



From left: Tejashwi Yadav, D Raja, M K Stalin, Sharad Yadav, Mamata Banerjee, Ashok Gehlot, Rahul Gandhi, Hemant Soren, Bhupesh Baghel, Shibu Soren, and Subodh Kant Sahay at the swearing-in ceremony in Ranchi on Sunday. ANI

IN FIRST DECISION, CABINET DROPS ALL PATHALGADI CASES

Soren sworn in as CM, stage signals show of Opp strength

ABHISHEK ANGAD
RANCHI, DECEMBER 29

AMID ONGOING nationwide protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act, several Opposition leaders gathered on stage in Ranchi's Morabadi Maidan as Hemant Soren took oath as the 11th chief minister of Jharkhand on Sunday afternoon. In the evening, in its first de-

cision, the new Cabinet in the state dropped all cases registered against people during the Pathalgadi movement in 2017-18, and the protests that followed the attempts by the previous Raghubar Das government to tweak the Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act in 2016. In results declared on December 23, an alliance of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EXPLAINED Rahul, Mamata in; some key absences

WHILE SEVERAL anti-CAA leaders were present, the absences were significant too: Mayawati, who has been distancing herself from the rest of the Opposition; Akhilesh Yadav; and representatives of the BJD, TRS, YSRC, and TDP. The absences signal faultlines in the Opposition, and reflect compulsions that individual parties and leaders face.

CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT ACT PROTESTS

In Sambhal, 57-year-old doctor, man behind 2 schools get damage notices

Among 59, their refrain: 'Unprecedented, message to muzzle civil society protest'

KAUNAIN SHERIFF M
SAMBHAL, DECEMBER 29

A 57-YEAR-OLD Ayurveda doctor who runs a clinic, a 56-year-old social activist who runs a school for Dalit and Muslim children, a 47-year-old political activist who runs a puncture shop, a 51-year-old businessman who also runs two educational institutions. They are among 59 persons issued notices by the UP government for payment of Rs 15.35 lakh in total to compensate for damage to property caused during anti-CAA protests in Sambhal district on December 19.

All of them say they will challenge the order in court. And all of them speak in one voice on the government's notices: They are being sent to muzzle civil society and the protests.

Topping the list is Mushir Khan, who runs a cold storage facility and two schools, is a well known social activist, and heads the Sambhal Sangharsh Samiti. "I am shocked. We have held



Sayyed Aslam and his wife Nahid Begum at their school in Sambhal on Saturday. Aslam has received a notice. Abhinav Saha

so many protests against the policies of various governments. Never has such an action been taken. What message are they sending? That they will restrict our Constitutional right to a peaceful protest? Our committee held a 14-day protest against

the Mayawati government demanding a separate district. We had mobilised 7,000 people but not a single incident of violence was reported," says Khan.

On December 19, the Samiti had planned to organise a "Save the Constitution" protest at the

Nagar Palika in Sambhal. "I had got a call from SDM that we had to take permission, with an undertaking that we would protest peacefully. At night, we received a call that our request had been cancelled. The SDM said we could protest at my cold storage facility. Later, permission to do even that was cancelled. Finally, we agreed to not hold any protest that day," says Khan.

According to him, there is evidence to show that the Samiti did hold any protest or indulge in arson. "Police was deployed outside the cold storage facility. There are CCTV cameras. There is clear evidence that we did not take part any protest. How can anyone go out and indulge in violence when the police is deployed outside?" he says.

"I run two schools where 225 students are given free education. Sixty per cent of the students are Hindus. We are peace-loving people. Why is the administration creating an atmosphere of fear?" asks Khan.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

On the ground in UP, protest divide along religion, not politics

RAVISH TIWARI
BAREILLY, DECEMBER 29

INVOKING THE Constitution and waving the Tricolour to widen the base of the CAA-NRC protests don't seem to be working in large parts of Uttar Pradesh. In a state deeply divided on caste lines, support for the protests is split more on the lines of religion than politics.

The state's main Opposition parties — SP, BSP and Congress — in UP have unequivocally opposed the move. But across the constituencies of Baghpat, Kairana, Muzaffarnagar, Sambhal and Rampur, many Hindus who voted for Opposition parties during the Lok Sabha elections support the



A protest in Sambhal on December 22. Praveen Khanna

government's citizenship move.

Their response to the police crackdown in the state — 19 deaths and over 1,100 arrests — is muted, and hardly anyone is willing to declare that the citizenship move should be rolled back.

All of them say fears over the new law are misplaced, and

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No outreach on CAA, foreign diplomats warn: India fast losing friends

SHUBHAJIT ROY
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

MORE THAN a fortnight after the Citizenship (Amendment) Act came into force and triggered nationwide protests, there is growing unease within the capital's foreign diplomatic community over the BJP-led NDA government's moves.

The diplomats have publicly maintained that the CAA is an "internal issue". However, when *The Indian Express* spoke to ambassadors and diplomats from at least 16 countries, across all continents, over the last few days on the new law and the protests, they expressed "concern" at the situation.

The other key takeaway was this: The government held sev-

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By UNNY



eral briefings for them on various issues it had described as "domestic" — Pulwama attack, Balakot airstrike, revocation of

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The youth detest anarchy, says PM in 2019's last Mann ki Baat

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE COUNTRY'S youth detests anarchy, nepotism, casteism, and gender discrimination, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Sunday. They prefer to follow the system, he said, and to courageously question if it does not respond properly.

In the final episode of his monthly radio programme *Mann Ki Baat* in 2019, Modi said: "One thing is certain about the decade to come... it will witness the active contribution of those who were born in the 21st century, in the country's progress; these are people who are growing up, understanding the significant issues pertaining to this century."



'They despise instability'

The "social media generation", Modi said, is "extremely talented", with its own set of opinions. "And the best part is, especially in the case of India, according to me, they appreciate the system. Not just that, they

prefer to follow the system. And in the event of the system not responding properly, they get restless and even courageously question the system itself! I consider this attribute as a virtue," he said.

"One can even say with certitude here, that the country's youth detests anarchy of any sort. They despise any element of lack of governance and instability; abhorring any shades of nepotism, casteism, favoritism or gender discrimination", the PM said.

The PM's remarks come at a time when the country is witnessing widespread protests led by youth on campuses and in the streets, over the enactment of the new citizenship law and the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC).

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PROTESTS SPEAK OF PENT-UP ANGER

BY HARISH DAMODARAN
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EXPLAINED

SIMPLY PUT HOW THE PREAMBLE WAS ADOPTED
PAGE 8

From New Year, evening OPD in Chhattisgarh to suit workers, office-goers

DIPANKAR GHOSE
RAIPUR, DECEMBER 29

TO MAKE healthcare access more convenient, especially for the poor, Chhattisgarh is all set to change the OPD timings in government health centres across the state — starting January 1, 2020.

The new system will include a break and two hours of service in the evening, a senior official said. Under the existing timings, OPDs are open from 9 am to 2 pm. The new slots will see them function from 9 am-1 pm, and reopen from 4 pm-6 pm in winter and 5 pm-7 pm in summer.

"This system will start from January 1 across urban and rural health centres. However, we haven't changed the timing for medical colleges. We will deliberate on that," Niharika Barik, Secretary (Health), told *The Indian Express*.

"From the patient's point of view, if I am a manual labourer, I go for work in the morning and cannot go to the hospital... if I do, I lose a day's remuneration. Now, I can come back by 3 or 4 pm and go for the evening OPD. It's the same for someone who goes to office," Barik said.

Health officials said the change will cater to the needs of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Gavaskar's trust could lose Mumbai plot it got for a cricket academy

NEERAJ TIWARI
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 29

THE MAHARASHTRA Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) is set to take back possession of a 21,348-square foot plot in Bandra that was allotted to Sunil Gavaskar Cricket Foundation Trust (SGCFT) three decades ago to set up an indoor cricket academy.

MHADA vice-president and chief executive officer Milind Mhaskar told *The Indian Express* that the Authority has approached the government for termination of the arrangement



Plot in Bandra allotted to Foundation. Ganesh Shirsekar

with Gavaskar's foundation. "The allotment of the land was made over 31 years ago. But the construction work (for the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Wikipedia writes to IT Minister: New govt guidelines will severely disrupt our model

PAGE 1 ANCHOR

KARISHMA MEHROTRA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE NONPROFIT that funds Wikipedia has said its model would be "severely disrupted" by the intermediary guidelines

that India intends to institute by the middle of next month.

Automated filtering and quick takedown requirements would disrupt the volunteer model of real-time editing of information followed by the online encyclopaedia, the Wikimedia Foundation has said in a letter to Information Technology Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad.

Because the resource is cu-

rated by language and not geographic market, the rules would change the entire website, not just Indians' access to the knowledge, the Foundation said.

The "collaborative system of people would be severely disrupted by obligatory filtering systems that monitor for and automatically remove illegal content across the website. Short response times for removals that would es-

entially require the use of automatic systems would interfere with people's ability to collaborate in real time on Wiki, the collaborative, open editing model that has been crucial to Wikipedia's growth," the letter said.

"It is impossible to restrict changes inside a Wikipedia article from being visible in one country and not another. Fulfilling mandatory content re-

moval requirements from one country would leave problematic gaps in Wikipedia for the whole world, break apart highly context-specific encyclopedic articles, and prevent people from accessing information that may be legal in their country."

Wikipedia is very popular in India. Users in the country visited the encyclopedia 771 million

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

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THE IMPORTANCE OF PEJAWAR MATH SEER VISHWESHA THEERTHA SWAMI Vishwesha Theertha Swami was one of the spearheads of the Ramjanmabhoomi movement. He was also present at the disputed site during the Babri Mosque demolition on December 6, 1992.

VIDEO OF THE DAY



ANTI-CAA PROTESTS Five detained in Chennai for drawing anti-CAA 'kolams'

EXPRESS EXPLAINED



HOW TO GET A BIRTH CERTIFICATE MADE At least 4 municipalities have reported a rise in applications

EXPRESS AUDIO

Concerns that police using facial recognition software raises

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

In today's episode of the 3 Things podcast, we look at how the software works, what it was originally meant for and the concerns that it now raises.

FROM PAGE ONE

UP notices

Dr Nazim, a 57-year-old Ayurveda doctor, says the notices are being issued to curb the voice of the "educated middle class". "Note the pattern. None of those in the notices are there in any video footage of the violence. All of them are from the educated middle class who have been at forefront against government policies," he says.

ing, where evidence will be produced by both sides. The court will verify the estimated amount and pass an order on the amount to be paid by each person," he says.

Protest divide

assert that no Muslim from their neighbourhood, village or taluka will be evicted. They also endorse communal amity and blame politics for the protests.

"What is the problem if Hindus from Pakistan and Bangladesh come here? Bangladeshi Muslims should go back to their place," says Devendra Malik, a truck driver in his late 40s, while reading a local newspaper at the Budhana bypass in Muzaffarnagar.

Malik, who hails from the Jat community, says he voted for RLD chief Ajit Singh, who was part of a coalition with the SP and BSP during the Lok Sabha elections. He also criticises Congress leaders Sonia Gandhi and Priyanka Gandhi for supporting the protesters.

Malik's views find an echo in a group of Jat villagers at Baghpur's Kurri village, which is adjacent to Chhaprauli village, the home of the late Charan Singh.

"They are needlessly rioting. They are fearful that they will be kicked out. Nothing like this is going to happen. No Hindu is opposing it, only Muslims are," says Ravinder Kumar, a Jat in Kurri waiting to unload his sugarcane stock, as other community members nod in support.

Soren takes oath as Jharkhand CM

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), Congress, and Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) won 47 seats in the 81-member Assembly, taking the state away from the BJP, which saw its tally fall to 25 from the 37 it won in 2014.

Four other MLAs — three from the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajatantrik) and one from the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) — too have extended unconditional support to the pre-poll coalition.

Governor Draupadi Murmu administered the oath of office and secrecy to the 44-year-old Hemant Soren, son of Shibu Soren, leader of the JMM and a former chief minister of Jharkhand. Hemant himself had served as chief minister earlier in 2013-14.

The CPI's D Raja and Sanjay Singh of the Aam Aadmi Party were also present, constituting a broad anti-BJP spectrum, and underscoring the desire in a section of the Opposition to appear united as they oppose the new citizenship law and the proposed nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC).

Along with Soren, Congress Legislature Party Leader Alamgir Alam, who won the Pakur seat, state Congress president Rameshwar Oraon, who won from Lohardaga, and the lone RJD MLA Satyanand Bhokta, took oath as cabinet ministers. Their portfolios are yet to be announced.

None of these leaders had attended the swearing-in of Shiv Sena chief Uddhav Thackeray as chief minister earlier this month, even though the Congress and NCP are part of his government in Maharashtra.

JMM leader Stephen Marandi will be Speaker of the new Assembly.

Equally significantly though, several opposition leaders were missing from Sunday's show — a departure from the swearing-in ceremony of H D Kumaraswamy in Bengaluru in 2018, where the leaders of all non-BJP parties were present.

On the stage with Soren were Congress leader Rahul

camp. A notable absentee was BSP Chief Mayawati, who has been distancing herself from the rest of the Opposition for some time now. The BSP was not a part of the Opposition delegation that met President Ram Nath Kovind on the citizenship law recently — even though leaders of her party called on Kovind separately a day later.

@HemantSoren|JMM Ji on taking oath as Jharkhand CM. I assure all possible support from the Centre for Jharkhand's growth," Modi posted on Twitter.

Akhilesh Yadav of the Samajwadi Party was missing too. Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal stayed away, even though Sanjay Singh was present. The AAP is locked in a battle with both the Congress and BJP in Delhi, where Assembly elections are due in a month.

Besides deciding to drop the Pathalgadi and tenancy Act protest cases, the Soren Cabinet in its first meeting also directed that posts be created for judicial officers in fast-track courts dealing with cases pertaining to women and children in every district, and that all dues of Anganwadi workers and para-teachers be paid.

The absence of representatives from Naveen Patnaik's BJD, K Chandrasekhar Rao's TRS, and YS Jagan Mohan Reddy's YSRCP signal that all these parties prefer to maintain an arm's length from the other Opposition parties. The TDP too, gave the ceremony a miss, this, even though all these parties have opposed a pan-India NRC, along with the other Opposition parties.

The Pathalgadi movement began in 2017-18 when giant stone plaques came up outside villages, declaring the gram sabha as the only sovereign authority. The plaques had inscriptions from the Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled areas) Act or PESA, which the tribals quoted to claim their independence from the state, and to assert their rights and culture.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi congratulated Soren on being sworn in as chief minister, and promised the Centre's support to the state.

While the movement petered out, many villagers alleged that they were subjected to "police brutality" and "state repression". A total 19 cases of sedition, among other charges, were registered against 172 people. Police sought prosecution sanction against 96 accused.

The youth detest anarchy, says PM

"There are times when we see them at an airport or a cinema theatre; if someone tries to break a queue, the first to react vociferously are these young people. And we have noticed, if such an incident takes place, the youth present around make a video of it on their mobile phones, which goes viral within no time! And the culprit instantly realises the conse-

quence," Modi said.

pers made by a women's self-help group. These women with the help of Gramin Ajjivika Mission, have established a slipper manufacturing plant.

ple to adopt Swadeshi, Modi asked them to buy local products. "Can we pledge, that by 2022, when we achieve 75 years of independence we insist and remain steadfast at least, for about two-three years on buying local products? Products made in India, made by the hands of our citizens, carrying the fragrance of the sweat of our countrymen," he said.

While this may not come as a surprise, given the Jat-Muslim divide during the Muzaffarnagar riots in 2013, and the community's inclination to vote for the BJP during the recent elections, other SP and BSP voters, too, are not in support of the agitation.

"Thus, our new generation is an embodiment, a reflection of a new system, a new order, a new age, a new thought. Today, India awaits this generation expectantly. These are the very people who have to elevate the country to greater heights," he said.

The US, meanwhile, has been cautious, with Secretary of State Michael R Pompeo saying that it "cares deeply about protecting minorities and religious rights" and "honours Indian democracy".

The State Department spokesperson had earlier urged India to "protect the rights of its religious minorities" in keeping with its "Constitution and democratic values". That was after the US House Foreign Affairs Committee said that any religious test for citizenship undermines pluralism.

"I don't think the NRC is wrong. The government move is good. Those from outside should go. There is so much unemployment here already. If these outsiders go, it will benefit us," says Vinod Kumar, an elder from the Jatav community who trades in bamboo material at Narauli in Sambhal district, which has witnessed intense protests.

In such a situation, most of these diplomats have concluded that the protests were not limited to the Muslim community. They are now trying to get a sense of whether the government is "bothered" by the international criticism against the law.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said the law is "fundamentally discriminatory" and appears to "undermine the commitment to equality".

When the draft law was released, WhatsApp had said that, if notified, they would require a complete re-design of the platform, threatening its signature encryption. An major concern for the company was the provision on supplying the government with the "originator of information". In an ongoing case in the Supreme Court involving WhatsApp and Facebook, the IT Ministry has submitted that it will update these laws by January 15.

"Protests and rioting are happening because of political reasons. It is the outsiders who are restoring to vandalism," says Jasbir Kashyap at Baraut Road in Baghpur.

On the ground, the first major diplomatic fallout of protests against the CAA were cancellations of visits by Bangladesh's Foreign and Home ministers, and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

France deputy chief of mission Roman Babushkin described the law as domestic matter.

For the moment, though, a diplomat, who has been in India for about three years, said the "feel-good" factor about the re-elected government has "vanished". "Early this year, New Delhi was able to garner a great deal of support from the international community after the Pulwama terror attack... They played along with the Kashmir move, too, although some leaders like (Angela) Merkel and (Emmanuel) Macron made nuanced comments, underlining the human rights situation. But, with this citizenship law and the protests, the feel-good factor of the ruling party getting 303 seats has vanished," the diplomat said.

Members of other backward communities, such as Kashyaps and Sainis, who were BSP supporters before 2014, are in agreement with the common view. Most of them claim to have voted for the BJP this year.

Many foreign diplomats feel that Prime Minister Narendra Modi may be responsive to international criticism, but they are not sure about Home Minister Amit Shah. "The international press is being read by our headquarters, and they have been asking us about how much political and diplomatic risk can the Modi government take," one of the diplomats said.

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Despite criticism from Opposition parties, the ruling establishment's arguments against the protests and for the crackdown find resonance among Hindus in this region. Many believe the allegations that these protests are instigated by the Opposition and that those resorting to vandalism include elements that stand to lose from the new law.

Diplomats across continents say the unflattering images and articles about the protests and the government crackdown in the foreign press have made it harder for India's "friends", as many in their countries are questioning the government's commitment

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"It is the political leaders who are propagating that Muslims will be expelled. That's not the case. The government's move is good,"

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noon," Barik said. The move is a first for Chhattisgarh and takes it past many other states, including West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Assam and J&K, which do not have such a facility. Gujarat's Principal Secretary (Health) Jayanti Ravi said a similar schedule is being worked out in the state. "There is already some flexibility at health centres in urban areas where the OPD goes on till 5.30 pm or 6 pm depending on requirement. We would like to see how the Chhattisgarh experience works out," Ravi said.

Gavaskar

academy) is yet to commence. We've sent a proposal to the state government for resumption of the land," Mhaikar said. Despite several calls and text messages, Gavaskar could not be contacted for a comment. According to official records, MHADA had leased the open land near Rangsharda Auditorium in Banda Reclamation to SGCF to set up the academy. The terms and conditions of the allotment were revised in 1999, 2002, and 2007, but the foundation is yet to carry out any construction, officials said.

On December 24, Gavaskar had called on Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray at the latter's residence, Matoshree. While the details of the meeting remain unknown, former Maharashtra minister and local legislator Ashish Shelar, who is also a former president of the Mumbai Cricket Association, referred to the meeting in a letter to Thackeray on December 27, in which he justified MHADA's action.

In Maharashtra, government-run hospitals continue to have morning OPDs. But in Mumbai, two civic dispensaries currently offer evening OPDs as part of the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation's move to offer the facility on a public-private partnership basis in 17 centres.

"I'm writing to you in regard of the land allotment and the recent meeting of Shri Sunil Gavaskar with your kindself," Shelar wrote to the CM. "At various times since the allotment of the land, Shri Gavaskar has sought relaxations and concessions in the terms and conditions of the allotment, which has been granted by the government. Despite this, no lease agreement has been signed, nor have steps been taken to protect the land (against encroachments).

In the south, Tamil Nadu offers evening services while Kerala offers 24-hour OPDs in most taluk-level hospitals.

"We are immensely proud of Gavaskar's cricketering achievements and would like Mumbai and the country to benefit from his immense wisdom, but given the extraordinary delay of three decades since the allotment and the non utilisation, I would appreciate if MHADA goes forward with its decision for ensuring the utilisation of the plot for setting up of a cricket academy."

(RITUSHARMA IN AHMEDABAD, AVANEESH MISHRA IN LUCKNOW AND TABASSUM BARNAGARWALA IN MUMBAI & ENS)

Wikipedia

times last month, the fifth highest in the world, the letter said. It urged the Minister to release the latest draft of the guidelines, and suggested a layered definition to social media intermediaries similar to The Personal Data Protection Bill, which was introduced in Lok Sabha earlier this month. The letter also expressed concern over the "unrealistic burden" on nonprofits, and said that traceability requirements were a "serious threat to freedom of expression".

Under the conditions of allotment, SGCF was supposed to initiate construction work within three months of allotment, and finish it within three years. "This was the basic condition. Despite several extensions, the trust has failed to comply with it," a senior official said. According to the terms of the agreement, the government had agreed to give the plot on a 60-year lease, and SGCF was required to build and run on a no-profit, no-loss basis, various facilities including a health club, fitness centre, gymnasium, swimming pool, squash court and a residential complex for players, besides setting up an indoor cricket training academy.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said the law is "fundamentally discriminatory" and appears to "undermine the commitment to equality". India's "friends", however, have largely stayed the course. French envoy Emmanuel Lenain and Russian deputy chief of mission Roman Babushkin described the law as domestic matter.

Subsequently, the government had permitted the trust to commercially exploit a portion of the plot on a condition that the profits earned would be shared with MHADA on a 50:50 basis. The trust was permitted to raise finances from external sources. In 2011, MHADA, after receiving complaints of encroachment on the plot, had initiated action against SGCF, proposing to resume the lease of the land.

For the moment, though, a diplomat, who has been in India for about three years, said the "feel-good" factor about the re-elected government has "vanished". "Early this year, New Delhi was able to garner a great deal of support from the international community after the Pulwama terror attack... They played along with the Kashmir move, too, although some leaders like (Angela) Merkel and (Emmanuel) Macron made nuanced comments, underlining the human rights situation. But, with this citizenship law and the protests, the feel-good factor of the ruling party getting 303 seats has vanished," the diplomat said.

Meanwhile, officials confirmed that former India manager Lalchand Rajput, who is currently the head coach of Zimbabwe, has approached them for the land to set up a cricket training academy. Mhaikar, however, indicated that till such time that the agency resumes the land from SGCF, it cannot undertake to permit any other activity on the site.

doctors, too. "We are being accommodative towards doctors. We are asking them to come in the morning from 9 to 1, go for lunch and return in the after-

According to the terms of the agreement, the government had agreed to give the plot on a 60-year lease, and SGCF was required to build and run on a no-profit, no-loss basis, various facilities including a health club, fitness centre, gymnasium, swimming pool, squash court and a residential complex for players, besides setting up an indoor cricket training academy.

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FULL REPORTS ON www.indianexpress.com

28-YR-OLD LOSES A LEG; HAD BOARDED WRONG TRAIN

Woman tries to get off moving train, gets dragged onto tracks

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

A 28-YEAR-OLD woman sustained severe injuries after she fell in the gap between a train and the platform at Hazrat Nizamuddin railway station Friday. The woman, Samudi, allegedly got into the wrong train and tried to jump onto the platform. However, she fell in the gap and one of her legs got crushed.

Police said the incident took place at 10.55 am Friday. Samudi, a resident of Chennai, was on her way home when she mistakenly boarded a train to Madgoan.

Krishan Kumar, Inspector at Nizamuddin railway station, said, "The train was leaving the platform when the woman realised her mistake. She tried to step onto the platform... In the attempt, she fell in the gap." CCTV footage shows the



CCTV footage shows the woman setting a foot on the platform. She then tries to jump but slips and falls in the gap between the train and platform



woman setting a foot on the platform. She then tries to jump but slips and falls in the gap. As the train moves, her body twists and goes under.

Kumar said they first stopped the train and sent a team to rescue the woman. Two RPF per-

sonnel, SI Kishan and Ct Satish, were part of rescue efforts.

Police personnel from the RPF said, "The policemen crawled to the other side and pulled out the woman. However, she had lost a leg. We called a CATS ambulance and rushed her

to AIIMS Trauma Centre."

Police said Samudi is stable and undergoing treatment at AIIMS. She lives in an ashram in Chennai and is married, added police. "She had come to visit a friend in Delhi and was going back home. She lives alone at the ashram due to a dispute with her husband and his family," said a senior police officer.

A day after the incident, another passenger tried to jump from a moving train onto the platform and was saved by an RPF personnel. Police said the man and his son got onto the train. As his wife couldn't make it, he and his son decided to jump off. While the son landed on the platform, the man slipped and nearly came under the train when the personnel saved him.

A month ago at the New Delhi railway station, a woman died while trying to board a moving train.

Gym owner accused of double murder was out on bail in 2016 rape case

HAMZA KHAN &
JIGNASA SINHA
JAIPUR/NEW DELHI,
DECEMBER 29

A DELHI gym owner accused of double murder was allegedly addicted to drugs and was arrested in a rape case in 2016, police said, adding that he was out on bail when he allegedly killed 22-year-old Deepti Goyal and cab driver Devendra Singh.

Hemant Lamba (35) allegedly shot dead Deepti on December 6, after meeting her for the first time in Dharuhera near Gurgaon. They had started speaking to each other on a social networking site. Lamba allegedly killed the driver as he had hired his cab to flee the crime scene.

Police said the accused feared



Hemant Lamba (35) allegedly shot dead Deepti near Gurgaon

he would get caught for Deepti's murder, as he had used her phone to call the cab. Singh's body was found near Chandwaji on the Delhi-Jaipur highway on December 8. Lamba was arrested from Surat on December

10 and brought to Gurgaon.

Vikrant Sharma, SHO of Jaipur's Chandwaji police station, said, "It is unclear why he killed the woman. It seems like he wanted her out of the way as she wanted to marry him. He told us he was intoxicated at the time of the murders."

Lamba's gym is located in Dabri. He also owned a health supplements store in Chander Vihar. His father Praveen Lamba said his son had left their Viswas Park home four months ago after a fight with them over his lifestyle, and began living in Chander Vihar. "I spoke to him on December 4; it was my birthday. He said he was doing well and trying to get customers. I thought everything must be fine. That was the last time we spoke," he said. The family said they were

shocked when police showed up at their door. "On December 8, three policemen from Haryana came and said our son had killed a woman. They said he was still absconding and had committed two murders with a gun. We have never even seen a gun in the house. How could he have shot the two?" said Praveen.

Jaipur Police took custody of Lamba from Gurgaon jail on December 25 and obtained a four-day police remand from court. "He has been sent to judicial custody," said SHO Sharma, who is also the investigating officer in the cab driver's murder.

An FIR was filed under IPC sections 302 (murder) and 392 (robbery) at Chandwaji police station. The woman's murder is being investigated by Haryana's Dharuhera Police.



JAMNALAL BAJAJ FOUNDATION

Nominations Invited

43rd JAMNALAL BAJAJ NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL AWARDS - 2020 FOR GANDHIAN 'WARRIORS'



National Award for Constructive Work

For contribution in any of or all the development areas of Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programmes, to create a self-reliant community in rural India.

The Man - Jamnalal Bajaj was among the stalwarts who gave of himself completely - mind, body and soul to India's freedom movement. Jamnalalji overreached himself in making words into deeds and in implementing the Constructive Programme of Gandhiji, be it *Khadi*, *Dalit* - welfare, women emancipation, ethics in business, or preservation of cattle-wealth through *Goseva*. So much so that Mahatma Gandhi adopted him as his 'fifth son'.

The Awards - To promote and propagate Jamnalalji's philanthropic vision as also Gandhian ideology of rural development, the Jamnalal Bajaj Foundation instituted four Awards, which have come to be regarded as most coveted in respective fields.

EACH AWARD COMPRISES

Cash Prize ₹ 10 Lakhs | Trophy | Citation



National Award for Application of Science & Technology for Rural Development

For contribution through adaptable, affordable, replicable appropriate grassroots technologies, which has resulted in economic, social and ecological development of rural people.



National Award for Development & Welfare of Women & Children

Only to a woman. For contribution towards education, skills training, healthcare, literacy, livelihood activities, holistic development, advocacy, etc. of women and children.



International Award for Promoting Gandhian Values Outside India

Only to a foreign national. For contribution, outside India in promoting Gandhian principles like vision for peace, non-violence, harmony of human life with nature and moral conscience.

Last Date for Nominations

bajaj group

National Awards: 20th January, 2020 | International Award: 28th February, 2020

Online Submission: www.jamnalalbajajawards.org/nomination-formsKnow more: www.jamnalalbajajfoundation.org; www.jamnalalbajajawards.org;www.bajajgroup.comEmail: nominations@jamnalalbajajfoundation.org

For more details contact: Secretary, Jamnalal Bajaj Foundation,

2nd flr., Bajaj Bhawan, Jamnalal Bajaj Marg, 226 Nariman Point, Mumbai-400021 India

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DELHI GOVERNMENT TAKES A BIG STEP IN PROVIDING BEST FACILITIES TO GENERAL PUBLIC

INAUGURATION OF AUTOMATED DRIVING TEST TRACK AT BURARI



INAUGURATION CEREMONY

Monday, 30th December, 2019 at 2pm
Automated Driving Test Track at Burari
(Transport Office), Delhi

CHIEF GUEST

Kailash Gahlot
Transport Minister, Delhi

दिल्ली सरकार
आप की सरकार

Transport Department, Government of NCT of Delhi



IN THE PIPELINE

Subsidy done, a constant supply of clean, drinking water is what the AAP promises to provide each household if re-elected to power. The first step, though, is ensuring there's enough water to go around. **MALLICA JOSHI & SHIVAM PATEL** report



Delhi's first experience with constant water supply was in two South Delhi colonies in 2017. *Archive*

IN 2013, when the Aam Aadmi Party came to power for the first time, its first manifesto promised 20,000 litres of free piped water per household per day. The move, clubbed with a power subsidy, is still believed to have played a key role on pushing its popularity up.

Six years down the line, and with a month to go for the Assembly polls, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal has said the government's focus in the next five years will be to bring piped potable water to every household, 24x7. And when the CM took a gulp of tap water at an event last week, he underscored yet another aim his government has — to make sure water coming from the tap is good to drink.

In a city like Delhi, which has grown unplanned especially since the 1970s and is heavily dependent on neighbouring cities for water, the primary challenge to this dream is water availability.

Delhi's estimated water demand at present is around 1,150 million gallons daily (MGD). The Delhi Jal Board (DJB) provides around 950 MGD of water through various sources per day. For the 24x7 water supply project, this 200 MGD gap could be the difference between success and failure.

Delhi's first experience with constant water supply in South Delhi has been a mixed bag. A private company tied up with the DJB to take over supply in eight areas. The idea was to start with two colonies and eventually cover all eight areas — Malviya Nagar, Chirag Dilli, Pushp Vihar, Said-ul-Ajab, Saket, Lado Sarai, Sarvapriya Vihar and Katwariya Sarai. But the company that undertook the project hit a roadblock as it got only 40 MGD as opposed to the 80 MGD promised to execute the project.

According to Ankit Srivastava, a consultant working with the Delhi government on water-related projects, a combination of agreements with other state governments and groundwater recharge projects means that Delhi should be water-rich soon.

Earlier this month, the DJB signed an agreement with the government of Himachal Pradesh under which Delhi will get at least 170 MGD of water per day starting next year.

"We have started lake rejuvenation projects whereby 240 water bodies will be revived to help improve the water table. It has already started showing results. We have also started giving financial incentives worth Rs 50,000 to motivate people to start harvesting rain water, and community-level harvesting is being encouraged. We have already seen results in

the Palla Project, where we dug pits to conserve flood water. The water table in that area has already risen by 1 metre. This is water that can be extracted and used," Srivastava said.

The second requirement is infrastructure development. In 2015, when AAP formed the government for the second time, water pipelines covered only 58% of Delhi, DJB reports say. This has now reached 93%. The DJB also found that 33% of water carried from treatment plants to reservoirs was being lost during transmission. After putting up meters at outlets and inlets and some points in between, losses have now been curtailed to 6%.

For 24x7 water supply to succeed, the water utility has to ensure decentralisation and closed loops. This means that all water must be accounted for and transmission losses kept to a minimum. New pipelines conforming to this pattern will have to be laid in areas where replacement has not happened recently.

Detecting leakages in such a scenario becomes crucial. In the South Delhi project being managed by Suez India Private Limited for the DJB, leakages are detected using inert Helium gas. Helium is mixed in water. Small holes are bored near the pipeline and if there is a leak, sensors detect escaping Helium. Then, small sensors are to be placed in pipelines to test for pressure, turbidity and chlorine levels. If pressure drops, the system will be alerted.

Facing allegations of providing impure water, the DJB also has to make sure that if water is provided through the day, it is potable. According to experts, it is easier to do this in a continuous supply system as opposed to a timed supply. "Because the chance of developing leakages is much lower in a continuous supply system, maintaining the quality is easier. If a vacuum is not created in the pipe by switching on motors and exerting pressure, the chance of contaminants entering the line are very low. Apart from this, sensors along the pipeline also have to be installed to alert the system about any impurities. If pipes inside a house are old, they should also be changed to ensure no contaminants are added," said a senior DJB official.

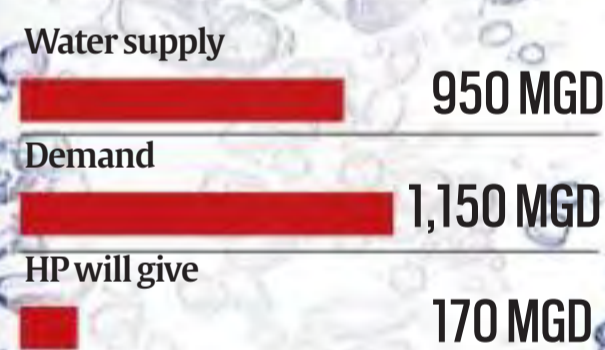
The Centre first discussed a project to supply water throughout the day in 2003. In a few districts in Karnataka, the project has been implemented already. According to experts, constant water supply reduces the risk of water contamination. "Contaminants enter the pipeline when there is no water in the line and a vacuum is created," said a senior DJB official.

