



**TRIAL BY ROAD**  
**Rahul's long march  
a test of strength**  
NEWS » PAGE 11



**SENEGAL QUALIFIES**  
**Koulibaly  
leads the side  
to knockouts**  
SPORT » PAGE 15



**VARSITY ROW IN KERALA**  
**HC nod for Governor's  
V-C appointment**  
SOUTH » PAGE 5

LANGUAGE COMMITTEE REPORT

**The fallout  
on linguistic  
diversity**

**What the constitutional  
course could be**

EDITORIAL » PAGE 6



MGNREGS FUND DIVERSION

**Centre slaps a fine of  
₹152 cr. on Telangana**

NEWS » PAGE 12

## AIIMS hacked



**Patient wait:** People seen waiting at AIIMS, Delhi as billings are handled manually. Computer servers at the institute are down after hackers targeted them six days ago. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA (REPORT ON PAGE 10)

## SIA to get 25.1% in AI as part of Vistara merger deal with Tata

**Jagriti Chandra**  
NEW DELHI

Singapore Airlines will get a 25.1% stake in Air India and make an investment of ₹2,059 crore in the Tata-owned airline as part of an agreement to merge their joint venture Vistara with

the larger Indian carrier.

The merger will allow the Tata group to consolidate the different airlines it owns under an enlarged Air India group. Earlier this month, Air India also fully bought out budget carrier AirAsia India from Malaysia's AirAsia Aviation

Group and said it would combine it with AI's low-cost Air India Express unit. Tata Sons purchased both Air India and Air India Express from the government in January.

**CONTINUED ON**  
» PAGE 10

## Doubling court strength won't end pendency: SC

Judiciary is overburdened because of the system, says Chief Justice of India Chandrachud; he points out that it is already difficult to find good lawyers to fill judicial vacancies in High Courts

**Krishnadas Rajagopal**  
NEW DELHI

**T**he Supreme Court on Tuesday said that increasing the number of judges will not demolish the perennial problem of pendency, noting that it is already difficult finding good lawyers to accept the call to the Bench in High Courts.

The court said that a public interest litigation (PIL) petition seeking to “double” the number of judges in the High Courts and the district judiciary was a rather “simplistic” solution to arrears.

At one point, Chief Justice of India D.Y. Chandrachud asked petitioner-advocate Ashwini Kumar Upadhyay whether he wanted the Supreme Court to increase its judicial



This kind of petition will not be heard by the American Supreme Court. That is also the reality of our judicial system... that we have widened access to the Supreme Court to a point that is becoming dysfunctional

**D.Y. CHANDRACHUD,**  
Chief Justice of India

strength to 70 from the current 34.

Mr. Upadhyay said that the judge-population ratio in developed countries was 50 for every million. Mr. Upadhyay said that there were at least 10 crore cases pending in the district judiciary alone.

“Then let me tell you something. This kind of petition will not be heard by

the American Supreme Court. That is also the reality of our judicial system... that we have widened access to the Supreme Court to a point that is becoming dysfunctional. This petition will not be entertained by the U.S. or the U.K. Supreme Courts,” Chief Justice Chandrachud reacted.

The Chief Justice said that the judiciary was

“overburdened because of the system”. He added, “If we apply the brakes, we will be absolutely clear of arrears.”

“The American Supreme Court does not hear lawyers on whether you should admit a case for hearing. The U.K. Supreme Court decides which 180 cases they have to hear,” the CJI observed orally.

Chief Justice Chandrachud recounted how, when he was the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, he had received a letter from the Law Minister to increase the judicial strength in the court by 25%. “I said ‘good heavens, I cannot fill up my 160 and you want to increase from 160 by 25%,’ the CJI said.

**CONTINUED ON**  
» PAGE 10

## IN BRIEF



### Gujarat Phase 1 campaign ends

**AHMEDABAD**

Campaigning for the first phase of Gujarat Assembly election to be held on December 1 ended on Tuesday evening. As many as 788 candidates are in the fray for 89 seats in 19 districts in Saurashtra and south Gujarat. » **Page 11**

### Will empower RWAs financially, says Kejriwal

**NEW DELHI**

With only five days to go for the MCD elections, AAP chief Arvind Kejriwal on Tuesday promised political and financial powers besides the status of “mini councillors” to the city's RWAs. » **Page 2**

**OPPORTUNITIES** » PAGE 3

## Gehlot, Pilot share a platform ahead of yatra's State entry



**United front:** K.C. Venugopal with Ashok Gehlot and Sachin Pilot in Jaipur on Tuesday. PTI

**The Hindu Bureau**  
JAIPUR

Days after Rajasthan Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot made some stinging remarks on his former deputy Sachin Pilot, the two Congress leaders appeared together in a show of soli-

darity here on Tuesday.

Both of them affirmed that former party president Rahul Gandhi's Bharat Jodo Yatra, entering the State on December 4, would be an “outstanding success”.

**CONTINUED ON**  
» PAGE 10

## Nadav Lapid ‘abused’ invitation to IFFI panel: Israeli envoy

**Kallol Bhattacharjee**  
**Devesh K. Pandey**  
NEW DELHI

Filmmaker Nadav Lapid has “abused” Indian hospitality by referring to the film *The Kashmir Files* as “propaganda” and “vulgar”, the Israel's Ambassador to India has said.

In an “open letter” to Mr. Lapid, the Israeli envoy, Naor Gilon, equated the film on the exile of the Pandit community from the Kashmir Valley with Steven Spielberg's Holocaust classic *Schindler's List* and urged the filmmaker to “justify” his criticism of the film.

“In Indian culture, they say that a guest is like God. You have abused in the



Naor Gilon

worst way the Indian invitation to chair the panel of judges at @IFFIGoa as well as the trust, respect, and warm hospitality they have bestowed on you,” Mr. Gilon said.

**CONTINUED ON**  
» PAGE 10

## Betting for exotic meat, gambling dens in Manipur descend further into illegality

**Rahul Karmakar**  
GUWAHATI

Betting in parts of Manipur has literally gone wild.

Police and forest officials in the State's Ukhrul town have been scanning “gambling dens” following reports of wild animals – dead or alive – being offered as prizes for raffle draws. Ukhrul is about 80 km northeast of the State capital Imphal.

Wildlife activists based in the town said there have been instances of people buying raffle draw tickets ranging from ₹100 to ₹500 to try their luck to win exotic meat. The larger or rarer the bird or animal or body



**Wild wager:** Binturong (or bearcat) is among several offerings of exotic meat at Ukhrul's gambling groups. GETTY IMAGES/ISTOCKPHOTO

part, the higher the price of the ticket.

“Such cases of gambling with a wildlife twist have been happening under the very noses of the authorities, particularly on a 5-km stretch where the Mini Se-

cretariat is located,” an activist said, declining to be named.

Some of these raffle draws and other forms of gambling are organised under the pretext of raising funds for some cause or the

other, he added.

Apart from wild boars and deer, animals such as binturong (an arboreal mammal also known as bearcat), squirrels and flying foxes (bats) have been found to be on offer. Different types of birds such as the grey-sided thrush and tragopans (often called horned pheasants) have also been spotted. The Blyth's tragopan is the State bird of adjoining Nagaland.

“We are scanning the public places where such cases [of raffle draws] have been reported from. We have not detected any case after the report,” Shanngam Shaliwo, the divisional forest officer said.



MCD polls: three contestants, each with something different to offer

At least 1,350 candidates are in the fray for the December 4 civic polls in the city. While most of them have been active in mainstream politics, some do not fit the bill of a typical politician. **Mehul Malpani** spoke to three such candidates who come from humble backgrounds and stand out for their uniqueness



SCRAP DEALER

The BJP, in its efforts to win over Pasmanda Muslims (the socially disadvantaged majority of India's Muslims), has fielded four candidates from the community. One of them is 50-year-old **Irfan Malik** contesting from Chandni Mahal (Ward No. 76).

Mr. Malik says, as a Muslim, he never experienced any kind of discrimination in his party. He joined the BJP 10 years ago and is a scrap dealer by profession. Mr. Malik is confident of becoming the first-ever BJP councillor from Chandni Mahal. Garbage and clean water are the two issues ailing his ward, he says.



SANITATION WORKER

After finishing his shift at 3.30 p.m. at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), where he works as a sanitation worker, **Jitender Kumar**, CPI (ML) candidate from Lado Sarai (Ward No. 154) starts his poll campaign.

A resident of Kusumpur Pahari slum near Vasant Vihar, Mr. Kumar has been working on the JNU campus for nearly 18 years on a contract basis. Mr. Kumar says the private agency he works for has sent him a show-cause notice objecting to his candidature. His family has also expressed reservations about his political foray. "I am not going to back down from serving the poor even if I'm fired," the 37-year-old says.



TRANSGENDER

From north-west Delhi's Sultanpuri (A) ward AAP has fielded **Bobby Kinnar**, a transgender candidate known for helping the homeless since her teenage years. The 38-year-old candidate, also known as 'Bobby Netaji', says growing up she often found herself at the receiving end of slurs over her identity.

"The people of the ward, who have showered so much love on me, are the biggest source of strength for me. My goal is to promote education in my ward. I want to generate resources to help people get a better education, I work for everyone, not just people from my own community," said Ms. Bobby.

Will financially empower RWAs if AAP wins: Kejriwal

RWAs say they should be strengthened without having to take sides; CM jolted after we promised participatory roles for RWAs: BJP; BJP has deployed all its might to fight an *aam aadmi*: Kejriwal

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

With only five days left for the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) elections, Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) chief Arvind Kejriwal promised political and financial powers besides the status of "mini councillors" to the city's Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs).

Addressing a press conference here on Tuesday, the AAP chief said, "People would not have to chase politicians anymore to get their work done. We will provide funds to the RWAs to help them run their offices." The Delhi CM said the intent behind this scheme is to decentralise power and make "every city-dweller a Chief Minister".

The AAP national convener addressed Delhi's voters after a break of over a week, during which he was campaigning for the Gujarat Assembly election. The Delhi CM went on a door-to-door campaign in



The intent behind the scheme is to decentralise power, said Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal. PTI

Chirag Delhi and clicked selfies with people. He said the BJP has deployed seven CMs and 17 Cabinet Ministers to fight an *aam aadmi*.

BJP's MCD election management committee chief Ashish Sood said the BJP in its manifesto made a commitment of giving a participatory role to the RWAs in the functioning of the MCD.

"The same got a huge response from the RWAs,

which jolted the Chief Minister forcing him to return to mohalla sabhas and RWAs," he said.

Welcoming the announcement, joint front president of east Delhi RWAs B.S. Vohra said, "Cash assistance should not be given to RWAs; it can cause a law-and-order situation. The money should rather go to the Sub Divisional Magistrates (SDMs) and the RWAs must be kept in the

loop about the work being executed. More importantly, this concept should be apolitical in nature. We should not be made to ask for votes for any party."

Atul Goyal, who heads United Residents Joint Action (URJA), said, "The idea to make the RWAs the torch-bearers of AAP is highly objectionable. The RWA are non-political organisations and should remain so."

HC grants 'last opportunity' to Centre to respond to pleas on Jamia violence

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

The Delhi High Court on Tuesday granted "one last opportunity" to the Centre to submit its response to a plea seeking transfer from Delhi Police to an independent agency the investigation into the cases related to

violence on the Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) campus in December 2019. Police personnel had entered the campus to control students' protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act. A Bench of Justices Siddharth Mridul and Talwant Singh asked the Centre to file within a week its reply to the application seeking the setting

up of a Special Investigation Team (SIT) to probe alleged police atrocities during the protests.

The court was hearing a batch of petitions moved by lawyers, students of JMI and residents of Okhla in south Delhi against "erring police officers". It posted the matter for next hearing on December 13. Delhi Police had

earlier defended its decision to enter the university, saying it was done to control the "aggravated form of unlawful assembly". Advocate Colin Gonsalves, appearing for petitioner Nabila Hasan, said at the time of the incident, the students were holding peaceful protests but police "attacked them mercilessly".

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

A team of the Forensic Science Laboratory (FSL) reached Trilokpuri in east Delhi on Tuesday to collect samples from the refrigerator

and bathroom of the house where a 45-year-old man was allegedly stabbed to death by his wife and stepson in May this year.

The accused, who were arrested on Saturday last, had allegedly dismem-

bered the body of the victim, Anjan Das, into 10 pieces and stored them in their fridge before dumping them in a field less than a kilometre from their house. The mother-son duo had allegedly drained

the blood of the victim in their bathroom.

A senior police officer said the FSL team will analyse the samples collected from the house and provide a report to police on whether they match with

the DNA sample of Anjan's children from his first wife in Bhagalpur, Bihar.

Sources said the police have still not recovered the weapon of offence used by the accused to stab and dismember Anjan's body.

Trilokpuri murder: FSL team searches house for samples

Mehrauli murder: Aftab's narco test likely tomorrow

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

Murder accused Aftab Poonawalla was subjected to the fifth round of polygraph test on Tuesday, and is likely to undergo a narco-analysis test on Thursday, police officers said.

Assistant Director of Forensic Science Laboratory, Rohini, Sanjeev Gupta said Aftab came to the FSL office around 10 a.m. and returned to Tihar jail by around 3 p.m. "He cooperated in the tests; we will send the report to the Delhi police in two to three days," Mr. Gupta said. Aftab

A senior FSL official confirmed that Aftab will undergo the narco-analysis test on Thursday. "The report of the polygraph tests will be submitted around the same time," the official said.

Aftab's narco test will be conducted inside the Tihar

jail in the presence of FSL and police officers. On Monday, some sword-wielding men attacked a police van in which Aftab was being taken to the FSL's office. The attackers claimed to be from a right-wing outfit, Hindu Sena. They were not able to enter the van and harm Aftab as police personnel promptly dispersed them.

Security has been beefed up outside the FSL office in Rohini in the wake of Monday's incident, sources said. Paramilitary personnel have been deployed outside the laboratory to prevent any mishaps or anti-social activities, the sources added.

DCP (Rohini) G.S. Sidhu said two persons have been arrested and a case under IPC sections pertaining to obstructing a public servant from discharging duty has been lodged against them.

Check past records of drivers, police tell Uber

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

Delhi Police on Tuesday asked Uber to verify the past records of drivers before onboarding them and suggested that a mechanism be put in place to check their alcohol consumption levels.

Delhi Traffic Police Additional Commissioner Mahesh Chandra Bharadwaj, speaking at Uber's safety feature launch, said that drunken driving has been a major factor in violations of traffic rules in the city.

Mr. Bharadwaj said a mechanism should be put in place to determine whether or not a driver is drunk.

"We do the testing through an alcohol meter. Can Uber fix something closer to steering so that if a driver is drunk a notification for the same is received," he said.

Air Marshal P.V. Iyer (retd.) launches book on fitness

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI:

"When you're young, you don't worry about old age, that's how the problem starts," Air Marshal PV Iyer (retd.) said on Tuesday while launching his book 'Fit At Any Age' at India International Centre.

Mr. Iyer, 93, who runs eight km a day, penned his journey to fitness in the book and shared anecdotes from his life to ex-

plain how he became motivated to work out daily.

Start early

He also writes about why it's important to work out and why one's journey towards fitness should start early.

The author said he started his fitness journey at the age of 47 before which he did not have any inclination towards fitness and working out everyday.

"This book explains

how adhering to a culture of fitness can keep illnesses at bay. Exercising strengthens the heart and cleans the blood vessels," Mr. Iyer said.

"One needs to move regularly, you cannot sit idle," he said, adding that an idle body is a devil's dean.

Mr. Iyer, who supports a vegan lifestyle, said that it is important to maintain healthy eating habits and consuming a diet that is low on fat and rich in fiber.





☀️ Timings		
DELHI		
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 30		
☀️ RISE	06:56	🌇 SET 17:25
🌙 RISE	12:49	🌇 SET 00:00
THURSDAY, DEC. 01		
☀️ RISE	06:56	🌇 SET 17:25
🌙 RISE	13:24	🌇 SET 00:12
FRIDAY, DEC. 02		
☀️ RISE	06:57	🌇 SET 17:25
🌙 RISE	13:56	🌇 SET 01:14

Delhi Weather	max	min
Delhi City	27	07
Safdarjang	27	07
Palam	25	11

**Delhi Palam Today 27°C** The weather will be dry. Shallow fog and mist will occur in slight cold morning. Day will be comfortable. Night also will be slight cold and hazy.

**Delhi Palam Tomorrow 27°C** A dry weather to continue. Morning will be cold with shallow fog and mist. Day will be comfortable. Night will be slight cold and hazy.

© Copyright Skymet Weather 2022  
All rights reserved.

THE HINDU

DISCLAIMER: Readers are requested to verify and make appropriate enquiries to satisfy themselves about the veracity of an advertisement before responding to any published in this newspaper. THE PUBLISHING PVT LTD., the Publisher & Owner of this newspaper, does not vouch for the authenticity of any advertisement or advertiser or for any of the advertiser's products and/or services. In no event can the Owner, Publisher, Printer, Editor, Director/s, Employees of this newspaper/company be held responsible/liable in any manner whatsoever for any claims and/or damages for advertisements in this newspaper.

## More stringent anti-conversion Bill tabled in Uttarakhand Assembly

**Press Trust of India**  
DEHRADUN

The winter session of the Uttarakhand Assembly began on Tuesday with a more stringent anti-conversion Bill among ten legislations tabled in the House.

