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HOPE RIDING A SINKING DONALD

It's as if the possibility that we can sometimes push our country to do something right, that our side can sometimes win, seems to rattle us.

family's New Yorker magazines and coming across a Whitney Darrow cartoon about a lesson at a secretarial school. A businessman is chasing a woman around a desk as the teacher explains, "Notice, class, how Angela circles, always keeping the desk between them..."

There you have it: the devaluation of women's work (secretarial skills reduced to techniques for evading the boss's advances), the trivialization of sexual predation, and in Angela's knowing smile, admiration for the woman who keeps her sense of humor while defending her virtue. What's most surprising about the response to Trump's hot-mic moment is the apparent national consensus that speaking — or even thinking — about sexual assault the way Trump did on this video is neither normal nor amusing. This shared assumption that women are not trophies for the taking marks an advance toward full personhood that we have achieved only in my

(Agencies) In these dismal days of climate change, imperial decline, endless war, and in my city, a hapless football team, I seem to be experiencing a strange and unaccustomed emotion: hope. How can that be? Maybe it's because, like my poor San Francisco 49ers who have been "rebuilding" for the last two decades, I'm fortunate enough to be able to play the long game. But what exactly is making me feel hopeful at the moment?

For one thing, we seem to have finally reached Peak Trump, and the reason why is important.

Calling Mexicans rapists and drug dealers didn't do it. Promising to bring back waterboarding and committing assorted other war crimes didn't do it. Flirting with the white

supremacist crowd and their little friend Pepe the Frog didn't do it. But an 11-year-old video tape of Trump bragging about grabbing women "by the pussy" seems to have been the drop of water that finally cracked the dam and sent even stalwart Republican leaders fleeing a flood of public revulsion.

In the midst of the most frightening and depressing presidential election of my life, the reactions to this latest glimpse into the Mind of Trump have actually lifted my spirits. Not that many years ago, an exchange like the one between Donald Trump and Billy Bush would hardly have been news. Sexual harassment was an expected part of the lives of working women — par for a Trump golf course. I remember, for instance, paging through my

It Lost Black Voters. Now It's Losing Latinos. What's Left Is a Broken, White GOP

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lifetime. When you stop to think about it, it's an extraordinary cultural shift. And once people figure out that women are, after all, human, it's pretty hard to stuff that genie back into the bottle. Of course, there are still a lot of men who have a hard time with the woman-human being equation. Paul Ryan, for example, responded to the Trump video release by opining that "Women are to be championed and revered" — a view that suggests we are either helpless creatures to be saved

by a "champion" or other-than-human creatures belonging on some Victorian pedestal. Then There's Hillary In her first debate with Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton actually said the words "systemic racism." Never in our history has a mainstream presidential candidate described our country's racial institutions in that kind of language. Indeed, one of the biggest political problems the movement for racial justice has faced in the post-Civil (Contd on page 21)



Trump refuses to say he'll accept losing

With Hillary Clinton in control of the Las Vegas debate stage — and the presidential election — the Republican nominee says he may not accept the outcome on Nov. 8.



(Agencies) Las Vegas — Donald Trump delivered another unprecedented historical moment during the final presidential debate Wednesday night when the Republican nominee, who appears on his way to a landslide loss, refused to say that he would accept the election's outcome.

"I will look at it at the time," said Trump — just hours after his daughter, campaign manager and running mate all insisted that he would respect the voters' will, win or lose.

After moderator Chris Wallace explained that the peaceful transfer of power, a hallmark of American democracy, depends on the losing candidate accepting the validity of the electoral results, Trump launched into a soliloquy about how the media has it in for him and how the overall election is rigged against his campaign. Treating American democracy as gingerly as a reality TV subplot, Trump promised Wallace and the country he would "keep you in suspense, OK?"

"That's horrifying," Clinton shot back, offering several examples of Trump blaming his personal setbacks and disappointments on others' cheating or rigging of the events, including The Apprentice getting passed over for an Emmy.

"Should have gotten it," Trump blurted back.

The Republican nominee's stunning refusal to say he'll accept the outcome on Nov. 8 was a jolting replay of the first GOP primary debate in which he dismayed his fellow Republicans by refusing to back the eventual nominee. Trump entered his third and final showdown with Clinton needing a dominant performance to reshape a race that now seems out of reach — or, more realistically, to limit the down-ballot collateral damage from what's shaping up to be a landslide loss. But his relatively more measured, focused performance ran up against a bevy of his own personal baggage that Clinton masterfully wielded against him.

Acting like a woman on the verge of clinching the presidency, Clinton swatted away Trump as a nuisance and vigorously attacked his signature policy proposals — a border wall and mass deportations of undocumented immigrants — as ideas that are "not in keeping with who we are as a nation" and ones, she said, that "would rip our country apart."

Trump, who stands to lose Latino voters by an even larger margin than Mitt Romney four years ago, didn't budge. "We have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out," he said.

Unlike in the last showdown in St. Louis, the acrimony between the two candidates on stage took time to build. The personal guests Trump seated in the front row to

psyche out Clinton, including the mother of a Navy Seal killed in the Benghazi attack, were never even mentioned. But as this debate passed the midway mark, Clinton, who'd been attempting to bait her opponent from the get-go, hammered Trump over the nine women who have come forward in the past week and accused him of sexual assault after he attempted to dismiss them as having been "debunked."

"Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger," Clinton said. "He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere that doesn't know what that feels like. So we

now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president."

Although Trump, after preparing more intensely for this final showdown, attempted to put Clinton on the defensive several times and attacked the former secretary of state, especially over Clinton Foundation donations and past votes and statements of hers that he seemed better versed on, the Democratic nominee deftly

parried the attacks. After a relatively subdued and substantive opening segment on Supreme Court appointments, Clinton began trying to provoke a more animated response from the fiery GOP nominee, pointing to Trump's failure to discuss his wall and his promise that Mexico would pay for it when he met two months ago with the country's president. "He didn't even raise it," Clinton said. "He choked. And then he got into a Twitter war."

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Obama to Trump: 'Stop whining'

(Agencies) President Barack Obama has a blunt message for Donald Trump: "Stop whining." Speaking alongside Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi in the Rose Garden, Obama dismissed Trump's incessant talk of a rigged election as a whimper coming out of a campaign that treats this election like a joke.

"There is no serious person out there who would suggest somehow that you could even rig America's elections, in part because they're so

decentralized and the numbers of votes involved," Obama said.

"There's no evidence that that has happened in the past or that there are instances in which that will happen this time," he continued. "And so, I'd advise Mr. Trump to stop whining and go try to make his case to get votes." Trump as recently as Tuesday morning maintained that the election is rigged, even attacking Republicans during an interview with conservative radio host Mike Gallagher for breaking with him on his baseless claims. "One of

the great things about America's democracy," Obama said, is that the U.S. holds "a vigorous, sometimes bitter, political contest" in which the loser congratulates the winner. "That's how democracy survives. Because we recognize that there's something more important than any individual campaign, and that is making sure that the integrity and trust in our institutions sustains itself because democracy, by definition, works by consent, not by force," he said. "I have never

seen in my lifetime or in modern political history any presidential candidate trying to discredit the elections and the election process before votes have even taken place." Obama called such a move an "unprecedented" claim that "happens to be based on no facts." He noted that election experts of all stripes have said "that instances of significant voter fraud are not to be found."

The president pointed to Florida, where Republican Rick Scott, a Trump supporter, is governor. "The notion that somehow if Mr. Trump loses Florida it's because of 'those people that you have to watch out for,' that is both irresponsible and, by the way, doesn't really show the kind of leadership and toughness that you'd want out of a president." "If you start whining before the game's even over, if whenever things are going badly for you and you lose, you start blaming somebody else, then you don't have what it takes to

be in this job," Obama said. "Because there are a lot of times when things don't go our way — or my way. That's OK. You fight through it. You work through it. You try to accomplish your goals." Obama said he believes if Hillary Clinton were to lose in November, he'd expect his former secretary of state to concede and vow to work with President Trump to ensure Americans benefit from an effective government. "If he got the most votes then it would be my expectation of Hillary Clinton to offer a gracious concession speech and pledge to work with him in order to make sure that the American people benefit from an effective government," he said. "And it would be my job to welcome Mr. Trump, regardless of what he's said about me or my differences with him on my opinions, and escort him over to the Capitol, in which there would be a peaceful transfer of power. That's what Americans do. That's why America's already great."

The Guptas: India-born brothers at heart of South Africa graft scandal



(Agencies) Political drama, corruption allegations and even wedding party controversies — the Gupta family, one of South Africa's wealthiest, has been accused of wielding undue influence behind the scenes.

Now the immigrant family is at the centre of a row battering President Jacob Zuma after allegedly offering key government jobs to those who might help the Gupta family's business interests.

Who are the Guptas? The corruption scandal has renewed scrutiny about Zuma's ties with Ajay, Atul and Rajesh Gupta, three brothers from the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh.

Led by Atul, they arrived in South Africa in 1993 as white-minority apartheid rule crumbled and a year before Nelson Mandela won the country's first democratic elections.

As the country opened up to foreign investment, the Guptas — previously small-scale businessmen in India — built a sprawling empire in computers, mining, media, technology and engineering.

The New Age, a pro-

government newspaper, was launched in 2010, and the 24-hour news channel ANN7 started broadcasting in 2013.

They also developed close links with the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party, and particularly with Zuma, well before he became president in 2009.

What are the alleged links? Zuma's son Duduzane is a director of the Gupta's Sahara Computers, named after their hometown of Saharanpur, and has been a director of several other Gupta companies.

Zuma's third wife Bongni Ngema and one of his daughters have also been Gupta employees.

Deputy finance minister Mcebisi Jonas claimed in March that the Guptas had offered him the post of finance minister, providing the first public testimony of their alleged involvement in cabinet appointments.

Last week the BBC reported that little-known ANC lawmaker David van Rooyen visited the Guptas' home the night before his appointment as finance minister in December.

Mines minister Mosebenzi

Zwane is also seen as close to the Guptas.

Both the Guptas and Zuma, who has described the brothers as friends, deny any wrongdoing.

Where do they live? Now in their 40s, the Guptas hold court at their residential and business headquarters in a huge high-security compound in Saxonwold, an upmarket district of Johannesburg.

It has a helicopter pad and they reportedly travel with their own chefs and bodyguards.

But as pressure has

increased on them this year, they were reported to be moving their base to Dubai and to have bought a large residence in the city.

They said in August that they plan to sell their South African assets.

Public anger towards the family soared in 2013, when a jet carrying 217 foreign guests to a Gupta wedding landed at Waterkloof Air Force base, outside Pretoria.

The airport is a military facility normally used to receive heads

of state.

What happens now? The Guptas complained voraciously when South Africa's largest banks closed their accounts earlier this year.

The family lobbied unsuccessfully for finance minister Pravin Gordhan, who is at loggerheads with Zuma, to intervene. But on Friday Gordhan disclosed in a court affidavit that the Gupta family and associated companies were implicated in "suspicious transactions" worth \$480 million over four years.

Trump campaign flyer misidentifies Sikh man as Muslim supporter

(Agencies) In another gaffe, an Indian-origin Sikh in the US was misidentified as a Muslim supporter of Donald Trump in flyers distributed by the Republican presidential nominee's campaign, a media report said on Tuesday. Gurinder Singh Khalsa, a resident of Fishers city in Indiana who immigrated to the US from India, featured in the handbill advertisement with the word "Muslim" superimposed above his picture, WTHR TV channel reported. The flyers, distributed in Ohio to canvass for Trump, claimed that Khalsa was a Muslim Trump supporter.

"I am not Muslim and I am not supporting Trump," he was quoted as saying by the channel.

"He (Trump) is putting my picture, saying Muslims support him and I have nothing to do with it. I do not support Trump. Nobody even asked me to put that picture there. It was shocking, disturbing and this will create more

confusion among people because they are sending it nationwide," he said. Khalsa, who founded the Sikh Political Action Committee — a non-partisan group encouraging state lawmakers to include Sikhs in the conversation — said Sikhs have been mistaken



as radical Islamists and have been targeted by hate crimes.

He said the committee wants to teach the public who they are, why they have beards and wear turbans. It is designed to help Americans understand the differences between his Sikh religion and others from around the world.

Did Clinton campaign chair John Podesta help Ford Foundation deal with India?

(Agencies) Ford Foundation and Greenpeace, whose financing and contributions were under scrutiny by the Indian government last year, had enlisted Clinton campaign chair John Podesta's help, according to a set of his hacked emails released by WikiLeaks on Monday.

Podesta did try to help, the emails revealed. Though they gave no details, one of them said he was the "primary reason for the positive turn" in the fortunes of Ford Foundation, which survived the scrutiny and was back in business in March.

Greenpeace was less fortunate, and was thrown out in November 2015, a development foreseen by Podesta, a consummate Washington insider who served presidents Bill Clinton and Barack Obama and founded an influential tank.

Ford Foundation, a New York-based charity, has been a major donor to Podesta's think tank, Center for American Progress (CAP), and one of its trustees reminded Podesta of this in an

email about the "India issue" - "I am always happy to see Ford grants to CAP."

"Ford has become a mainstay for CAP too," Podesta conceded in his reply, confirming his think tank had received funding from the charity he tried to save from the Indian government.

The Modi government brought hundreds of global charities under scrutiny in 2015 for violating India's foreign contribution laws that prohibit them from funding political causes. Ford Foundation and Greenpeace were among those that made the most headlines.

"Want to talk to the head of Greenpeace?" Podesta wrote in an email to his brother Tony Podesta, who heads a lobbying firm that had India among its major clients then. "Kumi Naidoo (the Greenpeace head) is a very well known South African with a big international following, but I think GOI (short for government of India) is likely to stick it to them." He added, "Separately, I am trying to help Ford Foundation which also got on the wrong side of GOI, but whose case I think can be more easily resolved."

The case was resolved. Podesta may have played a role in it, as mentioned in the email from the Ford Foundation trustee, but no other details were immediately available, specially of a quid pro quo.

Ford Foundation was cleared to resume business as usual in March, just a month before Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the US for the nuclear summit, a pet project of Obama.

But Greenpeace was forced to fold up. A lobbyist who once worked with the organisation wrote an email to Podesta, saying, "I have had a request from some colleagues at Greenpeace as they are facing a very serious situation in India. In a nutshell: an Indian Intelligence Bureau report was 'leaked' alleging Greenpeace India was responsible for a loss of 2-3% of the country's GDP.

"Since then the Ministry of Home Affairs has kept up a relentless attack of allegations of irregularities in their



registration and has now frozen all their bank accounts, both foreign and domestic, despite a Delhi High Court ruling there was no basis for doing so.

"The bottom line is that without some kind of intervention, they will have to close down by the end of June. This has never happened to a Greenpeace office in the entire history of the organization.

"Kumi Naidoo was hoping to speak with you or to get advice on who might be able to help behind the scenes explaining to people close to the Prime Minister that their campaigns are about the issues of clean air and clean water and not personal and their office should not be forced to close because they have a different vision of India's future.

"Improving Diversity in the Financial Services Industry. A Hollistic View."



Seton Hall University Leadership Students Geoffrey Thomulka, Luciano Cundari, Prachi Makkar) with John Williams, President & CEO of Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, CA.

Prachi Makkar was selected to represent Stillman School of Business along with 2 other students Geoffrey Thomulka, Luciano Cundari for a seminar "Improving Diversity in the Financial Services Industry. A Hollistic View." Conference held in Newark, NJ on October 19th, 2016.

Mr. John Williams, President & CEO of Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, CA, delivered the key note address.

As such Wall Street/ Financial Industry is notorious for not giving adequate representation to the women and minorities. The conference explored the issues and solutions for improving opportunities for minorities and women in the

financial services sector. Through a combination of panel discussions and presentations by a broad range of industry professionals, academics and current students, the conference shed light on the full range of issues and challenges that impact the level of diversity within the industry.

Participants and attendees walk away with a better understanding of the current level of diversity within the financial services industry, along with tangible approaches being proposed and/or implemented to improve outcomes. The conference also served as the springboard for launching the "Center for Research on Diversity in the Financial Services Industry" at the Rutgers Business

School to promote academic research and future events on this important topic.

Prachi is a Senior at Seton Hall University studying finance and IT as major and marketing as minor. She is part of the Leadership Development Business Honors program and the National Society of Collegiate Scholars. Prachi has been a Peer Adviser at her school from 2013 to 2016 and now she is on the admission panel. Currently she is interning part time at Merrill Lynch's Global Wealth Management office in Short Hill office since May 2015 besides working for them full time as Summer intern in 2015. This summer she interened full time at J P Morgan Chase as financial analyst in their New York office.

Along with her academics, she has been singing for the past 12 years and is very involved in the community. She can sing in Hindi, Punjabi & Sanskrit and plays Harmonium and violin. Besides devotional singing in Temples & Gurudwara, she is a Punjabi Folk singer also. For last 4 years she is more known for her "Maa Durga Chowki" along with her younger brother Surya Makkar. She is the winner of various academic and cultural awards. She was associated with Hindu Youth Summer Camps at Bala Ji Temple for over 6 years and for last 2 years she was the Assistant Director of the programme.

Trump 'satisfied' with final debate performance



(Agencies) Las Vegas: Republican nominee Donald Trump expressed satisfaction with his performance in the last presidential debate against rival Democrat Hillary Clinton.

"That was really exciting. Made all of my points. 'Make America Great Again'," tweeted Trump minutes after debate ended.

The 90-minute debate that took place at University of Nevada's Thomas and Mack Centre comes 20 days ahead of the November 8 election, was moderated by Fox News journalist Chris Wallace.

The candidates thrashed out issues from abortion rights to gun control to the battle against the Islamic State.

They clashed on matters of policy — foreign and domestic. They even differed on whether they would accept the results on November 8, with Trump saying he would "take a wait-and-see approach" and Clinton calling that "horrifying", reported ABC News.

Will talk to Pak but time, place to be of India's choice: Foreign secy

(Agencies) India will engage with Pakistan diplomatically in future but the date and time of any such engagement will be of the Centre's choosing, foreign secretary S Jaishankar told a parliamentary panel on Tuesday.

When asked by members if India wants to resume dialogue with its hostile western neighbour from the position of advantage after the surgical strike inside the Pak territory, Jaishankar answered positively. "We had been engaging with Pakistan and will do so in future. But right now, we don't have any fixed calendar even for talks at the secretary-level," he told the panel.

Jaishankar also told the parliamentary standing committee on foreign affairs that army strikes on militant bases in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir last month had given Islamabad a taste of what India was capable of, sources said.

He added that the army had conducted targeted operations across the Line of Control before, but those strikes were not publicized.

"If you are asking whether our troops

crossed the LoC and conducted calibrated operations before, the answer is yes. If you are asking if they achieved their targets and returned to India, the answer is also yes," Jaishankar was quoted as saying by two members of the foreign affairs panel.

