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AGRICULTURE

STATESMAN, NOV 14, 2014

Indo-US food deal at WTO

Decision to end 3-month-long stalemate

India today achieved a major victory with the USA agreeing to its proposal on food security issues at WTO, a development that will pave the way for a breakthrough to end the three-month long stalemate.

The agreement comes two days ahead of the G-20 Summit in Australia, which will be attended by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and other world leaders including the US President Barack Obama. The two-day meet begins on Saturday in Brisbane and WTO related matters are likely to come up during discussion between world leaders. As per the agreement, the USA will support India's proposal at WTO that 'peace clause', crucial for uninterrupted implementation of India's food security programme, should continue indefinitely until a permanent solution is found.

This will enable India to continue procurement and stocking of foodgrain for distribution to poor under its food security programme without attracting any kind of action from WTO members even if it breaches the 10 per cent subsidy cap as prescribed by the multilateral trade body.

As per the Bali agreement, the peace clause was to continue till 2017. The differences on the public stock holding of foodgrains between the developed countries led by the USA and developing nations including India led to an impasse over ratification of the trade facilitation agreement (TFA) at Geneva in July. The agreement between the USA and India, according to WTO Director General Roberto Azevedo, will provide a basis to intensify consultations with other WTO members to overcome the present stalemate and promptly implement all Bali ministerial decisions. Briefing reporters, Commerce Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said: "India and the US have successfully resolved their differences relating to the issue of public stock holding for food security purposes in the WTO in a manner that addresses our concerns. This will end the impasse at the WTO and also open the way for implementation of the TFA". On the development, the USTR said that both India and the USA have reached an understanding on implementation of Bali decisions.

"The bilateral agreement makes it clear that a mechanism under which WTO members will not challenge such food security programmes under WTO dispute settlement procedures will remain in place until a permanent solution regarding this issue has been agreed and adopted," the USTR today said. Following the agreement between the two important players of the WTO, its highest decision making body General Council will deliberate upon the proposal in the second week of December.

CIVIL SERVICE

DECCAN HERALD, NOV 14, 2014

Centre short of 1,345 IAS officers

The Centre needs 1,345 IAS officers but it has less than 50 per cent of its strength as states fail to relieve sufficient number of officers for central government work.

Following this, the Narendra Modi government has shot off identical letters to states advising them against restraining officers from taking up assignments on central deputation.

As per the latest official figures, the sanctioned strength of IAS officers across the country is 6,217 but the actual strength is only 4,455. As there are vacancies, the states are supposed to relieve 952 IAS officers in place of 1,345.

However, the states have sent only 643 IAS officers to the centre as on October 31. “You would agree that the movement of the officers from the states to the Centre and back is also crucial for building up the capabilities at the state level and contributing towards developing national perspectives at the decision-making levels in the government of India,” a letter by DoPT Additional Secretary B P Sharma said.

With 4,455 IAS officers in place across India at present, the states are supposed to send 952 IAS officers. Only Kerala and Himachal Pradesh have sent more officers than the stipulated figure.

Forty-four IAS officers from Kerala cadre are on central deputation though the state is supposed to send only 31 while Himachal had sent 23 IAS officers, two more than the sanctioned quota.

DECCAN HERALD, NOV 14, 2014

Govt files to lose 'colour' literally

Shemin Joy

Government files will lose ‘colour’ from now on! Senior officers are barred from using green or red ink while making notings or putting their signature on files and drafts. For 14 years, they were “officially” permitted to use those inks.

Recent amendment to the Central Service Manual of Office Procedure allows the use of only blue or black ink by all category of officers while making notings on files.

The earlier rule allowed officers above Joint Secretary rank to use green or red ink in “rare cases”, while it was a strict no for junior officers who were allowed to use only black or blue ink.

The use of green or red ink, some bureaucrats say, help in identifying the directions of the senior officers and act accordingly. However, another section feels that it reduces the scope for junior officers to be hesitant to register their opinion, knowing the thinking of the superiors.

It was in April 2000 that the government “officially” allowed the use of green or red ink after deliberating the issue for more than a year in Ministries of Steel, Personnel, Home and Defence, Department of Printing and National Archives.

Former Union Minister Arun Shourie, in his 2004 book 'Governance and the Sclerosis That Has Set In', narrates an interesting tale on how the issue emanated and how it concluded.

It was a simple query from Shourie on the exact date on which two Steel Ministry officers made file notings in early 1999 that set the officialdom to find an answer on whether they could write in red and green ink.

“What caught the eye of their colleagues and superiors was not anything they had written, but the fact that they had used red and green ink,” Shourie wrote.

Former Delhi Chief Secretary Shailaja Chandra believes that the use of green ink by senior officers is a “hangover” of the colonial era. One of the Viceroy's, the man at the helm of British administration in India, started using green ink and senior-most officials of various departments in independent India aped it.

On her first posting as a magistrate in 1968 under the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, then a single district, Chandra quickly learned that any comment within the files in green ink was that of the head of the organisation.

“There were a lot of comments on the files. So, when we saw green ink on a file, it caught our attention,” she told Deccan Herald.

[STATESMAN, NOV 11, 2014](#)

BJP to form union of Bengal govt staff

A day after BJP MP from Bengal Babul Supriyo had been sworn in as a Union minister, the Bengal BJP today formed a four-member committee to assist state employees to form saffron unions in their offices.

The first such move by the BJP in any state in the country is part of the party's plan to take on the Trinamul Congress in the coming polls to 85 municipalities and the Assembly election in 2016.

The saffron union move will be a continuation of the strategy the Marxists adopted during the Left Front rule by building a powerful cadre base from among state employees

who formed a highly effective election machinery. The coordination committee of state employees was one of the most formidable organisations of the CPI-M that virtually controlled the bureaucracy and used it to help the party get firmly entrenched in the state. After the LF was dislodged by the TMC, the latter took control of state employees and its union is now running the show in different state offices. BJP state president Rahul Sinha said the plan was cleared by two Central leaders ~ Mr Siddharth Nath Singh, national general secretary in charge of Bengal affairs and Mr Arun Singh. "It will be difficult for the party to make inroads in Bengal unless it has penetration among state employees. The political culture in West Bengal is different from other parts of the country and confidence of government employees must be won to get information about the functioning of the government," Mr Sinha said.

Two other committees have been set up to organise statewide movements to highlight Trinamul "misrule" and look after party activists falling victims to political clashes . The four-member committee will help government employees set up units throughout the state. Mr Sinha said the party could have set up the committee earlier, but suitable leaders were required for its smooth functioning. The committee will start functioning from December. He said the roadmap for KMC election and 2016 Assembly poll was nearing completion. It will be submitted to BJP chief Amit Shah for approval.

TELEGRAPH, NOV 13, 2014

Just what harried IAS officers prayed for

Delhi sends deputation reminder to states

SOBHANA K. NAIR

WHO SENT HOW MANY			
	IAS officers	Sanctioned Delhi quota	Actual Delhi postings
Bengal	208	45	27
Assam-Meghalaya	194	42	42
Gujarat	189	40	18
Manipur-Tripura	149	32	32
Kerala	146	31	44
Himachal	101	21	23
Chhattisgarh	124	26	7

New Delhi, Nov. 12: The Narendra Modi government is cracking the whip on state governments for restraining bureaucrats from taking up assignments at the Centre.

Facing a shortage of 309 IAS officers, the Centre has sent a reminder to the states.

“You would agree that the movement of the officers from the states to the Centre and back is also crucial for building up the capabilities at the state level and contributing towards developing national perspectives at decision-making levels in the Government of India,” said a circular from the department of personnel and training (DoPT). The circular has been sent on November 10 to all chief secretaries

Every state is expected to send a certain number of IAS officers to the Centre, which now has 643 officers though it needs 952. The Delhi quota expected to be filled by each state is known as the central deputation reserve or CDR.

But invariably chief ministers and other ministers get used to a select group of officers and prevent them from leaving for Delhi even if some officers themselves are keen on a central posting.

A central posting is coveted because it widens the scope for plum posts within and outside the country. At the Centre, an IAS officer can strive to become a secretary, if not the cabinet secretary, whereas the best post in a state is that of chief secretary — one post for which there will be many claimants.

Some chief ministers are short-sighted enough to keep back IAS officers, ignoring that central deputation is essential to build contacts that will stand in good stead when money and projects are allocated to the states.

Several officers in Bengal are awaiting permission to go to the Centre. At present, 27 Bengal-cadre officers are posted in Delhi, which works out to 60 per cent of the state’s sanctioned central deputation reserve of 45. This means Bengal needs to send 18 more officers to Delhi.

But Bengal’s record is better than that of Gujarat, the deputation score of which is 45 per cent. The worst off is Chhattisgarh at 26 per cent. Some states like Kerala and Himachal have deputed more officers than required. (See chart)

This might have happened because of a change of rule earlier. In 1985, when P. Chidambaram was DoPT minister, he removed the option that allowed IAS officers to

choose their home cadre. Instead, two-thirds of each cadre had to be filled with officers from outside the state.

“Because of this, a lot of officers from north India were placed in the Kerala cadre. I would say that the government there is benevolent enough to allow central deputation of officers who want to be closer to their families and relatives,” said a Kerala-cadre official on central deputation.

Another official said it was easier for the Kerala-cadre officers to seek central postings since several Malayalis, such as former cabinet secretary K. Chandrashekhara and former home secretary G.K. Pillai, used to head key departments at the Centre.

The two Northeast cadres — Manipur-Tripura and Assam-Meghalaya — have a 100 per cent score on using up the central reserve. “The weather and the terrain make it difficult for an officer from other regions of the country to work in the Northeast. So several of us seek a posting outside our cadre state,” said a Manipur-Tripura cadre officer.

In 2008, the rule was changed. IAS officers are now given the option of expressing their preference for any zone — so an aspirant from Bengal can opt for the east zone.

But many state governments, such as the one in Tamil Nadu, are known for not relieving officials.

Chhattisgarh’s reason, however, stands out. “Being a new state, there are better facilities and more power for its officials. And unlike other new states, there is political stability. So life there is much better than here at the Centre,” an officer said in New Delhi.

It is not clear how many officers in Bengal fall in this category of “there is no place like home” cadre.

[HINDU, NOV 8, 2014](#)

[Odisha IAS officer held in job scam](#)

The former District Collector of Bolangir, Debraj Mishra, was on Friday arrested for his alleged involvement in the recruitment scam here.

Vigilance sleuths of Bhubaneswar and Sambalpur divisions swooped on the residence of Mr. Mishra at Kapilaprasad Colony here.

It was alleged that his role in the recruitment of revenue officials in 2012-13 deprived many deserving candidates of job.

He has been charged with cheating and fraud. Charges under Prevention of Corruption Act have also been slapped.

Mr. Mishra had headed the recruitment board that allegedly botched up recruitment process. Vigilance department had detected discrepancies in the recruitment.

Some candidates who had secured just two marks were declared successful while some who got 98 out of 100 were not considered for the post.

Incidentally, Mr. Mishra had kept the answer-sheets of the test in his residence instead of strong-room which created suspicion.

According to the vigilance investigation, the answer-sheets were checked by his personal security officer, clerk and other staff while the papers were supposed to be checked by officers of Odisha Administrative Service.

The recruitment process started in 2011 when 54 posts were notified. Subsequently, the administration increased the number of posts.

The recruitment was held in 2013 when another 103 posts were added. The physical and written tests were conducted for 166 posts.

DEFENCE, NATIONAL

ECONOMIC TIMES, NOV 14, 2014

India, China to hold army exercise from November 16 in Pune

India and China will hold a joint "Hand-in-Hand" army exercise from November 16 in Pune that will focus on counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism tactics.

NEW DELHI: [India](#) and [China](#) will hold a joint " [Hand-in-Hand](#)" army exercise from November 16 in Pune that will focus on counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism tactics, weeks after a stand-off between their troops along the border in Ladakh region.

"Hand-in-Hand" is an exercise aimed at exploring useful experiences, advancing pragmatic cooperation and promoting a friendly environment between the two armies.

The first such annual exercise was held at Kunming in China in December 2007 while the second was held at Belgaum in December 2008.

However, there was a gap of five years till an exercise was held in China's Chengdu area last year in which a group of 160 personnel from Indian Army's 16 Sikh Light Infantry had participated.

