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After onion, milk price hike is new headache for govt

HARISH DAMODARAN NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

AFTER ONION, it's milk that seems to be pinching the pockets of consumers. On Saturday, the Guiarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation (GCMMF), better known as Amul, and the National Dairy Development Board-owned Mother Dairy hiked the maximum retail prices (MRP) of their various pouch milk variants by Rs 2 per litre.

This marked the second such rate revision undertaken by the two dairy majors in the current

However, it can be seen (chart, page 2) that the milk MRP CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



In testing stage; for central, state staff

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

THE GOVERNMENT is testing a prototype of an Indian equivalent of popular messaging platforms, such as WhatsApp and Telegram, for secure internal use. Codenamed GIMS Government Instant Messaging System, the platform is in the pilot testing stage across some states, including Odisha — and is learnt to have been released to the Indian Navy to be tried out

BUSINESS AS USUAL

By UNNY

Dr. Abdullah: Monumenta

Signals food

AS INDIA'S largest "crop"

by value bought and

consumed daily, milk is

more representative of

the return of food infla-

tion. Unlike onion, the

prices of which can be

March, the milk supply

expected to fall after

situation may take

longer to ease.

inflation

Designed and developed by the Kerala unit of National Informatics Centre (NIC), GIMS is being packaged for employees of Central and state government departments and organisations for intra and inter organisation communications.

It is being developed as a secure Indian alternative without the security concerns attached with apps hosted abroad or those owned by foreign entities. Like WhatsApp, GIMS employs

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

THE GOVERNANCE PAGE



VIRTUAL CLASSROOMS PLUG EDUCATION GAPS

PAGE 11

SIX BUSES BURNT, OVER 100 INJURED

CAB protests: Mob hits the street, police Jamia campus and students

SOURAV ROY BARMAN & SUKRITA BARUAH NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

DELHI'S JAMIA Millia Islamia was at the centre of protests Sunday against the new citizenship law, as police lobbed teargas shells inside the campus, forced their way in, and allegedly dragged students out of the library and the mosque, and assaulted them.

The police action came after violence over the law erupted in parts of south Delhi where over an estimated 1,000 protesters clashed with police and at least six buses and over 50 vehicles were set ablaze in Mathura Road. New Friends Colony, Jamia Nagar and Sarai Julena. This is the second flare-up in

the National Capital after 27 people were detained following clashes with police during a protest against the law last Friday outside the campus, involving Jamia students and local residents. Elsewhere in the country,

protests spilled over to a third day in West Bengal where at least 15 railway stations and two local trains were vandalised, while an internet clampdown continued in Assam, where the agitation first turned violent last week.

In Delhi, the day started with students of Jamia organising a "community march" to mobilise people for a Parliament march "in the near future" and inform local residents about the new law, which grants citizenship to **CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

INSIDE

ASSAM TOLL UP TO FIVE **ASTWO SUCCUMB TO INJURIES**

PROTESTS IN BENGAL, **RLY STATIONS HIT**

NIA BOOKS ASSAM ACTIVIST AKHIL GOGOI PAGE 5



Delhi Police personnel surround and beat students of Jamia Millia Islamia; (right) an injured protester being taken away, in New Delhi on Sunday. Gajendra Yadav

FULL COVERAGE

PAGE 3



PM: Who's behind fires? Can make out by looking at clothes

Says Cong, its allies fanning the flames

ABHISHEK ANGAD DHANBAD, DECEMBER 15

MIDNIGHT PROTESTS AT OLD POLICE HQ

ACCUSING THE Congress and its allies of raising a storm over the new citizenship law and saying that the Opposition parties were fuelling the unrest over the issue, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday said those "spreading the fire (aag lagaane vaale)" could be "identified by their clothes (kapdon se hi pata chal jaata hai)".

Addressing an election rally in Dumka. Modi said: "Yeh



PM Narendra Modi with CM Raghubar Das in Dumka. PTI

Congresswale aur uske saathi.. halla macha rahe hain, toofaan khara kar rahe hain. Aur unki baat **CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

In U-turn, BJP ally AGP says will go to apex court

ABHISHEK SAHA

GUWAHATI. DECEMBER 15

DAYS AFTER its lone MP, Rajya Sabha member Birendra Prasad Baishya, voted in favour of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), an ally of the ruling BIP, did a U-turn on Sunday and said it would file a petition in the

Supreme Court seeking exemption for all the districts in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Of the 33 districts in the state, only three are in Barak Valley a Bengali-majority region comprising Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj and home to a large population of post-Partition migrants from what is now Bangladesh. This is the only **CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

Payal Rohatgi detained for comments on Nehru family

HAMZAKHAN & VAIBHAV JHA JAIPUR, AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 15

THE RAJASTHAN police on Sunday detained model-actor Payal Rohatgi from her residence in Ahmedabad for her objectionable comments against Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru among others.

detained her from Ahmedabad. We are bringing

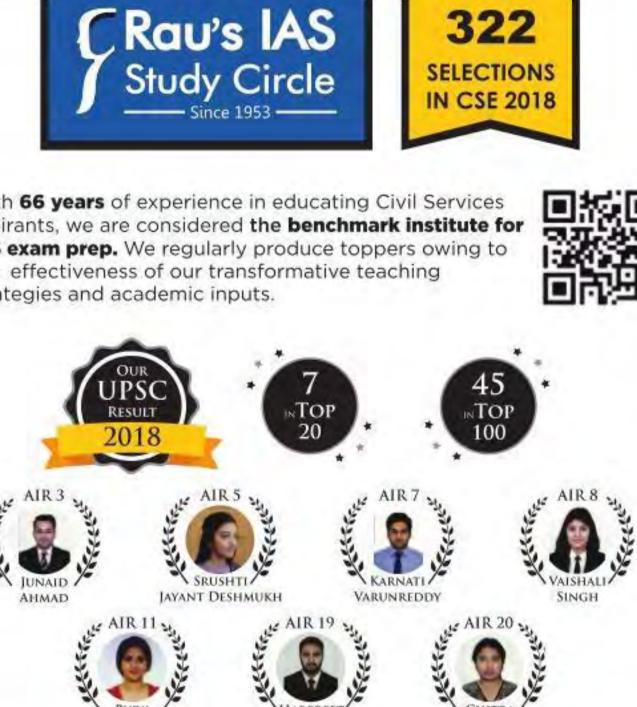
Rohatgi

her to Bundi, she should be here Monday morning. She made a video against Motilal Nehru and

Iawaharlal Nehru which had objectionable comments. A case was registered under the IT Act on October 10," said Bundi SP Mamta Gupta.

"We didn't have her address so we sent a team to Mumbai earlier. We sent multiple notices CONTINUED ON PAGE 2







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EXPLAINED: THE PROBLEM WITH SHUTTING DOWN THE INTERNET

India has been especially trigger-happy where cutting off online access to chunks of its population is concerned. The UN has condemned the denial of this basic human right by governments all over the world.

VIDEO OF THE DAY



DELHI PROTESTS AGAINST CAA

Thousands including Prashant Bhushan joined the protest

FULL COVERAGE



CAA PROTESTS: CLASHES IN DELHI Tensions erupted as two buses were allegedly set on fire

EXPRESS

Why India is facing food inflation and is it here to stay?

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

On 3 Things, Harish Damodaran outlines the reason why India is seeing food inflation in double digits, the highest in six years and whether it is likely to continue

Minister of Parliamentary Affairs Pralhad Joshi

Rahul, his family members are fake Gandhis: Pralhad Joshi

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA BENGALURU, DECEMBER 15

HITTING OUT at Congress leader Rahul Gandhi for his Savarkar barb. Union Minister Pralhad Joshi on Sunday termed him and his family members as "fake Gandhis".

He also accused the Congress and other "so called secular parties" of trying to project the Citizenship (Amendment) Act as a Hindu-Muslim issue with an intention to create unrest.

"Rahul Gandhi has said he was not Rahul Savarkar.. it is impossible for you to become Rahul Savarkar," Joshi said while speaking to reporters in Hubbali.

"As per convenience, you enter into an understanding with anyone you can become Rahul Uddhav Thackeray — we all know what all words you have used against him and what you have done now," he said.

"You (Rahul) become whatever you want, but speaking against a patriot like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar shows the frustration of Congress... they are all nakli (fake) Gandhis — Rahul Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, and Priyanka Gandhi Vadra — only they can say such things about others," he added.

Under fire from the BJP over his 'rape in India' remark, Rahul Gandhi on Saturday said he would never apologise for speaking the truth as he was a Gandhi and not Savarkar, remarks that drew immediate disapproval from newfound ally Shiv Sena, which said the Hindutva icon should not be insulted.

Alleging the "so called secular parties" were trying to instigate violence in the country, Joshi clarified that the Citizenship Amendment Act has nothing to do with stripping anyone of their citizenship, but about providing it.

"Our neighbouring Islamic countries, where religious persecutions are occurring against minorities. If they (minorities of those countries) come to India, this will provide citizenship to them. Congress was indulging in evil tricks of playing it up as a Hindu-Muslim issue," the Union Minister said. Claiming that people who came from Uganda, Bangladesh, and also Sri Lankan Tamils had earlier been granted citizenship, he said if anyone from other countries apply, the government will look into it.

WWW.UPGOV.NIC.IN

FROM PAGE ONE

AGP

region in the state that largely supports the new law.

The rest of the state, mostly in Brahmaputra Valley, has seen widespread protests against it.

The new citizenship law exempts tribal areas of the state which fall under Sixth Schedule the districts of Dima Hasao, Karbi Anglong and Bodoland Territorial Areas. Addressing a press conference

in the evening, AGP president and minister Atul Bora said the party would take the legal route for seeking exemption for the Brahmaputra Valley region. "We will not allow it to be im-

plemented in Assam. We will approach the Supreme Court. A party delegation will soon go to meet the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to urge them to reconsider the new law. We will also appeal to the government that any decision on the law should be taken only after talking to leading organisations (in Assam) like the AASU, AJYCP and others," senior AGP leader Ramendra Kalita told The Indian Express. "We never supported the CAB... Yes, our Rajya Sabha MP voted for it — that raised several questions in the minds of people. But the BJP has majority, it would have passed CAB even if we had voted against it. But we have clarified our stand now," he said.

"As part of the NDA, there was a whip (to vote for CAB). That's why the vote (in Rajya Sabha). There is no other politics involved in the decision," said senior AGP leader and minister Keshav Mahanta. He later clarified that while the parties had issued whips, the AGP followed the NDA's decision since it is part of the alliance.

Earlier this year, the AGP had walked out of the NDA over CAB. But barely two months later, it returned to the alliance to contest the general elections with the BJP, and reclaimed three ministerial berths in the state government.

Reacting to the AGP's decision, a senior BJP leader said "it's a facesaving tactic". "A political party needs clarity, honesty and should uphold the sense of friendship with their ally — the AGP showed none of these," said another BJP leader. "All this is mere drama by the

AGP. They have already betrayed the people of Assam. They think the people of Assam are fools – but we are very intelligent. The people of Assam will teach them a lesson," said Congress spokesperson Rhituporna Konwar.

In the 2016 elections to the 126-member Assam Assembly, the winning alliance comprised the BJP (61), BPF (13) and AGP (14).

PM Modi

chalti nahin hai to aag janee phaila rahe hain. Jo aag laga rahe hain, TV pe unke jo drishya aa rahe hain, yeh aag lagaane vaale kaun hain, woh unke kapdon se hi pata chal jaata hai." (The Congress and its allies are making a noise, creating a storm. And if that doesn't work, they are spreading a fire... From the visuals on TV, those setting the fire can be identified by their

Modi accused the Opposition of providing tacit support to the violent protests that have erupted in the North-East and West Bengal over the new law, which came into effect last Thursday after the President gave his assent to the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, which was passed in Parliament.

"Aaj jo yeh aag janee phailane ke prayas ho rahe hain, usko aap aankhe bandh kar kar ke, mukh mod lete ho... Desh unhe dekh raha hai, aur desh ka vishvaas pakka ho jaa raha hai, in drishyon ko dekh kar ke pakka ho raha hai, ki Modi ne, desh ki Parliament ne, Bharat ki sarkar ne, naagrikta ka kanoon bana kar ke desh ko bhi bacha liya hai. Humara phaisala sahi hai, yeh aapke karnaamo se pata chalta hai," he said.

(These attempts to fan the flames, you close your eyes, turn the other way... The country is watching, and the belief is getting stronger that Modi, the country's parliament, the Indian government saved the country by bringing this citizenship law. Your actions have made clear that we took the correct decision.)

Modi said the people of Assam had delinked themselves from this violence.

Condemning the protests being organised outside Indian Embassies by the Indian Overseas Congress, Modi said: "Jab Ram Janmabhoomi ka nirnay hua, Pakistan walon ne... London mein Bharat Embassy ke saamne pradarshan kiya; Dhara 370 hua... High Commission ke saamne pradarshan kiya... Aap hairaan ho jayenge, jo kaam London mein hamesha Pakistan karta rehta hai, Pakistan ke paison se kuch bikaoon log karte rehte hain... Pehli baar jo kaam Pakistan hamesha karta tha, yeh Congresswalon ne kiya. Isse zyada sharam ki baat kya ho sakti hai? Kya duniya ke desho mein, Bharat ke hi embassy ke saamne, kabhi koi Bharat ka vyakti pradarshan karta hai kya? Agar gila shikwa hai toh jaata hai andar...chai peeta hai, baat karta hai... Duniya mein Hindustan ko badnaam karne ka kaam ho raha hai... Aur tab jaa kar ke lagta hai, ki Bharat ke sansad ne naagrikta ke kanoon mein jo sudhaar kiya hai, woh hazaroon pratishat saccha nirnay hai... woh aapke karnaamon se ab siddha hone laga hai." (After the decisions on Ram Janmabhoomi, Article 370, people of Pakistani-origin protested outside the Indian high commission in London... You will be surprised to know that the Congress is now doing what Pakistan, people funded by Pakistan, have been doing in London... What can be more shameful than this? Does any Indian protest outside an Indian embassy anywhere in the world? If there is an issue, the person goes inside the embassy, has tea, talks... There is an effort to tarnish the country's image... your actions prove that the Indian Parliament's decision to clear the

correct.) **GIMs**

05922-24626

end-to-end encryption for one-

citizenship law is 1000 per cent

to-one messaging. The launch of the new app comes amid the recent controversy over the WhatsApp breach after The Indian Express first reported that some Indian users' mobile devices were targeted through a spyware called Pegasus.

GIMS is being touted as a safer bet as the platform has been developed in India, the server hosting it is installed within the country and the information stored would be in government-based cloud — NIC-operated data centres that are only meant for captive use by the government and its departments.

The trial started with NICemployees using it internally, before expanding it to some central government agencies, including the finance department of Odisha and the Navy.

A GIMS Portal is also being simultaneously developed for administration and monitoring of the platform, government officials said. The platform is adaptable to both central and state government organisations, with an iOS version of GIMS released for trial in the first week of September 2019, compatible with iOS Version 11 and above, and an Android version that works with Kitkat (Android 4.4.4) and above.

Sources said the Odisha Finance Department had cleared plans to use GIMS in the department on pilot basis. State officials are learnt to have been asked to install GIMS and start using it since end-September, and NIC is learnt to have formed a group of all Finance department officials of the state so that group interactions can be tested.

Facebook-owned WhatsApp has been the default instant messaging platform among a majority of government departments and organisations. But tax department officers and those with enforcement agencies are reported to be more inclined to use Telegram (London-headquartered cloud-based instant messaging and voice over IP service), and now increasingly Signal (the Mountain View, California-headquartered cross-platform encrypted messaging service).

Besides one-to-one messaging and group messaging, there are specific provisions in GIMS for documents and media sharing in keeping with the hierarchies in the government system.

According to WhatsApp, the Pegasus spyware was developed by Israel-based NSO Group and it attempted to breach mobile phones of a possible 1,400 users globally, including from India.

Payal Rohatgi

to her Mumbai and Ahmedabad addresses to present herself, but she did not turn up. So we finally sent a team to Ahmedabad," said Gupta. Rohatgi was picked up from

Ahmedabad's Satellite area. "A team of Bundi police reached our police station and asked for assistance in a case against Rohatgi. A team from Satellite police station assisted the Bundi police and held the accused around 10:30 am. She has not been arrested yet, she was detained at our police station. The Bundi police team has left for

Mob hits the streets in Delhi

Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Jains and Parsis but not Muslims — who entered the country from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan until December 31, 2014.

However, as the crowd swelled, a section of protesters grew restive and insisted they march to Parliament today itself. Violence broke out when some protesters tried to reach the Ring Road but were stopped by police from going further. The situation on the cam-

pus escalated around 6.45 pm, when police personnel in riot gear dragged out four-five students and beat them with lathis before putting them inside a bus. Teargas shells were simultaneously lobbed inside the campus as protesters retaliated by hurling stones at personnel gathered at the gates.

At around 7 pm, over 100 students were taken out of the campus in a line with their hands in the air. They said they

had been brought out from the central library.

University authorities, meanwhile, dissociated themselves from the protests and said local residents were indulging in stone pelting and ar-

Speaking to *The Indian* Express, Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar said the police action of storming the campus was "wrong", teargas shouldn't have been used, and that students were "scared". She us studying in the reading said that police ought to have sought permission before entering, and that she had briefed the HRD Ministry about the developments.

"We were offering prayers when police entered the mosque and dragged us out. We were thrashed. I produced my ID card but that didn't have any effect. As a student, we don't support the acts committed by outsiders, but police ended up beating us instead of offering us protection," Mubashir, a student from

His account was corroborated by at least two other students, Azkar and Murtaza, who are pursuing M.Tech courses at the university. "A few of us were having

tea at the canteen. A protest march of students was entering the campus at that time when police entered the area, including the mosque," Azkar "There were around 150 of

room when the police broke in. We saw them beat up so many students. Why are we being made to made to put our hands in the air? We are not criminals," said Tehreen, a 20-yearold undergraduate student. While about 20 injured stu-

dents were admitted to the nearby Holy Family hospital in the course of the day, at least 80 were taken to Al Shifa Hospital.

Explaining why police stormed the campus, DCP

(southeast) Chinmov Biswal

(Rs/litre)

said Jamia is a "peculiar university, which is not a unified campus as it's located on both sides of the road".

"When the violent mob was being pushed back to Jamia Nagar, many were going inside the university gates and throwing stones at us from there," he said.

On allegations by several students that they had sustained "bullet-like injuries", Joint CP Devesh Srivastava said: "We only used lathi charge and tear gas and not any other weapons. Delhi Police is not equipped with pellet guns." An officer said the injuries may have been caused by shrapnel from teargas shells.

Later, students from Delhi University and INU called for another protest at 9 pm outside the old police headquarters in ITO. Among those who turned up were CPI's D Raja, CPI(M)'s Brinda Karat, Bhim Army chief Chandrashekhar

Milk price hike new headache for govt in supply may be partly

increase during the NDA government's tenure, since its first tenure started on May 26, 2014, has been quite insignificant. The overall rise in the last more than five-and-a-half years works out to just Rs 8 per litre, with half of it coming within the past seven months.

Contrast this to the period since 2010 before this government assumed office, which saw the MRP of full-cream milk in the Delhi-NCR market going up by Rs 18 per litre, while amounting to Rs 14 for toned milk. The price trend also mirrors consumer food inflation, which averaged below 3.3 per cent year-on-year during the NDA government's first term from June 2014 to May 2019, as against 11 per cent-plus between 2009-10 and 2013-14 under the Congress-led UPA.

While consumers have had a relatively good deal during this regime, the same cannot be said about farmers, though.

The average procurement price paid to milk producers by GCMMF unions, for instance, rose from Rs 298 per kg of fat in 2008-09 to Rs 535 in 2013-14. That, for full-cream milk containing 6 per cent fat and 9 per cent solids-not-fat, translates into an increase from Rs 18.42 to Rs 33.06 per litre or 79.5 per cent. But since 2013-14, the average producer price has gone

up by only Rs 155 to Rs 690 per

Bundi, where she will be formally

arrested," said PD Darji, officer in-

on her social media accounts on

September 6 and 21, Rohatgi

In the video, which she posted

charge, Satellite police station.

MRP OF POUCH MILK IN DELHI-NCR

NEW PRICE DATE	FULL-CREAM	TONED
Feb 12, 2010	30	Unchanged
May 1	Unchanged	24
July 4	32	Unchanged
July 15	Unchanged	25
December 30	34	26
May 1, 2011	36	28
August 5	38	29
April 16, 2012	40	30
May 1, 2013	42	32
October 15	44	34
February 1, 2014	46	36
May 9	48	38
June 3, 2016	50	40
March 11, 2017	52	42
May 21, 2019	54	44
December 15	56	46

kg fat or Rs 42.64 per litre in 2018-19. That is less than 29 per cent over five years.

This relatively bad deal for producers is what's witnessing some correction now.

Consumer food inflation in November touched 10.01 per cent, the first time it has crossed single digits since December 2013. This is being reflected in milk as well, with both coopera-

tive and private dairies reporting

"The contribution of our free-

so far this fiscal compared to in 2018-19. GCMMF unions alone perhaps, for the first time – have recorded a 5-6 per cent drop in milk collection, despite paying Rs 100-110 more per kg fat to their 30 lakh-odd producers.

4-5 per cent lower procurement

Meanwhile, skimmed milk powder prices have roughly doubled to Rs 300 per kg levels in the last one year.

The reasons for the tightness

structural. The "flush" season for milk — when production by animals goes up due to better fodder and water availability, besides lower temperatures and humidity — is normally from October till March. This time, the flush has been delayed because of excess rains from September through November.

weather-related and partly

"It's been raining intermittently, so much so that even the open fields where animals graze are waterlogged. The fodder isn't coming up, as the water has to go down first for that. Now that the winter has set in and the rains have also subsided, the flush should take off. The demand situation, too, is likely to ease with the end of the marriage season," says the chairman of a leading south-based private sector dairy company.

As far as structural reasons go, RS Sodhi, managing director of GCMMF, feels that the extended three years or so period of low prices have resulted in farmers reducing herd sizes and also under-investing in animal nutrition and health. On top of it, the cost of maize, cottonseed oil cake, de-oiled rice bran and other feed ingredients has also increased. "The recent price revisions should hopefully encourage farmers to buy more animals and feed them better," he says.

Office of Executive Engineer, Provincial Division, P.W.D. Amroha

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No. 3018/E-Tender/19-20 On behalf of the Governor of UP, tenders for following work are invited by the Executive Engineer, Provincial Division, PWD Amroha online on website http://etender.up.nic.in from registered contractors from 21-12-2019 at 10.00 am to 27-12-201 at 5.00 pm. Technical bid /Prequalification of tenders shall be opened on 28-12-2019 at 12.30 pm in office of undersign by tender committee in presence of authorised representatives/bidders who wish to be present. Financial bid of the tenders who qualify in technical bid shall be opened on date and time as specified by a notice in the office of undersigned. In case

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Amroha	Construction of Majupura road	7.50	0.75	2 Months	766.00	"A, B, C & D" Road category
2	Amroha	Construction of Hasanpur- Atrasi-Amroha road Km 21 to Kasampur road.		0.95	2 Months	766.00	"A, B, C & D" Road category
3	Amroha	Repair work of Residential houses/Pooled Houses	5.00	0.50	6 Months	677.00	"A, B, C & D & E" Road category
Rule	s/condition	s & details of the tender are avai	ilable at websi	te http://ete	nder.up.nic.in.	E,	Sd/- xecutive Engineer

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made comments about members of the Nehru-Gandhi family, including Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY KANPUR Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi.

The FIR was filed at the Sadar police station in Bundi on October 10, on the basis of a complaint by Charmesh Sharma, general secretary of the Indian Youth Congress in Rajasthan.

dom fighters is above all. There can be no compromise with their honour, and no Indian citizen can question their character and make objectionable or obscene comments against them. Payal Rohatgi crossed all modesty when she guestioned the character of women who played a role in our freedom struggle," said Sharma, 38.

The Bundi SP said it took time to detain Rohatgi as the case pertains to social media. "We will ask her why she made this video and what her aim was. She had filed

for anticipatory bail on Friday, and we had also submitted the relevant documents, but no decision could be taken... We followed the procedure..." said Gupta.

Rohatgi has been charged under IPC Sections 504 (intentional insult with intent to provoke breach of peace), 505 (statements conducing to public mischief) and Section 67 of the IT Act (punishment for publishing or transmitting obscene material in electronic form), said the Bundi SP.

Meanwhile, Rohatgi tweeted on Sunday, "I am arrested by Rajasthan Police for making a video on Motilal Nehru which I made from taking information from Google. Freedom of speech is a joke", and tagged the offices of the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister.

Congress MP Shashi Tharoor

tweeted: "There's little doubt that the comments of Payal Rohatgi were tasteless & false, typical Sanghi drivel circulated on WhatsApp. But to arrest her is unwise: upholding freedom of expression means allowing her to say stupid things without police getting involved. She should be released."

'Ensure justice delivery without delay in rape cases'

Gandhinagar: Underlining the need to curb rape cases with speedy investigation by police, Vice President M Venkaiah Naidu on Sunday said it is the duty of judiciary to ensure that justice is delivered without "constant delays" though there cannot be "instant justice".

He also said that the crime of rape should be curbed without any discrimination or giving it a political hue. His comments came on the eve of the 7th anniversary of the December 16, 2012 gangrape case. Naidu was speaking at a ceremony where he awarded President's Colour and Standard

to the Gujarat Police. "Police should be people friendly and women friendly and deal with crimes against women with agility. Police should register every complaint without any distinction, complete investigation at the earliest and start prosecution at the earliest," he said.

"There is a duty cast upon the judiciary. You cannot do instant iustice, but vou can't have constant delays..." he said. Stating that 2013 Justice Verma Committee report on crimes against women be implemented "in the letter and spirit", he said, "We cannot let the situation continue".

3 THE CITY

THE MORNING

Jamia students set out to inform locals about new citizenship law, gather support for future march

THE AFTERNOON

Section of protesters clash with cops, set vehicles ablaze, Jamia says outsiders to blame

THE EVENING

Campus becomes venue of police crackdown as students are dragged out and beaten

Jamia under siege, students are target

SUKRITA BARUAH & SOURAV ROY BARMAN NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

WHAT TURNED into a riot-like situation near Jamia Millia Islamia by Sunday evening had begun as a 'community march' against the new citizenship law by students in the afternoon.

As the march gained momentum with locals joining in, the situation spiralled out of control within hours.

Students of Jamia Millia Islamia have been protesting against the new law on campus since Friday. On Saturday, a 'united general body meeting' was held with members of all major student organisations on campus to decide the future

On Sunday, soon after noon, students began to stream out of the university in a 'community march' to mobilise residents of localities surrounding the campus in opposition to the new

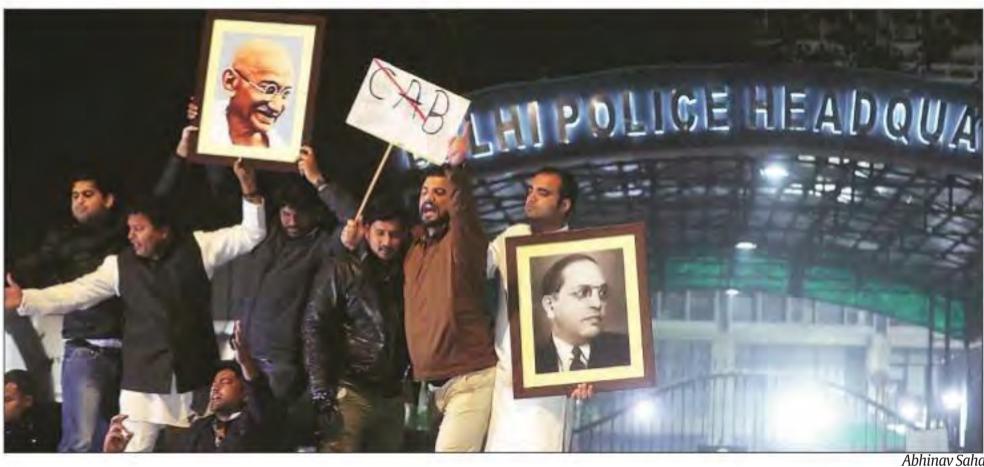
Several students at the forefront of the march said it was not supposed to be a "major event", but a mobilisation exercise building up to a larger march to the Parliament in the near future.

The marching students went from the nearby areas of Zakir Nagar and Batla House, and moved to Shaheen Bagh, shouting slogans in opposition to the Act. As the march moved forward, it began to swell in size as residents of the localities began

"We are urging people to join us in our protest. We are trying to light a spark of movement for self-respect," Muhammad Rizwan, a BSc Physics student who had spoken to The Indian Express before violence broke out.

According to Akhtarista Ansari, a student activist of the university, as the crowd grew in size, pressure also began to grow from some to take the march to the Parliament.

Around 2:30 pm, over 1,000



setting fire to buses. Had we tried to reach New Delhi. They were to stop them, they would have stopped near NFC's Surya hotel and asked to do a peaceful attacked us. Plus, we were being attacked by police at the same protest there and not jam the time. At the beginning itself, all Ring Road. Some groups, however, reached the Ring Road from students had decided we don't want pathar-baazi," said a stuanother route as well as Mata Mandir road. Police personnel DCP (South East) Chinmoy went there to request them to Biswal said, "Around 2.30-3 pm, leave from there, and to keep the a crowd of 1,500-2,000 people protest peaceful. But they didn't listen and the mob started viomarched from the university area towards NFC, crossing Holy lence. Some came prepared to do

violence, and set ablaze DTC

Over 100 injured: 'We were just

As the protest erupted into

(Clockwise from above) A bus set ablaze by protesters;

led out of the campus with their hands raised.

protests outside the old PHQ at ITO at night; students being

violence by 4:30 pm, protesters were pushed back from Sarai Jullena and New Friends Colony, and Jamia's campus came under siege by 6:30 pm with teargas shells being thrown inside and police raiding the canteen and mosque.

Around 6 pm, a large crowd comprising locals and a few students gathered near Sukhdev Vihar Metro station, which prompted the police to shut the gates of the station.

By 6.15 pm, the entire stretch from Sukhdev Vihar to Jamia Millia Islamia station, which is located right outside the campus, was taken over by protesters. The gates of the Jamia Millia station were also closed and trains stopped halting there.

Within the next few minutes, a series of loud bangs, of teargas shells going off, rocked the area. The protesters retaliated by hurl-

ing stones at the police, triggering a crackdown which brought the university campus under its sweep. Some personnel were also seen hurling bricks and stones back inside the campus. Police personnel who had

entered the campus soon started dragging out people, with several students claiming they were assaulted despite having nothing to do with the protests. At the time police stormed

the campus, some students were offering namaz at the mosque. They claimed they were dragged out of the mosque and attacked by the personnel.

Private security guards on campus also backed the version of the students. They said police also beat up the guards who resisted their action. A security guard posted at Jamia said, "I told police not to hit Imam saab and that I am on duty, I will ask him to go. But they beat him up, then they beat me up on the road. Ten of them beat me with lathi on my legs and hands."

Around 6:20 pm, *The Indian* Express witnessed police personnel pull out at least five persons from the university and beat them with sticks. Around 6:45 pm, a police bus left the area carrying students from the campus.

Around 7:00 pm, over 100 students were brought out of the campus in a line with their hands in the air. These students said they were studying in the central library and had been brought from there by the police.

In the meantime, smoke could be seen billowing out from pockets of the neighbourhood. Around 7.30 pm, the police managed to push back the protesters, but within minutes, police personnel could be seen being chased towards Sukhdev Vihar by the crowd.

Ambulances were allowed inside the campus around 8 pm. The vehicles filled up within minutes and rushed towards nearby hospitals. A total of 50 people were detained through the day and taken to Kalkaji police station.

V-C hits out: Police should have taken permission

ARANYA SHANKAR NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

JAMIA MILLIA Islamia Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar said the police action on students was wrong, and they ought to have sought permission first.

Speaking to The Indian Express,

she said: "Police were after a huge

group indulging in things near Jullena. When they went after them, some people entered the university for safety. So police entered after them without our permission." On police using teargas inside the campus, Akhtar said, "Students are scared and this is wrong. We have spoken to everybody. My registrar has spoken to the joint commissioner on the entire matter.'

She said she also informed the HRD Ministry about the developments. "I informed them about both the incidents on Friday and Saturday. I spoke to the higher education secretary himself, and he gave us an appointment for Monday," she said.

"I object to just one thing. We are with police when they have to look for criminals. But when they are coming to a university, they have to ask us so my proctor goes with them. That's the only protest. Secondly, our university's name should not be dragged in because we have nothing to do with it," Akhtar said.

"If they (police) had asked us, we would not have denied permission. We would have asked our proctor to accompany the officers so that he could help them identify the students and ensure they are not humiliated. My university is closed and we are on vacation. Most of my students have already left the campus. How can we have 20,000 students participating in the protests?"

