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7. One word substitution
8. Article discussion
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10. Map Practice etc.







sanjaykumar raj 21 hours ago

एक कोशिश आेर कर , बैठ न तू हार कर। तू है पुजारी कर्म का, थोड़ा तो इंतजार कर। विश्वास को दृढ़ बना, संकल्प को कृत बना। एक कोशिश आेर कर, बैठ न तू हार कर।



16

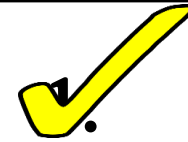


REPLY



**Q.1** Who laid the foundation stone of the statue of Maratha king Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj on an island off the Mumbai coast in 2016 ?  
2016 में मुंबई के एक द्वीप पर मराठा राजा छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की मूर्ति की नींव किसने रखी ?

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ñar puntuales, hay una verdad in-



1. Narendra Modi / नरेंद्र मोदी
2. Ram Nath Kovind / राम नाथ कोविंद
3. Devendra Fadnavis / देवेंद्र फडनवीस
4. Uddhav Thackeray / उद्धव ठाकरे

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la hora de poner en marcha nu

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**Q.2** Shivaji was born in \_\_\_\_\_ to a great Maratha lady Jijabai.

शिवाजी का जन्म \_\_\_\_\_ में एक महान मराठा महिला जीजाबाई से हुआ था।



1. Pune / पुणे
2. Bijapur / बीजापुर
- ✓ 3. Shivneri / शिवनेरी
4. Raigarh / रायगढ़

de 3 ver perder a los demás, anterior. Es el mínimo registrado por la caudal: Max Le... a esta cifra no solo se Estabiligen... por la política de austeridad... perrilla. También ha tenido un... cho que ver el encadenamiento... de fiascos del equipo directivo... la hora de poner en marcha nu...

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**Q.3** Shivaji is known for pioneering the \_\_\_\_\_ or Ganimi Kava which refers to Guerilla warfare techniques.

शिवाजी को \_\_\_\_\_ या गानिमी कावा का नेतृत्व करने के लिए जाना जाता है, जो गुरिल्ला युद्ध तकनीकों को संदर्भित करता है।

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AIS. También hay un motor de  
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conspiración, da la impresión  
il para llamar a través de las  
es la mejor manera de fac-  
is genios públicos y asantos  
nar puntuales, hay una verdad in-



1. Vaishanv Sutra / वैष्णव सूत्र
- ✓ 2. Shiva Sutra / शिव सूत्र
3. Bramh Sutra / ब्रह्म सूत्र
4. Wanar Sutra / वानर सूत्र

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**Q.4** Operation Meghdoot (1984) to capture the Siachen Glacier was conducted by which Indian Force ?

सियाचिन ग्लेशियर पर कब्जा करने के लिए ऑपरेशन मेघदूत (1984) किस भारतीय सेना द्वारा चलाया गया था ?



1. Indian Airforce
  2. ITBP
  3. CRPF
- ✓ Indian Army

## Q.5 Which option is not true about the Generalized System of Preferences ?

जेनरलाइज्ड सिस्टम ऑफ प्रिफ्रेंसेज के बारे में कौन सा विकल्प सही नहीं है ?



1. US revoked India's GSP status from June 5, 2018
2. GSP is the largest and oldest U.S. trade preference program
3. India was the biggest beneficiary of the GSP regime
4. The GSP was adopted at UNCTAD in New Delhi in 1968

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# 60% girls in Delhi colleges anaemic

Detection camps at 12 colleges show incidence higher than national average

NIKHIL M BABU  
NEW DELHI

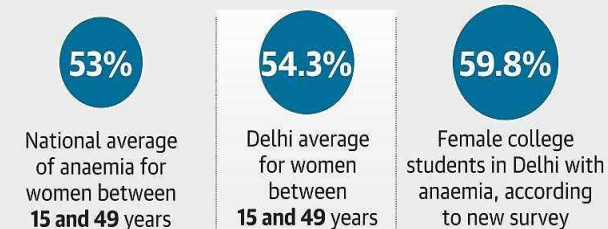
When 18-year-old Anu (name changed) stood in a queue at Atma Ram Sanatan Dharma College for a blood test, she had no idea that she would be detected with “severe” anaemia, which is risky, according to doctors. “I never thought I had anaemia. I did not feel any of its symptoms,” she said.

About 60% of female students in Delhi colleges are anaemic – well above the national average – according to an analysis of data collected from ongoing anaemia detection and awareness camps of the Delhi government accessed by *The Hindu*. The findings, which are yet to be made public, are based on tests on a total of 5,224 female students in 12 city colleges, of whom 3,128 (59.9%) were found to be anaemic.

The national average of

## Thin red lines

Anaemia among girls in Delhi colleges



Mata Sundri College for Women	862	77.5
Janki Devi Memorial College	875	63
Maitreyi College	546	55
Jesus and Mary College	252	48
Maulana Azad Medical College	360	32.8

■ TOTAL WOMEN SCREENED ■ PERCENTAGE FOUND ANAEMIC

- ✓ **Dos:** green leafy vegetables, sprouts, jaggery, meat, dry fruits
- ✗ **Don'ts:** dairy products (tea, coffee, milk) during or immediately after a meal, as it decreases absorption of iron by the body

anaemia among women between 15 and 49 years is 53% and in Delhi it's 54.3%, according to National Family Health Survey-4.

