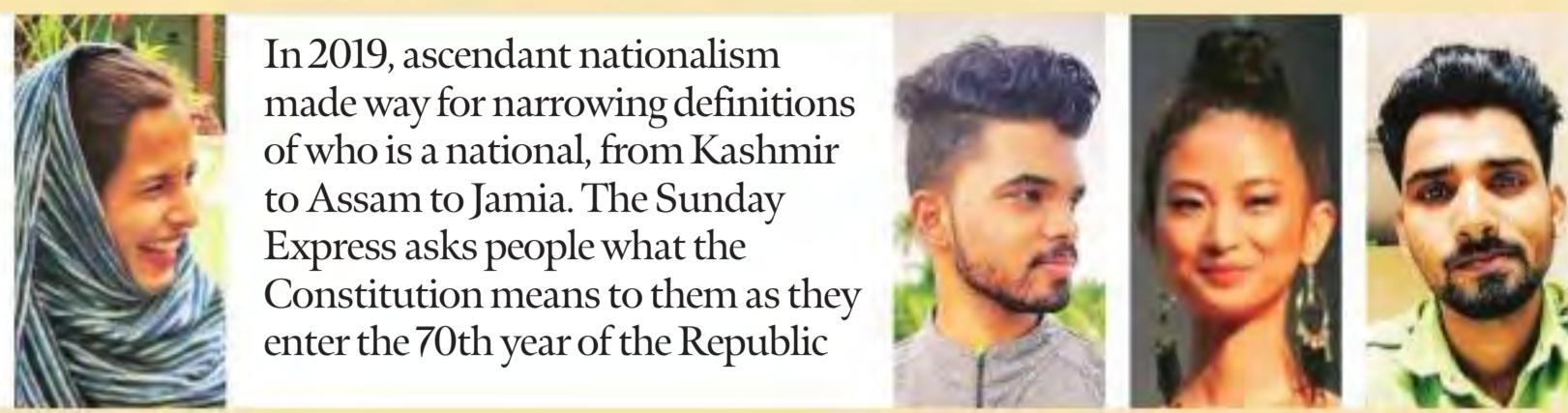




WELCOME, THE PEOPLE
PAGES 11-14
70th year of the Republic 1950-2020



In 2019, ascendant nationalism made way for narrowing definitions of who is a national, from Kashmir to Assam to Jamia. The Sunday Express asks people what the Constitution means to them as they enter the 70th year of the Republic

A new year marks both an ending and a second chance. Here, writers explore all that a year's end could bring

'NO CAUSE FOR FEAR... NO INDIAN CAN BE DENIED CITIZENSHIP WITH CAA'
Will consult states before NRC... may or may not use NPR data for it: Law Minister

KAUNAIN SHERIFF M
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28



THE EXPRESS INTERVIEW
'PROPER LEGAL PROCESS WILL BE FOLLOWED IN CASE OF NRC'
RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD

SPEAKING ABOUT the contentious Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the National Register of Citizens (NRC) plan that have sparked protests across the country, Union Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad has said that a "proper legal process" will be followed for a nation-wide NRC, including consultation with state governments, and that "some" data collected for the National Population Register (NPR) "may or may not be used" for the NRC.

His remarks, in a detailed interview to *The Sunday Express*, assume significance as more than half-a-dozen state governments, including Bihar, led by BJP ally JD(U), have opposed implementation of a nation-wide NRC. At least two have also said they won't allow the NPR as it might lead to an NRC.

In an interview to ANI last week, Union Home Minister Amit Shah said the NPR and NRC were governed by different laws and NPR data would never be used for the NRC exercise. "There is no connection between the two processes, nor can they be used in each other's survey," he said.

Asked when the NRC would be implemented, Prasad told *The Sunday Express*, "A position has to be taken. There is a legal process. First a decision, second a notification, then the process, the verification, the objection,

the hearing of the objection, right of appeal. There will be a consultation with the state government, feedback will be taken. If anything is to be done, it will be done publicly. Nothing will be a secret on an NRC."

He also reiterated that the NRC conducted in Assam was on the Supreme Court's directives.

On documents that would be acceptable for a nation-wide NRC, Prasad said no decision had been taken on this. "This question is entirely academic. When the process will start under Rule 3 and Rule 4 of The Citizenship (Registration of Citizen and Issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003, then there will be a proper public declaration of that."

The Law Minister slammed the Congress and senior leader P Chidambaram for protesting against CAA and the NRC, saying that it was the former

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Priyanka Vadra at home of former IPS officer S R Darapuri in Lucknow Saturday. Vishal Srivastava

Roughed up by police on way to meet family of detainee: Priyanka
Cong leader changed route, were doing our duty, say police

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
LUCKNOW, DELHI, DEC 28

A WAR of words erupted between the Congress and Uttar Pradesh government on Saturday as party general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra, who was in Lucknow to participate in the Congress foundation day function, claimed she was roughed up by police in a bid to

stop her from meeting the family of a retired IPS officer who was arrested on December 19 during protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act. Priyanka walked some distance and later rode pillion with a party leader on scooter to reach the home of S R Darapuri. While she said she was grabbed by the neck and fell down, police denied this.

The Congress lodged an official complaint on the "breach" in the security of the party leader, and against Hazratganj Circle Officer Abhay Mishra and other police personnel over their "misconduct". The party also wrote a letter to the CRPF IG, Delhi.

Around 5 pm, soon after Priyanka had left the state party headquarters for Darapuri's residence, Deputy SP Archana Singh intercepted her cavalcade and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

After onion sting, Centre to meet dairies to review milk stocks, prices

PARTHA SARATHI BISWAS
PUNE, DECEMBER 28

THE CENTRE has called a meeting of all leading dairies, both co-operative and private, next week "to review the milk situation in the country".

The meeting comes in the wake of the recent Rs 2-3 per litre increase in pouch milk prices by the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation (GCMMF, better known as Amul), Mother Dairy and other major brands. There are also reports of most dairies registering lower milk procurement this year, including in the "flush" period after October, when animals normally produce more because of better fodder and water availability as well as reduced body stress from high temperatures and humidity levels.

The meeting, to be held on January 3 and chaired by the secretary of the Department of Animal Husbandry & Dairying, will discuss the overall availability of milk and also stocks of conserved commodities — mainly skimmed milk powder (SMP) and white butter — with dairies. It will also review the trend in procurement rates being paid to producers and consumer prices of milk and milk products, *The Sunday Express* has learnt.

After the onion fiasco, where the extent of shortfall in production wasn't anticipated well in time and led to retail prices of the bulb crossing Rs 100/kg levels, the Narendra Modi government does not want to take chances with milk. Dairies usually convert the surplus milk they get during the "flush" season (October-March) into SMP

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Govt soothes banks over harassment by CBI: 'Won't go after genuine decisions'

Notices will carry registration number, agency won't take up suo motu cases

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

IN AN attempt to allay concerns of harassment by investigative agencies, the government on Saturday assured that honest commercial decisions taken by bankers would be protected and said that a system would be put in place for handling fraud cases.

Announcing a mechanism whereby notices issued by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) to banks will carry a registration number to avoid any scope for unauthorised communication and consequent harassment, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said, "Banks have gone through a slightly worrying period wherein decision making was getting difficult because of fear of 3Cs (CBI, CVC, CAG). There was concern and bona fide decisions are not being made by banks because of what they would say undue harassment, uncalled for harassment happens because of these agencies pursuing on cases."

Sitharaman was speaking after a review meeting she held with heads of state-owned and private sector banks and attended by Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) Director R K Shukla.

The concept of a registration number with the agency's notices is in line with a similar system of Document Identification Number (DIN) mandated by the tax department. This is aimed at preventing arbitrary issuance of

EXPLAINED
Another step towards accountability

THE MOVE to build in more accountability while initiating investigative action against bankers follows up on an earlier step where the government had directed investigative agencies to carry out a preliminary examination to ascertain whether a case of bank loan turning into NPA was the result of a criminal conspiracy or a bonafide commercial decision. Over a dozen officials of commercial banks and the RBI are facing inquiries by the CBI and ED.

notices by tax officials and to ensure audit trail of all such communications. Till November 11, 5.33 crore communications with DIN have been issued by the Income Tax Department.

It was also decided at the meeting that no case involving banks would go to the CBI without the banks themselves deciding to send it.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

'Trust the PM or HM?' Sabka Vishwas tested on the ground in west UP

RAVISH TIWARI
MORADABAD, DECEMBER 28

"Bharat mere desh ka naam, mein iska rakhwala. Hai koi aisa jo mere saamne aane wala (Bharat is my country, I am its guardian. Is there anyone who can face me?)" an elderly Mohammed Yunus recites, chewing betel nut, gathered around a fire with a group of men his age on a chilly evening in village Amhedha in Bijnor district. When he stops, Nafis Ahmed breaks into a song, "Bharat ke Tirange par meri jaan-naisa hai (I dedicate my life to the Tricolour)."

The choice of the songs or poem during the course of a discussion on the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and NRC is perhaps not incidental in a region where uncertainty runs high over the two, and where a police crackdown on protests has left the Muslim community on the edge.

Over 60 km from Amhedha, at Jhal Chittoda village in Muzaffarnagar, where too a group is gathered around a fire,

shopkeeper Abdul Gaffar points out that "otherwise, law and order is good now". Kawaal village, that faced among the worst of the 2013 Muzaffarnagar riots, is just next door.

Mohammed Faiyaz of village Manna Mazra in the Kairana-Shamli road, which saw allegations of a Hindu exodus by the BJP ahead of the 2017 Assembly elections, has good things to say about the Yogi Adityanath government too. "The ration supply is more regular and timely."

However, while it was on such promises, surmised in the slogan of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas', that two outstanding Lok Sabha wins of Prime Minister Narendra Modi rested, including in Uttar Pradesh, the events of the past few days are eroding that other assurance added to it, of 'Sabka Vishwas'. Across Kairana, Muzaffarnagar, Bijnor, Moradabad, Sambhal and Rampur, the Muslim community is battling both confusion and mounting anxiety.

What is exacerbating this are the various figures floating

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



ASAD REHMAN
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 28

FIR against SHO, five other cops for Bijnor death during protests

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
PUNE, DECEMBER 28

AMIDST CONTINUING protests over the new citizenship law and a proposed nationwide NRC, Union Petroleum Minister Dharmendra Pradhan on Saturday said that only those who are ready to say "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" should be allowed to live in India.

Addressing the 54th state conference of the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the student wing of the RSS, Pradhan on Saturday said, "Aaj desh ke

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

The minister was speaking at an ABVP event in Pune. File

Only those who say Bharat Mata ki jai can stay in India: Pradhan

AN FIR has been lodged against six policemen, including the then Station House Officer of Nahtaur police station, Rajesh Singh Solanki, over the death of 20-year-old Mohammad Suleiman in UP's Bijnor district during the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act.

Satya Prakash Singh, who replaced Solanki as SHO, told *The Sunday Express* that apart from Solanki, local outpost in-charge Ashish Tomar, constable Mohit Kumar and three other "unidentified" policemen have been named in the FIR filed by Suleiman's brother Shoaib.

Singh said the FIR has been registered under IPC Sections 302 (murder), 147 (rioting), 148 (rioting, armed with deadly weapon) and 149 (every member of unlawful assembly guilty of offence committed in prosecution of common object).

Singh said Solanki has now been transferred to the District Crime Record Bureau (DCRB).

INSIDE



CONG PROTESTS ON FOUNDATION DAY

RUCKUS AT HISTORY CONGRESS

RUSH FOR BIRTH CERTIFICATES

MEERUT SP REMARKS: LOCALS FEARFUL
PAGES 6, 8

Bijnor Additional SP (Rural) Vishwajeet Srivastava said Solanki has been transferred from the Nahtaur police station "because he was injured and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Gloves off as Mary knocks out Nikhat on way to Olympics

GAURAV BHATT
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

CHAIRS WERE hoisted, competitors taunted, expletives exchanged and foul play alleged. The long-awaited showdown between Mary Kom and Nikhat Zareen — in a trial bout to decide who would make it to the Indian team for next year's Olympic boxing qualifiers in China — will be remembered for the post-match ruckus.

After her 9-1 win, six-time World Champion and Olympic bronze-medallist Mary first shouldered away an attempt at a hug by Nikhat and then uttered an expletive at her. In turn, as she passed by the enclosure marked for spectators, Mary and her coach Chhote Lal were mouthed off by Nikhat's supporters.

The contest was a culmination of a months-long public spat



Mary Kom after the win in Delhi on Saturday. Tashi Tobgyal

over the 51-kg spot, during which Mary repeatedly questioned the need for a trial while Nikhat clamoured for a fair fight. In October, Nikhat had written a letter to Union Sports Minister Kiren Rijiju, demanding that she be given a trial bout against Mary Kom before the Indian squad for the

Olympic qualifiers was decided. This was after the Boxing Federation of India (BFI) stated that it intended to pick Mary Kom for the qualifiers based on her bronze-winning performance in the World Championships in Russia.

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WORLD



AT LEAST 90 PEOPLE KILLED IN MOGADISHU CHECKPOINT BLAST

HONG KONG PROTESTERS WANT MAINLAND CHINESE TRADERS TO LEAVE
PAGE 17

At a class for slum dwellers, D is for democracy, C for Constitution

RAAKHI JAGGA
LUDHIANA, DECEMBER 28

MARRIED AT the age of 14 to a daily wage and stitching clothes for a living at the fish market slum in Ludhiana, Aneeta had a dream. That was five years ago. Today, the mother of two is living that dream.

Aneeta is among "150 students" at the "jhuggi classrooms" in three slums within 5 km of each other in the city. The face behind these schools is Hari Om Jindal, a 53-year-old lawyer who

TRACKING CHANGE
EVERY SUNDAY

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is living his own dream — providing basic education for free to slum dwellers.

pearing for her Class 5 exam in four months. With her three-year-old daughter and five-year-old son in tow, Aneeta attends classes for three hours, besides learning basic computer skills and typing at another class in Jindal's home in the evening.

"My father sells fish in the market near the slum. Though I always wanted to study, I could never do that. Now I want to study till Class 10 at least. If I can get a job in an office with my computer skills, my dream will fully come true," she says.

Jindal says his initiative got



Lawyer Hariom Jindal holding a class in a slum on Hambran Road in Ludhiana. He runs three such 'schools'. Gurmeet Singh

going sometime in March 2014, when he noticed the slum children during his morning cycling rounds.

"Initially, I used to take laddoos and chocolates for them. After about six months, I started reading out to them — stories and the daily newspapers. In December that year, I started teaching them the alphabets and basic counting using pieces of debris and chalk for about an hour every day. Initially, only five of them came," says Jindal, who takes up civil and criminal cases in the district courts and the Punjab

and Haryana High Court. Today, six students from his school, including Aneeta, have cleared their Class 3 exams with A and B grades. "In March 2020, 11 of my students will appear for their open school exams — six for Class 5 and five for Class 3. A senior secondary school 5 km away is the exam centre," says Jindal.

From a strength of one, the staff at the "slum school" now include three part-timers who teach from Monday to Saturday, and two computer instructors

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



At Red Fort, Saturday. Dense fog was witnessed in several parts of the capital. Tashi Tobgyal

Mercury drops even lower, Delhi sees 1.7 degrees Celsius

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

LOW CLOUD cover, cold winds and a fall in night time temperatures caused the mercury to drop to the season's lowest reading in Delhi Saturday, with a minimum temperature of 2.4 degrees Celsius. According to the India Meteorological Department (IMD), the minimum temperature was even lower in parts of the city. Lodhi Road had a reading of 1.7 degrees Celsius, and Aya Nagar 1.9 degrees Celsius.

The maximum temperature recorded Saturday was 13.3 degrees Celsius. Very dense fog was also seen in areas, especially in Palam, where visibility dropped to 0 metres. At Safdarjung, visibility was 100 metres.

IMD officials said a cold spell

THE WEEK AHEAD

Day	Min	Max
Sun	2	14
Mon	3	15
Tue	5	15
Wed	7	16
Thu	9	15
Fri	9	15

All figures in °C

has prevailed over the city for 15 consecutive days and temperatures may fall further Sunday and Monday with a cold wave forecast for most parts of Delhi-NCR. Such a cold spell was recorded previously in December 1997, of 13 consecutive days. The record has been broken this December.

This month is also slated to be the second coldest December in 118 years since

1901, an IMD official said. The coldest thus far has been December 1973, which had an average maximum temperature of 17.3 degrees Celsius. The average maximum temperature recorded this month so far is 19.18 degrees Celsius.

Two flights were cancelled and six delayed at the Indira Gandhi International Airport, where visibility ranged from 0-50 metres Saturday morning, a spokesperson for the airport said. A Northern Railways official said 24 trains were also running late due to poor visibility in the city.

R K Jenamani, director of IMD's National Weather Forecasting Centre, said, "Because of the low cloud cover, sunlight has not been able to reach the surface and warm it. Since this has persisted for a number of days, which is quite

unusual, night time temperatures have fallen as well."

He added that the low cloud cover stretches from Pakistan to Bihar, and the conditions that are leading to its creation include low temperatures and calm winds.

The IMD has forecast that dense to very dense fog will be seen in the city Sunday and Monday and cold wave conditions would prevail. The severity of the cold weather is expected to reduce from December 31.

Officials said that under the influence of an approaching western disturbance, the wind speed is expected to pick up by Tuesday. Parts of Delhi-NCR may also witness light rain from late evening on December 31 to January 2. A hailstorm is expected in parts of NCR on January 1 and 2.

45-yr-old held for extorting money from doctor

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

A 45-YEAR-OLD man was arrested for allegedly impersonating a doctor, and collaborating with a woman to extort money from a senior doctor at Medi Polyclinic in South Delhi's Neb Sarai by accusing him of molestation. The accused, Ram Kishan Gupta, was nabbed from Aligarh Thursday.

On September 29, a woman called police alleging she was molested at Medi Polyclinic. DCP (South) Atul Kumar Thakur said,

"Officers did not find her at the hospital. When contacted over phone, the woman said she had mistakenly dialled the number as she was 'frustrated' because of her lung disease, and hadn't been molested." However, the next day, the woman staged a protest at the hospital with three other female accomplices. Dr Ashok Gupta, owner of Medi Polyclinic, told police he was falsely being accused of molesting her.

"Gupta said she had earlier come to his hospital for a check-up. He said that while he was trying to get the women removed from the hospital, one of his doc-

tors there, Ram, admitted her without a reason, inviting suspicion," said police.

"Initial probe suggests she wasn't molested at the hospital," said a senior police officer.

Police called Ram for questioning and asked him to show his medical degree and work credentials. When Ram failed to do so, police sent his details to the Delhi Medical Council, who confirmed he wasn't a registered doctor. One of Ram's domestic helps told police that the woman worked for Ram and that the duo had plotted to extort money from Gupta by threatening him with

police calls and protests.

When police went to arrest Ram, they found he had fled. "We caught him from a hospital in Aligarh Thursday, and there too he was impersonating a doctor," said police.

Ram told police that he wasn't a doctor and had posed as a doctor at clinics and hospitals across UP and Delhi to get a job.

"Ram took Rs 2 lakh from the woman on the pretext of giving her a job at the hospital, but couldn't do so. To repay the money, Ram planned to extort Rs 20 lakh from the doctor with the help of the woman," police said.

Piling newspapers cost couple jewellery, antiques worth Rs 2 cr

New Delhi: A growing stack of unread newspapers lying at the entrance of the three-storeyed locked house in Greater Kailash-I was a telling sign that aided a burglary worth over Rs 2 crore ten days ago.

On December 26, police arrested four people, including a woman, for allegedly taking off with brass and copper antique showpieces, gold and diamond jewellery, luxury watches, sunglasses and shoes from a house in GK-I while the occupants were abroad.

The accused have been identified as Raju, a history-sheeter, his wife Pinky, and their aides Hunny and Sageer. DCP (South) Alok Kumar Thakur said, "We received a complaint about a burglary in GK-1 on December 20. CCTV footage from the area was analysed, and the accused identified." Two trunks full of jewellery and antiques were recovered from Raju's house in Sultanpuri. His wife was arrested from Chandni Chowk, where she was going to sell the loot, said a senior police officer.

Businessman Alok Gupta told *The Sunday Express*, "My wife and I were in the US and returned late December 19 night to see every almirah and locker broken. All jewellery and antiques that belonged to my



Two jewellery trunks and antiques were recovered

ancestors, and household items and cash were missing."

A police officer said that in the CCTV footage, Raju could be seen crossing over the boundary wall of the house on December 15 around 10.30 pm and exiting at 1.30 am. Gupta alleged that as per footage acquired from other CCTVs, Raju entered the house five nights in a row.

Gupta said, "We wondered how one person could do it alone in a single night without being noticed by guards and neighbours. As per the footage, he was here five nights." A senior police officer said that this angle is being explored. Police said that Raju has a crime record dating back to 1994. "During questioning, he said that the stack of newspapers, switched-off lights and the fat lock on the gate meant that the occupants were away," said a senior police officer. **ENS**



Free OPD, Lab, X-Ray facilities are available for Senior Citizens on Every Sunday 9:00 am onwards in most Delhi Government Hospitals.

SDMC sets aside Rs 15 cr for illegal colony work

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

THE SOUTH Delhi Municipal Corporation will now be able to spend its money for infrastructure development in unauthorised colonies. It has made provisions of Rs 15 crore for development works in colonies that got regularised after the Bill

to this effect was passed in the Parliament in November this year.

The Corporation had earlier maintained that they cannot spend money on these colonies except for cleaning and sanitation work as they are unauthorised.

Leader of the House Kamaljeet Sherawat said Rs 15 crore has been provisioned for development works in the recently-

regularised colonies, and it will be distributed equally.

An additional fund of Rs 15 lakh will be provided to the councillor for carrying out development works.

Union Minister Hardeep Puri had said in November that within three months the ecosystem required for conferment of rights to all 40 lakh citizens living in these colonies will be created.

The Delhi Development Authority (DDA) has started a web portal on which over 17,000 people have opened their accounts to get their houses registered. They will have to submit the required documents and complete other formalities to get a conveyance deed from DDA. After this, they can get their houses registered from the revenue department.

SASHAKTI
OUR SELF-DEFENCE INITIATIVE

6th SELF DEFENCE TECHNIQUE TRAINING WINTER CAMP-2019-20 (PARTICIPATION IS FREE OF COST)

Sl.	VENUE	DATE & TIME OF SELF DEFENCE TRAINING PROGRAMME (EXCEPT SUNDAY)	DATE & TIME OF NUKKAD NATAK/ STREET PLAY PROGRAMME AND HIMMAT APP WORKSHOP	DATE & TIME OF GENDER SENSITISATION PROGRAMME AND SHORT FILM KOMAL (Nirbheek)	DATE & TIME OF REGISTRATION (EXCEPT SUNDAY AND GH)
1.	Gyan Mandir Public School, E-Block, Naraina Vihar, New Delhi-110028		01.01.2020 11.15 am	02.01.2020 11.30 am	
2.	DPPS, B-4, Block Safdarjung Enclave Delhi-110029	31.12.2019 to 10.01.2020	02.01.2020 11.15 am	03.01.2020 11.30 am	21.12.2019 to 30.12.2019
3.	Bal Mandir Sr. Sec. School, Defence Enclave Vikas Marg Delhi-110092	09.00 am to 11.00 am	03.01.2020 11.15 am	06.01.2020 11.30 am	10.00 am to 04.00 pm
4.	Green View Public School, Dwarka Vihar, Kakrola Road Najafgarh, New Delhi-110043		06.01.2020 11.15 am	07.01.2020 11.30 am	

The participant must bring a recent photograph & a copy of any Govt. issued photo ID (preferably Aadhaar Card/Election Card) at the time of registration at respective venue

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SPECIAL POLICE UNIT FOR WOMEN & CHILDREN

DUO USED APP BANNED IN INDIA

Shah's landline 'spoofed' to run scam, two arrested

MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

DELHI POLICE has arrested two men for allegedly 'spoofing' the residential and office landline numbers of Home Minister Amit Shah from an app and demanding Rs 3 crore for 'party funds' after allegedly making calls to Haryana power minister Ranjit Singh Chautala, estranged brother of former Haryana CM Om Prakash Chautala.

Police said the arrested men have been identified as Upkaar Singh (47) and Jagtaar Singh (42). A senior police officer told The Indian Express: "The arrests were made following a complaint from the Home Minister's OSD Satish Kumar in the first week of December."

According to police, the incident came to light when minister Ranjit Singh Chautala received a call through an app, Crazy Call, which is banned in India.

"The minister received a number of calls from a person posing as a senior party official. He allegedly demanded Rs 3 crore for 'party funds'. He claimed that he was calling from Shah's residence on Krishna Menon Marg, but the minister got suspicious on receiving repeated calls. He then approached Shah's OSD for enquiry, but was informed that no such calls were made from their office. Home Minister Shah's OSD then approached Delhi Police Commissioner Amulya



The accused allegedly spoofed landlines of Union Home Minister Amit Shah to call Haryana Power Minister Ranjit Singh Chautala (R), and demanded Rs 3 crore for party funds

Patnaik," an officer said. An FIR was registered in the case and DCP (New Delhi Range of the special cell) Pramod Singh Kushwah was asked to investigate.

"With the help of technical surveillance, the team first found that the calls were made from an app which is banned in India. It can, however, be downloaded from Opera web browser. On Thursday, police asked the accused callers to come near Haryana Bhawan to collect the amount. Jagtaar Singh was arrested from the spot. Police then conducted a raid in Chandigarh to nab Upkaar Singh. He was arrested on Friday evening," the officer added.

During questioning, Jagtaar, who hails from Haryana's Sirsa, told police that he has business of leather jackets, while Upkaar Singh hails from Chandigarh and runs a taxi stand.

"Around three months ago, both the accused met for the first time at the office of a common friend for a land deal. Borrowing ideas from crime-related TV shows, they decided to dupe a minister. Upkaar, who is PhD degree holder, began learning about call spoofing. In the meantime, Jagtaar managed to get the phone numbers of minister Ranjit Singh, and Upkaar made calls to him," police said.

Meanwhile, Ranjit Singh has denied that he received any such call. "Nobody demanded money from me. I have not come across any official from the ministry. I am a cabinet minister and no such thing has happened with me. I wasn't approached for any funds," he told reporters.

With the help of technical surveillance, a team led by Inspectors Umesh Barthwal and Neeraj Kumar made the arrests, said a police officer.

To help future probes, Jamia to prepare report on police action

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

JAMIA MILLIA Islamia has formed two internal committees to collect information and prepare a report on the incident of unauthorised police entry and violence on the university campus on December 15, in which several students were injured and property was damaged.

Jamia Registrar A P Siddiqui, in an office order dated December 26, said two committees would be formed — one to collect data pertaining to the incident, and another to prepare a report, which would then be presented to any committee probing the matter.

Vice-Chancellor Najma Akhtar has asked the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) for a high-powered committee or judicial inquiry but it has not yet been approved. The National Human Rights



Several students were injured and property was damaged

Commission (NHRC) too is conducting a probe into the incident.

In the office order, Siddiqui said, "In view of the unfortunate incident... the matter for high-powered committee/judicial inquiry and investigation are likely to be initiated..."

He added that it was "imminent on the part of the university" to collect "all the facts in the form of statistics, statements, elec-

tronic, and various records" as well as videos and photographs "to present the case of the university".

Committee-I comprises nine members and will be chaired by former Jamia Registrar and Pro-V-C MNA Chaudhary. Joint Registrar Abdul Malik would serve as the convener of the committee. Committee-II is made up of all deans of faculties, six provosts, the

chief proctor, PRO, Jamia Teachers' Association secretary, with dean of students' welfare Seemi Farhat Bashir as the convener.

Siddiqui, in the office order, said Committee II will function as a "feeder committee" which will "collect all facts" and "submit the entire gamut of the materials to the Committee I for further analysis and presentations".

"The information from students will be channeled through DSW, deans, provosts and other officials," he said.

The data collected by Committee II includes "statistics of injured students, medical records; written statement from affected students/witnesses; collection of video evidences and photographs; university reports including minutes of executive council/appeals; newspaper reporting, other media reports; and the efforts on the part of the university to restore and normalise academic life on the campus".

'Scan CCTVs for proof on 15 arrested in Darya Ganj violence'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

A DELHI court Saturday asked police to examine CCTV footage to ascertain the alleged involvement of 15 accused who were arrested in connection with violence, including setting a car ablaze, by a crowd protesting against the new citizenship law and the proposed NRC in Old Delhi's Darya Ganj.

Besides the 15 accused, Bhim Army chief Chandrashekhar Azad was also arrested for allegedly "instigating the crowd" protesting against the Act on December 20. He has been in judicial custody since December 21, after the magisterial court dismissed his bail plea.

On Saturday, the court said there was a probability of ascertaining the exact roles of the 15 accused in the alleged offences by examining the CCTV footage obtained from the area. "The IO should examine the aspect of CCTV footage and produce video grabs, if any, of the alleged incident in order to ascertain the actual involvement of the applicants in the offences alleged to have been committed by them," Additional District Judge Manish Yaduvanshi said.

The judge adjourned hearing on the bail applications of the accused to January 7, 2020.

A magisterial court had already denied bail to the 15 accused on December 23, after which they approached the sessions court for relief.

Among the 15 arrested are carpenters, daily wage labourers and people who went to the mosque for their Friday prayers. The counsel had earlier claimed that police had detained many people, but decided to arrest those who had no criminal antecedents.

Days on, Shaheen Bagh voices strong

ASTHA SAXENA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

AS THE peaceful protest in Shaheen Bagh entered the 14th day, residents continued to raise their voice against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC).

The protest began on December 15 when residents came out to protest the Delhi Police action on Jamia Millia Islamia campus. The sit-in has continued since.

"We have plans for the next week and the future course of action will be decided after that. There is no violence here, we are



At the protest Saturday

here together to protest against the CAA and NRC," said Nazir Ali Khan, a resident of Kalindi Kunj who is volunteering at the site.

From offering lunch to serving tea in the shivering cold, the

protesters, most of whom are women, are being constantly supported by a team of volunteers. From Saturday, a health camp was set up by a group of doctors, nurses and medical volunteers, to offer basic medical aid to those in need. An ambulance will also be stationed at the site to address the emergency cases.

"For the last two weeks, we have been reaching out to protesters who need medical aid. We have been to Kalindi Kunj, Assam Bhawan and Darya Ganj police stations to provide medical care to the protesters and injured," said Dr Harjit Singh Bhatti, national president of Progressive Medicos & Scientist Forum (PMSF).

Meanwhile, several shop owners are unhappy as the market has been shut due to the protest.

"There are 100 shops on the road and on an average we all make a business of around Rs 1 crore on a single day. This is the peak season during winters when most people come to shop. We are against the government policy but we also want to earn our living. There are many workers in the area who are employed with us, how do we pay them?" said one of the shop owners.

According to the local shop owners, meetings with Delhi Police were futile and they have begun returning inventory since they are unable to sell it.

At centre of 50-yr-old dispute, a century-old Salman Rushdie bungalow now valued at Rs 130 crore

SOMYA LAKHANI & PRITAM PAL SINGH
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

SPREAD ACROSS an acre, next to Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal's official residence in Civil Lines, is a century-old bungalow stuck in a dispute since the '70s. The plush location aside, the bungalow is Booker Prize winning author Salman Rushdie's ancestral home, which was valued at Rs 130 crore by the Delhi High Court on December 24.

For almost 50 years, a legal battle has ensued between Rushdie's family and that of Congressman Bhiku Ram Jain after a deal to sell the house fell through.



Outside Rushdie's ancestral home in Civil Lines. Tashi Tobgyal

Justice Rajiv Sahai Endlaw said, "I am of the opinion that while determining the price at Rs 130 crore and on plaintiffs (Jains) failing to pay the said price, a condition should be im-

posed on the defendant (Rushdies) to, within stipulated time, sell the property at minimum Rs 130 crore."

On Saturday afternoon, The Sunday Express met Jain's son

Adarsh (58) at the bungalow — 4, Flagstaff Road. "My father Bhiku Ram Jain bought the bungalow from (Salman Rushdie's father) Anis Ahmed Rushdie in 1970. An advance payment and an agreement to sell was made," he said. He said the house was priced at Rs 3.75 lakh at the time.

Adarsh said, "The Rushdies moved to London, and my father tried to give them the full payment, but they just won't take it. So we went to court."

In 2012, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Jains and directed the Rushdies to hand over the house to them for the market price as on the date of the order. The SC left it on the Delhi HC to determine the market value.

The HC order stated that the

plaintiffs, within 60 days of this determination, should indicate their intention to purchase the property at the said price — Rs 130 crore. The order said if the Jains consent, then "within 90 days of today deposit in this court 10 per cent of the purchase consideration equivalent to Rs 13 crore, by way of earnest money."

The order stated that in case the Jains do not consent to purchasing the property or fail to deposit the earnest money, the Rushdies will have to sell the property to another buyer for a minimum of Rs 130 crore.

About the Delhi HC's order, Adarsh said, "We will have to make a strategy and then decide. We can't say anything right now."

PRITAMPAL SINGH
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

OBSERVING IT is "necessary for courts to have a sensitive approach when dealing with cases of child rape", the Delhi High Court Friday sentenced a 30-year-old man to 10 years in jail for raping a minor in 2008.

"The effect of such a crime on a child's mind is likely to be lifelong," a bench of Justice Siddharth Mridul and Justice IS Mehta said.

"A special safeguard has been provided for children in Article 39 of the Constitution, which inter alia stipulates that the state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the ten-

der age of the children is not abused and children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity... and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment," the court observed.

As per records, the incident dates back to 2008, when the man raped the minor at her home when her parents were away.

The order came on an appeal by the Delhi government against the trial court's July 2011 verdict, by which the accused, Amar Pal, was acquitted of charges on the ground that the victim appeared to be a "tutored witness" and it was not safe to rely on her testi-

mony. The High Court set aside the trial court's findings and convicted the man for the offence, ordering his immediate custody on December 9.

It said, "The findings of the trial court that the testimony of the minor victim is influenced, and not reliable and she failed to identify the respondent as the perpetrator initially, whereby rendering his subsequent identification by her full of doubt, is without any proper justification and contrary to the evidence on record..."

The HC also turned down the convict's contention that his incarceration for a long period of time would be devastating for the well-being of his family.

Government of India
DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY
Board of Radiation & Isotope Technology
Engineering support

Vashi Complex, Navi Mumbai 400703.
December 29, 2019

TENDER NOTICE NO. : BRIT/ES/2019-2020/09

Chief Executive, BRIT, Vashi Complex, behind APMC Fruit Market, near Govt. Ware House, Turbhe, Navi Mumbai-400703, for and on behalf of The President Of India hereby invites sealed tenders from eligible contractors on the approved list of Central/State PWD, MES, Railway and others for the following work.

Description : Records and Data Maintaining related to Customer service, sales, and transport at BRIT, Vashi Complex, and Project House, Deonar Mumbai for the year 2020-2021.

Estimated cost : **Rs. 61,00,000.00.** (Including 18% GST)

Earnest money : **Rs. 1,22,000/-** (This deposit should be either in the form of Demand Draft or deposit at call Receipt issued in favour of Pay & Accounts Officer, BRIT)

Completion Period : **Twelve Months (One Year).**

Security Deposit : 5% Performance Guarantee + 2.5% Security Deposit

Tender documents will be available at the office of the **Assistant Personnel Officer, BRIT, Vashi Complex, behind APMC Fruit Market, near Govt. Ware House, Turbhe, Navi Mumbai-400703**, and can be purchased on any working day between **10.00 hrs. to 15.00 hrs.** (excluding Sundays, Mondays and public holidays) from **01.01.2020 to 11.01.2020** on payment of **Rs. 1000/- + G.S.T. @ 18%** (Total Rupees One Thousand one hundred eighty only) per set in cash (non refundable) against written application and on production of (a). **Bank solvency certificate** of minimum value **Rs. 24.40 Lakhs** (b). **Latest income tax clearance certificate** (Last 3 years), (c). **List with evidence of similar works** (Record and data maintenance (office work) related to Customer Service & sales) in hand and completed in last Seven years indicating agency for whom the work has been carried out, Value of work, stipulated and actual completion period, Present status. (The cost of work 40% of 3 similar works, 60% of 2 similar works or 80% of 1 similar work (d). **Performance / completion certificates**, (e) **List of Technical staff and administrative staff available**, (f) **Annual Turnover during last five years** and (g) **Proof of GST registration.**

After examining these documents, blank tender forms shall be issued only to the firm prima facie found competent to carry out the tender job. Sale of tender/ opening of tender does not imply acceptance/approval. Tenders will not be sent by post. The tenders will be issued only after the verification of certificates with the originals.

Tenders duly filled in should be placed in sealed cover, prescribed with the name of work, should be deposited in the box provided at Security counter, Vashi Complex, behind APMC Fruit Market, near Govt. Ware House, Turbhe, Navi Mumbai-400 703, upto **14.00 hrs.** on or before **14.01.2020** and will be opened by senior Manager (Engineering Support), BRIT, in his office at **15.00 hrs.** on **14.01.2020** in the presence of such contractors who desires to attend.

Acceptance of tenders will rest with the Chief Executive, BRIT, Vashi Complex, who does not bind himself to accept the lowest or any other offer and reserves to himself the right to reject any or all the offer received without assigning any reason whatsoever.

Offers which do not fulfill all or any of the above conditions and incomplete in any respect are liable to be summarily rejected.

For further details regarding eligibility of contractors, conditions please visit **www.britatom.gov.in**

Senior Manager (Engineering Support)
For and on behalf of The President of India

GUJARAT MEDICAL SERVICES CORPORATION LIMITED
(A Government of Gujarat Undertaking)
Regd. Office : Block No. 14/1, Dr. Jivraj Mehta Bhavan, Sector-10, Gandhinagar.
☎ 079-23250767, 23250766, 23257696.

