sport identity?

Don't link India's identity only with sports. A lot of other things are associated with the country. Everything counts on sponsorship, numbers, viewership... I think the population of 1.3 billion gives a lot of eyeballs to Olympics. They (the International Olympic Committee) are very much concerned and that is why they are looking at India, and India-centric policies

'Our system is such that it is controlled either by PM or CMs. If the CM has interest, things will be done'

IOA president Narinder Batra talks about India's preparation for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, the plans to bid for the 2032 Olympics, the importance of psychological counselling to uplift morale of athletes, and need to withdraw from the Commonwealth Games



Indian Olympics Association president Narinder Batra with Assistant Editor Mihir Vasavda in *The Indian Express* newsroom. Amit Mehra

are being formulated... India is looked upon as a country which means business. They are happy with the way things are moving in terms of ethics, good governance and transparency. Systems are being adopted. That's why we are now trying to bid for the 2023 IOC session, 2026 Youth Olympics, 2030 Asian Games and 2032 Olympics.

SANDEEP DWIVEDI: We are a sports hosting nation and not a sport playing nation. Our only strength is one billion people who watch sports, not the few thousands who play it.

If you want to become a sporting nation, then you have to get sporting events here (in India). The involvement begins when people are able to see (the games). And with the government enacting policies such as Fit India, and introducing youth games, a movement that died in the late 1970s or early 1980s has begun. I used to play All India School Games... I got admitted to schools and colleges on the basis of sports... Now these Khelo India University Games has started. The base of the pyramid is now being built. And how I take advantage of this base will depend on the federations. The federations now have to become open and that is where high-performance directors, coaches and chief coaches come into the system... Within the next two-three years, we will have eight or 10 high-performance centres across the country.

NIHAL KOSHIE: In 2010, India hosted the Commonwealth Games in Delhi. We won a number of medals across disciplines and there was hope that this would translate into medals in the Olympics. But that didn't happen. A prominent former athlete has said that unless we get 20 or 30 medals, we shouldn't think of hosting big events. Don't you think infrastructure does not always translate into medals?

Most of the administrators are former athletes. There should be criticism but these athletes should also visit the field. We have analysed the whole thing. We discuss with the government and other stakeholders and then come out with a blueprint. Earlier, administrators could decide who would be included in the team and who would be dropped. But such incidents have reduced significantly. Today, you can see good athletes coming forward. I have been advocating high-performance centres because injury management is not carried out in a proper way. Recently, a boxer was charged with doping. So, are we giving proper education on these things? We have to synchronise all these things and move forward. In a year or two, all these systems will be in place. That is why in 2024, I am looking for over 20 medals and in 2028, more than 40.

MIHIR VASAVDA: But current athletes don't criticise because they are afraid of losing their place...

This is false. Players are listened to even in private. So I disagree with you. Anybody can pick up the phone and speak to me.

MIHIR VASAVDA: Last week you said that one of the three cities — Bhubaneswar, Mumbai or Delhi — can host the event, with regard to the 2032 Olympic bid. You added that there were major problems in hosting events in Delhi...

To host international games, you need a clean stadium... The Delhi government has implemented an entertainment tax. You have to pay 20 per cent tax on the amount received from sponsors. The problem was noticed when we hosted hockey games. We are not cricket. If you have problems with cricket, don't destroy Olympic sports. The money paid as tax should be spent on the game. That's why we moved out of Delhi. And such a tax structure is only present in Delhi, nowhere else in India. And this tax has not been implemented by the Arvind Kejriwal-led Aam Aadmi Party government but by the earlier Congress government, when the IPL started.

However, my preference will be Delhi or Bhubaneswar as infrastructure exists in both these venues. We need accommodation and Bhubaneswar has Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology University, which has a hostel capacity of 20,000. So all these things will be analysed. In Delhi also, we have hostels. In Mumbai, things have to be started from scratch.

P VAIDYANATHAN IYER: The per capita investment in sports in India is lesser compared to smaller economies. So there is a problem of investment given the size of the population. Have you identified any state or pocket where there is a sporting culture, as it is not



possible to focus on the entire country?

There are differences among sports. Like athletics, football can be played anywhere. So there are games which do not require much infrastructure. But some games have specific needs and we try to identify their limitations. In hockey, I focus on Punjab, Haryana, Jharkhand, Odisha, Manipur, Coorg, Pune and Bhopal. So we are concentrating on certain pockets. For power games like wrestling, boxing, weightlifting, we have to identify the pockets where they are played. The identification process is underway for the last one-and-a-half years and is likely to be completed by the end of 2020.

P VAIDYANATHAN IYER: But where is the funding by the government?

Sports is a state subject. Punjab and Haryana are doing good in sports. Apart from these two, there is Jharkhand, Odisha, Manipur, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, the only state to include sports in the education curriculum. In the South, Tamil Nadu used to be good... There is not much response from Andhra Pradesh and Telangana now. Karnataka was also good but the graph is now down there. There are problems.

P VAIDYANATHAN IYER: States like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, which have a bulk of the population are not there. Rich states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are also not there. So how is your interaction with state governments?

We have good relations. They meet me but don't take my phone call after I leave. So we can understand their seriousness. Our system is such that it is controlled either by the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers. If the CM has interest, things will be done. I am from Srinagar. (Former CM) Farooq Abdullah was very interested in sports. So that culture matters.

"Earlier, administrators could decide who would be included in the team and who would be dropped. But such incidents have reduced significantly. Today, you can see good athletes coming forward"

MIHIR VASAVDA: In terms of investment, do you think sports can be a priority where there are other glaring issues?

You are investing in health. But if you build a good sporting culture, you won't fall ill. Different states have different issues, we start a dialogue, two years pass, and in the next three years, the states are due for elections. So they change their tack and sports no longer remains their priority.

NIHAL KOSHIE: The high-performance director of the Athletics Federation of India has said that athletes rely a lot on supplements because the diet at most of the training centres is not adequate. The issue has also been raised by many athletes. How do you plan to address it?

This issue has always been there. Supplements play an important role. I don't know in what context he made the comment. If you look at hockey, after playing one match, a player loses 2-4 kg. But he has to play back-to-back games. So how does one regain the lost weight? It does not come with diet. It is through supplements. We have (physiological) data of every athlete... So when a player gives his peak performance, the body should not have any deficiency. We have minute-to-minute data on heart rate, blood pressure, oxygen level etc. What nutrients should be in the diet is the job of the high-performance director... There is a special diet prescribed on match days so that reflexes don't slow down.

MIHIR VASAVDA: Many athletes look forward to training abroad because they get meats like beef, which helps increase their strength...

I have been an athlete and I have stayed in camps. Beef has nothing to do with it (strength). You get everything from the different kinds of food you eat. If you fail to perform, don't give such excuses.

SANDEEP DWIVEDI: You have worked with many foreign coaches. What should be their role in Indian sports?

It differs from game to game. In athletics, timing and body positions matter — how an athlete should start a 200-metre race or throw the shot put. In hockey, there is no coach in the country who can run the Indian men and women's teams... In other games, Indian coaches are doing well... In sports, rules keep changing quickly... And we (India) don't have any say. We are not a part of the world body. So we have to follow rules. Now, Mary Kom's weight category has been changed. I don't know why it was done. If we have a say, then only can we do something.

MIHIR VASAVDA: Rules are being changed in hockey too. The 11-a-side format

is being changed to 5-a-side format...

We have been funding hockey calling it our de-facto national game. Maybe 20 years down the line one may think whether we should be spending so much money for just one medal or train 50 athletes who can bring 50 medals. So, in hockey, we are looking to introduce a shorter version to make it popular. And also, we can pick up the top five or six teams which go to the Olympics and hold 5-a-side tournaments — men, women and mixed. The 5-a-side format has already been introduced in the Youth Olympics... We are not stopping the 11-a-side format. Test matches (in cricket) have not stopped.

GAURAV BHATT: With the Olympics approaching, what is the Indian Olympic Association doing to help players with psychological counselling?

We are working on this front. Those who need support are getting it. In Olympics, there is limitation of 25 per cent support staff. Staff like doctors, physiotherapists, masseurs, media relations officer among others are necessary. (So these are people who stay in the Games village.) But there are others who can stay outside the village. The psychological condition of players is very important. If they don't perform well in one round, they get disturbed. To keep such matters in control, counselling is important. Every player is receiving full support (for psychological issues). No athlete is denied any help in this regard. Some players have even taken the help of foreign counsellors and we have paid for it.

PARVEEN KUMAR DOGRA: How honest has the Delhi government been in the last five years in terms of building sports infrastructure? The government proposed a sports university as well.

The NGT has opposed the construction of the university on the proposed land, they will look for a new site, so no university is coming up. As of now, they have only announced, but there is nothing on record. If they have improved sports facilities, they must name one athlete from Delhi who has entered the India camp.

MIHIR VASAVDA: Has Commonwealth Games lost its relevance?

I am not against any event. I am not asking for a boycott, but withdrawal. In Asian Games, there are nine events to qualify for the Olympics. I have analysed the Commonwealth and Asian Games from 1990 to 2019. Only twice were there gaps of 120 days and over 200 days between the two. In the rest, gaps were 30-45 days. I don't think athletes can peak again in 45 days... For me, the Asian Games is more important. So the Commonwealth Games must correct its timing.

11 SUNDAY STORY



IN JANUARY this year, when the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill was first placed in the Lok Sabha, subsequently lapsing after failing to clear the Rajya Sabha, Assam and the Northeast had witnessed intense protests. But then, in the general elections that followed months later, the BJP and allies won 17 of 24 seats in the region (nine of 14 in Assam alone) by huge margins.

Nearly four months later, as Assam and Tripura saw violent protests, and Guwahati chaos of the kind not seen since the pre-Assam Accord in the 1980s, within hours of CAB clearing the Lower House, the question hung in the air: who underestimated whom? Did the BJP, which is now a part of the ruling alliance in all the seven Northeast states, misread the region's anti-outsider sentiment as religion-based? Or did the people, tired of the region's revolving-door politicians, vote for the ruling party's promise of change and feel betrayed?

There were other questions. What is the way back from this sledgehammer thrown at the Northeast's tightrope of inter-woven religions and tribes? And is there a way back at all, to the fraught and, at most times, precipitously poised peace?

On Thursday, Rajdeep Roy, the BJP MP from Silchar, in Assam's Bengali-dominated Barak Valley, that has welcomed CAB, told *The Indian Express* that miscreants and the Congress were to blame for the violence. He reasoned that Home Minister Amit Shah had held "120 hours" of discussions with "600-700 people" from "160 organisations", in a "humongous" effort to convince the region.

There are few takers for this argument today in the state — talks held earlier this month between Assamese groups and Shah, just before the Bill was introduced, in fact, had failed.

All Assam Students' Union (AASU) advisor Samujjal Bhattacharya and general secretary Lurinjyoti Gogoi have likened the new citizenship Act to the Mughal invasion of Assam in the 17th century, straining its ties with parent organisation AGP, which is now aligned with the BJP. For the AGP, the Act is a particularly grievous blow as it had led the Assam agitation in its student avatar, and CAB is seen as smashing the very basis of the Assam Accord.

Over multiple conversations over the past few days, Bhattacharya and Lurinjyoti Gogoi told *The Sunday Express* that the citizenship Act posed a threat to the indigenous people of Assam. "Lakhs of people came out violating curfews. The governments of Assam and India are responsible for the situation because they are imposing injustice," Bhattacharya said, hours after addressing a vast gathering of protesters in Guwahati.

The Assam Accord had set March 24, 1971, as the cut-off date beyond which immigrants coming to Assam would be considered foreigners. The NRC was the fulfilment of one of the promises based on that Accord, and the BJP's murmurs against it, in fact, went against its very purpose — of rooting out illegal immigrants, irrespective of religion. With the citizenship Act, that betrayal is seen as total, as it specifies December 31, 2014, as the deadline to accept all immigrants (except Muslims) as citizens, on the logic that they fled religious persecution.

Says Congress spokesperson Rhituporna Konwar, "People had full faith in the Sonowal government... The Centre failed to understand Assamese psychology. Since 1836, we have been fighting for our language and culture. Modi and Shah have shown arrogance."

The protests have seen shutdowns, a senior minister's cavalcade being chased, police using lathicharge and teargas, spontaneous violence and a march towards the Assam Secretariat at Dispur. A meeting between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Japanese counterpart Shinzo Abe to be held in Guwahati later this week has been put off. The worst of the anger has been reserved for Chief Minister Sarbananda Sonowal (a former AASU leader) and

PEOPLE vs CITIZENSHIP

Assam sees it as 'betrayal', Tripura a return to its violent past. Months after it swept LS polls and in power in the two states for the first time, BJP is facing a backlash over CAB here. How did the state government not anticipate it and what are the challenges ahead?

ABHISHEK SAHA in Assam & DEBRAJ DEB in Tripura report



A protest against CAB, defying the curfew, in Guwahati on Friday; (above) another protest in the city. Dasarath Deka

Finance Minister and the BJP's Northeast face, Himanta Biswa Sarma.

The Thursday protest on Latasil grounds in Guwahati saw student leaders, activists, cultural icons, intellectuals and senior editors join in. By evening, even as the Centre deployed Army and shuffled police officers at the top, came news of deaths of protesters in alleged police firing.

Rajiv Rajkumar, an Asom Jatiyabadi Yuba Chhatra Parishad leader from Charaideo district, was among the protesters at Latasil. "We cannot take the burden of Bangladeshi migrants anymore," he told *The Sunday Express*.

Nearby stood Moinal Hoque, who works in the Agricultural Department and is as vociferous against the citizenship Act.

Regretting the attempts to give the Assam agitation a communal colour, well-known Guwahati-based advocate Santanu Borthakur says, "Assam has never seen the issue of migration as a religion issue. That is why people have come out. The protest is not directed against any community."

Rupjyoti Das, a protester from Guwahati, expressed anger at the Centre's "indifference". "Are the people of Assam mad that they are protesting against CAB. Why is Delhi not listening to us? Why isn't Modi ji?"

Prof Udayaditya Bharali, a former principal of the prestigious Cotton College, asks the same. Bharali had been part of the delegation that met the Joint Parliamentary Committee team that visited the Assamese-dominated Brahmaputra Valley last year, to present Assam's concerns regarding CAB.

"In a democratic country, people of a state have been democratically protesting for so long, and they just did not listen. They are like total fascists... The BJP got votes because they promised that the Assam Accord will be implemented in totality," says Bharali.

With its Lok Sabha performance in Assam having defied both the NRC and CAB spectre, the BJP had attributed it to projects inaugurated under its government like the Dholasadiya bridge and Bogibeel bridge — two of India's longest river bridges — apart from

DEGREES OF SEPARATION

■ The citizenship Act exempts entire Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland via the Inner Line Permit system. In Nagaland, the only district out so far, Dimapur, was covered under it. In ILP areas, outsiders, including Indians, require a permit to enter.

■ With Sixth Schedule areas not affected by new law, entire Meghalaya practically exempted too. Sixth Schedule areas are largely autonomous. However, there have been protests seeking exemption under ILP instead.

■ Manipur, which didn't get any exemption under Act, to be covered entirely under ILP too.

■ Assam and Tripura remain the only Northeast states to not enjoy full relief, except for areas under Sixth Schedule. In Assam, such areas are minimal; in Tripura, while a major portion is under the schedule, most of the population is concentrated in other parts.

■ The North East Students' Organisation, umbrella body of the states' powerful student bodies, wants entire Northeast exempted.

welfare schemes such as those for tea tribes. The unsaid understanding was the support to it from Bengali-speaking Hindus of Assam.

In the wake of the protests, the BJP is fast revising. Having earlier questioned the NRC's exclusion of a "large number" of Hindus, BJP leaders are now trying to prove that the number of non-Muslim migrants eligible for citizenship through CAB will be "less". Last week, at a BJP meeting, the CM said data showed that people eligible under the citizenship Act

report by January 15, if all goes fine," he says.

But that is a big if. The first step in the implementation of Clause 6 is to define the "Assamese people", amidst various contesting cut-off years. The citizenship Act has further muddied those waters. Last January, six of the nine members of the original committee constituted for Clause 6 implementation had quit in protest against CAB.

A BJP leader, requesting anonymity, says the party alone is not to blame. "The politics of many 'leaders' will be over if the issue of identity is settled for once and all. So maybe they want it to stay on the boil."

With Guwahati burning, the BJP is also trying to pin the Opposition down over the violent protests. Dass says the instigators were "the Congress and people who originally belong to Barpeta, Goalpara and Dhubri districts (implying Bengal-origin Muslims)".

Fighting the attempt to give CAB a Hindu-Muslim colour, AIUDF general secretary Aminul Islam says, "We do not know how many Bengali Hindus would benefit from CAB, but what we do know is that it will destroy the peaceful relations between Assam's linguistic and religious communities."

Islam adds that while the AIUDF has held "democratic" protests, those who came out on the roads were students. "How can anyone blame Muslim organisations or any community or any organisation?"

Veteran Congress leader and former CM Tarun Gogoi also calls the BJP allegations "baseless". "These are spontaneous protests, the first such since the Assam agitation. The BJP is trying to divert people's attention."

Gogoi, who ruled the state for 15 years, adds that even if miscreants were taking advantage of the situation, "the Army and police cannot solve this". "It needs a political solution. The BJP and PM should understand and respect the pride of Assamese people."

Ex-Cotton College principal Bharali fears a lot may be lost before the government realises this. "With the Assam Accord, there was peace for so long, but the BJP has ruined everything for their political goals."

Even BJP leader and Assembly Speaker Hitendra Nath Goswami fears the citizenship Act "will cause hatred between different communities of the state".

Meanwhile, as tensions resurface, so do familiar, often unfounded, fears. Says a protester, Himangshu Kalita, "If Bangladeshis come, unemployment will increase in Assam. The number of Assamese speakers anyway is much less than the number of Bengali speakers."

As per the Language Census data of 2011, the Assamese speakers in Assam are almost double that of Bengali, with the decline/rise in the past 10 years, respectively, marginal. If those who spoke Assamese comprised 48.38% of the state's population in 2011 (48.80% in 2001), the Bengali speakers made up 28.91% (27.54% in 2001).

Tripura: 'Unconstitutional Act'

A semblance of normalcy is back in the state, after four days of raging protests against CAB. But the brewing tension has opened the wounds of the ethnic faultlines in Tripura between its indigenous tribals and its dominant Bengali-speaking population.

In 2018, the BJP had come to power in the state for the first time in alliance with the Indigenous People's Front of Tripura (IPFT). The IPFT represents tribal groups, and the BJP securing its support for a government led by its Bengali Chief Minister, Biplab Kumar Deb, was seen as a masterstroke.

But ties between the IPFT and BJP, already rocky, are in for a rough patch after the citizenship Act. Initially reluctant to speak openly, the IPFT held a 12-hour strike against CAB on December 9.

On Thursday, Home Minister Amit Shah met the Joint Movement Against Citizenship Amendment Bill (JMACAB), comprising tribal leaders, in Delhi. Soon after, the JMACAB announced that it was calling off its strike, with convenor Anthony Debarma saying Shah had promised that the government would provide protection for tribals. Shah also assured an IPFT delegation the same.

Tripura Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Ratan Lal Nath told *The Sunday Express*, "Our government is making sure no



Police help out travellers as a strike halts buses in Agartala Thursday. PTI

one is misguided on CAB... Tripura doesn't have any camps holding refugees from Bangladesh. Anyone who entered here after 1971 has already obtained some credentials. The new Act doesn't recognise anyone coming after 2014. So nobody will be additionally accommodated in effect. Nobody needs to panic."

However, the fear is that mere assurances might not prove enough. The protests turned violent after social media rumours that 'Bengali migrants' had killed tribals, forcing the government to snap SMS and mobile Internet services for 48 hours. There were counter-rumours of attacks on a Bengali by tribals. The fringe areas of Dhalai and North Tripura districts, adjoining Bangladesh, remain on edge. At least 40, including a constable, have been injured in the violence and properties of non-tribals attacked. Scared people took shelter in police stations and government hostels in Satnala, Dasda, Kancharpur and Anandabazaar areas in North district. Violence was also reported from Manu and Ambassa in Dhalai district as well as in Kalyanpur, Khowai district.

The Centre has moved in two columns of the Army, apart from the Assam Rifles. Dhalai District Magistrate Brahmneet Kaur said the situation was being closely monitored.

To many in Tripura, the tension is reminder of a violent, and tragic, past. A proud tribal princely state, Tripura saw migrants flood in from Bengal in pre-Partition India, in the process changing its demography. By the 1931 Census, the tribals, who made up 56.37% of the state's population in the previous Census, were down to 28.44%. The current tribal numbers stand at 31%.

The erstwhile CPM government created the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAACDC), but under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. Autonomous councils under this schedule have limited powers and the state governments can terminate them at will. Councils formed under the Sixth Schedule enjoy much more autonomy and are governed by the Governor.

The TTAADC got Central nod only in 1982; by when the 1980 riots had already left 1,300 dead, including tribal and non-tribals. The subsequent armed insurgency, for a 'sovereign Tripura', lasted over four decades.

While almost all militant outfits are now neutralised, tribals fear that the citizenship law will further weaken their grip on the state by opening arms to Bengali migrants.

Tripura CPM secretary Goutam Das says while his party opposes CAB, it is not calling strikes as people are already facing a severe economic crisis under the BJP government. It is the Congress that has taken the lead, with its leaders facing police action on Wednesday. State Congress vice-president Tapas Dey says, "It is an unconstitutional Act as it violates the basic spirit of secularism."

On December 14, Tripura royal scion and JMACB chairperson Pradyot Kishore Manikya Debarma approached the Supreme Court.

IPFT spokesperson Mangal Debarma says they are waiting for now for next talks with Shah. "He will call us after 15 days."

12 BIG PICTURE 13



Tomorrow marks the seventh anniversary of the rape in Delhi that convulsed the nation — the tremors of which are felt to this day. So when police kill four suspects of a rape in Hyderabad last week, there is a disquieting applause. Rarely understood is the story of what happens after the rape. To investigate that, ANKITA DWIVEDI JOHRI travels to a counselling centre in Dewas, speaks to rape victims, doctors and police to find that for the survivors of rape, the nightmare rarely ends

HER TEAR-stained face is covered in red eruptions. It's not chicken pox or teenage acne, she confirms. A few wounds on her neck — throbbing blotches of purple — are yet to heal. And when she walks, she switches between a hobble and a heavy limp. "I wasn't this way two months ago," she says impassively.