While the national average came down from 55.3%

to 53% between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4, it rose from 44.3% to 55.3% in Delhi.

“Anaemia can cause weakness, breathlessness, lack of concentration and if the haemoglobin level falls

quickly over a few days, it can even lead to cardiac failure,” said Dr. Nitin Gupta, senior consultant, Sir Ganga Ram Hospital.

The students found anaemic during the camps have been referred to nearest government hospitals for treatment. Also, the health department has asked all State government-run hospitals to make sure that students detected with “severe” anaemia are provided “out-of-queue treatment”.

## ‘IFA tablets for colleges’

State programme officer (adolescent health) Dr. Gautam Singh agreed that the percentage of women with anaemia is indeed very high. “We plan to extend distribution of IFA tablets to colleges,” he said.

During the camps, 94 of the 3,128 female students were detected with “severe” anaemia.

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Tests on a total of **5,224 female students** in **12 city colleges**, of whom **3,128 (59.9%)** were found to be anaemic. The national average of anaemia among women between 15 and 49 years is **53%** and in **Delhi** it's **54.3%**, according to **National Family Health Survey-4**. While the national average came down from **55.3% to 53%** between NFHS-3 and NFHS-4, it rose from **44.3% to 55.3%** in Delhi.

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**15 and 49** years

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Delhi average  
for women  
between  
**15 and 49** years

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Female college  
students in Delhi with  
anaemia, according  
to new survey



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# Road project delay hits tourist footfall at Ajanta

*PWD officials say irregularities forced change of contractor; tour operators and guides see dip in revenue*

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
AURANGABAD

The number of tourists visiting the Ajanta Caves in Maharashtra has been going down due to poor condition of the key connecting road. The repair and widening work on the road has been delayed due to deficient services of the contractual agency, officials have said.

In January, 41,134 people, including 3,352 foreigners, visited the UNESCO world heritage site comprising around 30 rock-cut Buddhist cave monuments in Aurangabad district, while in August, the number came down to 10,631, including 139 foreigners, as per the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). In January 2018, as many as 52,410 people,

including 3,907 foreigners, had visited the caves, while in August 2018, the number of visitors was 35,359, including 874 from abroad.

Besides, there were 29 visitors from SAARC countries between January and September 2018, but there has not been a single tourist so far this year from those nations.

Similarly, 3,001 people from the BIMSTEC countries visited the heritage site from January to September 2018, but the number went down to 2,268 this year during the same period, according to the ASI data.

The delay in completion of widening work of the 150-km Aurangabad-Sillod-Ajanta-Jalgaon highway poses a big hurdle for



Tourists are forced to return midway because of potholes on the road leading to the popular Ajanta Caves. ■ FILE PHOTO

people to visit the caves, Jaswant Singh, head of the Aurangabad Tourism Development Foundation, a local organisation of tour operators, said.

Guide Ratnakar Shewale, who is proficient in

Japanese and Spanish, also said that the connectivity between Aurangabad and Ajanta, located around 100 km from the district headquarters, has become poor due to the delayed road work. "Many a times,

tourists on way to the caves return midway because of potholes on the road. This is affecting the livelihood of guides as well as the local hotel industry. This year, we earned just half of what we used to earn in previous years," he said.

Public Works Department (PWD) superintending engineer Prashant Auti said the government found irregularities in the work of the contractor assigned to the Aurangabad-Sillod-Ajanta-Jalgaon road project. "We have terminated services of that agency, and a sub-letting process is on. We expect to start the work next month in a full-fledged manner. If everything goes smooth, we can make the road motorable in 12

months," he said.

Another PWD official said the work order for repairing two lanes of the Aurangabad-Jalgaon road with paved shoulders was given in June 2017 and was supposed to be completed by June this year. In the meantime, this work was expanded to four lanes in January. "Now, a new deadline of January 2021 has been set up for completion of the work," the official said.

Noting that footfall has been going down, the ASI's superintending archaeologist, Dr. D.K. Khamari, said, "We are expecting the road work to be completed as soon as possible so that tourists can have a smooth visit to the Ajanta Caves."

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The number of tourists visiting the **Ajanta Caves** in **Maharashtra** has been going down due to poor condition of the key connecting road. The repair and widening work on the road has been delayed due to deficient services of the contractual agency, officials have said.

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In January 2018, as many as **52,410 people**, including **3,907 foreigners**, had visited the caves, while in August 2018, the number of visitors was **35,359**, including **874** from abroad.

**Ajanta** and **Ellora** are the pride of Maharashtra.

The village of Ajanta is in the **Sahyadri hills**, about 99 kms.

Many of the caves have the most detailed carvings on the walls pillars and entrances as well as magnificent wall paintings. All paintings show heavy religious influence and centre around **Buddha, Bodhisattvas**, incidents from the life of **Buddha** and the **Jatakas**.





## Subject to people's will

Disqualified rebels should not be barred from bypolls in Karnataka

With the Election Commission of India agreeing to defer by-elections to 15 of the 17 vacant Assembly seats in Karnataka, the defectors from the Congress and JD(S) have got a breather. By the time of this order, the question whether they can contest the elections will be answered by the Supreme Court before the bypolls. The rebel former legislators of the Congress and Janata Dal (Secular) had earlier this year resigned from their respective parties and were later disqualified by the then Speaker Kamesh Kumar. Following these actions, the BJP managed to get to power with the support of 105 of the 208 remaining legislators in the Assembly. The then Speaker's action disqualifying the legislators who had resigned the end of the current term of the Assembly added a twist to the tale. This sent the fate of these disqualified legislators into a limbo, as it made it unclear whether they can contest following this ruling. Under the law (the Tenth schedule) though, it is not clear as to how the ex-Speaker could fix a period till which a member can remain disqualified and bar them for the rest of the assembly term. It is evident that the disqualified legislators should not be disallowed by the Supreme Court from contesting in the by-elections for the seat.

