10 Express Network

0040519774-2

0040519833-8

0040519848-4

I, Geeta Gandhi D/o Sh. Rajender

Gandhi W/o Sh. Karan Malhotra

R/o E-5, New Multan Nagar,

Rohtak Road, Delhi-110056

Malhotra for all purposes.

marriage to Geetanjali

have changed my name after

1, Dilshad Ahmad Siddique S/o

G, Ghaffar Manjil Extn Part-2,

Haji Colony, Jamia Nagar,

Zaheer Ahmad R/o G-19, Block-

Delhi-110025 have changed my

name to Dilshad Ahmad, for all

future purposes. 0040519779-1

I, Chandra Kala Mahawar W/o

JanakPuri New Delhi-110058

Have Changed My Name To

I. Biswaiite Mandal S/O Jatin

Kalkaji South/Delhi-110019.

Bhoomiheen-Camp Govindpur

Changed My Name To Biswajit

I, Bhai Lal @ Bhai Lal Gupta S/o

Late Sh. Jagan Nath Gupta R/o

Nagar, New Delhi-110027 have

changed my name to Bhai Lal

R-250, J J Colony, Raghubir

I, Benadict K Augustine S/O

Koodappulam Po-Ramapuram,

Kottayam, Kerala-686576. Have

Changed My Name To Benedict

Babloo S/o Kuldeep Singh R/o-

Nagar New Delhi-110018, have

Parminder Singh.for all future

Thakur, R/O-E-401-C, Gali no-

110096, have changed my name

to Babita Devi. 0040519848-7

I, Avtar Singh Chauhan S/o Faqir

Delhi-110018.have changed my

I, Ashok Aggarwal S/O Ramdhan

Aggarwal R/O Hno.5, 3rd-Floor,

Ashoka Park Extension, East

110027.Changed my Name to

Ashok Kumar Aggarwal.

Punjabi Bagh, Delhi-

Singh Chauhan R/o 14/39B

First-Floor Tilak-Nagar New-

name to Avtar Singh Diwan.

12, New Ashok Nagar Delhi-

WZ-88A Ram-Nagar Tilak-

changed my name to

I, Babli Devi W/O Shri Anil

0040519833-10

0040519833-2

0040519697-5

Gupta for all purposes.

Augustine R/O-

K Augustine.

Kulakkattolickal (H),

Chandrakala Mahawar.

Mandal Add: C-176

Mandal.

Umesh Kumar R/o BA/77B

Classifieds

PERSONAL

I, A Remya W/o Remeshan K(Army No.10291655Y, Rank L/NK) R/o-Kaliyathumchal House Kodolipram, Pattannur Post, Kannur, Distt.-Kerela-670595, have changed my name to Ramya A permanently vide affidavit no. DLDL81580370473364393919R.

0040510964-4

I, Vikas Agrawal S/o Dinesh Chandra Agrawal R/o G-103, Jaipuria Sunrise Greens, Ahinsha Khand, Indrapuram, Ghaziabad, UP-201001, informs that I have changed my minor son's name from Arnav Agarwal to Arnav Agrawal for all purposes. His DOB is 21.11.2007. 0040519783-1

I, Vijay Kumar,S/O Sh.Tej Bhan R/O-204A, Gali.No.A-4, Gupta-Enclave, Vikas-Nagar, New-Delhi-110059, Have Changed My Name, From Vijay Kumar To Vijay Kumar Arora.For All Future Purposes. 0040519680-3

, Sunita Rani Goel W/O Ashok Kumar R/O A-5,Satyawati Colony, Ashok Vihar Phase-3,Delhi-110052.Changed My Nameto Sunita Mittal.

I, Simarjot S/o Jasvinder Pal Singh R/o D-40, Preet Vihar, Delhi-110092 have changed my name to Simarjot Singh.

, Shobha Michel W/O Vivian Richard Francis., R/O-78, Tilak-Khand, Giri-Nagar, Kalkaji, New-Delhi-110019. Changed My Nameto Shobha Michael Francis. 0040519680-4

I, Sanjay Kumar Tiwari S/o Kamla Shankar Tiwari Residence-A-32. Jawahar Park.Sahibabad.Ghaziabad. I, Solemnly declare, that Sanjay Kumar Tiwari and Sanjay Tiwari is one and, same person. I,will use my name as Sanjay Kumar Tiwari everywhere for all, purposes. 0040519820-1

I, Sachin Kumar Jindal S/o Puran Mal Jindal R/o 131 J-Ext. Laxmi Nagar Delhi-92 have changed my name to Sachin Jindal forever. 0040519781-1

I, Risha Sachdeva D/o Pankaj Sachdeva R/o F-12/30, Krishna Nagar, Delhi-110051 inform that my name wrongly written in my LIC Policy No.122062929 as Bhanu Sachdeva. My correct name is Risha Sachdeva.

0040519790-

Ram Prasad S/o Harihar Prasad R/o Rc 944, Gali No. 4, Prakash Nagar, Khora Colony, Ghaziabad, UP, have changed my name to Sriram Prasad for all purposes. 0040519808-1

, Rakhi Kathuria D/o Joginder Lal Kathuria W/o Kamal Dodeja, R/o-301 Mahagun Mosaic, Phase-1, Sector-4 Vaishali Ghaziabad UP-201010 have changed my name to Rakhi Dodeja for all future purposes.

0040519788-

, Sntosh Kumar Mishra S/o Gopinath Mishra R/o-A-1/103, Hastsal Road, Shani Bazar Uttam Nagar N.Delhi-110059 changed my name to Santosh Kumar Mishra. 0040519848-9

I, Pushpender R/o 537, sector 2B, Vasundhara, Ghaziabad 201012 have changed my minor daughter name from Maiyra to Maiyra Chauhan. 0070683050-1 I, Pooran Chandra S/O-Virdev

R/O-A-106, Third-Floor, Street no-8, East-Vinod-Nagar, Delhi-110091.have changed my name to Pooran Chandra Dabral S/O Virdev Dabral for future.

0040519697-3 I, Munna Lal alias Munna Lal

Agarwal alias Munna Babu Agarwal, S/o Chhedi Lal Agrawal, R/o-Moh.agrawal Sasni, Sasni, Hathras, U.P.-204216, have changed my name to Munna Lal Agrawal.

I, Manju/ Manju Arora D/o Late Sh. Nand Lal Arora, W/o Hitender Adlakha R/o 18/24/1 Old Gobind Pura, Street No. 23, Krishna Nagar, Delhi-110051, have changed my name to Manju Adlakha for all 0040519810-1 purposes.

I, Mahesh Kumar Solanki S/O-Vijay Kumar Solanki R/o-D-66 Madipur JJ. Colony New Delhi-110063. that my son Surname Is Not Mentioned As Ronik Kumar Instead Of Ronik Solanki In School Leaving Certificate.That My Sons Correct Name Is Ronik Solanki. 0040519848-8

Lalit Kumar s/o Bhim Sen, H.no 1981, Sector-08, Faridabad, Haryana have changed my name to Lalit Gupta s/o Bhim

0070683043-1 Sain. Laxmi W/O Salman Ansari

R/O-H.No.24 Azad Basti Mohammadpur, Sector-1, R.K.Puram Delhi-110066 Have Changed my Name to Sahin Ansari. 0040519833-6

I, Hitesh Kumar S/o Krishan Kumar R/o-R-174 Vani-Vihar Uttam-Nagar New-Delhi-110059, have changed my name

to Hitesh Arora. 0040519697-4

I. Harman Singh S/o Jagmel Singh Badi R/o-FE-41, New Kavi Nagar, Ghaziabad, have changed my name to Harman Singh Badi 0040519820-2

I, Gurkirat Singh S/O Jeet Singh Bhatia Ho.No-2e-111 Nit-Faridabad Haryana-121001

Have Changed My Name To Gurkirat Singh Bhatia. 0040519848-2 110035.

changed my name to Hem Lata.

It is For General Information That I Chander Mohan Singh Negi S/o Pan Singh Negi, Residing at F-4/28, Sector-15, Rohini Delhi-110089. Inform that name of mine has been wrongly written as Chander Mohan Negi in my minor son Abhijeet Negi aged 13 years in his school record. That actual name of mine is Chander be amended accordingly.

SITUATION VACANT

OTHERS

WE take contract. Golden opportunity. Join Merchant Navy. 10th/12th passed/ Graduate. Age between 18-27 years. Salary: 25000-55000. Other facilities. infosbc777@gmail.com 09549690708. 0110017182-3

LOST & FOUND

I, Shravan Gupta S/o Rajiv Gupta R/o 44-A, Amrita Shergil Marg, New Delhi-03, have lost my 10th marksheet, Grades Sheet, Roll no-086992 passing year-1989 issued by CBSE LR no-1866499/019.

0040519777-1

I. Arun Kumar Khanna S/o Late Sh. F.C. Khanna R/o Flat No. 2-B, Pocket-A-14, situated at Kalkaji Ext. New Delhi, have lost my original Possession slip and NOC issued by DDA in favour of Mrs. Sarla Devi Khanna of above mentioned address. Finder contact 9810861407.

LOST & FOUND

ost one file containing previous original sale deed dt. 12.01.1962 executed by Sh. Gautam Dev i favor of Smt. Harbans Kaur, regd. a document no. 174. Addl. Book no. Vol. no. 194, pages 97-100 o 20.01.1962 with SR-II, pertaining to property/ plot bearing no. 28, Block-J-13, measuring 25 sq. ydrs. situated in Rajouri Garder area village Tatarpur, at Delh Najafgarh Road, Delhi. Any persor misusing the same would be liable to all risk and consequences. Finde may please contact Sh. Sanjee Raipal, r/o 28/J-13, Raiouri Garden Delhi, Mob. no. 8826848492

Ch.No. 394-395, Civil Wing,

Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi-

PUBLIC NOTICE

Be it known to public at large that my

MR. CHANDU LAL S/o Shri Neki Rai

R/o 267, Gali No. 12, Than Singh Naga

Anand Parbat, Karol Bagh, New Delhi

NAVEEN S/o Shri Chandu Lal R/o 267

Gali No. 12, Than Singh Nagar, Anan

Parbat, Karol Bagh, New Delhi- 11000

rom all their moveable and Immoveal

estate. My client and their estate shall n

act/deed done by his any person deal

with them shall deal at his/her own risk

cost thereof and further shall be dealt wit

26-B/1, D.B.Gupta Road, Karol Bagh

PUBLIC NOTICE

My client Abdul Hannan, S/

Village Kharak Chattarpui

New Delhi- 110074 has

disowned and debarred his

son Ekramuddin from his al

properties and has no relation

PUBLIC NOTICE

"My client Mr. Ajay Kumar Singh S/o

Mahendar Prasad Singh R/o 6/1, C-

Block, Mandawali Unchepar, Delhi

110092 has severed all his relations

with his daughter namely Shall

Singh W/o Surya Pratap Singh due

to her irresponsible behavior.

future my client shall not have an

kind of relations with her. My clier

disown/debar her from all his move

able or immoveable properties.

case any person dealing with her wi

be dealing at their own risk and

esponsible to any one.

responsibility. My client shall not be

SANDDEP SHARMA (Advocate)

Regn. No. 1186/98

movable and

with him in future

Shakur R/o D-89

M.S.Khan(Advocate)

Saket District Court

New Delhi-110017

Ch. no. 507

h d 3 4hRLY(1)

AMIT BATRA (Advocat

New Delhi-0

, Asheesh Agrawal alias

PUBLIC NOTICE Asheesh Agarwal alias Ashish Agarwal, S/o Munna Lal Bhasin S/o Sh. Ramesh Chandra Bhasin a Mrs. Madhu Bhasin Both R/o E-182, 1st Floo Agrawal, R/o-H.No.G-3/GF/10E, Kalkaji, Delhi-110019. Do here by with the Judge Colony, Sector-9, present notice, disown, debarred a Vaishali, Ghaziabad, U.P.-201010, have changed my name whatsoever from the immediate effect a further severe all kind of relationship with h to Ashish Kumar Agarwal. as he has become disobedient towards client. Anybody dealing with him shall do th Consequences and my client shall not I, Apeksha Jain W/O Manish esponsible for any act and deed of whether made at any point of time.

Gautam Colony, Behind Ps Narela, Delhi-110040.Changed My Nameto Apeksha Goyal.

I, Anubhuti Bhardwaj, w/o Mahesh Chandr Bhardwaj R/o 4 F/1001, AWHO Township, Gurjinder Vihar, Greater Noida UP 201310, have changed my name to Anubhuti Bharadwaj.

Goyal R/O Hno.410, Galino.06,

0070683044-1 I, Amarjeet singh Alagh S/O kirpal singh Add: C-213, Vikaspuri, New Delhi-110018.,

changed my name to Amarjeet 0040519848-1 I, Alphons Jacob W/O Benedict K

Augustine R/O-Kulakkattolickal(H), Koodappulam Po-Ramapuram, Kottayam, Kerala-686576. Have

Changed My Name To Alphons

0040519833-9 Benedict. I. Abdul Ghaffar Ansari S/o Late Md. Ali Hussain Ansari R/o E-218, 2nd Floor, Front Side, Shah Apartment, Shaheen Bagh, Abul Fazal Enclave 2, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi-110025, have changed my name to Md. Abdul Ghaffar Ansari for all

I, Alka Sethi W/O-Ashok Sethi R/O-Gh-13/365, Paschim-Vihar, New-Delhi-87. Have Changed My Minor Child Name, From

purposes.

Kapish Sethi To Sachin Sethi. 0040519680-7

0040519772-1

I shagufta naaj,W/o mohd tariq R/o. A-280,3rd floor, JJ.colony, chaukhandi, tilak nagar, N.D-18 have changed my name shagufta Naaz. 0040519680-9

I Sonia Girdhar W/O Sachin Sachdeva Resident-14/284, Lajpat Nagar, Delhi Camp, Sonipat, Haryana Have Changed My Name To Sonia Sachdeva. 0040519833-5

I Shuaib S/O Mohammad Qasim H.No-386 Jamaipura-Sadak Near-Mobile Tower, Masuri District Ghaziabad Up 201302., changed My Name To Mohammad Shuaib.

0040519848-3

I Sachin S/O Dewan Chand Resident-430/1, Lajpat Nagar, Delhi Camp, Sonipat, Haryana Have Changed My Name To Sachin Sachdeva.

0040519833-4

I Ruchy Rani W/o Sushil Goyal R/o H.No.1, Deepali, Pitampura, Delhi.have changed my name to Ruchi Goyal, for all purposes. 0040519680-8

My actual/correct name is Vijender Sharma instead of Vijender Kumar (as wrongly mentioned in my son Akash Sharma's documents) R/o-C-5/72-B Keshav-Puram Delhi-0040519833-7 I Hemlata Gupta W/o-Late Ram Andhra sand crisis: Raj Gupta R/o-E-182, Tagore Naidu to hold protest Garden Extn, Delhi-110027 have

0040519680-2

I, Mohammad Anis Khan S/o Ayyub Hasan R/o-J-1/398, DDA Flats, Kalkaji, New Delhi-110019 have changed my name to Mohd Anis.