To be called Uttarakhand Freedom of Religion (Amendment) Act, 2022, the Bill seeks to make unlawful conversion a cognisable and non-bailable offence punishable with imprisonment for a term of at least six months to a maximum of five years. The offender will also be imposed with a fine of ₹10,000 to ₹25,000.

“No person shall convert, either directly or otherwise, any other person from one religion to another by use or practice of misrepresentation, force, undue influence, coercion, allurement or by any fraudulent means,” the draft Bill said.

## Loopholes in Haryana RERA law need to be fixed, says its chief

**The Hindu Bureau**  
GURUGRAM

Haryana Real Estate Regulatory Authority (Gurugram) Chairman, K. K. Khandelwal, on Tuesday said there were certain loopholes in RERA Act and called upon the industry leaders to seek for amendments in the law for the benefit of all the stakeholders.

He was speaking at the Haryana Real Estate Summit 2022 held at Gurugram and attended by real estate industry leaders, policy-makers and bureaucrats. The summit was organised by National Real Estate Development Council (NAREDCO), an apex real estate body that works under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Mr. Khandelwal called upon real estate developers and builders to come together to seek modifications and up-gradation in the real estate act so that the loopholes could be corrected benefiting all, including the buyers. He ad-

# BJD, BJP resort to man-to-man marking to win Padmapur bypoll

With under a week left for polling, there is massive community mobilisation by parties to win this high-stakes Odisha seat

**Satyasundar Barik**  
PAIKMAL (ODISHA)

In 10 years of her marriage, Subarna Suna, 35, in Bartunda gram panchayat of this migration-prone block has hardly seen her husband Rajamohan returning home unscheduled in the middle of seasonal employment in brick kilns in other States. But, this time she hopes to see him in the first week of December.

In a region where there have been alleged incidents of attacks on migrant workers for refusing to migrate after taking wage advances, Satrugghna Tandi and his wife, residents of Katangpali village under Mithapalli Gram panchayat, have delayed their annual migration to a brick kiln in Telangana by a fortnight. “This time, we have been allowed to stay till December 5 to cast our votes,” they said.

The usual goodies are showered on the marginalised population as every vote of over 2.5 lakh electors counts in the Padmapur bypoll which will set the tone of the political



**Tough fight:** Poll campaign signboards seen at Padmapur in Bargarh district of Odisha. BISWARANJAN ROUT

battle for the State and general election in 2024.

With less than a week left for the all-important by-election, political parties – mainly the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) – are carrying out man-to-man marking of votes in Padmapur constituency, which shares its border with Chhattisgarh.

The by-election was necessitated following the death of Bijay Ranjan Singh Bariha, former MLA of Padmapur. His elder daughter Barsha Singh Bariha has been fielded by the BJD, in a bid to primarily garner sympathy votes. The BJP has fielded Pradip

Purohit, a farmer leader and former MLA. The by-poll appears to be a straight fight between the BJP and the BJD candidates, although Congress candidate Satyabhushan Sahu, a veteran party leader, is trying his best to corner a large chunk of votes using his experience.

**Defeat in a decade** The bypoll gained huge traction especially after ‘demoralised’ BJP went on to win Dhamnagar bypoll earlier this month. While the BJP lost all bypolls held after 2019 election, the Dhamnagar defeat had also marked first by-election loss for the BJD in more

than a decade.

At the foothills of Gandhamardan, considered the abode of presiding deity Lord Nrusinghanath here, about 2,000 people belonging to Gond tribe gathered under the banner of the BJD to discuss the future of the community’s future.

“Total number of Gond voters in three blocks – Padmapur, Paikmal and Jharbandh – are 20,000 to 22,000. Our votes would be crucial in deciding the poll outcome. We have been promised financing for building a temple for our deities near Nrusingh-nath Temple,” said Basant Dharua, who is president of Gond Samaj in Padmapur sub-division.

Prior to candidate selection, a section of Binjhal tribe, which Bijay Singh Bariha belonged to, met Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik urging him to nominate a member of Bariha family. Ms. Bariha, who is married to the son of a BJP leader in Puri, returned home to fill her father’s shoes.

Similarly, a delegation of farmer community Kultha Samaj in Bargarh district

met Mr. Patnaik and urged him to provide one acre and financial assistance for building a Dharmasala (a low-cost boarding facility for pilgrims) at Puri. Kultas, also have a significant vote share in Padmapur constituency. Meher Samaj, another community, from Bargarh district too met the Chief Minister. It is stated to be the BJD’s attempt to bring all communities to back its candidate.

Home Singh Majhi, a leader of Gond community and BJP leader, has been in touch with his tribe. “Members of Gond tribe have been cautioned not to divide the community on political lines. It is all BJD’s propaganda to influence the bypoll,” said Mr. Majhi. Tribals constitute over 35% of Padmapur voters.

As the political climate is heating up, income tax officials on Monday conducted raids on the premises of businessmen having close association with the BJD. In what was seen as a counter action, Goods and Services Tax officials went after business houses with BJP links.

## ‘Don’t use any weapon to glorify, threaten someone’

**Vikas Vasudeva**  
CHANDIGARH

The Punjab Police on Tuesday said that while a person can carry a licensed weapon, it should not be glorified or used in a way to threaten someone, even as the Dal Khalsa dismissed the prevalence of ‘gun culture’ in Punjab.

Inspector-General of Police (Headquarters) Sukhchain Singh Gill said there is no restriction on issuing new arms licences and carrying them for purpose of self-defence in the State.

The Punjab Police had on November 26 asked people to remove objectionable content promoting ‘gun culture’ from their social media handles within 72 hours. The three-day ultimatum ended on Tuesday.

Clearing the air over the confusion created about the drive against the glorification of arms, he said, “A person can carry his/her licensed weapon, but should not glorify or display it in a way to threaten someone. Similarly, new arms licences are being issued on a merit basis considering threat perception

**Police had asked people to remove content promoting ‘gun culture’ from their social media handles**

after proper verification.”

The drive against the glorification of weapons was launched in the State, under which verification of licensed weapons and addresses of the licencees is being carried out.

**‘No gun culture’** Meanwhile, the Dal Khalsa dismissed all talk of a ‘gun culture’ prevailing in Punjab. In Bathinda, Dal Khalsa secretary for human rights affairs Imaan Singh Khara said there is no gun culture prevailing in the State and it is the political as well as police leadership backed by a section of the media, which has coined this phrase to defame people of Punjab.

Mr. Khara said Dal Khalsa rejects and registers protest against such an order, which, he said, would further increase insecurity in the people as the government has failed to uphold the rule of law in the State.

## Meghalaya Cabinet approves 7 outposts

**Press Trust of India**  
SHILLONG

The Meghalaya Cabinet on

Tuesday approved a proposal to set up police outposts at seven locations, including the violence-hit

Mukroh village where six people were killed in firing, along the State’s boundary with Assam.

## For a sweet deal



A long queue of tractor-trolleys loaded with sugarcane waiting at Hata village, on the outskirts of Kushinagar, in Uttar Pradesh, to sell their produce to a private sugar mill on Tuesday. V. V. KRISHNAN



# T.N. BJP leader alleges security lapses during PM’s visit to Chess Olympiad

**The Hindu Bureau**  
CHENNAI

Tamil Nadu Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) president K. Annamalai on Tuesday submitted a memorandum to Governor R.N. Ravi, in which he expressed concern over alleged lapses in the security arrangement when Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Chennai during the Chess Olympiad in July.

**‘Metal detectors faulty’**  
Claiming to be in possession of a communication sent by the Union government to the Tamil Nadu police after the visit, he said most of the hand-held metal detectors, door-frame metal detectors and bomb detectors were not in order and overdue for maintenance or replace-



Tamil Nadu BJP chief K. Annamalai has demanded an impartial probe into the issue.

ment.

The Intelligence wing of the State police, which should have ensured such lapses did not happen, had tried to pass the buck by subsequently writing to police officers in the rank of Superintendents of Police to check such equipment. He recalled that the

BJP had raised serious concerns over the officer heading the State’s intelligence wing.

Addressing the media later, he alleged such serious lapses were an indication of the deteriorating law and order situation in the State.

The party urged the Go-

vernor to instruct the State government to conduct an impartial inquiry into the issue. It requested him to take steps to conduct an independent audit of the security arrangements in important places and the quality of the equipment used.

### Online rummy

Asked about the State government’s criticism of delay by the Governor in granting approval for the Bill to ban online rummy, Mr. Annamalai clarified his party favoured the ban and appealed to Mr. Ravi to grant assent to it.

Contending that the Governor may have had concerns over certain legal aspects of the Bill, he blamed the State government for “conveniently shifting” all the blame onto Mr. Ravi.

# Bommai holds consultation on boundary row in Delhi

Karnataka’s stand in the border issue is justified, says Chief Minister, adding that he was confident about a ‘good outcome’; the case is listed before the Supreme Court for hearing today

**The Hindu Bureau**  
BENGALURU

Karnataka Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai on Tuesday expressed confidence about a “good outcome” in the Karnataka-Maharashtra boundary case and asserted that as per the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, its stand is justified.

Mr. Bommai is in the national capital and held discussions with senior advocate in the State’s legal panel Mukul Rohatgi in the wake of the case being listed to come up before the Supreme Court for hearing on Wednesday.



Defence Minister Rajnath Singh and Karnataka CM Basavaraj Bommai in New Delhi on Tuesday. PTI

The important thing is the maintainability of Maharashtra’s case, he said.

“In 2017, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Dipak Misra had framed preliminary issues regarding the maintainability of the case, which

was challenged by Maharashtra. What should be our objections or arguments to it has been decided, and we are confident that Karnataka’s stand is justified,” he added.

The border row between the two States dates

back to the reorganisation on linguistic lines. Maharashtra laid claim to Belagavi which was part of the erstwhile Bombay Presidency as it has a sizable Marathi-speaking population. It also laid claim to 80 Marathi-speaking villages which are currently part of Karnataka.

On the question of people of more than 42 villages of Jat taluk in Maharashtra, wanting to meet him, with a demand to merge their areas with Karnataka, Mr. Bommai said any decision on this would be taken only after consulting all political parties in the State and legal experts.

## The Kashmir Files has been politicised: Raut

**Abhinav Deshpande**  
MUMBAI

Shiv Sena MP Sanjay Raut on Tuesday spoke on the controversy over Israeli filmmaker and jury head of the 53rd International Film Festival of India (IFFI) Nadav Lapid for his remarks on the film *The Kashmir Files*.

In his speech at the closing ceremony of the film festival in Goa, Mr. Lapid had described the movie as “propaganda” and “vulgar”, and said he was “disturbed and shocked” to see the film being screened at

the film festival. Supporting the remarks, Mr. Raut said the movie had been ‘politicised’ and more Kashmiri Pandits suffered after its release. “It was propaganda by one party against another. A party and the government were busy with publicity... but the maximum number of killings in Kashmir occurred after this film was released,” he said.

He asked where the filmmakers were when the Kashmiri Pandits were attacked. “Some money earned from the movie should be given to them.”









## More vaccine choices

Development of an intranasal vaccine against COVID-19 is a welcome initiative

Nearly three months after Bharat Biotech’s intranasal COVID-19 vaccine was granted emergency use approval for primary vaccination of adults, the vaccine has now been given emergency use approval as a heterologous booster in adults over 18 years. Unlike Covaxin, an inactivated vaccine, the intranasal vaccine uses a viral vector platform that utilises a recombinant adenovirus as a vector. As a heterologous booster, the intranasal vaccine was tested on around 875 participants, immunised earlier with two doses of either Covaxin or Covishield. Among the advantages intranasal vaccines have over vaccines is that they can potentially prevent SARS-CoV-2 infection at the point of viral entry in the respiratory tract. They are also far easier to administer. As in the case of the intranasal vaccine for primary vaccination, the booster dose too was tested only for safety and immunogenicity, but not efficacy. Unlike the vaccines tested early in the pandemic, evaluating the efficacy of a new vaccine for primary vaccination and heterologous booster at this stage of the pandemic might be very challenging as a vast population has been already vaccinated and/or naturally infected, especially with the Omicron variant.

However, even higher immunogenicity need not necessarily translate into higher efficacy, particularly the ability of the vaccine to prevent infection. The SARS-CoV-2 virus has now acquired an even greater ability to evade existing immunity and cause an infection. Since the intranasal vaccine does not have the virus spike protein with newer mutations, it is important to study within a defined time period the effectiveness of the intranasal vaccine to prevent infection and severe disease and death when used as the primary vaccination and as a booster dose. Alternatively, the vaccine’s effectiveness can be tested in human challenge studies. Studying this becomes important as the results of an intranasal vaccine in the phase-I trial using the Oxford vaccine – an adenovirus-vector vaccine – originally developed for intramuscular administration, elicited antigen-specific mucosal antibody responses only in a “minority” of participants, and the antibody levels were far lower than from a natural infection. The Oxford vaccine, as an intranasal vaccine, did not elicit “consistent mucosal antibody response nor a strong systemic response”. The demand for vaccines for primary vaccination has been reducing since the third wave peaked in end-January while those for boosters has been low even when available for free for 75 days beginning mid-July. Yet, the development of an intranasal vaccine, a new vaccine platform for India, is welcome, and having a safe and effective vaccine that can prevent infection remains a high priority.

## Oil no bar

Maduro should mend ties with the West and join talks with the opposition

The Biden administration’s decision to ease sanctions on Venezuela and allow Chevron to return to its joint venture oil fields marks the end of Washington’s maximum pressure campaign aimed at ousting President Nicolás Maduro. Former President Donald Trump took U.S. sanctions to the extreme by barring oil companies from operating in the South American country, which has the world’s largest oil reserves, and recognising Juan Guaidó, the self-declared unelected acting President. This policy had little impact on Venezuela’s political crisis, for two reasons: first, Mr. Guaidó never managed to mobilise enough political capital to shake Mr. Maduro’s regime, powered by the Bolivarian grassroots movement; and then, the regime found a way to work around the sanctions by selling its heavy crude at a discounted price to China and other countries. The Biden administration followed the Trump line in its initial months, but started holding talks with Venezuela in March, a few weeks after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. While the U.S.’s official narrative is that the decision to ease sanctions was part of a larger political reconciliation process within Venezuela, the catalyst seems to be Ukraine and the energy crisis. Sanctions on Russia have pumped up prices. Mr. Biden’s attempts to revive the Iran nuclear deal have not succeeded so far. The move by Saudi Arabia and its allies to slash oil production has also mounted additional pressure on prices. The only option now to get more oil into the market is to allow Venezuela to do so.

To be sure, the easing of sanctions comes with riders. Chevron can produce oil from its fields in Venezuela, but the oil should be exported only to the U.S. Also, the sale proceeds should be used to pay back state-owned Venezuelan oil company PdVSA’s debt to Chevron (some \$4.2 billion), and the licence can be cancelled any time. Even so, Mr. Maduro can claim victory in the U.S.’s clear U-turn. He has offered to begin talks with the opposition, but has not made any major concession beyond that. The U.S. move could also prompt European countries to revisit their policy towards Caracas. The return of foreign companies would allow Venezuela to ramp up its oil production. Mr. Maduro seems to have survived western attempts to isolate him, but his bigger challenge is to ride out the storm at home. The window of reengagement is his opportunity. He should embrace it with steps to address the critical failings of Venezuela’s economy, partly because of his own policies, mend ties with the West, and join serious talks with the opposition.

Cooperative federalism and ‘cultural chauvinism’. The latter expression found mention in an editorial comment recently and bears repetition: “This latest effort to impose Hindi raises once again and quite retrogressively the issue of cultural nationalism at a time when it is least required. India has remained uniquely unified despite the infinite multiplicities of its cultures...”

Language is an essential ingredient of identity. The question of expressing national identity in a linguistically diverse society anxious to jettison or reduce the use of English as the language of the colonial power was passionately debated by the Constitution-makers and even linked to ‘national prestige’. It was an uneasy compromise reflected in the wording of Part XVII (Articles 343-351).

### Spelling it out

Article 345 leaves it to the State to choose its language for official purposes. In actual practice, several States and Union Territories continue to use English. Article 348 stipulates that all proceedings of the Supreme Court and ‘of every High Court’ and of Bills, etc. in Parliament shall be in the English language. The Eighth Schedule and the periodic additions to it (now numbering 22) spell out the diversity and complexity of the language landscape as do the Official Languages Act of 1963 and its Rules made in 1976 and amended in 1987, 2007 and 2011.

The question of Official Language brought forth ‘passionate dissents’ in the Constituent Assembly and the drafting of the Constitution. It covered language of legislatures; language of the courts and the judiciary, and language of the official work of the Union. Educational institutions of “national importance” and those of “scientific and technical education financed by Government of India” were in the Union List and education “including technical, medical and universities” were in the Concurrent List.

Some ambiguity inevitably crept into it. Thus Article 351 directs the state, in the development of Hindi, to draw upon other languages in the



Hamid Ansari

is the former Vice President of India, 2007-2017

The constitutional course would be to opt for the language of Article 345, making it prudent for longer term political harmony implied in cooperative federalism

# Settling the language for cooperative federalism

composite culture of India. These include Hindustani that does not find a mention in the Eighth Schedule.

