



Lt. Gen. Manoj Mukund Naravane will be the next Chief of Army Staff

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Temple will come up in Ayodhya in four months, says Amit Shah

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Slowdown not entirely due to global factors, says Shaktikanta Das

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Democrats bolster case against Trump, say he betrayed the nation

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## NEARBY



Cong. MP for privilege motion against Smriti

NEW DELHI  
Congress member of the Lok Sabha Manickam Tagore has given a notice of privilege against Minister for Women and Child Development Smriti Irani for allegedly misleading the House on Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's remarks about rape. Mr. Tagore met the LS Secretary General on Monday, seeking privilege proceedings against Ms. Irani.

NEWS PAGE 12

HC annuls election of Azam Khan's son as MLA

ALLAHABAD  
In a jolt to Rampur MP Azam Khan, the Allahabad HC on Monday annulled the election of the senior SP leader's son Abdullah Khan as an MLA on the ground that he was underage and not qualified to fight the poll in 2017. A Bench of Justice S.P. Kesarwani declared the election of the junior Khan from the Suar Assembly segment null and void on a plea by defeated BSP candidate Nawab Kazim Ali Khan.

NORTH & EAST PAGE 5

# Students erupt in nationwide protests

- Police action in Jamia, AMU sends youth out to the streets
- Opposition, ruling fronts unite in Kerala against CAA
- Won't implement citizenship law or NRC, declares Mamata

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

Stung by the brutal police action at Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University on Sunday, students took to the streets in Chennai, Puducherry, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Varanasi, Kolkata and Guwahati in solidarity, even as political leaders held rallies and dharnas against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) on Monday.

In a rare moment for Kerala, the ruling Left Democratic Front (LDF) joined hands with the Opposition United Democratic Front (UDF) to protest against the CAA, while West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee addressed a massive rally in Kolkata.

## 'Attack on India's soul'

Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra led a dharna at India Gate in the capital, condemning the Narendra Modi government for bringing the CAA and attacking innocent students of Jamia Millia. "An attack on students is an attack on the soul of India," she said.

Speaking at the Kolkata rally, Ms. Banerjee said, "As long as I am alive, I will never implement the citizenship law or the NRC [National Register of Citizens] in the State. You can very well dismiss my government or put



Boiling point: Various organisations staging a protest at India Gate in New Delhi on Monday. ■ SHIV KUMAR PUSHPAKAR

me behind bars, 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 Bengal, they will have to do it over my dead body."

In Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan said the Centre had perverted the original law by introducing a communally polarising amendment that discriminated against Muslims. Mr. Vijayan added

that Kerala, with its distinctive secular character, would lead the widespread resistance to the Centre's move to undermine the secular foundation of the Constitution.

Meanwhile, protesters vandalised a police station and torched vehicles in Mau in Uttar Pradesh, prompting the police to fire in the air. Two men who were apparently caught in the India violence are being treated for "gunshot injuries" at Safdarjung Hospital here, sources

said on Monday, but the police insisted the wounds could be from the sharp end of tear-gas shells.

## SC to hear pleas today

The Supreme Court, which agreed to hear on Tuesday pleas alleging police atrocities on students at Aligarh Muslim University and Jamia Millia Islamia, said it would not hear this issue in an atmosphere of violence. "The only thing we want is that the violence must stop," said a

Bench headed by Chief Justice of India S.A. Bobde.

Speaking at a joint Opposition press meet, CPI(M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury demanded an inquiry by a Supreme Court judge into the Jamia incident.

(With inputs from Chennai, Thiruvananthapuram, Mumbai, Guwahati and PTI)

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RULES READY PAGE 12

SUPREME COURT TO HEAR PLEAS FOR JUDICIAL PROBE PAGE 13

# Don't let 'vested interests' divide society, says Modi

'Stay away from rumours, falsehoods'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

As violence and unrest spread across various States against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Monday termed the protests "unfortunate and deeply distressing" and appealed to people to stay away from rumour-mongers and not let "vested interests" divide society.

In a series of tweets, he said the CAA did not affect any Indian 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 law, he noted, was passed by both Houses of Parliament with overwhelming support. "A 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.

Mr. Modi said, "This is the time to maintain peace, unity and brotherhood. It is my appeal to everyone to stay away from any sort of rumours and falsehoods."

NARENDRA MODI  
Prime Minister

A large number of political parties and MPs supported its passage. This Act illustrates India's centuries-old culture of acceptance, harmony, compassion and brotherhood

Debate, discussion and dissent were essential parts of democracy "but never has damage to public property and disturbance of normal life been a part of our ethos."

The BJP, too, put out statements after Sunday's incidents at Jamia Millia Islamia, accusing the Congress and others of stoking trouble. Party spokesperson Sambit Patra, at a press conference in New Delhi, said, "Having lost the battle in Parliament, the Opposition is using students as pawns to play political games over the CAA, which has nothing to do with Indian citizens."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12  
'CENTRE TO BLAME' PAGE 13

# Students released, but protests continue at Jamia

Demonstrations also at DU, India Gate and outside Delhi Police Headquarters

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

Protests continued at Jamia Millia Islamia on Monday, a day after the police baton-charged and fired tear-gas shells at students and other protesters agitating against the amended citizenship law.

Thirty-five students who had been detained by the police were released in the early hours of Monday. Vice Chancellor Najma Akhtar put to rest rumours that a student of the university had been killed during the protest, but decried the police action.

Protests also erupted at Delhi University, outside the Police Headquarters and at India Gate in the evening with heavy police deployment. Two reporters of a news agency were allegedly assaulted by protesters and were rushed to Holy Family Hospital for treatment. Police said the accused will be identified in due course and action taken against them.



All India Students' Association members protesting at DU against Sunday's police action at Jamia Millia Islamia. ■ SHIV KUMAR PUSHPAKAR

The area around Jamia where clashes broke out on Sunday remained relatively calm even as several people gathered at street corners, discussing the previous day's events. Though there was support for the students' right to protest, several residents *The Hindu* spoke to

said that the violence was wrong.

At Delhi University, members of students' groups, including AISA, NSUI and ABVP, gathered at the Arts Faculty.

While the police maintained that there was heavy deployment to maintain law and order, several protesters claimed that right-wing acti-

vists manhandled them. Students also alleged that earlier in the day, there was a police crackdown on students who were "peacefully protesting by boycotting examinations".

## 2 FIRs registered

The Delhi police lodged two FIRs in connection with the violence during Sunday's protest in the Jamia Nagar area and Mathura Road.

The Delhi government said Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal has sought an appointment with Union Home Minister Amit Shah to discuss the issue. "AAP is completely against any kind of violence. Whoever has indulged in and instigated the violence must be punished after a thorough and independent probe of the entire matter," said AAP Delhi convener and Delhi Minister Gopal Rai.

SEE ALSO PAGES 2 & 3

# Govt. releases ₹35,298 cr. in GST compensation

Transfer done ahead of Council meet

PRISCILLA JEBARAJ  
NEW DELHI

The Centre released ₹35,298 crore to the States in Goods and Services Tax (GST) compensation on Monday, just two days before a crucial meeting of the GST Council. The decision comes at a time when several States had urged the Centre to transfer the compensation payments, which have been pending for several months, with the Punjab govern-

ment warning that it was prepared to take the issue to the Supreme Court.

Speaking at an event earlier in the day, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman sought to assure the States that the Centre would not renege on its promise to compensate them and explained that the delay was because GST collections had been lower than expected.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

# RTI 'abuse' led to 'fear' among officials: CJI

'Norms needed to filter requests'

KRISHNADAS RAJAGOPAL  
NEW DELHI

Chief Justice of India (CJI) Sharad Arvind Bobde on Monday said the unbridled use of the Right to Information (RTI) Act had created a sense of "paralysis and fear" in the government and norms were needed to "filter" the requests.

Senior lawyer Prashant Bhushan, appearing for activist Anjali Bhardwaj, said, "Only those who are corrupt

have reason to fear."

The Supreme Court was hearing an application filed by Ms. Bhardwaj and retired Commodore Lokesh Bhatra about the lack of transparency in the appointment of information commissioners, despite a February 15 judgment. "We want to find a way to stop the abuse... Don't speak as if there is no abuse," the CJI said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

# Jamia, AMU VCs present a study in contrast

While Najma Akhtar stood by her students, Tariq Mansoor allowed the police on campus

JAIDEEP DEO BHANJ  
ANUJ KUMAR  
DELHI/ALIGARH

As university campuses erupted in protest against the passage of the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill in Parliament, the reactions of Vice Chancellors of Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University – the two universities that registered the most vocal protests – were a study in contrast.

While Jamia VC Najma Akhtar stood by her students and condemned the police action on campus, her AMU counterpart Tariq Mansoor decided to allow the men in khaki to enter the campus premises.

"Police entered the campus without permission. We will not tolerate police presence on campus. They scared our students with brutality. There has been



Najma Akhtar

huge damage to university property," Ms. Akhtar said on Monday. She went a step further, saying the university will lodge an FIR over the damage to property and police action on students. The VC also said that the university has requested the Ministry of Human Resource Development to order a probe into the police crackdown.

Ms. Akhtar sought to assuage the students, saying the police swoop impacted



Tariq Mansoor

the psyche of the students who were in the reading room and other areas of the university.

## Registrar's hand?

The AMU administration on the other hand could not come out with exact figures as to how many students were picked up/arrested by the police till late on Monday. With speculation ranging from 21 to 60, a panic situation was created, triggering

protests in different parts of the city.

Registrar Abdul Hamid, an IPS officer, who is being seen as the man who helped the VC make the decision to allow the police to enter the campus, said late in the evening that 26 persons have been arrested. "Nine or 10 of them are university students. The rest are all outsiders. The students would be released soon," he told *The Hindu*. AMU old-timers say this is the first time the police were allowed to enter hostels and pick up students. "Earlier, police were allowed to enter only when the students would cause harm to the campus property during any protest against the administration and it was limited to the Vice Chancellor's Lodge and the administrative block," said a university official, requesting anonymity.

# Unnao rape case: Sengar found guilty

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

A Delhi court on Monday held former BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar guilty of raping a minor in Uttar Pradesh's Unnao in June 2017. Arguments on the quantum of sentence, which may extend to life imprisonment, will be heard on Wednesday.

The court said the victim's testimony was unblemished and truthful, and was proved to be of "sterling quality" to arrive at the conclusion that she was sexually assaulted by Sengar. However, the co-accused Shashi Singh got the benefit of the doubt and was acquitted.

Sengar was convicted of the charge of committing offences under Section 376 (rape) of the Indian Penal Code, read with Sections 5 (c) (public servant committing penetrative sexual assault on a child) and 6 (punishment of minimum 10 years, which may extend to life imprisonment, and fine) of the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act.

CB1 PULLED UP PAGE 9



# 'Why did police beat us? We were studying'

Students recall the incident when police barged into the Jamia Millia Islamia library and hit them with batons

**HEMANI BHANDARI**  
NEW DELHI  
"We were peacefully sitting inside the library and studying. We were not even protesting outside. I don't know why they hit us," said Taj Mohammed (23), second year student of Masters in Islamic Studies as he lay on the bed at Al Shifa Hospital.

Recalling the incident when police entered the Jamia Millia Islamia campus here on Sunday evening, the native of Uttar Pradesh said that though holidays had been declared, he hadn't gone home as he was preparing for his National Eligibility Test examination and goes to the library to study.

"It was around 6-6.30 p.m. when police entered forcibly. As soon as they entered, they started abusing us. They had sticks in their hands and were wearing helmets and jackets. They threw our books. My mobile phone was on the table, a cop took it and broke it," he said.

Next, as he recalled, he was hit on his head and back with a stick after which he lay semi-conscious on the floor. He was taken to the Holy Family Hospital by a group



Broken door and windows of the library at Jamia Millia Islamia; (above) abandoned bags of university students. • R.V. MOORTHY

of students. In the morning, he was shifted to the Al Shifa Hospital where he underwent treatment and was later discharged.

A female student who didn't wish to be identified said: "I'll never forget it. Police didn't care whether it was male or female. They charged at us with sticks. I hid under a table and made a short video but within se-

conds, a cop saw us and pulled out a male friend hiding next to me."

Zaful Islam, a research scholar, said: "We requested them to not use force on us but they did not listen."

Malik Mahmood, final year student of Masters in Islamic Studies, was at the old library sitting and studying. As police entered, he ran out to save himself, he recalled.

But within minutes, police officials caught hold of him while he was helping his friend. "I wasn't protesting on Sunday. Police threw tear gas shells inside the library building. I ran outside as they entered. They hit my friend and I was helping him when they hit me as well," he said while a doctor at Al Shifa Hospital took a look at his swollen back.

Standing next to him was his friend Amir Fahad who claimed that a blind friend of his who was also inside the library pleaded with cops and told them that he was blind but they abused him.

The injured also included Jamia school students, 17-year-old Mustafeez Mumtaz and 18-year-old Shahzeb who nursed their wounds at the hospital.