Mohan Singh Negi, Which may

0040519786-

"Corrigendum"

Naidu said. ENS

Hyderabad: Former Andhra

Pradesh CM N Chandrababu

Naidu will sit on a one-day fast on

Thursday to protest against short-

age of sand for construction in the

state. "In Andhra, due to shortage

of construction sand not only

construction industry, but also ce-

ment, steel and 25 other related

industries dependent on it have

been affected. Lakhs have lost

employment and nearly 35 work-

ers have committed suicide,"

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY

दिनांक 19.10.2019 को प्रकाशित निविदा सूचना संख्या 70-104/ NIT/ SLR/Leasing/19 के अनुसार निविदा खुलने की तिथि दिनांक 21.11.2019 थी। जिसे दिनांक 16.12.2019 को 15:00 बजे खोला जायेगा । Sr. DCM

NWR, Jodhpur 1170-PA/19

PUBLIC NOTICE ient Sh. Ishwar Chand S/o Sh. Daya Nand Rio H.No.111, Block-E, Yadav Nagar, Delhi-110042, has revoked General Power of Attorney executed on dt. 5-2-2019, in favour of Sh. Darwan Singh S/o Sh. Chander Singh R/o H.No. 175, Kushak no.2, Village Kadipur, Delhi 110036, regarding Plot of Land area measuring 217 sq.yds., out of Khasra no. 1162 (4-16), situated in Village Kadipur, Kushak no.2, Delhi-110036 Any person dealing with Darwan Singh regarding the above said property shall do so at his own risk and responsibility. R.N. Agarwal (Advocate), 25, RU-Block

built up property bearing No. WZ- 424-B, built on Plot No.19A,Land Area Mesuring 90 Sq.Yds out of Khasra No. 2076 & 2077 Situated in the revenue Estate of Village Tihar Colony known as Nanakpura, Hari

Notice is hereby given for information to the General Public by my client i.e. LIC HOUSING FINANCE LTD that Mr. Manjit Singh acquired the above said property through Registered WILL dT 20.04.2011 registered vide no. 3112. Now the said Mr. Manjit Singh intends to sell the above referred property to the customer (Mrs. Jyoti Yadav) of my client, LICHF Ltd. The customer is availing the financial facility to purchase the above referred property and against the security of above referred property. If any person including b-anks, financial institutions or any other person, relative, organization, company, firm or government authority having any claim, right, title or any interest of any nature whatsoever nto or upon the above-referred property, is hereby called upon to make the same known, in writing with documentary evidence by registered AD Post to the undersigned at the address mentioned herein below within 15 (Fifteen) days of publication of this notice to the undersigned on the below mentioned address, failing which the same shall be deemed to of no response being received to this notice, the purchase/ mortgage of this property shall be completed by our client without any reference to and without in any manner being affected by any such right title, interest or claim whatsoeve Manisha Chaudhary Advocate JUS LEGALIS 210,Vardhman Star City mall Near Ramphal Chowk.Sec-7 Dwarka ND-75

PUBLIC NOTICE Sale of Entire 2nd Floor (Without Roof/

011-45606363, 9899006723

of Freehold Property Bearing No 148, Block-A, Gujranwala Town Part-1,ND. Notice is hereby given for information to the General Public by my client i.e. HDFC LTD that M/s. Cosmic Buildcon Private Ltd acquired the above said property through Partition Deed dated 21.09.2019 registered vide no14429.Now the said M/s Cosmic Buildcon Pvt Ltd intends to sell the above referred property to the customer (Mr.Vikesh Sethi) of my client, HDFC Ltd. The customer is availing the financial facility to purchase the above referred property & against the security of above referred property. If any person including banks financial institutions or any other person, relative, organization, company, firm or government authority having any claim, right, title or any interest of any nature whatsoever into or upon the above referred property, is hereby called upon to make the same known, in writing with documentary evidence by registered AD Pos to the undersigned at the address mentioned herein below within 15 (Fifteen) days of publication of this notice to the undersigned on the below mentioned address, failing which the same shall be deemed to have been waived and /or abandoned.In the event of no response being received to this notice, the purchase/mortgage of this property shall be completed by our client without any reference to and without in a ny manner being affected by any such right title. interest or claim whatsoever Manisha Chaudhary Advocate JUS LEGALIS 210, Vardhman Star City Mall Nea

011-45606363, 9899006723 PUBLIC NOTICE

Ramphal Chowk, Sec-7 Dwarka ND-75

General public is informed that my client Mahinder Sachdeva & Anju Sachdeva R/o WZ-90A First Floor, Janak Park, Gali No. 7, Hari Nagar, New Delhi-110064 do hereby disown and debar her son Deepak Sachdeva & Daughter-in-Law Kanishka Babbar from all movable and immovable properties with immediate effect because they are out of control of my client and misbehave with my client.

Anybody dealing with them or any legal activities shall be doing so at his/her own risk, and responsibility. My client will not held responsible for any act, deed and things done by them.

Pradeep Sehrawat (Advocate) Regd. No.: P/236/12 Chamber No. 422, Dwarka Courts

SITUATION VACANT

CAMPION SCHOOL a leading ICSE School under Jesuit management is open for applications for the post of PRINCIPAL.

The applicant must be not older than 52 years of age (relaxable at the discretion of the Management) with a post graduate degree in any subject and a Bachelor's degree in Education (B.Ed.), and with a minimum of 10 years teaching experience. Experience of at least 5 years as Principal or Vice-Principal in an ICSE school will be given due consideration.

Salary and perquisites will be commensurate with previous expertise and experience. Suitable accommodation will be provided in South/Central

Suitable candidates must submit their application along with a complete CV, supporting documents and certificates, and a passport size photograph in a sealed envelope not later than 5:00 p.m. on 30th November 2019 to:

The Secretary, Council of Management, Campion School, 13 Cooperage Road, Fort, Mumbai 400001

A soft copy of the application, CV, supporting documents and certificates, and photograph must be sent campioncom2019@gmail.com



CELEBRATING GURPURAB

President Ram Nath Kovind with Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh, on the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak, at Sultanpur Lodhi in Kapurthala on Tuesday. Gurmeet Singh

CHEAP ELECTRICITY SCHEME

MP govt may prosecute ineligible beneficiaries

MILIND GHATWAI BHOPAL, NOVEMBER 12

ALLEGING THAT nearly 71 lakh ineligible persons benefited under a scheme providing cheap electricity to unorganised labourers, the Congress government in Madhya Pradesh is looking at several steps, including prosecuting the ineligible beneficiaries and recovery of the subsidy amount.

The Saral Bijli Bill Scheme (SBBS), which was launched by the previous BIP government months before the 2018 Assembly elections, aims to provide cheap electricity to unorganised labourers by reducing their bills. Under the scheme. beneficiaries were provided electricity at a flat rate of Rs 200 per month. If the bill was less than Rs 200 per month, they paid the actual amount, and the government was to pick up the tab for the amount exceeding Rs 200 as long as the consumption was less than 1000 watts.

Those who pay income tax, have more than 2.5 acre agriculture land, are government employees and in employment where PF is deducted were inel-

igible for the scheme. The SBBS and Mukhyamantri Bakaya Bijli Bill

MafiScheme(MBBBMS)—under which pending electricity bills till Iune 2018 and the surcharge was to be waived - were part of former chief minister Shivraj Singh ambitious Mukhymantri Jan Kalyan (Sambal) Yojana, which he had described as "a unique revolution for welfare and justice to poor in the state".

the

On Tuesday, state Labour Minister Mahendra Singh Sisodiya told *The Indian Express* that the current government initiated a probe into allegations of large scale irregularities in the SBBS. He said that nearly 35 per cent of the 2.11 crore people who registered themselves for the scheme were found ineligible. The minister alleged that the beneficiaries included people

who pay income tax. He said

lakhs of people were ineligible

panchyats and gram panchayat

officials had been asked to verify

to be classified as unorganized labourers were drawing other benefits for years. He alleged the fake beneficiaries included BIP functionaries. Sisodiya said district collectors, chief executive officers of district ies. They submitted their respective reports and the government has come to a conclusion that the number of ineligible beneficiaries runs to more than 70 lakh. He said the report has been sent to the chief minister's office. The minister has indicated that the illegally claimed subsidy

was more than Rs 6,800 crore.

the antecedents of the beneficiar-

The decision on whether to lodge an FIR against ineligible beneficiaries or to recover dues illegally claimed by them will be taken by the Cabinet. Congress leader Shobha Oza said there were irregularities in both the electricity-related schemes. "People who did not

need any subsidy got the bene-

fits only because they were affil-

iated with the BIP," she alleged. BIP legislator Vishwas Sarang alleged that the Congress government has denied the benefits of the scheme to everyone, claiming that the Congress ministers were leveling allegations only to hide the "inadequacies" of the government. Meanwhile, Chouhan said the government should send people who have engaged in irregularities to jail, but it should not deny benefits to the genuine beneficiaries.

Ayodhya verdict: Mahasabha may file review over five acre land for mosque

MANISH SAHU

LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 12

DAYS AFTER the Supreme Court, deciding the title suit of Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid, ruled that the entire disputed land be handed over to a trust to be constituted for construction of a Ram temple and that Muslims be given five acres of either the acquired land near the site or at "a suitable prominent place in Ayodhya" for building a mosque, the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha (ABHM), one of the appellants in the apex court, has raised an objection over the direction to provide five-acre land to Sunni Wagf Board. The Hindu Mahasabha said

they are studying the judgment to decide on filing a review petition against the order.

"We have strong objections over the court direction to provide Sunni Waqf Board five acres of land near the site or a suitable prominent place in Ayodhya. If it has been proved that a temple was there, then why should any land be given to them? We are presently studying the Supreme Court judgment and will decide later on filing a review petition, said advocate Shishir Chaturvedi the current president of ABHM. The ABHM appeal in the

Supreme Court against the 2010 Allahabad High Court judgment was filed in 2011 by its then president Kamlesh Tiwari who was murdered at his residence in Lucknow last month. The ABHM had formed a highpower committee and nominated

Tiwari, the then president, to be an appellant in the title suit case on behalf of the outfit against the 2010 Allahabad High Court judgment.

Tiwari's wife Kiran also told *The Indian Express* on Tuesday that they are not happy with the top court's decision to give five acres to Muslims for building a mosque in Ayodhya. "We are happy with the Supreme Court judgment to form a trust to build a Ram temple at the disputed site... but have objection over its decision of giving five acres of land to the other (Muslim) side in Ayodhya. If the central or state government begins the process to give the land, we would start a protest," said Kiran.

16 killed, one injured as vehicle falls into J&K nullah

Jammu: Sixteen people died and one was injured as an overloaded TATA Trax vehicle fell into a nullah near Doda in Jammu and Kashmir on Tuesday afternoon.

Sources said that the vehicle was going to Marmat from Doda and was carrying 17 people, in-

cluding the driver. The seating capacity of the

vehicle was only ten.

When the vehicle reached Khaleni road, driver lost control over the steering and it fell into a nullah flowing in a deep gorge. Twelve people died on the

spot, while four others suc-

cumbed to injuries on way to the Police have registered a case in the matter. **ENS**

STATE INDUSTRIES PROMOTION CORPORATION OF TAMILNADU LIMITED 0 19-A, RUKMANI LAKSHMIPATHY ROAD, EGMORE, CHENNAI - 600 008. CIN U74999TN1971SGC005967 TENDER NOTICE NIT.No.25/CW/DO/T.No.35 & 36/2019-20,

For and on behalf of State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu Limited

sealed tenders are invited under "Two Cover System" for the following work from Civi

Government Organisations having experience in similar nature of works. Tenders will b

Electrical Class-I State level Civil/ Electrical Contractors registered in State/Central or Quasi

received upto 3.00 PM on 17.12.2019 and the 3.30 PM.	e same will be op	ened on the same day a
Name of Work	Approx. value of work	EMD
1) Providing Street light arrangements along the roads at SIPCOT Industrial Complex, Gummidipoondi and Cheyyar. (2 nd Call)	lakhs	1) Rs.2,83,000/-
2) Providing Street light arrangements and Jungle clearance in SIPCOT Industrial Complex / Growth Centre, Park at Perundurai, Hosur, Siruseri Rapinet and Gummidinoondi		2) Rs. 3,77,000/- in the form of Demand Draft drawn in favour of SIPCOT Ltd payable at

The tender Schedules can be Downloaded at free of cost from the website DIPR/4277/TENDER/2019 SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER, SIPCOT, Chennai-8.

follow	Roc.No.6209 /2015/E1 The Commissioner, Vellore Corporation / Mana	GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU ORPORATION - Corporation Office, Vellore OPEN TENDER NOTICE Date: 11.11.2 aging Director, Vellore Smart City Limited , invites tenders in two cover	100	
SL No.	Details of Work for which Tender is called		Estimate Amount Rs. in Lakhs	
16	Name of the Work	Smart Drainage works and Improvement of Channels including Channels widening and Side Protection Wall from NHAI Road (Om Sai Nagar) to Sri Ram Nagar and Vallar to Sathuvachari Water Tank in Kagithapatarai and South Avenue Road to NHAI Road (Om Sakthi Koil) in Zone – II (ADB Area) in Vellore Corporation	1,000.00	
2.	Pre-Bid Conference	SI.No:1 - 04.12.2019 at 11.00 am		
3.	Date of Tender	18.12.2019 Wednesday 3.00 pm		
4.	Date, Time and Venue of opening	18.12.2019 Wednesday 3.30 pm at Vellore Corporation Office		
5.	Tender document availability and other details	To See from the tender notice published in website https://tntenders.gov.in or from Vellore Corporation Office, Engineering section during working hours on all working days.		
	contact : 0416 - 2220578 8/ 4260 /TENDER/2019	Commissioner, Vellore City Municipal Managing Director, Vellore Smart Cit		

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NOTICE INVITING BIDS for

"Renewal of damaged internal BT roads -

Mill wide at TNPL Unit-I"

Due Date for submission at Kagithapuram - 23/11/2019

Interested bidders may purchase a complete set of Bid Document,

against submission of a written application to TNPL and upon

payment of applicable non-refundable fee of Rs.1.180/- by way of

DD / Banker's Cheque in favour of "TAMIL NADU NEWSPRINT AND

PAPERS LIMITED", payable at Karur. Alternatively, details of the bid

may be viewed at TN Govt. / TNPL website and a soft copy of the Bid

First amphibious Indo-US joint exercise starts in Vizag today

KRISHN KAUSHIK NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 12

IN WHAT will be the first ever joint exercise involving the Army, Navy and Air Force of both India and the United States and commanded by each other, the tri-services joint exercise between the two countries, announced by US President Donald Trump during Prime Minister Narendra Modi's event in Texas in September, will start in Visakhapatnam on Wednesday.

ends on November 21. Although it is a Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) exercise, defence sources said there will be exercises for a

The exercise, 'Tiger Triumph',

"limited threat scenario" as well. For India. Naval ships Jalashwa, Airavat and Sandhayak, Army troops from 19 Madras and 7 Guards, and

0

DIPR/4278/Tender/2019

MI-17 helicopters and Rapid Action Medical Team (RAMT) from the Air Force will participate. The US will be represented by US Navy Ship Germantroops from

US Third Marine Division. The exercise is part of strengthening the Indo-US strategic partnership, and defence sources said it is the "next best thing in the absence of a strategic alliance". The two countries will work out the modalities of how their forces

can operate under the command of forces of the other nation. Unlike other joint exercises that India holds with other countries, sources said Tiger Triumph is "not under any UN mandate" It means exercise will be a simulation where the joint forces will

"go to a hypothetical third nation for HADR", a source explained. The exercise will prepare the ioint forces to conduct humanitarian and relief work in the region in case a third nation ever asks for such assistance, which

is not covered by a UN mandate. A common structure will be shared by forces of the two nations, with US marines also coming under the Indian command for certain exercises, sources said. For the exercises on land, India will hold the command while the command will be

shared for exercises in sea. The US recently renamed its Pacific Command as the US Indo-Pacific Command, signifying India's growing significance.

