



# Dancing With Uncle Sam

## Modi Addresses Congress as US - India Ties Bloom



(Special Report) Washington DC- : Describing the just-concluded visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi here as “historic”, the Obama administration has named his vision of Indo-U.S. ties as “Modi Doctrine” that has overcome the “hesitations of history” and working for the betterment of the global good.

“The most important outcome in my mind of the visit this week and of the years of effort that preceded it is the clear and compelling vision that was laid out by Prime Minister Modi before joint session of the U.S. Congress,” Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia Nisha Desai Biswal said.

“This vision which I have come to call the Modi Doctrine laid out a foreign policy that overcomes the hesitations of history and embraces the convergence between our two countries and our shared interests,” Ms. Biswal told a Washington audience.

Ms. Biswal, the Obama

Administration’s point person for South and Central Asia, said this at a discussion on “Security and strategic outcomes from the Modi visit” organised on Thursday.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi delivered an ode to U.S.-India relations to a joint session of Congress Wednesday, capping something of a phoenix-like rise for both the man and his country’s relations with the U.S. In an extended speech celebrating the two countries’ relationship, he noted that their close ties reflect deeply shared values.

“The traits of freedom and liberty form a strong bond between our two democracies,” said Modi, who was greeted by almost three minutes of applause on entering the House chamber. “Our nations may have been shaped by diverse histories, cultures and faiths, yet our belief in democracy

for our nations and liberty for our countrymen is common.”

“As a representative of the world’s largest democracy, it is indeed a privilege to speak to the leaders of its oldest,” Modi said. It would have been hard to imagine three years ago, when U.S.-India relations were in tatters over the arrest and strip search of an Indian diplomat in New York for visa fraud and underpaying her housekeeper. Modi wasn’t even permitted to enter the U.S. then, censured for failing to stop the 2002 mass killings of Muslims in the Hindu-majority state he led at the time.

With the Indian leader’s election in 2014, the tide has definitively turned — thanks to determined effort, a growing strategic alignment and the striking odd-couple chemistry between the barrel-chested, bear-hugging Modi and his cool, often restrained American counterpart, President Barack Obama.

Modi, the fifth Indian prime minister to address a joint session of Congress, was interrupted throughout by applause from lawmakers who increasingly see in India a democratic counterweight to China in the Asia Pacific. Modi’s repeated references to India’s commitment to freedom and democracy served as a reminder that his country offers the U.S. a like-minded partner in an increasingly unsettled region. And that it provides Asia with a model for development and progress more compatible with U.S. values.

“No wonder that the shared ideals and common philosophy of freedom shape the bedrock of our ties. No wonder that President Obama called our ties the defining partnership of the 21st century,” Modi said. Secretary of State John Kerry has said that the U.S.

(Contd on page 20)

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# Dump the G.O.P. for a Grand New Party

(Press Release) If a party could declare moral bankruptcy, today's Republican Party would be in Chapter 11. This party needs to just shut itself down and start over — now. Seriously, someone please start a New Republican Party! America needs a healthy two-party system. America needs a healthy center-right party to ensure that the Democrats remain a healthy center-left party. America needs a center-right party ready to offer market-based solutions to issues like climate change. America needs a center-right party that will support common-sense gun laws. America needs a center-right party that will support common-sense fiscal policy.

America needs a center-right party to support both free trade and aid to workers impacted by it. America needs a center-right party that appreciates how much more complicated foreign policy is today, when you have to manage weak and collapsing nations, not just muscle strong ones. But this Republican Party is none of those things. Today's G.O.P. is to governing what Trump University is to education — an ethically challenged enterprise that enriches and perpetuates itself by shedding all pretense of standing for real principles, or a truly relevant value proposition, and instead plays on the ignorance and fears of the public. It is just an empty shell,

selling pieces of itself to the highest bidders, — policy by policy — a little to the Tea Party over here, a little to Big Oil over there, a little to the gun lobby, to antitax zealots, to climate-change deniers. And before you know it, the party stands for an incoherent mess of ideas unrelated to any theory of where the world is going or how America actually becomes great again in the 21st century.

It becomes instead a coalition of men and women who sell pieces of their brand to whoever can most energize their base in order for them to get re-elected in order for them to sell more pieces of their brand in order to get re-elected.

And we know just how little they are attached to any principles, because today's Republican Party's elders have told us so by (with a few notable exceptions) being so willing to throw their support behind a presidential candidate who they know is utterly ignorant of policy, has done no homework, has engaged in racist attacks on a sitting judge, has mocked a disabled reporter, has impugned an entire religious community, and has tossed off ignorant proposals for walls, for letting allies go it alone and go nuclear and for overturning trade treaties, rules of war and nuclear agreements in ways that would be wildly destabilizing if he took office.

Despite that, all top G.O.P. leaders say they will still support Donald Trump

— even if he's dabbled in a "textbook definition" of racism, as House Speaker Paul Ryan described it — because he will sign off on their agenda and can do only limited damage given our checks and balances.

Really? Mr. Speaker, your agenda is a mess, Trump will pay even less attention to you if he is president and, as Senator Lindsey Graham rightly put it, there has to be a time "when the love of country will trump hatred of Hillary."

Will it ever be that time with this version of the G.O.P.?

Et tu, John McCain? You didn't break under torture from the North Vietnamese, but your hunger for re-election is so great that you don't dare raise your voice against Trump? I hope you lose. You deserve to. Marco Rubio? You called Trump "a con man," he insults your very being and you still endorse him? Good riddance.

Chris Christie, have you not an ounce of self-respect? You're serving as the valet to a man who claimed, falsely, that on 9/11, in Jersey City, home to many Arab-Americans, "thousands and thousands of people were cheering as that building was coming down." Christie is backing a man who made up a baldfaced lie about residents of his own state so that maybe he can be his vice president. Contemptible.

This is exactly why so many

Republican voters opted for Trump in the first place. They intuited that the only thing these G.O.P. politicians were interested in was holding onto their seats in office — and they were right. It made voters so utterly cynical that many figured, Why not inflict Trump on them? It's all just a con game anyway. And at least Trump sticks it to all of those politically correct liberals. And anyway, governing doesn't matter — only attitude.

And who taught them that? But it does matter. I know so many thoughtful conservatives who know it matters. One of them has got to start the N.R.P. — New Republican Party — a center-right party liberated from all the Trump birthers, the Sarah Palins, the Grover Norquists, the Sean Hannitys, the Rush Limbaughs, the gun lobby, the oil lobby and every other narrow-interest group, a party that redefines a principled conservatism. Raise your money for it on the internet. If Bernie Sanders can, you can.

This is such a pivotal moment; the world we shaped after W.W. II is going wobbly. This is a time for America to be at its best, defending its best values, which are now under assault in so many places — pluralism, immigration, democracy, trade, the rule of law and the virtue of open societies. Trump will never be a credible messenger, or a messenger at all, for those values. A New Republican Party can be. If you build it, they will come.

## Barack Obama endorses Hillary Clinton for president

(Agencies) WASHINGTON: President Barack Obama on Thursday endorsed his former top diplomat Hillary Clinton in the campaign to succeed him, throwing his full weight into the 2016 White House race with a video message declaring: "I'm with her."

Obama's endorsement comes after a hard fought Democratic primary season, in which Clinton struggled against surprisingly tough leftist rival Bernie Sanders until she finally clinched the nomination just days ago. "Tens of millions of Americans made their voices heard. Today I just want to add mine," Obama said in the video.

"I don't think there's ever been someone so qualified to hold this office." "I have seen her judgment. I've seen her toughness. I've seen her commitment to our values up close," Obama said of Clinton. The endorsement was long expected but is nonetheless a shot in the arm to the Clinton campaign and could end concerns about party unity after a bitter contest.

The president earlier hosted Sanders in the Oval Office in a bid to heal those wounds.



Obama's backing will give Clinton a potent surrogate on the campaign trail. After nearly eight years in the White House, Obama is still one of the country's most popular politicians.

His approval ratings among black, Hispanic, young and liberal voters are stratospheric. Clinton welcomed the vote of confidence: "Honored to have you with me, @POTUS I'm fired up and ready to go!" she tweeted, echoing one of Obama's own campaign rallying cries from 2008. In that election Obama bested Clinton to become the first black president. They later made peace, as Clinton became Obama's first secretary of state.

Now Clinton is trying to make history of her own by becoming the first female president.

Standing in her way is bombastic businessman Donald Trump, who shocked the world by becoming the presumptive Republican presidential nominee. Clinton's campaign announced that a first joint campaign event with Obama would take place in Green Bay, Wisconsin on Wednesday, June 15. After meeting with Obama Thursday, Sanders avoided bowing out of the race, but said he would meet soon with Clinton to unite the Democratic Party as it takes on Trump. Obama was looking to play peace broker, coaxing Sanders to recognize Clinton as the party's presidential nominee.

The meeting itself was a very public show of respect for Sanders' insurgent campaign.

## Long wait for US visas as consulate lacks staff

(Agencies) HYDERABAD: If you have applied for a US visa and have been waiting for a long time to get an appointment for an interview, yours is not a lone case. The US Consulate General office in Hyderabad is facing



an acute shortage of staff and with the number of applications mounting by, the situation may not get better anytime soon. "While we plan to shift to new consulate by 2020, we have asked the government of India to allow us to appoint more consular officers so that the waiting period can be reduced," said B Jamison Fouss, the chief consular officer at a media conference at the US Consulate General in Hyderabad on Thursday. Speaking about the staff crunch, Fouss said, "There are only seven to 10 consular officers to review nearly 700 to 1,000 applications per day. Due to shortage of staff, there is higher waiting period during the peak season."

Each consular officer interviews an applicant for about two to three minutes," said Fouss. He added that for the kind of visa applications influx in Hyderabad, nearly 20 more consular officers were required. The consulate has been planning to increase counsellor windows to 51 from the 16 at the new office.

The American consulate in the city issued the highest number of student visas in India between July 2014 and July 2015, so much so, Hyderabad was ranked the fourth highest in the world in terms of number of student visas issued during the period.

# Fourth Modi-Obama Summit: Creating New Dynamics in India-US Economic Ties

**"India today is outward looking progressive nation that is ready for business": Dr Naushad Forbes, President, Confederation of Indian Industry**

(Press Release) India, similar to America is a large democracy with its own competitive advantages and limitations" stated Dr Naushad Forbes, President, CII at the Discussion on US - India Economic Ties and the Final Modi-Obama Summit. The discussion was jointly organized by the Confederation of Indian Industry and Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) on 6th June as a prelude to the fourth bilateral meeting between the Indian Prime Minister and President of the United States of America, in Washington DC, USA.

The primary focus of the session was on how the growth pace of Indian economy and the change in India's foreign trade policy will impact and strengthen India-US economic, strategic and commercial ties. Agreeing that US is a strategic partner for India, Dr Forbes further stated that India is also a significant contributor to the US economy and the economic gains of job creation and investments which Indian companies have brought to the US must be acknowledged and factored in. Indian businesses in the US have created about 91000 jobs in the US, with investments of approximately USD 15 billion. The aspiration is for bilateral trade to increase to USD 500 billion by 2025 from the current level USD 100 billion.

India, along with expanding its global presence and looking at important

markets such as its neighbors - Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, and Middle East is also keen to join the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in a major way to further strengthen its relations and benefit the global markets.

"The change in the foreign policy stance of India has opened new avenues for trade negotiations, has brought in an outward looking perspective amongst Indian business community from the earlier defensive outlook" pointed out Dr Forbes. He further added that through a sector focused approach India will be able to deal appropriately with the winners and losers resulting from trade. With almost 64 legislative bills passed in the last two years in India, steps taken up to ease business regulations such as the E-Biz portal, bringing in transparency for e.g. the passage of Bankruptcy Law, etc. India reflects a commitment to provide a strong and secure investment base for foreign and domestic investors.

Agreeing with Dr Forbes, Ms Shobana Kamineni, President Designate, CII reiterated that India and US are natural and strategic partners and both countries have added immense value to mutual economic growth. Illustrating how American start-ups have boosted the entrepreneurship model in India, she said that "India has always been a land of entrepreneurs and companies such as Amazon and Uber have further boosted the trend of start-ups in India". She further



stressed that India and US can jointly work on soft sectors such as digitization, skills & education, tourism, an sanitation, under the impressive Indian government schemes such as Digital India, Skill India, Swachh Bharat, etc. With the passing of 64 bills in the past two years, to arriving at competitive federalism, increase in spending on physical infrastructure such as ports, railways, highways, roads, construction of pipelines for energy security amongst the regions, India is poised to be the largest and fastest growing economy and it is the best time for India to expand its bilateral ties. Mr Raymond Vickery, Advisor, US India Trade Relations and Former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Trade Development, USA, illustrated that new dynamics have been added to the India-US bilateral ties

through cooperation in sectors such as energy security such as the solar, shale gas, hydro, etc., engaging deeply through the trilateral agreement between US-India-Japan and the civil nuclear deal. He expressed that India and US should develop a common vision for economic and strategic engagements, common standpoints on WTO, TPP and other trade agreements and set a foundation for mutual advantages. Mr Richard Rossow, Senior Fellow and the Wadhvani Chair in US - India Policy Studies, CSIS, while moderating and concluding the day's discussions stressed that India and USA can cooperate in innovation for solar and clean energy. He also mentioned that this fourth visit of the Indian Prime Minister to the US will result in bringing out new tracks of motion for the next US President and for overall India-US relations.

## Six Individuals Charged In Scheme To Defraud Merchants Out Of Jewelry And Diamonds

**Defendants, Including Two Who Were Incarcerated at the Time, Conspired to Obtain Jewelry and Diamonds Using Counterfeit Checks**

(Press Release) Preet Bharara, the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, Diego Rodriguez, Assistant Director-in-Charge of Federal Bureau of Investigation, ("FBI"), Robert E. Perez, Director of the New York Field Office of U.S. Customs and Border Protection ("CBP"), William J. Bratton, Commissioner of the New York City Police Department ("NYPD"), and Julie L. Jones, Secretary of the Florida Department of Corrections ("FDC") announced that DAVID JENKINS, ANTHONY BROOKS, LAKEATHACOOPER, SHARON LARA, DOMINEK GRANT, and ROBERTO CONCEPCION were taken into federal custody today for participating in a scheme to defraud merchants of diamonds

and jewelry in New York, New York, and around the United States. BROOKS was presented this afternoon in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. COOPER and LARA were presented this afternoon in federal court in Fort Pierce, Florida. GRANT was presented this afternoon in federal court in Charleston, South Carolina. JENKINS and CONCEPCION, who were incarcerated in a Florida state correctional institution, have been taken into federal custody and will be presented upon their arrival in the Southern District of New York. The case is assigned to the Honorable Jesse M. Furman.

Manhattan U.S. Attorney Preet Bharara said: "The six defendants allegedly tricked merchants around the country,

including in New York's Diamond District, into sending valuable jewelry in exchange for what turned out to be counterfeit checks and bogus money orders. Two of the defendants allegedly engaged in this brazen scheme while incarcerated for other crimes."

FBI Assistant Director Diego Rodriguez said: "Using a contraband cell phone and a complex network of co-conspirators throughout the United States, an inmate in Florida allegedly defrauded jewelers in New York's Diamond District out of thousands of dollars' worth of jewelry pieces. By posing as legitimate jewelry companies, David Jenkins negotiated a cash-on-delivery sale of jewelry with New York

jewelers that was eventually paid with counterfeit certified checks and then re-sold. This cross-country scheme was met with cross-country law enforcement efforts, with FBI New York working closely with FBI Miami. We appreciate the assistance with today's operations by FBI Columbia, FBI Phoenix, and FBI Miami. The FBI will continue to investigate big and small organized crime groups who seek to profit from fraudulent criminal activities." CBP New York Director Robert E. Perez said: "U.S. Customs and Border Protection is proud of the expertise we bring to support and assist investigations that result in the takedown of criminal enterprises. It is through interagency

partnerships and collaborative efforts, like the one leading to today's arrests, that law enforcement successfully combats today's criminal organizations." NYPD Commissioner William J. Bratton said: "As alleged, defrauding diamond dealers, while two of the defendants ran this racket from a jail, speaks to the audacity of the crime. Today, this scheme of swindling New York City Diamond District merchants and others is over."



# Uplift Humanity Celebrates Six Years in India: Launches Mumbai

(Press Release) New York - Uplift Humanity, founded in 2010, is an organization that works towards enabling American youth to empower juveniles in India through education. Since UHI's inception in 2010, they have launched programs at three juvenile rehabilitation centers throughout India: Gujarat, Hyderabad, and the newest in Mumbai. In the past 6 years, Uplift has successfully brought 250 students to India from the United States and contributed approximately 150,000 hours of volunteer work with the demand growing exponentially each year. Uplift's rapid growth has enabled the organization to educate more than 500 different juveniles and orphans and donate in excess of Rs. 250,000 in scholarships funds to dozens of children who are seeking higher education or vocational studies. Uplift Humanity, a passion project of Founder Anish Patel, was started when he took a trip to India with his family. Whilst delayed in traffic on the roads of Vadodara, Anish noticed a group of children playing behind the gates of a dilapidated juvenile detention



facility. Anish's curiosity led him to research the treatment of juvenile inmates and orphans in India. He found that many of these children committed crimes out of economic desperation, and would likely never receive the education, or life-skills training necessary to secure a higher standard of living. And thus, Uplift Humanity India was born. Anish believes that through cross-cultural education, the relevant instructional materials, and the right people, we can change the way that education is delivered across institutionalized facilities

in India. The two key platforms that contribute to the success and growth of Uplift Humanity are the organization's Academic Program and their Annual Summer Program. The academic program is the most crucial element of the on-site work done at juvenile centers year-round, where local educators teach how to read and write in English, and how to use computer technology. The summer rehabilitation program brings students from the United States over to one of the three rehabilitation facilities in India where the volunteers teach



orphans and juveniles life skills such as moral decision-making, self-esteem development, anger management, daily etiquette, and public speaking. In June 2013, Narendra Modi witnessed first-hand the impact of Uplift Humanity's work with juveniles and orphans in India and invited the team to discuss ways to increase education levels in institutionalized facilities in India. This new partnership allowed Uplift to strengthen their impact in India. With the aid of local and national governments, Uplift Humanity was able to launch in

Mumbai. "Uplift Humanity's expansion into Mumbai shows our commitment to eradicate juvenile recidivism throughout the Indian subcontinent. We're so excited to be in Mumbai because it's such a bustling city with so much potential. What makes Mumbai even more special for our team is that it's the first location that we're allowing non-Indians to apply to our programs. Essentially, now any teenager from any demographic can apply to volunteer with our organization" says Founder Anish Patel.