The following amendments are hereby made in the tender Notice of this office

CORRIGENDUM IN E-TENDER NOTICE No: 11/2019-20 (only for one item)

Sr. No. : 3 Cryostat Instrument for Frozen Section	Description	Earlier published details	Amendment issued as
	Duration of Downloading Tender (Online)	22/11/2019 to 23/12/2019 up to 15.55 hrs.	22/11/2019 to 02/01/2020 up to 15.55 hrs.
	Due date and Time of Submission (On Line)	23/12/2019 up to 16.00 hrs.	02/01/2020 up to 16.00 hrs.
	Physical submission of Tender Fee, EMD and Technical Supporting Documents on or before	24/12/2019 up to 12.00 hrs.	03/01/2020 up to 12.00 hrs.
	Date and Time of Technical bid Opening (On Line)	26/12/2019 on 12.30 hrs.	04/01/2020 on 12.30 hrs

Other details of this Tender enquiry remain unchanged.

INF/1901/19-20 **MANAGING DIRECTOR**

GUJARAT MEDICAL SERVICES CORPORATION LIMITED
(A Government of Gujarat Undertaking)
Regd. Office : Block No. 14/1, Dr. Jivraj Mehta Bhavan, Sector-10, Gandhinagar.
☎ 079-23250767, 23250766, 23257696.

The following amendments are hereby made in the tender Notice of this office

CORRIGENDUM IN E-TENDER NOTICE No: 10/2019-20

Item : Video Colposcope

Description	Earlier published details	Amendment issued as
Duration of Downloading Tender (Online)	21/11/2019 to 21/12/2019 up to 15.55 hrs.	21/11/2019 to 30/12/2019 up to 15.55 hrs.
Due date and Time of Submission (On Line)	21/12/2019 up to 16.00 hrs.	30/12/2019 up to 16.00 hrs.
Physical submission of Tender Fee, EMD and Technical Supporting Documents on or before	23/12/2019 up to 12.00 hrs.	31/12/2019 up to 12.00 hrs.
Date and Time of Technical bid Opening (On Line)	24/12/2019 on 12.30 hrs.	01/01/2020 on 12.30 hrs

Other details of this Tender enquiry remain unchanged.

INF/1899/19-20 **MANAGING DIRECTOR**

BEFORE DEBTS RECOVERY TRIBUNAL-III, DELHI
PARLIAMENT STREET, NEW DELHI-110001

Notice under Section 19(4) of the Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act, 1993 read with Rule 12 & 13 of the Debts Recovery Tribunal (Procedure Rules) 1993.

In the matter of
O.A. No. 314/2019 DRT-III
BANK OF BARODA Vs **NLDK TIMBERS PVT. LTD. & ORS.**
Applicant Vs Defendants

To,
D-1 **NLDK TIMBERS PVT. LTD.**, A Company incorporated under the provisions of the Companies Act, 1956. Registered Office At:- C-542, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016. Also at:- Corporate Office:- F-230, Lado Sarai, New Delhi-110030.
D-2 **SH. SANJIV PASRICHA S/O SH. D.K. PASRICHA**, R/o C-542, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016
D-3 **SH. JATIN PASRICHA S/O SH. D.K. PASRICHA**, R/o C-542, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016.
D-4 **SH. ABHINAV PASRICHA**, R/o C-542, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016.

Whereas the above named applicant has instituted a case against you and whereas it has been shown to the satisfaction of the Tribunal that it is not possible to serve you in ordinary way. Therefore, this notice is given by advertisement directing you to make appearance in this Tribunal **27.02.2020 at 10.30 A.M.**

Take notice that in case of your failure to appear on the above mentioned day before this Tribunal, the case will be heard and decided in your absence.

Given under my hand and seal of this Tribunal on this **04th day of December 2019.**

By order of the Tribunal
Assistant Registrar, DRT-III, New Delhi

BEFORE DEBTS RECOVERY TRIBUNAL-III, DELHI
4th Floor Jeevan Tara Building Parliament Street, New Delhi-110001

Notice under Section 19(4) of the Recovery of Debts Due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act, 1993 read with Rule 12 & 13 of the Debts Recovery Tribunal (Procedure Rules) 1993.

In the matter of
O.A. No. 94/2019
ALLAHABAD BANK VS **MR SANDIP SHUKLA & ORS.**
Applicant Vs Defendants

To,
D-1 **Sandip Shukla, S/o Lal Bahadur Shukla**
28, Bhera Enclave, Paschim Vihar, Delhi-26
D-2 **Tiny, W/o Sandip Shukla**
At: 28, Bhera Enclave, Paschim Vihar, Delhi-26
D-3 **Sh. Manoj Kumar, S/o Sh. Ram Gopal**
B-185, Block-B, Katyani Vihar, Begumpur, New Delhi-86
D-4 **Deepak Goyal S/o Late Jagdish Chander,**
H-32/103, Sector-3, Rohini, Delhi-110085

Whereas the above named applicant has instituted a case against you and whereas it has been shown to the satisfaction of the Tribunal that it is not possible to serve you in ordinary way. Therefore, this notice is given by advertisement directing you to make appearance in this Tribunal on **04.03.2020 at 10.30 A.M.**

Take notice that in case of your failure to appear on the above mentioned day before this Tribunal, the case will be heard and decided in your absence.

Given under my hand and seal of this Tribunal on this **23rd day of Dec., 2019.**

By Order of the Tribunal,
Assistant Registrar, DRT-III, New Delhi

BRIEFLY

Delhi Cong marches on foundation day

New Delhi: Delhi Congress chief Subash Chopra and several party workers carried out a march from the party office at Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg Saturday to mark the party's 135th foundation day. The leaders marched to Ambedkar Stadium and then moved to Rajghat to pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi. **ENS**

Constable kills self

New Delhi: A 33-year-old police constable allegedly shot himself dead with his service pistol Saturday. Police said Parun Tyagi allegedly committed suicide at the Subroto Park police post near Dhaura Kuan, allegedly over a family dispute. No suicide note has been recovered.

Man shot dead

New Delhi: A man was allegedly shot dead by unidentified assailants in Outer Delhi's Bawana after a scuffle, police said Saturday. **PTI**

IN INDERPURI

Will provide free housing to all poor in next term: CM

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

"EVER SINCE I have made bus rides for women free in the capital, I have been subject to abuses and ridicule by the opposition parties," said Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal Saturday. He was addressing a public gathering at the foundation stone laying ceremony for development works at JJR colony in Inderpuri.

Talking about the initiatives taken by the AAP government in the last five years, Kejriwal explained how Delhi is the only state in the country to provide free power supply, free travel to women and world-class facilities in health and education sectors. "They ask where will the money come from? I will tell you where the money will come from. Recently, the CM of Gujarat purchased a helicopter for worth Rs 190 crore for his personal use. On the other hand, I only had to spend Rs 140 crore to make travel free for women. I did not buy myself a helicopter, instead, I made commute free for women," he



Delhi government is the first in country to provide free travel to women, power supply: Kejriwal

said. Promising to construct houses for everyone in the capital, the CM said that the plan after elections is to provide housing to poor people living in slums. "You live in *jhuggis* and face embarrassment when you entertain guests at home. Your kids grow up and go to college and feel embarrassed while admitting that they live in *jhuggis*. We will put an end to this. We have already relocated 5,000 people from slums to flats, and they are happy. When we

handed over the keys to them, they were so happy that they had tears in their eyes. One lives under hardship in *kachcha* houses due to want of money. Anyone with money would like to buy a house, but poor people are forced to live in *jhuggis*. Nobody wants to live in *jhuggis*," he said, claiming that not a single *jhuggi* has been demolished under the AAP regime. The CM also inaugurated a four-storey Mahatma Jyotiba Phule Memorial Old Age Ashram in Wazirpur, saying the AAP government is the first one

to honour the elderly. The capital has three functional old-age homes and seven are under construction. The old-age home is also equipped with state of the art facilities for the elderly, which includes entertainment and nutritious food. "The nation which serves and respects its elderly is the one which progresses. This is what the Indian culture teaches us — to respect the elderly. We are the first government that honours the elderly," The CM said.

BJP launches chargesheet attack, AAP says will follow good advice

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

LAUNCHING AN attack on the AAP, the BJP Saturday released a "chargesheet", alleging that the party "misguided and befooled" people and "failed to fulfill the promises that it made before the 2015 assembly elections".

At the event called *Aarop Patra: Jhooth aur Vishwashghat ki AAP Sarkar*, organised at Connaught Place's Central Park, Union Minister Harsh Vardhan said CM Arvind Kejriwal failed to form a Lokpal. He said that following AAP's defeat in Lok Sabha elections, the CM has been mak-



BJP leaders at Saturday's event. **Amit Mehra**

ing only announcements, adding that people of Delhi will now decide whether they want a chief minister of five months or five years. In the *aarop patra*, the BJP also accused the AAP of fanning violence during protests against the new citizenship law in Jammu and Kashmir and Seelampur.

Releasing three purported videos of the violence blaming the AAP for "fanning fire", Delhi BJP chief Manoj Tiwari said, "The chargesheet will be circulated in the seven Lok Sabha constituencies and 70 Assembly segments."

Former Union Minister Vijay Goel took aim at the AAP government saying it failed to control air pollution in Delhi.

Kejriwal tweeted, "We will go through their 'chargesheet' and implement any good suggestions in the next five years. We would like everyone to examine our work, find out shortcomings and give suggestions so that we can improve things".

Sisodia challenge to BJP: File report card on MCD governance in 3 days

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

CHALLENGING THE BJP to release a report card on the 12-year governance at the municipal corporations of Delhi (MCDs), Deputy CM Manish Sisodia said if the same is not done in the next three days, AAP will release one in a week.

At a press conference

Saturday, hours after the Delhi BJP released an "aarop patra" against the AAP government, Sisodia said that the BJP-run MCDs are not comparable to Delhi government's governance in education and other issues, and are in "pits of corruption".

CM Kejriwal had released the AAP government's report card on Tuesday. "For 12 years, people of Delhi have trusted the BJP for its civic bodies. Around 80%

of children who go into sixth grade from Nagar Nigam schools into Delhi government schools need to be taught second grade textbooks," said Sisodia.

Comparing the healthcare system provided by the AAP and the BJP, he said: "People from Delhi's poshest colonies as well as the poorest of the poor are going to mohalla clinics. But you can see the state of BJP's dispensaries."

At Cong's 134th anniversary, a call to 'save the country'

SAKSHI DAYAL
GURGAON, DECEMBER 28

PROTESTS AGAINST the Citizenship Amendment Act and NRC, and the "dangers" such laws pose to the Indian Constitution, were the focus at the state-level celebrations of the Congress's 134th anniversary in Gurgaon on Saturday, with opposition leader Ghulam Nabi Azad calling upon people to "save the country and Constitution".

Calling the Constitution a "religious script" that serves as a "system" on which a democracy

runs, Azad said, "Each religion has a system running it. To run countries, especially democracies, the Constitution is in place. It applies to all religions and castes. For many years, we have followed the path of the Constitution. As a result, we made progress, maintained brotherhood and justice was done with all religions, castes, areas and states."

Drawing a parallel between the Independence struggle and the current scenario, Azad pointed that the slogan chanted during then — "*Desh bachao, Samvidhaan bachao*" — is being chanted again, and the same de-



Congress leader Ghulam Nabi Azad at the event, Saturday

mands — "freedom of speech, freedom of press, right to organise processions" — are being made again.

Stating that the violent reaction to these demands is also being repeated, he said, "Bullets are being fired again, just like in the time of the British. Twenty-one people were shot dead in UP, five people have died in Assam. Why was nobody lathi-charged or shot when processions were taken out in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Bihar? Delhi Police is under the Government of India. How were the hands and legs of boys and girls broken in University hostels,

rooms, bathrooms?"

Administrative demands "to not misuse government agencies" and legislative demands — "the same way laws were made then to divide people and only run governments, they are being made now" — are also being repeated, said Azad. He added that the economic situation has also deteriorated. He claimed: "The government has not only failed to bring industry, but has also sold existing industries, put their friends at the top, and inflicted demonetisation, so that people today are pining for two meals a day."

Delhi Police to make senior citizens, students aware of cyber crimes

SOMYA LAKHANI
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

AFTER NOTICING that a majority of complaints regarding cyber-space were coming from senior citizens, housewives and college students, the North West district of Delhi Police has decided to hold an awareness programme specifically for the groups. Additionally, DCP (North West) Vijayanta Arya said "the programme will also tackle fake news."

The programme will be held in parks at colonies, schools and colleges across the North West district after the Delhi polls next year.

Arya said senior citizens, housewives and college students complain about a specific type of cyber crime. "Senior citizens become victims of insurance-related fraud, wherein they get calls from criminals impersonating insurance agents who fleece them by doling out false schemes. Housewives become victims of bank frauds where criminals pre-

tending to be bank employees ask their personal bank details," she said.

The DCP said high school and college students often become victims of identity theft on social media websites and online blackmail.

"We receive complaints of morphed photos and videos. Sometimes, they are of a sexual nature. Cyber hygiene is important, and this is the point of the programme," she said.

In the awareness programme, all stakeholders — including banks and cyber law experts — will be asked to participate, so that they can tell users how to protect themselves from such frauds, Arya said.

"Be it a slew of cases about child kidnapping rumours a few months ago or the mysterious 'braid cutter' cases across Delhi and UP, the programme aims to teach people to separate facts from rumours. These rumours cause panic, which can further escalate a situation. We want to counter fake news," she said.

Breakthrough by AIIMS docs on celiac disease

New Delhi: Doctors at AIIMS have discovered two new biomarkers in blood tests that will help assess the impact on the intestines of those with celiac disease.

Until now, patients diagnosed with the disease had to undergo a biopsy to discover the effects on villous, a functional unit in the small intestine that helps digest food. The process is time consuming as well as painful.

Celiac disease (CeD) is a gluten-mediated enteropathy (disease of the intestine) that affects approximately 0.7% of the global population.

With the new biomarkers — Citrulline and FABP (fatty acid binding protein) — a patient will have to get two blood tests done to know the impact, doing away with the need for a biopsy.

Celiac disease is an autoimmune disease that prevents the complete digestion of a protein called gluten, which is present in cereals. This causes damage to the

small intestinal mucosa, where food is absorbed. The damaged small intestine does not absorb food. Thus, patients fail to grow in height or gain weight, and develop chronic diarrhoea, anaemia and weakness of bones.

For diagnosis of celiac disease, doctors need a blood test that suggests celiac disease, a test to see the damage done to small intestines, and a test to check patients' response. In the first two tests, if the blood test is highly positive, one can predict villous atrophy, which means there is no need for further tests.

"However, we were worried that blood tests could be falsely positive at times. As this is a life-long disease, we wanted a confirmed diagnosis. So we took these two biomarkers which will make it easier to establish the impact," said Dr Govind Makharia of the gastroenterology department at AIIMS. **ENS**

OUR YAMUNA, OUR RESPONSIBILITY

YAMUNA BELONGS TO ALL OF US AND IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP IT POLLUTION FREE. LET'S ALL WE TAKE A PLEDGE TO KEEP YAMUNA POLLUTION FREE

SOURCES OF POLLUTION:

- Untreated Sewage ■ Industrial effluents ■ Construction debris
- Unchecked disposal of solid waste ■ Daily activities like bathing, washing clothes, bathing of animals, etc.
- Use of chemical fertilizers/pesticides in the flood plains for agriculture.

DOs

- ☑ Sewer connections should be obtained by each and every house hold in areas where sewer network exists.
- ☑ Conserve water. Follow the principle of reduce / reuse/ recycle while water usage.
- ☑ Use mug instead of running the tap while brushing teeth or shaving.
- ☑ Take shorter showers to reduce water consumption.
- ☑ Check your water bill to see how much water you are using.
- ☑ Encourage rooftop rain water harvesting and recharging wells/tanks.
- ☑ Kitchen waste water should be used for watering plants and other non-potable uses.
- ☑ Establish community nursery by using waste water.
- ☑ Remain vigilant so that no septic tank waste is discharged into the drains and such incident should be reported. Septic tank waste is to be discharged at the designated points identified by DJB.

DON'Ts

- ☑ Do not discharge contaminated water in water bodies.
- ☑ Do not throw plastic, garbage, religious material and other wastes in river Yamuna.
- ☑ Do not litter near water bodies including lakes, ponds, drains and river.
- ☑ Stop chemical pollution — if you notice someone throwing chemicals into the river or lake, or hear about such an incident, inform your local authorities about the matter.
- ☑ Do not block/stop natural drains by constructing on drain or dumping wastes in the drain.
- ☑ Avoid wasting water.
- ☑ Idols made of Plaster of Paris and baked clay or painted with chemical/heavy metals based paints should not be immersed.
- ☑ Do not let overhead water-tanks to overflow. Switch off water supply when they are full.
- ☑ Do not wash your car with a hose pipe.

Water conservation to be made a part of our daily routine.
Promote the use of non-toxic liquid disinfectant and cleaners.
Practice Waste Segregation at household level. Bio-degradable and non-biodegradable waste should be put in separate bins and no waste should be littered or thrown in drains.
Practising recycle and reuse. Make compost out of vegetable peels and other food wastes which can be recycled for use as manure. If space does not permit, try this in pots/ containers.
Say no to single-use disposable plastics, carry a reusable bag (cloth bag) when shopping.
Plant trees in your locality and ensure their survival. Planting of trees and shrubs in garden, balcony, roof top or a terrace garden provides shelter to birds and helps in conserving urban biodiversity.
Make sure your home is leak free. Maintain and repair plumbing fixtures regularly.

Department of Environment, Government of NCT of Delhi

6 GOVT & POLITICS

'Need for NPR because Census detail can't be made public to any authority'

KAUNAIN SHERIFF M speaks to Union Law and Justice Minister **RAVISHANKAR PRASAD** on the controversy around the new citizenship law, NRC and NPR. Excerpts:



What was the law ministry's legal opinion on the Citizenship Amendment Act, especially on reasonable classification under Article 14 (Right to Equality) of the Constitution, where a set of religions were included and the Muslims were excluded?
...CAA is perfectly constitutional and legal. Article 246 says clearly that Parliament has exclusive power to make laws in any of the matters enumerated in List 1 of the seventh schedule, and entry 17 of this list talks about citizenship, naturalisation and aliens. Therefore, Parliament has full powers to make laws on these three issues.



NRC. But nothing has been done. NRC has not even been initiated...

Parliament is sovereign in law-making, but it is subject to one restriction that it should not violate the fundamental rights, including Article 14. And there are umpteen Supreme Court judgments, that if reasonable classification is there then the law should be valid if it has nexus with the objective of the law to be achieved.

What CAA does is that persons who have been persecuted because of faith, in the three countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, are being given citizenship in India. The CAA is not related to any Indian at all. It neither gives citizenship to anyone or takes away from anyone, including Muslims. These persecuted groups because of the faith form a reasonable group by themselves and this reasonable classification has a nexus with the object of the law. It is in complete compliance with Article 14. And if we talk about precedence, Indira Gandhi gave citizenship to only Hindus ousted by Idi Amin in Uganda. She also gave citizenship to people persecuted by people from East Pakistan. Rajiv Gandhi gave citizenship to Sri Lankan Tamilians.

How will the the nationwide NRC be conducted?
Rule 4 of the Citizenship (Registration of Citizen and Issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003 talks about NPR... there is a need for NPR because Census details (of individuals) cannot be made public to any authority, but NPR is required to frame policies for delivery of welfare schemes. In May

2010, while replying to a debate on census 2011, the well-informed Chidambaram said that "it will be obvious that Register of Citizens will be a subset of the Population Register". Congress owned up both NPR and the NRC as a subset... The UPA, in 2004, should have said no to NRC in 2004. This is double speak and hypocrisy of the Congress.

So you are saying that NPR data will not be used for NRC?
The entire legal process will be followed. Some maybe used or some may not be used. But let me answer the larger question. Any citizen can vote; but to vote you have to be on voters' list. So even if you are a citizen, and are not on voters' list — a citizen cannot vote. This voters' list is reviewed. Similarly in Passport Act or the PAN, whole range of data are being taken... So this thing that (only) NPR is collecting parents' data, I fail to understand.

There have been different messages from the government, one in Parliament by the Home Minister and outside Parliament by the Prime Minister on CAA and NRC.
The Amit Shah speech was very clear that NRC and CAA are separate. PM had to clarify because of an orchestrated campaign.

With CAA filter, why do you think Muslims are worried? There is also an apprehension among Muslims that if a Hindu is out of the NRC, he or she can hold CAA as a shield.
CAA is not applicable to any Indian. No Indian can become (a citizen) or denied citizenship because of CAA.

Students have come out to protest. They are holding the Constitution and reading the Preamble. But there have been arrests and detentions.
Everyone... has the right to protest peacefully... But if anyone commits arson and destroys public property, that will not be tolerated...

But there have been wave of arrests in UP and notices have been sent to protesters to pay for the damages. Is this legally sustainable?
There have been Supreme Court orders to that effect. And why not? Ultimately taxpayers' money is involved. But the UP administration has made it clear that no innocent will be victimised.



A protest rally organised by Tamil Nadu Thowheed Jamath against CAA and NRC, in Chennai on Saturday. Reuters

CONG HOLDS FLAG MARCHES TO 'SAVE CONSTITUTION, SAVE INDIA'

Rahul: Nagpur, RSS will not run Assam, local people will

ABHISHEK SAHA
GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 28

ON ITS 135th foundation day on Saturday, the Congress stepped up its attack on the BJP-led central government over the CAA, NPR and NRC, carrying out "flag marches" across the country to take its "Save Constitution-Save India" message to the people. Thousands of Congress workers and leaders hit the streets in cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata and Jaipur to denounce the government's "anti-people policies".

Addressing a rally against the CAA in Guwahati, senior Congress leader Rahul Gandhi said the Union government is scared of the people's voice and wants to crush it, and the RSS cannot be allowed to "control" Assam. Rahul subsequently visited families of two youths killed, allegedly in police firing on protesters earlier this month: Sam Stafford in Guwahati, and Dipanjal Das in Chhayaon, about 50 km west in Kamrup district.

During the rally, the former Congress president said: "In the whole country, wherever the BJP goes it spreads hatred. People are protesting. What is the need to shoot them? What is the need to take lives? But no, BJP people do not want to listen to the voice of the people, the voice of youth, the voice of mothers and sisters. They are scared of your voice. They want to crush it and kill youths."



Rahul Gandhi in Guwahati on Saturday. Dasrath Deka

"If people have something to say and they are saying it peacefully... there is no need to thrash them and shoot them."

"We will not allow the BJP and RSS to attack Assam's history, language and culture. Nagpur will not run Assam; RSS chaddi-wale will not run Assam," he said, referring to the Sangh's headquarters in Nagpur and their former uniform of khaki knickers.

The people of Assam will run Assam, Rahul, the Lok Sabha MP from Wayanad, added.

Slamming the Narendra Modi government on economic slowdown and rising unemployment, Rahul said, "But neither the Prime Minister nor the Assam Chief Minister will say anything on the economy. Through demonetisation and

GST, Narendra Modi has destroyed the power of Bharat Mata. But Narendra Modi will say nothing about this. His only work is to divide the people of India and spread hatred."

DELHI

Speaking to reporters on the sidelines of a flag-hoisting ceremony at AICC headquarters, Rahul Gandhi said that basic idea of the government's latest exercises is to ask all poor people whether they are Indian or not. "This whole tamasha that is going on is notebandi no. 2. This will be more disastrous for the people than demonetisation. This will have twice the impact of demonetisation. His (PM Modi) 15 friends will not have to show any document and the money generated will go into the pockets of those 15 people," he said.

On the BJP calling him a "liar", Rahul said, "You would have seen my tweet. You would have seen Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speech in which he is saying there are no detention centres in India and you would have seen the video of the detention centre. You can decide who is lying." —PTI

UTTAR PRADESH

Virtually equating the ruling BJP government with the British, Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra on Saturday said that the country is fighting an ideology that it had fought against during the free-

dom struggle.

Speaking at the UP Congress headquarters in Lucknow, she said, "Today in the country, there are such powers in the government with whom we had a historical clash. We are at present fighting an ideology against which we fought during the freedom struggle. Today the country is in trouble. If we do not raise our voice, we will be proved to be cowards." —PTI

KERALA

The Congress in Kerala took out a "Maha Rally" to Raj Bhavan in Thiruvananthapuram demanding suspension of the CAA and stop the NRC.

Addressing party workers, former Union Finance minister P Chidambaram said, "Our demand is to suspend CAA and to completely stop NRC... we will continue to fight until they are met."

"The CAA destroys the very basis of our Constitution. If they had two-thirds of majority in Parliament, they would have amended the Constitution," the Congress leader claimed. Since the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre was unable to amend the Constitution, they are amending it through the "backdoor," he said.

Noting that it was not a fight between Muslims and the Constitution, the Congress veteran said that not just Muslims, but people cutting across religions had come out on streets against the CAA. —PTI



P Chidambaram

Mind your business: Chidambaram to Army chief

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, DECEMBER 28

SENIOR CONGRESS leader P Chidambaram on Saturday slammed Army Chief General Bipin Rawat over his remarks criticising those leading violent protests against the new citizenship law, asking him to "mind his business".

The former Union minister was speaking at the "Maha Rally" against the new law, organised by Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) in front of Raj Bhavan here.

Chidambaram also alleged that the Army Chief and the DGP of Uttar Pradesh had been asked to support the government and it was a "shame". "Now, the Army General is being asked to speak up. Is it the job of the Army General?" Chidambaram asked.

"The DGP... the Army General are being asked to support the government. It is a shame. Let me appeal to General Rawat... You heed the Army and mind your business... what politicians will do, politicians will do."

"It is not the business of the Army to tell politicians what we should do. Just as it is not our business to tell you how to fight a war. You fight war according to your ideas and we will manage the politics of the country," he said.

TMC leaders give cheques to kin of victims in Karnataka

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 28

WHILE TRINAMOOL Congress protested against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) and the proposed nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC) in all the 294 Assembly seats in West Bengal on Saturday, party leaders handed over cheques of Rs 5 lakh to the family members of protesters who were killed in Karnataka. Trinamool Congress MLAs and MPs staged dharmas in different parts of the state.

"Our party chief and Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee has said that she will not allow CAA in Bengal, and therefore there is no chance for its implementation. Secondly she has asked us to stand with the people and that's why we have organised dharmas," said Sujit Bose, State Fire Services Minister who was seen at a dharna in Lake Town.

"People from all walks of life, irrespective of their caste and religion, are with us in this protest. People of Bengal will never accept CAA or NRC," said Firdah Hakim, state minister and Mayor of Kolkata, who also sat in a dharna in the Khidirpur area.

Meanwhile, former MP Dinesh Trivedi and Rajya Sabha MP Nadimul Haq met families of those killed during protests in Mangaluru.



Giriraj Singh

Giriraj: Oppn, 'tukde-tukde gang' behind confusion

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
RANCHI, DECEMBER 28

UNION MINISTER Giriraj Singh on Saturday said that the Congress, Opposition and members of "tukde-tukde gang" are creating confusion about the new citizenship law in the country.

Addressing a press conference in Ranchi, Singh said, "Today the country is being misled due to the double standards and behaviour of the Congress." He said the Congress does not see the persecution of non-Muslim minorities because of its "vote bank politics". Singh asked whether Muslims of the country faced any problems in availing welfare schemes in the country. He said that former PM Indira Gandhi had in 1971 said that India cannot bear the burden of "infiltrators". "Indira Gandhi said in 1971 that we cannot bear the burden of infiltrators... but she was not able to either bring in a Citizenship Act or to throw out (infiltrators) because she surrendered to Muslim fundamentalists..."

Protests at History Congress, Governor says bid to disrupt

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, DECEMBER 28

AS KERALA Governor Arif Mohammed Khan on Saturday reiterated his stand in favour of the new citizenship law, the inauguration of the Indian History Congress in Kannur was marred by protest from delegates including the History Congress' acting president Irfan Habib.

Following the protest, Khan had to abruptly end his inaugural address and get off the dais.

The governor later tweeted, "Irfan Habib tried on stage to disrupt inaugural address questioning Governor's right to quote Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, shouting that he should quote Godse. He pushed Governor's ADC and Security Officer, who prevented his unseemly gesture." Khan said he did not start talking about the CAA issue, but

"since you have raised the issue, I am duty-bound to respond".

Before his inaugural address at the event in Kannur University, CPI(M) leader and Rajya Sabha member K K Ragesh hinted at the issue and accused the BJP of rewriting Indian history. Later, the governor started his speech by saying that he was deviating from the prepared address and "if you hadn't raised the issue here, I would have restricted myself to the prepared speech".

He said he believed that his opinion on the issue was correct, and was convinced that the opinion of those opposing the law is misleading and not based on facts. "Three times Mahatma Gandhi had invited those who differed on the issue to come for debate. Three times his offer was struck down. When you are shutting the door on debate and discussion, you are promoting the culture of violence. You have every right to protest as



As the venue became chaotic, Irfan Habib went to Arif Mohammed Khan and spoke with him. Twitter@PBNS_India

dissent is the essence of democracy," he said.

On why Muslims are excluded from the new law, Khan said that Partition had created an extraordinary situation. People of Kerala were not affected by Partition, but they have strong empathy, he said. "If you feel your neighbour is feeling agi-

tated, you come and join."

As protesters stood up, Khan said, "You have no right to create disturbance. You have come with an attitude. You cannot shout me down."

As the venue became chaotic, Prof Irfan Habib, the History Congress acting president, went to Khan and spoke to him.

Subsequently, Khan told the audience, "Professor Irfan is asking me to quote Godse."

As police removed some protesting delegates, Khan reminded the agitators, "You have every right to stick to your opinion, but don't try to shout down others."

Expressing concern over the incident, the Indian History Congress secretary said, "Some delegates were peacefully standing and holding placards. They were roughed up by police."

Over the last week, the governor has faced flak from the ruling CPI(M) and Opposition Congress over his stand on the new citizenship law. The Congress had cancelled an invitation for a party event as part of its boycott of the governor.

The BJP said that History Congress delegates targeting Khan exposed grave security lapses. "The state has to ensure safety of a Union government's

Art 370, citizenship Bill among top Google searches in India this year

KARISHMA MEHROTRA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

IF GOOGLE searches are any indication of Indian online users' interests, "Article 370" was one of the most political topics on their minds in 2019.

A state-wise breakdown shows that people in most states Google-searched for "CAB", or the Citizenship Amendment Bill, more than "370" between December 27, 2018 and December 28 this year. More Indians asked "What is

Article 370?" than any other "what is...?" question on Google, and it was the sixth most searched phrase on Google in the country this year up until December 21, the company's "Year in Trends" report shows.

The 10th-most searched phrase was "PM Kisan Yojana". Article 370 was in news after the Union government withdrew key provisions of it to scrap special status granted under it to the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir in August.

According to Google's Trends report, "CAB" was searched more

than "370" in all states except Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Bihar for a year up to December 27 this year.

A breakdown of Google searches in 2019 for "370", "CAB", "NRC", and "Ayodhya" shows that people in almost half the states searched for "CAB" more than any other term this year. People in only Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar searched more for "Ayodhya" than any of the other terms. Jammu & Kashmir searched for "370" significantly

EXPLAINED CAB, CAA queries on a high since Dec 10

CAB-RELATED QUERIES began faring in the top Google search results since December 10, a day after the citizenship Bill was passed in Lok Sabha - it was passed in Rajya Sabha on December 11. "CAB" is currently peaking at 100 in India. Google gives a search term popularity number determined by percentage of all searches in that location, not by absolute query count.

more than "CAB". People in West Bengal, Assam and several states

in the Northeast searched Google for "NRC", or the National Register

of Citizens, more than any other term. In all other states, "370" and "CAB" ran neck and neck.

However, if "Pulwama", where a terror attack in February killed 40 CRPF personnel, is added to this list, almost all states barring those in the Northeast and Kerala showcased more interest in that search query than any of the other four terms. "Balakot", in Pakistan where the IAF retaliated to the Pulwama attack to target terror facilities, did not have the same effect and was not as popularly searched.

The five analysed search

terms were picked from Google's trends report, which found "What is Article 370" as the most searched "What is..." question, followed by other "what is..." queries: "exit poll", "black hole", "howdy Modi", "e-cigarette", "DLS method in cricket", "Ayodhya case", "Article 15", "surgical strike", and "National Register of Citizens of India". The question "What is Ayodhya case?" was most popular in Karnataka.

The term "slowdown" was negligible, until rising starting July 14, peaking at 100 in the week of September 1.

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Health Department, Government of NCT of Delhi

Amid CAA, NRC fears, rush to apply for birth certificates in Malegaon, other towns

SRINATH RAO
MALEGAON, MUMBAI, DEC 28

APPLICATIONS for birth certificates have risen six fold in Maharashtra's Malegaon town since September, when the final National Register of Citizens (NRC) was published in Assam.

From 2,000 applications for birth certificates received by the Malegaon Municipal Corporation in August, the figure rose to 12,000 in September, 12,500 in October and 12,800 in November, records obtained by *The Sunday Express* from the health department showed. This month alone, as of December 26, the Corporation had received 13,000 applications.

Malegaon Municipal Commissioner Kishor Bordes said that while he could not comment on the reasons for the rise in applications, he admitted that the town's Muslim residents were putting identification documents together fearing the effects of the new Citizenship (Amendment) Act and a nationwide NRC.

Soon after the list that excluded 19,06,657 people in Assam was published in September, in Malegaon, several prominent mosques circulated a list of 23 essential identity documents and urged locals to ensure that they have their papers in place and that they bore no errors.



Jaywant Nikam helping write applications for birth certificates outside Malegaon Corporation office. *Express*

Employees in the Corporation's birth and death registry said they have been struggling to process applications — most of them for those born between 1927 and 1980 — on time. "We have a strength of four employees. Earlier, until August, we could issue birth certificates in 3-4 days. But we have not been able to cope with this rush and have to call applicants back after 15-30 days," said an official.

An official in the health department said, "Once an application is received, we check for the applicant's name and date of birth in our register. If the name is found, we call the applicant back after 15 days and ask them to collect the birth certificate."

Maulana Umrain Mahfooz Rahmani, secretary of the All

India Muslim Personal Law Board and founder of the Dastoor Bachao Committee, said, "A majority of Muslims in Malegaon trace their ancestry to Uttar Pradesh but have settled here long ago. Ever since the NRC exercise was done in Assam, there has been a rush among people to ensure that all their documents are in order," he said. On December 20, Rahmani had organised one of Maharashtra's largest protests against the NRC and CAA in Malegaon.

However, Subhash Bhamre, BJP MP for Dhule-Malegaon, claimed that the Congress and the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM) were spreading panic in the town. "Since Malegaon has a high Muslim population and the BJP has very

little presence, the Congress and AIMIM are playing a one-sided game. Malegaon's Muslims are Indian citizens and have nothing to worry about," he said. Other municipal bodies too have reported a similar spike in applications.

Sources in the Municipal Corporation of Kolkata said the civic body, which usually issues around 100 birth certificates a day, has now been receiving over 250 applications daily.

The Surat Municipal Corporation too said the applications for birth certificates have double in the last two months. The Corporation's Registrar of Birth and Death, Pradip Umrigar, said, "We have received 50 applications for birth certificates in these two months, of which over 60 per cent are from Muslims, and the remaining of NRIs. This sudden rise in applications is due to the NRC."

According to officials in the Modasa Prant Municipality in Gujarat, 12 applications for "old birth certificates", or certificates other than those issued to newborns, have been submitted in the past two weeks since the controversy over CAA and NRC broke out. This is against the usual trend of one application in two to three months, said an official.

Inputs from SWEETY KUMARI in Kolkata, KAMAAL SAIYED & VAIBHAV JHA in Gujarat

Retired IPS officer, held over anti-CAA protests, 'works on rights issues'

MANISH SAHU
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 28

RETIRED IPS officer Sarwan Ram Darapuri, 77, who is among more than 200 people arrested by Lucknow police following violence during protests against the new citizenship law, has been working on rights issues since his retirement from the force in 2003, according to his son and others who have worked with him.

He also unsuccessfully contested the last two Lok Sabha elections. The police have booked Darapuri, 1972-batch IPS officer, along with 34 others, on charges under IPC Sections 332 (voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from duty), 353 (assault or criminal force to deter public servant), 147 (rioting), 307 (attempt to murder) and 120-B (criminal conspiracy).

Darapuri, who is lodged in Lucknow district jail since December 21, comes from Punjab's Jalandhar district. He retired as Inspector General in UP Police, his last posting being the



SR Darapuri, 1972-batch IPS

Police Training Centre, Sitapur. Post-retirement, he works to provide support to social justice movements on issues such as human rights, and rights of women, tribals, Dalits and minorities, among others, according to people close to him. He was involved in work empowering the poor and the deprived communities, they said.

He contested Lok Sabha polls from Robertsganj (reserved) constituency in 2014 and 2019 on a ticket of All India Peoples' Front (Radical), a political outfit of which he is the national secretary. He is also state president of Mazdoor Kisan Manch, and founder-member of Dr Ambedkar Mahasabha.

MEERUT

Property damage: 140 get notices for Rs 40 lakh

KRISHN KAUSHIK
MEERUT, DECEMBER 28

THE MEERUT administration has demanded close to Rs 25,000 each from more than 140 people for damage incurred in the city during violence amid anti-CAA protests on December 20, which left five people dead.

Additional District Magistrate Ajay Kumar Tiwari told *The Sunday Express* that showcause notices have been sent to all those named in the FIRs related to the violence.

According to the estimate prepared by the Public Works Department, Nagar Nigam, Meerut Development Authority and Road Transport Office for police vehicles that were damaged, the total cost of the damaged property in the city is Rs 40.87 lakh,

Tiwari said. He added that as per orders of the Supreme Court, the total cost will be split among all those named in the FIRs.

Tiwari said the showcause notices sent to 145 people this week stated that "prima facie" there is reason to believe that "you are responsible" for the damage incurred and they have been given time to defend themselves before any action is taken. He said the notices do not mention specifics but only a rough calculation of the total cost of the property damaged divided by the number of accused.

The amount of Rs 40.87 lakh was arrived at based on the calculation on the first day. Damages are being sought for a broken grill on a divider, a divider, a police checkpoint that was set on fire, police mobile cars and motorcycles among other things.

'PERSONNEL INJURED, VEHICLES DAMAGED'

RAF files complaint against 1,000 AMU students

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
ALIGARH, DECEMBER 28

THE RAPID Action Force (RAF) has lodged an FIR against nearly 1,000 unidentified students of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in connection with the violence that took place on the varsity campus on December 15 against the new citizenship law and police action on students of Jamia Millia University in Delhi.