The foreign secretary added, "The only difference... this time we announced it a day later," and cited unexplained diplomatic reasons for publicizing the operations. A week ago, Prime Minister Narendra Modi had also spoken about shifting from yuddha (war) to Buddha. "Sometimes war becomes inevitable because of the existing situations. But we are those who can move ahead from yuddha (war) to Buddha. We make a balance between the two," Modi said in a speech at Lucknow, indicating flexibility in India's foreign policy.

The army strikes ratcheted up tensions with Pakistan and were seen as retaliation for an attack on an army base in Kashmir's Uri last month that left 19 soldiers dead. Since then, India has

also moved to isolate Islamabad globally.

The strikes have triggered a domestic political clamour with opposition parties demanding proof and alleging the government was trying to gain electoral mileage out of the operation.

But army vice-chief lieutenant general Bipin Rawat -- who briefed the panel members -- remained non-committal about submitting proof. "Our boys went for a swift, time-bound operation. They were given specific targets but not told to collect evidence," he said. "However, we are trying to collate some proof." The government had previously said that the army had submitted proof of the operation.

Read | Indian Army says ready to deal with any misadventure from across LoC

Panel chairman Shashi Tharoor and members such as Congress' Satyavrat Chaturvedi and CPI(M)'s



Mohammad Salim questioned the foreign secretary on a slew of militant attacks on army and paramilitary establishments that have continued even after the surgical strikes. Sources said Jaishankar said some "terror launch pads" were still active.

Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi was present throughout the meeting. BJP MP Sharad Tripathi was more interested to know from special secretary (internal security) Mahesh Singla if the government would review the security of parliamentarians.

This was the second parliamentary briefing on the army operation in a week. The defence panel was briefed last week but no questions were allowed.

Pakistan PM cornered over 'graft' and Kashmir situation

(Agencies) ISLAMABAD: There's more trouble brewing at home for Pakistan's beleaguered Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif+. While the Imran Khan-led opposition party+ Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has threatened an 'Occupy Islamabad' sit-in over alleged money-laundering by the Sharif family, a coalition of religious and political outfits called Difa-e-Pakistan Council (DPC) plans to organise protests in the nation's capital against alleged "Indian atrocities" in Jammu & Kashmir. PTI's "lockdown" of Islamabad is scheduled for November 2, while DPC — which is spearheaded by the 26/11 mastermind Hafiz Saeed-led Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) — has announced rallies in Islamabad and Muzaffarabad (POK) on October 27 and 28.

DPC's call came despite a raging controversy in Pakistan+ over the public activities of terrorist organisations. Earlier this month, a whistle-blower report+ in the daily 'Dawn' unearthed the showdown between Pakistan's civilian and military leaderships over the nation's failure to act against militant outfits engaged in activities against India and Afghanistan. According to the October 6 report, the Sharif



government had told the military brass that their support for jihadis+ and their outfits had isolated the country internationally.

JuD spokesperson Asif Khurshed confirmed the DPC demonstrations. "We will take formal permission for the rallies from the Islamabad district administration a week before they are scheduled," he was quoted as saying by a local daily. He said DPC had not received any instruction from the government about their public gatherings being either cancelled or postponed in the wake of the Dawn report. Maulana Ahmed Ludhianvi, the chief of Ahle

Sunnat wal Jamaat (ASWJ), another prominent DPC member, told the media that they had always stood for the "protection of Pakistan's sovereignty". "Protecting the country's sovereignty is not a crime," he added. According to Ludhianvi, the DPC started operations after the US Navy SEALs "violated Pakistan's sovereignty" to kill al-Qaida chief Osama bin Laden at Abbottabad in 2011, and a Nato strike on a Pakistani military post in the Khyber tribal region killed 24 soldiers the same year. "When the country faced external threats, the religious groups stood with the army," he said.

Japan bans Galaxy Note 7 on airplanes over fire risk



(Agencies) Tokyo: Japan has barred all Samsung Galaxy Note 7 smartphones from airplanes, mirroring moves by US regulators and a string of carriers that banned the recalled devices over fire risk concerns. The weekend announcement from Japan's transport ministry follows an earlier warning that asked airlines to urge passengers not to turn on or charge the smartphones on aircraft.

But aviation authorities went a step further on Saturday, ordering airlines to ban the devices completely, a transport ministry official said. The South Korean electronics giant has recalled all Note 7 phones, including replacements, following reports of exploding batteries and fires, which have led to numerous injuries. Samsung has

also stopped producing the flagship handset.

Japan's move came after US transport authorities on Friday issued an emergency order banning the phones and saying anyone attempting to travel with the recalled handsets may face fines and have the devices confiscated.

It was not immediately clear what sort of penalties passengers on All Nippon Airways and Japan Airlines — the country's biggest carriers — could face if they were found with the phone.

JAL spokesman Takuya Shimoguchi said customers could choose to board planes without their Note 7 phone or the airline would confiscate it. But "there have been no clear instructions on punitive measures", he added. "We'll act on a case-by-case basis."

Don't stop the music

Sharing culture humanises India and Pakistan banning this pushes both from peace towards war.



All of a sudden, art and cultural cooperation look like becoming a casualty in the latest confrontation between India and Pakistan. We must not let that happen.

Let's all hit the pause button on the news for a moment and remember what we have in common. Like our Indian counterparts, Pakistani music, poetry, television and literature have acted as a bridge between generations, cultures and nations — our nations. From Madam Noor Jehan to Abida Parveen, from Mehdi Hassan to Ustad Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, from Nazia Hassan to Junoon and the present generation, artists have provided a mosaic of cultural spaces that reveal the true face, hopes and common humanity of South Asia.

But amid the ongoing tension, here's what cross-border collaboration is up against: Pakistani artists working in India have been threatened with violence by hawkish organisations like MNS. Indian film icons Salman Khan and Om Puri have reportedly been labelled traitors for arguing to keep art and culture separate from politics. And on the Pakistani side of the border, in response to the outrage in India, the Pakistani motion picture association and PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) have threatened to stop screening Indian films and ban Indian artists from appearing in Pakistani films and TV commercials.

What the threat-makers forget is this — culture

humanises what politics demonises. Banning artists, writers, actors and poets will give victory to the terrorists and extremists who don't want people-to-people contact. They only want to create fear.

Just a few weeks ago, Om Puri was in Pakistan, promoting the Pakistani-produced film Actor In Law, which is doing record business in the country. Indian artists are embraced by Pakistanis —and it's not just a one-way street. Indian music companies, film producers and event organisers invite Pakistani artists since it makes good business sense to do so.

I speak from personal experience. Junoon's short music film Ghoom Tana features my Indian friends Shubha Mudgal, Naseeruddin Shah and Nandita Das. We shot this in Patiala, where my mother was born, and from where she subsequently fled during Partition. What's more, Junoon was the first and only Pakistani rock band to perform in Srinagar, in May 2008. Performing at the edge of the Dal lake, for thousands of Kashmiri students and South Asian leaders, is one of the best memories of my life. It revealed the possibility of harmony in our subcontinent, too often rocked with violence and border tensions.

Despite the trauma of Partition, our history of conflict and the pain of the present moment, there still remains, miraculously, great love, friendship and a deep spiritual harmony between Indians and Pakistanis, elders

to current generations. I know this from my own experience — so does Om Puri and every Indian and Pakistani who has a stake in a peaceful subcontinent. It's this kind of collaboration we must protect, even as our governments drag their feet to find solutions to our most intractable conflicts.

Driving a wedge between Pakistan and India won't just imperil artists' collaboration. It

also threatens to disrupt our common cause of improving public health. In July, as a physician, I attended an exercise in the Maldives for building a disease surveillance network in South Asia. It was attended by public health experts from seven South Asian countries. Indian and Pakistani public health experts alike are focused on mobilising a disease surveillance network. That would require better communication between the two countries — not cutting it off.

I've lectured and performed at Indian universities and the overwhelming message I heard from students is — more people-to-people contact, not less. In democratic nations, diverse views like these students' are welcomed, not muzzled. There should be the same across both sides of the border — and more of it. In the 21st century, we live in an interconnected world. Whether it's appreciating music and film or fighting polio, the joys and sorrows of life are increasingly shared.

After Partition, we have three armies, three cricket teams, two jingoistic medias and two nuclear-armed states. And it seems as if the only people who want to work together are business leaders, artists and doctors.

It doesn't have to be that way. The circle of light can grow wider.

When Junoon played in Delhi in February at a UNESCO concert promoting peace and education, an Indian mother brought her teenaged daughter to the show. Her daughter was named "Sayonee" after our hit song, since the mother grew up on Junoon's music. When I met them later, Sayonee told me she's learning to play the guitar — and the solo song that inspired her name. That is the power of music across generations and barbed-wire borders. Let's take a deep breath and remember that 60 per cent of well over a billion Indians and Pakistanis are teenagers like Sayonee.

What kind of future do we want to give them? War or peace? The choice is ours to make today.

Even if Hillary wins

The authority of American democracy has taken a beating. Restoring faith will be a tough ask.



Hillary Clinton's lead over Donald Trump may be increasing. But it is an open question whether the prospect of her victory will be enough to reassure the world about the crisis of American democracy. This election is straight out of the nightmare degeneration of democracy described in Plato's Republic. American democracy has given unprecedented space to a man with deep tyrannical instincts. There is a fascination with evil that seems almost to give a thrill. It is dulling the power of discrimination and judgment. The line between truth and opinion seems to be blurred. Sexual misogyny has breached all restraints of decorum. Institutions like parties, and the media, abetted this onslaught rather than checking it. The Republicans, the party that

sermonised about character, rolled over. And all in the name of the poor. The mask of civility that gives the soul a semblance of outward order and restraint has crumbled. It is disconcerting that these tendencies have been unleashed despite, arguably, one of the most accomplished, and in many ways, exemplary presidents of modern times, Barack Obama, being at the helm for eight years. How could his presidency sow the seeds of moral confusion? There is much to be discussed and debated about the Obama presidency. But on even the meanest interpretations, there is nothing in his record that presages this degree of polarisation, resentment and sheer refusal to truth. How

could this come to pass? The first interpretation is simply that we are seeing the politics of resentment pure and simple. Hitherto privileged groups, particularly white males, have not reconciled to two of the largest social phenomena of our times: Racial emancipation and ethnic diversity on the one hand and gender equality on the other. The psychological burdens of adjusting to the fact that groups that you hitherto exercised impunity over are no longer subordinate are greater than we thought; Tocqueville's pessimism about the difficulties of this adjustment were more right than Enlightenment hopes about a post-identity politics.

(Contd on page 22)

A Delicate Balance

A November 1964 exchange between US diplomat Chester Bowles and India's then Ambassador to Moscow T.N. Kaul offers a fascinating insight into the contemporary dilemma regarding a sustainable approach to the great powers.

While discussing South East Asia, Bowles had remarked, "it would be a good thing if India could try to bring the Soviet and American points of view closer... India's friendship with both could act as a sort of bridge between them." Bowles "hoped that it would be possible for USA and USSR, with the help of India, to come to some kind of understanding about preventing Chinese expansionism and infiltration in South East Asia." Kaul had responded that, "India would be glad to bring the US and Soviet points of view closer as far as lay within our ability. In fact this was our present policy."

Kaul's response reflected India's then geo-strategy to position itself as an area of agreement between the US and Soviets. As his September 1965 cable to Indira Gandhi subsequently explained: "The interests of America, USSR and India, have a common feature of being aimed at the prevention of Chinese expansion in this area. This provides an opportunity for India to reap the maximum possible advantage from both sides and strengthen herself for the future."

Does the contemporary environment enable a similar opportunity to again position India as an area of agreement between Washington and Moscow? To evaluate such a balance-of-power approach we need to examine the inner workings of the US-Russia-China triangle, which defines the great power setting for Delhi. There are three dynamics that must inform an Indian policy-strategy towards the global triangle.

The US-Russia-China triangle

The first dynamic is US global geostrategy with the Pacific "pivot" as a sub-component of US foreign policy. The escalating US-Russia Cold War and proxy military conflicts have ironically placed the parallel Sino-American antagonism in East Asia as a sub-plot in America's global chessboard, despite the US "pivot" to the east.

On the sidelines of a recent seminar on China in Delhi, an American interlocutor privately remarked that from Washington's perspective, Russia is a bigger challenge for US strategists than China. The reasoning: China was merely making "claims"; Russia was actually rolling back US influence.

This belief is also reflected in mainstream American political discourse where Russia rather than China has dominated the recent conversation on international security. For Delhi, this has been disconcerting, and is challenging Indian policy assumptions, which were based on the premise of an undistracted American "rebalance" towards the east.

The second dynamic in the global triangle is the continuity and change in the Sino-American relationship. Economic interdependence, which had muted their security dilemma, has been displaced by a more overt rivalry and tensions, particularly on China's maritime periphery. Yet, just as the last decade had exaggerated the promise of US-China relations, the contemporary discourse exaggerates enmity.

Both sides still recognise that accumulated economic linkages in each other's economies shape their strategic choices. The 2015 figure of \$659 billion in two-way US-China trade in goods and services is hardly a trivial figure. Perhaps, even more interesting is the tacit and active cooperation between China's new economic institutions and plans with the existing Bretton Woods order.

As one American official recently remarked, "better infrastructure" through China's One Belt, One Road (OBOR) "will increase trade flows. It's as simple as that." Western and Japanese MNCs can become players in "conjunction with Chinese partners" in this process.

The Chinese too have made a conscious effort – both symbolically and in practice – to project their new institutions as complementary to US-dominated, Bretton Woods institutions.

In April this year, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), China's flagship multilateral bank, and the World Bank agreed to "co-financing" projects together with plans to jointly finance several projects in diverse infrastructure sectors in East Asia, Central Asia, and South Asia, including in Pakistan, where the AIIB and ADB have come together to finance a road construction project.

Since May this year, the Chinese have also begun encouraging foreign MNCs already present in China to co-invest with Chinese contractors in third countries, in a sense directing mainland supply chains to new areas along with their foreign economic partners.

Although it is too soon to forecast a clear trend, the interaction of American and Chinese capital seems to have its own logic, which cannot but condition the overall Sino-American equation for the foreseeable future. The West's need to maintain a stable global economy, expand its base, and keep Asian markets growing in order to arrest its own economic problems, could witness a more complicated picture coming into being: where the old Bretton Woods order is compelled to adapt, co-exist and negotiate with Chinese ideas and institutions. At the very least, Moscow and Delhi's perceptions and management of their China relationships must continue to take account of the reality where the declining hegemon has complex material ties with Asia's emerging economic centre.

Message from Goa

Terror from Pakistan is a global problem but Pakistan is and will be India's headache more than anybody else's.

Having successfully isolated Pakistan in the region by getting all neighbours to stay away from SAARC and with no world power opposing the surgical strikes, New Delhi has reason for a measure of quiet satisfaction. One reality check, however, has come from the BRICS summit in Goa. Having chosen it as a stage from which to push forward the campaign to isolate Pakistan on terrorism, India ran into a wall of sorts. Chinese president Xi Jinping called for "political solutions" to "regional hotspots" and a multi-pronged approach to address "symptoms and root causes" of terror, while Russian President Vladimir Putin avoided any reference to terrorism. The 109-paragraph BRICS declaration specifically named the Islamic State but did not mention "cross-border terrorism", leaving out terror outfits that have struck India: Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad. The message from the big two in BRICS, Russia and China, is clear: Terror from Pakistan is a problem no doubt, but how to deal with terror targeted at India is India's problem, first and last. The reasons lie, as always, in the realities of geopolitics. China and Russia see a threat emerging from their nationals serving with Islamic State and al Qaeda, as the so-called Caliphate is destroyed in Iraq and Syria, and relocates to Afghanistan. They are seeking to build up the Afghan Taliban as a counterweight, and they see Pakistan as a valuable partner. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is not just a landmark in relations between the two countries, it is a bilateral agreement of enormous geo-strategic significance.

There will be conflicting interests within any grouping, and there are in BRICS. Yet there are also areas of unanimity for New Delhi to build on. For instance, after India-Russia talks on Saturday, the joint statement emphasised the "commonality of positions". "India and Russia recognise the threat posed by terrorism, and believe that the full implementation of the relevant UNSC resolutions, the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy without application of any double standards or selectivity, will be instrumental in countering this challenge," it said, alluding to the UNSCR 1267 sanctions committee, which proscribes LeT and Jaish. With China, the common ground is expanding even as Pakistan remains the elephant in the room. On Monday, the BIMSTEC countries endorsed India's stand on Pak-sponsored terror though they did not name Pakistan. The surgical strikes may have been accomplished with neatness and precision along the LoC, but in their aftermath, India's diplomacy will have to pick out a careful path in a wider, untidy terrain.



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Has BRICS been reduced to a talking shop?



Brahma Chellaney

On paper, the five BRICS countries look like a powerful grouping. Together they represent more than a quarter of the earth's landmass, over 42% of the global population, almost 25% of the world's GDP, and nearly half of the global foreign exchange and gold reserves. In reality, though, BRICS is struggling to define a common identity and build institutionalised cooperation among its members. Their Goa summit underscored inherent challenges, including building effective unity.

As the first important non-Western global initiative of the post-Cold War world, BRICS reflects ongoing global power shifts, including the slow retreat of Atlantic dominance. If BRICS can get its act together, it will be able to spur on fundamental changes in the global financial and governance systems.

Had BRICS pursued a more forward-looking approach, it could have simply called itself the R-5 after the names of its members' currencies — the real, rand, ruble, renminbi and rupee — and presented itself, in contrast to the obsolescent G-7, as the face of the future.

The plain fact is that the challenges BRICS faces today are fundamental. These disparate countries have starkly varying political systems, economies, and national goals, and are located in different corners of the globe. There is little in common among the BRICS states.

For example, what is common between the world's largest democracy, India, and the largest autocracy, China? The biggest real estate claimed by a revanchist China is an Indian state almost three times larger than Taiwan — Arunachal Pradesh, an ecological paradise. How can BRICS create rules-based cooperation among its members if international norms of behaviour are flouted, as by China's territorial creep in the South China Sea and its shielding of Pakistani terrorism?

To compound BRICS'

challenges, the Brazilian, Russian and South African economies have nosedived, even as China's faltering growth and downside deflationary risks have unsettled global markets. Only India has defied BRICS' slump, priding itself as the world's fastest-growing major economy.

Almost six years after it expanded from a four- to a five-member grouping, BRICS has yet to evolve into a coherent grouping with defined goals and an institutional structure. Of course, it has created the Shanghai-based New Development Bank and set up, as a shield against global liquidity pressures, the \$100-

billion, China-dominated Contingent Reserve Arrangement. The real winner from both these initiatives is China, with BRICS left carrying the can.

The Goa summit was a reminder that BRICS has yet to devise a common action-plan to go forward. BRICS cannot remain just a 'talk shop'.

To be sure, the annual BRICS summit provides a useful platform for bilateral discussions on the sidelines. Some member states, by piggybacking on the BRICS summit, hold their own bilateral summits before or after the event, as was illustrated by the India-Russia summit.