## Manhattan U.S. Attorney Announces Return Of Thousand-Year-Old Bronze Statue To Republic Of India

### Statue of Hindu God Ganesha Was Stolen From a Temple in Tamil Nadu in 2006

(Press Release) Preet Bharara, the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, announced today the return of a stolen 11th or 12th Century bronze statue of Ganesha to the Republic of India, pursuant to an agreement between the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York and the Toledo Museum of Art. The Ganesha was returned today along with several other stolen antiquities at a repatriation ceremony with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and U.S. Attorney General Loretta Lynch at Blair House in Washington, D.C.

Manhattan U.S. Attorney Preet Bharara said: "A decade

ago, a valued piece of India's cultural heritage was stolen and sold in the United States. We are proud to have played a role in returning this treasure to the Indian people, and reaffirm our commitment to ensuring that the United States does not become a marketplace for stolen art and antiquities."

The statue of Ganesha, also known in Tamil Nadu as Vinayagar, is a bronze statue dating from the Chola dynasty period (1080-1150 A.D.). The Ganesha was stolen from the Sivan temple at Sree Puranthan Village in the Ariyalur District of Tamil Nadu in 2006, and obtained by Subhash Kapoor, an antiquities dealer in Manhattan.

involvement in trafficking in stolen antiquities, and is currently awaiting trial in Tamil Nadu. Kapoor sold the Ganesha to the Toledo Museum of Art (the "Museum") in 2006.

Working with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Homeland Security Investigations ("HSI"), the Office identified the Ganesha as stolen, and contacted the Museum. Upon being presented with the evidence of the Ganesha's illicit origin, the Museum voluntarily agreed to turn over the Ganesha to HSI for return to the Republic of India.

Mr. Bharara thanked HSI for their outstanding work in connection with this matter. He also thanked the Manhattan District Attorney's Office for their assistance. Mr. Bharara also thanked the Toledo Museum of Art for their willingness to voluntarily return the Ganesha to the Republic of India.

The case is being handled by the Office's Money Laundering and Asset Forfeiture Unit. Assistant U.S. Attorney Alexander J. Wilson is in charge of the case.

## How Manmohan Singh and Narendra Modi differed at US Congress

(Agencies) They are very different politicians on every count. But there is a great deal of similarity and some pronounced differences in what both Narendra Modi and Manmohan Singh told the joint session of the US Congress on Wednesday and in July 2005 respectively.

But as it is the case with their strikingly different persona, there was a marked difference in how they both said them all—from showering platitudes, talking about similarities between two democracies, and how they see the present and visualize the future of the bilateral relationship.

Despite all the proximity Singh was accorded to with the US, at the end, a comparison of their speeches show Modi was more willing for a strategic embrace of the Americans than Singh ever was.

Modi told the American lawmakers that "constraints of the past are behind us" and "a new symphony is in play" in the conclusion of the speech. Singh had spoken of "transforming ties" drawing from the "principles" and "pragmatism" and welcomed US to be "on our side". Modi was perhaps building upon what AB

Vajpayee talked to the US lawmakers. Unlike Modi, Singh

chose to make no reference to China in his speech with phrases Americans love such as 'freedom of navigation', but both took the opportunity to make oblique reference of Pakistan: Modi is the context of terrorism and Singh on non-proliferation.

Both the speeches, Singh reading out from a written text and Modi using teleprompter was applauded by the lawmakers. The two leaders started by comparing oldest democracy (the US) and the largest democracy in the world (India) in their similarities and their shared values such as freedom and celebration of diversity.

They both spoke about Indian constitution drawing inspiration from the American constitution: The difference was Modi quoted BR Ambedkar and Singh Jawaharlal Nehru to emphasize the point. Both quoted Gandhi, the father of the nation in the speech and they also said India and US are natural allies, Modi attributing the credit of the phrase to Vajpayee. There was one person the two leaders praised in equal measure: Norman Borlaug, the American scientist, father of Green Revolution. Singh quoted no other American, but Modi cited three others, including President Abraham Lincoln.



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# Why We Must Thank Censor Chief Pahlaj Nihalani

**Nitin Pai**

Pahlaj Nihalani, the current chairman of the Central Board of Film Certification (CBFC) deserves our collective thanks for exposing just how absurd, arbitrary and abused our film screening regulations are. After a string of decisions that imposed his own dogmatic view of decency, propriety and culture on an unsuspecting public, the CBFC's decision on Balaji Motion Pictures' Uda Punjab has shown everyone just how much the board constituted for film certification has operated as a vehicle for film censorship.

To be fair, Mr Nihalani is not the first CBFC chairman to impose his own sensibilities on movies made by other people: the curbing of our freedom of expression has a decades-long history. If anything, Mr Nihalani used bigger scissors, used them too many times, and often in the most ridiculous places and times. This, accompanied by the strong smell of cultural policing and outright partisanship, distinguishes the current board from previous ones. The difference, though, is only of scale.

What is clear is that the way India decides what should be screened in cinemas and in the privacy of our homes needs to change. What is unclear is whether the Modi government intends to undertake the reforms proposed by the Shyam Benegal Committee. A report submitted to Arun Jaitley, the Minister for Information & Broadcasting, on April 26, recommends that the "CBFC should only be a film certification body whose scope should be restricted to categorizing the suitability of the film to audience groups on the basis of age and maturity."

According to the Benegal report, CBFC can only refuse certification on two counts. First, when parts of the film are "against the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or involves defamation or contempt of court or is likely to incite the commission of any offence". Second, when the film crosses the ceiling of the most stringent rating. It is unclear what the Ministry intends to do with the report, and we cannot dismiss the usual fear of it gathering dust in the cavernous cabinets of New Delhi's government buildings.

While the Benegal committee report is sensible, it is, despite some media reports, hardly revolutionary. It leaves in the

hands of the government the essential and subjective element of determining such matters as decency, morality, defamation, friendly relations with foreign states and sovereignty and integrity of India. The history of the CBFC, not least the recent controversies it has triggered, are ample evidence that the government does a shoddy job of it, both from an aesthetic and from a political point of view. We need no more proof that government-appointed individuals, whether from the film industry or otherwise, are terrible at the job.

If you think about it, there is no real need for the government to appoint its favourite censors to determine what people should see. Even without changing the principles for guidance in certifying films [Section 5(B)1 of the Cinematograph Act of 1952, that I quote above] it is possible to allow a competitive marketplace for the certification of films.

The Modi government must

liberalise film certification, allow private Certifying Authorities and use the CBFC to regulate them. The CBFC's mandate and function then changes from being a censor board to being a watchdog of freedom of expression. Instead of cutting scenes from films, it should be made to regulate private Certifying Authorities, who must operate according to the rules it frames. A film-maker should be free to choose any from a number of CBFC-licensed Certifying Authorities to get their film certified. The CBFC can license any number of private companies that intend to get into the certification business, setting standards and ensuring compliance. It could, for instance, require that the certification committee of every Certifying Authority have representation from the industry, academia, civil society and linguistic/ethnic minorities.

Such a move will take the business of determining what

is appropriate for general viewing away from a political appointee to a private player motivated by profit, but governed by a regulatory framework. This might appear a cosmetic move, but people behave differently when they wear professional hats as against when they wear political hats. A competitive market in certification will ensure that nobody can get away with higher prices, arbitrary cuts or partisan behaviour.

The idea of multiple, private Certifying Authorities is not pure fantasy. We already have them in India for digital signatures. Under the Information Technology (IT) Act 2000, the Controller of Certifying Authorities, a government body, licenses and regulates a number of private Certifying Authorities. We can very easily adopt a similar system for certifying films.

Had we had multiple certifying agencies, Uda Punjab would

hardly have been controversial. Because of competition, it would have been very unlikely that any certifying authority would have acted in a partisan or arbitrary manner. If the producers were unhappy with the decision of one certifying authority, they could approach another, or take the appeal to a tribunal. In any event, the controversy would not have been a political one.

Indeed, the very fact that you can exert political pressure to prevent the screening of something you find objectionable has opened the floodgates of competitive intolerance. Getting a film censored is almost always an attempt to demonstrate political power, and anything can be mustered to claim hurt sentiments. To rescue our creative industries from the clutches of competitive intolerance, the aesthetic decisions must be depoliticised and professionalised.

## The Next US President Should Keep India Close: Foreign Media

**Nicholas Burns**

When this bitter, divisive presidential campaign mercifully comes to an end in November, the victor will face the Olympian task of restoring flagging public and congressional support for strong U.S. leadership in the world.

A truth once undisputed in American politics - that U.S. global primacy is beneficial for our country - is now under assault. Bernie Sanders's narrow, pessimistic view of the United States' great-power future has encouraged twin scourges of protectionism and isolationism on the left. Donald Trump's fearful, fact-free campaign has been infinitely more damaging in stoking isolation and nativism on the right. Hillary Clinton alone has held up the banner that all post-World War II presidents have carried - one of U.S. engagement and global leadership.

When Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visits the White House on June 7, Republicans and Democrats will have a chance for redemption by lending bipartisan support for such leadership - in the form of an ambitious strategic partnership with India and its 1.25 billion people.

This project, carefully engineered by the past three presidents, is arguably one of the most important U.S. foreign policy advances in decades. Bill Clinton broke the ice by suggesting the United States' 21st-century global interests were in alignment with India's. George W. Bush made the major push forward by negotiating a civil nuclear agreement between the two countries and persuading both parties in Congress to remove sanctions. Barack Obama became the first president to support India for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security

Council.

This rare, long-term strategic initiative by three administrations in an increasingly fractious Washington is a testimony to what can be accomplished when Republicans and Democrats act in unison to serve the national interest.

When Modi and Obama meet in the Oval Office, the glue that will bind them together is their mutual concern about a newly assertive China in Asia. Both face the same dilemma. They have no choice but to engage China on trade, global economic stability and climate change given Beijing's vast international weight and influence. At the same time, Washington and New Delhi understand the necessity of standing up to China's bullying of Vietnam, the Philippines and other claimants to the Spratly and Paracel islands in the South China Sea.

This is one reason America's emerging triangular military partnership with India and Japan is so important. While not designed to contain China in a conventional sense, growing air and sea cooperation among the three democracies can help to prevent a strengthening People's Liberation Army from dominating the Asia-Pacific region in this century. Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter has been particularly effective in laying the groundwork for a more integrated U.S. military future with India.

On a recent visit to New Delhi, I was struck by a change of attitude among senior Indians who have long debated how much they should strengthen ties to the United States given India's traditional non-alignment. That debate is clearly shifting. Modi is seeking stronger strategic links to Obama and his successor. In fact, this "foreign policy prime minister," as many call

him, aims to transform India itself from the dominant country in South Asia to a true world power. That goal mirrors Obama and Bush's calculation that a strong India is in our interest. Republican and Democratic leaders should continue to support it.

Our relationship with New Delhi is far from untroubled. The civil nuclear deal has still not been implemented due to unfair legislative barriers in New Delhi. Washington is wary of India's rapidly warming ties to Iran, while New Delhi wants the United States to consult more actively on Afghanistan. The two governments remain uneasy partners on climate change. Modi's much-heralded economic reforms have been fitful, at best. And we remain far apart on global trade due to India's austere protectionism, which excluded it from the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations.

Still, long-term trend lines are auspicious. India and the United States have the two youngest populations of all the great powers. By virtue of their solid democratic foundations, they may be best positioned for global influence far into this century. The next U.S. president and Congress should push joint efforts in cyber and homeland security, clean energy, the digital revolution and the emerging global strategic health campaign. Trump has been wrong about many things in this campaign, most notably in insisting that the United States doesn't win anymore. Our strengthening partnership with India is a striking success. It has been built by the internationalist center in both parties that can still unite them on important foreign policy issues. The next U.S. president will have the opportunity to work with Republicans and Democrats in writing the next chapter with India. She should take it.

# Modi's West Asian odyssey *Hillary Clinton's Triumph, and Burden*

As Prime Minister Narendra Modi flew out from Doha on June 5, he brought to an end an unprecedented Indian engagement with the countries of the Gulf. In just ten months, he has visited the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Qatar, and has hosted the Abu Dhabi crown prince in Delhi. In every capital he has been received with a lot of warmth. Every country has applauded its historic and civilisational links with India, and every interaction has yielded substantial agreements which will take bilateral relations into new areas and reshape ties to make them relevant to contemporary times. Besides paying tribute to the resident Indian community, the visits attached central importance to boosting energy and economic ties: here the difference is the commitment on both sides to upgrade the existing buyer-seller relations to long-term partnerships based on investments and joint ventures. The two sides also agreed to pursue cooperation in new frontier areas, such as space, telecommunications, renewable energy, food security, sustainable development, desert ecology, and advanced healthcare.

Every country visited expressed its admiration for India's economic achievements and pledged to become a partner in India's development efforts, with the UAE even setting aside a fund of \$75 billion to invest in India's infrastructure needs. All of them emphasised the value of cultural ties that have shaped our ethos over several centuries, and committed themselves to enhancing people-to-people links through new platforms for interaction, embodying the shared values of moderation and accommodation. The joint statement with Iran, titled 'Civilisational Connect, Contemporary Context', particularly focussed on sustaining historic cultural ties through interactions among scholars, authors, artists, filmmakers, the media, and sportspersons.

Every Gulf country expressed anxiety about the threat from terrorism and pledged to work closely with India to combat it, not only through strong armed action but also by countering radicalisation through promotion of a moderate religious discourse espousing peace, tolerance, and inclusiveness.

Most of the countries have spoken of India as their "strategic partner", a status that represents a high degree of shared values, perceptions and approaches to matters of security concern. Thus, the joint statement with the UAE speaks of "shared threats to peace, stability and security", and agrees to a "shared endeavour" to address these concerns, which is founded on "common ideals and convergent interests". Similarly, the joint statement with Saudi Arabia talks of the two countries' responsibility to promote peace, security and stability in the region. The Iran statement speaks of the strategic importance of regional connectivity linked with the development of Chabahar port.

Not surprisingly, enhancement of defence ties has been given central importance by all the countries the Prime Minister has visited. This includes frequent dialogue between senior officers, training, joint exercises by the three arms of the military of both countries, joint marine operations, and supply and joint development of arms and ammunition.

Defence cooperation is complemented by the countries agreeing to intelligence-sharing, counter-terrorism operations, capacity-building and adoption of best practices and technologies by the security agencies on both sides. Cooperation in defence and intelligence affirms that India is seen as a worthy partner in these sensitive areas by countries that face serious domestic and external threats from extremists. While the bulk of the joint statements is devoted to bilateral relations, every one of these documents contains a subtext that poses a challenge for India and imposes a new responsibility on it: how to shape an Indian role to promote security in the Gulf. The UAE statement speaks of the need for the two countries to establish a "close strategic partnership" for "these uncertain times", and calls upon them to "work together to promote peace, reconciliation, stability... in the wider South Asia, Gulf and West Asia region". The Saudi joint statement notes "the close interlinkage of the stability and security of the Gulf region and the Indian subcontinent and the need for maintaining a secure and peaceful environment for the development of the countries of the region".

The joint statement with Iran speaks at length about the threat from terrorism for the peace, security, stability and development of the region. It specifically refers to the peace and stability of the region being served by "a strong, united, and prosperous and independent Afghanistan" and their agreement to strengthen trilateral consultations and coordination. West Asia today is in the throes of the gravest crisis in its modern history. Besides two ongoing wars, there is the scourge of jihad, represented by the transnational al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. The two Islamic giants, Saudi Arabia and Iran, are locked in a competition in which each country sees the other as threatening its nationhood, regime, political order, and doctrinal standing in Islam. Saudi Arabia believes that Iran supports terror, interferes in the domestic politics of the neighbouring Arab states, and is a destabilising force that has regional hegemonic aspirations. Iran denies these allegations, arguing that the Saudi monarchy faces serious domestic economic and political challenges, particularly from its restless youth who chaff against an order that is on the wrong side of every issue in world affairs — the Kingdom is unfairly making a scapegoat of the Islamic Republic that has no regional territorial ambitions.

With the nation's primary season drawing to a close, Hillary Clinton is set to make history as the first female presidential nominee of a major political party. Mrs. Clinton's name on the ballot in November would be another milestone in the quest for women's rights, which, as she noted years ago, are human rights. This achievement is worth cheering by all, regardless of party, because it further opens the door to female leadership in every sphere. The sheer muscle Mrs. Clinton put into her bid sets an example of hard work for others eager to follow her path into public service. Indeed, the optimism and engagement of young voters has been a welcome bright spot in this election season. More than any other age group, voters aged 18 to 33 say they believe in the power of ordinary people to influence their government. Overwhelmingly, they say that a fair and inclusive process is more important to them than seeing their favored candidate win. Now comes more hard work for Mrs. Clinton. Many in this newest generation of American voters say that they don't trust her, or that she represents a Washington disconnected from their struggles. They backed Bernie Sanders and his demand that government provide health care, education and opportunity for everyone. Among some of his supporters there will be lingering frustration and a belief that the party's leaders conspired to deprive them of their choice. This isn't an accurate or fair assessment, but Mrs. Clinton must address it. Unlike the Democratic stalwarts Mrs. Clinton delivered to Barack Obama in 2008, younger voters, including many Sanders supporters, are generally less likely to turn out. Unless she makes a substantial effort to win them over, they might stay home, and low turnout historically helps Republicans. The general election campaign will afford Mrs. Clinton more room to expand on her ideas for lowering health care costs, managing college debt and addressing income inequality. The Democratic National Convention in July could include a fresh look at the way the party chooses its nominees. About 50 percent of young people describe themselves as independents, and open primaries in every state would allow them to vote for candidates of either party without jumping through bureaucratic hoops. The party may also revisit the "superdelegate" system, in which party insiders play an outsize role in choosing the nominee. Beyond these policy-related efforts lie opportunities for Mrs. Clinton to demonstrate her commitment to running an accountable White House, should she win the presidency. This will require greater openness and directness from a candidate who has had a tendency to dodge uncomfortable questions.