### A dissent that surfaces from time to time

This passionate dissent – beginning with the B.G. Kher Commission – continues to this day and surfaces from time to time. It assumed a violent form in 1965 in Tamil Nadu, where violent disturbances led to more than 50 deaths. This year, the reactions from Tamil Nadu and Kerala have been sharp and unambiguous. The Hindu reported on November 27 that ‘an 85-year-old DMK functionary ended his life in Salem on Saturday’ purportedly over the Central government’s imposition of Hindi in Tamil Nadu.

Unlike other parliamentary committees, the committee on official language, though consisting of 30 members of Parliament, is headed by the Home Minister. Its mandate is to review the progress made in the use of Hindi for official purposes, and to make recommendations to increase the use of Hindi in official communications. It submits its report to the President of India, who forwards its recommendations to the two Houses.

It is understood that, so far, only the recommendations of the reports up to the ninth in the year 2010 have been forwarded to the Houses of Parliament. The 10th and 11th reports have been submitted to the President and are not in the public domain.

The Home Minister’s press conference in October announcing the completion of the 11th Report, highlighted some of its recommendations on language of instruction and examinations in technical courses. This touched off an animated debate on its resulting implications and its practicality in terms of the availability of standard books and course material, and of teachers qualified to communicate it adequately. A related matter is the competence in Hindi language of candidates undertaking examinations in it and competing in equal measure with those whose mother tongue it is.

# A spymaster who now has the Pakistan Army’s reins

Lieutenant General Syed Asim Munir has taken over as Pakistan’s new Chief of Army Staff (COAS) from General Qamar Javed Bajwa, who retired on November 29 after a six-year-long tenure. Gen. Munir will inherit a lot of political and economic mess from his predecessor. Therefore, his foremost task will be to restore the sullied image of the Pakistan Army, resolve internal differences, and generate confidence in the country’s political establishment by displaying neutrality. As a part of this, he may devise hawkish policies on national security matters in the near term.

Gen. Munir is the 17th Army Chief of Pakistan. A graduate of the 17th batch of the Officers Training School at Mangla, he was commissioned into the 23rd Battalion of Pakistan Army’s Frontier Force Regiment. His experience ranges from leading Force Command Northern Areas in Gilgit-Baltistan to heading both the Military Intelligence and Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Notably, he was the ISI chief during the Pulwama suicide attack in Kashmir in February 2019. It is expected that he will follow a hard-line policy *vis-à-vis* India.

### Fixing civil-military relations

Under Gen. Bajwa’s leadership, the military establishment brazenly interfered in political ‘engineering’ by first installing the Imran Khan-led Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf’s (PTI) ‘hybrid’ regime in 2018, and then allegedly removing him from power in April this year. However, it only ensued persisting political instability in Pakistan. Since his ousting, Imran Khan and the PTI have been on the offensive, launching a campaign against the ‘imported’ coalition government of the Shehbaz Sharif-led Pakistan Democratic Movement and the military establishment. This has caused serious damage to civil-military relations. Mr. Khan has openly accused Gen. Bajwa and other senior Army officers of ‘illegally’ removing the PTI government, attempting to assassinate him, and being involved in the mysterious killing of a pro-PTI journalist Arshad



Sameer Patil

is a Senior Fellow at Observer Research Foundation and served in the National Security Council Secretariat



Sarral Sharma

is a PhD Scholar at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and served in the National Security Council Secretariat

As the 17th Army Chief of Pakistan, General Syed Asim Munir faces challenges in ensuring political stability and elevating people’s perception of the Army, while India needs to wait and watch

Sharif in Kenya last month. Interestingly, such are the political dynamics of Pakistan that when Mr. Khan was in power, former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had blamed Gen. Bajwa for plotting against him, politicising the judiciary and installing a “selected and incompetent” PTI government.

These developments have raised the Pakistani political class’s long-held fears about the military establishment’s intentions. The political instability has also taken its toll on the Pakistani economy, which is now facing the risk of default. This has caused unprecedented political and public backlash against the Army leadership. So, restoring the Army’s pole position and providing a semblance of order in civil-military relations will likely be Gen. Munir’s top priority as the new COAS. In the long run, he will also prioritise maintaining the military’s supremacy over civilian institutions in Pakistan.

### Securing Pakistan

As part of restoring the Army’s image and mobilising public opinion in its favour, he may follow in the footsteps of his predecessors by launching a new military operation in the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)-affected tribal areas in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Gen. Raheel Sharif and Gen. Bajwa had initiated military operations – Zarb-e-Azav (2014) and Radd-ul-Fasaad (2017), respectively, to mark their presence and consolidate power as the new COAS. Already, there are calls for military intervention in the Swat Valley and erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas agencies to control growing militancy and provide security to the local population.

More importantly, Gen. Munir will have to decide the future of the peace dialogue with the TTP, which has stalled after the Pakistani government dilly dallied on accepting the militant group’s demands. The Afghan Taliban regime in Kabul, which has played an active role in mediating between the Pakistan Army and TTP, has achieved little success. This has frustrated Islamabad and Rawalpindi, exacerbating the

At the root of the debate is the bigger question of identity in a diverse society. Nowhere in it was the suggestion that diversity, including linguistic diversity, is to be subsumed in linguistic uniformity.

### The ‘national language’ issue

The allegation of ‘cultural chauvinism’ emanates from the apprehension that the transition from English along with Hindi as the Official Language of the Union to it being the national language and to bring it about through such procedural devices such as the language of instruction and examination and of textbooks to the detriment of students whose mother tongue is not Hindi. Its implications for competitiveness in the job market are evident.

It is to be recalled that the language of the chapter on Official Language is definitive and limits itself to the language of the Union. It does not mention a national language. There is no mention of it in the section on Directive Principles of State Policy or of Fundamental Duties. In fact, Article 344(3) stipulates that ‘the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services’ shall be considered by the President.

In this context, what are the courses open to the federal government in the context of the zeal reflected in the Home Minister’s remarks? The constitutional course would be to opt for the language of Article 345, that allows each Legislature to the use of Hindi, or to choose its language, for all official purposes. This would hinge on electoral success in terms of the official programme of the party in power. Its absence, by the same token, would make the matter politically contentious, even acrimonious.

Would not such a course, if adopted, be prudent for longer term political harmony implied in cooperative federalism, more so because English is now accepted as the language of discourse across continents, and its colonial past is a matter of distant history?

already strained ties due to the unresolved differences over the Durand Line, separating Pakistan and Afghanistan. In recent months, there have been frequent and violent border clashes between the two neighbours over Pakistan’s fencing of the Line.

### Toughening India policy

On India, COAS Munir is unlikely to follow the lead of Gen. Bajwa, who, guided by his security calculations, had been instrumental in agreeing to a ceasefire on the Line of Control (LoC) in February 2021. The ceasefire has largely held. As Gen. Munir has taken charge, the LoC may get active again in the coming months, post-winter. While there are enough pressing domestic matters to keep Gen. Munir preoccupied, he may be keen to signal India that he means business and that New Delhi should not exploit Pakistan’s current predicaments.

India will prefer to wait and watch. Given Gen. Munir’s ISI portfolio at the time of the 2019 Pulwama attack, there is a concern that cross-border terror activities will see a spike, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir. The easing of international pressure on Pakistan in the form of its exit from the Financial Action Task Force’s ‘grey list’ may be an enabler. Gen. Munir may, therefore, utilise his operational and intelligence expertise in formulating a rejigged, possibly hawkish, policy on India.

To sum up, Gen. Munir will carry his predecessor’s baggage for the foreseeable future of his tenure. He will face multiple challenges in bringing political stability and elevating people’s perception of the Army. The faltering economy will be his greatest challenge, and his priority would be to ensure that the Army is not blamed for economic mismanagement and grave shortages of essential commodities in Pakistan. If everything fails, he could use the known diversionary tactics to rally key stakeholders behind the Army as the only ‘saviour of Pakistan’.

*The views expressed are personal*

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### China lockdowns, protests

It is a bit surprising that anti-lockdown protests have erupted in China, posing a great challenge to President Xi Jinping. The most surprising element has been the bold manner in which students are reacting to the strong measures in a democratic way. It is also clear that people are yearning for freedom and democratic principles.

J.P. Reddy,  
Nalgonda, Telangana

It is surprising to know why China is unable to open its doors and why there is a very low adoption to vaccination in the 80-plus years population. In this regard, India has come up with a very good strategy of learning to live with the

virus, in the form of mass information dissemination on precautions, and vaccination drives. In spite of being the epicentre of COVID-19, China has neither found the definite cause nor has it taken transparent steps to curb spread. This affects not only the citizens of China but also countries that have geographical borders with China, besides its trade partners. China’s President Xi Jinping and his council need to amp up their efforts to mass vaccinate Chinese citizens, and open the doors rather than just clamping down on mass protests.

M. Lakshmi Narayanan,  
Bengaluru

In their own ways, both China and the U.S. are

examples of poor handling of this pandemic. COVID-19 is, first and foremost, a disease and the top priority should have been to institute effective clinical measures for patients, based on early treatments and known symptoms. There was no way the spread could be stopped, either only by vaccines, like the U.S. believed, or the military methods of China on the population. And their people have been paying a huge price. If it is mortality and hospitalisations in one case, it is a frozen and frustrating social life in the other. India too, initially, could not escape this fate for long months. Once it changed course, largely due to the initiative of thousands of individual

doctors, the virus was steadily consigned to the margins. Both the U.S. and China have ignored this successful clinical experience in another largely populated country.

M. Balakrishnan,  
Bengaluru

It will be interesting to see how China, a great power, is going to grapple with this internal challenge. While imposing emergency lockdowns may be essential or a desperate measure, it is difficult to quell an outrage when life is thrown out of gear. The might of China is under challenge. Harsh methods will backfire and appeasing the populace requires finesse which China does not possess. Might is no longer right.

China is staring down the barrel.  
V. Lakshmanan,  
Tirupur, Tamil Nadu

### Inflammatory remark

A teacher from a prestigious institute in Manipal being suspended for allegedly calling a student a terrorist shows how hate is enveloping society. It is such a trend that needs to be defeated. Every person has a right to live in dignity.

Safal Rasheed,  
Chandhanathope, Kollam, Kerala

### No strong voice

The primary reason for continuing domestic violence is that women are prisoners of a regressive societal mindset, especially in the rural areas. Indian society is still to fully accept

the law and the fact that men and women enjoy equal rights under the Constitution. The root of the problem lies in the patriarchal mindset, which refuses to yield. The fault also lies with the education system. Financial insecurity is another important reason why women do not raise their voice against domestic violence. In the end, the police need reforms.

Kosaraju Chandramouli,  
Hyderabad



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



# EWS are well represented in higher education

As the heated political debate following the Supreme Court judgment upholding the 10% quota for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) has almost settled now, we look at the empirical basis of the quota. The simple question that we examine here is whether the EWS quota is backed by evidence. To answer this, we look at the principal justification for the EWS quota and whether the available evidence justifies it.

The Constitution (124th Amendment) Bill claims that the EWS from the general category have largely remained excluded in higher education institutions due to their financial incapacity. Thus, exclusion or under-representation in higher education is the primary justification for the EWS quota. And so, we examine the available evidence to ascertain the extent of representation of EWS from the general category in higher education institutions.

### EWS representation

To do this, we developed a novel data base of higher education institutions which were ranked under the National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF). We compare the representation of EWS students in 457 higher education institutions in 2019, just before the EWS quota was introduced, and in 528 institutions ranked in 2022, the latest year for which data are available. We arrived at these numbers after removing the duplications, as some institutions are ranked in several categories. For example, if an institution was ranked in both the ‘engineering’ and ‘universities’ categories, we included it only in the latter category as the former is a subset of the latter.

Do the NIRF data provide the proportion of EWS students studying in these premier higher educational intuitions? Not directly. Instead, the data enable us to estimate the share indirectly. In its data submission format, the NIRF asked the participating



Sunny Jose

is RBI Chair Professor at Council for Social Development, Hyderabad. Views are personal



Bheemeshwar Reddy A.

is Assistant Professor, Department of Economics and Finance, Birla Institute of Technology and Science Pilani, Hyderabad campus. Views are personal

The available evidence goes against both the justification and the objective of the EWS reservation policy

education institutions to provide details of the number of currently enrolled ‘economically backward students’ defined as “students whose parental income is less than taxable slab”. To avoid duplication, the format specifies that the economically backward students should be treated as a separate category and not be counted in the socially backward categories, and vice versa.

The taxable slab of parental incomes corresponds closer to ₹8 lakh, the income cut-off to avail of the EWS quota. The Ajay Bhushan Pandey Committee, appointed to examine the EWS income criteria, argues that “considering that the currently effective income tax exemption limit is around ₹8 lakh for individuals, the committee is of the view that the gross annual income limit of ₹8 lakh for the entire family would be reasonable for inclusion into EWS”. Hence, these economically backward students can be considered the reasonable proxy for the EWS students from the general category.

The NIRF 2019 data suggest that EWS students constituted 19% in the NIRF-ranked higher education institutions, whereas students from socially backward groups (Scheduled Castes/Tribes/Other Backward Classes) formed 39%. The proportion of EWS students was higher in colleges (28%) and lower in medical institutes (2%). This variation was equally applicable for socially backward students: 47% in colleges and just 3% in management institutions. Surprisingly, the proportion of EWS students declined from 19% in 2019 to 15% in 2022, three years after the implementation of the EWS quota, but it remains well above the 10% quota.

These higher education institutions comprise both private and government-funded public institutions and therefore require a disaggregated analysis. The share of EWS students in 218 public higher education institutions and 239 private institutions stood at 19% and 20%,

respectively, in 2019. The corresponding share in 2022 is 17% and 13%. Thus, despite being outside the purview of the EWS reservation policy, the share of EWS students is more than 10% in the private NIRF-ranked higher education institutes. The share of socially backward students in private institutions stood at 36% in 2019; it remains unchanged in 2022. Within public institutions, the share of EWS students in centrally funded elite institutions such as the IITs and IIMs was 21%; in 2019; it has dropped to 16% in 2022.

### Well above the quota

This shows that EWS students are not excluded or under-represented in premier higher education institutes. An analysis of the Periodic Labour Force Survey data of 2019 also confirms the above pattern. Employing the insight offered by the Palma ratio, a policy-relevant inequality measure, we have trifurcated households into bottom 40% (the poor); middle 50% (middle class); and top 10% (the rich). We consider here only the poor households, as the EWS quota is meant for the poor among the general category. In the bottom 40% households, the proportion of general category, defined as ‘non-SC/ST/OBCs’, is 18%. About 20% of 18-25-year-olds from the general category from the poor 40% households have enrolled in higher education institutions. To put this differently, they constitute about 24% of all students enrolled from the bottom 40. Similarly, close to 20% of 22-29-year-olds from the general category from the bottom 40 have completed graduation or above. Here too, their share constitutes more than their population share in the bottom 40.

It is thus clear that the share of EWS from the general category in higher education institutions is well above 10%. The available evidence goes against both the justification and the objective of the EWS reservation policy.

# Using agencies as political tools

Recent events raise questions about the independence of government agencies

### STATE OF PLAY

Ravi Reddy

ravi.reddy@thehindu.co.in

The Telangana government and the Centre have been at loggerheads for a while now. While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is making aggressive efforts to expand its influence in the State before the 2023 elections, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) is going all out to try and keep its vote base intact. The two parties pulled out all stops to win the recent Munugode bypoll. The TRS finally came out on top, but the outcome has led to an ugly political slugfest, with both the parties using government arms and agencies to ‘fix’ leaders of the other side.

Days before the bypoll, the TRS left the BJP red-faced by releasing a video in which three persons, purportedly engaged by the BJP, were heard trying to poach TRS MLAs. The recordings also named the National General Secretary of the BJP, B.L. Santosh. The government then constituted a Special Investigation Team headed by the Hyderabad Police Commissioner C.V. Anand to probe the poaching of MLAs. The Chief Minister released “proof” of his allegations and circulated it to the top judiciary and to politicians. The BJP expectedly dismissed the video as “false” and accused the TRS of having “undoubtedly fabricated video and audio content.” It then knocked the doors of the judiciary seeking relief from the ongoing probe and succeeded partially.

Soon after this, central investigation agencies, including the Income Tax (IT) Department and the Enforcement Directorate



(ED), began to carry out raids on three Ministers, four MPs and two legislators, all belonging to the TRS. The ED and IT Department carried out simultaneous searches at multiple locations, including the residence of Civil Supplies and Backward Classes Welfare Minister Gangula Kamalakar and the offices of several granite companies in Karimnagar. This was purportedly to probe the alleged violations of the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA), 1999.

The ED also provisionally attached 28 immovable properties and other assets worth ₹80.65 crore belonging to TRS MP Nama Nageswara Rao in the alleged money laundering case against Ranchi Expressways Limited and Madhucon Projects Limited. Mr. Rao is the promoter and director of the Madhucon Group and personal guarantor to the bank loan defaulted by Ranchi Expressways.

The ED also grilled Animal Husbandry Minister Talasani Srinivas Yadav’s office staff and family members in an alleged money laundering case pertaining to a casino business.