Still, BRICS faces nagging questions about whether its members, with their different priorities and interests, can unite on key international issues. If BRICS is to build collective clout, its members must frame common objectives and approaches to tackling the pressing international issues. Take the scourge of terrorism: At China's insistence, the Goa Declaration omitted any reference to 'cross-border

terrorism' or 'state sponsorship' of terror or even to any Pakistan-based group despite mentioning ISIS and al-Nusra.

The G-7 began as a discussion platform like BRICS but, by defining its members' common interests, it advanced within years to joint coordination on key international issues. BRICS, lacking the shared political and economic values that bind the G-7 members, cannot stay relevant if it does little more than bring together its leaders and various stakeholders for discussions. Indeed, the most important bilateral relationship for each BRICS country is not with another BRICS member but with the United States.

Worse still, a domineering China is using BRICS to advance its own agenda, including expanding the renminbi's international role. Lending and trading in the renminbi helps China to boost its exports and clout. China's hidden export subsidies, meanwhile, have been systematically undermining manufacturing in the other BRICS states, especially India and Brazil. For Brazil, India, Russia

and South Africa, BRICS offers largely symbolic benefits.

Even on international institutional reforms, China is hardly on the same page as the other members. It is a revisionist power with respect to the global financial architecture. It seeks to dominate the first tangible challenge to the Bretton Woods institutions, as symbolised by the BRICS' New Development Bank and the China-created Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. China, however, is the status quo power in regard to the UN system and wishes to remain Asia's sole country with a permanent seat in the Security Council, which means keeping India out. Its strategy, by extension, also seeks to shut India out of other political institutions, including the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

Against this backdrop, if BRICS remains just a 'talk shop', it will not only fail to fulfil its true potential but will also wither away under the weight of its contradictions. The Goa summit did little to belie the contention of cynics that BRICS is just an acronym without substance.

Efforts to revisit the sedition law is a step in the right direction

(Agencies) Successive governments have been all too eager to use the draconian provisions of the sedition law to silence people even when they have done nothing more than express a dissenting point of view. The same goes for the defamation law. It is to end these anomalies that the Law Commission of India has decided to take another look at these laws. It has begun to examine all laws pertaining to freedom of expression and speech and these include those relating to sedition, defamation and the lack of safeguards in online trolling and the right to privacy. For this it plans to hold a conference of jurists, sitting Supreme Court judges, high court judges, academics, lawyers and mediapersons. The outcome of this conference, to be held in November, is likely to be given to the government. The fact that the present definition of sedition is far too wide has been accepted by the government itself after the Kanhaiya Kumar episode. The core ingredient of sedition is an imminent threat to public order. Vague and broad definitions of offences can lead to misinterpretations, whether deliberate or otherwise, and can result in the harassment of innocent people. The apex court had ruled earlier that if a person's speech or action had a "pernicious tendency to create public disorder" that could be considered seditious. Some examples of the frivolous



manner in which the sedition law has been used are those of Ramya, the actor-politician, who made a positive reference to Pakistan. Though many sedition charges have failed to stick, those held have been subject to harassment, held in pre-trial detention and subjected to trials. Very often, it is narrow focus interest groups that file these cases, as the one against Amnesty International, which was accused of raising anti-India slogans at a meet on Kashmir.

In other words, this law is often used to silence or limit peaceful dissent. NGOs, religious minorities, journalists and now students have been at the receiving end of

this draconian law. Sedition charges have often been used as a political tool. State governments have used the sedition law to deal with people they deem uncomfortable even when their utterances in no way threatened the peace or created any disorder. A school principal who got a map of India wrong was slapped with a sedition charge. Many protestors against the Kudankulam nuclear plant were charged with sedition even though they had engaged in a peaceful protest. The law commission's efforts could, if followed through, end this practice of criminalising and censoring people for expressing dissent and disaffection.

Thanks to the electoral college system some voters are more equal than others



Kanishk Tharoor

Living in New York City, I've always experienced the later stages of an American presidential election as a spectacle happening far away, almost as if it were being held in another country. One of the many curious things about this election is that it hinges on voters in only a few places. Their decisions at the ballot box outweigh everybody else's. Millions of people here in New York will cast their votes on November 8, but their verdict is a foregone conclusion: According to forecasters, Hillary Clinton has a 99.6% chance of winning the state over Donald Trump. No Republican has won New York since Ronald Reagan in 1984. Since presidential elections are decided by the electoral college system (in which a victory in a given state, no matter the margin, hands all electoral votes to a candidate) and not a popular vote, neither Trump nor Clinton has any real incentive to mobilise voters in New York.

As a result, the candidates haven't bothered to spend much time or money campaigning in the state they both claim as their home. In the past year, I have managed to listen to the radio and watch TV without enduring a single political advertisement. With the exception of a few graffiti caricatures of Trump, I can walk through the streets of the city and take the subway without seeing any billboards, flags, or posters to remind me that the nation is in the midst of an election. Compared to the way Indian cities and towns get tangled in partisan pageantry, New York seems serenely removed from the political frenzy.

That's because in this system, votes in New York (and California, Texas, Alabama and other so-called "safe" states) matter less than votes in a handful of "battleground" or "swing" states like Florida, Ohio,

Pennsylvania and Colorado, where both candidates have a chance at victory. Every election cycle, reporters trudge out to these hotly-contested areas, interviewing blue-collar men in a diner or families in a bowling alley or members of a church group, making them a microcosm of the nation as a whole. The fate of the country (and, by extension, much of the world) is seen to rest on the delicate sensibilities of people in the suburbs of Philadelphia or a few "bellwether" counties in post-industrial Ohio.

Unsurprisingly, both candidates will be touring almost exclusively in swing states in the coming weeks.

Ahead of the final debate between Clinton and Trump on October 20th, the Republican candidate's prospects look bleak. Sexual assault accusations have crippled Trump's presidential bid and protected Clinton from the potentially damaging fallout of campaign emails released via WikiLeaks. Trump trails Clinton by seven points in national polls. The last candidate to win after trailing by a significant margin with one month to go was Reagan in 1980, and the deficit he overcame was just four points. Only an unprecedented reversal in fortunes will allow Trump to win in November. Crucially, Clinton leads Trump in most of the major swing states.

The focus on a few swing states reveals a wider trend in American politics. The two

parties have carved the nation into their own geographical fortresses. The Democrats hold sway over coastal, more densely populated urban regions in the northeast and west of the country; the Republicans are strong in the rural south and Midwest. This divided political cartography leads to a lack of competition. In the last election in 2012, the margin of victory was less than 5% in only four states (the median margin of victory was 16.9%). But back in 1976, the votes in 20 states were decided by a narrow margin (with an overall median margin of victory of 5.9%). Thanks to this consolidation, Trump and Clinton can devote energy and resources to fighting over less than 10 states, while taking the votes of the rest of the country for granted.

Is this a healthy way to pick a president, to inflate the importance of certain areas to the detriment of all others? Constitutional lawyer and scholar

Akhil Reed Amar has led a lonely campaign to push the archaic electoral college system towards something closer to a direct popular vote. Amar argues that presidents should be elected just as governors in each state are directly elected, where one person equals one vote.

In a popular vote, the concerns of inner cities and cosmopolitan urban areas couldn't be side-lined as they are now for the more rural, conservative politics of swing states. In 2012, 67% of registered voters in Ohio turned out to vote; only 49% of registered voters here in New York City (whose population is comparable to Ohio's) went to the ballot box. There will be a similar difference in turnout this year, but it won't be a measure of indifference or civic virtuousness. In this electoral system, New Yorkers can't escape the depressing truth that their votes hardly matter.

Killing of RTI activists: No protection available to them

Uddalok Bhattacharya

The killing of yet another RTI activist in Mumbai has brought into the question the weak mechanism of protection they have in order to defend themselves against people whose bugbear they become. In many cases, activists themselves had apprehended a danger to their lives. The latest among such killings, more than 40 so far in 10 years, occurred in Mumbai, where an RTI activist, Bhupendra Vira, was shot dead. It is suspected that a former corporator whose properties had been demolished as a consequence Vira's RTI queries had a hand in the murder. The chief suspect and his son have been arrested.

RTI activist Shehla Masood was shot dead in front of her residence in Bhopal in 2011. She had barely stepped out and sat in the car parked in front of her house when assailants shot her in the neck. She died on the spot. Masood, 39, was to reach the Boat Club, where a signature campaign to support Anna Hazare and spread awareness regarding use of the RTI to mitigate corruption was scheduled. Inspector general of police (Bhopal Range) Shailendra Srivastava said the motive of the killers or their



identities couldn't be ascertained.

The RTI has been an instrument in bringing in transparency and curbing corruption, thereby enhancing democracy at various levels. But unless there is a way to protect the activists, the purpose behind such openness will be defeated.

The late VP Singh as prime minister had talked about a law that would legally empower a person to ask for information on governmental matters. That was in 1989-90

and the country had to wait for 15 long years to get its Right to Information Act. Many irregularities such as the Adarsh Housing Society scam came to light because of the RTI. Similar had been the case with Maharashtra's irrigation schemes.

It is also due to the RTI that we know that we do not know who called Mahatma Gandhi the 'Father of the Nation'. A girl came up with this question. Neither the Prime Minister's Office nor the Union home ministry knew the answer. Tentatively she was told

it could be Subhas Chandra Bose.

This is not to say the RTI is working perfectly. Once HT had sought information from one department in Odisha under the RTI Act but got letters from scores of other offices under it, asking for more than Rs 9,000 before providing information.

There is another question here. If RTI activists cannot be protected, where is the guarantee that NGOs, which take on vested interests, can be protected? Or, for that matter, litigants to a dispute?

Centre willing, redevelopment can ease Delhi's housing woes



Shivani Singh

One of my friends recently shifted to a faraway gated community in the National Capital Region. The flat is spacious. But the nearest Metro station is 10 kilometres away. Auto-rickshaws and a private bus service don't run after 9 pm.

He did not have a choice. The typical 'builder' flat that he could afford on the Delhi-Ghaziabad border had no ventilation. The family suffered long power cuts and the kid was not safe playing outdoors. He had to move.

My friend, like a thousand others, got priced out of even a Delhi suburb.

According to a report by KPMG, Delhi is short of two million housing units. A parliamentary panel in 2014 blamed the Delhi Development Authority, the primary land owner and property developer of the city, for the mess. Against the target of 1.4 million units, the report says, DDA has built only 390,000 homes till date.

As a result, the working class has had no choice but to seek illegal alternatives. One-third of Delhi lives in slums or poorly provisioned unauthorised settlements. Those looking for affordable, better-designed homes with legitimate addresses have moved to the NCR towns.

The parliamentary panel report pointed out how 40% of Delhi's housing needs could be met through redevelopment. But little attention is paid to reviving the existing Delhi.

The 1962 Delhi Master Plan projected 'urban renewal as a strategy of redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation' for Shahjahanabad and the extension of the walled city. The plans that followed included other conservation zones and special areas such as Karol Bagh. The first Master Plan gave authorities 20 years to redevelop the Walled City. But not a brick has moved.

That hasn't stopped the authorities from promising more.

The current plan proposes redevelopment of newer areas that are in "poor urban form". It calls for a complete civic overhaul, increasing the floor area ratio to allow taller buildings, possibly in cluster courts or group housing, to be developed by private parties. This may or may not be the right way to regenerate. But the idea can only be thrashed out if it gains political

currency.

As reported by Moushumi Das Gupta in HT last week, a committee set up by the NDA government has favoured curtailing the role of DDA, which reports to the Centre, and give the state government greater control over land. Not surprisingly, the Centre is sitting on the report for a year now.

Besides proposing structural reform, the panel has pointed out that of 1,483 sq km of Delhi's area, 60% is already built-up. Of the rest, sizeable portions are natural conservation zones and not available for urbanization. That leaves limited space for greenfield development. But surprisingly, that's where all the focus is.

The current Master Plan calls for developing 500 meters on either side of the

Metro track for transit-oriented development (ToD). The idea is to have dense commercial and residential growth along the new Metro corridors so people work, live and shop in the same neighbourhoods. Many cities such as Curitiba (Brazil), Seoul (South Korea), Arlington County (USA) have revived their suburbs by embracing this concept.

The Metro will build 230 stations by end of next year. With a redevelopment zone of up to 2.5 sq km around each station, ToD could cover 40% of the city, the report states. But implementing it would require experience that Indian planners don't have. The panel recommends external expertise to prepare model plans and pilot projects that

will serve as prototypes.

Unauthorised colonies and urbanised villages that are not on the civic map could create 15% additional housing, the report states. But it will take more than mere regularisation. They have to be made liveable and safe. The civic bodies in charge of regularisation have serious capacity constraints. The panel, therefore, recommends a special purpose vehicle for this job. If implemented, these measures will not only open up a huge housing stock within Delhi and may even rationalise realty rates. It will also address the liveability concerns of the existing areas. But to turn these recommendations into a policy, the Centre has to first put the report in public domain. Delhi is waiting.

'Doubting Thomases': India's 'liberals' remain believers

Tavleen Singh

As a consequence of India's intellectual arena having been occupied since Nehruvian socialist times by a dictatorship of very illiberal leftists and liberals, English-speaking Indians have a self-loathing that is increasingly repugnant. This past week was a good one to see these self-loathing Indians in full fettle. This particular genre of Indian despises Narendra Modi, so they have been more than a little unnerved by the 'surgical strikes' in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, that the Indian Army conducted in retaliation for the murder of 19 soldiers. So a loud chorus has risen from 'liberal quarters' demanding 'proof' without anyone noticing that if we should be asking for proof, it ought to be from Pakistan's military men. Proof that they have stopped using suicidal jihadists in their cowardly, undeclared war. The Indian Army has more credibility than the Pakistani Army in the eyes of most Indians, but not this lot. So the voices of what the Defence Minister called 'doubting Thomases' have been heard across the land. Nothing happened at all, they say, and whatever happened has happened before so it's wrong for the Prime Minister to try and take credit. In any case, the only solution is dialogue not a violent response on the border. None of them noticed that their voices sounded worryingly similar to the voices of military men from across the border. This is not surprising since many of these doubters have long been involved in a process that has come to be known on the subcontinent as 'track two diplomacy.'

Having been on more than one of these cross-border junkets, let me describe what happens. Us liberals go to Lahore or Islamabad or wherever and our Pakistani hosts pay for us to stay in nice hotels and then introduce us to charming liberals and

leftists whose hospitality so overwhelms us that we rarely speak of difficult things. We never meet the military men who control the Indian jihad. The civilian leaders we meet are usually full of friendship and love. I met Nawaz Sharif on one of these junkets and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, but the only time I have met serving military officers is when I have gone to report on some election or coup. It is from meeting them many times that I have understood that, in their limited worldview, India will always be a hated enemy.

It is from conversations with these military men that I have learned that they believe that India will eventually break up and enable Pakistan to expand its territory and population by luring Indian Muslims to their side. So the real purpose of the jihadists, who the Pakistani army sends us, is to create communal tension by their acts of violence. Spokesmen for the Pakistani government like to say that once the 'core issue' of Kashmir is resolved, all tensions with India will end. This is rubbish and they know it. The only people who seem not to know it are the people I described in the first paragraph of this column.

This caboodle includes journalists, academics, bureaucrats, politicians, historians and even judges. They are bound together by the skein of their 'secularism' and their hatred of Modi. So they virtually constitute a fifth column of the Congress party without being its official spokesmen. When there is a Congress government in power, these worthies nearly always find (even in retirement) jobs that enable them to continue living in fine bungalows in Lutyens Delhi. Nothing inspires loyalty more than patronage of this kind, and because they hide behind the shield of secularism, they are able easily to disguise their self-



loathing. It is this self-loathing that Pakistan has manipulated very well in the many, many rounds of futile dialogue that began soon after the Islamic Republic was born. Have you noticed that most commentators in the Indian media refer to a 'deep state' within Pakistan as if it were constituted by people outside the government? Have you noticed how this disguises the harsh truth that the Pakistani military is the Pakistani government? Have you noticed how we keep talking on our side of the border about the need to strengthen Pakistan's elected leaders, without ever acknowledging that, in Punjab, jihadist leaders like Hafiz Saeed would not exist without the support of Nawaz Sharif and his brother who is Punjab's chief minister? If we want peace with the Islamic Republic next door, India will need to continue proving that she is stronger militarily, economically and in every other way. Only this will persuade Pakistan's military men to abandon their dream of a greater Pakistan that will, they hope, be powerful enough to match India in every way. For the moment it is just a sad, shabby little country full of hatred and violence. It is seen this way even by countries that once were its friends, but India's 'liberals' remain believers!

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Surgical strikes like Israeli army's exploits, says PM

(Agencies) MANDI (Himachal Pradesh): In his first direct reference to the September 29 surgical strikes+ across the Line of Control (LoC), Prime Minister Narendra Modi said that while Israel has been known for such operations+ , the Indian Army has proved it is no less capable.

"Today the entire nation is talking of the valour of our Army. Earlier, we used to hear of Israel having done something like this. But the

country has seen that the Indian Army is no less than anyone else+ ," the PM said, addressing a rally here on Tuesday. The PM's increasingly assertive stance seems to reflect BJP's calculations that the cross-LoC raids will yield political dividends+ with sizeable constituencies such as ex-service personnel and also resonate with the party's "nationalist" plank. PM Modi also sought credit for successfully

resolving the `one rank, one pension' demand of ex-servicemen.

Modi is yet to mention the surgical strikes specifically, but has been incrementally forthright in referring to the Army's action against terrorist launch pads+ in POK amid an acrimonious political debate over the raids. Initially, speaking in New Delhi on October 2, Modi struck a non-confrontational note, saying India had never

coveted territory nor been an aggressor. But he was much more forceful at a Dussehra celebration in Lucknow on October 11, where he said, "Sometimes because of constraints of time and circumstances, war becomes necessary ."He was even more direct in Bhopal a few days later when he said the Army's actions spoke louder than words. Modi's remarks were more than complemented by defence



minister Manohar Parrikar the PM for displaying the political will to order the chest-thumping and credited strikes.

Is a religious neta's vote call a poll offence? SC to decide



(Agencies) New Delhi: A 25-year-old election petition can still become

a game changer as the Supreme Court sought on Tuesday to examine

a politically explosive question: Will a religious leader's appeal to his followers to vote for a particular political party amount to electoral malpractice?

The question arose during the 1990 Maharashtra assembly polls where Shiv Sena and BJP candidates allegedly used two speeches by Bal Thackeray and Pramod Mahajan -- both now

deceased -- to seek votes in the name of Hindutva and Hindu rashtra.

The query seems particularly relevant as the court referred to the approaching Punjab assembly polls and noted that the state had many 'deras' with large numbers of followers. "These deras are not connected to religion per se and follow a particular way of life. If the head of

a dera asks its followers to vote for a particular political party, would that also fall foul of Section 123(3)?" it asked. The ambit of Section 123(3) of the Representation of People Act, which provides for disqualification of a candidate, states that if he, or any one on his behalf, is found "promoting or attempting to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of the citizens of India on grounds of religion, race, caste, community or language, for furtherance of the prospects of the election of that candidate or for prejudicially affecting the election of any candidate".