The first ever 2+2 dialogue town, with between the two countries took place in 2018.

Superintending Engineer, SIPCOT, Chennai-8

SHORT TERM TENDER NOTICE For and on behalf of State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu Limited, sealed tenders are invited under "**Two Cover** System" for the following work from Class - I State level registered contractors having experience in similar nature of works. Tenders will be received upto 3.00 P.M. on 29.11.2019 and the same will be opened on the same day at 3.30 P.M.

STATE INDUSTRIES PROMOTION CORPORATION OF TAMILNADU LIMITED 19-A, RUKMANI LAKSHMIPATHY ROAD, EGMORE, CHENNAI - 600 008.

CIN U74999TN1971SGC005967

Tender Notice NIT No.24/CW/DO/T.No.34/2019-20, Dt. 11.11.2019

Name of Work	Approx. value of work	EMD		
Interior Renovation of SIPCOT Head Office, Egmore, Chennai - 600 008.	Rs.565.10 Lakhs	Rs.2,93,000/- (Payment because of the Payment because of the Rs.2,93,000/- (Payment because of the Payment because of the Rs.2,93,000/- (Payment because of the Payment beca		
The tender Schedule can be Downloaded at free of cost from the webs www.tenders.tn.gov.in and www.sipcot.in.				

DIPR/4243/Tender/2019 TNPL - Maker of bagasse based eco-friendly Paper

Document can be obtained against request by e-mail.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2019

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

WORDLY WISE

ME, POOR MAN, MY LIBRARY WAS DUKEDOM

LARGE ENOUGH.

— WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

The Indian EXPRESS

∽ FOUNDED BY ∽ RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

WINNING & LOSING

In Maharashtra, BJP's ally trouble carries a lesson and a warning

TIS UNUSUAL for a pre-poll alliance that won an assembly election to fail in forming the government. That Maharashtra has been placed under President's rule, despite the BIP-Shiv Sena alliance winning a clear majority in last month's assembly election, is an exceptional development. The BJP and Sena have been partners for more than a quarter century, sharing power in local bodies, the state government and at the Centre. Their relationship was firmed up by their adherence to the ideology of political Hindutva. Now, the two parties have had a seemingly bitter parting, jeopardising the prospects of a BJP-Sena government in Maharashtra, with the Sena also quitting the NDA.

For the BJP, the Maharashtra mess is a moment of reckoning. Among other things, it reveals the predicament of the new BJP, which has been expanding at a furious pace, and has been on a winning spree. For many years, the BJP, despite its ideological character and in contrast to the Congress, was viewed as a party that had the flexibility and skills to stitch coalitions in the most adverse circumstances. Since 1996, when Atal Bihari Vajpayee, after failing to win support for his 13-day government at the Centre, complained of parties practising "political untouchability", the BJP was seen to have mastered the art of winning allies and running coalition governments. Coalition dharma was a much evoked principle in the NDA of Vajpayee and LK Advani. However, there is reason to suspect that the party, after its several electoral victories under Narendra Modi and Amit Shah, seems to be losing the ability or willingness to engage with partners and allies. Now the BJP's approach seems to be more intransigent, to emphasise its greater numbers and insist that the regional party lower its expectations. It is curious that the BJP's national leadership refused to intervene in the public spat involving its Maharashtra leaders and the Sena over the chief minister's office and ministerial berths. Does it view the Sena's departure as an opportunity to monopolise the entire Hindutva vote in Maharashtra? Or is it an instance of the leadership failing to judge the Sena's intent? Either way, the Maharashtra break-up reflects poorly on the BJP's management of allies, even as anti-BJPism may again become the glue that can bring together disparate Opposition parties.

The Maharashtra and Haryana results, that came just six months after the BJP won the general election with an enhanced mandate, are a pointer that no party can claim the permanent loyalty of voters. The federal character of the polity also allows space to regional players, which can scuttle the aims of arrogant or complacent national parties. That may not be a bad thing for democracy.

A DEEPER DARK

Industrial production contracts again, another pointer that the slowdown is unlikely to reverse on its own, or quickly

N MONDAY, DATA from the National Statistics Office showed that industrial production contracted by 4.3 per cent in September — the lowest in the current series. Over the course of the entire second quarter, the index of industrial production (IIP) has contracted by 0.4 per cent, after growing by 3 per cent in the previous quarter. Of the 23 sub-sectors within manufacturing, 17 contracted in September, up from 15 in the previous month, suggesting that the contraction is deeper and more widespread. The worsening performance of the consumer durables as well as the non-durables segment, indicative of subdued household demand, has dashed hopes of restocking of inventories prior to the festive season. Equally worrying, the capital goods segment, which connotes investment demand, contracted by 16.8 per cent in the second quarter, indicating that investment activity continues to be depressed.

Higher central government spending may have provided some support in the second quarter. Data from the Controller General of Accounts shows that government spending, both revenue and capital, picked up pace significantly after the Union budget was presented in July. But this is unlikely to have been enough to offset the subdued performance of other sectors. With various high frequency indicators suggesting that economic activity has slowed down considerably over the past few months, growth may well come in below the psychological 5 per cent mark in the quarter ended September. Equally worrying, even the crutch of government spending will not be available in the coming quarters as with its own finances coming under pressure, transfers from the Reserve Bank of India can only partially offset the shortfall in both direct and indirect tax collections, and disinvestment receipts remain well below the budgeted target — cuts in government spending are likely going forward, further accentuating the slowdown. Reflecting this deteriorating economic situation, a few days ago, rating agency Moody's changed its outlook on India's rating from stable to negative, citing increased risks that the country's economic growth will remain "materially lower than in the past."

It is possible that towards the end of this year the headline growth numbers may pick up once the base effect kicks in. But this is a statistical illusion. It would be a mistake to construe this as a sign of a recovery. The government needs to address multiple issues plaguing the economy. Along with measures to boost long-term potential growth, comprehensive measures are needed to address the stress in specific sectors such as telecom, real estate and the financial system. Piecemeal solutions are unlikely to lead to sustainable growth.

LOST IN THE LABYRINTH

A vandal has been hiding 'liberal' books in a US library. The crime may have a silver lining

S VILLAINOUS ONE-LINERS go, "Your liberal angst gives me great pleasure" is one for the ages. Part of a note left in the comment box of the library in Coeur D'Alene, a small town in Idaho, US, the declaration of sadistic pleasure is from an as yet unidentified vandal who has been deliberately hiding books that are anti-President Donald Trump and/or deal with issues like gun control and LGBTQ rights. Going by reports, the "liberal angst" in Coeur D'Alene is indeed palpable.

All libraries are labyrinths: They must be navigated through complex notations, the Dewey Decimal System, and the librarian, like some ancient, formidable sphinx, guards knowledge, and ensures silence. But the mazes of shelves and books do talk, often to each other, and open up strange new worlds for the unsuspecting reader. Browsing, long before it meant scrolling through the algorithm-determined shopping suggestions on Amazon, was a journey of discovery. Searching for a book on marine biology, one could stumble on to Darwin, and through him, to theological explanations of first causes on to

St Augustine and from him to Plato. By hiding certain books, the vandal of Coeur D'Alene has brought back bitter memories for a town that was forced to put under lock and key books on human rights because of white supremacists 30-odd years ago. For many, Trump's political ascendance is a throwback to that time. But the books that are hidden are still there, in the library, on a shelf they don't belong, waiting to be discovered by an eager reader. Nestled in those shelves is a possibility of opening up a mind that would otherwise remain ensconced in the received wisdom of reading lists and letting it loose in the labyrinth of ideas. The thought alone is enough to dispel liberal angst.

Majority, minority & temple

A temple on the contested site of a mosque's destruction departs from judicial counter-majoritarianism

ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY

FOR THE FIRST time since Independence, an entirely new electoral prospect has been consolidating itself. This phenomenon can be conceptualised as the political irrelevance of Muslims. It came to life with the 2014 general elections, though some might drag it back further. Its implications, serious in any case, have become even more so after the Ayodhya judgment of the Supreme Court.

The Court has held Hindu mobs responsible for an egregious violation of the law on December 6, 1992 — when they destroyed the Babri mosque — but deploying the kind of legal reasoning that frustrates non-specialists of law, it has handed over the site, where the erstwhile mosque stood, to the Hindu community for the building of a Ram temple. In a display of religious equidistance that marks Indian secularism, the Court has also allowed a mosque to be built on a plot twice as large as the original site. But those who destroyed the mosque, according to India's highest court, now have the right to construct a temple in its place.

If the Court intends to draw a distinction between the law-breakers, who ought to be punished, and the larger Hindu community, whose wishes should not be denied, it can still argue it has not abandoned the idea of justice. But given its lack of resolve to confront electorally enabled power, one cannot be too sanguine about whether it would punish those who violated the law but are currently in power. How the Court actually pronounces on the culprits of December 6, 1992, will, therefore, be carefully watched.

Admittedly, some Muslims will not mind the judgment, thinking it ends a seemingly interminable period of painful contention and provides an opportunity to move on. But many are likely to feel doubly marginalised. They are being made electorally irrelevant, and even the judiciary has not sufficiently protected them.

Two points should immediately be noted. First, in the 1940s, Jinnah's argument for partition was precisely that democracy in a Hindu-majority India would serve the interests of Hindus, not of the Muslim minority. The argument was wrong, as both Nehru and Ambedkar painstakingly demonstrated. It is ironical that the argument, false then and for decades later, is starting to acquire credibility now, for the system after seven decades is threatening to generate Muslim helplessness.

In a multi-ethnic, multireligious democratic polity, the electoral process can easily begin to reflect the wishes of the ethnic or religious majority. But the judiciary's functioning is fundamentally based on constitutional principles, not the wishes of the majority. If the judiciary only replicated what governments, legislatures or political parties based on electoral victories did, we would not really need it as a separate and autonomous institution. That is also why minorities in a democracy have often looked up to the courts for protection, when

popular electoral currents go

against them.

The trend is still not irreversible, but it is dire.

Second, a lot of democratic theory, and much of modern democratic practice, envisions the judiciary as a counter-majoritarian institution. In a multi-ethnic, multi-religious democratic polity, the electoral process can easily begin to reflect the wishes of the ethnic or religious majority. But the judiciary's functioning is fundamentally based on constitutional principles, not the wishes of the majority. If the judiciary only replicated what governments, legislatures or political parties based on electoral victories did, we would not really need it as a separate and autonomous institution. That is also why minorities in a democracy have often looked up to the courts for protection, when popular electoral currents go against them. A small fraction of political/legal theory does say that courts could endorse majoritarianism, if it was legislatively approved, and some courts have historically done that. Legally, Blacks suffered a lot — and for decades — in America's South. But most theorists would prescribe to the judiciary a majority-constraining role, should the majority or its representatives cross legal lines. A Hindu temple on the contested site after a mosque's destruction departs from the principle of judicial counter-majoritarianism.

The distinction between the electoral and the judicial, towards which the SC judgment is pushing us, requires further elaboration. Let us begin historically.

Should India treat its Muslims the same way as Pakistan was dealing with its Hindus? This question repeatedly arose in the early years of freedom when India's Constitution was debated. Supported by Ambedkar, Nehru argued: "Whatever the provocation from Pakistan and whatever the indignities and horrors inflicted on non-Muslims there, we have to deal with (our) minority in a civilised manner. We must give them security and the rights of citizens in a democratic state. If we fail to do so, we shall have a festering sore which will eventually poison the whole body politic." Earlier, critiquing Jinnah, Ambedkar argued that constitutional and institutional safeguards could easily be devised to check majoritarianism and protect minority rights. That Hindus are a majority, said Ambedkar, does not automatically lead to Hindu rule.

India's Constitution thus developed a charter of minority rights — educational, cultural, religious — and gave no special privileges to the Hindu majority. Secularism came to be defined not only as equal rights for all, regardless of religious affiliation, but also as comprising special minority rights on the assumption that minority numbers alone would not allow them to protect their interests in a democracy.

This constitutional settlement was further bolstered by the electoral realities of India. Until 2008, 81 parliamentary constituencies of India were more than 20 per cent Muslim (including 10 that were Muslim-majority) and 126 seats were 10-20 per cent Muslim. Thus, in 38 per cent of parliamentary seats, Muslim voters could play an important role. Even if mainstream politicians had anti-Muslim feelings, these electoral realities would partly check them. The 2008 redrawing of constituencies has most probably not significantly changed Muslim proportions.

This long-lasting electoral logic was fundamentally altered in 2014 and 2019. The BJP came to power with only 8 per cent of the Muslim vote each time, an outcome inconceivable under the earlier electoral calculus. The key to this transformation was the consolidation of the Hindu vote. The BJP received 37.4 per cent vote in 2019; roughly 35 per cent was Hindu. Compared to 2014, BJP's vote went up in all caste categories, including Dalits. Muslims can play an important electoral role only if the Hindu vote is sufficiently castecleaved. Analytically, Hindu consolidation and Muslim irrelevance are two sides of the same electoral coin.

If Hindu consolidation goes further Muslims will become electorally even more irrelevant. We can't still be sure this would happen. But even if Hindu electoral consolidation remains at the current level, India's Muslims would need the judiciary's countermajoritarianism to safeguard their interests. If the judiciary bows to the executive and legislature, supporting majoritarian logic, Jinnah's fears will be affirmed, Ambedkar's constitutional optimism nullified, and Nehru's prediction about a "festering sore" might also come true. Production of Muslim helplessness is most unlikely to strengthen India, or its polity.

The writer is director, Center for Contemporary South Asia, Sol Goldman Professor of International Studies and Social Sciences, Professor of Political Science, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, **Brown University**

SWACHH BHARAT IN THE CITY

Urban areas require a different approach to end open defecation

HIMANSHU GUPTA

THE SWACHH BHARAT Mission is being executed by two different ministries — the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation for rural areas and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs for urban areas. In the rural areas, the major challenge was to change the mindset of the populace so that they would start using household toilets rather than defecate in open areas. As majority of the households did not have toilets in their homes, the main component of Swachh Bharat Mission (Grameen) was to construct household latrines and to focus on information, education and communication (IEC) activities. The need for a dedicated sewerage network is less in rural areas as the toilets are connected with inhouse soak pits. Domestic waste in rural areas is also managed in a much better manner as it is segregated at the household level and a majority of it is used in the fields. Thus, improving the cleanliness level in a rural area is much less complex than in an urban set up.

An urban area faces two major challenges disposal of solid waste and sewerage/liquid waste. Disposal of solid waste has three key components. First, waste collection, then transfer of the waste, and lastly, proper disposal at the landfill site. The task of waste collection and its transfer to the landfill site requires both manpower as well as an efficient transportation system. The segregation of Merely constructing toilets cannot solve the problem as these areas require proper sewerage network. The soak pit system that works in rural areas cannot work in urban areas due to a space crunch and increasing population density. The job of laying the sewerage network is again distributed between the state's public health engineering department and the municipalities.

waste can either be at the source or at the landfill. Segregation at source is more economical At the landfill, it is done by either using highend segregation plants or manual conveyors.

In most urban areas, disposal of solid waste is primarily the responsibility of municipalities. However, these municipalities are not equipped with the manpower, financial resources and technology for the task. Most of them are dependent upon the state governments for resources. These municipalities do not have sufficient human resources in terms of engineers or sanitation staff to manage the waste. Landfill site management is very poor due to lack of technical know-how.

