

DAY AFTER POLICE ACTION IN JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA

As students protest across country, PM warns against 'vested interests'

Union Ministers Shah, Sitharaman, Nishank echo Modi's remarks

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

AS STUDENTS from across the country — New Delhi to Kerala and Gujarat to West Bengal — came out Monday to protest against the police action in Jamia Millia Islamia, Prime Minister Narendra Modi called for peace and said that "no Indian has anything to worry" over the amended citizenship law, which has triggered a nationwide agitation.

Posting a series of tweets the morning after at least 100 protesters were injured when police stormed the Jamia campus in Delhi, Modi said the "violent protests" were "unfortunate and deeply distressing" and pointed to "vested interests" who "divide us and create disturbance".

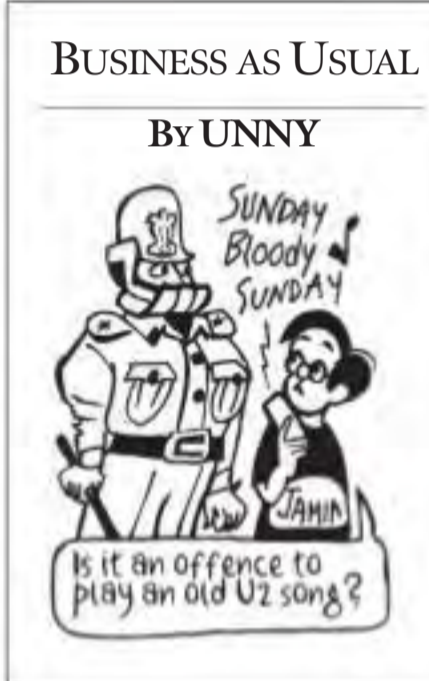
Modi's comments came the day after he accused the Congress and its allies of fuelling the unrest over the issue, and claimed that those "spreading the fire" could be "identified by their clothes".

Signalling a concerted government move to address the protesters, the Prime Minister's tweets were echoed by key members of his Cabinet, including

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee at a protest rally in Kolkata on Monday. Partha Paul



BUSINESS AS USUAL

By UNNY

It is an offence to play an old U2 song?

2 protesters wounded, police probe bullet injury claims

ASTHA SAXENA & MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

DELHI POLICE will probe claims that two students of Jamia Millia Islamia suffered bullet wounds during Sunday's agitation against the new citizenship law. Both are undergoing treatment

at Safdarjung Hospital.

Police sources told *The Indian Express* that "prima facie, it appears that both suffered bullet wounds".

"It needs to be investigated whether the bullets were fired by police personnel or someone else. Police are likely to approach ballistic experts for more clarity," they said.

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Atrocities against students studying innocently: V-C

ARANYA SHANKAR
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

JAMIA MILLIA Islamia Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar Monday demanded a high-level enquiry against police entry into campus and the crackdown on students a day earlier. She said the university would also file an

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Jamia V-C Najma Akhtar on Monday. Tashi Tobgyal



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NRC, new citizenship law over my dead body: Mamata

NPR process on hold in Bengal

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 16

WEST BENGAL Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee led a massive rally through the heart of Kolkata Monday against the amended citizenship law, and the proposed nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC) — and said that if the Centre plans to implement them in the state, "they will have to do it over my dead body".

The TMC government, meanwhile, put on hold the updation process of the National Population Register (NPR) in the state for Census 2021 amid fears that it was the "first step" to the NRC.

Speaking at the rally, Banerjee said: "As long as I am alive, I will never implement the citizenship law or NRC in the state. You can dismiss my government or put me in jail, but I will never implement this black law. We will continue to protest democratically till this law is scrapped. If they want to implement it in West Bengal, they will

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

CJI: Many cases of blackmail and extortion in RTI

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

FLAGGING "fears" over the "abuse" of the Right to Information (RTI) Act, the Supreme Court Monday observed "there have been innumerable cases of blackmail, extortion in its working" which it wanted to address.

The remarks were made by a bench of Chief Justice of India S A Bobde and Justices B R Gavaai and Surya Kant. The bench was hearing a plea by RTI activist Anjali Bharadwaj seeking direction to the Centre and states to implement the court's direction earlier this year to appoint information commissioners (ICs) without further delay.

The bench allowed the re-

EXPLAINED
Balancing Act

IN THE past, SC has warned against a situation where 75% of the staff of public authorities spends 75% of the time answering RTI queries. At other times, it has also acknowledged information officers have evaded answers to queries. What SC says will invariably influence how public information officers respond to RTIs.

quest and asked the Centre and states to fill the vacancies within

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Unnao rape case: Court convicts MLA Sengar, pulls up CBI

ANAND MOHAN J
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

A DELHI court on Monday held expelled BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar guilty of raping a minor girl in Unnao in 2017, and pulled up the CBI, saying its investigation "suffered from patriarchal approach or inherent outlook to brush the issue of sexual violence against children under the carpet".

While Sengar was convicted under Section 376 (rape) of the IPC and Sections 5(c) & 6 of the POCSO Act, co-accused Shashi Singh was granted benefit of doubt and acquitted of all charges. The court will hear arguments on the quantum of sentence on Tuesday.

Saying that he found the victim's testimony "unblemished, truthful and...

of sterling quality", District and Sessions Judge Dharmesh Sharma dismissed the defence counsel's argument that the case was orchestrated since there was an over two-month delay in reporting it. "She comes from a village, not a cosmopolitan area. She had moments of anxiety and despair and was pitted against a powerful person," said the Judge.

Sengar broke down while the Judge was reading out the verdict. His lawyers later said they would file an appeal in the Delhi High Court.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Sky-high Ram temple in Ayodhya in four months: Shah promise

ABHISHEK ANGAD
PAKUR, DECEMBER 16

UNION HOME Minister and BJP national president Amit Shah Monday said a sky-high temple would be built in Ayodhya within the next four months.

Addressing a rally in Pakur in the last phase of Assembly polls in Jharkhand, Shah said, "Supreme Court ka faisla aa gaya hai. Chaar maah kay andar, aasmaan ko chootha hua prabhu Shri Ram ka mandir Ayodhya mein banne ja raha hai (The Supreme Court's decision has come.



Amit Shah at an election rally in Pakur. ANI

Within four months, a sky-high Ram temple will be built in Ayodhya."

For 100 years, Indians across the world have been demanding

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

William Dalrymple is guest at Express Adda today



Author William Dalrymple



EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

"A STATE in the guise of a merchant" — Edmund Burke's description of the East India Company could well explain the theme of William Dalrymple's latest book, *The Anarchy: The Relentless Rise of the East India Company*, that was published in September this year. In it, Dalrymple explores how the East India Company rose to become a military and economic conglomerate following the collapse of the Mughals in the period between 1739 and 1803.

Dalrymple will be the guest at the Express Adda in New Delhi on Tuesday. He will be in conversation with Anant Goenka, Executive Director, The Indian Express Group, and Seema Chishty, Deputy Editor,

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WON'T TAKE LESSONS ON NATIONALISM FROM SANGH: CHANDRASHEKHAR AZAD
Hinting at a bigger protest against the law, Bhim Army chief Azad said, "The government will have to roll back this Bill. We will bend the government... More people are reaching Delhi on Monday to take this forward..."

VIDEO OF THE DAY

KULDEEP SENGAR CONVICTED:
A timeline of the Unnau rape case. Sengar held in April last year

FULL COVERAGE

CAA PROTESTS: LIVE COVERAGE
Jamia attack assault on India's soul, says Priyanka Gandhi

EXPRESS AUDIO

Jamia to Assam: In the wake of CAA protests across India

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

Our reporters detail how the student protests in Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University turned violent and the state of Assam now

FROM PAGE ONE

Mamata
have to do it over my dead body." She also said: "All of us are citizens of this country, no one can take that away from us." The rally, which was attended by thousands of people including senior TMC leaders, began after 1 pm near the statue of B R Ambedkar on Red Road and ended around 5 pm at Jorasanko Thakur Bari, the ancestral home of Rabindranath Tagore. As the 5-km rally wound up, Banerjee said: "We will be on the street, until and unless the NRC and Citizen Amendment Act are withdrawn." "If no one comes (to protest), I shall fight this battle alone. But now, all parties are realising why the BJP is doing this. Now the chief ministers of Bihar, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh are also echoing our demand and have taken a stand against NRC and CAA. Nitish Kumar opposed NRC, I think he will be against CAA soon," she said. On the NRC updation process, officials said it was to take place from April to September next year. However, a government notification stated that "all activities regarding the preparation/ updation of the National Population Register (NPR) are hereby stayed in West Bengal." "No activity regarding NPR may

be taken up without prior clearance from the government of West Bengal. This order is issued in the interest of public order," it said. A government official said: "NPR is the first step towards a nationwide NRC. Therefore, we have decided to stall the updation process until further notice." **Jamia V-C**
FIR against "unidentified police personnel" for the "violence and vandalism". On Sunday evening, police had thrown teargas shells inside campus, barged into the premises and dragged students out of the library before assaulting them. The action followed a day of protests where some protesters — Jamia has maintained these were outsiders and not students — set buses and vehicles on fire in some parts of South Delhi. Addressing a press conference at Jamia Monday, Akhtar said the burning of buses and other vandalism outside the campus as part of protests was "unfortunate", but refused to comment further on it. "When they chased people from there, people entered our campus. The police entered the campus, chasing after them. All of us (officials) were sitting in a meeting, we were waiting in case the police needs some help. The registrar (an IPS officer himself) was in contact with senior

Students protest across country

Home Minister Amit Shah, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman and HRD Minister Ramesh Pokhriyal Nishank. Shah asked the protesting students to "go through" the Citizenship Amendment Act and not fall in the "trap" laid by "some parties" who are "spreading rumours and inciting violence for their political interest". Sitharaman warned of "jihadists or Maoists or separatist movements" entering the students' movement. And Nishank appealed to students to "stay away from violence" and "not do anything that goes against the interest of the nation". Meanwhile, students from across the country, including those from premier institutes such as IIT-Bombay and IIT-Chennai, and Indian Institute of Science (IISc) in Bengaluru, took part in protests against the Delhi police's action. At Jamia, students and residents of the locality protested against the police action while another protest was held at the Delhi University arts faculty. In the evening, hundreds of students gathered at India Gate to protest against the new law, and read out the Preamble to the Constitution. On Monday evening, over 1,000 students from Mumbai University gathered at the Kalina campus to condemn the police action. After students of IIT-Bombay staged a protest on campus late Sunday night, sources said HRD Ministry officials spoke to the institution's director to "get the facts" about the agitation. On Monday

morning, students from TISS boycotted classes and assembled in Chembur. In Tamil Nadu, at least half-a-dozen protest meets were held in Chennai where groups of students from the University of Madras burnt copies of the Act. Students also held protests at railway stations in Chennai, Madurai and Coimbatore. On the IIT-Madras campus, about 100 students carrying placards of Mahatma Gandhi and B R Ambedkar raised slogans against the Act, and the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC). In Bengaluru, a small group of students at the IISc staged a day-long sit-in on campus against "the anti-human NRC, communal CAA and the police brutalisation against students" in Jamia. At the Puducherry Central University, over 300 students led a march after boycotting classes. In West Bengal, protests were held in Jadhapur University while several student groups across party lines took out a rally inside the Presidency University campus in Kolkata. In Ahmedabad, around 50 persons gathered outside IIM-Ahmedabad to express solidarity with the students of Jamia. Among those who took part were students from the National Institute of Design (NID) and Gujarat National Law University. Across Kerala, members of several student organisations held marches and laid siege to central government offices and

blocked trains. Students at the Central University in Kasaragod, University of Calicut, Mahatma Gandhi University in Kottayam and Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT) took part in the protests. In Lucknow, students clashed briefly with police even as heated protests were held at the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in Varanasi. Another protest was held in Hyderabad's Maulana Azad Urdu University. Taking to Twitter to address the protesters, the Prime Minister posted: "Violent protests on the Citizenship Amendment Act are unfortunate and deeply distressing. Debate, discussion and dissent are essential parts of democracy but, never has damage to public property and disturbance of normal life been a part of our ethos." "The Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019 was passed by both Houses of Parliament with overwhelming support. Large number of political parties and MPs supported its passage. This Act illustrates India's centuries old culture of acceptance, harmony, compassion and brotherhood," he said. "I want to unequivocally assure my fellow Indians that CAA does not affect any citizen of India of any religion. No Indian has anything to worry regarding this Act. This Act is only for those who have faced years of persecution outside and have no other place to go except India," the Prime Minister said. "The need of the hour is for all of us to work together for the development of India and the

empowerment of every Indian, especially the poor, downtrodden and marginalised. We cannot allow vested interest groups to divide us and create disturbance," he said. "This is the time to maintain peace, unity and brotherhood. It is my appeal to everyone to stay away from any sort of rumour mongering and falsehoods," Modi said. Addressing an election rally in Jharkhand, Shah said: "I would like to appeal to the students to first read the CAA... it has no provision to snatch citizenship from anyone. This act is to give citizenship to unfortunate brothers from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan who have been victims of religious persecution." According to government sources, the HRD Minister has spoken to the vice-chancellors of Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia and JNU, and urged them to engage with the agitating students. V-Cs of all central universities have been asked to keep the HRD Ministry in the loop about protests on campus. Senior Home Ministry officials, meanwhile, sought to clarify that the amended Act does not make immigrants Indian citizens automatically. "The central government will frame rules... No migrant from these communities will become Indian citizen automatically. He will have to apply online and the competent authority would see whether he fulfils all the qualifications for registration or naturalisation as Indian citizen," a senior official said.

multitudes of stereotyped outlook towards commission of sexual assault against children or women," he said. "In my considered opinion, this investigation has suffered from patriarchal approach or inherent outlook to brush the issues of sexual violence against children under the carpet, apart from exhibiting lack of sensitivity and humane approach... investigation in the instant case has not been fair qua victim of crime and her family members. The investigation has not been conducted by a woman officer as mandated by Section 24 of the POCSO Act and successive statements of the victim girl have been recorded by calling her at the CBI office without bothering for the kind of harassment, anguish and re-victimisation that occurs to a victim of sexual assault in such case," the Judge said. The court held that Sengar's plea that he was not present near the incident spot has "not been proven beyond reasonable doubt or even by preponderance of probability". The court also held that the prosecution was able to prove that Sengar's movement on that day "was not in sync with movements on his two mobile phones...". The court also dismissed the defence counsel's claims that the case was orchestrated by the victim's uncle. The case dates back to June 4, 2017, when the victim, then 17 years old, was allegedly raped by Sengar, a four-time BJP MLA from Bangarmau in Uttar Pradesh — he was expelled from the BJP in August this year. About a year later, on April 3, 2018, her father was allegedly framed in an illegal arms case and arrested. He died in judicial custody a few days later, on April 9, 2018. On July 28 this year, a speeding truck rammed into the car in which the victim, her two aunts and their lawyer were travelling. Her aunts were killed while the victim and her lawyer were critically injured. On Monday, the Judge questioned the CBI's delay in filing a chargesheet in the gangrape case.

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Police to probe claims of bullet injuries

Officials and relatives identified the two students as Ajaz Ahmad, a 20-year-old BA student, and Mohammed Suhaib, a 23-year-old B.Tech student. Delhi Police have officially denied that they "fired bullets at any student", and said that they would investigate the matter. Sources at the hospital confirmed that two students had been brought in Sunday evening — one with an injury to his chest and another to his leg — and both told doctors that they had been shot at. Further tests are required to confirm the nature of the injuries, hospital sources said. Relatives of Ahmad said he was returning home after buying medicines for his mother when he saw cars being vandalised in the area. His family

claimed he was then shot in the chest. A relative of the second man, Suhaib, said he had "suffered an injury in his foot" but had not been told by doctors if he was shot at. According to hospital sources, both patients have been operated on and will be under observation for two more days. At both wards, police personnel were stationed outside. In Ahmad's case, a doctor who did not wish to be identified said a "particle" had been removed from his chest. "He is stable. Doctors have removed a particle from his body, but we are not sure what it is — bullet or teargas shell fragment," said a doctor. "Suhaib is conscious. He suffered a fracture on the toe, which

is bandaged right now. We will be able to assess the nature of injuries once the bandage is removed. A K-wire has been placed in his leg for stability," said another doctor. Allegations also emerged that a third person had been admitted to Holy Family Hospital with a gunshot wound, but hospital authorities denied this and said the discharge report mentioned 'gunshot injury' in the 'history' section because that's what the patient had told them. "It was alleged by his family members at the time of admission that it was a gunshot injury. But if you look at the discharge summary, the procedure performed on him explains that a foreign particle has been removed. It does not talk about any bullet," said Father George P

A, director, Holy Family Hospital. When contacted, DCP (southeast) Chinmoy Biswal said, "There have been rumours about bullet injuries and firing in the Jamia incident. The MLC report from Holy Family states that there's an alleged history of a gunshot wound. This was written based on the statement of the injured. We have not fired bullets at any student. Any foreign body like metal or plastic could have caused injury. Two injured at Safdarjung too alleged gunshot injuries, but if anyone would have been shot at, the ambulance would take them to Holy Family or Fortis, which are the closest. Despite this, we are probing whether the injured were hit by bullets or not." (WITH SOMYA LAKHANI)

Adda
The Indian Express. Born in Scotland in 1965, Dalrymple was educated at Ampleforth and Trinity College, Cambridge. While still in college, he wrote his first book, In Xanadu, at the age of 22; it won the 1990 Yorkshire Post Best First Work Award and was shortlisted for the John Llewellyn Rhys Memorial Prize. A consummate storyteller, Dalrymple's long engagement with India began when he moved to the country to write one of his most popular books to date — City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi (1993). His fifth book, The White Mughals (2002), won Britain's most prestigious history prize, the Wolfson Prize, the following year. It will soon be made into a feature film directed by Ralph Fiennes. In 2006, along with writer Namita Gokhale and Sanjoy Roy of Teamwork Arts, he founded the Jaipur Literature Festival (JLF), one of the world's most celebrated literary festivals. A frequent broadcaster, Dalrymple has written and presented three television series, one of which won the Grierson Award for Best Documentary Series at BAFTA. He has also been awarded five honorary doctorates and held visiting fellowships at Princeton and Brown. In 2018, he was presented the prestigious President's Medal by the British Academy for his outstanding literary achievements and for co-founding JLF. The Express Adda is a series of informal interactions organised by The Indian Express Group and features those at the centre of change.

working of the RTI Act". Responding to this, CJJ Bobde said there were also some concerns about the working of the Act. "There is a kind of paralysis and fear... People are afraid to take action," he said. Bhushan said those doing wrong would be afraid to act. "Everybody is not doing wrong," the CJJ said and added that he had been told that in Maharashtra the "Mantralaya is paralysed because of this... We don't know why". "Have you seen the kind of people who are asking for information? They have nothing to do with it. There is no question of locus standi in this," he said. Bhushan said "there should be no locus standi in RTI" as it would discourage public-spirited persons from seeking information and added that "I file so many PILs". The CJJ said filing PILs was different. "There is the other side," and quipped "Is RTI activist (sic) a profession?" Justice Gavai added, "In Mumbai, there are letter heads saying RTI consultant."

"We are only saying this from our experience as judges," the CJJ said. A public-spirited person should be someone who has something to do with the issue, he said. Bhushan sought to differ and cited the case of electoral bonds, where political parties of all shades would have gained benefits, to make a larger point that only some member of the public would seek information to understand if there was corruption. The CJJ said, "We are not against information and right to information" but there was a "need to evolve some kind of guidelines". "Suppose there is some specialised tender, why is some person not related to that business at all interested... They may be set up by rival business. We are only asking for a filter that can be applied," the CJJ said. Bhushan said the question had come up during the drafting of the RTI law too, a process with which he too was associated. "Do you know why you were part of it? Because everyday, somebody

comes seeking some information and you are behind them," the CJJ said. The counsel repeated that putting in place any rider would discourage genuine seekers of information. "You are speaking of bonafide situations. There have been innumerable cases of blackmail, extortion. We want to address that," CJJ Bobde said. He said the court was wondering if the abuse could be curbed. "You are arguing as if abuse doesn't exist... if something can curb that abuse, think of that way," he said, adding that the concept of locus standi was not unknown to law. The court said it raised the point only as the subject matter was related and said it would hear more people on the matter.

Ram temple
a grand temple in Ram's birth place Ayodhya, Shah said. He claimed that Congress leaders and their lawyer Kapil Sibal used to plead in the Supreme Court. "Abhi math chahiye case, baad mein chahiye. Kyon bhai, aapke pet mein kya dard ho raha hai (do not pursue the case now... Why, what's troubling you)," he said, adding the Congress can neither bring development, nor provide national security or respect peoples' wishes.