The aim of the joint training is to share the drills and practices learnt while tackling insurgency and terrorism, thereby promoting healthy military-to-military relations between the two armies and developing joint strategies of conducting operations in a counter-terrorism environment, an army statement here said.

Forming part of the different levels of the military-to- military engagement across the entire spectrum of operations, this exercise will enrich the two contingents in further honing basic military skills.

The exercise is planned at the company level with respective battalion headquarters controlling the training.

The training and manoeuvres, to be conducted at [Aundh Military Cantonment](#), [College of Military Engineering](#) and firing ranges at Dighi, Pune are to be supervised by a Joint Directing Panel comprising senior officials of both the nations.

Helicopters of [Indian Air Force](#) will also be taking active part in the various manoeuvres planned in the exercise. Senior military observers of both the countries will be attending the opening ceremony scheduled to be held at Aundh Military Station on November 17.

HINDU, NOV 10, 2014

Military needs and societal values

SRINATH RAGHAVAN

It is a grim irony. Ahead of the 125th birth anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, two Kashmiri boys are cut down by the bullets of the Indian Army. This is not just because Nehru's birthday is celebrated as Children's Day. Rather, the incident in Kashmir underlines the extent to which one of Nehru's principal contributions to independent India has been undermined. Nehru's role in nurturing democratic institutions, especially Parliament, is widely acknowledged. Less well known is his role in fostering democratic control over the military.

In theory, the lines of control in a democracy are clear: the military is responsible to the political leadership, which in turn is accountable to the people. But ensuring that the requirements of the military remain subordinate to the wider societal values and interests is not easy. These requirements may well be legitimate, yet they can vitiate the democratic fabric of our polity. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, under whose cover the boys were shot, is a good example. One of the aims of this Act was to ensure that soldiers undertaking operations in good faith were not subject to mala fide litigation. Yet, AFSPA has been used in a manner that confers impunity on the Army.

Civil-military relations

Take the Pathribal case. Five officers were named in a Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) charge sheet for killing civilians in a fake encounter. The Army and the government used AFSPA to stonewall and prevent prosecution for years. Eventually under pressure from the Supreme Court, the Army agreed to try them by court-martial. Unsurprisingly, the court-martial found no evidence against the officers.

What's more, despite widespread criticism, successive governments have been loath to repeal the Act. Their reluctance is directly proportional to the resistance from the AFSPA. Senior military officers are on record as stating that without AFSPA, the Army cannot undertake counter-insurgency operations. Such is the state of democratic control and civilian supremacy over the military.

Nehru was alert to these dangers even before he took over as Prime Minister. The British Raj was the archetypal garrison state — one that accorded primacy to its security and by extension to the military. Even in peacetime, up to half of the government's expenditure was consumed by the armed forces. This extraordinary practice was possible owing to the institutional arrangements of civil-military relations in British India. The Commander-in-Chief of India also served as the Military Member — effectively the Defence Minister — of the Viceroy's Executive Council. This enabled the military to have a dominant voice in the affairs of the government. In the run-up to Independence, the fusion of civil and military roles went even further. In 1943 the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Wavell, was appointed as the Viceroy. In its last days, then, British rule reverted to its origins as a military despotism.

Democratic control

Rectifying this state of affairs was on top of Nehru's priorities. When the interim government took office in September 1946, the Commander-in-Chief was replaced as Defence Member by a civilian leader, Sardar Baldev Singh. Days later, Nehru instructed the Commander-in-Chief to initiate urgent reforms to nationalise the Indian Army. Recruitment, especially of officers, should be widened to reflect the composition of society. This would enable the armed forces to appreciate the values and aspirations of the country they served. Paramilitary forces should be raised to avoid using the Army for internal security and to keep it out of politics.

That said, claims about Nehru wanting to abolish the armed forces — given currency by Jaswant Singh among others — are utterly unfounded. Even a cursory acquaintance with Nehru's published documents from that period will show up the absurdity of such assertions. What Nehru wanted was democratic control of the military. Matters were complicated by the fact that in the aftermath of Independence, India was forced to solicit the services of senior British officers. The Raj had not allowed Indians to join as officers until late in the day, so there were few Indians with experience of higher command and staff roles.

Yet, Nehru was keen to set the tone for civil-military relations from the outset. Thus, when the Commander-in-Chief issued orders to keep the public away from the flag hoisting ceremony on August 15, 1947, Nehru struck it down. He wrote to General Rob Lockhart: "In any policy that is to be pursued in the Army or otherwise, the views of the Government of India and the policy they lay down must prevail. If any person is unable to lay down that policy he has no place in the Indian Army." Weeks later, when the British service chiefs protested against moving Indian troops against the State of Junagadh that had acceded to Pakistan, Nehru and Patel made it clear that they were prepared to sack the chiefs. Such problems did not disappear after Indian officers took over the armed forces. In the summer of 1951, the Indian Army — apprehending a Pakistani attack on Kashmir — wanted to move its armoured division close to the border in Punjab. When Nehru demurred, General Cariappa met President Rajendra Prasad and requested him to lean on the Prime Minister. Although Nehru gave in, he was not oblivious to the implications of such actions. A few months later, when Cariappa began airing his views on policy matters, such as economic development, Nehru advised him to avoid straying into these areas.

The most controversial episode was the resignation of the Army Chief, General Thimayya, in 1959. The conventional wisdom is that the resignation was spurred by Thimayya's unhappiness with the style of functioning of the Defence Minister, Krishna Menon. In fact, the problem was Thimayya's demand to consider Pakistan's offer of joint defence arrangements against the backdrop of clashes between Indian and Chinese troops. The nub of the matter was policy — not personalities. Although Nehru talked Thimayya out of the resignation, he emphasised in Parliament that "civil authority is and must remain supreme."

The 1962 war and after

The defeat against China weakened Nehru's position *vis-à-vis* the Army. Thereafter, the military began to insist that civilians keep away from its "operational" turf. Unnerved by the debacle of 1962, the civilian leadership substantially conceded the demand.

Democratic control over the military weakened in Nehru's own lifetime in other ways too. Despite his desire not to use the Army for internal security, Nehru's hand was forced by the Naga rebellion. In 1956, as the Army was preparing to move in, Nehru instructed that the Nagas were to be treated as "fellow Indians." The Army had to "win the hearts of people, not to terrify or frighten them." Nehru disallowed the use of machine-guns from the air and called for the use of "moderate force."

Yet, when Naga resistance intensified, Nehru's government enacted AFSPA in 1958. The Act was modelled on the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance of 1942 — used by the Raj to quell the Quit India Movement. The irony lay not just in the fact that Nehru and his colleagues had been imprisoned during the movement, but that the 1942 ordinance was less draconian than AFSPA. The ordinance had authorised the use of force to kill by an officer of the rank of captain or above. AFSPA allows even senior non-commissioned officers to do so.

Introducing the Bill in Parliament, Home Minister G.B. Pant stated that it would allow the Army to function more effectively in the context of the insurgency. There were dissident voices in the House. A member from Manipur memorably called it a "lawless law." Yet it was passed without much opposition. After AFSPA was introduced, Nehru continued to keep a tab on Army operations in Nagaland and even deplored — on occasion, publicly — the loss of civilian lives. When the insurgency raged unabated, Nehru adopted a more political approach — a move that culminated in the creation of the State of Nagaland.

AFSPA, however, remained on the statute book. Over time, it came to be used with ever greater impunity and grievous consequences. As Nehru's engagement with this issue suggests, intentions of individuals cannot substitute for appropriate institutional arrangements. AFSPA makes a mockery of democratic control over the military. The Army's resistance to its repeal and the government's acquiescence fly in the face of all norms of civil-military relations. This may seem like a minor problem. But as Nehru realised, unless military needs are balanced against societal values, Indian democracy could be hollowed out.

(Srinath Raghavan, a former infantry officer in the Indian Army, is Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.)

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act makes a mockery of democratic control over the military. The military is responsible to the political leadership, which in turn is accountable to the people. But ensuring that the military's requirements remain subordinate to wider societal values is not easy. These requirements may well be legitimate, yet they can vitiate the democratic fabric of our polity

EDUCATION

STATESMAN, NOV 13, 2014

Maulana Azad's philosophy of education

Sheikh Aktar Ali

For the evolution of India's national system of education, she needed to formulate her educational objectives in the context of the changing times, and at the same time, in tune with her national genius. Before and after India's Independence, there had been endeavours on the part of her educational pioneers to meet these challenges. What motivated Humayun Kabir to dedicate his work Education in New India (1956) to Tagore, Gandhi and Azad, the three most excellent among these pioneers, was perhaps his deep appreciation of their role in the sphere of educational reconstruction of the country.

While the educational philosophies of Tagore and Gandhi have been studied to a substantial extent, those of Azad have remained almost unexplored. Of the three educational leaders (Tagore, Gandhi and Azad) of New India, he alone lived to see her free and associated himself with the arduous task of founding her future system of education. Not only did he contribute to leading her towards the goal of political freedom, a pre-requisite for a genuinely national system, but he also assumed stewardship of the Education ministry during the most crucial decade of its existence.

Azad's axiology of education

At the core of Maulana Azad's values, his concepts of God, the universe and man make the metaphysics of his educational outlook and those of knowledge and religion form its epistemological dimension.

The ultimate objective of education, understood in 'the ideal of fulfilment', is at the top of Azad's values hierarchy. In order to achieve the top objective, it is but natural to realise the values which form the main body of this hierarchy. In order of priority, these are the five universal values of Ma'aruf or Good, Haq or Truth, Jamal or Beauty, Love and Adl or Justice.

In the explanation of Ma'aruf, which may be interpreted in English as 'Good', Azad associated it with the spirit that encompasses the design of creation, as the guide of man in his advance in the course of history. The Qur'an uses the term Ma'aruf for goodness and munkar for evil. As the realisation of Ma'aruf depends upon how far Munkar has been liquidated, it entails Jihad, involving all types of human sacrifice, including giving one's life in the cause of 'truth and justice'. Azad advocated that education thus becomes a

form of Jihad, in the removal of Munkar, and with the encouragement of Ma'aruf to that degree.

In the values hierarchy of Azad, the second value of absolute importance is Haq or Truth. In Arabic, the root word Haqqaq signifies stability or durability; that which is lasting is Haq; Batil is just the opposite, or that which is not lasting. In this connection, the Qur'an uses two terms ~ Haq and Batil, truth and falsehood. By virtue of its consistency, Haq deserves to be handed down from generation to generation; education, in this context, is the process of cultural transmission.

From the highest value of Haq follows Jamal or Beauty, the third value in the hierarchy of Azad's educational axiology. In the struggle for existence, whatever survives is beautiful and balanced. As an absolute value, Jamal has produced an environment of beauty and harmony in the physical as well as the mental aspects. With its all-embracing scope, beauty is all the more relevant to education as a process of training man's faculties 'to the perception of beauty'. In the context of the present human situation, wherein the individual feels torn and society is riddled with a hundred conflicts, man's emotional response needs to be accelerated through education for beauty so as to bring more grace in his daily life.

The idea of incorporating beauty in education brings in Love, the fourth absolute value in Azad's educational axiology. Fundamentally associated with Jamal, the value of Love must encompass the human sphere in its devotion to the ideal it has set before itself. The principle of approaching human beings in a spirit of absolute compassion is all the more relevant to education as a man-building process. Animated by the absolute value of Love, an educative programme must be a relationship of affection and understanding between the educator and the educated. The final value of an absolute nature put forward by Azad as the concluding point of his educational axiology is constituted by Adl or Justice, the supreme principle that brings the creative process to its completion. Adl introduces balance in life; it balances one thing with another, and produces unity. Education for justice brings in a state of stable equilibrium between the antithetic entities, viz. Individual freedom and social control, the spiritual and the scientific outlook, the religious and the secular system, and the national and the international aspiration.

Azad's Educational Methodology

In the formulation of the general concept of education, Azad seemed to have borrowed from the modern educational thought in the West, insofar as he defined education, 'as a process of manifestation of the latent abilities in man'. To widen the concept in its scope, he introduced the Quranic term *tadhkiya*, which identifies education as a process of 'social integration'. If the process of integration is really carried forward by each of the communities to its completion, it would set the stage for world integration, the sublime goal of education, in the present world context.