Caught on video: Cops assaulting women

SHIVAM PATEL NEW DELHI. DECEMBER 15

protesters moved from the uni-

versity's gate number 12 in an at-

tempt to march to the

Parliament. "When we reached

Surva Hotel, we found that the passage had been blocked by

barricades. So we turned back

and marched towards Mata

Mandir in New Friends Colony,"

splinter. While a section moved

to the four-way intersection at

Sarai Jullena to block traffic there,

The group then began to

said Ansari.

AFTER A video emerged of police assaulting a group of protesters comprising mainly women, two of those who were hit spoke to The Indian Express about the incident. They were at Alshifa hospital, where many of those injured were being treated.

Ayesha Renna, 22, a history student at Jamia Millia Islamia, and Ladeeda Sakhaloon, 22, a BA Arabic student were among those who were seen getting thrashed by policemen. They were part of the protests near NFC.

Renna said, "We were at the back of the group. Around 5.30 pm, we saw people at the front running back and police charging towards us. We went inside the garage of a house and stayed there. There were nine of us girls and one boy. The gate couldn't be closed because a car was blocking it. A few policemen sur-



another section moved towards

Mata Mandir in New Friends

Mandir, police began a lathi

charge against them around

4:30 pm and deployed tear gas

lence after which the locals who

had joined the protest began to

get restive. They began throwing

rocks at buses and the police, and

"The police started the vio-

to disperse them.

According to protesting students, when they reached Mata



Video grabs of the assault

rounded us outside and asked us to come out. They said they wouldn't hit us. We refused but suddenly one of them dragged the boy out and we were pulled out too. They then started hitting all of us with lathis." Sakhaloon reiterated Renna's allegations.

praying, they hit me, I fainted'

Family hospital, and Sarai Jullena

SHIVAM PATEL& **SUKRITA BARUAH** NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

TWO HOSPITALS in South East Delhi's Sarai Jullena and Okhla saw a steady stream of injured protesters all day after violence erupted in and around Jamia Millia Islamia Sunday. Over 100 cases were reported from Holy Family hospital and Alshifa hospital, of which three with serious injuries were shifted to AIIMS Trauma Centre, said authorities. Among the injured were senior police officers, including DCP (South East) Chinmoy Biswal, who said that one police person-

nel was admitted to the ICU. By 10 pm, the Holy Family Hospital confirmed that 28 protesters had come to the hospital with minor injuries and were discharged soon after. Among the injured students was Shaheen Abdullah, who sat with a bleeding nose: "We were



Police said over 15 personnel were injured

marching peacefully but when it got violent, I hid in one of the homes near New Friends Colony. But we were dragged out from there by police and beaten up."

At Alshifa hospital in Okhla, nervous relatives sat outside the emergency where protesters were being treated. By 11 pm, the hospital confirmed that 81 patients were treated. Hospital CMO Dr Rahul Kumar said, "Most had multiple fractures and lacerations. We received three patients who claimed they were hit by bullets but they did-

n't have such injuries." A hospital source said three patients were referred to AIIMS Trauma Centre, including one who has suffered a perforation in his eyeball. Among those admitted at Alshifa hospital was PhD student Hisham Siddiqui, "I was offering evening prayers in a masjid inside gate 8 of the campus when I saw 15-20 policemen break the gates. They beat people up, the lights went out and even though I told them we were just praying, they hit me with

lathis and I fainted." Former university student, Mohd. Zahil Afzal (27), was at the hospital with a fractured arm, and said, "We blocked the reading hall door with six tables but the police broke open the doors. There were 50 women and 100 men there and all were beaten up. We surrendered, told them that we were not pelting stones, but then they didn't listen."



Outside the old PHQ at ITO. Abhinav Saha

Day ends with fresh protest in heart of city

ARANYA SHANKAR NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

RAISING SLOGANS like "Dilli Police Jamia chhodo" and "Amit Shah isteefa do", hundreds of students, teachers and civil society members gathered at the old police headquarters at ITO Sunday night to protest against police action at Jamia Millia Islamia earlier in the day.

CPI(M) leader Brinda Karat, CPI's D Raja, Congress's Kirti Azad and Bhim Army chief Chandrashekhar were among the protesters, which included students from INU and Delhi University.

Protesters blocked the road outside the PHQ and climbed atop barricades holding portraits of Gandhi and Ambedkar. Around 11.15 pm, water cannons were

used to break up the protest. "Is it possible for someone to enter a university without the permission of the home minister?... We are not supportive of violent protest but police action is unacceptable. We demand that Jamia be freed of police presence and action be taken against those

responsible," said Karat. Raja condemned the "brutal action" by police: "We cannot accept CAB and we cannot accept the violence on students. The gov ernment should apologise and take action against the police."

Chandrashekhar voiced his support for the protest. "Our brothers and sisters have been beaten, we are here to support them. We don't accept this black law and police and CRPF should leave campus... If students are fighting for justice in the campus, why does Delhi Police have an issue with that?" he said.

Civil society members had also come to express their outrage. Environmentalist Bhavreen Kandhari was holding a poster saying "I'm a mother, I support students". "If you see those videos, police have gone inside the campus. If buses are burnt, it's wrong but they cannot enter a college and start dragging girls. I've come here not only as a citizen but as mother of twin daughters aged 16 who will soon be in college. I'm fighting for their future," she said.

Filmmaker Nakul Singh Sawhney said, "The way the police and government are cracking down is scary. This government has been going after students like they are terrorists.. The message being given is that this is no longer a democracy."

Sisodia suggests bus set on fire under police watch, cops say they were putting out flames with India and will not be mis-

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

AS BUSES and cars were set ablaze in and around New Friends Colony, a political war broke out between the BJP and AAP, with each accusing the other of perpetrating violence.

Delhi BJP chief Manoj Tiwari and leader of opposition in Delhi Assembly Vijender Gupta alleged that the violence was sparked under the leadership of AAP Okhla MLA Amanatullah Khan, a claim the latter denied. Khan and his supporters had

organised a protest Sunday, blocking the road between Kalindi Kunj and Sarita Vihar. Reacting to the allegations, Khan said: "It is being said that buses in New Friends Colony were set on fire under my leadership. I was part of a protest at Shaheen Bagh, near Sarita Vihar. There are no reports of violence from the area where I was present."

In a video streamed live on his Facebook page, Khan can be heard addressing people: "Don't believe in rumours. It could be to remove you from here or to instigate violence. If there's violence, think who will benefit.



A photo uploaded by Sisodia along with his tweet

BJP wants violence with a Bill like

As reports of arson, stone

pelting and violence started pouring in, Chief Minister Arvind Keiriwal tweeted: "No one should indulge in violence. Any kind of violence is unacceptable. Protests should remain peaceful."

Meanwhile, his deputy Manish Sisodia said all schools in South East Delhi will remain shut Monday. This includes private and government schools in

Jamia Nagar, Okhla, New Friends Colony and Madanpur Khadar. Through the day, both parties kept up attacks on each other. "AAP MLA is provoking people on direction from Arvind

led by you (Kejriwal). Stop instigating people. The people of Delhi will teach AAP traitors a lesson," Tiwari tweeted. Commenting on a purported video taken during the protest,

Sisodia said: "BJP is making people set fire to property because they are scared of losing elections... In this video, you can see that they are setting fire under the protection of police."

Delhi Police Additional PRO Anil Mittal denied the allegations and said "personnel were dousing flames and putting wa-Kejriwal. Indian Muslims are ter on the bus".

4 HARDLOOK AD HOC TEACHER PROTEST



Why DU is simmering

Over 4,500 ad hoc teachers have been camping outside the Delhi University vice-chancellor's office for over a week. SUKRITA BARUAH & ARANYA SHANKAR report on what's at stake

THOUSANDS OF teachers in Delhi University have been on strike for close to two weeks with one primary demand — that the 4,500odd teachers working in the university on an ad hoc basis be absorbed into existing permanent posts in its colleges and institutions.

In the nation's premier university that comprises 63 colleges, ad hocism has developed into a norm over the last decade, to the point that currently 40% of its teaching force works on ad hoc basis.

The anger of ad hoc teachers, most of whom have been teaching at DU for over six years, is not new. But things came to a boil this year when it appeared that the university might re-engage them in the even more vulnerable position of 'guest teacher'.

On August 28, the university sent a letter to all of its constituent colleges and institutes advising them to "fill up the permanent[teaching] vacancies at the earliest and till permanent appointments are made, colleges may appoint guest faculty, if required, against new vacancies arising first time in academic session 2019-20".

When the time for the 120-day contracts of ad hoc teachers to be extended came in November, several colleges did not send across appointment letters and withheld their salaries, leading teachers to surmise that their positions would now be filled by guest teachers instead.

A downgrade

While an ad hoc teacher is paid a starting level salary of an assistant professor, around Rs 80,000 per month in hand, and is appointed for four months at a time, a guest teacher is appointed per lecture and is paid Rs 1,500 per lecture. According to UGC guidelines, their services have to be used in a way that they are not paid more than Rs 50,000 per month. Apart from the fall in pay, teachers who have been working at the university for long say they cannot conceive of



Thousands of teachers at DU stormed the Vice-Chancellor's office on December 4, demanding absorption of 4,500-odd ad hoc teachers into permanent positions. Photos: Praveen Khanna

this level of casualisation of their labour. And this is the root of the current unrest.

After a call for a boycott of their invigilation and evaluation duties in the end-semester examinations which started in December, and after thousands of teachers stormed the vice-chancellor's office in protest, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), the UGC and the V-C met on December 5 and decided to extend certain concessions to them, which removed the immediate spectre of guest teacher appointments.

The August directives to colleges were

amended and a deadline was set for DU colleges and institutes to complete their appointments against permanent posts before the start of the next academic session. They were also amended to state that ad hoc teachers who worked at the university in 2018-2019 would continue to work there until permanent appointments were made. It was also decided to make amendments in UGC guidelines for assistant professor appointments so that ad hoc teachers would have an edge in shortlisting of candidates through additional points for their work experience. However, the strike has continued, with teachers continuing to camp outside the V-C's office.

Their demand

Even as government agencies offered concessions to ad hoc teachers, the movement is pressing for a one-time absorption of all existing ad hoc teachers, something which neither the MHRD and UGC nor the university has chosen to address.

Behind this doggedness is years of simmering resentment and anger.

"The fuel of the current movement is the humiliation that ad hoc teachers are subjected to — at the hands of permanent col-

said that during this time, the college had called for interviews for permanent appointments twice. Both times, the interviews never happened. "Many of us have spent thousands of rupees over the years, filling out applications for interviews at different colleges which never end up taking place. There is so much humiliation attached to the process as well. If interviews ever do happen, existing ad hoc teachers will be competing for starting level jobs against people who they themselves taught years ago," he said.

leagues, college and university administra-

tion, and even students. Despite years of ex-

perience and academic achievement, there is

a tendency even among students to treat them

with a certain disdain. The humiliation of be-

ing denied medical, specifically maternity

leave, cannot be emphasised enough. Some

colleges require them to appear for interviews

every year. Some even require them to appear

for interviews every four months," said a for-

mer ad hoc teacher, who was among the few

There is also mistrust in a system which has stalled permanent appointments for a

Neeraj, who has taught at the Hindi de-

partment of Bharati College for eight years,

who were regularised in 2015.

The most common reason for scheduled interviews not taking place, according to principals, is the V-C's office not sending across the requisite list of experts to constitute a panel for conducting the interviews. If interviews are not conducted within 18 months of the posts being advertised, the entire process lapses.

With the examinations coming to an end on December 16, the university will be under strain because of the ongoing strike. While invigilation duty has been taken care of by non-teaching staff, teachers will be required to evaluate the answer sheets, which will create pressure on the university to seek their resumption of duties.

In many colleges, entire depts rest on ad hoc shoulders

SUKRITA BARUAH& ARANYA SHANKAR NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

AT DAULAT Ram College, located in the DU's coveted North Campus, 128 of 188 teachers are working on an ad hoc basis. While there are several departments such as mathematics, history and English which have only one permanent teacher; two departments are entirely staffed by ad hocs. These are physics, which has seven ad hoc teachers, and Sanskrit, which

Explaining the challenge this poses, an ad hoc teacher from one such department said: "Despite having years of experience, we are still seen as ad hoc. We conduct the whole process of admission, but we have to do it under observation of a senior teacher. If there is any financial document to be submitted, our sign is not enough. A permanent teacher has to sign off even if they are from some other department," the teacher said.

It's the same story in many other departments across DU colleges. At Bharati College, departments of journalism, psychology and sociology have no permanent teachers. In Mata Sundri College, computer science, statistics and environmental science departments have only ad hocs.

Some other colleges which have departments entirely staffed by ad hoc teachers are St Stephen's College's philosophy department Ramanujan College's economics and philosophy departments, Vivekananda College's political science and economics departments Maitreyi College's Hindi department and I.P. College for Women's department of multimedia and mass communication.

At Lakshmibai College, there was a single permanent faculty member in the sociology department who retired around 2007, after which there was no permanent recruitment. Now the department is being run by two ad hocs. In most cases, the situation arose because permanent teachers retired over the years while no new appointments were made.

However, the process has been different for colleges which have introduced new courses in the last few years. In these cases, the university gave them permission to start new courses and posts were sanctioned, but recruitment has not taken place.

For instance, Shaheed Rajguru College of Applied Sciences for Women used to be located in a shared campus with Shaheed Sukhdev College of Business Studies in Jhilmil Colony and offered only five courses. In 2012, it shifted to its current campus in Vasundhara Enclave, where it found itself with the resources to offer additional courses. It started honours programmes in physics, maths and chemistry in 2016. For these, the administration managed to shift permanent staff from existing departments such that each has one permanent teacher.

However, in 2017, it began six additional courses, of which four — psychology, statistics, management studies and business administration — are run entirely by ad hoc teachers. "The primary problem faced in such a scenario is that every department has to make its purchases but financial responsibility cannot be given to ad hoc teachers. These departments have coordinators from other departments but they obviously do not have expertise in that particular subject, so it results in inefficiency in academic decisions as well,' said a senior teacher of the college.

The environmental sciences (EVS) department is one which has the most number of ad hocs across colleges. "These departments only opened after the introduction of FYUP (Four Year Undergraduate Programme) in 2013 and Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) in 2014. So they are new and run primarily by ad hocs,' said DUTA treasurer Abha Dev Habib.

Some of these colleges which have ad hoc only EVS departments include Lakshmibai College, Maharaja Agrasen College Deshbandhu College, IP College, Mata Sundri College, B R Ambedkar College, Vivekananda College and SPM College, among others.

INTERVIEW | TARUN KUMAR DAS, DU REGISTRAR

'Colleges should have prevented spreading of rumours'

The Delhi University registrar on why the situation escalated, and how the varsity plans to address it

ARANYA SHANKAR NEW DELHI. DECEMBER 15

What was the purpose of the August 28 letter which said colleges could only appoint guest lecturers against new vacancies and not ad hocs?

The main purpose was to emphasise the importance of making permanent appointments at the earliest pursuant to UGC Regulations... It also drew attention to the revised guidelines dated January 28, 2019, issued by the UGC for appointment of guest faculty keeping in view that these guidelines provide higher honorarium to guest faculty and also a fair, transparent and credible selection process... The letter did not affect any teacher serving in the university departments or its colleges who have been

selected through due process as per applicable rules and regulations.

The DU Principals' Association had written to the administration seeking clarification on the letter and what it would mean for ad hocs already appointed. Why was there no prompt clarification from the university?

We received the letter from DUPA only on November 30. Three months had passed. This means there was no confusion in their minds for three months. In fact, ad hoc extension was done around November 15. Even when they sought clarification after more than three months, the Dean of Colleges and senior officials had a meeting with the DUPA president and secretary on December 1. The same day, a meeting was held with the DU Teachers' Association of-

fice-bearers. In both meetings, the university clarified the matter. After that, there was no reason for any agitation.

Salaries of ad hoc teachers were stopped; their appointment was kept in abeyance. What is the university's stand on this?

The university never asked any college to stop salary of any teacher. In the meeting with DUPA and DUTA, the university's stand on payment of salary was clarified. The Principals of the colleges are responsible for any action taken by them.

What could the university have done differently to ensure the issue did not escalate to this extent?

The colleges' administration should have taken measures to prevent spreading of rumours on non-payment of salary to teachers. The responsible teachers in colleges should not have allowed themselves to be misled by those who had little interest in promoting academic standards.

Both the university and colleges should have taken more effective measures to enforce the Code of Ethics of Teachers and Principals under the UGC Regulations 2018. The university and colleges should have sought the help of the stakeholders, including alumni, students and their parents, in enforcing the Code of Ethics.

DU has around 5,000 ad hoc teachers. How did it reach this stage and what does the university plan to do to check this in the future?

The issue of ad hocs is more than 10 years old. The university has advertised

all the vacant posts of teachers in its departments. It has sent more than half a dozen letters and reminders to colleges to advertise vacant posts. Around 30 colleges have already advertised around 1,800 vacant posts of teachers. Screening is underway to shortlist candidates for conducting interviews in departments and colleges.

Recruitment drive was started in 2017 as well when Faculty of Law recruited 126 Assistant Professors on a permanent basis. During 2017-18, we also made 16 regular appointments at the Assistant Professor level at the Department of Education.

We are also making efforts to process pending promotion cases. A Joint Registrar (Promotion) has been appointed just 10 days back, along with one Deputy Registrar to expedite the process.

In the meeting between MHRD, UGC and DU Vice-Chancellor, it was decided to send directives to all colleges to fill up permanent posts before the start of the next academic session. How will this be ensured?

The MHRD has been exceptionally helpful. We are monitoring recruitment drives at colleges on a day to day basis... The university has already received 20,000 applications... Interviews are going to begin very shortly. Colleges have to do a lot to complete the process of permanent appointments.

The DUTA has said it will continue its strike until its demand for absorption is met. Where does the university stand on the issue of absorption?

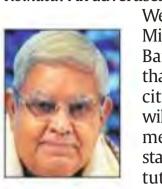
MHRD has already said everything to be said on this. What can we say? The university and its colleges have advertised the vacant posts of Assistant Professors pursuant to UGC Regulations 2018 and a large number of ad hoc teachers have applied. Last time, in 2017, when posts of Assistant Professors were advertised, more than 3 lakh applications were received, including from a large number of serving ad hoc teachers.

CITIZENSHIP LAW

MEANWHILE

TMC govt ad on NRC unconstitutional, says Governor

Kolkata: An advertisement, in which West Bengal Chief



Minister Mamata Banerjee states that NRC and the citizenship law will not be implemented in the state, is unconstitutional and a

head of government can't use public money for such campaigns, Governor Jagdeep Dhankhar said on Sunday. Speaking to reporters at Raj Bhavan, Dhankhar called upon those in position of power not to shirk responsibility as it is "no occasion to play politics". Describing the law and order situation as "unimaginable", he said public property is being damaged in a wanton manner, ruthlessly.

Ten policemen hurt during Patna protest

Patna: About a dozen policemen were injured as a group of unidentified protesters marching against the NRC and the citizenship law clashed with the police and later torched a police picket and about 10 motorcycles, four of which belonged to mediapersons. As there was no prior permission for the procession, the police tried to stop them. Over 50 protesters started pelting stones injuring a dozen policemen. Patna District Magistrate Kumar Ravi said: "Police had to use teargas and mild force to disperse the mob. We are seeing CCTV footage to identify the protesters.'

Makers of national award film protest

Kochi: The director of Malayalam film 'Sudani from Nigeria', which bagged the national award for the best Malayalam film in 2018, on Sunday announced on Facebook that he, along with the film's screenplay writer and producers, would stay away from the presentation ceremony in New Delhi as a mark of protest. The film, that dealt with the popular culture of sevens football in Kerala's Malappuram district and celebrated the region's hospitality towards foreign players, was a commercial success in the state. **ENS**

PIB tweets against Jamia action, director warns of action

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

THE OFFICIAL handle of the Press Information Bureau (PIB), which disseminates information on government policies and events, on Sunday tweeted against the violence at the Jamia Millia Islamia, but deleted it soon after.

The tweet, put out at 9.46 pm, read: "Seeing #Jamia turn into a warzone Is the last thing I expected to see I can't let me alma mater bleed." The tweet added several hashtags, including #StopViolenceAgainstStudents, #SOS-JAMIA and #RejectCAB.

The tweet was deleted soon. The PIB clarified later that it had been tweeted mistakenly by a member of its social media team. Around 10.30 pm, the PIB tweeted: "A member of our Social Media team inadvertently tweeted from the @PIB_India handle her personal comments on the situation in Jamia Millia. The error is deeply regretted. Suitable action is being taken."

Principal Director General of PIB K S Dhatwalia told *The Indian Express* that the member is not a "permanent" government employee and was on contract. He said the contract will be "terminated" as such "blunders" should not be committed.

MAULANA IMDADUL Rashidi, the Imam

from Asansol in West Bengal who thwarted

escalation of riots in the wake of his son's

death during 2018 communal clashes in the

Paschim Bardhaman city, has once again ap-

pealed for peace, terming the ongoing vio-

lence during protests against NRC and new

citizenship law "wrong and unacceptable".

discomfort to ordinary people or harm public

His appeal to the protesters not to cause

RAVIK BHATTACHARYA

KOLKATA, DECEMBER 15

As protests flare in Bengal buses, rly stations hit; NIA books Assam activist

ABHISHEK SAHA & SANTANU CHOWDHURY GUWAHATI, KOLKATA, DECEMBER 15

VIOLENT PROTESTS against the new citizenship law Sunday spilled over to a third day in West Bengal, where protesters vandalised at least 15 railway stations and two local trains, and blocked roads across the state.

And in Assam, where the protests first began last week, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) registered a case against activist Akhil Gogoi, whose Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) has been steering the agitation, for alleged links to Maoists. Gogoi was arrested in Jorhat last week.

Scrambling to cope with the spurt in violence, the West Bengal government suspended Internet services in four districts and parts of two others while police resorted to lathicharge to disperse protesters who ransacked shops and burnt tyres to block roads in parts of the state.

Indicating the areas from where unrest was reported, the state government said: "Under the circumstances, left with no other alternative, Internet services are being temporarily suspended in the districts of Uttar (North) Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad, Howrah, and parts of North 24 Parganas (Basirhat and Barasat subdivisions) and parts of South 24 Parganas (Baruipur and Canning subdivisions)."

Among the railway stations vandalised were those at Murshidabad's Tildanga, Reginagar, Krishnapur and Monigram, Malda's Bhaluka, and Birbhum's Nalhati and Lohapur.

In South 24 Parganas's Akra railway station, protesters vandalised several rooms, including ticket counters, and targeted two local trains.

Rail services were hit at Diamond Harbour, and at Lalgola and Farakka in Murshidabad. In Farakka, a group led by Congress MLA Moinul Haque took to the streets wielding sticks to disperse a mob that targeted the railway station.

Shops were ransacked and tyres burnt in North 24 Parganas districts, while protests were reported from parts of Howrah, Burdwan and Birbhum.

Senior TMC leader and Education Minister Partha Chatterjee appealed for peace and assured the protesters that the new law would not be implemented in the state. "Do not protest in an undemocratic way. We can assure you that law won't be implemented in Bengal," Chatterjee said.

In Guwahati, curfew was relaxed for a few hours even as two youths, who were injured in clashes with security forces last week, succumbed to injuries in hospital, taking the death toll to five.

Senior Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma said "day curfew will be withdrawn completely in Guwahati from Monday" while "curfew during nights, from 9 pm to 6 am, will continue".

As officials confirmed that a complete Internet ban remained in place, thousands of people gathered for two protest demonstrations in Guwahati — one by artists and the other by citizens and intellectuals. No major incidents of fresh violence were reported as the police continued its crackdown on those accused of allegedly committing arson and vandalism last week.



A protest against the citizenship law at a concert in Guwahati on Sunday. Dasarath Deka

NIA FIR: Akhil Gogoi linked to CPI (Maoist)

DEEPTIMANTIWARY & ABHISHEK SAHA

NEW DELHI, GUWAHATI, DEC EMBER 15

ACTIVIST AKHIL Gogoi, whose Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS) is one of the key organisations behind protests against the new citizenship law, has been booked by the NIA on charges of sedition and under provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act for allegedly being an overground worker of the banned CPI (Maoist)

In the FIR lodged on Saturday, the agency alleged that Gogoi and several others, "through their visible representation and spoken words... have abetted, incited hatred and caused disaffection towards the government..."

Accusing him of being involved in "terrorist activities", the FIR alleges that Gogoi and "others have used passage of CAB in Parliament as an opportunity to promote enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, race, piece of birth, residence, language and done acts prejudicial to maintenance of harmony, using visible representations and spoken words, thus endangering the security and sovereignty of the State and which is prejudicial to national Integration".

The FIR alleges that Gogoi merged KMSS with Revolutionary Communist Centre (RCC) in 2009. RCC later merged with CPI (Maoist), it alleges. Gogoi was taken into preventive custody Thursday after agitations against the new law led to violence. Assam Police booked him on Friday for sedition and under UAPA. On Saturday, NIA took over the case.

Sources said the FIR accuses Gogoi of associating himself with CPI(Maoist) to further acEXPLAINE In the crosshairs

> AKHIL GOGOI has been a key troublemaker government who has consistently raised him voice against the the Centre's citizenship legislation. Even in his speeches as early as 2017, he spoke strongly against the plan to bring the law and how the legislation would impact Assam and its residents.

tivities of the proscribed organisation and states that he took charge of CPI(Maoist) in Assam from Amitav Bagchi.

It alleges that Gogoi arranged meetings for the CPI (Maoist) between cadres and overground workers from 2009 till date and visited several parts of India "to further the activities of the proscribed organisation".

Three others named in the FIR along with Gogoi have been identified as Dhirjya Konwar, Manas Konwar and Bittu Sonowal. The FIR alleges that all of them were part of the "Maoist conspiracy" and that the accused "knowingly abetted, conspired, advocated, incited the acts preparatory to commission of terrorist acts".

In the past, the Gogoi-led KMSS has protested against land issues and big dam projects in Assam. In the last few years, Gogoi has been booked twice for sedition by Assam Police. He has been arrested several times in the past under both Congress and BJP rule

Clashes in AMU over police action in Jamia

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 15

SEVERAL STUDENTS were injured in a clash with the police at Aligarh Muslim University on Sunday evening during a protest against the police action in Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi. Following the violence, the University ad-

ministration decided to push forward the winter vacations and shut down from Monday. Shafi Kidwai, member and incharge of public relations at AMU, said several students were admitted to hospitals.

"There was a protest against what happened in Jamia. University authorities tried to convince the students, but they did not listen and went ahead with the protest," said Kidwai.

He said that the university has been shut down for winter vacations from Monday. "Instead of the vacations starting from December 23, now the university will be shut from tomorrow (Monday). All exams have been postponed and will be held later," said Kidwai and added that the decision was taken in view of the "tense situation".

Hamza Sufyan, former vice president the AMU Students' Union, said, "At least 50 students have been admitted to hospitals. Police used tear gas and lathicharged a peaceful protest around 8.30 pm ... Some are critical.'

IG, Law and Order, Praveen Kumar said AMU students attempted to take out a protest march. A police team rushed tried to stop them but the students started pelting stones, he added. Police then used force to disperse the crowd, he added.

Two succumb to injuries, death toll in Assam five

ABHISHEK SAHA

GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 15

THE DEATH toll in Assam, where protests against the new citizenship law led to clashes between protesters and security personnel last week, rose to five Sunday as two youths succumbed to their injuries in Guwahati.

The family of Ishwar Nayak (25) alleged he was killed in police firing. He succumbed to a bullet injury he suffered during clashes in Guwahati on Thursday, a senior official of the Guwahati Medical College and Hospital (GMCH) told The Indian Express.

Nayak, who hailed from Majuli Tea Estate of Udalguri district, was working at a retail outlet in Guwahati. Waiting outside the GMCH autopsy centre, Nayan Thakuria, his colleague, said Nayak had gone to city's Latasil ground where thousands had gathered to protest on Thursday. "He went there to participate in the demonstration and also to see popular singer Zubeen Garg. He returned in the afternoon and went to buy some essentials and take out cash from an ATM when some clashes erupted near the city's Downtown hospital. Police did a lathicharge and fired at protesters there when a bullet hit him in the hip," Thakuria said.

The other youth who died on Sunday, Abdul Alim (23), hailed from lower Assam's Barpeta district and was a Bengal-origin Muslim. He was also injured on Thursday in alleged police firing during clashes in Guwahati on Thursday. He died on Sunday at the GMCH.

His uncle Muzzafar Ali said Alim passed Class XII a few years ago. "Alim married around two months back. I can't even think what his wife must be going through," he said.

Alim was visiting Guwahati for a few days. His friend Ramzan Ali, who runs a shop, said, "On Thursday, even as a massive gathering was ongoing at Latasil, protesters gathered at Lokhra area, burning tyres and shouting slogans. Police arrived and there was a clash."

Further details emerged of a truck driver who died Saturday after suffering burn injuries, when a mob set his fuel tanker afire in Sonitpui district. Identified by a neighbour and relative as Azizur Ali (48), a resident of Sipajhar in Darrang district, the truck driver is survived by his daughter and wife. A local police officer said one Bijoy Nath was arrested for the arson.

BJP to launch awareness drive

New Delhi: Amid protests against the amended citizenship law, the BJP on Sunday announced a nationwide campaign to spread awareness about the legislation and asserted that it is not discriminatory against Muslims or any other community.

Addressing a press conference with party vice-president Dushyant Gautam, spokesperson Sambit Patra said BJP workers will fan out across the country to inform people about the law which seeks to provide citizenship to the religious minorities from three neighbouring countries who arrived in India to escape religious persecution.

He said party functionaries from 11 states and Union Territories, including Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Chhattisgarh and Delhi, were briefed by the national leadership on the law's provisions here on Sunday.

Delivering justice should not be derailed by majority-minority debate: Manipur CM

ESHAROY

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

Singh on Sunday said the "majority-minority debate" should not be dragged into the "question of delivering justice". Singh's remark came in re-

sponse to a tweet by BJP general

secretary Ram Madhav who said

that "Majority-minority is integral

MANIPUR CHIEF Minister N Biren

to our Constitution". "The question of delivering justice to an individual or group (s) should not be caged/derailed with Majority-Minority debate.



N Biren Singh

Rather, the fundamental principle of justice shall prevail. Perhaps, this is the cornerstone idea of a progressive society," the CM tweeted. He added, "Justice has been done to the hindus fleeing from Pak, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. Thank you Ram Madhavji for invoking such wonderful idea/debate."

Interestingly, Singh deleted

Bengal Imam who lost son to communal clashes calls for peace

both tweets later in the evening.

Protests over the new citizenship law have hit large parts of the North-East but Manipur, unlike its neighbouring states, has largely been calm after Union Home Minister Amit Shah announced in Parliament that the Inner Line Permit (ILP) will be extended to the state, exempting it from the new law. However, this calm has been tenuous.

"The concern is that the border along the North-East is porous... In states like Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland, ILP has existed but there has still been migration and settlers from outside.

We are standing up not just for ourselves but our brothers in the Northeast and in Assam," said Lancha Ningthouja, the co-convener of the Manipur People Against Citizenship Amendment Bill (MANPAC) and president of the North East Forum of Indigenous People (NEFIP).

In Nagaland, NEFIP vice-president Theja Therieh reiterated Ningthouja's stand, adding, "...we are also against the granting of citizenship based on religion..." Dimapur, which was the only place in Nagaland not to have ILP. recently received that status from the Home Ministry.

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA DHAKA, DECEMBER 15 BANGLADESH FOREIGN Minister A K Abdul

Momen on Sunday said his country has requested India to provide a list of any Bangladesh nationals living illegally in the country and it will allow them to return.

Responding to a question on India's National Register of Citizenship (NRC), Momen, who cancelled his visit to India on Thursday citing his busy schedule, said Bangladesh-India relations are normal and "very sweet. He said India has termed the NRC process as an internal matter and assured Dhaka it would not affect Bangladesh.

He rejected speculation of "pushback" attempts by India, saying some Indian nationals are illegally entering Bangladesh through middlemen due to economic reasons.

'But if anybody other than our citizens enters Bangladesh, we will send them back,' he said. Momen said Bangladesh has requested New Delhi to provide a list of Bangladeshis living illegally in India, "if any", to be repatriated. "We will allow them (Bangladesh citizens) as they have the right to enter their own country," he said.

Asked why he cancelled his India visit, the minister said his schedule coinciding with the Martyred Intellectuals Day and Victory Day and the absence of the state minister for foreign affairs Shahriar Alam and the ministry's secretary made him defer his tour.

Diplomatic sources in New Delhi had said that Momen and Home Minister Asaduzzaman Khan cancelled their visits over the situation arising out of the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill.