Sengar
"When she met with the Chief Minister (Yogi Adityanath), there was a tirade unleashed upon the girl and family members... multiple cases were filed against the family members of the girl... the prints of Kuldeep (Sengar) are quite visible," said the Judge. He said the case "manifests the multitudes of restrictions and taboos within which many women in the rural areas are brought up, grow and survive. It epitomises the fear ingrained in the mind of young girls in the countryside or elsewhere against reporting the issues of sexual assault by powerful adults." "This case reflects that there is nothing wrong with the letter and spirit of the POCSO Act, but with its not so effective implementation at the ground level due to

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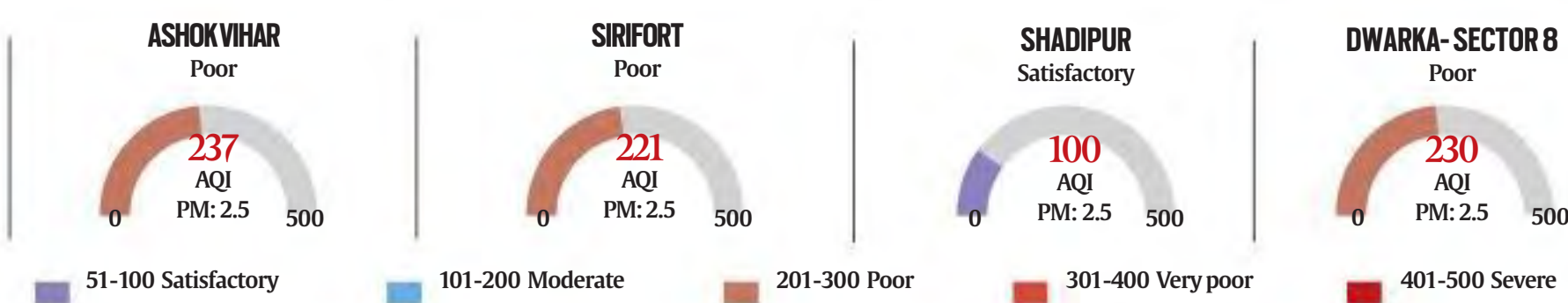
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JAMIA LIBRARY, A DAY LATER



Shattered glass, remains of tear gas shells, blood drops on the floor — a day after Delhi Police stormed the Jamia Millia Islamia campus, its library had several reminders of the chaos inside

Jamia, India Gate, IIT, Delhi University

Protests across city day after police stormed Jamia campus, targeted students

SOURAV ROY BARMAN, SHIVAM PATEL & SOMYA LAKHANI
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

THE RIPPLE effect of police action inside Jamia Millia Islamia was felt across Delhi Monday, with protests, both spontaneous and organised, erupting across campuses and public places.

While campuses saw demonstrations during the day, the action shifted to India Gate in the afternoon, with groups of people gathering to read out the Preamble to the Constitution. The air resonated with the slogans of "Delhi Police down down".

Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi and other senior party leaders sat on a silent protest for about two hours in solidarity with Jamia students. After they left, those who had gathered behind the barricades were let in. A 45-year-old resident of Nizamuddin said she read about the India Gate protest on WhatsApp. "I broke down watching videos of students being beaten up. I told my husband we have to stand with the kids... we have two of our own," said Mrs Ali, who only gave her last name.

Maulana Naseem Ul Quasmi (26) from Nangloi said, "Entering the campus and beating children inside libraries is a terrible thing. This is a way of breaking the Constitution. We are here to show them that we respect the diversity of our nation."

Pamphlets of the Constitution were distributed and phone flashlights were raised to the skies as dozens read it out loud.

One family at the protest said they were visiting from MP's Orchha and stumbled on the protest. "We were students once and our kids will be students too...



Priyanka Gandhi Vadra with Congress leaders at India Gate, Monday. Amit Mehra

I can't imagine the state of parents watching their children being beaten up on TV," said the 37-year-old visitor.

Bhim Army chief Chandrashekhar Azad joined the gathering in the evening and read the Preamble. While some waved the Tricolour, others held photos of Gandhi and placards with messages such as: "My name is India and my religion is Constitution."

Students at Delhi University also held a protest at the Arts Faculty. Many who had their Political Science examination Monday boycotted it. IIT-Delhi students, too, took out a march in support of Jamia students where a sizeable number of youth turned up.

Meanwhile, the area around Jamia Millia Islamia witnessed waves of protests through the day, both inside and outside the campus.

The stretch outside the university pulsated with speeches and slogans against Delhi Police action and new citizenship law.

Addressing students inside

the campus, spokesperson of Jamia teacher's association Majid Jamil said: "This is a long fight... we have to take our movement forward peacefully. Police action was not called for in any way and we condemn it... we demand a judicial inquiry into their actions..."

While Delhi Police personnel steered clear of the core area of demonstrations, groups of khaki-clad men stationed themselves near the Sukhdev Vihar Metro station, gates of which were shut down around 5.30 pm. The Jamia Millia station was shut at 3 pm.

The police personnel, however, stopped men and women heading to the protest and asked them to produce identity cards, while noting down their names and other details. Those returning from the protest were also stopped and asked to describe why they were in the area.

Asked if they were approaching everyone walking towards the protest site, a personnel said: "We are approaching those who look suspicious." Among those approached were three youths

from Manipur, two from Zakir Nagar, among others.

Around 5.45 pm, a gathering outside the Jamia Millia Islamia Metro station set effigies on fire. Among the bystanders was a 10-year-old boy who suffered head injuries during stone pelting between protesters and police.

The child and his parents, both of whom are cobblers, stay in a hut built of tarpaulin near the station, along with around 15 other families. His mother said the boy has been traumatised by the violence in the area.

Around 6.40 pm, a protest march began outside the campus. A group of Jamia students urged the protesters, mostly comprising locals, to end the march when it reached the elevated Jamia station. "We will have to find newer ways to register our dissent. We cannot afford to fall into their trap," Sakib, a final-year MA Political Science student, told the protesters. By 7.30 pm, the area was largely cleared of protesters, with Jamia guards also appealing to people to head homes.

Scenes from two libraries: '11 students hid in toilets, 4 girls'

ARANYA SHANKAR
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

SHATTERED GLASS from windows and doors; remains of tear-gas shells; blood drops on the floor; CCTVs smashed; notebooks left mid-sentence — Jamia Millia Islamia's library premises Monday stood testimony to police action a day earlier.

Jamia has two library buildings — new and old. In both, it was primarily the reading room that was open since it was a Sunday. Students, staff and guards said the calm broke around 6:30 pm. "I had come after reading namaz. At 6:30 pm, police entered the reading room and started breaking tables and hitting students with lathis. Teargas was thrown. I tried to run but there was no place to

hide. When I was helping my friend, I got hit on my hand," said Sahil Rabbani, a student. Rabbani ran leaving behind his notebook and course material.

The two doors police allegedly entered from lay shattered; as was the main door to the building. Just before the reading room, the glass cover of the book case showcasing 'new arrivals' was also broken.

One of the windows, half broken, had several clothes, ostensibly stuck as students tried to escape.

"Students were trapped in tear gas smoke since police had closed the doors behind them. With nowhere to go, they tried to break windows and escape, during which they received injuries and their clothes tore," said an official.

Adnan, a library staffer, said

students ran up the stairs to the first floor after sustaining injuries to escape police action, since the area was closed Sunday. Blood on the floor indicated that someone had been there.

At the old building, main doors and windows were smashed and papers were strewn everywhere. Two CCTV cameras and a broken lathi remained on the ground floor reading room. On a chair on the second floor were bloodstained tissues.

Mohd Usman, a library staffer, said they found 50-60 students holed up after the police raid. "There were 11 students hiding in toilets, nine in the new building and two in the old building. Four of them were girls. Two were not able to walk; they were in a bad condition. We just put them into ambulances," he said.

CM seeks time with Shah on 'deteriorating law and order'



At Sunday's protest

MALLICA JOSHI
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

AS CHIEF Minister Arvind Kejriwal sought an appointment with Union Home Minister Amit Shah in the wake of recent protests against the new citizenship law, officials have said they are "nearly certain the meeting would not happen".

"The Delhi government has reached out to the home minister three-four times since he assumed office in May. The first was a request for a courtesy meeting, while the rest were for specific issues. Each time, the request has either been denied or ignored. We expect this will be ignored too," a senior government official said.

On the CM's agenda are also incidents that have happened in the recent past, officials said. "The agenda was simple — to discuss how the law and order situation has suffered in Delhi over the past month-and-a-half. First, the clash with lawyers at Tis Hazari complex; then JNU students being brutally beaten up twice; and now the action in Jamia. The situation has been deteriorating continuously," another official said.

Officials said Kejriwal had not heard from the office of the Home Minister till late evening.

AAP, meanwhile, said that protests had been handled poorly. "Ever since Shri Amit Shah assumed office... the law and order situation has been deteriorating in Delhi. Delhi Police handles all issues with lathi and bullets. Police lathi charged lawyers, JNU students, and differently-abled people. The law and order system has collapsed..." said AAP Delhi unit president Gopal Rai.

On BJP's charge that Okhla MLA Amanatullah Khan instigated violence at a protest site, AAP denied his involvement in any such protest. The party has also decided not to hold any protests against the new citizenship law.

Among injured: Over 30 cops

JIGNASA SINHA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

MORE THAN 30 policemen, including senior police officers of South and South East districts, sustained injuries while dispersing students and locals protesting the new citizenship law outside Jamia Millia Islamia Sunday evening.

One of the injured policemen, Maqsood Ahmed, a head constable posted in the South district, was allegedly hit with stones and bulbs, and was thrashed after he fell on the ground.

A senior police officer from the South district alleged, "I was trying to remove the protesters pelting stones at us outside gate number 7 when I saw Maqsood getting beaten up. They even snatched his helmet. Four other officers sustained injuries while trying to save him."

Ahmed is undergoing treatment at Holy Family hospital. Chinmoy Biswal, DCP (South East) said, "I was standing outside gate number 8 when protesters pelted stones at us. I sustained injuries to my leg and head."

Mandeep Singh Randhawa, PRO, Delhi Police, said, "Students

and residents near Jamia staged protests outside the college around 2 pm Sunday. Some of them changed their route and ran towards Mata Mandir in New Friends Colony. We used maximum restraint to disperse them, but they burnt four buses and destroyed several vehicles on the road."

Police said they tried to push the protesters towards Jamia Nagar. Randhawa said that since the campus is on both sides of the road, protesters came from different routes with bulbs, bottles and tubelights. They allegedly torched police motorbikes too, he said.

SEVERAL STUDENTS LEAVE HOSTEL FOR HOME

Long night in hostel: 'Kept doors locked, feared raid at 3 am'

SUKRITA BARUAH & ANANYA TIWARI
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

A DAY after their campus was stormed by police personnel, hundreds of Jamia Millia Islamia students, many of them injured, left the hostel with suitcases in hand.

After the first round of clashes between students, locals and police on Friday, the university had declared holidays from December 16 to January 5. But many students

had stayed back in the hostels — for internships, research work or to continue protests against the new citizenship law. However, after the events of Sunday evening, students began packing their suitcases, saying that they did not feel safe and would rather head home.

Students spoke of a sleepless night and endless phone calls from worried parents.

"I have never received these many calls from my parents before. They are frantically calling us back home. We could not sleep last night; we were so

scared. After what happened here last night, it's just not viable to stay here any longer," said Laila Khan, a student at the Mass Communication and Research Centre, who was heading home to Mumbai.

During the night, rumours flew thick and fast through hostel rooms. "We all blocked our doors and windows because we were afraid that our hostel would be raided at 2-3 am. Friends who live outside the campus were calling and asking us to come stay with them for



Many said they did not feel safe. Tashi Tobgyal



मध्यप्रदेश शासन

कमल नाथ सरकार का एक वर्ष

तेज कदमों से तरक्की की ओर बढ़ता मध्यप्रदेश

“एक साल पहले आज ही के दिन हमने सभी वर्गों के लोगों को साथ लेकर चलते हुये उनके जीवन को बेहतर और समर्थ बनाने तथा प्रदेश के हर क्षेत्र के समेकित विकास का संकल्प लिया था। यह मात्र रस्मी संकल्प नहीं था, बल्कि असीमित संभावनाओं के धनी प्रदेश के विकास को वास्तविक अर्थों में संभव बनाने का और इस प्रदेश के प्रति मेरी भावनाओं से प्रेरित एक दृढ़ निश्चय था। मध्यप्रदेश विपुल संसाधनों का प्रदेश है और उसी अनुपात में मध्यप्रदेश का विकास हमारा लक्ष्य है। इस दिशा में रणनीतिक योजनाएं बनाकर प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं, जिनका परिणाम अब हर क्षेत्र में दिखने लगा है। आने वाला समय उम्मीदें पूरी करने वाला है। मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि मध्यप्रदेश अपनी विकास यात्रा में पीछे मुड़कर नहीं देखेगा।”

कमल नाथ
मुख्यमंत्री, मध्यप्रदेश



एक वर्ष में 365 वचन पूर्ण

कृषि

- ‘जय किसान फसल ऋण माफी योजना’ के अंतर्गत 20 लाख से अधिक किसानों के ऋण माफ।
- मण्डियों में एक साथ ई-अनुज्ञा ऑनलाइन प्रणाली।
- इंदिरा किसान ज्योति योजना में 10 हॉर्स पावर तक के कृषि पंपों के लिये आधी दर पर बिजली उपलब्ध।
- किसान परिवार की कन्याओं के विवाह के लिए कृषक कन्या विवाह सहायता योजना प्रारंभ। इसमें 51,000 रुपये प्रोत्साहन राशि के लिए 2.5 एकड़ तक पात्रता।

बिजली

- इंदिरा किसान ज्योति योजना में अब आधी दर पर बिजली उपलब्ध। इससे लगभग 20 लाख किसान लाभान्वित।
- इंदिरा गृह ज्योति योजना - घरेलू उपभोक्ताओं को प्रथम 100 यूनिट तक की खपत पर 100 रुपये प्रति माह में बिजली उपलब्ध।
- घरेलू उपभोक्ताओं तथा लघु एवं सूक्ष्म उद्योगों को 24 घंटे बिजली की आपूर्ति।
- बिजली संबंधी शिकायतों के निराकरण के लिये 1912 कॉल सेंटर की सेवाएँ।

उच्च शिक्षा

- सभी शासकीय महाविद्यालयों को भूमि का स्वामित्व देकर अगले 30 वर्ष की विकास योजना तैयार करने का ‘भूमि सुरक्षा अभियान’।
- कैम्ब्रिज यूनिवर्सिटी लंदन के सहयोग से अंग्रेजी भाषा का विशेष प्रशिक्षण प्रारंभ।
- IIT व IIM के उच्च श्रेणी के प्राध्यापक पहली बार नवाचार हेतु उच्च शिक्षा परिषद में शामिल।
- विदेश में उच्च शिक्षा के लिए विद्यार्थियों के अर्हकारी अंक और परिवार की आय सीमा को कम किया गया।
- पीएससी से चयनित 3148 प्राध्यापकों व अन्य की नियुक्ति में पहली बार पारदर्शिता से ऑनलाइन पदस्थापना का विकल्प।

आदिवासी समाज

- वन अधिकार अधिनियम 2006 के तहत 8,683 दावों का निराकरण।
- आकांक्षा योजना में विद्यार्थियों को JEE, NEET, CLAT की प्रवेश परीक्षा की तैयारी पर 14 करोड़ 50 लाख रुपये व्यय।
- बालिकाओं की शिक्षा एवं साक्षरता वृद्धि के लिए 82 कन्या शिक्षा परिसर संचालित।
- मुख्यमंत्री मदद योजना में जन्म एवं मृत्यु के अवसर पर प्रति जन्म 50 किलोग्राम गेहूँ/चावल एवं प्रति मृत्यु पर 100 किलोग्राम अनाज गेहूँ/चावल का वितरण।
- आदिवासी समुदाय के देवस्थानों के संरक्षण के लिए आठान योजना।
- तंदूपत्ता श्रमिकों की मजदूरी की दरों में वृद्धि। मजदूरी और बोनस का हो रहा है नकद भुगतान।

पिछड़ा वर्ग

- पिछड़ा वर्ग हेतु शासकीय सेवाओं में 27 प्रतिशत आरक्षण लागू।
- पिछड़ा वर्ग के परंपरागत कुटीर, हस्तशिल्प, हाथकरघा के उत्पाद जीएसटी से मुक्त।

उद्योग

- निवेश को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए औद्योगिक नीति में महत्वपूर्ण संशोधन। सूक्ष्म, लघु एवं मध्यम उद्योगों के विकास के लिये नई एमएसएमई विकास नीति एवं स्टार्ट अप नीति 2019 लागू।
- पाँवरलूम, फार्मास्युटिकल एवं रेडिमेड गारमेंट के लिए विशेष पैकेज।
- तकनीकी विकास को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए मैन्युफैक्चरिंग इनोवेशन फण्ड की स्थापना।
- निजी भूमि अर्जन के लिये लैण्ड पूलिंग पॉलिसी लागू की गई।
- मैग्नीफिसेंट मध्यप्रदेश-2019 का इन्दौर में सफल आयोजन।

युवा

- मध्यप्रदेश में स्थापित होने वाले उद्योगों में 70 प्रतिशत रोजगार स्थानीय युवाओं को देना अनिवार्य।
- प्रदेश के आईटीआई, पॉलीटेक्निक तथा इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेजों से उत्तीर्ण विद्यार्थियों को ग्लोबल स्किल्स पार्क भोपाल कैंपस में प्रिंसीपल इंजीनियरिंग कोर्स में प्रशिक्षण।
- शहरी बेरोजगार युवाओं को 100 दिन के रोजगार के साथ-साथ कौशल प्रशिक्षण के लिये मुख्यमंत्री युवा स्वामिमान योजना।
- प्रतिभावान खिलाड़ियों की पुरस्कार राशि एवं खेल संघों की अनुदान राशि में वृद्धि।
- खिलाड़ियों के उच्च स्तरीय प्रशिक्षण के लिए कोच डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम।
- खेल अकादमी एवं प्रदेश के राष्ट्रीय स्तर के खिलाड़ियों को चिकित्सा और दुर्घटना जीवन बीमा की सुविधा।
- स्वरोजगार मूलक योजनाओं में ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के बेरोजगारों के लिए पृथक से लक्ष्य।

महिला सशक्तिकरण

- लाइली लक्ष्मी योजना में 3 लाख 20 हजार 289 नई बालिकाओं का पंजीयन।
- मुख्यमंत्री कन्या विवाह/निकाह योजना की अनुदान राशि 28 हजार रुपये से बढ़ाकर 51 हजार रुपये।
- वृद्धावस्था और विधवा पेंशन राशि 300 रुपये से बढ़ाकर 600 रुपये प्रतिमाह।
- प्रदेश की 202 आशा कार्यकर्ताओं को उसी ब्लॉक में एएनएम के पद पर नियुक्ति।
- प्रदेश की 9411 महिलाओं को राजमिस्त्री का प्रशिक्षण।
- एकीकृत महिला हेल्पलाइन 181 की सेवाएँ प्रारंभ।
- कन्या शैक्षणिक संस्थानों तथा महिला कामकाजी क्षेत्रों को चिन्हित कर वहाँ पुलिस सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था।

उम्मीदें रंग लाईं, तरक्की मुस्कुराईं

EVERY FUTURE WILL SEE A NEW SKY

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APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED IN THE FOLLOWING COURSES FOR SCHEDULED CASTES, OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, MINORITY AND ECONOMICALLY WEAKER SECTIONS OF DELHI

COURSES OFFERED BY ATDC			
S.NO	COURSES NAME	DURATION	EDU. QUALIFICATION
1	Merchandiser	6 Months	Graduation
2	Fashion Design Technology	12 Months	12th pass
3	Apparel Manufacturing Technology	12 Months	12th pass
4	Production Supervisor Sewing	8 Months	12th pass
5	Pattern Master	8 Months	10th pass

COURSES OFFERED BY NSIC (Only at Dilshad Garden)			
S.NO	COURSES NAME	DURATION	EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION
1	Advance Diploma in Software Technology	12 Months	12th or 10th pass with Certificate Course or Experience in Computer
2	Advance Diploma in Beautician	12 Months	10th pass
3	Beauty Therapy	6 Months	The applicant should be able to read/write and communicate effectively
4	Domestic Data Entry Operator	6 Months	10th pass or Diploma in Computer Science Technology
5	Assistant Electrician	6 Months	Preferably 10th pass

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

- Resident of Delhi and age between 18 to 40 years.
- Family income should not exceed Rs. 3 lakh per annum.
- The SC/OBC applicants must have caste certificate issued by concerned area SDM. Minority category applicants have to submit an affidavit indicating their religion. EWS applicantd form general category have to submit income certificate issued by concerned area SDM.
- Education qualification as per the requirement of the course. for beauty therapy course the application will have to submit affidavit highlighting his/her education qualification.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

- Application form is available on the Department's website.
- The application in the prescribed format duly filled alongwith the self attested documents should be submitted within 30 days from the date of publication of this advertisement.
- Applicants can submit application forms at the centres at ATDC, NISC, DSFDC and at the head quarter of the corporation i.e. Ambedkar Bhawan, Institutional Area, Sector 16, Rohini, Delhi-89.
- No application shall be entertained after the last date.
- Selection of candidates would be on the basis of merit by the selection committee. The selection committee reserves the right to reject the candidature of any applicant with assigning any reason.

