

The Tribune

ESTABLISHED IN 1881

LPG price hike

Price to pay for welfare politics

THE release of LPG connections to poor women was one of the reasons for the BJP's victory in the Uttar Pradesh assembly elections. In total 2.5 crore such LPG connections were given. The party has positioned itself from being just a representative of traders and upper castes to that of the poor also. Given the mass scale of poverty, it makes electoral sense. Welfare politics has been played by various parties, including Indira's Congress. Helping the poor and the needy is morally, socially and politically unquestionable. Opposition protests over the LPG price hike in Parliament notwithstanding, eliminating oil and gas subsidy is part of the agenda of both the UPA and the NDA. In elections it is ultimately votes that matter. Whether subsidy reaches the intended beneficiary is another issue.

But there is a price to pay and it is extracted from the better-off sections of society. Money is diverted from growth-oriented policies to welfare plans. Ideally, the downtrodden should be helped with revenue from higher growth. At a time when growth is slowing and job creation not happening, the government is raising taxes. The GST has raised the cost of services. Oil and LPG prices have been raised over a period when global oil prices have plummeted from \$111 a barrel to \$50. The savings from the oil subsidy are being used to fund the Prime Minister's Ujjwala Yojana, meant to provide LPG connections without upfront charges to 50 million poor households as well as to finance infrastructure projects.

Our economists, however, disapprove of politics of freebies and loan waivers. Prof Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, both Modi admirers, believe government spending should be guided by growth considerations. The poor would benefit from the trickle-down effect. Amartya Sen, on the other hand, favours priority spending on education and health of the poor so that a healthy, empowered workforce contributes to growth. Political parties like the BJP and the Congress, however, accord priority to freebies and welfare which get them votes. Neither Jagdish Bhagwati nor Panagariya has commented on the direction the BJP's politics has taken, though Panagariya's departure from Niti Ayog can be read as a sign of disillusionment with "Modinomics".

NOTA in Rajya Sabha polls

An avoidable misinterpretation

THE Rajya Sabha election from Gujarat is shaping into the mother of all electoral contests as BJP chief Amit Shah has pulled out all stops to see the back of Congress strategist Ahmed Patel. The election itself was postponed from June, giving time to persuade Gujarat Leader of Opposition Shankar Singh Vaghela to hang up his boots while Congress MLAs from his corner switched sides. When the Congress rushed its dwindling flock of MLAs to Karnataka, the host was subject to a massive income-tax raid accompanied by damning but unsubstantiated commentaries in the media. In this atmosphere, it is natural to see the decision to apply NOTA to the crucial Gujarat Rajya Sabha polls as yet another BJP machination to settle Ahmed Patel's hash.

The Election Commission (EC) can in its defence claim it was merely implementing a Supreme Court judgment. But it has not yet answered why wasn't it notified for the Presidential election or for the Rajya Sabha polls in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh last year? It has also to take the rap for rescheduling the Gujarat polls, setting the stage for the unedifying spectacle of MLAs being rushed to another state for safety and Central probe agencies trying to trap their benefactor. The ruling BJP is aware that NOTA will be an ally in helping Modi and Amit Shah settle more than one personal score with Ahmed Patel.

It is just as well the Supreme Court has agreed to examine the constitutional implications of this move, meaning that the matter is still not closed. But the legislature and the executive must shoulder the blame for not taking the initiative to amend the Representation of the People's Act. The highly resourceful Amit Shah gets the space to persuade some Congress MLAs to opt for NOTA. The government of the day is currently on a song. But once the tide turns, those very provisions that have helped the party in its quest for complete dominance may come to haunt it. Aware of this damaging potential, the BJP has approached the Supreme Court. But this was after it sat upon its responsibility to make suitable changes in the electoral laws.

Thought for the Day

Patriotism is supporting your country all the time, and your government when it deserves it. —**Mark Twain**

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Educationist par excellence

It was nice to read some intricate memories of Prof Yash Pal by his student in "Scientist, leader and Institution-builder (August 2) by S N Tandon. The renowned scientist and educationist was blessed with a life span of 90 years that he used to achieve great heights. Yash Pal will be remembered as a motivator, facilitator and an amicable scientist of repute who was accessible to the general public and to students in particular. It was informative to read his articles and answers to questions from the readers during his long association with The Tribune's "Science and Technology page. Passing away of such people creates a void in society, particularly at this juncture when people are least interested in studying the sciences but are totally technology dependent. Hopefully, many of his followers and students will work hard to fill the gap and continue his legacy of science education.