DJB HAS TASK CUT OUT

FOR THE Malviya Nagar Water Services, convincing people to stop using tanks under their houses to store water was an uphill task, as not everyone was ready to trust the system completely. This, DJB expects, will be a problem elsewhere as well. This is essential for the system's success as it prevents water from overflowing and getting lost to seepage. Adequate pressure to pump water to houses on upper floors is also necessary.



GLASS HALF FULL



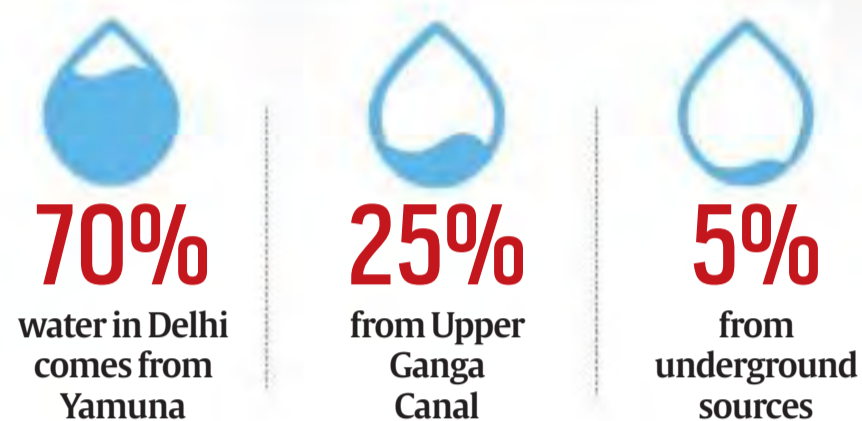
AREAS WHERE pipeline exists went from 58% in 2015 to 93% in 2019

TRANSMISSION LOSSES (between water treatment plants and reservoirs) went from 33% to 6% in 5 years

MALVIYA NAGAR Water Services supplies water to 4.32 lakh people

UTILITY GETS 65 million litres of water per day but needs 80 MLD to service all eight zones

WATER SOURCES



BOOSTING WATER TABLE

DELHI IS primarily dependent on Haryana and Uttar Pradesh for water and the bulk of supply to Delhi is met by the Yamuna and Ganga. Over the past year, the DJB has started work to recharge groundwater sources by rejuvenating lakes and storing flood water in Palla, where Yamuna enters Delhi and is relatively clean. The idea is to extract water from the ground once the water table is recharged adequately.

'First such water project in country'

DJB vice-chairman Dinesh Mohaniya speaks to Shivam Patel on how the project will be implemented and funded, while ensuring water quality

What is the importance of this project and what are the priority areas?

This is the first time in the country that a government is planning to supply water consistently for 24 hours everyday. We have already implemented it in some areas as a pilot project. After seeing their analysis, we will implement it in other areas too. We have to study our findings first, there are no priority areas at present as we plan to implement this across the city.

What are the challenges involving the project?

One thing we have found in our pilot is that we need sufficient amount of water for this project. This is not a small project and Delhi is one of the largest cities in the world. Therefore, the requirement of water is high too. We will be supplying water 24 hours everyday to people's homes, so they can open their tap and drink it without any additional filtration. The biggest challenge is availability of water, and we have made arrangements for that now.

Is there a timeline for how it will be implemented?

We are doing this in a phased manner. There are various stages; at present, there are two packages that are at the tendering stage. We will be able to implement this across Delhi in the next three years.

How are you financing this project? Will the Centre have any role in it?

The financing will be done partly by the Delhi government and partly through a loan. There are agencies such as JICA, World Bank and others whom we approach for loans. Whenever a loan is sanctioned, the Centre gives a sovereign guarantee on it. In this project, the Centre's role is that.

How will you ensure water quality is maintained?

We do regular monitoring of water quality and that will continue, as is the norm, but since water will be supplied 24x7 the possibility of contamination would be very less. It would be an automated system and completely computerised. People would not have to use pumps to draw water and store it in tanks as it would be available to them every time. This would in turn make water quality even better.



CM Kejriwal drank a glass of tap water during the second Town Hall meeting called by the AAP in Pitampura Friday

At colonies that saw pilot project, building trust took some time

SHIVAM PATEL

IN THE two South Delhi colonies, which were the first in the city to get 24-hour water supply in the city in March 2017, the biggest challenge has been curtailing wastage. The second is bridging a trust deficit.

When the project was about to be implemented, RWAs in Navjivan Vihar and Geetanjali Enclave held consultations with residents about it. "They refused to believe that water can be supplied 24 hours, because our supply until then was pretty bad. It was very hard to convince them," said Dr Ruby Makhija, secretary of the Navjivan Vihar RWA.

The Malviya Nagar Water Services (MNWS), a public-private partnership between the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) and a French company called Suez, laid new pipelines in the area and initially switched a few houses to the new system. After seeing the response, more houses were included.

Ajay Saxena, assistant vice-president of

projects at Suez India, said the biggest challenge they faced was to convince people to bypass, or not use, the underground reservoirs below their homes, from where water is pumped up to an overhead tank and then taken into taps for use.

"The tanks were old and had leakages because many were not made out of reinforced concrete. If you pump water into them continuously, it would percolate into the ground and the water tank would never fill up," he said.

Saxena added that as the system became functional, the initial demand of water almost doubled. This was because water would leak from the underground tanks. As a result, water bills, too, almost came to tens of thousands of rupees. Some also complained of the water pressure being poor for the first few days.

After these glitches were overcome, residents said the supply became "fantastic". Gagan Adlakha (53), who has lived in Navjivan Vihar for over 30 years, said, "Earlier,



Many homes currently have underground reservoirs, from where water is pumped up to overhead tanks. *Archive*

we had to wake up early to fill water. Whether it would come or not would always be on our mind."

Some apprehensions still remain over the project as most residents have not taken direct tap connections to the water line and,

instead, still get it supplied to the underground reservoirs and overhead tanks. Adlakha said he is not completely sure if he can do without an underground reservoir in a new house he's building in the colony.

"Trust builds slowly. We're getting 24-

hour supply right now, but what if we don't tomorrow? We are used to the system we have because of decades of not getting water properly," he said. Some fear that if the ruling party changes in the upcoming Assembly elections, the project may be rolled back.

The MNWS's command area is spread over 14 square kilometres and caters to a population of approximately 4.32 lakh people. While infrastructure for switching this entire area to 24-hour water supply is already in place, the only thing lacking is availability of water.

Saxena said the MNWS receives around 65 million litres per day (MLD) of water at present, but needs around 80 MLD in total to serve water for 24 hours in the entire command area.

Officials said some assurances have been given by the DJB to augment the water supplied to the MNWS. If it goes ahead as per plan, Saket area in South Delhi may be the next to get 24-hour water supply in around a month followed by Shivalik Colony in

Malviya Nagar.

Dealing with unauthorised connections, however, still remains a challenge. The percentage of metered connections has risen from 27% in 2011 to 98% in 2019, but not beyond as people in a few rural areas have refused to install the meters, Saxena said.

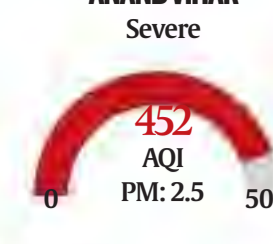
MNWS officials also tried to disconnect supply to the water network in Hauz Rani, Kumbhar Basti, Said-ul-Ajab and other areas due to illegal tapplings, but faced a lot of resistance from the public against it.

Brijlal Kshatriya (83), a resident of Navjivan Vihar, said the next step is to drink water directly from the tap, which would take time. Dr Makhija said, "Some people have switched from RO to UV filters, but the internal pipes in houses may still be very old. And we still use the overhead tanks. So until this is changed, we don't push people."

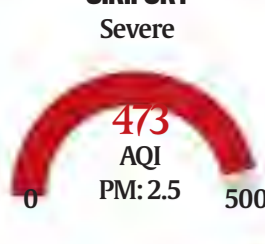
She added, "I got the pipes in my house changed and I have one direct connection from the water network to a tap in my kitchen. At times, I don't mind drinking from it."



ANANDVIHAR
Severe



SIRIFORT
Severe



SHADIPUR
Severe



DWARKA-SECTOR 8
Severe



0-50 Good 51-100 Satisfactory 101-200 Moderate 201-300 Poor 301-400 Very poor 401-500 Severe

BRIEFLY

Need 24-hr notice before any protest: DU order

New Delhi: As several varities are witnessing protests against the new citizenship law, Delhi University has issued a notice saying it should be informed in advance about any "gathering" or "demonstration". A notice issued on December 27 by Proctor Neeta Sehgal also requires the organiser to submit information like details of the programme, list of speakers, expected number of participants etc. It states, "Organisers are required to furnish such information to the Proctor's office at least 24 hours in advance." **PTI**

Three injured in firing

New Delhi: Four men allegedly shot and injured three persons in Outer Delhi. Police suspect personal enmity to be the motive behind the crime. **ENS**

ARRESTED AFTER VIDEO GOES VIRAL

Ex-cop threatens to shoot protesters, held

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29



Accused Rakesh Tyagi

A FORMER constable who allegedly posed as a Delhi Police sub-inspector and uploaded a video threatening anti-citizenship law protesters was arrested Friday. In a video widely circulated online, Rakesh Tyagi (43) threatened to "shoot protesters" if they pelted stones at policemen. DCP (Cyber Crime) Anshu Roy said Tyagi was a constable and opted for voluntary retirement in 2014. He hails from Baghat in UP. Police also said he didn't use his old uniform and bought a fake one. He was arrested from his Uttam Nagar home. In the 16-minute video posted on Facebook on December 22, Tyagi is seen wearing a police uniform and sitting in a car. He identifies himself as a sub-inspector. In the first two minutes, he says, "Greh mantri ka adesh hai... to uska palan hoga, samvidhaan ko bachaya jayega. Chahe Babur, Akbar ya Humayun

ho, agar mere upar patthar gira to main seedhe shootout kar dunga. Agar eentse mara, mai use sambhalunga aur Ram Mandir banwaunga (We are following orders from the Home Minister and will save the Constitution... If someone pelts a stone at me, I will shoot that person. If they throw a brick at me, I will take it and use it to make Ram Mandir)." Tyagi also mentions Bhim Army chief Chandrashekhar Azad and says he will question protesters about the Act. In a statement released online, DCP Roy said: "Several enlightened netizens had brought a video to notice wherein a person was seen wearing a Delhi police uniform unauthorisedly... Acting suomtu, an FIR under relevant sections of IPC and IT Act was registered and the accused has been arrested following due procedure... Abusing the freedom provided by the internet is illegal and legal action shall be taken against violators..."

Police said the man deleted the Facebook video later and they found it through WhatsApp. "He was booked under IPC section 170 and IT Act and was later released on bail," said Roy. After he was released on bail, Tyagi posted another video on Facebook. The 25-minute long video was allegedly posted on December 28. Speaking about his arrest, he says, "Humne aisi konsi galat baat kardi... Kuch khaas kaam ke logo ne complaint ki. 10 bajte police waale aaye mujhe uthake le gaye... main fir bhi Dilli Police ka samman karta hoon. (I didn't say anything wrong. People from a certain community filed a complaint against me and the policemen came to my house at 10 pm and arrested me. I still respect Delhi Police...)" On the second video, police said it doesn't violate the law.

Art, banners & plays take over street outside Jamia

AMIL BHATNAGAR NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

ANTI-CAA graffiti, placards, slogans and recitals are now commonplace at streets outside the Jamia Millia Islamia campus, which witnessed a violent police crackdown two weeks ago. Over the last few days, locals and students have been gathering outside Jamia's Maulana Abul Kalam Azad gate daily to stage protests. The 100-metre-stretch of road outside the campus is now being called Jamia Square, akin to Tahrir Square, which became a symbol of the Egyptian Revolution in 2011.



The 100-metre-stretch of road outside the campus is now being called Jamia Square, akin to Tahrir Square, which became a symbol of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution

On Sunday, a street-play called Jamiawala Bagh was organised by the Hamdard Alumni Association outside campus. The play drew parallels between the police action against students and police violence during British rule. It was performed before a crowd of over 500 people, most of whom wore a white bandage on their eye in solidarity with Minhaj, who lost an eye allegedly in the campus violence. Students also gave speeches against the current political regime and the Citizenship Amendment Act. "The performances and display of art is a democratic and peaceful way of exercising our right. It has now become a culture and it shows that resistance will continue in some form or the

other. Our brothers and sisters had to endure so much in the last few days. Their voices won't be drowned," said Zahid, a student. The grills of the campus boundaries were bedecked with flags and banners with text from the Constitution and messages against the Act. From a small counter, a group of students distributed pamphlets listing pointers about the Act. In another corner, a man painted the Tricolour on people's faces free of cost. On one side, an impromptu poetry session on freedom and literature was on. The protest also saw children, aged between four and 10 years, holding colourful placards with memes on the Act. "Most children live on the streets, while others

are my cousins and their friends. They are too young, but awareness begins at an early age. I drop each child home once the protests are over and ensure their safety at all times," said Mehdi, while distributing biryani to a famished lot. A rope running the lengths of Metro pillars demarcated the protest street, while traffic ran smoothly on the other side. Locals guided the vehicles to prevent confusion. As the evening got colder, the crowds grew bigger. A man carrying free tea and biscuits navigated the rows of people chanting slogans on unity and brotherhood. Suddenly, the loudspeaker came to life and a speech came on, which said, "Whatever happens to us, we must fight".

At musical event, CM takes to stage

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

AT A musical event in Pandara Park Sunday, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal took to the stage and sang the 1959 song Insaan ka insaan se ho bhaichara from the movie Paigham. "I know only one song", the CM told the audience as singer Palash Sen stood next to him. The area is part of his New Delhi constituency. Referring to the anti-CAA protests across the country, he said: "It is a very important song, considering all the things that the country is going through these days." This is not the first time Kejriwal has sung the song. The first time he did so was during his oath-taking ceremony in February 2015. Since then, he has sung it in many public events. He also said that the AAP government will continue to fund the power subsidy scheme and the free bus ride scheme for women for the next five years if they return to power. Kejriwal made the announcement while laying the foundation stone of a 1,164-bed super speciality hospital in North West Delhi's Siraspur, land for which was acquired 35 years ago. The hospital will come up in the next 33 months, as per a finance department note.

At protest against Citizenship Act in Hauz Khas, young and old join forces

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

HUNDREDS OF people, young and old, gathered outside Hauz Khas Metro station Sunday with placards, pamphlets and posters in hand to protest against the new citizenship law as well as the National Population Register. The protest, organised by residents of Hauz Khas and nearby areas, started from outside the Hauz Khas Metro station. Protesters then walked to the market, raising slogans and giving speeches. Retired IIT-Delhi professor, Vipin Kumar Tripathi (71) who has been distributing pamphlets against sectarian violence and more recently against the abro-



The protest at Hauz Khas, Sunday

gation of Article 370, was present at the protest. "Even if 90% of the people are against us, we believe the law is draconian. It is our duty to protest. Our focus is to fight the establishment, not the people. Our iden-

tity is not religion. Religion makes up only things like prayers and marriage rituals, etc," said Tripathi, who taught Physics at IIT-Delhi for close to 30 years. Residents from Hauz Khas, Shahpur Jat, Safdarjung,

Panchsheel Park and Sarvodaya Enclave joined the protest, which started at around 11 am and ended at around 2 pm. Shefali Saxena (40) a resident of Hauz Khas, said she was participating in the protest as she believes the new law brings disrepute to India. "India has been giving shelter to the persecuted for decades and no one has a problem with that. What I find problematic is the clause of religion, which is exclusionary. India is inclusive and I want to protect that," she said. A small group of people came out in support of the law and tried to block their way, but had to stop when the protesters started singing the national anthem. The protesters had taken permission from the police to carry out a peaceful march.

As Assembly polls near, Modi posters crop up in illegal colonies

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

WITH OWNERSHIP rights to residents of unauthorised colonies being the Delhi BJP's main plank in the upcoming Assembly elections, the party has started putting up posters and banners of Prime Minister Narendra Modi across the 1,731 such colonies. All hoardings and posters sport a photo of the Prime Minister and a message that states, "1,731 unauthorised colonies, now the new unauthorised colonies". The word 'unauthorised' is crossed out. No national or Delhi BJP leaders appear on the posters and hoardings. Delhi is set to go to polls in February and AAP, BJP and Congress have started their campaign. While AAP's CM face is Arvind Kejriwal, the BJP is yet to



The BJP said 5,000 hoardings have been installed so far

declare who their CM face is. Sources said the party does not plan to declare a name before the polls. On December 4, a Bill that sought to provide a legal framework to grant ownership rights to people in unauthorised colonies in Delhi was passed by

both Houses of Parliament. This allows ownership rights to be given on the basis of power of attorney, agreement of sale, will or possession letter. BJP's co-media head for Vidhan Sabha polls Virendra Sachdeva said large-sized hoardings are being placed at strategic

points in unauthorised colonies, and around 5,000 hoardings have been installed so far. The party also has plans to start help desks in these colonies, said Sachdeva, adding that they have been set up in 50% of these colonies. BJP volunteers at these help desks will help people get their houses regularised, he said. BJP Kirari councillor Poonam Parashar Jha said she has started 15 help desks in her area: "We are seeing a large turnout. Many people in my area are not familiar with the online process, so we are guiding them through the registration process." Senior leaders said the party wants a good number of people to register before the model code of conduct kicks in, so that a positive message about the move spreads through word of mouth as well.

Mild relief from cold as wind changes direction

New Delhi: The city saw a marginal increase in temperatures Sunday, with the minimum being recorded at 3.6 degrees Celsius and the maximum at 15.8 degrees Celsius. On Saturday, the minimum (at Safdarjung observatory) had dipped to 2.4 degrees Celsius, the season's lowest so far. A cold wave, when the temperature is more than 4.5 degrees Celsius below normal, has been persisting in Delhi since December 14—the longest continuous cold spell since 1901. IMD officials said the wave is expected to continue till Tuesday, after which light rain is expected Wednesday, followed by a hailstorm Thursday. Maximum and minimum temperatures are expected to stay below normal for at least another week, officials said.

THE WEEK AHEAD

Day	Min	Max
Mon	5	17
Tue	5	17
Wed	6	18
Thu	8	16
Fri	8	16
Sat	7	16

All figures in °C

BJP misleading people on illegal colonies: Sisodia

New Delhi: The AAP sought to puncture the BJP's "regularisation" of unauthorised colonies campaign Sunday by pointing out that even the DDA officially maintains the Bill passed by Parliament pertains to conferment of ownership rights to residents of such colonies, "not regularisation". Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia released posters allegedly put up by BJP, which claim that 1,731 unauthorised colonies are now authorised. At a rally on December 22, PM Narendra Modi had said, "Apart from its connection with right to housing and land, the decision to regularise colonies will also boost business in Delhi." "Is this regularisation of unauthorised colonies? No. This is neither regularisation of unauthorised colonies nor the structures therein," Sisodia said at a press conference, quoting from the FAQ section on unauthorised colonies on the DDA website. "BJP misled people... It must apologise for this huge betrayal," he said. CM Arvind Kejriwal also tweeted: "DDA website says Centre's scheme will neither regularise unauthorised colonies nor their houses. Really shocking. Can't believe BJP spoke such a blatant lie to the people and has put up so many hoardings. Thanks @HardeepSPuri ji for telling truth to people through DDA website." When contacted, DDA vice-chairman Tarun Kapoor said the conferment of ownership rights was the first step towards regularisation. **ENS**

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Registered Office: KRM Towers, 8th Floor, Harrington Road, Chetpet, Chennai-600031 | TEL: +91 44 4564 4000 | FAX: +91 44 4564 4022.

APPENDIX- IV-A [See proviso to Rule 8 (6)] SALE NOTICE FOR SALE OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTIES

E-Auction Sale Notice for Sale of Immovable Assets under the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 read with proviso to Rule 8 (6) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002

Notices is hereby given to the public in general and in particular to the Borrower (s) and Co-Borrower (s) as per column (i) that the below described immovable properties as per column (ii) mortgaged/charged to the Secured Creditor, the physical possession of which has been taken by the Authorised Officer of erstwhile Capital First Home Finance Limited and Capital First Limited, will be sold on "As is where is", "As is what is", and "Whatever there is" On 16.01.2020 as described hereunder, for the recovery of amount due from Borrower (s) and Co-Borrower (s) as per column (i), due to IDFC FIRST Bank Limited (erstwhile Capital First Home Finance Limited and Capital First Limited).

For detailed terms and conditions of the sale, please refer to the link provided in IDFC FIRST Bank website i.e. www.idfcfirstbank.com.

(i) Sr No.	(ii) Demand Notice Date and Amount	(iii) Name Borrower (s) and Co-Borrower (s)	(iv) PROPERTY ADDRESS	(v) Reserve Price Amount	(vi) EMD Amount	(vii) Last Date & Time Of Submission Of Emd And Documents (online) On/Before	(viii) Date and Time of Auction	(ix) Name and Mobile No of Authorized officer
1	INR 1276769.44 AS ON 25/08/2018	Prakash Nandkishore Singh Neeru Devi	LIG Flat No. FF-09, First Floor, Plot No.29 Khasra No.1303, Colony P. N. Vihar, village-Loni (Outer Chakbandi), I.P-Block Ghaziabad	INR 698220	INR 69822	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
2	INR 31810258 As on 14.02.2019	Nitesh Colour Lab, Naveen Setia, Krishna Lal Satia, Nitesh Setia, Preeti Satia, Khub Chand, Vikas Satia	No. B-3/15, Block-B-3, Plot No. 15 Upper Ground & Third Floor With Roof Krishna Nagar Delhi	INR 2,27,00,000	INR 22,70,000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. AMRITPAL SINGH GILL MOB- 9999776185 E-MAIL: amritpalsingh.gill@idfcfirstbank.com
3	INR 8952491 As on 04.02.2019	Harsh Gupta, Vipin Gupta, Bhushan Gupta, Saroj Gupta, Nathus Sweets, Anil Kumar Gupta	All That Part And Parcel Of A-98 (Basement), New Friends Colony, Delhi	INR 90,90,000	INR 9,09,000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. AMRITPAL SINGH GILL MOB- 9999776185 E-MAIL: amritpalsingh.gill@idfcfirstbank.com
4	INR 2321597 As on 28.02.2018	Sanjeev Singh, Aarti Singh	All That Piece And Parcel Of Flat C-1301, 13 th Floor, Tower C, Provision Office City, Raj Nagar Extension, N-58, Ghaziabad, U.P.-201001	INR 2187000	INR 218700	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
5	INR 2762693 AS ON 23/10/2018	Javed Akhter, Nishat Fatma	All That Part And Parcel Of Flat No. FF-1, Front Side, First Floor Without Roof Rights, Built In Plot No. B-110, Khasra No. 1308, Hayat Enclave, Village Loni Pargana, Ghaziabad, U.P.	INR 1400000	INR 140000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
6	INR 1442343 AS ON 23/10/2018	Dharmender Pal, Parmashwari Devi, Shyam Lal	Shop No. D-01/014/1B GF Without Roofrights Dilshad Plaza DLF Dilshad Extn. 2 Village-Brahampur Alias Bhropura Prop City- Ghaziabad Prop. stala - Uttar Pradesh Zipcode -201005	INR 600000	INR 60000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
7	INR 2444467 AS ON 04/10/2018	Jaivinder Kumar, Poonam Charan Singh	Plot No. 67-A, FF, KH No. 37, Colony Lal Bagh, V.P. Ahmad Nagar Nawada, Ghaziabad	INR 1400000	INR 140000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
8	INR 3548690.19 AS ON 28/01/2019	Naval Kishore Gupta, Shweta Varshney	All the piece and parcel of the property consisting Plot No 17 Khasra No -217/1/044/822/1 Min Village Chandrawali Alias Shahdara Block No.-28, Vishwas Nagar, Delhi 110032	INR 3780000	INR 378000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
9	INR 36,62,271 AS ON 08/03/2018	Ashfaq Khan, Mohd Ashkar Khan, Tabassum Praveen, Yasmeen Parveen	All That Part And Parcel Of MIG Flat No. S-1, Second Floor, With Roof Rights, Plot No. A-100, Situated At Shalimar Garden, Main Sahibabad, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh-201005	INR 1900000	INR 190000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
10	INR 2035499 AS ON 10/10/2018	Mohammad Mustakim, Shamim Shabbudinsafiq	House No. 1322 (Old), (New No 1200), Khasra No. 180 Min. Kaila Bhatta, Pargana, Ghaziabad	INR 1300000	INR 130000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
11	INR 3726797.42 AS ON 19/10/2018	Keshav Electronics Prop Mahender Singh, Mahender Singh, Savita Mahender Singh	All That Piece And Parcel Of Prop Property Bearing B-84, Khasra No.28/169, Abdai Of Satya Gali, North Ghonda, Village Ghonda, ilaqua Shahadra, Delhi-110053	INR 1900000	INR 190000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
12	INR 1062471 AS ON 09/10/2018	Yogendra Kumar Mishra, Anjali Mishra	P No B-6/22, Flat No FF-2, FF (Back Sidelig, DLF Ankur Vihar Hadbast Gram-sadulla, Pragana Loni And Tehsil And Dist. Ghaziabad-Uttarpradesh-201102	INR 765000	INR 76500	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
13	INR 1992874.80 AS ON 11/04/2017	Chanchal Jha, Vijay Jha	House No G 1/162 Indira Enclave, Sector 21D, Faridabad	INR 14,00,000	INR 140000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
14	INR 1443960 AS ON 21/02/2019	Rajesh Kumar, Rekha Pandit, Kishan Sharma	First Floor Without Roof Rights, Bearing, Old No. 27B (New No. RZ -B/56 Khasra No. 12/5, Mirzapur, Colony Mahavir Enclave, Delhi	INR 13,00,000	INR 130000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com
15	INR 4968596.57 As on 08.05.2019	Dinesh Kumar, Veena Dinesh, Hari Chand	Property Bearing No. E-99, Out Of Khasra No. 221. Situated At Villagebarpur Gali No. 1, East Babar Pur, Prem Gali, ilaqua-Shahdara, Delhi	INR 3690000	INR 369000	15.01.2020	16.01.2020 11.00 TO 1.00 PM	MR. ROHIT DUDEJA MOB- 7838324723 E-MAIL: rohit.dudeja@idfcfirstbank.com

Disclaimer: Please note that the said notice is issued for sale of immovable property only and IDFC FIRST Bank Limited has no right to sale the movable assets, if any, present at the immovable property.

Date: 28.12.2019

Sd/-
Authorised Officer
IDFC FIRST Bank Limited
(Formerly known as Capital First Home Finance Limited/ Capital First Limited)

6 GOVT & POLITICS



TEMPLE VISITS

LAST MONTH, Chief Justice of India S A Bobde offered prayers at the hill shrine of Lord Venkateswara in Tirupati. This Christmas break, too, temple visits have kept him occupied — in neighbouring state of Karnataka. CJ Bobde visited the Shringeri Math in Chikmagalur. It is learnt that he also visited the shrines Sri Torana Ganapati, Sri Vidyashankara and the Balasubramanya Swamy temple in Shringeri.

BACK TO BASE

THE OPPOSITION leaders' coming together for JMM leader Hemant Soren's swearing-in ceremony in Ranchi was expected to be not only an opportunity to express solidarity with the newly elected chief minister, but was also supposed to be an occasion to show unity among the opposition parties. But the visiting leaders appeared to be in a hurry to rush back after the ceremony. While Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, CPM general secretary Sitaram Yechury and AAP leader Sanjay Singh took flights back to Delhi immediately after the ceremony, DMK's M K Stalin, T R Baalu and M Kanimozhi, who took a chartered flight from Chennai, also returned soon. Not many stayed for tea. Only a few leaders like CPI's D Raja and veteran Sharad Yadav stayed back for a while. So, there was no discussion between them on their roles in the protests against the new citizenship law.

SCHOOL ENTRY

AYUSHMAN BHARAT, which includes the world's largest government-funded health insurance programme, is all set to enter schools. On Monday, Health Minister Harsh Vardhan and HRD Minister Ramesh Pokhriyal will launch Health & Wellness Curriculum for rolling out the School Health Program (SHP) under Ayushman Bharat. The programme intends to boost growth, development and educational achievement of school-going children by promoting their health and well-being.

Uddhav to expand Cabinet today, Ajit Pawar to return as Dy CM

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 29

A LITTLE over a month after he broke ranks to ally with the BJP, NCP leader Ajit Pawar will return as Maharashtra's Deputy Chief Minister on Monday, when the much-awaited first Cabinet expansion of the Uddhav Thackeray-led Shiv Sena-NCP-Congress government finally takes place.

Preparations for the swearing-in ceremony, which will take place at the Vidhan Bhavan premises, kept the official machinery busy on Sunday, even as the leadership of the three parties were locked in intense deliberations over finalisation of the names of those who are to be inducted into the government.

While NCP president Sharad Pawar convened a meeting of senior party legislators at his residence in South Mumbai, the Congress high command summoned state party president Vijay (Balasaheb) Thorat in Delhi for finalisation of names. In the evening, Pawar is also understood to have held discussions with Thackeray.

After the Devendra Fadnavis-led government, propped up by Ajit Pawar, collapsed within 80 hours, the three parties had come together to form the government on November 28. But while Thackeray and six others ministers — two from each party — were sworn in that day, differences between the parties over allocation of portfolios had delayed the Cabinet expansion.



Preparations outside Vidhan Bhavan in Mumbai prior to the cabinet expansion. Nirmal Harindran

With the Shiv Sena offering the key Home portfolio to the NCP, sources said the Congress had been pushing for the allotment of one of the three portfolios — Cooperative, Rural Development or Agriculture. While the NCP has bagged the first two, the third is with the Sena at present. Sources said there is also some discontent among the smaller allies — including the Swabhimaani Shetkari Sanghathana, Peasants and Workers Party, Samajwadi Party — for not being consulted regarding the expansion.

According to the power-sharing formula arrived at between the three parties, the Sena, with 56 MLAs, will hold the CM's post besides 14 other ministerial berths. The NCP, with 54 MLAs, has bagged the Deputy CM's position and 16 ministerial berths, while the Congress, with 44 MLAs, will hold the Assembly Speaker's post and 12 ministerial positions.

While Ajit Pawar is likely to be given the Home portfolio, sources confirmed the Housing portfolio, which the Sena had been eyeing in exchange of Home, will remain with the NCP.

Thorat confirmed that the Congress will likely fill up all 10 ministerial positions it has been offered. With the least ministerial berths, it has been striving hard to strike a regional and caste balance. For the Congress, former CM Ashok Chavan, Amit Deshmukh (both Marathwada), Vijay Wadettiwar, Yashomati Thakur, Sunil Kedar (Vidarbha), Sangram Thopte, Satej Patil and Vishwajeet Kadam (Western Maharashtra), KC Padvi (North Maharashtra), and Amin Patel (Varsha Gaikwad (Mumbai) are likely to be inducted.

Besides Ajit, the NCP is likely to induct Dilip Walse Patil, Hasan Mushrif, Balasaheb Patil, and Dattatray Bhanre (all Western

EXPLAINED E Booster dose

CHIEF MINISTER Uddhav Thackeray will be hoping that the Cabinet expansion gives his month-old government much-needed momentum. Differences between the three parties — Shiv Sena, NCP and Congress — over portfolio allocation have meant that the government has so far been in slow gear mode and has done little besides reviewing decisions and policies of the previous regime.

Maharashtra), Anil Deshmukh, Dr Rajendra Shingane (Vidarbha), Jitendra Awhad and Nawab Malik (Mumbai Metropolitan Region), Dhananjay Munde and Rajesh Tope (Marathwada), Aditi Tatkare (Konkan), Dr Kiran Lahamte (North Maharashtra).

For the Sena, names of Anil Parab, Ravindra Waikar, Sunil Prabhu (all Mumbai), Bhaskar Jadhav, Uday Samant (Konkan), Shamburaje Desai, Prakash Abtikar (Western Maharashtra), Abdul Sattar, Sanjay Shirsat (Tanaji Sawant (Marathwada), Ashish Jaiswal, Sanjay Raimulker and Bacchu Kadu (Vidarbha), Gulabrao Patil, Dada Bhuse (North Maharashtra), and Pratap Sarnaik (Thane) are in contention.

Kerala considers going to court against CAA: No law above Constitution

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM,
DECEMBER 29

THE KERALA government is considering going to court against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and has said there won't be any intervention from its side against "reasonable protests" opposing the new law.

On Sunday, representatives from several political parties and religious organisations met to discuss the next course of agitation. Participants at the meeting suggested that the state government move the court against the new law and that a special session of the Assembly be convened to discuss the issue.

Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan told the meeting that these options were before the government's consideration and steps are being taken. He said the situation demands a joint movement to protect the Constitution and secularism. "When a joint protest is held, the nation would come to emulate that model. Any attempt to divide people on the basis of religion, be it from any quarter of power, is not going to work in Kerala. At this juncture, Kerala should send a message of unity to the entire country. There is no law or regulation above the Constitution," he said.

Referring to the presence of communal and extremist outfits in the protests, he said such elements should not be given space



CM Pinarayi Vijayan

and assured that stern action would be taken. "The intervention of such forces does not contribute to the growth of society. At the same time, there won't be any intervention on the part of the government in reasonable protests," he said.

Those present at the meeting entrusted the Chief Minister and Leader of the Opposition in Assembly Ramesh Chennithala with taking a decision on a joint protest. Chennithala told the meeting that the situation calls for all people to stand together, beyond politics, religion and caste. He said the questionnaire for updating the National Population Register is scary.

A couple of BJP leaders went for the meeting but later walked out. The party said it was illegal on the part of the state government to discuss about an agitation against a law passed by both Houses of Parliament. BJP spokesperson M S Kumar said the meeting was undemocratic and added that Chief Minister should not act like a party leader.

Sonowal has failed to protect Assam's interests, says AASU

ABHISHEK SAHA
GUWAHATI, DECEMBER 29

CHIEF MINISTER Sarbananda Sonowal and his government have failed to protect the interests of the people of the state, the powerful All Assam Students' Union said on Sunday as it demanded implementation of an Inner Line Permit (ILP) in Assam. It also said that peace can return to the state only when the Citizenship (Amendment) Act is repealed.

"Sarbananda Sonowal and Assam government have failed to protect the interests of Assam. To get votes of illegal Bangladeshis, the government has imposed on us the CAA, which violates the Assam Accord, is against the interest of Assam and the Northeast, is communal and unconstitutional," AASU adviser Samujjal Bhattacharya said at a press meet.

AASU's general secretary Lurinjyoti Gogoi warned of protests if Prime Minister Narendra Modi visits the state for the Khelo India Youth Games 2020, which Assam will be hosting from January 10. "If PM Narendra Modi comes to the Khelo India event, it is certain that there will be protests," he said.

