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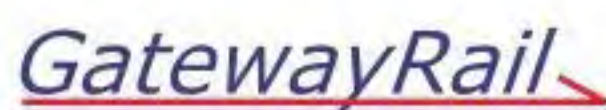
**Shri Ram Nath Kovind**  
Hon'ble President of India

20<sup>th</sup> January, 2020 | New Delhi



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Rajasthan Solar Energy Policy, 2019

Rajasthan Wind and Hybrid Energy Policy, 2019

# Rajasthan heralds a New Era of Green Energy in India

## PATH-BREAKING POLICIES, UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES...

Rajasthan stands as one of the top green energy producers in India today.

Taking the next big leap, the State has now announced Rajasthan Solar Energy Policy 2019 and Rajasthan Wind and Hybrid Energy Policy, 2019 with unique provisions to promote private investment in the sector. These policies are manifestation of Chief Minister, Shri Ashok Gehlot's bold new vision for the sector.

They aim at far-reaching interventions at all levels of the generation pyramid and across the consumption chain, involving all stake-holders, and employment generation for our youth.

### GENERATION CAPACITY TARGETS (up to 2024-25)

SOLAR  
30,000 MW

WIND  
4,000 MW

HYBRID  
3,500 MW

### GREEN ENERGY CITIES

All district headquarters of Rajasthan will be developed as Green Energy Cities by installation of 300 MW rooftop solar plants.

### STORAGE

Renewable Power Projects with Storage Systems will be promoted in the State

### TIME-BOUND APPROVAL

- Approval for power evacuation facilities by State utilities within one month
- Defined timelines for rooftop systems approvals by DISCOMS
- RREC to act as nodal agency

### RE-BASED ELECTRIC VEHICLE CHARGING STATIONS

Land to be allotted at 50% concessional rate

### STRENGTHENING TRANSMISSION

For strengthening of grid, power evacuation infrastructure and supporting facilities will be developed in the State from Rajasthan Renewable Energy Development Fund

### LAND

- Land conversion is not required
- Land in excess of ceiling limit will be allowed

### SOLAR PARK

Development of Solar Park by Private Developer & through JV Companies

### HYBRIDISATION

In a new first, the State will promote:

- Hybridisation of existing wind and solar plants
- New wind-solar hybrid power projects
- Hybridisation of existing Thermal Power Plants by blending of renewable power

### REPOWERING

Repowering of Wind Power Projects allowed. Land lease period for such project will be extended beyond normal life.

### FACILITIES & INCENTIVES

- Exemption of Transmission & Wheeling Charges
  - 50% exemption for 7 years for Wind/Solar/Wind-Solar Hybrid Projects
  - 75% exemption for 7 years for Wind/Solar/Wind-Solar Hybrid projects with Storage Systems and repowered wind projects
  - 100% exemption for 10 years for Solar projects set up for use in EV charging stations
- Annual Banking facility
- Exemption of Electricity Duty for captive consumption within the State

### CONCESSIONS

To boost Manufacturing Units of solar and wind energy equipment

- 100% exemption on Stamp Duty
- 100% exemption on Electricity Duty for 10 years
- Land Allotment at 50% concessional rate
- Investment Subsidy on SGST
- Employment Subsidy as per Rajasthan Investment Promotion Scheme (RIPS), 2019
- Interest Subsidy as per RIPS, 2019
- Other benefits and customised package under the RIPS, 2019
- Benefits of MSME Policy









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## THE EDITORIAL PAGE

**WHY PROTESTERS MUST BE WARY**  
BY JAVED ANAND  
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## WORLD



**BRAZEN, UNLAWFUL: TRUMP TEAM ON IMPEACHMENT**

**WORLD POWERS SEEK ELUSIVE LIBYA PEACE IN BERLIN TALKS** PAGE 16

**BUSINESS AS USUAL**  
By UNNNY

## Telangana to try out facial recognition in civic polls

**REENIVAS JANYALA**  
HYDERABAD, JANUARY 19

THE TELANGANA government will be testing voter identification through a face recognition application on a pilot basis in the municipal elections of January 23. This will be the first time that face recognition software will be used to ascertain the identity of voters.

The pilot will be implemented in Kompally Municipality in Medchal Malkajgiri district for 10 polling stations (Nos. 13, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 31 and 32). An Additional Polling Officer will click pictures of the voter and the identity card submitted by her on a mobile phone with the facial recognition app, and send it to the Telangana State Technology Services (TSTS). After matching, the result will be sent back to the mobile phone.

Even if the result is negative, however, the person will be allowed to vote based on the prescribed process of identification using their ID card. "The normal duties of polling personnel will be intact, and there will be no deviation because of implementation

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## REMARKS IN UAE; MODI LIKELY TO VISIT BANGLADESH IN MARCH

# Hasina speaks: Don't know why India got CAA... not necessary

'No reverse migration from India, but people facing problems within India'

**SHUBHAJIT ROY**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

MORE THAN a month after the Citizenship (Amendment) Act was passed, leading to Bangladesh cancelling at least two ministerial visits to India, Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina said that while the Act and the proposed nationwide NRC are "internal matters" of India, the CAA move was "not necessary".

Hasina's comments, during an interview to Dubai-based *Gulf News*, come two months before

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is likely to visit Bangladesh for the birth centenary celebrations of Hasina's father and Bangladesh's "Father of the Nation", Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The event is expected to be held on March 17, and is likely to be attended by Modi, former President Pranab Mukherjee, and Congress chief Sonia Gandhi among others.

During the interview in UAE's capital Abu Dhabi, where Hasina had gone on a bilateral visit last week, she said that she did not understand the purpose of the CAA passed in India, which aims



**Bangladesh PM, however, said CAA and NRC are India's 'internal matters'. Archive**

to offer citizenship to non-Muslim minorities that have faced persecution in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

"We don't understand why [the Indian government] did it. It was not necessary," she said.

Bangladesh, where 10.7 per cent of the 161 million-strong population is Hindu and 0.6 per cent Buddhist, has denied any migration to India because of religious persecution.

The Bangladesh PM also said there has been no recorded reverse migration from India. "No, there is no reverse migration

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## EXPLAINED

**Growing strain in relations**

HASINA'S POLITICAL leadership since 2008 has led to stronger ties between New Delhi and Dhaka. But her latest remarks indicate a growing strain after the new citizenship law came into force. There is also concern in Dhaka over the proposed National Register of Citizens (NRC) across India.

## Custody death of a 20-yr-old is part of cloud over Davinder

**MUZAMIL JALEEL**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

AMONG THE several red flags that have resurfaced against J&K Deputy Superintendent of Police Davinder Singh, currently in custody, one goes back to June 2000: it is related to the alleged custodial killing of 20-year-old Aijaz Ahmad Bazaz in a camp under Singh's supervision.

Bazaz, his father Mohammad Shafi recalled, had gone to his aunt's house in Bemina near their home in the Mandarbagh locality in Srinagar. Two days later, he was picked up by police.

"We came to know that a police party from Humhama Task Force Camp (of the Special Operations Group) has taken him... A week later, a policeman came to our house and asked us to go to the Police Control Room (PCR). My son's body was lying there. He was my only son; there



**Davinder Singh was arrested on January 11**

were torture wounds all over his body."

Davinder Singh was then in charge of the SOG camp at Humhama. The SOG is the counter-insurgent arm of Jammu & Kashmir Police.

The J&K State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) took cognizance of Bazaz's death. The SHRC was wound up after J&K was downgraded to two Union Territories last year. Justice (retired) Bilal Nazki, the last chairman of the SHRC, told *The Indian Express* that "the case had come up before the Commission much before (my) term and (I) was told that the Commission had

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



**Organisers said some 70,000 protested on Saturday, including 30,000 women. Abhishek Angad**

## From PhD scholar to homemaker, women lead big protest in Ranchi

**ABHISHEK ANGAD**  
RANCHI, JANUARY 19

A HOMEMAKER left her ailing in-laws behind at home, a businesswoman locked up her stationery shop, and a doctoral student missed her class. All of them went to Ranchi's Doranda Urs Maidan — along with 70,000 others — to protest against the new citizenship law, the National

Population Register (NPR), and the proposed NRC.

Jharkhand has seen several anti-CAA protests — the 'Samvidhan Bachao, Desh Bachao' gathering at the Maidan on Saturday was the largest in the state so far. Professor Rizwan Ali, one of the coordinators of the event, said more than 30,000 of the protesters were women.

A woman who identified herself as Rani Parveen held up a sign

that said, "Humein chain se jeene do, kala kanoon wapas lo (Let us live in peace, take back the black law)". She said she had joined various protests against the CAA earlier, but had made extra effort to be present on Saturday.

"My in-laws are ailing, and

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**ANTI-CAA PROTEST IN PATNA TOO** PAGE 10

## General Cariappa in 1971: Scrap Constitution, need military rule

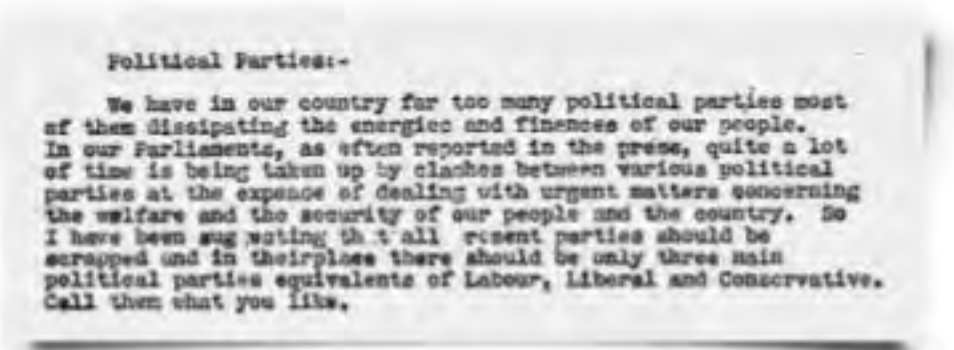
Signed note by Army's first Indian chief found in archives: Military rule temporary measure, scrap political parties

**SUSHANT SINGH**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

WEEKS AFTER Indira Gandhi won a landslide victory in the Lok Sabha elections of 1971, the first Indian to head the Indian Army, General K M Cariappa, who was later made Field Marshal, underlined in a clarificatory note that he was in favour of "a military rule, only as a temporary measure to put things right in the country".

Exhorting Indians to "wake up" and "SPEAK", he asserted that 90 per cent would "vote for a President's cum Military Rule to save Democracy".

The signed note of April 7, 1971 was recently discovered in



**Image grab of the note (above); He didn't want linguistic states**

Karnataka's state archives. It was written as a clarification for the public after Cariappa had met

the then Prime Minister, Home Minister and the Speaker of Lok Sabha following a Parliamentary debate about his comments advocating these measures while informally speaking to the press in Dhanbad in March 1970.

Cariappa was heavily criticised for those remarks, including in Parliament. It was then reported that he had met these

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## In Kolhapur, citizen groups battle price rise with own mutton shop, trigger shutdown by retailers

**PAGE 1 ANCHOR**

**SADAF MODAK**  
KOLHAPUR, JANUARY 19

THE SURGE in food inflation across the country has played out in a peculiar manner in Maharashtra's Kolhapur, where citizens' groups have opened a shop to sell mutton at lower prices as part of their agitation against the price rise.

In November, when the retail price rose to Rs 580 per kg, the

Kolhapur Mutton Darvadh Virodhi Kruti Samiti, an umbrella body, set up the Samyukta Rajarampuri Mutton Shop that sold the meat at Rs 480 — and continues to do so.

"The initial plan was to open 4-5 shops on our own, converting commercial spaces into mutton shops, as the sellers were on a strike for two weeks against the agitation. We did not want to cause inconvenience to the public," said Dilip Desai, a member of the Samiti, which set up the shop on November 24.

Shashikant Shetke, who manages the Rajarampuri shop,



**Citizens' shop offers mutton at Rs 480 per kg. Express**

says business has been brisk with sales of over 10 goats on weekends and 2-3 on weekdays. "We want to keep the shop open to provide residents access to mutton priced lower than other retailers," he said.

Shetke, who is also part of the Samiti, says he has managed to maintain lower prices by keeping leaner margins and buying goats at a time when the prices were cheaper.

Kolhapur is famous for mutton delicacies like *tambda rassa*, *pandhra rassa* (mutton broth), and mutton *thali*. And the tussle over prices began over two

months ago when residents of Kasba Bawda in Kolhapur put up hoardings that read: "Aamcha tharlay, mutton nadhi-cya pali kada (We have decided, we will buy mutton from across the river)".

The call was to buy mutton from across the city's Panchganga river, where mutton is sold in smaller villages at Rs 400 per kg. This line caught on, including with members of citizens' groups formed in 2013, which had earlier persuaded residents to not pay a toll levied by an infrastructure authority while

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## President will present the Ramnath Goenka Awards for Excellence in Journalism today

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

FROM STORIES told from jungles deep inside Bastar that often get lost in the State vs Maoists binary to those that tracked rising instances of sexual assault on minors; from some of the biggest news breaks of the year to investigations that highlighted gaps between claims and numbers.

These are some of the works from 2018 that will be recognised and rewarded at the Ramnath Goenka Excellence in Journalism Awards. President Ram Nath Kovind will give away the awards at a ceremony in New Delhi on Monday.

In times of chum where even the news space is polarised, and where it's difficult to tell fact from fake, the Ramnath Goenka Excellence in Journalism Awards celebrate journalism that is defined by fairness and accuracy and is not afraid to speak the truth.

The Awards, instituted in 2006, honour journalists from print, broadcast and digital media, who have shown extraordinary strength of character and integrity while reporting news accurately under dangerous or difficult circumstances. Blending rigorous research and deep insights, the stories take you to places often left out of the headlines, and point to issues that must be heeded.

Administered by the Ramnath Goenka Memorial Foundation, the Awards have be-



**President Ram Nath Kovind**



come the most important event in the media calendar.

This time, the Awards have categories covering critical areas in print, digital and electronic media, including business and economics, political reportage, civic journalism, environment, science and technology, journalism in conflict areas, and regional-language reporting.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## No politics, PM told J&K-bound Ministers

**ABANTIKA GHOSH**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

A DAY before the first batch of Union ministers arrived in J&K as part of an outreach initiative, Prime Minister Narendra Modi told the Council of Ministers Friday that those visiting the UT should refrain from overt political messaging and focus on con-

necting with the people to "make up for lost time", sources told *The Indian Express*.

According to the sources, the Prime Minister also asked the Ministers to stay in the villages they visit at night rather than return to Jammu or Srinagar.

Friday's meeting was the latest in a series that Modi has held with Ministers and top

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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Women of Shaheen Bagh have a message for PM Modi: Have Chai pe Charcha, listen to our mann ki baat

VIDEO OF THE DAY

MIZORAM: SHOPS SANS SHOPKEEPERS

At these roadsides shops— it is all about trust and honesty

FULL COVERAGE

MANY BELIEFS OF SAI BABA'S BIRTH PLACE

Locals at Shirdi protest against Pathri town as Sai Baba's birthplace

EXPRESS AUDIO

Why the Centre was indifferent to Jeff Bezos's \$1 bn announcement

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Unpacking the antitrust case against Amazon, why traders were protesting during Bezos' visit and why the Central government was not thrilled about his investment announcement.

# FROM PAGE ONE

## Telangana

of face recognition application in the polling station," an official said.

In a circular issued on Saturday, Telangana State Election Commission Secretary M Ashok Kumar said since impersonation and bogus voting often leads to repolling, facial recognition was being tested to authenticate the identity of voters. The announcement was made under the head, "Face Recognition Application — Method of voter verification at polling stations using real-time authentication capabilities through a mobile phone using latest technologies from Artificial Intelligence, Big data, Machine Learning and Deep learning on Pilot Basis".

Elaborating, an official said: "The First Polling Officer who is in charge of voter identification, is required to perform many transactions, because of which there is little opportunity for that officer to even look at the face of the voter and compare with the ID card or photo in the electoral rolls. In this background, the proposal of the TSIS, which is using facial recognition technology to validate the identity of pensioners, is considered an appropriate tool to bring objectivity to voter identification work.

"However, this technology is proposed as an additional tool to validate the identity of the voter in addition to the existing procedures prescribed, such as employing the First Polling Officer as

## Cariappa

leaders to apologise for his remarks, which he denied, asserting that he had "not gone back one inch".

In the four-page typed note, Cariappa also advocated scrapping the Constitution, all political parties and linguistic states, and restricting adult franchise on the basis of "literacy". He wanted only three political parties, on the lines of Labour, Liberal and Conservative in the UK, and a new Constitution to be framed after a general election is held when military rule had restored law and order and "things are going on well in the country".

After a new Constitution is framed, he believed, "the President's cum Military Rule would end and Democracy would re-enter in its pure form". Blaming linguistic states for sounding "the death-knell for the unity of the country," he proposed dividing "India into zones for ad-

ministrative and economic convenience on the lines of the Army, such as Army Commands, Army Areas, Army Sub-areas and so on".

General Cariappa was a highly respected and renowned military officer, whose ascension as the first Indian to the post of Commander-in-Chief is celebrated as Army Day on January 15, and had retired from active service in 1953. He had contested two Lok Sabha elections after his retirement, losing in both his attempts, and was made a Field Marshal by the Rajiv Gandhi government in 1986. He died in 1993 at the age of 94.

In the note, he asserts that his proposal of "President's cum Military rule is not to be a permanent thing. It is to be only temporary until normalcy returns". He writes that if the common man "feels that a spell of President's cum Military Rule will give him security, give him better administration, a better life and so on, he has the right to demand it".

However, he makes clear that he had "never been in favour of military coups". He adds in the same vein that "there can never be, nor will there ever be, a Military Coup in India".

The three reasons he ruled out a military coup were: vastness of the country; the three services are separate and have their own chiefs; and, the "heterogeneity of the Communities in the service would not be conducive to provide for a homogenous outlook in this respect".

He then goes on to explain that military rule can thus come only either "if the politicians willingly hand over the country to the Army as was done in a neighbouring country" or "if the people demand such a rule". He clearly seemed to be battling for the second in the note.

The note was discovered by author and journalist, Sugata Srinivasaraju, who told *The Indian Express*: "The state archives is so disorganised that this note is wrongly attributed to 1948. I don't know how it landed up there. It is put under the 'private collection' category. I don't even know whose private collection it is."

Cariappa's statements about politics and democracy had triggered debate even in the early years after his retirement. It is believed that he was posted as the Indian High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand from 1953 to 1956 by the government, to keep him away from the domestic scene.

## Kolhapur

entering the city.

"We began receiving petitions from buyers and sellers. At one point, we realised that the situation could lead to a law and order problem, so a panel was formed to mediate," said Kolhapur Collector, Daulat Desai. Desai, along with civic officials and officials of the state Food and Drug Administration (FDA), held meetings with both sides.

In December, the price was set at Rs 480 per kg. "But this price was causing losses to us. Hence, we decided to keep our shops shut," said Vijay Kamble, district president of the Kolhapur Khatik Samaj, which represents the community that runs most of the mutton shops in the city.

Samaj members say the bandh was also called against action by FDA and civic officials citing violations by some shops, which they alleged was a "pressure tactic".

Over 150 shops remained shut across the city for two weeks, opening only last Thursday at a price agreed upon by the administration and sellers — Rs 520 per kg with assurance of quality control and adherence to civic and FDA guidelines.

The impact of the shutdown was also felt in hotels and restaurants, which had to source the meat from outside. However,

# Hasina speaks: Don't know why India got CAA... not necessary

from India. But within India, people are facing many problems," Hasina said.

Protests and violence have erupted across India since the enactment of the CAA last month, and over declarations by the government that the National Register of Citizens (NRC) will be carried out nationwide.

Analysts in Bangladesh have expressed fears that Indian Muslims, who are unable to prove their citizenship claims, will seek shelter in Bangladesh.

"[Still], it is an internal affair," Sheikh Hasina said. "Bangladesh has always maintained that the CAA and NRC are internal matters of India. The Government of India, on their part, has also repeatedly maintained that the NRC is an internal exercise of India and Prime Minister Modi has in person assured me of the same during my visit to New Delhi in October 2019," she said.

The issue of NRC has come up in bilateral conversations over the last year-and-a-half, since the NRC process in Assam took centre stage in 2018.

Last October, after Hasina met Modi during her visit to Delhi to attend the India Economic Summit of World Economic Forum, she had said she was satisfied with the Prime Minister's assurance on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly that Bangladesh should not be worried over the NRC in Assam.

Later, she visited Kolkata for the first day-night Test match between India and Bangladesh, where West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee, Amit Shah's son and BCCI Secretary Jay Shah met her, among others.

Last month, two top Bangladesh ministers in Sheikh

Hasina-led government — Foreign minister A K Abdul Momen and Home minister Asaduzzaman Khan — had cancelled their visits to India, a day after India had passed the CAA.

Foreign Minister Momen had said that CAB could weaken India's character as a secular nation and rejected allegations that minorities are facing religious persecution in his country.

Later, Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) spokesperson Raveesh Kumar clarified that there was no religious persecution under the "present government" of Bangladesh led by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, and it had happened under the "previous government" and "military rule".

The back-peddalling by MEA was seen as a response to the Hasina government not being happy with the underlying assumption behind CAB.

To assuage Dhaka's concerns, the MEA spokesperson had then pointed out that Home Minister Amit Shah, in his speech in Parliament, had mentioned the actions taken by the Hasina government.

He had quoted Shah, who had said: "As long as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was leading Bangladesh, everything worked very well. But once his government went, minorities began to be oppressed. I can tell you that a large number of Bangladeshi Hindus had to come here to seek refuge... the current government in Bangladesh is also taking care of religious minorities. It is making arrangements for religious minorities, but there has been a long period in the past in between, during which people came to India on account of religious persecution. This Bill is only to give citizenship to those people who came at that time."

## President will present RNG Awards for Excellence in Journalism today

The Awards, with prize money of Rs 1 lakh in each category, will also honour a writer, whose non-fiction work covers an issue on a scale that newspapers or television channels cannot aspire to tackle.

The winners were chosen by an eminent jury that included Tom Goldstein, Professor and Dean, Jindal School of

Journalism & Communication, O P Jindal Global University; S Y Quraishi, former Chief Election

Commissioner; Pamela Philipose, journalist and Senior Fellow at the Indian Council of

Social Science Research; and, former Supreme Court judge, Justice BN Srikrishna.

members of the Khatik community say they are being "unfairly targeted" due to multiple factors. One of the factors, they say, is that buyers from neighbouring southern Indian states have been buying goat and sheep herds at higher prices.

The floods last year in Kolhapur, and an increase in demand during the Lok Sabha and state elections, have led to less supply, too, they say. Another factor is the increase in export of meat to Middle Eastern countries.

According to the Livestock Census 2019, the goat population in the country is 148.88 million — an increase of 10.14 per cent from 2012. The Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority states India is the largest exporter of sheep and goat meat to the world totalling 18,425 million tonnes worth Rs 790.65 crore during 2018-19.

"This has led to rise in prices demanded by the farmers who sell their herd. The comparison with rural areas, where mutton is sold at a lower price, is also not correct as the quality of meat differs. Kolhapur is known for its mutton delicacies for decades and we have ensured that the quality is maintained," said Kamble of the Kolhapur Khatik Samaj.

"Apart from the cost of the goat, which comes around Rs 5,000-6,000, we also have to spend on fees to the municipal corporation, veterinarians, payment for godowns, transport, staff and maintenance of shops. This leaves us with barely any profit," said Wasim Khatik, who has now begun selling chicken at the shop he took over from his father.

Kamble says most sellers — a majority from SC communities and over 20 per cent from Muslim OBCs — remain socio-economically poor, without access to basic facilities including health and education, and are solely dependent on their mutton shops.

According to data released by the National Statistical Office (NSO) last week, retail inflation rose sharply to a five-and-a-half year high of 7.35 per cent in December 2019, primarily on account of rising food prices. Food items make up almost 46 per cent per cent of the retail inflation basket. The 14 per cent surge in food inflation last month was driven by vegetables (60%), pulses (15%) and meat and fish (9.6%).

At the Rajarampuri shop, meanwhile, Shetke admits he is finding it difficult to manage along with his other businesses. "We will arrive at a decision soon if we can keep it open for only a few days of the week. We are also planning on selling the meat at Rs 500 now as many are suspicious of the price difference with other retailers," he said.

## Davinder Singh

recommended action against him (Davinder Singh)".

Bazaz's father Mohammad Shafi is a well-known veterinary doctor in Srinagar, and the killing of his son didn't go unnoticed.

"For years, we knocked on the doors of the police and the government, but we were hitting our heads against a wall. No action was taken against Davinder Singh," Mohammad Shafi said. "Hopefully, now that his (Singh's) protection is gone, we may get some justice."

Singh, who was arrested by the J&K Police along with two "most wanted" militants in a car in South Kashmir last Saturday (January 11), was at the forefront of counter-insurgency operations and was, therefore, "protected" from within the force as well as the larger security grid in the Valley, several officials told *The Indian Express*.

Singh, who joined the police in 1990 as a Sub Inspector, received an out-of-way promotion to first become an Inspector and then a Deputy Superintendent of Police. Singh joined the SOG

when it was launched in 1994.

Bazaz's father alleged that searching for his son, after he had approached Singh, an intermediary had told him to arrange for money.

"He said that we will have to arrange for Rs 40,000. I sold whatever there was at home, the jewellery of my wife to pay him... but after a week of waiting, a policeman from the Kralkhud police station came to our house and we were told that my son was killed during an encounter at Bemina bypass, and his body was found along the road."

The J&K Police had then issued a statement accusing Bazaz of "masterminding two IED blasts in 1996". The police statement, however, was rejected as a cover-up for a fake encounter as protests broke out in Srinagar soon after the body was handed over to the family.

At the time of Bazaz's death, Davinder Singh and his Humhama Task Force Camp had picked up Afzal Guru as well.

Guru was subsequently arrested soon after the attack on Parliament in December 2001. In 2004, from Tihar, Guru wrote to his lawyer Sushil Kumar and alleged that Singh had asked him to take "Mohammad", a co-accused in the Parliament attack case and a Pakistani national, "to Delhi, rent a flat for his stay and purchase a car for him".

Afzal Guru also referred to a police official, Shanty Singh, who along with Davinder Singh, he alleged, had "tortured him at Humhama STF camp".

Shanty Singh was jailed after a Crime Branch investigation in 2003 found he was involved in "torturing a civilian Mohammad Ayoub Dar of Sholipora, Pakharpore to death" in "police custody", and then "firing at his body", dubbing him as a "militant who was killed in an encounter".

But Guru's allegation fell on deaf ears.

In 2005, Davinder Singh was again in controversy. He had

helped set up a business deal between two parties, and then allegedly "snatched" cash and a JCB machine from a businessman and escaped.

An FIR was registered at Sadar police station in Srinagar, and the case was subsequently investigated by the Crime branch. "There was a lot of pressure to avoid doing anything in the case," an officer who knew the case told *The Indian Express*. "The records of the case were destroyed during the flood in 2014, and the case was closed subsequently."

When Afzal Guru was hanged in February 2013, Davinder was shifted to Traffic Police. In 2018, J&K Police headquarters asked the Crime Branch to file a closure report in court. This cleared the decks for Singh to be conferred with a gallantry medal — this has been withdrawn after his arrest.

"It is highly unlikely that Davinder would do what he was doing without the knowledge of his senior colleagues," said a senior J&K Police officer. "Why was he taking these militants to Delhi in his own car? Why would he hide them at his own home? Why was he communicating on an open line, that too on his own phone? There are a lot of questions that are unanswered."

The wait for the answers has now begun. The NIA took over the investigation last week.

needed constant attention. However, this protest was very important for all of us — not just because (Prime Minister) Modi's intention is to discriminate against one religion, but also because it is against humanity. I had to leave my in-laws at home and lock the door from the outside to come here," she said. Parween, a homemaker, said she would attend all protests in the city.

By the afternoon, the protest ground was teeming with women from all strata of society. Nushi Begum, who came with her husband and their daughter who

studies in Class 7, said they had decided to keep their shop closed to be able to attend the protest. "Hum kaagaz kyon dikhayein? Hum isi ke virodh mein aye hain. (Why should we show papers? We are protesting because we are forced to do so)," she said.

Her daughter, Sanya Sarah Hayat, held the Tricolour in one hand and a sign in the other: "*Tanashahi nahi chalegi, nahi chalegi*" (We won't allow dictatorship). She said: "People are divided, we are constantly getting messages on social media on this issue."

Near a group of protesters singing the now signature Azaadi song, Ranchi University PhD scholar Arma Mazhar stood holding a sign that read: "*Hum documents se nahin, dil se Hindustani hain* (We are Indians by our hearts, not by any documents)," She said that she had also joined a protest at Firalal Chowk in the city earlier.

Next to Arma stood a woman who said he has a small shop that makes bags. "In WhatsApp messages, television reports, and phonecalls, we are being reminded every day about this issue. The entire family is tense. If not today then when else will we protest?" she said.

Nigar Sultana, who runs a computer coaching centre in Doranda, said she had downed shutters to make it to the protest. "Atal Bihari Vajpayee was better than Modi ji. We only pray that they follow his (Vajpayee's) path. We have been trying to spread awareness on this black law that Modi ji has brought," she said.

Nigar said women like her had come out in the streets to protect the Constitution, and that she would be part of the indefinite protest near Haj House, Kadru on the lines of Shaheen Bagh in Delhi beginning Monday.

## PM to Ministers

bureaucrats to chalk out a five-year vision for the government. Ten groups of secretaries have made presentations on the way forward.

Addressing the bureaucrats Friday, sources quoted the Prime Minister as saying that if all files in the government moved at the same pace as those pertaining to foreign visits, the government "would be in a good place".

He also suggested inclusion of the Statue of Unity among iconic tourism sites in the country and asked for focus on security as one of the parameters of ease of doing business, sources said.

"The PM specifically told the Ministers who will be visiting J&K that there should not be any political colour to the visit. The idea should not be to do politics but to connect with the people — youth, teachers, government officers — and try to win them over. He emphasised on winning hearts and minds so that the government can work with them to make up for lost time," said sources who were present in the meeting.

"He also said that Ministers should spend the nights in some of the villages they visit rather than come back to Jammu or Srinagar every night," they said.

The first group of Ministers, comprising Jitendra Singh, Ashwani Choubey and Arjun Meghwal, arrived in J&K Saturday. As part of the outreach following the abrogation of Article 370, 36 Union Ministers are scheduled to visit the UT in batches over the next few weeks.

Meanwhile, referring to ease of doing business, the Prime Minister reminded bureaucrats of the importance of fast clearances. "He told bureaucrats that if all files are cleared at the pace at which foreign tour files are cleared, the government would be in a good place. Normally, foreign tour files see five of six signatures completed in one day," sources said.

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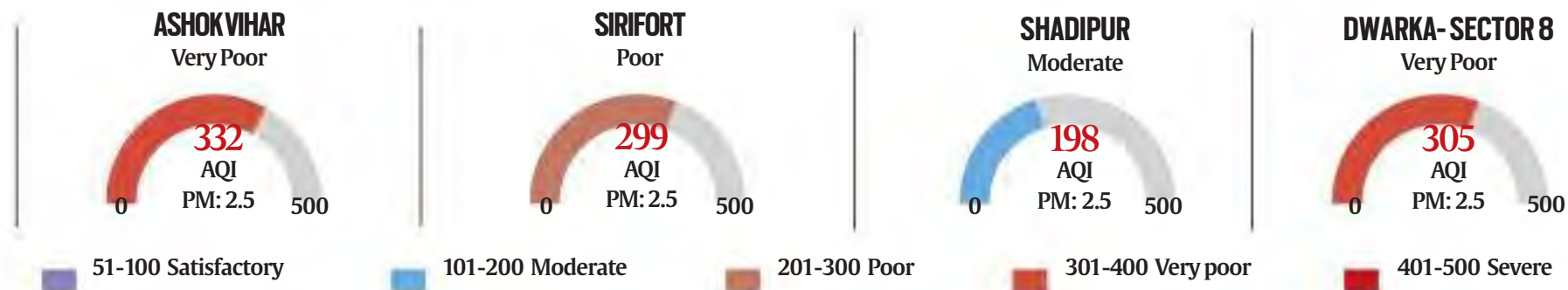
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WILL APPROACH HC TO QUASH IHA MANUAL: STUDENTS' UNION

# Deadline ends, 6,500 students register for next JNU semester

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

NEARLY 6,500 of the total 8,800 students have registered for the winter semester at the end of registration on January 17, the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) Registrar said Sunday.