The three-day IT raids on the residence, office, colleges and hospital of Labour Minister C. Malla Reddy and his family members capped the dramatic events of the last few weeks. MPs Vaddiraju Ravi-

chandra, Parthasarathy Reddy, and M. Srinivas Reddy as well as legislators Manchiredy Kishan Reddy and L. Ramana faced raids too. As searches intensified, Chief Minister K. Chandrasekhar Rao told party leaders and elected representatives to “stay strong” and not get jittery.

These tit-for-tat acts have led to fear in the TRS and BJP camps. The raids by central agencies appear to be an attempt to hit the financial sources of the TRS leaders ahead of the 2023 elections. At the same time, the TRS too wants to corner the BJP leadership with its narrative that the national party is attempting to poach its leaders. But how far this narrative will succeed remains to be seen as the TRS has equally been involved in poaching candidates of other parties. Since its landslide victory in 2018, the TRS has successfully split the Congress by taking more than a dozen of its MLAs and encouraging defections. It has justified these acts by saying that it invited leaders from other parties in order to achieve “political stability”. Rival legislature parties merged their groups with the TRS legislature party. But it will not be easy for the TRS to escape any blame of encouraging poaching and defections that come its way.

What is happening in Telangana is not new. Political parties always look for ways of settling scores with one another. However, what is worrying is that they don’t hesitate to misuse government agencies in their political wars. The ED and IT Department as well as State agencies must not only be fair, but also seen to be fair. The events of the past few weeks raise serious questions about their independent functioning and in turn about democracy.

# Where does waste originate and go?

Half the municipal solid waste of Delhi went to landfills in 2020-21

### DATA POINT

#### The Hindu Data Team

A recent report titled ‘EnviStats India 2022’, published by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, has highlighted the herculean challenge of disposing of the solid waste generated by the States without harming the environment. By taking Delhi as an example, the report has calculated the “physical supply and use tables” to capture the source and destination of all types of solid waste in the capital city. Data were collected from all the five Urban Local Bodies and the Delhi Pollution Control Committee pertaining to 2020-21.

#### Delhi data

**Chart 1** shows the various sources of solid waste generated in Delhi. Over 40 lakh tonnes of Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) were generated in 2020-21. Municipal solid waste includes garbage (highly decomposable material such as food), trash (bulky items such as tree branches or old appliances), and rubbish (slowly decomposing items such as paper, glass, or metal). According to the report, about 85% of MSW in Delhi was generated by households and 15% by shops and restaurants.

That year, over 13 lakh tonnes of construction and demolition waste were also generated in the city along with over 5.4 lakh tonnes of plastic waste, about 11 thousand tonnes of bio-medical waste, and 610 tonnes of e-waste. Delhi also generated 3,239 tonnes of hazardous waste. Hazardous waste is typically sludge from factories, industrial manufacturing process wastes and batteries.

**Table 2** shows the various ways in which the waste was disposed of in Delhi. Half the municipal solid waste went to landfills and the other half was recycled and reused. About 35% of bio-medical waste was incinerated, while the entire

share of construction and demolition waste was recycled. While bio-medical waste is incinerated, the ash generated after the process is sent to the landfills.

It is not known how e-waste is disposed of as there is no treatment and disposal facility available in Delhi for e-waste. According to the report, of the 610 tonnes of e-waste generated in 2020-21, refurbishers collected 28.6 tonnes and bulk consumers collected the rest. Notably, about 22% of plastic waste is converted into energy, while 37% is taken to landfills.

#### Other States

As the 2020-21 numbers were only available for Delhi, figures from 2019-20 were considered to assess the other States on the share of different types of waste processed. **Table 3** shows the percentage share of various types of waste processed. Across India, 68% of the MSW generated is processed. Himachal Pradesh leads the list with 98% of MSW getting processed, followed by Chhattisgarh at 93%. In contrast, West Bengal processed only 9%. These data were of November 2020. In 2018-19, an average of 2.5 tonnes of plastic was generated per 1,000 population in India.

Across India, 87% of biomedical waste was treated. Seventeen States and five Union Territories have already achieved 100% bio-medical waste treatment, while in Bihar and Chhattisgarh just 29% of it got treated, respectively. These data pertain to 2018. Close to 614 tonnes of biomedical waste was generated per day in India in 2018.

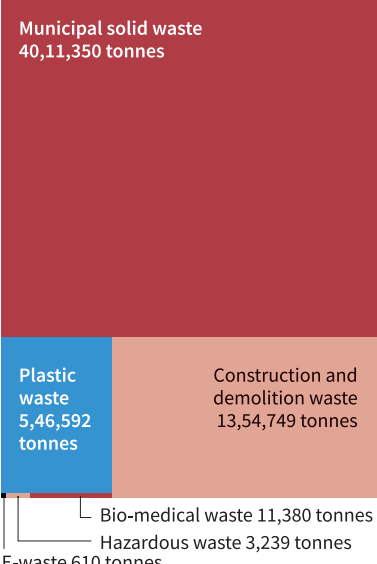
Across India, only 45% of the hazardous waste generated was recycled/utilised. Most States lag in this indicator. Of the 30 States analysed, in 13, less than 50% was recycled/utilised; and in 22 of them, less than 75% was recycled/utilised. These data pertain to the 2018-19 period. The hazardous waste generated in the country per 1,000 population was 8.09 metric tonnes in 2018.

## Counting the waste

Chart 1 and Table 2 are sourced from “Envi Stats - India 2022”, published by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. Table 3 is sourced from the NITI Aayog SDG Index



**Chart 1** | The chart shows the various sources of solid waste generated in Delhi in 2020-21. Over 4 lakh tonnes of municipal solid waste was generated in the capital in 2020-21



**Table 2** | The table shows the various ways in which the waste was disposed of in Delhi in 2020-21. The figures are in % and each row adds up to 100%

	Landfill	Incineration	Recycling and reuse	Flows to the environment	Exports	Waste to energy	Unknown
Municipal solid waste	50%	0	50%	0	0	0	0
Bio-medical waste	2%	35%	31%	3%	0	0	29%
Hazardous waste	0	0	0	0	11%	0	89%
Construction and demolition waste	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0
E-waste	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Plastic waste	37%	0	25%	16%	0	22%	0

MSW: Municipal solid waste | BMW: bio-medical waste

### FROM THE ARCHIVES

The Hindu

FIFTY YEARS AGO NOVEMBER 30, 1972

## Plan for pleasant send-off to Pak. POW

New Delhi, Nov. 29: Despite the persisting deadlock over delineation, India and Pakistan are not denying themselves the luxury of peripheral courtesies for keeping the appearance of a mutual desire to avoid unpleasantness over marginal issues as far as possible. The impending exchange at Wagha on Friday of the prisoners-of-war taken by either side on the western front during the last conflict is being planned with all the trappings of a convivial social occasion. The Indian Army proposes to entertain the 540 Pakistani prisoners, who include 51 civilians, to a lavish dinner the previous night on the eve of their repatriation. The “burra khana” in military terminology will be followed by a “qawali” programme of Urdu recitations reviving nostalgic memories of happier days in the past. Before they are finally freed on Friday morning at the Wagha checkpoint, each Pakistan prisoner will be given a packet of tea, a very scarce commodity these days in Pakistan, as a present from his family from the Indian people. And those who are accustomed to chewing pan will be allowed to take a generous amount of the leaf since it is now a rarity in Pakistan. The Pakistan Army is not lagging behind in making similar arrangements for giving an equally pleasant send-off to the 617 Indian prisoners, who include 10 IAF officers, 89 BSF personnel, four J. and K. militia men and 17 civilians. After haranguing them for nearly an hour before Pakistan’s peaceful professions, Mr. Bhutto told the perplexed Indian POWs in Lyallpur on Monday that from then on they were Pakistan’s honoured guests, pending the completion of the arrangements for their return to India as free men.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO NOVEMBER 30, 1922

## Hospital fees

A Mysore G.O. on the subject of fees payable by in patients in all the hospitals of the State prescribes annas eight per diem for each patient in a general ward. For Indians as special first class patients Rs. 5 for sole occupation of a room and Rs. 2-8 for second class patients sharing a room with others. For European and Anglo-Indians the fees are now raised to Rs. 8 and Rs. 4 respectively. It is presumed that the feed include medical treatment and medicines.



# Text & Context

THE HINDU

NEWS IN NUMBERS

**Civil aviation sector on a path to recovery from the pandemic**

**4** In lakh, the average number of passengers to travel by domestic flights for two consecutive days. The numbers stood at 4.09 lakh and 4.05 lakh passengers on November 27 and November 26. Domestic air traffic jumped nearly 27% last month compared to the year-ago period, indicating a recovery in the civil aviation sector, though it is yet to reach pre-COVID levels. PTI

**The Bharatiya Janata Party, a favourite for corporate donations**

**163.54** In ₹ crore, the corporate donations received by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which is nearly 94% of the total corporate donations received by four political parties in Gujarat in the five years from FY2016 to FY2021, according to a report by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR). PTI

**Cricketers ready to leave national contracts, says FICA**

**49** The percentage of international cricketers who are ready to reject their respective country's contracts to become freelance agents for the T20 leagues across the globe, the Federation of International Cricketers' Associations (FICA) stated in its annual report. The Indian players' body is not under FICA and thus their survey doesn't include Indian cricketers. PTI

**Migrant worker deaths in Qatar; 'One death is a death too many'**

**500** The estimate of migrant worker deaths for the Qatar World Cup 2022, according to the secretary-general of Qatar's Supreme Committee for Delivery and Legacy. He said that, "One death is a death too many". Many human rights groups have claimed a death toll of more than 6,000 since the country was set to host the Cup. Agencies

**Applications pour in to fill Maharashtra Police Department vacancies**

**11** In lakh, the number of applications received by the Maharashtra Police for 18,331 posts in the State Reserve Police Force, an official informed. Online applications were invited from November 9 till November 30 to apply for the jobs. High traffic caused the website to slow down, though the issues were rectified, he added. PTI

COMPILED BY THE HINDU DATA TEAM

Follow us facebook.com/thehindu twitter.com/the\_hindu instagram.com/the\_hindu

## On the entry of women in masjids

Why did the Jama Masjid in Delhi prohibit the entry of single women or women in groups inside the mosque premises? Did they later revoke the ban? What does the Quran say about entry of women worshippers inside masjids? What happened at the Haji Ali Dargah in Mumbai in 2011?

EXPLAINER

**Ziya Us Salam**

**The story so far:**

Last week, the Jama Masjid in Delhi prohibited the entry of single women or women in groups inside the mosque premises. The authorities reasoned that some women fail to respect the sanctity of the place of worship, making videos there. "When women come alone, they indulge in improper acts, shoot videos. The ban is to stop this," reasoned the Masjid's spokesman. The decision led to an uproar on social media. By early evening, the mosque management clarified that the ban excluded those women coming for worship, or those accompanied by their husband or families. However, many continued to question the unilateral decision of the authorities, forcing Delhi Lieutenant-Governor V.K. Saxena to step in to douse the ire. Following a meeting with the Lieutenant-Governor, the mosque authorities withdrew the ban. Imam Ahmed Bukhari clarified, "The masjid administration does not want to prevent anyone from worshipping inside." Incidentally, the Jama Masjid is otherwise one of the few mosques to allow women worshippers to offer regular prayers.

**What is the Islamic law on women's entry?**

While there is a clear difference of opinion among Islamic scholars on the right of women to visit a dargah or a cemetery, there is lesser disagreement on a woman's right to offer prayers inside a masjid. Most Islamic scholars agree that a prayer can be offered at home but can only be established in a group, hence the importance of going to a mosque. Most also agree that women have been exempted, not prohibited from going to the mosque, keeping in mind their child-rearing and other domestic responsibilities. In fact, the Quran at no place prohibits women from going to mosques for prayers. For instance, verse 71 of Surah Taubah, says, "The believing



**Entry for all:** Women gathered at Jama Masjid offering prayers on the eve of Eid-UL-Fitr on May 2.

men and women are protectors and helpers of each other. They (collaborate) to promote all that is good and oppose all that is evil; establish prayers and give charity, and obey Allah and His Messenger." Wherever the Quran talks of establishing prayer, it talks in gender neutral terms. Before the five daily prayers, a prayer call or azaan is pronounced. The azaan is a general invitation to both men and women for prayers, reminding the faithful, 'Come for prayer, come for success'.

Incidentally, when Muslims go to Mecca and Medina for Hajj and Umrah (lesser pilgrimage), both men and women pray at Haram Sharief in Mecca and Masjid-e-Nabavi in Medina. Both places have separate halls earmarked for men and women. Also, across West Asia there is no ban on women coming to the masjid for prayers. In the U.S. and Canada too, women access mosques for prayers, and even gather there for special Taraweeh

prayers in Ramzan and lessons on religion. The denial of access to mosques for women worshippers is a largely subcontinental phenomenon. In India, only a handful of mosques maintained or owned by Jamaat-e-Islami and the Ahl-e-Hadith sect have provisions for women worshippers. Most mosques while not expressly forbidding women's entry in masjids, have no provision for women to do ablutions for prayer or a separate prayer zone for them. They are built keeping only men in mind. Under the circumstances, they are reduced to a 'men only' zone.

**Have there been similar bans before?**

The short-lived order of the Jama Masjid administration drew parallels with the much more prolonged ban on entry of women inside the sanctum sanctorum of the Haji Ali Dargah in Mumbai. Back in 2011, a grill was put up on the premises of the vastly popular 15th century dargah,

prohibiting women from going beyond it. Following the 'this much and no further' order, some women approached the dargah management for redress. However, with the requests having been denied, they started a campaign, 'Haji Ali for All', winning over more women in the process. Led by the Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan, the women approached the Bombay High Court which ruled in their favour in 2016.

**What is the legal issue?**

According to the Constitution, there is complete equality between men and women. In the Haji Ali Dargah case too, the High Court quoted Articles 15, 16 and 25 of the Constitution to grant women the desired access to the dargah. There are petitions filed before the Supreme Court wherein access has been sought for women in all mosques across the country. The apex court has clubbed them with the Sabarimala case.

THE GIST

Last week, the Jama Masjid in Delhi prohibited the entry of single women or women in groups inside the mosque premises. This decision led to major backlash, following which the mosque authorities withdrew the ban.

The Quran at no place prohibits women from going to mosques for prayers. For instance, verse 71 of Surah Taubah, says, "The believing men and women are protectors and helpers of each other. They (collaborate) to promote all that is good and oppose all that is evil; establish prayers and give charity, and obey Allah and His Messenger." Wherever the Quran talks of establishing prayer, it talks in gender neutral terms.

There are petitions filed before the Supreme Court wherein access has been sought for women in all mosques across the country. The apex court has clubbed them with the Sabarimala case.

## What is the Karnataka voter data theft case?

How did the Chilume Educational Cultural and Rural Development Trust acquire personal information of voters? Can the data be recovered?

**Darshan Devaiah B. P.**

**The story so far:**

On November 16, Bengaluru's civic body, the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) said in a press release that it had cancelled permissions granted to the Chilume Educational Cultural and Rural Development Trust to conduct house-to-house surveys to help create awareness about the Systematic Voters' Education and Electoral Participation (SVEEP) programme. The NGO has been accused of collecting personal information from the public, under the guise of spreading awareness, by impersonating BBMP officials. The Congress-led Opposition has alleged that this was done in connivance with the ruling BJP government. The BJP has however, denied the allegations and

launched a counter-attack alleging that the NGO was first given permission by the previous Congress government.

**What is the voter data theft case?**

In 2018, the Chilume Educational Cultural and Rural Development Trust was granted permission to carry out house-to-house visits to create awareness on how to access online applications via the voters' helpline mobile app. On November 2, the BBMP revoked this permission after receiving several complaints from residents that the NGO was collecting personal details while conducting door-to-door surveys by deputing field level workers. The BBMP has admitted that the personal information of the voters, including Aadhaar number, phone number and voter ID number, was uploaded on an app (Digital Sameeksha) developed by the Trust and not on the

Election Commission's voter registration app (Garuda) or voter helpline. The Opposition has accused the NGO of large-scale electoral fraud, malpractice and manipulation of voters' lists.

**What has been the fallout?**

The BBMP has registered two FIRs in Bengaluru against the NGO under sections 406 (criminal breach of trust), 419 (cheating by personation), 420 (cheating) and 468 (forgery) of the Indian Penal Code. On November 20, the police arrested Krishnappa Ravikumar, co-founder of the Chilume Trust, who had been absconding since the scandal broke out. The police has also arrested Kempegowda, one of the directors of the Trust and has detained the main software developer of the Digital Sameeksha app. Furthermore, notices have been issued to Revenue officials, who are in-charge of

electoral roll revision and linking of Aadhaar card with electoral rolls. The police are also analysing the app to ascertain what data was collected and for whom it was meant. Electronic devices were recovered from the premises of the offices of the Trust in Malleswaram in west Bengaluru through which the police is attempting to recover the data which has potential for misuse.

**What will happen to the data?**

Such mass collection of data is violative of the fundamental right to privacy as defined in *Justice K.S. Puttaswamy (retd.) vs Union of India*. The judgment formally recognised the right to privacy as being a fundamental right stemming from the right to life and personal liberty, guaranteed under Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. The data which was collected by the NGO has potential for misuse, according to experts and election-watchers. Activist and electoral rolls analyst P.G. Bhat said that while a probe would act as deterrence, he was sceptical about data recovery. "Any number of copies of the data could be anywhere in the world on the cloud. It is practically impossible to prevent the data from falling into the hands of those who are ready to pay for it. Even before this scandal broke, there have been many improprieties carried out with data from the electoral rolls," he said.