The Centre and state government have projected the implementation of Clause 6 of Assam Accord as an antidote for the CAA. A high-level committee is preparing its report, which will recommend suggestions for implementation of Clause 6 and the state government has said it will take up the report as soon as it is submitted. But Bhattacharya said, "They are talking about Clause 6



Assam minister Himanta Biswa Sarma at a peace rally at Sualkuchi, in Kamrup district, on Sunday. PTI

implementation. But Clause 6 was given because we were taking the burden [of migrants] up to 1971. Clause 6 is not for taking the burden from 1971 to 2014."

He criticised the government for amending the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations, 1873 — on which the ILP regime is based — and removing the names of Assam's "districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Naga Hills, Cachar", and replacing it with the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland. The CAA in its current form exempts these ILP states. Saying that Manipur got ILP recently, Bhattacharya demanded ILP for Assam too.

He said peace can only return to Assam when the CAA is repealed. "You will kill youths by shooting and then talk about peace. Peace can only come when

CAA is repealed. Holding peace rallies and walking won't bring peace," Bhattacharya said, taking a dig at the BJP's recent "peace marches" across the state.

On Sunday, the BJP held its fourth peace march at Sualkuchi town. CM Sonowal, Finance Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma, state BJP chief Ranjeet Dass and other party leaders addressed the large gathering. Leaders of the BJP ally Asom Gana Parishad — which has approached Supreme Court against the CAA — also attended the rally. Sonowal said the Congress gave shelter to illegal foreigners by amending the citizenship law on earlier occasions. He stressed on how the Centre and the state were working towards developing Assam and asked the gathering what mistake did the BJP commit in the state for which its members were being targeted.

Those opposing CAA are anti-Dalit: Nadda

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE RULING BJP on Sunday said those protesting against the amended citizenship law are anti-Dalit as the majority of the people who would be benefited from the legislation are from that community.

Addressing a programme organised by a Dalit group, BJP working president J P Nadda said Prime Minister Narendra Modi is the "biggest protector" of the Dalits.

"Those who are opposing it are anti-Dalits. We should understand," Nadda said, listing a few castes to which the expected beneficiaries of the amended law belong. He claimed 70 to 80 per cent of them are Dalits, adding that Dalit leaders opposing the law should be exposed.

'Won't tolerate varsities becoming politicking hubs'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
KOLKATA, DECEMBER 29

AMID ONGOING protests against the new citizenship law and proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC), especially in various universities, Union HRD Minister Ramesh Pokhriyal on Sunday said the Centre will not tolerate educational institutions turning into hubs of political activities "at any cost".

"Anyone is free to engage in political activities, but colleges and universities should be kept out of it, as many students come to study from far-off places. The Narendra Modi government is not going to tolerate this at any cost," he told reporters at the state BJP headquarters.

Priyanka meets Sadaf's children, calls Yogi govt 'insensitive' for arresting her

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 29

CONGRESS GENERAL secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra, who met the family of activist and Congress leader Sadaf Jafar on Sunday, slammed the BJP government in the state for arresting Jafar during the protests against the new citizenship law and said it has crossed all limits of inhumanity by "levelling baseless allegations" against her.

"In a video, Congress worker Sadaf Jafar can be clearly seen telling policemen to arrest those indulging in violence. Police have levelled baseless allegations on Sadaf and put her in jail," Priyanka tweeted. "This insensitive govern-

ment has separated children from their mother and the older generation from their children."

Police have alleged that Jafar was arrested for her involvement in the clashes.

According to Jafar's sister, Naheed Verma, Priyanka spoke to the activist's two children — a son who studies in Class VII, and a daughter who is a Class X student.

"She mostly spoke to the children. She shared stories of her own childhood with them and showed them pictures of her pets. She shared with them her personal contact number where they can speak to her directly. She was very reassuring and said that she will be there for them," said Verma.

2-wheeler owner fined for Priyanka's helmet-less ride

Lucknow: Traffic Police has fined the owner of the two-wheeler on which Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi rode pillion to reach the house of jailed activist and former IPS officer SR Darapuri. Traffic police said the owner of the scooter will have to pay fines for several violations, including Priyanka not wearing a helmet. "A total fine of Rs 6,100 has been imposed on vehicle owner Rajdeep Singh," said Poornendu Singh, SP (Traffic), Lucknow. The scooter was being driven by Congress leader Dheeraj Gurjar. ENS



Amit Shah at the CRPF event on Sunday. Prem Nath Pandey

'Govt to ensure 100 days a year leave for paramilitary men'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

PARAMILITARY PERSONNEL will soon have at least 100 days of leave available to them in a year, Home Minister Amit Shah said on Sunday. He was speaking during an event to lay the foundation of the new building of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF).

"I do not know when we will be able to implement it fully. But we are trying to have a system where our jawans have at least 100 days of leave in a year... We believe if our jawans are protecting the country, it is the duty of the government to take care of them and to protect their families," Shah said.

Denial of leave is among the reasons for the high attrition rate among paramilitary forces, as well as incidents of suicide and fratricide. Because of constant deployment due to elections and law-and-order situations across the country, paramilitary jawans are unable to get enough relief postings and leave.

Shah said the government has decided to enhance housing satisfaction for personnel of central armed police forces (CAPFs) and steps will be taken in the upcoming Budget to allocate funds for this. The minister said he has a "firm determination" to change the existing situation on various issues confronting the forces, including housing.

"The housing satisfaction ratio (for CAPFs) has to increase... We have firmed up our mind on this... It will taken up in the next Budget. We will do it," he said.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com

7 EXPRESS NETWORK



NORTH

Rajasthan: Seven killed, five injured in two road accidents

Jaipur: Seven people were killed and five others injured on Sunday in separate accidents in Rajasthan's Sirohi and Bhilwara districts, police said.

Three occupants of a truck were killed and another was injured when the vehicle fell off a bridge in Sirohi, they said. The dead were identified as Hukmaram Jat

(62), his grandson Kuldeep (21) and driver Tejaram (57), police said. In Bhilwara, four persons were killed and as many others injured when a mini-truck rammied into a container truck. The dead were identified as Harilal Meena (23), Deepak Meena (17), Rakesh Meena (20) and Karan Meena (20). **PTI**



At the Kolkata Rainbow Pride Walk on Sunday. **PTI**

EAST

300 cartons of liquor worth Rs 20 lakh seized in Bihar

Muzaffarpur: A team of excise officials on Sunday seized around 300 cartons of liquor worth Rs 20 lakh in Bihar's Muzaffarpur district. Acting on a tip-off, the officials conducted a search operation in Kudhni police station area and seized the liquor from a truck, Excise Superintendent Deen Bandhu said.

The driver and cleaner of

the truck and others had fled after abandoning the vehicle, he said, adding that raids are being conducted to nab them.

"Around 300 cartons of India Made Foreign Liquor along with the truck was seized. The value of recovered liquor could be about Rs 20 lakh," he said. The liquor was to be distributed for new year celebrations, he said. **PTI**

WEST

Payal Tadvi suicide: Clean chit to two department heads

Mumbai: Seven months after Dr Payal Tadvi committed suicide, allegedly due to caste-based harassment by three resident doctors, the Maharashtra State Human Rights Commission (MSHRC) gave a clean chit to two department heads.

The commission said Payal's family could not produce proof of written complaints to the faculty heads

about the alleged ragging she was facing. Dr Yi Ching Ling and Dr S D Shirodkar, as faculty heads, were named as accused in the case taken up by the MSHRC.

Payal's husband Dr Salman Tadvi said, "We never gave a written complaint because we were assured that our complaints will be heard and considered." **ENS**

SOUTH

Student goes missing in sea while trying to take selfie

Rameswaram: An 18-year-old college student from Karnataka went missing after trying to take a selfie while bathing in the sea off Dhanushkodi near here on Sunday, police said. The student, identified as Barjwaj, strayed deep into the sea and was sucked in by a giant wave, they said.

A student of a private col-

lege in Karnataka, he had come on a tour to Tamil Nadu along with several other students, they said. Despite warning, some students, including Barjwaj, bathed in the sea, police said.

The boy went into deep waters when a giant wave struck and sucked him into the sea, they added. **PTI**

Kerala Jamia student faces CPM ire for criticising CM

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM,
DECEMBER 29

AYESHA RENNA, a student from Kerala who became the face of the agitation against the new citizenship law at Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, faced the ire of the CPM in her hometown Kondotty in Malappuram district after she criticised Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan with regard to the recent arrest of protesters.

Renna has been widely praised for her courage after a video showing her stopping police from attacking fellow protesters in Delhi went viral on the social media.

In Kondotty on Saturday night, she was invited for a public function organised to protest

against the new citizenship law. During her address, Renna criticised the arrest of Bhim Army leader Chandrashekhar Azad. She also mentioned the arrest of protesters in Kerala and demanded that the Pinarayi Vijayan-led government release them.

Soon, a section from the crowd, later identified as CPM workers, started protesting against the mention of Vijayan and his government. They demanded that Renna tender an apology.

As the commotion continued, Renna said she had only aired her personal opinion. But the CPM men said the place to voice her personal opinion was her home.

Later, she tendered an apology, and only then was she allowed to leave.

Villagers in Tamil Nadu deny reports of conversion to Islam

After 17 deaths in wall collapse, Tamil outfit had claimed 3,000 Dalits in Mettupalayam would give up Hinduism to protest caste discrimination

ARUN JANARDHANAN
CHENNAI, DECEMBER 29

DAYS AFTER a Tamil outfit claimed 3,000 Dalits would embrace Islam in Mettupalayam to protest the deaths of 17 individuals of the community in a wall collapse, residents of the village have denied the claim.

Relatives and neighbours of those who died after the compound wall collapsed in Nadur village said no Muslim groups had approached them, and that they were devotees of Hindu deities, especially Ram.

The Tamil Puligal Katchi, the local outfit that had made the announcement, changed its stance on Sunday, and said that the Dalits who had decided to embrace Islam belong to Tirupur, Coimbatore and other places.

The outfit had earlier said that the mass conversion would be a protest against the indifference of the state government that had failed to act against a 20-foot high "caste wall" built illegally by a "caste Hindu". The wall had collapsed on a row of Dalit houses in Nadur near Mettupalayam town on December 2.

Tamil Nadu has a history of en masse protest conversions — in Meenakshipuram in 1981, a large number of Scheduled Caste individuals had embraced Islam.

M llavenil of the Tamil Puligal Katchi told *The Indian Express* on



Subramanian outside his house near the spot where a wall collapse killed 17 Dalits in Mettupalayam. **Arun Janardhanan**

Sunday: "This is a mass protest, at least 3,000 Dalits from the area will convert to Islam. The government did not act against the caste wall. Conversion is the solution against this discrimination."

However, when told that several residents of the Mettupalayam village had said that they would not convert, he said: "Yes yes, we do not have access to the village now due to police. They may be embracing Islam later. On January 5, at least 300 Dalits will embrace Islam at Mettupalayam." Asked who these (3,000 or 300) Dalits who would convert next week were, llavenil said: "They are people from Tirupur, Coimbatore, and nearby areas." They had taken the decision to convert after the wall collapse, he said.

At Nadur Adi Dravida village,

M Subramanian, a 70-year-old daily wage, said there was no reason for him to convert to Islam. "All religions are good. Islam is good for them, Hinduism is good for us. Why should we convert? After the accident, many organisations visited us. We thank them. But they shouldn't use us for politics," he said.

Kali, a 50-year-old farm labourer, said: "We are all Hindus, we have no plans to convert. We don't know who spread this news."

Ke swaran, a 50-year-old carpenter who lost his wife Tilagavathy in the tragedy, said families of all victims in the area have decided to file a police complaint against those who spread the news of the conversion.

"It was a caste wall, it was illegally built to keep a private prop-

erty away from the vicinity of this SC colony. When we approached him (the owner of the private property) twice to reduce the height of the wall, he said we could approach police or take legal action. That was his arrogance. Finally this accident happened. But why should we convert to Islam?" he said.

Maniyamma said a majority of the residents were devotees of Ram. "We do not even eat meat during this Margazhi month. Not a single Muslim family is here, no one has approached us. These are all lies," she said.

D Ravikumar, MP and general secretary of the state's most powerful Dalit party, Viduthalali Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK), said it was the failure of the state government in handling a major accident that led to such events.

"I demanded that the government should send the Scheduled Castes Commission for an inquiry after the accident. The commission visited and stated that it was a caste wall, and that a case should be registered under the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act. But the police did not do that. Members of some Dalit groups who protested are still in prison, while the man who built the wall secured bail from Madras High Court as the government did not oppose it. This indifference is leading to such announcements of conversion, even if there was little truth in it," he said.

Meerut police add seditious charge to FIR in Dec 20 clashes

AMIL BHATNAGAR
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

FOLLOWING A video of a senior police officer in Meerut telling locals to "Go to Pakistan", police has added the section of sedition in the FIR filed in connection with the violent clashes that took place on December 20.

According to police, no arrests have been made and identity of the persons who allegedly raised pro-Pak slogans is being ascertained.

"With respect to the violence by the protesters in Meerut on December 20, several FIRs for alleged rioting have already been filed. It has come to our notice that pro-Pak slogans were also raised in Lisari Gate. Keeping that in mind, the section 124 (seditious) of the IPC has been added in the existing FIR. The section has been added against unknown persons. The next step is to identify the alleged accused and take action accordingly," Meerut SSP Ajay Sahni told *The Indian Express*.

According to police sources, video evidence of alleged anti-national slogans has been submitted which are being investigated.

On Saturday, *The Indian Express* reported that a top police officer in Meerut was caught on camera asking local residents to tell protesters to "go to Pakistan" during clashes on December 20 when four persons died during protests against the new citizenship law. After the video emerged, the senior-most officer hinted a "conspiracy" behind the timing of the video's release while admitting that the "choice of words" could have been better in the context.

DARSHAN DEVAIAH B P
BENGALURU, DECEMBER 29

SRI PEJAVARA Adhokshaja Math head Vishweshwara Theertha Swami, one of the Hindu religious leaders at the forefront of Ramjanmabhoomi movement, died in Karnataka's Udupi district on Sunday. He was 88.

The body was later flown to Bengaluru in a special Indian Air Force helicopter and taken to the city's National College grounds, where thousands gathered to pay their respects. Among them were



BIG B RECEIVES PHALKE AWARD

Amitabh Bachchan receives the Dadasaheb Phalke Award from President Ram Nath Kovind Sunday. "God has been kind, there have been blessings of my parents, the support of the filmmakers, producers, co-actors from the industry, but I'm most indebted to the love and constant encouragement by the Indian audience," the actor said in his speech. **ANI**

5 held for 'kolam' protest in Chennai

JANARDHAN KOUSHIK
CHENNAI, DECEMBER 29

CHENNAI POLICE Sunday detained five persons in Besant Nagar for drawing "kolams", or rangoli, in protest against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) and the proposed nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC).

The protesters claimed that two senior lawyers who tried to get in touch with them were also detained. Those detained were lodged inside a community centre in the same locality before being released around 11 am.

On Sunday morning, a handful of students and residents drew kolams on the streets with slogans that read: "No to CAA, No to NRC"; "Revoke CAA"; "CAA against Constitution". Police said they were placed in preventive custody under CrPC 151 for unlawful assem-

bly and drawing kolams before houses in an area near the beach. The protesters identified themselves as Gayathri, Aarthi, Kalyani, Pragathi and Madan. They released a video on social media saying that "Tamil Nadu police would be responsible if anything happens" to them.

DMK leader M K Stalin said that by detaining the protesters, the government has denied them their "fundamental rights under the Constitution". In a tweet, he demanded that the cases registered against them be withdrawn, and asked the government to "respect human rights".

Apolice officer said: "We never granted permission for the protest. Though it's a kolam protest, it is against law, they cannot obstruct traffic. We asked them to leave, they refused. So we detained them." The protesters "tried to draw kolams in front of every house, caus-

ing a nuisance for residents." Gayathri, one of those detained, identified herself as a lawyer and described their protest as "peaceful". "The police held us on the grounds of unlawful assembly. I am a lawyer and I know what unlawful assembly is. No more than two or three of us were standing together, we weren't raising slogans, we weren't holding any placard. It was a peaceful protest. When we informed our lawyer friends about the police intervention, they came to support us. But two of my lawyer friends were detained," she said.

Describing the claim that they tried to draw kolams in front of every house as a "blatant lie", she said: "The permission we sought was denied. On one hand, they ask why we didn't seek permission, and on the other hand, they deny us permission. Then how will people show their dissent?"

CDS: Govt notifies retirement age at 65

SUSHANT SINGH
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE CENTRAL government on Saturday notified the retirement age for the newly created post of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) as 65 years, which will be three years more than the retirement age of the three service chiefs.

The service chiefs, when appointed, are usually given a tenure of three years or till they attain the age of 62 years, whichever is earlier. There is no mention of a fixed tenure in the gazette notification stating the retirement age for the CDS.

The Union Cabinet had cleared the appointment of the CDS on December 24 in a four-star rank at par with the three service chiefs. He would be responsible for achieving "jointness in operation, logistics, transport, training, support services, communications, repairs and maintenance of the three services" within three years of assuming office.

As per the Cabinet decision, the CDS will also serve as the permanent chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee (COSC) which comprises the three service chiefs. So far, the chairmanship of the COSC has not been permanent and is held in rotation by the senior-most service chief, which has caused problems of inadequate attention and short tenures as Chairman, COSC.

General Bipin Rawat, the outgoing Army Chief, who retires on December 31, is seen as the frontrunner to be named as the first CDS. As the seniormost service chief, he holds the post of

EXPLAINED
E
Long-awaited defence reform

THE CREATION of the post of CDS is a long-awaited higher defence reform and giving the incumbent a stable tenure is a healthy move. The role and charter of the CDS has also been defined with a view to spur further defence reforms.

Chairman, COSC, which he was scheduled to hand over to the Navy Chief Admiral Karambir Singh on Friday.

But the Defence Ministry announced at the last minute that the ceremony had been postponed to December 31. The sudden postponement of the ceremony led to speculation that an announcement of the name of the new CDS was expected in the next couple of days.

A shortlist of five officers is believed to have been prepared by the ministry for the cabinet committee on appointments to take a decision. It has been assumed that as the biggest service among the three, the Army will have the first CDS and this may subsequently be rotated among the two other smaller services.

MP honey trap case: Chargesheet says 2 TV journalists middlemen between accused, victims

MILIND GHATWAI
BHOPAL, DECEMBER 29

TWO TELEVISION journalists based in Bhopal were involved in facilitating deals between the accused in the honey trap case in Madhya Pradesh and their victims, according to a chargesheet filed in a Bhopal court on Saturday.

In September, Indore Police arrested six persons after Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) superintendent engineer Harbhajan Singh alleged that he was being blackmailed for Rs 3 crore with video clips that showed him in a compromising position.

Of the six accused, two women and a driver were held from Indore and the three other women were arrested in Bhopal, where all the accused lived. All of them are still in judicial custody.

A chargesheet filed in an Indore court on December 16 was in connection with the FIR filed by Singh. The chargesheet in the Bhopal court relates to a complaint of human trafficking filed by the father of the youngest accused.

This chargesheet says Veerendra Sharma of Sahara News and Gaurav Sharma, who has worked with various media organisations, not only facilitated deals but also took their share. The alleged exchange of money, in one case Rs 1 crore in cash, took place at the flats owned by the two journalists.

A police officer told *The Indian Express* that the chargesheet is based on statements given by the accused and the victim of trafficking but further probe is still on.

The chargesheet has named P C Meena, an additional chief secretary rank officer who was transferred after a video of him went

viral months ago, as having paid Rs 20 lakh. Two OSDs to two ministers in the current Congress government have also been named.

The chargesheet quotes the youngest accused as saying that she, along with the driver and two other accused, went to Veerendra Sharma's flat to take money from Meena. The other two accused went inside the flat and returned with a bag carrying notes of Rs 500 and Rs 2,000, amounting to Rs 20 lakh. "These people always make journalist Gaurav Sharma medium and collect money from officers through journalist(s)," the chargesheet says. The chargesheet quotes her as saying that she does not know the name of an IAS officer who was blackmailed for Rs 1 crore, but that Gaurav Sharma was involved in this matter and got an "equal share of Rs 33 lakh".

Despite repeated attempts, Gaurav Sharma did not respond to calls and text messages.

Veerendra Sharma said neither has the SIT served a notice on him nor questioned him. He claimed he shifted from the flat mentioned in the chargesheet. "Just because an accused names someone, will he become an accused?" he asked.

He alleged that "big names are involved in the case" and they are using different tactics to divert attention. "If I was involved, would they spare me? Especially when Chief Minister Kamal Nath has given a free hand to officials? Did they not demolish Jeetu Soni?" he said referring to the Indore-based businessman whose evener carried a series of stories about the honey trap case. Soni's properties have been demolished and he is currently on the run.

Seer at forefront of Ramjanmabhoomi movement dies at 88

DARSHAN DEVAIAH B P
BENGALURU, DECEMBER 29

SRI PEJAVARA Adhokshaja Math head Vishweshwara Theertha Swami, one of the Hindu religious leaders at the forefront of Ramjanmabhoomi movement, died in Karnataka's Udupi district on Sunday. He was 88.

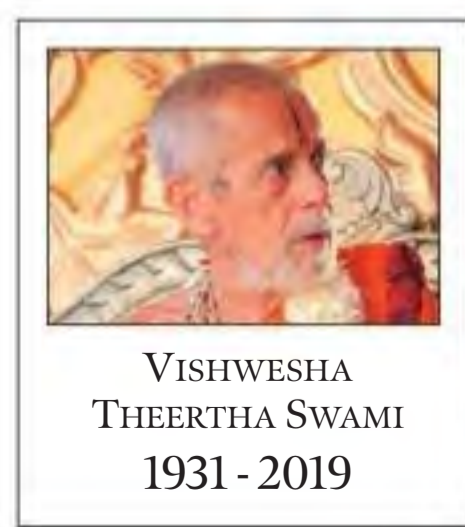
The body was later flown to Bengaluru in a special Indian Air Force helicopter and taken to the city's National College grounds, where thousands gathered to pay their respects. Among them were

Union Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman, Karnataka Chief Minister BS Yediyurappa and former CM Siddaramaiah, among others.

Later in the day, the Karnataka government announced a three-day state mourning.

Known for his pro-Hindu programmes, the Pejavara seer counted senior BJP leaders L K Advani and Uma Bharti among his disciples, with the former having taken his blessings before embarking on his 1990 Ram Rath Yatra.

The seer spearheaded the Ramjanmabhoomi movement and was present during the dem-



VISHWESHA THEERTHA SWAMI
1931 - 2019

olition of Babri Masjid. After the Supreme Court's verdict in the Ayodhya case earlier this year, he

attended a peace meeting in New Delhi. He also warned of staging an indefinite hunger strike if either the Hindu or Muslim community held a victory procession or resorted to violence after the verdict was announced.

Born as Venkataramana in a Shivalli Madhwa Brahmin family on April 27, 1931, in Ramakunja, Mangaluru, Vishweshwara Tirtha was ordained into sanyasa at the age of 7 years at Chakratheertha, near Hampi, by the then head of the Pejavara Math, Vishwa Manya Theertha Swami.

He had worked for the prevention of cow slaughter, and even suggested making cow the national animal of India. He also went on a daylong hunger strike for a campaign to save cattle.

The seer was against the practice of "Made Made Snana", a practice in certain Karnataka temples in which devotees roll over banana leaves after Brahmins have eaten in them.

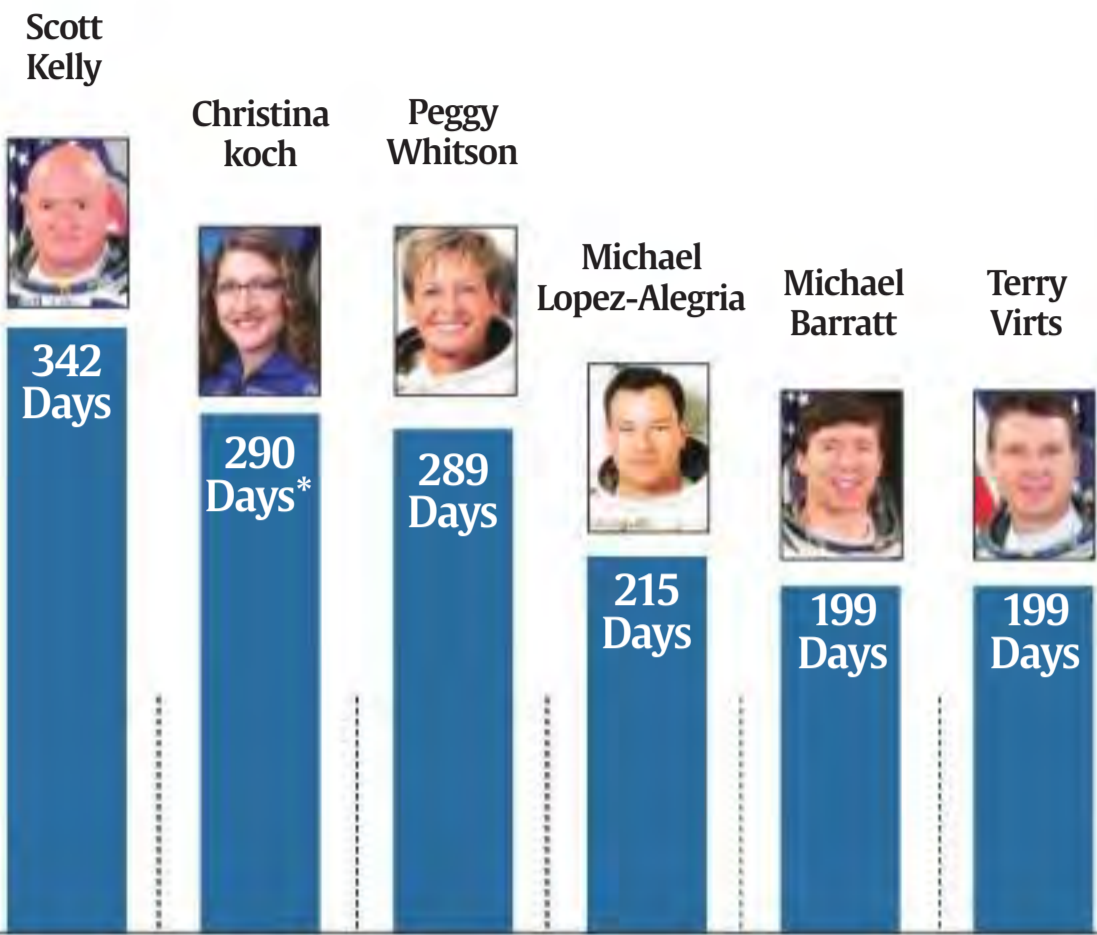
To avoid Dalits converting into other religions, the seer visited Dalit colonies in Mysuru in 2010 and offered "Vaishnava Deeksha" (initiation into Vaishnava way of life) to the communities.

In 1975, he had opposed the Emergency imposed by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and wrote her a protest letter, saying he was ready to serve a prison sentence.

Vishweshwara Tirtha Swami was an exceptional scholar in Nyaya, Vedanta and other branches of philosophy. He had become the only seer among the seers of the Ashta (eight) Maths of Udupi to have performed five biennial Parayayas (a ritual at the Sri Krishna temple conducted in turn by seers of the Ashta Maths).

TELLING NUMBERS

Longest single spacewalk by a woman, and other records



*Koch completed 290 days on Sunday. While that is the world record for women, the graphic is for American astronauts only. Source: NASA

THIS WEEKEND, US astronaut Christina Koch set the record for the longest single spaceflight by a woman when she reached, and crossed, 289 days in her current mission at the International Space Station (ISS). The previous record for women was set by another American, Peggy Whitson, in 2016-2017.

Koch, 40, an electrical engineer, is set to extend that record. Having reached the ISS in March this year, she is expected to spend a total of 328 days on board before returning to Earth in February 2020. Missions are typically six months, but NASA announced in April that it was extending her mission. Koch has already made history once in her stay aboard the ISS. In October, she was part of the first all-female spacewalk, together with Jessica Meir.

340 days

Counting both male and female astronauts, this is the overall record by an American for a longest single spaceflight. Scott Kelly spent 340 days in space in 2015-2016.

438 days

Between January 1994 and March

1995, Valery Polyakov of Russia spent 438 days aboard the Mir space station. Across genders, this is the world record for the longest single human spaceflight.

665 days

Although Koch has now overtaken her for the longest single spaceflight, Peggy Whitson continues to hold the record for the longest time by a woman in cumulative spaceflights. Whitson, now 59 and retired, is a biochemist who logged a total of 665 hours over a number of space expeditions between 2002 and 2017. Koch once said she took a lot of helpful advice from Kelly's 2017 autobiography *Endurance*. Now, Koch's extended mission will help NASA learn about the effects of long spaceflights. The Associated Press reported that NASA officials have said such data is needed to support future deep space exploration missions.

878 days

This is the longest cumulative time spent in space by any astronaut, male or female. Gennady Padalka of Russia holds this record, accumulating the 878 days (about 2½ years) across five spaceflights between 1998 and 2015.

SIMPLY PUT

How the Preamble was adopted

The Constitution, particularly its Preamble, has frequently been at the centre of the ongoing debate over the Citizenship Amendment Act. How it was introduced in the Constituent Assembly, discussed, and adopted

PRADEEP KAUSHAL
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

IN THE nationwide protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act, many have held up the Constitution of India, saying the Act goes against it. Many of the programmes have been marked by a reading of the Preamble, which is reflective of the essence of the Constitution of India.

The original Preamble, adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1949, declared India a "Sovereign Democratic Republic". By the 42nd Amendment of 1976, enacted during the Emergency, the words "Socialist" and "Secular" were inserted; the Preamble now reads "Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic".

Resolution & discussion

The Preamble is based on the Objective Resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on December 13, 1946. The Resolution was adopted on January 22, 1947.

Constituent Assembly President Rajendra Prasad told members: "The time has now arrived when you should give your solemn votes on this Resolution. Remembering the solemnity of the occasion and the greatness of the pledge and the promise which this Resolution contains, I hope every Member will stand up in his place when giving his vote in favour of it."

The Resolution was adopted, all members standing.

On October 17, 1949, the Constituent Assembly took up the Preamble for discussion.

Hasrat Mohani proposed that India, instead of being designated as "a Sovereign Democratic Republic", be made "a Union of Indian Socialistic Republics to be called UISR, on the lines of USSR". This was objected to by Deshbandhu Gupta, who contended that "it is out of order because it goes counter to the Constitution we have passed". Mohani replied that he had not said "we should go and merge in the USSR or that you should adopt the same Constitution; but what I want to say is that we should work out our Constitution along the lines and on the pattern of Soviet Russia. It is a special pattern and also republican pattern and also it is of a centrifugal pattern".

To invoke God, or not to

After Prasad informed the Assembly that members had given notices for moving a number of amendments, H V Kamath moved a motion proposing the Preamble begin with: "In the name of God, We, the people of India..."

"Let us consecrate this Constitution by a solemn dedication to God in the spirit of the Gita: *Yatkaroshi yadashnasti Yajjuhoshi dadasi yat Yattapasasya kaunteya Tatkarushwa madarpanam.*"

He said: "Whatever our shortcomings, whatever the defects and errors of this Constitution, let us pray that God will give us strength, courage and wisdom to transmute our baser metal into gold, through hard work, suffering and sacrifice for India and for her



Dr B R Ambedkar hands over the draft Constitution to President Rajendra Prasad on November 26, 1949. Express Archive

people. This has been the voice of our ancient civilisation, has been the voice through all these centuries, a voice distinctive, vital and creative, and if we, the people of India, heed that voice, all will be well with us."

Thirumala Rao argued that "it should not be subjected to the vote of a House of 300 people whether India wants God or not. We have accepted that God should be there in the Oath, but for those who do not believe in God, there is an alternative there, but there is no possibility of a compromise which can provide for both the things in the Preamble". He suggested Kamath withdraw his amendment.

Hriday Nath Kunzru regretted that "our most sacred feelings should have been brought into the arena of discussion". He felt Kamath's proposal was "inconsistent with the Preamble which promises liberty to thought, expression, belief, faith and worship to everyone". Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri endorsed Kunzru. He cited *Vande Mataram* and said: "It means an invocation to a Goddess... We who belong to the Sakthi cult, protest against invoking the name of God alone, completely ignoring the Goddess... If we bring in the name of God at all, we should bring in the name of the Goddess also".

Rejecting pleas by both Prasad and B R Ambedkar to drop his amendment, Kamath pressed his motion along with a demand for a division. A vote was taken and the motion was rejected 41-68. Kamath's reaction was: "This, Sir, is a black day in our annals. God save India."

Gandhi and the Preamble

Shibban Lal Saxena moved a motion proposing that the Preamble read: "In the name of God the Almighty, under whose inspiration and guidance, the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, led the Nation from slavery into Freedom, by unique adherence to the eternal principles of Satya and Ahimsa, and who sustained the millions of our countrymen and the martyrs of the Nation in their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the

Complete Independence of our Motherland."

Brageswar Prasad opposed this, arguing: "I do not want that the name of Mahatma Gandhi should be incorporated in this Constitution, because it is not a Gandhian Constitution. The foundation stones of this Constitution are the decisions of the American Supreme Court. It is the Government of India Act, 1935, repeated again. If we had a Gandhian Constitution, I would have been the first to offer my support. I do not want that the name of Mahatma Gandhi should be dragged in the rotten Constitution."

Observing that "it is not behaving us to vote on this amendment", J B Kripalani made a request to Saxena to withdraw it. He said: "I yield to nobody in my love and respect for Gandhiji. I think it will be consistent with that respect if we do not bring him into this Constitution that may be changed and reshaped at any time." Saxena withdrew the amendment.

Govind Malaviya had given a notice for moving an amendment, which ran: "By the grace of Parameshwar, the Supreme Being, Lord of the Universe (called by different names by different peoples of the world), From whom emanates all that is good and wise, and who is the Prime Source of all Authority, We the people of Bharata (India), Humbly acknowledging our devotion to Him, And gratefully remembering our great leader Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and the innumerable sons and daughters of this land who have laboured, struggled and suffered for our freedom..."

Ambedkar and P S Deshmukh noted the Assembly had already decided on the names of God and Mahatma Gandhi. This was accepted by Rajendra Prasad and also Govind Malaviya.

'Secular' & 'Sovereign'

Brageswar Prasad felt the word 'Secular' should "be incorporated in our Preamble because it will tone up the morale of the minorities..." He also wanted the word 'Socialist' included in the Preamble because "I believe that

the future of India is in Socialism". He was against "any undue emphasis upon this word sovereignty" because he felt that "sovereignty leads to war; sovereignty leads to imperialism". His amendment was negated.

Purnima Banerji proposed an amendment with "the sovereignty of the people" mentioned. Mahavir Tyagi supported her. "The sovereignty must be vested in so many words in the people as a whole," he argued.

"Sir, you like a good host, have reserved the choicest wine for the last," said J D Kripalani. "This Preamble should have come in the beginning of the Constitution even as it is given in the beginning of the Constitution... It would have cautioned us that we were not deviating from the basic principles which we have laid down in the Preamble..."