What Azad held as education is a character-training programme. As the culminating stage of his educational methodology, these principles constitute the three ingredients of the programme; the climate it must generate, the course it should follow and the character it must develop in man. As affirmed by the pen-name he chose for himself, Azad favoured an educational atmosphere which is permeated by the spirit of freedom. In concluding the study of Azad's philosophy on education, let it be observed here that they constitute a system of their own. With its eyes set on the ultimate objective, its roots draw their sustenance from his philosophical concepts. For the achievement of the objective, the system has carved out its own axiology embodied in the five universal values of Ma'aruf, Haq, Jamal, Love and Adl. In tune with the educational axiology, it has formulated its own methodology, wherein the concept of education determines the scope of its working, the educative process solves, in its own fashion, the important questions raised, and the principles offered govern the nature of the educational programme.

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TELEGRAPH, NOV 13, 2014

Govt blinks on puppet-VC bill

HOW THE LAW WAS CHANGED OVER THE YEARS in bengal

<p>1979</p> <p>In power: Left Front</p> <p>Calcutta University Act</p> <p>8. (I) The vice-chancellor shall be appointed by the chancellor (the governor of the state) on the unanimous recommendation of the senate. If the senate fails to make any such recommendation, the vice-chancellor shall be appointed by the chancellor in consultation with the minister from a panel of three persons to be cleared by the senate in accordance with the system or proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote</p> <p>Impact: The senate was then packed with Left nominees, effectively ensuring that the CPM had a stranglehold on the appointment of VCs</p>	<p>2011</p> <p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Amendment) Act</p> <p>Section 8 (1) (b): The vice-chancellor shall be appointed by the chancellor out of the panel of three names recommended in order of preference by the search committee constituted by the state government</p> <p>Impact: The senate's hold was broken as it could nominate only one of the three members of the search committee. The chancellor and the UGC chairman recommended one member each. The search committee was asked to give "weightage to academic excellence, exposure to the higher education system in the country and abroad and adequate experience in academic and administrative governance and reflect the same in writing".</p>	
<p>2012</p> <p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Amendment) Act</p> <p>The nominee of the UGC chairman on the search committee was replaced with a nominee of the state government</p> <p>Impact: The balance shifted in favour of the government</p>	<p>2014</p> <p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Amendment) Act</p> <p>The clause that said "nominee of the chancellor" was replaced with "a nominee of the chancellor shall be appointed (to the search committee) in due consultation with</p>	<p>SCRAPPED NOW</p> <p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Second Amendment) Bill</p> <p>The vice-chancellor shall be appointed by the chancellor in concurrence with the minister. A panel of three names shall be submitted to the state government by the search committee constituted by the state government. Out of the said panel, the minister shall forward one name to the chancellor for appointment to the post of the vice-chancellor of the university.... <i>(Three relevant words have been made</i></p>

2012	2014	SCRAPPED NOW
<p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Amendment) Act</p> <p>The nominee of the UGC chairman on the search committee was replaced with a nominee of the state government</p> <p>Impact: The balance shifted in favour of the government. As the senate is usually packed with sympathisers of the ruling party, the government could count on two of the three members on the search panel</p>	<p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Amendment) Act</p> <p>The clause that said "nominee of the chancellor" was replaced with "a nominee of the chancellor shall be appointed (to the search committee) in due consultation with the state government"</p> <p>Impact: The government ensured nearly 100 per cent role in picking members of the selection panel that will choose VCs</p>	<p>In power: Trinamul</p> <p>The West Bengal University Laws (Second Amendment) Bill</p> <p>The vice-chancellor shall be appointed by the chancellor in concurrence with the minister. A panel of three names shall be submitted to the state government by the search committee constituted by the state government. Out of the said panel, the minister shall forward one name to the chancellor for appointment to the post of the vice-chancellor of the university.... <i>(Three relevant words have been made bold by this newspaper.)</i></p> <p>Impact: Total control for the government. The draft said the minister will forward one name — not three names — robbing the chancellor of choice and reducing the chancellor to a rubber stamp. The draft was withdrawn on Wednesday</p>

(The clauses in the West Bengal University Laws Bill apply to all state varsities but each varsity and its clauses are listed separately. The Calcutta University Act of 1979 is specifically mentioned in this graphic because all the acts governing all other state universities are modelled on it.)

Calcutta, Nov. 12: The Mamata Banerjee government has “scrapped” what it has called a “mistake”: an amendment bill that would have given the government near-absolute powers to choose vice-chancellors.

The scrapped bill would have empowered the education minister to pick one name from a list of three and forward it to the chancellor. Under the existing system, the chancellor (the governor) gets three names — which ensures choice — and the minister does not have any role in the final selection.

Had the bill, the draft of which was circulated, not been withdrawn today, the chancellor would have been reduced to a rubber stamp as far as university appointments were concerned. **(See chart)**

“The bill (West Bengal University Laws (Second Amendment) Bill 2014) is flawed and has been scrapped,” education minister Partha Chatterjee said this evening.

According to sources, the decision to “scrap” the bill was taken in consultation with chief minister Mamata Banerjee. It is unlikely that such a bill would have been drafted without the knowledge of the chief minister.

Mamata had turned the call to rid educational institutions of political interference into an election plank as an Opposition leader and during the initial months in power but has shown little intent of late.

Sources in the Assembly said the bill was “definitely not a mistake” and its withdrawal was forced by a reluctance to trigger a fresh controversy in the season of setbacks to the government.

“We would have been slapped (“*thappad khetam*”) by the people if this bill got passed,” a Trinamul leader said tonight.

Had the bill been passed, the selection of vice-chancellors of Presidency University and all other state-aided universities would have depended entirely on the education minister’s choice. The chancellor was expected only to concur.

“The intention was clear. This government does not want vice-chancellors to work independently,” said a vice-chancellor.

Although the government initially made attempts to pass off the amendment as “a drafting mistake”, sources said the text went through the usual verification process and nothing suggested that the content was not intentional.

According to sources in the education department, after the draft of the bill was prepared and signed by the minister, it was forwarded to the legal cell of the law department for final approval. “From the cell, the bill is sent for printing,” said an official.

A ministry source claimed that “five days ago, the minister forwarded a note for the bill to be stopped but by then it had already been sent for printing”. But others dismissed it as “an afterthought”.

The bill was taken up for discussion at the business advisory committee meeting in the Assembly today. Chatterjee told the committee that the bill would be kept on hold, according to sources.

Trinamul’s brute majority in the House would have ensured smooth passage of the bill but a minister said he was “doubtful whether the governor would have given his nod”.

According to Trinamul sources, the controversy over the appointment of Abhijit Chakrabarti as Jadavpur University vice-chancellor prompted the government to test the waters on the bill.

Many academics criticised the proposed amendment. Amita Chatterjee, the first interim vice-chancellor of Presidency University, described it as an attack on the autonomy of universities. “In the university system, the vice-chancellor always reports to the chancellor,” she said.

Presidency mentor Swapan Chakravorty said the state government should ensure that “transparency” was not compromised. “Otherwise, it would be a matter of concern.... The selection procedure should not be opaque,” he added.

ECONOMIC TIMES, NOV 11, 2014

Bullying on campus to get punishable act in schools

By [Ritika Chopra](#)

The panel, comprising school principals, psychologists and education secretaries of different states, was set up during the UPA government.

NEW DELHI: The government is actively considering a proposal to make bullying on campus a punishable act in [schools](#) after an expert panel headed by the chairman of the [Central Board of Secondary Education](#) (CBSE) flagged it as a "critical" problem in a report submitted to the Union human resource development ministry recently.

There is already a no-tolerance policy toward ragging in colleges as directed by the Supreme Court. However, there's no such code for bullying in schools. According to sources, the expert committee has expressed a strong "need to develop an anti-bullying policy and effective strategies, including both preventive and intervention measures".

The panel, comprising school principals, psychologists and education secretaries of different states, was set up during the [UPA government](#). Its report, submitted last month, proposes punishments for bullying including oral and written warnings, fines, suspensions for a specified period, withholding of examination results and expulsion from school in extreme cases.

Expert Panel's Proposal to HRD

PUNISHMENTS such as oral/written warning, fine, suspension, withholding of examination results, expulsion

SCHOOLS TO GET an affidavit mandatorily signed by parents/guardians and students saying they have understood what actions constitute bullying and the regulations covering such acts

AN ANTI-bullying policy for schools

A MONITORING agency to track complaints

SCHOOLS SHOULD have a full-time counselor on campus

ANTI-BULLYING committee in all schools similar to anti-ragging committees in colleges

A TOLL-FREE national anti-bullying helpline, similar to Child Line, operated independently to help students in distress

SCHOOLS SHOULD conduct anti-bullying campaigns

The infographic includes an illustration of a distressed student sitting on the floor and a graphic of raised fists at the bottom right.

The committee also wants the government to direct all schools to form an anti-bullying committee and have a [fulltime counselor](#) on campus, launch a national helpline to report cases and set up an independent monitoring agency for such complaints. The panel has

also recommended that schools allow victims to report cases anonymously.

Although there isn't any formal definition of bullying in schools, the ways in which students are harassed include teasing, name calling, physical intimidation and gossip. For an anti-bullying policy, the government will have to define the act, as it's done for ragging in colleges. School bullying usually goes unreported but instances have surfaced recently on social media, creating a furore. In March this year, a phone video showed a group of class VI students physically and verbally abusing another from class VII at a prominent south Delhi school. Such intimidation is pervasive across age groups, according to an expert.

"Schools have started waking up to the problem of bullying, but they need to articulate a policy to clarify what is acceptable and what isn't. Bullying doesn't happen only in senior classes, it's also prevalent in primary sections. Punishment is not a solution. It's important to have a fulltime counselor on campus to find out why a child is bullying others," said [child psychologist Aparna S Gharpure](#).

ELECTIONS

FINANCIAL EXPRESS, NOV 11, 2014

Editorial: Compulsory Voting

No govt should yield the threat of legal repercussions to get its citizens to vote

No one will disagree that dispensing one's civic duties by voting in elections is paramount. But should it be compulsory, too, with a penalty for failing to do so? The Gujarat government has pushed through a new law that makes voting compulsory, albeit in just civic elections. The Gujarat Local Authorities Laws Bill 2009 has received governor OP Kohli's nod, after having been returned twice by his predecessor, Kamala Beniwal. The new law doesn't yet specify the penalty for the violation of its mandate, but the government is free to notify any measures whenever it chooses.

It is indeed desirable that governments try and inculcate the sense of civic responsibility among citizens, but they can't do this yielding the threat of legal repercussions. As pointed out by Beniwal while returning the Bill, the law violates the spirit of individual liberty that is safeguarded by Article 21 of the Constitution. There are other ways in an electoral democracy of getting the voter to participate. The 'none of the above' (NOTA) option, for example, spurs many, who would have otherwise abstained from voting, to register their choice. It is in the best interest of voters to cast their vote in the civic elections, given these shape the most direct interface of governance. But it shouldn't be forcibly extracted.

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 12, 2014

Compulsory voting? Make a clean SVEEP of it

The law notified by the Gujarat government to make voting in elections to local bodies compulsory is not a well thought out piece of legislation. The law misunderstands both the principle of free and fair elections and the very conditions under which millions of our citizens exercise their franchise.

One of the features of a democracy is that it entitles citizens to articulate a range of political commitments from deeply involved activism to outright apathy. And the nature of their commitment is, in turn, governed by many factors from philosophical disposition to calculations of personal gain.

While it is useful for voter turnouts to increase in order to get more representative verdicts, it cannot be done by enforcing what is essentially an elective social experience.

India's millions do not have the luxury of participating in politics actively on an everyday basis but they cannot be denied the chance to express their disenchantment with the options they have by not voting. Indeed the right to choose 'none of the above' on the ballot was devised with that sensibility in mind.

Voting is certainly a sign of empowerment but, sometimes, failing to vote in a fraught social setting can also be a form of protection which the State cannot always guarantee.

Gujarat's compulsory voting law has provisions for punishments that have come in for criticism. Election Commissioner HS Brahma wondered about its practicality asking if we can put eight crore voters in jail if, say, 10% of the 83 crore national electorate did not vote.