APPLICATION FORM CAN BE SUBMITTED AT THE FOLLOWING CENTRES

Apparel Training & Centre (ATDC)

- 6th Floor, Ambedkar Bhawan, Institutional Area, Sector-16, Rohini, Delhi-89
- 1st Floor, Sanskaar Aashram Complex, Opp. Gate No. 7 of GTB Hospital, Dilshad Garden, Delhi-93
- YMCA Building, Plot No. 6&7, 2nd Floor, Sector 10, Near Dwarka Metro Station
- St. Paul's School, 3rd Floor, Block H, Ph 6, Aaya Nagar, New Delhi-47
- A 223, Okhla Industrial Area, Ph 1, New Delhi-20

National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC) Centre

- Ground Floor, Sanskaar Aashram Complex, Opp. Gate No. 7 of GTB Hospital, Dilshad Garden, Delhi-93

District Offices (DSFDC)

- D Block, 1st Floor, Bunkar Bhawan, DC Office (North East) Opp. Gagan Cinema, Nand Nagri, Delhi-93
- A 33-38, B Block, Lal Building, Near Police Station, Mangolpuri, Delhi
- 2, Battery Lane, Rajpura Road, Delhi-54



9 CITIZENSHIP LAW

Jamia echo in campus nation

ANDHRA PRADESH, TELANGANA

Protests in Osmania, UoH, students boycott exam at Maulana Azad varsity

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
HYDERABAD, DECEMBER 16

SEVERAL STUDENTS of Maulana Azad National Urdu University on Monday protested against the Citizenship Amendment Act and NRC on the campus. The protests were peaceful. A large police force was present inside and outside the campus to prevent any untoward incident. The students raised slogans against the Centre, the new law and NRC. There were protests outside the main entrance of the university on Sunday night following the incidents in Jamia.

The university has postponed an exam which was supposed to be held on Monday. Shaik Umar Farooq, president of the students' union, said, "Due to the protest against Delhi Police regarding the attack on JMI students as well as AMU students, the students here are boycotting the exam," he said.

A few students of Osmania University also held a protest on their campus against Delhi Police's action.

Students of University of Hyderabad took out a protest rally from the university against the police action in Jamia.

WEST BENGAL: JU, PRESIDENCY



Students from several institutions take out a protest march at College Street in Kolkata on Monday. Express

JU students take out rally, condemn police action

Kolkata: Students of Jadavpur University (JU) have expressed solidarity with their counterparts at Jamia Millia University and condemned the police action in the national capital.

The students took out a protest rally from the university campus and also denounced the passage of the citizenship law. Students from the Satyajit Ray Film and Television Institute (SRFTI) also joined the rally.

The General Secretary of Arts Faculty Students' Union (AFSU) of JU, Debraj Debnath said that around 300 students from different students' unions participated in the rally. The students carried placards against the citizenship law and police crackdown on students in Jamia.

The Jadavpur University Teachers' Association (JUTA) also expressed support to the protest against the police action.

Meanwhile, several students' unions of Presidency University cutting across party lines took out a rally inside their campus at College Street. **ENS**

UTTAR PRADESH: AMU, BHU, DARUL ULOOM NADWATUL ULAMA

'No one is safe here anymore... anyone can be a target — for merely exercising a right'



Police block the main gates of Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulama in Lucknow on Monday. Vishal Srivastav

AMIL BHATNAGAR & ASAD REHMAN

ALIGARH, LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 16

AT LEAST 26 people have been booked in connection with clashes between police and students of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) during protests against the new citizenship law. They would soon be granted bail by the district court, police said.

The university on Monday declared early winter vacations and postponed exams. University officials claimed four students were injured in the clashes on Sunday. However, students put the number to 25-30. On Sunday evening, the Bab-e-Syed gate was the epicentre of the clash. A group of students gathered at the gate to protest police action against Jamia students. Within an hour, the protest took a violent turn. The police alleged that students threw stones at them, following which tear gas shells were fired and the protesters lathicharged.

"The historic gate was damaged. No one is safe here and home is more secure.



AMU students protest outside the university campus. Prem Nath Pandey

Anyone can be a target — for merely exercising a right," said Sara, an AMU student.

About 440 km away in Lucknow, students of Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulama in Lucknow were taking out a march on Monday when police pushed them back into the campus. IG, Lucknow Range, S K Bhagat, who was present outside the college on Monday, said, "Students indulged in violence and threw stones at police personnel for 10-15 seconds. We pushed them

back inside the college." Nadeemuddin (20), a student, said they wanted to hold a peaceful march around the campus. "We wanted to hold a march peacefully. We were not allowed to leave the campus. The police resorted to lathicharge on unarmed students. We were protesting against police atrocities in Jamia and AMU. We did not block any road. We did not indulge in violence," he said.

The university administration has declared holidays from Monday and students were seen leaving for their homes. Mohd Faizan Nagrami, PRO, Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulama, said no student was injured.

Two FIRs were filed in connection with the incident.

In Varanasi, a group of BHU students staged a protest at the university gates and also took out a march till Assi Ghat. The protest ended peacefully, said Circle Officer Sudhir Jaiswal. "We staged a protest today in solidarity with students of AMU and Jamia Millia University against whom police resorted to lathicharge," said Piyush Pandey, a student.

GUJARAT: AHMEDABAD UNIVERSITY, GUJARAT NATIONAL LAW UNIVERSITY

'It's our right and responsibility to act now, make a difference'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 16

Around 50 people, who gathered outside the IIM Ahmedabad to protest the citizenship law and express solidarity with the students of Jamia, were detained by police Monday evening. The protesters included students from various educational institutions and voluntary organisations, and Congress leaders.

Students present at the demonstration identified themselves with various educational institutions, including CEPT University, Ahmedabad University, Gujarat University, St. Xavier's College, Gujarat National Law University and the National Institute of Design.

"The Bill is very openly discriminatory," said a student from GNLU. "We believe that if we don't act now, we don't have any other moment to actively work on it. It's our right and responsibility to go public about it and make a difference," said another student who was later detained.



Students and activists being detained outside IIM Ahmedabad. Javed Raja

As police started detaining protesters, more protesters started trickling in. Dozens of students, lawyers and activists gathered outside Gujarat University police station and demanded the release of the detainees. They were finally released around 7 pm.

Independent MLA Jignesh Mevani tweeted in support of the detained protesters and alleged that it was "state sponsored violence".

TAMIL NADU, PUDUCHERRY: IIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

Students take out marches on campus, burn copies of new law

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

CHENNAI, DECEMBER 16

IN PROTEST against the new citizenship law, and the police action in Jamia, various students groups organised protests across Tamil Nadu on Monday.

Among half a dozen protest meets held in institutions in Chennai city, student groups of IIT Madras and the University of Madras marched in their campuses and burnt copies of the new law.

In Puducherry Central University, more than 300 students led a march on the road after boycotting classes. Activists of Students Federation of India (SFI), Ambedkar Periyar Study Circle were among the organisations that led protests.

Students under the banner of SFI organised protests in railway stations in Chennai, Madurai and Coimbatore. Protesters were later removed by police from the premises of railway stations.

At the IIT Madras campus on Monday morning, about 100 students carrying



Students protest at Savitribai Phule Pune University on Monday. Arul Horizon

MAHARASHTRA: TISS, IIT-BOMBAY, SAVITRIBAI PHULE PUNE UNIVERSITY

'We condemn the acts of violence by police. Why is the govt afraid of students?'

ABHA GORADIA

MUMBAI, DECEMBER 16

"The CAA is against the spirit of Constitution... It goes against the basic idea of India as an inclusive, diverse, secular and democratic nation. It is part of the agenda of communal polarisation and we are sure the people of India will not fall prey to such divisive politics," said Suvarna Salve, a supporter of the Samata Kala Manch. Salve was among nearly 1,000 students affiliated to various student outfits who gathered here in a show of solidarity with Jamia students and demanded that the Centre revoke the new citizenship law.

The students who took part in the protest were affiliated to outfits such as Chhatra Bharati, Maharashtra Students Law Association, Maharashtra Students' Union, Students' Federation of India, All India Students' Federation, National Students' Union of India, All India Professionals Congress and Samata Kala Manch, among others.

Earlier in the day, students of Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) boycotted classes and took to the streets. The students assembled at Ambedkar Garden in Chembur. At TISS and IIT-Bombay, students took out marches late on Sunday night.

"CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act) and NRC defy secularism and have been brought in to break the country. It's a

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh agenda against the Constitution. We condemn the acts of violence by police. Why is the government afraid of students?" said Sachin Bansode, a supporter of Chhatra Bharti.

Protesters accused the Delhi Police of perpetrating unprovoked violence against students who were agitating inside the Jamia campus. They called for an independent judicial probe into the incident.

Members of the ABVP did not take part in the demonstrations. ABVP Mumbai secretary Sarjerao Dholtade said, "ABVP did not participate because we support the CAA and hope for its successful implementation. Regarding the students of AMU and Jamia, all the videos and other evidence are out in the public domain. The law enforcement authorities are also subject to the judiciary and we have faith in the judiciary."

Students of Savitribai Phule Pune University, too, protested on the issue. With portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr B R Ambedkar, protesters raised slogans like "Jai Bhim!", "Daman nahi, aman chalega" and "Hum ek hain".

Several organisations, including the NSUI and SFI and Republican Bahujan Vidyarthi Parishad took part in the protest.

"What happened in Jamia was wrong. The government is not giving any funds for education, but it is taking such violent actions every other day," said Suraj Sambhaji Gajaramal, president of RBVP.

KARNATAKA: IISc, BENGALURU

'Our fundamental duty is to defend our Constitution'

Bengaluru: A small group of students at IISc Bengaluru staged a day-long sit-in protest on the campus against "the anti-human NRC, communal CAA and police brutalisation against students" during protests at Jamia Millia University.

The invitation to students to participate in the protest said, "We refuse to work when we no longer understand what we are working for. To work in this climate for a government that not only threatens us with de-citizenship but also dehumanises us when we try to raise our voice is to submit ourselves to enslavement." The students held placards saying "CAA is against Article 14", "Solidarity with JMI" and "How dare you say we are not Indian".

"The citizenship law goes against the idea and notion of the Constitution. We as the people of India are protected by the Constitution and as the people of India it is our fundamental duty to defend our Constitution," an IISc student leader said.



Students protest at IIT-Madras

placards of Mahatma Gandhi and Babasaheb Ambedkar raised slogans against the new law and proposal for nationwide NRC.

At least two dozen students of the University of Madras organised a protest in their campus. After holding a protest march, they had a brief meeting.

Around a dozen students of Loyola College also organised a sit-in protest on Monday.

ASSAM

200 held for violence, Himanta says curfew off, Net on from today

ABHISHEK SAHA

GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 16

NEARLY 200 people have been arrested for alleged involvement in last week's incidents of vandalism and arson in Assam, which has claimed five lives, the state government said on Monday.

Curfew was lifted during the day in Guwahati, and by Monday evening state minister and senior BJP leader Himanta Biswa Sama stated that Assam government has decided to lift curfew "completely" from Tuesday, including night curfew. "Broad band internet connectivity will also stand restored from tomorrow," Sama tweeted.

On Monday, demonstrations, protests involving cultural events and rallies were held

across the state in a peaceful manner. No incident of violence was reported.

Earlier in the day, Sama said the government does not want to curb democratic and peaceful protests and urged protesters to follow the path of non-violence.

He said: "Peaceful protests will be taken care of by a political process, through a process of reaching out. We have no problem with democratic protests, but let us not resort to violence."

Sama also exuded hope that the Centre will reach out to "peaceful" demonstrators at some point. "The police have registered 136 cases in the state in connection with last week's violence; 190 people have been arrested as of now," he told reporters. He said the number of arrests can go up, and that the state government has taken "very seriously"



AASU activists and citizens at a rally in Guwahati on Monday. Dasarath Deka

the violence which unfolded on the streets of Guwahati on December 10 and 11 and plans to investigate it through a high-level inquiry.

On Monday, hundreds of demonstrators led by All Assam Students' Union (AASU) began a three-day 'satyagraha', following which they courted arrest, and were soon released. AASU leaders told the media that Tuesday and Wednesday will see similar 'satyagraha' movement and spoke about the power of a "peaceful, democratic" fight against the new law.

In Guwahati, curfew remained relaxed until 9 pm, while the ban on internet services, except BSNL broadband connections, was extended to Tuesday evening.

Sama said the government has focussed on two instances of violence last week: vandalism at Srimanta Sankardev Kalakshetra, a cultural centre in Guwahati, and that in front

of Assam Secretariat in the city. "Clearly we have witnessed a pattern" on these two and that the "mob" in Guwahati's Hatigaon, a Muslim-majority area, was a "different pattern", the minister said.

In the incident at Kalakshetra, Sama said the government has clear indication of involvement of 24 people. He identified several individuals arrested in Guwahati. Explaining why he identified them, Sama said only a few of these people arrested for incidents in Guwahati — on the spot and on the basis video footage — are residents of the city. "The number of those who had come from places in lower Assam, such as Barpeta, Goalpara and Nalbari districts, is more," he added.

State Congress president Ripun Bora announced a multi-pronged campaign against the new law.



The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

LISTEN TO THEM

This government has no language to talk to those who disagree, and more so, students. Calling them names corrodes democracy

THE IMAGES AND videos of the Delhi Police rampage on the Jamia Millia Islamia campus following students' protests against the new citizenship law in the national capital on Sunday underline an awful, dispiriting dissonance. The police force in Delhi, as in many other states in India, remains, for the most part, a heavy-footed anachronism in a democracy of the young, a brutalising left-over from a more repressive time. But the rankling gap between police and the people showcased on Sunday is about more than just lathi-happy policemen. The silence of the government in the aftermath of the outrage at Jamia — where the police barged into the campus without permission, forced its way into the canteen, mosque and library, dragged and beat up students, rounded up and detained them, using as pretext acts of arson and vandalism outside the university — is part of the problem. Now in its second term in power, the Narendra Modi government is yet to find the language to talk to those who protest and disagree. And this absence, this lack, becomes more glaring, more grave, when it is confronted with restive students.

It is not just that the government, otherwise in constant communication or propaganda overdrive, turns a hard and frigid face to them. It is also that instead of listening to them, it seeks to tar and taint, stick labels and attribute motives, invoke spectres. The distortion of words and meanings goes to the very top — or flows down from there. Listen to the Prime Minister, campaigning in Dumka, in poll-bound Jharkhand, on the day Delhi Police ran riot in Jamia. Those "spreading the fire (aag lagaane waale)" can be "identified by their clothes (kapdon se hi pata chal jaata hai)...", the PM said. He also invoked Pakistan, likening the protests against the CAB to protests by "people of Pakistani-origin..." against the court decision on Ram-Janmabhoomi and Article 370. It was a bid to discredit the students' protest by painting their criticism of a citizenship law that discriminates against Muslims as anti-national and pro-Pakistan.

Such talk is in tune with the spirit of the law that this government has steamrolled through Parliament, a law that virtually closes India's doors to illegal immigrants who are Muslim because they are Muslim. And it is not the first time that PM Modi, a minister in his government, or a senior functionary of his party, has sought to portray dissent as anti-national. This isn't the first time dog-whistle politics has been deployed. And yet, each and every time it happens, it is cause for concern. Because it does not behave a government in a country of India's diversities and democratic standing to sound so insensitive, either to the apprehensions of its minority or to the voice of its young. On Monday, the Prime Minister said "vested interest group" would be allowed to "divide us and create disturbance." Hopefully, those words are meant to reassure all — irrespective of what they wear.

CoP THAT FLOPPED

Madrid meet's failure to address differences over carbon markets, funding, invites questions over UNFCCC efficacy

THE 25TH Conference of Parties (CoP) of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was scheduled as a 12-day summit. Delegates from the 200-odd nations, who had assembled at the Spanish capital of Madrid for the meet, ended up working two more days. But for all their efforts, the negotiators only managed to highlight the disconnect between global climate diplomacy and the imperative of bringing down GHG emissions. The longest meet in the UNFCCC's history concluded on Sunday with an "agreement" mired in generalities and which lacks a roadmap to meet the goals of the Paris Climate Pact. The main item on the meet's agenda — framing rules for setting up a new carbon market under the Paris Agreement — has been deferred to next year.

The Madrid talks were expected to nudge all countries to scale up their commitments under the Paris Pact — Nationally Determined Contributions or NDCs — in view of recent studies which show that the world is not doing enough to prevent the extreme impacts of climate change. The Small Island Nations have been pushing for strong directives to all countries to upscale their NDCs in light of the changed realities. At Madrid, they were supported by the EU countries. The developed countries, including the EU, were, however, non-committal when it came to honouring their previous pledges on funds and technology transfers to the developing countries. The talks hit a roadblock when India, China and Brazil argued that they would not support strong language on raising ambitions without a similar call for rich countries to honour their past commitments. CoP 25's final declaration does "invite new climate pledges that represent a progression beyond previous pledges and the highest possible ambition". But it doesn't stipulate a schedule for updating NDCs. And, the demand of the developing countries for a two-year programme to assess the performance of developed countries — reflected in the draft Madrid agreement — does not find a place in CoP 25's final declaration.

The spirit of solidarity that tinged the Paris summit has been witnessed only sporadically after the landmark pact was inked. Individual NDCs have not added up to the pact's goal of keeping global temperatures below 2 degrees celsius above pre-industrial levels. Framing the treaty's rules has been a tortuous process that has re-animated past differences over funding and technology transfers. Meanwhile, protests in different parts of the world have called out environmental negotiators for their inertia. CoP 25 was an opportunity to answer the questions that have been raised over the UNFCCC's processes. Unfortunately, the two weeks of negotiations at Madrid have been an opportunity lost.

PLAYING POLITICS

Ozil is not the first or the last player to lob the ball while scoring a political point

ON FRIDAY, OZIL, the Arsenal footballer, instagrammed a message about Uighurs, a Muslim minority group in north-western China, as "warriors who resist persecution". All hell broke loose in China where Ozil is fondly known as "272", numbers which when pronounced sound like his name. The foreign ministry said he was "deceived by fake news", and a broadcast of an Arsenal game was cancelled.

Born in Germany, Ozil is a practising Muslim of Turkish origin, the son of poor second-generation immigrants, and has faced criticism before from the far-right over his preference to recite prayers from the Quran instead of singing along to the national anthem before matches. In 2016, when he posted a picture from Mecca, a leader from an anti-immigrant party asked if he wanted to send a political message. In the 2018 football world cup, two Kosovo-Albanian footballers in the Switzerland team, Xherdan Shaqiri and Granit Xhaka, created a furore when they did an eagle salute after scoring goals, mimicking the black eagle on the Albanian flag.

Before Ozil, football's most famous politically conscious player was the Brazilian Socrates, who once said: "They don't want me to drink, smoke, or think? Well, I drink, smoke, and think." Famous footballers, adored by the masses, he believed, have a social responsibility to "transform society". All one needs, is "a social conscience, a political understanding, and a desire to fight" — to be an "MP without a seat".



SANJIB BARUAH

THE RAISON D'ÊTRE for the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019 is fundamentally ideological. Home Minister Amit Shah's claim in the Rajya Sabha that "crores of people" belonging to religious minorities are persecuted for their faith in neighbouring countries, does not exactly sound like a statement based on his supporting officials' analysis of information from some hitherto unknown database on religious persecution.

Bangladesh's foreign minister, AK Abdul Momen, has said the "allegations of minority repression in Bangladesh" are false. However, Momen's challenge to Shah that he visit Bangladesh for a few months to see for himself the amity between religious groups is naïve. Facts and figures that are figments of an inflated ideological imagination cannot be refuted by empirical evidence.

The idea that even 70 years after the Partition, Hindus who find themselves on the "wrong" side of the border must be recognised as people crossing into India to join the nation to which they "naturally" belong, is a foundational tenet of Hindu nationalism. Dutch historian Willem van Schendel calls it the narrative of homecoming.

The idea of India as a *homeland* for Hindus can be traced back to some of the earliest ideological tracts that many in the current political establishment consider sacred. The RSS chief, Mohan Bhagwat, has often asserted that, "no Hindu can be a foreigner in India". He has said this even in Assam, where both migration from eastern Bengal and opposition to it began well before the Partition — an important bit of regional history that does not interest many Indians.

This is not the first time that a major country has adopted an ideology-driven refugee policy. There are lessons to be drawn from the experience of countries that had adopted similar policies before. Ideologically-driven refugee policies seem especially prone to be plagued by the law of unintended consequences. Unfortunately, our country's current snap, uninformed, and policy-illiterate style of law-making does not allow for learning from the experience of others.