Petitions were filed against many winning candidates of Shiv Sena and BJP in 1990 and the Bombay HC disqualified

them. On appeal, the SC reversed the judgments in all but two cases. One was later dismissed but the other was kept pending. The matter turned complex as the hearing continued. A seven-judge bench comprising Chief Justice TS Thakur, Justice Madan B Lokur, Justice SA Bobde, Justice Adarsh K Goel, Justice UU Lalit, Justice DY Chandrachud and Justice LN Rao said it was established that if a candidate used religion, race, caste, community or language to further his electoral prospects, he would stand disqualified. But the bench was aware of the ground reality, where political parties rush to religious leaders on the eve of polls to seek endorsement and an appeal to followers to vote for their party.

'Consumers must not suffer': SC orders Parsvnath to refund Rs 22 crore to 70 home buyers



(Agencies) New Delhi : Holding that a consumer must not suffer due to delay on the part of real estate developers to hand over the possession of flats, the Supreme Court on Tuesday directed refund of money to 70 flat buyers+ who had invested in one of Parsvnath's housing project in NCR.

The company had launched Exotica project in 2007+ with a promise of handing over the flats by 2011 but the company failed to fulfil its promise and construction is still going on. Around 800 families had put in their money in the project in Gahaziabad and 70 buyers had sought refund of their money delay to in handing over the possession

of flats.

Expressing concern over "common tendency" of real estate companies across the country to harass flat buyers by not completing the construction on time, a bench of Justices Dipak Misra, Amitava Roy and A M Khanwilkar said that companies should not venture into the sector if they were not able to complete the projects on time. Senior advocate Subramanian Prasad, appearing for the company, assured the court to hand over the flats to the aggrieved buyers as soon as possible and pleaded to the bench that it should not be directed to refund the money. The company told

the bench that other buyers would also seek refund and their business would be adversely affected. The bench, however, was not impressed with his proposal and directed that investors must get their money back. The court directed the company, which had already deposited Rs 12 crore before SC registry, to deposit rest of Rs 10 crore. The amount would be disbursed among the flat buyers by SC registry. "Money should go back to them (buyers). They must not suffer," the bench said, setting a deadline of December 10 for the company to pay the amount. The bench said that delay of few months in handing over possession was understandable but the buyers should get back money when the project got delayed by years.

"Why did you get into the business of real estate if you cannot complete the project on time? Who advised you to get into this business? You must respect the time

frame fixed by you for competing the project," the bench said while posting the case for hearing on December 14 to decide the quantum of interest to be paid to flat buyers for holding their money for years with handing over flats.

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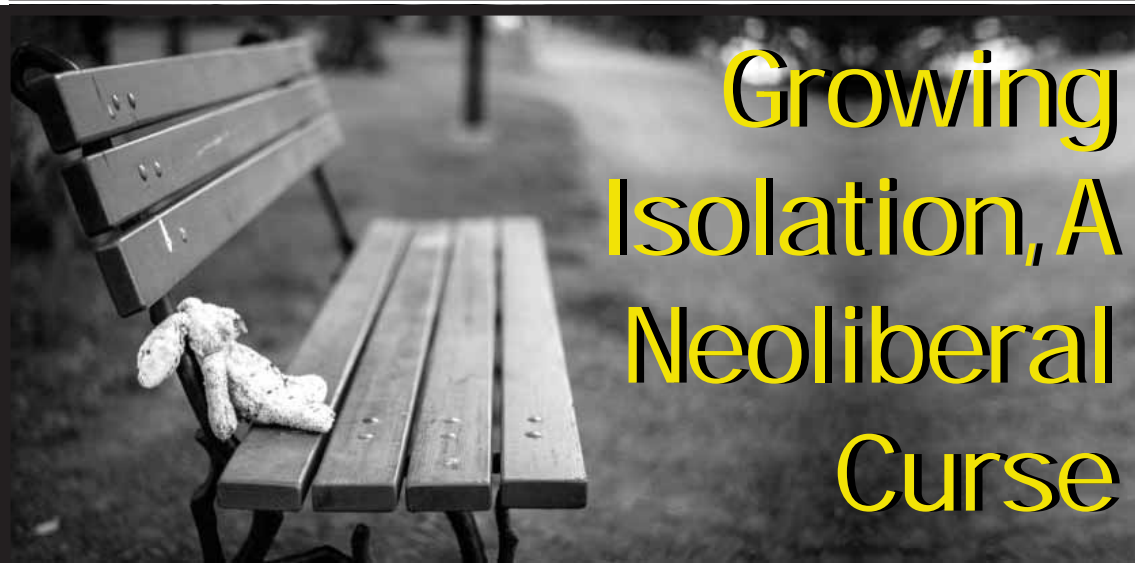
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Growing Isolation, A Neoliberal Curse

(Agencies) Far from curing isolation, consumerism intensifies social comparison to the point at which we start to prey upon ourselves

What greater indictment of a system could there be than an epidemic of mental illness? Yet plagues of anxiety, stress, depression, social phobia, eating disorders, self-harm and loneliness now strike people down all over the world. The latest, catastrophic figures for children's mental health in England reflect a global crisis.

There are plenty of secondary reasons for this distress, but it seems to me that the underlying cause is everywhere the same. Human beings, the ultrasocial mammals, whose brains are wired to respond to other people, are being peeled apart. Economic and technological change play a major role, but so does ideology. Though our well-being is inextricably linked to the lives of others, everywhere we are told that we will prosper through competitive self-interest and extreme individualism.

In Britain, men who have spent their entire lives in quadrangles – at school, at college, at the Bar, in Parliament – instruct us to

stand on our own two feet. The education system becomes more brutally competitive by the year. Employment is a fight to the near-death with a multitude of other desperate people, chasing ever fewer jobs. The modern overseers of the poor ascribe individual blame to economic circumstance. Endless competitions on television feed impossible aspirations, as real opportunities contract.

Consumerism fills the social void. But far from curing the disease of isolation, it intensifies social comparison to the point at which, having consumed all else, we start to prey upon ourselves. Social media brings us together and drives us apart, allowing us precisely to quantify our social standing, and to see that other people have more friends and followers than we do.

As Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett has brilliantly documented, girls and young women routinely alter the photos they post, to make themselves look smoother and slimmer. Some phones, using their "beauty" settings, do it for you without asking; now you can become your own thinspiration. Welcome, ladies and gentlemen, to the post-Hobbesian dystopia: a war of everyone against themselves.

Is it any wonder, in these lonely inner worlds, in which touching has been replaced by retouching, that young women are drowning in mental distress? A recent survey in England suggests that one in four women between 16 and 24 have harmed themselves, and one in eight now suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder. Anxiety, depression, phobias or obsessive compulsive disorder affect 26% of women in this age group. This is what a public health crisis looks like.

If social rupture is not treated as seriously as broken limbs, it is because we cannot see it. But neuroscientists can. A series of fascinating papers suggest that social pain and physical pain are processed by the same neural circuits. This might explain why, in many languages, it is hard to describe the impact of breaking social bonds without the words we use to denote physical pain and injury. In both humans and other social mammals, social contact reduces physical pain. This is why we hug our children when they hurt themselves: affection is a powerful analgesic. Opioids relieve both physical agony and the

distress of separation. Perhaps this explains the link between social isolation and drug addiction.

Experiments summarised in the journal *Physiology and Behaviour* last month suggest that, given a choice of physical pain or isolation, social mammals will choose the former. Capuchin monkeys starved of both food and contact for 22 hours will rejoin their companions before eating. Children who experience emotional neglect, according to some findings, suffer worse mental health consequences than children suffering both emotional neglect and physical abuse: hideous as it is, violence involves attention and contact. Self-harm is often used as an attempt to alleviate distress: another indication that physical pain is not as bad as emotional pain. As the prison system knows only too well, one of the most effective forms of torture is solitary confinement.

It is not hard to see what the evolutionary reasons for social pain might be. Survival among social mammals is greatly enhanced when they are strongly bonded with the rest of the pack. It is the isolated and marginalised animals that are most likely to be picked off by predators or to starve. Just as physical pain protects us from physical injury, emotional pain protects us from social injury. It drives us to reconnect. But many people find this almost impossible. It's unsurprising that social isolation is strongly associated with depression, suicide, anxiety, insomnia, fear and the perception of threat. It's more surprising to discover the range of physical illnesses it causes or exacerbates. Dementia, high blood pressure, heart disease, strokes, lowered resistance to viruses, even

accidents are more common among chronically lonely people. Loneliness has a comparable impact on physical health to smoking 15 cigarettes a day: it appears to raise the risk of early death by 26%. This is partly because it enhances production of the stress hormone cortisol, which suppresses the immune system.

Studies in both animals and humans suggest a reason for comfort eating: isolation reduces impulse control, leading to obesity. As those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder are the most likely to suffer from loneliness, might this provide one of the explanations for the strong link between low economic status and obesity?

Anyone can see that something far more important than most of the issues we fret about has gone wrong. So why are we engaging in this world-eating, self-consuming frenzy of environmental destruction and social dislocation, if all it produces is unbearable pain? Should this question not burn the lips of everyone in public life?

There are some wonderful charities doing what they can to fight this tide, some of which I'll be working with while touring *Breaking the Spell of Loneliness*, the album I've written with the musician Ewan McLennan. But for every person they reach, several others are swept past.

This does not require a policy response; it requires something much bigger: the reappraisal of an entire worldview. Of all the fantasies human beings entertain, the idea that we can go it alone is the most absurd and perhaps the most dangerous. We stand together, or we fall apart.



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World Court Throws Out Marshall Islands' Nuclear Case Against India



powers were failing to adhere to the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, notably by developing a new generation of "tactical" nuclear weapons.

In 1996, at the request of the UN General Assembly, the International Court of Justice issued an advisory opinion on nuclear weapons. Besides finding them probably illegal unless possibly used in self defense, it also found that countries are obliged "to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects."

But the court ruled that given its lack of jurisdiction, it would not consider the

Marshall Islands' arguments on their merits. The Marshall Islands, population 53,000, was the site of dozens of atomic-bomb tests by the United States after World War II. The International Court of Justice on Wednesday rejected suits filed by the tiny Marshall Islands against the world's nuclear powers that sought to force them to do more to disarm. Though the suits failed on procedural grounds, India, Pakistan and Britain were brought to the court to answer the complaint at public hearings in April. In its ruling in the country's case against India, the first of the three to be decided on Wednesday, the court said it had accepted Indian

arguments that the ICJ, also known as the World Court, should not have jurisdiction in the case.

Judges said that while the Marshall Islands may not be satisfied with progress on nuclear disarmament, it had failed to show that it has any ongoing legal dispute with India fit for the court to adjudicate. It later rejected the Marshall Islands' suit against Pakistan on the same grounds. The third suit, against Britain, was still to be decided. The other nuclear powers - including declared powers China, France, Russia and the United States, as well as undeclared nuclear states Israel and North Korea - did not respond to the suit the islands filed last year.

(Agencies) The Marshall Islands, population 53,000, was the site of dozens of atomic-bomb tests by the United States after World War II.

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India Hastening US Defence Deals Amid Election Uncertainty

(Agencies) NEW DELHI -- India is trying to hasten a deal with the United States to buy Predator drone aircraft for military surveillance, one of several defence and nuclear projects the two sides are pursuing in the final months of the Obama administration.

India's request for 22 Predator Guardian drones made in June is in an advanced stage of negotiations. The two sides hope to make enough progress so only administrative tasks remain by the time President Barack Obama leaves office, government officials in New Delhi said.

"It is progressing well. The aim is to complete the main process in the next few months," said one of the officials, speaking on condition of anonymity. The United States has dislodged Russia as the top arms supplier to India. New Delhi is also on the cusp of sealing a US nuclear reactor deal worth billions of dollars.

In return, Washington has given New Delhi access to high-end military technology, such as a new system to



launch planes off aircraft carriers, and leaned on other countries to give India membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime, which cleared the way for the sale of the unarmed Predator. India's military has also asked for the armed version of the Predator to help target suspected militant camps in Pakistan but US export control laws prohibit such a transfer. US Defence Secretary Ashton Carter, who visited

India in April, is expected to make a final trip there towards the end of the year. "The administration is eager to get as much done as is humanly possible. They believe the conditions and the personnel in both capitals are uniquely favourable at the moment, and are eager to consolidate and institutionalize the progress," said Jeff Smith, director of Asia Security Programs at the American Foreign Policy Council.



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(Agencies) A wealthy Ohio businessman of Jordanian descent who admits to fatally shooting his daughter at their family's suburban Cleveland home has been indicted on an aggravated murder charge.

Jamal Mansour, 63, told Rocky River police he was angry when he shot 27-year-old Tahani Mansour during a



Jordanian father-of-six is indicted on aggravated murder charge for shooting dead his pharmacist daughter, 27, in family's Ohio home

heated argument. The indictment was handed up Wednesday.

Mansour, a married father-of-six and a grandfather, is being held on a \$4.5million bond. He is due back in court for his arraignment on October 20.

At his initial court appearance last week, City Prosecutor Michael O'Shea said Jamal 'executed' his own daughter and called her death 'an assassination,' but would not elaborate.

The prosecutor's description of the killing has

raised the suggestion that it might have been an honor killing, but the suspect's attorney, Angelo Lenardo, vehemently denied it, saying the very notion was 'racist and offensive.'

'Mr. Mansour is a good man who very much loves his family,' Lenardo said of his client.

Authorities have not disclosed why Jamal became so enraged that he grabbed a gun and fired three rounds at his youngest child, hitting her twice in the head. After his arrest, he told a judge it was

an accident. The youngest of six children, Tahani was described by friends as bright and energetic, and had recently been hired as a clinical pharmacist by the Cleveland Clinic.

She received a doctor of pharmacy degree from Northeast Ohio Medical University in 2013, worked as a clinical pharmacist for University Hospitals and taught at the University of Findlay and the medical school, according to her LinkedIn account.

Tahani's former classmate

Philip King recalled how beautiful her smile was, how much she embraced the challenges of the rigorous program and how she enjoyed going out with friends.

'She liked to be around people,' King said.

King said her life at school and time with her friends allowed her to enjoy a measure of freedom she might not have had at home, where her family was 'very, very protective' of her.

'It seemed to me like it was almost an escape,' King said.

Tahani dated a classmate

for two years during school, King revealed, a relationship he thinks she tried to hide from some of her family members.

King said she confided in him that she had some fear of her father, but he didn't press for details.

'I didn't ask,' King said. 'I knew there were cultural reasons.'

Timothy Ulbrich taught Tahani all four years she attended NEOMED and helped her get appointed to a one-year hospital residency program she would need to be hired as a clinical pharmacist, a position where she would be working with teams of doctors and their patients in a hospital setting. 'She was loud and she was energetic,' Ulbrich said.

'She had a personality that was just contagious to be around.' Her father Jamal was born in Jordan and came to the US in 1978, eventually becoming an American citizen.

In 1993, he and wife Sumaya bought their home in Rocky River, a west side suburb popular among professionals. Jamal comes from a well-to-do family who own gas stations and grocery stores in Ohio. He had recently returned from Jerusalem, where his family is building an apartment complex.



(Agencies) Microsoft's Surface tablet has become a hit, with users praising its portability and ability to bring a 'real' computer to a touchscreen.

Now, Microsoft hopes it can do the same for desktop PCs.

The firm is rumoured to be putting the finishing touches to an all in one desktop PC - and today sent out invites for an event in New York on the 26th October where it is expected to be unveiled.

According to Mary Jo Folet at ZDnet, the new device is codenamed Cardinal, and will come in three sizes - with a 21, 24, or 27 inch screen.

'I've heard that Surface Cardinal could be positioned as a product that can turn your desk into 'a studio',' she wrote.

The device is expected to be

Is Microsoft set to take on the iMac?

Invites arrive for mysterious event rumoured to see launch of all in one Surface desktop PC

unveiled at an also rumoured

late October

event where the firm's tablets could also get an upgrade.

According to Windows Central, it will have a 'modern and elegant' design.

Microsoft also recently revealed it will launch a mixed reality version of Windows next year.

The move will bring a 3D holographic version of the platform to Windows 10 users who own a virtual reality headset.

Announcing its plans at the Intel Developer Forum in San Francisco yesterday, Microsoft said user interface will be available to run on mainstream PCs.

The new Holographic shell desktop UI will enable users to run Windows 10 through a VR headset hooked up to a standard

PC, opening up the experience beyond those with high end gaming machines.

Writing in a blog post, Microsoft's executive vice president for Windows, Terry Myerson, said: 'Next year, we will be releasing an update to Windows 10, which will enable mainstream PCs to run the Windows Holographic shell and associated mixed reality and universal Windows applications.'

'The Windows Holographic shell enables an entirely new experience for multi-tasking in mixed reality, blending 2D and 3D apps at the same time, while supporting a broad range of 6 degrees of freedom devices.'

Microsoft is working with chip-maker Intel on a specification for mixed reality PCs and head mounted displays, in an effort to open up the market and its platform.

'Our shared goal is to enable our hardware partners to build a

broad range of devices for the mainstream consumer and business markets,' wrote Myerson.

A promotional video demonstrates how the interface will look, running at 90 frames per second, triple that of most HD televisions.

It shows a woman wearing a headset in a virtual room running a mix of 2D and 3D apps as she checks email, books flights, navigates a diary and takes a virtual tour of the Pantheon in Rome. Veteran Windows users will also notice the similarity between the virtual dog and Rover, an assistant character in Microsoft's less than successful Bob software and who later made an appearance in Windows XP.

According to Microsoft, using a 'six degrees of freedom' headset, the interface can be manipulated using a point and click Wii-type controller.

How Will it Work ?

According to Microsoft, the Holographic shell UI for Windows 10 will enable users to put on a headset to navigate their Windows desktop.

It will mix 2D apps such as email and calendars - which could be overlaid onto surfaces with augmented reality - with fully immersive 3D apps, such as a virtual reality tour of a location.

The exact look and feel will be dependent on the headset used - where an Oculus Rift style VR headset being fully immersive, while a HoloLens style headset enabling AR and mixed reality.

Users will be able to select applications using a point and click selector, like a Wii controller.



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Pros And Cons Of VIP Security

Extending VIP security to individual citizens for a price is a questionable and subjective practice that needs an urgent review.

UTTAM SENGUPTA

There is quite an understandable outrage at the government's decision to provide 'Y' category security to the Times Now editor-in-chief Arnab Goswami. After all the highest paid editor in the country and his cash-rich employers are perfectly capable of protecting themselves, critics have argued. How indeed would Goswami have reacted if the government had offered security to anchors in rival channels such as Barkha Dutt and Rajdeep Sardesai, who have been at the receiving end of both abuses and threats. Both Dutt and Sardesai run as much risk as Goswami, the critics argued. Others pointed out how at least 20 journalists have got killed in the last six years after they had expressed publicly that they feared threats to their lives. Most of them worked in far more challenging conditions than Goswami and were far more vulnerable. So, why no security

to them?