The state can ill-afford to criminalise millions and create a paper trail for such an 'offence' when it has other serious security issues to consider.

Compulsory voting also does not reckon with the millions who migrate to cities in search of work. What would their fate be if they were potentially expected to vote in elections at various levels? Would the urban poor be in a position to take a week off from work - usually without pay - and undertake the long journey home to vote each time an election cycle came around? Can our railways and road transport infrastructure cope with the mass migration that would ensue when the Election Commission announces dates? And can the Indian economy weather the disruptive effects of periodic mass desertion by the workforce?

The intent of Gujarat's law may be noble but its effects will be disastrous. There is really no need for punitive measures when the Election Commission is doing an impressive job to raise awareness through initiatives like the 'systematic voters' education and electoral participation' (SVEEP) campaign.

ELECTRICITY

ASIAN AGE, NOV 14, 2014

Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission hikes power tariff by up to 7%

The Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission (DERC) on Thursday allowed electricity distribution companies (discoms) to levy a Power Purchase Cost Adjustment charge (PPAC), so the electricity tariffs for Delhi customers will increase from November 15. The power tariff hike varies from 2.5 per cent to seven per cent.

For the consumers getting electricity from BSES Yamuna, the increase will be seven per cent. BSES Rajdhani customers will have to shell out 4.5 per cent extra and Tata Power Delhi Distribution Ltd customers will find power 2.5 per cent costlier. The current levy of PPAC will last till February 14.

The hike, however, is significantly lower than that was being asked by the discoms TPDDL had asked for a 7.42 per cent hike, BSES Rajdhani 7.26 per cent and BSES Yamuna 17.01 per cent.

The BJP and the Aam Aadmi Party have criticised the DERC decision to increase the levy.

The DERC notification said that the surcharge is applicable on the pro-rata consumption with effect from November 15. "The PPAC is to be levied only on the basis of energy consumed from November 15 till February 14 or till further orders," the notification added. The PPAC is a surcharge levied to compensate the discoms for variation in fuel costs in the market. The component was introduced in 2012 to help discoms recover additional costs of procuring power. Condemning the decision to allow the hike, Delhi BJP president Satish Upadhyay said the party had all along opposed this surcharge.

"The DERC stands exposed as standing with discoms and working against consumers. The BJP will raise this before the Union energy minister and Delhi lieutenant-governor to stall the implementation of this increase in power tariff," added Mr Upadhyay.

The AAP too opposed the decision and said that the DERC had failed to perform its duty as an independent regulator. "Its decisions seem to benefit the discoms, which are under CAG scrutiny. The DERC should have waited for the CAG audit to be completed before revising tariff," said AAP in a statement.

EMINENT PERSONALITIES

STATESMAN, NOV 13, 2014

A flawed legacy

MG Devasahayam

The country is celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As the first Prime Minister of independent India, who enjoyed uninterrupted power for 17 long years (1947-64), Nehru had the unique opportunity to leave a formidable political, administrative, and economic legacy on which the future India was to be built upon. Politically, it should have been a strong grassroots democracy based on Panchayat Raj institutions. Administratively, there should have been a paradigm change from a colonial-command system to democratic-participatory framework of governance. Economic development should have been people-centred, opting for 'production by the masses' instead of 'mass production'. In all these Pandit Nehru failed and left a flawed legacy which the country is even now finding difficult to cope with. The economy was the worst of Nehru's legacies. I am not a World Bank/IMF economist but just an ordinary student of economics. As per my understanding of economic growth, there were three pre-requisites for deciding on the development model of a country or a region. One, availability of domestic capital to start and sustain the model. Two, technology to optimise and augment production. And three, a market with purchasing capacity to consume the products. India's economic situation in the initial years of independence was grim with few manufacturing industries, low-level technology, very little income, hardly any national savings and consequently very little capital investment. The big question was: What should be the economic model for India? What should Jawaharlal Nehru do with regard to economic policy in the circumstances prevailing in the early Fifties?

The answer was staring at him if only he had cared to look. India at that time did not meet the requirements of a capital intensive, technology-driven and big-ticket economy. But it had all the requisites for a 'small-is-beautiful' agro-based model. Limited capital for upgrading agriculture along with value-addition activities through micro/small industries could have been found from domestic savings. Labour-intensive appropriate technologies could have been developed with this capital. And with a large population there was always a market for agricultural and food-related products. It is on these lines that Mahatma Gandhi had envisaged independent India as one sui generis, a society unlike any other, in a class of its own that would not follow the western pattern of mega industrialisation, urbanisation and individuation. India would be a people's economy charting out a distinct course of need-based, human-scale, balanced economic development while conserving nature and livelihoods. This was the "Third Way of Development" on the principle of 'Small is Beautiful' advocated by eminent thinkers like E.F. Schumacher. This alternative model of development avoided the pitfalls of colonialism, capitalism and Communism. This model would be rooted on the traditional rural culture of India and not on any imported 'civilisation'. Accordingly India will have to develop an independent economic system, an appropriate technology of self-

help, a pattern of trade and political institutions that answer best to its own specific requirements. It should be committed to pluralism and decentralised decision-making. Pursuing the sui generis route could have laid a strong and self-reliant foundation on which future 'growth' models could have been built to make India an economic super-power. With value-added agriculture as the root, appropriate technology and infrastructure as the trunk, manufacturing small/medium industries as branches and widespread service sector as canopy, Nehru could have raised the Indian economy as a strong tree. But that was not to be!

This was because Nehru had other ideas and was looking elsewhere. His economic philosophy had been outlined as early as 1936 at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress when he had advocated the inefficient and autocratic economic model of Soviet Russia as a 'civilisation' to be adopted by democratic India. True to his aristocratic upbringing, Nehru was also influenced by the Bombay Plan of 1944 chalked out by the industrial bigwigs of the time. The Bombay Plan laid considerable emphasis on public investment in the social and economic infrastructure, highlighted the importance of agrarian reform and agricultural research, setting up of educational institutions and a modern financial system. It strongly advocated the transition from agrarian feudalism to industrial capitalism. Nehru also could not cast away his colonial loyalties and the influence of the Industrial Revolution of the West. Torn between these opposing thought processes, Nehru wanted to create a balance between the rural and the urban as well as agricultural and industrial sectors in his economic policies. He hailed western-style large and heavy industries as 'temples of modern India' and big dams to be the very symbol of collective growth and source of energy. For Nehru "industrial engineering and agriculture met on a common platform". He did not find any conflict in developing Chandigarh, an elitist-rich city as 'symbol of modern India' while allowing thousands of villages to rot without even the most basic necessities of life and livelihood. He was also promoting nuclear energy meant to serve only a highly centralised industrial economy.

This was Nehru's brand of mixed economy that brought together disparate elements ~ command and control colonial structure; highly centralised government-owned Soviet communism and the relatively decentralised private-owned industrial capitalism ~ under one roof. Communists and capitalists were tied together and asked to march towards prosperity and progress under the tutelage of colonial institutions. Though Nehru dreamt of achieving the best of these systems, India ended up suffering the worst of all these. The natural corollary was widespread poverty, unemployment and deep-set iniquity. Institutions of governance became tools of the government and the power-brokers to command and harass the people the way they wanted. As a result, the ordinary Indian who strove to contribute his mite to the economic and social well-being of the country faced obstacles at every turn. Socialism as practised by Nehru was 'state capitalism' and economic autocracy giving overwhelming power to government functionaries over citizens' lives and activities. Under this system of management, corrupt and unscrupulous parasites living on others' labour flourished and honest entrepreneurs who stood on their own feet and stuck to certain principles suffered ignominy. Incompetent and

unprofessional governments indulged in wanton wastage and squandering of resources and were unable to deliver basic services to the citizens. Volumes can be written on the damage caused to the Indian economy by Nehru's 'directionless' and muddle-headed policies which his daughter Indira Gandhi pursued for the next near-two decades of dynastic rule. She made virtue of the poverty (garibi) that her father created, coined the slogan of garibi hatao (banish poverty) and won a massive electoral victory in 1971. When this orchestrated agenda flopped and public anger surfaced in the form of the JP Movement against corruption, unemployment and price-rise, she resorted to political dictatorship by imposing the Emergency to implement her autocratic economic agenda.

All these have left a deep impact on India's economy. And the consequences are reverberating even today. Barring certain regions, agriculture continues to be primitive with productivity at very low levels. Farming continues to be 'a gamble in the monsoon' as it was during Nehru's days. What is worse, value-addition in agriculture with commercial processing at mere 2/3 per cent is among the lowest in the world. And even five decades after the exit of Nehru from the scene, India is not ready to become a capital intensive, technology-driven and big-ticket economy. We depend upon Foreign Direct and Institutional Investments to bring in capital and technology for setting up large infrastructure and industrial projects. This is because the Indian economy continues to be a rootless wonder and most of the 'credit' for this legacy goes to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

HOUSING

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 8, 2014

Properties of Partition-hit to be regularised: DDA

In a move that will benefit lakhs of people in the Capital, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) will regularise properties built on government land by refugees displaced after Partition.

The DDA's policy for regularisation of property titles will come as a breather for lakhs of people living in areas such as Karol Bagh, Pahar Ganj, Anand Parbat, Regharpura, Chuna Mandi, etc.

Displaced from their homes during Partition, the original occupants of these properties had settled down unauthorisedly on open spaces that belonged to the government in the late 1940s. These occupants were issued papers known as 'damages slips' and they paid 'damages' for using the government land.

In 1957, these lands were transferred to the DDA. The number of such properties in 1959 was approximately 18,179.

The DDA has now decided to regularise these property titles through payment of a one-time charge after verifying claims. DDA vice-chairman Balvinder Kumar has directed officials of the land development agency to formulate a policy for thousands of properties occupied by displaced persons and others from 1940 onwards on the basis of 'paying damages' or 'leases'. These properties fall under 23 'Nazul Estates' of Delhi.

Though these properties never had titles, over a period of time these plots were either inherited, subdivided or sold and the 'damages slips' became the basis of various transactions and registration, including sale, change of ownership (mutation), etc.

The number of these properties have now multiplied many times. Around one lakh families and about five lakh people stay in these properties after paying damages and many even without paying any damages, a DDA spokesperson said.

Some of the land was on leasehold basis and continues to be occupied by such occupants even though the leases have either expired or have been cancelled, the spokesperson said.

The DDA expects that the policy for regularization would provide relief to such thousands of unauthorized occupants who have been continuing to occupy government land either unauthorisedly or through leases for more than 60 years. The authority is collecting details of the households, their occupants, etc. from the Census House Listing Schedules of 2010-2011 where each structure has been listed along with the status of the owner or the tenant. The help of the National Population Register-2011 and various socio-economic surveys is also being taken to get the exact details, the spokesperson said.

LIBRARIES

HINDU, NOV 11, 2014

E-BOOKS(Bes2)

GUJARAT LIBRARIES TO CONVERT OVER 70,000 BOOKS INTO E-BOOKS

Keeping pace with changing reading habits in the wake of the digital revolution, the Gujarat Director of Libraries (DoL) has decided to convert over 70,000 books into 'e-books' to make them available to readers online.

The books will be available for members through 'e-Library Reader' software for computers as well as through Android App for mobile phones. As per the available project details, around 1.95 crore pages of more than 70,000 books will be converted into e—book format and will be made available for their members within two to three months time, said officials.PTI

HINDU, NOV 11, 2014

ASSAM

Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi hoped that the setting up of the first Central Library, Archive cum Auditorium in the state at Amingaon, would benefit students, researchers and scholars.

HINDUSTAN TIMES,. NOV 12, 2014

Irani slams AMU V-C over women in library remark

Aligarh Muslim University vice-chancellor Lieutenant General Zameer Uddin Shah said on Tuesday he was not "sexist" after reports emerged that he turned down a demand of students of Women's College for access to the university's Maulana Azad Library, saying there would be "four times more boys" in the library if they were allowed in.

Shah found himself in the middle of a storm on Tuesday as human resource development minister Smriti Irani said the AMU V-C's reported remark not only hurt, but also agitated her as a woman. She termed the remark an "insult to daughters".

Irani's reaction came even as the HRD ministry on Tuesday prepared to seek explanation from Shah regarding his remark, saying it amounted to "disrespect to women".