Kripalani added: "As we have put democracy at the basis of your Constitution, I wish Sir, that the whole country should understand the moral, the spiritual and the mystic implication of the word 'democracy'. If we have not done that, we shall fail as they have failed in other countries. Democracy will be made into autocracy and it will be made into imperialism, and it will be made into fascism... I also say democracy is inconsistent with caste system... Then we have said that we will have liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship... All these freedoms can only be guaranteed on the basis of non-violence... Mere tolerance will not carry us far... We have to respect each other's faith."

He suggested that the Assembly adopt the amendment proposed by Banerji. He said: "A Minister says 'Our Government' not 'The People's Government'. The Prime Minister says 'My Government' not 'The People's Government'. Therefore, on this solemn occasion, it is necessary to lay down clearly and distinctly, that sovereignty resides in and flows from the people." The members responded with loud applause.

'From the people'

Ambedkar, who replied to the discussion, said the point was whether the Preamble as drafted conveyed any other meaning than what was the general intention of the House — "that this Constitution should emanate from the people and should recognise that the sovereignty to make this Constitution vests in the people". "My contention is that what is suggested in this amendment is already contained in the draft Preamble."

Ambedkar said: "No person in this House desires that there should be anything in this Constitution which has the remotest semblance of its having been derived from the sovereignty of the British Parliament... In fact, we wish to delete every vestige of the sovereignty of the British Parliament such as it existed before the operation of this Constitution." He declared: "I say that this Preamble embodies what is the desire of every Member of the House that this Constitution should have its root, its authority, its sovereignty, from the people. That it has."

Ambedkar rejected Banerji's amendment. It was also negated. Thereafter, the Preamble was adopted.

AN EXPERT EXPLAINS

Afghan citizenship, defined & redefined over decades of change



FAIZAN MUSTAFA

THE CITIZENSHIP Amendment Act (CAA), 2019 makes it easier for non-Muslim migrants from three countries to get Indian citizenship. This series has previously looked at the Constitutions of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The third country is Afghanistan:

Constitutional history

In a long history of conflict and multiple invasions, no empire or nation could control Afghanistan for long. Even the British, in spite of three wars since 1839, could not keep Afghanistan under their control and were defeated in the third of these wars in 1919. Afghanistan was not part of British India and was not partitioned from India, which was cited among the reasons for enacting CAA. Under the Treaty of Rawalpindi, Afghanistan got independence in 1919. Simultaneously, a treaty of friendship was signed with Russia.

King Amanullah got a Constitution for Afghanistan in 1921 and again in 1923 but the Tajiks removed him in 1929. A new Constitution was enacted in 1931. A coalition of rightist groups came to power in 1952 and General Dawood Khan became PM in 1954.

A new Constitution was adopted in 1964 by the Grand Assembly, or Loya Jirga. Signed by King Zahir Shah, it provided for a consti-

titutional monarchy and a bicameral legislature. Sovereignty was vested in the nation, not Allah. Article 2 declared Islam the state religion and, unlike Pakistan and Bangladesh, mentioned that religious rites of the state shall be performed as per the Sunni Hanafi doctrine. Thus, other Muslim sects were in a way minorities. But the same Article also said non-Muslims shall be free to perform their rituals within limits determined by the laws for public decency and public peace.

Title Three of the Constitution talked about Rights and Duties (in India, Fundamental Duties were inserted in 1976). The first Article declared the people of Afghanistan, without discrimination or preference, have equal rights and obligations before law. Right to liberty under Article 26 was said to have no limitations except liberty of others and public interest. It said the state has a duty to protect liberty and dignity of every human being. The Constitution did not mention freedom of religion of Muslims or others.

Soviet invasion

In a coup in 1978, the Communist Party took over power and introduced radical reforms. The United Nations condemned the invasion and the US supported the Afghan rebels in a decade-long war with the USSR. India supported the Soviet invasion. Eventually the Soviet army withdrew in 1989 and Soviet Union-backed government collapsed in 1992. Thus until 1992, under the communist regime, no religious persecution of minorities could be alleged.

In 1995, the Islamic militia Taliban came to power and introduced regressive restrictions on female education and dated Islamic law and punishments. In 2001, they destroyed Buddhist statues in Bamiyan.

During their six-year rule, even Muslims were persecuted. On December 22, 2001, Hamid Karzai took over as head of an interim government. The current Constitution was adopted and ratified in January 2004.

Religion & minority rights

Unlike the Pakistan and Bangladesh Constitutions, the Afghanistan Constitution begins with praise of Allah and also blessings for the last Prophet and his followers. The Preamble makes a categorical statement that Afghanistan belongs to all its tribes and peoples. Unlike the Indian Constitution, it mentions its commitment to the United Nations Charter as well as Universal Declaration of Human Rights and thus broadens the ambit of non-Muslims' rights and non-discrimination.

While it declares Islam the state religion, Article 2 says followers of other religions shall be free within the bounds of law in exercise and performance of their religious rituals. Article 3 is problematic as it lays down that no law shall contravene tenets and provisions of Islam. Unlike Pakistan, sovereignty here (under Article 4) rests with the people, not Allah. Article 35 prohibits formation of any party on the basis of religious sectarianism in addition to tribalism, parochialism and language. Article 80 prohibits ministers on tour from using their position for religious purposes. Article 149 prohibits amendment of principles of Islam and Islamic republicanism. It says fundamental rights can be amended only to improve and enlarge guarantees, not to diminish or restrict them.

The First Fundamental Right under Article

22 prohibits any discrimination and distinction between citizens and states that all citizens have equal rights and duties. India has given right to equality even to non-citizens. Article 57 of the Afghanistan Constitution does say foreigners will have rights and liberties in accordance with the law.

Unlike in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, Article 29 of the Afghanistan Constitution specifically uses the term "persecution". It forbids persecution of human beings. Thus the allegation of religious persecution in Afghanistan is not supported by the text of the Constitution; in practice, except during the short regime of the Taliban, no such case is made out. Unlike in India (only the SC, ST & OBC Commissions have constitutional status), Article 58 gives constitutional status to the independent Human Rights Commission.

Only a Muslim citizen born to Afghan parents can become President (in India, a naturalised citizen can become President) but the Afghanistan Chief Justice, judges and ministers can be naturalised citizens.

Citizenship

The original 1922 citizenship law of Afghanistan was handwritten. Article 8 of the 1923 Constitution gave citizenship to all residents without religious discrimination. The main purpose was not citizenship but issuance of *tazkira*, or national identity cards. In India too, the National Register of Indian Citizens (NRI) concept came with National Identity Card Rules, 2003. Afghanistan's Article 8 gave citizenship just to males and was based on the narrower principle of *jus*

sanguinis or blood relationship. But on November 7, 1936, a new citizenship law was made and, as per the 1930 Hague Convention on Nationality, *jus soli* or citizenship by birth was adopted. Article 2 said all children born to Afghan parents inside the country or abroad will be Afghan citizens.

The Indian Citizenship and original Citizenship Act too was based on *jus soli* but the 1986 and 2003 amendments have now adopted *jus sanguinis*; for children born after December 31, 2003, both parents should be Indian citizens. Any foreigner who had resided for five years in Afghanistan could get Afghan citizenship. Following the "dependent principle", any woman who married a foreigner lost citizenship but could get it back if her marriage subsequently ended in divorce. Non-Afghan women married to Afghan men were given citizenship.

The communist regime brought a few changes. On May 5, 1986, citizenship was defined as the legal and political relationship between a national and the state of Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. India does not define citizenship. For the first time in Afghanistan, dual citizenship was abolished. The "independent principle" was adopted in respect of married women.

In 1979, citizenship of the king was withdrawn for supporting alien powers; it was restored in 1992 by the new government. A new law of the Republic of Afghanistan came into force on March 15, 1992 but there was no major change except that renunciation of citizenship now required parliamentary approval and presidential assent. This law was replaced on June 11, 2000 by the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, without any substantive change. Under Article 28, an Afghan woman now retains her citizenship in spite

of marrying a foreigner. Under Article 9(2), a child born in Afghanistan or outside to Afghan parents is a citizen. Even a child born in Afghanistan to foreigners can get citizenship on attaining age 18, if he decides to stay there, and if, within six more months, he does not apply for the same citizenship as his parents. In 2001, dual nationality was again accepted.

Article 12 says that if a child is born in Afghanistan and parents' documents show that evidence of their citizenship is not available, the child will be considered an Afghan. Had India adopted this rule, 2 lakh children would have got included in the Assam NRC. In accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of Stateless Persons, 1954, all stateless persons are considered Afghan citizens. Citizenship by naturalisation is given to anyone who has resided there for five years.

After the Soviet invasion and subsequent conflict, Afghanistan has seen out-migration of millions. In 2017, 1,773 applications of renunciation including of Hindus and Sikhs were received. Not every migration was due to religious persecution or well-founded fears.

Article 4 of the current Constitution declares that the Afghanistan nation is composed of all individuals who possess Afghan citizenship and the word Afghan shall apply to every citizen. In a bold and categorical statement, it says no individual shall be deprived of citizenship. Article 28 mentions it as a Fundamental Right and states no Afghan citizen shall be deprived of citizenship or sentenced to domestic or foreign exile. Like Pakistan and Bangladesh, Afghanistan neither confers nor denies citizenship on the basis of religion.

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9 THE GOVERNANCE PAGE

DUMMY'S GUIDE TO TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT

Short-staffed police try out a model solution on the streets of Bengaluru

Commissioner says the police mannequins will subsequently have cameras, become part of an AI-run traffic law enforcement system

JOHNSON TA
BENGALURU, DECEMBER 29

ONE OF the schools of thought for controlling crimes in high crime zones in urban areas around the world is to create the impression of an ubiquitous police force — or, in other words, tricking criminals into believing that the police are all around and there is no getting away.

In Bengaluru where road traffic problems are a cause of bigger concern than high crime rates, the city's understaffed police force has hit upon an idea to create the impression of the traffic policeman being an ubiquitous presence on the streets by using traffic police mannequins.

Over the past few weeks, some 30 traffic police mannequins have been deployed during the day at heavy traffic junctions in the city by the Bengaluru police to put the fear of the police in the hearts of traffic law violators.

At junctions where traffic jams occur every day, a real traffic policeman now controls traffic, while mannequins create an impression of the presence of many traffic policemen.

The deployment of traffic police mannequins — dressed in the uniform of the Bengaluru traffic police — has been described by the city's Police Commissioner as the first step in deploying high technology for policing the streets, but the regular traffic policeman thinks it is just a scarecrow.

According to official records, the Bengaluru traffic police have a sanctioned strength of 5,262 personnel to regulate traffic across 44,000 intersections, but they are 600 short of the sanctioned strength.

"It is just a strategy to prevent traffic offences — like triple riding on two wheelers,



Some 30 mannequins dressed in the uniform of the traffic police have appeared across the city. Police hope they will warn off potential traffic violators. Express

riding without helmets or driving without seat belts, or using cell phones while riding or driving — even when there are no policemen at the traffic signals," a police constable manning a traffic junction in the central business district of Bengaluru said, regarding a mannequin planted on the traffic island in the area.

"These are just dummies — in the end they do not perform any roles, and a policeman still needs to control the traffic," the traffic constable said.

Bengaluru Police Commissioner Bhaskar Rao, however, said that the police mannequins are part of a plan to bring in robotic technologies into policing the traffic in the IT capital of the country.

"The mannequins are the first or a crude form of promoting technology. They will later have cameras fitted for the eyes — for both day vision and night vision. The mannequins will be connected to an artificial intelligence based software system to record and recall what is being seen on the streets, and provide alerts to officers. Later on, there

will be robotics incorporated in the system, which will change the structure of the mannequin itself," the Police Commissioner said.

"We have several plans to leverage the kind of technologies available in Bangalore itself. This is just a first step," according to Rao.

Since taking over as the Bengaluru Police Commissioner in August this year, Rao has attempted multiple innovations — from employing masseurs at some police stations to ease the pains of traffic policemen, to deploying the "pedal police", or police on bicycles, in areas like the central Cubbon Park, as well as creating crèches and play areas for children at police stations to reduce the negativity attached to the image of the police force in general.

In police stations with large areas — where the properties belong to the police department itself — like the Koramangala police station in the south east of Bengaluru, the police have created a colourful play area-cum-crèche for kids, with walls painted with images of popular cartoon characters.

"There are many young mothers in the police department who don't have a support sys-

EXPLAINED E. An attempt at image-building

THE TRAFFIC police mannequins are part of several measures introduced by Bengaluru Police Commissioner Bhaskar Rao, which include employing masseurs at some police stations to ease the aches of personnel who are on their feet for long hours, and creating play areas for children at police stations to counter the negativity attached with these buildings. There are crèches to help young policemen who have to work long hours, and have no support system for their children.

tem to take care of children when they work long or unpredictable hours. The department does not shut shop at 5 pm and go home, and staff have to work irregular hours. If the child is at the police station itself, then she gets to see the child while doing her work even if it is late. More and more women are being recruited in the police and this will give them a sense of comfort," Commissioner Rao said.

According to local police officers at the Koramangala police station where a play area has been created on the premises, the kids' zone is also an attempt to soften the image of the police among school children who are sometimes brought from surrounding schools.

"There is a sense of fear of the police, and people are often reluctant to go to police stations to report cases as a consequence. A fear-some image of the police is also created among children since people try to discipline them using images of the scary policeman. We are hoping that when they visit our station and spend time in the kids' area some of their fears will go away," a police officer said.

'Said two services only if you have two separate exams... that's the caveat'

BIBEK DEBROY, Chairman, Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council, led the committee that in 2015 recommended major reform in the Railways. His report is being cited by the government and all stakeholders to argue both in favour of and against the recent controversial move to unify all eight Group A services into one Indian Railways Management Service. In an interview with AVISHEK G DASTIDAR, Debroy explained what the report meant and what he thinks about the move.



THE POLICY INTERVIEW
BIBEK DEBROY
Chairman,
Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council

In your report, why didn't you prescribe merger of all services into one?

We said that we would not get into the merger with retrospective treatment because we have no particular expertise in that. We did not say anything on that because we said the Railways should do that, and remember there will be legal cases and things like that.

Did you foresee that it will end up being a messy affair?

Right, it is messy... We did not have a complete picture of the age profile the Railway employee. We had a sense that recruitment is not always linear over time... there was a bunching together... I mean we knew that the hump would be crossed at around 24 years of age but then there is the General category and the SC and ST category etc... so as far as that is concerned, we left it to the wisdom of Railways.

Why did you recommend two services, one technical and one logistics, instead of just one service?

In the final report, there is an important sentence where we have recommended two services. We said that if there are two separate (recruitment) exams then you need to have two services. That is the important caveat... Today, on the one side you have the Civil Services Exam and on the other, the Engineering Services Exam. In that case, you have two services.

Why is that?

In the report we had an interesting graph that showed that as you climbed up the ladder, the less important the functional specialisation becomes, and you go more and more towards management. Someone who enters to the technical side is an engineer. The person is entering the service when he or she is about 22 years old. On the other side, the person entering the service is may be 25 years old or thereabouts. So there is a disadvantage in terms of vertical mobility. Now if you unified the exams, this difference would go.

How would you ensure multi-disciplinary efficiency in that case?

Because the core functioning of the Railways is of running trains, so most of them would be engineers. But there would also be the Personnel Service, Accounts Service and Traffic Service. So you recruit them also, and then obviously you're not going to get the person who has a History background to run the trains. So, what we had contemplated was that after you join, maybe 13, 14 years down the line, you get a choice — do you want to switch, regardless of your background? Like if you are an engineer, do you now want to switch to the management side, in which case you aspire to become, eventually, a Member of the Railway Board, even Chairman. Or do you want to continue with running trains, then you aspire to become GM and then the rank of a GM is equalised with the rank of a Railway Board Member.

When you studied departmental

rivalries in Railways, did you see it prevailing between the Engineering services or did you see it between civil services and the engineers?

It was across the board.

How did you seek to find a solution?

As a committee, we had wide consultations. I don't think any other committee has had as wide a consultation process and, if I recall correctly, most of the ideas that we have had came from the people from the Railways themselves. We just put them in a structure. In the course of this we had discussions with the employees associations, like the Federation of Railway Officers' Association (FROA). We said this in the Interim report and final report also, FROA strongly recommended one service. The Prakash Tandon Committee (1994) recommended one service.

Why didn't you recommend it then?

We had this dilemma. We thought that a lot of things go in favour of one single service, but the problem was the entry-age differential, and the problems that the two sides would face thereafter... That is the reason we put that caveat. So all the messages on social media are missing this point, which is that if you have two entry exams, then please have two services.

But now the demand is: Why can't the reform be about two services, considering there are about 8,000 serving officers involved?

To the extent that I have been able to track social media is that one issue is, "What happens to us?" I have read reports that the Chairman, Railway Board made a statement that your position and seniority will be preserved, just wait for the alternate mechanism to do its work. This is one issue. The other issue which they (protesting officers) are not mentioning on social media that much is what happens to their vertical growth? Because departmentalism encadres posts. Now that is being broken down, so if I am X then I am not just worried about my seniority being protected, I am now also worried about my vertical mobility. That, they are not voicing very strongly, but I think in the heart of their hearts the main issue is that. I think the actual reservation is about the fact that my vertical mobility will be affected because posts reserved for certain cadres are going to end. And suddenly, the total number of posts is also being pruned. And then there is also the threat of lateral entry, which also we have mentioned in our report.

In Goa school curriculum, lessons from ground on sanitation, waste management, traffic sense

SMITA NAIR
PANAJI, DECEMBER 29

A PILOT project from 2018 — training children on civic sense — will be integrated into the school curriculum this year in Goa. Of the core categories under civic sense, traffic is seen as a crucial "life saving" module, say experts with Goa Traffic Police who have been roped in to provide "educational feed" straight from their experiences.

Chairman of the Goa Education Development Corporation (GEDC), established under Goa Education Development Corporation Act, 2003, Kantha Patnekar said, "The review showed the need for these subjects. The response from students and teachers was encouraging."

In 2017-18, the pilot was conducted following a discussion between then Chief Minister Manohar Parrikar and educationists in the state. Three subjects were introduced under umbrella topics: sanitation including personal sanitation, waste management, and traffic sense.

Goa, a tourist state with the local population facing the burden of floating tourists — through exceeding levels of garbage and also number of two-wheeler accidents, teachers say the subjects were "the need of the state".

GEDC undertook 80 per cent of the research behind the project, as its inception mandate is to "develop competitive, flexible and value-based education system to meet the individual, institution and socio cultural development needs of the people of Goa", says Patnekar.

The pilot was introduced in 108 schools as "separate subjects" in three different phases divided between primary and secondary schools. According to teachers, menstrual health was also a topic discussed in Goan schools for the first time under this sanitation module.

Once the topics were decided initially by academics and officials approved them, the next step was to look for experts in each field. Experts were roped in to create content in Goa and elsewhere. The content was then vetted by the State Council of Educational Research and Training.

According to a teacher, under the waste management module, children were taught the importance of segregation instead of burning waste — a practice otherwise prevalent in village pockets of Goa. "They were not just told, but informed through researched content by experts who work in those fields. Detailed literature was prepared, which included exercises for them to conduct back home," an official with SCERT said.

"Three books were then published with detailed topics for three stages — first for Class III and Class IV students. The second stage was between Class V and Class VIII, and the final stage was for Classes VIII-IX," said Patnekar. The coverage was limited to government schools. Before the subjects were introduced in schools, teachers from each taluka were trained by experts by giving them detailed examples from case studies in villages across Goa.

Traffic Deputy SP Dharmesh Angle who was roped in for the traffic module, said the training has already shown results. "While there are many reasons for lower fatalities this year, one reason is that children are walk-

ing back following the lessons they learn from these chapters on civic sense. Traffic sense is directly related to societal behaviour. These chapters were designed by the traffic department with the educationists and starts with the do's and don'ts and with real life case studies," said Angle. The traffic department now wants the SCERT and GEDC to include the importance of wearing helmets in the new curriculum with case studies and number of lives saved.

According to teachers, children have also started sensitising their parents on the lessons they learnt in school — an input which GEDC says helps.

GEDC is now in the process of finalising the content for the academic year 2020-2021. "We are now integrating the subjects in the curriculum, and all the learnings will now be part of existing subjects and will also be given as optional papers. Traffic sense will be part of Physical Education and the remaining two subjects will be part of the science and social science textbooks. These will include Goa case studies and will be implemented by the next academic cycle," said Patnekar.

STATE WOMEN'S COMMISSION INITIATIVE

Women break free in rural Maharashtra, get appolutely phone-smart

TABASSUM BARNAGARWALA
MUMBAI, DECEMBER 29

IN RURAL Maharashtra's Daregaon village, a 16-year-old girl last month used her phone to register an online complaint on the Tejaswini application against a local boy who was sexually harassing her.

In the nearby Ramnagar village, Neeta Nene learnt how to upload all identification documents on Digilocker.

Neeta's neighbour Radha Kishore now uses Google Assistant to see recipes.

And Sangeeta Satpute spends most of her spare time searching about the online dairy market, and how to sell her cattle produce in Jalna.

The Maharashtra State Commission for Women has started giving digital training to rural and tribal women to make them self-sufficient in using the Internet to pay utility bills, access government schemes, and register complaints online.

All that they need is a smartphone. Since November, 50 workshops for 1,000 women have been held across Maharashtra. The Commission plans to finally organise 450 workshops for 1 lakh women.

In Wada, a town in the tribal Palghar district some 90 km from Mumbai, Akshata More (39) was ready with a notebook and pen to take copious notes in a panchayat hall with 200 other women during one such workshop.

Several women had brought their husbands' phones for the day.

More has a basic smartphone, and only knows how to dial a number. She does not understand what the Internet is, but plans to teach her three daughters, the eldest aged 18, its use for online education material.

As the session begins, trainer Komal Jadhav starts with explaining the difference between smartphones and ordinary ones, and teaches the basics of using a smartphone — taking pictures, connecting to WiFi, setting up wallpaper.

Jadhav then moves on to a more complex operation: how to download a mobile app. As she gives step-by-step instructions, the women are glued to their mobile screens, asking each other about which icon to select. Some without a phone make notes to later try it at home.

"I want to learn more about farming and how to sell our produce online. There are so many fertilizers to choose from. I thought I can



In Palghar, a training session has over 200 women from nearby villages. Express

learn how to use the Internet, and teach my husband," said Archana Sambre (34), a villager in Wada.

Her neighbour Kanchan Palekar (24) is more digital savvy, she knows how to use

WhatsApp. "But I want to learn more, all these apps that we can use for payments," she said.

These women are being taught six mobile applications — Tejaswini, Bhim, Aaple

Sarkar, Umang, NaMo, and Digilocker — apart from using Google Assistant. "One villager has started using Google Assistant to even set alarms," said Gracy Cardozo, project incharge at the women's Commission. The Commission has trained 50 women to give digital training, and each is paid Rs 3,000 per session.

After every workshop, spanning over four hours, the women are added on a WhatsApp group, and given daily exercises. Says trainer Usha Shinde, from Jalna, "There is excitement in middle-aged women to learn more. Every day we ask them to try something new on phone, make a digital payment or scan and upload documents. Those who face problems are given step-wise assistance."

39-year-old Manasi Sawant, a villager in Palghar, said: "My son knows how to use a smartphone, but never had time to teach me. I want to learn how to make calls, chat on WhatsApp, so that I don't need to rely on my children for help."

Kamini Waghat (23), who came along with her newborn baby, said learning how to use the Internet will help her family in farming. "There are new techniques on the Internet about farming. We can now use it to improve produce without relying on the lo-

cal administration," she said.

While the Umang app provides information on 440 government schemes, the Bhim app is useful in making digital payments. Maharashtra's Aaple Sarkar provides a portal to register complaints against government officials.

"On the Tejaswini app, women can register complaints of sexual or domestic violence, or workplace harassment. Several women fear reaching out to the village panchayat," said Vijaya Rahatkar, Chairperson of the women's Commission.

For trainer Usha Shinde, the best outcome of digital training has been the motivation it has provided to two schoolgirls, aged 15 and 16, in her village Daregaon.

"Both registered sexual harassment complaint on that app. A few boys in school were sexually harassing them. They could not dare to approach police. But after I taught them these apps, they quietly registered a complaint on the Tejaswini app," Shinde said.

The only hiccup in these sessions has been with the NaMo app — the first app that these women are taught to remain updated with news about Prime Minister Narendra Modi. It is 50 MB in size, and takes up 30-45 minutes to download in poor network regions.



WORDLY WISE
WHEN THE WELL IS DRY, THEY
KNOW THE WORTH OF WATER.
— BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY
RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

Young and cornered

Ongoing protests speak of a pent-up frustration at dwindling opportunities, a bleaker future



HARISH DAMODARAN

I WAS A marginally above-average student in both school and college. All I had on passing out was a second class Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree in economics from Delhi University. But I was lucky to enter the job market that was just starting to boom. It was a rising tide that lifted all boats, including people like me.

The Nineties, Noughties and the first half of this decade were a great period for enterprise and employment. A host of industries, both new and old, grew: IT, media, advertising, financial services, accounting, telecom, aviation, hospitality, restaurants, auto, pharma, healthcare, education, construction, real estate, organised retail and food processing. Even agriculture did well as farmers diversified beyond foodgrains to horticulture, dairying and poultry, while embracing new technologies such as hybrid seeds (especially in vegetables and maize), Bt cotton, tissue-culture planting, drip irrigation and laser leveling. As all these sectors thrived, jobs were aplenty, even for those passing out of ordinary private engineering colleges or science and arts graduates.

Simply put, if India's first middle class was created by the public sector, the second one was largely a product of private enterprise, unleashed after the economic reforms of 1991. While many of our parents were government employees, we are the beneficiaries of growth and investment activity in the first 25 years or so after liberalisation.

The significant point to note, however, is that the boom in jobs during those 25 years did not happen at a time of a "bulge" in India's working-age population. That, if anything, is taking place now when there aren't too many new jobs and even the existing ones are under threat.

According to the United Nations population database, the proportion of Indians aged between 20 and 59 years — those one would consider to be the most active work seekers — actually fell from 46.9 per cent in 1950 to 45.8 per cent in 1990. It rose thereafter to 51.7 per cent in 2010. But, the real bulge is yet to come: The ratio of those aged 20-59 years to the country's total population is projected to rise to 54.6 per cent in 2020, peaking at 56.7 per cent in 2035.

In other words, the challenge of finding jobs

would be far greater for my niece and daughter than for me, despite them being smarter and brighter, unless the economy churns out jobs like it did in the two decades or more from when I joined the workforce in 1991.

There are many who believe that India is on the cusp of a demographic dividend which comes with the share of any country's working-age population exceeding that of its non-working-age population. The more the number of people in a position to work and earn, not only are there lesser numbers to support — those either too old or too young — but also, greater is the potential for savings from the generation of income. As those savings are directed to finance investments, a virtuous cycle of growth is set in motion. This was seen, for instance, in Japan, and more recently in China.

The Japanese economic miracle from the mid 1950s to the late 1970s happened when the median age of its population ranged between 23.6 and 32.5 years. The median age of China was 21.9 years in 1980 when its growth story took off, and rose to 35 years in 2010, by which time the peak was over.

Meanwhile, Japan's demographics had worsened — the median age reached 41.2 years in 2000, rising to 44.7 years in 2010 — reflecting in its economic performance.

In India's case, the tipping point of the proportion of the population aged 20-59 years crossing 50 per cent was reached in 2010. The median age, too, that year was just 25.1. Moreover, it is projected to hit 30 years in 2025 and reach 35 years only by 2040. Logically speaking then, this decade, and the next two as well, ought to have been India's, just as the 1950s to 1970s was Japan's and the 1980s to 2000s China's. But it hasn't been, at least so far.

Much of this decade has been a lost one and is ending even worse than when it began. The part about a flood of young men and women entering the labour market is certainly true; you can see and feel it by simply taking a Delhi Metro train ride. This youth bulge, though, is yet to deliver the promised demographic dividend that Japan, China or the East Asian economies successfully harnessed in their time. On the contrary, the cohort of young people of my generation found

productive employment and experienced upward mobility far more than the ones who have come out of college or have migrated from the hinterlands in the present decade. And the irony is, we did well even before the golden age of growth, resulting from favourable demographics, was supposed to have dawned on India.

The ongoing protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act are a manifestation of the pent-up frustration of our millennials/Gen Z at what they clearly perceive is a bleak future. We saw it initially in the Jat, Maratha, Patidar and Kapu agitations, demanding reservation in government jobs and education institutions from around 2015, which also coincided with the deepening of the crisis and the lack of upward mobility options within agriculture. The current protests are, by contrast, not confined to any particular community or sector. Their universality derives precisely from the fact that the economy is today faced with a general growth slowdown sparing no sector or industry.

Two things must be borne in mind here. The first is, of course, diminishing employment opportunities in government. The organised public sector workforce fell from a high of 19.56 million in 1996-97 to 17.61 million in 2011-12 (we have no published data for subsequent years).

The second is an even more profound crisis: The collapse of enterprise. Some of that may have to do with the legacy of the twin balance sheet problem, of debts accumulated by private corporates during the investment boom of 2004-11 turning into bad loans of state-owned banks. But, far from fixing the problem, the current regime has worsened it by subjecting the economy to successive shocks — demonetisation, the goods and services tax, cattle slaughter restrictions, and now, uncertainty over citizenship, whose impact on investor and consumer sentiment is not to be underestimated.

Unfortunately, it is the young, vibrant and energetic generation of job-seekers who are bearing the brunt of all this. The least the government can do is to listen to them. They aren't on the streets for nothing.

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PROBLEM WITH FIGURES

Government does well to constitute panel on economic statistics, and even better to include critics on it

THE NARENDRA MODI government deserves credit for constituting a new Standing Committee on Economic Statistics "to review the extant framework relating to data sources, indicators, concepts/definitions and other issues" connected with measurement of economic activity. Significantly, the panel is headed by the former chief statistician of India, Pronab Sen, and has at least three other economists — CP Chandrasekhar, Hema Swaminathan and Jeemol Unni — who have been critical of the alleged "political interference" in the working of the official statistical machinery and "the tendency to suppress uncomfortable data". The setting up of the committee signals an acknowledgment on the government's part that there is a credibility problem with official data, which matters both for investors and for policymaking itself. And that it has to be addressed.

Accuracy of data, including its generation and dissemination, is important, especially in today's context where the extent or even cause of the economic slowdown in India is not fully clear. GDP estimates would suggest that the stalling of growth happened only after the last quarter of 2018-19. But can an economy fall off a precipice like this? The collapse of IL&FS in September 2018, no doubt, precipitated a liquidity crisis for non-banking finance companies, but could it have created a disruption of the scale that demonetisation and the rollout of the goods and services tax (GST) did? This question needs answering because there is, in the public domain, a National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) survey that apparently shows household consumer expenditure to have fallen in 2017-18, a year when listed companies posted decent sales growth. Is it possible that they simply gained market share at the expense of unorganised enterprises, whose decline is not being properly captured in GDP data? This is not an implausible scenario, given the informal sector's significant share in both output and employment, which has certainly taken a hit post demonetisation and GST. Even assuming the NSSO numbers on consumption for 2017-18 to be wrong — the report itself has been withheld — the paucity of data with regard to unorganised sector economic activity is glaring. It is even more so, as that could hold a key to why even organised FMCG or two-wheeler firms have seen their sales drop significantly in recent months.

Besides restoring the credibility and independence of the official data system, the Modi government also needs to come clean on its fiscal accounts. The former chief economic adviser, Arvind Subramanian, has rightly argued that the absence of reliable data makes formulation of policy responses — including whether and how much room for fiscal expansion exists — difficult. It's like running a car with broken dashboard instruments.

NOT A DROP TO WASTE

Atal Bhujal Yojana is a first step towards recharging groundwater. There is a need to move to more long-term solutions

IN 2020, ACCORDING to the Niti Aayog, 21 Indian cities, including Delhi, Chennai and Bengaluru, will run out of groundwater. The Aayog's "Composite Water Management Index" (CWMI), released in June, notes that "Seventy per cent of our water resources are contaminated". Several other reports, including the Central Water Commission's "Water and Water Related Statistics 2019", have thrown light on the poor state of India's groundwater aquifers. The urgency of the Atal Bhujal Yojana, launched by the Union Jal Shakti Ministry last week, can, therefore, hardly be overstated. The groundwater revival scheme ticks quite a few right boxes. It seeks to strengthen the "institutional framework of administering groundwater resources and aims to bring about behavioural changes at the community level for sustainable groundwater resource management". However, the Yojana that will be implemented in seven states — Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh — should only be seen as the first step towards restoring the health of the country's aquifers.

India has had a Groundwater Management and Regulation Scheme since 2013. The Atal Bhujal Yojana will draw on some of the institutions created by this scheme, especially village-level water user associations (WUAs). The Jal Shakti Ministry will have its task cut out. The Niti Aayog's CWMI notes that though "80 per cent states have a regulatory framework to establish such associations, progress on the ground is weak". Less than 50 per cent states involve the WUAs in critical groundwater management decisions like those pertaining to irrigation resources, according to the CWMI. The Atal Bhujal Yojana would do well to follow the Niti Aayog's recommendations for strengthening the financial state of the WUAs, including allowing these bodies to retain a significant portion of irrigation fees.

Groundwater contributes to more than 60 per cent of the country's irrigation resources. Power consumers in the agriculture sector are billed at highly subsidised rates, which several studies have shown accounts for the over-extraction of groundwater. However, there is also a substantial body of work which shows that it is politically imprudent to install electricity meters on farmers' fields. The discourse on groundwater use has to move beyond this binary: Ways must be found to balance the demands of farmers with the imperatives of reviving the country's aquifers. One solution — tried out in parts of Punjab — is to gradually reduce subsidies and offer cash compensation to farmers for every unit of electricity they save. The CWMI report talks of other solutions like persuading farmers to adopt more efficient technologies such as drip irrigation. By emphasising on local-level institutions like the WUAs, the Atal Bhujal Yojana has signalled the Jal Shakti ministry's inclination towards such persuasive solutions.

AN UN-GANDHIAN ACT

The new citizenship law goes against Gandhi's idea of civic nationalism



RAMIN JAHANBEGLOO

THE PRINCIPLE THAT every Indian is equal before the law — enshrined in the Indian Constitution — is an ideal Mahatma Gandhi fought for all his life. Gandhi is not alive to criticise supporters of the new citizenship law and condemn the violence that followed demonstrations in Delhi and elsewhere. But we can recall what he taught us.

Gandhi was convinced that despite many social and political contradictions, and the tragedy of Partition, India would become a secular, democratic republic. That it did, though with flaws, is because of the civic and empathetic nationalism Gandhi advocated and practised.