Releasing transcripts of her paid speeches to Wall Street would signal her commitment to reversing these perceptions. So, too, would clearly acknowledging what the State Department inspector general has said: that using a private email server for official business was not allowed or encouraged, but she did it anyway, in a misguided effort to protect her privacy. Donald Trump is correctly pointing out that Mrs. Clinton has gone many months without answering questions at a news conference. It is past time for her to hold a forthright session with reporters. Since declaring his candidacy a year ago, Mr. Trump has revealed almost no policy knowledge or workable proposals.



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# Muhammad Ali showed value of embracing diversity

The death of Muhammad Ali—who lived a rags-to-riches story and overcame prejudice and adversity—is a reminder that our nation has benefited and our lives have been enriched by people of every income group, religion, race and ethnicity.

Ali grew up in a working-class family, the son of a father who was a sign painter and a mother who was a domestic worker, and attended segregated all-black schools.

When he left Christianity to become a Muslim and changed his name from Cassius Clay to Muhammad Ali, he was denounced by many. Yet against all odds, he became not just a great boxer and multimillionaire, but a great humanitarian and a beloved icon who worked for peace and harmony around the world.

Fortunately, much progress has been made in the long struggle to make equal opportunity a reality in our country and to embrace diversity as a strength, instead of rejecting it as a weakness. But we still don't take advantage of the talents of all our people. For example, there are millions of young people born into poor families who could do great things for our nation, if only we opened the doors of higher education to them.

Without college degrees, the career prospects of even our most talented young people are limited. But with degrees, they could make great contributions—healing the sick, starting new businesses to create millions of jobs, working in nonprofits and government, and much more.

Yet many academically qualified young people face tremendous obstacles keeping them out of many colleges and universities—whether because they come from low-income families, are undocumented or for other reasons. In some cases, young people been thrown out of their homes without financial support by their parents for being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender.

In my role as executive director of the Jack Kent Cooke Foundation, which awards scholarships to high-achieving students from low-income families, I've met many students like these. Thankfully, we've been able to help some of them go on to college, but we don't have the funds to help the millions of young people who could benefit.

Let me tell you about one of these students, a young woman with exemplary grades and a history of volunteering on behalf of her community who submitted an application for a Cooke Scholarship. Let's call her Teresa.

"At 15, I watched my mother and brother handcuffed and

dragged from our home by immigration officials," Teresa wrote in her application. "I was a minor so they chose not to deport me, but the painful family separation lasted a decade, 10 years' worth of lonely birthdays and Christmases. I made countless attempts to attend college, but each resulted in failure as my above average grades were not enough to overshadow a missing 13-digit resident number on applications. Disheartened and discouraged, I stopped dreaming."

Teresa continued: "In constant fear of deportation, my legal status was something I hid even from my closest friends. Since I couldn't go to college, cleaning gloves and Clorox replaced my textbooks. As a housemaid, I worked 12-hour shifts earning \$20 a day. Besides deportation, I also

faced the threat of homelessness. My life had no direction; I couldn't get an education, I couldn't grow, I couldn't flourish. No one would give me a chance."

The story has a happy ending. Teresa now has legal status under President Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which defers attempts to expel immigrant children who entered the United States before they turn 16.

She has the grades and academic record to attend an elite college, and the Cooke Foundation will help her do so. But there are many more Teresas across our nation whose dreams of a college education will never come true. This is not just a personal tragedy for the students. It is an American tragedy. Muhammad Ali achieved success



and world renown without ever going to college. But few young people have the skills to become professional athletes. And today a college degree is required for far more jobs than it was in 1960, when Cassius Clay graduated from high school. Both morality and our national self-interest demand that we give our young people the

chance to climb as high as they can on the education ladder, regardless of the wealth of their families, how they pray, where they come from, the color of their skin or who they love. Ali called himself "The Greatest." Embracing diversity and equal opportunity for all is what enables America to claim the same title.

## How Theranos's Founder Lost \$4.5 Billion Overnight

**Noah Smith**

Forbes made quite a stir last week, by reporting that it had cut the estimated net worth of Theranos founder Elizabeth Holmes from \$4.5 billion to ... zero. Since Forbes is widely regarded as the authority on the size of private fortunes, this was a dramatic move. How could so much wealth disappear so fast? One reason is that wealth represents a guess about the value of future earnings. When Theranos' blood-testing technology was found not to fulfill its early promise -- some suggested it was fraudulent to begin with -- people realized that the company wouldn't have nearly as much earnings power as expected. That sharply cut the value of the company. Since so much of Holmes' wealth was tied up in her own company's stock, that meant she got much poorer.

But a lot of Holmes' wealth -- like that of many other billionaires -- wasn't the same kind of wealth that you or I or most people have. I wouldn't quite say that it's imaginary, but it's qualitatively different. Most people have their wealth in the form of bank deposits, pensions, investment accounts and houses. Except for houses (which I'll talk about later), these things are both liquid and diversified. Liquidity essentially means the ease with which you can use an asset to pay for other things, without it losing its value. A bank account is liquid. You can quickly withdraw money from it to pay for milk or broccoli or parking tickets. A stock portfolio is fairly liquid too -- it isn't too time-consuming or expensive to sell some of your stocks to pay

for an emergency or a big purchase. A pension fund can be liquidated with effort, but you can still get the money if you really need it.

Entrepreneurs' fortunes often aren't like that. For the founder of a closely held company like Uber, Snapchat or Theranos to use their holdings to pay for something substantial, they would need to sell it to a private party -- a laborious and protracted process. Also, an announcement that the founder is selling their stake in their own company, before it even does an initial public offering or gets acquired, could be disastrous PR, and might result in a large markdown for the company's value. Generally, the higher the percentage of an asset that you own, the less liquid it is. Imagine owning all the gold in the world. The price probably would be very high, because someone out there who really, really needs a few ounces of gold would have to pay a huge premium. Suppose there are a billion ounces of gold in the world -- all of it stashed in your living room -- and the price is \$10,000 an ounce. On paper, you're worth \$10 trillion. But if you tried to sell all your gold for cash, the price would drop and drop. By the time you finished selling all your gold, you'd have much less than \$10 trillion in the bank. Private company founders' fortunes are a little like that.

Also, very illiquid assets often have paper valuations that reflect models, or wishful thinking, rather than the price that could actually be gotten in a sale. For example, mutual-fund company Fidelity Investments marked down the value of its holdings in a number of so-called unicorns (closely

held startup companies valued at more than \$1 billion), and then marked some of them up again a month later? Those valuation changes didn't involve any actual market transactions -- they were just people sitting at desks revising their guesses of how much the investments were worth. Or recall the 2008 financial crisis, when big banks found that they couldn't sell their mortgage-related assets for anything close to what their fancy models predicted. When a liquid market doesn't exist for your assets, part of your wealth might be a fantasy. Sometimes, in fact, illiquidity means that you can't sell your assets at all. Even after Theranos' value was marked down, the company is still estimated to be worth about \$800 million. But the funding that it received from venture capitalists and other outside investors came with special provisions that mean Holmes gets paid off last in the event of a liquidity event. So although Holmes' 50 percent stake in the company was worth a lot on paper in good times, when the company had an estimated value of \$9 billion, in bad times it dropped to zero much more quickly than the company's actual value. Some investors now counsel founders against accepting these sorts of liquidity limitations in their funding rounds.

Diversification is the second reason wealth isn't always what it seems. A bank account is only subject to a very small set of risks -- inflation, or a sovereign default. A diversified stock portfolio -- for example, an index fund or collection of index funds -- only goes down when the whole market goes down, and

thus isn't very dependent on any single company's performance. But when all of your wealth is tied up in a single company's stock, your net worth lives and dies with that company.

Illiquidity and under-diversification mean that founders' true wealth is probably less than the numbers on paper. Yes, the market compensates people for illiquidity with somewhat higher returns in the future -- that's why many people hold illiquid assets in the first place -- but that doesn't mean that all of the eye-popping numbers you see on the Forbes billionaire list are equivalent to your own bank account. And in an efficient market, there's no compensation for under-diversification, which is another reason founders' wealth isn't quite as high as it appears. There's a lesson here for normal people. The one highly illiquid asset that many middle-class people pour a huge percent of their wealth into is their house. Houses are time-consuming and expensive to sell, and if you borrow against your house you'll have to pay interest on the loan. So houses are illiquid. This implies that many middle-class homeowners are very under-diversified because they have so much of their personal wealth tied up in residential real estate.

In other words, your house is a little bit like Elizabeth Holmes' stock in her own company. On paper it might be worth a lot, and much of that does reflect real value. But if your local housing market crashes, your net worth is in big trouble. I think more people should consider that before making the decision to buy instead of rent.



# Why Modi Government Has Correctly Ignored AQ Khan's Nuclear Taunt

**Mani Shankar Aiyar**

AQ Khan, the "Father of the Pakistan Bomb", caused something of a flutter among the doves when he declared at a function, eight days ago, to mark the anniversary of the unveiling of Pakistan's nuclear weapon on May 29, 1998, that "Pakistan has the ability to target New Delhi in five minutes". Of course it can. That is a fact. What Khan did not add is that India has equally the ability to target Lahore in a few seconds less than five minutes. Both are a fact. The point is to prevent fact from ever becoming an act.

The flutter was essentially on the social media. Expert opinion was less panicked. At the saffron-tinted Vivekananda Foundation, its director, Gen. N.C. Vij, former chief of army staff, described Khan's statement as "immature and outlandish". Another defence expert, Rameshwar Rai, rubbished it as "irresponsible and inconsequential". At the Centre for Air Warfare, Air Vice Marshall Manmohan Bahadur dismissed Khan's remarks as "a mere publicity stunt". At the Society for Policy Studies, Commodore C. Uday Bhaskar (ret'd) called the publicity stunt "old hat" while retired Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses stressed that Khan is notorious for his "exaggerated claims". Official India decided - wisely - to let the remark go. The episode has, in effect, been canned.

However, we do need to be "deeply concerned", as retired Gen. Deepankar Banerjee has urged. This is because there is inadequate sensitization of India public opinion to the terrible dangers of nuclear war. It should not be a matter of comfort that "while India has the capacity to absorb a strike, Pakistan would disappear from the map," as the former deputy chief of army staff Gen. Raj Kadyan has said. The radiation from that "disappearance" will hit us hard for generations, and while we could absorb "a strike", what would be the consequence of our being hit by several Pakistani weapons (and, remember, they already have more than a hundred in stock)? Would the India that remains be fit for civilized habitation? There would be little to choose between a Pakistan that has "disappeared from the map" and an India crippled by a massive nuclear attack.

A major reason why the Cold War did not escalate into a hot nuclear exchange was widespread public knowledge

about the catastrophe that would follow any use of nuclear weapons. Apart from scientific and scholarly studies, novels like Neville Shute's *On The Beach* mobilized public information and concern. In contrast, 18 years after India and Pakistan went overtly nuclear, only one study, by M.V. Ramana, then of MIT and now of Princeton, appears to have tried to hypothesize on the subject, the title of Ramana's 1999 paper being "Bombing Bombay?: Effects of Nuclear Weapons and a Case Study of a Hypothetical Explosion."

The "hypothetical explosion" was assumed to be in the range of 15,000 to 1,50,000 tonnes (that is, 15-150 kilotons, as contrasted to the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which

were in the 10-20 kiloton range). Ramana calculated that "for a 15 kiloton explosion, the number of deaths would range between 1,60,000 and 8,66,000. A 150 kiloton weapon would cause somewhere between 7,36,000 and 8.6 million deaths," cautioning that "these estimates are conservative and there are a number of reasons to expect that the actual numbers would be much higher." He added that "several hundreds of thousands of people would suffer from injuries or burns" and that "many of them would die without prompt medical aid". Also that cancers and genetic mutations would affect future generations. The ghastly environmental consequences, including possible "nuclear winter", were

also not taken into account. All these add up. A subsequent joint study by the Indian and Pakistani scholars, R. Rajaraman, Z. Mian and A.H. Nayyar, published in *The Economic and Political Weekly* of 13 November 2004, studied the likely impact of a range of nuclear weapons - of 10, 20 and 200 kilotons - on an "inner zone" of 1.5 km to 3.5 km around the nuclear explosion and concluded that virtually no one would survive. Thus, in North East Delhi alone, instantaneous deaths would range from 45,000 at a minimum to around 1,35,000.

Although such hypotheses might be categorized as "guesswork", the fact is that successive governments since we went nuclear in 1998 have either not attempted to scientifically gauge

the consequences of a nuclear attack or have deliberately refrained from taking the public into confidence. This makes most Indians thoroughly gung-ho about our nuclear arsenal. It has also left almost all Indians neither remembering nor wanting to remember Mahatma Gandhi's prescient warning that "the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages" and Nehru's more practical point that "these weapons, and the magnitude in which they will be employed, have erased the differences between the capacity to inflict punishment and of receiving the same". And, as Rajiv Gandhi said when in 1988 he presented to the United Nations his Action Plan for a Nuclear (Contd on page 21)

## Jessica Valenti: my life as a 'sex object'

Jessica Valenti

The two worst times for dicks on the New York subway: when the train car is empty or when it's crowded. As a teenager, if I found myself in an empty car, I would immediately leave - even if it meant changing cars as the train moved, which terrified me. Because, if I didn't, I just knew the guy sitting across from me would inevitably lift his newspaper to reveal a semihard cock, and even if he wasn't planning on it, I sure wasn't going to sit there and worry about it for the whole ride.

On crowded train cars I didn't see dicks - I felt them. Pressing into my hip, men pretending that the rocking up against me was just because of the jostling of the train.

The first time I saw a penis on the subway, I was on the platform for the N train three blocks from my house in Queens, on my way to school. I was 12. I had just missed a train, so I was the only person there other than a man all the way at the other end of the platform. He was so far away that I could see only the outline of his shape, but soon I noticed his hand moving furiously - and that he was walking quickly towards me with his penis in his hand. I had always thought myself prepared for something like this; I knew I was supposed to yell or run, but I just stood there. I didn't look away or turn around, and even though I felt my knees giving out, my feet felt strongly planted to the ground. As another train started to pull into the station, he stopped midway down the platform and zipped himself up. The doors of the train opened and he walked on, normally. My feet

still in the same place, I tapped a man in a suit coming off the car on the shoulder and asked for help in a small voice, but he didn't stop moving. So I stood there. When the next train came, I got on, figuring I should get to school, but I got off one stop later, to call my parents from a station phone booth. I noticed that my hands and face had pins and needles.

It's called the cycle of violence, but in my family, female suffering is linear: abuse is passed down like the world's worst birthright, largely skipping the men and marking the women with scars, night terrors (and fantastic senses of humour). My aunts and my mom joked about how often it happened to them when they were younger: the man who flashed a jacket open and had a big red bow on his cock; the neighbourhood pervert who masturbated visibly in his window as they walked to school as girls. (The cops told them the man could do whatever he wanted in his own house.) "Just point and laugh," my aunt said. "That usually sends them running." Usually. Of course, what feels like a matrilineal curse is not really ours. We don't own it; the shame and disgust belong to the perpetrators. At least, that's what the books say. But the frequency with which women in my family have been hurt or sexually assaulted starts to feel like a flashing message encoded in our DNA: Hurt. Me.

My daughter is five and I want to inoculate her against this. I want Layla to have her father's lucky genes - genes that walk into a room and feel entitled to be there. Genes

that feel safe. Not my out-of-place chromosomes that are fight-or-flight ready.

This is the one way in which I wish she was not mine. For months after the man showed me his penis on the subway platform, my father walked me up the stairs every morning to wait for the train. The booth worker let him through the gate without paying, after my dad explained what had happened. He gave him a bag of cherries from the tree that grew in our yard as a thank you every week.

As we were talking on the platform under the sun, I noticed an odd shape under my father's jacket. He tried to distract me with a joke, but when I asked him about it a second time, he pulled up his shirt to show me a metal pipe sticking out of the top of his trousers. He assured me that no cop would ever arrest him for beating a man who flashes children. Today he tells me he knew that was a lie, but he brought the pipe with him anyway. On the worst day - a few years later - I didn't notice the man at all. The train was crowded; my mind was elsewhere. I was listening to *A Tribe Called Quest* on my Walkman and thinking about how warm it was. When I stepped out of the subway, the sun hit my face and I was happy to be almost home. But when I started to put my hand in my back pocket, I felt something wet: I had made it the whole ride back without noticing that a man, whose face I would never see, had come on me.

I wiped my hand on the lower leg of my jeans and looked

around to see if anyone had noticed. I walked the three blocks home with my backpack slung as low as possible, so that no one walking behind me could see what had happened or could think I had peed myself.

I peeled the jeans off when I got home and, even though most of the semen had landed on the pocket - giving me two, rather than just one, layers of protection - the skin on my ass was still damp from it. I ran the tub until there were two inches of scalding water along the bottom, squirted in some of my sister's Victoria's Secret vanilla-scented bath gel, and sat in it quickly, my shirt still on.

I wrapped a pink towel around myself when I stepped out of the tub and turned my jeans inside out before putting them in the laundry basket so my mother wouldn't find out. I knew she would cry. I piled some sheets on top of the jeans to be safe. Later I would find out that the guy rubbing up on you in the subway isn't just an asshole - he has a disorder. In the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, the American Psychiatric Association describes "frotteurism" as "recurrent, intense, or arousing sexual urges or fantasies, that involve touching and rubbing against a nonconsenting person". There are online forums for men - because, let's be real, frotteurs are almost exclusively men - who rub on women and girls on the train, in bars, wherever they can do it while getting off unnoticed.

# Two senior citizens attacked every three days in K'taka



(Agencies) BENGALURU: The tragic end of a homealone couple in their 80s in Sultanpalya late last month has turned the focus on the state of the elderly in Karnataka in general and Bengaluru in particular.