The pitfalls of such policies are well understood by those who study them. The best examples come from the US during the Cold War. For nearly three decades, the Cold War shaped the very definition of a refugee in US law. A refugee was defined as a person fleeing "from a communist-dominated country or area".

The Cuban Revolution of 1959, when Fidel

A signalling device

Protesters' fears about new citizenship law are founded on history, accumulated experience

This is not the first time that a major country has adopted an ideology driven refugee policy. There are lessons to be drawn from the experience of countries that had adopted similar policies before. Ideologically driven refugee policies seem especially prone to be plagued by the law of unintended consequences. Unfortunately, our country's current style of snap, uninformed, and policy-illiterate style of law-making does not allow for learning from the experience of others.

Castro's guerrillas ousted the US-backed military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, prompted a large-scale emigration of Cubans to the US. Not unlike India's recent Citizenship Amendment Act, the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 was adopted to give permanent resident status to Cubans who had lived in the US for a year even if a person had entered the country illegally. Like India's Citizenship Amendment Act, it put Cubans on a fast track to citizenship.

During a time when there was little public support for immigration, anti-communism provided the ideological rationale for these policies. Cubans were supposedly voting with their feet. Their making an exit choice testified to the failures of communism and the moral superiority of capitalism and American democracy. US Ambassador Arthur Goldberg told the UN General Assembly that "many thousands of Cubans have seized every available means of transportation which will take them from Cuba to the United States, but no crowds are pouncing on Cuba's gates and seeking admission". Cold War ideologues expected Cuban exiles to become strategic assets for the US, that they would commit themselves to the task of overthrowing the Castro regime, and would one day return to Cuba.

Things didn't quite turn out that way. The Cuban population in the US multiplied nearly six-fold between 1960 and 1970 — from 79,000 in 1960 to 4,39,000 in 1970. It soon became clear that very few of them were refugees in the strict sense of the term; they were not escaping persecution, nor were they leaving Cuba because of "a well-founded fear of persecution". Most Cubans who arrived in the US after the Cuban Adjustment Act were, according to Cuban-born anthropologist Virginia Dominguez, "consumer refugees".

"Cooperating with the Enemy" was the title of an article on this subject by former Harvard University professor Jorge J. Dominguez. Unlike the East German government that built the Berlin Wall to prevent emigration, Castro allowed people to leave the island from time to time. He even claimed that far from inflicting damage on his country, "the US had taken from this country many lumpen proletarians and many lazy people". While that can be dismissed as political rhetoric, there is ample evidence to suggest that the Castro government used emigration as an escape valve — to export surplus labour as well as political opposition. Meanwhile, since

the Cuban Adjustment Act allowed Cuban immigrants to become permanent residents, which put them on a path to US citizenship, as time went on, Cuban exiles had little reason to remain activists seeking the overthrow of the Castro regime. Thus, the US policy toward Cuba, said Dominguez, was rarely made by the US alone. Castro in effect "forced the US government to surrender to Cuba some US sovereign prerogatives to set US immigration policies."

What are the chances of the Citizenship Amendment Act fueling new waves of Hindu emigration from Bangladesh, as people in Assam and Northeast India now fear? Signaling plays an important role in encouraging or discouraging migration flows. The CAA will be a powerful signal to the remaining Hindu population of Bangladesh to choose the exit option.

Simply to assert that the resistance is misinformed because the law has the cut-off date of December 31, 2014 is a misunderstanding of the history of seven decades of post-Partition migratory flows. After all, with the CAA, Delhi has just got rid of the cut-off dates that were agreed upon in the Assam Accord.

A previous amendment to our citizenship laws was a response to the reality that when Bangladesh became independent in 1971, it refused to take responsibility for migrants who had moved to India during the Pakistan years. Bangladesh agreed to take responsibility only for those who entered India after March 25, 1971, when the Pakistani military crackdown of the liberation struggle in East Pakistan began. India was then faced with a dilemma. It had to accept those who entered India before 25, 1971.

Is this a case of a smaller neighbour forcing India to surrender some of its sovereign prerogatives to set immigration policies? That an important date in the annals of Pakistan has acquired such a crucial place in the law and practice of citizenship in India — most recently in the context of the National Register of Citizens — is quite telling.

The protesters are right to fear that by the time the cut-off date of December 31, 2014 becomes irrelevant — giving way to another provisional cut-off date — it will be too late for Assam. Past history and the accumulated wisdom of academic literature is on the side of the protesters.

Baruah is the author of the forthcoming book *In the Name of the Nation: India and its Northeast* (Stanford University Press, 2020)



GURU PRAKASH

BRAMBEDKAR'S DEATH anniversary was observed on December 6. It is, therefore, an appropriate time for serious introspection. As the chief architect of the Constitution, Ambedkar ensured an equitable atmosphere in every sense, which was essential due to the years of institutional oppression faced by more than a quarter of the Indian population at the time of Independence. Some progress has definitely been made but there still remains a significant distance for us to cover as a society to create the kind of atmosphere that Ambedkar and his colleagues imagined.

The debate on reservation is highly polarised and, usually, brings out the worst in us. Arguments made by all the sides are logical and extremely passionate. It can be challenging to evolve a middle path that includes opposing perspectives. On the one hand, there is a school of thought that derides reservation and advocates a merit-based order. On the other hand, there are ferocious supporters of reservation who consider any debate around reforms as blasphemous. Merit is contextual and means different things to different people. Caste creates networks and upper castes, through years of institutional linkages, have established an infrastructure that invariably

FITTING TRIBUTE TO AMBEDKAR

Reservation needs fresh approach to align with times, empower marginalised

Reforms to reservation have become the need of the hour. A section of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have benefitted, and are constantly benefitting from reservation. It is time we transcend our selfish interests and advocate for a rethinking on reservation that is more inclusive of those who are still denied the fruits of reservation.

helps in mentorship and handholding. This is missing for the Dalits. Even the exceptionally skilled and competent Dalits are first treated as Dalits, everything else becomes secondary.

A study by Sukhadeo Thorat and Paul Attewell in 2010 had reportedly observed that "for equally qualified SC and upper caste (about 4,800 each) applicants, SCs had 67 per cent less chance of receiving calls for an interview. What is more disturbing is that the high percentage of less qualified high castes (undergraduate) received calls compared with the more qualified SCs (post-graduates)."

However, this does not absolve the people on the other side of the spectrum who become absolutists when it comes to reservations. Political reservation was never intended to perpetuate the interests of a single family. The case of Lok Janshakti Party is peculiar. Ram Vilas Paswan, Pashupati Paras (brother), Chirag Paswan (son) and Prince Raj (nephew) are in Parliament from reserved constituencies. The community can see through this hypocrisy.

There are a lot of difficult questions that we need to confront as a community. Reforms to reservation have become the need of the hour. A section of SCs and STs have benefitted,

and are constantly benefitting from reservation. It is time we transcend our selfish interests and advocate a rethinking of reservation that is more inclusive.

The contours of reforms in reservation must be developed through a consultative process involving real and potential stakeholders within the Dalit community. The idea of preferential treatment in sectors that are still underrepresented must be explored objectively. The civil society, industry, media, higher judiciary and the upper echelons of bureaucracy still lack social diversity and, therefore, the empathy required to address the concerns of the community. The Ministry of Human Resource Development, through a recent notification, has asked the IITs, IIMs and other premier institutions, to follow the reservation norms in faculty recruitment: People from marginalised communities did not have any leadership role in these institutions for so long.

We need fresh dialogue and thinking on reservation. Including the excluded will be the real tribute to not just Ambedkar, but the Constitution of India.

The writer is an assistant professor at Patna University



DECEMBER 17, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

INDO-BANGLA TALKS BORDER TALKS BETWEEN India and Bangladesh have failed. The Bangladesh delegation flew back to Dhaka this morning amid growing doubts over Bangladesh's intention to adhere to the 1974 land boundary agreement between the two countries. After the three-day talks the two delegations issued a brief joint statement in which both sides have agreed to exercise maximum restraint and avoid provocation to ensure the return of normalcy in the Muhuri Char area of the Belonia sector on the Tripura Bangladesh border. This merely means that the two sides will not resort to exchange of firings or invectives on the disputed 44-acre

stretch of land.

NEPAL ELECTIONS

KING BIRENDRA OF Nepal said "regardless of whichever side — partyless panchayat with reforms or a multiparty system — won as a result of people's verdict, in the coming referendum, from now onwards all elections to the different tiers of the proposed political system would be on the basis of adult franchise." In a broadcast to the nation on the King Mahendra memorial and constitutional day, the king said that the prime minister of Nepal would be elected by a popularly elected panchayat or a national parliament. He also said the council of min-

isters would be responsible to the national level-panchayat.

IRAN CRISIS

IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER Sadeh Ghotbzadeh hailed the departure of the deposed Shah from the US as a "first step to victory". He told reporters it was possible that some of the US hostages would be freed by Christmas and — despite angry declarations by students holding the US embassy — said the authorities were not currently debating setting a trial date for the hostages. Ghotbzadeh said: "I hope that things are now rolling in a positive way. We will try to do our best to defuse the crisis."



"I'm absolutely confident that for two years if every nation on earth was run by women, you would see a significant improvement across the board on just about everything."

—BARACK OBAMA, Former US President

TOP OF THE WORLD



Hallmark Channel had pulled four TV ads that featured same-sex couples

USA

Hallmark says sorry for pulling ads featuring brides kissing

HALLMARK APOLOGISED Sunday after facing days of backlash for pulling four television ads that featured brides kissing. In a statement, Mike Perry, the president and chief executive of Hallmark Cards, said the team at Hallmark Channel's parent company, Crown Media Family Networks, had "been agonising over this decision as we've seen the hurt it has unintentionally caused" and "they believe this was the wrong decision." Hallmark said in the statement it would work with GLAAD, an LGBTQ media advocacy organisation, "to better represent the LGBTQ community across our portfolio of brands".

PAKISTAN

Imran Khan to co-convene Global Refugee Forum

Islamabad: Pakistan on Monday said Prime Minister Imran Khan will go to Geneva to co-convene the first-ever Global Refugee Forum (GRF) commencing on December 17. The Global Refugee Forum — the first major meeting on refugees of the 21st century — will be jointly hosted by the UN-HCR, the UN Refugee Agency and the government of Switzerland on December 17-18, 2019. The forum is expected to galvanise political support and solidarity and broaden the base of commitments to deal with the growing number of refugee situations across the world.

PHILIPPINES

Rappler journalist Ressa launches defence in libel case

Manila: Philippine journalist Maria Ressa said Monday she would not be silenced as she launched her defence against a libel charge that press advocates call an attempt to curb her news site's critical coverage of President Rodrigo Duterte. Her site Rappler has written extensively and often critically on Duterte's policies, including his deadly drugs war that rights groups say may amount to crimes against humanity. "I can go to jail for 12 years for this (case), that is the maximum sentence," she said. "From track record you can see the political goals to shut Rappler up... but we haven't shut up yet," said Ressa, who is free on bail.

BRITAIN

Burglars steal jewellery worth \$64 mn from celeb

London: Tamara Ecclestone, the daughter of former Formula One boss Bernie Ecclestone, has had an estimated \$64 million-worth of jewellery stolen from her home on a London street known as Billionaire Row. A spokesman said the 35-year-old had been left "angry and shaken" over a raid which evaded both the 24-hour security teams that patrol the street and Ecclestone's own internal security system. Ecclestone, a model, had just left the country for the holidays when the burglars entered her property.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO VOTE ON IMPEACHMENT WEDNESDAY

House judiciary panel's impeachment report says Trump betrayed nation

MICHAEL D SHEAR
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 16

THE HOUSE Judiciary Committee formally presented its case for impeaching US President Donald Trump in a 658-page report published online early Monday, arguing just days before a final vote in the House that he "betrayed the nation by abusing his high office."

The report, which echoes similar documents produced after the committee's approval of impeachment articles for Presidents Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton, contains no new allegations or evidence against Trump.

But it offers a detailed road map for the two articles of impeachment the committee approved, charging that Trump abused the power of the presidency to enlist Ukraine in tarnishing his political rivals and obstructing Congress by blocking witnesses from testifying and refusing to provide documents.

The House is expected to vote Wednesday on whether to impeach the sitting president for only the third time in the nation's history, setting in motion a trial in the Senate early next year that could lead to Trump's



Members of the House Judiciary Committee during a hearing. NYT

removal from office.

"President Trump has placed his personal, political interests above our national security, our free and fair elections, and our system of checks and balances," the report states. "He has engaged in a pattern of misconduct that will continue if left unchecked. Accordingly, President Trump should be impeached and removed from office."

The report argues that the House should charge Trump with abuse of power for holding up nearly \$400 million worth of se-

curity aid and the promise of a White House meeting until Ukraine agreed to announce investigations into former Vice President Joe Biden and 2016 election interference.

It also urges the House to approve an article of impeachment charging the president with obstruction of Congress, saying that "President Trump's obstruction of Congress does not benefit the leader of a democratic society. It calls to mind the very claims of royal privilege against which our founders rebelled."

The report includes a scathing 20-page dissent from Rep. Doug Collins of Georgia, the top Republican on the Judiciary Committee, who accuses Democrats on the panel of conducting an unfair process in a partisan attempt to drive Trump from office because of their dislike of him and his policies.

Collins concludes: "Before the House are two articles of impeachment against the president of the United States, Donald John Trump. To these articles, the minority dissents." NYT

EXPLAINED What happens now in Trump impeachment

WITH THE judiciary committee bringing out its official case for impeachment, the House is expected to vote on whether to impeach Trump or not on Wednesday. The Democrat-majority House is most likely to okay the impeachment. But the President will remain in office pending the outcome of a Senate trial. Before the trial, House lawmakers must choose 'managers' to present their case in the Senate. The trial is likely to take place in January in a Senate which is controlled by Trump's party. This makes it highly unlikely that the Democrats will get the two-thirds majority vote they need to remove the President from office.

Toxic Sydney bushfire haze is a public health emergency: Doctors

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
SYDNEY, DECEMBER 16

AUSTRALIA'S BIGGEST city is facing a "public health emergency" over the bushfire smoke that has choked Sydney for weeks, leading doctors warned Monday after hospitals reported a dramatic spike in casualty department visits.

Hundreds of climate change-fuelled bushfires have been raging across Australia for months, with efforts to contain a "mega-blaze" burning north of Sydney destroying an estimated 20 homes overnight and fires near Perth threatening towns.

More than 20 medical groups including the Royal Australasian College of Physicians — which represents 25,000 doctors and trainees — released a joint statement Monday calling on Australia's government to address the toxic air pollution.

"The air pollution in NSW is a public health emergency," the Climate and Health Alliance said.

"Smoke from bushfires has produced air pollution of up to 11 times the base hazardous level in parts of Sydney and New South Wales."

The New South Wales state health department said it recorded a 48% increase in the number of people visiting hospital emergency rooms with respiratory problems in the week ending December 11 compared to the five-year average.

Unbridled power is dangerous: Pak SC on Bajwa's extension case

SAJJAD HUSSAIN
ISLAMABAD, DECEMBER 16

PAKISTAN'S TOP judge cautioned the government that "unbridled power or position, like unstructured discretion, is dangerous" before a Bench headed by him gave a six-month conditional extension to Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa last month, according to the detailed verdict in the case published on Monday.

PM Imran Khan had extended Bajwa's tenure through a notification in August, but the Supreme Court suspended it on Nov 26 due

to irregularities in the extension.

After three days of heightened uncertainty, Chief Justice Asif Saeed Khosa announced that Bajwa would remain the Chief of the Army Staff for another six months during which the Parliament would legislate on the Army Chief's extension.

Justice Khosa, in his additional note on the verdict, said that "in our peculiar historical context Chief of the Army Staff holds a powerful position in ways more than one," adding that "unbridled power or position, like unstructured discretion, is dangerous," Geo News reported. PTI

2ND CONSECUTIVE NIGHT OF VIOLENCE ROCKS BEIRUT



Anti-government protesters and riot police clash during a protest near Parliament Square in downtown Beirut on Sunday. AP

■ Teargas engulfed central Beirut as security forces chased protesters near Lebanon's Parliament on Sunday in a second night of street clashes that wounded dozens of people.

■ Protesters had returned despite a fierce crackdown by security forces the night before when clashes also injured dozens.

■ It marked the most violent unrest in the capital in a historic wave of protests that has swept Lebanon since October 17 and pushed Saad al-Hariri to resign as PM.

■ The protests erupted from anger at a political elite that has overseen decades of corruption and steered the country toward its worst economic crisis since the 1975-1990 civil war.

Qatar: Talks with Saudi Arabia have broken stalemate

Saudi Arabia, UAE, other Gulf countries cut diplomatic and trade relationships with Qatar in 2017

REUTERS
RIYADH, DECEMBER 16

QATAR'S FOREIGN minister said recent talks have broken a protracted stalemate with Saudi Arabia and that Doha was open to studying demands by its rivals in a Gulf dispute but would not turn its back on ally Turkey.

The row between US-allied Arab states saw Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt cut diplomatic and trade links with Qatar

in June 2017 over allegations that it backs terrorism. Doha denies the charge and says the embargo aims to undermine its sovereignty.

"We have broken the stalemate of non-communication to starting a communication with the Saudis," Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani told CNN on Sunday.

"We want to understand the grievances. We want to study them and to assess them and to look at the solutions that can safeguard us in the future from



Qatar Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani

any other potential crisis," he said without mentioning what

concessions, if any, were possible.

The boycotting nations set 13 demands, including closing Al Jazeera television, shuttering a Turkish military base, downgrading ties with Iran and cutting links to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Sheikh Mohammed, who made an unannounced visit to Riyadh in October amid hints the rift could soon subside, denied Qatar has direct ties with the Brotherhood, which the other countries label a terrorist

organisation.

He also said Doha would not alter its relationship with Ankara in order to resolve the dispute, which has undermined Washington's efforts to maintain Gulf unity to confront Iran.

"Any country that opened up for us and helped us during our crisis, we will remain grateful for them... and we will never turn our back to them," he said.

Turkey sent troops, military hardware, food and water to small but wealthy Qatar after the boycott began.

and clicked on the message from @jew_goldstein. The strobe light GIF caused an immediate seizure that lasted about eight minutes, court papers showed.

Eichenwald's wife, Theresa, walked into his office, called 911 and took a photo of the strobe light on his computer with her phone.

"This is his wife," she replied to the Twitter account, "you caused a seizure. I have your information and have called the police to report the assault."

Federal health officials estimate that 3.4 million Americans are affected by epilepsy. NYT

MAN EXPECTED TO PLEAD GUILTY TO SENDING A STROBE GIF ON TWITTER TO A REPORTER WHO HAS EPILEPSY

Latest case of cybercrime: A strobe that induces seizures

MANNY FERNANDEZ
HOUSTON, DECEMBER 16

AN UNUSUAL case of cybercrime is playing out in a Dallas courtroom on Monday, with a Maryland man expected to plead guilty to aggravated assault. The victim was a journalist and author. The weapon was a GIF, or animated image, sent on Twitter. And the motive appeared at least in part to be the victim's criticisms of President Trump.

The case has played out for years in the courts, and the scheduled guilty plea by the defendant,

John Rayne Rivello, would be one of the first times the sending of a seizure-inducing tweet was successfully prosecuted as a crime.

Rivello was accused of sending a Twitter message featuring a blinding strobe light to an epileptic author who immediately suffered a seizure upon viewing it in December 2016 in Dallas. The message read, in capital letters: "You deserve a seizure for your posts."

Investigators found several digital clues, including a message they said Rivello sent to other Twitter users reading, "I hope this sends him into a seizure," and



The journalist Kurt Eichenwald was sent an image over Twitter that caused him to suffer an epileptic seizure. NYT

screenshots showing the victim's Wikipedia page with a fake date

of death and epilepsy.com's list of epilepsy seizure triggers.

The victim, Kurt Eichenwald, the author of "The Informant" and a reporter for The New York Times from 1986 to 2006, had been critical of Trump, then a candidate for president, and had appeared on Tucker Carlson's Fox News show just before he received the strobe-light message in 2016.

Eichenwald's attacker also appeared to be motivated by anti-Semitic hatred, according to court documents: The Wikipedia page that Rivello had copied included anti-Semitic references, and the Twitter handle that Rivello used was named @jew_goldstein, with the name Ari Goldstein.

Rivello, 32, a veteran who lived in Salisbury, Maryland, was arrested in 2017 and charged in federal court with cyberstalking. Later that year, federal prosecutors dropped the charge, allowing the Dallas County District Attorney's office to proceed with their case against him. Court records in the case indicated the scheduled guilty plea Monday.

Eichenwald's lawyers have likened the attack to sending a bomb in the mail or anthrax in an envelope.