Defending himself even as a debate raged on, Shah said: "These reports are completely wrong. I said there is no space for even a single seat in that library. We are not sexist and we also want women empowerment and certainly don't want to segregate our girls.

"In the women's college we have given grants of Rs. 11 lakh so that the library could be improved with air conditioners like in the Maulana Azad library. Every book which is there at Maulana Library is already available online for the girls," he added.

A female student at the university said on condition of anonymity that the issue of women's safety could not be used as a reason for the varsity not allowing them inside the library.

A faculty member, however, said it was unnecessary to blow up the issue on gender lines. "The issue isn't that simple. There are girls at AMU who come from conservative Muslim families and then there are gender issues. So it's difficult to balance both," he said.

AMU public relations officer Rahat Abrar, too, said the decision over library access did not arise out of a gender bias. "35% girls study in AMU, much more than any other college," he said, insisting the varsity had a favourable environment for female students.

MASS MEDIA

HINDU, NOV 10, 2014

[A new template for media regulation – 1](#)

The news media sector, as an industry, has an unenviable record of squandering opportunities to put in place a regulatory framework that simultaneously guards the freedom of expression and ensures the ethical behaviour of media organisations. Lord Justice Leveson gave an excellent template for the U.K. media. Instead of grabbing it with both hands, the captains of major U.K. publications have opted for a much-lesser mechanism in the form of the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO). The recent recommendations from the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India on cross-media ownership and the consultation initiated by the Law Commission of India under the chairmanship of Justice A.P. Shah is an opportunity before the Indian media to get its act together.

Why should we look at the legal and regulatory framework now? What are the factors that contribute to amending the existing framework? First, the news media industry has undergone profound changes in the last 20 years, and some of the governing rules for the industry are of colonial vintage. Second, the technological disruption and the emergence of convergence platforms are used by some to push for a meta-regulator for all media — print, radio, television and the Internet, without realising the nuances that differentiate the narrative logic of each of these platforms. Third, if each of them is to have its own self-regulation mechanism, what has to be done with news organisations that are not willing to join the self-regulating body? Will a forceful statutory regime be implemented for those who reject the power of a self-regulating body? Over the next few weeks, we will be exploring these questions in detail.

Market and regulation

For a change, I am not going to start with the known rights of the media that flow from Article 19 of the Indian Constitution. It may be prudent to look into the economic factors while framing the regulatory norms, laws and binding codes. This year's Nobel Prize for economics has gone to Jean Tirole, a French economist who worked on market and regulation.

The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences has put out a scientific background on Tirole's work, "Jean Tirole: Market Power and Regulation", and this column draws substantially from that publication to not only explain certain terms and conceptual framework but also differentiate the news media industry from other industries. The term "agent" in his analysis has a wider meaning to include the individual companies or the sector itself. It is drawn from the formal game-theoretic analysis.

The first element in Tirole's exploration is about the design of the regulatory institution. He uses two terms to explain the various trajectories any institutional design may take: regulatory capture and motivated agents. Regulatory capture is a model where sector-

specific regulation becomes captive to the regulated industry. In simple terms, “regulation may end up benefitting producers rather than consumers.” Tirole used various cases of collusion in hierarchical organisations to come up with a formula to arrive at an optimal response to the threat of regulatory capture. The other term, “motivated agents” goes against the models that assume that all agents are purely selfish. In Tirole’s work, some agents may want to promote social welfare or more generally “do the right thing” and had demonstrated that personal values as well as a desire for social esteem may sometimes change optimal incentives quite strongly. The Academy note puts this more precisely: “it is assumed that the agent is an impure altruist who does not primarily get satisfaction from socially desirable outcomes, but from his own contribution to those outcomes.”

Forms of competitions

For Tirole, the question here is: “how to regulate agents if the principal is uncertain about the agent’s motives. This problem is perhaps greatest when the agent takes decisions not about how hard to work but about some other action, the consequences of which appear only in the longer run. In this case, a selfish agent should ideally be tightly controlled or strongly incentivized, as before, but a pro-socially motivated agent should ideally have a free reign.” In a 2004 work, in collaboration with Eric Maskin, Tirole arrives at an interesting conclusion: “the contract is an institution that specifies: (i) who gets to make what decisions, and (ii) procedures for inducing public decision makers (informed agents) to act in the interest of the broader population (less informed principals). Their central assumption is that the informed agents are concerned not only with material benefits or other private returns to power, but also with making socially beneficial decisions and thereby leaving a valuable ‘legacy’. Since agents differ in the strength of their pro-social motives, power will sometimes be abused.” The news media can either be a regulatory captor or a motivated agent, but most often, it seems to be a combination of both.

In his study of new forms of competitions, which Tirole classifies as network competition and platform competition (sometimes described as two-sided markets), he puts newspapers clearly on the platform competition paradigm. Readers and advertisers are the two sides to which a newspaper tries to reach out and their respective expectations are very different. This twin customer base poses a range of regulatory problems too.

(To be continued)

MONEY

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 8, 2014

All Indian currency to be legal in Nepal, Bhutan soon

Sanjib Kr Baruah and Gaurav Choudhury

Even as President Pranab Mukherjee is in Bhutan on an official visit, there are strong moves afoot in the Narendra Modi government to legalise all Indian currency notes in Bhutan and Nepal.

While Indian currency upto Rs. 100 is already legal tender in the two countries, the move to legalise Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 notes will render all Indian currency valid in the two neighbouring countries.

Highly-placed sources told HT that there was a meeting hosted by the department of economic affairs on Monday to discuss the issue. It had top officials from the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI), Reserve Bank of India, besides the finance ministry.

“For all practical purposes, the issue was agreed upon in principle. After the PM clears it, the government will soon make an announcement to that effect,” the sources said.

“Only DRI raised concerns that legalising Indian currency notes in Nepal would result in further proliferation of fake Indian currency notes for which Nepal is a hotspot. The meeting ended with the assurance that such concerns would be taken care of,” the sources added.

The move acquires significance before the 18th SAARC Summit takes off in Kathmandu from November 22-27 which will be attended by PM Modi.

After decades of wooing the West, India’s foreign policy set off on a new direction when Modi, underlining the country’s intent to closely engage with its neighbours than ever before, invited the eight South Asian neighbours for his government’s swearing-in ceremony after a resounding election victory. He followed it up with several visits to these countries. During his Nepal visit, Modi had told Nepali legislators: ‘Borders must be bridges not barriers.’

The move enabling a single currency is expected to ease cross border trade between the neighbours and also facilitating tourism in the region although there will be prescribed limits to the amount of Indian currency

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 10, 2014

Laxmikant Parsekar sworn in as Goa CM
Surendra P Ganagan

Laxmikant Parsekar, a three-term MLA and former chief of state BJP, was sworn in as the new chief minister of Goa on Saturday after Manohar Parrikar resigned from the post.

Nine other MLAs, including two from BJP's ally Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, also took oath. Two cabinet berths are still vacant. Parsekar said both the post would be soon filled after due deliberation.

Rajiv Pratap Rudy, central observer of the party, announced Parsekar's name after a meeting of party MLAs. He said the choice was unanimous and there was no discontent among other contenders.

Parsekar, 68, is a two-term president of Goa BJP who started as a Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh worker. He was chosen over Assembly speaker Rajendra Arlekar and Deputy chief minister Francis D'souza.

According to sources in the party, RSS was keen on Arlekar but majority of MLAs seemed to be keen on Parsekar who was health minister in Parrikar's cabinet. Parrikar himself was in favour of Parsekar as his successor, the sources said.

After Prime Minister Narendra Modi asked Parrikar to join his cabinet, the latter faced a tough task in finalising his successor with three legislators showing interest in the job.

Initially, D'souza — BJP's Catholic face in Goa — threatened to quit the cabinet if his claim was ignored by the party. He also failed to garner support of sizeable number of party MLAs.

He continues as deputy chief minister and expected to get key portfolio such as Home or Finance in the new cabinet. "I am not disappointed and have no grudge (against Parsekar). I have accepted the decision given by them," D'souza told HT.

After taking oath of office, Parsekar said his thrust would be on the development work through teamwork. "I would not be able to keep as many portfolios as Parrikar had kept to himself. My thrust would be on the decisions by the respective ministers of the departments," he said.

Parsekar said that the allocation of the portfolios would be done after consultation with Parrikar once he is back to Panaji next week.

STATESMAN, NOV 10, 2014

21 inducted in Modi cabinet expansion

Spat over Prabhu, berth for Desai brings BJP-Sena ties to new low

Prime Minister Narendra Modi today expanded his Council of Ministers, inducting 21 new faces, among them the Shiv Sena's Suresh Prabhu, who left his party to join the BJP just before the swearing-in ceremony, even as an upset Sena kept away from the exercise.

Four Cabinet Ministers, three Ministers of State with Independent Charge and 14 Ministers of State were inducted in the Modi ministry, taking its strength to 66.

Mr Prabhu, considered to be close to Mr Modi, was given the Railways portfolio, while former Goa chief minister Manohar Parrikar got the Defence ministry.

The Shiv Sena, upset at Mr Prabhu's defection and the denial of a Cabinet berth to its official nominee, Mr Anil Desai, boycotted the exercise, recalling Mr Desai back to Mumbai from Delhi airport. It has also warned it would sit in the Opposition if the BJP goes with the NCP in Maharashtra.

The BJP-Sena ties, already under strain, dipped further today, when Mr Prabhu, power minister in the Vajpayee government, deserted the Sena and joined BJP this morning to take oath as a Cabinet minister. Mr Prabhu has already been appointed Modi's 'sherpa' for the G-20 Summit.

Finance Minister Arun Jaitley, who shed Defence portfolio, interestingly got Information and Broadcasting from Prakash Javadekar, who has now been left with only Environment and Forests.

New Cabinet ministers J P Nadda and Birender Singh have been given Health and Rural Development portfolios respectively.

Health Minister Harsh Vardhan has been shunted to Science and Technology and Earth Sciences while Transport Minister Nitin Gadkari has been divested of the Rural Development charge in favour of Mr Singh.

On a day of dramatic developments, the Shiv Sena's Rajya Sabha member, Anil Desai, who was tipped to become a minister, was ordered to return to Mumbai from the airport here just hours before the swearing in ceremony at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. Against the Sena's demand for two more Cabinet berths, the party was reportedly told by BJP president Amit Shah that only one post of minister of state was possible for Mr Desai. Sena chief Uddhav Thackeray then decided to call it off.

The party is also said to be planning to withdraw Anant Geete, Heavy Industry Minister, from the Modi government and sit in the opposition in Maharashtra Assembly.

But Mr Thackeray appeared to keep the door open, saying BJP should come clear on whether it wants to take NCP's support in Maharashtra in two or three days. "If BJP wants to go with NCP, then our path will be different. We are prepared to sit in the Opposition," Mr Thackeray told the media after a meeting with party leaders late in the evening. The new BJP government in Maharashtra is to face a trial of strength on Tuesday after which the Sena would finalise its strategy vis a vis BJP.

This is the first revamp undertaken by Mr Modi since assuming power in May. The main focus of the Prime Minister has been to take away additional charges from several of the ministers and give it to the new comers in a bid streamline functioning of the ministry and to quicken their pace of work.

The three ministers of state with independent charge who were sworn in today were former ministers in Vajpayee government Bandaru Dattatreya and Rajiv Pratap Rudy, who have been given Labour and Skill Development and Entrepreneurship portfolios while new comer and first time MP Mahesh Sharma from Gautam Budh Nagar, bordering Delhi, gets independent charge of Culture and Tourism and MoS in Civil Aviation. Rudy is also MoS Parliamentary Affairs.

14 other Ministers of State were sworn in. They are Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, Ram Kripal Yadav, Haribhai Parthibhai Chaudhary, Sanwar Lal Jat and Mohanbhai Kalyanjibhai Kundariya Giriraj Singh, Hansraj Ahir, Ram Shankar Katheria, Jayant Sinha, Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore, Babul Supriyo, Sadhvi aNiranjan Jyoti and Vijay Sampla (all BJP) and Y S Chowdary, a Rajya Sabha member from TDP. Cabinet Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad has retained Communication and Information Techonogy while shedding Law.

Nirmala Sitaraman, MoS with independent charge of Commerce has shed MoS in Finance to newcomer Jayant Sinha, son of former union minister Yashwant Sinha.