Two months ago, the 17-year-old was gang-raped by three men — a 17- and an 18-year-old from her village in west-central Madhya Pradesh, and a 45-year-old from a neighbouring village. She was on her way to visit a tailor, when the men abducted her, held her hostage for one month and five days — "I kept count," she says — and repeatedly raped her. "They didn't give me any food, and beat me up," she says, dressed in a kurti, which hangs loosely over her skeletal frame.

Only a few moments ago, she had recounted the horrors of those days to a counsellor of Jan Sahas, an NGO that works with rape victims and other underprivileged women, in Dewas in Madhya Pradesh. This is her first counselling session since the rape and she puts her head down and repeats a story she has told several times before, to her family, police, in court.

As another anniversary approaches of the 2012 Delhi gang rape case that had jolted the country and resulted in a series of policy reforms, including the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013 that broadened the definition of rape, two recent incidents — the Hyderabad case where the rape accused were killed in an 'encounter', and the recent Unnao case in which the victim was burnt to death by her alleged assailants — have again made rape and meaning of justice national conversation. But, as the Parliament session ending on an unceremonious note on December 13, also over rape, showed, mostly that conversation is little more than noise.

According to the latest National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report in 2017, 33,885 women were raped in India, of whom 227 were murdered. A total of 28,152 children were raped and, of them, 151 were killed after the incident. Uttar Pradesh recorded the maximum number of crimes against women (56,011), and Madhya Pradesh, with 5,562 cases, recorded the highest number of rapes.

The 17-year-old's bruised exterior does not fully reveal the extent of trauma that the survivor and her family have been going through since she was assaulted. More often than not, victims seeking help in the immediate aftermath of a rape encounter a cracking, hostile system — slapdash investigation, negligent medical care, absence of emotional support, a legal battle that threatens to go on for too long, and social ostracisation.

First hurdle: Filing complaint with the police, a Dalit daily wager, says he has been staying up nights wondering if his daughter could have been saved if police had registered his complaint on time. "They first told me *bhaug gayi hogi* (Your daughter would have run away). When I persisted, they threatened me. Even after my daughter was rescued, only two of the accused, both tribals, were arrested. The man from the neighbouring village, an upper caste Pradhar, was let off. I suspect he bribed the policemen," he says.

"The room they kept me in was his. The entire thing was his idea," says the 17-year-old of the man who was let off on bail.

D Roopa Moudgil, IGP, Railways, and former DIG, Prisons, Karnataka, admits that in many cases, even getting a rape case filed, especially in rural parts, is a challenge. "There are instances of victims being driven away. Policemen make allegations against the complainant. The manuals and guidelines are all in place. There are programmes held for sensitisation of police officers as well... In many cases, despite rules, a woman officer is not present while the survivor's statement is recorded," she says.

Back in 2006, the NCRB estimated that about 71 per cent of rape crimes go unreported in the country. Vijayanta Arya, DCP, North-West Delhi, who has handled several rape cases in the Capital — which, according to Delhi Police statistics, recorded a daily average of five or more rapes in 2018 — says the reporting and investigation gets tougher when the rape has happened long ago. "It is difficult to corroborate the event, important detail record) analysis is difficult or not possible, and if the crime has occurred in a hotel etc, the visitor logs may have been misplaced," she says, adding that in such situations, not just the police, the entire ecosystem of family, doctors and counsellors, have to be in sync to build a robust case.

ICP Moudgil also emphasises the role of the supervisory officer (an IPS officer) in seeing a case through. "Many instances of laxity do not come to light because the supervisory officer doesn't pay heed. But that's also because they too are burdened with *bandobast*, VIP duty... What we need is dedicated staff."

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The spot where the Unnao rape victim was set on fire.

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In light of the Unnao case this year, Bedi also puts the onus on the judiciary "to ensure stiff bail conditions for the accused". Two of the men who set the Unnao victim on fire are her alleged rapists, who were out on bail.

Citing "police apathy" in the other Unnao case — the 2017 kidnapping and rape of a woman, allegedly by expelled BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar — Jyotika Kalra, a member of the National Human Rights Commission and a former Supreme Court lawyer, says investigators usually let the victim down in most cases. "When the Unnao victim went to the police to file a complaint, they did not do it. She had to go to court for it. This happened when the case was being run in public..." she says.

ICP Moudgil says police have to ensure that the bail conditions laid out by courts are monitored. "The rules mandate it, but again, on the ground, that may not be the case."

Medical exam, forensics The 17-year-old's medical examination did not take very long. "Five to ten minutes," she recalls. "My body was full of bruises... I was asked to remove my clothes. *Bahot dar lag raha tha* (I was very scared). *Bas slide test kya* (Only a vaginal swab was taken). Nothing else," she says. She was also subjected to the

controversial two-finger test. Medical examination, says Jagori's Velankar, is most crucial to prove the crime in court. "Apart from the vaginal swab, samples from nails, all oral cavities, including ears, are a must. However, a large number of hospitals, especially those in rural India, do not have the requisite kits to conduct these tests," she says, adding that while the two-finger test may not be prevalent in cities, it's common in smaller towns.

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RAPE STATISTICS
33,885
RAPES IN 2017

227
MURDERED AFTER RAPE

28,152
CHILDREN RAPED

151
CHILDREN KILLED AFTER RAPE

32.2%
CONVICTION RATE IN RAPE CASES

86.6%
CHARGESHEETING RATE IN RAPE CASES
DOWN FROM 95.4% IN 2013
Source: NCRB, 2017

plaint," he says. "Also, police do not file chargesheet on time, within the stipulated 60 days, which results in bail for the accused."

The NCRB data confirms this — the rate of filing chargesheets in rape cases has come down to 86.6 per cent in 2017 from 95.4 per cent in 2013.

After the Delhi gang rape case, state governments were also directed to fast-track cases of sexual crimes, and ensure that the trial is completed within 60 days. Legal experts, however, say that's an ambitious target. "When we say fast-track, it's not like a separate court has been built for it. It's an added burden on the existing structures. Even the first judgment in the Delhi gang rape case took over a year, despite all the media attention," says Velankar.

Recently, Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad said there are 704 fast-track courts for heinous offences and other crimes, and that the government will be setting up 1,123 dedicated fast-track courts for rape cases and for those under the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO, 2012) Act.

Says an Additional Sessions Court judge in Madhya Pradesh who did not wish to be identified, "We have one of the toughest rape laws in the world. The courts too are trying very hard to fast-track all cases. In Madhya Pradesh, every district has a POCSO court. But, in my experience, 80 per cent of the times there is no conviction, and that is mostly because the victim turns hostile. Now, there may be many reasons for that, but as judges, we go by the victim's statement. There is also the issue of witnesses turning hostile."

IGP Moudgil says the laxity is often at the trial stage. "Since the cases run for so long, a witness tends to forget the statement they made earlier. It is the Investigating Officer's job to brief him again. Then there are times when witnesses don't appear in court, and that delays the case further. Also, our witness protection system isn't very robust," she says.

The road ahead World over, the battle with rape has been a tough one. According to World Population Review, an independent United States-based firm that examines demographic data, South Africa, with 132.4 incidents of rape per 100,000 people, tops the list of countries with the highest rate of rapes. Even countries such as Sweden, which are hailed for their progressive gender laws, stand on the sixth spot with 63.5 incidents per 100,000 people. Developed nations such as the US, New Zealand, Australia, the Netherlands, all have poorer records than India.

Experts, however, say the focus should not be on safety rankings but on developing both preventive and post-crime interventions.

NHRCS Kalra suggests the appointment of a point person, whom the rape victim can trust, to monitor all stages of the case. "Since the victim often has very little faith in the investigating officer, such a point person can serve as a protection officer," she says.

A police station in Tonk Khurd village, Madhya Pradesh, offers some cues. "There are a few colleges around here, and girls were allegedly harassed while going to study. We were told that they felt scared to complain to the police. We had a spare building in the compound, and we have opened it up for the children and girls to come and study, play etc. So in the future, if any of them have a complaint, they can come to the station without fear," says constable Shamu Sahi.

In the same village, NGO Jan Sahas has also set up a Dignity Centre, where girls come after school to learn, among other things, "good touch, bad touch". Amu Vinzuda of Jan Sahas believes such efforts go a long way in changing mindsets inside homes.

Back in Dewas, as the 17-year-old prepares to take the 200-km journey back to her village after counselling, her father hopes she "says something today". He also has another concern. "I have been looking for a groom for her. Only then will this issue end for me."

The 17-year-old withdraws her face into her dupatta, and walks behind her father.

Back home, their father plugs in his phone, a basic black one he'd together with a rubber band, and leaves it for charging in a depression in one of the mud walls. Nearby, a bunch of bangles, covered in dust, hang from a nail on the mud wall.

"I ensured my two girls studied, they were my hope for the future. But look at the way things have turned out," says the father, his face clouded with grief.

About half a kilometre away, at Shubham's house, his mother, who has been his gram pradhan for 15 years, says, "Shubham has three sisters — he wouldn't do anything of that sort to another girl."

Shubham, who, along with Shivam, is accused of raping the woman, and his father, who is among those who allegedly set her on fire, are now in police custody in Unnao.

Here too, despite the anger and gloom over the events of the past few days, the girls in the family talk of wanting to do more. All three of Shubham's sisters are preparing for competitive examinations.

"*Yahan kuch nahai hai* (There's nothing here)," says the eldest of the girls. "I was preparing for my teacher training exam when all this happened. I also want to get into the CSE. I have even cleared the physicals. I would go running every day before the physicals. *Par teaching behatar tha, ladkiyon ke liye thik rehta hai* (It would be better if I could teach the teacher training exam. It's a better job for girls)," she says. On her phone are ready videos of online classes of a coaching institute in Allahabad. The three sisters share one smartphone among themselves.

Still sitting by the 23-year-old's grave, which is marked by marigold flowers, the elder sister remembers her last words. "She told me, '*Didi, ab hum bach nahai jayenge* (Didi, we are going to die).'
After school, she goes to the neighbouring market with a friend for a "computer typing class" that they have enrolled in.

In this village in Unnao and in neighbouring ones, these are difficult journeys for girls to make — the bicycle ride for a basic computer coaching class or the run through *kuchcha* village roads as they train for selection in the armed forces. Aided by the high-speed 4G network on their low-cost smartphones, they speak of their "*bade sapne* (big dreams)" — of someday leaving the village, of building careers. In

In village of Unnao rape victim, girls 'waiting to get out'

MAULSHREE SETH THE WOODEN cot was where dreams took shape. Lying on it, under the thatched roof that dripped a steady trickle during the rains, the two sisters would discuss their hopes and fears. The elder sister would mostly listen as the younger one talked about the man she loved and her career dilemma, "lawyer or police?". Together, they would talk of leaving their village and earning more money, of how they would one day bring down their house, with its mud walls and that leaky roof, and build a new one in its place.

Then, one day last year, the dreams stopped and the nightmares began. On December 12, 2018, the younger of the two sisters was allegedly raped by two men, one of them allegedly the man she loved. Then, on December 5, as the family fought the case in Rae Bareilly, the 23-year-old was waylaid by five men, two of them allegedly her rapists, and set on fire. A day later, she succumbed to her burns at a hospital in Delhi to where she was airlifted.

"*Woh wakel bana chahiti thi* (she wanted to be a lawyer)... not just for herself, but to fight for other girls like her. I would sometimes accompany my younger sister to Rae Bareilly for the rape case. That's when both of us decided we want to be lawyers," says the elder sister, sitting with other members of her family beside the mound that marks her sister's grave. "She was closest to me. We are the only two graduates in the family. There was so much we wanted to do... study further, travel..." she says.

One of the ways to get "out of here" is the railway station, where slow, lumbering local trains from Kanpur, Lucknow, Rae Bareilly and Allahabad stop in the mornings. It was on her way to this station that the 23-year-old was waylaid and set on fire.

Ravindra Prakash, who owns a *paan* shop near the station, and who claims to have seen the victim after she was set ablaze, says, "I can never forget that sight — of that girl in flames. I have a daughter in Class 10 and I send her to a neighbouring private school. She is our hope, but now I am scared for her. Her mother goes with her to school and picks her up," he says.

Among the elders in the victim's village, this narrative of "aspiration", "hope" and "dreams" is replaced by "family" talk — indignation and disbelief that a girl from a Lohar family "can even dream of marrying a Brahmin".

Sitting on a charpoy near the victim's house, a group of women talk about "all that has gone wrong". "*Nichi jatan mein to hatti jatin apas maan*, *Pradhan parti hi karaye rahi, par Bahman ke sath nahai hua kabhi*. (We lower castes marry among ourselves... The pradhan's husband has himself facilitated some of those, but no one has ever heard of a Brahmin being married to a lower caste. But we hear she was adamant)," says one of the women.

Some distance away, is the house of Shivam Trivedi, the man the 23-year-old had hoped to marry and who allegedly raped and murdered her. With her phone, which has a red cover, and shows them videos from that day — the surging crowds, the slogans and her sister being laid to rest in their field, beside their grandparents' grave.

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EXPLAINED
Tough law, poor execution
FOLLOWING THE December 2012 gang rape, the Parliament passed the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, which expanded the definition of rape and increased sentence for accused. The following year, the Health Ministry took issued guidelines for medico-legal care of survivors. However, with health being a state subject, not all states have adopted the guidelines, and implementation on the ground has been found wanting. Experts believe that the low conviction rate in cases of rape — 32.2% at the national level — is also a reflection of this indifference, which results in shoddy investigation and collection of evidence, poor medical care, and lack of emotional support systems for survivors.

A hair's breadth away

A 43-yr-old died in Mumbai soon after a hair transplant. As his family seeks answers, and an MP calls for checks on industry, the mystery lingers of what happened over 12 hrs, 3,700 transplanted follicles



Shrivani Kumar's family at their home. Eight years after he started losing hair, he had gone in for the transplant. Amit Chakraborty

TABASSUM BARNAGARWALA

THE CHAUDHARYS say they never realised Shrivani Kumar's despair at his fast-receding hairline. "It's in our genes. His father, my father, they all went bald. But it never bothered us," says first cousin Shiv Karan, at his office on the second floor of a building in Andheri East, Mumbai.

By 40, five years after he had started losing his hair, Kumar had started wearing a wig. By 43, he had gone in for a hair transplant. In March this year, hours after he had had the procedure, Kumar died. On November 28, the matter reached Parliament, with Hanuman Beniwal, the MP from Nagaur, Rajasthan, seeking a CBI inquiry into Kumar's death, besides a crackdown on the "mushrooming hair transplant business" in India. Kumar's family, which runs a domestic and international courier service with 35 offices across India, traces their origins back to Nagaur.

Kumar had received hair follicular unit extraction implant in a 12-hour-long procedure on March 7 at a clinic in Chinchpokli, South Mumbai. Within an hour, he developed shooting pain on the right side of his neck, followed by swelling in his face and shoulder. He passed away on March 9.

Dermatologists and cosmetologists say death from a hair transplant is rare. In another case in India, a 22-year-old medical student had passed away in Chennai in 2016 after hair transplant. But the salon he went to was illegal, with no operating theatre for such procedures.

In Kumar's case, the Sakinaka police has registered an accidental death report and is awaiting medical opinion for the next step.

The hair transplant market in India is seeing a surge, spreading now to smaller clinics. As per a report last month by Global Market Insights, a marketing research provider, the industry would grow from \$6.5 billion in 2018 to \$31 billion globally by 2025. While the Asian demand is driven by a desire for looks, in Africa and the Middle-East, it is more a factor of hair loss, the report said.

Dr Shubhangi Parkar, head of the KEM Psychiatry Department, says every six months she gets a patient fighting depression due to skin colour or hair loss.

Follicular unit extraction, that leaves less scarring, is a relatively new technique, dating to 2005. A 0.7 mm-1 mm-thick needle is used to extract hair follicles from a part of the body, for planting on the scalp. Each follicle can grow two to three hair strands. A specialist can undertake 500 to 3,500 follicular grafts, depending on the scalp area, in one sitting.

The dermatologist-cum-cosmetologist who treated Kumar — who refused to be named, saying he is being hounded — says Kumar's was a 'Grade 7' case, requiring transplantation over his entire scalp. Hence, Kumar underwent 3,700 follicular grafts, that could help grow over 9,000 hair strands. The doctor claims to have followed the same standard operating procedure in 1,100 procedures over the past seven years.

His Chinchpokli clinic though is only a year old, spread over two floors, with one operational bed for transplant. Depending on the patient flow, the doctor sometimes conducts procedures overnight, like in Kumar's case. The controversy following the case hasn't hit demand at his clinic, but according to him, this might follow.

Kumar, who was also trying to lose weight, first tried out a wig, inspired by his friend Umed Singh who wore one. Singh, who works in Bollywood, says he provided Kumar his first wig, for Rs 40,000. However, Kumar wasn't satisfied and kept changing the hair piece.

Two years ago, Singh says he saw an advertisement and underwent a hair transplant. "Kumar liked my hair. Last year, I introduced him to my dermatologist."

Kumar pondered for a year before decid-

ing to go ahead, without telling his family.

Now they know that he visited the Chinchpokli clinic a day after he had returned from the Kumbh Mela in Uttar Pradesh. Wife Seema, who had accompanied him to the Mela, says he took Rs 2 lakh with him (Singh claims the doctor had asked Rs 1.5 lakh for the procedure). "Shrivani said he was going to get new hair. I thought he meant a new wig," Seema, 43, says.

Around two hours after Kumar had reached the clinic, the procedure started. He was given a local anaesthesia, Lignocaine, that lasts an hour or two. Then, over the next 12 hours, the doctor, operating alone, extracted hair follicles from his chest and transplanted them on his head. Transplanting each follicle can take a minute or two.

The doctor says they took three breaks of half an hour each, with Kumar, who had been on a Keto diet for 15 days, getting his driver to fetch him spinach and beetroot juice. Seema says she called him up in the evening, and it was then that he told her about the transplant and said he would return by midnight.

The procedure finally wrapped up at 2.30 am on March 8. Soon after, Kumar felt a shooting pain in the nape of his neck.

The dermatologist says he gave Kumar a tablet and an injection for the pain. "When the pain didn't subside, I realised he may need morphine or some other painkiller that I was not authorised to give," the doctor says.

At 4.30 am on March 8, the doctor took him to Global Hospital, Parel. Kumar was not

admitted there though (the hospital has refused to comment on the matter and police are yet to question them). Kumar was then taken to Dalvi Nursing Home, where an anaesthetist gave him an injection and asked him to rest.

Kumar's friend Raj Kulhari says he reached the nursing home at 6.30 am after Kumar called him, and met the dermatologist. Kumar then slept for a few hours, before he was discharged. However, after he returned home, Kumar's face and shoulder started swelling. "He could not breathe or speak. The swelling increased fast," recollects nephew Sudhir.

At 4.30 pm on March 8, 14 hours after the transplant, Kumar was rushed to Dr LH Hiranandani Hospital. By then his face was double its original size, his eyes were squeezed almost shut and his airway was restricted. "Doctors found it hard to even insert a tube for oxygen support," Sudhir says.

Dr Sujit Chatterjee, CEO of Hiranandani Hospital, says Kumar was suffering from a se-

Kumar first tried out wearing a wig. A friend who works in Bollywood and wears a wig got Kumar his first for Rs 40,000. However, Kumar wasn't happy and kept changing his wig

vere case of infection. "It was far advanced."

On March 9, at 6.30 am, Kumar passed away. A preliminary postmortem indicated an anaphylactic or allergic reaction, causing swelling and uneasiness.

However, what caused the anaphylaxis remains a mystery. Dr Manjunath Shenoy, Vice-President of the Indian Association of Dermatologists, Venereologists and Leprologists — of which Kumar's doctor is a member — says they have never had such a case. While both MP Beniwal and Kumar's family have alleged that the doctor transplanted more follicles than safe in one sitting, the figure of 3,700 was well within the acceptable range.

Kumar's doctor says that the anaesthesia he gave him, Lignocaine, should have also been safe as it is used commonly and Kumar had undergone a surgery in the past using it. "So I didn't see the need for a patch test on skin, to check for allergy," he says.

A four-member committee formed by JJ Group of Hospitals to look into the case has asked the dermatologist why he didn't conduct an ECG test before the procedure. The doctor has replied that ECG "was not essential", and that they usually enquire about just the medical history and known allergic reactions of a patient.

In this case, it remains unclear whether Kumar was asked about his medical history or not, and if he provided all the details.

Dr Rohan Das, a Kolkata-based expert, says that while hair transplant is a simple pro-

cedure, a clinic must be equipped with a medical emergency trolley and intralipids for anaesthesia toxicity, and the physician should be trained for any emergency. "Anaphylaxis can happen in any patient. Once, a patient of mine suffered a reaction five hours into the procedure. We were able to save him as we were monitoring him constantly," Das says.

The Chinchpokli dermatologist claims he didn't leave Kumar's side till the next morning. He says he next went to a medical camp and only heard in the evening that Kumar had been hospitalised in Hiranandani.

The doctor has submitted to police a list of the equipment his clinic has to handle emergencies, including an oxygen cylinder, an ambu bag, and intralipids.

As JJ Hospital prepares its report — they have said they need another week — Kumar's family has approached everyone, from transplant specialists to the police commissioner to the Maharashtra Medical Council, to politicians, seeking redressal. A complaint has also been lodged at the Maharashtra State Human Rights Commission and a petition filed in the High Court over the delay in filing the final autopsy and medical reports.

At the office of SM Express Logistics Pvt Ltd, where Kumar had been managing director since 1996, a photograph of him sits at the reception, smiling, with a wig on. Daughter Chandrika, 19, who sits across the office, suspects the genes have passed on. "Look at my forehead, it is getting broader," she says.

Women don't need arms? She begs to differ

Naidu told RS others can protect women. Not in Ganguly's story: about a girl who hits straight, balloons or AK-47



MP Ganguly at a CRPF camp trip in Jammu. From her Facebook

ABANTIKA GHOSH

LONG BEFORE Roopa Ganguly hit bullseye as Draupadi in B R Chopra's TV series *Mahabharat*, she had learned to aim right thanks to the quintessential Kolkata hawkers (part of the cityscape right up to the 1980s) who roamed the streets with a board of balloons, sundry other targets and a rusty rifle for target practice.