THE GIST

The Chilume Educational Cultural and Rural Development Trust has been accused of collecting personal information from the public, under the guise of spreading awareness, by impersonating BBMP officials.

The personal information of the voters, including Aadhaar number, phone number and voter ID number, was uploaded on an app developed by the Trust and not on the Election Commission's voter registration app (Garuda).

Activist and electoral rolls analyst P.G. Bhat said that while a probe would act as deterrence, he was sceptical about data recovery.



ABSTRACT



A polling official, marks the finger of a woman with indelible ink before she casts her vote. AP

The lack of strategic voting: a study of Uttar Pradesh 2017 elections

Trying to find meaning in the Duverger’s Law, the authors of this paper take a closer look at the types of voters and voting patterns in the State of Uttar Pradesh to understand mass electoral behaviour in the country

Rebecca Rose Varghese

Heath, O., & Ziegfeld, A., ‘Why So Little Strategic Voting in India?’, American Political Science Review, Vol 116, Issue 4, November 2022. Pp.1523-1529

Among the many studies conducted on electoral behaviour and voting patterns, Oliver Heath and Adam Ziegfeld’s article ‘Why So Little Strategic Voting in India?’, looks at how despite the many theories on strategic voting, only 1% or less of voters from Uttar Pradesh, the largest State in the country in terms of population, engages in said voting method.

In 2017, State elections were conducted in U.P., with strong competition between the incumbent Samajwadi Party (SP), the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The study was conducted by the Indian survey firm Cicero, through a face-to-face survey in February and March 2017, after the 2017 State elections took place but before results were announced. About 3,600 respondents were selected from voter rolls, using a stratified random sampling method from 66 of U.P.’s 403 constituencies.

**Duverger’s Law and strategic voting** In *Political Parties*, French political scientist Maurice Duverger proposes a hypothesis about the relationship between the number of parties in a country and its electoral system. He explains that a simple majority single-ballot system, favours the two-party system, while in a simple-majority system with a second ballot or in proportional representation, a multi-party system is favoured. Thus, in single-member district plurality voting systems (SMDP) such as in U.P. where the candidate who gets more votes is declared the winner, a two-party system should be preferred. And ideally, strategic voting must take place, wherein a voter despite feeling close to a political party, votes for

a different party, as they feel that the latter party has a better chance of winning. They are expected to strategise their votes, keeping aside their attachment to a party when they feel that their vote would be wasted because their party is unlikely to win in their constituency.

The authors explain that while many studies support this theory, their data revealed otherwise – that strategic voting was almost non-existent in the State. The reasoning given behind such an anomaly by political theorists like André Blais is that voters avoid engaging in strategic behaviour because of a sense of loyalty towards their preferred parties. This prevents them from voting for others. But even this argument is refuted by the authors in their analysis.

Types of voters

Before one understands the voting patterns of the electors in U.P. and the lack of strategic voting in the State, one must look at the different categories of voters that emerge in such an analysis which gives us a better understanding of the general electoral pattern. Among all the voters, there are two types of voters who cannot vote strategically – the ‘unattached’ voters who express no preference for a particular party and thus cannot vote strategically as they have no preferred party to abandon for strategic reasons; and ‘constrained’ voters who prefer a party that is not running in their constituency and thus do not have the option of remaining loyal to their preferred party.

Of the voters who can vote strategically, there are four sub-categories – the ‘sincere’ voter who will vote for their preferred party as they sincerely expect it to come in first or second in their constituency, having no reason to strategically abandon their preferred party; the ‘expressive’ voter who despite knowing that his preferred party might lose, will vote for them, for expressive and not instrumental purposes; the ‘insincere’ voter who for whatever

reason, votes for a party other than their preferred party even though they believe that it will win the election; and finally the ‘strategic’ voter who believes that their preferred party is unlikely to win and thus, votes for another party who they believe will come in first or second in their constituency.

Data from the surveys revealed that close to 28% could not vote strategically as they were either unattached or constrained. A vast majority were sincere voters with the share of strategic voters limited to 1.1% and only 1.6% of the total voters who could vote strategically. The share of expressive voters was less than 0.5%. Thus, the lack of strategic voting can be attributed to the fact that voters sincerely believed that their preferred party would come first or second in their constituency and not their loyalty towards a party that is expected to lose. Of the 55 respondents who believed that their preferred party could lose, 41 (75%) voted strategically, which is higher than most estimates from other countries.

The need for political awareness

Allegiance to a party tends to distort the voter’s belief about their party’s ability to win in their constituency, dampening their concept of voting strategically. More than 90% of the respondents believed that their preferred parties were likely to win and did not think that their party was uncompetitive, though many of them were statistically proven wrong. This, being said, the voter’s objective attitude towards party performance did come into play in the perception of the other parties’ performances in the elections. They correlated the distance from contention and beliefs about election outcomes when it came to parties other than the ones they supported. The authors thus conclude that strategic voting was unlikely to affect the election outcomes, even though the voters in U.P. for instance, were willing to vote in accordance with the theory when they expected their preferred party to lose, proving that strategic voting is not a

pressing factor that determines two-party election outcomes in the country.

While this phenomenon is relevant in U.P., it cannot claim to be a pan-Indian phenomenon. In attributing such voting patterns to the mass electoral behaviour in the country, the authors did not consider the range of political awareness and differences in voting cultures in different parts of the country. The authors point to the lack of public opinion polling or proxies for party viabilities, the volatility of party systems where there are no safe seats, the absence of electoral advantage to the incumbents, and the insufficiency of political information that could update the voter’s beliefs and political preferences as possible explanations for lack of tactical voting patterns. But they miss out on how political strategies made by voters in a State are largely dependent on the level of literacy, political activism, and general political awareness of the people and how this, in turn, is influenced by the socio-economic and political history of the State.

In Tamil Nadu and Kerala for instance, people tactically vote for either of the two major political alliances, as smaller parties seem non-viable. Accordingly, the smaller regional parties also change their alliance every election season. In Kerala, the smaller regional parties or independent candidates are preferred during panchayat or general body elections, as they are trusted to bring about hyper-local change. During the State Assembly elections, the voters prefer to choose between the two strong alliances (the Left Front and the United Front) while also strategically alternating between the two in most electoral seasons. During the Lok Sabha elections, they prefer to vote for parties that they believe have the ability to form a strong alliance at the national level.

Examples of such strategies in different States are proof that strategic voting can only be followed when there is higher political awareness, which is not uniform across India.



FROM THE ARCHIVES

Know your English

“Sir, can you say ‘He emphasised on the point?’”  
“No. You emphasise something, but you do not emphasise on something. *He emphasised the point that I made the other day.*  
*He emphasised the importance of freedom from fear.*  
But you can lay emphasis on something.  
*He laid emphasis on integrity.*  
So you emphasise something but lay emphasis on something. The same applies to ‘stress’. You stress a point but you lay stress on some point. But you do not stress on something.  
*He stressed the importance of character.*  
*He laid stress on the importance of character.*  
*In the word ‘machine’ the stress is on the second syllable.*  
*Our emphasis should be on character and not mere achievements.”*  
“Sir, Mrs. Jaya Nagarajan of Hyderabad wants to know how the words ‘expedite’ and ‘expeditiously’ are used.”  
“ ‘Expedite’ means ‘to speed up’, ‘to execute promptly’, ‘hasten some action or process’.  
*His rude remarks last month expedited his fall.*  
*This expedites the flowering process.*  
*You will be in trouble unless you expedite things.*  
*You must expedite the despatch of food packets to the people affected by the floods.*  
‘Expeditiously’ means ‘acting or done with speed and efficiency’.  
*The government must take expeditious measures to wipe out black money.*  
*Please despatch the books expeditiously.*  
In American English ‘expedite’ is used occasionally to mean ‘to send out or to despatch’.  
‘Please expedite the books’ would mean ‘Please despatch the books’ in American English. The word expedite is from Latin ex, from + pedis, feet; it means to free a person’s feet from fetters’.”  
“Ms. Nalini Mohan of Nellore wants to know the pronunciation of ‘yacht’, sir.”  
“ ‘Yacht’ rhymes with ‘lot’, ‘hot’, ‘cot’. The ‘c’ and ‘h’ in ‘yacht’ are silent.”  
“What is a ‘yacht’, sir?”  
“A yacht is ‘a light sailing-boat built specially for racing’. Let’s stop here for the day. Goodbye.”  
“Thank you, sir. Goodbye.”

THE DAILY QUIZ

On November 30, 2018, George H. W. Bush, the 41st President of the United States passed away. Here is a quiz on U.S. Presidents

Sindhu Nagaraj

QUESTION 1

Both these Presidents died on the same day. One was previously the nation’s Vice President under the other, and the first United States Secretary of State under George Washington. Name both the Presidents.

QUESTION 2

This President was involved in a bribery scandal concerning oil leases. Name the President. What is the scandal called?

QUESTION 3

This was a series of violent civil confrontations in an organised incorporated territory of the U.S. that happened predominantly

during the Presidency of James Buchanan. What is it called? These confrontations happened over which issue?

QUESTION 4

Name the play during which Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, was assassinated by a well-known stage actor. Name the theatre where the play was being staged.

QUESTION 5

This President had a nickname, for being a man of few words. Known for his response to the Boston Police Strike, he became the only president to have his portrait on a coin during his lifetime. Name the President and his nickname.



Visual question:

This is the artillery section of this President’s Memorial seen on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol. Identify the President. Looking at the image, what was he known for?

**Questions (abridged) and Answers to the previous day’s daily quiz:** 1. This footballer was the coach of FC Barcelona when it won its fifth Champions League title. **Ans: Luis Enrique**  
2. This former FC Barcelona president was shot dead by General Franco’s troops. **Ans: Josep Sunyol**  
3. This former player is famous for scouting and recruiting Lionel Messi to the club. **Ans: Carles Rexach**  
4. This former player was part of the 1992 Champions League triumph for the club. This player was the only goal scorer in the final of the 1992 Champions League. **Ans: Pep Guardiola, Ronald Koeman**  
5. This player played a record 55 consecutive unbeaten games between the 2010-11 and 2011-12 seasons. **Ans: Andres Iniesta**  
Visual: This player represented three countries in international football. **Ans: Laszlo Kubala**  
**Early Birds:** K. N. Viswanathan| Vishi Sinha

Word of the day

**Lampoon:**  
ridicule with satire

**Synonyms:** satirise, mockery, parody

**Usage:**  
*The writer often lampoons the ridiculous statements made by our politicians.*

**Pronunciation:** bit.ly/lampoonpro

**International Phonetic Alphabet:** lampʊwn

For feedback and suggestions for Text & Context, please write to **letters@thehindu.co.in** with the subject ‘Text & Context’







Kharge's  
remark on  
Modi draws  
BJP ire

**The Hindu Bureau**  
AHMEDABAD

The last day of campaigning for the first phase of the Assembly election in Gujarat saw the top leaders of the BJP and the Congress exchanging barbs, after Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge demanded to know why only Prime Minister Narendra Modi remained the saffron party's face in all campaigns.

Addressing a poll rally in Ahmedabad, the Congress president said, "We see your (Modi's) face in corporation elections, MLA elections or MP elections, everywhere. Do you have 100 heads like Raavan?"

BJP leader Gujarat CM Bhupendra Patel tweeted, "The statement made by Kharge ji against PM @narendramodi ji is testimony to their hate for Gujaratis."

Phase 1 campaign ends; Saurashtra  
and Kutch go to the polls tomorrow

Over 2.39 crore voters will decide the fate of 788 candidates in the fray for 89 seats in 19 districts; ruling BJP, Congress and new-entrant Aam Aadmi Party run a long-drawn but dull campaign punctuated by allegations and counter-allegations

**The Hindu Bureau**  
AHMEDABAD

Campaigning for the first phase of the Gujarat Assembly election to be held on December 1 ended on Tuesday evening. As many as 788 candidates are in the fray for 89 seats in 19 districts in Saurashtra and south Gujarat.

Amid allegations and counter-allegations, a long-drawn campaign by the ruling BJP, the Congress and the Aam Aadmi Party, the newest entrant in the political arena in the State, ended in what appears to be a dull election season compared with that in 2017, when the election was held against



**Final push:** (Left) Goa Chief Minister Pramod Sawant seeking votes for the BJP in Ahmedabad on Tuesday, while Congress chief Mallikarjun Kharge campaigns for his party the previous day. PTI



the backdrop of a massive agitation by the Patidars and another by the Other Backward Classes across the State.

Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal, Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Bhupesh

Baghel, Union Home Minister Amit Shah and BJP president J.P. Nadda were among those who campaigned on the last day.

Chief Electoral Officer P. Bharathi said all arrangements had been made for the first phase of polling on Thursday. "Polling will take place in 19 districts of Saurashtra and Kutch. Training has been provided to polling staff. Webcasting will be done at 50% polling booths," she said.

"Central paramilitary forces have also been deployed. A total of 2,39,76,760 voters will vote in the first phase of the election," she said. The second phase of the election will be held on December 5. A total of 833 candidates are in the fray for 93 seats. The counting of votes will take place on December 8, along with that of the Himachal Pradesh election.

INBRIEF



Jagdanand Singh likely to  
continue as Bihar RJD chief

Ending speculation over who will be the next Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) State president for Bihar, the incumbent Jagdanand Singh on Tuesday reached the party office along with party leader and State Deputy Chief Minister Tejashwi Yadav. Mr. Singh, a veteran party leader, was earlier said to be upset over his younger son Sudhakar Singh's resignation as the State's Agriculture Minister, and had stopped visiting the party office or attending party meetings since October 2.

NIA crackdown on terror  
syndicate continues

The National Investigation Agency (NIA) on Tuesday conducted searches at 13 locations in different States as part of an ongoing drive against the nexus between terrorists, gangsters and drug traffickers based in India and overseas. The searches were carried out in Punjab's Fazilka, Tarn Taran, Ludhiana, Sangrur and Mohali; Yamuna Nagar in Haryana; Sikar in Rajasthan; and Chandigarh, apart from some places in and around Delhi. This third round of searches, in which the premises of suspects Kaushal Chaudhary, Vishal Maan, Binny Gurjar, Ravi Rajgarh and their associates were covered, pertains to two cases registered in August.

Graft allegations may return  
to trouble Shivpal Yadav

With Pragatisheel Samajwadi Party Lohiya president Shivpal Yadav choosing to campaign for Samajwadi Party candidate Dimple Yadav in the Mainpuri Lok Sabha byelection after having sent out feelers to the ruling BJP, old allegations of corruption in the Gomti riverfront project which he oversaw may come back to haunt him. Speculation is rife in the power of corridors in Lucknow that the CBI is reaching out to the Uttar Pradesh government for permission to question Mr. Yadav in the case.

Cong. turns down the volume, goes door to door

GROUND REPORT

**Sandeep Phukan**  
SOMNATH/VERAVAL

The grand temple of Somnath forms the perfect setting to contrast the Congress's strategy for the Gujarat Assembly election in 2022 with its markedly different campaign in the previous election. During the 2017 campaign, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's visit to the Somnath temple triggered a controversy after the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) alleged that he had refused to identify himself as a Hin-

du. This, in turn, had prompted Randeep Surjewala, who was then heading the party's communication department, to say that Mr. Gandhi was a *janaeu dhari* (sacred thread-wearing) Brahmin.

"It's precisely to avoid such unnecessary controversies, the Congress has resorted to a silent campaign," says Ravi Khakhat, a local journalist in the port town of Veraval, barely five km from the Somnath temple.

On Tuesday, the last day of campaigning for the 89 seats that go to the polls in the first phase on December 1, Somnath-Veraval witnessed a show of



**Door-to-door:** Congress flags line the streets of a neighbourhood in Somnath as Gujarat goes to polls. VIJAY SONEJI

strength by the sitting Congress legislator, Bimal Chudasama, who took out a kilometre-long roadshow.

What was the one issue over which he is seeking re-election? "*Monghvari!*"

The Gujarati word for price rise or inflation, he said, as his motorcade went past the Tower Chowk area of the town.

"The biggest issues for the people today are *me-*

*hangai* or inflation, corruption and unemployment. And we are concentrating only on these issues though the Prime Minister [Narendra Modi] and the Home Minister [Amit Shah] are trying their best to polarise on Hindu-Muslim lines. But these issues are not getting traction and won't work," Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee chief Jagdish Thakor told *The Hindu*.

"We are going door to door and pointing out the misgovernance of the BJP. Be it during the COVID pandemic or natural calamities such as the cyclone that affected farm-

ers, governance was missing. And now, the cost of living is unbearable. People relate to these issues," Mr. Thakor said.

But many argue that the Congress's campaign seems muted in comparison to that of the ruling BJP, whose lead campaigner is the Prime Minister, or new entrant, Aam Admi Party (AAP), which has fielded Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal as its star campaigner.