A striking feature of Gandhi's civic nationalism was his insistence that India is not an exclusively Hindu civilisation. His political genius lay in reconciling the complex social and religious fabric of traditional Indian society with the modern phenomenon of nationalism and the struggle for independence. As such, more than being the "father of the Indian nation" he could be remembered as the architect of an inter-faith, inter-cultural India. What Gandhi did was to give different religious communities, for the first time, a sense of involvement in the Indian nation's destiny.

Gandhi did not make the religious element an integral part of his civic nationalism. He abstained from any reference to Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism or Jainism in his definition of *swaraj*. He continually defined and defended Indian nationalism through his belief in the truth of all religions. One is not surprised, then, to see

Gandhi joining the Khilafat movement and calling on Indian Muslims to participate in the independence movement. Gandhi's action was shaped by his conviction that all religious boundaries are arbitrary and false. He was convinced that a mere doctrinaire approach to religion will not help consolidate the foundations of Indian civic nationalism. He knew that independence can't come about by the efforts of the Hindus alone. Gandhi never accepted the argument that Hindus and Muslims constituted two separate elements in Indian society.

Gandhi's involvement with the Khilafat movement helped him secure political authority in the Indian National Congress. He expressed sympathy for Muslims and the Khilafat movement at the Delhi Imperial War Conference in 1918 and later, followed it up with a letter to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. "As a Hindu", he wrote, "I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows." Two years later, in response to Maganlal Gandhi who was troubled by Gandhi's involvement with Muslims, he wrote: "If I had not joined the Khilafat movement, I think, I would have lost everything. In joining it I have followed what I especially regard as my *dharma*... I am uniting Hindus and Muslims."

The questions of Indian home rule and Hindu-Muslim unity were not separate issues for Gandhi. This was why Gandhi reacted against the spectre of the "Hindu Raj" and the cry of "Islam is in danger". For Gandhi, the communal dispute between Hindus and

Muslims was not confined to religion. According to him, it was due to the lack of truthfulness and transparency in the political realm. It is, therefore, not surprising that he chose to work with individuals whose primary interests were best defined in civic and ethical terms. He once declared that "a true Muslim could not harm a Hindu, and a true Hindu could not harm a Muslim". It was probably in this spirit that Gandhi developed a friendship and a great esteem for both Maulana Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In 1939, while visiting Ghaffar Khan, Gandhi said: "If you dissect my heart, you will find that the prayer and spiritual striving for the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity goes on there unceasingly all the twenty-four hours without even a moment's interruption whether I am awake or asleep... The dream (of Hindu-Muslim unity) has filled my being since the earliest childhood."

Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Godse, did not share his dream. Godse said: "Gandhi is being referred to as the Father of the Nation. But if that is so, he had failed his paternal duty inasmuch as he has acted very treacherously to the nation by his consenting to the partitioning of it. I stoutly maintain that Gandhi has failed in his duty. He has proved to be the Father of Pakistan."

Today, Indians have to choose between the Gandhian paradigm of civic nationalism or a second assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The writer is Noor-York Chair in Indian Studies, York University, Toronto

IN GOOD FAITH

More than being the 'father of the Indian nation' he could be remembered as the architect of an inter-faith, inter-cultural India. What Gandhi did was to give different religious communities, for the first time, a sense of involvement in the Indian nation's destiny.

DECEMBER 30, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

US VERSUS USSR
US PRESIDENT JIMMY Carter has denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and said that he is dispatching the Deputy Secretary of State, Warren Christopher to London to consult with allies and see what can be done about it. He said that the Soviet argument that the intervention was on the basis of the UN Charter was a perversion of the Charter. He said he has discussed the matter with several heads of state. He also said that he had sent a message to the Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to convey his criticism of the intervention.

KABUL AFTERMATH
TWO DAYS AFTER the coup in Afghanistan, India does not have a position on the situation in the country. But inquiries show that the Soviet intervention has perturbed New Delhi though it is not saying so. It fears that the intervention will escalate tension in the area. During Morarji Desai's visit to the Soviet Union last June, Moscow did put some pressure on India for evolving a joint Indo-Soviet strategy on Afghanistan. Although India agreed to the incorporation of a paragraph on the statement Brezhnev and Desai issued, it fell short of Soviet expectations. Moscow

has been rubbing in the point that it came to India's help during the war in Bangladesh in 1971 and as such it should back the Soviet stand in Afghanistan. Now Delhi has not appreciated the analogy.

RAM'S PROMISE
THE JANATA PARTY leader Jagjivan Ram has said that if voted to power his party will provide allowance and work in social service programmes for poor unemployed graduates. He also reiterated his party's determination to ensure that each family in the country had at least one earning member.



FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



11 THE IDEAS PAGE

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"There is much to reflect on for the PPP that has gone from a truly national symbol of resistance to a regional outfit of acquiescence. The slide has been gradual and painful." — THE DAWN

In the end, a moment of truth

2019 began with seeming unassailability of a majoritarian political order, ends with a reminder of limits of hubris



PAMELA PHILOPOSE

UNDENIABLY, THE YEAR 2019 has witnessed a decisive shift in what it means to be Indian — and what it means to defend the idea of being Indian. For the first time in the five and a half years of BOP rule, the slow fire of an unarticulated despair and powerlessness among common people, especially Muslims, in the face of a repressive, arrogant and communal government, burst into resolute resistance.

The proximate reasons for this were twofold: The passing into law of a black bill that sought to skew the notion of citizenship along religious lines; and police brutality trained at the most vulnerable and most valuable section of Indian society, its youth. The acrimony caused by the first segued seamlessly into the outrage over the second, and sparked a wildfire that spread across the country.

It's only when one considers the year as a whole that the full significance of all this can be understood. That the BJP's return to power for a second time with an increase of 21 seats this May would see a consolidation of Hindutva politics was a foregone conclusion. Less anticipated was the swiftness with which this was sought to be achieved.

The year began with communalised electioneering that weaponised the Pulwama attack and Balakot strike. Narendra Modi's poll speeches fused the masculinist ("mard sarkar") and militaristic ("Can your vote be dedicated to the brave soldiers martyred in Pulwama?") tropes, with the majoritarian.

The revocation of Article 370 three months after the verdict was an emphatic moment of "conquest", an apotheosis of the Pulwama-Balakot rhetoric. The congratulatory sentiment the move evoked among many — in utter disregard to the human tragedy unfolding in Kashmir — was driven by the sentiment that the piece of land crowning India on the map was now firmly secured, even as India's only Muslim majority state had been wiped off it.

Land — 1,500 square yards of it — was also central to the mosque-temple Supreme Court verdict of November 9. The court acknowledged that the masjid had stood on that site since 1528 and that its demolition "constituted a serious violation of the rule of law", but it nevertheless allotted it to the Hindu petitioners. There was rich irony in the language of this judgment which conflated the parties to the dispute with the Hindu and Muslim communities as a whole.

The prime minister was quick to put his stamp of approval on the verdict, hailing it as a "new dawn for us", a "new start for a

New India." But the answer to the question as to who exactly were New India's children, with full citizenship rights, came exactly a month later. While passing the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) into law, the BOP kept emphasising the plight of minorities in the three countries listed in it. The cruel irony of this rhetoric lay in the fact that its long-term plan was to fuse the new law with an administratively crafted all-India National Register of Citizens (NRC), to ensure permanence to the persecution of a significant minority in this country — its Muslims.

The sole anxiety the BOP had harboured about the proposed law was its potentially adverse impact on the 2019 general election, which was why it was not pushed through in its first term despite the Lok Sabha having cleared it. This time it took the calculated risk to do so because it felt it had the political capital, capacity to manage political contradictions and time enough to ride out adverse reactions. Perhaps it had also calculated that Muslims in the country, having experienced half a decade of vigilante violence without street protests breaking out, had been sufficiently beaten into submission.

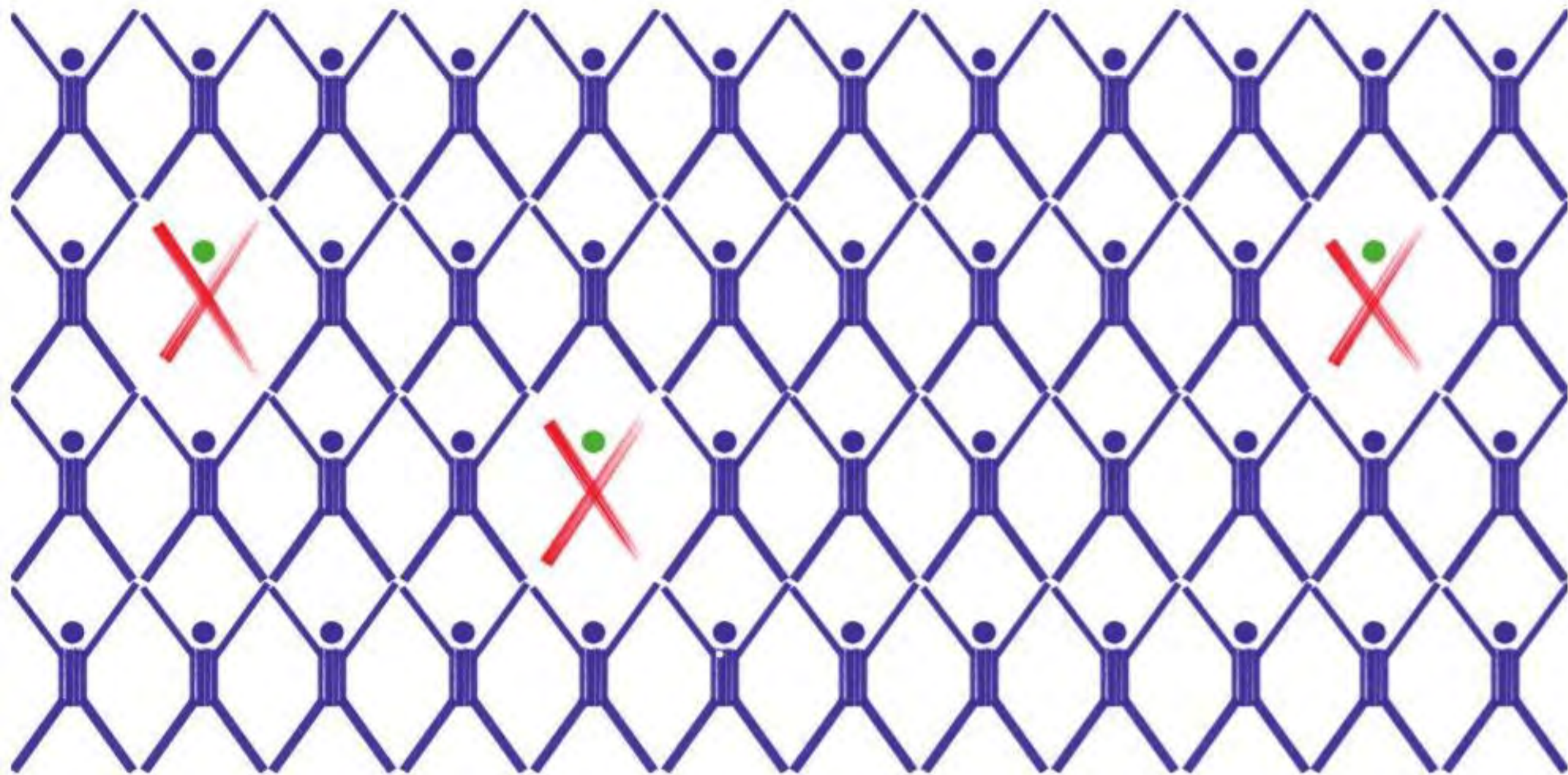
When the first signs of widespread anger in the Northeast broke out, the BOP government responded with some circumspection, placatory words and a slew of exemptions. In sharp contrast, the protests in the campuses of universities like Jamia and Aligarh were met by the crassest of communal profiling and a police force invested with the licence to kill, even as the country's heartland — Uttar Pradesh — was turned into a killing field and penitentiary. The idea was not just to terrorise students but to signal to the country, specifically Muslims, the government's determination to persist with its citizenship agenda.

It had an unintended consequence. A drive to divide people along religious lines saw the re-forging of unity across every divide — caste, class, gender, religion. When hijab-clad women waved the tricolour and sat out on the streets for days together; when seemingly "non-political" students from "elite institutions" like the IITs raised their voices along with their counterparts from Jamia Millia Islamia; when ordinary "peace-abiding" people gathered to protest and read out the Preamble with its forgotten words like "secular", "democratic", "socialist", "justice", "liberty", "equality", it was hard to miss the new "fraternity".

The year began with the seeming unassailability of a majoritarian political order and ended with a sharp reminder of the limits of its hubris. But is this just a short break in the onward march of Savarkarite Hindutva, or a decisive reclamation of common citizenship by the common Indian?

If the present times constitute a moment of truth for the Modi government, so too do they for the people of India.

Philipoose is author of Media's Shifting Terrain: Five Years that Transformed the Way India Communicates



CR Sasikumar

Right question, wrong answer

For reducing illegal migration, bring in a refugee law, introduce work permits.

A law that offers citizenship only to non-Muslims sidesteps the real issues for political mileage



MADHAV GODBOLE

THE CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT Act has created a political storm in the country. Several state governments have opposed the Act and declared that they will not implement it. No other legislation has met with such strong reaction and that too from several sections of society. It brings out that, contrary to popular perception, majoritarianism has severe limitations in a functioning democracy.

It has become a fashion these days to invoke the Constitution every now and then but in doing so, more often than not, it brings out the lack of knowledge of what the Constitution has ordained. Otherwise, the chief minister of West Bengal, Mamata Banerjee, would not have declared that the Act will not be implemented in the state. She also declared that the National Register of Citizens (NRC) exercise will not be permitted in her state. She has even challenged the Centre to impose President's Rule in West Bengal. One is aghast at such pronouncements. The chief minister seems oblivious of the fact that "citizenship, naturalisation and aliens" are subjects listed in entry 17 of the Union List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. Further, founding fathers of the Constitution have, with foresight, provided for situations of state governments opposing the implementation of acts passed by Parliament. Article 256 of the Constitution states: "The executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament." If the states defy this provision, it will be nothing less than a breakdown of the Constitution.

Leaving aside these immature pronouncements, what is of concern is that the main issues have been side-tracked by the Centre by getting the CAA passed, primarily to fulfill its agenda of converting India into a Hindu Rashtra. The government invoked Partition, Jinnah's two-nation theory, and the Nehru-Liaquat agreement to justify its stand. But its reasoning is untenable.

That there has been massive illegal migration to India in the last few decades is an undeniable fact. Parties now in the opposition, particularly the Congress, should not forget their invidious role in facilitating it. It is well

established that illegal migration in Assam was overlooked, if not encouraged, by successive Congress chief ministers since Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed in the 1970s. It was only after the matter was raised in the Supreme Court through a public interest litigation (PIL) that it became a part of the national agenda. The apex court castigated the Union government and said such large-scale illegal migration was nothing less than foreign aggression and had to be defended against as such. Even then successive Congress governments failed to take any action. As a last resort, Assam students launched an agitation which held the state to ransom for years. When Rajiv Gandhi became prime minister, the Assam Accord was signed with much fanfare. But the Centre failed to grasp the full implications of it. The Accord remained on paper for years when the Congress was in office. The matter had to be taken to the Supreme Court through a PIL, which led to the updating of the NRC in Assam under the supervision of the apex court. The problem has been in the making for years. Parties such as the Congress at the Centre, the CPM in West Bengal and Janata Dal in Bihar, actively encouraged resettlement of illegal migrants in their states and contributed to the problem.

The migrants can be divided into four groups: Refugees, legal migrants, illegal migrants, and infiltrators. The Oxford dictionary defines refugees as persons escaping to a foreign country as a result of religious or political persecution; migrants as person moving from one place (country, town) to another; and infiltrator as gradual, unobserved occupant of ground or territory by detached parties or settlers. Refugees in India were mainly from Pakistan after Partition and also before the Bangladesh war, and during the uprising against the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Almost all of them have gone back. Migrants who have come from other countries with prior permission are few. The main problem is of illegal migrants and infiltrators.

How are we going to deal with them? By declaring the Muslim migrants as stateless persons? After denying them citizenship, are they to be removed to camps guarded by security personnel? Do we have the infrastructure to keep lakhs of such stateless persons in designated camps? Refugees who came after Partition were housed in huge camps such as in Dandakaranya. Do we have such open spaces now? Is it possible to acquire land for such camps and provide facilities such as water and civic amenities? The experience of camps set up after the massacre in Nellie, Assam in 1983 and major communal riots in Delhi, Godhra and Mumbai should

The task force on border management under my chairmanship, appointed by the Union government after the Kargil war, had, in its report submitted in the year 2000 recommended that the government should enact a refugee law and introduce work permits to address the issues. The task force had also recommended that the work of border-guarding forces must be scrutinised closely to ensure that illegal migration is reduced to the minimum. Even after two decades, these recommendations remain on paper.

not be forgotten.

Making only non-Muslims eligible for citizenship could have been avoided by proposing that any migrant persecuted on religious or other grounds will be eligible for citizenship. This would have qualified Ahmediyas from Pakistan, who are undeniably persecuted in Pakistan. It could have also covered cases like that of Bangladeshi writer Taslima Nasreen. Very few Muslim illegal migrants would be able to show that they were persecuted in Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan. In fact, it was not necessary to name any country at all in the Citizenship Act.

Finally, where are the Muslim migrants expected to go? When the Shiv Sena-BOP government was in office in Maharashtra in the mid-1990s, efforts were taken to round up illegal Bangladeshi migrants in Mumbai and deport them to Bangladesh, after obtaining court orders. The police party that took them to West Bengal for deportation met with stiff resistance not just from the state government but also civil society groups. The police had to return to Mumbai and the illegal migrants had to be released.

The task force on border management under my chairmanship, appointed by the Union government after the Kargil war, had, in its report submitted in the year 2000 recommended that the government should enact a refugee law and introduce work permits to address the issues. The task force had also recommended that the work of border-guarding forces must be scrutinised closely to ensure that illegal migration is reduced to the minimum. Even after two decades, these recommendations remain on paper.

Finally, declaring Muslims as non-eligible for citizenship is not an answer to the problem. That is to side-step the real issues for political mileage. The issues need to be addressed holistically and a realistic policy has to be evolved. For this purpose, the enforcement of the Act needs to be kept in abeyance until a conducive atmosphere is created. The government must bring out a white paper for national debate and discussion.

Let the issue not be left to the Supreme Court to decide, for these do not pertain merely to the constitutionality of the Act. This is an opportunity to show the world that India is a mature democracy and can address such complex issues wisely and in a democratic way.

The writer is a former union home secretary and secretary, justice. His recent books are Babri Masjid-Ram Mandir Dilemma and India's Governance

VIEW FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



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

FALSE PROPAGANDA

ZYMA ISLAM ASSERTS in *The Daily Star* on December 26 that in order to justify "its discriminatory stance" on the Citizenship Amendment Act, the BOP government in India is painting a false picture of Bangladesh as a violent state from which Hindus are fleeing. Islam debunks statements by senior members of the Indian government, as well as the figures presented by them, with respect to the condition of minorities in Bangladesh.

"He (India's Home Minister Amit Shah) earlier said in Parliament that Hindus are being tortured in Bangladesh. He added by saying that in 1947, the minority community in Bangladesh formed 22 per cent of the total population, while now it is 8 per cent. 'Were they killed? Were they forcibly converted? Were they pushed into India?' he asked. Later he qualified his statement and said Hindus were not persecuted during Bangabandhu's rule." The article does not deny that there has been an influx of Hindus from Bangladesh since Partition. But it argues that "the story of human movement, and indeed persecution

too, is more nuanced" than what Shah and others have tried to project.

"A significant portion of this drop happened before 1971, when Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan. By 1974, the year of the census, the minority population had been slashed to 14.6 per cent. This drop is due to the fact that over the decade, the newly-formed nation-states exchanged populations; and in 1971, the Pakistani military deliberately executed an ethnic cleansing campaign against non-Muslims and Muslims. Meanwhile, the exodus of non-Muslims had been supplemented by an influx of Muslims during the 50's and 60's from Bihar and other regions. Census figures from 1974 state that the Muslim population doubled from 34 million in 1951 to 65 million in 1961. Did this in any way skew the proportions?"

The article goes back to simple argument. In the Subcontinent, marred as it has been by violence and migrations — forced and voluntary — subjecting citizenship to unreasonable documentary proof and a religious test is "discriminatory and overly simplistic".

NAB DE-FANGED

Pakistan's National Accountability Bureau (NAB) has been stripped of many of its powers through an ordinance by the PTI government. The editorial in *Dawn* on December 29 brings out the problems with the body as well as the manner in which it has been curtailed. First and foremost, the move marks the end of the PTI's "accountability drive" — which was used to target political opponents and businessmen.

The editorial is categorical in explaining what made the ordinance necessary. "NAB's powers had to be clipped because the bureau's monumental incompetence and overweening ambition had caused it to cast its net far wider than it could manage." However, "the ordinance has created a double standard... All matters related to taxes as well as transactions that do not involve holders of public office will no longer be within NAB's remit; instead, they will be dealt with by the numerous institutions that already exist for the purpose, such as the FBR, FIA and the accountability courts."

The lesson from the NAB fiasco is this: If the "writ of the state is weak", its weakness will be exploited by many, both in the public and private sectors.

CHINESE ARRESTS

On December 23, 122 Chinese nationals were arrested by the Nepal police for cyber crimes, fraud and a host of other charges. From the December 26 editorial in *The Kathmandu Post*, it seems that the arrests had the tacit approval of the Chinese government. What is disturbing is that the arrested persons were picked up merely on suspicion, while still being under investigation.

The editorial asserts that "Nepal subscribes to the idea of habeas corpus, wherein a person cannot be detained for long unless concrete charges are brought forth. It seems the Nepal Police are abusing their power to... unlawfully hold the suspects on China's behalf." And, it hints that Nepal rather than learning lessons in development from its northern neighbour seems to be learning its undemocratic style of functioning.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OVERDUE REFORM

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Restructuring isn't always reform' (IE, December 27). The Railway Board's strength is set to be cut from eight to five. The reform will end the culture of working in silos in the railways, it will expedite decision-making and create a coherent vision for the organisation. In fact, the measures announced last week were mooted 25 years ago by the Prakash Tandon Committee and reiterated by the Rakesh Mohan Committee (2001), Sam Pitroda Committee (2012) and Bibek Debroy Committee (2015).

Vandana, Chennai

LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

To encourage quality reader intervention, The Indian Express offers the Letter of the Week award. The letter adjudged the best for the week is published every Saturday. Letters may be e-mailed to editpage@expressindia.com or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301.

SENA AND BJP

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Power and Sena' (IE, December 27). Today, political parties cannot garner votes solely on the basis of religion, especially because voters are becoming informed about governance. The BOP owes its success to the UPA's failures on multiple fronts. That the party was able to win a second term has much to do with the poor state of the Opposition. If the Sena has started realising that religion and politics are distinct that is a welcome sign for democracy.

Deepak Singhal, Chennai

ABOUT DISCIPLINE

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Crossing a line' (IE, December 26). It makes too much of an innocuous statement by the army chief. That said, it was really very disturbing to see people vandalising public property, pelting stones on

school buses and torching vehicles. India is known for peaceful protests. Patriotic citizens, including the army chief, have every right to call out the protestors.

Hari Krishan, Batala

NOT LOST, YET

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Where I am?' (IE, December 26). Even though the North Pole is acting mischievous, it may not be difficult to figure out where one is in a country like India. With increasing economic distress and rising unemployment, there are always enough people on the road to tell you where you are and even to offer advice on where to head next. Google can go easy. Cheer up, we are a bit too many to get lost.

Sangeeta Kampani, Delhi

Fiji CYCLONE SARAI CLAIMS TWO LIVES

Tropical Cyclone Sarai was moving slowly away from Fiji on Sunday, leaving two people dead and more than 2,500 needing emergency shelter. The cyclone damaged houses, crops and trees, cut power and forced the cancellation of several flights, stranding holidaymakers visiting the island nation, which is a major tourist draw.



TOP OF THE WORLD



BRITAIN Face-lifted Big Ben to ring in New Year

London: Britain's Big Ben bell in parliament's landmark clock tower will ring at midnight on New Year's Eve, marking the start of a year for the first time since its new face was revealed from under scaffolding halfway through restoration work. The 96-metre-tall Elizabeth Tower, one of the most photographed buildings in Britain, has been enveloped in scaffolding for the last two years as the four clock dials are reglazed, ironwork repainted and intricately carved stonework cleaned and repaired. In March, part of the scaffolding was removed, showing that the clock's once black numerals and hands have been repainted blue, in line with what scientists say was its original colour.

TAIWAN Tsai: China is a threat to island's democracy

Taipei: Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen said Sunday that the self-governing island's democracy remains under direct threat from rival China, underscoring her calls for closer ties with the US and other allies. Tsai was speaking at a televised debate against Han Kuo-yu of the main opposition Nationalist Party and veteran politician James Soong of the People's First Party. Elections for president and the legislature are set for January 11. Most polls show Tsai leading in her quest for a second four-year term.

SAUDI ARABIA Riyadh concert attacker given death sentence

Dubai: A Saudi Arabian court on Sunday sentenced to death a man accused of stabbing three performers at a live show in the capital Riyadh in November, state television said. Another man on trial for the same incident was sentenced to 12 and a half years in prison, al-Ekhbariya television said. The Nov. 11 attack occurred at King Abdullah Park, one of several venues hosting a months-long entertainment festival as part of government efforts to open up Saudi society and diversify its economy away from oil. The assailant was identified as a 33-year-old Yemeni resident.

Taliban council agrees to ceasefire, giving window for Afghan peace deal

Move likely to allow US to sign an agreement with militants for ending 18-year conflict in Afghanistan

RAHIM FAIEZ & KATHY GANNON
KABUL, DECEMBER 29

THE TALIBAN said Sunday they have agreed to a temporary ceasefire in Afghanistan. It provides a window during which a peace agreement with the United States could be signed.

A peace deal would allow Washington to bring home its troops from Afghanistan and end its 18-year military engagement there, America's longest. The US wants any deal to include a promise from the Taliban that Afghanistan would not be used as a base by terrorist groups. The US currently has an estimated 12,000 troops in Afghanistan.

The Taliban chief must approve the agreement but that is expected. The duration of the ceasefire was not specified but it is being suggested it would last for 10 days.

Four members of the Taliban negotiating team met for a week with the ruling council before they agreed on the brief ceasefire. The negotiating team returned on Sunday to Qatar



Taliban fighters in Afghanistan's Ghazni province. Members of the Taliban negotiating team met with the ruling council before they agreed to a brief ceasefire, expected to last for 10 days. Reuters file

where they maintain their political office.

The Taliban officials familiar with the negotiations spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorised to talk to the media.

A key pillar of the agreement, which the US and Taliban have been hammering out for more than a year, is direct negotiations

The Taliban chief must approve the agreement but that is expected. The duration of the ceasefire was not specified but it is being suggested it would last for 10 days.

EXPLAINED Key precondition for US-Taliban peace agreement

DURING US-TALIBAN negotiations, the Taliban's key demand was that Washington should withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The Trump administration is also keen on a troop withdrawal, but it insisted on a ceasefire. This was resisted by the Taliban, which considered its ability to carry out attacks as leverage in talks about its future role in Afghanistan. With the Taliban now agreeing to a brief ceasefire, the US could use it as a window to sign an agreement. The other contentious issue in the negotiations has been the Taliban's reluctance to directly engage in talks with the Afghan government. However, reports suggest that such intra-Afghan talks could take place soon after the US and Taliban sign a peace deal.

between Afghans on both sides of the conflict.

Those intra-Afghan negotiations are expected to be held within two weeks of the signing of a US-Taliban peace deal. They will likely decide what a post-war Afghanistan will look like, and what role the Taliban will play. The negotiations would cover a wide range of subjects, such as the

rights of women, free speech and the fate of the tens of thousands of Taliban fighters, as well as the heavily armed militias belonging to Afghanistan's warlords who have amassed wealth and power since the Taliban's ouster.

The temporary cease-fire had been proposed by US envoy Zalmay Khalilzad during the last round of talks. AP

Ukraine starts all-for-all prisoner swap with pro-Russia separatists

PAVEL POLITYUK & VLADIMIR SOLDATKIN
KIEV, MOSCOW, DECEMBER 29

UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT forces and pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine started a full prisoner swap on Sunday, driving all remaining detainees in the five-year conflict to a handover point and starting to unload them.

The swap, at a checkpoint near the industrial town of Horlivka in the Donetsk region, was expected to see Ukraine hand over 87 separatists in exchange for 55 pro-government Ukrainians, with armed troops from both sides looking on.

Ukrainian men and women dressed in civilian clothing got

off a bus after being brought to the rendezvous point by separatist forces and were then herded into a nearby tent.

"The first 25 freed Ukrainians soon will be home," Ukraine's presidential office said.

The exchange, scheduled to be completed later on Sunday, is likely to be hailed by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy as proof he is making good on a promise to bring captured Ukrainians home.

But some in Ukraine are unhappy that riot police accused of opening fire on protesters against the country's Russia-friendly then-president Viktor Yanukovich in 2014 are among those expected to be handed over. REUTERS



A Ukrainian citizen is welcomed upon his arrival following the exchange of prisoners of war near the Mayorsk crossing point in Donetsk region, Ukraine, on Sunday. Reuters

Egypt road mishap: three Indians dead, 13 injured

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
CAIRO, DECEMBER 29

THREE INDIANS were killed and 13 others injured when two buses carrying tourists crashed into a truck in Egypt's Suez governorate, the Indian embassy here said on Sunday.

The buses were heading to the beach-resort town of Hurghada on Saturday when they collided with the truck near Ain Sokhna town, about 120 kilometres east of Cairo.

"We regret to inform that 3 Indian citizens have lost their lives in the bus accident that occurred on 28 December near Ain Sokhna. Others who are injured are receiving medical treatment at various hospitals in Egypt," the Indian embassy in Egypt tweeted.

It said the relatives of the deceased and the injured have been contacted and all assistance is being rendered to them.

"Embassy officials are present at the hospitals and in touch with hospital authorities," the mission said.

The embassy said there were 16 Indian tourists on the buses.

According to the local media, the deceased also include two Malaysians and three Egyptians. More than 20 people were injured and rushed to the hospital.

Road accidents occur in Egypt mainly due to damaged roads and poor traffic regulations.

Residents and vacationers urged to leave Australian region as fire conditions worsen

WILL ZIEBEL
MELBOURNE, DECEMBER 29

RESIDENTS AND vacationers in part of the Australian state of Victoria were urged to leave on Sunday ahead of what is expected to be a day of extreme fire danger.

Authorities said temperatures of more than 40 Celsius (104 Fahrenheit), strong winds, thunderstorms and a wind change moving across the state



PM Scott Morrison looks at fire damage from a helicopter last week. AP

meant Monday would be one of the most significant fire weather days in Victoria's history.

State Emergency Management Commissioner Andrew Crisp told both residents

and thousands of vacationers in the East Gippsland region to leave no later than Monday morning.

"What we are saying now, based on the conditions that will be confronting us tomorrow across the state, but in particular in East Gippsland, is that if you're holidaying in that part of the state, it's time that you left," Crisp said on Sunday. "We are asking you to now leave East Gippsland from that area east of Bairnsdale," Crisp said. REUTERS

50 people dead as cold wave sweeps through Bangladesh

REUTERS
DHAKA, DECEMBER 29

AT LEAST 50 people have died in Bangladesh as cold weather continues to sweep across the country, officials said.

The country's lowest temperature this year was recorded at 4.5 degrees Celsius (40.1 Fahrenheit) early on Sunday in Tetulia, a border town in Bangladesh's north, the weather office said.

At least 17 people died of acute respiratory infection and

33 from diarrhea caused by rotavirus and other diseases across Bangladesh from Nov 1 to Dec 28, said Ayesha Akhter, a senior official of the government's health directorate.

Hospitals have been crowded with people suffering

from cold-related illnesses, such as influenza, dehydration and pneumonia, she said.

Those on low incomes, particularly labourers, are the worst affected by the cold weather because they lack clothes while many others, especially children

and the elderly people, are prone to diseases such as pneumonia, Akhter said.

The weather office said the cold snap, accompanied by chilly winds and dense fog, was likely to continue for few more days.

Saudi planning OIC foreign ministers' meeting on Kashmir

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
ISLAMABAD, DECEMBER 29

SAUDI ARABIA plans to convene a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation on Kashmir, in an apparent move by Riyadh to please Pakistan which skipped a recent summit of Muslim nations in Malaysia seen by Riyadh as an attempt to create a new bloc to replace the dysfunctional OIC led by it.

Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Faisal bin Farhan conveyed this to his Pakistani counterpart Shah Mehmood Qureshi during a meeting with him at the Foreign Office on Thursday. Dawn reported, quoting a diplomatic source.

He was on a day-long visit to Islamabad to convey the Saudi leadership's gratitude to Pakistan for not participating in the recently held Kuala Lumpur summit of Muslim nations in view of the Gulf Kingdom's reservations, the paper reported.

Prime Minister Imran Khan had confirmed Pakistan's participation in the summit hosted by Malaysia, but skipped the event at the eleventh hour due to pressure exerted by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates — key financial backers of the cash-strapped country.

Qureshi briefed Faisal on the situation in Kashmir in the aftermath of India's move to abrogate article 370 on August 5.

"The two Foreign Ministers discussed OIC's role in the advancement of the cause of Kashmir," the Foreign Office said.



Imran Khan with Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman earlier this year. Reuters

Saudis Arabia's decision is seen as a move to please Pakistan, which skipped a summit of Muslim nations in Malaysia, reportedly at Riyadh's request

He also "highlighted the Indian Government's actions with regard to CAA (Citizenship Amendment Act 2019) and NRC (National Register of Citizens) and the systematic targeting of minorities in India, particularly Muslims," it said.

The OIC is a 57-member grouping of Muslim majority nations, including Pakistan. The body has usually been supportive of Pakistan and often sided with Islamabad on the Kashmir issue.

In a brief statement, the OIC last week said it was "closely following recent developments affecting Muslim minority in India."

5 stabbed at Hanukkah celebration in rabbi's home in New York



At Monsey, New York, where the stabbing took place. Reuters

RYAN TARINELLI & JUSTIN MADDELL
MONSEY, DECEMBER 29

AS PEOPLE gathered at a rabbi's home north of New York City to celebrate the seventh night of Hanukkah, police said a man stabbed and wounded five before fleeing in a vehicle.

The Saturday night stabbings come on the heels of a string of attacks targeting Jews in the region, including a massacre at a kosher grocery store in New Jersey earlier this month. The rabbi's home is in Monsey, a town not far from the New Jersey state line and one of several in the Hudson Valley that has seen an influx of Hasidic Jews in recent years. The Rockland County town is about 56 kilometres north of New York City.

Police said the stabbings happened at around 10 pm. Hours

later, Brad Weidel, the police chief for the town of Ramapo, which covers Monsey, said that New York City police had located a vehicle and a possible suspect sought in connection with the attack. The NYPD hadn't confirmed whether anyone was in custody as of early Sunday morning. Authorities did not immediately provide a motive for the attack.