The remaining students have not registered, presumably due to the JNU Students' Union (JNUSU) call for boycott over the hostel fee hike. JNUSU said it will approach the Delhi High Court on Monday to "quash the illegally passed IHA (Inter Hall Administration) manual".

When asked how many had registered, Registrar Pramod Kumar said, "Nearly 6,450."

After giving several extensions to students in light of the boycott, JNU had finally set January 17 as the last date for registration without paying late



JNUSU has called for a boycott of the registration. Archive

fine. Students can still register by paying a late fee fine of Rs 100 per day for the next week; Rs 200 per day for the subsequent week; and Rs 500 per day for the week after that.

Meanwhile, speaking about its legal petition, the JNUSU said

it will "also seek registration at old rates without late fines".

"The matter would be heard on an urgent basis and in light of the same, the JNUSU would further urge students to continue with their boycott of registration and all academic activities includ-

ing exams and classes," they said.

They also appealed to students to "boycott exams and classes until the V-C's project of WhatsApp University and illegal modes of examination are nullified".

"Any academic schedule shall only be brought through discussions between teachers and students. The JNUSU rejects all arbitrary schedules released by the JNU administration in order to portray false normalcy," the JNUSU said.

"We also demand that the JNU Admin annul and completely quash all punitive actions on students who have been struggling against the exorbitant fee hike and to revoke the illegally and arbitrarily passed IHA manual on campus, privatisation of education and the neo-liberal onslaught by the fascist regime in the entire country at large," they added.

## Woman shot dead during robbery bid: 1 more held

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

DAYS AFTER a 27-year-old man, who was allegedly involved in the murder of a 59-year-old woman in East Delhi's Madhu Vihar during a robbery bid, was arrested, police picked up his associate from a drug de-addiction centre in Ghaziabad Sunday. Police said Md Anjar (22) was enrolled under a different name at the centre.

Sitting in her car, the victim, Usha Rani, was waiting for her husband outside a temple when two bike-borne men shot her dead during a robbery bid on September 21 last year. Police arrested the prime accused, Md Mazhar, from New Seelampur on Thursday.

Mazhar was arrested along with another man for their involvement in over 12 cases of robbery and snatching. "On Friday, we received information from Narela Industrial Area police team about Mazhar. When questioned, he confessed to the crime and told us that his accomplice, Anjar, is hiding in a de-addiction centre in Loni, Ghaziabad. After days of searching, the accused was found residing at a centre under a false name 'Rakesh'," said Jasmeet Singh, DCP (East).

Deputy Commissioner Amit Khatri said the matter would be looked into: "We will definitely look to improve the facility. If some investment has been made, it is our endeavour to ensure it is used."

## PM urged to restore photos of Gandhi's last moments

DIVYAA  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

DAYS AFTER Tushar Gandhi, the great grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, expressed disappointment over the "removal" of photographs of Gandhi's last moments from Delhi's Gandhi Smriti, a group of people has written a letter to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, urging him "to restore the original photographs and panels".

The letter states that the PM should "make sure that the soul of the exhibition is not lost in the name of digitisation and upgradation". It has been signed jointly by Kumar Prashant, president, Gandhi Peace Foundation; Ramchandra Rahi, president, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi; A Annamalai, director, National

Gandhi Museum; and Vishwajeet Roy, convener, Rashtriya Yuva Sanghatana.

The photographs in question were taken by legendary French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson at Birla House. The photographs were on display at a special gallery inside Gandhi Smriti.

Tushar Gandhi had expressed shock over the removal of the photographs. He alleged that "removing the panels felt like a conspiracy to dilute and erase the evidence of the assassination of Gandhi by those whose ideology had allowed such a tragedy".

However, Gandhi Smriti director, Dipankar Shri Gyan, had denied the charge, saying, "The photographs have not been removed. Instead of physical copies, soft copies have been installed on LED screens."



At the Shaheen Bagh protest, Sunday. Gajendra Yadav

## At Shaheen Bagh, an evening of poetry, comedy, theatre

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

UNDER CRITICISM from some quarters for "celebrating" on the anniversary of the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley, Shaheen Bagh Sunday received support from several Kashmiri Pandits who came and addressed the gathering. Organisers of the protest had planned to hold 'Jashn-e-Shaheen Bagh', an evening of music and poetry to "celebrate the resistance". While performers and artists due to participate in the protest showed up, the term wasn't used by any volunteer the whole evening.

As rumours started doing the rounds that a few Kashmiri Pandits had been roughed up at the event, those in support took to the stage to clear the air. Theatre director M K Raina was among them. "Shaheen Bagh is no longer Shaheen Bagh. It has become India," he said. Raina said that having being driven out of

Kashmir, he empathised with the pain of those who might be left "homeless".

"After Mahatma Gandhi's satyagraha, this is the first such programme where so many oppressed and poor people are standing up for the country. It's the first time that the youth of India — whether from universities in Mumbai or Delhi — have forced the older ones to take to the streets to save the country. *Hindustan humara hoga*," he said.

Ashish Pandita, a real estate businessman, denied any news of a scuffle. "There has been no attack on us. The BJP government is so concerned about those in other countries, but they haven't done anything for us insiders in the past many years," he said. Ashwini Pandit, another speaker, echoed his views.

Later in the evening, to loud cheers and claps, artists took to the stage. Stand-up comedian Kunal Kamra received applause for his opening line: "I didn't come much prepared to speak

here. But the Modi government was even less prepared to introduce CAA."

Singer and actor Saba Azad sang the India People Theatre Association's song 'Tu Zinda Hai' with the audience — in hundreds — holding up their phone torch lights and swaying.

She also recited Faiz Ahmed Faiz's poem 'Bol ke Lab Aazad Hain Tere'. "We've heard that these days, some people have a problem with Faiz saab. So we'll recite his nazm," she said.

Singer Ankur Tewari also came on stage, strumming his guitar and singing. "We're here to stand together with anybody who has faced violence; we will sing of love in solidarity with them," he said. Tewari's song 'Mohabbat Zindabad' was a hit with the audience, which repeated the chorus after him.

Poets Aamir Aziz and Hussain Haidry recited their poems, critical of the government. They received among the loudest cheers of the evening.

### BRIEFLY

#### Two arrested over job scam

**New Delhi:** Delhi Police arrested two men from South East Delhi's Govindpuri for allegedly duping people to the tune of Rs 1 crore after promising them jobs abroad. According to police, one of the accused, Firoz Alam, a resident of Bihar, owned a travel agency. He demanded around Rs 10,000 from job aspirants and later blocked their phone numbers once they paid the money.

#### Snatchers attack man

**New Delhi:** A 24-year-old man was allegedly attacked with a knife by two men who snatched his phone outside his office in South East Delhi's Okhla Industrial Area Friday. The man, who works as a billing analyst at an MNC, was walking home when the accused accosted him. When he resisted, the accused allegedly attacked him with a knife on his face and hands, and fled with his phone. **ENS**

#### Advisory for Republic Day rehearsal

**New Delhi:** Delhi Police Sunday advised commuters to be patient and observe traffic rules during traffic restrictions for the Republic Day Parade rehearsals. It said rehearsals will be held on Monday and Tuesday on Rajpath, from Vijay Chowk to India Gate. **PTI**

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Lack of jobs, pollution: Issues raised on Congress helpline

ASTHA SAXENA  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

RISING UNEMPLOYMENT, soaring pollution levels and safety of women — these are some of the issues highlighted by the public on the Congress helpline, as per sources. The helpline number was launched by senior leader Shashi Tharoor to get suggestions from people for the party's manifesto.

As part of the Congress campaign — *Dilli Ke Dil Ki Baat Congress Ke Saath* — people were provided six platforms to communicate with the state unit and give their suggestions.

These included a WhatsApp number and Missed Call facility; a website, [www.dillikibaat.com](http://www.dillikibaat.com); an email id, [manifesto@dillikibaat.com](mailto:manifesto@dillikibaat.com); a Facebook profile, INCDelhi; and a Twitter handle, INCDelhi.

According to sources, 30% of the calls were from people who wanted to know the party's solution to unemployment. The BJP-led government has been criticised for the economy slump and rising unemployment over the last few months.

"Most of them wanted to know how the party will deal with the economic crisis. We have answered the queries through our manifesto," said a senior Congress leader.

The second issue which was widely highlighted by callers was rising levels of pollution. In the party's 42-page manifesto — sent to top leaders for approval — 15 pages deal with the pollution crisis.

"It has been drafted after consulting eminent environmentalists. The major chunk of the manifesto talks about pollution. We could have easily made a separate manifesto on pollution," said a member of the manifesto committee.

The grand old party, which announced 54 of its candidates on Friday evening, will come out with the manifesto next week.

The party is yet to field a candidate from New Delhi constituency, against Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal.

## 'Jumla' card to fool people, says Cong; BJP too hits out

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

DELHI CONGRESS unit president Subhash Chopra took aim at CM Arvind Kejriwal Sunday, saying he is fooling people with a "jumla" guarantee card to hide failures of the past five years and that he fears defeat in the upcoming polls.

He added that Kejriwal woke

KEJRIWAL RELEASES 10-POINT GUARANTEE CARD

## Marshals for women security, free bus rides for students in AAP's 10 new 'guarantees'



CM Arvind Kejriwal at the launch of the AAP's guarantee card, Sunday. Prem Nath Pandey

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

ON THE list of AAP's "guarantees", released by Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal Sunday, is a plan to deploy at least 13,000 marshals in the city as part of a proposed community policing initiative. The plan found a brief mention in the 'guarantee card' launched by Kejriwal. "Similar to bus marshals, mohalla marshals will be appointed," said the one-page document.

The other significant guarantees include a promise to ensure round-the-clock supply of water, cleaning up the Yamuna, quality education till graduation and the extension of the free bus rides scheme to students.

While the other promises have repeatedly figured in Kejriwal's speeches in the recent past, community policing initiative has returned to the AAP's drawing board after a gap of five years.

In its 2015 manifesto, the party had promised to create a women's security force. "The AAP will set up a Mahila Suraksha Dal of 10,000

Home Guards who are currently forced to work as servants, drivers and cooks at the residences of senior officers and ministers. AAP will also use 5,000 bus marshals to prevent and deter crime on public transport," the manifesto had said.

At the fag end of its tenure, the AAP did manage to put around 13,000 marshals on board DTC buses but the promise of a women's security force saw little headway. The party has now revived the promise in the guarantee card, which Kejriwal clarified, "was separate from the manifesto, but at least two notches above it".

A party source said while the details were still being worked out, the plan is to deploy 13,000 marshals across all polling booths in the city. They will be working one shift, most likely between 6 pm to 2 am every day.

The source pointed out that the model will be designed along the lines of similar initiatives in cities like Bengaluru and other global cities. The community policing project in Bengaluru — known as 'Area Suraksha Mitras' — comes under the police force of the city. Police comes under the

state government in Karnataka. The Delhi Police is under the administrative and operational control of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs. "It is not yet clear as to where the marshals will be drawn from, but we will pull this off, like we did in the case of bus marshals. And they will work in close coordination with the police," said an AAP functionary.

Meanwhile, at the launch of the guarantee card at the party's ITO headquarters, Kejriwal said the manifesto will be launched in a week or 10 days: "The 10 issues highlighted in the guarantee impact every resident of Delhi. The manifesto may have something specific for doctors, or for students, safai karamcharis etc. Many of the works detailed in this card have already been done and we promise to continue them; the rest will be implemented in the next five years."

"We also guarantee that the existing services and subsidies in the areas of water, power and transport will continue for the next five years. Opposition parties are spreading rumours that these services will be terminated by March 2020. That is a lie," he said.



DPCC chief Subhash Chopra said card was meant to hide AAP's failures. Archive

Chopra claimed the AAP-led government had supplied "dirty water" to people, and failed to provide potable drinking water to unauthorised colonies. It also failed to set up a new hospital or ensure proper functioning of the existing ones, Chopra alleged.

The DPCC statement added, "Chopra said the Kejriwal government had neglected public transport in the last five years, and that was one of the primary

### THE 10 GUARANTEES

■ **Underground electricity cables to tackle mess of overhead wires. Power subsidy scheme to continue**

■ **Round-the-clock supply of clean piped water to every household. Water subsidy scheme to continue**

■ **Quality education for all children born in Delhi till graduation. Will continue to facilitate loans for graduate studies.**

■ **More mohalla clinics, polyclinics, and hospitals. Adding 15,000 beds in Delhi's government hospitals**

■ **Addition of 11,000 buses and Metro network. Free bus ride scheme will be extended to students**

■ **Pollution will be reduced to 1/3rd in next 5 years. Two crore trees to be planted**

■ **Delhi will be made clean and at par with international cities**

■ **Will install CCTVs and streetlights to ensure women's safety. Mohalla marshals will be appointed**

■ **Will provide roads, drains, water lines, sewer lines, mohalla clinics and CCTVs in all unauthorised colonies**

■ **Slum dwellers to get in-situ rehabilitation**

## With doorstep visits, CM's daughter on campaign trail

SOURAV ROY BARMAN  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

HAVING ADDRESSED several small gatherings and interacted with voters at their doorsteps over the last four months, Harshita Kejriwal's assessment of the ground situation is sure to warm her father's heart.

Harshita (23), daughter of Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal, graduated from IIT-Delhi in 2018 and joined a global management consultant firm. On leave since October, she has overseen different rounds of campaigning at the New Delhi assembly seat.

"The feedback I have received is 99% positive. Whenever I knock on a door, people ask 'aap kyun aaye ho, hum toh aise hi saath hain, hum log khud campaign kar rahe hain'. Everyone is happy and satisfied with the work carried out by the AAP government," Harshita told *The Indian Express*.

On Sunday, apart from Harshita, the CM's wife Sunita Kejriwal and son Pulkit (18) also participated in a door-to-door campaign in the New Delhi seat, from which Kejriwal is seeking a third term. He will file his nomination Monday.

Before the door-to-door campaign, Harshita started off with a few small gatherings, some of which she addressed.

Over the last two months, small-scale sports events, "for around 100-200 houses" each, were also organised to mobilise



Kejriwal's wife Sunita and daughter Harshita campaign in the New Delhi constituency, Sunday. Express



support for AAP in the New Delhi seat, she said. "In our office, you will meet 100-200 volunteers who are campaigning after having taken long leaves. We feel this is the only party which is fighting the polls based on the work it has done," said Harshita.

"There are many people who come after winding up the day's work... A lot of my friends and juniors come over during week-ends as well," she added.

Sunita, who went around the Ansari Nagar West area on Sunday with the rest of the family, said: "The response of people is overwhelmingly positive..."

Pulkit, who joined IIT-Delhi last year, has been unable to join the campaign so far due to academic commitments. "As it was a Sunday, Pulkit came over as well. While Harshita has been on her father's campaign trail for months, her mother joined her on and off. But they limited it to the CM's constituency," said party sources.

Last week, Deputy CM Manish Sisodia's wife Seema had

also joined the CM's family members when they were campaigning in Tilak Marg, which is close to Sisodia's official residence.

"They usually campaign between 11 am and 5-5.30 pm. One must keep in mind that they have campaigned for the CM during the elections in 2013 and 2015 as well. They had also gone to Punjab to campaign during the 2017 state assembly polls there," said an AAP leader.

The AAP leadership, as part of its efforts to project a more relatable image of Kejriwal, has been sharing pictures of him spending time with his family and friends over the months. The CM's parents also stay with him at his official residence.

While Sunita Kejriwal has largely maintained a low profile, lately she has been making public interventions. In June 2018, when Kejriwal had spent a week camping inside L-G Anil Bajjal's office, she had called the latter "insecure" for not allowing the CM to meet him.

## Eye on Purvanchalis, BJP & Cong ally with JD(U), RJD



Delhi BJP chief Manoj Tiwari at a rally with auto drivers, Sunday. BJP made Tiwari, a Purvanchali, state head in 2016

BIHAR'S TWO main parties — Lalu Yadav's Rashtriya Janata Dal and Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal United — will be entering Delhi's political arena as alliance partners with Congress and BJP respectively. While the RJD will be contesting the Delhi Assembly polls from Burari, Kirari, Uttam Nagar and Palam, the JD(U) will fight from Burari and Sangam Vihar — largely Purvanchali dominated seats.

Confirming the alliance with the BJP, JD(U) National General Secretary Sanjay Jha said the party will contest the two seats on its arrow symbol. The BJP said Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar is likely to campaign for their candidates.

In previous Assembly polls, both parties had fielded independent candidates and could not make much of a dent in vote shares. In 2013, however, the JD(U) won one seat.

This time, seats have been given to RJD and JD(U) keeping the capital's Purvanchal population in mind — migrants from

Bihar, Eastern UP and Jharkhand who make up 30% of the capital's population. The constant rise in their numbers has had a commensurate effect on their participation in the city's electoral politics.

Post 2000, Congress's Mahabul Mishra was seen as a Purvanchali leader who gave refuge and job opportunities to many people from Bihar in his West Delhi constituency. AAP, in the last elections, fielded 13 Purvanchalis who went on to win, while the BJP made Manoj Tiwari, a Purvanchali, state president.

As per a survey by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, the Purvanchali population is dominant in about 16 of capital's 70 Assembly seats.

CSDS director Sanjay Kumar said, "It could be a larger game plan to give a clear signal before the Bihar polls, which is next."

"Secondly, one might not necessarily see these two parties and their policies as being responsible for people leaving the state... sometimes, familiarity with regional parties might make people support them..." he said.

### ANTI-CAA PROTESTS

## As protests meet polls, Congress goes all in, AAP walks tightrope

SUKRITA BARUAH  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

WITH THE Congress throwing its weight behind the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the Aam Aadmi Party being cautious around it, leaders from both parties contesting assembly polls from areas where the agitations continue to seethe are finding different ways to engage with them.

However, both parties, which are pitted against the BJP, also have to contend with the wariness that participants of the citizen-led protests harbour towards politicians.

The sit-in at Shaheen Bagh led by women is arguably the most popular anti-CAA protest in the city, where thousands show up every evening in solidarity.

former Congress MLA from Okhla Asif Muhammad Khan, who has been a strong presence at the Shaheen Bagh protest, said the opposition to the Bill will be a major plank of the candidate from the constituency.

"I have been going to the venue every day. I stand with the public for several hours. It sends a message to the public that these people are with us, and will help us when it is required. But this is a people's protest and they do not want much involvement by political parties... This will be a big issue in the campaign in this constituency. The Congress has taken a clear stand against CAA-NRC and most leaders who have visited these protests are from the party. (CM Arvind) Kejriwal has not taken a clear stand on the issue and has been speaking in circles," he said.

In fact, Congress's involvement is one of the reasons cited by a group of students for withdrawing from the sit-in on January 2. They had initially played a big role in coordinating it. Sharjeel Imam, a PhD student from JNU and one of the co-ordinators, had said "some parties are trying to hijack the protest in the light of coming



An anti-CAA protest in Seelampur; (right) Cong MP Shashi Tharoor and DPCC chief Subhash Chopra at a Jamia protest. Archive



elections," in a reference to Asif Khan's involvement.

On the other hand, sitting MLA from the area Amanatullah Khan is the only AAP leader to visit the venue. He, too, has been cautious about his involvement.

He had addressed the gathering at Shaheen Bagh on January 13 and said he did not want to politicise the issue: "I am completely with you. If anyone has to

go to jail, I will go first. If anyone has to receive lathi blows, I will receive them first... For me, politics comes second and you come first. If I have to make a choice between contesting elections or not, I would choose to stand with you... If I have not been around you, it was because I didn't want to do politics. This is an issue of the people and not of any party."

Safoora Zargar, member of

the Jamia Coordination Committee that organises protests at the varsity, said they were not averse to politicians at the protest: "Our protest is directed at the rollback of the CAA and NRC, for which we need the support of political parties and for them to include it in their manifestos. If anyone is ready to stand with us, we are happy to give them space."

On AAP's distance, she said, "There is resentment against AAP, but we also understand the nuances of elections and the political web the BJP is creating around it; we refuse to fall into it."

In Seelampur, another epicentre of protests, Congress and AAP have fielded former MLA Mateen Ahmed and East MCD councillor Abdul Rehman respectively. Both are named in an FIR for "inciting

the crowd" for the violence that had broken out in the area during a protest on December 17.

However, protesters have rejected political presence. Ahmed had visited the venue and sat among protesters earlier in the week without speaking, while Rehman had been asked to go back.

"People are very clear that they don't want politicians to come... Elections are coming and people know that politicians will come if they see it as beneficial — and stay away if not," said Abdul Kareem, a resident of the area.

Ahmed said opposition to the CAA will be an important part of his campaign. "I went to the sit-in because I should go when something is happening in my area; but that is the citizens' protest. I have been raising it in my own public meetings, and I'm the one who started protests in the area. My name is in an FIR," he said. Rehman was unavailable for comment.

In Old Delhi, Alka Lamba, who left AAP and is now contesting from Chandni Chowk on a Congress ticket, had also been leading protests at Jama Masjid for two weeks. "She had been leading a protest every evening

from 6-7 pm since January 1, but will no longer be able to do so as her candidacy will give it a political colour and she is busy with campaigning," said a source close to her.

However, citizens protesting regularly at the masjid said their protest is a separate one. "She comes with her own people. Later in the evening, citizens hold their own protest. No political leaders are invited; if they come, they are chased away. There is a lot of mistrust in being used for elections... AAP has maintained its distance as it is not comfortable for their electoral politics," said Mohammad Naeem, a local social worker.

Shoaib Iqbal, who quit Congress and is contesting from Matia Mahal on an AAP ticket, conducted a few small protests but stopped after his candidacy was declared.

"It is a very sensitive issue... I will decide on how to approach it after consulting people through door-to-door conversations, and after the Supreme Court hears petitions against the Act on January 22. Any mobilisation will be done after getting permission from police and the returning officer," he said.





## Off To Davos

MADHYA PRADESH Chief Minister Kamal Nath has left for Davos to attend the World Economic Forum's 50th annual meeting. And one gets to hear that his son and Lok Sabha MP Nakul Nath is travelling with him to the Swiss ski resort for the high-profile event. The Indian representation at Davos this time will not be big. From the central government side, Railway Minister Piyush Goyal and Minister of State Mansukh Mandaviya are slated to attend. Apart from Kamal Nath, Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh and his Karnataka counterpart B S Yediyurappa will be attending the meet.

## Ahead Of Big Day

ON THE eve of presidential elections in the BJP, the party headquarters was bustling with hectic activities on Sunday. As the party's top leaders, including chief ministers, started arriving at the office, mediapersons were asked to keep away from the office premises. Chief Ministers Yogi Adityanath, Trivendra Singh Rawat, Jairam Thakur, Pramod Savant, Vijay Rupani, Neiphiu Rio and Sarbananda Sonowal were inside the party office by evening. Union Ministers Dharmendra Pradhan, Arjun Ram Meghwal, Pratap Chandra Sarangi and Anurag Thakur and former Maharashtra chief minister Devendra Fadnis were also seen at the party office. A number of leaders would be proposing J P Nadda's name to the top post, said party leaders.

## The Pause

FORMER PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh went into a long pause as he took names of some of those seated in the audience at the launch of a book by former Union minister Ashwani Kumar. As the audience started to wonder what happened, Singh broke the pause and said he had become emotional thinking about erstwhile cabinet colleague P Chidambaram, who too was seated in the audience. Kumar on his part said Chidambaram was being politically persecuted.

## Tour Boycott

TWO TRINAMOOL MPs, Kakoli Ghosh Dastidar and Manish Gupta, have conveyed to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs their decision to boycott the committee's study tour in protest against the CAA, NRC and NPR. The programme started on Saturday. Their brief letter says that the party is in principle opposed to the CAA, NRC and NPR hence they would not participate in the tour.

### MODEL CODE OF CONDUCT VIOLATION

## Azam declared absconder for third time in a month

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
LUCKNOW, JANUARY 19

IN MORE trouble for Samajwadi Party MP Azam Khan, a local court of Rampur has declared him an absconder after he failed to appear before it despite summons issued against him for allegedly violating the model code of conduct during Lok Sabha polls last year — a third such case against him in a month.

The other two cases in which the Rampur MP has been declared an absconder are related to alleged fraudulent birth documents of his son Abdullah, an MLA, and an alleged threat case filed by Azam's neighbour.

"The same court has issued notices to Azam Khan in all the three cases directing him to appear before the court, failing which a property attachment order will be passed against him," said government counsel Ram Avtar Saini.

"Azam Khan and Samajwadi Party's Rampur district president Akhilesh Kumar were booked by Rampur police for not concluding the roadshow in the stipulated time given by the district administration during Parliament elections. The permission to hold a roadshow was obtained by Akhilesh Kumar," said Saini.

An FIR was lodged at Rampur's Swar police station under IPC section 171-G (false statement in connection with an election). The police have filed a charge-sheet against Azam Khan.

"Akhilesh Kumar obtained bail from the court. Azam Khan did not appear despite several summons. On Saturday, Additional District and Sessions Judge Dharendra Kumar declared Azam Khan an absconder and invoked section 82 of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) against him," said Saini, adding that the court had fixed February 5 for the next date of hearing.

# CAA tussle: Won't remain mute spectator, says Kerala Governor

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JANUARY 19

ESCALATING THE war of words with the Left government in Kerala, Governor Arif Mohammed Khan Sunday said the state government moving the Supreme Court seeking scrapping of the Citizenship Amendment Act was against the law and that he will not remain a "mute spectator".

The Governor, who has sought an explanation from the government on its appeal in the Supreme Court, said, "The government going to the Supreme Court is in contravention of the rules. This is not a personal fight with the Chief Minister. I want that the Constitution and the law must be upheld," he told reporters.

The Pinarayi Vijayan government and the Governor have been on a collision course over the CAA, particularly after the assembly passed a resolution demanding abrogation of the amended citizenship law and the state government approached the court. The Governor had earlier stated that he would seek a report from the government on its moving the court without informing his office.

Khan told reporters that the issue should not be painted as a per-



**Arif Mohammed Khan**

sonal one. "I had told the media that I am not important, what is important is the Constitution and the law of the land. You read various Supreme Court judgments and provisions of the law. I am only concerned that the Constitution and the law must be upheld."

"It is absolutely clear that the rule of business should not be violated. Can any person be given remission without the Governor's signature? All cases related to summons and prorogues of the assembly, before an order is issued, must be submitted to Governor. Cases which affect the relation of the state government with the Centre, or any other state government or Supreme Court or high court, these cases must be submitted to the Governor. It is under the law that they must be submitted to the Governor by the Chief Minister," he said.

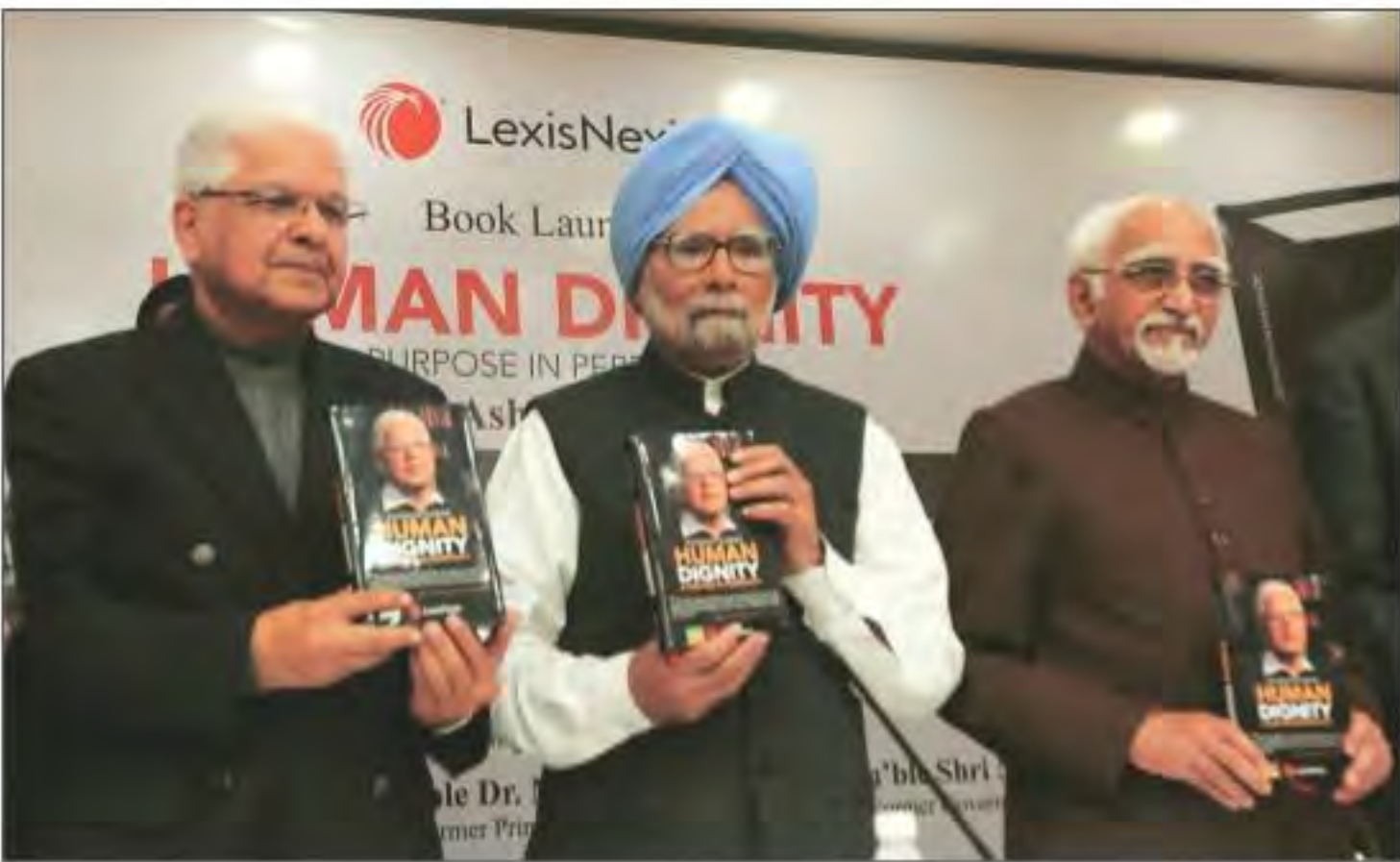
"The government moving the Supreme Court is in contravention of the rules and it is illegal," he said.

When pointed out that Law Minister A K Balan had said no rule had been violated by the state

government, Khan said. "Let him quote the law... I am giving you the law. What the government has done was illegal. Let them show me the provision. I will take everything back. I will not sit like a mute spectator. I want to see the law and Constitution upheld... I will deliver my constitutional duties," he said.

### Won't implement RSS whims and fancies: CM

Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan Sunday targeted the Centre over the CAA and said the state would not implement "whims and fancies" of the RSS, but would uphold values of the Constitution. Addressing an anti-CAA rally, he said the state would never implement the CAA, NRC and NPR. "Many people had doubts when Kerala declared that we will not implement the CAA. We all need to understand that all laws of the country must be in accordance with the Constitution. If a law is ultra vires, it won't stand," he said. "We are required to implement the matters concerned with the Constitution and not the whims and fancies of the RSS." Kerala would continue its fight to uphold the Constitution, but would keep away the communal forces and the extremists from the movement, he said. **PTI**



**Former PM Manmohan Singh and former Vice-President Hamid Ansari at the book release function of former Union Minister Ashwani Kumar in New Delhi Sunday. Prem Nath Pandey**

## People feel values of Constitution under siege, says Ashwani Kumar

**ANANTHAKRISHNAN G**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

FORMER UNION Minister Ashwani Kumar on Sunday termed the reading of the Preamble of the Constitution at protest rallies as people "asserting the values of the Republic" as they feel "values of the Constitution are under siege".

"Preamble is the soul of the Constitution. It defines the goals of the Republic and it defines the end to which the Constitution has to be applied. I am not at all surprised that informed citizens have started reading the preamble at public rallies because quite clearly a very large segment of people of India feel that at this point in time in their history, the values of the Constitution are under siege....

And the only way to reassert those rights is to repeat aloud what the Constitution says because after all we are not a populist democracy, but a constitutional democracy..." Kumar said during a conversation with historian Mahesh Rangarajan at the launch of his book *Human Dignity: A Purpose in Perpetuity*.



**BJP veteran L K Advani greets Congress leader and former minister P Chidambaram at the event. Prem Nath Pandey**

Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who unveiled the book, said it was "structured around topical issues".

He added that "in recent days, young people across the country have reminded us that freedom is best secured in the custody of enlightened citizens..."