That is why, when Rajya Sabha Chairman M Venkaiah Naidu made a statement last week, during a discussion on the Arms (Amendment) Act, that women "don't need arms", Ganguly, a BJP MP, shot back: "I enjoy shooting."

What started as an after-school dash for the heavy, rusty guns that the hawkers carried, graduated to systematic target practice in a Howrah farmhouse, and the eventual ownership of an air rifle.

"It all began because my uncle, with whom I used to stay in Kolkata, did not bring me up as a girl; I was one of the boys, changing the battery water, doing small electrical repairs. Then I fell in love with shooting during my visits to my aunt's place in Ballygunge. I would time my visits to when the hawkers came calling," says Ganguly, going on to talk about her childhood "shooting sprees" in the South Kolkata neighbourhood, her trips to Marine Drive after pack-up during the *Mahabharat* days and then how, as destiny would have it, she married into a family which too loved guns.

"My father-in-law has a gun, and he was very encouraging. We used to go to our farmhouse to practice. To ensure that the bullets did not ricochet we would hit at targets placed in a mound of sand. I got so involved in the sport that I even bought my own air rifle. I used to shoot till very recently, even after my son grew up," the 53-year-old says.

Under the new Act, owners of air rifles too have to apply for a licence, and Ganguly says she is still to do so.

In 2010, Ganguly was among the celebrities the CRPF took to a camp in Jammu. Recalling the thrill of handling an AK-47, she says, "When I told them I love shooting and have a decent aim, they took all of us to the practice range and gave us a few rounds to shoot. We shot in the single-shot mode and I hit the target every time — the head, behind the ear, on the chest. They were very impressed. That is why I said in Parliament that shooting is fun, it is a sport, not a weapon of political vendetta like in West Bengal."

While arguing that women don't need weapons, Naidu had said, "Others will try to protect you." Apart from Ganguly, one other woman MP got time to speak on the arms legislation that was introduced in Parliament on December 10 and passed the same day due to lack of time.

Ganguly, who is otherwise known to speak her mind, is willing to let Naidu's remark pass. "You know, time was running out, the minister had to reply. He (Naidu) makes jokes, talks in rhymes. He was just trying to get the speeches done quickly. There were two women, he must have thought it would not be fair to allow one to speak and deprive the other. So he said that. I do not see anything else (in his remark). As a disciplined member of the party, I would willingly make way for the minister's speech."

One summer day two years ago...

... a clash started at this hand pump in a Haryana village. Caste rift now runs deep in 'normal' Bhatla

AMITAVA CHAKRABORTY

AT A VILLAGE near Hansi town in Haryana's Hisar district, a police *chowki* keeps an eye on a 30-year-old hand pump. Its staff and a CCTV camera watch it 24x7, more than two years after a brawl at the site became a caste conflict. On November 5, the Supreme Court called the matter "serious" and pulled up the Haryana government for failing to end a "social boycott" of Dalits in the village.

The village of around 9,600 is almost evenly divided between Scheduled Castes (42%) and Jats, Brahmins and other upper castes (around 39%). While the latter either deny there was ever a boycott, or say it lasted barely a couple of days, the Dalits insist the upper castes continue to keep them away from their fields. In October last year, about 300 Dalit families in the village converted to Buddhism.

Says Vikas Kumar, 37, one of the converts, "I had a small shop selling construction material. I had to close it. Now I travel 20 km to work in a field, which has been contracted by my cousin."

Sitting at his two-storey home in Hansi, Ramkishan, 69, a former sarpanch of Bhatla, who is a Jat, says, "Both sides are to blame. But as of now, there is no problem..."

Mediation is the only answer."

But, while there has been no violence since the June 15, 2017, clash, the rift that runs now in Bhatla virtually rules out mediation. Following the incident, eight people had been arrested. While the three minors were cleared by the juvenile justice board, the other five are out on bail.

Sitting near S D Mahila College in Hansi, Rajat Kalsan, a Dalit activist and the lawyer representing the SC side, says a compromise will benefit only the upper castes. "Soon after the assault, panchayats were held for a compromise. But then I explained that neither police nor a trial court could order a compromise in cases filed under the SC/ST Act... Only high courts have the power. The accused then urged the victims to file a supplementary statement denying the incident."

With piped water supply available in parts of the village only once in two weeks, hand pumps such as the one where the clash happened are a source of drinking water.

On that hot June day, the brawl began over drawing of water from the pump, after which a few Dalit youths were allegedly assaulted by upper-caste youths. The following day, one of the Dalit youths, Rahul, filed a complaint under the SC/ST Act. A fortnight later, on July 2, the village *chowkidar* announced a social boycott of the SCs. On



The hand pump is now watched by a police *chowki*, CCTV. Amitava Chakraborty

July 8, Ajay Kumar, a Dalit youth who was not part of the brawl, complained to the Hansi Sadar Police against the boycott.

A few months after the incident, Ajay approached the Punjab and Haryana High Court, requesting police protection and the transfer of investigation to the CBI. The court ordered the setting up of a police *chowki* near the hand pump.

On October 24 this year, the high court, in its final order, noted that Bhatla had been peaceful for past six months. "... normalcy is coming back, although slowly". It also ruled out a CBI probe, saying that so much time having passed, "it would not be appropriate to transfer the investigation".

The Dalits say the court reached that conclusion due to a "biased" police probe. In an interim order on September 12, 2017, the high court had frowned upon the

conduct of then Station House Officer, Udaybhan Godara, noting that one of the complainants had been picked up by police a day before the Sessions Judge visited Bhatla on September 2, 2017, in an attempt to resolve the issue amicably.

The Dalits went to the Supreme Court against the high court order. Colin Gonsalves, who is representing the SC community in the Supreme Court, says a proper investigation is needed. "It is two years of the most brutal social boycott."

On November 13, the Supreme Court asked the state to give names of "independent officers who are neither from this community nor from that community" to conduct the probe. The next hearing is due soon.

With heat building, the upper castes blame everyone from "two former ministers in the Manohar Lal Khattar govern-

ACROSS THE AISLE



P CHIDAMBARAM

The net result will be only Muslims will be identified as illegal migrants and excluded. The consequences will be monstrous. Once excluded, the government must sequester the excluded persons in camps until any country agrees to accept them. Where will the camps be built and how many will be required? Will the 'illegal immigrants' remain in the camps for the remainder of their lives? And what will be status of their children?

THE MASK is off and the claws have been bared.

Project Hindu Rashtra is gaining speed. The engine is the Prime Minister, Mr Narendra Modi; at the wheel is the Home Minister, Mr Amit Shah. The designer/engineer, the RSS, is watching with great interest.

MESSAGE TO MUSLIMS

The only surprise is that the BJP is pushing its agenda so quickly after its massive election victory: criminalisation of triple talaq, the National Register of Citizens (NRC) exercise in Assam, the repeal of Article 370 of the Constitution and, now, the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill are part of an elaborate plan to advance Project Hindu Rashtra.

The common intent behind these moves is to send a blunt and unambiguous message to the Muslims of India that they are not equal citizens of this country and to reiterate the Golwalkar-Savarkar theory of 'India is a Hindu nation'.

The Citizenship Act, 1955, recognises citizenship by birth; citizenship by descent; citizenship by registration; citizenship by naturalisation; and citizenship by incorporation of territory. All other persons living in India would be 'illegal migrants'. The Foreigners Act, 1946, and the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920, would apply to them and they are liable to be expelled. The religion of a person — whether a citizen or an 'illegal migrant' — was alien to the concept of Indian citizenship.

All the above have changed with the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment)

India's soul is wounded

Bill, 2019. The Bill is suspect. In fact, many scholars and former judges have opined that it is unconstitutional.

MANY QUESTIONS, NO ANSWERS

What does the Bill do? It picks three countries — Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan. It picks six 'minority communities' — Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians. It presumes that any person belonging to one of the six communities from one of the three countries who had entered India on or before December 31, 2014, was 'persecuted' in home country and could, therefore, by an executive order, be exempted from the provisions of the Foreigners Act and the Passport (Entry into India) Act. Such a person shall not be an 'illegal migrant'.

In short, the amendment Bill has introduced a new route to acquire citizenship — citizenship by executive fiat.

Questions arise, they were asked, but the government had no answers:

1. Why were only three countries picked for special treatment leaving out other neighbouring countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bhutan and Nepal?

2. Why were only six minority communities picked leaving out other communities — discriminated in the home country because they do not belong to the majority — such as Ahmadiyyas, Hazaras, Balochis, Rohingya, Jews etc?

3. Abrahamic religions are three: why was Christianity alone included, leaving out Judaism and Islam?

4. Why were Hindus included, but Sri Lankan Hindus excluded? Why were Christians included but Bhutanese Christians excluded?

5. The premise of the Bill is religious persecution. What about victims of other forms of persecution, like linguistic, political, cultural, casteist etc? What about victims of civil wars?

6. Why is the cut-off date December 31, 2014? What is its impact on the cut-off date of March 25, 1971, mentioned in the Assam Accord? Has the latter been discarded?

7. What is the purpose of exempting from the provisions of the amended Act "the tribal area of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram or Tripura as included in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution" and the area covered under 'The Inner Line' notified under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873? What are the consequences of such an exemption?

8. Are CAB and the NRC not Siamese twins? Which will be implemented first?

9. Will those who claimed they were born in India or entered India before March 25, 1971, have to change their story now and claim that they were victims of religious persecution in their home country? Which claim will be a lie and which claim will be truthful?

CONSEQUENCES OF EXCLUDING MUSLIMS

If both CAB and the NRC will be implemented, the non-Muslims excluded under the NRC will be included under

CAB. The net result will be that only Muslims will be identified as illegal migrants and excluded. The consequences will be monstrous.

Once excluded, the government must sequester the excluded persons in camps until any country or countries agreed to accept them. Where will the camps be built and how many will be required? Will the 'illegal immigrants' remain in the camps for the remainder of their lives? And what will be status of their children?

Besides, there will be social, economic and political consequences, in India and abroad, of incarcerating, indefinitely, millions of Muslims in virtual concentration camps. Reacting to the cleansing in India, there will be pressure on Hindus living in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Pakistan to emigrate to India.

It was apparent that the government had not taken a considered view on the constitutional validity of CAB when tested on the anvil of Articles 14 and 21 of the Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Violent protests have broken out in Assam and the Northeastern states. Large sections of people across the country, a majority Hindu, have joined the protests.

Despite the serious questions about CAB and the turmoil all around, Parliament collaborated with the Executive in passing an unconstitutional Bill. The task of restoring equality and constitutional morality will now fall on the judiciary.

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FIFTH COLUMN



TAVLEEN SINGH

Dangerous priorities

WHAT A MESS. And, what for? I have tried, really tried, to understand the point of the law that was passed last week. And, I have failed. I wanted this week to write something good about the first few months of Narendra Modi's second term as Prime Minister. I have not had good things to say of late and, contrary to the opinion of the Twitter termites that support him, it is not because my son has been exiled.

Of course, I think it was wrong to exile my son from the country that has been his home for 40 years. Of course, I believe this was done out of petty vindictiveness, but this does not influence the opinions in this column. Only small-minded, venomous termites (such a lovely word) whose claim to fame is that Modi follows them would have such degraded thoughts. So the less said about them the better.

The truth is that I continue to nurture the hope that Modi will be able to transform India if he gets his priorities right. He has already brought about a social revolution by ousting a ruling elite that deserved to be ousted. As someone who belongs to the said ousted elite, I admit without hesitation that we used our education and privilege in a way that benefited us and us alone and did almost no good for the vast majority of Indians. We deserved to be replaced by a new ruling elite.

Having said this, I believe it is necessary to point out that the priorities of the new ruling elite are very worrying. With the economy in a dismal state, with prices rising, with industrial production falling, with fine Indian companies going bankrupt and unemployment at a record high, should this amended citizenship law have been a priority?

It is supposedly meant to help victims of religious persecution (excluding Muslims) in our Islamic neighbourhood. And, perhaps this is a worthy cause, but surely the needs of Indian citizens should come first. Surely Modi 2.0 should have made it his first priority to put a team of economists together to find solutions to our grim economic woes? Surely he should have immersed himself in long meetings with Indian investors to find out why they are not investing?

Instead, he has been almost absent from matters of governance. Should he not have been in Parliament for the passing of a law that has already caused massive disruption and is likely to cause much more in the future?

Ironically, it is in our eastern states that disruption has turned to violence because it is in our eastern states where there could be some justification for trying to keep out illegal Muslim immigrants.

What the Prime Minister seems not to have noticed is that the people of Assam and Tripura are as keen to keep out Hindus as well. Not just from other countries but from other Indian states. They made this clear decades ago. Sometimes with such savagery that images of the massacre in Nellie fill my head as I write these words.

In Assam, the campaign against Bangladeshi Muslims caught the eye of the RSS long ago. Ever sympathetic to causes that demean Muslims, they supported the angry protests that were led by Assamese students. Then came the Assam Accord that Rajiv Gandhi signed as prime minister and a relative calm prevailed till last week, despite the aggressive exercise to register citizens that the government carried out at awful cost.

Many among the 'foreigners' in detention centres in Assam are Hindu, but now that they have been granted the right to full citizenship, the people of Assam have reason to be worried that once more they will have to fight to preserve their culture, identity, language and their jobs.

The only good thing that may come out of the violence we saw last week is that perhaps Modi will now persuade his Home Minister to postpone his plans for a nationwide register of citizens. The main purpose of this exercise appears to be to target Muslim 'infiltrators', when there is already an atmosphere of terror spreading through the ghettos in which our poorest Muslim communities live. Many have never had documents to prove their Indianness. Nor do Hindus and Sikhs of my generation. In those lax, louche old days when the ruling elite was less allergic to Muslims, most Indians spent their lives without documents of identity. Those who had passports were only a small handful of us privileged types who could afford to travel to foreign lands.

To return to the main point of this week's column, may I urge the Prime Minister to examine the priorities of his government and set a new agenda. At the top of this has to be the economy. We are already in an economic crisis that could become an emergency.

Follow Tavleen Singh on Twitter @tavleen_singh

LIFE AND WORK

Life as an 'ad hoc'



VISHAL DEO

THE WORD 'ad hoc' itself may not have a negative connotation, but the moment it is used to define the identity of a person, it becomes a synonym for marginalisation and humiliation. Such a marginalised class exists in one of India's premier universities, Delhi University. Around 5,000 teachers — more than 50 per cent of the teaching fraternity in DU — are fighting for a way out of this marginalisation.

Over several years of our ad hocism, we have seen humiliation in various forms, and on various platforms. Talking about the absence of routine provisions such as medical benefits and salary increments will sound like complaining about the non-existence of utopia in a system which denies even basic human rights like maternity leaves and medical leaves. Women ad hoc teachers facing loss of job over maternity is a regular phenomenon.

More than losing life to illness, ad hoc teachers fear losing their jobs over illness. A few months ago, a colleague was battling for life after an accident. When we went to see him, his wife told us that after remaining unconscious for around 48 hours, he couldn't recognise her but kept repeating "college jaana hai, letter lena hai (have to go to college, take the letter)". He was referring to the 'appointment letter' that we get, if lucky, after a one-day break post every 120 days of our ad hoc service.

According to a University ordinance of 2007, "ad hoc appointments shall only be made for a period of more than one month and up to four months". While the rules say ad hoc appointments are to be made only in extra-ordinary situations — such as "sudden, unexpected and short vacancy, arising out of a sudden sickness or death, on medical grounds (including maternity leave), abrupt leave, or any other situation that may disrupt the normal process of teaching-learning" — the fact is, ad hoc appointments are more the norm, with some working as ad hoc against the same vacancies for 15 to 20 years. For the sake of technical "legitimacy" to the bizarre system, a working day break is given between consecutive appointments, after which the ad hoc teacher collects a new letter that enables her/him to continue working, a thin

thread by which we hang on to.

For the last few years, we have spent most of our summer and winter vacations on the streets fighting to save our jobs. Every year comes a new assault, sometimes from the government, sometimes from the university administration. It goes unsaid that only a mind free of fear and uncertainties can afford to be innovative and resourceful.

I am very fortunate to be associated with a college where we are allowed to contest elections to staff council committees, a provision that came into existence only last year. This was the result of a strong collective resolve shown by the members of our staff association and staff council to bring inclusiveness into our college's academic and corporate life. However, ad hoc colleagues in most other colleges work in various committees without any formal recognition. Their views and their contributions are also considered 'ad hoc'. Even if we are formally recognised members of the committees, when it comes to any financial matter, our signatures aren't enough to get the bills passed through the accounts section. A counter signature by a permanent colleague becomes mandatory to bring "legitimacy" to our hard work.

Public perception focuses less on the irregularities and failures on the part of the administration and promotes the narrative that the ad hoc teachers are ad hoc because of their 'incompetency'. This is no different from the flawed perception that the marginalised sections of society are to be blamed for their socio-economic state or that rape victims are to be blamed for bringing it on themselves.

Once I went to a friend's wedding where I was introduced to the groom's father as an Assistant Professor. Before asking for my name, the person asked if I was ad hoc or permanent. On learning of my status, his tone changed to that of pity and he soon lost interest in me. So, even in a high-voltage marriage party, I was quickly reminded of the fact that I belonged to a marginalised class of teachers.

I teach statistics and before shifting to academics, I worked as a data analyst in a multinational company. I have chosen teaching as a profession out of passion and not merely for a livelihood. It has been nine years since I started teaching. Solidarity and love given by our students in times of crises provide us with the strength to carry on despite the indifference shown by successive governments, the UGC and the University administration in ensuring justice.

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DALITALITY

Hindu, Muslim, and the nonsense of it



SURAJ YENGDE

A DOMINANT-caste acquaintance at Harvard who recently turned liberal was aghast at the Ayodhya verdict. She went on a long tirade about the situation in the country, describing how her family and friends are anti-Muslim, especially since Narendra Modi came to power. She had forums of fellow dominant-caste Hindus and Muslims to discuss these issues. Even liberal universities in the US continue to host events to discuss 'the communal problem of India'.

Every now and then I bump into the group of wokes trying to make sense of their frustrations. Their arguments range from Muslims not having equal rights, to the Kashmir issue and, the favourite of all, how their Muslim friends living in posh quarters in state capitals are now unable to perform their Muslimness openly.

I asked my friend if her family members were always anti-non-Hindu or she just became woke after coming to the US and working in MNCs? She said, "Maybe I was like them. Oh my god a Muslim hater!"

And then I asked, do you know Dalits and Adivasis of India? She replied with an 'of course' and a slight reserved posture this time. I asked her if she knew the population of Muslims in India and she got the answer off the top of her head (14%). I asked if she knew the percentage of Dalits. She did not (it is 17% by government figures and some more in actual, if Dalits in other religions are counted). The Q&As continued for a while.

I asked her if her love for Muslims is rooted in deep-seated hatred for Dalits? Second, if her family's hatred for Muslims was rooted in deep-seated hatred for Dalits? She was flummoxed.

This acquaintance knew Muslims were undergoing problems with regard to their food culture, religion and citizenship. But she had no idea about Dalit and Adivasi lives. She is not to blame. The liberal, conservative, progressive, radical, revolutionary, education system, media, family, political and social organisations, all help continue the legacy of untouchability and anti-Dalitness.

Despite her new-found love for India's minority, that for her were singularly Muslims, she could not deliberate upon the condition of other minorities.

INVASIONS & INVASIONS

Muslims, like Brahmanic and Hindu colonisers, ruled over India in the pre-British era. During their tenure, there were no significant efforts to eradicate untouchability or facilitate a society of equals. Hindus butchered Dalits, Buddhists and Jains who were challenging the Brahminical order. Likewise, the Muslim invaders contributed in desecrating Buddhist heritage sites and monks. Many were forced to accept Islam.

The laity, mostly Dalits, accepted Islam to escape the tyranny of Brahminism. They pursued Sufi Islam that was liberal in posture when it came to practices.

The Hindu-Muslimisation of India's past and present falls well into the trap of Brahminical rhetoric of theocratic nationalism that wants the world, and Indians in particular, to believe in this dichotomy of not about the grand legacy of Buddhism and the internal violence of caste. Babasaheb Ambedkar is spot on. In his scholastic treatise, *The Triumph of Brahminism*, he uncovers how the legacy of invasions of both Hindus and Muslims diluted the non-colonial (non-Hindu, Muslim or Christian) peaceful past.

"Reels and reels have been written to show how wave after wave of Muslim invasions... enveloped the people. The whole history of India is made to appear as though the only important thing in it is a catalogue of Muslim invasions. But even from this narrow point of view, it is clear that the Muslim invasions are not the only invasions worth study... If Hindu India was invaded by Muslim invaders, so was Buddhist India invaded by Brahminic invaders... From the point of view of the permanent effect on the social and spiritual life of the people, the Brahmanic invasions of Buddhist India have been so profound... that compared to them, the effect of Muslim invasions on Hindu India have been... superficial... ephemeral."

THE DALIT EXPERIENCE

An ideal subaltern and native perspective is to identify the conditions of the poor. In current times, the poor — from the oppressed castes — suffer the most. The ruling elites only parade as the spokespeople in the meat market of dead Dalit bodies. Muslim hatred in India has caste sitting at the centre of its function. Although unacceptable in the egalitarian doctrine of Islam, caste is freely practised under the guise of being a minority Muslim in a majority Hindu India.

Almost in every Muslim forum, or in the presence of Muslim audiences I address, an obvious question is asked: why did/do Dalits not convert to Islam (same goes with

Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists; in case of Hindus—reconvert)? Well, they did, but the people realisation for managing the affairs of Islam betrayed the message of the Prophet. The untouchability practised against Dalit Muslims has filled reports and research projects. Yet, their condition is not the concern of the supremacy-hungry Ashraf band of elite Muslims. Aftab Alam, Anwar Ali, and Prashant K Trivedi, Srivinas Goli, Fahimuddin, Surinder Kumar have underscored the overwhelming caste experiences amongst 75% of Indian Muslims.