Five people were hospitalised, Weidel said. The extent of their injuries weren't immediately clear.

The Orthodox Jewish Public Affairs Council for the Hudson Valley region tweeted reports that the stabbings took place at the house of a Hasidic rabbi during a Hanukkah celebration.

According to public records, the home belongs to Rabbi Chaim Rottenberg, who leads the adjacent synagogue. Several officials had described the location of the stabbings as a synagogue. AP

AFTER 60 YEARS OF MARRIAGE, SHE HAD SLIPPED BEYOND A MURKY FOG THAT HER HUSBAND COULD NOT JOIN

They were sweethearts forever; then came Alzheimer's, murder, suicide

CORINA KNOLL
DECEMBER 29

IT BEGAN almost playfully, like tiny hiccups in her mind. She would forget she had already changed the sheets and change them again, or repeat a thought in the same breath.

Then the illness amplified.

She grew confused by everyday tasks. Became convinced her parents were still alive and insisted upon a visit. At social gatherings, she was anxious and fearful. She forgot how to sew and

cross-stitch. Forgot the faces of her children.

She did remember her name. Alma Shaver. But not her age. Eighty.

And sometimes, she did not know her husband.

He was Richard Shaver, a man whose wife of 60 years had been found by dementia, that thief that robs the minds of 50 million people worldwide. So common, yet so personally cruel — it comes with no road map for those tending to the afflicted.

For a while, her husband managed. He would sit next to his

wife and rub her hand, her knee, to try to calm the unease. He left notes explaining simple tasks. If she was stuck repeating herself, he asked yes or no questions to break the cycle: Did you graduate in 1957, Alma? Why, yes.

When visiting family, he picked out her clothes, usually the beige sweatshirt with the collar and a bird stitched on the front. He resorted to fast food in the drive-through lane so she wouldn't have to get out of the car.

By the spring of this year, things had gotten worse, as they always do with an illness that



A family photo of Richard and Alma Shaver celebrating their 25th wedding anniversary in 1983. NYT

takes and takes and takes. She had slipped beyond a murky fog that her husband could not join.

He waited until the two were alone in their Brick, New Jersey, home, a white colonial they had bought in retirement because the deck opened up to a lagoon.

It was a warm Sunday afternoon in June, the kind of day where, in healthier times, he would have steered his boat out on the water, and she would have sat on the deck swing waiting for his return.

Instead, she was in the upstairs bedroom asleep, the only

peace she ever seemed to find.

Shaver, 79, crawled onto the canopy bed — the one they had shared for years — and shot his wife. Then he lay down beside her and shot himself.

Richard Shaver had always been flippant about what he wanted in his final years.

He would joke about overdosing on pills when the time came or say he didn't want a funeral, just a party with lots of booze and funny stories. He referred to nursing homes as "The Place."

"Don't send me to The Place," he would say.

When his wife was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease a few years ago, he avoided discussing it and grew evasive about the future. He dismissed offers of help and suggestions that he hire a home health aide. His daughter Karen McDonald wanted to buy him a home near her. He declined.

"He didn't want to talk about it — just like, 'Mind your own business. I'm taking care of it,'" McDonald, 58, said. "His whole life was always about her. She was the most important. Not the kids or the grandkids. It was her." NYT

13 ECONOMY

MARKET WATCH

FPIs REMAIN NET BUYERS IN DEC

New Delhi: Foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) remained net buyers in December by investing Rs 2,613 crore in domestic markets, mainly due to expectation of a revival in corporate earnings, quantitative easing by US Fed and infusion of funds by central banks globally. **PTI**

AFTER PNB SCAM UNRAVELS, BRANCHES DOWN FROM 165 IN FY18 TO 128 IN FY19

Aiming for cost efficiency, PSBs cut overseas branch presence by 22.5%

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

STATE-OWNED BANKS significantly reduced their overseas branch presence by nearly one fourth after unravelling of over Rs 12,000 crore scam at Punjab National Bank (PNB).

According to data released by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), in the financial year ended March 2019, public sector banks (PSBs) reduced their overseas branch presence from 165 at the end of FY 2017-18 to 128 at the end of FY 2018-19, thereby reducing 37 branches or almost 22.5 per cent.

Besides, the PSBs also reduced the number of representative offices and closed 12 offices, thereby bringing their number down from 29 in March 2018 to 17 in March this year.

"Indian PSBs substantially reduced their overseas presence in terms of branches, representative offices and other offices with the objective of cost efficiency

	Branches		Representative offices		Total Presence	
	2018	2019	2018	2019	2018	2019
PSBs	165	128	29	17	260	211
SBI	52	40	8	7	92	80
BoB	50	36			70	56
Private banks	20	19	19	20	42	42
All banks	185	147	48	37	302	253

Source: RBI. The total presence also includes joint ventures, subsidiaries and remittance centres

through shutting down of unviable foreign operations and rationalisation of multiple branches in same cities or nearby places," said the RBI in its report on 'Trend and Progress of Banking in India 2018-19'.

Weeks after the scam at PNB, perpetrated by designer jeweller Nirav Modi came to light, the then banking secretary Rajeev Kumar had said that the state-owned banks will "consolidate 35 overseas operations without

affecting international presence of PSBs in these countries."

While these operations include bank branches, joint ventures, subsidiaries, remittance centres, and representative offices, he said that another 69 operations have been identified for further review. Kumar pointed that the move was aimed towards cost efficiencies and synergies in overseas market.

In line with the same, the Reserve Bank data shows that a

total of 49 operations, including 37 branches of state-run banks, were reduced during the year and the overall numbers came down from 260 in March 2018 to 211 in March 2019.

The biggest reduction was seen in case of Bank of Baroda (BoB), which saw its overseas branches come down from 50 to 36. State Bank of India's (SBI) branch numbers came down from 52 to 40 from FY18 to FY19.

The scam perpetrated by Nirav Modi involved several overseas branches of state-owned banks other than PNB.

However, there was no major impact on the presence of private sector banks. Data from the central bank shows that while there were 20 overseas branches and 19 representative offices of private sector banks as of March 2018, the numbers remained almost constant.

The number of branches reduced by one but at the same time, they saw an addition in the representative offices.

EXPLAINED Little change in presence of private banks

WHILE STATE-RUN banks consolidated overseas operations, aiming for cost efficiencies and synergies in overseas markets, private banks made little changes in their foreign presence.

As per RBI data for fiscal 2018-19, the total presence of private lenders remained the same, with one overseas branch shutting down but a new representative office being added.

INTERVIEW WITH MD & CEO, IFFCO TOKIO GENERAL INSURANCE

'If young population takes health insurance, we would be able to subsidise premium for elderly'

DESPITE A broader economic slowdown, the general insurance industry continues to grow at around 15 per cent. WARENDRA SINHA, MD and CEO of IFFCO Tokio General Insurance, told SANDEEP SINGH that the industry will continue to grow at the same pace as the penetration remains low and also because the economic growth won't be too bad for too long. Speaking about increasing penetration, he said that the industry is working on customising in a bid to provide right size insurance products that have lower premium, shorter tenure but high volume and also working on telematics-based products. Excerpts:



"As we speak, the industry is growing at 16 per cent and I see the industry closing at anywhere between 15-18 per cent at the end of the year" WARENDRA SINHA

How has the economic slowdown impacted growth of insurance sector?

I would say that for now it has not been impacted. In fact, last 3-4 years have been leading as far as growth is concerned. A couple of government schemes have played a major role: PM Fasal Bima Yojana (PMFBY) that came in 2016 and Ayushman Bharat Scheme. It has changed the portfolio mix. While motor insurance comes on top, it is followed by health and then the crop insurance.

Ten years ago, when government companies were undergoing business process restructuring it was projected that motor and health will grow at 15 per cent and that has been achieved. For many years, we were at penetration level of around 0.7 and today we are at 0.94 and that is after PMFBY and Ayushman Bharat. It tells the scope of business that still remains untapped.

I am upbeat about future growth. As we speak, the industry is growing at 16 per cent and I see the industry closing at anywhere between 15-18 per cent at the end of the year.

I have seen the industry come a long way from a top line premium income of Rs 500 crore in 1982. In 2000, when the market opened up — private companies were allowed to come back again and broking fraternity was allowed to come for the first time, the premium of general insurance industry was Rs 10,000 crore and last financial year it closed at 17x.

So you don't think that the slowdown will have any impact?

While it has not had impact as of now, the downturn will take its toll because if businesses don't do as well as they were doing, then they would not want to pay insurance premium and if we see factories shutting down, it will lead to a dip in terms of insurance. I, how-

ever, keep an optimistic view. As of now, we have not seen a reduction in industry premium collections but a continued slowdown may hurt.

My feeling is that the economy will not be so bad because I think the government has done a lot of cleaning and it should turn around. Also, it is the US-China trade war that is manifesting all over the world. Since the penetration is low, it will help us grow and we will focus on health, motor and home products. Also, all insurance companies have got together to start a campaign. It is going to be a one-year campaign and will start soon. It will aim to bring about awareness and to educate the masses that insurance is for the benefit of people.

How is decline in automobiles sales hurting the sector?

There is a downturn in the auto sector and it is largely because of new vehicles. It impacts the premium collection because premium of new vehicles is higher. Also, when we get more of new vehicles, the claims ratio is almost 30 per cent lower than what it would be if we only have old vehicles. However, we have been helped by government measures such as increase in penalty under Motor Vehicles Amendment Act, 2019. Even today, almost 50 per cent of the vehicles remain uninsured since many don't renew it after the first year.

Don't you think that it is unfair that a lot of elderly don't get health insurance and if they get, the premium is high?

As the CEO of an insurance company, it feels bad that when the earning goes down at old age,

we cannot offer them insurance and if we do offer with exclusions, we raise the premiums. I feel horrible about it, but there is no option and which is why I feel that penetration must increase and young ones should take insurance. If the young population takes health insurance, we would be able to cross subsidise the premium for the elderly. I think that on an overall basis, the industry needs to raise volumes to be able to subsidise other consumers as in many cases the premiums for prohibitive for elders.

Today, group medical policy bleeds all insurance companies. I have nothing against them but the premium should be commensurate. However, even if they don't pay commensurate premium, if the younger lot were to buy insurance, it would cross subsidise. Today a challenge for an insurance company on an overall basis is to have an operating cost of below 100 as then you make profit.

While penetration still remains low, how do you plan to increase it?

We are trying to open offices in smaller towns and rural areas and are working on smaller products that will cater to that segment of the society. The industry is working on customised right size insurance products that have lower premium, shorter tenure but high volume.

It has already started. We have come up with Mosbite insurance. It covers vector borne diseases — malaria, dengue, chikungunya, Zika virus etc before the onset of the season — which is the vulnerable season. Another one for which we have got a permission from IRDAI is an individual health policy — Swasthya Raksha Bima. It is small ticket sum insured, small premium product where if you get treatment in Tier 2-4 cities, there will be no deductible.

By the end of the current financial year, products based on telematics will come in India which essentially means you pay as you use. This is what foreign countries do. If you are elder citizen, your premium is low and if you own a fancy car you pay more premium. You can buy insurance for a month when you go out for a long drive. You can also take a cover for weekends if you take your vehicle out only during weekends. So in such case, the vehicle will be covered only during the weekend and the premium will be charged commensurately. It will not be pro-rata, but it will be much lower than what you pay annualised. We are collecting data and in the next fiscal, we should be ready to offer such products.

Lack of clarity on 'illegal' mining, delay in clearances 'major' impediments to sector

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

LACK OF clarity on the definition of illegal mining as well as delays in obtaining environmental and forest clearances (EC and FC) serve as "major" impediments to the development of the sector, states a recent industry body report. States have been holding back renewal of leases for mines over unpaid penalties for illegal mining, and the move is "likely" to cause disruption in coal supply at a time when India faces inadequate domestic supply, claims the report.

"Following a Supreme Court judgment, 'mining in excess of permissible limits under the mining plan or the EC or FC ... would certainly amount to illegal or unlawful mining', some states have issued penalty notices, for illegal mining, to several mining companies," the report titled 'Towards a Globally Competitive Minerals and Mining Industry', drafted by the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), states.

Odisha has imposed a fine of about Rs 19,000 crore on iron ore miners and is demanding Rs 10,289 crore from Mahanadi

'NEED TO CLARIFY VIOLATIONS OF MINING PLAN'

■ CII argues that there is a need to clarify that violations of mining plan, EC and FC will not be treated as illegal mining. According to it, 'illegal mining' should include mining outside the lease area, whereas violations in EC and FC terms should only be dealt with the Environment Protection Act, 1986 and the Forest Conservation Act, 1980

■ Its report 'Towards a Globally Competitive Minerals and Mining Industry' says that some states have issued penalty notices for illegal mining to several mining firms, following an SC judgment that said "mining in excess of permissible limits under the mining plan or the EC or FC... would certainly amount to illegal or unlawful mining"

Coalfield, states the report. Jharkhand has sent claims totalling Rs 3,273 crore to iron ore miners and has levied penalties of Rs 33,714 crore from Central Coalfields and Bharat Coking Coal, according to it.

"Coal India Limited subsidiaries, in total, are facing penalties of Rs 53,331 crore as over 60 of their mines have exceeded production limits set by environmental authorities... this comes at a time when India relies on coal imports due to inadequate domestic production," stated the report.

"Financial dues of this magnitude will severely affect the fi-

nancial health of mining companies — private and public sector. Further, given that many mining companies have not paid the penalty, states are holding back renewal of leases for such mines. This is likely to cause disruption in supply."

CII's report argues that there is a need to clarify that violations of mining plan, EC and FC will not be treated as illegal mining. According to it, 'illegal mining' should include mining outside the lease area, whereas violations in EC and FC terms should only be dealt with the Environment Protection Act, 1986 and the Forest

Conservation Act, 1980.

"A high-level committee chaired by NTPI Aayog vice chairperson and comprising Cabinet Secretary and secretaries of coal, mines, etc., has made a similar recommendation," states the report, adding that the severity of penal action must differ for violations and illegal actions.

According to the report, a "significant" disruption in supply is also possible with leases for 329 merchant mines due to expire in March 2020. Of these, 281 mines are on-working, it says.

The report also states that the process of obtaining EC and FC is currently "tedious" and subject to "huge" time delays.

Only three of the 106 non-coal concessions offered were executed as of May 2019 "primarily" on account of EC and FC as well as issues with land acquisition, notes the report. According to it, obtaining these clearances take around 570 days, and "even reputed public sector enterprises" like Coal India Limited receive clearances after a "significant" time lag.

The central and state governments should "commit" and "strictly" adhere to timelines for grant of approvals and licences, the report adds.

Economy likely to rebound in 2020: CII

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

INDIA'S ECONOMY is expected to rebound in 2020 on the back of measures taken by the government and the RBI coupled with easing of global trade tensions, industry body CII said on Sunday.

The chamber also suggested a flexible fiscal policy that will set a central government's target for the deficit in the range of around 0.5 to 0.75 per cent, and said it is likely to have a significant multiplier effect on the economy.

It said that as we are set to enter the new year, there are nascent signs that the economy is on a better footing than what it was in the year gone by. "With the proactive measures taken by the government and the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), industry believes that the slowdown will be overcome, and a gradual recovery will soon be in place."

"Nascent signs of recovery are noted in the form of improved PMIs (Purchasing Managers' Index) of manufacturing and services, jump in passenger air traffic, sharp moderation in the decline in sales of passenger cars, among others," said CII President Vikram Kirloskar.

BRIEFLY

CBIC: Every communication to bear DIN

New Delhi: The Customs department has made quoting of electronically generated document identification number (DIN) mandatory in all communications, including e-mails, sent to taxpayers with an aim to bring in transparency in the administration, as per a circular by Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs (CBIC).

'New industrial, e-comm policies by this fiscal'

New Delhi: The Department for Promotion of Industry and Internal Trade (DPIIT) is working actively on a new industrial as well as e-commerce policy, both expected to be released by the end of this fiscal, DPIIT Secretary Guruprasad Mohapatra said. **PTI**

'Proactively dealt with US trade frictions'

Beijing: China's Commerce Ministry has "proactively dealt with" trade frictions with the US this year, it said Sunday after an annual work conference. **REUTERS**

'Relief on AGR to non-telecom PSUs must come only from SC'

Senior DoT officials say it is unlikely to provide any relief

AASHISH ARYAN
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE DEPARTMENT of Telecommunications (DoT) is unlikely to provide any relief to non-telecom public sector undertakings (PSUs) such as GAIL, Power Grid, Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) and Rail Tel on the payment of adjusted gross revenue (AGR). Any such relief, senior DoT officials said, must come only from the Supreme Court.

"Notices were sent and they have sent their replies, which we are examining. It will be premature for us to say anything right now. We believe that they will have to go to the Supreme Court and seek clarification on whether they are included or not (within the definition of AGR)," a DoT official said.

The DoT had written to GAIL in November asking them to pay Rs 1.72 lakh crore in AGR dues following the SC judgment upholding the government's definition of AGR. The apex court had on October 24 ruled that for calculating the AGR owed by a company, the overall revenue of the firm had to be taken into consideration.

GAIL, Power Grid and other companies have, however, denied that they owe any monies to the DoT, and said they have already paid the amounts due to the government. The DoT, how-

PSUs DENY OWING MONEY TO DoT

■ GAIL, Power Grid and other companies have denied that they owe any monies to the DoT, and said they have already paid the amounts due to the government

■ The DoT, however, is of the view that the clarification on whether public sector undertakings such as GAIL owe any money or not must come only from the Supreme Court

ever, is of the view that the clarification on whether PSUs such as GAIL owe any money or not must come only from the SC.

"Suppose I issue you notice to pay something and you say it is not applicable. You have to challenge it somewhere. You cannot just send your reply and the matter ends there. If the government is asking you to pay, and you feel that it is not to be paid, then there is a mechanism by which you will challenge," another DoT official said.

All parties in the AGR case, whether private or public, will have to ultimately approach only the apex court to seek any relief

as everyone is bound by the SC judgment, the officials said.

"They (PSUs) have three types of licences. One is NLD, which is national long distance. The other is IP2, which is infrastructure provider 2. That and NLD are in a way related. The third is internet service provider licence. The Supreme Court judgment appears to cover all of them," one of the officials of the Department said.

While telecom companies like Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea, which owe close to Rs 100 lakh crore in AGR dues to the government, have filed review petitions in SC, it is not clear if others such as GAIL and DMRC have moved the apex court seeking any clarifications on the same.

"They will have to take a call. Our assessment is that it is applicable. We are not going into the logic part of it of whether it should be or it shouldn't be. Because the Supreme Court order also says this time and in 2011 that nothing prevented them from making separate companies. This order also says that. They should answer this question as to why they did not do it," the officials said.

Apart from GAIL, the DoT has also written to Power Grid asking it to pay Rs 1.25 lakh crore as AGR dues. Power Grid, too, has denied the dues and said that after adding the penalties it owes also Rs 22,168 crore.

Green certificate sales down 10% to 5.04 lakh in December

Sales of renewable energy certificates (RECs) fell around 10 per cent to 5.04 lakh units in December as compared to 5.59 lakh in the same month a year ago due to lower supply, according to official data

3.6 LAKH: RECs traded on Indian Energy Exchange (IEX) this December, as against 3.83 lakh in the same month last year

1.44 LAKH: RECs traded on Power Exchange of India (PXIL) in December 2019, as compared to 1.76 lakh in the year-ago month

LOW SUPPLY SITUATION FOR NON-SOLAR, SOLAR RECs: IEX data showed that both non-solar and solar RECs continued to see low supply situation, with buy

bids exceeding sell bids due to low inventory

IEX AND PXIL are the two power bourses in the country which are engaged in trading of RECs and electricity

TRADING OF RECs is conducted on the last Wednesday of every month. But due to Christmas holiday, the trading this month was done on the last Thursday

BUY AND SELL BIDS AT IEX IN DEC:

13.43 LAKH: RECs that got buy bids

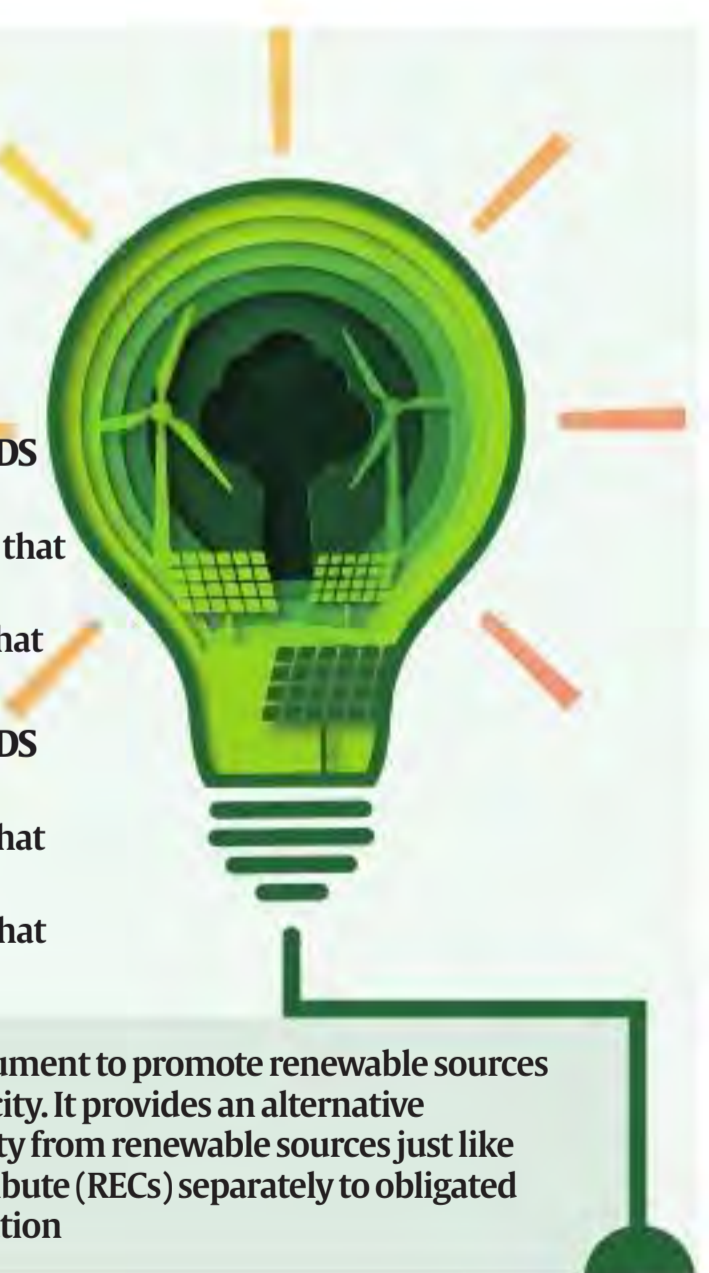
4.12 LAKH: RECs that got sell bids

BUY AND SELL BIDS AT PXIL IN DEC:

5.74 LAKH: RECs that got buy bids

1.49 LAKH: RECs that got sell bids

THE REC MECHANISM is a market-based instrument to promote renewable sources of energy and development of market in electricity. It provides an alternative voluntary route to a generator to sell its electricity from renewable sources just like conventional electricity and offer the green attribute (RECs) separately to obligated entities to fulfil their renewable purchase obligation



'China to issue GDP data under new mechanism'

K J VARMA
BEIJING, DECEMBER 29

CHINA WILL revise its historical regional GDP data under a unified accounting mechanism from early next year, the National Bureau of Statistics said, amidst the continued slowdown of the world's second largest economy.

The Chinese economy grew at an annual pace of 6.0 per cent in the July-September quarter, the slowest growth since 1992. The

slowdown is exacerbated by the ongoing trade war between the US and China.

In November this year, China revised its 2018 GDP, saying the economy was 2.1 per cent bigger than earlier estimated, revising the gross domestic product (GDP) for 2018 to 91.93 trillion yuan (\$13.1 trillion) from \$12.8 trillion.

A new GDP data under a unified accounting mechanism to be introduced early next year, state-run Xinhua news agency quoted the National Bureau of Statistics

(NBS) as reporting on Friday.

The new mechanism will unify the standards and procedures for calculating national and local GDP numbers which had been calculated under different accounting methods adopted by local and national statistics authorities since 1985, the bureau said.

The reform is expected to close the current discrepancy between national and regional figures, improving data quality while enhancing the credibility of the gov-

ernment statistics, it said.

To ensure data comparability, the country will also revise historical local GDP figures and publish them in 2020, the bureau said.

As the economic activities of some government institutions are only reflected in the national GDP, the combined regional number will be slightly lower than the national amount, it said.

China and the US have been locked in a longstanding trade war that has threatened to roil the global economy. **PTI**

THE MOST DEMOCRATIC EVER

Uzbekistan holds a semi-serious election

But the former dictatorship still lacks any opposition worth the name



A man casts his ballot during parliamentary election in Tashkent on December 22. Reuters

FOR THE past 100 years, first under communism, then under an exceptionally vicious dictatorship, Uzbekistan's parliament has been toothless, always pandering to the man in charge—in Moscow or, since independence in 1991, in Tashkent, the Central Asian state's capital. But as Uzbeks go to the polls on December 22nd, Bobur Bekmurodov, a candidate who has been running a government-backed movement to promote reform, says it is time for the parliament to "grow teeth". If he wins a seat, he says, he will try to make local government more accountable and let civil society breathe more freely. That is fighting talk in a country that long trembled under the lash of Islam Karimov, who, after serving the Kremlin loyally for many years, tyrannised the independent country until his death in 2016. Since then his successor, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, has astonished and delighted his citizens with his enthusiasm for reform. The question now is how far and how fast he will dare to go.

Mr Mirziyoyev's reforms have so far centred on the economy, which he has set

about liberalising with gusto. The main political change to date has been to lock up far fewer people for their opinions, although life remains difficult for some journalists and bloggers. Mr Bekmurodov, who is 34, would "absolutely not" have stood for parliament in the old days, but sees an opportunity for change. He is not, however, a member of an opposition party, because no such thing yet exists in this country of 33m people, and independents are barred from standing. Mr Bekmurodov is on the ticket of the Uzbekistan Liberal Democratic Party, the outgoing parliament's largest force and the closest thing Uzbekistan has to a ruling party. Mr Mirziyoyev, supposedly above the political fray, says he supports no candidates and no party.

The other four parties that are taking part in the election espouse minor variations on the government's themes. None of them truly criticises the powers that be. The People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, the Justice Social Democratic Party and the National Revival Democratic

Party advocate improved social welfare for various groups. The Ecological Party backs government plans to build a nuclear power station. Voters on the streets of Tashkent have little idea of what these parties really stand for. One market trader says he will tick the People's Democratic Party on his ballot paper because he likes the word "people" in the name.

The government is depicting the election, the first national ballot since Mr Mirziyoyev won the presidency three years ago with an implausible 89% of the vote, as Uzbekistan's most vibrant and competitive ever. That is true, but the previous, sham elections set an extremely low bar and the absence of any opposition parties remains a glaring flaw. Officials insist Uzbekistan is

democratising, but in a manner more evolutionary than revolutionary. It has passed a new election law, which monitors from the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe say follows some recommendations to improve the administration of the ballot, but ignores others pertaining to "fundamental freedoms".

The campaign featured live television debates which, although staid, subjected candidates to a new level of scrutiny. Parties have been wooing voters more vigorously than in the past, even though their rhetoric is "superficial and artificial", according to Nazima Davletova, a civic activist, and "their programmes are basically the same." Some have voiced timid criticism of officialdom. After hospitals in his constituency lost power 50

times in three days, Mr Bekmurodov took to social media to complain.

Mr Mirziyoyev enjoys popularity for bringing change after 25 years of stagnation, but recent protests over energy shortages reflect disillusionment with the state of basic public services. Double-digit inflation is another gripe. Commentators on social media lampooned the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party after he blamed a 20% rise in meat prices this year on Uzbeks' insatiable appetites. Mr Mirziyoyev has loosened the screws on the press, whose coverage of the campaign has been livelier than before, though there are red lines: criticising the president remains a no-no.

Dilfuza Kurolova, a human-rights lawyer, harbours cautious optimism that the new parliament can be more "impactful". Many voters are more sceptical. "The parties do nothing for us," says a health worker dismissively. Mr Mirziyoyev has ordered parliamentarians to spend more time with their constituents to get a better sense of their concerns, and claims to desire a more robust de-

bate in parliament. He has beefed up its limited powers to call ministers to account, although the mood remains more consensual than confrontational.

"We are not an enemy to the government," says Eldor Tulyakov, an MP in the outgoing parliament from the National Revival Party, but "we do criticise." He believes the greater freedom of expression Uzbeks enjoy under Mr Mirziyoyev will eventually lead to the emergence of a proper political opposition. Even the optimistic Ms Kurolova has her doubts about that. Although there are technically no legal impediments, she says, "we don't have much freedom to create political parties."

For all Mr Mirziyoyev's talk of transforming parliament into a "true school of democracy", there is little proof he is willing to tolerate genuine opposition. Then again, says Mr Bekmurodov, a great deal has changed in the president's three years in power: "I've learned not to rule anything out, because a great deal that seemed impossible to us is now reality."

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The other four parties that are taking part in the election espouse minor variations on the government's themes. None of them truly criticises the powers that be

CLIMATE CHANGE

The COP25 meeting on the climate yields little

It was just a cop-out

ANNUAL UN climate summits are never moments of unbridled optimism, but this year's, held in Madrid and dubbed COP25, was particularly dispiriting. Its logo was a clock with its hands at a quarter to 12. Midnight duly passed on Friday December 13th—supposedly the summit's last day, and then again on Saturday. Only on Sunday did delegates agree to weak and watered-down commitments to enact previously promised cuts in emissions of greenhouse gases. And they deferred until next year a decision on regulating a new international carbon market.

In 2015, in Paris, nearly 200 countries promised to stop global warming before average temperatures rose by more than 1.5-2°C above pre-industrial levels. Most climate scientists, though, admit privately that there is little hope of this. A coalition of governments including the European Union therefore came to Madrid demanding a strongly worded final text that would urge all countries to promise in 2020 to cut emissions further and faster than agreed so far. That text failed to materialise.

In fact, the real effort on this front came from Brussels, where the EU's leaders, after some wrangling, committed themselves on December 12th to reducing emissions to "net zero" by 2050. This means any release of greenhouse gases thereafter will be balanced by the capture of such gases already in the atmosphere by, say, extra afforestation. The European Commission's presidency has published a comprehensive and ambitious, if sometimes vague, proposal for measures that would achieve this goal. As part of it, an EU climate law enshrining the 2050 target will be put forward in the spring of 2020.

Weak and watered-down commitments to enact cuts in emissions of greenhouse gases are nothing new. What COP25 is really likely to be remembered for, though, is a failure to deal with carbon markets. Plans for such markets go back to a scheme created by the Kyoto protocol, a treaty signed in 1992. An arcane technical clause in the Paris agreement then offered a framework for linking existing national or regional markets and

thus creating a new global one that would be administered by the UN and offer access to countries that do not have their own. Delegates in Madrid drew up guidelines for environmentally sound trading principles for this putative market. What they did not make clear was how all this would connect with what Kyoto had already achieved.

Credit where it's due

The Kyoto version of carbon markets, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), let rich countries buy carbon credits from poor countries for carbon-capturing projects that offset their emissions at home. Thousands of CDM projects were duly registered, but unknown numbers of credits were left unclaimed after their value crashed in 2012, because demand dried up as a result of rule changes within the EU.

Some of the main participants in the CDM, chiefly Brazil, want these credits transferred to the Paris scheme. But doing so would flood that scheme with "hot air": credits that no longer correspond to real, future



Activists from Extinction Rebellion attend a climate change protest on Gran Via street as COP25 climate summit is held in Madrid, on December 7. Reuters

reductions in emissions.

Done well, international carbon markets could accelerate emissions cuts by drawing in private funds and helping money to flow faster to the cheapest opportunities. One analysis, by the Environmental Defence Fund, an advocacy group, found that they might, in theory, reduce the cost of meeting climate targets by between 59% and 79%, assuming most countries participated. If finan-

cial gains were reinvested in further climate action, cumulative emissions cuts between 2020 and 2035 might be double those currently on the table in national pledges under the Paris agreement.

All this leaves a lot to do in 2020. Within the UN, technical work on carbon markets will resume in the new year, leading up to next year's meeting, in Glasgow. Climate is also on the agenda at an EU-China summit

scheduled for September. During his presidency, Barack Obama was able to work with China's president, Xi Jinping, and break the stalemate that had previously existed between the world's two largest emitters. With America set to pull out of the Paris agreement in November, perhaps the European Union can step into the gap.

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15 TALK ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD



WHERE IT ALL BEGAN

The Holburne Museum in Bath, England, will display Turner Prize-winning ceramist Grayson Perry's earliest artworks. Recently, it issued a public request to help crowdsourcing works that were lost. The show will have the transvestite potter's sculptures that deal with gender, politics and sexuality.

WEEK AHEAD



Art of Steal

DIRECTOR LUCAS Bernard's debut feature *Un Beau Voyou* is about a retiring detective Baffrois trying to solve an art burglary in Paris, after being intrigued by the sheer elegance of how some paintings were stolen. The French film with English subtitles will be screened on January 2, at ML Bhartia Auditorium, Alliance Française de Delhi, at 6.30 pm.



Mapping History

OJAS ART Gallery's exhibition "India: A Mapful Story" is an exhibition of 70 historical maps from the 16th century to 1946, delving into how India's geography has been shaped over the centuries and cartography emerged as a mainstream practice. At 1-A, Qutub Minar Complex Road, Mehrauli, till January 8, from 11 am to 7 pm. Entry is free.



Dream On

BROOKLYN-BASED singer-songwriter Shilpa Ananth's music, interspersed with jazz and electronic influences, takes listeners on a journey to the idyllic landscapes of south India. She performs at The Piano Man Jazz Club, on January 3, at 9 pm.

Drama On and Off the Big Screen

Even as Hindi cinema didn't offer many major surprises in 2019, some of the year's best films made in other Indian languages won both, audiences' appreciation and critics' nod



ALAKA SAHANI

Gender debate

GENDER DISCOURSES in the context of Indian cinema intensified in the second half of 2019. The criticism over "glorification of misogyny" in *Kabir Singh*, which is a remake of the 2017 Telugu movie *Arjun Reddy*, refused to die down. Thankfully, 2019 had several other movies that not only handled gender issues and politics well but were also entertaining. One of the most talked-about movies, Assamese film *Aamis* directed by Bhaskar Hazarika, explored the inner desires of a woman, who has a seemingly perfect life as a devoted mother, wife and doctor. In Thiagarajan Kumararaja's sophomore feature *Super Deluxe* in Tamil, popular actor Vijay Sethupathi plays a transgender, Shilpa, with much conviction and sass. This visually striking movie also has Samantha Akkineni as a bored newly-wed with a mind of her own. Madhu C Narayanan's debut feature *Kumbalangi Nights* unmasked toxic masculinity. With beautiful backwaters of Kerala as its backdrop, the Malayalam movie also explored the relationship of four brothers, who in spite of their differences, are open to loving and nurturing, sharing with each other and the women, who come into



their life. In the mainstream fare, Alia Bhatt as Safeena in Zoya Akhtar's *Gully Boy* stood out with her spunk. Taapsee Pannu and Bhumi Pednekar played trigger-happy grannies in *Saad Ki Aankh* with much glee. At the beginning of the year, Netflix dropped Ivan Ayr's *Soni*, which had Geetika Vidya and Saloni Batra as two cops posted in Delhi, that explores patriarchy and class distinction.