Former Vice-President Hamid

### CPM to launch anti-NPR drive

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JANUARY 19

THE CPI(M) on Sunday said it would conduct a nation-wide door-to-door campaign, urging people to boycott the National Population Register (NPR) process.

After a party central committee meeting, general secretary Sitaram Yechuri told reporters the committee has called upon the people not to answer any question regarding NPR when enumerators come their homes.

"The enumerators would have two sets of questions — one for Census and other for NPR. When questions related to the Census may be answered, the questions related to NPR must not be. Census yes, NPR no," he said.

Yechuri said all party units across the country would go on a door-to-door campaign, explaining the link between NPR and NRC, calling upon people not to answer NPR questions. The campaign would culminate on March 23, marking the martyrdom of revolutionaries Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.

# States can't be forced to implement CAA until SC verdict: Cong

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

ARGUING THAT statements made by Home Minister Amit Shah and some of the Governors, "forcing" states to implement the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), was "preposterous" and go against the concept of Constitutional federalism, the Congress on Sunday said the states cannot be forced to implement the CAA until the Supreme Court gives its verdict on a petition challenging the CAA under Article 131 of the Constitution.

The Congress's assertion, interestingly, came a day after senior party leader and former Law Minister Kapil Sibal said that it would be unconstitutional for state governments to say they will not implement the CAA. The Congress did not mention Sibal's statement. Neither did it refer to Kerala Governor Arif Mohammed Khan's remarks that states have no option but to implement the law.

But the Congress's message was clear. At least one senior leader said the advice was both to "our leaders" and to the government.

Referring to statements by the Home Minister and Governors, Congress communication department head Randeep Surjewala said, "Let the BJP government and its Governors not forget that India is a Union of States. As per the established Parliamentary practice, states can disagree with the Union and challenge the same by way of their constitutional right under Article 131 of the Constitution."

"In the past, many states such as Kamataka, Bihar, Rajasthan, just to name a few, approached the Supreme Court of India under Article 131 to resolve disputes with Union of India on a range of issues. Until the issue is resolved on a petition moved under Article 131, states cannot be forced to implement an unconstitutional law like the CAA."

Surjewala argued that the BJP's allies such as AASU, NPF and Akali Dal have spoken against the CAA. "Why is the BJP's own Assam Chief Minister Sarbananda Sonowal opposing the CAA? Why is the BJP's Northeast in-charge Hemanta Biswa Sarma rejecting the CAA by claiming that 'religious persecution' will not be a ground for grant of citizenship? This exposes the BJP's own double speak and fallibility of its divisive agenda," he said.

He said the Congress was in favour of granting citizenship to all — Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, Muslims — irrespective of nationality, place of residence, ethnicity or religion.

"On the other hand, the illegal and unconstitutional CAA, in its present form, seeks to exclude Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Muslims and others based on country of origin, country of residence and religion. Why are Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Muslims of Sri Lanka, Tibet and Myanmar being excluded from given citizenship of India under the CAA? Why are Hindus or other communities from Nepal and Bhutan being denied India's citizenship under the CAA?" he asked.

# Cong slams govt over economy, asks it to focus on issue of jobs

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

THE CONGRESS on Sunday slammed the government over its management of the economy and asked the ruling party to focus on issues of unemployment and job losses. Referring to reports that more unemployed people committed suicide than farmers in 2018, it asked the government to pay attention to such issues rather than "non-productive, irrelevant issues such as NRC and CAA".

"We need more action, more results and less words. We need more concrete, beneficial changes than diversions and digressions. We need less of issues which are non-productive, irrelevant issues like NRC. Like CAA. Like NPR in a modified form. We need lesser issues of pure political rhetoric. We request the Prime Minister to look into these issues which are of life and death," Congress spokesperson Abhishek Singhvi said.

He said the government does not have a "clue" on how to control the economic distress. "There is no dexterity, there is no skill," he said and pointed out that the NCRB has come out with "extremely worrying and frightening" statistics that "36 people commit suicide every day on issues related to unemployment or lack of employment or underemployment".

"In 2018, deaths by way of suicides is 26,085 on this count. That figure is 10,349 more than the deaths caused by farm distress," he said.

Referring to reports that the

government could revamp official statistics, he said, "This government is desperate to find quick-fix solutions, jumla solutions, misleading solutions, to find sleight of hand solutions to avoid substance... to avoid the real meat of the matter and give a misleading new issue to disgress and divert attention."

"The government has suddenly expressed alarm... they believe that a lot of the figures, including revamp of official statistics, is being done or being proposed or thought of because they believe that the unorganised sector has not been looked at. We have no problem if it is a constructive exercise but surely... from 1947 till today we have had the unorganised sector, we have had statistics. Don't do something where you cannot do inter-generational comparisons," he said.

The reality is that the PM and the Finance Minister are clueless, he said. "An enemy a day, an issue a day, a potboiler a day keeps all these issues away and will solve the economy is the approach of this government," he said.

"One of the showpieces of Make in India was the solar sector. So many subsidies, so many jumlas, so many speeches... and the reality. It has now been published that 85 per cent of the inputs, the resources, the material into a solar photovoltaic cell and module which is the heart of a solar plant... 85 per cent of that comes from China, Malaysia and Vietnam. What is the Prime Minister talking about Make in India. Is it not a fraud on the people by misleading the people like this," he said.

# Ahead of Budget, all eyes on allocation to fund costly immunisation vaccine

**ABANTIKA GHOSH**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

AS THE Union Budget approaches, and there are whispers of fund cuts for some departments, all eyes will be on allocations for the Universal Immunisation Programme (UIP), which is looking at a nationwide rollout of the costliest vaccine in the government programme till date.

Pneumococcal conjugate vaccine (PCV), the costliest vaccine in the UIP basket, currently covers only about 50 per cent of the 26 million birth cohort in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and

Rajasthan.

According to government estimates, a countrywide rollout of PCV would require additional funding of Rs 1,000 crore, or about 50 per cent of the approximately Rs 2,000 crore that is spent on UIP (minus shared costs such as staff salary, establishment costs, etc).

PCV was first brought into the UIP basket in 2017 but cost concerns have been among the reasons for its still-partial rollout, officials say.

The vaccine is a mix of several bacteria of the pneumococci family, which are known to cause pneumonia — hence 'conjugate' in the name. Pneumonia caused by the pneumococcus

bacteria is supposed to be the most common.

At present, the vaccine being used in the UIP costs approximately \$2.95/dose, which makes PCV costlier than other UIP vaccines such as rotavirus vaccine (\$1/dose), pentavalent vaccine (\$0.69/dose), and measles vaccine (\$0.308-\$0.318/dose).

According to internal data collected by the Health Ministry, as of September 2019, almost 1.3 million children have received all three doses of PCV across 159 districts in the six states, with approximately 8.1 million children targeted for 2019-20.

A senior official said: "There is currently an Indian manufacturer

in the market but they are yet to get approvals for India. When that happens and how they price it will to a large extent decide the course of the PCV rollout. At current costs we are looking at at least Rs 800-900 crore for a countrywide rollout of PCV. The money is worth far more in real terms because of the disease it prevents, but we have to see if we have that kind of money."

Serum Institute's Pneumasil has raised hopes of a \$2 entry into the government programme, but it is early days still.

A study by the Public Health Foundation of India and a consortium of UK universities published in the peer-reviewed, open-access online scientific journal 'PLOS

ONE' estimated: "In 2010, 0.56 million severe pneumococcal pneumonia episodes and 105 thousand pneumococcal pneumonia deaths had occurred in children younger than 5 years of age in India. The annual incidence of severe pneumococcal pneumonia in India was estimated to be 4.8 episodes per 1,000 children younger than 5 years. The top five contributors to India's pneumococcal pneumonia burden in terms of number of cases and deaths were Uttar Pradesh (1,33,167 cases; 27,785 deaths), Bihar (91,578 cases; 23,202 deaths) Madhya Pradesh (52,250 cases; 13,043 deaths), Rajasthan (43,911 cases; 11,889 deaths) and

Jharkhand (28,969 cases; 6,296 deaths)."

Since 2014, five new vaccines, including against two of the leading causes of deaths in children under five in India — pneumonia and diarrhoea — were introduced under the UIP, one of the largest such programmes in the world. Rotavirus vaccine (RVV), which protects against a severe form of diarrhoea, was scaled up in all states last year.

The government's comprehensive Multi-Year Plan for 2018-22 details a comprehensive financial plan to fully immunise 26 million children and 30 million pregnant women with life-saving vaccines.

EXPLAINED

Cost challenge set to rise further

THE COST challenge for India's immunisation programme is set to mount further in near future. GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance, an international organisation which brings together public and private sectors to create equal access to vaccines for children, is set to withdraw its support for India from 2022. The \$500-million, five-year support ends in December 2021.

Also, accelerated improvement in vaccination coverage achieved through Mission Indradhanush and Intensified Mission Indradhanush means that immunisation funding will now have to account for 90% coverage targeted for March 2020, rather than the 67% coverage of 2015-16.





People protest against the new citizenship law, in Guwahati on Sunday. PTI

## Minister shown black flags by AASU protesters

*Guwahati:* Assam minister Jogen Mohan was shown black flags in Sivasagar district on Sunday by AASU activists protesting against CAA, a day after he was sworn in. The incident happened when the minister was going to his constituency Mahmara. The activists also raised slogans against him. "Jogen Mohan go back", "We don't accept CAA" and "BJP go back" were some of the slogans the agitators raised while waving black

flags at the new minister. Jogen Mohan was on Saturday sworn in as minister of state with independent charge. He was given the portfolios of revenue and disaster management, PWD (assisting the cabinet minister). On January 15, CM Sarbananda Sonowal was shown black flags by AASU activists in Dibrugarh district while he was on his way to his hometown Chabua to celebrate Bihu with his family members. PTI



A protest against the CAA in Ludhiana. Gurmeet Singh

## Hundreds take part in rally, BJP points at Cong

*Panaji:* Hundreds of people protested against the CAA in Goa, even as ruling BJP dubbed the agitation "desperation of the Congress" and like-minded people. Citizens under the banner of Goa Unity Forum gathered in Ponda town of South Goa district on Saturday and held a protest rally. Addressing the rally, retired IAS officer Arvind Bhatikar, who has been spearheading anti-CAA protests in Goa, claimed the new law

has the potential to "destroy India". "There is a need to uphold the Constitution. The Citizenship Amendment Act is discriminatory and against the Constitution," he alleged. On the occasion, Congress MLA Ravi Naik alleged that CAA was "not only against the Muslim community but also against Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes". Goa BJP leaders took to social media to condemn the protest. PTI

## Kin of 13 held for throwing stones say they are minors

**SANTOSH SINGH**  
PATNA, JANUARY 19

THE FAMILIES of 13 of the 47 accused arrested for allegedly throwing stones at police during the bandh called by the RJD to protest against CAA have alleged that even though their wards are minors, police sent them to Aurangabad jail instead of the remand home in Gaya. Police, however, said the court had asked all the accused their age and only two are minors. The Juvenile Justice Board has taken up the matter and would

hear it on January 28. Meraj Khan, counsel for the 13 accused, said, "Town Police station should have asked for birth certificates of these boys before producing them before the court.... We have birth certificates of all 13." Town police station in-charge Ravi Bhushan said, "We arrested 47 people for violence on December 21. The court had asked the age of all and only two are minors...It is part of court record. Juvenile Justice Board is the competent authority to take a call on it. Blaming the police is not right."

## Amid CAA row, book on Palkhivala recalls his fight for Constitution

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

ADDRESSING The audience in the Tata Theatre at Nariman Point last week, senior Supreme Court lawyer Arvind Datar said, "All of us can say that we can sleep peacefully because we are confident that our borders are protected by the armed forces. And I would equally say that we can sleep peacefully with the assurance that our fundamental rights and the basic structure of the Constitution will always remain secured because of the efforts of one man." At the release of 'Essays and Reminiscences: A Festschrift in honour of Nani A Palkhivala' on

the birth centenary of the eminent jurist, Datar, general editor of the Nani A Palkhivala Memorial Trust, reminded the audience of the "sinister" 42nd amendment to the Constitution that Palkhivala argued against and which was later struck down by the Supreme Court. "If we believe that the Parliament is always acting by the rule of the people, it is not true. The 42nd amendment to the Constitution was passed, of course unanimously; it contained three things — the first provision said that the central legislature or the state legislature can pass any law and if it contained just a declaration that it was intended to attain the directive principles of state policy, you could not chal-

## CAA falsehoods being spread by keeping women in front: CM

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
LUCKNOW, JANUARY 19

UTTAR PRADESH Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath on Sunday hit out at the Congress and SP for the protests against the new citizenship law, accusing them of "financing the miscreants". The CM also said false information regarding the law is being spread by "putting women at the front".

Speaking at a rally at MP Inter College in Gorakhpur as part of the BJP's awareness campaign on the new law, he said the country is being "ripped apart by the propaganda against the CAA".

"The Citizenship (Amendment) Act is not a law against any citizen of India. It is against intruders who are responsible for terrorism, extremism and separatism. This is being done by keeping women at the forefront. We cannot remain silent in this environment. It is our constitutional obligation to reach out to people regarding the issue," he said.

The Chief Minister's remark comes days after women started gathering in Old Lucknow to



CM Adityanath at a rally in Varanasi Saturday. Anand Singh

protest against the new law on the lines of the sit-in at Shaheen Bagh in Delhi. "The conduct of Congress and SP is condemnable and irresponsible. These parties have financed the miscreants for opposing the CAA," said Adityanath.

Accusing the Congress, SP and other Opposition parties of "spreading lies to mislead the nation just like what the Left parties did after Independence", he said, "The way people of the country understood the lies of the Left and buried them forever, on the same lines, these parties are also standing on their last political rung." The CM also blamed the

Congress for the exodus of Kashmiris Pandits from the Valley.

"It was because of Congress's sin that 4.5 lakh Kashmiri Pandits were forced to flee Kashmir. Today is the 30th anniversary of it (the exodus). If Article 370 was not in force, no one could have forced the Kashmiri Pandits to leave Kashmir. It was because of Article 370 that stone-pelters used to attack Army jawans. But today, stone-pelters have disappeared and so have the terrorists. Now, (Pakistan Prime Minister) Imran Khan is running around the world, saying that India may attack and disintegrate Pakistan into pieces. And Indian jawans now say with pride that the day the government gives orders, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) will be made a part of India," Adityanath said.

He also alleged that Article 370 was brought by the Congress through "deceit" and against the wishes of Dr B R Ambedkar. "On one side, there were policies for uplifting the poor, on the other side, development policies, and on the third side, giving respect to feelings that were suppressed inside people for years. You must

have seen how it has been done. This second term (of BJP government at the Centre) is for people's aspirations. What were people's aspirations? In Kashmir, Article 370 was brought in by Congress through deceit despite Babasaheb Ambedkar's opposition to it. There has been demand to remove the Article since 1952. No government could think of scrapping Article 370," he said, thanking Prime Minister Narendra Modi for scrapping the special status of Jammu and Kashmir.

"The citizenship law gave the Congress an opportunity to repent for its sin, but it missed this chance," he added.

Adityanath also accused the Congress of delaying the verdict in the Ayodhya issue. "For 500 years, every Hindu wanted the construction of a Ram Temple in Ayodhya. First the Mughals, then the British kept delaying it. The Congress also wanted to delay it, but the Supreme Court gave a historic judgment. People used to say that rivers of blood will flow when the verdict comes, but we said that not a mosquito will die," Adityanath added.

## Activist out on bail: Was treated better during Emergency

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
LUCKNOW, JANUARY 19

ADVOCATE and activist Mohammad Shoaib (73), who was released on bail on Sunday after being arrested for taking part in a protest against CAA on December 20, said he was treated better in jail during the Emergency. Shoaib alleged that he was abused by Hazratganj police. Police said they did not misbehave with any protester.

"Earlier, I was sent to jail during Emergency. Then, I had stayed in jail for around two months. Those days were better. Jail authorities kept all political leaders in one barrack. This time, I was kept with people booked in criminal cases," said Shoaib, who is chairman of Rihai Manch, an outfit that fights for release of innocent Muslims imprisoned in the name of terrorism.

After his release, Shoaib went to Ghantaghar in Lucknow's Chowk area where women have been protesting against the CAA.

"I will continue my fight against wrong policies of the government. The government could not stop me by sending me to jail," Shoaib said in his address there.

## Seized blankets from protest site in legal manner: Lucknow Police

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
LUCKNOW, JANUARY 19

AFTER A group of women protesting against the new citizenship law and proposed NRC in Old Lucknow area alleged that police took away their blankets on Saturday night, police on Sunday said the blankets were seized in a "legal manner" to avoid any law and order problem.

Meanwhile, an FIR has been registered against unidentified people for "violating Section 144 of the CrPC". Police termed the sit-in illegal, saying no protest was allowed in Ghantaghar as per Allahabad High Court's order.

A statement issued by Additional Deputy Commissioner of Police (Lucknow) Vikas Chandra Tripathi said that the blankets were removed as some organisations were trying to distribute them as a result of which even those who were not a part of the protest came to take the blankets.

"During the illegal protest at Ghantaghar park (in Old Lucknow), some people were trying to make a temporary barricading with ropes and sticks and were spreading sheets. They were stopped from doing so. Members of some organisations



A policeman with a blanket during a protest in Lucknow on Saturday night. Vishal Srivastav

brought blankets and were distributing them. As a result, several people who were not part of the protest came in large numbers to take the blankets. Police then removed those people and the blankets from the spot. The blankets have been seized in a legal manner."

Lucknow Police also urged people not to spread rumours.

Police Commissioner Sujet Pandey dismissed the allegations levelled by the protesters.

On Saturday night, the protesters had alleged that the previous day, police tried to force

them to leave by pouring water on the bonfires. They further alleged that on Saturday night, they came and snatched their blankets, food items and floor sheets. It was also alleged that police cut the electricity supply at Ghantaghar and locked the nearby public toilet.

On Sunday, the protests at Ghantaghar continued for the third day, with the number of protesters swelling.

Heavy force had been deployed in the area and personnel of Rapid Action Force are also present.

### ORGANISERS OF PROTESTS IN BIHAR SAY PRESENCE OF WOMEN GROWING

## ‘Not about religion, protest against bid to create rift’

**SANTOSH SINGH**  
PATNA, JANUARY 19

IT IS 10.30 pm. Subzibagh in Patna is abuzz. Traffic moves unhindered on one half of the road. The other half has about 70 rows of plastic chairs facing a stage. On the stage are teenagers chanting the Azadi slogan on a microphone.

Residents of Subzibagh and nearby areas have been peacefully protesting against CAA, NRP and NRC since January 11. It is a round-the-clock protest that is being attended by people of all age. Pro-

testers include businessmen, students, housewives and the elderly.

"We have not created any forum. It is a spontaneous protest that is gaining momentum. It has support from all communities," says Sameer, a post-graduate student. Another organiser says, "We are not letting traffic be disrupted. This protest is not about religion. It is against the government's attempt to tamper with the Constitution and create a rift among Hindus and Muslims."

Sakeena, a middle-aged woman at the protest, says, "Some of us come after we complete do-



Women at the protest against CAA at Subzibagh. Ashok Sinha

mestic chores and eat dinner."

Afzal, one of the organisers, points at some youths and says

they have come from as far as Begusarai. "The response is overwhelming and it is growing each day. The best part is the growing presence of women. The Shaheen Bagh protest has inspired us."

Afzal says no political party is associated with the protest even though Jan Adhikar Party leader Pappu Yadav and Hindustani Awam Morcha (Secular) spokesperson Danish Rizwan have expressed solidarity with them. Local residents say they are meeting expenses by pooling in money.

At Gaya's Shantibagh, the protest against CAA, NRC and NPR has



At the Juma Masjid at Cheravally on Sunday

## Kerala mosque hosts Hindu wedding, gets Pinarayi pat

**SHAJU PHILIP**  
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JANUARY 19

MINUTES AFTER the call to *dhuhr* (midday prayer) went out on Sunday, the courtyard of Juma Masjid at Cheravally in Kerala's Alappuzha district turned into the venue for a traditional Hindu wedding ceremony.

A *nilavilakku* (traditional lamp) with seven wicks was lit on the makeshift mandap and wedding mantras were recited as Sarath Sasidharan tied the knot with Anju Ashokan with Masjid committee leaders and scores of Muslim men and women as witness. After the rituals, the Masjid committee hosted a dinner for the guests, including politicians from across party lines.

Anju lost her father Ashokan two years ago. Since then, her mother Bindu had been struggling to find resources to organise her daughter's wedding. Recently,

she approached the local mosque for financial help. The Masjid committee then decided to bear the wedding expenses.

Masjid committee member P Nazir stepped in with 10 gold sovereigns and Rs 2 lakh towards the marriage expenses. The committee's members were at the forefront of the arrangements for the ceremony. The gates of the mosque were decorated in traditional Hindu style. Before the auspicious time for the wedding, Muslim women ushered in the bride and the bridegroom.

Hailing the gesture of the Masjid committee, Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan said in a Facebook post, "Kerala has always put forward lovely models of religious harmony. The marriage at Cheravally has scripted a new chapter in that chronicle of religious harmony. When concerted attempts are going on to divide people, they have inspired us to break such religious barriers. We can loudly say that we are one," he said.

## Shirdi bandh called off, meeting with CM today

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

THE BANDH in Shirdi was called off on Sunday evening after local residents said they will decide the next course of action after meeting Maharashtra CM Uddhav Thackeray Monday. The decision was taken at a gram sabha meeting called by local residents.

The bandh was the latest development in the row between Shirdi in Ahmednagar district and Pathri in Parbhani district over the birthplace of Sai Baba. While residents of Shirdi claim there is no concrete proof of his birth, residents of Pathri claim they have proof to show Sai Baba was born there. Recently, Thackeray promised to allot funds to the tune of Rs 100 crore for Pathri, which he described as the town where Sai Baba was born.

The statement triggered a protest in Shirdi and residents called a bandh from Sunday. During the bandh, most com-

mercial establishments and transport services remained shut in Shirdi and 25 adjoining villages.

The temple of Sai Baba, however, remained open. Officials said over 30,000 devotees visited the temple on Sunday. "We made adequate arrangements, including providing food and transportation, for the pilgrims," Shri Saibaba Sansthan Trust CEO D M Muglikar said. "We will meet Thackeray in Mumbai on Monday. We will show him all the documents we have to substantiate our claims," Muglikar said.

Residents of Shirdi have been demanding that the CM withdraw his official statement where he described Pathri as Sai Baba's birthplace.

Meanwhile, residents of Pathri have claimed they have documentary proof to show Sai Baba was born there. "While Shirdi is Sai Baba's karmabhoomi, Pathri is the janmabhoomi and both these places have their own importance," NCP leader from Pathri Durrani Abdullah Khan said.

## BJP supporters opposing Faiz, visit to him brought tears in Vajpayee's eyes: Sanjay Raut

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

SHIV SENA MP Sanjay Raut on Sunday slammed those labelling poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz as "anti-Hindu" and "anti-national".

"Without understanding the meaning of the poem, Faiz has been termed as anti-Hindu. The BJP supporters are opposing Faiz today but a visit to Faiz had brought tears in Atal Bihari Vajpayee's eyes," he stated in his weekly column *Rokhthok* in Saamana.

"After the attack in JNU, Faiz is being labelled as anti-Hindu and anti-national. Faiz is not alive to defend himself. You can't confine a poet like Faiz into the confines and boundaries of a nation or a religion," Raut wrote.

"Faiz's poems frightened Pakistan's dictators. The same poem is frightening those who are ruling India," he added.

Raut termed the inquiry initiated by IIT-Kanpur into a complaint alleging that Faiz's poem 'Hum Dekhenge' hurts the sentiments of Hindus as "foolish and ridiculous".

"A section of the country is sowing the Taliban culture in the country by putting curbs on freedom and expression. They didn't understand the Bhagavad Gita. So, they won't understand the soul of a poet like Faiz yearning for freedom and democracy," he wrote.



Move to keep Mumbai eateries, malls open 24X7 may get delayed

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

THE PROPOSAL for keeping eateries and malls in Mumbai open 24X7 from January 26 may be put on hold for now. Maharashtra Home Minister Anil Deshmukh on Sunday said the government will take a decision after assessing the pressure it will put on police.

State Tourism Minister Aaditya Thackeray is believed to be pushing the proposal.

Deshmukh said the state cabinet will have to discuss the issue before giving a final nod. "The demand is old but we will have to increase police force and make other arrangements. It has to be thought through and only after weighing pros and cons, the government will take a decision," he said.

"While the demand is under-



Anil Deshmukh

standable as Mumbai has a lot of international visitors, and their numbers will increase if there is a nightlife, we also need to think whether we have the necessary arrangements in place and only then move towards an appropriate decision," he added. Deshmukh also said it will not be possible to implement the move by January 26. "At the end of the day, the decision will come to the cabinet, which will look into all aspects. The cabinet meeting is on Wednesday and things will be clear then," he said.

A similar move was initiated by the previous BJP government but the police opposed the plan.

WRITEBACK

RESPONDING TO the profile titled 'His Police Story' on page 14 of *The Sunday Express* (19/1/2020), Mandeep Singh Randhawa, Addl. Commissioner of Police, PRO, Delhi Police, writes:

The profile of CP/Delhi is grossly biased highlighting only a few recent incidents with a negative mindset, mostly based on a subjective assessment after talking to an interested group of unnamed senior officers. Use of phrases like "connections", "part of circle", "not standing up for his force", "leaderless", "losing grip", etc., are highly objectionable and are downright refuted. It appears the reporters purposely ignored the several initiatives taken by Delhi Police as regards police-public interface, crime control, upgradation of technology and digitisation for effective policing, as also several community policing and police welfare schemes in the last three years.

The reporters have selectively drawn inferences and have mostly ignored the various measures taken by the Delhi Police leadership over the last three

years. Total heinous crime, as a percentage of total IPC crime, came down from 3.93% in 2016 to 2.79% in 2017 and 2.27% in 2018, and it has continued to decline to 1.72% in 2019. In 2019, dacoities declined by 40.00%, attempt to murder by 7.94%, robberies by 19.97% and kidnappings for ransom by 21.05%. Incidents of snatching and burglaries have also come down.

The reporters have also ignored all the innovative community outreach measures initiated in the last three years, like Prahari, Police Mitra and YUVA. The article has completely ignored the steps towards modernisation taken by the police such as digitisation of Malkhana and Daily Diary and launching of CyPAD. The reporters have also chosen not to mention the scores of agitations/rallies, including the major protest of farmers from neighbouring states, which were handled professionally and successfully. Further, in the past three years, Delhi Police leadership has initiated a number of welfare measures for its personnel.

Suspect held for Lankesh killing ordered destruction of weapons

JOHNSON TA  
BENGALURU, JANUARY 19

A SUSPECT linked to a radical Hindu group arrested in Jharkhand earlier this month for involvement in the murder of journalist Gauri Lankesh, 55, in Bengaluru on September 5, 2017 played a central role in destroying guns used by the group in the killing of the journalist and three others between 2013 and 2015, according to police investigations.

A Special Investigation Team of the Karnataka Police, which is probing the Lankesh murder case, produced Rushikesh Deodikar alias Murali alias Shiva, 41 — who was arrested in Dhanbad — in a Bengaluru court on January 13 and obtained his custody for 15 days under provisions of the Karnataka Control of Organized Crime Act, 2000.

According to the SIT investigations, Deodikar, a former Aurangabad co-ordinator of the Hindu Janajagruti Samiti, an affiliate of the Goa-based Sanatan Sanstha, was instrumental in ordering the destruction of the guns used in the murder of Lankesh and others soon after the arrest of key members of the group

in May 2018.

The SIT has identified Parashuram Waghmore, 26, from Bijapur, and Ganesh Miskin, 28, from Huballi in Karnataka, as the persons who shot Lankesh outside her home. They were recruited and trained by a radical outfit acting as per instructions of a manifesto published by the right-wing Sanatan Sanstha group calling for punishment of people perceived as anti-Hindu.

Early in its investigations into the Lankesh murder case, the SIT found that a 7.65 mm country-made pistol that was used to gun down Lankesh was also used to kill Kannada scholar M M Kalburgi, 77, at his home in Dharwad on August 30, 2015. The same gun was also found to have been used to kill Leftist thinker Govind Pansare, 81, in Maharashtra's Kolhapur on February 16, 2015 while a second gun used in the Pansare killing was found to match with a gun used to shoot rationalist Narendra Dabholkar, 69, in Pune on August 20, 2013.

"The forensic ballistic analysis established that the pistol used to murder Ms. Lankesh was the same pistol used to murder Prof. M M Kalburgi in Dharwad, Karnataka and Govind Pansare in

Kolhapur, Maharashtra," the SIT stated in its 9,000-page chargesheet filed in November 2018.

In the course of statements given to investigating agencies, Sharad Kalaskar, 26, an early recruit in the Sanatan Sanstha-linked group, who is accused by the CBI of carrying out the Dabholkar shooting, told investigators that Murali alias Rushikesh Deodikar summoned him to Aurangabad in June 2018 — soon after key suspects were arrested by the SIT — and asked him to meet Sanjeev Punalekar, a Mumbai-based advocate linked to the Sanstha, regarding the group's next course of action.

According to Kalaskar, a plan was drawn up by Murali for him to be taken to meet the advocate through a member of the outfit — Vaibhav Raut — in Mumbai.

Kalaskar established contact with Raut after dialling a number provided in a job advertisement published in the Sanatan Prabhat, a Sanatan Sanstha publication. In the meeting with Punalekar in June-July 2018, the advocate — who has been arrested by the CBI in the Dabholkar case — is alleged to have directed Kalaskar to destroy guns in the possession of

Murali that were used for murders.

According to Kalaskar, he subsequently met Deodikar in Pune along with two others and discussed the plans to destroy the guns used in killings carried out by the group. A plan was allegedly devised by Deodikar to destroy only the guns used in shootings and to keep weapons that were not used in the crimes, Kalaskar has said in statements attached with the SIT chargesheet.

According to Kalaskar, he identified four guns that were taken by the gang for killings and dismantled them and along with Vaibhav Raut dumped them in a creek on the Mumbai-Nasik highway. Following the arrest of Kalaskar, the SIT, CBI and other agencies have made attempts to search the creek — with orders from courts — to find the guns.

On January 13, when Deodikar was produced in court, the SIT sought his custody to take him to Pune, Satara, Aurangabad and Belagavi where aspects of the Lankesh murder were plotted. SIT sources said Deodikar was a key figure in the Maharashtra operations of the right-wing extremist group involved in the murder of the scribe.

J&K school books get new chapter — on Reorganisation Act

NAVEED IQBAL  
SRINAGAR, JANUARY 19

THE JAMMU and Kashmir Board of School Education has, in the curriculum for the new session, included an additional chapter on J&K Reorganisation Act, 2019. The social sciences textbooks for classes VI to X have chapters on the Act that revoked special status to Jammu and Kashmir and split the state into two Union Territories.

"We have added an additional chapter on the J&K Reorganisation Act in the textbooks for the new session. This is part of the annual updation of textbooks," board Chairperson Veena Pandita said. "Almost 20 titles have been updated this year."

In the social sciences textbook for class VII, pictures of J&K Lieutenant Governor Girish Chandra Murmu and Ladakh Lieutenant Governor R K Mathur have been included while explaining the administrative structure in the UT.

For class X, the textbook includes background to the 'special

status' and explains provisions under the new Act. "On the basis of a resolution passed in both houses of Parliament, the President issued an order on 6th of August declaring that all the clauses of Article 370 except clause (1) to be inoperative thus effectively ending special rights and privileges upon the J&K permanent residents, to the exclusion of other citizens of India, more specifically with regard to the acquisition of immovable property and appointment to services," the book says.

The chapter also details provisions guaranteed to the erstwhile state under the Instrument of Accession and describes the guarantees provided under Article 35A.

The Academic Expert Committee of the state board approved the changes to the textbooks shortly after the President approved the Reorganisation Act. Schools under the board follow a November- December session with a three-month winter break. The new books will be available to the students in approximately 1,200 high schools from March.

Kashmiri Pandits observe day of exodus from Valley

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
JAMMU, JANUARY 19

KASHMIRI PANDIT migrants on Sunday observed the day of their exodus from the Valley three decades ago. Members of the community staged protests and organised several events during which they recalled their plight and reiterated their demands, which include a separate homeland with Union Territory status in the Valley, settlement at one place within Kashmir and a white paper to fix responsibility for forced migration and killings.