Communalism, as historian Dilip Menon uncovered, has lower-caste assertion dating back to 19th century violence. Be it the Cow Protection Riots of the 1920s or the violence during Partition. To optimum lower-caste assertion, dominant-caste Hindus used Muslims as target to unite the lower-castes. The worst victims of communalism are Dalits of every religion. Thus, when the lingo of communalism is presented as a binary of religious issue, it is playing into the hands of the Brahminical framework. The ones opposing communalism also contribute to the oppressive framework of their brethren on the 'right-wing' side of the debate.

While the cow violence in current times can be seen in light of the growing Dalit assertion and OBC atomisation from Brahmin control, a need to paint the anti-Muslim rhetoric is active. Similar instances happen in the Ram-Babar conflict over the structure at Ayodhya.

How about we enquire pre-Ram and pre-Babar histories? Ayodhya was one of the centres of Buddhist activities, with monasteries housing thousands, records Hsuan Tsang. Buddha had stayed here for sometime. The neatness with which identities have been demarcated into Hindu and Muslim ones "hide the porosity of identities as much as histories of the inner violence of hierarchy", posits Menon.

Violence in India's governmentality ensures the validity of the caste system by making fools of majority Shudras, whereas minority Brahmins of Hindu and Muslim faith never alter their egoist position. Instead, they are projected as the penultimate prophets of their ethnicity to a world still attached in dichotomies. The problem of post-Aryan India has always been a caste problem and thereby it remains a Dalit problem.

Suraj Yengde, author of bestseller *Caste Matters*, is a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard Kennedy School and a recipient of the Rohith Vemula Memorial Scholar Award. He curates the fortnightly 'Dalitality' column

OUT OF MY MIND



MEGHNAD DESAI

WHEN HE was in London in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi was asked what he thought of the European civilisation. Being a master of the English language, he replied, "It would be a good idea". The expression 'would be' was to denote the current absence of, but hoping for better in the future. He was to be proved horribly right as, within his lifetime, the horrors of the Holocaust were revealed. Germany, an old

Myanmar, and an Asian atrocity

European nation, the cradle of Martin Luther, Goethe and Einstein, inflicted the most uncivilised murder upon six million Jews and left many more damaged forever.

This week, in the Dutch city of The Hague, Asia is on trial. Aung San Suu Kyi, the State Counsellor (de facto Prime Minister) of Myanmar and previous winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, is the head of a Burmese delegation facing trial at the International Court of Justice. The charges relate to genocide of the Rohingya. The tragedy of the Rohingya has been unfolding before our eyes for years now. They have been hounded out of Myanmar. They have flooded into Bangladesh and India and farther away.

Suu Kyi, the granddaughter of former

Burmese prime minister Aung San, suffered house arrest for many years as she fought the military rulers of Burma, and won the battle for restoration of democracy in the country. She regained her legacy as a member of a ruling dynasty. But that was a quarrel among the Buddhist Burmese. When it came to othering Muslims, Suu Kyi has proved as seasoned a politician as the worst military general.

There is a huge tragedy here of Asian culture and Asian politics. How is it that a Buddhist country long known (perhaps wrongly?) for its peace-loving people has conducted one of the world's worst genocides? The Khmer Rouge of Cambodia made a virtue of slaughtering all 'intellectuals' — everyone who wore spectacles or

was educated — to build a one-class paradise where only peasantry had the right to live. They killed one-seventh of the total population. They were othering their own. But they were not Buddhists; just Maoists.

Myanmar and Suu Kyi have 'othered' the Rohingya who have lived in Myanmar for centuries, just because they are Muslims. Of course, the Myanmarese defence is that Rohingya are terrorists. The word terrorist has become almost synonymous with Muslims across the world since 9/11, regardless of evidence. The idea seems to be that only Buddhist Burmese are authentic citizens.

The astonishing thing is that the case has been brought by Gambia. Not by any neighbouring Asian nation. Not Malaysia

nor Indonesia nor Pakistan. It says something about Asian solidarity or humanism that no country in Asia has cast a critical eye towards Myanmar. Of course, the reason is China, which is a strong ally of Myanmar and a country no other Asian nation wants to displease. China has its own Uighur problem which has brought no protests on any street in any Asian country. Only the American Congress seems to be fighting for human rights these days. Though not the American President!

During Gandhiji's lifetime, Burma was a part of India. In 1935, it was separated. Then, in 1947, Partition made Pakistan a different country. In 1971, Bangladesh separated from Pakistan. From one, we have four. How many more?

MR. JONES, of the Manor Farm, had locked the hen-houses for the night, but was too drunk to remember to shut the popholes. With the ring of light from his lantern dancing from side to side, he lurched across the yard, kicked off his boots at the back door, drew himself a last glass of beer from the barrel in the scullery, and made his way up to bed, where Mrs. Jones was already snoring.
— *Animal Farm* (1945), George Orwell

Rules of Engagement

An eloquent account of how public policy needs urgent re-imagination

ISHAN BAKSHI

IT HAS almost become a ritual. Every year, with the onset of winter, public discourse in the national capital region inevitably veers towards the rise in pollution levels. The proximate cause is often located in stubble burning by farmers in the neighbouring states of Punjab and Haryana. Every year, politicians and bureaucrats mouth the same platitudes, but so far, few concrete steps have been taken. While this has not stopped residents of the NCR region from continuing to hope for government intervention to address this issue, it raises the question — does the solution to every problem lie in government intervention or is there a viable market alternative? Can individuals in the NCR region, and farmers in the neighbouring states, enter into a private contract to limit stubble burning? In other words, does a Coasean alternative exist?

Take the issue of public spending on education. The expenditure per student in government schools has risen from Rs 2,455 in 2010 to Rs 4,385 in 2016. Yet, learning outcomes have declined during this period. With parents, including those from economically weaker sections of society, voting with their feet, switching from government to private schools, should the government continue to pour in more money with little to show for it?

Or, take the case of the imposition of price caps on stents. Though the decision conveys the impression of helping consumers, it raises questions over whether the intervention will be beneficial for them in the long run. One must also ask whether the decision, which betrays a complete lack of understanding of the way markets function, was arrived at after undergoing a careful cost-benefit analysis.

Or, take demonetisation. The contentious decision was proposed as the silver bullet to tackle the problems of black money, and ensure better tax compliance. Yet, the whole exercise was seemingly executed without any detailed analysis of the effects of the move and its consequences, both intended and unintended.

The common thread running through these cases is that despite the dismantling of the licence permit raj in the early 1990s, the Indian state continues to hold a commanding influence over the economy. That government interventions continue to be the norm rather than the exception. And that most of them are ad hoc in nature, executed without any detailed cost-benefit analysis. Yet, despite encroaching on individual freedoms, the Indian state continues to be looked at as a benign force of change.

In opposition lies a very small, almost microscopic, constituency that argues in favour of reexamining the functioning of the Indian state, its purpose and the arbitrariness of the power it wields, and, for a greater role for markets. This line of thinking has been eloquently articulated in a new book by economists Vijay Kelkar and Ajay Shah, titled *In Service of the Republic*. As both Kelkar and Shah have been at the forefront of public policy for many decades and have wit-

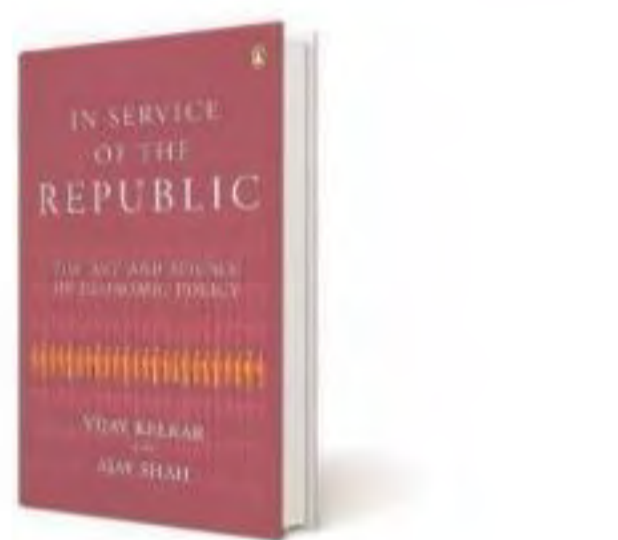


Farmers burning stubble in Karnal District, Haryana. Express Photo by Praveen Khanna

nessed the functioning of the government from close quarters, this book, which draws on their experience, provides a useful framework for thinking about public policy in India.

The authors launch a systematic attack on the nature of government as it exists today by asking a rather basic, but often glossed-over question — should the government be doing this? Simply put, with the Indian economy approaching the \$3 trillion mark — the ruling establishment is hopeful of attaining the \$5 trillion mark by 2024 — should the government be in the business of running airlines, telecom companies, coal plants, power companies? Should not an increasingly complex economy call for a radical reimagination of the role of the state?

Contrary to the instinctive reaction of most in India, the authors argue that governments should intervene only when the free market yields poor outcomes. And, when governments do intervene, the first



IN SERVICE OF THE REPUBLIC — THE ART AND SCIENCE OF ECONOMIC POLICY
VIJAY KELKAR & AJAY SHAH
Penguin Allen Lane
Pages 448
₹ 699

question that should be asked is, what is the market failure that the intervention seeks to address? Then, is the proposed intervention the best way to address this market failure? And, whether the Indian states have the ability to effectively implement the proposed intervention?

This is an eminently sensible framework that should serve as a guide for policy making. Interventions should be carried out only after a detailed cost-benefit analysis of their expected impact. This exercise, which the authors point out is carried out in some countries, could help think through not only the intended, but could perhaps uncover even the unintended consequences of government intervention. But, the problem is that in the Indian context, the lack of data severely inhibits such analyses.

There is also the issue of capacity. The ef-

ficacy of intervention depends to a great extent on the capacity of the state to implement effectively. But regrettably, the capacity of the Indian state is rather poor. As the authors note, "there is a big gap between dilettantism in public policy and the professional capacity of the state". But, while this is rather well-known, public policy in India is often formulated in the belief that the state can efficiently implement the proposed policy. For instance, take the goods and services tax (GST). Rather than putting in place a complex, multi-layered tax structure, which has been difficult to administer, a more prudent approach, as the authors argue, would have been to opt for a single rate. This would have been easier to implement and would have reduced the compliance burden, and lowered the extent of evasion too.

At certain points in the book, the authors

also dwell on the issue of institutions. Institutional decay has been a much-debated issue in India. Yet, contrary to the hopes of most that rest on appointing an incorruptible person who can fix the system, the authors contend that "a government organisation that is riven with corruption is not one which was unlikely to get a lot of corrupt people. It is one where the rules of the game facilitate corruption." In typical economist-speak, they argue that the solution to our institutional crisis rests on creating rules that generate incentives for changing the behaviour of both bureaucrats and politicians. This is a reasonable approach. Yet, it requires a buy-in from the very same political/bureaucratic dispensation, which is likely to vehemently resist changing the rules of the game that have benefited them, except at the margins.

EXPRESS EDITORS RECOMMEND

SPITTING IN THE SOUP.

by Mark Johnson. A journalist who saw the fall from grace of Lance Armstrong, delves into the history of good versus evil in sport. It traverses the 150-year-old history



of drugs used to enhance performance (PEDs), and goes beyond just the rigid casting of characters into villains and victims. The book also focuses on the insidious participation of teams, coaches, doctors, government, media, federations, scientists and sponsors in hoodwinking spectators. A must-read as Russia grapples with an Olympics ban.

LOOKOUT NOTICE

BANGLADESHI MIGRANTS IN INDIA.

by Rizwana Shamshad trains the spotlight on three Indian states — Assam, West Bengal and Delhi — and how they have engaged with Bangladeshi migration. Since the three states have different histories and cultures, the response to migration has also differed, which this book tries to capture. Extensive fieldwork, interviews and anecdotal accounts inform the narrative of the book, which effectively locates the anxieties of Bangladeshi migration in the context of contemporary Indian nationalism.

Colour of Crime

Damyanti Biswas delivers a riveting debut that thrills, but doesn't sensationalise the violence it is born of

ANDALEEB WAJID

THE WORLD we live in has desensitised us to the many horrors we read about in the newspapers. Rape, murder, acid attacks — often, they are just news reports that we read before moving on to the next thing. We have learned to compartmentalise our emotions so we can survive in the world today without going to pieces ourselves. Damyanti Biswas' debut novel, *You Beneath Your Skin* strikes a good balance between a thriller and a book that also induces empathy in readers. It's not an easy thing to achieve given that she doesn't succumb to the temptation to sensationalise the events taking place.

The book unravels through the eyes of its many characters — Anjali Morgan, the half-Indian, half-American protagonist, a single mother with an autistic son; Jatin Bhatt, the handsome but troubled special commissioner of crime with whom Anjali is having a clandestine affair for several years; Maya, Jatin's younger sister, in whose house Anjali lives; and, Varun, Jatin's 17-year-old son who seems to live a duplicitous life with ease.

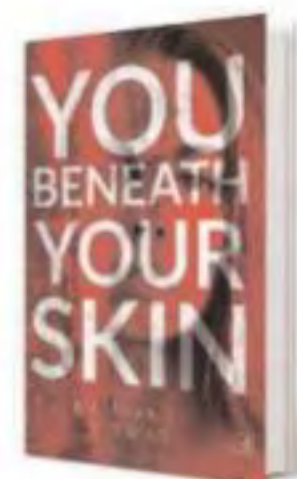
Weaving easily through these different strands is the story of a gruesome crime — a woman, a slum dweller, has been at-

tacked, raped and killed and her face has been disfigured by acid. Anjali is brought to the scene by Jatin because of her experience in psychology and the work that she does with underprivileged women and children. While Jatin tries to solve this horrific crime, even as more bodies spring up, he tries to keep it under the radar because

he wants the political brownie points for himself. Jatin is as ambitious as Anjali is self-aware.

Although events unfold slowly, they are carefully teased out and readers are drawn into this murky world of Delhi, whether it is the top brass of the police or Varun's secret life, or Anjali's own observations of the life she has made for herself in the city. Anjali is empathetic but is also caught up with her own troublesome son who has problems adjusting to everything and everyone around him. While the investigation into the deaths continues on a parallel track, the worlds collide when you least expect it, leaving you gasping in shock. From this point onwards, the tenor of the book changes.

It becomes a gripping thriller but at the same time, we are also afforded a glimpse into the mind of an acid attack survivor — what she feels, what she undergoes, how she comes to accept the new normal, something she doesn't want to accept



YOU BENEATH YOUR SKIN
DAMYANTI BISWAS
Simon & Schuster India
392 pages
₹ 399

at all.

Jatin cannot be considered the mandatory love interest for various reasons and he is not without his faults either, most of which do not endear him to the reader. He's ambitious, cold towards his wife, patronising towards his sister and blinded by love when it comes to his son. Maya, who runs her own detective agency, is an easier character to love — she's loyal, brave and also self-conscious because she has vitiligo, and a crush on her assistant Pawan.

This is a layered story, and a riveting, remarkable debut. It's not without its flaws though. While the author weaves in and out of the heads of all the important characters, allowing us a better understanding of their motivations and why they behave the way they do, a glimpse into the mind-scape of Jatin's wife, Drishti, would have completed the circle perfectly. As it stands now, one doesn't understand why she's so detached from her family or why she's so anorexic. If she had some secrets of her own, it would have made the story even more compelling.

Nevertheless, the author is keenly observant when it comes to the characters, the situations, and of course, the setting. Delhi is an underlying character in itself, dusty, filled with smog, murky — the perfect setting for crimes that bring together antagonists from two different strata of society. The common factor is their disdain for women, their refusal to see women as anything other than objects for pleasure, and their inability to see women as people.

Biswas' work with non-profit organisations — Project WHY and Stop Acid Attacks, has given her a close view of the people who are affected by these crimes. With her debut novel, she makes a focussed and successful attempt to make us feel something, to stop pushing and categorising disturbing events into boxes, and, to look at acid attack victims and survivors as people, not just news reports or statistics.

Wajid is a Bengaluru-based writer

Once Upon a Time

A much-needed compilation of folk stories that are fast receding from memory

SANTOSH SINGH

THERE IS hardly anyone who has not grown up with some variation or another of grandparents' tales. Fairies, demons, kings, queens, lions, tigers and sundry birds have all done the talking in everyone's childhood. But these are fast fading now under the onslaught of smartphones; an art that was once lovingly passed on from one generation to the next is now eroding quickly as parents and grandparents lose out to electronic devices when it comes to storytelling.

This makes Nalin Verma's second book, *The Greatest Folk Tales of Bihar*, an important work. Before this, Verma, co-authored Lulu Prasad Yadav's autobiography, *From Gopalganj to Raisina*. But Verma's folktales certainly hit the spot, perhaps even more than his political work, because he has grown up with some of the tales he narrates in the book. Giving a written form to the verbal art of storytelling is the prime objective here. The idea is to preserve folktales that are often treated casually, even though they nurture a morality that may be too subtle for many.

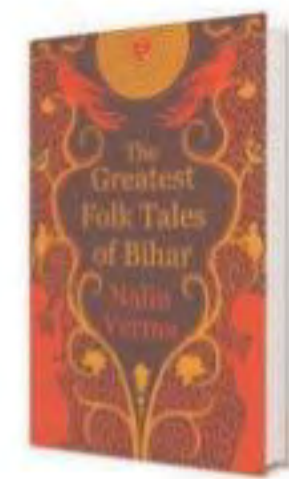
Perhaps that is the reason they are usually understood better when we grow up.

A set of 37 stories such as, 'The sparrow and her crumbs', 'The stork and her new husband', 'The lioness and the cow', and 'Saranga and Sadabriji' may have as its setting a non-descript village in Siwan, in Bihar. But it has a universality that transcends its immediate geography. The author has also retold two

particularly famous stories of Bhojpuri legend: Bikhari Thakur-Gabarghichor and Beti Bechwa, which used to be staged in most Poorvanchal villages between the 1970s and 1990s. Verma has given due credit to the tellers or re-tellers of some of these stories, from his grandfather to his fellow villagers — Gauri Chamar to Patru Ahir, Dasrath Lohar to his primary school teacher, Phuleshwar Pandey.

The author has refrained from tampering with the storyline in any way, narrating the stories the way he had heard them. Some stories are light reads, as folktales are wont to be, but some — like 'Saranga', 'Sadabriji' and Bikhari Thakur's two stories — are more intense. While the former is a strong love story, the latter two stories trace the great migration from Bihar and its fallout. 'Munshi and Raiji', which has as its backdrop British-ruled India, talks about the rawness of village life, and delivers a nuanced message about the need for education.

The book is about preserving and nourishing one's cultural roots. The Hitopadesa, Panchtantra and Jatak Kathas have lasting values because of their rawness and simplicity. Verma says that our societies have many rustic folk tales to offer, but he regrets that there has been very little attempt to give them the form of books. *The Great Folk Tales of Bihar* is a serious attempt to store and preserve verbal history, and it reminds us that narration from the likes of unlettered Patru Ahir and Dasrath Lohar should continue to regale generations.



THE GREATEST FOLK TALES OF BIHAR
NALIN VERMA
Rupa Publications India
208 pages
₹ 295

The percentage by which deforestation in Brazil's Amazon surged in November, compared to the same month in 2018, as per data. For the first 11 months of 2019, deforestation totalled 8,974.3 sq km, compared to 4,878.7 sq km reported for the first 11 months of 2018.

TOP OF THE WORLD

Hong Kong's leader visits Beijing as pressure mounts

Sincerity to have dialogue with citizens has not changed: Lam

CLARE JIM & FELIX TAM
HONG KONG, DECEMBER 14

HONG KONG leader Carrie Lam visited Beijing on Saturday for her first trip to the Chinese capital since her government was handed a crushing defeat in local elections last month, prompting speculation about changes to her leadership team.

During a four-day visit, Lam is due to discuss the political and economic situation in China-ruled Hong Kong with Chinese officials. She will meet Chinese President Xi Jinping on Monday.

Hong Kong has been convulsed by daily and sometimes violent protests for the last six months as demonstrations against a now-withdrawn extradition bill broadened into demands for greater democratic freedom.

Hundreds of thousands of people marched last Sunday to protest against what is seen as Beijing undermining freedoms guaranteed when the former British colony was handed back to China in 1997. Many young



Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam in Beijing on Saturday. AP

protesters are also angry at Lam's government, charging it with failing to address social inequality issues in one of the world's most expensive cities.

"Our sincerity to have dialogue with citizens has not changed," Lam said in a Facebook post on Saturday. She said her governing team would continue to pursue "different formats of dialogue to listen to citizens sincerely."

This week Lam said a cabinet reshuffle was not an "immediate task" and she would focus her efforts on restoring law and order to Hong Kong. Still there are doubts about how long Beijing is

willing to back her, especially after pro-democracy candidates won nearly 90% of the seats in district elections last month.

China has condemned the unrest and blamed foreign interference. It denies that it is meddling in Hong Kong's affairs. In an editorial this week, the official China Daily newspaper called on Hong Kong's government to uphold the rule of law.

Separately, three men were arrested on Saturday and charged with testing remote-controlled explosives, police said. Police also found body armour, shields and gas masks, they said. REUTERS

EXPLAINED E.

Taking stock after local polls

LAM'S TRIP to Beijing, her "first duty visit" as Hong Kong's chief executive, is likely to involve meetings with top leaders to take stock of the situation after pro-democracy candidates won overwhelmingly in recent local polls. The talks are likely to be on issues ranging from the controversial extradition bill to one that would allow the enforcement of mainland China's laws at West Kowloon rail terminus, as per a report. Be it changes to Lam's leadership team or China's next response to developments in Hong Kong, some decisions are likely to emerge after the meetings.

Not fair that I am being impeached, says Trump

LALIT K JHA
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 14

US PRESIDENT Donald Trump on Friday said it was unfair that he was being impeached as he had done no wrong and the country under him was doing quite good.

"It's not fair that I'm being impeached when I've done absolutely nothing wrong!," Trump said in a tweet on Friday night as a key Congressional committee, earlier in the day, approved the two articles of impeachment against him. The impeachment against Trump now moves to the House of Representatives, where the Democratic Party enjoys a majority.

"The Radical Left, Do Nothing Democrats have become the Party of Hate. They are so bad for our Country!," Trump said in his tweet.

Earlier in the day, he described the impeachment as a hoax and politically motivated.

"The impeachment is a hoax. It is a sham. It started a long time ago, probably before I came down the escalator with the future First Lady. It started a long time ago," Trump told reporters.