Indie flavour

The year marked several interesting movies made by independent filmmakers and small producers. Not all of them have made it to the theatres yet. Some have been screened at international and domestic film festivals. The first feature of Prateek Vats's *Eeb Allay Ooo!*, after its India premiere at MAMI Mumbai Film Festival and opening Dharamshala International Film Festival, is set to screen in the Panorama section of Berlinale 2020. A string of independent movies tried to reflect the contemporary socio-political climate. Some of these movies included Kislay's *Aise Hee (Just Like That)* and Saurav Rai's *Nimtoh (Invitation)*. *Aamis* was a biting criticism of restrictions on eating meat while Gitanjali Rao's animation feature *Bombay Rose* portrayed the harsh realities of the metropolis where many worlds collide. Achal Mishra, 23, made his debut as a writer-director with the nostalgia-filled

2019 LOOKING BACK



(Clockwise from above far left) Stills from this year's best in Indian cinema — *Super Deluxe*; *Bombay Rose*; *Gully Boy*; *Aamis*; *Kumbalangi Nights*; *The Sky is Pink*



Maithali movie, *Gamak Ghar*. Documentaries such as Archana Atul Phadke's *About Love* and Tanuja Chandra's *Aunty Sudha Aunty Radha* were an intimate look at women and their aspirations.

Saying it like it is

In *Gully Boy*, Akhtar tried to capture the realities of slum life and infuse vigour into it by making Murad (Ranveer Singh) dream of making his voice heard through rap songs. Writer-director Anubhav Sinha managed an impossible task — talk about caste-based violence yet present a very engaging story. *Article 15*, which tried to start conversations regarding our casteist society, also made its ensemble cast, led by Ayushmann Khurrana, deliver a compelling performance. There were a fair number of releases that tried to touch upon relevant topics even though the

result was not always impressive. For instance, *Ek Ladki Ko Dekha Toh Aisa Laga* talked about same-sex romance; *Good Newwz* about motherhood; and *Bala* questioned the obsession over appearances. Cashing in on the nationalist sentiment, Aditya Dhar-directed *Uri: The Surgical Strike* told the story of the 2016 Indian military retaliation of the terrorist attack in Uri and ended up being one of 2019's top-grossers. Set in the backdrop of the 2018 Nipah virus outbreak in Kerala, Aashiq Abu-directed *Virus* was a gripping medical thriller that drew from real-life characters.

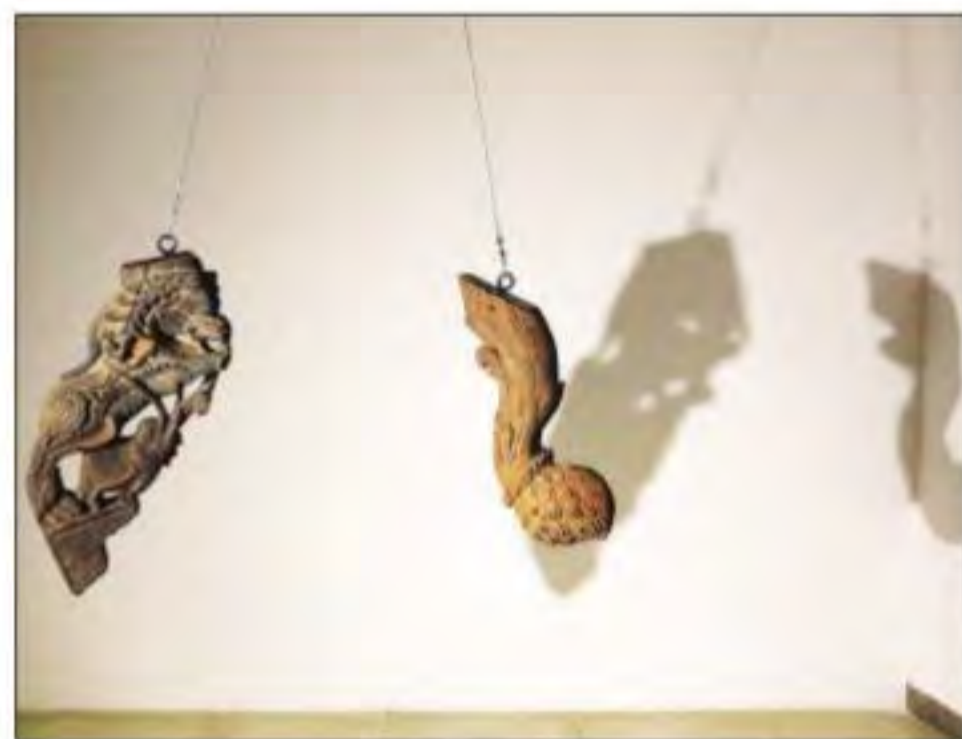
Controversies and surprises

In the run-up to *Judgemental Hai Kya?*'s release, Kangana Ranaut's spat with a journalist during a promotional event created quite a stir. Prior to that, the movie had to tweak its

title as the Indian Psychiatric Society (IPS) raised objection to its original title, *Mental Hai Kya*. In a surprising development, National Award-winning actor Zaira Wasim quit the film industry in June. In a detailed social media post, she said work came in the way of her faith. Kashmir-based Wasim became a household name after playing a young wrestler in *Dangal*. Her movie, *The Sky is Pink*, released later this year. As the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) protests intensified, several film personalities spoke up on social media, even as the Bollywood top brass continued to remain silent. Director-actor Farhan Akhtar joined the protesters at August Kranti Maidan in Mumbai, to oppose CAA and National Register of Citizens (NRC). So did, filmmaker Anurag Kashyap. He had quit the social media platform, but made a comeback of sorts to make his voice heard.

Painting their Dreams

Well-known artists pick a potential talent from the younger pool, who they believe will create a splash on the art scene in the years to come



(From above far left) *Where is God* by Umesh Singh; *Ayesha Singh's Frayed Continuum*; Richa Duhan at work; Ankush Safaya's work

VANDANA KALRA

UMESH SINGH, 27



HE WAS one of the three winners of Tata Trusts Students' Biennale International Awards at the Kochi-Muziris Biennale 2018-19. Singh gave voice to the suffering and struggling farmers, some of who had to quit farming to explore other means of livelihood for survival. An erstwhile farmer, Singh's father left cultivation on his farmland in Kurmuri village in Bihar to become a security guard in Hyderabad, a decade ago. "I want their pleas to be heard," says Singh. If at the 2019 Khoj Peers residency his installation *Poora neel* took off from the Champaran Satyagraha to discuss the predicament of the farmers today, in *Barbil* he created a bamboo structure following the technique used to build bridges in villages. "People have forgotten this art," says Singh. At the recent Serendipity Arts Festival in Goa, the postgraduate in fine arts from SN School of Arts and Communication cre-

ated a site-specific installation using waste wood. "I created a dead jungle to emphasise on the need for maintaining an ecological balance," says Singh, who makes a conscious effort not to use non-biodegradable materials.

JAGANNATH PANDA ON HIM: I heard about Umesh a few years ago and recently he was chosen by the curator to participate in the Barbil Art Project, that I organised. Extremely energetic, he has multiple approaches towards his practice. Coming from a farming background, his works reflect his concern for ecology and farming issues.

AYESHA SINGH, 29



SHE WAS still pursuing her graduation at the Slade School of Fine Art, when she began exploring architecture. "It started with photographs of Delhi. I began looking at spaces that might seem usual but had intriguing architectural histories... At that moment, I was looking at spaces that had hybridised architecture and how these were influenced," says Singh. She

2020 LOOKING AHEAD

adds, "Architecture is also influenced by colonial histories, the continuation of post-colonial hierarchies and the movement of cultures — I began to look at the way we view these narratives and how they are communicated subconsciously to us." This continues to form the essence of her works. If in her 2017 solo "Stone, Paper, Pillar" at The Gujral Foundation in Delhi, she explored the evolution of the column from being a structural necessity to a decorative element, in her recent solo "It Was Never Concrete" at Shrine Empire Gallery, Singh delved into the power structures embedded in the cityscape of Delhi and how the city manifests in its architecture — from *Hybrid Amalgamations*, graphite and pencil on paper, that referenced parts of Delhi's monuments from different periods, to *Frayed Continuum*, with discarded architectural ornaments, reflecting on global influences on traditional architecture, among others.

MANISHA PAREKH ON HER: I find her way of working really interesting and in-

spiring. She is a promising young artist dealing with a variety of mediums — working with fine lines and architectural spaces. She works with mild steel, a material that I have recently started using in my work, so we have had conversations about this material, which have been very productive. I have been observing her practice for some time and we have exhibited together at The Sculpture Park in Nahargarh, Jaipur. It is gratifying to see an artist's work evolving and growing. I look forward to seeing what Ayesha is doing next.

RICHA DUHAN, 22



Belonging to Samalkha, a small village in Haryana, for Duhan art is a means to depict the gender disparities that she grew up witnessing. "I want to tell the world how we still live in a regressive environment where women are supposed to look after the household and are allowed no opportunities of progress," says the final year masters student in fine arts at College of Art, Delhi. Winner of an award instituted by Abir Foundation in 2019, she uses materials such

as wood, iron and waste tin to portray the challenges faced by women and how they overcome every obstacle. "Like rust iron, women too can face all difficulties," says Duhan. The layered works has her stitching together metal sheets to create patterns. At her studio at Kaladhaam in Noida are several of her creations — from the 5x4 feet wall relief *Around*, with kitchen utensils and utility items such as scissors and an iron wovon in metal, to *Kadam*, with terracotta slippers moving across an empty frame.

GIGI SCARIA ON HER: I find Richa's style to be very bold. She has the potential of coming up with really interesting work. I have visited her studio in Kaladhaam. Belonging to Haryana, I feel her genuine concern for gender issues reflects in her works, that are centered on feminine subjects. Even her treatment of material, primarily tin and wood, is very interesting.

ANKUSH SAFAYA, 34

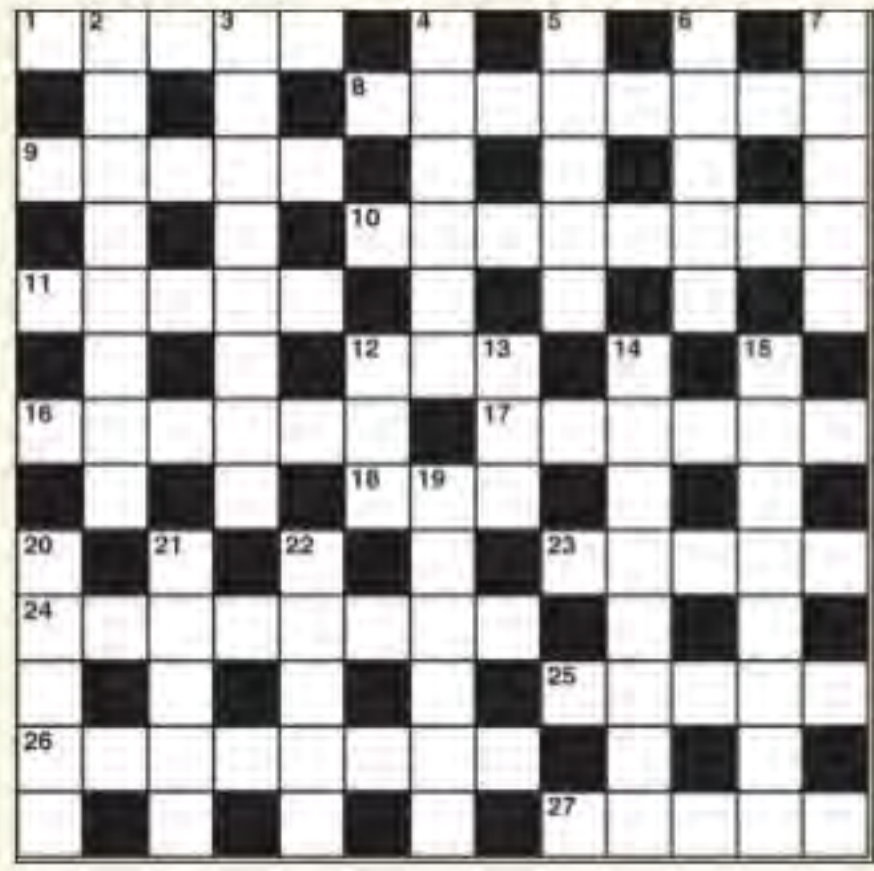
HAVING PARTICIPATED in numerous group exhibitions, in 2019 Safaya made his solo debut with "Anantata — Hymns of Graphical Notation", at Sakshi Gallery in Mumbai. Influenced by mechanisms, mathematical equations and his interest in minimal music, the works featured rhythmic patterns and fine lines. "My works play with



lowed by a residency at The Collective Studio Baroda and Site Art Space, where he made a sculpture from scrap metal. "Since I was an artist who was not from the realms of an art college, there were a lot of queries that I was addressing, specially my interest in cinema and music; the rhythm of art history," says Baroda-based Safaya. Last year, he also made a presentation of his work at the TiEcon in Santa Clara.

REKHA RODWITTIYA ON HIM: An electronics engineer, who worked successfully within corporate India, seven years ago Ankush made a decision to wipe his slate clean and re-educate himself through a personal journey of imbibing, to become an artist. He blazed through 2019 with a meteoric rise in his emerging career as an artist. His work is refreshingly different from the trends of today. In my opinion he is an artist whose future is limitless.

CROSSWORD 4001



ACROSS 1 Fancy a number to be perfect (5) 8 Victorian poet getting sunburnt (8) 9 Possibly loves to find the right answer (5) 10 War that's breaking out in Panama? (5,3) 11 Stretch - of river? (5) 12 Semi-wooden court (3) 16 Unfriendly action (6) 17 Plays produced in Madras (6) 18 In which to spend the rest of your life (3) 23 A team competing away (5) 24 Gives way and dies (8) 25 An addict may be fined (5) 26 They welcome fare increases (8) 27 Composition makes easy point (5)

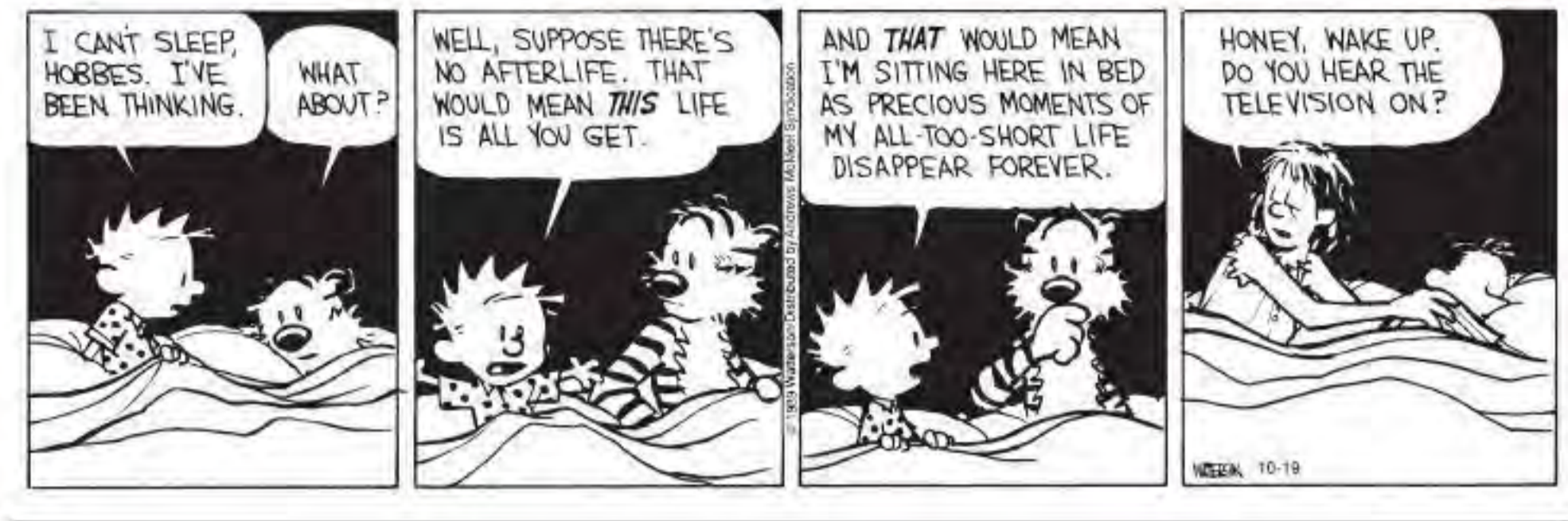
DOWN 2 Once said to be a bishop (8) 3 He should know how to press a suit (8) 4 About the end of December, reached Santa's base (6) 5 One outcome of hard work? (5) 6 Clue that's illuminating (5) 7 Stone made entrance (5) 11 Stretch - of river? (5) 12 Semi-wooden court (3) 13 Not even curious (3) 14 The fighter's craft (8) 15 Where flowers grow I get a flower (8) 19 Outflowing currency (6) 20 Actual language used in an American era (5) 21 Behave awkwardly when you get the bill and get put out (3,2) 22 Leaves with all debts settled point (5)

Solutions Crossword 4000: Across: 1 Bedraggled, 6 Road, 10 Aisle, 11 Paralysis, 12 Cheering, 13 Essen, 15 Pursers, 17 Degraded, 19 Sweated, 21 Bacilli, 22 Robin, 24 Contacts, 27 Panel game, 28 There, 29 Erst, 30 Persecutor. Down: 1 Beau, 2 Discharge, 3 Aisle, 4 Gipsies, 5 Enraged, 7 Oasis, 8 Dishonour, 9 Allergic, 14 Apostrophe, 16 Entangle, 18 Allotment, 20 Declare, 21 Banners, 23 Bonus, 25 Attic, 26 Hair.

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBES by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



DAY TODAY

BY PETER VIDAL

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)

A pleasant lunar pattern favours all adventurous matters, so you may push yourself to the limit, but you should do so in the most relaxed manner possible. On a down-to-earth note, make sure that you're completely aware of your rights in all respects.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)

Life could be slightly expensive, but there's unlikely to be anything you can't handle. It's also a suitable moment for arranging social excursions, especially to the far corners of the globe. Perhaps, though, it's a voyage of the imagination which catches your fancy.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)

A curious and lively period brings few direct planetary alignments, but plenty which make their presence felt in discreet, subtle avenues. As it happens, there will be myriad ways for you to dodge routine commitments and seek out fresh interests.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)

You should spare a little extra time for health matters and resolve to improve your physical well-being. Although there are indications that you'll have plenty on your plate today, you make a point of considering your diet and exercise regime afresh.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)

You may be struggling to keep private matters from becoming public. You might also have difficulty adjusting to normal daily life and changing circumstances. The way out of this trap is to change your attitude to your duties, and infuse everything you do with personal creative enthusiasm. It can be done.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)

If other people are taking the lead, then this is a development most earnestly to be encouraged! You'll open up new vistas for the future if you follow where they tread, soaking up new experiences. One word of advice, though - don't believe everything that other people say about each other.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)

It's a useful day for short journeys, discussions and interviews, but what seems to be more important is your ability to empathise with other people. That is, you should try to genuinely understand exactly how they feel. Then you might even be able to make decisions on their behalf.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)

It's not a bad day for shopping, and there could be the odd bargain on the horizon. However, even such trivial developments could start a train of events that eventually leads to completely unexpected results. Even a minor choice could have epic consequences.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22)

The ball is in your court today, so you may well have the upper hand. Realise, though, that with every stroke of good fortune comes a duty to others. The most useful thing you can do for yourself now is to change your emotional attitudes, looking at the demands you've been making of others. Perhaps you're not always been fair.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)

There is everything to gain from spending some time alone, so don't feel bad about being secretive or keeping your feelings to yourself. In all discussions and debates express yourself forcefully, but without tipping over into aggression.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)

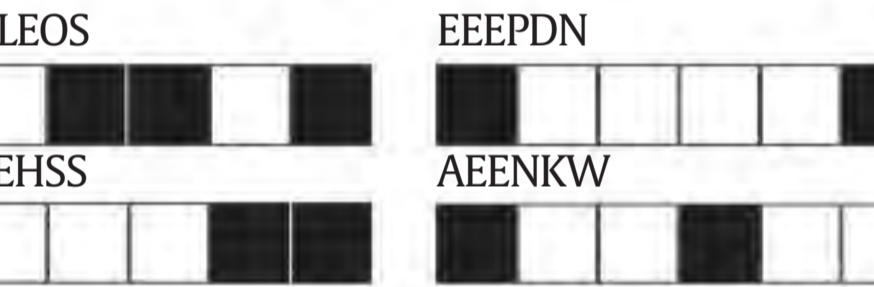
Partners or close companions still imagine that you will run true to form, but how wrong they are. This is an extraordinarily powerful week for you to defy all such misplaced expectations. Sooner or later a partner will realise that you were right.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

Take command. As a Piscean you are not normally considered a natural leader, yet one of your deeper skills is your ability to lead from behind! Your talents in this respect are extremely subtle, and in the right situation you need only click your fingers for others to do what you want.

JUMBLED WORDS

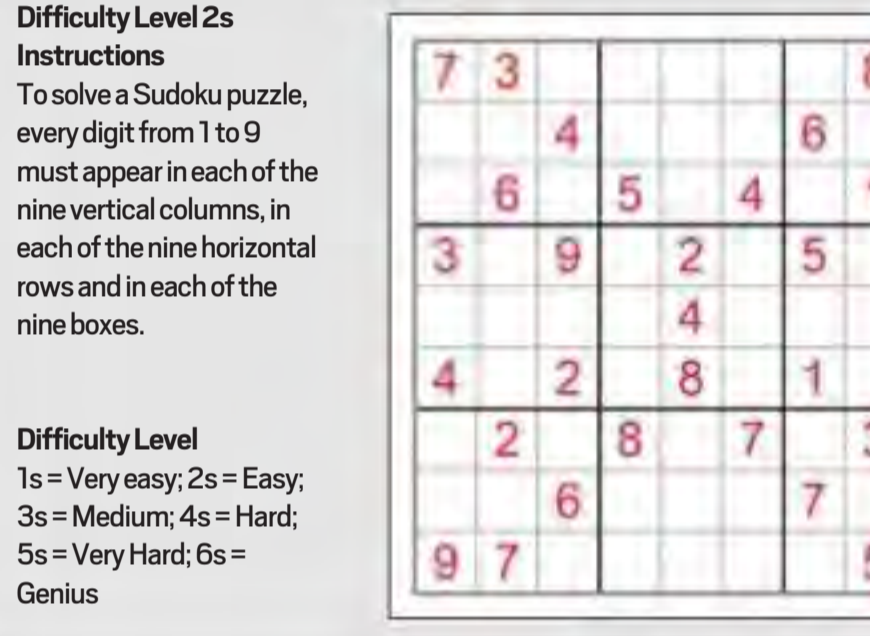
Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below. Select the letters in the shaded squares and jumble them to get the answer for the given quip. Man ___ so much and ___ so little. - Buckminster Fuller (5, ..., 4)



SOLUTION: LOOSE, CHESS, DEEPEN, WAKEN

Difficulty Level 2s Instructions To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns, in each of the nine horizontal rows and in each of the nine boxes.

SUDOKU 4075



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

SOLUTION SUDOKU 4074



CHENNAI METRO RAIL LIMITED (A Joint Venture of Govt. of India and Govt. of Tamil Nadu) Admin Building, CMRL Depot, Poonamallee High Road, Koyambedu, Chennai - 600107, INDIA NOTICE INVITING E-TENDER Contract Name: Tender for Selection of Operator/End user for Licensing of commercial spaces proposed at Ekkattuthangal Commercial building. Contract No.: CMRL/BD/Ekkattuthangal/2019/490/NP/01 CMRL invites tender on single stage two packet systems (Technical and Financial) only through e-procurement bids on National Competitive Bidding for "Tender for Selection of Operator/End user for Licensing of commercial spaces proposed at Ekkattuthangal Commercial building". Tender Documents can be downloaded from e-procurement website: E-Tender Publication date: 03/01/2020 (17:00 Hrs.), Last date of bid-submission: 31/01/2020 (17:00 Hrs.) For complete details, please visit e-procurement website: http://eprocure.gov.in/eprocure/app Any Corrigendum/Addendum to this publication, if any, would appear only on above mentioned website and will not be published in newspapers. Tender Authority: Chief General Manager (P&BD), Chennai Metro Rail Limited, Admin Building, CMRL Depot, Poonamallee High road, Koyambedu, Chennai - 600 107. Phone 044- 2379 2000. Chief General Manager (P&BD) Chennai Metro Rail Limited

NOTICE REGISTRATION OF FIRMS AS SUPPLIER TO SCHOOL OF ARTILLERY, DEVLALI 1. "School of Artillery, Devlali" invites applications from the Suppliers to register their Firms as Authorised Dealers/General Order Supplier to School of Artillery for supply of items like Stationery, Livestock, Office Requisites, Toiletary, Garden Implements, Furnishing Items, Computer Consumables, Audio / Video System, Aero Modeling Stores, Materials required for Training Purpose, Xerox Copies / Consumables, VIP Fleet Interiors / Modification Items and General Items on requirement basis during Financial Year 2020-2021. 2. IT Vendors should be able to provide the following - (a) IT Hardware including Networking and Communication Hardware. (b) IT Software including CBT Production. (c) IT TurnKey Projects including System Integration. (d) IT Consultancy including Security Solutions. 3. The following documents are mandatory for all the firms applying for registration - (a) Shop Registration Certificate. (b) GST Certificate (c) Bank Solvency Certificate (issued by bank authority during the year 2019/20). (d) Police Verification (issued by police authority during the year 2019/20). (e) Income Tax Return for the financial year 2019-20. (f) PAN Card (g) Photograph of Firm/Shop. (h) All firms/vendor having a Registered Office /Shop from where the supplier is running the business. The same will be checked and confirmed on ground by a Board of Officers. The firm will render a certificate to this effect alongwith vendor registration form. Vendors must specify the details of their shop and the specific products they can supply. (i) Log in ID/User ID of the vendor on CPP Portal (valid upto 2021). (k) Confirmation of holding valid Digital Signature Certificate, duly linked on CPP Portal (valid upto 2020). (l) E-mail ID. (m) Copy of ECS form duly signed by Bank Manager should also be attached with registration form (issued by bank authority during the year 2019/20). (n) DD for Rs. 1000/- (Rupees one thousand only) as Registration Fees (non refundable) in favour of School of Arty Regt Fund Acct. 4. Vendors may please send their requirement for application form, from their e-mail id/SMS to our mobile numbers 7298501575 / 7507762007, can download it from CPP Portal site or can collect it in person from HQ School of Artillery (Adm Branch (Coord)), Devlali- 422 401. Vendor registration application form alongwith all requisite documents should be deposited by 20 Jan 2020. No registration form will be entertained thereafter.

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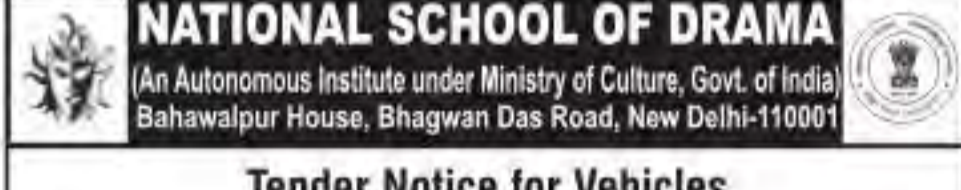
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PERSONAL I, Siddhrth Kumar S/o Rakesh Kumar R/o 5605, New Chandrawal, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007, have changed my name to Siddharth Kumar for all purposes. 0040525733-1

I, Rahul Kumar S/o Shyam Babu R/o L-1st, A201, Sangam Vihar Near Aastha Public School, New Delhi-110080 have changed name to Rahul for all purposes. 0040525746-1

I have changed my name from Pandey Narendra Bahadur Jagdish to Narendra Jagdeesh Pandey as per Maharashtra Gazette Paper No. (M-19110305). 0070690154-2



NATIONAL SCHOOL OF DRAMA An Autonomous Institute under Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India Bahawalpur House, Bhagwan Das Road, New Delhi-110001 Tender Notice for Vehicles National school of Drama invites tenders from experienced transport operators, for hiring of various types of vehicles like Vans/Bus/Tempo Travelers/Trucks in 'two bid systems', (technical and financial bids) for 21st Bharat Rang Mahotsav, to be held in New Delhi from 1st to 21st February, 2020. Interested and experienced transport operators fulfilling necessary eligibility criteria as per tender document are requested to submit their bids. Tender document may be downloaded from NSD Website (www.nsd.gov.in). Last date for the submission of bids is 13.01.2020 by 03:00 p.m. Registrar



CHENNAI METRO RAIL LIMITED (A Joint Venture of Govt. of India & Govt. of Tamil Nadu) Admin Building, CMRL Depot, Poonamallee High Road, Koyambedu, Chennai - 600 107, India. NOTICE INVITING E-TENDER Contract Name: Tender for Selection of Operator/End user for Licensing of commercial spaces proposed at Arumbakkam East side Commercial building. Contract No.: CMRL/BD/Arumbakkam-E/498/1/2019 CMRL invites tender on single stage two packet systems (Technical and Financial) only through e-procurement bids on National Competitive Bidding for "Tender for Selection of Operator/End user for Licensing of commercial spaces proposed at Arumbakkam East side Commercial building". Tender Documents can be downloaded from e-procurement website: E-Tender Publication date: 03/01/2020 (17:00 Hrs.), Last date of bid-submission: 31/01/2020 (17:00 Hrs.) For complete details, please visit e-procurement website: http://eprocure.gov.in/eprocure/app Any Corrigendum/Addendum to this publication, if any, would appear only on above mentioned website and will not be published in newspapers. Tender Authority: Chief General Manager (P&BD), Chennai Metro Rail Limited, Admin Building, CMRL Depot, Poonamallee High road, Koyambedu, Chennai - 600 107. Phone 044- 2379 2000. Chief General Manager (P&BD) Chennai Metro Rail Limited

LOST & FOUND

Notice is hereby given that I have lost original possession letter of my flat no.502, Tower no.4, Malibu Condominium, Malibu Towne, Gurugram. Mrs Sharda Sharma W/o Late Mr. S.D. Sharma R/o Flat No. 502, Tower 4, Malibu Condominiums, Malibu Towne, Gurugram 0040525759-1 I Savitri Devi wife of late Mr. Chander Singh Malik, would liketo inform the general public that, I have misplaced the Original Share Certificate Folio No. HFL000585 having 400 sharesDistinctive no: 0044752843 to 0044753242 issued in the name of my husband by Heritage Foods Limited'having registered office at #6-3-541/C, Punjagatta, Hyderabad, Telangana-500082, if anyone finds then kindly contact Mrs. Savitri Devi on 9891243698 within 10 days from issue of this advertisement 0040525743-1

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Congratulations to Peter Siddle, a champion of our game, who has today announced his retirement from international cricket. He finished with 221 Test wickets, including a memorable Ashes hat-trick on his birthday at the Gabba. Thanks for the memories Sidds!!

CRICKET AUSTRALIA (@CRICKETAUS)
ON SIDDLER'S RETIREMENT FROM INT'L CRICKET ON SUNDAY

2019
LOOKING BACK

Indian sport didn't stop buzzing in 2019 as its leading lights took to social media, Twitter and Instagram, and gave the world more than a peek into their globe-trotting lives. The Indian Express trawls the year's five best timelines, lingering a tad longer on the highlights of all that trended in Indian sport.

Gajendra Yadav

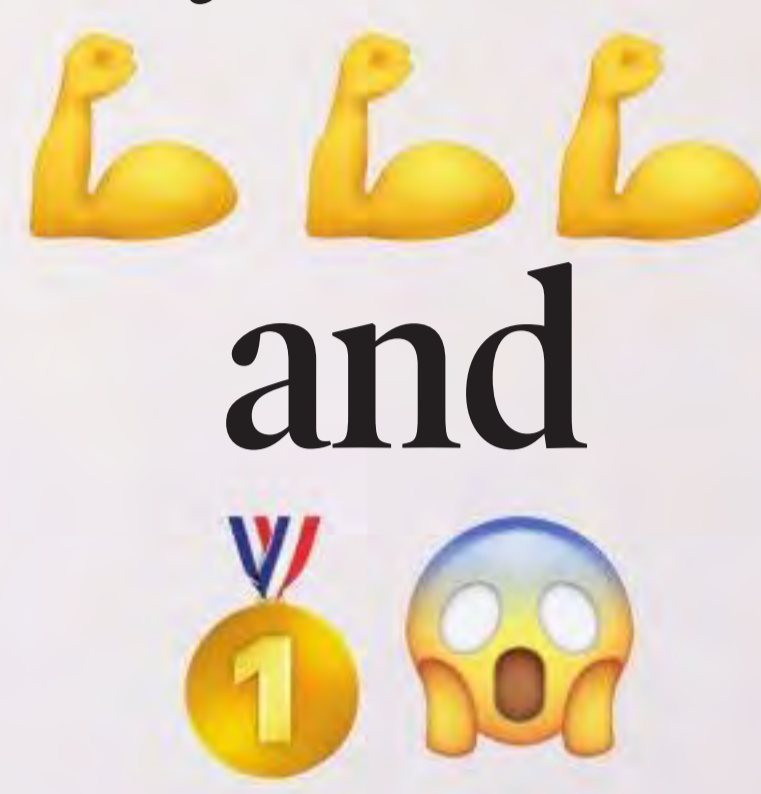
Mihir Vasavda writes about the grappler who had her palms locked in her favourite emoji of gentle, gratitude when she wasn't effecting some ungentle leg holds.

VINESH PHOGAT couldn't believe she was nominated for an award alongside Tiger Woods. She spent a sleepless night and trained sweltering conditions at national training camp after more than 24 hours of power cut.

Had a good camp, great competition and a 'fantastic' day out sightseeing in Madrid. Spoke about completing unfinished business after qualifying for the Olympics. And was hopeful Tokyo will be 'kind' to 'nice bunch' of Indian wrestlers.