The second challenge is to manage sewerage in urban areas. Merely constructing toilets cannot solve the problem as these areas require proper sewerage network. The soak pit system that works in rural areas cannot work in urban areas due to a space crunch and increasing population density. The job of laying the sewerage network is again distributed between the state's public health engineering department and the municipalities.

If we look at strategy adopted by the Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban), its main focus is on the construction of individual household toilets, community toilets, public urinals and IEC activities. The funds earmarked for solid waste management are minimal. Similarly, there is limited provision of funds for laying the sewerage networks. The strategy used for Swachh Bharat Mission (Grameen) will not yield results in the urban mission.

Hence, there is a need for revamping the Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban) wherein the focus is on solid waste and sewer management. The ministry must ask the state governments to assess their capabilities in waste handling. Recurring funds must be provided for collection of waste and its disposal. A window may be given to municipalities for upgrading their capabilities to augment their revenue collection. Separate funds must be given for the development of landfill sites. Best possible practices for waste collection across key cities must be studied and emulated.

Adopting a piecemeal approach for constructing toilets and litter bins will not solve the systemic issue of waste disposal in cities. Unless we are able to lift the waste from the streets systematically, cleanliness will not have any meaning. The success of the Swachh Bharat Mission depends not only on changing the mindset, but, also on changing in the way waste is disposed of by the municipalities and the state governments.

> The writer is secretary, planning and investment, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. Views are personal

NOVEMBER 13, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

AKALI UNITY

IFTHE FORMULA hammered out by the Akali Dal's seven-member committee appointed by the head priests is acceptable to other parties, there is every possibility of the Akali Dal remaining united. Six of the seven members of the committee met in New Delhi for over two hours to consider the question of electoral alliance with other parties. Only Jagdev Singh Talwandi, president of the Akali Dal, was absent. According to the formula worked out in the morning, the Akali Dal will contest seven of the 13 Lok Sabha seats in Punjab and the remaining six will be left for the alliance parties. The seven seats which the Akali party proposes to contest are Sangrur, Bhatinda (Reserved), Ropar (Reserved), Ludhiana, Faridkot. Patiala and Tarn Taran.

IRAN'S DEMAND ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR, RECENTLY put in charge of Iran's foreign ministry by Ayatollah Khomeini, told French radio interviewers "no compromise, no negotiation, is possible", over Iran's demand that the US extradite the ousted Shah to stand trial for his life, reports AP. Bani-Sadr summoned all foreign ambassadors to his office in Teheran on Monday to urge them to ask their governments to persuade the US to extradite the deposed Shah to stand trial in Iran. "Mr Bani Sadr told the

envoys the Iranian demand was both logical

and reasonable," a foreign ministry spokesman told the Associated Press in Nicosia by telephone.

SHEKHAR'S PROPHECY

THE JANATA PARTY President Chandra Shekhar forecast that the coalition caretaker government would break before the ensuing Lok Sabha elections. Chandra Shekhar said in Bombay that Congress leaders were beginning to realise that they would not be a factor to reckon with in the upcoming elections if they associated with the Lok Dal. Many did not believe his earlier prediction about the disintegration of the Lok Dal, "which is now coming true", Chandra Shekhar said.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2019

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

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WINNING & LOSING

In Maharashtra, BJP's ally trouble carries a lesson and a warning

TIS UNUSUAL for a pre-poll alliance that won an assembly election to fail in forming the government. That Maharashtra has been placed under President's rule, despite the BIP-Shiv Sena alliance winning a clear majority in last month's assembly election, is an exceptional development. The BJP and Sena have been partners for more than a quarter century, sharing power in local bodies, the state government and at the Centre. Their relationship was firmed up by their adherence to the ideology of political Hindutva. Now, the two parties have had a seemingly bitter parting, jeopardising the prospects of a BJP-Sena government in Maharashtra, with the Sena also quitting the NDA.

For the BJP, the Maharashtra mess is a moment of reckoning. Among other things, it reveals the predicament of the new BJP, which has been expanding at a furious pace, and has been on a winning spree. For many years, the BJP, despite its ideological character and in contrast to the Congress, was viewed as a party that had the flexibility and skills to stitch coalitions in the most adverse circumstances. Since 1996, when Atal Bihari Vajpayee, after failing to win support for his 13-day government at the Centre, complained of parties practising "political untouchability", the BJP was seen to have mastered the art of winning allies and running coalition governments. Coalition dharma was a much evoked principle in the NDA of Vajpayee and LK Advani. However, there is reason to suspect that the party, after its several electoral victories under Narendra Modi and Amit Shah, seems to be losing the ability or willingness to engage with partners and allies. Now the BJP's approach seems to be more intransigent, to emphasise its greater numbers and insist that the regional party lower its expectations. It is curious that the BJP's national leadership refused to intervene in the public spat involving its Maharashtra leaders and the Sena over the chief minister's office and ministerial berths. Does it view the Sena's departure as an opportunity to monopolise the entire Hindutva vote in Maharashtra? Or is it an instance of the leadership failing to judge the Sena's intent? Either way, the Maharashtra break-up reflects poorly on the BJP's management of allies, even as anti-BJPism may again become the glue that can bring together disparate Opposition parties.

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Industrial production contracts again, another pointer that the slowdown is unlikely to reverse on its own, or quickly

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LOST IN THE LABYRINTH

A vandal has been hiding 'liberal' books in a US library. The crime may have a silver lining

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Majority, minority & temple

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ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY

FOR THE FIRST time since Independence, an entirely new electoral prospect has been consolidating itself. This phenomenon can be conceptualised as the political irrelevance of Muslims. It came to life with the 2014 general elections, though some might drag it back further. Its implications, serious in any case, have become even more so after the Ayodhya judgment of the Supreme Court.

The Court has held Hindu mobs responsible for an egregious violation of the law on December 6, 1992 — when they destroyed the Babri mosque — but deploying the kind of legal reasoning that frustrates non-specialists of law, it has handed over the site, where the erstwhile mosque stood, to the Hindu community for the building of a Ram temple. In a display of religious equidistance that marks Indian secularism, the Court has also allowed a mosque to be built on a plot twice as large as the original site. But those who destroyed the mosque, according to India's highest court, now have the right to construct a temple in its place.

If the Court intends to draw a distinction between the law-breakers, who ought to be punished, and the larger Hindu community, whose wishes should not be denied, it can still argue it has not abandoned the idea of justice. But given its lack of resolve to confront electorally enabled power, one cannot be too sanguine about whether it would punish those who violated the law but are currently in power. How the Court actually pronounces on the culprits of December 6, 1992, will, therefore, be carefully watched.

Admittedly, some Muslims will not mind the judgment, thinking it ends a seemingly interminable period of painful contention and provides an opportunity to move on. But many are likely to feel doubly marginalised. They are being made electorally irrelevant, and even the judiciary has not sufficiently protected them.

Two points should immediately be noted. First, in the 1940s, Jinnah's argument for partition was precisely that democracy in a Hindu-majority India would serve the interests of Hindus, not of the Muslim minority. The argument was wrong, as both Nehru and Ambedkar painstakingly demonstrated. It is ironical that the argument, false then and for decades later, is starting to acquire credibility now, for the system after seven decades is threatening to generate Muslim helplessness.

In a multi-ethnic, multireligious democratic polity, the electoral process can easily begin to reflect the wishes of the ethnic or religious majority. But the judiciary's functioning is fundamentally based on constitutional principles, not the wishes of the majority. If the judiciary only replicated what governments, legislatures or political parties based on electoral victories did, we would not really need it as a separate and autonomous institution. That is also why minorities in a democracy have often looked up to the courts for protection, when

popular electoral currents go

against them.

The trend is still not irreversible, but it is dire.

Second, a lot of democratic theory, and much of modern democratic practice, envisions the judiciary as a counter-majoritarian institution. In a multi-ethnic, multi-religious democratic polity, the electoral process can easily begin to reflect the wishes of the ethnic or religious majority. But the judiciary's functioning is fundamentally based on constitutional principles, not the wishes of the majority. If the judiciary only replicated what governments, legislatures or political parties based on electoral victories did, we would not really need it as a separate and autonomous institution. That is also why minorities in a democracy have often looked up to the courts for protection, when popular electoral currents go against them. A small fraction of political/legal theory does say that courts could endorse majoritarianism, if it was legislatively approved, and some courts have historically done that. Legally, Blacks suffered a lot — and for decades — in America's South. But most theorists would prescribe to the judiciary a majority-constraining role, should the majority or its representatives cross legal lines. A Hindu temple on the contested site after a mosque's destruction departs from the principle of judicial counter-majoritarianism.

The distinction between the electoral and the judicial, towards which the SC judgment is pushing us, requires further elaboration. Let us begin historically.

Should India treat its Muslims the same way as Pakistan was dealing with its Hindus? This question repeatedly arose in the early years of freedom when India's Constitution was debated. Supported by Ambedkar, Nehru argued: "Whatever the provocation from Pakistan and whatever the indignities and horrors inflicted on non-Muslims there, we have to deal with (our) minority in a civilised manner. We must give them security and the rights of citizens in a democratic state. If we fail to do so, we shall have a festering sore which will eventually poison the whole body politic." Earlier, critiquing Jinnah, Ambedkar argued that constitutional and institutional safeguards could easily be devised to check majoritarianism and protect minority rights. That Hindus are a majority, said Ambedkar, does not automatically lead to Hindu rule.

India's Constitution thus developed a charter of minority rights — educational, cultural, religious — and gave no special privileges to the Hindu majority. Secularism came to be defined not only as equal rights for all, regardless of religious affiliation, but also as comprising special minority rights on the assumption that minority numbers alone would not allow them to protect their interests in a democracy.

This constitutional settlement was further bolstered by the electoral realities of India. Until 2008, 81 parliamentary constituencies of India were more than 20 per cent Muslim (including 10 that were Muslim-majority) and 126 seats were 10-20 per cent Muslim. Thus, in 38 per cent of parliamentary seats, Muslim voters could play an important role. Even if mainstream politicians had anti-Muslim feelings, these electoral realities would partly check them. The 2008 redrawing of constituencies has most probably not significantly changed Muslim proportions.

This long-lasting electoral logic was fundamentally altered in 2014 and 2019. The BJP came to power with only 8 per cent of the Muslim vote each time, an outcome inconceivable under the earlier electoral calculus. The key to this transformation was the consolidation of the Hindu vote. The BJP received 37.4 per cent vote in 2019; roughly 35 per cent was Hindu. Compared to 2014, BJP's vote went up in all caste categories, including Dalits. Muslims can play an important electoral role only if the Hindu vote is sufficiently castecleaved. Analytically, Hindu consolidation and Muslim irrelevance are two sides of the same electoral coin.

If Hindu consolidation goes further Muslims will become electorally even more irrelevant. We can't still be sure this would happen. But even if Hindu electoral consolidation remains at the current level, India's Muslims would need the judiciary's countermajoritarianism to safeguard their interests. If the judiciary bows to the executive and legislature, supporting majoritarian logic, Jinnah's fears will be affirmed, Ambedkar's constitutional optimism nullified, and Nehru's prediction about a "festering sore" might also come true. Production of Muslim helplessness is most unlikely to strengthen India, or its polity.

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SWACHH BHARAT IN THE CITY

Urban areas require a different approach to end open defecation

HIMANSHU GUPTA

THE SWACHH BHARAT Mission is being executed by two different ministries — the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation for rural areas and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs for urban areas. In the rural areas, the major challenge was to change the mindset of the populace so that they would start using household toilets rather than defecate in open areas. As majority of the households did not have toilets in their homes, the main component of Swachh Bharat Mission (Grameen) was to construct household latrines and to focus on information, education and communication (IEC) activities. The need for a dedicated sewerage network is less in rural areas as the toilets are connected with inhouse soak pits. Domestic waste in rural areas is also managed in a much better manner as it is segregated at the household level and a majority of it is used in the fields. Thus, improving the cleanliness level in a rural area is much less complex than in an urban set up.

An urban area faces two major challenges disposal of solid waste and sewerage/liquid waste. Disposal of solid waste has three key components. First, waste collection, then transfer of the waste, and lastly, proper disposal at the landfill site. The task of waste collection and its transfer to the landfill site reguires both manpower as well as an efficient transportation system. The segregation of Merely constructing toilets cannot solve the problem as these areas require proper sewerage network. The soak pit system that works in rural areas cannot work in urban areas due to a space crunch and increasing population density. The job of laying the sewerage network is again distributed between the state's public health engineering department and the municipalities.

waste can either be at the source or at the landfill. Segregation at source is more economical At the landfill, it is done by either using highend segregation plants or manual conveyors.

In most urban areas, disposal of solid waste is primarily the responsibility of municipalities. However, these municipalities are not equipped with the manpower, financial resources and technology for the task. Most of them are dependent upon the state governments for resources. These municipalities do not have sufficient human resources in terms of engineers or sanitation staff to manage the waste. Landfill site management is very poor due to lack of technical know-how.

The second challenge is to manage sewerage in urban areas. Merely constructing toilets cannot solve the problem as these areas require proper sewerage network. The soak pit system that works in rural areas cannot work in urban areas due to a space crunch and increasing population density. The job of laying the sewerage network is again distributed between the state's public health engineering department and the municipalities.

If we look at strategy adopted by the Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban), its main focus is on the construction of individual household toilets, community toilets, public urinals and IEC activities. The funds earmarked for solid waste management are minimal. Similarly, there is limited provision of funds for laying the sewerage networks. The strategy used for Swachh Bharat Mission (Grameen) will not yield results in the urban mission.

Hence, there is a need for revamping the Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban) wherein the focus is on solid waste and sewer management. The ministry must ask the state governments to assess their capabilities in waste handling. Recurring funds must be provided for collection of waste and its disposal. A window may be given to municipalities for upgrading their capabilities to augment their revenue collection. Separate funds must be given for the development of landfill sites. Best possible practices for waste collection across key cities must be studied and emulated.

Adopting a piecemeal approach for constructing toilets and litter bins will not solve the systemic issue of waste disposal in cities. Unless we are able to lift the waste from the streets systematically, cleanliness will not have any meaning. The success of the Swachh Bharat Mission depends not only on changing the mindset, but, also on changing in the way waste is disposed of by the municipalities and the state governments.

> The writer is secretary, planning and investment, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. Views are personal

NOVEMBER 13, 1979, FORTY YEARS AGO

AKALI UNITY

IFTHE FORMULA hammered out by the Akali Dal's seven-member committee appointed by the head priests is acceptable to other parties, there is every possibility of the Akali Dal remaining united. Six of the seven members of the committee met in New Delhi for over two hours to consider the question of electoral alliance with other parties. Only Jagdev Singh Talwandi, president of the Akali Dal, was absent. According to the formula worked out in the morning, the Akali Dal will contest seven of the 13 Lok Sabha seats in Punjab and the remaining six will be left for the alliance parties. The seven seats which the Akali party proposes to contest are Sangrur, Bhatinda (Reserved), Ropar (Reserved), Ludhiana, Faridkot. Patiala and Tarn Taran.

IRAN'S DEMAND ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR, RECENTLY put in charge of Iran's foreign ministry by Ayatollah Khomeini, told French radio interviewers "no compromise, no negotiation, is possible", over Iran's demand that the US extradite the ousted Shah to stand trial for his life, reports AP. Bani-Sadr summoned all foreign ambassadors to his office in Teheran on Monday to urge them to ask their governments to persuade the US to extradite the deposed Shah to stand trial in Iran. "Mr Bani Sadr told the

envoys the Iranian demand was both logical

and reasonable," a foreign ministry spokesman told the Associated Press in Nicosia by telephone.