S S VERMA, SLIET, LONGOWAL

Murky politics

This refers to the news report "IT raids on K'taka Minister hosting Congress MLAs" (August 3). The

BJP government at the Centre is playing murky politics by conducting IT raids on the 60 premises of Karnataka Energy Minister K Sivakumar who has been overseeing the stay of 42 Gujarat Congress MLAs at a Bengaluru resort. The alleged recovery of Rs 10 crore in cash from Sivakumar's place seems a fictitious story concocted by the BJP. The BJP that can offer Rs 25 crore per Congress MLA for defection can also easily throw Rs 10 crore from its pocket and claim as recovered from Sivakumar's places to divert public attention from the real issue. Indeed, a matter of shame.

RK KAPOOR, CHANDIGARH

Scared of social upheaval

After a horde of retired bureaucrats voicing their concern over the 'social discord' unleashed by the Modi-Amit Shah's BJP, now is the turn of 100 retired officers from the three services to lament attempts to gnaw at the constitutional ethos of neutrality and impartiality to garner votes in other states after the Hindutava vigilante crowd forced

favourable results in UP and Assam elections. The erudite class is scared of the societal upheaval in the wake of blatant attempts to divide the society on the basis of caste. This heady mix of power and brazen arrogance can spell doom for democratic values. It is for the man in the street to smell the sinister design to endanger the cohesion of India.

AMRIT SETHI, VIA EMAIL

Mayawati the leader

After the desertion of the grand alliance by Nitish Kumar, can Mayawati galvanise a comatose Opposition as there is no one else to take on the mantle? Mayawati's resignation from the Rajya Sabha was meant to be high drama but ended up a low farce. She may appear to have failed but every politician gets a chance to re-engineer oneself. There is an opportunity for Mayawati to take a U-turn and bounce back by hitching an alliance. The irony of Dalit politics is that Mayawati's failure is at the cost of Dalit votes, which went to other parties. There is a limit to identity poli-

tics in the electoral arena and no single social group can win an election without political and social alliance. But Mayawati's hubris may not allow her to do any such thing as she has always believed that she was born to rule Dalits. After the recent humiliating defeat in UP, where Dalits deserted her, she should have realised that she is no match to the Modi-Amit Shah duo. Dalits in Uttar Pradesh need a philosopher and a thinker who can mobilise the masses. If Mayawati is not able to measure up to their expectations, Dalits will dump Mayawati and move on. A weak Opposition may look for a leader who can unite all anti-BJP parties.

PL SINGH, AMRITSAR

Army & ammunition

Some news channels were showing that the Indian Army does not even have ammunition required for eight days of battle. It is a matter of surprise and worry. If the news is true then how was it leaked out in the public domain? Whether this is true or false needs to be ascertained. Please get the facts and publicise them

through your newspaper. At the time of tensions with China/Pak and burning issues of internal security, what's happening? We all are busy with GST and demonetisation and are ignoring national safety, which is the most crucial aspect.

ARUNJIT SINGH BUTALIA, FERROZEPUR

Partition pain

This refers to Priya Satia's piece "Partition through writers' eyes" (July 25). What occurred in the wake of the Partition was perhaps the goriest of the gory happenings that ever took place in the world. Humanity disappeared. Barbarity ruled the roost. Ethnic cleansing on both sides of the Ravi became the order of the day. One million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were killed. Thousands of women were abducted. Over two crore of people were uprooted. Faiz Ahmad Faiz lamented: "Ye daagh daagh ujaala ye shab-gazeeda sahar (night-bitten dawn)/voh intizaar tha jis kaye voh sahar to nahin". Sahir Ludhianvi said: "Zameen ney khoon ugla aasmaan ney aag barsaai/Jab insaanon key dil badley to insaanon pe kya guzri". Seeing the pathetic