Contrary arguments were also swift in coming. Didn't NDA I offer security to Tarun Tejpal, then the editor-in-chief of Tehelka after the publication carried out a sting, 'Operation West End' and exposed the nexus between corrupt defence personnel and politicians including the then BJP president Bangaru Laxman? So, if NDA I could be magnanimous enough to provide protection to Tejpal, who had dealt a major blow to its credibility, what is the big deal about providing security to Goswami? Didn't the UPA provide security to the Punjab Kesari editor and owner Ashwini Kumar Chopra till long after peace returned to Punjab?

What was implied but left unsaid in the volley of tweets was that while Tejpal did the unpatriotic thing by exposing our own boys, Goswami has been consistent in demonising Pakistan, the 'enemy' and keeping, literally, the Indian flag

flying in his studio. He generously hosted retired servicemen, often thrice a week, to bellow at prime time their nationalistic spleen. And if he now faces threats from terrorists, why shouldn't the government offer him security?

It is a different matter that Tejpal in 2001 did not want any protection because surely there could have been no threat to him from the disciplined Indian army? His [Tejpal's] friends had then wondered whether the intrusive security given to Tejpal was designed to keep him under

surveillance. Goswami's friends argue that the same logic should be applicable to Goswami as well. Perhaps the government wants to keep him under surveillance; who indeed can tell?

While governments generally are rarely concerned about safety and security of editors, journalists or any other professional group for that matter, in India governments, state governments in particular, have been far too generous to journalists. Most governments elsewhere do not deem it their duty to offer compensation to the bereaved families of professionals killed for doing their job or for their passion for free speech. The bloggers killed in Bangladesh by religious fundamentalists or journalists working for the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo killed in a terror attack in Paris received no compensation from the state. Nor did anyone ask for it. Even more remarkably neither in

Bangladesh or in France were individual journalists provided any protection.

It was the UPA which offered Z plus security to India's wealthiest person Mukesh Ambani in 2013. Explaining the rationale then, a Home ministry official had said that while the industrialist could well afford private security and was indeed protected by retired National security Guards (NSG), they were not allowed to carry sophisticated weapons. Therefore the need for commandoes from the CRPF armed to the teeth. Ambani, the official had clarified, would be paying the government one and a half million Rupees (15 lakhs) every month for the service. By July, 2016 Nita Ambani was also extended 'Y' category of security similar to what Goswami has been offered. In all probability Goswami's employers would pay for the security although the MHA can use its discretion to waive the payment.

debate on whether they should be allowed to work in Indian movies after the Uri attack.

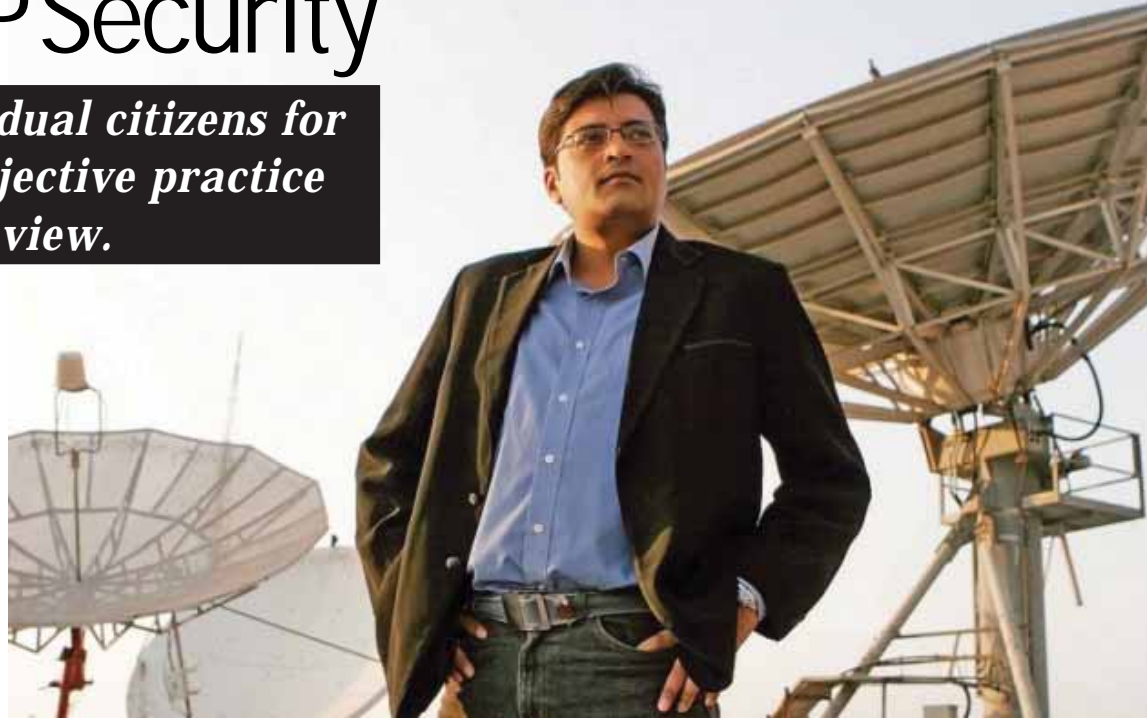
Coca Cola India had roped in Khan as its brand ambassador for the second time to endorse its Thums Up brand in October 2012 replacing another Bollywood star Akshay Kumar. He had earlier endorsed the brand in early 2000s.

At that time, Coca-Cola India had also signed an agreement with Being Human - The Salman Khan Foundation -- to jointly promote, conceive and execute charitable and social activities.

not to renew the contract with the 50-year-old actor is more to do with the image of Coca Cola, which is seen as a young brand, a source said.

"That explains why Coca Cola is talking to a much younger star like Ranveer Singh," the source added.

Khan has been among the top celebrity endorsers reportedly charging Rs 5 crore per year per brand. Recently, he had courted controversy when he supported Pakistani artists saying "they were not terrorists" in the wake of a



Coca Cola Drops Salman Khan as Brand Ambassador for Thums Up



(Agencies) Beverages major Coca Cola India has dropped Bollywood superstar Salman Khan as brand ambassador for its soft drink 'Thums Up' after four years of association and the company is in talks with young star Ranveer Singh to replace him.

The contract with Khan had expired last month and the company has chosen not to renew it, according to industry sources. When contacted, Coca Cola India declined to comment.

The company's decision to

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Do You take selfies?

You're likely to be Lonely: Experts say those who take pictures of themselves do it 'to seek approval from others'



more selfies for approval from other people. Lead researcher Dr Peerayuth Charoensukmongkol, of the National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok, said: 'Not only do individuals who become obsessed with taking selfies tend to feel that their personal lives and psychological well-being are damaged, but they may feel that relationship qualities with others are also impaired. 'Individuals with higher degrees of loneliness tend to report selfie-liking to a greater extent. 'Taking selfies allows individuals to control what other people see in the photos, it is not surprising that those who exhibit these narcissistic characteristics tend to like selfies because it helps them achieve this personal goal. 'While many people consider taking selfies to be an enjoyable activity, those who take selfies need to concern themselves with the unhealthy behaviors that might be associated with this activity as well.' Some experts have argued that selfie-taking behavior can be linked to mental illness, he added. However, psychologists suggest that it is not an addiction but a symptom of body dysmorphic disorder - a form of anxiety. This could be the reason why individuals who like to take selfies tend to focus too much on themselves and express less concern about others, Dr Charoensukmongkol added. The report is published in the Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace.

(Agencies) Do you know a selfie queen? Someone completely unafraid to blitz their Instagram account with a string of pictures of their face? Or maybe you have the obsession, unable to go a day without snapping yourself in a different location. But now scientists have warned those who constantly take pictures of themselves are more likely to be lonely. It could also be a sign of trouble in their relationships or mental health problems, experts found. Constant self-snappers are also more likely to be vain and attention-seeking too, a study revealed.

Researchers in Thailand assessed the personality

habits of 300 students and looked at how often they took pictures of themselves. The participants, mostly females aged between 21 and 24, were interviewed to see if they had narcissism, attention-seeking, self-centred behaviour or loneliness personality traits. A vast majority spent more than 50 per cent of their spare time on either their mobile phone or scouring the internet, they found. Concerning the relationship between selfie-liking and the control variables, the analysis showed that selfie-liking was positively associated with the intensity of social media use

Experts believe both men

and women who have lonely personalities tend to take



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Is there life on Mars?

Europe's alien-hunting lander prepares to touch down on the red planet

(Agencies) A European spacecraft nearing the end of its journey to Mars is ready to send a lander to the surface of the red planet.

The European Space Agency's Schiaparelli lander on board the ExoMars spacecraft, is scheduled to land on Mars on October 19.

The ESA probe is part of an ambitious mission to search for evidence of life on Mars.

The European Space Agency (ESA) probe was launched on March 14 and has almost completed a 310 million mile (500 million km) voyage across the solar system.

It is due to deploy the small Schiaparelli lander on October 16.

Three days later, the Trace Gas Orbiter (TGO) will brake into an elliptical orbit around Mars while Schiaparelli enters the Martian atmosphere and



parachutes down to the surface.

The 2.4m wide disc-shaped craft will aim for Meridiani Planum, a flat region near the equator.

Its main mission is to pave the way for the ExoMars Rover, a hi-tech six-wheeled laboratory equipped with life-seeking instruments to be launched in 2020. Schiaparelli will test the rover's descent and landing system - which employs a heat shield, parachute, and retro

rockets.

It also carries a small instrument package that will record wind speed, humidity, pressure and temperature at the landing site - and take electric field measurements that may shed light on how Martian dust storms are triggered.

Orbiter flight director Michel Denis said: 'Uploading the command sequences is a milestone that was achieved following a great deal of intense



cooperation between the mission control team and industry specialists.'

The spacecraft is being controlled from the European Space Operations Centre in Darmstadt, Germany.

However, many of its systems are automatic and not dependent on direct commands from Earth.

Schiaparelli's command sequences are time-saved to ensure the lander can carry out its mission even when out of contact.

During the landing, the command signals will eject the front and back aeroshells, operate descent sensors, deploy the braking parachute, and activate three groups of rockets.

At around 6.6 feet (two metres) above the surface, Schiaparelli will hover briefly before cutting its retro thrusters and dropping to the ground.

Once down, it is programmed to keep its science instruments running for at least two days.

TGO will play a key role in the ExoMars mission from orbit as it looks for rare gases in the planet's atmosphere including methane, which can only come from an active source.

The probe will tell scientists whether Martian methane is

Schiaparelli's Mission

Its main mission is to pave the way for the ExoMars Rover, a hi-tech six-wheeled laboratory equipped with life-seeking instruments to be launched in 2020. Schiaparelli will test the rover's Russian-designed descent and landing system - which employs a heat shield, parachute, and retro rockets. It also carries a small instrument package that will record wind speed, humidity, pressure and temperature at the landing site - and take electric field measurements that may shed light on how Martian dust storms are triggered.

most likely to have a geological or biological origin. On Earth, the gas is chiefly generated by billions of bacteria, many of which live in the guts of animals such as cows. But it can also be released by the breakdown of organic molecules deep underground or volcanic activity. The two-stage £1 billion (•1.1 billion/\$1.2 billion) joint European and Russian ExoMars mission is equipped to uncover the first clear evidence of past or present life on Mars, if it exists.

The Presence of Methane

The TGO probe will tell scientists whether Martian methane is most likely to have a geological or biological origin. On Earth, the gas is chiefly generated by billions of bacteria, many of which live in the guts of animals such as cows. But it can also be released by the breakdown of organic molecules deep underground or volcanic activity.



Highways and rural roads: A very long path ahead

(Agencies) The importance of having a good road network for an economy can be hardly overemphasised. And it goes to the credit of the Vajpayee government that it started the National Highway Development Project (nearly 6,000 km) in 1998. But 18 years after that, official statistics reveal that 78% of the country's highways are one-way or two-way roads and nearly 40% of rural, intra-district and state highways are not metalled. This is unfortunate because the project was started with a lot of flourish and promise, which extended well into the initial years of the Manmohan Singh government. Not having good roads has a negative effect for the economy. First, it hampers the movement of goods and people. Areas that lie outside the pale of a roads network

are bound to remain under-developed, perpetuating regional imbalances in the country as well as within regions. Second, in the event of a natural calamity such as floods, roads are better utilised for relief work than dropping food packets and other aid from helicopters or planes. Third, in times of a security crisis such as fighting insurgencies, roads help the security forces to reach the affected areas. So, the consequences of not pushing ahead fast with road construction can be crippling in many respects. Several components of our road-building activities are faulty. The Golden Quadrilateral (GQ) was the first phase of the project and involved upgrading highways that connected the four metros — Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai — in the



shape of a diamond. Work on this had been decidedly slow, as seen from the fact that though 97 km of the project remained to be covered in 2009, it was only in 2012 that the government declared the project closed. However, there is every reason to revisit the project again. The second phase of the NHDP is the building of a 7,300-km North-South-

East-West (NSEW) corridor, which connects the four corners of the country. The project has missed two deadlines, the first of which was nine years ago, and is still going on. The National Highways Authority of India (NHAI) should investigate the shortcomings and see whether the model concession agreement, on which much of the highway programme was based, was flawed.

Hope Riding A Sinking Donald

Rights era has been how to account for the fact that, absent legal segregation, people of color, and especially African Americans, remain disproportionately represented among the poor, the unhoused, and the incarcerated. Institutional, or systemic, racism describes the mechanism at play.

Here's what Clinton said in that debate:

"And it's just a fact that if you're a young African-American man and you do the same thing as a young white man, you are more likely to be arrested, charged, convicted, and incarcerated. So we've got to address the systemic racism in our criminal justice system."

She's right of course. And she deserves credit for saying it, but it's the analysis of groups like RaceForward, the organizing skills of the young activists of Black Lives Matter, and the moral voice of older leaders like the Reverend William Barber II of the North Carolina NAACP who created the atmosphere in which she had to say it.

We are, in other words, witnessing a sea change in how people in mainstream politics talk about racism. Of course, there's been pushback against Clinton's rhetoric, but the idea that actual institutional structures exist that deeply constrain the lives of African Americans has now been admitted to the grown-ups' table. Black communities have long known that they, and especially their young men, are at risk of police violence. That's why sooner or later so many black parents of every economic class have "the talk" with their children about how to try to stay safe (or at least safer). But in the two years since the murder of Trayvon Martin by a self-styled vigilante, Black Lives Matter has focused national attention for the first time on the repeated deaths of unarmed black men and women at the hands of those who are meant to protect and serve. Now, even the mainstream media no longer treat such deaths as isolated incidents unworthy of coverage. Instead, it is recognized that they form a systemic pattern, and even presidential candidates have to respond to that pattern. That is a victory and it was almost beyond imagination even a few years ago. Of course, the real victory will come when police stop shooting unarmed people, but at least now the country generally admits that it happens.

Similarly, many of us on the left have long known that wages in this country began to stagnate in the mid-1970s. We've watched the minimum wage (once intended to be for a family's "breadwinner") shrink to a poverty stipend. We've seen income and wealth inequality swell to the greatest levels since the Gilded Age of the nineteenth century. But it took the Occupy movement to remind us that the 99% could reclaim political power. It took organizations like OUR Walmart and the Fight for \$15, lifted by Bernie Sanders's run for the Democratic nomination, to bring that discussion into the mainstream. For the first time in years, the words "working class" have slipped back into public discourse. CNN now runs stories with headlines like "Working class white men make less than they did in 1996." A few years ago, as far as anyone could tell from the mainstream media, we lived in a country populated by a vast, undifferentiated "middle class," and a few wealthy or impoverished outliers. Now, both the Trump and Clinton campaigns have found that they must address the pain of working people. We may not agree with their proposed solutions, but they have to talk about it. That, too, is a change and a victory of sorts. Wait! You Mean We Won Something?

For many years I've noticed that my corner of the political world, roughly the American left, has had a very hard time recognizing and claiming our victories. Maybe that's because it's cost us so much to understand all the ways in which the standard American narrative is a lie, to grasp how little the American Way — whatever Superman may have believed — has had to do with truth and justice.

From birth, Americans normally swim in an ocean of heroic mythology about American exceptionalism, and for many of us it's been difficult to make our way out of its riptides. So our knowledge has been hard-won. Figuring out that the United States is not the international defender of liberty we learned about in school wasn't easy.

It took work to realize and accept, for instance, that our country routinely supported dictators and torturers. We opposed U.S. efforts to prop up strongmen like Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and called out the hypocrisy when the U.S. government was shocked!

shocked! to discover what they actually were.

Having invested so much effort in recognizing the lies of the American exceptionalist narrative, we find it difficult to acknowledge when our government does something right.

The Paris Agreement on climate, signed by 190 countries, comes into effect this November 4th. That's because on October 5th, the world met two key criteria: ratification by at least 55 of the signatory countries, and ratification by countries responsible for producing 55% of the planet's greenhouse gases. It's fair to say that, without the Obama administration, this agreement to confront the extinction-level threat that climate change represents would not have come into being. Like any compromise, it's by no means a perfect accord, but it's the best chance we've seen in a long time that the Earth will remain the habitable and welcoming place for human beings (among many other species) that it's been these last tens of thousands of years. This victory belongs to environmental activists around the world, and we should claim it!

It's almost as if, having worked so hard to understand the role and power of the United States on the world stage and of a ruling elite at home, we've imagined this country as a far greater powerhouse than it is. It's almost as if recognizing any cracks in the edifice of American power might endanger that hard-won worldview. It's almost as if the possibility that we can sometimes push our country to do something right, that our side can sometimes win, seems to rattle us. Faced with that disorienting possibility, I suspect it's sometimes easier to believe that, while we must always fight the good fight, our adversary is too strong for us ever to expect victories.

On the domestic front many of us, both people of color and white Americans, have struggled to recognize our personal implicit racial biases. We've likewise taken the time and effort to reexamine what we were taught about U.S. history so that we could grasp the enduring and shape-shifting longevity of systemic racism. Knowing this history so well seems to make it harder for some of us to recognize and claim victories when they come. When, in front of 80 million Americans, Hillary Clinton says that "implicit bias

is a problem for everyone, not just [the] police," that is a victory, and we should take it in and savor it.

When President Obama responds to mass incarceration by commuting the sentences of federal drug offenders, that is a victory, however modest. It took half a decade for the ideas in Michelle Alexander's groundbreaking book *The New Jim Crow* to penetrate to a mass audience. Now, the country has finally begun to recognize what prison activists have been saying for years: there is something very wrong when the "leader of the free world" has the largest prison population on the planet. An outrage that, a decade ago, was invisible to just about everyone except the affected communities and a small number of activists is now known to all. Our prisons are a national and international scandal and the spread of that knowledge — and the urge to do something about it — is also a victory, one worth celebrating, however provisionally.

Who's Most Likely to Be Hopeful?

In the 1980s, I spent six months in Nicaragua's war zones at a time when my government, the Reagan administration, was supporting the Contra armies against the Sandinista government. Together with many sectors of Nicaraguan society, the Sandinistas had thrown out the U.S.-supported dictator, Anastasio Somoza. Over and over I was struck by how living in the midst of war was like being stretched between two temporal realities.

