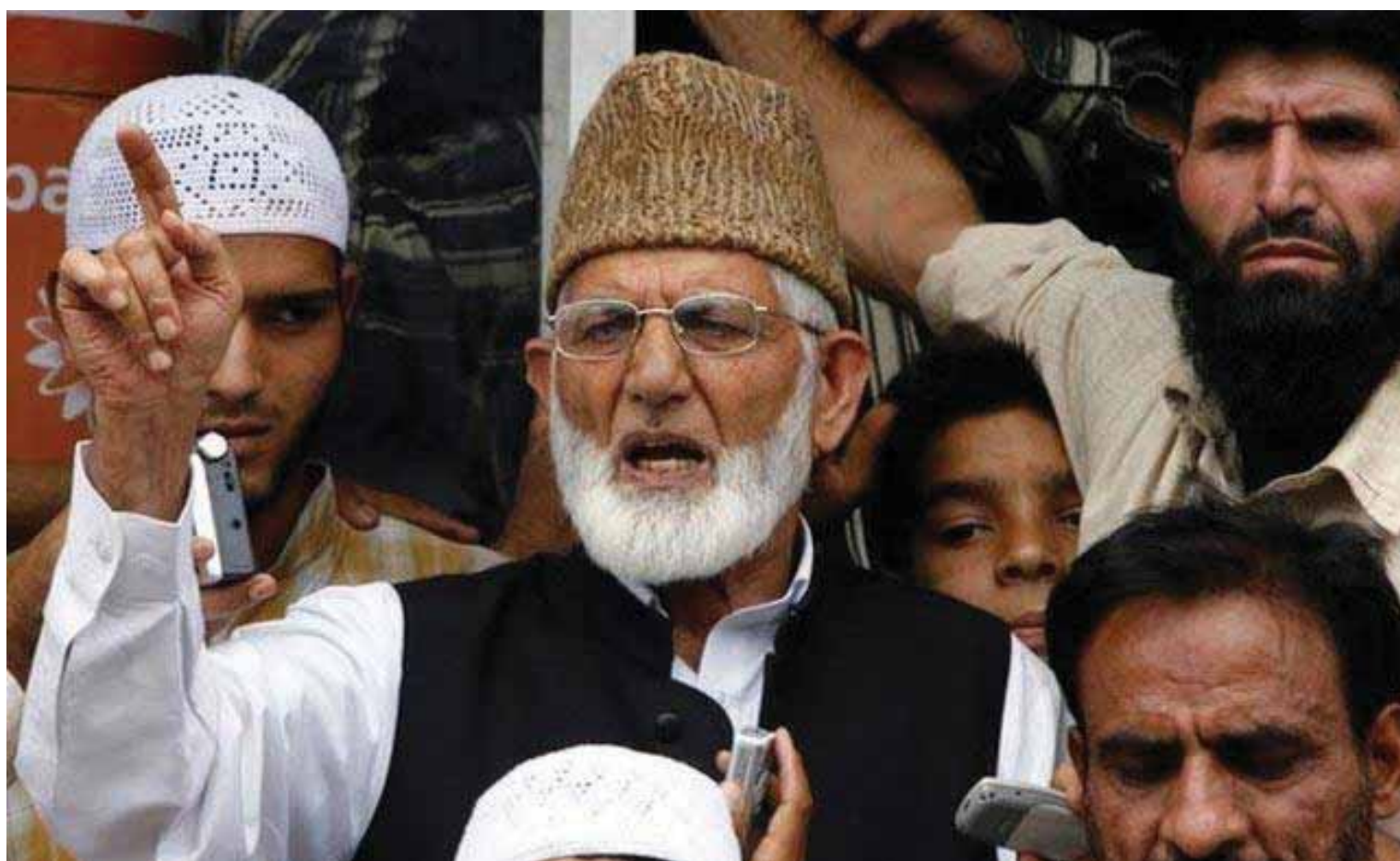


# Exposed

## How funds flow from Pakistan to fuel Kashmir unrest

**Hurriyat leaders collected 'Azadi funds' worth crores of rupees sent by Hizbul Mujahideen chief Syed Salahuddin to fuel unrest in the Valley.**



(Agencies) New Delhi : Intelligence agencies have dug out the details of internet calls between separatist Hurriyat leaders and their Pakistani handlers as they joined hands to foment trouble in Kashmir. The call details, intelligence sources said, establish links between the Hurriyat hawks and their handlers from across the border.

According to intelligence agencies funds from Pakistan reached the Kashmir Valley via Delhi route. Hurriyat leaders collected 'Azadi funds' worth crores of rupees sent by Hizbul

Mujahideen chief Syed Salahuddin to fuel unrest in the Valley. Earlier, media reported that Lashkar-e-Toiba chief Hafiz Saeed and Hizbul chief Salahuddin had joined hands to raise funds for fomenting trouble in the valley after the killing of Hizbul commander Burhan Wani. Saeed and Salahuddin were collecting donations from across Pakistan to fund the troublemakers in the Valley.

**GEELANI UNDER SCANNER**  
 As the proof for Hurriyat hawk-Pakistan link emerged, the several separatist leaders have come under the scanner of the security agencies. As per intelligence sources, Syed Ali Shah Geelani and his wing of Hurriyat Conference along with ten district heads of the outfit are under the scanner for their links with their Pakistani

handlers and their suspected role in fueling unrest in the state. Funds raised in Pakistan and PoK are learnt to have reached the Valley through hawala via Delhi. The funds were transferred from Pakistan to Delhi and from Delhi to Kashmir and again from Kashmir to Delhi.

**GEELANI'S SON TO BE QUESTIONED**  
 Naeem Geelani, son the Syed Ali

Shah Geelani, is likely to be called for questioning by senior officials for his suspected involvement in hawala funds transfer.

Intelligence agencies have found that Hurriyat leaders run eight trading companies to receive funds from Pakistan. Huge amounts of cash were used for investment in benami properties, intelligence sources said.



# Tamil Ratna Award Presented to Subramanian Swamy

(By Our Staff Reporter) New York- America Tamil Sangam presented its highest honor - Tamil Ratna- on Senior BJP leader and Rajya Sabha MP Dr. Subramanian Swamy at a glittering function held in New York recently.

Presenting the award, Prakash M Swamy, president of America Tamil Sangam, said Dr. Swamy enhanced the image of Tamils around the world by rooting out corruption and abuse of power and working for more transparency and accountability in the functioning of the federal government.

The citation presented by the Sangam described the senior BJP leader as one man army in India against corruption as he helped unearth many a scam that brought disgrace to the nation.

In his address Prakash M Swamy detailed the BJP leader's contribution for purity in public life



**Secretary Soumya Murthy, Vice President Jaya Sundaranm, Dr. Subramanian Swamy & Sangam President Prakash M Swamy**

and his efforts to save Ram Sethu from demolition, a move of the then UPA DMK Government that invited lot of criticism. He compared Dr. Swamy with Lord Krishna and Narendra Modi as Arjuna in the epic war against wholesale corruption and abuse

of democratic power.

John Joseph, Chairman of the Sangam, said Dr. Swamy is among the most respected Tamil leaders in New Delhi which was once dominated by top notch statesmen-leaders such as Kamaraj,

Sathyamoorthy and Rajaji

In his reply Dr. Swamy said India under the leadership of Modi is attracting foreign investments, is again wielding considerable clout in the world arena and projecting the message that India can be

governed in the most transparent manner

He said the Aryan-Dravidan bogey of DMK got exposed and the party is running stripped and out of ideas and ideology to remain in politics.

Captain Stanley George, the highest ranking Indian-American in NYPD, was given community service award for his exemplary service to Indian community in New York.

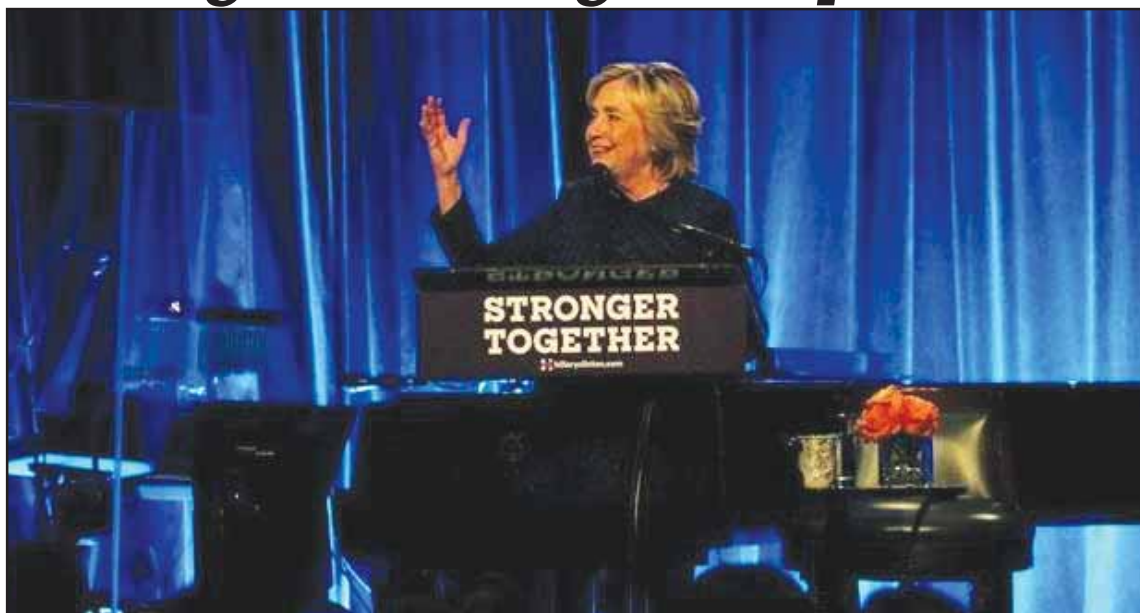
Calai Chandra Executive Vice President of the Sangam, who proposed a vote of thanks said the previous Tamil Ratna Awardees include AR Rahman, Oscar winning composer, Kumari Kamala, world renowned Barathanatyam dancer, Bharathi Raja, ace movie director and Dr. Valavanur Subramaniam, leading interventional cardiologist of Lenox Hill Hospital in New York.

# Hillary Clinton regrets calling Trump backers 'deplorable'

(Agencies) Seeking to put behind her what is turning out to be the worst misstep of her campaign for the White House yet, Hillary Clinton on Saturday expressed regret for saying Donald Trump's supporters belonged in a "basket of deplorables".

"Last night I was 'grossly generalistic,' and that's never a good idea. I regret saying 'half' — that was wrong," Clinton said in a statement, adding, "But let's be clear, what's really 'deplorable' is that Donald Trump hired a major advocate for the so-called 'alt-right' movement to run his campaign and that David Duke and other white supremacists see him as a champion of their values."

The "major advocate" was a reference to Steven Bannon,



Trump's campaign chief executive; and Duke is a former member of the racist Ku Klux Klan, whose support Trumps was slow to repudiate.

At a fundraiser in New York

on Friday, Clinton had said, "To just be grossly generalistic, you can put half of Trump supporters into what I call the 'basket of deplorables'. Right? Racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic,

Islamophobic, you name it."

Trump hit back in a tweet on Saturday: "Wow, Hillary Clinton was SO INSULTING to my supporters, millions of amazing, hard working people. I think it will cost

her at the Polls!" Though Trump himself never apologizes — he hasn't yet for insulting Khizr and Ghazala Khan, parents of a fallen Muslim soldier — but his campaign demanded an apology from Clinton.

The Democratic nominee did, eventually.

But not before critics began comparing her remarks to campaign-defining low moments from earlier races — such as Republican nominee Mitt Romney's dissing of 47% of Americans who, he said during his 2012 campaign, didn't pay taxes, felt entitled to state support and won't vote for him.

Clinton, who has a reputation for being scripted and rehearsed in her public appearances, hadn't had this kind of a stumble yet, compared to a trail of those left behind by her rival Trump.

# How China inflicted economic pain on US and fuelled Trump support

(Agencies) Hannibal, Ohio: Crushed by Chinese competition and feeling betrayed by mainstream politicians, workers in the hills of eastern Ohio are embracing Donald Trump and his tough talk+ on trade.

For decades, they and others living across the Ohio River in West Virginia found work in coal mines and at a local aluminum plant - union jobs, with good pay and generous benefits.

But those jobs are going, if

not gone. Coal is being wiped out by stricter environmental rules and competition from cheap natural gas. The aluminum plant? It's out of business, doomed by China's domination of the global aluminum market.

In an angry election year, some of America's angriest voters live in places like Monroe County where local economies have been punished by price competition with China. Their frustration has fuelled support for the Republican presidential

nominee, with his belligerent rhetoric about the need to outsmart America's economic rivals, tear up unfair trade deals and re-establish America as the world's dominant player.

"This is Trump country," says John Saunders, an official with the United Steelworkers in nearby Martins Ferry, Ohio.

The disaster that's unfolded here isn't obvious at first glance, not in a region known as the Switzerland of Ohio for

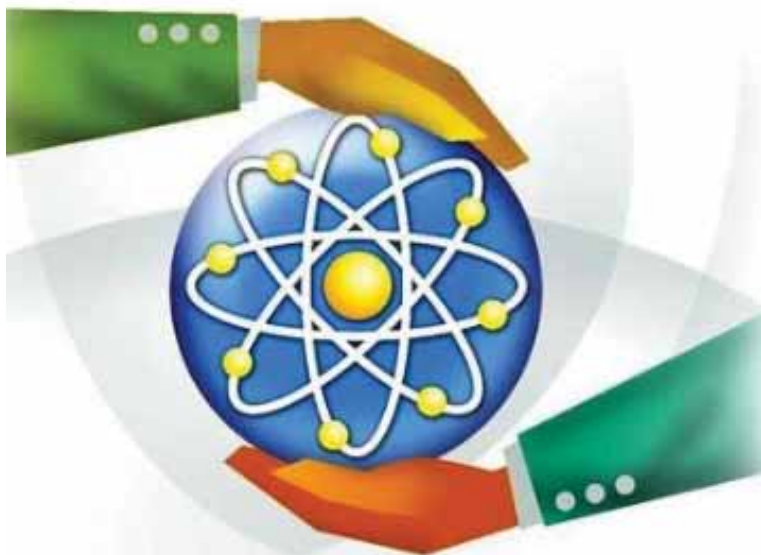
its forested, rolling hills. In tiny Hannibal (population: 411), stately two-story homes overlook lawns that roll toward the banks of the Ohio. Nearby Woodsfield, seat of Monroe County, Ohio, looks like Main Street USA, its downtown dominated by a red brick courthouse displaying one of the world's biggest clocks. But the misery is real. Monroe County's unemployment rate+ is Ohio's highest at 10.2 percent. Families have moved out to find work. The number of children in

the local school district is down 223, or nearly 10 percent, since 2013.

"You're going to have to travel to find a job," says Fran Poole, whose husband, Cecil, worked at the Ormet plant here for 37 years before being laid off when it closed.

Some laid-off workers chose to retire early. Others found work in the energy business, only to see those jobs melt away, too, as oil and gas prices fell. Some are doing odd jobs - cutting grass, hauling gravel.

# No position yet on accession of non-NPT country into NSG:China



(Agencies) BEIJING: China on Wednesday said it is yet to form a position on the accession of any specific non-NPT country into the NSG, as it parried questions on whether its "two-step formula" for allowing new members into the elite nuclear club was aimed at pushing Pakistan's case along with that of India.

India and China are "yet to agree on accession of any specific member into the group", Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Hua Chunying told media here referring to Tuesday's first round of talks between the two countries on India's admission into the 48-member Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), which controls

global nuclear commerce.

Nearly two-and-a-half months after China scuttled India's NSG membership bid, a Chinese delegation led by director-general of department of arms control Wang Qun held talks in New Delhi with Indian delegation led by Amandeep Singh Gill, joint secretary (disarmament & international security) in the ministry of external affairs.

During the talks, China proposed a two-step approach for admission of new members who are not signatories of nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which Beijing asserts is a must to join the NSG.

Asked about Indian media reports that the formula was aimed at pushing Pakistan's membership along with that of India, Hua said, "What you said is the Indian report. What I said is what DG Wang Qun said. China has not had a po-

sition on the accession of any specific non-NPT country. So first we need to have a proposal on the accession on all the non-NPT countries, then accession of specific non-NPT country," she said.

"That is to say, China is yet to form a position on any specific non-NPT country. But we are willing to have discussion with the NSG members on the accession of non-NPT countries," she said.

A Chinese foreign ministry's statement after Tuesday's talks said, "China supports the notion of two-step approach within the Group to address the above question, i.e., at the first stage, to explore and reach agreement on a non-discriminatory formula applicable to all the non-NPT states, and to proceed to take up country-specific membership issues at the second stage. China, for its part, expressed its readiness to ac-

tively participate in the above process within the group".

Hua said the next round of talks between the officials of India and China on the issue will be held in Beijing.

While blocking India's membership in the NSG with the NPT rider in the last few months despite majority backing, China has not openly spoke of its backing for Pakistan's membership along with that of India. Officials say that China's emphasis on "non-discriminatory formula" could become stumbling block for India, considering strong reservations among several NSG members about Pakistan's track record in nuclear proliferation.

In the June Plenary of NSG in Seoul, despite strong American support, China stonewalled India's bid to join the group on the grounds that it was a not a signatory to the NPT.

## Former UK PM David Cameron resigns as MP



(Agencies) Former British prime minister David Cameron, who resigned in the wake of the June 23 "Brexit" vote and played a crucial role in enlisting new support from Britain's Indian community for the Conservative Party, announced his decision to step down as a member of parliament on Monday. Cameron was the prime minister when Britain decided to lift its "boycott" of Narendra Modi's government in Gujarat, imposed after the 2002 riots. He pushed for a "special relationship" with India and established a rapport with Modi during his visit to London in November 2015.

The MP from Whitney, Oxfordshire said he did not want to remain in the House of Commons and be a distraction to Prime Minister Theresa May's government, whose views on key issues may be different from those of Cameron.

"Obviously I'm going to have my own views about different issues. People would know that and that's really the point. As a former prime minister it is very difficult, I think, to sit as a backbencher and not be an enormous diversion and distraction from what the government is doing," he said.

## Climate change 'significant & direct' threat to US military: Reports

(Agencies) The effects of climate change endanger US military operations and could increase the danger of international conflict, according to three new documents endorsed by retired top US military officers and former national security officials.