A case of judicial overreach

Inculcating patriotism under court orders

FAIZAN MUSTAFA

THERE is a difference between 'patriotism' and 'nationalism'. It is the former which is compatible with universal liberalism and is an antidote to 'nationalism'. 'Constitutional patriotism' has the potential to reunite India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as for Habermas citizenship does not require that all citizens share the same language or the same religious, ethical or cultural origins. Rabindranath Tagore, author of the national anthem, too did not hesitate in telling Gandhiji that there was a thin line between nationalism and xenophobia and went on to say that to worship my country as God is to bring curse upon it. Tagore was opposed to the triumph of patriotism over humanity and universalism. He was even for 'destroying nationalism' to achieve 'unity of man'. Thus Dinanath Batra's suggestion to the Modi government to drop all references to Tagore in textbooks.

How other mature democracies respond to the refusal of saluting the national flag, refusal to sing the national anthem and even burning of the national flag needs to be discussed as Justice Murlidharan of the Madras High Court in order to promote patriotism has made singing of the national song mandatory in all schools, universities and even corporate offices. Neither corporates nor universities have the concept of daily assemblies like schools.

The Madras High Court order is not only an example of judicial overreach but is also based on the flawed idea that patriotism can be inculcated by the force of law. Doubting any citizen's patriotism is a punishable offence under Section 153B of the Indian Penal Code. In 2016, the apex court had made the playing of the national anthem compulsory in cinema halls but had refused to make the national song singing compulsory. Thus the Madras High Court went against the Supreme Court and violated the judicial discipline. The court does make an exception for those who have language difficulties or valid objections. But in an era of mob lynching, this exemption will not



SANDEEP JOSHI

work. In any case, who will decide on the validity of objections?

In this case the petitioner was just seeking the award of one mark for correctly answering a question in the teacher's recruitment examination that Bengali is the language in which Vande Matram was originally written. The answer key had wrongly provided Sanskrit as the correct answer. The court rightly ordered the award of one

mark to the petitioner but doing anything beyond this was unnecessary. There are sections of the population which refuse to sing the national anthem and the national song like the Jehovah Witness sect of Christians. While this author personally has no objection, some Muslims do believe that while singing the national anthem does not violate any fundamental belief of Islam, singing the national song would impinge on their religious beliefs under which they cannot worship anyone other than just one God. Not singing the national anthem does not mean that one is not patriotic. In fact love for one's country is indeed half of reli-

gion in Islam. The test of patriotism is the sacrifice one is willing to make for one's country. The freedom of religion guaranteed under our Constitution to not only citizens but even to foreigners does permit them to follow core beliefs of their religion. Followers of Jehovah Witness sect do not sing any national anthem anywhere in the world. Do we have any right to impose our views on them?

We may disagree with those who are opposed to the singing of Vande Matram but we cannot impose our will on them

Can courts compel people to change their religious beliefs?

Moreover, Vande Matram was not written for India but for the undivided Bengal which includes today's Bangladesh. The poem was composed by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in 1870 and was included in his novel Anandmath in 1881. In fact Arbindo had called it the national anthem of 'Bengal'. It was first sung by Rabindranath Tagore at the session of the Indian National Congress in 1896. We may disagree with those who are opposed to the singing of Vande Matram but we cannot impose our will on them.

Mature democracies do not punish

What a disastrous consequence. In the Bijoy Emmanul case three students belonging to the Jehovah Witness sect were expelled from the school for not singing the national anthem. The Supreme Court held that these children were exercising their 'right to silence' which is implicit in the freedom of speech. The court said: 'Our tradition teaches tolerance, our Constitution preaches tolerance. Let us not dilute it.' Though their expulsion was held bad in law, these children subsequently withdrew from the school and never went to any other school.

Being human — and mortal

MANNAT CHUGH

I WITNESSED a cremation for the first time in my life only a few weeks ago. In all the 22 years of my life, I had never seen a cremation ground, let alone a cremation, and that too, of a family member. And, of course, the entire act of collecting the ashes and the remains, and disposing them of afterwards was also my first-time experience. Never had I had the ultimate reality of life rubbed in my face like this before. At that moment, I knew I couldn't be left behind with the kids and kept away from something like this anymore, like on the previous occasions, and that I had to grow up now.