Eichenwald told investigators he had stepped into his home office that evening in 2016

Classifieds

PERSONAL

I, Rajnish Kumar S/o Sh. Ram Harakh Maurya, R/o H.No. 358/31, Laxman Vihar, Phase-II, Gurugram, Haryana-122001 have changed my name to Rajnish Kumar for all future purposes. 0040524389-1

I, Ashok Kumar Kathuria S/o Budh Ram R/O A-6/1, Street No-6, Peeragadi Chowk, Mianwali Nagar, New Delhi-110087 have changed my name from Ashok Kumar to Ashok Kumar Kathuria. 0040524309-1

I, Rahul S/o Shyam Lal R/o B-100 B, Shivaji Enclave, Delhi-110027 have changed my name to Rahul Singh. 0040524348-1

PUBLIC NOTICE
Dehli Business Academy
Formerly D.B.F. Kailash Colony, New Delhi-110048. Through its Authorised Representative, Dr. S. Mahalingam, Sir,

PUBLIC NOTICE
It is for general information that I, JASPAL KAUR wife of Late Sh. DARBARA SINGH residing at H. No. D-55/1, Ranjeet Vihar Nilot Extension, Delhi-110041, declare that name of my husband has been wrongly written as DALBIR SINGH in his Death Certificate and my Aadhar card, my Son JAGJOT SINGH and my Daughter GURJOT KAUR Aadhar Card and other documents. The actual name of my husband is DARBARA SINGH which may be amended accordingly.

COLLEGE OF NURSING
ARMY HOSPITAL (RESEARCH & REFERRAL)
DELHI CANTT-110010
Telephone - 011-23338199 / 28638199 - Ext - 38305
Email : sonahr@gmail.com

APPOINTMENT OF LECTURERS ON AD-HOC BASIS
Applications are invited from PG qualified teachers with minimum two years of teaching experience for B.Sc. (Hons) Nursing Course under University of Delhi for the academic year 2019-20 on ad-hoc basis for the following subjects:

NORTHERN RAILWAY
Tender Notice
The Dy. Chief Electrical Engineer/Const./Northern Railway, 4th Floor, DRM Office, New Delhi-110001 invites e-tender under Single Packet System for the under noted work:

GOVERNMENT OF ODISHA
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER, P.H. DIVISION, SAMBALPUR.
NOTICE INVITING TENDERS
NATIONAL COMPETITIVE BIDDING THROUGH e-PROCUREMENT

WESTERN RAILWAY-AHMEDABAD DIVISION
LEASED OUT OF SLR SPACES
Tender No. 262/2019-20
Tender Notice No. C-78/1/17/Tender/SLR/04/2019-20 Date : 12.12.2019

PROPERTY
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

Appeal For Identification
General public is hereby informed that this person Name : Unknown S/o : Unknown, R/o : Unknown, Age : 45 Years, Sex : Male, Height : 5 Ft. 4 Inch, Complexion : Wheatish, ID Mark : Handcapped from left leg and Deaf & Dumb, Wearing : Blue Colour Shirt and Pant, has been found in accidental condition on 29.11.2019 at Shop No. 10, Thakur Namkeen Bhandar, Fatehpur, Lahori Gate, Delhi, he was admitted in Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Hospital and during treatment Dr. declared him dead. In this regard a FIR No. 235/19 Dated 29.11.2019 has been registered at PS. Lahori Gate, Delhi.

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON
See Section 82 Cr.P.C.
Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person Sumit S/o Manoj, R/o H.No. 519, Near Water Tank MCD Colony Sanaypur, Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case FIR No. 397/16 u/s 356/379/411 IPC has been registered at P.S. K.N.K. Marg, Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said Sumit cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said Sumit has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

SEARCH FOR MISSING
General Public is hereby informed that a girl Bhawna D/o Sh. Chandarpal Singh R/o H.No. 4/64, Triokpuri, Delhi has been missing since 26.11.2019 from the area of P.S. Kalyanpuri, Delhi. In this regard a FIR No. 543/19 u/s 363 IPC dated 02.12.2019 has been lodged at PS, Kalyanpuri, Delhi. The description of missing girl is as under:

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF A PERSON ACCUSED
See Section 82 Cr. PC.
Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused Lokender R/o 144, Block-B, Inder Enclave-I, Gali No. 3, Near Girdhari Lal Shop, Delhi Other Address:- B-59, Inder Enclave-I, Ph-I, Kirari Suleman Nagar, Sukhi Nahar, Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence under CC No. 147/18 u/s 138 NI Act has been registered at P.S. Aman Vihar, Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said Lokender cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said Lokender has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF A PERSON ACCUSED (See Section 82 Cr.PC.)
Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person Sandeep @ Kaliya, S/o Shri Janial Singh, R/o R-331, Mangolpuri Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case FIR No. 90/16 U/S 392/411/34 IPC PS KNK Marg, Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused Sandeep @ Kaliya can not be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused Sandeep @ Kaliya has absconded (or is concealing herself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON
(SEE SECTION 82 Cr.P.C.)
Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person Hanif S/o Sh. Mohd Suleman R/o R/A-208, Hari Enclave, Sultanpuri, Aman Vihar, Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case FIR No. 244/11 U/s 457/ 381/411/34 IPC at PS, Aman Vihar, Delhi and it has been returned to a Warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused Hanif can not be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused Hanif has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant). Proclamation is hereby made that the said accused person Hanif of FIR No. 244/11 U/s 457/ 381/411/34 IPC at PS, Aman Vihar, Delhi is required to appear before this court to answer the said complaint on or before dated 18.01.2020.

ON TRIAL

Trump, impeachment and American democracy

The president has forced an invidious choice on Congress

ON DECEMBER 10th the House Judiciary Committee formally accused President Donald Trump of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. It was a solemn moment, and the prelude to Mr Trump becoming only the third president to be impeached. It was also entirely predictable. Mr Trump will now almost certainly be indicted by the House and cleared in a trial by the Senate. If a single legislator crosses party lines, it will be news. That enough to convict him will do so is inconceivable.

Mr Trump's behaviour forced on Congress an invidious choice. He deserves to be removed for attempting to tip the 2020 election. But the impeachment that has unfolded over the past three months will leave Republicans unswayed, voters divided and Mr Trump in office. That is bad for America.

The main facts are not in dispute. Mr Trump ordered \$391m of military aid to be temporarily withheld from Ukraine, which is fighting a Russian-backed uprising. Using back channels, Mr Trump also promised Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine's new president, a coveted meeting in the Oval Office if he announced investigations into Ukraine's role in the 2016 American election and, more important, into whether Joe Biden, a potential rival to Mr Trump in the 2020 election, had corruptly protected his son, Hunter. Mr Trump's claim was that Mr Biden, when he was vice-president, had prevented a Ukrainian prosecutor looking into a gas company that had Hunter on its board.

The law is clear, too. Impeachment involves "high Crimes and Misdemeanours", threats to the state and violations of public trust that need not be crimes in themselves. Mr Trump's manipulation of a foreign government to smear his opponent is the sort of election-rigging that bothered the Framers. So much the worse that the president was also acting against the national interest by endangering an ally.

Instead, the arguments have been about what Mr Trump intended. The president's defenders insist that he was not smearing Mr Biden. He had a legitimate concern about corruption, and was conducting relations with the new government in Kyiv in his own way—as is his right. Ukraine's president, they say, did not even know about the delay to the \$391m, which in any case was mostly disbursed eventually. They note that Mr Zelensky denies that the aid depended on his investigations—and no wonder, because Mr Trump never intended such a quid pro quo. Intentions are hard to get at, especially with a man like Mr Trump who routinely contradicts himself. But this defence does not ring true. Ukrainian officials did in fact know about the delay, and Mr Trump released the money only after a whistleblower had complained about his behaviour. Mr Zelensky's statement is open to doubt, as he has everything to lose from getting mixed up in an impeachment while Mr Trump remains in power.

Moreover, Mr Trump did not take the Ukrainian allegations seriously. If he had wanted the Bidens investigated, the proper course would have been to refer the matter to the FBI, not to use a foreign government.



President Trump, speaking to reporters earlier this month, discussed the unfolding impeachment process. NYT

Before charging ahead, Mr Trump could have asked whether the allegations were substantial. They were not. A Russia expert once on his own staff has warned that the story about Ukrainian meddling in 2016 was a Russian propaganda campaign. The Ukrainian prosecutor pushed out by Mr Biden was shielding corrupt firms: the father was not protecting his son, but exposing him to investigation by a new prosecutor.

"Shall any man be above justice?" George Mason asked when drafting the impeachment clause. "Shall that man be above it, who can commit the most extensive injustice?" Mr Trump wanted to tilt the 2020 election in his favour by tainting Mr Biden. Given a free hand, his illegal efforts to cling to power might continue from the Oval Office. That is why Mr Trump should be removed.

But he won't be. To expel him, the Senate needs to vote against the president with a two-thirds majority. The Democrats, with

47 of 100 seats, would count it a victory to win a simple majority. Public support for impeachment jumped in September when it was announced, to a little under 50%, but all the investigations and hearings since then have not shifted it. Only 21 states have a majority in favour of impeachment.

Democrats argue that this is because the White House has refused to let staff testify, or to release documents to Congress, the basis for that charge of obstruction of Congress. Republicans, they say, abetted by Fox News and others, have thrown sand in voters' eyes by mounting shifting and inconsistent defences.

The Democrats are right. The Republican refusal to take any allegations against Mr Trump seriously has been contemptible. In private, many Republican senators abhor Mr Trump and his methods. But they will not risk their careers by breaking with him in the national interest.

The key to shifting them is public opin-

ion—and it still has the potential to move against Mr Trump. Pollsters report that a third of independent voters are undecided; some of those opposed to impeachment appear willing to reconsider. But the White House will not let the public hear from the witnesses closest to Mr Trump, such as John Bolton, a former national security adviser, and Mick Mulvaney, his acting chief of staff. Sworn testimony from the inner circle could have contained facts and insights with a unique power to change minds.

Democrats could have asked the courts to compel them to testify and turn over documents. If Mr Trump defied the judges, Republican senators would be under severe pressure to break with him. However, rather than submit to the grinding wheels of the law, the Democrats have settled for a vote simply to get it out of the way. They argue that they have already accomplished a lot. They have shown that the president did wrong, they say,

Because the House has sole power over impeachment, they do not need the courts to prove obstruction. Even if they fail to remove Mr Trump, impeachment is deterrent enough.

That is a counsel of despair. Nobody can say how long the courts would take. Democratic leaders cite the months needed to force witnesses to testify in other cases but, mindful of the electoral timetable, the judges could just as well choose to proceed swiftly. While they deliberate, the impeachment inquiry will hang over Mr Trump. That will do more to restrain him from further abuse than a rushed process that is done and dusted early next year. Even if time ran out, the impeachment lapsed and Mr Trump was re-elected, the case might be revived and he might be removed from office. Democrats, however, are focused on the risk that their party will suffer in next year's elections.

They are entitled to put their own electoral calculations first. The Republicans cer-

tainly have. But the Democrats should be clear that, even if their party benefits, America will bear the cost.

Mr Trump is getting off lightly. When the Senate absolves him next year he will claim to have been vindicated. On the evidence, he is guilty of abusing his office. Instead, he will stay—possibly for another term. There is little doubt that his sense of impunity will be further redoubled.

Impeachment was designed to be a last solemn resort, not another partisan tool. Settling for today's doomed indictment ushers in tomorrow's. Impeachment's deterrent effect will erode, because it will be seen as a political gesture. The barrier to removal will rise because breaking with your party will be harder. Oversight will be weaker; the presidency more imperial. As the Senate trial draws near, America has nothing to celebrate.

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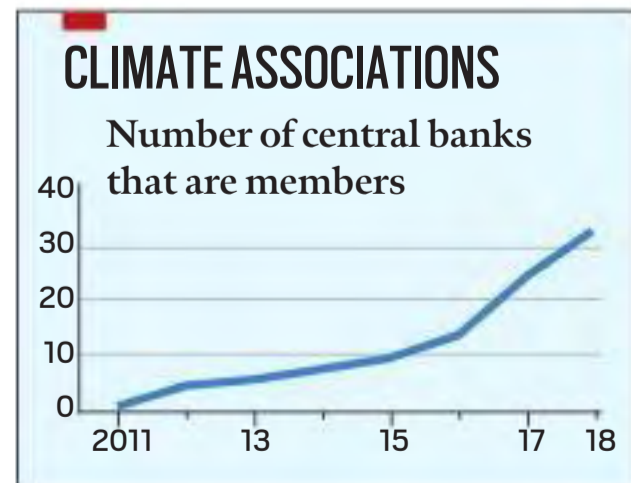
GREEN ENVY

The rights and wrongs of central-bank greenery

Central banks must pay some attention to climate change. But they should resist mission creep

MOST GOVERNMENTS are criticised for failing to do enough about climate change. Much rarer is the public body that is doing too much. Yet central banks, the institutions whose job it is to control inflation, tame the economic cycle and police the financial system, are in danger of falling into this lonely category. Since the global financial crisis, their power in pursuit of those limited economic goals has grown substantially. Now they face pressure to wield it in order to save the planet.

Many are keen to rise to the challenge. A global network of central bankers, led by those in Britain, France and the Netherlands, is working on standardised methods for incorporating climate risks into the stress-tests that banks must pass. Some insurers have already been put through their paces. China's central bank has zealously promoted a new market in green—or at least greenish—bonds. Christine Lagarde, the new president of the European Central Bank (ECB), has declared that climate change should be a "mission-critical" priority for the institution. She wants to study whether the bank should tilt its bond-buying programme away from polluters' debt—a policy dubbed "green quan-



titative easing" (or "green QE"). Europe's regulators are also considering whether to give an easy ride to loans made to green projects.

Some of what central banks have done so far is welcome. But too much greenery risks politicising them and compromising their core missions, which work best when politics is at arm's length. Their leaders should ensure that they stick to tasks for which they were built—and for which they have a democratic mandate.

Start with what is necessary and good. Climate change does not pose a critical threat to the financial system today. But extreme weather and changes in sea-levels could

eventually leave insurers with vast bills and banks with dud loans (such as those secured against properties which end up under water). An imminent risk is a sudden change in climate policy. Were governments to impose a swingeing tax on carbon, many fossil-fuel firms would get into financial trouble, as would firms that depend on dirty inputs. There could be knock-on effects for banks exposed to them. It is within regulators' remit to study such possibilities. Working out a coherent set of global standards for accounting for climate risk is a starting-point for such a task.

Unfortunately this agenda could spread into something less desirable, particularly in Europe, which has just set out new climate targets. It is easy to see the temptation of such policies as green QE. Pushing up the cost of capital that dirty firms pay could have a similar effect to a carbon tax, the holy grail of environmental policies. Firms that can cut emissions easily would do so to avoid the penalty. It might be attractive to outsource a politically risky policy to technocrats.

Yet green QE and schemes like it are misguided, for three reasons. First, central banks lack a democratic mandate to deter emissions. True, climate policy could affect the



Christine Lagarde, the new president of the European Central Bank (ECB), has declared that climate change should be a 'mission-critical' priority for the institution. Reuters

economy—but so do all kinds of things, such as unemployment benefits, with which central banks would never dream of interfering. This is also true for other catastrophic risks: a pandemic that killed lots of workers would have huge economic implications, but nobody thinks central banks should incentivise medical research. And policies to avert global warming also redistribute wealth. That is why proposals for a carbon tax are typically paired with some sort of compensation for the losers—something that is far beyond central banks' remit today.

Second, green QE would be inferior to a carbon tax. The size of the cost-of-capital advantage it gave green firms would vary with

the quantity of bonds the central bank was buying. Because QE is a tool designed to stimulate the economy, that volume depends on unemployment and inflation. Why should the incentive to be green vary with the economic cycle?

Third, even if it carried democratic legitimacy, the expansion of central banks' goals beyond their core remit would be unwise. Power is delegated to technocrats precisely because they are supposed to be neutral and can be easily held accountable against narrowly defined targets. But if it becomes normal for them to tilt capital allocation in a desirable direction, why stop at climate change? The left would leap at the chance to

penalise companies that are deemed too ruthless or which have pay structures that offend. Populists might want central banks to favour firms that invest at home and buy local. The more politicised central banks became, the less they would be perceived as independent authorities on economic policy.

If governments want to penalise polluters they can do so directly with taxes, or by empowering new environmental bodies. There is no need to muddy the waters over the responsibilities of central banks. And the banks themselves should resist the perennial temptation to expand their territories.

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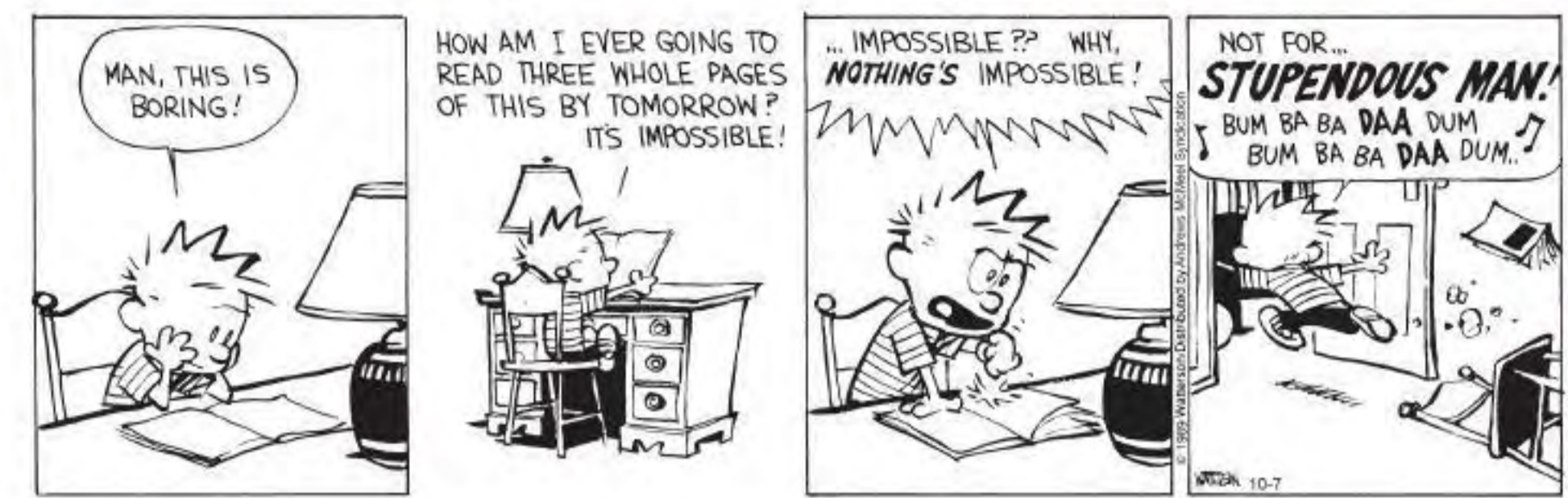
- ACROSS**
- Tips for making financial gains (7)
 - Victor's opposite number (5)
 - They figure a great deal in population surveys (13)
 - Spirit with which the band starts producing dance music (5)
 - Way team not yet admitted (7)
 - Fighting together and all about to die (6)
 - Child brings back ten lines of verse (6)
 - Endure the French type of beer (4,3)
 - River of silver (5)
 - Defeated by the elements? (7-6)
 - Rise after start of day looking glum (5)
 - Wastes the rewards (7)
- DOWN**
- Model question (5)
 - Climbing a low hill, but not to any great extent (2,1,5,5)
 - Employ someone else as a model (7)
 - Attacks with stones, perhaps (4,2)
 - Solicitors hold it to be permissible (5)
 - Changing to steam trains? He should know (13)
 - Honour a relation (7)
 - After all, we do turn out with official sanction (7)
 - Overburden journalists with work (7)
 - Sorted out and put away (6)
 - Choice example (5)
 - Ernest hasn't got time for birds (5)

Solutions Crossword 3989: Across: 1 Mason, 8 Leverage, 9 Spout, 10 Baguette, 11 Greed, 12 Ate, 16 Enacts, 17 Guilty, 18 Sag, 23 Rebel, 24 Inherits, 25 Belle, 26 Souvenir, 27 Close. Down: 2 Aspirant, 3 Opulence, 4 Recant, 5 Debut, 6 Pasta, 7 Level, 12 Ass, 13 Egg, 14 Sidereal, 15 Steeples, 19 Attain, 20 First, 21 Shout, 22 Green.