'Unity on NRC will be tribute to Sardar Patel'

India asked to provide list of

illegal Bangladeshis, if any, on

its soil: Bangladesh minister

Lucknow: Asserting that no interference will



be tolerated during the implementation of the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC) in India, UP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath on Sunday said that the entire country

Adityanath

should be united on the issue and that "this will be a true tribute to Iron Man Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel".

"NRC ke mudde par hum Bhaarat ki suraksha ke saath kisi prakaar ka koi bhi shadyantra aur sendh sweekar nahi karenge. NRC ke mudde par Bharat sarakaar ki pratibaddhataon par poore desh ko ekjut ho kar ke iss kryakram mein sahyog dena chahive.(On issue of NRC, we will not allow any conspiracy and interference. Entire country should unitedly contribute). This will be our tribute to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his resolve to maintain national integrity, said Adityanath, at an event in Lucknow to mark the 69th death anniversary of Patel.

On the new citizenship law, the CM said India has always been a safe place for the exploited and oppressed. "All of us have seen how the pledge of the present Indian government is an ideal of world humanity. This was shown to the world by the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill." **ENS**

or private properties has been circulating on social media since Sunday morning. "Protests should not cause ordinary people discomfort, harm anyone, any community, caste or religion and damage government or private properties. What a section of people are doing is ess.com



Imdadul Rashidi had thwarted escalation of riots in 2018

Maulana

wrong and unacceptable. I appeal for peace and restraint," Imam Rashidi told *The Indian* Express over the phone from Asansol.

The Imam, who lost his 16-year-old son to communal clashes following Ram Navami processions in Asansol in March, 2018, agreed that the proposed NRC and Citizenship Act are putting lakhs of people in trouble. "People are scared. One should protest according to law. Everyone should exercise his or her democratic Rashidi added. "Government should help people, not

right to protest, but in a peaceful manner,"

trouble them. In Assam, so much money had been spent and so many people detained. Then the (Central) government is saying they will scrap it and bring a nationwide NRC. Many people do not have proper papers. Where will they go? We have no problem with the new law granting citizenship to all others, but Muslims. But in the long run, it is putting a particular community in a very bad situation. Government should think over this," said Rashidi, whose appeal in the aftermath of 2018 violence was instrumental in reigning in communal clashes in the region.

On March 30, 2018, hours after his son Sibtulla Rashidi was found dead, becoming the fourth victim of violence triggered by Ram Navami processions across the state, the he appealed for peace. He had told the crowd he would leave the town if there was retaliation.

Maulana presided over a congregation where

"What better person than the Imam ap-

pealing for peace. We recorded his video of the appeal and circulated it in social media. We are hopeful that his message will reach out to the section who are engaged in vandalism of railway stations and public buses," said Md Jim Nawaz, a social activist who has set up an online platform, sohojogita.com and is part of a group holding seminars in districts to tackle NRC rumours.

In 2018, Sibtulla, who appeared for his Class X board exams that year, was reported missing after communal clashes in Rail Par area of Asansol. According to sources, he was picked up by a mob and allegedly beaten to death. His body was recovered later.

EXPRESS NETWORK





BOOKS ON DISPLAY

THERE IS good news for MPs facing difficulty in finding books on and by the icons of modern Indian history. The Parliament Library has taken the initiative of organising a book display on the birth anniversaries of national heroes celebrated in the Central Hall. From now, when Parliament is in session, the library will display such books on and by the respective icon. This initiative is learnt to have been taken on the suggestion of ICCR president and Rajya Sabha MP Vinay Sahasrabuddhe. Last Tuesday, about 20 selected books by and on C Rajagopalachari were on display. Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla inaugurated it.

SHOT OF NOSTALGIA

THE FIRST meeting of the National Ganga Council gave nostalgic moments to some of the senior bureaucrats who were in Kanpur to attend the meeting. There were at least five such IAS officers who are former students of IIT-Kanpur. These include Rajiv Ranjan Mishra, CEO of National Mission for Clean Ganga, Upendra Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Jal Shakti, Sanjay Agrawal, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmer's Welfare, and Rajendra Tiwary, Chief Secretary of Uttar Pradesh. All five were present at the meeting which took place at Chandra Shekhar Azad University of Agriculture and Technology, miles away from the IIT campus. Some of the ministers and officers even stayed at the Visitors' Hostel of IIT-Kanpur.

A POLO OUTING

BRITISH HIGH Commissioner Dominic Asquith recently hosted a polo match between teams from the British Army and Indian Army at the Capital's polo grounds. The Indian Army team won the match 5-3. The British envoy then graciously hosted a reception for both teams and guests.

SHIVAJI MEMORIAL

Undue benefit of Rs 9.61 crore to consultant: CAG

Work on project stayed in

January on SC orders. Archive

Your Right

TO KNOW

AN EXPRESS RTI

APPLICATION

related to pre-tender stage fully

and satisfactorily till May 2019," it

the PWD for non-inclusion of

penalty clause in the contract agr-

eement of PMC and termed it as

"undue favour to PMC". "Though

there was provision for financial

incentive for timely completion of

the work, there was no provision

for penalty for delay in completion

of the work. Thus, due to non-in-

corporation of penalty clause for

delay in completion of work, de-

partment could not take penal ac-

tion against the PMC for delay in

completion of stipulated work in

An official from CAG said it has

timely manner," said the report.

sought a detailed response from

PWD. Manoj Saunik, Additional

Chief Secretary (PWD), said: "We

haven't studied it yet. I can't com-

Saturday reported on the CAG

report's findings, highlighting

how the Devendra Fadnavis-led

government's decision to reduce

the cost of the proposed Shivaji

Memorial by negotiating with

the lowest bidder and changing

scope of work has "vitiated the

tendering procedure and de-

feated the objective of tran-

sparency in tendering process".

flagship project of then BJP-led

state government. Work on the

project was stopped in January,

days after the Supreme Court,

while hearing a special leave pe-

tition on January 11, orally asked

the state not to proceed with the

construction of the statue.

The Shivaji memorial was a

The Indian Express on

ment on it."

The report further questioned

VISHWAS WAGHMODE MUMBAI, DECEMBER 15

THE DE-SCOPING of the work of the Project Management Consultant(PMC) for the Shivaji Memorial Project in the Arabian Sea resulted in "undue benefit of Rs 9.61 crore" to the PMC and caused an "additional financial burden of Rs 20.57 crore" on the exchequer, the Comptroller and Auditor General

The CAG carried out an audit of the 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 the state public works department (PWD) in October.

of India (CAG) has said in a report.

According to the report, the Maharashtra government accorded sanction for appointment of M/s Egis India Consulting Engineers Pvt Ltd and Design Associates as PMC at a cost of Rs 94.70 crore in March 2016 for 40 months (till August 2019). However, in February and March 2017, citing its slow pace of work and peculiar, complex and multi-tasked nature of project, the government "de-scoped" or reduced work of the PMC.

De-scoping means revising downward of objectives. Sources in the government said the PMC had been appointed for the project as the PWD did not have experience of handling such a project.

"Further, work of surveys, investigation and testing, etc was withdrawn from the scope of work of PMC and included in the memorial contractor i.e. M/s L&T Ltd at Rs 20.57 crore. The chief engineer of PWD had recommended in February 2017 for revision of remuneration payable to PMC to Rs 72.85 crore from Rs 82.46 crore. However, state government had approved the remuneration as Rs 82.46 crore without any justification. This resulted in undue benefit of Rs 9.61 crore to the PMC and additional financial burden of Rs 20.57 crore to the exchequer," it remarked.

The report further assessed the PMC's work since April 2016 and expressed dissatisfaction. "It was, however, noticed that even after lapse of 32 months from the stipulated date of completion, the PMC had not executed the work

15 JHARKHAND SEATS VOTE IN PHASE IV TODAY

Bloody family feud backdrop in coal town's key poll contest Is law in tune

MANOJCG JHARIA (JHARKHAND). DECEMBER 15

THE RESIDENCE of late JD(U) leader Raju Yadav in Jamadoba is buzzing with activity as the election inches closer. The sprawling house has two election offices one of Raju's brother and JVM candidate Yogendra Yadav and the other of Raju's son and AJSU candidate Awdesh Kumar Yadav.

But the uncle-nephew contest appears to be little more than an interesting subplot in the poll battle in the Jharia Assembly segment near Dhanbad, a BJP stronghold. The key contest in the seat, which has a legacy of a bloody family feud, is between sisters-inlaw Ragini Singh of the BJP and Purnima Neeraj Singh of the Congress. Ragini's husband and sitting MLA Sanjeev Singh is in jail in connection with the 2017 murder of Neeraj Singh, who was the deputy mayor of Dhanbad. In the 2014 state polls, Sanjeev defeated cousin Niraj.

The fight between members of the dusty coal town's most powerful and feared family is the talk of the town. Local residents say it is a fight between Singh Mansion and Raghukul and that it is not politics but a prestige battle. Singh Mansion is the residence of Ragini and Purnima lives in the neighbouring mansion Raghukul. Both belong to the family of late Suryadeo Singh, a former MLA and the once indisputable fount of power in the coal town.

Singh's early political life, stuff of local folklore, inspired the Bollywood movie Gangs of Wasseypur.

CRPF DIG,



EVMs being carried on the eve of the fourth phase of the Assembly elections in Dhanbad on Sunday, PTI



JHARKHAND

Awdesh's mother Abbo Devi, who was a minister in the Lalu Prasad Yadav government in undivided Bihar, calls the family a "mafia" and alleges its members are linked to several high-profile political murders, including that of her husband.

At the BJP office in Jharia's main market, Indrajeet Singh, who has links with the family, boasts that at least 100 local disputes are "solved" every day "at this table". Agrees Ragini's cousin Santosh, sitting next to him. The power of the table is a metaphor for the clout of the Singh Mansion. "The people of Iharia love and trust the family," Singh says. At the BJP office, party workers enthusiastically show video clips of controversial remarks by Purnima's brother-in-law and incumbent deputy mayor Ekalavya Singh to argue that he was a "ruffian". While Purnima calls the Singh

mansion family the local mafia, the BJP hurls the same charge at the Raghukul family. Local residents complain that

in the fight of family prestige and charges and counter-charges, key issues like displacement of people due to a coal fire raging for the last 100 years and shortage of clean drinking water get

"There is no clean water here and no jobs. People who work with Bharat Coking Coal Limited have been shifted out for safety, others have not," says Subhash Yadav. "In the collieries, local residents extract coal illegally and that is their way to survive in this town. Apart from that, there is no employment as such," he added.

While the BIP says relocation of families from fire-ravaged areas is in full swing, Purnima

"People of Jharia and Dhanbad love my husband. And also the fact that the incumbent BIP people have not done anything. People are agitated and are protesting everywhere. The work of my husband lives in the heart of the people...That gives me a little hope," she says. Purnima alleges that the MLA fund is not spent year after year and argues that it could have been used to provide clean drinking water.

Back to the uncle-nephew battle. Both Awdesh's mother Abbo Devi and Yogendra say Jharkhand is going to support regional parties this time as the BJP and Congress "have not done justice" to the state.

Yogendra was in the RJD but switched over to the JVM after the Iharia seat went to the Congress as part of the arrangement between JMM, Congress and the RJD. He and Devitalk about issues related to displacement, clean water and bad roads. Ask about the fight in the family, both of them make light of it. Both of them say everyone is free to contest polls in a democracy.

Both Yogendra and Abbo talk about the Suryadeo Singh family rule in Jharia and blame them for all the ills. When pointed out that members of the Raju Yadav family are also contesting, Yogendra savs "chulha alag alag hain ji."

Jharia is among 15 seats that go to polls in the fourth phase of Assembly election on Monday. The results will be declared on December 23.

-INPUTS FROM ABHISHEK ANGAD

NEW CITIZENSHIP LAW

Uddhav to BJP: with teachings of Savarkar

VIVEK DESHPANDE NAGPUR, DECEMBER 15

SAYING THAT his government will take a call on whether to implement the new citizenship law in Maharashtra after the Supreme Court ruling on the petitions before it, Maharashtra Chief Minister **Uddhav Thackeray on Sunday** asked the BJP if the new law was in tune with the teachings of Veer Savarkar. "It seems the government is adopting the policy of creating confusion when nothing

gets going for it," he said. "Savarkar's idea of India was one country from Sindhu river to Sindhu mahasagar. Are you going to unite the country as Savarkar had visualised? Today, the whole country is disturbed. You are calling the Hindus from those countries (Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh), which means you are neglecting Savarkar's thoughts. You have been in government for more than five years. You are making the minorities in those countries insecure. You have your Prime Minister. He should have told those countries not to dare touch the minorities, else they will have to face India,"Thackeray told mediapersons in the press meet on the eve of the Winter Session of Assembly that begins Monday.

On implementation of the new law, Thackeray said, "The issue is before Supreme Court. Let the court decide if there is anything unconstitutional about it."

On the demand to confer Bharat Ratna on Savarkar, he said, "If they (BJP) feel we have



Uddhav Thackeray

dumped Savarkar for power, they have the power to do it. Why don't they do it?"

"We have clarified our stand on Savarkar yesterday only. We respected him in the past, respect him in present and will continue to respect him in future too."

The Chief Minister regretted that the Opposition chose to boycott the tea party. "Today is, coincidentally, World Tea Day and we are proud that a 'chaiwala' has become India's Prime Minister. It is regrettable that his party has chosen to skip the tea party." On alleged irregularities in the

Chhatrapati Shivaji memorial project, Thackeray said, "If any corruption has happened, it is most reprehensible. We will punish anyone found guilty and will build the memorial which the whole country will be proud of."

He denied the charge by former CM and BJP leader Devendra Fadnavis that his government is staying development projects. "Only Mumbai Metro shed project has been stayed. That too because of the manner in which trees were mercilessly cut at night."

NRC demonetisation of citizenship, says Kishor

SANTOSH SINGH

PATNA, DECEMBER 15 case, said he would be able to

> A DAY after he said Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar is against a nationwide NRC, senior JD (U) leader Prashant Kishor on Sunday said the idea of a nationwide NRC is equivalent to "demonetisation of citizenship" which is "invalid" until proved. The state BJP responded by saying NRC was its "future agenda" and there was no need for alliance partner JD(U) to

engage in any propaganda over it. Kishor tweeted on Sunday, "The idea of nationwide NRC is equivalent to demonetisation of citizenship....invalid till you prove it otherwise. The biggest sufferers would be the poor and the marginalised...we know from the experience!!#NotGivingUp."

The JD(U) leader, who had criticised his party for supporting the Citizenship Amendment Bill in to sort out differences and came out with the party's new stand -"NRC with CAB is dangerous and discriminatory". Bihar BJP spokesperson Nikhil

Parliament, met Nitish on Sunday

Anand said, "There is no need for Prashant Kishor to engage in propaganda over NRC. It is BJP's future agenda. The draft is not yet ready.' Without naming Kishor, Ana-

nd had tweeted, "Politics is not played on preconceptions or say pre conceived notions. A politician suffering from cynicism will only lead to the situation of political withdrawal and helplessness. No need to create propaganda over #NRC now. It's a future agenda. wait for the draft to study it."

The BJP spokesperson later said his tweet was in reference to Kishor's statement. Asked if JD(U)'s stand on NRC could create a rift between the allies, he said "There is no such thing. It will have no impact on our relationship."

driver killed in landslide **EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**

JAMMU, DECEMBER 15

in J&K

A DEPUTY Inspector General of the CRPF and his driver were killed after the vehicle they were travelling in was hit by a landslide near Digdole in Ramban district along the Jammu-Srinagar national highway.

The DIG, identified as Shailender Kumar, was posted in south Kashmir, police said, adding that his bodyguard Mohammad Sharief Khan was also injured in the incident. They were travelling in an SUV and their vehicle was part of a CRPF cavalcade in which two more DIG-level officers of the paramilitary force were also travelling.

The highway was closed for traffic since Thursday evening following heavy snowfall in Jawahar Tunnel and adjoining areas and multiple landslides between Ramban and Ramsu.

The road was cleared of the debris late in the afternoon and some vehicles were allowed to pass on priority, the officials said.

DIG Singh was a 1992-batch officer and had also served in the elite CoBRA unit

While the vehicles carrying the other two DIGs and their escorts passed through the area, Kumar's vehicle was hit by a boulder and fell into a gorge.

Kumar and his driver died on the spot and his bodyguard was seriously injured. Senior civil and police officers rushed to the spot to supervise rescue work and the injured was shifted to Military Command Hospital, Udhampur.

DIG Singh was a 1992-batch officer of the CRPF cadre. He had also served in the elite jungle warfare unit of the force — the Commando Battalion for Resolute Action (CoBRA).

Meanwhile, nearly 5,000 vehicles were stranded along the Jammu-Srinagar highway as the road was closed for traffic following heavy rain and snowfall. Sources said there was around 3-4 feet of snow at Jawahar Tunnel and Trikuta Hills, which houses Vaishno Devi shrine near Katra, witnessed heavy snowfall.

Man held for raping, setting niece on fire in UP's Fatehpur He even said that when the fire lage till the girl's marriage.

AVANEESH MISHRA LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 15

HOURS AFTER an FIR was registered against a 25-year-old man for allegedly raping his 18-yearold niece and later setting her on fire in UP's Fatehpur district, police arrested him late on Saturday night. He was produced before a magistrate and thereafter sent to jail.

The victim, who has suffered around 75 per cent burns, has been admitted to a hospital in Kanpur and her condition is learnt to be critical

According to the local SHO, the accused was arrested from a village adjoining to his.

On Saturday, police and administrative officials had said that primary investigation revealed that the woman set herself on fire, minutes after a panchayat was held over her alleged relationship with her uncle and directed the two to end their relationship. According to police, the panchayat had asked the man to stay away from the vilThe SHO of a mahila police

station claimed that she heard the girl shout on her way to the hospital that her uncle sexually assaulted her and set her on fire. On the other hand, sources claimed that the victim, in her statement to administration officials, had not blamed her uncle. "I did not go to the village, but

I was with the woman and accompanied her to the hospital. I was not present when her statement was recorded, but I can confirm that on the way to the hospital, she was saying her uncle sexually assaulted her and later set her on fire," said the SHO of the mahila police station.

Addl DG, Prayagraj, Sujeet Pandey on Sunday said they have evidence that suggests it was a case of attempted suicide.

"We have the statement of the victim's brother saying that he asked his sister to prepare lunch after the panchavat ended. Within minutes, smoke started coming out from her room... The brother is saying that he was at the panchayat.

started, the accused, who was at the panchayat, started running. There is no space for any confusion," Pandey said. The Circle Officer, who is also the investigating officer in the

comment on the case only after

getting a copy of the victim's statement. On Saturday, an FIR was registered against the accused under IPC sections 376 (rape), 307 (attempt to murder) and 452 (house-trespass after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint) on the basis of a com-

plaint by the victim's brother.

District Magistrate Sanjeev Singh had earlier said two separate complaints were lodged by the brother. In the first, lodged around four hours after the incident, he alleged that his uncle raped her sister and she set herself on fire. In the second, he said that the accused also set her on fire, said the district magistrate, adding that the complainant requested that the FIR be lodged on the basis of the second complaint.

When Art 370 was inserted in Constitution, were people of J&K consulted: Ram Madhav

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE CHANDIGARH, DECEMBER 15

TERMING THE present situation in Kashmir as a tinderbox waiting to explode, eminent Kashmir experts Sunday condemned the BJP-led government in the Centre for "undemocratically" revoking Article 370 as it spelled and solidified India's relation with the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

During a panel discussion with BJP general secretary Ram Madhav and Congress MP Manish Tewari as panellists on 'Article 370 and the Death Knell of Terrorism', former R&AW chief A S Dulat and senior journalist Manoj Joshi said former PM Atal Bihari Vajpeyee's apof "Insaniyat, proach Jamhooriyat and Kashmiriyat" was the only way to ensure lasting solution to the issue.

Dulat said Kashmir is numb and its residents are feeling a sense of disappointment with Delhi. He added that the situation was grim and what was be-



BJP's Ram Madhav and Congress's Manish Tewari at the Military Literature Festival in Chandigarh Sunday. Jasbir Malhi

ing witnessed was 'quiet disobedience' wherein Kashmiris were biding for the right time to voice their feelings.

Taking part in the discussion, Madhav said the revocation of Article 370 was done in most democratic fashion, disclosing that political prisoners like former chief minister Farooq Abdullah would be released soon. However, he shied away from any timeframe and said the process

to keep the political activity going in Kashmir was on.

Madhav wondered why there was such an extended mourning period over the abrogation of Article 370 and said the detention of certain leaders was not indefinite. "It is weird logic to say that if someone is put under preventive detention then he is anti-national," he said.

Reacting to Tewari's comments that the abrogation of

Article 370 was bad in law because the Constituent Assembly of J&K put a estoppel in the Constitution of the state that the status of the state's relation with India could not be altered, Madhav said the Constituent Assembly of J&K was an illegal entity.

Debunking the assertions of fellow panelists that the feelings of the residents of J&K were not taken into account over the abrogation, Madhav questioned, "When Article 370 was inserted in Constitution of India were the

people of J&K consulted"? The statehood of J&K would be reinstated, Madhav said, clarifying that it was felt that there was a need to put the bifurcated state under Central rule for some time, hence the creation of Union Territories. He added, "Kashmiris have lived with Article 370 for seventy years and now they are experiencing life without it. It is a bold step taken by the government and I am sure the new situation will ensure development and complete integration of region with India."

Out to collect wood in forest, UP girl mauled to death by dogs

AMITSHARMA MEERUT, DECEMBER 15

AN EIGHT-YEAR-OLD girl was killed by a pack of dogs in a forest near Saharanpur's

Sikandarpur village on Sunday. The police said that the girl Misbah, along with her elder sister and other children, had gone to collect wood in the forest when she dragged off by dogs.

Out of fear, other children fled to the village and told the vilagers.

Misbah succumbed to her injuries while being taken to her house, the police said. "We found my daughter

and chased the dogs away.

Residents reached the spot

fore we could save her," said her father Mannan (36). "...It is a first of its kind inci-

badly bruised and bleeding be-

dent in my jurisdiction," Viresh Pal Giri, in-charge of Mirzapur police station said.

Uphill task for next

achieved in Madrid

year after little

THE RESULT from Madrid means negotiators face an uphill task

next year to complete all the unfinished tasks ahead of the transi-

tion of the global climate regime from the 1997 Kyoto Protocol to



after an earthquake in Padada, Davao del Sur **province.** AP

PHILIPPINES Child killed, several injured in powerful quake

Manila: A powerful earthtion and nervous crowds massed outside shopping malls after the jolt and dozens aftershocks.

NEW ZEALAND

Volcano toll rises to 18, search for

MEXICO 50 bodies

unearthed from mass grave

Guadalajara: The bodies of at least 50 people have been unearthed from a mass grave at a farm outside Mexico's western have been identified and the remains given to

EXPRESS IN MADRID

THE LONGEST-EVER climate con-

ference delivered probably the

weakest outcome ever. The two-

week Madrid climate conference

could produce an agreement only

after removing everything that

any country objected to from the

final text, and postponing all de-

cisions on the only major agenda

jected the draft agreement texts

that were prepared on Saturday

morning, the conference had lit-

tle option but to remove all con-

tentious phrases and provisions,

and produce an agreement that

was mired in generalities and

setting up a new carbon market

under Paris Agreement, the only

big issue to be finalised in Madrid,

was deferred entirely to next year,

as no country was willing to budge

The issue of framing rules for

lacked any specific decisions.

After several countries re-

item it had to finalise.

AMITABH SINHA

DECEMBER 15

A collapsed building

quake hit the southern Philippine island of Mindanao on Sunday, killing a child, injuring dozens and damaging buildings in an area still recovering from a string of deadly quakes in October. Police said a rescue operation had been launched at a heavily damaged market building in Padada near the 6.8 magnitude quake's epicentre, which is about 90 kilometres south of the major city of Davao. Patients were evacuated from hospitals as a precau-

bodies continues

Wellington: The death toll from New Zealand's White Island volcano eruption rose to 18 on Sunday, including two people whose bodies have not been recovered, police said. A land search early Sunday failed to find any sign of the missing pair and divers returned to the sea in the afternoon amid increasing speculation both could be in the water. Deputy police commissioner Mike Clement said there was "every chance" the bodies had been washed into the sea from the stream where they were last seen on Monday.

city of Guadalajara, local authorities said. The grim site was discovered just over three weeks ago in Jalisco — a state hard-hit by violence linked to organized crime. The local prosecutor's office said Saturday 13 of the dead — 12 men and a woman

their families. The process of identifying more of the victims and how they died will continue, it added.

and the Taliban resumed a week ago as the parties sought a path to reduce violence or even reach a ceasefire

Longest UN climate talks end with no decision about key issue on agenda

Details of new carbon market postponed to next summit; after objections over draft agreement, final text lacks specifics



Carolina Schmidt, president of the UN Climate Change Conference (COP25), closes the summit in Madrid. Reuters

from their stated positions.

UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres echoed the mood of many after the conference, saying in a statement: "I am disappointed with the results of COP25 (the 25th edition of Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the official name of Madrid talks). The international community lost an important opportunity to show increased ambition on mitigation, adaptation and finance to tackle the climate crisis. But we must not give up, and I will not give up."

Civil society groups, an important and vocal stakeholder in the negotiations, reacted with anger and disappointment at the out-

come of what was the longest ever climate talks. The two-week yearend conference was supposed to end by Friday evening, but continued till Sunday afternoon.

"I have been attending these climate negotiations since they first started in 1991. But never have I seen the almost total disconnect we've seen here at COP25 in Madrid between what the science requires and what the climate negotiations are delivering in terms of meaningful action," said Alden Meyer, director of policy and strategy at the Union of Concerned Scientists, an independent scientific group. "Governments need to completely rethink how they do this, because the outcome of

the 2015 Paris Agreement. With the Paris Agreement set to come into effect next year, the rules of the new carbon market will have to be finalised soon. Moreover, with latest studies showing the world needs to do even more than what the Paris pact mandates, countries will be under pressure to increase their commitments.

COP25 is totally unacceptable,"

said Jennifer Morgan of

Greenpeace International. Apart from framing the rules for a new carbon market, the Madrid talks was expected to direct all countries to increase their climate actions in view of recent scientific assessments that show the world was not doing enough to prevent the extreme impacts of climate change. Some countries, especially the most vulnerable ones like small island states, were pushing for language directing all countries to update their climate action plans by next year to reflect the new realities. Such demands were resisted mainly be big developing countries like China, India

and Brazil, which had been arguing that countries be asked to deliver on their past and current promises before being asked to make any new commitments. These developing countries repeatedly pointed out that the current situation was a direct result of developed countries not meeting their targets in the pre-2020 period, and has demanded an assessment of the performance of developed countries on climate action, including their obligation to provide finance and technology to the

The final agreement included a general call stressing "the urgency of enhanced ambition" by all countries. There was no direc-

developing world.

tion to update climate action plans by next year. Similarly, the demand of developing countries, reflected in the earlier drafts in the form of a provision setting up a two-year work programme to assess the performance of developed countries, was also not included in the final agreement.

Even something as innocuous as acknowledging the special reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) had run into trouble. Some countries had objected to the fact that an earlier draft mentioned IPCC's report on oceans but ignored the report on land, both having come out this year. The final agreement thus dropped the names of both the reports and only expressed its "appreciation and gratitude" to the IPCC for coming out with the two special reports.

Harjeet Singh, ActionAid's global lead on climate change, blamed the US for the weak outcome from Madrid. The US had decided to pull out of the Paris Agreement and will cease to be a member from next November. "The United States has once

again gotten its way through bullying and tricks. They came here in bad faith, acting only to protect their interests and those of the polluting industries that caused climate emergency," Singh said.

US secretly expels 2 Chinese embassy officials

EDWARD WONG & JULIAN E BARNES WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15

THE AMERICAN government secretly expelled two Chinese embassy officials in September after they drove on to a sensitive military base in Virginia, according to people with knowledge of the episode. The expulsions appear to be the first of Chinese diplomats suspected of espionage in more than 30 years.

American officials believe at least one of the Chinese officials was an intelligence officer operating under diplomatic cover, said six people with knowledge of the expulsions. The group, which included the officials' wives, evaded military personnel pursuing them and stopped only after fire trucks blocked their path.

The base intrusion took place in late September on a sensitive

installation near Norfolk, Virginia The Chinese officials and their wives drove up to a checkpoint for entry to the base, said people briefed on the episode. A guard, realising they did not have permission to enter, told them to go through the gate, turn around and exit the base. But the Chinese officials instead continued on to the base, according to those familiar with the incident. After their way was blocked, the Chinese officials indicated that they had not understood the guard's English instructions, and had simply gotten lost, according to people briefed on the matter. It was not clear what they were doing on the base. NYT



There are 13,000 US troops currently in Afghanistan.

US set to withdraw 4,000 troops from Afghanistan: report

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15

THE TRUMP administration will announce as early as this week plans to withdraw around 4,000 troops from Afghanistan, US media reported.

Talks between the US and the Taliban resumed a week ago as the parties sought a path to reduce violence or even reach a ceasefire.

They were paused by Washington on Thursday, however, after an attack by the militant group near a key US air base north of Kabul that left two civilians dead and dozens injured. There are 13,000 US troops

currently in Afghanistan. NBC on Saturday cited three current and former US officials as saying the Trump administration intends to announce the drawdown of 4,000 troops from Afghanistan.

Two of those said some of the troops would be redeploying early, while others would not be replaced when they end their term.

CNN cited one official in the

Talks between the US

Trump administration as saying the announcement on a drawdown could happen this week, but that the "timing remains in flux." According to a draft agreement from September – reached after years of negotiations — the Taliban would be required to commit to certain security measures, agree to talks with the Afghan government and promise a reduction of violence in ex-

change for US troop withdrawal. US President Donald Trump insisted last month on the need for a ceasefire and made a surprise visit to Bagram on Nov 28 to celebrate Thanksgiving with troops and meet Afghan President Ashraf Ghani.

Calm broken in Hong Kong as police, protesters clash in malls Corbyn apologises

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA HONG KONG. DECEMBER 15

HONG KONG police used pepper spray and made multiple arrests on Sunday as small groups of black-clad pro-democracy protesters targeted some of the city's malls, ending a rare lull in violence.

Flashmob protests and vandalism broke out in multiple locations, prompting riot police to use pepper spray and make arrests in at least two shopping centres as members of the public heckled the officers. AFP reporters in a Sha Tin

mall saw a secondary school girl and a 16-year-old boy arrested, the pair shouting out their details as officers led them away.

Earlier in the afternoon an elderly woman was knocked over in the same mall after a fight broke out when a shopper tried to stop protesters from spraying graffiti.

Masked activists had also trashed restaurants run by Maxim's, a catering giant owned by a tycoon that has become a frequent target because his daughter has criticised the prodemocracy movement.

break out in three weeks. Hong Kong has been up-

The skirmishes are the first to



tween police and hardcore demonstrators, as well as regular transport disruption.

The past month had seen a lull in the violence and vandalism after pro-democracy parties won a landslide in local council elections. Last Sunday an estimated

800,000 marched peacefully through the streets.

But public anger remains as Beijing and city leader Carrie Lam show no sign of giving further concessions despite the election success. Lam is currently in Beijing for

an annual visit and is set to meet President Xi Jinping on Monday. The protests were ignited by a now scrapped plan to allow extraditions to the authoritarian main-

a revolt against Chinese rule. Among the movement's demands is an independent inquiry into the police and fully

land but have since morphed into

UK's Labour leader for election debacle

MIKE CORDER LONDON, DECEMBER 15

LABOUR PARTY leader Jeremy Corbyn apologised Sunday for this party's crushing defeat in the British general election but defended his campaign, which failed to resonate with the party's working-class base, as "one of hope rather than fear."

British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Conservative Party won 365 of the 650 seats in the House of Commons in Thursday's landslide election. Labour took 203 seats, its worst total since 1935.

Corbyn, 70, has pledged to stand down as the decimated party's leader and the maneuvering to replace him has begun.

"I'm sorry that we came up short and I take my responsibility for it," Corbyn wrote in a letter published in the left-leaning Sunday Mirror newspaper.

But he also said his party's ambitious, big-spending policy platform was popular and blamed the British media for its portrayal of Labour. Corbyn was widely criticised for his perceived tolerance of anti-Semitism in his inner circle.



- JEREMY CORBYN UK OPPOSITION LEADER

After coming under fire in the aftermath of the electoral carnage Corbyn said he will step down after a "period of reflection." The process of choosing a replacement will begin early next year, but some have called for Corbyn's immediate resignation.

"I remain proud of the campaign we fought. I'm proud that no matter how low our opponents went, we refused to joir them in the gutter," he said. AP

Probe into possible 'white power' gestures at US military event

ASSOCIATED PRESS PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 15

THE US Army and Navy academies are looking into hand signs flashed by students that can be associated with "white power" and were televised during the Army-Navy football game on Saturday, school officials said. Cadets at West Point and

midshipmen at the Naval Academy in the stands both appeared to display the sign during the broadcast, officials with the two military academies told *The* Wall Street Journal.