Inzamam Ul Haq (21), student of Development Communication, recalled how stayed inside the washroom next to the library and drank water from the taps after being lathi-charged. Carrying

salt in the jacket of his pockets which he wore on Sunday and continued to wear on Monday, he said, "My eyes hurt. I didn't feel like a student yesterday. I was made to feel like a criminal".

## Scene of mayhem

The new library inside the University, on Monday, was a testimony to the mayhem on Sunday. The bags of students, papers and books which were lying on the table remained as it is.

The blue coloured plastic chairs were spread haywire and upside down. The glasses, broken.

# In Jamia, entering a library is a first for the police

'Mob' violence cannot justify police brutality. In any democracy, a uniformed force must be an accountable one

**AMIT BARUAH**  
NEW DELHI

any bystander.

The scenes of police personnel barging into the library of a university, beating students and firing tear-gas shells inside an enclosed space are quite unprecedented. So are pictures of two students lying injured inside a toilet.

Overnight scenes of police brutality in and around Jamia Millia Islamia, which have been captured by journalists and protesters alike, cannot be justified on the grounds that "mobs" indulged in violence. The onus is always on law enforcement authorities to use minimum force.

## Police versus protesters

In any democratic polity, where the rule of law applies, a uniformed force must be accountable for its actions. The police are supposed to be trained for dealing with provocations; they are not supposed to lash out in anger against students inside a library or outside a house.

The burning of buses or destruction of public property is abhorrent, but so are the scenes of uniformed policemen beating student protesters.

The pictures of nearly a dozen lathi-wielding policemen hitting a male student being defended by a group of women students of Jamia has gone viral. Though Delhi has been no stranger to such kinds of violence, what has happened in Jamia is quite unprecedented.

It's not as if Delhi Police or its Special Branch would have been unaware of the mood of people, especially Muslims, in the wake of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act being passed by Parliament. For instance, after Friday prayers, thousands of Muslims marched towards Barakhamba Road / Tolstoy Marg.

The anger was visible to

**Contrasting approaches**  
Unlike JNU Vice-Chancellor Mamidala Jagadeesh Kumar, who has been locked in a protracted confrontation with his students and union leadership, Jamia Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar came out openly against what she called atrocities against her students.

In a video message, she said that the police entry into the Jamia campus and beating up students studying in the university library was "totally not acceptable" to her.

"I want to tell my students that they are not alone in this difficult moment," Ms. Akhtar added.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Addressing a press conference on Monday, the Vice-Chancellor also made it clear that the university would register an FIR about police entry into the Jamia campus and a high-level inquiry into how it happened. Ms. Akhtar pointed out while 10,000 people were marching outside Jamia, the police came after 10 persons into the campus.

A point of interest is that while the Jamia Vice-Chancellor, appointed by the BJP government earlier this year, has come out openly against the police entry into her university, Aligarh Muslim University Vice-Chancellor Tariq Mansoor went on record to say on Monday that he had called the police to the AMU campus to deal with antisocial elements.

The issue of police entry into a university campus has always been a difficult one. So far, the police would only enter a university campus with prior permission.

With the Vice-Chancellor going on record, it's clear that this did not happen in the case of Jamia.

# Do not club all violence under 'Jamia', says V-C

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT**  
NEW DELHI

Jamia Millia Islamia Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar requested the media to not club all the violence that happened in the area on Sunday under the name "Jamia" as it was hurting the reputation of the university.

"Any incident that happened in the area... the name Jamia is being used. There are many areas surrounding the university, which are not in our control and because of this we are being dragged in," the Vice-Chancellor said.

## 'Psyche harmed'

A special meeting of the Jamia Millia Islamia Executive Council (EC) was held on Monday where it took strong exception to the entry of the police into the campus without permission. The EC expressed se-

**There are many areas surrounding the university, which are not in our control... because of this we are being dragged in**

**NAJMA AKHTAR**  
Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia

rious concern over police action that "irreparably harmed the psyche of the students, besides destruction of valuable property and infrastructure that takes years to build".

The V-C clarified that students staying in the university hostels were not being forcibly evicted following declaration of winter vacation. "Rather, they have been advised to proceed to their hometowns. The hostel administration is geared up to facilitate the residents for their travel," she said.

# JMI students from J&K leaving city

Hosteller says many residents hid in washroom as violence erupted on campus

**HEMANI BHANDARI**  
NEW DELHI

Rutba Aalee (20), a Political Science student who resides in the Jammu and Kashmir Girls' Hostel in Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI), waited outside the campus for her cab to Noida. She feels unsafe at the university. "The proctor had come and assured us that we are the responsibility of the authorities... the students that were trapped and attacked inside the library were also the responsibility of the authority and they could not protect them," she said.

Rutba did not step out of the hostel on Sunday and watched the events unfold from inside the campus.

The women in her hostel had locked themselves in the washroom and cried out of fear. Rutba kept receiving updates on her class WhatsApp group. In the afternoon, she



Jamia Millia Islamia students leaving the campus on Monday. • R.V. MOORTHY

learnt that a bus had been torched. Soon after, they got to know that the police had entered the university and students were being thrashed.

"We could see the smoke from the tear gas shells. We could hear students and police shouting and screaming. Subsequently, a huge group of boys came to our hostel to take refuge. Many of them

were injured. We called in all the girls studying medicine to give them first aid," she said, adding that the students thought that since they were at a girls' hostel, the police would not come close.

There were a few who were severely injured and the ambulance came to take them, she said, adding: "We were all frightened and all we could do

was to calm each other down."

Rutba's parents back home in Kashmir saw the news on TV and called her to enquire whether she was okay. "For me, none of this is new... I have seen all this before, so I was okay, said Rutba who was among many students who left the campus on Monday fearing for their safety.

# 'Two men admitted with gunshot injuries'

They were allegedly at JMI protest

**PRESS TRUST OF INDIA**  
NEW DELHI

Two men who were apparently part of the demonstration by Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) students on Sunday have been admitted to Safdarjung Hospital with "gunshot injuries", sources said on Monday.

The father of one of the men, Sohaib Khan (23), said his son was not part of the protest but was passing by

when he was hit by a "pellet". "He underwent surgery last night and was shifted to a ward," Mohammad Arshad said, adding that Sohaib was a 4th-year B.Tech student at Jamia Hamdard.

Ajaz (22), who suffered gunshot injury on his chest allegedly at the protest site, is also undergoing treatment. The Delhi Police has, however, denied firing at protesters during the clash.



People stop to take a look at a bus that was gutted during the violence on Sunday. • PTI

# Locals condemn destruction of property, violence by protesters

Many are worried that things may escalate further

**STAFF REPORTER**  
NEW DELHI

People living near Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI), which saw police and protesters clash on Sunday, condemned the violence and said they were concerned about the future of the locality.

"We are worried that things may escalate further," said Punit Sharma, who along with his friends was playing Volleyball at a park in the area when the clashes broke out.

"We hid our bikes so that they would not be damaged... you never know what could happen in such a situation" said his brother Nitin Sharma.

"People in this area support the right to protest. But for it to turn violent like this... burning buses and

breaking vehicles... that is just wrong," he added.

Jagdish (name changed), in front of whose house a bus was set on fire on Sunday, questioned the logic behind allowing protesters to come up to Mathura Road.

"For the last few days the protests were happening near Jamia and there was some violence happening there. Who then thought it would be a good idea to let them come all the way here," he asked. Jagdish was out for a stroll when he saw protesters running towards him, and had to rush back home.

"These people have every right to carry out a protest but destruction of property was uncalled for," he added.

He agreed that opposition to the amended Citizenship Act was legitimate. "The

blood we bleed is the same," he said, asking to remain anonymous.

"I was sitting in my room when my driver came in telling me to stay put. By that time they had taken his bike and set it on fire," said Mamata (name changed), a resident of New Friends Colony. The remains of the two-wheeler lay under a torched bus in front of her house.

Angry with the protesters, she said: "They did not fulfil their responsibility as citizens."

People were seen taking pictures of the gutted remains of buses on Mata Mandir Road. Some even stepped inside to take selfies.

Nearby shops, many of which had shut early on Sunday in anticipation of the rally, were open on Monday.



The agitation continues



Marching on: Students protest against the amended Citizenship Act at Jamia Millia Islamia in New Delhi on Monday. ■ R.V. MOORTHY



Protest spreads to DU, students boycott exams

Demonstrators say police lathi-charged them

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

A day after violence at Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI), protests spread to Delhi University (DU) where students demonstrated against the amended Citizenship Act and tried to enforce a strike and boycott the ongoing semester examinations.

Several students claimed that police and paramilitary personnel lathi-charged demonstrators who were "protesting peacefully".

Condemning the incident, Delhi University Students' Union (DUSU) president Akshir Dahiya said: "It is my duty to help the students who are appearing for the exams if they are stopped from doing so. We reject any lockdown call for DU and I reach out to all students to appear for exams without fear."

Later in the day, student groups, including the National Students' Union of India (NSUI), All India Students' Association (AISA) and Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad (ABVP) held demonstrations outside the Arts Faculty. Protesters claimed that



All India Students' Association members protest against police action at Jamia Millia Islamia, on Delhi University campus on Monday. ■ PTI

students from opposing ideologies assaulted each other despite heavy police deployment.

"The demonstration was meant to be peaceful... the police were seen backing the ABVP and they manhandled other students. Several students were also detained but those from the ABVP were spared," said Rishi, an MA student.

DU student Surbhi Jaiswal said, "We had gathered

here to protest against the recently passed Citizenship Act, and against the brutal manner in which students were attacked by the police on Sunday. Unfortunately, members of a certain group decided to dilute the issue and turn it into a clash between ideologies."

The Delhi Police, however, maintained that the force was deployed to maintain law and order and no students were detained.

Police launch drive to track down 'rumour mongers'

Spokesperson says that action will only be taken against those involved in illegal activities

SAURABH TRIVEDI  
NEW DELHI

The police have launched a massive identification drive, on the ground as well as on social media, to round up alleged perpetrators of violence that erupted in south-east Delhi on Sunday when protesters opposing the amended Citizenship Act clashed with the police.

Delhi Police spokesperson M.S. Randhawa said they are in the process of

identifying WhatsApp groups and other social media platforms that "fuelled violence by posting unverified videos and pictures".

Instigated violence

Our investigations have found that rumours like death of students, injuries due to police firing, buses being set alight by policemen, sharing visuals of Patna and Aligarh as happening in Jamia Millia Islamia, insti-

gated the violence and created an insecure atmosphere in the city, he added.

"A team of police personnel supervised by a senior police officer is scanning social media platforms to identify rumour mongers. The police will file a separate FIR under Sections of IT Act," said the spokesperson.

"We are continuously monitoring social media platforms as rumours are

being circulated widely from verified handles. The Delhi Police urges people to not believe rumours and request children, especially students, to not be afraid," he added.

The spokesperson said that action will only be taken against those involved in illegal activities. "We have to identify those involved in the incident, and action will be taken only against them," Mr. Randhawa added.

One video that went viral was of a policeman pouring some liquid inside a bus. "The video claimed that police personnel were seen setting vehicles on fire... The policeman were trying to put out a minor fire caused by the protesters. The timely response of the policeman saved the bus from being burnt down... we can share the numbers of the bus... it is in the workshop now," he said.

AAP, Congress using students for political gains, says BJP

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

The Delhi BJP on Monday accused Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal, his deputy Manish Sisodia and AAP Okhla MLA Amanatullah Khan of being part of a conspiracy "to spread violence" in the Capital. A BJP delegation met the Delhi Police Commissioner to demand stern action against those guilty of rioting in south-east Delhi on Sunday. It alleged that AAP and the Congress were "using the students for their political gain".

"We strongly condemn the violent protests against the amended Citizenship Act on Sunday," Delhi BJP chief Manoj Tiwari said.

Arvind Kejriwal seeks meeting with Shah

'Worried about law and order situation'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal on Monday said he had sought time from Union Home Minister Amit Shah to discuss the law and order situation in the Capital.

Mr. Kejriwal had on Sunday appealed to protesting students to ensure that their protests were peaceful. He had also urged Lieutenant-Governor Anil Bajjal to take "all steps to restore normalcy and peace" in the city.

Taking to Twitter over the issue on Monday, Mr. Kejriwal said: "I am very worried about the deteriorating law and order in Delhi. Peace should be restored immediately in Delhi - for this, I

have asked Home Minister Amit Shah for an appointment."

On Sunday, the CM had said that any kind of violence was unacceptable and protests should remain peaceful. "No one should indulge in violence. Any kind of violence is unacceptable. Protests should remain peaceful [sic.]," he had tweeted.

Senior AAP leader Sanjay Singh said, "We appeal to the people to not indulge in any violence, and raise their voice in a democratic manner. We condemn the violence by the Delhi Police in Jamia. This is the trend followed since Amit Shah became the Home Minister," Mr. Singh said.

AAP seeks independent probe into 'violence' inside JMI

Party says no clash at protest held by MLA Amanatullah Khan

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) on Monday demanded an independent probe into the "violence" that took place inside Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) on Sunday. It also said that the BJP was doing "dirty" politics in Delhi as they fear defeat in the upcoming Assembly elections.