However, the actions by the rebel legislators and the Speaker, cumulatively go against the spirit of the anti-defection law. It was clear that the legislators who quit the Congress-JD(S) coalition did so to carry favour with the BJP and to gain new leaven of power in the firm of ministerial berths. The fact that the BJP government led by N.S. Yeddyurappa has kept portfolios vacant in its control of ministers indicates that these seats have been kept warm for the turncoats. The other hand, the Congress-JD(S) coalition did so to carry favour with the BJP and to gain new leaven of power in the firm of ministerial berths. The fact that the BJP government led by N.S. Yeddyurappa has kept portfolios vacant in its control of ministers indicates that these seats have been kept warm for the turncoats. The other hand, the Congress-JD(S) coalition did so to carry favour with the BJP and to gain new leaven of power in the firm of ministerial berths.

Parvati in a political game  
Kashmir's children have become pawns in a political game where the government wants to punish those protesting against its authority. Between 1990 and 2005, a total of 46 schools were occupied by the armed forces and more than

200 schools closed between 1990 and 2005, according to a 2006 report of the Public Commission on Human Rights. Such destruction of educational infrastructure, in addition to the unlawful detentions, leaves a lifelong impact on children, perpetuating a cycle of trauma, fear and bitterness. A report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights earlier this year found that children in Kashmir, many of whose ages were wrongly recorded, were being detained and mistreated for several days in police lock-up, without any history of violence, illegal detentions and torture in the Valley were visible on the region's children.

The horror has since continued and got magnified, as chronicled in many reports. Media has reported illegal detention of scores of children, many of them whisked away at midnight by law enforcement officers with no record of their arrests, making it difficult to trace them. A report by economist Ben Dreyer in August detailed illegal detention and torture of boys. A recent report by the Indian Federation of Indian Women and other organisations gave a first-hand account of the actions by the government towards the protesters standing at their doors steps in the desperate hope of their children's return, not knowing where they are. These disappearances are in clear breach of the Supreme Court's directions in the D.K. Basu case, where the court said that the next of kin have to be informed of every such arrest and the reasons thereof.

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# Childhoods lost in a troubled paradise

Kashmir's children grow up traumatised by conflict and live in perpetual fear of being picked up by the state

R. ANAND  
ANAND BATHUR  
& DEVILAKSHI  
S. VARGAS

Every third child in Shrinagar district, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), has a clinically diagnosed mental disorder, said a survey published in the Community Mental Health Journal earlier this year. Around 1.8 million adults in Kashmir Valley - 45% of its population - showed symptoms of mental illness in 2015, according to Doctors Without Borders. Thus, even prior to the incidents of August 2019, the disastrous results of a history of violence, illegal detentions and torture in the Valley were visible on the region's children.

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A young child in a blue shirt looking directly at the camera.

of the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights clearly state that a blanket characterisation of adolescent boys as security threats during civil unrest should be avoided and authorities should investigate and take action against personnel involved in arbitrary detentions, mistreatment or torture of children.

A sleuthhammer treatment  
In 2003, the Madras High Court in *Prabhakaran v. State of Tamil Nadu* held that the Juvenile Justice Act is a comprehensive law and overrides punitive detention law enacted for national security. Earlier, in 1982, the Supreme Court in *the State of Madras v. P. Velupillai Prabhakaran* held that the Juvenile Justice Act is a comprehensive law and overrides punitive detention law enacted for national security. Earlier, in 1982, the Supreme Court in *the State of Madras v. P. Velupillai Prabhakaran* held that the Juvenile Justice Act is a comprehensive law and overrides punitive detention law enacted for national security.

Such treatment of children is undoubtedly in violation of multiple provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by India, provides that the arrest/detention of a child shall be in conformity with the law and used only as a last resort and for the shortest appropriate period. The guidelines

currency, second, its role as a regulator of the banking sector was questioned when banks failed; and, finally, its reserves were eroded. The net result has been that the RBI has been reduced into an institution which presides over a limited space of monetary policy, that is, inflation targeting.

It is also interesting to note that the only major policy tool available in the RBI's armoury is cutting repo rates, which the central bank has done since this year. The last time the RBI made so many back-to-back cuts was after the global financial crisis over a decade ago, when most major central banks were desperate to revive economic growth. However, rate cuts alone could not help India's economy this time, as banks, saddled with bad debt, were slow to reduce lending rates. This provides a clear

become routine exercise, with uncritical acceptance due to a lack of well-researched documents. As another Nobel laureate, Douglas North, opined, "Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." Institutions are formed to reduce uncertainty in human exchange. Together with the technology employed, they determine the costs of transacting (and producing). While the formal rules can be changed overnight, as has been practised by the present government, the informal norms change only gradually.