The gesture was seen during an ESPN broadcast segment. School officials are trying to

determine what the hand signals

were meant to convey, they said. "We're looking into it," Lt. Col. Chris Ophardt, a spokesperson

for the US Military Academy at West Point in New York, told the

Journal. "I don't know what their intention is".

"We are aware and will be looking into it," said Cmdr. Alana Garas, a spokesperson for the US Naval Academy, in Annapolis, Maryland. The Pentagon didn't immediately respond to the *Journal's* request for comment.

The hand sign is similar to the one often used to indicate "OK", but the Anti-Defamation League says it has lately been used as an extremist meme, in part because of its ambiguity. US Coast Guard leaders last year reprimanded an officer who used a similar hand sign during a television broadcast.

'SHE COULD BE HEADSTRONG AND WAYWARD, GORGEOUS AND BROKEN'

Anna Karina, who became a symbol of French New Wave cinema, dead at 79

ANITA GATES

DECEMBER 15

ANNA KARINA, the Danish-born actress who became a symbol of the French New Wave — or Nouvelle Vague — in Jean Luc Godard's 1960s films, died on Saturday in Paris. She was 79.

The death was confirmed by France's culture minister, Franck Riester, in a post n Twitter and by her agent, Laurent Balandras, who wrote that the cause was cancer.

Making her first film in her teens, Karina started at the top: Godard's *Le Petit Soldat* (The Little

Soldier), about terrorism during the French-Algerian War. The film, shot in 1960, was not released until 1963 because of censorship. Between those two events, Karina won the 1961 best actress award at the Berlin International Film Festival for Godard's Une Femme Est Une Femme (A Woman Is a Woman), in which she played an unmarried stripper who wants to have a baby.

"Whatever Godard required, Karina provided," *The Guardian* newspaper wrote in 2016. "She could be headstrong and wayward, gorgeous and broken. She was the effervescent free spirit of the French New Wave, with all of

Her other full-length Godard films, released between 1961 and 1966, were Vivre Sa Vie (My Life to Live), about a young woman who drifts into prostitution; Bande à Part (Band of Outsiders), a crime comedy about a romantic triangle and a burglary; Pierrot le Fou, a crime drama about a bored husband on the run with his former mistress, an arms smuggler; *Alphaville*, a science-fiction tale set in a loveless dystopian future; and Made in USA, a crime comedy set in Atlantic-Cité, a fictional

the scars that the position entails."

French town. In later years, Karina played down the notion that she and



Film Festival in May 2018

Godard — whom she married in 1961 — were reinventing cinema, as some film historians liked to say, but she did acknowledge his unusual directorial style. "In older Hollywood movies,

a character will make an entrance, close a door, light a cigarette, sit down, have a drink," she told The New York Times in 2016. "In Jean Luc's movies, you were doing everything at once. And sometimes you wouldn't shut the door all the way. Sometimes your cigarette wouldn't light on the first try." It was, she recalled, "more like being than acting."

Whether playing a streetwalker or a terrorist, Karina managed to look flirtatious, with her dark hair, wispy bangs, heavy eyeliner and lycée-chic wardrobe of sailor-uniform tops, knee socks,

lots of plaid and perky headwear, from berets to boaters.

She went on to make about three dozen other films, and took up directing with the 1973 film Vivre Ensemble. "I wanted to see if I could do it. That's all," she told The Guardian decades later. She also directed, wrote and starred in her last film, Victoria (2008), about a woman with amnesia travelling in Canada.

Karina also pursued a singing career, with late-1960s hits like Sous le Soleil Exactement and Roller Girl, written by Serge Gainsbourg. And she wrote four novels, including Golden City (1983), which she described to the quarterly thriller, with gangsters." But she was still best known

Film Comment as "a kind of

for her earliest film roles.

Hanne Karin Bayer was born on Sept 22, 1940, in Solbjerg, Denmark, a suburban town on the country's east coast. Her father left the family a year after her birth. Her mother ran a dress shop.

At 14, she dropped out of school, sang in cabarets and worked as a television model. At 17, she ran away from home hitchhiking to Paris — and was discovered by the casting director of an advertising agency while sitting at Les Deux Magots, the fashionable Left Bank cafe. During a

photo shoot for Elle magazine, she met the fashion designer Coco Chanel, who advised her to change her name. Godard, a film critic at the

time, saw her in a movie theater ad for a Palmolive bath product. When he subsequently offered her a small part in his first full-length film. "Breathless" (1960), she objected to doing a nude scene. Godard called again and cast

her in his next film, "Le Petit Soldat." Because she was a minor at the time, under French law she had to seek permission from her estranged mother, who flew to Paris to sign the contract. **NYT**

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 2019

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

WORDLY WISE

LOOK AND SEE WHICH WAY THE WIND BLOWS BEFORE YOU COMMIT YOURSELF.

— AESOP

The Indian EXPRESS

∞ Founded By ∞

Ramnath Goenka

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

AT GREAT COST

New citizenship law is taking a toll on ties with Dhaka. Beyond Bangladesh, India's reputation is taking a big hit

S POPULAR OPPOSITION to the new law amending the Indian Citizenship Act intensifies within the country, the external costs are also coming into view. To be sure, the postponement of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's annual summit meeting with the Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe, that was to take place in Guwahati, might only be a temporary setback. It will almost certainly be rescheduled to some other city, or in Guwahati, when the situation returns to normal. But the story on other diplomatic fronts is a lot less reassuring. The biggest negative impact is on India's relations with Bangladesh, which has, in recent years, become one of Delhi's most productive partners. Beyond Bangladesh, India's long-standing reputation as a constitutional democracy is taking a big hit and the loss of goodwill and admiration is not easy to estimate.

The question of illegal immigration has always been a deeply divisive issue between India and Bangladesh. Managing this bitter legacy of Partition and the subsequent movement of people across the long border has been an enduring foreign policy challenge for Delhi. In recent years, Delhi and Dhaka were learning to limit the salience of the issue by deepening their partnership and resolving long-standing issues like the boundary dispute and cross-border terrorism. But in framing religious persecution of the Hindu minority in Bangladesh as one of the motivations for the amendment and repeatedly affirming that Muslim migrants from Bangladesh will be "thrown out", as Union Home Minister Amit Shah has said, Delhi was inviting trouble from Dhaka. Although it deeply resented Shah's statements that put the Sheikh Hasina government in a spot at home, Dhaka has been willing to believe private assurances from Delhi that the issue of the amendment to the citizenship law and the National Register of Citizens were purely domestic issues with no bearing on bilateral relations. Until now. Dhaka's forbearance has finally snapped. That it chose to cancel the visits of two of its ministers to India suggests that Dhaka can no longer keep quiet and will be under increasing pressure to stand up to Delhi.

If the citizenship amendment law and the NRC have pushed India's best partnership in the neighbourhood onto a slippery slope, they have also begun to create problems for India's most important international partnership with the United States. The State Department's reaction, urging Delhi to respect religious freedom and stay with India's constitutional values, was articulated in a polite manner. But US and Western criticism could get a lot tougher as Shah rolls out his plans for an NRC across the nation. The idea of India as a thriving democracy, and its strong commitment to civic nationalism as well as religious pluralism, have been important pillars on which India's strategic partnerships with the US and the West have been built in the last two decades. The government may be seriously underestimating the weight of India's shared political values with the West and the many real and intangible benefits it brings. The costs of that miscalculation could be quite serious and could be evident a lot sooner than Delhi thinks.

A BAND-AID

Raising prices of essential drugs will help ease shortage. Urgency of investing more in R&D remains

AST WEEK, INDIA'S drug regulator, the National Pharmaceutical Pricing Authority (NPPA), used the public interest provision of the Drugs Prices Control Order 2013 to allow manufacturers to increase prices of 21 essential drugs by as much as 50 per cent. Most of these drugs are used to treat critical diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria and leprosy and are crucial to the country's public health programme. The increase in their prices is, therefore, bound to raise concerns. But the decision of the regulatory authority — usually known to slash prices of life-saving drugs — was precipitated by an extraordinary situation. For nearly two years, drug manufacturers have been claiming inability to keep up with the country's healthcare demands due to increasing costs of production. Easing the price ceiling could help the healthcare system tide over the current crisis. It may, as the NPPA has reasoned, "pre-empt a situation where the public is forced to switch to costlier alternatives". But the drug regulator and the Department of Pharmaceuticals need to do much more to address the root cause for the shortage of critical drugs.

India's pharma industry imports more than 60 per cent of active pharmaceutical ingredients (APIs) or bulk drugs — ingredients that give medicine its therapeutic value — from China. But in 2017, Chinese regulators cracked down on bulk drug manufacturing units for their failure to comply with the country's environmental regulations. The revamped Chinese API industry has raised prices, leading to spin-off effects in India. For instance, the cost of making Vitamin C pills has gone up by more than 250 per cent since 2017. This has reportedly led to a 25-30 per cent shortage of this drug in India. Last month, the pharma major, Abbot, applied to the NPPA to discontinue production of the leprosy drug, Hansepran. The company pointed out that increasing costs of API imports had made the production of Hansepran unviable in India.

The importance of making medicines more accessible to those who need them cannot be overstated. However, drug price control measures in India have not always achieved this objective. The ceiling on prices of 74 bulk drugs in 1995, for example, forced many companies to opt out of API production. The Draft Pharmaceutical Policy 2017 did propose correctives. These included giving preference to drugs produced from indigenously produced APIs in government procurement and taking them out of price control for five years. More importantly, the draft talked about creating research and development facilities for API production. However, the policy has not gone beyond the draft stage. It needs to be revisited in light of the country's current medicine shortage.

Freeze Frame

EPUnny



Democratic subversion

ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY

A fusion of law and exclusivist ideology is in the making. Brute arithmetic is being used for majoritarian ends

RIGHT SINCE 1945, up until recently, few democratic polities moved from inclusion to exclusion in their citizenship practices and laws. The big exceptions were mostly authoritarian, the Chinese treatment of Uighurs being the most recent. Some democratic polities might have remained as exclusionary as before, but, by and large, when change came about, democratic polities edged towards larger inclusion. And when new exclusions were proposed, as in Trump's America or in the Le Pen version of France, political battles have been launched by the forces opposed to such curtailments.

By its bi-focal citizenship move — one, excluding Muslim immigrants as citizens while accepting all other communities from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh on grounds of persecution, and two, promising to introduce a national register of citizens, which will render stateless all those Muslims who don't have the documents to prove their Indian ancestry, even if they were born in India and have lived in the country for decades — Delhi is taking two of the darkest steps in the history of democratic citizenship since the European excesses of the 1940s.

The implications are so profound that one should pause to take a larger comparative and historical look. India's strengths and weaknesses are often better understood that way.

Citizenship is basically a legal code for the kind of political community a society is, or would like to be. It says who can be a member of the community — and with what bundle of rights. Since the American and French Revolutions of the late 18th century and the German Unification of 1871, the idea of citizenship has witnessed two models: Birth in a territory (jus solis) and blood-based inheritance (jus sanguinis). Ignoring ethnicity, race or religion, the former is often, if not always, built around the ideals of a society. The latter hooks citizenship to ethnicity or race, sometimes also to religion, especially in societies where religion is not viewed as a matter of choice, but as a blood line, functioning almost like race or ethnicity. India is moving from the former model to the latter.

The voluminous literature on citizenship—and its cousin, nationhood—identifies the US and France as exemplars of the territorial model, and Germany and Japan as the epitome of blood-based citizenship. The consensus is that a community based on ideals is

ity in 1789, it kept Black slaves, who were neither free nor equal, and after the 1880s, it excluded Asians from its immigrant pool. It took the US until the 1860s to end slavery — and till the 1960s to de-link citizenship from ethnicity. Similarly, in France, questions about the

challenged in such polities.

one based on bloodlines.

more inclusive — and harder to build — than

infirmities. The US is the best known. Formally

embracing the ideals of freedom and equal-

loyalty of Jews existed right until the 1910s,

and controversy has also marked the status of

Muslims after the 1970s. But exclusions are

Of course, even inclusive polities have their

The blood-based models work differently. At the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian-speaking ethnic Germans, Soviet citizens until then, simply became citizens of Germany, once they demonstrated German ancestry. Non-ethnic members do exist in such polities, but they receive lesser citizenship, or an inferior bundle of rights. For some time, millions of Turks in Germany were "guest workers"

but they receive lesser citizenship, or an inferior bundle of rights. For some time, millions of Turks in Germany were "guest workers", and naturalisation of even Germany-born Turks was notoriously hard. But after becoming a member of the European Union, Germany also eventually moved in a more inclusive direction. Japan remains a great exception.

Where did independent India fit in? It was undoubtedly closer to the territorial model. In contrast, Pakistan was conceptualised as a Muslim homeland, where non-Muslims could be citizens, but would have fewer rights. India was never envisioned by Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar as a Hindu homeland. Furthermore, Indians in South and East Africa, or Southeast Asia, were not allowed to acquire automatic Indian citizenship. They were citizens of their adopted lands. In those foundational days, even Muslims returning from Pakistan could reclaim Indian citizenship.

The recent exclusionary steps can only bring India's international image down. India under Nehru was lauded worldwide for its constitutionally enshrined inclusive citizenship. If America's constitutive ideals were freedom and equality, India's founding values were equality, including religious equality, diversity and tolerance. Later, riots would often hurt religious minorities more, sometimes damningly so, but in the eyes of the law, there was no distinction between a Hindu or a Muslim. Even if politics deviated from the ba-

sic constitutional principles, the law did not follow suit.

Now, a fusion of law and an exclusivist political ideology is in the making. The government's claim that a modern polity must inevitably draw a distinction between sharanarthi(refugees) and ghuspaithiye(infiltrators) is mendacious. For, it is patently clear that if the existing Muslim citizens of India are unable to produce documents of Indian ancestry, the national register later, using citizenship amendments, can easily call them "infiltrators", making them an object of internment or expulsion. In contrast, if the Hindus have a similar documentary deficit they would neither be interned nor expelled. They can claim they are welcome only in a Hindu homeland, not elsewhere in South Asia and thus acquire Indian citizenship. Assam is

The government's second claim that the citizenship amendment is not anti-Muslim for it will give refugee status not only to Hindus, but also to Christians and Parsis — is also political sophistry. Why should the refugee status, and therefore the possibility of citizenship, be reserved only for those persecuted in three Muslim-majority neighbours, not in the Buddhist-majority Sri Lanka or Myanmar? Both are India's neighbours and have a record of persecuting minorities. And what about the Ahmediyas, whom the Pakistani state, since the mid 1970s, has declared non-Muslim and oppressed? Is Delhi's heart really bleeding for the persecuted minorities?

already burning, partly for this reason.

After Kashmir, Delhi has yet again used brute parliamentary arithmetic for majoritarian ends. Democracy now urgently requires the judiciary and the streets. The Supreme Court may, or may not, act in a resolute manner — hence, protests are also necessary. Non-BJP state governments can exercise the option of non-cooperation, too. Most of the machinery for implementation of laws is, after all, with state governments. The threat of electorally and legally enabled exclusionary horrors is knocking at the door.

The writer is director, Center for Contemporary South Asia, Sol Goldman Professor of International Studies and Social Sciences, professor of political science, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University

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REALISTATION, NOT REFORM

There is no restriction on women offering prayers in mosques in Islam

ZEHRA NAQVI

THE SUPREME COURT has referred the Sabarimala case to a larger constitutional bench and also brought under its ambit issues of gender equality from other religions, including the issue of women being "allowed" to enter mosques.

That the right of women to enter mosques should be a matter for the courts to decide upon is ironic, given that there are no Islamic restrictions on women's entry to mosques. The biggest living proof of this is the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca within which stands the Kaaba, the holiest site of prayer for Muslims. Thousands of women pray within the halls of the mosque five times every day—similar to Masjid an-Nabawi in Medina, the second holiest mosque, the premises of which also hold the tomb of Prophet Mohammad.

In countries that have a majority Muslim population, almost every mosque has dedicated sections for women *namazis*. As a practicing Muslim woman, I have had the opportunity to offer *namaz* in numerous mosques in Malaysia, Jordan, Iran and Iraq. In the latter two countries, the grand domed structures constructed around the tombs of the Imams revered by Shia Muslims also serve as mosques from where the call for prayer is made and the faithful congregate to offer *namaz*. Women are present in multitudes every bit as much as the men.

In India as well, we can find numerous in-

mentioned countries, but the reasons for this are decidedly cultural rather than religious. It also has to do with lack of awareness among women about the fact that they can indeed pray in mosques if they wish to.

Writer and historian Rana Safvi has pub-

Writer and historian Rana Safvi has publicly spoken about and posted on social media her accounts of praying in mosques across the country, from Kashmir to Kolata, Sonepat to Shimla, Bijapur to Barielly. Safvi recounts an experience from a small village in Zafrabad near Jaunpur, at a 13th century Jama Masjid, where she asked the Imam for permission to pray (given that there was no separate area for ladies). The Imam exclaimed that this was the "house of Allah" and where else would she pray if not here?

Asiya Ahmed Khan, a naturalist from Hyderabad, has had similar experiences of praying in congregations at mosques in Hyderbadad, including on Fridays, of praying at the Delhi Jama Masjid, the mosque at Connaught Place, at the Bada Imambada in Lucknow, mosques in Mysore and so on. In fact her list includes mosques in Singapore, Thailand, Turkey and even Russia. Sheba Naqvi, a serving magistrate in the UP government — who also happens to be my mother — has prayed in mosques not just in Delhi and Noida, but also in small towns such as Agra,

stances of women offering prayers in Nainital, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr and mosques. Perhaps far less so than the afore- Aligarh.

Questions have also been raised about women having a separate designated area to offer *namaz*, which is presented as a discriminatory act. In fact, every fraction of space within the mosque holds equal value in terms of worship - there is no sanctum sanctorum. The pulpit from where the muezzin gives the call for prayer is merely a designated spot for giving the *azaan*, built so that the voice may carry farther. The tenets of Islam stress that the divine presence envelops and encompasses the worshiper, without any particular physical space being the focus of worship.

Perhaps far more than a judgment from the Supreme Court, what is required is the spread of awareness in the remotest corners of the country, should such mosques exist that bar the entry of women.

In fact, to call it "reform" or "transformation" would not be suitable either, for such a practice finds no space among the tenets of Islam. A more apt word would be "realisation" and "course correction". And it is important to note that course corrections cannot be foisted from above, but are manifested when the realisation emanates from deep within, through heightened knowledge and conciseness.

The writer is a freelance journalist

In Good Faith

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DECEMBER 9, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

INDO-BANGLA TALKS BANGLADESH IS QUESTIONING the

BANGLADESH IS QUESTIONING the broad framework of the boundary agreement the two countries signed in 1974. The divergent positions the two countries have adopted on the agreement hampered to a great extent the progress of the current Indo-Bangladesh talks. The dispute over 44 acres of land in Muhuri Char area near Belonia on the Tripura-Bangladesh border, it appears, is not posing much of a problem. The delegations from the two countries are likely to come out with a statement providing for an interim arrangement for the disputed stretch of land.

SHAH IN PANAMA

THE DEPOSED SHAH of Iran arrived at Howard Air Force base in Panama from Texas, US, and left shortly before noon by helicopter for an undisclosed destination, a US southern command spokesman said. "He is a guest of the Panamanian government, and we will have nothing more to say on the matter until the Panamanians make an announcement", the spokesman said. A Panamanian government spokesman, Pedro Ureta Jr. said the government had known of the deposed monarch's arrival for two days and that he was likely to stay in a hotel. Teheran has been demanding the extradition of Shah.

1980 OIL IMPORTS

THE UNION PETROLEUM ministry hopes to finalise the arrangements for import of crude and petroleum products during 1980 by the end of next week. An official delegation headed by the petroleum secretary, B B Vohra, is leaving for the Soviet Union. The same delegation will visit Iran and Iraq to complete the oil import deals for the coming year. Official sources say a major portion of the country's crude import requirements during 1980 have already been more or less "tied up". Of the 18 million tonnes of crude import needed, suppliers have agreed to send as much as 14 million tonnes.



— THE DAILY STAR, BANGLADESH

THE IDEAS PAGE

An unneighbourly act

CAB and NRC threaten to undo the important strides that Bangladesh and India have together taken in the recent past



Ashikur Rahman

IT IS UNCLEAR why any nation — where its political leadership has the right mindset will risk jeopardising an international bilateral partnership that is rooted in both historic sanctity and strategic value. Yet, the actions and the political philosophy of the ruling NDA government in India - manifested in the recently passed Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC) — are increasingly threatening the country's friendship with Bangladesh that emerged out of troubled waters.

Bangladesh and India's nearly five-decade old bilateral relationship has been anything but steady. The few early years of positive engagement after 1971, when Bangladesh was being salvaged from its war-torn state under the stewardship of its founding father Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, saw a dramatic reversal with the assassination of Mujib in 1975. In fact, the resurrection of military lead-

ers and anti-Indian political and Islamic forces within the politics of Bangladesh after 1975 meant that India and Bangladesh could not form an alliance rooted in trust. And this precarious relationship reached rock bottom when the BNP and the Jamaate-Islami's coalition government sponsored insurgency activities against the north-eastern states of India between 2001 and 2006 by allowing separatist leaders to use Bangladesh's sovereign territories for their terrorist operations. It is only under Prime Minister Sheikh

Hasina's leadership — after the electoral victory of the Awami League-led alliance in 2008 — that Bangladesh made a complete Uturn in its approach to India. Further, there is little debate today that the Bangladesh-India partnership has greatly benefited from Hasina's patronage of goodwill-generating initiatives. Bangladesh has also shown an unfettered commitment to India's national security by showing zero-tolerance for all forms of terrorism.

However, recent political developments within India could threaten the friendship that Bangladesh has nurtured, maintained and remains committed to. More specifically, the Government of India's decision to go ahead with the passing of the CAB will now aid the political implementation of the NRC as it gives special status to Hindus and people belonging to other religions but not to Muslims. And while the passage of the CAB was immediately followed by the cancellation of official visits by Bangladesh's home minister and foreign minister, both sides still officially maintain that the NRC is India's internal issue. This is so even though the political rhetoric in India is advocating the expulsion of "Muslim infiltrators" from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan, which contradicts Delhi's official position with Bangladesh.

This is precisely why many in Bangladesh believe that the NRC is blatantly disrespectful and risks undermining the only successful example of the "neighbourhood first policy" that the NDA government coined when they were elected to office in 2014. There are two available strategies the NDA government might opt to pursue in how to deal with the million-plus Muslims in Assam who are now considered infiltrators. These people can either be kept in secured camps or the Indian government can start pushing them back into Bangladesh. And while the first strategy

might create an international uproar, the sec-

ond is likely to completely destabilise the re-

lationship that underpins cooperation be-

tween the two neighbours. But this is not the only front to which the implications of the NRC will be restricted. The CAB and the NRC are instruments that try to facilitate the reconfiguration of India's social fabric into two broad identities — Hindus and the rest — which serves only the narrow interests of the ruling coalition in Delhi, especially because it relies on religious identitybased jingoism as a political tool. Hence, the CAB and the NRC will deepen the communal divide that remains ever-present within the social fabric of South Asia.

It is also essential to underscore that in no civilised country can religion be the basis of citizenship, specifically if the founding principles of such nation states championed secular ideals and equality before the law. In that respect, the political and legal argument of the NDA government that categorises India as the natural homeland for Hindus but not for Muslims is not only an ideological regression, but it champions a philosophy that is inherently anti-Indian. And as this process plays out, it will open the window for new sources of destabilisation in both Bangladesh

and India. After all, if India's right-wing Hindu forces find it justifiable to propagate a second-class citizenship for Indian Muslims and send controversially created "infiltrators" to Bangladesh, then what will stop Jamaat-e-Islami and other right-wing Islamic forces in The CAB and the NRC are instruments that try to facilitate the reconfiguration of India's social fabric into two broad identities — Hindus and the rest which serves only the narrow interests of the ruling coalition in Delhi, especially because it relies on religious identity-based jingoism to as a political tool. Hence, the CAB and the NRC will deepen the communal divide

Bangladesh from proposing similar standards for more than 10 million Bangladeshi Hindus? And how will secular and liberal forces in Bangladesh navigate this communal tension, with its root cause in the systematic persecution of minorities in India? Most importantly, how will any well-intentioned government in Bangladesh build a lasting partnership with India if the population at large becomes deeply distrusting and sceptical of such a partnership?

There is little doubt that one cannot ensure geopolitical stability, security and social harmony by legitimising a political strategy that aims to turn a democracy into a communal, majoritarian political order, particularly when the Subcontinent has navigated a deeply divisive past, culminating in a profound distrust for one's neighbour.

Bilateral ties that overcame such strong historic impediments deserve respect, as they were created with hard work, meticulous political strategies, good intent and visionary leadership. Any political strategy that undermines such accomplishments merits reconsideration. Ties with Bangladesh, in particular, need careful consideration. Any crossing of the Rubicon while executing the NRC will undo the important strides that Bangladesh and India have together taken in the recent past. India, in this context, must prove that it is a respectful bilateral partner.

The writer is a senior economist at the Policy Research Institute of Bangladesh, Dhaka

C R Sasikumar

Shifting corridors of power

"Does the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), one wonders, herald the end of a pluralistic and secular India, and the fulfilment of the dream of the RSS and

What image should Rajpath reflect? What should be the shape of a new Parliament House? Major architectural changes demand transparency



WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

its founders like Savarkar?"

GAUTAM BHATIA

IN 1913, EDWIN Lutyens stood on the crest of Raisina Hill, and in the yellow summer light gazed eastwards, across low scrub and kikar trees, down the long plain that would become the setting for his last major work. He stood long enough to envision the grand scheme that he would undertake over the next few decades, a scheme that would become — for the future inhabitants of his great enterprise — the most sacred ground of the Indian capital.

Almost a century on, a new plan has been unveiled to modify Lutyens's grand design of this sandstone acropolis — the axial assembly of North and South Block, the crowning Viceroy's House, the flanking circular Parliament building, the long ceremonial lawn and roadway that ends at India Gate. With radical changes planned, the obvious question is whether they should be altered from their original intent to suit the demands of the 21st century; whether, in fact, Lutyens's time bears any resemblance to Narendra Modi's India. In reality, very little.

To begin with, the Viceroy's House was designed as a monumental English country house, by an architect specialising in English country houses. Its extensive wings accommodate bedroom suites, interior courts, a grand ballroom, library, state dining halls, a cinema theatre, and quarters for a staff of stewards, valets, housekeepers, barber, tailor, and painter. Not to mention an extensive base floor for the storage of linen, china, glass, carpets and furniture. The architecture reflects the overwhelming formalism of an English country estate and the heightened domesticity of a Mughal palace. Only a minuscule of its formidable space and services are now used by the President. Should then the remaining building be converted into a museum of imperialism?

Flanking its entrance, South and North Block were made as symbolic reminders of the support of the civil service. Structures of no great importance, their architect Baker called them "buildings of dignity that avoided the dreadful Hindoo stuff". Today, the vast stone offices have the air of an abandoned ruin. Built at a time when space was cheap and cooling was done with high ventilators, the structures are barely adequate for an overgrown bureaucracy, and serve more as a convenient home to local pigeons and monkeys. The proposed design scheme suggests their new use as museums of the Indian republic — a convenient ploy that relegates any and all historic structures to galleries or heritage hotels.

Issues about building inadequacies have been raised by the government primarily because of Parliament House. Yet in the ensemble, this is the only building that continues to serve its function admirably. Other than the niggling demands for security, me-

dia, and greater levels of communication, the chambers of both Houses are well equipped and easily accessible, with a wide reach of spillover space for informal discussions and meetings. Verandahs, courtyards, and wide galleries are all in keeping with the view that political decisions happen in "the corridors of power". What then is all the fuss about? Citing lack of space as the main reason, the old building will become another museum, this time to democracy. And an altogether new structure will be constructed alongside to accommodate the rising number of MPs.

The primary change is in the ceremonial space of Rajpath itself. Designed with long reflecting pools and a spread of flanking trees, the linear space was meant to be a symbolic appropriation of public space for no reason other than the expression of power. It furthered the cause of monumentalism, and made the pink architecture on Raisina Hill grander, more authoritarian. Lutyens never imagined that a century later the place would become a messy daily bazaar, filled with vendors, ice-cream carts, informal boating — a fair ground for all purposes, his beloved India Gate, a noisy playground.

Yet, in the overall structure of public space, Rajpath still remains an arena of great urban significance, equal to the Mall in Washington, DC and the Champs Elyeses in Paris. In the 100-year history of the site, since its original conception, there have been many additions, as would be expected of any important public arena in the capital of a newly-independent country. Most of the other ministry structures built along the adjacent flanks date back to the 1950s and 1960s. Without exception, each is a poor cousin of its antecedent on Raisina Hill, each a step away from the grand tradition of design, quality and construction workmanship set up by Lutyens.

What image should then Rajpath reflect? What should be the new shape of the Parliament House? The answers will emerge soon enough, now that the work has of design has been awarded. In other parts of the world, any major architectural change is carefully considered, opened for discussion, and formulated after a consensus. In France, every civic intervention is selected after an open design competition, as is so in most democracies. Sadly, in a place where transparency is only a vague concept, critical national decisions are still made behind closed doors.

Does architecture — and Lutyens — deserve a place in Indian history? Why should we care about architects who strayed from "the dreadful Hindoo stuff", but still erected a magnificent sandstone stage set? Perhaps for the same reason that we continue to revere and protect the Purana Qila, the Konarak Sun Temple and the Gateway of India. It is unlikely that such structures can ever be conceived again, let alone, built.

But another school of thought is emerging — one that treats these old buildings like history books, rewritten with fresh untested knowledge. Sometimes it is easier to rewrite or rebuild history, than save it, or learn from it.

Bhatia is a Delhi-based architect and writer

VIEW FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



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

that remains ever-present

within the social fabric of

South Asia.

INDIA DISAPPOINTS

USUALLY, AT LEAST in recent times, the English-language press in Bangladesh has avoided being overtly critical of India. Even as the NRC process unfolded in Assam, both The Daily Star and Dhaka Tribune had, while expressing reservations, continued to state that it is a matter internal to India, and would likely not affect ties between India and Bangladesh. With the passage of the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), there is a decisive change in that tone.

The December 12 editorial in *The Daily* Star opens with a question, which is also a powerful rebuke to the Narendra Modi government: "Coming on the heels of the controversial National Register of Citizens (NRC) policy in Assam, does the Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), one wonders, herald the end of a pluralistic and secular India, and the fulfilment of the dream of the RSS and its founders like Savarkar?"

The editorial argues that the CAB strikes at the foundation of the Indian republic. And that it will "validate" communal politics, something which the BJP "has no pretensions" about championing. It even addresses the point that as an elected government, the Modi-led dispensation is merely fulfilling its

mandate: "Elected leaders do have the right to implement policies which in their wisdom they see as beneficial to the country and its people. But the popular mandate does not allow for the kind of politics where brute majority in parliament is exploited for partisan politics that strikes at the basic ethos of a nation... What we see as even more worrisome is that the CAB directly encourages migration of Hindus from Bangladesh."

"India's soul," says the editorial, "is being jaundiced". And more's the pity, because there was a time when the largest country in South Asia served as an example. "Because, India was cited, not only by Bangladesh but also the world, as an example of a pluralistic, inclusive nation with a syncretic culture and eclectic society. What we see now is the retrogression of a nation which once exemplified 'unity in diversity' to an exclusively Hindu state where only one religion will prevail."

The editorial in *Dawn* on December 11, understandably, grandstands rather eloquently on the end of secularism in India: "Under Narendra Modi's watch, there is little doubt that the country is being transformed into a Hindu rashtra, where minority communities are relegated to the margins of society, if accepted at all."

Dawn calls for international condemnation of the CAB as a conclusion to its editorial: "It seems the RSS ideologues that are running India, who are huge fans of Israel and whose ideological forefathers were smitten by Europe's 20th-century fascists, are now employing the 'best practices' of both influences to do away with India's Muslims. These condemnable actions should be noted by countries around the world. There have always been forces in India struggling to remove the veneer of secularism that previous dispensations there sought to promote. With the BJP's rise to power, it seems that the communal beast has been set free."

A BASIC MISTAKE

AN ARTICLE BY Saleem Ahmed in Dhaka Tribune on December 11 takes issue with Rajnath Singh and other members of the Indian government and ruling party characterising Bangladesh (along with Pakistan and Afghanistan) as "theocratic Islamic states" where minorities "are facing harassment" and "the state religion is Islam". The article responds to what it sees as calumny by the defence minister of India. "The top official of the Indian government must have understood that the state constitution is still secular, Since 2009, Sheikh Hasina's ruling Awami League and her government strictly believes in a secular polity. Therefore, it should have been difficult for Rajnath Singh to misread Sheikh Hasina's government's pluralist polity. We are not denying that the Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, Adivasis (indigenous people), and also Ahmadiyya Muslims are sporadically attacked by religious zealots, who often slam the minorities for blasphemy. The AL government promptly took action against the perpetrators."