The elderly couple's decomposed bodies were found in their house worth Rs 80 lakh. In a three-part series, medial

looks at how safe our senior citizens are, their socio-economic condition and how they are coping with it all in the autumn of their life

Two senior citizens fall prey to crimes like murder, dacoity and robbery every three days in Karnataka, a statistic that shatters the benign elder-friendly image the state otherwise showcases. Even more alarming is the fact that Bengaluru, that once flaunted the tag of Pensioners' Paradise, tops the state in crimes against the elderly, underlining the fact that the city is anything but safe for its seniors.

With urban agglomerations proliferating across the state, Karnataka is grappling with the issue of security of its elderly. And with socio-economic factors increasingly pushing them into

isolation, they are becoming all the more vulnerable, say police officers. Murder of senior citizens accounted for nearly 8% of the total murders reported in the state in 2014 (124 out of 1,636).

According to Census 2011, the elderly comprise about 8.4% of Karnataka's population of 61 million. Since last month, four senior citizens have been murdered in three separate incidents in Bengaluru. All four were living alone.

A couple staying in a building in Fraser Town was killed by an electrician and his friend who were seeking loan from them. The couple's son was away in the US. In the second instance, an elderly woman who had come to take meditation classes in Bengaluru was killed in her home. Her killers are yet to be identified.

In the third case, an elderly widow was allegedly killed by her relatives for gain; her techie son was staying separately. In most cases, the culprit is someone known to the senior citizen. It's very difficult to prevent such murders," said a senior police officer. "Criminals keep an eye on senior citizens for a long time and only then strike. Constant presence of other people around them can act as a deterrent," he added. Often, a combination of reasons pushes senior citizens to live on their own. Sometimes, their children could be out of the country or even staying in the same city but separately because they want to stay close to their workplace. "Some of these reasons are impossible to address," added the police officer.

# 'Udta Punjab' co-producer Anurag Kashyap lets fly at 'dictatorial' censor chief

(Agencies) NEW DELHI: Udta Punjab, a dark drama on the drug menace among the young and the desperate in the northern state, rode into the centre of a raging debate on censorship with distinct political overtones after reportedly being subjected to 89 cuts, including dropping the reference to Punjab throughout. On Tuesday, Anurag Kashyap, the film's co-producer, posted a series of combative tweets calling censor board boss Pahlaj Nihalani "a dictatorial man... operating like an oligarch" and likened home conditions to those in North Korea. He also snubbed a supportive Arvind Kejriwal and the Congress, asking them to keep away from the controversy even as Akali Dal and BJP joined the verbal battle.

As news of the cuts sought by the Central Board of Film Certification broke, Kashyap

tweeted, "I always wondered what it felt like to live in North Korea. Ab to plane pakadney ki bhi zaroorat nahin." Udta Punjab' co-producer Anurag Kashyap on Tuesday tweeted, "There is no film more honest than Udta Punjab. And any person or party opposing it is actually guilty of promoting drugs." To this, Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal remarked on Twitter, "I absolutely agree." Kashyap now tweeted, "I request Congress, AAP and other political parties to stay out of my battle. It's my Rights vs the Censorship. I speak only on my behalf. It's my fight vs a dictatorial man sitting there operating like an oligarch in his constituency of censor board, that's my North Korea. Rest of you go pick your own fights. I will fight mine. So please don't colour my fight with any political affiliation because there is none."

Kashyap's movies often take a walk on the wild side of the human heart. Films such as Gulaal, Gangs of Wasseypur and Ugly are an irresistible smorgasbord of slick storytelling and celebratory violence. But the 43-year-old director has locked horns with the censors in the past as well. The unreleased Paanch (2001), partly inspired by the gruesome Joshi-Abhyankar Pune murders of the 1970s, ran into censorship trouble. Black Friday (2007), based on the 1993 Bombay blasts, saw release only after a lengthy battle with the scissors. Udta Punjab was scheduled to release on June 17 but that seems unlikely at the moment. On Tuesday, he also found backing from @OfficeOfRG, a verified account



of Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi, which posted, "Punjab has a crippling drug problem. Censoring #UdtaPunjab will not fix it. The government must accept the reality and find solutions." The Rahul tweet was posted after Kashyap had requested Congress to stay out of the controversy. Government sources distanced themselves from the

debate saying that the producers were free to appeal before the Film Certification Appellate Tribunal (FCAT). "Our intention is clear. We have nothing to do with approving or censoring a film. It is for this reason itself that we have a three-tier process... The filmmakers can appeal the decision made by one panel to another panel and then approach the FCAT.

## Deoband fatwa against sex-selective abortions

(Agencies) LUCKNOW: The largest Islamic seminary in India, the Darul Uloom of Deoband, has issued a fatwa against selective abortion of female foetuses, calling the act unlawful and against Islam. Deoband spokesperson Maulana Ashraf Usmani said, "It's a first fatwa against sex-selective abortions. The act is against Islam and there is no grace in the eye of Allah for those doing it," said Usmani. Before issuing the fatwa, the seminary took into account individual queries and media reports on skewed sex ratio among Muslims. The number



of girls up to six years old per 1,000 boys in the same age group among Indian Muslims slipped from 950 in 2001 to 943 in 2011. "We appeal to Muslims to refrain from any act which discriminates the girl child. Our vicechancellor has termed sex-selective abortions cold-blooded murders," Usmani said.

## Ban names Radha, 11 members to UN Varsity Council

By Prakash M Swamy (United Nations, New York) UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and Director-General Irina Bokova of the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) appointed 12 new members to the governing UN University (UNU) Council including Radha Kumar of India currently Director General, Delhi Policy Group. The new appointees, who will take office as of 3 May, replace the retiring 2010-2016 cohort of UNU Council members and will serve for terms of either three or six years. The main functions of the Council are to formulate the principles and policies of the UNU, govern its operations, and consider and approve its biennial budget and work program. Appointed members of the UNU Council serve in their indi-

vidual capacity – not as representatives of their country's Government – and are selected with the aim of achieving a geographic and gender balance, with due regard for major academic, scientific, educational and cultural trends, as well as each member's fields of expertise. The new members of the UNU Council are: Ernest Aryeetey (Ghana), Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana; Carlos Henrique de Brito Cruz (Brazil), Scientific Director, São Paulo Research Foundation, and Professor, Gleb Wataghin Physics Institute, State University of Campinas; Simon Chesterman (Australia), Dean, Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore; Elizabeth Cousens (USA), Deputy Chief Executive Officer, United Nations Foundation; Isabel Guerrero Pulgar (Chile), Director,

IMAGO Global Grassroots, and lecturer at Harvard and MIT; Angela Kane (Germany), Senior Fellow, Vienna Centre for Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, and Professor, SciencesPo, Paris; Segenet Kelemu (Ethiopia), Director General and CEO, International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology; Bassma Kodmani (Syria), Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative; Radha Kumar (India), Director General, Delhi Policy Group; Irena Lipowicz (Poland), Professor, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University (Warsaw); Tsuneo Nishida (Japan), Director, Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University, and Director, Toho Zinc Co., Ltd.; Lan Xue (China), Dean, School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, and Director, China Institute for S&T Policy

## Ban hail India, US for supporting early entry into force of Paris Agreement

By Prakash M Swamy (United Nations, New York) United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon has commended a joint statement on climate change made by India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and United States President Barack Obama announcing their support for early entry into force of the Paris Agreement and encouraged all countries to accelerate their domestic processes to join or ratify it.

"The Secretary-General welcomes the domestic steps being undertaken by both countries to join the Paris Agreement as soon as possible, including in 2016, and their collaborative efforts to address climate change," said statement issued by Mr. Ban's spokesperson.

The Paris Agreement was adopted by all 196 Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the UN climate change conference in Paris last December, where all countries agreed to work to limit global temperature rise to well below 2 degrees Celsius, and to strive for 1.5 degrees Celsius.

On 22 April, 175 countries signed the Agreement, which according to the UN was by far the largest number of countries ever to sign an international agreement in one single day. For it to enter into force, 55 countries accounting for 55 per cent of global greenhouse emissions need to implement the accord at the national level. As of today, 177 Parties have signed, and 17 have ratified it. "[The UN chief] is further encouraged by the resolve of India and the United States to pursue low greenhouse gas emission development strategies and successful outcomes this year to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through the Montreal Protocol, the International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly, and the G20," the statement added, noting that the joint announcement by India and the United States also follows on the heels of the G7 Ise-Shima Leaders' Declaration.

## India-France launch Programs under International Solar Alliance

By Prakash M Swamy (United Nations, New York)- Piyush Goyal, Union Minister of State (IC) for Power, Coal & New and Renewable Energy and Ms. Ségolène Royal, French Minister of Environment, Energy and the Sea, in charge of International Relations on Climate and President of COP21 co-chaired a Ministerial Side Event on International Solar Alliance (ISA) at Headquarters of the United Nations in New York on Friday.

Ministers and Representatives from over 25 countries including Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Namibia, Uganda, Nigeria, Peru, Djibouti, Surinam, Zambia, Bolivia, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, Mali, India, USA and France participated in the ISA side event.

In order to accelerate massive deployment of solar energy at various scales in their countries, Ministers agreed to take concerted action through targeted Programmes launched on a voluntary basis, to better harmonize and aggregate the demand for:

Solar finance, so as to lower the cost of finance and facilitate the flow of more than US \$ 1000 billion investment in

solar assets in member countries; Mature solar technologies that are currently deployed only at small scale and need to be scaled up; Future solar technologies and capacity building, through strategic and collaborative solar R&D, to improve the efficiency and integration of solar power as well as increase the number of solar applications available. A common buyers market for solar finance, technology, innovation, capacity building etc., will lead to higher quality, lower costs, products better tailored to needs, collaborative innovation, technology ownership, and a more balanced dialogue with all stakeholders. This will empower solar-rich countries, lying fully or partially between the tropic of Cancer and the tropic of Capricorn, which share common challenges and opportunities. As an initial step, Ministers agreed to start analysing and sharing the needs, objectives, and obstacles to deployment at scale along the value chain, for those applications for which they seek the benefits of collective action under the Alliance. On this basis, they will design innovative Programs leveraging initiatives from the ground.

The Two Programs of the ISA "Affordable finance at scale"; and Program "Scaling solar applications for agricultural use", were launched during the event. While announcing the programmes, Piyush Goyal expressed his confidence that these programs will serve the interests of the farming communities in the prospective ISA member countries and ensure that there is sufficient flow of affordable finance for solar projects. He further stated that the ISA will provide a vibrant platform to bring together countries with rich solar potential to aggregate demand for solar energy globally, thereby reducing prices; promoting collaborative solar R&D and capacity; and facilitating the deployment of existing solar technologies at scale. The International Steering Committee of ISA which had met in New York on 21 April 2016 had approved the Programs on Agriculture and Finance. Prospective member countries will begin work at the earliest and the process of implementation will be reviewed at the Founding Conference of the ISA scheduled to be held in the near future in New Delhi.

## Indian CMs, Uncle Sam wants to talk to you!

(Agencies) Washington : Chief Ministers of Indian States, Uncle Sam wants to talk to you! Directly!

In a significant move aimed at enabling American businesses get around a centralized India in what is increasingly recognized as a secure and federated union, the United States has proposed to launch a "chief ministers' conclave" that will promote commercial partnerships between Indian states and the US private sector.

The conclave is aimed at offering a platform for "leading Indian states to showcase the advantages of doing business in their states and highlight recent business environment reforms," a fact sheet issued by the White House said, without offering any details as to when and where the conclave will be held.

The Indian side itself made no

mention of it, although Prime Minister Modi, formerly chief minister of Gujarat, is known to be in favour of decentralizing some economic powers concentrated in the center that needlessly stymie the enterprise of states.

Although various Indian chief ministers have travelled abroad (mainly to the US) in recent years, ostensibly to attract foreign investment to their respective states, eventually the proposals still have to pass through New Delhi's sieve, unlike in the US, where state governors and even county executives have significant leeway in conducting commerce with foreign governments and entities. US governors frequently venture abroad on investment missions to generate jobs at home. Starting with Thomas

Jefferson, 17 US Presidents (out of 44) have previously served as state governors, nine of them - including Bill Clinton and George Bush -- immediately before election as President. The Indian strike rate is very similar: six of India's 15 Prime Ministers -- Narendra Modi, Deve Gowda, PV Narasimha Rao, VP Singh, Charan Singh, and Morarji Desai -- served as chief ministers. That state-level executive experience is said to give them a more expansive view of the federal system that takes into account the underpinnings of states. The US move appears to suggest that some Indian states are more open to doing business than other states. It remains to be seen how this proposed CMs conclave will play out, and how the Modi government at the center will handle it.



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# BJP has given a PM who speaks: Amit Shah



(Agencies) ETAH: Hitting back at Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi for questioning what his party has done in the past two years, BJP chief Amit Shah on Tuesday said it has given the country a Prime Minister who speaks. "Recently Rahul baba asked what BJP has done in

two years ... at least we gave a Prime Minister who speaks, otherwise in 10 years regime of UPA except Soniaji and Rahul baba, no other person heard the voice of the PM," he said. Claiming that BJP will get two-thirds majority in 2017 Uttar Pradesh assembly polls, Shah also hit out at the ruling Samajwadi Party, questioning what it had done for the people of the state in the last four years. "We are presenting a report card of two years of NDA government, but Akhilesh babu (chief minister Akhilesh Yadav) you should also tell people what your government did in four years," Shah told booth-level workers in Kasganj. Asking people if they get power for 24 hours power in the state, he said, "There is no

shortage of power, the shortcoming is in intentions. In two years, we (NDA government) gave power to 9,000 villages." Shah alleged that in the 10 years of UPA regime, which was supported by SP and BSP, scams worth Rs 12 lakh crore took place. "They left no place whether its sky, earth and underneath where corruption did not take place," Shah said. "There is not a single allegation of corruption against the present regime," the BJP chief said. "People ask as to how we will get a majority government in Uttar Pradesh. It will become possible due to your (workers) efforts," he said. He said Prime Minister Narendra Modi has brought a number of schemes for the welfare of

people, including free LPG connection for BPL families. The Samajwadi Party government in Uttar Pradesh has been blocking several central welfare schemes, the reason why the benefits are not reaching the intended beneficiaries, the BJP president said. "The central government has launched several schemes for the welfare of farmers like the Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana. But the state government has been blocking the central schemes for petty political reasons," Shah said. Targeting the Uttar Pradesh government for what he said was the "deteriorating" law and order situation in the state in the wake of the Mathura violence, Shah wondered aloud how could goons shoot at police officers with impunity..

## Mamata backs BJP on GST, calls it 'pro-people'



(Agencies) West Bengal chief minister, Mamata Banerjee, on Tuesday announced that her party would support the GST Bill within Parliament. She instructed Finance Minister Dr Amit Mitra, who is also the chairman of the Empowered Committee of Finance Ministers on GST, to ensure that the bill is passed on the floor of the Parliament during the monsoon session. Her statement comes as a major breather for the ruling BJP whose prime concern is to get the GST passed, especially in the Rajya Sabha, where it does not have sufficient strength to get the bill passed. "I have ideological differences with BJP and I politically oppose them. But that does not mean I will create a hindrance for passing a pro-people bill like of GST," the chief minister said, while addressing a felicitation ceremony organised by the different chambers of commerce. "The bill is long pending and hence try to develop a consensus on the bill during the next two meetings of the empowered committee," she directed Mitra. Mamata also attacked the Union government for allegedly misguiding enforcement agencies against the business community. Agencies like the CBI, the Enforcement Branch and the Income Tax department are terrorising the business community and hence many industrialists are leaving the country after winding up their businesses," she said. Mamata appealed to industrialists to not waste any more time investing in the state and asked them to stop giving recession-related excuses for not doing so. "What is recession? It is created by the people. If you are scared of recession then what is the point of doing business? You should not waste time in discussions, but start investing immediately. And if you face any problem my team of ministers and officers are always ready to help you and solve your problems," she said. According to her, the automobile and manufacturing industries would be her focus in the coming days.

## 3 US donors on MHA watchlist, face fund curbs

(Agencies) New Delhi: At a time when Prime Minister Narendra Modi is in United States to consolidate strategic ties, the ministry of home affairs has put under the 'watchlist' three major US-based donors under the Foreign Contributions Registration Act, 2010, sources have told TOI.

The three major NGOs - Open Society Foundation (OSF), World Movement for Democracy and National Endowment for Democracy (NED) are now in the watchlist, also called "prior permission category" of MHA, which means that these donors cannot extend any financial assistance to any registered or unregistered NGO/organisation or individual without clearance from the ministry. The development comes even as MHA, by end of June, is set to decide the fate of Teesta Setalvad's NGO's Sabrang Trust. Sources say, the trust is most likely going to see its licence cancelled making it ineligible to receive any

foreign funding.

An official said that "the three US-based NGOs may have indulged in giving funds to any unregistered NGO in India which led to the action". "They are foreign donors and putting them under watchlist doesn't mean that they can't fund any more but banks have to now inform MHA about any transfers made by them in India," the officer added. Emails sent to OSF, World Movement for Democracy and NED from TOI went unanswered.

The number of major foreign donors under government's watchlist is now eighteen. Earlier Greenpeace International, Climate Work Foundation, Ford Foundation and CORDAID among others were in the list. Ford was earlier this year removed from the watchlist. An official said that "MHA doesn't act upon its own. Such issues of funding, which could be termed illegal as per Indian laws, are often flagged to us by intelligence agencies, state



police, banks etc and then a decision is taken to streamline funding from the donors".

The move to include three US-based donors in the list comes even after US ambassador to India Richard Verma expressed "concern" over the "potentially chilling effects" of the regulatory steps taken against NGOs in the country. His comments had come on the backdrop of regulatory action taken against several NGOs, including Ford Foundation. Representatives of Ford Foundation also met Nripendra Misra, principal secretary to the Prime Minister, on several occasions to put forth their position on the issue.