SHEKHAR'S PROPHECY

THE JANATA PARTY President Chandra Shekhar forecast that the coalition caretaker government would break before the ensuing Lok Sabha elections. Chandra Shekhar said in Bombay that Congress leaders were beginning to realise that they would not be a factor to reckon with in the upcoming elections if they associated with the Lok Dal. Many did not believe his earlier prediction about the disintegration of the Lok Dal, "which is now coming true", Chandra Shekhar said.

THE IDEAS PAGE

In Ayodhya, either justice or peace

Supreme Court's offer of a five-acre plot elsewhere to compensate for the demolition of the Babri mosque is charity by the privileged to the underprivileged



RENA AKBAR

WE KNEW IT was coming. We knew it since May 23, when the BIP was re-elected to power with a bigger majority than the previous general election. We knew that the BJP would not miss this most opportune moment in history to complete the campaign that first brought it to national prominence: The construction of the Ram Mandir on the ground where the Babri Masjid once stood. This knowledge, or apprehension, was

born not of a dream. But of hard facts that played out in the first tenure of the Narendra Modi-led government. A tenure marked by a spate of unpunished lynchings of Muslims, unchecked anti-Muslim rhetoric of BJP politicians, and an unending anti-Muslim narrative peddled by the media, that kept the community in the news on one pretext or the other, be it beef or "love jihad" or "Bharat Mata ki Jai" or dead Muslim men like Aurangzeb and Jinnah.

After May 23,the BJP re-launched its Hindutva agenda with a renewed zeal. A zeal boosted by the party's re-election despite the failure to deliver on economic development, proving without doubt, at least to the Muslim citizen, that Hindutva was the BJP's only attraction for its voters.

With the nation's mood firmly in control, it was time for the BIP to get down to serious business. To grow beyond wielding public opinion through news television, or giving a free pass to mob violence against Muslims. To put the spirit of Hindutva to the letter. To write the agenda subtly in law. And thus, the first assignment of the BJP's current tenure was to pass the Triple Talaq Bill, on July 30. Less than a week later, on August 5, Parliament struck down Article 370, snatching away the statehood of Jammu and Kashmir, and locking down the Valley indefinitely. The swift progression from one milestone to another, amidst the implementation of the NRC in Assam, signalled that the next stop could be building the Ram Mandir.

The Supreme Court wrapped up hearing the 70-year-old title suit in 40 days and announced its verdict, giving the whole of the disputed land to the Hindus to build a temple. With this one stroke, it put the final fullstop to the story of the gradual, state-andcourt-sanctioned conversion of mosque into temple — from the illegal placement of idols inside the mosque and disallowing Muslim prayer there in 1949 to unlocking the gates in order to give Hindu devotees access inside the mosque in 1986 to demolishing the mosque in 1992 and building a makeshift, functioning temple at the site a few months later.

We knew that the end to the long story was now finally in sight. In the unofficial Hindu Rashtra, its time had come. And yet, my preparedness could not stop me from being overwhelmed with grief when the verdict was being read out on TV. Similar to the grief felt over the death of a terminally-ill patient, Muslims felt a quiet, resigned sadness over a verdict that they knew would not go their way.

The sadness was compounded by the conviction that the verdict should have gone our



CR Sasikumar

way. That we were stronger claimants of victory. Not the chest-thumping victory of gain. But a sombre victory of recovering a loss. The loss of the physical structure of the masjid, the loss of lives in the bloody aftermath of its demolition, the loss of faith in the secular foundations of the country. The recovery of this loss would have spelt justice for Muslims.

But Muslims knew all too well that justice for them in the Court could mean injustice for them on the street in the form of possible retaliatory violence by Hindu right-wing groups. Justice would then have come at the cost of peace. On the other hand, losing the claim to the title suit would greatly reduce the possibility of violence by the other side and ensure peace.

In an ideal situation, justice and peace go hand in hand. But in majoritarian India, Muslims knew that they would get either justice or peace. In recent months, prominent Muslims talked of withdrawing claim to the site provided no fresh cases of other disputed sites are opened and Muslims are allowed to pray at mosques under the ASI. Would I now be allowed to pray on any day of the week and at any of the five times during the day in the mosque inside the Taj Mahal complex?

It would have been best had Muslims won the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid title suit and then handed over ownership of

It would have been best had Muslims won the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid title suit and then handed over ownership of the land. That would have been a winwin: Hindus would get the land that they attach to their faith; Muslims would get justice for their masjid. That would have gone a long way in correcting Hindu misperceptions of Muslims. But the possibility of such a

the land to Hindus in all humility. That would have been a win-win: Hindus would get the land that they attach to their faith; Muslims would get justice for their masjid which was criminally demolished on December 6, 1992. That would have gone a long way in correcting Hindu misperceptions of Muslims. But the possibility of such a scenario, born of a tiny flicker of hope in the judiciary, fell apart on November 9.

The Supreme Court verdict has guaranteed peace but denied justice to Muslims. Lest we forget, Muslims are at the forefront of maintaining that peace, and the community must be lauded for its patience and restraint in the face of repeated provocations from the state, the mob and the media over the last five years. And finally, betrayal by its last bastion of hope, the Supreme Court, on November 9.

One may ask if the apex court's offer of a five-acre plot elsewhere to compensate for the demolition of the mosque isn't justice. Charity is not a synonym of justice. Or of closure. Charity is given by the privileged group to the underprivileged group. Thank you, India, for reminding Muslims that privilege can only belong to the majority in a majoritarian state.

> The writer is an entrepreneur and a freelance contributor

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"At a time of great confrontation and mistrust in the subcontinent, Pakistan has taken a major step towards peace by opening the Kartarpur Corridor in Punjab's Narowal district." —DAWN

When siblings part

End of alliance with Shiv Sena speaks of BJP's recent propensity to convert friends into foes, once a Congress hallmark



Girish Kuber

TIRED OF HIS wife's constant bickering, a husband loses his cool and tells her, "I won't mind killing myself, but I will make you a widow". This popular anecdote, that speaks about a section of the argumentative Marathi *manoos*, also sums up the Shiv Sena's — that claims to be the custodian of Marathi interests — current predicament. The Sena may have been successful in robbing its senior partner, the BJP, of the chance to be in office in Maharashtra for the time being. But in the bargain, it has also exposed itself to an existential challenge. The political situation in Maharashtra also indicates how history repeats itself. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was anti-Congressism which brought political forces of all hues together, that has now been replaced by anti-BJPism.

First, about the Shiv Sena's misadventure. Though the Sena-BJP stayed loyal to each other for nearly three decades, of late there were indications that major fissures were developing in the saffron alliance. The alliance was also showing signs of fatigue, which would otherwise have been described as normal in any relationship. But what was not normal in this case was the unwillingness of the now-senior partner, the BJP, to accept the reality. The BJP kept on painting a picture that everything was normal and ignored the Sena's signals asking for "better treatment" (read a better deal in the alliance). Snubbed consistently by the BJP, the Sena was exasperated. Signs of its desperation became visible after the election results were out. The Sena was gleeful after the verdict, which had considerably weakened the BJP. However, it ignored the fact that the election outcome had weakened the Sena even more. The party thought of playing the role of the Big Brother, which it had conceded to the BJP. Hence, its demand for the chief minister's post. It was naive for the Sena to expect that the BJP would give up the top post when the former's numbers were little more than half of that of the latter. In the 288-member House, the BJP is the single-largest party with 105 MLAs while the Sena has 56. The Congress and NCP have 44 and 54 MLAs.

The situation offers only one option: Two v/s three. In other words, either BJP-Sena have to stay together to stake a claim or the other two — Congress and NCP need one of the saffron siblings supporting them to reach the required number. That saffron sibling can only be Sena since there is no way for the BJP to accommodate the Congress or the NCP. So, taking a simplistic view of the situation, the Sena

did what it should not have done.

It dared the BIP and dreamt of leading the state with the Congress and NCP in tow. But politics is not just about arithmetic, it's also a lot about chemistry. The latter can change the former but the reverse is always less likely. As a result, the Sena caught itself hanging between the devil and deep sea as the Congress refused to sign on the dotted line. Completely unmindful of the Congress's machinations, the Sena took its support for granted and went to stake claim only to realise there is no one to support it.

On the other hand, two politicians played their game astutely — Sonia Gandhi and Sharad Pawar. First, Pawar actually did nothing but his sweet talk misled the Sena. Pawar indicated his willingness to support the Sena provided it gets the Congress on board. While doing that, though he took a high-moral ground citing an alliance with the Congress, the reality is that he knew that numbers are such that the NCP's support alone isn't enough to break the ice. On the other hand, Sonia Gandhi took her own time and refused to succumb to pressure from the Congress's state satraps who were eager to join hands with the "communal" Sena. The alliance-in-the-making, Sonia must have realised, would have helped the NCP rather than the Congress. As a result, the Congress's letter of support never came and the Sena was left in the lurch.

But this high-voltage drama also signifies the BJPs ability to convert friends into foes, the trait the Congress was once known to have. Ironical as it may sound, it took the Congress more than 60 years to reach this stage while the BJP has managed to earn this distinction in less than a decade. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was the Congress that every other political party loved to hate. Now it's the BJP that triggers such repulsive feelings amongst other parties – friends as well as competitors. In the end, the Congress and NCP may not have extended their support to the Sena, but the anti-BJPism of all these parties was the glue that brought them together.

The results from Maharashtra, along with the Haryana assembly elections, also have another message — to focus on the real issues facing the people. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the BJP chief Amit Shah had pinned great hopes on Maharashtra considering its size and importance. The duo had held more than a dozen rallies in the states. But the BJP's performance was certainly underwhelming, to say the least. However, that should not be the BJP's sole cause for concern. It should worry about the fact that it lost the important constituencies that Modi-Shah had singled out and had campaigned vig-

orously in. In the end, the stalemate in Maharashtra will force everyone to get off their high-horse and introspect. More importantly, it's bound to compel the BJP to soften its rhetoric and start addressing real issues like the state of the economy and growing unemployment.

The writer is editor, Loksatta

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEBATING A SHIFT

clean air' (IE, November 11). Though the solutions suggested by the writer seem simple, they will not be easy to implement. The real problem is not of subsidies provided for paddy or the high procurement rate for paddy but the uncertainties of the market system. Farmers do not have much faith in the market, especially when that involves a shift to an uncertain crop. Schemes like providing incentives are not going to change the mindset of farmers.

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'A crop for

Gaurav Deshmukh via e-mail

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'A crop for clean air' (IE, November 11). A major hindrance in promoting crop diversification is that the MSP for a crop doesn't account for ecological costs of agriculture like soil salinisation, overuse of pesticides, groundwater exploitation. I agree with the writer that we need to remove distorting subsidies. What is also needed is a predictable export policy, promotion of contract farming, and expansion of extension programmes and outreach to help farmers make better informed choices.

Tanvi Singh, Jalandhar Unsure again

THIS REFERS TO the report, 'Cong closes the door on Sena' (IE, November 12). The Congress's dithering in Maharashtra has dismayed its supporters. After MP and Rajasthan, the loss of another big state would be a huge blow to the BJP. Moreover, the friction with the Sena is already creating problems for the BJP —

LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

To encourage quality reader

intervention, The Indian **Express offers the Letter of** the Week award. The letter adjudged the best for the week is published every Saturday. Letters may be e-mailed to editpage@expressindia.com or sent to The Indian

Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301.

there are also issues with its ally, AJSU, in

Jharkhand. But for the Gandhis, it seems

that their personal grudge against the

Thackerays matters more than the

party's interest.

S Bhalerao, Mumbai

CRIME & TREATMENT

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Treat the disease'(IE, November 12). Paedophilic tendencies should be treated with compassion and sympathy. One in 35 men show such a tendency. They should be given counselling and administered anti-depressants. The government should take take initiatives to accommodate the patients and ensure good treatment. It is important to treat the disease, not merely punish the diseased. This way we can reduce crimes and abuse towards children.

Muhammad Ansari. Kerala

After the verdict

Muslims need to shun opportunist leaders and shed congealed stereotypes

scenario, born of a tiny

flicker of hope in the

November 9.

judiciary, fell apart on

FIROZ BAKHT AHMED

MOST MUSLIMS HAVE welcomed the Ayodhya verdict as it is a balanced scorecard. The Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute was impeding the growth of the community in several ways. Gratitude is due to Chief Justice Ranjan Gogoi who led the Supreme Court bench which relieved India of this problem. The government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi has managed the fallout of the verdict — as well as of the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35-A in Kashmir.

It would have been much better if this dispute had been amicably settled out of court, as suggested in 2017 by the then CILIS Khehar or, recently, by the constitution bench led by CJI Ranjan Gogoi. As a matter of fact, the Muslims should have offered this patch of land to the Hindus, stating that they are doing so as a goodwill gesture for Lord Ram, while leaving the rest to Allah and Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Certainly, the magic would have worked, and the animosity of Partition would have been history.

No doubt, after this gesture, the Hindus would have built not one but many mosques. Besides, this humane gesture would have obviated all scope for converting any other mosque —any monument, in fact — into a

temple. However, owing to the actions of some self-appointed leaders of the community, the Muslims have missed the bus.

The Muslims have always maintained that once a mosque exists, it will always remain till the Day of Judgment — the house of Allah can't be shifted. That is true in a religious sense, but in view of the circumstances, some settlement was needed. As the Muslims have their Mecca, Christians have Bethlehem, Jews have Jerusalem and Buddhists have Bodh Gaya, the Hindus too must have their most important shrine. Muslims, most of the time, remained occupied with legalities. They couldn't properly process that their lives and lived realities are attached with the Hindus. If a matter like this was not sorted out amicably, it would have harmed the Muslim cause more than anything else.

We are not living in the Mughal times, nor in the Congress era. The RSS and its political wing, the BJP, are in power. The Muslims should have changed their outlook but, instead, they kept distancing themselves from these platforms. Not only this, a lot of vitriol is being poured against the Sangh Parivar.It is high time that the Muslims stop casting as-

persions on the RSS and BIP — especially during elections when many from the community make appeals to vote for any candidate who is capable of defeating the BJP candidate. In a democracy, a capable candidate, no matter from which party he or she belongs to, should be supported.

Even I used to think that the RSS, Jana Sangh and the BIP are against the Muslims. But at some point, I thought of interacting with them and found that this was my misconception. It was based on a misunderstanding. The RSS is a nationalist organisation that has its own strict set of rules and wants Muslims to do well. In fact, whenever Mohan Bhagwat, the RSS chief, has spoken of Muslims, he has been well-meaning he has often said, publicly, that if the Muslim community is backward, India will also remain backward. He expressed his opinion too – alongside PM Modi – regarding the Ram temple judgment, and, said that it was a balanced one: Nobody should thump one's chest in victory or shed tears on defeat.

Some of the baggage Indian Muslims carry is due to the perception they believe the majority community has of them. That

perception is, in fact, inaccurate, made up of half-truths and cooked-up charges. The other burden is a result of their own inaction, which has led to the emergence of opportunistic interlocutors — clerics and personal law boards. Muslims must come out of the control of these hypocritical, rigid clerics who lead them astray.

If Muslims want to progress educationally, socially and economically, they must now try to get out of the clutches of the rabble-rousing representatives or faux secularists — these are the very people responsible for their misery since Partition. Around 200 million Muslims have to exist in India with their non-Muslim brethren; they have to live in amity with them to take India towards success and glory.

PM Modi, who tells them to hold the Ouran in one hand and a computer in the other, has been their well-wisher. However, Opposition leaders have been misleading them. It is time Muslims stopped being misled by such leaders who keep instigating the community against the RSS and the BJP.