"AAP is completely against any kind of violence. Whoever has indulged in, and instigated, the violence [on Sunday] must be punished after a thorough and independent probe," AAP Delhi convener Gopal Rai said at a press conference.

Referring to Sunday's protests which turned vio-

Whoever indulged in violence [on Sunday] must be punished after a thorough probe

GOPAL RAI  
AAP Delhi convener

lent, Mr. Rai said that there were no clashes at the protest carried out by AAP MLA Amanatullah Khan.

"On Sunday, there were two protests in Okhla. In the first, locals and the legislator participated, but no violence occurred. The second protest in JMI saw the police enter the campus without the permission of the Vice-Chancellor or the Proctor... they used tear gas, and lathi-charged students in the li-

brary. The AAP demands an independent inquiry into this unwanted violence inside the university, and the guilty should be punished," he added.

AAP MP Sanjay Singh said that a thorough inquiry is required to find out who burnt the buses on Sunday. He added that the BJP's role in the entire incident also needs to be exposed. "Ever since Amit Shah took over as Home Minister, the Delhi Police has been resorting to extreme brutalities on lawyers, students, farmers, differently abled persons and even women," he said, adding: "The AAP strongly condemns brutal police action against JMI students."

Nuh residents condemn 'police brutality'

To hold another protest on Dec. 18

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NUH

Hundreds of people, including students, gathered at Badkali Chowk here on Monday to protest against police action on Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) students in Delhi, and the amended Citizenship Act.

Holding placards opposing the Act as well as the National Register of Citizens (NRC), people from across the district gathered at the chowk around 4 p.m. and held a protest for over an hour. Many of them held tricolours and raised slogans in support of the JMI and Aligarh Muslim University students.

Workers of Mewat Vikas Sabha (MVS), Mewat RTI

Manch, and Nagina government college student leader Afzal Jalapur were present.

MVS chief Salamuddin, an advocate, said there was strong resentment among the people of Nuh against the amended Citizenship Act, the NRC and the police brutality on university students.

"The action of the police against the students shows that the present regime can go to any extent to suppress the voice of the masses. Police brutality as seen on Sunday is unprecedented in a democracy," he said.

A protest will be held in Nuh on December 18 on the issue, and a 'Mashal March' will be organised till Ghasera village, also called Gandhi Gaon, he added.

SC gives three months for pilot project on smog tower

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Monday gave three months' time to the Centre and Delhi government for the pilot project of setting up a 'smog tower' at Connaught Place here to deal with the problem of air pollution, while brushing aside their request seeking nine months for the same.

"You cannot take that much time [eight to nine months]. We do not want to waste one more year," a Bench of Justices Arun Mishra and Deepak Gupta said. Additional Solicitor General A.N.S. Nadkarni, appearing for the Centre, told the apex court that they have filed an affidavit in this regard.

"How much time do you want for implementation of the pilot project [on smog tower]?" the Bench asked. Mr. Nadkarni said minimum five-six months would be needed for setting up of the smog tower under the pilot project.

The Bench also interacted with an IIT professor, who is associated with the high-level committee which is examining the feasibility of using technology like smog towers to combat pollution. When the IIT expert said that pilot project here would be completed by August or September next year, the Bench said, "Can't it be done in two or three months?"

Fight against pollution: painting roads, lasers among options

A high-level panel in its report to SC suggests several pilot projects

NIKHIL M BABU  
NEW DELHI

Painting roads with photocatalytic coating to clean air, using anti-smog guns at construction sites to reduce dust pollution and setting up of a 20 metre-high 'smog tower' with air purifiers are among the pilot projects suggested by a High Level Committee (HLC) to the Supreme Court to control air pollution in Delhi and NCR, said officials.

"In the report submitted to the Supreme Court on Thursday, the HLC also recommended using of wireless sensors and laser methods for monitoring pollution," a senior official told *The Hindu*.

On November 25, the Supreme Court had directed to form the HLC and look into the feasibility of these technologies to control and monitor pollution. The HLC has members from Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB), Delhi Pollution Control Committee (DPCC), NEERI, professors from IIT-Delhi, IIT-Kanpur and heads of environmental departments of Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

Painting roads

There are companies that develop photocatalytic paints, which can remove pollutants from the air in the presence of sunlight and ultraviolet (UV) rays. "It can



A foreign tourist wearing a mask while touring Old Delhi. ■ SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

official said. Such products have been used by Dubai municipality in parks and also in Mexico.

Smog tower

The HLC has also suggested that a pilot project of "smog tower", as suggested by an expert panel of IIT-Delhi, IIT-Bombay and Department of Science and Technology, may be taken up.

A panel from IIT-Bombay and IIT-Delhi in association with the University of Minnesota had proposed a 20 metre-high smog tower. The proposal had stated that 65% reduction in pollution can be achieved on an average up to 700 metres from the tower. It is expected to influence air quality of more than 1 km in the downwind direction, according to officials.

Anti-smog gun

Anti-smog gun is a device that sprays nebulised water droplets into the air through high pressure propellers, which help particles to settle down.

"The committee, based on the finding of a study by the CPCB and DPCC, informed the court that anti-smog guns may be effective in controlling localised dust during the period of application and more suitable to high dust emission zones such as large construction sites," the official said.

FASTag fallout: Kherki toll plaza witnesses 2-km-long traffic snarls

Staff had to lift booms more than 2 dozen times to clear congestion

ASHOK KUMAR  
GURUGRAM

Around two-km-long traffic snarls were caused on both sides of the Kherki Daula toll plaza during rush hours on Monday after the dedicated FASTag lanes order was rolled out a day ago. The toll management authority had to lift booms more than two dozen times during the day to clear the congestion resulting in revenue loss.

As expected, long traffic snarls were witnessed all through the day at Kherki Daula toll plaza with 19 of the total 25 lanes reserved for vehicles fitted with FASTags. But the situation worsened during the rush hours with



Long traffic snarls were witnessed all through the day at Kherki Daula toll plaza on Monday as expected. ■ ASHOK KUMAR

the vehicles queued up to two km on both sides.

"Since around two third of the motorists passing through the toll are cash users, it is bound to happen. It is causing a lot of harassment to commuters. To avoid in-

convenience to them, we had to lift the booms for around 25 times during the day. Usually, we do so only 1-2 times a day," said Rajendra Singh Bhati, Project Head of Skylark, the company that operates the toll.

Online portal for regularisation of unauthorised colonies launched

Over 8,300 applications seeking ownership rights received: Puri

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

Union Minister Hardeep Singh Puri and Lieutenant Governor Anil Bajjal on Monday formally launched the Delhi Development Authority's (DDA) online portal where residents of unauthorised colonies can register and upload documents for verification for getting ownership rights.

"Delineation of boundaries of unauthorised colonies

and mapping thereof has been taken up on a war footing. Out of 1,731 unauthorised colonies, more than 1,500 maps of colonies have already been delineated and more than 1,100 maps have already been uploaded on the portal," said Mr. Puri.

Mr. Puri also added that over 8,300 applications were received on the portal seeking grant of ownership rights. "Directions have been given to the DDA to expedite

the process," Mr. Puri said.

Foundation stones laid

Meanwhile, Mr. Puri, Mr. Bajjal along with DDA Vice-Chairman Tarun Kapoor and Leader of Opposition in the Delhi Assembly Vijender Gupta laid the foundation stones for several projects in Rohini. The projects, include a socio-cultural centre, sports complex, utsav pandal and seamless synthetic rubberised flooring in parks.

Air quality of Delhi-NCR			
Delhi	213	Gurgaon	157
Ghaziabad	259	Faridabad	201
Noida	237	Greater Noida	236
Good	0-50	Satisfactory	51-100
Moderate	101-200	Poor	201-300
Very poor	301-400	Severe	>401

AIR QUALITY INDEX AT 4 P.M. YESTERDAY (AVERAGE OF PAST 24 HOURS) | SOURCE: CPCB

DELHI TODAY

**Talk:** Prof. Mushirul Hasan Memorial Lecture 2019: Lecture on "Freedom & Sons Ltd. - The enterprise of free speech in a market of control" by Gopalakrishna Gandhi, former Governor of West Bengal, Distinguished Professor of History and Politics, Ashoka University. A book titled "Mushirul Hasan - An Intellectual and Institutional Journey", edited by Hari Vasudevan and Suranjana Das will be released on the occasion at C.D. Deshmukh Auditorium, India International Centre (IIC), 6.30 p.m.

**Exhibition:** "Bronze - Single Edition", a solo exhibition of sculpture by Tapas Sarkar at Chawla Art Gallery, Square One Mall, Saket, 11 a.m. - 7 p.m.

**Screening:** A mini festival of Israeli films will feature screening of Zero Motivation, a Hebrew film directed by Talya Lavie at Gulmohar Hall, India Habitat Centre (IHC), 7 p.m.

**Screening:** Alliance Française de Delhi - Ciné-Club will screen Cherchez la Femme, a French film with English subtitles at M.L. Bhartia Auditorium, Alliance Française de Delhi, 72, Lodhi Estate, 10 a.m.

(Mail your listings for this column at cityeditor@thehindu.co.in)



**Timings DELHI**

**TUESDAY, DEC. 17**  
RISE 07:07 SET 17:27  
RISE 22:45 SET 11:25

**WEDNESDAY, DEC. 18**  
RISE 07:08 SET 17:28  
RISE 23:49 SET 12:06

**THURSDAY, DEC. 19**  
RISE 07:08 SET 17:28  
RISE 00:00 SET 12:44

**Delhi Weather**

	max	min
Delhi City	13	10
Safdarjang	13	10
Palam	12	10

**Delhi Palam Today**  
16°C Moderate fog in parts with cool morning to persist. A cold day with partly cloudy sky.

**Delhi Palam Tomorrow**  
18°C Shallow fog/mist in the morning. A partly cloudy sky and a comfortable day.

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**THE HINDU**  
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# Protests against CAA spread to Lucknow

Seminary students try to take out march, police block gate

OMAR RASHID  
LUCKNOW

The protests against the amended Citizenship Act spread to Lucknow as students of the Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema seminary here gathered in large numbers on Monday morning and tried to lead a protest march.

However, police closed the gate of the seminary and did not allow the students, who raised slogans in solidarity with the protesting students of Jamia Millia Islamia University, to lead the march.

## 'Stones pelted'

Once the gate was closed, the protesters allegedly pelted stones, bricks and slippers at the police force stationed outside the gate, for a brief moment, police said.

"The situation is now under control. All students have been sent back in," said



Policemen locking the gates of Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulema seminary in Lucknow on Monday. • PTI

Lucknow District Magistrate Abhishek Prakash.

Mr. Prakash said around 200-250 students had gathered to lead a protest in the morning. Once the main gate was closed, some stones from the pots inside were pelted once all of them were back in. None was injured, said the District Magistrate, adding that the stu-

dents have gone back to their hostels and classes.

SSP Lucknow Kalanidhi Naithani said the police used restraint to push back the students. For a brief moment, 35-40 seconds, some bricks and stones were thrown from inside, he said. The situation was brought under control in a short time, he added.

# Protest turns violent in U.P.'s Mau

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
LUCKNOW

Protests against the amended Citizenship Act turned violent in Mau district on Monday following which the administration imposed prohibitory orders under Section 144 in the affected areas.

Restrictions have also been imposed on Internet services, said District Magistrate Mau Gyan Prakash Tripathi who stated that a person had instigated the youth to gather on the streets for protest.

## Police lathi-charge

While the protesters in the Mirza Hadipura area allegedly pelted stones at the police and torched three to four vehicles parked near the Dakshintola police station, the police resorted to lathi-charge and fired tear gas shells to disperse the crowd.

Some shots were also fired in the air, as per footage of the incident being shared on social media.

# At least 100 students injured in clash with police at AMU

Their protest was in solidarity with Jamia Millia students

ANUJ KUMAR  
ALIGARH

Police entered the Aligarh Muslim University campus on Sunday evening after a clash broke out between students and the police. At least 100 students were injured, six of them seriously, as PAC and RAF and the U.P. police lathi-charged and showered tear gas shells on the students

According to local sources, around 7.30 p.m. students came out of the Sir Syed Gate in solidarity with the Jamia Millia students.

A woman student of the law faculty said that RAF jawans used "abusive language and religious slurs" against them. "I was trying to make a video with my friend but they charged at us," she alleged.

Sources said it was a sudden surge as the Students' Union had just planned to issue a statement. The students have been protesting

against the Act since last Sunday at the Sir Syed Gate.

Proctor Afifullah Khan said his proctorial team got injured in trying to stop the students. According to an eyewitness, the police fired tear gas shells and managed to disperse the students for a while. "But they returned with salt and buckets," said a student. Then stones were hurled at the police, injuring many police personnel, including some senior officers. The police responded in kind.

"After that, the police entered the campus, and lathi-charged the students and broke their vehicles," said a source. "They entered the Sir Syed Hall (North) and Morisson Hall and beat up the students." A student alleged that the university administration was nowhere to be seen. "The Vice Chancellor has yet to make a statement," said a student.