"It is a witch hunt. It is a sham. It is a hoax. Nothing was done wrong. Zero was done wrong. I think it is a horrible thing to be using the tool of impeachment, which is supposed to be used in an emergency. And it would seem many, many, many years apart," he asserted. PTI

For impeachment trial, McConnell takes cues from White House

SHERYL GAY STOLBERG
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 14

WITH THE House headed to a vote to impeach President Trump next week, Senator Mitch McConnell was working hand in hand with the White House to make plans for a Senate trial, a proceeding steeped in tradition and rules but one fraught with political peril for vulnerable Republicans.

Trump said on Friday that he had no preference for how the trial — expected to begin in early January — unfolds, but he has privately pushed for a prolonged process that would allow him to mount a theatrical defense. McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, has resisted that idea in favor of a shorter, more dignified event.

Outraged Democrats, meanwhile, accused McConnell on Friday of abandoning his duty to render "impartial justice" in an impeachment trial — a response to a television interview in which McConnell dismissed House Democrats' articles of impeachment as "so darn weak." He



Mitch McConnell

added that he was "taking my cues" from the White House in shaping the trial.

"If articles of impeachment are sent to the Senate, every single senator will take an oath to render 'impartial justice,'" Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, said Friday in a statement, in a veiled reference to those remarks.

Representative Val B. Demings, Democrat of Florida and a member of the House Judiciary Committee who is being mentioned as a possible House manager during the impeachment trial, went one step further, and called Friday for Mr. McConnell to recuse himself from the proceedings. NYT

PM again hints he could stay on beyond 2020

Malaysia
Doha: Malaysia's 94-year-old Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad again raised the prospect on Saturday that he could stay in office beyond 2020, declining to give a definitive pledge to step down. Mahathir returned to power last year after dealing a historic election defeat to the corruption-plagued coalition that he once led and which had been in power for six decades. Mahathir led Malaysia for more than two decades before his retirement in 2003 which paved the way for the leadership of now disgraced former prime minister Najib Razak.

Rebel attack on Congolese city leaves 6 dead

Congo
Beni: A Congolese city at the center of the Ebola epidemic has again come under attack from rebels, leaving at least six people dead. Witnesses said Saturday that the rebels from the Ugandan-based group known as ADF had launched an assault in Beni overnight. The attack comes just days after Congo's military began stepping up its efforts to fight armed groups in the area. Repeated attacks by ADF rebels and other armed groups have disrupted efforts to contain the Ebola virus outbreak in eastern Congo, which has killed over 2,200 people.

Court adjourns hearing of Saeed case

Pakistan
Lahore: After his indictment, the trial against Mumbai attack mastermind Hafiz Saeed in the terror financing case could not be kicked off for the third consecutive day on Saturday because of a country-wide strike by lawyers. Saeed, who has been indicted along with three close aides in terror financing case, could not be produced before the Anti-Terrorism Court Saturday because of the lawyers' strike. The lawyers are protesting for the last three days against the arrest of their colleagues in a case of hooliganism at a hospital in Lahore.

Ex-Sudan president Bashir gets 2 years in jail for corruption

KHALID ABDELAZIZ
KHARTOUM, DECEMBER 14

A SUDANESE court on Saturday convicted former president Omar al-Bashir on corruption charges and sentenced him to two years of detention in a reform facility, the first ruling against the ex-leader ousted by mass unrest.

The presiding judge said Bashir, 75, who was deposed by the military in April following months of street protests against his three-decade rule, was being sent to the reform facility, rather than a prison, on account of his age.

He also ordered the confiscation of millions of euros and Sudanese pounds found in Bashir's residence when he was toppled. The charges, which included possession of illicit foreign currency, carried a maximum prison sentence of 10 years.

Bashir's prosecution is a test of how fast and how far military and civilian authorities now sharing power in Sudan will act to overturn his legacy. Dressed in traditional white robes and a turban, Bashir watched silently from inside a metal defendant's cage while the judge, Al-Sadiq Abdelrahman, read out the verdict.

"The convict, Omar al-Bashir, is consigned to a social reform facility for a period of two years... The sums of foreign and national currency that were seized are confiscated," Abdelrahman said.

The Sudanese Professionals Association, which spearheaded protests earlier this year, welcomed the verdict as a "political

CASE FILE

GRAFT, WAR CRIMES
Charges against al-Bashir range from corruption to crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes in Darfur region of Sudan

WANTED BY ICC
He has been wanted by the International Criminal Court since 2005, with two arrest warrants against him

ACCEPTING MONEY
He reportedly admitted to getting \$25 million from Saudi's Mohammad bin Salman, but pled not guilty to charges in court



Reuters/File

and moral condemnation" of Bashir and his regime, while noting that it was only one of several cases against the former president and his allies.

From early morning, troops and military vehicles were deployed in the centre of the capital Khartoum, blocking access to the presidential palace and the Defence Ministry, and there was a heavy security presence at the court. REUTERS

NZ VOLCANO ERUPTION: KNEE-DEEP ASH, TOLL 15



During the rescue operation near the site of the volcanic eruption on White Island in New Zealand. NYT

■ New Zealand divers searched contaminated waters near the volcanic White Island for two remaining bodies on Saturday, as the death toll from an eruption rose to 15 people, the police said.

■ Waters around the island were contaminated by the massive eruption of rocks, lava and chemicals on Monday, reducing visibility.

■ Even as a rescue team was trekking through sludge-like ash, the odds of an eruption stood at 50 percent to 60 percent, according to volcanologists. Where the ground was soft, they could feel the water boiling under the soil. AGENCIES

Will repay your trust: Boris to ex-Labour voters

REUTERS
LONDON, DECEMBER 14

PRIME MINISTER Boris Johnson visited former strongholds of his Labour opponents in northern England on Saturday and pledged to repay their trust for helping to deliver a stunning victory for his Conservative Party in Britain's national election.

Johnson led the Conservatives on Thursday to their biggest election win since Margaret Thatcher's landslide victory of 1987, trouncing his socialist Labour Party opponent Jeremy Corbyn by winning 365 parliamentary seats and securing an overall majority of 80. Labour won 203 seats.



Boris Johnson in northeast England on Saturday. Reuters

The election saw the crumbling of Labour's "Red Wall" of formerly safe seats in working class areas across northern and

central England where most people voted in a 2016 referendum to leave the European Union. Johnson, the face of the

"Leave" campaign in that referendum, fought the election on the slogan "Get Brexit done".

"I know that people may have been breaking the voting habits of generations to vote for us," Johnson told supporters in Sedgefield, a symbolically important seat as it was once held by former prime minister Tony Blair, Labour's most successful leader.

"I want the people of the north east to know that we in the Conservative Party, and I, will repay your trust."

"What an incredible thing you have done, you have changed the political landscape, you've changed the Conservative Party for the better and you've changed the future of our country for the better," said Johnson.

At least 23 soldiers dead in 'insider attack' in Afghanistan

NEW YORK TIMES
KABUL, DECEMBER 14

AT LEAST 23 soldiers were killed while they were sleeping on Saturday in an insider attack in eastern Afghanistan, officials said, the latest episode of enemy infiltration that has raised concerns about a new local military force billed as the hope for holding territory recaptured from the Taliban.

The Taliban infiltrator, who was on duty at a military base in Ghazni Province, opened fire on his colleagues, wounding almost the whole unit, officials said. The attacker then seized all weapons and equipment in the base and joined the insurgency.

The exact number of casualties was unclear. The Afghan Ministry of Defense confirmed the death of nine soldiers, and the Taliban said 32 had been killed, but their claims of casualties are mostly exaggerated.

The figure of 23 came from Esmatullah Jamuradwal, a member of the provincial council, who said that only one soldier, out of 24 in the Territorial Army unit, had survived. "The attacker packed all weapons and ammunition in a Humvee and drove to the Taliban," he said.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Defense said that officials had begun an investigation into the attack.

This was the second deadly attack by an infiltrator in the Territorial Army in the Qara Bagh District of Ghazni. In July, Col. Abdul Mobin Mohabati, the commander of the Afghan Army forces in the provinces, was killed by such an infiltrator.

'THEY TOOK AWAY EVERYTHING LEFT IN ME THAT WAS HUMAN AND MADE ME A MONSTER'

He was one of Mexico's deadliest assassins; then he turned on his cartel

AZAM AHMED & PAULINA VILLEGAS
JOJUTLA, DECEMBER 14

THE RECRUITS filed into a clearing, where a group of trainers with the stern bearing of drill sergeants stood in a tight row, hiding something.

"How many of you have killed someone before?" one of the instructors asked. A few hands shot up.

The trainers separated, revealing a corpse face up in the grass. One thrust a machete into the nearest man's hand. "Dismember that body," he ordered.

The recruit froze. The instructor waited, then walked up behind the terrified recruit and fired a bullet into his head, killing him. Next, he passed the blade to a lanky teenager while the others watched, dumbfounded.

The teenager didn't hesitate. Offered the chance to prove that he could be an assassin — a sicario — he seized it, he said. A chance at money, power and what he craved most, respect. To be feared in a place where fear was currency.

"I wanted to be a psychopath, to kill without mercy and be the most feared sicario in the world," he said, describing the scene.

Like the other recruits, he had been sent by a drug cartel known as Guerreros Unidos to a training camp in the mountains. He envisioned field exercises, morning runs, target practice. Now, standing over the body, he was just trying to suppress an urge to vomit. He closed his eyes and struck blindly. To survive, he needed to stay the course. The training would do the rest, purging him of fear and empathy.

"They took away everything left in me that was human and made me a monster," he said.

Within a few years, he became one of the deadliest assassins in the Mexican state of



The sicario in a jail as part of a witness protection programme

Morelos, an instrument of the cartels tearing the nation apart.

By 2017, at only 22 years old, he had taken part in more than 100

murders, he said.

When the police caught him that year, he could have faced more than 200 years in prison. But instead of prosecuting him, the authorities saw an opportunity, a chance to pick apart the cartel from the inside.

The police chief in Morelos at the time, Alberto Capella, wanted a witness protection program that worked. So he simply created a clandestine one of his own — an improvised strategy that former justice officials describe as a legal stretch.

Through early 2019, the sicario proved so valuable that the police erected a bigger wild-

cat program around him, recruiting more than a dozen cartel henchmen. Together, their testimony led to 100 convictions and helped cut homicides, kidnappings and extortion in the state, at least for a time, officials said.

Capella moved on to another job almost 1,000 miles away, and the program slowly collapsed. The sicario stayed until the summer when, fearful the police were going to hand him over to his cartel enemies, he fled.

Gunmen were not far behind. His brother — who studiously avoided crime and had enlisted in Mexico's armed forces — was killed days later. His

parents found a note attached to the body: This is what happens to snitches, it warned.

The sicario knew he didn't deserve freedom. "Justice for me," he sometimes said, "would be death." But his brother was different. "They hit me where it hurt most," the sicario said, crying, not long after the murder. "The thing I loved most in the world, they took from me."

Still, he insisted that he would not seek revenge. Nothing would change because of it. His brother would still be dead. "This will never end, no matter what I do," he said. "But I just won't be a part of it anymore." NYT

18 ECONOMY

AT 453.4 BILLION — ALL-TIME HIGH — AS OF WEEK ENDED DECEMBER 6

Forex reserves surge \$24.8 billion since corporate tax cut in September

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

RIDING ON the increased flow of funds by foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) and rise in foreign direct investment (FDI), foreign exchange reserves continued their surge for the 11th straight week, rising by \$2.3 billion in the week ended December 6, 2019 to hit an all-time high of \$453.4 billion.

According to the weekly forex data released by the Reserve Bank of India, while the forex reserves have grown by \$24.8 billion over the last 11 weeks since the Finance Minister announced a cut in the corporate tax rate on September 20, it has jumped by \$60 billion in the current calendar year.

The continued inflow of funds by foreign investors despite a slowdown in economic growth has fuelled the rise in forex reserves. While the FDI in the first half of the current financial year amounted to \$35 billion (as per data provided by the government on Friday), the FPIs have pumped

EXPLAINED E. Govt's steps help bring in FPIs, FDI

DESPITE THE slowdown in economic growth, strong inflow of FPI and FDI money has pushed forex reserves by over \$41 billion in the current financial year. While FPI inflow since April 1 has amounted to \$10.7 billion, FDI in H1 stood at \$35 billion. The pace of inflow of funds accelerated since the government announced cut in corporate tax rates in September.

in a net of \$10.7 billion into the Indian equity and debt markets in the current financial year till date. In the current financial year the forex reserves have jumped by over \$41 billion.

In the reporting week ended December 6, the rise in reserves was mainly on account of an increase in foreign currency assets, a major component of the overall reserves, which surged by \$1.891 billion to \$421.258 billion. During the week, the gold reserves also increased by \$430 mil-

lion to \$27.08 billion. Experts say that the government's decision to reverse its Budget decision relating to higher surcharge impact on FPIs along with a cut in the corporate tax rate last month has played a significant role in turning the investors mood and draw them to invest in the Indian economy and markets.

Between September and now, the FPIs have invested a net of Rs 43,435 crore (over \$6 billion) into Indian equity and debt market. By contrast, they pulled out a net of

RIISING FOREX RESERVES

Week ended	Forex (\$ bn)
Sept 20	428.57
Sept 27	433.59
Oct 4	437.8
Oct 11	439.7
Oct 18	440.75
Oct 25	442.5
Nov 1	446.09
Nov 8	447.8
Nov 15	448.2
Nov 22	448.5
Nov 29	451.08
Dec 6	453.4

All figures in USD billion
Source: RBI

Rs 8,874 crore between July and August 2019 (aggregate of debt and equity markets).

On the other hand, a stability in global crude oil prices (between \$60 and \$65 per barrel) and currency (between 70-72 to a USD)

have also benefitted as it keeps the import bill stable. The inflow of funds has also been affected by US Federal Reserve's decision to cut interest rates in the US.

The rise in forex reserves alongside a softening of crude oil prices also comes as a breather for the country's rising external debt which has risen significantly over last couple of years from \$485 billion in June 2017 to \$557 billion in June 2019. Experts say that if external debts are higher than the forex reserves, it makes the economy vulnerable to any oil price shocks. However, as of now there is some relief on that account as forex reserves are also climbing and the crude oil prices continue to remain stable.

A rise in forex reserves will help improve the ratio of foreign exchange to external debt which has deteriorated from a high of 106 per cent in June 2010 to 76.7 per cent in June 2019. Assuming that the external debt stands at \$57 billion, then at the current forex reserves the ratio of forex to external debt would have improved to 81.3 per cent from 76.7 per cent in June.

PNB under-reported bad loans by ₹2,617 crore in FY19: RBI

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 14

AFTER STATE Bank of India (SBI), Central Bank of India, Union Bank and Indian Bank, public sector lender Punjab National Bank (PNB) on Saturday said it under-reported non-performing assets (NPAs) by Rs 2,617 crore for the fiscal year 2018-19, as per the risk assessment done by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI).

PNB said it reported gross NPAs of Rs 78,472.70 crore, while as per the RBI's assessment the figure was Rs 81,089.70 crore, showing a divergence of Rs 2,617 crore in FY19. The divergence assessed by the RBI in net NPAs was also Rs 2,617 crore for the fiscal, PNB said in a stock exchange filing.

Last week, SBI said its gross NPAs should have been higher by Rs 11,932 crore at Rs 184,682 crore as against Rs 172,750 crore reported by the bank for 2018-19. Central Bank of India had under-reported NPAs of Rs 2,565 crore. Indian Bank reported a di-

GROSS NPAs

₹81,089 cr

PNB said it reported gross NPAs of Rs 78,472.70 crore, while as per the RBI's assessment the figure was Rs 81,089.70 crore, showing a divergence of Rs 2,617 crore in FY19. Taking into account the divergence assessed by the RBI in provisioning for bad loans, PNB said it would have reported a net loss of Rs 11,335.90 crore for FY19 as against a net loss of Rs 9,975.49 crore it reported earlier.

Similarly, PNB reported net NPAs of Rs 30,037.66 crore, compared to RBI's assessment of Rs 32,654.66 crore. Provisions for NPAs made by the bank in FY19 stood at Rs 48151.15 crore but it needed to provide Rs 50,242.15 crore.

In November this year, market regulator Sebi had directed all listed banks to disclose any divergence in bad loan provisioning within 24 hours of receiving RBI's risk assessment report, rather than waiting to publish the details in their annual financial statements. In a circular, Sebi noted that disclosures in respect of divergence and provisioning are in the nature of material events and hence necessitate immediate disclosure.

There have been several instances of under-reporting of bad loans by banks, prompting regulatory action by the Reserve Bank of India.

REGULATOR SEES HOLES IN LENDERS' ARGUMENTS, REJECTS PLEA

Lenders didn't verify title of Karvy Stock Broking's pledged securities: Sebi

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 14

IN A major setback to lenders, the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Sebi) has said lenders — ICICI Bank, HDFC Bank, IndusInd Bank and Bajaj Finance — did not verify the title of securities unauthorisedly pledged by Karvy Stock Broking (KSBL) and they merely relied on the representation of KSBL while giving loans to the broking firm.

Sebi had, in a late evening order on Friday, rejected the plea of lenders to return the clients' shares pledged by Karvy. The regulator also suggested that the remedy for lenders "lies against KSBL before civil court of competent jurisdiction".

"It cannot be said that representatives (lenders) acted in good faith as required under Section 178 of the Indian Contract Act, 1872," Sebi said. "The issue whether lenders have exercised proper due diligence or has complied with applicable laws pertaining to loans against shares, can be looked into by the concerned regulator, if so deemed fit. KSBL was not authorised to pledge securities," it said.

The big question is: why did lenders give funds to Karvy without checking the status of collateral (title of pledged securities)?

According to Sebi, such pledge did not pass any title as KSBL was not the owner of the securities. "Thus, KSBL did not pass any title or interest in these securities to the representors as KSBL itself was not having any title to such securities. The principle that holder in due course gets good title applies in case of negotiable instruments like cheques, bills of exchange, promissory notes, etc. where the holder is for consideration and without notice of the defect in the title of transferor. The said principle is not applicable in respect of goods/shares i.e. other than negotiable instruments and reliance placed on the same for unauthorised pledge is

THE FINDINGS

Sebi has said lenders — ICICI Bank, HDFC Bank, IndusInd Bank and Bajaj Finance — did not verify the title of securities unauthorisedly pledged by Karvy Stock Broking (KSBL) and they merely relied on

the representation of KSBL while giving loans to the broking firm

According to Sebi, such pledge did not pass any title as KSBL was not the owner of the securities

wholly misplaced," Sebi said while rejecting the plea of lenders. On November 22, Sebi barred Karvy from taking new brokerage clients and also prevented it from using the power of attorneys given by its clients after the brokerage was found to have allegedly misused clients' securities and pledged them with banks to raise funds.

Banks and finance companies have Rs 1,415-crore exposure to Karvy Stock Broking through the loan against securities funding route. ICICI Bank has the maximum exposure of Rs 875 crore which was created only on October 1, 2019. IndusInd Bank has an exposure of Rs 105 crore, HDFC Bank Rs 195 crore, DCB Bank Rs 55 crore and Axis Bank Rs 85 crore, according to RoC filings.

According to Sebi, the current investments mentioned in the balance sheet of KSBL for the FY2018-19 shows that KSBL was showing securities valuing Rs 27.79 lakh only. Similarly, KSBL was holding securities worth Rs 28.01 lakh, as on March 31, 2018 and securities worth Rs 35,143 as on March 31, 2017, whereas the lenders together have extended loans, against shares having value to the extent of Rs 2,873 crore as on September 16, 2019 which later reduced to Rs 2,319 crore as on November 19, 2019.

"In the absence of corresponding trade instruction, pledging of securities of such clients is also unauthorised and hence, in law not treated as valid pledge. Reliefs sought by the representors are not tenable and the remedy for

the representors lies against KSBL before civil court of competent jurisdiction," Sebi said.

Last week, the National Securities Depository said nearly 90 per cent — 82,559 — of duped investors got back their securities and the remaining ones would get their securities after clearing their dues, forcing Bajaj Finance to move the SAT. Private sector banks joined the Bajaj Finance petition against transfer of shares to investors later. SAT told them to move Sebi again for a suitable order. As most of the shares were kept as securities for loans given by banks to Karvy, any "unilateral" transfer of shares to investors will have a major impact on their lending business, banks said.

The NSE which submitted a report to the Sebi observed that KSBL has misused power of attorney given by its clients. "KSBL has sold client securities in the market in disguised manner through own controlled entities and used the funds for its own purposes. KSBL in order to hide its misdeed has not even reported the DP account (No. 11458979) in the submissions made by it to the NSE from January 2019 to August 2019. It is only during inspection by NSE, this account came to the notice," Sebi said. KSBL transferred a net amount Rs 1,096 crore to its group company Karvy Realty between April 2016 and October 2019.

On December 2, the NSE and the BSE suspended Karvy Stock Broking's trading licence for all segments due to "non-compliance of the regulatory provisions of the bourses".

Approval Bureau sends notice to IRMA for failing to appoint qualified director

SANDEEP SINGH
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

TWO-AND-A-HALF MONTHS after a high-level Standing Complaint Scrutiny Committee of the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) nullified the appointment of Hitesh V Bhatt as Principal/Director of Anand-based Institute of Rural Management and referred the matter to the Approval Bureau for action, the bureau has issued a show-cause notice to the institute as to why action should not be taken against the institute for failing to appoint a qualified Principal/Director.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, a member of the Approval Bureau of AICTE confirmed that the show-cause notice was issued to the institute last week. "We have given them a week's time to respond to the notice and once we receive the response, it will be sent to an expert committee

WHAT HAPPENED EARLIER?

In September, a high-level Standing Complaint Scrutiny Committee of the All India Council for Technical Education nullified the appointment of Hitesh V Bhatt as Principal/Director of Anand-based Institute of Rural Management

which will decide on the action and the executive council will then take action against the institute," said the member of the approval bureau.

Earlier this year, on September 27, a four-member Standing Complaint Scrutiny Committee (SCSC) under the chairmanship of Justice (retd.) N.L. Tibrewal, had in an order passed on September 27,

2019, termed Bhatt's appointment "ineligible" and referred the matter to the Approval Bureau of AICTE to proceed for taking action as per AICTE norms.