"There are few easy answers, but one thing is clear: the current trajectory of climatic change presents a strategically-significant risk to US national security, and inaction is not a viable option," said a statement published on Wednesday by the Center for Climate and Security, a Washington-based think tank.

It was signed by more than a dozen former senior military and national security officials, including retired General Anthony Zinni, former commander of the U.S. Central Command, and retired Admiral Samuel Locklear, head of the Pacific Command until last year.

They called on the next U.S. president to create a cabinet level position to deal with climate change and its impact on national security.

A separate report by a panel

of retired military officials, also published on Wednesday by the Center for Climate and Security, said more frequent extreme

tions.

Francesco Femia, co-founder and president of the Center for Climate and Security, said the reports show bipartisan national security and military officials think the existing U.S. response to climate change "is not commensurate to the threat". The fact that a large and bipartisan number of former officials signed the reports could increase pressure on future U.S. administrations to place greater emphasis and dedicate more resources to



weather is a threat to U.S. coastal military installations.

"The complex relationship between sea level rise, storm surge and global readiness and responsiveness must be explored down to the operational level, across the Services and Joint forces, and up to a strategic level as well," the report said.

Earlier this year, another report said faster sea level rises in the second half of this century could make tidal flooding a daily occurrence for some installa-

combat climate change.

Addressing climate change has not been a top priority in a 2016 campaign dominated by the U.S. economy, trade and foreign policy. Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has said that global warming is a concept "created by the and for the Chinese" to hurt US business.

Democrat Hillary Clinton, meanwhile, has advocated shifting the country to 50 percent clean energy by 2030 and promised heavy regulation of fracking.

# The Zika virus could be India's next big public health crisis

(Agencies) The repeated outbreaks of dengue and chikungunya reveal our limited ability to prevent vector-borne diseases. At this juncture, it would be expedient to look at yet another threat that looms large on the horizon.

The Zika virus could be India's next big public health crisis. It is spread by the Aedes mosquito — the same one that is responsible for the spread of diseases like dengue and chikungunya. However, not a single case of Zika has been reported in the past several months. The absence of the disease could actually signal "under-reporting, misdiagnosis or high level of immunity in people", as has been conjectured in a recent paper published by researchers from the University of Oxford.

Further, other studies have shown that India has the perfect climate for the virus to spread exponentially. A recent study published in The Lancet says that India is at high risk for the spread of Zika, as it hosts over 67,000 travellers from areas where there is an active circulation of the virus. Said to spread through sexual contact, the virus becomes dangerous for young women of child-bearing age. However, the fact that except for pregnant women, Zika causes a mild illness, often indistinguishable from other causes of viral illnesses, could be crucial to understanding one possible reason behind the non-detection of the virus in India. Until and unless more penetrating surveillance systems are put into place, it would be difficult to state

with confidence that the virus was actually absent from India.

Globally, there has been a move to pre-empt and contain the spread of the virus and not repeat the mistakes made during the Ebola outbreak, which raged on unchecked for far too long. The creation of data and knowledge sharing platforms, like the WHO's Zika Open, where research studies on the virus are fast-tracked and published online, has helped the global community deal with the uncertainty that surrounded the pathogen in the early days of its emergence. The increased focus on and funding for the disease has sparked a research race where investigations into diagnostic medical devices and vaccines have been initiated remarkably early — another notable



deviation from the Ebola experience. However, the truth remains that medical devices and vaccines, although they sound like attractive options to counter an emergent disease, are often not the best use of limited resources, especially in the setting of an infection spreading on a global scale. These interventions are resource-intensive endeavours that need to go through several levels of animal and human testing before they can be deployed on a mass scale. Not only does this take a long time, but there is also the attendant risk that the intervention will fail at one of the many levels that it needs to navigate.

There has to be a larger corpus of funding in basic preventive mechanisms, which have been shown to be the best weapon against vector-borne diseases. If the crisis that had struck Brazil last year has to be kept at bay in India, the entire public health machinery has to gear up to provide diagnostic aids to vulnerable groups, and supportive therapy to potentially affected mothers. It is an urgent wake-up call for health planners and policy-makers, one that nudges them yet again, to invest in primary and preventive healthcare ahead of tertiary healthcare, well before an epidemic breaks out.

# Cops walk on burning coal to educate villagers against black magic



(Agencies) In a remarkable instance of going way over the call of duty, two senior police officials in Chhattisgarh walked on

burning coal to prove that this was a scientific rather than a supernatural exercise. In front of a large group of villagers, who had

gathered in the town of Bhatgaon, Vivekananda Sinha and Nitu Kamal poured water over their feet and walked on a carpet of burning coal without getting their feet singed. The Times of India reported today. This exercise was part of a larger awareness program in which a team of experts from Nagpur are going to villages most affected by black magic and superstition, and educating people against medieval practices and beliefs. Superstition in rural communities drives many social ill such as the branding of women

as witches, and those who claim to be witchdoctors have tremendous influence over people, often asking them to perform barbaric and senseless rituals. When struck down by disease or snakebites, villagers often go to see their local "bhopa" or "hooda" instead of the hospital. After the two police officials had walked on coal, others including schools girls came forward to do it as well, TOI reported. "It was no rocket science to walk on the blazing coal, rather I walked twice, this gave confidence to people present

there that it wasn't an impossible task," Sinha told the newspaper. Kamal said, "Initially I was little scared but when I walked after pouring some water on my feet, it was very easy and I didn't feel anything. When no one turned up, it was my duty to take initiative and show that it's nothing beyond human reach. It's all trick that they play upon." Walking on coal is possible because feet are poor conductors of heat, are in contact with the burning coal for hardly anytime, and are insulated by a layer of cooled charcoal.

# Samajwadi Party hogs limelight as rise of Akhilesh Yadav threatens 'chacha' Shivpal's raj

(Agencies) "The young do not know enough to be prudent, and therefore they attempt the impossible, and achieve it, generation after generation." — said Nobel laureate, Pearl S Buck. Yes, you just can't come to grips with what's happening in battle-scarred Lucknow at this point of time unless you view things in the correct historical perspective.

Here three relevant examples: First, we all saw how a young Indira Gandhi, who was considered as nothing more than a 'baby doll' by the 'syndicate lobby' consisting of political heavyweights such as K Kamraj, Morarji Desai, S

Nijalingappa, Neelam Sanjva Reddy, Atulya Ghosh and SK Patil, emerged victorious after a bitter war within the Congress in the second half of 1960s. The 'baby doll' grew into 'an iron lady' from there on. And now even world-history acknowledges her as one of the strongest prime ministers of all time.

Second, we also saw how an otherwise little-known Narendra Modi came into his own slowly but surely, triumphing over a towering RSS-BJP stalwart, Keshubhai Patel, in the generational transition in Gujarat at the turn of this century. Patel is now irrelevant for all political purposes while Modi rides high globally as, like Indira

Gandhi, one of India's most powerful prime ministers.

And third, we are all aware of the fate of BJP's famous but toothless 'Marg Darshak Mandal' consisting of towering men of yester years — Lal Krishna Advani, Murali Manohar Joshi and Yashwant Sinha. All these big names have been watching helplessly the surface slip away from under their feet in more recent times. What's perhaps even more bewildering is that there are hardly any tears for them — neither within their party nor in the society as a whole. Perhaps, we have accepted it all as a natural by-product of the generational change. It has happened in the



past. It's happening now. And it shall happen in future as well. Let's now bring back our focus on the on-going developments in the Samajwadi Party in Lucknow. The 'bechara boy', who had taken over as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh in his 38th year in 2012, seems to have grown into a strong young man with a spine. He has shown that he can not only take decisions but implement them ruthlessly as well.

Remember, Akhilesh was earlier known as the '5th chief minister' in his own government, the first four being Mulayam Singh Yadav, Shivpal Singh Yadav, Ram Gopal Yadav and Azam Khan! This perception was based on the fact that Akhilesh was in no position to exercise his mind independently. But now things have changed in the aftermath of the surgical pruning of Chacha Shivpal's portfolios.



# China hit by world's strongest typhoon this year

**11 dead, millions stranded, streets flooded**

*Typhoon Meranti, the world's strongest storm this year, has killed at least 11 persons in China already and has left millions of people homeless.*

The world's strongest storm this year killed at least 11 people in China when it hit the southeast coast, the government said on Friday, as rescuers scoured flooded streets and work crews struggled to restore power to more than a million homes.

Typhoon Meranti had largely

dissipated by Friday afternoon, a day after it swept in from the Pacific Ocean, clipping the southern tip of Taiwan, and making landfall near the Chinese port city of Xiamen, in Fujian province. The storm killed seven people in Fujian and three in neighbouring Zhejiang province, state media

and the government said. Eleven people were missing. More than 330,000 people were returning to their homes on Friday after being forced to flee a storm that meteorologists said was the world's biggest this year.

The typhoon killed one person and injured 38 on Taiwan where people were on Friday preparing for another, Typhoon Malakas, which was forecast to bring heavy rain on Saturday.

The Taiwan weather bureau issued land and sea warnings, urging people to be on alert for severe weather and flooding.

Meranti was the strongest typhoon to hit that part of China's coast since 1949, the Xinhua state news agency said. Pictures on state media showed flooded streets, fallen trees and crushed

cars in Xiamen.

Three power transmission towers were blown down in the city and utility crews were trying to restore power. Across Fujian, 1.65 million homes had no electricity, Xinhua reported. Dozens of flights and train services were cancelled

on Thursday, disrupting travel at the beginning of a three-day Mid-Autumn Festival holiday.

Typhoons are common at this time of year, picking up strength as they cross the warm waters of the Pacific and bringing fierce winds and rain when they hit land.



## Kashmir: Why The Activists Are Wrong In Conflating Human Rights And Separatism

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's reference to Pakistan glorifying terrorists in India in his Independence Day speech was obviously about Kashmiri militant leader Burhan Wani, whose killing has led to the present uprising in the valley. Without explicitly mentioning Pakistan, he did say that while India mourned the death of children in the Peshawar terror attack, some countries glorified terrorists.

A day earlier, Pakistan President Mamnoon Hussain said that his country would continue to support Kashmiris' right to self-determination. In Delhi, the Pakistan ambassador Abdul Basit, dedicated this year's independence day to Kashmir's freedom. He said his country would continue its support to the "valiant people of Jammu and Kashmir till they get their right to self determination." He also said that that the latter's "freedom movement" would

reach its logical conclusion. It's precisely because of this bipolar view why the present "intifada" in Kashmir and suffering by people don't merit a change of stand by Indians. There is indescribable suffering and a lot of people in Kashmir, probably even the majority, may want to secede; but India cannot let it go because what's important for it is not the rights of the people to self-determination, but its own geopolitical compulsions. It's people such as Basit and Hussain who make India acutely aware that Kashmir has to be an integral part of India. Letting Kashmir go will be like allowing Pakistan shifting its terror-factory and schools of Islamism to India's backyard, and officially opening another front to foment permanent trouble.

Campaigners, particularly those in India, who support Kashmir's self-determination conflate two issues - separatism and human rights. On human rights, they are absolutely right.

A nation firing bullets and blinding pellets on its own citizens and allegedly indulging in instant executions, as has been reportedly done in the case of Wani, is immoral and unconstitutional; but supporting secession in the same breath is problematic.

Authors such as Arundhati Roy repeatedly point to the dispute over Kashmir's accession to India to justify the violent uprising by people, but it's only half-true. If the argument is that it was a Hindu-ruled Muslim-majority princely state, that had the right to self-determine at the time of partition, the fact is also that the Hindu ruler then did accede to India. In fact, all the 565 princely states in what would soon become India had the same right and they all ended up in the union, including the Muslim-ruled Hindu-majority Hyderabad and Junagadh. Some of them had complied only under force. For Kashmir, India of course had promised the UN a plebiscite and



had long since backtracked; but that's because of the realisation of the geo-political helplessness - there's no point in a plebiscite that would only benefit Pakistan. Transporting history, particularly the oppressive Dogra rule and an unfinished (or rather hurriedly finished) accession process, to the present doesn't work because the timelines are different. If the pro-separatists refer to the subjugation of Muslims by Hindu rulers, which history books do endorse as true, the counter argument will be to go back a few hundred more years because it's only by the 15th century that majority of

Kashmiris took to Islam and that the initial attempts to convert people in the 8th century hadn't worked (Author Tariq Ali refers to this fact in his pro-Kashmir article in "Kashmir a Case for Freedom"). More over, the opposition to India was not uniform. For instance, the once pro-independence leaders such as Sheikh Abdullah, who participated in the 1931 uprising against native (the Hindu king) and colonial oppression, later drew closer to Nehru's nationalism along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the North West Frontier Province and a few others.

# No Hyderabad blues

**The Centre's assistance package for Andhra Pradesh is certainly more than what the special category status could have brought in.**

**M. GOVINDA RAO**

The bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh by the United Progressive Alliance government has left a troubled legacy. The six-paragraph statement by then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Parliament on February 20, 2014 contained the promise of according a "special category" status to the successor state of Andhra Pradesh. The Congress, which orchestrated the bifurcation, suffered heavily in terms of electoral reverses and people's goodwill in both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Furthermore, the issue of special category status became a cause of much consternation for the Centre and heartburn for the people and government of Andhra Pradesh.

The Central government has announced a special package to the State on September 7 which has raised considerable controversy. The package is generous in terms of resources to augment its infrastructure and to create institutions of governance and development, but falls short of declaring it as a "special category State". Some political parties have laid the blame for this at the door of the Fourteenth Finance Commission, which is clearly misleading.

As regards Andhra Pradesh, the additional terms of reference merely stated that the commission should take into account the resources available to the successor or reorganised States in accordance with the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act and the Ministry of Home Affairs notification. That did not require the commission to deal with the question of according special category status and it did not therefore make any recommendation in that regard. Therefore, the statement in the notification on special package that "... following the recommendations of the 14th Finance Commission, the class of special category States ceases to exist" is misleading.

## **Basis for special category**

The classification of the States into general and special categories was not the creation of the Constitution. The asymmetric arrangements for some of the States are made only in Article 370 for Jammu and Kashmir and in Articles 371 A to

H for the States in the Northeast. Grants from the Union to these States to raise the level of administration of Scheduled Areas are provided in Article 275 (1). The classification of States into general and special categories was done by the Planning Commission based on five considerations, namely: (i) hilly and difficult terrain; (ii) low population density and /or sizeable share of tribal population; (iii) strategic location along borders with neighbouring countries; (iv) economic and infrastructure backwardness; and (v) non-viable State finances.

The demand of Andhra Pradesh to enable it a level playing field to compete for investment after the bifurcation is clearly legitimate. In fact, clause 94 (i) to (iv) of the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act states that the Central government shall take appropriate fiscal measures including tax incentives for industrialisation, support the programmes for development of backward areas, provide special financial support for the creation of the new capital and institutions of governance. It does not state that the Union government should accord the successor States special category status. Admittedly, it is difficult for the Union government to accede to the demand for special category status on objective grounds. It could open a Pandora's box as the economically backward States of Bihar and Odisha too have been demanding the status for long.

The major benefit from the special category status was the generous Central assistance for plan purposes under the Gadgil-Mukherjee formula where 30 per cent of the assistance was earmarked to these States, 90 per cent of which was given as grants and 10 per cent as loans. However, after the recommendation of the Twelfth Finance Commission that the Central government should discontinue lending to the States and the latter should borrow from the market, funds earmarked for special category States were substantially reduced. With the Fourteenth Finance Commission assessing the total requirements of the States without making a distinction between plan and non-plan, the grants given under the

Gadgil-Mukherjee formula for State Plan Schemes got subsumed in the formula for tax devolution and grants. Therefore, the benefit of higher Central assistance due to special category status simply does not exist anymore. Thus, the State gains immensely from the special package in addition to the transfers recommended by the Finance Commission.

## **Boost for infrastructure**

One important benefit from the special category status is the income tax and excise duty exemptions on investments. This is meant to reduce the cost to the prospective investors who otherwise will have to suffer heavy infrastructure deficit, transportation cost and remoteness of markets. The case of Andhra Pradesh is surely not akin to that of north-eastern or Himalayan States and full income tax and excise duty exemption would result in flight of capital from Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, creating distortions in resource allocation and disharmony between the neighbouring States. Nevertheless, the Central government has already legislated the tax incentives in terms of additional investment allowance and accelerated



depreciation. The assistance package announced by the Central government is generous by any account and certainly more than what the special category status could have brought in.

It has given Rs.3,979 crore as revenue gap grant, which is more than three times the amount recommended by the Fourteenth Finance Commission for 2016-17 (Rs.1,293 crore). Similar facility to cover revenue gaps in the future too has been promised. It has already given Rs.2,500 crore for building the new capital and has promised an additional Rs.1,000 crore. An amount of Rs.1,050 crore has been disbursed as a special package for backward areas. The Central government has agreed to meet the entire expenditure of the Polavaram project on the Godavari river which at 2011 prices was expected to cost Rs.16,010.45 crore. In addition, the package includes the establishment of several educational institutes.

The Cabinet Committee has also given an in-principle approval for the establishment of a major port in Dugarajapatnam on public-private partnership basis, and there are proposals to set up units of Steel Authority of India and Indian Oil Corporation. There are also proposals for the expansion of the international airport at Visakhapatnam and airports at Vijayawada and Tirupati. The National Highways Authority of India and Railways too have been directed to improve road and rail connectivity. Never in the history of this country have bifurcated States received such a generous package even when they were extremely backward. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh lost the areas rich in minerals when they were divided. Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand had to start afresh without such a package. Surely, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has leveraged well his partnership in the National Democratic Alliance and friendship with the Bharatiya Janata Party.