My grandfather, or Daddy, as we all

hadn't been my first career choice. Well, I guess I hadn't thought that he might not be around, if and when I make something of my future, whatever that might be, and it is hard to come to terms with that.

As I sit and think of it, I am stunned at the absolute uncertainty, unpredictability and finiteness of life and everything around us. We go on about our lives, assuming everything will stay where it is. I wish it did. But, I just realised how mortal we humans are.

When someone passes away, the whole process of rites and rituals takes a few days to complete. A host of people come together to mourn for the one, who goes on from being a living entity to a non-living portrait hung on the wall of the house in just a little

amount of time. Once it is done, they retreat to their own lives and go about their business as usual. Well, I guess that's something you have to do. That's how it is. I have retreated to my cocoon, too. Although, it does seem strange and depressing that Daddy is just a portrait now.

Well, this is obviously not the first time that I have come across the concept of human mortality, and it is not the first time someone has mentioned how shocking and unpleasant it all can be. But, I guess you never know how real this truth is unless you experience it on your own. I think I might have just grown up a little.

Daddy often jokingly complained that I didn't call him enough. Perhaps, I should have called him more often.

apostasy and blasphemy. Let us see how America dealt with the issue of national symbols. The classic American case is that of Texas v. Johnson where the Supreme Court opined that burning of the American flag is protected by the freedom of speech. The court observed that "the right to differ is the centerpiece of our First Amendment freedoms." Nothing is more important in terms of national symbols than the flag of a country. It is indeed the most visible manifestation of nationhood. Forty-eight of the 50 American States had flag protection laws and all these laws were held as unconstitutional.

In certain cases in America attaching a peace sign to the flag; refusal to salute the flag; and displaying a red flag were also protected. In Smith v. Goguen, wearing pants with a small flag sewn into their seat was held as expressive conduct. The Supreme Court held "neither the United States nor any State may require any individual to salute or express favorable attitudes toward the flag."

We need not go this far in India. The citizen's fundamental duties under the Constitution do not mention the national song but talk of reverence to the national anthem. The Prevention of Insults to National Honors Act, 1971, neither mandates 'standing' nor 'signing' of the national anthem. But it explicitly punishes the burning of the national flag any disrespect to the flag in words or conduct and the national flag includes even a picture or painting of the flag. No Indian disagrees with these provisions. The Indian law has not yet made the singing of even the national anthem compulsory, what to talk of the national song. In the Bijoy Emmanul case three students belonging to the Jehovah Witness sect were expelled from the school for not singing the national anthem. The Supreme Court held that these children were exercising their 'right to silence' which is implicit in the freedom of speech. The court said: 'Our tradition teaches tolerance, our Constitution preaches tolerance. Let us not dilute it.' Though their expulsion was held bad in law, these children subsequently withdrew from the school and never went to any other school. What a disastrous consequence.



plight of the displaced persons in Pakistan, he cried: "Chalo voh kufir key ghar say salaamat aa gaey lekin/khuda kee mamlukat (Gods realm) mein sokhta-jaanon (afflicted people) pe kya guzri".

BHAGAWAN SINGH, QADIAN

Matchless Tendulkar

Some friends seem to be in an unseemly hurry to hoist Virat Kohli on a higher pedestal than Tendulkar as an iconic figure in our cricketing memory. If one scores more runs and more centuries in lesser time than Sachin does not anoint him with the aura of greatness which the Master Blaster has. Tendulkar's originality, humility and the social implications in terms of evolving aspirations of the country during those 24 years cannot be replicated. Players like Sachin, Bradman, Gavaskar, Brian Lara or Dhyan Chand are men of whom one can say: Others abide our questions, thou art free. Virat Kohli could always grow to be one of the greats like Ponting, Kallis, Sobers and one could add names of one's liking.

LALIT MOHAN SHARMA VIA EMAIL

Of private varsities and public good

GS BEDI

Leaving higher education at the mercy of market forces has far-reaching implications. As per the recent *National Employability Report*, 75 per cent of our graduates are unemployable. This is a far more serious situation than not being "in the top 200".