In this context, it is useful to look at an understanding and reforming the forces that keep bad institutions in place, especially political institutions and the distribution of political power. This is

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up turning the innocent, including children, into 'terrorists'. Noting that the terror seen among the surviving inhabitants caused their forced displacement, the court observed that the omission of provisions of the J&K High Court and District Bar Association and senior lawyers under PSA, most of Kashmir's 1,050 lawyers have been on strike. Over 200 habeas corpus petitions have been filed till now. However, since most post offices are closed, lawyers are unable to serve notices on the respondents.

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Anticipating such contingencies, our Constitution provided for the protection of the citizens' fundamental rights by empowering them to approach the Supreme Court directly in case if they have been violated. The right to constitutional remedies is by itself a fundamental right. Any conscious of its obligations to protect the right to life of Kashmiris, the apex court has thus taken upon itself the task of inquiring into the allegations of state violence against children. The observations made by the Indian Supreme Court in *Prabhakaran v. State of Tamil Nadu* held that the Juvenile Justice Act is a comprehensive law and overrides punitive detention law enacted for national security. Earlier, in 1982, the Supreme Court in *the State of Madras v. P. Velupillai Prabhakaran* held that the Juvenile Justice Act is a comprehensive law and overrides punitive detention law enacted for national security.

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# How can the Indian economy ride out the storm?

Unless rural incomes, hit by demonetisation, are revived, consumer demand is not going to grow

PARLEY

To pull India out of the current economic doldrums, the government can loosen its purse strings, make pending payments, give GST rebates quickly, and revive MGNREGA to put more money in the hands of rural consumers. Ajit Ranade and Presh Sen tell TCA Sharad Raghavan. They add that we can expect to see the slowdown lasting for a few more quarters. Edited excerpts from a conversation.

**Dr. Sen, do you think we are in a slowdown? And if we are, is it more structural, in that we need to make drastic changes, or is it more cyclical, where if we just make smaller changes we can ride out the storm?**

**Presh Sen:** We are in a slowdown. There is no question about it. And I think we have only seen the first phase of the slowdown. It has been four quarters now. I think it will go on for at least a couple of quarters more, maybe longer than that. So my view, the problem is not essentially structural, but structural does not necessarily mean that you have to do deep reforms to get over it. What you have to do is identify the cause of the structural slowdown and address it directly. In our case, the structural cause is the case of structural constraints.

**Dr. Ranade, do you think we are in a slowdown? And if we are, is it more structural, in that we need to make drastic changes, or is it more cyclical, where if we just make smaller changes we can ride out the storm?**

**Dr. Ranade:** I agree with Presh that we are in a slowdown and I believe this is a problem of lack of aggregate demand. This is a slowdown not because we are not able to produce enough or that we have run out of capacity to produce; it is because there is not enough demand. You identified the four sources of demand. Of course the most sustainable and long-term solution to come out of the slowdown is when investment demand picks up, especially from private investment spending. But that is not something that can happen in a jiffy because it

requires the investor's confidence, it requires investors to take risks. So, in the near term, because exports depend on the enthusiasm of foreigners buying Indian goods, maybe some supply-side measures like trade facilitation, removing bottlenecks, reducing the GST refund period delay, or even managing the exchange rate (may work), but fundamentally if the global slowdown is a reality, then export demand cannot pick up quickly. Although, I do believe that India's share of manufacturing exports in the world is barely 2% or something, so we can easily go from 2% to 3%. In the near term I think the aggregate demand gap has to be filled in by some kind of government spending, although we can have a separate discussion on the fiscal situation, but I believe that's what is required.

**Dr. Sen, Dr. Ranade has identified the most important driver that needs to be revived, but if we are looking for low-hanging fruit, if the government were to do something quickly that would have the biggest impact, what do you think that could be?**

**PS:** I think Ajit and I agree. The problem is really private consumption demand. Remember that the government has limited instruments in its hands. It cannot stimulate private consumption directly, except in certain ways. But the focus needs to be primarily on that. The things that Ajit talked about in terms of exports would have to be in terms of fiscal facilitation and issues of that kind, and a sensible exchange rate policy, which we don't have at the moment. The focus really would have to be on how to do you revive consumption demand. To my mind, the first step is really to get back to something we briefly touched on, which is the fiscal deficit.

If you were to ask me what I would recommend, I would say the first thing I would recommend is please recognize that the true fiscal deficit is significantly above the reported fiscal deficit. Because the outcome of trying to suppress your fiscal deficit artificially by the government is not paying to those. It is

not giving rebates; export credit refinance is a large issue. But this is true of GST rebates across the board. The second is that the government is not paying off its suppliers. The third is that a lot of government spending that has already been budgeted for and announced has not been made. PM Kisan is still lagging. These are things which have been budgeted for but that money has not been spent or has not been shown to be spent, simply because the government is not releasing the requisite funds. Just reducing the fiscal deficit for what it is and put the money out, then we can go back to the serious issue of correcting the fiscal deficit over the next few years.