Santosh Gangwar will now only hold the charge of Textiles Ministry and MoS (Independent charge) and has been divested of the charge of MoS Parliamentary Affairs and the MoS, Ministry of Water Resources, River Development and Ganga Rejuvenation.

The charge of Labour and Employment has been taken away from Steel and Mines Minister Narendra Singh Tomar and given to Bandaru Dattatreya as MoS (IC).

Gen (retd) V K Singh is the new MoS (Independent Charge) of Statistics and Programme

Implementation, held by Rao Inderjit Singh. V K Singh will also continue to hold the charges of MoS External Affairs and MoS Overseas Indian Affairs.

DECCAN HERALD, NOV 11, 2014

New stars and challenges

Shekhar Iyer

At first look, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's maiden expansion of his council of ministers may appear to be an open admission that his much-acclaimed maxim of "minimum government and maximum governance" has not worked in practice, as his critics have pointed out.

Surely, Modi sought to address the obvious imbalances in regional representation and portfolio allocations while seeking to correct his options he exercised when he formed his government six months ago.

But, beyond the fact that 21 new faces were brought in to meet the shortage of hands to run important ministries and reduce the burden of senior ministers, Modi has shown that he is as much seized with priorities of the BJP as with that of his government in the face of numerous political challenges ahead.

Also, increasingly, the expectations of the people and the party from his government are becoming synonymous. Every election win for BJP reinforces the fact that growing clamour is performance and delivery of promises quickly beyond political rhetoric that Modi is often associated with.

In all, four cabinet ministers, three ministers of state (MoS) with independent charge and 14 MoS were inducted. The rationale for the four new cabinet ministers – former Goa chief minister Manohar Parrikar, former Shiv Sena leader Suresh Prabhu, BJP general secretary J P Nadda and once powerful Jat leader Birender Singh who shifted to BJP to oppose former Haryana CM Bhupinder Singh Hooda – are not difficult to decipher.

Modi wanted Parrikar to join his team as defence minister right in the beginning. But the latter was reluctant to leave Goa for two reasons: he was good at managing the state affairs and Delhi lay in his not-so comfort zone. Secondly, he felt his independent way of functioning might not gel with the PM who is more than the first among the equals. But Modi had his way finally, telling him clearly that he wanted him in defence, which is the new government's top priority – from fixing old warships, aircraft and tanks to buying new ones to modernise India's armoury without, of course, falling into any scam.

Even before he formally joined the BJP, Prabhu, who is a former banker and a chartered accountant, was designated Modi's Sherpa for the G-20 summit a month ago, having built his reputation from the NDA days as someone who is part of a think tank that looks at challenges in the economy like energy, transport and irrigation with innovative ideas and alternative models.

Prabhu's role in the Sena was anything but active since he was asked to quit the Vajpayee government by late Sena boss Bal Thackeray over his refusal to be party to any 'deals' over power projects. Prabhu's USP then and now remains his personal integrity that remains unsullied till date. Nadda's choice may be seen as controversial over his alleged role in the forceful exit of a vigilance officer from the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. But his reputation as Himachal Pradesh forest and environment minister to check timber mafias and as an able organiser ranked high on Modi's estimation.

Chaudhary Birendra Singh does not actually fit into Modi's governance model. But the once Jat face of the Congress who lost out to Hooda for CM's post, had to be rewarded for crossing over to the BJP before the Lok Sabha polls.

Among the new entrants at the Ministers of State (Independent charge) level, Rajiv Pratap Rudy serves the twin purpose that Modi has for him. As a Rajput leader from Bihar, Rudy's inclusion strengthens the BJP's appeal among the upper castes ahead of the state polls exactly a year from now. He is also an experienced minister, having served in the NDA regime.

Labour ministry, key Bandaru Dattreya, the fourth-time MP from Secunderabad which is now from Telangana, is known for his proximity to trade unions like the RSS-affiliated Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh. As the new labour minister, his task is cut out. He has to get the unions on board for a wide range of steps that free business from old trade unionism and make them approve to a slew of labour reforms that the Modi government proposes to launch. Dattreya had served in the Vajpayee government earlier and is no green horn when it comes to complicated official matters.

Significantly, Modi broadened search for fresh ministerial talent by picking up Olympic silver medallist Rajyavardhan Rathore and Bollywood Singer Babul Supriyo, both first time MPs. Rathore's task is to assist Finance Minister Arun Jaitley who remains now the chief spokesperson of the government, as information and broadcasting minister articulating its decisions.

Modi also chose Jayant Sinha, son of former finance minister Yashwant Sinha, who studied at IIT, Delhi and Harvard. He will assist Finance Minister Jaitley. As a young professional, Sinha brings to the table his exposure to global practices for boosting the economy and should serve as a planner as well as executioner of the new ideas. The Team Modi, with new stars and stripes, may have a long way to go and Sunday's exercise may not be last word. The issues of governance are not just about some innovative ideas incubating in Modi's mind that need to be implemented. A lethargic and indifferent bureaucracy cannot be counted to do much to bring momentum even if there is no dearth of well-meaning, if not well-defined, ideas.

Modi does need people to man ministries who can give that push to bureaucracy and remind everyone that he has not come to power to fail but deliver on the agenda that won the BJP its huge mandate.

A lot of noise is no substitute for something to show on the ground. Also, the paucity of ministerial talent that confronted the new PM when he formed his government on May 26 remains a big problem till date. The mantra is “just perform”.

DECCAN HERALD, NOV 11, 2014

Modi chooses Jaitley to handle govt image
PM wants his messages to reach people via AIR, DD

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Monday asked Finance Minister Arun Jaitley to play the role of chief spokesperson of the government by giving him additional charge of the Information and Broadcasting (I&B) Ministry.

Jaitley was on Sunday freed of the defence portfolio so that he could concentrate on the next budget and economic reforms. Jaitley was also told by Modi that his relations with the media would help in shaping the government's image.

Besides, Modi has indicated that he wants to ensure that his message reaches the people through official media like All India Radio and Doordarshan. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) sources said Jaitley's stewardship of the I&B Ministry would help this objective.

Initially, Jaitley was reluctant to take up the additional role, saying he was busy with next year's budget. This will be the first full-fledged budget of the Modi government. Left to himself, Jaitley would have preferred additional charge of the Law and Justice Ministry, which was given to D V Sadananda Gowda after he was removed as Railway Minister to make way for Suresh Prabhu. But Modi is understood to have persuaded Jaitley to take up additional charge of the I&B Ministry. On two occasions, Modi had asked Jaitley to make mega announcements on fixing the price of natural gas and allocation of coal mines by auction.

With his new role as I&B Minister, Jaitley was told that he would be back to performing his earlier role as one of the BJP's important spokespersons, appearing regularly on news shows to promote the government's stand and the party line. The assignment for Jaitley also underscores Modi's move to strengthen the government's communication strategy, which first saw the prime minister's interaction with journalists for the first time and then with some editors recently. Hitherto, Modi had chosen not to interact with media personnel, instead preferring to convey his messages through Twitter and other social media outlets.

In his first day in office as I&B Minister, Jaitley said, “I have been the I&B Minister in the past but then there was more print media than electronic media.

“ Today, there had been a lot of growth of radio and digital media. There was a time when the major work of this ministry was Doordarshan and All India Radio.

“It is still a major area,” but the ministry would have to look at the changed information process scenario” he said.

Later in the day, as the Congress and the Aam Aadmi Party attacked Modi for the Cabinet reshuffle, Jaitley defended his government.

Jaitley said the Congress had made “unfounded charges” against ministers. “It is not right to make such baseless allegations against the new ministers,” he said. “As long as there is no moral turpitude in the cases against the new ministers, there is nothing wrong.”

STATESMAN, NOV 9, 2014

Vacuum in Bengal-I
An Oddity In Indian Politics
Subrata Mukherjee

IN 1958, when I travelled by Kalka Mail from Delhi to Kolkata, the moment the train trundled into Bengal, after crossing the Barakar river, certain posters were ubiquitous at railway stations. They read: Police tumi jotoi maro, mainey tomar eksho baro (Police, however much you beat us, your salary is only Rs 112). Ten years later, the film, Ek Din Ratre, was being screened in the city, and in a certain hall, the entire audience threw slippers at the screen when the visuals of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru appeared.

Both experiences reaffirmed the seamier side of life in West Bengal. The kind of behaviour, that was unacceptable in Delhi, was widely prevalent in Bengal. This sense of parochialism and hostility towards the mainstream culture became gradually entrenched in Bengal, reducing the state to an oddity in Indian politics. A definite shift in Bengal’s culture took place with the beginning of the Gandhian era. In contrast to the political evolution in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with Bengal at the centre, Gokhale had said: ‘What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow’. This was the time when under the stewardship of Surendranath Bannerjee, the Indian Association, the first all-India organization before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, was established (1876). This was followed by the Swadeshi movement and the emergence of the great partnership of Lal-Bal-Pal. This made the Congress truly national by the first decade of the 20th century. However, the exit of Surendranath Bannerjee from the Congress in 1917 and Pal’s opposition to Gandhi’s resolution for the non-cooperation movement also led to the exit of the two most powerful and respected voices from Bengal in the national arena. CR Das accepted the Gandhian movement more as a strategy and out of convenience than conviction and tailored the movement in accord with his plank of aggressive nationalism. His emphasis was on boycotts and hartals rather than a commitment to non-violent mass action.

Since then, the Congress in Bengal emerged as a fractious entity with a clear distinction between the pro and anti-Gandhi factions. Fazlul Haq emerged as the natural leader of

Bengal and after the formation of the 1937 Haq ministry, the Congress lost a historic opportunity to be a major player by not aligning with it. The central leadership of the Congress scuttled the chance to gain momentary success elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency, the United Provinces, present-day Uttar Pradesh and Bengal.

Strikingly, Bengal produced the three most virulent critics of Gandhi ~ Rabindranath Tagore, MN Roy and Subhas Bose. Of course Tagore's criticisms were substantive and the poet never belittled the Mahatma. However, the same cannot be said of Netaji and Roy, with the former even criticising Tagore for blindly following Gandhi. The strong revolutionary tradition of Bengal was essentially anti-Gandhi and most of his critics believed in the political philosophy of Marx. The leaders who moved from the Congress to the Marxist fold, pre-eminently EMS Namboodiripad, AK Gopalan and Saroj Mukherjee, were never in control of the Communist movement in Bengal... unlike in Kerala. It was dominated by an odd combination of ex-revolutionaries and activists like the leaders of the Tehbhaga movement and political leaders who were trained in Britain, notably Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta. In the 1946 elections, the young Basu was elected as the leader of the three-member Communist Legislature Party as the other two were not familiar with the intricacies of parliamentary politics. This created a uniquely autonomous Communist leadership, which was alienated from the mainstream of Indian politics.

Kerala presented a different scenario. The Communist Party of India was led by two eminent ex-Congressmen, with decades of struggle behind them. The difference between the Kerala line and the Bengal line is, therefore, embedded in history. A weak Congress advanced an absurd proposal in the wake of Partition ~ a united Bengal separated from united India. This alienated and weakened the party further still. That alienation was reinforced by three massive disasters in which Bengal suffered but the rest of India did not. The first was the Bengal famine of 1942-43 in which six million people perished; the second was the threat of a Japanese attack for which Calcutta was evacuated and the Victoria Memorial painted in black; and the third was the partition of Bengal, whose after-effect still lingers unlike in Punjab where it was solved in a single surgical intervention.

In the period after Partition, West Bengal, under the effective stewardship of Dr BC Roy, had a meaningful presence in the nation-building exercise. The close equation between Nehru and Roy coupled with the Chief Minister's vision of industrial hubs and even a proposal to effect a union between West Bengal and Bihar was both novel and timely. However, the union of Bengal and Bihar did not materialise. Over time, Bengal became more insular and drifted away from mainstream politics. The IIT in Kharagpur, the process of industrialization, and the building of new urban habitats are testament to Roy's sterling leadership at a critical juncture ~ the aftermath of Partition.

Regretfully, despite such bold initiatives. the Left opposition was engaged in a virulent extra-constitutional mobilization. Buses and trams were burned following a one-paisa increase in fares. Basu even advocated 48-hour bandhs should the need arise. As if a 24-hour disruption was inadequate.