At a seminar organised by Panun Kashmir, convener of the outfit Dr Agnishekhar said the agony of forced displacement owing to the "barbarity unleashed by Islamic Jihad" left

"indelible marks on the psyche of Hindus of Kashmir".

He reiterated the demand for the creation of a Union Territory for the seven lakh migrant Kashmiri Pandits and hoped that after the Centre's move to abrogate Article 370, Prime Minister Narendra Modi will address the agony suffered by Kashmiri Pandits.

Members of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference led by advocate Ravinder Raina staged a demonstration outside Raj Bhawan to demand a white paper to fix responsibility for the "genocide" of Kashmiri Pandits and their mass exodus. They also demanded that members of the community be settled at one place in the Valley.

The youth wing of All India Kashmiri Samaj took out a protest march from Muthi to Janipuri on the outskirts of Jammu city.



JOINING HANDS FOR A CAUSE

Bihar CM Nitish Kumar participates in a human chain against climate crisis, prohibition and dowry in Patna on Sunday. More than five crore people came together to form a human chain which, according to officials, was over 18,000 km long. PTI



Government of India  
Ministry of Human Resource Development

Prime Minister Narendra Modi

will be answering students' questions pertaining to exam-stress

Pariksha Pe Charcha 2020



20<sup>th</sup> January 2020



11:00 am



Talkatora Stadium, New Delhi

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#ParikshaPeCharcha2020





WORDLY WISE

FORCE IS ALL CONQUERING, BUT IT'S VICTORIES ARE SHORT LIVED.

— ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The IndianEXPRESS

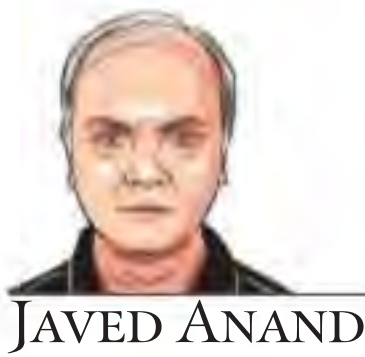
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BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

# Led by the people

Indian Muslims are protesting not because their religion is in danger, but for the imperilled Constitution



JAVED ANAND

## NEW CHIEF, NEW TASK

JP Nadda will be watched as he takes charge of a BJP entering a new phase on a new arc

THE BJP, UNDER the leadership of Narendra Modi and Amit Shah, has been extensively re-made. The large mandates that swept it to power in 2014, and again in 2019, flag its transformation into a party that looks both more determined to win, and more winnable. Between 2014 and 2019, it steadily expanded its electoral footprint to areas where it was not a major player, and entrenched its domination where it was already strong. Since 2019, the script has been turning. Electorally, it is beginning to appear that its strength at the Centre is not matched by its appeal in the states. Most recently, it lost its governments in two of the three states that went to the polls — posting an underwhelming performance in Maharashtra where it also lost its oldest ally, barely managing to remain in the saddle with a post-poll coalition in Haryana, and being overtaken by an alliance of its political opponents in Jharkhand. At the same time, ideologically, the BJP is acquiring a new, or renewed thrust — the Modi government has criminalised triple talaq, toughened the UAPA and stripped J&K of its special status. It enacted the Citizenship Amendment Act, which, for the first time, makes religion a criterion of citizenship, and in tandem with a possible nation-wide NRC, sharpens the insecurities and anxieties of the Muslim community.

JP Nadda becomes BJP president amid protests against the CAA which have seen students and the young, Muslims and women, take the lead in campuses and cities. The ruling party has labelled the protests as the backlash of losers, or it has dismissed them as purely Muslim-driven, lacking a wider social base. Yet, Nadda's party will not be able to take its eye off the push-back — it has already made the Modi government backpedal on the NRC and compelled the BJP to launch mass contact programmes on the CAA. Neither can it afford to overlook the setting — with the economy sputtering, inflation returning and investment drying up, India's growth and its famed demographic dividend seem imperilled. Meanwhile, the Opposition, as overtaken by the so-far leaderless eruptions as the government, is sensing an opening.

Of course, the BJP's challenge may not all be Nadda's to address. It is no secret that his elevation is unlikely to change the reality that the BJP is now Amit Shah's party. It could even be said that Nadda is being elevated to the post precisely because he ticks the boxes without posing a threat of another power centre. In a long career that began in student politics in the ABVP followed by the BJYM, through elections to the Himachal state assembly, ministership in the state and Union governments and membership of the Rajya Sabha, while discharging key organisational responsibilities, as in UP for the 2019 polls, Nadda has remained low key and uncontroversial. Yet, as he takes charge as BJP president, he will be watched for the impression he makes on the polity and the party in what are testing times for both.

## AFTER RAISINA

India needs to deepen its forum diplomacy to realise full potential of global engagement

AS THE ANNUAL Raisina Dialogue, run by the Observer Research Foundation with the support of the Foreign Office, concluded its fifth iteration last week, there was no doubt that it has emerged as an important global forum on geopolitics. Many serving ministers and senior officials from around the world as well as former heads of state and government joined in to make the three-day event a stimulating one. Raisina has been successful in drawing participants from countries that are at odds with each other — US, China, Russia, Iran and the Gulf Arabs. This year's Dialogue saw the participation of a large number of ministers from Europe, an area that has long been neglected in Indian diplomacy. Beyond political leaders and government officials, it also drew technology leaders, media personalities and policy wonks from around the world, providing Delhi an opportunity to lay out its position on controversial moves in Kashmir and on citizenship. More broadly, Raisina is facilitating the development of sustainable intellectual networks between the Indian strategic community and its counterparts in the world.

Part of the reason for Raisina's success is the growing international interest in India amidst its rapid economic growth in the new millennium and the recognition of its salience in shaping the future of international order. It is also due to the fact that it is based on collaboration between the government and a private think tank. This collaboration has helped shed the dull rigidity that has marked the government's past engagement with the global strategic community. Raisina emerged out of a recognition five years ago that Delhi did not have effective international platforms of its own despite the globalisation of India's economy — trade now contributes nearly 40 per cent of India's GDP. India is at once more influential in world affairs as well as more susceptible to external developments. But its policy discourse appeared stuck in the past. Raisina was part of the strategy to recalibrate that discourse and discard the traditional bureaucratic pretence that the government knows best.

Along with the Raisina Dialogue, the MEA had helped launch two other international forums — one on technology policy in Bengaluru and another on business in Mumbai. Delhi needs to strengthen those two forums. It also needs a separate forum focused on India's immediate neighbourhood. Delhi needs to devote a lot more attention to engaging the strategic and economic elites in the Subcontinent to make a success of its declared policy that puts the "neighbourhood first". While government-supported forums like Raisina are welcome, Delhi needs to make it easier for the civil society groups to develop trans-border and international conversations. Successive governments in recent decades have tightened the visa restrictions for conferences and made it harder to obtain official clearances to host such events. Only a genuine liberalisation of these rules will help India realise the full potential of its global engagement.

## FREEZE FRAME



E P UNNY

UNTIL A MONTH ago, the words secularism, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity seemed to be just that: Words, devoid of much meaning, locked up in the pages of a book few had read. Today, these words have come to life, are chanted daily on the streets and maidans of cities, towns and villages by millions of Indians. "We the People of India", cutting across caste, community, gender and language, are collectively reading the Preamble, reiterating the pledge of our freedom fighters. The Constitution of India is now a Book of the People.

Between them, three sharply contrasting images from three different moments in India, post-Independence, encapsulate a promising trajectory of Indian Muslims.

Image one (1985): Initiated and led by the ulema, lakhs of people — only Muslims, all male — flood the streets of India. All fire and fury, they are protesting against the unanimous verdict of the Supreme Court upholding an order of the High Court of Madhya Pradesh granting a monthly maintenance amount of Rs 179.20 (only) to an aged, divorced Muslim woman — Shah Bano. "Islam in danger" is the war cry of the agitators who insist that their faith is above the law of the land. The then Congress government led by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi duly complies with the passage of the religion-specific Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986.

Image two (2018): Also conceived and organised by the ulema, tens of thousands — only Muslims, all burqa-clad women — march the streets all over India protesting against the Narendra Modi-led NDA government's Bill to criminalise triple talaq. It's a silent march everywhere because women, say the ulema, must neither be seen nor heard in public. The posters spell out the demands: "Triple talaq Bill *wapas lo*, Shariat *hamari jaan se pyari*" (Withdraw the triple talaq Bill, Shariah is more precious to us than our lives). As to the irony of women defending the supposed Islamic right of men to divorce them at will and instantly, who cares?

Image three (2019-20): Millions of Muslims — men and women — are out on the streets alongside fellow Indians of other faiths

But Muslims and their well-wishers must also beware of the dissonant Islamist undercurrent that sees in this moment of churning a great opportunity for cadre recruitment. Among the protesters are also Islamists who have no faith in any 'ungodly' secular-democratic dispensation.



NOUMAAN ANWER

IN THE MIDST of growing protests against the CAA, NRC, and the unleashing of violence against university students, protests on campuses like IIT Kharagpur, IIM Ahmedabad, IISc Bangalore, and St Stephen's College, Delhi have surprised many, given they are considered predominantly apolitical spaces.

Media coverage surrounding the protest and class boycott at my college, St Stephen's, on January 8 has largely focused on the college's non-participation in Delhi University Student Union elections, and its reputation as an institution that focuses on academic achievement. The career-oriented "high achievers" enrolled in such "institutions of excellence" are presumed to be "above" the fractious politics of campuses such as JNU.

This conception is a formidable element of the government's response to the recent agitation. Police violence at AMU and Jamia Millia Islamia and mob attack on students at JNU triggered the protests. Therefore, the government has sought to characterise such institutions as recurring centres of political dispute — their students, distracted by activism and ideology, academically incomparable with those at IITs, IIMs, and St Stephen's. A binary has been created between the "good" student, focused on academics, and the "bad" student who protests needlessly, based on which university they attend.

"Good" students have voiced their dissent on many occasions, including against the abrogation of Article 370, the Transgender Bill and the NRC in Assam.

## STUDENTS As PROTESTERS

We are protesting because of our education, not despite it



It is extremely important that the larger populace understand the fundamental linkage between the classroom and the protest. The student protest slogan 'lado padhai karne ko, padho samaj badalne ko' demonstrates that this demand has long been a component of what higher academics ought to look like.

While there is no denying that protests of the scale and significance of the recent one at St Stephen's rarely happen on such campuses, the idea that it represents a moment of awakening among overachievers generally engrossed in academics is a dangerous mischaracterisation. It allows the casting of campuses that are centres of robust opposition as ideologically-motivated "anti-national" spaces. In the government's opinion, the long-present culture of protest at institutions such as JNU and JMI represents the dangerous degradation of these universities. This argument is confirmed by repeatedly stressing that the duty of a student is to study and succeed professionally.

Through this logic, the government seeks to divide students, especially when its platform and policies are being so widely questioned. That students at institutions such as St Stephen's are participating in and organising protests is worrying — the "good" student is now out on the streets, using the mechanism of the protest, alongside the answer script, to express her opinions on the nation's politics.

Challenging this narrative is crucial for the continuing unity of students in the face of an increasingly repressive government. I believe that meeting this challenge must also involve changing the way in which many Indians think about higher education. Universities cannot simply be seen as imparters of formal knowledge. Education shapes one's worldview, and therefore, plays a fundamental role in constructing a student's perspectives, in-

and their well-wishers must also beware of the dissonant Islamist undercurrent that sees in this moment of churning a great opportunity for cadre recruitment. Among the protesters are also Islamists who have no faith in any "ungodly" secular-democratic dispensation. If the Sangh Parivar is bent on turning secular India into a Hindu Rashtra, the Islamists continue to harbour the fantasy of a Shariah-based Islamic Caliphate in India and across the globe.

In August 2014, the online portal New Age Islam (NAI) published a translation of two editorials dated August 22 and August 25 published in the Jamaat-e-Islami, Hind (JEI's) Urdu mouthpiece, *Dawat*. Among other things, one of the editorials stated: "It is very necessary to welcome the announcement of the establishment of Islamic Caliphate by the ISIS because Islamic Caliphate is the aspiration of every Muslim and there has never been a disagreement on the issue among the Muslims in any period of history." The JEI, incidentally, was not the only Muslim body in India to have expressed similar sentiments until the sheer barbarism of the ISIS stunned them into silence.

Even today, you could go talk to any member of the JEI, the Welfare Party (JEI's electoral wing), or the Students Islamic Organisation (JEI's student wing). Better still, do a Google search and read the constitution of the JEI online. Further to the right of the JEI, there is the Popular Front of India (PFI) or its electoral wing, the Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI).

No one can, or should, deny the democratic right of non-jihadi Islamist organisations to protest against the CAA-NPR-NRC process. But liberals and leftists who should, and do, defend the rights of the targeted Muslim minority must beware, lest they end up providing credibility and strength to the Muslim Right. Especially so when the Muslim masses are learning in real time that, contrary to what the Islamists claim, Islam and secularism can happily co-exist.

The writer in convener, Indian Muslims for Secular Democracy and co-editor, Sabrang India online

## JANUARY 20, 1980, FORTY YEARS AGO

### PATWA IS CM

SUNDERLAL PATWA, WHO was elected leader of the Janata Legislature Party in Bhopal, has been invited by the governor to form a new government in Madhya Pradesh. He is likely to be sworn in as chief minister on January 20. The out-going CM, V K Sakhlecha, who formally submitted his resignation to soon after the JLP meeting, has been asked to continue in office till Patwa is sworn in. Sakhlecha had resigned from his post on Monday last owning "moral responsibility" for the debacle of the ruling Janata Party in the Lok Sabha poll. Dissidents in the party, including Patwa, had also stepped up their campaign for the ouster of Sakhlecha

last week.

### DANGE SEEKS MOSCOW

A BIG TUSSLE is developing in the CPI over the question of support to Indira Gandhi. According to CPI circles in Calcutta, SA Dange has sent an emissary to Moscow to seek the Soviet Communist Party's intervention in his fight with the majority of the party national council who are at present opposed to Mrs Gandhi. Reports say that the emissary is Mohit Sen, who flew to Moscow a couple of days after the election results. Biswanath Mukherjee, state CPI secretary, met the CPM state secretary Promode Das Gupta in connection with the left front-CPI victory rally

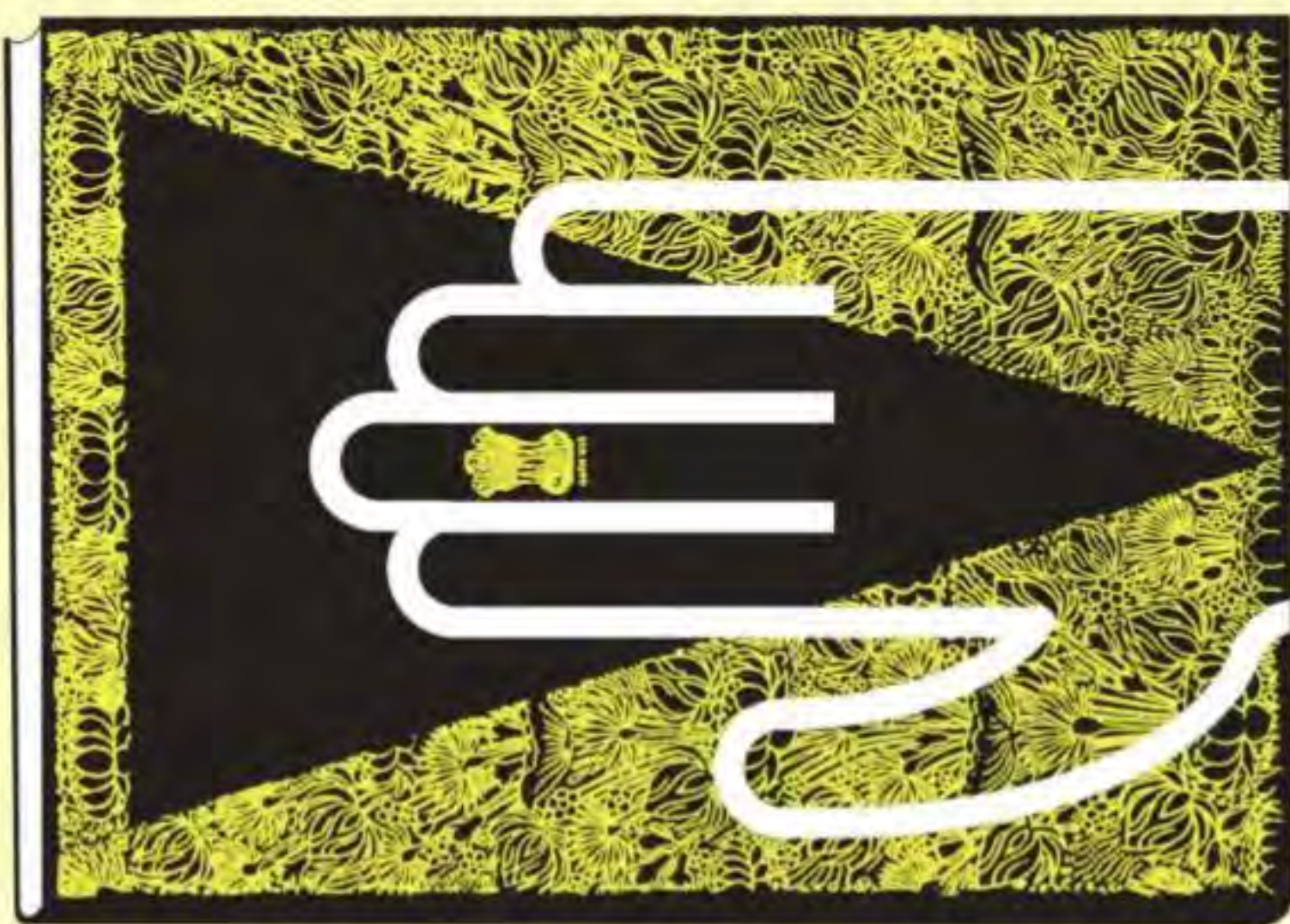
in Calcutta. Mukherjee is believed to have acquainted the CPM leader with his assessment of the situation within the CPI.

### NO US-PAK TREATY

THE US STATE Department has politely but firmly rejected Pakistan President Zia ul Haq's demand to turn the 1959 bilateral agreement into a treaty, his plea for aid for a duration longer than two years and for a greater volume of aid. It appears that Washington wants to see if the Soviet Union withdraws its forces from Afghanistan in the given time period. The US also does not want to deny the opportunity of putting pressure on Pakistan on the issue of nuclear weapons.



# 13 THE IDEAS PAGE



C R Sasikumar

## States have an obligation

It is the declaration by some Opposition-ruled states that they will not implement CAA, not the law itself, that is unconstitutional



ARJUN RAM MEGHWAL

THE HISTORIC CITIZENSHIP Amendment Bill was passed in Parliament's winter session and has received the President's assent. This move by the Centre will give long overdue relief to the religiously persecuted minorities of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan. While these minorities have welcomed the Act, it is surprising that the Congress and several other Opposition parties are spreading rumours, which have led to violence in some parts of the country. Such attempts to spread rumours, create confusion and engage in vote bank politics have, of course, been the hallmark of the Congress party. It, therefore, becomes imperative to revisit the developments which led to the enactment of the Act.

The Congress and a few other Opposition parties have been describing the CAA as an assault on secular values; they have fomented unrest across the country in the name of saving the Constitution. In its present form, the Act doesn't violate Article 14 of the Constitution. In 2003, the NDA government under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee took the first step towards the legal formalisation of a policy to grant citizenship to religiously persecuted minorities of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. Manmohan Singh, then an Opposition leader, had advocated a more liberal approach for granting Indian citizenship to minorities in Bangladesh. The Citizenship Amendment Rules 2004 were notified by the Ministry of Home Affairs on February 28, 2004 and published in the Extraordinary Gazette of India on March 1, 2004. The district collectors of Rajasthan and Gujarat were granted special powers to confer Indian citizenship to "Pakistani Nationals of Minority Hindu community displaced consequent to wars be-

tween India and Pakistan in the years 1965 and 1971" for one year from the operationalisation of the rules.

The period of applicability of these rules was extended by the Manmohan Singh-led UPA by gazette notifications in 2004 and 2005 — first by two years and then by three years. The Modi government has taken the cue from the UPA government: CAA, 2019 further eases the procedure for conferring citizenship to not only Hindu but also Sikh, Jain, Christian, Buddhist and Parsi communities from the three neighbouring countries. The question that inevitably arises is: When the Congress government was bringing a series of amendments in the citizenship rules to favour the Hindu minorities, where were these voices who are now terming the CAA as an assault on secularism in India and against Article 14 of the Constitution?

In its 159th report on the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2011, the Parliamentary Standing Committee On Home Affairs under the chairmanship of M Venkaiah Naidu highlighted the failure of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to live up to the assurance of granting citizenship to the West Pakistani Hindu migrants to India. On August 10, 1949, in a Constituent Assembly discussion on citizenship, B R Ambedkar pointed out: "It is not possible to cover every kind of case for a limited purpose, namely, the purpose of conferring citizenship on the date of commencement of the Constitution. If there is any category of people who are left out by the provisions contained in this amendment, we have given the power to Parliament subsequently to make provision for them."

In India's federal structure, states have a constitutional obligation to implement the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019 as passed by Parliament. As per Article 246 of the Constitution, the 17th entry under the Union List of the Seventh Schedule provides exclusive powers to Parliament to legislate on matters related to "citizenship, naturalisation and aliens". It is tragic to note, therefore, that the chief ministers belonging to Opposition parties, despite taking the oath for bearing true faith and allegiance to the Constitution, are making a mockery of it by publicly expressing their ill-will and expressing their reluctance to implement the CAA

As per Article 246 of the Constitution, the 17th entry under Union List of the Seventh Schedule provides exclusive powers to Parliament to legislate on matters related to 'citizenship, naturalisation and aliens'. It is tragic to note, therefore, that the chief ministers belonging to Opposition parties, despite taking the oath for bearing true faith and allegiance to the Constitution are making a mockery of it by publicly expressing their ill-will and expressing their reluctance to implement CAA — this is nothing but petty votebank politics.

— this is nothing but petty votebank politics. Articles 245 and 256 of the Constitution also oblige states to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament. The declaration by the governments of Kerala, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra that these states will not implement the CAA is, therefore, unconstitutional. Even then, while framing the CAA's rules, the government is considering experts' suggestions to make the Act operational.

Item No 27 (Entry 34) of the Congress party's manifesto for the Rajasthan Assembly election 2018 clearly promises citizenship and rehabilitation for refugees from Pakistan. The Congress and other parties have advocated the cause of religiously-persecuted minorities from time to time for vote bank politics. However, once the BJP government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi has taken up this cause, these parties have done a volte-face.

The Opposition and extremist organisations like the Popular Front of India (PFI) have created the illusion that citizenship won't be granted to Muslims, but that is far from the truth. Muslims will continue to get citizenship under the Citizenship Act. It is pertinent to note that over the last five years more than 3,000 refugees from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh got Indian citizenship, 566 of them were Muslims. It is also pertinent to point out that whenever the Opposition has had to contend with the popularity of PM Narendra Modi, the nation has witnessed attempts — unsuccessful ones — to mislead the people. These include the brouhaha over the "Rafale deal", "Award Wapsi", "intolerance" and the historic CAA.

My appeal to all countrymen is to understand the CAA — it is a humanitarian legislation. In a vibrant democracy like India, it is never easy to mislead the citizenry. The millions of BJP karyakartas are reaching out to every household to bust the myths created by the Opposition. It is important for every individual to participate in this endeavour so that the country's democracy is strengthened.

The writer is Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises, Government of India

### WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"Stepping back from the top jobs might suit him (Vladimir Putin). He prefers grand military and global affairs to the grind of domestic politics."  
— THE GUARDIAN

## A farm wish list for the budget

Move to cash transfers for beneficiaries of food and fertiliser subsidy will lead to savings, put agriculture on sustainable growth path

FROM PLATE TO PLOUGH  
BY ASHOK GULATI

ALTHOUGH THE Union budget is basically an accounting exercise of revenues and expenditures for the coming year, economy-watchers anxiously wait for the finance minister to announce major economic reforms. In that sense, the budget of 1991 remains a historic one that changed the course of Indian economy from being largely a socialist, state-controlled to a somewhat more liberal and market oriented economy. The results of exchange rate correction, trade policy changes, and delicensing of industry are there for everyone to see.

Foreign exchange reserves have shot up from \$ 1.4 billion in July 1991 to more than \$ 450 billion today. The biggest achievement of the 1991 budget is that has provided the economy with ample resilience against external shocks. On the economic growth front, expectations have been lifted from the famous "Hindu rate of growth" of 3.5 per cent per annum — a term coined by the late agri-economist Raj Krishna — to about 7-8 per cent. Any government that fails to deliver at least 7 per cent growth on a sustained basis for the next 10 years would be considered as failing on the economic front. The economic credibility of the Narendra Modi 2.0 government is at stake on this account. Can the budget unleash animal spirits and lift growth to 7 per cent? Here we focus on agri-food policies.

On top of the list would be the food subsidy. In the last budget, a provision of Rs 1.84 lakh crore was made for it. But the Food Corporation of India (FCI) had uncleared dues to the tune of Rs 1.86 lakh crore. This is simply "cheating" as we say in exams with regard to transparency in the Union budget. My first submission to the FM would be to ensure transparency and to fully account for the food subsidy. And if she, and the Prime Minister, as the buck stops with him for any major reforms, have the courage to reform this, the country can gain enormously.

I had explained in detail on what needs to be done in this regard in my last article ('Lifting growth, containing inflation', IE, January 6). Suffice it to say, the situation is getting worse by the day. Look at the picture at the beginning of the year: Against a buffer stock norm of 21.4 million tonnes (mt), the actual stocks of grains with the central pool stood at 75.5 mt, which is 3.5 times what the government needs to hold. At its economic cost, the value of the excess stocks with the government stands at Rs 1.6 lakh crore. This high level of "dead stocks" speaks of the sheer reluctance of the government to reform. There is no better place to find revenue for the FM than to liquidate these stocks. But actually, it's a call for the PM to take. Unless he focuses on reforms, the inefficiency of the grain management system will keep on increasing

and the nation will suffer.

It is also the time to revise the central issue of price and link it to the procurement price — say at half the procurement price. And if he can limit this highly subsidised food of Rs 3/kg for rice and Rs 2/kg of wheat to say 40 per cent of the population, he can certainly rationalise the food subsidy to a large extent. The real fundamental reform for Modi 2.0, however, would be if he moves towards direct cash transfers for the intended beneficiaries of food subsidy.

The next big ticket item is the fertiliser subsidy. This is again a sector that has been crying out for reforms for a long time. While the fertiliser subsidy in the last budget was provisioned at around Rs 80,000 crore, there were pending bills of the fertiliser industry to the tune of Rs 39,000 crore. The fertiliser industry today is demoralised and even the best of the private sector players (like the Tatas), with the most technically efficient plants, have quit this sector. For new plants, no new private sector player is enthused. Further, the government has also forced its public sector units to invest in five new urea plants whose costs remain murky and certainly higher than the average cost of the existing units.

The real problem of this sector is the imbalance in the policy of fertiliser subsidisation: While urea (N) is subsidised to the extent of 75 per cent of its cost, phosphatic (P) and potassic (K) fertilisers are subsidised only to the tune of about 25 per cent of their cost. The result is the highly imbalanced use of N, P and K on farmers' fields, giving a very low fertiliser-to-grain response ratio, and degrading the soil, underground water, and even the environment with excessive nitrogen use. All this is nothing short of cruelty to our natural resources, and farmers, especially those who want to pursue natural farming as they don't get subsidy anywhere near the amount chemical-based fertilisers do. The solution to this is either bring nitrogenous fertilisers also under Nutrient Based Subsidy (NBS) scheme or better, to move towards direct cash transfers for fertilisers on a per hectare basis, with some adjustment for irrigated tracts (for instance, irrigated land could get 1.5 times the subsidy amount for unirrigated land due to the higher cropping intensity on the former).

If Modi 2.0 can usher in these two fundamental reforms in food and fertiliser subsidy, that is move towards direct cash transfers to the intended beneficiaries, he will go down in history for setting this sector on a sustainable growth path with minimum saving of Rs 50,000 crore annually. These savings can then be invested in better water management, especially drip irrigation ("more crop per drop"); for better infrastructure for agri-markets, which along with reforming the APMC laws will help farmers get better prices for their produce; in putting "solar trees" to harvest solar power on farmers' fields with buy back arrangements for surplus power.

All such investments will go a long way to augment farmers' incomes in a sustainable manner. Else, I am afraid, much of the talk in the Union budget for agri-reforms will remain mere rhetoric

Gulati is Infosys Chair Professor for Agriculture at ICRIER

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### MATTER OF NURTURE

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Not ready for school', (IE, January 15). A child's exposure to a pre-schooling has a progressive impact on her psychology. This in turn reflects on her learning outcome in the early years of school. The anganwadi facilities are invested with multiple responsibilities along with taking care of a child's learning needs. A volunteer-based model designed with anganwadis as the pivots could be worked out to address this deficiency.

Sudip Kumar Dey, Kolkata

### REVIVE GROWTH

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'A rough patch' (IE, January 15). The continuous rise in inflation (now 7.35 per cent) is breaking the back of the common man. Food prices have risen by 14.12 per cent, forcing the poor to go without even bare minimum vegetables. The government should take immediate corrective measures to arrest the economic downfall and restore the faith of people in our financial institutions.

R P Singh, Ambala

### EMPTY GESTURE

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Ministers in Valley' (IE, January 17). The ceremonial visit of host of ministers to J&K does not make any sense when people in the valley are gripped by a crisis of confi-

### 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](mailto:editpage@expressindia.com) or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301.

dence. For any communication to be effective, the basic requirement is trust between parties concerned. The government ought to restore fundamental rights in the Valley.

Deepak Singhal, Chennai

### GREAT SHAME

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Crime and impunity' (IE, January 17). We expect our sportspersons to bring laurels to the country. But we subject young women athletes to humiliation. A penalty of Rs 910 per month for sexual harassment is a bad joke. The SAI and sports ministry must share the blame.

Bal Govind, Noida

### VIEW FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD



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

### JINGOISM AND TALKS

Patience, it appears, has its limits. In its January 18 editorial, *Dawn* appears almost annoyed at the invitation by India to Pakistan for the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit, to be held later this year. In deference to consistency perhaps — the newspaper has always favoured talks as the only solution to the issues between India and Pakistan — the editorial does pay lip-service to the fact that the invitation is a departure from New Delhi's overall reticence and jingoism. Given that the sidelines of multilateral events can help informal talks "the prospect of Pakistan's participation in the SCO summit, has brought up the possibility of forward movement where the currently frozen bilateral ties between the two countries are concerned".

But after this drab note of optimism, the editorial issues a caution: "There should be no illusions; unless the core issues affecting the Pakistan-India relationship are addressed, a mere photo op between the two leaders will be of little use." At the centre of these "core issues" are New Delhi's actions on the constitutional status of Kashmir as

well as the clampdown on communications, politics and alleged human rights violations in the state. In addition, there are now "Islamophobic" laws against Muslims in India and "the recent bellicose, anti-Pakistan statements by Indian generals have further poisoned the atmosphere".

"If there is to be peace," says the editorial, "such jingoism must be reined in". The editorial does reiterate that dialogue is the only way forward for the Subcontinent. "Pakistan has over the past few years taken several steps for peace, yet the response from the other side has been less than enthusiastic. The SCO summit can prove to be a chance to change things for the better."

### A NEW CULTURE?

"President Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR)," says the editorial on January 16 in *The Island*, "has decided to put an end to the practice of arrests being made even in situations where they are not called for." Instructions to this end have reportedly been given to Sri Lanka's police chief. The newspaper welcomes the development, understandably so.

The "selective" efficiency of the Sri Lankan

police in certain matters has been a cause for concern in that country for some time. With nearly every political change of guard in Colombo, there has been some targeting of political workers. In addition, given the state of most prisons and judicial delays, the fact of an arrest is dire punishment in itself.

The very top of the political class, though, has been immune to this in Sri Lanka: "Some of them have the remarkable ability to fall sick at will. This, they do when they are about to be arrested and get themselves admitted to hospital; they recover upon being bailed out. But neither politicians nor other people should be arrested and remanded unless there is irrefutable evidence to prove that they are bent on perverting the course of justice." GR's call to end this culture, whether for politicians or ordinary people, "is welcome".