Police said RAF has alleged that during the violent protest, its personnel suffered injuries and their vehicles were damaged.

Based on the RAF's complaint, Aligarh police lodged an FIR against unidentified students of AMU on December 24.

SHO, Civil Lines Police Station, Amit Kumar, said that RAF alleged that on December 15 its

two companies were deployed at the AMU campus after students attempted to take law and order in their hands and raised anti-national slogans. During protest, students threw stones at RAF officials and also damaged their vehicles. Police used mild force to disperse the crowd.

"In its complaint, RAF gave detailed about firearms used by its personnel to bring the situation under control," said Amit Kumar.

The SIT formed on the direction of UP DGP Singh is probing the case.

Former AMUSU president Faizul Hasan, "RAF personnel were the ones who indulged in arson and there are several videos showing them beating up students and indulging in arson. The district police and PAC had shown restraint."

After video on SP saying 'go to Pak', locals fear backlash; senior officer backs team

AMIL BHATNAGAR
MEERUT, DECEMBER 28

A DAY after a video emerged, showing Meerut (City) SP Akhilesh N Singh asking some protesters against the new citizenship law to "go to Pakistan", residents of Lasari Gate's Saddique Nagar, where the video was shot, on Saturday said they fear a police backlash and felt "humiliated" at such a comment after spending "our entire lives here".

"This is our home; they made us feel like outsiders," one resident said — none of them want to be named, fearing a backlash.

While admitting that the SP's "choice of words could have been better", Additional DGP, Meerut Zone, Prashant Kumar backed the force: "The officers showed great restraint and neither caned nor fired at protesters." He questioned the timing of the video's release and said "anti-India slogans and slogans sympathising with neighbouring country were raised".

Several local residents, who claimed to have seen the SP's outburst, however, said no "pro-Pakistan" slogan was raised. Police rushed into the lane, chasing "four boys" who weren't part of any protests, multiple residents said.

The Indian Express had on Friday reported that the video clip shows SP Singh telling three people, "Yeh ju kaali aur peeli patti baandh huye hai, inse keh de



An image grab from the video in which SP Akhilesh N Singh is heard saying: "Khaoge yahan ka, gaoge kahin aur ka"

Pakistan chale jao. Khaoge yahan ka, gaoge kahin aur ka (those with black and yellow bands, tell them to go to Pakistan. You eat here but sing praises of another place)."

Singh had on Friday said his comments were in reaction to some "anti-social elements making pro-Pakistan statements".

One resident said: "People were coming out of the mosque around 1.15 pm when we saw 10-15 police officers enter the lane, hurling abuses at everyone. It is wrong of the police to say they were protesters. They (police) wanted to intimidate us."

The three people the SP addressed — Furkan, Haji Anwaar and Iqbal — are residents of the colony and had stepped out for prayers at the time, residents said. Furkan and Iqbal run clothes businesses and Haji Anwaar deals with leather import and export.

A resident said that after the video emerged, the three have limited their social interaction,

fearing a police backlash.

A neighbour of Haji said the trio did not have anything to do with the protests. "They were only standing there, when the policeman spoke to them that way... we have been keeping peace. Since they are visible in the video, they feel police might target them again," the neighbour said.

ADG Kumar said, "The said video was shot on December 20. What is the motive behind releasing it so late? If this incident occurred, the video should have come out the same day. When everything passed off peacefully on Friday, the video was released as per a conspiracy. It is clear that stone-pelting had taken place and ADM (City) and SP (City) went to control the situation... Pamphlets of PFI and SGPI were distributed."

Kumar said the officers "showed great restraint", and residents were "sternly told that they can go anywhere they want to, but they can't cause destruction."

Oppn parties hit out, BJP leader backs remark

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 28

EVEN AS the Congress and SP targeted the state government over the Meerut SP's Pakistan remark on Friday, BJP state spokesperson and state information adviser Shalabh Mani Tripathi on Saturday praised the officer, Akhilesh N Singh, who is seen asking local residents to tell those protesting against the new citizenship law to "go to Pakistan" in a video that went viral.

Slamming the state BJP government, Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra, who was in Lucknow on Saturday, tweeted, "The Constitution of India does not allow to use such language against any citizen of the country and you are an officer holding a significant post and thus your responsibility is even more." The BJP has spread such communal venom in the institutions that today officers do not even care about the oath of the constitution."

SP spokesperson Rajendra Choudhary said, "This kind of behaviour is against rules for government officials. It is against the democratic rights of the people." In a tweet, Tripathi wrote, "I salute Meerut City SP Akhilesh Narayan Singh for giving a befitting reply to rioters..."

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Office of the Executive Engineer (Generation), Khodri Power Station, Dakpathar (invites sealed tenders for the following work.
Tender no.: 08/EE(G)/KPS/TN/2019-20: Dismantling, Installation, Commissioning, Testing & Shifting of PT's, CT's & CVT's at switchyard.
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Estimated Value of work: ₹ 1890000/-, ₹ 1650000/- (GST extra) respectively.
Earnest Money: ₹ 56700/-, ₹ 49500/- respectively.
Tender Document Fee: ₹ 1180/-, ₹ 1180/- (GST inclusive) respectively.
Last date of downloading tender: January 22, 2020, 17:00 Hrs.
Last date of submission of tender: January 23, 2020, 15:00 Hrs.
Date & Time of opening of tender: January 25, 2020, 12:30 Hrs.

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मध्य प्रदेश शासन
ऊर्जा विभाग, मंत्रालय

मध्य प्रदेश विद्युत नियामक आयोग के वर्तमान अध्यापक का कार्यकाल दिनांक 13.01.2020 को समाप्त होने के फलस्वरूप उत्तर विज्ञान की पूर्ति के लिए चयन प्रक्रिया प्रारंभ की गई है। मध्य प्रदेश विद्युत नियामक आयोग के अध्यक्ष के पद के लिए उपयुक्त उम्मीदवारों से आवेदन आमंत्रित करने के लिए राज्य शासन द्वारा आम सूचना क्रमांक 11171 /एफ-2-22 /2009 / वेरड, दिनांक 27.12.2019 जारी की गई है, जिसमें नियामक आयोग के अध्यक्ष पद हेतु सेवा शर्तों एवं आवश्यक अर्हता संबंधी जानकारी का विवरण है। उक्त आम सूचना मध्य प्रदेश शासन, ऊर्जा विभाग के पोर्टल energy.mp.gov.in पर उपलब्ध है। इच्छुक उम्मीदवार अपने आवेदन अंतिम तिथि दिनांक 13.01.2020 तक निम्न सूत्र पर प्रेषित कर सकते हैं :-

अपर मुख्य सचिव,
म.प्र. शासन, ऊर्जा विभाग,
नृतीय मंजिल, मंत्रालय, वल्लभ भवन-2,
भोपाल - 462004 (मध्य प्रदेश) फ़ैक्स - 0755-2678360

सहो - /-
विशेष कर्तव्यस्थ अधिकारी
म.प्र. शासन, ऊर्जा विभाग
फ़ोन. 0755-2708032

नि.शास्य अधिकारी का शांति किसी भी परिस्थिति में सरकारी शक्ति से सर्वेक्षक होगा - महात्मा गांधी

G-21020/2019

Apply for Indian citizenship, UP minister urges Kaneria

Lucknow: Minister of State for Minority Welfare, Muslim Wakf & Haj, Mohsin Raza, has appealed to people who faced religious discrimination in Pakistan and other countries, including former Pakistani cricketer Danish Kaneria, to apply for Indian citizenship. He was reacting to the recent allegation by former Pakistani fast bowler Shoaib Akhtar that his colleague

Kaneria faced discrimination because of his Hindu faith while he played for the Pakistan cricket team. Kaneria had later said that Akhtar was speaking the truth.

"Dinesh Kaneria was made Danish. Yousef Yohana was made Mohammad Yusuf. When these distinguished personalities faced such discrimination, we can easily guess how much the common citizen must be harassed in Pakistan," said Raza in a tweet.

"Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam ki hamari sanskriti ke tahat hum aise prataditjano se ahwanan karte hain ki wo hamare desh ki nagrikta ke lie aavedan karen. Hum sasamman Hindustan ki nagrikta pradan karenge (under our culture of 'the world is one family' we appeal to people who have faced such harassment to apply for the citizenship of India. We will provide them the citizenship with respect)," he added. **ENS**

STATE BANK OF INDIA, Stressed Assets Management Branch-II,
11th Floor, Jawahar Vyapar Bhawan, STC Building, 1-Tolstoy Marg,
Janpath, New Delhi-110001. E-mail id : sbi.50950@sbil.co.in

APPENDIX IV (Rule - 8 (1)) POSSESSION NOTICE (for immovable property)

Whereas, the undersigned being the Authorised officer of the State Bank of India Stressed Assets Management Branch-II, 11th Floor, Jawahar Vyapar Bhawan, 1, Tolstoy Marg, New Delhi-110001 under the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act 2002 (54 of 2002) and in exercise of powers conferred under section 13(12) read with rule 3 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002 issued demand notice dated 01.06.2019 calling upon M/s Schon Ultrawares Pvt. Ltd. (Borrower), Sh. Sunil Kumar Juneja (Director / Guarantor), Sh. Sumit Juneja (Director/Guarantor) and Ms. Meena Juneja (Director / Guarantor) and Sh. Prem Pal Bhayana S/o Sh. C. C. Bhayana (Guarantor) to repay the amount mentioned in the notice being Rs. 25,57,78,207.14 as on 25.05.2019 (Rs Twenty Five Crore Fifty Seven Lac Seventy Eight Thousand Two Hundred Seven and paise Fourteen Only) with further interest, expenses and other charges etc. thereon within 60 days from the date of receipt of the said notice.

The borrower / guarantor having failed to repay the amount, notice is hereby given to the borrower / guarantor and the public in general that the undersigned has taken possession of the property described here in below in exercise of powers conferred on him/her under sub-section (4) of section 13 of Act read with rule 8 of the Security Interest Enforcement) Rules, 2002 on this 23rd day of December 2019.

The borrower / guarantor in particular and the public in general is hereby cautioned not to deal with the property and any dealings with the property will be subject to the charge of the State Bank of India Stressed Assets Management Branch-II, 11th Floor, Jawahar Vyapar Bhawan, 1, Tolstoy Marg, New Delhi - 110001 for an amount of Rs. 25,57,78,207.14 as on 25.05.2019 (Rupees Twenty Five Crore Fifty Seven Lac Seventy Eight Thousand Two Hundred Seven and paise Fourteen Only) with costs, etc. thereon.

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

DESCRIPTION OF THE IMMOVABLE PROPERTY(S)

Property Owned By: Sh. Prem Pal Bhayana
All that part and parcel of Property No. 125 admeasuring 250 Sq. Mtr. in the lay out plan of DDA Residential Scheme, Village-Chaukhandi known as Meera Enclave, New Delhi

Date : 23-12-2019. Place : New Delhi Sd/- Authorized Officer, State Bank of India

Government of Jharkhand
Urban Development & Housing Department
Ranchi Smart City Corporation Limited
Ground Floor, FFP 100 Building, Dhurwa, Ranchi-834004 | CIN:U45309JH2016SGC009206
E-mail:ranchismartcity@gmail.com | Phone:+916512446666

Letter No.: RSCLL/App./141/2018/1110 Ranchi, Dated: 27-12-2019

Recruitment Notice

Ranchi Smart City Corporation Limited (RSCLL), Ranchi invites applications from interested professionals/candidates for the posts mentioned below on purely contractual/Deputation basis for "Ranchi Smart City Corporation Limited" under centrally sponsored "Smart City Mission".

S.No.	Name of the Post	Total No. of Post	Consolidated Monthly Remuneration (Rs)	Essential Qualification & Experience	Age
1.	General Manager (Operation)	1	For Deputation / Present scale with all benefits with 10% deputation allowance For Direct Contractual Recruitment: upto 3,00,000/- (10-20% enhancement on previous salary, limited to 3,60,000/- per month.	B/E/B Tech The post shall be regular and recruitment shall be on the basis of either Direct contractual recruitment from open market having experience of relevant field, working as General Manager or equivalent post, for at least 3 years. Total 15 years work experience, Or Deputation/Jobrotation from any Civil Engineering Works Department of reputed Public Sector Undertaking/State/Central government not below the rank of Superintendent Engineer/General Manager or equivalent. The applicant having work experience of managing at least three projects, each minimum of Rs. 200 crores as head/overall in charge be essential.	Age should not exceed 55 years as on last date fixed for submission of the application
2.	General Manager (Revenue)	1	For Deputation / Present scale with all benefits with 10% deputation allowance	Graduate in any discipline The applicant shall be from Jharkhand Administrative Service and in the rank of Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO) or above. Minimum 5 years work experience in revenue administration and relevant fields shall be preferred.	Age should not exceed 55 years as on last date fixed for submission of the application.

- Terms of Engagement:** The appointment of professionals will be purely on contract basis for a period of (3) three years, which may be extended after the annual review of performance, and desired output. However the contract may be terminated in the case of unsatisfactory service in two month notice by either side.
- Last date for receipt of Application is 14th January, 2020 at 05:00 P.M**
- The successful candidates will be required to execute contractual agreement and their Services will be guided by the service rule of RSCLL.
- The scope of work, detail job description, requisite qualification and experience for the above mentioned posts, and for other details, please visit Notice section of the website and https://smarthanchi.jharkhand.gov.in
- How to Apply:** Fully filled application should be sent through the registered post/speed post/Courier to the CEO, Ranchi Smart City Corporation Ltd, 100 Administrative Building, Ground Floor, Opp. Project Building, Dhurwa, Ranchi- 834004 Jharkhand. The application form made available by hand shall not be entertained. Original qualification certificated and proofs of previous employment have to be produced during the time of interview.
- The department reserves the right to cancel/postpone the recruitment wholly or partially if so required. No claim will be admissible in case of such cancellation/postponement.

Sd/-
(Shashi Ranjan)
Chief Executive Officer

PR 222922 (Urban Development) 19-20 (D)

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER, XIth DIVISION
U.P. JAL NIGAM, MORADABAD

Letter No. 1446/M-14/30
Dated :- 12-12-2019

Short Term Tender Notice

Online percentage rate E-tenders in Single bid system by notice no. 1446/M-14/30 dated 12.12.2019 for Underground Utility Mapping of Hanuman Murti Area Using Ground Penetrating Radar and Other Non-Penetrating Techniques, Total Station survey for the alignment of water mains to carry treated water of 58 MLD S.T.P. from disposal point at Ramganga River to Kohinoor Tiraha and adjacent areas Deposit Work Programme in District Moradabad U.P. are hereby invited on behalf of the Chairman U.P. Jal Nigam from the reputed contractors having requisite work experience & financial capabilities. Tender document shall be available on e-procurement website http://etender.up.nic.in latest by 06.01.2020. Interested bidders may view & download tender document and upload their tender, duly filled online latest by 13.01.2020 upto 15:00 Hrs. Uploaded Technical & Financial capacity evaluation cum technical bid shall be opened same day at 15:30 Hrs. The non refundable cost of e-tender document is Rs. 2,000 plus 18.00% GST or in accordance with GST. Details of work of e-tender will be available on U.P. Jal Nigam website www.upjn.org

उ.प्र. पावर ट्रांसमिशन कार्पोरेशन लि. निविदा विस्तारिकरण/ निरस्तिकरण सूचना पर्याप्त निविदाताओं द्वारा प्रतिभाग न लेने के कारण निविदा संख्या टी-152/2019-20 दिनांक 07.01.2020 तक विस्तारित एवं तीन बार विस्तारिकरण उपरान्त भी किसी निविदादाता द्वारा प्रतिभाग न लेने के कारण निविदा संख्या टी-131/2019-20 निरस्त की जाती है। हस्ता./- अधीक्षण अभियन्ता विद्युत परीक्षण मंडल उ.प्र.पा.ट्रा.का.लि., 400 के.वी. उपकेन्द्र, पाली, ग्रेटर नोएडा. "राष्ट्र हित में ऊर्जा बचावें"।

कृपया वेब साइट etender.up.nic.in पर सभी सूचना, अन्य संशोधन/विस्तार हेतु निविदा खलने की तिथि तक लॉग ऑन करें। पत्रांक 2237 वि.पा.मं./वे.ना./T-131 & 152/2019-20 दिनांक:- 28.12.2019

उ.प्र. पावर ट्रांसमिशन कार्पोरेशन लि. निविदा रिटेंडर सूचना प्रतिभागी निविदादाताओं द्वारा निविदा की अर्हता पूर्ण न किये जाने के कारण निविदा संख्या टी-100/2019-20 रिटेंडर कर दिनांक 09.01.2020 तक विस्तारित की जाती है। हस्ता./- अधीक्षण अभियन्ता विद्युत परीक्षण मंडल उ.प्र.पा.ट्रा.का.लि., 400 के.वी. उपकेन्द्र, पाली, ग्रेटर नोएडा. "राष्ट्र हित में ऊर्जा बचावें"।

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BJP: 1 crore refugees to congratulate PM for CAA

Kolkata: The BJP on Saturday claimed there are at least 70 lakh to 1 crore fake voters in Bengal who have illegally entered India from Bangladesh. Claiming that the refugees in Bengal are happy, the party's state unit said it will send 1 crore messages from them through postcards and emails congratulating PM Narendra Modi for passage of the new citizenship law. At a press conference, BJP state general secretary Sayantan Basu said, "One crore refugees will congratulate the PM for passing this law. They will thank him for giving them citizenship." **ENS**



NORTH

BHU to launch diploma course in 'Bhoot Vigyan'

Lucknow: The Ayurveda faculty of the Banaras Hindu University (BHU) in Varanasi will start a six-month diploma course on 'Bhoot Vigyan', which will tackle the subject of psychiatric and psychosomatic disorders. The course will be offered along with three other diploma courses aimed at

treating aphrodisiac and geriatric disorders. The course will have two batches every year and 10 students will be part of each batch. Minimum qualification for the course will be a graduate degree in any medical stream, including MBBS and BSc (Nursing). Fees for the course is Rs 50,000. **ENS**



Bihar CM Nitish Kumar and former Union minister Arun Jaitley's wife Sangeeta Jaitley at the unveiling of a statue of the late BJP leader in Patna on Saturday. PTI

EAST

DRG man injured in encounter with Maoists

Raipur: A District Reserve Guard (DRG) personnel was injured in an encounter with Maoists in Narayanpur district of Chhattisgarh on Saturday, police said. The skirmish took place at around 1 pm in the forest of Burgum village when a joint team of security forces was out on an anti-Maoist operation, Narayanpur

Superintendent of Police Mohit Garg said. Personnel belonging to ITBP and DRG had launched the operation from Kadenar police camp, he said. When the team was cordoning off the forest, a gunfight broke out between the two sides, he said. "A DRG personnel sustained bullet injuries in the incident," he said. **PTI**

WEST

Swarms of locusts brought under control: Gujarat

Ahmedabad: Stating that over 133 locust control teams are currently working on war footing in 132 villages of four districts in Gujarat, the state government on Saturday said it has been able to control "large swarms" of migrating locusts. The teams, which include 16 from the Centre, are using tractor-mounted sprayers to control the locust

swarms in the districts of Banaskantha, Mehsana, Patan and Sabarkantha, a statement from the state government said. So far, 5,000 litres of insecticide Malathion have been used. Large swarms have been controlled, while smaller ones are still present in Banaskantha district. **ENS**

SOUTH

'Serial killer' held for killing 4 women, stealing valuables

Hyderabad: A suspected serial killer, who targeted single women coming to toddy shops wearing jewellery and reportedly killed four of them after his release from jail in 2018, has been arrested in Mahabubnagar district, police said. Y Srinu (42) was arrested on Friday in connection with the four murders over the past year, they said.

His wife, who hid the stolen jewellery in their house, was also arrested, police said. Srinu, who was earlier arrested in 10 other murder cases, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 2007 for killing his brother. He killed the women following his release after completion of his sentence in August 2018, police said. **PTI**

Editors Guild condemns BJP IT cell chief's poll on senior journalist: 'McCarthyist'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

THE EDITORS Guild of India on Saturday expressed strong objection to a senior BJP functionary conducting a Twitter poll on senior journalist Rajdeep Sardesai, asking whether he should handle publicity for the Islamic State (IS). The Guild called it a "deplorable act" and "McCarthyist".

In a statement issued on Saturday, the Guild said that the Twitter poll conducted by Amit Malviya, the BJP's information technology chief, was "not only tasteless, it also questioned the integrity and patriotism of Mr Sardesai, who is a journalist of standing and a former President of the Editors Guild of India".

The Guild stated that the Twitter poll "by a national head of the BJP also raises questions on the party's commitment to healthy debate and dissent without allowing disagreement to degenerate into abuse". It urged Malviya to withdraw the tweet concerned and asked the BJP to "caution him strongly".

In his poll, Malviya wrote "Rajdeep Sardesai should handle PR for ISIS" and gave four options for Twitter users to vote on: agree, strongly agree, disagree, he is irrelevant.

Sardesai tweeted, "I am grateful to Guild and many fellow journalists for their support. Let me reiterate: I bear zero ill will to Mr @amitmalviya. Hopefully, we can put a close to name-calling and libellous attacks..."

AMARAVATI

Andhra panel says land changes made to benefit TDP leaders

SREENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, DECEMBER 28

THE ANDHRA Pradesh Cabinet sub-committee report that has accused former chief minister N Chandrababu Naidu, his son N Lokesh and at least six other TDP leaders of insider trading and purchasing land in an area in Guntur district later declared capital city Amaravati, has said Naidu's TDP government made two main manipulations regarding land.

The panel, set up by the YSRCP government, says one of these manipulations was redesigning boundaries of the Land Pooling Scheme area, so that lands of TDP leaders or their relatives fell adjacent to it. The second was redrawing boundaries of the Capital Region Development Authority (CRDA) to bring in plots belonging to TDP leaders.

The report states that of 33,000 acres taken from landowners under Land Pooling Scheme, 2,353.28 acres were "assigned" lands. "Assigned" lands are land given to ex-Servicemen, and poor, landless beneficiaries, including SCs and

EXPLAINED

Transactions before capital plan

NEARLY 4,200 land transactions had taken place in the region between Vijayawada and Guntur from June 2014 to December 28, 2014, before 29 villages of both districts were notified as AP Capital Region, say officials. Value of land in these villages went up from Rs 10-15 lakh per acre prior to 2014 to Rs 1-2 crore per acre. Naidu had announced plans for new state capital in Vijayawada region in September 2014.

STs, which cannot be sold or given away to a third party.

"Most likely they were intimidated and coerced to part with their land," an official said.

N Lokesh has called the report part of the YS Jagan Mohan Reddy government's political vendetta to move the capital.

To substantiate its allegations, the sub-committee points to land allotment to VBC Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited, owned by M S P Rama Rao, son-in-law of actor-turned-politician Nandamuri Balakrishna, who is Naidu's brother-in-law. The TDP fielded Rama Rao's son Sribharat from Visakhapatnam in the Lok Sabha polls this year.

VBC was allotted 498.93 acres on July 15, 2015 — seven months after Amaravati was announced — through Government Order 269 in Jayanthipuram village in Jaggayyapeta mandal of Krishna district. While Jaggayyapeta is included in the Andhra Pradesh Capital Region (APCR), Jayanthipuram village is partially covered and the land allotted to VBC did not fall under APCR.

The report points out that the land was originally allotted in September 2013 to AP Industrial Infrastructure Corporation at a rate of Rs 1 lakh per acre to establish an industrial park. In July 2015, the entire land was allotted to VBC at the same rate.

"The land is on the periphery of APCR and its value had in-

creased a lot," an official said.

Rao said the plot was allotted legally after his company sought to establish a fertiliser plant.

The late Kodela Siva Prasad Rao, former Speaker, purchased 17.13 acres in Dullipalla in Sattenpalli mandal of Guntur district in September 2014, days before Naidu announced in the Assembly that the new capital would be located between Vijayawada and Guntur. Kodela's land is out of the Land Pooling Scheme area but abuts the APCR. The land value here doubled after the capital announcement in December 2014.

The owner of Lingamaneni Estates and Projects Ltd, Lingamaneni Ramesh, who leased his riverside bungalow to Naidu, purchased 1.76 acres in Peda Muttevi village and 2.34 acres in Chinna Muttevi village in Movva mandal of Krishna district. Both plots are out of the Land Pooling Scheme but located on the periphery of the APCR, according to the panel.

Ramesh has issued a statement saying he purchased the land long before the capital plans were announced.

No politics over law and order: Bulandshahr DM after Muslims pay for damages

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
BULANDSHAHR, DECEMBER 28

A SECTION of Muslims from civil society handed over a demand draft of Rs 6.27 lakh to the Bulandshahr district administration to compensate for damage to public property during protests over new the citizenship law in Uttar Pradesh.

Handing over the demand draft to officials on Friday, they requested the police and administration to withdraw cases lodged against community members in the aftermath of the protests on December 20, when violence swept several parts of the state.

"It is a welcome initiative by the people here who have realised that the property that was damaged during the violence belonged to them and involved their own tax money. Loss to public property means loss to citizens' property," Bulandshahr DM Ravindra Kumar said.

The amount of Rs 6,27,507 was raised by donations within the community, Haji Akram, a local councillor, said.

A police vehicle along with a wireless communication set and another communication set were destroyed during the violence on December 20, said DM Kumar.

Three FIRs were registered and 12 people arrested, while several others 'unknown' booked for violence, he said. "There was no need for us to send notices because the community members approached us with the proposal to compensate for the losses," he said.

On their request for withdrawal of cases against Muslim protesters, the DM said, "There will be no involvement of politics or religion in the case."

Six new FIRs in Vyapam scam filed in two days

Bhopal: Months after promising to reopen investigations in several pending Vyapam scam complaints, the special task force (STF) of the Madhya Pradesh police has registered six new FIRs over the past two days.

The Vyapam scam came to light in 2013 when several impersonators were caught from a hotel in Indore. Vyapam is the Hindi acronym for the state's Professional Examination Board that conducted the pre-medical test and written examinations for various government posts, including those of police constables, forest guards and teachers.

The scam was first investigated by the Indore police and later by a Special Task Force before the probe was transferred to the CBI. The central agency took over probe in more than 210 cases and some of them have resulted in convictions. However, there were 197 complaints pending with the state body that were not touched by the CBI. The Congress, in its Assembly polls manifesto, had promised to reopen investigations. **ENS**

MAHARASHTRA

Farmers whose loan dues exceed Rs 2 lakh not eligible for waiver

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 28

FOUR DAYS after the Maharashtra Cabinet approved farm loan waiver of up to Rs 2 lakh, the state cooperation department on Friday issued a government resolution (GR) stating that farmers with an outstanding amount of more than Rs 2 lakh as on September 30 will not be eligible for the waiver.

The Jyotirao Phule Farmer Loan Waiver Scheme is likely to benefit around 40 lakh farmers.

It is estimated to put an additional burden of Rs 30,000 crore on the government.

According to the GR, farmers with a loan of up to Rs 2 lakh, taken between April 1, 2015 and March 31, 2019, and not repaid till September 30, 2019, will be eligible for the waiver, irrespective of their landholding.

Dr Ajit Nawale, state general secretary of All India Kisan Sabha, claimed farmers have been betrayed. "By putting the condition of Rs 2 lakh, the government has betrayed farmers as many have now become ineligible. It has also excluded farmers who have repaid their loans regularly..."

Several farmers' leaders and Opposition BJP criticised the Shiv Sena-NCP-Congress government, saying it has "betrayed" the farmers as a majority of them will not be able to get the benefit of the scheme due to this condition.

Dr Ajit Nawale, state general secretary of All India Kisan Sabha, claimed farmers have been betrayed. "By putting the condition of Rs 2 lakh, the government has betrayed farmers as many have now become ineligible. It has also excluded farmers who have repaid their loans regularly..."

Mercury hits new low, snowfall in Nagaland after many years

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 28

In a first in many years, four districts of Zunheboto, Kiphire, Tuensang and Phek in Nagaland witnessed snowfall over Thursday and Friday.

In Zunheboto district, villages such as Luvish, Tokiye and Satoim woke up to a blanket of snow on Friday morning. "It started snowing on Thursday," said Zunheboto DC Peter Lichamo. "It is normal for temperatures to dip to 10-11 degrees Celsius in these areas but this time it is down to 2-3 degrees Celsius."

Many in Nagaland said that the "intensity and volume" of snowfall in certain areas was "unprece-



At Luvish village in Zunheboto district of Nagaland.

dent". As per reports, Luvish Old village in the Aghunato sub-division of Zunheboto received snowfall after a decade. "I can't confirm the exact number of years but villagers are telling us that it

snows only once in 8-10 years," Lichamo said.

In the adjacent district of Tuensang, Shamator and Noklak sub-divisions also received snowfall. "Reportedly, it was

quite common decades back when the rain forests were pristine and thick. More recently, we have had snowflakes in forested areas and mountain tops but what we are seeing now is definitely unusual," said Toshi Wungtung, MLA from Shamator constituency in Tuensang district. "We are currently trying to get feedback if the poor and elderly have enough shelter..."

Johnny Ruangmei, Officer on Special Duty at Nagaland State Disaster Management Authority, confirmed that no incident of injury has been reported so far. "This has been caused by the cyclonic circulation (CC) over Bay of Bengal. It is common for Nagaland to witness snowfall in the surrounding mountains..." he said.

77 infants dead in Dec in Kota hospital, govt admits problems

DEEPA MUKHERJEE
JAIPUR, DECEMBER 28

THE RAJASTHAN government has set up a high-level committee to inquire into the deaths of 77 infants in the first 24 days of December at JKLon Government Hospital in Kota. Ten of the deaths happened in a span of 48 hours between December 23 and 24.

Speaking to reporters after visiting the hospital on Friday, Secretary, Medical Education Department, Vaibhav Galiya, said there were several problems at the hospital, including improper maintenance of equipment and shortage of oxygen lines.

In its report to the Principal, Kota Government Hospital, the Paediatrics Department, however, said most of the equipment is functional and none of the patients died due to lack of resources. The registered cause of death ranges from pneumonia to septicaemia. No post-mortems were conducted as the deaths were not suspicious.

The infants were admitted in neonatal intensive care unit and paediatric intensive care unit.

JK Lon is the biggest government hospital for children in Kota. It receives 200-300 patients in the OPD apart from 30-40 admissions everyday in its Paediatrics Department.

In its report, the department said that of the 10 infants who died in 48 hours, six had been referred to it from other hospitals in a critical condition while five were newborns. Seven of these deaths happened within 24 hours of admission. This year till December, the department added, the hospital had seen deaths of 940 children, a drop from earlier years.

With Lok Sabha Speaker and Kota MP Om Birla raising the matter, Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot

also quoted the same figures Saturday, while adding that he had looked into the matter himself. He told reporters in Jaipur. "The least number of deaths have happened this year. Even death of a single child is unfortunate, but there have been 1,500 deaths in a year, or 1,400, 1,300. This year there have been around 900. But why have 900 deaths happened, because even a single death shouldn't happen." Paediatric Department data shows it has seen an average of 1,000 deaths every year since 2014.

Gehlot added that three-four deaths in a day at a hospital isn't rare. "In entire state, in every hospital, three, four, five deaths happen daily, even in Jaipur... What punishment can be given, that should also be for the entire state."

Galiya told reporters, "Instructions have been given for maintenance of equipment. We are initiating the process right away and have sufficient money for it. Shortage of oxygen lines in the NICU has also come to light. When there is no line for oxygen, patients need to be provided oxygen cylinders inside NICU, which is a bit risky from infection perspective. Orders have been issued for installation of oxygen lines in the NICU... It has also come to light that during monitoring of infection, the frequency of sampling was not adequate." He said they were also looking at shortage of 30-35 per cent in nursing staff.

The BJP accused the government of lack of empathy. State BJP president Satish Poonia who visited the hospital Saturday said, "It is surprising to see 10 infants die within 48 hours. In terms of infrastructure, the situation is dismal. Cleanliness is not as it should be. Instead of nursing staff, the wards had parents, and up to three children were lying on one bed."

J&K to observe Accession Day as public holiday, parties slam new calendar

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
JAMMU, SRINAGAR, DECEMBER 28

IN A first, Jammu and Kashmir will observe a public holiday on October 26 to mark Accession Day. Maharaja Hari Singh, the last Dogra ruler of the erstwhile princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, had signed the Instrument of Accession on this date in 1947. This comes after the J&K and Ladakh authorities dropped Martyrs' Day and the birth anniversary of National Conference founder Sheikh Abdullah, on July 13 and December 5, respectively, from its list of gazetted holidays.

Public holidays in the state of J&K which has now been made a Union Territory. Martyrs' Day was observed in the memory of protesters killed in firing by soldiers of Hari Singh on July 13, 1931.

With this, the new UT of J&K will have 27 public holidays instead of the previous 28, according to a list of public holidays issued by the General Administration Department on Friday.

Former legislator and senior Congress leader Vikramaditya Singh, who is also the grandson of Maharaja Hari Singh, tweeted, "From next year, 26th October, the day my grandfather, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession to India will be observed as a state holiday. This is a mark of respect for sacrifices of the J&K State Forces and the Indian Army."

The government's move has triggered anger in the Valley, with mainstream political parties lashing out at the BJP and demanding a review.

NC MP Hasnain Masoodi said the decision is "not acceptable". "Whosoever has taken this decision has done no good to the country and the people of the country. These are two most important events, but if you downplay... and delete the holidays, the message they want to give is that we don't care for these events," he said.

PDP spokesman Tahir Sayeed said the "decision reveals the communal and fascist mindset of BJP".

J&K Pradesh Congress Committee demanded a review. "Sheikh sahib has a huge contribution in politics and the aim of the BJP is to disregard it..." J&K PCC chief Chulam Ahmad Mir said.

Kashmir I-G who oversaw Art 370 scrapping replaced

NAVEED IQBAL
SRINAGAR, DECEMBER 28

THE JAMMU and Kashmir administration on Saturday appointed Vijay Kumar as the new Inspector General (I-G), Kashmir. The 1997-batch IPS officer replaces Swayam Prakash Pani, who will take office as Inspector General (Armed) Police.

Kumar was repatriated to the J&K cadre earlier this year and appointed IGP (Armed) in June 2019.

As I-G, Kashmir, Pani was at the helm in handling law and order during J&K's transition to Union Territory status after the Centre revoked special status to Jammu and Kashmir on August 5. Known for pursuing a strict "culture of investigation", Pani is likely to take on another posting on Central deputation, which has been cleared by the state.

He served in the NIA before joining his parent cadre state as DIG for South Kashmir in the wake of the protests following the killing of Burhan Wani in 2016.

Amid apprehensions of law and order issues following August 5, Pani has been credited with effective handling of the situation in the Valley.

10 IDEA EXCHANGE

NEWSMAKERS IN THE NEWSROOM

Till eight months ago, we were the fastest growing economy in the world. Suddenly, how do you get here? It's been an unfamiliar, long, slow bleed... We have not been able to recognise it because it isn't dramatic"



WHY ARVIND SUBRAMANIAN

In a new paper published by Harvard University's Center for International Development, Subramanian, former chief economic advisor, and Josh Felman, former IMF resident representative to India, have argued that the economy is facing a "twin balance sheet" problem from bank loans to real estate routed via non-banking financial

companies in the post-demonetisation period. This, they warn, would make it difficult to arrest the current slowdown. Earlier, he had concluded that India's growth had been overestimated by 2.5 percentage points (2011-12 to 2016-17). While official estimates pegged growth at 7%, actual GDP is likely to have been 4.5%, he had said



"We need to overhaul the regulatory system... It has to be something where the regulator is genuinely inspired by this 'only paranoid survive' kind of mentality... You need overzealous thing here

HARISH DAMODARAN: You have said that the economy seems headed for the intensive care unit, while Manish Sabharwal (Chairman, Teamlease Services) says it's in rehabilitation...

The only way to get a good reading is to look at the indicators. If you just look at the basic numbers, say, on consumption, investment, trade and taxes, they are all either in negative growth territory or barely positive this year. Thus, non-oil import growth is about minus 5%, non-oil export is also negative, nominal growth in GST and direct tax collections, only about 3.5 to 3.6%, which is basically zero in real terms. If you look at these numbers from a comparative perspective, it does not resemble even the 2002 slowdown. During that slowdown, GDP growth was 4.5, but all the above numbers were actually in the positive to fairly positive growth territory. The current slowdown has greater resemblance to that of 1991. It may not really be so in terms of macro (stability) numbers — foreign exchange is sound, current account is sound and inflation is sound — but in terms of real growth indicators, it (the situation now) resembles much more 1991-92, when we had a growth of 1.1%.

Then, of course, if you look at the electricity generation numbers over the last 28-29 years, never have you seen almost zero growth... For a country where energy access is poor, to think that energy generation and demand are going to be close to negative growth territory is unheard of. So, I think that all these objective indicators point to something very serious. Moreover, this slowdown itself creates a lot of stress. If your nominal GDP growth is going to be 4-5% and interest costs are like 12-14%, how will there not be stress? Then, we know that the finance system is just completely jammed... Also, to get you out (of the slowdown), the conventional short-run bullets you have are monetary and fiscal policy. But we have seen that monetary transmission is completely gone. The fiscal space is completely evacuated because, if you look at the true deficit, last year we ended up — look at what the CAG has said — close to 9%, which is also JPMorgan's estimate. This year, the fiscal situation is going to be even more challenging... So, the indicators are looking grim and there are no short-term bullets.

Let's also focus on investment for a second. For sometime we did public investment, then in 2000s we did PPP (public-private partnership) investments. Now the PPP model is completely discredited. So, how is private investment going to come back? I think we have to do a lot to be realistically hopeful that things are going to turn around.

HARISH DAMODARAN: You are saying that this is as bad as 1991, but in '91, the problem was very clear with hardly a month of forex reserves and high global oil prices. This time, what is the problem?