## As Modi meets Obama, India, US & Japan get set to hold Malabar naval exercise with eye on China

(Agencies) New Delhi : As PM Narendra Modi met US President Barack Obama at the White House in Washington on Tuesday, frontline Indian and American warships were steaming towards Japan over 12,000 km away. On Friday, along with Japanese warships, they will kick-off a major naval exercise that has already riled up China.

The 20th edition of the top-notch Malabar exercise, the biggest such war-games involving India in recent years, will begin with "a harbour phase" at Sasebo in Japan from June 10 to 13.

The "real action" for the "sea phase" of the Malabar exercise will then shift towards the Okinawa Island in the western Pacific from June 14 to 17. Interestingly, the exercise setting will be close to the

group of uninhabited isles in East China Sea called Senkaku by Japan, which controls them, but are aggressively claimed by China as its Diaoyu islands.

The implicit message for China will be clear: it should peacefully resolve its territorial disputes in East China Sea with Japan as well South China Sea with countries like Philippines, Taiwan, Vietnam and Malaysia without the belligerence and strong-arm tactics it is currently indulging in.

The Malabar indeed will be a show of strength, with the combat manoeuvres ranging from anti-submarine warfare to maritime interdiction operations. India has deployed two of its new multi-role stealth frigates, INS Sahyadri and INS Satpura, which are packed with weapons and sensors, missile

corvette Kirch and fleet tanker INS Shakti.

Led by Eastern Fleet commander Rear Admiral SV Bokhare, the Indian flotilla also has Sea King-42B and Chetak helicopters as well as marine commandos and explosive disposal squads. The US contingent, in turn, is led by its gigantic nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS John C Stennis, with its full complement of F/A-18 fighters, early-warning and electronic warfare aircraft, and a nuclear attack submarine.

It also has Ticonderoga-class missile cruiser USS Mobile Bay, three Arleigh Burke-class destroyers, USS William P Lawrence, Stockdale and Chung Hoon, and a tanker, as also a wide array of aircraft and helicopters.

# Raghuram Rajan's Possible Exit From RBI Coins A New Term: Rexit

(Agencies) Mumbai/London: The reappointment, or not, of Reserve Bank Governor Raghuram Rajan has caused enough of a stir to be known locally as "Rexit", a play on Britain's EU referendum, reflecting the esteem in which the governor is held at home and abroad. Were Dr. Rajan to leave when his tenure ends in September, Indian markets are expected to fall to reflect his standing, but some foreign fund managers are of the view that, even if he does go, it would not be the end of the world. The main reason is that Dr. Rajan would leave behind policies that have altered the way the central bank works, namely the

adoption of an inflation target and plans to create a monetary policy committee to set interest rates. Both reduce the discretion the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) governor has historically enjoyed in setting policy, making the institution more consensus-based and bringing it closer into line with other big central banks like the U.S. Federal Reserve. The short answer is that investors, especially fixed income investors, will not be happy if he leaves, and it will surely trigger some sales," said Kieran Curtis, investment director of emerging markets debt at Standard Life Investments in London.

"I think there is a more nuanced

view, though, and unless he is replaced by a polar opposite character it may not matter that much," he added. Dr. Rajan declined to comment on speculation over his future, telling reporters on Tuesday: "You will know when there is news." He left rates unchanged, as was widely expected, after the latest policy review. A two-year extension at the helm of the RBI still looks a real possibility. Reuters reported last week that, with Prime Minister Narendra Modi behind Dr. Rajan, the central bank chief was more likely to be reappointed, despite considerable opposition to him within the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Dr. Rajan



may not want the job, and, when a regional newspaper cited sources close to the governor saying he could walk away, markets were briefly spooked. Dr. Rajan's appointment in September 2013, as India faced its worst currency crisis in over two decades, and the election of Modi in May 2014, have helped turn India into an emerging market darling at a time when countries like Brazil and South Africa are struggling. India has attracted \$62 billion in foreign portfolio investments since Dr. Rajan's appointment, including a yearly record of \$42 billion in 2014, and the proportion of overseas ownership in debt and equity markets has hit record highs. Rajan moved quickly to calm markets by raising short-term interest rates and pushing hard to shore up foreign exchange reserves, which hit a record \$363 billion in recent weeks before dipping somewhat. But his quest to use a target to bring inflation under control in a country that frequently faced double-digit price increases was widely seen as a more lasting legacy. In that he was helped significantly by the collapse in crude oil prices. Even if political winds shift, investors say it would be difficult for India to jettison consumer inflation targeting after formally adopting it as law in 2015. Future governments and RBI governors could tinker with the target, now set at 2 to 6 percent, but that would threaten India's credit ratings.

## Delhi kidney racket kingpin arrested in Kolkata, three more held

(Agencies) The alleged kingpin of the kidney racket busted at Delhi's Apollo Hospital was arrested from Kolkata on Tuesday. A woman from Siliguri in West Bengal and a married couple from UP were also nabbed on Tuesday, taking the total number of arrests in the case to nine. The mastermind, T Rajkumar Rao, 39, was held in a joint operation of Kolkata Police and Delhi Police and is likely to be brought to the Capital by Wednesday night or Thursday morning. Rao was under the radar of Delhi Police and a team was camping in Kolkata for the last two-three days. Rao was reportedly arrested from a party that he had organised. He was introduced to the organ racket by a woman named Shama and her aide Deepaankar in Kolkata eight to nine years ago. Police are also looking for them. Rao's name surfaced in the latest racket during the interrogation of his three accomplices — Aseem Sikdar, Devashish Moulik and Satya Prakash. The others arrested on Tuesday are Umesh Shrivastava and his wife Neelu, natives of Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh, and Momita Mauli from



Siliguri. All three of them are donors whose kidneys were illegally donated to different recipients allegedly at the hospital by five members of the racket who were arrested on Friday, said police. Momita is the wife of one of the middlemen already arrested, Devashish Mauli. Police officers said they were verifying the names and backgrounds of the arrested people as they suspect the donors used fake names. A quarrel between Momita and Devashish over payment of money promised to her against the kidney she had donated on her husband's direction came to the

notice of Sarita Vihar police and helped them bust the racket. Momita's kidney was donated to a patient from Jammu and Kashmir less than a fortnight before the racket was busted, said police. Momita had called the 100 number after the tiff with her husband. Investigators are looking for two more donors and raids are being conducted in Kanpur, Kolkata, Nagpur, Jalandhar, Coimbatore and other cities to nab them. Police sources said the racket is spread across many cities. "We are looking for the five recipients who got kidneys of the five donors," said a senior police officer.

# Jaypee's Rs 4,500 crore payment is overdue



(Agencies) New Delhi: Cash-strapped Jaiprakash Associates (JAL), including its subsidiary Jaypee Infratech, had overdue principal and interest repayments of nearly Rs 4,500 crore to banks at the end of March, its auditor said. JAL's interest and principal repayments were overdue for up to 269 days (almost nine months), auditor MP Singh & Associates noted in its report that came with the company's annual results announced late last month.

Jaypee group, which has interests in power, cement, infrastructure and real estate, has been battling poor finances and has been forced to sell several of its assets to overcome a debt strain. Its real estate projects in Noida are running severely behind schedule. Majority of people who had booked apartments, villas and plots five-six years ago are awaiting delivery. The delayed repayments occurred despite the group transferring land bank and its headquarters to lenders to clear a part of loan.

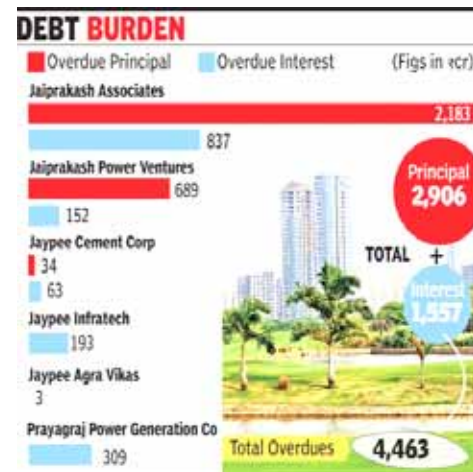
The saving grace for the group is that lenders have not declared the loans as non-performing assets despite the major delay in repayment on the ground that Jaypee is due to receive Rs 15,900 crore for the sale of cement plants to Kumar Mangalam Birla's UltraTech Cement. A loan is declared an NPA if it remains overdue for over 90 days. The company

did not respond to a questionnaire e-mailed on Friday afternoon. Of the total overdues, around Rs 500 crore relates to Jaypee Infratech, with principal of Rs 300 crore due to Life Insurance Corporation, which decided against refinancing a loan unlike other lenders led by IDBI Bank. The "default" period in this case ranges between 81 and 203 days, said the company's auditor, R Nagpal Associates.

JAL's auditor pointed out that the company's overdue principal repayment added up to Rs 2,900 crore and delayed interest payment was Rs 1,366 crore. JAL's total debt was estimated at around Rs 21,200 crore at the end of March 2016 and the company said its loss nearly doubled to Rs 3,345 crore during the last financial year.

Jaypee Infra, a JAL subsidiary, had long-term debt of Rs 8,555 crore. Facing pressure from lenders, the Jaypee group

is on an asset sale spree to repay debt. Earlier this year, JAL had sold its 17.2 million tonne cement manufacturing plants to UltraTech but the closure of the deal was delayed due to late passage of amendment in Mining And Mineral Development Act, which allows transfer of dedicated mines along with a plant.



# Arunachal, Meghalaya and now Tripura: Big trouble for Congress in NE states

(Agencies) The Congress is in big trouble in the north-eastern states after it lost Arunachal Pradesh to dissidence and Assam assembly polls to a BJP-led alliance this year.

On Tuesday, Tripura added to the grand old party's misery in the region after six of its MLAs joined Mamata Banerjee's Trinamool Congress (TMC). Another Congress MLA resigned and applied for CPI(M) membership, bringing the party's seats in the 60-member Tripura assembly down from 10 to three.

The Tripura development followed the call of a banned Meghalaya outfit – Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) – to overthrow the 'dictatorial and inefficient' Mukul Sangma, the state's chief minister. The outfit also threatened to blow up the state Congress headquarters in Shillong. Sangma's Congress government in instability-prone Meghalaya has been battling dissidence since his wife Dikkanchi D Shira lost the May by-poll for the Tura Lok

Sabha seat. Former chief ministers and veteran Congress leaders DD Lapang and Salseng C Marak are allegedly leading the rebellion against the chief minister. Sangma was expected to shuffle his cabinet in a bid to placate the rebels when HNLC issued the threat. "We have a mechanism to verify if HNLC has any nexus with any political leader or group of politicians demanding change of leadership," Sangma said.

Insisting his government was safe, Sangma told HT: "It is not a question of dissidence but of grievances blown out of proportions. But we have checked the forces of destabilisation, including the BJP." The BJP, for a change, did not have a hand in weakening the Congress in Tripura. TMC cashed in on the anger of the Congress MLAs who were opposed to the poll pact between the Congress and Left Front in West Bengal.

The Left Front – which has 50 MLAs – is the Congress' main rival in Tripura. The

CPI(M) in particular has been edging it out since the 1993 assembly polls.

"We promised poriborton (change), and it has begun," TMC vice-president Mukul Roy said in Agartala after the six Congress MLAs sent a formal letter to assembly speaker Ramendra Debnath and joined his party.

Barman said: "TMC will do what the Congress couldn't. This is the beginning of the end of the Left Front in Tripura."



## RECENT PROBLEMS FOR THE PARTY



■ TMC general secretary Mukul Roy along with rebel Congress MLAs at a rally in Agartala on Tuesday.

PTI

■ The Congress lost its government in Arunachal Pradesh after MLAs rebelled against the chief minister.

■ In Uttarakhand, the Congress managed to survive a floor test but nine MLAs quit the party

■ In Chhattisgarh, senior party leader and former chief minister Ajit Jogi announced he will float his own outfit

■ Senior Congress leader Gurudas Kamat decided to quit the party after allegedly being ignored.

■ The party lost a series of electoral battles since 2014 Lok Sabha polls. Last month, it lost both Kerala and Assam to rivals.

## 'US will treat Pathankot attack at par with 26/11 Mumbai terror strike'

(Agencies) The United States said on Tuesday that it recognises India as a major defence partner and would treat it at a level similar to the closest allies of the US. India's foreign secretary S Jaishankar called it a "notable development" while briefing reporters about the third summit held in Washington on Tuesday between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Barack Obama. The US also promised to cooperate with India against terrorist threats from groups such as Pakistan-based Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba and the D company, a reference to underworld don Dawood Ibrahim.

"In this context, they (the two leaders) directed their officials to identify specific new areas of collaboration at the next meeting of US-India Counterterrorism Joint Working Group," said a joint statement issued after the talks. The American side also committed itself to treating Pathankot attack at par with 26/11 terror strike in terms of ensuring punishment to perpetrators based in Pakistan, Jaishankar added. Giving details of the discussion between PM Modi and President Obama, Jaishankar said that a fair amount of time was spent on how to finance clean energy. He added the two leaders reaffirmed their support for a reformed United Nations Security Council with India as a permanent member and for addressing global development and security challenges.

Jaishankar said that India is looking forward to the acceptance of its application to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group and that the matter will come up for discussion at the end of this month in South Korea. Earlier on Tuesday, India and the US agreed to begin preparatory work on building six nuclear reactors in India as Prime Minister Narendra Modi met President Barack Obama, who backed New Delhi's candidature for the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).



## Modi, Obama flip the switch on nuclear power, welcome pact on building reactors

(Agencies) India and the US agreed on Tuesday to begin preparatory work on building six nuclear reactors in India as Prime Minister Narendra Modi met President Barack Obama, who backed New Delhi's candidature for the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

The Nuclear Power Corporation of India and US firm Westinghouse will immediately begin engineering and site design work for the AP1000 nuclear reactors and conclude contractual arrangements by June 2017.

Obama and Modi welcomed the start of the preparatory work on the reactors, a key step towards closing the first deal based on the landmark US-India civil nuclear deal struck more than a decade ago. India and the US Export-Import Bank will work together for a competitive financing package for the project, the two leaders said in a joint statement. The project will be among the largest of its kind when it is completed and it will fulfill the promise of the civil nuclear agreement.

Addressing the media with Modi after their talks at the White House that lasted more



than an hour, Obama backed India's entry into the NSG. "I indicated support to India being a part of NSG," he said.

India needs technology that is critical for its progress and prosperity, Obama added.

Modi said, "I am thankful for the help and support that my friend President Obama has extended with regard to membership in MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) and NSG."

Entry in MTCR group

Obama's remarks came hours after Reuters reported that members of the MTCR had agreed to admit India. Diplomats with knowledge of the matter said a deadline for members of the 34-nation group to object to India's

admission expired on Monday without any member raising objections.

Under this "silent procedure", India's admission followed automatically, diplomats from four MTCR member nations said. Admission to the MTCR will pave the way for India to buy high-end missile and UAV technology. It will also be able to market weapons systems such as the BrahMos supersonic cruise missile, developed with Russia, to third countries.

During their meeting, Obama and Modi discussed a range of issues, included terrorism, clean energy, climate change, regional security and cyber-security.

(Agencies) In April 2014, Ram Vriksha Yadav, a small, greying man in dhoti-and-kurta, took over a park in Mathura with around 500 armed followers for a two-day protest.

But members of the Swadhin Bharat Vidhik Satyagrah – and its armed wing Subhash Sena – never left, occupying the public space to turn it into what appeared to be the headquarters of a self-styled revolutionary group. The local people called them Naxalites.

Little was known about the group until Thursday when police clashed with thousands of its followers, trying to clear out



have forged a militant outfit that sought to indoctrinate and give arms training to local teenagers, seeking to replace the present-day political system with their own vision of a Bose-inspired world. The group demands the cancellation of the election of various members of government. They want the axing of the position of prime minister and president because the parliamentary system is seen by them as a hand-me-down from the British colonial rulers.

In a poster, now torn by the police, the group had demanded to know the nationality of the President. They even said the President is a foreign national and refused to accept the Indian elections. But their biggest demand seemed to be replacement of the Indian currency.

## *Violent ideology, bizarre demands: Secretive world of the Mathura cult*

some 3,000 squatters on court orders. The violence left 24 people dead, including the Mathura superintendent of police. As police piece together information on the group, what emerges is a picture of a rag-tag organisation coalesced around a cult of independence hero Subhash Chandra Bose with a warped view of the world.

With 'Jai Hind, Jai Subhash' as their motto, Yadav appears to

### **GROWING KITCHEN GARDENS AND BUILDING TOILETS**

(Agencies) For about two years, the Jawahar Bagh was their home and locals said their mornings began with messages on loud speakers from inside the park. Residents around Jawahar Park called them land grabbers and thugs. "Those men always shouted Azad Hindustan and cursed the government. They relayed messages about a different country where one rupee would fetch 60 litres of diesel

and 40 litres of petrol. We used to laugh," said a local resident. They built a self-sustaining unit, growing vegetables – mostly potatoes – inside the park. No one, not even police, was allowed inside the park. For every 10-15 jhuggis, the group also built toilets. They used tractors, which carried rice and other goods for the families. When HT visited the park a day after the violence, burnt cylinders, unwashed utensils and torn

clothes were everywhere. Not much is known about Yadav, except that his organisation emerged from among followers of a powerful religious figure, Jai Gurudev, who died four years ago. He is seen in undated photographs flanked by gun-carrying followers; at press conferences with local journalists; holding rallies of supporters. He is also said to have contested elections for the Lok Sabha and lost.

## *Right on time! Much-needed monsoon rains hit Kerala on the exact date predicted by Met department*



(Agencies) The Indian Meteorological Department (IMD) once again hit the bull's eye with its weather prediction as the south-west monsoon reached Kerala on Wednesday.

Up until 2008-09, the IMD had a poor accuracy record for predicting the monsoon and other weather events such as winter fog and summer temperatures, but recently the department has improved its predictions.

The usual date for the onset of monsoon is June 1.

In its initial forecast this year, the IMD had said that the monsoon would hit Kerala on June 7.

Then on Tuesday, it hedged its bets by predicting that the rains would begin by June 9. That same day, several

parts of Kerala received heavy rainfall.

The IMD declared the onset of the monsoon over Kerala after several parts of the state reported widespread rainfall for 48 hours, with more than 60 per cent of weather stations recording rain on June 7 and 8.