"The present Principal/Director Sh. Hitesh V Bhatt does not fulfil the eligibility criteria, as such the institute does not have a qualified Principal. Hence the matter is referred to the Approval Bureau to proceed for taking action as per AICTE norms," said the September 27 order passed by the Committee. While AICTE rules prescribe that the Principal/Director should have Ph.D or equivalent in appropriate discipline, Bhatt, did not have the same at the time of his appointment on December 1, 2017.

As per AICTE Regulations 2012, if an institute fails to have a qualified Principal/Director for a period of more than 18 months, then it shall have "No admission status for one academic year" as a punitive action by the council.

In case of IRMA, Hitesh V Bhatt has already occupied the position

of Director for over 24 months now and thus the institute may face penalty under AICTE rules.

Responding to queries sent by *The Indian Express*, IRMA chairman's office said that AICTE issued the show-cause notice on the basis of a complaint made by an ex-employee of IRMA that the IRMA does not have a qualified director. It said, "IRMA has responded with full justification that all the applicable norms in respect to appointment of the Director as per the prevailing AICTE Regulations had been duly followed by IRMA... In view of such fulfilment of the requirement for qualified Principal/Director, IRMA has not violated any regulation. It further said, "IRMA is governed by IRMA Society Rules and a duly constituted Board consisting of eminent persons. The Board of IRMA is the competent authority to appoint the Director of the Institute and due process was followed by the Board in selection/appointment of its Director."

Road ahead for finance in UK after Johnson's re-election

UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson has said that on January 31 Britain will leave the European Union, the biggest export customer for its financial services sector. This fourth attempt at Brexit, if successful, will start the clock on a new countdown for bankers during a "business as usual" transition period that ends in December

MORE TRANSITION? Britain will have to ask the EU by June if it wants to extend the transition period beyond December. Johnson has said he won't submit such a request

JUNE ASSESSMENTS Britain has yet to secure new trading terms with the bloc to follow transition. The UK financial sector is likely to get restricted access at best under the EU's financial market access system known as equivalence

WHO WANTS WHAT? The European



Commission decides which, if any, requests are granted. Simply having aligned rules, which Britain will have on Day One of Brexit, does not mean automatic approval, EU officials have said

WHAT HAPPENS IF NO EQUIVALENCE? Banks, asset managers and insurers based in Britain have opened over 300 hubs in the EU to cope with any form of Brexit

Big banks in Britain are seeking a basic, narrow form of access, but the insurance sector is divided Asset managers who pick stocks for funds based in Luxembourg and Ireland

also need an equivalence-type determination Johnson has said he does not want to stay aligned to EU rules, which could make equivalence harder to obtain

WHY BOTHER? Some UK lawmakers question why Britain should bother with equivalence given that it offers limited access and ties Britain to EU rules. This, they say, would make it harder to tweak regulation in Britain to keep London competitive as a global financial centre

Source: Reuters

CBIC NOTIFIES PORTALS, CATEGORIES OF BUSINESSES

GST e-invoice system to be rolled out from April 1 next year

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

IN A move that will involve data integration and keep a check on tax evasion under the Goods and Services Tax (GST) regime, the electronic invoice, or e-invoice system, of uploading invoices on government portal will be mandatorily rolled out for all B2B transactions by businesses with turnover over Rs 100 crore from April 1 next year.

Also, for B2C invoicing issued by businesses with annual turnover over Rs 500 crore, an electronically scannable quick response (QR) code will be

mandatory from April 1, the Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs (CBIC) said in a set of notifications.

The e-invoice system will be first rolled out on a voluntary basis beginning January 1 for businesses having turnover over Rs 500 crore, then for businesses with an annual turnover over Rs 100 crore from February 1. The decision to roll out the e-invoice system comes six months after the GST Council gave its approval for the system in June.

The CBIC has notified details of portals for uploading of the electronic invoices and specific categories of businesses, which would have to adopt the system

The e-invoice system would be first rolled out on a voluntary basis beginning January 1 for businesses having turnover over Rs 500 crore, then for businesses with an annual turnover over Rs 100 crore from February 1

next year. Abhishek Jain, tax partner at EY said, "An official notification for effectuating e-invoicing for a specified class of businesses further fosters the government's intent of mandatorily implementing this by April next year. Businesses would need to on priority execute an 'as is' mapping in their current invoicing system vis-a-vis the

new requirement and commence executing the requisite changes in IT processes to be ready for this new change."

The e-invoice will help streamline the indirect tax system and ensure better compliance by keeping a check on tax evasion. The system is also proposed to be expanded to lower thresholds and subsume e-way bill in the future.

Leakage and evasion have been a big concern in the GST regime and with slowing GST revenue collection over the last few months, with the exception of November, a renewed focus is on the usage of data streamlining and analysis to catch tax evasion. A total of 9,385 cases of tax fraud involving amount of Rs 45,682.83 crore has been detected by the tax authorities under the GST regime since its roll-out from July 1, 2017, the government data placed in Parliament in July showed. Till October 2019-20, 999 cases were registered for GST evasion and Rs 8,134.39 crore has been recovered, the government data showed.

BRIEFLY 'Renault offers CEO job to Luca De Meo'

Madrid: French carmaker Renault has offered the chairman of Volkswagen's SEAT brand, Luca de Meo, the job of chief executive, Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia* reported on Saturday, citing anonymous sources. The report said De Meo would initially become CEO of Renault for two years before taking over responsibility for the group's alliance with Nissan and Mitsubishi.

US agency probes Tesla crash

Washington: The US auto safety agency said Friday it will investigate a 12th Tesla crash that may be tied to the vehicle's advanced Autopilot driver assistance system after a Tesla Model 3 rear-ended a parked police car in Connecticut on Saturday. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration special crash investigation program will investigate the Dec. 7 crash of a 2018 Tesla Model 3 on Interstate 95 in Norwalk, Connecticut, the agency confirmed. REUTERS

Kant: Reforms to make India competitive

Washington: The series of pathbreaking and ambitious reforms unleashed by the Modi government in the last few years will make India a very competitive and productively-efficient economy in the long run, NITI Aayog CEO Amitabh Kant said on Friday. PTI

Amid protests, OIL appeals to people in Assam to let it carry on with operations

KUNAL DUTT
GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 14

AMID VIOLENT protests in Assam over the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), PSU major Oil India (OIL) issued an appeal to the people of the state on Saturday to allow it to carry out day-to-day operations, which the firm said has been "severely impacted".

The appeal issued in leading English daily of the state, *The Assam Tribune*, cautioned that the "total disruption of OIL's operational activities will adversely impact the economy of the State and the lives of the

common people".

Besides loss of production of crude oil and natural gas, the stoppage of OIL's operations has badly hit production of LPG and supply of crude oil to refineries and consumers of natural gas like BVFCL, BCPL, NEEPCO, AGCL and APL among others, it said.

Assam has been facing a shortage of fuel supply due to the ongoing protests, which have also affected the daily lives of people in Guwahati and several other districts of the state.

On Friday, long queues were seen at the petrol pumps that were functioning, while others remained shut.

"I saw many petrol pumps

that were operating today did not have enough fuel to sell. I purchased 1litre for my bike, while many others had queued up with bottles to buy fuel," said Tutu Ali, a resident of Hatigaon area here.

The situation may worsen if the fuel stock is not replenished. "The ongoing agitation in the state has severely impacted day-to-day operations of Oil India," the crude oil major said.

"This will have an adverse impact on the power situation in the state as well as lead to shortage of essential items like LPG, which will impact the common people the most," it added. FE

BRIDGE

With your spade honours well placed over the bid and the solidity of the diamond suit, you are entitled to value this hand at least a point or two above its seven high-card points. Dir: West Vul: E/W

NORTH			
♠	A 8 2		
♥	A K J 7		
♦	5 2		
♣	A K 6 5		
SOUTH			
♠	K J 4		
♥	5 4		
♦	Q J 10 9 6		
♣	9 7 3		
WEST NORTH EAST SOUTH			
Pass	1♣	1♠	1NT
Pass	3NT	pass	pass
Pass			

West leads the ♠3 and you note that East has come in, at adverse vulnerability, on a suit which is, at best, queen high. It is obvious therefore, that the lead is a singleton. How do you plan the play?

We have three obvious spade tricks and two trumps each in hearts and clubs. There are possibilities for extra tricks in the heart finesse (unlikely to succeed on the bidding — the drop is probably a better chance) or a 3-3 club split (again unlikely in view of the known 6-1 spade split). To be realistic, therefore, the diamonds will have to be established for three more tricks. The defenders will probably try to avoid winning the first round of the suit so that we will need two entries to be able to establish and cash the long winners.

They can only come from spades and thus to play the obvious "second hand low", accepting the free finesse, is fatal as we should then be using one of those entries too early.

The correct play to keep them intact is to win the first spade on the board with the ace. East will take the second round of diamonds to exhaust the board of the suit and continue spades. Now we use the first of our two entries to knock out the remaining high diamond. Subsequently, the third round of spades is won in the correct hand. South, after which we can cash our remaining diamonds to complete ten tricks for the loss of two diamonds and a heart or club at the end.

The West Hand: S-3, H-10 9 8 2 D-8 4 3 C-J 10 8 4 2
The East Hand: S-Q 10 9 7 6 5 H-Q 6 3 D-A K 7 C-Q
Play the hand over again and satisfy yourself that, if we play a low spade from the board on the first round, we cannot make the contract.
Dir: South Vul: E/W

NORTH		SOUTH	
♠	J 8 5	♠	10 6
♥	A 7 4	♥	K Q 10 5 2
♦	9 6	♦	A Q 2
♣	A K Q 7 2	♣	9 6 4
WEST NORTH EAST SOUTH			
♠	1♣	pass	1♥
pass	2♥	pass	4♥
pass	pass	pass	

West fines out the ♠S-AKQ while East follows suit. You trump the third round and ponder your next move. Assume you are playing Teams, so your priority is to make your contract.

SUNDAY CROSSWORD 2247

QUICK CLUES

ACROSS

- An explosive cocktail (7)
- Senior Mr Bachchan (7)
- Not as common (5)
- Pillaged or looted (9)
- Torture (7)
- One millionth of a meter (6)
- Lucky or unexpected (13)
- Escapades or pranks (6)
- Behind schedule (7)
- Large predatory sea fish (9)
- Mend or repair (5)
- Reporter (7)
- Diplomatic (7)

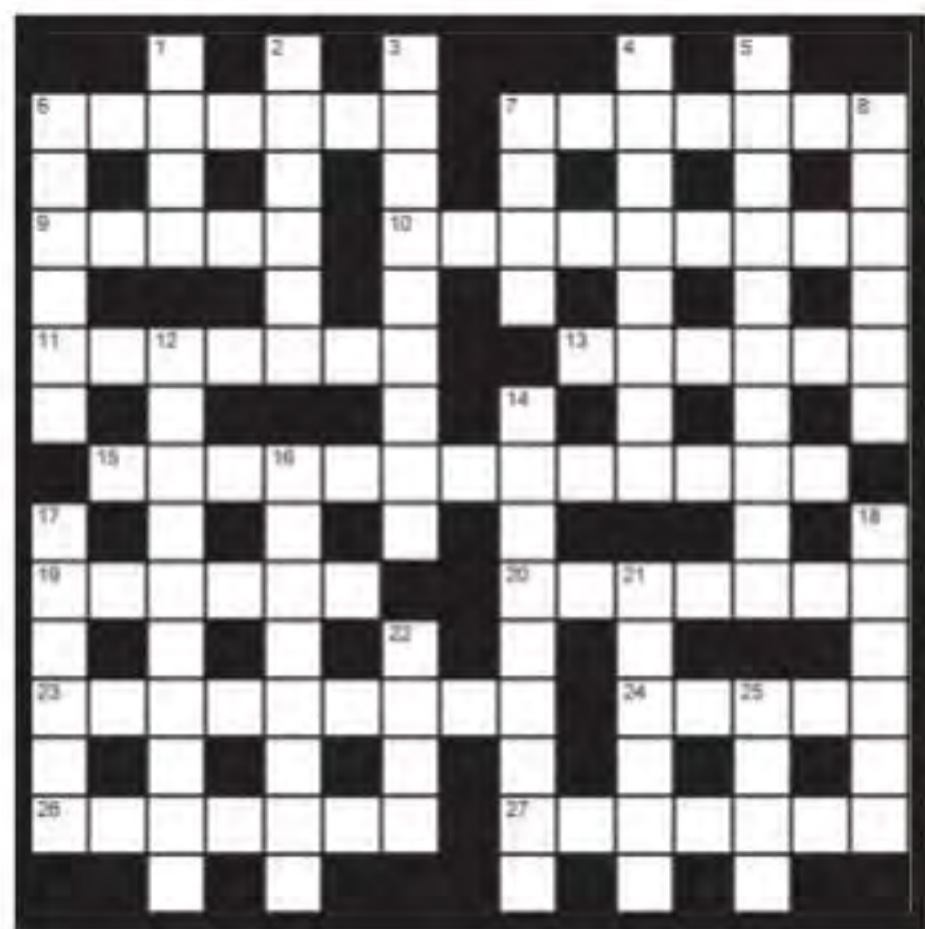
DOWN

- Insult (4)
- Pianist Jose (6)
- Expenses involved in running a business (9)
- One through to last round (8)
- Play setting (10)
- 2013 Wimbledon Champion (6)
- Part of A.D. (4)
- Concealment (6)
- Runs scored due to misfielding? (10)
- By the fact itself (4,5)
- Cries out suddenly in climaxes (8)
- Chemical element occurring in pure form in diamond (6)
- Deadly (6)
- Suppose (6)
- Destroy by fire (4)
- Upper-class gent (4)

CRYPTIC CLUES

ACROSS

- Tease blondes about where they buy old clothes? (3-4)
- Scheme for reciprocal aid carries little weight (7)
- Drink offered when there's a strike (5)
- Add in: hopelessly sucked, total failures! (4,5)
- In semi coma starting from the earthquake (7)
- Irritates a beetle! (6)
- Old politician responsible for treble Poor Law reform (6,7)
- In June Venetian weather is erratic (6)
- Little creature viewed with



astonishment (3,4)
23. Learner coasting, broken down and longing for home (9)
24. Graduate twisting a nut is an African (5)
26. Charming fictional nobleman (7)
27. Cut three to begin with and bag the race! (7)

fair! (6)
21. Almost lose sight of unpleasant imp (6)
22. One getting fuel for Turkish governors (4)
25. A boy for Christmas? (4)

Solutions to 2246

QUICK CLUES ACROSS: 1 Flossy, 4 Sticks, 9 Ices, 10 Precarious, 11 Tissue, 12 Impudent, 13 Animation, 15 Bold, 16 Sand, 17 Ascending, 21 Varanasi, 22 Rights, 24 Subterfuge, 25 Mobs, 26 Elknath, 27 Stooze.
DOWN: 1 Fiction, 2 Ousts, 3 Sapient, 5 Tramps, 6 Childhood, 7 Stunned, 8 Semiconscious, 14 Manhattan, 16 Statute, 18 Earnest, 19 Notable, 20 Garret, 23 Gumbo.
CRYPTIC CLUES ACROSS: 1 Malign, 4 Ash-can, 9 Scan, 10 Sweltering, 11 Henry, 12 Asphyxia, 13 Chaperone, 15 Posh, 16 Dory, 17 Assemblies, 21 Bankroll, 22 Rivets, 24 Peter Finch, 25 Reek, 26 Disney, 27 Add-ons. **DOWN:** 1 Macbeth, 2 Liner, 3 Gustier, 5 Sit-ups, 6 Curycorn, 7 Nunship, 8 Remains silent, 14 Parakeets, 16 Dead-end, 18 Earthed, 19 Entrees, 20 Toffee, 23 Virgo.

If it's your Birthday

Sunday December 15

The future is bright. You've done the hard work, and now it's time to cash in. You'll feel one particular burden lifted from your shoulders in the coming year.

Monday December 16

It's a sensitive day in many ways, and you may be picking up vague impressions from people around you. It will be up to you to make sense of these.

Tuesday December 17

Would it be fair to say that some of your relationships are ready for a blast of fresh air? There is a lot of uncertainty around, but that's an indication that long-awaited improvements will soon be on the way.

Wednesday December 18

The future is full of promise. You must by now be overcoming some of that lack of security. Recent events have shown you that the future will be increasingly prosperous.

Thursday December 19

You need to strike a perfect balance between your idealism and your practical skill.. If you swing too far in either direction, then a favourite plan may come unstuck.

Friday December 20

Most astrologers would say that you find it easy to express yourself, but right now you need to be careful. Have confidence in your ideas and you will exceed your previous personal best.

Saturday December 21

You have a sense for what is right. You'll do best if you stand up for yourself while making it clear that you're always concerned for partners' well-being.

YOUR WEEK AHEAD

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)

It's a mixed moment, astrologically speaking. In the short-run, you must expect to move home or make other significant improvements in your domestic situation. You must also be prepared for a further succession of changes at work on top of those which have taken place over the past year.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)

Most things will depend on the state of your closest relationships. You must recognise that friends will have high standards on which they will refuse to compromise in any way. If you put a foot out of place, you may be subject to a great deal of criticism, but you will be completely justified if you reply in kind; so, stand up for yourself.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)

Important stars are moving into your financial houses and, before long, you will become much more concerned about money. Indeed, it looks as if this is going to be an expensive period and you will have to work hard to juggle your resources. There are ways and means to boost your earnings. One is to increase your savings.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)

This is potentially a superb period for intense romantic encounters, as those two super-charged planets, macho Mars and passionate Pluto, are stirring you to your depths. Over the next three to four weeks, you may be rather more preoccupied by work, which could therefore cut into your social engagements.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)

Do please make a point of healing emotional rifts. As we move forward, your morale will be buoyed up by the energetic planet Mars' role in a creative and romantic sector of your horoscope, a sure sign that you'll be straining at the leash. On the other hand, there'll be no let-up at work just yet.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)

This promises to be an important period at home and, as a result of recent lunar alignments, you'll have a chance to make a fresh start. There are also indications that some of you are now becoming more interested in politics, especially in any developments that affect your immediate environment.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)

This is no time for complacency. In fact, the most important consideration is that you formulate all your plans very carefully and confer closely with partners. An impatient, know-it-all attitude will surely get you into a lot of trouble when you forget to look into even the most fundamental details.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)

You could be in for some good luck, money-wise. You may be surprised to hear that this is an inevitable consequence of the gathering of planets in parts of your chart relevant to your finances. You may as well throw caution to the wind and spend to guarantee a memorable experience.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 23)

Your personal astrological year hits a regular-turning point around now. The Moon's movements have a profound impact on all your cycles and this is period of dramatic fluctuations. Whether others can handle your intensity is an open question, but not one you should devote undue attention to.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan. 20)

You're facing one of those planetary formations which open new horizons. This time it is optimistic Jupiter, energetic Mars and obsessive Pluto, which exert their combined impact on the Capricornian personality. The resulting pattern is one which is at the same time extraordinarily tough and extremely harmonious.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 21 - Feb. 19)

The planets are forming very powerful patterns, bunching together in several regions of your solar chart. You will be pulled in a number of sharply conflicting personal directions and will have the choice to concentrate on one alone, or to try and weld them all together into a complete package.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

Although you'll be more than keen to put your energy into the drive for success at work, you'll be mindful of the need to act in accord with your principles. In fact, so strongly will you be motivated by your sincerely-held beliefs, that you may embark on a crusade against those who are acting immorally.

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 clue.

Fear is the mother of ___ - Thomas Hardy (9)

GNEOR	THYMIC
█ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █	█ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █
PWYIS	EIRUFG
█ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █	█ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █

SOLUTION: GNER, WISPY, MYTHIC, FIGURE
Answer: Fear is the mother of foresight - Thomas Hardy

Difficulty Level 1s

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.

SUDOKU 4060

Difficulty Level

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



SOLUTION SUDOKU 4059



NOTICE BOARD

CORPORATE ASSOCIATE DIARY



AWARD-INDIANOIL
IndianOil bagged the FICPI's 'Sustainably Growing Corporate of the Year' award for excellence in sustainability performance and benefits extended to society and the environment, at a glittering awards ceremony held recently.



AWARD-NHPC
NHPC participated in the 24th Inter CPSU Volleyball tournament held under the aegis of PSCB at Punjab recently. The NHPC team gave a commendable performance and secured 3rd position in the tournament was appreciated by B Joshi, CMD, NHPC.



CONCLAVE-GAIL
The 2nd Oil & Gas HSE Conclave organized by GAIL was inaugurated recently, bringing together nearly 400 Health, Safety and Environment (HSE) professionals from India and abroad to discuss safety challenges facing the oil and gas industry.



AGREEMENT-GRSE
Delivered IN LCU L-57 (Yard 2098), 7th in the series of 8 such vessels to the Indian Navy. The Protocol of delivery & acceptance was signed between Rear Admiral VK Saxena, IN (Retd.), CMD, GRSE & CO of the vessel, Lt. Commander V Harshvardhan.



WORKSHOP-BIS
A day workshop was organized by BIS recently with an aim to disseminate the information about the requirements of IS 10500:2012 (Specification for Drinking Water) and other Indian Standards. Inaugurated by RV Paswan Ji, M/o CA FPD.



CERTIFICATION-PANIPAT REFINERY
To give timely supply of BS-VI compliant fuels from Panipat Refinery, Team PR stabilized operations of Revamped MSQ Prime G+ Unit in less than a week time & has successfully certified BS-VI MS recently. S Bhatnagar, ED (PRPC) were present on the occasion.



ASSIGNMENT-NABCONS
NABCONS, a wholly owned subsidiary of NABARD was contracted a prestigious assignment on Sep 2019. The captioned assignment awarded by the Swiss Development Cooperation SDC was to be taken up in 12 states.



CONCLAVE-SBI
SBI CRM conducted MSME Conclave recently on the theme "Nurturing MSME for a Five Trillion Economy". The speakers included DS Mishra, CGM SME, SBI, V Kumar, Dir MSME DI, Delhi & representatives from SIDBI, NSIC, CII, QCI, PHD and Rating Agency.