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBS by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



DAY TODAY

BY PETER VIDAL

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)

Continue to play for time and don't let anyone else force the pace. This is a very special moment for you as far as your personal creativity is concerned and the last thing you want to do is let anyone else dictate your movements for you, especially if they've picked up the wrong end of the stick.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)

You are now officially in a period of maximum domestic uncertainty. Let me tell you now that friction will only develop if you battle to keep things as they are. If you accept and even initiate change over the next two months, the consequences could be miraculous.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)

Get down to some serious work as soon as you can. By serious, I don't mean that it shouldn't be fun, but that anything you do now will be tied in to your destiny. I'd also advise a spot of day-dreaming if required! You might think that this is wasting time, but it's a great way to create space for new ideas.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)

Once you've dealt with financial matters, probably no more than routine shopping, you'll be free to let your mind wander. Overseas contacts seem to be important, which means that a family member far away is waiting to hear from you. Plus, an adventurous possibility is on the way.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)

To be forewarned, as they say, is to be forearmed. It's therefore important to point out that even though you are entering a phase of unparalleled optimism, some of your hopes may be unrealistic. You must sort out what is possible from what is not.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)

The following applies to your life over the next two months, so don't forget it: you are increasingly likely to feel exploited or undermined and will tend to blame other people, yet the cause, and hence the solution, lies with you. Once you've taken that on board then you'll be well on the way to finding a solution.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)

The day seems to be divided into two halves, and you can swing to extremes either favouring self-indulgence or putting the emphasis on work. People are convinced that you have a lazy streak, and now may be a good time to prove them right. Don't let them pressurise you.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)

Don't complain if you have been disappointed financially. There will be plenty of chances to make up for it later on, perhaps within a few days. Actually, self-indulgence should be a priority, perhaps because it's when you're enjoying yourself that you come up with the answers to rather serious questions.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 23)

It's bound to be some time before you can fully recover from past disturbances, but, in almost exactly one week, you should be able to more than make up for one particular mistake. In fact, it's an astrological law that each time the same opportunity returns, we make better of it.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)

Others may make extravagant gestures, but you ought to be the one to call time on reckless financial adventures. Every single penny, cent, rupee or peseta you spend must be designed to earn two back in the future. You can't guarantee success, but you can do your best.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)

While one very important planet, Saturn, urges you to dig your heels in, this could be a risky strategy. For the next twelve weeks, compromise and total flexibility must be an essential part of your strategy. Follow the Jupiterian path - the way of hope and optimism.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

Slowly but surely, your confidence is starting to return. You should soon feel strong enough to make important arrangements and plot the next stage of a health and fitness programme. You also need to keep your mind in trim, so you might be seriously investigating a new interest.

JUMBLLED WORDS

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

A great artist can paint a great picture on a _____ - Charles Dudley Warner (5,6)

DRWAA ORULLN

ALASS AUUCMV

SOLUTION: AWARD, SALS, UNROL, VACUUM
Answer: A great artist can paint a great picture on a small canvas - Charles Dudley Warner

SUDOKU 4062

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 = Genius



SOLUTION SUDOKU 4061



NOTICE BOARD

CORPORATE ASSOCIATE DIARY APPOINTMENTS, MOVEMENTS, CELEBRATIONS, HONOURS



AWARD-GAIL
BC Tripathi, former CMD of GAIL, was honoured as the 'BestCEO' in the PSU category at the Business Today Best CEO Awards. The award was presented by Minister of PNG & Steel, Dharmendra Pradhan.



LOI-NHPC & NEA ENGINEERING COLTD
AK Singh, ED, NHPC, exchanging letter of Intent with HD Sakyia, MD, NEA Engineering Co Ltd, Nepal, in the presence of Balraj Joshi, CMD, NHPC & TPGautam, Administrator (CEO), EPF of Nepal.



SECURITY WEEK-PRPC
Security week is being observed from Dec 13-19, 2019 at PRPC. The program started with administering the security pledge to PRPCians in presence of GC Sikder, CGM (I/C) and other office bearers at PRPC.



DELHIPOLICE JOB FAIR-2019
Recently, a "Delhi Police Job Fair-2019" was held at NPL, Kingsway Camp, Delhi for the wards of Delhi Police personnel and retired police personnel. The event was organized in partnership with 'Axis Bank' under the aegis of Welfare Wing of Delhi Police & PFWS. Suchana Patnaik, President/PFWS & Amulya Patnaik, CP/Delhi, were the Chief Guests for the opening & closing ceremonies. To facilitate the selection, a dedicated portal was created by the Axis Bank, over which, the 'Curriculum-Vitae' of all potential candidates were uploaded & all the Corporate companies were able to select the candidates for interviews on the basis of their qualification & experiences. 77 Corporate entities, including WIPRO, HCL etc. participated in the event as employers. Each corporate employer set-up their separate counters for holding interviews. Walk-in facility to those candidates, who could not apply for Job Fair, was also facilitated. 100 such candidates reached the venue for interview.



AWARD-PFC
PK Singh, Dir. (Commercial) & Y Venugopal, GM, PFC, receiving the prestigious 'Asia's Most Trusted Companies Award 2019' from Hemant Kaushik, CEO & Chairman of IBC & Zenith Samransamruadkit, Thai Police Major General Commander.



SECURITY WEEK-IOCL
Sanjiv Singh, Chairman, Indian Oil, inaugurated the Security Week, in the presence of GK Satish, Dir. (Planning & Business Dev.), RK Mohapatra, Dir. (HR), and others at Indian Oil's Corporate Office in New Delhi recently.



CLEANLINESS DRIVE-GRSE
GRSE recently organised a cleanliness drive as part of the 'Swachhta Pakhwada'. The event commenced with an oath-taking ceremony at various units of the shipyard followed by Plogging Activity at TTC Baranagar Unit by 40 employees & trainees.

NISSAN INDIA recently announced 'Red Weekends', consumer promotion initiative, featuring a host of lucrative offers on Nissan and Datsun models. During December, customers can visit any Nissan dealership and participate in exciting activities to win branded merchandise and more. During this promotion, buyers can also win attractive gifts ranging from instant gift vouchers amounting to Rs 1 crore across Nissan and Datsun models. Elaborating on these exciting offers, Rakesh Srivastava, MD, Nissan Motor India Pvt. Ltd, shared, "Nissan as a customer-centric brand is offering the highest value proposition to the customers through Red Weekends in a very innovative way to bring New Year festivities through Nissan and Datsun products with the first-time best finance offer of 6.99% for 36 months."

PARTNERSHIP-DENTSU X, INDIA
Reckitt Benckiser India, the FMCG multinational, has marquee brands namely, Dettol, Mortein, Strepsils, Harpic, among others, in its portfolio. With operations spanning across more than 60 countries, RB is dedicated to helping people live healthier lives. Underpinned by values such as innovation and partnership, at its core, RB has also been the flagbearer of the sustainability movement across many countries. From driving sustainable innovation to working on recycling plastic, water and other types of wastes, RB's initiatives are world renowned. dentsu X India has won this mandate versus IPG the incumbent agency group, Starcom, Madison and Havas. The business will shift effective 1st January 2020. When asked Divya Karani, CEO, dentsu X, confirmed, "Yes, we have won the Reckitt Benckiser India mandate. It is an absolute privilege to partner with such a strong, purpose-driven brand. More so, since our values deeply resonate with theirs. We look forward to a productive and enduring partnership with RB." dentsu X India comprises three agencies - dX-matrix, dX-cubic and dX-palette. All three agencies have witnessed steep growth trajectories in the recent past, evident in not just the hefty but also the accolades won for their work. Declared "Agency-of-the-Year" by three separate industry forums this year, dentsu X India has also been recognized among the "Top 100 Fastest-Growing Agencies" globally by Adweek. With a distinct take on the evolving communication landscape, dentsu X believes in delivering experiences that are beyond mere exposures.



CAMPAIGN-BANK OF INDIA
BoI recently launched HARGHAR DASTAK Campaign with the slogan 'One Bank, One Team, One Dream' to achieve the target of Business mix of Rs. 10 trillion by Sep. 2020, where GM (Recovery), HO Swaroop Dasgupta graced the occasion.



APPOINTMENT-EPCH
EPCH has nominated RK Jain as President, Social Media, EPCH. A dynamic & versatile personality in the Handicrafts industry, Jain is also associated with EPCH for a long time as member of Committee of Administration.



COMPETITION-THDCIL
Minister of State (I/C) for PNRE & Minister of State for SDE, GOI, RK Singh honoured Sneha Kashyap, Sakshi Sahu & Sanya Sejal along with other winners at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi recently.

BSNL Bharat Fibre channels partners of BSNL recently met at BSNL Karnataka Circle Headquarters at Bangalore. Bharat Fibre Business Conclave, the partner's education and awareness programme on new emerging technologies and business incentives, was convened at the MG Road office, Bangalore. BSNL is putting focused efforts on improving processes for better partner engagement, in the delivery of last mile services to the customers. Speaking on this occasion, Vivek Banzal, Director CFA, BSNL Board, addressed the gathering & emphasized on the increasing role of partners in bridging the digital divide in the country. He explained BSNL's Digital Gram Sewak programme wherein BSNL Bharat Fibre partners in the rural areas have started delivering 100 Mbps high-speed broadband to the homes in the villages, aimed at achieving government's Digital India mission. Various development programmes of state and central Government are highly dependent on good internet connectivity to the homes and same has been mandated in the National Digital Telecom Policy.



Gold Loan Mela-CSB
Gurgaon Branch of CSB Bank Limited conducted a gold loan mela at its branch recently. The occasion was graced by VK Shukla, Zonal Manager of Northern Zonal office, along with Branch Manager, MK Jha & others.



TOUR-ECO R
ECoR recently arranged a week-long tour programme to Singapore & Malaysia. The 68 employees of ECoR will visit places like Sentosa, Universal Studio, etc., in Singapore & Sunway Lagoon, KL Tower, Genting Highlands, etc., in Malaysia.



AWARD-FICCI
Odisha recognized as Best State for the Promotion of Sport at 9th Global Sports Summit organized by FICCI. Indian women's hockey team captain Rani Rampal presented the award to Sports Minister Tusharkanti Behera & Secretary Vishal Dev.

23 TALK ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD

GROWING UP AND MORE

Peter Pan and Wendy, the original manuscript by JM Barrie, who wrote the classic *Peter Pan*, has been published by SP Books. The manuscript reveals how Peter Pan's dark character was altered to suit audiences, by removing portions where he spoke defiantly and was an egoist.

Speaking Out

Prominent names from the film industry lend voices of support to the Jamia students

EXPRESSFEATURESERVICE

A DAY after Delhi Police entered the campus of Jamia Millia Islamia during a protest over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, filmmakers across India have come forward to voice their support for the students. Director Anurag Kashyap, who had deleted his Twitter account this August after rape threats to his daughter, returned tweeting, "This has gone too far... can't stay silent any longer. This government is clearly fascist... and it makes me angry to see voices that can actually make a difference stay quiet..."

Some of the filmmakers like Alankrita Shrivastava (pictured) have a personal connect to the university at the centre of turmoil. The award-winning director of *Lipstick Under My Burkha* wrote on Twitter, "I studied at Jamia. It is where I trained to be a filmmaker, where I met my best friends for life. It is the place that gave me hope and encouragement when I was a confused young girl trying to navigate my way through life. I have such fond memories. But today my heart is bleeding for the students of Jamia who have been mercilessly attacked on campus. This is wrong and cruel at every level... I am praying for the students who are injured and fighting for their lives."



'India doesn't belong to your father'



When no one has the answers, students do



I studied at Jamia... today my heart is bleeding for the students who have been mercilessly attacked

Anubhav Sinha (pictured), director of the critically-acclaimed *Mulk*, which explored communal divide, and *Article 15*, which showed caste discrimination in all its ugliness, spoke of the urgent need for "icons" from all fields to lend their support to the protesting students. He wrote, "Dear Icons! Films. Sports. Arts. Politics. Literature. Etc. We chose what we chose because most of us didn't want to be government servants," adding, "When no one has the answers, students do. Look at history worldwide."

Actor Swara Bhasker took to her handle to express her shock at the incidents of violence and tear gas at Jamia. "Why are students being treated like criminals? Why are hostels being tear gassed? What is going on #DelhiPolice ??? Shocking and shameful!" "We are with the students! Shame on you, @DelhiPolice", tweeted actor and director Konkona Sen Sharma. Actor Rajkumar Rao tweeted, "In a democracy the citizens have the right to peacefully protest. I also condemn any kind of act of destruction of the public properties. Violence is not the solution for anything!"

The protests garnered international support too, with Hollywood actor John Cusack, of *Serendipity* fame, sharing videos of the Delhi protests. He tweeted, "Indian economy in ICU - chaos - civil war."

Meanwhile, Akshay Kumar trended the whole day after he first liked a tweet captioned "Badhai ho... Jamia me Azaadi mili

hai", showing a video where students can be seen running away from police personnel, and then quickly backtracked. "Regarding the 'like' on the tweet... it was by mistake. I was scrolling and accidentally it must have been pressed and when I realised I immediately unliked it as in no way do I support such acts."

Voices of support were not limited to Bollywood, with actors from the south joining in. Actor Siddharth tweeted, "These two are not Krishna and Arjuna. They are Shakuni and Duryodhana. Stop attacking #universities!..." Malayalam actor Parvathy Thiruvothu shared a video on Twitter of police firing at students in Aligarh Muslim University, calling it sheer "terrorism", while actor Amala Paul and director Aashiq Abu shared a poster on Instagram with a line in Malayalam that said it like it is: 'India doesn't belong to your father'.

SNAPSHOT

Third Time's a Charm

GUITARIST JOHN FRUSCIANTE is set to return to the Los Angeles-based American rock band, Red Hot Chili Peppers, a decade since he last left the band. Bidding goodbye to Josh Klinghoffer, who had replaced the guitarist in 2009, the band announced on social media, "Josh is a beautiful musician who we respect and love. We are deeply grateful for our time with him, and the

countless gifts he shared with us... We also announce, with great excitement and full hearts, that John Frusciante is rejoining our group." This is the third time that Frusciante is marking his return. He had joined in 1988 after guitarist Hillel Slovak's death, a year before the release of their album *Mother's Milk*, but left abruptly in 1992 during the band's 'Blood Sugar Sex Magic Tour'. Frusciante had returned in 1998, and worked on their albums *Californication* and *By the Way*, but left again in 2009 to work on his solo career.



High on the Desert Plain

The last-ever show of U2's 'The Joshua Tree Tour' in Mumbai was a long time coming. 32 years after the release of the album, the Irish rock band reminds us that no matter the cost, art can still speak truth to power

I can't believe the news today
Oh, I can't close my eyes
And make it go away
How long?
How long must we sing this song?
How long, how long?
'Cause tonight, we can be as one
Tonight

IT WAS a little after 7.30 pm when U2 launched into *Sunday Bloody Sunday* at the DY Patil Sports Stadium in Navi Mumbai on Sunday evening. There'd been some speculation in the crowd about the track order of the last-ever show of 'The Joshua Tree Tour' before the band took the stage: would they play *The Joshua Tree* album in sequence, or would they kick off with their high-energy, early 2000s offerings like *Vertigo* and *Elevation*; or worse, would AR Rahman open the show with *Ahimsa*, the track Bono and he have collaborated on? That fear was put to rest when The Edge played the opening riff of *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, and on cue, thousands of arms and cellphones went up like a wall, photographing, video-recording, documenting that we are here, we were there, the night U2 came to our town. It didn't matter to us that there was no cellular network inside the stadium. What we didn't know then, is that as we sang *And the battle's just begun/ There's many lost, but tell me who has won*, police forces had entered a central university in Delhi, exerting brute force over students under the cover of darkness.

When the concert began, Bono hailed India as an inspiration to the world. "We are pilgrims, you are our teachers," he said, before promising a night of "rock and roll transcendence." Since they arrived in Mumbai on Thursday evening, Bono and his band members, The Edge, Larry Mullen Jr and Adam



Members of Irish band U2 performed at Mumbai's DY Patil Stadium

Photos: Pradip Das

The women here know what we're talking about, the minorities know what we're talking about, the next-door neighbour knows what we're talking about

BONO

Clayton, travelled to Gujarat to visit Sabarmati Ashram; towards the end of the night, the 59-year-old frontman and activist spoke about Mahatma Gandhi and said, "India's gift to the world is *Ahimsa* (non-violence)." In the week leading to the concert, with the country bumping with protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the National Register of Citizens, one cannot help but wonder, what does it mean to listen to U2's *The Joshua Tree* in India today?

Growing in the rocky desert of the

American southwest, the Joshua tree rises towards the sun with its branches splayed wide, as though in prayer, as Joshua, the prophet from *The Old Testament*, is said to have done. This particular tour, presented in India by LiveNation and BookMyShow, is noteworthy for using the largest high-resolution LED screen ever seen in a live touring show — a Joshua tree rose above the 200 x 45 feet screen that treated us to spectacular visuals from California's Death Valley, taken by Dutch filmmaker and long-time U2 collaborator, Anton Corbijn. The album was originally written about America, a country that for years has been viewed as a 'promised land'; in its vastness lie salvation and desolation. The sum of all its parts make it great but nothing can hide the violence and the heartbreak of a dream that is only half-fulfilled.

The poetry of *The Joshua Tree* still resonates 32 years after its release because its themes — the personal, the spiritual and

the political — continue to spark events around the world. *Bullet the Blue Sky*, about American activities in Central America, *Red Hill Mining Town*, about the UK miners' strike in 1984-85, *Mothers of the Disappeared*, about the murdered political dissidents in Argentina in the late '80s — these stories of injustice and inhumanity continue to play out in different parts of the globe. Bono's voice today is no longer as angry or beseeching as it was in the original record, and though his platitudes rattle even the most ardent fan, one cannot deny that his words remain a clarion call for those who believe that art speaks truth to power.

"The women here know what we're talking about, the minorities know what we're talking about, the next-door neighbour knows what we're talking about," Bono said during the show, before launching into *Ultraviolet (Light My Way)*, a song from their 1991 album, *Achtung Baby*. Performed against a backdrop of women's movements from over the years, the screen lit up with the faces of those who have "rewritten history to make it herstory": from Mary Wollstonecraft to Rosetta Tharpe, the Gulab Gang to Pussy Riot, from the late Kalpana Chawla to Arundhati Roy, the late Gauri Lankesh to Rana Ayyub, closely followed by Smriti Irani.

Twenty five songs later, which included *Bad, Even Better Than the Real Thing*, and *Desire* (which featured a surprise cameo by Oasis' Noel Gallagher), U2 closed the two-hour-plus show with *One*, performed with Rahman and his daughters. As the 40,000-plus crowd exited the stadium, cellphones began to ping with news of the events in Delhi. Lyrics from *One* hung heavy in the air: *We're one, but we're not the same/ We get to carry each other, carry each other.*

Book Award

Amitabha Bagchi wins the 2019 DSC Prize for South Asian Literature for his book, *Half The Night Is Gone*



Amitabha Bagchi (above); the cover of his book *Half The Night Is Gone*

His work is illuminated by 20 years of reading North Indian literature in Urdu, Awadhi and Hindi, which began when he was in the US. The *Ramcharitmanas* is a living presence — even the title of the book quotes it — and the telling is influenced by authors and poets ranging from Shrilal Shukla of *Raag Darbari* fame to *shayars* like Basheer Badr, who are no longer as widely read as Ghalib and Mir. The book is about father-son relations, as much as it is about culture, political and social change, and the collapse of class structures in modern India.

Bagchi teaches computer science at IIT Delhi, but he promises that the philosophical issues latent in his research will never infect his writing: "Science fiction is not my thing." His focus will remain society and culture, informed by poetry. In his acceptance speech for the DSC Prize, he said: "Hatred is being created by sucking the poetry out of our lives. We write to bring it back in."

Blue is the Warmest Colour

British artists Idris Khan and Annie Morris inaugurate Galerie Isa's relocation with new works that play with the colour blue

BENITA FERNANDO

BLUE IS serious business for artists. Johannes Vermeer ran into debt by lavishly spending on ultramarine; Yves Klein patented an intense hue in 1960 called International Klein Blue; Georgia O'Keeffe's monochromatic 'Blue' series stemmed from her musical tastes; and, closer home, SH Raza deployed blue with startling results in his 'Bindu' series. The history of the colour is inextricably tied to the history of art globally. Any artist working with blue knows that it comes loaded with historical, social and cultural significance. It's for these reasons as well as personal ones that the colour forms the basis of Galerie Isa's newly opened exhibition in Mumbai.

The show features British artist couple Idris Khan and Annie Morris who have let blue rule their latest works. Khan created quite the buzz earlier this year when he made his India Art Fair debut with a series of blue drawings based on a ritual performed during the Islamic Hajj pilgrimage. The drawings were achieved by repeatedly stamping text. In the current exhibi-



(From far left) Works titled *Stack 9, Cadmium Red; Untitled, 2019*; Idris Khan and Annie Morris

tion, Khan uses repetition to create bands of colour that are reminiscent of American abstract expressionist Mark Rothko's colour field paintings.