Kashmiri students protest-

ed that they were asked to vacate hostels. "Flight tickets are too expensive and the roads are blocked because of bad weather. How will we go," asked a Kashmiri student.

AMU Students' Union strongly condemned the action against the students of JMI and AMU. "We believe that the police repression was conveyed by the PM in his speech wherein he associated the protests with a specific dress code. The PM wanted to communalise the protests being held by people of all faiths and different political affiliations," said Salman Imtiaz, president of the outgoing AMUSU, who was also hit during the clash.

SP (City) Abhishek said around 1,500 students broke the Sir Syed Gate on Sunday evening and started pelting stones on policemen. Around 30 policemen, including Aligarh DIG Preetinder Singh, were injured.

# AGP to challenge Citizenship Act in SC

'Indigenous people are apprehensive that their identity might come under threat'

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
GUWAHATI

Demanding exclusion of the Brahmaputra valley from the purview of the Citizenship Act, ruling BJP's ally, the Asom Gana Parishad, had on Sunday announced to challenge the law in the Supreme Court after it faced the ire of some party leaders and grassroots level workers.

AGP president and Assam Minister Atul Bora said the Brahmaputra valley should be excluded from the purview of the law and it may be implemented in the Barak valley. "We will take the legal route to seek revocation of the Act as the indigenous people of Assam are apprehensive that their identity, language might come under threat," AGP leader Kumar Deepak Das said.



AGP president Atul Bora. • FILE PHOTO

A party delegation, led by Mr. Das, will leave for New Delhi to file the plea in the apex court as the PILs seeking revocation of the Act are scheduled to be taken up for hearing on December 18.

## 'Maintain calm'

Mr. Das, a former Rajya Sabha MP, appealed to party workers to maintain calm as the AGP "respects the sentiments of the people and we

will never go against their hopes and aspirations".

AGP leader and Minister Keshab Mahanta said the party has not left its "old stand" of opposing the Act. "Though we are a part of the NDA, our stand has not changed. We still do not want this Act to be implemented in Assam and the Northeast," he added.

The regional party's lone MP in the Rajya Sabha, Birendra Prasad Baishya, had opposed the Bill in Parliament, but later voted in favour of it. After that, the party has been termed "traitor" and is facing severe criticism across the State with its leaders being boycotted from public events.

Dissidence has been brewing in the AGP after Mr. Bora said if the Centre "wants to

bring the Bill, he cannot do anything about it".

Former Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta has said that the party had never taken a resolution supporting the Act and urged the leadership to clear the party's stand on the issue.

## 'Not the party's stand'

"We cannot go against the interests of the indigenous people, and the views expressed by Mr. Bora were his personal and not the stand of the party," Mr. Mahanta claimed.

Party MLA Brindaban Goswami has also been critical of the party leadership and had said "what is the point of filing a petition against the Act now after the party MP voted in its favour".

# AMU students worry about their future

'The protests will continue,' says one of the injured lying in JN Medical College

ANUJ KUMAR  
ALIGARH

"When I regained consciousness, the first thing I asked the doctor was the time," muttered Rashid Khan, a first-year student of History, one of the four admitted to the Emergency ward of Jawaharlal Nehru Medical College after the "bloody" clash with the police on Sunday over the police action in Jamia and the amended Citizenship Act.

He only has a faint memory of being hit by a stone hurled by a policeman on the left side of his forehead. As he had an exam of Modern History scheduled at 11 a.m, he was relieved to know that it has been postponed and that the university has shut down till January. "But the protest would continue...I will protest in my Araria [his native town in Bihar]," he said. "Nit-



Police personnel on AMU campus on Sunday night. • PTI

ish Kumar has said we should start collecting the documents."

He said the protest started after news of police action in Jamia percolated to the AMU. "We are like *bhai-behen*. We have to stand for each other."

Naved did his Alim course from Deoband before doing a bridge course to become eligible for graduation. "I wanted to join the Civil Services but now I have doubts about my

future in India," said Naved.

## 'Possible haemorrhage'

"There is a sharp laceration that confirms that he was hit by a sharp object. There were chances of subdural haemorrhage. We considered surgery but right now he is being put on conservative medication," said Dr. Sathark, the senior resident who is treating him.

On a bed perpendicular to him was lying Tabrez, who had slept after a long and difficult night. "He has internal injuries in the stomach. He has been hit by a blunt object," said Dr. Sathark. The doctor said it was pretty clear that the Act was targeting a particular community but one should also respect the line drawn by the administration. "There are different ways to show solidarity.

When the clash happened, we all gathered to provide relief. Around 125 students were hit. Most of them had minor injuries and were discharged after an hour. Four are serious and are being monitored," said Dr. Sathark.

In the plastic surgery ward, Sajid is waiting for his friend Rizwan to wake up after the plastic surgery performed on his hand. "He was trying to throw away tear gas shells. One of them burst in his hand. The doctors have tried to reconstruct his hand," said Sajid, with tears rolling down his cheeks.

"Mr Modi fills me with both anger and fear. What have we done wrong? Why are we being targeted," he asked.

(The names of the students have been changed on request.)

# High Court annuls election of Azam Khan's son as MLA

'Was underage and not qualified to fight poll in 2017'

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
ALLAHABAD

In a jolt to Rampur MP Azam Khan, the Allahabad High Court on Monday annulled the election of senior SP leader's son Abdullah Khan as an Uttar Pradesh MLA on the ground that he was underage and not qualified to fight the poll in 2017.

A Bench of Justice S.P. Kesarwani declared the election of the junior Khan from the Suar Assembly segment null and void on a plea by the defeated BSP candidate, Nawab Kazim Ali Khan.

Allowing Kazim Khan's election petition, the Bench ruled that Abdullah Khan was not qualified to contest the election of the Legislative Assembly as he had not yet turned 25 when he filed the nomination papers for



Suar MLA Mohammad Abdullah Azam Khan •

the election in 2017.

In his election petition against Abdullah Khan, Kazim Khan had contended that the elected MLA's actual date of birth was January 1, 1993 and not September 30, 1990, as claimed in the nomination paper.

Accordingly, he was yet to reach 25 years of age to become eligible to fight the election, when he filed the nomination papers on Janu-

ary 25, 2017, Kazim Khan had contended.

Kazim Khan had further pointed out in his petition that educational certificates, passport and visa of Abdullah Khan mentioned January 1, 1993 as his date of birth. But in his nomination papers, Abdullah Khan had mentioned September 30, 1990 as his birth date on the basis of a certificate from Lucknow's Birth and Death registrar.

## Mother's service record

The Bench unseated the Suar MLA after examining the entire facts as borne out of various documents, including the service record of Abdullah Khan's mother. It too had mentioned January 1, 1993 as his date of birth.

# Physically challenged voters score high

Over 92% cast votes in Jharkhand poll

SATYASUNDAR BARIK  
DHANBAD (JHARKHAND)

At a time when the ongoing Jharkhand Assembly election is registering a drop in voters turnout compared to 2014 elections, 92.43% physically challenged electorates exercised their franchise in the penultimate phase on Monday.

"In the fourth phase elections held across 15 Assembly constituencies in four districts, the number of physically challenged voters in the electoral roll was 64,318. It is heartening to note that 92.43% voters could cast their votes," Jharkhand's Chief Electoral Officer Vinay Choubey said.

"We had made special arrangements for physically challenged voters for casting their votes. As many as 4,039 volunteers were deployed to

assist these voters and 2,504 wheel chairs were kept ready at different polling booths. The administration also provided 3,432 vehicles to transport them to booths and take them back to their homes," said Mr. Choubey

The fourth phase voting registered a turnout 62.54% — a drop of 2.12% from 64.66% polling recorded in 2014 elections. The Jharkhand CEO said the poll passed off peacefully without any incident of violence.

Highest 74.50% votes were polled in Chandankyari Assembly constituency in Bokaro district. "We have noticed that voter turnout in urban centres is lower in comparison to rural areas. In Dhanbad, 52.69% poll percentage — down by 6.5% — was recorded," Mr. Choubey said.

# Odisha villagers resolve to oppose new steel plant

Land was acquired for POSCO project

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BHUBANESWAR

Hundreds of villagers from three gram panchayats of Odisha's Jagatsinghpur district on Monday unanimously resolved to strongly oppose the proposed steel project of JSW Utkal Steel Limited on the land that was previously acquired for the POSCO project.

Several leaders from different political parties as well as prominent environ-

mental activists joined the meeting to lend their support to the agitating villagers who have come under the banner of Jindal Prati-rodh Sangram Samiti to oppose the venture.

It was decided that the villagers who were to be affected by the steel project would oppose the public hearing for the project that the administration is scheduled to organise in the area on December 20.





## IN BRIEF


**Wild elephant electrocuted in Mandya**  
MANDYA

A wild elephant died of electrocution in Mandya district near Malavalli of Karnataka. The tusker, aged about 10, was found dead at an agricultural field, said the forest and police officials. According to officials, the tusker that probably came from the Cauvery Wildlife Sanctuary in search of food, probably five days back, and came in contact with live cables illegally erected around the farmland.

**Minor commits suicide, two arrested**  
NARSAPURAM

A Class IX student, who was sexually assaulted by a youth, allegedly committed suicide by consuming pesticide in West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. The police arrested the suspects, Manikala Raju and Mamilla Subramanyam, on Monday. According to the police, Raju reportedly sexually assaulted the 14-year-old girl a couple of days ago. The victim conveyed the incident to her friend Subramanyam, who reprimanded her, after which she consumed soft drink laced with pesticide.

## Left and Cong. unite in Kerala against 'discriminative' CAA

CM, Leader of Opposition join galaxy of Ministers, leaders and heads of NGOs

STAFF REPORTER  
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

In a rare bipartisan coming together of political forces against the Centre, the Left Democratic Front (LDF) government on Monday joined hands with the Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) Opposition to protest against the enactment of the recently legislated Citizenship (Amendment) Act.

Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan and Leader of the Opposition Ramesh Chennithala joined a galaxy of Ministers, political leaders and heads of social organisations to condemn the Bharatiya Janata Party-sponsored law as patently unconstitutional and particularly discriminative against Muslim refugees and migrants aspiring for Indian citizenship.

Mr. Vijayan stood his ground on the State's refusal to implement the CAA and the National Register of Citizens (NRC). He alleged that the Centre aspired to lead the country through a descent into theocracy by fixing religion as the criterion for citizenship. None of the earlier amendments introduced



**Joint fight:** Kerala CM Pinarayi Vijayan welcoming All India Jamiyyathul Ulama leader Kanthapuram A.P. Aboobacker Musliar at the protest in Thiruvananthapuram on Monday. Opposition Leader Ramesh Chennithala and Minister Chandrasekharan look on. • S. GOPAKUMAR

to the Citizenship Act, 1955 had sought to differentiate people on the basis of their faith and deny their fundamental rights, he said. The new law denied Muslims the opportunity available to people of other religions to attain citizenship through a process of naturalisation.

Mr. Vijayan also questioned the rationale behind excluding suppressed minorities from Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Nepal,

countries with which India shared land and maritime borders.

"While the legislation has included Afghanistan, with which the country did not share a border, the Centre has deliberately refused to consider the long-standing demand of 73,000-odd Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka and the numerous Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar to grant them citizenship," he said.

### Today's hartal unlawful: police

The police have declared as "unlawful" the hartal called by the Social Democratic Party of India and allied groups in Kerala on Tuesday. State Police Chief Loknath Behera said the SC had ruled that no party could call a general strike without prior notice of seven days.

## Siddaramaiah, Dinesh likely to continue in posts

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

After Karnataka Congress leaders Siddaramaiah and Dinesh Gundu Rao tendered their resignations from the posts of Leader of the Opposition and KPCC president respectively after the bypoll rout, several Congress leaders are camping in the national capital and lobbying to grab the posts, though the

party high command is expected to ask both leaders to continue in their posts.

#### Capital visit

Leaders such as K.H. Muniyappa, H.K. Patil, D.K. Shivakumar, B.K. Hariprasad, S.R. Patil, Eshwar Khandre and Mallikajun Kharge, who went to New Delhi for attending the party's Bharat Bachao rally on Saturday.

continued their stay in the national capital. Some of them are keen to meet party's interim president Sonia Gandhi and former president Rahul Gandhi.

#### Talks held

They held talks with senior leaders including AICC General secretary in-charge of Karnataka, K.C. Venugopal. Though some of these

leaders have expressed their displeasure at the functioning of Mr. Siddaramaiah and Mr. Gundu Rao on more than one occasions and blamed them for the Lok Sabha and bypoll defeat, both are likely to stay in their posts.

Moreover, the party high command has not accepted their resignations. Any discussion on new leadership would be held only after

their resignations are accepted, sources in the party said.

The new president is likely to be appointed only after the appointment of full-time president of the AICC in 2020, sources said.

Talks are abuzz in the party circles that Mr. Shivakumar could take over as the new PCC president to intensify campaign ahead of the 2023 Assembly elections.

## Man lynched in Kerala on suspicion of theft; six held

No one helped him while he was attacked by gang last week

STAFF REPORTER  
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

A man who was tortured by a gang in Kerala a few days ago over suspicion of theft, died of his injuries at the Government Medical College Hospital here on Monday.