## **A deeper friendship**

**Delhi and Kabul have failed to translate their enormous mutual trust into an effective strategic partnership.**

**Davood Moradian**

Indo-Afghan relations are among the few bilateral ties that include elements of civilisational, emotional and strategic imperatives and bonds. Kabul was once a Hindu and a Buddhist city; while Delhi was a leading centre of Persian literature and language, as well as the home of a Pathan political dynasty and Sufi Islam. For many Afghans, India is among the few places that accords them respect and dignity, unlike many others which treat them as unwanted, backward, terrorists or drug-dealers. Kabul and Delhi are also the main victims of Rawalpindi's use of terrorism to pursue its regional

ambition and inherent insecurity. India's need to access Afghanistan and Central Asia's natural resources and markets complements its vast market for Afghanistan's growing economy. For Afghanistan's nascent democracy, development and its state-building process, India is an inspiration and a model. India has had success in managing its diverse communities, building its state institutions, nurturing an indigenous democracy, women's empowerment and transitioning from an agrarian society into a developing nation. Afghanistan can learn a great deal from India. More importantly, "Indian Islam" is a living manifestation of "Kurasani

Islam", which was once the prevailing flavour in Afghanistan:

A humane, peaceful, tolerant, ethical and civic Islam. However, Delhi and Kabul have failed to translate their enormous mutual trust and political, economic and security imperatives into an effective, functioning and more importantly predictable partnership: It is more developmental and sentimental than political and strategic. India has been generous and effective in helping Afghanistan's massive humanitarian and developmental needs, but peripheral in shaping the country's politics and more crucially (Contd on page 21)

## *The Opposition is making Narendra Modi look larger than he is*

The Modi government's performance and grip over political reality are debatable matters. But those worried about Indian democracy should worry about the fact that the credibility of all alternative poles of opposition is plummeting even faster. The BJP may be trapped by its inflated claims and ideological leanings. But the sheer self-destructive pettiness and parochialism of the other parties is making it likely that the BJP's failings will not be challenged by a credible Opposition, but by an outbreak of infantilism, where each alternative leader seems to get smaller by the day.

Look at possible poles of opposition. Arvind Kejriwal had emerged as a genuinely new political force. He still has a lot going for him. The BJP has inflicted a constitutional travesty upon Delhi, supported by a poor judgment of the Delhi high court. He is a victim of a shameless Central government and could have garnered sympathy. AAP still has a street tenacity that gets under the BJP's skin. In a range of areas like servicing slums or education, AAP seemed to be open to interesting experimentation. But instead, Kejriwal's own conduct and public interventions seem to now reek of daily pettiness, where the line between a dignified CM and low troll seems to be vanishing. The AAP's visible faces seem to accumulate buffoonery by the day, denting all confidence in its maturity. AAP's ideological leanings do not portend well: Kejriwal has, for the most part not attacked the BJP's ideological excesses, even as it laments its authoritarian tendencies. On many issues relating to Hindutva and nationalism it is not providing an alternative.

One sign of a political party's loss of direction is when it begins to claim everything is a media conspiracy. AAP, despite the media rooting for it, has reached that point rather swiftly. Its victimhood has now become an excuse for practically any kind of behaviour. Its battering ram politics may shake the BJP. But it is giving all the signs of a party that does not know how to move beyond a battering ram.

Nitish Kumar's national fall has perhaps been even more spectacular. Nitish, a projected third front face, is still personally popular in Bihar. His first term did bring the state to the people in a way that was unprecedented and is still remembered.. He managed to provide some space for governance by managing a broad social coalition, and being inventive with government schemes. But his current incarnation has revealed the limits of his economic imagination: He seems to be at a loss over what next in the development model for Bihar. His ability to stamp his authority on the unlikely arrangement with RJD is increasingly in doubt. The scandalous release of Shahabuddin has cut Nitish's authority and credibility to size. The chief minister who once brought law and order to Bihar has his authority challenged openly by a convicted criminal flaunting his power. Prohibition does have popular roots in Indian politics. But Nitish's prohibition law, with its constitutional travesties of imputing collective guilt, its administrative imagination that is likely to result in greater lawlessness, shows a chief minister, whose common sense is now hostage to his own sense of virtue. For Nitish to become a national figure, he needed to create a new buzz around Bihar; now it is the conventional buzz of Bihar that is making him look like a floundering leader.

Rahul Gandhi has again decided to embark on old-fashioned campaigning in UP to showcase his commitment to India's farmers. As a gesture of commitment, this is promising. And in any case he has no option but to try. But this strategy does not betray the slightest self-awareness of Rahul's perceived deficits as a national leader: His inability to show that the Congress can overcome the mistakes of the past, his inability to show any principled leadership in moments of national crisis, to mediate conflict, and take tough decisions. It also says something retrograde when the party's stated strategy in UP is also a back-to-the-fifties model: Making no bones about courting "Brahmins" being the new strategy.

All three poles have this in common: All are veering to the Left. This would be fine if it were a genuine commitment to a more participatory economy that smartly reconciles growth and justice. Instead the emphasis is entirely on public expenditure and old instruments of welfare, not new paradigms. All have forgotten that the way to get national prominence is to create something of a governance buzz. The virtues of the Gujarat model were highly exaggerated. But the point was that it did stake out claims to being a model. It should be a sign of worry that no one is remotely thinking of Karnataka (a major Congress-ruled state), Bihar, or Delhi as a model. All three parties believe in overbearing statism. The Congress and Nitish Kumar may project an aura of electoral secularism. But the Congress, especially, still cannot get itself to take a principled stand on an institutional defence of individual freedom, whether it be on sedition law or freedom of expression. They are still unable to set the agenda for national debates. And none of them seem capable of the central task of politics — mediating between different social groups.

## *Corrosive impunities*

Impunity is the common thread that runs through Una and Dadri, connecting Dalits and Muslims in India today. Dictionaries define it as exemption from punishment, or more broadly, as the sense of security born of the assurance of protection from the consequences of one's actions. Crimes are committed even in healthy societies, but the society in which criminals flaunt their sense of impunity is seriously ill. It is precisely this sick self-assurance that has been on display in far too many places in the last two years, from Muzaffarnagar to Atali and Badaun to Dangawas.

But is the impunity with respect to Dalits essentially the same as that with respect to Muslims? If it is not, then how are they related? Most important, what do these pathologies presage for our collective future as a nation?

Despite obvious differences in their ideological origins and historical evolution, mainstream society's animosity towards Dalits and Muslims is very similar in practice. The internet offers macabre visual evidence of the basic similarity of vigilante crowds across India, from Una in Gujarat to Dimapur in Nagaland. However, in modern societies, impunity cannot be an exclusively social matter — it must involve the state. In fact, popular imagination leans the other way, seeing impunity only as the state's politically enforced biases for or against particular social groups. The public and the media are not interested in the fact that impunities of this sort are woven into the warp and weft of our society. They only want answers to the political questions, preferably boiled down to electoral predictions: Having won a general election by a landslide despite telling Muslims (in effect) that he neither wanted nor needed their votes, will Narendra Modi be able to say the same to Dalits and still win Uttar Pradesh in 2017 and India in 2019?

Regardless of the answer, it is amply evident by now that the Modi regime is committed to treating Muslims in a particular way, and that it does not want to look like it is treating Dalits in the same way. On every atrocity inflicted on Muslims, the regime's pronouncements have taken the form of a familiar double-speak that is no longer ambiguous. Though party functionaries habitually issue multiple statements, their joint message is singular and perfectly clear because of the underlying coherence of the regime's stance towards Muslims. By contrast, incidents involving Dalits have provoked a slew of divergent reactions, ranging from a patently insincere rhetorical excess ("Shoot me but not my Dalit brothers") or the crass effort to question Rohith Vemula's Dalit-ness, to the swift action against the party official who made derogatory remarks about Mayawati or the concerted attempt to celebrate and appropriate Ambedkar.

The Hindu right-wing's ambivalence on caste is almost as old as Hindutva itself. It dates back to the 1930s' stand-off between what might be called the Ratnagiri line and the Nagpur line, or the Savarkar-inspired anti-caste radicalism of the Hindu Mahasabha and the conservative gradualism espoused by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh leadership. Eight decades later, the same basic ambivalence is heavily overlaid with electoral anxieties.



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# Telescope: Feel of the nation

**Regional news channels show what the English channels ignore.**

**Shailaja Bajpai**

Some ten days after CNN News 18 first broadcast its interview with the prime minister, IBN-7 telecast it once again on Sunday. Huh? CNN News has celebrated the interview endlessly, the latest promo boasting that on the day of the interview, the channel beat Times Now — that means the latter is the “leader” on all other days. Times Now should thank CNN News for this free publicity.

Hindi and regional news channels are increasingly the ones to watch. You could have watched the Patidar protests in Surat last week disrupt an Amit Shah event (ETV Gujarat), the BJP president deliver his “Dillike-damaad” speech targetting former Haryana CM Bhupinder Singh Hooda and Robert Vadra

at a rally on Sunday, (OK India TV) and listened to BSP chief Mayawati’s campaign speech in Saharanpur the same day (APN) — followed immediately by a thoughtful analysis (Prime News). In fact, these channels are a must watch as we head into a season of assembly elections in Punjab, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat later in 2017. Here, you can get a feel of what is happening, being said or done in the states that the “national” English channels ignore until and unless there’s a natural disaster, human conflict, a speech by PM Modi or cots stolen at Rahul Gandhi’s rally which, according to Times Now, happened again at Mirzapur at his khat rally.

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The “water war” between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu flooded news channels on Monday. Through the day, English news channels joined the violence on the streets of Bengaluru, in particular, with screaming headlines of the violence — but what’s new about

that?

The next day, the news channels went to battle chikungunya in Delhi, except that the thrust of their attack was less on the virulence of the outbreak and more about the by now routine — and tiresome — blame game between the BJP and AAP. Tuesday, it focused on the travel habits of the AAP CM and his ministers, the LG and Delhi officials who were “absconding” from Delhi.

Of course this was shocking (maybe “shocking news” could be a new category for news channels?) and deserved headline coverage but should there not have been more on the nature of the deaths since doctors and the media had assured us that chikungunya is not fatal? Viewers are more concerned about how to survive chikungunya than Kejriwal’s latest tweet.

Information and Broadcasting Minister, Venkaiah Naidu called for media restraint in the coverage of the Karnataka-Tamil Nadu conflict following the viral-spiral of a video that allegedly showed a Tamil youth being

thrashed in Karnataka. His ministry issued an advisory — especially for TV news — to avoid coverage of the violence. The intervention begs the question — why has there been no such advisory on the coverage of J&K and the violence there? TV news — national and local channels in Kashmir — have been polarised and polarising irrespective of the argument espoused. This isn’t a call for censorship. On the contrary, it’s a call to raise questions: How do you judge whether inflammatory opinions and discussions on J&K are less provocative/harmful than footage of protests in Karnataka or Tamil Nadu? And does either deserve state intervention? News channels, by and large, are loud and sensational, given to exaggeration and repetition on everything from comedian Kapil Shama’s bribe tweet to Balochistan, Kashmir and the Cauvery water dispute. Does this kind of coverage increase pressure on everyone from politicians and officials to citizens to be accountable or does it incite conflict and exacerbate a situation?

# Kaala Chashma Totally Wasted And So Is Katrina

**Shobhaa De**

Here’s a question that has baffled me: a few years ago, I excitedly watched a seriously amazing, heavily-advertised dance track during a blockbuster movie’s aggressive promos, and to my horror, found it missing from the main film. Imagine my haalat after waiting and waiting for the catchy number to pop up during the narrative, and discovering it was lapata! There was no trace of the song I had been obsessing over and looking forward to tapping my feet to. It was such a massive let down, really! Half the reason for buying that ticket was to see the lead pair scorch the screen - even if it was during an absurd, no-connection-to-the-story dream sequence. We love absurdities. And feel cheated if we are robbed of such diversions.

So it was with Baar Baar Dekho. I abandoned my half-eaten packet of soggy, over-priced popcorn and was about to rush out of the theatre when the two-and-a-half hour film finally ended. But I was told to hang on...the Kaala Chashma track was about to come on as the credit titles rolled. But why then? Why not mid-way? Who has started this pricy and wasteful tradition? Own up! Most of the people had left and the ushers weren’t dancing in the aisles

while Hoovering the carpets.

I understand from verrrry reliable sources (unit hands!), that Ms. Kaif was on a strict diet of celery (could be Kiwi) juice and nothing but juice for ten long days before the chart busting Kaala Chashma song was picturised. It showed. Her hot bod has never looked this amazing, and the choreographer, God bless his soul, put her very agile, perfectly-toned muscles to optimum use. In the abs ka contest, it was a close call between the lead pair’s respective six-pack guts. My vote goes to Katrina’s - those abs sure talked the walk.

For a change, I stayed back till the very last shot (thank God I had taken a 20-minute snooze in between) of this two-and-a-half-hour space odyssey, featuring good-looking space cadets trying hard to fit into a bizarre script. The idea behind the brave enterprise must have been to raise the baar by creating a new twist to an old, old love story.

The premise, in itself, was not bad - do childhood friends make good marriage partners? Can a buddy become a lover? Is it just a case of two cute kids from the same neighbourhood deciding “What the hell - let’s just get on with it and tie the knot”? There is a great deal of bro-bonding, for

sure. But where is the romance, the frisson, the fatal attraction? Do they have the hots for each other at all? If Siddharth Malhotra (ummm...math professor? I don’t think so!) looks bewildered throughout this strange time-travel saga, it is understandable - the audience is even more so. Poor chap spends most of his time during the idyllic honeymoon (in a picture-perfect Phuket resort) phoning mummy and

wondering what the hell to do...imagine! With a seductive, skimpily-clad bride (Katrina) dozing off on a couch, waiting for her stud of a brand new husband to do the man thing. I guess he does get around to that eventually, considering two kids follow phataphat.

Enough already. Contrived, tedious and almost comical in its babyish “message” (in case you are wondering what that is, don’t

bother...it’s on every second Archie card). My message is simple : Why waste a fantastic dance track like Kaala Chashma on a credit roll? The promise of the song led one to believe the rest of the movie would be equally hot. Unfortunately, it was as thanda as a kulfi. Next time, fit the story around the thumping song. And it might work better. And yes, invest in better make-up and hair artists.

## Sugar Daddy: Here’s proof that the food industry has manipulated us into unhealthy diets

Conflicting food studies leaving you confused? Don’t know whether a low-carb diet or a low-fat diet is healthier? Can’t figure out if processed foods are as nutritious as fresh produce? You are not alone. Giants of the food industry have long been using marketing techniques to influence our dietary choices. And finally we have concrete proof that the American sugar lobby paid scientists in the 1960s to play down the link between sugar and heart disease while promoting saturated fat as the culprit instead. Recently discovered internal sugar industry documents show that a trade group called Sugar Research Foundation — known today as The Sugar Association — paid three Harvard scientists to publish a handpicked 1967 review of research on sugar, fat and heart disease in the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine. This kind of influence peddling continues till date, albeit in a more sophisticated form. There’s much literature on how the food

industry has influenced governments’ nutritional guidelines to ensure that their coffers and consumers’ waistlines keep expanding. Then there’s the food industry’s weapon of mass destruction — children. By directly targeting kids, food companies have masterfully leveraged their nagging potency to get their parents to increasingly spend on junk foods. After all, sugary foods for children can be as addictive as drugs.

There’s much reason to surmise that growing cases of childhood obesity and increasing lifestyle diseases such as diabetes are due to an environment where food companies have manipulated food research. Going forward, such food studies should compulsorily disclose their sources of funding. This brings us to the question — what should people actually be eating for a healthy diet? Unfortunately, this too can be quite confusing. At a time when air, water and soil have been polluted, nothing looks truly ‘safe’ for



# AAP is falling down on the job

It is a sign of either its inability or unwillingness to tackle the now deadly outbreak of chikungunya that the Delhi government is trying to politicise the whole issue in its efforts to pass the buck. "It (the outbreak) has been created by you (media) by spreading panic," Delhi health minister Satyendar Jain said even after the disease had claimed seven lives. The minister, after having been absent for quite a while, is now inspecting city hospitals to arrange treatment for dengue and chikungunya victims. This is clearly an instance of shutting the barn door after the horse has bolted. The municipal corporations have added their two bit worth by blaming the public for the spread of the disease, despite clear evidence that they did not even utilise the funds they had under the Swachh Bharat Mission, which they could have used for sanitation. Earlier Mr Jain has said that no one dies of chikungunya after returning from Goa, where he was campaigning for AAP. The politicisation of the issue is evident from a tweet by Mr Jain in which he laments the fact that the chief minister has no powers and all power vests in the lieutenant governor (LG). The LG is also not in the

Capital and neither is the chief minister. However, instead of trying to play the blame game, the Delhi government should have taken help from the Centre to put in place measures for treatment and prevention. Instead, it continued to nurse its sense of grievance at the Delhi high court decision giving primacy to the LG in matters of administering Delhi. In a crisis situation like the one which is upon Delhi at the moment, the ministers who are away should have been recalled and all of them should have contributed to efforts to contain the outbreak. The blame for the fact



that the health secretary is on leave has also been laid at the LG's doorstep. The Delhi government has now made assurances that it is fully prepared to deal with the situation. If so, we would like to know what its blueprint is. Planning should have begun well before the rains. But clearly, nothing of any significance was done. Now that people are

suffering and dying, the government should not waste any time in this unproductive effort to shift the responsibility to everyone but itself. Fighting elections in other states is a legitimate exercise but not at the cost of the people who have elected AAP to office. If AAP wanted to prove its mettle, now was the time. But, it has clearly failed in this with catastrophic effect for the people of Delhi.



**Manu Joseph**

Shaming is an arrogant word. It is effort masquerading as feat. The fact is that the consequence of shaming is not always shame. To be shamed you have to first give the world the right to shame you, which some do not grant because they wish to persist with what they believe is right. Others, many Indian politicians especially, have the gift of shamelessness, the reason why they are successful politicians in the first place. Long before Trump, they were Trump.

Indian journalists know the feeble relationship between shaming and shame very well because they are, among other things, in the business of shaming. Journalism is also a complaint to the people about rogue public figures, chiefly politicians. In this aspect, too, the profession appears to have very little impact. For decades, journalism has exposed political crime, corruption and other forms of immorality. For decades, the same politicians or their types, have thrived. Why is it that in a functional

electoral democracy, the average voter, who has moral expectations from society, cinema, family and bureaucracy, does not reject flawed politicians?

As another election season begins there might be more video clips of sex scandals and many revelations of corruption. But the shaming would have little effect at the polls. As to why this is so, the middle class often whisper in private that the average Indian voter is a fool. People who do not even whisper honestly would say that the poor elect the rogues because there are no better options in the fray. But there could be a deeper reason why our politicians survive revelations and shame, and why there is no such thing in Indian politics as a career-ending scandal.