During this period of political distrust, the Left did not address the people's problems in a constructive manner, but continued with its traditional methods of violent agitprop. Atulya Ghosh, the Congress president, who lost an eye during his incarceration by the British and became blind in the other due to torture, was derided as 'kana Atulya'. The CPI-M opposed the visit of the World Bank president, Robert McNamara, to Kolkata. He was not allowed to land because of his role in the Vietnam war as the US Secretary of State. The introduction of computers was opposed when modernization was initiated in government organizations like the LIC. In 1967, when the Left tasted power for the first time, Subodh Bannerjee, the SUCI's labour minister, advocated gherao as a form of labour movement. The net result was the flight of capital, an economic disaster from which Bengal has still not recovered.

Presidency College became the nerve-centre of the Naxalite movement. The installation of Siddhartha Shankar Ray as Chief Minister through a rigged election in 1972 led to the destruction of all sense of legitimacy and orderly development of the state.

STATESMAN, NOV 10, 2014

Vacuum in Bengal~II

SUBRATA MUKHERJEE

Promode Das Gupta's excellent calibration enabled the Left to wield power for as long as it did. As the CPI-M and the Congress were evenly matched, Dasgupta reckoned that the Left would be able to strengthen its base if it allied with smaller parties. In the initial years, there was a balance of power between Dasgupta and Jyoti Basu, similar to what had existed in the Congress between Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel. Operation Barga and the state government's tackling of the devastating floods in 1978 inspired optimism. An increasingly ineffective Congress was generally perceived as the 'B' team of the CPI-M rather than as an effective opposition. The major reason for this was Indira Gandhi's strategy to hold on to power at the Centre while neglecting the states. This resulted in the steady decimation of the Congress in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu.

With no internal challenge after the death of Dasgupta in 1982 and a weak Congress, Basu faced no opposition within the party and could afford to be complacent. He neither had the vision nor the tenacity of Dr. B.C. Roy. At one stage, the Bengali elite would often compare Roy with Basu. Whereas the people would rather forget the 23 years of Basu's chief ministership, Roy is fondly remembered even today. During the heyday of Basu's rule in 1985, I spent ten days in North Bengal University in Siliguri with the late Prof. Amlan Dutta. In India, it is a common practice to be invited for dinner by the main organiser of a seminar even if one was a mere acquaintance for a few days. In the absence of such an invitation, I asked Prof. Dutta what the reason could be. He retorted humorously, wondering who would cook as the wives were in Kolkata and the staff was anxious to return to Kolkata. In my subsequent visits to Bengal's universities, it was confirmed that the majority of the teaching faculty commuted from

Kolkata, arriving late and leaving early. A certain Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University functioned mainly from Kolkata.

Of all the major states of India, West Bengal is the only city-state, totally Kolkata-centric, and nothing has been done to change its character after BC Roy's initial attempts. Basu, by encouraging a policy of doing away with English and discounting merit, contributed to the exodus of the brightest to Delhi so much so that the language spoken in Delhi School of Economics and JNU's Economics Department is broken Bengali. When Basu was asked about the reason for the large-scale exodus both for study and employment, his reply was: "Is it"? When Basu got a chance to be Prime Minister as the head of a coalition, his party did not allow him to hold the post. In his reckoning, his party's stand was a "Himalayan blunder". But he never acknowledged a far more serious lapse ~ the need for closer ties with the Congress ending the farcical mock-fights. No wonder both the Congress and the Left have been marginalised in West Bengal. This peculiar insularity and myopic vision has brought about the pathetic situation that exists in West Bengal today. Basu's successor, Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, who even left the government for a while in protest, propagated the same culture with added arrogance. 'You' and 'we' became terms of reference, ignoring the fact that Bengal was a polarised state, where the difference between the Opposition and the Treasury benches was a mere 2 per cent of votes. He boasted the huge majority of the ruling coalition without realising that the same fate awaited them in future when it would sit in the opposition benches. When the Left supported the UPA from the outside, he remarked, 'when we tell the government to sit it will and when we ask it to stand it will'. It wanted to wield power without responsibility and even its nominee for the post of Speaker did not follow the precedence left by Sanjeeva Reddy ~ to resign from the party after taking over as the Speaker.

Mamata's meteoric rise coincided with this bankruptcy of the Left and she was perceived as a saviour during the twilight phase of the CPI-M. But instead of becoming a catalyst of a new dawn she followed the same policy of self-destruction, positioning herself to the left of the CPI-M, without any attempt to institutionalise democracy with a long-term perspective. She also allowed a slow but definitive consolidation of divisive Hindu votes through a symbolic attempt to be close to the Muslims.

Her distance from the Congress further led to her increasing isolation from the national mainstream. Her dream of becoming the balancing force in national politics was shattered by the unexpected results of the 2014 Lok Sabha elections. Because of her myopic vision, she could not grasp the political transformation that had come about between 2004 and 2014. And in politics, just as in life, one cannot step into the same river twice. It is this vacuum that has facilitated the entry of the Bharatiya Janata Party. West Bengal has moved away from static bipolarity to an unstable and uncertain four-party contest in 2016.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

ECONOMIC TIMES, NOV 14, 2014

PM Narendra Modi keen on Malaysian model of performance assessment

The prime minister said that this is an excellent example of how monitoring of performance is done. But he said Malaysia is more than only governance reform.

NAIR NAY PYI TAW: As part of his endeavour to constantly evaluate the performance of his government, Prime Minister Narendra Modi is taking a cue from the Malaysian model, calling it an "excellent example".

During his meeting with his Malaysian counterpart Najib Razak yesterday, Modi said he was greatly impressed by the performance assessment mechanism that is in place in the southeast Asian country.

Modi told Razak that he had had discussions on this subject with some Malaysian officials who had worked on it, Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson Syed Akbaruddin told reporters here.

The prime minister said that this is an excellent example of how monitoring of performance is done. But he said Malaysia is more than only governance reform.

While this was governance reform, Modi also felt that Malaysia has been open for economic reforms and he felt that both Malaysia and India could work together in areas like housing.

Modi said public housing was a major focus of the new Indian government which plans to go for large scale public housing by 2022. And he felt that Malaysian companies who had expertise in these would be welcome specifically in public housing projects.

To keep the government departments on their toes and deliver on the BJP's poll promise to bring "Aachhe Din" (good days), the prime minister is understood to be keen on revamping the Performance Management and Evaluation System (PMES), currently run by a division at the Union government's Cabinet Secretariat.

Razak set up the Performance Management and Delivery Unit, commonly known as PEMANDU, in his office in September 2009, just a few months after taking over.

PEMANDU oversees implementation, assesses progress, facilitates and supports delivery and drives progress of the Government Transformation Programme and the Economic Transformation Programme launched by Razak, who heads the unit as its chairman.

INDIAN EXPRESS, NOV 8, 2014

Towards minimum governance

Modi's belief may be that he can run the government more efficiently through bureaucrats.

[Rajeev Gowda](#)

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is expected to finally expand his cabinet. Commentators expect that only a lucky dozen will make it. The ministry's size will likely go up to less than 60, and more than 20 officially allowed slots will remain vacant. The big news is that there may be a new defence minister, which will come as a relief. Modi seems to have turned the crucial defence and finance ministries into part-time jobs. That could not have been what people expected when he promised "minimum government, maximum governance".

While pundits gush over the small size of the cabinet, it is actually a recipe for governance failure. In a small cabinet, some ministers are overburdened. For half a year, this has been the case with crucial infrastructure departments. A young minister of state, Piyush Goyal, oversees power, coal, and new and renewable energy at a time when working out policy frameworks just for the coal sector would overwhelm a more experienced minister. At least Goyal's portfolios are broadly related. Nitin Gadkari juggles the unrelated and weighty portfolios of shipping, road transport and rural development, while Ravi Shankar Prasad oscillates between law and communications and information technology.

How a prime minister allocates responsibilities to his cabinet colleagues, and in turn to junior ministers, tells us something about his ability to delegate. But if a quarter of cabinet slots are not even filled, that tells us something else — that perhaps there is some truth in the rumours that all decision-making is centralised within the prime minister's office (PMO) and that ministers do not really matter.

Not expanding the cabinet fully also signals that the prime minister does not think it important to groom youngsters for the future. This is bound to demoralise MPs. It is also a slap in the face to states like Rajasthan, which elected 25 BJP MPs, but found only one (and he faces rape charges) made a minister. We would be justified in asking: Is there a talent shortage in the BJP parliamentary party? Are there not enough BJP MPs with some minimal capability and credibility that they can be inducted into the ministry?

Cabinet positions are not the only ones that remain vacant. A number of crucial appointments have not been made. These include the lokpal, the chief vigilance commissioner and the chief information commissioner. The lack of attention to filling these slots on time is indicative of Modi's attitude towards tackling corruption, and about how little he cares for the right to information law. A part of the problem arises from the fact that some of these appointments have to be cleared by a committee, including the leader of the opposition — which the government has fought tooth-and-nail to deny to the

Congress. Another glaring case is that of the National Disaster Management Authority. It currently has neither a chairman nor members, at a time when the country continually faces nature's wrath.

Modi's belief may be that he can run the government more efficiently through bureaucrats. He has already enhanced the power of secretaries by meeting with them directly and asking them to come up with policy ideas to share with him. But as Modi has empowered sarkari bureaucrats, he has simultaneously disempowered his ministers. This is a bad development in our cabinet system of government. Ministers now worry about whether their writ runs in their own bhavans. They are crippled by the fear that the officers who are supposed to report to them are working out separate arrangements with the PMO. Add these concerns to reports that ministers feel compelled to seek the PM or PMO's stamp of approval for every move and measure. This has ushered in a new kind of governance paralysis, as Modi is often away on foreign- or election-related tours, and even his extra-large PMO is unable to attend to every issue in a timely manner.

Other moves strike at the essence of our administrative apparatus. One of the PM's early diktats was to ban any officer who had served in key positions under the UPA from being given similar posts under the new NDA regime. Such a move blatantly and illogically politicises the bureaucracy. It needlessly taints those who served under the UPA when they were just doing their jobs. Turning bureaucrats into "their" men and "our" men introduces partisan politics that will soon corrode our governmental structure.

Running a complex country that is going through several simultaneous transformations like India, requires teamwork and a commitment to action rather than rhetoric. What we have seen so far of the Modi sarkar is turning out to be the opposite. Witness the casual announcement of the dismantling of the Planning Commission without a well-thought-out alternative to take its place. This work style can only lead to one outcome — minimum governance — which India can ill afford.

The writer is a Congress Rajya Sabha MP

RAILWAYS

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 14, 2014

In future, Delhi to Chennai in 6 hrs by train

Srinand Jha

Railways minister Suresh Prabhu has fast-tracked plans to build the world's second-longest high-speed rail corridor between Delhi and Chennai that will see trains running at speeds of 300km/hour, covering the 1,754-kilometre distance between the two cities in six hours.

The corridor is likely to cost Rs. 2 lakh crore and is proposed to be developed jointly with China, home to the world's longest high-speed rail line between Beijing and Guangzhou.

A high-level Railways team will visit Beijing on November 24 to complete formalities with Chinese counterparts for the project's feasibility study, ministry officials said.

The team – comprising officials of the High Speed Rail Corporation and the Rail Vikas Nigam Limited– will sign an agreement with the China Railway Siyuan Survey and Design Group.

“An Indian Railways team will visit China for training. The study on the Delhi-Chennai line can be expected to begin early next year”, ministry officials said.

The exercise will be completed free of cost by the Chinese company, in line with terms of the September 18 Memorandum of Understanding signed in the presence of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese President Xi Jinping in New Delhi.

The Delhi-Chennai corridor is part of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's “diamond quadrilateral” project that aims to build a network of high-speed trains between different cities, including Delhi-Mumbai, Mumbai-Chennai, Chennai-Kolkata, Kolkata-Delhi and Mumbai-Kolkata. Shortly after taking charge on Monday, Prabhu took several decisions to expedite the PM's pet project.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is currently conducting a feasibility study on the proposed Mumbai-Ahmedabad stretch, India's first high-speed rail project.