DECLARATION SIGNED-SCOPE
A joint declaration for Promotion & Expansion of apprenticeship in PSEs was signed & exchanged between A Sobti, DG, SCOPE & S Sanghi, Sr Adviser, MSDE in the presence of Dr MN Pandey, M/o MSDE; RK Singh, MoS MSDE & MoS (I/c), Mo Power.



CEREMONY-Desert Medicine Research Centre
Dr Harsh Vardhan, Union Minister of HFW, S&T & ES & GS Shekhawat, Union Minister of Jal Shakti, presided as Chief Guest & Guest of Honour respectively, in the renaming ceremony of DMRC to NIIRNCD.



PROJECT AWARDED-MAHARASHTRA METRO
Maha Metro Nagpur has been awarded consultancy for Metro Neo project in Warangal, State of Telangana. This was announced after a high-power meeting held at Hyderabad by Government of Telangana recently.

NDMC Aiming to provide information, facilitation & grievances redressal for the benefit of its residents/services users, RWAs, MTAs, Stakeholders and other individual, New Delhi Municipal Council is organizing Suvidha Camp at NDMC Convention Centre, New Delhi on coming Saturday, the 14th Dec., 2019. The innovative step of Suvidha Camp was initiated by the Council from last year Dec., 2018 in order to redress the public grievances related to the Citizen Centric Services of New Delhi area. In this series this 16th Suvidha Camp is being organized on coming Saturday i.e. 14th Dec., 2019, wherein 27 Head of the Civic Services Departments would be available on the occasion to sort out & settled the grievances and problems of the citizens of New Delhi area on the spot. A 'Women Help Desk' will also be setup in the Suvidha Camp for providing the assistance to women.

Rajasthan State Road Development And Construction Corporation Ltd., JAIPUR
No. NIT/2019-20/27564-63
अपेक्षाकालीन ई-निविदा सूचना 282/19-20
Date: 13.12.2019
निविदाओं को खोलने का समय 12:00 बजे तक है।
आवृत्ति: एक बार।
कर्मियों को खोलने का समय 12:00 बजे तक है।
आवृत्ति: एक बार।
निविदाओं को खोलने का समय 12:00 बजे तक है।
आवृत्ति: एक बार।

**GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR
DEPARTMENT OF MATERIALS MANAGEMENT P-II
SHER-I-KASHMIR INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES
SOURA SRINAGAR**

Sub:- Extension in eNIT.
Ref:- eNIT No. SIMS 13 (P-II) of 2019 dated 12.11.2019

The schedule dates for downloading & submission of tender invited vide above referred eNIT for "Supply of UPS Batteries on Annual Rate Contract basis" at SKIMS, Soura, Srinagar is hereby extended as per following:

1. Last date & time for submission of tenders	26.12.2019 (04.00 PM)
2. Date of opening of technical bids	30.12.2019 (02.00 PM)

In case of date of opening of Technical bids happens to be non-working day on any account, the same shall be opened on next working day or any other day convenient to tender opening committee.

Other terms & conditions of the eNIT shall remain unchanged.

**Sd/-
Asst. Material Management Officer
Purchase-II**

No. SIMS 325 30/2019-1424-29
Date: 13.12.2019
SIMS-3406

**Government of Jammu and Kashmir
SHER-I-KASHMIR INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF MATERIALS MANAGEMENT (IMPORTS SECTION)
SOURA, SRINAGAR, JAMMU & KASHMIR-190011**
E-mail: ammimports@skims.ac.in, Fax No.: 0194-2403404
e-NIT NO.: SIMS-324-NIT-20 (Imports) of 2019
Dated: 09.12.2019

Subject: Abbreviated Notice Inviting Tenders for Supply, Installation, Testing & Commissioning of various Bio-Medical equipments for SKIMS.

On behalf of the Lt. Governor of Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir through Director, Sher-I-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences, Soura, Srinagar, e-tenders are invited from the original manufacturers/ their Indian subsidiaries/ Indian Agents on the authorization of Principal manufacturers/ Indian Subsidiary if 100% subsidiary of foreign Principals (for imported equipment) and manufacturers/ their authorized dealers for the J&K (for indigenous equipment) for supply, installation, testing & commissioning of following Bio-Medical equipments:-

Group	Name of Item	Qty.	Tender Fee	EMD
Department of Gastroenterology:				
A	High Resolution Ultrasound	01 Unit	Rs. 1,000/-	Rs. 50,000/-
B	Endo Ultrasound (EUS)	02 Units	Rs. 1,000/-	Rs. 3,20,000/-
C	Full-fledged Endoscopic Unit (Upper/Lower/Side View) Latest series.	02 Unit	Rs. 1,000/-	Rs. 2,00,000/-
D	Cholelithotripsy with CBD Stone Laser Therapy	01 Unit	Rs. 1,000/-	Rs. 80,000/-
E	High Resolution Manometry	01 Unit	Rs. 1,000/-	Rs. 50,000/-
Department of CI Pharmacology:				
F	Spirometer	01 Unit	Rs. 300/-	Rs. 4,000/-

The detailed tender document is available on www.jktenders.gov.in & on SKIMS website: www.skims.ac.in. The NIT schedule is as per following:-

Last Date for Submission of Online Bid	11.01.2020 upto 4.00 P.M.
Opening of Technical Bids	15.01.2020 at 12.30 P.M.

Complete bidding process will be online on e-tendering portal www.jktenders.gov.in & the tenders should be submitted strictly in accordance with the provisions of the detailed NIT.

**Sd/- Asstt. Materials Management Officer (Imports),
For & on behalf of Chief of Materials Management,
SIMS-3993**

No. SIMS-324-NIT 20 (Imports) 2019-4940-47
Dated: 11.12.2019-3991-94

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY

Open Tender through E-Tendering 2019-20

CWM/Carriage & Wagon workshop North Western Railway Bikaner acting for and on behalf of the President of India invites E-Tender No. **MECH-BKNW-WHEEL-19-20** Dated 13.12.19. Tenderer will be able to submit their original/revised offer up to closing date and time only. **Name of Work:** Work of removal and cleaning of Axle Boxes from BG ICF wheel sets, removal and Cleaning of CTRBs from wheel sets in Carriage & Wagon Workshop, NWR, Bikaner (As per scope of work). **Estimated Cost of work:** Rs. 3711840.00 **Address of the NIT issuing office:** Chief Workshop Manager Carriage & Wagon Workshop, Lalgarh, Bikaner (Raj.)-334004 **Earnest money to be deposited:** Rs. 742000/- **Tender Document Cost:** Rs. 30000/- **Last Date and time for submission and opening of E-tender:** 07.01.2020 upto 14.30 Hrs. E-Tender will be opened at 15.00 Hrs. on same day. **Website particular where complete details of e-tender can be seen and participated:** www.irps.gov.in **Note:-** 1. This is E-Tender so tenderer can participate through e-tendering process only on mentioned website. Manual offers are not allowed against this tender. 2. Tender Document cost and Earnest Money to be deposited online through payment gateway facility on www.irps.gov.in website online. **1314-AL/19**
Contact help line no. 138 for general complaints

Wristory

Virat Kohli has turned a gentle flick into a murderous assault weapon. SRIRAM VEERA explores the lineage and evolution of the shot from Gundappa Viswanath to Kohli

Sunil Gavaskar laughs when the question is put across to him – was he surprised the first time he saw the classy wristy whips from his contemporary Gundappa Viswanath, and what does he feel about Virat Kohli's murderous swat-flicks these days?

"Surprised? No, I was mesmerised by GRV's shot. I am awestruck with Virat's shot. Perhaps because the era was different, GRV would not whip the ball aerially as there was no need to, then but his leg side whips were very powerful. Now, Kohli's shot is murderous. Do you know the common thing between them that enables them?"

Wristy? "Yes, yes of course, but how powerful and strong those wrists are. You get to know when you shake their hands and feel and observe them," Gavaskar says. "There have been batsmen between these two who have really great flick shots, like Mohammad Azharuddin and VVS Laxman, but I would say their wrists weren't as powerful as GRV and Kohli's. Hence, the difference in power. Perhaps, it an illusion in my mind, but that's my gut-feel. Of course, this magnificent shot of Kohli's isn't just due to wrists; it takes a lot of skill just as it was for all the others before him."

We shall come to the shot (played to the faster bowlers) and the skill and technique behind it but first the context. Is it possible to place Kohli's swat-flick in the lineage of the shot and try trace its evolution? And then understand why his version is at the zenith of that evolution in the mayhem it unleashes.

Mid '80's. Kids at school suddenly started to flick their tongues out and mimicked a strange whippy shot. A wiry Azharuddin was becoming the new hero on cricket grounds in the country with his outlandish flick shot. It seemed an untameable magical beast, where you had to drag balls from even outside off and try to whiplash it through the on side. It proved impossible to mimic for us kids in competitive cricket against leather ball. Adults would chuckle as they recounted cricket lore about Indians' flick shots – how the English were in trance at the 'sorcery' of Ranjit Singhji's leg glance. How the Bangalore wizard Viswanath did it and now this young Hyderabad is doing it. Same old, same old, they would say. That shots evolve, sometimes decades later.

Mind you, Azhar's wasn't a gentle flick by any stretch, especially as he got fitter. It wasn't like Ravi Shastri's elegant variation. As years went by, he started to thrash-whip the balls furiously, triggering headshakes and smiles in fans.

Even Courtney Walsh did it once after watching his outside-off delivery being thrown back from wide midwicket boundary; he walked to the top of his run-up, playing imaginary flicks as if the mere act of mimicking would strip the shot of its mystique and give him some clue to taming it.

Years later, Lance Klusener would do the same in Calcutta dusk. Walking in a trance, as it were. But at its ferocious avatar, Azhar's flicks reeled off fours. These days, though, the flick-shot world has gone mad.

Mid 90's, Laxman arrived. His was a more controlled version of Azhar's, less powerful perhaps, but as effective in run production and the effect it had on the bowler. Where to bowl now? The same ball is either been classically creamed through the off or when the mood seized him, whisked away to the leg-side alleys.

The shot came to him while trying to handle the bounce and pace on matting tracks that he grew up on. He had minor problems initially (odd leading edges or tendency to flick in the air) but nailed the shot by '98 when he worked out the lengths against which he was going to attempt that shot to pacers.

The most graceful of the flicks belonged to that artist Mark Waugh who conjured powerfully-clipped fours without any trace of violence.

Not that the others didn't play it before. Gavaskar himself had a gorgeous whip of his legs, where he would allow the ball to come to him, and then clip it ever so prettily. Tendulkar then took it and made it his own. Tendulkar's was fiercer, Gavaskar's oozed style. Gavaskar also had couple of variations on the flick. One of them came up during a match in England. "Ryan Sidebottom ka father hai na,

TALLELEGANCE: VVS Laxman's flick – a controlled version of Azhar's in some respects, less powerful perhaps, but equally effective and classy. Again, a four-run shot.

THE GORGEOUS SORCERY: Mohammad Azharuddin's was an outlandish artistic whiplash, whisking balls from outside off; it turned feistier and more powerful as his career progressed but it was still a shot to produce fours, not sixes.

CELEBRATED FOR his wristy square cuts, Gundappa Viswanath's flick too had it all: powerful wrists driven by an artist's imagination

Arnie, pretty quick, was trying to tie me up from a length. So, I adjusted, chose to flick the length deliveries in the air. For two sixes. So, Arnie stands mid-pitch and shouts, 'Sunny, they weren't bad balls!' That's the thing with this shot. A good batsman will adapt and produce tiny variations of a shot, and make the bowler think.

"See what Kohli has done now. He isn't just a bottom-handed player but uses the top hand perfectly well when he wants to. So, the ball on the off stump he can play the punchy cover drive but suddenly, use his bottom hand and wrists to smash it for a six over midwicket. What does the bowler do now?" Gavaskar says.

Kohli's isn't a flick, really. It's a mutant. A swat-flick, maybe. The bottom-hand powered shot feels like a stroke borrowed from table tennis. A crack of doom. Even he didn't know what to call it initially. At the end of a press conference in 2009 in South Africa, as he was leaving, a short chat bubbled up between us.

"Hey! Some flick shot, that. Comes naturally to you na?". Kohli's answer stunned. "No, no, in fact, I can't recall how and where it became part of my repertoire. I think from playing these T20s, I would just play the normal flicks before. What are you calling it?" "Er... thinking of swat-flick, you seem to be swatting the ball but flicking it at the same time". And he pursed his lips and walked away, leaving a few questions in the head.

How is a variation of a flick shot, so instinctive in its essence seep in like that and not be part of your childhood? It isn't a slog sweep or even an upper cut, where it's about positioning the body and can be learnt. Like Steve Waugh did, after watching Hansie Cronje's slog sweep his spinners. Like Sachin Tendulkar did, training the slog sweep to stub out Shane Warne's round-the-stumps threat in end 90's. But this flick shot, especially if it's a signature shot, wouldn't it be a natural, even if forced due to circumstances when playing as a kid?

Like Viv Richards's imperious across-the-line whips. The one man whose name has been recalled by cricketers raving about Kohli's swat-flick swagger.

Shastri brings up the comparison in his rave "Boss! What a tremendous violent shot! GRV used to play powerfully but along the ground. Viv did now and then, as he generally used his top hand and muscles more. But now and then, he would pick a bowler, and send it up and over midwicket. Kohli has that kind of presence now with this shot," Shastri says. Rashid Latif, former Pakistan captain, has run a YouTube show about how he was reminded of Richards when he saw Kohli swat-flicking sixes.

Richards' brother Mervin talks about how that signature on-side whip came about. There used to be a fisherman, at the end of the off side in the park near home where the brothers played as kids. "He didn't like the ball land in his area and would chop off the ball and throw them back! So, Viv started to develop that shot. Soon, it became part of him." Or the story of Gavaskar himself, whose straight drive came as a result of playing in a narrow space as a kid, where straight shots were the only way to go.

"Kohli's flick isn't natural as a kid?" Gavaskar is, as ever, curious. It's then he talks about the sixes he hit against Arnie Sidebottom to suggest how a batsman does adapt as he grows and how shots start to come in and can become natural.

Like Herschelle Gibbs. The one batsman who came closest to Kohli's swat-flick. Gibbs' version was one of the great ODI shots of last decade. But highly risky when compared to Kohli. Gibbs' was a dare. There would be a moment in his swat-flick, just before contact, where it would appear that the ball might miss the bat and crash on to the pad. Suddenly, however, the bat would swipe across just in time to crash-land the ball over square-leg. Somewhat similar version was played in the 90's too by Moin Khan of Pakistan. His too was a risky version in that the lbw possibility always loomed but he wasn't a top order batsman and was looking to score some quick runs in the end. Gibbs' shot was a thrill, Moin's was ballsier. And Gibbs too didn't always possess that shot.

"I picked it from Desmond Haynes, actually," Gibbs says from Dhaka where he is commenting on BPL. Haynes, the former West Indian opener, played for three years from 1991 for Western Province in South Africa. There Gibbs observed Haynes use the pace of the wicket to unfurl his swivel-hip flicks. "Though he would now and then hit it aerially, he

would usually hit them along the ground but it was a very effective shot. So we ended up chatting and he taught me how to play it. I practiced it a lot, started to play it, and at one point decided, why not hit it in the air. Why settle for couple of runs or four when I could get a six with it?!" Gibbs laughs.

"It feels good to see Virat play his version of the shot. The difference is that he has taken out the risk of lbw. I had a lot of fun with that shot. No bowler had a comeback to that shot, did they? It was like showing a finger to the bowler as you suggest!" Gibbs laughs. But the best shot he played and is proud of was a backfoot six over covers that was witnessed by Haynes. "He came over and said that it was the best shot he had ever seen in his career – boy was I thrilled to hear that! I batted with flair, and hopefully entertained the fans with my flick shot."

Kohli cuts out the risks associated with Gibbs' version, through the arc his bat cuts when it's crashing down to meet the ball. You don't get that pang of apprehension what would happen if Kohli fails to connect. The bat doesn't come down as straight as for a straight drive of course but there is a lot more wood in the path of the ball. In the absence of any worry about a plausible lbw, he can focus on twirling his bottom-hand a lot more than most.

And how those wrists whip themselves into a frenzy. The right wrist almost snaps and the bat blurs down thrillingly. You could do that with a smaller table tennis racquet but to get this longer and thicker piece of wood at frenetic pace needs supple and steely wrists. This oxymoronic combo creates the power, and the overall balance that he maintains helps in connecting as firmly as he wants. It's a stroke that has consistently improved over the years, especially through the IPLs, but it was on a Hobart night in 2012 when he dismantled the yorker-slinging Lasith Malinga that it achieved a finesse. That night, he stayed well back inside the crease, and repeatedly swatted away.

"Oh yes, that Malinga knock," Gavaskar says. "I was awestruck. It was risk-free, almost, despite him going all out. No fear of lbws with the way the bat comes down. Back then, he played those shots squarer. Now, he has started to go midwicket."

"Did you see that shot in the first T20 against West Indies?" Gibbs asks. "That six over midwicket off (Kerriek) Williams?" The batsmen seem to be in love with it, it even moved Kevin Pietersen to tweet: "Your flick this evening was quite something, bro! Holy

See what Kohli has done now. He isn't just a bottom-handed player but uses the top hand perfectly well. So, the ball on off stump he can play the punchy cover drive but suddenly, use his bottom hand and wrists to smash it for six over midwicket. What does the bowler do now?"

SUNIL GAVASKAR

"It feels good to see Virat play his version of the shot. The difference is that he has taken out the risk of lbw. I had a lot of fun with that shot. No bowler had a comeback to that shot, did they? It was like showing a finger to the bowler as you suggest!"

HERSCHELLE GIBBS

MURDEROUS DRAG-FLICK: Azhar's flair, Laxman's control but powered by phenomenally strong wrists, not unlike Gundappa Vishwanath's, and intent. Kohli's shot is one that destroys.

smokes!"

Holy smokes, indeed. It was a fullish delivery, fairly straight, and at some point, in its trajectory, Kohli decided it had to go. For a six. The bottom-hand took over, and he drag-scooped it up and over midwicket.

"I won't say drag-scoop, but drag-flick," Gavaskar says. "Scoop suggests it has popped just over midwicket; doesn't convey the astonishing distance it went. Look at how his wrists came in, and how he extended his arms afterwards. Not your swat flick, not scoop but drag-flick is perhaps more apt."

It's the latest in the continuing evolution of Kohli's flick shots – more mutant versions are coming up every other day. "It's because he now wants to cover not just square-leg but wants to use that shot to target the full arc from square-leg to wide long-on, or in other words, he wants to hit the balls from off and outside off as well, not just middle and leg" Gavaskar says. "Gibbs is right, Dessie (Haynes) did play the aerial flick occasionally, though his arc was from square-leg to backward square-leg."

"Now, Kohli is picking the balls from off stump, at times outside off (something that you will see him doing more and more) as he is growing in confidence. Minor tweaks in the way he works his wrists in combination with the lines he now chooses allow him to target that arc," Gavaskar is oozing rave now.

The stillness of the head also helps in peppering a wider arc with that shot now. "It definitely does. You are going across the line to fast bowlers and from the off or off-and-middle stump lines. If the head is still, you get better control of the shot, you don't fall over or across, and the balance helps in hitting the ball where you want," Gavaskar says.

Gibbs points out another factor – that unlike him, because of playing in South Africa, Kohli stretches a lot on the front foot. "That means he can get that bat well ahead of his body after stretching – just imagine where he is now meeting the ball, he can potentially slap even back-of-length balls on tracks where you can trust the bounce with that shot." A bit like what Pietersen used to do. No other modern-day batsmen, perhaps barring Pakistan's Younis Khan to an extent, had the kind of upper-body elasticity like Pietersen. Kohli isn't as elastic top-up but because of his huge strides, and his balance, he has enough malleability to stretch forward and let his bottom-hand and wrists do the rest of the work for him.

If the stunning assault on Malinga at Hobart in 2012 was the coming-of-age moment of Kohli's swat-flick, the 2019 series against West Indies has birthed newer mutant versions and hints at more wristy adventures ahead of us.

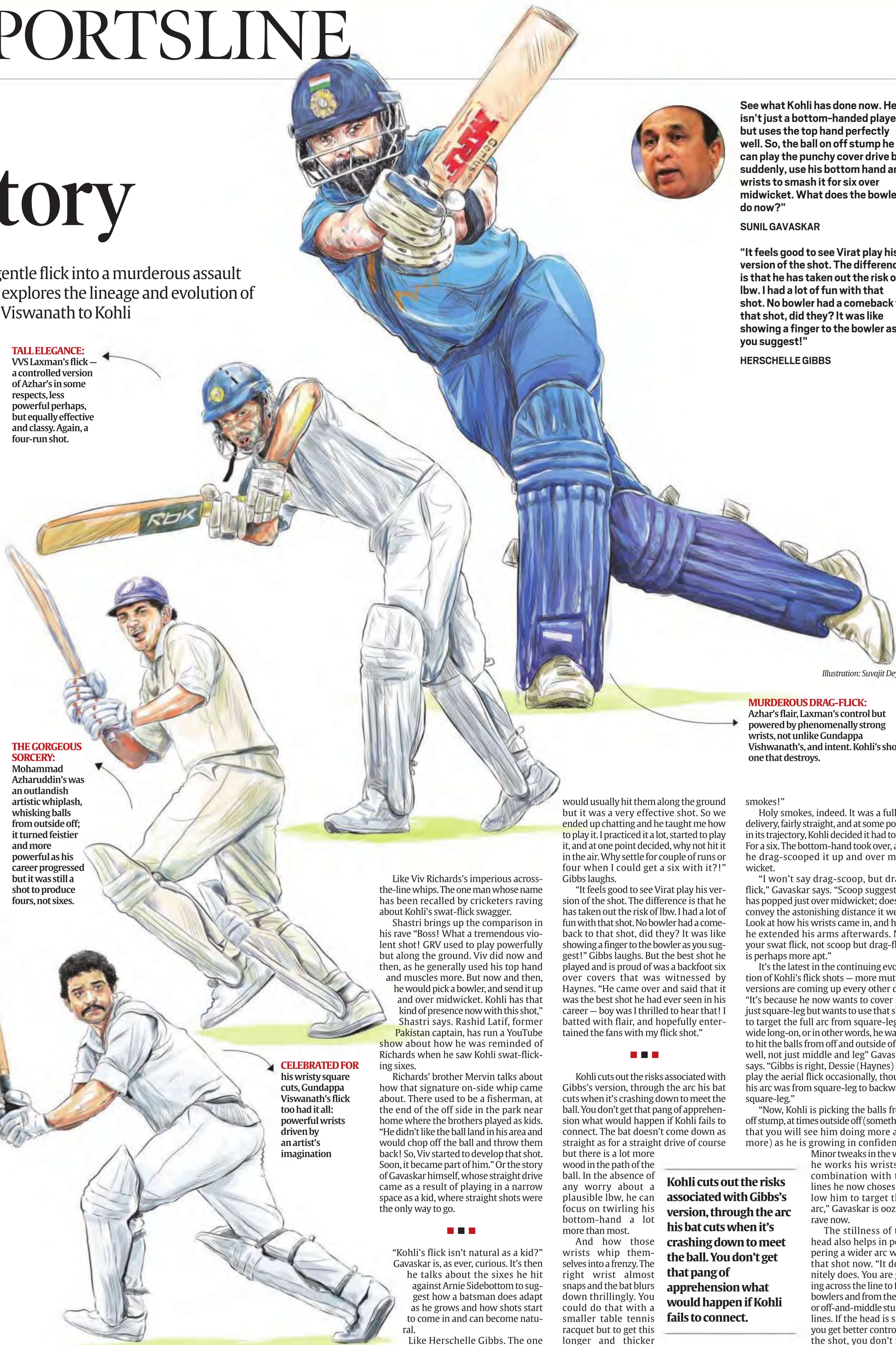


Illustration: Sujajit Dey

Let's see how Dhoni's body holds up, Rahul an option: Shastri

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 14

ONLY MAHENDRA Singh Dhoni knows whether his body will be able to cope up with rigours of international cricket after a break, KL Rahul could be a "serious keeping option" for next year's T20 World Cup and Rishabh Pant needs to "calm down", feels India head coach Ravi Shastri. With Pant not doing well and mystery surrounding Dhoni's international future, Shastri didn't rule out the possibility of Rahul doing multi-tasking during the marquee tournament 'Down Under'.