EDUCATION is the alchemy that can take India to its next golden age", said the outgoing President, Pranab Mukherjee during his farewell address to the nation. True. After all, it was the universities where the great ideas of liberty, tolerance and constitutional governments took root along with the scientific research and development which ultimately led to the enlightenment and prosperity of Europe.

Yet, the way we are experimenting with our higher education system, it can happen otherwise. In our quest to improve the Gross Enrolment in the country, we let the private universities and institutes mushroom indiscriminately. Today, these account for over 60 per cent of total institutes in the country.

The quality of higher education has taken a severe hit with the advent of private universities. Barring a few, they are struggling for survival. To survive, they have adopted a simple *modus operandi*: lure the students with the promise of degrees without going through the rigour of attendance and passing the examinations.

A typical case study of the journey of a student through the portals of a private university may be instructive for policy makers framing the new education policy. A private university runs a B.Tech programme that has not been approved by the All-India Council of Technical Education (AICTE). But it does not matter. The university has the convenient alibi that it has been constituted by the University Grants Commission (UGC) and it has nothing to do with the AICTE. Analysing it, one finds the university may not even have been inspected by the UGC even after five years of its operation even though it has been conferring degrees year after year. It is hoped that



MAKE THEM EMPLOYABLE: We must liberate education from the market forces. MBA students at a private university in Mohali. Tribune photo: Vicky Gharu

Ministry of Human Resource Development and Niti Aayog's proposal to merge the UGC and the AICTE into a single authority, the Higher Education Empowerment Regulation Agency (HEERA) will end such fraudulent practices.

Another example: A student seeks admission to a B.Tech programme. The criteria as laid down by the Regulatory Commission for admission to B.Tech programmes is a valid score in the JEE (mains) examination. It does not specify the cut-off score. Since it does not do so, the private university admits the student even if he has a "zero" score in the JEE examination — a mockery of the admission criteria. The particular programme in which the student has taken admission may have only "one" student, that is he himself. Optimal size, be it of a class or the university, is an important attribute of higher education

as the students learn from each other. Their personality and leadership qualities develop only in groups. The Yash Pal Committee had specially laid emphasis on the optimal size of the university in its report on "Renovation and Rejuvenation of Higher Education". Whereas autonomy is a blessing for a public university like that of the Panjab University, it is a license for unethical practices for a private university. Most states do not have regulatory authorities for private educational institutes. Even the states where there is one like Himachal Pradesh, it is without a chairman/chairperson for the last more than one-and-a-half year making it ineffective.

The result of this license is that the teacher in a private university who teaches the subject sets the question paper and evaluates the answer script. In the absence of an "external university audit

system", there is a conspiracy of silence between the student, teacher and the Vice-Chancellor as to how much of syllabus has been covered or how many right answers the students have given.

The two pillars of quality of education are good faculty and infrastructure. Both are missing in case of the private universities. Private universities exploit faculty members by paying them low salaries and overloading them with a large number of courses. Some of them pay a salary even lower than that of a peon in a government high school. As regards infrastructure, some of them do not have sports grounds and hostel facilities.

To make the provision of a hostel, they have converted cabins of the faculty into hostel rooms. With two beds in a small 8ft x 8 ft cabin, it is more like a jail cell than a hostel. Curriculum of the various programmes is not upgraded in accordance with the skill sets required for industry. This is a double whammy. In the first place, it produces unemployable youth. Second, irrelevant research is of no use to the manufacturing sector which generates jobs.

The root cause of the poor quality of education at private universities is absence of leadership at the Vice Chancellors' level. Old retired and re-retired persons are employed as Vice Chancellors. They neither have any ability nor independence to run the university effectively. Only the owners call the shots. It is from one such private university that the student gets his degree certificate at the end of the programme but he remains unemployable. As per the recent National Employability Report, 75 per cent of our graduates are unemployable.

This is a far more serious situation than "not being in top 200". Setting up elite institutions like IIT will not solve our problems. Radical reforms are required at

the bottom of pyramids on war footing. Education is far too serious a business to be left to the vagaries of market forces. The government must step in fast and announce a much-needed new education policy. Unfortunately, our squeaks about educational reforms are lost in the din of "Make-in India, Stand-up India, Start-up India, Skill-India" and so on. Ironically, the success of all these depends upon the quality of higher education.