The article makes clear that the NRC, along with the CAB and the rhetoric being employed by the government and ruling party in India will have an adverse effect on bilateral relations: "Bangladesh's government was assured time and again that the controversial NRC, specially made for identification of illegal Muslims from Bangladesh residing in Assam state, would not jeopardise bilateral relations between the two neighbouring countries. The race to table and pass the Non-Muslim Citizenship Bill or Citizenship Amendment Bill by the Indian parliament, allegedly to make a demographic shift, seems to migration experts to be an issue for Bangladesh to be embarrassed about."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FARMERS' AID

NAM has become an 'inam' for farmers' (IE, December 12). The writer has identified many benefits of e-NAM which can help the government achieve the target of doubling farmers' income by 2022, but many farmers are still unaware or not confident about this platform. The Union government needs to propagate the portal like corporates and should take the support of state

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'How e-

Ravdeep Singh Hundal, Ferozepur

GET INTO THE ACT

THIS REFERS TO the article. 'An encounter with injustice' (IE, December 13). People applauding encounters by police is a symptom of justice being delayed. It seems that the public wants results and is not interested in procedures. Its high time there are reforms in judicial process.

Nishant Arun, Bikaner

FRAUGHT MOVE

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'A constitutional obligation' (IE, December 13). The purpose of NRC was to expel the illegal migrants from the country as its resources are limited. The CAB in contrast bestows citizenship to migrants from six religious communities from the specific countries. How is it beneficial for a country like India which is already suffering from mass poverty and unemployment? Moreover, the move is particularly

LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

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

fraught in a country where religionbased discrimination is on the rise. **Hala Quamar,** New Delhi

Express, B-1/B, Sector 10,

Noida-UP 201301.

HURTING FARMERS

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'In the farmer's name' (IE, December 13). MSPs have been detrimental to crop diversity. Thanks to it we have only three major food crops — rice, wheat and sugarcane. No doubt India is the diabetic capital of world. Oats and cornflakes have replaced poha, suji, jawar and bajra from the Indian market. The loss of crop diversity has been accompanied by deteriorating water table, bad cropping practices and skewed markets. Private investments in agriculture have fallen. Kanishka Vishal. Bettiah

<mark>lanex</mark>press.com

FUEL PORT

For refilling

HYDROGEN TANKS

Provide hydrogen

to fuel cells

Various kinds,

according to model

From hydrogen

atoms, catalyst

strips electrons,

which flow

electrodes,

electricity.

Electrons and

pass through

electrolyte

membrane,

into water.

then combine

hydrogen atoms

between

creating

BATTERY

If there is an impact or leakage, tank valves get shut

Oxygen

#ExpressExplained

HOW IT WORKS

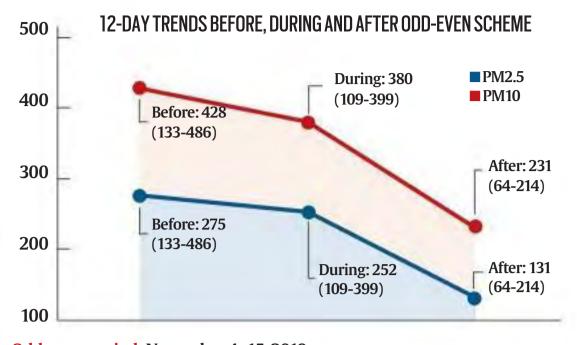
A fuel cell generates its own electricity through a chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen

If there are questions of current or contemporary relevance that you would like explained, please write to explained@indianexpress.com

SAFEGUARDS

TELLING NUMBERS

Drop in Delhi particulate matter in days following odd-even



Odd-even period: November 4-15, 2019

Figures in micrograms/cubic metre

Figures in brackets signify maximum and minimum concentrations during the period

Source: Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change

FOR 12 days between November 4 and November 15, the Delhi government rolled out an odd-even scheme, based on licence plate numbers, to restrict the number of vehicles on the roads and reduce pollution. Figures tabled by the Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change recently, in response to a question in Parliament, showed 12day trends for air pollution before, during and after the scheme.

The average concentration of PM2.5 fell from 275 micrograms per cubic metre before the scheme (October 23-November 3) to 131 micrograms/cu.m. In the 12 days immediately following the scheme (November 16-27). During the scheme the average concentration was 252 micrograms/cu.m. The range of PM2.5 varied between a low of 133 and a high of 486 before the scheme, between 109 and 399 during the scheme, and

between 64 and 214 after the scheme. For PM10, the average concentration fell from 428 micrograms/cu.m. (maximum 289, minimum 592) before the scheme to 380 micrograms/cu.m. (220-582) during October 23-November 27, and then 231 micrograms/cu.m.(127-3622)after the scheme.

The average concentration of sulphur dioxide remained the same before and during the scheme, at 14 micrograms/cu.m, and fell slightly to 13 after the scheme. Nitrogen dioxide concentration dropped from 58 micrograms/cu.m. to 57 to 55.

The Ministry said that according to recent studies, the main contributors to PM2.5 and PM10 for Delhi are transport, industries, agriculture burning, residential and dust (soil, road and construction) along with meteorological conditions such as wind speed, temperature etc.

THIS WORD MEANS

THE CROWN ACT

In US states, law against discrimination over hair colour

IN JULY this year, California became the first state in the US to make discrimination over natural hair illegal. New York followed suit and now New Jersey has become the latest US state to pass such a legislation, called Creating a Respectful and Open Workplace for Women (CROWN) Act.

CROWN aims to protect people of colour from being discriminated against for their natural hair, especially at the workplace. The legislation takes into account discrimination because of traits that are historically associated with a particular race, "based on hair texture and style". It also takes into account the historical norms and societal norms that equated "blackness" and its associated physical traits such as dark skin, kinky

and curly hair "to a badge of inferiority, sometimes subject to separate and unequal treatment", the California version of the law states. One of the reasons for such legislation is to separate "professionalism" from features and mannerisms, thereby getting rid of workplace grooming or dress code policies that would deter black people from applying.

A study conducted recently by Unilever-owned brand Dove concluded that black women were 80% more likely to change their natural hair in order to meet social norms or expectations at work. It also said that black women are 50% more likely to be sent home or to know of another black woman who has been sent home from the workplace because of her hair.



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SIMPLY PUT QUESTION & ANSWER

How cars can run on hydrogen

Supreme Court has asked government to look into the feasibility of hydrogen-based tech to deal with vehicular air pollution in capital. India is looking closely at Japan, which has made progress in this field.

ANIL SASI

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

AHEAD OF next July's Tokyo Olympics, Japan is gearing up to put on its roads thousands of vehicles based on a hydrogen cell technology, also known as 'fuel cells'. Japan's lead in the practical application of the hydrogen fuel cycle, and the ongoing research in this field at the International Research Center for Hydrogen Energy at Kyushu University, are being studied closely by the Indian government as it readies a hydrogen-fuelled blueprint. This comes in the backdrop of the Supreme Court directing the government on November 13 to look into the feasibility of introducing such technology to deal with air pollution in the National Capital Region.

How does the hydrogen fuel cell work? At the heart of the fuel cell electric vehicles

(FCEV) is a device that uses a source of fuel, such as hydrogen, and an oxidant to create electricity by an electrochemical process. Put simply, the fuel cell combines hydrogen and oxygen to generate an electric current, water being the only byproduct. Like conventional batteries under the bonnets of automobiles, hydrogen fuel cells too convert chemical energy into electrical energy. From a long-term viability perspective, FCEVs are billed as vehicles of the future, given that hydrogen is the most abundant resource in the universe.

So is an FCEV a conventional vehicle or an electric vehicle (EV)?

While the fuel cells generate electricity through an electrochemical process, unlike a battery-electricity vehicle, it does not store energy and, instead, relies on a constant supply of fuel and oxygen — in the same way that an internal combustion engine relies on a constant supply of petrol or diesel, and oxygen. In that sense, it may be seen as being similar to a conventional internal combustion engine.

But unlike the combustion engine cars. there are no moving parts in the fuel cell, so they are more efficient and reliable by comparison. Also, there is no combustion onboard, in the conventional sense.

Globally, EVs are bracketed under three broad categories:

BEVs such as the Nissan Leaf or Tesla Model S, which have no internal combustion engine or fuel tank, and run on a fully electric drivetrain powered by rechargeable batteries.

■ Conventional hybrid electric vehicles or HEVs such as the Toyota Camry sold in the country combine a conventional internal combustion engine system with an electric propulsion system, resulting in a hybrid vehicle drivetrain that substantially reduces fuel use. The onboard battery in a conventional hybrid is charged when the IC engine is powering the drivetrain.

■Plug-in hybrid vehicles or PHEVs, such as the Chevrolet Volt, too have a hybrid drivetrain that uses both an internal combustion engine and electric power for motive power, backed by rechargeable batteries that can be plugged into a power source.

■ FCEVs are widely considered to be the next frontier in EV technology. FCEVs such as Toyota's Mirai and Honda's Clarity use hydrogen to power an onboard electric motor. Since they are powered entirely by electricity, FCEVs are considered EVs — but unlike BEVs, their range and refuelling processes are comparable to conventional cars and trucks.

To what uses can the technology be put?

The hydrogen fuel cell vehicle market is dominated by Japan's Toyota and Honda, alongside South Korea's Hyundai. While the successful development of hydrogen would provide energy for transportation and electric power, an advantage is the wide avail-

POWER CONTROL UNIT

Manages fuel cell output and

battery input

Fuel cell

stack

ELECTRIC MOTOR

Allows movement with

little noise or vibration

FUEL CELL STACK

An assemblage of fuel cells, each producing electricity

ability of resources for producing hydrogen. Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) published a 'Strategic Roadmap for Hydrogen and Fuel Cells' in 2014, with a revised update in March 2016, with a goal to achieve a hydrogen society. Stationary fuel cells — the largest, most powerful fuel cells - are being designed to provide a cleaner, reliable source of on-site power to hospitals, banks, airports and homes. A fuel cell continues to produce energy as long as fuel and oxidant are supplied. Portable fuel cells could find other applications beyond vehicles.

Roger Hertzenberg, CEO of Uno-X Hydrogen, which develops hydrogen stations in Norway, the world leader in green vehicle technology, told The Indian Express: "Fuel cell electric vehicles are the most user-friendly zero-emission solution in Norway. Our goal is to provide the necessary infrastructure, securing our customers several zero emissionalternatives to choose from, and to meet the demand for H2 fuel in a convenient way at the lowest possible cost for the consumer."

What are the advantages and disadvantages of fuel cells?

Fuel cells have strong advantages over conventional combustion-based technologies currently used in many power plants and cars, given that they produce much smaller quantities of greenhouse gases and

problems. Also, if pure hydrogen is used, fuel cells emit only heat and water as a byproduct. Such cells are also far more energy efficient than traditional combustion technologies.

none of the air pollutants that cause health

Unlike battery-powered electric vehicles, fuel cell vehicles do not need to be plugged in, and most models exceed 300 km of range on a full tank. They are filled up with a nozzle, just like in a petrol or diesel station.

But there are problems.

Catalyst •

Catalyst •

Electrolyte membrane

While FCEVs do not generate gases that contribute to global warming, the process of making hydrogen needs energy — often from fossil fuel sources. That has raised questions over hydrogen's green credentials.

Also, there are questions of safety — hydrogen is more explosive than petrol. Opponents of the technology cite the case of the hydrogen-filled Hindenburg airship in 1937. But Japanese auto industry players The Indian Express spoke to argued that a comparison was misplaced because most of the fire was attributed to diesel fuel for the airship's engines and a flammable lacquer coating on the outside.

Hydrogen fuel tanks in FCEVs such as the Mirai are made from highly durable carbon fibre, whose strength is assessed in crash tests, and also trials where bullets are fired at it. The Mirai and Clarity have a triple-layer hydrogen tanks made of woven carbon fibre, which the manufacturers claim is completely safe.

The other major hurdle is that the vehicles are expensive, and fuel dispensing pumps are scarce. But this should get better as scale and distribution improves.

Japan is going full steam ahead. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe declared in Davos this year that Japan "aims to reduce the production cost of hydrogen by at least 90 per cent by the year 2050, to make it cheaper than natural gas".

What is the progress in India?

In India, so far, the definition of EV only covers BEVs; the government has lowered taxes to 12%. At 43%, hybrid electric vehicles and hydrogen FCEVs attract the same tax as IC vehicles.

The Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, under its Research, Development and Demonstration(RD&D)programme, has been supporting various such projects in academic institutions, research and development organisations and industry for development Fourteen RD&D projects on hydrogen and fuel cells are currently under implementation with the support of the Ministry. Between 2016-17 and 2018-19, eight projects were sanctioned and 18 completed.

The Ministry of Science and Technology has supported two networked centres on hydrogen storage led by IIT Bombay and Nonferrous Materials Technology Development Centre, Hyderabad. These involve 10 institutions, including IITs, and IISc, Bangalore.

What poll result means for Brexit, Scotland, and Johnson's Britain

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI. DECEMBER 15

LAST WEEK, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson swept an election that left various takeaways, the most important of which is the likelihood of Brexit being put on the fast track. Other takeaways and landmarks include the biggest defeat of the Labour Party since 1935, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn's decision not to lead the party in future elections, a sweep of Scotland's seats by the Scottish National Party, and its implications

on the possibility of independence. Johnson's Conservative Party won 365 seats in the 650-member Parliament. The Labour Party won 203, and the Scottish National Party 48.

Why is it being said that the election was about Brexit?

Because that was the narrative that drove the election. It is too simplistic, however, to read the result as a message that most voters in Britain are in favour of Brexit. With Brexit inevitable, it was a question

about how the process should unfold. On this, Johnson's Conservative Party had a more clear plan than the Labour Party.

While campaigning, Johnson not only promised to resolve the long-pending issue but also projected the opposition as likely to keep delaying a resolution. Labour's stance, in fact, did appear to be contradictory. Corbyn is personally inclined towards Brexit, but many in the Labour coalition oppose it. The Labour campaign talked about a revised Brexit plan, but proposed to take that through vet another national referendum.

More than Brexit, it was the prospect of closure that appears to have decided the election. The Conservatives broke votes away from the pro-Brexit section of Labour's base.

So, how will Brexit proceed?

So far, no plan offered in Parliament had won majority support. Now, because of the sheer size of the victory, Johnson's plan is more likely to find support, in spite of the many factions created by opinions on Brexit. Besides, the vote can potentially be interpreted as public endorsement for Johnson's plan, although that is not really the case.



PM Boris Johnson outside 10 Downing Street after his victory. Reuters

With Parliament due to sit next Friday, it is expected to try and pass Johnson's Withdrawal Agreement Bill this month itself. After that, Britain has to negotiate the

terms of a treaty, including its time-frame, with the European Union. "Brexit day" is on Ianuary 31, but the process of implementation will continue long after that.

How does one read the performance of the Scottish National Party?

First, it would be too much to expect that the SNP's performance will eventually lead to Scottish independence. Nevertheless, the SNP's sweep of Scotland is immensely significant, shutting out both Labour and Conservative parties.

In a referendum in 2014, Scotland had rejected independence. But opinion polls have also shown that the Scottish population is by and large in favour of remaining in the European Union. Will Brexit, therefore, lead to calls for independence? Although the SNP is against Brexit, the vote does not necessarily mean a referendum for Scottish independence. It may simply be that the SNP is more popular with Scottish voters than the Labour or Conservative Party.

Even if Brexit, when it happens, revives pro-independence sentiment (which would help the SNP further), independence is a long road with many procedural hurdles.

What does the result mean for Britain. beyond Brexit?

The size of the victory sets the stage for

a Britain of Johnson's ideological vision nationalism, with tougher laws on immigration. Britain will also have to deal with Brexit's effect on its economy. This includes the long process of new bilateral trade agreements with many other countries.

What does it mean for Labour, and Corbyn in particular?

For the party, it is the smallest share of Parliament since 1935: even its minority during the Margaret Thatcher regime was larger. However, the vote is being seen more as a loss of Corbyn than for the party.

While national ratings show Corbyn as being highly unpopular among voters, he led a party whose stand on various non-Brexit issues are popular. The fact that Corbyn failed to capitalise on this indicates that the elections are his defeat. One possible reason, according to analyses in various news publications, is that voters trusted Johnson more than Corbyn in terms of carrying out their respective promises, even though Labour's policies were more popular with dedicated Labour voters. Corbyn is seen as pro-Brexit while Labour voters are largely against it.



THE GOVERNANCE PAGE

PROVIDING CLEAN LAND TITLES TO SLUM DWELLERS

How Odisha's slum rehabilitation project is transforming lives, winning awards

World Habitat Mission recognised the state government's Jaga Mission that used drones to survey slums

SAMPAD PATNAIK

BHUBANESWAR, DECEMBER 15

PK TATILU, 36, runs a tailoring shop out of his one-room asbestos house in Nolia Sahi, which is one of the oldest slums in Puri's temple town of Konark. Father to two young daughters, Tatilu claims his family had lived in the slums for three generations, albeit without any legal rights. But that changed earlier this year when he saw a drone hovering over his house.

The drone was the harbinger of a new initiative by the Odisha government — called the Jaga (Land) Mission — which is the world's largest slum land title project. It involves the government surveying and awarding slum dwellers like Tatilu a legal land title. Last week, the Odisha government became the first in the country to bag an award from the World Habitat Mission for this particular project.

Tatilu, who claims to belong to a "backward caste", could not be happier. "The fact that I now have a certificate to the land where I have lived — without any rights — for 35 years is transformational. I can now think of building a proper house because the investment is on the soil that has been legally given to me by the government".

Under the Mission, Odisha's Housing and Urban Development Department, in collaboration with Tata Trusts, is "transforming slums into liveable habitat with all necessary civic infrastructure and services at par with the better off areas within the same urban local body (ULB)".

Outlining the vision for the Mission, its head and Principal Secretary Housing and Urban Development, G Mathi Vathanan, told The Indian Express, "Odisha enacted a Land Rights for Slum Dwellers Act in 2017. This is not just a statute, but a lifeline for slum dwellers, who have been historically considered as encroachers. Slum dwellers have been considered lawbreakers and treated as culprits (by the state and the society)".

"This attitude has led to conspicuous differences between slum and non-slum localities in urban spaces. Slums are characterised by their lack of hygiene and a general air of being a un-liveable environment. In Bhubaneswar, 30 per cent of the area is covered by slums and inhabited by 25 per cent of the population. This cannot be successful urban governance", he added, explaining the rationale of the Mission.



Formal land rights have had a transformational impact says Tatilu. Express

WHAT IS THE JAGA (OR

Odisha Land Rights to Slum

Dwellers Act 2017 enables it

■ Slum refers to a compact

households with poorly built

temporary tenements, crowded,

unsanitary and usually on state

■ Land right to slum dwellers is

heritable but not transferable and

may be mortgaged to raise housing

■ The Act applies to municipalities

and Notified Area Councils (NACs)

■ Land titles cannot exceed 45 sq

ms in municipalities and 60 sq mt

■ For EWS, land to be settled free of

but not Municipal Corporations

settlement of at least 20

govt land in an urban area

LAND) MISSION

Why land rights for slums matter

MORE OFTEN than not, slums are seen as encroachments and slum dwellers, even if they stay in slums for decades, are not provided with any legal rights over the land. This illegality further condemns slums which are an urban reality in Indian cities — to unsanitary conditions. Formal recognition of land rights allows for cleaner cities and better living conditions for slum dwellers.

the benchmarked value which has been set based on nearby land transactions in recent years", Dash stated.

Vathanan talks about the economic importance of slums. "One cannot just remove them.(If we do that) there will be no one (left) to work as domestic staff or in garbage disposal and road constructions — their most common occupations that also happen to be the lifeline of the city. Slums are the pillars of the urban (city) economy. Especially in India, the formal economy runs on the engine of the informal economy".

"We must also understand that slums do not exist because of the fault of the dwellers", he continues. "Wages, for the kind of work slum dwellers do, are very low in India compared to European countries, where we do not see slums. Our minimum wages are not applicable to domestic and unorganised workers. The answer is to not ignore the problem but to recognise systemic inequities and manage it", he said.

Jaga Mission is, however, only one component of providing land rights, said Dash. After LRC distribution, the focus will shift to individual and public toilets, household tap water supply, LED street lighting, and skill improvement etc.

government to ensure that farmers in distress are able to handle delayed payment. A couple of months back, the government had approved a similar scheme for the Haryana state Agriculture Marketing Board – it was for people who had purchased shops from the market committees but were not able to THE pay back the installments on time. **POLICY INTERVIEW**

'A one-time interest

waiver more efficient

than farm loan waiver'

What prompted the government to introduce this scheme?

IN AN attempt to give relief to the debt-ridden farmers in the state, the Harvana government has launched a one-time settle-

ment scheme for the borrowers of cooperative banks. This scheme offers a

waiver of most of the interest as well as the penal interest on the crop loans taken from

cooperative banks. The scheme is seen as a

counter to the demand of farm loan waiver. Haryana's Additional Chief Secretary SAN-

JEEV KAUSHAL tells SUKHBIR SIWACH about the scheme, its objective and the response

What's the one-time settlement scheme

It's one of the progressive decisions by the

for farmers who borrowed from

from the farmers.

cooperative banks?

The government of Haryana is taking all progressive decisions in the interest of the farmers. In the country, Harvana was the first state not only to approve but also enlisted 3.98 lakh small and marginal farmers for Pradhan Mantri Kisan Maan-Dhan Yojana (PM-KMY), under which pension is given to

Is it to counter the demand for a farm loan waiver?

They (the one-time settlement scheme and the farm loan waiver) are very different issues. In Haryana, the farmers did not have to pay any interest in case of timely repayment of loans taken from cooperative banks. And this benefit has been extended to the farmers from 2013 onwards. It means that the farmers who were repaying the crop loans in time for the past six years, they were not required to pay any interest at all. This is much more than the Government of India's scheme of (interest) subvention because we (the Haryana government) have waived off the interest of 4 per cent as well (under the scheme)...So crop loan waiver doesn't matter. That's not an issue. In Haryana, you wouldn't have really heard it as standard issue like in the state of Maharashtra or other places.

What has been the reaction of the cooperative banks with regard to this scheme?

They are in support of the scheme. In fact, (it was) the banks (who) have proposed the scheme. It is not that the government has forced it on them. Considering the require-

ments of the situation at the ground level, the (cooperative) banks have proposed the scheme so that the defaulters repay the loans under the scheme.

SANJEEV KAUSHAL

Additional Chief Secretary, Haryana

What is the response of the farmers to the scheme?

Well, you see, we have extended it up to the end of the month (December). The response was encouraging that's why additional time has been given. We expect most of the farmers (to) utilise the benefits given by the government.

The total amount of short-term loan of Haryana State Cooperative Apex Bank Ltd (HARCO Bank) is about Rs 3,091.55 crore and there are about 6,99,804 borrowers. Out of the total amount, Rs 962 crore has been recovered from about 2,10,840 borrowers till December 7, 2019 and a loan amount of Rs 2,128.79 crore is (still) pending.

Similarly, there are 92,258 borrowers of the Land Mortgage Bank and the total loan amount is Rs 1,577.75 crore, out of which an amount of Rs 185.43 crore has been recovered from 7,169 borrowers till December 7, 2019.

Will the farmers be allowed to take loans from the cooperative banks again?

Why not, if the loans are cleared? If a farmer is not a defaulter and everything has been wiped out by him, why would he not be given a loan? He would be eligible for the loan as a normal farmer once the dues are cleared.

FROM STATES REFORMS TRACKER

ARs 1000 cr special fund for farmers

RAJASTHAN

TO MARK the completion of its first year in office, Rajasthan government led by Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot and his cabinet have decided to unveil a new welfare fund for farmers. The government has allocated Rs 1.000 crore for this fund and it will be formally launched on December 17. On the very same day, a state-level "Kisan Sammelan" will also be organised at the Vidyadhar Nagar Stadium. The government will also release the Rajasthan Agricultural Processing, Agriculture Policy and Agricultural Export Policy, 2019 on December 17.

UTTAR PRADESH

All primary schools to have libraries

THE UTTAR Pradesh government has announced setting up libraries in all the 1.58 lakh government primary and upper primary schools in the state by March 2020. Vijay Kiran Anand, Special Secretary in the Basic Education Department, said that the libraries will be set up in the schools by the start of the new academic session in the state. He said that every government school library will be equipped with about 500-1000 books for which there has been a tie-up with the National Book Trust and the NCERT.

MADHYA PRADESH

Dams to be auctioned for sand mining

THE STATE may soon become the first state that allows the auction of dams for sand mining. The concerned committee of secretaries has given its nod for the proposal and now a cabinet approval is awaited. Earlier. Maharashtra had tried to do this but held back at the last moment. The Madhya Pradesh government has proposed sand mining contracts in Bargi Dam, Tawa Dam, Indira Sagar Dam and Bansagar Dam.

Planting trees, managing plastic waste helping this Kerala village to become carbon-neutral

So far, Odisha has surveyed 109 ULBs in

30 districts — in the process, surveying over

one lakh households. Of these, around 30,000

households have received land rights certificates (LRCs) in Puri and Ganjam districts.

dwellers began with drone surveys of those

settlements as well as another round of door-

to-door household surveys. Drones mapping

slums drastically cut down the time con-

sumed in the mapping exercise, which the

Jaga Mission team members say would have

taken 12 years if done by traditional meth-

ods, thanks to a lack adequate number of rev-

Mission from Tata Trusts, said that the exer-

cise also involved community mobilisation

to get the slum dwellers to agree on the en-

tire exercise. "We had to also convince slum

dwellers, who lived on rented accommoda-

tion, that the land they were paying for did

not belong to the so-called landlords or lo-

cal goons. Continuous communication and

persuasion also helped achieve the consent

of the slum dwellers towards this project".

(EWS), the first 30 sq mt are free of cost, and

thereafter a person has to pay 25 per cent of

"For the Economically Weaker Section

Shishir Ranian Dash, who works on Jaga

enue inspectors.

The process of handing LRCs to slum

SHAJU PHILIP,

in NACs

cost up to 30 sq mt

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, DECEMBER 15

MONTHS AFTER countries adopted the Paris Agreement of 2015 to tackle climate change and reduce greenhouse gas emissions to curb global warming, a self-governing civic body in Kerala's Wayanad district wanted to set an example for community-based climate change adaptation initiative. Bouts of drought for successive years prompted Meenagnadi village panchayat to go for carbon-neutral village, an experimental intervention to curb greenhouse gas emissions.

The carbon-neutral Meenangadi project that began in 2016 has gained momentum over past three years and involved several initiatives. Over two lakh tree saplings have been planted and nursed to provide green cover to several patches of barren land; plastic waste is being collected, shredded and used for road surface work; traditional firewood kitchen stoves are being replaced with



A plastic waste shredding unit in Meenangadi, Kerala. Express

lower-emission stoves; and households are being paid annuity for growing trees.

Meenangadi is on the long path to become a first carbon-neutral village, which will eventually lead to Wayanad becoming the first such district in the country.

Says panchayat president Beena Vijayan, "climate change had reduced the yield from agriculture in the district. Hence, we were

mulling to change our approach towards development. When the state government wanted local bodies to take up projects to tackle climate change, we took the initiative to make the village carbon-neutral".

The panchayat roped in the expertise of several institutions — such as M S Swaminathan Research Foundation, Thanal (an NGO), IISc (Bengaluru), IIT-Delhi and the Government Engineering College (Kannur) to analyse the greenhouse gas emissions and evolve steps to reduce them.

An emission audit conducted by Thanal, based in Thiruvananthapuram, found carbon equivalent of 14,500 tonnes (including carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide and methane) had to be balanced in Meengangadi. As carbon neutrality means having a balance between emitting carbon and absorbing carbon from the atmosphere, expert agencies designed strategies for the local civic body.

A major step was to increase the green cover in the region. Planting and upkeep of the new trees was paid out of MGNREGA funds.

IN NUMBERS

STATES THAT ACCOUNT FOR MOST OF THE UNPAID DUES (RS 63,500 CR) TO POWER GENERATING COMPANIES

STATE AMOUNT DUE TO GENCOS (in Rs crore) Rajasthan 20856 Tamil Nadu 12968 7658 **Uttar Pradesh** Karnataka 5258 Telangana 4943 Andhra Pradesh 3091 2840 I&K Madhya Pradesh 1154 Source: PRAAPTI (as of September 2019)

UTTARAKHAND/ IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION

Virtual classrooms plugging education gaps in remote areas

LALMANI VERMA DEHRADUN, DECEMBER 15

PICTURE THIS: It is 2 pm and students of class 9 in Government Inter College Gaurihat in the hills of Pithoragarh district are seated in front of an LED TV in their school and learning "Simple Present Tense" from their teacher, Kavita Rawat. But there is a twist. Rawat is not in the classroom. Instead, she is in front of a camera inside a studio situated almost 500 km away from the classroom. Rawat is the ICT Virtual Classroom set up in the campus of Rajeev Gandhi Navodaya Vidyalaya in Dehradun. Earlier in the day, students of class 10 from various schools across the state were getting clarification about "amorphous oxides" through similar method from a science teacher stationed in the same studio in Dehradun.

This is an example of virtual classrooms that have been launched in Uttrakhand recently and the state government claims to be the first state to have this facility for school education. The studios and the classrooms

are connected through a satellite. Under this project, around 300 state gov-



A teacher in a Dehradun studio teaching students via virtual classrooms. Express

ernment schools have been connected to four central studios set up in the campus of Rajiv Gandhi Navodaya Vidyalaya. Each Studio has two cameras, a wall paper, a smart TV for output, two computers to manage technical snags and keep an eye on the virtual classroom set up in the schools in the remote areas. There are two microphones as well in

each studio. Each day, topics for the class are written on the wallpaper while the concerned teacher elucidates the matters and she appears on the smart TV screen.

In the classroom of these connected schools, a camera with a microphone and a speaker is provided alongwith an LED screen. The students watch the screen and are able

to listen to whatever the teacher writes on her screen in the studio.

The state government has a target of connecting over 500 schools in remote locations with such virtual classrooms. Chief Minister Trivendra Singh Rawat inaugurated the project recently in Dehradun. Schools with connected virtual classrooms are now available in all 13 districts across the state.

The Centre pays for 90 per cent of the project cost while the state government manages the remaining 10 per cent. The government claims that nearly 1.90 lakh students studying in classes 6 to 12 in government-run secondary schools will be benefitted by these virtual classroom facilities. According to officials, the number of schools selected for being connected to virtual classrooms include 82 in Pauri district, 61 in Nainital district, 52 each in Almora and Tehri, 46 in Dehradun, 45 in Chamoli, 40 in Pithoragarh, 21 in Rudraprayag, 15 in Champawat and 10 each in Bageshwar and Haridwar districts.

Dr Mukul Kumar Sati, Additional State Project Director in the Education Department, said, "An MoU has been signed with Centre's Telecommunications Consultants India Ltd (TCIL) to setup four studios in Dehradun".

As virtual classrooms became operational in middle of the current academic year, the Education Department has decided to start formal classes according to the syllabus from next session. "In the current session, teachers in the studio have been directed to interact with the students and remove any confusions students may have about the topics covered in the syllabus for the annual examinations. Students are asking their queries and teachers in the studio are replying," Sati said.

According to officials, the virtual classroom project will be helpful for those schools where expert teacher of any particular subject like Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and English are not available. Students enrolled in these schools will get classes from expert teachers through virtual classes.

Manish Joshi, Assistant Manager, technical operations in virtual classroom campus, said that more than 300 schools have been connected so far. "We have four teachers presently and interviews are being conducted to hire more," he said.

Officials said that from December 23. classes will be run to help students prepare for medical and engineering entrance exams.

12 ECONOMY

MINISTRY WATCH COAL MINISTRY TO SET UP SDC

New Delhi: The Coal Ministry on Sunday said it will establish 'Sustainable Development Cell' (SDC) for promoting sustainable coal mining in the country and address environmental concerns at closure of mines. PTI

Amid liquidity woes,

benefits for garment

two schemes held up

exporters under

SECTOR WATCH RETAIL AND SERVICES

Japan's Mitsui reroutes curry back to India as it ups consumer portfolio

First restaurant in joint venture with Ichibanya in early 2020

ANIL SASI NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

JAPANESE TRADING major Mitsui & Co is diversifying beyond its traditional investments in industrial sectors such as steel, power infrastructure, chemicals and logistics to the retail and services in India, starting with an entry into the restaurant business. Mitsui, one of Japan's largest sogo shosha or general trading companies

- which operates in 66 countries in businesses ranging from oil and natural gas to healthcare, is eveing the consumer business as the new growth area in India and could also be looking at fresh food supplies to the upcoming entry into India of the 7-Eleven stores — the Japanese-owned, Dallasheadquartered chain of convenience stores which operates 69,000 outlets in 17 countries.