### MOBS AND JUSTICE

Unfortunately, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India share more than just a rich history, culture and many other affinities. In all three countries, the lynching mob has made what the editorial in *Dhaka Tribune* calls a "mockery of justice". In 2019, from students to or-

dinary people, Bangladesh has been witness to the mob and its variety so-called justice — much like in India and Pakistan.

While the end of the year saw a decline in the number of attacks, the sheer fact of this phenomenon is something to bemoan: "No one can take the law into their own hand. Last year, Bangladesh witnessed a series of mob lynchings that shook the nation to the core. While the trend died down near the end of 2019, it is sad to see this most heinous of acts resurface, with four people having lost their lives in separate incidences throughout the country. In Jessore, three men were lynched as they were suspected to be cattle thieves; in Savar a 40-year-old was beaten to death, while a 14-year-old was brutally tortured by a group of people in Gaibandha."

But the editorial, somewhat disturbingly, also qualifies its condemnation: "The fact that the public is forcing its way into the position of judge, jury, and executioner indicates that they are wary of the police. To simply punish those who are carrying out these lynchings, then, would be a half measure, as it does nothing to strike at the heart of why people feel the need to take the law into their own hands in the first place."



## TELLING NUMBERS

## India-Pak trade: already low volumes collapsed in 2019

TENSIONS BETWEEN India and Pakistan in 2019 have reduced the already low volumes of trade between the two countries to near zero. Following the terrorist attack on the CRPF convoy in Pulwama in February, India withdrew Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status for Pakistan and raised customs duty on Pakistani imports to 200% and, in April, suspended cross-LoC trade to stop the misuse of this route by Pakistan-based elements. Pakistan on its part, closed its airspace to India for a prolonged period.

The decisions by both countries, while targeted at hurting the neigh-

bour, have severely impacted livelihoods of individuals and families involved in cross-border trading activities, says a report, *Unilateral Decisions Bilateral Losses: Assessing the Impact of the Face-off between India and Pakistan in 2019*, on *Border Economies*, released in New Delhi on January 16.

The report, by Afaq Hussain and Nikita Singla of the thinktank Bureau of Research on Industry and Economic Fundamentals (BRIEF), has used field research in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir to assess the “micro level impact” of the decisions by the two governments. Snapshots from the report:

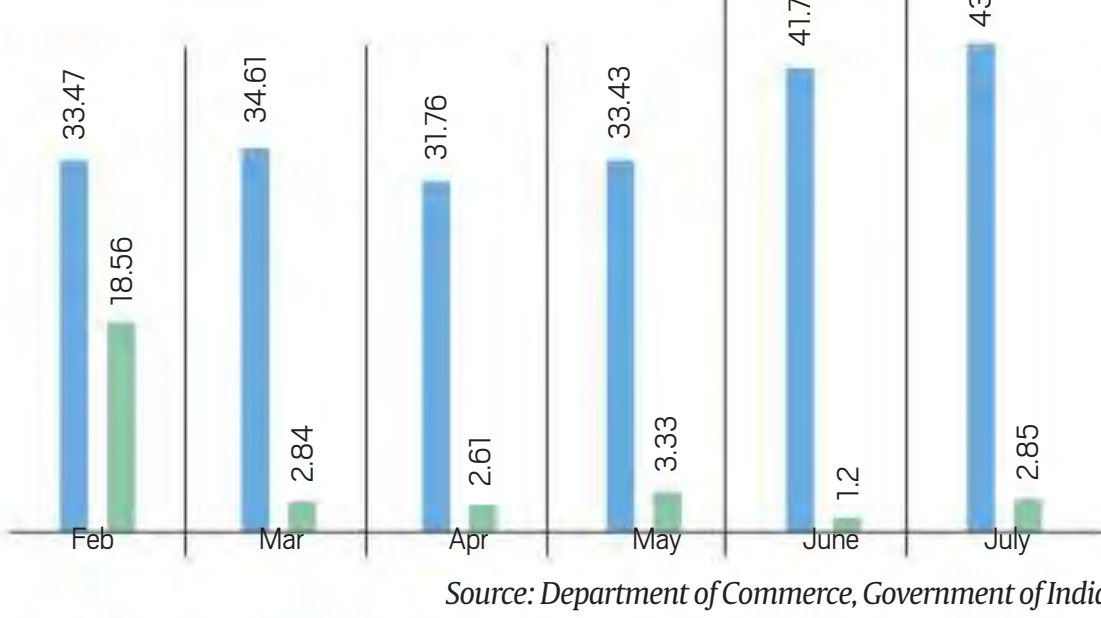
## INDIA-PAKISTAN TRADE, IN THE BEGINNING

IN 1948-49, about 56% of Pakistan's exports were to India, and 32% of its imports came from India. From 1948-65, India and Pakistan used a number of land routes for bilateral trade; there were eight customs stations in Pakistan's Punjab province and three customs checkposts in Sindh.

India remained Pakistan's largest trading partner until 1955-56. Between 1947 and 1965, the countries signed 14 bilateral agreements on trade, covering avoidance of double taxation, air services, and banking, etc. In 1965, nine branches of six Indian banks were operating in Pakistan.

## PAK EXPORTS TO INDIA AFTER PULWAMA ATTACK (in \$ mn)

Compared to corresponding month in 2018



## TRUCKS AT WAGAH-ATTARI

### TRUCKS CARRYING IMPORTS FROM PAKISTAN

Monthly average of trucks crossing from Wagah to Attari (representative image above) fell from 4,381 in April-November 2018 to 348 in the same period in 2019.

After Aug 2019, trucks crossing from Pak into India originated in Afghanistan

### TRUCKS CARRYING EXPORTS FROM INDIA

Monthly average of trucks crossing from Attari to Wagah fell from 223 in April-November 2018 to 113 during the same period in 2019. It stopped altogether from September onward.

Source: Central Warehousing Corporation, ICP Attari

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## SIMPLY PUT QUESTION & ANSWER

# Understanding the Bru settlement

Centre, Tripura, and Mizoram have signed an agreement with the Bru/Reang community that promises to end their 23-year-old internal displacement crisis. How did the deal come about, and what happens now?

DEBRAJ DEB

AGARTALA, JANUARY 19

TWENTY-THREE years after ethnic clashes in Mizoram forced 37,000 people of the Bru (or Reang) community to flee their homes to neighbouring Tripura, an agreement has been signed to allow them to remain permanently in the latter state.

The agreement among the Bru leaders and the governments of India, Tripura, and Mizoram, signed in New Delhi on January 16, gives the Bru the choice of living in either state. In several ways, the agreement has re-defined the way in which internal displacement is treated in India.

### What is in the agreement?

All Bru currently living in temporary relief camps in Tripura will be settled in the state, if they want to stay on. The Bru who returned to Mizoram in the eight phases of repatriation since 2009, cannot, however, come back to Tripura.

To ascertain the numbers of those who will be settled, a fresh survey and physical verification of Bru families living in relief camps will be carried out. The Centre will implement a special development project for the resettled Bru; this will be in addition to the Rs 600 crore fund announced for the process, including benefits for the migrants.

Each resettled family will get 0.03 acre (1.5 *ganda*) of land for building a home, Rs 1.5 lakh as housing assistance, and Rs 4 lakh as a one-time cash benefit for sustenance. They will also receive a monthly allowance of Rs 5,000, and free rations for two years from the date of resettlement.

All cash assistance will be through Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT), and the state government will expedite the opening of bank accounts and the issuance of Aadhaar, permanent residence certificates, ST certificates, and voter identity cards to the beneficiaries.

### When will the resettlement take place?

Physical verification to identify beneficiaries will be carried out within 15 days of the signing of the deal. The land for resettlement will be identified within 60 days, and the land for allotment will be identified within 150 days.

The beneficiaries will get housing assistance, but the state government will build their homes and hand over possession. They will be moved to resettlement locations in four clusters, paving the way for the closure of the temporary camps within 180 days of the signing of the agreement. All dwelling houses will be constructed and payments completed within 270 days. Tripura Chief Minister Biplab



Kumar Deb has said he hopes to wrap up the process even sooner — in six months.

### Where will the Bru be resettled?

Revenue experts reckon 162 acres will be required. Chief Minister Deb has said that the effort will be to choose *khash* or government land, but since Tripura is a small state (only 10,491 sq km), his government would explore the possibility of diverting forest lands, even reserve forest areas if necessary, to grant the new entitlements.

Diverting forest land for human settlements will, however, need clearance from the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF), which is likely to take at least three months. Deb has said that the central government has promised to provide funds, if needed, to acquire forest land or government land.

### In what condition are the migrants now?

The Bru or Reang are a community indigenous to Northeast India, living mostly in Tripura, Mizoram, and Assam. In Tripura, they are recognised as a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). Over two decades ago, they were targeted by the Young Mizo Association (YMA), Mizo Zirwlai Pawl (MZIP), and a few ethnic social organisations of Mizoram who demanded that the Bru be excluded from electoral rolls in the state. In October 1997, following ethnic clashes, nearly 37,000 Bru fled Mizoram's Mamit, Kolasib, and Lunglei districts to Tripura, where they were sheltered in relief camps. Since then, over 5,000 have returned to Mizoram in nine phases of repatriation,

### EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

RESEARCHERS SAID last week that they had created another embryo — the third — of the nearly extinct northern white rhino, a remarkable success in an ongoing global mission to keep the species from going extinct.

“It’s amazing to see that we will be able to reverse the tragic loss of this subspecies through science,” a report by The Associated Press quoted Kenya’s wildlife minister, Najib Balala, as saying in a statement issued by the Kenya Wildlife Service and conservationists from Kenya, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Italy.

### FUNCTIONALLY EXTINCT SINCE 2018:

The Kenyan conservancy looking after the last male northern white rhino was forced to euthanise it in March 2018. The 45-year-old rhino, Sudan, was suffering from age-related complications that had eaten at his bones and given him skin wounds.

The death of Sudan, who was earlier at the Dvur Králové Zoo in the Czech Republic,



Female northern white rhinos Fatu right, and Najin, 30, in August 2019. AP

left the world with only two northern white rhinos, Najin, 30, and Fatu, 19 — both female. Sudan had steadfastly refused to mate with either, and conservationists had even tried to raise \$9 million for a fertility treatment by putting him on Tinder with a profile that read: “I don’t mean to be too forward, but the fate of the species literally depends on me,” and “I perform well under pressure.”

Najin and Fatu, mother-daughter pair in

while 32,000 people from 5,400 families still live in six relief camps in North Tripura.

Under a relief package announced by the Centre, a daily ration of 600 g rice was provided to every adult Bru migrant and 300 g to every minor. Some salt too, was given to each family. Every adult received a daily cash dole of Rs 5; every minor Rs 2.50. Meagre allocations were made from time to time for essentials such as soap, slippers, and mosquito nets.

Most migrants sold a part of their rice and used the money to buy supplies, including medicines. They depended on the wild for vegetables, and some of them have been practising slash-and-burn (*jhum*) cultivation in the forests.

They live in makeshift bamboo thatched huts, without permanent power supply and safe drinking water, with no access to proper healthcare services or schools.

### How did the agreement come about?

In June 2018, Bru leaders signed an agreement in Delhi with the Centre and the two state governments, providing for repatriation to Mizoram. Most residents of the camps, however, rejected the “insufficient” terms of the agreement. Only 328 families returned to Mizoram, rendering the process redundant. The camp residents said the package did not guarantee their safety in Mizoram, and that they feared a repeat of the violence that had forced them to flee.

On November 16, 2019, Pradyot Kishore Debbarma, scion of Tripura’s erstwhile royal family, wrote to Home Minister Amit Shah



The Naisingpara Bru Relief Camp in North Tripura (left); a Bru woman in traditional attire at a protest by the community last year. Debraj Deb

seeking the resettlement of the Bru in the state. The Bru were originally from Tripura, and had migrated to Mizoram after their homes were flooded due to the commissioning of the Dumbor hydroelectric power project in South Tripura in 1976, he claimed. The very next day, Chief Minister Deb too, asked the Centre for permanent settlement of the Bru in Tripura.

### How is this agreement different from the earlier initiatives taken for the Bru?

Successive state and central governments had thus far stressed only on peacefully repatriating the Bru, even though the enduring fear of ethnic violence remained a fundamental roadblock. The two other “durable solutions” for refugees and displaced persons suggested by the UN Refugee Agency — local integration or assimilation, and resettlement — were never explored.

Apart from their own Kaubru tongue, the Bru speak both Kokborok and Bangla, the two most widely spoken languages of the tribal and non-tribal communities of Tripura, and have an easy connection with the state. Their long stay in Tripura, albeit in exile and in terrible conditions, has also acquainted them very well with the state’s socio-political ecology.

Home Minister Shah, who presided over the signing of the agreement, hailed the “historic” resolution of the Bru issue. He thanked the Chief Ministers of Tripura and Mizoram, Pradyot Kishore Debbarma, and some social organisations for creating the conditions for the agreement.

# How IVF is reversing an imminent extinction

a species that in the 1960s numbered some 2,000 individuals, live at the Ol Pejeta Conservancy near Mount Kenya, where Sudan too, lived. The northern white is one of the two subspecies of the white (or square-lipped) rhinoceros, which once roamed several African countries south of the Sahara. The other subspecies, the southern white is, by contrast, the most numerous subspecies of rhino, and is found primarily in South Africa. There is also the black (or hook-lipped) rhinoceros in Africa, which too, is fighting for survival, and at least three of whose subspecies are already extinct.

The Indian rhinoceros is different from its African cousins, most prominently in that it has only one horn. There is also a Javan rhino, which too, has one horn, and a Sumatran rhino which, like the African rhinos, has two horns.

**REVERSING THE EXTINCTION:** In July 2018, scientists reported a major breakthrough — IVF for rhinos. They created a test-tube embryo by fertilising the egg of a southern white female with the frozen sperm of a northern white male. Immediately, there

was hope for the northern white subspecies — if eggs from Najin and Fatu could be fertilised by the available frozen sperm from four (now dead) northern white males.

The task of collecting oocytes from Najin and Fatu was difficult and delicate, but in September 2019, researchers announced they had created two embryos, the decisive turning point in the effort to save the northern white. The success announced last week was the third. Four eggs were collected from Najin and six from Fatu; all three viable embryos were, however, created using Fatu’s eggs.

The embryos have been preserved in liquid nitrogen, and will be transferred to a southern white surrogate. Neither of the two living northern white females can carry a pregnancy. Since the gestation period for a rhino could be 18 months, the first northern white calf is expected to arrive in the world in 2022. The ultimate goal, scientists say, is to create a herd of perhaps five northern white rhinos that could be returned to the wild. That, however, could take several decades, given that the task of collecting eggs from Najin and Fatu will likely become increasingly more complex and risky as they grow older.

# Starr turn in impeachment drama: Why Trump’s case recalls Clinton’s

### EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

TWO DAYS after the House of Representatives sent two articles of impeachment to the Senate, President Donald Trump expanded his legal team for the trial that begins on Tuesday — hiring the man who was the star actor in the drama the last time a US President was impeached.

Ken Starr, former independent counsel who will now defend Trump, carried out the investigation against Bill Clinton. Along with Starr on Trump’s team is his successor as independent counsel, Robert Ray, who had wanted to indict Clinton on charges related to his affair with Monica Lewinsky, but ultimately agreed to the then outgoing President surrendering his licence to prac-

tise law and coughing up a fine of \$25,000.

American media reports described the appointment of Starr as “headspinning”, and Lewinsky posted on Twitter that “This is definitely an ‘are you f\*\*\*ing kidding me?’ kinda day”. Experts were divided on whether Starr would aid Trump’s defence, or prove to be a handicap as he seeks to make arguments that could be exactly opposite of what he said back in 1998.

### Starr’s investigation of Clinton

Starr, now 73, was appointed independent counsel (an office created by Congress to provide reports to it) in 1994 to investigate the Whitewater scandal involving Bill and Hillary Clinton (dating to a time before he became President), and was subsequently asked to look into Clinton’s conduct in a sexual harassment lawsuit brought against him



Ken Starr in 2014. APfile

by a former Arkansas state employee named Paula Jones. In the course of his investigations, Starr was given secretly taped conversations that brought out Clinton’s affair with White House intern Lewinsky.

Starr’s lengthy, aggressive investigation

established that Clinton had lied under oath, and in September 1998, the independent counsel submitted the so-called Starr Report to the House of Representatives. In December 1998, on the basis of Starr’s findings, the Republican-controlled House impeached the President. In February 1999, Clinton was acquitted by the Senate which found that his conduct did not warrant removal from office. Starr, who had testified in the House, was not involved in the Senate trial.

The Starr Report contained sexually explicit language, and Starr was pilloried as an ideologically driven, judgmental figure who was obsessed with sex. His admirers, on the other hand, saw him as the uncompromising nemesis of a morally corrupt President.

Starr, who had been a federal judge and had been appointed US Solicitor General by President George Bush Sr, was at one time

believed to have had a chance of being elevated to the Supreme Court. His role as independent counsel, however, made him an untouchable among the American political class. He became president of Baylor University in Texas in 2010, but was sacked from the post in 2016 for ignoring sexual assault complaints on campus.

### Starr and Trump’s impeachment

After the House impeached Trump, Starr described the action as “very vicious” and “unprincipled”, and an “abuse of power”. Earlier in the impeachment process, however, he had described a top witness’s testimony against Trump as a “bombshell” that Democrats would use as proof that “the President, in fact, committed the crime of bribery”, and one that could result in Republican senators deciding to ask Trump to resign.

The *New York Times* quoted law professor Ken Gormley, the author of *The Death of American Virtue: Clinton vs Starr*, as pointing out that Starr brings for Trump abundant expertise; he knows many of the senators who will be sitting as jurors; and he has worked with Chief Justice John G Roberts, who will be presiding over the trial.

Another expert quoted in the same report, Robert J Bittman, said Starr had “extensively studied and experienced the precedents and nuances of the impeachment process”.

However, law professor Paul Rosenzweig, who had been a part of Starr’s Clinton investigation, said: “Throughout the Clinton impeachment, Starr opposed the invocation of executive privilege and called for all the witnesses to come forward. Trump will have a hard time squaring that historical record with his current conduct.”



# 15 THE GOVERNANCE PAGE


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## PUBLIC GRIEVANCE REDRESSAL

# Odisha's telephone feedback system reaches out to citizens, allays concerns

The Mo Sarkar or My Government initiative allows the Chief Minister's Office to follow up with citizens

**SAMPAD PATNAIK**

BHUBANESWAR, JANUARY 19

A SMALL conference room, right opposite Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik's office on the third floor of Bhubaneswar's Lok Seva Bhawan, lights up every day as a giant wall-mounted LED screen starts to brighten.

On the screen is displayed a picture of Patnaik. Next to him is the text "Mo Sarkar" (My Government) written in Odia. The dashboard prompts the user for an id and password, which when entered brings up a home screen that displays the number of calls made to citizens so far. The rest of the giant screen displays a selection menu displaying a gamut of options categorised as Home, H&FW (Health and Family Welfare), Industries, A&FE (Agriculture and Farmers Welfare) etc. The other selection categories, designed as a drop-down menu, are date, district, gender and age group.

Senior bureaucrats working in the Chief Minister's Office choose names and numbers by applying the various selection criteria. Phone calls are made every single day to collect, record and document conversations with these chosen citizens regarding their feedback on government services and departments.

Launched on October 2, on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti, Mo Sarkar is the Odisha government's citizen-centric project that takes feedback from ordinary people regarding their experience at the government-run facilities in the state. The project places special emphasis on citizens visiting police stations and government-run hospitals, which as per CMO officials, are "two critical places where usually a distressed citizen visits for relief".

"One goes to a police station or a hospital mostly during a crisis. The CM has instructed that visitors to these places be treated professionally and courteously by government officials. CMO, along with all heads of departments, make thousands of phone calls per day to randomly sample feedback from citizens," says an officer who is part of Mo Sarkar's back-end operations at the CMO. "When people visit these places, their name and number are recorded and uploaded to the Mo Sarkar portal so a feedback call can be made within few days", he says. Mo Sarkar employs quantitative evaluation criteria with 1 being least satisfied and 5 being most satisfied.



Mo Sarkar portal on the Urban Development Department website *Odisha govt*

### MO SARKAR: A SNAPSHOT

■ Mo Sarkar was launched on Gandhi Jayanti (October 2) last year

■ It is driven by CM Naveen Patnaik's vision of 5Ts: Technology, Teamwork, Transparency, Time-bound, Transformation

■ It places special emphasis on feedback about the state government's functioning from citizens, especially those visiting 'critical areas' such as police stations and hospitals

■ It uses a dedicated call centre to ask, record and rate citizen experience of government services, and shares it with the top officials of the state

■ Eight key departments have already joined the initiative

Salhay Basky, 24, works as a crisis coordinator with a private telephone network company. He had approached the police on behalf of his company, which was regularly facing problems as local miscreants destroyed the optical fibre cable in Odisha's Boudh district. "I have had to register complaints in other districts before Mo Sarkar was launched but did not get police help we needed. However, when I did so in December, after Mo Sarkar was underway, police were prompt to act," said Basky.

Calling the telephone feedback "tech-enabled resurrection of the old durbar system", the CMO official adds, "Poor people in far-flung areas cannot always bring their grievances up to the CM or his office in Bhubaneswar. But a simple phone call from the CMO can tell us a lot about what is going on in a police station in any part of the state".

There are others like Moharana, a carpenter, who also visited Saheed Nagar police station earlier this month, who register their anger and disappointment as well. "I had gone to file an FIR against some family members who are harassing me and wife over money. The inspector did not register it... In

## EXPLAINED

### Importance of Mo Sarkar move

AT THE heart of the Mo Sarkar initiative is the desire of the chief minister to bridge the gap between the highest political decision maker in the state and the most far-flung citizen. By systematically following up on citizens who have complained or reached to the government for any kind of help, the Odisha CM's office is ensuring that it can fix the governance gaps in the state machinery.

my feedback call, I gave my experience with police a zero on five," Moharana said.

According to CMO officials, the first negative feedback regarding a police station or personnel will spark a number of calls to other people, who have visited the same place. Multiple reports of negative feedback will lead to demanding an explanation from the police officer, which if inadequate can result in action or adversely affect the officer's promotion.

But requesting feedback over the phone can face technical snags such as respondents being "out of coverage area" etc. Similarly, women complainants from lower-income households provide phone numbers that belong to their husbands or other male members of the family and as such, they cannot be reached.

Some high-ranking police officers find the project having "privacy" concerns as well. "People should not be discussing their police complaints over the phone. What if the rival party of a person in a dispute calls posing as someone from the CMO?" said an IPS serving as a district SP requesting anonymity.

monthly quota at the new place.

It's not that the portability scheme is fool-proof because many a time the entire family does not migrate to the new place. Yet, it's still an improvement because earlier such a family had no option but to forego the entire quota. In December alone, as many as 2.18 lakh families across the state benefited from the scheme.

According to Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Protection Minister Pradyumna Singh Tomar, under the Aadhaar-enabled system, MP now provides ration to 83 lakh families. Previously, the state used to supply ration to only 18 lakh families.

The minister said fair price shops have been opened in almost every gram panchayat. When new shops were being opened it was ensured that one-third shops were given to women. The minister said a system of grading has been introduced for fair price shops. Shops will be graded on parameters like the number of days they open etc.

# 'Punjab already leads in logistics, and govt is plugging other gaps to attract industries'

IN HIS speech during the Progressive Punjab Investors summit last month, Punjab Chief Minister Captain Amarinder Singh said he considered Mohali to be the capital of Punjab. Mohali is emerging as a major investment destination in the Information Technology sector, the knowledge industry and the start-ups. VINI MAHAJAN, Additional Chief Secretary (Punjab Bureau of Investment Promotion), in an interview to NAVJEEVAN GOPAL, tells how the government is on a mission mode to focus on industrial growth.



## THE POLICY INTERVIEW

VINI MAHAJAN  
Additional Chief Secretary  
(Punjab Bureau of Investment Promotion)

### Punjab is an agrarian economy. Why focus on industries?

The rate of growth of agriculture can never keep pace with the rate of growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors. So although we saw in Punjab particularly very high growth rates during the Green Revolution and later. But those growth rates tend to peter out. These cannot be maintained at those same levels and our young people now need other employment avenues and our state's economy needs other engines of growth. So that is why industry.

### What is the new thing that this government is offering?

Punjab in the recent past has been trying to bring about a proper environment to attract investment. One thing, for example, which has been done is the six years old effort — the Punjab Bureau of Investment Promotion, popularly called Invest Punjab. Its mandate is to provide the necessary support to prospective investors.

To make Invest Punjab stronger and more effective we have augmented its human resource. Apart from a strong team, which was already in place, we went to the top business schools in the country. The IIMs at Ahmedabad, Bangalore and Kolkata and the ISB and we did campus recruitment there. I am very happy that nine out of 10 freshly graduated MBA students accepted our job offers and are working with us as consultants and senior consultants.

Another effort was to identify specific pain points for the industry. We found that the state's own MSME industry found it difficult to reach out to the state headquarters. So the kind of system that has been put in place in Invest Punjab at state headquarters has now been provided in every district and now in every district, the MSME industry can get the same kind of support and regulatory clearances.

One more effort is the recent decision to come up with a law which allows new industries to be set up without seeking regulatory approvals for a period of three-and-a-half years. Anyone sitting anywhere in the world who, for example, wants to set up a backend office here can apply online, get regulatory clear-

ances and work conveniently.

We have also streamlined the inspection system for the existing industry. There is a central inspection system where officials of different concerned departments carry out joint inspection, chosen randomly by a computer, and reports are to be put online in 48 hours to minimise any chance of harassment.

### Is it the case that incentives sometimes backfire as investors put off investments waiting for a better deal from another state?

We agree that the ease of doing business is more important. We would like to offer very high-quality infrastructure and assure investors of government support and no harassment. Having said this there is competition among states for attracting investment and hence the incentives. In Punjab, investors say the distance from ports is a disadvantage.

However we have excellent national highway network and excellent railway network and now with dedicated freight corridors coming up, the Eastern corridor will connect Amritsar with Kolkata and with the Western corridor Punjab will also come on feeder line. We have a lot of airports, but still, ports are a disadvantage. So to that extent, some incentives help reduce competitive disadvantage.

For the record, Punjab is the second-best state in the country in terms of the ease of logistics for the last two years running. There is high-quality power with very low transmission and distribution losses and it is supplied to the industry at Rs 5 per unit. Truck unions were another pain point which we have abolished. We have tried to remove every impediment that came in the way of industry.

## IN NUMBERS

### WHERE DO 5 YEAR OLD CHILDREN STUDY IN INDIA?



Source: ASER 2019 report

## FROM STATES REFORMS TRACKER

### HIMACHAL PRADESH

#### Pine needle use policy amended

INA bid to reduce the chances of forest fires, the Himachal Pradesh government has amended the policy that regulates the collection and use of pine needles. The state Cabinet led by Chief Minister Jai Ram Thakur took the decision last week. Pine needles are highly inflammable, owing to the high amount of turpentine oil they contain. During summers pine trees shed the needles and this creates the grounds for fires spreading fast across forests. The policy would now encourage the use of pine needles as fuel in the state's industrial units.

### DELHI

#### Long-awaited EV policy unveiled

THE DELHI Cabinet has notified an Electric Vehicles policy last month. The policy aims to address the growing problem of air pollution in India's capital city. According to the Delhi government's estimates, electric vehicles that are expected to be inducted over the next five years will likely cut reduce the use of Rs 6,000 crore worth of fossil fuels. Around, 4.8 million tonnes of carbon dioxide emission will also be avoided.

### KARNATAKA

#### Govt to recover unused industrial land

THE KARNATAKA government is planning to tweak the state's industrial policy in order to recover unused industrial land. The larger aim is to create a land bank in the state. In the past few years, the government has allotted a lot of land for industrial projects but a huge quantum of this land has not actually been used.

## INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS

# How poultry farming is alleviating farm distress in Kerala

**SHAJU PHILIP**

SULTHAN BATHERY, JANUARY 19

WITH MEAGRE farm income from two acres of land, P R Babukuttan, a native of Sulthan Batheri in the Wayanad district of Kerala, had been struggling to run his family. A year ago, he started a poultry farm under the aegis of Brahmagiri Development Society (BDS), a government-supported co-operative venture of farmers and farmworkers in Wayanad. Over the year, he has reared 17,500 birds in seven batches, under the society's buyback scheme, and now earns at least Rs 30,000 in a month. He is one of the 80-odd farmers who have become poultry entrepreneurs under BDS, which has a slew of interventions to shore up the fortunes of crisis-stricken farmers like Babukuttan.

BDS chairman and CPI (M) leader P Krishna Prasad said that for the first time in



A Wayanad farmer at his poultry farm under the BDS initiative. *Express*

the country BDS has put forward a co-operative farming model to help the farmers and workers. "The society has now an alternative model which can make farmers entrepreneurs and make them shareholders of the market, avoiding middlemen. The income of farmers and workers have increased in such manner to help them tide over the farm sector crisis," said Krishna Prasad.

Records show that meat production was 4.69 lakh metric ton in 2017-18. Kerala is the 8th largest meat-producing state in the country, contributing 6.1 per cent of the meat produced in India. Out of the total, 38.8 per cent is poultry meat, 33.95 per cent from cattle and 20.99 per cent from buffalo.

Despite having a robust non-vegetarian food market, the processed meat market is negligible in Kerala. BDS, started in 1999 for implementing a dairy project in Wayanad, ventured into meat processing in 2013 and poultry in December 2018, thus opening new

avenues for farmers.

Poultry processing has a huge market potential in Kerala considering that 9 lakh birds are required for daily consumption in the state. At present, the market is controlled mainly by Tamil Nadu-based private agencies, who either supply market-ready birds in retail outlets or supply chicks for farmers. Private agencies give only Rs 4 to Rs 6 as rearing charge for per kg of a live bird, which becomes ripe for the market in 45 days. But, BDS, which owns breeder farm and hatchery in Tamil Nadu, gives Rs 8 to Rs 11 as rearing charge as there is no middleman.

"When prices of poultry plummet in the market, the private agencies jettison the farmer, who suffer huge losses, forcing many to quit the sector. Whereas, BDS can manage such price fluctuations and cushion its impact on farmers as the society has a processing unit where the produce could be stocked in cold storages," said Vijesh ER, a manager with BDS.



TOP OF THE WORLD



At a protest. AP

LEBANON

Hundreds injured as protests turn violent

Beirut: Almost 400 people have been wounded during running battles between Lebanese anti-government protesters and security forces in Beirut, rescuers said, the heaviest toll since the demonstrations erupted three months ago. More street rallies were expected later Sunday as part of the wave of popular protests that has demanded the wholesale ouster of the Lebanese political class, which the activists condemn as inept and corrupt. At least 377 people were injured — both protesters and members of the security forces — according to a toll compiled by AFP.

MYANMAR

Facebook sorry for Xi Jinping name gaffe

Naypyidaw: Facebook apologised Saturday for a distasteful mistranslation of Chinese President Xi Jinping's name from Burmese language posts during his much-touted visit to Myanmar. The automatic translation feature on Myanmar's Facebook page rendered Xi Jinping's name from Burmese into English as an offensive phrase. The error notably appeared on the official Facebook page of Myanmar's civilian leader Aung San Suu Kyi. Facebook said it was sorry and blamed a technical glitch.

AFGHANISTAN

Taliban killed six of family, says official

Kabul: Afghan officials said Sunday that the Taliban executed six members of the same family, including an infant girl, in a remote village in the country's north. The Taliban denied any involvement, saying the attack Saturday was triggered by a personal dispute. However, local Afghan officials said the family was accused by the Taliban of working in prostitution. The insurgents sentenced them to death for immoral acts, then stormed the house and opened fire, according to Jawed Bedar, a spokesman for Faryab province's governor.

NEPAL

Heavy snow hampers search for trekkers

Kathmandu: Heavy snow, chilling winds and poor visibility hampered the search Sunday for four South Koreans and three Nepalis caught in an avalanche in the Annapurna region of the Himalayas, officials said. Relatives of the missing Koreans have arrived in Kathmandu alongside several officials sent by Seoul to help with the emergency rescue efforts. Ang Dorjee Sherpa of Korean Alpine Federation said. The group was near the Annapurna base camp around 3,230 metres above sea level when the avalanche struck.