There is a need for the government to operate in a public-private partnership mode with the viable private universities. For this, the government will have to increase its budgetary provision for education to at least more than 5 per cent of the GDP. As an interim measure, the private universities which have not been able to gain traction with respect to the optimal size for the last five years must be wound up or merged to form a bigger university which is financially viable both in the short and the long term.

The UGC scheme of Credit Transfer must be used effectively to co-opt the experienced professional and administrators from the industry to function as Vice Chancellors or Registrars by considering their experience for certain number of years in the industry as equivalent to Ph.D. The state government must order an academic audit of all the private universities immediately and close down the ones not up to the mark. At the same time, each state must have a functional private education regulatory authority which should oversee all the aspects of teaching, examination and certification.

Implementing the educational reforms as recommended by the Prof Yash Pal Committee in letter and spirit will be a fitting tribute to an eminent educationist.

The writer is a freelance writer on educational matters

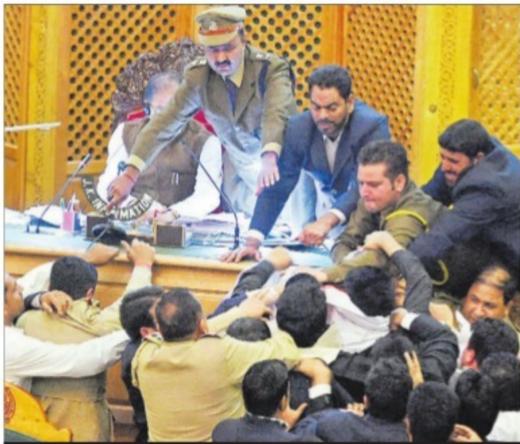
An Article of bad faith?

ARUN JOSHI

Illusory optics on Article 35-A ensures that it's politics all the way. Politically, Kashmiris are being told that their political ethos, rooted in the special status of the state as guaranteed in the Article 370, is under grave threat.

THERE is no doubt that there are genuine fears in Kashmir over scrapping of Article 35-A of the Constitution of India that debars Indian citizens from buying immovable property and settling in the state. Legally, the right to settle permanently in Kashmir is reserved for the natives having the permanent resident certificate — a document that is based on the history of the family in the state. An attempt to do away with this critically important constitutional provision through legal means is taken as an ultimate step to annihilate the Kashmiri Muslim majority character of the state.

The case is with the Supreme Court where the Centre has not been able to come out with a defence of this provision that has great emotional, political and demographic value for the Valley. They fear a major loss if this Article is rendered as unconstitutional. An NGO has taken the plea that it was effected through a Presidential order in 1954 without Parliamentary approval. Their fear is that Indian Hindus would swamp their neighbourhood and they would lose ownership of their land and identity. This fear has been fed with meticulous planning in which the Peoples Democratic Party of Mehbooba Mufti and Peoples's Conference of Sajjad Gani Lone are a party, alongwith the opposition National Conference and separatists to warn the Indian nation against any "misadventure" of tampering with the special status of the state. Politically, Kashmiris are being told that their political ethos, rooted in the special status of the state as guaranteed



in the Article 370, is under grave threat. The other part is more toxic. The Hindus would march in hordes into Kashmir and the religious identity of the local Muslims would be undermined. This legal contest is being propagated as a pernicious design to effect Israeli-type settlements in the Valley. The fear looks real when the overall mood and atmosphere in the country is reckoned with. Another view holds that Kashmir's emotional and political integration has not been possible because of the Article 370. This thesis erroneously envisages that it is a must to bring Kashmir under the Indian umbrella. This is a fallacy. These proponents are trying to peddle a partially true thesis to soothe the frayed emotions of the country-

men sick of violence and killing of Indian soldiers in the Valley. It stirs emotions of revenge. When countrymen are confronted with the constitutional reality that they cannot travel and settle in the state, their emotions for the integration of Kashmir are exploited in a frenzied manner. Both these optics are far removed from the reality in the Valley. Kashmir is in trauma. There is worry about the Valley's unique Sufi culture getting supplanted by radicalism. There is a willingness to adopt the ideology of ISIS and Al-Qaida. It is not only proselytisers like Zakir Musa but also willingness on part of the youngsters to move on to that path. ISIS flags had started appearing seven years back but the then government dis-