The elite presumption that a typical voter wants his politician to be a representation of the common man is fundamentally wrong. He may even say things to that effect parroting respectable views, but he appears to condone, and even

## Why the Indian voter does not punish the rogue

admire, the politician who is uncommon. In an unequal nation, an equal man is probably an unremarkable man. For long, the voter has granted a status to politicians that is similar to a concession he has made for actors — that they are a special class of human beings who need not be like regular people, or even ideal people, who are generally useless. As a result, the voter's real reasons for rejecting a politician are seldom moral. The mass perception of a politician as a human anomaly is in the heart of many qualities of Indian politics that the sophisticated find confusing. This is the reason why in one of the most hostile places on earth for women, some of the most powerful politicians have been women; why in a land where marriage is a symbol of respectability, especially for women, several single women have risen to immense power; why polygamous men have nothing much to fear; why in the 2014 general elections the contest was, among other issues, between two unmarried men.

In Chennai, where I was raised, the media never spoke about the nature of the relationship between J Jayalalitha and her mentor MG Ramachandran, but the voters — the autorickshaw drivers and maids and bus conductors — openly admired her for her unusual social status. The

media, at least then, never used to mention the fact that her rival M Karunanidhi had two wives, but his marital status never bothered his followers even though they themselves did subscribe to popular notions of morality. In the near future, overt homosexuals and eunuchs, too, may fare well in Indian politics. The acceptance of the anomalous politician is also why politicians routinely land in an impoverished village in a chopper, exhibit inexplicable wealth but still manage to find success; and why criminals, too, do well.

The voter, of course, does not elect a politician for his or her deviations. Just that the deviations do not form the grounds for rejection as long as the politician in question appears to be very street-smart, hence useful in the short term.

This aspect of the voter has also been explained by the former governor of the Reserve Bank of India, who said, in a speech, that the voter elects the "crooked but savvy politician" because he can work the system and bring a host of services to the voter, services that the voter is entitled to but never reaches him without the help of a smart powerful man. This is also the reason why the pious idealistic activists have historically fared poorly in the elections even though they are respected and are popular.

The voter does not believe they know how to game India. They are good for protests.

Anna Hazare has said several times, even after his national fame, that he would lose his deposit if he contests an election. His reason is that the political system is run by money and muscle power. But, if his analysis is true how did Arvind Kejriwal's AAP fare so well twice in Delhi? The more convincing reason why Hazare would lose an election is that the typical voter does not perceive him as a street-smart man who can beat the system. Kejriwal, on the other hand, despite his high moral pedestal, has successfully portrayed himself as a shrewd man, which he is. Apart from small material benefits, the voter also expects his politicians to be strong enough to protect him from caste and religious violence. Such a capacity, again, is widely perceived as something that the street-smart possess more than the righteous. The upper classes, who are not vulnerable to communal violence, would claim that the Right-wing is a lesser evil than the corrupt. Those who are easier to hack into pieces would have the contrary view. In either case, there is too much at stake for the average Indian voter to reject a politician just because he has been shamed on moral grounds.

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# Eight reasons why India cannot speak freely

(News Agencies) In a new book, Ramachandra Guha finds out what's eating away at the moral and institutional foundations of Indian democracy

Some years ago, I characterized our country as a '50-50 democracy'. India is largely democratic in some respects such as free and fair elections and the free movement of people, but only partly democratic in other respects. One area in which the democratic deficit is substantial relates to freedom of expression.

Let me analyse what I regard as the eight major threats to freedom of expression in contemporary India. The first threat is the retention of archaic colonial laws. There are several sections in the Indian Penal Code (IPC) that are widely used (and abused) to ban works of art, films, and books... These sections — of which the most dangerous is Section 124A, the so-called sedition clause — give the courts and the state itself an extraordinarily wide latitude in placing limits to the freedom of expression. The second threat is constituted by imperfections in our judicial system. Our lower courts in particular are too quick and too eager to entertain petitions seeking bans on individual films, books or works of art... The life of a book or a work of art or a film has become increasingly captive to the ease with which a community, any community at all, can complain that its

sentiments, any sentiments, are hurt or offended by it... A third threat is the rise and rise and further rise of identity politics. In India today, we imagine our heroes to be absolutely perfect. I wonder if this was always so. Yudhishtira and Rama were capable of deceit and deviant behaviour — and our ancestors were not surprised or angered to know this. But now Bengalis shall be enraged at even the mildest criticism of Subhas Chandra Bose, Tamils at the mildest criticism of Periyar, Maharashtrians at the mildest criticism of Shivaji, Dalits at the mildest criticism of Ambedkar, Hindutvawadis at the mildest criticism of Savarkar, and so on.

Indians are increasingly touchy, thin-skinned, intolerant, and, I must add, humourless. The rise of humourlessness is the other side of the rise of identity politics. And without humour, there cannot be great literature. The fourth threat to freedom of expression in India is the behaviour of the police force. Even when courts take the side of writers and artists, the police generally side with the goondas who harass them.

The fifth threat is the pusillanimity or, more often, the mendacity of politicians. Indeed, no major or minor Indian politician, as well as no major or minor Indian political party, has ever supported writers, artists or film-makers against thugs and bigots. Rajiv Gandhi's Congress government banned Salman

Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses* even before Ayatollah Khomeini issued his fatwa against it. In West Bengal, the (well-educated and professedly literature-loving) communist chief ministers Jyoti Basu and Buddhadeb Bhattacharya had Taslima Nasrin's novels banned, and even had the author externed from the state. The record of the BJP is no better. The vandalism of the Husain-Doshi Gufa happened when Narendra Modi was chief minister of Gujarat.

While he was in that post, Hindutva activists effectively destroyed the country's best art department, at the Maharaja Sayajirao University in Baroda. Moving on to the leaders of regional parties, neither Jayalalitha nor M. Karunanidhi did anything to protect the novelist Perumal Murugan when he was coerced by a group of caste vigilantes in Tamil Nadu to stop writing altogether. In acting (or not acting) as they do, these politicians are motivated largely by electoral considerations. They do not wish to offend, or to be seen to be offending, a particular caste, sect or religious group, lest they vote against them in the next election.

A sixth threat to freedom of expression is constituted by the dependence of the media on government advertisements. This is especially acute in the regional and sub-regional press... The state and political parties can, and do, coerce, suppress or put



barriers in the way of independent reporters and reportage. So can the private sector, using material rather than punitive force. Thus, a seventh threat to freedom of expression is constituted by the dependence of the media on commercial advertisements. This is especially pertinent in the case of English-language newspapers and television channels that cater to the affluent middle class. Companies that make products that have damaging side effects are rarely criticized for fear that they will stop providing ads. I come now to my eighth and final threat to freedom of expression. This is constituted by careerist or ideologically driven writers. To be sure, most writers and artists have strong opinions on politics and society. That is why we write, that is why we paint, that is why we make films, that is why we write plays. But no creative person should be so foolish or mistaken as to mortgage his or her independence, his or her conscience, to a political party.

## PM Modi 'distressed' by violence over Cauvery row, wants legal solution



Union minister M Venkaiah Naidu said the violence can't be justified on any ground. It negates the rule of law and ultimately impacts the life of the common man, he said.

As Bengaluru witnessed widespread violence bringing it on the edge, night curfew was imposed in 16 police station limits late on Monday.

"The Cauvery water issue is sub-judice and the Supreme Court has given a direction after listening to both the States. If still there are any issues, leadership of both the states could discuss the same and come out with a way forward," Naidu said.

"Violence and counter-violence would only further complicate the matters and is not in the interest of any State. Both the state governments should take effective measures to

check the violence immediately," he said.

India's IT capital Bengaluru woke up to a tense morning on Tuesday with curfew and shoot-at-sight orders imposed in several parts of the city after violence erupted across Karnataka over the decades-long Cauvery water-sharing dispute with Tamil Nadu.

Authorities reported no overnight violence after one man was killed and another injured as rioters set at least 30 buses ablaze and vandalised shops. Metro and bus services are likely to be suspended for the second straight day on Tuesday. But fear continued to spread through video footage of flames leaping out of charred vehicles and threats of attacks on Tamil people in Bengaluru circulating over WhatsApp, forcing local police to issue advisories.

"Videos of attacks on Kannada-speaking people in various parts of Tamil Nadu triggered violent protests in Bengaluru, Mysuru and Mandya," said Karnataka home minister G Parameshwara. He appealed to the people not to believe in WhatsApp messages.

More than 15,000 security personnel patrolled sensitive areas in Bengaluru and will be out in full force on Tuesday, but the brunt of the violence was felt by Mysore and Mandya where scores of buses and trucks with Tamil Nadu registration plates were torched. Karnataka chief minister S Sidharamaiah called an emergency cabinet meeting at 11am to discuss the situation. Before that, at around 9am, he has convened an all-party meeting.

(News Agencies) Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Tuesday that riots in Bengaluru over sharing River Cauvery's water were "distressful" and the issue must be resolved peacefully between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Protestors, angry about a Supreme Court decision calling on Karnataka to divert some of the water from the River Cauvery to neighbouring Tamil Nadu, torched vehicles and pelted stones at people on

Monday.

One person was killed in police firing as security forces took to the streets to quell the violence in Bangalore on Monday.

"Situation that has emerged in Karnataka & Tamil Nadu, as a fallout of issue of distribution of waters of Cauvery River, is distressful," Modi said on Twitter. "This dispute can only be solved within the legal ambit. Breaking the law is not a viable alternative."

# How yatras have turned the tide for Indian politicians at different times



observers feel yatras have a unique appeal: leaders come to peoples' doorsteps instead of the other way round. The grandeur of a yatra with a focused theme also helps connect better with the target audience. The yatras also come in handy to divert attention from embarrassing issues. Amid the tussle in Uttar Pradesh's ruling Yadav family, chief minister Akhilesh Yadav has announced a UP yatra on Wednesday.



ground. During the UPA regime he walked for days to reach farmers on the issue of land acquisition, and his party's government supplemented his efforts by bringing a new land bill.

"For the past two years, Rahul has been walking in his yatras. It helps communicate with farmers and highlight their issues," said K Raju, Gandhi's key

aid. Yatras gave a new lifeline to the BJP in the early 1990s. Party patriarch LK Advani's rath yatra on the Ram Mandir issue helped the BJP to achieve power at the Centre. That yatra was also identified by Advani's rivals for arousing communal passions that led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Political

While leaders such as J Jayalalithaa traveled in customised air-conditioned vans for road-shows, SP chief Mulayam Singh Yadav's son, Akhilesh, chose to ride a bicycle (his party's symbol) for his yatra before the 2011 assembly polls in UP.

The Left parties have consistently hit the streets with their yatras on issues ranging from proximity to US' imperialism to price rise.

(News Agencies)As Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi resumed his 'Kisan Mahapadyatra' on Wednesday, he continued a chapter to the country's history of processions that often take a campaign to the voters' doorsteps.

Parties of all hues have hit the streets with yatras or roadshows to rev up their message on topics like Ram Mandir issue and the Indo-US nuclear deal.

Gandhi is no greenhorn in yatra politics, and Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state, remains his favourite



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# Afghan President Ghani to meet PM Modi: Here's what they may talk about

(News Agencies)Afghanistan president Ashraf Ghani is no longer seen as the pro-Pakistan leader many thought him to be as he arrives in India on a two-day visit from Wednesday.

For New Delhi, this is a heart-warming change. But it takes more than Ghani's growing disillusionment with Pakistan to bring regional stability. The change in Ghani's pro-Pakistan posture has been gradual and he grew wiser with the experiences.

Ghani will meet Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who will host a lunch in his honour, among other engagements in the country.

Here's what the two leaders may talk about: The two countries would easily agree on one concern this time around: Safe haven for terrorists in Pakistan.

The change in Ghani's pro-Pakistan posture has been gradual and he grew wiser with the experiences. India was not among the first countries he visited after assuming office.

Ghani jetted into China, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan before he set foot in India. Soon after taking office, Ghani took the unprecedented step of calling on Pakistan army chief Raheel Sharif in Rawalpindi. Pakistan accorded Ghani a reception which it reserves for a Chinese president or the king of Saudi Arabia. Prime minister Nawaz Sharif and military chiefs were on the red carpet to receive him and a 21 gun salute blasted off.

However, disillusionment set in soon enough with Afghanistan blaming Pakistan for not reigning in the terrorist outfits which Kabul thinks are under its control. For India, what happens in Afghanistan has direct national security implications. Two countries are looking at ways to deepen counter-terrorism ties. The extradition treaty which is set to be signed after the meeting between Ghani and PM Modi is a step in this direction.

## Defence ties

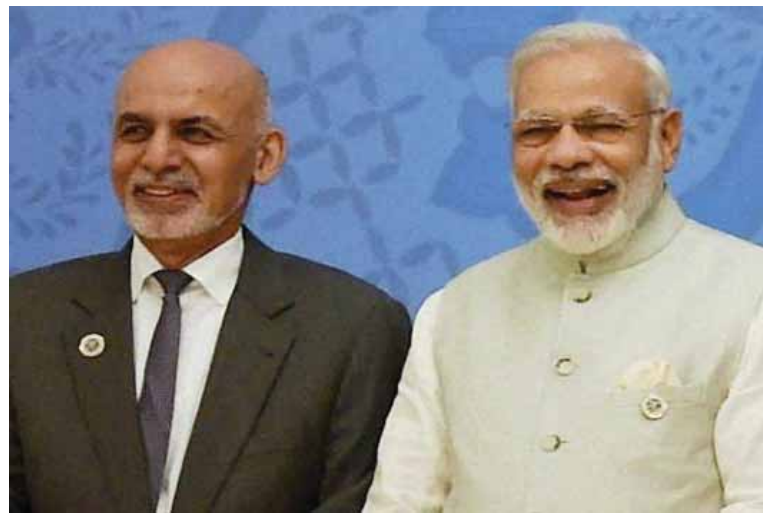
Afghanistan has been keen

on stepping up the defence ties with India beyond the training of personnel. The Modi government has responded positively in firming up defence ties. Afghanistan has been demanding increased defence supplies, including lethal weapons from India, which for the first time gave four Mi-25 attack helicopters to the war-torn country. Measures to step up ties in this area is expected.

## Connectivity

Ghani is not likely to get this one so easily: Trade route access to India via Pakistan. For Pakistan, that is like giving concession to India rather than anything else. With India and Pakistan locked in a war of rhetoric, this plan will not materialise anytime soon.

Islamabad brushed off Kabul's recent threat to block Pakistan's trade access to the Central Asian states if it didn't allow Afghanistan to trade with India via the Wagah border. Ghani will be disappointed. In the



meeting, the two leaders will talk about benefits that will accrue to Afghanistan and from direct access for Afghan goods and trucks to Indian territory including all Afghan commodities.

## Peace talks with Taliban

The peace talks with Taliban remain a non-starter primarily because of the growing trust deficit between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In December last year, the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan were keen on restarting the peace process with Taliban.

They seemed keen on making considerable progress in "result-oriented" peace process before April this year. The high hopes Ghani had pinned on Pakistan started to wear thin. The terror attacks in Afghanistan were traced to Pakistan for its planning. With Mullah Omar's death, Taliban ceased to be the coherent group they once projected they were. However, there is no denying the fact that no Taliban integration is possible without Pakistan's help.

## Why India should go the extra mile for Prachanda



(News Agencies)Nepal's Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' arrives today in New Delhi, on his first foreign visit after taking office. The last year has been a difficult one for India-Nepal ties. New Delhi believed the Nepali leadership should have shown more wisdom in promulgating a more inclusive constitution. The Kathmandu establishment, led by Prachanda's predecessor KP Oli, blamed Delhi for supporting the Madhesi unrest, and used the moment to invite a greater Chinese role in Nepali politics. And even though Mr Oli visited India, the differences and mistrust were too deep, and there was a toxic air in state-to-state relations.

All of this has changed with Maoist leader Prachanda's bold decision to break away from the so-called 'Left alliance' with Mr Oli. With Prachanda committing to addressing the constitutional aspirations of Madhesi through an amendment, the political atmospherics in Kathmandu changed. This also vindicated New Delhi's position. India had encouraged this process of power-realignment and Prachanda made it clear that he would revert to a more "balanced" foreign policy orientation, the subtext of which indicated recognising the importance of India in Nepal relations.

## Mired in internal conflicts, Pakistan must first set its own house in order

(Insider Bureau) The recent unrest in Kashmir has raised the issue of Pakistan's involvement in fanning the flames. Frustrated by its failure to snatch Kashmir by use of the military in 1965, and the loss of East Pakistan in 1971, Pakistan adopted the instrumentality of terrorism to annex Kashmir. It continues to regard Jammu & Kashmir as the core issue between the two countries and made good relations hostage to the resolution of the issue to its satisfaction.

India must also share its part of responsibility for allowing the problem to come to this pass, both internally and externally. It was Jawaharlal Nehru's personal decision to seek the people's views and that too through a UN supervised vote, and finally taking the issue to the United Nations, and yet again offering to hold the plebiscite as part of a commitment that internationalised this issue. The Indian leadership has failed in the last 70 years to resolve the basic issues that had ramifications both internal and external, judiciously and effectively. There were many opportunities, including the one at Simla, to clinch

the issue in favour of India, but these were allowed to pass. Mere rhetoric did not and cannot solve the problem.



Of the three parts of the state, both Jammu and Ladakh want greater integration with India and the state cannot be allowed to be hijacked by a group of people in the Valley. While there is need to bring the people of the Valley into the mainstream, a firm attitude has to be adopted towards Pakistan. There can be no scope for any talks on Kashmir's future with Pakistan. Today, Pakistan has lost the sympathies of the international community for its role in promoting

terrorism, not only in India but also elsewhere in the region. A series of recent statements by the Afghan president; first at the Nato summit

in Warsaw in July and in Islamabad in August is the worst indictment of Pakistan for its role in promoting terror. President Ashraf Ghani's statement in Islamabad that "Pakistan remains a breeding ground from where the mercenaries send us messages of war" needs to be taken seriously.

Pakistan is mired in internal conflicts and has lost the right to speak for the people in other countries after the way it treated East Pakistan then, and treats Balochistan now.

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# What the violence in bengaluru says about Mobs

(Agencies) With the mayhem and arson that destructed both public and private properties worth hundreds of crores of rupees in Bengaluru and elsewhere abating, the Karnataka government is hard-pressed to retain its investor-friendliness. Two of its ministers have said that 'Brand Bengaluru' is intact and that one single incident won't deter investors and people.

After the deplorable sights of free-roaming mobs, including college students, torching dozens of buses and indulging in vandalism that played out on live and prime-time TV for a few days, the Karnataka government is obviously desperate.