Yes, in India, we are used to crises that are triggered by the three Fs — food, fiscal and foreign exchange. Those are macro crises. We are used to crises that way and also how to recognise and respond to them. This time around, it's a very unusual situation because we have had a long, slow-bleed crisis beginning just after the global financial crisis. The whole financial sector has been deteriorating; exports and investments have been deteriorating for a very long time. It is very puzzling. Nothing dramatic has gone wrong but it's been a slow bleed for a very long time... I think the fact that our GDP measurements have been over optimistic, it has kind of fed this sense that maybe things are not too bad. So, this measurement is misleading us to some extent, and the fact that it's a slow bleed, the situation that we are in is unfamiliar... It has sprung a surprise on us. Remember, until eight months ago, we were seen as the world's fastest growing economy. Suddenly, how do you get here? I think it's been unfamiliar and has to do with the financial system... that's why I think it happened as severely as it happened, and we have not been able to recognise it because it's not dramatic... It's like a collective social cognition apparatus has been unprepared to recognise this kind of problem, what we call the 'twin balance sheet (TBS) crisis'.

SUNIL JAIN: By when do we see this becoming a familiar kind of crisis (that shows up in real data)?

Suppose you have slow growth for a very long time, it is possible that our current account will not deteriorate. Slow growth can also mean that inflation may come down because there is a temporary blip in demand. But that's also down. So, I think, that two places where it will manifest itself are in real sector growth, incomes, jobs and corporate layoffs. And, it is going to

'There are no magic short-term bullets (to fix economy)... Budget shouldn't aim for surprises'

Former chief economic advisor Arvind Subramanian on why economic indicators are serious, agrees that NPA crisis was recognised late, argues 'suit-boot ki sarkar' charge made economic resolutions difficult, and explains why boosting consumption is not route to growth



Ex-CEA Arvind Subramanian with National Rural Affairs Editor Harish Damodaran in *The Indian Express* newsroom. *Gajendra Yadav*

show up in the fiscal (deficit) as well. Already we can see that states are cutting back on spending. The Centre also doesn't have money. So, this is not going to manifest itself in the form of a conventional crisis. It's going to be slow. That's why it's not going to be dramatic, and therefore be more challenging for the policymakers.

SUNIL JAIN: You talked about the twin balance sheet crisis. Where do you think this government went wrong?

Firstly, the twin balance sheet problem has now become a four balance sheet problem. We now have NBFCs (Non-Banking Financial Companies) and real-estate sectors. So, that's kind of making the problem worse. The origin (of the problem) is the fact that all this excessive lending took place. By the way, one of the heroes in this episode is Ashish Gupta of Credit Suisse, whose 'House of Debt' report first came out in 2010-11. That is when we should have started to address the problems. Between then and almost 2015-16, we were in denial about the true state of the problem. In my book, there is a chart about what the RBI was saying were the NPAs (non-performing assets) of banks... It's only after AQR1 (asset quality review) that we started even publicly acknowledging the real NPAs. So, the fault is not only of this government, but also of the regulator.

Second, when we first did the balance sheet crisis analysis, we had this debate about setting up a bad bank. There were two things in my view that delayed action. One is, you know, the official GDP numbers were not bad. When the growth is 6-7%, what's the problem? We have still not come clean on the magnitude of the problem (of estimation). We initiated the bad bank discussion in 2015 or so. But then the problem was that the government was new and it was quite vulnerable to the criticism of 'suit-boot ki sarkar'. So, at that point, any executive-led process (of taking bad loans off the books of regular banks) was not going to be easy and that's why the government did the IBC (Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code), for which it deserves a lot of credit. But then a combination of prolonged slow growth and now a second TBS have made matters even worse. If you really be honest, it begins with the inattention in 2010. The under-reporting of the NPA problem until 2016, the initial bad bank discussion happening but saying, 'Oh, let's not do this...'. Remember, if you're vulnerable to the charge of 'suit-boot ki sarkar', then resolutions that require write-offs are going to be difficult and so we had to do the IBC.

ANIL SASI: In your first Economic Survey, a little over four-and-a-half years ago, you painted a fairly rosy

picture of the economy. Was that a genuine estimation error or was there some miscommunication?

No, absolutely not. In 2014, all we had the sense that this was the real moment... The oil prices were down, there was a big political mandate, there was a genuine sense of optimism. I generally don't write things I don't believe in. And you can see in all my four years, the surveys... someone documented the four surveys over time, and they became more and more sober. And that was in keeping with the way things evolved.

ANIL SASI: The oil bonanza and even the crises that have unfolded subsequently, the NBFC crisis... It was almost very clear that the banks were not lending, NBFCs were doing the heavy lifting. Why was it such a big surprise only when it unfolded? It was only after the IL&FS (Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services) went belly up that the NBFC problem was recognised.

There are two things. One is your oil pressure... To analyse the last 8-10 years, you have to be able to explain a long-term slowdown, the fact that it did not completely collapse, then the phase that happened with the second credit boom and then the collapse. In a way, there are three phases going on here. And part of the reason things did not (slow down) earlier on was because of the oil prices, which did provide a temporary cushion both for the fiscal and for consumption, and that's why when exports and investments collapsed, the economy still did 3-4-5%.

Look, we all have views on demonetisation. But, for me, one of the surprises was that post-demonetisation, when the credit boom happened... And of course it was partly due to demonetisation because money came back to banks, money came back to mutual funds. They financed the

NBFCs and that's why you had the credit boom. Then the credit bubble burst... The question is why? All episodes like this, of serious stress, require a trigger and some fundamental kind of unsustainable ponzi scheme kind of stuff. The trigger was IL&FS. Now, IL&FS is a catastrophic fault of regulation by the regulator. How can this behemoth Rs 90,000 crore escape all the notice of regulators? That I think is just absolute failure of the system, especially the regulator. But it's not just IL&FS, we had a series of things. So, one of the things was that regulation was seriously flawed.

When the NBFC started lending, there should have been much strict monitoring of how much they were lending and where they were lending. Let me give you one example: When the banks got the money, instead of them lending directly to real estate, they lent to the NBFCs to lend to the real estate. Why? Because of the risk attached. So, if I make a loan and make it to an NBFC, the risk for that is much lower than if I make it to the real estate. Now, these were the things that the regulators should have spotted. The one lesson we have learnt is that we need to fundamentally overhaul the regulatory system, but that's easier said than done. Anyone who says he can really fix this is talking nonsense... In the UK they tried the regulator outside the Central bank (model), even that did not work. It has to be something where the regulator is genuinely inspired by this 'only the paranoid survive' kind of mentality. And their attitude is that my job is just to find out where the mess in the system is... You need that kind of overzealous thing here.

SANDEEP SINGH: As per your assessment, where are we in this slowdown trough right now?

On the trough, let me say three things. One, I don't think anyone can say we are

going to come out in three or four quarters. My sense is that things have to get worse before they get better... Also, how quickly we come out is dependent upon what we do. Of course, the external environment is there, but you know, if you take measures that can increase confidence, start fixing the financial sector, the data thing, agriculture... It's in our hands, the government's hands, to some extent. But the actual timing, one cannot say anything here.

BANIKINKAR PATTANAYAK: You said the belated recognition of the NPA crisis cost us. Do you think the RBI under Raghuram Rajan could have initiated the AQR earlier?

Yes, absolutely. I think so. First, the fact that it was done deserves credit. Yes, I do think it could have been done earlier. From about 2011-12 to about 2015, it was just doing 'extend and pretend', deny the problem. So, I do think we recognised the problem later than we should have. I don't want to blame anyone and that's why I said it should have started much earlier... My discomfort at this stage is that there's a kind of 'Oh the banks are ok, we need to do it for the NBFCs', and I don't have the confidence to say that, because the banks came to the NBFCs quite a bit. In politics and political economy, if collectively the country thinks the problem is small, the urgency to solve it is small.

RAVISH TIWARI: On a political level, this government and the BJP seem to enjoy greater trust of political agents, the voters. But here is a finance minister who does major announcements and the economic agents don't seem to be impressed. Why are the economic agents not trusting the government?

On the economic side, for many years, we have had what I call the 'foresee' problem. Both public officials and the private sector have had a dampening effect because you fear there's going to be a foresee activity. This in turn comes from what? We've had a series of corruption scandals, so the people's, the economic agents', faith in the government kind of fell. So that relationship I think has been impaired for a very long time. So, in a sense, we are now in a situation where this is the cumulative legacy of many, many years, and it's not going to be easy to undo that... We need to have a situation where there's more policy certainty and much more friendliness.

SHOBHANA SUBRAMANIAN: What are the three things that you would like to see in the Budget?

Unfortunately, I have much stronger views on things that should not be on the

Budget. First is budgetary accounting. This is a serious step. Second, I would say, don't add to the stimulus, but don't also have some dramatic fiscal consolidation which is not going to be realistic. So, let's get the accounting clean, let's have realistic ambition on the targets, no individual income tax cuts — absolutely not... Also, I don't think we should boost consumption in order to boost growth because no country grows in the long run based on consumption.

Now, the individual income-tax payers are the top 5 per cent of the population. If you really want to boost consumption, it's the bottom 95 per cent that you have to look at. So, if you want to boost consumption you should have something like UBI (Universal Basic Income), DBT (Direct Benefit Transfer), extend PM-KISAN... So, no raising GST rates. My view is that the GST revenue performance is not bad at all. What I do think we should do, not today, but when the economy recovers, maybe in six months or whatever, is we should have a bigger reassessment of GST and get back to something close to what I recommended in my report...

I feel there are no real magic short-term bullets. I feel that the Budget should not aim to do too many surprising things. I think the policy announcement that should accompany it should be much more along the lines of what I've said — bad banks, IBC, agriculture, data, power... To put it differently, this is a Budget not for anything dramatic on the tax and the deficit (front). It's a structural problem and needs structural remedies... We have run out of short-term bullets.

SHOBHANA SUBRAMANIAN: Do you support the cuts in corporation tax? Also, on personal income tax, the top is fine, but an individual pays 30% tax at Rs 10 lakh income and a corporate doesn't pay?

I think India, in terms of personal income tax, is a country where there are much fewer taxpayers than there should be. The aim should be to get more and more taxpayers into the net.

(On corporate tax) We know that from a long-run investment point of view, India's tax rates were far too high. The tricky thing is that on the one hand, it was a desirable long-run structural reform... The problem in all these situations is what is called the theory of the second best. We are in a second-best world. So, in a first-best world, a corporate tax cut is going to elicit a decent response. In a second-best world, when you do one thing, four other things are not in place and this may not elicit the investment that you want. This is actually a classic case of a policy dilemma.



"Things have to get worse before they get better... How quickly we come out is dependent on what we do. If you take steps that increase confidence, fix financial sector... It's in our hands, the govt's hands



70th year of the Republic 1950-2020

WE, THE PEOPLE

RESIDENT, usual resident; citizen, non-citizen; immigrant, illegal immigrant; Muslim, non-Muslim; Kashmiri, non-Kashmiri. In 2019, ascendant nationalism made way for narrowing definitions of who is a national — neat enough to fit a box to tick on a paper. From Kashmir to Assam, the complex matrix of identities woven over hundred of years of history and geography disintegrated into a jumble of numbers (370, 1971, 19 lakh), while from Sabarimala to Ayodhya, old identities proved strong despite the passage of centuries.

Towards the end of the year, the contesting figures took the shape of protests against the government. This shape seemed to have a common identity: young, articulate, seeking its rights under the Constitution, and rallying around the Preamble, beginning with the words 'We, the people of India'.

The Sunday Express reaches out to men and women across the Republic, from the uneasy calm of the Valley to the angry disquiet of a campus, the desolation of Bastar to the solitude of a rape victim, and the hope for a job next to Millennium City Gurgaon to the longing for a temple in Ayodhya — to find out, in their own words and their own photographs or sketches, what they talk about when they talk about 'being India' and 'being Indian'.

What does the Constitution mean in their lives, in letter and spirit? Which rights matter to them the most, at home and beyond, as they enter 2020, the 70th year of the Republic.

'We might look, eat different, but are all equally Indian, right?'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'ST reservation not a privilege... we've been through a lot'

KHRIELIEVNUO SUOHU, 20
Tribal student, model
KOHIMA, NAGALAND

THE 20-year-old, a first-year student of English Honours, lives in Kohima with her parents and three siblings. In October, she participated in the Miss Kohima beauty pageant. Suohu is a member of the Angami tribe, one of the major ethnic groups of Nagaland. On October 31, the deadline for the final settlement of the Naga peace accord lapsed.

What does India mean to you?

Naga history is different from the rest of the country... But the moment the national anthem is played, I feel a deep association with India... I don't want to talk much about it (the Naga movement), but I want things to be peaceful. We have frequent curfews. These don't help us in any way... I do feel patriotic but there are things I hear from my friends about mainland India. They say they have been called 'chinki', even 'momo'!... We might look different and eat different, but we are all equally Indian, right?

Have you ever been to Delhi?

No, but I have heard that Delhi is a happening place, also crowded and polluted... and I don't plan on visiting any time soon! My elder sister had moved there recently for a job but she left because she couldn't handle the pollution, crowds... Anyway, there is a lot of scope coming up in Kohima as well.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Three years ago, I went to Pune for a student exchange programme. People in Pune were so welcoming and advanced. I was impressed by the roads there, especially because the roads in Kohima are a nightmare. Also, Pune had elevators, even at home! Here we don't even have apartment buildings.



Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

I have a lot of friends from outside Nagaland — Pune, Bengaluru, Shillong, Kolkata. My Pune friends ask me a lot about Nagaland. They want to know when to come, how to come, when to visit, if it's safe.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

I don't know how to answer that, but I want to talk about something else. People think the ST reservation given to us is a privilege. But I think we deserve the quota as we are a minority and we have been through a lot, not to forget the discrimination from mainland Indian people. We lack basic necessities, quality education, proper roads.

For you, the government is...

One that doesn't focus on only religion so much. At the Miss Kohima event, when I said 'PM Modi should focus on women, not cows',



MY WORLD... Khrielievnuo's sketch (left) on values she considers important — love, ethnicity, diversity...

everyone erupted in laughter. But later, I saw many comments online where people felt I was insulting Hindus. I really had no intention to do that, I respect all religions.

For you, a good citizen is...

Someone who contributes — be it small or big — to society; someone who is an asset, not a liability; a blessing, not a burden.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

People talk about sacrifices national political leaders have made. What is unappreciated are the sacrifices the Naga people have made. They fought for our freedom...

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

That it becomes a place where every religion is treated equally.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

There will come a day when I have to prove my citizenship too. I am not afraid because I have all my certificates in a file. In the Northeast, our concerns are different. There might come a time when immigrants will rule my state.

TORA AGARWALA

'Being Ayodhya resident, I know what wrong politics can do'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Right to justice, to follow religion, go anywhere in India'

ANKIT TIWARI, 26
Law graduate,
AYODHYA, UTTAR PRADESH

ALAW graduate, Tiwari was born two months after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in December 1992. The 26-year-old believes living in Ayodhya has taught him "how to follow politics without being political". In November, the Supreme Court ruled that the entire disputed land be handed over to a trust for the construction of a Ram temple.

What does India mean to you?

A lot of things, but just the tune of *Vande Mataram* gives me goosebumps. To be Indian is to grow up with values — respecting relatives and the joint family system. What is most Indian about me? My food choices. I like Indian food best — *baati-chokha* with coriander *chutney* is my favourite.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

Several times. A few years ago, I had to keep going there for my father's treatment. And later, for an LLM exam at Delhi University. I also have friends there.

Which is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Nepal... or I think it's Kashmir. That was in 2016... It was originally a trip to Vaishno Devi Mandir, which we extended to Kashmir. There, I went to the Dal Lake and some park... I do not remember the name.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Not many, but there was one person I met in Chhattisgarh... He is also Ankit and is the same age as me.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

My right to justice and to file writs and PILs. Two, the freedom to follow my religion.



MY WORLD... A photo (top) Ankit shot of the Saryu ghat in Ayodhya

Also, the right to go anywhere within the country. At an individual level, we should be able to watch anything on the Internet, but that freedom was taken away when the government recently suspended the Internet.

For you, the government is...

Someone which has plans for the long term, plans that are inclusive and sustainable... which benefit everybody.

For you, a good citizen is...

Someone who is non-political. Having spent most of my life in Ayodhya, I have seen

what politics can do if it takes a wrong turn. I have seen even good people turning bad after entering politics.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

Removal of Article 370 from J&K. This ensures right to equality. Now when I go there, I can use my phone; earlier, only post-paid SIMs worked there. There are people questioning this, but change does not bring happiness at once; it takes time.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

A new Finance Minister. The economy is a mess and she (Nirmala Sitharaman) has no answers.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

Yes, I have obviously heard of them. I do not fear that I will be asked for documents to prove my citizenship and that I will not have. Even if there is any issue, I know this will be easier for Hindus as under CAA, we have been assured citizenship. I have my ID cards and my ration card. I keep them in a briefcase at home.

AVANEESH MISHRA

“ Naga history is different from the rest of the country... But the moment the national anthem is played, I feel a deep association with India... I want things to be peaceful, we've frequent curfews ”

“ I do not worry about having to prove my citizenship. Even if there is an issue, I know this will be easier for Hindus as under the new citizenship law, we have been assured citizenship ”

'We're what we are due to freedom, and those who fought, died for it'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Freedom of expression... In private, I feel I have the right to do anything I like'

RISHAV RAJGURU, 23
Student
GUWAHATI, ASSAM

WITH ASSAM the epicentre of the protests against the new citizenship law, following which the government suspended the Internet for 10 days, Rishav Rajguru, a final-year student at Guwahati Medical College and Hospital, says the government must talk to the protesters as the Act affects all citizens.

What does India mean to you?

For me, India stands for the beautiful diversity of its cultures... Yet we all unite for the country when the situation demands it. I feel most Indian during Independence Day and Republic Day celebrations, or when Team India is playing a match. I feel patriotic while singing the national anthem at movie halls. Also, it's not that I 'feel Indian' and hence do not litter the roads. I don't litter because I know it's the right thing to do. If these small steps help the country, I feel good. On many occasions, I have asked people not to litter or urinate near our college and hostel.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

Yes, twice. My first visit was in 2006, as a tourist with my family. We visited all the popular tourist destinations such as the Red Fort and India Gate. I also visited Delhi a few years ago for my elder sister's eye treatment. She had a surgery for myopia and is now fine.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

I went for a holiday to the UAE earlier this year. It's a beautiful country, neat and clean, and the people are very good. While I was there, I kept thinking that our country should also develop like this.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Yes, my college has a lot of students from all over the country. So now I have friends from Delhi, Haryana, Bihar and Rajasthan.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

Freedom of expression is the most important right for me. I can express myself without any fear, as long as my expression does not harm anyone. I really value this right. I feel I also have the right to do anything I like.

For you, the government is...

One that we the people elect to look after us... But right now, it seems, they are fail-



“The government is the people we elect to look after us... But right now, it seems, they are failing to do that. There are protests raging across the country. There is unrest”

ing to do that. There are protests raging across the country. There is unrest.

For you, a good citizen is...

One who is aware, responsible. For example, during these citizenship-related protests, people have become aware of their democratic rights and the political narrative around it — like they should be.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

August 15, 1947. I feel we are what we are today only because we got freedom from colonial rule. We must be extremely grateful to those who fought and died for the freedom of this country.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

The government should talk to those protesting against CAA. The Act should be repealed. There should be peace.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

The government should listen to what people want. As for the NRC, I have already been through the exercise of proving my identity and submitting my papers like everyone in Assam has.

MY WORLD... Rishav (left) sent this photograph of him winning an award for 'Best Article in the College Magazine' earlier this year

ABHISHEK SAHA

'I fear that in future, I too may have to prove my citizenship'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Freedom to write, protest... But on Sabarimala, many of these curtailed'



MY WORLD... Seena sent a picture of her in her library

SEENA UPPALAKKAL THAZHE KUNIYIL, 39
Activist
VATAKARA, KERALA

A POST-GRADUATE in history, Seena is an activist associated with the Renaissance Committee, an initiative of the CPM-led LDF government in Kerala that has been campaigning for the entry of women into the Sabarimala temple. In November, the Supreme Court referred the issue to a larger bench.

What does India mean to you?

People from different castes, religions, languages, food habits and lifestyles working together... that makes me proud.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

I have never lived in Delhi, but yes, I have visited the place.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Bihar. I have been to Samastipur several times — my in-laws have family ties there.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Not really friends, but relatives.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

Freedom of expression, which includes

the freedom to write, speak and protest. Also, the freedom of movement and the freedom to work with dignity. However, by banning women from Sabarimala, many of these rights have been curtailed.

For you, the government is...

One that works to make people's lives better, irrespective of their nationality, religion, caste or gender.

For you, a good citizen is...

Someone who believes in democracy and practises it, someone who is aware of democratic rights and responsibilities.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

All democratic and secular assemblies, such as the current protests against the amended citizenship Act and the protests that followed the 2012 Delhi gang rape.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

Repeal CAA, and drop the NRC.

On the protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act...

There was no discrimination in the 1955 Citizenship Act, but the amended Act provides citizenship to all immigrants, except Muslims. This religious discrimination is deplorable and shameful. I fear that in future I too may have to prove my citizenship. I have a voter ID, Aadhaar card and a few certificates pertaining to my education...

SHAJU PHILIP

'I have been detained by police several times. I feel I'm acting as per Constitution'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'RTI... Despite right to equality, we face discrimination'

YOGESH MAKWANA, 37
Labour contractor
AHMEDABAD, GUJARAT

MAKWANA LIVES in Ahmedabad's Rama Pir No Tekro, Gujarat's biggest slum, with around 13,000-15,000 households, most of them Dalit like him. Since the 2016 Una assault on a group of Dalits, Gujarat has seen increasing Dalit assertion and, often, a resultant backlash from the upper castes. Having studied till Class 8, Makwana provides plumbers to various construction sites in the city.

What does India mean to you?

For me, the sense of being Indian is the strongest on August 15, January 26 and when saluting our Tricolour. I have that same pride when I come out to protest against the harassment of any person by police or politicians. I have been detained by police several times but I feel I am acting as per the Constitution. Recently, some bootleggers in our area were beating up a boy and I intervened and got him released. In return, the bootleggers filed a police complaint against me.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

No. A couple of times, my friend and I planned to go to Delhi, but it did not work out. But yes, we definitely want to visit Delhi.

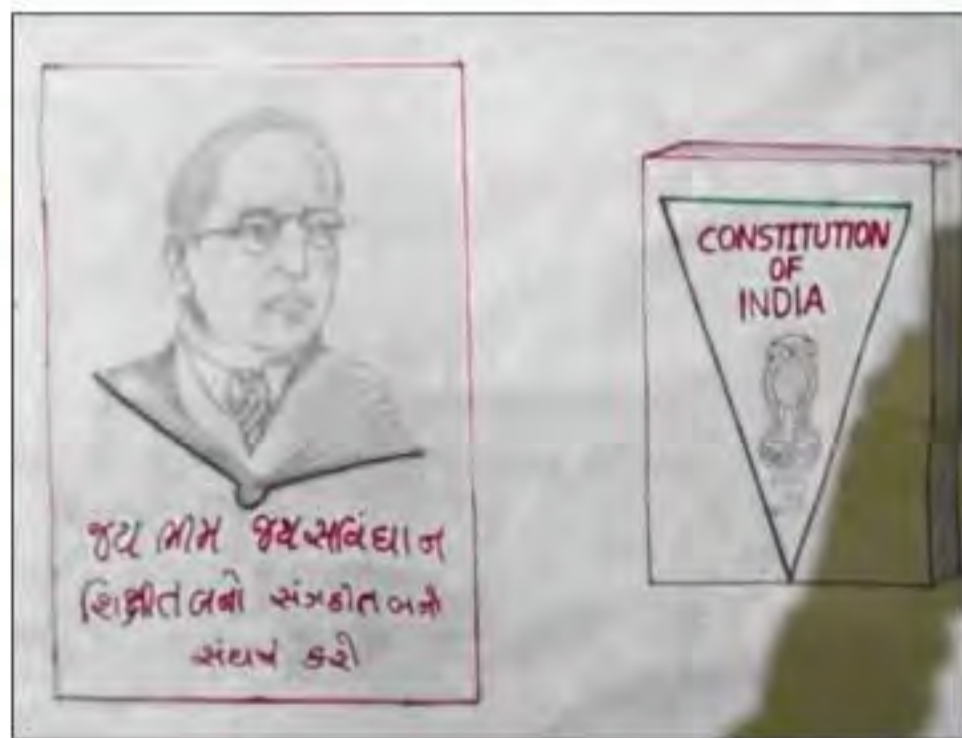
What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

I went to Bengaluru with friends on a trip.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

I have an engineer friend in Haryana. We met at a construction site and became friends since the project lasted around a year. We stay in regular touch over social media.

What are the three important rights you



MY WORLD... Makwana sent this sketch of the Constitution and B R Ambedkar, calling them symbols that are dear to him

enjoy as a citizen of this country?

Right to equality, also the right to freedom of speech and expression. Despite the right to equality, on many occasions, we face discrimination. I also consider the Right to Information Act very vital and keep filing RTI applications on behalf of our locality.

For you, the government is...

Our governments think less of the public and more of their elected representatives. This is true of any (political) party, the Congress or the BJP. They talk of only religion, for electoral gains, while ignoring issues of education, employment etc.

For you, a good citizen is...

One who is full of humanity, who feels the pain of a sufferer.

“The govt thinks less of the public and more of its elected representatives. This is true of any party, Congress or BJP. They talk of religion for electoral gains”

For you, the most historical event has been...

November 26, 1949, when we adopted our Constitution, which gives us our rights.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

There is so much unemployment due to recession. I want that a lot of people get jobs in the new year. My business has suffered a lot too. There is very less work. I used to hire 25-30 labourers per day from my area, but for the last three-four years, I have been able to hire only five-seven labourers daily.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

The government wants to bring in people from other countries. But I can't understand how they will give them employment and a better life. There is so much unemployment already... I am worried my family and I might be asked to prove citizenship too. We have our birth certificate, Aadhaar card etc and we keep them carefully in our almirah. But, you never know what documents this government may ask as proof of our citizenship.

PARIMAL DABHI

'When police shot the rape accused in Hyderabad, I felt proud to be an Indian'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Equality, not discriminating on basis of religion, colour'

Rape victim DEWAS, MADHYA PRADESH

FOUR YEARS after the 25-year-old Dalit was raped by her neighbour, the accused was sentenced to five years earlier this year. This year, at least two incidents of rape and murder — in Hyderabad and Unnao — and the death in a police 'encounter' of the four accused in the Hyderabad case, turned the spotlight on women's security and the definition of justice.

What does India mean to you?

I realised something last year... It is in our culture to help people. After I was raped, my village, panchayat members and, at first, even police did not help me. But now I work hard to help people in trouble... even other rape survivors... Recently, when police shot dead the accused in the Hyderabad rape case, *bahut garv hua uss din Bharatiya hone ka* (I felt very proud to be an Indian that day). This is what should be done to rapists in India...

Have you ever been to Delhi?

I have hardly stepped out of my village. But last year, I joined the 'Dignity March' (where 5,000 sexual abuse victims from across India travelled 10,000 km to Delhi). I didn't see much... just Ramliha Maidan, *par bahut achcha laga* (I really liked it). Everything was different... people talked to me, unlike in my village. The thing that struck me most was the media... I had not seen cameras, reporter madam.

Which is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Apart from Delhi, Indore. One of my cousins is married there. I went to the Vaishno Dham Mandir and bought a pair of earrings from the Rajwada market.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

No... *Ek Delhi mein didi mili thi* (I met a so-



MY WORLD... The 25-year-old sent this picture of her copy of the Constitution and her sketch of 'Mother India' riding a lion and captioned: 'Jai Hind, Jai Bharat; Jai Bhim, Jai Samvidhan'

cial worker in Delhi). She was very nice to me and she messages me sometimes. But I don't have a friend. My sister is my friend.

What are the three most important rights enjoyed by an Indian citizen?

Equality. And to not discriminate against anybody, based on religion, colour... we can all be happy that way. It's a powerful right.

For you, the government is...

Modi sarkaar... sab sarkaar achchi hoti hain (Actually, all governments are good). I don't mind any government as long as they listen to us, do good work.

For you, a good citizen is...

It's important to be good — that makes us good citizens. And it is not just important to

“After (I was raped), an NGO gave me a copy of the Constitution. I have learnt how to read a bit. So far, I have read four pages. I really liked it”

be respectful to those we know, but also to those who we do not know and like. I try to follow it... But I can't be good to rapists.

For you, the most historical event has been...

After the incident, the NGO that helped me gave me a copy of the Constitution. In the past year, I have learnt how to read a bit. So far, I have read four pages. I really liked it. So for me, the most important historical event would be when the Constitution was written.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

Women are being burnt today. Such people should be hanged, only then can we women feel safe. It should not take years to punish the perpetrators. In the new year I hope to see more justice.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

I have all the documents. *Godrej mein sambhal ke rakhe hain* (I have kept them safely in my cupboard). But what's there to prove? We are citizens of India.

ANKITA DWIVEDI JOHRI

13 WE THE PEOPLE

70th year of Republic
1950-2020

'People are the government... A good citizen speaks up without any fear'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Right to Education, freedom of religion and right to vote'

SAIMA ANJUM, 19
Law student, Jamia Millia Islamia
DELHI

THIRD of five daughters, Saima Anjum lives with her family in Jamia Nagar and is currently a second-year law student at Jamia Millia Islamia. She was in the library on December 15 when police stormed the university over protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA).

What does India mean to you?

To me, India is like an emotion. In spite of its diversity, we are united. So many religions, so many states, so many cultures, yet we are bound by patriotism... There are many negative forces in the country as well. Many try to stoke religious controversies for their own political gains, but we (the country) stand united against them. And this is evident from the protests that we are currently witnessing.

You were born in Delhi. What made you choose Jamia?

The ideological and historical background of Jamia attracts me. The university has had an association with (Mahatma) Gandhi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Many say the students in Jamia are terrorists. But I know the reality as I study there. Jamia is like a diverse city. There are students of every religion and every culture. We wear shorts, burqa, even smoke. We find everything in Jamia.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

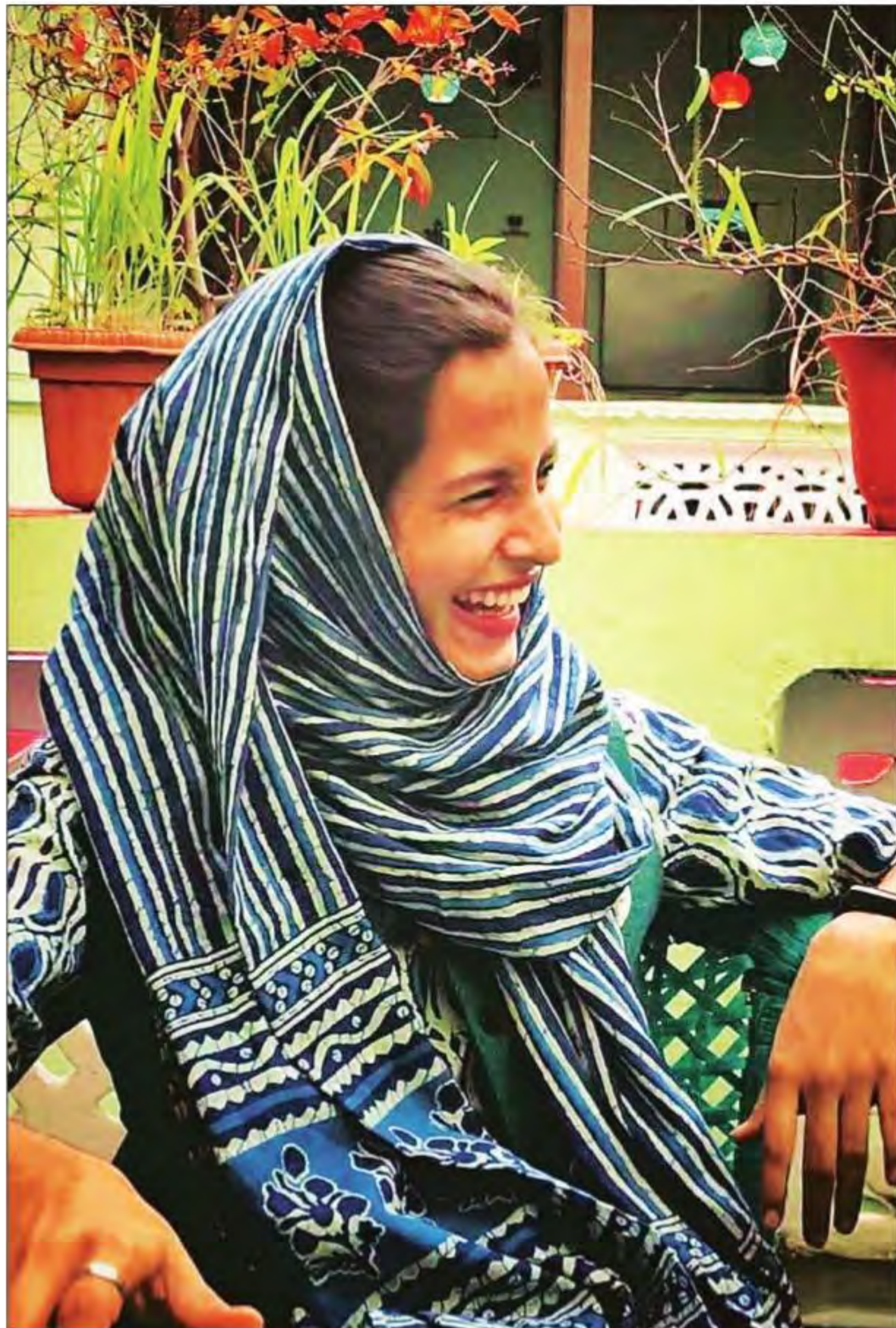
I have been to Muzaffarnagar (in Uttar Pradesh, about 140 km from Delhi). It's my hometown. My paternal grandmother stays there... I visit Muzaffarnagar every month. I haven't had the opportunity to travel much because of the difference in ages among my siblings and me. When I have free time, my other sisters have exams. Our schedules are different.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Many of my friends are based in Mumbai, Agra, Thrissur (Kerala) and Kolkata. I also befriended many people when I joined a work-from-home internship with a Mumbai-based organisation that conducts certificate courses for students.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

Right to Education, freedom of religion and right to vote. Many people still can't afford education, the government should ensure that everyone can study. Also, these days, Muslims are being targeted... The present government has a role to play in it.



For you, the government is...

People are the government. The government is chosen by the people and they can bring it down if it does not work for the benefit of the people. The government should always keep the interest of the people in mind and work for the development of the nation, while following the values enshrined in the Constitution.

For you, a good citizen is...

The one who speaks up against (the atrocities of) the government. The one who freely exercises his or her right to speech. Fortunately, we have many citizens who speak up without any fear against powerful governments.

For you, the most important historical



MY WORLD... Saima (left) sent a pic of Preamble of the Constitution, saying she holds its principles close to heart

“ Many say the students in Jamia are terrorists. I know the reality as I study there. Jamia is a diverse city. There are students of every religion and culture. We wear shorts, burqa, even smoke. We find everything in Jamia”

event has been...

I think it is the drafting of the Constitution. It gave the nation a set of principles that should be supreme for any government. And it also gave people basic rights, including human rights.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

I want a new Prime Minister who abides by the Constitution and believes in it. People should be allowed to exercise their right to freedom of speech and their right to protest freely.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

CAA would have been welcomed if it did not exclude a particular religion. It excludes Muslims in particular and therefore it is unconstitutional. We have elected you (the government) and you are asking us to prove our citizenship. The government is temporary, we are permanent. I have my Aadhaar Card and passport. I have also applied for my voter identity card but it is yet to be delivered. However, if my citizenship is questioned, I will not show my document.

AMITAVA CHAKRABORTY

'The real issue is jobs... This isn't time for CAA, NRC'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Freedom of speech. We can say anything against anyone, protest when we don't agree'



MY WORLD... Sanjay (below) sent a photograph of a field in Mewat, saying "people in the region are closely linked to their land"

SANJAY KUMAR, 22
GRADUATE, CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED
NUH, MEWAT

SANJAY KUMAR has been looking for a job since he completed his BA English (Hons) from a government college in Gurgaon in June this year. He is a resident of Nuh in Mewat district, which has been identified by NITI Aayog as the country's most backward district. In 2017-18, the unemployment rate in the country stood at 6.1 per cent, according to data released by the government earlier in 2019.

What does India mean to you?

As an Indian, I feel it is a good country, but there are problems of cleanliness and hygiene, and of corruption. Things like women's empowerment are spoken of very often, but nothing is done towards addressing these issues. I have a strong sense of nationalism and I'm proud of the country, but I feel there is a lot that still needs to be done.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

Yes, of course. Gurgaon is 35 km from here, and Delhi is 45 km away. I studied in a college in Gurgaon, which is right next to Delhi, so I used to go there often with my friends and family. Plus, even now, most of my friends are working in either Delhi or Gurgaon, so I travel there frequently.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

The farthest I have travelled to is the Vaishno Devi temple, where I went with my family in 2017. I have also gone to Manali — that was for a school trip.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Lots of them. I have friends in Gurgaon, Delhi, Jaipur, Ahmedabad. It is a wide circle...

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

I don't know about three, but I think India has all the rights people should enjoy. Freedom of speech is (the) most important (right). It is there in reality; not just in the Constitution because people can protest against the things they object to. But now the government is trying to finish the kind of democracy the country should be.

For you, the government is...

As a member of the youth, I would say a government is one that focuses on providing basic necessities to youth — good education, health facilities, jobs, food. For example, in Mewat, there is no education. Children who go out of the district to study spend four hours each day just travelling. How will they study? How will they catch up with those who have better opportunities? This is what affects our success.

For you, a good citizen is...

Someone who thinks about his country or nation, focuses on his work, keeps the country clean, respects women, is against corruption.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

Kargil. It was the Indian Army's best performance.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

I want the government to think about the people, to provide youth with skills so that they are qualified enough to apply for jobs.

On the protests against Citizenship Amendment Act...

There have been protests in Mewat as well. Here CAA is not as big an issue as the NRC. I have an Aadhaar card and other documents, but most people in Mewat do not. Most people here are illiterate, they won't even have basic documents such as Aadhaar card and voter ID card. But the real issue is, it is 2019, so many people are unemployed, this is not the time for CAA. Why does the government not focus on employment and other issues? We can manage without CAA and NRC.