In the morning, a Nicaraguan in the town of Jalapa might help dig a communal refuge to shelter children from airplane attacks. In the afternoon, she might risk attack or kidnapping by the U.S.-backed Contras to plant trees that would take years to mature on mountains that had been clear-cut by American lumber companies during the Somoza dictatorship. You always had one eye on the present and the other on a better future.

The Nicaraguans I knew seemed eternally ready for a party under the worst conditions imaginable. One day, in the city of Estelí, I remember running into an American friend who told me this story: she'd been feeling bummed recently because the Contras had attacked a little town near where she was living and killed seven children. It seemed to her as if this miserable war would never end. The family with whom she was staying was

going to a fiesta that night and asked her along.

"I don't feel like it," she said. "I'm too depressed."

"You can afford to be depressed," they told her, "because you're going home soon. We are the ones who will still be stuck in the war, so we have to have hope for the future. We have to dance. Now, get dressed, we're going to a party."

What group in the United States is most optimistic about the future? Surprisingly, according to a recent Gallup Healthways poll, it's not the billionaires among us, but poor African Americans. A Brookings report on the poll suggests a number of reasons for this, and adds, "[T]he optimism of black Americans — especially the poorest — is a reason to be a little more hopeful. The second term of our first black President is nearing its end, but a renegade political candidate with open disdain for minority groups is enjoying rising support. At such a moment in history, it is noteworthy that it is black Americans who seem to be keeping faith with the American Dream."

Another poll, commissioned in 2015 by the Atlantic, found that "African Americans and Latinos are far more likely to be optimistic than their white counterparts, both about their personal station in life and the future of the country more broadly."

Such people are anything but stupid. They know that their communities are confronting terrible challenges, but they know, too, how important it is not to forget to dance.

Why Doing Politics Is Like Surfing

How do outrageous ideas — for example, that women are human beings, or that the U.S. locks up way too many people, or even that gay people should be able to get married if they want to — suddenly morph into everyday commonsense? It's rarely an accident. It almost always involves dedicated people working away for years on an issue, often unnoticed, before it seems suddenly to surge into general awareness.

Sometimes I think the politically engaged life is like surfing. You expend an enormous effort paddling past the breaking surf. Then you sit on your board breathing hard, scanning the horizon for the wave. Sometimes you sit out there for a long, long time, but when that wave comes, you have to be ready to grab it — and enjoy it.

What If the Newspaper Industry Made a Colossal Mistake ?

For all the expense of building, programming and hosting them, online editions haven't added much in the way of revenue, either.

For years, the standard view in the newspaper industry has been that print newspapers will eventually evolve into online editions and reconvene the mass audience newspapers enjoy there. But that's not what's happening. Readers continue to leave print newspapers, but they're not migrating to the online editions.

From the paper: "[W]hile print readership is declining, newspaper readers did not drop print in favor of the same newspaper's online edition. The identified performance gap between newspapers' print and online products challenges the

'digital first' view about the future of newspapers."

Chyi and Tenenboim don't deny the obvious mass migration of news consumers to the Web, but they note that most readers go to news aggregators, like Yahoo News, Google News, CNN.com, MSN and other non-newspaper sites. In a 2012 Pew study, 26 percent of respondents cited Yahoo as a news source they used most often; 17 percent named Google, with 11 percent naming MSN.com. Only 5 percent of poll respondents named the New York Times as a top news destination; 3 percent the Wall Street Journal; 2 percent USA Today; and 2 percent the Washington Post.

Not only do news aggregators dominate national news consumption, they dominate

local news consumption, too, as Chyi and Tenenboim reported in a 2009 study, despite the best efforts by local newspapers: "Among the top 67 local newspapers in the United States (with circulation of 100,000 or above), only 13 were the number 1 online news destination in their local market."

The financial performance of online newspapers is "underwhelming," they declare, with total newspaper industry digital advertising revenue increasing from \$3 billion to only \$3.5 billion from 2010 to 2014. Yes, total newspaper print revenues have plunged from \$22.8 billion to \$16.4 billion over the same period, but they still represent 82 percent of total newspaper revenue. Only the New York Times and the Wall

Street Journal have succeeded in attracting a mass audience willing to pay for paywalled online editions, but they are national, not local newspapers.

Despite all the resources thrown at online editions, why are most such a miserable failure? In a 2013 book, Chyi offers her "Ramen Noodle Theory," which states that readers avoid online newspapers because in comparison to their print versions, they're an inferior good. This theory—as you can guess, if you read my recent valentine to newsprint—makes my bunnies hop. Online editions offer a "less-than-satisfactory" reading experience, she writes, cluttered with intrusive ads and hampered by poor design. Also, online editions tend to be perceived as inferior to the paid-for print product because they're free, plus the "tangible" nature of newsprint gives it an edge in readers' minds over the pixel product. One 2012 survey found that 66 percent of users prefer the print version of their daily over the Web edition. Even a majority of young readers prefer print, the Chyi-Tenenboim study reports. All this may explain why visits to the 51 major newspaper websites don't last long—about two minutes for the Chicago Tribune, for example. Only two newspapers of the bunch—the Austin American-Statesman and the Washington Post—have ever exceeded 20 percent of local residents with their online versions. The 2015 industry average is 10 percent of local residents.

What, then, should newspapers do? In her book, Chyi counsels press barons to accept that few of them can possibly pursue a successful online strategy and adjust their distribution battle plans accordingly. Accept that the days of 25 percent-35 percent profit margins will never return, and cope with the 5 percent profit margins that are more like the profit margins of the average S&P 500 company. If publishers insist on an online edition, institute some sort of a paywall to convey that the content has value, a signal that might benefit the performance of the print product too. Should they invest more heavily in their online sites to make them attractive? My sense is that would be throwing good money after bad. Nobody is asking me, but if a newspaper company wanted to make a real splash on the Web, it would be better off inventing an original website—the next Business

Insider or BuzzFeed—and not remodel its newspaper copy.

Chyi remains bullish on newspapers, rejecting the self-fulfilling prediction that they must die, especially given that surveys show that they remain so beloved. No Luddite, she appreciates the immediacy and convenience of getting news and entertainment (especially entertainment) via computer and phone platforms. But for all of its faults, the newspaper remains a superior format and much would be lost if our neglect caused its premature demise.

In an interview, Chyi offers another analogy to illustrate the current online crisis newspapers are facing.

"Newspaper had been running the equivalent of a very nice high-end steakhouse," she says. Then McDonald's moved to town and started selling untold numbers of cheap hamburgers. Newspaper thought, "Let's compete with that," and dropped the steak for hamburger, even though it had no real expertise in producing hamburgers. "What they should have done is improve the steak product."

I asked Chyi what she thinks of the Washington Post's strategy, which under new owner Jeff Bezos has continued to serve steak—about 500 staff-written pieces a day—as well as hamburger—another 700 clickbaity pieces drawn from wire services or produced in-house. Last year, this strategy pushed the Post's total unique numbers above the New York Times' for the first time.

"In the short term, the Washington Post will have more clicks," she says, but in the long term, clickbait will "actually hurt the brand." Most of these new uniques stay on the site for a short time, making it difficult to monetize their visits. "Too many newspapers are focused on short-term results," she says.

Newspapers need to accept that much of their loss of audience is beyond their control, she adds. There's the overwhelming competition from other media—sports channels, social media, movie channels, Netflix and other streaming services, and even video games. "For things that are under their control, they should make smart decisions." Listen to readers, she counsels, and find better ways to serve their readers. Reject the idea that the newspaper is a doomed dinosaur. "It's not too late," she says. "There's some hope if they rethink their strategies." For my sake, at least, I hope Chyi is right.

The People who Pick the President

They also include Sybrina Fulton—Trayvon Martin's mother—and Chris Christie's dad, Wilbur. There's a 93-year-old granddaughter of slaves and a 19-year-old Republican activist. Others still are Bernie Sanders supporters and political trailblazers, a motorcycle lobbyist and a Powerball winner.

Though voters will cast ballots

for Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton and several third-party candidates on Election Day, their votes will actually elect partisan slates of Electoral College members. The smallest have just three, and the largest, California, has 55. Republicans and Democrats in each state choose a set of electors—and if their candidate wins the popular vote on Election Day, their slate of electors gets picked to cast

ballots in December. These members are largely bound—by law and by oath—to uphold the will of the voters. And throughout history, few have deviated from that path. But 2016 is an upside-down year featuring deeply unpopular candidates. A few electors have already threatened to break from Trump or Clinton and vote their conscience—even if that means bucking the will of their state's voters.

'Political debate turning Americans against each other'

Washington: The political debate in the current election season has turned Americans against each other, Indian-American Neera Tanden from the Clinton campaign has claimed, while her counterpart from the Trump's camp said the national prestige has gone down under the Obama regime.

"The political debate this election season is turning Americans against each other," Tanden, co-chair of the Clinton Transition Team said during the first 'Town Hall Meeting: Election 2016'.

The townhall was organized by the DC chapter of South Asian Bar Association (SABA).

"Some people are turned away from events because of how they look like is a very unfortunate development," she said in response to a question.

The Trump Campaign, represented by Puneet Ahluwalia who was recently

appointed as the its advisor on Asia Pacific American Advisory Body.

Ahluwalia alleged the prestige and reputation of the United States under the Obama Administration has come down. "The country is on a disastrous path. Our national prestige is down. We have to bring our country back again," he said.

Tanden disagreed strongly to the allegations and claimed the friends and allies of the US are today worried and anxious a lot because of the rhetoric of Trump.

"If she (Clinton) is so fortunate to be the president she would have an administration that would look like America," she said.

Referring to the fact that Clinton was the founder of co-chair of the Senate India Caucus, Tanden said the Democratic presidential nominee is in the best interest of Indian-Americans and Indo-US relationship.

The two Indian-American leaders from the GOP and Democratic parties sparred on various policy issues including economy, tax, jobs, health care and student loans.

"This election has repercussions well beyond the executive, it will no doubt have a significant impact on Congress and the Supreme Court," Rahul Das, chief of SABA said.

"Donald Trump has vented the frustration of a lot of middle American youth," Ahluwalia said, adding that jobs of youths have been taken away. "He has given a sign to them that things have to change for the better," he said. Responding to a question if the candidate is a role model for the child, the two Indian-Americans raised the personal allegations against the two presidential candidates. Tanden first referred to the recent surfacing of a video in which Trump is seen making lewd remarks about women.

Even if Hillary wins

This undercurrent was there all along. The Republicans did their best to attack Obama, not because of ideological differences, but because his success would represent something far more unsettling. The ease with which Hillary is subject to double standards, an alchemy that converts even her possible virtues into vices (her patience into cravenness, her centrism into mere opportunism, her stamina and endurance into a hunger for power), speaks of the same phenomenon. What Trump was saying is rooted in the logic of what a lot of people wanted to say. He just made the mistake of demonstrating how misogyny and racism, once unleashed, devour everyone, not one group at a time. If this sentiment is indeed widespread, it is hard to imagine it being easily bottled. If, despite great structural progress, misogyny and racism have shown themselves to be mercurially

adaptive, American democracy will have stormy days ahead. In a gendered election, will her win settle the matter, or unleash more dark forces? It is likely Hillary will remain a target.

The second interpretation, not incompatible with the first, is this: This election is not largely driven by misogyny and racism, but by a critique of globalisation and plutocracy. There are deep structural forces at work in the relation between state and capital that even a talented president like Obama could not resolve. Even if it could be argued that the state of the American economy is far from being apocalyptic, rising income inequality and the perception of stagnant middle class incomes have given a fillip to a politics of fear. There were progressive possibilities in this moment, but those have largely been displaced. America is at a point where the fundamentals of the social contract seem at stake.

And here Hillary Clinton will have a double challenge. On the one hand, in ideological terms as reflected in her programme, she remains much a centrist. The big question is: Is the centrism she stands for enough to assuage the concerns of those revolting against globalisation and plutocracy? And here it has to be said that there has been a neat inversion, where the Left has unwittingly prepared the ground that the Right ran away with. "Crooked Hillary," is not that far off from the Left's position that sees Hillary as nothing but irremediably a representative of Wall Street. But there are ideological challenges as well.

Negotiating globalisation is not going to be politically easy. The Left is right that globalisation has to take into account those who are unable to participate. But one thing the Left has consistently underestimated is that it is very difficult to run an anti-globalisation argument

without unleashing the forces of xenophobia and resentment. The Left thinks anti-globalisation is about taming capital; in politics it turns out that anti-globalisation is mostly about taming other labour and immigrants. We are seeing that in Brexit. A nation whose identity was that of a nation of immigrants, and that was at the forefront of trade openness, is now sceptical of both. Rewriting a new economic compact will not be easy.

Finally, there is America's place in the world. Obama, in some ways, had a sophisticated understanding of the broader changes underway, and he was adjusting American engagement accordingly. There were tactical mistakes on the way. But there is no doubt that in the short run, those adjustments have left an impression of a vacuum, a sense that America was being weak in relation to its adversaries. Trump, in response, offered an incoherent combination of isolationism, muscularity and servility to assorted dictators like

Putin. But this did tap into an odd incoherence you sense in the relationship between American democracy and foreign policy. America wants hegemony without paying the price for engagement. Hillary is at least consistent in wanting hegemony and being willing to pay the price of engagement. But whether the Left will stand for her interventionism, and whether the world has changed far too much for a Nineties' world view to succeed, is an open question.

All three themes, the social question of race and misogyny, the economic question of globalisation and labour, and the hard power question of America's role in the world, are up for grabs in a foundational way. Will Hillary have the mandate, and the power to script a new answer for them? The anarchic unleashing of dark forces in this election suggests it's not going to be easy. The authority of American democracy has taken a beating. It will take more than the mere fact of a Hillary victory to restore faith.

The Inequality Fight Dividing Hillary Clinton's Hometown

Housing segregation is one of the great unsolved policy crises in American life, driving a sharp wedge between the nation's haves and have-nots—those who get the opportunities afforded by living in prosperous towns like Chappaqua, and those who never could. Seven years ago, it seemed that Hillary Clinton's hometown might willingly lead the way in changing this. The Obama administration joined a lawsuit brought by the activist Anti-Discrimination Center alleging that Westchester County had willfully violated the Fair Housing Act by not exploring the ways communities make it difficult to build affordable housing. The county agreed to a landmark settlement that the Obama administration once hoped would be a template for the nation. Westchester agreed to construct 750 units of affordable housing in 31 majority white and affluent towns, including Chappaqua.

As of last year, only 334 new affordable units were occupied in Westchester, none in Chappaqua. The plan isn't dead—several hundred units are still being developed across the county, including a potential 63 in Chappaqua—but even if they're all built, it remains a drop in the bucket in a county of nearly a million people; a report from Rutgers University estimated Westchester would need at least 10,768 new affordable homes to satisfy demand.

New affordable housing has become a third rail in local politics. Politicians here have run—and won—on the promise

of fighting the zoning changes that could lead to more and faster construction. In Chappaqua in 2013, the town council approved a plan for a politically connected developer, Conifer Realty, to construct an apartment building of 28 units, all reserved for renters earning less than \$64,000 per year. It is supposed to be built on Hunts Lane, a mile-and-a-half from the Clinton home and just a few hundred feet from where Tatlin McLeod and I were sitting at the train station, on the other side of the Metro-North tracks. Most of the officials who made that deal lost their seats.

Today, the site remains an empty lot, overgrown with weeds. I gestured toward it, and asked McLeod what she thought of putting an affordable apartment building there. She scoffed. "They

will vote it down, knowing these people," she said. I asked whether she thought the residents of Chappaqua didn't want black neighbors. She shook her head no—she didn't think this was about race. "My bosses are really nice," she added. But Chappaqua is for people with money, she told me. Some folks hated the fact that there was a Dunkin' Donuts in town, McLeod said; the chain was too downscale. She displayed her iced drink. "Some of them can be so cocky."

What's happened in Chappaqua, and in Westchester more broadly, shows just how complicated the politics of American housing are—and how intractable the issue has become. Where a family lives shapes a child's academic

outcomes, his likelihood of getting arrested and his income as an adult. American suburbs—though more racially diverse today than ever—are internally segregated, with low-income and nonwhite families living in communities with fewer white residents and lower-performing schools. In principle, even the neighbors here approve of trying to rectify this problem. Many in this Democratic-leaning town say they welcome more affordable housing and more diverse neighbors. Under legal scrutiny from the federal government, the town council, in April, allowed the Hunts Lane development to move forward. Yet the project still remains caught in red tape: It needs to be approved by New York State, and local officials and a media-savvy group of activists

remain vocal critics. Robert Greenstein was elected town supervisor in 2013. He is a registered Democrat who ran on the Republican ticket, in part to oppose the development, which he says is poorly located—too close to the train tracks and too far away from Chappaqua's established residential neighborhoods. "I think affordable housing is a noble goal," he said. "I like the idea that a certain amount of units should be affordable. What I don't like is forcing municipalities to build affordable housing. I don't think it's fair." He continued, "Let the market work the way it works. In our town, there's no discrimination. It all comes down to money. Whether you can afford it or not. The only color that matters is the color of your money."

Go-Mutra Is No Longer A Joke

And the Ayurvedic company which is giving multinationals a run for their money was prompt in declaring that only five of its 700 products contained urine.

A Youtube video of a lecture by one Rajiv Dixit advised pregnant women to have three doses of cow-urine that would help in effortless delivery and would call the doctors' bluff while advising for a C-section surgery. You have ulcers in your mouth? No problem. Just gurgle with cow-urine and they would be gone. You are overweight? You do not have to go to the gym. Go-mutra would do the trick. You wear glasses? Yes, regular doses of the urine would correct your eyesight. What, your mother has been diagnosed with glaucoma? Don't worry, get her to swallow the urine. Your pregnant wife has discovered that the foetus she is carrying is upside down? You guessed it

right, the urine would do the trick. More diligent search revealed that in Ayurveda, there is a chapter on urine which deals with the properties of eight kinds of urine. But while some research appears to have been done on cow-urine with the Junagadh Agricultural University in Gujarat certifying the properties in June, 2016 and two US patents secured in 2011 and 2013. But not much appears to have been done on the others including urine of goats and elephants.

The US Patents Office (search for patent number 6,896, 907) says that Indian researchers claimed that a small dose of cow-urine appeared to have activated anti-bacterial and anti-carcinogenic elements in chemicals, making them work better and faster. But the same page also appeared to suggest that

higher quantity of the urine did not have similar effect.

The patents and the NDA Government which not only upgraded the department of AYUSH into a ministry but also has spent Rs 580 crore on 'Gaushalas' or cow shelters, have given a fillip to the trade in cow-urine, described cheekily as the 'liquid gold'.

It is, however, an Indian origin veterinary doctor in Australia, Navneet Dhand, who has struck a note of caution. A Bloomberg report in July quotes him as saying that cow-urine from infected cows had the potential of causing several diseases in India including Meningitis, liver failure, Arthritis and inflammation of the heart. Dhand, who is a faculty member in the University of Sidney, has not carried out any research in India of course.