The Congress has not only appointed senior leaders as zonal observers but has also appointed one for each of the 26 Lok Sabha seats to supervise its ground-level campaign

No one should be arrogant, SP  
replies to Adityanath's remarks

**The Hindu Bureau**  
LUCKNOW

The Samajwadi Party (SP) on Tuesday hit back at Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath over his "pendulum" jibe at Pragatisheel Samajwadi Party (Lohiya) president Shivpal Singh Yadav.

SP chief and former U.P. CM Akhilesh Yadav cautioned the BJP against arrogance. "Pendulum indicates changing times. It highlights nothing is permanent," Mr. Yadav wrote on social networking site Twitter.

On November 28, dur-

ing a campaign in the Karhal Assembly segment that falls under the Mainpuri Lok Sabha constituency, Mr. Adityanath, obliquely referring to Shivpal Singh, had said, "He has become something like a pendulum, or a football that gets kicked by both teams. We saw how last time he was insulted on stage through denial of a chair and had to sit on the arm of a chair."

Mr. Adityanath asked voters to support BJP nominee Raghuraj Singh Shaky, a two-term Lok Sabha member from adjoining Etawah. "Development of Mainpuri can gain momen-

tum if the local leadership is also from the BJP," added Mr. Adityanath, while alleging that during the SP's rule, the State was under the control of the land and mining mafia that had been nurtured by the party.

The Mainpuri Lok Sabha seat is considered a stronghold of the SP as it has won every parliamentary election since 1996. The SP's candidate for the prestigious seat is Dimple Yadav, the daughter-in-law of SP founder and five-term parliamentarian from the seat, the late Mulayam Singh Yadav.

Opposition trying to create law and order  
issues to defame government, says Stalin

**C. Jaisankar**  
ARIYALUR

Chief Minister M.K. Stalin on Tuesday alleged that the Opposition parties had been trying to create law and order problems in the State so as to defame his government.

Speaking at a government function in Ariyalur district, which was organised jointly with the Perambalur district administration, he said law and order in the State was stable. But while some were trying to create issues of law and order, others were



Chief Minister M.K. Stalin distributing welfare assistance to beneficiaries in Ariyalur district on Tuesday. M. MOORTHY

longing for its deterioration. They were not able to stomach the prevailing peace and tranquillity. "Some persons", who faced threats to their posi-

tions, had been casting aspersions on the law and order situation to retain their posts, he said without naming anyone.

Referring to the petition presented to Governor R.N. Ravi against the DMK government by the AIADMK leadership a few days ago, Mr. Stalin alleged that former CM Edapadi K. Palaniswami had done nothing to protect the State's rights and accelerate growth when he was at the helm. But he was trying to bring disrepute to the DMK government. He had no *locus standi* to level accusations, he said.

Mr. Stalin said the State was backward on various fronts during the 10-year rule of the AIADMK (2011-21). But its leadership had

been trying to gain political mileage, assuming that people would forget the misdeeds of the AIADMK government. According to the recent statistics from the RBI, Tamil Nadu had become the number one State in hosting the maximum number of industries. It had out-ranked many States with bigger populations and larger geographical territories. It had recovered with the proactive policies of the DMK government and the strong foundation laid by former Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi, he felt.

presented to Governor R.N. Ravi against the DMK government by the AIADMK leadership a few days ago, Mr. Stalin alleged that former CM Edapadi K. Palaniswami had done nothing to protect the State's rights and accelerate growth when he was at the helm. But he was trying to bring disrepute to the DMK government. He had no *locus standi* to level accusations, he said.

Mr. Stalin said the State was backward on various fronts during the 10-year rule of the AIADMK (2011-21). But its leadership had

Rahul Gandhi's long march is testing who will stay the course and how far

**Varghese K. George**  
INDORE

The Narmada rippled calmly as chants invoking her blessings wafted through the nippy morning air and hundreds of people led by Congress leader Rahul Gandhi crossed the Mortakka bridge to enter heartland India on Saturday.

Sunlight barely peered over the horizon. Mr. Gandhi had already marched some distance – his Bharat Jodo Yatra starts at 6 a.m. every day and covers around 15 km in the first two hours.

This is not for the faint-hearted or the weak-kneed – the pace is back-breaking, the terrain can be challenging. The yatra has covered 2,300 km by Tuesday, 83 days after

starting from Kanniyakumari. The previous evening, Mr. Gandhi performed Narmada *aarti* at Omkareshwar where Adi Sankara found his guru. The BJP government in Madhya Pradesh is planning a statue of the sage from Kerala – Statue of Oneness – there. For the MP from Kerala too, this is a journey of discovery – of himself, his party and the people.

In his early phase in politics, Mr. Gandhi had tried to reform the Congress, but he gave up that idea when the party lost the 2019 Lok Sabha election. He quit as president and has refused to return.

Mr. Gandhi seems to be testing the endurance of his comrades. A woman carried her shoes in her hand after they came off

and walked barefoot for several kilometres – one can't stop without dropping off. Dinesh Sharma, an ardent follower from Haryana, is walking barefoot from Kanniyakumari. He has vowed to remain shoeless until Mr. Gandhi becomes India's Prime Minister.

Along the way in his political life, an array of leaders who profited from association with Mr. Gandhi crossed over to other parties. Some have stuck around. Two fierce loyalists – Omkar Markam, a tribal MLA from Madhya Pradesh, and Jothimani, Lok Sabha member from Karur in Tamil Nadu – were in the close circle of Mr. Gandhi that day. "The media is hostile to Rahulji. He's talking to the people directly



**Walking on:** Congress leader Rahul Gandhi during the Bharat Jodo Yatra in Indore on November 27. PTI

through his yatra," Mr. Markam said. "These images will spread," he said, pointing to the people taking pictures in Barwaha town.

Mr. Gandhi stopped to listen to Shannu and her daughters – ragpickers in the town. "People find him accessible. Women feel safe and confident around him," Ms. Jothimani said.

Chirag Arora, an engineer, travelled from Bengaluru to join the yatra – for the third time. "I just want to be one of the thousands who believe in what he says," Mr. Arora said.

**The party paradox**  
The frenetic yatra is also an escape for Mr. Gandhi from the malfunctioning Con-

gress. One set of his advisers thinks electoral politics is meaningless or evil, even as factional rivalries and confused messaging bind the party in knots. Mr. Gandhi perhaps hopes to strengthen his own hands by drawing power from the people directly, and then deal with his recalcitrant colleagues. "That is the paradox of this yatra ... Can we achieve anything without the party," a close follower of Mr. Gandhi wondered.

"Yatras have shaped the destiny of this country for ages – be it of Buddha or Sankara or Mahatma Gandhi," another more optimist aide said.

A more immediate task is to tell the enemy from the companion. The CRPF human fence around him is

on constant vigil, as are party volunteers trying to keep the leader safe. "Throw her out," a commander shouted as a woman breached a rope barrier and dashed towards Mr. Gandhi. The response was swift, the woman was removed faster than she arrived.

Only those cleared by his aides can move close to the leader, but every now and then someone lunges towards him and a commotion follows. Mr. Gandhi remains unfazed.

Anonymous threats of a bomb attack had the police on edge. In Mhow, Mr. Gandhi recalled how he lost his father and grandmother to violence – Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a suicide bomber who showed up as a party worker and

Indira Gandhi by her bodyguards with whom Mr. Gandhi played badminton as a child. "I don't fear anyone. When you fear, you hate," Mr. Gandhi said.

Danger lurks. Friends may be fake but enemies are real. Mr. Gandhi hopes sheer determination will carry him forward.

The Upanishads implore the human to explore the real, the truth, his great-grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in *The Discovery of India*. "In the *Aitareya Brahmana* there is a hymn about this long endless journey which we must undertake, and every verse ends with the refrain: *Charaiveti, charaiveti* – 'Hence, O traveller, march along, march along!'"

The march is on. Long. Arduous. Lonely.



INBRIEF



Focus on accuracy over speed, Minister tells media

Information and Broadcasting Minister Anurag Thakur on Tuesday said presenting authentic information was the prime responsibility of the media, stating that with the expansion of social media, fake news had proliferated. Speaking at the opening ceremony of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union General Assembly-2022, the Minister said, “While the speed with which information is transmitted is important, accuracy is even more important and should be primary in the minds of communicators.” He added the Indian government has promptly established a “fact-check unit” in the Press Information Bureau to counter unverified claims and present truth to the people.

Adani Group bags bid to redevelop Dharavi slums

The Adani Group has won the bid to redevelop Dharavi, one of the largest slum clusters in the world, with an initial investment of ₹5,069 crore. It outbid the DLF Group, which had quoted ₹2,025 crore, S.V.R. Srinivas, chief executive officer of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project, said on Tuesday. The bid by the Adani Group is the initial investment in the ₹20,000-crore project, and according to the bid criteria, the company will have to form a special purpose vehicle. Thereafter, 20% of this initial investment will have to be submitted before signing the development agreement, and an additional 20% on submitting an integrated master plan.

New Sundarbans district to come up, says Mamata

West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee on Tuesday said her government was creating a new district of Sundarbans and working on a master plan with the Centre to prevent river erosion in the region. The Chief Minister was addressing a gathering at Hingalganj in North 24 Parganas district. A proposal for creating a separate district of Sundarbans that is located in the southernmost part of South 24 Parganas and North 24 Parganas districts has been waiting for some time. The Sundarbans with islands, creeks and a mangrove forest, including a tiger reserve, is home to about five million people.

‘Govt. not liable to pay for COVID-19 vaccine deaths’

The government cannot be held liable to pay compensation for deaths due to the administration of COVID-19 vaccines, the Centre has told the Supreme Court. “Holding the state directly liable to provide compensation under the narrow scope of strict liability for extremely rare deaths occurring due to AEFIs (adverse events following immunisation) from the use of vaccines may not be legally sustainable,” the affidavit said. The government said information was made freely available in the public domain by both the vaccine manufacturer and the Health Ministry. More information could be had on asking health workers at vaccination centres, it said.

Telangana gets recovery notice for taking up works not allowed under MGNREGS

Union Rural Development Ministry asks State government to return ₹151.9 crore spent on construction of platforms for drying fish and grain, in the name of foodgrain storage yards

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

The Union Rural Development Ministry has served notice on the Telangana government to return ₹151.9 crore spent under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme on construction of platforms for drying fish and grain which is not permitted under the scheme.

A Central team carried out investigations in the State between June 9 and 12. The team visited Kamareddy, Nalgonda, Khammam, Jangaon and Hanumakonda, surveyed 12 gram panchayats in 10 blocks of these districts and carried out sample checks at 47 worksites.

Based on the team’s observations, a report was sent to the State asking for clarifications. Following the State government’s clarifications, the total amount of recovery was re-



Response to violation: The Centre, in its notice, threatened to take action against the State under Section 27 of the MGNREGA.

duced from ₹154.5 crore to 151.9 crore.

The team observed that the drying platforms were built under the name of foodgrain storage building, while no such building was found at the work site. Such platforms, the team noted, were constructed on individual beneficiary lands. This work is not one of the 265 permitted under the MGNREGS. A total of

22,613 such platforms were constructed, and the team found work ongoing on another 17,250.

The Centre, in its notice, threatened to take action against the State under Section 27 of the MGNREGA that empowers it to give directions to the State for the effective implementation of the Act. A similar action was taken earlier this year against West

Bengal.

Rural Development secretary Nagendra Nath Sinha dismissed the allegation that only States ruled by the BJP had been targeted. Mr. Sinha told *The Hindu*, “Between August and September this year, we have investigated ongoing works in 114 districts on several counts including tallying the expenditure versus physical reality.”

UNDP to help waste segregation workers access govt. schemes

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is helping workers in the waste segregation industry in India to move into the formal economy, by helping them access government welfare programmes.

As part of the initiative, United Nations Under-Secretary-General Usha Rao-Monari will distribute “Jan Dhan” account kits to waste segregation workers on December 1 during her first visit to the country.

The opening of the accounts has been facilitated through the UNDP’s plastic waste management programme.

The programme promotes the collection, segregation, and recycling of all plastics to move towards a circular economy.

The programme also ensures the well-being and fi-

A key objective of the programme is to help move the sector from informal to formal

nancial inclusion of the *Safai Sathis* or waste-pickers, by linking them to social protection schemes.

According to the UN agency, a key objective of the programme is to help move the sector from informal to formal. So, the UNDP has been assisting the *Safai Saathis*, who contribute immensely to resource management and yet occupy the lowest rung of the ladder of the circular economy.

This is done by linking the workers to social protection schemes such as the Jan Dhan accounts, Aadhaar cards, Ayushman Bharat, pension schemes and scholarships for children.

India and Bangladesh establish contact as more Kuki-Chin refugees are expected to enter Mizoram

Vijaita Singh  
Kallol Bhattacharjee  
NEW DELHI

Ten days after the first batch of over 270 Kuki-Chin refugees crossed over to India fearing an attack from Bangladesh security forces, government officials estimate that 150 more refugees are expected to seek shelter in Mizoram in the next few days. A source said India and Bangladesh are aware of the unique seriousness of the issue and are in contact with each other.

A senior government official told *The Hindu* that 21 Kuki-Chin members had entered Mizoram on November 27, taking the total number of refugees to 293 so far.

While civil society groups and the State government have made arrangements for the stay of refugees in schools in Miz-



Behind influx: The members of the community fled Bangladesh following a crackdown against the Kuki-Chin fighters.

oram, the Union Home Ministry is yet to take a concrete decision on their repatriation.

A government official said that since India is not a signatory to the United Nations Refugee Convention of 1951 and its 1967 Protocol and does not recognise refugees, undocumented migrants are liable to be prosecuted for violating the Foreigners Act.

The members of the

NITI Aayog proposes decarbonising of industrial emissions

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

Carbon Capture Utilisation and Storage (CCUS), the technology for decarbonising emissions from high polluting sectors such as steel, cement, oil, gas, petrochemicals, chemicals and fertilizers, has a critical role to play for the country to halve carbon dioxide emissions by 2050, says a report on the policy framework of the CCUS prepared by the NITI Aayog and MN Dastur & Company.

The report, released here on Tuesday by NITI Aayog Vice-Chairman Suman K. Bery, said the CCUS technology would help in promoting the low carbon-hydrogen economy and in removal of the CO2 stock from the atmosphere.

Mr. Bery said the key challenge would be to reduce the cost of the mechanisms to implement the technology. “NITI Aayog will try to develop a consensus with other Ministries on the matter,” he said. “We need a sustainable solution for the decarbonisation of sectors that contribute to 70% of emis-

sion. CCUS has an important and critical role to play in it, especially for India to accomplish net-zero by 2070.”

Mr. Bery said CCUS could enable the production of clean products while utilising rich endowments of coal, reducing imports and thus leading to a self-reliant India economy. “CCUS also has an important role to play in enabling sunrise sectors such as coal gasification and the nascent hydrogen economy in India,” he added.

Power Secretary Alok Kumar said the focus should be on research and development, particularly on cutting-edge technologies. “NTPC has taken some R&D projects. Ministry has supported it,” Mr. Kumar said.

NITI Aayog Member V.K. Saraswat said that through the technology, CO2 coming from various thermal power plants or industrial plants would be captured.

The report said the key to a successful CCUS implementation was to enact a policy framework that supported the creation of sustainable and viable markets for CCUS projects.

FAITH

Gunavaan

Lord Narayana reclines in the Milky Ocean, from where He takes His vibhava avatars. This ocean is like a nursery, where seeds are planted, take root, and the seedlings are later transplanted to a field.

Kooratazhvan’s Atimanusha stava focuses on the Lord’s vibhava avatars, said Elayavilli Sriram, in a discourse. In the very first sloka, Kooratazhvan talks of the Lord’s quality of ‘seela.’ This is nothing but the quality we know as sauseelya. It is His most significant quality. In the Ramayana, sage Valmiki asks Narada, who in this earth, may be said to be gunavaan, veeryavaan (person of valour), dhar-mavaan (adherent of dharma), kritagnya (one who remembers goodness shown to him), satyavaakyah (speaks only the truth), and dhridavrittah (has determination). Gunavaan could refer to any quality, which makes Him virtuous. But what is that particular quality which is His distinguishing feature? That quality is sauseelya, and that is what Valmiki is referring to here, when he says ‘gunavaan.’

For all other qualities of the Lord, we say the quality of courage, or the quality of patience. But when we just say guna, without qualifying it further, it is a reference to His sauseelya. It was this quality that made Him befriend Guha and Sugreeva. He even welcomed into His camp Vibhishana, the brother of the demon who had abducted Sita. Not only did He make friends with Guha, but also saw him as yet another brother. Most importantly, whether in the Rama or the Krishna avatars, when He was friendly with simple people, without a high rank in society, He never thought that He was descending to their level and doing them a favour. He was on equal terms with them.