SAKSHI DAYAL

'The most beautiful thing about Constitution was that Kashmir had a special identity... That is now gone'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Outside Kashmir, liberty to move around, freedom of speech, uninterrupted Internet. We want same'

SHOIB KHALIL, 27
Hotel owner
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

SHOIB Khalil, who lives with his mother and elder brother, owns a hotel in Srinagar. Most of the bookings and queries for his hotel would come through email, WhatsApp or Facebook. Since August 5, when the Centre revoked Kashmir's special status and enforced an Internet shutdown, business has been down, he says.

What does India mean to you?

I am not sure whether the rest of India looks at Kashmir the way I look at them. On paper, I am Indian, but the reality is different... I (Kashmir) had a special identity, a protection enshrined in the Constitution. It was the most beautiful thing about the Indian Constitution. But all that is now gone.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

Yes, I have travelled to Delhi several times. It is a second home for Kashmiris, especially during the winter. It is a buzzing place.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Bengaluru. People were really nice there... I would like to visit the city more often.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Yes, I have many friends. They call me often. I have a friend in Mumbai who is like family to me. He has visited Kashmir as well.



What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

In Kashmir, there are no such privileges. But once I go out of Kashmir, there is liberty to move around freely, freedom of speech and expression and uninterrupted Internet. Again, Kashmir is a different story. However, I would like the rights every Indian enjoys.

“ I have travelled to Delhi several times. It is a second home for Kashmiris, especially during the winter. It is a buzzing place. I have also been to Bengaluru”



MY WORLD... Shoib sent a sketch of his home, Kashmir, that's fenced in, and raises a question: 'What next?'

For you, the government is...

One that listens to your concerns and ensures everyone has a job. In Kashmir, we have hardly seen that.

For you, a good citizen is...

One who believes in justice and equality.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

The unilateral decision to revoke the special status of J&K. It has hurt every Kashmiri.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

I want Article 370 to be restored.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

I had my own state, my own special identity... I don't think CAA will impact Kashmir. Kashmir is a different story.

ADIL AKHZER

14 WE THE PEOPLE

70th year of Republic
1950-2020

'Protests give me hope... people are standing by their fellow citizens'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Freedom of speech and expression, right to travel, right to take independent decisions'

NAIKUN NESSA, 23

Post-Graduate, Jadavpur University
KOLKATA, WEST BENGAL

HAILING FROM Berachampa village in North 24 Parganas district, Nessa just completed her MA in Journalism and Mass Communication from Jadavpur University (JU). She says that JU has changed her outlook towards life, shaped her opinions, and convinced her to become a social worker to try and change society. In recent times, the campus has emerged as one of the battlegrounds in the bitter and polarised tussle between the Trinamool Congress and the BJP for West Bengal.

What does India mean to you?

I feel a part of the country the most when I listen to the National Anthem, during Independence Day celebrations and when watching sports. I am the most Indian in how I dress, but I eat food as per my preference. For me, being Indian means I belong to a land which celebrates diversity.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

No. In fact, I have never been outside West Bengal.

Which is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

I have been to Murshidabad district (190 km away). Our relatives stay there.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

No, all my friends are based in West Bengal. I have some Facebook friends in Bangladesh.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

I enjoy my freedom of speech and expression, my right to travel, and my right to take independent decisions. Although I have not travelled much, I know I can whenever I wish. I also think the Right to Education is a very important right. This should be realised by all.

For you, the government is...

One which works for all the people in the country. It must never discriminate among its citizens. Those who run the government should not think about holding on to power forever but work towards adopting policies which will make people's lives easier.

For you, a good citizen is...

One who stands by her fellow person. She should abide by the Constitution and strive towards protecting the nation.

For you, the most important historical



Partha Paul



event has been...

Demonetisation. I had never seen a decision of such magnitude being taken overnight, with Rs 500 and Rs 1,000 notes made invalid all of a sudden. This was a historic event as it shook the entire country.

In the New Year, what is the one change you want in the country?

I want a strict law for rapists. There should be only one punishment for those committing such a heinous crime — if found guilty, they should get the capital punishment.

On the protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act...

I do not fear at all as I have all the documents required to prove my citizenship. I have my birth certificate, Aadhaar card and voter identity card. All my documents are safely kept in our house. The protests give me hope that there are people who are standing by their fellow citizens. These protests are needed but they should be peaceful and democratic.

SANTANU CHOWDHURY

“Demonetisation was a historic event that shook India. I have never seen a decision of such magnitude being taken overnight, with Rs 500 and Rs 1,000 notes made invalid all of a sudden.”

PARTHA SARTHIBISWAS

MY WORLD...

Jadavpur University. "The campus milieu, the debates and the open fields represent to me the kind of freedom that I have not witnessed in my hometown," says Naikun Nessa

'When people visit India, must give positive picture'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'The right to vote is the most precious... I feel most Indian voting for a govt'



ASHISH MUDE, 39

Hindu Mahasabha member
NAGPUR

I have friends in Kerala, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

The right to vote is the most precious right.

For you, the government is...

It is responsible for providing amenities to people, for creating a good image of the country. It should also prioritise the well-being of farmers and industry.

For you, a good citizen is...

Those who work for the welfare of the people.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

Independence from British rule.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

Our economy must grow strong because that's where we have become weak now. The government should take steps to strengthen the economy.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

No, I don't fear it. Everyone must prove one's citizenship. We must know who is a true citizen and who is not. Where is the question of any harassment?

VIVEK DESHPANDE

WITH THE Opposition accusing the Centre of following "Savarkar's formula" with the new citizenship law, the Hindu Mahasabha leader and his legacy are once again part of public debates. Ashish Mude, a Hindu Mahasabha member and a manager with Nagpur-based Desh Publication, believes there must be no fear-mongering over CAA.

What does India mean to you?

I feel most Indian when I am voting to elect a government. Also, when I go abroad I represent my country. And when someone from another country comes here, I must give him a positive picture, and not just show the poverty.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

I have to visit Delhi at least once a year for official work.

What is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

Kanyakumari in the South and Manali in the North.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?



MY WORLD...
Mude sent this photograph of the Savarkar Smarak in Mumbai

'I don't want to be a farmer... farmers have always been at the receiving end'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Right to practise one's religion... to express oneself freely'

RAMESH LINGAYAT, 21

Student, belongs to a family of farmers
NANDED, MAHARASHTRA

WHILE THE new Shiv Sena-NCP-Congress government in Maharashtra is the latest to announce a loan waiver, Ramesh Lingayat, whose family grows jowar and bajra, says he doesn't want to take up farming since "farmers have always been at the receiving end". From Choramba village in Maharashtra's Nanded district, Lingayat is a final-year student of political science and history at the Shankarrao Chavan College in Ardhapur taluka of the district.

What does India mean to you?

I feel very proud every time I hear the national anthem being sung or when I watch our armed forces marching during the Republic Day parade. I think the most Indian thing about me are my culture and my traditions which teach me to respect our elders.

Have you ever been to Delhi?

No, never.

Which is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

When I was in Class 12, our school had organised an educational tour to Bidar, Karnataka (160 km away).

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

No, none.

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

The right to be treated equally before the law, the right which guarantees personal freedom and the right to practise one's religion are, I think, very important rights. But



MY WORLD IS...
Ramesh (above) sent this image of his one-acre farm, where his family grows jowar, bajra

the most important right is the freedom to express yourself, in public as well as in private.

For you, the government is...

The government is for the people, of the people and should be working for the people.

For you, a good citizen is...

Someone who follows the laws of the land and is conscious about his duties towards the country and society.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

On November 26, 1949, the Constitution of India was presented to the Constituent

“I have my documents. But why should I have to prove my Indian-ness when I am born in the country? My existence is enough proof that I am Indian”

PARTHA SARTHIBISWAS

Assembly by Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. That is the most important day for our country as the Constitution defines what India is. Before the Constitution came into force, our society was plagued by ills such as untouchability.

In the New Year, what is the one change you hope for in the country?

The country should implement the spirit of the Constitution both in word and spirit. I hope that change happens in the New Year.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

Yes, I have heard about the protests and I feel they are completely correct. The Bill discriminates against people on the basis of religion and violates the basic tenet of the Constitution. My existence is enough proof that I am Indian. Of course, I have my birth certificate and other documents, which I have kept safely at home, but why should I have to prove my Indian-ness when I am born in the country?

'Dream chasers in India are often pushed to limit of quitting... but we still do the job'

RIGHTS THAT MATTER MOST: 'Right to Education unchallenged... All others face challenges'

BASTIN BAJIYO JOB, 21

Engineering student, IISST
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA

ANATIVE of Alappuzha in Kerala and the elder of two siblings, Job is in the third year of his course at the Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology, Asia's first space university. This year, India's Chandrayaan 2 mission missed making a soft landing on the moon by a whisker.

What does India mean to you?

A country where people achieve great heights despite lack of resources... India is the only country to put a machine in Mars orbit in the first attempt, and on the lowest budget. Similar achievements can be seen in other spheres. 'Dream chasers' in India are often pushed to limit of quitting and may not even get to enjoy the fruits of their efforts, but we still do the job. I also appreciate Indians for their empathy. Indian parents live for their children. This is in contrast to most communities worldwide. We are all brought up to think a little about others...

Have you ever been to Delhi?

No. My only knowledge of Delhi is through the media and my friends who live there. 'Pollution' is the first thing that comes to my mind when I hear of Delhi.

Which is the farthest place you have travelled to from your hometown?

I have not had chance to travel. Chennai (730 km from Alappuzha) is the farthest place I have been to, that too on a school trip.

Do you have a friend from another part of the country?

Being a student of a national institute, I have a lot of friends from almost all communities across the country. My roommate is a Rajasthani.



MY WORLD...
Bastin (above) sent this photograph of his parents at their home in Alappuzha

What are the three important rights you enjoy as a citizen of this country?

In my view, Right to Education is the only right that is not yet challenged. All others up to an extent, have been challenged either by the government or society.

For you, the government is...

One that keeps in mind that laws are fundamentally based on basic human ethics.

For you, a good citizen is...

One who acknowledges differences of opinion, perspectives. So we have a population immune to political manipulation.

For you, the most important historical event has been...

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre. It is a true

“Students should be taught important life-lessons. Today our education creates a lot of self-pitying, under-achieving and sexually frustrated individuals”

reminder of the line between human and animal. Too much localised power and submissive attitude of masses can turn out to be catastrophic. This historical event shows how not to rule, as well as how not to be ruled.

In the New Year, what is the one change you want in the country?

Students should be taught life-lessons like handling rejection and depression, and self-respect, and given sex education. Today, our education creates a lot of self-pitying, under-achieving, sexually frustrated individuals.

On the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act...

Protests in Assam were over fear of demographic imbalance from granting citizenship to immigrants. In other parts, exclusion of Muslim immigrants is the cause of the protests. Yes, the fear is justified because the NRC is unnecessary in states other than Assam... Apart from normal documents like birth certificate, Aadhaar, driving licence, school certificates, which I keep in a file at home, I don't have any documents of my ancestors which might be required for the NRC.

VISHNU VARMA

Across THE AISLE



PCHIDAMBARAM

Website: pchidambaram.in
Twitter: @Pchidambaram_IN

TWO MAPS were published in many newspapers on December 24, 2019, the day after the Jharkhand election results. In 2018, the BJP ruled 21 of 28 states in India; by the end of 2019, the number had shrunk to 15. In 2018, the BJP governed 69.2 per cent of the population and 76.5 per cent of the area of the country; by end-2019, those numbers had reduced to 42.5 per cent (population) and 34.6 per cent (area).

Of the big states (defined as states with 20 or more Lok Sabha seats), the BJP has its party chief minister only in three: Karnataka, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. Three other big states — Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu — are in the NDA column, but how long they will remain there is uncertain.

SHOCK AND AWE

There was shock and awe among other political parties after the BJP's overwhelming victory in the Lok Sabha elections of May 2019 — 303 for the BJP alone and 353 with the allies. Mr Narendra Modi and the Home Minister, Mr Amit Shah, acquired a larger-than-life, all-conquering image, and the opposition parties retreated further into their corners. Mr Modi and Mr Shah wasted no time in reinforcing their image as no-nonsense, ruthless rulers. They unveiled one 'muscular' measure after another, that were intended to send the message that they were like the emperors of the past and their goal was to build a *Hindu Rashtra* or a Hindu Nation.

What will force Mr Modi to change course will be the outcome of elections to state legislatures in 2020-21... In the last two months, BJP was dented in Haryana, denied in Maharashtra and defeated in Jharkhand. This success can be taken forward if non-BJP parties rally around the strongest party in each state. That would mean Congress in Puducherry, Assam and Kerala; DMK in Tamil Nadu; and state-specific arrangements for Bihar and West Bengal

Pushback against bullying

The first step was the Bill to criminalise instant triple *talaq*. Neither the Congress nor the other parties had opposed the outlawing of triple *talaq* — they were opposed *only* to the *clause* that sent the husband to jail. Yet they emerged out of the debate as appearing to support an anachronistic and evil practice. Next was the brutal NRC exercise in Assam that has left 19,06,657 persons 'non-citizens' or 'Stateless' persons. On August 5, the BJP launched an unprecedented assault on the Constitution of India, placed 7.5 million people of the Kashmir Valley under an indefinite siege, dismembered the state of Jammu & Kashmir, and reduced the three regions to two Union Territories. The final assault on the basic tenets of the Republic was the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill that was passed, assented to and notified as a law within the space of 72 hours.

BEGINNING OF RESISTANCE

These were not acts of democratically elected leaders, these were acts of bullies. The dictionary defines 'bullying' as the use of coercion or threat to abuse, aggressively dominate or intimidate. Bullies do not heed advice, they do not acknowledge an opposite view, they do not tolerate dissent, and they are never wrong. Bullies succeed if you allow yourself to be bullied. I am afraid that is what hap-

pened to opposition parties in the first six months of NDA II.

The first signs of resistance were seen in West Bengal. Ms Mamata Banerjee gave it back as good as she got it from the BJP. A more determined pushback was led by Mr Sharad Pawar in the Maharashtra elections. After the results, when Mr Pawar combined resistance and political craft, he dealt the first major defeat to the BJP. It was at this time that CAB was bulldozed through Parliament and students' protests broke out across the country. The Maharashtra success and the anti-CAB protests, by all accounts, galvanised the political workers of the JMM and the Congress in the Jharkhand elections.

In less than a fortnight (December 12 to 24), the nation found its soul and stood up to the bullies.

Where does the country go from here? Mr Modi has a balance tenure of 4 years and 5 months and, therefore, it is naive to expect a change of guard in Delhi. According to some observers, what is possible is that the people's resistance may force Mr Modi to change course, although I have reservations.

STATE ELECTIONS ARE THE KEY

In my view, what will force Mr Modi to change course will be the outcome of the elections to the state legislatures that are scheduled in 2020 and 2021 (leaving

aside, for the present, elections in 2022 and 2023). Here is the schedule:

- 2020
January-February: Delhi
October-November: Bihar
- 2021
February-March: Jammu & Kashmir
April-May: Assam, Kerala, Puducherry, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal

In each of the states listed above, the BJP is defeatable. Mr Amit Shah has created the myth that the BJP is an invincible political machine. The BJP has its strengths, bolstered by money power, but it is also plagued by the usual weaknesses of all political parties — factions, dissidents, rival candidates and, in states where it is the ruling party, anti-incumbency. In the last two months, the BJP was dented in Haryana, denied in Maharashtra and defeated in Jharkhand. This success can be taken forward if non-BJP parties rally around the strongest party in each election-bound state. That would mean, for example, the Congress in Assam, Kerala and Puducherry, and the DMK in Tamil Nadu. State-specific arrangements have to be worked out for Bihar and West Bengal. As things stand at present, the BJP is not a certain winner in any of the above states.

The ultimate goal are the Lok Sabha elections in 2024. 'Project Hindu *Rashtra*' must be stopped well before 2024. And the Constitution of India must be saved by 2024, as Abraham Lincoln did in the United States in 1865.

Fifth COLUMN

TAVLEEN SINGH

Twitter: @tavleen_singh



May the coming decade bring real change

THESE LAST weeks of the year that ends next week have been a time of such turmoil and gloom for India that 2020 cannot come soon enough. When a decade ends so inauspiciously, the prospect of a new decade is itself auspicious. My personal wish for this new decade is that, before it ends, India will finally become a country that stops being discussed as having the 'potential' to become prosperous and powerful. And, instead becomes a country that has realised some of this potential. This column has been around for more than three decades, and I have been around much longer than that, so trust me when I tell you that ever since I can remember I have heard people talk about India's 'potential'. I have heard this so often that I have now reached a stage when the word itself irritates me.

Forgive this gloomy beginning but I have taken personally the collapse into a Hindutva agenda of Narendra Modi's project to bring '*parivartan*' and '*vikas*'. The only time this column has endorsed a prime minister was in 2014. This happened because I believed, like millions of Indians, that Modi meant what he said. Remember how he used to talk of how we must strive towards prosperity and not just ending poverty? Remember when he said government had no business to be in business? Remember how he promised to take India in an economic direction that would dump the socialist policies that have kept India poor? In my view he veered off track when Rahul Gandhi taunted him with running a '*suit-boot*' government.

When he should have answered this ludicrous taunt by saying that his mission was to make it possible for every Indian to afford to buy suits and boots, he scuttled into a shell and reverted to the very economic policies that have kept India in poverty. Instead of reducing government interference in every area of economic activity, he added more interference by allowing taxmen to go on a hunt for 'black' money. Unsurprisingly, India has now reached a level of economic growth that used to be mocked as the 'Hindu' rate of growth all those decades ago, when to say that you did not believe in socialism got you instantly labelled as a CIA agent.

At least in his first term as prime minister Modi took unwieldy, expensive socialist welfare schemes and made them more efficient. At least he brought some fundamental changes in our filthy villages and towns by urging people to build toilets and stop our ancient practice of defecating in the open. At least he tried to speed up the building of our desperately needed roads. And, it was for this delivery on the '*vikas*' front that he won a second term. But somehow this message never reached him and instead the message that did reach him was that he had won because he was seen as the great new Hindutva hope.

So, in the first six months of his second term, he has not only pursued an agenda that is supported mostly by upper caste urban Hindus but he has also gone on to allow his Home Minister to make speeches that have alienated Muslim communities, quite literally from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. If Modi seriously believes that the protests we have seen in the last weeks of this year were the work of opposition parties and 'anti-national' elements, he needs to start wondering if he is losing his vaunted political instincts. If Muslims have led the protests everywhere, it is because they got the message that the Home Minister has been sending in speeches that have been dangerously divisive and at times openly discriminatory against Muslims.

At a time of deep economic uncertainty, the last thing we needed was for protests, often violent, to erupt in cities and campuses across India. The last thing we need is for India to lose another decade because an Indian prime minister has ordered his government to go down the wrong road. Indian governments have failed to give Indian citizens fundamental public goods like clean water, clean air and a halfway decent standard of living. In the Sixties we were distracted by wars with China and Pakistan. In the Seventies came the Emergency. In the Eighties came policies that caused Punjab and Kashmir to explode in a frenzy of secessionist violence. Then came a small period that began in the early Nineties, that lasted for about a decade, when there was relative calm achieved by good economic policies that brought dramatic changes. This ended when Sonia Gandhi reverted to socialist-feudalism. By the time Modi appeared on the scene, India was once more in desperate straits.

He was expected to take us out of our socialist rut onto a new road. This has not happened yet and it looks for now like another decade could be lost.

Thank you PM Modi for uniting us against CAA

Dalitality

WAMAN MESHARAM



Ramlila Maidan in Delhi, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said Indian Muslims had nothing to fear from CAA. How can one trust an oppressor, in the face of lack of transparency and trustworthiness from the government? Leave aside trust, the real trust is on the anti-constitutional law. We will execute many rallies across India against such laws.

The Prime Minister earlier said those protesting and indulging in violence could be identified by the clothes they wear. Never in history has any prime minister given such an irrational statement. This was a veiled reference to Muslims. But it is the BJP that is responsible for creating and promoting commotion. Videos have emerged of people with links to the party wearing skull caps, *kurta-pyjama*, and destroying property.

In the age of social media, such propaganda has faced a backlash and found the BJP unprepared. The party never thought the entire country would revolt. Since they created this legislation, they have no option but to support it.

Non-BJP state governments too find themselves swept up in this Hindus vs Muslims narrative. These states are mostly run by, or with the aid of, the Congress or other regional parties. Since Parliament passed CAA, it is incumbent upon states to enforce it. Their statements that they won't implement the law is just a desperate attempt to win back estranged SCs, STs and OBCs.

There is one possible solution. The Union Cabinet can pass a law that the situation in the country is not fine and thus CAA needs to be adjourned. If they can't abolish the law, they can at least put a stay on this.

As a democratic right, we will increase agitations across the country. Prime Minister Modi deserves a thank you for offering us a wonderful opportunity to unite SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities across the country.

If they were not coming together earlier, the Prime Minister has made it possible in one shot.

The writer is the national president of BAMCEF and Bharat Mukti Morcha.

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

History HEADLINE

SOHAIL HASHMI

mailsohail5@gmail.com



POPULARLY KNOWN as the Jama Masjid, the mosque that was at the heart of the recent anti-Citizenship Amendment Act protests in Delhi can accommodate 20,000 worshippers, was completed in 1656 at a cost of Rs 9,00,000 and was originally named *Masjid-e-Jahan Numa* (a mosque from where one can see the world). During Shahjahan's time, there was no mosque inside the Red Fort, and the Emperor and princes visited the mosque whenever they chose to join the congregational prayers. The East Gate, known as the *Shahi Darwaza*, was reserved for the royals.

Because it was placed in the heart of the more densely populated western half of Shahjahanabad, *Masjid-e-Jahan Numa* was thronged by people the whole day and well into the night. The sweeping steps leading to the South, East and North Gates of the mosque had all manners of shops, selling pigeons, chicken, parrots, mynahs, bulbuls, and a wide variety of other birds kept as pets. Cloth merchants, especially those dealing in cut pieces, traded from the steps, as did those who sold kebabs, *kulfis*, betel leaves and all kinds of trinkets. The *dastaangos* (storytellers) arrived in the evenings, as did the poets, writers, their fans and hundreds of others.

All this changed after the 1857 Mutiny, when thousands were massacred in the city. As part of their discrediting of Muslims being anti-Christian from the time of the Crusades, the colonialists systematically targeted mosques. The Akbarabadi mosque, built by Akbarabadi Begum, a senior queen of Shahjahan, was demolished and the site converted into Edward Park (Subhash Park of today). Zeenat-ul-Masjid, built by a daughter of Aurangzeb and located adjacent to the Red Fort, was converted into a bakery for British officers. The shops in front of Fatehpuri Mosque, built by another of Shahjahan's queens, were bought in an auction by Lala Chhunnamal. It was restored to the Muslims, after paying him off, only in the mid-1890s.

The Jama Masjid, due perhaps to its central location, was taken over by the colonial army, which converted it into a camp. The soldiers walked in with their

Mosque from where one can see the world



Built in 1656, Jama Masjid has been witness to each stage of India history. Archives

shoes, the desecration of the mosque meant to rub salt into the wounds of a defeated people. An idea was floated to demolish the mosque and use the stones to build a grand church in its place. It was dropped only when it was discovered that demolishing the mosque would cost more than the value of the stone recovered.

The mosque eventually passed back into Muslim control only in 1862, though the British continued to walk in with their shoes; the practice was discontinued only in the 1890s. The mosque was placed in the care of a committee of loyal Muslims headed by one Ilahi Bakhsh. It was the same Ilahi Bakhsh who betrayed Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar to the British.

At the time of the 1903 and 1911 Coronation Durbars of King Edward and King George, the ceremonial processions passed in front of the Jama Masjid and people bought tickets to stand on the steps to get a better view.

The Urdu Maidan, placed between the East Gate of the mosque and the Red Fort, was the site of many public meetings during the struggle for freedom. At one end of Urdu Bazaar was located Sangam Theatre (later renamed Jagat Cinema and now

closed). It was the venue for theatrical performances and at least one session of the Muslim League, when the league was headed by Sultan Mohammad Shah (Agha Khan III), in the first decade of the 1900s.

In the aftermath of Partition, thousands took refuge inside the mosque, seeking safety in a part of the city that they felt secure in. It was from the steps of Jama Masjid that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad addressed thousands of scared Muslims, who wondered if they should go to Pakistan, reminding them that this was their Motherland, the land where their ancestors lay buried, the land that had given them their language, culture, food, music, attire and everything else they saw as symbols of their identity. Many old residents of the city who heard the speech as children, who are in their 80s now, remember the electrifying effect it had. Many that day decided to stay back.

During the dark days of the Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi in 1975-77, it was the area around Jama Masjid that saw protests against the forceful evictions and sterilisations unleashed by Sanjay Gandhi and his men. The protesters were beaten up and fired upon by police.

The successors of some of those who rose to political prominence as a result of that anti-Emergency upsurge have now used police against people protesting unjust and discriminatory laws.

Writer-filmmaker Sohail Hashmi is also a history buff

Out of MY MIND

MEGHNAD DESAI



Crack in the hard shell of majority govt?

or injured. Yet the serious danger is of a massive misunderstanding of the issues at stake on part of all sides. The restless public believes that the fundamental issue of who belongs as a citizen of India is being answered by the government in ways in which the non-Hindu, especially the Muslim population of India, is at risk of losing their citizenship. The government denies that such is the intention of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act. It does want to conduct two sets of surveys, one for the National Register of Citizens and the other, surfaced recently, for the National Population Register. Since for almost 99 per cent of people resident in India there would be an overlap between

the two, the duplication is puzzling. The trust in the government having been breached since the NRC in Assam (still an unfinished exercise), people suspect the worst.

But the greater danger is not from what is happening across India. It is from what is happening in Assam. Put crudely, the worst you can say about the CAA-NRC 'combo' is that the intention is to create Indian citizenship excluding all Muslims. The Assamese agitation is much more radical. It is to establish a citizenship of Assam for the Assamese alone. This does not mean those born in Assam or long resident there. Assamese are to be defined much more narrowly than that. This was the demand in the 1980s which Rajiv

Gandhi was forced to concede.

This way of defining nationality is not based on religion but on rootedness in local/national culture from birth and by ancestry. Since the BJP has long held that Assam was infiltrated by Bangladeshi Muslims, they pushed the NRC ordered by the Supreme Court for Assam with enthusiasm. But the results of that exercise have infuriated both the Assamese and the BJP as the number facing disqualification — 19 lakh — is too small for both parties. The CAA having moved the deadline for qualification for refugees from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan from 1971 (in the Assam Accord) to 2014, the Assamese feel betrayed.

Granting the Assamese what they

want — a cultural definition of citizenship — will incite similar revolts in every linguistic 'nation'. Maharashtra for Marathis, Tamil Nadu for Tamils etc. The slogan would be 'Karnataka for Kannadigas, foreigners out'. This is, of course, a secular definition of citizenship since it is not religion but cultural belonging which is the criterion.

In worrying about the 'the Muslim Question', the entire political system has missed the potent danger lurking in the unresolved Assam question. Neither the Hindu *Rashtravadi* nor the Secular, Constitutionalist doubts that India is one. The Assamese have been agitating for the idea of multiple Indias since the mid-1970s. Could they be right?

The Charter of Liberation

On the brink of the 70th year of the Republic, a reaffirmation of the radical message of the Constitution



Express Archive

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

INDIAN CITIZENS recently clothed themselves in collective readings of the Preamble to the Constitution of India. Like a *mantra*, the recitation of 85 words suddenly acquired power. Even with its more controversial amendments in 1973, the Preamble to the Indian Constitution is one of the pithiest. It is worth reading Preambles to other constitutions collected in the *Oxford Constitutions of the World* to recognise the clarity and radicalness of what India was attempting. For those who want to convert India into a civilisational state, just contrast the Preamble to India's Constitution with that of the Chinese constitution, and you will be cured of delusions. The Indian Preamble is spare and elegant because it is, somewhat unusually for preambles, not burdened with God, history or identity. Its pulsating heart and unredeemed promise is liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. This is not because God and history are not important. But it is because our Constitution liberates us to imagine them in whichever way we choose.

But the reading of the Preamble was not just a statement of citizens' rights. It was also, in some ways, about a practice of reading. In the 70th year of our Republic, in the 150th year of Gandhi's birth anniversary, 2020 should be the year to read the entire range of the political thinking that made India: from Mahatma Gandhi to BR Ambedkar, from Sri Aurobindo to Periyar, from KM Munshi to Sarojini Naidu, and so many others who constituted that extraordinary public sphere that shaped the backdrop to modern India. If nothing else, they will be an antidote to an authoritarian culture whose most corrosive achievement is to make us superficial, enraged and cynical all at once. But one of the tragedies of our age is that even practices of reading have devolved into



Wikimedia Commons

simple declarations of partisanship or group identity. Whose side will a book take? Which quotation from which figure can be deployed as a bludgeon against opponents? Reading of political thought is no longer the refuge from the weaponisation of words, a place for hard-won understanding. It has also become a wilful act of simplification, dripping with the lazy condensation of posterity. The men and women who shaped our republic were trying to imagine their way through an uncertain and complex world. They were fighting on many fronts. Some are often right on the principles, but mistaken in particular historical judgments they make. Some measure particular men and situations with insight, only to flounder on the principles at stake. Some, like Ambedkar, have the crystal clarity that comes not only from brilliance, but also from political marginality: he does not have to take anyone's side. Some are do-

(Above, left to right) Members of the Constituent Assembly including Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Jai Prakash Narayan signing copies of the Constitution; the original text of the Preamble, (prior to the enactment of the 42nd Amendment)

Like a *stotra*, the Preamble lets you concentrate on the basics: liberty for what? Equality of what? And fraternity between whom? And, the answers to the three are mutually supportive: one concept cannot be operational without the other

ing the hard work of reconciling their principles with a recalcitrant world, and with others whom they want to carry along, even in the face of disagreement. Such a vibrant and divergent canon of political thought is meant to be something you think with, not something you deploy as convenient. But this canon, which was meant to liberate us, has now become a warring minefield.

It is in this context that reading the Preamble was refreshing. It was an escape from the narcissism of identity and partisanship that characterises all reading now. The Preamble has a context, of 1949, and, more controversially, of 1973. But it is crafted in a way that deliberately transcends context, and rises above a mean partisanship.

Like a *stotra*, the Preamble lets you concentrate on the basics: liberty for what? Equality of what? And fraternity between whom? And, the answers to the three are mutually sup-

portive: one concept cannot be operational without the other.

The other thing you notice quickly, apart from the references to justice and the unity of the nation is the dignity of the individual. This is a more radical idea than we think, in the Indian context. Our discourse on communal amity in these troubled times, understandably, takes recourse to the idea of solidarity between groups, across identities. But the Preamble was referring to something more radical: the unity of the nation is not simply the solidarity of groups. It suggests that a real and deeper unity is possible only when the dignity of every individual is assured. It is a way of saying, if individual dignity is honoured, the nation has nothing to fear.

So the Preamble was a charter of liberation. It has structure, but one that enables forward movement. My last reading recommendation for the year is not a book, but the single most brilliant article I read all year. This is by Mukund Lath, 'Identity Through Necessary Change: Thinking About Raag Bhava', published in *The Journal of World Philosophies* (2018) and available online, with an introduction by David Shulman. It is a riveting essay on Indian classical music. But it is also a great contribution to Indian thought. It develops the radical idea that even identity is based on and rooted in change, not in stability and perpetuity. Our identity wars are, amongst other things, drowning out the music of this civilisation. But its connection to the Preamble is this: like the raga, the Constitution gives us a framework where we can, like artists, develop our individuality. We do not have to march to the same drum-beat of the powers that be that imprison and divide us in the name of our own civilisation.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta is contributing editor at The Indian Express, New Delhi

A Call to Honour

Reflections on the Republic at 70



At a recent protest against the CAA/NRC in the capital, citizens read the Preamble

ALOK RAI

THE 70th is inevitably a sombre anniversary, unlike the ones associated with gold and diamond. This is, at least in part, due to the grim words of the King James Bible: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." Fly away, indeed.

This is a time of reckoning, of reflection, and, in such times, one turns to the classics. Classics improve the mind: "The classics are books which exercise a particular influence, both when they imprint themselves in our imagination as unforgettable, and when they hide in the layers of memory disguised as the individual's or the collective unconscious." (Calvin) It was precisely in such a mood of crisis and recovery that I turned — returned — to Henry David Thoreau's *The Duty of Civil Disobedience* recently.

Thoreau was, acknowledgedly, Gandhi's guru. Gandhi published a translated synopsis of Thoreau's work in 1907. *Civil Disobedience* was written in 1849 in a particular, and particularly American, context — slavery, and yet another immoral war. It soon outgrew its context, and quickly became a classic of non-violent political activism. Of course, one notices right away that Gandhi's programme of non-violent political activism was defined not in terms of "disobedience" but rather of truth — as *satyagraha*, an insistence on the truth. But perhaps, in times of crisis, an insistence on the truth might itself be construed as disobedience. Perhaps, worse.

Thoreau's words are unambiguous: "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right." The classic instance is Sophocles's *Antigone*, challenging Creon's law in order that she may give her brother a proper funeral. And indeed, there is a noble Indian tradition of breaking immoral laws in the name of a higher moral principle. One thinks of the Dandi March and, before that, of Gandhi's appearance before Judge Broomfield in 1922, on a charge of sedition. It is at least arguable that Gandhi's most crucial contribution to the anti-colonial struggle was to establish the distinction between legality and legitimacy firmly in our public political discourse — so that the colonial regime, armed with the formidable apparatus of legality, was revealed in all its equally fearsome nakedness, shorn of the vestments of legitimacy. It is important to remember this Gandhi, and not the parody paraded as a sanitised, sanitary icon of the *Swachh* campaign.

Well, the Indian republic, confronting the carefully synchronised challenges of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC),

faces just such a crisis of mortal significance, appropriate to its 70th anniversary. And the classic, reliable as ever, helps out: "How does it become a man to behave toward the American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it." Thoreau was actually imprisoned for refusing to pay taxes for supporting an immoral war, and even the newly-appropriated "nationalist" icon, Vallabhbhai Patel, led the Bardoli *satyagraha* against paying taxes to the colonial government. Taxes imply complicity. However, I fear that something more direct might be called for in respect of the cruelties that we can reasonably expect from the calibrated execution of the CAA/NRC process. Again, Thoreau: "Under a government which imprisons unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison."

The moral collapse of the political class — practically all, let their names be remembered — should surprise no one. It is reassuring that a few civil society voices are beginning to be raised. But clearly, it will need much, much more to redeem the tarnished conscience of the Republic: a tide of civil disobedience, of *savinaya avagya*, a mass insistence on the truth that prejudice can never be legitimate, even when it is made into law. Franklin D Roosevelt, addressing Congress on the eve of World War II, declared: "There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend not their homes alone but the tenets of faith and humanity..."

Imagine the alternative. Will we stand and watch as thousands, perhaps millions of 'undocumented' poor people are herded into detention camps? (Remember, this is a country in which the Prime Minister failed to produce his graduation certificate.) Think Nazi Germany, when 'obedient' citizens went about their normal business, even as shops and homes unaccountably fell vacant, and looked away when their neighbours and fellows were bundled away to detention camps. And covered their noses when the belching smokestacks made the air smell strange...

Macbeth at 70, remarking on the storm that brings Duncan to his death and so sets the tragedy in motion, says:

*Threescore and ten I can remember well,
Within the volume of which time I have seen*

*Hours dreadful and things strange: but
this sore night*

Hath trifled former knowings.

Heaven knows our Republic has seen terrible things in the last 70 years, but I fear that the night that is now upon us will put all these former horrors — and us — to shame.

That — or we are called to honour.

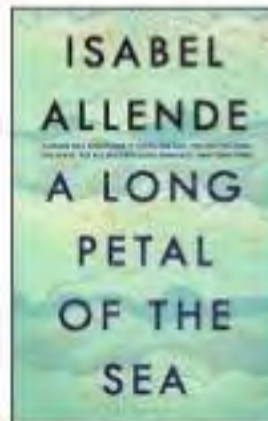
The writer taught in the department of English, Delhi University

LOOKOUT NOTICE

The big releases of 2020

A LONG PETAL OF THE SEA

ISABEL ALLENDE
Bloomsbury
336 pages, Rs 550



ISABEL ALLENDE's new novel is billed as a 20th century Latin American *War and Peace*. It recalls September 3, 1939, the day Great Britain and France declared war on Nazi Germany, following the annexation of

Poland. The same day, a ship chartered by Pablo Neruda brought refugees fleeing conflict in Europe home to Chile, the "long petal of sea and wine and snow" that he had sung of in 'Cuándo de Chile' ("Oh Chile, largo pétalo de mar y vino y nieve..."). The world had pried open Pandora's box, and against that backdrop, Allende traces the fortunes of her characters as they become involved in the violence of the Pinochet era. And, finally, as in the myth of Pandora, hope remains.

BREAKFAST WITH EVIL

ASHIS NANDY
Oxford University Press
Details awaited

AS VOTERS in more and more countries bet against enlightened self-interest, the

intersection of politics and psychology is now a coin of vantage for understanding the world and its discontents. For decades, the work of political psychologist Ashis Nandy has served as a Swiss Army knife for dissecting societies which choose to behave irrationally, and the timing of the release of his new collection could not be more appropriate. OUP's compilation assembles near-ephemera like his lectures, interviews and publications in newspapers and journals. Mapping a lifetime of work, it will reflect a world eternally in pursuit of utopia, discarding old anxieties in favour of new fears.

MANTO AND I
NANDITA DAS
Aleph Books
Details awaited

EVER SINCE the flourishing market in film script publishing died down, behind the scenes accounts of productions have become relatively rare. But in 2020, Nandita Das will take viewers and reviewers into the green room and the cutting room, and reveal the process that went into the making of *Manto* (2018). It was an immersive process that lasted six years, and it will be interesting to see not just the gears of a production turning behind the scenes, but also the political and emotional responses that travelling with Manto evoked. "I knew Manto and I were going to travel together through this a very personal jour-

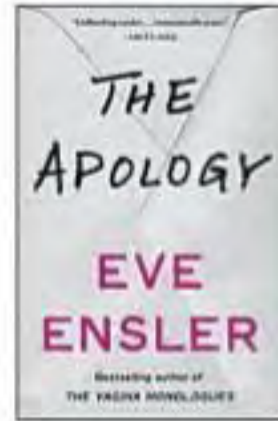
ney," writes Das. "I believe, together, the images and words will tell you a story you haven't seen on the screen."