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How bankers drove the deal, to clean up their loan books



The Essar Group will use the proceeds of the \$12.9-billion (Rs 86,400 crore) sale of Essar Oil to halve its overall debt to about Rs 42,000 crore, bringing relief to leading bankers SBI and ICICI which have lent heavily in the past. But bankers to whom HT spoke

to pay back. It would take a judicious mode to settle among the various categories. It will take at least six months (to split the proceeds)," said a senior banker, who asked not to be named.

Like the diverse businesses that Essar has interests in, the debt is also distributed widely across the conglomerate structure that uses a holding company format, with companies registered in tax havens. Global financial major Credit Suisse issued a report earlier titled 'House of Debt' that pegged the group's debt as of March 2015 at an even higher Rs 101,465 crore. Adding to all this uncertainty is the fact most group companies are delisted, which

means financials need not be disclosed publicly. SBI accounts for about 40% of the total group debt, largely in Essar Steel. SBI exposure in the steel firm is about Rs 9,000 crore, followed by Punjab National Bank, IDBI Bank, ICICI Bank and Axis Bank who have about Rs 5,000 crore worth of exposure. There are at least 30 banks that have lent to Essar Steel. Four banks — Axis Bank, HDFC Bank, Federal Bank and ICICI Bank — have sold some of their loans to Edelweiss ARC, retaining working capital components. Essar Power has a debt of about Rs 20,000 crore, Essar Oil about Rs 27,000 crore and about \$2 billion (Rs 13,400

crore) is owed to Iran for oil dues.

Reflecting bankers' relief with the Essar Oil sale, ICICI Bank MD Chanda Kochhar said: "This is a significant step in deleveraging the balance sheets of Indian corporates. ICICI Bank has been closely working with companies including the Essar Group to help them de-leverage their stressed balance sheets." Some of the group's debt has also been via private equity funds who have terms and covenants including approvals for sale of assets. Early this year the group had differences with IDFC private equity on the sale of the Vadinar power plant.

Nissan completes takeover of Mitsubishi, keeps embattled chief



(Agencies) Nissan Motor Co Ltd said on Thursday it had completed a deal to take a controlling stake in Mitsubishi Motors Corp, and would be retaining the embattled automaker's chief executive to ensure its recovery from a mileage cheating scandal. Japan's No. 2 automaker has agreed to make a 237 billion yen (\$2.29 billion) investment to acquire a 34 percent stake in Mitsubishi Motors, making it the single largest shareholder in its smaller peer. The deal will make Mitsubishi Motors a member of an alliance between Nissan and French automaker Renault.

The two companies said that the partnership would generate significant synergies in areas including purchasing and plant utilisation, adding that they would jointly develop automated driving technologies and plug-in hybrid vehicles. Pending

shareholder approval, Carlos Ghosn, who serves as chairman and CEO of both Nissan and Renault, will lead the board of Mitsubishi Motors, while Osamu Masuko will remain the company's president and CEO despite calls by some shareholders for him to resign to take responsibility for falsifying

the mileage on its vehicles. Ghosn said that keeping Masuko on was an "important condition" in proceeding with the partnership, adding that all management decisions would be made by Masuko.

"One of the reasons that I so much wanted Mr. Masuko to stay as CEO was because I

wanted the people at Mitsubishi to know that Mitsubishi will remain Mitsubishi. Mitsubishi will not become a subsidiary of Nissan," he told a joint briefing. "This sends a strong message that it's not Nissan that's going to transform Mitsubishi, it's Mitsubishi that's going to transform

Mitsubishi." Pooling resources and eliminating duplicate operations would result in estimated annual cost savings of 25 billion yen for Mitsubishi while lifting its profit margins by more than 2 percentage points as of 2019. The company said it would also boost its earnings per share by 12 yen next year and

Facebook adds food ordering feature

Facebook said users in the United States would be able to order food through the Facebook pages of restaurants starting on Wednesday as part of its efforts to connect users and businesses. Users will also be able to get quotes from businesses, buy movie tickets and book appointments at spas and salons, Facebook said in a blog post. Earlier this month, Facebook launched "Marketplace", a platform that allows people to buy and sell



items locally. Facebook, which has about 1.7 billion monthly active users, also said on Wednesday it would add a "recommendations" feature that will allow users to share recommendations on such things as places to eat. Facebook shares were up 0.8 per cent at \$129.58 in early trading. Shares of GrubHub Inc, which offers a food ordering service similar to that announced by Facebook, were down 2.4 per cent at \$41.07.

HSBC plans to wind up P-notes business in India

(Agencies) HSBC is planning to wind up participatory notes (P-notes) operations in India as tightening of regulatory framework has made the business unviable. P-notes' attractiveness has been on the wane following tightening of the regulations and the recent double tax avoidance agreement (DTAA) with Mauritius. HSBC is among the top five issuers of P-notes, or offshore derivative instruments, in India with a market share of more than 6 per cent at the end of last financial year. According to sources, the bank had set-up an internal committee to study the developments around P-notes. The committee has suggested that incomes from P-note operations would

decline in the next five years as the new norms have resulted in escalation of costs and regulatory burden. "It is a part of HSBC's global restructuring strategy to shut the business vertical, which doesn't offer much growth potential. The bank has evaluated all the possible options on the table, including selling the P-note business. The decision to shut operations is in the best interest of the bank," said a banker. According to sources, the renegotiated double tax avoidance treaty (DTAA) with Mauritius has also impacted the P-notes business of HSBC, which is registered in Mauritius. When asked, HSBC declined to comment on the issue.

Wipro acquires US firm Appirio for \$400 mn: Report



IT Major Wipro has acquired US-based consultancy firm Appirio, a services firm with a large offshore firm that helps corporates implement cloud applications such as Salesforce, said reports. Appirio was founded by Chris Barbin, Mike O'Brien, Glenn Weistein and Narinder Singh in 2006. The nearly decade-old firm had revenues of \$200 million in 2015. The Times of India, which reported the news first, says the deal could be between \$400 million and \$500 million. If confirmed, it could be the second largest acquisition by Wipro. Appirio has an India offshore base in Jaipur, where the majority of its 1,200-strong workforce is located. Appirio says its customers include eBay, Facebook, Home Depot, Sony PlayStation, IBM and Cardinal Health. The news helped Wipro stock rise and was Rs 3.2, or 0.65 per cent, up at Rs 497.75 on the BSE at 11.20.

Bad relationship during pregnancy ups infection risk in kids

London: Pregnant women dissatisfied in their relationship are at an increased risk of infectious diseases, such as stomach flu and ear inflammation, which may also affect their child, a new study has found. "If you compare



the group of pregnant women with the lowest satisfaction to the group with highest satisfaction in their relationship, the first group's risk of becoming ill is more than twice that of the second group," said Roger Ekeberg Henriksen, from the University of Bergen in Norway. "Those who report that they are dissatisfied in their relationship more often report illnesses during pregnancy and their children are also reported ill more often during their first year," said Henriksen. When it comes to the children, the connections are even more obvious than with the pregnant

women. Researchers looked at the occurrence of eight different infectious diseases, from the common cold to stomach flu and inflammation of the ear. With children up to six months, the occurrence of all eight infections was higher when the mothers were dissatisfied in their relationship. Previous research on stress may explain the connections between bad relations and physical illness. "You have a psychological experience, but how does this become a physical illness that makes you vomit or gives you a fever of a cough," said Henriksen.

"If the idea is that stress makes us ill, we have already seen that there are individual variations and that social support is important," he added. Stress responses are completely natural to the body. For instance, they enable us to mobilise quickly in order to avoid dangers. In such situations, some bodily functions are prioritised before others, and the brain in particular is given extra energy under stress. When the stress response is transferred to the unborn child during pregnancy, evolution researchers claim that this helps the unborn child prepare for the world outside.

First-ever 24-hour free wine fountain in Italy

Rome: In most areas of the world, public drinking fountains expel tap water, but the newest public drinking fountain in Italy flows red with wine — and it's free to the public.



The 24-hour seven days a week "fontana del vino" in Caldari di Ortona has been installed by Dora Sarchese vineyard winery.

There's no catch or gimmick, the vineyard owners explained. Nor is the fountain for "drunkards" or "louts", they said on the vineyard's Facebook page. They simply wanted to provide a service that had been previously unheard of in Italian history, according to The Local news.

"The wine fountain is a welcome, the wine fountain is poetry," Dora Sarchese posted. The fountain is located along a popular trail, the Cammino di San Tommaso, which is used by thousands of Catholics every year on the pilgrimage to see the remains of Thomas, one of Jesus' disciples.

Now, travellers can enjoy some Biblical-style refreshment along the long journey. Until now, wine fountains in Italy had only been used for holidays and special occasions.

One of the most famous is in Marino where white wine flows from the public water fountain taps for an hour during the city's annual grape festival. This is the first

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It Lost Black Voters. Now It's Losing Latinos. What's Left Is a Broken, White GOP.

For most of the now almost-forgotten vice presidential debate, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence kept his cool, ignoring, deflecting, or outright denying any effort by Virginia Sen. Tim Kaine to tie him to his running mate, Donald Trump. But it's hard to keep your composure for the length of a debate. It takes work.

And toward the end of the 90-minute showdown, Pence began to falter, and then with a single infelicitous phrase he evoked the only wall Trump will ever build: the one between the Republican Party and Latino voters. It happened after Kaine returned to Trump's rhetoric, pressing Pence to answer for his running mate's insults and bigotry. "When Donald Trump says women or Mexicans are rapists and criminals ... or John McCain is not a hero, he is showing you who he is," said the Virginia senator, to which Pence had a reply. "Senator," he said, "you've whipped out that Mexican thing again." Adding, "There are criminal aliens in this country, Tim, who have come into this country illegally who are perpetrating violence and taking American lives."

That Mexican thing. That Mexican thing, to be precise, is Trump's anti-Hispanic demagoguery, which stretches back to the beginning of the campaign. "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best," said Trump when he opened his campaign last summer. "They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And

some, I assume, are good people."

The Trump-Pence ticket is well behind its Democratic opponent, trailing by more than 7 points in the Pollster average. And the reason, in part, is his incredibly poor performance with Hispanic voters, who see Trump as an unacceptable risk. This is no small thing. Political parties can make inroads with groups that disagree with them—that's just persuasion. But it's difficult, if not impossible, to make gains with groups that see you as a danger to their futures. By placing Donald Trump at the top of the ticket and indulging his nativism and xenophobia, the Republican Party has said with its actions that it doesn't want Latinos in its tent. Republicans may thus end up estranged from another group of nonwhite voters—not because there aren't conservative or right-leaning people in the Latino community, but because the GOP has shown itself hostile to the idea of a pluralistic, multiracial America with room and opportunity for Americans of all origins.

You've seen this throughout the election, from Trump's attacks on federal judge Gonzalo Curiel to his performance at the Republican National Convention—where he cast Hispanic immigrants as an existential threat to American life—to his marquee speech on immigration in Phoenix, Arizona, where he called for a new national focus on rooting out unauthorized immigrants. "Under my administration," said Trump, "anyone who illegally crosses the border will be detained until they are removed out of our country



and back to the country from which they came." For Trump, Latino immigrants join Muslims and Syrian refugees as potential threats, fundamentally incompatible with American life. If they're here, they have to be removed, and if they're not here, they need to be kept out. In turn, for Latino Americans and their families, this makes Trump an existential threat to their lives and livelihoods.

Only 21 percent of Latinos say the GOP cares about their community, and 70 percent say that Trump has made the Republican Party more hostile to them. In another survey, polling and research firm Latino Decisions asked Latino registered voters to gauge two statements: "Donald Trump's campaign talk and policy views make me fear for the future of my family and our country" and "Donald Trump truly has the best interest of my family and our country in mind."

Eighty-two percent of respondents agreed with the first statement, that Trump makes them fear for their families and their country. Eighteen percent agreed with the latter.

This isn't the first time the Republican Party has lost an entire demographic group through hostility and disdain. At the dawn of the 1960s, as Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater rose to become the voice for ideological conservatism, black Republicans warned that his ideology would create an irreparable breach between the GOP

and its black supporters. "Any Negro who helps the cause of Goldwater, should be declared anything but a Negro, because they will be a traitor to the Negro people," wrote a party member named Jackson R. Champion in an August 1964 editorial letter to the New York Amsterdam News, one of the oldest black newspapers in the United States.

As historian Leah Wright Rigueur notes in *The Loneliness of the Black Republican: Pragmatic Politics and the Pursuit of Power*, this was far from atypical. Baseball pioneer Jackie Robinson, who'd endorsed Richard Nixon in 1960 and attended the 1964 Republican National Convention as a "special delegate" for New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, "asserted that any black leader who demonstrated support for [Goldwater] would lose power and influence since 'the Negro is not going to tolerate any Uncle Toms in 1964.'" She recounts the story of one black voter, a Cleveland man who backed Richard Nixon in the 1960 election, stating that Goldwater "isn't for us ... and I'd be a damn fool if I voted for a man who's against me."

There was no mystery to black hostility for Goldwater. The Arizona senator rejected the moderate Republicanism of Dwight Eisenhower (and many black party members) in favor of a doctrinaire conservatism that closed all doors to government action in civil and economic life. Rather than a "dime store New Deal," he promised small government, individual liberty, and states' rights.

If Goldwater's libertarian-style ideology drew worry from black Republicans—who believed the government should work to uplift black Americans through economic

programs—then his "states' rights" advocacy triggered outright alarm. Then as now, "states' rights" was a clear sop to Southern reactionaries who opposed a robust federal role in civil rights. Worse, Goldwater disparaged the Republican effort to win over black citizens, a key swing vote in 1960 who, with a little more outreach, might have delivered the White House to Richard Nixon.

"As he expounded during a March 1961 meeting," recounts Rigueur, "the party should 'quit trying to win Negro votes' since the African American electorate had no sense of loyalty or gratitude. 'Party leaders should face up to the fact that although Republicans have done more for the Negro,' Goldwater complained, 'Democrats are getting more and more of their votes.'

A later speech was even more direct. "We're not going to get the Negro vote as a bloc in 1964 ... so we ought to go hunting where the ducks are." The result of Goldwater's rhetoric and ideology was a historic rout with the black electorate. Just 6 percent of black voters cast ballots for the Arizona senator, an 81 percent drop from the last presidential race, when Nixon won 32 percent of black ballots. (And before Nixon, Eisenhower had won 39 percent of black voters in the 1956 election.)

The repudiation of Goldwater would be the last step in a realignment of black Americans that had begun in the days of Franklin Roosevelt. From then on, the national Republican Party would struggle to crack double digits with black voters, despite the strength of traditional beliefs and practices among black communities, from religious practice to traditions of self-help and self-reliance.



How secure is our democracy under the leadership of insecure leaders?

(Agencies) Questions have always been asked about the moral standards of our leaders. But are they victims of an insecurity complex? The mysterious illness of Tamil Nadu chief minister Jayaraman Jayalalithaa has put the spotlight on present-day politicians in India.

May god grant good health to Jayalalithaa and help her return to the helm of the government. Only five months ago, the people of this important Indian state restored their faith in her leadership for the sixth time during the assembly elections. Even before she could begin implementing her poll promises, she was gripped by illness. This has paralysed the state administration. Had Jayalalithaa formed a second line of command, then thousands of people would not have felt neglected. Why didn't Jayalalithaa do so? To find an answer we may have to remove some layers of dust from the pages of history.

The controversy that erupted after the passing away of MG Ramachandran is still fresh in the minds of political analysts. Not only was Ramachandran a movie star, he also gave a new direction to the 'Dravidian' movement. Jayalalithaa was his constant companion in the world of movies and politics. That is why she considered herself a natural heir to Vadiyar's legacy. MGR's wife VN Janaki challenged her, but Jayalalithaa was up to the challenge and Janaki was deposed.

If Vadiyar, or teacher, had not given so much importance to Amma in the party, his family would not have had to see such days. That's why Jayalalithaa didn't allow a number two to emerge in the party or government, in any capacity. If she became suspicious about anybody, the person was thrown out. That's why when she was imprisoned for the first time in 2001 and O Panneerselvam's name was announced as her replacement, people in north India were surprised. Upon investigation it was revealed that Panneerselvam was Amma's trusted lieutenant. His world began and ended with Amma.

The story was repeated in 2014, when Jayalalithaa was imprisoned again. This time round, Panneerselvam has been given all the responsibilities of a chief minister, but he hasn't been given the formal designation. Jayalalithaa will continue to be chief minister in absentia. By when will she recover? What exactly is her ailment? Whatever the party spokespersons say on this is raising newer questions.

The police have registered cases against a number of people for spreading rumours. Some people are behind bars but the tsunami of rumours refuses to abate.

Jayalalithaa isn't the only such politician.

Let us begin with Odisha. Its chief minister Naveen Patnaik has regained power for the fourth time with a landslide majority. Even in his party there is no number two. Like Jayalalithaa, Naveen also encourages the politics of no alternative. With clever politics, not only has he made Opposition parties redundant, but he has also stifled every emerging voice in his party.

On October 16, Patnaik turned 70. He should ideally announce his political successor. But will he?

The picture is not very different in neighbouring West Bengal. Chief minister Mamata Banerjee neither been a silver screen idol like Jayalalithaa, nor was her father the chief minister like Naveen. She underwent many forms of oppression in order to end the more than three-decade-old Left Front rule. A big section of the state's population addresses her as Didi out of respect. Mamata has not shared power with anybody in her party at the top rung. Her nephew Abhishek Banerjee heads the youth wing of the Trinamool Congress and this time had the honour of reaching the Lok Sabha. Will he take over Mamata's legacy? Nobody appears to have a clue.

The situation appears to be similar in the Bahujan Samaj Party. Mayawati had to struggle even more than Mamata. She became the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh four times while taking on the infamous caste system. She is one of the leading contenders for power in



the next assembly elections. Kanshi Ram had anointed her as his heir well in time. Mayawati herself has made a public statement that she has decided on who will take over her political mantle. Who can this be?

The script is almost identical with Sikkim's Pawan Kumar Chamling. He has been chief minister of the state since 1994. If all goes well, in another two years, he'll become the longest-serving chief minister in India. Rising from the village panchayat level to dominating state politics, Chamling, the father of eight children, has neither named a family member, nor anybody else from the party as his successor.

These five states send 183 members to the 543-member-strong Lok Sabha. They have a 25% contribution to the nation's GDP. These statistics reflect how sensitive the situation is. Shouldn't those who represent the hopes of millions of citizens make their succession plans public? Shouldn't

politicians also declare the status of their health along with party manifestos? How can an unhealthy and politically insecure leader contribute to the nurturing of a healthy democracy? Working professionals are asked to retire between 58 years and 60 years of age. It is assumed that they begin to falter by this age. There is no such rule for politicians.