The Westerly and West-south-westerly winds of the order of 30-40 kmph were observed up to 600 hPa (approximately up to 4.5 km) over the south Arabian Sea.

"The IMD used to face criticism for inaccurate forecasts earlier. But we have really improved in recent years because we have pooled in a lot of efforts in each and every area for predicting weather conditions," said Madhavan Nair Rajeevan, Secretary, Ministry of Earth Sciences.





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# Dancing With Uncle Sam

may now do more with India on a government-to-government basis than virtually any other nation. Modi's visit is meant to celebrate that achievement and cement it as this U.S. administration prepares to give way to a new one in 2017.

"This trip is both a love fest and a sales pitch," said Michael Kugelman, a senior associate for South Asia at the Wilson Center.

Modi's goal — and Obama's — will be "to highlight the rapid progress made in U.S.-India relations in recent years and to underscore the importance of maintaining the current momentum in relations against a backdrop of changing U.S. leadership," Kugelman said. There are points of friction between the world's two largest democracies, to be sure, with India chafing at U.S. pressure to do more on climate change and human rights, while U.S. lawmakers complain about India's slavery, its loose approach to intellectual property and limits on foreign investment.

Modi raised some of these testier issues with a light enough touch that lawmakers laughed when he said that even though more Americans practice yoga than know how to throw a curve ball, India has yet to claim intellectual property rights on the ancient practice.

He teased the lawmakers, telling them he'd heard about the smooth bipartisan cooperation in Congress — and that he saw the same thing in India. And he sprinkled his remarks with references to American cultural icons such as Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman and Martin Luther King — men who fought for and celebrated freedoms.

Modi's deft performance likely means complaints will be on the back-burner during his visit to Capitol Hill. After his speech, he is being feted by the House and Senate foreign relations committees and a lawmakers' India Caucus.

Both sides emphasize that the story of the last few years has been one of constructive progress and shared priorities. That's a function of China's rise, the threat of terrorism and the Obama administration's decision to focus resources and attention on Asia. It also reflects the both leaders' recognition that their countries will benefit from closer alignment.

Numbers back the narrative. U.S.-India trade has soared from \$60 billion in 2009 to \$107 billion in 2015, while American defense contractors are now selling India

\$14 billion worth of equipment, an increase from \$300 million less than a decade ago. Defense and security cooperation in particular are "an area of extraordinary progress and ambition in both countries," Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Nisha Biswal told a Senate committee in May. She said the two countries' military exercises had grown in scope and complexity. Unspoken but implicit was the fact that they've grown more important, too.

As China increasingly takes steps to establish claims to contested areas in the South China Sea — through which about half the world's merchant ships sail — the U.S. has been placing increasing emphasis on the need to maintain freedom of navigation.

"India has an important role to play as a net security provider and guarantor of an open and rules-based maritime order across the Indo-Pacific," Biswal said.

Modi made clear that India is more than ready to do that. "India is already assuming responsibilities in securing the India Ocean region," he said. "A strong India-U.S. partnership can ensure peace prosperity and

stability from Asia to Africa and from Indian Ocean to the Pacific," he said.

In an indirect reference to China, he also touted his country's "respect for global commons and for international rules and norms." The forces drawing India and the U.S. together go beyond China, though. Both countries see a destabilized Afghanistan and terrorism in Pakistan and beyond as sources of concern. Kugelman says that increasing U.S. impatience with Pakistan's tolerance for certain militant groups also benefits ties between the U.S. and India, which views the Muslim country on its border as its biggest foe.

Pointing to the U.S. drone strike inside Pakistan that killed Taliban leader Mullah Mansour, Kugelman said, "I think what we're seeing in the last few months is the case of the U.S. losing patience with Pakistan."

Modi touched those bases, too, speaking of the need to stabilize Afghanistan and going after India's rival and neighbor, though not by name. He told lawmakers that terrorism is "incubated in India's neighborhood."

He urged greater U.S.-India counterterrorism cooperation and

"greater isolation for those who harbor, support and sponsor terrorists." He points to the close ties between Pakistan and China as another factor. "The Obama administration is very intent on completing this rebalancing to Asia," Kugelman said. "That entails a very significant role for India, and there's simply no role for Pakistan because Pakistan is a very big ally of China."

As a result of all this, "suddenly India begins to look like a better partner for the U.S., and the U.S. looks like an invaluable partner for India," said Sadanand Dhume, an American Enterprise Institute expert on India.

Under the tenure of Obama and Modi, that dynamic has been turbo-charged. Obama has made two visits to India, the most by any sitting president. Obama has backed India's inclusion on the UN Security Council and in multilateral export control regimes, said Singh, who noted advances made in defense, trade and economic partnerships as well.

Meanwhile, Modi's current visit marks his seventh meeting with Obama in the U.S. and abroad. Over the course of those visits, the Indian leader has made a deliberate shift, said Dhume. "What Modi has done is made clear that a large country with a tradition of non-alignment is, under this prime minister, moving decisively toward a deeper

relationship with the U.S.," Dhume said.

India had historically allied itself with the Soviet Union and then Russia, along with Brazil and China, as part of a group of countries that wanted to stay out of the U.S. orbit.

The bilateral relationship has gotten an extra boost from the chemistry the two leaders share. Raymond Vickery, who worked on U.S.-India trade as an assistant secretary of commerce under President Bill Clinton, attributed its roots to their similar backgrounds.

RELATED: Narendra Modi's year one: Did he live up to expectations?

"Both Obama and Modi have spent most of their lives as outsiders," said Vickery, a global fellow at the Wilson Center. "They've both come to power with a common vision of being able to have a U.S.-India relationship that's worldwide in scope."

U.S.-India ties aren't dependent on personal chemistry, though, Dhume said. The long, slow deepening links between the two countries is about "the importance of India, much more than the importance of Modi," he said, referring to its strong economy, positive trade and defense relationships and its status as a democratic model for the region and counterweight to China.

"India matters, no matter who is the leader," Dhume said.

## When Mexicans Feared American Immigration

But the history lesson, of a time when our current debate was flipped on its head, is a timely reminder of those fluid identities, and just how easily these centuries-old, deeply ingrained fears can be stoked—on either side of the border.

Born as a slave in 1864 on a cotton plantation in the small South Texas town of Victoria, William Henry Ellis managed in his early 20s to transform himself into a successful merchant in San Antonio. To do so, however, he had to craft an alternative persona for himself as a Mexican named Guillermo Enrique Eliseo (his name translated into Spanish) to gain entry to the all-white business settings that would have otherwise been closed to him. To further his ethnic charades, Ellis cultivated a showy Mexican-style mustache, dressed in the Mexican fashion, and used the fluent Spanish that he had learned in Victoria as a child.

In the 19th century, during the administration of President Porfirio Díaz, Mexico was hoping to modernize its economy by attracting more immigrants. Ellis did much of his business across the border in Mexico, and he saw the United States' southern neighbor, with its lack of legal segregation, as a place

of great promise not only for himself but for other African-Americans as well. He thus set in motion in 1889 an ambitious plan to facilitate the large-scale migration of African-Americans to Mexico.

Taking advantage of new railroad connections between the U.S. and Mexico, Ellis journeyed to Mexico City. Tucked in his luggage, he carried letters of introduction from the Mexican consul in San Antonio to Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ignacio Mariscal, and Secretary of Fomento (Public Works), Carlos Pacheco Villalobos. Once in the Mexican capital, Ellis persuaded Pacheco, a grizzled former general who had lost both an arm and a leg in Mexico's recent war against the French-backed emperor Maximilian, to grant him a 10-year contract to colonize up to twenty thousand settlers in Mexico. Although the race and nationality of the colonists was not specified in the contract—only that each colonist would have a certificate attesting to their "morality, honesty and diligence"—Ellis's comments to the press left little doubt that he intended to fill the colonists' ranks with African-Americans.

The colonization movement represented one of the most divisive

fault lines running through African-American politics in the late 19th century. Even as they defended the right of blacks to live wherever they pleased, most black leaders, from Frederick Douglass to Norris Wright Cuney, the influential chairman of the Texas' Republican Party, decried efforts to relocate African-Americans (a movement known in the language of the day as colonization). These figures charged that colonization not only diminished the pool of African-American voters in the United States; it also encouraged long-standing white fantasies of solving the United States' "race problem" by ethnically cleansing all blacks from the nation. Even the great liberator Abraham Lincoln had briefly entertained thoughts of colonizing freed slaves on Mexico's Tehuantepec isthmus or Yucatán peninsula. Above all, by presenting blacks' real home as elsewhere, emigration diverted attention from what many African-Americans perceived as the more pressing task: achieving their full civil rights in the United States. "I cannot see wherein [African-Americans] would gain anything [by colonization]," contended Cuney. "They are so thoroughly identified with the perpetuity of our American

institutions, that it seems to me to be rather late for them now to seek homes in a new country with the customs, government and people of which they are thoroughly unacquainted. There is much more glory, honor and gain for the colored man here in the land of his birth, and here he should stay and fight his way to the front."

Relocating to Mexico, however, did not necessarily represent a retreat from politics in Ellis's eyes. Rather, it highlighted the shortcomings of Reconstruction—in particular, the federal government's failure to support blacks' economic aspirations. Whites blamed the poverty in which blacks found themselves trapped after Emancipation on a lack of work ethic. Ellis, in contrast, knew that the problem lay not with African-American character but rather with their lack of access to land, the foundation of wealth in a predominantly agricultural society. If the place of their birth would not facilitate black access to property, perhaps Mexico, in its desire to attract immigrants, would. "The idea of Mr. Ellis," explained one observer, "is that the colonists will become self-sustaining farmers."

# Checking The Mates

Despite recognising the pre-eminence of the US on the world stage, Indian leaders have traditionally been wary of getting too close to America. Successive governments have tried to forge strong bonds with Washington—a desire that became more evident in the post-Cold War period—but without compromising on their pursuit of an independent foreign policy, maintaining equally strong bonds with other major powers. But as Prime Minister Narendra Modi prepares for next week's visit to the US (June 7-8), his fourth in two years and second to Washington this year, the unprecedented bonhomie in Indo-US relations has begun to both encourage and bother many people, within and outside the country. What's driving this closeness? What are its implications for India, the region and beyond?

For obvious reasons, Modi's supporters and sections within the Indian establishment are charged up, hoping that with America's active support, New Delhi will find a legitimate place on the world stage. But sceptics worry, considering the US's long history of fickleness and of its proneness to entertain but not quite honour another country as an equal partner. So is India junking its foreign policy, derisively called "Nehruvian non-alignment"? Is India favouring a close partnership with the US to do its bidding in Asia—to become, in effect, the 'Voice of America'? A proposed US Congress legislation to make India a NATO-like ally, bracketing it with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and South Korea, considered by US critics as American stooges, is also deepening concerns about Delhi's future and 'sovereignty'. Or is India using its growing closeness with the US to create more strategic space for itself to push development and face regional and global challenges?

As most observers search for proper answers to explain these fast-paced developments, some point to an obvious third force—it's the rise of an assertive China, they say, that is the driving force bringing India and the US in a tighter strategic embrace than ever before. "Of course China's rise is one important factor underlying the new India-US partnership," says John Garver, author and professor emeritus at Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta. "China's military power has grown very rapidly. Virtually all the countries around China—

and the US too—are apprehensive about how China will use its growing power. There are troubling signs in the South China and East China Seas." The US's power and influence, in relative decline since the global economic crisis of 2008, is being seriously challenged by China, already the world's second largest economy. And Asia, a region with most of the fast-growing economies, is being seen as a main area that could push the global recovery. For India, widely speculated to become the world's third largest economy in 15 years, China is both an opportunity and a challenge. It needs Chinese investment for infrastructure development and makes common cause with Beijing on issues ranging from international finance and trade, to climate change and environment. But India also faces serious challenges from it on the disputed and unsettled boundary and other security-related issues, including Beijing's growing military-political-economic cooperation with Islamabad. Joining up with America and its allies, especially those with a maritime boundary dispute with China, New Delhi feels, will give it the leverage, including in the taking of meaningful steps on boundary clarification and forcing Pakistan to stop terror activities against India. Says Garver, "Modi may be attempting to use China's fear of Indian participation in a US-Japan-Australia-Vietnam coalition to persuade it to be more responsive to India's security concerns."

Many share this view. C. Raja Mohan, a leading columnist on international affairs, wrote in an article on the eve of President Pranab Mukherjee's recent visit to Beijing that the president should convey to the Chinese in no uncertain terms India's displeasure at China's decision to block Delhi's membership of the elite Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), adding that: "Whether we have leverage or not, we have to communicate directly to the Chinese on the importance we attach to the issue." Other observers sense different reasons behind the growing Indo-US ties. Some interpret Modi's enthusiasm for America as a reflection of an "aspirational" leader's attempt to be recognised by the world's most powerful nation. Others point to India's growing stature as a player on the world stage, its increasing economic clout, its military muscle and attractive market, and above all its attraction as a stable, peaceful democracy. "We always had cordial relations with India. But now we are becoming close,

strategic partners," says Nicholas Burns, former US undersecretary for political affairs in the state department and Harvard University professor. Indian officials say Modi's two days in Washington will be spent in wide-ranging discussions with President Barack Obama and senior members of his administration. But if one wonders how much is expected from a 'lameduck' president, one must remember Modi is also spending a lot of time on Capitol Hill. He's being honoured with a joint address to the US Congress, something reserved only for leaders considered important. His scheduled engagements with important US politicians, including key members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, is also a clear indication of the keenness in the US for India as an ally. "The idea is to reinforce India's image as a key partner to the US Congress," says Srinath Raghavan of Delhi's Centre for Policy Research. "The Congress, after all, has an important role to play. Doing this in a presidential election year will also help ensure continuity when the next government comes in."

To put things in perspective, India has been searching for ways to tie up with the US since the Cold War ended. A drift towards America had begun soon after Pokhran-II in May 1998. Key members of previous governments in Delhi too were desirous of a strong Indo-US relationship. This finally led to the Indo-US civil nuclear deal a decade later, when the George W. Bush regime threw open the doors of the elite club to recognise India as a legitimate nuclear power. Meanwhile, Indian leaders had been building relationships with powers in the neighbourhood, including rivals like Pakistan and China.

But since Modi became prime minister, the equation seems to have undergone a significant change. His frequent trips to the US seem more surprising if one remembers that not too long ago, he was persona non grata for the US for his role in the 2002 Gujarat riots. Indeed, the US had denied him visa despite his being a chief minister. The 2014 parliamentary elections changed all that. The massive mandate with which he came to power—a feat unmatched by other parties in 30 years—was

something not lost on the Americans. His business-friendly image fuels hope in the American mind that reforms in the insurance and banking sectors, which could mean business opportunity for American corporates, seem more than a possibility. But while all these factors are important to make India an attractive partner for the US, most observers also recognise that in this growing partnership, the China factor is looming large, giving a geopolitical edge to a strong Indo-US partnership.

MEA officials point out that Modi's visit to the US is part of his five-nation tour, which will also take him later to Afghanistan, Switzerland, Qatar and Mexico. But there is no doubt it is his visit to Washington that is being watched in other world capitals. It may therefore come as no surprise if developments in the Asia-Pacific

region, particularly that in South China Sea, and possible maritime cooperation between the two sides and better coordination between their navies, figure prominently during discussions between the two sides.

"China is a balancing act," says Burns, pointing out that both India and the US need its cooperation on a number of issues, ranging from the economy to climate change and in dealing with many other global challenges. "But at the same time, China's assertiveness in the South China Sea is making its neighbours nervous. It is running roughshod over countries in the region." It is here that America sees a role for India, a country that is not only "peaceful and stable" but one that is becoming a "very important player, economically and otherwise, in the world".

## Why Modi Government Has Correctly Ignored AQ Khan's Nuclear Taunt

Weapons-Free and Non-Violent World Order: "There is nothing more dangerous than the illusion of limited nuclear war. It desensitizes inhibitions about the use of nuclear weapons that could lead, in next to no time, to the outbreak of full-fledged nuclear war." The remark was addressed then to the US and the USSR, but applies equally now to nuclear-armed India and Pakistan.

MIT assistant professor of political science and member of their security studies programme, Vipin Narang, has distinguished Pakistan's nuclear doctrine as "asymmetrical escalation" from India's doctrine that he describes as "assured retaliation". He explains in his Nuclear Strategy in The Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict, which has received recognition as the best work on the subject in 2015, that while Pakistan retains the right of "first use" of nuclear weapons in the event of Indian conventional forces substantially intruding into Pakistani territory, India has abjured "first use" because it perceives no conventional threat that it cannot deal with without resorting to the threat or use of nuclear weapons, but has reserved its right to retaliate with nuclear weapons in the event of a nuclear attack. The problem is, as the head of DRDO told India Today, 3 July 2013, that "we are making much more agile, fast-reacting, stable missiles so response can be within minutes". Thus, any "five-minute" nuclear attack by Pakistan will receive an Indian nuclear response "within minutes", bringing on to the heads of both countries an unmitigated nuclear disaster. To quote again from Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 speech at the UN: "the insane logic of mutually assured destruction will ensure that nothing survives, that no one lives to tell the tale, that there is no one left to understand what went wrong and why". Two imperatives follow. One, that we ensure through continual dialogue with Pakistan that nothing happens on our part to trigger "asymmetric escalation" on their part, leading, of course, to their "assured destruction" but not before they have rained nuclear havoc on us. Two, that we revive and canvass an updated version of the Action Plan. Two very recent developments off the "breaking news" radar give cause for a glimmer of hope. The first is that the Modi government has invoked the Rajiv Action Plan in the defence they have presented to the International Court of Justice in The Hague in the case brought by the Marshall Islands (victim of US nuclear testing) against all states that have demonstrated nuclear weapons capability. Second, that the UN-sponsored Open Ended Working Group on nuclear disarmament, an unique forum that brings together on the same platform representatives of governments and civil society activists, has but a few weeks ago taken cognizance of the 1988 Rajiv Gandhi Action Plan as the only roadmap to disarmament ever presented to the international community by a head of government. Are we going to press on with that initiative or complacently give ourselves over to visions of "wiping Pakistan off the map"?