WITNESSES OF
REMEMBRANCE
KUNWAR NARAIN
Westland Books
Details awaited

OFTEN REGARDED as the foremost writer of contemporary Hindi poetry, Kunwar Narain had a huge fan following because of the deceptive simplicity of his diction. Like some other poets of his generation, he was also a translator, and had worked on Cavafy, Borges, Mallarmé and Paul Valéry. Winner of the Jnanpith Award, the Sahitya Akademi award and the Padma Bhushan. Widely travelled, richly influenced, he had published eight volumes of poetry and two epic poems. This is the second volume of his work to appear in translation (by his son Apurva Narain), and the first since his death in 2017.

THE APOLOGY
EVE ENSLER
Bloomsbury
128 pages, Rs 499

THE AUTHOR of *The Vagina Monologues* (1996) offers an unusual perspective on abuse. While the focus has been on punishment, which is presumed to constitute closure, Enslar suggests that the process



remains incomplete in the absence of an apology. This is the atonement that she had expected of her father, who had abused her in childhood. Denied an apology, she has constructed the one that she had expected.

ected in this book, which is told from the perspective of her father. Past wrongs — not only abuse, but the gamut of human iniquity — frequently play on in the minds of victims in the form of imaginary conversations with former oppressors. Enslar has turned her own conversation into literature, and suggests that only after an apology are victims free to move on.

CHATS WITH THE DEAD
SHEHAN KARUNATILAKA
Penguin Hamish Hamilton
400 pages
Rs 599



A DECADE after his DSC Prize-winning novel *Chinaman: The Legend of Pradeep Matthew*, Sri Lankan author Shehan Karunatilaka is back with his second novel, *Chats with the Dead*, to be published in January. A dark comedy set in 1989, one of the most turbulent periods of Sri Lanka's near three decades of civil war, it is the story of war

photographer Maali Almeida, who has to solve what appears to be a classic murder mystery — his own.

SEBASTIAN & SONS: A BRIEF HISTORY OF MRDANGAM MAKERS
TM KRISHNA
Westland Books
Details awaited

IN THIS non-fiction book, Magsaysay award-winning Carnatic vocalist TM Krishna turns his attention to the makers of the mrdangam, the percussion instrument that plays a pivotal role in Carnatic music. Through interviews and reportage, Krishna examines the impact of caste and economic disparity on the community and how these resulted in marginalising their immense contribution to Carnatic music.

LAW, JUSTICE, SOCIETY: THE SELECTED WORKS OF UPENDRA BAXI (4 VOLUMES)
Oxford University Press
Details awaited

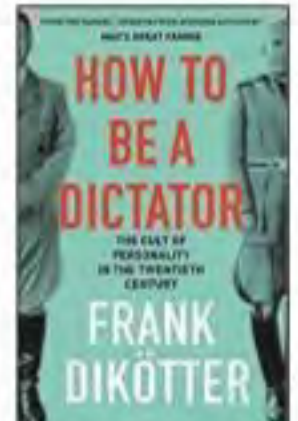
A COMPREHENSIVE look at the contributions of one of India's leading legal scholars, these four volumes bring together Baxi's writings and lectures (barring his monographs) on human rights, constitutionalism, law and its social impact. The essays will be accompanied by a critical introduction by an expert in the field. Each volume will also have an interview with Baxi, to set into context the themes expounded. The volumes are expected to be published in May.

EXPRESS EDITORS RECOMMEND

HOW TO BE A DICTATOR: THE CULT OF PERSONALITY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

FRANK DIKÖTTER
Bloomsbury
280 pages
Rs 550

The Dutch historian best known for *The People's Trilogy* ventures out of his familiar China to territory that is equally well known to him: authoritarianism. In particular, he addresses the paradox of dictatorship, in which, to remain in power, the maximum leader must not only ex-



ert state force but also propagate the myth that he or she is there by the popular will. But in his afterword, Dikötter's reasoning is a little different: "But there never was a spell. There was fear, and when it evaporated, the entire edifice collapsed... There is no cult without fear." The book restricts itself to the past. In the future, and possibly in the present, fear may not remain an indispensable element of the dictator's toolkit. If populations can be swayed by using various media, force could become the instrument of last resort.



MEANWHILE
‘STAR WARS’ HONOUR FOR US COLLEGE HERO
 Riley Howell, a 21-year-old college student who died after tackling a gunman who opened fire in a classroom in the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, has been immortalised as a ‘Star Wars’ Jedi. Howell was hailed as a hero in the aftermath of the shooting. The upcoming book, ‘Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker — The Visual Dictionary’, features a Jedi named Rilee Howell, in honour of Riley, who was described by his family as a big fan of the franchise.

TOP OF THE WORLD



The Coast Guard launched a search after the helicopter was declared missing

USA
6 killed in Hawaii tour helicopter crash, 1 missing

Honolulu: The search for the final person missing after a Hawaii tour helicopter crash killed six is expected to resume Saturday depending on weather, officials said. There are no indications that anybody survived the crash, authorities said Friday night after the remains of six of the people on board were found. Authorities have not named those on board and said families are being notified. The helicopter was set to tour the rugged and remote Kauai’s Na Pali Coast. The plane crashed at the top of a mountain on the island of Kauai, authorities said.

At least 90 people killed in Mogadishu checkpoint blast

Dozens more injured after bomb-laden vehicle explodes in Somalia’s capital

ABDISHEIKH
 MOGADISHU, DECEMBER 28

AT LEAST 90 people were killed and dozens were wounded when a bomb-laden vehicle exploded at a bustling checkpoint in the Somali capital Mogadishu on Saturday, an international organisation working in the country said, in one of the most deadly recent attacks. The dead included many students and two Turkish nationals, the Somali foreign minister said. Rescuers carried bodies past the twisted wreckage of a vehicle and a minibus taxi smeared with blood. A report by the international organisation, which did not want to be named, said the death toll was more than 90. A Somali MP also tweeted that he had been told the death toll stands at more than 90, including 17 police officers. Abdikadir Abdirahman Haji Aden, founder of Aamin ambulance, told Reuters that dozens of people were also wounded. No-one immediately claimed responsibility for the blast. Al Qaeda-linked Islamist group al Shabaab regularly carries out such attacks in an attempt to



At the scene of the bomb blast in Mogadishu on Saturday. Reuters

undermine the government, which is backed by the United Nations and African Union troops. The most deadly attack blamed on the group was in October 2017 when a bomb-laden truck exploded next to a

fuel tanker in Mogadishu, creating a storm of fire that killed nearly 600 people. While al Shabaab carries out frequent attacks, the death tolls are often lower than in Saturday’s blast. **REUTERS**

EXPLAINED
E
Adding to concern as AU, US troops set to pull back

THOUGH NO group claimed responsibility for the attack, suspicion has fallen on al Shabaab, which controls parts of Somalia. An African Union (AU) offensive had driven Shabaab out of Mogadishu, but it still frequently carries out bomb blasts in the Somali capital. The AU also has a number of Special Operations forces in Somalia to fight Shabaab. However, the AU has begun pulling troops from Somalia, raising concern that Shabaab could take advantage. Adding to the worry are recent reports that the US is planning on significantly downsizing its operations in Africa.

Hong Kong protesters demand mainland Chinese traders leave



At a protest inside a mall in Hong Kong Saturday. Reuters

ASSOCIATED PRESS
 HONG KONG, DECEMBER 28

PROTESTERS SHOUTING “Liberate Hong Kong!” marched through a shopping mall Saturday to demand that mainland Chinese traders leave the territory in a fresh weekend of anti-government tension. The protest in Sheung Shui, near Hong Kong’s boundary with the mainland, was part of efforts to pressure the government by disrupting economic activity. Protests that began in June over a proposed China extradition law have spread to include demands for more democracy

and other grievances. Protesters at the Sheung Shui mall shouted, “Liberate Hong Kong! Revolution of our time!” and “Return to the mainland!” There were no immediate signs of violence. Some merchants wrapped orange tape around kiosks or partially closed security doors on shops but business went ahead normally. Hong Kong is a popular destination for mainland Chinese traders who buy goods in the territory, which has no sales tax and a reputation for genuine products, to resell on the mainland. Sheung Shui was the site of clashes between police and demonstrators in June.

Navy SEAL cleared by Trump called ‘evil’ by comrades

DAVE PHILIPPS
 DECEMBER 28

THE US NAVY SEALs showed up one by one, wearing hoodies and T-shirts instead of uniforms, to tell investigators what they had seen. Visibly nervous, they shifted in their chairs, rubbed their palms and pressed their fists against their foreheads. At times they stopped in mid-sentence and broke into tears. “Sorry about this,” Special Operator 1st Class Craig Miller, one of the most experienced SEALs in the group, said as he looked sideways toward a blank wall, trying to hide that he was weeping. “It’s the first time — I’m really broken up about this.”



Special Operations Chief Edward Gallagher was investigated for alleged war crimes. NYT

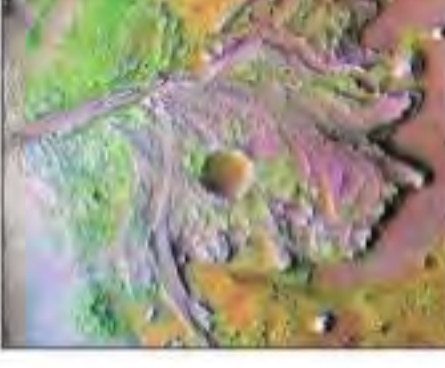
Video recordings of the interviews obtained by *The New York Times*, which have not been shown publicly before, were part of a trove of Navy investigative materials about the prosecution of Special Operations Chief Edward Gallagher on war crimes charges, including murder. They offer the first opportunity outside the courtroom to hear directly from the men of Alpha platoon, SEAL Team 7, whose blistering testimony about their platoon chief was dismissed by President Donald Trump when he upended the military code of justice to protect Gallagher from punishment. “The guy is freaking evil,” Miller told investigators. “The guy was toxic,” Special Operator 1st Class Joshua Vriens, a sniper, said in a separate interview. “You could tell he was perfectly OK with killing anybody that was moving,” Special Operator 1st Class Corey Scott, a medic in the platoon, told the investigators. Such dire descriptions of Gallagher, who had eight com-

bat deployments and sometimes went by the nickname Blade, are in marked contrast to Trump’s portrayal of him at a recent political rally in Florida as one of “our great fighters.” Although combat in Iraq barely fazed the SEALs, sitting down to tell Naval Criminal Investigative Service agents about what they had seen their platoon chief do during a 2017 deployment in Iraq was excruciating for them. Not only did they have to relive wrenching events and describe grisly scenes, they had to break a powerful unwritten code of silence in the SEALs, one of the nation’s most elite commando forces. The trove of materials also includes thousands of text messages the SEALs sent one another about the events and the prosecution of Gallagher. Together with the dozens of hours of recorded interviews, they provide revealing insights into the men of the platoon, who have never spoken publicly about the case and the leader they turned in. **NYT**

NASA’s Mars 2020 rover to hunt fossils, scout for manned missions

ROLLO ROSS
 PASADENA, DECEMBER 28

A NASA robotic rover is nearing completion ahead of a journey next year to search for evidence of past life on Mars and lay the groundwork for the space agency’s mission to send humans into deep space. The US space agency on Friday showed off its Mars 2020 rover, whose official name will be chosen early next year. NASA will in February ship the rover to Florida’s Kennedy Space Centre where its three sections will be fully assembled. A July launch will send the rover to a dry lake bed on Mars that is bigger than the island of Manhattan.



The Jezero Crater on Mars, identified as a potential landing site for the Mars 2020 Rover. Reuters

The four-wheeled, car-sized rover will scour the base of Mars’ Jezero Crater, an 820-foot-deep crater thought to have been a lake, once the craft lands in February 2021. The crater is believed to have

an abundance of pristine sediments some 3.5 billion years old that scientists hope will hold fossils of Martian life. “The trick, though, is that we’re looking for trace levels of chemicals from billions of years ago on Mars,” Mars 2020 deputy project manager Matt Wallace said. The rover will collect up to 30 soil samples to be picked up and returned to Earth by a future spacecraft planned by NASA. “Once we have a sufficient set, we’ll put them down on the ground, and another mission, which we hope to launch in 2026, will come, land on the surface, collect those samples and put them into a rocket, basically,” Wallace said. Humans have never before returned sediment samples from Mars. **REUTERS**

Court returns Musharraf’s plea against conviction due to winter vacations

SAJJAD HUSSAIN
 ISLAMABAD, DECEMBER 28

THE LAHORE High Court has returned Pakistan’s former military ruler Gen (ret’d) Pervez Musharraf’s application challenging the death sentence handed to him by a special court in a high treason case, citing non-availability of the full bench due to winter vacations. The registrar office of the Lahore High Court (LHC) returned Musharraf’s application, which named the federal government and others as respondents, filed through his lawyer Azhar Siddique on Friday. The 86 page-long petition

sought constitution of a full bench of the court to quash the verdict of the three-member tribunal which sentenced the 76-year-old Musharraf to death in absentia for high treason following a six-year legal case on December 17. The registrar of the court returned the application on Friday with observation that the full bench was not available due to winter vacations, *Dawn* reported. A three-member bench constituted by the LHC is set to hear on January 9 Musharraf’s main application through which he has challenged all actions against him starting from complaint of high treason to establishment of the special trial court and its proceedings. **PTI**

DR CONGO
Ferry blaze: 20 bodies recovered from river

Tshikapa: Twenty bodies have been recovered from a river in the Democratic Republic of Congo after a ferry blaze, local officials said Saturday. The boat, which was transporting dozens of passengers as well as goods, caught fire overnight Monday in Tshimbinda, a village near Tshikapa, the capital of the central province of Kasai. A report by a naval force in charge of waterway security in the DRC said a member of the crew lit a cigarette just as his comrades were filling up the boat with fuel.

THAILAND
Navy SEAL dies due to yearlong infection after cave rescue

Bangkok: A Thai Navy SEAL who aided with the rescue of a youth football team trapped in a flooded cave last year has died from an infection he contracted during the dramatic recovery mission. Petty Officer Beirut Pakbara fell ill with a blood infection while working to retrieve the 12 young boys and their coach, the Thai Navy said in a statement posted late Friday on their Facebook page. After the 18-day ordeal came to an end last June — with the entire team emerging safely from the cave — he was under close supervision by doctors during his yearlong illness.

Hundreds of accused clergy left off Church’s sex abuse lists

CLAUDIA LAUER & MEGHAN HOYER
 DECEMBER 28

RICHARD J Poster served time for possessing child pornography, violated his probation by having contact with children, admitted masturbating in the bushes near a church school and in 2005 was put on a sex offender registry. And yet the former Catholic priest was only just this month added to a list of clergy members credibly ac-

cused of child sexual abuse — after *The Associated Press* asked why he was not included. Victims advocates had long criticised the Roman Catholic Church for not making public the names of credibly accused priests. Now, despite the dioceses’ release of nearly 5,300 names, most in the last two years, critics say the lists are far from complete. An AP analysis found more than 900 clergy members accused of child sexual abuse who were missing from lists released



Richard J Poster had served time for possessing child pornography. AP

by the dioceses and religious orders where they served.

The AP reached that number by matching those public diocesan lists against a database of accused priests tracked by the group BishopAccountability.org and then scouring bankruptcy documents, lawsuits, settlement information, grand jury reports and media accounts. More than a hundred of the former clergy members not listed by dioceses or religious orders had been charged with sexual crimes, including rape, solicitation and receiving or viewing

child pornography. On top of that, the AP found another nearly 400 priests and clergy members who were accused of abuse while serving in dioceses that have not yet released any names. Church officials say that absent an admission of guilt, they have to weigh releasing a name against harming the reputation of priests who may have been falsely accused. By naming accused priests, they note, they also open themselves to lawsuits from those who maintain their innocence. **AP**

2 dead, many shot at in music video ‘ambush’

ASSOCIATED PRESS
 HOUSTON, DECEMBER 28

TWO PEOPLE were shot and killed and multiple others were wounded when a group filming a music video was “ambushed” near Houston, Harris County Sheriff Ed Gonzalez said. After holding a media briefing

in which he said two people were killed and four wounded, Gonzalez in a tweet revised the total number of gunshot victims to the Friday night shooting to eight. It’s unclear whether that total includes the deceased. He said some of the wounded were being treated for “very serious injuries.” The sheriff said authorities received a call about a drive-by

shooting around 9:30 pm. Officers responded to what Gonzalez characterised as a residential area, where a group of males had been filming a music video in an office parking lot. The shooting scene stretched several blocks, the sheriff said, and it wasn’t clear what led to the shooting. “There were other vehicles that were staged there and we believe

they were filming some type of music video when, all of a sudden, basically they were ambushed, we believed by individuals in cars and/or foot that fired shots into the parking lot area,” Gonzalez said. He described the victims as Hispanic males who appeared to be in their early 20s. No suspect information was immediately available.

Indian among 6 killed in Egypt bus accident

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
 CAIRO, DECEMBER 28

A ROAD crash in Egypt killed six people, including tourists from India and Malaysia, and injured at least 24 others Saturday, security and medical sources said. The accident occurred when two buses carrying tourists crashed into a truck east of Cairo on the road to the Ain Sokhna resort on the Red Sea, a security official said. A medical source said two female Malaysian tourists and an Indian man were killed along with three Egyptians — one bus driver, a tour guide and a security guard. At least 24 others were injured, several of them tourists and some left in serious condition, a medical source said without giving further details. Traffic accidents are common in Egypt where many roads are poorly maintained and regulations are laxly enforced. But efforts by authorities to crack down on traffic violations, including speeding, appear to have borne fruit in recent years, with official figures showing a decline in road deaths.

CHINA HAS SEPARATED NEARLY HALF A MILLION CHILDREN FROM THEIR FAMILIES IN XINJIANG

‘Block impact of religion’: China sends Muslim children to boarding schools

AMY QIN
 HOTAN, DECEMBER 28

THE FIRST grader was a good student and beloved by her classmates, but she was inconsolable, and it was no mystery to her teacher why. “The most heartbreaking thing is that the girl is often slumped over on the table alone and crying,” he wrote on his blog. “When I asked around, I learned that it was because she missed her mother.” The mother, he noted, had been sent to a detention camp for Muslim ethnic minorities. The girl’s father had passed

away, he added. But instead of letting other relatives raise her, the authorities put her in a state-run boarding school — one of hundreds of such facilities that have opened in China’s far western Xinjiang region. As many as a million ethnic Uighurs, Kazakhs and others have been sent to internment camps and prisons in Xinjiang over the past three years, an indiscriminate clampdown aimed at weakening the population’s devotion to Islam. Even as these mass detentions have provoked global outrage, though, the Chinese government is pressing ahead with a parallel effort tar-



Sending children in Xinjiang to boarding schools has been presented by authorities as a way to fight poverty. Reuters

getting the region’s children. Nearly a half million children have been separated from their families and placed in boarding

schools so far, according to a planning document published on a government website, and the ruling Communist Party has set a goal of operating one to two such schools in each of Xinjiang’s 800-plus townships by the end of next year. The party has presented the schools as a way to fight poverty, arguing that they make it easier for children to attend classes if their parents live or work in remote areas or are unable to care for them. And it is true that many rural families are eager to send their children to these schools, especially when they are older. But the schools are also de-

signed to assimilate and indoctrinate children at an early age, away from the influence of their families, according to the planning document, published in 2017. Students are often forced to enroll because the authorities have detained their parents and other relatives, ordered them to take jobs far from home or judged them unfit guardians. The schools are off limits to outsiders and tightly guarded, and it is difficult to interview residents in Xinjiang without putting them at risk of arrest. But a troubling picture of these institutions emerges from interviews with Uighur parents living in exile and a review of

documents published online, including procurement records, government notices, state media reports and the blogs of teachers in the schools. Thrust into a regimented environment and immersed in an unfamiliar culture, children in the boarding schools are only allowed visits with family once every week or two — a restriction intended to “break the impact of the religious atmosphere on children at home,” in the words of the 2017 policy document. State media describe education as a key component of President Xi Jinping’s campaign to wipe out extremist violence in Xinjiang. **NYT**

18 ECONOMY

LAUNCHES E-AUCTION PLATFORM TO SELL ATTACHED ASSETS OF DEFAULTERS

No MDR charges applicable on payment via RuPay, UPI from Jan 1: Sitharaman

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

IN ORDER to promote digital transactions, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman on Saturday said no Merchant Discount Rate (MDR) charges will be applicable on transactions through home-grown RuPay and UPI platforms beginning January 1, 2020. The government launched a common e-auction platform to sell attached assets of defaulters for improved realisation of value. The Department of Revenue (DoR) will soon notify RuPay and UPI as the prescribed modes of payment for digital transactions without any MDR, the FM said after meeting with heads of state-owned and private sector banks. Top officials from the Finance Ministry, Reserve Bank of India, the National Payments Corporation of India (NPCI) and the Indian Banks' Association attended the meeting.

All companies with a turnover of Rs 50 crore or more will be mandated by the govern-



Union Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman, along with Finance Secretary Rajiv Kumar, at a review meeting with chiefs of various banks in New Delhi on Saturday. PTI

ment to provide the facility of payment through RuPay Debit card and UPI QR code to their customers. MDR is the cost paid by a merchant to a bank for accepting payment from their customers via digital means, which is usually recovered from the customer. The merchant discount rate is expressed in percentage of the transaction amount.

"After extensive consultation with stakeholders, banks and so on, I'm happy to say that announcement which was made in the Budget will see the notification coming on January 1, 2020 whereby those modes which are getting notified will not have charges under the MDR being levied on them," she said. Indigenously developed digital

payment medium like RuPay and BHIM UPI will now have edge over the payment gateway promoted by foreign companies. In her Budget speech in July, Sitharaman proposed that businesses should offer low cost digital modes of payment such as BHIM UPI, UPI QR Code, Aadhaar Pay, Debit Cards, NEFT, and RTGS to their customers, and no charge or MDR shall be imposed on customers to promote digital payment.

Banks will also start a campaign to popularise RuPay Debit card and UPI. The Finance Minister said the government has already amended two laws — Income Tax Act and the Payments and Settlement Systems Act, 2007 — to give effect to these provisions. Sitharaman also launched a common e-auction platform to sell attached assets of defaulters for improved realisation of value. The platform is equipped with property search features and navigational links to all PSB e-auction sites, provides single-window access to information

on properties up for e-auction as well as facility for comparison of similar properties, and also contains photographs and videos of uploaded properties.

A total of 35,000 properties have been uploaded on the platform by PSBs. PSBs have attached assets worth over Rs 2.3 lakh crore over the last three financial years. To strengthen banks, in addition to the recent infusion of Rs 60,314 crore, additional infusion of Rs 8,855 crore (Rs 4,360 crore to Indian Overseas Bank, Rs 2,153 crore to Allahabad Bank, Rs 2,142 crore to UCO Bank and Rs 200 crore to Andhra Bank) has been approved, the Ministry said.

The government said recent reforms have restored banks to health, with the gross NPAs of PSBs declining from Rs 8.96 lakh crore in March 2018 to Rs 7.27 lakh crore in September 2019, their provision coverage ratio rising to their highest level in seven years, and banks returning to profitability, with as many as 13 banks reporting profits in first half of current fiscal year.

DoT's hope for 2020: Good bidding for 5G spectrum; telcos likely to disagree

AASHISH ARYAN
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

IN 2016-17, when the Department of Telecommunications (DoT) conducted the last telecom spectrum auction, it managed to raise roughly Rs 65,000 crore, just a tenth of its Rs 5.63 lakh crore base price target. The auction was conducted one year after the launch of mobile telephony services by Mukesh Ambani-led Reliance Jio Infocomm. Incumbents Bharti Airtel, Vodafone, and Idea Cellular were then in a price war with Reliance Jio, and had little to splurge.

The total spectrum up for auction in FY17 was nearly 2,355 megahertz (MHz), of which the government managed to sell 965 MHz across seven bands. Having burnt its fingers, the government did not auction any spectrum in FY18 and FY19.

The DoT has planned another telecom auction of 8,300 MHz spectrum, including in the 5G band next calendar year. Bharti Airtel, with a net debt of Rs 1,082 billion, and Vodafone Idea with net debt of Rs 1,185 billion as on March 31, 2019, is unlikely to spend money to acquire 5G spectrum.

The DoT, however, has pinned its hopes on the expansion of services by telecom companies, and burgeoning consumer demand. Telecom Secretary Anshu Prakash had, while announcing the latest telecom spectrum, said the government was hopeful of getting good bids as "telecom operators do require spectrum".

Other senior DoT officials concur. To further their claims that the prices are not too high, they offered back-of-the-envelope calculations, according to which telecom companies will have to shell out only Rs 9,000 crore upfront to purchase the 5G band.

"Of Rs 5.22 lakh crore, only 35 per cent, or about Rs 1.65 lakh crore, is for 5G. Let's say they take 75 MHz, they will have to spend only about Rs 36,000 crore. The upfront payment is only about 25 per cent, or Rs 9,000 crore", senior DoT officials explained.

Further, even for this Rs 9,000 crore, the payment is staggered. There is a two-year initial moratorium, followed by payment over 16 years, the officials said.

Most of the action, as far as the telecom auctions are concerned, is on paper for now. The ground reality is that everyone, including the DoT, is in a wait-and-watch mode.

Telecom auctions apart, the next year could also see some finality with respect to the merger of state-owned Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) and Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL), and their subsequent revival.

While the Finance Ministry was of the view that the two companies should be sold lock, stock, and barrel, it was on the intervention of senior ministers, including Home Minister Amit Shah, that the plan to resuscitate the BSNL-MTNL combine was approved.

"The Finance Ministry was adamant. We had to intervene and convince (Shah) that in a situation where the two bigger private players (Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea) other than them (Reliance Jio) were already struggling, it would send out the wrong message," top govern-

OUTSTANDING DUES

Company name	Total outstanding (₹cr)
Idea Cellular	8,485
Vodafone Group of companies	19,824
Bharti Airtel Group of companies	21,682
Telenor India	1,950
Tata Group of companies	9,987
Reliance Jio Infocomm	13
Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited	2,099
Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited	2,537
Aircel Group of companies	7,853
Etisalat DB Telecom	29
Quadrant Televentures	116
S.Tel	42
Videocon Telecommunications	1,033
Sistema Shyam Teleservices	302
Reliance Communication Ltd/Reliance Telecommunication Ltd	16,457
Loop Telecom	233

* TSPs wise Provisional License Fee outstanding demand up to July '19

ment officials said.

What 2020 holds?

In October this year, the Supreme Court's judgment on AGR saddled Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea with the obligation to deposit Rs 43,000 crore and Rs 54,000 crore, respectively, by January 23. These amounts have to be paid by the telcos to the DoT to avoid a contempt of court.

The two incumbents — Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea — are learnt to have approached the DoT for relief. While the government declined to waive off the penalty amount, a two-pronged relief package was suggested: A staggered payment schedule of the AGR dues and an indication that any move by the incumbents to hike tariffs would be "facilitated" on an industry-wide basis. Sure enough, all three major telecom players hiked their tariffs in November.

It could provide Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea with a possible opportunity to repair their finances and become sustainable, analysts said. Estimates by analysts and rating agencies suggest that as operating cash flows improve, telcos will be in a better position to arrange funding for AGR-related payouts that they have to make. They could see stabilisation of their user base as Reliance Jio has also started charging users across all its services.

The story of lack of financial freedom of the telecom sector, however, did not write itself overnight. It has been in the making for some time now, triggered by the cancellation of 122 telecom licenses by the Supreme Court seven years ago.

The downfall

In February 2012, the apex court cancelled all the 122 unified access service licenses issued in January 2008. An investment of nearly Rs 40,000 crore, made majorly by Uninor and Sistema went down the drain. Other than these two, the telecom licenses obtained by S Tel, Videocon, Idea Cellular, Tata Teleservices, Loop Telecom, and Etisalat DB also were cancelled. For incumbent players such as Bharti Airtel and Vodafone, the judgment was a bonanza. Bharti Airtel had, on the day of judgment, gained as much as 7 per cent on the BSE. Apart from the obvious gain in the subscriber base, the fringe benefit was

more spectrum for these players.

The launch of Jio

For two years thence, Bharti Airtel, Vodafone, and Idea Cellular reigned supreme. The unchallenged run of the incumbents, however, was hit by the Reliance Jio, which had deep pockets and offered free services for the longest time. The first casualty for Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea, was the fall in Average Revenue Per User (ARPU).

Bharti Airtel, which had an ARPU of Rs 150.88 in the January-March quarter in 2015, reported revenue at Rs 121.81 in the corresponding quarter two years later. Similarly, Vodafone, which then functioned as a standalone company, reported an ARPU of Rs 143.98 between January and March 2015, and Rs 116.95 in the corresponding quarter two years later.

To sustain themselves, the incumbents had to keep cutting prices to survive the freebies being offered by Reliance Jio. It left Bharti Airtel and the present combined entity of Vodafone Idea with little to spend other than on basic necessities.

The AGR shock

Barely had Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea managed to come out of the woods, the Supreme Court handed them more trouble. In its judgment upholding the definition of AGR as set by the government, the apex court said that not only should the telcos pay the overdue AGR, but they should also pay interest and penalties.

The contention over AGR is not new though. Following the roll-out of the New Telecom Policy in 1999, the government suggested that telcos could migrate from the regime of "fixed licence fee" to a "revenue-sharing model." Against the recommendations of Trai, the DoT had then decided to include the income of telcos, their interest income on short-term investments, discounts on calls, revenues from other activities separately licensed, and the reimbursements under the Universal Service Fund under AGR. Though challenged, the apex court ultimately upheld this definition.

The telcos have filed review petitions in the apex court. Any immediate relief, however, is unlikely. The AGR petitions were heard by a three-judge Bench, and thus a review of the judgment, if allowed, will have to be done by a five-judge Bench.

BRIEFLY

'GoM to oversee revival plan of BSNL, MTNL'

New Delhi: A seven-member Group of Ministers (GoM) has been constituted to fast-track and oversee the implementation of the Rs 69,000 crore revival plan for state-owned telecom corporations BSNL and MTNL, sources said. The high-level group will expedite smooth implementation of recent decisions taken on revival of BSNL and MTNL that includes crucial elements like allocation of 4G spectrum and asset monetisation, official sources told PTI. The GoM includes Defence Minister Rajnath Singh, IT and Telecom Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad, Home Minister Amit Shah, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman, Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal and Oil Minister Dharmendra Pradhan, they added.

Piramal Ent to raise ₹2,750 cr through bonds

New Delhi: Piramal Enterprises on Saturday said its board has approved raising up to Rs 2,750 crore by issuing bonds on private placement basis. "At the Meeting of Administrative Committee of the Board of Directors held today, the Committee approved the issue of secured, rated, unlisted, redeemable Non-Convertible Debentures aggregating up to Rs 2,750 crore on private placement basis," it said in a regulatory filing. Piramal Enterprises said the money can be raised in one or more tranches from time to time. PTI

Forex reserves climb \$456 mn to record \$455 bn

The country's foreign exchange reserves increased by \$456 million to a fresh lifetime high of \$454.948 billion in the week to December 20, according to RBI data

LAST WEEK'S PERFORMANCE In the previous week, the reserves had swelled by \$1.070 billion to \$454.492 billion

REASONS FOR THE RISE In the reporting week, the rise in reserves was mainly on account of an increase in foreign currency assets, a major component of the overall reserves, which surged by \$311 million to \$422.732 billion, weekly data released by the Reserve Bank showed

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?



Expressed in dollar terms, the foreign currency assets include the effect of

appreciation or depreciation of non-US units like the euro, pound and the yen

held in the forex reserves

GOLD RESERVES increased by \$164 million to \$27.132 billion

THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS with the International Monetary Fund dipped \$1 million to \$1.443 billion

THE RESERVE POSITION with the International Monetary Fund also declined by \$17 million to \$3.642 billion, the data showed
Source: RBI/PTI

New policy will ban passing on of losses to consumers: Power Minister

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
PANAJI, DECEMBER 28

UNION POWER Minister R K Singh said here on Saturday that the new power tariff policy, which will be unveiled within a month, will prohibit power companies from passing on their losses to consumers beyond a limit.

The policy is currently under the Union government's consideration, Singh told reporters here.

"The policy is pro-consumer and transparent," he said.

"In the new policy, we are

building the rights of the consumers. Right now there is no charter of rights of electricity consumers," Singh said.

"In the policy, we will give (prescribe) standard of service. For example, if I make a call, I will get the response in stipulated time. If distribution company violates that then a penalty would be imposed," the Minister said. It will also prohibit power distribution companies from passing on their losses to the consumers, he said.

"So if I (the company) am inefficient or not able to do the meter reading, billing or collection, I

cannot pass on the burden to consumer beyond a certain level," he explained.

"Another thing we have already done is if I am a generating company and tied up with another company to supply power, then it is incumbent to supply power from the most efficient plant so that the power purchase cost is minimum," he said.

"Only when first plant is fully online, generating full capacity, then the second plant will be run. The least efficient plant would not be run at all," the minister added.

US eyes customs deal with Mexico

REUTERS
MEXICO CITY, DECEMBER 28

THE UNITED States is looking at ways to cooperate with Mexico on customs along their border to curb flows of illicit arms, drugs and money, the US ambassador to Mexico said on Friday.

Speaking after what he called a fruitful meeting with Mexico's finance ministry, Ambassador Christopher

Ambassador Christopher Landau said US Attorney General William Barr will visit Mexico next month

Landau said that US Attorney General William Barr would visit Mexico next month to discuss cooperation.

"What we want to do on the border is see if we can combine

our customs so that, together, we can control what comes into Mexico and also what leaves Mexico and enters the United States," Landau told reporters.

The goal is to eliminate "contraband on both sides, the drugs on one side, and the arms and money on the other," he said.

Barr visited Mexico in early December to discuss issues including security, arms trafficking and money laundering with President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador and other top officials.

SWITCH COULD HELP LOWER BORROWING COSTS FOR FIRMS

China to switch benchmark for floating-rate loans

REUTERS
BEIJING, DECEMBER 28

CHINA'S CENTRAL bank will use the loan prime rate (LPR) as a new benchmark for pricing existing floating-rate loans, in a step that analysts say could help lower borrowing costs and underpin economic growth.

Beijing has unveiled a raft of pro-growth measures this year, including tax cuts, more infrastructure spending, reductions in the amount of cash banks must keep on reserve and lending rates to

LOAN PRIME RATE IS NEW GAUGE

From January 1, financial institutions will be prohibited from signing floating-rate loan contracts based on the previous benchmark bank lending rate, the People's Bank of China (PBOC) said

boost credit.

From January 1, financial institutions will be prohibited from signing floating-rate loan contracts

based on the previous benchmark bank lending rate, the People's Bank of China (PBOC) said in a statement on its website on

Saturday. Floating-rate loans, excluding individual housing loans tied to state provident funds, that have been signed before 2020 will be priced in line with the LPR, the central bank said.

Under the new rate regime unveiled in August, the revamped LPR is linked to the medium-term lending facility (MLF), a key policy rate of the PBOC.

"The purpose of the step is to make interest rates more market-driven and help lower financing costs," said Wen Bin, an economist at Minsheng Bank in Beijing.

The one-year loan prime rate

(LPR) is at 4.15 per cent, down by 16 basis points from August.

The previous benchmark bank lending rate has been kept steady at 4.35 per cent since October 2015. The five-year LPR is at 4.80 per cent.

Analysts expect the central bank to cut the MLF rate by 20-30 basis points in 2020, which could pave the way for lowering the LPR further. China's economic growth slowed to 6.0 per cent in the third quarter, a near 30-year low, but full-year growth is expected to be within the government's target of 6-6.5 per cent.