**Dr. Ranade, the government has recently announced certain steps to release some of those locked up funds. It is saying that within a time-bound period, we will pay our suppliers, and GST input tax refunds will be credited in a short window. Does this mean that the government will then have to cut down on other spending or can it keep the fiscal deficit target and say that we'll do both - we'll increase our spending and we'll give all of these pending payments?**

**AR:** I am going to ask for forgiveness from God, and Presh, and all my colleagues. I am going to stick my neck out and say that this is a time when we need to actually worry less about the fiscal deficit target. After all, 3% or 3.5%, there is no golden rule. I want to emphasise what Pro-

bleeding heat-trapping greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide. The increase in these gases is trapping the sun's heat and increasing the earth's temperature. Global warming will drastically affect agriculture - the production of rice, wheat, maize and soyab will decrease significantly. Apart from malnutrition, climate change will give birth to new zoonotic diseases. This imbalance will in turn affect the economy which will lead to conflict, war and global unrest. Global warming is already melting the polar ice

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# Subject to people's will

Disqualified rebels should not be barred from  
bypolls in Karnataka

With the Election Commission of India agreeing to defer byelections to 15 of the 17 vacant Assembly seats in Karnataka, the defectors from the Congress and JD(S) have got a breather. By the dint of this order, the question whether they can contest the elections will be answered by the Supreme Court before the bypolls. The rebel former legislators of the Congress and Janata Dal (Secular) had earlier this year resigned from their respective parties and were later disqualified by the then Speaker Ramesh Kumar. Following these actions, the BJP managed to get to pow-

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# Childhoods lost in a troubled paradise

Kashmir's children grow up traumatised by conflict and live in perpetual fear of being picked up by the state

R. VAIGAI,  
ANNA MATHEW  
& DEVIKA S.

Every third child in Shopian district, Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), has a clinically diagnosable mental disorder, said a survey published in the *Community Mental Health Journal* earlier this year. Around 1.8 million adults in Kashmir Valley – 45% of its population – showed symptoms of mental illness in 2015, according to Doctors Without Borders. Thus, even prior to the incidents of August 5, the disastrous results of a history of violence, illegal detentions and torture in the Valley were visible on the region's children.

The horror has since continued and got magnified, as chronicled in many reports. Media has reported illegal detention of scores of children, many of them whisked away at midnight by law enforcement officers with no record of their arrests, making it difficult to trace them. A report by economist

400 schools gutted between 1990 and 2005, according to a 2006 report of the Public Commission on Human Rights. Such destruction of educational infrastructure, in addition to the unlawful detentions, leaves a lifelong impact on children, perpetuating a cycle of trauma, fear and bitterness.

A report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights earlier this year found that children in Kashmir, many of whose ages were wrongly recorded, were being detained and mistreated for several days in police lock-up, without any charge, mostly under the Public Safety Act (PSA), which allows preventive detention for up to two years without any trial. The report found that the Armed Forces Special Powers Act remained a key obstacle to accountability.

In 2018, the Jammu & Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS) found through Right to Information applications that hundreds of children had been detained under the PSA between 1990 and 2013. In



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of the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights clearly state that a blanket characterisation of adolescent boys as security threats during civil unrest should be avoided and authorities should investigate and take action against personnel involved in arbitrary detentions, mistreatment or torture of children.

the only forums offering some promise of redressal. However, state actions since August 5, when J&K's special status was abrogated, have taken away even this limited option from Kashmiris. Following the arrest of presidents of the J&K High Court and District Bar Associations and senior lawyers under PSA, most of Kashmir's 1,050 lawyers have been on strike. Over 200 habeas corpus petitions have been filed till now. However, since most post offices are closed, lawyers are unable to serve notices on the respondents.

On August 5, all 31 cases shown in the 'orders list' of the Srinagar Bench of the J&K High Court were adjourned "due to restrictions on movement of traffic" as advocates could not be present. Weeks later, on September 24, out of the 78 uploaded cases, advocates were present for both parties in just 11, none appeared in nine cases, petitioner's counsel alone in nine cases and only the government counsel in 47 cases.

up turning the innocent, including children, into victims."

Noting that the terror sown among the surviving inhabitants caused their forced displacement, the court observed that the omissions, tolerance and collaboration by the state and the general population amounted to aggravated human rights violations in the name of 'war on terror'.

## Caged and disturbed

Children in Kashmir grow up caged and under the shadow of a gun. As the parents of many of them go missing, they are also forced to assume the responsibility of caregivers for their siblings. The strain on social structures due to the loss of family environment, safe spaces and education and health facilities severely traumatises many of them and snatches their childhood away. Gowhar Geelani, in his recent book *Kashmir Rage and Reason* says children in Kashmir learn terms like "custody killing", "catch and kill", "tor-

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# Trump & impeachment

He may find it hard to shrug off the charge of leaning on Kiev to meddle in domestic politics

U.S. President Donald Trump discussed former Vice-President Joe Biden in a July 2019 telephone conversation with Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelensky, allegedly in a bid to influence him to investigate the business dealings of Mr. Biden's son, Hunter. Now he faces the prospect of an impeachment inquiry. That happened, first, because of an "explosive" whistleblower complaint filed against Mr. Trump by a national security official, which also alleges that Mr. Trump used the call to "solicit interference" in the 2020 election, and that the White House then inter-



# Institutions weakened, economy crippled

The credibility of the RBI, the CSO and the Niti Aayog has taken a beating in recent times due to political interference



M SURESH BABU

Nobel laureate Oliver Williamson pondered over an important question, around 25 years ago: "Why are the ambitions of economic development practitioners and reformers so often disappointed?" According to him, "one answer is that development policymakers and reformers are congenital optimists. Another answer is that good plans are regularly defeated by those who occupy strategic positions. An intermediate answer is that institutions are important, yet are persistently neglected in the planning process."

The question and all the three answers assume relevance in the context of India's recent economic performance. The slowdown in

neglected. This has resulted in a series of banal policy measures for reviving growth.