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# Why Sanders Won't Surrender

winning only 12.1 million votes to Clinton's 15.8 million votes and 23 contests to Clinton's 33. But when Sanders looks at his box scores he doesn't see defeat, he sees only a new obstacle in his long, uphill climb to victory! So much fight remains in this man that we can easily envision him initiating contentious procedural battles over the convention's rules, attacking the party platform as degenerate, maybe filing a law suit or two, launching a third-party candidacy, commencing a write-in campaign or even petitioning the Hague to pronounce the election of Clinton

(or Donald Trump) as a war crime and demand its reversal.

What separates Sanders from the usual egomaniacs is his revolutionary heritage. When Sanders says "the struggle continues," his time frame is not the campaign season, it's perpetuity. Unlike your average presidential candidate, Sanders possesses the self-image of a revolutionary in service of history—a revolutionary like his hero Eugene V. Debs, a dead-ender himself who ran for president as a socialist four times and would probably be running still if he hadn't died in 1926. The point of the Debs

campaigns was not to collect the most votes and then take office and exercise power but to the more modest one of raising the issues the major parties refused to debate. This is what Sanders did in the 1970s, when he mounted multiple runs for governor and U.S. Senate in Vermont as a minor-party candidate pushing a largely informational agenda.

But then at some point in the 2016 campaign, Sanders began to think he could do more than give Clinton an educational push to the left. Maybe what changed his thinking was those primary victories in New Hampshire and

Michigan. Maybe it was the impressive vote totals he was collecting as the runner up in so many primaries. Maybe it was the cheering, adoring crowds he drew. Or perhaps it was the ego boost provided by the \$200 million-plus Sanders was raising, mostly in small donations. Whatever the causes, Sanders began to act less like a loss-leader candidate and more like one who could win the nomination, as my colleagues Edward-Isaac Dove and Gabriel DeBenedetti just wrote. And thus did his dead-ender mindset begin to jell. In a normal presidential campaign, there's usually a strong staff to take the candidate behind the barn and shoot him when the end is inevitable. But

no such staff exists in the Sanders campaign. "Sanders owns nearly every major decision, right down to the bills," as Dove and Gabriel DeBenedetti wrote.

The swift current of Sanders' revolutionary mindset and the strong winds of his success at the ballot box have joined to drive his campaign farther than anybody—Sanders included—expected. But not far enough. By continuing his "struggle," Sanders accomplishes little more than becoming the longest socialist footnote in the history of presidential campaigns. Like his hero Debs, he's destined to become the punchline to jokes about people who stay too long.

# Indian Students Lured by Recruiters Asked to Leave University

even though they were offered remedial help by the university. While some students will be allowed to remain, Mr. Gary said, at least 25 of the nearly 60 students in the program must leave. Permitting the students to continue in the program would "be throwing good money after bad," he said, because they were unable to write computer programs, a necessary part of the curriculum and a skill that United States schools teach to undergraduates.

"If they come out of here without the ability to write programs, that's embarrassing to my department," Mr. Gary said, explaining why the university could not permit them to continue. The chairman of the Indian Student Association at Western Kentucky University, Aditya Sharma, expressed concern for the students.

"I definitely feel badly for these students," said Mr. Sharma, a graduate student in public health administration. "They've come so far. They've invested money into it."

But he said some of the students had adopted what he called a "casual" approach to their studies. "They could not meet their G.P.A., so the university had to take this decision," Mr. Sharma said.

Some of the students are seeking placement in graduate schools in Missouri and Tennessee, Mr. Sharma said. Others are considering applying to less rigorous programs than the one at Western Kentucky, in Bowling Green, Ky. Those who are not able to find placement will be forced to leave the country under the terms of their visas. The students had been admitted in January after a recruitment campaign in India last summer

and fall. Recruiters in India had run advertisements offering "spot admission" to the university, as well as tuition discounts. When faculty members at Western Kentucky learned last fall that some of the students did not meet admissions standards, the university Senate endorsed a resolution expressing concern

about the recruitment campaign, part of the university's efforts to lift enrollment and revenue in the face of deep state budget cuts.

Western Kentucky said in a statement on Monday that the university had altered its international recruitment efforts in India. In addition to reviewing its advertising, the school is sending

members of the computer science faculty to India to meet with students before offers of admission are made. Under the terms of the university's agreement with the recruiter, the company was to be paid about \$2,000 per student, but it would not collect all of that money unless

the student remained for two semesters. A survey released last week by Bridge Education Group and StudentMarketing showed that 37 percent of universities and colleges in the United States work with international recruitment agencies, a majority of which are paid by commission.

# Indian Scissorhand: Films 'at trouble' with the Censor Board

of late PM Rajiv Gandhi by LTTE chief V Prabhakaran. The reason given for this, according to Varma, was the Board's fear that some Tamil groups may object to this line and create a problem. Aligarh: In February this year, social media exploded in outrage over CBFC's decision to release the trailer of Aligarh with an 'A' certification. The movie, directed by Hansal Mehta, is based on the true story of AMU professor Dr Ramchandra Siras and the witch hunt against him due to his sexual orientation. It eventually released with cuts recommended by the Board. The Jungle Book: Disney's film, directed by Jon Favreau, was released this year by the CBFC with a 'U/A' certificate, which meant that children under 12 would need to be accompanied by an adult. While the Board's stated reason for this was that the 3D effects

would be scary for young children, the decision was ridiculed across the world.

En Dino Muzaffarnagar: The 147-minute investigative documentary on the 2013 Muzaffarnagar riots was denied certification by the CBFC for the second time this year for allegedly having "great potential for creating communal disharmony". The documentary was first denied certification in 2014 at which time the Film Certification Appellate Tribunal had upheld the Board's decision, saying that the film is "highly and openly critical of one political party (BJP), names its top leadership and tends to give impression of said party's involvement in communal disturbances". Dance of Democracy: Battle for Benaras: The documentary about 2014's electoral fight between Narendra Modi and Arvind Kejriwal, directed by Kamal Swaroop,

was refused certification by the CBFC on the grounds that it was "full of hate and inflammatory speeches given by all the leaders of the political parties" and that its release may cause disharmony on caste and communal lines. The makers have now moved the Delhi High Court against the ban. Spectre: Another CBFC decision that received near-universal ridicule was the board's demand that the kissing scenes in the 2015 James Bond film, Spectre, be cut by 50 per cent. NH 10: The 2015 Anushka Sharma-starrer ran into trouble with the CBFC over some violent scenes and the use of cuss words. In an interview to this newspaper, director Navdeep Singh had stated that when they went to get their certificate, half the members wanted to ban the film.



## SPOT THE REAL TRUMP

SHE HAS played the Queen, Margaret Thatcher and Emmeline Pankhurst.

But on Monday night Meryl Streep turned her talents to another political legend, transforming into presidential hopeful Donald Trump.

The three-time Oscar winner and staunch Hillary Clinton supporter, was the spitting image of the Republican, as she donned a fat suit and painted her features orange for the 2016 Shakespeare in the Park Public Theater Gala at the Delacorte Theater in New York's Central Park.

Meryl, 66, looked unrecognisable in Trump's signature dark suit and red tie, layered over a padded suit.

To complete the effect the Hollywood veteran painted her face orange and donned a blonde wig to replicate the Donald's famous coif.



# 'The groom didn't look at the bride once'

## Wedding guests reveal the most toe-curling moments from marriages guaranteed to end in divorce

(Agencies) Not all marriages are built to last and sometimes the warning signs are evident right from the beginning, according to a new online thread. Wedding guests have been taking to Reddit to reveal the toe-curling moments they witnessed at nuptials that convinced them a couple would not go the distance. The juicy post started when a user asked: 'What happened at a wedding that let you know the marriage was going to end in a divorce?' One wrote: 'At the rehearsal dinner, the groom's mum was in tears because "he looked miserable" and he was, we all knew it. 'During the vows they had written for each other, the bride started with "I know I can be a pretty terrible person, and I don't know why you've stuck around, but that's all going to change starting

today!" 'They were divorced a year later.' Another Reddit user revealed: 'The groom invited his female friend, she was in the early stages of pregnancy. 'Towards the end of the night, the bride asked aforementioned friend who the father was. The friend cheerfully said the groom's name.'

Another user wrote: 'The bride had the minister put "Til death, or divorce, do us part" into the ceremony.' And one of the saddest posts revealed: 'The groom didn't look at the bride once.'

Infidelity at the wedding itself seems to be a tragic recurring theme. 'My sister's new husband made out with a bridesmaid on the dance floor of the reception,' one Redditor wrote. 'The groom got caught getting frisky with a bridesmaid. That marriage lasted for about two hours,' wrote

another. And one user wrote: 'While saying the classic "I do", instead of looking deep into his bride's eyes, the groom was peeking at one of the bridesmaid's.' So far the post has received more than 10,000 comments on the theme of terrible weddings.

The best rated post read: 'The groom looked drunk and the bride seemed incredibly angry 'Then there was this woman walking around during the reception placing bets on when they would divorce. 'I later found out she was the mother of the groom.' In another brutally honest post, a Reddit user wrote: 'They were both 18. She was pregnant. 'During the wedding, she behaved like she was in a beauty contest rather than a wedding ceremony, with not a thought in her head beyond "how do I look? am I pretty? look at me! take my picture!"



(Agencies) Three years ago, a mysterious crater suddenly opened up on the Taimyr peninsula in Siberia, tearing a hole in the Earth that was an estimated 330 feet deep.

Since then, it's rapidly grown to more than 15 times its original



sighting.

An earlier account on the appearance of the giant hole offered little help, stating, 'It is not like the work of men, but it also doesn't look like natural formation,' The Siberian Times reports.

A widely agreed upon theory suggests that the craters of Yamal were caused by climate change, as the pressure of methane gas released from thawing permafrost forced pingos to erupt. These structures are dome-shaped mounds that cover an ice core, and are common in Arctic and sub-arctic regions, according to leading authority Professor Vasily Bogoyavlensky.

But for the Taimyr crater, scientists believe there may be a different explanation.

Epifanov suggests the Taimyr eruption was not a direct result of climate change, as its source would have been at a depth too far below the surface.

## Huge explosion that created a mysterious giant crater in Siberia was heard 100km away and caused a 'clear glow' in the sky

size, increasing from 13 feet in width to roughly 230 at the last survey.

Scientists have suggested numerous natural explanations, but the appearance of the bizarre hole has prompted theories of stray missiles and even aliens – and now, one expert reveals nearby residents reported hearing an explosion, and witnessed a 'clear glow' in the sky.

The isolated Taimyr crater sits nearly 300 hundreds miles away from dozens of similar, newly-formed giant holes on Yamal peninsula, a region the locals have dubbed 'the end of the world,' according to The Siberian Times.

When it first emerged in 2013, the crater, called the Deryabinsky crevice, nearly swallowed up a group of reindeer herders.

Debris of displaced soil, sand, and ice littered an area more than half a mile wide, and researchers think it may have been caused by the explosions of methane or other underground gas.

In the year and a half that followed, it grew rapidly, and the crater is now the site of a lake, which formed as permafrost melted and the walls of the crater caved in.

Now, the leading expert to explore this remote region has revealed the previously unheard reports from witnesses in the surrounding areas.

'There is verbal information that residents of nearby villages – at a distance of 70-100 km – heard a sound like an explosion, and one of them watched a clear glow in the sky.

'It was about one month after

the Chelyabinsk meteorite,' Dr Vladimir Epifanov told The Siberian Times.

Locals speculated the phenomenon may have been

another exploding space object, but researchers say this is not the case.

So far, there is no confirmed explanation for the bizarre



# Beijing rattled, says India's Chabahar hopes won't live up to 'high-sounding rhetoric'

(Agencies) NEW DELHI: Ten days after saying that China's multinationals will benefit from India developing the Chabahar port for Iran, Beijing-run media is now painting the deal as part of India's nefarious design for dominance in the Middle East, albeit one that will fail. "Although New Delhi ostensibly highlights economic considerations, such as facilitating trade along the International North-South Transport Corridor and extracting minerals, natural gas and oil from the region, its larger geostrategic calculations and ambitions are obvious," said an article today in the state-run Global Times.

Ten days after saying it isn't "jealous" that India beat China to score the \$500 million Chabahar development deal, Beijing is painting India's deal as unworkable "high-sounding rhetoric". "Although India's

expectations of Chabahar and the sea-land route are running high, especially following the lifting of international financial sanctions against Iran, major challenges remain. India may not be able to meet its generous offers and high-sounding rhetoric," it said. Even though China expects India to fail, it still seems rather perturbed about India's grandiose ambitions, which it says are meant to counter China and Pakistan. "Actually, Chabahar is just the tip of the iceberg of India's geostrategic ambitions. Besides building new berths and upgrades to Chabahar, what interests New Delhi more is a comprehensive scheme that can reshape India's geopolitics to the northwest and extend its influence further into the Middle East, Central Asia and the Trans-



Caucasus," the article goes on to say.

The fact is, the Chabahar port is easily accessed from India's western coast and bypasses Pakistan. It will also give India entry into Afghanistan. Iran said as much. The Chabahar agreement, Iranian president Hassan Rouhani said, "is not only an economic document: It's also a political and a regional one." He added: "With our joint investments in Chabahar,

we can connect India through a reliable route to Afghanistan and countries in Central Asia." Beijing, though, is having none of this talk. It refuses to believe this, saying that going through Pakistan remains the most economical route for India. "A direct gateway through Pakistan provides the shortest and the most economical access for India to enter Afghanistan and Central Asia. However, due to long-standing mistrust, Islamabad is reluctant to grant India access", the Global Times article said. Then there's the obligatory tom-tomming of its own much earlier deal with Pakistan — a 2012 agreement formalized in 2013 — to develop the Gwadar port. China and Pakistan are currently building a \$46 billion economic corridor linking Gwadar port with Xinjiang.

## Pakistan media sees 'nuclear' designs in Andhra Pradesh

(Agencies) HYDERABAD: The AP government has named its new capital after the ancient Buddhist village of Amaravati in a bid to attract the nations in the Far East, but it has unwittingly drawn the attention of the media in Pakistan. The now discarded dome-shaped design for the AP state assembly at Amaravati drawn by international architects Maki and Associates has sparked off a speculation that a mega nuclear power plant is being planned on the right

bank of the river Krishna near Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh. The footage of one such debate on a TV channel in Pakistan was telecast by a Telugu TV channel on Tuesday night. One of the participants on the Pakistani channel alleges that a mega city is being constructed in Andhra Pradesh to manufacture what he called hydrogen bombs. He also accused the US of helping Andhra Pradesh in building Amaravati. The frequent visits by various teams from

China, Japan and Singapore to Vijayawada (Amaravati) has reportedly created a sort of fear psychosis on the other side of the border over a 'mega nuclear city'. Incidentally, the AP government had rejected the 'dome' design for the assembly as it resembled nuclear towers. The government has asked Maki and Associates to come out with a new design. But little did it know that the discarded design would spark off a debate in the neighbouring country.



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# Pakistan tops in malware infection, India ranks 8th

(Agencies) SINGAPORE: At least four out of ten computers in Asia-Pacific countries are likely to be infected with malware, a study by Microsoft has found.

While Pakistan tops the list of countries figuring in the Malware Infection Index 2016, India ranks 8th on the list. The index, which was released on Tuesday, identifies the

key malware threats in the region and ranks markets in Asia-Pacific according to how much they are affected.

The index has also identified the top three most encountered malware as Gamarue, a malicious computer worm that is commonly distributed via exploit kits and social engineering; and Skeyeah and Peals which are

trojans that try to look innocent to convince you to install them, the index reveals. "These malware can steal your personal information, download more malware, or give a malicious hacker access to your PC. The findings are based on data from the Microsoft Malware Protection Center (MMPC) and the Microsoft Security Intelligence Report (SIRv20)," said Keshav Dhakad, regional director, IP and digital crimes unit, Microsoft Asia. Out of the top five locations across the globe most at risk of infection, a total of four are from the Asia Pacific - Pakistan, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Nepal, topping the rankings at first, second, fourth and fifth places respectively. The Asia-Pacific region is especially vulnerable with emerging markets most at risk of malware threats, the study has found.

More than forty per cent of computers in the 19 countries in Asia-Pacific region are infected against the global

average being around 20 per cent, Microsoft has claimed. In fact, the Windows Defender Advanced Threat Hunting team in April reported the discovery of a group of cybercriminals, dubbed PLATINUM, who have actively been targeting governmental organisations, defense institutes, intelligence agencies, and telecommunication providers in South and Southeast Asia since 2009.

Gamarue is particularly prevalent in the ASEAN region and was the third most commonly encountered malware family worldwide in 2H 2015. Certain heavily affected locations such as Indonesia reported Gamarue encounter rates of over 20 percent in 4Q 2015. "The rising sophistication and targeted cyberattacks are causing losses of data across all computer and Internet user segments. In fact, it generally takes on average up to 200 days for organisations to find out that they have been victims of cyberattacks," Dhakad added.

## THE MOST VULNERABLE

1. Pakistan
2. Indonesia
3. Bangladesh
4. Nepal
5. Vietnam
6. Philippines
7. Cambodia
8. India
9. Sri Lanka
10. Thailand
11. Malaysia
12. Singapore
13. Taiwan
14. China
15. Hong Kong
16. Australia/South Korea
17. New Zealand
18. Japan



### TOP 3 ENCOUNTERED MALWARE IN ASIA PACIFIC

- 1 Gamarue
- 2 Skeyeah
- 3 Peals

Gamarue is a worm which can give a malicious hacker control of your PC

Skeyeah and Peals are Trojans. They can steal personal information, download more malware or give hackers access to your PC



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# Political slugfest over death of hundreds of cattle in drought-hit Rajasthan



(Agencies) Vultures hover overhead, cackling hyenas gnaw at hundreds of carcasses and a putrid stench of decomposing flesh draw attention to an elevated area in the Aravalli hills of drought-battered eastern Rajasthan. It's the graveyard of abandoned cattle.