What people across the world saw was not an investment magnet, or India's 'Silicon Valley', but a lawless city that could be taken over by goons at the drop of a hat. It was almost as if the state was on the verge of a civil war. No other tech city in the world would have brooked such anarchy. Trade body Assocham reportedly estimated a loss of Rs 25,000 crore, which is a lot of money in an overcrowded and underdeveloped country that aspires big. However hard Chief minister Siddaramaiah

and ministers Priyank M Kharge and RV Deshpande try to sweep the debris of the street violence under the carpet, it won't stick, although companies might not move out immediately because their options for tech-business ecosystems in India are limited. Through repeated, predictable episodes, Bangalore has proved itself to be prone to street violence whenever it's asked to share Cauvery water with Tamil Nadu during drought seasons. Unless violence is erased from the Cauvery matrix, it will recur again or even get worse because the river is not going to get healthier.

It's pointless to blame the rioters and vandals, because universally they are faceless groups that revel in violence, often under political or communal/ethnic patronage, with clear unmissable triggers from certain quarters. French sociologist Gustave Le Bon, one of the earliest to study mob psychology, had postulated in as early as 1895 that a rioter "is no longer himself, but has become an automation who has ceased to be guided by his will.... In the crowd he is barbarian. He possesses the spontaneity, the violence, the ferocity and also the

enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings".

Whether it's a genocide or local arson, this collective barbarism is not without a trigger. In the case of Cauvery, the political triggers were visible to everyone in 1991 itself. The Karnataka government failed in both defusing the trigger and avoiding its aftermath. In fact, it probably thought that a controlled mob-fury would change the Supreme Court's mind.

Those who blame Narendra Modi for the Gujarat riots in 2002, or the Congress in 1984, or the ethnic and political groups for all those civil wars across the world shouldn't forget that it's some kind of benign official indifference that allows for the trigger. But what follows never remains controlled and will soon engulf everything in its way. The only way for it to die down, is by the natural loss of its momentum. Even an epidemic such as Ebola will taper off because at some stage it starts losing its momentum.

The Cauvery memories of 1991, when violence lasted a month and thousands of Tamil families had to flee Bengaluru, and the subsequent flare-up in 2002, should have kept the



Siddaramaiah government on high alert. Instead, as hooligans poured into the streets, his police stood down.

What could have been put down in a day took a few days. The same sectarian leaders who were active in 1991 were seen flaming passions yet again. Didn't the state intelligence advise preventive detention of those known trouble-makers? The sad fact is that the passion about Cauvery is not something Siddaramaiah could have politically compromised with and hence he allowed for some violence.

Politically patronised mob violence is not restricted to Bengaluru, Mandya or Karnataka. It's a way of life for the whole of India and very often, it's nothing less than a minor civil war. Five years ago, politicians with vested interests

in Kerala stoked fears of a breach in a dam (Mullaperiyar), that supplies water to drought-prone districts of southern Tamil Nadu. The fear-psychosis was amplified by the local media to such a level that many thought that about 30 lakh people would be washed away any time. It led to inter-state violence when chauvinist politicians in Tamil Nadu responded with equal ferocity. Fortunately, there were sane voices within the state, including that of a former SC judge, and the then ruling UDF didn't overtly support the fear-mongering.

The fear died down when the dam didn't breach. The situation could have gone out of control had the Tamil Nadu and Kerala governments chose to fight proxy wars using the lawless mobs. When they kept away, the mobs lost momentum.

## 'We Misled You'

He explained that Saudi support for Islamic extremism started in the early 1960s as a counter to Nasserism—the socialist political ideology that came out of the thinking of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser—which threatened Saudi Arabia and led to war between the two countries along the Yemen border. This tactic allowed them to successfully contain Nasserism, and the Saudis concluded that Islamism could be a powerful tool with broader utility. Under their new and unprecedented policy of honesty, the Saudi leadership also explained to me that their support for extremism was a way of resisting the Soviet Union, often in cooperation with the United States, in places like Afghanistan in the 1980s. In this application too, they argued, it proved successful. Later it was deployed against Iranian-supported Shiite movements in the geopolitical competition between the two countries. But

over time, the Saudis say, their support for extremism turned on them, metastasizing into a serious threat to the Kingdom and to the West. They had created a monster that had begun to devour them. "We did not own up to it after 9/11 because we feared you would abandon or treat us as the enemy," the Saudi senior official conceded. "And we were in denial."

Why this new frankness? First, it's fair to ask how far the new policy really goes. Clearly, there are some questions about whether some extremist Sunni groups, such as al-Nusra in Syria, are still getting Saudi money. But as the Saudis described it to me, this new approach to grappling with their past is part of the leadership's effort to make a new future for their country, including a broad-based economic reform program.

In their current thinking, the Saudis see Islamic extremism as one of the two major threats

facing the kingdom—the other threat being Iran. On Iran, there is continuity. I remember when King Abdullah asked me to pass on to President George W. Bush in 2006 that he needed to cut the "serpent's head" and attack Iran and overthrow the regime. The new leadership, like their predecessors, blames Iran for regional instability and the many conflicts going on.

The new Saudi leadership, in other words, appears to be downgrading ideology in favor of modernization. In fact, one senior Saudi official explicitly said that the Kingdom was pursuing a "revolution under the cover of modernization"—meaning that modernization was now the driver of Saudi policy.

Can it succeed, when so little has changed politically in a country still run autocratically by the House of Saud? The biggest unknowns are the temptations of the past—whether the Saudi leadership is united behind the new program and whether those who benefited from the old order will attempt to derail the reform agenda and thus destabilize the country. The opposition could

come from the powerful religious establishment, which might oppose the opening of entertainment centers, the reform of religious institutions, even limited co-education and increased female participation in the workforce.

There have been many reform programs announced before in Saudi Arabia, only to fade into insignificance. Also, modernization undermines two pillars of Saudi political legitimacy, the endorsement of the Wahhabi clerical establishment and the traditionalism that undergirds any monarchical government. As modernization creates economic uncertainty for those benefiting from the present inefficient order, the result could be political turmoil. And it is an open question as to whether the Saudi people have been sufficiently prepared at all relevant levels in terms of education and skills to compete in the world economy, as they will need to do in a modernized economy.

If not, social tensions and

unrest may arise among those who are not prepared to compete.

This was not my first trip to Saudi Arabia. I have been going there since the 1980s, when I was working at the State Department. I became even better acquainted with the Saudi leadership during my ambassadorship to Iraq from 2005 to 2007. I visited the kingdom often and developed cordial relationships with King Abdullah and other senior officials.

For many years, I was accustomed to Saudi officials being vague and ambiguous. Now, our interlocutors were straightforward and business-like in discussing their past and their future plans. In past decades, my impression had been that the Saudis did not work hard. Now a team of highly educated, young ministers works 16- to 18-hour days on refining and implementing a plan to transform the country. The plan is the brainchild of Mohammad bin Salman and focuses both on domestic and regional fronts. Salman and his ministers exude commitment and energy.

# What's Going on With America's White People?

**Susan Glasser:** I'd love to just jump right in and ask each of you: What is going on with America's white people, and how much is that driving the Trump phenomenon in this year's election?

Anne Case, Princeton University economist: Angus and I touched a nerve last fall when we published a piece in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences that documented that, among white non-Hispanics in middle age, mortality, after having fallen for large parts of the last century, actually turned up and started to go the wrong way. And, with the Centers for Disease Control also redocumenting what we had done, the big drivers in that trend are what we call "deaths of despair," which are suicide, drug overdose and alcohol-related liver disease. Partly the surprise is that it is not just men; it is men and women. And it appears to be happening all over the country. And that resonated in this political season.

**Glenn Thrush:** When I first read it, I was struck by the parallel between that and what happened to males after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Why is this happening to these people?

**Angus Deaton,** Princeton University economist: Well, I don't think we know the answer to that, and we've been very careful not to speculate beyond what we have the data on. Two things that are relevant for thinking about why, though, are first, that this started in the late '90s. So, this is not something that happened after the financial crash, for instance. It's a much older phenomenon, before the turn of the century. The second thing is that this is much worse for people who have a high school degree and no B.A. than it is for people with a B.A. So, we're talking about white non-Hispanics without a college degree.

As far as the campaigns, the obvious story which everybody sort of seized on, including [the economist] Joe Stiglitz, who is advising Hillary Clinton, was this has to do with the stagnation of wages over a long period of time. But, you know, that's happened in Europe, too. China and trade and globalization and slow wage growth have hit many European countries, and you just don't see this increase in the death rate in Europe at all.

One thing about the Soviet Union, as many people have drawn that comparison, is that the trend there was men only. In the United States, this is not men only. The Soviet Union was largely alcohol-

fueled. Alcohol plays a part here, but opioids and heroin play a much larger part. Also, I think the Soviet Union was a lot to do with the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev had had a very successful anti-alcohol campaign, and when the Soviet Union collapsed, the anti-alcohol campaign collapsed, too, so that if you look at mortality rates among Russians after the crisis, they're not very far away from being on trend. A lot of what was happening in the Soviet Union was their mortality rates were artificially low before the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, I don't think there's that much parallel between the two phenomena.

**Glasser:** Angus, what is your view about how much Trump is successfully speaking to this demographic trend that you have identified?

**Deaton:** Well, we know that the Washington Post, bless them, did a very nice graphic in the primaries showing, county by county, the fraction of people who were voting for Trump and the fraction of people who were dying of what we call "deaths of despair." And those are very, very highly correlated in most states. So, I mean, there is correlative evidence, at least, that Donald Trump is doing very well in the same areas that are hardest hit by this. I mean, I think it is pretty clear that Mr. Trump has locked into this group of people who are feeling a lot of distress one way or another. Beyond that, it's very hard to trace the mechanisms very precisely.

**Glasser:** So, Anne and Angus point out that in white death rates, there's not necessarily a gender division in the way that our politics have this yawning gender gap. But clearly, the numbers suggest that women, even less educated white women, are still less inclined toward Trump than white men. So, do you think that maybe we're wrong and our conventional

wisdom around women not wanting to vote for Trump is going to be upended in November?

**Nancy Isenberg,** Louisiana State University historian and author of *White Trash: Part of the problem is the way the media has constructed Trump's following. Are they working class? We know the working class today has a large portion that are women, that are people of color. But when you look at the images at his rallies—you know, people in their Bubba caps and their truckers' caps—that fits into a certain stereotype: poor white working-class men. Educated women are clearly turned off by Trump's, you know, blatant sexism. Although, I also read an interview of Arizona women who were supporting Trump, and it's very easy for women to make excuses for men. It's like, "Oh, yes, we know he's rude," but women are taught to tolerate obnoxious men. So, I think it's really hard to say exactly where women across the board will stand at election time, because I also think that, you know, not all women are feminists. Women can often be more critical of other women.*

**Carol Anderson,** Emory University historian and author of *White Rage:* And what about the data that shows the average income for a Trump supporter was \$72,000? What does that do to the narrative that is out there that this is really the working class? Because we don't understand the working class as having an average income of \$72,000.

**Case:** Yes, that was Nate Silver's study. The people who are actually voting for Trump, he argued, were the higher class than the people voting for [Bernie] Sanders and Clinton. So, I think our data is very imprecise here, and then, when we try to create a voting bloc and we use one term to describe them—whether it's "the black vote" or "the women

vote," now it's "the working class vote"—I think that can be really misleading.

**Anderson:** I agree. You know, when you're talking about the angst and anxiety and feeling of being stifled and that kind of despair, what I see is that, as African-Americans advance in this society in terms of gaining their citizenship rights, that there is a wave of what I've been calling "white rage," which are the movements within legislative bodies and within the judicial sector in terms of policies and laws and rulings that undercut that advancement. We saw it after Reconstruction, during Reconstruction. We saw it during the Great Migration, then with the wave that we're looking at right now, after Barack Obama's election.

**Thrush:** I want to use this word gingerly, but aren't we also talking about kind of the death of white supremacy in the most literal sense of that term, that there is no longer a premium that one gets because of the color of one's skin in terms of better wages or better social standing? I mean, are we sort of seeing the death of this system writ large?

**Anderson:** I would push back on that a bit. What we're seeing is the death of it operating so visibly. But when you look at the differentiations in wages, for instance, when you look at the differentiations in wealth, when you look at who took the hardest hit and rebounded the least after the Great Recession, whiteness carries incredible value in American society. But you get this language of equality—I mean, this is why, to me, you get Abigail Fisher [the plaintiff in a recent Supreme Court affirmative action case] hollering that, because her father went to the University of Texas, she deserved to get in there. Now, the fact that she didn't get the grades to get in there is irrelevant. The fact that there were a number of

African-Americans and Latinos who had higher grades and higher scores than she had who also weren't admitted is irrelevant. So, to me, it's not the death of white supremacy. It's the death of the visibility of whiteness carrying such incredible economic and political value in the American system.

It makes it even more curious, actually, following the Great Recession, that African-Americans continue to make great strides in terms of falling mortality rates; Hispanics have the best mortality rates of the three groups.

**Deaton:** It's true that black mortality rates are falling very rapidly, but they're still highest among the three groups.

**Isenberg:** What we have to realize is that throughout history poor whites and slaves and then free blacks were pitted against each other, and that was used as a political tool. And it even goes back to the foundation of the colony of Georgia, in which James Oglethorpe refused to allow slavery because he assumed it would deprive poor whites of the ability to be independent, to make a living, because slavery led to the monopolization of land, the concentration of wealth into an elite. So, I think one thing we have to realize about white supremacy is that it leads to an advantage to the elite to pit these two groups against each other. And the poor whites don't necessarily get all the benefits from their white skin.

**Thrush:** Joel Benenson, who is Hillary Clinton's chief strategist and her pollster and was Barack Obama's pollster in both of his elections, has said that in his polling and focus grouping, the thing that he keeps finding is that the two groups who are to some extent most disadvantaged economically, African-Americans and Latinos, are the most optimistic about the future.

## Donald Trump's Investments In India To Impact US Foreign Policy: Report

his profits from Trump Towers Pune?" the weekly asked. According to the weekly, several Indian political leaders including from the both BJP and the Congress have established close relationship with the Trump family as a result of its real estate investment in Pune and Gurgaon.

In India, the conflicts between the interests of the Trump Organisation and American foreign policy are starker, Newsweek said. Trump signed an agreement in 2011 with an Indian property developer called Rohan Lifescapes that wanted to construct a 65-storey building with his name on it. Leading the talks for Rohan was Kalpesh Mehta, a director of

the company who would later become the exclusive representative of Trump's businesses in India, the weekly said.

However, government regulatory hurdles soon impeded the project, the cover story said adding that Donald Trump Jr. flew to India to plead with Prithviraj Chavan, then chief minister of Maharashtra, asking that he remove the hurdles. But Chavan refused to make an exception for the Trump Organization. "It would be extremely difficult for a foreign politician to make that call if he were speaking to the son of the president of the United States," Newsweek said.

"Last month, scandal erupted over the development, called Trump Towers Pune,

after the state government and local police started looking into discrepancies in the land records suggesting that the land on which the building was constructed may not have been legally obtained by Panchshil," it said.

The Indian company says no rules or laws were broken, but if government officials conclude otherwise, the project's future will be in jeopardy—and create a problem that Indian politicians eager to please an American president might have to resolve, Newsweek observed.

Through the Pune deal, the weekly said the Trump Organization has developed close ties to India's Nationalist Congress Party.

# Civic mess on Eid Do Ideas Still Matter in the Year of Trump (and Clinton)?

Atish Saha, a Dhaka-based artist, was quoted as saying by Guardian news service. "To be honest, I was scared. It was an image of mass violence that shouldn't ever be experienced," he added.

On their part, authorities said they had marked hundreds of designated spots ahead of the festival to make it easier to clean away blood and animal carcasses after the offerings were made. But according to BBC Bengali, residents sacrificed 100,000 livestock this year, mainly on the streets or at underground garages in residential buildings. It said residents complained that officials did not campaign well to make them aware of these spots. Others said they could not get there because of the rains.

The streets looked mostly clear of the bloody water and animal waste on Wednesday as the flooding receded.

Muslims across the globe celebrate Eid-ul-Adha by slaughtering goats, sheep and other animals on the day to commemorate Prophet Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismail on God's command.

"Believe me." You could argue the Trump phenomenon is partly about immigration and globalization, which is true in the sense that The Celebrity Apprentice was partly about issues in the workplace. But it's missing the point of the spectacle. The Trump phenomenon is about cultural resentment, anger and most of all Trump. It's primal-scream politics, a middle finger pointed at The Other, a nostalgia for a man-cave America where white dudes didn't have to be so politically correct. Trump isn't selling detailed nine-point policy plans or a coherent worldview; he doesn't read books or even briefing papers. He's just telling America we're losers and selling us Winning. Saturday Night Live used to have a fake pundit whose solution to every problem was to "FIX IT!" Now life is imitating parody.

The result has been a circus, a must-watch reality show, a festival of vapidness. Trump has insinuated that Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia was murdered, that Ted Cruz's dad helped assassinate JFK, that the official unemployment statistics are rigged and the election will be, too. This is not normal.

Yes, the 2012 election was thin on vision, but at least its silly-season frenzies—"You didn't build that," "I'm not concerned about the very poor," "47 percent"—had some

plausible connection to American policy debates. Not anymore. When a major-party nominee calls Mexicans rapists, suggests that a global trade war would be no big deal and argues that vaccines harm children, he's shorting the entire marketplace of ideas. When he boasts that he devised his radical approach to NATO as an off-the-cuff response to CNN's Wolf Blitzer and ridicules Hillary Clinton for hiring eggheads to churn out wonkish white papers, he's making an implicit case for detaching politics from rational thought. Trump is selling Pirelli's Miracle Elixir, a believe-me cure for all that ails America, and if pointy-headed intellectuals want to nitpick the details, well, in Trumpworld, that's just proof they've lost touch with real Americans.

Still, thinkers continue to think. And history suggests that ideas will continue to matter, even if they're not the must-see TV of the moment. America has a pretty long record of showing that the conversations we begin in election years will eventually percolate into national agendas.

Which is why this year's Politico 50 list is one that starts not with the two nominees—Trump's candidacy represents an assault on ideas, while Clinton's seems like a continuation of President Barack Obama's ideas—but with the runners-up in both

parties, Senators Ted Cruz and Bernie Sanders, who showed in this election year that it was possible to represent a consistent and energetic ideology of dissent, Cruz from the Tea Party right and Sanders from the Birkenstock left. Ultimately, Cruz couldn't rally enough Republicans behind his traditionalist vision of economic, social and foreign-policy conservatism, just as Sanders fell short with his system-is-rigged jeremiads about campaign finance and Wall Street megabanks, but they clearly spoke for important constituencies. Just as the campaigns of Gary Hart in 1984 and Al Gore in 1988 foreshadowed that of Bill Clinton and his successful "third way" in 1992, or the Ronald Reagan of 1976 foreshadowed the winning Ronald Reagan and his GOP revolution of 1980, today's losers can shape the politics of tomorrow.