In its restaurant foray, Mitsui is partnering with Coco Ichibanya, the world's largest chain of Japanesestyle curry restaurants, to launch a string of outlets in India through a new 60:40 joint venture. Both partners plan to make a combined investment of approximately \$3 million to directly own and operate outlets, and subsequently franchise the CoCoICHI brand throughout India, with the first store expected to open in Gurgaon, on the outskirts of Delhi, early next year.

Mitsui is looking to expand its consumer business in India, according to Tamotsu Nomura, general manager of the retail business division at the company's New Delhi head office. "The consumer business is an area of focus," Nomura said, adding that for Ichibanya's former president and current chairman, Toshiya Hama-

jima, not having restaurants

in the birthplace of curry was

a disappointment. Curry travelled to Japan via a circuitous route, having been introduced by Britain there during the late nineteenth century, which has subsequently been tailored and adapted to Japanese tastes. Japanese curry is essentially a thick brown curry sauce that includes meat and

INVESTMENT OF \$3 MILLION

■ Mitsui & Co and Coco Ichibanya plan to make a combined investment of around \$3 million to directly own and operate outlets in India

■ Ichibanya has 1,264 outlets of its chain in Japan, and another 180 restaurants across the UK, China, and South East Asia

vegetables, which is liberally spread over a bed of sticky rice. Widely regarded as a comfort food in Japan, the Indian venture would also stick to the Japanese template, but for the fact that it will use a vegetarian-friendly curry sauce that contains no animal fat and beef will not be on the menu. The pricing is likely to be aggressive, with a chicken katsu curry costing under Rs 500.

Ichibanya has 1,264 outlets of its famous chain in Japan, and another 180 restaurants across the UK, China, and South East Asia. The Mitsui-Ichibanya partnership is only for the Indian market, where Mitsui will handle everything from managing the business to finding franchisees to expand, while Ichibanya will take care of store operations and product development.

Apart from the investment in bringing the Japanese curry restaurant chain to India, Mitsui's recent investments in India include a co-investment proposal with Mahindra Susten in distributed solar power projects, investments in GOQii, a preventive healthcare platform business in India and investments in TV shopping startup Naaptol.

Prasenjit Adhikari, CEO of Ichibanya India, said: "We will be leveraging our experience and networks in India, together with our strong capabilities in logistics and marketing, to supporting the launch of the venture in India." Nomura did not offer a comment on reports about Mitsui's plans on the 7-Eleven food supply business.

RETALIATORY ACTION WAS AIMED AT FARM GOODS, AUTO PARTS

China suspends tariffs planned for Dec 15 on select US goods

BRENDAGOH

SHANGHAI, DECEMBER 15

CHINA HAS suspended additional tariffs on some US goods that were meant to be implemented on December 15, the State Council's customs tariff commission said on Sunday, after the world's two largest economies agreed a "phase one" trade deal on Friday.

The deal — rumours and leaks over which have gyrated world markets for months — reduces some US tariffs in exchange for what officials at Washington said would be a big jump in Chinese purchases of American farm products and other goods.

China's retaliatory tariffs, which were due to take effect on December 15, were meant to target goods ranging from corn and wheat to US-made vehicles and auto parts.

Other Chinese tariffs that had already been implemented on US goods would be left in place, the customs tariff commission said in

Had planned to hit **US-made autos** with 25% duties

BEIJING HAD planned to impose 25 per cent duties on American-made autos starting Sunday, which would have raised the total charge to 40 per cent. Hardest hit were Germany's BMW AG and Daimler AG's Mercedes unit. which ship US-made SUVs and other cars to China. Other goods were targeted for 10 per cent and 5 per cent penalties.

Sunday's announcement comes after Washington agreed to postpone a planned tariff hike on \$160-billion worth of Chinese goods and to cut in half penalties that already were imposed.

a statement issued on the websites of government departments including China's Finance Ministry.

EXPLAINE

"China hopes, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, to work with the United States, to properly resolve each other's core

concerns and promote the stable development of US-China economic and trade relations," it added.

Beijing has agreed to import at least \$200 billion in additional US goods and services over the next two years on top of the amount it

Deal will nearly double exports to China: USTR

Washington: The 'phase one' US-China trade deal will nearly double US exports to China over next two years and is "totally done" despite the need for translation and revisions to its text, US Trade Representative (USTR) Robert Lighthizer said Sunday.

Speaking to CBS, he said a date and location for US and Chinese officials to formally ink the deal is still being determined. **REUTERS**

purchased in 2017, the top US trade negotiator said Friday.

A statement issued by the office of the US Trade Representative also on Friday said that the United States would leave in place 25 per cent tariffs on \$250 billion worth of Chinese goods. **REUTERS**

BANIKINKAR PATTANAYAK NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

THE CENTRE has held up the release of benefits worth thousands of crores to garment and madeup exporters under two major schemes — the Merchandise Export from India Scheme (MEIS) and the Rebate of State and Central Taxes & Levies (RoSCTL) at a critical juncture when exports are slipping.

While MEIS gains have been held up since August, benefits under the RoSCTL — meant for compensating garment/made-up exporters for various state and central government imposts have never been extended since its introduction in March, exporters said.

This has exacerbated a liquidity squeeze for the exporters, who typically factor in such incentives while firming up deals — and hurt their ability to honour fresh contracts on time ahead of Christmas, the most critical season for western apparrel buyers, said Ajay Sahai, director general and chief executive at Federation of Indian Export Organisations (FIEO).

Benefits worth Rs 5,000 crore are stuck under both the schemes at a time when the flow of bank credit remains muted and exports have dropped for months, according to Gautam Nair, MD of Matrix Clothing, one of India's largest garment exporters. Since 80 per cent of the garment exporters are MSMEs, with very limited ability to raise resources, they have been hit very hard, he added.

A senior government official said the resource-strapped revenue department felt that since garment/made-up exporters were to get the RoSCTL benefits (which are not extended to other exporters), they should not be simultaneously granted the MEIS benefits, which, in any case, had come under scrutiny from the World Trade Organization.

However, the Textile Ministry is learnt to be backing the garment exporters' claims and wants both the MEIS and RoSCTL to co-exist. At least one of them must be extended urgently to contain a fall in exports until a final decision is made, said a Commerce Ministry

'SIMULTANEOUS BENEFITS'

■ An official said the revenue department felt that as garment/made-up exporters were to get the RoSCTL benefits, they should not be simultaneously granted the MEIS benefits

■While MEIS gains have been stuck since August, **RoSCTL** benefits have never been extended since its introduction in March, exporters said

official. The matter is now being considered by the Prime Minister's Office. Exporters said the problem

started in March when the Textile Ministry, after a Cabinet decision, notified the RoSCTL scheme for garments and made-up exporters to replace an earlier scheme that was reimbursing them for only the state levies. However, while the earlier

scheme – called the remission of state levies (RoSL) — was scrapped in March, the benefits under the new one (RoSCTL) were never granted.

The problems got compounded when the revenue department asked the Directorate General of Foreign Trade to stop the release of MEIS benefits to garments/made-up exporters from August 1. Thus, these exporters were stripped of "legitimate benefits" worth 8-10 per cent (4 per cent on account of MEIS and another 4-6 per cent due to RoSCTL depending on the nature of garments) of the freight-on-board value of shipments, they said.

Exporters claim that MEIS and RoSCTL are totally different schemes and must run simultaneously. "The RoSCTL is aimed at keeping exports zero-rated, as per best international practices, while the MEIS is intended to help exporters deal with several infrastructural bottlenecks, including exorbitantly high logistics costs, Nair pointed out. **FE**

'Discoms' outstanding dues to gencos up 48% in Oct'

Total outstanding dues owed by discoms to power gencos, rose around 48 per cent to ₹81,010 crore in October 2019 over the same month last year, according to the PRAAPTI portal

₹54,654 cr

Amount owed by distribution companies, or discoms, to power generation companies, or gencos, in October 2018

₹67,143 cr Total overdue amount not

cleared by discoms in October 2019, even after the 60-day grace period offered by gencos

Total overdue amount in October 2018

₹39,338 cr

₹82,548 cr Total outstanding dues on discoms as of September this year; revised from

Rs 69.558 crore



₹65,155 cr

Total overdue amount on discoms in September 2019; revised from Rs 52,408 crore

>22.46%:

Share of overdues of independent gencos within the total overdue amount of Rs 67.143 crore on discoms

PRAAPTI: The Payment Ratification And Analysis in Power procurement for bringing Transparency in Invoicing of generators — or PRAAPTI — portal was launched by the government in May last year to bring in transparency in power purchase transactions between generators and discoms

OUTSTANDING DUES AND OVERDUES:

OVERDUES OF

ON DISCOMS:

■ Adani Power:

₹ 3,201.68 crore

■ Lalitpur Power **Generation Company**

Ltd: ₹ 2,212.66 crore

■GMR: ₹ 1,930.16

crore

PRIVATE GENCOS

Power producers give 60 days to discoms for paying bills for supply of electricity. After that, outstanding dues become overdue and generators charge penal interest on that in most cases

Source: PTI

Over 14K prosecutions withdrawn under Companies Act: MCA

PRESSTRUSTOFINDIA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

THE CENTRE Sunday said more than 14,000 prosecutions have been withdrawn under the Companies Act as it undertook various steps to improve the ease of doing business in the country, including de-criminalisation of various penal provisions under this law.

Listing out the measures taken, the Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA) said it has set up the Central Registration Centre for name reservation and incorporation of companies and LLPs within one-two days as opposed to an average of at least 15 days earlier.

"During the last three years more than 1,25,000 companies have been incorporated every 5.23 per cent in Daimler's voting year in the country in this manner, rights directly as well as through as compared to 50-60,000 cominstruments such as equity swaps panies in earlier years," the ministry said in a release.

Among others, the MCA has made the process transparent and

has set up the Central **Registration Centre for** name reservation and incorporation of companies and LLPs within one-two days

The Ministry also said it

non-discretionary for dematerialisation of securities of unlisted public companies. It noted that "more than 14,000 prosecutions under the Companies Act, 2013" have been withdrawn and that second phase of de-criminalisation of penal provisions under the law has been initiated.

As part of de-criminalisation of technical and procedural violations under companies law and reducing the burden on criminal courts as well as the National Company Law Tribunal, the Centre has shifted 16 offences sections to monetary penalty regime.

Cases involving nearly ₹3.75 lakh cr disposed of at IBC pre-admission stage

MORE THAN 9,600 cases involving a total amount of nearly Rs 3.75 lakh crore have been disposed of at the pre-admission stage of the insolvency law process, according to the Centre. The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC), which came into force in 2016, provides for resolution of stressed assets in market-linked As many as 21,136 applications

amount of approx. Rs 3,74,931.30 crore have been disposed of at pre-admission stage of IBC," the release added. About 2,838 cases were admitted into the corporate insolvency resolution process (CIRP) and out of them, 306 cases have been closed "by appeal/review/withdrawn", according to the release.

FM to meet stakeholders today for pre-Budget consultations

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

PRESSTRUST OF INDIA

BEGINNING THE customary pre-Budget consultation exercise from Monday, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman will seek inputs from various stakeholders including industry bodies, farmer organisations and economists for reviving consumption and boosting growth.

Sitharaman is likely to present her second Budget for the Modi 2.0 government in Parliament on February 1.

Sources said the pre-Budget consultations starting Monday will last till December 23. They said the main focus of the Budget this time will be on boosting economic growth, which slowed to an over six-year low of 4.5 per cent in the second quarter of 2019-20.

As per the finance ministry, Sitharaman will meet stakeholder groups of 'New Economy: Startups, Fintech and Digital Sector' on Monday morning, and financial sector and capital market representatives later in the day.

Industry sources said the government has sought their views on matters like ease of doing business, regulatory environment impacting private investment, export competitiveness, role of state (delayed payments, contract enforcement), and revival of private investment and growth, among others. The minister is likely to meet industry chambers on December 19.

With the government already effecting significant cut in corporate taxes, expectations are high that it would announce some relief for the salaried class by making changes in the personal income

Dec 31 last date to link PAN, Aadhaar said it is mandatory to link your held that the biometric ID would

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

THE INCOME Tax Department, in a public message on Sunday, announced that it is mandatory for taxpayers to link their PAN with

Aadhaar by the end of this year. "Building a better tomorrow! To reap seamless benefits of income tax services, complete the vital link before 31st December, 2019," the department said.

The message, which comes two weeks before the deadline,

PAN with Aadhaar. Earlier this year, the Central

Board of Direct Taxes (CBDT) issued an order stating that the deadline to link the permanent account number (PAN) with Aadhaar was extended till December 31. Previously, the deadline for this linkage was September 30. The CBDT frames policy for the I-T Department.

Income-tax Act states that every person having a PAN as on July 1 2017, and is eligible to obtain Aadhaar, must intimate his Aadhaar number to tax authorities. Aadhaar is issued by the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) to a resident of India, while PAN is a 10-digit alphanumeric number allotted by the I-T Department to a person,

In September 2018, the Supreme Court had declared the Centre's flagship Aadhaar scheme as "constitutionally valid" and

remain mandatory for filing of I-T returns and allotment of PAN. Section 139 AA (2) of the

firm or entity. **WITH PTI**

BRIEFLY

AirAsia India picks Ankur Garg as COO

New Delhi: AirAsia India on Sunday announced the appointment of Ankur Gargas its chief commercial officer (CCO), a role in which he will be in-charge of areas such as network and revenue management, marketing and sales, and cargo. Garg had quit as the vice-president of revenue management at IndiGo a few weeks back.

CG Power 'fund misuse': Thapar refutes charges

Mumbai: Citing regular board approvals for various inter-corporate loans, former CG Power Industrial Solutions' non-executive chairman Gautam Thapar has refuted allegations of fund misuse amid alleged governance lapses coming under the regulatory scanner, according to documents submitted by him to the government. **PTI**

BAIC BUYING DAIMLER'S SHARES FROM OPEN MARKET, SOURCES SAY 'China's state-owned BAIC raising Daimler

stake to unseat Geely as top shareholder'

YILEISUN, JULIEZHU& **EDWARD TAYLOR** BEIJING/HONG

KONG/FRANKFURT.DEC15

DAIMLER'S MAIN China joint venture partner BAIC Group has set in motion a plan to double its stake to around 10 per cent and win a board seat in the German luxury

car maker, as it aims to upstage ri-

val Geely, two sources told Reuters. State-owned Beijing Automobile Group Co Ltd (BAIC), which already owns a 5 per cent shareholding in Daimler, has started buying the German company's shares from the open market, said the sources who were briefed on the matter.

BAIC is currently Daimler's third largest shareholder but a stake of 10 per cent will make it the biggest shareholder, surpassing its Chinese automaking rival Zhejiang Geely Holding Group which owns 9.69 per cent of the German automaker and is seeking to expand its partnership with Daimler in China.



stake of 10% will make it the biggest shareholder, surpassing its Chinese automaking rival Zhejiang Geely Holding Group which owns 9.69% of the German automaker. Reuters file photo

With the shareholding of around 10 per cent, BAIC is looking to secure a seat at Daimler's supervisory board, which Geely does not currently have, the sources said.

HSBC, which advised BAIC on its 5 per cent stake purchase in Daimler earlier, is helping the Beijing-based group in the new investment, one of the sources said. Daimler said in a regulatory fil-

ing raised its stake. Daimler's China chief Hubertus Troska said on Friday "we welcome long-term investors in Daimler". Asked about BAIC and its potential to become a larger shareholder, he added, "we like each

other. Let us see how things de-

ing last month that HSBC held

When asked by Reuters,

Daimler said it had not received

any notification about BAIC hav-

as of November 15.

A third source familiar with BAIC's thinking said that BAIC wanted to be a bigger shareholder than Geely in Daimler in order to be seen as the German automaker's senior-most partner in China.

velop."

spond to requests for comments made after usual business hours. HSBC declined to comment.

to speak to media. **REUTERS**

BAIC and Geely did not re-The sources declined to be named as they are not authorised

PRESSTRUSTOFINDIA NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 15

and time-bound manner.

have been filed under the Code, the Ministry of Corporate Affairs stated in a release on Sunday. "9,653 cases involving a total

tax structure.

BRITAIN'S GENERAL ELECTION

Boris Johnson's big win

The Conservatives triumph. Yet Boris Johnson faces tough challenges over Brexit—and much else



Boris Johnson with partner Carrie Symonds outside Conservative Campaign Headquarters in London, on December 13. Reuters

GRIMSBY SUMMED up a fantastic night for the Conservatives and a terrible one for Labour and the Liberal Democrats. Although Great Grimsby had been a Labour seat for 74 years, supporters of all parties were conceding in the pubs by mid-afternoon that the Tories had won there. Even before hearing at 3.39 am that she had lost, Melanie Onn, the Labour incumbent, was saying she wanted a break from politics or at least the weekend off.

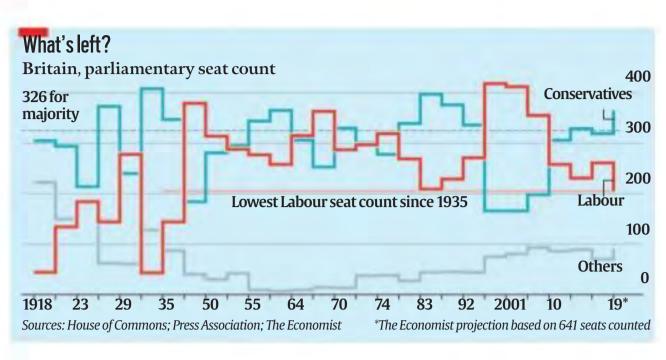
By then the story of the night was clear. Boris Johnson had pressed for an early election to end the purported deadlock in Parliament and "get Brexit done". And voters across the country agreed with him. After three-and-a-half years of squabbling ever since their referendum vote to leave the European Union in June 2016, they chose to back Mr Johnson. By early on December 13th it looked as if his Tory majority would be around 80 seats. His strategy of relying on a simple slogan, proposing a cautious and eminently forgettable manifesto and, as far as possible, avoiding potentially awkward press or television interviews seemed entirely vindicated.

His slogan also proved tactically astute, not least because it enabled him to unite Leave voters behind the Tories. The most important moment in the campaign may have been the decision by Nigel Farage, leader of the Brexit Party, not to run candidates in Tory-held seats. This signalled to hardline Brexit supporters that they could vote for the Tories instead. During the campaign the climb in the Conservatives' poll share precisely mirrored the collapse in that of the Brexit Party. The Conservatives won some Labour-held seats where the Brexit Party put up candidates. Mr Farage's party took Labour votes from people who could not bring themselves to back the Tories.

In contrast the Remain vote stayed split between Labour and the Liberal Democrats. The Lib Dems, whose leader Jo Swinson helped to bring forward an early election, had a wretched night. They may have picked up a few seats in London and the south-east but they were roundly defeated elsewhere. Many Lib Dems who were bent on stopping a Brexit-flavoured Tory victory decided to switch their votes to Labour instead. Ms Swinson lost her own Scottish seat to the Scottish National Party.

Labour's disappointment was no less crushing. By the early morning of December 13th the party was on course to win only about 200 seats, its worst result since 1935 (see chart). Once again it had been all but wiped out in Scotland. But even more humiliating was its performance across the "red wall", a clutch of seats from north Wales to Yorkshire, most of which it had held for decades. From Wrexham in Wales through to Wolverhampton in the West Midlands and Ashfield in the East Midlands to Grimsby, the night saw red turn to blue as the Tories hoovered up seats that they could once never have dreamed of winning.

Senior Labour figures blamed Brexit, and by implication their own party's ambivalence over whether to accept it or try to reverse it.



After his triumph Boris Johnson can be confident of forcing his renegotiated withdrawal agreement through Parliament in good time for Britain formally to leave the EU by the current deadline of January 31st. But the country will then move into a transition period during which its membership rights and obligations will, in effect, continue

Yet although the wish to get Brexit done was undoubtedly a big reason for the Tories' success, it was not the only cause of Labour's woes. Right across their red wall, Labour candidates reported that previously loyal voters were dismayed by the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn. This was not only because Labour had put forward a far-left manifesto, which it did, but even more because traditional Labour voters felt out of sympathy with his weakness for foreign dictators, terrorists and anti-Semitism.

Yet even though the story of the night was one of Tory triumph and Labour and Lib Dem disaster, not everything went Mr Johnson's way. The surge of support for the Scottish Nationalists bodes ill for his desire to thwart any talk of another independence referendum. The early Northern Irish results also point to losses by the Tories' erstwhile allies, the Democratic Unionist Party. And against gains in the Midlands and the north of England, the Tories failed to make gains in and around London, suggesting the capital and its immediate hinterland are out of sympathy with the increasingly pro-Brexit Tories.

Indeed, the divisions in the electorate thrown up by these results may not always help the Conservatives. Their support among older voters is rock-solid. But the under-30s are almost as strongly pro-Labour. Women now vote Labour more than men do. The old splits by class and education have also shifted markedly. In the past middle-class voters and graduates tended to support the Conservatives. Now they are as likely to back Labour. And the Tories have made new in-

roads among non-graduates and workingclass voters, who support the party in greater numbers than ever before.

WWW.INDIANEXPRESS.COM

This realignment was crucial to Mr Johnson's big win. Yet it is a fragile one based largely on Brexit and a visceral dislike of Mr Corbyn. Suppose that Brexit is done and Labour replaces its leaders, after losing four elections in a row. Voters from the Midlands and north who have backed Mr Johnson or the Brexit Party this time round might by the next election be suffering from the Brexit fallout. If so, they could easily return to Labour. And that risk may constrain his freedom of action in office, especially in relation to how he deals with the next round of Brexit negotiations.

After his triumph Mr Johnson can be confident of forcing his renegotiated withdrawal agreement through Parliament in good time for Britain formally to leave the EU by the current deadline of January 31st. But the country will then move into a transition period during which its membership rights and obligations will, in effect, continue. And though some are suggesting that a big majority will enable Mr Johnson to soften his terms for a future trade deal with the EU, and to embrace a new liberalised and free-trade agenda, others are pointing out that the need to retain his new Brexit-backing voters will inevitably steer him in a direction that is more protectionist and less keen on immigration.

It will also become harder for Mr Johnson to break his manifesto promise not to extend the December 2020 deadline for ending the transition period. Yet all trade experts say that a comprehensive deal with the EU of the sort that he advocates cannot conceivably be negotiated and ratified in such a short time. Trade deals typically take several years, not several months. So unless Mr Johnson is ready to ask for an extension, the risk of Britain leaving the EU with no trade deal in place at the end of next year will be significant. The result would be high barriers to exports and severe disruption to trade.

Both business and the financial markets have welcomed the majority that Mr Johnson has won this week, not least because it has killed off the spectre of a Corbyn-led, far-left government. But they may find that a year with a rampant Mr Johnson in charge of negotiations with the EU is not all that comfortable either.

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COMPUTER SECURITY

Offering software for snooping to governments is a booming business

A flurry of lawsuits has drawn attention to a growing part of the cyber-security industry

searcher at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Government. Danna Ingleton of Amnesty International, a human-rights group, reckons that the market is worth at least several billion dollars.

The firms are understandably coy about revealing their clients' identities. But in 2015 a widely reported data breach appeared to reveal a list of Hacking Team's clients. The list included a Saudi spy agency and the Sudanese government of Omar al-Bashir, as well as the FBI, Malaysia's Anti-Corruption Commission and the state government of Bayelsa, a province of Nigeria. Memento Labs did not respond to requests for comment.

The industry has been around for a while, but Mr Scott-Railton says that documents leaked in 2013 by Edward Snowden, an American spy—which lifted the lid on America's electronic-surveillance capabilities—gave it a big boost. "Other states said 'how do we get hold of something like that?" The leaks also pushed Western technology firms to encrypt more web traffic and instant messages, making existing forms of eavesdropping harder. Some private firms now offer governments that do not have the expertise to breach such defences themselves the tools to do so. Many are staffed by former Western spooks. According to a leaked personnel roster obtained by the New York Times, DarkMatter, based in the United Arab Emirates, has hired several people who used to work for the National Security Agency, America's main signals-intelligence organisation. DarkMatter did not reply to requests for comment.



In October WhatsApp sued the NSO Group, saying its software had been used to hack roughly 1,400 of its users. Reuters

Trench coats and grey hats

Most of the companies say they assist law enforcement in fighting terrorism, drug smuggling or other misdeeds. At a conference in November Shiri Dolev, NSO Group's president, complained about the coverage

of her firm. She argued that services such as WhatsApp are used by some "as a vehicle for terrorism and crime", and that software such as Pegasus is vital. The firm insists its products are "not a tool to be weaponised against human-rights activists or dissi-

dents". In September it announced a new human-rights policy, based on UN guidelines; it reckons it is the first firm in the industry to do so. Even before that, says a spokeswoman, the firm had turned down around \$100m of business on ethical grounds in the past three years.

In theory the export of hacking software is controlled by the same laws that regulate the sale of weapons. In practice most ob-

servers think such restrictions have little bite. David Kaye, the UN's special rapporteur on freedom of opinion and expression, has described the market for spyware as "out of control" and "unaccountable". State use of the industry's products to target political opponents, journalists and others seems common, says Ms Ingleton.

Previous lawsuits have foundered, she adds, in part owing to their high-tech, international nature. Courts first need to be convinced that plaintiffs have suffered an injury that the injury could be traced back to the defendant, and that the court can redress it. Even if this "standing" can be established, it is hard to procure evidence. "And even then it can be hard for some judges to understand what is being presented," she says. In a recent case in America "Mr Kidane", a pseudonymous American with links to Ethiopia, alleged that the Ethiopian government had been spying on him and his family using FinSpy, one of the Gamma Group's products. A judge threw out the case on the grounds that the alleged spying did not occur entirely within America's borders. The Gamma Group did not respond to requests for comment.

All the recent publicity has nonetheless increased pressure on the companies. In November Ron Wyden, an American senator, called for an investigation into whether NSO Group's products had been used against American citizens. Mr Kaye wants a moratorium on exports until stricter laws can be drawn up. And the WhatsApp lawsuits marks an escalation by the big technology companies, which want to safeguard their users' data

A serious crackdown remains unlikely, thinks Edin Omanovic at Privacy International another NGO, owing partly to the official background of many employees at such firms. "Enforcement has always been a problem within the arms industry," he says. Until that changes, purveyors of snooping software can expect to thrive.

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ON OCTOBER 2nd 2018 Jamal Khashoggi, a

Saudi journalist and critic of the kingdom's

government, visited its consulate in Istanbul

in order to secure documents needed for his

upcoming marriage. He did not come out alive. After initially denying responsibility,

the Saudi government admitted that Mr

Khashoggi was killed in a "rogue operation".

other Saudi dissident, filed a lawsuit in Israel against NSO Group, an Israeli software com-

pany. Mr Abdulaziz alleges that the NSO Group

had licensed Pegasus, a piece of spyware that

snoops on smartphones, to the Saudi govern-

ment, which used it to spy on him—and,

through him, Khashoggi. NSO Group denies

that its software was used against Khashoggi.

In October WhatsApp, an encrypted-messag-

ing firm owned by Facebook, also sued the

firm, saying its software had been used to hack

roughly 1,400 of its users. WhatsApp says it

has urged America's Department of Justice to

open an investigation. NSO Group disputes

WhatsApp's allegations "in the strongest pos-

sible terms". On November 26th a number of

NSO Group's workers filed a lawsuit against

Facebook, claiming that the social-media giant

to a little-known corner of the cyber-security

industry. Most cyber-security firms focus on

defending clients from hackers and malware.

But some, including NSO Group, as well as

Gamma Group (an Anglo-German firm) and

Hacking Team (an Italian one which in April merged with another company to create

Memento Labs), sell software to help govern-

ments access online data on persons of inter-

trusion software" means the job of trying

to compile figures falls mostly to academics

and NGOs. NSO Group, which is unusually

candid, says its revenue in 2018 was \$250m.

In February Novalpina Capital, a British pri-

vate-equity firm, bought a majority stake in

the firm. The valuation implied by the trans-

action reportedly placed the firm in the

"unicorn" club of startups worth over \$1bn.

Most of NSO Group's competitors are much

smaller, says John Scott-Railton, a re-

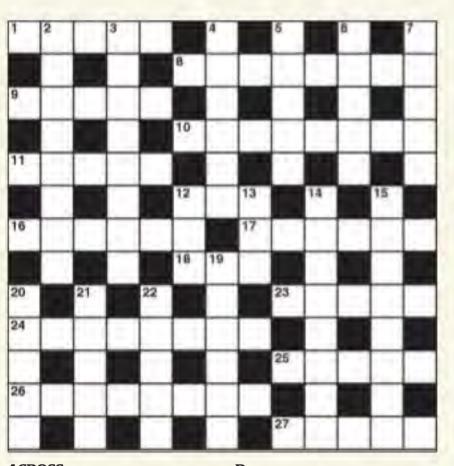
The opaque nature of the market for "in-

est. Business appears to be brisk.

The flurry of lawsuits has drawn attention

has unfairly blocked their private accounts.

Two months later Omar Abdulaziz, an-



2 Ambitious candidate (8)

4 Withdraw in a sort of trance

5 Rolled up for the opening (5)

6 Italian food father's taken

7 Plane going up or down (5)

13 It may be consumed from

14 Team not assumed to be of

15 High church features (8)

20 Oldest tree on the street (5)

21 Loudly call out after a plea

22 Colour for putting on (5)

without knowing (5)

12 Some areas short of a

means of transport (3)

a cup(3)

star quality (8)

for silence (5)

19 Achieve gain? (6)

3 Clue mixed with open

abundance (8)

ACROSS

1 Builder of a lodge (5) 8 Purchase from bar before time(8) 9 It pours tea to us quietly, by

design(5)10 Get a tube-shaped loaf (8) 11 Consented to give up a vice

12 Was no faster (3)

16 Performs a new ascent (6) 17 It may be pronounced with conviction (6) 18 Massaging the middle may prevent it! (3) 23 Brew of beer left to rise (5) 24 Succeeds with a will (8)

25 Beautiful girl one may ring,

26 One virus possibly picked up on holiday (8) 27 It's near the cathedral (5)

we hear (5)

Solutions Crossword 3988: Across: 1Lion's share, 6 Fair, 10 Canoe, 11 Did no good, 12 Trombone, 13 Melon, 15 Adheres, 17 Satchel, 19 Repasts, 21 Foreign, 22 Franc, 24 Annalist, 27 Accordion, 28 Guide, 29 Seal, 30 Celebrated. Down: 1 Loco, 2 Ownership, 3 Steam, 4 Hideous, 5 Reddens, 7 Atoll, 8 Rod and line, 9 Commuter, 14 Pair of oars, 16 Rest cure, 18 Hair shirt, 20 Sea mile, 21 Finance, 23 Accra, 25 Lager,

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBES by Bill Watterson







CAN IT

PLEEEEEEZ??

PLEASE PLEASE PLEASE



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong





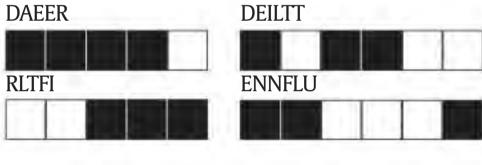


ALWAYS

ALWAYS.

JUMBLED WORDS

Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below. Select the letters in the shaded squares and jumble them to get the answer for the given quip. He that climbs the has won right to the .-Sir Walter Scott (4.4....5)



Answer: He that climbs the tall tree has won right to the fruit - Sir Walter Scott SOLUTION: EARED, FLIRT, TITLED/TILTED, FUNNEL

Difficulty Level 2s Instructions

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

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

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

SOLUTION SUDOKU 4060 1 6 3 6 3 5 8 9 1 2 7 4 2 7 8 4 5 6 3 1 9

DAY TODAY

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20) You cannot help but ring the changes in the romantic arena.

What you need in terms of affection, and who you want it from, will be different now from what it was this time last year. Remember that other people may not yet be ready to come up with the goods.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21) You should say

what needs to be said now, while you still have time. This is not to say that if you leave it till the end of the week it will be too late, only that right now you don't actually have to know what you're talking about, which is rather convenient.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21) A snap decision may

be vital if you are to take full advantage of prosperous financial possibilities. The relevant celestial influences overlap very briefly, so your sense of timing will have to be impeccable if you are to snap up a bargain. Stick to your high standards, though.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23) If charm is called for, don't sit on the fence

while life passes you by. Get out there now, smile sweetly, bat your eyelids and make sure that other people give in to your every whim. If there's any one rule in astrology this week, it's that the higher your hopes, the richer your achievements.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23) It's strange the way



VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23) Both personal and joint financial issues are relatively free

from astrological pressures at the moment, at least as far as your solar chart is concerned. One reading of this situation is that you may reshape and redirect your investments, savings and income for the better.