Royal rift: Harry, Meghan give up key title, forego state funding

MARK LANDLER  
WINDSOR, JANUARY 19

PRINCE HARRY and his wife, Meghan, will stop using their loftiest royal titles, give up state funding and repay at least \$3 million in taxpayer money used to refurbish their official residence at Windsor Castle under an agreement announced by Buckingham Palace on Saturday. The unusual deal, negotiated by aides to Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Harry and other senior family members, is intended to end a crisis that erupted 10 days ago when the



The couple will retain the title of Duke and Duchess of Sussex. File

couple abruptly announced plans to step back from their royal duties and spend part of each year in North America. However civil, the agree-

ment codifies one of the most dramatic ruptures within the British royal family since King Edward VIII abdicated the throne in 1936 to marry an American woman, Wallis Simpson. It is a spectacle that has enthralled and divided Britain, overshadowing even the country's impending departure from the European Union, and has provoked conversations around the world about race, privilege and tradition. They will continue to carry out limited duties on behalf of the queen and will retain another of their royal titles, the

Duke and Duchess of Sussex. Harry will also remain a prince and sixth in line of succession. But under the deal, the couple will no longer use their most exclusive titles "His Royal Highness" or "Her Royal Highness" because they will no longer be working royals. They will be allowed to earn money in the private sector, though palace officials said the duke and duchess had agreed that whatever work they pursued would "uphold the values of Her Majesty," a phrase intended to allay fears that they will overly commercialize their ties to the House of Windsor. NYT



PROTESTS SWELL IN IRAQ

Iraqi demonstrators block a street amid protests over the government's slow pace of reform, in Baghdad on Sunday. Reuters

Renewed violence in Hong Kong as thousands hit streets

JESSIE PANG & MARI SAITO  
HONG KONG, JANUARY 19

POLICE FIRED tear gas on Sunday to disperse thousands of anti-government protesters who gathered in a central Hong Kong park but later spilled onto the streets, briefly barricading roads and spray-painting buildings. Out in numbers before the demonstration began, police intervened promptly when the rally turned into an impromptu march. Several units of police in riot gear were seen chasing protesters and several arrests were made. A water cannon truck drove on central streets, flanked by an armoured jeep, but was not used. Organisers initially applied for a permit for a march, but police only agreed to a static rally

in the park, saying previous marches have turned violent. Once protesters spilled onto the streets, some of them, wearing all-black clothing, barricaded the roads with umbrellas and street furniture, dug up bricks from the pavement and smashed traffic lights. Police said in a statement two police community liaison officers were attacked with wooden sticks and sustained head injuries. They also said some protesters threw water bottles at some other officers who were conducting a 'stop and search' operation. "In view of the violent incidents, police officers have asked the organiser to halt the public meeting ... and urge participants to ... leave the area by public transport," the statement said. REUTERS



At a protest in Hong Kong on Sunday. AP

PEACE TALKS IN BERLIN

Haftar forces choke oil flow ahead of summit

ULF LAESSING & AYMAN AL-WARFALLI  
BERLIN/BENGAZI, LIBYA, JANUARY 19

FORCES LOYAL to eastern commander Khalifa Haftar have shut off production at all Libya's major oil fields, an escalation that threatened to strangle the country's finances and overshadowed an international peace summit in Berlin on Sunday. Haftar, whose self-styled Libyan National Army (LNA) is bearing down on the capital Tripoli with the backing of Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Russian mercenaries and African troops, attended the one-day summit in Berlin despite having abandoned talks over a truce last week. Turkey has rushed troops to



At the summit in Berlin on Sunday. Reuters

Tripoli to help an internationally recognised government resist Haftar's assault. Up to 2,000 fighters from Syria's civil war have also joined the battle, a UN official said on Saturday. For more than five years,

Libya has had two rival governments in the east and the west, with streets controlled by armed groups. Haftar, the east's most powerful figure, has won backing from a range of foreign allies for an assault to capture

80 Yemen soldiers killed in Houthi attack

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
DUBAI, JANUARY 19

MORE THAN 80 Yemeni soldiers have been killed and scores injured in a missile and drone attack blamed on Houthi rebels in central Yemen, medical and military sources said Sunday. Saturday's strike follows months of relative calm in the war between the Iran-backed Houthis and Yemen's internationally recognised government, which is backed by a Saudi-led military coalition.



The strike comes after months of relative calm. File

The Houthis attacked a mosque in a military camp in the central province of Marib —

about 170 km east of the capital Sanaa — during evening prayers, military sources told AFP. A medical source at a Marib city hospital, where the casualties were transported, said that 83 soldiers were killed and 148 injured in the strike. Death tolls in Yemen's grinding conflict are often disputed, but the huge toll in Marib represents one of the bloodiest single attacks since the war erupted in 2014 when the rebels seized Sanaa. The drone and missile strike came a day after coalition-backed government forces

EXPLAINED  
Closure of 'lifeline' seen as pressure tactic

HAFTAR'S FORCES control most of Libya's oil fields, giving him control over what the country's National Oil Company termed the "lifeblood of the Libyan economy". He had Friday blockaded eastern oil ports as well. Experts see these developments as a pressure tactic ahead of the Berlin talks. While some progress could be made at the summit, neither side in Libya appears willing to give ground, lowering the possibility of achieving anything more than a temporary ceasefire, if that.

Tripoli in the west, while Turkish support for Tripoli's effort to repel him has turned the conflict into a proxy war. Haftar quit a Turkish-Russian summit a week ago and escalated the conflict on Friday

when eastern oil ports were shut down. Libya's National Oil Corporation (NOC) said the shutdown was directly ordered by Haftar's forces and would cut oil production by 800,000 barrels a day. REUTERS

Of 20 Indians kidnapped by pirates, 1 dead, 19 released

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
ABUJA, JANUARY 19

NINETEEN INDIANS, kidnapped by pirates from a commercial vessel from the high seas off the western coast of Africa last month, have been released while one died in their captivity, according to the Indian mission here. Twenty Indian crew members were kidnapped from the vessel MT Duke in the high seas off the western coast of Africa on December 15. The High Commission of India in Abuja on Sunday tweeted that 19 Indian nationals were released on Saturday while one died in the captivity of the pirates in "adverse conditions". India thanked the Nigerian authorities for their assistance in the release of the abducted Indians. "Indian Govt and Mission gave highest priority and worked with @NigeriaGov on release of 20 Indian seafarers kidnapped on 15 Dec from MV Duke. 19 were released yesterday. One sadly died in captivity in adverse conditions. Our deepest condolences. Mission assisting in speedy return," the Indian High Commission tweeted. The Indian mission had taken up the matter with the Nigerian authorities and also with authorities of neighbouring countries.

'NO TO DICTATORSHIP'

RUSSIAN ACTIVISTS TAKE AIM AT PUTIN

More than a thousand activists of various stripes marched in Moscow on Sunday after President Vladimir Putin proposed re-drafting the constitution, unleashing political upheaval. Protesters, mostly young anti-fascist activists, chanted 'Revolution' and 'No to dictatorship' and some carried copies of the constitution

TRUMP TEAM ON IMPEACHMENT CHARGES

'Brazen, unlawful attempt to interfere with 2020 election'

Dangerous attack on the right of the American people to freely choose their president: Six-page response to House

MICHAEL D SHEAR & NICHOLAS FANDOS  
WASHINGTON, JANUARY 19



The Senate impeachment trial opens on Tuesday. NYT

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S legal defense team strenuously denied on Saturday that he had committed impeachable acts, denouncing the charges against him as a "brazen and unlawful" attempt to cost him re-election as House Democrats laid out in meticulous detail their case that he should be removed from office. In a 46-page trial memorandum, and additional 60-page statement of facts, the House impeachment managers asserted that beginning in the spring, Trump undertook a corrupt campaign to enlist a foreign government to help him win the 2020 election. He did so, the Democrats argued, by pressuring Ukraine to publicly announce investigations of his political rivals, withholding as leverage vital military aid and a White House meeting for the country's president. The president then sought to conceal those actions from Congress, they said, posing "a serious danger to our constitutional checks and balances". "President Trump's conduct is the framers' worst nightmare," wrote the seven Democratic

managers, led by Representative Adam B Schiff of California. In a six-page filing responding to the House impeachment charges, Trump's lawyers denounced the case as constitutionally and legally invalid, and driven purely by a desire to hurt Trump in the 2020 election. "The articles of impeachment submitted by House Democrats are a dangerous attack on the right of the American people to freely choose their president," they said in the response, which was Trump's first legal submission in the impeachment proceeding, ahead of a fuller brief that is due on Monday. "This is a brazen and unlawful attempt to overturn the results of the 2016 election and interfere with the 2020 election, now just months away." NYT

DEONOUNCING A PROJECT OF 'GENOCIDE, ETHNOCIDE AND ECOCIDE'

Tribes back manifesto to save Amazon from Bolsonaro

RICARDO MORAES  
XINGU INDIGENOUS PARK, JANUARY 19

LEADERS OF native tribes in Brazil issued a rallying call to protect the Amazon rainforest and its indigenous people from what they called the "genocide, ethnocide and ecocide" planned by the country's far-right President Jair Bolsonaro. A manifesto signed on Friday at the end of a four-day meeting in the Xingu reservation said Bolsonaro was threatening the

survival of indigenous people with plans to allow commercial mining and ranching on their protected lands. "The government is attacking us and wants to grab our lands," the document said, calling for a year of demonstrations and the support of foreign organisations and environmental activists. Bolsonaro has vowed to encourage economic development in the Amazon to lift tribes from poverty and improve the lives of 30 million Brazilians who live there. Environmentalists fear his plans



During the meeting in Xingu Indigenous Park. Reuters

will speed up destruction of the rainforest, which is a bulwark against global climate change. "We do not accept mining, agribusiness and the renting of our lands, nor logging, illegal fishing, hydroelectric dams or other projects that will impact us directly and irreversibly," the four-page document said. The meeting in the village of Piaracu on the Xingu river was called by Raoni Metuktire, the 90-year-old Kayapó chief who became an environmental campaigner in the 1980s with British rock singer Sting at his side.

The tribes said the Brazilian state under Bolsonaro had failed to fulfill its constitutional duty to protect indigenous lands and the surrounding environment. They also held the government responsible for the poisoning of the "air, soil and rivers". "We were convened by Chief Raoni with the goal of coming together and denouncing that a political project by the Brazilian government of genocide, ethnocide and ecocide is underway," the manifesto said. Bolsonaro's office declined to comment. REUTERS



# ECONOMY

CABLE LAID OUT IN PHASE ONE BEING REPLACED, CAUSING MORE ISSUES

## BharatNet phase two: Only 7.45% of 1.5 lakh gram panchayats service ready

AASHISH ARYAN  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

AFTER THE inordinate delay in the implementation of phase one of BharatNet, the second phase of the flagship project is also lagging way behind schedule, documents accessed by *The Indian Express* showed.

Under BharatNet phase two, against the target of providing last mile connectivity to 1.5 lakh gram panchayats (GPs), only about 7.45 per cent of these have been made service ready so far. As against a target of laying down 3.11 lakh km of optical fibre cable, only about 92,283 km of cable has been laid down as of December end.

Compounding the problem further, an estimated 19,952 km of optical fibre out of the 27,534 km laid by Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) under phase one is now being pulled out and replaced by new optical fibre, the documents showed.

The progress in states such as Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, and Odisha under BharatNet phase two is among the worst. The number of service ready GPs in these states has not even touched 1 per cent of the total 12,623 villages planned to be connected by March 2019. The four states have so far spent about Rs 950 crore, nearly 17 per cent of approved project cost, according to the documents.

PROGRESS OF VARIOUS STATES			
STATE	SERVICE READY GPs	FUNDS UTILISED	INITIAL TARGET DATE
Andhra Pradesh	0.2% (27)	20% (₹ 214 cr)	Oct 14, '19
Chhattisgarh	8% (472)	20% (₹ 362.19 cr)	Oct 13, '19
Gujarat	47% (3581)	50% (₹ 1,183.06 cr)	Oct 25, '19
Jharkhand	1.2% (19)	20% (₹ 108.10 cr)	Feb 29, '20
Maharashtra	0.8% (109)	20% (₹ 541.9 cr)	Nov 3, '19
Odisha	2.2% (65)	20% (₹ 84.57 cr)	Mar 29, '20
Tamil Nadu	NA*	NA*	NA*
Telangana	NA*	NA*	NA*
Madhya Pradesh**	9.9% (581)	—	Mar 31, '19
Sikkim**	0.00%	—	Mar 31, '19
Uttar Pradesh**	3.65% (702)	—	Mar 31, '19

*\*Data not applicable for Tamil Nadu and Telangana as no work has started there*  
*\*\*BharatNet phase two being implemented by BSNL. Fund utilisation data not available for these states*

While Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have already missed their revised work completion deadline of October and November 2019, respectively, Jharkhand and Odisha have 45 to 60 days to achieve their targets. In total, these states managed to lay about 25 per cent of the 1.32 lakh km of optical fibre needed to connect the villages and GPs under the second phase.

The project in these states is being implemented by private agencies in these states, instead of debt-laden Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL). That, however, has made little difference. In states where the project is being imple-

mented by state-run BSNL, the project timelines are further off. The state-run telecom company is in-charge of the project in Madhya Pradesh, Sikkim, and Uttar Pradesh.

In Madhya Pradesh, barely 10 per cent of the total 5,832 GPs have been made service ready, while not even a single village or GP has been made service ready in Sikkim and Uttar Pradesh West region. In the Uttar Pradesh East region, only 702 GPs of the total 17,032 that are to be connected are service ready so far.

All these regions have long overshot their target completion dates of March 31, 2019.

### EXPLAINED Little progress in phase two

WHILE PHASE one of the flagship project was plagued by implementation failings by nodal agencies, lack of detailed project report, dearth of funds and absence of implementing agencies have stifled progress of the second phase.

In all these regions, there had been little or no work between April and December last year due to the lack of funds with BSNL. On December 27, Bharat Broadband Network Limited cleared BSNL's dues worth Rs 770 crore, after which the work has resumed, albeit slowly, the documents showed. The revised date of completion of the project in these areas has now been set to March 31, 2020, "subject to availability of fund" to the project implementation agencies.

The lack of approved detailed project report, non-existent project implementing agencies, and non-availability of funds has been

attributed as the reason for the delay for most of these projects, according to internal documents of the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology accessed by *The Indian Express*.

In Assam, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand, the Centre has proposed to finish pending work from BharatNet phase one and start work on phase two under a public-private-partnership (PPP) model. The work, however, has still not started in nearly 1.25 lakh GPs in these areas due to lack of final approval to the proposed work structure and the viability gap funding.

The work for BharatNet phase two has not even started in Tamil Nadu and Telangana, owing to lack of agreements with project implementation agencies, the internal documents showed.

Overall, as of January 10, 2020, only about 1,33,300 GPs had been made service ready on both fibre and satellite against the target of connecting 2.5 lakh GPs under BharatNet, according to another set of documents.

The government had aimed to connect all GPs and villages in the country via BharatNet by March 2019. Though the government had initially planned to connect only one lakh GPs under phase one, it later increased its target to nearly 1.3 lakh GPs, which also delayed the completion of phase one, the documents showed.

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU  
NEW DELHI/CHENNAI, JAN 19

DECRIMINALISING CORPORATE laws, settling tax disputes and rapid privatisation of state-owned companies are among the measures the government is working on to put the country on the path to a \$5-trillion economy, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said Sunday.

The Finance Minister also said the government was working to remove criminal provisions, that relate to penalty and jail terms, in the Companies Act.

"I have gone through this with a comb. We are working to decriminalise companies and ensure no other Acts, including Income Tax and PMLA, have such provisions," Sitharaman asserted. She added the government does not want a law that treats every business house with suspicion. Sitharaman was speaking at the Palkhivala memorial lecture on 'Road map to \$5-trillion economy' in Chennai.

The minister also emphasised the need for quick resolution of pending tax-related disputes so that firms, especially micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), can get a new life in a technology-driven regime without the need for face-to-face interaction with tax administration.

She further said the dispute resolution scheme launched last year for indirect taxes had been a success and that the ministry would replicate the same for income tax cases.

"Nearly 95 per cent cases are



Express file photo

**"I have gone through this [Companies Act] with a comb. We are working to decriminalise companies and ensure no other Acts, including Income Tax and PMLA, have such provisions"**

**NIRMALA SITHARAMAN**  
FINANCE MINISTER

closed. About Rs 35,000 crore has been settled (for cases related to excise and service tax regime). The total value of cases was over Rs 2 lakh crore.

"There is another 5 per cent cases which didn't opt for the scheme, and they will be fought in courts," she said, adding that most MSMEs disputes have largely been sorted.

Acknowledging that the government had not moved fast on privatisation, Sitharaman noted that despite Cabinet clearances for sales of a list of government-owned companies, progress has been unsatisfactory. "Whether it's Air India or other companies, the process hasn't moved at all. Every time it moved forward two steps you had to take a step back," she observed.

Addressing the perception that bank officials are apprehensive of enforcement agencies, Sitharaman said the government has made it clear to the banks no genuine commercial decisions would be questioned.

However, she added government would not deter from tak-

ing action if clear evidence of wrongdoing was found.

The Finance Minister said the swiftness with which the new government brought clarificatory amendments to Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code was an example of facilitation measures the government required to undertake for a \$5 trillion economy.

Sitharaman, however, brushed aside criticism of demonetisation and said it was a necessary measure to suck the idle money out of the system. "The money was brought into the system and it ensured that the transactions could be registered formally. The collateral benefit was also seen in the rapid adoption of digital mode of transactions," she said. The FM also counted the newly created position of chief of defence staff as a measure that would contribute to a \$5 trillion economy. This, she said, would bring together cohesion and synergy among the defence force arms and help domestic industry in exporting sophisticated defence equipment and parts. **FE**

## ComMin looks to curb imports of liquor, cigarettes

BANIKINKAR PATTANAYAK  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

SOON, TRAVELLERS may get to lay their hands on only one litre of liquor, instead of two, and no cigarettes at duty-free shops at airports if the Commerce Ministry has its way. It has also suggested to the Finance Ministry that customs duties on as many as 300 products, ranging from footwear,

**It has suggested to the Finance Ministry that customs duties on nearly 300 products be raised, as part of a broader crackdown on "non-essential" imports**

furniture and TV parts to chemicals and toys, be raised in the upcoming Budget, as part of a broader crackdown on what it considers "non-essential" imports, official sources said.

Nevertheless, the Finance Ministry may raise the duties on just a limited number of items, as it has made it clear that any such hike will be effected only after the concurrence of the administrative

ministries overseeing these products, said one of the sources. As for the purchase of liquor and cigarette at the duty-free outlets, the Commerce Ministry feels this needs to be discouraged, as it only adds to "non-essential" imports.

Currently, only purchases above two litres of alcohol by a customer attract the usual basic customs duty (BCD) of 100-150 per cent, depending on the variety. Similarly, one can buy up to

100 cigarettes/25 cigars or 125 gms of tobacco products at zero duty beyond which a BCD of 100 per cent will kick in, according to a senior government official.

However, if the proposed curbs are finally implemented, they would hit the revenue of these outlets just when airport retail was supposed to take off in a big way in India, as liquor is the most sought-after item at duty-free shops. **FE**

## FDI hike in insurance: Management control among key issues for govt

GEORGE MATHEW  
MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

THE INSURANCE industry is expecting a hike in foreign direct investment (FDI) in the sector to 74 per cent from 49 per cent in the forthcoming Budget, as indicated by Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman last year. However, the success of a hike in FDI will hinge, to a large extent, on sorting out the ownership and management control which is currently under Indian promoters and investors, experts said.

Allowing 100 per cent FDI in the intermediaries sector while presenting the Budget for 2019-20, the Finance Minister had said the government would hold discussions with stakeholders to relax FDI rules in the aviation, media, animation and insurance sectors and ease rules for single-brand retailers.

Capital-starved insurance players are keen on a hike in the FDI to 100 per cent. The industry, which was liberalised in 2000, has now over 60 players but many of them are low on profitability and high on expenses.

When asked about his view on raising foreign investment in insurance sector from the current 49 per cent, Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority of India (Irdai) Chairman Subhash Khuntia had last week said Irdai had sought opinions of stakeholders on raising foreign holding to 74 per cent and comments received have been forwarded to the

government. "Now, according to the Insurance Act, 49 per cent is the maximum limit for foreign direct investment. If it goes to 74 per cent, naturally the Act has to be amended," he said.

However, he was non-committal on ownership and control. No decision has been taken, he said. Currently, the majority of board of directors, excluding independent directors, will have to be nominated by Indian promoters or investors. The chief executive will have to be appointed by the board or by Indian promoters and investors. Foreign investors can appoint a key management person but he/she will have to be approved by the board controlled by Indian promoters.

According to insurance sources, foreign players are unlikely to raise stake to 74 per cent and pump in money without getting more say in management. "Why would they invest more when the company is controlled by Indian investors and promoters," noted a senior official of a company.

Experts said the Centre's decision to review FDI cap needs to be made along with a revisiting of the Indian ownership regulations, to enable a fair playing ground with board control. "The FDI limit could be made 100 per cent, encouraging international players to set up in India and expand their footprint, with their own long-term strategies and best practices. However, adequate provisions will need to be made to safeguard Indian customers against the adverse effects, if any, of the FDI in-

ternational businesses," said RM Vishakhia, MD and CEO, IndiaFirst Life Insurance.

Many foreign insurers increased their stake in their joint ventures when FDI went up from 26 per cent to 49 per cent few years ago. Some of them have exited the Indian market as well. "If the FDI goes beyond 49 per cent, the most important question to answer is how we will balance ownership with control. Anyone investing beyond 49 per cent would want to have control, so the key question to be answered will be who owns control," said the CEO of an insurance company.

"74 per cent FDI in insurance companies makes more sense than 100 per cent FDI in insurance intermediaries. The inflow will be substantial compared to the insignificant inflow in intermediaries. The other expectation is the BoB-Dena-Vijaya Bank type merger of the three PSU non-life insurers. Doubtful if government will infuse capital but allow the company to raise subordinated debt for solvency requirements," said former Irdai Member KK Srinivasan.

Atul Sahai, CMD, New India Assurance, said the hike in FDI will bring in more technology and efficiency in the segment and boost insurance penetration. "This potential would surely attract many more players in the industry especially after the government's move to raise FDI for insurance intermediaries and to review FDI cap of 49 per cent for the India Insurance Sector," he said.

## CII: Announce convergence of all corporate tax rates to 15% in Budget


PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

THE CONFEDERATION of Indian Industry (CII) has urged the Centre to converge multiple corporate tax rates to 15 per cent by April 2023 without any exemptions, and make the announcement in the upcoming Budget to facilitate investment decisions.

"The Union Budget could announce a roadmap for convergence of all corporate tax rates to 15 per cent, with no exemptions and incentives, by April 1, 2023. A signaling to this effect could help further boost investor sentiment and encourage investments," CII president Vikram Kirloskar said.

## ‘Half of world economy dependent on nature’

Ahead of its 50th Annual Meeting, the World Economic Forum (WEF) in its Nature Risk Rising Report said businesses are more than dependent on nature with an estimated exposure of \$44 trillion or half of the world gross domestic product (GDP)



**25%**  
Share of world's assessed plant and animal species that are threatened by human actions, with a million species facing extinction, many within decades

**TOP THREE ECONOMIES WITH HIGHEST ABSOLUTE AMOUNTS OF GDP IN NATURE-DEPENDENT SECTORS:**  
China: \$2.7 TRILLION  
European Union: \$2.4 TRILLION  
United States: \$2.1 TRILLION

**\$44 tn**  
Economic value generation – over half the world's total GDP – which is moderately or highly dependent on nature and its services and,

as a result, exposed to risks from nature loss

**\$13 tn**  
Economic value generated by industries which are highly dependent on nature, i.e. 15 per cent of global GDP

**\$31 tn**  
Economic value generated by industries which are moderately dependent on nature, i.e. 37 per cent of global GDP

**THREE LARGEST INDUSTRIES DEPENDENT ON NATURE:**  
Construction: \$4 TN  
Agriculture: \$2.5 TN  
Food & beverages: \$1.4 TN

Source: WEF/PTI

## 50TH ANNUAL MEETING OF WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM AT DAVOS

## Trump, Merkel to attend; over 100 Indian CEOs to be present as well

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
DAVOS, JANUARY 19

AS THE rich and powerful from across the globe assemble this week in this Swiss ski resort town to discuss a 'cohesive and sustainable world', over 100 CEOs as also some union ministers and chief ministers from India would also be present. US President Donald Trump, Britain's Prince Charles, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Afghanistan's Ashraf Ghani and Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan would be among the world leaders attending the five-day 50th Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF) beginning Monday.

The WEF Annual Meeting 2020, from January 20 to 24, will focus on establishing stakeholder capitalism as a way of addressing

the world's greatest challenges, from societal divisions created by income inequality and political polarization to the climate crisis being faced by the world today, the Geneva-based International organisation for public-private partnership has said.

From India, over 100 CEOs as well as political leaders including union ministers and chief ministers will take part. Underpinning the meeting will be the Davos Manifesto 2020, a document that builds on the original Davos Manifesto of 1973, which set out for the first time the stakeholder concept that businesses should serve the interests of all society rather than simply their shareholders.

The Davos Manifesto 2020 sets a vision for stakeholder capitalism that touches on a range of important issues of our time, including fair taxation, zero toler-



A general view shows one of the conference rooms of the World Economic Forum annual meeting at the congress centre in Davos, Switzerland, on Sunday. Reuters

ance for corruption, executive pay and respect for human rights.

"Business has now to fully embrace stakeholder capitalism, which means not only maximizing profits, but use their capabili-

ties and resources in cooperation with governments and civil society to address the key issues of this decade. They have to actively contribute to a more cohesive and sustainable world," said Klaus

Schwab, WEF founder and executive chairman.

This year's programme focuses on achieving maximum impact on the Forum's platform for public-private cooperation across six core areas of activity: Ecology, Economy, Society, Industry, Technology and Geopolitics.

Among the initiatives to be launched at the Annual Meeting is one that aims to plant 1 trillion trees over the next decade and to equip 1 billion people with the necessary skills in the age of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Besides Trump, Merkel, Prince of Wales, Ghani and Khan, top political leaders taking part include Han Zheng, Vice-Premier of China; Giuseppe Conte, Prime Minister of Italy; Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission; Simonetta Sommaruga, President of the Swiss-

erland; Sebastian Kurz, Federal Chancellor of Austria and Ivan Duque, President of Colombia.

Leaders from international organizations include Antonio Guterres, Secretary-General, United Nations; Kristalina Georgieva, Managing Director, IMF; Roberto Azevedo, Director-General, WTO; Mohammad Sanusi Barkindo, Secretary-General, OPEC; Filippo Grandi, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Liu Fang, Secretary-General, International Civil Aviation Organization; Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Director-General, WHO; Angel Gurría, Secretary-General, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; Christine Lagarde, President, European Central Bank; Peter Maurer, President, International Committee of the Red Cross.



REGIME ON EDGE

# Iran’s leaders risk being overwhelmed by crises they created

The regime is facing pressure at home and from abroad

SO UPSET were they over the crash of a Ukrainian passenger jet that not one but two officials in Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), including its leader, said they wished they were dead. The IRGC, the regime’s Praetorian guard, shot down the plane by mistake over Tehran on January 8th, then tried to cover it up. The mea culpas came days later, after officials were caught in their lies. But the feelings of regret were short-lived. When thousands of Iranians took to the streets to voice their anger, the IRGC sent its bully boys to knock back the crowds; when the thumping failed to work, some opened fire.

Force has quelled previous protests, most recently in November, when the authorities killed hundreds of people. But the regime offers no solutions to the economic anxiety and political stagnation lying beneath all the anger. So it lunges from crisis to crisis, as the ranks of the discontented grow. Meanwhile pressure from abroad is rising. On January 14th Britain, France and Germany formally accused Iran of breaching an agreement, signed in 2015, to curb its nuclear programme. “We feel the system is on the brink,” says one protester.

In early January Iran had come together in national mourning after America’s assassination of Qassem Suleimani, its most prominent general, who was in charge of the IRGC’s foreign operations. But hours after the IRGC retaliated with missile strikes on American targets in Iraq, killing no one, its operatives in Tehran mistook the passenger jet taking off from the international airport for an incoming cruise missile. They shot it down, killing all 176 people on board. The dead included dozens of young Iranians going to study in Canada. For three days the Guards said a mechanical failure was to blame. Mourning on state television was muted. The official disregard contrasted with the huge funeral staged for General Suleimani.

The big protests in 2017 and 2019 started in provincial cities and featured mostly working-class Iranians. The latest unrest, by contrast, began in Tehran and has rippled outward. Students and middle-class Iranians have taken the lead. Some tore down portraits of General Suleimani and called for the downfall of the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Others mocked the IRGC’s attempt to deflect criticism by stirring up anti-American and anti-Israeli sentiment. At Shahid Beheshti University in Tehran, crowds refused to walk on giant American and Israeli flags that had been painted on the ground.

Prominent members of Iran’s nomenclatura have openly broken with the regime. Newspapers printed apologies for betraying their readers and promised to hold the authorities to account. “Officials who misled the media are guilty too,” tweeted Kian Abdollahi, editor-in-chief of the semi-official Tasnim news agency. “We are all ashamed before the people.” Gelare Jabbari, a television anchor, apologised “for lying to you on



A woman attending a candlelight vigil to remember the victims of the Ukraine plane crash talks to a policeman at the gate of Amri Kabir University in Tehran, on January 12. AP

TV for 13 years”. Artists pulled out of festivals. The only female Iranian athlete to win an Olympic medal, Kimia Alizadeh, announced her defection.

The regime now rests on a loyalist rump, which seems to be weakening. Several conservative politicians, such as Ali Larijani, the speaker of parliament, have announced their retirement in recent months. The rest have engaged in a blame game with more pragmatic types, such as President Hassan Rouhani. Hardliners have called for his resignation. Mr Rouhani, in turn, says that IRGC leaders should be prosecuted. The authorities say they have detained several people, but seemingly no bigwigs. One person was reportedly arrested for posting a video of the missile hitting the plane online.

Unrelenting economic decline, hastened by American sanctions, gnaws at the credibil-

ity of the government’s pragmatists and hardliners alike. The IMF forecasts that GDP will shrink by 9.5% this year. Economists say Iran must sell 1m barrels of oil a day to stay afloat, but it has exported at best half of that in recent months. Starved of funds, capital expenditure has all but ground to a halt. Printing more rials might stimulate the economy, but would also boost inflation, which is running near 40% a year. The economy “is like a man in his 90s with ten diseases laid flat in hospital”, says an Iranian academic.

Many of the ailments can be traced back to President Donald Trump’s decision in 2018 to pull America out of a deal that curbed Iran’s nuclear programme in return for relief from sanctions. Mr Trump wants a new agreement that also curbs Iran’s missile programme and its regional meddling. “Let’s replace [the old deal] with the Trump deal,”

adds Boris Johnson, Britain’s prime minister. Mr Rouhani has dismissed the idea and refuses to talk to Mr Trump. “Iran could have followed Mexico, which renegotiated NAFTA and benefited,” says an Iranian political scientist. “Even protracted negotiations might have kept Mr Trump in the nuclear deal and spared it sanctions.”

Instead the regime has challenged America and alienated the European signatories to the deal by lifting all limits on its production of enriched uranium, which can be used for nuclear energy or, if concentrated enough, a bomb. Its actions pushed Britain, France and Germany to invoke the deal’s dispute mechanism on January 14th—which could ultimately spell the end of it. America may have played a role in the decision. According to the *Washington Post*, Mr Trump threatened to impose a 25% tariff on

European car imports if the three countries refused to act.

For Iran, the status quo is untenable. But with his nuclear deal in tatters, his brother in prison (on charges of corruption) and his presidency ending next year, Mr Rouhani looks like a lame duck. Some Iranians believe the IRGC stands a better chance of changing Iran. Its strength has grown over the past decade, along with its role in the economy; it might be better placed to challenge clerical rule and make up with America. But a coup seems unlikely. The IRGC, now sullied, remains in the grip of the clergy. Each unit, from platoon upwards, has a clerical commissioner who vets promotions and reports directly to Mr Khamenei. The religious indoctrination of recruits has increased.

For his part, Mr Khamenei has not apologised for the plane crash, perhaps fearing it

would show weakness. On January 17th he is due to lead Friday prayers in Tehran for the first time in eight years. Expect his message to be uncompromising. He is likely to endorse the IRGC and warn that protesters will be treated as traitors.

Mr Khamenei may count on outlasting Mr Trump, who faces an election in November. In the meantime, he will rely on the IRGC and the clergy to smother dissent. The Council of Guardians, an appointed group of clerics and Islamic jurists, has barred 90 MPs, nearly a third of the parliament, from running for re-election next month. Most are moderates. In the words of one Iranian analyst, Iran’s clerics learnt from the shah’s downfall in the Islamic revolution of 1979 that a regime weakens itself when it starts to reform.