The writer is the chancellor of Maulana Azad National Urdu University

epaper indianexpress.com

PM heads ministers' meet Centre's detailed security planning on Ayodhya temple trust

POST SC ORDER Govt has 3 months to form trust, VHP wants 'only Hindus' to be part of body

Smriti Kak Ramachandran

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Tuesday chaired a meeting with a small group of Union ministers to deliberate on the setting up of a trust that will have the mandate to decide on all matters related to the construction of a Ram Temple in Avodhva, said a Bharativa Janata Party (BJP) functionary familiar with the matter and who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Tuesday's meeting starts the process of setting up the trust. which will be under the purview of the Union ministry of home affairs.

On Saturday, the Supreme Court, in its order on the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid title suit, gave the government three months from the date of the judgment to set up such a

"The apex court has given the central government the powers to decide [on] issues related to the land and construction. So as per the directions of the court, if the centre needs to purchase additional land around the site



A model of the proposed Ram temple displayed at Karsevakpuram campus in Avodhva on Tuesday.

directions.

be formed.

Even as the government is vet

to reach out to stakeholders

such as the Ramianamabhoomi

Nyas to take on board their sug-

gestions, the Vishwa Hindu Par-

ishad (VHP), which set up the

Nyas, wants the government to

be kept out of the trust that will

Surendra Jain, international

joint general secretary of the

VHP, which led the campaign

for the construction of the Ram

for the construction of the temple, it can do so," said another person aware of the development who asked not to be named.

The SC, in its judgment, said ...the Central Government will be at liberty to make suitable provisions in respect of the rest of the acquired land by handing it over to the trust or body for management and development in terms of the scheme framed in accordance with the above government to ensure that "only Hindus" are part of the trust and that "instead of government representatives they should take on board members of socio-religious bodies". 'We also want the trust that

Temple, said the body wants the

will be set up to construct the temple as per the model that was designed by Chandrakant Sompura, use the stones that have been collected and carved over the years to be used for the grand temple and use only funds collected by the people," Jain

Sompura is a Gujarat-based architect who was asked to design the Ram Temple by the late VHP supremo Ashok Singhal, His father, Prabhakar Sompura, was the architect of the Somnath Temple in Gujarat.

On whether the VHP has made any other suggestions so far: Jain said reports of the body having suggested that the model of the trust being created should be that of the Somnath Trust or the Badrinath Trust were incorrect. "Each temple follows its own policy and has its own character: there can't be a single model to fit all." Jain said.

Visa delay stalls Chinese delegations' visits

Rezaul H Laskar

NEW DELHI: The visit to India of at least five delegations from China is yet to go ahead because of a delay in issuance of visas, people familiar with developments said on Tuesday.

The delegations, mostly from provincial governments across China and including one from various universities, had been expected to travel to the country in November and there is now a question mark on whether the visits will happen this year, the people cited above said.

The visits were being organised as part of enhanced contacts that had been proposed following meetings of the India-China high-level mechanism on cultural and people-to-people

THE EIGHTH EDITION OF

THE BUSINESS MEET WAS BEING JOINTLY ORGANISED BY FICCI AND THE INTERNATIONAL **BUSINESS LINKAGE** FORUM (IBLF)

exchanges. The body, co-chaired by the foreign ministers of the two countries, has met twice since December last year.

"As of now, there is no clarity on when the visas will be issued and whether the visits, which are already delayed, will happen within this year," said a person

on condition of anonymity. The reason for the delay in the issue of visas for the delegations could not immediately be ascertained. There was no word on the development from Indian offi-

A second person, who too declined to be named, said there was a set procedure for issuing visas to members of visiting foreign delegations and this was being followed in these cases too.

The people cited above clarified that a proposed visit of a Chinese business delegation to participate in the China-India Forum to be held in New Delhi during November 13-14 had been put off because of technical reasons, and not because of denial of

The eighth edition of the business meet was being jointly organised by FICCI and the International Business Linkage Forum (IBLF). A message posted on

IBLF's website said: "Due to unforeseen circumstances we have been advised to postpone the Forum for the time being. We apologise for the inconvenience caused. We hope to announce the new event date soon." It did not give further details.

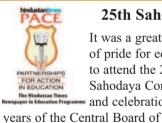
A Chinese delegation of about 70 members had been expected to

ioin the event. India-China relations were buffeted earlier this year by Beijing's strong support for Islamabad after New Delhi's August 5 decision to revoke Jammu and Kashmir's special status and reorganise the state into two union territories. China opposed the creation of the union territory of Ladakh despite India's contention that the changes had no implications for the country's

external borders.

PACE NEWS

25th Sahodaya Conference and Celebrations of 90 years of CBSE



It was a great moment of pride for educators to attend the 25th Sahodaya Conference and celebration of 90

Secondary Education in the Vigyan Bhawan. One of the highlights of inauguration was the release of the book "Transformation and Engagement – Practitioners' Perspectives". The Minister of Human Resource Development, Ramesh Pokhriyal 'Nishank' released the first book of essays and case studies conceived by the C.B.S.E. Present on the occasion were Amit Khare, I.A.S. Secretary, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Anita Karwal, I.A.S., Chairperson, Central Board of Secondary Education, Dr. Joseph Emannuel, Director,



Academics, C.B.S.E. and Anurag Tripathi, Secretary, CBSE. This was a collaborative initiative of the Central Board of Secondary Education and National Progressive Schools' Conference. Dr. Ameeta Mulla Wattal, Principal, Springdales School, the editor was supported by the editorial team of Malini Narayanan, Chairperson, N.P.S.C., Principal, Army Public School, Rachna Pant, Principal, Ramjas School, Sadhana Bhalla, Principal, Mira Model School, Dr. Nirmalya Samanta, Associate Professor,

Department of English, Ramanujan College and Dr. Melva Pope, Associate Professor, Department of English, St. John's College. The content of the book has been crowdsourced from Principals and Teachers of the C.B.S.E. schools across the country. The Chairperson in her address said that the book would be a tool for learning, experimenting and replicating of new

ideas that would

and classroom

transaction.

re-engineer pedagogy

Sustainable City Project Made by Students of Mother's Global School, Preet Vihar



Mother's Global School, Preet Vihar carried out a project tilted 'Sustainable City – Challenges checkmated' with special focus on Waste Management, Human Resource Management and Transport and Mobility. Students made an earnest effort to explore and analyse the challenges faced by countries in setting up a sustainable city and the viable solutions through activities under this project which included presentation and group discussion, book mark making, smart toons, virtual modeling and blog writing. The culmination of the project was marked by an interschool fest 'YES (Youth empowered for Sustainability)' cum Expert Talk. The resource person for the expert talk was Sorit Gupto, Editor, Gobar Times, published by Centre for Science and Environment. enlightened the students.

G.D. Goenka Public School, Sector-9 Rohini, Hosts 'Resplendence'



G.D. Goenka Public School, Sector-9 Rohini hosted 'Resplendence', an amalgamation of various activities. The school hosted competitors from notable schools from in and around Rohini. The event was a perfect blend of competitions namely 'Leaving your Footprints', 'Let's Unveil the Mystery', 'Robomania', 'Future Entrepreneurs', 'Character Dramatisation' and many more. The Academic Director Sweyta Mishra, Principal Dr. Shipra Kumar, welcomed the eminent judges. The Principal declared the competition open with a motivating speech where she emphasised on the importance of leadership qualities and competitive spirit. The judges were impressed by the commendable performance of the participants.

NO BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER

ensured peace post-Ayodhya verdict

SHISHIR GUPTA EXECUTIVE EDITOR

xactly 24 hours after Saturday's historic Ayodhya judgment by the Supreme Court, Uttar Pradesh director general of police (DGP) Om Prakash Singh sent a mes sage to all his 75 district police chiefs to go and pat the backs of men deployed at five static police posts of their choice for upholding law and order. He also directed the district chiefs to ensure adequate rest for men of the overstretched 300,000

strong police force. Three days after the verdict and serious concern among both communities of a possible breakdown of law and order. peace is holding despite continuous instigation from Pakistanbased terror groups, particularly the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). Unlike the aftermath of the December 6, 1992 demolition of the disputed structure in Avodhya, when large parts of the country erupted in communal violence, the Avodhva court verdict has been taken as clo-

sure by the two communities. The peace was achieved through meticulous security planning and clear-cut direc tions from both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and home minister Amit Shah to the state administration, paramilitary forces and intelligence agen-

The national security appara-

Parents burn alive son who harassed them, say police

Srinivasa Rao Apparasu

HYDERABAD: A couple allegedly set their 42-year-old son on fire as he used to regularly harass them for property in Telangana's Warangal (Rural) district on Tuesday, police said.

The deceased, Kadari Mahesh Chandra, was an alcoholic, police said.

The accused have been identified as K Prabhakar and his wife. Vimala. Damera sub-inspector of

police U Bhaskar Reddy said that Chandra, a labourer, had been harassing his parents to part with his share of their prop erty for some time. "Every day he used to come home in an ine briated condition and beat up his parents, wife and childrena daughter in Class 12 and a son in Class 7. Unable to bear his harassment, his wife left for her parents' house along with her children two months ago, Reddy said.

According to police, at around 7 pm on Tuesday, Chandra came home in an inebriated condition and picked up quarrel with his parents. "Frustrated with him, Prabhakar and Vimala tied his hands, doused him with petrol and set him ablaze. He died within minutes," Reddy said.Police have taken the parents into custody. "We have shifted the body to the local government hospital for post-mortem examination. Right now, we are questioning the parents and are yet to register the case," Reddy said.

Warrant against Shashi Tharoor in defamation case

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI: A Delhi court has issued a bailable warrant against Congress leader Shashi Tharoor for not appearing in a criminal defamation complaint against him over his alleged 'scorpion on Shivling' remarks referring to Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Chief Metropol itan Magistrate Naveen Kumar Kashyap on Monday issued the warrant against the Congress leader noting that neither Tharoor nor his counsel appeared before the court.

 $The \, mag is trate \, also \, imposed$ a fine of ₹500 on the complainant, Delhi BJP leader Rajiv Babbar, who also did appear."Neither complainant nor his

main counsel is present. An exemption application is moved on behalf of the complainant. The same is vague," the court said.



Security personnel stand guard at the Sarayu river in Ayodhya on

tus was galvanised by National Security Advisor Aiit Doval. who is not accompanying PM Modi to the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) summit in Brazil this week and staying put in Delhi to monitor the situation in both Ayodhya and Kashmir.

UP chief minister Yogi Adityanath, along with DGP Singh. handled the law and order in a state which had over 16,000 communal hot spots and 31 districts categorised as ultra-sensitive and 16 as sensitive. The state police identified 1.700 places where religious radicalization or communal incidents had taken place. Simply put, the state is a security nightmare for

The plan to ensure peace and tranquillity post the Ayodhya judgement was put in place by the Centre, including the minority affairs ministry, and the

state administration at least a month in advance with all sides engaging religious and intellectual leaders of both communities. Muslim community leaders had proved their mettle in the past when they engaged their flock in ensuring that their vouth did not join the rabid Islamic State. It is to their credit that hardly 100 men were won over by the group in a country

with over 180 million Muslims.

With 24 X 7 backup from the Research and Analysis Wing (RA&W), Intelligence Bureau and Military Intelligence, the UP state police led from the front, with more than 10,000 meetings being held with community leaders at the level of police stations and districts. The communication plan app, or C-PLAN, developed as a pilot by UP police, came to the aid of police stations with over 20,000 volunteers linking to the app and keeping in touch with police stations. Reinforcing them were 283,000 digital volunteers, who acted as the eves and ears of the law enforcement agencies so that ground intelligence was obtained in real time. For each police station, there were 200 digital volunteers and 10 C-PLAN app users to help secure peace.

UP police also mounted aggressive cyber patrolling to ensure that no misinformation or fake news was spread through content platforms via the internet. Barring a planned five-hour outage in Aligarh, the internet was working in UP as the state police engaged more than 300,000 users for trying to disturb the peace. As many as 600 accounts were blocked, 42 cases registered and 77 persons taken into custody for posting objectionable material by the state police as cyber cells in all districts went into hyper drive. The objective was clear -- that no communal incident should take place: human lives took prece dence over cyber liberty

With the law and order situa tion under control as of now, the state police, aided by security agencies, have not gone back to their barracks but is actively engaged in patrols on the ground and in cyber space to prevent any communal flare-up. Law enforcement has been helped by leaders of the two communities, who have been successful in sending a message of peace and communal harmony.

The Ayodhya chapter, it seems, has finally closed, with the past burying its dead.

Daylight robbery

Police said robbers shot and injured two jewellers, killed the driver of an SUV



from Kolkata by Kathgodam Express. They are carrying three bags containing jewellery



They get in an SUV to reach Begusarai. A driver is



bike waylay the car and start



The robbers flee

Armed robbers kill one, flee with jewellery worth ₹25 cr in Bihar

Avinash Kuma

PATNA: Armed robbers escaped with gold and silver ornaments worth ₹25 crore on Tuesday after shooting and injuring two jewellers and killing the driver of a sports utility vehicle (SUV) in which they were travelling in Bihar's Begusarai district, the police said

 $The \, incident \, took \, place \, in \, the \,$ Thakurichak neighbourhood under the limits of the Garhara police outpost. The police said the two jewellers suffered gunshot injuries and a third person, another jeweller, was unhurt. The slain driver was identified as Dipak Kumar

The incident took place around 9 am, an hour after the three jewellers, all from Begusarai town reached Barauni from

Kolkata by train, and were on their way home after buying iewellery from wholesalers in the eastern metropolis. The three, identified as Prince Soni. Abhya Kumar Singh and Santosh Kumar, were carrying gold and silver ornaments in three

Begusarai range deputy inspector general (DIG) Rajesh Kumar said that the three jewellers alighted from Kathgodam Express at the Barauni junction.

..We suspect the miscreants had prior knowledge of arrival of the stock of gold from Kolkata and targeted the businessmen. There is a possibility that some one known to the jewellers might have tipped off the robbers. All angles are being probed," the DIG said.

On their way to Begusarai, the SUV was intercepted at Thakuri

chak by the criminals. Police said the assailants, riding a black motorbike, fired at the jewellers sitting inside the SUV soon after intercepting the vehicle and took away the bags containing the jewellery. The SUV driver died on the spot and Soni and Santosh Kumar were injured in the shooting

"We suspect that the criminals were following the jewellers after they alighted from the train at Barauni station in the morning...," said a police officer engaged in the investigation The police are studying CCTV footage to identify the robbers The police said that based on pre liminary investigations and statements given by one of the jewellers, the ornaments were estimated to be worth ₹25 crore. The Garhara police have registered a case

REPORTS OF CYBER ATTACK

Kudankulam plant safe, Russia told

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Indian authorities have informed their Russian counterparts that the Kudankulam nuclear power plant was secure following reports of a recent cyber attack and that measures had been put in place to prevent a repeat of such incidents, a top Russian diplomat said on Tuesday.

A part of a network at the Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu, India's largest civil nuclear facility, was breached earlier this

year during a hacking attack believed to have originated on foreign soil. The attack did not compromise critical systems linked to the functioning of the plant but compromised the facility's administrative network.