"There is a cacophony of sounds in these works," says Khan. It's not just text that he layers though. Back in 2004, he achieved Impressionistic effects by digitally layering photographs of industrial structures by Bernd and Hilla Becher. Presently, he layers music sheets sourced from London shops to make musical palimpsests, such as *The Old Tune* (2019) and *The Calm is But a Wall* (2019). "People usually ask me what score this is. It's Chopin but I have layered the sheets to the point where it no longer matters. I make the notations abstract; music is abstract. You can't read them anymore and that can be frustrating

for some people," says the artist. The final effect is as if Khan has made snapshots of sound waves. Moreover, the prints are dominated by blue, hinting at all kinds of musical things such as the blues and nocturnes. Khan adds, "This blue can sort of make you happy or unhappy. It has an immediate effect on the emotions."

Morris, who calls herself a "colour nerd", has a similar opinion. "Blue is a comforting colour," she says. Morris is renowned for her towering "stacks", a form she settled on after a personal tragedy some years ago. The couple's first child was a stillborn, and the grief took the form of sculptures that convey the experience of motherhood. Morris makes uneven spheres out of pigment, plaster and sand, which seem to be precariously placed on top of each other. While the totem-like sculptures are poly-

chromatic, with vivid turquoise and chrome oxide green for example, their fulcrums are the ultramarine boulders. "Blue is the colour I start with," says Morris. Earlier this year, for Ahmedabad's Kasturbhai Lalbhai Museum, Morris deconstructed the colour by making a stack in different shades of blue. She repeats the exercise in this exhibition with a sculpture titled *Stack 7, Ultramarine Blue Dark*.

The exhibition also marks the gallery's first after it relocated from its Kala Ghoda base to Ballard Estate. The gallery's earlier site was a compact, split-level setting. The gallerist Ashwin Thadani chose the new location for its high ceiling and spacious halls, "perfect to show artists with challenging mediums," he says. That would include Morris' skyward stacks and Khan's delicate glass works.

The exhibition will be on view at Galerie Isa till February 20

To utilise Champions League T20 window, BCCI mulls a mini IPL

DEVENDRA PANDEY
MUMBAI, DEC 16

THE BOARD of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) is mulling options on how to best utilize the erstwhile Champions League window, after the Indian board discontinued the inter-franchise tournament five years ago. A mini-IPL could be on the cards so that existing teams can participate longer than the usual allotted two months. As per the minutes of BCCI-Indian Premier League governing council meeting held on November 5, accessed by *The Indian Express*, the board is considering getting back the two-month-window for their home cricket season.

Hemang Amin, IPL's chief operating officer, informed the IPL GC, as per the minutes. "The Champions League (CLT20) used to be played during the Sep/Oct window of around 15-20 days, however, CLT20 was discontinued five years ago, the last event being the CLT20-2014. The Asia Cup, which is another event hosted every alternate year, was generally played during June, however after CLT20 was discontinued the Asia Cup is now played during the CLT20 window of Sep/Oct and ICC has also scheduled the T20 World Cup in 2020 (Australia) and 2021 (India) around the same time. Since the Sep/Oct was CLT20 window, BCCI should look at utilizing this as a 2nd IPL window so the existing teams can have a longer participation instead of the two months and this will also entail that BCCI creates a new revenue stream which will

The IPL GC also held a lengthy discussion on whether to have IPL friendlies with associate ICC members during the months of July-August... BCCI's secretary Jay Shah was of the view that this issue needs a discussion with a larger group.

be beneficial for the teams, BCCI and extension of brand IPL." After discussions, it was decided that the BCCI general body will take a call on this in the future.

The IPL GC also held a lengthy discussion on whether to have IPL friendlies with

associate ICC members during the months of July-August. However Amin informed the house, "Till date no such friendlies have been played, however, a number of teams have requested that IPL teams be allowed to play IPL friendlies against each other at an overseas location instead of playing against an ICC associate member as this will help explore the brand IPL outside of India and it will draw interest amongst the Indian diaspora and give them an opportunity to see IPL teams in action outside of India."

BCCI's secretary Jay Shah was of the view that this issue needs a discussion with a larger group and advised that it will be taken up at an appropriate forum.

RR to play in Guwahati

Meanwhile, IPL franchise_Rajasthan

Royals will play four of its IPL games in Guwahati. RR's request to the Indian board to allow four games in Guwahati this coming IPL season, as forwarded to Supreme Court-appointed Committee of Administrators (COA), was accepted.

"Rajasthan Royals' request of playing at Guwahati as an alternate venue in addition to their designated home venue in Jaipur was made during COA's tenure and was approved on the basis of the IPL rule that allows any team to play at an alternate venue subject to them playing minimum of four matches at their designated original home venue. The members ratified the approval by COA of RR's request to play at Guwahati," the minutes read.

IMG box

Former Indian cricketer Surinder

Khanna has enquired about event agency IMG and the fees paid for their services in conducting IPL tournament. IMG has been associated with the IPL since inception and after their deal of ten years it was subsequently renewed for 5 years (2018-2022) through a tender process. Khanna wanted a BCCI in-house team to conduct IPL instead of IMG.

"Currently they are being paid an average of Rs 33.5 crore per year. Khanna was of the view that the amount paid is very high and checked whether this can be done in-house by BCCI to which Amin replied that it can be done in-house as IMG also hires the freelance staff which BCCI can also hire. However, this can be looked into after the current contractual arrangement with them comes to an end," the minutes read.

Rolling out the ODI red carpet

Pitch reading is never foolproof but the one at Vizag promises to produce a run-fest, which suits the Windies gameplan

SHAMIK CHAKRABARTY
VISAKHAPATNAM, DECEMBER 16

EVEN FROM a distance, the firmness of the ACA-VDCA Stadium pitch was visible. A senior grounds-staff predicted a belter -- scores in excess of 300.

When India and West Indies had last played an ODI at Vizag in October 2018, the match ended in a tie, with both teams scoring 321. Virat Kohli had led India's charge with an unbeaten 157 and Shai Hope responded with a 123 not out.

Shimron Hetmyer had bludgeoned to a 64-ball 94. On Sunday, in the first match of the ongoing series in Chennai, Hope and Hetmyer once again proved to be India's nemeses, both scoring hundreds this time and making a stiff run chase appear like a walk in the park.

West Indies batters are strong-armed enough to dismiss any bowling on flat pitches. At Chepauk, the surface was a little two-paced to start with, which became easier for batting when evening dew arrived.

The ground-staff at Vizag informed that they haven't watered the outfield for the last three days to keep it as dry as possible, an antidote to dew. Then again, in winter -- Vizag being a coastal town, it doesn't have a proper winter though -- dew will make its presence felt after sundown at every venue in this part of the world.

Unlike Chepauk, it's not a fresh pitch at Vizag. Some local matches have already been played here. So it's unlikely that the ball will hold up. In fact, given the hardness of the top soil, the pitch is expected to offer decent bounce and the ball should come nicely on to the bat. On the face of it, West Indies, a side that bat deep and are heavily loaded with power-hitters, probably have an advantage.

Jasprit Bumrah, along with Prithvi Shaw, is likely to train with the Indian team at Vizag as part of his fitness assessment. Bumrah is recuperating from a stress fracture. Without him, India's bowling in white-ball cricket, especially in death overs, becomes depleted.

Mohammed Shami didn't bowl badly in the slog overs yesterday. But unlike Bumrah, he is not a death-overs specialist and on Sunday, when he bowled at the back-end of the West Indies innings, Shami offered at least one boundary ball every over. Deepak Chahar is relatively inexperienced at this level and although he has been pretty consistent, the seamer doesn't have a lethal yorker. Also, at Chahar's pace, bouncers become a tad risky at the death. Shivam Dube made his ODI debut yesterday and it turned out to be a baptism of fire for the youngster.

Between 41st and 48th over, India had conceded 59 runs in the first ODI without a wicket. And the hosts will have little margin for error at Vizag, for in a three-match series, they face a win-or-bust contest here. Modern-day cricket sets 300 as par score in ODIs. India struggle to get there unless Rohit Sharma or Virat Kohli scores big. Shikhar Dhawan deserves an honourable mention here, for when on song the left-hander has the ability to make an impact at the top.

With all due respect to Shreyas Iyer and Rishabh Pant, who batted very well under pressure at the first ODI and shared a 114-run fourth wicket partnership, they failed to take the game away from West Indies. Both got out at the wrong time, Iyer in the 37th over and Pant in the 40th over. Both had time to stretch their innings without taking too many risks. Iyer departed to a soft dismissal, flicking a back-of-a-length ball from Alzarri Joseph straight to mid-wicket. The Mumbai batsman might still get the benefit of the doubt, as the ball seemed to have stopped a bit. Pant, yet again, perished to an attempted big hit. He was playing well and going at a 100-plus strike-rate. Another few overs of him would have taken India's total past 300. The 22-year-old also missed an opportunity to score his maiden ODI hundred.

Chief selector MSK Prasad, though, preferred to put things in perspective. "See, unfortunately what happened in T20 games, he (Pant) wasn't getting enough deliveries. So he was trying to strike the ball from the wrong do. (But) he had a lot of time yesterday. He had the time to do it (build his innings). It was a wonderful opportunity for him. There's no doubt that people



On Sunday, when he bowled at the back-end of the West Indies innings, Shami offered at least one boundary ball every over. AP

must be putting pressure on him, but his knock yesterday should have really calmed his nerves. It will do a world of good to his confidence," the chief selector told *The Indian Express*.

At MS Dhoni's spiritual home, Pant probably couldn't afford to fail. His well-compiled half-century earned the appreciation from the Chepauk crowd and kept the Twitter trolls quiet. But from the team's point of view, the southpaw needed to carry on.

West Indies have had a clear strategy for the short-form. They pack their team with batters and back themselves to chase any target, or post a big total when batting first. As far as India are concerned, the four specialist bowlers ploy probably backfired at Chepauk. It needs to be seen if the hosts bring in Yuzvendra Chahal at Vizag. It might be a touch risky to go with a specialist bowler less on this pitch.

Windies fined for slow over-rate

PTI adds from Chennai: West Indies players have been docked 80 per cent of their match fees for maintaining a slow over-rate in the first ODI against India in Chennai. ICC match referee David Boon imposed the fine after Kieron Pollard's side was ruled to be four overs short of its target on Sunday after time allowances were taken into consideration.

"In accordance with Article 2.22 of the ICC Code of Conduct for Players and Player Support Personnel, which relates to minimum over-rate offences, players are fined 20% of their match fees for every over their side fails to bowl in the allotted time. As such, the team have each been fined 80% of their match fee," the ICC said in a statement.

There was no need for a formal hearing as West Indies skipper Pollard pleaded guilty to the offence after the end of the match and accepted the proposed sanction. On-field umpires Nitin Menon and Shaun George, third umpire Rodney Tucker and fourth umpire Anil Chaudhary leveled the charge. West Indies won the match by eight wickets to take a 1-0 lead in the three-match series.

I've realised there's nothing like 'natural game' in international cricket, says Pant

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
CHENNAI, DECEMBER 16

OFTEN ACCUSED of not putting a premium on his wicket, rising Indian batsman Rishabh Pant says he has now understood that there is no concept of "natural game" in international cricket where one has to play according to the situation. Pant's soft dismissals in recent times and poor work behind the stumps have been a matter of concern for the Indian team.

But the 22-year-old wicketkeeper-batsman from Delhi finally came good and struck his maiden ODI half century, albeit in a losing cause, in the first one-dayer against West Indies here. After the match, Pant said he is constantly trying to improve his game.

"I've realised after playing a fair bit at the international level that unlike at amateur levels of cricket, there isn't anything like natural game. At the international level, you have to play according to the situation, or what the team demands," said Pant at the post-match press conference.

"It's my learning curve, I'm thinking that. From the team's point of view, whatever I can do to help my team win, to have a good score on the scoreboard, that's what I was focussing on. In the end, I got some runs," he added.

He said he will continue to focus on his game rather than think about the "talk going around" about him.

"As an individual and as a player, I want to focus on my processes. All the talk going around, they're good and sometimes they're not. At the moment, I'm concentrating on my game and that will hold me in good stead," said Pant, who scored 71 off 69 deliveries.

Pant has copped a fair amount of flak lately, but said it hasn't shaken his self-belief.



Rishabh Pant made 71 off 69 balls against Windies in Chennai on Sunday. It was his maiden ODI half-century. AP

At the international level, you have to play according to the situation, or what the team demands. It's my learning curve. From the team's point of view, whatever I can do to help my team win, to have a good score on the scoreboard, that's what I was focussing on."

RISHABH PANT

lief. "I will always tell a person that you have to believe in yourself. It doesn't matter what people say around you. Sometimes you don't get runs, sometimes you get runs, but the process is always important," he said.

Asked how important this knock was under the current circumstances, he

replied: "Personally, if I play for India, every innings is important for me. As a youngster I want to improve each and every day."

Pant has been greeted with chants of 'Dhoni, Dhoni' at various stadiums, but at Dhoni's second home, they chanted 'Pant, Pant' on Sunday.

"Sometimes it's important when crowd supports you," Pant reflected. "From an individual point of view, I was trying to improve myself every day but I wasn't getting there. I am not saying I got there, but I try to improve."

On his thought process on and off field, he said, "If I'm practising, I think about cricket. If I'm off the field, I'm not thinking about it too much. I talked to the team management and they told me, 'just calm yourself, see what you can do around to improve your game, improve your fitness, just try to improve yourself in every way'."

BRIEFLY

'Embrace it': Lyon on Kiwi bouncer barrage

Perth: Australian spinner Nathan Lyon said there was nothing untoward in the bumper barrage New Zealand served up in the first Test in Perth, and he expects more of the same. After Australia won the first of the three-Test series by 296 runs, captain Tim Paine said the Black Caps' liberal use of short-pitched bowling had a Bodyline feel to it. Busting Kiwi seamer Neil Wagner, who has a reputation for using the short ball to good effect, led the way and picked up a number of wickets through catches on a packed legside field, as well as having a mini-battle with Aussie batsman Matthew Wade. Wade let the short balls hit him on several occasions as the New Zealand tactic worked and Australia lost seven wickets for 58 runs in the second innings. Although he's the one man in the Australian bowling attack who doesn't have the option to fight fire with fire, Lyon said the likely prospect of more hostile bowling in the next two Tests didn't bother him. "I think you have to embrace it, it's a challenge," he said. "We were playing against the number two team in the world and they've had success playing the brand of cricket they're playing at the moment. The Bodyline series I'm not sure, but short bowling is going to be a tactic. I'm going to cop it so it's unfortunate I can't dish it out so that's why I've got to get the big boys to look after me."

NZ's Ferguson ruled out, Boult likely to play

Perth: New Zealand paceman Lockie Ferguson will play no further part in the three-match series against Australia because of the calf injury he sustained during the 296-run loss in the first test at Perth Stadium, coach Gary Stead said on Monday. The 28-year-old suffered the injury on the first day of his debut test and will need four to six weeks to recover, Stead told reporters in Perth, ruling the fast bowler out of the second and third matches in Melbourne and Sydney. There was better news about quick Trent Boult, who usually leads the New Zealand attack but made way for Ferguson in Perth as he recuperated from a side strain. "Trent's going really well, he was probably three or four days short of being ready for the first test match," Stead said. "That was a risk that we weren't prepared to take given the length of the season and what was left to come." A replacement for Ferguson in the squad would be named on Tuesday, Stead said. The second test begins at Melbourne Cricket Ground on December 26.

I want to be where Kohli is, says Babar

Karachi: Prolific Pakistan batsman Babar Azam wants to achieve the "legend" status that Virat Kohli has acquired. "Look he (Kohli) has already achieved a lot. He is a legend in his country. Honestly there is no comparison with me right now but eventually I also want to get to where he is today," Azam said. "The media and people have drawn comparisons between me and Virat Kohli but I realise that I still need to get more runs in red ball cricket to be ranked among the top players. That is why in recent months I have been focusing a lot on getting consistent scores in Test matches," he added. Babar, who scored his second Test hundred in the last three game on Sunday at against Sri Lanka in Rawalpindi, said he wanted to be a batsman who, like Kohli, could win more matches for his team. Babar, who made a Test hundred at Brisbane and 97 in the day-night Test at Adelaide, said the traditional format remains the most difficult. "When I got out cheaply to a bad shot in the first innings at Brisbane, I was very cross with myself because I realised no top batsman should get out like that. In the following innings I made it a point to be patient and build my innings although playing strokes comes naturally to me," he explained.

RANJI TROPHY (SECOND ROUND)

Punjab taps into catchment area

Chandigarh's debut has seen an exodus of players, which has given lesser-known talents from Punjab an opportunity to flourish

GAURAV BHATT
PATIALA, DECEMBER 16

AT 30, Sharad Lumba is the oldest player in the Punjab Ranji squad. With one match to his name — last week's opening-round fixture against Rajasthan — he is also the least experienced. Under-15 to under-25, Lumba ran the gamut of age-group cricket for Punjab, but his knocks couldn't put a dent in the ceiling that separated the Amritsari hopeful from Chandigarh stars.

"Often it felt like nobody was noticing what I was doing in local cricket. I knew the hard work I was putting in, and not getting a chance was disheartening. It took me three years to make the team, and three more years to get a game," Lumba says on the eve of Punjab's second-round match against Hyderabad.

"But you can't focus on things which aren't in your control. I waited for my time and an opportunity."

That opportunity came this season as Chandigarh made its Ranji debut after a 37-year wait. Ex-Punjab players make up more than half of the brand-new team (8 of 15: Manan Vohra, Barinder Sran, Arpit Pannu, Bipul Sharma, Raman Bishnoi, Gurinder Singh, Jaskaran Singh and Uday Kaul). Devoid of its fruitful conveyor belt, Punjab had to look at its smaller centres for talent.

"It works both ways," says the middle-order batsman. "I know so many good players in Chandigarh who were not getting a chance to shine. Similarly, there are many players like myself from Amritsar, Ludhiana who will find it easier to break into the Punjab line-up now." Captain Mandeep Singh believes local cricket in Punjab, much like the Ranji plate group, tends to get overlooked.

"It wasn't like there was no chance for players from smaller centres. But the performances were largely neglected. We know there are good players in the Ranji Trophy plate division. But it's easier to be ignored because of the impression that they can only perform at that level. This season, things have changed a lot. We will miss the Chandigarh guys. But because of so many openings now, if a talent is identified he can be fast-tracked," says Mandeep, pointing out Ashwani Kumar as an example, the 18-year-old pacer who too made his debut against Rajasthan.

With a 10-wicket away win in Jaipur, early table-toppers Punjab continued what has been a solid domestic season for them. They missed out on Vijay Hazare semifinal berth after a washout knocked them out on a 'wins in group-stage' rule.

They qualified for the Syed Mushtaq Ali 'Super League' after failing in their last three campaigns. Mandeep, vice-captain Gurkeerat Singh Maan and pacers Siddharth Kaul, Sandeep Sharma form the experienced core, and the presence of national team hopeful Shubman Gill further bolsters the side.

Punjab, firm favourites

Punjab are the firm favourites against a troubled Hyderabad side which lost their opener at home to Gujarat, and the players attribute the buoyancy in the camp to getting a coach of their choice. "We asked Munish Bali sir to be appointed as coach for this season," says Mandeep. "All of us have played under him before, so there's mutual understanding and respect for each other." Bali, former India Under-19 assistant coach who was earlier with Andhra Pradesh, has coached the current Punjab lot at the age-group level.

"The kids demanded me as the coach. There's good communication with this group, but my biggest concern was the lack of accomplishments for Punjab cricket. So we focused a lot on fitness camps, and team-building during the off-season," says Bali, adding: "All the Chandigarh players were also part of Punjab camp because we didn't even know that they will be a new team this season itself. Now our priority is to spread the game across the state."

Punjab has relocated their base to Patiala after three years, and barring a



Punjab's Shubman Gill during a practice session ahead of the team's Ranji Trophy encounter against Hyderabad in Patiala. Harmeet Sodhi

It wasn't like there was no chance for players from smaller centres. But the performances were largely neglected. We know there are good players in the Ranji Trophy plate division. But it's easier to be ignored because of the impression that they can only perform at that level. This season, things have changed a lot. We will miss the Chandigarh guys. But because of so many openings now, if a talent is identified he can be fast-tracked."

MANDEEP SINGH,
PUNJAB CAPTAIN

match in Mohali, all their home ties will be played at the Dhruve Pandove Stadium. The under-23 competition is scheduled for Mohali, while the under-19 ties will be played in Amritsar.

Bali adds that it wasn't just the Chandigarhian exodus that the team has had to overcome.

"Manan to Chandigarh is a loss. But from last year, we are also missing other key players. Jiwanjot's move to Chhattisgarh meant we lost our long-time opener. MS Gony retired and Yuvraj exited the scene. Harbhajan too is not available. So there were spots open and that's where all the fresh talent comes in."

"Yuvi and Bhajji pa left a legacy. Earlier expectations of that kind, along with captaincy, used to bog me down," says Mandeep. "But a young, fresh line-up frees me up as well. I am not going to think of too much in the future, but eventually, I have to win the Ranji Trophy for Punjab. For me, it's as important as breaking back into the national team."