A year of
and



This was Vinesh's 2019, in emojis. At 2.20pm on October 16, a month after winning the World Championship bronze, Vinesh considered deleting all her social media accounts. She did not. In fact, she hasn't been able to stay away from it. Vinesh is certainly not among the most active athletes on the Twitter-or-Insta-verse. Yet, the social media life of Vinesh offers a peek into the personality and mindset, frustrations and fascinations of one of India's foremost athletes and medal prospects for next year's Games.

She posted videos of her training and competitions. Photos of her travels and travels. Wasn't shy to show her affection for husband Somvir. And gave ample glimpse into her inner circle. She tweeted in favour of the government's policies. And criticised them when needed. Generously supported other Indian athletes. And fell back on some of the biggest sporting icons for inspiration. Then, of course, there were frequent reminders of the only thing that's been on her mind throughout the year: the Tokyo Olympics. She has made roughly two dozen references to the Games this year, and has been counting down – first with 444 days to go, then again with 1 year remaining and last time with 250 days remaining.

And a lot of times she did use the emojis. Sometimes, just emojis. Vinesh used them 272 times in her posts this year. The most she used were prayer hands (117), smiling face with smiling eyes (39), flexed biceps (22), the tricolour (19) and clapping hands (14 – eight of them just for Eliud Kipchoge's sub-two hours marathon run).

If narcissism is a social media epidemic, as the Guardian once diagnosed, Vinesh did not show any symptoms of it. Rather, her Twitter game was benevolent and witty,

with underlying fieriness. And her posts were not restricted to wrestling alone. Her followers would know she follows other sports, and sportspersons, as well.

In February, she expressed admiration for shooters Apurvi Chandela and Saurabh Chaudhary for booking Olympic quotas with dominating performances at the Delhi World Cup. In August, she was in awe of PV Sindhu's 'demolition job' of Nozomi Okuhara in the World Championship final and did not miss Sai Praneeth's 'gutsy performance' to end a 36-year wait for a men's world championship medal.

When the women's hockey team defeated USA to qualify for the Olympics in October, she was generous in her support. "If there is anyone I want to see doing really well at #Tokyo2020, it's @TheHockeyIndia ladies! These superwomen are really amazing..." she tweeted.

It was a case of the inspirer getting inspired. For, the women hockey players have since long looked up to Vinesh for her strong physique and fearlessness. Women's hockey team physio Wayne Lombard, who has worked with the wrestler as well, showed the Rani Rampal & Co. videos of Vinesh's training. These short clips also appeared intermittently on Vinesh's timeline. But she didn't confine herself to the dingy



training halls, toiling alone and cut off from rest of the world. Vinesh combined her training with travel (in Madrid, she strolled through the city centre; in Bulgaria, she hiked a snow-clad mountain) and stayed abreast with issues that affected other Indian sportsmen.

When Athletics Federation of India president Adil Sumariwalla reportedly said Tejaswin Shankar 'wasn't a medal prospect and being national champion is of no value', Vinesh jumped to the high jumper's defence, calling it 'disrespectful' and going on to question the rationale.

In July, when Haryana government changed its sports policy, Vinesh lashed out at the then state sports minister Anil Vij. "How will those sitting in air-conditioned offices understand what goes into making of an athlete?" she questioned.

Last month, when a video of a swimmer blatantly cheating at varsity championship surfaced, Vinesh fumed: "Extremely disappointing to see unfair means being employed at the All-India University Swimming Championship! Swimmers protesting against underhand tactics being threatened! This is not done!!!!"

Her quest for respect and fairness is a common thread through this. Born into a family of wrestlers, under the shadow of an



uncle and a cousin who are the subject of a Bollywood blockbuster, Vinesh – more than anything – has often craved respect. "I appreciate the love and respect... If you respect me, I will return it," she had told The Indian Express in an interview.

This is what drives her. She felt she was ridiculed for not winning a medal in Rio. In Tokyo, she wants redemption. It's the reason she wakes up every morning. And fights the demons in her head. Fights her insecurities. Fights her opponents. "Fight for your dreams," one of her re-tweets said.

Vinesh has been doing just that. But she isn't bitter. Far from it, in fact. "Loving this journey to @Tokyo2020," she wrote on December 12.

Heading into an Olympic year, Vinesh is in a happy place. Or, in her (social media) language: #Tokyo2020.

Vishy's x 50
Shahid Judge retraces Viswanathan Anand's moves, leaping through pages of chuckling nostalgia.



THIS WAS not among the most illustrious seasons for Viswanathan Anand. For a man who has conquered the World Chess Championship title five times, was the trailblazer who put India on the map when he became the first Grandmaster from the country back in 1988, and is regarded as one of the greatest players of all time, success can only be measured at the world level. But not much was achieved, by his standards, through the duration of 2019. For the

second time in a row, the veteran also failed to make it to the Candidates tournament, which would decide who would face-off against world champ Magnus Carlsen next year. Yet regardless of what was won or lost, 2019 was destined to be the year of Anand. On December 11, the man dubbed 'Lightening Kid', the 'Tiger of Madras', or quite simply and fondly, 'Vishy' turned 50. He is the oldest player in the current top 15 standard chess rankings, and still very much a

potent threat at any and all competitions he enters in – just as he was when he was a teenager travelling in Europe, steadily picking up the FIDE points to become the country's first Grandmaster.

2019 is a testimony to the longevity Anand has had in a sport that is mentally draining. And the secret is that he still trains 'like a younger person does.'

"His main advantage compared to others of his age is that he's truly young at heart. For example, many people of his age don't welcome change. They stop downloading the latest software versions of things or don't update their apps, like young people do," says Dutch player and world no 8 Anish Giri in an interview to Chess.com in May. "But Vishy is the kind of guy who I am sure updates all the apps on his phone. The fact that he's accomplished what he has, and remained there for so long is because he's able to reinvent himself, and change the way he works, the way he approaches things, just like a younger person does."

Staying online and staying abreast with the latest trends invariably forces you to stumble upon social media. And Anand has followed that path and made it his own, in his own classy way.

He prefers posting and reposting chess-related content – like the link to Giri's interview. But not all is related to his sport. There's an outside in-look towards the life of Anand, his likes, dislikes, hobbies... There are videos of him (trying) to play badminton along with former world no 1 shuttlers Prakash Padukone and Martin Frost, trying his hand at shotgun sport shooting, a complaint, a cooking contest he won, and an endearing incident involving his son Akhil.

On July 8, he posted about him advising Akhil to play a certain move, but the eight-year-old refused based on the advice of an chess website designed for children. On July 12, Anand tweeted that he has become chief mentor in India for that website.

'... AND A LADY LOVE WHO I LOVE DEARLY IS REALLY LOSING IT'

1 Complaint against a service provider ... but with a smile

IN THE age of twitter, complaints against faulty mobile network, airport immigration, taxi services et al have had consumers use the online method of making their grievances felt. Athletes too have taken this route, and on one occasion, on September 28, so did Anand. But when he sought the attention of a courier company about a missing chessboard, he did it in his own light way.

"(My) wife has been dealing with your customer care since 23rd. The story has been repeated so many times that our neighbors by now, know the AWB no. A chess board is somewhere ... A payment needs to be confirmed... and a lady who I love dearly is really losing it!!"

32 Articles featuring him retweeted

BE IT a nostalgia piece reminiscing his 23 years of marriage, or him spending time with teenage Grandmasters from India, about him ruing missed chances at a tournament in Kolkata, about the need to accept challenging times, and even a story with his opinion that once rival Vladimir Kramnik retired too early (at age 43), Anand has read and retweeted them all.

1 Instagram link shared on Twitter

DESPITE HIM being social media savvy, Anand tweeted just one Instagram link which incidentally was an advertisement for his book. On his Instagram account though, the 50-year-old has been relatively less active, posting just 24 photographs.



As Anand's 50th birthday approached, fans put out throwback photos.

14 Instances which made him recall good old times

As he approached his 50th birthday, fans and peers started putting up old photos – from him competing in a tournament in 1990, to a popular dairy brand posting a video of all the five muppet girl advertisements it dedicated to the chess legend. The man himself, over the course of the year posted some fond memories – about him being a fan of Kramnik's dry humour, an 'on-this-day' retweet of him winning the 2007 World Championship 12 years back, and a photo of a 1987 magazine. He even recalled an anecdote of his first ever meeting with a Grandmaster – "I remember my first GM interaction. I got to play a simul against GM Bagirov. I offered a draw. The GM came to me, picked up his rook and my bishop and in his

thick Russian accent said "You see Bishop and you see Rook and you say DRAW? My first GM lesson on piece evaluation."

3 Food tweets, one by wife Aruna, Grandmasterchef

ON JUNE 7, he tweeted a photo of a salmon dish his wife Aruna cooked, calling her the 'Grandmasterchef'. A day later, on a rest day during a tournament in Norway, he took part in a cooking contest meant for players and won it. Then a day ahead of his 50th birthday, he posted a photo of himself and his son baking a cake (no prizes for guessing what the cake was for).

7 Welcomed seven Indians to the Grandmasters club

THIS YEAR, seven more Indians attained the title of Grandmaster, and Anand was prompt in congratulating them all – Gukesh D (the youngest Indian to ever reach the mark), Niyani, Swayams Misra, Nihal Sarin, Girish Kaushik, Prithu Kumar and India's 65th GM Raunak Sadhwani.

4 Emojis used in the year – two thinkers, two winks

AS GIRI says, that Anand approaches things the way younger players do, the one thing synonymous with social media that the Indian maestro hasn't quite mastered is the art of using the emojis. Over the year, he used just four – two thinkers, one winking, and a winking with the tongue sticking out). In comparison, the 34-year-old basketball star LeBron James, who was once a social media recluse, posted 1172 emojis in the month of November alone.

SA overcome England resistance, secure first Test win in 11 months

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
CENTURION, DECEMBER 29

SOUTH AFRICA broke down stubborn England resistance to win the first Test of their World Test Championship series by 107 runs at SuperSport Park on Sunday. England needed 376 to win but despite some committed batting were bowled out for 268 on the fourth day of the five-day encounter.

An enthralling contest swung South Africa's way when left-arm spinner Keshav Maharaj bowled Ben Stokes to halt a brief flurry of strokes as Stokes and captain Joe Root tried to lift the scoring rate before the second new ball was due.

The new ball then had an immediate impact with Kagiso Rabada having Jonny Bairstow caught at gully before Anrich Nortje claimed the crucial wicket of Root, who made a fighting 48 before he was caught behind.

It was the second time in the day Nortje claimed a wicket with the second ball of a new spell after he made the first breakthrough of the day by dismissing top-scorer Rory Burns for 84.

The remaining wickets fell quickly, with Rabada finishing with four for 103 and fellow fast bowler Anrich Nortje claiming three for 56.

Maharaj, who broke England's first wicket stand of 92 on Saturday when he dismissed Dom Sibley, took two for 37.

South Africa produced a disciplined bowling performance, making scoring difficult on a pitch which always offered something to the bowlers with some sideways movement and uneven bounce.

England added only 50 runs in 25 overs while losing two wickets during the morning. Rory Burns took his overnight score of 77 to 84 before mistiming a pull against Nortje to be caught at mid-on, while Joe Denly was leg before wicket to Dwaine Pretorius for 31.

Burns and Denly saw off the threat of Vernon Philander and Rabada but found scoring difficult.

Philander conceded only one run in five overs. Rabada gave up 23 in six overs, which included two hooked sixes by Denly.

Burns, who faced most of Philander's bowling, adding only seven runs off 37 balls. The change to Nortje brought an immediate result for South Africa as Burns attempted to pull the fast bowler's second delivery and sent the ball looping to Rabada at mid-on.

Nortje made a second crucial breakthrough when South African captain Faf du Plessis made an inspired bowling change.

First innings destroyer Vernon Philander sent down three overs with the second new ball but was not making the batsmen play many deliveries, so Du Plessis called on Nortje with immediate success.

Much-needed boost

South Africa desperately needed a win to regain their confidence after five successive test defeats, plus a poor World Cup, and beating England in the first Test on Sunday was just the tonic, said captain Faf du Plessis.

"It's been a tough year for the test team and it's been a while since our last victory but we trained hard and there was a good feeling in the camp that we had done some really good preparation before the test match," he said after the first Test of the four-match series.

"We knew we needed to put in some performances to get the engine running and I thought that, in all departments, we were really good in this Test match.

"England were good at stages as well, but the way we played, especially in the last two days when the wicket did get a little bit flatter, the way the guys' skill was remarkable and consistent all the time, made it a good start. That's what we needed: a good start to get our confidence back as a test team. We are very happy as a test team as we sit here now," du Plessis added.

South Africa last won a Test in their 3-0 series victory against Pakistan in January but then lost 2-0 at home to Sri Lanka and were comprehensively thumped in India in October.

"As a team we don't have a lot of superstars and as a team you take a lot more from victories where everyone contributes in their own way," Du Plessis added.

He pointed to 40 runs in the second innings from nightwatchman Anrich Nortje as an example. "That was really pleasing because those are the things that lift a team. Our bowling unit was exceptional. All of them put their hand in when the wicket didn't dry out and they needed to be top of their game," he added.

South Africa take on England in the second match at Newlands, from January 3-7. **BRIEF SCORES:** South Africa 284 and 272 beat England 181 and 268 all out in 93 overs (Rory Burns 84, Joe Root 48, Joe Denly 31, Kagiso Rabada 4-103, Anrich Nortje 3-56) by 107 runs.

Root & co. look to shake off bug and come out fighting fit

REUTERS
PRETORIA, DECEMBER 29

CAPTAIN JOE Root refused to blame the virus that swept through the England camp for their first Test defeat by South Africa on Sunday but said a healthier touring team would be better placed for Friday's second of the four-match series. Ten England players and four support staff had been laid up at one time or another over the last 15 days since the side arrived in South Africa as mystery bug hit the squad, hampering their performance as they lost by 107 runs at Centurion Park.

Several were quarantined, including Ollie Pope, who missed out on playing, and key bowlers Jofra Archer and Stuart Broad battled to be fit in time for the opener at Centurion Park.

"We are not going to hide behind that as an excuse but a lot of our squad have been taken ill over the last two weeks," Root said after England were dismissed for 268 in their second innings on the fourth day. "We've had to deal with a lot; Ben (Stokes) in particular with that horrible thing with his father."

Stokes' father suffered a stroke soon after arriving in Johannesburg to watch his son play but is now out of intensive care.

"So there has been a lot thrown at the squad over the last weeks and I think everyone has tried to deal with it as best they can. There are certain things you try to control but some that you can't. We've done very well that it did not affect as many it could," Root added.

"It was frustrating but it has happened now and hopefully the illness has now passed the camp and we can all be fighting fit and ready to go for Cape Town and bounce back very quickly from this match."

Root said his team had shown much fight and character but mostly from a position of adversity. "We have to show that from the start of the game too and when we get a chance to turn the screws we need to take it, both with bat and ball," he said. "That is where this game was won and lost and we are going to have to learn our lesson very quickly."

SA call up uncapped Petersen

South Africa added batsman Keegan Petersen to their squad for the second Test against England in Cape Town next week, replacing the injured Aiden Markram, Cricket South Africa said on Sunday. The uncapped 26-year-old scored 111 for South Africa A against England last week in the last warm-up game before the first Test in Pretoria, where opener Markram injured his finger.



South Africa's Dwaine Pretorius celebrates the wicket of England's Joe Denly on Day Four of the Boxing Day Test at Centurion on Sunday. Reuters

Lyon, Pattinson land KO punch

Offie, pacer share 7 wickets between them as Aussies win Boxing Day Test, take 2-0 lead in 3-game series

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
MELBOURNE, DECEMBER 29

NATHAN LYON took four wickets as Australia thrashed New Zealand by 247 runs to win the second Test at Melbourne and the series Sunday with a battling century from opener Tom Blundell proving futile. The Black Caps, chasing a massive 488 to win, were in serious trouble after a fiery James Pattinson ripped through the top order to leave them reeling at 38 for three.

But some fighting partnerships spearheaded by Blundell delayed the inevitable until Lyon worked his magic as the pitch deteriorated.

Blundell was last man out for a swashbuckling 121 — his second Test century and his first for two years — as New Zealand were dismissed for 240 with Trent Boult not batting after fracturing his hand in the first innings.

It was the second heavy defeat for the Black Caps, who lost by 296 runs in Perth and will be playing for pride only in the final Test at Sydney later this week.

"It's very pleasing. I thought the way we went about this Test from the moment we lost the toss was outstanding," said Australia captain Tim Paine. I thought our batters applied themselves superbly on day one and made it easy for Travis (Head) and I on the second day to set up a big total."

'Credit to Australia'

It was Head's first innings century and Paine's quick-fire 79 that took the Test out of New Zealand's reach after captain Kane Williamson's bold decision to bowl after winning the toss.

No team had ever chased down more than 418 in Test history, though the record was set against Australia by the West Indies in Antigua in 2003.

"I felt like there was enough in the surface to bowl first," said Williamson.



Opener Tom Blundell's fighting 121 was the only bright spot for New Zealand as the visitors, chasing 488, folded for 240. AP

"It was obviously very important for us to be on top of our game and the surface did offer some sideways movement and swing. But credit to Australia for getting through that first session and putting 400 on the board.

"They've got a fantastic attack with pace and bounce but their accuracy stood apart and they did seem to get more out of that surface."

Pattinson, playing for the injured Josh Hazlewood, did the early damage.

New Zealand had reached 32-0 when he snared the key wickets of Tom Latham, batting lynchpin Williamson and the experienced Ross Taylor for three just runs.

Latham, scorer of a dogged 50 in New Zealand's 148 first innings, fell for eight when he edged a thunderous delivery to the diving Paine.

Williamson soon followed without scoring, lbw after unsuccessfully reviewing the

umpire's original decision. Taylor didn't fare much better, dragging onto his middle stump to leave Pattinson with figures of 3-5 at lunch off two overs.

Henry Nicholls was the only wicket to fall before Lyon just one ball after he smashed the spinner for six.

Blundell, in only his third Test, and BJ Watling put on 72 before Lyon finally broke their dangerous partnership, tempting an outside edge from the New Zealand wicket-keeper that flew to David Warner at slip and he was gone for 22.

Lyon then mopped up Colin de Grandhomme and Mitchell Santner before Tim Southee was run out in a horror mix-up, with Blundell swinging his bat before he was caught by Lyon off Marnus Labuschagne.

Paine earlier declared Australia's second innings on 168 for five after Head was

bowled by Neil Wagner for 28. Matthew Wade was unbeaten on 30 with Wagner taking 3-50. They had resumed at 137 for four, building on their first innings 467.

BRIEF SCORES: Australia 467 and 168/5d in 54.2 overs (D Warner 38, J Burns 35, N Wagner 3-50) beat New Zealand 148 and 240 all out in 71 overs (Tom Blundell 121, H Nicholls 33, N Lyon 4-81, J Pattinson 3-35) by 247 runs.

All Blacks' star 'kicked out'

New Zealand rugby fans reacted furiously Sunday after All Blacks star Jordie Barrett was reportedly kicked out of the Melbourne Cricket Ground by security staff during the Black Caps' second Test against Australia.

Victoria state police said two New Zealanders were removed from the stadium during day three of the second Test on Saturday and banned for 24 hours over their behaviour. The New Zealand Herald named one of them as Barrett and claimed he was led away after members of the group he was with "skulled two beers". Fans reacted on social media by creating the hashtag #JusticeforJordie which was retweeted by Barrett's All Black brother Beauden.

One spectator told New Zealand's Alternative Commentary Collective Facebook group it was "an absolute stitch up". "I was sitting approximately 10 seats from Jordie when he was spotted in the crowd by a fellow Kiwi, he had half a beer ... and the boys said/chanted 'skull'", he said. "Jordie was seated down and finished his half vessel of mid-strength over-priced beer and a security guard walked over and requested he leave."

He added that Barrett was "calm and at no stage was arrogant or non-compliant". Another fan said on the same Facebook page: "Perfectly said, we were 2 rows behind. Nothing bad on Jordie's account."

New Zealand cricketer Jimmy Neesham added on Twitter: "Jordie can come bin a beer at mine anytime."

ANNUAL GENERAL MELEE

DDCA's pre-New Year bash: Rival factions clash over ombudsman's appointment

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 29

THE DELHI & District Cricket Association's (DDCA) Annual General Meeting (AGM) at Feroz Shah Kotla on Sunday was marred by ugly scenes, with rival factions coming to blows. The AGM had five items on the agenda and the appointment of a new ombudsman was one of them. Sources said the brawl started after the proposal of replacing Justice (Retd) Badar Durrez Ahmed with Justice (Retd) Deepak Verma as the new ombudsman was tabled.

Justice Verma eventually was appointed as the new ombudsman but before that chaos reigned supreme, as members from rival factions got involved in fist fights. The ruling group's joint-secretary Rajan Manchanda was allegedly slapped

This screenshot from a video on social media shows members of the DDCA exchanging blows at the AGM on Sunday. Twitter

by opposition's Maqsood Alam. The proceedings of the AGM was video recorded, which went viral. Sources said: "The AGM was disrupted by supporters of general secretary Vinod Tihara after resolution 3, 4 and removal of Justice Badar was defeated by almost 75 per cent of the members." It has also been alleged that the supporters of Tihara "manhandled MLA Om Prakash Sharma and the attendance register was snatched".

Tihara, however, laid the blame on the rival faction. "There was a faction, which was trying to disrupt the AGM. However, they did not have the numbers. The appointment of Justice (Retd) Deepak Verma as ombudsman was also cleared," he told The Indian Express, adding: "The scuffle was unfortunate and should have been avoided by one and all involved. We have to work in a democratic manner. Hopefully, good sense will prevail and everyone will work in one direction."

Tihara claimed that "all items on the agenda at the AGM were passed". DDCA treasurer OP Sharma, however, raised a voice of dissent. "I am raising a dissent note

The ruling group's joint-secretary Rajan Manchanda was allegedly slapped by opposition's Maqsood Alam. Justice (ret'd) Deepak Verma was eventually appointed as the new ombudsman.

with regards to the balance sheet of the DDCA. Though I am the treasurer of the DDCA, I have not been shown the accounts or the balance sheet. I have been kept in the dark. If the treasurer is not given a chance to look at the balance sheet, then it raises questions about those who are trying to pass the balance sheet," he told this paper. Sharma's complaint over the balance sheet came on the heels of former India cricketer Kirti Azad's letter to BCCI president Sourav Ganguly. Last month, in the wake of Rajat Sharma's resignation as the DDCA president, Azad had written to Ganguly, seeking the BCCI's intervention.

"Even balance sheets were known to have been fudged by the office-bearers year after year to sweep the loot under the carpet. Please refer my charges against DDCA, which only been corroborated by Sh Rajat Sharma in his resignation," the letter had alleged.

Dissolve DDCA, says Gambhir

Former India opener Gautam Gambhir meanwhile urged the BCCI to "dissolve" DDCA and demanded bans for officials of the state body who were involved in the fracas. Gambhir, a BJP Member of Parliament, described the incident during the AGM as "shameful". "DDCA GOES 'ALL OUT' ... AND DDCA IS ALL OUT FOR A SHAMEFUL DUCK. Look, how handful of crooks are making mockery of an institution. I'd urge @BCCI @SGanguly99 @JayShah to dissolve @delhi_cricket immediately. Surely, sanctions or even a life ban for those involved," Gambhir tweeted.

Panel to probe U-23 incident

PTI reports from New Delhi: The DDCA on Sunday formed a four-member discipli-

nary committee to probe the incident involving two U-23 players who were called back for allegedly misbehaving with a woman in a hotel before a match.

The incident happened at a Kolkata hotel, a day before the Delhi U-23 team's CK Nayudu Trophy match against Bengal.

The committee will be headed by Shiv Nandan Sharma, a former Superintendent of Customs and Central Excise, and will also comprise Alok Mittal, Apurv Jain and Sudhir Aggarwal.

Mittal is a Chartered Accountant. "The decision to form the committee was taken at the AGM today," DDCA's senior official Ravi Jain told PTI.

The two players in question are Kuldeep Yadav and Lakshay Thareja, who were on Friday sent home for their alleged misconduct. Batsman Thareja has, in fact, played a List A match for Delhi and scored a half-century while pacer Kuldeep was set to replace Ishant Sharma in Delhi's next Ranji game against Punjab.

The unsavoury incident prompted DDCA to immediately send its director Sanjay Bhardwaj to Kolkata for damage control.

Arsenal blink, Chelsea run away with win

Leading 1-0 with seven minutes to final whistle, Arteta's men pay the price for a 'keeping blunder as Abraham seals the deal

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
LONDON, DECEMBER 29

CHELSEA RUINED Arsenal manager Mikel Arteta's home debut as Tammy Abraham's late strike sealed a dramatic 2-1 win after Bernd Leno's horrific blunder turned the tide in a thrilling London derby on Sunday.

Leading through Pierre-Emerick Aubameyang's early goal at the Emirates Stadium, Arteta was just seven minutes away from securing his first victory in his second game in charge.

But Gunners goalkeeper Leno made a hash of coming to catch a free-kick and Jorginho tapped in to spark a Chelsea fight-back that climaxed in Abraham firing home with three minutes left.

After dominating the first half, it was a shocking but familiar collapse from Arsenal, whose lack of steel was the key element in the downfall of Arteta's predecessor Unai Emery. In their final game of the decade, Arsenal showed just how much work Arteta has to do to steer the Gunners back to respectability in his first managerial role.

After coming from behind to rescue a 1-1 draw at Bournemouth in his first match on Thursday, Arteta would have been encouraged by their bright start -- but not the woeful meltdown that leaves Arsenal with only one win in their last 15 games in all competitions.

Arsenal, 12 points adrift of the top four, have lost four consecutive home fixtures in all competitions for the first time in 60 years.

They also suffered three successive top-flight home defeats for the first time since 1977. While Arteta held his head in despair after Abraham's winner, Frank Lampard's wild celebration showed Chelsea's need for the win after a difficult period of their own.

Fourth placed Chelsea had lost five of their last seven league games, but a second successive away win -- following their recent impressive success at Tottenham -- moves them four points clear of fifth placed Manchester United.

There was no fanfare for Arteta before kick-off, the Spaniard quietly take his place on the bench to applause from Arsenal fans but without any elaborate introduction.

Chelsea went close early on when William's quick free-kick caught Arsenal flat-footed, allowing Mason Mount to drift



Chelsea's Tammy Abraham slots home the late winner past Chelsea custodian Bernd Leno on Sunday. Reuters

Arsenal, 12 points adrift of the top four, have lost four consecutive home fixtures in all competitions for the first time in 60 years.

into space for a fierce strike that stung Leno's palms.

Arsenal collapse

But, initially vibrant in possession and tireless without the ball, Arsenal exposed Chelsea's own problems at the back to take the lead with a well-rehearsed set-piece routine in the 13th minute.

Calum Chambers was positioned perfectly to rise above Fikayo Tomori and glance Mesut Ozil's corner towards Aubameyang.

The Gabon striker, who also scored in Arteta's first game, applied the finishing touch, escaping Emerson's slack marking to guide a diving header past Kepa Arrizabalaga for his 15th goal of the season. Arteta didn't hide his delight, fist-pumping in celebration of the first home goal of his reign.

Aubameyang's goal meant Chelsea had kept just two clean sheets in their last 11 league fixtures and, with Arsenal well on top and threatening to score again, Lampard was forced to take drastic action.

In a bid to shake Chelsea out of their lethargy, Lampard hauled off Brazilian winger Emerson and sent on Italy midfielder Jorginho as he ditched his 3-4-3 formation after just 33 minutes.

The switch proved an inspired move but not before Mount, N'Golo Kante and Antonio Rudiger were all booked in quick succession as Chelsea used brute blunt Arsenal's mo-

mentum. Chelsea were on top in the second half and teenage debutant Tariq Lamptey led the charge when his surge ended with Abraham's shot being blocked by David Luiz.

Leno's game-changing 83rd minute howler was truly farcical, the German lying with his head in his hands after his misjudgement of Mount's high free-kick allowed Jorginho to tap into the empty net.

Suddenly, Arsenal reverted to their nervous former selves and Chelsea took full advantage to complete a remarkable fightback four minutes later.

William broke into the Arsenal area and crossed to Abraham, who turned unchecked by the ponderous Shkodran Mustafi to fire a cool strike under Leno.

VAR sours festive spirit

Festive spirit was in short supply from video assistant referees in the Premier

League on Saturday as three goals were ruled out for marginal offside calls, exacerbating frustration about the technology being used for the first time in England this season.

On a day when Manchester United moved up to fifth place with a 2-0 win at Burnley and West Ham fired manager Manuel Pellegrini after a 2-1 home loss to Leicester, much of the debate in stadiums and on social media centered on disgruntlement at the forensic geometry being used to call on tight offside decisions -- even if the correct calls were ultimately made.

"If VAR was a manager, he'd have been sacked weeks ago," former England captain Gary Lineker tweeted to his 7.5 million followers after Norwich striker Teemu Pukki had a goal disallowed for offside that required the VAR in a room outside London to apply lines and dots on the screen to judge.

Humpy bags women's World Rapid C'ship title

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
MOSCOW, DECEMBER 29

INDIAN GRANDMASTER Koneru Humpy claimed the World Women's Rapid Chess Championship title after drawing the Armageddon game against Lei Tingjie of China. The 32-year-old Indian made a stunning comeback, winning the 12th and final round game against another Chinese Tang Zhongyi, to force the tie breaker against Tingjie.

"When I started my first game on Day 3 I did not imagine I would be at the top. My hope was to reach top three. I didn't expect to play the tie-break games," said Humpy, who had taken a two-year sabbatical from 2016 to 2018 after she became a mother, in an interview with FIDE. "I lost the first game on time but came back in the second game. It was a gambling game, but I won. In the final game, I had a better position and it was a comfortable win."

Starting as the thirteenth seat, Humpy scored 9 points in all to match Tingjie and Ekaterina Atalik of Turkey.

Humpy had a good beginning to the event scoring 4.5 points in the first five rounds, and then a loss against Irina Bulmaga of Russia pulled her back a little. Needing a strong finish, Humpy won the last two rounds.

However, the Indian ace required a little luck as Tingjie had to lose to Atalik, which happened. The drama was still not over as Humpy lost the first tie-break game, and then won the second to reach the Armageddon.

Humpy drew black colour, which meant that a draw was enough for her to clinch the gold. Tingjie had to settle for the silver and bronze went to Atalik.

Humpy got a winning position after a tactical stroke that netted her queen for a rook by move forty. Twenty-six moves later Tingjie agreed to draw in a hopeless situation. After Vishwanathan Anand won this title in the open section in 2017, Humpy is only the second Indian to win the rapid gold in the current format. Meanwhile, Magnus Carlsen of Norway won the open section scoring 11.5 points out of a possible fifteen rounds.

Iranian star Firooz Alireza, who played under FIDE flag, won the silver ahead of American Hikaru Nakamura.

Murray out of Aus Open; Grand Slam return on hold

REUTERS
LONDON, DECEMBER 29

ANDY MURRAY has withdrawn from next month's Australian Open because of a pelvic injury, the three-time Grand Slam champion's management team announced on Saturday.

The former world number one, who has been making an inspirational comeback after hip resurfacing surgery, has decided not to travel to Melbourne after the injury he sustained at the end of the season failed to improve as he had hoped.

Murray, who has been able to train on court this week, will miss the Jan. 20-Feb. 2 Grand Slam where he has been a five-time losing finalist and will also not play for Britain in the inaugural ATP Cup in Australia, starting on Jan. 3. "Unfortunately, I've had a setback and as a precaution need to work through that before competing," the Scot told the BBC.

"I've worked so hard to get myself into a situation where I can play at the top level and I'm gutted I'm not going to be able to play." His management team said in an email. "It was always going to be a tight turnaround, but the team took the decision not to rush back, so he'll continue hitting on court and building up fitness in January."

It was at last year's Australian Open that Murray was left in tears at a news conference where he told reporters that he was in such pain from a chronic hip injury that it might be his last tournament.

Yet, amazingly, the 32-year-old had looked on course to play in his first Grand Slam singles event since Melbourne after his recovery from major hip surgery 11 months ago had seen him climb back to No. 125 in the world.

After returning to competitive singles play in August, he even won the European Open in Antwerp, beating his old rival Stan Wawrinka in the final to secure his first triumph for more than two years. Yet Murray has not played since Britain's opening tie at the Davis Cup finals in Madrid last month when the pelvic bruising flared up. Subsequently, he did not travel to Miami for his usual training stint, deciding instead to stay at home to train.

The Scot will now not play until February at the earliest, with his first tournament scheduled to be the Open Sud de France in Montpellier.

Murray, who has been able to train on court this week, will miss the Jan 20-Feb 2 Grand Slam where he has been a five-time losing finalist.

Long-time friends Serena, Wozniacki to pair-up on court



Serena was Wozniacki's bridesmaid at her wedding earlier this year. Reuters

ASSOCIATE PRESS
DECEMBER 29

LONG-TIME friends Serena Williams and Caroline Wozniacki will play doubles together for the first time at the WTA Tour's ASB Classic in Auckland beginning on Jan. 6.

Former No. 1 Wozniacki has started her season in Auckland every year since 2015 and has made the hard court tournament the first stop of her short farewell tour.

The 29-year-old Wozniacki was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis shortly after winning her 2018 Australian Open and will retire from tennis after playing the Open in Melbourne next month.

Williams, a 23-time Grand Slam winner, has not played doubles with anyone other than her sister Venus since the Fed Cup World Group playoff in 2015. Her last WTA tournament in doubles without Venus was in 2002.

Wozniacki hasn't played doubles for more than three years.

The pair are close friends. Williams was Wozniacki's bridesmaid at her wedding earlier this year and will play an exhibition in Copenhagen in May, Wozniacki's final match before retirement.

"We've been wanting to play doubles together for a long time but it just hasn't worked out so I'm really excited that it's finally going to happen, especially at one of my favorite tournaments on tour," Wozniacki said. "It's going to be so much fun!"

"This is a pairing that I think tennis fans have been waiting to see for a long time," tournament director Karl Budge said Tuesday. "To have Serena and Caroline on

We've been wanting to play doubles together for a long time but it just hasn't worked out so I'm really excited that it's finally going to happen, especially at one of my favorite tournaments on tour. It's going to be so much fun!"

CAROLINE WOZNIACKI
WORLD NO 38

court together, on the same side of the net, is an amazing opportunity for tennis fans to see history being made."

Australian Open increases prize money

The Australian Open says prize money for the first Grand Slam tennis tournament of next year will be increased by 13.6% to 71 million Australian dollars (\$49.1 million).

Tournament organizers said in a statement Tuesday that the women's and men's singles winners will each receive \$4.12 million, or US\$2.85 million based on current exchange rates.

Prize money has increased 61.4% at the Australian Open over the last five years, generally in keeping with prize money increases at the other Grand Slam tournaments -- the French Open, Wimbledon and the U.S. Open, where this year's championship at Flushing Meadows paid \$57 million in prize money and \$3.85 million to the singles winners. The Australian Open runs from Jan. 20 to Feb. 2 at Melbourne Park.



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