"NPCIL has assured us that the plant is safe. Measures have been taken to prevent a repeat of such events...There is nothing to worry about," Roman Babushkin, the deputy chief of the Russian mission in New Delhi, told reporters. "We are working with Indian agencies to stop any further attacks and the agencies of

the two countries are interacting regularly," he said, adding cyber security and information security was one of the key areas of cooperation between India and Russia Russia's state-run firm Atom

stroyexport is playing a key role in the construction of the 6,000-MW Kudankulam project which will have six VVER-1000 nuclear reactors supplied by Moscow. Two of the reactors are currently operational, two more are being constructed and preliminary work and planning has $started for the \, remaining \, two.$

Maharashtra: A flawed decision

President's rule is hasty. The governor should have waited

n Tuesday afternoon, based on a recommendation by the governor of Maharashtra, Bhagat Singh Koshiyari, the Union government decided to recommend the imposition of President's rule in the state. The President signed off on this later in the evening.

The governor's office said he was satisfied that a government in the state could not be carried on in accordance



with the Constitution. This, then, entailed the use of Article 356, which brings the state under central rule.

The state's political theatre has indeed been fluid. Close to three weeks after the assembly election results came out, no government has been formed. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) said it did not have the numbers when it could not muster the support of the Shiv Sena. The Sena could not get letters of support from the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) and the Congress in the time allotted to it to stake claim. And it was not clear if the NCP, which had been asked by the governor to show if it had adequate support, would have the numbers either.

Yet, the governor's report was politically unsound and legally questionable. To be sure, the governor has discretion, especially in a political context where no party or alliance has an outright majority, but this discretion has to be used wisely. His task is to exhaust all possibilities of government formation before recommending the use of Article 356. In Maharashtra, this was not the case. The possibilities of an alliance government were alive, and the political process should have been allowed to take its course. There may have been delays, but negotiations among possible partners—the Sena, NCP, and Congress—were still in progress. While the governor gave 48 hours to the BJP, he gave 24 hours to the Sena, and, in effect, less than 16 hours to the NCP, to show the letters of support. A level playing field would have been more just. Indeed, both the Sena and the NCP did ask for more time— 48 hours. There may have eventually been an impasse, which would have necessitated President's rule. But the process with which it has been done now is hasty, leading to questions about the governor's impartiality and a suit in the Supreme Court. The BJP, at the Centre, should have waited too, for the current decision can be seen as a move to keep rivals out.

The economic contraction

There is a way out. Focus on the informal sector and rural incomes

he Index of Industrial Production (IIP) contracted on a year-on-year basis by 4.3% in September. This is the second consecutive month of a dip in industrial output. The last time IIP growth was negative for two consecutive months was in March and April 2012. The economy was then caught in a three-pronged crisis. Growth was slowing, inflation was increasing, and both fiscal and external deficits were rising. The economy is not fragile today but it is also not well. GDP growth in the quarter ending June 2019 was 5%. Industry growth was just 2.7%, and manufacturing, a paltry 0.6%. The economic performance in the September quarter could be worse.

How did this happen? In 2012, the economy was still coming to terms with a sudden external shock, especially in terms of export demand, due to the global financial crisis. Crude oil prices were above \$100 per barrel. Although the global economy is not doing very well today, there has been no sudden adverse movement. Crude prices are at comfortable levels. In other words, external shocks do not explain the current slowdown.

There are two domestic factors at play. The first is a largescale push for formalisation in the economy through demonetisation and Goods and Services Tax. The idea was to widen the tax base. The slowdown, which has accompanied these policies, seems to suggest that rather than becoming a part of the formal sector and augmenting revenue, the informal sector has taken a big hit and is perhaps dragging down even the formal sector. Why did this happen? The costs, which come along with formalisation, might have jeopardised the viability of many informal businesses. The second is the squeeze on farm incomes through low inflation. This has hurt the purchasing power of farmers. More than half the fiscal year is over. The government ought to address these two factors, rather than trying to pump-prime the economy through policies aimed at boosting the formal sector.

incidentally



The core of the Ayodhya judgment

Work simultaneously for both parties, ensure tangible action, and answer questions on funding

ow that the Supreme Court has decided that the Ram temple will be built on the Avodhva site, and a mosque is to come up on an alternative site of five acres in "a prominent place" in Avodhva, the right thing to do is what S Radhakrishnan advised: dirgham pasyatu, ma hrasvam (Look far ahead, be not short-

Anything else will be a waste of time. That looking ahead requires, however,

looking at the judgment's small print closely. Article 142 of the Constitution is central to this. It is, in fact, the backbone of the judgment. A broad brush enabling article, it empowers the Supreme Court to pass any order necessary "for doing complete justice in any cause". And, it is within the terms of this article that the court has ordered the creation of a Trust for the construction of the temple.

A Trust is to be formed, it has ordered within three months of the verdict to get the temple project going. This has been clearly understood. The Supreme Court has also said that "simultaneously, with the handing over of the disputed property to the Trust". the central government or the state government "shall hand over to the Central Sunni Wagf Board", the land at "a suitable prominent place in Ayodhya" for the construction of the

Along with these orders, the court has

passed a few vital consequential orders. The court said the following unambiguously:

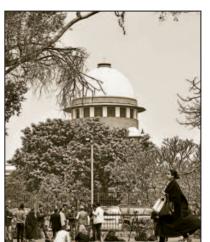
One, the handing over of the disputed site to the temple trust and the handing over of an alternative site to the Sunni Waqf Board should be done simultaneously. That is to say, it has intertwined the two operations. It has made the two exercises coextensive, coeval. coterminous. It has made them a concurrent activity.

Two, on the agency for doing this, the verdict has left an option open: Central government or state government. This is broadminded in a sense, but can be problematic in terms of the listed jurisdictions as per the Union, State and Concurrent Lists, "The Central Government and the State Government shall act in consultation with each other to effectuate the above allot ment in the period stipulated."That—effectuation within three months—is the key

Three, that Trust is also to be empowered by government in a way that enables it to proceed with the "construction of a temple and all necessary, incidental and supplemental mat-

Three words emerging from these three stipulations become crucial: simultaneously, effectuation, supplemental

The first—simultaneously—is about the timing. The court has left the State with no option. It must arrange for the disputed site to be handed over to the new Trust (or body), and



The most important "far-sight" in the judgment was the court's recognition that the Muslims were wronged in 1992

a new site measuring five acres to be handed over to the Waqf Board together. Not to do so would be violative of the orders

The second—effectuation—is about tangi ble action on the ground. What the court has said is that intentions are not enough, what is required is tangible, palpable, hard-as-land action on the ground

The third-supplemental-seems to pointto funding. Is it saying that the State must apply itself to the question: How are the two constructions to be funded? Will the State place funds at the disposal of the Trust and the

WaqfBoard for the construction or will those come from public contributions? Does the Constitution of India permit State funding of places of worship?

But by far, the most important "far-sight" contained in the judgment is in what it says about the Babri Masjid's demolition: "...the entire structure of the mosque was brought down in a calculated act of destroying a place of public worship. The Muslims have been wrongly deprived of a mosque which had been constructed well over 450 years ago."

In this lies a great forward-looking injunc tion to those who have made no secret of their intention to repeat Babri Masjid-style demoli tions elsewhere. The Supreme Court has made such intentions unlawful. And, in a sense, it has augmented heritage conserva tion norms by giving to them a theological dimension, by saying that the premeditated destruction of a house of worship is not to be

countenanced We who are elated by the judgment must ponder, carefully, the following chastising words in it: "This Court in the exercise of its powers under Article 142 of the Constitution must ensure that a wrong committed must be remedied. Justice would not prevail if the Court were to overlook the entitlement of the Muslims who have been deprived of the struc ture of the mosque through means which should not have been employed in a secular

nation committed to the rule of law. And all constitutionalists must draw hear

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Reforming India's broken criminal justice system

India's politicians seem to prefer a system they can manipulate. But if there is a will to reform, here is a way



hy does social policy need objective indicators? Why measure failures and successes of policies or institutions like the police or the courts? Well, what is measured has a better chance of getting done. This debate was ecently revived after the Nob conferred on economists Abhijit Banerjee Esther Duflo and Michael Kremer for their evidence-based trials for poverty mitigation.

The trio has been successful in translating field-based evidence into actionable public policy insights. But what if optimum databased indicators fail to influence policy? Clearly, objective data is essential but data per se does not automatically lead to improved policies. That is precisely what is happening to a mountain of data we have collected about India's criminal justice system. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) has been doing so since 1986. Similarly, since 1978, successive law commissions have used empirical evidence to give concrete recommendations but judicial pendency, delays and backlogs have only worsened.

One explanation is that our political class prefers a criminal justice system which they can manipulate. A shocking 43% of current parliamentarians are facing criminal charges, up by 26% since 2014. The situation is worse in many assemblies. True, the police can be ruthless in their handling of people and situations, but they happen to be the favourite scapegoats, even punching bags, when things go wrong. Politicians in power are blasé about using the system to frame their opponents or to exonerate thugs among party cadres. No wonder, state after state, and party after political party, has wilfully violated the Supreme Court guidelines for police reforms in the landmark Prakash Singh judgment of 2006.

But what about objective data on the criminal justice system, its infrastructure, diversity, capacity or under-utilisation of budgets? It seems the evidence and policies have managed to work at cross-purposes. Without exception, the prisons are overcrowded, the judicial system is overloaded and the constitutional right of legal aid is a distant dream. The nation should be worried as reforms could be moving in the opposite direction.

To an extent, this has been a failure of India's advocacy groups, its influential legal community, media, and peoples' movements The judiciary has issued occasional guidelines, but has avoided demanding action on the ground or punishing deliberate defaulters, whose lists have been submitted to the courts. Also missing, sadly, is the pressure from below, like a grounds well of voter sentiment which the parties would ignore at their own peril. Somehow, the reality has to sink in that India cannot become a prosperous and economic superpower on the back of an antiquated criminal justice system

The India Justice Report (IJR) is an attempt to join the dots between our expectations and ground realities. It is designed to reshuffle the same mountain of data that we have been collecting for decades to provide stimulus to all those policymakers, advocacy groups and



India cannot become a superpower on the back of an antiquated criminal justice

other stakeholders who wish to pursue a peo ple-centric justice system. A joint effort of many civil society groups, IJR provides incentives to those rare politicians who might like to bell the cat or score over rivals and compet ing states. The Opposition can use the same data as ammunition if they wish to arrest their state's decline.

The report measures the performances of individual states according to their capacities to deliver justice and ranks them in a comparable, all India Index. It uses weights and balances to iron out systemic incongruities to make comparisons possible. As a result, the same government data becomes much more coherent, comparable and actionable for policymakers. The study concentrates on systemic wants rather than needs which, in any case, is the first step towards reforms.

For instance, it is known that no state has fulfilled its quota (33%) of women personnel but the report shows that instead of closing the gender gap, most states are showing nominal progress. Most states fail to meet the quotas for the SC, ST and OBCs, while working much below their sanctioned strengths. Unfortunately, the NCRB has ceased to report Muslim representation in the police forces since 2013. which was earlier in the range of 3% to 5% of the overall force, much below the proportion of their population.

So dismal is the state of their training or capacity building (only 6.4% of all policemen got any training) that we should be surprised if they show any success or sensitivity in solvingcrimes

At the end of the report, editor Maja Daruwala, a veteran of justice system reforms, offers seven nudges. These include assessing the human resource gap and filling vacancies: ensuring representation of diverse, marginalised groups; increasing the availability of justice services in rural areas; ensuring budgets to every element of the justice system; having periodical reviews; improving transparency; and having regular empirical research for more informed policymaking. Together, these could help reform India's broken criminal jus

> Vipul Mudgal is director, Common Cause, a partner in India Justice Report The views expressed are personal

Will Trump's foreign policy outlive his term?

His imprint on trade, security and Asia policy could last. His influence on immigration, climate change may not



t is now less than one year before the next United States (US) presidential election in 2020. Whether or not Donald Trump wins a second four-year term or loses to a Democratic challenger, a major question confronting the rest of the world foreign policies will outlive his presidency.

Assessing Trump's foreign policy is

inherently challenging. The high noise-tosignal ratio in his public pronouncements whether in interviews in rallies or on Twitter — has a distortive effect. But so do personal grievances and intense political polarisation. Members of the US foreign policy firmament — those who traditionally interpreted the US for the rest of the worldare no longer impartial actors, and are often viscerally and emotionally opposed to Trump (Republicans sometimes more than Democrats). It is little surprise then that both US allies such as Germany, Canada, the United Kingdom, and South Korea and adversaries such as China have often fundamentally misread the current presidency.

But enough time has now elapsed to discern the broad contours of a Trump doctrine. It includes at least three key features. The first is a deep scepticism of multilateralism and a consequent emphasis on burdensharing: the belief that other countries must do more to secure global public goods. Trump's unilateralism is manifested in the US' withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Paris Climate Agreement, and Iran nuclear deal. His strident calls for burdensharing have jarred NATO allies, but have also extended to exhortations to India and others to do more to stabilise Afghanistan and secure the Persian Gulf.

A second key feature of Trump's foreign policy has involved bringing adversarial relationships into sharper focus. The four key competitors regularly identified in US national security documents are China, Iran, Russia, and North Korea, While relations with the former two have become more hostile, Trump has made unsuccessful efforts to engage the latter two. An outreach to Moscow has been stymied by Russian political interference, domestic polarisation, and the orthodoxies of the US national security establishment.

Amid such heightened competition. Trump has adopted a somewhat paradoxical approach to the use of force. On the one hand, he is eager to bring an end to long-term US military obligations—so-called "endless

THREE FEATURES OF THE TRUMP

DOCTRINE CAN BE IDENTIFIED THE FIRST IS SCEPTICISM OF MULTILATERALISM. THE SECOND IS FOCUSING ON ADVERSARIAL RELATIONS. AND THE THIRD IS RESETTING THE TERMS OF **ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT**

wars"—in Syria and Afghanistan, although he has often been frustrated by his advisers At the same time, Trump has been more willing to use force to achieve limited politi cal objectives. This includes authorising the provision of lethal weaponry to Ukraine more frequent freedom of navigation opera tions by the US Navy in the South China Sea the use of the largest non-nuclear bomb in the US arsenal to strike Islamic State terror ists in Afghanistan, and the recent operation to kill Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

The third major pillar of the Trump doctrine involves resetting the terms of economic engagement with the rest of the The ongoing trade war y may not yet have produced a deal with Beiiing, but the new attitude to trade has resulted in an undated North American free trade agreement: the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). In the absence of immigration reform, the Trump adminis tration has also implemented a hard (and often brutal) crackdown on illegal immigration and a more stringent enforcement of legal migration.

Some of these changes will be seen in hindsight as aberrations, but others will fundamentally alter US engagement with the world. No Democratic presidential can didate today can throw his or her full support behind free trade, open-ended military expeditions, or a disproportionately large role for the US in international security. In that sense, the unilateral moment in international politics may be well and truly over.

At the same time, a more competitive, and possibly adversarial, footing with China enjoys considerable bipartisan consensus, coloured by the Hong Kong protests, large scale incarcerations in Xinjiang, and selfcensorship on China by US companies (including the National Basketball Association). Antagonism towards Russia is also deeply entrenched in US politics, meaning that the strategic logic that once prompted the Nixon Administration to reach out to Beijing to cleave a wedge with Moscow will be difficult to replicate (although this time in

It is consequently hard to envision another Republican president in the near future promoting very different policies from Trump. The changes would be more to style than to substance. By contrast, progressive Democrats' drive for a "Green New Deal", their condemnation of Saudi Arabia for the war in Yemen, and sharpening identity politics suggest that a Democratic president would likely adopt very different approaches to climate change, Iran, and immigration.