The police identified the deceased as Ajesh, 30, of Muttukkadu, near Thiruvallam here. He was attacked by the gang on December 11.

Following the incident, five persons, Jinesh, alias Aamathalayam, 28; Nazeeer, alias Shahabudeen, 43; Arun, 29; Sajjan, 33; and Robinson, alias Kunjumon, 39 were arrested on Saturday and remanded in judicial

custody. A sixth accused, Sajimon, was detained on Monday.

Ajesh had been accused of stealing a bag, which purportedly contained ₹45,000, and a mobile phone that belonged to Sajimon, said Thiruvallam station house officer Sampath K.L. The gang led by Jinesh then searched Ajesh's house. Despite failing to find the stolen bag from the house, they went on to manhandle Ajesh.

#### Brutality filmed

They also branded his lower abdomen and genitals using a red hot machete. The brutality, which was filmed, was

witnessed by several onlookers who remained mute spectators. Ajesh, who has been receiving treatment ever since, died of his burns, following sepsis.

Mr. Sampath said the first four accused were autorickshaw drivers. The fifth accused, Robinson, is a relative of the deceased.

The officer said the charges invoked against those arrested would be altered as murder.

The incident bore similarities to the death of Madhu, a tribal youth, who was beaten to death by a group in Atappady a year ago after being accused of theft.

## School booked for enactment of Babri Masjid demolition

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
MANGALURU

A case has been registered against the management of a school in Karnataka's Dakshina Kannada district for enacting the 1992 demolition of Babri Masjid, as part of a school event on Sunday.

The Bantwal Town police have booked a case following a complaint against Sri Rama School in Kalladka town, filed by a member of the Popular Front of India.

The case has been booked for offence under Sections 295 A (deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings) and 298 (uttering words, etc, with deliberate intent to wound religious feelings) of Indian Penal Code.

On Monday, a video clip of the event was widely shared on social media, at-



The clip of the event at the Sri Rama School was shared on social media, attracting criticism. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

tracting criticism. The enactment of demolition was one among the 20-odd presentations made by nearly 4,000 students at their annual sports day 'Kreedotsava'.

Many social media users felt that it amounted to the school management sowing the seeds of hatred in students.

Kalladka Prabhakar Bhat, a Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh leader, who is also a member of Sri Rama Vidya Kendra Trust that runs the school, defended the programme. "Our students have just enacted events that have occurred in the past." He said students also enacted the Chandrayaan-2 mission.





**IN BRIEF**

**CBI seeks more time in Asthana case**

**NEW DELHI**  
The CBI on Monday told the Delhi HC that it needed more time to complete the probe in a bribery case allegedly involving the agency's then Special Director Rakesh Asthana and others, as four more stages of scrutiny are left before the report can be filed. Counsel representing Mr. Asthana and the other accused — the agency's then DSP Devender Kumar and businessman Manoj Prasad — opposed the plea, saying the court had on October 9 given it two months and had said no more time would be given. **PTI**

**Nitish writes to PM Modi seeking ban on porn sites**

**PATNA**  
In the wake of rising incidents of rape of women and minor girls in the country, Bihar CM Nitish Kumar on Monday wrote to Prime Minister Narendra Modi urging him to immediately ban pornographic sites. "A large number of children and youth are watching pornographic, violent and inappropriate content. In many cases, videos of rape incidents are being circulated on social media, which severely affects the brains of children and youngsters, and such material has also been seen as a factor leading to crimes of rape," he said in his one-page letter to Mr. Modi.

**Crime sheet**

A look at the events leading up to the conviction of former BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar

- June 4, 2017:** Minor girl allegedly raped by then BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar
- April 3, 2018:** Her father is beaten up and allegedly

framed in an Arms Act case

- April 8:** Rape survivor tries to immolate herself outside U.P. CM Yogi Adityanath's residence, alleging police inaction
- April 9:** Father dies in judicial custody
- April 10:** Allahabad HC transfers the rape case

to the CBI

- April 13:** CBI arrests the MLA
- July 11:** CBI files chargesheet
- July 12, 2019:** Victim and her family write to then Chief Justice of India Ranjan Gogoi, alleging threat to their lives

**July 28:** Truck rams a car in which the rape survivor, her family and their lawyer were travelling, killing her two aunts and the advocate critically injured

- Aug. 1:** SC transfers five cases related to the rape to Delhi



A file photo of students staging a protest against Kuldeep Singh Sengar in Delhi

Court; the victim is airlifted to AIIMS from a Lucknow hospital

- Aug. 9:** Court frames charges against Sengar and co-accused Shashi Singh in the rape case
- Sept. 25:** The girl is discharged from hospital
- Dec. 10:** Court reserves judgment in rape case
- Dec. 16:** Court finds Sengar guilty, acquits the co-accused

# Court raps CBI for delay in Unnao case

Probe not done by woman officer, as mandated under POCSO Act: judge

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI**

A Delhi court, which on Monday found former BJP MLA Kuldeep Singh Sengar guilty of raping a minor in Uttar Pradesh's Unnao in June 2017, pulled up the CBI for the delay of almost a year in filing the chargesheet in a separate case of gang-rape of the victim.

District and sessions judge Dharmesh Sharma said: "In my considered opinion, this investigation has suffered from an patriarchal approach or an inherent outlook to brush the issues of sexual violence against the children under the carpet, apart from exhibiting lack of sensitivity and a humane approach. It appears that somewhere, investigation in the instant case has not been fair to the victim of crime and her family members." The probe, the court said,



**Crime and punishment:** Kuldeep Singh Sengar being taken to Tihar jail after being presented in court, in this file photo. **PTI**

was not conducted by a woman officer, as mandated under the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act, and the successive statements of the victim were recorded at the CBI office, "without bothering about the kind of harassment, anguish and re-victimisation that occurs to a victim of sexual assault in such case".

**'Fear ingrained'**  
On the delay of more than two months in reporting the incident, the court said the

victim and her mother explained that she had been threatened by Sengar to keep quiet or else she and her family members would not be spared. Soon after the incident was reported, a vicious tirade against her father and uncle began. "It [the case] epitomises the fear ingrained in the mind of [a] young girl in the countryside or elsewhere against reporting the issues of sexual assault by powerful adults," the court said. The minor girl was raped on June 4, 2017.

## SC panel to monitor trial of rape cases

**LEGAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI**

The Supreme Court has set up a committee of two of its judges to coordinate with High Courts to monitor the trial of rape cases across the country and to ensure they are completed in a time-bound manner.

Sources said Justices R. Subhash Reddy and M.R. Shah form the two-judge committee.

The decision to set up the committee came after extensive consultations among CJI S.A. Bobde and other senior Supreme Court judges.

The matter came to limelight when the girl threatened to set herself ablaze outside the residence of Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath on April 8 last year, alleging police inaction.

Days before that, her father was allegedly framed in a case under the Arms Act and sent to judicial custody, where he died under mysterious circumstances on April 9, 2018.

The girl also alleged that about a week after the MLA raped her, she was again abducted by three of his asso-

ciates, kept in confinement and gang-raped. The CBI is also pursuing that case.

The CBI took over the investigation of all the related cases in April last year and arrested Sengar.

In the gang-rape case, it filed a chargesheet against Shubham Singh, Naresh Yadav and Brijesh Tiwari in October this year.

In July last year, another chargesheet was filed against five persons, including Sengar's brother Atul, for their alleged involvement in the murder of the victim's father.

## ED files chargesheet in PMC Bank scam

**PRESS TRUST OF INDIA MUMBAI**

The Enforcement Directorate on Monday filed a chargesheet against Housing Development Infrastructure Ltd promoters Rakesh Wadhawan and Sarang Wadhawan in connection with the multi-crore Punjab & Maharashtra Cooperative (PMC)

Bank scam. The ED submitted its chargesheet, running into around 7,000 pages, before a special court set up under the Prevention of Money Laundering Act.

The two were initially arrested by Mumbai Police's Economic Offences Wing, and later taken into custody by the ED in October.

## SC orders status quo in Aarey case

**LEGAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI**

Petitioners, who have challenged the felling of trees in the Aarey forest in Mumbai to construct a metro car shed, told the Supreme Court on Monday that the "new government" in the State had set up a committee to identify alternative land for the project.

A Bench of Justices Arun Mishra and Deepak Gupta ordered the status quo, that is, there would be no felling of trees. The Bench scheduled the case for hearing in January next. Solicitor General Tushar Mehta, for the State, said the question in the case is whether the area allotted for the metro car shed is forest land or not.

## Lt. Gen. Manoj Mukund Naravane next Army chief

He will replace Gen. Bipin Rawat who retires on December 31

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI**

Vice-Chief of Army, Lieutenant General Manoj Mukund Naravane, has been appointed the next Chief of the Army Staff (COAS), Army officials confirmed late on Monday.

He will take over as the 28th COAS from incumbent General Bipin Rawat, whose term ends on December 31.

Lt. Gen. Naravane took over as vice-chief in early September. He is the senior most officer in the Army after Gen. Rawat and the government has gone with the seniority principle in the appointment. He will have a tenure till April 2022 till his



Lieutenant General Manoj Mukund Naravane

been posted as defence attache to Myanmar.

He will be the third Army chief from the Sikh Light Regiment after Gen. V.P. Malik and Gen. Bikram Singh.

With the appointment of the next COAS, the next awaited appointment is that of the country's first Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), expected in the next few days. Gen. Rawat is the front runner for the post. An Implementation Committee headed by the National Security Adviser was constituted to finalise the roles and modalities of the post of CDS and the committee has submitted its report to the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS).

## Increase LS seats to 1,000, says Pranab

'Present strength based on 1971 census'



Pranab Mukherjee

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT NEW DELHI**

Former President Pranab Mukherjee on Monday drew attention to the late Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee as a consensus builder, noting that the Indian electorate may have given strong majorities to different parties since 1952 but over 50% of them have never voted for one party. He was delivering the second annual Atal Bihari Vajpayee memorial lecture in New Delhi organised by the India Foundation.

"A numerical majority in elections gives you the right to make a stable government. The lack of popular majority forbids you from a majoritarian government. That is the message and essence of our parliamentary democracy," he said.

"The Indian electorate has time and again conveyed to the ruling party that goes on to form the government, that yes, they

may be entitled to form the government with majority of the seats won by them but, they are also to take into consideration, all those people, who may not have voted for them. The mandate is to govern as a majority party with a stable government, but carry others with you," he said.

He made a case for raising the number of Lok Sabha constituencies to 1,000 from the existing 543 and for a corresponding increase in the Rajya Sabha's strength, arguing that India has a "disproportionately large size" of electorate for elected representatives.

He said the last time the strength of the Lok Sabha was revised was in 1977, which, he noted, was based on the 1971 census that put the population at 55 crore.

## Amitabha Bagchi wins 2019 DSC Prize

**ANUSUA MUKHERJEE POKHARA**

The 8th edition of the IME Nepal Literature Festival, held from December 13-16 at Pokhara, concluded with the announcement of the winner of DSC Prize for South Asian Literature 2019.

The \$25,000 award went to Amitabha Bagchi for his 2018 novel, *Half the Night is Gone*. It was presented by Pradeep Gawali, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nepal, in the presence of Surina Narula, founder of the DSC Prize, and the four-member jury, headed by Harish Trivedi, former Professor of English at University of Delhi.

The six shortlisted books

included one translated work (Manoranjan Byapari's *There's Gunpowder in the Air*, translated from Bengali by Arunava Sinha), a novel by Pakistan-born author Jamil Jan Kochai and another by Sadia Abbas, who grew up in Pakistan and Singapore, besides fiction by Indian authors.

The DSC Prize, instituted in 2010, awards fiction from the South Asian region, which includes Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, as well as from the diaspora.

Ninety books had been submitted for the prize this year.