TOKYO  
Japan PM wants defence Budget to reach 2% of GDP by 2027



Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida has told his Cabinet to increase defence spending to 2% of GDP by 2027, up from a long-standing level of around 1%. Mr. Kishida announced it to his defence and finance ministers late on Monday, as Japan overhauls its security strategies to address growing threats from China. AFP

DOHA  
Qatar announces deal to supply natural gas to Germany from 2026



Qatar on Tuesday announced to send liquefied natural gas to Germany as Europe scrambles to find alternatives to Russian energy sources. Qatar's Energy Minister Saad Sherida al-Kaabi said up to two million tonnes of gas a year would be sent for at least 15 years from 2026, and that QatarEnergy was discussing other deals. AFP

SINGAPORE  
Singapore lifts gay sex ban, blocks marital equality for LGBTQ people



Singapore's Parliament decriminalised homosexuality on Tuesday, but amended the Constitution bolstering the existing definition of marriage as between a man and a woman, closing the door on equal marital rights for LGBTQ people. The old law penalised relations between gay people with jail time of up to two years. AFP

TEHRAN  
Iran Guards General says more than 300 dead in Amini unrest



Iran has for the first time reported that more than 300 people have died in over two months of protests sparked by the death of Mahsa Amini in morality police custody. The Islamic republic has deployed state security forces against what it labels "riots" that broke out after the 22-year-old Kurdish-Iranian died on September 16. AFP

Beijing to defuse protests with carrots and sticks, pushes vaccine

Chinese health officials unveil plan to boost vaccination rates among the elderly, reduce the interval between doses from six months to three. Of the 30 million Chinese population aged 80 and above, 65% had completed three doses, say sources

Ananth Krishnan  
BEIJING

China's government on Tuesday said it would launch a new push to vaccinate the elderly - a key step that would enable an eventual easing of the unpopular "zero-COVID" policy - while also pledging to crack down on activities that "disrupt social order". The ruling Chinese Communist Party leadership has not yet directly commented on the widespread and unprecedented protests over the weekend in cities across China but has appeared to respond with a two-pronged approach to deal with rising public anger over continuing lockdown restrictions. On Tuesday, health officials unveiled a plan to boost vaccination rates among the elderly, a key metric that the government has cited to justify the "zero-COVID" policy warning that opening up would lead to mass deaths. Officials said of the 30 million Chinese aged 80



Under watch: A COVID-prevention worker guarding the entrance of a residential compound placed under lockdown in Beijing, China, on Tuesday. AP

and above, 65% had completed the three doses of Chinese vaccines required to prevent hospitalisation and death, up from 40% last month. The push would continue to vaccinate the vulnerable, focusing for instance on nursing homes, and would now reduce the interval between doses from six months to three, the National Health Commission said, even as the country continues to deal with a COVID-19 wave of 40,000 daily cases. Officials of the commission at a daily briefing indi-

rectly acknowledged the protests and called on local officials to better respond to "reasonable" requests from the public. Cheng Youquan, an official of the National Disease Control and Prevention Administration, said "the problems highlighted by the public" were "not aimed at the epidemic prevention but focus on simplifying prevention and control measures". China's security officials have, however, struck a harder tone, reflecting the other side of the response

to the protests. With a heavy deployment of security personnel in many Chinese cities including Beijing and Shanghai, the protests of the weekend have not been reported. On Monday, a gathering in Hangzhou in the east was broken up by a heavy deployment of police. 'Maintain stability' On Monday, Politburo member Chen Wenqing who heads the powerful Central Political and Legal Committee that controls law enforcement including

the police, told a meeting of the committee that political and legal organs needed "to resolutely maintain national security and social stability." "It is necessary to resolve contradictions and disputes in a timely manner to help solve the actual difficulties of the people," he said, "and it is necessary to resolutely combat hostile forces, resolutely combat crimes that disrupt the social order, and effectively maintain the stability of the overall social situation." Several universities have said they will send students home early for the winter break and even pay for their journeys home, in a bid to defuse the protests seen on more than 50 campuses. Police in several cities have also been conducting random checks of smartphones for banned apps such as Telegram, which were believed to have been used to share information and organise some of the gatherings that called for an end to lockdowns.

Chinese billionaire Jack Ma 'living in Japan', says report

Ananth Krishnan  
BEIJING

Chinese billionaire and Alibaba founder Jack Ma has been living in Japan amid the Chinese government's ongoing crackdown on technology companies, according to a report on Tuesday. The usually high-profile Mr. Ma has stayed away from the public spotlight in China for more than two years and has avoided public engagements, coinciding with regulatory probes targeting e-commerce giant Alibaba and its financial payments arm Alipay. Mr. Ma has been living in



Jack Ma

Japan for at least six months, the Financial Times reported on Tuesday. He has also kept a low profile in Tokyo, where he is living with his family, along with his private chef

and security, and "keeping public activities to a minimum". Mr. Ma limits his engagements to visiting a few exclusive private clubs and spends his time painting and collecting modern art, the report said. Many wealthy Chinese have left the country since 2020, to avoid the continuing "zero-COVID" pandemic restrictions that have both disrupted life in China and made it difficult for Chinese to travel abroad. International flights are yet to return to normal while all foreign arrivals are still made to undergo quarantine.

Five Palestinians killed, Israeli soldier wounded in West Bank

Agence France-Presse  
RAMALLAH

Israeli troops shot dead four Palestinians in the occupied West Bank on Tuesday, Palestinian officials said, before a suspected car-ramming attacker was killed after wounding an Israeli soldier, Israeli medics

and the Army said. The Army confirmed its troops had fired on "rioters" who attacked soldiers in two separate clashes in the West Bank overnight. The 20-year-old woman soldier was "moderately injured and evacuated to a hospital for medical treatment" following the sus-

pected car-ramming north of Jerusalem, the Army said. Jerusalem's Shaare Tzedek hospital confirmed the alleged attacker had been killed. The West Bank has suffered spiralling violence this year, with near daily Israeli Army raids leading to scores of deaths.



General Asim Munir

New Army chief takes charge in Pak.

Press Trust of India  
ISLAMABAD

General Asim Munir, a former ISI head, assumed charge as the Pakistan Army chief on Tuesday, at a time when the cash-strapped country was in the midst of a political slugfest between the government and Opposition leader Imran Khan. General Munir replaced General Qamar Javed Bajwa, who retired after serving two consecutive three-year terms as the Army chief in the coup-prone country, where the military wields considerable power in matters of security and foreign policy. The new Army chief would have to tackle a host of problems, including the threat from militants. He takes charge a day after the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) called off an indefinite ceasefire agreed with the government and ordered to carry out attacks across the country.

U.K. govt. summons Chinese envoy over journalist's detention

Sriram Lakshman  
LONDON

The Chinese Ambassador to the U.K., Zheng Ze-guang, was summoned by the British government on Tuesday following the assault and detention of BBC journalist Ed Lawrence by the police on Sunday, while he was covering protests against COVID lockdowns in Shanghai. U.K. Foreign Secretary James Cleverly had instructed officials to summon Mr. Zheng to account for Mr. Lawrence's arrest, the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) confirmed to The Hindu. Mr. Cleverly, who was in Romania on Tuesday, emphasised the importance of protecting media freedoms. Media freedom "It is incredibly important that we protect media freedom. It is something very much at the heart of the U.K.'s belief system, and it is incredibly important that journalists can go about their business unmolested and without fear of attack," he said as per a Reuters report. The FCDO also said it was in touch with Mr. Lawrence, who has since been

released, and local authorities. A Chinese Embassy (U.K.) spokesperson said "foreign journalists need to consciously follow Chinese laws and regulations" in a statement posted to the embassy website. 'End of golden era' Outlining his foreign policy for the first time on Monday night, British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak had said the "golden era" in Britain's relationship with China was over, and that the competition with Beijing needed to be managed, including with diplomacy and engagement. He also said competitors must be met with "robust pragmatism" "Instead of listening to their people's protests, the Chinese government has chosen to crack down further....including by assaulting a BBC journalist," Mr. Sunak told attendees at a dinner organised by the mayor of London's financial district, the City of London. Former Conservative party leader and Tory backbench MP, Ian Duncan Smith, said on Monday that Mr. Sunak's planned approach of "robust pragmatism" was "getting pretty close to appeasement".



INBRIEF



‘ONGC, OIL gas price to be capped at \$6.5 for 5 years’

A government-appointed gas price review panel, led by Kirit Parikh, is recommending a floor and ceiling price for natural gas produced from legacy fields of state-owned firms for five years. Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) and Oil India Ltd. (OIL) will be paid a minimum or floor price of \$4 per million British thermal unit and a cap or ceiling price of \$6.5 as against the current rate of \$8.57, three sources said.

NDTV says Prannoy, Radhika Roy resign as RRPR directors

NDTV Ltd. on Tuesday told the stock exchanges that it had been informed by promoter group entity RRPR Holding Pvt. Ltd. that Prannoy Roy and Radhika Roy had stepped down as directors. In a regulatory filing on Monday, NDTV had said that RRPR had issued 99.5% shares to the Adani group that would give the latter 29.18% stake in the media firm. Adani is also conducting an open offer running up to December 5 for an additional 26% stake in NDTV.

TVS Motor unveils 2023 TVS Apache bike at ₹1.30 lakh

TVS Motor Company rolled out the 2023 Special Edition of its popular motorcycle 160 4V Apache RTR. The motorcycle, in pearl white, is priced at ₹1.30 lakh (ex-showroom Delhi) and available at dealerships across the country. The bike comprises dual-tone seat, adjustable clutch and brake levers and rear radial tyre, among many other features. The bike comprises a ‘lightweight bullpup muffler,’ enhancing the RTR exhaust, increasing the power-to-weight ratio with one kilogram weight reduction.

Sundaram Home to lift deposit rates from Dec. 1

Press Trust of India  
CHENNAI

Sundaram Home Finance (SHF) is set to raise the interest rates it pays on fixed deposits with effect from December 1. SHF said it will increase rates by 50 basis points for trusts, individuals (7.15% against 6.65%) and senior citizens (7.50% against 7%) on deposits for 12 months. For senior citizens, SHF would revise the rates to 7.50% (7.35%) for tenures of 24 months, 7.80% (7.65%) for 36 months and 8% (7.90%) for 48 months. “Depositors may find this fourth upward revision attractive,” SHF MD Lakshminarayanan Duraiswamy said in a statement.

Finished steel imports from Russia hit 4-year high in April-October

Reuters  
NEW DELHI

India’s finished steel imports from Russia during April-October rose to their highest in at least four years, government data compiled by Reuters showed, underscoring Moscow’s bid to divert shipments in the wake of Western sanctions. Russia’s steel exports to India reached 1,49,000 tonnes in the first seven months of the current fiscal that began in April, up from about 34,000 tonnes shipped a year earlier. Russia accounted for just about 5% of India’s total steel imports but was among the top five exporters.



JSW Steel Ltd., India’s largest steelmaker by capacity, said six to seven distressed Russian steel shipments arrived during the current fiscal year. Other than buying large quantities of steel from Russia, Indian firms have also been importing coking coal from Moscow.

FinMin calls for meet on cross-border rupee trade

Press Trust of India  
NEW DELHI

The Finance Ministry has convened a meeting of CEOs of banks, including top six private sector lenders, on December 5 to discuss ways to promote cross-border trade using the rupee instead of the U.S. dollar. Sources also said the meeting to be attended by other stakeholders, including senior officials of External Affairs and Commerce Ministries, will review the progress made so far. Financial Services Secretary Vivek Joshi will be chairing the meeting. It is likely to see attendance from representatives of the Reserve Bank of India and Indian Banks’ Association.

Sanctions-hit Russia said to ask India for parts for cars, aircraft

Reuters  
NEW DELHI

Moscow has sent India a list of more than 500 products for potential delivery including parts for cars, aircraft and trains, four sources familiar with the matter said, as sanctions squeeze Russia’s ability to run vital industries. The list is provisional and it is unclear how many items will eventually be exported, but an Indian government source said the request was unusual in its scope. India is keen to boost trade in this way, said the source, as it tries to narrow a ballooning trade deficit



with Russia. Some companies have expressed concern, however, about potentially falling foul of Western sanctions. An industry source in Moscow, who declined to be named because of the sensitivity of the issue, said Russia’s Ministry of Industry and Trade asked large companies to supply lists

of raw materials and equipment they needed. The source added that further discussion would be needed to agree specifications and volumes and that the outreach was not limited to India. Russia’s requests were made weeks ahead of Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar’s visit to Moscow starting Nov. 7, two of the Indian sources said. It was not immediately clear what was conveyed by him to Russia during the visit. Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s government has not joined Western countries in openly criticising Moscow for the war in Ukraine, and has sharply in-

creased purchases of Russian oil that have cushioned it from some of the impact of sanctions. During the Moscow visit, Mr. Jaishankar said India needed to boost exports to Russia to balance bilateral trade that is now tilted towards Russia. Western sanctions have crippled supplies of some crucial products in Russia. Airlines are experiencing an acute shortage of parts because almost all planes are foreign-made. For aircraft, Russia requested items including landing gear parts, fuel systems, communication systems and life jackets and aviation tyres.

‘Slow capital spending by States, CPSEs is still a worry’

Sharp surge in Centre’s capex in past 18 months does not imply higher public sector capex, which is what matters for the economy, point out economists at financial services firm Motilal Oswal

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

Despite a sharp rise in the Centre’s capital spending, underwhelming capex growth in States and a likely drop in investments by central public sector enterprises, could drag India’s total public capital expenditure to a multi-year low. “The sharp surge in the Centre’s capex over the past 18 months or so does not imply higher public sector capex, which is what matters for the eco-

Slowing pace

Weak growth in States’ capex and a likely drop in investments by CPSEs could drag overall public sector capex to a multi-year low



- Capex likely to contract for third consecutive year for CPSEs
- Expenditure will remain broadly stable for States
- Public sector capex is likely to fall to eight-year low
- Centre’s capex had spiked to 2.3% of GDP last year and rose to 2.5% of GDP for the first half of this year

nomy,” economists at Motilal Oswal said in a research note. “While the Centre’s capex is budgeted to rise in

2022-23, it is likely to contract for the third consecutive year for CPSEs and remain... stable for States,”

they noted. “Public sector capex is likely to fall to an 8-year low of 5.7% of GDP in FY23,” they added. Public sector capex was 6% of GDP in FY22. The Centre’s capex had spiked to 2.3% of GDP last year and touched 2.5% for the first half of this year. ICRA’s study on States’ finances showed revenue deficits had narrowed sharply for 18 major States so far in FY23, but capital outlays had risen a mere 2.2% in the first half, a far cry from their aim to raise capex by almost 38%.

N.K. Singh bats for universal health cover

The Hindu Bureau  
NEW DELHI

Fifteenth Finance Commission chairperson N.K. Singh on Tuesday called for a substantial increase in budgetary allocations for the health sector and restructuring of centrally sponsored schemes to enable greater flexibility for States. Mooting the inclusion of ‘health’ in the Concurrent list under the Constitution, Mr. Singh also made a pitch for universalising health insurance to capture ‘the missing middle’ – people who are not rich enough to buy private health cover nor poor enough to qualify for government schemes.

‘Avoid complacency’

While India’s response to the pandemic may have taken the ‘world by surprise’, it should not lull policymakers into a state of complacency, Mr. Singh cautioned, citing uncertainties and the need to address ‘endemic’ issues beyond the COVID-19 pandemic. “There is no getting away from the fact that public outlays in the health sector need to be substantially augmented. We need to enhance public outlays (on health) to 2.5% of GDP by 2025,” he said at the CII Health Summit. This, he explained, would entail a major jump over this year’s Budget numbers and require States to target 8% of their budgets towards the health sector, which was ‘a daunting challenge’.

MARKETS

MARKET WATCH

	TUESDAY	%CHANGE
Sensex	62,682	0.28
US Dollar	81.72	-0.04
Gold	52,837	0.02
Brent oil	85.11	3.11

NIFTY 50

	PRICE	CHANGE
Adani Enter	3878.40	-7.75
Adani Ports	878.20	-0.40
Apollo Hosp.	4719.20	-2.65
Asian Paints	3135.05	-16.15
Axis Bank	892.55	0.85
Bajaj Auto	3660.10	-16.60
Bajaj Finserv	1632.00	-20.85
Bajaj Finance	6734.15	-43.30
Bharti Airtel	835.85	-1.55
BPCL	339.05	-1.70
Britannia Ind	4285.35	72.30
Cipla	1121.15	19.40
Coal India	227.20	-2.65
Divis Lab	3372.70	-2.85
Dr Reddys Lab	4453.35	51.35
Eicher Motors	3416.10	-25.30
Grasim Ind	1719.15	2.20
HCL Tech	1128.95	10.15
HDFC	2665.25	6.55
HDFC Bank	1597.85	-2.40
HDFC Life	584.85	-1.15
Hero MotoCorp	2828.25	44.75
Hindalco	435.95	4.80
Hind Unilever	2634.20	109.00
ICICI Bank	946.75	9.35
IndusInd Bank	1180.60	-17.25
Infosys	1629.05	5.65
ITC	342.30	2.25
JSW Steel	732.55	16.90
Kotak Bank	1925.55	-2.60
L&T	2050.55	-13.90
M&M	1257.10	6.40
Maruti Suzuki	8910.20	-75.20
NestleIndia	20121.20	305.75
NTPC	170.15	-0.25
ONGC	140.25	0.65
PowerGrid Corp	219.35	-1.95
Reliance Ind	2712.20	4.65
SBI Life	1258.40	4.90
State Bank	608.55	-0.05
Sun Pharma	1049.85	15.10
TataConsumerPro-duct	805.05	0.75
Tata Motors	433.15	-0.10
Tata Steel	106.10	1.20
TCS	3397.35	2.10
Tech Mahindra	1074.55	-2.65
Titan	2613.75	21.50
UltraTech Cement	6928.90	36.60
UPL	774.85	-4.80
Wipro	405.15	-0.50

EXCHANGE RATES

Indicative direct rates in rupees a unit except yen at 4 p.m. on November 29

CURRENCY	TT BUY	TT SELL
US Dollar	81.52	81.84
Euro	84.55	84.89
British Pound	97.86	98.25
Japanese Yen (100)	59.05	59.29
Chinese Yuan	11.38	11.42
Swiss Franc	85.84	86.18
Singapore Dollar	59.37	59.61
Canadian Dollar	60.57	60.81
Malaysian Ringgit	18.07	18.17
Australian Dollar	54.88	55.09

Source:Indian Bank







# Men in Blue will hope for rain-free final ODI

The challenge for the visitors will be to post an above-par score on a ground where swing bowlers have ruled the roost in recent times

INDIA IN NZ  
**Press Trust of India**  
CHRISTCHURCH

Frustrated by the weather, a desperate Indian team will pray for a rain-free final ODI against New Zealand in its bid to square the series. Scattered showers are forecast. With the series on the line, Shikhar Dhawan and his men will have to really apply themselves at the Hagley Oval, which has traditionally helped seam bowlers and has an average score in the 230 range.