Trump may, consequently, be seen in hindsight as having fundamentally altered US trade, security, and Asia policy, even if his imprint on immigration, climate change and West Asia may prove more ephemeral These dynamics will be important for the rest of the world—and not least observers in India — to appreciate. For New Delhi, any structural changes in US foreign policy will create certain long-term opportunities, including for military cooperation with the US. But they may also contribute to a vac uum that — at least in its broader neighbourhood—India will have little choice but

> Dhruva Jaishankar is director of the US Initiative at the Observer Research Foundation. The views expressed are personal

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EMMANUEL MACRON, French president, urging new alliances to solve global problems

shortstories

'INDIAN-AMERICANS ARE JUST **GOOD AT BEING AMERICANS'**

WASHINGTON: Indian-Americans are "just good at being Americans", says Nikki Haley, former US ambassador to the UN, in a new book, With All Due Respect, out on Tuesday. She also talked up US ties with India, which she believes are rooted in commitment in combating terrorism and preventing Afghanistan and Pakistan from sheltering terrorists. Also, the former envoy slammed Pakistan for harbouring "terrorists that go out and try to kill our American soldiers".



JIMMY CARTER HOSPITALISED

WASHINGTON: Former US president Jimmy Carter was hospitalised on Monday for a procedure to relieve brain pressure after recent falls, The Carter Center said. The 95-year-old "was admitted to Emory University Hospital this evening for a procedure to relieve pressure on his brain, caused by bleeding due to his recent falls", The Carter Center said in a statement, adding that the procedure would take place on Tuesday morning. "President Carter is resting comfortably," it said.

'DROUGHT KILLED **200 ELEPHANTS'**

HARARE: Zimbabwe's parks agency said more than 200 elephants died amid a severe drought, and a mass relocation of animals is planned to ease congestion. Spokesman Tinashe Farawo on Tuesday said at least 200 elephants died in the vast Hwange National Park alone since October and other parks are affected. He said animals including giraffe, buffalo and impala are also dying and the situation can improve only if it rains. It plans to move 600 elephants, two prides of lions and other animals.

HK cops, students clash all day **FLASHPOINTS** University campus.

business district emerge as new battlegrounds as unrest continues

letters@hindustantimes.com

HONG KONG: Hong Kong pro-democracy protesters fought intense battles with riot police on a university campus and paralysed the city's upmarket business district on Tuesday, extending one of the most violent stretches of unrest seen in more than five months of political chaos.

The confrontations followed a particularly brutal day on Monday, when police shot a protester and a man was set on fire, prompting calls from western powers for compromise but further fury in China against any challenge to its rule. The city's universities emerged as a new flashpoint throughout on Tuesday with sustained clashes at major campuses for the first time.

The epicentre was the Chinese

University of Hong Kong where the usually placid hillside grounds were turned into a battlefield.

Police fired repeated volleys of tear gas and rubber bullets at hundreds of protesters who had built barricades ending an hourslong stand-off between the two sides. Protesters responded with bricks and petrol bombs, while a vehicle used in a barricade was set alight.

After a brief hiatus in which faculty staff tried to mediate, new clashes broke in the evening with flames lighting up the night sky and fresh rounds of tear gas whizzing through the air.

Police used a water cannon truck in an attempt to dislodge protesters but they remained behind their makeshift shield walls. There were smaller clashes on three other university campuses throughout the day.



A riot police officer detains a student during clashes in Hong Kong while another cop stands guard.

16 DIE IN TRAIN CRASH



 TRAGEDY IN BANGLADESH: Two trains rammed into each other in Bangladesh on Tuesday, killing at least 16 people and injuring nearly 60. Three coaches were sent crashing off the tracks at the Mondobhag station in the town of Kasba when a Dhaka-bound Turna Nishitha and Udayan **Express bound for Chittagong collided. Cranes and other** lifting gear were brought in to rescue trapped passengers, many of whom were asleep at the time of the deadly crash. A railway official in Bangladesh told reporters that faulty signals may have caused the accident.

BOLIVIAN EX-PREZ BEGINS EXILE

LA PAZ: Bolivia's former president Evo Morales was en route to exile in Mexico on Tuesday, leaving behind a country in turmoil after his abrupt resignation as president. The senator set to succeed him in the interim, Jeanine Anez, pledged to call fresh elections to end the political crisis. Morales left the country on a military plane sent for him by Mexico which granted him political asylum for his safety. Mexican foreign minister Marcelo Ebrard confirmed Morales was on the

SPAIN: PODEMOS. **SOCIALISTS AGREE**

MADRID: Spain's Socialists and the radical leftwing Podemos on Tuesday agreed in principle to what would be the first such power-sharing deal in the country's modern history. The announcement came days after Spain held elections, from which Socialist Prime Minister Pedro emerged a winner but weakened with the far-right Vox transformed into parliament's thirdlargest party. A government would need the support of other

CHINA TO PLAY KEY ROLE IN BUILDING **BANGLADESH'S FIRST SMART CITY**

BEIJING: A Chinese company will play a key role in building Bangladesh's first smart city and the biggest planned township on the outskirts of Dhaka, including a mega water project which will divert water from the Meghna river to the settlement. The project comes in the backdrop of Beijing pump ing in billions of dollars in building the populous country's ports, power stations and roads, and a recent clash between Chinese and local workers at a China-funded power station. The town is reportedly being developed as the first smart city in Bangladesh.

REPORT: GOOGLE IS SECRETLY COLLECTING HEALTH DATA

SAN FRANCISCO: Alphabet Inc's Google has signed its biggest cloud computing customer in health care to date, in a deal giving it access to data sets that could help it tune potentially lucrative artificial intelligence (AI) tools

Google and Ascension, which operates 150 hospitals and more than 50 senior living facilities across the US, said the health care provider would move some data and analytics tools in its facilities to Google's servers.

The deal was mentioned in Google's July earnings call, but drew scrutiny on Monday after the Wall Street Journal reported that Google would gain personal health-related information of millions of Americans across 21

The Journal reported that the data involved in the project includes lab results, doctor diagnoses and hospitalisation records, among other categories. and amounts to a complete health history, along with patient names

Google said in a blog post on Monday that patient data "cannot and will not be combined with any Google consumer data"

LABOUR PARTY SUFFERS MAJOR CYBERATTACK LONDON: Britain's main opposition Labour party said on Tuesdavithad suffered a "large-scale cyber attack" which undermined some of its campaign efforts for

next month's election. "We have experienced a sophisticated and large-scale cyber attack on Labour digital platforms," the party said in a statement **AGENCIES**

Ahead of public hearings, Trump mocks witnesses

Friday. Here's all that

you need to know

Yashwant Raj shwant.rai@hindustantimes.com

WASHINGTON: US President Donald Trump has sought to discredit officials who will be testifying before congressional impeachment investigators in public hearings starting on Wednesday, calling them "2nd and 3rd hand witnesses" and "Never Trump-

William Taylor, the first witnesses scheduled to testify, is a highly regarded former diplomat who was called back to service by US secretary of state Mike Pompeo to run the American embassy in Kiev. Trump has a problem with Taylor's lawyer, who, he has said is a "Never Trumper".

Taylor and the others scheduled for the public hearings have already testified in closed-door sessions. Transcripts of those hearings, which continue to be released, show in detail how the White House tried to force Ukraine to investigate the US president's political rivals

Trump has insisted he has one nothing wrong "V such a focus put on 2nd and 3rd hand witnesses, many of whom are Never Trumpers, or whose lawyers are Never Trumpers. when all you have to do is read the phone call (transcript) with the Ukrainian President and see first hand?" he tweeted on Tuesday. on the eve of the start of the public hearings.

Trump was referring to a July 25 phone call between him and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, which is at the heart of the ongoing impeachment inquiry launched by the Democratic-led House of Representatives in September.

US IMPEACHMENT PROBE ENTERS A NEW PHASE Open, televised hearings of the impeachment inquiry are set for Wednesday and

■ The Sun rises behind the US Capitol building

WHY ARE THE HEARINGS BEING HELD? The Democratic Party wants to build a strong public case that Donald Trump abused his presidential powers by pressuring Ukraine to launch corruption investigations involving the son of Joe Biden, former vice-president, who is vying to be the Democratic candidate for the 2020 presidential election

HOW DO REPUBLICANS PLAN TO RESPOND?

Republicans have painted the Democratic-led inquiry as a partisan exercise, with senior politician Devin Nunes saving Democrats were pursuing a "sham impeachmen ocess" that has mistreated Ti They will seek to provide a different narrative for millions

expected to watch the hearings

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT? ■ The public hearings' findings will be submitted to the House judiciary committee, which is expected to hold its own hearings

Any articles of impeachment drafted by the committee would be sent to the House for a vote Any trial would take place in the Senate, which is controlled by Trump's Republican Party

WITNESSES TO BE RECALLED THIS WEEK



Washington's top diplomat in Ukraine



Deputy assistan secretary of state



Marie Yovanovitch to Ukraine

Violence in Gaza spirals after Israel kills jihadi leader

Agence France-Presse letters@hindustantimes.com

GAZA CITY (PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES): Israel's military killed a commander of the Palestinian militant group Islamic Jihad in a strike on his home in the Gaza Strip on Tuesday, triggering exchanges of fire and fears of a severe escalation in violence.

The targeted strike led to barrages of retaliatory rocket fire into Israel followed by Israeli air raids, and Gaza's health ministry reported five people killed and 30 wounded in the Palestinian enclave.

Israel said it targeted Islamic Jihad militant sites as well as rocket-launching squads in the raids. The rocket fire into Israel caused damage and several injuries, with at least one rocket hitting a house and another narrowly missing passing cars on a highway.

A factory in the city of Sderot

Israeli medics said they had treated 39 people. Reports that a separate strike targeted an Islamic Jihad member in Damascus added to the day's tensions.

Islamic Jihad confirmed one of its officials. Akram Ajouri, was targeted in Damascus, with Svrian state news agency SANA reporting an Israeli strike had hit Ajouri's home, "killing his son Muadh and another person".

The initial Israeli raid in Gaza early on Tuesday, thought to have been carried out by a drone, killed Islamic Jihad commander Baha Abu Al-Ata, 42,

Islamic Jihad confirmed his



RETALIATION: A rocket is fired from Gaza towards Israel on

death along with that of his wife Israel blamed Ata for recent rocket fire into its territory and said he was preparing further

attacks. followed, air raid sirens rangout in various parts of Israel as resi dents took cover in bomb shel

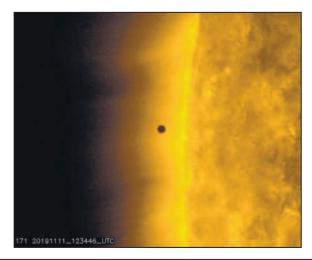
Israel's military said on Tuesday morning that around 50 rock ets had been fired at its territory and air defences had intercepted around 20 of them, but that number increased throughout the day. Video spread online showing the rocket that hit the highway at Gan Yavne in Israel's centre, nar rowly missing cars.

Islamic Jihad allied to Hamas the Islamist movement that rules Gaza, claimed responsibility for rocket fire from the strip.

DOUBLE DELIGHT FOR ASTRONOMY FANS



 Stargazers had a gala time on Monday, thanks to two phenomena. In scenes broadcast live by SpaceX, the company launched 60 mini-satellites (top) in a bid to build a constellation of orbiting devices. Also, Mercury (right) skipped across the face of the Sun in a rare transit. SPACE.COM VIDEO GRAB/ AP



Latest FBI data shows spike in anti-Sikh hate crimes in US

WASHINGTON: Though the number of reported incidents of hate crimes went down slightly in the US from 2017 to 2018, according to an FBI announcement on Tuesday, the total number of attacks against Sikhs went up by 200%.

The number of hate crime incidents against Sikhs went up to 60 in 2018 from 20 in 2017, according to the FBI's annual hate crimes report. Hate crimes against Sikhs were the third highest, at 4.3%. after those against Jews and Muslims, who were first and second

largest with 56.9% and 14.6% respectively.

Hate crimes against Sikhs have been rising, partly because they are often mistaken for West Asians on account of their turbans. American Sikhs have reported widespread discrimina $tion\, and\, targeting\, of\, members\, of$ the community, which is estimated to be around 500,000. They believe the actual number of hate crimes against Sikhs is far higher than what people think.

"At the end of the day, this data simply isn't giving us the accurate information we need to effectively counteract hate against targeted communities," said Sim Singh of Sikh Coalition, an advo-

cacy group. The group cited an incident from 2017 that was not included in the data as proof of the under-reporting. "In 2017, a man shot more than a dozen rounds towards a van carrying five Sikh men in Carson City, Nevada, wounding Harmandeep Singh Shergill. The attacker was convicted on four counts with a hate crime enhancement and sentenced to 34 years in prison. Nonetheless, the assault does not appear in the FBI's 2017 data as a hate crime." it said in a statement.

BLAST FROM THE PAST

After James Dean, more icons set to 'come alive'

US and Oz captives: Ghani President Donald Trump halted **Associated Press** talks between the US and the Talitroops just outside Kabul. ban in September, after a particu-

larly deadly spate of Taliban

attacks, including a Kabul sui-

cide bombing that killed a US sol-

3 Taliban leaders released for

The three members of the Taliban-linked Haggani network that Ghani said were being released include Anas Haqqani, Haji Mali

At a press event, Ghani said the "conditional release" was a hard Khan and Hafiz Rashid. decision he felt he had to make in The three Taliban figures were the interest of the Afghan people. under the custody of the Afghan The announcement comes at a government, Ghani said, and sensitive time for Ghani, as US were held at the Bagram prison,

KABUL: Afghan President Ashraf

Ghani on Tuesday announced

that his government has released

three Taliban figures in an effort

to get the insurgents to free an

American and an Australian pro-

fessor they abducted in 2016.

an air base that also houses US

"In a demonstration of respect for humanity by the government and nation of Afghanistan, we decided to conditionally release these three Taliban prisoners,' Ghani said.

The two captives held by the Taliban - an American identified as Kevin King and an Australian man identified as Timothy Weekes - were abducted in 2016 outside the American University in Kabul where they both work as

LOS ANGELES: The team that is all 1955, is being brought back to set to bring Hollywood icon the big screen with the help of visual effects for the Vietnam James Dean back to life - digi-

tally-is now forming a company that aims to resurrect other legends as well, as reported by Variety. According to the report, CMG Worldwide has merged with Observe Media to create Worldwide XR, which wants to

mented and virtual reality" It was reported last week that James Dean, who died at the age of 24 in a car crash in

bring "digital humans to tradi-

tional film as well as aug-

era flick Finding Jack.

The Variety says Worldwide XR holds the rights for over 400 celebrities. It will enable creators to bring back icons like Bettie Page, Burt Revnolds and Andre The Giant, sports legends like Lou Gehrig, and artists like Maya Angelou.

"Influencers will come and go. but legends will never die, Worldwide XR CEO Travis Cloyd told Variety. AGENCIES



 A portrait of James Dean hangs from a fence near an intersection of highways in Cholame, California.

Financial Times names Khalaf as first female editor



Reuters

LONDON: Roula Khalaf will become the first woman to edit the Finan cial Times in its 131-year history after Lionel Barber, Britain's most senior financial journalist. said he would step down. Barber said on Tuesday he

would leave in January after 14 years as editor and 34 years at the Nikkei-owned newspaper, which had one million paying readers in 2019, with digital subscribers accounting for more than 75% of total circulation. Khalaf has served as deputy

editor, foreign editor and Middle East editor during her more than two decades at the salmon-pink FT and in recent years has sought to increase diversity in the newsroom and attract more female readers.

"It's a great honour to be appointed editor of the FT, the greatest news organisation in the world," said Khalaf.