**WEATHER WATCH**

RAINFALL, TEMPERATURE & AIR QUALITY IN SELECT METROS YESTERDAY



TEMPERATURE DATA: IMD, POLLUTION DATA: CPCB, MAP: INSAT/IMD (TAKEN AT 18.00 HRS)

**Forecast for Tuesday:** Cold conditions likely in pockets over Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh & Delhi and Rajasthan. Dense fog likely in pockets over Bihar, Punjab, south Assam & Meghalaya and Manipur, Mizoram & Tripura

CITY	RAIN	MAX	MIN	CITY	RAIN	MAX	MIN
Agartala	...	27	13.9	Kozhikode	...	34.7	23.6
Ahmedabad	...	25	12.9	Kurnool	...	31.6	19.7
Aizawl	...	21.2	8.8	Lucknow	...	22.2	10.8
Allahabad	...	24	12.4	Madurai	...	31	20.8
Bengaluru	...	27.6	17.4	Mangaluru	...	37.6	22.6
Bhopal	...	19.6	11.4	Mumbai	...	32.3	19.8
Bhubaneswar	...	29.7	18.9	Mysuru	...	28	17.8
Chandigarh	...	19.9	8.5	New Delhi	...	12.9	10.2
Chennai	...	30.6	23.5	Patna	...	21.6	15
Coimbatore	...	30.1	19.4	Port Blair	...	30.6	25.5
Dehradun	...	22.7	7.3	Puducherry	...	31	20.4
Gangtok	...	13.6	5.7	Pune	...	30.3	17.3
Goa	...	33.6	22.4	Raipur	...	22	19.4
Guwahati	...	26.2	16.3	Ranchi	...	21.4	14.5
Hubballi	...	29	18	Shillong	...	16.6	8.2
Hyderabad	...	28.9	19.4	Shimla	...	4	11.2
Imphal	...	21.5	6.1	Srinagar	...	7.5	-1.6
Jaipur	...	19	9.6	Thiruvananthapuram	...	33.2	22.8
Kochi	...	31.6	22.6	Tiruchi	...	31.5	21.6
Kohima	...	24.4	6.2	Vijayawada	...	30.1	21
Kolkata	...	26.8	18	Visakhapatnam	...	29.8	22.8

(Rainfall data in mm; temperature in Celsius)

**Pollutants in the air you are breathing**

CITIES	SO <sub>2</sub>	NO <sub>2</sub>	CO	PM <sub>2.5</sub>	PM <sub>10</sub>	CODE
Ahmedabad	22	16	15	68	80	...
Bengaluru	04	52	88	47	70	...
Chennai	10	31	71	67	...	...
Delhi	13	35	70	318	177	...
Hyderabad	14	45	40	122	...	...
Kolkata	22	58	15	208	173	...
Lucknow	...	07	54	278	...	...
Mumbai	10	53	62	232	165	...
Pune	85	23	90	123	98	...
Visakhapatnam	...	47	...	...	...	...

**Air Quality Code:** ■ Poor ■ Moderate ■ Good (Readings indicate average AQI)  
**SO<sub>2</sub>:** Sulphur Dioxide. Short-term exposure can harm the respiratory system, making breathing difficult. It can affect visibility by reacting with other air particles to form haze and stain culturally important objects such as statues and monuments.  
**NO<sub>2</sub>:** Nitrogen Dioxide. Aggravates respiratory illness, causes haze to form by reacting with other air particles, causes acid rain, pollutes coastal waters.  
**CO:** Carbon monoxide. High concentration in air reduces oxygen supply to critical organs like the heart and brain. At very high levels, it can cause dizziness, confusion, unconsciousness and even death.  
**PM<sub>2.5</sub> & PM<sub>10</sub>:** Particulate matter pollution can cause irritation of the eyes, nose and throat, coughing, chest tightness and shortness of breath, reduced lung function, irregular heartbeat, asthma attacks, heart attacks and premature death in people with heart or lung disease





## Climate of inaction

India should not take comfort from its status as a low per capita carbon emitter

If climate change is the defining issue of the century, the UN conference in Madrid failed miserably in galvanising action to address it. This year's outcome is all the more depressing because nearly 200 delegates representing rich and poor countries had the benefit of new scientific reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change warning of near-certain catastrophic consequences of inaction, and an analysis from the UN Environment Programme on the gap between current greenhouse gas emissions and the limit over the coming decade. Eventually, in Spain, the Conference of the Parties to the Paris Agreement, degenerated into an unproductive wrangle over establishing a market system to trade in carbon credits earned through reductions in emissions, with some countries eager to cash in on poorly audited emissions savings from the Clean Development Mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol that preceded the Paris pact. Such horse trading stands in contrast to the real losses from extreme weather events that climate-vulnerable countries, India included, are facing with frightening regularity: even insured losses worldwide during 2017 and 2018 together stood at a record \$225 billion, while the bulk of destruction had no such risk cover. These dire data should have imbued the climate negotiations with urgency and purpose, but the final declaration was desultory, merely expressing serious concern at the emissions gap in seeking to limit temperature increase to 1.5° C.

Climate negotiators might have tossed the more intractable questions – raising \$100 billion a year from 2020 for developing countries, creating a strong framework to address loss and damage from climate events and transferring technology to poorer countries on reasonable terms – to the next conference a year later, but they cannot avoid rising pressure from civil society in several countries for concrete action. One of the models that will be closely studied is the Green Deal that has been announced by the European Commission, with binding targets for member nations to cut emissions by at least 50% by 2030 and go net zero by 2050. This approach could potentially make the EU the leader in global climate action, a position that the U.S. never adopted, and China will take longer to aspire for. India's own status as a low per capita carbon emitter offers little comfort as its overall emissions are bound to grow. With a low base compared to other major nations, it may well achieve its initial voluntary targets under the Paris Agreement, but a shift away from fossil fuels is inevitable in the longer term. As it prepares to face calls for higher ambition in 2020 and beyond, India has to involve its States in mitigation and adaptation efforts. Death and destruction by frequent storms, floods and droughts should lead to urgent cohesive action.

## Unfulfilled promise

India's efforts to protect the personal data of its citizens fall short of privacy requirements

India's Personal Data Protection Bill, 2019 starts encouragingly, seeking to protect "the privacy of individuals relating to their personal data". But by the end, it is clear it is not designed to deliver on the promise. For, even as it rightly requires handlers of data to abide by globally-accepted rules – about getting an individual's consent first – it disappointingly gives wide powers to the Government to dilute any of these provisions for its agencies. The Bill, which was tabled in Parliament by the Electronics and IT Minister on December 11, has now been referred to a joint committee, to be headed by the BJP's Meenakshi Lekhi. The committee is expected to table its report during the Budget session. Technically, therefore, this is not beyond redemption yet. But recent events have cast doubts about whether the Government is serious about delivering on the privacy promise. Recently, messaging platform WhatsApp said that some Indian journalists and rights activists were among those spied using technology by an Israeli company, which by its own admission only works for government agencies across the world. Google too had alerted 12,000 users, including 500 in India, regarding "government-backed" phishing attempts against them. The Indian Government has still not come out in the clear convincingly regarding these incidents.

Importantly, one of the first to raise a red flag about the Bill's problematic clauses was Justice B.N. Srikrishna, whose committee's report forms the basis of the Bill. He has used words such as "Orwellian" and "Big Brother" in reaction to the removal of safeguards for Government agencies. In its report last July, the committee noted that the dangers to privacy originate from state and non-state actors. It, therefore, called for exemptions to be "watertight", "narrow", and available for use in "limited circumstances". It had also recommended that the Government bring in a law for the oversight of intelligence-gathering activities, the means by which non-consensual processing of data takes place. A related concern about the Bill is regarding the constitution of the Data Protection Authority of India, which is to monitor and enforce the provisions of the Act. It will be headed by a chairperson and have not more than six whole-time members, all of whom are to be selected by a panel filled with Government nominees. This completely disregards the fact that Government agencies are also regulated under the Act; they are major collectors and processors of data themselves. The sweeping powers the Bill gives to the Government renders meaningless the gains from the landmark K.S. Puttaswamy vs. Union of India case, which culminated in the recognition that privacy is intrinsic to life and liberty, and therefore a basic right. That idea of privacy is certainly not reflected in the Bill in its current form.

# The widening fissure in India's rule of law

The relationship between the individual and the state is still marked by a deep, pervasive imbalance of power



GAUTAM BHATIA

Last month, the news website Scroll revealed that more than 10,000 people in the Khunti district of Jharkhand had been chargesheeted by the police for sedition. These people are overwhelmingly Adivasis. Then, in early December, a judicial probe completed a seven-year long investigation, finding that a so-called encounter of "Maoists" in Chhattisgarh by security forces, in 2012, had been a "fake encounter" all along. The people killed had not been Maoists, but innocent villagers.

These two incidents from central India – separated by time, but united in their character – illustrate a gaping tear in the fabric of constitutionalism and the rule of law in India. Put simply, even after seven decades of Independence, the relationship between the individual and the state is marked by a deep and pervasive imbalance of power. In ways that are strikingly similar to those employed by its colonial predecessor, the Indian state retains a range of legal – and extra-legal – weapons, which it can turn against its own people with minimal scrutiny or accountability.

While these weapons remain sheathed in large parts of the country, it is in places like Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, where there exists an intense conflict over land and resources, and serious challenges to the legitimacy of the state, that their ugly reality is revealed for all to see.

### Sedition, a grey area

Khunti's sedition cases go back to 2017, and the start of the "Pathal-

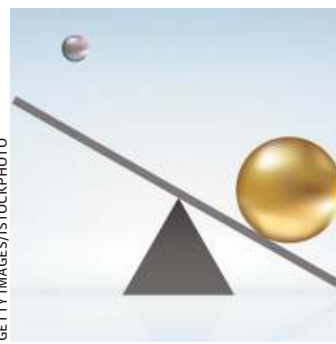
gadi movement". Adivasis who were faced with corporate takeover of their land resorted to an innovative form of protest: they began to carve provisions of the Indian Constitution's Fifth Schedule – that guarantees tribal autonomy – upon stone slabs, placed upon the boundaries of the village. The first information reports (FIRs) that follow allege that the police were attacked with "sticks and traditional weapons" (an allegation that the Adivasis dispute); but additionally, the FIRs also state that the leaders of the movement have been "misleading the innocent people in the name of scheduled areas", and "erecting stone slabs presenting wrong interpretation of the Constitution". As a result of these FIRs, individuals spent many months in jail.

The ongoing events in Khunti reveal multiple faultlines in the legal system, and multiple faults in those who implement it. A century-and-a-half after it was first enacted into the Indian Penal Code by the colonial government, the vague, ambiguous, and unclear wording of the sedition provision continues to make it ripe for abuse. Sedition is defined as "disaffection" against the government, or bringing it into "hatred or contempt".

It should be immediately obvious that the scope of these words is boundless, and boundlessly manipulable. However, when the sedition law was challenged in 1962, the Supreme Court of India chose to uphold it, while claiming to "narrow it down". The court noted that only acts that had a "tendency" to cause public disorder would fall within the scope of the section.

### Tool of oppression

As the years since that judgment have shown, however, this dictum had no impact whatsoever on the abuse of the sedition law. To start with "tendency to cause public



disorder" was almost as vague as the text or the original section. Second, as long as the section continued to exist in the form that it did, the police could, and did continue to invoke it to stifle protest and dissent; and trial courts could and did continue to refuse bail to jailed people. The failure, thus, extended to every wing of the state: to Parliament, for allowing the provision to remain on the statute books, to the Supreme Court for not striking it down when it had the chance, to State governments and State police, that have found in it a ready tool of oppression, and to lower courts, that enable prolonged incarceration of people under the section.

The playbook of the sedition law has, of course, been replicated elsewhere, in postcolonial legislation. The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, or UAPA, for example, contains language that is as wide and vague, criminalising "membership" of terrorist gangs or unlawful organisations, without any explanation of what "membership" means. Under these provisions, journalists, activists, and human rights lawyers allegedly associated with events at Bhima Koregaon in 2018, were arrested later that year, and still remain in jail without a trial.

They have been denied bail by both the trial court and the High Court, raising once again the spectre of many years of imprisonment without any finding of guilt. There could be no easier way of silencing the voices of dissent.

lencing the voices of dissent.

### Fake encounters

The Chhattisgarh issue, on the other hand, is a mirror image: from alleged individual violence against the state, we turn 180 degrees to state violence against citizens. The problem of "fake encounters", which has long dogged the Indian polity, was thrown into sharp relief when the Telangana police "encountered" four people accused of a brutal rape and murder in the early hours of December 6.

It hardly needs to be said that "encounters" – and "fake encounters" – take place because there do not exist adequate structures of accountability. Without those structures, the police effectively operate in a zone of impunity. In 2009, the then High Court of Andhra Pradesh passed a landmark judgment, in which it attempted to create a regime of accountability. Central to this regime was the requirement that encounter deaths would be investigated as if they were murder cases. An FIR would have to be registered against the police officers responsible for the encounter, and to the extent that they invoked self-defence they would have to prove it.

The High Court's judgment, however, was stayed by the Supreme Court, which then passed a series of vague and unclear guidelines a few years later, on the same subject. Even this regime, however, was given a go-by in the recent Telangana encounter case, where, acting on a public interest litigation, the Supreme Court stayed all pending proceedings (including before the Telangana High Court, which was following the guidelines), and handed over the investigation to a "committee", with a six-month reporting period, to boot.

As the Chhattisgarh case shows, however, these committee-led investigations take years to com-

plete, and even at the end of the process, the outcome remains unclear. Here again, then, an attempt at mitigating the stark imbalance of power between the state and the citizen, in a particularly violent and abusive context, has been progressively diluted.

The Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh incidents show that the rule of law and the Constitution continue to fail those who need it the most, and in the places where it is needed the most. And the root cause of this failure is the active complicity of the very actors who we most expect to maintain the rule of law: clearly, abusive laws are enacted by Parliament, upheld by courts, misused by the police, and sanctioned (again) by courts.

To break this seemingly unending cycle, it is important to understand that its root cause lies in how laws such as the sedition provision, the UAPA, and many others, systematically concentrate power in the hands of state agencies, and equally systematically, strip individuals and communities of legal ways to resist (the UAPA, for example, prohibits judges from granting bail if the police makes out a "prima facie" case against the accused).