Still, much of 2016 has been about trying to understand and contextualize the astonishing rise of Trump. And while his grandiose promises to end terrorism, restore law and order, and erase the national debt through sheer force of will might not be idea-based, his unexpected success has focused attention on trends and truths that are. Several members of The Politico 50 were included for ideas that help

explain Trumpism, if not Trump himself, from Harvard economist George Borjas, academia's top immigration skeptic, and Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions, an enthusiastic backer of Trump's brand of nativist nationalism, to three-time presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, whose campaigns provided an intellectual blueprint for the worldview that became Trumpism. With Trump talking about cracking down on media reports he considers libelous and banning Muslims from entering the country, Khizr Khan's mere act of holding up his pocket-sized Constitution counts as an idea. It's also important to contemplate how Trump happened—and even though some pundits may draw too straight a line connecting, say, the rising death rates among white Americans identified by Anne Case and Angus Deaton with the screw-the-world grievances of pissed-off white male Trump supporters, it's worth studying how those grievances captured the Republican Party.

The polls all suggest that those grievances, while real, are not widespread enough to send Trump to the White House. But if the Trump show is canceled in November, both parties would face a crossroads, and the marketplace of ideas could be poised for a grand reopening.

its struggle against terrorism. Delhi's reluctance to fully and confidently implement its strategic partnership agreement with Afghanistan, signed in 2011, demonstrates India's residual doubt and fear about its engagement in Afghanistan. It took almost four years for Delhi to deliver three military helicopters to Afghanistan. There are a number of factors that have shaped this cautious Afghan policy. India is transitioning from a largely inward-looking developing nation into a serious political and economic power. Competing priorities, bureaucratic lethargy, resource constraints, domestic and electoral politics and an ambivalent geo-strategic mindset characterise a transitioning nation's foreign policy.

x

The other factor is Pakistan's skill and stamina in high-risk and great-game politics and manipulation of competing players. Pakistan has disguised its expansionist regional agenda as a "proxy war" between India and Pakistan, thus equating its support to terrorism with India's support to the processes of stabilisation, democratisation, reconstruction and state building in Afghanistan. The confusion and policy preferences of Western powers has been the other obstacle in strengthening Afghanistan-India relations. Some in the

## A deeper friendship

West are ready to negotiate Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and democracy with Rawalpindi in return for reducing their costs of engagement while maintaining their geo-strategic interests in the region. Kabul's polarised elites have compounded Delhi's reluctance, Islamabad's manipulative game and the West's war-weariness and confusion.

However, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government, India's Afghanistan policy is shifting from a reluctant albeit friendly one, to a more confident and multi-dimensional approach: Investing in Afghanistan's nascent democracy and economy; strengthening Kabul's defence capability and promoting regional connectivity and integration. Speedy operationalisation of the Iranian port of Chahbahar, reviving the trilateral process between Kabul-Delhi-Washington and a better utilisation of Russia-China-India consultation mechanism on regional security should be the ensuing steps. These should not necessarily mean ignoring Pakistan's legitimate concern and its potentially constructive role. Pakistan's Afghan

policy is characterised by Islamabad/Rawalpindi's concerns, paranoia and ambition. Delhi and Kabul can and should address the first two of these. To this end, a trilateral mechanism of dialogue between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India can enhance mutual understanding and identify areas for potential collaboration. A stable and independent Afghanistan would also be Pakistan's partner in supporting its legitimate concerns such as terrorism and regional connectivity.

Above all, the goal of the Afghanistan-India partnership is to reach a degree of mutual trust so as to characterise the Kabul-Delhi relationship as a functioning, strategic partnership between two sovereign democratic nations. What many Afghans expect from Delhi is to elevate Afghanistan's constitutional order and political independence. The Karzai government articulated such an expectation by exploring a defence pact with Delhi. Despite the signed agreements with Western powers, both Kabul and its adversaries are not convinced of the

reliability of the West as guarantors of Afghanistan's political independence and constitutional order. Other regional powers—such as Iran, China and Russia—either lack the will or the means to accord Afghanistan such a guarantee.

Fortunately, forging such a relationship does not require substantive material resources. Afghanistan is endowed with sufficient domestic and external human, natural and financial resources to address many of its formidable challenges. What it lacks is a reliable political and psychological environment and partnership. Delhi is well-placed to offer Kabul such insurance. Also, India as a victim of terrorism and a shining example of "Kurasani Islam", should play a leading role in articulating a global consensus and building a regional mechanism on terrorism as well as promoting mutual respect and understanding among and between different faiths and communities. Alongside China, Asian tigers and Japan, India is making this century the "century of Asia". As an essential part of South, Central and West Asia, Afghanistan's stability and development is a key determinant to the realisation of the "Asian century". The full realisation of Afghanistan's and India's fraternity is necessary for this endeavour.

# US signs largest-ever military aid deal, to give Israel \$38 bn over 10 yrs

(Insider Bureau) The United States on Wednesday signed an unprecedented new security agreement with Israel that will give the Israeli military \$38 billion over 10 years. The deal, the largest such agreement the US has ever had with any country, amounts to \$3.8 billion a year beginning in budget year 2019, compared with \$3.1 billion the US gave Israel annually under the current 10-year deal that expires in 2018.

"This commitment to Israel's security has been unwavering and is based on a genuine and abiding concern for the welfare of the Israeli people and the future of the state of Israel," President Barack Obama said in a statement.

After months of negotiations that took place after a particularly tense time in the relationship amid disputes over the

Iran nuclear deal, the memorandum of understanding was signed at the State Department by Israel's national security adviser, Jacob Nagel, and Thomas Shannon, the third-highest ranking U.S. diplomat.

Obama's national security adviser Susan Rice, who witnessed the signing, called it a sign of Washington's "unshakable commitment" to the security of the Jewish state.

She said the agreements makes clear that the US "will always be there for the state of Israel and its people today, tomorrow and for generations to come."

Nagel hailed the agreement as an indication of the "rock-solid alliance" between Israel and the United States.

"Israel has no better friend, no more reliable strategic ally, no more important

partner than the United States of America," he said. "Everyone can see and feel the special relationship between our countries and our people."

Under the agreement, Israel's ability to spend part of the funds on Israeli military products will be phased out and eventually all of the money must be spent on American military industries. Israel's preference for spending some internally had been a major sticking point in the deal.

It also includes, for the first time, money for missile defense programs. Under the previous arrangement, Congress approved funds for missile defense separately and on an annual basis.

The new agreement eliminates Israel's ability to spend a fraction of the



funds on fuel for its military. In another apparent concession, Israel has agreed not to ask Congress to approve more funds than are included in the deal unless a new war breaks out, said the officials, who weren't authorized to discuss the details publicly ahead of a formal announcement and who spoke on condition of anonymity.

## India hits out at Pakistan; raises Balochistan, PoK rights violations at UN

(Agencies) India raised the issue of Balochistan for the first time before the United Nations on Wednesday, accusing Pakistan of widespread human rights violations in the region as well as in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK).

During the 33rd Session of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, India said the main reason behind disturbances in Kashmir is Pakistan-sponsored terrorism that stems from Islamabad's territorial ambitions.

Pakistan's dismal track record is well known and many countries have repeatedly called upon Pakistan to end cross-border infiltration and dismantle the terrorism infrastructure, Ajit Kumar, India's ambassador and permanent representative at the UN in Geneva, said. India's credentials as a peaceful, democratic, pluralistic society that is deeply committed to the welfare of its people are well established but Pakistan is characterised by authoritarianism, absence of democratic norms and widespread human rights violations across the country including Balochistan, he said.

Resource-rich Balochistan, which supplies much of the natural gas to textile industry in Pakistan's Punjab, has been battling waves of insurgency by Baloch nationalists since 1948.

Pakistani forces have been accused of using excessive force in Balochistan and PoK.

In his Independence Day speech this year, Prime Minister Narendra Modi mentioned the troubled regions, a move that struck a chord with Baloch nationalists.

The mention of the regions is in line with the government's recent decision to raise rights violations to hit back at Pakistan for allegedly stoking unrest in the Valley. "The fundamental reason for disturbances in Kashmir is the cross-border terrorism sponsored by Pakistan which has provided active support since 1989 to separatist groups and terrorist elements including those operating from the territory under Pakistan's control.

"Pakistan has once again sought to mask its territorial ambitions and use of terrorism as a state policy under the garb of concern for human rights.

"J-K is an integral part of India and will always remain so. We reject attempts by Pakistan to denigrate the democratic choice that has been regularly exercised by the people of J-K," Kumar said.

In a no-holds-barred offensive, he said while advocating restraint to others, Pakistan has no hesitation in using air power against its own people.

"Pakistan also continues to provide sanctuary to UN-designated terrorists. It was, therefore, no surprise that Pakistan failed to convince the international community to secure the membership of the Human Rights Council last year."

India strongly rejects Pakistan's continued misuse of



the Council to make tendentious references about internal matters pertaining to the Indian state of J-K, the ambassador said.

"This stems from Pakistan's territorial ambitions over Kashmir that has found concrete expression in repeated armed aggressions. Pakistan continues to be in illegal occupation of a large part of territory in J-K," he said. Kashmir Valley has been on the boil since the killing of Hizbul-Mujahideen commander Burhan Wani on July 8. His death sparked violent protests that killed 80 people and wounded 10,000 in the two-month-long protests.

Pakistani leaders have criticised India over the Kashmir unrest. The move drew angry reaction from India, which accused Islamabad of interfering in New Delhi's internal affairs and backing terrorism.

Kumar said the high number of casualties sustained by Indian security forces is a reflection of the

tremendous restraint they have displayed in difficult circumstances in the Valley.

He asserted that India has a robust institutional framework to ensure adherence to rule of law and respect for fundamental rights of the people in J-K, including independent judiciary, National Human Rights Commission, vibrant civil society and free and vocal media. In contrast, the people of Pakistan as well as Pakistan-occupied Kashmir have become victims of sectarian conflict, terrorism and extreme economic hardship due to Pakistan's authoritarian and discriminatory policies in complete disregard of human rights, he added.

Emphasising that terrorism was the grossest violation of human rights and should be so acknowledged by any impartial observer.

"The heart of the matter is that we are dealing with a state that regards the use of terrorism as a legitimate instrument of

statecraft.

"The world watches with concern as the consequences of Pakistan's actions have spread beyond its immediate neighbour. All of us stand prepared to help, if only the creators of this monster wake up to the dangers of what they have done to themselves," the Indian envoy added.

"The institutions of governance in Pakistan have corroded to such an extent that it has become a hub for the global export of terror," he said. Pakistan should focus its energies on improving human rights situation within Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, Kumar said. It must also take action against the perpetrators of terrorist attacks on its neighbours who are roaming freely in Pakistan with impunity, so that terrorism emanating from Pakistan - the gravest risk for peace and stability of the region - could be addressed effectively, he added.

# Government set to oppose triple talaq in response to Supreme Court notice



ministerial committee met on Wednesday to fashion a response to the court's notice on the clutch of public interest litigations filed by several Muslim women.

Several individuals and NGOs have sought a ban on the practices of triple talaq and polygamy.

"Women are moving towards equality the world over. We should move towards that as well," said a source privy to the deliberations. Union ministers, including Rajnath Singh, Arun Jaitley, Manohar Parrikar and Maneka Gandhi, were part of the meeting.

The response to the court will be drafted by the law ministry which is likely to steer clear of recommending a law to ban unilateral triple talaq or implementation of Uniform Civil Code. Sources said the law ministry will look at international practices. They added that the government was also likely to argue that many Islamic nations, including Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Iraq, have either banned or restricted these practices.

On September 5, the court gave the Centre four weeks to respond on the batch of PILs

on triple talaq and the plight of Muslim women. The All India Muslim Personal Law Board, in its counter affidavit in the SC, had said the contentious issues relating to Muslim practices of polygamy, triple talaq (talaq-e-bidat) and nikah halala are matters of "legislative policy" and cannot be interfered with. The board also said practices provided by Muslim Personal Law on issues of marriage, divorce and maintenance were based on holy scripture (al-Quran) and "courts cannot supplant its own interpretations over the text of scriptures".

(Agencies) New Delhi: The Centre is likely to bat against the practice of triple talaq and in favour of women's rights in response to the Supreme Court notice on the issue. An inter-

# Sidhu's Awaaz-e-Punjab a 'fishy' venture: Capt Amarinder Singh

(Agencies) Punjab Congress chief Capt Amarinder Singh on Monday hit out at Navjot Singh Sidhu's new political forum, calling it a "fishy" venture as he himself hasn't quit the BJP and his wife is on record saying that she continues her association with the party she represents in the state Assembly.

In an interview to Hindustan Times, the Congress leader dismissed Sidhu's fledgling Awaaz-e-Punjab as a "gang of four" that includes him and three state legislators: former India hockey captain Pargat Singh and Ludhiana's Independent legislators Simarjit Singh Bains and Balwinder Singh Bains.

"There is something fishy going on...he's putting together this group while he's still in the BJP. His wife (Navjot Kaur Sidhu) is announcing that she continues to be in the BJP," the former chief minister said.

"So we don't know what's going on. Two-three MLAs don't make a party. Besides, Sidhu is no big shake, it's the media that has hyped him up," he said.

From his observations, it was evident that he considered the former cricketer a BJP prop for pilfering the anti-incumbency vote against the ruling Shiromani Akali Dal-BJP combine. Disputing Sidhu's charge that he was in a friendly contest with the Akalis,

Amarinder referred to cases brought against him by the Parkash Singh Badal government. "I have gone up to the Supreme Court and back. Still they're prosecuting me. Where's the friendliness in it," he asked.

Branding Arvind Kejriwal as an outsider running the show with non-Punjabis, Amarinder said he'd fight the Delhi chief minister from wherever he contests in Punjab. "We'd not allow any non-Punjabi to be the CM. Let anybody from Punjab come -- be it (AAP rebel) Sucha Singh Chhotepur or Sidhu. That's their right," he said. "Kejriwal has brought 52 people from Delhi,



Haryana and Bihar. Why? Can't he find a Punjabi?"

Amarinder bolstered his son

of the soil argument by questioning the AAP leaders' claims to probity and morality in public life. In the same go, he questioned Sidhu's standing in the polity of Punjab except for the fact that he was thrice MP from Amritsar. "Let him contest from Amritsar and he'd know where he stands today," challenged the Congress veteran, who entered the Lok Sabha from Amritsar in 2014. Making clear that he was contesting the last election of his political career spanning four decades, he did not answer upfront a question about the delay in his formal projection as the Congress's CM candidate. "The polity in Punjab is in a state of flux with the split in the AAP and the creation of the gang of four," he continued. "The people are wondering key kidhar jayen (where to go)."

In such a scenario, he agreed the Congress needed to dispel all speculation about its chief ministerial candidate. More so because the voters know that the Akalis have Badal and the AAP Kejriwal.

# Sangh accused of twisting Onam myths to suit its Kerala agenda

(Agencies) KOCHI: BJP president Amit Shah wishing people Vamana Jayanti reflects a vested political agenda and an attempt to homogenise Hinduism disregarding local heterogeneous myths of Kerala, said historian K N Panikkar. Shah's post caused a controversy as it came soon after a piece published in the Onam special issue of RSS mouthpiece Kesari cited the Srimad Bhagavatam to claim Onam was originally celebrated as Vamana Jayanti.

Panikkar said Onam and King Mahabali are part of a secular and egalitarian myth encompassing people of all castes and religions. "It's a known fact that the RSS is using divisive methods to gain a foothold in Kerala. By appropriating Onam as an upper-caste Hindu festival, they are

trying to divide votes along caste lines," he said. Panikkar said Kerala has long stood for plurality of religions and diverse voices.



"We had our own local myths that may or may not be part of other national myths. The beauty of Onam is that it speaks about a king who reigned over a just society .

Denigrating the myth by superimposing it with Hindutva agenda to make political inroads is dangerous for the secular fabric," he said. Rajan Gurukkal, social scientist and historian, said there are ancient scriptures that mention Vamana Jayanti and that it was celebrated by the Brahmin community .

"Vamana's birthday falls on the Thiruvonam as per Malayalam calendar. Later, myths like that of Mahabali must have been added to assert the brahminical hierarchy," he said. Gurukkal questioned the existence of King Mahabali. "It's possible that at a later stage King Mahabali got this subaltern image as the Dravidian underdog and Vamana became the brahminical deity . Onam, in due course, became a secular festival, removed of its feudal vestiges,"

he said. KT Ravi Varma, who penned the book 'Mahabali: Myth and history of Onam', says there is no mention of Mahabali in Rigveda and it was a later addition.

# As dengue and chikungunya sting Delhi, leaders go missing



(Agencies) Three more people died of chikungunya in Delhi on Tuesday, taking the number of deaths due to the painful viral disease to five.

Facing one of its worst outbreaks of mosquito-borne diseases, the city appears to have been abandoned, with only one minister — Kapil Mishra — in town.

Chief minister Arvind Kejriwal, his deputy Manish Sisodia and ministers Gopal Rai and Imran Hussain are all away. Lieutenant governor Najeeb Jung is in the US and is expected in Delhi Wednesday.

By evening, health minister Satyendar Jain

was back from Goa. “4 Deaths due to Chikangunia reported from one pvt hospital (Ganga Ram). No death in any Delhi govt hospital. Enquiry ordered,” he tweeted. Jain also said “medically, chikungunya can never be a cause of anyone’s death”.

During the day, Sir Ganga Ram Hospital said three men had died of chikungunya. A 22-year-old girl who died in MCD-run Hindu Rao Hospital on September 1, too, tested positive for the viral disease that causes fever, debilitating joint pain but rarely kills. Ganga Ram had reported a death on Monday as well. The

government said there was no reason to panic and blamed the Centre and Jung for the health crisis. “CM n min left wid no power now, even to buy a pen. LG n PM enjoy all powers wrt Del. LG abroad. Question them for Del, (sic)” tweeted Kejriwal. He returned from Punjab on Monday night and left for Bengaluru in the morning.