Akhilesh Yadav is paying the price for carving a new path for Samajwadi Party

The internal feud in the Samajwadi Party (SP) has undergone another twist. Party chief Mulayam Singh Yadav has said that SP legislators, once elected, will decide on who the next chief minister will be. The subtext is: Akhilesh Yadav will not be declared the CM candidate. The decision comes in the backdrop of the visible rift between Akhilesh and his backers, on one the hand, and Mulayam's brother, Shivpal and his associates on the other. Increasingly, Mulayam himself has tilted towards his brother in the battle. While sceptics have said this may be a good-cop, bad-cop act — or Mulayam's clever way of managing both sides — there is now adequate evidence of a deep, fundamental divide in the party. This division is as much about personalities and ambitions, as it is about the future of the Samajwadi Party itself, what it stands for, whether it will remain mired solely in identity politics or will go beyond



and become a more modern party, and its broader vision for Uttar Pradesh. And in this division, the old guard is — unfortunately — winning for now.

Across the state, if there is one good thing people, including critics, say about the SP — it is that Akhilesh has been like a breath of fresh air. He is seen as well-intentioned, as sincere, and as

committed to a development agenda, in tune with aspirations of the youth. He also practised the politics of hope. This is a departure from past CMs who thrived on the politics of resentment — Kalyan Singh stoked the dislike of Muslims, Mulayam stokes fears among Muslims, Mayawati's politics rested on

historic injustice. Whether Akhilesh was able to deliver, whether this is just an image or reality, can be debated. But the modernist impulse he brought to the party is undeniable.

This is precisely what the SP old guard could not tolerate. For them, the state is nothing more than an instrument to extract profit. Politics is all about maintaining caste-based patronage networks, which can be nourished in power and utilised in elections. This includes empowering party cadre to defy the law, and assert power over others — including the administration. Shivpal would have been happy if Akhilesh was a mere figurehead, while they continued their politics as usual. The CM is paying the price for his effort to carve out a new path. Mulayam's decision is a firm signal that he stands with the older, more degenerate political tradition in his party — and if in the process the SP loses the election, so be it.



Bollywood star Kangna Ranaut walks the ramp at Lakme Fashion Week 2014. (Right) A model showcases a Gaurav Gupta design.

EGYPT ON THE RUNWAY



A HANDFUL of veteran Delhi-based designers have decided to make their runway debut in Mumbai this season at the ongoing Lakme Fashion Week.

Supremely talented and a force to reckon with in the business, designer Gaurav Gupta stole the show on Day Two of the style extravaganza with his collection 'Memphire'.

However, the spotlight wasn't on his designs alone; Gupta shared centre stage with renowned UK-based jewellery designer Mawi, whose creations catapulted his creations to a whole new level of edgy, hot and trendy.

The fitting collaboration saw two avant-garde designers come together in a spectacular debut at the LFW runway in a show that can carry the weight of the whole week on its ramp alone.

On the RAMPAGE

The inspiration was Egypt, a pharaoh and the decadence of a bygone era. The mystic setting was an Egyptian party that featured a spaceship on the ceiling of the runway.

The models sashayed down the runway in sensuous, erotic and mystical pairs dressed in serpentine silhouettes that were sexy and glamorous.

The ensembles had a quality of shadow and movement, of structure and fluidity, of sensuality and power.

The silhouettes were Carbon Lattice, Isis, Serpent Wave and Diagonal Murmur, draped in Egyptian gowns, multi-draped futuristic saris, bodysuits and catsuits, sari gowns and body suits in metallic tones of gold, copper, anthracite, black and teal.

Complementing his ensembles were Mawi's statement pieces that combine futuristic and primitive styles, ethnic and tribal jewellery with hedonistic decadence.



RIXI BHATIA & JAYESH SACHDEV

Designer duo Rixi Bhatia and Jayesh Sachdev's 'Quirk Box' has come up with a trendy collection that boasts of fun and offbeat creations. Titled 'Quirk-E-Sultanat', the collection is a mix of feminine-funky, chic-experimental and drapes-structure in fun prints.



ASMITA MARWA

Asmita Marwa's collection 'Sensaina Tsuyo' was inspired by the flower of the same name and featured a melange of outfits in checks, dyes and weaves. Traditional textiles like chanderi, banarasi and khadi were styled into kimono silhouettes, palazzo pants, kimono crop-tops and shimmering dresses. She also showcased a menswear line that included samurai pants. Leading hairstylist Adhuna Akhtar (right) was her showstopper.



DHRUV KAPUR

Dhruv Kapur's 'DRVV' collection in monochromes saw clever construction, unconventional detailing and minimal structure. The double waistbands and lapels, detachable sleeves, the coat-back jumpsuit, skirt-back trousers and trail-dress jumpsuit proved why this experimental designer is always on the fashion radar.

ABDUL HALDER

Classic pastels, simple styles and wearable outfits defined Halder's collection. Elegant feminine silhouettes were fashioned out of satin, tulle and chiffon. Sari gowns in deep blue, embroidered tulle saris, bright petticoats and cholis made for an eclectic mix of contemporary and traditional fashion.



EXCLUSIVE: The real reason for Ranveer and Deepika's breakup revealed!

(Agencies) Trouble brewing in lovers' paradise is not new. But the inane reasons that some couples have tiffs over, can leave you aghast. Deepika Padukone and Ranveer Singh's relationship is going through bad weather, and they have our sympathies, really. But we think that there's more to this lover's tiff than

meets the eye. A li'l birdie perched on our window told us that egos have made inroads into the relationship. Deepika was keen that Shahid Kapoor be cast in their upcoming period drama, and Ranveer wasn't too pleased about it. The Kapoor boy will apparently also share more screen time with Deepika than he will in the film. And to add fuel to that

fire, DP, being ambitious (nothing wrong with that, of course), has requested Sanjay Leela Bhansali, the director, that the first look of the film should have her solo picture. Of course, with Bhansali, no one dare tell him what to do, especially in the creative aspect of filmmaking. Now if these rumours are to be believed, we wonder how this lovely couple will come to an



understanding in their real life and reel life. Well, we guess sometimes in love, you just gotta hang in there. What say?

Amy Jackson showstopper for Rocky S in Paris



(Agencies) Paris: British model Amy Jackson, who has featured in Indian films like "Singh Is Bling" and "Freaky Ali", will catwalk as a showstopper for popular designer Rocky Star at the French European Indian Fashion Week here.

Amy will be seen walking on the runway on October 23 at the iconic Eiffel Tower here.

"It is always exciting to walk for a designer who is a friend because you understand each other's ideologies better, which in turn manifests on the ramp. I am delighted to be the muse for Rocky S," Amy said in a statement.

Talking about the collection, the actress said: "His collections perfectly complement my style — effortless and elegant. I look forward

to have a great time walking for his show." The designer will be showcasing a Spring Summer 2017 collection titled Shringara, celebrating love manifested in decorative prints, featuring handcrafted textures and opulent embroideries. "Shringara is inspired by the modern women of today; strong, independent yet feminine. I believe Amy Jackson perfectly embodies these attributes with complete ease," said Rocky S, who feels Amy "carries any outfit effortlessly". "I am certain that her grace and energy, against the beautiful backdrop of Paris will create a majestic aura," he added. The fashion gala will be held from October 21-23 on the first floor of the Eiffel Tower.

Ranbir Kapoor, Aishwarya Rai set the pages on fire in photoshoot for magazine



(Agencies) Karan Johar's upcoming directorial venture Ae Dil Hai Mushkil may be in a lot of trouble with the MNS right now but that shouldn't stop us from appreciating what is beautiful. We are talking about this steamy photoshoot with the lead actors of the movie, Aishwarya Rai and Ranbir Kapoor. Itter Filmfare's November issue features pictures of the actors at their gorgeous best. If anyone had any doubt about their chemistry after watching the trailer, these pictures will make it clear that they are Bollywood's hottest on-screen couple right now.

Would like to be private about my love life: Parineeti Chopra

(Agencies) New Delhi: Bollywood celebrities are opening up to the world about issues like facing depression and body shaming. While actress Parineeti Chopra says she is at ease about sharing other aspects about her life in public, her love life is not for all to know. "Just about my love life, I would like to be private, because there is so much scrutiny in there. There are so many people in the world who are looking at you and

judging you. I just don't want that between me and my partner. And as respect to my partner, I shouldn't be talking about it," Parineeti told IANS on the phone from Mumbai. The 27-year-old actress says that, as an actor, her life is open for everybody to be involved in. "But other things. Because my life is out there in the open for everybody to be involved in, so I would like to share everything that's going on in my life and I'm happy to do that,"

she said. Asked about her opinion on actors opening up about themselves in public, Parineeti said: "It's great! To each his or her own. Some people are private, some people are comfortable talking." Obviously, as actors, whatever is happening in our life the whole world gets to know because it is reported by the media. You can choose what information to put out there and what not to." Parineeti made her Bollywood debut in 2011 with "Ladies vs Ricky Bahl" and since then has been on a roll. She says while her launch pad in filmhood came easily, "the struggle was after that". "Clinching 'Ishaqzaade' or other films, performing and those films doing well or not... That was the struggle," said the actress, who was earlier working with Yash Raj Films as a public relations consultant. "Right now I'm in a good place and happy with where I am, happy with the things that are happening. So, yeah, it's been really good," she added while reflecting on her journey. Parineeti has seen highs with films like "Ladies vs Ricky Bahl", "Ishaqzaade" and has even faced lows with duds like "Daawat-e-Ishq" and "Kill Dil".



I won't engage with talent from Pakistan in future: Karan Johar

(Agencies) Filmmaker Karan Johar, whose upcoming film *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil* stars Pakistani actor Fawad Khan, on Tuesday broke his silence on the demand to ban artistes from that country in the wake of the Uri attack in September, in which 19 Indian soldiers were killed.

Under sustained pressure from Raj Thackeray's Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS), which has been threatening to halt the screening of the film, Johar released a video statement in which he said he wouldn't engage with talent from Pakistan in the future. *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil* is scheduled for release on October 28.

Last week, an umbrella body of cinema owners – the Cinema Owners and Exhibitors Association – said it would stop screening films with Pakistani actors. The ban applies to single-screen cinemas in four states –

Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa and Karnataka. Trade analysts said the ban could result in a loss of Rs 5 crore to Rs 6 crore for the film, which stars Ranbir Kapoor, Aishwarya Rai and Anushka Sharma.

Johar claimed he had chosen to remain silent until now "because of the deep sense of hurt that few people could actually believe that I was being anti-national". He said, "For me, my country comes first... When I shot *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil* from September to December last year, the [political] climate was completely different. There were efforts made by our government for peaceful relationships with the neighbouring country... Going forward, I would like to say that of course I wouldn't engage with talent from the neighbouring country given the circumstance."

He added, "Over 300 Indian people

in my crew have put their blood, sweat and tears into my film. I don't think it is fair for them to face turbulence on account of other fellow Indians. I respect the Army ... I condemn any form of terrorism." Director Anurag Kashyap said, "I am tired of the film industry being soft targets. We are damned if we do, damned if we don't!" He added elected representatives had a responsibility to protect people. "We elected them and so it is their responsibility to protect us from bullies – the media or political parties," he said. Filmmaker Ashoke Pandit told HT, "In the video, Karan said he was silent because people called him anti-national, but I feel it was the other way around. People got hurt as his actor and he were silent. Karan never said he condemned his actor's silence on the Uri attack. Today, under pressure, Johar has released this video."



Priyanka Chopra to appear on Ellen DeGeneres show



(Agencies) Los Angeles: Actress Priyanka Chopra will appear on "The Ellen DeGeneres Show" to promote the second season of her TV series "Quantico". The 34-year-old star confirmed the news by retweeting a post of US-based website, which reported a tentative list of the upcoming guests on the talk show. Priyanka will be the first Bollywood celebrity to appear on Ellen's show. The actress has previously been to other popular talk shows including "The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon" to "Live With Kelly".

Make Salman Khan Surrender, Go Back To Jail: Rajasthan To Supreme Court



(Agencies) Actor Salman Khan should be ordered to surrender immediately so he can return to jail in two poaching cases, the Rajasthan government has told the Supreme Court.

In July, the Rajasthan High Court found Mr Khan not guilty killing an endangered species of gazelle or chinkara in two separate incidents in 1998 while he was shooting a film in the desert state.

The state government has today challenged his acquittal and wants him to be imprisoned to serve the rest of his sentence- after being convicted in 2007 for hunting down and killing the chinkaras, he was awarded a one-year prison term and a five-year prison term respectively. He then

spent a week in jail in Jodhpur before being granted bail.

While finding him not guilty, the High Court said there was no evidence to prove that the animals who were found dead were shot by Mr Khan's licensed gun. A key witnesses, the driver of the jeep that was used by Salman Khan and his co-stars for their alleged hunt was missing, the prosecution admitted, which considerably weakened the case against the actor. But just days later, NDTV tracked down the driver, Harish Dulani, who said that he saw Mr Khan shoot the chinkara, but had dodged testifying in court because he had been threatened. A written

statement submitted by him earlier should be accepted, the Rajasthan government said to the top court today. Mr Khan's lawyers have argued that because the witness never appeared in court, they did not get the opportunity to cross-examine him. But in its petition before the Supreme Court, the Rajasthan government has said Salman Khan's lawyers had ample opportunity to cross examine Harish Dulani but they intentionally did not do so.

Mr Khan is also accused of killing a protected species of blackbuck antelope in October 2, 1998. The trial in that case is being heard separately.

Honey Singh to celebrate 'Diwali' with family in Delhi

(Agencies) Hirdesh Singh better known as Indian Rapper Honey Singh is suffering from bipolar disorder, he need a break due to which he has decided to spend Diwali at his home in Delhi. According to the information, this year was hard enough for rap star Yo Yo so at last he concluded to spend time with family. Yo Yo Honey Singh's spokesperson said that he is really awaited to celebrate Diwali with his family members.





The People Who Pick the President

By Kyle Cheney

Tear up your countdown calendar: The 2016 election will not end on Nov. 8. In fact, it'll carry on until mid-December, when 538 members of the Electoral College huddle in their respective state capitals and cast the only ballots with the power to formally elect the next president. Because they have

rarely deviated from the will of the voters—and never changed the outcome of an election—this constitutional process remains an obscure and anonymous relic of the Founding Fathers. But for six weeks, this assortment of party insiders, donors and, in some cases, fringe activists will be the most powerful force in American democracy. And most

Americans will never know who they are. They include people like Tim Drester, who was convicted of inciting violence against abortion providers in the 1990s and still wants them to fear him, and Monica Acosta-Zamora, the Texas Democrat who despises Hillary Clinton but became an elector to help a jailed friend. (Contd on page 22)

Go-Mutra Is No Longer A Joke

Now that cow urine is costlier than both milk and petrol, isn't it time for the government to initiate a more scientific investigation?



hair. Distilled cow urine, a search showed up, was selling at Rs 100-200 a litre, higher than the price of milk and costlier than petrol. Baba Ramdev's Patanjali Yogpeeth alone was purchasing cow urine worth Rs 1.5 lakh every day from the animal husbandry department of Uttarakhand, another report informed. Muslim clerics discovered earlier this year that cow urine is 'haram' in Islam and issued a fatwa for boycotting Patanjali products. (Contd on page 23)

(Agencies) Now that cow urine is costlier than both milk and petrol, isn't it time for the government to initiate a more scientific investigation, especially in view of concerns that urine from infected cows could lead to Meningitis and liver failure?

On Sunday Go-mutra (cow urine) ceased to be a joke. When your Sunday newspaper plugs the product and assures readers that journalists or its marketing men or women had tried a 250 ml bottle of shampoo manufactured by Holycow Foundation, one has to sit up and take notice. The report informed that the shampoo 'foamed well and left the hair smooth'. It had 20 per cent urine distillate and 7% rainwater, the report helpfully added and concluded that while it did not leave any 'Cleopatra-like transformation', the result was not too unpleasant. To be fair though, it added a caveat that the shampoo left a whiff of cow smell when applied on wet

What If the Newspaper Industry Made a Colossal Mistake?



(Agencies) What if almost the entire newspaper industry got it wrong?

What if, in the mad dash two decades ago to repurpose and extend editorial content onto the Web, editors and publishers made a colossal business blunder that wasted hundreds of millions of dollars? What if the industry should have stuck with its strengths—the print editions where the vast majority of their readers still reside and where the overwhelming majority of advertising and subscription revenue come from—instead of chasing the online chimera?

That's the contrarian conclusion I drew

from a new paper written by H. Iris Chyi and Ori Tenenboim of the University of Texas and published this summer in Journalism Practice. Buttressed by copious mounds of data and a rigorous, sustained argument, the paper cracks open the watchworks of the newspaper industry to make a convincing case that the tech-heavy Web strategy pursued by most papers has been a bust. The key to the newspaper future might reside in its past and not in smartphones, iPads and VR. "Digital first," the authors claim, has been a losing proposition for most newspapers.

These findings matter because conventional newspapers, for all their shortcomings, remain the best source of information about the workings of our government, of industry, and of the major institutions that dominate our lives. They still publish a disproportionate amount of the accountability journalism available, a function that's not being fully replaced by online newcomers or the nonprofit entities that have popped up. If we give up the print newspaper for

dead, accepting its demise without a fight, we stand to lose one of the vital bulwarks that protect and sustain our culture.

Chyi and Tenenboim studied the total in-market (i.e., local) online readership of 51 top U.S. newspapers (excluding the national newspapers—the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal and USA Today) and found depressing results. Few of them have experienced any growth since 2007, the point at which the online versions had been available for about a decade, making it a mature product. In fact, more than half have lost online readers since 2011, a finding that shocked Chyi, putting mean online readership for the 51 newspapers in the study at about a third that of print.**

As she explains, the circulation of the supposedly dying print product may be in decline, but it still reaches many more readers than the supposedly promising digital product in home markets, and this trend holds across all age groups.

(Contd on page 22)



The Inequality Fight Dividing Hillary Clinton's Hometown

An affluent New York suburb was supposed to be a national model for affordable housing. Instead, it proves how hard it is even for towns that say they want to do the right thing.

(Agencies) On a hot Thursday afternoon in August, Tatlin McLeod sat on a shaded bench at the Chappaqua train station, sipping an iced drink out of a takeout cup. McLeod lives in the Bronx and commutes to this Westchester County suburb, 35 miles north of Midtown Manhattan. She has been working as a nanny for various Chappaqua families for 13 years. She is black and an immigrant from Jamaica. Tucked into a set of forested hills, Chappaqua is a hamlet of 1,400 residents, famous as the adopted home of Bill and Hillary Clinton. I grew up in a neighboring village called Ossining, but to me, Chappaqua has always seemed a world apart; almost like the movie set version of a 19th century

American suburb. Stately colonials and Victorians are situated on large plots, many a McMansion in sight. (The Clintons live on a street called Old House Lane.) Many residents can walk from their homes to the train station, where there is an upscale restaurant and coffee shop. Property values reflect the fact that the public schools in Chappaqua are considered some of the best in the nation. The average home price here is more than \$840,000, compared with \$340,000 in Ossining. As we waited for the train, I asked McLeod whether she would ever want to live in Chappaqua instead of commuting back and forth. She shrugged as if it were a moot point. "It's too expensive," she said. (Contd on page 23)