BY PETER VIDAL

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23) There are increasing signs of social stress. This is not a bad thing, I hasten to add, for the planets are perfectly placed to give that additional determination you need to get your own way. Or, do you really want to do your

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23) It's difficult to

best for others? If so, get

on with it.

make precise delineations of your sign at the moment, because while most of you are still being wound up like a coiled spring, others are just about to explode. Exciting times indeed! All the stars ask is that you avoid unnecessary risks.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22) If you acknowledge

that partners have the advantage, you will avoid the temptation to try and take over - and will steer clear of a minor humiliation. Far better to get on with your own personal affairs in the knowledge that, with the right degree of cooperation, this could be a marvellous time.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20) If you have been

storing your feelings up, please relax and tell someone exactly how you feel about them. I know you are naturally reserved, but you must understand that you are in danger of letting a golden opportunity slip by. Keep an eye open for passing offers. AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)

If new routines or

methods are to be discussed, you may find that the personal situation becomes rather complicated. The problem probably lies with other people, who are

constantly adjusting their opinions. But, then, it's your responsibility to keep up, isn't it? PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

In many ways this is an ideal day for reflection. You are going through quite a puritanical phase, though naturally in your own utterly unique manner. The point is that you feel a need to be true to your spiritual ideals. That's not always easy, but at least you can try your best.



Khadi and Village Industries Commission

Ministry of Micro, Small, & Medium Enterprises Government of India

'Gramodaya' 3 Irla Road, Vile Parle (West), Mumbai-400 056

Tel.: 022-26207624, E-mail: khadi.kvic@gov.in Website: www.kvic.org.in

INVITING APPLICATIONS FOR DESIGNER COMPETITION FOR KHADI

KVIC (Ministry of MSME, Govt. of India) proposed to conduct Khadi designer competition online for designers, who wish to associate and collaborate with Khadi and Village Industries Commission in taking a step towards benefit of the rural artisans and creating designer wear from Khadi Fabric. Interested designers are required to visit KVIC website www.kvic.org.in_for further details and other terms and conditions.

Eligibility Criteria:

- Applicants should have at least Two years' experience in fashion industry.
- Applicants can earn higher scores during scrutiny if they demonstrate solid work experience at fashion houses/retail stores or in any creative capacity in the fashion industry
- Applicants worked in Khadi Industry will earn higher score.

1 st Prize: INR 10 Lakh	2 nd Prize: INR 5 Lakh	3 rd Prize:	: INR 2 Lakh	
Start Date of Application	16 th December 2019		Director (Khadi)	
Last date of Application	16 th January 2020 (till 3.			



SALUTE THE SOLDIER

ON THE 48th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF WANJAL (J&K), WE PAY HOMAGE TO THE 12 VEER BIHARIS OF THE 3RD BATTALION, THE BIHAR REGIMENT, WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

Nk Raj Rup Bhakt, Nk Narinder Nath Tiria, L/Nk Luis Lakra, Sep Jugal Kishore Rai, Sep Bhagirath Sah, Sep Shabir, Sep Rikhi Deo Mishra, Sep Kapil Sharma, Sep Fakir Chandra, Sep Basu Deo Prasad, Sep Johan Minj, Sep Sheo Muni Singh, Your courageous and selfless actions resulted in the capture of the vital feature of Wanjal. Your gallantry will continue to inspire us forever. We, the fraternity of The Veer Biharis salute you.

THE BIHAR REGIMENT ASSOCIATION



New Okhla Industrial Development Authority Administrative Building, Sector-6, Noida, G.B. Nagar (U.P.) Website: www.noidaauthorityonline.com

E-TENDER NOTICE

E-Tenders are invited from firms/contractors registered with UPLC Lucknow for the following jobs against which bids can be uploaded and same shall be opened/downloaded as per schedule mentioned. The details and conditions of all tenders are available on NOIDA Authority's official website: www.noidaauthorityonline.com & https://etender.up.nic.in Please ensure to see these websites for any changes/ amendments & corrigendum etc.

_		Job No.		Amount in La
A	(1)	02/GM(R)/SM/ (NTC)/2019-20	P/F Retro-Reflective Plot indicator board in Sector-40, Noida	₹ 28.12

Which can be uploaded by Date: 23.12.2019 upto 5.00 PM. Pre-qualification shall be opened/downloaded on Date : -24.12.2019 at 11.00 A.M. General Manager (R)

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PERSONAL

I, Sunil Kumar Gupta S/O, Sohan Lal Gupta R/o A3/720, Tower-7 Silver City, Sector-93 Noida, UP-201301 have changed my name to Sunil Gupta for all 0040524274-3 purposes.

I. Sahab Ram S/o Bhagwan Singh R/o Vill. Shikohpur, Distt. Gurgaon, Haryana-122004 have changed my name to Sahabram Yadav for all future 0040524229-1 purposes.

I, Rita Devi w/o Ram Roop Yadav d/o Mohit Yadav R/O A749 GD Colony Mayur vihar ph - 3, Delhi that on my Pan Card father's name has been wrongly mentioned as Ram Roop Yadav my father's correct name is Mohit Yadav

0040524244-1 I. Raunag Banthia D/O. Puneet

Banthia R/o C-75 Second Floor, lane-4, Mahendru Enclave Delhi-110033 have changed my name to Rraunag Banthia for all purposes. 0040524274-1 I, Prakash Kumar S/o Shri

Banwari Lal R/o 11/192, Block-11, Trilokpuri, Delhi- 110091, have changed my name from Parkash Kumar to Prakash Kumar for all future purposes.

I. Kundan Singh No.6489867H Rank HAV/ASH R/o Village Satyoun P.O. Satyoun Distt. Almora Uttarakhand-263601 have changed my son's name from Devendra Singh to Devendra Kanwal, dob from 11.09.2003 to 11.09.2004 vide affidavit dated 6th December before Notary Public India.

0040524263-1 I, Kante Devi spouse of

No.6489867H Rank HAV/ASH R/o Village Satyoun P.O. Satyoun Distt. Almora Uttarakhand-263601 have changed my name from Kante Devi to Kanti Devi, dob from 01.01.1981 to 01.01.1982 vide affidavit dated 6th December before Notary Public India.

I Gourav S/o Suresh Kumar R/o

House No-39, Brij Vihar, Dindarpur, Najafgarh, Delhi-110043, have changed my name to Gourav Kumar

0070688318-1

I Nasir S/o Akbar Ali R/o 318, Rampur Tengraha, Gonda, Tarabganj, UP-271124, have changed my name to Nasir Ahmad

I Gaurav Jain S/o Shoban Lal

to Gauurav Jain

Jain R/o Villa No-2, 10 A Raj Niwas Marg, Civil Lines, Delhi-

0070688335-1 I, Tushar S/o Mr. Brij Mohan R/o House No. -829, Sector-7C, Faridabad, Haryana, have changed my name to Tushar

110054, have changed my name

Khatri for all purposes. 0040524238-2 I. Suresh Kumar S/o Bachan Ram R/o House No-39, Brij Vihar, Dindarpur, Najafgarh,

Delhi-110043, have changed my

minor son's name from Sourav

aged 17 years to Souray Kumar forever. 0070688297-1 I Kapil S/o Balwant Rai Jain R/o 2034, Sector-1, Rohtak,

Haryana-124001, have changed my name to Kapil Jain 0070688328-1

LOST & FOUND

0050159841-1

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ONE Liquor Manufacturing Co. in running condition, required Distributor/ J.V. Partner. Contact: 7558234491.

0070688056-2

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COMMERCIAL Premises on rent/lease. Alibag, opposite S.T. Stand, 900 1st floor, 900 2nd floor, 700 3rd floor carpet area. Contact-9545984699.

0070688270-2

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CELEBRATING THE HERO

Robin, the faithful sidekick of Batman, will be celebrated in *The Robin 80th Anniversary 100-Page* Super Spectacular. The special edition, which releases in March 2020, will have works from popular DC creators, including current DC writer Peter J Tomasi.

WEEK AHEAD



Handle with Care

IN HIS exhibition titled "A Dialogue with Soil" artist Sisir Sahana is showcasing glass sculptures made with discarded materials such as roots, flowers, shells and broken glass. The 12 new works were created during a residency at Pittsburgh Glass Centre, USA, earlier this year. The exhibition at Gallerie Ganesha is on till January 8.

In Rhythm

WATCH Tales from the Bull and the Tiger, a dance production choreographed by Bharatanatyam and Kuchipudi dancer Ananda Shankar Jayant (pictured) in collaboration with Shankarananda Kalakshetra. At Kamani Auditorium on December 16, 7 pm. Entry is free.



All Together

VIEW WORKS of artists from across South Asia in 13 curated exhibitions organised as part of the Curatorial Intensive South Asia 2019 programme. Titled "The earth is still going around the sun", the exhibitions comprise works of artists mentored by art historian Leonhard Emmerling and curator Latika Gupta. On till December 20, at India International Centre.



ON THE LOOSE

Edible Art

When it feels like the world is going bananas

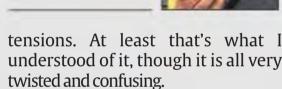


THERE HAVE been plenty of articles defending Italian artist Maurizio Cattelan's work that was on display at Art Basel Miami, of a banana duct-taped to a wall. This installation, aptly titled *Comedian* had thousands queueing up to take selfies with it before a canny, self-promoting performance artist decided to gobble it up, and became an instant Internet sensation. (It is not unreasonable to wonder that if a banana attached to the wall can pass off as art, why a performing artist eating it is not — but he was escorted out by security and the piece removed). The long and short of it is that at one of the most important events on the international art calendar, a mere banana grabbed all eyeballs and headlines, completely eclipsing the dominating theme at Art Basel Miami — of sustainability and climate change. To add insult to injury, Comedian sold three times over for between \$120,000 to \$150,000, notwithstanding the fact that three-fourths of the installation, the rotting fruit, cannot sur-

vive a week. I'm no connoisseur of fine art and the metaphysical meaning behind this banana, if any, eludes me completely. In fact, at the risk of sounding like a complete dolt, it has occurred to me that there is something to cheer that I can tape a banana on a wall and claim to own an artwork worth a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But, then again, why would I want to? The very idea of a banana as a mounted display is seriously weird and only an idiot would decorate their house like this. (I am not the only genius who thought of this, Brooke Shields taped a banana to her forehead and tweeted with the tagline: 'An expensive selfie'.) Perhaps, on the other hand, Cattelan is the most subversive artist alive, who's simply making the point that not everything selling for 150K is worth buying and that when we look at art, we shouldn't go by price tags. What the critics hailing Cattelan's originality are saying is that of course that wretched banana is ridiculous, and the rich collectors falling for it need to question their own foolish pre-



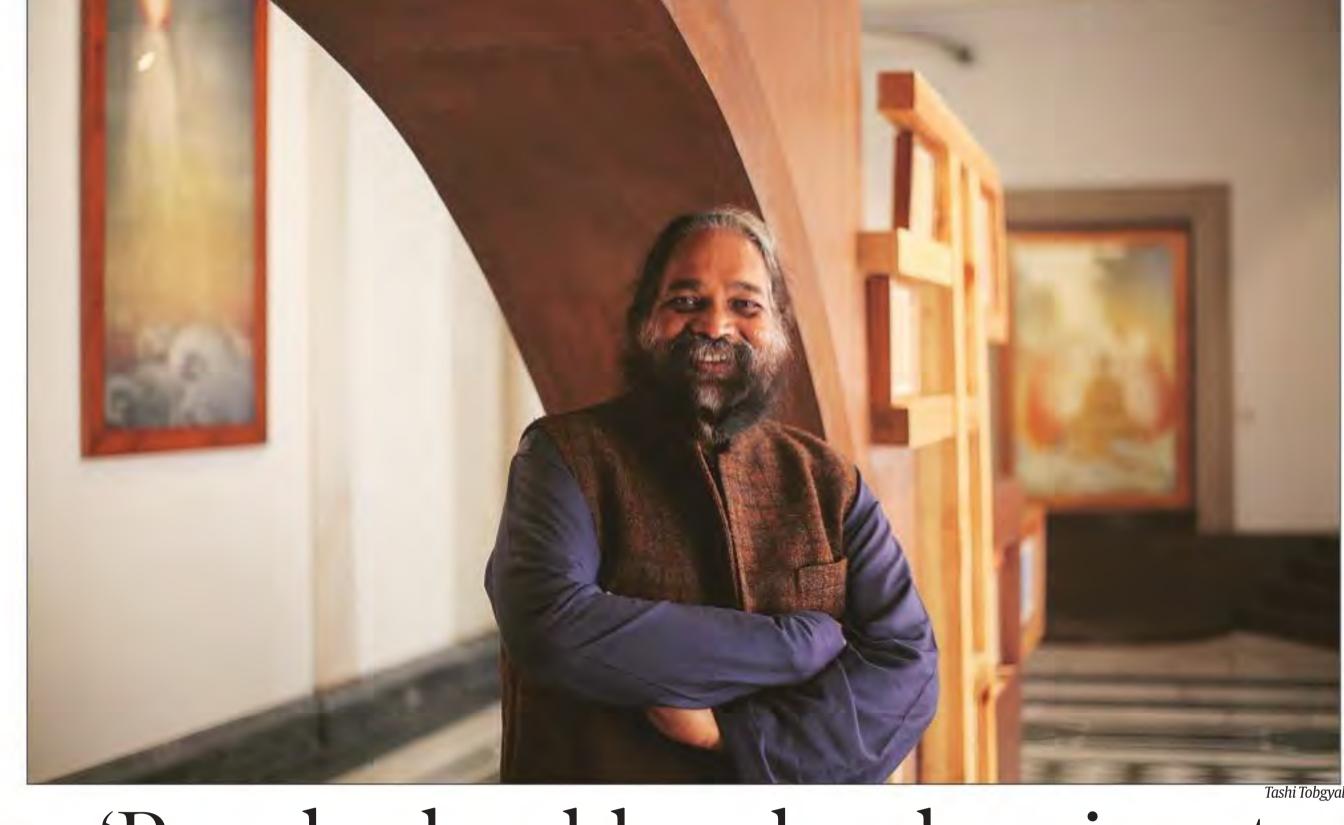
Maurizio Cattelan's Comedian; (right) artist David **Datuma** eating the banana



I suspect there are plenty of people like me who are caught in a time warp when it comes to appreciating, or simply understanding contemporary art. Because, for those of us who grew up in the '70s and '80s, it was barely a thing and unless you came from a family of artists, exposure to modern works was very limited. Only a privileged few who had insider access to museums developed some discernment while the rest of us referred to books on artists, like the tragic and strange life of Vincent van Gogh immortalised in Lust for Life to interpret artistic expression. Obviously those who cut their aesthetic teeth on the vivid and light colours of Monet's Impression, Sunrise or Van Gogh's vibrant sunflowers will gravitate towards beauty more classically portrayed, than an inside joke that Cattelan's sculpture (if you can call it that) appears to be. One can't help but be nostalgic for a time when artistic concepts weren't so abstract and didn't confuse viewers like this, by being a fruit.

Maybe he spent many painstaking hours coming up with this concept: one must not grudge Cattelan's his incredible good fortune that his spectacle so completely captured the world's imagination. The banana provoked, stirred and jolted the audience, tragically, much more than the humongous ice sculpture of Greta Thunberg's powerful words 'How Dare You' quietly, and profoundly melting away at Art Basel. Perhaps we need another wild and gimmicky artwork that'll explain why people respond to absurdity so much more, than to a crisis.

hutkayfilms@gmail.com



People should seek solace in art like they do in films'

VANDANAKALRA

BEFORE YOUR appointment as Director General in the last term, you had shared a "vision" with the ministry. How much of that were you able to realise and what will be your objectives in the second term?

For the results to start showing, it will take at least eight to ten years. My primary focus has been to connect the public to art: people need to feel that this art is theirs, only then will they appreciate and enjoy it. People should not be intimidated, they should want to walk into the NGMA. We need to begin at the school level. In the last few years, we have had visits by groups of school students and have engaged with them through activities and not just the artwork on display. We also invited art teachers to discuss the challenges they face, and I want to invite principals of government schools to emphasise on the need to promote art education and discuss how we can provide support. Unfortunately, in India, art does not get the same respect as other subjects. We also want to interact with students from art colleges. We want to introduce opportunities for practical work — have studios for printmaking, ceramics. It is important to create a lively atmosphere and also bring together all the arts.

You put a lot of emphasis on exhibiting the previously unseen collection of the NGMA. Will that continue?

Almost 80 per cent of the NGMA collec-

NGMA Director General Adwaita Gadanayak on getting a three year extension, working with schools and opening more branches of the NGMA

tion had never been shared but now I think we have managed to share almost 50 per cent through exhibitions such as 'Roopantar', 'Itihaas', among others. We exhibited works of Bireswar Sen in South Korea and China. In the coming years, I want to have more such exhibitions and also showcase the works of younger artists. We are creating a team to recommend the young artists whom we should exhibit.

There is a grouse that the NGMA has not built a substantial collection of contemporary art. Will you be looking into that as well?

There are several gaps in our collection that we want to fill. We were earlier focusing on the renovation of the building, now that is done. I want to plan some big shows of contemporary artists and also acquire more works. We will purchase what we feel we can maintain. We are also looking at artists from the Northeast and considering opening a branch of the NGMA in Tripura, for which the state government is also involved.

In association with the Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, NGMA organised an India Pavilion at the Venice Biennale this year. Will we see more such publicprivate partnerships?

It is important to present Indian art on world stage. It was 150 years of Gandhi and we decided to present that at Venice, through artists who worked with Gandhi (Nandalal Bose), to someone like Jitish Kallat. Private-public partnerships are also very important; look at Tate or MoMA, all of them have collaborations.

Recently, you also designed the granite sculpture at the National Police Memorial in Delhi. In your own practise, as a sculptor, you have often worked with stone. Is that influenced by your childhood in Neulapoi (Odisha)? I believe your mother worshipped nature.

Neulapoi is between the Kapilash temple, dedicated to Shiva, and the Mahima Gadi temple, where it is believed that god is formless. My mother would worship nature, she would find form in formlessness. I did not understand what she was doing then, but now after studying so much and so many years of practise, I feel I understand that better. When families of the martyrs visited the Police Memorial, they went near the stone and seemed to interact with it. I feel, on our planet, stone is the

oldest family member, its every layer has a history associated with it. It interacts with you, if you submit to it. It is believed that there are male and female stones, and they can be differentiated through texture, sound and other techniques. Male sculptures are made with female stones since they are stronger, and for female sculptures, which require heavy ornamentation, we use male stones. I want others also to feel the stone through my work. At one time, we sought spirituality through art.

How often do you get time to work in your own studio?

I have very little time. As an artist I want to do a lot more. For now, I am working on NGMA like my sculpture. At times, I carry my sketchbook and draw my observations. I am also designing several exhibitions myself.

What has been your biggest challenge in your first term? Also, when you were first appointed to the NGMA, there was a lot of talk on how it was because of your association with the BJP. What is your

opinion about that now? I think my biggest challenge has been to bring the public to the NGMA. If that is done, I would say we have been successful. The NGMA is not just meant for artists, but for people as well. They should seek solace in art, like theatre, films. Regarding my appointment, I think all of us need to work together for the promotion and betterment of art, the political party does not matter. I have worked as an artist.



The idea behind the awards is to honour the commitment of MPs to service

VIJAY DARDA, CHAIRMAN, EDITORIAL BOARD, LOKMAT MEDIA, AND FORMER RAJYA SABHA MP

Vice President M Venkaiah Naidu, who presented the Lokmat Parliamentary Awards 2019 at a ceremony in Delhi on December 10, with the award winners and members of the board of jury. (From left) Rajya Sabha member Naresh Gujral, Lok Sabha member NK Premachandran, Chairman of editorial board of Lokmat Media and former member of Rajya Sabha Vijay Darda, Editor-in-Chief of Lokmat Media Rajendra Darda, Rajya Sabha member and Nationalist Congress Party President Sharad Pawar, M Venkaiah Naidu, Rajya Sabha members Tiruchi Siva, Viplove Thakur and Kahkashan Perween, Lok Sabha members Supriya Sule, Saugata Roy and Dr Bharti Pravin Pawar, National Editor of Lokmat Media Harish Gupta, Managing Director of Lokmat Media Devendra Darda and Executive Director Karan Darda Rajesh Tickley

Pao with a Side of History

This year, at the Serendipity Arts Festival, an exploration of culinary legacies and the craft of food

POOJA PILLAI

HOW DOES one fully convey the effort that goes into perfecting the craft of Goan pao-making? In the months leading up to the Serendipity Arts Festival, which began yesterday in Panjim, Goa, restaurateur Prahlad Sukhtankar posed this question to himself a number of times. He did this, Sukhtankar says, because even something that is as ubiquitous as the humble pao is in Goa, deserves the kind of appreciation that we typically reserve for more "exotic" foods. "The pao is part of the staple Goan diet, and yet how many people know

the number of years that it takes to perfect this? You can't understand the craft of the culinary arts unless you're willing to go back to the basics. Sometimes, that means going all the way back to the very soil in which our food is grown," he says.

Sukhtankar, along with chef and restaurateur Rahul Akerkar, has curated the culinary arts at the festival this year and his brief, he says, was to explore "the craft of culinary art". "As a diner, I may want to go out and eat something 'fancy', but there is so much to appreciate in our indigenous ingredients and food. This is something you understand only once you start exploring even the humblest of foods. These



are the ones that are frequently overlooked, and so many of them end up getting lost to us as we don't value them," he says. The workshops and other events on the culinary arts programming of the festival have been organ-

ised keeping this in mind. Sukhtankar, for example, has curated a series of unique Goan culinary experiences, including a workshop on traditional Goan bread making and another that explores the history and ecology of the culti-



(From left) A workshop last year; Rahul Akerkar; Prahlad Sukhtankar

vation and consumption of Mahua in the state. Similarly, Akerkar has curated events that explore culinary legacies — "the where things come from to the where they go – cuisine and food wise." He says, "We've created workshops

with some of India's brightest thinking-chefs and foodies to take us through what this means to them and the way they express their culinary legacies - modernising and adapting them to make them relevant for today."

These workshops include, for example, Chef's Legacy with award-winning chef Thomas Zacharias, in which he expands on his work within the so-called 'Indian Food Movement'.

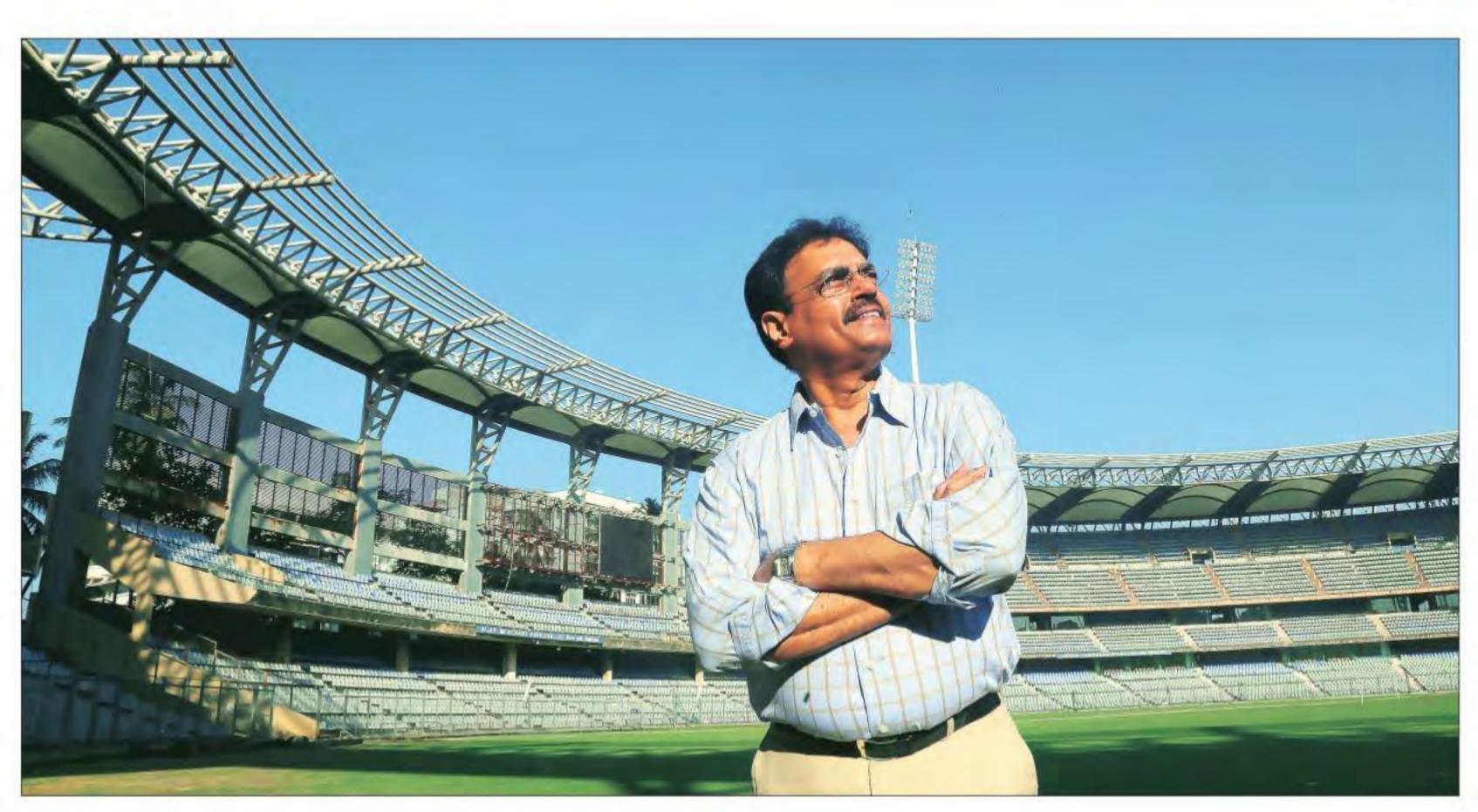
At the Serendipity Arts festival last year, Akerkar, who had curated the culinary arts section along with food writer Odette Mascarenhas, had explored how taste and smell stimulate memory in people. With most workshops filling up faster than expected, the huge response to such events initially surprised Akerkar. "It speaks to the way we live today with so much culinary content bombarding us 24x7 on TV and through social media — we're all engaged with cuisine, and possess the language and vocabulary to intellectualise and deconstruct it."

Live on Sony Ten 2 — 4:30 pm onwards

FROM THE RANJI ARCHIVE

The Ranji Trophy, which is in its 86th edition, has witnessed many an epic contest. In this series, *The Indian Express* sifts through the sands of time and brings back some those unforgettable moments. We begin with this all-time classic:

BOMBAY VS HARYANA - 1991 FINAL - WANKHEDE



Dilip Vengsarkar made 139* in the secondinnings, yet was left in tears after the two-run loss. It still hurts him — like an old wound in the cold. Nirmal Harindran

DEVENDRA PANDEY& TUSHAR BHADURI

REGRETS IN cricket tend to be a meandering melancholy. They are recalled with Rashomon relish, by all the different characters they managed to sting. The 1991 Mumbai-Haryana Ranji Trophy final was one such game. It had ended with the seasoned pro and home team's senior-most star Dilip Vengsarkar dropping down on his knees, bawling like a child, and remaining glued to the Wankhede Stadium turf for

hours after the game. Twenty eight years later, the loss still hurts the runners-up. The various 'what ifs' during the last day chase of 355 still get discussed by those in the Mumbai dressing room and close

to 30,000 in the stands that day.

Was it the eight catches that Bombay dropped in the first innings? Could the Bombay top 3 (or penultimate 3) have chipped in more? Was Sachin hexed when driving straight to Jadeja in covers after timing the ball sweetly till then? Was it the most precious save from Amarjeet Kaypee at square leg which ended in the misunderstanding between Lalchand Rajput and Abey? What was Rajput thinking, even? Or was it that diving save at fine leg from Rajesh Puri earlier, which saved three runs at the boundary — incidentally the margin of the despondent defeat, Puri is Sachin Tendulkar's pick.

Haryana played like cornered tigers against the traditional bullies Bombay and nicked one away - something that Kapil Dev and Vengsarkar apparently bantered about when they met in the common toilet at the Wankhede Stadium earlier on the last day. And Bombay nurses the regrets to this day, never forgetting to remember that one time, they lost.

Still sleepless

Talk to any of the Mumbai stalwarts of the early 1990s and they are likely to best remember — vividly and regretfully — one that got away. By the way, Mumbai have won the Ranji Trophy 41 times, 15 of them in a row, and finished on the wrong side of a final just five times.

It was not just the margin of defeat-merely two runs – to Kapil Dev's Haryana that often gives Dilip Vengsarkar nightmares even today. It's Haryana only Ranji title till date.

"I didn't sleep for the next three months even when I went to England to watch some matches. My wife used to ask why I was turning and twisting at night. I told her that the defeat still hurts me. I still can't get over it," Vengsarkar said.

The former India captain took his team then called Bombay — to the brink of their first national title in six years with an unbeaten 139 before a farcical run-out, involving a runner, put paid to their dream and left him high and not-so-dry in the eye. "There were six balls (14 in fact) left and (No. 11) Abey Kuruvilla wasn't playing any big shots. I didn't expect Lalu (Lalchand Rajput, the runner) to run," Vengsarkar recalls about the final run-out

which panned out after he cramped earlier on. He slumped to the ground and broke down as the Harvana players celebrated.

Ranji Trophy finals can often flatter to deceive. But the class on display in 1990-91 made it an occasion to remember.

'Never seen him cry'

epaper indianex

Apart from Vengsarkar, Bombay — led by Sanjay Manjrekar — had in its ranks a tyro named Sachin Tendulkar along with his childhood friend Vinod Kambli. Apart from Kapil, Haryana had Ajay Jadeja and Chetan Sharma among their XI.

The final Mumbai want to forget, but can't

Mumbai/Bombay is far and away the most successful side in the Ranji Trophy, with 41 titles in the cabinet. But in its lore, a disaster at home ranks right up there with its most memorable triumphs. It featured two of Indian cricket's GOATs, Sachin Tendulkar and Kapil Dev, and a lion-hearted effort from Dilip Vengsarkar

HARYANA 1ST INNINGS

HARYANA 2ND INNINGS

Dhanraj Singh **b** Ankola **33**

A Kaypee c Pandit b Patil 5

R Puri c Pandit b Ankola 15

C Sharma **b** Hattangadi **0**

YS Bhandari **c** Vengsarkar

Extras 22 (b 9, lb 6, nb 7)

RR Kulkarni 12-1-50-1

A Kuruvilla 13-2-40-1

SS Patil **34-13-65-3**

LS Rajput **4-1-9-0**

SA Ankola **13.4-1-39-3**

SS Hattangadi **11-5-24-2**

P Jain Ibw b Patil 13

TOTAL 242 all out

b Ankola 19

10-242

BOWLING

N Kapil Dev (c) b Kulkarni 41

V Yadav c Pandit b Hattangadi 7

Fall of wickets: 1-8, 2-48, 3-68, 4-

76, 5-100, 6-146, 7-154, 8-154, 9-211,

A Banerjee not out **60**

D Sharma c Pandit b Kuruvilla 2

A Jadeja c Vengsarkar b Patil 25

522 ALL OUT

"I had never seen Dilip cry. I had played international cricket with him but have never seen him cry like this. That's what the game does to a player. At such times, you need your space, time is the healer. We left Dilip alone after he came back," Tendulkar recalls.

He was still a precocious teenager then and describes the match as if it had taken place

yesterday. "On the last day we had to score 357 runs (355) in some 50-60- odd overs. To chase it in those limited overs is not easy at all even now. Especially when they had bowlers like Kapil Dev and Chetan Sharma in the opposition team," he remembers.

Tendulkar's 96 (75 balls, 9x4, 5x6) was one of the highlights of the final afternoon, especially a six off Kapil as he took to the Haryana bowlers.

'Ek baar toh jeetne de'

The assault so unnerved Haryana that even their skipper felt the tide had turned against them despite the tall target they were defending. Recalls Vengsarkar: "I remember I met Kapil in the toilet during a break. In those days, we used to have a common toilet. Kapil came and said, 'ek baar toh jeetne de'. I said you have already won. Kapil said, 'no, as long you are there, tab tak pata nahi re'.

Came a mile, fell short by inches

That Bombay came within three runs of the title was a minor miracle in itself. They had conceded a first-innings lead of 112, and Ajay Banerjee added to their frustration by adding 90 for the last two wickets with tail-enders Pradeep Jain and Yogendra Bhandari. It not only added to the Bombay target, but also reduced the overs and time at their disposal. In any case, a draw would have sufficed for Haryana to take the crown on first-innings lead.

When the chase eventually began, Bombay were three down in no time. Openers Rajput and Shishir Hattangadi and Manjrekar were back in the pavilion with 34 runs on the board.

It was when Vengsarkar and Tendulkar came together after lunch on the fifth day that Bombay began the comeback. The senior pro asked his batting partner to exercise caution as the team couldn't afford another wicket at that stage. But Tendulkar was having none of it.