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## THE WORLD INTRUDES

# The Democrats’ debate in Iowa covers foreign policy at last

His challengers agree that Donald Trump gets it wrong, but they express real differences with each other

BEFORE LAUNCHING into a speech for the 30 or so Joe Biden-curious Iowans who had gathered in Ames on a frigid Wednesday evening in early January, John Kerry, the Democratic presidential nominee in 2004 and a secretary of state for Barack Obama, made sure to hug an old friend in the crowd: the gunner from his Swift Boat in Vietnam many decades ago. Soon after returning from that war as a wounded and decorated veteran, Mr Kerry had concluded that it was a pointless misadventure. In Iowa he worried that America was again on the brink of another disastrous war—this time with Iran.

President Donald Trump had ordered the killing of General Qassem Suleimani, perhaps the second-most-powerful man in Iran, eviscerating what little remained of the detente that Mr Kerry and Mr Obama had worked to establish through diplomatic channels. “We didn’t sit there publicly pissing and moaning and screaming about how bad they were and tweeting away and creating a storm,” Mr Kerry said.

This, Mr Kerry argued, is the reason to trust in Mr Biden, who, between his time as a senator and vice-president, has nearly half a century of experience in matters of foreign policy. More years, in other words, than Pete Buttigieg—another candidate vying to represent the moderate faction of the party—has had on Earth. His long experience is why Mr Biden thinks that foreign-policy debates

will help him.

Unfortunately for him, the race has focused largely on domestic matters. Foreign affairs have been relegated to one-off speeches. None of the four leading candidates has published a specific China policy on their campaign websites, for instance. All mightily agree to disagree with Mr Trump’s impetuosity and self-imposed crises—whether by launching trade wars, leaving the Paris climate accord or by alternately taunting and serenading Kim Jong Un of North Korea. General Suleimani’s death has changed that. On January 14th the candidates had their final debate before the Iowa caucuses, with foreign policy dominating. It revealed big differences beneath their superficial agreement.

Of the major candidates, Mr Biden is most keen on restoring the pre-Trump status quo. Reassuring NATO allies, rejoining both the Paris accord and the Iran nuclear deal and pursuing arms-control treaties with Russia rank high among his priorities. He is the candidate most in line with the Washington foreign-policy establishment, often mocked as “the blob”. Critics to his left have suggested this is hardly a mark of good judgment. They point to Mr Biden’s vote to authorise the Iraq war in 2002—resurrecting the issue for the fourth primary season in two decades.

But Mr Biden is not in the liberal interventionist tradition of Hillary Clinton. He dis-

agreed stridently with the secretary of state over the decision in 2011 to intervene in Libya. Though he would like to “end the forever wars in Afghanistan and the Middle East”, he is open, unlike some of his opponents, to leaving residual forces in Afghanistan. He would also like to increase arms sales to Ukraine.

Though voters may appreciate a return to the old ways, some breaks are more difficult to mend than others. The Paris accord would be simple to rejoin, but Iran might not be put back in the bag so easily. Great-power competition with China continues apace. Mr Trump’s norm-breaking around matters of trade—such as imposing tariffs on stretched national-security grounds—may embolden other countries to try the same tactics.

Both Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, the leading left-wing candidates, differ from the blob by framing foreign policy in the context of domestic projects. Mr Sanders sees international affairs in terms of a binary contest, between “a growing worldwide movement towards authoritarianism, oligarchy and kleptocracy” and his own egalitarian vision. For decades he has been a sharp critic of American interventions, particularly in Latin America.

Ms Warren views corruption as the well-spring of all problems, both domestic and foreign. Her analysis of global disorder, published in *Foreign Affairs*, blames both “end-



Democratic presidential candidates during a presidential primary debate Des Moines, Iowa, on January 14. AP

less wars” and the export of “a particular brand of capitalism, one that involved weak regulations, low taxes on the wealthy and policies favouring multinational corporations”, for America’s diminished standing in the world. In her view, reducing inequality can enhance stability internationally as well as at home.

Mr Sanders and Ms Warren are trying to overcome the somewhat artificial divide between foreign and domestic policy. This is sensible regarding competition with China—where infrastructure, education, research funding and industrial policy may matter more to long-term outcomes than any reshuffling of aircraft-carriers.

“It is easy to draw the contrast with the current president, who has no obvious plans other than dragging us closer and closer to

war in the Middle East,” said Ms Warren, when asked about her vision of foreign affairs after an event in Mason City, Iowa. “We need a State Department that is fully staffed up, we need to use our economic tools, and we need to work with our allies.” Ms Warren’s published plan to rebuild the foreign service—which Mr Trump seems to have damaged for years to come—is thoughtful and detailed. She has hinted at an enthusiasm for using trade policy to extract concessions on issues such as the environment, labour standards and human rights. Both she and Mr Sanders may agree with Mr Trump in keeping tariffs on China, for instance, though for less haphazard and more principled reasons.

The Democratic candidates may keep in lockstep in their denunciations of Mr Trump’s foreign policy, but the differences

between them are significant. And if Congress remains divided, their plans for America’s relationship with the rest of the world are more likely to be implemented than their domestic agendas, which tend to receive more attention.

Much foreign policy can be made by executive fiat. Overseas, adversaries and allies alike will find a change in the American presidency entails bumpier seasawing than ever before. “As Congress has become more and more dysfunctional, the presidency has taken more and more power,” says Daniel Drezner, a professor of international politics at Tufts University. “If you combine consolidated executive power with polarisation,” he adds, “it leads to schizophrenic foreign policy.”

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# TALK

ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD

## WEEK AHEAD



### Transporting Lives

AN EVENING With an Immigrant is a one-man theatre act written and performed by Nigeria-born Inua Ellams. The UK-based poet and playwright will narrate his tale of fleeing with his family to England at the age of 12 at British Council, 17, Kasturba Gandhi Marg, on January 20 at 5.45 pm. For details, contact 01204569000.



### Dual Influence

THE VIOLONS Nomades was born of the meeting between Rupam Ghosh, an Indian violinist, and Antoine Marhem, a French violinist oriented towards Eastern European music, and later joined by the vibraphonist Eric Navet and percussionist Antoine Morineau. They will perform at Alliance Francaise De Delhi, Lodhi Road, on January 23 at 6.30 pm. Entry is free.

### Life on Earth

WE ARE Still Alive: Strategies in Surviving the Anthropocene is a site-specific installation where artists Asif Waqif, Ravi Agarwal, Arun Kumar HG and Priyanka Chowdhary examine the consequences of human footprint on earth. At India International Centre, Lodhi Estate, January 20 onwards.

## SNAPSHOT



### A Full Plate

JEFF BEZOS (pictured) may have taken time off for some kite-flying, but given the main purpose of his recent three-day visit to India — drumming up business and re-committing to a top-priority market — his schedule was jam-packed with meetings. Sources at the Taj Mahal hotel, Delhi, where he was staying, said that he enjoyed meals prepared at their restaurants, Varq and House of Ming. Among the dishes they savoured were nadru kebab, shahi murg malai tikka, lamb pepper appam, beetroot galouti, bhathi prawn, and reshampatti paneer tikka among others. Given that his visit coincided with Makar Sankranti, he was also treated to til laddoos, gajak and rewri.

## LOST AND FOUND

Portrait of a Lady, one of the most revered stolen paintings that was discovered hidden in a wall at Ricci Oddi art gallery after 23 years, has been confirmed to be a Gustav Klimt piece from 1917. It has been painted on top of another Klimt painting of a young lady.



## ON THE LOOSE



LEHER KALA

## Licensed to Kill

### When a job is just a job

A PECULIAR situation has arisen in Tihar Jail, prior to the hanging of Nirbhaya's four rapists. The hangman Pawan Jallad has requested his remuneration, currently fixed at Rs 25,000 per hanging, be increased on account of rising expenses. Currently, Jallad, who has five daughters, lives in a one-room house in Meerut and receives a stipend of Rs 5,000 a month from the Uttar Pradesh jail administration, presumably for being an official executioner. "Sirf fansi se jeevan chal raha hai," he told IANS.

Jallad's humble request is a consequence of a simple life that didn't involve MBA classes in the slippery art of negotiation. Or he would have known he's in a pretty good position to dictate terms. The rarity of executions (under 30 in India since 1991), suggests zero career prospects for potential hangmen. Hence, there is a serious paucity of executioners.

At this point, it is not a stretch to say Jallad is one of a kind. As any HR executive will attest, if you are number one even if it's in a field of one, you can ask for whatever you want. It is a macabre task, slipping a noose around a neck, but someone's got to do it. Jallad's call to be compensated well, to do something nobody else wants to do, is perfectly reasonable.

Some years ago, Assam put out a nationwide alert for a hangman when a last-chance mercy petition from a convicted murderer was rejected by the President. It is remarkable that in a country where millions live below the poverty line, no one came forward to attempt this job and accrue the benefits of a monthly retainer, however paltry.

There is good reason that the post of an executioner in India appears to be an inherited one. For, where would a young applicant get the requisite work experience? You can't have a novice sending a man to the gallows and risk goofing it up.

There is a presumption that Jallad would have picked up some tricks of the trade from his grandfather, who hung notorious criminals Billa and Ranga and two of Mrs Gandhi's assassins. This grisly topic reminds me of when I accidentally ran over a squirrel and it ruined my day — it's unimaginable what deliberately taking another human life feels like. Personally, to me, a hanging should be confined to lurid scenes from *Game of Thrones*. Not because killing another living thing is a sin, there are people who have done truly terrible things to other people, and don't deserve to live. The issue is of human error and that we can't trust governments and judiciaries to condemn accurately.

It is probably a sign of progress, that the younger generations of even those who hail from executioner families have no interest in pursuing this line of work. That said, there is not necessarily a contradiction between someone following our pervading philosophy of karma, and being resolute about performing their duties, whatever they may be. It is foolish to have compunctions towards some morbid-seeming professions just because humanity thrives within a false state of civility. Actually, forms of justice may have evolved but haven't really changed since Biblical times.

Consider one of Shakespeare's lesser known plays *Measure for Measure* from the year 1604 that focuses on themes of justice, corruption and mercy and borrows heavily from the Bible: "For in the same way you judge others, you will be judged, and with the measure you use, it will be measured to you."

Even the Bhagavad Gita propagates active resistance to evil, once satyam (truth), ahimsa (non-violence) and brahmacharya (self-restraint) fail. Jallad's work is courageous. He carries the burden for the rest of the country to fear retributive justice.

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**It is foolish to have compunctions towards some morbid-seeming professions just because humanity thrives within a false state of civility**



# ‘Being minimal is harder’

Renowned contemporary dancer Astad Deboo on his learnings of 50 years, his upcoming ode to Gandhi, and expressing solidarity with students on the street

### SUANSHU KHURANA

ON A cold Delhi morning, a few men in a dance studio tucked away in Gol Market's Natya Ballet Centre, are busy protesting. They are not raising slogans or making speeches. These few men, dressed in t-shirts and loincloths, are dancing.

Astad Deboo, their mentor and the lead dancer of the production, looks on sternly as five young dancers slowly gather momentum along Andalusian classical musician Amina Alaoui's sonorous voice along with a sparkling flamenco guitar. One sees fluid arm movements and regal stillness. Soon, dressed in a white and blue striped shirt and beige trousers, Deboo joins in, leaving his black shawl with Kashmiri embroidery on the chair, and takes his stance in the centre. Barely stirring at all at first, he begins to move in slow motion, the movements so captive, they are almost trance-like. In a series of structured improvisations, one is drawn in, almost astounded by what he is trying to pursue. The piece is one from the four, which are a part of *Unbroken Unbound* — Deboo's recent production that commemorates 150 years of Mahatma Gandhi. The four pieces are based on Gandhi's four quotes, which come alive in the rehearsals.

"Nothing has saddened me so much in life as the hardness of heart of educated people," said Mahatma Gandhi once. It was a talisman that resonated with Mumbai-based Deboo, who decided to use it as one of the guiding lights in *Unbroken Unbound*. "I have been very disappointed with educated people. In my own journey I had a lot of trouble with people telling me what to do and what not to do," says Deboo, who adds that he wonders what to make of the harshness of people who are well-read, exposed to the world, able to appreciate nuance. "These kind of people really sadden me. They merely observe huge struggles without getting involved. The students are stepping out. Not just students, a lot of people have decided to not be a part of the

**I have been very disappointed with educated people. They merely observe huge struggles without getting involved. The students are stepping out. Not just students, a lot of people have decided to not be a part of the herd**

### ASTAD DEBOO



Astad Deboo (above); with the other dancers in *Unbroken Unbound*

herd. *Unbroken Unbound* is my way of showing solidarity with the students on the streets, who are raising their voice," says Deboo, one of the first few dancers to talk about the ongoing protests. "The dance community hasn't spoken up like the theatre community or the visual arts community. But they are aware. They may not have because of the political climate," says Deboo.

Another significant piece in the production is one that talks about inner and outer strength and how the former is what gives more courage. The dancers hold sticks and jump in the air defying gravity. The choreography is beyond technical prowess and show off. It's evocative and inventive. "Even the weakest can show huge reserves when the need arises. That is because it often comes, not from physical resources but from the will, which can be indomitable in the pursuit of a clearly-defined goal," mentions Deboo, who adds that the title of the production also represents his 50 years in dance. "My spirit is not broken, though I have dealt with rejection, resentment and more," says Deboo.

At 72, after half a decade of dancing, Deboo is now reconciling with the changes in his body. "The body is like a machine. As we grow older, we figure out what is breaking down. At the same time you are becoming aware of what your strong points are. I need to see how much can I push my body and push it in a way that I am still able to hold it and not look clumsy," says Deboo.

Age has also led him to minimalism — from the times when his dance was extremely vigorous to now almost in slow motion. "Being minimal is harder than sort of prancing around. That's been a gradual dissolve. With a much slower movement, I will take my real time and get you into it. The expression comes but in a very different rhythm," says Deboo, who in the past has been called out for twirling a bit much. "That comes from my Kathak tradition, not the whirling dervishes as stated sometimes," says Deboo.

Deboo grew up in a middle-class Parsi family in Kolkata and later Jamshedpur. He learned Kathak in Kolkata since he was six and later moved to Mumbai and graduated in commerce. His father wasn't keen on Deboo pursuing dance post graduation. So, in 1969, the 22-year-old young rebel boarded a cargo boat alongside many a goat and sheep and hitchhiked his way through Europe to eventually reach New York in 1974. "It wasn't easy," says Deboo, but various experiences of dance along the way in London and Iran among others prodded him to move along. Once in New York, he learned the Martha Graham technique at her academy. "It wasn't for me though. I didn't respond to it," says Deboo, who went on to train with German choreographer Pina Bausch in the Wuppertal Dance Company. He returned in 1977 and trained in Kathakali, under Guru E Krishna Panikar.

The training and his own vision of dance culminated into fine productions and collaborations — with puppeteer Dadi Padamjee, a slew of artistes from the Northeast, dhruvad duo Gundecha Brothers, and rock legends Pink Floyd among others. More recently, he worked with rudra veena maestro Bahauddin Dagar. "It's about the challenge of bringing in another discipline and that really excites me. I am always open to learning," says Deboo, whose music is a mix of everything — from Persian and Japanese to Indian classical and Andalusian tunes.

For the last 30 years, Deboo has also been working with hearing-impaired dancers. As a teacher, Deboo says, he is extremely strict, like his own teachers were. But with time, he is also not vociferously promoting his work. Deboo hasn't danced in Kolkata for six years. Delhi saw a performance by him on Saturday after two years. "I want people to see the dance, I just don't want to market it," says Deboo, who will present *Unbroken Unbound* in Bhubaneswar, Jamshedpur and Delhi in the coming months.

### BENITA FERNANDO

IN 2016, more than 5,000 displaced people perished while journeying across the Mediterranean Sea; 500 died in one shipwreck alone. Those who managed to reach land were often huddled instantly into space blankets as first aid to reduce hypothermia from the frigid waters. These emergency thermal blankets, originally developed by NASA for its space station Skylab, became synonymous with the refugee crisis.

Besides their practical use, they also look stunning, like gold and silver metallic foil. So stunning that they have been successfully turned into art material. Artist James Bridle made *A Flag for No Nations* (2016), in which an emergency blanket doubled up as a flag on the shore of Athens. The same year, Chinese dissident artist Ai Weiwei invited controversy by getting celebrities, including actor Charlize Theron, to don these blankets and take selfies at the posh Cinema for Peace gala. In a more poignant project from 2019, artist Giovanni De Gara covered the doors of seven churches in Naples with emergency blankets, indicating a golden land that has been denied to refugees. This year, artist Pallavi Paul uses the blanket, already invested with symbolic weight, in her new installation, *Far Too Close*.

Paul, 32, is a contemporary video artist based out of Delhi. She has extensively addressed socio-political themes using the moving image, text and installations and has been particularly preoccupied with the production of truth. *Far Too Close* is her most recent attempt at using history to comment on the contemporary. Her multimedia installation is part of a group show, called *Games of Chance*, which



(Clockwise from above) Shots of the installation *Far Too Close* Photos: Sunaparanta- Goa Centre for the Arts ; Pallavi Paul

# Sheltered by a Safe Space

Emergency thermal blankets and voices from the past come together in artist Pallavi Paul's latest work that comments on the 'authenticity' of citizenship

opened on January 17 at Sunaparanta- Goa Centre for Arts in Panjim. The show intends to "rip out those giant cushions resting safely beneath us and plunge us into the storms of unexpectedness", states curator Leandre D'Souza in her curatorial note.

In *Far Too Close*, Paul creates a dream-like scenario, with two videos that take visitors into the depths of the sea. In one video, a huge fish swims across. Despite the documentary feeling of the videos, these are not actual footage. "It's a mythical but familiar lone creature," she says.

For Paul, this simulacrum is as real as the question of "authenticity" in citizenship.



"Looking at what's happening around citizenship, there is an imagination of identifying the 'authentic' citizen. And documents have come to be at the centre of this. Thinking of how to

render it visually, I decided that the image of the sea would be the ground for this (idea) to unfold," she says.

A sea passage has been associated with discovery and new beginnings. It is equally associated with exile, slavery and death. Such hope and despair co-exist during a refugee crisis. Paul points out more paradoxes. She says, "Geologically and historically, the first claim on life is the sea. Yet, the deep sea is one of the most under-documented parts of the planet. The moment of origin is so completely opaque." Paul has used the words "sea is the first citizen" in one part of the installation, which she believes could be read as a poetic



Unstoppable England on brink of big win over SA

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
PORT ELIZABETH, JANUARY 19

ENGLAND TOOK 10 wickets on a rain-curtailed day on Sunday to move to the brink of a dominant victory over South Africa in the third Test and an unbeatable series lead.

The tourists crashed through the brittle South African batting line-up twice on the fourth day in Port Elizabeth. England first took four wickets for one run in less than five overs at the very start to bowl the home team out for 209 in its first innings after the hosts resumed the day on 208-6.

Then, England captain Joe Root led with a career-best four wickets with his part-time off-spin as South Africa, following on, slumped again to 102-6 at stumps in their second innings.

Root's young England team, half of which is under 25, was on the way to a landmark win. England is expected to see out victory on the final day on Monday and take a 2-1 series lead with one Test to play.

The South Africans were still 188 runs from England's first-innings score of 499-9 declared and faced a psychologically scarring defeat ahead of that series finale in Johannesburg. England have a chance to go to Jo'burg off the back of their heaviest defeat of South Africa in more than 100 years.

The only obstacle appeared to be the rain, which stopped play for more than three hours on Sunday and might return to frustrate England on the final day. Three of the first four days have been rain-affected.

"Don't (talk about rain)," said England fast bowler Mark Wood. "No. I'm concerned. I thought Africa was the sunniest place in the world. I am a little bit worried. "(But) If we have the same attitude tomorrow ... then I think we'll be in a good place."

Sunday's rain delay certainly didn't dampen England's fire.

England's fast bowlers ripped through South Africa first. Stuart Broad took three of the four wickets in a devastating early England spell to wipe out South Africa's first innings. That gave England a 290-run first-innings lead and Root made South Africa follow on. Broad took his three wickets in 16 balls. Sam Curran had the other one, and three of the four were convincingly bowled as South African stumps flew in all directions.

**BRIEF SCORES:** England 499/9 declared lead South Africa 209 (De Kock 63; Bess 5/51, Broad 3/30) and (following on) 102/6 (Du Plessis 36; Root 4/31) by 188 runs

'Rahul to continue keeping wickets, gives balance'

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
BANGALORE, JANUARY 19

INDIA CAPTAIN Virat Kohli on Sunday said the team will continue with KL Rahul as the wicketkeeper batsman "for a while" as he lends massive balance to the side just like his illustrious namesake Rahul Dravid did during 2003 World Cup.

Rahul has been in sublime touch with the bat and in the last two ODIs against Australia, also did a decent job behind the stumps in 2-1 series win. He kept the wickets here on Sunday even though Rishabh Pant had regained full fitness after getting concussed by Pat Cummins bouncer in the first ODI. "I think lack of clarity in position of positions has really hurt us in the past. Now that we understand that this feels right, we will go ahead with that for a while and figure out if this is the right thing to do or not. You cannot chip and change immediately and create confusion among the group," Kohli said at a media conference on Sunday with reference to No 4 conundrum during ODI World Cup.

"We are playing very well, unchanged team and did the job two with back to back wins. Don't see any reason why we should change this balance. It has done well for the team," making it clear that Rishabh Pant might have to wait a bit longer for his comeback in the playing XI.

Late entrant Veer's all-round show helps Colts win opener

SANDIPIG  
JANUARY 19

THREE YEARS ago, Siddhesh Veer posted on facebook: Siddesh=intelligence+ destiny. He was just 15 then, waiting for his board exam results. Cricketing dreams were just budding—he used to train a local academy in Pune just to keep himself preoccupied in his spare time. Three years later, those words couldn't have rung truer. For, he was not included in the first team list for the Under-19 World Cup announced in December. He wasn't expecting a call-up either because he hadn't played for the country since March last year, after failing to follow-up his 81 against Afghanistan U-19 in the quadrangular U-19 series.

Veer, though disappointed at the snubbing, didn't give up his hope. He posted another picture with the caption: Training hard, I believe in destiny. Then as fate had it, all-rounder Divyansh Joshi picked an injury and Veer got a New Year surprise. That day, he

VISHAL MENON  
BANGALORE, JANUARY 19

This was a match in which Rohit Sharma reaffirmed just how much he loved batting at Bangalore's Chinnaswamy Stadium. Barring a brief period of lull, the opener showcased his full repertoire of shots against the Australian bowlers, flaying them to all corners of the ground to register his 29th ODI century. He found support from his captain Virat Kohli, a local favourite, who helped himself to another half-century – a stroke-filled 89.

Together, their efforts comfortably eclipsed Steve Smith's commanding 131. This was also a match in which Mitchell Starc and Pat Cummins – arguably the two best fast bowlers in contemporary cricket on current form – were put to the sword by the flashing blades of India's rampaging duo. The end result was a comprehensive 7-wicket win for India that helped them seal the series 2-1.

Even before Rohit had walked out to bat to gun down the 287-run chase, social media had gone into a meltdown, showcasing clippings of his herculean 209, which he had scored against the same opposition at the same venue six seasons ago.

These days, whenever India's second-most popular cricketer is at the crease, no total looks ungettable, and no score unachievable. It's this sense of security that would have played in the minds of the team management when they had asked KL Rahul to partner Rohit during the chase tonight. The reason being the other incumbent opener Shikhar Dhawan had walked off the field earlier in the day after hurting his shoulder. "Dhawan was taken for an X-Ray and a call on his availability would be taken after fully assessing his condition," was the BCCI statement.

Even in his absence, they didn't have a reason to panic. Because they knew Rohit and Rahul would take them home. However, Rahul was not quite in his element tonight. He departed for a 27-ball 19 with the score reading 68/1 in the 12th over. There was still no reason to panic, because in walked Kohli. Over the past six years or so, it's the Rohit-Virat partnerships at the top of the order, which have fundamentally taken them past the finish line.

On Sunday night, a similar script would get played out in front of a packed Bangalore crowd. Kohli took his time to get into the groove on a slow pitch. Josh Hazlewood, making a comeback into ODIs after 14 months,

looked menacing with his pin-point precision and tight Test match lengths. Even Rohit struggled during this brief phase, in which he scraped through just a single off 19 Hazlewood deliveries. There were a couple of collective groans from the crowd and a gasp of anguish from the Indian dressing room, when Rohit went for an uncharacteristic cross-batted heave off Ashton Agar. But these would only be minor blips as India's most experienced pair hung on. They had played through more difficult phases in the past.

Starc expensive

Australia captain Aaron Finch brought on Starc for his second spell, and this is when Rohit and Virat decided to go on the offensive. The premier left-arm pacer had conceded 16 runs from the two overs in his first spell. He didn't fare any better in his subsequent spell either. He and Cummins were both guilty of bowling too wide. They got no help from this benign pitch that had no lateral movement to offer.

Barring Hazlewood and Agar, none of the Australians looked like breaching the two marauders in blue India jerseys. There was one particular shot from Rohit that stood out from his deluge of blistering stroke-play. It was a six smoked off Hazlewood that went sailing past the long-on boundary for a six. By the time Rohit departed – caught in the deep off Adam Zampa's bowling for 119 – India required just 80 runs from the remaining 13 overs.

Virat and India's No.4 Shreyas Iyer marched on without much fuss, peeling off the remaining runs with relish. Iyer played some out-of-the-world drives on the up off Starc and Cummins. Infact, the Mumbaikar smacked Starc for a one-handed six over the covers. That singular moment of brilliance just encapsulated a soul-crushing day at the office for the visitors. Iyer remained unbeaten on 44 as India romped home in the 46th over.

India team coach Ravi Shastri was beaming ear-to-ear after his team's performance. "This team, the boys showed great character. Nobody can say we played an inferior Australia side. We got a thrashing in Mumbai, and then to win two games, with all the travel, and with Australia winning all three tosses. We picked important wickets in the middle overs. Virat and Rohit batted well, and Shreyas will get a lot of confidence from this innings. If sides are looking to take us apart in the last 10 overs, then we have a lot of variety," he asserted.

VISHAL MENON  
BANGALORE, JANUARY 19

PRADEEP SAHOO, the 34-year-old leg-spinner from Bhiwani, roped in as Australia's premier net bowler, is now an integral part of their limited overs set-up for close to a year. He termed Steve Smith as a player with an insatiable thirst for training and intense love for batting.

"He keeps batting for hours at the nets. At times, the coach (Justin Langer) would have to literally drag him out so that others can have a hit. Even after training, if he is not particularly happy with something, he would go for another batting stint. Always keen to improve, he keeps probing you with questions all the time," Sahoo explained. Not long ago, Langer had talked about how Smith would shadow practice even in the shower. Smith is absolutely obsessed about batting. This manic obsession has helped the former Australia captain make a seamless comeback with ridiculous ease, following his year-long suspension from the game for his involvement in the Sandpapergate fiasco in 2018.

After plundering runs in the Ashes, the 30-year-old followed it up with a string of decent scores in the recently concluded Test series against New Zealand at home. Smith once again found himself amongst runs in the ODIs as well – notching up a commanding 131 in the series finale against India at Bangalore. His ninth ODI century and third



Rohit Sharma completed his 29th century in the must-win third and final ODI against Australia in Bangalore on Sunday. PTI



Steve Smith last scored an ODI century exactly two years ago, against Pakistan at Perth. PTI

against India, propelled the visitors to 286/9, after taking first strike. This century was special because it was his first in two years, incidentally his last three-figure knock also came on the very same day against Pakistan in Perth. He had come close at Rajkot when he was dismissed on 98 but on Sunday he crossed the three-figure mark.

Slow off the blocks

Despite the flourish in the end, Smith found it difficult to get off the blocks at the start. India captain Virat Kohli tried to exploit Smith's inherent weakness against the rising short-pitched deliveries, by employing a leg-slip and deep fine-leg. Smith almost fell

into Kohli's trap, after he had barely managed to fend off a brutish short pitched delivery first-up from Mohammad Shami – pulling it with great discomfort for a boundary. Following that false start, Smith would struggle to rotate strike, and looked fidgety with every passing over.

To compound the agony, he would also get involved in a horror mix-up that led to the run out of his captain Aaron Finch. Perhaps, the presence of Marnus Labuschagne walking out in the middle to replace Finch provided Smith with a semblance of comfort. The two share a great rapport. In fact, Langer calls Smith and Labuschagne as "master and apprentice."

It's not difficult to fathom why. Labuschagne got his much-awaited chance to reclaim his spot back in the Test squad during the Ashes last year after a vicious Jofra Archer bouncer left Smith with a concussion. Labuschagne has not looked back since, slamming four centuries earlier in the summer. This has enhanced his reputation no doubt, but he came to India for this 3-match ODI series with an aim to extend his glorious form and turn into an all-format run-scoring machine. On Sunday, the 25-year-old Queenslander took the pressure off Smith, by kick-starting his innings in singles and twos, interjected by the odd boundary. In only his third ODI, Labuschagne has given a great account of himself.

He is a compact player, who plays close to his body and knows precisely where his

ZIM START WELL

Zimbabwe dominated the opening day of the first test against Sri Lanka with the hosts reaching 189-2 at stumps on Sunday.

SCORECARD »  
India vs Australia

3rd ODI | Bengaluru | Toss: Australia

AUSTRALIA 286/9 IN 50 OVERS

D Warner	c Rahul b Shami	3 (7b)
A Finch	run out	19 (26b, 1x4, 1x6)
S Smith	c Iyer b Shami	131 (132b, 14x4, 1x6)
M Labuschagne	c Kohli b Jadeja	54 (64b, 5x4)
M Starc	c sub b Jadeja	0 (3b)
A Carey	c Iyer b Yadav	35 (36b, 6x4)
A Turner	c Rahul b Saini	4 (10b)
A Agar	not out	11 (13b)
P Cummins	b Shami	0 (1b)
A Zampa	b Shami	1 (6b)
J Hazlewood	not out	1 (2b)

■ Extras: (lb 14, w 13) 27  
Fall of wickets: 1-18 (Warner, 3.2 ov), 2-46 (Finch, 8.5 ov), 3-173 (Labuschagne, 31.3 ov), 4-173 (Starc, 31.6 ov), 5-231 (Carey, 41.4 ov), 6-238 (Turner, 43.6 ov), 7-273 (Smith, 47.1 ov), 8-276 (Cummins, 47.4 ov), 9-282 (Zampa, 49.2 ov)

■ Bowling:	
J Bumrah	10-0-38-0
M Shami	10-0-63-4
N Saini	10-0-65-1
K Yadav	10-0-62-1
R Jadeja	10-1-44-2

INDIA 289/3 IN 47.3 OV

R Sharma	c Starc b Zampa	119 (128b, 8x4, 6x6)
KL Rahul	lbw b Agar	19 (27b, 2x4)
V Kohli	b Hazlewood	89 (91b, 8x4)
S Iyer	not out	44 (35b, 6x4, 1x6)
M Pandey	not out	8 (4b, 2x4)

■ Extras: (lb 2, w 8) 10  
Fall of wickets: 1-69 (Rahul, 12.3 ov), 2-206 (Sharma, 36.4 ov), 3-274 (Kohli, 45.5 ov)

■ Bowling:	
P Cummins	7-0-64-0
M Starc	9-0-66-0
J Hazlewood	9.3-1-55-1
A Agar	10-0-38-1
A Zampa	10-0-44-1
M Labuschagne	1-0-11-0
A Finch	1-0-9-0

■ India won by seven wickets and with 15 balls to spare.

off-stump is. He brought up his maiden ODI half-century with a sublime on drive off Shami. He didn't carry on for a big haul – getting dismissed for 54, courtesy a sublime diving catch by Kohli. The third-wicket alliance between the master and apprentice yielded 127 runs, and if anything, it only helped Smith to settle down. He nurdled and grafted his way back into gaining utmost fluency. Smith had already taken his tally to 77 by the time Labuschagne had departed, and continued in the similar vein, crossing his personal landmark in the 44th over.

On his part, Kohli perhaps missed a trick by not asking his pacers to persist with the short-pitched stuff. Instead, they were perhaps guilty of bowling too much on Smith's pads. Following the century, Smith upped the ante, smoking an inexperienced Navdeep Saini for a boundary and a sensational wristy flick shot for a six. The beauty of his batting is the manner in which he manages to stay so deep in the crease, turning attempted yorkers to full-tosses.