"It's sensible (the break by Dhoni). I like the time (around IPL) when he will be starting to play again. I don't think he is too keen on the one-day stuff. He is finished with Test cricket. T20 is an option. It's a format that is tailor-made for him. But will his body be able to cope with the demands, only he will answer," Shastri told *India Today* during its programme 'Inspiration'. "The rest would have done him a world of good, mentally. That mental fatigue would have gone away by now. If he decides to play, which he will because he will play the IPL, then he will start training with a very fresh mind. Then you have got to see form," said Shastri.

He also believes that Rahul could emerge as an option as he keeps in the IPL as well as for Karnataka in domestic white-ball tournaments. "It is an absolute option. You got to see where your strength is. Tomorrow, there could be a couple of guys in the middle-order who are firing with unbelievable innings in the IPL. And then if you have a guy who can multi-task, who could be used at the top... why not," when asked if Rahul could be an option.

Asked what he expects from Rishabh Pant, Shastri said, "a bit of calm". "You have to have a solid approach to your batting. You can't think everything is going to happen the way I want it to happen from ball 1. No, it won't happen like that."



GAME FACE

West Indies' fast bowler Sheldon Cottrell prepares to bowl in the nets during a training session ahead of their first ODI against India in Chennai. AP

In the shadow of a great

At Chepauk Stadium, MS Dhoni's spiritual home, Pant will have nowhere to hide if he has a bad game

SANDIP G
CHENNAI, DECEMBER 14

THE SOUNDTRACK of howling and hollering seldom deserted Rishabh Pant in Thiruvananthapuram during the second T20I a week ago. Every ball he was reminded of Sanju Samson, the homeboy and his direct competitor for the wicket-keeper-batsman slot, who was confined to drinks-ferrying chores. Worse, he dropped opening batsman Evin Lewis in the fifth over and the ripple of boos reached a rattling crescendo.

The scale of the vitriol was so startling that Virat Kohli gestured the crowd to lower the volume, but even his magnetic persona couldn't quieten them. Impromptu, they wildly started chanting Dhoni's name, and Kohli scowled bemusedly. Pant, cruelly, had nowhere to hide, his forlorn body language conveyed the inner torment.

He wouldn't have anywhere to hide at Chennai either — the scrutiny could be wretchedly stinging, the Dhoni chants could get deafening. Thrice the decibels that pounded his ears in Thiruvananthapuram so much so that Pant would be cursing the choice of venue for this series.

If landing up in his closest competitor's turf wasn't harrowing enough, here he would be plying his trade in the spiritual home of his predecessor, MS Dhoni. Even if the crowd here heeds to Kohli's request to keep the Dhoni comparisons (and chants) adrift, even if Pant himself steels his mind in keeping the Dhoni-legacy thoughts abreast, the shadow of Dhoni would trail him like an invisible apparition. As if the signages around the stadium aren't ample reminders enough—from the line of shops named "Dhoni Sports" at the entrance to the beaming Dhoni faces that peer from the yellow-painted walls—the mere aura of Dhoni is irresistibly inescapable even in his absence.

Thus the potential antagonism Pant could cop is premised on a different narrative-tangent. It's not the spontaneous angst of him obscuring a local lad in the playing eleven. It runs deeper. He will be viewed through the skeptical lens of a pretender trying to succeed the city's most deified cricketer, the largest larger-than-life cricketer of the city. The thalai—a moniker that blends both respect and adulation in equal measure. He is not a homeboy, not even a naturalised one, yet his halo dims everything else. So every-



In 12 ODI matches, Rishabh Pant is yet to score a half-century. File

thing that he does or does not compel a direct comparison with Dhoni. And they would make it evident to Pant, whether they like or dislike him.

In that sense, the Chepauk crowd is arduously difficult to please—it's no mean task to wow them, whether the subject is from their backyard or not. They set high demands on the players, dissect their techniques and analyse their mind so threadbare that you wonder whether they're certified coaches or trained psychoanalysts.

Even the greatest of their contemporary cricketers, Ravi Ashwin, had to endure their derision. He was once mocked during a Ranji match when he got hit on a turning track specifically prepared for him. Some of them then began chanting Harbhajan Singh's name. Intolerant they're to such frivolities. Months before that, they scorned Cheteshwar Pujara when he misjudged the length of an Ajit Agarkar delivery and copped a blow on the wrists during a Ranji Trophy quarterfinal match in the late aughts, when Pujara was hyped up as the Rahul Dravid's successor.

It was their first sighting of him, and they ridiculed him with such scorn that even the most callous of Aussie sledgers would have blushed. Even the love they shower on Dhoni (and before that Sachin Tendulkar) was hard-won, based on their stupendous performances at this ground. Tendulkar faithfully struck a hundred in his first three outings on the ground—scored 970 runs at an average

of 88.10 including the legendary assault on Shane Warne and pain-defying hundred against Pakistan. Dhoni, who was initially antagonised as the man who displaced local hero Dinesh Karthik, belted his only double hundred here, a back-to-the-wall hundred at No 7 in an ODI against Pakistan and made Chennai Super Kings the most popular and vibrant side in the Indian Premier League.

In their undulating appreciation of Dhoni, they debunked an old myth too, that they only appreciate the aesthetics of the game. Dhoni was often ungainly, even ugly, but it hardly came in the way of appreciating instead his stroke-play and the sharp cricketing brain.

Historic burden

So, the historic burden on Pant could only get heavier as he enters the stadium on Sunday, wherein 30,000-odd eyeballs might have their gaze fixed on him. Had he been treading better times, he would have soaked in the attention. But he clearly is not. After the initial buzz, he has fizzled out—an ODI career than began on promisingly is steeply faltering. Ten innings into his career, he's yet to register a fifty, averaging just 22 in 10 innings, yet to live up to the promise. Even in T20Is, he has yet to make that defining, doubt-clearing effort. Promising starts, but rushed ends.

To his defence has Kohli often sprung. "We certainly believe in Rishabh's ability. As

Even if the crowd here heeds to Kohli's request to keep the Dhoni comparisons (and chants) adrift, even if Pant himself steels his mind in keeping the Dhoni-legacy thoughts abreast, the shadow of Dhoni would trail him like an invisible apparition

you say, it's (also) the player's responsibility to do well but our responsibility is to give him space, to support him. He should get support and it is disrespectful if you don't get it. He should be left alone as Rohit had said," he said recently.

Batting coach Vikram Rathour, too, echoes him, in fact calling him an X factor. "The reason why we keep discussing him is that he has got an immense ability. Everybody believes he can be an X factor. All of us believe he is a good player who can come good. He is working hard on his game and fitness," he said.

To his justification is also age and experience. He's barely 22, has featured in just a clutch of matches, still teething in at this level and touted to replace as rare a genius as Dhoni. He has to be furnished time, even a bit of love, but Chepauk wouldn't be where he could find instant love.

Not just his batting, some of his impetuous strokes—when he gets out playing a bad shot, he looks abysmally clumsy—could draw scoffs. Here is where his mistakes behind the stumps couldn't go unnoticed. Instead, would only be magnified. There would be no compassion, only culpability.

How Pant deals with all these, poor form and boos, would reveal his inner resolve. Sometimes booing fires up an athlete, the prove-them-wrong mentality could overturn their form. But for some, to hear the crowd booing could throw their whole game off. It is difficult if every time you step out on a pitch it's made clear that people don't like you. Some of the elements Pant has to fight are unenviable—jeering, bad form, and the ghosts of Dhoni (in the reverse order). And he would have no place to hide.

Live on Star Sports network: 1st ODI at Chennai: 1:30 pm onwards

Beware of wounded buffalo, says New SA coach Boucher

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
CAPE TOWN, DECEMBER 14

FORMER TEST wicketkeeper Mark Boucher was on Saturday named as South African team head coach until 2023. An upbeat Boucher said South African cricket had been through "trying times" but added that he was confident that the national team could be successful against England. "Beware of a wounded buffalo, especially in Africa," he said.

The appointment was made by Cricket South Africa interim director of cricket, former Test captain Graeme Smith, who only took up his post on Wednesday.

Boucher, 43, played in 147 Tests, 290 one-day internationals and 25 Twenty20 internationals for South Africa before a serious eye injury ended his career in 2012.

He has coached the Titans franchise for the past three seasons, winning five of a possible nine trophies. "I felt that at this stage the Proteas (national team) needed a really hardened, internationally experienced guy," said Smith.

Enoch Nkwe, who was previously interim team director and in charge of the team on a recent tour of India, was named assistant coach, also with a contract until the end of the next Cricket World Cup in 2023.

Faf du Plessis was confirmed as captain for the Test series against England which starts at Centurion on December 26, while former Test batsman Ashwell Prince was named coach of South Africa A.

Smith said he expected to appoint batting and bowling consultants within the next week. Boucher said South Africa had rebounded in the past.

"I have been involved in sides where we've had some very tough times," said Boucher. "One of the toughest was the Hansie Cronje (corruption) saga but straight away after that we beat Australia. I think we've got a very good chance of turning it around. I've been in set-ups where we have turned around in a couple of days."

Smith said an emergency selection committee consisting of Boucher, Nkwe, Du Plessis and Linda Zondi, who was sacked as convener after South Africa's poor World Cup campaign, would announce a squad on Monday for the first Test as well as a South Africa A team to play against England.

The Test squad will assemble on December 18.

Against the background of controversy about the administration of South African cricket, with calls for the board of CSA to resign, Smith said he personally had no contact with the board about making what amount to long-term decisions.

He said he had dealt only with CSA interim chief executive Jacques Faul.

"There's no relationship (with the board) at this stage," he said. "My point of call is Jacques." He said recent developments had been disappointing. "We need to turn around the image. A lot of things still need to shift. My goal is focused on getting the Proteas and the structures performing well. We know that cricket is a big part of bringing in budgets and a high-performing Proteas team will go a long way towards providing some confidence."

Although Smith's interim role is only for three months, Faul later told AFP that he hoped the former captain would commit to a long-term position.

England start their tour with a two-day match against an Invitation XI in Benoni on Tuesday, followed by a three-day match against South Africa A at the same venue from Friday.



Mark Boucher will be South Africa head coach till 2023. File

1ST TEST, PERTH

Pink-ball nightmare for New Zealand as Australia take a huge lead

ASSOCIATED PRESS
PERTH, DECEMBER 14

AUSTRALIA HAS a stranglehold on the opening test match against New Zealand after taking a 417-run lead on a wicket that is getting increasingly difficult to bat on under the lights at Perth Stadium.

After New Zealand was skittled out for 166 at lunch on day three in response to Australia's 416, the home side refused to enforce the follow-on and batted again, finishing the day on 167-6 with Matthew Wade and Pat Cummins unbeaten on eight and one runs, respectively.

Despite Australia's second innings collapse from a seemingly comfortable 131-2, New Zealand is facing a big target and staring at a heavy defeat in the first of the three tests. Swing bowlers Tim Southee (4-63) and Neil Wagner (2-40) struck just as Australia's Mitchell Starc did the previous night as the home side lost 5-29 in 66 deliveries.

This dented Australia's hope to bat deep into the fourth day before unleashing its pace attack under the lights when the pink ball is most effective. Also, the pitch has deteriorated much quicker than anticipated in the hot conditions with innocuous bounces being regular as seen during the Australian second innings.

David Warner (19) uncharacteristically failed twice following 154 and 335 not out in his last two outings in the 2-0 series wining over Pakistan.

After Warner fell, Burns (53) and Labuschagne (50) shared 87 for the second wicket before Australia's newest batting find miscued a pull and was caught at mid, triggering the middle-order collapse.

Labuschagne took his run tally to 1,022 (average 73.00) to become the first batsman in the 2019 calendar year to complete 1,000 test runs. He reached the mark in his 10th test since being recalled as a concussion substitute for Steve Smith in the second Ashes test in England. He hit three consecutive cen-



Mitchell Starc had figures of 5 for 52. AP

turies including 143 in the first innings to add to five half centuries.

Warner lived a charmed life for over an hour facing 63 ball before miscuing a pull of

Tim Southee and was caught at mid on. He survived a review for a catch behind on 15 and on 17 narrowly escaped a run out.

During the innings Warner, playing his

82nd test, became the 12th Australian batsman to amass 7,000 runs in test cricket. He brought up the milestone with a cover driven boundary off Southee.

Despite the 250-run first innings lead, Australia was wary of bowling the second time as the temperature topped 40 Celsius (107 F) for the third day in a row. This was in addition to being a bowler short with swing bowler Josh Hazlewood ruled out of the match with a hamstring strain.

Earlier, fast bowler Starc took 5-52 — his third five-wicket innings in seven day-night tests and his 13th overall in 55 tests — to hurry New Zealand's batting demise.

After slicing through the New Zealand top order with four wickets on the second evening, Starc claimed his fifth wicket controversially when de Grandhomme was adjudged caught by on-field umpire Aleem Dar and upheld by review.

De Grandhomme pulled a couple of boundaries off Starc, and two balls later, tried to fend a short pitch delivery that hit the face

of the helmet before Steve Smith at second slip caught it. De Grandhomme reviewed Dar's decision only to be upheld despite a series of inconclusive replays.

Ross Taylor top scored for New Zealand with an unblemished 80 runs and stood between New Zealand and the hosts with a 134-ball innings over 2½ hours hitting nine boundaries before offspinner Nathan Lyon (2-48) forced an edge and Smith at slip took his third catch.

The other notable contribution came from skipper Kane Williamson (34) before he was brilliantly caught by Smith at second slip to end a fighting 76-run third wicket stand.

In the second evening, The New Zealand innings lasted 55.2 overs over 262 minutes while the Australian first innings consumed 10½ hours and 146.2 overs.

BRIEF SCORES: Australia 416 & 167/6* lead (Burns 53, Labuschagne 50; Southee 4/63) New Zealand 166 (Taylor 80; Starc 5/52) by 417 runs

It's business as usual for Salah and company

Star striker scores both goals in their 2-0 win over Watford to help Liverpool earn an 11-point cushion atop the table; Bournemouth shock Lampard's Chelsea

AFP/REUTERS
LIVERPOOL, DECEMBER 14

LIVERPOOL MOVED 11 points clear at the top of the Premier League thanks to Mohamed Salah's double, but had some wasteful finishing from bottom-of-the-table Watford to thank for a 2-0 victory at Anfield.

The Hornets remain six points adrift of safety, but will wonder how they headed home empty handed after enjoying the vast majority of the chances against the European champions. Salah produced the two moments of real quality from Jurgen Klopp's men by finishing off from a rapid counter-attack from a Watford corner to open the scoring before flicking home a second a minute from time.

Nigel Pearson was taking charge of Watford for the first time and the impetus of a new manager showed with the 40-point difference between the sides at opposite ends of the table not in evidence in their performances.

However, the big difference was obvious in both boxes as the league's lowest scorers passed up a host of huge opportunities, whilst Salah was deadly.

Only Watford's profligacy allowed Liverpool to keep a first clean sheet at Anfield all season as Troy Deeney just failed to reach a teasing cross across the face of goal before Will Hughes dragged a shot just side.

Abdoulaye Doucoure then completely mis-



Liverpool's Mohamed Salah celebrates after scoring his first goal against Watford on Saturday. Reuters

NUMBER PLATE

16 Number of top-flight home games Liverpool have won on the trot. The all-time record is 21 straight wins at Anfield in 1972.

7 Jurgen Klopp seems to have special liking for Watford. His Liverpool side has seven Premier League victories over them — on level with Crystal Palace.

84 Number of goals Mohamed Salah has scored for the Reds in all competitions in 126 appearances. He has surpassed Luis Suarez's tally of 82 goals from 133 games for Liverpool.

cued with the goal at his mercy from Etienne Capoue's clever cut-back with what incredibly was only the second most embarrassing mishit of the half from Watford.

After so many missed chances, the visitors were made to pay by the ruthless runaway leaders as 15 seconds after a Watford corner,

the ball was in their net.

All three of Liverpool's attacking trident were involved as Roberto Firmino's pass over his head freed Sadio Mane down the left and he fed Salah to cut inside on his weaker right foot to bend the ball brilliantly into the far corner.

Bournemouth triumph

Defiant Bournemouth stole all three points with a late goal from Dan Gosling at Chelsea in the Premier League on Saturday, ending a five-match losing streak with a 1-0 win.

Gosling looped his shot over goalkeeper Kepa Arrizabalaga's head in the 84th minute, and defender Cesar Azpilicueta hooked it out, but after a lengthy wait for a VAR offside check referee Graham Scott awarded the goal.

Chelsea, who qualified for the Champions League knockout stages with a nervy 2-1 home win against Lille on Tuesday, looked off the pace despite enjoying more than 60% possession on a chilly afternoon in southwest London.

Although they buzzed around the Bournemouth area and created chances for Tammy Abraham, Mason Mount and Christian Pulisic, Frank Lampard's side could not find a decisive shot.

Bournemouth keeper Aaron Ramsdale pulled off fine saves in each half from Mount and full back Emerson to keep the south coast side in the game. It was the fourth defeat in five Premier League games for Chelsea, who sit fourth in the table.



Ethnic Uighur boys hold placards with the images of Mesut Ozil during a protest against China in Istanbul. Reuters

Why silence over treatment of Uighurs: Ozil to Muslims

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
ISTANBUL, DECEMBER 14

ARSENAL'S MESUT Ozil, a German footballer of Turkish origin, expressed support for Uighurs in Xinjiang and criticised Muslim countries for their failure to speak up for them. "Korans are being burnt... Mosques are being shut down ... Muslim schools are being banned ... Religious scholars are being killed one by one ... Brothers are forcefully being sent to camps," Ozil wrote in Turkish on his Twitter account.

"The Muslims are silent. Their voice is not heard," he wrote on a background of a blue field with a white crescent moon, the flag of what Uighur separatists call East Turkestan. China has faced growing international condemnation for setting up a vast network of camps in Xinjiang aimed at homogenising the Uighur population to reflect China's majority Han culture.

Rights groups and experts say more than one million Uighurs and people of other mostly Muslim ethnic minorities have been rounded up in the camps in the tightly-controlled region.

After initially denying the camps existed, China describes them as vocational schools aimed at dampening the allure of Islamist extremism and violence.

Turkey, which takes its name from Turkic people who migrated from central Asia, is home to an Uighur community and has regularly raised concerns about the situation in Xinjiang.

In his tweet, Ozil said Western states and media had kept the Uighur issue on their agenda and added: "what will be remembered years later would not be the torture by the tyrants but the silence of their Muslim brothers."

Arsenal moved to distance themselves from Ozil's comments in a bid to limit fallout in China, where the club has numerous commercial interests.

"The content published is Ozil's personal opinion," the club said in a Chinese language post Saturday on its official account on the Twitter-like Weibo platform.

"As a football club, Arsenal has always adhered to the principle of not involving itself in politics."


But a few angry fans called for a ban on airing Arsenal games featuring Ozil.

"I hope they ban Ozil's matches and business activities (in China)," wrote one Weibo user.

Another Chinese fan said she "cried last night" after reading the post, which the star had also uploaded to Instagram. "For over a decade, I've worn an Arsenal jersey with Ozil's number. It will never be worn again," she wrote on Weibo. The 31-year-old footballer sparked controversy last year when he was photographed with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, raising questions about his loyalty to Germany on the eve of their 2018 World Cup campaign.

Korans are being burnt... Mosques are being shut down ... Muslim schools are being banned ... Religious scholars are being killed one by one ... Brothers are forcefully being sent to camps."

MESUT OZIL
ON DETENTION CAMPS IN CHINA



नागरिकों की बेहतर सुरक्षा के लिए 20,963 नए पुलिसकर्मियों का उत्तर प्रदेश पुलिस में स्वागत है।


दीक्षान्त परेड समारोह

मुख्य अतिथि

योगी आदित्यनाथ

मुख्यमंत्री, उत्तर प्रदेश

इस अवसर पर परेड का मान प्रणाम स्वीकार करेंगे।



दिनांक : रविवार 15 दिसम्बर, 2019

समय : अपराह्न 3:00 बजे

स्थल : रिजर्व पुलिस लाइन्स, लखनऊ

मजबूती से कदम बढ़ा रहे हम

कानून व्यवस्था बेहतर बना रहे हम

तत्काल पुलिस सहायता एवं जीवन रक्षा के लिए डायल करें **112** नम्बर

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