"Sachin batted brilliantly, out of the world. The way he played that innings was outstanding. If he had stayed for five-six overs more, we would have finished that game much earlier," Vengsarkar looks back. "I was telling Sachin to go slow later on, but he slammed a six off Kapil. A strong hatta-katta Sachin was batting."

Tendulkar had his own reasons for taking an aggressive approach.

"I remember Chetan and Kapil bowling in tandem. We had hardly any runs on the board and had lost early wickets in our chase. If we

wanted to go for the kill, the only option was to

"I felt I should press the pedal as hard as possible. I started well and attacked everyone. I hit a couple of big shots off Kapil paaji as well. I hit him towards the pavilion for a six. Those were not the T20 days, so it was slightly different when somebody came and hit a fast bowler like that. But I was confident to go out and play some big shots."

Twist in the script

Vengsarkar and Tendulkar had added 134 for the fourth wicket before the latter hit a fulltoss straight to a fielder.

"I felt we were going at a phenomenal run rate but I got out to off-spinner Yogendra

BOMBAY 1ST INNINGS 410 ALL OUT

BOMBAY 2ND INNINGS (TARGET: 355 RUNS) LS Rajput **Ibw b** Kapil Dev **11** SS Hattangadi **lbw b** C Sharma 1 SV Manjrekar (c) c Yadav b C Sharma DB Vengsarkar not out 139 SR Tendulkar **c** Jadeja **b** Bhandari **96**

VG Kambli c & b Jadeja 45 CS Pandit c D Sharma b Jain 12 RR Kulkarni run out 4 SA Ankola c & b Bhandari 5 SS Patil run out 2 A Kuruvilla run out 5

Extras 13 (b 5, lb 5, nb 1, w 2) TOTAL 352 all out Fall of wickets: 1-3, 2-34, 3-34, 4-168,

5-249, 6-274, 7-290, 8-300, 9-305, 10-**BOWLING** N Kapil Dev 21-1-91-1 C Sharma **16.4-2-59-2** A Jadeja **2-0-13-1**

YS Bhandari 17-0-124-2

P Jain **9-0-55-1**

Haryana pip Bombay by two runs for maiden Ranji Trophy victory

sports page from May 8, 1991 carried a picture of captain Kapil **Dev lifting** Haryana's first Ranji silverware.

Indian Express's

bat aggressively," Tendulkar reasoned. Bhandari. It was a full-toss and I thought I will

place it next to cover. An easy shot, no need to hit the ball hard, but the ball went straight to Jadeia in the covers," the younger partner remembers. Bombay still had Kambli to come and the

left-hander didn't let the momentum slip. "Kambli played well too but the rest choked under pressure. I think the lower order lacked temperament. We had four wickets in hand and needed to score some 40-odd runs (actu-

ally 65) in the last 10 overs. It was easy to get, but we messed it up," Vengsarkar regrets. The veteran argues that everybody was expected to know what needed to be done and didn't need to be told specifically.

"There used to be no meeting those days.

Everyone knew their job and only had to apply

After Kambli was dismissed by Jadeja with the score at 249, Chandrakant Pandit, Raju Kulkarni, Salil Ankola and Sanjay Patil departed in quick succession to leave Bombay at 305/9. Even if the last wicket had fallen immediately, it would have been counted among the more memorable Ranji finals. But the drama was not over yet.

Last stand

common sense."

Kuruvilla had been playing in the lower leagues of Bombay cricket, and was picked to make his Ranji debut in the final on a hunch. He had already taken five wickets in the match, and now proceeded to give Vengsarkar, who soon reached his ton, valuable support.

The senior partner took to Bhandari and had a sequence of 6,4,6,6,4, in an over to get Bombay within touching distance.

"Abey stood up and that is why we reached so close," Vengsarkar says now. "I didn't speak to him much. I didn't want him to feel the pressure. I gave the strike to Abey because I didn't want him to feel inferior. He didn't play any big shot, out ho sakta tha."

The tide began to turn again as the target came closer, run by run.

"I felt we were in the race and can achieve the target. In the opposition tent, you can see people getting worried," Tendulkar recalls.

"Towards the end, we started to play our strokes. There was a brilliant stop at fine leg (Rajesh Puri had stopped a boundary), I still remember. If that ball had gone for four, we would have won the game there itself. One stop was also made in the last over. It was a nailbiting finish and till the end, no one knew who was going to win. It went to the wire, every inch mattered. Till then, nobody knew that Abey could hang around with the bat."

Tragicomic end

Cricket lovers of a later vintage would remember the 1999 World Cup semifinal between Australia and South Africa at Edgbaston, which ended in a tie after a farcical run-out.

Eight years earlier, the target had whittled to three off 15 deliveries as Chetan Sharma ran in to Kuruvilla, with Vengsarkar at square-leg and his runner Rajput at the non-striker's end.

Vengsarkar knew he just needed one ball to get the target and there was no need to take any risk in running between the wickets. But as the ball trickled to short fine-leg, Rajput inexplicably ran halfway down the wicket as Kuruvilla's eyes were still following the ball. When the latter began running, Amarjeet Kaypee, who had scored more than 900 runs that season, had the ball in his stand and beat the No. 11 with his throw, as Vengsarkar looked on helplessly.

"Lalu had called for a run and I just ran.....at the last moment, he said no. By that time I was



with him but have never seen him cry like this. That's what the game does to a player. At such times, you need your space, time is the healer. We left Dilip alone after he came back."

"On the last day we had to score 357 runs (355) in some 50 60-odd overs. To chase it in those limited overs is not easy at all even now. Especially when they had bowlers like Kapil Dev and Chetan Sharma."

SACHIN TENDULKAR WHO MADE A 75-BALL 96 IN THE 2ND INNINGS

mid-pitch," Kuruvilla recalls.

Undefeated in defeat

Vengsarkar was on his knees, sobbing, with his bat prone on the ground. The crowd, which had swelled steadily through the day, saw its local hero in a river of tears. But their applause fell on deaf ears as a supreme unbeaten innings (139 in 137 balls, 9x4, 5x6s) had been in vain.

"I feel very bad till date because we had overs left. And I had to score only two runs,

Tendulkar recalls: "After Abey got run out everyone was sad, it was a big disappointment We were so close, it was heartbreaking without a doubt. You don't get such games anymore. These kind of matches stay with you forever. One can even say Haryana won because of that save on the boundary by Puri."

Aftermath

Prasad Desai was the Mumbai 12th man for the game and had the unenviable task of taking Vengsarkar back into the dressing room.

"Losing the Ranji final was like losing a World Cup final. It was a very big issue for all of us. In the dressing room, there was a lull, like someone had passed away. During his hundred, Vengsarkar's bat was broken in two while trying to pull. He told me ki fek dena (throw it away). But I took it with me and got it repaired and later gave it to Amol Muzumdar," Desai says."When Dilip came back, he was totally blank. I prepared Electral and lemon water for him. Nobody dared to approach him."

Desai puts the battle of the titans into perspective.

"I remember Kapil came round the wicket to Vengsarkar in first innings, and bowled him with a yorker. Having claimed the big wicket, he smashed the ball into the ground, and told Chetan, 'tu aage (baakiyonko) dekh le.'

"In the second innings, Vengsarkar hit Kapil over long-on for six. Dilip had fumed about the first innings dismissal. That six was a message to show who is the boss."

Hetty hits, Hope soars

Often rebuked for his uncontrolled aggression, Hetmeyer silences critics with a coming-of-age ton

SANDIPG

CHENNAI, DECEMBER 15

IT WAS the day the condemned and crucified resurrected in Chepauk. First was the much reviled and trolled Rishabh Pant constructing the most atypical of knocks, a exhibition of restrained aggression, before the constantly-rebuked Shimron Hetmyer not only muted his critics with a spectacularly calculative assault on India's bowlers but also rekindled memories of the Caribbean heyday. The latter's effort handed West Indies an eight-wicket win and an unprecedented 1-0 lead in the series.

In the Caribbean, few cricketers, young or experienced, polarise opinions as passionately as Hetmyer. For some, he is the most exciting cricketer on the planet, for some others he epitomises everything rotten in the modern game, a T20 hand-for-hire intoxicated by the figures on his cheque leaf. The former West Indies captain Richie Richardson perfectly summed up the joy and agony of Shimron Hetmyer batting in an interview last July: "When he bats well, he is like Lara, when he doesn't, he resembles Walsh. Often, in the same innings, he can resemble both."

Anyone who has followed the Guyanese batsman would concur — he can thrill you as much as he can infuriate, he can marvel you as much he can madden you. Talent there is, in immense proportions, only that he regularly blends it with a streak of self-destruction. There is something imminently likeable, there's something staunchly unlikeable too.

Another Caribbean legend, Curtly Ambrose, feared whether all his talent would go wasted. His doubts weren't unfounded as his expensive lifestyle has spun numerous juicy scuttlebutts. That he's intoxicated by the fame and money that he has lost his fitness, is reluctant to practice, he's speeding behind fancy cars, that curfews were imposed on him during the World Cup, that's he treading the same alley of several other young Caribbean starlets. "The T20 leagues are killing him. But we wish he can be the world-beater he can be. He could be the greatest after Lara," Richardson lamented. Irresistible it is to thrust greatness on young, promising cricketers.

Brian Lara comparisons can pause, but he showed he could be a world-beating batsman with a ruthless exhibition of stroke-play, a sparkling tribute to Caribbean batsmanship. There's something intrinsically Caribbean about his demeanour—the floppy hat, he has dozens in his wardrobe too, the diamond earring, a gold chain around the neck with the cricket-bat pendent dangling when he sprints for runs, the repertoire of audacious strokes that flows from his bat, the lashing back-lift and the sheer insouciance. Often, the complain was that he was too Caribbean for his own good.

"Right now, he looks like someone who wants to hit every cricket ball out of the stadium. He needs to be more judicious," observed Michael Holding during the World Cup. Or in other words, he needed to dilute the hedonistic Caribbeanism of his batting, which he accomplished to an extent in his 106-ball 139 in Chennai, easily the most influential knock of his budding career.

While the strike rate of 131.13 in this format could concede an impression that he

Chennai: Virat Kohli expressed his dis-

pleasure at the manner in which Ravindra

Jadeja was given run out following a late

DRS call in the first ODI against West

Indies on Sunday. The incident took place

in the 48th over when Jadeja went for a

quick single and the fielder effected a di-

not give it out though Jadeja appeared to

be short of his crease and neither there

was an instant appeal from the West

The on-field umpire Shaun George did

rect hit at the striker's end.

Never seen that happen in cricket:

Kohli on Jadeja's controversial run out

NUMBER PLATE

The 218-run second wicket stand between Shai Hope and Shimron Hetmeyer helped West Indies pull off the highest successful chase at Chepauk.

This is now the most overs bowled by spinners in an ODI match in India without claiming any wickets.

was on an unrestrained, blind leather-hunt, he was perceptibly judicious until he surged past his century, displaying a streak of coldblooded purpose. Read between his soaring sixes (7) and drilled boundaries (11), the picture gets clearer.

After roughed up Mohammed Shami – a top-edge and outside edge eluded the fielders— he exercised considerable caution to preserve his wicket. It was not until the debutant Shivam Dube came and offered him a slow back-of-length delivery on off-stump that scored his first intentional boundary. A thunderous pull over mid-on.

Brutal onslaught

It's the brutality of his horizontal-bat strokes that has elicited comparisons with Lara, in the swivel of his body and the extravagance of the flourish. Like Lara, he could leave the bowlers scarred and wounded. Dube, who ended up leaking 68 runs in 7.5 overs, would write a testimonial. Or like Kedar Jadhav, who he attacked straightaway. Realising that Jadhav could pose uncomfortable questions, with his low-trajectory on a slow surface, he slapped him for two boundaries in his first over. Both were marginally short, and hittable ones, but the sheer dismissiveness of his strokes unsettled Jadhav, who never bowled another over.

Buoyed, he took on Kuldeep Yadav, who likes to torment the left-handers. He nonchalantly slog-swept him over mid-wicket, against the turn. On cue, he began bowling faster and more back-of-length to him. Subsequently, he couldn't turn the ball as pronouncedly as he usually does. A few boundaries under his belt, it's usually the time he gets lulled into recklessness. But this time around, he was warier, talking and admonishing to himself whenever he strayed. He waited for 20 more deliveries for his next big stroke, a brace of sixes, shot balls brutally despatched, off Ravindra Jadeja.

The match, at this juncture, was on an even keel, with the visitors requiring 175 off 28 overs. But even their reputation to implode couldn't prevent despondency from filtering into the Indian camp.

The intensity dropped, shoulders drooped and hope ebbed. It's what destructive batsmen like Hetmyer leaves you with. What followed was an exhibition of splendorous stroke-play—even the otherwise impeccable Mohammad Shami wasn't spared—a throwback to the 80s wherein Caribbean batsmen butchered all and sundry. And for once he wouldn't split opinions. Neither did Pant on the day the condemned and crucified resurrected at the

Indies players. However, the on-field um-

pire made a late referral to the third um-

pire after the dismissal was shown on the

big screen. Asked for his thoughts on

Jadeja's dismissal, Kohli minced no

words. "The thought is simple, the fielder

asked 'how is that' and the umpire said

'not out'. The dismissal ends there. The

people sitting on the TV outside cannot

tell the fielders to then tell the umpire to

review it again. I've never seen that hap-

pen in cricket," Kohli said. **PTI**



FIRE AND ICE EFFECT: Shimron Hetmeyer celebrates his century with Shai Hope at Chepauk on Sunday. Their contrasting centuries helped West Indies gun down a stiff target of 288 without much fuss. AP

SCORECARD » India vs West Indies

1st ODI Chennai Toss: West Indies

INDIA

R Sharma c Pollard b Joseph **36** (56b, 6x4) **KL Rahul** c Hetmyer b Cottrell **6**(15b, 1x4) V Kohli b Cottrell **4**(4b, 1x4)

287/8

S lyer c Pollard b Joseph **70** (88b, 5x4, 1x6) **RPant** c Hetmyer b Pollard **79** (69b, 7x4, 1x6) **K Jadhav** c Pollard b Paul **40** (35b, 3x4, 1x6) **R Jadeja** run out Chase **21** (21b, 2x4) **S Dube** c Holder b Paul **9**(6b, 1x4)

6(8b)M Shami not out 0(1b)**Extras:** (b 5, lb 5, nb 3, w 11) **Fall of wickets**: 1-21 (KL Rahul, 6.2 ov), 2-25 (Virat Kohli, 6.6 ov), 3-80 (Rohit Sharma, 18.1 ov), 4-194 (Shreyas Iyer, 36.4 ov), 5-210

(Rishabh Pant, 39.4 ov), 6-269 (Kedar Jadhav,

47.3 ov), 7-269 (Ravindra Jadeja, 47.4 ov), 8-

282 (Shivam Dube, 49.3 ov).

Bowling:

D Chahar not out

10-3-**46-2 S Cottrell** 8-0-**45-0 I Holder HR Walsh** 5-0**-31-0** 7-0-**40-2 K Paul** 9-1-**45-2 A Joseph R** Chase 7-0-**42-0 K Pollard** 4-0-**28-1**

WEST INDIES 291/2 IN 47.5 OV

S Hope not out **102** (151b, 7x4, 1x6) **SAmbris** lbw b Chahar **9** (8b, 2x4) **S Hetmyer** c Iyer b Shami **139** (106b, 11x4, 7x6

29 (23b, 4x4)

N Pooran not out **Extras:** (lb 4, nb 1, w 7)

Fall of wickets: 1-11 (Sunil Ambris, 4.1 ov), 2-229 (Shimron Hetmyer, 38.4 ov)

■ Bowling:

D Chahar 10-1-**48-1** 9-1-**57-1 M Shami** 10-0-**45-0** K Yadav 7.5-0-**68-0 S Dube** 1-0-**11-0 K Jadhav** R Jadeja 10-0-**58-0**

■ West Indies won by 8 wickets

Pant and Iyer switch to retro mode, prosper

SANDIPG

CHENNAL DECEMBER 15

THERE WAS no apter a metaphor of the sluggishness of the relaid Chepauk wicket than the Keemo Paul bouncer in the 16th over that took an eternity to reach Rohit Sharma. It was like the ball took a brief nap before it reached Sharma, impatiently waiting on the back-foot to unfurl his favourite stroke. So baffled was even the most crushing executor of the stroke in contemporary white-ball cricket that he eventually played a half-hearted pull to short fine-leg. It wasn't even an intended slower bouncer, but a medium-pacer's routine bouncer, the pace drained by the pitch.

Sharma's hesitation was understandable, he had seen his two in-form colleagues, KL Rahul and Virat Kohli, devoured by the slowness of the surface. Then Sharma overestimated the slowness of the strip that Sheldon Cottrell's nailed him with a quick bouncer, hurrying him into a miscued pull. It's in these adverse circumstances that Shreyas Iyer and Rishabh Pant engineered a remarkable rescue mission, battling their instincts and cravings, fighting their inner demons and demonstrating an unseemly composure, thus furnishing hope of ending India's anxious quest of middle-order stability.

It's preposterous to assert that India have solved the middle-order puzzle based on a singular piece of proof. Nonetheless, there's hope in Pant and Iyer, not as much as in the number of runs they made, but in the manner they constructed their respective knocks. These are virtues that define No 4s and No 5s, the diversity of the situations they're plighted to bat they have to straddle the enforcer-accumulator-executioner roles, sometimes switching between the three in the same match.

Enforcing and executing, they are quite skilled we know. But questions hovered over



Iver-Pant stand for the fourth wicket was the cornerstone of India's innings. PTI

their ability to accumulate and adapt to the sluggish wickets. Both might have encountered, batted and made runs on similarly turgid surfaces in domestic cricket, but how they tamed the unusually slow strip, and the contrasting methods they sought, formed the crux of the batting narrative. Weave in the background of uncertainty around their spots, it could be called a story of redemption. Pant has been admonished for one imprudent stroke too many, for his always-on-the-fifth-gear ways. Iyer has been mocked, in certain quarters, as a onestroke wonder, armed with just a lofted drive over long-on, that he lacked the famed grit of the Mumbai school batting.

But criticisms, it seemed, only fuelled them up. It was a no-nonsense, no-frills partnership, each in their own bubble — so focused they were that they barely exchanged glances or words. The only piece of advice Iyer gave Pant was to bat straight, which he resolutely stuck to in the initial stages of what turned out to be his highest score yet in this format. Iyer, who began in brisk fashion, embraced the old-fashioned tip-and-run ploy. Contemporary middleorder batsmen, these days, prefer big strokes, the Eoin Morgans of the world, but on slow surfaces as these, going retro breeds success.

The key for Pant was to remain unprovoked — at times, he couldn't resist the occasional swipes, but creditably he abstained from it. He sized up the pitch and plotted the boundary outlets. A sweetly-timed sweep and an outrageous leg-glance stood out, the former reminiscent of Tendulkar and the latter, so unique in rendition that the stroke, if he continues to unfurl, could be termed the Pant glance.

The standout feature of the sweep was how he controlled and decelerated the bat-swing as his front-knee knelt into the shot. There was a

bit of premeditation, but when he realised he was early into the shot, he paused, waiting the ball to reach him and then twirled his bat, guiding the ball over the short fine-leg fielder. The balance was impeccable, which is ironic as he seems imbalanced, almost falling over whenever he goes leg-side. The leg-glance risks the description of the

most unaesthetic leg-glance ever played. He stood static at the crease, just lifting his right heel a fraction, and slapped the ball finely to the ropes. In a way, more leg-slap than leg-glance. He was more emphatic and enterprising against spinners, shimmying down the track, meeting the ball on the full, taking the pitch out of the equation, and hefting them straight with his raw strength. The Windies spinners didn't quite have the guile to flummox him in flight. In the end, it was the slowness of the pitch that nipped his knock from blooming to a devastating hundred, but that he still scored 71 runs at better than a run-a-ball clip (off 69) on this pitch underlined his redoubtable utility.

At the other end, Iyer essayed a treatise on anchoring, dusting up an art that's becoming progressively archaic even in Test cricket. When Sharma perished, Iyer was 26 off 34 deliveries, batting with freedom and authority. But with Pant, he was keener to preserve wickets. His next 10 runs came off 22 deliveries, before he gradually started shifting gears and accelerating, tucking into anything that was marginally short and ticking away the score with singles and twos, running for 44 off his 70 runs.

The shot that shone the most was not the lofted drive but the cut, which's ill-advised on slow wickets. But Iyer was proficient — rising and going down with the degree of bounce like all great cutters — that he hardly mistimed one. The biggest takeaway of their alliance was that they scored while curbing their A-game, suggesting that an exciting fire-and-ice combination is blossoming.

Starc-struck New Zealand slump to heavy defeat

ASSOCIATED PRESS PERTH. DECEMBER 15

AUSTRALIA HAMMERED New Zealand by 296 runs inside four days in the series-opening cricket test at the Perth Stadium to maintain a perfect record under lights on Sunday.

New Zealand stumbled to 171 all out after being set 467 runs for an unlikely victory on a pitch that was deteriorating rapidly as the temperature soared to 40 Celsius (107 F) for the fourth consecutive day. Left arm fast bowler Mitchell Starc (4-45) and Nathan Lyon (4-63) wrecked the New Zealand batting before fast bowler Pat Cummins (2-31) cleaned up the tail. It was Australia's seventh win in as many daynight matches on home soil, and also its third straight test win following the 2-0 drubbing of Pakistan in the opening series of the summer.

Australia leads the three-test series 1-0 going into the second test in Melbourne on Boxing Day. New Zealand crashed to 98-5 at tea, then recovered to 154-5, and lost the last five wickets for 17 runs as Australia hurried to victory



Mitchell Starc finished with match figures of 9/97. AP

with the lights taking effect and the pink ball darting around.

Starc, who took 5-52 in New Zealand's first innings of 167 all out, finished with a match-

haul of 9-97. That haul earned the quick bowler

man of the match honours. Starc is the most successful bowler in day-night tests with 36 wickets in seven games. Skipper Tim Paine praised his side for dismissing the No.2 ranked New Zealand cheaply twice. Fast bowler Josh Hazlewood bowled just

eight deliveries at the start of the New Zealand 1st innings before leaving the field with a hamstring strain. He has been ruled out of the second test and it's unlikely he will play again in this series. "It was a pretty solid performance, particularly given we were a bowler down for two innings and not having an all-rounder in our side," Paine said. "Any time you win your team takes confidence from it. it means nothing come Boxing Day in Melbourne, we need to start again." "We know they're a good side, and we know they've got lots of good players." Paine said No. 5-ranked Australia is a long way from being ruthless — a hallmark of the side when it dominated world cricket.

"We are getting there, we can still get better at it. If we want to be really hard on ourselves. we threw a few wickets away last night and really good teams wouldn't have done that. "We

are still improving but certainly over the last 18 months there's been drastic improvement in this team." New Zealand skipper Kane

Willaimson conceded his side was outplayed. "There are some parts to the pink ball test that are unique. obviously the night time part when periods of play can be slightly more challenging. "Aussies were outstanding throughout this game. Their cricket and the pink ball tactics were right on point. They led from start to finish."

Australia won the toss and put up a match-controlling 416. The home side then refused to enforce the follow on after skittling out New Zealand for 167 and batted again to score 217-9 declared. Marnus Labuschagne, Australia's newest batting find, top scored with 143 in the first innings — his third consecutive hundred — and notched up 50 in the second innings.

BRIEF SCORES: Australia 416 (Labuschagne 143, Head 56, Wagner 4-92, Southee 4-93) and 9-217 declared (Burns 53, Labuschagne 50, Southee 5-69, Wagner 3-59) beat **New Zealand** 166 (Taylor 80, Starc 5-52) and 171 (Watling 40, Starc 4-45, Lyon 4-63) by 296 runs.

Abid makes history with ton in drawn Test vs SL Rawalpindi: Pakistan opening batsman Abid

Ali made history on his debut by scoring a century in the rain-affected drawn first test against Sri Lanka on Sunday. Abid scored an unbeaten 109 off 201 balls to become the first batsman in international cricket to score a hundred in

both his ODI and test match debuts. Pakistan's premier player Babar Azam also continued his rich batting form and made an unbeaten 102 off 128 balls as Pakistan scored 252-2 before the match ended. Sri Lanka had earlier declared their first innings at 308-6 in bright sunshine after bad weather badly affected the first four days of Pakistan's first test at home in more than 10 years. "We came two days before the test and we've done a really good job," Sri

Lanka captain Dimuth Karunaratne said. "Hopefully it won't rain and we get five days of cricket (in Karachi). I want to thank all the Pakistan fans, they supported us as well. In other countries you won't get sup-

port like this, we love the Pakistan fans and hope we get the support in Karachi as well.' The second test will be played at southern

port city of Karachi from December 19-23. Abid missed out on Pakistan's World Cup squad despite scoring a hundred in his OD debut against Australia in the United Arab Emirates in March this year. "I was not relaxed for sure, but we were enjoying our-

selves and waiting for cricket (after rain af-

fected four days of play)," Abid said. "My plan was to see off the new ball and then gradually built the innings with plans for every five overs. When I was in 90s I got nervous but Babar gave me the confidence." Abid enthralled 12,000 cricket-starved home team fans at the Pindi Cricket Stadium with some exquisite shots on both sides of the wicket. AP **BRIEF SCORES: Sri Lanka** 308/6 declared (D. Silva 102 not out) vs **Pakistan** 252/2 (Abid Ali

109 not out, Babar Azam 102 not out). Match

ends in a draw.

In B'desh, Sen claims fifth title of the season

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA DHAKA, DECEMBER 15

FAST-RISING Indian shuttler Lakshya Sen notched up his fifth title of the season, claiming the men's singles crown at the Bangladesh International Challenger with a straight game win over Malaysia's Leong Jun Hao in the final here on Sunday. The 18-year-old Indian has capped a superb year with a 22-2021-18 win over Hao in the summit clash to clinch his fifth title in last seven tournaments.

"Happy to end the year on a winning note with my 5th international title here in Bangladesh!! Hope to continue my good form in the next year 2020. Like to thank all my sponsors @OGQ_India @Herbalifeindia @YonexInd @Sports_PDCSE @ppba @bai_media," Lakshya tweeted.

Among other Indians, Maneesha K and Rutaparna Panda went down 20-22 19-21 to top seeded Malaysians Tan Pearly Koong Le and Thinaah Muralitharan in the final. Men's doubles pair of MR Arjun and Dhruv Kapila also failed to outwit fourth seeded Malaysian pair of Yee Jun Chang and Kai Wun Tee, going down 19-21 16-21 in the summit clash.

Lakshya started his campaign with a 21-5 21-10 win over compatriot Rajesh Verma in the opening round. He then beat three Malaysians on way to the final. The Uttarakhand shuttler thrashed MD Tah M Ziyad 21-13 21-6, before claiming 21-17 21-9 and 21-9 21-11 wins over Aisil Soleh Ali Sadikin and Ng Tze Yong respectively. The top seeded Indian then saw off third seed Ikhsan Leonardo Imanuel Rumbay of Indonesia 21-18 21-16 in the semifinals. The young Indian shuttler won his first title of the year at the Belgian International in September and followed it up with wins at Dutch Open Super 100 and SarrLorLux Super 100 in October before claiming the Scottish Open crown in November.

Momota wins Tour Finals

AFP: World number one Kento Momota fought back from a game down to win his 11th badminton title of the year Sunday with victory at the BWF World Tour Finals. The Japanese had lifted 10 titles in a remarkable 2019 while opponent Anthony Sinisuka Ginting had won none prior to their final in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou.

China sees red after Ozil speaks for Uighurs



Ethnic Uighur boys hold placards with the images of Arsenal midfielder Mesut Ozil during a protest against China in Istanbul on Saturday. The placard reads: "Thank you, Mesut Ozil, on behalf of 35 million oppressed." Reuters

REUTERS

SHANGHAI, DECEMBER 14

ARSENAL TRIED on Saturday to distance itself from the comments of its star midfielder Mesut Ozil after he posted messages on Twitter and Instagram critical of China's policies toward its Muslim Uighur minority. "The content he expressed is entirely Ozil's personal opinion," the official account of Arsenal Football Club said in a post on China's Twitter-like Weibo platform. "As a football club, Arsenal always adheres to the principle of not being involved in politics."

Ozil's posts called Uighurs "warriors who resist persecution" and criticised both China's crackdown and the silence of Muslims in response. "(In China) Qurans are burned, mosques were closed down, Islamic theological schools, madrasas were banned, religious scholars were killed one by one. Despite all this, Muslims stay quiet," Ozil, who is a Muslim, said in his posts.

Replies to Arsenal's Weibo post were angry, with one showing a shredded Ozil soccer jersev next to a pair of scissors and others demanding he be expelled from the club. A search on Weibo for the hashtag translatable as "Ozil issues inappropriate statement", which had been one of the top trending topics on the platform, returned no results on

Spurs win, Man United held

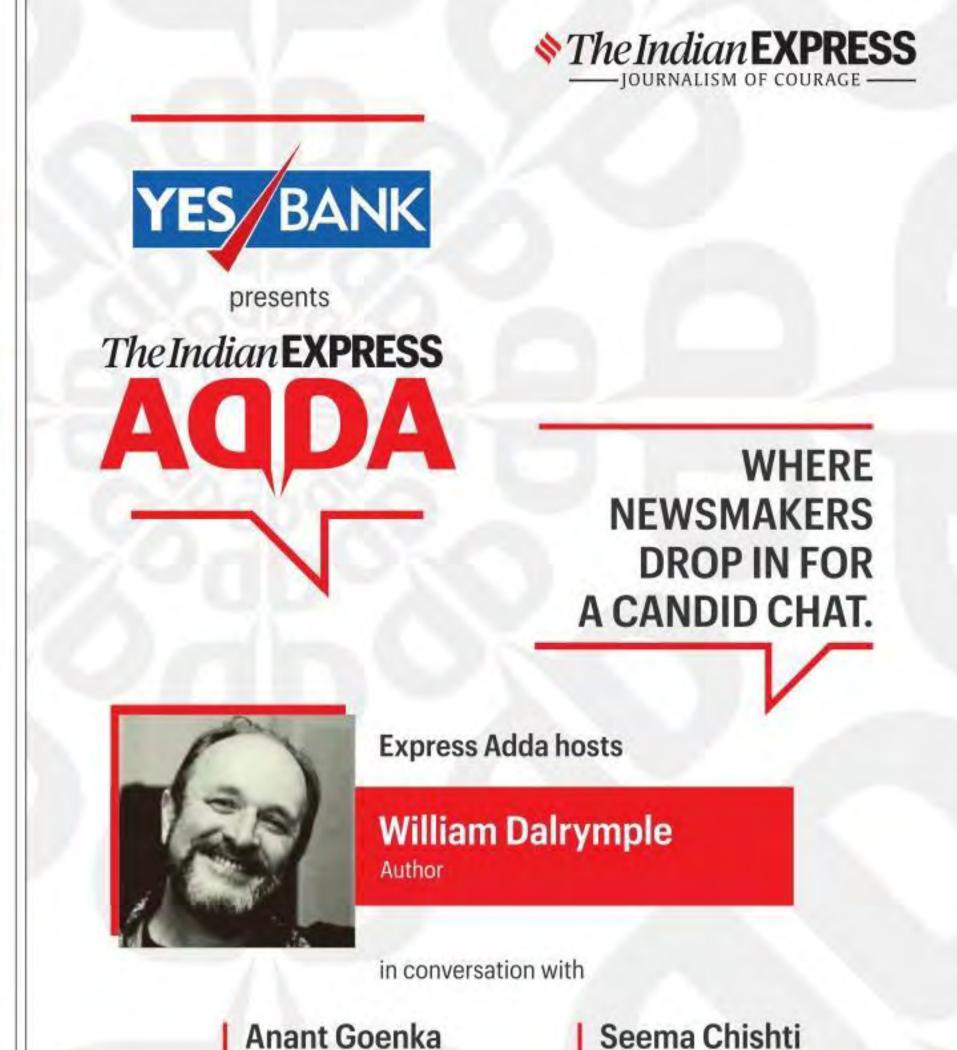
London: Tottenham Hotspur winger Lucas Moura's brilliant solo strike and defender Jan Vertonghen's late header sealed a 2-1 victory over Wolves in an entertaining Premier League game at Molineux Stadium on Sunday. In another game, Mason Greenwood came off the bench to rescue Manchester United as the teenage striker's late equaliser secured a 1-1 draw against Everton at home. **REUTERS**

Saturday afternoon. Weibo frequently censors discussion of sensitive topics, particularly amid a push by Beijing to clean up its internet. The Chinese Football Association told government-backed news outlet, The Paper, on Saturday it was "outraged and disappointed" by Ozil's remarks, describing them as "inappropriate".

"Ozil's comments are undoubtedly hurtful to the Chinese fans who closely follow him, and also hurt the feelings of Chinese people. This is something we cannot accept," the news outlet quoted an unnamed official from the association as saying.

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