The grim situation at Kochar village of Sawai Madhopur district belies the government's promise and push to protect cows and bulls as severe drought over the past 45 days have forced people to simply abandon their cattle on a flat, barren and rocky hilltop.

The site, about 30 km long and 7 km wide, is where Kochar is located along with 25 other villages — many of them deserted as seven ponds that fed the area have dried up this year. Cows need at least 70 litres of water a day.

Bereft of vegetation, fodder and water, the forsaken cattle — mostly old and feeble — were dying by the dozen and becoming food for scavengers such as vultures

and hyenas. A survey by the administration showed around 800 cows were abandoned there, and half of them have perished already. "There is always some water and scrub vegetation on which the cows survive. But this year, many died because of the water and food shortage," said Ramkesh Gurjar of nearby Khad Satolai village, about 120 km east of Jaipur.

The deaths have triggered a political slugfest between the opposition Congress and the BJP government in the state, which has a dedicated department for cow protection called directorate of Gaupalan. "The BJP stands fully exposed. The Congress never makes cow a political issue but the BJP seeks votes in the name of cows and temples. But where is the BJP government when cows are dying in thousands?" asked Rajasthan unit Congress chief Sachin Pilot.

He visited the area about a month ago and had apparently prodded the government to take action.

The Congress pointed to the

cattle deaths after the Vasundhara Raje government on Tuesday transferred a police officer in Pratapgarh for arresting members of a vigilante group, Gau Raksha Dal, for stripping and assaulting people

transporting cows. Rajasthan has banned the sale and slaughter of cows, considered sacred in Hinduism, while vigilantes have stepped up efforts to enforce the prohibition. For its part, the government dismissed allegations of laxity. Instead, gaupalan or cow welfare minister Otaram Dewasi accused the Congress of politicising the issue. "As soon as we came to know of cows dying, I spoke to the collectors and sought a report. Based on their report, we sanctioned Rs 1 crore," he said.

The former additional district magistrate of Karauli, Mahavir Singh Rajpurohit, backed the minister's claim. "The situation got aggravated because the area received

only one-third the normal rainfall in the past two years," he said.

Besides funds, fodder was on the way too. Radha Krishna Gaushala in Sawai Madhopur has been authorised to route the fodder supply, district collector Anandhi said.

A resident of Sawai Madhopur, who first initiated relief work, thanked the administration for its supportive. "It donated money that helped us get fodder and water tankers. The gaushalas also sent fodder. Earlier, 50-60 cows were dying daily but now 4-5 cows are dying," said Mahesh Chaprana.

The Congress was not convinced, though. The party's state unit secretary, Danish Abrar, said the government took more than a month to release funds and send the first fodder truck.

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# Renaming Our World

*It would be better to see Donald Trump as a symptom, not the problem itself, to think of him not as the Zika Virus but as the first infectious mosquito*

Tom Engelhardt addresses the graduates of 2016 from what he calls the “the campus of my mind.” Graduates of 2016, don’t be fooled by this glorious day. As you leave campus for the last time, many of you already deeply in debt and with a lifetime of payments to look forward to, you head into a world that’s anything but sunny. In fact, through those gates that have done little enough to protect you is the sort of fog bank that results in traffic pile-ups on any highway.

And if you imagine that I’m here to sweep that fog away and tell you what truly lies behind it, think again. My only consolation is that, if I can’t adequately explain our American world to you or your path through it, I doubt any other speaker could either.

Of course, it’s not exactly a fog-lifter to say that, like it or not, you’re about to graduate onto Planet Donald—and I don’t mean, for all but a few of you, a future round of golf at Mar-a-Lago. Our increasingly unnerved and disturbed world is his circus right now (whether he wins the coming election or not), just as in the Philippines, it’s the circus of new president Rodrigo Duterte; in Hungary, of right-wing populist Viktor Orbán; in Austria, of Norbert Hofer, the extremist anti-immigrant presidential candidate who just lost a squeaker by .6% of the vote; in Israel, of new defense minister Avigdor Lieberman; in Russia, of the autocratic Vladimir Putin; in France, of Marine le Pen, leader of the right-wing National Front party, who has sometimes led in polls for the next presidential election; and so on. And if you don’t think that’s a less than pretty political picture of our changing planet, then don’t wait for the rest of this speech, just hustle out those gates. You’ve got a treat ahead of you.

For the rest of us lingerers, it says something about where we all are that, once through those gates, you’ll still find yourself in the richest, most powerful country around, the planet’s “sole superpower.” (USA! USA!) It is, however, a superpower distinctly in decline on — and this is a historic first — a planet similarly in decline. How Trumpian is American Authoritarianism? In its halcyon days, Washington could overthrow governments, install Shahs or other rulers, do more or less what



it wanted across significant parts of the globe and reap rewards, while (as in the case of Iran) not paying any price, blowback-style, for decades, if at all. That was imperial power in the blaze of the noonday sun. These days, in case you hadn’t noticed, blowback for our imperial actions seems to arrive as if by high-speed rail (of which by the way, the greatest power on the planet has yet to build a single mile, if you want a quick measure of decline).

Despite having a more massive, technologically advanced, and better funded military than any other power or even group of powers on the planet, in the last decade and a half of constant war across the Greater Middle East and parts of Africa, the U.S. has won nothing, nada, zilch. Its unending wars have, in fact, led nowhere in a world growing more chaotic by the second. Its militarized “milestones,” like the recent drone-killing in Pakistan of the leader of the Taliban, have proven repetitive signposts on what, even in the present fog, is surely the road to hell.

It’s been relatively easy, if you live here, to notice little enough of all this and — at least until Donald Trump arrived to the stunned fascination of the country (not to speak of the rest of the planet) — to imagine that we live in a peaceable land with most of its familiar markers still reassuringly in place. We still have elections, our tripartite form of government (as well as the other accoutrements of a democracy), our reverential view of our Constitution and the rights it endows us with, and so on. In truth, however, the American world is coming to bear ever less resemblance to the one we still claim as ours, or rather that older America looks increasingly like a hollowed-out shell within which something new and quite

different has been gestating.

After all, can anyone really doubt that representative democracy as it once existed has been eviscerated and is now — consider Congress exhibit A — in a state of advanced paralysis, or that just about every aspect of the country’s infrastructure, is slowly fraying or crumbling and that little is being done about it? Can anyone doubt that the constitutional system — take war powers as a prime example or, for that matter, American liberties — has also been fraying? Can anyone doubt that the country’s classic tripartite form of government, from a Supreme Court missing a member by choice of Congress to a national security state that mocks the law, is ever less checked and balanced and increasingly more than “tri”?

In the Vietnam era, people first began talking about an “imperial presidency.” Today, in areas of overwhelming importance, the White House is, if anything, somewhat less imperial, but only because it’s more in thrall to the ever-expanding national security state. Though that unofficial fourth branch of government is seldom seriously considered when the ways in which our American world works are being described and though it has no place in the Constitution, it is increasingly the first branch of government in Washington, the one before which all the others kneel down.

There has, in this endless election season, been much discussion of Donald Trump’s potential for “authoritarianism” (or incipient “fascism,” or worse). It’s a subject generally treated as if it were some tendency or property unique to the man who rode a Trump Tower escalator into the presidential race to Neil Young’s “Rockin’ in the Free World,” or perhaps something from

the 1930s that he carries in his jacket pocket and that his enthusiastic white working class followers are naturally drawn to and responsible for.

Few bother to consider the ways in which the foundations of authoritarianism have already been laid in this society — and not by disaffected working class white men either. Few bother to consider what it means to have a national security state and a massive military machine deeply embedded in our ruling city and our American world. Few think about the (count ‘em!) 17 significant intelligence agencies that eat close to \$70 billion annually or the trillion dollars or more a year that disappears into our national security world, or what it means for that state within a state, that shadow government, to become ever more powerful and autonomous in the name of American “safety,” especially from “terrorism” (though terrorism represents the most microscopic of dangers for most Americans).

In this long election season, amid all the charges leveled at Donald Trump, where have you seen serious discussion of what it means for the Pentagon’s spy drones to be flying missions over the “homeland” or for “intelligence” agencies to be wielding the kind of blanket surveillance of everyone’s communications — from foreign leaders to peasants in Afghanistan to American citizens — that, technologically speaking, put the totalitarian regimes of the previous century to shame? Is there nothing of the authoritarian lurking in all this? Could that urge really be the property of The Donald and his followers alone? Perhaps it would be better to see Donald Trump as a symptom, not the problem itself, to think of him not as the Zika Virus but as the first

infectious mosquito to hit the shores of this country. If you need proof that he’s at worst a potential aider and abettor of authoritarianism, just take a look at the rest of our world, where the mosquitoes are many and the virus of right-wing authoritarianism spreading rapidly with the rise of a new nationalism (that often goes hand in hand with anti-immigrant fervor of a Trumpian sort). He is, in other words, just one particularly bizarre figure in an increasingly crowded room. Bursting Bubbles and Melting Ice Caps If, as the first openly declinist presidential candidate, it’s The Donald’s job to make America great again, and if, despite its obvious wealth and military strength, the heartlands of the U.S. do look ever more Third World-ish, then consider the rest of the planet. Is there any place that doesn’t look at least a little, and in a remarkable number of cases, a lot the worse for wear? Leave aside those parts of the world from Afghanistan to Syria, Yemen to Libya, Nigeria to Venezuela that increasingly have the look of incipient or completely failed states. Consider instead that former Cold War enemy, that “Evil Empire” of a previous incarnation, the once-upon-a-time Soviet Union, now Vladimir Putin’s Russia.

It has made it to the top of the American military’s list of enemies. And yet, despite its rebuilt military and still massive nuclear arsenal, the superpower of yesterday is now a rickety petro-state with a restive population, a country that is neither great, nor rising, and may in fact be in genuine trouble. Yes, it has been aggressive in its borderlands (though largely in response to a sense of, or fear of, being aggressed upon) and yes, it is an authoritarian land, but no longer is it the planet’s second superpower or anything remotely like it. Its future looks, at best, insecure, at worst bleak indeed. Even China, the only obvious rising power on the planet (now that countries like Brazil and South Africa are falling by the wayside), that genuine economic powerhouse of the last decade, has seen its economy slow significantly.

# It used to be just Z-listers. Now even major stars are baring it all **NAKED AMBITION**

**T'S AWARDS** season and the red-carpet appears to have turned into a Fifties Soho peepshow. Of course, down among the newcomers, wannabes and aspiring lingerie models you expect a few legs to flash and rogue breasts to make daring breaks for freedom. But nakedness has become the new normal even for those old and established enough to keep a reasonable acreage of skin under cover.

Flanks and bottoms wave to the breeze. Underboob and sideboob wobble in jellified abandon. Crotches are close-up, one false move and the world's your gynaecologist.

Never has so much been flashed at so many.

From Murmansk to Patagonia, citizens of the internet age may learnedly compare the underside of 19-year-old starlet Bella Hadid's breasts with Dutch model Lara Stone's, and debate whether Myleene Klass's left buttock is, or is not, a quite different shape to Madonna's.

*Daily Mail*

PHOTOS: AGENCIES

## WHAT A SIDE SHOW



British model Rosie Huntington-Whiteley puts up an enviable side-show. (Below) Even at 57, Madonna doesn't shy away from flashing her bits.

## KEEPING ABREAST



Clockwise: New mom Anne Hathaway, supermodel Alessandra Ambrosio & actress Jennifer Lawrence know how to flash flesh in style.



Model Bella Hadid poses on the red carpet as she arrives for the screening of the film *La fille inconnue*. The 19-year-old left little to the imagination as she strutted down in this red hot number.

## REARLY THERE





Irina Shayk stepped out in a daring red Misha Nonoo jumpsuit.



Beyoncé sparkled in a pinstriped Givenchy suit and a wide-brimmed black hat as she accepted the Fashion Icon award



PHOTOS: AGENCIES

Alessandra Ambrosio turned heads in a curve-hugging purple Michael Kors gown. (Below) Shanina Shaik flashed ample cleavage in a tangerine number.

# Belles of the ball



Jessica Chastain turned up the glamour in a strapless ballgown. (R) Rosie Huntington-Whiteley sparkled in pristine white



**O**N MONDAY night, all eyes were on Irina Shayk as she stepped out in a daring red Misha Nonoo jumpsuit — boasting a cleavage-level cut-out — at New York City's CFDA Fashion Awards.

The stunning Russian model, 30, turned heads as she arrived at the Big Apple's Hammerstein Ballroom in her backless halterneck outfit, which included wide-legged flowing trousers.

Standing tall in a pair of red open-toed heels, the star accessorised with a matching clutch bag, while she wore her brunette tresses in a slightly messy bun.

### CFDA Fashion Awards saw a bevy of beauties

She was joined at the event by the likes of Rosie Huntington-Whiteley, Naomi Campbell and Shanina Shaik, who all proved to be show-stoppers in their own daring outfits. Over the course of the night, the well-heeled crowd saw awards handed out to some of fashion's biggest names, including Marc Jacobs, who was named Womenswear Designer of the Year.

Attendees — including Alessandra Ambrosio, Karlie Kloss and Heidi Klum — were also treated to a dazzling performance from Jennifer Hudson, while Michael C. Hall paid tribute to David Bowie. Beyoncé, who received the Fashion Icon Award, made the night a family affair, attending with her rapper-turned-mogul husband Jay Z and their four-year-old daughter Blue Ivy.



From left: Naomi Campbell in a backless black Brandon Maxwell dress; Karlie Kloss in an apron-inspired gown.



# When Mexicans Feared American Immigration

*When the path to upward mobility for thousands of free black Americans was south of the border, Mexico stopped just short of calling for their own wall.*

(Agencies) If there is one issue that has steered 2016 in a startling direction, it has been immigration. The GOP's strategy to increase its appeal to Latinos after Mitt Romney's upset in 2012 quickly unraveled once the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, Donald Trump, charged that Mexico was sending "criminals, drug dealers, rapists" to the United States. Before long, chants of "Build that wall!"—a reference to Trump's promise to construct a "beautiful" concrete wall along the Mexican border—could be heard at political rallies, high school sporting events and beyond. The GOP's concerns about inclusion, it

seems, pale in comparison to Americans' anxieties about jobs, crime, national security and the sense that there is a teeming mass of people desperate to burst across the border.

It hasn't always been this way; for much of American history, the U.S.-Mexico border has been largely unprotected. Only in 1891 did the United States start deporting illegal immigrants (a category at the time limited principally to Chinese workers as well as felons, paupers and the insane), and it wasn't until 1924 that Congress formed the Border Patrol. And at one point, remarkably, our contemporary debate was

even flipped: Hordes of Americans wanted to escape their bleak prospects for a better life—and the place they wanted to flee to was Mexico.

But Mexico didn't want them. The story unfolded in the late 19th century, in the form of a little-known black migration scheme to the low-lying, underdeveloped parts of south and central Mexico—Veracruz, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Michoacán and San Luis Potosí—and was spearheaded by a man sparingly remembered by history. He intended to relocate thousands of black families to start a new colony in Mexico,



which would have radically changed the demographics and the economy of that region, if not all of Mexico. The plan provoked sensationalist, often racist, reports in the Mexican press—one warned of a "race war"—and fiery fights in the country's Senate. In the end, it failed—no such colony was ever settled.

(Contd on page 21)

## Indian Students Lured by Recruiters Asked to Leave University



(Agencies) An aggressive campaign to recruit graduate students from India to study at Western Kentucky University has ended badly, with more than one-third of the students asked to leave the program after their first semester, a university official said.

The university used international recruiters to find the students, compensating the services based on how many

students they enrolled. The outcome, which will force the students to return to India or find placement in another university or program in the United States, illustrates a pitfall of using such recruiters. James Gary, the chairman of Western Kentucky's computer science program, said on Monday that "almost 40" of the students did not meet the requirements of their admissions,

(Contd on page 24)

## Why Sanders Won't Surrender



(Agencies) Having lost the California primary by 13 points and fallen miserably behind in the delegate count for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, Bernie Sanders is talking like he finally has Hillary Clinton right where he wants her.

"The struggle continues," Sanders said last night at a campaign rally of 3,300 in Santa Monica, California, as he encircled the Clinton campaign and commenced a pincer movement to destroy her candidacy. Ignoring the Associated Press' napkin math that puts Clinton over the 2,383-delegate threshold, Sanders demonstrated the defiance of Jim Bowie at the Alamo, Baghdad Bob in the Iraq war, Japanese soldiers at Iwo Jima and history's other famous dead-enders. As he disappeared down his mental spider-hole, Sander vowed to take the fight to the Philadelphia convention and "fight for every vote and every delegate."

Why won't Sanders surrender? Has a clairvoyant informed him that the Clinton campaign plane is going to crash a few days

before the convention and the party will turn to him? Does he have an inside source at the FBI telling him that a Clinton indictment is in the offing? Or does he simply possess the greatest messiah complex in the history of politics?

If Sanders is delusional to stay in the race, he's not much more delusional than the hundreds of narcissists who have run for the White House under the belief that destiny commands that they become president. Most presidential candidates start as extreme long shots, which Sanders did. Most candidates sustain their belief that they can win long after it's obvious to their supporters that they're sure to lose, as Sanders is. And most candidates, even after they lose, try to conserve as much goodwill as they can so they can rekindle their campaigns in another four years.

But almost never—make that never—does a presidential candidate who has been soundly horsewhipped at the polls the way Sanders has been this year refuse to yield. And he has been horsewhipped,

(Contd on page 24)

# Indian Scissorhand: Films 'at trouble' with the Censor Board

*List of films which have, over the last one year, run into trouble with the Board for reasons that range from 'kissing scenes are too long' to its 'potential to create communal disharmony'.*

(Agencies) At a time when even the title of Abhishek Chaubey's next film, Uda Punjab, is being questioned by Central Board for Film Certification (CBFC), TALK lists movies which have, over the last one year, run into trouble with the Board for reasons that range from 'kissing scenes are too long' to its 'potential to create communal



disharmony'. Veerappan: The recent biopic about the dreaded dacoit, directed by Ram Gopal Varma, was granted 'A' certification by the CBFC, but it was still forced to cut a line of dialogue that mentioned the assassination

(Contd on page 24)