Lumba is thinking along similar lines as well. "It's a dream for every Punjab cricketer. It's been a long wait (Punjab won their only Ranji Trophy title in 1992-93) and it's important because we want to dedicate such success to Yuvi and Bhajji pa, after what they did for our team. In this state, it will be as big as them winning and dedicating the World Cup to Sachin."

From tying the knot to tying TN into knots: Gowtham becomes Karnataka's leading man

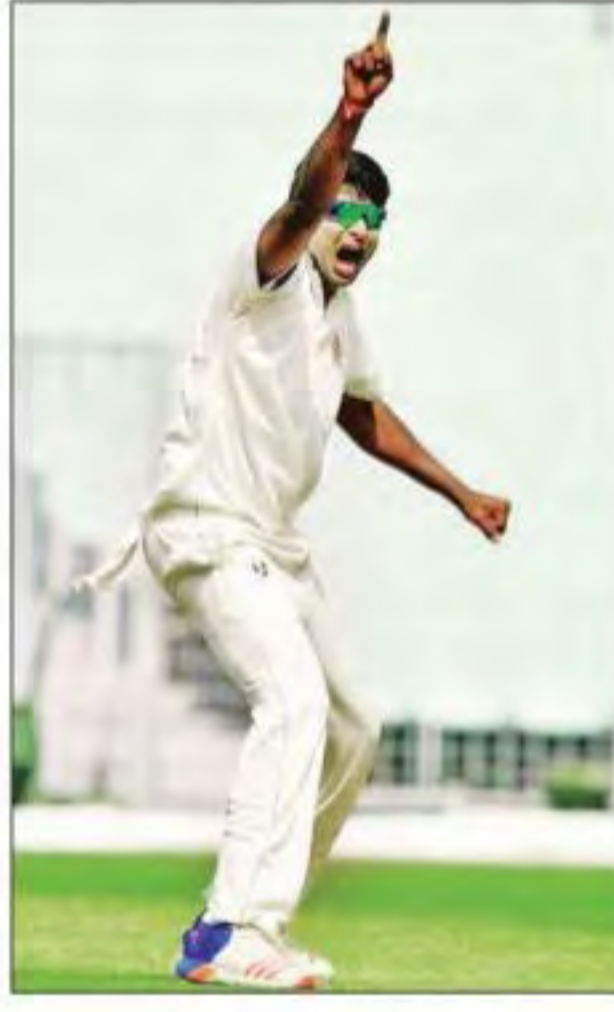
VISHAL MENON
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

THIS IS close to a five-decade-old incident, but old-timers at Mumbai's/Bombay's maidans still recount it with glee. It goes back to 1962, when Sudhakar Adhikari, a prolific opening batsman for Bombay and West Zone, was scheduled to tie the knot on the morning of his team's Ranji Trophy game against Maharashtra. His captain Polly Umrigar exempted him from attending the practice session on match-eve, but for the opener to be included in the playing XI, Umrigar put forward a condition: Adhikari had to be in the dressing room by the time he goes out for toss on match day. During those days, first-class fixtures would begin at 10.30 am and finish by 5.15 pm.

As the story goes, Adhikari got married at 9.05 am during a ceremony at Shivaji Park, and rushed to the Brabourne Stadium to arrive just moments before Umrigar went for the toss. Bombay batted first and Adhikari struck a splendid century. Adhikari went back to attend his wedding reception in the evening.

Last week, Karnataka off-spinner Krishnappa Gowtham also found himself in a similar predicament. His team was scheduled to play arch-rivals Tamil Nadu in the season-opener at Dindigul, but Gowtham was getting married 48 hours before the match would begin.

After the wedding, there was a spate of rituals that was to follow the day after. "We were scheduled to play Tamil Nadu from December 9 and my wedding was scheduled on December 7, which was followed by some rituals the next day. So, there was no way I could have made it on the match-eve. The ceremony was taking place in Bengaluru and the match was in Dindigul, which is a good 10-hour drive...so it was touch and go,"



Gowtham finished with a match-haul of 16 wickets against Tamil Nadu. PTI

Gowtham told *The Indian Express*.

Despite the time constraints, one thing was certain — the Karnataka team was desperate to have their off-spinner on the field in Dindigul. Over the last two seasons, Gowtham has risen in the ranks to become a vital cog in the team, providing them with stellar contributions with bat and ball.

They were up against Tamil Nadu that boasted of an impressive array of India players such as captain Vijay Shankar, Ravi Ashwin, Dinesh Karthik and Murali Vijay along with the regular domestic incumbents such as Abhinav Mukund, Baba Aparajith and R. Sai Kishore.

Karnataka, on the other hand, were without KL Rahul, Manish Pandey and bowlers T Prasidh Krishna and Abhimanyu Mithun for this game. The team management could not afford to lose Gowtham.

"I got married on December 7, completed all my rituals the following day and hired a taxi and left for Dindigul on the 8th," Gowtham admitted. After a strenuous 10-hour drive, he joined his team-mates in the early hours on December 9, just in time before his captain Karun Nair walked out for the toss.

On the field, Gowtham did not display any signs of weariness, underlining his utility with his all-round abilities. He was a bundle of energy with the bat, scoring a whirlwind 39-ball 51 while batting at No.9 that gave Karnataka the impetus late on Day 1 and in the first session on the second day.

However, it was his bowling that shone through in the subsequent three days, handing the former Ranji Trophy champions a narrow 26-run win. It was a match where spinners from both teams dominated the proceedings — Ravi Ashwin with a match-tally of 8 scalps was eclipsed by Gowtham's herculean efforts — 6/110 and 8/60. The 31-year-old would walk away with the Man-of-the-Match award, but it was the manner in which he mopped off Tamil Nadu's doughty lower-order that paved the way for Karnataka's victory.

Things were pretty tense on the final day with Tamil Nadu requiring 181 for a win, were 114/7 at one stage with M. Ashwin and Sai Kishore at the crease. Karnataka's trump-card removed Kishore. Subsequently, a ninth-wicket partnership between Ashwin and Manimaran Siddharth blossomed and they looked poised to take Tamil Nadu home. Under such dire circumstances, Gowtham cleaned up Siddharth and then trapped Vignesh, the No.11 batsman to complete the formalities.

In recent times, Gowtham has made it a

SECOND-ROUND FIXTURES

GROUP A & B

- KERALA VS BENGAL
Thiruvananthapuram
- PUNJAB VS HYDERABAD
Patiala
- VIDARBHA VS RAJASTHAN
Nagpur
- ANDHRA VS DELHI
Ungole
- HYDERABAD VS PUNJAB
Vizag
- KARNATAKA VS UP
Hubli
- MADHYA PRADESH VS BARODA
Indore
- RAILWAYS VS SAURASHTRA
Visakhapatnam
- TN VS HIMACHAL PRADESH
Dindigul

GROUP C

- MAHARASHTRA VS J&K
Pune
- ODISHA VS SERVICES
Cuttack
- ASSAM VS JHARKHAND
Ranchi
- HARYANA VS TRIPURA
Rohtak
- CHHATTISGARH VS UTTARAKHAND
Raipur

PLATE DIVISION

- CHANDIGARH VS BIHAR
Chandigarh
- PUDUCHERRY VS SIKKIM
Puducherry
- GOA VS MEGHALAYA
Porvorim
- MANIPUR VS NAGALAND
Kolkata
- ARUNACHAL VS MIZORAM
Puducherry

MATCHES LIVE ON HOTSTAR 9.30 AM

JOURNEYMAN

Record-breaking spinner Aman resets his goals

NITIN SHARMA
CHANDIGARH, DECEMBER 16

GROWING UP in Solara village in Gaya district in Bihar, 33-year-old Ashutosh Aman would often watch old videos of Bishan Singh Bedi and Sunil Joshi bowling left-arm spin. He would also rely on his cousins, who were being trained at Bedi's academy, to send him videos of coaching classes hoping he would be able to pick up something.

Last year, left-arm spinner Aman went past his hero. He was playing in the lower Plate Group as Bihar was one of the teams, which made its debut. He broke Bedi's 44-year-old record of taking most wickets (64 wickets) in a Ranji trophy season with 68 in eight matches in the Plate Group.

Aman hopes to do an encore this season and go past his own mark. He is also donning the captain's hat now so his fortunes are linked to the team's too.

He first fell in love with the game after

watching Sachin Tendulkar bat. He then tried his hand at fast bowling but when he realised he could not generate too much pace, he started to bowl spin.

"Last year, when I broke Bedi sir's record in Ranji Trophy, he had praised me on twitter. Even though I have not met him, I hope to meet him one day. Perhaps, I can help my team this year to qualify for the main group," Aman told *The Indian Express*.

Aman got his big break when he joined the Air Force. He got into the Services team and made his debut against Delhi in the 2014 Vijay Hazare Trophy.

He played in only one match in Vijay Hazare Trophy that year and was on the bench for the next two seasons. He played on and off in 2017 before deciding to move to Bihar last year. He made an immediate impact bagging 14 wickets in eight matches. Bihar coach Subroto Banerjee and captain Pragnyan Ojha showed faith in his abilities and he went onto the break the Ranji Trophy record for most wickets.

Last year, Aman was playing in the lower Plate Group as Bihar was one of the teams, which made its debut. He broke Bedi's 44-year-old record of taking most wickets (64 wickets) in a Ranji trophy season with 68 in eight matches in the Plate Group.

"While I played for Vijeta Club in Gaya, I would often dream about playing in Ranji Trophy. I joined Indian Air Force at the age of 17. It also meant that I got full facilities to train and playing for Services team helped me a grow as a cricketer. Last year, my captain Pragnyan Ojha told me that I will play in all the matches. Pragnyan bhai always told me to try variations. I worked on my speed control and

ball flight and it helped me a lot," Aman, who is a Sergeant in Indian Air Force, said.

At 33, Aman believes that he has enough time to fulfil his current dream of playing for India 'A' first and then the senior Indian team. The left-arm spinner was selected for India Blue in this year's Duleep trophy but could not get a match.

"I still believe that I can achieve my dream of playing for India. Last year, I had met Ajinkya Rahane after my record in Ranji Trophy and he told me to keep bowling to my strength and it will be my mantra this year too. Shikhar Dhawan too had tweeted about my record and I aim to take his wicket one day. I had met Ravindra Jadeja in 2016, when he had claimed 38 wickets in four matches to make a return to the Indian team and sought tips from him. Whatever I can add in my bowling will help me in achieving my dream of playing for India," Aman added.

The journeyman will have his hand full when his side takes on Chandigarh on their home turf.



Before joining Bihar, Ashutosh Aman had played for Services. Kamleshwar Singh

Federer broke down after riots in Colombia

ROGER FEDERER admits he suffered a "bit of a breakdown" during last month's tour of Mexico and South America after rioting in Colombian capital Bogota forced him to cancel his exhibition match against German's Alexander Zverev.

The 38-year-old's five-country tour is covered in broadcaster ESPN's candid documentary 'Roger Federer: Everywhere is Home' which will air on Dec. 17.

It charts the 20-time Grand Slam champion's journey, including the history-making match in Mexico City bullring when a 42,517 delirious fans watched him take on German Zverev — a record crowd for a tennis match. One of the most memorable segments of the documentary comes in Bogota when large scale demonstrations and riots led to a curfew imposed by the government, shortly before Federer and Zverev were supposed to start their match.

With a huge crowd already present, Federer reluctantly decided the situation was not safe. Footage shows Federer walking back to his locker room where he broke down in tears and was hugged by Zverev.

"We went to warm up and were having a blast on the court, but then everything started to get a bit crazy," Federer said.

"I was thinking is this the best scenario? Because people need to get home and be safe and this was honestly when I knew we shouldn't play, it was too much stress and pressure for everybody."

"I had a bit of a breakdown. It was not going to be the dream match it was supposed to have been and I could feel it all falling apart at the end. When I came back (to the locker room) I was emotionally wasted."

Throughout Federer's illustrious career, visits to South America have been rare with few big tournaments held there.

His tour took in Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico.

"It was an unbelievable and amazing trip, each step along the way as the fans expressed their love of the sport and appreciation for the experience," the Swiss great said.

A test for City's European ambitions

Pep's EPL side, seeking its first Champions League title, drawn with thirteen-time winners Real Madrid

ASSOCIATEDPRESS
NYON, DECEMBER 16

MANCHESTER CITY'S reward for winning its Champions League group was a guaranteed last 16 pairing with a team that only finished runner-up. It got Real Madrid.

The record 13-time champions will host the first leg on Feb. 26 against the ambitious Premier League title holders, who are trying to win the European Cup for the first time.

The match pits Madrid coach Zinedine Zidane against City manager Pep Guardiola. Zidane has won three Champions League titles in three attempts with Madrid, while Guardiola has been seeking his third title for almost a decade after winning twice with Barcelona.

"The only way to be top in Europe is going forward and (playing in) semifinals and finals and winning the Champions League," City director of football Txiki Begiristain said at UEFA headquarters after Monday's draw.

City's best run in the Champions League was reaching the semifinals in 2016, losing 1-0 over two legs to Madrid. That was soon after Zidane took over in Madrid, and just before Guardiola was hired to replace Manuel Pellegrini in Manchester.

Also, Liverpool was sent back to the Spanish stadium where it won the title last season. The first leg against Atletico Madrid will be at the Metropolitan Stadium on Feb. 18.

"I think that Liverpool know (the stadium) very well," said Atletico director Clemente Villaverde, describing the unbeaten Premier League leaders as "at this moment the best team we have in Europe."

Liverpool coach Jurgen Klopp said there were "pretty much four or five potential finals already in the last 16."

Spanish league leader Barcelona will face Napoli with the first leg in Italy, and Chelsea will face Bayern Munich in a rematch of the 2012 final. Chelsea won that title in Bayern's home stadium, which will host the second leg on March 18. In other matchups: Paris Saint-Germain coach Thomas Tuchel was paired with his former club, Borussia Dortmund; Lyon will take on Juventus; Tottenham will play Leipzig; and Atalanta will meet Valencia.

Lyon will face Juventus, a team led by Cristiano Ronaldo, without its own star forward. Memphis Depay left Sunday's French league game with a season-ending knee injury. The Juventus games will be played on the



Guardiola has been seeking his third title for almost a decade after winning twice with Barcelona. Reuters

CL LAST 16 DRAWS		
Dortmund	vs	PSG
Real Madrid	vs	Man City
Atalanta	vs	Valencia
Atletico Madrid	vs	Liverpool
Chelsea	vs	Bayern
Lyon	vs	Juventus
Spurs	vs	Leipzig
Napoli	vs	Barcelona

same nights. Feb. 26 and March 17, as Madrid plays Man City.

"The whole world will be watching, no doubt," Madrid director Emilio Butragueno said. "We will experience football at its best and then the fans will be lucky to enjoy this kind of game."

Two pairings feature teams playing in the knockout rounds of the Champions League for the first time. Leipzig will play the first leg at Tottenham and Atalanta will go up against Valencia.

United draw Club Brugge, Arsenal get Olympiakos in Europa League

MANCHESTER UNITED will take on Club Brugge in the last 32 of the Europa League while struggling Arsenal will face Greek side Olympiakos following Monday's draw in Nyon. United, who won the competition under Jose Mourinho in 2017, travel to Bruges for the first leg on February 20 before returning to Old Trafford a week later.

"There is no easy team at this stage but the team is doing well and hopefully we can get a good result," United club ambassador Park Ji-Sung told BT Sport.

"A couple of years ago we won the trophy and we know how beneficial it is, particularly with qualification to the Champions League."

Arsenal are languishing ninth in the Premier League after sacking coach Unai Emery but finished top of their group in Europe and are also away in the first leg.

"We are not doing so well, unfortunately in the Premier League, so this could be a route

into the Champions League next year, so I'm sure it will be one of our priorities," said Arsenal club secretary David Miles.

Ajax were drawn with Spanish outfit Getafe following their surprise exit from the group stage of the Champions League, while Serie A leaders Inter Milan travel to Ludogorets.

Antonio Conte's side will be among the favourites for the competition alongside last season's Champions League semi-finalists Ajax after failing to get past Barcelona and Borussia Dortmund in Europe's top competition.

Celtic face FC Copenhagen of Denmark while Steven Gerrard's Rangers come up against Portuguese outfit Braga.

Sevilla travel to Romanian side Cluj with the five-time winners riding high in La Liga, while fellow Spaniards Espanyol travel to Wolverhampton Wanderers, who are enjoying their first European campaign in nearly four decades.

African athletes seek Indian boost in fight against gender crackdown

NIHAL KOSHIE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 16

LAST WEEK, 27-year-old Ugandan Annet Negesa was granted asylum in Germany nearly three months after she travelled to Berlin. Negesa, an inter-sex athlete, feared for her life in her country where LGBTQ people are often persecuted — death penalty is being proposed.

Negesa owes her new life in Germany to athletes' gender activist and researcher Dr Payoshni Mitra.

Payoshni was an expert on the panel for defending 800 metres Olympic champion Caster Semenya when the South African challenged the rules, which put a cap on testosterone levels in women athletes. She was also the one Indian sprinter Dutee Chand turned to for support in her case against World Athletics — previously known as IAAF — over similar regulations.

When Negesa, a former world junior bronze medalist in 800 metres, wanted to break her silence about how her career fell apart in 2012 after being asked to undergo surgery to be eligible to participate, she turned to Payoshni.

"A fellow athlete who knew about my plight asked me if I wanted to speak to Payoshni as she could help. I shared my number and got in touch with Payoshni," Negesa says about the first interaction between her and the Kolkata-born activist in June.

They met in the capital of another African country and a bond of trust was built, Negesa says. "Meeting her was very helpful and important in terms of getting courage for standing in front of people and talking about what happened to me. She also helped me connect with people who could help me at a time when I felt my life was in danger in Uganda," says Negesa.

London-based Payoshni has made multiple trips to Africa to talk to athletes whose careers have come to a halt because of female eligibility rules — and its previous version, hyperandrogenism guidelines.

"Negesa felt very unsafe and fearful. Recently in October a gay rights activist was killed in Uganda. There have been several other cases of violence against LGBTQ+ people in Uganda," Payoshni says.

"Negesa identifies as an intersex person and even though we all think that internationally her story was all kept confidential (Differences in Sexual Development - DSD - athletes affected by the eligibility rules), it wasn't. In the immediate sports fraternity, people know which athlete may have a DSD or may have high testosterone. So people in Ugandan athletics community knew what happened to her in 2012, why she suddenly stopped competing. Negesa used to forward me links about incidents of violence against the LGBTQ+ community in Uganda. She was



Middle-distance runner Negesa with athletes' gender activist Payoshni Mitra.

London-based Payoshni has made multiple trips to Africa to talk to athletes whose careers have come to a halt due to female eligibility rules — and its previous version, hyperandrogenism guidelines.

not safe," she says. Presently, Payoshni is helping several athletes from the African continent. Venues of meetings, travel plans and identities are closely guarded so as to avoid the risk of these athletes facing any threat if they are from countries which have strict anti-gay laws.

The initial conversations between the two over a social media platform was often interrupted as Negesa ran out of data and it took time for her to find enough money to get a top-up. No longer the world-class athlete she was post-surgery, Negesa was reduced to doing menial jobs.

In June, just before she reached out to Payoshni, she was working on a site where sheds were being built for cattle.

Payoshni calls athletes like Negesa as "disappeared athletes" because once they are not allowed to compete they fall off the radar and the World Athletics, the governing body for track and field, turns a blind eye to them.

"I am worried because in some conservative countries in the world, like Uganda, the DSD regulations put athletes at risk of receiving such violence. I am working with current athletes, including those in Africa, who have faced public humiliation, loss of livelihood, severe impoverishment, marginalisa-

tion by family and friends for being dropped from certain specific track events. These regulations coerce young athletes to take medical steps, which is what we notice in Negesa's case. Even if one tries to switch her events, she is still outed. This must stop," Payoshni says.

World Athletics' Eligibility Rules for Female Classification requires DSD athletes to take hormone suppressants and lower testosterone levels below five nanomoles per litre (nmol/L) to compete internationally between 400m to a mile.

Negesa is looking forward to a new life in Berlin. She has already contacted a coach to see how she can stay in touch with track and field. She hopes to travel to Uganda but currently makes do with telephone calls to her family. "I have been talking to my parents and siblings and they just keep asking me when I am coming back," Negesa says.

Seeking out Payoshni's help and being part of a documentary by German broadcaster ARD on athletes affected by DSD regulations was a turning point in Negesa's life. "I wanted the athletics body to come to know that what they are doing is not good for athletes. It not only destroys a person's life but also a person's dreams. What happened to me was not right and other female athletes who are affected by DSD regulations should not have to go through such things," she says.

After the documentary was aired, in a statement issued in October, World Athletics said: "The IAAF has never forced any athlete affected by its regulations to undergo surgery, nor paid for any of their treatment. It has in some cases paid for the medical investigation and diagnosis of the athlete by an independent medical centre so the athlete is fully aware of her condition."

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