India's first PowerPlay batting has been much talked about and skipper Dhawan knows a sea change in approach is urgently required. Shubman Gill has shown intent in shot selection with scores of 50 and 45 not out, so has Suryakumar Yadav, who is in an incredible vein of form.

But the challenge for In-



**Need for speed:** Gill, who has had decent scores, will be crucial in India's scheme of things. GETTY IMAGES

dia will be putting up an above par score on a ground where swing bowlers have ruled the roost in recent ODIs. And for that, not just the openers or Surya but the likes of Rishabh Pant also need to step up.

For New Zealand pacers Matt Henry, Tim Southee and Lockie Ferguson, there couldn't be a better

venue to exploit the frailties in India's batting. Tom Latham and Kane Williamson will be the thorn the Indian bowlers will be looking to blunt.

**The teams (from):**  
**India:** Shikhar Dhawan (Capt.), Shubman Gill, Suryakumar Yadav, Shreyas Iyer, Rishabh Pant (wk), Sanju Samson (wk), Deepak Hooda, Washington Sundar,

Kuldeep Yadav, Yuzvendra Chahal, Deepak Chahar, Arshdeep Singh, Shardul Thakur and Umran Malik.

**New Zealand:** Kane Williamson (Capt.), Finn Allen, Devon Conway, Tom Latham, Daryl Mitchell, Glenn Phillips, Michael Bracewell, Tim Southee, Matt Henry, Adam Milne, Jimmy Neesham, Mitchell Santner and Lockie Ferguson.

*Match starts at 7 a.m. IST.*

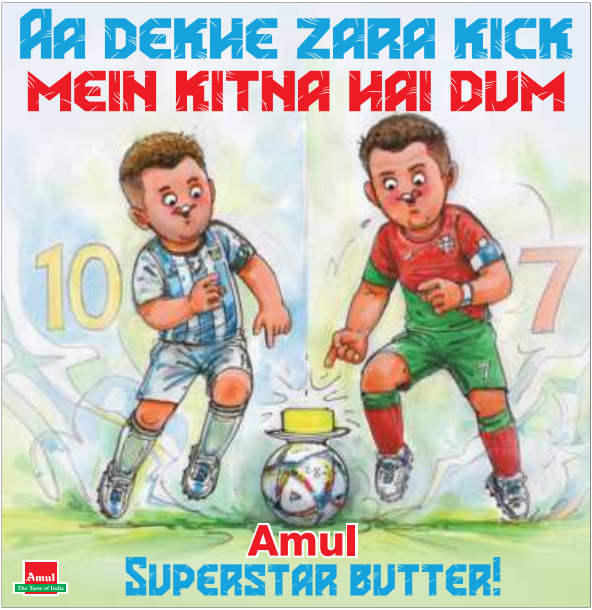
# Hurley, Archana bowl India u-19 to thumping win

**Sports Bureau**  
MUMBAI

The India under-19 women's team defeated New Zealand under-19 by 110 runs in the second T20 here on Tuesday. Opting to bat, India posted 176 for six in 20 overs before Hurley Gala (three for 18) and Ar-

chana Devi (three for 15) shot out the visitors for 66 in 15 overs.

**The scores:** India under-19 176/6 in 20 overs (G. Trisha 36, Shweta Sehrawat 34, Soumya Tiwari 31, Amie Hucker 2/33, Kayley Knight 2/28) bt New Zealand under-19 66 in 15 overs (Hurley Gala 3/18, Archana Devi 3/15, Mannat Kashyap 2/2).



daCunha/AB/848

# India-A takes opening day's honours against Bangladesh-A

**Press Trust of India**  
COX'S BAZAR (BANGLADESH)

The pace-spin combo of Navdeep Saini and Saurabh Kumar impressed as India-A grabbed the opening-day honours against Bangladesh-A in the first 'Test' here on Tuesday.

Opting to field, Saini (3/21), Saurabh (4/23) and Mukesh Kumar (2/25) helped India-A bundle out Bangladesh-A for 112 in 45 overs.

In reply, the visitors finished the day strongly at 120 for no loss.

Yashasvi Jaiswal and skipper Abhimanyu Easwaran were looking good on 61 and 53.

After Saini and Mukesh picked up five of the top six with just 63 runs on the board, the hosts recovered somewhat to cross three figures owing to Mosaddek Hossain's 63. Hossain struck six fours and three

sixes. Bangladesh was reeling at 26 for five at one stage.

When the Indians batted, Jaiswal struck eight fours in his 106-ball knock and Easwaran six fours off 111 balls.

**The scores:** Bangladesh-A 112 in 45 overs (Mosaddek Hossain 63; Navdeep Saini 3/21, Saurabh Kumar 4/23) vs India-A 120/0 in 36 overs (Yashasvi Jaiswal 61 batting, Abhimanyu Easwaran 53 batting).

## INBRIEF



## Parteeek's performance helps Giants end Paltan's streak

Parteeek Dahiya (19 points) powered Gujarat Giants to a 51-39 victory over Puneri Paltan in the Pro Kabaddi League at the Gachibowli Indoor Stadium in Hyderabad on Tuesday. Giants' victory broke Paltan's five-match winning streak for Paltan. The teams went into the break with Paltan leading 22-21 before Parteeek and Giants turned it around in the second.

## His 'work done', Ross Brawn decides to retire from F-1

Ross Brawn announced on Monday that he was retiring and leaving his position as managing director of motorsports at Formula One, which he had held since 2017. "My time with Formula 1 is now coming to an end," the Englishman, who turned 68 last week, wrote on the Formula One website adding "now is the right time to retire."

# Sumit and Ramkumar fuel Indian Oil past ONGC for the title

**Kamesh Srinivasan**  
NEW DELHI

Sumit Nagal and Ramkumar Ramanathan powered Indian Oil to a 2-0 victory over Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) in the final of the 41st PSPB inter-unit tennis tournament on Tuesday.

Sumit overcame a stiff resistance from Vishnu Vardhan for a 6-4, 3-6, 6-1 victory in the first singles. Competing in the Challenger circuit, Sumit was sharp and took charge of the situation on key points. Ramkumar closed the contest with a 6-3, 6-4 win over Yuki Bhambri, who rarely plays singles these days.

Sumit and Ramkumar also set up a title clash in singles, by beating Rohan Bopanna and Yuki respectively.

In the women's event,



**Champion:** The Indian Oil team — Ramkumar, Divij, Sumit and Bopanna — which emerged victorious. SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

the final will be between the top two seeds Ankita Raina and Riya Bhatia.

**The results:**  
**Men (semifinals):** Ramkumar Ramanathan bt Rohan Bopanna 9-5; Sumit Nagal bt Yuki Bhambri 9-6. **Doubles (semifinals):** Rohan Bopanna & Divij Sharan bt Udit Gogoi & Chandrashekhhar Mohanti 6-2; Vishnu Vardhan & V.M. Ranjeet bt Anup Toppo & Sunny Rajpal 6-1.

**Team (final):** Indian Oil bt ONGC

2-0 (Sumit Nagal bt Vishnu Vardhan 6-4, 3-6, 6-1; Ramkumar Ramanathan bt Yuki Bhambri 6-3, 6-4).

**Women (semifinals):** Ankita Raina bt Prarthana Thombare 6-4; Riya Bhatia bt Bagmishree 6-1. **Veterans (semifinals):** K.S. Rawat bt Rajkumar Dube 6-2; V.N. Prem Prakash bt Pratul Saikia 6-0.

**Team (final):** ONGC bt HPCL 2-0 (K.S. Rawat bt Sukhwinder Singh 6-0, 6-0; Prem Prakash bt Rahul Borah 6-1, 6-0).

# Objections against candidature of Minister, Kamlesh, three others

**Rakesh Rao**  
NEW DELHI

Gujarat Home Minister Harsh Sanghvi has entered the fray for the post of President of the Table Tennis Federation of India (TTFI) despite doubts over his membership of the Gujarat State Table Tennis Association.

The eligibility of Sanghvi and four others – eight-time National champion Kamlesh Mehta (Assam), Harish Kumar Kakkar (Chandigarh), Ajay Sharma (J&K) and V. Bhaskar Ram (Andhra) – has been questioned by the rival group, and the Returning Officer Justice Vineet Saran was expected to give his verdict on Wednesday.

The objections against Sanghvi and Kamlesh are that they were not elected

members by the association they represent. Sanghvi's name does not appear in the minutes of Gujarat's last AGM while Kamlesh resigned from Maharashtra via on Nov. 21.

Ajay Sharma, nominee for the post of treasurer, faces the question that he has not served the stipulated cooling period after being an office-bearer in J&K while Bhaskar Ram was a vice-president in the suspended executive barred by the Delhi High Court.

Harish Kakkar could be disqualified as government employees are barred from holding any post in National Sports Federations.

**Vijay Hazare Trophy**  
**Wednesday's semifinals**  
Karnataka vs Saurashtra; Maharashtra vs Assam

# BCCI serves conflict of interest notice on Binny

**Press Trust of India**  
NEW DELHI

BCCI ethics officer Vineet Saran has served a conflict of interest notice on board president Roger Binny. Saran has asked Binny to file a written response by December 20 against the conflict of interest allegations levelled against him.

The complainant, Sanjeev Gupta, has alleged that Binny is conflicted as his daughter-in-law works for Star Sports which has home season media rights for Indian cricket.

"You are hereby informed that a complaint has been received under Rule 39(2)(b) of the Rules and Regulations of BCCI by the Ethics Officer, BCCI for breach of Rule 38 (1) (i) and Rule 38(2) of the said rules, constituting an instance of conflict of interest on your part.

"You are directed to file your Written Response to the accompanying complaint on or before 20/12/2022. The said response should be supported by a duly executed affidavit," wrote Saran in the notice dated November 21.

Binny had become the 36th BCCI president in October, replacing former India captain Sourav Ganguly.

The 67-year-old played 27 Tests and 72 ODIs for India.

# Fletcher's strike gives Neroca win against Kenkre

**Sports Bureau**

Jourdaine Fletcher struck in the 57th minute as Neroca defeated Kenkre 1-0 in their I-League contest at the Cooperage Ground in Mumbai on Tuesday.

It was Neroca's second win in four matches (six points) while Kenkre remained at four points in four games.

# Kiran, Vivaan come up trumps in trap



Manisha Keer, champion Kiran, Shreyasi Singh. KAMESH SRINIVASAN

**Sports Bureau**  
NEW DELHI

Kiran beat Manisha Keer 2-1 in the shoot off for the gold after the two were tied on 30 in women's trap in the 65th National shotgun championship on Tuesday.

With qualification topper Rajeshwari Kumari (116) losing the race for the medal round in the semifinals, the 23-year-old Kiran, who trains at the same range under coach Vikram Chopra, was quite at home in the climax, as she beat experienced shooters who had won the national championships earlier.

In men's trap, Vivaan Kapoor prevailed over

Prithviraj Tondaiman 31-27 for the gold. In fact, Vivaan had made the "golden hit" when he was on 30, with Prithviraj on 27 and only two birds left in the final. However, the referee continued the competition for another shot that merely delayed the celebration.

**The results: Men:** 1. Vivaan Kapoor 31 (21) 121; 2. Prithviraj Tondaiman 27 (23) 121; 3. Bhowneesh Mendiratta 22 (22) 120; 4. Bakhtyar Uddin Malek 11 (21) 121. **Junior men:** 1. Jaswinder Singh 31 (21) 118; 2. Aryavansh Tyagi 29 (22) 118; 3. Bakhtyar Uddin Malek 20 (23) 121; 4. Vivaan Kapoor 13 (20) 121. **Women:** 1. Kiran 30(2) 114; 2. Manisha Keer 30(1) 114; 3. Shreyasi Singh 18 (115).

# Delhi gets the better of Uttarakhand, makes quarterfinals

**NATL. BASKETBALL**

**Sports Bureau**

Prince Tyagi (39) and Manik Ohlyan (22) did the bulk of scoring in helping Delhi to a 104-81 victory over Uttarakhand in a Group C league match of the 72nd National basketball championship at the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Stadium in Udaipur on Tuesday.

Delhi made the quarterfinals along with Tamil Nadu, Railways, Haryana, Punjab, Services, Kerala and Telangana.

In the women's section, Railways, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Kerala, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra made the quarterfinals.

**Select results:**  
**Men: Group A:** Telangana 80 (Nathan 20, M Raju 16, Gowtam 12) bt Maharashtra 71 (Sayyed 20, Navin 14, Raj Kalbhor 14). **Group B:** Services 94 (Mandeep Singh 16, Akhilesh Kumar 14, Ajay Singh 11, Magpal Singh 11) bt Kerala 70 (Sajesh 16, Sejin

Mathew 13, Shanaz Muhammed 12, Rahul Sharath 12). Madhya Pradesh 104 (Prakash Misra 25, Christopher Minhas 15, Rakesh Kumar Sharma 13, Surya Pratap Singh 12) bt West Bengal 93 (Raghav Sehgal 30, Arshdeep Singh 24).

**Group C:** Tamil Nadu 115 (Munir Bek 20, M Aravind Kumar 19, Baladhaneswar 14, Lokeshwaran 12) bt Mizoram 64 (Vanal Thazhuala 22, Zonunsanga 11).

Delhi 104 (Prince Tyagi 39, Manik Ohlyan 22, Abhishek Tyagi 12) bt Uttarakhand 81 (Prashanth Rawat 25, Arjun Singh 18, Keshar Singh 17, Amandeep 11).

**Women: Group A:** Railways 109 (M Pushpa 18, Madhu Kumari 12, Nisha Sharma 12, Dharshini 10, Navaneeta 10, Poonam Chaturvedi 10) bt Karnataka 52 (Varsha Nandini 14, Pavani Sangwan 11).

**Group B:** Tamil Nadu 65 (Sruthi 27, Shobhana 12) bt West Bengal 58 (Nivya Raj 21).

**Group C:** Kerala 89 (PS Jeena 20, Stephy Nixon 19, Minnu Maria 14) bt Uttar Pradesh 59 (Sanju Yadav 22, Sruti Yadav 13).

**Group D:** Delhi 74 (Raspreet Sidhu 22, Khushi Ahlawat 11) bt Odisha 59 (Lipramayee Satapathy 20, Anuradha Seth 11).

# Perfect day for Mamedyarov and Dzagnidze

**TATA STEEL CHESS**

**P.K. Ajith Kumar**  
KOLKATA

She was on 9/9 in Chennai. Just three months later, in another Indian city, Poland's Oliwia Kiolbasa is on 0/3. Sport is like that, of course, as the footballers of Argentina and Germany would also testify.

If the woman who stunned the world at the Chess Olympiad in August lost all her games on the opening day of the Tata Steel Chess India tournament, another won all hers. Nana Dzagnidze of Georgia thus emerged as the early leader in the inaugural edition of the women's event here on Tuesday.

Kiolbasa was, in fact, one of her victims. Her other wins came against Indians B. Savitha Shri and R. Vaishali. The host's best bet, Koneru Humpy, had a fairly good day, on which she faced Ukrainians in every game. The score read Humpy 2 Ukraine 1.



**Clean slate:** Dzagnidze, right, defeated Vaishali, one of the three players she conquered on Tuesday. DEBASISH BHADURI

**The results (third round):**

**Open:** Nodirbek Abdusattorov (Uzb) 1.5 bt Hikaru Nakamura (US) 0.5; Vidit Gujrathi 1 lost to Nihal Sarin 2; D. Gukesh 1.5 drew with Arjun Erigaisi 2; S.P. Sethuraman 0.5 lost to Parham Maghsoodloo (Ira) 1.5; Wesley So (US) 1.5 lost to Shakhriyar Mamedyarov (Aze) 3.

**Women:** Mariya Muzychuk (Ukr) 2 drew with Koneru Humpy 2; B. Savitha Shri 0.5 drew with Anna Muzychuk (Ukr) 1; R. Vaishali 1.5 bt Vantika Agrawal 1; Oliwia Kiolbasa (Pol) 0 lost to Nana Dzagnidze (Geo) 3; Anna Ushenina (Ukraine) 2 drew with Dronavalli Harika 2.