missed it as mere fun by youngsters addicted to social media. This line was echoed by one and all, including the PDP, the Congress and the separatists. Separatists like Geelani and Yasin Malik's refrain was that it is the handiwork of Indian agencies. When something has to be defined as a subject of hatred, it is dubbed "a design of the Indian intelligence agencies". A close look at the situation reveals that militancy is becoming more lethal. Schools and colleges are shut. Businesses are closed more often. The academic calendar has gone haywire. Two arguments are used often. One, they want to keep the state purely Muslim majority. Secondly, if the "azadi" or freedom is not possible, greater autonomy can serve the limit-

ed purpose in retaining their identity. Kashmiri Pandits are natives of the Valley but have not been restored to their homes in the Valley for the past over 27 years. And, when there was a proposal to lodge them in transit camps, Kashmiri Muslim parties raised hue and cry. The state said nothing doing when a proposal for lodging soldiers from the state in a particular enclave was mooted. When natives are not being settled in the Valley while 35-A is there on the statute book, how would this atmosphere be conducive for Indians to come and settle there? It's all politics to escalate tensions between Delhi and Srinagar.

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ON THIS DAY... 100 YEARS AGO

The Tribune.

LAHORE, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1917

The Causes of Indian Poverty.

DR. Gilbert Slater, Professor of Indian Economics, Madras, delivered an interesting lecture on South Indian Economics, at Bombay. In the course of his lecture, he tried to point out that the causes of Indian poverty were not the land revenue system but the poor turnout of work done by the people. We do not know if Dr. Slater thinks the land revenue system in India is faultless and that it is particularly adapted to the economic condition of the people. We should like to know if an agricultural country like India can thrive under a system which has produced the land revenue enhancements as at present. But in any case the causes of poverty of the bulk of the people must be traced to economic faults and these faults cannot wholly be laid on the people without reference to the conditions under which they are living and the lack of opportunities.

The Chimera of Convention.

IT is obvious that the chimera of a convention to formulate a constitution for the future government of Indian which the Pioneer has been flaunting in the face of India, has not deceived anyone. In noticing the proposal we inferred from the absence of any mention of the proposal in the proceedings of the National Conference at Bombay, that the opinion of the Conference must have been hostile to it. We find that this is exactly what happened according to our Calcutta contemporary of the Bengalee, and that the feeling in the Conference was hostile to the new-fangled proposals of the Pioneer. Both the Bengalee and the Amrita Bazar Patrika oppose the proposal.

QUICK CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with numbers 1-23 indicating starting points for clues.

YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION

- Across: 1 Applicant, 8 Heave, 9 Ungodly, 10 Come to, 11 Action, 12 Demented, 15 Unawares, 18 Cheeky, 20 Artery, 21 Minimal, 22 Cross, 23 Ham-fisted. Down: 2 Panic, 3 Look in, 4 Colander, 5 Throne, 6 Majesty, 7 Secondary, 11 Assurance, 13 Mischief, 14 Faction, 16 Afresh, 17 Genius, 19 Knave.

SU DO KU

Sudoku puzzle grid with numbers 1-9 in some cells.

FORECAST

Weather forecast table for various cities including Chandigarh, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, and Uttarakhand.

- ACROSS: 1 Uneasiness (8), 5 Shape (4), 9 Sphere of action (5), 10 Booty (7), 11 Unrestrained (3,2,7), 13 Make amends for (6), 14 Off course (6), 17 An academic degree (6,2,4), 20 Using excessive force (7), 21 To dodge (5), 22 Connection (4), 23 Intrepid (8), DOWN: 1 Arab sailing vessel (4), 2 Low-key (7), 3 Extremely busy (2,2,4,4), 4 Look forward to (6), 6 Religious fraternity (5), 7 Ethics (8), 8 Refuse to listen (4,1,4,3), 12 Of the earliest times (8), 15 Enter uninvited (7), 16 German poet and novelist (6), 18 Bound by oath (5), 19 Untidy state (4)

Calendar for August 4, 2017, Friday, with festival details like Vikrami Samvat 2074 and Shaka Samvat 1939.