A market-centred economic model necessitates creating and sustaining credible institutions that further the efficiency of market mechanism. Given the possibility of 'market failures', such institutions assume a larger role in the economy in shaping expectations and decisions. Journalist Henry Hazlitt grouped the pillars of market economy into private property, free markets, competition, division and combination of labour and social cooperation. Institutions are needed to strengthen these foundational pillars are a prerequisite for markets to work.

The credibility of three such important institutions – the Reserve Bank of India (RBI); the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO); and the Planning Commission/NITI Aayog – has taken a beating in recent times.

## Erosion in RBI's autonomy

currency; second, its role as regulator of the banking sector was questioned when banks faltered; and, finally, its reserves were siphoned. The net result has been that the RBI has been reduced into an institution which presides over a limited space of monetary policy, that is, inflation targeting.

It is also interesting to note that the only major policy tool available in the RBI's armoury is cutting repo rates, which the central bank did four times this year. The last time the RBI made so many back-to-back cuts was after the global financial crisis over a decade ago, when most major central banks were desperate to revive economic growth. However, rate cuts alone could not help India's economy this time, as banks, saddled with bad debt, were slow to reduce lending rates. This provides a classic case of an institution's weakening, leading to questions on its role and credibility.

Markets, which work on information and expectations, rely on



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questions are bound to arise on the credibility of the numbers. The veracity of the data is to be tested by researchers and the public who consume the data and not by 'approving agencies'. It is altogether another matter that had we had admitted that the rate of unemployment was high, perhaps more private investment could have come due the expectations of finding labour at lower wages. Such a possibility was shut out by an attitude of denial on the part of the government.

become routine exercises, with uncritical acceptance due to a lack of well-researched documents.

As another Nobel laureate, Douglass North, opined: "Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." Institutions are formed to reduce uncertainty in human exchange. Together with the technology employed, they determine the costs of transacting (and producing). While the formal rules can be changed overnight, as has been practised by the present government, the informal norms change only gradually.

In this context, it is useful to focus on understanding and reforming the forces that keep bad institutions in place, especially political institutions and the distribution of political power. This requires understanding the complex relationship between political institutions and the political equilibrium. Sometimes, changing the political institutions may be insufficient.

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# How can the Indian economy ride out the storm?

PARLEY

Unless rural incomes, hit by demonetisation, are revived, consumer demand is not going to grow

*To pull India out of the current economic slowdown, the government can loosen its purse strings, make pending payments, give GST refunds quickly, and revamp MGNREGA to put more money in the hands of rural consumers, Ajit Ranade and Pronab Sen tell TCA Sharad Raghavan. They add that we can expect to see the slowdown lasting for a few more quarters. Edited excerpts from a conversation:*

**Dr. Sen, do you think we are in a slowdown? And if we are, is it more structural, in that we need to make drastic changes, or is it more cyclical, where if we just make smaller changes we can ride out the storm?**

**Pronab Sen:** We are in a slowdown. There is no question about it. And I think we have only seen the first phase of the slowdown. It has been five quarters now and I think it will go on for at least a couple of quarters more, maybe longer than that. To my mind, the problem is essentially structural, but structural does not necessarily mean that you have to do deep reforms to get over it. What you have to do is identify

requires the investor's confidence, it requires investors to take risks.

So, in the near term, because exports depend on the enthusiasm of foreigners buying Indian goods, maybe some supply-side measures like trade facilitation, removing bottlenecks, reducing the GST refund period delay, or even managing the exchange rate [may work], but fundamentally if the global slowdown is a reality, then export demand cannot pick up quickly. Although, I do believe that India's share of manufacturing exports in the world is barely 2% or something, so we can easily go from 2% to 3%. In the near term I think the aggregate demand gap has to be filled in by some kind of government spending, although we can have a separate discussion on the fiscal situation. But I believe that's what is required.

**Dr. Sen, Dr. Ranade has identified the most important driver that needs to be revived, but if we are looking for low-hanging fruit, if the government were to do something quickly that would have the biggest impact, what do you think that could be?**



not giving refunds; export credit refund is a large issue. But this is true of GST refunds across the board. The second is that the government is not paying off its suppliers. The third is that a lot of government spending that has already been budgeted for and announced has not been made. PM KISAN is still languishing. These are things which have been budgeted for but that money has not been spent or has not been shown to be spent, simply because the government is not releasing the requisite funds. Just recognise the fiscal deficit for what it is and put the money out, then we can

From a demand-based system MGNREGA has now become a supply-based system. Unless you redesign MGNREGA to its original form, indexing the wages alone is not going to do a whole lot.

nab said: even the routine stuff, the clearing payments which are not in dispute, where the vendors have supplied their services or goods, that itself is a very huge number if you count State and Central governments. I think it is very large, about ₹10 lakh crore. Just releasing this

be helped by things like MGNREGA and wage growth because that will also require fiscal expansion.

**Dr. Sen, there were reports on how the government is considering pegging MGNREGA payments to an updated CPI inflation. Do you feel this will have a big impact in terms of putting more money in the hands of rural workers?**

**PS:** MGNREGA wages in any case were inflation indexed. What the government has announced is that it will be linked to the CPI for agricultural labour or the rural CPI, whichever shows more inflation. That's all they have done. It's been indexed all along, nothing new in that.