Shri Hemant Soren
Chief Minister Designate

Swearing-In Ceremony of Chief Minister - Jharkhand and Council of Ministers

29th December 2019, 2 PM Onwards
Morhabadi Ground, Ranchi

All are cordially invited

(Please take your seats 30 minutes before the start of the ceremony)

Cabinet Coordination and Vigilance Department, Government of Jharkhand

CLASSIFIEDS & TENDERS

Classifieds

PERSONAL

I, Service No.-1566594A(HAV)KANNABABU VUDAYANA S/O-Late Satyam Naidu, R/O-1-38,Sambana,Kottugumada,Sri kakulum,Andhra-Pradesh-532460,declares that name of wife has been recorded wrongly as SUKANYA,in my service record whereas, correct name is VUDAYANA SUKANYA, amended accordingly. 0040525827-2

I,Seema Sharma W/O-Ajay Sharma R/O-4021 Street.No.16 Shanti-Muhalla Gandhi-Nagar Delhi-110031,Have Changed My Name Seema Gaur To Seema Sharma,for All Future Purposes. 0040525794-9

I,Sadhana Yadav W/o Jai Singh Village Jhal, Tehsil Kosli Dist. Rewari, Haryana-123302 have changed my name from old two name Sumitra Yadav and Sumitra Devi to Sadhana Yadav for all future purposes. 0040525742-1

I, Vicky S/O Prem Pal H.No.612, Sunlight-Colony-I, Near-Bala-Sahib Gurudwara, N.Delhi-110014. Have changed my name to Vicky Kumar. 0040525833-2

I, Uma Shanker W/O Ram Kumar R/O-WZ-126A, SriNagar, Shakur-Basti, Delhi Changed Name to Uma Shankar. 0040525761-9

I, Tuhin Sahana/, D/o Sajahan SK, W/o Md Fekarul Islam, R/o Vill Topapur Post Bhabanipur S Farakka, Bhabanipur, Murshidabad, West Bengal-742202, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Noemi Mirza. 0070690347-1

I, Surabhi Saxena D/o-Manoj Kumar R/O-Rahul Bhatnagar R/O-C2B/30A,Janakpuri, New-Delhi-110058,have changed my name to Surabhi Saxena Bhatnagar,for all, future purposes. 0040525827-6

I,Uzmaa Ranki D/o Amir Ahmed R/O 3/5 Block-J-3 Laxmi Nagar Delhi-110092, have changed my name to Uzma Rani Khan. 0040525736-1

I,Shib Kumar Das S/O Chandeshri Das R/O C-46/12,Om Nagar Meethapur Extn Badarpur Delhi-110044,Have Changed My Name To Shib Kumar. 0040525794-1

I,Sandeep Kumar S/O-Shri.Tilak Raj R/O-H.No.C-27,East Uttam Nagar,New Delhi-110059,have changed my name to Sandeep Kumar Johar for all, future purpose. 0040525827-3

I, Saira Joseph D/o Joseph Manachery R/O P-596/23, S.P. Marg, New Delhi-110021, have changed my name from Saira Joseph to Sera Joseph vide affidavit dated 29/12/2019 before NCT Delhi. 40525744-1

I, Pradeep Kumar Prajapati, S/O Ram Prasad Prajapati, residing at Flat.No-193, Pocket-K, Sarita-Vihar, Delhi-110076, have changed the name of my Minor son Akshat Pradeep Kumar Prajapati aged 14-Years and he shall be hereafter be known as Akshat Prajapati. 0040525833-1

I, Pawan Kumar Rana S/O Mr. Satbir Singh H.No.828A/1, Bharat-Colony Rohtak(Haryana)-124001,have changed my name to Pawan Kumar,for all purposes. 0040525794-8

I, Patail S/O Sh. Bhupender Singh R/O Daroli (32), Hisar, Haryana-125052 have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Patail Mandana. 00706903030-1

I, Papendra Som S/O Chatter Sain R/O Kushawali, Khawajahanpur, Meerut, U.P-250342. Changed My Name To Papendra Kumar. 40525833-4

I, Meenakshi Shukla W/o Pradeep Kumar Shukla R/O Flat No.873, Plot No.13, Sardgha Apartments, Dwarka Sector-7, New Delhi-110075, have changed my name to Minakshi Shukla for all purposes. 0040525735-1

I, Md.Yahseen S/o Md.Ibrahim R/O-B-236, Resettlement-Colony, Khyala, Delhi-110018,have changed my name to Md. Yasin. 40525761-8

I, Manoj Agarwal F/O Pragati Agarwal R/O House No. 34, SADBhawna Apartment, 13, I.P.Extn., Delhi-110092, informs that my daughter's name has been changed from Prakati to Pragati Agarwal. Hence in future my daughter's name will be known as Pragati Agarwal for all purpose. 0040525739-1

I, Krishna Das Gupta alias Krishna Sengupta alias Krishna Sen Gupta D/o Sisir Kumar Sengupta W/o Sh. Anup Kumar Das Gupta R/O Gali No-3, Shivpuram West, Sarvagya School, paniyala Road, Roorkee, Haridwar, Uttarakhand-247667 have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Krishna Das Gupta. 0070690327-1

I, Km Reena Shrivastava W/O-Amit Kumar Srivastava H.No.A7/25, GF Elite-Tower Sector-85 Faridabad, Haryana-121002,Changed My Name To Reena Srivastava 40525761-1

I, Kiran Pawar, D/o Saroop Singh, R/O-A-56 Phase-5 Aya-Nagar, Delhi-110047, inform that my father's name was wrongly-written Sarop Shiv Pawar in my passport but father's correct-name is Saroop Singh. 0040525827-8

I, Hoorjahan, w/o Yunus R/o.H.No.F-2/374, sunder-nagri Delhi-110093, have changed my name, from Sabnam to Hoorjahan, both are the same person, for all future purposes. 0040525794-7

I, Himanshu S/O Surender Kumar R/O-Da-174, Ward-01, Kaji-Wada Mohalla, Hodal, Have Change Name To Himanshu Mehanderatta S/O Surender Kumar, For All. 0040525794-10

I, Shabnm W/O-Mukhtar Ahmad R/O-6197, Pakki-Gali, Bara-Hindu-Ro, Delhi-110066, Have Changed My Name To Shabnam, For All Purposes. 0040525794-4

I, Sushila Devi, W/o-Bhupender Singh Dagar S/O Satbir Singh, R/O-154 Pol No.59/A Near-Community-Centre Bhajan Thola Malikpur-Village, Delhi-110073, inform that Bhupender Singh Dagar and Bhoopender both name are same person. 0040525827-4

I, Itis for general information that I, Chander Pal S/O-Manohar Lal R/O-16/88, T.F., Geeta-Colony Delhi-110031, inform that name of my father has been wrongly-written as Surat Lal in my DL1320110093418. The actual name of my father is Manohar Lal which may be amended accordingly. 0040525827-7

It's Notified That We Have Corrected Our Names In My Daughter's Passport Aliya, Mohd Jakerya And Aisha R/O-House No-92, Ward.No-6, Madeena Colony, Mewat Nuh, Haryana-122107, have changed our name's and shall, hereafter be known as Aaliya Zakarya, Mohammed Zakarya And Aisha Zakarya. It's certified that we, have complied with legal, requirements in this connection. 0040525827-1

I, Farida W/o Md. Yasin R/O-B-236, Resettlement-Colony, Khyala, Delhi-110018, have changed my name to Farida Begam. 0040525761-7

I, Anil Kumar S/O Shyam Lal, House No.1069b/23 D.L.F. Colony Rohtak Haryana-124001, Changed My Name To Anil Tayal. 0040525761-3

I, Archana W/O-Virender Dhankhar Add-408/24 Jagdish-Colony Rohtak Haryana-124001. Changed My Name To Archana Dhankhar. 0040525761-2

I, Km. Diksha Mishra W/O-Harikesh Kumar R/O-D-398 Street No-2,3 Pusta Sonia-Vihar Delhi-110094, Changed My Name To Deeksha Devi. 0040525833-3

I, Madhur Veena W/O Suresh Kumar Bansal H.No-129, Vignyan-Vihar Delhi-110092, Have Changed My Name To Madhur Veena Bansal 0040525794-3

I, Manju Garg W/O Anil Tayal, House.No.1069b/23 D.L.F. Colony Rohtak Haryana-124001, Changed My Name To Manju Tayal. 0040525761-4

I, Stephanie Deepali Fernandes/D Deepali Khanna/D Stephanie Deepali Khanna, D/o Sh. Rattan Kumar Khanna, W/o Sh. Ceasar Anthony Fernandes R/O-H.No-233/C, Arossim, Cansaulim, South Goa, Goa-403712 have changed my name to Stephanie Deepali Fernandes, for all future purposes. 0040525827-9

I, Tapan S/O Surender Yadav R/O 45-B, 1st Floor Krishan Kunj Colony Laxmi Nagar Delhi-110092, Have Changed My Name To Tapan Yadav. 0040525794-2

I, Amir Chandra S/O Sh. Surendra Singh R/O Dhakpura, Taragan, Etah, Uttar Pradesh-207249 have changed my name and shall be known as Sandesh Kumar. 0070690328-1

I, Anil S/O-Mangla Nand Uniyal R/O-T/7, T-308, Prem-Nagar, Uttam-Nagar, Delhi-110059, have changed name to Anil Uniyal. 0040525761-6

I, Anup Kumar Das Gupta alias Anup Kumar Dasgupta alias Anup Kumar Dasgupta S/O Sh. Narendra Nath Dasgupta R/O Gali No-3, Shivpuram West, Sarvagya School, paniyala Road, Roorkee, Haridwar, Uttarakhand-247667 have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Anup Kumar Das Gupta. 070690316-1

I, Aslam S/O Jumma R/O Z-II/432 Gali No-3 Welcome Seelampur Delhi-110053, have changed my name to Mohammed Aslam. 0040525736-2

I, Arun Kumar S/O Sh. Sukhpal Singh R/O 76, Sain Gali, Village Tigipur, Tigipur, North West Delhi-110036 have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Arun Tarwar. 0070690321-1

I, Deepti Agarwal W/o-Vinod Agarwal R/O-807 Imperial-Colock, Supertech-Estate, Sector-9, Vaishali Ghaziabad-201010, Have Changed My Name To Dipti Agarwal. 0040525794-6

I, Danish Ahmad S/O-Mukhtar Ahmad R/O-6197, Pakki Gali, Bara-Hindu-Ro, Delhi-110066, Have Changed My Name To Mohammad Danish, For All Purposes. 0040525794-5

I, Chranjeet Singh S/O Amarjeet Singh R/O 67/74, First-Floor, J.J. Colony, Sector-25, Rohini, Delhi-110085, have changed my name to Chranjeet Singh. 0040525761-5

I, Chanda Gulati D/o Shyam Sunder Gulati R/O 7/111, Geeta Colony, Delhi-110031, have changed my name from Chanda to Chanda Gulati for all future purposes. 40525731-1

I, Chanchal Sharma W/o Kamat Kant Sharma R/O C-31/18, Abhimanya Gali No.3, Arjun Mohalla, Delhi-110053, have changed my name to Pooja Sharma for all purposes. 0040525781-1

I, Bhupender Singh Dagar, S/o. Satbir Singh, R/O-154 Pol.No.59/A Near-Community-Centre Bhajan Thola Malikpur-Village, Delhi-110073, inform that Bhupender Singh Dagar and Bhoopender both name are same person. 0040525827-4

LOST & FOUND

It has been notified that myself Indu Chaudhary R/O Arun Kumar, 19/317, Sundaram Khand, Vasundhara, Ghaziabad has lost original allotment letter and agreement of Unit no. GGP-C-001/37 with receipts of Amount Deposited in Lucknow Gomi Green developed by Emnar. 0060071832-1

It is notified for the information that my Original-Qualifying, Examination-Certificate of class-10th year-2018, Roll.No.8185255, issued by CBSE has been actually lost. Vaibhav Mittal, S/O-Mr. Ajay Mittal, R/O-D-814, Saraswati-Vihar, Pitampura, Delhi. 0040525827-10

CAST NO BAR

Mumbai based hindu divorcee girl aged 30 & 5" B.D.S. (dentist) currently practicing seeks suitable match. She is pretty looking, Her parents are settled in Mumbai. We are searching well educated working groom 9833461175 vivekkumar1984@gmail.com 0050160203-1

MANGLIK

M4, Rajput Manglik, 10 Nov 86, 5.5", Himachal Based, Working Girl 8284883120. 0050160262-1

RAJPUT

PERFECT match for Rajput girl 29/5/3" MBBS Studying in MD Hospital Administration b'ful Father Class-I officer. Early Decent marriage. MD/MS doctor or Administration or MNC officers preferred. Contact: dpsingh.home1@gmail.com 7042275132, 7007595544(M). 0060071798-1

PUBLIC NOTICE

Public at large is hereby informed that the captioned property as subject matter of Equitable / Registered Mortgage with State Bank of India (Other Bank) (F) and Lease Deed No. 1 of 1 of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 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785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

PUBLIC NOTICE

It is hereby notified that any person or family firm/company, Bank, financial institution, having claim any charge, interest or lien or claim on the basis of documents mentioned above or otherwise and / or objection to thereof, he/she/they may lodge their objection to the undersigned with documentary proof court judgment within 15 days from the date of publication of this notice in the Official Gazette. The original documents executed in favor of Shri Ram Kishan Agarwal and Smt. Neelam Agarwal wife of Shri Suresh Chand Agarwal, both Residents of: K-9, Model Town, Delhi-110009, hereby disown their son namely Shivam Agarwal and his wife i.e. their daughter-in-law namely Mrs. Komal Agarwal Alias Komal Goyal aged about 26 years & 27 years respectively from inheriting their entire properties either Moveable or Immoveable as well as Business Assets being their class-I legal heir due to committing severe harassment and torture to our aforesaid clients. However, our aforesaid clients have also severed all their relations with their above named son and daughter-in-law namely Romy Agarwal and his wife i.e. their daughter-in-law namely Mrs. Priyanka Goyal Alias Priyanka Goyal aged about 33 years & 30 years respectively from inheriting their entire properties either Moveable or Immoveable as well as Business Assets being their class-I legal heir due to committing severe harassment and torture to our aforesaid clients. However, our aforesaid clients have also severed all their relations with their above named son and daughter-in-law namely Romy Agarwal and his wife i.e. their daughter-in-law namely Mrs. Priyanka Goyal Alias Priyanka Goyal and our clients shall not be responsible for their any act while dealing with any person.

(SANJAY GOEL) ADVOCATE
106, 1st Floor, Best Sky Tower, Opp. Fun Cinema, Netaji Subhash Place, Pitam Pura, Delhi

PUBLIC NOTICE

This is to inform the General Public that following share certificate of Savita Oil Technologies Ltd having its Registered office at 66/67, Narina Bhawan, Netaji Park, Mumbai 400021, registered in the name of Smt. Veena Gupta (hereinafter referred to as 'Shareholder') bearing No. V01226, Certificate No. 22379, Distinctive No. 8034001-8034100, total no. of shares is 100. The Public are hereby cautioned against purchasing or dealing in any way with the above referred share certificates. Any person who has any claim or objection to the said share certificate should lodge such claim with the company, its Registrar and Transfer agents i.e. Indira India Private Limited 247 Park, C-01, 1st floor, L.B.S. Marg, Vilepar (W), Mumbai-400083 with in 15 days of publication of this notice after which no claim will be entertained and the company shall proceed to issue Duplicate share certificate. Place: Meerut

(SANJAY GOEL) ADVOCATE
106, 1st Floor, Best Sky Tower, Opp. Fun Cinema, Netaji Subhash Place, Pitam Pura, Delhi

PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that the share certificates No(s) 917762 to 917767 for 600 shares bearing distinctive No(s) 226287701 to 226287706 standing in the name of M/s Veena Gupta Limited in the books of M/s Prism Cement Limited, have been lost and destroyed and the advertiser has applied to the Company for issue of duplicate share certificate in the name of the said person(s) who have claim(s) on the said shares should lodge claim(s) with the Company's Registrar and Transfer Agents viz KFN Technologies Pvt Limited, K

BRIDGE

You are South, declarer in 3NT

NORTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST	SOUTH
♠ J	Pass	3NT	Pass	Pass
♥ 1064	Pass	3NT	Pass	Pass
♦ KQ1053	Pass	3NT	Pass	Pass
♣ AJ107	Pass	3NT	Pass	Pass

SOUTH

♠ AK9
♥ AJ52
♦ J987
♣ Q4

West leads the S3 to the board's jack and East's queen. The first point which should be noted is the opening lead. Assuming the S3 is fourth-highest, West is leading with a four-five-card suit and thus the nine missing spades are split 5-4, one way or the other. There is therefore no possibility of finding either defender out of the suit as South has only three cards. Ducking the first or second round therefore achieves nothing. You should get into the habit of picking up these little inferences. It is a priceless habit to cultivate, helping towards the ultimate goal of being able to play "seeing" all four hands.

Still considering the spade suit, we notice that, if we win the first round, the king and nine form a tenace against the ten. Thus, if East has that card, we have a third stopper in the suit. If West has it, we shall only have a third stopper if he is forced to lead the suit. Looking at our potential tricks in that light, we can see four in diamonds for one lost, at least two top spades, one heart and three clubs, although we will have to lose the lead once to East if he has the king. Once again, our first loss should ideally be to West as he is the defender who cannot profitably attack spades. We must therefore start on diamonds. Should East have both the DA and the CK, we are doomed. But playing on diamonds first gains when West has the DA, even with the club finesse wrong.

The West Hand: S-108732 H-Q87 D-A4C-865
The East Hand: S-Q654 H-K93 D-62C-K932

Satisfy yourself that taking the club finesse first is fatal. East wins and pushes a spade through. Later when West takes his DA, he will have two more spades winners than the defender will have taken three spade tricks and the two minor-suit winners for down.

You are South, declarer in 4H

NORTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST	SOUTH
♠ Q62	Pass	Pass	Pass	1H
♥ QJ63	Pass	3H	Pass	4H
♦ KQJ	Pass	Pass	Pass	
♣ 986	Pass	Pass	Pass	

SOUTH

♠ AKG
♥ 109872
♦ 74
♣ AK5

You have 14 HCP and a weak heart suit and open 1H. North gives you a double raise to 3H, showing 10-12 points and four-card trump support. Your heart suit has perked up with partner's support and you bid game. West leads the CQ. How do you plan to play the hand?

SUNDAY CROSSWORD 2249

QUICK CLUES ACROSS

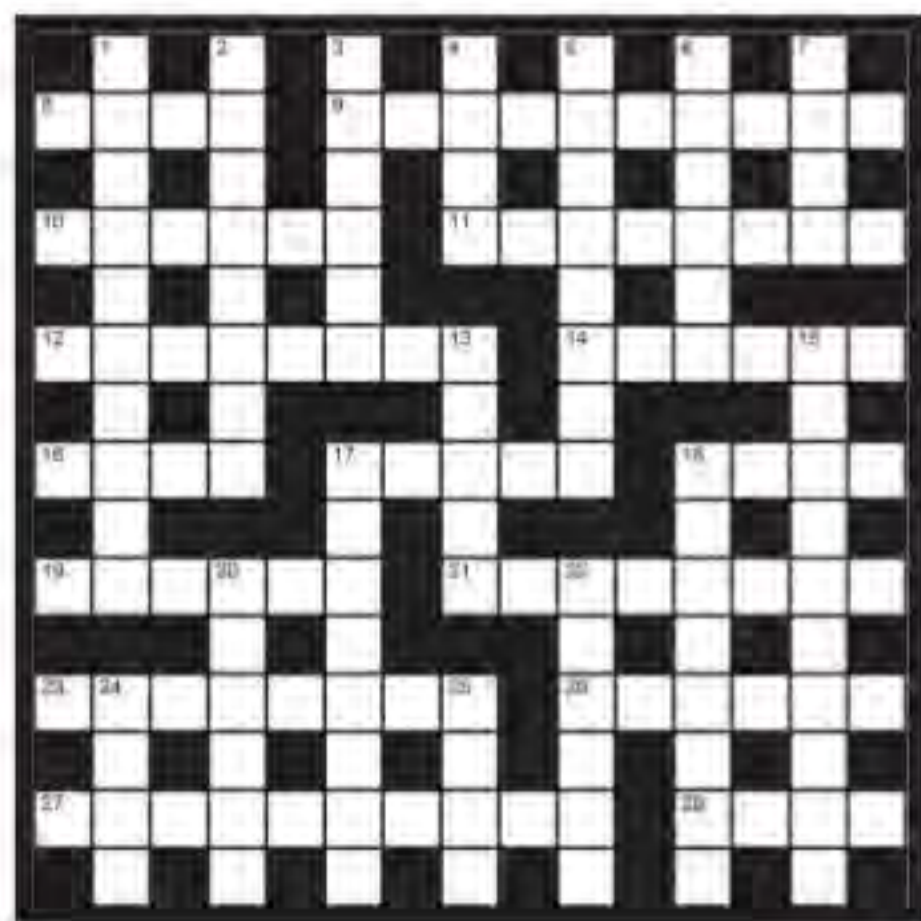
8. A returning sound (4)
9. Stargazer (10)
10. The Desert Fox (6)
11. Explanatory vocabulary (8)
12. Offspring (8)
14. Wince from pain (6)
15. Proficient (4)
17. Tester (5)
18. Motion picture (4)
19. German emperor (6)
21. Put in order (8)
23. Forcing out (8)
26. Makes a hole in the tooth? (6)
27. Make impure (10)
28. Famous volcano (4)

DOWN

1. Fear of heights (10)
2. HCl, HBr or H-2-O-2 et al.? (8)
3. Mariner (6)
4. Party animal? (4)
5. Overdo (2,3,3)
6. Dwarfed tree (6)
7. Equipment (4)
13. Monetary unit of Nigeria (5)
15. Quashing, obliterating or revoking (10)
17. Wood eaters (8)
18. Narrow (8)
20. Mediterranean island (6)
22. Rugose (6)
24. Hey ____ : Beatles hit (4)
25. Tide type (4)

CRYPTIC CLUES ACROSS

8. Adding nonsense to a list (4)
9. Territory where women own all the rights? (2-4,4)
10. Affected to be smart (6)
11. Sickened with unease at disaster (8)
12. Pop pulled up short collar to cover a problem with his hair (8)
14. Lengths of film from a day's moviemaking in an environment for baby Moses (6)
16. Creature about right to describe as self-righteous one (4)
17. Drills for big talkers, perhaps (5)
18. Park in London when the good doctor is not himself (4)
19. What one expects to gain from getting up (6)
21. An all-gem assemblage for a



- circumnavigator (8)
23. Faculty raising a question of substance covering the head (5-3)
26. A past love, far from extinguished (6)
27. Personal centre of revolutionary colour (10)
28. Lower-class irregular noun (3-1)

- DOWN:**
1. A 'jesu' scrub with other Biblical plant (6,4)
 2. Guard primarily worshipped at church, with ascending divinity (8)
 3. It is in its rightful place among Latin phrases (2,4)
 4. Good guy, the FBI agent (1-3)
 5. Ask how paper may be sold (8)
 6. Dozes on berths without hesitation! (6)
 7. Operate a couple of points when cover is needed (4)
 13. Return of drink in the marketplace (5)
 15. Sweet nothing to captivate fellows (10)
 17. Is very bad at playing Schubert arrangement (8)

Solutions to 2248

QUICK CLUES ACROSS: 6 Travels, 7 India, 9 Ante, 10 Unemployed, 11 Tom thumb, 13 Ajanta, 15 Flab, 17 Or die, 18 Dado, 19 Rudest, 20 Standing, 23 Reticulate, 26 Came, 27 Touts, 28 Attempt, Down: 1 Lamentable, 2 Tulu, 3 Esne, 4 Airplane, 5 Eddo, 6 Tonto, 8 Averted, 12 Bides, 14 Aisle-de-camp, 16 Loudest, 17 Outburst, 21 Alerts, 22 Nonet, 24 Is up, 25 Away.

CRYPTIC CLUES ACROSS: 6 Pouches, 7 Orang, 9 Speed, 10 Lorna Doone, 11 Spare rib, 13 Appose, 15 Shaq, 17 Kenia, 18 Tosa, 19 Smooth, 20 Outgrown, 23 Peccadillo, 26 Ida's, 27 Savin, 28 Cape Cod, Down: 1 Quid pro quo, 2 Whaler, 3 USSR, 4 Cocanada, 5 NATO, 6 Papup, 8 Genesis, 12 Banjo, 14 Peter Finch, 16 Hamlets, 17 In hiding, 21 Troupe, 22 Weald, 24 Cove, 25 Lock

If it's your Birthday

Sunday December 29
You're bound to be thinking about your romantic and emotional hopes a little more than usual. You may end up making a few important choices along the way.

Monday December 30
Stick to your principles. But the long-term future depends partly on your ability to both come up with magical ideas and then put them into practice.

Tuesday December 31
There's a massive dose of determination in the air. That's excellent if life is absolutely hassle-free. But if you have various challenges to overcome then you may pick up the wrong end of the stick.

Wednesday January 1
You are being urged to tread very carefully in all relationships. Do not attempt to go behind anybody's back, even if this looks like saving you trouble in the short term.

Thursday January 2
There's a sense of infinite possibility in the air, a feeling that anything can be achieved if only other people would step in and help. Have faith in yourself and set your sights on the glittering prizes.

Friday January 3
You're thinking too hard. You don't want to wear your mind out, but the same thoughts have a tendency to run around your brain. Who knows what inventive plans you might conceive as a result?

Saturday January 4
There is a great deal to be said for waving farewell to the tired old conditions of the past and issuing a warm welcome to everything that is new, bright and full of promise.

YOUR WEEK AHEAD

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)
As far as the fundamental planetary picture is concerned, there is little change from last month or, come to that, from the month before. Jupiter is still occupying a friendly position and Saturn a suitably challenging one. You are therefore still in the middle of a profound long-term change.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)
Your relationships are coloured by those delightful celestial bodies, Mars and Venus. The former encourages you to go out and seek partnerships, while the latter makes you attractive to other people. You may expect nothing but the best.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)
The Sun and the Moon are now at that time of the year when they challenge you to do only your best - and absolutely nothing less. You may therefore feel that events are slipping out of your control, especially if a partner refuses to take your advice or appears apparently unconcerned about your plans and desires.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)
You're probably bemused by confusing indications: some developments seem to be holding out the prospect of untold success, others are presenting you with a series of delays and obstacles. It's a real case of the carrot and the stick, but you never quite know which is coming next.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)
Could you be facing a revolution at home? Do try to turn events to your advantage by dealing with the real root-cause of any recent conflicts. This may require a complete rethink of your domestic aspirations, including the questions of where you want to live and who you want to live with.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)
The majority of your planets are stimulating the private sectors of your solar horoscope, suggesting that it will be personal concerns that dominate your thinking. You'll be keen to establish yourself as an individual and will resent anyone who lumps you in as part of a group.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)
The current period is very important for those of you engaged in the property market, perhaps now considering taking a leap into the dark and buying a first home. The signs are that events could move much more quickly than expected, but also that there are a number of pitfalls along the way.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)
Mars and Pluto, your two planetary rulers, are making emotional as well as practical demands on your time. You will therefore be utterly unprepared to compromise or see any one else's point of view yet, if so, you must also be prepared for their strong reactions.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 23)
If we're considering your emotions the question is, how can you positively improve your own moods and shape events to your will? Well presently, for a start you can bring out your intellectual qualities analysing your own motives, questioning partners' actions and always searching for the real meaning behind apparently innocent situations.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)
All emotional battles should be easily won. Indeed, it will be a foolhardy person who takes you on under the mistaken impression that you will do anything to avoid a fight.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)
The major gulf lies between your tremendous ambition and outgoing sociable qualities on the one hand and a profound desire to be left alone in peace and quiet on the other. At the moment, you may fluctuate between the two or, if you wish, you may put your driving ambition behind some selfless charitable enterprise.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)
That militant planet Mars is stirring up your emotions. However, please do try and find a positive cause to fight for rather than slugging it out with folks who have done nothing wrong.

JUMBLED WORDS

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

No photographer is as good as the _____. - Edward Steichen (8,6)

LVAEE	ELECTS
SERAI	ELOMMP

Answer: No photographer is as good as the simplest camera. - Edward Steichen

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

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

SUDOKU 4074

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

SOLUTION SUDOKU 4073

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

कार्यालय नगर विकास प्रयास, उदयपुर (राज.)
No.-F-2(01)Acct/Contract/2019-20/327-329 Date: 27-12-2019

ई-निविदा संशोधन सूचना

न्यास द्वारा जारी ई-निविदा सूचना संख्या: 49/2019-20 के निविदा कार्य (Consulting Services for Comprehensive Traffic and Transport Study & Formulation of Traffic Management Plan (TMP) for the Udaipur Urban Area.) की तिथियों में अपरिहार्य कारणों से निमानुसार संशोधन किया गया है, ऑनलाइन निविदा प्रपत्र डाउनलोड/अपलोड एवं EMD, Tender Fee & Processing Fee Online दिनांक: 20-01-2020 को सायं: 6:30 बजे तक जमा की जा सकेंगे एवं दिनांक: 21-01-2020 को प्रातः 11:00 बजे खोली जावेगी। अन्य शर्तें यथावत रहेंगी।

(नीरज माथुर)
अधिशाषी अभियन्ता तृतीय, नगर विकास प्रयास, उदयपुर

उत्तर प्रदेश गन्ना शोध परिषद, शाहजहापुर।
ई-टेंडरिंग निविदा सूचना

ई-निविदा सं.-UPCSR/4997-2019 दिनांक: 28.12.2019

उ.प्र. गन्ना शोध परिषद, शाहजहापुर के लिए पंजीकृत फर्मों से निम्न कार्य हेतु ई-निविदा आमंत्रित की जाती है। निविदा प्रपत्र उ.प्र. की ई-प्रोक्वायमेंट की वेबसाइट <https://etender.up.nic.in> से प्राप्त एवं देखे जा सकते हैं। निविदा के साथ Earnest Money की धनराशि 40,000/- व निविदा मूल्य रु. 590/- FDR/ BANK DRAFT/ गैर FDR/ RTGS के माध्यम से निदेशक, उ.प्र. गन्ना शोध परिषद, शाहजहापुर के पक्ष में देय होना अनिवार्य है। NEFT/ RTGS द्वारा परिषद के बैंक, बड़ीदा, उ.प्र. ग्रामीण बैंक ब्रान्च- लोधीपुर, शाहजहापुर के खाता सं. 56800100001699 IFSC Code BARB0BUPGBX (Fifth Character Zero) में जमा किया जा सकता है। जिसको स्कैन कापी अपलोड करना अनिवार्य है। टेंडरदाता को फर्म का निर्माता/ अधिकृत डीलर प्रमाण पत्र/ पंजीकरण प्रमाण पत्र, आयकर का पैन नं., जी.एस.टी. के प्रमाण को स्कैन कापी ई-टेंडर के साथ अपलोड करना अनिवार्य होगा।

वस्तु आपूर्ति का नाम: सप्लाई एंड इन्स्टालेशन हॉट टायर शुगरकेन ट्रीटमेंट युनिट-4 अदर।

ई निविदा प्राप्त तथा वेबसाइट पर अपलोड करने की अंतिम तिथि एवं समय: 13.02.2020, 12.00 बजे तक।

हस्ता./निदेशक
उ.प्र. गन्ना शोध परिषद, शाहजहापुर

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER
CAPITAL PROJECT (C)CIRCLE, CPADMN., E-5, ARERA COLONY, BHOPAL
Phone - 0755 2463365

NOTICE INVITING TENDER

On line Tenders are invited from registered contractors under centralized registration system in MP PWD for the following works. Details of the work and NIT is available in the website <http://mptenders.gov.in>.

S. No.	NIT No. & Date	Sistem Tender No.	Name of Work	Probable amount of contract	Amount of Earnest Money	Cost of Tender Document	Office in which Documents are to be submitted Physically
1	69/Tender Cell/ Dated 12-12-19	2019_CPA_70217_1	Construction & Development Hockey Academy at Bishakhedi (Phase-I)	Rs. 12.83,64,462/- (Rs. Twelve crores eighty three lakhs Sixty four thousand four hundred sixty two)	Rs. 10,00,000/-	Rs. 30,000/-	O/o Superintending Engineer Capital Project Circle, CPA, Bhopal
2	70/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70222_1	Repairing of pol hoies i/c BT renewal and strengthening work of road from Depo Square to Bhadhada Square, Bhopal	Rs. 2,48,25,471/- (Rs. Two crores forty eight lakhs twenty five thousand four hundred seventy one)	Rs. 2,48,255/-	Rs. 15,000/-	- Do-
3	71/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70223_1	Operation and comprehensive maintenance of utility block at Vallabh Bhawan, Bhopal	Rs. 2,36,82,711/- (Rs. Two crores thirty six lakhs seven thousand seven hundred eleven)	Rs. 2,36,827/-	Rs. 15,000/-	- Do-
4	72/Vande Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70224_1	Operation and comprehensive maintenance of E.L.V. system at new Vallabh Bhawan, Bhopal.	Rs. 2,07,71,644/- (Rs. Two crores seven lakhs seventy one thousand six hundred forty four)	Rs. 2,07,716/-	Rs. 15,000/-	- Do-
5	73/Tender Cell / Dated	2019 CPA_70227_1	Operation and comprehensive maintenance of H.V.A.C. system at new Vallabh Bhawan, Bhopal	Rs. 1,31,42,768/- (Rs. One crore thirty one lakhs forty two hundred sixty eight)	Rs. 1,31,427/-	Rs. 12,500/-	- Do-
6	74/Tender Cell/ Dated 1	2019 CPA_70228_1	Construction of Nalla wall from 5 No. shopping complex to 6 No. Stop, Bhopal	Rs. 1,08,09,072/- One crores eight lakhs Nine Thousand seventy two)	Rs. 11,08,090/-	Rs. 12,500/-	- Do-
7	75/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70232_1	Construction of Nalla from Sindhu Bhawan to6No.stop Bhopal.	Rs. 80,41,533/- (Rs. Eighty lakhs forty one thousand live hundred thirty three)	Rs. 80,415/-	Rs. 10,000/-	- Do-
8	76/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70235_1	Construction of CC road from main road 3 to Kotra Sultanabad main area ward No 27, Bhopal.	Rs. 45,38,917/- (Rs. Forty five lakhs thirty eight thousand nine hundred seventeen)	Rs. 50,000/-	Rs. 5,000/-	- Do-
9	77/Tender Cell / - Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70238_1	Road widening and Left turn work (Barkheda Pathani Square, Ashima Mall, Awadhपुरी and RRL Tiraha)	Rs. 71,32,619/- (Rs. Seventy one lakhs thirty two thousand six hundred nineteen)	Rs. 71,326/-	Rs. 10,000/-	O/o Superintending Engineer Capital Project Circle, CPA Bhopal
10	78/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70239_1	Upgradation of Master plan road 24.00 M wide from Mahatma Gandhi Square to Awadhपुरी Tiraha at BHEL, Bhopal (Ch 0.0mm M to 1200 M)	Rs. 1,54,83,400/- (Rs. One crore fifty four lakhs eighty three thousand four hundred)	Rs. 1,54,834/-	Rs. 12,500/-	- Do-
11	79/Tender Cell / Dated 12-12-19	2019 CPA_70243_1	Construction of Box culvert, Drain and shoulders near Corporation Bank at Bagmugalia, Bhopal	Rs. 57,73,226/- (Rs. Fifty seven lakhs seventy three thousand two hundred twenty six)	Rs. 57,732/-	Rs. 10,000/-	- Do-

Tender form (documents) can be downloaded after online payment of the cost of the form the above website. The last date of purchase and down load of tender form shall be 13/01/2020 upto 5.30 PM. The last date of submission of desired documents physically in the office mentioned shall be 14/01/2020 upto 5.30 PM, Detailed NIT and other details are available in the website.

Sd/-
SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER
CAPITAL PROJECT (C) CIRCLE,
C.P.ADMISTRATION,
E-5, ARERA COLONY, BHOPAL
PH : 0755 2463365

नि:शस्त्र अहिंसा की शक्ति किसी भी परिस्थिति में सशस्त्र शक्ति से सर्वश्रेष्ठ होगी - महात्मा गांधी
G-20970/2019

Target Tokyo

In 2019, Indian shooters recorded world-class scores, dominated podium at World Cups and secured most Olympic quotas ever by the country. The challenge, writes **SHAHID JUDGE**, will now be to repeat the same performance at the Games in seven months' time



Apurvi Chandela, who was among the first Indians to earn an Olympic quota, reached the final at the Beijing World Cup and even captured the World No. 1 rank that she still holds. *PTI*

A NEW and ambitious generation of young Indian shooters is promising Olympic success. Raising the ambitions for the 2020 Tokyo Games, are a mix of markswomen and men with experience and youthful exuberance. India has earned a record 15 quotas for the quadrennial extravaganza in Tokyo next year, and with highly fancied mixed air pistol and air rifle teams, India will fight for a total of 19 possible medals. With the shadow of a luckless Rio Games constantly stalking the sport, it was jolted into a reboot these last four years. Going by the headlines shooting garnered in 2019, Tokyo can't come quickly enough.

But 2016 showed that all that glittered was not gold, or silver or bronze even. The Indian contingent returned from the World Championships last year with just one medal — a silver — in Olympic events. Since then, teenaged youngsters have burst through the wings and shown fearlessness in their quest for success. *The Sunday Express* takes you through the promise and pitfalls that lie ahead for India's sharp shooters.

Eunhea Jung, won silver at the Asian Games and then earned her Olympic quota by finishing third at the World Championships. From China, Ruozhu Zhao won gold at the Asian Games and followed up with silver at the New Delhi World Cup.

But Chandela and Moudgil will also be weary of fellow-Indian and world no 3 Elavenil Valarivan, who is in contention of usurping her seniors for an Olympic spot. The 20-year-old won gold at the World Cup in Rio, but more recently, beat her senior compatriots to a first place finish at the World Cup Finals. Based on the NRAI-designed rubric to determine who will take the two quota places (since quotas belong to the country and not the player), Chandela leads with a score of 632.77, followed by Moudgil on 631.22 and Valarivan who is very close on 630.25. Crucially, the World Cup Finals performance is not considered in the NRAI's formula.

MEN'S 10M AIR RIFLE

EVENT DATE: July 26, 2020 – qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Divyansh Singh Panwar and Deepak Kumar

Divyansh Singh Panwar, who only recently turned 17, proved to be one of the finds of the season for Indian shooting. In only his second ever appearance at a senior World Cup, in Beijing, he finished with silver and earned India its first Olympic quota in this event. The teenager's presence, prior to the sojourn in Beijing, largely went unnoticed due to the presence of veterans Deepak Kumar and Ravi Kumar, who were the ones expected to bring in quota places for the event dubbed the 'Abhinav Bindra event' among Indian shooting enthusiasts.

But the youngster, though still inexperienced, made sure his achievement was no flash in the pan. He was the only Indian to compete in the World Cup Finals in the men's 10m air rifle event, and he ended up outscoring the 15 best shooters of the year with a remarkable gold.

He will, however, not be the only Indian shooting at his event at Tokyo 2020. At the Asian Championship in Doha, Qatar, Deepak finished with a bronze medal – trailing two shooters from China who had already secured the maximum quota spots for a country – to earn his own berth at the Olympics. Most importantly though, Deepak's quota ensures India can put up a second 10m air rifle mixed team at Tokyo.

In the individual event at the Olympics though, the competition is expected to get much harder. Russia's Sergey Kamenskiy, a World Championship and New Delhi World Cup gold medalist will be there, along with World Championship and Munich World Cup silver medalist Petar Gorsa of Croatia. Then there is China's Zicheng Hui, who won gold and bronze at the World Cups in Beijing and New Delhi respectively, along with winning gold at the Asian Games in the men's 50m 3 positions event. Gorsa, Kamenskiy and Hui are also the top three ranked shooters in the world respectively.

WOMEN'S 10M AIR PISTOL

EVENT DATE: July 26, 2020 – qualification and finals

TOKYO UNDERDOGS

WOMEN'S 25M PISTOL

EVENT DATE: July 30, 2020 – precision; July 31, 2020 – qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Rahi Sarnobat and Chinki Yadav

Sarnobat is a strong shooter in the finals, but has struggled to get past the qualification stage. Over the four World Cups this year and the World Cup Finals, she made the final just once, at Munich, where she won gold and got the quota. Yadav meanwhile won her quota by finishing sixth at the Asian Championship, where the top four finishers had already secured quotas.