He added 31 runs from his final 15 deliveries, but sadly for Australia, there wasn't much support from the other end. Once Alex Carey departed for a promising 36-ball 35, it opened up the floodgates for India. Wickets fell in a heap, leaving Smith with the arduous task of dragging the score past the 300-run mark. He couldn't. But through this knock, Smith once again underlined his intrinsic value to his team, and his insatiable love for batting.

Shaw smashes 150 off just 100 balls

Lincoln: Prithvi Shaw slammed a 100-ball 150 in India A's 12-run victory over New Zealand XI in the second practice game on Sunday, coming back from an injury in the manner that matched the hype around him. Eyeing a return to the Indian senior team, the 20-year-old Shaw struck 22 fours and two sixes during his blazing knock at the Bert Sutcliffe Oval. Shaw's knock will certainly excite the selectors as they pick the squad for the Test series in New Zealand. The first Test will get underway on February 21 at the Basin Reserve in Hamilton and the second match is scheduled to be played at the Hagley Oval in Christchurch, starting February 29. Batting first, India A were all out for an imposing 372 in 49.2 overs before restricting the home side to 360 for six. PTI



# Repeat win: India beat Holland, this time via the shootouts

**MIHIR VASAVDA**  
BHUBANESWAR, JANUARY 19

THREE DAYS before India last played the Netherlands prior to this weekend, in the quarter-finals of the 2018 World Cup, the then coach Harendra Singh was teaching striker Mandeep Singh some basics - trapping, positioning and such. Mandeep, who had a reputation of missing more goals than he scored, could not get a single thing right; and it reflected in the match, which ended in defeat for India.

Days later, Rupinderpal Singh had a heart-to-heart conversation with high performance director David John, with the defender, under-fire for an error-ridden World Cup, wanting to get clarity on his future in the team. Goalkeeper PR Sreejesh was not his reassured self; forward Lalit Upadhyay was out injured and winger SV Sunil, it seemed to many, was done.

A severe confidence crisis had swept the squad following second successive quarterfinal exit at a major tournament—Rio Olympics followed by a World Cup at home. And it did not help that some of the senior players were second guessing themselves and repeatedly accused of shying away from responsibility in crunch matches. A former India captain, now a selector, moaned about this even against hockey nobodies Russia after the Olympics qualifiers last November.

For Graham Reid, this was the biggest challenge because to make the formation he adopted for India work, it was vital that all these players clicked. India started the Pro League double-header against the Netherlands

using a variation of the 2-5-3 system. In the comeback win on Sunday - India, trailing 3-1, made it 3-3 in the last quarter and won 3-1 in the tie-breaker - Rupinderpal played as a sweeper back, meaning even a tiny error on his part would expose Sreejesh and Krishan Pathak, who played the second and fourth quarters. Captain Manpreet Singh plays in a position, centre-half, where almost everything goes through him.

Manpreet's peripheral vision is the reason behind most Indian attacks, which are most effective when he combines with speedy Sunil on the right flank or Upadhyay, who can dodge a player or two, just in front of him. And India, generally, are at their best when Mandeep is able to make a nuisance of him in the rival 'D'.

It's often up to these veterans - who are a part of Reid's leadership group - to execute the script that the coach writes, the rest, mostly, are supporting actors. And a big factor why India could eke out rare back-to-back wins over the Netherlands was because these players stepped up when it mattered - first on Saturday, when India won 5-2, and then again on Sunday, in a more dramatic circumstances.

In a span of 60 minutes, a bunch of them seemed to slip into the dark space in their minds, conquered their on-field demons and helped the team stage a remarkable comeback.

Upadhyay, who could do no wrong the night before, could not get anything right on Sunday in the opening exchanges. Twice, at least, in the first quarter he missed chances to score open goals, getting his positioning wrong and unable to make contact when all that was needed was simple tap-ins.



Vivek Sagar Prasad scored the second goal in the tiebreaker. HI

Rupinderpal had a horror second quarter - first conceding a penalty corner, from which the Netherlands scored a goal, and just 17 seconds later, straying out of his sweeper-back position to give the visitors a two-on-one situation with the goalkeeper, with Bjorn Kellerman easily beating Pathak.

In the fifth minute of the third quarter, Manpreet got involved in a tangle with Lars Balk near the half line. To muscle past the midfielder, Manpreet raised his hand and appeared to have hit Balk on the face. The South African referee, Sean Rapaport, sent Manpreet off for

remainder of the quarter. India were a man down and trailing 3-1. If not for Sreejesh - who was having one of his vintage evenings - this would have been a no contest. Their struggle was real, and the team's leaders were letting them down. But, for once, they were able to step up when it all - the match and reputations - seemed to be going rapidly downhill.

It wasn't anything dramatic that Reid or the players said to each other. Just a little bit of positivity, "In the past, we were very critical of each other if we made mistakes on field. That affected our confidence and we went into a

SCORELINE				
INDIA	3	HOLLAND	3	
Lalit Upadhyay	25'	Mink van der Weerden	23'	
Mandeep Singh	51'	Jeroen Hertzberger	26'	
Rupinderpal Singh	55'	Bjorn Kellerman	27'	
TIE BREAKER				
INDIA	3	HOLLAND	1	
Harmannpreet Singh	✓	Jeroen Hertzberger	✗	
Vivek Sagar Prasad	✓	Glenn Schuurman	✗	
Rupinder	✓	Thierry Brinkman	✗	
Gurjant Singh	✓	Mirco Pruijser	✗	
Akashdeep Singh	✓			

shell," Rupinderpal said. "In the last 2-3 months, we have been consciously working on this. Mistakes happen, but shouldn't dwell on it during the match. And it was up to us senior players to take responsibility for it."

Rupinderpal took charge at the back. The muscular, 6-foot-3 defender gathered himself and commanded the backline along with Sreejesh to stop Netherlands from scoring a goal when India were down to 10 men.

Once that was ensured, and Manpreet returned in the final 15 minutes, India had a swagger about themselves. India, to begin with, started playing more direct instead of sideways or backward. Manpreet, who did not fall once again for Dutch mind games, began to distribute the ball better. Mandeep and Lalit - who had scored India's opening goal - started

to run behind the Dutch defenders, giving the midfielders a target inside the 'D'.

Mandeep, dragged India back into the game with an opportunistic finish off a rebound to beat Sam van der Ven in the goal. It's something he did remarkably even on Saturday - converting the chances that fell for him, or making the goalkeeper work at least. He wasn't wasteful as before all weekend.

With five minutes remaining, India challenged the umpire's decision and asked for a penalty corner. India's reviews were another aspect that was refreshing - on Saturday, they got all six correct and on Sunday, too, the only time they asked for a referral, at a crucial stage of the match, they got it right. Rupinderpal, who had been far too one dimensional in the past, scored from the consequent corner with a wily drag-flick. He pretended to go to the top-right; then, just as the goalkeeper committed himself to that direction, he changed the position of his wrist and flicked it down the middle. With that artful deception, India's comeback was complete.

In the tie-breaker—Pro League's format is such that a result is mandatory for all games—Sreejesh denied three Dutchmen while Vivek Sagar Prasad, Gurjant Singh and Akashdeep Singh converted. In long run, in an Olympic year, the results over the weekend may not mean much. But for Reid, the biggest takeaway would be his key players are growing in confidence. The only question remains is if they can repeat the same in high-stakes matches, under a lot more pressure. Like that 2018 World Cup quarterfinal, which a triggered confidence crisis in first place.

## ROUND-UP

### Big guns fire for Bengal

**Kalyani:** Seasoned players Manoj Tiwary (unbeaten 156) and Shreevats Goswami (95) helped Bengal recover from a shaky start and put up 366 for five against Hyderabad on Sunday. The hosts need an outright win to keep their qualifying hopes alive but found themselves 3/60 at one stage. Tiwary put on two big partnerships - with Anustup Majumdar and Goswami - to take Bengal out of a tricky spot.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Bengal 366/5 in 90 overs (Manoj Tiwary 156 batting, Shreevats Goswami 95, Anustup Majumdar 59) vs Hyderabad.

### Perfect day for TN

**Chennai:** Ravichandran Ashwin and M Siddharth took four wickets each as Railways, after electing to bat first were bundled out for a mere 76. Only three visiting batsmen could reach double figures. In reply, a hundred by Abhinav Mukund and half-centuries by Dinesh Karthik and Laxmesha Suryaparakash ensured Tamil Nadu had a 160-run lead with six wickets in hand after a day's play.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Railways 76 all out in 39.1 overs (R Ashwin 4/26, M Siddharth 4/32) vs Tamil Nadu 236 for 4 in 53 overs (Abhinav Mukund 100, Dinesh Karthik 57 batting, L Suryaparakash 50)

### Jackson is Saurashtra's hero

**Indore:** Cheteshwar Pujara didn't get a big score but Sheldon Jackson made up for it as Saurashtra recovered from an iffy start to reach 295/8 against Madhya Pradesh.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Saurashtra 295/8 (Sheldon Jackson 143 not out, Cheteshwar Pujara 47; Gourav Yadav 4-84) vs Madhya Pradesh

### Merai to the rescue

**Valsad:** Bhargav Merai played a lone hand as Gujarat recovered from 40/3 to end the day at 277/9 against Punjab. For the visitors, Sidharth Kaul and Baltej Singh took four wickets each.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Gujarat 277/9 (Bhargav Merai 130; Siddharth Kaul 4/57, Baltej Singh 4/62) vs Punjab

#### SANDIPG

NEW DELHI, JANUARY 19

SHADES OF grey might be crowding his neatly-trimmed beard, the movement on the field might be slackened, the shoulders and back might be aching a bit more, a few wrinkles might be creeping underneath the eyes, but into the 24th year of domestic cricket, Wasim Jaffer still bats in the same unhurried manner as he always had in his career. As if he has weathered the vagaries of time, as if he has still plenty of time left in his career.

Time, he has plenty, when essaying his strokes. When his younger peers - some of them aged less than the span of his competitive career - seemed bereft of time in facing Ishant Sharma, Simarjeet Singh and Khulwant Khejroliya on a surface that abetted movement and some pace, Jaffer was scarcely hurried into his strokes, barely beaten by movement or bounce. It was the day an old-stager made the impressionable youngsters look inadequate, in terms of quality, grit and style. The numbers the day spat out put his 83 into perspective - 14 wickets fell, with Vidarbha bowled out for 179 and Delhi reeling at 41/4 in response, when the second highest score was 16, when only five other batsmen entered double figures.

Remarkably, he not only batted effortlessly but also made it sound effortless. Almost de rigueur. "You expect such conditions in the North in winter. When someone like Ishant is bowling, you need to be careful," he dismissed the query on the pitch, almost disdainfully. Certainly, for someone as well-travelled as him, weather or pitch or bowlers wouldn't excessively bother him. After all, he's opened in Lord's and Cape Town, in Perth and Bridgetown, against Dale Steyn and Shaun Pollock, Mitchell Johnson and Brett Lee, has scored hundreds in South Africa and West Indies and played club and county cricket for two decades. The Kotla weather might have been eerily reminiscent of his days in West Yorkshire, when he plied for Schoes CC and Skelmanthorpe. Cold, blustery days when the wind blows relentlessly onto your face. It's in England where he picked the habit of wearing full sleeves and button-up the shirts too.

The bowling, clearly, would have been testier. But deceptive as Ishant and Co might be, they couldn't make Jaffer feel his age, barring a couple of times they managed to draw the edge and when Ishant late-in-swing duped him eventually. But until the sun that had shone sublimely all day began to cast its early evening shadows, Jaffer was infallible, treating those in the stadium as he always treated them, with an array of beguiling drives, back-foot punches and flicks. Particularly stout about a back-foot punch off Simarjeet, so sweetly-

executed that even the bowler watched the ball reach the ropes in awe. A back-of-length delivery that cut back sharply into Jaffer, he just shifted the weight onto the back-foot, opened the face of the blade and just punched it through extra cover, showing a minimalism of technique that's fundamental to his batting.

Later, there were a couple of gorgeous leg-glances too. Ishant was deliberately making him play across in the hope that he would miss one. He placed a squarish fine-leg to cut the boundaries too. But Jaffer would glide the ball so deftly that it sped too fine off his bat for the fielder to make a last-gasp block.

Ishant-Jaffer duel, nonetheless, was engrossing. Initially, he served him a good-length course, hoping for the nick. But Jaffer either defended resolutely or drove through covers. He changed the menu to short balls, which Jaffer expertly ducked or pulled. Ishant then started bowling fuller at stumps, anticipating that Jaffer would miss one of his delicious flicks. He then switched to bowling full and wide, just in case Jaffer felt tempted to reach for those - he is not particularly fond of leaving the balls.

The most noteworthy aspect of his batting is that he hasn't massively altered it in all these years. Batsmen, when they age, are prone to tinkering, they become more abstinent and mindful, so much so that they sometimes become an entirely different batsman. But Jaffer remains the same as he was when first burst into the scene - tranquil and laidback, quick hands and twinkling feet, graceful and gritty.

Definitely, it might not be as easy as he makes it appear. Admits Jaffer: "I do a lot of work behind the scene, like spending more time in the gym and keeping myself in good shape. But I believe it's my motivation that keeps me going."

Milestones do give a kick - you complete one, another awaits you. But he has collected everything domestic cricket can offer him - a dozen Ranji titles, highest run-getter in Ranji, most first-class (non-Tests) runs by an Indian, most catches by an outfielder, most hundreds to list the major ones. Jaffer says the motivation is the quest for a hat-trick of Ranji titles, which Mumbai had managed last from 1975 to 1977. "It's a big motivation, it's the reason why a lot of us including the coach stayed back for a year." A really good season could see him complete 20,000 runs in first-class cricket too.

Maybe, the milestones references are just an excuse to remain attached to the game for as long as he can. Or maybe, it's the sheer fear of quitting a game he has devoted most of his life to. "I will quit when I feel I'm a burden to my team." On the evidence of his Kotla knock, he is far from a burden, but still a shining light.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Vidarbha 179 (Jaffer 83, Simarjeet Singh 4/39, Ishant Sharma 3/45). Delhi 41/4 (Aditya Thakare 4/14).



Jaffer was the only batsman to cross 20 on the first day of Delhi-Vidarbha Ranji Trophy match at Kotla. Premnath Pandey

# Captain Nath hits an UPlifting century

#### DEVENDRA PANDEY

MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

DAY ONE for Uttar Pradesh team in Mumbai threw some challenges. First, it was the commute to the Wankhede Stadium as the bus driver couldn't reach the team hotel in time as he was stuck in a traffic jam due to the Mumbai Marathon. The hotel had to make last-minute travel arrangements and Mumbai Police escorted the UP team to the venue.

Then, they were staring at a hole at 3 for 48 pretty early in the game. It was then that their captain Akashdeep Nath who drove them out of the perilous situation, along with Rinku Singh, to safety on the opening day's play. Batting first after winning the toss could always be a gamble but Nath seemed ready for it. On paper both the team aren't as strong and both are going through a transition phase.

When the three wickets tumbled, Nath didn't go into a defensive mode, opting instead to counterattack his way out of trouble. He set the tone for the game with a flurry of bound-

aries and UP shot to 101 for 3 by lunch. Being the lone senior face in the batting line, he had to step up and he did that in some style. Nath dealt in boundaries most of the time. His fifty had ten fours and a six. His ability to counter attack worked and Mumbai bowlers had no answer to stop him. Nath along with Mohammad Saif added 96 for fourth wicket and the stand gave them much needed stability in the middle.

The left-handed batsman Saif tried his best to stay on the crease. He tried to pull left-arm seamer Royston Dias but found the edge behind on the leg side and Aditya Tare took a simple catch. It certainly bought some relief to Mumbai but little did they expect sterner challenges ahead. Singh has been UP's prolific scorer since last season and his ability to hit and the confidence in carrying out his game plan has helped UP in tricky scenarios in the past.

Mumbai tried but it was their spinners who let them down. Shams Mulani, who has been the main left arm spinner had a dull day at the office. He couldn't get his lines right and

though there was some assistance to spin on the pitch, Mulani found it tough to get the much-needed bite.

Nath continued to march on imperiously, stepping out and driving the off-spinner Shashank for four at mid-wicket followed by a late cut for another boundary to reach his hundred. If Nath was the marathon man, Singh was his pace setter and soon reached his fifty. They added unbeaten 137 runs with UP ending their day at 281 for 4 at stumps.

Later in the day the UP skipper talked about how he decided to go after the bowlers. "This innings is certainly the best I have played recently. The ball was coming nicely, so I thought it's better to play some shots. Those quick runs helped because it's always good to see scoreboard reading 100 for 3 than some 70 for 3 in the first session. I didn't want the bowlers to take advantage of the situation, so I just played my shots," Nath said. For Nath the half marathon is over, he will now eye for some more big runs on day two.

**BRIEF SCORES:** Uttar Pradesh 281/4 (Rinku Singh 71 not out) vs Mumbai.

# Sporting versions of the ‘fastest shoes’, top three break course record

#### SHAHID JUDGE

MUMBAI, JANUARY 19

BY THE 30 km mark, a new course record was on the cards. And so it happened, when Ethiopia's Derara Hurisa stormed down the last 1000m stretch to break Gideon Kipketer's four-year old course record at the Mumbai Marathon by 26 seconds, setting a new mark of 2:08:09. But it wasn't just Hurisa who bettered Kipketer's old standard (2:08:35) - the first three international men's athletes bettered that mark, and all three wore a variant of the Nike Vaporfly, adding to the list of course records and personal bests that have come by athletes wearing those shoes.

In fact, this was to become what marathon commentator Tim Hutchings rated the fastest edition of the Mumbai Marathon after seven men's runners finished inside the 2:10:00 hr mark, and all seven runners seemingly sported a pair of the Vaporflys.

Even women's winner Amane Beriso was seen sporting a lime-green selection when she fell short of breaking the women's course record by a mere 18 seconds. Curiously enough though, when the winners walked into the press briefing after their races, they sported an Adidas tracksuit and matching shoes. "I misplaced my (Adidas) shoes while travelling to Mumbai earlier this week," Hurisa, who was running his first ever marathon, said through a translator. "I don't have a contract with Adidas, so I borrowed this pair from my friend Abraham Girma, who was also running. I only wore the shoes for the first time yesterday."

Beriso in turn explains that since she has not competed in 15 months due to injury, she has no contract with Adidas, and that she wasn't wearing the Vaporfly shoes, although was seen wearing a Nike selection. The athletes may not have had sponsors and were free to wear gear of their choice. But the Vaporfly has become the shoe of choice. The American sportswear giant had first introduced the shoe-



Ethiopia's Derara Hurisa timed 2:08:09, to set a course record. Ganesh Shirsekara

type as part of an experiment to see if it could enable a runner to pass the seemingly impossible task of running the length of a marathon in under two hours. On October 12, Nike

armed Olympic champion Eliud Kipchoge with a specially modified prototype of the shoe and controlled the elements at a course designed in Vienna. Kipchoge responded by

clocking a historic 1:59:40 hrs. A day later, wearing the Vaporfly's, Brigid Kosgei broke Paula Radcliffe's 16-year-old women's world record. It caused a ripple effect and suddenly, more runners - professionals and amateurs alike - grew desperate to use the shoes. In turn, athletes wearing the shoes have been breaking course records and setting their own personal bests. "Of course the shoes help, just like if you're in a fast boat, you're faster than if you were in a slow boat," said Mumbai Marathon's elite athlete coordinator Daan Haag.

#### Udeniable market

The popularity of the shoe has been undeniable. In the first week of January, Japan holds the annual Hakone Ekiden event - a relay two-day marathon held between around 10 colleges in Japan. It is considered one of the most watched road races in the island-nation, and in the 100th year edition of the event two weeks back, over 84 percent of the runners wore a pair of the Vaporfly shoes based on statistics

shared by Ekiden News and reported by Bloomberg. The report further claimed that seven athletes wore Asics shoes compared to the 51 from 2019, and nine wore Mizuno shoes as opposed to the 24 from last year. In the last week however, Nike's rivals have been buoyed by news that World Athletics is reviewing the shoe and may potentially ban the shoes from competitive events.

In that case, Hutchings is wary of the impending fiasco. "They are going to have to go back on performance charts and lists and rankings on every race. Athletes are going to have to own up or (World Athletics are) going to have to go through videos to look at the athletes' shoes. This will effect national and world records, it'll effect bonuses. Then if they set new national or world records and get bonuses, those records, in my opinion haven't been genuinely earned," he added.

As of now, the course record at the Mumbai Marathon has been bettered, until further notice.



# Nadal, Djokovic will pass me: Federer

Federer, 38, believes nearest contemporary rivals will overtake his Grand Slam haul

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
JANUARY 19

ROGER FEDERER, for one, figures questions about whether Rafael Nadal or Novak Djokovic — or both? — will surpass his men's record for most Grand Slam singles titles are moot.

That's because he's sure it's going to happen. And he's OK with that. Ending up in third place, Federer insists, would be just fine.

"I think the way it's going, obviously, Rafa and Novak will win more," Federer said during a recent interview in the city he uses as his pre-season training base, "because they're that good. And the season they had (in 2019), again, shows that there is more to come for them."

He didn't say this with a wistful sigh or a disappointed glance at the floor or a trace of regret. That's just the way he sees things at the moment. Entering the Australian Open, scheduled to begin on Monday in Melbourne, Federer leads the list with 20 majors, followed by Nadal with 19, then Djokovic with 16. So as soon as the end of this tournament, Nadal could pull even with Federer for the first time. Whether or not it truly matters who comes out on top when all is said and done, everyone is going to be paying attention to how it shakes out.

Including Federer, who surpassed Pete Sampras' old standard of 14 a decade ago. Don't mistake an honest outlook for disinterest. "I guess you do care, to some extent, just because it's normal," Federer said, then mentioned how much it meant to him that Sampras was sitting in the Centre Court stands for No. 15.

"I looked up to him so much that I felt, also, uncomfortable maybe, sometimes, breaking his records. It's not something I ever wanted to do. It just happened to be like this. But of course I knew it was a big, big-time moment in our sport. And I think those are the moments you will remember," Federer said. "Now, at the end, if somebody else would pass you, I mean, I guess it's OK, because that's what sports is all about. It's a lot about numbers. It's a lot about records. But I had my moment and I always said everything that comes after 15 was, anyway, a bonus. And especially after the knee injury (in 2016), everything that came after that was a bonus. I would have taken one more Slam, and I was able to get three more..."

Nadal, currently No. 1 in the ATP rankings, and Djokovic, who is No. 2 ahead of Federer, each took home two major trophies last season. Djokovic won the Australian Open (beating Nadal in the final) and Wimbledon (beating Federer in the final after saving two championship points). Nadal won at Roland Garros (beating Federer in the semifinals) and the US Open (facing neither of the other two).

"I always say the same: I would love to be the one who wins more," Nadal said, "but I am not thinking (about it) and I'm not going to practise every day ... for it." After his seventh championship in Australia, Djokovic said: "I do want to definitely focus myself on continuing to improve my game and maintaining the overall well-being that I have - mental, physical, emotional - so I would be able to compete at such a high level for the years to come, and have a shot at eventually getting closer to Roger's record." Federer's most recent Grand Slam win arrived at Melbourne Park in 2018.

He is 38, an age at which no one has won a Slam title in the professional era; he doesn't feel compelled to quit anytime soon. Still, time is certainly on the side of Nadal, 33, and Djokovic, 32. "I honestly think it's going to be quite exciting to see how much longer can they go. How much more can they win? They might have some more incredible years ahead of them. That's my assumption," Federer said. "It's a bit of a golden time for tennis right now, no doubt." Also of particular interest, of course, is when a new face will emerge from the crop of 20-somethings who have been rising in the rankings. There hasn't been a first-time male champ at a major since 2014. Ask Federer to name names, and he offers several, calling them "that whole group of guys."



Entering the Australian Open, scheduled to begin on Monday in Melbourne, Roger Federer leads the list with 20 Majors, followed by Rafael Nadal with 19, then Novak Djokovic with 16. *Reuters*

## The Russians are here

A troika of youngsters from Russia are making rapid strides on the big stage, and are likely to give some big names a tough time in Melbourne

WHO WILL take over the mantle from the Big 3? Many would be sick of this question even as Novak Djokovic, Rafael Nadal and Roger Federer are the three names at the top of the Australian Open seedings and are the men to beat. The likes of Alexander Zverev and Dominic Thiem have not managed to get across the line in Grand Slams yet.

While not more than one dominant player emerging from one country, the emergence of a talented and exciting batch of Russians could be one to keep an eye on. It could provide a parallel to the Russian surge in the women's game in the first decade of this century when the likes of Maria Sharapova, Svetlana Kuznetsova, Anastasia Myskina, Elena Dementieva and Dinara Safina burst on to the scene.

### A LOOK AT THE NEW RUSSIANS ON THE BLOCK:



**DANIIL MEDVEDEV** showed last year what he is capable of, reaching the final of the US Open, where he gave Nadal all he could handle before going down, and going on a great streak in the second half of the season. His hard-hitting baseline game is potent enough to win a Grand Slam, especially on hard courts. At No. 4, the 23-year-old is the highest-ranked player outside the Big Three.

**KAREN KHACHANOV** reached the last eight of the French Open last year. But had signalled his arrival winning the Paris Masters 1000 title, beating Zverev, Thiem



and Djokovic in the final three rounds. His aggressive baseline game, potent groundstrokes and strong serve provide a combination that can challenge for the sport's biggest honours in times to come.

However, the 23-year-old needs to polish his net game, improve his backhand and strengthen his defensive skills if he has to take the next step up. Being 16th seed, he can be a major stumbling block for Nadal if both make it to the fourth round.



**ANDREY RUBLEV** is a year younger than his two compatriots, but has already tasted success in the new year, winning Doha and Adelaide, the first man since 2004 to have two titles in the bag before arriving in Melbourne. He has been having good results since 2017, when he reached the quarterfinals of the US Open, beating Grigor Dimitrov and David Goffin on the way before losing to Nadal. He also reached the final of the ATP Next Gen Finals, going down to Hyeon Chung.

After a lacklustre 2018, his most eye-catching result of 2019 came in Cincinnati where he humbled Federer in straight sets, the Swiss legend's quickest loss in a decade and a half. Rublev was unseeded at the US Open but beat fancied names such as Stefanos Tsitsipas and Nick Kyrgios to reach the last 16. **ENS**

### Lampard wants a new striker

FRANK LAMPARD admitted he wants to sign a new striker after Newcastle damaged Chelsea's bid for a top-four finish in the Premier League with a dramatic 1-0 win at St James' Park on Saturday. But Lampard's side were unable to muster the cutting edge required to break down stubborn Newcastle and fell to Isaac Hayden's header with just 20 seconds left.

Chelsea's first defeat in four league matches leaves them five points clear of fifth-placed United and Lampard is growing tired of his team's struggles against defensive opponents. "We know we have problems at the top of the pitch in terms of we don't get enough goals. If you don't score you are always liable for a sucker punch and they got it," Lampard said. "If we are looking for people to bring in to the areas to win games when you are controlling it, it is scoring goals. We can't work anymore in training on finishing. You need to have that killer instinct in front of goal. We need to score more goals from front-line areas if we are going to get to where we want to be."

**POINTS TABLE:** 1. Liverpool (64), 2. Manchester City (48), 3. Leicester (45), 4. Chelsea (39), 5. Man United (34), 6. Wolverhampton (34)



## ‘GAVE BLOOD FOR THE LAND, NOT PAPERS’

East Bengal fans unfurl a banner, protesting the National Register of Citizens (NRC) during the Kolkata derby against Mohun Bagan at Salt Lake Stadium on Sunday. 'Rokto diye kena mati, kagoj diye noy' (gave blood for the land, not papers)', says the banner. *Express*

## Bagan ride on pluck to beat East Bengal

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
KOLKATA, JANUARY 19

MOHUN BAGAN, who will join Indian Super League from next season as a merged team with ATK, beat arch rivals East Bengal 2-1 in a emotion-packed penultimate Kolkata I-League derby at the Salt Lake Stadium here on Sunday.

Spaniard Joseba Beitia gave Mohun Bagan an 18th minute lead with a free header, a result of 20-year-old Nongdamba Naorem's livewire passing from the left-flank.

East Bengal, who played under pressure in the first-half, looked a transformed unit after the break but Mohun Bagan struck through Baba Diawara (65th) against the run of play with the man-of-the-match Beitia sending in a clinical corner kick.

The Senegalese rose to the occasion and nodded it home to seal three points for Mohun Bagan, consolidating their position atop the table, in front of a massive turnout with 63,756 fans watching the match.

They now have 17 points from eight matches, six clear of second placed Punjab FC in an unbeaten six matches run. East

Bengal suffered their third defeat in a row to be on eight points from seven matches.

A lacklustre East Bengal reduced the margin through Marcos Jimenez de La Espada (72nd) as there were a slew of attacks from the red-and-gold camp but none of them resulted in a goal.

It was substitute Edmund Lalrindika who showed his class with a delightful through ball to Espada as he shot low to the goal-keeper's right to reduce Mohun Bagan's lead. But minutes later, there was another jolt for East Bengal as Edmund, who came in as a substitute, limped off the ground after suffering an injury.

East Bengal also had their best chance in the 80th minute when Juan Mera's 30-yard shot bounced off the crosspiece.

Pressing hard, East Bengal had several chances coming in their way in the dying moments but none of them resulted in a goal.

East Bengal also appealed for a penalty in the 60th minute when Marcos, who himself seemed to have handled the ball, was brought down inside the Mohun Bagan box by Sankar Roy but referee Ajitkumar Meitei had other ideas.

With Mohun Bagan announcing their merger with two-time ISL champions ATK, this was the penultimate Kolkata derby in the I-League era.

And Mohun Bagan made it special, winning their first derby since January 21, 2018 -- a 2-0 win in I-League. Since then, Mohun Bagan had failed to win from four matches, including two in I-League.

Crowds poured in hours before the start, holding placards and chanting the team slogans, making it a festive atmosphere at the iconic venue which will host the final I-League Kolkata derby on March 15. Mohun Bagan coach Kibu Vicuna was clearly unhappy even after the win and said they should have played better in the second-half.

"Derbies are very special and they are difficult matches. We played well in the first-half but I'm not happy about the second-half. If we want to remain in top and win the competition, we have to play well in both halves," Vicuna said. "We have just played 40 per cent -- eight of the 20 matches. We have to improve a lot of things if we have to win the competition. Now we have to shift focus on our (away) match against NEROCA (January 23)."

# Soaring Liverpool beat United 2-0

REUTERS/AFP  
LIVERPOOL, JANUARY 19

LIVERPOOL MOVED 16 points clear at the top of the Premier League after a 14th-minute Virgil van Dijk header and a stoppage-time strike from Mohamed Salah gave them a 2-0 win over Manchester United at Anfield on Sunday. Jurgen Klopp's side, chasing their first league title in 30 years, also have a game in hand on second-placed Manchester City with the title race appearing more of a procession than a contest.

After a promising start from the visitors, Van Dijk was poorly marked by United as he rose to head in a Trent Alexander-Arnold corner. Salah missed a glorious chance from close range just after the interval during an intense period of pressure from the home side, in which Jordan Henderson also hit the post. United survived that blitz and clawed their way back into the game and could even have snatched an equaliser but Anthony Martial blasted high and wide in the 59th minute.

Ole Gunnar Solskjaer's side applied some late pressure but were caught on the counter-attack in the final moments with Salah racing clear before slotting home.

Burnley recovered from a goal down to beat high-flying Leicester City 2-1 at Turf Moor on Sunday, ending their four-match losing streak in the Premier League.

Sean Dyche's Clarets failed to score a first-half goal for an 11th successive league game, and their problems worsened when midfielder Harvey Barnes put the visitors ahead with a stunning solo effort in the 33rd minute. Jack Cork lost the ball in midfield and Burnley-born winger Barnes broke forward, racing goalwards and past Ben Mee before firing home. The hosts responded after the interval with striker Chris Wood scoring the equaliser from a rebound after Leicester goalkeeper Kasper Schmeichel saved a header from Mee.

Leicester, third in the standings, had an opportunity to reclaim the lead when Mee brought down Barnes in the box but Burnley goalkeeper Nick Pope kept out Jamie Vardy's weak penalty. The turnaround was complete, with 11 minutes remaining, when Ashley Westwood blasted in after a Charlie Taylor cross from the left to ensure Burnley took all three points, lifting them to 14th place in the table, five points above the relegation zone.

"I thought we deserved to win the game but we didn't take our chances," said Leicester boss Brendan Rodgers.

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