Whether this is going to have an effect will depend entirely on how well MGNREGA is being implemented. The fact of the matter is that over the past five years or so, the confidence of State governments that the Central government will pay up the MGNREGA funds has eroded significantly. And the net result is a lot of State governments simply haven't been putting the same level of commitment in MGNREGA as they used to. Over the years MGNREGA has become a supply-based system from a demand-based system. The State government says, I have got a

audits which were successful in some States like Andhra and Rajasthan. Involve social audits to ensure effectiveness, and also focus on the dual objective of asset creation wherever possible. But primarily it should be about putting some income in the hands of rural consumers.

I am going to propose a radical suggestion. Since we also agreed that some of the reasons for the slowdown are structural, I believe one of the big structural features of the Indian economy right now is the massive drop in female labour force participation. In the last 10 or 12 years, it has come down by 10 percentage points, from 30-32% to 22%, which means that only one out of five working age women are actually working for a paid job. So, here's my radical suggestion: Think of a 10-year or 15-year completely tax-free income for women. That is zero income tax for all women. That's a suggestion to also increase consumption but it would be mainly to encourage paid jobs for women.

**Dr. Sen, is it accurate to say that this slowdown that we are seeing is the delayed effect of demonetisation and that has completely removed the parallel economy?**



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# A climate emergency

The Indian government must take corrective measures immediately to combat climate change

ANBUMANI RAMADOSS

A few generations from now, our descendants may not see the animals and plants we now regard as commonplace. Nearly 500 species have become extinct in just the last century. We are depleting 25% more natural resources than the planet can sustain right now. Mankind is teetering dangerously close to the precipice of extinction.

## Climate change is real

Al Gore's 2006 film, *An Inconvenient Truth*, awakened the world to the dire causes and consequences of global warming. It made an impact on millions and initiated global debates

ting heat-trapping greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide. The increase in these gases is trapping the sun's heat and increasing the earth's temperature.

Global warming will drastically affect agriculture – the production of rice, wheat, maize and soya will decrease significantly. Apart from malnutrition, climate change will give birth to newer infections and illness. This imbalance will in turn affect the economy which will lead to conflict, war and global unrest. Global warming is already melting the polar ice caps. If this continues, sea levels will rise and submerge coastal cities. These natural disasters will make millions of people climate refugees.

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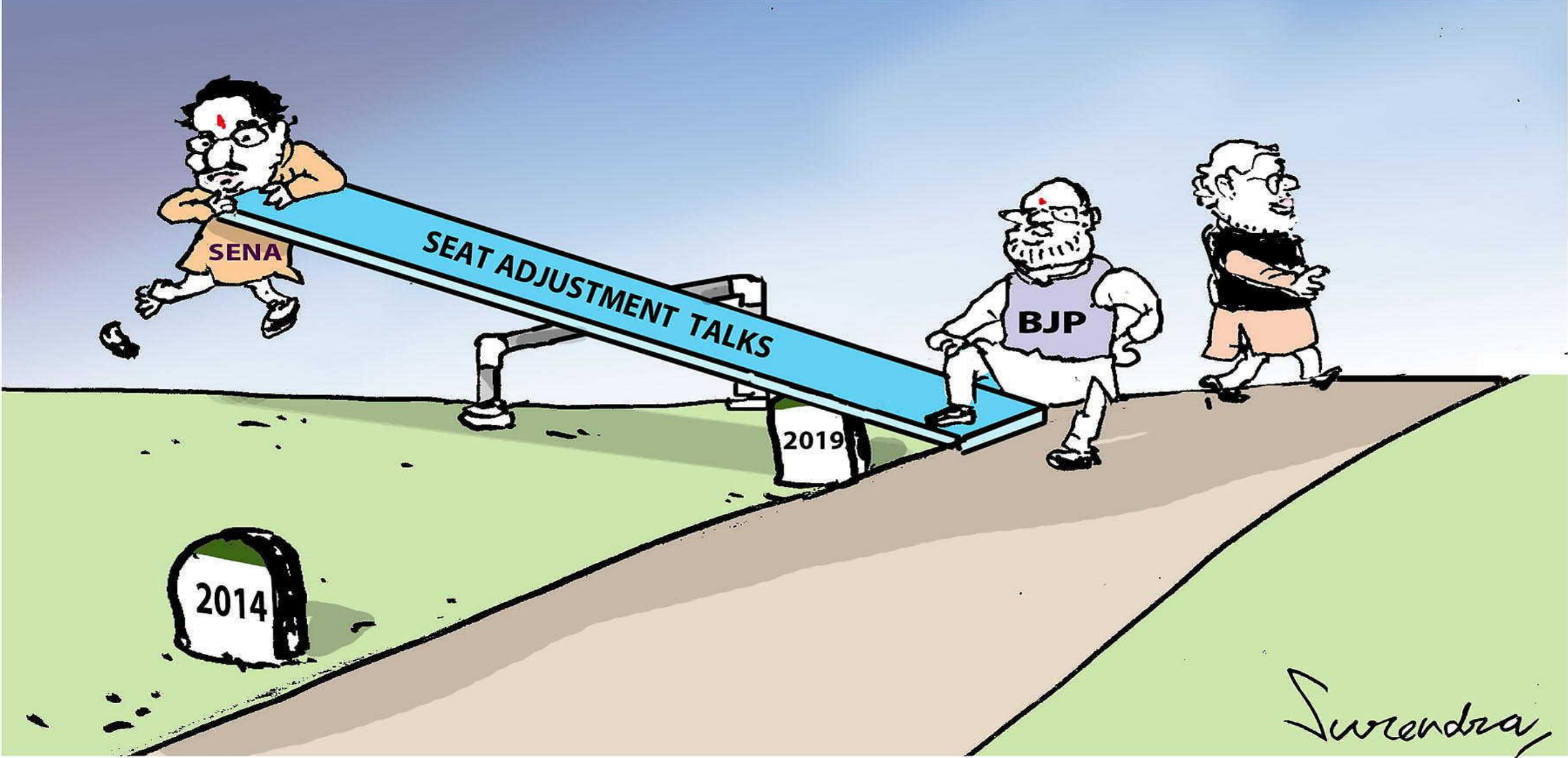
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# VOCABULARY-I

**Barred (adj-)**, वर्जित, used in door so that it cannot be opened,

They arrived at the house to find the door locked and barred.