Top health officials warn the situation is explosive. “It is an explosive outbreak as the numbers are so high this year,” said Dr Neena Valecha, director, National Institute of Malaria Research. “Unfortunately, we don’t have a concrete plan to combat the situation,

especially since we know prevention is the only way to check the spread of the disease.”

Delhi has reported 1,057 chikungunya and 1,158 dengue cases this season though the municipal corporations are accused of underreporting the cases that reflect their failure to control mosquito breeding.

Three of the city’s 45 government hospitals have reported more chikungunya cases than the civic bodies.

Jain, too, blamed the BJP-ruled civic bodies, which cancelled leaves of health department

workers, and said north of Delhi) mayors are and south Delhi mayors out of Delhi, ask them why? Their only work is

“Two MCD to ensure cleanliness,” (municipal corporation Jain said.

## WHERE ARE DELHI’S LEADERS?



**NAJEEB JUNG, L-G:** In the US on a personal visit



**ARVIND KEJRIWAL, CM:** In Bengaluru for a throat surgery



**MANISH SISODIA, DY CM:** In Finland to attend a seminar

**SATYENDAR JAIN, HEALTH MINISTER:** Came back to Delhi on Tuesday from Goa

**GOPAL RAI, LABOUR MINISTER:** In Chhattisgarh to spearhead AAP’s Mission Vistaar

**IMRAN HUSSAIN, ENVIRONMENT MINISTER:** In Saudi Arabia, on a Haj pilgrimage

**CHANDRAKER BHARTI, HEALTH SECRETARY:** On 15-day leave since Sep 3

**SHYAM SHARMA, SDMC MAYOR:** In Rajasthan on a religious trip

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# Aadhaar now must for government schemes, benefits



someone does not have Aadhaar, he will be asked to enrol for the same. If you are asking for Aadhaar and if enrolment facilities are not in a convenient location, the agency has to ensure that people are not left in the lurch," said Ajay Bhushan Pandey, CEO of the UID Authority of India (UIDAI).

Pandey also said the regulations strongly address privacy concerns over Aadhaar misuse+ by incorporating a three-year jail term for an offence. "The big brother concern has been dealt with. If a government or private entity uses Aadhaar number for some other purpose... if a company shares the data, it becomes a criminal offence," Pandey said.

The particular clause has been inserted to address concerns raised by civil society groups that mandating Aadhaar will exclude genuine beneficiaries, who do not possess a UID, from government schemes. The rules mean the onus will now be on agencies like oil companies or banks to make sure beneficiaries have Aadhaar numbers to access benefits

(Agencies) NEW DELHI: The use of Aadhaar card+ is set to become mandatory for all central and state government subsidies and benefits which require funding from the central exchequer with the Centre notifying the unique identity (UID) regulations. While the law had empowered the Centre to mandate use of Aadhaar, the rules clearly stipulate that any agency, such as the oil ministry dealing with cooking gas+ or HRD's scholarship schemes, has to ensure all beneficiaries are enrolled under UID+ . For this, they have been asked to tie up with registrars or enrol individuals themselves.

"Ministries will have to notify schemes for which Aadhaar number is required. In case

ranging from subsidies and pensions. Though the Supreme Court had earlier held Aadhaar could not be made mandatory for government schemes while extending "voluntary use" of UID numbers to MGNREGA, pensions, cooking gas, PDS, EPF and Jan Dhan accounts, the new law and its regulations will help the Centre expand the ambit of UID to virtually all government

schemes. The data security rules make it incumbent for UIDAI, registrars, enrolling agencies, companies and authentication service providers to observe a strict protocol. "The rules require every entity seeking to use Aadhaar to preserve information for a certain number of years and be subject to an audit," Pandey said, adding that an entity seeking Aadhaar will need

consent to disclose the information each time it wants to share the data.

The regulations also provide more leeway for capturing biometric information. In cases where fingerprints are not easily registered, like in the case of elderly persons, iris scans will do. This has been added to existing flexibility for persons with disabilities or injuries.

## One with the road: Indian women are travelling solo more than ever

(Agencies) 7Indian women are travelling solo in increasing numbers, thanks to easy access to information and bookings, say experts.

"Solo travel has emerged as one of the most favourable options for Indian women travellers over the last two years with more than 35% of Indian women opting to travel alone," HolidayIQ CEO and founder Hari Nair said.

According to him, most women are travelling single, and prefer to travel as couple or with group only in one out of every five trips.

Majority of these solo women travellers belong to northern region of the country followed by south, he said. "Solo travellers from east are yet to gear up, compared to fellow travellers from the rest of India," he added.

Hotels.com Senior Marketing Manager — India and SEA — Amit Agarwal said solo travel as a trend has caught on in a big way among the young independent Indian women.

"Flexibility and access to information has contributed to the growth of solo women travel. Usually, the only concern is added security challenge.

However, most destinations over the world have stressed on safety factors like introducing women-only buses and trains, women taxi drivers," he said.

"Many hotels have also introduced facilities for solo women travellers which have further accelerated the growth," Agrawal said.

He said according to the search data at Hotels.com from January-August this year, searches for hotels by overall solo travellers for the top 10 destinations grew by over 90% from last year.

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# Samajwadi Party drama: Here are five possible outcomes of Akhilesh-Shivpal feud

(Agencies) "Listen to the mustn'ts, child. Listen to the don'ts. Listen to the shouldn'ts, the impossible, the won'ts. Listen to the never haves, then listen close to me..... Anything can happen, child. Anything can be." – Shel Silverstein, American author/cartoonist, who had won two Grammy awards, never visited Lucknow but said what he generally observed all his life. With the floodgates of fresh political possibilities having been thrown open by the ongoing feud within the ruling Samajwadi Party, anything can happen. Anytime. The UP chitchat bazaar is already sizzling with all kinds of hypotheses, speculations, surmises, assumptions and presumptions. Here are five selected 'possibilities' that appear to be doing the rounds even in the corridors of power in Lucknow: Possibility number 1: Nothing much would happen. Knowing 'Netaji' Mulayam

Singh Yadav's continued hold over his kith and kin as we do, both 'Chacha' Shivpal Singh Yadav and 'Bhatija' Akhilesh Singh Yadav will bow down to listen to the 'fatwa' of the patriarch. And, perhaps, both, the feuding chacha and bhatija are getting prepared mentally for receiving fatherly/brotherly scolding at the proposed close-door family meeting in Lucknow. Should this happen, the 'chacha' might get back his prize portfolios and the 'bhatija' his presidency of the state unit of the party. There would be smiles all over again. No more bruised ego and no further acrimony. No, not any more at least until elections.

Possibility number 2: The 'chacha' might get back his portfolios but the 'bhatija' might not become president of the state unit of his party again. In this case, the 'bhatija' will limp along as chief minister as always with a bruised and battered ego. And the chief

minister's image as a 'bechara baalak' (good but a helpless boy) shall live on.

Possibility number 3: The chief minister might choose to go ahead with his 'rebellious' mindset. He may refuse to return the coveted portfolios to chachaji. And he may never agree to restore chief secretaryship to Deepak Singhal, come what may.

In this scenario, the chief minister might threaten to put in his papers. And should the situation further demand, he may even drive down to the Raj Bhavan unnoticed to hand over his resignation letter to the governor, plunging the state into political uncertainty, if not chaos.

Can you imagine would happen next from here on in the run-up to elections?

Possibility number 4: You never know, the circumstances might



force 'netaji' to become chief minister of UP for the fourth time. He may not like it but so what. Such situations don't give you any exit route. Already reeling under the pressure of anti-incumbency, the Samajwadi Party may not, in this purely hypothetical scenario; find itself fit enough to cope up with the jolt given by a rebellious 'son'. Like it or not, it's Akhilesh Yadav – and not anybody else -- who has been the party's poster boy during the past four and a half years.

## Govt asks SC to ban 'inhuman' practice of Dalits rolling on Brahmins' leftovers

(Agencies) The Centre has urged the Supreme Court to ban a 500-year-old temple ritual in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu where Dalits roll over food leftover by Brahmins to apparently cure skin diseases, solve marriage problems and infertility.

The social justice ministry called the practice "inhuman and superstitious" and said it affects human dignity and harms the health of those

practising it.

But defendants of the practice say the ritual doesn't discriminate on the basis of caste and that it is voluntary.

In Karnataka, the ritual is followed during the three-day annual celebrations at Kukke Subrahmanya in the South Canara district in November-December.

In Tamil Nadu, the custom is seen every April as part of the annual Aradhana festival of the

Nerur Sadasiva Bharmendrai Temple in Karur district.

The Union ministry says the ritual cannot be shielded under the right to freedom of religion under the Constitution. "These rituals may be voluntary but since human dignity and health of concerned persons is affected and are against constitutional value of justice, equality and human dignity, they ought not to be defended

under Article 25 of the Constitution of India which relates to right to freedom of religion," an affidavit by the Centre reads.

In 2011, the Karnataka high court had modified the practice, saying the ceremony will be open to all and food offered to the deity will be placed on plantain leaves outside the temple. A willing devotee – irrespective of caste or religion – can roll over the leaf, the court had held.



The Karnataka government has told the SC that temple authority even Brahmins roll over banana leaves containing leftover food and that only devotees perform the ritual, the state administration said.

## This Rs 11 lakh buffalo 'Bahubali' is Eid's 1.5 tonne attraction in Ludhiana

(Agencies) A gigantic 1,500 kg buffalo named Bahubali, bought from Ludhiana in Punjab for a whopping Rs 11 lakh, has become the centre of attraction during Eid-ul-Adha (Bakrid) festivities in Moradabad town.

Its owners are looking for a potential buyer who can pay several lakhs more than what they paid for it or they will sacrifice Bahubali on the day of the festival.

Mohammad Tafeeq Qureshi and Nadeem bought the buffalo in Ludhiana and brought it to their residence near the Idgah in Moradabad on Saturday.

Since then, this Murrah buffalo

has become the cynosure of all eyes in the town as well as the nearby districts and people are pouring in to catch a glimpse of

adding that many visitors jostled with each other to pet the buffalo and click a selfie.

Reports said a man from Thakurdwara town offered to buy the buffalo but the owners refused, saying the price he offered was not good enough.

"If nobody comes forward with a good price, then we will sacrifice the buffalo on the occasion of Bakrid," said Qureshi, explaining that every day, the buffalo drank 20 litres of milk and ate 20kg of apples along with normal fodder.



Bahubali. "Every day, people come individually and in groups to take a look at Bahubali," said Nadeem,

## As Cauvery protests singed Karnataka, did local media add fuel to fire?

(Agencies) Several vernacular TV channels are in the dock over the large-scale violence that swept India's IT capital over the Cauvery water dispute earlier this week, with critics alleging they fed mob hysteria for better TRPs. One popular Kannada channel went to the extent of hailing arsonists as 'brave Kannada activists'. Some others magnified the violence as 'justified acts of defiance' against a court ruling that deprived Karnataka of its rightful share of Cauvery waters.

"I am aghast," lamented Girish Nikam, a news anchor with Rajya Sabha TV. "They have stopped doing journalism and have become agent provocateurs." The tone of the TV anchors got shriller as violence escalated. They began to describe the physical assaults as "beaten to pulp", "mauled", "hammered" and "thrashed". Some of them added fuel by claiming that Kannadigas attacked in Tamil Nadu were denied treatment in hospitals. Dr Niranjan Vanalli, professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Mysore, says many of the channels took an overtly simplistic and macho tone without realising the serious implications of their coverage. "Why are media persons acting like they are the judiciary?" But sanity was in short supply at the peak of the violence and several TV anchors got carried away.

# Is your snack bar really healthy?



(Agencies) It seems harmless enough and does its best to tell you how healthy it is. But if I were you, I'd be suspicious of the average snack bar. I am referring to the granola bars, protein bars, health bars or fruit bars. Even The New York Times said in a recent article that they can be as calorific as dessert.

What started off as an innocuous effort to add more fibre and nuts to your daily diet has now become a multibillion

dollar industry, where the last thing you're getting is health. To understand how healthy your snack bar is, read the nutritional label: you'd be surprised.

To me, an ideal snack bar should be brimming with the goodness of nuts, seeds and healthy ingredients that are not so fat and calorie-dense. Have you thought of making your own?

**- Add more seeds :** Pumpkin seeds, chia seeds, flaxseeds, watermelon seeds, sunflower seeds - experiment with the abundance of this fundamental snack bar ingredient. Apart from containing good fats, seeds are fantastic sources of fibre, protein, minerals like zinc and vitamins like Vitamin E. They add a fabulous texture and taste that you will feel in every bite.

**- Reduce the nuts:** Ensure that the seeds to nuts ratio leans more heavily in favour of seeds. Nuts like almonds,

cashew, walnuts and macadamia, while healthy, are calorie-dense and need to be used sparingly. A tiny handful per bar should suffice, and abstain from high-fat nuts like cashews.

**- Puffs:** For added texture and benefits, you could also try quinoa puffs, rice puffs, wheat puffs and other similar foods.

**- Dates to bind:** Commercially made snack bars use caramelised sugar or syrups for binding, but it's better not to use sugar because it will completely negate the good work. How about exploiting the sticky and gooey texture of dates or figs? It's flavourful and natural.

**- Season:** Go creative with seasoning like sea salt or even sprinkles of paprika if you really like it tangy. At the end of the day, it's your bar. And only you can raise it.

# Who should pay on the first date?



(Agencies) Most of us are attuned to paying whenever we go out for a date. But with the rules of dating changing and women wanting to be in charge in various situations, it sometimes becomes tricky to decode who will pay for the dinner on your first few dates. So here are few things you can follow to avoid that awkward situation:

**Go to an informal and affordable place**

This works almost all the times. The very fact that the restaurant you go to is not too expensive and has a causal air to it, will keep you more relaxed. And paying the bill will not be an issue since it will not hamper your pockets. On the other hand, even if the girl offers to pay, it won't be too harsh on the guy's part to let the girl handle the expensive dinner.

**Think you're the one paying the bill**

Be ready to pay unless the girl really insists to pay. Many a times, there are formal efforts to show they are willing to pay, but you should go ahead with splitting the bill or letting her pay only if she insists a second or third time. In such cases, it is better to let her do the formality as it might just work in your favor.

**She calls the shots while ordering**

In most cases, if the girl wants you to pay, she would not be careful with what she orders. But if she orders something which you don't really endorse or want to have, then don't push to pay too much. While you might want to be open enough to pay for her expensive choices, in most cases it would be better for you to split or let her pay in such instances.

**Third time's the trickiest**

So if doesn't offer to pay even after a few dates, chances are she never will. In such a situation, it is entirely your call. Some guys like to pamper their date by paying the bills all the time. But some might like to be treated differently and expect their girlfriends to pay too. In this case, you can be the best to call the shots.

# Hangry, are you?

(Agencies) Science agrees that 'hanger' is a real physiological reaction and not just useful slang. How can you manage your raging tummy?

Ever notice kids getting cranky as mealtime approaches? 'Hangry' is the latest portmanteau term (hungry+angry) to join the dictionary of urban slang. Kids though are not the only ones susceptible to fits of rage as their blood sugar drops. If you find yourself getting crotchety as a meeting drags into lunch or if you miss a snack, here's how you can get through it without losing your cool.

**Why we get hangry?**

"Hanger is a survival technique built into our system from the time we were hunters. And it's not just specific to human beings - you'll notice that a hungry animal is an angry animal. If an organism was laid-back and took it easy when it was hungry, letting everyone else eat first, it would die," says psychiatrist Dr Hozefa A Bhinderwala. When you are hungry, your blood sugar level drops. This happens because the nutrients in your food get converted into simple sugars, amino acids and free fatty acids,

distributed to the blood and passed along to your organs. With time, after a meal, the density of sugar in the bloodstream reduces. Your body responds to this dip by releasing the adrenaline hormones epinephrine and norepinephrine, which can cause jitters, jumpiness, and anger. We tell you three simple ways to fight hanger.

**How to handle it?**

Hanger is your body communicating with you, so make sure you listen. Dr Bhinderwala says, "The biggest problem is that most people ignore their basic physiological drives. Plain and simple awareness can bring about a big change."

**Try this:** Keep a diary/ journal to identify these complex emotions as they occur and to also record your eating patterns and timings. You might want to include questions such as, "What were my emotions before, during and after the meal?" You can deal with hanger using the mindfulness meditation technique. Close your eyes and slowly become mindful of the sensations that arise in your body. Accept your vulnerability and release any resentment you might feel towards



the sensations.

**Try this:** With one hand on the chest and the other on the belly, take a deep breath through the nose, ensuring the diaphragm inflates with enough air to create a stretch in the lungs. Deep diaphragm breathing is a technique used by those who fast. The point of a snack is to hold you over, maintain your blood sugar, and supply your body with the vitamins and minerals it needs till the next meal. People often forget this because they associate snacking with something crunchy, salty, sweet or processed, but fast foods are used up equally fast by the body and you'll be hungry again soon.

**Try this:** Keep nutrient-rich foods like walnuts, roasted chickpea, berries, granola, etc. in your bag or pocket. Munch on them before you get really hungry, and have them with water. This should keep you going till you eat again.

# Gulp it down: 5 simple ways to trick yourself into drinking water

(Agencies) **Make it appealing** Ever noticed how you are motivated to hit the gym when you are wearing cute workout clothes, or how you feel more inclined to spend time at your desk if it is less cluttered? This technique also works when it comes to water. Pick a cute water bottle, or a chic pitcher to keep yourself excited about drinking from it through the day.

**Add natural flavours** Make your own 'spa water' by adding slices of fruit, or herbs - a practice that also has the benefit of making water look aesthetically pleasing. Try mint, lemon, watermelon, raspberries, thyme, or cucumber.  
**Treat it like an appetiser** To control your appetite, and eat smaller portions, make it a point to drink a glass of water before every meal. Often, our bodies

confuse hunger with thirst, and you may find yourself satisfied — or at least, less ravenous — after sipping some H2O. Cheers to a slimming tactic that doesn't include cardio.  
**Use the water app** Both, Waterlogged for iPhone, and Carbodroid for Androids, help you follow your daily H2O progress, and even send you friendly reminders to keep sipping.





# I am a girl child, would love to have a girl: Kareena Kapoor

(Agencies) Kareena Kapoor, who came to extend her support for the Global Citizen movement in India on Monday evening says she is a girl child she would love to have a girl.