In our recent history, on the other hand, we also have had examples of laws that have done the opposite: both the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, or FRA, and the Right to Information (RTI) Act, for example, have rebalanced the relationship between the individual and the state in important domains. If we are to ever fulfil the promises of freedom and equality that the Constitution of India guarantees to all, we must learn from the social movements that gave birth to the RTI and the FRA, and organise in similar ways against laws such as sedition and the UAPA.

Gautam Bhatia is a Delhi-based lawyer

# In Conservative landslide, pain for Labour

The U.K. poll was about which political personality people hated less; Corbyn and his party are now at the crossroads



AMIR ALI

The 2019 election in the United Kingdom was dominated by Brexit leading to a Boris Johnson victory. Much to the chagrin of Jeremy Corbyn's Labour, they could not steer the issues enough towards the much loved National Health Service (NHS) or the austerity measures that caused so much suffering, especially for the vulnerable over the last decade of Conservative rule. The election also became polarised between two very different personalities who were in contention for the next government. Remarkably, both Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Opposition Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn are unpopular among vast swathes of the electorate. The election became about which one people hated less.

### Taking down the red wall

To add to the irony, the manifesto drawn up by Labour under Mr. Corbyn was hugely popular, perhaps a little too popular, leading

some to think that it may be too good to be true. The rather depressing election result for Mr. Corbyn and Labour will of course mean a rethink of his leadership and the rather radical socialist direction that he was taking the party down. Labour seems to have suffered especially in its traditional red wall bastion of the North and the Midlands because it did not take a clear and unambiguous position on Brexit. This was very unlike Mr. Johnson's simplistic slogan, "Get Brexit done", which despite its vapidness, or perhaps because of it, worked brilliantly.

This election underscored how egregious Machiavellian mendacity tends to get rewarded in elections. Mr. Johnson has been considered to be more prime ministerial, despite his duplicity and deceptiveness. He evaded open questioning by not giving an interview to journalist Andrew Neil. He refused to take part in a Channel 4 debate on climate change and just a day before the vote, he reportedly retreated inside a large fridge at Modern Milkman, a business in Yorkshire, to avoid being asked questions by the "Good Morning Britain" team. The bigger the lies uttered, the greater seem to have been the electoral returns Mr. Johnson harvested.



What has been referred to as extreme Machiavellian mendacity has also been helped along by the remarkable influence of the right wing Rupert Murdoch-owned press in British politics. Since 1979, prime ministerial candidates endorsed by the bawdy tabloid have consistently gone on to win and this includes a successful Labour Prime Minister (Tony Blair). Any assessment of the difficulties that more left-wing Labour candidates such as Mr. Corbyn or Ed Miliband have faced in election campaigns would necessarily have to take into account this baleful influence.

It is remarkable that the Conservatives successfully portrayed Mr. Corbyn as an Islingtonian elite, a reference to the North London constituency he has represented since 1983. In the greater hatred that the electorate has expressed

towards Mr. Corbyn, it appears strange that his supposed Islingtonian elitism should be considered worse than Mr. Johnson's established Etonian elitism. Further, Mr. Corbyn is considered a greater threat to national security than Mr. Johnson, perhaps owing to the fact that in these hyper-patriotic Brexit times, Mr. Corbyn is not considered sufficiently patriotic. Mr. Johnson of course could easily get away with this one, perhaps confirming the other Johnson's (Samuel) adage of patriotism being the last refuge of the scoundrel.

### Labour and the future

With all his limitations, there has been a plodding, for his admirers, even a principled consistency in the positions that Mr. Corbyn has taken in his over three decades as a parliamentarian, most of them spent on the Labour backbenches. He was perhaps right on the Gulf War and the invasion of Iraq, when he opposed British foreign policy and its tagging along with the Americans. He has been a vocal supporter of Palestine and a staunch critic of Israel. There are numerous allegations of anti-semitism levelled at the Labour Party for which Mr. Corbyn has been accused of not having done enough, with an Equality and Human

Rights Commission inquiry instituted recently. Both Britain's mainstream parties and their respective leaders have been accused of racism, anti-semitism and Islamophobia. Mr. Johnson has remained electorally unscathed by the accusations against him despite a profusion of outrageously racist remarks that he has himself made.

It is inevitable that Mr. Corbyn will at some stage step down as Labour leader. The question is which way the Labour Party will go? Should it go back to its 1990s and 2000s Blairite moorings that brought rich electoral dividends but isolated the party from its working class roots? Or will the movement of Labour be to the left that Mr. Miliband started and Mr. Corbyn accelerated continue? As for Mr. Johnson, with his dearth of detail, expect nothing new, apart from ad nauseum nostrums about free market capitalism and getting Brexit done. As *The Wall Street Journal* commented in 1975, "Good bye, Great Britain, it was nice knowing you".

Amir Ali teaches at the Centre for Political Studies, JNU, New Delhi. He is currently writing a book on 'Brexit and Liberal Democracy: Populism, Sovereignty and Nation-State'

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters emailed to letters@thehindu.co.in must carry the full postal address and the full name or the name with initials.

### Mission Hindutva

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)'s push for a Hindutva political project through the Citizenship Amendment Act is antithetical to the principles of constitutional democracy. The new law makes citizenship contingent on religion and goes against the guiding values of our Constitution. Further, it could take away the demographic and ethnic diversity of North-Eastern States, besides exerting pressure on land and other resources. The BJP's top brass has clearly misunderstood and misinterpreted the people's mandate given to it as a licence to indulge in arbitrary decision-making. The social unrest and violent protests in Assam, West Bengal, Delhi and in other parts of the country should force the government to revisit and rethink the Act (Front page,

"Violence hits Delhi over Citizenship law," Dec. 16).  
NAYAKARA VEERESHA,  
Bengaluru

■ Nearly 50 years ago, each of us paid an additional five paise while purchasing postcards and inland letters to support the lakhs of East Pakistanis who were pouring into our eastern States, escaping persecution from their military government. This support continued even after Bangladesh was formed, when not all of them returned. Religion did not block our gesture. The immigration of people did leave us with problems, but the governments of the day patiently addressed them. We did not become less secure or more poor in the years that followed. Neither did we nurse any sense of ill will or discrimination. What a change there has been in the past few decades in the values and beliefs of people

in our country! Will the nation return someday to its founding principles?

M. BALAKRISHNAN,  
Bengaluru

■ No Act in the past 70 years has caused so much pandemonium. The massive protests by the students in about 15 universities across the nation, the unrest in the North-Eastern States and the assertion by some Chief Ministers, like in Punjab and Kerala, that they would not allow the implementation of the Act in their respective States are clear signs that all is not well with the new law. While Muslims are anguished that the BJP government is trying to ostracise the whole community, the Tamil refugees staying in Tamil Nadu fear that they will be declared as illegal immigrants. People in Assam, on the other hand, fear a loss of identity. CPI leader D. Raja rightly

observed that we are witnessing a civil war-like situation.

SYED SULTAN MOHIDDIN,  
Kagithalipenta, Andhra Pradesh

■ Lotus on passports The lotus may well be a symbol that has many mythological connotations (Editorial page, "Spot the difference between sign and symbol," Dec. 16) but one can't help wonder about the intent of the Centre in selecting this symbol specifically for a 'security feature' on passports. It seems deliberate and mischievous and looks like another tactic employed by the government to divert attention from the many pressing problems.

BINDU JOHN,  
Kochi

### Carbon markets

It is somewhat disappointing that the regulation of global carbon markets has been

postponed until next year (Front page, "No deal as longest climate talks end", Dec. 16). This will only make the target set by the Paris accord harder to realise. It is not the lack of technologies that make it difficult to tackle global warming; it is the lack of political will, especially among some of the rich and developed countries. Rational and regulated carbon markets have the potential to make technologies accessible and affordable for the countries,

### CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS:

In the interview with Bahujan Samaj Party MP Ritesh Pandey (Dec. 16, 2019), a sentence in the answer to the first question erroneously said that the party would never cease to be irrelevant. It should have said: the party would never cease to be relevant.

The headline of a report on evolution of speech (Science & Technology page, Dec. 15, 2019), erroneously said that a study pushed it back by 20,000 years. The text said the estimated figure is 2,00,000 years.

In the first snapshot entry titled "Visitor from far" (Science & Technology page, Dec. 15, 2019), the width of the Comet 21/Borisov should have been 3,200 metres – and not 3,200 kilometres as published.

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including India, without hurting the economy. On the brighter side, the increasing awareness worldwide, especially among young people, about the need for immediate action on the climate front, offers a ray of hope. To what extent these opinions will get translated into votes in democracies will decide the outcomes of future climate talks.

A. VENKATASUBRAMANIAN,  
Tiruchi



INTERVIEW | BIBEK DEBROY

# 'If India has to grow faster, States have to grow faster'

Half the States are growing at less than 6%, says the Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council to the PM



PUJA MEHRA

To present the economic slowdown as a binary of structural versus cyclical or demand side-driven versus supply-side driven factors is completely unwarranted, says Bibek Debroy, Chairman of the Economic Advisory Council to Prime Minister Narendra Modi. In this interview, Mr. Debroy hints at expenditure cuts and reduction in personal income rate to 15% for some income brackets provided taxpayers agree to give up exemptions they enjoy currently. He also says a simplification of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) to fewer number of rates is likely to be taken up by the GST Council. Edited excerpts:

Is the economy in a slowdown or, as many well-regarded economists are saying, in a growth recession?

There's no point of getting into the semantics of it because this year we are going to end with a growth rate of 5% or thereabouts. Next year it is going to be about 6%. That has implications for what can be done to raise the rates, the fiscal consolidation exercise, tax revenue and all of that.

There is no clarity or consensus both in and outside government on the reasons for the slowdown.

To present it as a binary of structural versus cyclical or demand-side versus supply-side driven factors is completely unwarranted. Let's step back. For four successive years GDP growth was about 9%. During those four successive years, the exports GDP ratio was about 20%. Exports grew 15% plus in dollar terms. Sometimes 19%. Sometimes even 20%. A back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests that at least 3 percentage points of the GDP growth were because of exports. If I take that away from 9%, I am at 6%. If exports are not doing well then [GDP growth would be 6%].

If India has to grow faster, the States have to grow faster. If you remove the railways and defence and



SHIV KUMAR PUSHPAKAR

stiff like that, 90-95% of national income is generated in the States. The data on the States' GSDP is slightly dated but half the States are growing at less than 6%. You can't expect India to grow faster than that.

If I look at the list of structural reforms – land, natural resources, labour, privatisation – all of those have been pending since 1991. I am not denying the importance of structural reforms. All that I am pointing at is that there are obstacles in the way of structural reforms. Sometimes the Seventh Schedule [of the Constitution], sometimes legislation, sometimes the judiciary, sometimes environment clearances. The tardy progress of the reforms in the past indicates that they are not that easy.

If I am to respond to the quarterly figures, a large part of the growth has come from government expenditure. But there are limits to government expenditure. I am not even talking about a temporary deviation from the FRBM [Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act, 2003], which is always possible in the current circumstances. But there are limits to [even that]. A large part of government expenditure is committed – salaries, pensions, interest payments, centrally sponsored schemes, schemes that are legislation-mandated... Government expenditure does not just mean Union government.

There isn't much leeway with the Central government. The growth multiplier of expenditure by State governments is in fact twice that of expenditure by the Central government.

Precisely. So, we should be much

I recommend one single rate. If you want to address items for the poor, it is best not to do it through indirect tax policy but other means.

more concerned with what the State governments are spending on.

So, not much of a fiscal stimulus should be expected from the Central government?

Depends on what we mean by fiscal stimulus. Traditionally, it means either taxes or expenditure. If I don't slash expenditure, just because the GDP has declined, the deficit will be higher [because fiscal deficit is expressed as a percentage of GDP].

On the tax side, what items can be brought under GST is a decision of the GST Council. That leaves the direct taxes. The Finance Minister has said there is going to be a relook at the direct tax rates because the corporate tax rate has come down but the MSME don't pay the corporate tax rate, they pay the personal income tax rate.

However, as with the corporate tax rates, you cannot have reduced personal income tax rates and exemptions at the same time. Everyone who wants a fiscal stimulus says give me a concession for my sector – both on the GST and also on direct taxes. But if you do that, you will never clean up the system that is discretionary and completely ad hoc.

So sensible fiscal stimulus can only be a reduction in tax rates. Direct taxes have to have an element of progressivity. So, it cannot be 15% for everyone and you cannot have 15%

and also have exemptions.

So, exemptions such as on home loans, investments in provident fund and tax savers will be withdrawn?

If you begin to have exemption A, there will be an argument for exemption B. Better to get rid of all. And I am giving you a choice: either you avail of the exemptions or you avail of the lower rate.

Isn't it a contradiction to give a boost to consumption by reducing direct tax rates and at the same time raise rates of GST, which, being an indirect tax, is non-progressive?