**Defectors (n-)** दलबदलुओं, one who leaves his own country to join opposing one.

This lok sabha election has seen defectors from all parties.

**Limbo (n+)** , souls of unbaptized infants, period of awaiting a decision.

Until we have official permission to go ahead with the plans we're in Limbo.

**Rigmarole (n+)**, बेसिरपैर की बात , a lengthy and complicated procedure.

The custom officials made us go through the whole rigmarole for inspection.

**Stasis (n-)** गतिहीनता , a period or state of inactivity, a state that does not change

She was bored her life was in a stasis.



## VOCABULARY-II

**Solicit (v-), मांगना,** ask for or try to obtain from someone.

It is illegal for public officials to solicit gifts or money in exchange of favours.

**Transcript (n-), प्रतिलिपि,** written or printed version.

Mysteriously, the transcript of what was said at the trial was lost.

**Exacerbates (v-), बढ़ाना,** make a problem or situation worse, aggravate.

This attack will exacerbate the already tense relations between the two nations.

**Quid pro quo (n-) बदले में,** something granted in favour of something.

The government has promised food aid as quid pro quo for stopping violence.

**Exculpatory (adj+), रिहाई का,** to remove blame from someone.

The pilot of the aircraft will surely be exculpated when all the facts are known.



# PHRASES & IDIOMS / ONE WORD SUBSTITUTION

## PHRASAL VERBS- homework.

**To back up - ?**

**Blow over - ?**

**To bear out - ?**

**To dispose off - ?**

**To close with - ?**

**To eat away - ?**

**To grow upon - ?**

**Hear someone out - ?**



# Impeachment inquiry against Trump begins

He is accused of seeking Ukraine's help to target Biden

REUTERS  
WASHINGTON

Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives were set on Wednesday to move forward with a formal impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump, a move that could dramatically change the 2020 presidential race.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who had for months resisted calls inside her party for Mr. Trump's impeachment, announced that a formal inquiry would be launched after meeting members of her party on Tuesday.

In a brief, nationally televised statement, Ms. Pelosi accused Mr. Trump of seeking Ukraine's help to smear Democratic presidential front runner Joe Biden ahead of the 2020 election.

## Betrayal, says Speaker

The Speaker described the Republican President's behaviour as a "betrayal of his oath of office, betrayal of our national security and betrayal of the integrity of our elections".

Mr. Trump repeated his attack on Democrats on Wednesday and, as with the U.S. probe into alleged Russian meddling and potential obstruction of justice, called the inquiry a "Witch Hunt".

Ms. Pelosi's change of

## President under scanner

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi launched a formal impeachment inquiry against U.S. President Donald Trump

**The focus:** The impeachment inquiry focuses partly on whether Trump abused his presidential powers and sought help from a foreign government to undermine Democratic foe Joe Biden and help his own re-election



**The confrontation:** The impeachment inquiry, after months of investigations by House Democrats of the Trump administration, sets up the party's most direct and consequential confrontation with the President

**The impact:** The decision injects deep uncertainty into the 2020 election campaign and tests anew the nation's constitutional system of checks and balances

 There has been no President in the history of our Country who has been treated so badly as I have. The Democrats are frozen with hatred and fear. They get nothing done. This should never be allowed to happen to another President. Witch Hunt! DONALD TRUMP, ON TWITTER

heart followed reports that Mr. Trump had pressured Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy in a July 25 telephone call to investigate Mr. Biden, the former U.S. Vice-President, and his son Hunter Biden, who had worked for a company drilling for gas in Ukraine.

Scrutiny over their conversation is expected to intensify on Wednesday as Mr. Trump is scheduled to meet the Ukrainian leader alongside a UN meeting in New

York and later take questions from the media.

On Tuesday, Mr. Trump said he would release a transcript of the call.

Mr. Trump has said he discussed Mr. Biden and his son in the call, but denied putting any pressure on the Ukrainian leader despite his administration's withholding of nearly \$400 million in military aid approved for Kiev by the Congress.

ANOTHER REPORT PAGE 14

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call transcripts in a separate, classified system. The White House further exacerbated matters when they sought to block that complaint from reaching the House Intelligence Committee. Further, Mr. Trump is said to have personally ordered his staff to freeze more than \$391 million in aid to Ukraine, before his call with Mr. Zelensky, making his conditions to the Ukrainian President an outright quid pro quo. The Congress, even the Republican-controlled Senate, was having none of this. In a rare show of bipartisanship, the Senate passed unanimously a resolution calling for the White House to release the whistleblower complaint. Capitol Hill has





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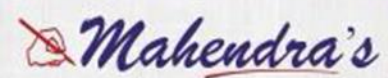


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