India's engagement with China in rail development began as recently as last month, when the Railways signed a pact with the China Rail Eryuan Engineering Group Company for ramping up speeds on the Mysore-Bangalore-Chennai line.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

HINDUSTAN TIMES, NOV 12, 2014

Modernising India: Modi govt makes digital dash, e-gaon every mile

Zia Haq

The government is gearing up for its next big mission, a Rs. 113,000-crore plan that aims to usher in [adigital revolution](#) by moving everything online, from education to public services to bureaucracy.

Aptly called ‘e-kranti’, it comes under the Narendra Modi government’s ‘Digital India’ initiative and is quite simply the world’s most ambitious broadband project — but one that will have to overcome countless hurdles, big and small. It seeks to provide digital access to all citizens, from the rural and elderly to the poor, according to the government blueprint that HT has viewed.

As a rapidly modernising India embarks on a drive to move governance online, bridging the so-called digital divide is essential. State entitlements, such as pensions, and public services, such as passports, will move to cloud, a computing term for universally accessible online storage space.

The public distribution system (PDS) that supplies subsidised foodgrains under the National Food Security Law will be completely integrated with Aadhar, the cradle-to-grave digital identity card that every Indian must have. Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh already have online PDS systems.

None of this can happen without expanding digital access. So, the Centre aims to expand its rural internet coverage to 250,000 villages by 2017 from the existing 130,000. In two years, 150,000 post offices will be transformed into multi-utility centres (providing a range of government services, banking for instance, and not just postal services). Some 250,000 government schools will get broadband and free WiFi and all schoolbooks will have e-versions.

The disadvantages of not being digitally included are much bigger today than they were in an earlier era.

In emerging nations such as India, “people who do not have access to the Internet are much more likely to be socially and economically excluded”, according to the Economic Intelligence Unit report that prescribes best practices for digital inclusion.

For the government, the digital push could bring immediate benefits in terms of cost savings in delivery of public services. Cash transfers of pensions alone could trim delivery costs by a third, according to a study commissioned by the previous government.

High-speed broadband is already a critical infrastructure that will transform emerging economies in decades to come. According to a 2009 World Bank report, in low- and middle-income countries such as India, every 10% increase in broadband penetration could increase GDP by 1.4 percentage points.

The digital drive is also integral to the government's plan to create 100 smart cities. Under the plan, all cities with a population of more than a million will get public WiFi hotspots. All government communication will move to a universal secure email client.

The 'Digital India' blueprint revolves round 'nine pillars' — broadband highway, e-governance, electronics manufacturing leading to 'zero import', universal phone access, electronic delivery of services, jobs, rural internet, information for all and 'early harvest' programmes. And the plan, which sets specific deadlines for some of these 'pillars', will not be easy to achieve.

For instance, India will need a smart payment system that works for government services, experts say. According to a 2012 report, 25% of attempts to book a ticket on the Indian Railways website end in failure. Investment is another big test. Some of the more difficult challenges are cultural: one-fifth of Indians who have smartphones don't think it is a reliable way to transact.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

FINANCIAL EXPRESS, NO 12, 2014

Columns: Powering India's smart cities

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's announcement of his dream of making 100 smart cities, building new or retrofitting the old ones, has stirred many a minds, including investors. Some are asking what is a smart city, is it feasible for India to do it, or is it just a pipe dream? Many others, including foreign investors, are getting ready to invest in this dream and looking forward to making it a reality.

The concept of smart cities revolves around internalising following features: smart energy (smart meters, demand response, co-generation and renewable energy generation), smart transport (intelligent transportation systems, real-time information sharing about traffic conditions and public transport availability), smart water and waste management (digitised distribution of water to minimise leakages by using geographic information systems, and recycling of waste), maximisation of e-governance services and smart buildings (building energy management systems, energy-efficient building designs and retrofitting of existing buildings). However, to keep these systems running, ensuring a sustainable power supply is of prime importance. So, how will India power these 100 smart cities?

India's resource endowments for energy are not very encouraging: while India supports about 17% of world's population, it has only 0.4%, 0.4% and 6% of the world's oil, natural gas and coal reserves, respectively—a gross deficiency, considering that it is the fourth-largest consumer of energy in the world after USA, China and Russia. The fact that India is importing nearly 80% of its crude oil consumption, 15% of its coal consumption and 35% of its natural gas consumption makes it even more challenging to power the dream of 100 smart cities.

The potential answer to these challenges, therefore, lies in innovations, ranging from innovative ideas to processes and products, that are likely to make this dream come true. One potential innovation would be to dovetail renewable energy into powering cities in a big way. Looking around the world for innovative methods, it may be interesting to note that the Eiffel Tower in Paris, which uses about 7.8 million kWh per year, has recently

installed four solar panels that will provide about 50% of the hot water used for the tower. Vertical and hydraulically powered wind turbines are being installed on the first platform of the tower to generate 8,000 kWh/year of electricity. In addition, the tower's first floor water supply network will have its own water-powered turbines producing 4,000 kW/year of electricity.

India has choices abound in conventional energy sources like coal, oil and gas, and in renewable and clean energy sources like solar, wind, hydro, biomass based electricity and nuclear energy. However, price and availability of these sources are two major constraints that would decide how these cities would be powered.

Coal-based thermal generation is the mainstay of the Indian power sector, contributing roughly 70% of the total electricity generation in 2012. Lately, it has suffered badly due to the fiasco over allocation of coal mines. But the key issue in the choice of alternative technologies is the cost and pricing of power. The price of domestic coal is currently about 40% cheaper than imported coal, despite the fact that India is a net importer of coal, and so is the story of gas pricing. This under-pricing of our energy resources not only makes us more dependent on costly imports but also thwarts the development and spread of non-conventional and renewable energy sources. While the costs and pricing of energy from coal hovers around R4/kwh, that from solar and wind would be almost double of this rate (without any subsidy), and that from diesel, almost 4 times the rates from coal. Although solar power is being motivated under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, which aims at creating capacity of 22,000 MW by 2022, but it looks very unlikely without correcting the pricing structure, especially for coal that reflects the negative externalities it produces.

Coal-based generation puts high demand on water, pollutes air, and has high health costs. A study by Harvard Medical School estimates that the life cycle effects of coal—extraction, transport, processing, and combustion and the waste streams thus generated cost the US public a third to over one-half of a trillion dollars annually. Accounting for these externalities conservatively would double or even triple the price of electricity from coal per kWh generated. For India, too, this would be no different. But this price correction in coal-based energy is not going to come soon and, therefore, the apparent

gap between coal- and solar-based pricing of energy would remain wide for some more time to come.

What is therefore needed is a focussed research and development effort in solar energy, with a view to cut down its costs. In Israel, known as the land of innovations, a solar power company has developed a technology that can store heat from the sun, giving impetus to the solar thermal power industry by enabling plants to run at full capacity night and day. Although in nascent stages right now, the technology claims to produce electricity at a price comparable to that generated by conventional sources of energy. China has also been able to bring down the cost of its solar panels. It is only such technical gains, along with economies of scale, would help solar power become more competitive in the market and, thereby, provide a stable source for powering the new cities.

Within India, Gujarat envisioned the first state-specific solar policy in 2009. Rajasthan, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh followed suit. Attracting foreign investments for developing solar power capacities in the country is also key. The Clinton Climate Initiative (CCI) had announced setting up of a 3000 MW solar power plant in Gujarat with an estimated investment of R50,000 crore likely to flow into the state. Similarly, Rajasthan has laid the foundation for another 3000 MW solar power plant at Bhadla of Jodhpur District in 2013. With some amount of convergence, these targets can be tied with the development of smart cities in these states so that the new cities being modelled can derive their power from the energy generated by renewable resources. That would be quite an innovation to synergise the development of sustainable and clean sources of energy along with development of 100 smart cities.

By Ashok Gulati & Astha Ummat

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BUSINESS LINE, NOV 10, 2014
Now that Bangalore is Bengaluru
NARENDAR PANI

When Bangalore was finally officially renamed Bengaluru on the anniversary of the formation of Karnataka on November 1, it was not without a tinge of controversy. One of the city's leading corporate icons tweeted negatively about the move, only to be swamped by often abusive responses in the social media.

We need to ask what, if any, are the costs of abandoning the name Bangalore and, conversely, what, if any, are the costs of not doing so?

The reactions of the globalised corporate icons are presumably based on the fact that the name Bangalore had developed some brand equity. Bangalore was widely recognised in the global discourse on information technology.

Indeed, the term 'Bangalored' was coined to refer to those in the advanced countries who found their jobs being shifted to cities in the developing world. This may well have helped Bangalore in attracting investments from those seeking to locate their operations outside the developed world. The change to Bengaluru may not completely remove this advantage, but it could be a dampener.

Win some, lose some

The loss generated by the shift to Bengaluru must however be weighed against the costs of retaining the name Bangalore. The latter costs can only be understood if we take a closer look at the nature of the demand for the change in name. The demand for this change is closely linked to the assertiveness of the local Kannada identity.

As the city has grown it has incorporated new villages that are not entirely comfortable with the English-speaking elite. Just as Bangalore had brand equity for the English-speaking elite and those who aspired to enter that group, Bengaluru had brand equity for those in the absorbed villages and the migrant workers who resided in them.

In the initial years of the city's IT revolution, the differences between Bangalore and Bengaluru were resolved primarily by clearly demarcating boundaries where the two would operate. Bangalore dominated the realm of urban policymaking while Bengaluru dominated the realm of politics and the patronage.

The influence of those who associated with the idea of Bangalore on policymaking was relatively quiet with little public attention being paid to the setting up of Electronic City and the choice of those who were allotted land in it. In contrast, the demands of those who associated with the idea of Bengaluru, including welfare schemes, were the subject of high decibel political campaigns.

This neat demarcation was broken at the turn of the millennium when the then chief minister, SM Krishna, provided a prominent public role for corporate icons in the planning for the city with the setting up of the Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF).

As BATF worked through the power of the chief minister, it was in the enviable position of being able to influence policy without having to take responsibility for its failures.

The ability of corporate icons to influence elite public discourse further immunised them from any public criticism. Street corners in Bengaluru today are strewn with garbage, leading outsiders to ask the simple question: Why are there no garbage bins? Yet few, if any, in Bengaluru speak of the garbage strategy of the BATF that led to the removal of these bins.

Being heard

Those associated with the idea of Bangalore have, if anything, become even more vocal in recent years. Two corporate icons of the city upbraided Chief Minister Siddaramaiah for his choice of IT minister, who was apparently not westernised enough for their liking. One of them went on to take the lead in setting up a political action committee that plays a prominent role in the political discourse of the city's elite. Their forays into the political space have not been entirely unchallenged.

When they have got carried away by their own propaganda and entered the actual electoral space, the results have been far from rewarding.

The way out of this deeply divisive stage in the history of the city, would be for those associated with the idea of Bengaluru to find space in the public discourse on urban policy. The promotion of their interests would require a much more cost-effective strategy for the city.

Rather than building unaffordable projects based on foreign models, their interests would be better served by cost-effective infrastructure. A greater sensitivity to costs would also revive the city's fortunes in attracting global investment as well as migrant labour.

Changing the name is certainly a step towards creating a more inclusive and sustainable Bengaluru.

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WOMEN

ASIAN AGE, NOV 111, 2014

Supreme Court ends ban on women makeup artists

Bollywood's 'shocking' bias on basis of gender violates values of Constitution: SC

Bringing cheer to female makeup artists, the Supreme Court on Monday put an end to a 59-year old practice in Bollywood that puts restrictions on them from pursuing the profession in the film industry, saying such "shocking" discrimination on the basis of gender is violative of constitutional values.

Holding that harassment of women in the 21st century is "inconceivable and impermissible", the top court struck down the provision putting restrictions on women makeup artists and hair-dressers in the film industry.

A bench of justices Dipak Misra and U.U. Lalit also held as unconstitutional a provision that makes mandatory to have a five-year domicile of Maharashtra for becoming a registered makeup artist and hair-dresser in Bollywood.

It said that there is no "rationality" in such kind of discrimination and directed the Cine Costume and Makeup Artist Association (Mumbai) to delete the provisions within 10 days. The court passed the order on a public interest litigation filed by one Charu Khurana and other women makeup artists who alleged that female artists are not allowed to be a member of the association and one cannot work in the industry without being registered with the association.