The trouble is, we want GST to be simplified. [To] how many rates the GST Council will decide. Let's say three rates: 6%, 8% and 12%. When Arvind Subramanian was the Chief Economic Adviser, he did some exercise that showed the average GST rate ought to be 16% to make it revenue neutral. Today, the average GST rate is 11.6% because a large number of items are at 0%. To make the GST a simpler tax, the 28% [highest bracket GST rate] has to come to 18%, which everyone wants. But the 0% must also go up, which no one wants. I don't think the GST Council has yet arrived at a decision. Newspaper reports suggest some items from the 12% GST rate bracket may move to the 18% bracket. And some items that are in the 5% GST rate bracket may move to the 12% bracket. In the midst of a growth slowdown, that's a bad idea.

What do you recommend?

It's the prerogative of the GST Council. A perverse incentive has been created by the compensation guarantee. We are stuck with it. If I were to recommend, I would say as an economist: to avoid complications, I recommend one single rate. If you want to address items for the poor, it is best not to do it through indirect tax policy but other means. But let us recognise that no country in the world has a single indirect tax rate. So, the best you can probably get is three rates – a standard rate, a higher rate for 'luxury items' and a lower one for merit goods.

Puja Mehra is an independent journalist based in Delhi. The full interview is on [www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com)

# Reservations need to continue for Anglo-Indians

The community's troubles were highlighted in a 2013 report

ROBYN ANDREWS, DOLORES CHEW & UTHUR CHARLTON-STEVENS

The Union Cabinet recently approved a proposal to end the constitutional provisions that guarantee the reservation of two seats for the Anglo-Indian community in the Lok Sabha and in State Assemblies. The decision not to renew this provision was based on the view that the community is doing well and does not need these political reservations. Our view is that this premise is inaccurate. While Census data are not available (as Anglo-Indians are no longer identified as a separate category in the Census survey), those working on the ground with members of the community have experience and evidence that tell a different story. And this is supported by the government-commissioned Ministry of Minority Affairs report (2013) on the situation of Anglo-Indians.

Based on surveys conducted among people belonging to the community in a number of cities, the report documented poor economic and social conditions for too many. Among the major challenges and problems faced by people of the community, the report observed, the most significant ones related to identity crisis, lack of employment, educational backwardness, lack of proper facilities and cultural erosion. The document also explicitly commended the assistance Anglo-Indians receive from their nominated MPs and MLAs, stating that "representatives of the Anglo-Indian community in the State Assemblies and local leaders of the community are working hard for the welfare and progress of the community".

## A forward-looking move

Nomination of seats for Anglo-Indians in the Lok Sabha was a testament to the fair-minded and forward-looking vision of the founding fathers of the Republic, whose understanding of how to build a successful democracy has rather uniquely stood the test of time. Frank Anthony made the case for special representation on behalf of the community following which Mahatma Gandhi agreed to his request for three seats in the Constituent Assembly, thereby giving Anglo-Indians a voice in the creation of India's Constitution.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas was the person most directly responsible for the granting of these special concessions to this community, scattered across the country. Representing an All-India community, Anthony and his successors in the Lok

Sabha used that voice to provide an independent, national view of the interests of India as a whole. Even when supporting their own community's causes, particularly in areas like education, they advanced the national interest and greatly benefited the country. The presence of Anglo-Indian MLAs in many State legislatures similarly provided a constructive pro-national voice, less tied to parochialism or provincialism, and emphatically against linguistic and religious separatism and similar narrowly communal interests. Unfortunately, the present Lok Sabha has no representation from this community.

In recent years, under its current president-in-chief, Barry O'Brien, the All-India Anglo-Indian Association has continued to expand, creating and promoting positive political engagement. Other community organisations have also been engaged in such work. It would be a great loss to the nation if these voices were to be further marginalised by hasty decisions premised on short-term political considerations.

## Some success stories

While there certainly are success stories in the community, the existence of many not-so-successful ones must also be acknowledged. A radical decision like that involving scrapping of reservations ought to have been based on a thorough examination of the position of the community as a whole, and not on the status of some eminent individuals. It should also be noted that many success stories exist because of the work of dedicated community members, including those who serve or have served as MLAs and MPs.

We would therefore conclude that the Indian government needs to continue giving reservation to this marginalised community. The costs to the state here are minimal. But retaining the reserved seats would demonstrate its ability to respond to the needs of those among the most vulnerable people. This would also be a recognition of encouragement for the work done on the ground by grassroots groups involved with the community. In the near future, the community can also possibly find representation in the National Commission for Minorities.

A stronger, less socioeconomically marginalised Anglo-Indian community would benefit the nation as a whole. And the community needs all the support it can get.

Robyn Andrews teaches at Massey University, New Zealand; Dolores Chew at Marianopolis College, Montreal, Canada; and Uthur Charlton-Stevens at Volgograd State University, Russia

# CAA isn't a Hindu-Muslim issue

Indian Muslims should hold their political fire to oppose the NRC rather than the Citizenship Act

MOHAMMED AYOOB

Instead of protesting against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), Indian Muslims should take Home Minister Amit Shah at his word. This is even more imperative in the light of the protests and the police action over the past two days in Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University, which portray predominantly Muslim educational institutions in an unfavourable light. During the debate on the CAA in Parliament, Mr. Shah said, "The Bill has no provision to snatch citizenship from anyone but to grant citizenship to the refugees. There is no need for Indian Muslims to live in fear." Indian Muslims should hold his feet to the fire as far as this assurance is concerned. Their interests can be better served by a different strategy for several reasons.

## A brake on implementation?

First, there is a good chance that the Supreme Court will determine that the CAA is ultra vires of the Constitution because, prima facie, it discriminates on the basis of religion for the grant of citizenship. While recently the apex court has appeared disinclined to challenge the government's decisions, in this case the violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution appears to be so obvious that the court is unlikely to endorse the CAA without asking for major changes.

Second, the severe protests in the Northeast are likely to put a brake on the immediate implementation of the Act. Assam and West Bengal have exploded in opposition to the law, and the West Bengal government has made it clear that for principled as well as political reasons, the CAA is unacceptable to it.

Third, it is best that the fight against the CAA is led by secular-minded and pluralist segments among Hindus and Muslims jointly rather than be turned into a Hindu-Muslim issue. Portraying it as a Hindu-Muslim issue plays into the hands of extremist majoritarian elements thus defeating the purpose of opposition to the law.

Finally, Muslims should hold their political fire to oppose stringently the promised National Register of Indian Citizens (NRC), which is most likely

to be the next contentious move on the government's agenda. It is in this context that they must particularly hold Mr. Shah to his word and insist that no discrimination should take place against them in the NRC process. Such discrimination, if it takes place, is likely to be even more blatant than a discriminatory CAA, and the Muslims' case for it to be struck down by the courts would be far stronger and garner even more support.

The National Register of Citizens (NRC) process in Assam turned out to be counterproductive from the BJP's perspective. Over 19 lakh people were excluded from the NRC list, a substantial number of whom were Bengali Hindu migrants from Bangladesh. Unhappy over the final list, the Assam Bharatiya Janata Party demanded a nationwide NRC. The primary purpose of the CAA is to give citizenship to the Hindu Bangladeshis while deciding on the extremely complicated process of an NRC. However, to the BJP's extreme discomfort, the CAA has set off a political storm in Assam aimed at Bengalis as well as the Central government, a situation reminiscent of the anti-Bengali riots in the early 1960s in undivided Assam. This could even cost the BJP the next election in Assam.

## Likely to be targeted

As a result of these factors, it is imperative that Indian Muslims make every attempt to prevent the controversy surrounding the CAA from becoming a Hindu-Muslim issue. This is particularly because they are likely to be targeted for being anti-national and pan-Islamic for agitating on behalf of supposedly illegal Bangladeshi Muslim migrants. It may be all right for the BJP in the present atmosphere in the country to play the pan-Hindu card; it will be imprudent for Indian Muslims to portray themselves as pan-Islamic on this issue, especially since they need to conserve their political energy to confront the NRC move, which will be far more pertinent to their future.

Mohammed Ayoob is University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Relations, Michigan State University



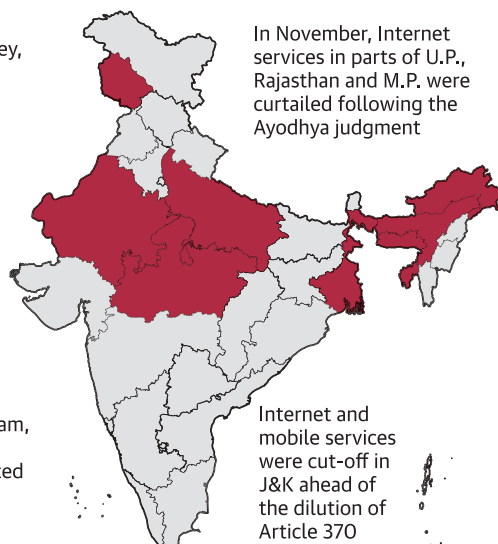
## DATA POINT

### Clamped down

In the last 35 days, telecommunication shutdowns were enforced in eight States, some after the Ayodhya verdict and some in the wake of protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act. The Internet shutdown in Kashmir entered the 134th day on Monday, making it the second longest communication clampdown in India. By Naresh Singaravelu and Sumant Sen

#### 1. Affected States

Apart from Kashmir Valley, which continues to face Internet restrictions enforced on August 4, States marked on the map have seen telecommunication shutdowns in the last 35 days. Due to widespread protests following the Citizenship Amendment Act, Meghalaya, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh saw State-wide Internet shutdowns. Parts of Assam, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh were also affected for the same reason



In November, Internet services in parts of U.P., Rajasthan and M.P. were curtailed following the Ayodhya judgment

Internet and mobile services were cut-off in J&K ahead of the dilution of Article 370

SOURCE: ACCESS NOW, INTERNETSHUTDOWNS.IN

2. Sorry state | The on-going shutdown in J&K is the second longest in India. The longest, also in J&K, was enforced following the death of Burhan Wani

Starting date	Ending date	Days	Region	Services affected
July 8, 2016	January 7, 2017	202	J&K	Internet
August 4, 2019	(ongoing)	134	J&K	Internet
July 8, 2016	November 18, 2016	133	J&K	SMS and Telephony
June 18, 2017	September 25, 2017	99	W.B.	Internet
April 17, 2017	May 27, 2017	40	J&K	Internet

#### 3. Rising restrictions

The no. of telecommunication bans have gone up in recent years. However, other States pale in comparison to J&K which has seen 193 bans since 2016

State	'16	'17	'18	'19
J&K	11	29	78	75
Rajasthan	6	13	16	7
U.P.	2	3	8	7
W.B.	0	2	2	5
Arunachal	0	1	1	2
Assam	0	0	2	2
Odisha	0	2	1	2
Tripura	0	2	1	2
M.P.	0	1	3	1
Maharashtra	1	1	7	1
Meghalaya	0	0	3	1
Punjab	0	1	4	1
Bihar	2	3	5	0
Delhi	0	1	0	0
Gujarat	3	1	1	0
Haryana	3	8	0	0
Jharkhand	1	0	0	0
Manipur	1	0	2	0
Nagaland	0	2	0	0
T.N.	0	0	1	0
Telangana	0	1	0	0
Uttarakhand	0	0	2	0

## The Hindu.

### FROM THE ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO DECEMBER 17, 1969

### Six killed in Calcutta stampede

Six persons were killed and about 100 others injured - 14 seriously - in a stampede outside the daily ticket counters at the Eden Gardens, venue of the fourth Test between Australia and India, here [Calcutta] this morning [December 16]. Police said over 20,000 people had queued up in front of the counters since last night for six-rupee tickets for the fourth day of the Test, although the Cricket Association of Bengal had already announced that only about 6,000 to 7,000 tickets would be on sale. With a frantic struggle for positions, there was a stampede just when the ticket counters opened at about 7 a.m. - three hours before start of play - resulting in several persons falling down. Members of both the teams were resting in their hotel rooms when the incident occurred. Mr. Jyoti Basu, West Bengal's Deputy Chief Minister, told Pressmen to-night [December 16] that the Government would institute a departmental inquiry into the stampede after the receipt of Police reports. Asked whether there would be any judicial enquiry, Mr. Basu said: "I can't say: I have not yet received reports from the Police."

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO DEC. 17, 1919.

### The "Irish Republic."

In support of Irish self-determination a meeting was held at Albert Hall on November 17 under the chairmanship of Commander Kenworthy, M.P. There was a large attendance. A member of the audience called for three cheers for "The Irish Republic," which were given most heartily.

Mr. Rober Williams, who said he was there as a Social Revolutionary, moved a resolution condemning the past and present misgovernment of Ireland by the ruling classes of this country, and pledging to support the demand of the Irish nation for the right to choose its own form of Government without coercion or interference from any outside source. He said he was as much against armed intervention in Ireland as in Russia. That afternoon news had come through that Kolchak had evacuated his military headquarters at Omsk, in Siberia (A Voice: - "He has got the wind up.") The people who were fighting in the best and most effective manner for the self-determination of Ireland were the Red Guards of Russia. "I want you Irishmen," said Mr. Williams, "to throw in your lot with the great Labour movement."