She shared some frivolous question that's she is being bombarded with these days like whether she is having a girl child or a boy child which disturbs her. "Wherever I go these days there is just one question asked which I think quite intrusive but, still I am asked both me and Saif whether it is a boy or is it a girl? Have you found out? And I am like excuse me what difference does it make. I am a girl child I would love to

have a girl what is the difference. Probably I have done more for my parents than a son would," said Kareena. Kareena Kapoor is expecting her first child with husband Saif Ali Khan.

Global Citizen India is a platform which will comprise a distinctive mix of events, grassroots activism, media campaigning and online activation, to catalyse India's journey towards achieving the Global Goals for Sustainable Development and to bring about the end of extreme poverty. Kareena further added, "We are still in a nation where we have been asked oh you are getting married and

still going to work, oh you are having a child are you till going to work. These questions upset me. When I was asked if I would like to be part of this initiative my first reaction was as an expectant mother on this journey nothing would make me happier than being part of a movement." "Not just for me or my child but for the millions of children out there. For all those people who think a girl child is considered taboo, a girl is considered not equal enough, not up to a man but you must know a woman is the only soul that has the right to carry a soul in her. That is truly something that is a joy," she added.

# 'Bad Man' is an affectionate tag, says Gulshan Grover



(Agencies) In his three-decade-long career, Gulshan Grover has played numerous negative characters. These roles earned him the moniker 'Bad Man' in the industry. "I look at 'Bad Man' as an affectionate tag. It reminds me of my childhood, or what you may call my beginning in Bollywood," says the actor. "That's how I started my career,

and that's what earned me the popularity I enjoy today." Today, however, the 60-year-old feels such 'negative' roles no longer exist in Bollywood. "The line between a hero and a villain is blurring. Movies are becoming more realistic, and in real life, there are no clear-cut heroes or negative characters. There's lesser

scope to play a villain these days. Like every medium, movies, too, have evolved. What we have today are anti-heroes," says Grover. He believes he is among the "last breed of villains in Bollywood". "The concept of a villain will soon cease to exist because actors don't gain popularity by just playing villains anymore," adds the senior actor, who has also acted in a large number of Hollywood movies, such as Desperate Endeavours (2011) and Prisoners Of The Sun (2013). What many people don't know is that his son, Sanjay Grover, works for a film studio in Los Angeles, USA. But Gulshan would like his son to work in Bollywood. "He is doing well there. But I have plans for him to come back to India, and work on something here," he says.



# I always performed well when I worked with credible filmmakers: Shahid Kapoor

(Agencies) He has been part of Bollywood for 13 years now. Even as Shahid Kapoor insists he's "happy" in the professional space he is in, he admits that "choosing the right content is tricky". "People who associate themselves with good content, and have the courage to back quality stuff, are going to be successful," he says. The actor adds that even if someone has

created "bad content", but is willing to "work hard" to turn that into a good product, such people also have the ability to become successful in the industry. "Whether they are actors, directors or producers, such people will try and create good content over and over again, and gain the confidence of the audience. Your intent has to reflect in your choices. Safe choices are not always safe," he

says. In fact, Shahid admits that he has, in the past, turned down many big-ticket films, as he wasn't convinced about them. "I have said no to big films. Having said that, there are many film-makers, who I would love to work with. I have noticed that I have always performed well when I have worked with a credible film-maker. I would love to work with the right minds, and with the right people," says the Bollywood star.



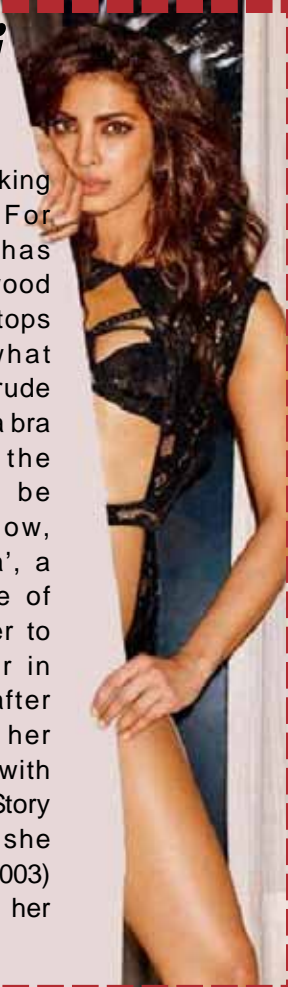
# Kapil building row? Developer served BMC notice for illegalities

(Agencies) The Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) served a notice to Dev Land Housing (DLH) Private Limited, the developer on the radar for violations in a building in Goregaon which houses actor Kapil Sharma, in June for alleged alterations in an 11-storey tower in JVPD, Andheri. Film-maker and social activist Ashoke Pandit, along with the residents of Leena Residency on Gulmohar Road, Andheri, had complained that the builder had encroached upon the 11th floor terrace, which was meant to be for the society's use, based on which the notice was issued under section 53 of the Mumbai Regional Town Planning Act (MRTP). The society underwent redevelopment in 2013 and the DLH handed over flats to residents in 2015. "The builder has encroached upon the basement by creating a room for help and toilets. A huge neon signboard has been put atop the building without the society's permission. The developer made alterations on the 10th and 11th floors, in complete contravention of the plan," said a resident, requesting anonymity. In the notice, a copy of which is with HT, the K/ West ward (includes Andheri) has asked the developer to restore the premises according to the approved plans "in one month" or face prosecution.



# The curious case of bra, bikini and Priyanka Chopra

(Agencies) Priyanka recently said she is shy exactly are we talking Chopra is easily one of and rather prefers a about here? For India's biggest stars shirt over a bra. "I think someone who has right now: From a bra should be kept serenaded Bollywood headlining Emmys to hidden, layered screens in bikini tops Oscars and winning underneath," she said. for a decade, what People's Choice Award Agreed, she has all the makes her go all prude for her debut American rights to 'prefer' what when asked about a bra TV series, she is taking she likes but to end that top? Or is the India places across the with a rather universal interviewer to be globe. The actor, who statement is blamed? You know, has never shied away judgemental, to say the asking about 'bra', a from flaunting her least. When asked if word and a piece of perfect bod - either on she'd go braless, she cloth people prefer to screen or on her told the same keep under cover in personal social media magazine, "If it's in the India? Soon after accounts, has intrigued vicinity of my bedroom, Priyanka made her us with a then yes—or, as long Bollywood debut with statement. Speaking to as people don't know." Hero - The Untold Story fashion magazine No one has the right of A Spy (2002), she Instyle, on the sidelines to object to what featured in Andaz (2003) of New York Fashion Priyanka wants to wear where she flaunted her Week, Priyanka or doesn't. But what perfect bikini bod.



# Sunny Leone Skips Premiere of Film on Her Life. Cold Feet?



(Agencies) Actress Sunny Leone, the subject of a new documentary, has, in a sudden and strange twist, developed cold feet over certain aspects of the tell-all film. Mostly Sunny, made by Toronto-based photojournalist and filmmaker Dilip Mehta, had its world premiere at the 41st Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), but Sunny chose to stay away from the event despite being in New York, only a short flight away.

"Days ahead of the premiere, she called me and demanded that I delete the stray topless clips that I have used from her adult films," Mr Mehta said. "That is rather surprising coming from Sunny, who claims on camera that she does not give a damn about what people think of her past as an adult entertainer," says the documentarian whose fiction debut, Cooking With Stella (2009), also premiered in TIFF. "Sunny's absence from TIFF has piqued everybody's interest. I can understand why. Had she attended the premiere in a festival as big as this one, it would have only earned her a great deal of mileage," he said.

On hindsight, says Mr Mehta, it is just as well that Sunny Leone isn't here. "The focus is now entirely on the film," he added. Mr Mehta filmed Sunny over a period of two years in Canada, US, India, London and Malaysia. The shoot for Mostly Sunny began "in Chandigarh of all places," says the director when her

film Jackpot bombed and the actress and her husband and business manager Daniel Weber were on the verge of packing up and returning to New York. In the documentary, Sunny admits as much: "Jackpot sank like the Titanic, to the bottom of the ocean." "Bollywood offers dried up. But her luck turned in the nick of time with the Baby Doll number (in Ragini MMS 2). She and her husband have since aggressively promoted the Sunny Leone brand and made much headway," Mr Mehta said. And that is essentially the improbable story that Mostly Sunny narrates in a refreshingly non-judgmental and entertaining way.

"There is absolutely nothing exploitative in the film," he said. "If anything, Mostly Sunny paints a portrait of a beautiful and intelligent woman, who lived life on her own terms." Mostly Sunny charts the life of Sunny Leone, born Karenjit Kaur Vohra in Samia, Ontario (a two-hour drive from Toronto), from her childhood in a conservative Sikh family to her shift to Los Angeles, her emergence as one of the biggest adult movie stars in the world and her subsequent mainstream movie career breakthroughs in Mumbai. Mostly Sunny, slated for worldwide release in December this year, will have its Asian premiere at Mumbai's MAMI Film Festival in October.

# Miss Japan speaks Bengali, listens to Hindi music and loves Bollywood films



(Agencies) She's half-Indian by birth, and way more Indian by choice — Miss Japan 2016 Priyanka Yoshikawa speaks Bengali, has lived in India, listens to Hindi songs, and is a fan of Bollywood films. Basically, she loves everything about India as much as she loves Japan.

Born to a Bengali father and Japanese mother, the 22-year-old was subject to racial slur, and called haafu (having one non-Japanese parent). Talk about pressure and she shuns it by saying 'not a problem' and is only thankful for the support she has received worldwide.

"I did not feel the pressure of being mixed and representing. What I faced was more of support and best wishes. I am very thankful, I have received great support from my country Japan and from India and other countries as well. I feel very grateful. I am grateful that I am representing my country.



Naomi Watts & Liev Schreiber arrive for the premiere of *The Bleeder*.



Nicole Kidman poses with a fan before the premiere of the film *Lion*.



Lily-Rose Depp and Natalie Portman attend the *Planetarium* premiere.



Director Mira Nair on the red carpet for the film *Queen of Katwe*.

# Code Red



Actress Scarlett Johansson on the red carpet for the film *Sing*.



Dakota Fanning



Rooney Mara

SHE has been keeping a low profile since welcoming daughter Rose Dorothy in 2014 with French husband Romain Dauriac.

But on Sunday Scarlett Johansson made sure to stand out in the star-studded crowd as she wore a red mini dress to the premiere of her new animated movie *Sing* at the Toronto International

Film Festival.

The festival also saw stars like Dakota Fanning, Rooney Mara, Nicole Kidman, Lily Rose Depp, Naomi Watts, Natalie Portman and filmmaker Mira Nair.

The blonde actress looked confident as she walked the carpet.

The Johansson looked confident as she walked the carpet.

With her tresses blowing back, she flashed a megawatt smile at the hundreds of fans waiting outside.

The *Lucy* star's dress moved nicely thanks to ultra light sheer fabric that gave a look at her sculpted arms. A nice bow tie in the front kept the number looking classy and conservative.

Johansson paired the dress with chunky peep-toe black platform heels that looked to be inspired by the 1940s.

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The star appeared to wear no jewelry but her gold wedding band on her ring finger from husband of two years Romain, a journalist in Paris.

Scarlett has called the *City Of Lights* her home base since settling down with Dauriac. Scarlett looked at ease as she posed with her co-star Reese, who was ravishing in an off-the-shoulder floral

dress with her long blonde locks parted to the side. Also in attendance was Hudson, also in red, and singer Tori Kelly.

In the film *Sing*, Scarlett plays a porcupine. Reese plays a pig, Seth MacFarlane a mouse, Taron Egerton a gorilla, and Kelly and elephant (Tori Kelly).

They gather at a theater for a singing competition.

*Sing's* director is Garth Jennings and the feature won't come out in the US until December 21.



Gazing seductively at the camera, Emily poses topless showcasing a series of intricate rings and pendent neck chains for the jewellery campaign.



Emily Ratajkowski

# TOPLESS WONDER

SHE went from relative anonymity to international notoriety after stripping off for Robin Thicke's controversial *Blurred Lines* video.

And Emily Ratajkowski has once again underscored what prompted the American singer to cast her in a revealing new modelling campaign.

The 24-year old is at her coquettish best in a series of sultry new shots for jewellery designer Jacquie Aiche's latest collection.

Gazing seductively at the camera, Emily exposes her cleavage in a silky blue robe while showcasing a series of intricate rings

and pendent neck chains.

Another smoldering shot finds the model flashing her extremely pert bottom in plain white underwear.

With one hand pressed across

## Emily was at her smouldering best

her shapely thigh she reveals a hand adorned with chain embellished rings — a recurring theme in the new collection.

She soon goes one step further by posing completely topless, her crossed arms protect-

ing her modesty as she casts her gaze across her shoulder.

In another topless shot Emily covers her breasts with the lapels of a khaki green jacket while offering the camera a sultry pout. But the breast is partially exposed as she trades the jacket for a knitted wrap, revealing a portion of underboob in the process.

Jacquie's high-end designs merge Native American turquoise relics, fossils and precious gemstones with the Middle Eastern influences of hammered gold, amulets and goddess imagery.

WITH her perfect figure and Oscar-winning acting credentials, it's hard to think of a more perfect cover girl than Halle Berry.

And the *Monster* star didn't disappoint as she joined ten other top stars in covering *W* magazine.

Looking her very best in a plunging black Versace dress, the mother-of-two proved that 50 really can be fabulous — having celebrated her landmark birthday just last month.

Joining her on the October edition of the magazine was another cover girl in her sixth decade — Jodie Foster.

The double Oscar winner, 53, smoldered as she posed in a Giorgio Armani dress.

Irina Shayk, Priyanka Chopra, Elle Fanning, Julia Louis-Drey-

## Halle flashes perfect figure for mag cover

fus, Chris Evans, Kanye West, Kit Harington, Ethan Hawke, and Rami Malek all also posed.

The magazine is a 'his-and-hers' fashion issue with the double issue boasting a female cover subject on one side, and a male cover subject on the other.

*Captain America* star Chris Evans told the magazine: "In the 6th grade, I played the supporting lead in a play called *Crazy Camp*. I ended up dating one of the more popular girls as a result.

"The second the play was over, she dumped me. So, at a young age, I learned the power of getting a good role." *Daily Mail*

# Meet the Fab-50 brigade



Halle Berry and (right) Jodie Foster.



# What's Going on With America's White People?

*Trump's rise put a sudden spotlight on the troubles of white working-class Americans. A conversation with some of those who've been tracking them up close.*

(Agencies) Donald Trump's appeals to working-class white Americans have no doubt stoked racial tensions. But his popularity among these voters has also put an unexpected spotlight on their grievances—whether they feel left behind by globalization and immigration or resentful of an elite political class that seems to ignore them. Do poor white Americans suddenly feel more disgruntled

than ever, or are the rest of us just now paying attention? How much of their pique has to do with economic factors versus matters of race or, simply, health? And what does it all mean for American politics—in 2016 and beyond? To answer those questions and more, Politico editor Susan Glasser and chief political correspondent Glenn Thrush convened four scholars from our Politico 50 list who have

studied the history of white people in America and documented their recent troubles; Thrush also interviewed J.D. Vance, author of *Hillbilly Elegy*, a bestselling memoir about working-class white culture. In a way, they all said, the discontent that propelled Trump to the nomination has been a long time coming.

(Contd on page 20)

# Donald Trump's Investments In India To Impact US Foreign Policy: Report



(Agencies) Donald Trump's massive expansion in the South investments in real estate overseas, including in Indian cities of Pune and Gurgaon, could have implications on America's foreign policy if the Republican presidential nominee wins the elections and occupies the White House next January, a major US weekly said. In its cover story on Trump's investments in properties overseas, the Newsweek on Wednesday said that as the Republican National Convention was about to get underway in July, the Trump Organization declared it was planning a

Asian country. "That is a chilling example of the many looming conflicts of interest in a Trump presidency," the weekly noted. "If he plays tough with India, will the government assume it has to clear the way for projects in that 'aggressive pipeline' and kill the investigations involving Trump's Pune partners? And if Trump takes a hard line with Pakistan, will it be for America's strategic interests or to appease Indian government officials who might jeopardize

(Contd on page 20)

# 'We Misled You' How the Saudis Are Coming Clean on Funding Terrorism



(Agencies) On my most recent trip to Saudi Arabia, I was greeted with a startling confession. In the past, when we raised the issue of funding Islamic extremists with the Saudis, all we got were denials. This time, in the course of meetings with King Salman, Crown Prince Nayef, Deputy Crown Mohammad Bin Salman and several ministers, one top Saudi official admitted to me, "We misled you." (Contd on page 19)

# Do Ideas Still Matter in the Year of Trump (and Clinton)?

*One candidate has no ideas. The other has old ones. So what's going to shape politics next?*

(Agencies) Let's face facts: 2016 has not been about ideas. You're reading our annual magazine issue devoted to the 50 thinkers changing American politics, but honesty compels us to admit that this campaign season has not really emphasized deep thinking. Sure, America remains starkly divided over vital questions of public policy and political ideology, divisions on sharp display on this list, but that's not what 2016 has been about, either.

No, 2016 has been about Donald Trump, who is not a thinker and is not interested in policy or ideology or ideas. He's not a Burkean conservative, a Hayekian conservative or a Randian objectivist. He's an id with an itchy Twitter finger and a gift for political theater. He's the alpha male of the cable-TV playground—giving his antagonists nasty nicknames like



"Crooked Hillary" and "Lyin' Ted" and "Pocahontas," waddling like a penguin to mock Mitt Romney, belittling the president of the United States as a loser, a foreigner, a terrorist sympathizer. He's made it clear that when he does take positions—even the kick-'em-out/keep-'em-out

immigration positions that vaulted him to the Republican nomination over 16 more policy-oriented rivals—they're always negotiable. He really has just one idea, which is, as he said in his convention speech, "I alone can fix it"—or, as he says almost every time he opens his mouth,

(Contd on page 19)

# Civic mess on Eid

## A 'river of blood' ran through Dhaka after heavy rainfall



(Agencies) The streets of Bangladesh's capital Dhaka turned red on Eid-ul-Adha, a Muslim festival of sacrifice, after the blood of thousands of sheep, goats and cows slaughtered as offering combined with flood water. People in Dhaka shared pictures of the streets with blood-stained water on social media as a heavy spell of rains on Tuesday added to the problem in



the city with poor drainage systems. Residents were seen wading through ankle-high water awashed with blood and animal remains. "I felt I was walking through a post-apocalyptic neighbourhood,"

(Contd on page 21)