MEN'S 50M 3 POSITIONS RIFLE

EVENT DATE: August 3, 2020 – qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Sanjeev Rajput and Aishwary Pratap Singh Tomar

Veteran Rajput has struggled to find form and earned his quota by winning silver at the Rio World Cup, which had a depleted field. The 18-year-old Tomar in turn does not have much experience shooting at high-level international competitions. He won his quota through a bronze at the Asian Championships in Qatar, but competed in all the senior World Cups this year in the MQS category.

WOMEN'S 50M 3 POSITIONS RIFLE

EVENT DATE: August 1, 2020 – qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Tejaswini Sawant

The 39-year-old veteran is set to make her Olympics debut in Tokyo. But

QUOTA WINNER: Manu Bhaker and Yashaswini Singh Deswal

Manu Bhaker was the first big name to emerge from Indian shooting's 'next gen' of stars. This year however, the 17-year-old struggled to score well in the qualification rounds of the first two World Cups in New Delhi and Beijing. When the shooting world descended upon Munich though for what is arguably the most competitive World Cup of the season, the teenager shot a career best 582 in the individual event and made it to the final, where she finished fourth and earned India's first Olympic quota in the event.

A few months later, Bhaker travelled to Rio for the last World Cup of the year and competed in the MQS category. But it was there that 22-year-old Yashaswini Singh Deswal announced herself by winning her career's first World Cup gold, and India's second quota. And with veteran Indian shooter Heena Sidhu out of contention, the pair is a certainty to travel to Tokyo.

Together they qualified for the finals at the Asian Championships in Doha, where Bhaker won gold and Deswal finished sixth. But more recently, they made it to the finals of the World Cup Finals, that too in a field that included Rio Olympics bronze and World

she hasn't competed much in the 2019 season, having played only at the Rio World Cup, where she finished 47th. She won her quota after finishing fourth at the Asian Championships in Doha, but at Tokyo she'll be up against a strong field that includes talented youngsters like world no 1 Senoaid McIntosh and Russian Yulia Karimova.



MEN'S SKEET

EVENT DATE: July 26, 2020 – qualification; July 27, 2020 – qualification and finals

QUOTA WINNER: Angad Singh Bajwa and Mairaj Ahmed Khan (in pic)

By winning gold and silver at the Asian Championships in Doha, Bajwa and Khan respectively confirmed India would participate in at least one shotgun event at the Tokyo Olympics. Their overall performances this year though has been under-par. The average cut-off score in the qualification rounds of the four World Cups and World Championships was 122, but Bajwa's average was 114 (over three events) and Khan managed 117. In Doha, they both qualified for the final with a score of 120, which was the cut-off.

Championship gold medalist Anna Korakaki, World Championships silver medalist Zorana Arunovic and Beijing World Cup gold and Munich bronze-medallist Minjung Kim (all of whom have qualified for Tokyo 2020).

According to coaches, the Indian pair's greatest weakness at the Olympics will be that they don't have the experience of playing at a competition of that magnitude. But Bhaker is an ambitious athlete, and Deswal is rated the most disciplined pistol shooter in the team.

At the World Cup Finals, Deswal finished sixth, falling short by just 0.3 points. But Bhaker went on to win gold and set a new junior world record.

MEN'S 10M AIR PISTOL

EVENT DATE: July 25, 2020 – Qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Saurabh Chaudhary and Abhishek Verma

Easily the most decorated and consistent Indian shooters this season, Saurabh Chaudhary and Abhishek Verma (in pic) are among the favourites to medal at the Tokyo Olympics next year. Seventeen-year-old Chaudhary was the first to win the Olympic quota when he won gold at the New Delhi World Cup early in 2019. Thereon the world



no 3 went on to win gold in the competitive Munich World Cup and bronze at Rio, followed by a silver medal at the Asian Championships. His senior compatriot, the 30-year-old Verma, who is a qualified lawyer and the world no 2, meanwhile earned his quota with a gold-medal finish at the Beijing World Cup and followed it up with another gold at Rio.

The pair however, did stumble a bit during the World Cup Finals in Putian, China, where Verma finished fifth and Chaudhary sixth. At the same time, both will be appearing at the Olympics for the first time next year, yet they remain firm favourites at Tokyo.

The teenager is an introvert, which his coaches see as a boon as he does not get distracted by bad performances and the talk that comes with it. Verma, in turn, is disciplined, and at 30, his maturity helps him to adapt and handle pressure.

And there certainly will be a lot of tension when they take to the Asaka Shooting Range in Tokyo when the best in the world will jostle with them for a spot on the podium. Russia's Artem Chernousov, the world no 1 and silver medalist at the World Championships and World Cups in Beijing and Munich will potentially be their most potent opponent. Also present will be Beijing Olympics champion Wei Pang of China. But none can ignore the threat of Jongoh Jin, a South Korean veteran, and gold-medal winner at London 2012 and the World Championships last year – the biggest name in this event. Then there is host nation's veteran Tomoyuki Matsuda, whom Chaudhary had just about pipped to gold at the 2018 Asian Games. The 43-year-old Japanese has made clear his want for 'revenge.'

MIXED AIR RIFLE

EVENT DATE: July 28, 2020 – qualification and finals
TEAMS: Anjum Moudgil and Divyansh Singh Panwar, Apurvi Chandela and Deepak Kumar

Since India has won its maximum allotment of quotas in the individual events of the men's and women's 10m air rifle, the country can field two teams for the mixed event.

The team of Apurvi Chandela and Deepak Kumar has been paired together throughout the season, although they did have a slow start. At the World Cup in New Delhi, they failed to qualify for the finals and then fin-

ished sixth at the Beijing World Cup. In Munich however, the pair improved and eventually finished with silver, and then captured gold at the final World Cup of the year in Rio.

Anjum Moudgil and Divyansh Singh Panwar meanwhile first played together only at the Beijing World Cup and ended up winning gold. They repeated the feat again in Munich before dropping down to bronze at the Rio World Cup.

At the World Cup Finals in Putian, China, Panwar paired up with Croatian shooter Snjezana Pecic to win gold, while Chandela and her Chinese partner Changhong Zhang came in second.

Meanwhile, the only teams to have won direct quotas in the mixed event are China's Haoran Yang and Ruozhu Zhao, and Russian team Anastasiia Galashina and Vladimir Maslennikov, who won gold and silver respectively at the World Championships last year.

MIXED AIR PISTOL

EVENT DATE: July 28, 2020 – qualification and finals
TEAMS: Manu Bhaker (in pic), and Saurabh Chaudhary, Yashaswini Singh Deswal and Abhishek Verma

The Bhaker-Chaudhary combo has been the team to beat this year. The team of 17-year-olds have won gold in every competition they have competed in together in the 2019 season – be it the World Cups in New Delhi, Beijing, Munich and Rio, or even the Asian Championships in Doha. At the World Cup Finals though, Bhaker teamed up with Russian Artem Chernousov to win gold, while Chaudhary paired with Anna Korakaki of Greece to finish with silver.

The Indian teenaged-duo is expected to carry that same form to Tokyo.

While Bhaker and Chaudhary have been a sure-shot pairing in team selection, India's second team of Yashaswini Singh Deswal and Abhishek Verma though came together for the first time only at the last World Cup of the year, in Rio. There the duo finished in second.

Both teams are expected to make it to Tokyo, along with the teams of Meng Yi Wang and Qian Wang of China and Russian pair of Vitalina Batsarashkina and Chernousov, who had won gold and silver at the World Championships respectively and thus earned the only direct mixed event quotas on offer. Bhaker and Chaudhary however, remain strong favourites.



WOMEN'S 10M AIR RIFLE

EVENT DATE: July 25, 2020 – Qualification and finals
QUOTA WINNER: Anjum Moudgil and Apurvi Chandela

Anjum Moudgil (in pic) was the only Indian to win a medal at the 2018 World Championships (in an Olympic event) when she finished second, and along with Apurvi Chandela, who placed fourth, became their first two Indian shooters to win Tokyo Olympics quotas. Thereon though, Chandela's form grew rapidly as she'd win gold medals in the individual event at the World Cups in New Delhi, setting a new world record in finals, and in Munich. She also reached the final at the Beijing World Cup and even captured the world no 1 rank she still holds.

Ranked World No. 2 is Moudgil, whose experience in the women's 50m 3 position rifle event makes her a versatile shooter. She reached the finals of the World Cups in Beijing and Rio, finishing sixth in both, but she did manage to secure gold in the mixed air rifle event in Beijing and Munich, where she paired up with Divyansh Singh Panwar.

In terms of their foreign competition, 19-year-old South Korean Hana Im, who beat the Indian duo to win gold at the World Championship is the most potent threat. Another stern competitor is Im's compatriot

M Kom. Final

'Who will go to the Olympic qualifiers?' Mary answers the question, and a few others, en route to a 9-1 win over Nikhat at the trials



Six-time world champion Mary Kom celebrates after beating Nikhat Zareen in the 51-kg final of the selection trials for the Olympic boxing qualifiers in New Delhi on Saturday. Tashi Tobgyal

GAURAV BHATT
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

ONLY THE particularly naive would have expected Mary Kom to hug Nikhat Zareen at the end of their fight. Forget the bad blood. The two had just spent the majority of nine minutes hugging each other.

Before the cold shoulders and expletive exchanges, gloating and weeping, was the testy bout that ended 9-1 in Mary's favour. An anticlimactic end to an exhausting feud, but while the contest itself was highly anticipated, a boxing clinic was never on the cards.

The curious dichotomy that continues to propel an aging Mary Kom is her dirty boxing and clean punching. It's especially apparent against the taller, stronger boxers in the 51kg division; a move up the weight division that has forced the light-fly ballerina to turn into a flyweight bruiser. With sneaking in, landing and disengaging a riskier ploy against opponents with better reach, Mary goes for clinches. Most of the fight thus was spent in tangles, especially after Nikhat's bright start.

Amidst all the post-match brouhaha, Nikhat offered an honest assessment of her performance. "I don't think I lacked anything today. I fought better than I did at the India Open," she said. While Nikhat had spent a majority of that 4-1 loss in May treating Mary with utmost respect, the 24-year-old played the aggressor on Saturday, launching strikes even though not many con-



Most of the fight was spent in tangles. Tashi Tobgyal

nected. The first round was Nikhat looking the best she has recently, minus some mismatched contests in the recently concluded boxing league.

The contest opened with a cagey ten seconds, made to seem a lot longer by the palpable tension. The two circled each other slowly, each willing the other to make the first move. Nikhat ducked and went to the body, the opening shot sank into Mary's stomach.

But Nikhat reached for her own underhooks as the bout progressed, holding Mary

as the two exchanged shots in the clinch. Momentum snubbed, Mary came into her own in the third round, as the increasingly erratic Nikhat left herself open for clean strikes. Only one judge out of ten thought Nikhat prevailed overall, and the second round evidently made all the difference.

Now, whether the ten judges agreed with this evaluation is tough to know. After all, despite Boxing Federation of India (BFI) president Ajay Singh assuring reporters that there were "absolutely no issues in giving you any amount of data", the detailed score-

cards weren't made available on account of confidentiality, nevermind that one gets round-by-round scores at the end of a televised bout.

Curbing expectations, however, is the way to go. For long, whether the 51kg selection trial bout will happen or not was unclear. That it was open for public was a year-end bonus.

"Good that it was an open trial and everyone could see. We had 10 judges to ensure the highest standards of fairness and impartiality," Singh told reporters. "There were representatives from every side. Anyone could come and watch. We delivered on the promise that it would be a fair trial. I don't think there can be anything fairer than this. The boxers who have won today are absolutely the best in India."

Road ahead

Mary now goes to Wuhan in February for the Olympic qualifiers, a win there will earn the 37-year-old a ticket to Tokyo. She glanced ahead briefly — "I will give my best. Tokyo Olympics will be my last according to my age (the age limit for boxers at Games is 40)" — but she chose rather to dwell on the past.

"I don't like all these controversies. If she wants others to respect her then she should first respect others. I don't like people with such nature. You drag my name into an unnecessary controversy and then you try to posture," Mary said, referring to Nikhat's letter to Union Sports Minister Kiren Rijiju in October in which the 24-year-old demanded

a selection trial.

But Nikhat had only sent out the letter after BFI had flip-flopped from not exempting Mary for these trials (for not winning gold or silver at the worlds) to giving her a pass (for getting a bronze), before reverting once again. To be fair, Mary had no say in these decisions, and the barrage of criticism didn't help.

"Did I make that announcement? Whose fault was it, was it mine? I didn't even know about it, I was told and it surprised me. Because mentally, I was prepared for a trial at that time," Mary said. "Once the trial was announced, did I say I won't come? Then why was my name taken time and again?" Ducking the worlds trials in August, after her name had been drafted and her opponent Nikhat had weighed in on the day, is a different matter.

Mary though had the last laugh. All Nikhat can do now is bide her time and wait for a chance to crop up. Ajay Singh confirmed that if Mary fails to qualify in February, there will be another trials for the world qualifiers in May.

"I want to remain positive. I heard the announcement, and that there will be another trials if she doesn't qualify in February," Nikhat said.

She'd do well to be careful what she wishes for. **RESULTS:** Mary Kom (51kg) bt Nikhat Zareen 9-1; Sakshi (57kg) bt Sonia Lather 9-1; Simranjit Kaur (60kg) bt Sarita 8-2; Lovlina Borgohain (69 kg) bt Lalita 10-0; Pooja Rani (75kg) bt Nupur 10-0

'People pointed out problems, only Gillespie gave me solution'

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 28

ISHANT SHARMA'S problems with his bowling were pointed out by many, but only Jason Gillespie provided him the solutions that he was seeking for the longest time.

"The problem in India is that everybody tells you about the problem but no one tells you the solution. Now knowing the solution is an important aspect," Ishant told reporters during an interaction at the Feroz Shah Kotla after the Ranji Trophy encounter against Hyderabad.

"I have realised that may be one or two people worked on the solutions. Problem everyone can tell you but one who is a good coach will tell you about solutions," said the veteran of 96 Tests and 292 wickets.

So what was his problem? "A lot of people would tell me that I need to increase the pace of my fuller deliveries. No one told me how to do that? It was when I went to play county cricket, Jason Gillespie gave me the solution," said Ishant, who played for Sussex under Gillespie's coaching. "Gillespie told me that in order to increase pace in fuller deliveries, you don't just release it but hit the deck so that it should target the knee roll," he said.

Ishant also explained how the former Australian pacer changed his training methods to get better results.

"Like first I would put cones (on good length spots) during nets. But that's okay for a youngster, who wants to get his areas right but for someone like me, I need to see where my ball is finishing rather than where it's pitched. Practice is almost same but outcome

is different. Gillespie's instructions ensured that my fuller delivery is faster now."

Ishant played a lot of Test matches under MS Dhoni and there were six or seven fast bowlers being rotated at that time, compared to three or four now.

"Look during Dhoni's time, some of us didn't have that much of experience. Also the fast bowlers would be rotated a lot, that's also a reason that consistency as a group couldn't be achieved. If you know that you are a pool of 3-4 fast bowlers, that increases communication. Earlier, there would be 6 to 7 bowlers, the communication wasn't there.

"But when Virat (Kohli) took over, we have all by then gained fair amount of experience and that helped. Now when you play more, stay in that dressing room more, spend more time with team compared to family, discussions are free and frank. And then you start enjoying when you go out there in the middle. That's a different feeling."

Ishant now bowls in short bursts with increased pace and it has happened after he stopped bowling his stock back of length deliveries which was a routine under Dhoni, who used him for long spells.

"From the beginning, I got a tag and people started calling me 'workhorse'. So seniors at that time would tell me that you need to bowl 20 overs and if you even give 60 runs, you will still end up getting three wickets.

"So that works on your mind that you have to bowl 20 overs. So you bowl back of length deliveries and batsmen start leaving those till they get set and then come back to attack you. And you end up giving away 80 runs."

You can't say it doesn't hurt, Vihari on IPL snub

SHAMIK CHAKRABARTY
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 28

AT 160/6, India had been under the pump at the Oval. As Ravindra Jadeja joined him, Hanuma Vihari suddenly became the senior partner on his Test debut. It was the fifth Test in England in September 2018. Vihari responded to the challenge with a half-century.

Cut to January 2019, and India were playing at the SCG to protect a 2-1 lead that would eventually give them their first-ever Test series win in Australia. When Ajinkya Rahane got out in the first innings, it was still anybody's game. India needed a partnership to slam the door shut on Australia. Against Mitchell Starc, Pat Cummins and Josh Hazlewood, Vihari dug in and added 101 runs for the fifth wicket with Cheteshwar Pujara. Rishabh Pant capitalised on the platform and hit a blazing hundred. In the Indian dressing-room, Virat Kohli and Ravi Shastri applauded Vihari's contribution — a gritty 42.

Then, in the West Indies, he scored his maiden Test century and a couple of half-centuries under pressure. Vihari was praised for his technique and temperament.

The IPL, though, judges a batsman differently. 10-metre sixes are considered iconic there and brawn is celebrated over finesse. That's the nature of the beast and Vihari, with only 39 sixes from 74 List A matches and 31 sixes from 74 T20s, wasn't 'IPL-qualified'. At the 2020 IPL auction, franchises broke the bank for lesser players, cricket-wise. Vihari, after being released by Delhi Capitals, went unsold.

After Andhra's Ranji Trophy match against Bengal at Eden Gardens, the 26-year-old



Andhra captain Hanuma Vihari. Reuters File

spoke to *The Sunday Express*. He admitted that sometimes "it hurts" to see utility is rewarded at the expense of quality. But Vihari will not change his game to get an IPL contract.

"You can't really say it doesn't hurt. (But) my mentality is such that I try to play whatever game I get the opportunity to play. If I get the opportunity to play for Andhra, I try to play the game with all my heart. And if I get a game for India, I try to play that with all my heart. I'm that kind of a character. So I don't really think about an IPL contract, why am I not getting picked. You can only do those things that are in your control. I don't really know what is 'IPL-qualified' batting. But I will not change my game, because I bat for my team. And I only think about the team I'm

playing for and bat accordingly."

Bat-speed is one aspect of Vihari's game that holds him in good stead in tougher conditions, against fast bowlers. "I think it's natural. Whatever I have from early on I didn't try to change much. I try to stick to what I have and play to my strengths. And I try to play as long as possible," Vihari explained.

A solid foundation allowed him not to tinker with his technique, when he graduated to Test cricket. "Small changes I made with my grip and backlift. But nothing major. My strength is my base and the technique which I play with. I always stick to that."

Vihari had been a surprise pick for the Test series in England, which was criticised. He, however, kept himself immune to

RANJI ROUND-UP

Delhi miss bonus point vs Hyderabad

New Delhi: Delhi lost three wickets in their pursuit of a meagre 84-run target, thus failing to win a bonus point in their Group A Ranji Trophy league encounter against Hyderabad on Saturday. Delhi now have seven points from three games and are currently placed 12th in the combined points list of the 18 teams in group A and B. Hyderabad are second last with three defeats in as many games. However, Delhi's problems will compound after Saturday's match as they will miss the services of Shikhar Dhawan, Navdeep Saini and Ishant Sharma when they next face Punjab in an away game. Punjab are currently on top of the elite table with 17 points from two wins with bonus points. **BRIEF SCORES:** Delhi 289 and 84/3 (Dhruv Shorey 32 no, Shikhar Dhawan 21) beat Hyderabad 69 and 298 by seven wickets. **Points:** Delhi 6, Hyderabad 0.

Ganeshwar defies Bengal

Kolkata: CR Gnaneshwar took a blow on the helmet but carried the bat to remain 74 not out. His resilience secured a point for Andhra who avoided the follow-on. In a match where more than 100 overs had been lost due to bad light, Bengal didn't have time to force a win. **BRIEF SCORES:** Bengal 289 and 46/0 drew with Andhra 181 (CR Gnaneshwar 74 not out; Ishan Porel 4/50, Akash Deep 3/36) **Points:** Bengal 3, Andhra 1

Punjab take 3 points after Gill, Mann tons

Nagpur: Shubman Gill cracked a century, his fifth in first-class cricket, and Gurkeerat Singh scored 149 off 101 balls to secure a first innings lead for Punjab. **BRIEF SCORES:** Vidarbha 338 drew with Punjab 408/5 (Gurkeerat Singh 149, Shubman Gill 100). **Points:** Punjab 3, Vidarbha 1

Gandhi spares TN the blushes

Indore: Kaushik Gandhi's hundred saved Tamil Nadu's blushes, but MP finished the game stronger. **BRIEF SCORES:** Tamil Nadu 149 and 377/7 (Kaushik Gandhi 154) drew with Madhya Pradesh 333 **Points:** MP 3, Tamil Nadu 1

Saurabh takes six in UP's innings win

Rajkot: Saurabh Kumar's six-for helped Uttar Pradesh secure an innings victory over Saurashtra. Saurashtra's second innings had only four double-digit scores. **BRIEF SCORES:** Saurashtra 331 and 120 (Harvik Desai 50; Saurabh Kumar 6/55) lost to Uttar Pradesh 523 by an innings and 72 runs **Points:** UP 7, Saurashtra 0

Padikkal, Nair deny Himachal

Mysore: Rishi Dhawan took five wickets on top of his 93 in the first innings. Still, Karnataka survived because Devdutt Padikkal followed by Karun Nair dug in their heels. **BRIEF SCORES:** Karnataka 166 & 296 (Devdutt Padikkal 99, Karun Nair 64; Rishi Dhawan 5/83) drew with Himachal 280 and 34/2. **Points:** Himachal 3, Karnataka 1

naysaying and showed character when he made his Test debut. "I had to score a lot of runs before I got into the Test squad. So that mental toughness was always there, because I had to grind through first-class cricket to come to the Test level. I had to grind a lot and once I have gotten into the Test squad, I know what exactly I'm capable of."

Vihari, like Mayank Agarwal, is an example of a domestic thoroughbred making a seamless progression to Test cricket. Jasprit Bumrah is a freak, an exception. But the likes of Pujara, Vihari and Agarwal further attest the fact that away from the glamour and glitz, domestic first-class cricket remains the breeding ground for future Test players.

"They (captain and coach) were happy with my approach," Vihari said, as he revisited his knock at Sydney. Cricketers value the opinion of the dressing-room. Expert opinions change quickly. Fans are even more fickle. So when, after stitching the partnership with Pujara, Vihari returned to the SCG dressing-room and Kohli and Shastri gave him a pat on the back, it felt satisfying. They were impressed with the youngster's ability to read the situation.

That innings and the runs he scored in the West Indies helped Vihari cement his place in the Test squad. But getting into the playing XI for the home Tests against South Africa and Bangladesh was tougher. He was left out because of the team combination.

"It wasn't frustrating at all. You have to understand the situation again. When you play at home, you have to play five bowlers. So one batsman will miss out and that usually be the No. 6 batsman. I understand the team combination. As long as we win, we never have a problem."

Million dollar arm

Cummins claims 5-28 as relentless Australia skittle out New Zealand for 148 on third day of Boxing Day Test



Australia pacer Pat Cummins celebrates with teammate Matthew Wade after dismissing New Zealand's Tom Blundell on Friday. AP

REUTERS/AP
MELBOURNE, DECEMBER 28

AUSTRALIA MARCHED toward a dominant series victory over New Zealand on Saturday after dismissing the visitors cheaply and building a mammoth 456-run lead on day three of the Boxing Day test.

Leading 1-0 after thrashing the Black Caps in the Perth opener, Tim Paine's Australia pushed to 137 for four in their second innings at stumps after routing the tourists for 148 in a firestorm of pace bowling at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG). Replaying to Australia's first innings 467, New Zealand were bowled out 120 runs short of forcing the hosts to bat again, but Paine sent his batsmen back out to pile on the agony. At the close, Matthew Wade was 15 not out, with Travis Head, the first innings centurion, on 12.

The equation is bleak for Kane Williamson's men, who had hoped for a result in Melbourne to keep the series alive to the third and final match in Sydney next week. No team has ever scored more than 417 runs in a fourth innings at the MCG, and none has ever chased down more than 332 to win at the venue.

Dominated by Australia's batsmen in the opening two days, New Zealand crumbled in the face of formidable fast bowling.

Pat Cummins was chief tormentor, underlining his claim as the format's premier exponent with a blistering display of pace and precision. He led Australia's bowling with 5-28 to continue a brilliant year.

"I've had a pretty good run lately so I can't see it getting too much better than what the

last year's been but hopefully I can maintain it at that level," 26-year-old Cummins, the year's leading wicket-taker, told reporters.

He was scarcely better than team mate James Pattinson, the fiery 29-year-old quick claiming 3-34 in his return to the side as replacement for the injured Josh Hazlewood.

Only opener Tom Latham scored more than 20 runs for New Zealand, but after raising a tough half-century, he promptly gave up his wicket for 50, one of Cummins' four caught-behind victims.

Thousands of New Zealanders had flown across "the ditch" to watch their team's first appearance at the MCG in 32 years, many with hope of a better show than the 296-run capitulation in Perth.

Instead, they have seen another disaster unfold in the wake of Williamson's decision to send Australia in to bat after winning the toss. Adding to the gloom, their pace spearhead Trent Boult suffered a fracture in his hand when struck by a Mitchell Starc ball while batting after lunch. Having missed Perth with a rib injury, Boult will head home after Melbourne and miss the Sydney test.

"It's obviously gutting news for Trent and also for our group to have someone like that ruled out by his injuries," said Latham.

In a rare highlight for New Zealand, seamer Neil Wagner captured his 200th test wicket when he dismissed Steve Smith for seven, the fourth time he has scalped the master batsman in the series.

But Head and Wade stood firm in the final overs to ensure Australia will return on day four with victory all but assured.

"Fair play to Australia the way they bowled," said Latham.

"They were relentless and didn't really let

us have anything, unfortunately." **BRIEF SCORES:** Australia 467 and 4 for 137 (Wade 15*, Head 12*) lead New Zealand 148 (Latham 50, Cummins 5-28) by 456 runs

Paine upset over VR system



A video review on day 2 ended Paine's innings on 79, a frustrating 21 runs shy of his maiden test century.

Australia captain Tim Paine says he's frustrated over cricket's video review system following his controversial dismissal during the second test against New Zealand.

That came before engaging in an animated discussion with umpire Marais Erasmus over another dubious call.

Paine said he was "angry" that the original decision of not out had been overturned after third umpire Aleem Dar ruled following a video review that the ball had struck the pad in line with the stumps.

The decision on Friday on day two of the second test at the Melbourne Cricket Ground ended Paine's innings on 79, a frustrating 21 runs shy of his maiden test century.

"I thought from the length it pitched and a bloke bowling around the wicket (left-arm Neil Wagner), it's pretty difficult for it to hit you in line and hit the stumps," Paine told ABC Radio.

On Saturday, Mitch Santner appeared to be caught at leg gully off the glove for a duck off the bowling of Mitchell Starc in the 37th over of New Zealand's first innings, but it was adjudged not out. Australia appealed for a video review and Dar declined to overturn the on-field decision, prompting Paine to continue to argue his case to Erasmus.

New Zealand was bowled out for 148 and Santner scored only three, in reply to Australia's first innings of 467. Former Australia skipper Ricky Ponting was baffled by Dar's decision.

"We could see clearly the sweat band was definitely moving on the glove," Ponting told Channel Seven television. "It's absolutely plain as day. If he can't get that right, he shouldn't be doing it."

Paine said he had "a few doubts" about the decision-review system (DRS).

"I'm just seeing time and time again, what I see to the naked eye, or watching it on television in real time, and then when it comes up it is sometimes a little bit off the mark," Paine said. Paine was also puzzled by an lbw appeal against New Zealand's Ross Taylor which was overturned on appeal by the DRS.

"And then you get one later which the guy (Taylor) is stuck on the crease, he's hit really full and it's going over. So it's disappointing and makes me angry," Paine said.

Burns holds on to give England a glimmer of hope

ASSOCIATED PRESS
CENTURION, DECEMBER 28

ENGLAND MADE a fighting start to a daunting task when it reached 121-1 at the close of day three of the first test in South Africa on Saturday. The tourists still need 255 more runs to win but have one of the most improbable come-from-behind wins in test history - from the Ashes series earlier this year - fresh in their memory.

South Africa is still the favourite after setting England 376 to win but not as overwhelmingly so when England's second innings started just before tea at SuperSport Park.

Rory Burns led England's valiant resistance with 77 not out at the close. Joe Denly was 10 not out with Dom Sibley the only casualty so far, caught and bowled for 29 by left-arm spinner Keshav Maharaj.

England made major progress after being all but written off. England needs the third-highest fourth-innings score ever made in South Africa to win the series opener. It would be the highest winning chase ever in South Africa after the other two innings were made in draws.

It would also replace the forever tarnished 251-8 England made at this same ground in 2000 as the team's highest score to win a test in South Africa.

That game is always remembered not for England's chase but for South Africa captain Hansie Cronje instigating declarations by both teams to set up a result. At the time, it was received as a sporting move to make a game out of a weather-affected test. It's been under a cloud ever since Cronje was later banned for life from cricket for involvement in match-fixing.

South Africa had a clear advantage at Centurion earlier on Saturday when its middle and lower order batting fired in its second innings, and England's fast bowlers tired.

Rassie van der Dussen made 51 on his test debut to go with the half-centuries he made for his country on his one-day and Twenty20 debuts. Vernon Philander added 46 and Quinton de Kock cracked a quickfire 34.

Anrich Nortje perhaps frustrated the English bowlers most when he hung around for a career-best 40 after coming in the evening before as a nightwatchman tasked only with not getting out.

De Kock's first two scoring shots were sixes over square leg off fast bowler Jofra Archer to make clear his intention to ram home South Africa's supremacy.

Burns and Dom Sibley put on 92 for the opening wicket before Sibley (29) chipped the ball back to spinner Keshav Maharaj for a caught and bowled.

The upshot was that South Africa, 72-4 overnight in its second innings, made 272 all out to move into a dominant position.

Archer finished with 5-102 but the damage was already done by the time he completed his third test five-wicket haul.

At that point, England was worn down by illness as well as the opposition.

Captain Joe Root and wicketkeeper Jos Buttler were the latest players to be affected by a flu-like bug that's hit at least nine of England's squad members and two of its backroom staff over the last week.

Buttler didn't take any part in the day's play and was replaced behind the stumps by batsman Jonny Bairstow, who is also an experienced wicketkeeper. Root was on and off the field for treatment and was in quarantine with Buttler at the ground at one point.

There were also outward signs of frustration in the England camp when vice captain Ben Stokes and veteran fast bowler Stuart Broad exchanged words in what appeared to be a heated disagreement in a team huddle after a South African wicket fell. Stokes walked away from the huddle but the two later made up with a fist pump.

And yet England made a brave stand at the end of the day.

Burns survived an lbw dismissal right at the beginning of his innings by successfully reviewing. He was also dropped early and then edged just out of South Africa captain Faf du Plessis' reach on the second-last ball of the day.

But Burns rode his luck brilliantly with gritty application in defense and a good dose of flowing shots for his 11 fours.

England will be harking back to five months ago and Leeds, when Stokes' 135 not out carried it past a target of 359 and to a scarcely believable victory against Australia.

South Africa will avoid thinking about how it failed to defend 304 against Sri Lanka this year on the way to losing a series at home for the first time in three years.

BRIEF SCORES: England 181 and 121 for 1 (Burns 77*) need 255 more to beat South Africa 284 and 272 (van der Dussen 51, Archer 5-102).



Rory Burns (77*), who survived a review in the first over, played an attacking innings with Joe Denly in a supporting role. Reuters

Ibrahimovic, 38, ready for new chapter at AC Milan

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
MILAN, DECEMBER 28

SAMELOOK, same impressive build and same oversized ego: Zlatan Ibrahimovic returns to AC Milan for a final challenge seeking to prove that he remains the superstar he claims to be.

The 38-year-old Swedish striker signed a six-month contract with the struggling Italian giants on Friday vowing to help rescue their season. "I'm coming back to a club I hugely respect and to the city of Milan I love," he said.

"I'll fight together with my teammates to change the course of this season. I will do everything to make it happen."

Ibrahimovic knows the game in Italy, having played for three different Italian clubs.

He first joined Juventus in 2004, moving on to Inter Milan after the match-fixing scandal in 2006, then arriving at AC Milan in 2010 on loan before making the move permanent.

In 85 games for AC Milan over two seasons, Ibrahimovic scored 56 goals.

One of the most successful clubs in the world, AC Milan are 11th in the league just seven points above relegation. The club have come up short in their attacking options with just 16 goals in 17 games. Ibrahimovic left Los Angeles Galaxy last month after a two-year stay and 52 goals in 56 games, leaving him free to sign with another club. Milan must hope that showy Swede, never far from the headlines, will bring some punch and a winning mentality to the locker room. The son of a Bosnian and a Croatian, Ibrahimovic grew up in Rosengard, a tough working class neigh-

bourhood of Malmo, Sweden. Among young people with immigrant backgrounds, Ibrahimovic has become even more of a symbol, as have his cocky attitude, individualism and zealous ambition. But he has fallen out of favour in his hometown where a bronze statue unveiled in his honour in Malmo in October has been vandalised by fans angry that he has bought shares in a club in Stockholm.

Ibrahimovic had turned out for many of Europe's top teams, such as Amsterdam's Ajax, AC Milan, Barcelona, Paris Saint-Germain and Manchester United, before he signed for US team LA Galaxy in 2018. In his second autobiography entitled "Football is me," published in 2018 he claims to have changed the history of his sport. "Now go back to baseball," he told his supporters at the Los Angeles Galaxy, where he was, between 2018 and 2019, the best player in the North American Championship.

"I came, I saw, I conquered. Thank you LA Galaxy for making me feel alive again."

During his time at PSG he promised to stay "if they replace the Eiffel Tower with (his) statue". "I arrived like a king, I'm leaving like a legend," he said after he left the French club.

He proved in California that he still had legs after injuries precipitated his departure from Manchester United in 2017. "Lions do not recover like humans," he said.

But Ibrahimovic's strength is that he has the talent to back up his verbal jibes.

He delighted fans with his "kung fu" goals, his outrageous overhead goal against England in 2012, or the slalom in 2004 with Ajax, dribbling past six players to beat the goalkeeper, which launched his career.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
WOLVERHAMPTON, DECEMBER 28

PEP GUARDIOLA admitted Manchester City's faint hopes of retaining the Premier League title were in tatters as they blew a two-goal lead and had Ederson sent in a dramatic 3-2 defeat at Wolves on Friday.

Guardiola's side recovered from Ederson's 12th minute dismissal to take control thanks to Raheem Sterling's double either side of half-time.

But City's fatigued stars were unable to go the distance as Adama Traore's goal started a thrilling Wolves fightback.

Raul Jimenez equalised with eight minutes to go and Matt Doherty hit the winner to send Molineux wild in the 89th minute.

"Always the goals can be avoided but sometimes it's tiredness. It's a lot of minutes to defend with 10 men," Guardiola said.

"No regrets, they did absolutely everything to defend a result for 80 minutes but it was difficult."

Third placed City trail runaway leaders Liverpool by 14 points and, Jurgen Klopp's red-hot team have a game in hand, making it hard to imagine the champions getting their hands on the trophy for a third successive season.

"It is a big gap for a long time. It's not a race if you think about it," Guardiola said. "I have been asked the question for a long time and it is the same answer. It's not realistic to think about the title race."

"We have to think of the next game and about winning our games."

Wolves, flying high in fifth place, have



Third placed Man City trail runaway leaders Liverpool by 14 points. AP

contributed to City's downfall more than most and, after winning 2-0 at the Etihad Stadium in October, they celebrated a top-flight double over the Manchester club for the first time since 1960-61.

The only blemish for Wolves were the missiles thrown from the stands when City celebrated their second goal, an incident that prompted the Football Association to launch an investigation.

Referee Martin Atkinson was seen passing a metal hip flask to the fourth official as an announcement over the tannoy warned

It is a big gap for a long time. It's not a race if you think about it. I have been asked the question for a long time and it is the same answer. It's not realistic to think about the title race. We have to think of the next game and about winning our games... No regrets, they did absolutely everything to defend a result for 80 minutes but it was difficult."

PEP GUARDIOLA
ON CITY'S TITLE HOPES

"numerous instances of objects being thrown have been seen. CCTV will be used to prosecute offenders".

It was a bitter night for Guardiola, whose team have lost five league games this season after being beaten just four times in the whole of last term.

City had looked closer to their best in recent wins over Arsenal and Leicester, but they could not have made a worse start at Molineux. When Diogo Jota escaped with a well-timed run behind the City defence, Ederson rashly raced out of his area.

The Brazilian misjudged the bounce of the ball and clipped Jota, earning a red card. Guardiola then replaced Sergio Aguiero with reserve keeper Claudio Bravo.

City responded by snatching the lead in controversial fashion in the 25th minute. Riyad Mahrez made an incisive run that

ended with Leander Dendoncker stepping on the Algerian's foot, leading VAR to award a penalty.

That was not the end of the drama as Sterling's spot-kick was saved by Rui Patrício, only for VAR to intervene again as the penalty was retaken for encroachment.

Relentless pressure

Sterling shot to the same side with his second kick, but although Patrício saved again, this time the winger followed up to tap in the rebound.

When Sterling doubled the lead in the 50th minute, City looked in charge.

Beating the offside trap with ease, Sterling ran onto Kevin De Bruyne's pass and clipped a deft finish over Patrício.

But Sterling's eventful night wasn't finished yet and, when he surrendered possession carelessly in midfield five minutes later, Wolves took advantage to reduce the deficit.

Traore's blistering pace makes him a tough opponent, so City backed off just enough to allow the wing-back to blast a low drive past Bravo from 20 yards.

Wolves' relentless pressure in the closing stages finally forced City to crack.

Benjamin Mendy made a mess of trying to shepherd the ball out for a goal-kick and Traore stole possession. Traore crossed for Jimenez to stab past Bravo from close-range, leaving City's exhausted players on their knees in frustration.

There was even worse to come for City in the 89th minute as Doherty took Jimenez's backheel, slalomed past Nicolas Otamendi and smashed a fine finish into the far corner.